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Herausgegeben von Agnes Korn, Geoffrey Haig,
Simin Karimi und Pollet Samvelian

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Definite Articles in Bactrian[1]

Saloumeh Gholami

Bactrian shows the following elements belonging to the demonstrative domain (etymological derivations from SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a:210, 234, 248):
1. ειο, ιειο, -ιιο, -ιγο, -ι, older form ειιο, ειο (in the Surkh Kotal inscription) < **ayam*;
2. ειμο, ιειμο, εμο, ιμο < **ima*-, Pl. ειμουανο, εμουανο, -ιμουανο < **imaišanām*;
3. ειδο, εδο, -ιδο < **aita*-, Pl. εδουανο,-ιδουανο < **aitaišanām*;
4. οο < **awam*;
5. ι < **ya*- (in some uses also from **ayam*);
6. μο < **ima*-.

Nos. 1-4 can be used as demonstrative pronouns or adjectives, and both anaphorically and cataphorically. ειο, ειμο and ειδο display a proximate deixis while οο is used for remote deixis (GHOLAMI 2009: 24).

ι and μο can be used as articles and as demonstrative adjectives. ι can also be used as a demonstrative pronoun (SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007a: 214, 314).[2] So both words are classified as a demonstrative and article at the same time. Moreover, most languages have only one word that functions as a definite article. In this article, I will discuss the use of ι and μο to determine whether they can be said to be articles, demonstratives or both. The text corpus used for this investigation comprises the texts edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS as BD I (legal and economic documents), BD II (letters), the Rabatak inscription edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS (2008) and SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB (1996) and the Kanishka inscription of Surkh Kotal (LAZARD/ GRENET/ DE LAMBERTERIE 1984).

Before embarking on this subject, a short look at the case system and the forms of ι and μο is necessary.

1. Case, gender and number

Bactrian shows two cases and numbers in older texts and has only some few reflexes of the feminine. There is no distinction of gender and case in later texts.

Similarly, there is no distinction between oblique and direct case for ι and μο. The feminine form of ι, i.e. ια, is attested in a few texts. The feminine form of μο, i.e. μα, is attested only in the Surkh Kotal and Rabatak inscriptions. Only the plural form of μο, i.e. μι, is attested once in a Bactrian text. There is no plural form of ι in the extant material. Table 1 shows the extant feminine and plural forms of ι and μο.

[1] I would like to thank Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams for valuable comments. I also wish to express my special gratitude to Agnes Korn for reviews, many critical comments and suggestions.

[2] In this article I distinguish between demonstrative adjective and demonstrative pronoun. A demonstrative adjective modifies a noun while a demonstrative pronoun has a substantival function.

Table 1: Forms of ι and μο

M (later on only form)	F	PL
ι	ια	–
μο	μα	μι

According to the extant material, ι is used much more frequently than μο in legal and economic documents, letters and Buddhist texts, and μο has the much more frequent variant μ- (see Table 5).

It must be added that Bactrian shows split ergativity with agreement of the verb with the patient in person and number. So far as there is a gender distinction, Bactrian ergative constructions show the agent in the oblique and the patient in the direct case, while various mixed patterns also occur.[3]

2. Demonstratives and articles

Demonstrative pronouns develop into definite articles in many Indo-European languages, but determining the exact point of this transition is not easy. In Iranian, the phenomenon occurs e.g. in Sogdian and the Pamir languages. For example in Sogdian "there are three demonstrative stems: *x-/w-* (3rd person), *š-/t-* (2nd person) and *y-/m-* (1st person). This three way deictic system, which is related to the person, develops first into a two way deictic system composed of remote and proximate deixis. Thereafter the forms from the stems *x-/w-* and *y-/m-* develop into a kind of article" (WENDTLAND 2004: 38, my translation).

