

Východné stredoiránske jazyky

-VSI jazyky sú prakticky ohraničené na Seveovýchodné iran. Jazyky; pokrývajú obdobie najmenej od 1.-13. Stor. n.l.

Na rozdiel od západ. Stredoiran. Jazykov je to veľmi rozmanitá skupina definovaná veľmi málo jasnými isoglosami

Nemáme žiadnych zachovaných predchodcov typických východoiran. Jazykov, ako sú pašto alebo pamírska skupina

V skutočnosti napriek blízkej príbuznosti medzi sarmatčinou a osetčinou resp. medzi sogdštinou a yagnobštinou môžeme povedať, že žiadny z východostred. Iran jazykov nemá priameho zachovalého potomka

Zvyšky menej významných EMIran. Jazykov

Nápisy kráľa Ašóka-3. Stor pred n.l., jazyk textov je považovaný za variantu aramejčiny s iránskymi výpožičkami alebo viac pravdepodobne najstarší dochovaný EMIran jazy. (*kpty* meno cesty, sogd. *q'rtθ* „cesta, chodník“

Bucharština

Jazyk a písmo sú identické sogdštine – mince panovníkov Buchary, krátke nápisy

- al-Biruni miestami cituje EIran dialekty; Sístán, Termez, Zábulistán

EMIran výpožičky v indických jazykoch

gaf'ava – pokladník, *stora* – kôň, v sanskrite *ga'javara-*, *sthora*;

niektoré výpožičky prežili v moderných dardických jazykoch; v khovarštine *γrXnu*-tehotná, v sogdštine *γr'n*

EMIran výpožičky v tocharštine

Obsahujú veľa foriem patriacich k EMIran jazykom, ktoré neôžu byť presne definované Tochar.B *sXf* „nepriateľ“, sogd. *s'n*, khotan. *sXna*, oset. *son*

EMIran výpožičky v modernej perzštine

- Väčšina výpožičiek je odvodená zo sogdštiny

- *falXxan* „popruh, pás“ pravdepodobne z avesty *fradaxšanX*; preto *l < *d* vo výpožičkách zo sogdštiny a *x < *xš* ako v chorezmštine

Spoločná charakteristika EMIran jazykov

Fonológia

Zachovanie [θ] – konzervatívna črta EMIran jazykov, ktorá sa nevyskytuje v WMIran jazykoch; sogd. a chor. *myθ* „deň“, khot. *thaff-* „tlačiť“, baktr. *ιθ* „preto“

Jediný fonologický vývoj, ktorý sa zdá byť spoločný všetkým hlavným EMIran jazykom je vyslovenie frikatívy v OIran. Skupine **ft* a **xt*; sogd. *'βt'*, chor. *'βd* „sedem“, < **hafta*, baktr. *ωσογδο* „čistý“ < *ava-suxta (-ka)*,-

Vo všeobecnosti OIran **b,d,g* vyvinuli sa do frikatív v začiatkovej pozícii. Preto **baraka-* „ovocie“, **dXt'* - „zákon“, a **gav* „krava, býk“ sú v sogd. *βr'k*, *δ't'kh*, *γ'w*, chor. *βrk*, *δ'dyk*, *γ'w* manich. Baktr. *βrg*, **l'd* v *l'dβr* „sudca“, a *γ'w*.

All the EMIran languages other than sogd. take part in the general depalatalization of OIran

**č* and **j*. The resulting *^m* are sometimes simplified to *s*, *z*. Bactr. *σαδο* “well” < **čXta*

Palatalization is much more marked in Eastern than in Western middle Iranian. Thus the OIran prep./postp. **pati* je bactr. *πδο* with umlaut of **a* but sogd. *pač-* (beside *pat-*).

Another characteristic EMIran. Tendency is seen in the shortening or ultimate disappearance of OIran. Long vowels or diphthongs in certain circumstances; in Sogd. *r fxsšn* “bright”, Chor. *rxn* “light, down” < **rauxšna-*, manich. Bactr. *wš* „grass < **vXstra*.

Morphology

- principal significance of the retention of the old vocalic endings
- in Khotan. and Sogd. several types of nominal declension remain distinct
- morphology of Sogdian and Choresm is significantly less conservative than that of Khotanese, while Bactrian had already in the first century A.D. reached almost the same stage as WMIran.

