

CHAPTER SIX

KHWAREZMIAN

Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst

1 INTRODUCTION

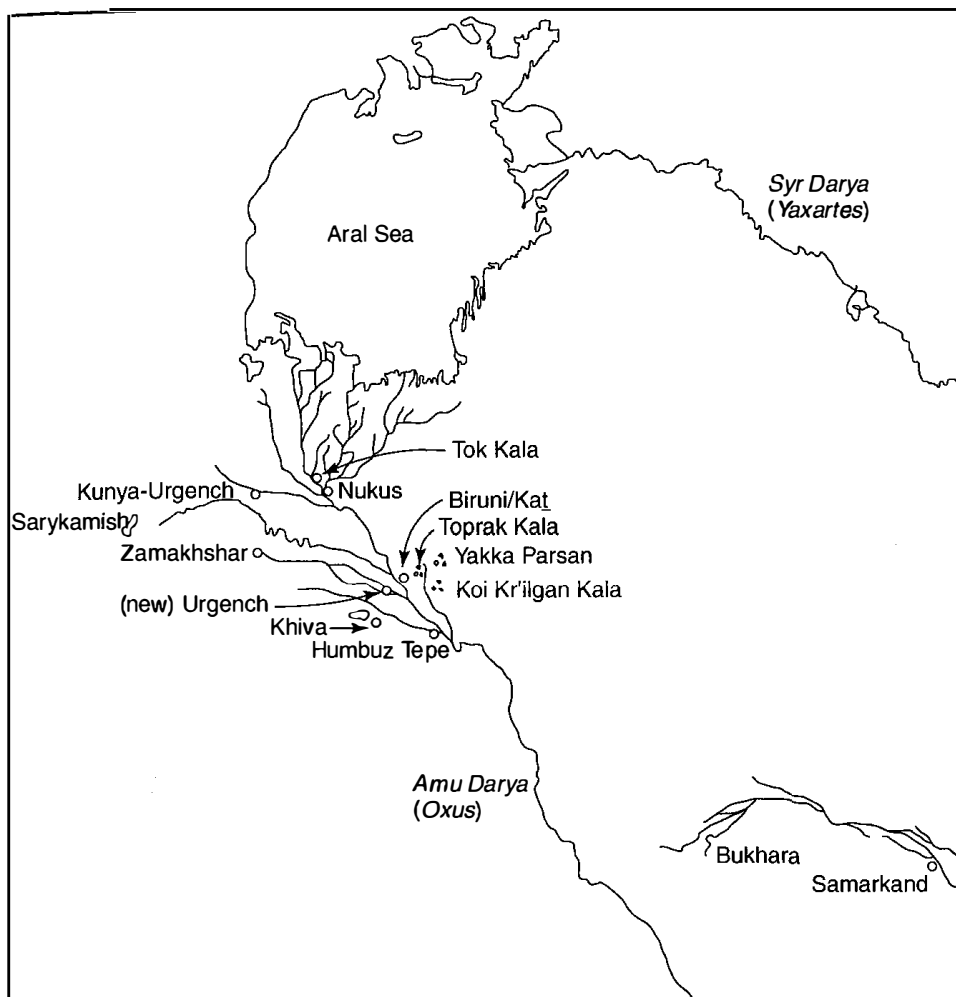
1.1 Overview

Khwarezmian is an Eastern Middle Iranian language formerly spoken around the lower reaches of the river Amu Darya (Oxus), including its delta into the Aral Sea in the north – the ancient Chorasmia. The Khwarezmian language area borders on the areas of Sogdian to the south-east and Parthian in the south, though in each case semi-steppe or desert intervenes. Khwarezmian shares features with Sogdian (note in particular the augment in the imperfect, see section 3.2.4.1a) but also with other East Iranian languages (verbal endings containing *r* occur only in Khwar., Avestan, Saka and Yaghnobi, Henning 1958: 117). The best attested form of the language is patently influenced by Arabic and New Persian. Not unlike most Middle Iranian languages, Khwarezmian came to light and to be studied only early in the twentieth century.

Khwarezmian is comparatively scantily attested, in two forms:

- 1 sources in a regional development of the Aramaic script: coin legends (Vainberg 1977), inscriptions on wooden boards (from Toprak Kala, see Livshits 1984), on ossuaries (from Tok Kala, see Tolstov and Livshits 1964) and on silver vessels found in the Urals, some leather documents (from Toprak Kala, see Livshits 1984) and on an ostrakon (from Humbuz Tepe, see Livshits and Mambetulaev 1986).
- 2 Islamic sources in Arabo-Persian script:
 - (a) quotations in books of case-law, namely the *Yatīmat ad-dahr* (YD) (645 AH 1246–7 CE, publ. Zeki Velidi 1927), the *Qunyat al-Munya* and the derivative *Risāla* (together QR) of ca. 755 AH 1354 CE (MacKenzie 1990: 5, ‘the Khwarezmian material in R. can be regarded as practically the most reliable that we have’);
 - (b) the Khwarezmian glosses in a copy of al-Zamaxšarī’s thematic Arabic dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (Zeki Velidi Togan 1951, Benzing 1968, MacKenzie 1970–72; the text is quoted as Muq., or simply by page and line references to the manuscript).

The sources date from the pre-Sasanian period (some of those in Khwarezmian script) to the Islamic period when, sometime after the fourteenth century CE, the language died out. The paucity of the pre-Islamic sources makes it difficult to form a picture of the language in these texts, though the older Khwarezmian script was apparently still in use in the eleventh century (Henning 1958: 58). Our main sources for Khwarezmian are those of the Islamic period (including older forms recorded by the polymath al-Bērūnī (362–



MAP 6.1 ANCIENT KHWAREZMIA

440 AH 973–1048 CE), a native speaker: (Henning 1958: 114–5). In the case of differences between the language of the pre-Islamic and the Islamic sources we can speak of Middle and Late Khwarezmian, but it should be remembered that Khwarezmian is attested neither in the Old nor the modern Iranian period. On the relative chronology of the language of the various sources, see Tolstov and Livshits 1964: 237–240.

There is no record of how long Khwarezmian survived our latest sources. The invasions of the Mongols (1220 CE) and Timur (1388 CE) devastated the area, the prosperity of which depended heavily on the maintenance of extensive and sensitive irrigation systems. Khwarezmian was replaced by Turkic languages (the use of Turkish is mentioned in QR 123).

Azami–Windfuhr (1972: 15–17, 36) suggested that Sangesari, while a member of the dialect groups circling the town of Semnan east of Tehran, includes a distinct subset of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features which it shares with an Eastern Iranian continuum that included Khwarezmian. (These include: $*\theta r > \dot{s}$ in $\dot{s}\dot{\alpha}$ ‘three’ and other items, Khwar. (\dot{s} y); the object marker $-d\dot{\alpha} < dar$, Khwar. $\dot{d}\dot{a}r\dot{\alpha}$; the potential construction

with auxiliary *bə-ker-*, Khwar. (k-); lexical items such as *šāš-* ‘dilapidate, scatter’, Khwar. (ššy-) ‘strew’; *āšax* ‘knucklebone, dice’, Khwar. (škk) ‘hoof’ (little shoe); *šəkēyīn* ‘woman’ (besides *žən*), Khwar. (šc(y)k) ‘female’; cf. also G. Windfuhr 1975.)

The limited extent of the material means that we have an incomplete picture of the language. For the following description the sources of the Islamic period are used. Khwarezmian appears to be of mixed origin, since it often exhibits more than one development of Old Iranian consonants (Henning 1958: 109–110); compare the different forms, with (š), (hr), and (cy) for **θr*, from the family ‘3, 13, 30’ (see section 3.1.6, Numerals).

1.2 Writing systems

As mentioned above the bulk of the Khwarezmian material is written in the Arabo-Persian script. The proper reading of numerous passages is complicated by the fact that the crucial diacritic dots, that serve to distinguish letters in the Arabo-Persian script are often neglected. In the case of isolated words, the correct reading is difficult to establish. In turn, there are also cases of mispointing, e.g. (n) for (y) in (mryndnd) for *m-arγend-eda* (m-rγnd-yd) ‘called’; underpointing (b) for (p) in (‘sb) for *asp* (‘sp) ‘horse’ and rarely overpointing, e.g. (p) for in (p’dr) for *ba-āder*; (b’dr) ‘without fire’.

New letters are: (1) (β) based on (f) with three dots (as in Early New Persian); (2) the pair (c,j) [ts, dz] based on *h* with 3 dots above (as in Pashto), e.g. (‘wrcy-) < OIr. **ā-wartaya-* and (βncy-, *βnjy-) ‘to tie’ < OIr. **bandaya-* (MacKenzie 1970, Glossary I: 543).

As mentioned below, among special uses of diacritics is that of the *shadda*, for gemination and stress.

In the earlier script Aramaic ideograms are used, e.g. ŠNT for *sarδ-* (srδ) ‘year’.

1.3 A note on transcription

The incomplete nature of the sources, the defective orthography used therein, the functional (and facultative) nature of the vowel marking in the Arabo-Persian script and uncertainty about whether unaccented syllables were reduced or lost means that we do not have enough information to transcribe Khwarezmian consistently and reliably. Providing even a tentative transcription risks falsifying the facts of the language. Therefore the basis for the following description must be the transliteration. Very often the transcription can do no more than indicate what could be expected (i.e. as an exercise in etymology or in formal analysis), which may not at all be what actually existed. Sometimes a transcription is avoided entirely. When it is offered it is always tentative, and is occasionally marked with an asterisk as being speculative, particularly to indicate problems of legibility or pointing and, in tables, to indicate reconstruction on the basis of documented forms. Old Iranian forms and likely earlier forms are marked here as ‘OIr.’ and ‘earlier’, respectively, with asterisk.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory and distribution

2.1.1 Vowels and diphthongs

2.1.1.1 Vowels

The vowels of Khwarezmian are defectively marked in both scripts. In the Arabo-Persian script, they may be indicated according to the traditional conventions: (1) both long and short vowels by the consonantal letters ʾ, y, w; (2) short vowels by the three superscript diacritics C^a, Cⁱ, C^u (supplemented by C^o for absence of vowel). Only before enclitics are short vowels more regularly written in order to distinguish inflectional endings:

ī . . . *xīwb-mi zādek*
 (ʾy . . . x^uwb-m z^adʾk)
 ‘my beautiful child (masc.)’ QR 122;

yā xīwb-a-mi δuyδ-a
 (yʾ xwb^a-mⁱ δ^uγ^od^{-a})
 ‘my beautiful daughter’ (fem.) QR 120.

Occurrences of Cⁱ or C^u in place of an expected *a* seem to indicate conditioned variants that may be indicated in the transcription by *e*, *o* respectively. However, this compromise is not extensively relied upon here.

Any attempt at establishing the phonetically distinct vowels based on such a narrow range of representational signs must therefore remain hypothetical, mostly based on parallels in related languages and sometimes on etymological considerations. With these caveats, it is possible to posit eight phonemic vowels:

TABLE 6.1: VOWELS

<i>ī</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ū</i>
	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>u</i>

- a* *aβd* (ʾβd) ‘seven’; *aδwi* (ʾδw) ‘two’; *δast-* (δst) ‘hand’;
- ā* *ās-* (ʾs-) ‘to take’; *nāmek-* (nʾmʾk) ‘name’;
- i* *iy-* (ʾy-) ‘go’; *pica* (pc) ‘father’;
- ī* *δīcek-* (δyck) ‘seen’; *nīθ-* (nyθ) ‘become’;
- ē* *ēw-* (ʾyw) ‘one’; *mēθ-* (myθ) ‘day’;
- u* *δum-* (δwm) ‘tail’; *uc-* (ʾc, ʾwc) ‘place’;
- ū* *βūm-* (βwm) ‘earth’; *βrūc-* (βrwc) ‘brows’;
- ō* *βōδ-* (βwδ) ‘scent’; *γōx-* (γwx) ‘ear’.

For simplicity the non-etymological prothetic vowel in e.g. (ʾps) ‘sheep’ may be represented by *a*, **aps-* though a reduced vowel such as shewa or even a front vowel *i* or *e*, since it seems that initial (ʾ) can express any short vowel, might be more accurate.

2.1.1.2 Semivowels and diphthongs

- w*: *wār-* (wʾr) ‘rain’; *yāwar-* (yʾwr) ‘time’; *γrīw-* (γryw) ‘self’;
- y*: *yīma(?)* (yīm) ‘I am’; *ayāc-a* (ʾyʿc) ‘come!’; *casūy-* (cswy) ‘*tasū* (weight)’.

2.1.1.3 Nasalization

It is likely that there was strong conditioned nasalization. This is indicated by the orthographical variation ($n \sim y$); e.g. ($\beta ndk \sim \beta ydk$), probably $< \beta \tilde{e}dek$ - ‘servant’, ($pnd'k \sim pyd'k$) $< p\tilde{e}d\tilde{a}k$ - ‘way’, ($rnj \sim ryj$) $< r\tilde{e}j$ - ‘toil’ (differently Henning 1958: 117), and the sporadic loss of final $-n$, that is indicated by variants such as (δyn) and (δy), probably $< \delta \tilde{e}$ ‘woman’.

2.1.2 Consonants

The inherited set of phonemic consonants appears to be as follows:

TABLE 6.2: CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	$p \ b$	$t \ d$		$k \ g$	
Affricate		$c \ j$	$\check{c} \ \check{j}$		
Fricative	$f \ \beta$	$\theta \ \delta$		$x \ \gamma$	h
Sibilant		$s \ z$	$\check{s} \ \check{z}$		
Semivowel	w		y		
Nasal	m	n	(\tilde{n})	(η)	
Trill		r			
Lateral		l			

In the Arabo-Persian script, the letters (\check{s} , \check{c} , \check{t} , \check{z} , h , $'$), as well as postvelar (q) which are retained in Arabic loanwords, most likely do not represent a pharyngealized loan component in the inventory.

n may have had palatal and velar conditioned variants: $w\tilde{a}ng$ - ($w'nk$) ‘call’, and possibly palatals, e.g. $a\tilde{n}c$ - ($'nc$ -) ‘fear’.

h is often lost between vowels, e.g. $h\tilde{a}\beta r-n\tilde{e}-di < h\tilde{a}\beta er-na-hi-di$ ($h'\beta r-n-i-y-d'i$) ‘I gave it to you’; $\gamma\tilde{o}-\beta\tilde{a}rak$ - ($\gamma w-\beta'rk$) ‘earring’, from $\gamma\tilde{o}x$ - (γwx) ‘ear’ (Humbach 1989: 195).

