Rencontre avestique

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY IN AVESTAN AND BEYOND

date : 25-26 avril 2016

lieu : 190 Avenue de France
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http://www.iran-inde.cnrs.fr/evenements-scientifiques/
colloques-et-conferences/phonetics-and-phonology-in-avestan-and-beyond-
atelier-workshop.html

Participation sur inscription en fonction des places disponibles

Lundi 25 avril 2016

9h30 – 10h30
> Briefing: Current state of Avestological projects by the members of the Network

10h30 – 11h00 : pause café

11h00 – 12h30
• Martin KÜMMEL: *Avestan syllable structure: a look from Middle Iranian*
• Götz KEYDANA: *Evidence for foot structure in Early Vedic*
• Armin HOENEN: *La statistique des déviations du Yasna*

12h30 - 14h00 : déjeuner (buffet sur place)

14h00 – 15h30
• Chiara RIMINUCCI-HEINE: *Av.* **saokā-** *und av.* **hu-xšnaoθra-***: zwei altiranische Wortstudien*
• Almut HINTZE: *Proto-Indo-European* ***h₁ues-** *'to be good' and Avestan* **vahma-**

15h00 – 15h:30 : pause café

15h30 – 16h30
• Tim AUFDERHEIDE: *Zoroastrian phoneticians?*
> *Reconstructing the phonetic knowledge underlying the transmission of the Avesta*
• Salome GHOLAMI: *Newly found Avestan manuscripts from Yazd*

16h30 – 17h30
> Discussion

Mardi 26 avril 2016

9h30 – 10h30
• Salomé GHOLAMI: *Dialectal phonological variations in the colophons*
• Michiel DE VAAN: *On the orthography and phonology of* **<h>**

10h30 - 11h00 : pause café

11h00 – 12h30
• Benedikt PESCHL: *The transmission of anaptyxis before the endings* **-bīš** *and* **-biiō**
> *in Avestan*
• Jaime MARTÍNEZ PORRO: *The epenthesis before* **n**
• Alberto CANTERA: *The use and distribution of the letter* **ń**

12h30 – 13h00
> Closing Discussion

13h00 – 14h30 : déjeuner (buffet sur place)

Intervenants, titres et résumés de leurs contributions

Tim AUFDERHEIDE
(Université de Gottingue, Allemagne)

Zoroastrian phoneticians?
Reconstructing the phonetic knowledge underlying the transmission of the Avesta

The orthographic variance found in the extant manuscripts is a well-known obstacle to the edition of the Avesta and to the evaluation of the relationship between its oral and textual transmission. Thus already WESTERGAARD (1854: 15), who published the first comprehensive edition of the Avesta, stated: "All copies of the Zendavesta, whatever their age or birth-place, present the same text. They differ extremely, it is true, in the way of spelling the words; but however great the variance the word is the same, even though we are unable to detect its real and true form." Nowadays the orthographic variants are considered to represent different pronunciations of Avestan depending on the reciting priest that subsequently found their way into the manuscript tradition. As MORGENSTIERNE (1942: 33 §5) explicitly pointed out, this interpretation also implies that "[i]f […] the orthographic variations do in the main reflect a linguistic reality, we are forced to conclude that the Sassanian redactors were excellent observers of phonetical nuances, the equals of the Indian authors of the prātiśākhyas."

Along the lines of MORGENSTIERNE's proposal I compare the Avestan orthography with the *sūtras* of the Prātiśākhyas and their impact on the textual transmission of the Vedas. I primarily examine selected passages of the liturgical Avesta. As a result I determine some aspects of the phonetic knowledge that underlies the textual transmission of the Avesta and reconstruct the respective content of the hypothetical *sūtra*-like observations probably made by the Zoroastrian *hērbads*.

In addition I will discuss some of the possible origins for that phonetic knowledge: (**1**) Do the Zoroastrian *hērbads* preserve an Indo-Iranian heritage? (**2**) Or are they influenced by the grammarians of early Islam that presumably had intellectual connections to Zoroastrians and Zoroastrianism? (**3**) Or—especially since phonetics and phonology in early Islam are suspected to be initiated under the influence of Indian phoneticians (cf. e.g. DANECKI 1985)—does their phonetic knowledge originate in Hindu treaties on grammar that came to Sassanian Iran by the endeavours of ŠĀHBUHR I to collect non-religious writings from abroad as described in the Dēnkard (cf. BAILEY 1943: 81-92, MENASCE 1949: 1-3)?

