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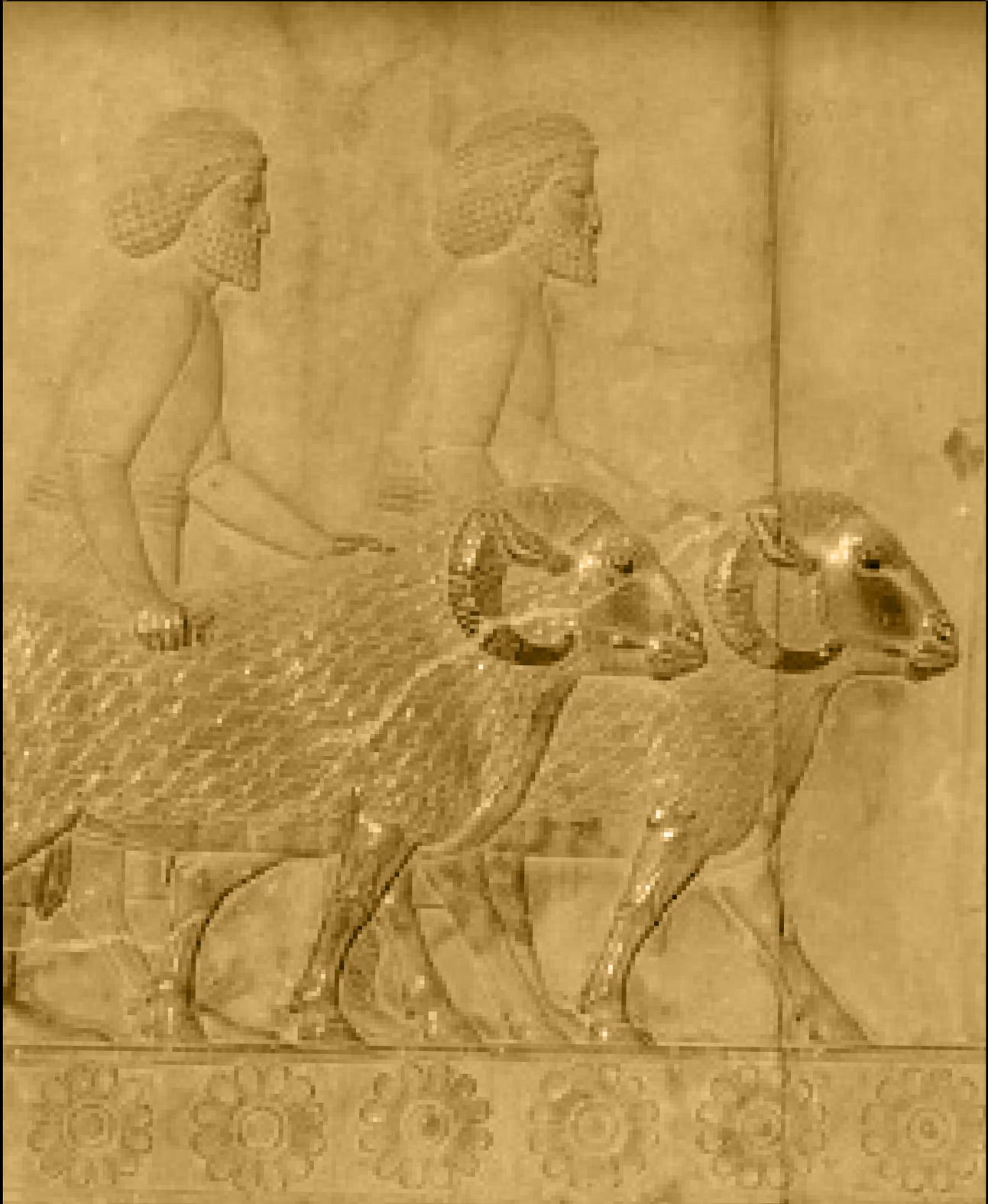
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Detail from above the entrance of Tehran's fire temple, 1286š/1917–18. Photo by © Shervin Farridnejad

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The hypothetical life of *an* Middle Iranian particle

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The purpose of the present study is to investigate an element *an* occurring in certain types of sentences in three Middle Iranian languages: Sogdian, Baċtrian, and Khwarezmian. Although the existence of *an* is already known in Sogdian and Baċtrian, it has not been sufficiently described in Sogdian. Furthermore, the existence of *an* will be proposed in Khwarezmian as a solution for one problem of clitics in that language. The use of *an* in the particular syntactic function described here appears to be an isogloss shared by Sogdian, Baċtrian, and Khwarezmian.

