ON THE REMAKING OF THE MIDDLE VOICE
IN INDO-IRANIAN

The study of the origins and prehistory of the middle voice in the overall context of the verbal system(s) of Ancient Indo-European languages was in the focus of the attention of Indoeuropeanists from the very beginnings of their discipline. Professor Erhart's activity in this area culminated in his 1989 monograph Das indoeuropäische Verbalsystem, where he also makes a number of observations on later developments in individual branches of IE. The following lines limited to the Indo-Iranian family, are intended to highlight some of the salient aspects of the remaking of the middle voice by means of analytic morphology.

1. Synthetic and analytic formations of Middle Indo-Iranian dialects

Early MIA dialects – most notably Ardha-Magadhī – continued and further developed the OIA synthetic mediopassive morphology by adopting the stem of the passive (in -ya or -ijja) as a base for innovative temporal and participial forms. The present, aorist and the future tense forms are shown in (1):

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ardha-Magadhī</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Aorist</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>kuvv-ai</td>
<td>kuvv-it(t)hā</td>
<td>kar-iss-ai</td>
<td>kar-anta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med/Passive</td>
<td>kijj-ai</td>
<td>kijj-it(t)hā</td>
<td>kijj-ih-ii</td>
<td>karijja-anta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&lt; kri-ya-te)</td>
<td>(&lt;*kri-y-istha)</td>
<td>(&lt;*kri-y-isya-te)</td>
<td>(&lt;*kr-iya-mana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also the OIA imperfective mediopassive participle in -māna (kriyamāna) was remodelled by means of the active suffix -anta; later on, in Apabhramśa, the form kar-ijj-anta was reduced to k-ijj-anta.

It should also be observed that the singular form of the active aorist displays the suffix of its mediopassive counterpart (< *kuvr-iṣ-ta) while the plural form of the active aorist, kar-im-su, developed apparently by metathesis from the active form of the sigmatic aorist *kar-iṣ-um > kar-im-su. The uniform suffix -it(t)ha in the singular is indicative of the transition from an earlier overlapping exponence to the agglutinative exponence for voice and aspect. Matters were different in the future where OIA relied only on the mediopassive suffix. In MIA the future was also built on the passive stem and the suffix marked exclusively the person and number; contrast the OIA form lep-sy-a-se „you will taint yourself“ with AMg lipp-ih-i-si.

Pāli discontinued the mediopassive morphology of the perfect, aorist and future. A number of relic forms appear in the present (bharate „carries for
himself"). As in AMg the OIA passive kri-ya-te is now inflected actively, kar-

iy-at (also kayirati) „is done“ (cf. also Buddhist Sanskrit drśyatu „be it
regarded“; vadhiṣyam „I will be slain“, vucyāmi „I am told“ in Edgerton
1953:182). The passive in the preterite and the future tense is now formed
analytically by combining the participles, the PP kata and the gerundive kātabba,
respectively, with the copula. The preterite form of the copula, ahu (< abhavat), is
usually omitted, and the construction consisting of the future tense of the copula
and the gerundive, kātabba bhavissati „it will be done“ possesses also modal
meaning „it should be done“. Pertinent examples are provided in (2) and (3):

(2) evam me sutam
thus=me hear+PP
„Thus it was heard by me“

The passive interpretation of (2) is more likely than the ergative
interpretation „Thus I heard“. In early MIA the latter would be realized by the
active preterite (< aorist) evam assosim (cf. Sanskrit evam aśrauṣam).

(3) na hantabbo
not kill+GERVE+NOM
„He will not be killed“ ~ „He should not be killed“

The rapid decay of mediopassive synthetic forms was precipitated by the
raising of mid vowels (ē > e > i, ō > o > u, cf. Bubenik 1996: 29–33). The
elimination of the crucial phonological contrast between ē and i available in
OIA resulted in the elimination of the morphological contrast between the
middle and the active diathesis. Furthermore, even the contrast between the
active and the synthetic passive was considerably weakened; given the identity
of their suffixes this contrast continued to be carried solely by the shape of the
passive stem. This could be identical with its active counterpart (e.g. chijjati
meant both „it is split“ or „he splits“; but the latter could also be realized by
chindati); or it could be differentiated only by the geminate (e.g. labbhati „it is
taken“ vs. labhati „he takes“); or, in the case of the roots in nasals by the
geminate palatal in the passive vs. the dental nasal in the active (e.g. haññati
„he is killed“ vs. „he kills“). The situation was alleviated in the 3rd Pl by the
adoption of the suffix of the perfect -(a)re limited to the mediopassive. All
these forms are surveyed in (4):