The different characteristics of demonstratives and articles help us to recognise their exact function in a context. Here I will use the definition of "definite article" presented by HIMMELMANN, who identifies it according to the contexts in which they occur. He distinguishes so-called "semantically" and "pragmatically" definite contexts. The former type is definitional for definite articles, whereas the latter is characteristic for demonstratives. He offers a system of different contexts in which either a demonstrative pronoun or an article is used. He quotes the following classification from Hawkins[4] (HIMMELMANN 1997: 35-37):[5]

1. Immediate situation use ("unmittelbar-situativ"): e.g. *Beware of the dog*.
2. Anaphoric: e.g. *and a man comes along with a goat*, *and the goat obviously is interested in the pears.*
3. Absolute definite use ("abstrakt-situativ"): e.g. *the sun; the Queen; the Prime Minister.*
4. Associative-anaphoric: e.g. *the man drove past our house in a car. The exhaust fumes were terrible.*
5. Non-familiar use: article with established relative sentence, e.g. *Bill's fed up with the book which I've just given him for his birthday;*

[3] See GHOLAMI 2009a and SIMS-WILLIAMS in this volume.

[4] Cf. HAWKINS 1978: 107-122.

[5] HIMMELMANN 's examples are quoted here to illustrate the contexts he defines for demonstratives and articles; they are not meant to imply an analysis of English *the*.

article in complement sentence, e.g. *Bill is amazed by the fact that there is so much life on earth;*
with genitive and nominal attributive, e.g. *the weight of the car; the number seven*;
with superlative, e.g. *the fastest person to sail to America*;
with ordinal numbers, e.g. *the first;*
and with some adjectives, e.g. *the same; only; other; next,* etc.

According to HIMMELMANN, the first and second features, which are pragmatically definite, are typical for demonstratives while the other features (3 to 5) correspond to semantically definite contexts and are definitional for definite articles.[6]

3. ι and μο in semantically definite contexts[7]

3.1 ι and μο with a name

In examples (1, 2, 3), μο and ι occur before a personal name or a place name, and can be interpreted as belonging to HIMMELMANN's type 3.

(1) αγγιτι μανο μο λαδογοζγο
aŋgiti man mə lādguzg
receive.PST.3s I.OBL mo PN
"I, Lad-guzg, received …" (aa 19-20, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 149)

(2) αβο μο λαναγγο þαρο
av mə lānāŋg šahr
to mo PN town
"in the city of Lan" (F 2, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1998: 192, 2000a: 45)

(3) αβο ιωγο χþονο αβο ι υνδο φροαγδαζο
av yōg xšun av i hind frəwaγdāz
to one year to i India proclaim.PRF.3s
"In the year one there was proclaimed to India" (Rabatak 4, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 56)

3.2 ι and μο with nouns of relationship

ι and μο are sometimes used with βαγο "god, lord", or kinship terms, e.g. μαδο "mother" and βραδο "brother" (examples 4-5). In this case ι and μο can be interpreted as belonging to HIMMELMANN's type 3.

(4) ασιδο-μο ι βραδο þοδο
asid-əm i vrād šud
which-I.CP i brother spend(?).PST.3s
"which my brother spent (?)"(al 3-4, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 163)

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[6] See also SELIG 1992: 120ff.

[7] In the examples to follow, some translations have been adjusted for the purposes of this article. Overstrikes (which in the original texts are used to indicate abbreviations) are omitted, while the transcription gives the full form of the words.

(5)	τακοοαδανο	πιδο	οδο	ιμαδο	οδο	γωυριγο
	tā-kuwad-an	*pid*	*ud*	*i-mād*	*ud*	*gōhrig*
	and-in as much as-PAR	father	and	i-mother	and	family
	υοσινδηιο	αβηγο	αβο	λαδο		
	husind-ēi	*abēg*	*av*	*lād*		
	agree.PRS-OPT.3s	away	to	give.INF		

"And in as much as the father and the mother and the family may agree to give her away" (A 27, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 35)

In examples (6) and (7), ι and μο are shown used with βαγο. As example (6) also contains a name, it may also be counted as belonging to 3.1.

