

GÖTTINGER ORIENTFORSCHUNGEN
III. REIHE: IRANICA
Neue Folge 12

Herausgegeben von
Philip G. Kreyenbroek

2014
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Saloumeh Gholami

Selected Features of Bactrian Grammar

2014

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet
at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2014
This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.
Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: ® Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed in Germany
ISSN 0340-6334
ISBN 978-3-447-10300-8

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	15
Table of phonetic values.....	17
Acknowledgements	19
1. Chapter One: Introduction	21
1.1 Bactria.....	21
1.2 Bactrian language and script	22
1.3 Bactrian sources	23
1.3.1 Coins	23
1.3.2 Seals	23
1.3.3 Inscriptions.....	24
Surkh Kotal	24
Rabatak	24
The other inscriptions	25
1.3.4 Manuscripts.....	25
1.3.5 Documents	25
1. Legal documents	26
2. Lists and accounts	26
3. Letters	26
4. Buddhist texts	26
5. Fragments of documents of uncertain type	27
1.4 Aims and assumptions	27
2. Chapter Two: Historical phonology of Bactrian.....	31
2.1 Consonants.....	32
2.2 Simple consonants	32
2.2.1 PIr. plosives	32
2.2.1.1 PIr. *p, *t, *k.....	32
*# p> p	32
*-p-> v and b	32
*# t> t	33
*t> d,(ð?)	33
*# k> k	34
*-k-> g	35
2.2.1.2 PIr. *b, *d, *g	35
*b > <β>=[v]	35
*d > l	35

*g > γ	36
2.2.1.3 PIr. *č, *j	36
*č > ts	37
2.2.2 PIr. fricatives and affricates	37
2.2.2.1 PIr. *f, *θ, *x	37
*f > f	38
*θ > h	38
*x > x	38
2.2.2.2 PIr. *s, *z	38
*s > s	38
*s > š	38
*z > z	39
2.2.2.3 PIr. *š	39
*-š- > š	39
*-š- > h	39
2.2.2.4 PIr. *h	39
*h > h	39
2.2.3 PIr. Sonorants	40
2.2.3.1 PIr. *m, *n	40
*m > m	40
*-n- > n	40
2.2.3.2 PIr. *r	40
*-r- > -r-	40
2.2.3.3 PIr. *w	40
*w > w	40
2.2.3.4 PIr. *y	40
*y > y	41
2.2.4 Summary of the system of consonants	41
2.3 Consonant clusters	41
2.3.1 Combination with plosives	43
2.3.1.1 Plosive + Plosive	43
*gd > γd	43
2.3.1.2 Plosive + Affricate	44
*-tč- > ts <σ> and once <ζζ>	44
2.3.1.3 Plosive + Nasal	44
*-gn- > γn	44
2.3.1.4 Plosives + Approximant	44
*-dy > l	44
2.3.1.5 Plosives + Trill	44
*dr > lr (or dr)	44
2.3.2 Combination with nasals	45
2.3.2.1 Nasal + Plosive	45
*-nt- > nd	45

*ntč > ndz	45
*-nd- > nd	45
*-mb- > mv	45
*-mp- > mv	45
*-mk- > ng	46
2.3.2.2 Nasal + Fricative	46
*nθ > h	46
*-ns- > s	46
2.3.2.3 Nasal + Affricates	46
*nč > ndz	46
*nϳ > ndz/nz	46
2.3.3 Combination with fricatives	46
2.3.3.1 Fricative + Plosives	46
*ft > vd	47
*-xt- > γd	47
*-xt- > γ(ə)d	47
*st > st	47
*sp > sp	47
*št > t	47
*št > št	47
*-zd- > zd	48
*-zd- > z	48
*šk > šk	48
*sk > sk	48
2.3.3.2 Fricative + Fricative	48
*-xs- > xs	48
*# fš-> f	48
*# fš-> x	48
*-fš-> fš	48
*-fš-> f	49
*# xš-> š	49
*# xš-> x	49
*-xš-> xš	49
*-xš-> x	49
*# xšn > xn	50
*-xšt-> xt	50
*-xšt-> xš	50
*-štk- > -šk-	50
2.3.3.3 Fricative + affricate	50
*sč > ts	50
2.3.3.4 Fricative + Nasal	51
*-xm- > xm	51
*šm > hm	51

