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Middle Iranian *grīw/γrīw*: Possible Paths for Semantic Changes and Functional Shifts

Ela Filippone, Viterbo

1. In 2002 Werner Sundermann published in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* an article entitled *Grīw* (hereafter S/*Grīw*). As an encyclopaedic article, this was rather anomalous. It was not only a scholarly presentation of a question, as encyclopaedic articles are expected to be, but it was the first organic treatment of the many problems involved in the lexical set to which Middle Iranian *grīw/γrīw* belongs.

Sundermann analysed in detail, with a rich bibliography and textual evidence, the semantic range of this word family, members of which are documented in all phases of Iranian; he outlined the areal diffusion, described senses and usages involving different semantic domains and different linguistic levels, listed possible derivatives and cognates in Modern Iranian. In what follows, I will just go over the main points treated in S/*Grīw*, some of which I had the opportunity to discuss with Werner before the publication of his paper. Of what he has already stated, I will repeat and eventually expand only those data which I consider useful for a reassessment of possible paths of semantic changes and functional shifts. The results of the present analysis, that only partially contrast with the conclusions reached in S/*Grīw*, are dedicated to the memory of Werner Sundermann as a token of deep affection and high regard for a very great scholar, who was also very much endowed with humanity, innate kindness and open-mindedness.

2. The starting point is Avestan *grīuuā-*, attested in *Vidēvdād* 3.7 as part of the name of a mythical mountain ridge *(arəzūrahe grīuuā)*. Its connection with MP *grīwag*, Prs. *garive*, etc. "hill, ridge" is self-evident. Also in view of Sanskrit *grīvā-* "nape of the neck", Bartholomae (1904, col. 530) postulated for Avestan *grīuuā-* a basic meaning "Nacken" (with a *daevic* connotation). In Middle-Iranian, *grīw/γrīw* enlargened its referential range and underwent a grammaticalization process. It acquired meanings other than "nape, neck",[1]

1 The 'original' meaning is confirmed by the heterographic spelling ⟨CWRH⟩ (< Aram. *ṣaww'reh* "his neck"), found in Pahlavi and Sogdian in Sogdian script as an alternative to the 'phonetic' spellings; cf. S/*Grīw*, p. 364b.

ranging from "body" to "soul", and also came to function as a reflexive pronoun ("self");[2] in this case, as it is typologically frequent in the case of relational nouns centred around the person and generalized to comprise the self, *grīw/γrīw* is often accompanied by a possessive adjective.[3] But these semantic and functional developments are not parallel in all varieties and the presence of particular meanings is seemingly conditioned by the nature of the texts where the word occurs, and in particular the religious and cultural environment in which they originated.

3.1 In Zoroastrian texts, *grīw* most commonly means "neck, nape".[4] The documentation is rich enough. To the instances quoted in S/*Grīw* (p. 364b), one may add the answer given in the *Rivāyat* of Ādur-Farnbag ī Farroxzādān to the question of how the carrion inside a womb could be properly shown to the dog. It reads: *sag rasan pad grīw kardan* ("one should put a rope on the neck of the dog"), tie a knife to that rope, incite the dog to rend the womb, and then show the carrion (REZĀI BĀGHBIDI 2005, pp. 35–36).

Similarly, in the *Čīdag andarz ī pōryōtkēšān* we are told that when a human being passes from the loins of his father into the womb of his mother, the demon Astwihād (§31) *band-ē andar ō grīw abganēd* ("casts a noose around his neck");[5] in his lifetime he cannot *az grīw bē kardan* ("take that noose off his neck"), but after his death, if he has been a just man, the noose (§32) *az grīw bē ōftēd* ("falls from the neck").[6]

In the *Draxt ī Āsurīg*, the (originally Parthian) dispute between a palm tree and a goat, the two competitors boast of the several things for which they

2 Some scholars separated the 'neck'-line from the 'soul/self'-line in two etymologically different words. Cf. ANDREAS/BARR 1933, p. 147 (s.v., signed by BARR, pointing to a "lautlichem Zusammenfall" and the usage of logograms as simple phonetic symbols); MACKENZIE 1986, p. 37 (presenting different dictionary entries [^{1}*grīw* "neck, throat"; ^{2}*grīw* "self, soul"]); SKALMOWSKI 1991 (deriving the 'soul'-*grīw* from OIr. **grăⁱbĭ-* "recipient" (< **gr̥bh-*)).

3 There is no need to think that the absence of a possessive modifier guarantees the grammatical role (coreferentiality with the clausal subject) of *grīw/γrīw* (as in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 163); the original referential value is lost even in combination with the possessive element, as it happens to MP *tan* in *xwēš tan* (Prs. *xištan*), analysed as a simple reflexive pronoun. Reduced morphosyntactic behaviours, such as the omission of the possessive modifier, are optional and only point to a different degree in the grammaticalization path.

4 Cf. also *Frahang ī Pahlavīg* X.29 (UTAS/NYBERG 1988, p. 77).

5 For a different report about the 'cast noose', where *gardan* replaces *grīw*, see the Phl. Rev. acc. DD 23.29: *u-š wizarš dēw band ō gardan abganēd* "and the demon Wizarš casts a noose upon his neck" (WILLIAMS 1990, I, p. 123; II, p. 50, and note 12 in *ibid.*, pp. 174–175). Similar passages (with *gardan* instead of *grīw*) are found in other Pahlavi texts.