(6)	ι	βαγο	þαο	κανηþκι
	i	*vaγ*	*šā*	*kanēški*
	i	lord	king	PN

"The lord king Kanishka" (Surkh Kotal 1, LAZARD/ GRENET/ DE LAMBERTERIE 1984: 226)

In the Rabatak inscription μο is used in various inflectional forms, agreeing in number and case with its head noun, as in example (7).

(7)	οδο	ασο	οισποανο	μι	βαγανο
	ud	*as*	*wispəhan*	*mi*	*vaγān*
	and	from	all.PL	mo.PL	god.OBL.PL

"and from all the gods" (Rabatak 2, SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB 1996: 78, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 55-56)

3.3 μο and ι with time adverbial expressions

μο occurs rather often in time adverbials. It is often found with αβρο, αβαρο, απαρσο "future", and it is also used with ωσο "now". Similarly, ι is found several times with απισοδαρο "formerly". Bactrians seem to have seen time periods as semantically definite, and apparently treated them as noun phrases.

(8)	οδο	σιδανο	ασο	μαβρισο	αλφανζαμηιο
	ud	*cid-an*	*as*	*m-abr-ic*	*alfanjām-ēi*
	and	which-PAR	from	mo-future-also	acquire.PRS-OPT.1p

"and also which we may acquire in the future" (A 14, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 33)

(9)	ταδο	παρσο	μαβαρο	ζαμανο
	tād	*parc*	*m-abar*	*žamān*
	then	after	mo-later	time

"then in the future time" (F 8-9, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 45)

(10)	ιθα[ο]	α[τ]ανο	μαπαρσο	ζαμανο
	ihā	*at-an*	*m-aparc*	*žamān*
	so	that-PAR	mo-future	time

"so that in the future" (ab 6, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 151)

(11) ασο μωσο αβο ιαοηδανο ζοριγο
as *m-ōs* *av* *yāwēdān* *zorig*
from mo-now to eternal time
"from now to eternity" (J 20, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 59)

(12) κισο ιαπισοδαρο ηρσαδο
kic *y-apicdar* *ērs-ād*
whoever i-formerly come.PRS-SBJV.3s
"whoever else may come first" (xe 22-23, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 147)

3.4 ι and μο with numerical modifiers etc.

ι and μο are frequently used with adjectives with the meaning of "other" as ανιγο, ανιιο, ανιυο; ανδαρο, ανδορονιγο "next", ωνδο "same", or with a numeral. This use can be interpreted as belonging to HIMMELMANN's type 5.

(13) πωστογο μανιγο λιστοβαρο
pōstəg *m-anīg* *listvar*
document mo-other copy
"the other copy of the document" (aa 4, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 149)

(14) κιδο ι ωνδο λιβο ζανινδο
kid *i* *ōnd* *lib* *zān-ind*
who i same document witness.PRS-3p
"who witness the present document" (A 3, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 33)

(15) πιδο ι ιωγο οδο υιρσο χϸονο
pid *i* *yōg* *ud* *hirs* *xšun*
in i one and thirty year
"In the 31st era-year" (Surkh Kotal 5,
LAZARD/ GRENET/ DE LAMBERTERIE 1984: 226)

3.5 μο with pronominal elements

In examples (16)-(17), μο and μα occur after a demonstrative. As ειιο and ειδο are known as demonstratives in Bactrian, μο and μα can only play the role of a definite article here. The use of both demonstrative and definite article may show the emphasis on the noun:

(16) ειδο μα λιζο
īd *ma* *liz*
DEM ART fortress
"this very fortress" (Surkh Kotal 1,
cf. LAZARD/ GRENET/ DE LAMBERTERIE 1984: 227)

(17) οτο ειιο μο σαδο
ut *ei* *mə* *cād*
and DEM mo well
"and this very well" (Surkh Kotal 9,
cf. LAZARD/ GRENET/ DE LAMBERTERIE 1984: 227)

Here it must be added that this construction is attested only in the Surkh-Kotal inscription, which is an old text. So the construction seems to be an archaic feature. However, there is a somewhat similar construction also in later texts: in example (18), μο is used with χοβο, which is a reflexive adjective and reflexive pronoun (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 279).