Lexikon

- characteristic differences in vocabulary between East. and West. Middle Iran result from innovations on both sides.

The lost in WEIran **gari-* “mountain” > Khot. *ggara*, Sogd. *γr*, replaced by *kef*; in EMIran **kapX* „fish“ (Khot. *kavX-*, Sogd. *kp-*, Chor. *kyb*).

**sXna* – „enemy“ : Sogd. *s'n*, Oss. *Son*

**maiθa-* “day” : Sogd. and Chor. *myθ*,

Most of the EMIran languages (except being Choresm) have adopted a significant number of Indian loanwords - contact with Buddhism :

XkX`a – „sky“ : Khot. *XtX`a-*, Sogd. *'k'c*, Parth. *'g'c*.

Relationships within the EMIran group

Sogdian and Saka

Sogdian is the most similar to Khotanese and Tumshuqese Saka, partly because these are MIran languages which best preserve the morphological system of OIran.

Sogd. *knθ* “city”, *r'f* “disease”, *nnšky* “palm of the hand”.

In both languages suffixal **k* receives special treatment. Whereas in Persian **k* comes to be lost in final position, in Sogd. and Saka it is lost intervocally.

Bactrian

- more closely connected with Sogdian and Choresm. than with Saka.

Bactrian and Sgd. Share the use of **uti* as an enclitic particle and the fem. suffix – *avζo / 'nc*.

Bactrian and Chor. share the change of **št* to *t(t)* and the plural ending – *ε/ -i*. Common features of all three languages are the use of an article (**y`-* in Bact. and Choresm., **im`-* in Bact. and Sogd.)

Bactr. also has western connexions esp. with Parth. as in the third pers. plur. opt. ending – *ovδηιο*, Manich. Bact. *lh* – “to give” and *l'hw'n* “gift”, corresponding to Parth. *-yndy®*, *dh-*, *d'hw'n*.

EastIran connexions of Partian

-Parthian occupied an area adjacent to those of Bact., Sogd. and Choresm; correspondences between Parth. And Sogd. include those between parth. *pdyc* “towards”, *h'z* “was, is” *drwgm̄yg* “lying, false” and Sogd. *pt'ty* “in the presence of”, *'z* “was, žym-, “lie”, *swntk* “liar”.

Iran connexions of Old Persian

development of **θr* into a sibilant (OP. *l*, Sogd. *š*); the existence of the verb *gaub-* (OP. *gauba-* “to speak”, Sogd. *γwβ*, Chor. *γwy* “to prise” ; the irregular replacement of **ʒ* by *u* in the present stem of *kar-* (OP. *kun(au)-*, Sogd. *kwn-*), the compounding of a preposition and pronoun as in OP. *hačXma*, Sogd. *c'mk*, Chor. *cm(y)k* “from me”.

- Persians could live in vicinity of the Sogdians; this explanation is scarcely applicable to the development of * *θr* into *l / š* since in Sogdian this change evidently had not yet occurred at the time of the adoption of the Aramaic script.

Sogdian

- land Sogdiana is first mentioned in Avesta, in the OP inscriptions and by classical greek writers; conquered by Alexander in the 4. cent. B.C. and by the Arabs at the beginning of the 8. cent. A.D.

- the limited material for the era of the Muslim invasion includes the coins issued by the rulers of Bukhara and Sogdiana

- Samarkand, the capital of Sogdiana had a strategic position of the profitable Silk road
Sogdian became almost a lingua franca of Chinese Turkestan

- evident differences in Sogd. texts are more often chronological or merely orthographical than dialectal

- one dialect survives in modern Yaghnobi.

- *δ* and *θ* merge as *l*, is indirectly attested by many Sogd. loanwords in Persian.

Adām voh« - sogdian version of prayer offers display sogdian characteristics features such as palatalization in *-yšt'y* “is” (later Sogd. *iči*) - Av. *astò*.

