

# Voice and Transitivity in Complex Predicates

(presentation manuscript)

*Agnes Korn*

*University Frankfurt a.M., Germany (a.korn@em.uni-frankfurt.de)*

In New Persian, complex predicates (CP)<sup>1</sup> often come in pairs, one member (with *kardan* / *zadan*, etc.) functioning as active, the other one (with *šodan* / *x<sup>w</sup>ordan*, etc.) as its passive or intransitive counterpart, as in (ex. 1) *penhān kardan* "to hide (tr.)" vs. *penhān šodan* "to hide (itr.)" or e.g. *gūl zadan* "to cheat" vs. *gūl x<sup>w</sup>ordan* "to be cheated". Other Ir. languages show similar pairs, to which we will return later. So the light verb<sup>2</sup> not only hosts the inflection of the verbal phrase, but also conveys the voice property of the complex predicate.

This paper will investigate how the use of light verbs as members of complex predicate pairs has come about. Some CP constructions – although not of the NP type – started out as early as Old Iranian and I argue that they can be considered as roots of New Iranian light verbs.

## 1. *Aktionsart* CPs

(handout p. 2)

One of the constructions that can claim the longest attested history in Iranian is a periphrasis with "to stand" functioning as durative *aktionsart* in various languages.<sup>3</sup> The earliest examples are found in Avestan and in the Middle Ir. languages Khotanese and Sogdian (ex. 5-7). In Parthian and Middle Persian, "stand" occurs as an auxiliary in *perfectum praesens* function (ex. 9),<sup>4</sup> and it is still used in this way in Tajiki (ex. 10).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Such constructions are termed "conjunct verbs" by BASHIR (fthc. 1, § 3), following usage in descriptions of New Indic languages). Her definition of "compound verbs" refers to constructions composed of a verb stem (main verb) and a finite light verb.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper, the term "light verb" is (also) used to refer to verbs that to some extent correspond to NP light verbs.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BENVENISTE 1966.

<sup>4</sup> Thus HENNING (1934:246) for MP. See also MACKENZIE 1984 for possible use of "stand" in the MP inscriptions.

Also, in the Iron dialect of Ossetic (ex. 11), the plural forms of the copula are based on a stem *(y)st-*, which has been derived from "stand".<sup>6</sup>

(handout p. 3)

Other verbs are also used in durative function. For instance, instead of "stand" used in Buddhist Sogdian, the other Sogdian varieties use *ʒskwn* "remain" to express a durative (ex. 12).<sup>7</sup>

In a similar function, New Persian uses a periphrasis with the verb *dāštan* (ex. 13), which nowadays means "have", but etymologically means "hold".<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Voice CPs

The same verb forms the perfect in Xwaresmian<sup>9</sup> and Sogdian<sup>10</sup> (ex. 14a), and it may also be present in the Ossetic preterite<sup>11</sup> (ex. 15a). Interestingly, this construction is used only for the transitive perfect / preterite in Sogdian and Ossetic while the intransitive construction consists of the past participle / past stem and the copula (ex. 14b, 15b).<sup>12</sup> The use of *dār-* in this tr. perfect shows that light verbs may be grammaticalised by way of a transformation of *aktionsart* into a transitivity feature.

(handout p. 5)

One factor that may have motivated this change is the gap in the system left by the loss of Old Iranian mood and voice oppositions. In Old Iranian, *aktionsart*, mood and voice are expressed by means of verbal morphology. The very rich verbal system includes the moods indicative, injunctive, subjunctive, optative and imperative. Verbal stem formation

<sup>5</sup> The assumption by JOHANSON 2005 of Turkic influence effecting this use of "stand" is not necessary in view of the MP data.

<sup>6</sup> BIELMEIER (1977:162f.), THORDARSON (1989:477). According to WEBER 1983, the 3pl. derives from *\*asti*.

