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The Persian Verbal Suffixes *-ān* and *-andeh* (*-andag*)

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Abstract

The present study discusses the differences in usage and meaning of the originally Middle/New Persian present participles in *-andag/-andeh* and in *-ān* respectively. They are illustrated by ample material cited from Manichaean & Pahlavi sources (in the case of Middle Persian) and the epic work of the Šāhnāmeḥ (concerning New Persian). Formally, these participles reflected the Old Iranian active (*-andag/-andeh*) and middle (*-ān*) voice/diathesis. The later Persian distribution of the participles in *-andag/-andeh* and *-ān* respectively appear to be semantically marked and linked to the Old Iranian employment of the active and middle voice.

Keywords

Historical Linguistics, Middle Persian, History of Persian, Syntax, Middle Voice (Diathesis), Participial Constructions, Iranian Languages

INTRODUCTION

As a token of my utmost respect and admiration for Professor Asatrian's scholarly output, the present contribution can be considered as an elaboration on two of his earlier publications, viz. Asatrian 1983; idem 1989, that dealt with the participle *-ān* in West Iranian. I expected that it could have been published a long time ago, but alas, it has not seen the day on paper. For this reason, I would like to have it published in this festive volume. The present Festschrift is an excellent venue to shine a light on one of the many important, sometimes pioneering contributions in Iranology from the person we are celebrating his 60th birthday.

In this study the synchronic and diachronic aspects of two originally participle suffixes, *-ān* and *-andeh* (Middle Persian *-andag*) are being discussed. I shall attempt to account for its usage and distribution and, ultimately, to provide a possible explanation. The explanation may also have implications for other Iranian languages, which often show a similar (morphological) development as Persian.

USAGE AND MEANING

The employment and occurrence of *-ān* and *-andeh* in modern Persian are fairly straightforward. The suffix *-andeh* forms both adjectives, on a quite productive scale, such as *košandeh* ‘lethal, deadly’ (*koštan/koš-* ‘to kill’), *āyandeh* ‘coming’ (*āmadan/āy-* ‘to come’) and, especially agent nouns, e.g. *nevīsandeh* ‘writer’ (*nevīstan/nevīs-*), *rānandeh* ‘driver’ (*rāndan/rān-* ‘to drive (away)’), *konandeh* ‘maker, doer’ (*kardan/kon-* ‘to do, make’). On the other hand, *-ān* used to form present participles, the procedure of which is now defunct. In early Classical Persian, however, *-ān* perhaps enjoyed a similar productivity as *-andeh*. It conveys the following functions, which Lazard 1963: 352 defines as follows:

1. “mot circonstantiel (gérondif)”, e.g. *ğaltān ğaltān bāz zīr mī oftad* ‘while roll- ing down, it fell’
2. predicate, e.g. *ādamī šab-o rūz davān-o pūyān az bahr-i nān ast* ‘day and night man is running and looking for his share of bread’
3. as qualifying adjective (“epithète”), e.g. *šīr-i ğorrān* ‘the roaring lion’.

In the contemporary language these *ān*-formations function almost exclusively as an adverb of manner (cf. Lazard 1992: 168), expressing an action parallel to the principal action as indicated by the main verb, i.e. cf. 1.

In the earlier, Middle Persian period the participle in *-ān* functions primarily as a substantive, according to Brunner 1977: 31 sq. It is either a verbal adjective or a noun comparable to the agentive noun in *-āg*. As a verbal noun the participle may be construed in past impersonal sentences with verb *nwystn* ‘to begin’. The *ān*-participle can refer to the subject of the sentence and to the logical object as well (Henning 1933: 252). The statement is illustrated by the following examples: *’wš’n pyhw’n ’wh gw’nd* ‘and imploringly they shall talk to them’ (M470 V.11); *’wš dwdy xwr ’wd m’h phryz’n nyyšyd* ‘and then she saw the sun and the moon going protectingly’. Asatrian 1983: 53 (repeated 1989: 56 f.) describes the *ān*-participles as having two semantic directions, co-determining the subject. This is explained by the fact that the subject occurs as *the agent of two actions* simultaneously: the main (predicate) and the secondary, associative one (gerund). On the basis of the examples cited above, the *ān*-participles would fulfil the role of *adjunct of as sociative action* (“obstožatel’stva soputstvjuščego dejstvija”) in the sentence. In other words, the employment of *-ān* would be more or less identical to that in modern Persian (see above).

Henning further states that the *ān*-participle can also stand in lieu of a finite verbal form, e.g. *drxt wrzn s’n’n w p’dyz ’šmyr’n* ‘the trees shall produce fruit and

be reckoned as autumn’ (7981 II Vii,6-12/Andreas/Henning I: 190). This is mostly found in constructions with *nwystn* ‘to begin’, which may carry an infinitive as well.

Asatrian (1989: 56) considers the participle *phryz’n* in the sentence *’wš dwdy xwr ’wd m’h phryz’n nyyšyd* to refer to the “object” of *nyyšyd* ‘she saw’, similar to what is found in several (older) languages, e.g. Av. *yaṭ spāδam pairi.auuaēnaṭ dū- raṭ aiiāntam rasmaiio* ‘When he saw from afar the army going in order’ (Yt 5.68). Compare modern English: *I saw him approaching the house*.

Asatrian (1983: 53) adds that these formations have “an active meaning” (presumably contrasting to the middle voice meaning, which it used to have, etymologically speaking).

As for the *-andag* participle in Middle Persian, its occurrence is even rarer, cf. Rastorgueva/Molčanova 1981: 73. The suff. *-andag* forms mainly adjectives, which function independently from the verb: *šāyendag* ‘able, worthy’ (*šāyistan* ‘to be able, worthy’),

bowandag ‘complete, perfect’ (*būdan* ‘to be, become’), *zī(wa)ndag* ‘living, alive’ (*zī(wi)stan* ‘to live’). An occasional substantive is found: *wāyendag* ‘bird’ (*wāy-* ‘to fly’). In striking contrast to modern Persian, the suffix is unproductive in the Middle Persian period. The semantic aspects are hardly addressed, except in Geiger/Kuhn 1895-1904: 145, which merely states that it indicates “a continuous action”.

Since both suffixes, *-ān* and *-andag*, are (originally) participles, we may ask ourselves whether they are interchangeable and differ in usage and meaning, especially in view of the transition from Middle to New Persian.

ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION

The origin of both suffixes is clear. The formations in *-ān* generally derive from the present middle, athematic participle **-āna-* (cf. Geiger/Kuhn 1895-1904: 109 f., II/2: 146; Henning, l.c., Jensen 1931: 154; Rastorgueva/Molčanova 1981: 73). In rare instances they may also go back to the perfect middle formations in **-āna-*, which are not considered here (e.g. MP *wiyābān* ‘deluded, seduced, astray’).