(4) Pāli 3rd Sg 3rd Pl
Active han-ati [hanatt] han-anti [hanantti] „they kill“
Middle han-ate [hanatt] han-ante [hanantti] „they kill for themselves“
Passive haññ-ati [haññ:tti] haññ-ante [haññ:anti] „they are killed“
- haññ-are [haññ:art]

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On the Iranian side the contrast between the active and the mediopassive forms was apparently more viable in that the stem-forming element -ya of the latter category became -ye in late Avestan:

(5)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Indirect reflexive</th>
<th>Verbum sentiendi</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barai-ti/i</td>
<td>yazai-te/ë</td>
<td>man-ye-te</td>
<td>bar-ye-te</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"carries"  "worships (for himself)"  "thinks"  "is carried"

The lengthening in the 2nd and 3rd Sg active suffixes (-ehi, -ai\textit{ti} vs. middle -ehe, aite) may be understood as an effort to keep these two categories from their phonological merging for the same reason as in P\textsc{ali} above: \textit{x\textsc{sh}a\textsc{ye}hi} (active) "you reign" vs. \textit{x\textsc{sh}a\textsc{ye}he} (middle). Nevertheless, phonological erosion of the contrast between \textit{l\textae}l and \textit{lil} precipitated ultimately their complete merger. As a sign of these things happening, in Iranian — as in Indic — we find mediopassive forms spelled with active suffixes. For instance, the verb \textit{man-}, "think", a medium tantum in G\textsc{atha-Avestan}, appears with the active suffix in late Zoroastrian Liturgy:

(6)  
\[ \text{mania + IMP} \quad \text{man\textita} + \text{INSTR} \quad \text{humat\textita} + \text{good-thought} \]

"do thou think good thought with thy mind"

Other examples, such as \textit{hi\textsc{st}aiti} "stands" (~ \textit{hi\textsc{st}ait\textsc{e}}, root \textsc{st\textae}-), \textit{mairii\textsc{at}i} "stands" (vs. OIA \textit{mri\textsc{y}ate}), \textit{yaz\textsc{o}\textsc{t}i} "they are worshipped", were assembled by Kellens (1984:80-81).

Late M\textsc{ia} (Apabh\textsc{ra}m\textsc{sa}) replaced the active preterite \textit{ak\textsc{asi}} (< OIA aorist \textit{ak\textsc{ars}at}) by the ergative construction \textit{tena kiyau}. The present passive is continued with further phonological development seen in \textit{kar-iy-ati} > \textit{kar-ijj-ai}, later > \textit{k-ijj-ai}. In the preterite the copula \textit{\textsc{as}i} (< OIA \textit{\textsc{as}it}) continued to be used in conjunction with the PP; in the perfect and the future tense, however, the copula was replaced by the verb ,,to go": \textit{tena kiyau gayau} lit. done gone ,,[it] was done by him“ (vs. the ergative construction \textit{tena kiyau ,,he did [it]“). Examples with the auxiliary ,,to go“ in the future tense of the type \textit{tena kiyau j\textsc{\textae}-is-ai} lit. done go+FUT+3SG ,,it will be done by him“ are rare. One of them, from Haribhadra’s \textit{Sanatkum\textarcite{r}acarita} (of the 12\textsuperscript{th} c.) is presented in (7):

(7)  
\[ \text{kaha + INSTR} \quad \text{diti\textsc{th}au} + \text{PP} \quad \text{j\textsc{\textae}isai} + \text{FUT+3SG} \quad \text{ehu} \]