6 Cf. ORIĀN 1992, pp. 88, 256.

provide the raw materials. The palm claims:[7] (l. 15) *čōb až man karēnd kē tō grīw māžēnd* "they make clubs of me which break your neck".

In other passages, however, the interpretation of *grīw* as "neck" or "nape" is quite unsatisfactory. In the *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān*, at the sight of Zarēr's corpse on the ground, the desperate son addresses the dead father with touching words (§86): "the wind has upset your hair and beard, horses have stepped on your pure body, *u-t xāk ō grīw nišast* ('and the dust settled on your *grīw*')". He is undecided about what to do: "if I dismount from the horse, take your head in my hands, *u-t xāk az grīw bē gīrēm* ('and take out the dust from your *grīw*'), I will not be able to mount the horse again quickly". The body part referred to with *grīw* here may hardly be limited to the sole nape (as in Pagliaro 1925, p. 586, Benveniste 1932, p. 282, Monchi-Zadeh 1981, p. 49) or throat (as in Utas 1976, p. 83); it should rather be a larger area in the upper (maybe frontal) part of the body (as the chest or bosom; cf. Oriān 1992, p. 59, translating *grīw* with Prs. "*garibān*") or even the torso.

In Dk V 24, 29a (Amouzgar/Tafazzoli 2000, pp. 102–103), the reader is exhorted to fight if he aims to obtain the *abesar ud abārīg payrāyag ī pērōzīh-burdārān* ("la couronne ainsi que d'autres ornaments (appartenent) à ceux qui apportant la victoire") and put them *abar sar ud grīw* ("à la tête et au cou"). Here *sar ud grīw* could be intended as the sequence of two discrete parts (the *sar* for the crown and the *grīw* for other decorations) or as one of the many examples of hendiadys, in which the lexicon of Middle Persian (and Iranian in general) is rich, generally created for concepts with fuzzy boundaries. In our case, *sar ud grīw* "head-and-neck" could refer to an undifferentiated whole including the head, the neck and the area of the breast below the neck (i. e. an area larger than the neck proper). A similar interpretation is probably required by *war <ud> grēw* "breast-and-neck" (i. e. the upper part of the torso), in a passage of the *Draxt ī Āsurīg*, where the goat, listing the goods produced with its wool, mentions a kind of undershirt called *taškanag*,[8] (l. 84) *ān-um zanān <ud> kanīg<ān> pad war <ud> grēw stāyēnd* "just that which women and girls put on".

Sundermann (S/*Grīw*, p. 366b) convincingly suggested that *pad tan ud grīw* in Dk V 23, 29 is to be understood as "in the body and outward appearance" (rather than "dans le corps et dans l'âme" as in Amouzgar/Tafazzoli 2000, p. 77). The same expression, repeated in the relevant answer in Dk V 24, 29 (*ud tan-iz ud grīw wirāyišn pad ān čihr* […]) should refer again to the human body as a whole; we could dispense also in this case with the notion of 'soul' we find in Amouzgar/Tafazzoli (2000, p. 103: "Il est convenable de s'adapter, corps et âme, à la nature […]"). Some doubts arise from a passage in the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsparam* which has received different interpretations:

7 Cf. Oriān 1992, pp. 146, 327.
8 Cf. Oriān 1992, pp. 150, 332; the reading of the first part of the line is debated.

WZ 30.20
tōhmag az hamāg grīw {ī} tanān zōr-ē ō +xwad āhanǰēd[9]
"la semence attire à elle-même une force de tous les membres du corps" (GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, p. 101)
"the seed draws to itself power from the whole neck of the bodies" (SHAKED 2002, pp. 131–132)

SHAKED (2002, p. 132) suggests that, besides the neck, *grīw* could also denote the backbone. This assumption is based on the fact that the semen originates in the back *(pušt)* of the body. However, instead of attributing to *grīw* further, otherwise unrecorded semantic developments ("limb" or "backbone"), one could simply consider that the nape is the area where the cervical vertebrae (i.e. the upper part of the backbone) are situated. As an alternative suggestion, one could analyse *grīw (<ud>) tanān* as a variant form, with inverted position, of the compound *tan-ud-grīw* (no relative pronoun is needed in this case) and interpret correspondingly ("a force from all the bodies").

The reflexive meaning is documented in WZ.[10] Consider WZ 3.24: *Sōwar kē* […] *xwēš grīw rōšn <ud> pāk dārēd*[11] "(the lake) Sōwar which […] maintains itself bright and pure"; WZ 30.40: *grīw +pahrēz ī az ardīg*[12] "refraining from fighting".

3.2 Unlike Pahlavi texts, the Manichaean documentation provides a large number of occurrences of MP/Prth. *grīw* as "soul", a core concept in the Manichaean doctrine. But in a system of thought as complicated as the Manichaeism is, "(k)omplex und kompliziert ist […] auch die Seelenvorstellung": the soul may be individual and universal and is also characterized as having a double nature, both material and spiritual (SUNDERMANN 1997, p. 11). As often emphasized by SUNDERMANN, MP/Prth. *grīw* denotes both the individual and the

9 The integration of the relative pronoun follows BĀHĀR's proposal. For BAILEY's different reading *(karpān ī tanān)* see GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, p. 169, who also note how the same phenomenon had been described few lines above (§17) as follows: the four humours *az hamāg kirb tan zōr-ē abar čīnēd* ("rassemblent une force à partir de tous le corps", *ibid.*, p. 101).