1. Sogdian

The investigation of the Sogdian material will proceed chronologically through the textual corpora. In the earliest substantial Sogdian texts, the ‘Ancient Letters’ (AL), phrases such as the following occur:

- (i) yrβy swγδyk ʾmtk wmʾt ZKZY=t=n nyz-tʾy
much sogdian ready be.3SG.PRET. rel.=cpl.=N go.out-3SG.OPT.
“Many Sogdians were ready who would leave.” (AL₅, R₁₄)

In this sentence, an element *-n* (glossed ‘N’) is found attached to the complementizer *-t-* (glossed ‘cpl.’, for more on which see Franco 2013), itself following the relative pronoun heterograph ZKZY. This

-n is an enclitic, here appearing towards the front of the relative clause. Although written identically to the 1PL. enclitic pronoun *-n*, in this and many other cases a 1PL. pronoun does not make sense in the context.¹ As realized by Sims-Williams, it is preferable to analyze this *-n* differently. In AL2 and AL5, *-n* occurs frequently. In all non-pronominal examples, it is followed by a verb in the subjunctive or optative. The use of *-n* is much more restricted in the other Ancient Letters, although in those texts as well it only co-occurs with a subjunctive or optative verb. In order to give an impression of its distribution, the table below summarizes the occurrences of *-n* in the three most recently edited Ancient Letters.²

Text	AL1	AL2	AL5
No. of <i>-n</i>	3	22	10
Moods	Opt./Subj.	Opt./Subj.	Opt./Subj.

That this *-n* occurring in the Ancient Letters differs from the first-person plural clitic *-n* was already suggested by Sims-Williams, who in his edition of AL5 termed it a “hypothetical particle” comparable with Bactrian *-αvo* (to be discussed in §2).³

In Sogdian corpora later than the Ancient Letters, *-n* is not always found. While Yoshida, in a sketch of Sogdian grammar, rightly states that *-n* is limited to texts in Sogdian script (2009:311), it is not actually attested in all corpora in Sogdian script. For example, *-n* has only been noticed in certain Buddhist Sogdian texts, in the Mugh documents, and in the slave-girl sale contract from Turfan.⁴ There is no *-n* attested at all in the Manichaean, Christian, or later ‘Turco-Sogdian’ texts in Sogdian script. We will discuss each group of texts in turn.

As the second group of Sogdian texts in which *-n* is encountered, we will consider the Mugh documents found near Panjikent in former Sogdiana (dating to the 720s CE) together with the sale contract of a slave-girl found in Turfan (‘DP’, dated 639 CE), since both clearly belong to the same scribal tradition. Although *-n* does not occur in every document from the Mugh collection, its distribution over the documents is enough to suggest that it formed a natural part of the Sogdian used at that time. The occurrences of *-n* and corresponding verbal forms are given in the below table.

1- Note also that 1PL. *-n* is largely limited to the Ancient Letters, with a few possible attestations in the Mugh documents.

2- The remaining Ancient Letters were last edited in the 1930s, and as a new comprehensive edition would require extensive work and consultation of the original manuscripts, it has not been undertaken for this study. As far as I can tell, however, my conclusions based on the material collected from the recently edited ALs 1, 2, and 5 applies to the others as well: a cursory inspection shows that *-n* appears at least once, though with less frequency, in ALs 3 and 4 as well. Editions are: AL1 (Sims-Williams 2005), AL2 (Sims-Williams 2001), AL5 (Sims-Williams 1998; see p. 96 *ad* R14 for analysis of the *-n*’s in that text).

3- Sims-Williams, Grenet, & de la Vaissière 1998:96.

4- Yoshida also reads one *-n* in the Xi’an tomb inscription, cf. Yoshida 2005:67.

Text	Mugh Docs ⁵	DP ⁶
No. of <i>-n</i>	12	3
Moods	12 x Subj. ⁷	3 x Subj.