-christian literature – texts from a single site – Nestorian monastery at BulayĖq

- apart from a single fragment in Brahmi script, the Sogdian texts are in 3 scripts : Sogdian, Manichean, Syriac – all derive ultimately from Aramaic script and they have many features in common

Sogdian script

main varieties :a, archaic script of the Ancient Letters and other texts up to 5. cent.

b, the formal or S«tra-script chiefly employed for Buddhist texts

c, the cursive script with various local sub-types

Ideograms are far fewer than in MPers or Parth.; while the 22 Aramaic letters all retained their place in alphabet, four of them (*d*, *s*, *'* and *q*) were not used as phonetic symbols

The voiced stops (b,d,g)are represented by the same symbols as their counterparts, the letter *beth* *β*, and *gimel* *γ* being reserved for fricatives. Aramaic *lamed* stand for *δ* and *θ* and *l* in sogd. *pt γ' δ* – NP *pay%Xla* “cup”. Except for initial (X) (') and (-) long vowels are not consistently distinguished.

Manichean script

- manichean sogd. orthography is influenced by conventions of the sogd. script and manichean MP and Parth. The addition of the special letters β , δ and γ leaves b, d and g to represent only the voiced stops.
- (b) and (d) can also be written phonemically (as p and t); initial (α) can be indicated *ain*, (–) by *nn* (e.g. *srδnng* beside *srδng* leader) – borrowed from WMIran.
- the letters s and q are interchangeable with t and k ; the frequent doubling of the letters y, w, δ and t has no phonetic significance while \textcircled{r} is always silent

Syriac script

to the 22 letters of the Syriac script the sogd. Christians added new characters f, x and \check{z} .

(γ) is generally represented not by *gimel* (g) but by *ain* (γ) and (δ) and (θ) are kept distinct, being written with delath (d) and tau (θ).

an important advantage is the system of vocalic points which makes it possible to distinguish between vowels of different qualities.

(X) and (δ) are regularly distinguished in internal position by the presence or absence of *aleph*

Phonology - consonants

- conservative feature of sogd. is the preservation of the voiceless p, t, k and affricate \check{c} . in almost all positions including after a vowel S, M $'p$, C $'p$ “water. The fricative $f, \theta, s, \check{z}, x$ are similarly well preserved : S $n'p$, $n'\beta$, M, C $n'f$ “people”. In other EIran languages the voiced plosive b, d, g and affricate \check{c} have become fricative $\beta, \delta, \gamma, \check{z}$ even in initial position.

As a result of these changes b, d, g and \check{c} do not occur in sogd. except as allophones of p, t, k and \check{c} . M *sng* “stone” < **asanga* – beside *zng* “kind” < **zanaka*.

OIran h is either lost or strengthened to x . Consequently h occurs only in foreign words, except for an isolated instance of disimilation in M *hwnx* besides *xwnx* “that, he”; l is attested only in one native word C *wlrz* “to tremble”.

Sogdian shows no aversion to clusters of consonants such as *xšn, xst, pθt, čxw* or *tkw*. Certain groups display an unexpected absence of assimilation e.g. *ms* and *mt* in verbs such as S, M *ptyms*- “to come to an end”. Combinations of voiced fricatives + voiceless plosive are particularly characteristic : M *'zprs* “pure”, *wjp* “terror”.

Some other combinatory changes which help to define the position of Sogd. amongst the Iranian languages are of initial $\check{c}y$ to \check{s} , of *tsv* (IE * $\%_{,,}$) to *sp* and of *dzv* (IE * $h_{,,}$) to *zβ* as in S, M, C *šw*- “to go”, S, M *'sp*-, C *sp*- “horse”. OIran *dv* gives $\delta\beta$ S, M $\delta\beta r$, C *dbr*; *sr* and *θr* likewise give \check{s} except that *agθr* results in *Xr*. Alternatively δr and θr are sometimes metathesized to *rδ* and *rθ*. palatalized s and z become \check{s} and \check{z} .

The loss of final h and m is accompanied by the change in the quality of the preceding short vowel, whereby *-ah* becomes *-i*. while *-am* and *-im* become *u*. Loss of h and m does not affect the preceding X .

Intervocalic k disappears in certain circumstances C *z'ty* “son” i.e. zXt^2 < * $zXta'i$ < * $zXtakah$. This treatment is found chiefly but not exclusively. In some cases k seems to have survived as a result of a strengthening to *kk*.