"How will I be able to see this [city]?“

The system of the synthetic passive of early M\textsc{ia} (Ar\textsc{dh}a-M\textsc{\textae}gad\textsc{hi}) and that of the analytic passive of late M\textsc{ia} (Apabh\textsc{ra}m\textsc{sa}) are contrasted in (8):
On the Iranian side, early Middle Persian possessed synthetic forms in the present/future kun-lhed/kir-ēd „it is (being)/will be made“ and the imperfect a-kir-īh „it was made“ (cf. Brunner 1977:213). The latter form is actually documented only once (in the inscription of Šābuhr I at Kašba-yi Zardušt) and represents a residual imperfect form from Old Iranian (of the type *kir-ya-ta cf. Sanskrit kri-yā-te, imperfect á-kri-ya-ta):

```
(9) u=m akirfh nam kirder [KKZ 8]
    and=my make+IMPF+3SG name Kirdēr
    „I was titled Kirdēr“ (lit. my name was being made K.) vs. perfective u=m kard
    nām Kirdēr „My title was made Kirdēr“.
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In later Middle Persian the analytic passive formations (in the present, perfect and pluperfect) became more and more common. Their synopsis, following Brunner (1977:213) and Sundermann (1989:152), is given in (10):

```
(10) Early MP
     (synthetic passive) Present/Future Imperfect Perfec Pluperfect
     kun-lhed - kirēd a-kir-īh  paymōxt hēm  paymōxt būd
     „it is (being)/will be made“ „I have been dressed“ „I had been dressed“