Pers. *-andeh* (MP *-andag*), derives from the present active participle **-ant-*, to which the common suffix **-ka-* has been added. Only a few examples without the attachment of **-ka-* can be found: MP *nyāzand* ‘needy, indigent, beggar’ (verb not attested), *tanand* ‘spider, spinner’ (*tadan* ‘to spin (thread)’), NP *parand* ‘bird’ (more freq. *parandeh*; *parīdan* ‘to fly’), *čarand* ‘(grazing) animal’ (*čarīdan* ‘to graze’), *navand* ‘messenger, steed’ (*navīdan* ‘to shake, to move, especially when rising from a place’) (Vahman/Asatrian 1987: 109). The complex suffix with **-ka-* has become dominant in the Middle Iranian period. In the first place, Parthian, being not only a close sister-language of Persian, but also the language, that has exercised a huge influence, shows a similar pattern. In Parthian, both variants may be found too, e.g. (hapax) *jw’ng* and, much more frequently, *jywndg* ‘living, alive’. In the East Iranian group, Khotanese has a present participle in *-andaa-*, which is usually found in active verbs, although in LKhot. the suffix *-an- daa-* is also connected with middle verbs as well. This is evidently “in accordance with the general tendency to confuse act. and mid. outside the pres. ind.” (Emmerick 1968: 215; cf. Also, Degener 1989: 29). Finally, also Sogdian has a old act. pres. participle **-ant-* with enlarged **-ka-*, which has become (Buddh.) *-ntk*, (Man.) *-ndty*, (Chr.) *-nty* (cf. Gershevitch 1961: 163, § 1068). The corresponding (athematic) middle pres. participle **-āna-* has been continued as *-(y)ny* (older: *-n’k*, *-n’k*), with an additional **-ka-* as well (cf. Gershevitch 1961: 132, § 889 ff). An attempt to clarify their precise use and meaning has not been given to the best of my knowledge.

In the transition from Old to Middle Iranian the originally athematically middle forms in *-ān* entered the system of active participles (Asatrian 1983: 53). Asatrian asserts that “such matter should not come as a surprise, since already in Old Iranian the opposition of active and middle and also active and passive was not precisely expressed, hence the given opinion may be considered as completely probable”.¹ The notion that such an opposition in OIran. was *expressed imprecise* (“nečetko vyraženo”) is not correct though: in most instances, with the

¹ “Takoe položenie ne dolžno vyzyvati udivljenija, poskol’ku uže v drevneiranskom protivopostavljenie aktiva i medija i daže aktiva i passiva bylo nečetko vyraženo, v silu čego dannoe mnenie možno sčitati vpolne verojatnym.”

exception of very late attestations, the usage of the middle voice in Old Iranian languages, such as Avestan is justified.² But returning to Persian *-ān*, it is indeniably true that the convergence of middle and active had taken place at a certain stage of Persian. The question arises whether just like in Khotanese, the opposition may have lingered in the distribution of *-ān* and *-andeh* (*-andag*) being confined to specific verbs.

I. Attestation—the Middle Persian Evidence

In order to address these two questions, we need to look into the attested examples from both the Middle and New Persian stage. Let us first look at the Middle Persian data.³

1. The number of *-ān*-participles is relatively limited, in both Manichaean Persian and Book Pahlavi. Three main categories of verbs can be distinguished:

i. The verb *nwn-* ‘to begin, start’ is usually followed by a participle in *-ān*, e.g.

- ‘*spyz’n* ‘blooming, blossoming’: ... *k’nwnyyd grm’g’cyš prwd wyš’hyd 00 w: drxt* ‘*spyz’n* ‘*wd wh’r* ‘*šmyr’n* ‘*wd h’mšhr* ‘*wšyb’m bw’n* ‘... when, through it, the warmth is unleashed downwards, and (when) the trees are *blossoming*, the spring is being calculated and the whole realm is becoming dawnlike’ (Andreas/Henning I: 191)

- ‘*šmyr’n* ‘being reckoned, calculated’: ... *qš’n nwnyd srd’g’zyš prwd wyš’h’n 00 w: drxt wrzn s’n’n w: p’dyz* ‘*šmyr’n* ‘*wd h’mqyšwr xwrwpr’n bw’n* ‘... when, through it, the cold begins for them to be unleashed downwards and (when) the withering trees are raising up and the autumn is *being calculated* and the whole clime is becoming nocturnal’ (Andreas/Henning I: 190).

- *bw’n* (*bw’n*) ‘being’: ... ‘*wd’c s’r’w s’r nwyst mhy bw’n* ‘... and from year to year she [s.c. soul ?] started *to become bigger*’ (Sundermann 1973: 34 f.); ... *k’nwnyyd grm’g’cyš prwd wyš’hyd 00 w: drxt* ‘*spyz’n* ‘*wd wh’r* ‘*šmyr’n* ‘*wd h’mšhr* ‘*wšyb’m bw’n* ‘... when, through him, the warmth ... down(wards), und (when) the trees are blossoming, the spring is being calculated and the whole realm is *becoming dawnlike*’ (Andreas/Henning I: 191).

- *hmwvc’n* ‘teaching, learning’: ‘*wn ps’c dwdy nwyst* ‘*z’wyn mzn’n* ‘*wd s’ryšt’rn* ‘*b’ryg’n nr’n* ‘*wd m’yg’n* ‘*wyš’nz hmgwng’wzm’h* ‘*wd mrz’yyšn hmwvc’n*... ‘then, again, Greed started *to teach* also these remaining Mazans and Asreshtars ..., men and women, in the same way, the lust and copulation...’ (Andreas/Henning I: 194).

- *kwn’n* ‘doing’: ‘*wd’c dry’b b* ‘*škrwst* ‘*wš nwyst ndr šhr wyn’h kwn’n* ‘and he staggered from the sea and he started *to commit* sins on the land’ (ibid.: 181).

- MMP *xwyr’y’n* ‘preparing’: ‘*wd’wyc zn nwyst h’mr’st xwyr’y’n* ‘And each woman started *to prepare* in the same way’ (Sundermann 1973: 90).

- *xw’h’n* ‘wanting, desiring’: ‘*š nwyst g’m xw’h’n* ‘it [i.e. Greed] began *to wish* for a step’

² Cf. Kellens 1984: 327: “Il [i.e. the pres. mid. participle] est pourvu, par le thème verbal dont il dérive, d’une connotation temporelle et, par la nature de son suffix, d’une signification diathétique [italics are mine]”.

