

## The Substantive

§ There is no distinction of genders. There remain, however, quite numerous traces of the older variation in a few Pārsīg substantives on account of gender. Appropriate words or suffixes can be added to indicate the gender of some words, especially of proper names.

*nar* ‘man; male’ (cf. Av. *nar-* m.); *nārīg* ‘woman; female’ (cf. *nāiri-* f., *nāirikā-* f.).

*mašī* ‘first man’ in imitation of Av. *mašya-* m. ‘mortal, man’, *mahrī/ mahlī* < OPers. *martiya-* m.; *mašyānī-* ‘first woman’ < Av. \**mašyānī-* f., *mahryānī/ mahlyānī*, *murdyānag* < OPers. \**martiyānī-* f.

*ped* ‘master; husband’ (cf. Av. *paiti-* m.); *pedī* ‘mistress’; *mānbed* ‘master of the house’ (cf. Av. *nmānō.paiti-* m.); *mānbedī* ‘mistress of the house’ (rendering Av. *nmānō.paḏnī-* f.) = *bāmbišn* < OPers. \**māna-pašnī-* f.

*jim* (cf. Av. *yima-* pr. n. m.); *jimī*, *jimag* < Av. \**yimī-* f. (cf. Skt. *yamī-*, Fars. *jama*, *jamī*).

*niyūšāg* ‘hearer, auditor’ (cf. Sogd. *nəγōšāk*, Fars. *neyūšā*); *niyūšāg-zan/ niyūšāgcān* ‘female hearer, auditrice’ (cf. Sogd. *nəγōšākānč*, °*ānč* is the feminine of Old °*ānaka-*).

*ābān* ‘waters’, pr.n.f.; *ābān-mard* pr.n.m.

*perōz* ‘victor’, pr.n.m.; *perōz-duxt* pr.n.f.

*dēn* ‘religion’ (cf. Av. *daēnā-* f.); *dēn-šōy* pr.n.m.

§ The Pārsīg noun evolved into a two-number and no-case system: there are two numbers, singular and plural, the dual number of the Old Persic has entirely disappeared; the cases of the nouns are not expressed by any endings, the Middle Persic two cases, direct and oblique, have been almost completely abolished.

Old Persic language was called, by its speakers, *pārsa* ‘Persic’ and *airya* ‘Aryan’ (cf. DB par.70), and (Middle) Persic language *pārsīg* (cf. HKR 50). Old Persic language has six cases, nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive-dative, instrumental-ablative, and locative. The inscriptions from Artaxerxes on indicate new phonetic and morphological peculiarities. The Persic inscriptions of the Sasanian times are written in what is clearly a Persic stage of the language; however, we find a few archaisms in them, and even in the early Manichaean texts and the Persic Psalter. Between these two stages, old and new, a quite different stage of language with its own “grammar” existed for a number of centuries: the Middle Persic stage.

§ We may give the following paradigm for Post-OPers. *Xa-*/ Pers. *X*:

Post-OPers.	Mid.-Pers.	Pers.
<i>Xa</i> nom./1	<i>X</i> direct, singular	<i>X</i>
<i>Xahyā</i> gen./1	<i>Xeh/ Xē</i> oblique, singular	<i>X</i>
<i>Xā</i> nom./3	<i>X</i> direct, plural	<i>X</i>
<i>Xānām</i> gen./3	<i>Xān</i> oblique, plural	<i>Xān</i>

This paradigm does not reflect the real change of the Persic nominal morphology.

§ If the plurality of a noun is “clear”, it does not take any termination. To emphasize the plurality or to clarify a substantive phrase, the ending °ān is attached to a noun, and sometimes in the later writings the ending °īhā –this later ending is never used as modifying noun.

– When a word goes back to the nominative case.