Of the Mugh documents, the majority of attestations are in contracts: Nov. 3 provides seven thereof, while B-8 gives two and B-4 (as I argue below) an additional one. In this group, *-n* co-occurs overwhelmingly with verbs in the subjunctive, such as in the following example:

- (2) *rt=n=ms* *kδ* *ZNH* *ctt-yh* *ZNH* *mʹny* *wʹnʹkw* *βʹty*
 cpl.=N=adv. if art. name-GEN. art. mind adv. become-3SG.SUBJ.
 “But also if it should be thus in Chata’s mind...” (Nov. 3, V2-3)⁸

In his edition of Nov. 3 and Nov. 4, both marriage contracts, Yakubovich (2006:318) follows the terminology of Sims-Williams & Cribb (1996) in referring to *-n* as a “hypothetical particle”. Yet Livshits (2015:30, 182), in his re-edition of the majority of the Mugh documents, continues to use the older interpretation of *-n* as a 1PL. pronoun functioning as an ethic dative, even though inserting a reference to Yakubovich’s (2006) edition. In DP, which is also a contract and agrees in many formal respects (formulae, syntax, style of language, script) with the Mugh documents, we find comparable examples, such as (3) below.

- (3) *wnʹtw* *wyspy* *ʹcw=ty=š=n* *ʹδprmw* *kʹm-t* *ʹkrty*
 do-3SG.SUBJ. all pron.=cpl.=3SG.=N indef.pron. want-3SG.SUBJ. do.PAST.INF.
 “He may do to her whatever he may want to do.” (DP, 11-12)

In light of the consistency of usage and syntax, it should be clear that this *-n* must also be interpreted as the same enclitic occurring in the ALs. On the basis of the foregoing analysis, then, we can then reinterpret a passage in which an example of *-n* was previously unrecognized. There are two Mugh contracts which exhibit parallel syntax in the clause used to detail the obligations of the contract holders. In (4a), the editor of the text, Livshits, correctly recognized *-n* as the hypothetical particle.

- (4a) *pr* *KZNH* *ywʹr* *ZY=n* ... *mwrtʹkw* *ʹwstyʹnt*
 on adv. condition cpl.=N ... corpse set-3PL.SUBJ.
 “On condition that ... they should lay a corpse” (B-8, 13-15)

5- This count is based on the edition of Livshits (2015).

6- As edited by Yoshida & Moriyasu (1989). An English translation with some commentary can be found in Yoshida (2003). Line 8 from this text was cited in by Yoshida (2009:315) as an example of *-n*.

7- This count is based on the edition of Livshits (2015).

8- If *mʹny* is interpreted as the obl. of *mʹn*. Another possibility pointed out by N. Sims-Williams (p.c.) is that the final *-y* could be silent as in the verb *βʹty*, and therefore *mʹn* is dir., so ‘If C.’s mind should be...’. A comparison with a parallel phrase earlier in the same text may support this latter interpretation: Nov. 4, R22-4 *rtnpyštkδ ʹwttkyn wʹnʹkw mʹn βʹty* ‘But if Ut-tegin’s mind should be thus...’.

- (4b) pr w'n'kw yw'r ZYt=n δ'r't m'xy'n 'm'yδ xwt'rnkt
 prep. adv. condition cpl.=N have-3SG.SUBJ. name dem. mills
 “On condition that Maxyan should hold these mills (for one entire year).” (B-4, 8-10)

The main difference between (4a) and (4b) is that a form *ZYtn* appears in the latter, which Livshits explained as the complementizer *ZY* plus the 2PL. enclitic pronoun *-tn*. The verb in (4b) also occurs as the first element after the complementizer/clitic group, a type of syntax unusual in Sogdian—but interestingly, we also find *-n* followed by a fronted subjunctive verb in another passage expressing obligation: the marriage contract Nov. 3 (R12-13) *rtnms δ'r't ZNH ctth* “Chata should also have...”. This suggests that the placement of the verb in (4b) is intentional and is related to the appearance of *-n*. Hence, an alternative interpretation for the form *ZYtn* in (4b) is the following: it may simply be a scribal error for *ZYn*, the scribe having redundantly written a phonetic spelling *t* for the complementizer after having written it heterographically as *ZY*.⁹

The third group of texts to be considered is the corpus of Buddhist texts in Sogdian script. Those which attest *-n* are given in the table below.