³ The Manichaean examples are mostly cited from texts that have been published. The published Pahlavi texts from which the forms have been cited, are: *Ardā Wirāz Nāmāg* (AW), *Ayādgār ī Wuzurg-Mihr* (Ay.Wuz.Mihr), *Bundahišn hindī* (Bd.), *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (Dād.Dēn), *(H)andarz ī Dānāgān ō Māzdēsān* (Hand.Dan.Mazd.), *(H)andarz ī Dastwārān ō Weh-Dēnān* (Hand.Dastw.), *Kārnāmāg ī Arda(x)šīr ī Pābagān* (KAP), *Mēnōg ī Xrad* (MX), *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* (WZ), the Persian *Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (PR-Dād.Dēn). The Book Pahlavi forms, with a few exceptions, are transcribed according to the system of D. N. MacKenzie.

(Andreas/Henning I: 193).

- *xyz'n* 'standing, rising': *'wd nwyst hynd 'br zmyg xyz'n 'wš'n b'r 'wd myw 'c drxt'n xwrđ* 'They started to rise on the earth. And they ate the harvest and fruits from the trees' (ibid.: 183).

ii. Verbs of Motion

- *dawān/dww'n* 'running': *čiyōn-aš dīd kū pad zōr ud hunar ud nērōg ud šāyend- agīh būd ī xwad hēzag az čāh ul āhixt dawān ō pēš šāhpuhr mad'* 'No sooner did she see this than she, with the strength, skill, and vigor that were purely established (in her), drew up the bucket (full of water) from the well, and went *run- ning* to Shahpuhr' (KAP xvii.13 / Sanjana: 51); *w mrdwhm'n ... dww'n pdyš 'wy šw'nd 'wd nm'c br'nd* 'And the men ... will go *running* before him and pay homage (M473 c,11(36) ff./MacKenzie 1979: 504 f.).

- *rawān* [SGYTWN-'n] 'current, running': *ēn ruwān ī ōy druwand mard kē pad gētīg sar ud rōy ī xwēš ud dast ud šabīg ud abārīg rēmanīh ī handām ī xwēš pad āb ī ēstādag ī wuzurg ud xānīg <ī>* *rawān was šust...* 'This is the soul of that wicked man who in the world often washed his head and face and hands and shirt and other filthy <parts> of his body in large pools or *running* water ...' (Vahman 1986: 151, 209).

- *tāzān/tz'n* 'running': *ud pas āb-kirb ud urwar-kirb pad ēwēnag ī bōyestān homā- nāg be ēstēd <ī>* *čašmag čašmag awiš tāzān <ud> az-iš frāz tazēnd...* 'Et la forme d'eau et la forme de plante sont semblables à une sorte d'(endroit) semblable à un jardin dans lequel coulent différentes sources, et d'où s'écoulent...' (Gignoux/ Tafazzoli 1993: 110 f.); *w'd 'b w '<dwr ...> tz'n* 'wind, water and <fire will cease ?> *running*' (damaged, M482 a a V.1(168) f./MacKenzie 1979: 508 f.).

- *kešān/kš'n* 'drawing, pulling': *ēg-im dīd ruwān ī mard-ē kē kešān ō dušox nayēnd ud hamē zanēnd* 'Then I saw the soul of a man whom they were *dragging* to Hell and continuously beating.' (Vahman 1986: 151, 209).

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iii. Verbs of Emotion

- *brāmān* 'weeping': *u-m dīd ruwān ī zan-ē kē griyān ud brāmān hamē āmad <ud> šud* 'And I saw the soul of a woman who was coming and going, crying and *weeping*' (Vahman 1986: 155, 210 f.).

- *griyān/gryy'n* 'weeping': *'wd gryy'n 'c pyšyh <'wz>yđ hynd* (Sundermann 1981: 24.3); *ēn ruwān ī ōy druwand zan kē kōdak ī xwēš niyāz <ud> gursagīh rāy griyān hišt* 'This is the soul of that wicked woman who left her own child crying in need and hunger.' (Vahman 1986: 151, 209); *u-m dīd ruwān ī zan-ē kē griyān ud brāmān hamē āmad <ud> šud* (ibid.: 155, 210 f.).

- *garzān* 'se lamentant': *u-š Gōšurwan az pas garzān hamē šud u-š wāng burd kū-t sālārīh ī pad dāmān pad kē be hišt* 'et Gōšurvan allait derrière lui en *se lamentant*, et lui cria: « À qui as-tu abandonné la souveraineté sur les créatures ? »' (Gignoux/Taffazoli 1993: 36, f.).

- *nālān* 'crying, lamenting': *u-m dīd ruwānān kē-šān azēr ī pāy <ī> gāwān abgand ēstād hēnd pad srū zad ud aškomb darrīd ud astuxwān be škast ud nālān būd hēnd* 'And I saw the souls of those who were thrown under the hooves of cows. <The cows> gored them with their horns, tore their bellies and broke their bones, and they were *lamenting*' (Vahman 1986: 165, 213).

iv. The other Verbs that do not belong to the aforementioned Categories are:

- *'stw'n* 'professing, pledging oneself to': *'wd pd tw n'm 'stw'n hwm (m'm ws'n oo wc'rm'n 'c my'n bzd'n 'wm'n 'c my'n 'bd'g'n 'bd'c)* 'And we are confessing ourselves to Thy name. (Separate us from the midst of the bad and redeem us from the midst of the attackers!)' (Andreas/Henning II:

315).

- *arzān/ 'rz'n* 'valuable, worthy': *mowbedān mowbed guft kū: anōšag bawēd, ō kāmag rasēd, ōy kē pad gyān ī xwadāyān kōxšēd marg-arzān ud be ōzanišn* 'The mobed [of mobeds] said: "May you be immortal! May you attain to your goal! She who strives after the life of her lord is worthy of death (deserves to die) and should be killed"' (KAP xiv:16): *čē agar man marg-arzān ham ēn frazand ī andar škamb dāram pad marg-arzān abāyēd dāstan?* 'because if I am worthy of death, this offspring that I have in my womb should not also be regarded as worthy of death.' (KAP xiv:20); *passim*.

- *drāyān* 'chattering, (the sin of) speaking while eating': *ēn ruwān ī ōy druwand mard kē-š pad gētīg Hordād ud Amurdād āb ud urwar drāyān jūd ud a-dādīhā xward ud wāz nē dāšt...* 'This is the soul of that wicked man who while *chattering* devoured the water and the plant of Hōrdād and Amurdād, ate unlawfully and did not keep the bāj ...' (Vahman 1986: 125, 203).

- *frāmōšān* 'forgetting': *tan hangār kū-m widerēd kār ī gētīg, ān ī grāmīg nāzuk kālbod barēnd pad gyāg frāmōšān, ānōh an-ayād bē nihēnd* 'Oh body, consider: when the worldly affairs pass me by, they carry the body that is dear and tender to the place, being oblivious, there they shall put [the body] without remembrance' (*Hand.Dan.Mazd.* 16).