     Late Middle Persian (analytic passive) „it is (being)/will be made“
     kard baw-ēd  kard ēstēd  kard būd/ēstād
     „it has been made“ „it had been made“
```

Unlike in Indic, the perfect in late MP was formed by the auxiliary ēstādan „stand, be“; the pluperfect may be expressed in two ways: by attaching the PP of ēstādan or that of the copula būdan „be“ to the PP of the main verb.

On the Indic side, with the employment of the auxiliary „to go“ in the system of voice, the copula was freed for the employment in the system of aspect and tense. Earlier forms of the copula, atthi „is“ (< OIA asti) and āsi „was“ (< OIA āsit), were replaced by acchai (< OIA rcchati „arises“) and thiu (< OIA sthita „stood“), respectively. As in the other IE languages, the two grammatical aspects of Apabhramśa are built on the past and the present participle. The latter may also be replaced by the gerund in -eppi or -eppinu. As
shown in (11), in Apabhramśa texts these two aspect are found only in the present and the past tense:

(11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apabhramśa</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Progressive (aspect)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>gayau acchai</td>
<td>karantu acchai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>gayau āsi ~ thiu</td>
<td>karantu acchiu ~ thiu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combination of the PP plus the copula is actually inherited from OIA: āgato 'smi ( ~ jagama), "I have come" (Ich bin gekommen) > MIA āgato 'mhi. In OIA with transitive verbs the PP was enlarged by the suffix -vant: aham krtavant (M) ~ krtavati (F), "I have done" (lit. I am the one who has done).

The progressive aspect in early MIA could be expressed by combining the present participle of the main verb with verbs such as tiṣṭhāti, "stands" and vicarati, "walks" (of the type karanto tiṣṭhāti, "is making"); the habitual aspect by combing the absolutive of the main verb with the verb vattati, "becomes". These early 'experiments' were paradigmized in Apabhramśa as sketched above; in addition to the copula acchai there are also examples with the auxiliary thakkai, "stands" (for examples cf. Bubenik 1998:104—111).

It is of interest to observe that also in late Medieval Sanskrit the auxiliary sthā- "stand" became widely used for the expression of tense. For instance, in Jambhaladatta’s Vetalapancavimsatikā (of the 14th c.) the whole paradigmatic set of analytic expressions exploiting all the possible forms of sthā- is available: kurvans tiṣṭhāti, "he is doing", kurvans sthāsyati, "he will be doing", kurvans atiṣṭhāt, "he was doing" (even with the auxiliary in the aorist and perfect!).

In Middle Persian after the loss of the synthetic middle voice morphology the main exponent of the 'experiential' meaning (cf. Andersen 1984) became the auxiliary ēstādan, "to stand, be". It corresponds to Indic sthā- which, however, was a temporal auxiliary; a functional counterpart in late MIA was the verb jā-, "to go" (≤ OIA y-). The following examples are taken from Ardā Wirāz Nāmag (ca. 8th c.) and Kārnāmag i Ardašir (very late MP):

(12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hu-rust</th>
<th>kū pad frārōnīh</th>
<th>rust ēstād [AWN 9.1]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;well grown that in virtue&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>grow+PP stand+PP (stative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāsān az tōxm=ē Dārāy</td>
<td></td>
<td>zād ēstēd [KAP 1.7]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāsān from seed GEN Dārā y</td>
<td></td>
<td>born stands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Sāsān has been born from the lineage of Dārāy&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>(change of state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē tan andar dēg-ē rōyēn</td>
<td></td>
<td>kard ēstēd [AWN 38.15]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whose body in pot=GEN copper</td>
<td></td>
<td>do+PP stand+3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;whose body has been put in a copper pot&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>(passive)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The verb *éstādan* „to stand“ functions also as an aspecto-temporal auxiliary; contrast between *śud īstēnd* (present perfect) „they have gone“ and *śud (hēnd)* (preterite) „they went“.

2. Analytic realization of the middle voice in New Indo-Iranian languages