<sup>7</sup> BENVENISTE 1966:46. Sogdian also has duratives composed of an *\*-aka*-participle plus (itr., pass.) *\*ah-* / *wmʔt-* / *ʒskw-*, (tr.) *δʔr-* (GERSHEVITCH 1954:126).

<sup>8</sup> For *dār-* "hold" in similar function in MP and Parthian, see DURKIN-MEISTERERNST p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> Xwaresmian uses *dāray-* for both tr. and itr. verbs (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2005).

<sup>10</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS (1989:189). The final *-t* of the past stem is lost in contact with the *δ-*.

<sup>11</sup> THORDARSON (1989:476).

<sup>12</sup> This is also the construction of the itr. perfect in Khotanese, whose tr. perfect derives from an participle in *\*-tāvant-* according to SIMS-WILLIAMS (1997:322-324). Note that Ossetic agrees with Sogdian here, while Yaghnobi (a descendant of a Sogdian variety) has a different construction for the tr. perfect (past participle plus enclitic pronouns).

provides further means to express modal and *aktionsart* categories (Tab. 2).<sup>13</sup> The middle voice expresses the reflexive, reciprocal, intransitive and passive (ex. 21-24).

Owing to certain sound changes, verbal suffixes are lost in Middle Iranian, and with them the categories they expressed. Only the more archaic among the Middle Ir. languages (viz. Khotanese and Sogdian) preserve some of the Old Ir. mood and voice distinctions (Tab. 3), and even there, only a few verbs are used both in the active and the middle (ex. 25-26). So the middle voice is out of function soon after the archaic stage of Middle Iranian.

(handout p. 4)

A good example for the transformation of light verb to markers of transitivity is the so-called "potential construction".<sup>14</sup> This is a periphrasis composed of a finite form of "to do" plus the past participle, which in later stages is the past stem of the main verb; its meaning is "to be able to do something".<sup>15</sup> This pattern is attested already in Old Persian (ex. 16),<sup>16</sup> and it is found in Xwaresmian, Parthian, Khotanese and Sogdian.<sup>17</sup> It is still in use in several New Ir. languages today, among these the Eastern Ir. varieties Munji and Yaghnobi (ex. 19) and the Western Ir. one Balochi (ex. 20).<sup>18</sup>

Now the interesting point is that there is not only an active construction: Khotanese (ex. 18) and Sogdian (ex. 17) and maybe Parthian<sup>19</sup> have a corresponding passive and an intransitive, formed with the verb "to become" (Khotanese *häm*-<sup>20</sup>, Sogdian *βw*- and

<sup>13</sup> This chiefly applies to Avestan. In Old Persian, some verbal categories are already out of use.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. ZARSHENAS 2002, SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007.

<sup>15</sup> The same construction can also express anteriority in some Ir. languages. According to BENVENISTE 1954, it is originally an idiom expressing "succeed, achieve, complete an action", thus resulting both in "to be able" (chiefly in main clauses) and expression of anteriority (in subordinate clauses).

<sup>16</sup> Note that the past participle agrees with the direct object in number, gender and case (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:382).

<sup>17</sup> The suffix *-tu* – originally used in the transitive potential construction in Sogdian, and still so in Khotanese – derives from the OIr. accusative *-tam*, so that one may say that the past participle agrees with the object in case (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:382). Strictly speaking, the Sogdian form of the past participle used in the potential construction is not identical to the form found elsewhere (e.g. in the passive): the latter has a suffix *m*. *-tē*, f. *-tča*, pl. *-tēt* while the former uses *-t* (heavy stems), *-tu*, *-ta* (light stems) (SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:377).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. MOCKLER (1877:61, 71), GERSHEVITCH (1954:131). Note that the negation is prefixed to the past participle / stem in most languages, but to the finite verb "to do" in Balochi.

<sup>19</sup> DURKIN-MEISTERERNST (2002:58).

<sup>20</sup> EMMERICK (fthc., § 5.3.2.4).

Parthian *baw-*).<sup>21</sup> The passive means "something can be done" while the intransitive use is found for verbs such as "lie down, sit down" etc. (ex. 25-26).