Phonology : vowels

- the treatment of the OIran vowels in sogd. is extremely innovatory; most of the innovations may be attributed to the effects of a strong word stress

- vocalism of many sogd. words bears little resemblance to that of their OIran etymons e.g. **b#zdyah* “bad” > **βéži* > *βéži* > *βži* > *βži*.

The long vowels X (< OIran $X, Xi Xu$), 2 (< *ai, aya* palatalized X) e (< *au, ava*), δ (< δ , *iya*) and \ll (< \ll , *uva*) are amongst the more stable sounds in the sogdian phonological system despite certain cases of secondary shortening.

To the OIran short vowels *a, i, u* which preserve their identities under certain conditions must be added *e* (< palatalized *a*, e.g. C *fnyš* “to be deceived” < **fra-nasya-*).

The treatment of OIran *ɜ* in Sogd. is complex. In some circumstances is lost, in others it is converted into a sequence of *r* plus short vowel.

In general, *n* and *m* occur before vowels and before *y, w, r* and *n*, while *g* occurs before fricative, plosives and affricates : S *knδh*, M *knδ*, C *knθ* “city”.

Stress and the Rhythmic Law

- the position of the stress in the period before the operation of the Rhythmic law is sometimes revealed by palatalization thus : S, M, C *zyrn* “gold” implies **záranya*. Some prefixes esp. preverbs are proclitic, the stress being immediately following syllable e.g. S *xwt'ynh*, C *xwtyn* “queen” < **hva-tZunò-*. The shift of stress, which affected a large portion of Sogdian word-form, appears to have in a fixed stress on the long vowel or diphthong, if any, otherwise on the final syllable of the word.

Final *-ya* and *-wa* contracted to *-ò* and *«*, e.g. S *m'nyh* (mZnò) “in mind” < *mZnya* < **mZnayX*.

Suffixal *k* was dropped after unstressed *`* and the resulting combinations of vowels underwent contraction (*` + ` > X*, *` + e/÷ >² a+u > e*)

- unstressed final short vowel were lost

- almost any sogd. word exemplifies one or another of these developments

Although the Rhythmic Law is primarily a phonological law, its importance for students of Sogdian is largely due to its far-reaching consequences for morphology. The loss of unstressed final vowels and contraction of unstressed *-ya* to *ò*, resulted in separation of almost every class of inflection into two distinct types known as “light stems” and “heavy stems”.

Morphology – nouns and adjectives

Sogd. preserves the three numbers and three genders of OIran. Survival of neuter is marginal. Many old neuter nouns have become masc. or fem. All ordinary Sogd. plurals derive from collective nouns formed with the OIran fem suffix **-t X*. This suffix seems to have been attached directly to the stem.

Light stems distinguish six cases, the old dative and instrumental having merged with the genitive and ablative respectively. The inflection of heavy stems is reduced to a system of two cases, direct and oblique, whose functions cannot be easily correlated with those of the six cases of light stems. The declension of light stems is “inflective” type while that of heavy stems is “agglutinative”.

In the plural all light stems are declined alike, with nom. –acc. in *-ta*, gen. loc.-abl. in *-tya* regardless of gender. The voc. plur. was probably **-te*.

Light stems in *-y-* regularly have heavy plurals (e.g. (*a*)*ny-* “other”, plur (*a*)*n òt*; those in *-r-* are also sometimes treated thus.

The great majority of nouns and adjectives have been wholly absorbed into the **a* and **X-* declensions.

- small group of *³ - stems have retained a partial independence as a sub-species of light stems. The attested forms of masc. light stem in **u-* (apart from thematized forms) are nom. acc. sing. *-u* < **-uš*, **-um* and nom. acc. numv. *-u* < *«*.

Heavy stems of all genders are declined alike : dir. Ø, obl. *-ò*, dir. plur. *-t*, obl. *-tò*. Heavy stems denoting persons quite often attested voc. forms borrowed from the light stems.

Contracted stems are of two types : **aka*-stems and **XkX*-stems. Masculine stems in **aka* are very numerous. The plural is declined in the same way (except for occasional occurrence of the old gen. plur. *-Xn* < **-a' Xn*).

