

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AVESTAN SYNTAX, THE CON-
DITIONAL SENTENCE.

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AMONG the numerous problems presented to the scholar by the syntax of the Avesta¹ the question of the original distinction between the subjunctive and the optative is one of the most interesting.² The view of Delbrück with regard to this primary distinction between the two moods in Indo-Germanic has long been accepted by the majority of scholars. He formulated his opinion in the following sentence (*Gebrauch des Conj. und Opt.* 13): "Dieser relative Grundbegriff ist für den Conjunctiv der Wille, für den Optativ der Wunsch." "Will" is defined as a desire for the attainable; "wish" implies a longing for what may perhaps be unattainable (*ibid.* 16, cf. his *Vgl. Synt. ii.*, 374). Delbrück has reiterated his view with regard to the fundamental difference between the subjunctive and optative more than once, and he still retains it as being the most probable working hypothesis in the study of the modal relations of the Indo-Germanic (*Grundlagen der griech. Synt.* 116-117, *Altind. Synt.* 302, *Vgl. Synt. der Indo-Germ. Sprachen ii.*, 349-352). On the other hand, the same scholar, *Grundlagen der griech. Synt.* 117, recognizes the possibility of regarding the subjunctive as a nearer future and the optative as a remoter future. This is the view which has been maintained with much energy and feeling by

¹ My deepest indebtedness is due to my teacher, Professor Jackson, of Columbia University. It is his collection of examples from the Avestan texts that has formed the nucleus of the present paper. To him I express sincerest thanks.

² The principal literature as far as the Avestan is concerned is as follows: Spiegel, *Gramm. der altbakt. Sprache* 322, 337-338; *Vgl. Gramm. der altéran Sprachen* 499-504; Jolly, *Conjunctiv und Optativ und die Nebensätze im Zend und Altper.*, especially 70-104; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 181-219.

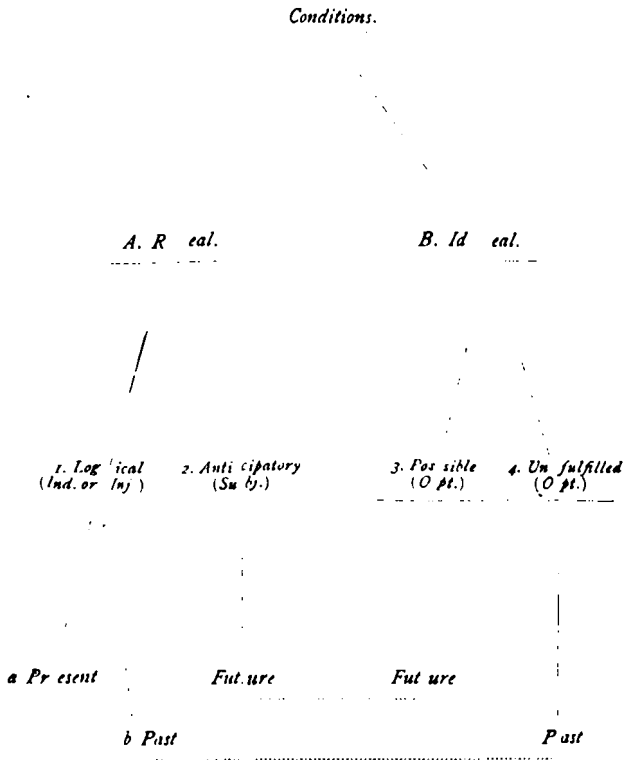
Prof. Goodwin of Harvard, in his "relation of the optative to the subjunctive and other moods" (Appendix i. of his 'Greek moods and tenses,' 371-389, edit. 1893). Thus Goodwin says, 389: 'Its (the optative's) relation to the subjunctive. . . is substantially that of a 'remoter future.''' The gulf between the views of these two scholars seems to me to be more apparent than real. Goodwin in particular seems to be a little too nice in his distinction between "will" and "wish." "Will" and "wish" in my judgment denote nothing more or less than different grades of desire, which itself of necessity implies future time. I emphasize this point, because, if it be granted, a synthesis of the views of Delbrück and Goodwin appears not impossible. I feel, then, little hesitation in adopting Delbrück's hypothesis. This will lead to the following classification of the uses of the subjunctive and optative (Vgl. Synt. ii., 374, cf. Gebrauch des Conj. und Opt. 16-17; Bartholomae Altiran. Verb. 181. See also the classification of Goodwin, 375, 388, and compare Elmer, Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses, Cornell Studies in Class. Philology vi., 175-231, Bennett, *ibid.*, ix., 31-47):

<i>a.</i> Subjunctive=Will	<i>b.</i> Optative=Wish
{ Volitive Subjunctive	{ Prescriptive Optative
{ Prospective " "	{ Potential " "

Both the subjunctive and the optative, like the imperative, seem to have stood originally only in positive sentences. Their equivalent in negative sentences was the injunctive.

The conditional sentences fall into two main divisions, and each of these is to be divided in its turn into two classes. First of all, conditions are (1) real, (2) ideal. The real conditions fall into the two classes of (1) logical conditions ("if he goes, it is well"), (2) anticipatory conditions ("if he shall go, it will be well"). The ideal conditions are either (1) possible conditions ("if he should go, it would be well") or (2) unfilled conditions ("if he had gone, it would have been well"). The logical conditions have the indicative (or the injunctive) in the protasis; the anticipatory conditions contain the subjunctive in the protasis.

In both classes of the ideal conditions we find the Optative in the Protasis. With regard to the time-element of these classes of the conditional sentences, it is to be noted that the logical conditions fall either into the present or the past, while the anticipatory conditions are concerned with the future only. The possible conditions, like the anticipatory, imply future time; and the unfulfilled conditions, like one class of the logical, deal with the past. The following diagram may serve to make my divisions more clear.



First and foremost it must be observed that the class of a conditional sentence is determined in all cases by the mood (and tense) of its protasis. The form of its apodosis is a secondary matter.

With regard to my translations I have systematically rendered the subjunctive by "may" or "shall," and the optative by "might" or "should." Of these alternative renderings I have used "may" for what I regarded as the volitive subjunctive, and "shall" for the prospective. Similarly "might" translates the potential optative, and "should" the prescriptive. For an occasional violation of the English usage of "shall" and "will" I must plead the necessities of a scientific uniformity in so delicate a problem as the mutual relations of the moods. I have rendered the injunctive in all cases by "is to," and the future indicative by "will." While it is quite evident that the subjunctive and the optative are sometimes used in the conditional sentence with iterative force (cf. Jolly, *Conj. u. Opt.* 43-45, 59, 102, 85, 94; Bartholomae, *Altiran. Verb.* 188, 190-191, 194, 212, 216; KZ. xxviii., 37; *Sprachgeschichte* ii., 127; Jackson, *Proc. A. O. S.* xvii., 187 and especially the examples in his forthcoming Avestan syntax; cf. also the use of the subjunctive and the optative in Greek general conditions, Goodwin *Greek moods and tenses* 170 seqq., and the iterative subjunctive in Latin, Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Gram.* 364), I have thought it best not to disturb the uniformity of my renderings for the sake of this special shade of meaning. It will, I hope, be readily deducible in all cases where it occurs, even from my translations.

In the discussion of the conditional sentence in the Avesta seventy-eight examples have been considered. Twenty-eight of these are Logical, thirty-three Anticipatory, nine Possible, and three Unfulfilled. The five remaining examples are conditions whose Protasis contains no finite verb. With regard to the portions of the texts whence the passages considered have been taken, twenty-four sentences are from the Gāthās, fifty-four from the Younger Avesta. Of the latter two are from the verse Yasna, four from the prose Yasna, one from mixed prose and verse Yasna. Nine are from the verse Yašts, four from the prose Yašts, six from mixed prose and verse Yašts. The Vendidad gives twenty-eight examples, all but one in prose. The data with regard to the Apodosis are as follows: Logical Conditions with Indicative in the Apodosis ten, Subjunctive six, Optative two, In-

junctive two, Imperative two; Injunctive in the Protasis, and Injunctive in the Apodosis four, Subjunctive in the Apodosis one. Anticipatory Conditions with Subjunctive in the Apodosis fourteen, Indicative seven, Optative seven, Injunctive four, no finite verb one. Possible conditions with Optative in the Apodosis three, Indicative one, Subjunctive five. Unfulfilled Conditions with Optative in the Apodosis two, Subjunctive one. Conditional sentences with no finite verb in the Protasis have in the Apodosis the Indicative once, the Subjunctive twice, the Optative once, and the Imperative once. The single instance of a condition without an introductory conditional particle has the Indicative in both clauses.