At the end of the late MIA period we encounter earliest attempts to compensate for the eliminated category of the middle voice (*ātmanepada*) by analytic formations involving two lexical auxiliaries: *jānā* „to go“ with intransitive and transitive verbs and *lenā* „to take“ with transitive verbs. Given the identity of the middle and passive suffixes in OIA the choice of the former auxiliary for both the analytic middle and the passive is understandable. Thus the change of state, such as „he (has) died“, expressed by the middle voice aorist *amṛta* in Sanskrit, is realized by combining the PP *jāu* „gone“(< OIA *jāta*) with the PP of the verb „to die“ in Apabhṛṃśa:

(13)

\[ \text{so } jāu \quad jji \quad муу} \text{[Pc 36.5.9]} \\
\text{he go+PP PRT die+PP} \\
\text{„He (has) died“}

On the other hand, the PP *gau* „gone“, belonging to another OIA root (*gam*) would be used to express the passive voice as in (14):

(14)

\[ \text{so } kālameha \quad vāne \quad dīṭhu \quad gau \text{[Pc 19.17.5]} \\
\text{that Kālameha forest+LOC see+PP go+PP} \\
\text{„That Kālameha was seen in the forest“}

At the end of this line of evolution, in Hindi, we witness the same verb *jānā*, whose PP is now the suppletive form *gaya*, functioning as both the auxiliary in the passive construction and a variety of constructions expressing most notably the completive events and changes of state; cf. examples in (15):

(15)

\[ \text{vah } \text{dekhā} \quad \text{gaya} \quad \text{(passive)} \\
\text{he see+PP go+PP} \\
\text{„He was seen“} \\
\text{ham } \text{stēšān} \quad \text{pahuṇc} \quad \text{gae} \quad \text{(completive event)} \\
\text{we station arrive go+PP} \\
\text{„We got to the station“} \\
\text{vah } \text{mar } \text{gaya} \quad \text{(change of state)} \\
\text{he die go+PP} \\
\text{„He (has) died“}

In (15), unlike in Apabhṛṃśa in (13), the auxiliary *jānā* is combined with
the bare verbal root, not the PP. The same lexical auxiliary may be used to express a completive event; given its intransitive meaning, its choice precludes the use of the ergative construction:

(16)
\[
\text{larkā pūrā pannā parh gayā}
\]
\[
\text{boy entire page read go+PP}
\]
\[
\text{"The boy read through the entire page"}
\]

Another category of experiential meaning, such as the indirect reflexive, denoting an action done explicitly for one’s own purpose, is expressed by the auxiliary lenā „to take“; given its transitivity, the resulting construction is ergative:

(17)
\[
\text{larke=ne pūrā pannā parh liyā}
\]
\[
\text{boy+OBL=ERG entire page read take+PP}
\]
\[
\text{"The boy read the entire page (silently for himself)"}
\]

With the auxiliary denā „to give“ the meaning would be the reading „for someone else’s benefit“:

(18)
\[
\text{larke=ne pūrā pannā parh diyā}
\]
\[
\text{boy+OBL=ERG entire page read give+PP}
\]
\[
\text{"The boy read out the entire page (in the class)"}
\]

These two auxiliaries indicate opposite directions of the action are called appropriately ‘versive’ and ‘ablative’ by Chatterjee (1988). Another fitting minimal pair is provided by Hook (1979:64), reproduced in (19):

(19)
\[
\text{vah kar lijiye}
\]
\[
\text{it do take+IMP}
\]
\[
\text{cf. Czech u-đelejte=si to}
\]
\[
\text{PERF+do+IMP=REFL+DAT it}
\]
\[
\text{„Do this (for yourself)“}
\]
\[
\text{vah kar dijiye}
\]
\[
\text{it do give+IMP}
\]
\[
\text{u-đelejte to}
\]
\[
\text{PERF+do+IMP it}
\]
\[
\text{„Do this (for someone else)“}
\]

The same contrast in Sanskrit would be expressed by the middle voice imperative kurusva vs. its active counterpart kuru; or, in Slavic languages with the morphological category of reflexive verbs, such as Czech, the same contrast would be realized by the reflexive pronoun in the dative si vs. its absence.

In Hindi the auxiliary lenā is used above all with ‘ingestive’ verbs (khānā „to eat“, pīnā „to drink”, etc.) representing physical experience par excellence;
in combination with abstract objects a number of allosemes of the basic physical experience can be distinguished. Nespital (1996:249) characterized lenā as indicating that the actor performs the action himself, or in his own benefit, or for his own pleasure (i.e. indirect reflexive) or that the actor is at the same the goal of the action (i.e. direct reflexive). In (1997:285) he listed seven allosemes of the compound auxiliary khā lendā „to take something as food“: mār khā lendā indicates that the actor „allows to be beaten“; in yam khā lendā the actor „swallows his grief willingly“ or „by restraining himself“; in dhakke khā lendā the actor „suffers indignities endurably“. With verbs of mental experience, called traditionally verba sentiendi (such as samajhā „to understand“, sikhā „to learn“, pahcāna „to recognize“, etc.) the use equivocates between jānā and lendā. According to Hook (1979:65) the combination with lendā implies „some measure of conscious effort“ while that with jānā implies that „the mental event occurs as if of itself“. Examine the minimal pair in (20):

(20)