(18) πιδο μο χοβο σινδο
pid *mə* *xub* *sind*
in mo own wish
"at (our) own wish" (I 5', SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 51)

In (18), one might describe the use of μο as being covered by HIMMELMANN 's type no. 5 while it is not quite clear whether (16) and (17) are included in his features.

4. ι and μο in pragmatically definite contexts

In many cases, for instance in the examples (19)-(21), there is pragmatic definiteness. That is, either the referent is present or is mentioned before in the text and μο or ι is used in a context which is typical for a demonstrative, and it therefore can be grouped as belonging to HIMMELMANN's type 1:

(19) ωσο σαζαμανδο το χοηο μο πωστογο οινηιο
ōs *cāžamand* *tə* *xwadēu* *mə* *pōstəg* *wīn-ēi*
now as soon as SPD[8] lordship mo letter see.PRS-2s
"now, as soon as your lordship sees this letter" (cb7, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 71)

(20) οτι μο πωστογο μανο νιβοχτι
ut *mə* *pōstəg* *man* *niboxt*
and mo contract I.OBL write.PST.3s
"and this contract was written by me" (aa 34-35, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 149)

(21) ιπιδοναμαγο κιρδο μανο τητο
i-pidnāməg *kird* *man* *tēt*
i-signed document do.PST.3s I.OBL PN
"I, Tet, wrote this signed document" (K 15, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 63)

ι is used also as demonstrative pronoun in the extant material (ex.22), but the examples of ι with substantival function are rather rare (Table 3).

(22) ταδο-μο πιδο ι ναβιχτηιο
tād-əm *pid* *i* *nəbixt-ēi*
then-I.CP in i write.PST-2s
"I have written to you regarding this" (bh 8-9, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 67)[9]

μο is not used as a demonstrative pronoun in the extant Bactrian material.

[8] The term "second person demonstrative" refers to pronoun with a deixis like Latin *iste* (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 269). See GHOLAMI 2009b for further discussion.

[9] The combination of πιδο and ι should not be confused with πιδ(δ)ιο etc., which represents πιδο plus the demonstrative ειο (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 210). Indeed the instances of πιδ(δ)ιο have demonstrative function.

5. Ezafe function of ι

Another use of ι is that of an ezafe particle (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 214). It is possible that ι in this function goes back to **ya*- as does the Persian ezafe while ι in other functions derives (also) from **ayam*. The ezafe may link the following elements to their head noun:

(A) another noun:

(23) φαρο οιριβτομιβο ι χοηοι
far *wirištmiš* *i* *xwadēu*
for PN i lord
"for Wirishtmish the lord" (al 18, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 163)

(B) another name element:

(24) νατο ι χαραγανο
nat *i* *xāragān*
PN EZ PN
"Nat [from the family of] Kharagan" (xd 6, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 145)

(C) one or more adjectives:

(25) κοβανο ι ραβτογο ι λαδειγο
kušān *i* *rāštəg* *i* *lādīg*
PN i righteous i just
"the Kushan, the righteous, the just" (Dasht-e Nāwūr 4-5,
SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB 1996: 95)

However, there are also cases where no ezafe particle is used. Compare the examples above with (26)-(27):

(26) χοηοι κοσιρδαχμιγο
xwadēu *kusirdaxm-ig*
lord PN-ADJ
"the lord of Kusirdakhm" (C 7, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 39)

(27) ναοαζο χαρογανο
nawāz *xāragān*
PN PN
"Nawaz Khahrugan" (cd 1, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 75)

It seems that the ezafe is not used to express possession. Instead, possession is expressed by the possessor preceding the possessum. In (28), ανδαρισο κισο "someone else" is a noun phrase containing an indefinite pronoun, and it occurs before the head noun:

(28) ανδαρισο κισο ζαο
andār-ic *kic* *žāw*
other-also person life
"anyone else's life" (bd 12, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 59)

6. Summary of uses of ι and μο

Table 2-3 show the uses of ι and μο in BD I and II.