References
BAILEY, HAROLD WALTER. 1943. *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*. Oxford.
DANECKI, JANUSZ. 1985. Indian phonetical Theory and the Arab Grammarians. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 44,1 (1985) 127-134.
MENASCE, JEAN PIERRE DE. 1949. Notes irannienes. *Journal asiatique* 237,1 (1949) 1-6.
MORGENSTIERNE, GEORG. 1942. Orthography and Sound-Systems of the Avesta. *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 12 (1942) 30-82.
WESTERGAARD, NIELS LUDVIG. 1854. *Zendavesta, or the religious Books of the Zoroastrians. Edited and translated with a Dictionary, Grammar, &c. Vol. I: The Zend Texts*. Copenhagen.

Alberto CANTERA & Jaime MARTINEZ PORRO
(Université de Salamanque, Espagne)

On the treatment of n *before front vowels*

It is well-known that the Iranian manuscripts (and perhaps K7a,b) have an especial letter for the palatal n. However, its distribution is far from clear. The only clear case where it appears is in the context VṋiV. In all other contexts its use is not clear at all. I will analyse the following points:
- does it appear in the context CṋiV?
- does it appear before *i*? and if, in which context?
- does it appear before *e*? and if, in which context?
- is the epenthesis concomitant with the n palatal or not?

Michiel DE VAAN
(Université de Lausanne, Suisse)

On the orthography and phonology of <h>

The development of the group **hr* between *a*-vowels has recently been discussed by MARTÍNEZ PORRO, who finds a different realization in the exegetical and the liturgical manuscripts. The former seem to favour <ŋr> whereas the latter often have <ŋhr>. Since **h* between *a*-vowels becomes <ŋh>, Martinez Porro regards <ŋhr> as the original reflex of **sr*. I intend to discuss some objections that can be raised against this view.

Salomé GHOLAMI
(Université de Francfort s/M, Allemagne)

Dialectal phonological variations in the colophons

This talk complements dialectal phonological variations in the colophons of the Avestan manuscripts by focusing on the pronunciation of selected personal names occurring within the Pahlavi colophons. This study aims to find out, whether these selected personal names would reflect two different dialectal variations of Kermani and Yazdi Dari.

Almut HINTZE
(Université de Londres, Royaume Uni)

Proto-Indo-European *$h_1\underset{\smile}{u}$es- 'to be good' and Avestan vahma-

In spite of the fact that the noun *vahma-* is very well attested in Avestan from the Gathas onwards, its etymology is debated and its precise meaning not clear. This paper argues that *vahma-* belongs to the word family of the Av. adjective *vohu-* 'good' and the Iranian verb **pati-u̯ah-* 'to supplicate' and forms part of the Caland system of the property concept state-oriented root PIE *$h_1\underset{\smile}{u}$es* 'to be, become good'. The basic meaning of *vahma-* is 'goodness' and such meaning is still discernible in some of its Gathic attestations while the Younger Avestan meaning 'petition' follows the use of *vahma-* in the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti.

Armin HOENEN
(Université de Francfort s/M, Allemagne)

La statistique des déviations du Yasna

The Yasna ceremony as transcribed and annotated on the TITUS webpage offers parallel versions of seven manuscripts, which can computationally be analysed with a look to the various differences in orthography, variants and so forth. The presentation will comprise such simple statistical benchmarks as the consistency of orthographic variant per word type per manuscript, number of deviations from the reconstruction and from each other manuscript, number of alternations in terms of grammatical categories and so forth. The problem of not knowing which pair of manuscripts is a *vorlage*-copy pair will be critically reflected in computing these statistics.

Götz KEYDANA
(Université de Gottingue, Allemagne)

Evidence for foot structure in Early Vedic

In Early Vedic, the stress of each word is determined by the interplay of the lexical accentual specifications of its morphemes. Rhythm and foot structure are irrelevant, as is obvious from pairs like *ápas-* vs. *apás-*. Classical Sanskrit as well as the Prākrits, on the other hand, show metrical accent based on trochees, combined with a strong preference for stressed syllables to be heavy. In this talk, I try to give a first account of how the morphological accent system turned into a prosodic one. After sketching the synchronic state of Early Vedic as well as that of Classical Sanskrit, I go on to demonstrate that already the accent system of Early Vedic as attested in the Rigveda is in a transitory state (cf. Keydana 2016). I then give a short scenario of how this transformation ultimately led to the classical system. In the second part of my talk, I try to strengthen my argument by looking into evidence for foot structure in Early Vedic. This evidence cannot come from accent. However, the relevance of prosodic structure including feet can be shown by examining the reduplicative patterns of the reduplicated aorist, the desiderative, and, most importantly, the intensive. Based on work by Jamison (1983, 1988) and Cooper (2014), I develop an account for the various attested patterns that demonstrates that those ingredients of metrical accent which could not be derived from a stripped down morphological system (trochees and a preference for heavy accented syllables) were already active in the language of the Rigveda. The talk is rounded off by a short outlook on the situation in Avestan.