The use of "to do" for the active vs. "become" for intransitives and passives is exactly the same opposition we saw in the NP ex. 1 above. Pairs similar to the ones found in New Persian are used in many other languages, including – to quote some examples from the northeastern and southeastern corners of the Ir. speaking world – e.g. Yaghnobi (ex. 3) *judō kun-* "separate" vs. *judō vī-* "be separated", the light verbs used in Wakhi (ex. 4): *tsar-* "do", *dī-* "beat, hit", *δīr-* "hold" for transitive CPs and *wots-* (past *vīt-*) "become" for intransitive ones, and tr. "hold" vs. itr. "go" in Eastern Balochi (ex. 2).<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Morphology

Owing to their long history and wide distribution, the periphrasis with "stand" and the potential construction are also convenient examples to show how such constructions may develop morphologically in Iranian. There are basically two ways.

As seen in Avestan and Old Persian (ex. 5, 16), the OIr. light verb-to-be is combined with an adjective or with the past participle, which indeed may be used as an adjective. The past participle gives the past stem in later Iranian. So the MP construction in ex. 9 is a combination of the past stem with the inflected form of "stand", and the same structure of past stem plus light verb is seen in the potential construction in Middle and New Iranian (ex. 17-20).

Conversely, and owing to the double nature of the OIr. past perfect participle as nominal and verb form at the same time, the inflection is transferred to the first member of the complex predicate in other Ir. languages. Here, the light verb is grammaticalised as a particle defining the mood or *aktionsart* of the clause. This applies to the way "stand" comes to be used in Buddhist Sogdian and Yaghnobi<sup>23</sup> (ex. 7-8).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> This applies even to Old Persian in the sense that there are examples of the construction in anterior function (see fn. 15) with *bav-* as its passive (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:381).

<sup>22</sup> For further discussion of this construction, see BASHIR (fthc. 1, § 3.2.2.4). Other Balochi dialects show CPs of the NP or Yaghnobi type.

<sup>23</sup> Synchronically, this is the simple present in Yaghnobi.

<sup>24</sup> Also in Yidgha (SKJÆRVØ 1989:415).

Similarly, other light verbs may be combined with a noun (ex. 1, 3, 5), with the past participle or past stem (ex. 2, 14-20) or may be grammaticalised as a particle (ex. 11).

## CONCLUSION

While there are no "light verb" in the strict sense In Old Iranian, there are certain verbs that mark *aktionsart*, mood etc. when combined with a nominal, thus in a use different from their function as a full verb. These verbs were later on reinterpreted as light verbs implying a certain voice feature.

So from the viewpoint of Old Iranian, In conclusion, we may observe that in Ir. complex predicates, the voice feature expressed by the New Ir. light verb represents an analytical version of the voice opposition. This exemplifies the broad trend in Iranian of substitution of synthetic constructions by analytical ones.

It also exemplifies another trend, viz. the increasing importance of the category of transitivity within Iranian. In some Ir. languages, transitivity is relevant because it triggers various ergative and mixed patterns in the Past domain, or because it affects the formation of the perfect (like in Khotanese, Sogdian and Ossetic). In others (like NP), transitivity determines the selection of the light verb, and in some (e.g. Balochi, Kurdish and Yaghnobi<sup>25</sup>), transitivity is relevant for both features.

---

<sup>25</sup> See fn. 12.