Examples (not minimal pairs) are:

par - (pr) ‘on’, $bazak$ -(?) (bzk) ‘bad’;
 $f(i)c\tilde{u}r$ - ($fcwr$) ‘uncle’, $\beta(a)rak$ - (βrk) ‘fruit’;
 tan - (tn) ‘body’, $dr\tilde{o}\delta$ - ($drw\delta$) ‘praise’;
 $0ayd$ - (θyd) ‘hard’, δast - (δst) ‘hand’;
 $sar\delta$ - ($sr\delta$) ‘year’, $z\tilde{i}w$ - (zyw -) ‘to live’;
 $cayd$ - ($c yd$) ‘entrance’, $\beta enjay$ - (βncy - $< \beta njy$ -) ‘to tie’;
 $\check{c}iyr$ - ($\check{c} yr$) ‘sharp’, $\check{j}uft$ - ($\check{j} ft$) ‘spouse’;
 $(\check{s}yt)$ ‘lip’, $\check{z}ad$ ($\check{z} d$) ‘resin’;
 $karc$ - (krc) ‘knife’, $garak$ - (grk usually written $krk!$) ‘flock, herd’;
 $x\tilde{a}\delta$ - ($x\delta$ -) ‘to sting’, $\gamma a\check{s}$ - ($\gamma \check{s}$) ‘tooth’, $hi\beta r$ - ($h\beta r$ -) ‘to give’;
 $ra\check{s}t$ - ($r\check{s}t$) ‘true’, $l\tilde{e}y$ - ($ly\gamma$) ‘tripping’;
 $magas$ - (mks) ‘fly’, $n\tilde{a}n$ - ($n'n$) ‘this’.

2.1.3 Syllable structure

Geminates constitute an integral part of the inventory, and are usually marked by *shadda* (indicated here by an over-bar), e.g. *ḍummen-* (ḍm̄n) ‘enemy’. But *shadda* seems also to be a device to mark stress, see section 2.2.1.

While many historical consonant groups were assimilated or reduced (e.g. *cam̄m-a* (cm) ‘eye’ < OIr. **čašman-*, *apan-a* (ʿpn) ‘co-wife’ < OIr. **hapaθnī-*), others have survived, albeit modified, such as initial *δβ*, e.g. *ḍβer-* (ḍβʿr) ‘door’ (<OIr. **dwarθi-*) and *sp* and *čk*, e.g. *spēdek-* (spydʿk) ‘white’, *čkēš-* (čkyš) ‘lie’ (<Avestan **tkaiša-*), and postvocalic *βd*, *γd*, e.g. in *aβḍ* (ʿβd) ‘seven’ and *ḍuyd-* (ḍγd) ‘daughter’. More stable consonant groups are seen in *βrād-* (βrʿd) ‘brother’, *γrīw-* (γryw) ‘self’, *xubisk-* (xbsk) ‘own’, *wasn-* (wsn) ‘because of’, *ašt* (ʿšt) ‘eight’, *mizy* (mzy) ‘brain’, and *namaθk-* (nmθk) ‘salt’.

Prosthesis has occurred at different stages of the language, leading to such forms as *aβ-* (β-) < *b(a)w-* ‘be’, and *ak-* (ʿk-) < *k(u)n-* ‘do, make’.

2.2 Non-segmental features

2.2.1 Stress and unstable vowels

2.1.1.1 Unstable vowels

The incidence of consonant groups, and thus the retention or loss of the short vowels *i*, *u*, *a*, seems to depend on their position in the word. MacKenzie (1990: 94) sees ‘a general reduction of unstressed short vowels, producing consonant groups in internal but not word-initial position’, contrasting *sukund-* (sʰkʰnd) ‘oath’ QR 113 with **dʰ-skund-* (dʰsʰknd) ‘then an oath’ QR 251 < *da sukund*.

2.1.1.2 Position and marking of stress

Stress on the preceding vowel appears to be often, but irregularly, marked by the *shadda* though the system is not entirely clear (MacKenzie 1989: 270ff.). Most examples point to pre-final stress. (Stress is indicated here by an underlined vowel). When a suffix is added the stress shifts to the right, with apparent non-phonemic lengthening of the vowel: *ap̄an-a* (ʿpn) ‘co-wife’ > **pen-ā̄-mi* (pnʿm) fem. ‘my co-wife’ (QR 105; Henning 1956: 423).

2.1.1.3 Unstressed lengthening

However, a similar but perhaps unstressed lengthening is to be seen when the definite article *ī* is written together with a word with initial short vowel, without discernable difference; e.g. *ī + a* is written (y.) in **y-ā̄bar-ēw-* (y.ʿbryw) ‘the other’ < *ī abar-ēw-* QR 373, similar to *ī + ā* in *y-ā̄yat-* (y.ʿyt) ‘the beginning’ Muq. 61.2 < *ī āyat*. The latter word is clearly distinct in writing from *yā̄ yat-a* (y.ʿyt) ‘the running!’ 349.8. (In the foregoing a dot has been introduced in the analysis to separate items written together in the original.)

2.1.1.4 Pre-pausal position

Of particular interest is the indication of the vowel (y), presumably stressed (even anaptyctic), before the last consonant of a word in pause, or at the end of a sentence. (This pausal (y) is hereafter written superscript (ʸ). Compare, e.g. **zā̄dek* (zʸdk) ‘son’, in

pause *zādek* (z'dʸk), even *urg* ('wrk) 'wolf', pause *ureg* ('wr'k), and the verb *hāβer-da* (h'βrd) 'he gave', pause *hāβr-eda* (h'βr'd) (after Henning 1955: 44; 1958: 81). The phenomenon seems also to occur in the earlier script (Tolstov and Livshits 1964: 243–4).

2.3 Morphophonemic change

In addition to the variation discussed above, Khwarezmian, like other Iranian languages, has inherited a complex morphophonology, which is discussed together with morphology.

3 MORPHOLOGY

Khwarezmian is inflectional. With the noun, extensive use is made of prepositional and postpositional phrases, together with the weakly differentiated flexional endings. In the verb use is made both of inflectional endings and of suffixes added to the endings to distinguish further categories.

3.1 Nominal Morphology

3.1.1 Categories

3.1.1.1 Gender, number, and case

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, with traces of the dual in the number 'two' and in paired parts of the body, and a numerative. The basic distinctions between the two genders and the three numbers are most evident in the demonstrative pronouns presented below.

Gender, number, and case are marked by inflectional endings. But there is no inflectional distinction of gender in the plural, and no distinction between the nominative and accusative in either the singular or plural (but see section 3.1.4.1 postpositions). The plural has a basic and an extended form.

Even though the writing system is deficient, the inflectional system is well known and predictable. In addition, there are further clues:

- 1 frequent, but irregular diacritic vocalization by " (-), ⁱ (-y), before enclitics, mainly personal suffixes;
- 2 palatalization, prominently of final *-k* (< OIr. **-aka-*) in adjectives and in perfect participles in (-dk, -tk), which reflects the OIr. feminine ending *-ī* and plural ending *-ayah* > *-ē* > *i*. Thus masc. (-k), fem. (-c), and masc. (-dʸk), fem. (-c): OIr. **barzaka-* > masc. *βāžek-* (βžk), fem., pl. (βžc) 'long'; OIr. **mṛtaka-* > masc. **mādek* (mdʸk, fem. 'mc) 'dead'; masc. (**pr'dk*), fem. *parāc-a* (pr'c) 'divorced'.

Similarly, *-t*, *-d*, *-nd* are occasionally palatalized: fem. *yā δast-* 'the hand' > *f-ā δasc-ya* (f. 'δsc-y) 'with the hand' 490.3, pl. *ī δasc-ina* (y' δsc-n) 'the hands' 387.3; *kāyad-* 'paper' > *c-ā kāyac-ya* (c. 'k'γc-y) 'from the paper' 9.4; (y' . . . 'kwnd) 'the finger' 374.3 > pl. (y' 'kwnc-n) 402.4.

In addition, a few feminines are derived by the formant *-ān-* ('n): *āsk-* ('sk) 'deer' > *āsk-ān* ('sk-'n) 'doe'; *urg-* ('wrk) 'wolf' > *urg-ān* ('wrk-'n) 'she-wolf'; *gavazn-* (γwzn) 'stag' > *gavazn-ān* (γwzn-'n) 'hind'. Similarly *hun-ān-* (h(w)n-'n) 'slave-girl', presumably 'Hunnish woman' (MacKenzie 1990: 112).

3.1.1.2 Animate terms

Animate terms, even though generally not overtly marked, are known to be feminine when referring to the female, or to the species as a collective (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 30b), e.g. *aps* ('ps) 'sheep' is contextually masculine or feminine, collective; besides this a fem. *ameh-a* ('mh) 'ewe' exists. Gender is also lexically marked, e.g. (nrk) 'male' in (nrk h'kš) 'he-goat' Muq. 51.7–8.

3.1.1.3 Dual and numerative

A dual form, identical with the feminine singular, also occurs with '3' and '4', and so can be regarded effectively as a numerative (Sims-Williams 1979: 339–40). Due to its use for paired body parts, some of the masculine terms such as (*ī*) *δast* 'hand' and (*ī*) *pāδ* 'foot' have developed alternates that inflect as feminines, thus *yā δast-a*, *yā pād-a*.

3.1.1.4 Definiteness and indefiniteness

3.1.1.4a Definite article

Khwarezmiian has a definite article, which patently originates in OIr. relative pronouns: masc. *ī* ('y), fem. *yā* (y'), dual *yā* (y'), plural masc., fem. *ī* ('y). These are written together with prepositions, e.g. (f.y, f.) probably indicating contractions *f-ī*, *f-ā* < *fa ī*, *fa yā*; and combine with a following vowel, both the fem. and masc. becoming (y-), e.g. *yā* (*a*) *sm-a* (y'sm^a) < 'the sky' QR 297, masc. *ī āyat* (y.ʔyt) < 'the beginning' Muq. 61.2.

The article can accompany names, e.g. *ī zayd* ('y zyd) 'Zayd' 516.1; *c-ī allāh-ān* (cy 'llh'n) 'Allah's' 103.5. Note also the article with dependent tonic personal and definite demonstrative pronouns after prepositions (MacKenzie, Glossary II, 1971: 88): *par-ī haβī* (pry hβy) 'to you' QR 85, *peš-ī nān-a* (pšy n'n) 'to that one' 238.1. (cf. *par-ā βūm-a* (pr' βwm) 'to the ground' 215.7).

3.1.1.4b Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness may be marked by *ēw-* ('yw) 'one'. Non-specific indefiniteness in both singular and plural is indicated by the absence of the articles and possessives.

3.1.1.5 Nouns and inflectional classes

The cases (nominative-accusative, genitive, possessive, ablative, locative) are partly distinguished by inflection alone and partly in combination with pre- or postpositions. Thus, the dative and the definite direct object are marked by the genitive or possessive + *δāra*. The essentials of the following paradigms were established by Henning (1955: 46 n.1).

TABLE 6.3: NOMINAL INFLECTION

	Masc.	Fem. Fem.	-k Stems	Pl.	-k Stems	extended
NOM-ACC	–	-a	-ka	-i	-ci	-ina
GEN	–	-ya	-ca	-i	-ci	-ina
POSS	-ān	-ya	-ca	-ān	-k-ān	-in-ān
ABL	-a	-ya	-ca	-i	-ci	-ina
LOC	-a	-a	-ka	-i	-ci	-ina

Generally the consonants and the long vowels are written. Short vowels are occasionally written before suffixes or postpositions (e.g. *βūm-ya δārā* (βwm-y' -δ'r) but final short vowels are unwritten except, sporadically, in the vocalized material.

3.1.2 Adjectives and comparison

Adjectives as a word class are generally unmarked, e.g. *xūb* (xwb) 'good', but there are typical derivational formants, such as (-ynk, -'n(°)k, -myn(°)k), and the prefixes (θ-) with and privative (mnd-) (see section 6 Lexis).

The comparative is formed with the suffix *-dar* (-dr), e.g. *bazag-dar* (bzk-dr) 'worse'; with the preposition *ci-* (c-) 'than', e.g.

nē(n) bazag-dar ci nān-a (ny bzk-dr c.n'n)
'this one (is) worse than that one' 280.6.

A superlative suffix is not attested.

3.1.3 Pronouns and deixis

3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are as listed by MacKenzie (1993: 136). In the following table, a hyphen indicates pre- or suffixation. The sign '+' in the left column indicates that the form of the pronoun precedes this, e.g. (m'r) occurs with the postposition (δ'r): *mār δāra* (m'r δ'r). The pronoun of the 3s is not varied for gender.

The object suffixes are directly attached to the finite verb forms; e.g. *δāmb-eda-ma* (δ'nbyd'm) 'he hit me', etc. (δnby-) 'hit'; (cf. Henning 1958: 117 n.4; Samadi 1986: 66).

3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

These distinguish between near and far deixis, and a topical, deictically neutral pronoun 'such a one, the one' (Muq. 65.4–8, 66.1–7). All inflect for gender, number, and case. The feminine of the latter is notably distinct from the masculine in both singular and plural. A rarer near-deictic is *nyš*.

3.1.3.3 Interrogative and relative pronouns

The variants with (°) contain the interrogative particle also used in questions, but the distribution of interrogatives with (°) and relatives without seems to be disturbed.

3.1.3.4 Reflexive and reciprocal pronominals

Reflexive: **x(u)dāk-* (xd'k) 'self, same; he/she'; *γrīw-* (γryw) 'soul, self, he/she'; adjective: *xubisk-* (xbsk) 'own'; reciprocal: **any* ('ny) 'other', (nywny) 'each other'.

3.1.4 Adpositions

3.1.4.1 Pre- and postpositions

According to the cases employed with them, the adpositions fall into several sets. The postpositions occur prominently with clitic pronouns, for which see Table 6.4 Pronouns.