The relative frequency of the moods in Protasis and Apodosis is as follows: Indicative, Protasis, twenty-three; Apodosis, twenty. Subjunctive, Protasis, thirty-three; Apodosis, twenty-nine; Optative, Protasis, twelve; Apodosis, fifteen. Injunctive, Protasis, five; Apodosis, ten. Imperative, Apodosis, three; no finite verb, Protasis, five; Apodosis, one.

Examples from the Gāthās are lacking only for the type Subjunctive + omitted verb, and Optative + Indicative. I am not able to quote at present a Gāthic example of the Unfulfilled Condition.

A. REAL CONDITIONS.

I. REAL CONDITIONS IN THE PRESENT OR PAST—LOGICAL CONDITIONS.

a. Indicative in the Protasis.

a. Indicative in the both Clauses.

a. Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 33. 2 (GAv. verse):

*aṭ yō akəm drəgvaītē vacanhā vā aṭ vā manavhā
zastōibyā vā varšaiti vavhāu vā cōibaitē astim
tōi vārāi rāduntī ahurahyā zaošē mazdā.*

'then whosoever will work harm to the wicked whether by word, or by thought, or by both hands, or doth instruct one in the good, they are responsive unto his will in their love of Ahura Mazda.'

(Note the Optative *varšaitē* §1.)

ys. 38. 4 (GAv. prose):

*nīti yā vō vavuhis ahurō mazdā nāma dadāt vavhudā hyaṭ
vā dadāt tāis vā yazamaidē tāis fryamahi tāis nāmaliyāmahi tāis
išūidyāmahi.*

'thus whatever good names Ahura Mazda, creator of good, gave you when he created you, we worship you with them, we delight you by them, we honor you by them, we claim you by them.'

yt. 10. 28 (yAv. verse)—cf. also yt. 10. 38:

*āaṭ ahmāi nmānāi dadāiti
gōušca vāθvā vīranamca
yakhva xšnūtō bavaiti
upa anyā scindayciti
yāhva θištō bavaiti.*

'then to this house he giveth hosts both of kine and of male children, where he is well-pleased; others he doth destroy, where he is displeased.'

yt. 10. 87 (yAv. verse):

*āaṭ yalmāi xšnūtō baraiti
mīdṛō yō vouru-gaoyaoitiš
ahmāi jasaiti avaišhe.*

'then with whomsoever Mithra, lord of wide pastures, is well-pleased, to that man he comes for aid.'

(cf. the Subjunctive *uzjasāiti* in the similar sentence yt. 10. 19.)

yt. 13. 47 (yAv. verse):

*yatāra vā diš paurva frāyazontē
fraorēt fraxšni avi manō
zarazdātōiṭ anhnyat haca
ātavaθra fraorisinti
uṣrā ašāunam fravašayō.*

'then whichsoever of the two doth first worship them very zealously in mind, from devotion of the soul, thitherward do turn the awful Fravashis of the righteous.'

(cf. the Subjunctive *frāyazāiti* in the similar sentence yt. 10. 9.)

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yezi*, *yeḍi*:

ys. 1. 21 (yAv. prose):

*yezi θavā didvaša . . . ā tē aišhe fraca stuyē ni tē vaḍdayemi
yezi tē aišhe avā-urūraoda yat yasnaheca vahmaheca.*

'if I have incurred thy displeasure . . . I praise thee therefor, I acknowledge thee, if I have fallen short in that which is worship or of prayer.'

ys. 62. 9 (yAv. prose and verse):

*āaṭ yezi šē aēm baraiti aēsmm . . .
ā hē pascaēta frinaiti
ātarš mazdā ahurahe.*

'if then he bringeth wood to him, . . . thereafter the Fire of Mazda Ahura blesseth him.'

(cf. vd. 18. 26, where the Apodosis has the Subjunctive *āfrināti*.)

yt. 6. 3 (yAv. prose):

yeidi zi hvarj nōiṭ uzuxšyciti ada daeva vispā mōrcincinti yā hūti haptō-karševōhva; nava cīs mainyava yazata anhava astvainti paiti-draṃ nōiṭ paitištṃm vid.mti.

'if the sun does not arise, then all the demons which are in the seven zones work destruction; neither do any spiritual angels in the material world find recourse or resistance.

vd. 8. 40-41 (yAv. prose):

zasta hē pavirim frasnādaym; āat yaṭ hē zasta nōiṭ frasnāta āat vispṃm hēṃm tanūm ayaozdāta kōrouoiti . . .

yezica āpō vaividhīs baršnuim vaṇḍanum pourum paiti-jasaiti kva acšṃm acša druš yā nasuš upa-dvašaiti.

'first they shall wash his hands; for when his hands (are) not washed, he maketh all his body in impurity . . .

'if the good waters come first to the top of his head where of these (places) doth this Druj, the Nasu, pounce.'

The following parallels for this form of the conditional sentence may be cited from the Rig-Veda, the Old Persian inscriptions, and the Greek.

Rv. 8. 43. 28:

*yād agnē divijā usy apsujā tvā sahaskṛta
tām tvā gīrbhir havāmahi.*

'whether, Agni, thou art born in heaven or in water, O thou who wast made by might, we invoke thee with our hymns.'

Bh. 1. 23-24:

yaθāś[ām ha]cāmā adah y atadā akunatyatā.

'as it was said unto them by me, so was it done.'

Euripides Bellerophon. frag. 294, 7 (ed. Nauck):

εἰ θεοὶ τε θρωσκον αἰσχρόν, οἷα εἰσιν θεοὶ.

b. Aorist tense in the Protasis and Present tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 48. 4 (GAv. verse):

*yō dāt manō vahyo mazdā ašyascā
 hvo daēnām šyaodanācā vacanācā
 ahyā zaošng nštiš varənng hacaitē
 đwahmī xratā apōmōm nanā anhaē.*

'whoso hath made his mind better and more righteous, he doth follow the Faith both by deed and by word, (even) choices, longings (and) creeds: in thy sight at the last shall all men be.'¹

(It is to be noted that *dāt* may possibly be regarded as a Subjunctive, cf. Jackson Av. Gramm. § 642.)

b. Indicative in the Protasis and Subjunctive in the Apodosis.*a. Present tense in both Clauses.*

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

vd. 7. 25 (yAv. prose):

*kaē tā nara yaoždayān awhm . . . yā nasāum . . . fra-
 barənti.*

'how shall those men be purified . . . who bear forth . . . the corpse.'

(cf. the Subjunctive *framharāt* in the relative clause in the similar condition vd. 7. 23 below.)

ys. 46. 8 (GAv. verse):

*yō vā mōi yā gaēbā dazdē aēnauhē
 nōit ahyā mā ādriš šyaodanāiš frōsyāt
 paityaogēt tā ahmāi jasōit devāšanhā
 tanōm ā yā im hujyātōiš pāyāt.*

'or whosoever giveth these my creatures unto sin, never shall his dart cleave me by his deeds; on his body retributively should

¹ The Pahlavi tradition renders *a* 'unto the good, and even unto the evil' (*arō šapirih amatic arō saritarih*). For the asyndeton in *i* cf. ys. 33. 2 and on *d* see Darmesteter's translation *ad loc.*

come with hatred those things which might hold him back from the good life.'

vd. 18. 69-70 (yAv. prose):

*yō . . . xsudrā avi frauharəzaiti hazaurəm anumayanəm
frāvinyāt . . . āθrə ašaya vaohluya frabarōit.*

'whosoever emitteth his seed, . . . he shall offer (?) a thousand sheep, . . . unto the Fire (Atar) with good piety should he present them.'

(Note the Subjunctive and the Optative side by side in the Apodosis of this sentence).