*asp* ‘horse’ (OPers. *aspa-/ asa-* m., Av. *aspa-* m. ‘horse’, *aspā-* f. ‘mare’): *asp* < Mid. Pers. \**asp* direct (older: nominative case), singular < \**aspah* nom./1 m., \**aspā* f. (Av. *aspō*, *aspas*° nom./1 m., *aspā*\* f.); *asp* < Mid. Pers. \**asp* direct, plural < \**aspā* nom./3 m., \**aspāh* f. (Av. *aspa/ aspāñhō* nom./3 m., *aspā* f.) ; *asp* < Mid. Pers. *aspeh/ aspē* oblique (older : a case older than the nominative), singular < \**aspahyā* gen./(- dative)/1 m., \**aspāyāh* f. (Av. *aspahe* gen./1 m., *aspayā* f.); *aspān* < Mid. Pers. \**aspān* oblique, plural < \**aspānām* gen./3 m.-f. (Av. *aspanām* gen./3 m.-f.).

*mard* or *mird* ‘man, human being’ (OPers. *martiya-* m., Av. *mašya-* m.): *mard* < \**mard* direct, singular < \**martiyah* nom./1 (OPers. *martiya<sub>h</sub>*, Av. *mašyō*); *mard* < \**mard* direct, plural < \**martiyā* nom./3 (OPers. *martiyā*, Av. *mašya*, *mašyā-ca*); *mard* < \**mardē* oblique, singular < \**martiyahyā* gen./1 (OPers. *martiyahyā*, Av. *mašyehe*); *mardān* < \**mardān* oblique, plural < \**martiyānām* gen./3 (OPers. *martiyānām*, Av. *mašyānām*).

*šahr* ‘kingdom, royal power; country, land’ (OPers. *xšaça-* nt., Av. *xšāðra-* nt.): *šahr* < \**šahr* direct, singular < \**xšāðram* nom.-acc./1 nt. (OPers. *xšaçam*, Av. *xšāðrəm*); *šahr* < \**šahr* direct, plural < \**xšāðrā* nom.-acc./3 nt.; *šahr* < \**šahrē* oblique, singular < \**xšāðrahyā* gen./ nt. (Av. *xšāðrahe/ G xšāðrahyā*); *šahrān* < \**šahrān* oblique, plural < \**xšāðrānām* gen./3 nt.

*nām* ‘name’ (OPers. *nāman-*, Av. *nāman-/ naqman-* nt.): *nām* < \**nām* direct, singular < OPers. *nāma/ nāmā* nom./1 (Av. *naqma*); \**nāmanah* gen./1; \**nāmanī* nom./3 (Av. *nāmāni/ G nāmānī*); \**nāmanām* gen./3 (Av. G *nāmanām*).

– When a word goes back to the old accusative case.

*asmān* ‘sky’ (OPers.- Av. *asman-* m. ‘sky, heaven; stone’): \**asmā* nom./1 (cf. Av. *asma*); *asmān* < \**asmānam* acc./1 (OPers. *asmānam*, Av. *asmanəm*); \**asmānah* nom./3; \**asmanām* gen./3.

*juvān* ‘young’ (Av. *yuvan-/ yūn* m.): \**yuvā* nom./1 (Av. *yuva*); *juvān* < \**yuvānam* acc./1 (Av. *yuvānəm*); \**yūnah* gen./1 (Av. *yūnō*); \**yuvānah* nom./3; \**yūnām* gen./3 (Av. *yūnām*).

*kīrb* ‘form, body’ (Av. *kəhrp* f. *kərfš* nom./1, *kəhrpəm/ G kəhrpēm* acc./1, *kəhrpō/ kəhrpahe* gen./1, *kəhrpas-ca* nom./3, *kəhrpām* gen./3).

*āb* ‘water’ (OPers. *āp-/ ap-*, *āpišim* nom./1, Av. *ap-* f., *āfš* nom./1, *āpəm/ apəm* acc./1, *āpō/ apō* gen./1, *āpō* nom./3, *apō* acc./3, *apām* gen./3).