*aka stems are often found besides heavy or light stems : $pX\delta^2$ - $pX\delta$ “foot”. Sometimes stems other than contracted stems use a plur. in $-^2t$ e.g. $sar\delta^2t$ beside $sar\delta t$ “years”, sar^2t “heads”.

In general adjectives are inflected like nouns, except that no num. forms occur. As in other Iran. languages, *wisp-* “all” has a partly pronominal declension. Adjectives in $-k$ sometimes form their fem. in the same way e.g. maz^2xk “great”, fem. $maz^2x\check{c}$.

The superlative in $-tam$ occurs rarely, the suffixes $-star$ and $-tar$ being employed for both comparative and superlative. The suffix $-tar$ has also been added to most of the few surviving comparatives and superlatives in $*-yah-$ and $*-i\check{s}ta-$, e.g. $fryX-tar$, (\langle) $fyXtar$, $fr^2\check{s}tar$ “more” (cf. Av. $frXiih$, $fr^2\check{s}ta$). A speciality of Sogd. is the elative, which is formed by means of the prefixes $\check{c}X-$ “how!”, wX and (before s) $wat-$ “so”. e.g. $\check{c}X-tex-t$ “how very fast”.

Morphology-numerals and pronouns

Most sogd. numerals including S $\prime yw$, M $\prime yw$, C yw “one” are indeclinable. The greatest variety of forms is presented by δtwo ”, which has separated forms for the masc. (S,M (\prime) $\delta w\prime$, C $dw\prime$) and for the fem./ntr. (S $\prime \delta wy$, C dwy). The cardinal “7” to “10” are basically light stems. In the cardinals “11” to “19” $*-dasa-$ has been reduced in unstressed position to $-ts$, as most clearly shown by C $pncc$ ($pag\check{E}a^{\wedge}$) “15”. Obl. forms in $-nu$ are occasionally attested (“6, 11, 12, 50”). C stw “100” is treated as a ntr. light stem, abl. S,M $st\prime$; as an enclitic in the compounds C $dwyst$ “200” and $\check{s}yst$ “300” it loses the vocalic ending.

Ordinals are generally formed with the suffixes $-m$ and most often $m\delta k$.

The basic forms of the first and second pers. sing. pronouns are S,M $\prime zw$, C zw “I”, S,M,C tyw “thou” (nom.) and S,M,C $mn\prime$ “me, my”, $tw\prime$ “thee, thy” (originally gen. but used in many texts in all non-nom. functions). The equivalent plur. forms, S $m\prime xw$, M,C $m\prime x$ “we, us, our”, S $\check{s}m\prime xw$, M (\prime) $\check{s}m\prime x$ “you, your”.

The usual forms of the encl. pronouns are : 1. pers. sing. $-m$, $-m\delta$, plur. $-man$, 2. pers. sing. $-f$, (chiefly acc. and abl.), $-t$ (chiefly gen.), $-f\delta$, $t\delta$, plur. $-fan$, $-tan$; 3. pers. sing. $-\check{s}u$ (chiefly acc.), $-\check{s}$, $-\check{s}\delta$, plur. $-\check{s}an$.

Sogd. dem. pronouns are mostly based on the two suppletive systems $y-/m-$ “this” ($\langle *ayam$, $*ima-$) and $x-/w-$ ($\langle *hau$, $*ava-$). the stem $y-$, and $x-$ supply nominatives, esp. masc. and fem. sing., the remaining forms being derived from $m-$ and $w-$.

The extended forms, which function as strong demonstratives, are created by the addition to the simple forms of particles or suffixes, notably $-^2\theta$ or $^2\delta$, gd , and $*-nak\prime$. The first of these series S,M $xy\delta$, $wy\delta$ “that”, $y\delta$, $my\delta$ “this”, C xyd , wyd , yd , myd ; for the second cf. the plurals M $x\prime md$, $w\prime nds$, C $x\prime nt$, $w\prime nt$, “those”, S,C $y\prime nt$, $m\prime nt$ “these. The prepositioned forms are simple or extended demonstratives compounded with prepositions, e.g. S,M prw and prm “in the”, S,M $cywy\delta$, C $cywy\theta$, $cywyd$ “from that”, S $cyw\prime nt$, M $cywnd$, C $dywnt$ “id”.