Text ¹⁰	FF	SCE	Dhuta	Dhyana	Intox.	Vaj.	P9	VJ
No. of <i>-n</i>	12	21	14	20	1	2	12	1
Moods	11 x Ind. 1 x Opt.	Ind.	5 x Ind. 9 x Opt./Subj.	17 x Ind. 3 x Opt./Subj.	Ind.	1 x Ind. 1 x Opt.	Ind.	Subj.

Firstly, it is notable that not all Buddhist Sogdian texts attest *-n*. What is shared by those that do attest it is that they all happen to have been found in Dunhuang; I have not noticed *-n* among the Buddhist fragments from Turfan, though this may change as unpublished fragments are edited. Secondly, as can be seen from the table, the main difference in the usage of *-n* in these texts is that it co-occurs mostly with the present indicative. This usage represents a grammatical development from that which is attested in the Ancient Letters and Mugh documents. In examples with a non-indicative mood, the usage of *-n* is similar to that already noted:

- (5) γrf w'tδ'r βw-tk'm ZKZY=n ... šw-t rty=n ... γr'n 'rn
 much being be-3SG.FUT. rel.=cpl.=N go-3SG.SUBJ. cpl.=N great sin
 γw-t
 fault-3SG.SUBJ.

9- Based on the context, it is less likely to me that the *-t* is the 2SG., or *-tn* the 2PL. pronominal clitic.

10- FF is my abbreviation for the tale of a farmer and a fisherman consisting of the fragments L92 (St. Petersburg), Or. 8212 (88), and possibly Or. 8212 (177) (both London) which I am re-editing. SCE = Sutra of Causes and Effects, edited by MacKenzie 1970. Dhuta, Dhyana, Intox., and Vaj. are edited in MacKenzie 1975. P9 and VJ are edited in Benveniste 1940 and 1946, respectively. Note also that the number of *-n* for Intox., Vaj., and P9 may be low only because they are short, incomplete fragments. However, the occurrence of a single *-n* in all of the VJ's more than 1500 lines is noteworthy.

“Many beings will exist ... who would go ... and would be at fault (with) great sin.” (Dhu. 82-4, cited by Yoshida 2009:312)

However, there are many examples in Buddhist Sogdian where even though the present indicative co-occurs with *-n*, the context is nevertheless hypothetical, as example (6) demonstrates. The earlier analysis of *-n* as an element with “indefinable meaning” (MacKenzie) or as “devoid of meaning” (Henning) cannot be held up, since here it is *-n* rather than a non-indicative mood that seems to imbue the phrase with its hypothetical sense. In fact, the usage of *-n* in the SCE is of particular interest because *all* of its 21 attestations co-occur with a present indicative verb. Many examples occur in lists wherein each element represents a possibility among several possibilities, namely, the possible effects in later lives of an action in the present life. The use of *-n*, often attached only to the final coordinator of the list, then conveys the notion that each item is a discrete possibility:

(6) rty δ'yh 'PZY βnt'k βw-t 'PZY cštw'n 'PZY=n'pδ'np'y
 cpl. slave-girl conj. slave be-3SG.PRES. conj. poor conj.=N beggar

'PZY wyspny nm' βw-t
 conj. all.GEN.SG.M. despised be-3SG.PRES.

“He becomes a slave-girl or a slave or a poor man or a beggar and is despised by all.” (SCE, 373-74)

The lone occurrence of *-n* in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (1136-38) reflects the same usage. In other examples from the SCE it is not the outcome which is hypothetical as it is in (6), but the premise: “the one who (may) keep the commandments, he will become...”. It thus seems clear that *-n* retained some hypothetical force in these texts. Yet an explanation lacks for why *-n* is not consistently employed, that is, why all instances of 'PZY in (6) are not followed by *-n*.

Finally, a notable feature of a number of examples in Buddhist Sogdian is that *-n* appears at the beginning of direct speech where there does not seem to be any implication of a hypothetical situation. In FF, in fact, *-n* is most prominent in direct speech: of the ten attestations with clear context, eight are in direct speech. In these cases, *-n* appears attached to the complementizer that occurs in second position of the direct speech phrase; that is, *-n* does not introduce the direct speech but is rather a part of it, as in (7).

(7) w'n'kw w'β 'zw 'PZY=nβγ' δštw'n 'ty ny''zkyn
 adv. say.3SG.IMPF. 1sg. cpl.=N voc. poor c. needy

mrt'y 'ym
 man be.1SG.PRES.