- ? *qxs'n* 'bending, turning'?: *<qyrb>kr'n qxs'n d'hw'<n> d'd* 'the Pious [pl.] gave *bending(ly)* presents?' (Henning 1943: 62).

- ? *nišīnān* [YTYBWN'n] 'sitting': *ka-š ranjagīhātar ka-z hamāg nišīnān gowēd ā-z nē tar-menišnīhā* 'if (it is) more troublesome (still) for him even if one recites everything *sitting*, even then (it is) not a disrespect (ful act)' (Williams 1990: 207 (1), 98 (2)).

- *swc'n* 'burning': *swcyšn 'y xyšmyn <'nd>r <'>brg w: xwr's'n 'yrg w: x<wr>nwr <'w>d b'l'y w: zwpryh <phn'y> w: dr'z'y swc'n rw'd* 'And that raging fire, that will go *burning* in north and east, south and west, and in the height and depth <breadth> and length...' (MacKenzie 1979: 514 f.).

- ? *wys'n* 'coming to rest'?: *'wd xwrxšyd 'wd m'h 'wd yzd'n hsp'n 'wd wys'n bw'd* 'and the sun and the moon and gods shall come *to rest*' (Andreas/Henning I: 19)

- *widerān* 'passing away, dying': *ka ham zamān widerān bawēd ēg-iš bīm nēst...* 'if he *dies* at the same time, even then there is no fear ...' (Williams 1990: 223 (1), 107 (2)).

2. As mentioned above, the number of *-andag*-participle derivatives is even more limited.

i. The most frequently attested forms are *šāyendag* 'able, worthy' (*šāyistan/ šāy-* 'to be able, worthy') and *zīndag/jywndg* 'living, alive':

- *šāyendag* 'able, worthy': *pad kas-iz kas-afsōs mā kunēd čē afsōs-gar mardafsōs- bar zad-xwarrah, nišīrīdag bawēnd u-šān frazand ī šāyendag ī arteštār kam bēd.* 'Do not make mock of anyone at all; for the man who mocks will himself be mocked, will lose his dignity (khwarrah) and be execrated; and rarely indeed will he have a *decent* or warlike son.' (*Cid.Hand.Por.* 43; Zaehner: 26); *šāyendag ka ō a-šāyendagīh rasēd ud pādyāwand ka ō a-pādyāwandīh rasēd, ummēdwār ka ō an-ummēdīh rasēd ud xwad-dōšag ka ō frazām ī kār mad bawēd.* '[He is] *worthy* when he reaches worthlessness and strong when he reaches weakness, hopeful when he reaches hopelessness and self-indulgent

⁴ The meaning is not given by Henning, l.c. Perhaps it is an inchoative pres. formation of **kauč-* 'to bend, hang on, suspend', cf. Oroshorvi *kaxs-/kaxt* 'to curl up, turn' (Morgenstierne 1973: 42a).

⁵ The meaning is not entirely certain.

when he has come to the conclusion of the work' (Ay.Wuz.Mihr 158); *passim*

- *zīndag/jywndg* 'living, alive': 'st'wysn 'w tw gryw jywndg q'dwš k'dwš bg m'ry m'ny 'Praise to Thee, *Living* Self, holy, holy god, my Lord Mani' (Waldschmitt/Lentz 1926: 126); *ky šhyd* 'w tw 'st'w'd 'wnglywn jywndg pscg 'w tw 'st'yšn jyryft yzd'n 'Who can praise thee, *Living* Gospel? The wisdom of the gods is fitting for thy praise' (Sims-Williams 1989: 330 f.); *passim*.

ii. The remaining examples are:

- *wārendag* 'raining, rainy' (*wārīdan/wār-* 'to rain'); *ud hast ī gyāg ud rāyēnāg ud nišēm ud awestām ī abr ī wārendag* 'there are some which are the place and vent, the resting-place and support of the *rainy* cloud' (MX 56.5/ West 1885: 98).

- *wāyendag* 'air-(borne); bird' (= JP w'ynd' ; wāy- 'to fly'): *ud harw ēwēnag tōm ī hamāg dām ud dahišn ī ohrmazd ī xwadāy az mardōm ud stōr ud gōspand ud wāyendag, harw čē wehtar ud pad-wizēntar, ō ānōy burd ēstēd* 'And every species and seed of all the creatures and creations of Ohrmazd, the lord, whatever is better and more select of man and beast of burden, of cattle and *flying* creatures is brought thither' (MX 62.16/ West 1885: 109); ... *sidīgar ēwēnag ān ī panj-an-gurāg panj<ag>, kē az awēšān sag meh, mušk farxaw nidom; čahārom ēwēnag wāyendag, kē az awēšān sēn ī sē angurāg meh, ud tarw nidom* 'The third genus is that of the five-dividing paw, of which the dog is the largest, and the civet-cat the least. The fourth genus is the *flying*, of which the griffin of three natures is the largest, and the chaffinch the least.' (*Bd.* 13.39, l. 13 ff./ West 1880: 47); etc.

- ? *xdyng* 'injuring': context unclear (Sundermann 1981: 175b).

3. Other *-andag*-formations also have a corresponding *ān*-participle:

- *bowandag* 'complete, entire' (verb. *būdan/baw-* 'to be(come)'); *paywast-axwīh bowandag-ham-wēnišnīh spurīgīhā-dānišnīh ud purr-xwarrahīh ī ān haftān fra- šagird-kardārān ēdōn abd kū az kišwar be ō kišwar har(w) ēk ō 6 āgenēn ēdōn ham-pursēnd ...* 'The like-mindedness, perfect agreement, *complete* knowledge and gloriousness of these seven renovation-makers are so wonderful that they each consult with the six others, from continent to continent ...' (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998: 108 f.); *pas pad dādīg abāz zanišnīh rāy bārīgīhā be ō dēwān wēmārīh ud margīh be ō dām ī yazdān ašōgān bēšazišnīh zīndagīh ī bowandag* 'After-wards, on account of lawfully smiting (i.e. druz) back, (he gave) subtly the sick-ness and death to the demons and healing and *perfect* life to the righteous crea- tures of *yazdān*.' (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998: 136 f.); *ēk ēn kū ān ī ōstīgāntom gōhr ī dēw [ī] xwad ast tārīkīh ī-š wattarīh owōn bowandag ī dēwān-iz az tom tōmagān xwānānd* 'One is this, that the strongest substance of the demon, which itself is darknessm (is) his evil; so, *all* the demons are called those of the dark families' (Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998: 136 f.); *passim*.

- *griyendag* 'lamenting': *u-š guft kū ō garrānāg ud wāng ī xar wāng ī šagr wāng ī uštar ī dēnōdag wāng ī griyendag wāng ī mard ī ahlaw...* 'And he said: '(It is sim- ilar) to thunder and the cry of an ass, and the cry of a lion, and the cry of a fe- male camel, the cry of the *lamenting* voice of the righteous man ...' (Williams 1990: 145 (1), 62 (2)).