```
maim=ne pahcān liyā ki vah kaun hai
```

I+ERG recognize take+PP that he who is

„I figured out who he was“

```
maim pahcān gaī ki vah kaun hai
```

I recognize go+PP/F that he who is

„I (Fem) realized who he was“

In the same vein Nespital (1997:1121–2) distinguishes between kisi kī bātem samajh jānā „to understand someone’s words“ and koī bāt samajh lendā „to understand something due to one’s experience/prior knowledge“).

There is some evidence in our Apabhramśa texts that this analytic stage had already been reached by the end of the late MIA period. In addition to le-„take“ also nī- „take“ had a general reflexive sense heralding thus the NIA state of affairs. For instance, the Apabhramśa construction niu ālingeppinu in

(21)

```
vijjulaṅgu niu ālingeppinu [Pc 25.4.9]
Vidyudāṅga take+PP embrace+GER
```

„[The king] embraced Vidyudāṅga“

achieves the same effect as its Sanskrit counterpart with the verb „to embrace“ in the middle voice:

(22) rājā vidyudaṅgam āśīṅgata

In general terms, MIA by losing the mediopassive morphology of OIA did not lose the ability to express the whole range of allosemes of the basic experiential meaning associated with it. What had previously been expressed synthetically came to be realized analytically by means of lexical auxiliaries jānā „to go“ and lenā „to take“.
In Modern Persian (Farsi) an exponent of the mediopassive categories became the auxiliary šodan „to become“, whose original meaning was „to go“ (the Old Iranian root šyav- „start moving“, conjugated in the middle voice, is cognate with Sanskrit cyāv-āte „to move; vanish; fall, drop“ and Greek σεύω „to move; chase“). In Farsi the auxiliary šodan functions very much like Hindi jānā in the usual array of expressions of experiential meaning: inchoative, inactive (expressing non-controllable psychological and physiological states), reflexive and movements. Representative examples of inchoatives, psych verbs, reflexives and verbs of motion (cf. Shaki 1963: passim) are provided in (23); the first part of the compound is an adjective or a participle:

(23)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivalled šodan</th>
<th>„to be born“</th>
<th>xūb šodan</th>
<th>„to heal“ (of wound)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>esūbī šodan</td>
<td>„to become angry“</td>
<td>moztareb šodan</td>
<td>„to become excited“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rām šodan</td>
<td>„to control oneself“</td>
<td>mosallex šodan</td>
<td>„to arm oneself“</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nazdik šodan</td>
<td>„to get near“</td>
<td>dāxel šodan</td>
<td>„to enter“</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mediopassive verbs may also be formed by compounding appropriate nouns with various auxiliaries: tavallod yāftan lit. birth+find „to be born“, ta‘ajjob kardan lit. amazement+do „to be amazed“; cf. other examples in Lazard (1957: 287-292).

3. Back to the synthetic middle voice in European Romani

Lexical auxiliaries may end up as suffixes during the process of their grammaticalization which reduces their phonological material. This process may be observed on the mediopassive auxiliary ov-el „become“ (< OIA bhavati) which evolved into the suffix of mediopassive verbs in European Romani: ker-d-j-ol „he is born“ (lit. he is made) ~ „pretends“; sikh-l-j-ol „he studies“ (lit. he is educated). In contemporary Romani dialects the independent verb ov-el „become“ appears only in two dialectal areas (those spoken in South Balkan and in subdialects of Romungro, Burgenland and North Slovenia, cf. Boretzky 1995:10). In the dialect of the Romas of Wales, as described by Sampson (1926: 215), we find an intermediate state of affairs where the auxiliary av-el „go, become“ could appear not only after but also before participles as in (24):

(24)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tā kekār na’vela</th>
<th>dik’sinē</th>
<th>papalē</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and ever not=become+3SG+FUT seen again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>„and he will never be seen again“</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the auxiliary is cliticized to the negative particle vs. Slovak Romani dīch-ol-a „will appear“, where the auxiliary was reduced to a suffix through the process of grammaticalization: *dikh-l=jov-el-a > dīchl‘ovela > dīchola.
The verb *ov-el* "become" goes all the way back to OIA *bhav-ati* "becomes, is". Romani is remarkable in preserving the consonant -v of the root (lost in Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi but preserved in Panjabi, Rajasthani and Marwari). On the other hand, the IA languages preserved a reflex of the root-initial *bh-*, namely *h-*, which has been completely lost (and replaced by *j-*) in Romani:

(25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OIA</th>
<th>Prakrits</th>
<th>Romani</th>
<th>Panjabi</th>
<th>Rajasthani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bhav-āmi</em></td>
<td><em>hav-āmi</em></td>
<td><em>ov-av</em></td>
<td><em>hōv-ā</em></td>
<td><em>hv-eū</em></td>
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Traces of the cliticization of the verb *bhav-āmi* to the PP for the purpose of forming the active preterite (paralleling the development of Nia Prakrits) are available in the area of East Hindi in both Medieval and Modern Awadhi dialects (cf. Saksera 1937/1971:248, 253, 260): *mare(h)ū* "I struck" < *mārē=haū* < *mārē havāmī*. In Lakhimpuri dialect of Awadhi analytic constructions of the type *marā haū* possess the passive meaning "I have been struck". The trajectory of Romani *mard’ovav* "I am (being) struck" can be reconstructed along these lines: *māridō hovāmī > mardo hovam > mard(o)=hovav > mard= jovav > mard’=ovav* (the remaining problem is the ‘unlawful’ change *h > j* in Romani). Deriving mediopassives by the cliticizing of the verb *ov-el* "become" is sans pareil in the context of Indic languages. In a sense Romani — as the only New Indo-Aryan language — went a full circle and restored the OIA dichotomy of parasmaipada and ātmanepada verbs.

On the Iranian side, Pashto also displays effects of the grammaticalization of the auxiliary *ke’dol* "become": *yāde’dol* "to be remembered" < *yād=ke’dol*; *pohe’dol* "to know" < *poh=ke’dol*. The same phonological process of the loss of the initial consonant is also observed in the formation of phrasal verbs with *ka’ vel* "to do": *yāda’ věl* ‘remember’ < *yād=ka’ věl* (cf. Shafeev 1964:37). A typological parallel is available from Turkish where the verb *er-* "to do" and its inchoative counterpart *ol-* "to become" were cliticized to monosyllabic adjectives and nouns in verbal compounds such as *kayd=etmek* "to enrol" and *kayd=ol(um)mak* "to be enrolled"; *kayb=etmek* "lose" and *kayb=olmak* "disappear, be/get lost" (cf. Lewis 1967:156).

**ABBREVIATIONS OF PRIMARY LITERATURE**

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bk</td>
<td>Dhaṇavālā’s Bhavisattakahā</td>
<td>(H. Jacobi, München: BAW, 1918)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jc</td>
<td>Puspadanta’s Jasaharacariu</td>
<td>(P. L. Vaidya, Karanja, Berar, 1931)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAP</td>
<td>Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pāpakān</td>
<td>(E. K. Āntiā, Bombay, 1900)</td>
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REFERENCES


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