References

Cooper, Adam I. (2014). Reconciling Indo-European Syllabification. Brill, Leiden.

Jamison, Stephanie W. (1983). Function and Form in the -áya-Formations of the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

Jamison, Stephanie W. (1988). The quantity of the outcome of vocalized laryngeals in Indic. In Bammesberger, A. (ed.), Die Laryngaltheorie und die Rekonstruktion des indogermanischen Laut- und Formensystems, 213–226. Winter, Heidelberg.

Keydana, Götz (2016). In defense of Narten roots. Indogermanische Forschungen 121. In print.

Martin KÜMMEL
(Université de Iéna, Allemagne)

Avestan syllable structure: a look from Middle Iranian

Avestan has traditionally been interpreted from an Indic perspective, including assumptions about the organisation of syllables.

This has also been the background for understanding Avestan metrics, and applying "Vedic" rules led to the conclusion that syllable weight was not an important principle in Avestan. However, there is good reason to doubt the underlying assumptions: It is well known that many Iranian languages differ from Vedic in some relevant aspects: E.g., they do not allow geminates, but they allow more complicated consonant clusters than Indo-Aryan does. Especially Eastern Middle Iranian clearly has quite different rules for syllable weight, the best known case being the Sogdian "ryhthmic law" according to which obstruent-initial consonant clusters never make the syllable heavy. Looking from this perspective, Avestan may have been rather different from Vedic, and it can be shown that different assumptions about syllabification in Avestan may lead to a very different picture of the role of quantity in Avestan metrics.

Jaime MARTINEZ PORRO
(Université de Salamanque, Espagne)

Some remarks on Avestan orthography

Since the Avestan orthography is a matter which has not been well-analyzed and the editors of the Avesta took the orthographical conventions of the oldest manuscripts, no analysis in depth has been carried out, except Hoffmann's works. Besides, a great number of new Avestan manuscripts, especially Iranian, has been unearthed by the Avestan Digital Archive. These new findings have questioned the decisions adopted by the editors, since the Iranian codices, which seem to be more conservative, present a diferent shape of the text. In this paper, some remarks on the orthographical conventions in the Avestan manuscripts will be made.

Benedikt PESCHL
(Université de Munich, Allemagne)

The transmission of anaptyxis before the endings **-bī̆š** *and* **-biiō** *in Avestan*

One of the peculiar phonetic features of the Avestan language is the insertion of so-called anaptyctic vowels in certain Proto-Iranian consonant clusters. With the help of the Avestan Digital Archive (http://ada.usal.es/), it is now possible to trace the particular representation of anaptyxis in a given instance throughout a significant number of manuscripts. The talk will particularly focus on the quality of anaptyctic vowels in one specific context, namely in front of the nominal endings *-bī̆š* and *-biiō* when attached to a consonant stem. As has been suggested before, this context shows a particular tendency for *i-* instead of *ə*-anaptyxis. However, it is often only select groups of manuscripts that exhibit this tendency, so that the more "original" character of *i* in these cases is at least debatable. More generally speaking, the transmission of anaptyxis appears very stable in certain phonetic contexts (regarding both its presence and colour), while in other contexts its representation even within one closely related group of manuscripts may be highly fluctuating. The question arises if we are not actually dealing with two principally distinct types of vowels, whose different kind of representation in the written tradition reflects their divergent phonetic status in the contemporary recitation influencing the production of the manuscripts: anaptyctic vowels in the strict sense (i.e., in common linguistic terms, epenthetic vowels) versus "intrusive" vowels, in a definition approaching the one proposed by Hall 2006.

Reference:
Hall, Nancy. 2006. Cross-linguistic patterns of vowel intrusion. Phonology 23, 387–429.

Chiara RIMINUCCI-HEINE
(Université de Bonn, Allemagne)

Av. **saokā-** *und av.* **hu-xšnaoθra-** *: zwei altiranische Wortstudien*

Das jungavestische Wortcorpus der Yašts bietet eine reiche Fülle von Lexemen, die ihrer Erklärung harren. Gerade manches Hapax kann erst durch den Sprachvergleich mit späteren Sprachstufen des Iranischen näher gedeutet werden. Aus der Arbeit am Bahrām Yašt (Yt XIV) sollen einige ausgewählte Beispiele aus der religiösen Sphäre vorgestellt werden. Im Vordergrund soll einerseits av. *saokā-* als PN einer wenig bekannten air. Göttin stehen; anderseits wird av. *hu-xšnaoθra-* als spezieller ahurischer Begriff gedeutet und seinem Fortleben im Neuiranischen nachgegangen.