10 In S/*Grīw*, p. 365a–b, SUNDERMANN remarks that *grīw* "self" is very rare in Zoroastrian texts (also ZAEHNER 1955, p. 372, note to l. 11) and hypothesises that this grammatical usage in WZ might be due to alleged contacts of its author with the Manichaean community. He also mentions *gētīg grīw* in Dk III 365: *ō dāraktom gētīg grīw paydāgīh* (ZAEHNER 1955, pp. 373–374: "In greater detail this is what is revealed concerning the nature of the material world"; DE MENASCE 1973, p. 330: "pour la manifestation du moindre des éléments du gētī") translating it "the self of the material world". Here I would rather follow DE MENASCE, directly connecting *grīw* with *paydāgīh* (cf. his transcription *grivpaytākih*) and interpret it as "the self-manifestation of the material world" (reflexive function).

11 Cf. GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, pp. 44–45.

12 Cf. GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993, pp. 106–107.

universal soul, in the latter case mostly accompanied by honorific attributes.[13] In this, *grīw* contrasts with *gyān* and *ruwān*, which generally refer to the individual soul, though *gyān* is occasionally used to refer to the universal soul as well.[14] Being the universal soul, *grīw* is also the addressee of several hymns, a substantial part of Manichean poetry. Other senses, however, are recorded for MP/Prth. *grīw*. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004, p. 164) gives "neck, form, self, soul". The polysemy of the term generates ambiguity, also increased by the nature of the texts, crowded with concepts ('soul', 'body', etc.) which often seem to converge and to fluctuate from the corporeal to the spiritual level, also in view of the assumed corporeality and perceptibility of the soul. To this ambiguity scholars react differently. Most of them tend to choose between "Seele [Geist]/soul, etc.", "Selbst, Ich/self, etc." and the grammatical meaning "(one)self" according to the specific contexts; what determines the choice is not always easy to grasp, though. Others prefer to adopt a consistent line, as Durkin-Meisterernst 2006a and Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, who regularly render any occurrence of MP/Prth. *grīw* with "soul", with no difference with respect to *gyān* and *ruwān*,[15] or Boyce 1954, who systematically reserves "soul" for *grīw* and "spirit" for *gyān*.

Prth. *grīw* is "neck" in M 4573/V/ii 14–15: (z)yncyhr ʾc qyrb(k)r g(ryw) "die Kette von des Wohltäters (Hals)" (Sundermann 1981, p. 75 [1115–1116]). In M 4578 I, ii, which describes the nature of the worlds of darkness, Prth. *grīw* occurs four times,[16] always in the proximity of *tanbār* "body" and *gyān* "soul"; here it matches *ho* "face" in the parallel Coptic version (probably translating Syr. *appē* "face"). Sundermann suggested to interpret it as "Gestalt, Leib" in Sundermann 1981, p. 64, fn. 2 ("Parth. gryw hätte dann denselben Bedeutungsbereich wie soghd. γr(ʾ)yw"), as "person" in S/*Grīw*, p. 365b.

It could be that a body part (the nape? the neck? something else?) is referred to by MP *grīw* (interpreted as "Ich" by Andreas/Henning) in M 28/I/V/ii/32–36:[17]

13 Most frequently MP *grīw zīndag*, Prth. *grīw žīwandag* (also Sogd. *žwande γrīw*) "Living Soul", modelled upon Syr. *npšʾ ḥytʾ*. Cf. Sundermann 1979, p. 99; S/*Grīw*, p. 366a.

14 Cf. Sundermann 1997, pp. 11–14. This distinction is clear in some passages (see for example *grīw* vs. *ruwān* in Durkin-Meisterernst 2006a, pp. 88–89 [917–918] and 190, n. 305) but not always (see *ibid.*, pp. 62–63 [656–659] and 185, n. 233: "What is the significance of calling gryw gyʾn? Is it simply a question of identity which may treat the two words as quasi-synonyms?"). On the difficulty of defining *grīw* as "soul" see also Gignoux 1989, pp. 144–145.

15 Exceptions are very rare; cf. Prth. *gyān* and *grīw* left untranslated ("the *gyān* and *grīw* of the worlds") in Durkin-Meisterernst 2006a, pp. 58–59 (619–620).

16 Completely reconstructed in two points and readable (slightly damaged) in two others; cf. Sundermann 1981, pp. 64–65 (848), (854), (860), (865).