TABLE 6.4: PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1s	2s	3s	Indef.	1p	2p	3p
NOM	<i>nāz</i>	<i>autak</i>		<i>ci</i>	<i>maβī</i>	<i>haβī</i>	<i>*ēβī</i>
suff.		<i>tak</i>		<i>ci</i>			
G-D, POSS	<i>mi</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>hi</i>		<i>mn(a)</i>	<i>*fn(a)</i>	<i>hin</i>
suff.	<i>-m(i)</i>	<i>-d(i)</i>	<i>-h(i)</i>		<i>-men</i>	<i>-fen</i>	<i>-hin</i>
<i>fā, par, ci</i> +	<i>-mika</i>	<i>-fβika</i>			<i>ī maβy-ān</i>	<i>ī haβy-ān</i>	<i>ī ēβy-ān</i>
<i>paš</i> +	<i>mici</i>	<i>*-fβi-ci</i>			<i>ī maβy-ān</i>		
+ <i>ḏāra</i>	<i>ma-ra-</i>	<i>tewa-ra-</i>			<i>maβy-ān-</i>	<i>*haβy-ān-</i>	<i>ēβy-ān</i>
ABL	<i>ma-c(i)</i>	<i>tewa-ci</i>			<i>mna-ci</i>	<i>*fna-ci</i>	
ACC	<i>ma</i>	<i>falβa</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>ci</i>			<i>-na</i>
suff.	<i>-m(a)</i>	<i>-fβ(a)</i>	<i>-h(i)</i>	<i>-c</i>	<i>-men</i>	<i>-fen</i>	<i>-n(a), -(h)in(a)</i>
+ <i>bir, beš</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>fβa-</i>	<i>(h)i-</i>	<i>ci-</i>	<i>mn-a-</i>	<i>fn-a-</i>	<i>hina-</i>
+ <i>ci, ṭa</i>							
Transliteration							
	1s	2s	3s	Indef.	1p	2p	3p
NOM	(nʾ)	(ʾw)tk		(cy)	(mβy)	(hβy)	(*ʾyβy)
suff.		(-tk)		(-c(y))			
G-D, POSS	(my)	(dy)	(hy)		(mn, mnʾ)	(*fn, *fnʾ)	(hyn)
suff.	(-m(y))	(-d(y))	(-h(y))		(-mn)	(*-fn)	(-hyn)
<i>fā, par, ci</i> +	(-mʾk)	(-β/fʾk)			(-y mβyʾn)	(-y hβy)	(-yβy)
<i>paš</i> +	(-mʾc)	(*-β/fʾc)			(-y mβyʾn)		
+ <i>ḏāra</i>	(mʾr)	(twʾr)			(mβyʾn)	(*hβyʾn)	(ʾy-βyʾn)
ABL	(mʾc(y))	(twʾc)			(mnʾc)	(*fnʾc)	
ACC	(mʾ)	(β/fʾ)	(hy)	(cy)			(nʾ)
suff.	(-mʾʾ)	(-β/fʾʾ)	(-h(y))	(-c)	(-mn)	(-fn)	(-nʾ), -hyn, -ynʾ)
+ <i>bir, beš</i>	(-mʾ-)	(-β/fʾ-)	((h)y-)	(cy-)	(-mnʾ-)	(-fnʾ-)	(hynʾ-)
+ <i>-ci, ṭa</i>							

TABLE 6.5: DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

	Near		Far		Topical	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
Singular	<i>nē(n)</i>	<i>nēn-a</i>	<i>nāwer</i>	<i>nēd-a</i>	<i>nā(n)</i>	<i>nān-a</i>
Dual	<i>nāw-a</i>	<i>nāw-a</i>	<i>nāwer-a</i>	<i>nēd-a</i>	<i>nān-a</i>	<i>nān-a</i>
Plural	<i>nāw-i</i>	<i>nāw-i</i>	<i>nāwer-i</i>	<i>nēd-i</i>	<i>nān-i</i>	<i>nān-i</i>
Singular	(ny(n))	(nyn)	(nʾwʾr)	(nyd)	(nʾ(n))	(nʾn)
Dual	(nʾw)	(nʾw)	(nʾwyr)	(nyd)	(nʾn)	(nʾn)
Plural	(nʾw)	(nʾw)	(nʾwyr)	(nyd)	(nʾn(y))	(nʾn)

TABLE 6.6: INTERROGATIVE AND RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Interrogative	Relative				
<i>a-ki</i>	((ʾ)ky)	‘who?’	<i>ki</i>	(k)	‘who?’
<i>a-ci</i>	((ʾ)c(y))	‘what?’	<i>ci</i>	(c)	‘that, which’
<i>a-*kdām-</i>	((ʾ)kdʾm)	‘which?’	<i>*akdām</i>	((ʾ)kdʾm)	‘each, any’

Prepositional *θa* (θ) 'with' tentatively included here is actually attested only in compounds (see section 6.1, Word formation). The postposition *-δāra*, which expresses both dative and definite direct object, takes the genitive in the singular, but the possessive *-ān* in the plural.

TABLE 6.7: ADPOSITIONS AND CASES

Prepositions			Postpositions		
Locative			Ablative		
<i>par</i>	(pr)	'on, for'			
<i>piš</i>	(pš)	'beside'			
<i>wasn-</i>	(wsn)	'because of'			
<i>pa</i>	(p)	'at, for, by'	<i>pac</i>	(pc)	'behind, after'
<i>fa</i>	(f)	'in, at, to, into'	<i>fa</i>	(f)	'with, for, by'
			[<i>θa</i>]	(θ)	'with'
			<i>-ci</i>	(c)	'from, than'
			<i>-ber-</i>	(-b'r)	'on'
			<i>-biš-</i>	(-bš)	'before, near, with'
			<i>-da</i>	(-d)	'forth'
			<i>-wa</i>	(-w)	'therein'
			<i>-θa</i>	(-θ)	'with'
			<i>-ci</i>	(-c)	'from'
Possessive genitive			Genitive/possessive		
<i>paš-</i>	(pš)	'after'	<i>-δāra</i> (δ'r ^a)		

3.1.4.2 Circumpositions

There are numerous combinations with prepositions and nominal quasi-postpositions, such as:

- ci – sār* (c. – s'r) 'for' (*sār* 'towards');
fa – anbec (f. – 'nbc) '(together) with, with (regard to)' (*anbec* 'together');
fa – parama (f. – prm) 'until' (*parama*).

Examples: [*c(i)*] *ī zarnī [sār]* (c.y zrny s^ar^o) 'for the gold' QR 389; [*f(a)*] *ī *xdāk-a [anbec]* (f.y xd'k 'nbc) 'with him' QR 368; [*f(a)*] *ādīnak-a [parama]* (f.'dyнк prm) 'until Friday' QR 174. Syntactically, such adverbial noun phrases are in the ablative or locative.

3.1.4.3 Nominal inflection and adpositions

The following examples demonstrate the nominal inflection, including some of the uses of prepositions and pronominal suffixes. Square brackets mark case endings.

3.1.4.3a Masculine singular

- NOM: *ī asp[-θ]* (y 'sp) 'the horse' 107.2;
 ACC: *ī xsin[-θ]* (y xs'n) 'the thing' 82.2;
 GEN: *c-ā mađān-ya-hi kām[-θ]* (c.' mđ'n-y.h k'm) 'from (the inside of) his mouth' 103.6;
 POSS: *ī asp[-ān]* (y 'sp-n) 'of the horse' 38.5;
 ABL: *c-ī kām[-a]-hi* (c.y k'm-.h) 'from his mouth' 481.5; *f-ī haqq[-a]-hi* (f.y ḥq-.h) 'for his right' 212.5;
 LOC: *f-ī asp[-a]* (f.y 'sp) 'on the horse' 343.7; *f-ī kām[-a]-hi* (f.y k'm-.h) 'into his mouth' 351.5;
 DAT: *ī bādēs-hi [δāra]* (y b'δys.h δ'r) 'to his command' 498.8;
 Def. Obj. *ī aps [δāra]* (y 'ps δ'r) 'the sheep' 305.8.

3.1.4.3b *Masculine dual/numerative (=feminine), with numbers 2–4*

- NOM: *yā-(a)δw[-a] xsin-a* (y'δw xs'n) 'the two things' 483.7; *yā cafār(a) pād-a spēdec[-a]* (y' c'f'r p'δ spy^{dy}c) 'the four legs white' 38.1;
 LOC: *f-ā šē pād[-a]* (f.' šy p'δ) 'on three legs' 220.1.

3.1.4.3c *Masculine plural*

- NOM: *ī *ušš[-i]* (y' š) 'the camels' 130.6; *ī sanc[-i]-hi* (y' snc-y.h) 'its stones' (*sang (snk)); 36.3; *ī pād[-ina]* (y' p'δ-n) 'the legs' 387.3; – *pl. tantum: ī jumleg[-i]* (y' jwmlk) 'the totality, all' 63.4;
 ACC: *ī *ušš[-i]* (y' š) 'the camels' 302.4; *āh[-i]* ('h-) 'sighs' QR 312; *akt[-ina]* ('ktn) 'acts, deeds ('kt)' 251.7;
 POSS: *paš-ī ps[-in-ān]* (pš.y ps-n-³n) 'after the sheep' 103.8 (MacKenzie, Glossary I, 1970: 547);
 ABL: *c-ī xsn[-i]-mi* (c.y xsn-y.m) 'from my things' QR 253; *f-ī βandec[-i]-hi* (f.y βndc-y.h) 'with his servants (βndk)' 330.2;
 LOC: *f-ī pac.xās[-i]-hi* (f.y pcx's-y.h) 'in his clothes' 192.3; *f-akt[-ina]-hi* (f.ktn-'h) 'for his deeds' 148.7;
 DAT: *ī wād[-i δāra]* (y' w'd-ⁱ δ'r) 'to the winds' QR 167;
 Def. Obj. *ī jumleg[-ān δāra]* (y' jwmlk-'n.δ'r) 'the totality, all' 62.5.

3.1.4.3d *Feminine singular*

- NOM: *yā aps[-a]* (y' 'ps) 'the ewe' 326.1; *yā camm[-a]-hi* (y' cm-'h) 'his eye' 110.2;
 ACC: *yā asm[-a]* (y' 'sm) 'the sky' 359.1; *yā badw[-a] -hi* (y' bdw-'h) 'his property' 298.3;
 POSS: *yā *ušš[-ya]* (y' š-y) 'of the camel', *yā γōc[-a]* (y' γwc) (palatised) 'of the cow (γōk (γwk))', *yā (a)ps[-ya]* (y' ps-y) 'of the ewe' 51.2;
 ABL: *f-ā camm[-ya]* (f.' cm-y) 'with the eye' 88.7; *c-ā βūm[-ya]* (c.' βwm-y) 'from the earth' 96.4; *c-ā pād-ya]-hi* (c.' p'δ-y'.h) 'from his foot' 223.4;
 LOC: *par-ā *pišk[-a]-hi* (pr.' pšk-'h) 'on its back' 48.1;
 DAT: *y(ā) ārc[-a δāra]* (y'rc δ'r) 'for work ('rk)' (palatised) 399.5;
 Def. Obj. *yā βūm[-ya δāra]* (y' βwm-y-δ'r) 'the earth' 164.1.

3.1.4.3e *Feminine plural*

- NOM: *ī camn[-a]-hi* (y' cmn-'h) 'his eyes' 98.1, which retains an old dual (OIr. *čašman-ā*); – *pl. tantum: ī hūn[-i]* (y' hwn-y) 'blood' 117.3;
 ACC: *ī šuwec[-i]* (y' šw^yc) 'the nails (šwk)' 112.8; *ī γōx[-ina]* (y' γwx-n) 'the ears' 203.3; – *pl. tantum ī cūb[-i]* (y' cw b) 'the water' 98.3;
 GEN: *f-ā maδān-ya paθak[-ina]* (f.' mδ'n pθk-n) 'in the midst of the houses' 219.6;
 POSS: *ī *smn[-ān] ud ī βūm[-in-ān]* (y' smn-'n 'wd 'y βwm-n-'n) 'of the heavens and the earths' 354.8 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 316);
 ABL: *c-ī paθak[-ina]* (c.y pθk-n) 'from the houses' 238.2;
 LOC: *f-ī badw[-ina]* (f.y bdw-n) 'in the properties' 484.8.
 Def. Obj. *ī cūb[-ān δāra]* (y' cw b-'n δ'r) 'the water' 309.1 (MacKenzie, Glossary II: 1971, 85);

Several isolated examples appear to diverge from the paradigms which cannot be detailed here.

3.1.5 Adverbs and adverbial phrases

Some adverbs are simply lexical items without specific formant, e.g. (brsm) ‘very’, (mθ) ‘here’; So are adjectives used adverbially. However, there are denominal adverbs derived by (-wy^a); e.g. (z²d^ok-³w^oy^a) ‘as a child’ QR 116 < (z²d^ok); (mr²yk-³wy) ‘hypocritically’ 430.8 < (mr²yk) ‘hypocrisy’; (nmd-³wy) ‘in honour’ 481.8 < (nmd) (MacKenzie 1990: 98).

3.1.6 Numerals

3.1.6.1 Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers (listed in Muq. 31.5–34.1, including very high combined numbers).

TABLE 6.8: CARDINAL NUMBERS

1–9	11–19	10–90	100–900	Other
(¹ yw) ēw	(¹ ywnd ² s)	(δ ² s)	(s ² d) <i>sed</i>	21 (¹ yw-dws ² c)
((¹)δ ² w)	(¹ δw ² s)	(¹ ws ² c)	(¹ δwysd)	1000 (hz ² r) <i>hazār</i>
(šy)	(*hrδ ² s)	(šy ² s)	(šyzd)	
(cf ² r)	(cwrδ ² s)	(cf ² r ² s)	(cf ² rzd)	
(pnc)	(pnš)	(pnc ² s)	(pnšd)	
(¹ x)	(¹ xrδ ² s)	(¹ x ² c) <i>uxxic</i>	(¹ xzd) <i>uxxuzda</i>	
(¹ βd)	(¹ βdδ ² s)	(¹ βd ² c)	(¹ βdzd)	
(¹ št)	(¹ štδ ² s)	(¹ št ² c)	(¹ štzd)	
(š ² δ) *šāδ	(nw ² δ ² s)	(nwyc)	(nwzd)	

3.1.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinals, except for ‘first’, are marked by (-²m): (ftm-yc²k) ‘1st’, (δβc-²m) ‘2nd’, *šēyem* (šym, šy²m) ‘3rd’, (cf²r-²m) ‘4th, quarter’, (pnc-²m) ‘5th, a fifth’, (¹xt-²m) [sic] ‘6th, a sixth’, (¹βd-²m) ‘7th’, (¹št-²m) ‘8th’, (š²δ-²m) ‘9th’, (δs-²m) ‘10th’.