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yeđi*, *yezi*:

yt. 13. 70 (yAv. verse and prose):

*tā hē jasānti avāšhe
yezi šē bavainti anazarōtā.*

'they shall come to his aid, if they are not distressed by him.
(cf. the Indicative *yūōyciuti* in the similar passage yt. 13. 63.)

vd. 6. 28 (yAv. prose):

*yeziə aēte nasāvō frīdyētica puyētica kuda tē vərəzəqən aēte
yōi mazdayasna.*

'and if these corpses be decayed and stinking, how shall these Mazdašnjans do?'

vd. 15. 22 (similarly also vd. 15. 16 and 40) (yAv. prose):

*yezi nōit harəθrəm baraiti actada aēte yōi spāna adāityō-
avharəθrəm irišəqən para aēšqən irišintəm račšō cikaēn baodō-
varštahē cidaya.*

'if he does not take care, then these dogs shall receive harm, not being cared for according to the religion. For the wounds of those that have received harm they shall pay the penalty with the punishment of a Baodha-varšhta.'

As a parallel for this form of the conditional sentence containing the Indicative and the Subjunctive we may quote Rv. 1. 161. 8:

yādi tām nēva hūryatha tētēytē ghā sīcānē mādayādhrvāi.

'if ye accept not even this, surely ye shall have your joy at the third pressing.'

A similar condition is presented in Greek by Odys. 17. 475-476:

ἀλλ' εἴ ποῦ πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ ἑρμῆες εἰσὶν,
'Αντίνοον πρὸ γάμῳ τέλος θανάτου κρείει.

c. Indicative in the Protasis and Optative in the Apodosis.

a. Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 29. 2 (GAv. verse):

kəm hōi nštā alurəm yō dr̥gʷōdšbiš aēšməm vādāyōit.

'whom do ye will as a lord for her, who (=if one?) might strike down the wrath of the wicked?'

b. Present tense in the Protasis and Aorist tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 65. 14 (yAv. prose):

*yaŋca ahmāt asti mazō yaŋca ahmāt asti tanhō yaŋca ahmāt
asti srayō yaŋca ahmāt asti parō-arjastarəm taŋ nō dāyata
yūzəm yazata.*

'what is greater than this, and what is better than this, and what is fairer than this, and what is more precious than this, that ye should give unto us, ye angels!'

A similar condition containing the Indicative and the Optative is found also in the R̥g-Veda, e. g., Rv. 9. 95. 5:

iṅdraśca yat kṣāyathah śāubhagāya sūviryaśya pātayaḥ syāma.

'if thou and Indra are rulers for weal, we should be lords of manly might.'

As a Greek example we may cite Aischylos Agamemn. 908-909 :

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὅπαι τις ἀρβύλας
 λῦοι τάχος.

d. Indicative in the Protasis and Injunctive in the Apodosis.

a. Present in the Protasis and Preterite in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

vd. 3. 26 (YAv. prose and verse):

yō imqm zam aiēi-vr̥zyci . . .
āaṭ aoxta im zā : nara . . .

'whoso tilleth this earth, . . . then is the earth to say unto him: O man . . .'

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yczi*.

ys. 44. 15 (GAv. verse):

yczi ahyā ašā pōi maṭ xšaycū
hyaṭ hōm spādā anaocanhā jamačtē
avāiš urvātāiš yā tū mazdā didr̥zō
kuθrā ayā kalmūi vanauqm dadā.

'if thou hast power through Asha over him to ward (him) off from me, when the two hostile hosts shall come together through those doctrines which thou, Mazda, dost desire to have maintained, unto which one of the twain art thou to give the victory?'

e. Indicative in the Protasis and Imperative in the Apodosis.

a. Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *ycdi*, *yczi*:

ys. 34. 6 (GAv. verse):

yczi aθā stā haidim mazdā ašā volū manauhā
aṭ taṭ moi daxštum datā.

¹With regard to the uses of the Avestan Injunctive, especially where it is precisely equivalent to an Imperative, Subjunctive (as in this passage), Optative, or even Indicative see the discussion to appear in Professor Jackson's forthcoming *Avesta Syntax*.

'if thus the world indeed (exists), O Mazda, Asha, and Vohu Manah, then give me this sign.'¹

yt. 16. 2 (yAv. Prose):

*yezi ahi paurva-naēmāt āaṭ maṃ avi umānaya: yezi paskāṭ
āaṭ maṃ avi apaya.*

'if thou art before, then await me; if (thou art) behind, then overtake me.'

The following parallels for this form of the conditional sentence may be cited from the Rig-Veda, the Old Persian, and the Greek.

Rv. 1. 47.7:

*yān nāsatyā parāvāti yād vā sthō adhi turavāsē
ātō rāthēna sruvātā na ā gataṃ.*

whether, O true ones twain, ye are afar, or here with Turvāsa, come unto us with well-rolling car.'

Bh. 4. 37-39:

*tuvam kā x[śāyādiya] hya aparam ahy hacā drangā darśam
patipayaurvā mar[tiya hya] draujana ahatiy avam ufrastam
parsā yadiy avadhā ma[nīyāhy] dahyāušmaiy duruvā ahatiy.*

'thou who art king hereafter, guard thyself fearfully from the Lie. The men that shall be a liar, punish him well, if thou shalt think thus: May my kingdom be safe!'

(Indicative in Protasis and Imperative in Apodosis. Another conditional clause follows, which has the Subjunctive in the Protasis and the Imperative in the Apodosis. This latter clause is followed in its turn by a Subjunctive in a Protasis without Apodosis and by a Volitive Subjunctive.)

Sophokles Antig. 98:

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, στέρχε.

¹Perhaps we might translate: 'if indeed ye are thus, O Mazda and Asha, through Vohu Manah.' I have followed, however, the Pahlavi version which renders *stā* by *ai* 'world' (Neryosang *sstā*), and which sees in *Voḥū Manuhā* an instr. = nom. = voc.

b. Injunctive in the Protasis.

a. Injunctive in both Clauses.

a. Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

The appearance of the Injunctive in conditional sentences or indeed in any construction save with the representative of the Indo-Germanic **mē* 'not' developed late in the pre-Indo-Germanic period.¹ The usage must have existed even then if we may judge from the Vedic and Avestan languages. The most primitive form of the conditions containing the Injunctive was probably that in which the Injunctive appeared in the strong, or root-aorist. From this Aorist was developed later the imperfect Injunctive (Streitberg *Verhand. der 44. Versammlung deutsch. Philol. und Schulmeister* 22. Sept., 1897, pp. 165–166).

ys. 32. 10 (GAv. verse):

*həō mā nā sraōē mōrəndaŋ yō acištəm vaēnanhē aogdā
gam ašihyā hvarəā yaseā dāθōng drəgvatō dadāt.*

'this man is to destroy my works who is to call the Cow and sun a most evil thing to be seen with the two eyes, and who is to give gifts unto the wicked.'

b. Aorist tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yezī*.

ys. 53. 1 (GAv. verse):

*valištā ištīš sraēi zaraθuštrahē
spitāmahyā yezī hōi dāt āyaptā
ašāt hacā ahurō mazdā.*

'the best wish is to be called Zarathushtra Spitāma's if Ahura Mazda is to give him the boons in accordance with Asha.'

¹ See Delbrück *Vgl. Syn.* ii. 352–357, 363–364, 373.

2. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 45. 5 (GAv. verse):

*yōi moī ahmāi sraošəm dan cayascā
upā-jimən haurvatā ameretātā.*

'whosoever unto this one, even unto me, are to give obedience and teaching, they are to come to Haurvatāt and Ameretāt' (i. e., Salvation and Immortality).

ys. 46. 13 (GAv. verse):

*yē spitāməm zaraduštrəm rādanhā
marətacšn xšnāuš hvo nā fərasrūdyāi vovōvō
ač hoi mazdā ahum dadāt ahurō
ahmāi gəčdā volū fradač manahā.*

whosoever among mortals is to rejoice Spitāma Zarathushtra by liberality, that man (is) to be reputed upright: then to him Mazda Ahura is to give life; for him is Vohu Manah to prosper herds.'

[Bartholomae Grundriss der iran. Philologie i. 231 regards *xšnāuš* as nom. sg., and not as a verb. See also Jackson Zoroaster 84.]

b. Injunctive in the Protasis and Subjunctive in the Apodosis.

a. Present tense in the Protasis and Aorist tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

vd. 18. 29 (yAv. prose):

*yasca mē ačtahe mərəyāhe yač parō-daršāhe tanmazō gōuš
dadāt noit dim yava azəm yō ahurō mazdā bitim vācim paiti-
pərəsmno bva.*

'whosoever is to give to me the body-size of this bird, the Parō-darsha, of meat, never shall I, Ahura Mazda, be questioning him twice.'¹

¹ Following the tradition, we might render: 'whosoever is to give to this my bird, the Parō-darsha (cock), its body-size of meat,' etc.