*vīs* ‘settlement; royal house’ (OPers. *viθ-*, *viθam* acc./1, *viθā* inst./1, *viθiyā* loc./1, Av. *vīs-* f., *vīš* nom./1, *vīsəm* acc./1, *vīsa* inst./1, *vīsō* gen./1, *vīsyā* loc./1, *vīsō* acc./3, *vīsqm* gen./3).

*ruvān* ‘soul’ (Av. *urvan-* m., *urva/* G *urvā* nom.1, *urvānəm* acc./1, *urunō* gen./1, *urvānō* nom./3, *urunō* acc./3).

– When both forms exist side by side, i.e. one goes back to the old nominative case, and the other to the accusative case.

*ātaš*, *ādur* ‘fire’ (Av. *ātar-/* *āθr-* m.): *ātaš* < \**ātṛš* nom./1 (Av. *ātarš*); *ādur* < \**ātṛm* acc./1 (Av. *ātrəm/* G *ātrēm*); \**ātrah* gen./1 (Av. *āθrō*).

*vāxš* ‘voice, word; spirit’, *vāz* ‘word, speech’ (Av. *vac-/* *vāc-* m. ‘voice, word’, *vāxš* nom./1, *vācim/* *vācəm* acc./1, *vacō* gen./1, *vācō* nom./3, *vacō* acc./3, *vacqm* gen./3).

*druxš* ‘female demon’, *druz* ‘lie; she-demon’ (Av. *druj-* f., *druxš* nom./1, *drujim/* G *drujəm* acc./1, *drujō* gen./1, *drujō* nom./3, °*drujqm* gen./3).

*nab* ‘grandson’, *nabād* ‘id.’ (OPers. *napāt-*, *napā* nom./1, Av. *napāt-* m., *napā* nom./1, *napātəm* acc./1, *naptō* gen./1).

*āsrō-g*, *āsrōn* ‘priest’ (Av. *āθravan-/* *aθaurun-* m., *āθrava* nom./1, *āθravanəm* acc./1, *aθaurunō* gen./1, *aθravanō* nom./3, *aθaurunqm* gen./3).

– The kinship nouns which go back to the old *r*-stems have three separate forms:

singular, direct	<i>X</i> direct < * <i>Xā</i> nom./1
singular, oblique	<i>Xar</i> or <i>Xār</i> < * <i>Xaram</i> , * <i>Xāram</i> acc./1
plural, direct	<i>Xar</i> or <i>Xār</i> direct < * <i>Xarah</i> , <i>Xārāh</i> nom./3
plural, oblique	<i>Xarān</i> < « artificial » gen./3 of * <i>Xara-/</i> * <i>Xāra-</i>

*pid* ‘father’ (OPers.-Av. *pitar-* m.): *pid* < OPers. *pita* (Av. *pita*, *pitā*); *pidar* < \**pitaram* (Av. *pitarəm/* G *patarēm*); *pidar* < \**pitarah* (Av. G *patarō*); *pidarān*, *pidarūn* (Ps 95.9).

*mād* ‘mother’ (Av. *mātar-* f.): *mād* < \**mātā* (Av. *māta*); *mādar* < \**mātaram* (Av. *mātarəm*); *mādar* < \**mātarah* (Av. G *mātarō* voc./3); *mādarān*.

*brād* ‘brother’ (OPers.- Av. *brātar-* m.): *brād* < OPers. *brātā* (Av. *brāta/* G *brātā*); *brādar* < \**brātaram* (Av. *brātarəm*); *brādar* < \**brātarah*; *brādarān*, *brādarīn* (Ps 121.8). Cf. VZ 30.60 *cōn brad abāg brādarān* ‘like a brother with (his) brothers’.