3.1.6.3 Fractions

Fractions are usually identical with the ordinals as listed (e.g. fifth/a fifth), but note (¹rc-y²dk) ‘a third (part)’.

3.1.6.4 Distributives

Distributives are plural forms, always with (-c), e.g. (¹δw-c) ‘(by) twos’ (1–10 listed Muq. 34.8–35.1).

3.1.6.5 Multiplicatives

Multiplicatives are formed with (-δβ²γ) ‘-fold’, e.g. ((¹)δw-, šy-, cf²r-δβ²γ) ‘two-, three-, fourfold’ 47.4, 61.8. Note also (šy²wr) (almost always (šy²wr) ‘three times (y²wr)’ and (šy²k) ‘triple (divorce)’ (or perhaps ‘triad’).

3.2 Verb morphology

Verbs are inflected for tense, mood, and aspect. In addition there are periphrastic constructions, and modifying particles. Like other Iranian languages, Khwarezmian shows complex morpho-phonemic alternation, in the main reflecting Old Iranian distinctions of stem formation. The present stem (which includes the imperfect) is inflected as a verb, the past stem is a nominal formation.

3.2.1 Stem formation

3.2.1.1 Present and imperfect stems

There are two inflected stems, present and imperfect, the latter distinguished (as in Sogdian) by some form of the ‘augment’ (see section 3.2.5.1a Imperfect). In the limited sources available most verbs are only attested in the imperfect.

The present stems form three classes. The difference is most obvious in the 3s forms of the imperfect.

- (1) stems in consonants, 3s *-eda* (-^vd) (< OIr. **-a-ta*):

(^k-) ‘do’ > *m-ak-eda* (m-k-^vd) ‘did’;
 (βx-) ‘give’ > *bāx-eda* (β^x-^vd) ‘gave’.

This *-d* is devoiced by contraction after many stems in *-s*, *-š*, and even *-rd*, *-nd* (*-dd* > *-t*), e.g. (nγs-) ‘arrive’, (m-nγs-d/t-, m-nγs-t). The frequently attested, but unique (ws) ‘he said’ is probably an allegro form of **was-ta*.

- (2) stems in ^oy-, 3s *-(a)y-eda* (-y^vd) (< OIr. **-(a)ya-ta*):

(*čy-) ‘be(come) thirsty’ > *m-ačy-eda* (m-čy-^vd) ‘became thirsty’;
 (w^{ry}-) ‘rain (tr.)’ > *wār-ay-eda* (w^{ry}-^vd) ‘it rained’.

- (3) irregular stems in *-ā*, *-ah*, and the root *i-* ‘go’ with preverb, 3s *-ay-ta* (-yt):

(šm^h-) ‘command’ > *šāmay-ta* (š^{my}-t) ‘he commanded’ (< OIr. **fra-mā-*);
 (cy-) ‘enter’ > *cāy-ta* (c^y-t) ‘he entered’ (< OIr. **ati-ay-*).

These verbs also have an exceptional 3rd pl. in *-la*, e.g. *cāy-la* (c^{yl}) ‘they entered’ (cf. regular *-āra*). The same opposition *-t* : *-l* is also found in the present of the substantive verb *y-* ‘be’, which presents several unique forms (see Table 6.13).

3.2.1.2 Intransitive stem classes and derived causatives

The following stem pairs exemplify the complex pattern of inherited and productive stem alternation, including the pervasive opposition between intransitive and passive vs. transitive and causative (cf. MacKenzie, Glossary IV, 1972: 532–533). The marked intransitives reflect Old Iranian ‘inchoatives’ in *-s-*, and passives in *-ya-*. The marked transitives derive from old causatives in *-aya-*, with lengthening of the short root vowel, and, in turn, derive secondary causatives from the ‘inchoatives’. This process is productive and applies even to loans. Denominative verbs may include loans, such as (bsmr-) ‘slaughter < Ar. *bismillāh-*; (tfsyr-y-) ‘comment’ < Ar. *tafsīr* ‘commentary’; (čkyš-) ‘tell lie’ < Av. **tkaeša-* ‘false belief’.

TABLE 6.9: STEM DERIVATION

Intransitive & Passive		Transitive & Causative	
(xwr-)	'eat'	(x'r-y-)	'make eat, feed';
(nč-)	'be afraid'	(nč-m-y-)	'frighten';
(rh-)	'get free'	(rh-n-y-)	'set free';
(pcmyz-)	'flow'	(pcmyz-y-)	'make rain';
"Inchoatives"			
(pcm'x-s-)	'get dressed'	(pcm'c-)	'put on';
(xl's-)	'be grasped'	(xl-)	'grasp';
((n)γs-)	'reach'	((n)γ's-y-)	'make reach';
(yx-s-)	'be arranged'	(yγz-y-)	'arrange';
Passives			
(zr-y-)	'be tormented'	(z'r-y-)	'torment';
(βsy-)	'be bound'	(βnc-y-)	'bind';
(nbzy-)	'lie down'	(n'b'z-y-)	'lay down';
(hncy-)	'rest'	(hnc-w-y-)	'make rest';
Denominative stems			
(knbw-)	'become less'	(knb'w-y-)	'make less'.

3.2.1.3 Compound verbs

Various verbs in combination with a noun may form compound verbs. With *ak-* 'make' the noun is often a loanword (Henning 1971: 23b (g)), though not exclusively so, e.g. Ar. *inkār* ('nk'r) 'denial', *hadīθ* (hdyθ) 'telling, report', *naḍr* (nḍr) 'vow', *nikāḥ* (nkḥ) 'marriage' + *ak-* 'reject, speak, vow, marry', but also Khwar. *βend-* (βynd) 'husband' + *ak-* 'marry, take as husband'. With ('fy) 'dear', (nnk) 'shame' (Pers. *naṅ*), (šmnk) 'hope', (wf'y) 'faith' (Ar. *wafā'*) + *ḍāray-* 'hold' we have 'like (hold dear), be ashamed, hope, keep faith' (MacKenzie 1971, Glossary IV: 536).

With masc. abstract nouns in *-āw(e)k-* (-'w'k) a distinction appears to be made between a specific with singular noun (in *-k-*), and a more general meaning with the plural form (in *-ci*): (pcpkk-'wk hy-θ m-k-d) 'he opposed him' (lit. 'made opposition with him') 430.3, but ('pcpkk-'wc m-k-r) 'they contended (lit. 'made oppositions') 491.8.

3.2.1.4 Directional adpositional particles

Verbs may combine with directional-locational adpositions, which may appear before or after the verb as enclitics, usually in enclitic chains (see section 4.2.2.3). They include the following:

-ci (-cy)	'there-from, out':	<i>ās-</i> -ci ('s- -c)	'take from, out';
-da (-d')	'out, away, forth':	<i>ak-da</i> ('k-d')	'perform; say',
		<i>da was-a</i> (d' ws)	'he spoke out';
-wa (-w')	+ <i>fa</i> NP 'there-into':	<i>wa ak-</i> (w' 'k-)	'put into',
		<i>wa cāy-ta f-i wāc</i> (w' c'yt (fy w'c))	'he entered into (the matter)' 357.4;
-waθa (-wθ)	'there-inside':	<i>māneda-wa-θa</i> (m'nyd(')wθ)	'he lived therein'.

3.2.2 Nominal forms

The nominal forms of the verb can be divided into those based on the present stem and those based on the past stem.

3.2.2.1 Present stem

3.2.2.1a Present participles

The productive derivation is by (a) *-nek* (-n^yk), e.g. ((^o)βzp-n^yk) ‘shining’, (‘y-nk) ‘going’; or (b) *-en(e)k* (-yn^yk), e.g. (nps-ynk) ‘writing, writer’, (y’sw-yn^yk) ‘going, goer (away)’ < ((y)sw-) ‘go’. A few archaic present-participle-like forms ending in (-nd(k)) occur, such as (‘wšy-nd) ‘hungry’ (cf. (‘wšy-) ‘be hungry’), (zyw-nd^yk) ‘living’. Both these endings have fem. and pl. forms in (-nc).

3.2.2.1b Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns, or ‘present infinitives’ in *-āk* (-^yk) are feminine; e.g. *āβōzay-āk* (‘βwzy-^yk) ‘smelling’ (see section 6.1 Word Formation).

3.2.2.2 Past stem

3.2.2.2a Normal past participles and ‘past infinitives’

These participles and ‘past infinitives’ end in a dental, *-d* or *-t* (those in *-st* < **-tt* or < **-št*), and usually originate in an OIr. zero grade stem. The infinitives function in the potential construction (see section 4.3.2.3a), the participles mostly in compounds, e.g. (βyrd-^yδyk) ‘successful’ (lit. ‘having acquired desire’) < (βyr-) ‘acquire’.

3.2.2.2b Perfect participles

Perfect participles are formally derived from the past participle, taking final *-ek* (-k): (-dk, -tk). They have regular pl. forms in *-ci*: *-deci* (-d^yc), whereas assimilation in the feminine singular yields just (-c). They function in perfect tenses (see section 3.2.4.2), and as independent forms. Examples: *akt-ek* (‘tkk) ‘done’ < *ak-* ‘do’; *edek* (‘ydk) ‘gone’ < *iy-* ‘go’. Some participles have a nasal formant, (-nk), pl. (-nc) (MacKenzie, Glossary I, 1970: 552).

Several other derived forms are found, such as participial adjectives in *-c-ik* (-c^yk) and feminine abstract nouns in *-c-ik* (-cyk) < **-ūkā-* (MacKenzie 1972, Glossary V: 1972: 69).

3.2.2.3 Morphophonology of tense stems

In overview, the various morphophonological patterns of the two pairs of stems may be exemplified as follows (for the marking of the imperfect, see discussion section 3.2.4.1a):

TABLE 6.10: MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF TENSE STEMS

Present Stem		Participles			
Present	Imperfect	Past part.	Perf. part.		
	<i>m-</i>				
<i>ak-</i>	<i>m-ak-</i>	<i>akt-</i>	<i>akt-ek</i>	'do'	< OIr. * <i>kʷn-l*kʷ-ta-</i>
(k-)	(m-k-)	(ʔkt-)	((ʔ)ktk)	'take'	< OIr. * <i>ā-ya-sa-l*ā-ya-ta-</i>
(s-)	(m-s-)	(ʔyt-)	(*ʔytk-)	'go'	
(y-)	(m-y-)	(ʔyd)	(ʔydk)	'beat, pound'	
(kwnd-)	(m-kwnd-)	(*kwst)	(kstk)		
	Lengthening				
(βyr-)	(βʔr-)	(βyrd-)	(*βyrdk)	'obtain'	
(pcrm-)	(pʔcrm-)	(*pcrmʔd)	(pcrmʔdk)	'rest'	
Suppletive Stems					
(s-)	(m-s-)	(ʔyt-)	(ʔydk)	'come'	< OIr. * <i>ā-i-sa-l*ā-ga-ta-</i>
(wyn-)	(wyn-)	(*δyc)	(δyck)	'see'	< OIr. * <i>waina-l*dī-ta-</i>

3.2.3 Person marking

The personal endings show tense and mood distinctions. Note that the 2p endings appear to be patterned on those of the 2s, that the subjunctive forms share *-ā-*, and that the impf.-inj. forms are marked by *-a*. (As indicated, in the writing system the use of vowel signs depends on whether the verb is in pause or not, so that before a suffix the final vowel of an ending may also be written *plene*.)

The basic inflected forms, to which modal and aspectual suffixes are added, are the following (see also Table 6.13 'be, become'):

TABLE 6.11: PERSON MARKING

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	<i>-ām-i</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ica</i>	<i>-āmn-i</i>	<i>-βi</i>	<i>-ār-i</i>
SBJ	<i>-ā, -ān</i>	<i>-īx</i>	<i>-āc</i>	<i>-āmin-i</i>	<i>-β-īx</i>	<i>-ār-i</i>
IPF/INJ	<i>-in-a</i>	<i>-ix-a</i>	<i>-ed-a</i>	<i>-āmn-a</i>	<i>-β-a</i>	<i>-ār-a</i>
IMP		<i>-a</i>			<i>-β-a</i>	
OPT						<i>-īr</i>
Transliteration						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	(-ʔm ⁽ⁱ⁾)	(- ⁽ⁱ⁾)	(-ʔc, -c ^(ʔ))	(-ʔmn(y-))	(-f(y)-)	(-ʔr(y-))
SBJ	(-ʔ(n))	(-yx ^(ʔ))	(-ʔc ^(ʔ))	(-ʔmʔn ⁽ⁱ⁾)	(-βyx)	(-ʔr ⁽ⁱ⁾)
IPF/INJ	(-ʔn, n̄ ^(ʔ) -)	(-ʔx̄ ^(a) , - ^(a))	(-ʔd ^(ʔ) -)	(-ʔmn ^(a))	(-f)	(-ʔr)
IMP		(- ^(a))			(-β ^(ʔ))	
OPT						(-yr)

The 1p, 2p endings are attested only before the future marker *kām* (kʔm); the OPT 3p *-īr* (-yr) occurs only once.

3.2.4 System of tense, mood, and aspect

The system of tenses and moods comprises both those forms with flexional endings and those marked by the addition of a suffix to an inflected form, as well as periphrastic

perfect forms. The former include the tenses present, imperfect and (rare) injunctive (in form, an ‘unaugmented imperfect’) and the moods indicative, subjunctive, imperative and (rare) optative. Suffixed formations include the future tense, the permansive aspect and the conditional mood.

3.2.4.1 Present and imperfect forms

The present stem is the base for the present indicative, the present subjunctive and imperative, and the imperfect. The subjunctive is distinguished by a separate set of endings, as are the imperfect and the injunctive.

3.2.5.1a Imperfect

The imperfect is marked also by an ‘augment’, the form of which depends on the syllabic structure of the stem. It is generally expressed as follows: either

- (a) by substituting $-ā-$ ($-^2-$) for the first internal short vowel of a polysyllabic present stem (particularly but not only in a prefix), e.g.
 prefix, $hi-βr-$ ($h-βr-$) > $h-ā-βr-eda$ ($h-^2-βr-^y d$) ‘he/she gave’,
 $(b-stw-)$ > $(b-^2-stwd)$ ‘he/she disavowed’;
 polysyllabic, $(bsmyr)$ > $(b-^2-smyr-d)$ ‘he/she slaughtered’,
 which is also an example of both a denominative stems and an integrated loan (< Ar. *bismillāh*); or
- (b) by prefixing $(m-)$ to stems with an initial vowel, whether primary or secondary, e.g.
 $ās$ ($^s-$) > $m-ās-eda$ ($m-^s-^y d$) ‘he/she took’,
 $ak-$ ($^k-$) > $m-ak-eda$ ($m-k-d$) ‘he/she did’.