II. REAL CONDITIONS IN THE FUTURE—ANTICIPATORY CONDITIONS.

a. Subjunctive in the Protasis.

a. Subjunctive in Both Clauses.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya—*:

ys. 11. 5-6 (yAv. verse):

*yō maṃ taḥ draoṇō zināt vā
triyāt vā apa vā yāsāiti
yaḥ mē dādāt ahurō mazdā . . .
noit ahmi nmānc zānāite
āḍravaḥ naḍa radhāstā . . .
dāt ahmi nmānc zayāute
dahakāca mūrakāca.*

'whosoever shall take away from me, or shall steal from me, or shall hold back from me that portion which Ahura Mazda gave me, . . . not in this house shall there be born priest or warrior, . . . then in this house shall be born both serpents and vipers (?), etc.'

(Note the variant readings for *zānāite*: *zānāite* J 2. *zānāiti* H 1, *zānāite* Mf 2. K 11. L 13, *zānāiti* J 6. 7. C 1. L 1. O 2, *zānāiti* Lb 2.)

ys. 19. 6 (yAv. prose):

*yasca mē aḥtaṃi aṃhēvō yaḥ astvainti spitama zaraḍuštra
baḡṃ ahunahē vairyahe marāt frā vā marō drōjyāt frā vā
drōjyō srāvayāt frā vā srāvayō yazāite dṛiṣcit tarō pōrtimucit
he urvān.m vahist.m ahūm frapārayēu.*

'and whosoever in this material world, O Spitama Zarathushtra, shall recite the portion of the Ahuna Vairya, or reciting it shall pronounce it, or pronouncing it shall chant it, or chanting it shall present it as a sacrifice, thrice I shall bring his soul across the bridge into paradise.'

(Note *marat* **J 2**, *mraot* **K 5** as variant readings for *marāt* and cf. the Indicative *aparaodāyete* and the Subjunctive *tanava* in the similar sentence ys. 19. 7.)

ys. 31. 6 (GAv. verse):

ahmāi anhaṭ valūštəm yō moi vidvā vaocāt haiḍim
maḍrəm yim haurvatātō.

unto him shall be the best thing, whoso wisely shall proclaim for me the true Word of Haurvatāt.'

(Note *vaocat* **K 5. 11. S 1. J 3. 7. 1. H 1. C 1. L 13. 2. 3. Bb 1**, *vaoci* **J 6** as variant readings for *vaocāt*.)

ys. 46. 4 (GAv. verse):

yastəm xšadrāt mazdā moiḍaṭ jyātīs vā
hvō tng frō-gā padmōng lucistōis carāt.

'whosoever, O Mazda, shall thrust him from kingdom and from life, he shall come proceeding to the paths of good knowledge.'

(Note the variant readings *moi-ḍaṭ* **P 6** for *moiḍaṭ* and *carāt* **J 2. 3. 6. 7. Pt 4. S 1. Mf 2. Jp 1. L 13. 2. 3. O 2** for *carāt*.)

yt. 13. 18 (yAv. verse):

āaṭ yō nā hiš hubrētā barāt
jva āsaonəm fravašayō
sāsta daihēus hamō-xšadrō
hō anhāiti zazuštīmō
xšayō kasciṭ mašyānəm
yō volu-brētəm baraitē
mīdrəm yim vouru-gaoyaoitīm
arštāt,meca frādat-gaēḍəm var,dat-gaēḍəm.

'then whatsoever sovereign ruler of the land while alive shall treat well these Fravashis of the righteous, he shall be a prince most rich in gain whosoever of men (he be), who (=if he) treateth well Mithra, lord of wide pastures, and Arštāt who maketh the world increase, who maketh the world multiply.'

(Note the variant reading *baraṭ* **F 1. Pt 1. E 1. L 18. P 13** for *barāt*.)

vd. 7. 23 (yAv. prose):

*kaṭ tā nara yaoždayan awkən ašāum ahura mazda yā nasāum
fravuharāt.*

'how shall those men be purified, O righteous Ahura Mazda,
who shall eat a corpse.'

(For the number of *fravuharāt* see Jackson Av. Gramm. § 915.4; note also the variant reading *fravharāt* **Mf 2**. and cf. the Indicative *frabarənti* in the similar sentence in Vd. 7. 25 above.)

vd. 7. 36–37 (yAv. prose):

*yaṭ aīte yōi mazdayasna baššazāi fravazānte katārō paurvō
amayānte mazdayasnaēibyō vā daēvayasnaēibyō vā. āaṭ mraoṭ
ahurō mazdā daēvayasnaēibyō paurvō amayayanta yada maz-
dayasnaēibyasciṭ. yaṭ paōirim daēvayasno kərəntāt ava hō
mīryāite yaṭ bitim daēvayasno kərəntāt ava hō mīryāite . . .
anāmātō zī aīšō yavaēca yavāētātuca.*

'if these Mazdayasnians shall betake themselves to the heal-
ing art, which first shall they try their healing upon, Mazdayas-
nians or Daēva-worshippers (see Jackson Av. Gramm. § 925 n.)? Then spake Ahura Mazda: They shall try their healing first on the Daēva-worshippers before the Mazdayasnians. If he shall operate first on a Daēva-worshipper and he shall die, if for a second time he shall operate on a Daēva-worshipper and he shall die, . . . he (is) incapable forever and forever more.'

(Note the variant readings *amayaointi* **K1. P1** prim. man. for *amayānti*, *amayānta* Injunctive for Subjunctive **Br 1, L1**. In vd. 7. 39 **Mf 2** once has *kərəntaṭ* for *kərəntāt*.)

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yedi*, *yēzi*:

yt. 19. 43 (yAv. verse):

*yēzi bavāni pərəmāyu
zəm caxrəm kərəmavāne
asmanəm raθəm kərəmavāne.*

'if I shall become matured, I shall make the earth my wheel,
I shall make the heaven my chariot.'

vd. 3. 14 (yAv. prose):

*yēzi šē barāš aēvō yaš iristəm upa vā nasuš racθwāš nānhanāš
haca cašmanāš haca.*

'if he shall bear the corpse alone, then the Nasu shall defile him by the nose, by the eye.'

(Note the variant reading *barāš* **Jp** 1. **Mf** 2. **Br** 1. **Ml** 2 for *barāš*.)

vd. 6. 47 (yAv. prose):

*yēzi nōišt didarəzyāntē aētaōa hē aēte sīnō vā kərəfš-xʷarō vayō
vā kərəfš-xʷarō aētauhəm astəm avi apəmca urvaranəmca
barəntəm frajasāt.*

'if they shall not fasten it down, then either these corpse-eating dogs or corpse-eating birds shall carry some of these bones both to the waters and to the plants.'

vd. 15. 4 (yAv. prose; cf. vd. 15. 6):

*yēzica aēte asti dātāhva arāntē garəməhva vīdāntē yaš vā aēte
garəma xʷarəda stamanəm vā hizrəm vā apa-dažāt almaš haca
irišyāt. yēzi taš paiti irišyciti aišhaš haca šyaodnāvarəza aša
bavāinti pəšō-tauva.*

'and if these bones shall get between his teeth, or shall be stuck in his throat, or if this warm food burns his mouth or his tongue, he shall perish from that. Thereupon if he perishes from that, those who did that deed become damned.'

(Note the variant reading *dažāt* **Jp** 1. **Mf** 2. **L** 1. 2. **K** 10 for *dažāt*).

b. Present tense in the Protasis and Aorist tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 46. 6 (GAv. verse):

*aš yastīm nōišt nā isəmno āyāt
drujō hēvō dāmaq haidyā gāt.*

'then whosoever shall not come when bidden, he shall go unto the true creations of the Druj.'

c. Aorist tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yezi*:

ys. 48. 1 (GAv. verse):

yezi adāiš ašā drujəm vōmshaiti . . .
aṭ tōi savāiš vahməm vaxšaṭ ahurā.

'if in time to come (? cf. the Pahlavi translation and gloss: *pavan zak dahišnō* [*pavan tañ i pasinō*]) Asha shall conquer the Druj, . . . then because of thy mercies the prayer shall increase for thee, O Ahura.'

d. Aorist tense in the Protasis and Present tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 45. 3 (GAv. verse):

yōi im ev nōit iθā maθrəm varšanti
yaθā im mōnāicā vaocacā
ačibyo avhōš avōi avhaṭ apmum.