17 Published as ll. 28–32 in Andreas/Henning 1933; cf. the database of the *Published Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian texts* (available at http://turfan.bbaw.de/texte/mirtext).

wšn c'šnyg'n twhyg'n . w: zyšn'n ʿy ʿškmb . zdš'n dst pd gryw pd wšwbyšn:n . wzrg'n
"Wegen eitler Genüsse und *Gastmähler des Bauches haben sie mit der Hand ihr Ich unter schweren Verletzungen geschlagen" (ANDREAS/HENNING 1933, p. 314, fn. 8)

In fact, the whole context is rather unclear[18] and one gets the impression that an (unrecognized) idiom is involved.[19]

Several instances of reflexive *grīw* are found in Middle Persian/Parthian Manichaean texts, both with and without possessive modifier (MP *xwēš*, Prth. *ʷxēbēh*), as in:

MP	(Hu 242)[20] 'wš'n xwd ''z **xwyš gryw** 'ndr 'myxt	"and unto them the same Āz mingled herself;[21]
MP	(KPT 1990–1992) 'wd **xwyyš gryw** 'c mrz 'wd wymnd dwšm(nwn) (d)[w](r q)wnynd	and they keep themselves far from the boundary of the enemies;
Prth.	(Re 1190) hyrzyd dyw'n t'r prm'ng pzdyd wyš'nyd 'z̲ **gryw wxybyh̲**	abandon the demons of the dark thought, chase (them), shake off (them) from yourselves;[22]
MP	(D-M 2006a, p. 527) d'(dy)š **gryw** 'w [dwš]mnyn	he gave himself up to the enemies;[23]
Prth.	(MKG 775–776) 'wt̲ **gryw** 'c hw p'yd	and he protects himself from him."[24]

The number of occurrences of reflexive *grīw*, however, could increase a great deal if we would interpret as containing a reflexive construction passages for which the 'soul' interpretation has been preferred by the editors. Consider:

18 See also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, pp. 358–359, proposing a tentative interpretation ("… schlugen ihre Hände (ihr) Selbst … = ihre eigenen Hände schlugen sie und fügten ihr schwere Verletzungen zu").

19 Consider for instance that in Modern Persian *dast zadan* means "to touch" and not "to hit".

20 The abbreviations used here follow DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004 (with the continuous line-numbers given in the relevant bibliographical reference).

21 Cf. HUTTER 1992, p. 40: "Und in sie mischte Āz selbst ihr eigenes Ich hinein" vs. ANDREAS/HENNING 1932, p. 181: "Und in sie selbst mischte die Āz ihr Ich hinein" (with different attribution of the emphatic *xwd*).

22 Cf. RECK 2004, p. 176: "vom eigenen Selbst".

23 I prefer the reflexive interpretation (with -yš as a suffix pronoun marking the agent) to the 'soul' interpretation adopted by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006a, p. 51: "he gave his soul to the enemies" (see also *ibid.*, p. 183, n. 200); cf. ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 877: "Er gab sein Ich (grêv) den Feinden".

24 The interpretation by SKJÆRVØ 2009, p. 235 ("and he protects your soul from that"), with 'wt̲ explained as *u-t* "and-you", is untenable.

Prth.	(D-M/Mor 774b) ’wṯ pṯ hrw (w)[y’](g) (k)[w] prxyzyẖ • **wxybyẖ g(r)yw** pd hw brhm ’bdysyẖ	“and in every place where you will be, you will show yourself in that form (brahm);[25]
Prth.	(Re 284–286) pṯ ’m(w)[st’n] ky **gryw** pdr’ynd ’[w] bwg	… to the Believers who prepare themselves for salvation”[26]

3.3 A passage in the MP translation from Syriac of the Christian Psalter presents two occurrences of *grīw* ⟨CWLE⟩, very close each other:

> Ps. 130(2)
> BR’m nlmy klty **CWLE**, cygwn ’hšylky MDM ’MYtl. ’Pm cygwn ’hšylky MDM bwty **NPŠE CWLE**
> “Surely I have quieted myself (or [my] soul?) like a weaned baby by (his) mother and like a weaned baby was by me my soul” (Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, p. 15)[27]

The dependence on an original Syriac text is evident, though the identity of the source text is questioned.[28] MP *grīw* ⟨CWLE⟩ should parallel Syr. npš + y. One may note that in all the other Psalter passages which have survived, Syr. *napš* “soul” is regularly rendered by MP *gyān*[29] and it is difficult to understand why the translator has opted in these two cases for *grīw* ⟨CWLE⟩. If Durkin-Meisterernst’s interpretation of the text is correct, a tentative explanation could be that with the first ⟨npšy : CWLE⟩ correlation he rightly rendered the reflexive implication of the first ⟨npšy⟩ in the Syriac text, extending then his choice to the second ⟨npšy : NPŠE CWLE⟩, even though here npšy did not have a reflexive meaning.

4.1 Man. Sogd. *γrīw* (several graphic variants) is given in Sims-Williams/Durkin-Meisterernst (2012, p. 88) as “‘self, person, soul, body’; occasionally ‘(one) self’ as a reflexive pronoun”. In fact, *γrīw* is mostly found with the meaning of “body” (as in AN 140–141: rtšn ZKh CWRH ’nγtw RBkw (w)[m’t] ZY šn δwmph šyr βrzy “And their bodies were equally big and their tails very long”) and with the grammatical meaning of “self” (whether or not preceded by the possessive *xēpθ*). To define this usage as ‘occasional’ is in fact too restrictive:

25 Instead of “you will show your soul” as in Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, p. 243. In the same line one could modify the translations of D-M/Mor 776b [this passage is wrongly quoted in the *Glossary* as an instance of gryw rwšn, while rwšn here clearly belongs to the clause predication, rwšn kr-] and 778b (777b is not clear enough).

26 Instead of “die das Selbst vorbereiten” as in Reck 2004, p. 109.

27 See also Durkin-Meisterernst 2006b, p. 11.

28 In this passage, in particular, the single elements of the Syriac – i. e. at least the Syriac version in our possession – and Persian texts do not coincide perfectly, as demonstrated in Durkin-Meisterernst 2006b, p. 11 (the difference is however only in the word-order).