Table 2: Uses of μο / μ- in BD I and II

	semantically definite (ART)			pragmatically definite (DEM)		sub-stan-tival DEM	unclear	sum
	feature 3	feature 4	feature 5	feature 1	feature2			
μο	3	–	1	12	2	–	1	19
μ-	41		17	6	5		2	69
sum	62			25			3	90

Table 3: Uses of ι in BD I and II

semantically definite (ART)			pragmatically definite (DEM)		sub-stan-tival DEM	EZ	unclear	sum
feature 3	feature 4	feature 5	feature 1	feature2				
16	22	17	24	39	8	111	11	248
55			63					

Adjectival ι and μο are used in both semantically and pragmatically definite contexts. Only ι is also used as a substantival demonstrative and as an ezafe particle. μο is slightly more frequent than ι in the role of an article.

7. Presence vs. absence of articles

The use of articles is not obligatory in Bactrian, and there are parallel cases with and without article. As mentioned in Section 3.2, articles occur with kinship terms like μαδο "mother" and πιδο "father". However, there are also examples like (29) and (30) and πιδο in (5) where no article is used with such terms.

(29) αλο μαδο αλο π[ιδο]
al *mād* *al* *pid*
with mother with father
"with (their) mothers and (their) fathers" (zb 2, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 177)

(30) σαγωνδο νιαγο οδο πιδο κιρδο
cagōnd *niyāg* *ud* *pid* *kird*
as grandfather and father do.PST.3s
"as (his) grandfather and father did" (A 27, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a:35)

Another example for the use and non-use of articles is the phrase "I, (name)" (1, 21) and the word βαγο. As shown in Section 3.2, this word is used (in the singular and the plural) with article in the Surkh Khotal and the Rabatak inscriptions. In the latter inscription, there are

also three cases of βαγο without article and three cases with a demonstrative adjective. In example (31) βαγανο occurs without article:

(31) σαγωνδι βαγανο σινδαδο
cagōnd vaγān sindād
as god.OBL.PL please.PST.3s
"As the gods pleased" (Rabatak 3,
SIMS-WILLIAMS / CRIBB 1996: 78, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2008: 56)

As we have seen in example (7) the plural form of βαγο, i.e. βαγανο, is used with article. Similarly, "in the year ..." is used with (15) and without (3) ι, and ωσο "now" occurs with and without μο, as shown in the examples (11) and (32):

(32) αβο οισπο αστο σιδο-μηνο ωσο αστο
av wisp ast cid-mēn ōs ast
to every home which-we.CP now be.PRS.3s
"in every home which we now have" (A 13-14, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2000a: 33)

While it is not clear yet which factors govern the use or non-use of the articles in Bactrian, one might wonder whether their presence might be phonologically conditioned at least in some instances. As pointed out by Nicholas Sims-Williams (personal communication), ι is rather frequently used with ασπο "horse"; and a comparison with Munji *yosp* and Ormuri *yāsp* (where the demonstrative/article has become part of the word) suggests that there may have been a stage where ι had lost its function and its presence had become governed by reasons of euphony or rhythm.

Indeed, there are three instances of ι-ασπο in Document cl (e.g. example 33 and 34) while the same document also has an instance of ασπο (36).

(33) οτομο πιδο ιασπο
ut-əm pid y-asp
and-I.CP in ART-horse
"and for me concerning the horses" (cl 7-8, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 89)

(34) οδαλδο γαλο οδο ιασπο ναχωζηιο
ud-ald γal ud y-asp na-xōž-ēi
and-if thief and ART-horse NEG-search.PRS-2s
"and if you don't search out the thieves and the horses"
(cl 8, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 89)

(35) οδασο μαρο ασπο οαστινδηιο
ud-as mar asp wāst-indēi
and-from here horse take.PST.3p
"(and they have) taken (away) horses from here" (cl 5-6, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007a: 89)

In such cases, the motivation might be to avoid a word-initial vowel.[10]

[10] Note that in the Balochi dialect Lashari spoken in Iran, there is a secondary *y-* in front of word-initial *a* and *ā*, including instances like *y-aps* "horse", *y-āy-* "come" and others (KORN 2005: 260). Here, this is to be seen in the context of a tendency to avoid word-inital vowels (cf. JAHANI / KORN 2009: 647).