*-šm- > hm	51
*hm > hm	51
*-zn- > zn	51
2.3.3.5 Fricative + Trill	51
*#fr- > fr	51
*# fra- > fr(ə)	52
*#sr > š	52
*-str- > š	52
*θr- > hr > r	52
*θr- > hr	52
*θr > r	52
*-hr- > r	52
*# xr- > xr	53
*-xr- > xr	53
*# xr- > xir	53
2.3.3.6 Fricative + Approximant	53
*θw> lf	53
*# dw- > lβ	53
*# dw> β	53
*xw > xo	54
*hw- > xo	54
*θy > i	54
*zy > z	54
*sy > s	54
2.3.4 Combinations with affricates	54
2.3.4.1 Affricates + Approximant	54
*čy > š	54
*čy-> š (σ)	55
*jy > ž (ζ)	55
2.3.5 Combination with Trill	55
2.3.5.1 Trill + Plosives	55
*-rt- > rd	55
*-rd- > rd	55
*-rd- > -rl-	55
2.3.5.2 Trill + Fricative	56
*-rš- > š	56
*rž > z	56
*-rz- > rz	56
*rs > rs	56
*-rst- > -št-	56
2.3.5.3 Trill + Nasal	56
*-rn- > r	56
*-rn- > rn	56

*rm > rm	57
2.3.6 Combination with approximant.....	57
2.3.6.1 Approximant + r.....	57
#*wr > r.....	57
2.4 Phonological processes: Metathesis.....	57
2.5 Vowels	57
*# i > ī.....	57
2.6 Simple vowels.....	57
*# a > a.....	58
*-a- > a.....	58
*#ā > ā.....	58
*ā > ā.....	58
*# i > Ø	58
*ī > ī.....	58
*ī > a/ə (in Greek script α)	59
*# u > ə (in Greek script α)	59
*# u > u	59
*u > u	59
*-r- > -ir- (tp)	59
*-r- > -ur- (op).....	60
2.7 Loss of vowels	60
2.7.1 Loss of #V-	60
*# a > Ø	60
2.7.2 Loss of -V- (Syncope):.....	60
-Between plosive and sonorant:	60
-Between plosive and plosive:	60
-Between fricative and plosive:	60
-Between fricative and nasal:	61
2.7.3 The treatment of final vowels	61
*ā # > Ø	61
2.8 Diphthongs.....	61
*au > o	61
*ai > ē	61
*aya > ē (> ī)	62
*āyā > ā	62
*-āya# > ī (or sometimes yi)	62
*iya > ē or ī	62
*iya > ī	62
*iya > ē	62
*awa-> ō	62
*-awā- > awā.....	63
*-āwa- > āwa.....	63
*-āwā- > āwā.....	63

*-āwi- > ā	63
2.9 Combination of vowel and consonant	63
2.9.1 Combination of <i>w</i> with vowels	63
2.9.1.1 In initial position	63
*# wa- > wa > o	63
*# wā- > wā	64
*# wi-> wi	64
2.9.2 Combination of <i>y</i> with vowels	64
2.9.2.1 In final position	64
*arya # > ēr (<i>ŋp</i>)	64
2.9.3 The combination of other consonants with vowels	64
2.9.3.1 In final position	64
*-an # > Ø	64
*am # > Ø	64
*Vh # > Ø	64
2.10 Palatalization	65
* a > i /-.ya, -.i	65
*ā > ē /-.ya	65
* a > i /-.s,-.z	65
* a > -.i /-.n	65
2.11 Vowel assimilation	65
*a > o /-.u	65
*i > ə	65
2.12 Dissimilation	65
*# wi- > ya	66
2.13 Lowering (?)	66
*ī > ē (?)	66
2.14 Reduced vowel (ə):	66
Ø > ə/ #-CC	66
*a, i > ə	66
*-xm- > xəm	67
2.14.1 Suffixal k	67
A.1. *-aka- > -γo	67
A.2. *-aka- after a voiceless consonant > -ko	67
A.3. *-aka- after v > -axo	67
B. *-aka- > -αγo	67
C. *-iyaka- > iγo > uo	67
2.15 Summary	68
3. Chapter Three: Nominal phrases	73
3.1 Number and case	73
3.1.1 Substantive	73
3.1.2 Adjective	74

Table of Contents	11
-------------------	----

3.2 Gender.....	76
3.2.1 Genitive construction	76
3.2.2 Apposition.....	78
Apposition without particle <i>t</i>	78
Apposition with particle <i>t</i> :	82
Apposition containing a group of words	83
3.2.3 Numerals	84
3.2.3.1 Cardinal numbers	84
3.2.3.2 Plural or no plural ending.....	88
3.2.3.3 Combined numerals	89
3.2.3.4 Ordinal numbers.....	89
3.3 Adjectives	90
3.3.1 Word formation.....	90
3.3.2 Nominal phrases consisting of an adjective	92
3.3.3 Ordering of adjectives.....	93
3.4 Summary	95
4. Chapter Four: Pronouns	99
4.1 Personal pronouns	99
4.1.1 The direct full pronouns	99
4.1.2 The oblique full pronouns	101
Possessive function	101
4.1.3 Enclitic pronouns	102
The position of enclitic pronouns.....	104
After a conjunction	104
After a preposition	104
Attached to a verb	104
Attached to another enclitic pronoun	105
4.1.4 Ordering of enclitic and full pronouns	105
4.2 Demonstratives	106
4.3 Reflexive forms.....	108
4.3.1 Reflexive pronouns	108
4.3.2 Reflexive adjectives	111
4.4. Indefinite pronouns	112
4.4.1 With animates	113
4.4.2 With inanimates	115
4.4.3 With both animates and inanimates	117
4.5 Possessive pronouns.....	119
With inanimates	120
With animates	121
4.6 Relative pronouns	121
4.6.1 Main relative pronouns	121
4.7 Summary	127