There are, however, many exceptions. Verbs which do not fit either of these categories, e.g. monosyllabic stems, or those with internal long vowels or diphthongs, mostly have identical present and imperfect stems. (For details, see MacKenzie 1975.)

3.2.4.1b Injunctive

The injunctive is essentially the immediate base for the imperfect, and lacks the ‘augment’, i.e. $m-$ ($m-$) or lengthening:

$ne-mi$ [$aβ-eda$] . . . ($ny-m$ ^β-d)
 not-me it becomes-INJ, i.e. ‘is does not suit me’ 314.8;

in subordinate clauses:

šxt $m-aβ-eda$. . . $ka-hi$ [$ak-eda$] $ī$ $nānām wāc$ (šxt $m-β-d$ $k-^h$ ^k-yd $^y n$ n $^m w$ c)
 ‘close he was-IPF that he-it do-INJ the certain thing’ 516.4, i.e. ‘he was close to doing . . .’.

3.2.4.2 Compound tenses, perfect forms

Perfect forms, both transitive and intransitive, are based on the perfect participle in ($-tk/$ $-dk$) and the verb $δāray-$ ($δ^ry-$) ‘have’ as auxiliary. The three forms that are attested happen to represent the present perfect indicative, the perfect subjunctive, and the remote perfect, or pluperfect (Samadi 1986: 296), indicated by the personal endings of $δāray-$, and include both transitive and intransitive verbs.

3.2.4.2a Present perfect

Transitive:

a-ci wašīyat . . . [aktek dāray-āmi-na] (ʾc wšyt . . . ʾktk δʾry-ʾmy-n)
 'what testament . . . I have made' QR 411;

3.2.4.2b Perfect subjunctive

Transitive:

ka-hi nikāh [aktek dāray-ān-i] (kʰ nkʰ ʾktk δʾry-ʾy) (= δʾry-ʾny?)
 'if-(to)her marriage I should have made' QR 205;

3.2.4.2c Remote perfect

Intransitive:

ud-hi-beš(a) f-ī išārat [ēdek dāray-eda-mi] (ʾwd hy.bš f.y šʾrt ʾydk δʾry-d. ʾmy)
 'and-him-to at a sign she had gone, *say' QR 257, with problematic (-ʾmy).

3.2.4.3 Basic inflectional system

The basic inflectional system may be illustrated by forms of the verbs *ak-* ('k-) 'do', *aβ-* ('β-) 'be(come)', and the existential verb *y-* (y-) 'be' which is the most irregular, in particular its present. (For the vocalizations and stress patterns, cf. MacKenzie 1987: 570–575; note also that much more frequent for 'become', and quite regular, is the verb *parwuz-* (prwz-). Even for these best documented verbs some forms are missing in the texts. Thus, the example for the remote perfect is from the verb 'go', 3s *ēdek dāray-eda* 'ydk δʾryd-) 'had gone' and *hōb-īr* (hwbyr) 'may they fall' for the optative.

TABLE 6.12: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, 'do, make'

(1) 'do, make'						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	<i>ak-āmi</i>	<i>ik-i</i>	<i>ak-ica</i>	<i>ak-āmni</i>	<i>ak-(a)βi</i>	<i>*ak-āri</i>
SBJ	<i>ak-ā(n)</i>	<i>ak-īx</i>	<i>*ak-āc</i>	<i>*ak-āmini</i>	<i>*ak-βīx</i>	<i>*ak-āri</i>
IPF	<i>mi-k-ina</i>	<i>m-ik-ixa</i>	<i>m-ak-eda</i>	<i>m-ak-āmma</i>	<i>*m-ak-βa</i>	<i>m-ak-āra</i>
INJ		<i>ak-a</i>	<i>ak-eda</i>			
IMP		<i>ik-a</i>			<i>ak-βa</i>	
OPT						<i>hōb-īr</i>
PRF	<i>aktek dāray-āmi-</i>					
PFSBJ	<i>aktek dāray-ā(n)i</i>					
REM			<i>ēdek dāray-eda</i>			
Transliteration						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	(*kʾm)	(k, -k̄)	(*kʾc, -kʾc)	(*kʾmny)	(*kfy)	(*kʾr)
SBJ	(ʾk̄, -kʾn)	(kyx)	(*kʾc)	(*kʾmyn)	(*kβyx)	(*kʾr)
IPF	(mkʾn, mk̄nʾ)	(mkʾx)	(mk̄ʾd, mkt)	(mkʾm̄nʾ)	(*mkf)	(mkʾr)
INJ		(k)	(kʾd)			
IMP		(k̄ʾ, -k)			(ʾ)kf)	
OPT						(hwbyr)
PRF	(ʾktk δʾryʾmy-n)					
PFSBJ	(ʾktk δʾryʾyy) (= (δʾryʾny) ?, QR 205)					
REM			(ʾydk δʾrydʾ)			

TABLE 6.13: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, 'become, be'

(2) 'become, be'						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	<i>*aβ-āmi</i>	<i>aβ-i</i>	<i>aβ-ica</i>	<i>*aβ-ām(i)ni</i>	<i>*aβ-βi</i>	<i>aβ-āri</i>
SBJ		<i>β-īx,</i> <i>ha-β-īx</i>	<i>aβ-āc,</i> <i>ha-β-āc</i>	<i>*aβ-āmini</i>	<i>*aβ-βīx</i>	<i>β-āri</i>
IPF			<i>m-aβ-eda</i>			<i>m-aβ-āra</i>
INJ			<i>aβ-eda</i>			
IMP		<i>aβ-a</i>				
Transliteration						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	(<i>*β'm</i>)	(<i>β, ny.β</i>)	(<i>*β'c</i>)	(<i>*β'mny</i>)	(<i>*βfy</i>)	(<i>β'r</i>)
SBJ		(<i>βyx,</i> <i>h'.βyx</i>)	(<i>β'c,</i> <i>h'.β'c</i>)	(<i>*β'myn</i>)	(<i>*βyx</i>)	(<i>β'r</i>)
IPF			(<i>mb'd</i>)			(<i>mβ'r</i>)
INJ			(<i>β'd</i>)			
IMP		(<i>*β</i>)				

TABLE 6.14: BASIC INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM, EXISTENTIAL VERB

(3) 'be'						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	<i>yī-ma</i>	<i>yāh-i</i>	<i>ye-ti?, yā-ti?</i>	<i>yī-m(i)ni?</i>	<i>*ya-βi?</i>	<i>yī-li</i>
SBJ	<i>yāh-ā(n)</i>	<i>*yāh-īx</i>	<i>yāh-āc</i>	<i>yāh-āmini</i>	<i>*yā-βīx</i>	
IPF	<i>m-ey-na</i>	<i>m-ey-a</i>	<i>m-ey-ta</i>	<i>m-ey-m(i)na</i>		
IMP		<i>yāh-a</i>				
Transliteration						
	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
PRS	(<i>yīm</i>)	(<i>y'h</i>)	(<i>y'tī, y't', y'ty</i>)	(<i>yīm</i>)	(<i>yf</i>)	(<i>y'l</i>)
SBJ	(<i>y'h</i>)	(<i>*y'hyx</i>)	(<i>y'h'c</i>)	(<i>y'h'myn</i>)	(<i>y'fyx</i>)	
IPF	(<i>mȳn</i>)	(<i>my</i>)	(<i>myī</i>)	(<i>mymn-</i>)		
IMP		(<i>y'h</i>)				

3.2.4.4 Phasal and modal enclitic particles

3.2.4.4a *Permansive particle -ina, -ī*

The permansive is a modification of an inflected verb to signify duration and iterative action, added after the personal endings. It combines with both non-periphrastic and periphrastic forms, including the present indicative, present subjunctive, and the future. Its general form is *-ī(n)-*, except for the 3s indicative:

PRS	<i>-ina</i> (<i>-y(n̄)</i>) after 1s, 2s, 3p; but <i>-e(n), -enw(a)</i> (<i>-, -'n, -'nw</i>) after 3s;
SBJ	<i>-ī(n)</i> (<i>-y(n)</i>);
FT	<i>-ī-kām-ī</i> (<i>-(y)-k'm-y</i>) (double marking).

3.2.4.4b *Future particle -kām*

The future is formed with the particle *kām* (*-k'm*) (as in Sogdian) added after the personal endings. Both indicative and subjunctive forms occur.

(1) Indicative:

1s *kacay-āmi-kām* (kcy'm.k'm) 'I shall throw';
 2s *aβ-i-kām* ('βk'm) 'you-2s will become'.

(2) Subjunctive:

2s *ne-k-īx[-kām]* (ny.kyx.k'm) '(if) you-2p will not do'.

3.2.4.4c Conditional particle *-manc(a)*

A conditional is formed by adding *-manc(a)* (-mnc-) (with further obscure suffixes: *-āc*, *-āh(i)*, *-(h)i*) (-'c, -'h, -y) to the imperfect (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 41b-42a):

kāš-ka-na yāwār-ina[-manca]
 (k's-k'-n' y'w'r-yn'-mnc)

would-that-them I knew-IPF-COND, i.e. 'would that I had known' 174.7; Persian transl. *kāški dānist-am-ē*;

ka yā nānām-ya dāra m-aryand-ina[-manca-āc]
 (k' y' n' n' m'-y^a δ'r^a m-'r'γnd-n'.mnc-'c)

if the such-and-such-ACCf I summoned-IPF-COND

ud ma-biš m-ē-da [manca-āc]
 ('wd m'.bš m'ē-d'.mnc-'c)

and me-with she went-IPF-COND, i.e.

'if I should have summoned such-and-such a woman, and she should have gone with me . . .', QR 256, with 1s impf. *m-aryand-ina* of **aryand-* 'summon', and *m-ē-da* (m'ē-d) < *m-āy-eda*, 3s of *āy-* ('y-) 'go'.

3.2.4.5 Overall system of tenses, moods, and aspect

In tentative initial synopsis, the system of tenses, including forms marked by suffixes, may be shown as follows ('+' indicates documented present and future forms which add the permansive particle):

TABLE 6.15: SYSTEM OF TENSES AND MOODS

PRS	perm.	FUT perm.	PAST	conditional	PRF	perm.	PAST
IND	+	<i>-kām</i> +	IPF	<i>-manc-</i>	IND	+	RemotePF
SBJ	+	<i>-kām</i>	INJ		SBJ		
OPT							
IMP							

3.2.5 Negation

3.2.5.1 Basic negation and prohibition

Normal negation is expressed by the particle *ne-* (ny):

ne až-ica fa nān wāh-a inkār-hi ne-k-āmi ī wašīyat-hi
 (ny 'žc f-n'n w'h) ('nk'r hy ny.k-'m 'y wšyt.h')

'not it is worth that price' 432.6; 'contest-his not I shall do the testament' QR 405.

A prohibition is marked by the particle *ma-* (m^ː):

ma-γīr-a (m^ː-γγr) ‘do not return!’ YD 8;
ma-kirb-a (m^{a.ː}°kⁱ°b.^a) ‘don’t talk idly!’ QR 265.

The negation of the verb ‘be’ in the 3rd sg. is expressed by **inci* (ːnc) ‘is not’: *pandāk-wa* (i)nci (pnd^ːk w^aːnc) ‘there is no way thereto’ QR 56.

3.2.5.2 Particle *fa* + *ne* and time reference

The particle *fa* (f^ː), among other functions (see section 4.3.2.3b Potential construction), appears with the negative present indicative and injunctive, expressing past and future in terms of time reference and semantic context (Sims-Williams 1996: 173). In overview, the following combinations occur:

	<i>ne</i>	<i>fa + ne</i>	<i>fa + ne</i>
Present:	pres. ref.	past ref.	fut. ref., in oaths, potential construction (‘can’);
Injunctive:	pres. ref.	past ref.	

(1) Present reference, without *fa*:

(a) present:

inkār-hi ne-k-āmi ī wašīyat (ːnk^r hy ny.k-ːm ːy wšyt.hⁱ) . . .
 ‘I shall not contest his (-*hi*) testament’ QR 405;

(b) injunctive:

ne-mi aβ-eda, ī pacxās nē(n) (ny-m ːβ-d ːy pcx^s ny)
 ‘it does not suit me, this garment’ 314.8 (Henning 1971: 8b);
 cf. impf. *m-aβ-eda* (m-β-d).

(2) Past reference, *fa* + *ne*:

(a) present:

ne-fa-ci pacxr-āmi xumer (ny.f^ːc pcxr^m xwm^r)
 ‘I did not sleep a wink’, 398, 1 lit. ‘taste any sleep’.

(b) potential:

yā γrīw fa-ne-δard-k-ica (y^ː γryw f^ː-n-δrd k-c)
 ‘he could not restrain himself (γrīw)’ 486.7 (see section 4.3.2.3, Modal constructions).

(3) Future reference, *fa* + *ne*:

(a) present:

āsērδ fa kašteḱ ne-k-āmi (ːsrδ f^ː kštk nyk^m)
 this year sowing I shall not do, i.e. ‘I shall not sow this year’ QR 229.

4 SYNTAX AND USE OF FORMS

4.1 Noun phrase structure and word order

4.1.1 Noun and adjective

Adjectives agree with their noun in gender, number, and case. When indefinite, they generally follow the noun they qualify, but may precede it. The latter position is mostly found when the definite article is present. When, less often, an attribute follows a defined noun the article is repeated, together with any governing preposition:

4.1.1.1 Indefinite

Optional sequence:

sing. ('sp 'zr) 'an old ('zr) horse' 166.4, or ('zr 'sp) 37.4;
 plur. (r'č wđney) 'old (wdnk) veins' QR 338.

4.1.1.2 Definite

Fixed sequence: article + adjective + noun,

(y' 'zr γwk) 'the old cow' 94.8; (y' ftmyck srδ) 'the first year' QR 233.