- *swendg* 'burning': *ky prystynd 'dwr swendg 'c 'ydr xwd d'nynd...* 'who tend the *burning* fire, from here they self (can) acknowledge ...' (Müller 1904: 94).

- *waxšendag* 'blazing (fire)': *ōy ī gētīg-ārāy ud mēnōg-wišōb mard andar pādīfrāh ī stōš ēdōn tabāhīhēd čiyōn ātaxš ī waxšendag ka+š āb abar rasēd.* 'he who is a world-arranging and spirit-destroying man is as injured, in the punishment of the three nights ..., as a *raging* fire when water

comes upon it' (MX 21.10/West 1885: 51).

- *xyzyndg* 'crawling around': ... *wd ky xyzyndg 'wd dryst 'n'nd* '... and who/which [s.c. Mazandemons ?] were crawling around and healthy' (previous passages damaged, partially restored, Sundermann 1973: 40).

4. Some observations.

We can make the following observations on the basis of the attested forms. In the first place, the participle in *-ān* is used in certain syntactical constructions, viz. as predicate complement of *niwist* 'to begin' and auxiliary verbs, such as *būdan* 'to be', or *rawastan* 'to go', as already observed by Asatrian and Henning. This should not surprise us, since the present (middle) participle is used with these comparable auxiliary verbs to express continued duration, similar to, for instance OP DNb15 *uvaipašiyahyā daršam xšayamna ami* 'I am ruling very much over my own possessions', Vedic RV 2.40.5 *viśvam anyó abhicákṣāṇa eti* 'the other (Pūsan) goes on watching the universe' (cf. Delbrück 1888: 390 f.). The corresponding *andag*-participle appears to lack the function of predicate in most instances. Secondly, it is striking that in the category of motion and emotion the participle in *-ān* is most frequently found. However, there are a few corresponding *andag*-participles found in this category, viz. *'dwr swcndg* 'the burning fire', *griyendag wāng* 'the lamenting voice' and *ātaxš ī waxšendag* 'the raging fire'. In these attestations the participle refers to an inanimate noun. Another interesting aspect is that the participle of *widerdan* 'to pass away, die' is in *-ān*, but the verb *zī(wi)stan* 'to live' has a corresponding participle in *-andag* / NP *-andeh*.

How do we account for this distribution? The only way to explain this is that it depends on the diathesis applied, in other words, the middle must have been a functional category at an earlier stage. The tell-tale signs are there.

The middle voice that *-ān* used to express, emphasizes the subjectivity of the internal state or the action of the qualified.⁶ Certain semantic categories of verbs tend to be attested in this voice. Spontaneous processes, such as dying, tend to be in the middle voice. In Avestan the verb for 'to die', *√mar-*, is attested exclusively in the middle voice, whereas 'to live', *√juua-*, only in the active. This is mirrored in Vedic (pres. 3sg. *mriyáte*, but act. *jīvati*) and other IE languages (Latin 1sg. *morior* vs. act. *vivō*). It is also understandable that with an *inanimate* subject, *voice* is referred to by an (originally) active participle in *-and(ag)*: subjectivity is not likely to be emphasized. It is worth citing Gonda 1979: 102: "The actives 'govern' objects denoting ideas with which one generally speaking has no normal, personal or intimate relations". Another case is *arzān/šāyendag* 'worthy': the application of the middle voice to *arzān* is clear, since *arzān* refers to the *intrinsic* value of an object, whereas *šāyendag* alludes to the *external* appearance (or be- haviour).

It is perhaps no coincidence that *'stw'n* 'praising, praying to, professing/ pledging oneself to' and *framōšān* 'forgetting' do not have a corresponding *-and-* (*ag*). The Avestan

⁶ Cf. Lyons 1969: 373. This study does not intend to give an exhaustive survey of all the categories and functions that the middle voice may entail. It suffices here to mention two notable publications, Stempel 1996 (from an IE perspective) and Kemmer 1993 (from a typological point of view), some of the definitions and examples have been adopted here. In addition, I also need to mention the standard work of Gonda 1979 on the middle voice in (Rig-)Vedic, which has been quoted in several instances.

cognate of 'stw'n, āstao- 'to profess oneself to, pledge oneself to', has no active forms either (i.e. they are *media tantum*): the use of the middle refers to the interested motive from the subject (cf. Gonda 1979: 164 f.). Compare, for instance, Lat. *fateor* 'I admit, acknowledge, profess', which has passive endings only (i.e. a *deponens*). As for *framōšān*, the Vedic correspondence √*marṣ-* 'to forget' is almost exclusively attested in the middle voice: the process of 'forgetting' is usually something that cannot be verified factually or objectively (i.e. bears no external relation or effect). Outside Indo-Iranian, we may cite the Lat. *deponens obliviscor* 'I forget' as comparison.

The attestation of numerous *ān*-participles denoting (strong) emotion and movement should not come as a surprise either. This is in line with a (universal) tendency to express emotion and (translational) motion in the middle (or "passive") voice, which, after all, expresses the feedback to the subject, being in such a state. This is the reason that Av. *garəz-* 'to lament' and its Skt. cognate *garh-* 'to complain' are *media tantum*. A prime example of a verb of movement is Ir.

*čyaw- 'to go',⁷ which is attested exclusively in the middle in Gatha-Avestan

(pres. ind. 3sg. *šauuaitē* Y 29.3, subj. 1sg. *šauuāi* Y 33.8) and its Indo-Aryan sister language Vedic *cyav-*. The old (Indo-European) middle character of this root is supported by the Greek cognate *seúomai* (*medium tantum*) 'I am in commotion, rush to' and probably also Armenian *č'ogan* 'they went'. Natural to the middle, these verbs are generally intransitive, being closely associated with the subject.

An interesting shift in meaning shows *bowandag*, which derives from *būdan* 'to be, become'. The corresponding *ān*-participle *bw'n* is, as expected, durative with the meaning 'becoming, being', whereas *bowandag* means 'complete'. Such a difference may be explained by the voice applied, for which we can compare Greek mid. pres. *téllomai* 'I come into being, am', fut. *télomai* 'I shall be' vs. (act. pres.) *téllō* 'I fulfil, accomplish'. The focus of *bowandag* is similar to that of *šāyendag*, not internal but rather external: the *result* of the "durative state" is envisaged.⁸

Although verbs of speaking do not necessarily entail the middle voice, *drāyān* 'chattering, (the sin of) speaking while eating' is a special case, as it draws the attention to the (unlawful) state in which the subject is.

In the other cases a justification for the application of the middle voice is not apparent. The passage in which *swc'n* 'burning' is attested is damaged, whereas the meaning or the form of the other instances is disputable.