'whoso of you shall not do the Word even as I both think and speak it, unto them shall the last day of the world be for the destruction.'

(Note the variant readings *varšanti* **C 1. K 11. O 2.**, *varšanti* **Jp 1** for *varšanti*. With *av* here cf. *avātūs* ys. 31. 20 and see Jackson A Hymn of Zoroaster 54. The tradition regards *mōnāi* and *vaoca* as locatives rather than as verbs, but cf. Jackson Av. Gramm. § 651, Bartholomae Grundr. der iran. Philol. 210.)

Here again we find similar forms of the conditional sentence with the Subjunctive in both clauses in Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Greek.

Rv. 2. 23. 4.

yās tibhyam dāsān nā tām aṅhō aśuavat.

'whosoever shall serve thee, distress shall not visit him.

Dar. Pers. c. 22–24.

yadiy kāra pārša pāta ahatiy hyā duvaiš[ta]m śiyātīš axšta
hauvciy aurā nirasātiy abiy imām vīdam.

'if the Persian folk shall be protected, there shall descend upon this house through the Lord that peace which shall be forevermore.'¹

Iliad 1. 324.

εἰ δὲ κε μὴ θώγησιν, ἐγὼ δὲ κεν ἀπότ' ἔλωμαι.

b. Subjunctive in the Protasis and Indicative in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 54.1 = 27.5 (GAv. verse):

*yā daēnā vairim hanāt mīzdəm
aśahyā yāsā ašim yaṃ iṣyaṃ ahurō masatā mazdā.*

'what (= if any) faith shall merit the wished-for reward, that desirable blessing of Asha I seek which Ahura Mazda is to multiply.'

ys. 62. 7 (yAv. verse):

*vīspacibyō sastim baraiti
ātarš mazdā ahurahi
yacibyō aēm haṃ-pacāite
xšāfnimca sūrimca.*

'unto all doth the Fire of Mazda Ahura bear proclamation, for whom he shall cook the evening and the morning meal' (or 'the repast and the banquet'—see Darmesteter Étud. Iranienn. ii 161–162 as compared with Le Zend-Avesta i 389 n. 24).

(Note the variant reading *pacāiti* Pt. 4. 1. Mf. 3. Pd. H. 1. 2. P 6. F 1. J 9. K 7c. 15 for *pacāite*.)

yt. 10. 9 (yAv. verse):

*yatāra vā dim paurva frāyazāiti
fraorōt fraxšni avi manō
sarazdātōit amuhyat haca
ātaradra fraorisyciti
mīd'rō yō vouru-gaoyavōitš.*

¹ For other renderings of this crux *hyā duvaiš[ta]m śiyātis axšta* see Oppert Le peuple . . . des Mèdes 199; Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. ii 100–102, cf. Grundr. der iran. Philol. i 227; Spiegel Altpers. Keilinschr. 114–115; Foy KZ. XXXV. 49.

'whosoever first shall worship him very zealously in mind, from devotion of the soul, thitherward turneth Mithra, lord of wide pastures.'

(Cf. the Indicative *frāyazunte* in the similar passage yt. 13. 47.)

vd. 13. 3 (yAv. prose):

*yasca dim janaŋ spitama zaraθuštra spānəm sišdrəm urvīsarəm
yim vanhāparəm, . . . nava-naptyačciŋ hē urvānəm para-
mərəncaite.*

'and whosoever, O Spitama Zarathushtra, shall kill the dog with spiny back (?) and sharp snout (?), Vanhāpara, . . . he doth destroy his soul unto the ninth generation.'

(Cf. the Indicative *jainī* in the similar passage vd. 13. 8.)

2. The Protasis iŋ introduced by *yeđi*, *yezi*:

yt. 5. 63 (yAv. prose and verse):

*hasaurəm tē azəm zaθraŋəm . . . barāni . . .
yezi jum frapayemi
aoi zəm ahurađātəm.*

'a thousand libations shall I offer thee, . . . if I come alive to this earth created by Ahura.'

yt. 14. 52-53 (yAv. prose and verse);

*yezi sē mairyō gūrvayōiŋ . . .
para bašasa hacaite
vrθraŋnō ahurađātō
hamadā airyābyō daiđhubyō vdiŋnā jasānti.*

'if a bandit shall partake of it, . . . Victory created by Ahura doth draw back his healing might. Continually on the Aryan lands shall come plagues,' etc.

(Note the variant reading of an Optative *gūrvayōiŋ* **K 38. M 4. M1 2** for *gūrvayāiŋ*.)

vd. 13. 49 (yAv. prose):

*nōiŋ mē umānəm vīđātō hištanti zəm paiti ahurađātəm yezi mē
nōiŋ ānhaŋ spā pasuš-haurvō vā višhaurvō vā.*

'nor doth a house stand established for me upon the earth created by Ahura, if there shall not, be a dog guarding the flock or guarding the village.'

As parallels from the Sanskrit and the Greek for conditional sentences having the Subjunctive and the Indicative we may quote :

Rv. 5. 4. 11.

*yásmāi tvám sukṛtē jātavēda u lōkām agnē kṛnāvahi syōnām
aśvīnām sá putriṇām virāvāntām gōmanītam rayim naśatē
svastī.*

'for what pious man thou, O Jātavēda Agni, shalt make a pleasant place, he gaineth for his weal wealth of horses, sons, heroes, and kine.'

Euripides Alkestis, 671-672 :

*ἦν δ' ἐγγύς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδέεις βούλεται
θνήσκειν, τὸ γῆρας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔστ' αὐτοῖς βαρύν.*

c. Subjunctive in the Protasis and Optative in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

I. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 30. 9 (GAv. verse) :

aicā tōi vacm hīyāmā yōi im frašīm kərənāun ahūm.

'and then should we be for thee the ones who [=if any?] may make the world prepared.'

yt. 10. 91 = ys. 62. 1 (yAv. verse) :

*ušta buyāt ahmāi nairē
yas, θειῶ bāda frāyazāite.*

'well may it be for that man, who shall continually worship thee.'

yt. 14. 48 (yAv. prose) :

*yaṭ mašyāka frāyazāntē vərəθraγnō ahuradātō . . . nōiṭ idra
airyā daiiḥāvō fras hyāt hačna nōiṭ vdiγna.*

'if men shall worship Victory created by Ahura (cf. Jackson Av. Gramm. § 926 n.), . . . here upon the Aryan lands should come neither horde nor plague.'

(Note the Optatives *aiwisacyārš* and *fras hyāt* in both Clauses of the similar sentence yt. 8. 56.)

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yeđi*, *yezi*:

vd. 16. 7 (yAv. prose):

yezi apərəmāyūkō frāšuarəyēt zasta hē paoirim frasnōdayəm.

'if an infant shall touch her, they should wash his hands first.'

vd. 8. 3 (yAv. prose);

yezi aētəm umānum upa-bərəθwōtarəm awa-zanən awa aētəm umānum barayən awadā iristəm hərəzayən upa aētəm umānum baōdayən.

'if they shall perceive this house more portable, they should bear this house away; they should leave the corpse there: they shall perfume this house.'

(The Subjunctive *baōdayən* seems to express a command valid in any case, whether the corpse be brought to the dakhma, or the dakhma be built around the corpse.)

vd. 16. 8 (yAv. prose):

yezi nairika volunīs aiwi-wacnāt yat hē θrāyō xšafna sacānte airime gātūm hē nišhōdāta.

'if the woman shall see blood when her three nights shall have elapsed, she should sit in her place of isolation.'

(Note the variant readings Subjunctive for Optative *nišhōdāiti* **Mf. 2.** *nišhadāita* **Jp. 1.** and Indicative for Optative *nišhadāiti* **K1a.** *nišhadāita* **L 4.**)

b. Present tense in the Protasis and Aorist tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys. 68. 10–12 (yAv. prose):

yō vō āpō vanuhiš yazāite . . . ahmāi valihštəm ahūm ašaonəm raocawhəm vispō-xšāθrəm dāyata vanuhiš āpō.

'whosoever of you shall worship the good waters, . . . unto him should ye give, O good waters, the best life of the righteous, radiant, all-glorious.'

The following are examples of conditional sentences in Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Greek, which have the Subjunctive in the Protasis and the Optative in the Apodosis.