4.1.1.3 Definite, postponed adjective

(Prep.) article + noun, (prep.) article + adjective:

<i>[ī] cub-i [ī] reng-drayāc-i</i>	<i>f[-ī] zβāk-a f[-ī] turkāng-a</i>
('y cw b 'y rng-dry'cy)	(f-y zβ'k f-y trk'nk)
'discoloured water (<i>cub</i> 'water', <i>pl. tantum</i>)' 196.6;	'in the Turkish tongue' QR 123.

4.1.2 Nouns and dependent nouns

With following possessives the article logically keeps the gender of the head noun. However, when the possessive is a feminine, it attracts its own article.

m. + m.: *[ī] ḥaqīqat [ī] wāc-ān* ('y ḥqyqt' 'y w'c'n) 'the truth of the matter' 122.6;
 m. + m.: *[ī] xusr [ī] marcy-ān* ('y xsr 'y mrcy'n) 'father-in-law of the man' 2.1; but
 m. + m.: *[c-ī] bādēs-a [δī] allāh-ān* (c.y b'δys c.y 'llh'n) 'from Allah's command' 103.5;
 m. + f.: *[ī] xusr [yā] δē(n)-ya* ('y xsr y' δy) 'the woman's father-in-law' 2.1;
 m. + f.: *[ī] bār [yā] uδr-ya* ('y b'r y' wδry) 'the foetus (lit. load of the belly (fem.))'
 106.7; feminine attraction:
 f. + m.: *[yā] pac-a [yā] wāc-ān* (y' pc y' w'c'n) 'the end of the matter' 61.3.

4.1.3 Nouns and demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative are inflected, and as adjectives agree with their noun. In that function, always with a definite article, only *n'(n)* 'that' precedes the noun. All the others follow:

nān- N:f-ā [*nān-a*] *āyd-a* (f. n'n 'γd) 'at that time' QR 240,
yā [*nān-ya*] *hunān-ya dāra* (y' n'ny hwn'ny δ'r) 'for that slave-girl' QR 115;
 N *nēn-i sukund* [*nē(n)*] (y sknd ny) 'this oath' QR 363,
yā dēn-a [*nēn-a*] (y' δy nyn) 'this woman' 65.5;
 Np *nāw-i:īkt-ina* [*nāw-i*] (y ktn n'w^h) 'these deeds' QR 281;
 N *nāwer-i:ī marc* [*nāwer*] (y mrc n'wr) 'that man' 65.6;
 N *nēd-yā dē(n)-a* [*nēd-a*] (y' δy nyd) 'that woman' 65.7.

4.1.4 Nouns and pronominal suffixes

The attachment of the pronominal suffixes follows the rule of left-most attachment, after the respective case ending, but before another enclitic.

- (1) Article + noun + pronoun:

yā dūyd-a[-mi] (y' δy^od-^{at}-mⁱ) 'my daughter' QR 12;
ī bāδēs[-hi] *dāra* (y b'δys.-h δ'r) 'to his command' 498.8.

- (2) Article + adjective + pronoun + noun:

yā xūb-a[-mi] *dūyd-a, ī . . . xūb[-mi]* *zādek*
 (y' xwb-^{at}-mⁱ δ^uγ^od^a, 'y . . . x^uwb-m z^dyk)
 'my beautiful daughter, my beautiful child' QR 120, QR 122.

- (3) N₁ + pronoun + N₂:

c-ā *medān-ya[-hi]* *kām* (c. mδ'n-y-.h k'm)
 'from-the inside of-his mouth' 103.7;
f-ēw-a *c-aδw-a[-hi]* *pāδ-a* (f.yw c. 'δw^h p'δ)
 'with one of his two feet' 192.3, 429.3 (Henning 1971: 15b).

4.2 Clause structure and word order

4.2.1 Order of constituents

4.2.1.1 Basic order

The basic word order is subject (- object) – predicate. Such is the case, e.g. in nominal clauses, where the copula is as a rule omitted:

nē(n) *bazag-dar ci* *nān-a* (ny bzk-dr c.n'n)
 'this one (is) worse than that one' 280.6.

4.2.1.2 Questions

All questions are introduced by the interrogative particle *a-*, which may affect word order:

parāc-a yāh-i (pr'c y'h) 'you are divorced' YD 15;
a-yāh-i parāc-a ('-y'h' pr'c) 'Q-are you divorced?' QR 109.
a-βa-ci yi-ti(?) yā wuδ-a šē-yāwar parāc-a ('.f'.c yī y' w^uδ šy'wr pr'c?)
 Q-is (your) wife (*wuδ-a*) thrice divorced from you?' QR 197; *βa-ci* 'thee from'.

4.2.1.3 Initial negation

The negation is often clause-initial, especially in combination with the particle *fa-* (f̄); accordingly, enclitics are attached to it:

fačāw-i(na?), *fa-ne-βēr-ica* (fč̄w-y f̄-n.-βyr-yc)
‘quarries, he found not’ 358.4;

ne-mi aβ-eda, *ī picxās nē(n)* (ny.-m β-d’y p̄cx’s ny)
‘it does not suit (become) me, this garment’ 314.8, injunctive;

ne-ci inci fa nān-a, *am(u)x-āk-a* (ny.-c’nc f.-n’n’mx-’k)
‘there is not any (-ci) in that/this one, movement’ 402.2.

4.2.2 Affixes and ‘principle of anticipation’

In fact, there is considerable free variation in the order of constituents. In particular, the verb is often in topical initial position, or may precede the subject and other parts of speech. In that case there is a complex set of rules that govern multiple reference by cataphoric and anaphoric chains, which may themselves be topicalized by attachment to clause initial particles and phrases.

As in Middle Persian, Parthian and Sogdian, pronominal suffixes are attached to any first syntactic unit of a clause, including particles and conjunctions. It is one of the distinctive features of Khwarezmian that such marking is obligatory, even when followed by explicit noun phrases. This is the ‘principle of anticipation’, defined by Henning (1955: 48). Attachment includes the adverbial suffixes, such as *-wā-* (-w(̄)-), *-waθa* (-wθ) ‘therein’ and *-da-* (-d(̄)-) ‘beyond, off’.

In the following ‘=’ indicates attachment boundary.

4.2.2.1 Direct object + indirect object

hāβr-ina[=hi]-di, *yā duyd-a-mi* (h̄βr-n.y.-dⁱ, y’ δγ°d-^a.-mⁱ)
‘I have given her to you (*hi-di*), my daughter’ QR 12;

4.2.2.2 Adverbial suffixes

(1) *ci*, *ci NP* (c-):

wāzay-ta[=ci], *[c-]āγudc-a*, *ī xerāx* (w’zy-t’-c, c-’γdc, ’y xr’x)
‘it came out of it, from the scabbard, the sword’ 457.4; (on (’γdc), see MacKenzie, Glossary IV, 1972: 524).

(2) *-wa*, *fa-NP* (-w, f-):

m-ās-ta=na[-wa], *[f-]ī parδāβ-a* (m’st’n’w, fy prδ’β)
‘he took them-therein, into deception’ 417, 6–7 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 325).

4.2.2.3 Pre- and postverbal position

For pre- and post-verbal positions of the enclitic chains, compare:

rasūl=hi-0a m-afṛēs-eda bāwi(n) cek-a (rswl hy-θ m-frys-d b'wyck) 348.5,
*bāwi(n) cek-a=hi-0a rasūl *m-afṛēs-eda* (b'wyck h-yθ rswl *m-frys-d) 204.5;
 both 'he sent a messenger to him (*hi-0a* 'him-to') secretly'; and

m-afṛēs-ina=hi-0a, ī xsin (m-frys-n'.hy.-θ 'y xs'n)
 'I sent it to him, the thing' 349.3;

**m-afṛēs-ed=ē-0a* (m-frys-d.y.-θ)
 'he sent him to him' 300.7.

In the last example, =ē- is contracted from *-a-hi-hi* 'him-him-to'. Similarly, *hin-hina* contracts to a single *hina*, formally indistinguishable from *hi-na*, as shown by MacKenzie (1993: 141). In fact, up to four enclitics may form the chain, but never more than two pronouns and two adverbials.

hēδ-eda=hi-[na-da]-ber (hyδ-d'.-hy.-n'.-d'.-br)
 'he recited them (greetings) to him' 298.8 (lit. 'read-him-[them-forth]-upon').

This rare example interweaves the basic verb *hēδ-* 'read' with (a) the directional pre-verb *da* 'read forth, off'; (b) its accusative/direct object *na* 'them'; and (c) its indirect object, or rather adverbial phrase, *hi-ber* 'him to, upon'.

4.2.2.4 Clause-initial particles

The same rules apply when the chain is attached to clause-initial particles and conjunctions:

ka=βa-[na]-ci-[da m-ās-ina(!)] (k.-f'.n'.-cy.-d^a m-'s^o-n^a)
 'that I took them from you' QR 366 (lit. 'that-thee-[them]-from-[away took]').

Note *-da-* before *-ber*, but after *-ci*, in the preceding and this examples, respectively.

4.2.2.5 Agency hierarchy

When two personal suffixes are present, there is an inflexible order in their sequence, as established by MacKenzie (1993: 141), irrespective of their 'logical' order:

TABLE 6.16: ORDER OF PERSONAL SUFFIXES

	ACC,DAT 1s/p	2s/p	3s/p	DAT 2s (last)
Singular	<i>-ma-, -mi-</i>	<i>-βa-</i>	<i>-hi-, -ci-</i>	<i>-di-</i>
Plural	<i>-mena-</i>	<i>-βena-</i>	<i>-na-, -hina-</i>	
Transliteration				
Singular	(m', my)	(f')	(hy, cy)	(dy)
Plural	(mn')	(fn')	(n'/hyn')	

That is, the logic of the sequence implies a pragmatic hierarchy: (1) basically, 1 before 2 before 3; (2) this, within an overall frame where the speaker is first, and the addressee in the dative is last; (3) in addition, singular appears to come before plural.

4.3 Semantics and use of forms

4.3.1 Use of number and case

4.3.1.1 Impersonal plural

Impersonal or neutral subjects are expressed by the 3p verbal endings and pronouns (Henning 1955: 46, 1971: 8b; MacKenzie, Glossary I, 1970, 548, Glossary II, 1971: 82).

aβ[-āri] nān[-i] (ʰāβʰr nʰn)
‘be they thus’, i.e. ‘be it thus’ QR 11;

a-ci-ki[-na] *da ak-ica* (ʰ.čʰ.kynʰ dʰ ʰkč)
‘Q-of-whom-them (= it) is he talking’,

i.e. ‘who is he talking about?’ Q 293 (Henning 1971: 22b) = QR 357; *da ak-* (dʰ ʰk-) contextually ‘talk, speak’.

4.3.1.2 Dative of affectee

This feature was discussed in more detail by MacKenzie (1993: 141), who cites

dahedēna f-ā tēγ-ya (dhdyn fʰ tyγγ)
< *dah-eda-hi-na* *f-ā tēγ-ya*
‘hit-he (to-)him-them with the stick’ 234.5.

The sentence exemplifies another noteworthy semantic feature of Khwarezmian by which the recipient of the action is put in the dative as the affectee. Here, ‘hit’ can be paraphrased as ‘give blows to’, thus *-hi-na* ‘them to him’, as reflected in MacKenzie’s translation of this sentence.

4.3.2 Use of verb forms

4.3.2.1 Possession, ‘have’

(1) Existential ‘be’:

Possession is expressed by verb *aβ-* ‘be’ and the genitive-dative, usually a personal suffix:

usi(?) hi-wa m-aβ-eda f-ī wāc-a (ʰwš hy.w mβd f.y wʰc)
sense him-upon was in the matter’, i.e.
‘he had sense in the matter’ 198.7;

ka-ās maβyān-δāra xšty aβ-āc . . . (k.ʰs mβyʰn δʰr xšty ʰβʰc)
if to us a will should be, i.e.
‘if we should have a will’ QR 271.

(2) *δāray-*:

The verb *δāray-* ‘hold, keep’ is much less common in this sense:

asnādek-astar jūft δāray-ina-mi ci-βika (ʰsnʰdk ʰstr jʰft δʰry-nʰ-my c.fyk)
more pious husband I had than you
‘I had more pious husband than you’ QR 164.

4.3.2.2 Phasal constructions

4.3.2.2a *Duration, δāray-*

Duration may be expressed through the verb *δāray-* ‘hold, have’ used together with a nominal form:

āyrāci-hi δār-eda (ʔrʔcy hy δʔryd)
 ‘he kept him awake’ 350.5.
 with *āyrācin* ‘awake’ < perfect participle *āyrādek* of the verb *āyrās-lāyrās-y-* (ʔrʔs-l
 ʔrʔs-y-) ‘awake (intr./trans.)’ (Henning 1971: 20b–21a; MacKenzie 1971,
 Supplement: 36b, (δʔry-)).

4.3.2.2b *Incipient action, āyāz-*

The beginning of an action is expressed by the verb *fa-. . . āyāz-* (ʔʔz) and the ‘past infinitive’:

[m-āyāz-eda]-hi f-akt-a (m-ʔʔz-dʔ-h f-ʔkt)
 ‘he began-it to do’ 343,1 (cf. Henning 1971: 19b).

4.3.2.2c *Ingressive action, ‘about to, close to’, *(-m-)ah-; (šxt β-)*

- (1) The anticipation of an action is expressed by *fa-. . . *(-m-)ah-* (3s imperfect) and the ‘present infinitive’ in *-āk*:

fa δambay-āk *[m-ah-eda]* (fʔ δnby-ʔk mh-yd)
 ‘on (the point of) hitting he was’ 516.3; Persian transl. *nazdīk šud ki, xʔāst ki . . .*
 ‘got close to, was about to’ (lit. ‘wanted’) (Henning 1971: 21b).

- (2) Another means is a finite construction with the injunctive dependent on the expression (ʔšxt β-) ‘be(come) close (ʔšxt) to’:

[(ʔšxt) m-aβ-eda] ka-hi ak-eda ī nānām wāca (ʔšxt mβd kʔh ʔkyd ʔ nʔnʔm wʔc)
 ‘close he was that he-it do-INJ the certain thing’ 516.4, i.e. ‘close to doing’
 (Ar. *qarub-a ya-fʔl-u*; MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 31b).