II. Attestation—the New Persian Evidence

Let us now look at the New Persian forms. I have limited myself to one single corpus, viz. the *Šāhnāmeḥ*, since it is the largest and oldest (preserved) source of early New Persian

⁷ Remarkably enough, as to the Old Persian cognate *šiyav-*, only the active endings have been attested. Although it is only natural that an active voice arises in due course, in this case, it may also refer to a different aspect as well: 'to set, go forth', cf. Greek *kínomai* 'to move [intr.]', act. *kíneō* 'to set in motion'. Not the actual, translational movement is envisaged, but the start or commencement of the movement.

⁸ In the case of Gr. *téllō*, the factitive-transitive result is due to the shift of the emphasis to the goal, viz. the *object*.

literature. Many more *ān*- and *andeh*-formations can be found in the Šāhnāmeḥ epic than ever before. Moreover, we find a substantial number of *-ān/-andeh* “doublets”.

1. The following *-ān* formations are attested, as can be gleaned from Wolff 1935:

i. from verbs of motion:

- *bazān* ‘blowing’
- *čamān* ‘treading’
- *čarān* ‘grazing’
- *gorāzān* ‘entering’
- *jahān* ‘galloping’
- *rīzān* ‘flowing away, pouring out’
- *šetābān* ‘hastening’
- *tāzān-tar* ‘running faster’

ii. from verbs of emotion:

- *biryān* ‘roasted, tormented’
- *danān* ‘boiling with emotion (joy, esp. anger)’
- *geryān* ‘weeping’
- *jūšān* ‘boiling [emotionally]’
- *larzān* ‘shivering, shaking’
- *navān* ‘lamenting’
- *pīčān* ‘twisting [especially in emotional sense], tormenting’
- *xandān* ‘laughing’
- *xorūšān* ‘shouting’

iii. from verbs of activity:

- *konān* ‘doing’

2. The formations in *-andeh* are much more diverse:

i. from verbs of motion:

- *borandeh* ‘carrying, carrier’
- *pāyandeh* ‘firm, steady’

ii: from verbs of giving:

- *baxšandeh* ‘generous, bestowing’
- *dehandeh* ‘giver’
- *parastandeh* ‘serving, servant’

iii. from verbs of miscellaneous activities:

- *porsandeh* ‘asker’
- *bīnandeh* ‘eye’ (lit. ‘looker’)
- *parvarānandeh* ‘feeder, nourisher’

1. In addition there are also some verbs that derive both formations.

i. seven “doublets” denote movement:

- *davān* ‘running’ / *davandeh* ‘runner, messenger’
- *gardān* / *gardandeh* ‘turning to, moving’
- *gorīzān* ‘fleeing’ / *gorīzandeh* ‘escaping, escaper’
- *jahān* / *jahandeh* ‘jumping, galloping’
- *jombān* ‘moving [intr.]’ / *jombandeh* ‘mover’
- *pūyān* ‘walking, running’ / *pūyandeh* ‘walking (animal); messenger’
- *ravān* ‘flowing’ / *ravandeh* ‘going, messenger’

ii. The remaining participles are:

- (*tīḡ-e*) *borrān* / *borrandeh* ‘cutting (sword)’
- *damān* ‘screaming, loud’ / *damandeh* ‘screaming, snorting, rushing, hurrying’
- *gūyān* / *gūyandeh* ‘talking, speaking’
- *ḡorrān* / *ḡorrandeh* ‘roaring’
- *roxšān* ‘shining’ / *roxšandeh* ‘lighting up’
- *tābān* / *tābandeh* ‘shining’

- *xorūšān/xorūšandeh* ‘shouting’

4. In adjectival constructions both forms occur. In many instances, there is no apparent distinction in usage between the *ān*-formation and its correspondence in *-andeh*. The active meaning which the *andeh*-formations originally possessed may have survived, being increasingly employed as agentive noun, whereas the middle meaning is sometimes clear or understandable, expressing the intimate connection between the subject (or qualified noun) and the qualifying *ān*-participle, to the exclusion of a resultative, external effect.

We can illustrate this distinction with some doublet forms. It is impossible to treat all the attested forms from the Šāhnāmeḥ, which would go far beyond the scope of this article. A representative selection of forms has been given, which may nevertheless give us some good indications of its meaning and employment though.

Since I have principally relied on Wolff 1935, Mohl’s edition of the Šāhnāmeḥ is the reference in quoting passages. For an easier tracking of the passages, I have also added the annotation of the two most recently published editions (if present or traceable): Bertel’s and Motlaḡ. Some of the passages may have to be deleted or revised as the result of the new findings. But as far as I can assess, no significant deviation in the use of the participles in *-ān* and *-andeh* in these, probably later interpolations, can be noted.

a. (*tīḡ-e*) *borrān* / *borrandeh* ‘cutting (sword)’:

i. *keh man tīḡ-e borrān nagīram bedast / garāmī tan-ū na-xvāham be-xast* ‘je ne prendrai pas une épée *tranchante*, je ne veux pas blesser son noble corps’ (Goš- tāsp 3364 /Mohl 4: 322/516 f.;⁹ Motlaḡ 5: 373, l. 974;¹⁰ Bertel’s VI: 276, fn.¹¹).

ii. *zabāneš be-kardār borrandeh tīḡ čō daryā bar-ū kaf čō bārandeh mīḡ* ‘...sa langue qui était comme une épée *qui déchire*, comme la mer qui écume, comme le nuage qui versa la pluie.’ (Nowzar 96/Mohl 1: 196/308; Motlaḡ 1: 291, l. 84;¹² Bertel’s II: 11, 84).

In these passages the middle/active distinction of *borrān* and *borrandeh* is clearly illustrated. In the first passage the quality of the sword, *tīḡ*, is stressed, i.e. having the ability to cut. In the second passage the sword is compared to the tongue of Pašang who has just offended Afrasiyāb with his words: the effect, which Pašang’s tongue had on Afrasiyāb is thus like the cutting effect of a sword. Compare MP *arzān* vs. *šāyendag*.

b. *davān* ‘running’ / *davandeh* ‘runner, messenger’.

i. *davān mādar āmad sū-ye marḡzār / čōnīn goft bā mard-e zenhārdār* ‘... la mère arriva *en courant* au jardin, et dit au protecteur ...’ (Zohhāk 142/Mohl 1: 41/58; Motlaḡ 1: 63, l. 136; Bertel’s 1: 58, l. 133).

⁹ The page number after the slash refers to the French translation of Mohl 1876-1877. The translation merely serves as a reference of discussion.

¹⁰ To be revised to: *keh man tīḡ-e hendī nagīram bedast / sar-e tīr-o zeh tā bebandam bedast*.