29 Heterographically written ⟨HY’⟩; cf. Ps 94.19; 112.4; 123.4, 5, 7; 129.5.

M 549 ii 23–24
ʾt̲y **γryw** prw zʾyy frpʾšʾnd[30]
"and they throw **themselves** to the ground"

AN 130
ZY ZKw **xypδ γrʾywh** γrβʾkw šmʾrʾnt
"and they consider **themselves** as wise"

SUNDERMANN (2002b, p. 142 and fn. 55) suggested to interpret as (C)[WRH] "nape" a word in the Sogdian Book of the Limbs, following a possible term for 'neck' ('(šδ)[ʾkw]) and preceding a possible term for 'shoulder' (β[ykʾ]). This remains merely a plausible hypothesis.[31] We have, however, a sure occurrence of (at least originally) "neck/nape" in the idiom *paru γrīw patγarβ-* "to accept", corresponding to Phl. *ō grīw padīr-* "id.", for which see also below §6:

AN 106–107
ZY šw **prw γrʾyw ptγrβʾtʾk δʾrʾnt** ky šw pr(w) mγwnw ʾβcʾnpδ ʾʾδy Lʾ βrt Lʾ ptγr(βʾtk) [δʾrt]
"And they accept what in the whole world no-one bears and accepts."[32]

Occasionally, Man. Sogd. *γrīw* has been understood by the text editors as "soul", but in most of these cases the 'soul' solution is not the only acceptable one,[33] as in AN 3 [6–8]: ZKw γrʾywy RBkw γyšʾyph ʾʾβr(t) "… brings damage to the body", translated as "[in] die Seele großen Schaden bringt" in SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 19.

In almost all of its occurrences, the interpretation of *γrīw* as "body" or "figure" is not precluded. The exceptions are very few, and mostly in texts which can be considered as translated from, or modelled upon Parthian source texts, very close in content and structure to the original. In those cases, one may note the concomitant presence of Prth. *grīw* "soul" which may point to an influence by the source language:

Sogd.	§58c ʾmʾx **ʾγrywy** xwyck-kryny MN mwrtyty myδʾny	"releaser of our soul from amongst the dead" (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST/ MORANO 2010, p. 31)
Prth.	§58b **gryw**mʾn wyšʾhʾg ʾc mdy(ʾn) mwrdgʾ(n)	

30 Cf. HENNING 1944, pp. 143–144.
31 Neither "Hals" nor "Oberkörper" can be envisaged in AN 161, where γrʾywh is to be understood as a reflexive pronoun, as already suggested by SIMS-WILLIAMS (cf. SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 30 and fn. 111).
32 The idiom was not recognized by SUNDERMANN (1985, p. 26), who translated "Und sie ergreifen ständig in Person …".
33 Unlikely is the interpretation "Seele" for γrʾyw in AN 167. There the context is broken; in place of the reconstruction MN γrʾyw (sy)[xwrδ] proposed in SUNDERMANN 1985, p. 30, SIMS-WILLIAMS/DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2012, p. 183 (s.v. šmʾr "to think") now suggest MN γrʾyw (šy)[mʾr].

Sogd. §576c tw' 'xšnyrk **CWRH** ZY ry-t[34] "your sign, **soul** and face" (Durkin-Meisterernst/Morano 2010, p. 181)

Prth. tw nyš'n **gryw** 'wd p'dgyrb[35] "your sign, **soul** and form"

4.2 The situation is similar in Christian Sogdian texts, where *γrīw* generally means "body" or "(one)self". Only in very few cases it could be interpreted as "soul" and even in some of these cases, other interpretations are admittable. Compare e.g. the C2 passage where the functions of the priests are mentioned (Sims-Williams 1985, p. 114): the first is to be "in place of (57R22–23) xwtw yšwγ γrywy, who did battle with Satan and ascended to heaven". For Sims-Williams, here *γrīw* referred to the soul of Lord Jesus; I would rather think to his person, with soul and body, exactly as Jesus was on the earth before ascending to heaven.

Interesting is also another passage from C2, where Sogd. *γrīw* parallels Syr. kyn' "nature; creature": (61R19) 't fryt't qt'wnt qt twžt qw γryw s' qt s'cy mycy' 't qw bγw s' wyny xypθ, translated "love is able to pay to the self what is (its) due and to God (what is) His own" in Sims-Williams (1985, p. 129). Interpreting *γrīw* as "creature, (human) being" rather than "the self" would perhaps fit the context better.[36] A case of *γrīw* "person" is in C3 2V4 (Sims-Williams 1995, p. 57).

4.3 In Buddhist texts, *γrīw* (*γr'yw(h)*; CWRH) means "body" (and as such it entered the Sogd. Buddhist terminology; see MacKenzie 1976, p. 210; S/*Grīw*, p. 365b) or has the grammatical meaning "self", with no exception. As "self", it may occur alone or with the possessive modifier, as illustrated by the following passages from the *Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions* (MacKenzie 1970, pp. 12, 20):

(195) *ZKw* ***γr'yw*** *'t ZKw zw'n z'ry L' βrt* "he does not spare himself or his life"

(337–338) *mrtγm'k ZKZY ZKw* ***γypδ γr'yw*** *cnsty γwβt* "the man who praises himself much"

Examples of the pronoun *γrīw* in the Ancient Letters may be drawn from one of the formulas ('I consider myself immortal') with which the sender expresses delight at hearing good news from the other party (Sims-Williams 1991, pp. 193–194) and from other passages as well (cf. AL II, 54: 'ḤRZYšw cyty γrywyh L' w'cy "and do not send him away from yourself", Sims-Williams 2001, pp. 270–271).