4.3.2.3 Modal constructions

4.3.2.3a *Optative particles ās and hā(n)*

The particles *ās* (ʔs) and *hā(n)* (hʔ(n)) have a clear modal function generally termed ‘optative’ and are found in sentences containing a subjunctive verb (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 30 and 40):

d[-ās]-hi 0-barakak a-β-āc (dʔ.ʔ.sʔ.hʔ θ.brkk ʔβʔc)
 ‘may it be blessed to her (-hʔ)!’ QR 87;

parāc-a [hā(n)]-β-īx (pʔrʔ aʔ.β-yx)
 ‘may you-2p be divorced!’ QR 41.

4.3.2.3b Potential construction, -k-

The potential is formed by the verb *-k-* ‘do’ (reduced < *ak-*, see MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 40) as an auxiliary in combination with the perfect participle of the main verb (cf. Sogdian, Gershevitch 1954: 130ff.). Most of the few examples attested are negative and involve the particle *fā* (see section 3.2.5.2):

ka-fa-ma ne-pard[-k-i] (k-f’ m’ ny prd-k̄i)
‘for you-2s cannot restrain me (-ma)’ QR 161 (pres. *pāray-* ‘restrain’);

yā yrīw-a fa-ne-δard[-k-ica] (y’ γryw f’ n-δrd-k-c)
‘he could-PRS not hold himself’ 486.7 (pres. *δāray-* ‘hold’).

4.3.2.3c Necessity, γuw-

Necessity is expressed by the verb *γuw-* (*γw-*) ‘be necessary, be wanting’, combined with the dative of the beneficiary:

nān [γuw-ica tewār-a dāra] ka-hi ak-a *ī nān nānām wāc*
(n’n [γw-c] tw’r-δ’r) k’-h ʔk ’y n’n n’n’nm w’c)
‘that [behooves you] that-it you-INJ-2s do such-and-such a thing’ 516.3.

5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Conjunctions, particles, and clitics

The main coordinating and correlative conjunctions are *ud* (‘wd) ‘and’; *wā* (w’) ‘or’; *wā . . . wā bā* (w’ . . . w’b’) ‘either . . . or’; the enclitic *mes* (ms) ‘too, again’; *āmādi* (‘m’d) ‘let alone’. The adverb *da* (d-) ‘then’ may connect clauses loosely. (For its use in complex sentences, and other conjunctions and phrases, see section 5.1)

5.2 Subordination

Subordination is marked by the relative pronouns *ki* (k) and *ci* (c), *cā* (c’), and the general conjunction *ka* (k), as well as conjunctive phrases.

Clauses expressing an objective, result or fact, including direct speech, and purpose or condition of a wish, usually follow the main clause.

Clauses expressing situations, including temporal and conditional clauses, as well as relative clauses with a cataphoric demonstrative head, usually precede the main clause, which in turn is as a rule introduced by the resumptive particle *da* (d) ‘then’.

Regarding the use of tense and mood, note:

- (1) the contextual use of the imperfect also for completed action (e.g. *pāckun-eda=mi* (p’cknd’m) ‘he (has) settled (it) to me’ QR 376),
- (2) the use of the subjunctive for explicit or implicit conditions, including relative clauses, and
- (3) the use of the injunctive for purpose, and of the future for wishes, together with ‘optative’ particles.

The conjunction *ka* is the most widely used conjunction. It marks explicative remarks and object sentences including reported speech.

5.3 Relative clauses, *ki*

In relative clauses the head is represented by the verbal ending if it is the subject, or by an anaphoric pronoun.

(1) subject:

ī šuył nē(n), ki=mi fa-hi xudāk anbec m-iy-ta, da yuydek yiti(?)
 (ʿy šyl ny, k.my f.y xdʿk ʿnbc m-y-ī dʿ yʷγdk yī)
 ‘this business that-(to)me with-his self together **was, then** fixed is’ QR 368,
 i.e. ‘that I had with him’.

(2) direct object:

ī kt-ina nāw-i ki k-i=na utak
 (ʿy ktn nʷi k. kʷyn ʿtk)
 ‘the actions **these, that** you are doing-**them**, you’ Q 217 (Henning 1971: 23a) = QR 281.

5.4 Subject and object clauses

5.4.1 Subject clauses, *cā*

Cā + subjunctive, *da* + present indicative:

cā was-āc, da-nē(n) raštāwand
 (cʷsʷc, d-ny rštʷwnd)
 ‘**what** he may say, **then-this** (is) true’ QR 400 = Q *335 (Henning 1971: 34b).

5.4.2 Object clauses, *ka*

5.4.2.1 Basic pattern

ka + present indicative:

a-cūni nā yiwār-i-y-ī, ka=hi-na-ci ya dāray-āmi?
 (ʿacwni nʷ ywʷr-y-y, ky.nʷc yʷ dʷryʷmi?)
 how that you know **that-him-them-from** I have
 ‘how do you know that – that I have them from him?’ QR 360.

5.4.2.2 Direct speech, *ka (bā)*

ka-bā, a-ciwā ma čkēš-i? (k. bʷ ʷcwʷmʷ čkyš-y?)
 ‘... **that rather**, ‘why do you give me the lie (in this matter)?’ QR 149.

5.4.2.3 Topicalized object clause, with interrogative, *cā, aci*

(1) *cā* + present indicative, *da* + imperative:

cā-k-i, nā(n)-k-a and *cā=na-k-i, da=na da-ka*
 (cʷ.kʷi nʷ.kʷ) and (cʷnʷk, dnʷdʷk)
what-you do-PRS, that **-do-IMP** **what-them-you do, then-them do**
 ‘whatever you do, that do’ QR 93, i.e. ‘do what you (want to) do’ (Henning 1971:
 22b, 24a), 3p *-na* for general reference.

(2) *a-ci* (‘c) for *cā*, *a-ci* + present perfect, *da* + imperfect:

a-ci *wašīyat ī pur-dāra* *aktek dāray-āmi-na, da=na* *tewār-dāra βānc-ina*
 (‘c wšyt ’y pr-δ’r ’ktk δ’r-y’myn, d-n’ tw’rδ’r β’nc-yn)
 ‘what testament for the (my) son **I have made,** **then-that** to you **I attached**
 Q 345 (Henning 1971: 13a) = QR 411; 3p *-na* for general reference.

5.5 Adverbial clauses

5.5.1 Temporal clauses, *ka*

Temporal clauses are introduced by temporal phrases and the conjunction *ka*, and may be followed by the resumptive *da*.

5.5.1.1 ‘at time that, when’

ufān-ya ka (‘wf’ny k) + imperfect:

ufān-ya ka=mi ḥalāl-a m-ey-ta (‘wf’ny k.my ḥl’l m-’y-t)
 when-(to)me lawful was
 ‘when she was lawful to me’ QR 69.

5.5.1.2 ‘as soon as’

(1) *mān-bā ka* (m’nb’k) + future:

mān-bā ka=na wēn-āmini-kām (m’n. b’k.n’ wyn-’m’ny.k’m)
 when-them we shall see
 ‘when we shall once see them . . .’ QR 286.

(2) *mān-bā ka* (m’nb’k) + future, *da* + future:

mān-bā ka=mi-hi ḥalāl-a ak-βi-kām, da=wa ryōs-ām-kām
 (m^an° .b^a k.m’y.hi ḥl’l^a ’k-fy. k’m d.w’ nyws-’m. k’m)
 as soon as-(to-)me-her lawful you-2p will make, then thereto I shall listen
 ‘as soon as (that) to-me-her you will make lawful, then-thereto I shall listen’
 QR 68.

5.5.1.3 ‘while’

Imperfect, *da* + present permansive:

y-ā xab-a m-asān-eda, d-ī *nānām wāc ak-ica-na*
 (y’.xb ms’nyd, d.y n’n’m w’c ’kc’n)
 the night he passed while that certain thing he is doing
 ‘he passed the nights while he was doing that certain thing’ 135.5;

possibly imitating Ar. *bāta yaf’alu kaδā*, (Henning 1971: 26a), referring to the use of the present indicative for ongoing action in a past context.

5.5.1.4 'when(ever)'

- (1)
- y-āyd-a ka*
- (y'γd k) + subjunctive:

y-āyd-a ka=wa ciy-ā(n) (y'γd^a k' w cȳ')
 'when-there I (shall) enter' QR 142 = Q 98 (Henning 1971: 20a).

- (2)
- y-āyd-a ka . . . da*
- (y'γd
- ^a
- k . . .) + future,
- da*
- + future permansive:

y-āyd-a k- ās-i-kām-u, dī δēnār-a hiβr-ā-kāma
 (y'γd^a k'si-k'm^u, dy' δyn'r^a hβr'm-k'm^a)
 'whenever you will come, then the money I shall give'
 QR 143 = Q 99 (Henning 1958: 20a); < *da-dī-ī?*

- (3)
- ci-γac-ya-kāma ka*
- (cγcy'k'm k) 'whenever' + future permansive:

ci-γac-ya-kāma ka=mi ḥalāl parwuz-āc-ina (cγcy'k'm k'm ḥl'l prwz'cyn)
 whenever-(to)me lawful may become-3s
 Q *14 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 34b), cf. QR 21 and note there p 21; here with
 permansive *-ina*.

5.5.2 Conditional clauses, *ka . . . da*

In conditional clauses the protasis is introduced by *ka* (k(?)) 'if', and the apodosis by the resumptive *da*.

5.5.2.1 Basic patterns

- (1)
- ka*
- + subjunctive,
- da*
- + present:

k-amīy-ā(n), da=tak bēzār
 (k. 'mīy-', d.tk byz'r)
 'if I (should) die, then-you (are) free' QR 404.

- (2)
- ka*
- + subjunctive,
- da*
- + imperative:

ka para pan-a=mi sukund ne-xur-īx-ī, da=ci par-mika xur-a
 (k' pr.' 'pn'mi sknd ny xr-yx-y, d^a.c'y pr.mk x^ur)
 if on co-wife-my oath you not swear, then-one on me swear
 'if you do not swear an oath (of divorce) against my co-wife, then swear one on me'
 QR 105.

- (3)
- ka*
- + future permansive,
- da*
- + future:

ka=mi-hi hiβr-ī-kām-ī ī zirnī nē(n), da=βa-ci ēw ipš-i xarj ne-k-āmi
 (k. my.h h'βr-y.k'm-ī ('y zrny ny, d.β.c 'yw'pš xrj ny.k-'m))
 'if-me-it you will give the gold this, then-you-from one farthing spending I will
 not do
 'if you will give me this gold, I do/shall not spend a farthing from you,

bā=hi aspanī xin-ām-kām
 (b'hī 'sp^anīy x'n-'m. k'm)
 but-it iron I shall buy
 but I shall buy iron (with) it' QR 157.

- (4)
- ka*
- + subjunctive,
- ud*
- ('wd) 'and' + subjunctive:

ka=hi nikāh aktek δāray-ā-yī, ud=hi-ci ak-ā(n)
 (k'h nk'h 'akt'k δ'ry-'y'-y 'wd-hy-c 'k')
 if-her marriage I had made, and-her-with I may do
 'if I had married her, and if I do it with her' QR 205; *δāray-ā-yī* palatalized < *δāray-ān-ī* with permansive *-ī*; Persian transl. *agar karde bāš-am*.

5.5.2.2 Implicit conditional, imperfect

asnādek-astar jūft δāray-ina-mi ci-βika
 ('sn'dk 'str j'ft δ'ry-n'my c.fyk)
 more pious husband I had than-you
 '(if?) I had a more pious husband than you' QR 164 = Q * 117; Persian transl. *pākdāman u pārsā-tar šōy mē-dāšt-am* (cf. MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 36a–b; Samadi 1986: 63), *-mi* is uncertain.

5.5.2.3 Wishes, *hān*

In wishes, the specifying condition given follows the wish.

- (1)
- hān*
- + subjunctive,
- ka*
- + future:

parāc-a hā(n) aβ-āc šē-yāwar, ka=hi kābīn-a ak-ām-kām
 (p'r'c h' 'β'c šy'wr, k.h k'byn 'k-m°.k'm)
 divorced OPT may-3s be thrice if-her betrothal I shall make
 'may she be divorced thrice, if I shall betroth her' QR 151.

- (2)
- hān*
- + subjunctive,
- ka*
- + past conditional,
- manc(a)*
- (
- manc*
-):

a-hā(n)-β-īx parāc-a, ka=hi m-ik-īxa-manc-ā-hi?
 (°.h'β-yx pr'c, k'.h'y m-'k-ī°.mnc-'h'?)
 Q-OPT-may-you-2s-be divorced, if-it you should have done
 'will you be divorced if you should have done it?' QR 107.

See also section 4.3.2.3 Modal constructions.

5.5.3 Causal clauses, *ka*

These are introduced by *ka*, and normally follow the main clause:

- (1)
- ka*
- + imperfect:

pāckun-eda=mi, ka f-ā βayd-a m-anyas-ta
 (p'ckn-d'm, k. f' βyd' m-nys-t)
 he has settled-me for as gift it has come
 'he has settled (it) to me, for it has come to (be regarded as) a gift' QR 376; with imperfect for completed action.

(2) *ka-bā* ‘because’:

a=ma-ci yāh-i šē-yāwer-a parāc-a, ka-bā dah-ina=na-di
 (ʔ^a.m^a.c y^hi šy^ʔwr^a pr^c, k.b^ʔ dhn^ʔ.n^ʔ.d^ʔ)
 Q-me-from you-2s are thrice divorced, **for** I hit -you-2s (-*di*)
 ‘are you thrice divorced from me, because I hit you?’ QR 110.

5.5.4 Final clauses

Final clauses follow the main clause and are introduced by *ka*, and *kān-ci* (k^ʔnc(y)) (< *ka-na-ci*?), as well as *camend* (cmnd) ‘so that’; clauses or expressions implying possible action or state have the injunctive:

5.5.4.1 Basic patterns, *ka*(1) *ka* + present indicative:

kān=ci arc yād(a)k ī wašī parēx-ica, wā kaδāki? āy-ās
 (k^ʔn.c rcy^ʔdk ʔy wš^ʔy pryx-yc w^ʔ kδ^ʔk^ʔ ʔy. ʔs)
so that-from third the trustee **leaves** or not? yes
 ‘so that the trustee leaves a third of it (unpaid), or not?’ ‘Yes.’ QR 413; see section 8
 Sample Text.

(2) *ka* + injunctive (or imperfect):

nān γw-ica tuwār-δāra, ka=hi ak-a nān nānām wāc
 (n^ʔn γw-c^ʔ tw^ʔr-δ^ʔr, k^ʔ-h k n^ʔn n^ʔn^ʔm w^ʔc)
 ‘that behooves you, that-it you do such-and-such a thing’ 516.3.