¹¹ To be revised to: *keh man tīḡ-e hendī nagīram bedast / čō sāzam bar-ān kūh(e)peykar nešast*.

¹² Second *mesra* ‘: *čō daryā del-ū kaf čō bārandeh mīḡ*.

ii. *bedeh dād man k'āmade-stam davān / hamī nālam az to beranj-e ravān* 'Rends- moi justice; je suis venu *en hâte*, et c'est toi que j'accuse dans l'amertume de mon âme.' (Zohhāk 212/Mohl 1: 44/62; Motlağ 1: 67, fn.; Bertel's 1: 62, fn.).

- *davān āmad az bahr-e āzār-e tān / hamān ārzūmand dīdār-e tān* '... *accourt* au- devant de vous à cause de votre affliction; et dans son désir de vous voir...' (Fereydūn 467/Mohl 1: 77/117; Motlağ 1: 117, l. 444; Bertel's I: 100, l. 351).

- *čo dīdand pormāyegān rū-ye šāh / peyādeh davān bar gereftand rāh* 'Lorsque les princes illustres virent la face du roi, ils s'avancèrent vers lui à pied et *en courant*' (Fereydūn 258/Mohl 1: 69/102; Motlağ . 1: 104, l. 241).

The participle *davān* often occurs with *āmadan* 'to come'. This combination is syntactically comparable to the construction with MMP *nwystn* 'to begin, start'. We may notice the actual running in which state the qualified subject is taking place.

Compare these passages to the following instances.

- *saxonhā ze har gūne-ī sāxtand / hayūnī tagāvar berūn tāxtand // davandeh hamī tāxt tā nīmrūz / čo āmad bar-e zāl-e gītī ferūz* 'Ayant ainsi considéré la question sous toutes ses faces, ils expédièrent un dromadaire de course. *Le messenger* s'élança et courut jusqu'à ce qu'il eût atteint le Nimrouz; et lorsqu'il fut arrivé devant Zal la lumière du monde' (Key Kāvūs 68/Mohl 1: 236/388; Motlağ . 2: 6, l. 62; Bertel's II: 79, l. 63).

- *gar eydūn keh rāy-e šekār āyadet vo yūz-e davandeh bekār āyadet* 'si tu as envie d'aller à la chasse, et si tes guépards *aux pieds légers* sont prêts ...' (Key Kavūs 556/Mohl 2: 26/39; Motlağ . 2: 104, l. 18¹³).

- *bey-ārīd goftā yekī pīl-e narr navandī davandeh čo morģī be-parr* '... disant: "Amenez un éléphant mâle *qui coure* comme un oiseau volant à tire d'aile"' (Goštāsp 986/Mohl 4: 222/353; Motlağ . 5: 168, l. 975¹⁴; Bertel's VI: 132, l. 971¹⁵).

The formation *davande* in these passages acts as an agent, whose external behaviour is the main focus.

c. *gūyān / gūyandeh*

i. *beraftand gūyān be īvān-e šāh čo xoršīd bar čarx-e gom kard rāh* 'En parlant ainsi ils arrivèrent au palais du roi au moment où le soleil disparaissait de la voûte du ciel.' (Behrām Gūr 959/Mohl 5: 316/506; Bertel's VII: 349, l. 778¹⁶).

- *hamī rānad gūyān be-moškū-ye xvīš be-sū-ye botān-e samanbūy-e xvīš* 'Il alla *en causant* jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât dans l'appartement de ses femmes, auprès de ses idoles au parfum de jasmin.' (Behrām Gūr 1137/Mohl 5: 324/518; Bertel's VII: 359, l. 951).

- *dabīrān-o zarvān-o dastūr-e šāh / beraftand yek rūz gūyān be-rāh // saxon raft čandī ze afsūn-o band / ze jādū-vo āharman-e porgazand* 'Un jour les scribes, Zerwan et le Dastour du roi cheminaient sur la route *en conversant*; on parla longuement d'incantation et de sorcelleries, de magiciens et d'Ahriman le

¹³ To be revised to: *gar eydūnak rāy-e šekār āyadet / keh yūz-e šekārī be kār-e āyadet*.

¹⁴ Second *mesra*': *davandeh navandī čo morģī be-parr*.

¹⁵ Second *mesra*': *davandeh parandeh čo morģī be-parr*.

¹⁶ Second *mesra*': *yekī goft xoršīd-e gom kard rāh*.

pernicieux’ (Nūšervān 1700/Mohl 4: 151/238; Bertel’s VIII: 151, l. 1648¹⁷).

ii. *to nīz āfarīn kon keh gūyandeh-ī / bed-ū nām-e jāvīd-e jūyandeh-ī* ‘Rends-lui hommage, toi *qui sais parler* et qui cherches par lui un nom immortel’ (Āgāz 212/Mohl 1: 13/16; Motlağ . 1: 17, l. 185; Bertel’s I: 26, l. 203).

- *čonīn goft gūyandeh bā pehlevān / keh az kāk-e mehrāb rowšan ravān // paras- tandegān-rā sū-ye golestān / ferastad hamī māh-e kābūlestān* ‘Celui à *qui il avait parlé* lui répondit: “Ce sont des esclaves que la lune du Kaboulistan aura envoyées du palais de Mihrab à l’âme brillante, dans le jardin de roses.”’ (Manūčehrī 505/Mohl 1: 128/197 f.; Motlağ . 1: 191, l. 395;¹⁸ Bertel’s I: 164, l. 423¹⁹).

- *bedīšān čonīn goft k’īman šavīd / ze gūyandeh goftār-e bad mašnavīd* ‘Ayez con- fiance et ne croyez pas ceux *qui vous diraient* de mauvaises paroles’ (P. Key Xos- row 1475/Mohl 4: 65/102; Motlağ . 4: 263, l. 1446; Bertel’s V: 321, l. 1434) etc.

Similar to *davān/davandeh*, *gūyān* is often constructed with *raftan* ‘to go’ or *āmadan* ‘to come’: *gūyān* refers to the state in which the subject occurs, viz. the state of talking (to each other in a plural subject). *Gūyandeh* on the other hand indicates the external action, which is the uttering of *goftār* ‘words, speech’.

d. *roxšān/roxšande* ‘shining’

Boths formations are attested abundantly. Again, it is not always comprehensible or explicable why *ān*-participle or its correspondence in *-ande* is used. The epithetic employment of *roxšān* and *roxšandeh* is rather fixed or stereotypical. In several passages we may provide a plausible explanation for a particular usage, especially if the context is clear.