However, both ι and μο are often used in the same phonological contexts, cf. examples such as μ-απαρσο / ι-απισοδαρο "future"; μ-ωσο "now" / ι ωνδο "same"; μο πωστογο "document" / ι-πιδοναμαγο "signed document"; μ-ισο "therefore", ι ιωγο "one". Also, ι and μο are used before vowels like *a*, *o* and different consonants. Tables 4-5 show the uses of ι and μο according to function and phonological context.

Table 4: Distribution of ι according to function and phonological context in BD I and II

feature:	1	2	3	4	5	unclear	sum
α-	3	10	5	2	10	2	32
ο-	1	–	1	1	2	1	6
ι- [i] and [y]	–	–	–	-	1	2	3
consonant	20	29	10	19	4	6	88

Table 5: Distribution of μο / μ- according to function and phonological context in BD I and II

feature:	1	2	3	4	5	unclear	sum
μ-α	2	4	30	–	16	–	52
μ-ι [i] and [y]	–	–	9		–	–	9
μ-ο	4	1	2		1	2	10
μο ο-	1	–	–		–	–	1
μο ε-	–	–	–		–	1	1
μο + consonant	11	2	3		1	–	17

Both ι and μο / μ- are used before vowels and consonants. ι is very frequent in front of consonants, and it also often occurs before α-. In a few cases it is found before ο- and ι-. μ- is used only before vowels while only μο is found before consonants. However, μο is much less frequent in this position than ι. Conversely, while both ι and μ- are common in front of α-, μ- is much more frequent in this position. There are also some cases of μ- with word-initial ο- and ι- and exceptional cases of μο with ο- and ε-.[11]

8. Conclusion

According to my investigation, both Bactrian ι and μο occur in "semantically" as well as "pragmatically" definite contexts as defined by HIMMELMANN. So both elements are used as definite article and demonstrative adjective.

The feminine singular form of ι, i.e. ια, the feminine form of μο, i.e. μα, and the plural form of μο, i.e. μι, are attested in the extant material. Their use in semantically definite contexts confirms that ι and μο function as definite articles. Examples in which they occur include the use with a personal name, with βαγο "god" and with kinship terms, e.g. μαδο "mother", βραδο "brother". ι and μο are also used with time expressions, e.g. αβρο, απαρσο, etc. "later". In their use as definite article, there are more attestations of μο. ι is on the whole

[11] I also compared the findings in Tables 4-5 to some other Bactrian documents edited by SIMS-WILLIAMS (2007b, 2000b, 1997, 1993). These texts do not change the results.

more frequent than μο, but the cases of ι as demonstrative adjective outnumber those of ι as article. However, the use of an article is not obligatory in Bactrian. The factors governing the presence vs. absence of a definite article are not clear yet.

In Bactrian texts, ι and μο are also used in contexts that are typical for demonstratives. These contexts are characterised by pragmatic definiteness, that is either the referent is present or has been mentioned before. ι is used rather infrequently in pragmatically definite contexts. ι also functions frequently as an ezafe particle.

Abbreviations

1s / 2s / 3s	1st / 2nd / 3rd person singular	OBL	Oblique
1p / 2p / 3p	1st / 2nd / 3rd person plural	OPT	Optative
ADJ	Adjective suffix	PAR	Particle
ART	Article	PL	Plural
CP	Enclitic Pronoun	PN	Personal or place name
DEM	Demonstrative	PRF	Perfect
EZ	Ezafe	PRS	Present stem
F	Feminine	PST	Past stem
INF	Infinitive	SBJV	Subjunctive
M	Masculine	SPD	Second Person Demonstrative
NEG	Negation		

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