34 See also 578c, 584c, 590c, 593c, 598c, 620c, 624c, 627c, 660c.

35 *Ibid.*, 660b [incomplete] and passim.

36 For the translation of the corresponding Syriac text ("Love is able to pay to (human) nature (what is) its own and to God (what is) His own") see Sims-Williams 1985, p. 132 (note to 19–20).

What has been said in §§4.1–3 confirms that in all Sogdian varieties *γrīw* behaves in a rather consistent way. SUNDERMANN's statement that the absence of *γrīw* as "soul" in the Buddhist texts may be easily explained by the absence of this concept in Buddhist doctrine, though undeniable, could be reversed: it is not the absence of *γrīw* "soul" in Buddhist texts that requires an explanation, but its very occasional presence in Manichaean and Christian texts. When this happens, the answer may be found in the influence exerted by the original source texts from which the Sogdian ones have been translated or upon which they have been modelled.

5. BENZING (1983, p. 293) gives Khwarezmian γryw as "Seele, Körper, Selbst"[37] and points to its grammatical usage explaining its development as "'das Selbst' > 'sich selbst'". All the several examples quoted by him, however, contain a reflexive *γrīw-*, and I am not aware of a single instance where it would have a referential value, different from the grammatical meaning "self". An original sense "neck" could however be deduced from *θ:γryw*, for which see below, §6.

6. In S/*Grīw*, SUNDERMANN shows a particular interest in the possible paths of semantic and functional changes of MIr. *grīw/γrīw* from an original "nape, neck". He summarizes the main points of view before advancing his suggestions. In particular, he quotes BENVENISTE's (1966, p. 63) stance on the matter:[38]

> The nape is known as a vital center, the juncture between the head and the body, the top of the dorsal spine, the center of the spinal chord; executioners and sacrificers kill their victim with a violent blow on the neck. Hence this representation of the 'neck,' *grīvā-*, as the seat of the principle of life, and therefore as the symbol of the corporal body and of the person.

This explanation did not satisfy SUNDERMANN, for whom "the concept that this evolution should have led by way of the concept 'life' to 'self'" would be at least problematic. However, SUNDERMANN's interpretation of BENVENISTE's wording is slightly forced: what has been hinted at by the French scholar is not a 'neck' → 'life' → 'self' evolution, but rather a 'neck' → 'body' → 'self' one, with the first step of the chain ('neck' → 'body') justified by the special status of the neck, perceived as "the seat of the principle of life". And this certainly makes sense.

Cross-linguistic, typological studies (SCHLADT 2000) have shown that when the reflexive is the target of a grammaticalization process, body part names are the most predictable sources. Among these, the most common are the terms

37 See also DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2009, p. 344: "*γrīw-* (γryw) 'soul, self, he/she'".
38 Here quoted according to the English translation in S/*Grīw*, p. 365a.

for 'body', through a direct conceptual mapping 'body' → 'self'.[39] A significant role is also played by terms for 'head'; sporadic cases of other body part terms grammaticalized into reflexive markers have been recorded, in particular, 'bone', 'skin' and 'face' (cf. Schladt 2000, p. 112). All these parts may be considered as sufficiently prominent or relevant to perform the role of 'part of body' standing by metonymy for 'body/person' and successively to be reinterpreted as standing for the subject referent; experiential motivation would favour this chain model.[40] But what about the neck/nape? Can the 'neck/nape' → 'body/person' conceptual mapping be considered as well-motivated and as having a strong experiential basis?

As already suggested by Benveniste, the neck/nape may be perceived as the seat of the life. To support this claim, one could quote *ǰudana* (i. e. 'life-container'), the denomination of the nape and the area of the jugular veins in Lāri and Gerāši, at least according to Eqtedāri 1955, p. 86.[41] The neck/nape is surely perceived as the seat of strength and power.[42] In some of the traditional lexicographical works (e. g. *Borhān-e Qat'e*), Prs. *gardan*, besides "neck", is also given as "strong, powerful; a brave, stout man; strength, power"; in Tāleši, *gardən* is also used with the sense of "vigour, strength". Saying in Persian that someone's *gardan* is *koloft*, i. e. "big, stout", one means that someone's body is big and strong and, metaphorically, that he is a powerful and reputable person. The Persian compound *gardan-koloft* "strong person" and derogatorily "bully, violent; one who uses violence" matches with similar expressions throughout Iranian; cf. Sorani Kurdish *milastûr, milqawî* "strong, powerful" (*mil* "neck, nape"), Kurmanji Kurdish *stu-yê wî qalîne* "he is strong" (*stu* "neck, nape"); Kermāni *gorm-eš koloft-e* "he is rich" (*gorm* "neck, nape"); Šuštari *gorm goloft* "strong fellow"; Hamadāni *xerxereye kasi koloft šodan* "to become a strong and powerful person" (*xerxere* "throat" used in the sense of "neck"?); Baxtiāri *garðeni* "violent;

39 In Iranian, 'body' is a common source for reflexives (OIr. *tanū-* "self", MP *tan* in *xwēš tan* "self"; Prs. *xištan* (only literary, not used in Colloquial Persian), Pašto, Ormuri *ǰān* "self"; cf. Gershevitch 1962, p. 38). Notable (though not strictly comparable) is the grammaticalization of the Prs. phrase *in tan* ("this body") into a pronoun to refer to the speaker (a substitute for *man* "I").