Compare the following passages:

i. In several passages the use and meaning of *roxšān* clearly transpire:

- *yekī manzarī pīš-e īvān-e xvīš / barāvord čūn taxt-e roxšān-e xvīš // be-meydān šodandī do dāmād-e ūy / bey-ārāstandī del-e šād-e ūy* ‘[Le Kaisar] fit construire devant son palais une tribune qui ressemblait à son trône *brillant*; ses deux gendres se rendirent au cirque, et réjouirent son cœur enchanté’ (Lohrāsp 607/Mohl 4: 166/265; Bertel’s VI: 45, l. 599).

The fact that the portico of the Qeysar is compared to his shining throne does not carry any further consequences nor does the shining throne exhibit any external relations.

- *konūn mī gosārīm tā čāk-e rūz / čo roxšān šavad tāj-e gītī forūz // naxostīn be- šamšīr šīr afganīm / ham ān aždahā-ye delīr afganīm* ‘Nous allons boire jusqu’à l’aube du jour, et quand la couronne du soleil qui éclaire le monde *brillera*, nous abattons d’abord les lions avec l’épée, nous abattons ces vaillants dragons..’ (Behrām Gūr 1310/Mohl 5: 331/530; Bertel’s VII: 369, l. 1120).

¹⁷ Second *mesra*’: *beraftand yek rūz pūyān be rāh*.

¹⁸ Second *mesra*’: *ferastad hamī māh-e kāvūlestān*.

¹⁹ Second *mesra*’: *ferastad hamī māh-e kābāstān*.

The sun, *tāj-e gītī-forūz* ‘the crown, the world-enlighter’, refers to a state of *roxšān* ‘shining’, which, again, does not further affect the next (planned) actions, described in the subsequent line: *čo būdī sar-e sāl-e now farvardīn keh roxšān šodī dar del az hūr-e dīn* ‘Lorsque la nouvelle année commençait au mois de Ferwer- din, quand le soleil réveillait la foi dans les âmes’ (Xosrow Parvīz 3280/Mohl 7: 139/225; Bertel’s IX: 197, l. 3167). The effect of the “sunny” faith, *hūr-e dīn*, which is put on the *del* ‘heart’ of the subject has no further implications for the subsequent event or action, whereas the beginning of the New Year, *sar-e sāl-e now*, does affect the subsequent action.²⁰

ii. In contrast, the externality of the corresponding *roxšandeh* is noticeable:

- *ferastādeh āmad bar-e zan čo gard / saxonhā-ye xosrow hame yād kard // zan-e šīr az ān nāmehe-e šahr(e)yār / čo roxšandeh gol šod be-vaqt-e bahār* ‘Le messenger alla rapidement, comme la poussière, auprès de Gordieh, et lui répéta toutes les paroles de Khosrou. La lettre du roi rendit cette lionne rayonnante comme une rose au printemps.’ (Xosrow Parvīz 3112/Mohl 7: 132/213; Bertel’s IX: 186, l. 3002).

The flower *shedding* light in the spring season, which is compared to the (external!) effect of the letter on the king Xosrow, is emphasized.

- *čo goftār-e bahrām bešenīd šāh bexandīd-o roxšandeh šod pīšgāh* ‘A ces paroles de Bahrām, le roi sourit et le trône resplendit.’ (Hormozd 451/Mohl 6: 291/467; Bertel’s VIII: 340, l. 434).

The effect of the laughing of king Hormozd is that the throne *gives light*, rather than *being alight*.

- *jahān tāze gašt az sar-e tāj-e ūy / abā gorg-o mīš āb xordī be-jūy // az ān taxt-e roxšandeh šādān šodand / hame kas bar-ū āfarīn xwānand* ‘Le monde fut rajeuni par sa couronne, la brebis et le loup s’abreuverent au même ruisseau; ce trône brillant répandit le bonheur, et tous les hommes le comblèrent de bénédictions...’ (Qobād P. 387/Mohl 6: 79/121; Bertel’s VIII: 51, fn.).

The throne has regained its glory thanks to Kasrā’s ascension to the throne. In return, the shining and the glory of the throne thus results in the rejuvenation of the world, happiness and blessings to the people.

CONCLUSION

In short, the formal origin of the participle suffixes *-andag* (*-andeh*) and *-ān* is clear, viz. from the present active **-ant-* + **-ka-* and middle **-āna-* respectively. Although both formations can be used adjectivally, the predicate employment is mainly confined to *ān-* forms.

I hope that I have sufficiently demonstrated above that the functional application of the active and middle voice accounts for both the meaning and functions of these suffixes. This has continued right until the Middle Persian stage and may also account for the subsequent functional developments in New Persian. The middle voice emphasizes the subjectivity.

Certain categories of verbs are likely to be in the middle voice. Middle Persian has many participles in *-ān* that denote (*translational*) *motion* and *emotion*. The state in which the subject or qualified noun is occurring, is emphasized. This appears to be more frequently envisaged in the earlier period. The predicate use of *-ān* is also often found after certain

²⁰ In the following line we are thus told: *nehādī yekī ganj-e xosrow nehān keh neš<e>nāxtī keh- tarī dar jahān* ‘... il établissait chaque fois en secret [of Xosrow] un trésor, qu’aucun de ses sujets ne connaissait’.

auxiliary verbs, expressing the (inner) durative state, thus betraying its former present tense nature. In contrast, the active voice is more likely applied to the *inanimate* subject of a sentence or participle construction, also when we are dealing with emotions. Whereas *bramān*, *garzān*, etc. ‘weeping, lamenting, sim.’ are reserved for people (or personified beings), the originally active voice is found in *griyendag wāng* ‘the lamenting voice’. The application of the middle voice is also explicable in *ān*-participles such as *arzān* ‘worthy, of worth’, *’stw’n* ‘praising, praying to, professing/pledging oneself to’ and *framōšān* ‘forgetting’.

The original meaning of the active diathesis also transpires in the *andeh-*

/andag-participles denoting motion, when the goal or external effect to which the motion is leading, is envisaged. In short, a choice is thus made whether to emphasize the internal state of the qualified noun or sentence subject, or rather its external quality or action, i.e. the choice between the middle vs. active voice. It is perhaps not surprising either that *-andeh* in Modern Persian enjoys a greater productivity, especially to form (deverbal) agent nouns, than in the past. In Middle Persian, the most common way to derive agent nouns or adjectives with an active meaning from verbs is by means of *-āg* (> NP *-ā*), e.g. *dānāg* ‘wise man’ (*dānistan*), *sazāg* ‘fitting, worthy’ (*saz-*), *tarsāg* ‘Christian’ (*tarsīdan* ‘to fear’), etc. (cf. Rastorgueva/Molčanova 1981: 73). After the loss of final *-g* in New Persian, the suffix may have lost its distinctive character, thus giving way to *-andeh*, which has maintained its clarity. The formations in *-ān* has its quasi-adverbial or gerund functions, which are intimately connected to the sentence subject. Their productivity has perhaps faded due to the rise of alternative, syntactical means to qualify the state or circumstance of this subject.

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