Rv. 4. 41.11 :

yād didyāvah pṛtanāsu prakrīlān tāsya vāmī syāma sanītāra ajēh.

'when the arrows shall play amid the battles, we should be victors of that booty.'

Bh. 4. 54-56 :

yadiy imām
hādugām naiy apagaundayāhy kārahya dhāhy auramazdā duvām
danštā biyā u [tātāiy taumā] vasiy biyā utā dargam jivā.

'if thou shalt not conceal this edict, (but) shalt tell it to the people, Auramazda should be thy friend, and thy family should be many, and thou shalt live long.'¹

Aristophanes Nephel. 116-118.

*ἦν οὖν μάθης μοι τὸν ἄδικον τοῦτον λόγον,
ἃ νῦν ὑψέλω διὰ σέ, τούτων τῶν χρεῶν,
οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοίην οὐδ' ἂν ὀβελὸν οὐδενί.*

d. Subjunctive in the Protasis and Injunctive in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

- i. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

yt. 11. 4-5 (yAv. prose):

yasca zaradnuštra imaš uxōm vacō fravaocāt . . . noīš dim yava . . . drvā . . . aoi ava-spašnaoš.

'whosoever, O Zarathushtra, shall pronounce this spoken word . . . never him . . . is the wicked man . . . to spy.'

¹ On *jivā* as a Subjunctive see Bartholomae ZDMG. XI.VI. 295, and Grundr. der iran. Philol. i. 201. This view is sustained by the Precative in the Babylonian version (l. 102) *ūmekā hrikū*. Cf. also the Elamitic rendering *takotaktine* and see Weisbach Achämeniden-inschriften zweit. Art. 52 and Foy ZDMG. LII. 580 Anm. 4, 582.

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yezi*:

vd. 5. 14 (yAv. prose):

*yezi nōit̄ aēte mazdayasna aēt̄m k̄hr̄p̄m hvar̄-dar̄sim
k̄r̄nav̄q̄n yār̄-dr̄ājō avavant̄m ašavaṅnyāi t̄m cid̄q̄m daśsayō.*

'if these Mazdayasnians shall not make this corpse beheld by the sun for the length of a year, thou art to teach so great a penalty as for the murder of a righteous man.'

vd. 7. 12 (cf. vd. 7. 13) (yAv. prose):

*yezi an̄haṭ upaēt̄m vā aiwi-naptim vā aiwi-iritim vā aiwi-
vantim vā aēt̄ada hē aēte mazdayasna aēt̄ā vastr̄ā frac̄a k̄r̄v̄nt̄m
nīca kanaȳm.*

'if it shall be stained with either semen, or matter, or ordure, or vomit, then are these Mazdayasnians to tear up these garments, and they should bury them.'

(In this last example the use of the Optative *kanaȳm* beside the Injunctive *k̄r̄v̄nt̄m* is noteworthy. On the other hand, the lateness of the passage should warn us against pressing too strongly the fundamental distinctions between the two moods.)

As an example of the conditional sentence having the Subjunctive in the Protasis, and the Injunctive in the Apodosis in the Rig-Veda we may cite Rv. 4. 30. 23:

*utā nūnām yād indriyām karisyā indra pānuṣyam
adyā nūkiṣ tād ā minat.*

'and now whatever heroic, manly deed thou shalt perform, O Indra, that no one is to minish to-day.'

e. Subjunctive in the Protasis and no finite form of the verb in the Apodosis.

a. Present tense in the Protasis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yezi*:

vd. 5. 4 (similarly also vd. 5. 7, cf. vd. 8. 34) (yAv. prose):

*yezica aēte nasāvō . . . nar̄m āstryeintim ānhāt̄ iśar̄-štāitya
mē viṣpō an̄huš astvā iśas̄m jūt̄-aš̄m xraodaṭ-ur̄va p̄ṣō-tanuš.*

'and if these corpses . . . shall defile man, straightway (will or would be) all my material world desiring the destruction of righteousness, with hardened soul, and damned.'

B. IDEAL CONDITIONS.

Optative in the Protasis.

I. IDEAL CONDITIONS IN THE FUTURE-POSSIBLE CONDITIONS:

a. Optative in both Clauses.*a. The Present tense in both Clauses.*

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*—:

ys 43. 3 (GAv. verse):

aṭ hvō vaushūs vahyō nā aibi-jamyāt
yō nā vərəzūs savauhō padō sīdōi.

'then should this man come unto what is better than good, who justly should teach the pathways of weal.'

ys. 50. 2 (GAv. verse):

kaḏā mazdā rānyō-skərətim gəm išasōi
yō him ahmāi vāstravaitim stōi usyāt.

'how, O Mazda, should one desire the Cow joy-giving? who-soever (= if any one) should wish her (to be) well pastured for this world.'¹

b. Present tense in the Protasis and Perfect tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yedi*:

yt. 8. 11 = yt. 10. 55 and 74 (yAv. prose and verse):

yedi zi mā mašyāka aoxtō-nāmana yasna yazayanta . . .
fra naryō ašavaoyō
θvarštahe zrū āyu šušnyam . . .
upa θvarštahe jaṃnyam.

'if indeed men should honor me with worship in which my name is mentioned, . . . forth would I be arrived at the appointed time for the righteous men, . . . forth would I be come at the appointed time'.

(Note the variant reading *yazinti* J 10 for *yazayanta*.)

¹ If we depart from the tradition, we may also render: 'how, O Mazda, should he desire the Cow joy-giving, who should wish her (to be) well pastured for this world?'

b. Optative in the Protasis and Indicative in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yezi*:

vd. 6. 4 (yAv. prose):

*yezi mazdayasna tām zam kārayu yezi āpō hərəzayon yaʔ ahmi
spānasca narasca para-iridinti antarāt nāēmāt yārs-drājō ka he
asti cidā.*

‘If the Mazdayasnians should cultivate that land, if they should let the waters flow where either dogs or men perish within the course of a year, what is the penalty?’

For similar conditions with the Optative in the Protasis and the Indicative in the Apodosis in Sanskrit and Greek we may cite the following :

Rv. 5. 74. 10:

*āsvinā yid dha kārli cic chusrīyātam imāni hāvam
vāsuir ũ sū vāni bhujah pṛicānti sū vāni pṛcah.*

‘O Asvins, if at any time ye should hear this prayer, your benefits, good indeed, prepare delights for you.’

Iliad 10. 222–223 :

*ἀλλ' εἴ τις μοι ἀνήρ ὄμι ἔποιετο καὶ ἄλλος,
μᾶλλον θαλπωρῆ καὶ θαρσαλιώτερον ἔσται.*

c. Optative in the Protasis and Subjunctive in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya—*:

ys. 50. 3 (GAv. verse):

*aʔciʔ ahmāi mazdā āšā anhaiti
yam hoi xšathrā volucā cōišt manamhā
yʔ nā āšōiš aojanhā varjdayaētā
yam nazdīštām gaēdām drǵvā baxšaiti.*

‘Then indeed, O Mazda, shall he have (the Cow), which the Kingdom and the Good Mind promised, whosoever through the strength of piety should increase the nearest land which the wicked man doth share.’

ys. 10. 8 (yAv. verse):

*yō yada pudrəm taurunəm
haoməm vandāeta mašyō
frā ābyō tanubyō
haomō vīsāite baēšazai.*

'whatever man should welcome Haoma even as a tender son, Haoma shall come unto their bodies for healing.'

(Note the variant readings *vandaita*, B 3. M 1, *vandaiti* L 13. Lb 2. K 11. Bb 1 for *vandāeta*, and *vīsāite* Pt 4, *vīsāite* J 3. Mf 2 *vīsāiti* K 4. J 6. 7. H 1. P 6. O 1. L 2. 3. O 2. Bb 1, *vīsāita* L 13 for *vīsāite*).

2. The Protasis is introduced by *yeōi*, *yezi*:

vd. 6. 3 (yAv. prose):

*yezi mazdayasna tam tam kāraym yezi āpō hrōzaym yaŋ
ahmi spānasca narasca para-iridiuti antarāt naēmāt yārs-drājō
nasuspaēm pascaēta āstryānte aēte yōi mazdayasna apasca
zmasca urvarayāssca.*

'if the Mazdayasnians should cultivate that land, if they should let the waters flow, where either dogs or men perish within the course of a year, then shall these Mazdayasnians defile with corpse-burial both waters, and lands, and plants.'