## Voice and Transitivity in Complex Predicates

(handout)

*Agnes Korn*

*University Frankfurt a.M., Germany (a.korn@em.uni-frankfurt.de)*

### Verb pairs in New Ir. languages (light verb in blue)

- 1a) tr. *penhān kardan* *gūl zadan*  
New Persian hiding do.INF deceit strike.INF  
"to hide (tr.)" "to cheat"
- 1b) itr. / pass. *penhān šodan* *gūl x'ordan*  
hiding become.INF deceit eat.INF  
"to hide (itr.)" "to be cheated"
- 2a) tr. *bākīgā āwār māl* *īst-ō* *dāθ-a*  
Balochi rest.OBL looted goods.DIR leave.PST-PTC hold-PERF  
(Eastern)<sup>1</sup> "The rest of them abandoned the looted goods."
- 2b) itr. *darmān* *udarθ-ō* *šūθ-a*  
powder.DIR explode.PST-PTC go-PERF  
"The powder blew up."
- 3a) *judō* *kun-*  
Yaghnobi separated do  
"to separate"
- 3b) *judō* *vī-*  
separated become  
"to become separated"
- 4a) *tsar-* / *di-* / *δīr-*  
Wakhi<sup>2</sup> do beat, hit hold  
(light verbs for transitives)
- 4b) *wots-*  
become  
(light verb for intransitives)

---

<sup>1</sup> BASHIR (fthc. 1, § 3.2.2.4).

<sup>2</sup> BASHIR (fthc. 2, § 3.2.1.1).

**Durative *aktionsart* markers:**

**(a) "stand"**

5) *yō me duš.saphō hišta'te*  
 Avestan REL.NOM.SG.m. me injuring.NOM.SG.m. stand.PRES.MDL.3SG  
 "who keeps injuring me (lit. who stands [as someone] injuring me)"<sup>3</sup>

6) *u ttrāyi ṣṭāna vaṃṇa*  
 Khotanese and save.PRES.2SG stand.PRESP.MDL now  
 "[you rescued previously] and you are now rescuing  
 (lit. you are standing rescuing me)"<sup>4</sup>

7) *wyn-ʹm ṣṭn*  
 Sogdian see-PRES.1PL stand  
 (Buddhist) "we are seeing" (BENVENISTE 1966:47)

8) *wēn-om-išt*  
 Yaghnobi see-1SG-PRES  
 "I see" (BENVENISTE 1966:47)

9) *gyān (...) andar tan ā'ōn*  
 Middle soul in body thus  
 Persian *āmixt ud passaxt ud bast ēstēd (...)*  
 mix.PST and mingle.PST and bind.PST stand.PRES.3SG  
 "the soul (...) is (lit.: stands) so mixed, mingled and bound in the body ..."<sup>5</sup>

10) *man kitob xonda istoda-am*  
 Tajiki I book read.PERF stand.PERF-1SG  
 "I am reading a book." (RZEHAKE 1999:78)

11) *st-æm*  
 Ossetic COP.PRES-1PL  
 (Iron) "we are"

<sup>3</sup> Y 10.12 (BENVENISTE 1966:48).

<sup>4</sup> EMMERICK (fthc., § 6.1.4).

<sup>5</sup> M 9 II r, 16-18 (ANDREAS/HENNING 1933:299-300).

**(b) "remain"**

- 12) *tʃ-nd-skwn*  
 Sogdian cut-IPF.3PL-DUR  
 (Manichean) "they were cutting" (GERSHEVITCH 1954:100)

**(c) "hold"**

- 13) *dār-am mī-xʷ ān-am*  
 New Persian have-1SG PRES-read-1SG  
 "I am reading"
- 14a) tr. *xwrdʔr-y*  
 Sogdian eat.hold-2SG  
 "you have eaten" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985:194)
- 14b) itr. *mʔt-ym*  
 become.PP-COP.1SG  
 "I have become" (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985:195)
- 15a) tr. *kald-ton*  
 Ossetic pour.PST-TR.1SG  
 "I poured" (ABAEV 1964:53)
- 15b) itr. / pass. *kald-sti*  
 pour.PST-COP.3PL  
 "they are poured" (ABAEV 1964:54)

**Tab. 1.** Durative *aktionsart* complex predicates

"stand"	> "remain in the position of doing something"	> PRES in Yaghnobi usw. marks [+present] also in Ossetic copula
"hold"	> "holding on to doing something"	> PERF in Xwaresmian, transitive PERF in Sogdian (and Ossetic?)