Still more complex demonstratives can be created by combining various pronominal elements, e.g. S $cym\prime nt\check{s}nw$ “from them” (w) $nyw\prime nt(y)$ “to that”.

Morphology - verbs

Sogdian present stems represent many OIran classes. Those derived from stems in $*-ya$, and $*-aya-$ show characteristic palatalization, e.g. $fne\check{s}$ “to be deceived” $\langle *fra-nasya-$, $fne\check{s}$ “to deceive” $\langle *fra-nXsaya-$.

All past stems end in $-t$. They derive from the OIran past part. in $*-ta$, which the abstract noun in $*-ti-$ has merged. Several common verbs, e.g. $wX\beta/wayt-$ “to say”, derive their present and past stems from different roots. A secondary past stem can be formed by adding $-t$ to the present stem, e.g. $tke\check{s}\prime t$ to pres. $tke\check{s}$ “to look”. This formative, like Partf. $-Xd$, has probably been extended by analogy from forms of root $stX-$, e.g. $e\check{s}t/e\check{s}t\prime t$ “to stand”.

While the augment was lost in initial positions, it coalesced with the final short *-a* or *-i* of the verb to form a long vowel *-X-* or *-ò-* (e.g. *fVmXy* “to order” < **fra-mXya-*, imperf. *frXmXy* < **fra-a-mXya-*).

Of all MIran languages, Sogdian possesses the greatest range of forms expressing the various tenses, moods and aspects.

The future tense is formed by the addition of the particle *-kXm* (later *-kXg*, *-kX*) to the present. ind., less often to the opt. subj. or inj. In C2, *-kX* is attached to *Xz*-imperf., giving a form with past prospective meaning, e.g. *zwrt'zq* “was about to return”. The most common durative particle *whih* is often suffixed to the pres. ind., impf. and *Xz*-impf., is *-(ç)skun*, later *-skn*, *-sk* (after forms ending in *-t/-d*, also *-kn*, *-k*). The rare particle *S* - *štn* appears to be synonymous.

The past inf. ends in *-te* (light stem) or *-t* (heavy stem) and always follows the governing verb. Its formation and usage remains constant in all types of Sogdian. The old past part. in *-t* forms the basis of the pret., but is seldom used adjectivally, this function being taken over by an extended form in *-t²* < **taka* (fem. *-tč*). Fut pass. participles consisting of present stem + *-ò* < **ya*, *-nòk*, or *čòk* are occasionally found. The productive suffix forming pres. participles is *-²n²*, fem. *-²nč*. Certain christ. texts employ an uninflected form in *-²k* or *-(²)sk* together with inflected forms of (w)mXt as a periphrastic imperfective preterite. A few late sogd. docum. attest a gerung in *-kya* (light), *-kò* (heavy).

The intransitive preterite in the third pers. sing. consists merely of the nom. sing. of the past stem : light stems can distinguish masc. *-ti* and fem. *-ta* while heavy stems end in *-t*.

Few sogd. prefixes appear to be productive. Apart from the prefixes *magd-*, *nX-*, *ne-*, *(ç)pu-*, the most important are *Xw-* “co-“ and *frò-* “philo”. Many words in **a-*, and other masc. and ntr. stems have been extended by the addition of **-ka-*, e.g. *martxm²* “man” < **marta-tauxma-ka-*. Similarly fem. in **X* and **ò-* are often extended by **-kX* and **-čò* (plus **-X-*), e.g. *(ç)psXk* “wreath, crown” < **pusX-kX*. The suffices forming *-Xmagd²* and *Xkč* form verbal abstracts. Suffixes forming adjectives from nouns include *-čò*, *-čòk* (also *òčk*, *-(»)n²*, *-òk* and *-m»(g)č* (originally fem of *-m»)n²*. Many adverbs end in *²θ/²δ*, e.g. *yen²θ/δ* “at once”.

Lexikon

- vocabulary of Sogd. derives chiefly from the common Iran. stoch, with a proportion of specifically Elran words, MIndian and WIran, chiefly Parth.