(Cf. the Optative and Indicative in the similar passage vd. 6. 4 and the Subjunctive and Indicative in vd. 6. 8. It is also interesting to observe the implied remoteness of the possibility of such a defilement, as contrasted with the positive future certainty of the penalty if the defilement is committed.—Professor Jackson.)

vd. 9. 47 (yAv. prose):

*yezica hō nā paiti-hincōit yō nōit apivatāite daēnayā māzda-
yasnōis yaozdādryāt haca kuda aētaŋ druxš porvāite yā haca
irista upa jvāntm upa-dvāsaite kuda aētaŋ nasu porvāite yā
haca irista upa jvāntm upa-racōrwayciti.*

'and if this man should sprinkle who should not be cognizant of the Mazdayasnian religion in accordance with purification,

how then shall that Druj be combated, who pounceth from the dead onto the living, how then shall that Nasu be combated, who mingleth from the dead onto the living?'

(Note the variant reading *apavaiti* **Mf. 2.** for *apivatāite*.)

b. Aorist tense in the Protasis and Present tense in the Apodosis.

1. The Protasis is introduced by the general relative *ya*:—

ys. 46. 10 (GAv. verse):

*yā vā mōi nā zṃnā vā mazdā ahurā
dāyāt aṃhōnūš yā tū vōistā vališta . . .
frō tāiš vīspāiš cinvatō frafrā pōratūm.*

'whosoever, either man or woman, should give me in this world what thou, O Mazda Ahura, dost deem best, . . . forth with them all I shall come unto the Cinvat-bridge.'

The conditional sentence containing the Optative in the Protasis and the Subjunctive in the Apodosis is not absolutely unknown to the Sanskrit, although examples are very rare. As a possible instance we may cite Rv. 8. 40.1:

*indrāgni yuvām si nah śah anita dāsathō rayīm
yēna dr̥hā samātsvā vilū cit sāhiṣimāhi.*

'Indra and Agni, mighty ones, ye shall give wealth to us, whereby (= if by it?) we should gain what is fixed and fast.'

II. IDEAL CONDITIONS IN THE PAST—UNFULFILLED CONDITIONS.

a. Optative in both Clauses.

a. The Present Tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yedī*:

yt. 8. 52-54 (yAv. prose and verse):

*yedī zī azom nōit dāidyam spitama zaradūštra aom stāram yim
tištrim . . .*

*hamahc zī mē ida ayqu hamayā vā xšapo
xā pairika yā duzyairyā
vīspahc aṃhōnūš astvato*

parōi pairiθnəm anhvam ava-hisidyāt
aca paraca dvaraiti.

'if indeed I should not have created, O Spitama Zarathushtra, that star Tishtrya, . . . verily all the day and all the night this Pairika Duzhyairyā would seem (?) a bond (?) before the life (?) of this material world, (as), she rusheth to and fro.'¹

yt. 13. 12-13 (yAv. prose and verse):

yeidi zi mē noit daiði! upastam urā asānuṇam fravašayō noit
mē ida

ānhātəm pasvira
yā stō sarōdanam vališta
drujō aogarō drujō xšadrəm
drujō astvā anhuš ānhāt . . .
hazdyāt . . . vaonyāt . . . upa-dayāt.

'if indeed the awful Fravashis of the righteous should not have given me aid, then I shall not have cattle or men, which are the two best things of the kind; the power will belong to the Druj, the kingdom will belong to the Druj, the material world will belong to the Druj, . . . would use violence, . . . would conquer, . . . would yield.'

(The interchange of the Optatives *hazdyāt*, *vaonyāt*, and *upa-dayāt* with the Perfect Subjunctives *ānhāt* and *ānhātəm* has already been noted by Bartholomae Altiran. Verb. 189-190. The general sense of the passage seems to be an Unfulfilled rather than a Possible Condition.)

b. Optative in the Protasis and Subjunctive in the Apodosis.

a. The Present tense in both Clauses.

1. The Protasis is introduced by *yeidi*:

vd. 1. 1 (yAv. prose):

yeidi zi azəm noit daiḍyam spitama zaraduštra asō rānō-
dāitīm noit kuda! šāitīm vispō anhuš astvā airyanəm vaḵjō
frāšnvaēt.

¹ Professor Jackson suggests that *hisidyāt* may be a reduplicated form of the Av. $\frac{1}{2}$ *sad*, Old P. $\frac{1}{2}$ *ḍad* 'seem,' and that *pairiθna* may be from the $\frac{1}{2}$ *tan* 'stretch' + *paiti*. The genitive *anhvam* would then be governed by the preposition *parōi*.

'if I should not have created, O Spitama Zarathushtra, a place joy-giving, (although really) not pleasant anywhere, all the material world will come to Iran Vej.'

(For this strange use of the Subjunctive, apparently due to the loss of feeling for the finer mood-distinctions, compare the interchange of the moods in the preceding example.)

As examples of the conditional sentence containing the Optative in both clauses in Sanskrit and Greek we may cite the following passages:

Rv. 8. 44.23

*yád agnē syām ahám tvám tvám vá ghā syā ahám
syūs tē satyā ihāsīṣah.*

'if I should be thou, Agni, or thou shouldst be I, thy wishes should come true.'

Iliad 7. 28 :

ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τι πίδουο, τό κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη.

In the case of the Condition of Unfulfilled Ideality the Greek has made an innovation on the Indo-Germanic form by substituting the Indicative for the Optative. This change renders the sentence more vivid, since it brings to the front the actual state caused by the actual unfulfillment of the condition. Cf. for example Iliad 5. 679-680 :

*καί νύ κ' ἔτε πλέονας Ἀχαιῶν κτάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄσ' ἔνοησε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ.*

Yet in the Greek we find relics of the more primitive construction. For example, we have the Optative in the Apodosis of an Unreal Condition in Iliad 2. 80-81 :

*εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλοτ' ἔνειπεν,
ψεύδης κεν φάμεν καὶ νοσφεζοίμεθα μάλλον.*

Cases are not wanting of the original form of this condition with the Optative in both Clauses, as we see in Iliad 23. 274-275.

*εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἄλλῃ ἀεθλεύοιμεν Ἀχαιοί,
ἦ τ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα λυβίων κλισίῃνδ'ε φεροίμην.*

The Latin stands nearer to the Indo-Germanic syntax in this form of the conditional sentence than the Greek, *c. g.*, Cicero, de Senect. 11 :

quae si exequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus oblectaret meus.

In like manner we find the Subjunctive and not the Indicative in Unfulfilled Conditions in Germanic, *c. g.*, Otfrid 2. 3.46 :

thaz eina unari uns nuzzi, habēfin uir thic unuzzi.

'that one thing were good for us, had we that knowledge (cf. also Erdmann, Untersuchungen über die Synt. der Sprache Otfrids i. 108-111).

C. DEFECTIVE CONDITIONS.

Under this rubric we may place those conditional sentences whose Protasis contains no finite form of the verb. Such sentences are 'defective' in so far as they cannot be classified under any of the classes already discussed, since we have seen that the verb of the Protasis determines the class to which a conditional sentence belongs. The omitted verb in Indo-Iranian as well as in Indo-Germanic is generally the copula *as* 'to be.' The following examples from the Avesta may serve to illustrate the Defective Condition.

a. Indicative in the Apodosis.

ys. 31. 2 (GAv. verse) :

*yezti aiš noit urvānē advā aibi-d.rōštā vahyā
at vā vispōng ayōi yaθā ratūm ahurō vaēdā.*

'if through these things the better path for the soul (is) not in sight, then I come to you all, as Ahura knows the judge.'

(For *aibi-d.rōštā* as locative cf. the Pahlavi translation *madam nikēzisihi*, similarly also ys. 50. 5. See further, Jackson, A Hymn of Zoroaster, 22-24).

b. Subjunctive in the Apodosis.

yt. 10. 19 (yAv. verse):

*ahmāi naēmāi uzjasāiti
miθrō grantō upa-tbištō
yahmāi naēmanqm miθrō-drušs
naēda mainyu paiti-pāite.*

unto that side shall Mithra proceed, angry (and) displeased, on which side (is) the Mithra-druj, neither shall he protect himself against the two spirits.'