**The "potential construction"**

16) *naiy āha (...)* *martiya (...)* *kaščiy* *hya*  
 Old NEG be.PERF.3SG man.NOM.SG someone.NOM.SG.m REL.NOM.PL.m.  
 Persian *gaumātam xšaθram dītam čaxriyā*  
 PN.ACC lordship.ACC tear.PP.ACC do.PERF.OPT.3SG  
 "there was no one who could have torn the lordship off Gaumata"<sup>6</sup>

17a) tr. *βzyz L° βrt wny k²m*  
 Sogdian<sup>7</sup> bad NEG carry.PP do.PRES.2SG FUT  
 "you will not be able to bear the hardship"

17b) itr. *xw L° np²st² βwt*  
 DEM.m. NEG lie down.PP become.PRES.3SG  
 "he cannot lie down"

17c) pass. *wyt² wβ²t*  
 say.PP become.PRES.SBJ.3SG  
 "it could be said"

18a) tr. *ku ne ne yuðu yande samu*  
 Khotanese<sup>8</sup> if NEG do.PP do.PRES.MDL.3SG only  
 "if he simply cannot perform [miraculous deeds]"

18b) pass. *ūtca biśśa khaṣṭa hāmātā*  
 water.NOM.SG. all consume.PP become.PRES.3SG  
 "the water can all be drunk up"

19) *moy na-žoyt kun-om-išt*  
 Yagnobi we NEG-read.PST do-1PL-PRES  
 "We cannot read."

20) *azīm a lōt-īt angrēz-ā b-rōt*  
 Balochi PN IPFV want-PST England-OBL SBJ-go.PRES.3SG  
*balin šut na-kurt*  
 but go.PST NEG-do.PST  
 "Azim wanted to go to England, but he could not go."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> DB I/13 (REICHEL 1931:257).

<sup>7</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2007:378 (a and b, Buddhist), GERSHEVITCH 1954:131 (c, Manichean).

<sup>8</sup> Z 12.132 and Z 2.210, respectively (EMMERICK fthc., § 5.3.2.4).

**Tab. 2.** *aktionart* in Old Iranian (Avestan)<sup>10</sup>

<i>Aktionsart</i>	durative	inchoative (, iterative)	potential (, non-factual)	resultative
Morphology	present stem	present stem in <i>-sa-</i>	subjunctive, optative, injunctive	perfect stem

**Middle and active voice in Old Iranian:**<sup>11</sup>**- reflexive:**

- 21a) *patipa-yauvā*  
Old Persian protect-PRES.MDL.IPR.2SG  
"protect yourself"
- 21b) *kāram pā-di*  
people.ACC protect-AOR.ACT.IPR.2SG  
"protect the people"

**- reciprocal:**

- 22a) *nōiṭ daēnā hač-a'ṛte*  
Avestan not religion.NOM.PL follow-PRES.MDL.3PL  
"our religions do not follow (= conform to) each other"
- 22b) *hač-a'ti dim*  
follow-PRES.ACT.3SG DEM.ACC  
"it follows him"

**- intransitive:**

- 23a) *daóhus varəδ-ataē-ča*  
Avestan country.NOM grow-PRES.SBJ.MDL.3SG-and  
"and the country will increase"
- 23b) *yōi aēš məm varəd-ən*  
REL.NOM.PL.m. wrath.ACC grow-PRES.ACT.3PL  
"[those] who increase anger"

<sup>9</sup> BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ (2003:20).<sup>10</sup> Cf. GIPPERT 2001.<sup>11</sup> Examples from SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994, glosses added. For Avestan, see also KELLENS (1984:39-80).