“He said: I, Sir, am a poor and needy man.” (FF, 20-1)

In direct speech in Sogdian, as in other types of sentences, the complementizer occupies second position. The enclitic *-n* then attaches to it much as a pronominal clitic would: *tywtn* and *tyw 'tn*, *'ky' 'tn*, and *wδy 'tn*, for example, where *-t* is the complementizer written phonetically. In imperative sentences,

the verb occupies first position in the clause, with the complementizer and any enclitics following, as in (8) below.

- (8) mʾδ prʾmʾy šw-ʾ ʾt=n zʾt-ʾ pr
 adv. order.3SG.IMPV. go-2SG.IMPV. cpl.=N son-VOC. prep.
- wʾtpʾδ pyδh βzyδ-ʾ
 fašt elephant mount-2SG.IMPV.
- “He said: Go, son, mount a rapid elephant!” (P9, 83-4)

In both (7) and (8) it is difficult to imagine that *-n* has the same function as in the passages examined previously. In fact, in these passages it has no apparent function. One wonders, then, how *-n* came to be associated with direct speech—and why it only occurs in some examples thereof. Since in the Buddhist texts *-n* seems to no longer require a subjunctive or optative verb, it may be the case that it was in the process of being lost from the language. However, its use in direct speech represents an extension to its previous domain; this might perhaps be taken as a sign that the scribes knew that *-n* existed but were unsure of where it belonged. It is known that users of the Sogdian script retained a number of archaisms even in later periods, especially the use of heterograms, but also grammatical features such as the particle *-β* accompanying the negative historical present, which survives even in some Manichaean texts in Sogdian script. The hypothetical particle *-n* may have also been an archaism linked to the Sogdian script, though it seems to have disappeared from use earlier.

2. Bactrian

The Bactrian language also possesses a clitic *-αvo*, pronounced [an]. It is attested frequently and the occurrences and usage thereof have been well described by Sims-Williams (2007:48-9, 192-3). This *-αvo* co-occurs primarily with the optative or subjunctive, but also with the past optative and rarely the preterite or future participle.¹¹ As in Sogdian, Bactrian *-αvo* occurs after any pronominal clitics. Here it will suffice here to give a few glossed examples for comparison.

- (9) καλ=δ=αvo αζο βαβο αλ=αζο πιδοκο ανδαρο ολο
 if=cpl.=N 1SG. name conj.=1SG. name other wife
- κ1ρ-1vδηιο ταδ=αvo λ1v-1vδηιο τ1οαvo
 do-1PL.OPT. conj.=N pay-1PL.OPT. fine
- “if I Bab or I Piduk should make another (woman our) wife, then we would pay a fine.” (A19-21)

Additionally, as Sims-Williams (*ibid.*) points out, the clitic *-αvo* also occurs with the past optative, a usage which seems to indicate hearsay. It may also provide a hint as to how Sogdian *-n* came to be associated with direct speech, but there is no such construction attested in Sogdian as of yet. This usage

¹¹ Sims-Williams notes that the only forms which seem to be unambiguously PRES. IND. are 3PL. forms; these however may actually attest an older form of the 3PL.OPT. *-1vδo* /-ind/ (2007:49 n. 16).

is demonstrated in (10) below, in which the syntax may be motivated by the use of the verb ‘to write’.

- (10) υιβιχτ-ημο κοα=δ=ανο χ. αβο το χοηο πιδοοαυ-αδηιο
 write-1SG.PRET. conj.=cpl.=N name prep. title appeal-3SG.PAST.OPT.
- κοα=δ=ανο
 conj.=cpl.=N
 “(Your Lordship) has written to me that X. appealed to Your Lordship (saying)...”
 (bg5-7)

Bactrian *-ανο* may also follow pronominal clitics, as in the following example (note that the verb form may be PRES. IND. or OPT., see note 10):

- (11) τα=τ=ανο αβο λιζο ναληρ-ινδο
 conj.=cpl.+2SG.=N in fortress NEG.=keep-3PL.OPT./PRES.
- “They would not keep you in the fortress.” (cp34-6)

Examples (9-11) are all taken from the Bactrian documents that date from the 4th century CE onwards. An earlier stage of the language is attested in the Kushan inscriptions, which date to the 1st-3rd centuries CE. In the Surkh Kotal inscription, *-ανο* occurs four times in §§6-7, in all cases co-occurring with an optative verb like in the following phrase:

- (12) ατ=ανο αβο μα λιξο φαρο καρ-ανο αβο
 so that=N in dem.f. fortress to people-PL. water
- μα γαο-ηιο
 PROHIB. need-3SG.OPT.
- “So that water should not be lacking to the people in the citadel.” (SK, version M, §6)¹²

It may have been the case that in the earlier forms of the language, *-ανο* could only co-occur with an optative (and subjunctive?) verb and that its usage was later broadened. In general, Bactrian *-ανο* is comparable to Sogdian *-n* both in its use in its use in hypothetical contexts and in its behavior as a clitic.

3. Khwarezmian

Khwarezmian, another Middle Iranian language closely related to Sogdian, also possesses a number of clitics which attach to each other at the beginning of the phrase. In MacKenzie’s survey of these clitics, he was unable to propose an explanation for an *-n-* which appears in a number of phrases in the *Qunyat*

¹²- The most recent edition of the inscription, version M §§1-10 is that of Gershevitch (1985:67), with an updated translation by Sims-Williams (2012:78-9), to whom I am grateful for pointing me to the *-n*’s in Surkh Kotal.

al-munya, an Arabic compendium of legal material containing phrases in Khwarezmian.¹³ In this section, I propose that among the many clitics of Khwarezmian there is a cognate of Sogdian and Bactrian *-an*.

In his edition of the *Qunyat al-munya*, MacKenzie wrote several times of this *-n-* that it “is spontaneous between *a* and an enclitic with initial dental, both *-c* and *-d*” (1990:87, 88, 92).¹⁴ By the time of his later article on clitics, however, he apparently no longer thought of *-n-* as a spontaneous phonological development, but as an actual word: “one could think of **-n-* as a fairly empty adverbial particle, as in English ‘if ever’ and Pashto *ka-čare*” (1993:145). This explanation, however, is unconvincing. In MacKenzie’s edition of the *Qunya*, we find 12 instances of *-n-*.¹⁵ All the attestations found so far will be considered here, in my translation. First, there are several examples of *-n-* which co-occur with a verb in the subjunctive, all listed below. In (16) there is actually no verb in the phrase, but it follows directly after (15) in the text of the *Qunya* and may be understood as part of the same discourse.

(13) kʰ=n=dy ʾyw ɣw-ʿc-y xrn-ʿ=h
if=N=2SG.OBL. one need-3SG.SUBJ.-PERM. swear-1SG.IMP.F.=3SG.ACC.
“If you need one (divorce), I have sworn it.” (QR52)

(14) cycyʾkʰm kʰ=n=d nkʰh ʾk-ʿ
ADV. if=N=2SG.GEN. marriage do-1SG.SUBJ
“Whenever I should marry you.” (QR145)

(15) kʰ=n=c ʾxnʿ
if=N=PRON. buy-1SG.SUBJ.
“If I should buy.” (QR192)

(16) kʰ=n=cy cy rys-ʿ=dʰ pcmc-ʿ
if=N=PRON. from thread-ABL.=2SG.GEN. wear-1SG.SUBJ.
“If I should wear any of your thread.” (QR217)

13- The text was edited with commentary by MacKenzie (1990). See MacKenzie (1993:144-45) for his discussion of *-n-* in that text. The other major source for Khwarezmian, the glosses in manuscripts of al-Zamakhshari’s *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (see Benzing 1968, to be used with caution), provides only individual words rather than phrases and hence provides no examples of *-n-* (to my knowledge). The manuscripts containing Khwarezmian of both the *Qunya* and *Muqaddima* probably date to the 13th century CE.

14- Note that <c> in the transliteration of Khwarezmian stands for [ts] rather than [č]. Also note that superscript letters are used to indicate where the Khwarezmian text has been vowelled in the Arabic script by means of *fatha* (ʼ), *kasra* (ʰ), or *damma* (ʰ).

15- The Arabic originals could not be consulted for this study, and so this number is provisional; but MacKenzie’s edition is on the whole very reliable.