Personal pronoun.....	127
Demonstratives.....	128
Reflexive pronoun	128
Indefinite pronoun	128
Possessive pronoun	129
Relative pronoun	129
 5. Chapter Five: Prepositions and postpositions	131
5.1 The functions of prepositions and postpositions	131
5.1.1 αβο, αβα-, αβ- “to, for, in, etc.”	131
In an ergative construction:	132
In a non-ergative construction:	132
A special case.....	133
αβο as object marker or directive?	134
5.1.2 φαρο, φαρα-, φαρ- “to, for”.....	135
5.1.3 ασο “from, (out) of, by, against, concerning, according to, in respect of, as a result of, than, etc.”	136
5.1.4 πιδο, πιδ-, πιδδ- “in, on, by, with,...”	138
5.1.5 πισο, πισα-, πισοα- “to, in the presence of”.....	140
5.1.6 αλο.....	141
5.1.7 ναβανδο, νοβανδο.....	142
5.1.8 πιδοραλο “because of, by the agency of”	142
5.1.9 Prepositions as preverbs	143
5.2 Summary	143
 6. Chapter Six: Adverbs	145
6.1 Formation of adverbs by suffixes	145
6.2 Types of adverbs	146
6.3 Deictic adverbs.....	147
6.3.1 Proximate deictic adverbs	148
6.3.2 Remote deixis adverbs	151
6.4 Syntactical positions of adverbs	155
6.5 Summary	159
 7. Chapter Seven: Conjunctions.....	161
7.1 Coordinating conjunctions	161
7.1.1 Rarely attested coordinating conjunctions.....	167
7.2 Correlative conjunctions	170
7.3 Subordinating conjunctions	172
7.3.1 Time	172
7.3.2 Cause/Effect	174
7.3.3 Condition.....	178
7.4 Summary	180

8. Chapter Eight: The verb	183
8.1 Position	183
8.1.1 Two verbs in a construction	183
8.2 Agreement with subject	188
8.3 Passive and ergative constructions.....	192
8.3.1 Passive in Bactrian.....	192
8.4. Auxiliary verbs	195
Perfect.....	196
Pluperfect.....	196
Past Subjunctive.....	196
8.4.1 The syntactic position of the auxiliary verb	198
8.5 Summary.....	198
9. Chapter Nine: Word order	201
9.1 Nominal sentences	201
9.1.1 The presence of a copula.....	201
9.1.1.1 The position of the copula.....	203
The absence of the copula.....	204
9.1.2 The nominal sentence of possession	205
9.2 Verbal sentences	205
9.2.1 Intransitive verbs.....	205
9.3 Transitive verbs.....	206
9.4 Double object constructions	208
9.5 The order of elements in Bactrian	211
9.6 Summary	213
10. Chapter Ten: Compounds	217
10.1 Bactrian compounds according to the grammatical feautures of elements	217
a. Noun.....	217
b. Adjective.....	218
c. Suffix.....	218
d. Adverb	219
e. Past participle or past stem.....	219
a. Noun.....	219
b. Adjective.....	220
c. pp or past stem	220
a. Noun.....	220
b. Adjective	221
c. Adverb.....	221
10.2 Bactrian compounds according to the syntactical features of elements ..	221
10.2.1 Exocentric	221
10.2.1.1 Bahuvrihi (possessive compound)	221
10.2.1.2 Verbal governing	222

1. κηρ-“do, make”	222
2. βαρ- “bring”	223
3. λαν- “give”	223
4. ωσταδο “to put”	223
5. ηρσ- “come, arrive”	223
6. ζιν- “to strike”	223
10.2.1.3 Prepositional governing	223
10.2.1.4 Derivative (Ableitung)	223
10.2.2 Endocentric	224
10.2.2.1 Determinative compound	224
α. Adjective + substantive or substantive + adjective	224
β. Substantive + substantive	225
10.2.2.2 Copulative (Dvandva)	225
10.3 Tripartite compounds	225
10.4 Seam vowel	226
10.5 Summary	228
References.....	231