**- passive:**

24a)	<i>yaθa</i>		<i>hubəratō</i>	<i>bar-áte</i>
Avestan	when		well	treat-PRES.MDL.3SG
	"when he is treated well"			
24b)	<i>yō</i>	<i>vō</i>	<i>hubəratō</i>	<i>bar-áti</i>
	REL.NOM.SG.m	you.PL.ACC	well	treat-PRES.ACT.3SG
	"[those] who treat you well"			

**Tab. 3.** Voice in Old and Middle Iranian

	<b>causative</b>	<b>active</b>	<b>middle</b>	<b>passive</b>
Morphology	verbal stem (modified) + -aya- + endings ACT	verbal stem + endings ACT	verbal stem + endings MDL	verbal root + -ya- + endings MDL
Functions in OIr.	causative; transitive	transitive; intransitive	intransitive; reflexive; passive	passive
Functions in MIr.	causative; transitive	transitive; intransitive	only preserved in archaic Middle Ir.	only preserved in rests; <sup>12</sup> new periphrastic passive in many languages (with *baw- "be, become" or *čyaw- "move forward")

**Middle and active voice in Middle Iranian<sup>13</sup>**

25)	<i>uysāno</i>	<i>jsande</i>		<i>jsīndā</i>
Khotanese	self	kill.PRES.MDL.3SG		kill.PRES.ACT.3SG
	"he kills himself"			"he kills"
26)	<i>wēn-te</i>			<i>wēn-t</i>
Sogdian	see-PRES.MDL.3SG			see-PRES.ACT.3SG
	"it seems; s/he / it is seen"			"s/he sees"

<sup>12</sup> Some verbs in MP (but none in Parthian).

<sup>13</sup> Examples from SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994, glosses added.

**ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSES:**

ACC	accusative case marker	NEG	negation
ACT	active voice	NOM	nominative
AOR	aorist	NP	New Persian
COP	copula	OBL	oblique
CP	complex predicate	OPT	optative
DEM	demonstrative pronoun	pass.	passive
DIR	direct case	PERF	perfect
DUR	durative marker	PL	plural
f.	feminine	PN	personal name
FUT	future marker	PP	past participle
INF	infinitive	PRES	present (stem)
IPF	imperfect	PRESP	present participle
IPFV	imperfective aspect	PST	past (stem)
IPR	imperative	PTC	particle
itr.	intransitive	REL	relative pronoun
Ir.	Iranian	SBJ	subjunctive
m.	masculine	SG	singular
MDL	middle voice	tr.	transitive
MP	Middle Persian		

**SOURCES AND REFERENCES**

- ABAEV, Vasilij I. 1964: *A Grammatical Sketch of Ossetic*. The Hague: Mouton
- ANDREAS, Friedrich C. and Walter B. HENNING 1933: "Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II." In: *Sitzungsberichte der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, pp. 292-363 (= Walter B. Henning 1977: *Selected Papers I* [*Acta Iranica* 14], pp. 191-260)
- BARJASTEH DELFOROOZ, Behrooz 2003: "The Structure of Present and Past Stems in Balochi Compared to Old, Middle and New Persian." In: Carina Jahani, Agnes Korn (eds.): *The Baloch and Their Neighbours: Ethnic and Linguistic Contact in Balochistan in Historical and Modern Times*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp. 19-31
- BASHIR, Elena (ftnc. 1): "Some Transitional Features of Eastern Balochi: An Areal and Diachronic Perspective." In: Carina Jahani, Agnes Korn and Paul Titus (eds.): *The Baloch and Others: Linguistic, historical and socio-political perspectives on pluralism in Balochistan*. Wiesbaden: Reichert