- (17) k²=n=cy cy wžyd
 if=N=PRON. from yarn.PL.ABL.
 “If anything of yarn (I should wear).” (QR218)
- (18) k=f²=n=bš k²r²kryk ²k-² c²br
 if=2SG.ACC.=N=by laborer do-1SG.SUBJ hereafter
 “If I should labor with you hereafter.” (QR227)
- (19) b²=n=c=mys b²wnd²r²nc ²k-²m²ny=k²m
 CONJ.=N=PRON.=ADV. capitalistic.PL. do-1PL.SUBJ.=FUT.
 “Rather, we should also act as capitalists (i.e. for our own advantage).” (QR284)

This usage at least hints at a parallel with both Sogdian and Bactrian. But there are also a handful of examples of *-n-* co-occurring with the present indicative.¹⁶ That these phrases are hypothetical in nature is indicated by the initial conjunction *k²* ‘if’ or indefinite pronoun *c²* ‘what(ever)’.

- (20) s²knd xw²r-^a c²=n=dⁱ skndⁱ γ²w-²c
 oath swear-2SG.IMPV. PRON.=N=2SG.GEN. oath need-3SG.PRES.
 “Swear an oath, whatever oath is necessary for you.” (QR76)
- (21) c²=n=d^{a2}=kⁱ d=n²=d²=k
 PRON.=N=ADV.=do.2SG.IMPV. then=3PL.ACC.=ADV.=do.2SG.PRES.
 “Say what you (want to) say.” (QR78)¹⁷
- (22) k²=n=c ²rcy²dk ²y wšy pryxy-c w² kδ²k
 if=N=PRON. third the.NOM. trustee leave-3SG.PRES or NEG.
 “So any third the trustee leaves, or not?” (QR413)
- (23) d=²cw²=n=cⁱy n² bšt²w-yⁱ-y
 then=why=N=from PRON.3PL.ACC. deny-2SG.PRES.-PERM.
 “Then why do you deny them?” (QR369)

Finally, in one example, *-n-* co-occurs with the imperfect conditional, a verbal form consisting of the imperfect stem of the verb and person markers, plus the enclitic conditional marker =*mnc* with optional (also poorly-understood) suffixes such as *-²c*.¹⁸

16- Example (23) makes use of the so-called “permansive” marker *-i(n)* which is added after the person endings of the present indicative and subjunctive seemingly to signify duration or iterative action (cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2009:355).

17- The verb *‘k-* ‘to do’ in combination with a clitic particle *d²* apparently has the meaning ‘to say’ (MacKenzie 1990:109). Since *d²* plus *‘k-* results in the writing *d²‘k-* with only one aleph, the morpheme division is arbitrary.

18- On the Khwarezmian conditional see Durkin-Meisterernst 2009:356.

- (24) w³=n=cy=d b³ m³sn³=mnc³c cy n³n
 or=N=PRON.=ADV. ADV. take-1SG.IMP.F.=COND. from this.PL.ABL.
- ʾxsn
 thing.PL.ABL.
 “Or (if) I should have taken anything from these things.” (QR223)

With the above examples, I have attempted to show that *-n-* occurs in contexts that may be loosely termed hypothetical. These may involve a subjunctive or conditional verb but also the indicative, in which case the uncertainty of the situation is indicated by other means, such as the word *k³* ‘if’. The attestations of *-n-* from the *Qunya* are summed up as follows:

Mood	Subj.	Pres. Ind.	Impf. Cond.	No verb
No.	6	4	1	1
Sentences in the <i>Qunya</i>	52, 145, 192, 217, 227, 284	76, 78, 369, 413	223	218

However, as in Sogdian and Baċtrian, the use of *-n-* in Khwarezmian does not appear to be obligatory. This behavior might be interpreted, as MacKenzie seems to have originally done, as there being a conditioned phonological change of *-a-* to *-an-* before dental consonants—but this is an ad hoc solution which does not explain the irregularity of the supposed change, (note also *kf³nbš* where *n* appears before *b*) besides being etymologically unmotivated. MacKenzie’s later suggestion that *-n-* might be an adverbial particle is more sensible, though I hesitate to agree with his characterization thereof as “empty”. Even if it is not clear to us why an element appears in some utterances and not in other, similar ones—and this applies equally to Sogdian and Baċtrian as well—there was undoubtedly a reason that speakers chose to use it, even if only to reinforce a hypothetical sense that was already present through other means.

