

## 書 評・紹 介 (Review)

Johannes Benzing: *Chwaresmischer Wortindex*. Mit einer Einleitung von H. Humbach. Herausgegeben von Z. Taraf. 740 pp. Wiesbaden, 1983. DM 184.

All Iranianists are extremely grateful to Dr. Z. Taraf who has published the *Chwaresmischer Wortindex* which was promised by J. Benzing as long ago as 1968 when *Das Chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der »Muqaddimat al-Adab« von Zamaxšari* appeared. This *Index* is an alphabetic list of the Chor[esman] words found not only in the *Muq.* but also in the so far only partially available *Qunyat a-Munya*. It also contains a few Chor. terms quoted by Bīrūnī in his *Chronology*, but very few forms are quoted from the Aramaeo-Chor. material.<sup>1)</sup>

In the *Index*, inflected forms of verbs are cited with their line references<sup>2)</sup> and cross references to their stems which are listed separately together with translation. In the case of nouns, however, inflected forms and their line references are collected under the stems. Previous studies on each lexical item and its cognates in other Iranian languages, as long as they are mentioned in those studies, are also referred to. Moreover, since it was at first intended to be the index of Benzing's edition of the *Muq.*, even the forms mistransliterated by him are cited. This *Index*, therefore, places at every Iranianist's disposal a Chor. vocabulary which is one of the most promising fields to be explored and its contribution to Iranian studies as well as to Chor. philology is hard to dispute.

Yet the *Index* leaves much to be desired. First of all, one is rather disappointed to find that very little improvement on previous studies has been made by Z. Taraf. herself. Secondly, it would be much more convenient if all the inflected forms and variant spellings were collected under their stems, even if the allocation to stems is sometimes impossible.

Apart from these, there remain some minor points to be easily improved upon.<sup>3)</sup> For example, inconsistent ways of transliteration and translation may confuse the readers. One finds difficulties in finding out why some morpheme-

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1) For Aramaeo-Chor. see Humbach's introduction, p. 3.

2) They are apparently intended to be exhaustive, but not without omission. For example, under the lemma *š'r* one can add the following occurrences: 67,5.6 (delete 65,5.6); 86,8; 111,4; 119,4; 212,7; 291,3; 305,8; 339,4; 378,8; 404,3; 411,7; 423,6; Q345; NY86; Ma(71)526.

3) Misprints are not infrequent throughout the *Index*. Such a frequent misprint as Sw(71) for Sw(70) gives an impression that the whole book was printed in a great hurry.

boundaries are indicated but some are not, i.e. . or : often between conjunctions and enclitic pronouns, e.g. *k'.β* "wenn dich", but seldom between verbs and enclitic pronouns, e.g. *δ'nbyd'f* "er schlug dich". *ȳ* is only sporadically employed for the letter written only when the word is in pause, and no provision is made for the frequent alternation of *n* and *y*, which MacKenzie proposed to transliterate with *ñ*. Translation given to an identical word or phrase sometimes varies, the most conspicuous example being the ones given to 'y *γlym* 'y *γlym-δ'r*, cf. p. 288 s.v. *γlym*, "der Gläubiger dem Schuldner" and p. 689 s.v. *xwnb-*, "der Schuldner . . . dem Gläubiger". Phrases quoted from the *Qunyat* are rarely provided with the numbers given to them by Henning and MacKenzie (cf. He(71)51-5), which makes it difficult to compare the author's translation with Henning and MacKenzie's.

Taraf strangely omits these works which are of considerable importance for Chor. studies:\*

V. A. Livshits, 'The Khwarezmian Calendar and the Eras of Ancient Chorasmia', *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 16, 1968, pp. 433-46.