(3) *ka* + injunctive:

y-āyādek=mi k-aβ-eda ī nānām wāc
 (y^ʔγ^ʔδk-m k^ʔβ-yd ʔy n^ʔn^ʔm w^ʔc)
 the wish-(to-)me **that it be** the such-and-such matter
 ‘it is my wish that such-and-such a matter be’ 285.6 (Henning 1971: 19b).

5.5.4.2 ‘until, so that’, *camend*(1) *camend* (-a) ‘until, so that’ + imperfect:

ī δast f-aβrūc-a wās-eda, camend wā-šākaš-ta fa xsin-a
 (ʔy δst f-ʔβrwc w^ʔs-d cmnd w^ʔ-š^ʔkšt f-xsyn)
 the hand on eyebrow he laid, **so that he could look** at something
 ‘he laid (his) hand on the eyebrow so that he could look at something’ 497.6
 (Henning 1958: 119 n. 3: ‘er legte die Hand auf die Augenbraue, auf dass er auf etwas hinsähe’).

(2) *camend*(a) + imperfect:

δāmb-eda=hi, camend pāc-eda
 (δ^ʔnb-yd^ʔ-h, cmnd p^ʔc-yd)
 ‘he hit-him, **so that it swelled up**’ 410.3 (Henning 1958: 119 n. 3).

(3) *camend ka* ‘until finally’ + imperfect (or injunctive):

yā yrīw-a fa ne-δard-k-ica, camend ka nānān wāc was-a
 (y' rryw f' n-δrd-k-c cmnd k- n'n'n w'c ws)
 the self he cannot hold, **until that** certain thing he said
 ‘he could not hold himself, until he said that certain thing’ 486.7; negated potential
 construction, *ne-δard k-*, and impf. or inj. 3s *was-a* or < *was-ta*.

5.6 Nominalized clauses

In addition to the use of the infinitives and verbal nouns in the phasal and modal constructions discussed above, infinitival phrases also occur in various functions, either with or without *fa* ‘to, for’.

[kacay-āk] kōzay-eda
 (kcy-'k kwzy-d)
 ‘he asked for dictation’ 507.4 (Samadi 1986: 107).

[nipi.j]=hi-ci kōzay-eda
 (npc hy-c kwzy-d)
 ‘asked him to write’ 494.2 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 44a).

[nipi.j] yr-eda ī yēck-ān
 (npc ryr-d 'y ryc'n)
 ‘sought the writing of the letter’ 494.6 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 44a; Samadi 1986: 84);
 Persian transl. *nivištan xwāst nāma-rā*.

[fa-nipi.j]=hi-ci hābr-eda qašidek-a
 (f-npc hyc h'βr-d qšydyk)
 ‘gave him the *qašida* to write’ 344.7 (MacKenzie 1971, Supplement: 44a).

[f-āβōzay-āk-a]=hi hābr-eda
 (f-'βwzy'k hy h'βr-yd)
 ‘he gave it for smelling’ 368.3 (Henning 1971: 11b).

6 LEXIS

6.1 Word formation

6.1.1 Derivation of nouns and adjectives

6.1.1.1 Suffixation

6.1.1.1a Verbal nouns and infinitives, all feminine

-*āk-a* (-'k): (βx-'k) ‘division’ 423.3 (MacKenzie, Glossary III, 1971: 325) < (βx-) ‘divide, distribute’ – (kwzy'k) ‘request’ 316.6 < (kwzy-) ‘seek, ask of’ – (*bsmyr-'k) ‘sacrifice’ 301.8 < (*bsmyr-) ‘to sacrifice’ (< *bismillāh*).

6.1.1.1b Abstract nouns, all masculine

-*āw(e)k* (-'w'k): (δyn'βr-'w'k) ‘religiosity, piety’ 479.8 < (δyn'βr) ‘religious’ – (jft-'wk) ‘matrimony’ QR 19 < (jft) ‘spouse’.

6.1.1.1c *Adjectives*

- (1) General suffixes:
 -*ānk* (-³nk): (jhwδ-³nk) ‘Jewish’ 11.7 – (trk-³nk) ‘Turkish’ QR 123 – (β³rk-³n³k) ‘of a rider’ 15.4; -*ēnk* (-y³nk): (βy³δk-y³nk) ‘of dawn’ 23.4 – (skrβk-y³nk) ‘wooden’ 15.5 (MacKenzie, Glossary V, 1972: 59);
- (2) Adjectives of relationship (cf. Sogdian masc., fem. (-my(n)c))
 -*mēnk* (-mynk): (xw³r-mynk) ‘flesh-y’ 334.4 – (γδ-mynk) ‘concerning wounds’ 61.6 < ((³)γδ) ‘wound’;
- (3) From verbal nouns
 (bsmyr-³k-mynk) ‘sacrificial’ 301.8 – masc., fem. (wδry-³k-mynk-c) ‘of support’ 81.4 30.6 < (wδry-) ‘be supported’.

6.1.1.1d *Diminutives*

-*ik* (-³k): (j³byc-³k) ‘small boy’ 85.3, 106.3 < (j³b³k) ‘young, child’.

6.1.1.2 *Prefixation*

- (1) *θa-* (θ-) ‘with’: (θ-γwndk) ‘sinful’ 249.1 < (γwndk) ‘sin’ – (θ-nmθk) ‘salty’ 324.7 < (nmθk) ‘salt’;
- (2) *ba-* (b-) ‘without’: (b-mzk) ‘tasteless’ 251.3 < (mzk) ‘taste’ – (b.zβ³k) ‘dumb’ 352.7 < (zβ³k) ‘tongue’;
- (3) *mand-* (mnd-) ‘un-’: (mnd-cyr) ‘blunt’ 124.3 < (cyr) ‘sharp’ – (mnd-m³nynd) ‘unlike’.

These derived adjectives may function as substantives as well: *ī ba-wuδ-i* (y b.wδ) ‘the bachelor’ (‘without a wife (wδ)’) 323.1.

6.1.2 *Compounding*6.1.2.1 *Verbal components*

Present participle, *kun-enk-*: *ābādān-kun-enk* (b³d³n-kny³nk) ‘settling, making cultivated’ 105.8 – past participle, *akt-*: *akt-wēden-* (kt-wyδyn) ‘large four-feathered arrow’ (lit. ‘made-piercing’) 42.7 (Henning 1971: 27b) – *mand-akt-ramān-cīk-āw(e)k* (mnd-³kt-rm³n-cyk-³wk) ‘disobedience’ 149.4, composite of *mand-* ‘un’ + *akt-ramān* ‘done-the-order’ = ‘obedient’ + abstract suffixes -*cīk* + -*āw(e)k* – perfect participle, *akt-ek-*: *ānūt-ek-akt-ek* (*nwtk-³tk) ‘pupil’ (lit. ‘instructed-made’) 390.4; – *ābādān-akc-a* (b³d³n-³kc) ‘settled-made, populated (fem. -c-)’ 105.8 – adjectival -*k-ānk*: *pas-aβin-k-ānk* (ps-βn-k-³nk) ‘sheep-shearing’ (with *karcci* (krcc, fem. (-c)) ‘shears’) 51.1.

6.1.2.2 *Nominal components*

aβrāy-a-zād-ek (β³r³γ-z³dk) ‘young tree’ 91.2 (lit. ‘tree-child’) – *aβar-sarδ-ek* (β³r-srδk) ‘grown-up, adult’ B (Henning 1971: 2a) 203.21, (‘above’ + ‘year’ + suffix) – *aδwa-sard-ek* (δw-srδk) ‘two-year-old’ 45.5; *aδwa-pickar-ek* (δw-pckr-yk) ‘Two-Images, Gemini’, al-Bērūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations* 193.4, 238.12 – *cikām-βar-ek* (ck³m-βr-k) ‘laden with fruit’ 369.5 (‘many’ + ‘fruit’ + suffix) – *βūmya xar-cīk* (βwmy³ xr-cyk) ‘wood-louse’, 55.2 (lit. ‘earth-donkey+diminutive’).

6.2 Sociolinguistic aspects

6.2.1 Standard and colloquial registers

The situations dealt with in the Qunya include statements made on an impulse juxtaposed with concise indications of their legal import or consequences. Much of the material there is quoted colloquial, some even intimate speech. The following unmarked conditional sentence is clearly colloquial:

ēw šāβār-a wāzay-āc, ud nāz ī abarēw šāβār
 (ʿyw šʾβr^a wʾzyʿc ud nʾz y. ʾbryw šʾβr)
 one witness he may produce, and I the other witness
 ‘let him produce one witness and I (am) the other witness’ QR 373.

6.2.2 Kinship terms

Most of these kinship terms are listed in the Muq. 1–2.

TABLE 6.17: KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<i>pica</i> (pc), obl. <i>picer-</i>	‘father’	<i>mād-a</i> (mʾd)	‘mother’
<i>pic-ender</i> (pcʾndʿr)	‘step-father’	<i>māderī</i> (*mʾdry)	‘step-mother’
<i>pur</i> , <i>apr-</i> ((ʾ)pr)(?)	‘son’	<i>duγd-a</i> (δγd)	‘daughter’
<i>zādek</i> (zʾdʿk)	‘child, son’	<i>nabāsenek</i> (*nbʾsnʿk)	‘grandchild’
<i>pur-ander</i> (prʾndr)	‘step-son’	<i>duγd-ander</i> (δγdʾndr)	‘step-daughter’
<i>βrād</i> (βrʾd)	‘brother’	<i>ux-a</i> (x)	‘sister’
<i>afcūr</i> ((ʾ)fcwr)	‘paternal uncle’	<i>afcūrī</i> ((ʾ)fcwry)	‘aunt’
<i>afcūr-pur-ak</i> (*ʾfcwrprk)	‘cousin’		
<i>feynd</i> (?) (fynd)	‘husband’	<i>weδ-a</i> (wʾδ)	‘wife’
		<i>ap(a)n-a</i> (ʾpn)	‘second wife’
<i>pic-βrād</i> (pcβrʾd)	‘brother-in-law’	<i>nanek-a</i> (nnʿk)	‘sister-in-law’
<i>zāmād</i> (zʾmʾd)	‘son-in-law’	<i>an(u)h-a</i> (ʾnh)	‘daughter-in-law, sister-in-law’
<i>xus(u)r</i> (xsr)	‘father-in-law’	<i>xuš(-ū)</i> (xš(w))	‘mother-in-law’

7 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT, LOAN COMPONENT

Words with initial *b, d, g* (though these are not always written unambiguously) instead of the expected Khwar. *β, δ, γ*, are loanwords, mostly from Early New Persian (ENP): (bwstʾn) ‘garden’ = ENP *bōstān*, (drwδ) ‘praise’ = ENP *drōδ*, (grk) ‘herd’ = NP *gallah*. The latter exhibits a regular feature of all such loans with final *-ah*, namely the replacement of this by written (-k). This may date from Middle Persian (MP), e.g. *bazak* ‘bad’: MP *bazag* ‘sinful’, but ENP *bazah* ‘sin’; (zywndʿk) ‘alive’: MP *zywndg*, but NP *zindah*. Nevertheless it is strongly represented in Arabic loans in *-ah*, e.g. (ʿy ftnʿk) ‘temptation’ 115.4 < *fiṭnaʿ*, (ʿy hdyk) ‘gift’ 356.6 < *hadīyaʿ*, (ʿy bʾdyk) ‘desert’ 480.4 < *bādīyaʿ*. Other Arabic loans are mainly unassimilated, at least in writing, e.g. (ʿyb) ‘defect, disgrace’, (šḥbt) ‘conversation’ 433.5, (tʾm) ‘food’ 240.4. Those with final *alif* often take a final (-y), e.g. (dwʿy) ‘prayer’ 235.3 < *duʿā*, (wʿy) ‘faith’ 386.7 < *wafā*, but (ʿyl) ‘oath’ 384.1 < *īlā*. Many such loans occur assimilated in combinations like (θ-šl) **θ-ašl* ‘of noble origin’ 331.3, (ʿšlyk)

‘original’ (lit. ‘with-origin’) 402.5 < ʔl ‘origin, root’, (b-’db’wk) ‘rudeness’ QR 262, cf. NP *bē-adab-ī* ‘being without manners’ < Ar. *adab* ‘good manners’.

Few Turkish loanwords have been identified: (bkny) ‘beer’ QR 177 < Turk. *bāgni*, *bāgini*; (ʔdm) ‘a felt pad beneath the saddle’ 40.3 < *ādm̄*; (xč) ‘ram’ 49.5 < Turk. *qoç*.

8 SAMPLE TEXT

This sample text is the rendering of an Arabic passage (QR, MacKenzie 1990: 82–83), with interlinear version (the Arabic in transcription is placed at the end):

1. QR 413

*f-ī nān šūrat ka yā *βasanjīwān-a ī jūft δāra wašī wās-eda*
 (f.y n'n šwrt k. y' βsnw'n 'y jft δ'r wšy w'-yd)
 in the that case that the *testatrix the husband-ACC trustee appointed-IPF-3s
 ‘In the case that the *testatrix appointed (her) husband as trustee’

*f-ī nafaqān *δrūkā-nīk f- arcyād(a)k-a c-ī tarikāt-a-hi*
 (f.y nf'γ'n δrwk'n'yk f. 'rcy'dk c.y trkt-'h)
 in the wasting? illness for third from the legacy her
 ‘during (her) fatal illness for a third of her legacy,’

a=wa yiti(?) dāxil ī mahr=hi
 ('a.w yī d'x'yl 'y m^ahr.h)
 Q-therein is included the dowry-her
 ‘is her (unpaid) dowry included therein,’

k-ān=ci arcyād(a)k ī wašī parēx-ica wa kadāki? āy.ās
 (k'n.c 'rcy'dk 'y wšy pryxc w' kδ'k? 'γ. 's)
 that there from third the trustee leaves-PRS and is it so? yes
 ‘so that the trustee leaves a third of it (unpaid), or not?’ ‘Yes.’

The Arabic text is:

*fī-mā 'idā 'awšati l-mar'utu ilā zawji-hā fī maraḍi mawti-hā fi0-0ul0i min tarikati-hā
 hal yadxulu l-mahru fi l-wašiyati ḥattā <yuf>riju l-wašiyu 0ul0a-hū 'am lā? – na'm.*

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