40 On chained metonymies in lexicon and grammar see Hilpert 2007.

41 Note however that in different volumes of his *Ganǰine-ye guyeš-šenāsi-e Fārs*, Salāmi (2006–2011) records this word as "fontanel" (= Prs. *melāǰ*) in many dialects of the Lārestāni area (including Gerāši and Lāri). In general, the 'place of life' denomination pattern is common in Iranian for organs perceived as particularly vulnerable; see also Šuštari *junga* "sensitive places in the body as the side, skull, etc."

42 The conceptual extension 'neck' → 'power' is not peculiar to Iranian only: see e. g. Hittite $^{(UZU)}$*kǔt(t)ar, kuttan-* "back part of the neck", sometimes "top of the shoulders", also used with the meaning of "strength, power", developed from "une valeur élargie dérivant de la fonction exercée par cette partie du corps, c'est-à-dire 'appui, soutien'" (Dardano 2002, p. 378).

a strong person"; *garδeni kardan* "to do violence", etc. Khwarezmian *θ:γryw* "strong, powerful" is a compound where the first element is the preposition *θ-* "with", and the second is, to my knowledge, the only occurrence of *γrīw-* not working as a reflexive pronoun (as it would be "endowed with neck").

Body language with its codified gestures is mirrored in the lexicon and phraseology of any language. In this way, humility and haughtiness, willingness to obey and unwillingness to submission to the established authorities etc. may be expressed with reference to the appropriate movement of the neck. Prth. *grīwhangīft* "arrogance, haughtiness", explained in S/*Grīw* (p. 366b) as "self-stretching", could in fact be explained as originally "neck-stretching"; from a cognitive point of view, it would not be very dissimilar from the Persian expressions *gardan kešidan* "to rebel, to be restive", *gardan farāz* "arrogant", *gardan nehādan/gozāštan* "to be obedient", Tāleši *gi(y) gordonie* "to refuse to do something" and many similar Iranian expressions (and even English *stiff-necked*). Such considerations could perhaps give a clue to a better understanding of Dk III 157, 6, where *grīw*/CWLE (possibly, neck)[43] is listed after eyes, mouth, tongue and ears as one of the parts of the body which should display moderation: the eyes should refrain from envying,[44] the mouth from immoderate eating, the tongue from speaking nonsense, the ears from ?,[45] the neck from *čābukīh*. Phl. *čābukīh* is a nominalization from *čābuk*, a polysemous adjective ("agile, nimble; excellent", MACKENZIE 1986),[46] often found in collocation with terms for dress and food. In the *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* (cf. Annexe A,5 in AGOSTINI 2013, pp. 164–170), the fact that one day abject men may become *pādixšāytar ud čābuktar* ("plus puissants et plus entreprenants") is indicated as one of the (negative) premonitory signs for a particular expected event. Phl. *čābukīh* ("agility", MACKENZIE 1986) has a certain number of occurrences in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān*, always with reference to the body of a valiant man (in one case of a beautiful woman), also endowed with other qualities: good looks,

43 Generally so interpreted by scholars, with the exception of FAZILAT (2005, pp. ١٤١, 228), who translates *grīw* with Prs. *nafs* ("self, essence, soul, etc.").

44 Cf. Persian *čašm zadan* "to envy someone's beauty or good luck and in this way to damage him" (NAJAFI 1999, p. 428). This is only one of the proposed interpretations for Phl. *zanišn*; similarly see CASARTELLI 1886, p. 537 ("de jeter le *malocchio*"); SANJANA 1876, p. 163 ("casting an evil eye"), FAZILAT 2005, p. ١٤١ (also pp. 227–228; with doubts: "*az zaxm zadan*(?) (= *čašm zaxm*)"). Differently, see DE MENASCE (1973, p. 161) who translates *zanišn* as "des femmes" (if he is right, *zanišn* "woman" in Dk III would match *zanišn* "woman, wife" in the *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* 3, 15: cf. AGOSTINI 2013, p. 95, fn. 1097).

45 The relevant Phl. word is difficult to understand. Cf. CASARTELLI 1886, p. 537: "de ce qui ne veut rien"; SANJANA 1876, p. 163: "to hear what is improper"; DE MENASCE 1973, p. 161: "musique"; FAZILAT 2005, p. ١٤١: "*nāniyušidan* (?)".

46 Differently BAILEY 1971, p. xxxvi, who postulated three different bases for different words.

strength, bravery and so on. How should one intend *čābūkīh*, generally with a positive connotation, in the Dk passage quoted above? Different interpretations have been advanced; Sanjana (1876, p. 163) gave it as "frequent motion", de Menasce (1973, p. 161) as "agilité"; Casartelli (1886, p. 537) proposed "orgeuil", conceptually not so distant from "restiveness, rebellion [Prs. *sarkeši*]" that we find in Fazilat (2005, pp. ١٤١, 228).[47] Casartelli, in particular, acknowledged with his interpretation a conceptual link between neck movements and human attitude and conduct.