*xāh* ‘sister’ (Av. *xāṇhar-*f.): *xāh* < \**hūahā* (Av. *xāṇha*); *xāhār* < \**hūahāram* (Parth. *vxār*, Bal. *gvahār*, *gvār*), cf. KAP 10.1 *u-šān ō xāhār ī xēš cōn zan ī ardašēr būd nāmag nibišt* ‘and they wrote a letter to their sister as she was the wife of ArdaSER’; *xāhār* < \**hūahārah*; *xāhārān/* also *xāhān*, cf. AVN 2.1 *avēšān harv haft xāhān* ‘all these seven sisters’, *xārīn* (Parth. *vxārīn*), cf. Man.25 V 6 *vizīdagān brādarān ud xārīn* ‘the Electae –brothers and sisters’.

*duxt* ‘daughter’ (Av. *duγdar-/ G dugədar-* f.): *duxt* < \**duxtā* (Av. *duγda/ G dugədā*, Khwar. *δγd*); *duxtar* < \**duxtaram* (Av. *duγdarəm*); *duxtar* < \**duxtarah*; *duxtarān*.

*pus-ar* ‘son’ has been formed in imitation of *duxt-ar*, *pid-ar*: *pus* < OPers. *puça<sub>h</sub>* nom./1 of *puça-* m. (Av. *puḍra-*, Parth. *puhr*). It seems that the oblique termination *-ar(ān)* does not go back to Mid. Pers. In older texts we find the correct forms *pus*, *pusān*. Cf. AZ 2 *vištāsp šāh abāg pusān ud brādarān ud vāspuhragān ud hāmharzān ī xēs* ‘King Vištāspa with his own sons, brothers, princes and adjutants’; *pus-veh*, *pusān-veh* pr.n.m.

– Some traces of *i-* and *u-*stems exist.

*frazend* ‘offspring, child’ (Av. *frazaiṅti-* f.), *frazendīn* obl. plural (Av. \**frazaiṅtinam* gen./3, Parth. *frazendīn*), cf. the Inscription of Mihr-Nerisah (Firūzābād), 4-5 *mihrnerisah u-š frazendīn āfrīn ēv kunend* ‘let him do blessing for Mihrnerisah and his children’; but also *frazendān* (HKR 77), *frazendūn* (Ps 127.6).

*zan* ‘woman, wife’ / Paz. *zani* (Av. *jaini-* f., Parth. *žan*), *zanīn* obl.pl. (Av. *jaininam*, Parth. *žanīn*), cf. Dk iii M 62 *abar hān ī az zanīn vizinišn ud hān ī aziš pahrēzišn* ‘about those women who are fit to be chosen and those from whom one should keep aloof’; also *zanān* (ASS 15).

*fravard/ fravahr* ‘pre-existent soul’ (OPers. *fravarti-* pr.n.m. ; *fravaši-* f.), *fravardīn* obl. pl. name of the fourth (/ first) month of the year < \**fravartīnām* (Av. *fravašinam*); also *fravahrān* (DD 16.5).

*mog/ muv* ‘Magian, priest’ (OPers. *magu-* m., *maguš* nom./1, *magum* acc./1, Av. *moγu<sup>o</sup>*), *mogūn* obl.pl. < \**magūnām* gen./3, cf. KSM 16 *vas ādurān ud mogūn* ‘many Fires and Magians’; also *mogān* (cf. Syr. ܡܘܓܐܢ ܕܡܘܨܝܐܢ ܕܡܘܓܐܢܝܐܢ), NM I, ii, 13 *mogān ud vehān* ‘the priests and the laity’. In Skt. apart from *magu-* m. we find the thematized *maga-*.

*dušmen* ‘enemy’ (Av. *duš-mainyu-* adj., *ōm* acc./1), *dušmenūn* obl.pl. < \**dušmanjūnām* (Av. *dušmainyunam*), cf. Man.2 II, 135; also *dušmenīn* (Parth. *dušmanīn* NPaik. 36-37/ 33), *dušmenān* (VZ 30.38).