4. Comparison

The enclitic *-an* should be considered a relevant feature for the grouping of the Middle Iranian languages and further indicates the close relationship of Baċtrian and Sogdian in terms of syntax, and if our analysis is correct, adds Khwarezmian to the group. However, some differences are to be seen, in particular that Khwarezmian does not have the complementizer like Sogdian and Baċtrian, at least as far as can be seen from the limited texts, and so any clitics simply attach to the first word of the phrase.

In all three languages, there is a specific order in which multiple clitics appear. For example, Sogdian ʾHRZY=*m=n* (AL5, R3) consists of the conjunction/ complementizer heterograph ʾHRZY, the 1SG. enclitic pronoun *m*, and finally *n*. That *-n* follows any enclitic pronouns is also clear from, for example, ʾcw=*ty=š=n* (DP, 11) consisting of the pronoun ʾcw, the complementizer *ty*, the 3SG. enclitic pronoun *š*, and then *n*. In the Ancient Letters, certain prepositions have a clitic form: ʾYKZY=*m=n=c* (AL2, 32) consists of ʾYKZY, the 1SG. *m*, the hypothetical *n*, and finally *c* ‘from’. Finally, further conjunctions may follow if necessary,

such as $rt=n=ms=k\delta$ in the Mugh documents.

The order of elements at the beginning of the phrase is similar for Bactrian. The group $\kappa\alpha\lambda=\delta=\alpha\nu\omicron$ consists of the conjunction $\kappa\alpha\lambda$ ‘if’, δ representing the complementizer, and finally the hypothetical particle $\alpha\nu\omicron$; $\tau\alpha=\tau=\alpha\nu\omicron$ consists of the conj. $\tau\alpha$, plus the τ representing the complementizer plus the 2SG. pronoun, and finally $\alpha\nu\omicron$.

Only one Khwarezmian example is similar: $k=f^n=n=b\delta$ closely parallels the Sogdian and Bactrian state of affairs with the 2SG.ACC. personal pronoun f^n preceding $-n-$, and parallels older forms of Sogdian with the preposition $b\delta$ ‘with’ cliticizing at the end of the clitic chain. In contrast, however, that many examples consist of either $k^n=n$ or $c^n=n$ followed by a personal or indefinite pronominal clitic suggests perhaps, as N. Sims-Williams points out to me, that these two combinations had become fixed expressions.

The possible order of elements in phrases containing *an* can be displayed schematically as follows, keeping in mind that not all elements occur in all examples.

Sogdian: initial conj. | cpl. | pron. clit. | *an* | prep. clit. | other conjs.

Bactrian: initial conj. | cpl. | pron. clit. | *an*

Khwarezmian: initial conj. | pron. clit. | *an* | prep. clit.

In conclusion, it is worth picking up on Sims-Williams’ suggestion¹⁹ that the *-n* of the Sogdian Ancient Letters and the $-\alpha\nu\omicron$ of Bactrian, and now Khwarezmian *-n-*, might have cognates in Indo-European languages farther afield. In fact, an Indo-European hypothetical particle $*\acute{a}n$ has very recently been proposed by G. Dunkel in his work on IE particles. Gathering evidence from multiple branches of Indo-European, Dunkel argues that an outcome of IE $*\acute{a}n$ survives in Latin *an*, Gothic *an*, Baltic *an(-)*, and Greek $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (2014:28-35). In the first three languages this particle has various interrogative functions, such as introducing disjunctive questions in Latin (where it occurs after the first member of the phrase), Gothic (where it introduces the phrase), and Baltic (where it is the second member). Although the Greek form is controversial and has been analyzed variously, Dunkel connects it too with IE $*\acute{a}n$ and points to its irrealis or potential signification in especially Greek and Latin. Given the close similarity of the hypothetical particle in the Middle Iranian languages discussed here, particularly regarding its placement in the phrase and connection with modal forms of the verb, it is tempting to add an Iranian $*an$ to Dunkel’s evidence for an Indo-European hypothetical particle.

19- Sims-Williams et al. 1998:96. Earlier analyses suggested that hypothetical *-n* was in origin the enclitic pronoun *-n*, “an enclitic pronoun of the 3rd pers. sing. and pl.; it is often devoid of meaning (as *dativus ethicus*)...in sentences in all of which the self-interest is involved, from the point of view of the subject” (Henning 1948:605 n. 3), interpretation largely followed by MacKenzie (1970:61, “enclitic particle (originally 1st pron.?) of indefinable meaning”).

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