A similar Defective Condition having the Imperative in the Apodosis is found in Rv. 1. 14. 8:

yē yajatrā yā īdyās tē tē pibanitu jihvāyā.

'whosoever (are) to be honored or (are) to be praised, let them drink with thy tongue.'

A similar omission of the verb in the Protasis is very common in the younger Avestan when the Protasis is introduced by the formula *yeci nōi* 'otherwise.' This Avestan phenomenon is precisely the same as the Greek usage with *εἰ δὲ μὴ*.

a. Subjunctive in the Apodosis.

vd. 13. 31 (yAv. prose):

*yeci nōi spā avacā vā adāityō-xratuš pasūm vā narəm vā
raēšyāt para hē irišintō raēšm cikayāt baodō-varštaha ciḍaya.*

'otherwise the dog without giving voice or being mad shall wound either beast or man. One shall atone for the wound of the injured man with the atonement of a Baodha-varšhta.'

(Note the thematic Subjunctive *cikayāt* found as a variant reading for the Subjunctive *cikaya*—Jackson, Av. Gramm. § 551—in **K1. Mf 2.**)

b. Optative in the Apodosis.

vd. 16. 2, 7 (yAv. prose):

*yeci nōi nāirika atrem aikōi-vaēnāt yeci nōi nāirika ādre ra-
oxšūn paiti-diōyāt . . . yeci nōi nāirika niuruīdyāt.*

'otherwise the woman shall see the fire, otherwise the woman would behold the light of the fire . . . otherwise the woman would grow too weak' (cf. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta Trad.* ii. 232 n. 11 for this last word. The interchange here between the Subjunctive *avī-vačnāi* and the following Optatives is a mark of the lateness of this particular passage.)

c. Imperative in the Apodosis.

vd. 8. 17 (yAv. prose):

yezi noīš upa vi spitama zarathuštra spānuṃ zairitum cadrucāšnuṃ noīš spačnuṃ zairi-gaošnuṃ xšvažayaciṭ tada acīdā padā vīvādayantu.

'otherwise let them cause to go six times along these ways, O Spitama Zarathushtra a yellow dog with four eyes, or a white one with yellow ears.'

As an example of a similar Defective Condition in Greek we may cite Aristophanes, *Nephel.* 1433:

πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ τῶπρ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σωτόν ποτ' αἰτιάσει.

Instances are not lacking in the Avesta of conditional sentences which are not introduced by any conditional particle or pronoun whatsoever. As an example we may cite:

vd. 5. 1-2 (yAv. prose):

nā taš para-irīdyciti avi jafnavō raonam ā taš mərəγm uz-vašaitē luca baršnuvō gairinam avi jafnavō raonam. . . . nā taš frašusaiti luca jafnavō raonam avi baršnuvō gairinam upa tām vanam acīti γam hō mərəγō āθrc ačsmam isaiti . . . kā hē asti cidā.

'a man perishes in the depths of the valleys; a bird goes from the heights of the mountains to the depths of the valleys; . . . a man proceeds from the depths of the valleys to the heights of the mountains; he comes to that tree where the bird is; he wishes fuel for the fire; . . . what is his penalty?'

The same type of sentence is found in other languages as well. Cf. for instance a Latin example, where conditions with and without a conditional particle stand side by side, in *Juvenal*, 3. 100-101:

*rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur; flet, si lacrimas adspexit amici.*

With regard to the tenses of the Subjunctive, Optative, and Injunctive in the conditional sentences of the Avesta, I have not been able to detect any difference in force between the Present and the Aorist. The distinction which exists in some languages, such as Greek, between the Aorist and the Present seems to be entirely lacking in Avestan. This is the same conclusion as was reached by Jolly in 1872 (Conj. u. Opt. 20-21).

Variations in mood in the same verb when it is repeated in a parallel passage or in different manuscripts of the same passage are rather frequent. The following examples may be collected from the texts considered above.

A. Indicative beside Subjunctive: *frinaiti* ys. 62. 9: *āfrināt* vd. 18. 26, *zānāite* ys. 11. 6: *zānāite* **Mf** 2. **K**. 11. **L** 13, *zānaiti* **J** 6. 7. **C** 1. **L** 1. **O** 2, *marāt* ys. 19. 6 **Pt** 4. **S** 1. **Mf** 1. 2. **K** 4. **Bb** 1: *marat* **J** 2, *vaocāt* ys. 31. 6 **J** 2. **Pt** 4. **Mf** 1. 2. **Jp**. 1. **K** 4. 37. **Pd**. **L** 1. **Dh** 1. **S** 2: *vaocat* **K** 5. 11. **S**. 1. **J** 3. 7. 1. **H** 1. **C** 1. **L** 13. 2. 3. **Bb** 1, *carāt* ys. 46. 4 **K** 4. 10. **Jm**. 1. **L** 1: *carat* **J** 2. 3. 6. 7. **Pt**. 4. **S** 1. **Mf** 2. **Jp**. 1. **L**. 13. 2. 3. **O** 2, *barāt* yt. 13. 18 **Mf** 3. **K** 13. 14. 38. **Lb**. 5. **H** 5. **J** 10: *barat* **F** 1. **Pt** 1. **E** 1. **L** 18. **P** 13. (cf. vd. 13. 14), *ḥam-pacāite* ys. 62. 7 **Pt** 4. 1. **Mf**. 3. **Pd**. **H** 1. **P** 6. **Mf** 1. **Jp** 1. **K** 4. 36. **J** 9. **H** 2. **J** 2. **K** 5. **J** 15: *ḥam-pacaiti* **Pt** 4. 1. **Mf**. 3. **Pd**. **H** 1. 2. **P** 6. **F** 1. **J** 9. **K** 7c. 15.

B. Optative beside Subjunctive: *gūrvayāt* yt. 14. 52 **F** 1. **E** 1. **K** 16. **Jm** 4. **L** 11. **Pt**. 1. **L** 18. **P** 13. **O** 3: *gūrvayōit* **K** 38. **M**. 1. **Ml** 2, *nīshidāiti* vd. 16. 8 **Mf** 2 and *nīshadāita* **Jp** 1 and Indicatives *nīshadāiti* **K** 1a and *nīshadaita* **L** 4: *nīshidāita* **L** 2. **Br**. 1. **L** 1. **K** 10, *visaite* ys. 10. 8 **M** 1. **J** 2, and Indicatives *visaite* **J** 3. **Mf** 2 and *visaiti* **K** 4. **J** 6. 7. **H** 1. **P** 6. **C** 1. **L** 2. 3. **O** 2. **Bb** 1: *visaite* **Pt**. 4.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is the use of different modes in the Apodoses of a single Protasis. Thus in the Apodoses of the conditional sentence in Vd. 18. 69-70 we find in one the Subjunctive *frāvinuyāt* and in the other the Optative *frabarōit*. The lateness of the passage arouses one's suspicion. It is to be inferred from the passages which we have cited that the Sub-

junctive and Indicative are most liable to be interchanged. The possible ground for this is the fact that the Subjunctive and the indicative are the most vivid moods. On the other hand, the majority of these interchanges between the Subjunctive and the Indicative are certainly only apparent. They are due to the frequent confusion in the Avestan manuscripts of the signs for *ā* and *ā̄* (compare on this Jackson, *Av. Gram.*, § 18, note 1). It is noteworthy that an interchange between the Optative and Indicative is scarcely found without some of the manuscripts showing a Subjunctive as well. Especial emphasis is to be laid on the fact that the older the Avestan texts are, the more accurate are the distinctions in the use of the moods. Thus we find that the Gāthās are the most exact in their use of Indicative, Subjunctive, Optative, and Injunctive, while in certain portions of the Vendidad a confusion reigns which is almost hopeless, so far had the feeling for the language decayed.

Conclusion.—In the light of the examples which have been given in discussing the problem of the conditional sentences in Avestan, one important fact becomes clear. This fact is that the conditions are capable of exact classification, and that their types are as clearly defined as are those of the conditional sentences of Sanskrit or of Greek. More than this, we see that the types of the conditional sentences in Avestan are quite the same as those which meet us in the Vedic language, and that in one instance—the Unfulfilled Condition—the Avestan type is older than the Greek. The inference which is to be drawn from these proofs of the antiquity of the Avestan syntax in regard to the conditional sentences is the necessity of emphasizing the importance of a strict adherence in the interpretation of the Avestan texts to the laws of the great body of Indo-Germanic syntax.

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