The back of the neck is a place for carrying loads; it shares this function with the top of the shoulders. This fact is responsible for many metaphorical expressions common in Persian and other Iranian languages, with which assumption and attribution of responsibility, or taking up of a burden are expressed. Among these, one finds the MP idiom *(ul) ō grīw padīr-* "to take upon oneself; to accept", frequently found in Phl. texts and the equivalent Sogd. idiom *paru γrīw patγarβ-* mentioned above. Both match perfectly well with Prs. *(be) gardan gereftan*, (Sorani) Kurdish *wa asto girtin,* Baxtiāri *be garδen gerehδen*, Afghani Balochi *gardin girag*, Taleqāni *gardon* (*ha*)*gīton,* Tāleši *bə gi(y) gəte*, etc.; Tāleši, in particular, also shares with Middle Persian and Sogdian the etymon of the word for neck. Consider also Prs. *(be) gardan*(*-e kas-i*) "on responsibility (of someone)", *taqsir (be) gardan-e kasi gozāštan* "to put the blame on someone", etc., Kurmanji Kurdish *dan ser stu-yê xwe* "to take upon oneself", *xistin stu-yê kesekî* "to pin upon someone", Pašto *war pa γāra kawəl* "to pin something upon someone", Bandāri *bāre gardon* "responsibility", etc.[48]

MP *(ul) ō grīw padīr-* "to take upon (one's) neck", i. e. "to take upon (one)self" has been quoted by Sundermann (S/*Grīw*, p. 365a) in support of his thesis of a direct semantic shift 'nape' → 'self' which successively would have led "to developments in various directions towards 'body,' 'person,' and 'soul'". From this perspective, Sundermann rejected Gershevitch's assumption, to which he had previously adhered (Sundermann 1985, p. 45), of a transitional term "upper body" situated between the "neck" and "body". Gershevitch' stance rested on a personal and arguable interpretation of a rather unclear Sogd. passage (Sundermann 1985, p. 30); nevertheless, the chain of metonymical extensions 'neck' → 'upper body' (→ 'body') is in principle a fairly predictable one and seems to be documented in Pahlavi (see above §3.1). As further evidence, I cite

47 Fazilat also suggests interpreting *čābūkīh* as if it was *marčābūkīh* ("bravery, valour", MacKenzie 1986). The existence of this word, read in Dk VI 91 by Bailey (1971, p. 84), has already been disputed by Shaked (1979, p. 256).

48 Similar expressions are easily found in non-Iranian languages, as well; cf. Arabic *haδā fī riqābihum* "responsibility for it rests on their shoulders" [cf. *raqaba* "neck, nape"]; *fī ᶜunqihi damu qatīl* "he has murder on his conscience" [cf. *ᶜunuq, ᶜunq* "neck, nape"] (Wehr 1979); Italian *accollare* "to saddle, charge (responsibility etc.)", *accollarsi* "to shoulder" (cf. *collo* "neck").

the senses "trunk; body [Russian *tulovišče, telo*]" (besides "vigour, strength", quoted above) conveyed by Tāleši *gardən* according to PIREJKO (1976, p. 49), but also the idiom used to express "to put on (clothes)" we find in Waneci (cf. *γāṛē k.*, ELFENBEIN 1984, p. 232 [s. v. *γāṛə* "neck"];[49] *au dayə te γāṛē ko* "I put it on him" (said of a *lošī* "robe"), *ibid.*, p. 64).

7. To conclude, one may say that the word family under discussion exemplifies well how language and cultural conceptualizations relate to each other. Such conceptualizations provide experiential motivations for a chain of semantic shifts from 'nape/neck' to 'body' (conceived as a discrete physical unity, with a physical appearance, but also as a physical unity in a social dimension i. e., 'person'),[50] and from 'body' to (grammatical) 'self', with complete loss of the referential value. The grammaticalization process into reflexive marker is common to all the Middle Iranian languages, though in Pahlavi it remained halfway and *grīw* "self" (very occasionally used: dialectologically connoted?) cannot compete with *xwēš tan* in this role. Nevertheless, the reflexive function of *grīw* in (especially Manichaean) Middle Persian and Parthian would deserve a mention in the relevant grammatical descriptions, which has never had.[51] From a synchronic perspective, one may note divergences among the MIr. languages as far as the retention of the old meanings of *grīw/γrīw*, side by side the new ones, is concerned. Peculiar to Manichaean texts, and in particular to Middle Persian and Parthian ones, is the meaning "soul", possibly developed under the influence of the Syriac source texts.

Abbreviations

BTT	Berliner Turfantexte
CFM	Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum
D-M/Mor	DURKIN-MEISTERERNST/MORANO 2010
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
S/*Grīw*	SUNDERMANN 2002a
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse

49 Wan. *γāṛə* is given as "neck, self" by ELFENBEIN (1984, p. 232) but I could not find in the Wan. texts published by the author a single case of *γāṛə* with this grammatical sense (for which *zān* "body; self" is commonly used).

50 Cf. Arabic *raqaba* "neck, nape" (also borrowed in Persian), used as "slave" and "person" in the Islamic Law.

51 See lastly DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014.

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