- (ftbc. 2): "Wakhi." In: Gernot Windfuhr (ed.): *Iranian Languages*. London: RoutledgeCurzon
- BENVENISTE, Émile 1954: "Expression de 'pouvoir' en iranien." In: *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 50, pp. 56-57 (= *Études sogdiennes*. Wiesbaden 1979, pp. 287-298)
- 1966: "Le verbe *stā-* comme auxiliaire en iranien." In: *Acta Orientalia* 30, pp. 45-49
- BIELMEIER, Roland 1977: *Historische Untersuchungen zum Erb- und Lehnwortschatzanteil im ossetischen Grundwortschatz*. Frankfurt a.M. etc.: Peter Lang
- DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, Desmond o.J.: *Grammatik des Westmitteliranischen (Parthisch und Mittelpersisch) auf Grund manichäischer Texte, des Inschriftenmaterials und auszugsweise der Pahlavi-Literatur*. Münster (unpublished manuscript)
- 2002: "The uses of *baw-* in Parthian." In: Philip Huyse (ed.): *Iran. Questions et connaissances. Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> congrès européen ... I: La période ancienne*. Paris: Peeters, pp. 47-62
- 2005: *Mitteliranische Sprachen (handout of a course held at Berlin University in spring 2005)*
- EMMERICK, Ronald (ftbc.): "Appendix. Khotanese and Tumshuqese: A Survey." In: id.: *An Introduction to Khotanese*. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1954: *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: University Press
- GIPPERT, Jost 2001: "Elements of the Avestan Verb Morphology", <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/idg/iran/avest/avvmorph.htm>
- HENNING, Walter B. 1934: "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente." In: *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9, pp. 158-253 (= *Selected Papers* I, pp. 65-160)
- JOHANSON, Lars 2005: "Bilateral Code Copying in Eastern Persian and South-Eastern Turkic." In: Éva Ágnes Csató, Bo Isaksson and Carina Jahani (eds.): *Linguistic Converging and Areal Diffusion. Case Studies from Iranian, Semitic and Turkic*. London, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, pp. 205-214
- KELLENS, Jean 1984: *Le Verbe Avestique*. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- MACKENZIE, D. Neil 1984: "*HWYTN*: stance and existence." In: Wojciech Skalmowski, Alois Van Tongerlo (eds.): *Middle Iranian Studies. Proceedings of the international symposium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of May 1982. Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta* 16. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 45-56 (= *Iranica Diversa* I, pp. 197-208)
- MOCKLER, E. 1877: *A Grammar of the Baloochee Language, as it is spoken in Makrān (ancient Gedrosia), in the Persi-Arabic and Roman characters*. London: Henry King
- REICHEL, Hans 1931: "Beiträge zur soghdischen Grammatik." In: Walther Wüst (ed.): *Studia Indo-iranica. Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, pp. 248-260
- RZEHAK, Lutz 1999: *Tadschikische Studiengrammatik*. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- SCHMITT, Rüdiger (ed.) 1989: *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 1985: *The Christian Sogdian Manuscript C2* [Berliner Turfantexte 12]. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag

- 1989: "Sogdian". In: Schmitt, pp. 173-192
- 1994: "The Middle Voice in Middle Iranian" (handout of a paper presented at the Symposium anlässlich des 25-jährigen Bestehens der Kommission für Iranistik an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 4.-5. Nov. 1994) Vienna
- 1997: "The denominal suffix *-ant-* and the formation of the Khotanese transitive perfect." In: Alexander Lubotsky (ed.): *Sound Law and Analogy. Papers in honor of Robert S.P. Beekes on the occasion of his 60th birthday* [Leiden Studies in Indo-European 9] Amsterdam / Atlanta: Rodopi, pp. 317-325
- 2007: "The Sogdian potentialis." In: Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi, Werner Sundermann (eds.): *Iranian Languages and Texts from Iran and Turfan. Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume* (*Iranica* 13). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 377-386
- SKJÆRVØ, Prods O. 1989: "Yidgha and Munjī." In: Schmitt, pp. 411-416
- THORDARSON, Fridrik 1989: "Ossetic." In: Schmitt, pp. 456-479
- WEBER, Dieter 1983: "Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Ossetischen." In: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 88, pp. 84-91
- ZARSHENAS (= Zaršenās, Zohre) 2002: "Šavāhed-ī az sāxt-e emkānī dar zabān-e balūčī." In: Hasan Rezāi Bāgbīdī (ed.): *Maǰmū'e-ye maqālāt-e naxostīn ham-andīše-ye gūyeš-šenāsī-ye īrān*. Tehran 1381 h.š, pp. 259-270