D. N. MacKenzie, *The Buddhist Sogdian Texts of the British Library*, *Acta Iranica* 10, Tehran-Liège, 1976 [=Ma(76)].<sup>4)</sup>

J. K. Teubner, 'Chwaresmisch *Kancik* und das eurasisch-afrikanische Wanderwort *Hemd/Camisia/Kanzu*, *ZDMG*, Supplement III. 2, 1977, pp. 1084-7.<sup>5)</sup>

E. Yarshater, 'Zabān-i X<sup>w</sup>ārizmī' *Maǰalle-yi Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehran, I, No. 2, pp. 41-9.

However, one should not be too critical in this respect, since it is hardly possible for one to collect all the remarks which have so far been made on Chor.

\* While this review was in the press for about a year, the following articles on Choresmian have appeared:

V. A. Livšič, 'Dokumenty', (ed. Ju. A. Rapoport and E. E. Nerazik), *Toprak-kala; Dvorec, Trudy khorezmskoj arkheologo-étnografičeskoj ékspedicii* 14, Moscow, 1984, pp. 251-286.

N. Yüce and J. Benzing, 'Chwaresmische Wörter und Sätze aus einer choresmtürkischen Handschrift der *Muqaddimat al-Adab*', *ZDMG*, 135/1, 1985, pp. 92-103. [A photocopy of the typescript of this article, which was sent to the present author by Professor H. Humbach, makes it possible to correct some of the misprints found in it.]

M. N. Bogoljubov, 'Khorezmijskie kalendarnye glossy v «Khronologii» Biruni', *Voprocj jazykoznanija*, 1985, No. 1, pp. 28-33. However, M. Samadi's dissertation 'Das chwaresmische Verbum', which is mentioned by H. Humbach, *MSS* 45, 1985, p. 97, has not so far been published.

4) While the *Index* was in the press, MacKenzie published 'Khwarezmian Language and Literature', *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 3(2), Cambridge, 1983, pp. 1244-9.

5) Teu(74) is sometimes referred to but not listed in the bibliography: J. K. Teubner, 'Einige chwaresmische Tiernamen', *Antiquitates Indogermanicae*, . . . , Gedenkschrift für H. Güntert. . . , (ed. M. Mayrhofer et al.), Innsbruck, 1974, pp. 301-5.

words.<sup>6)</sup>

I should like to conclude this review with a list of corrigenda to the Sogdian material cited in the *Index*,<sup>7)</sup> in which I should also like to quote some comments on Chor. words from the recent articles which could not have been consulted by the author. However, it would be beyond the framework of this review to cite additional cognates not mentioned in the *Index*.\*\*

'*bwd*. Ma(76)127 actually reads '*pwd*, see also '*pwtyk'h* "skiff, ferry".

(')βγ'w, 'βγw. Khotanese *byāñä* is a cognate, see MacKenzie, *JRAS*, 1983, p. 122.

'*čn*-, (')čy-. Things are rather complicated with the Sogd. words for "thirsty", "thirst", etc.: *cš'y* (B.) "to be thirsty", *cšn-* (B., Chr.) > *cn-* (M., Chr.) "thirst", *cš(')nt* (B., Chr.) "drink", *cšnd'k* (M.) = *cšn[t'q]* (Chr.) "drink", *cš'ntk* (B.) "thirsty", *cšnwq* > *cn'wq* (Chr.) "thirsty", *cšnwqy'* (Chr.) "thirst" cf. also *fr'q cšny* (Chr.) = *fr'kcynyy* (M.) "in the morning (< breakfast)".

'*γd*. The Sogdian equivalent of '*γd* is contained in *wyδ'γty* "then" (*wyδ* "that" + \*'*γty*), see Sims-Williams, *BSOAS*, 46, 1983, p. 43.

'*γwδ*. The Sogdian and other Iranian words belonging to the base *gaud* are collected by B. Gharib, *Acta Iranica* 4, 1975, pp. 247-56.

'*kwcy*-. On its cognates in Indo-Iranian languages see Sims-Williams, *BSOAS*, 42, 1979, p. 135.

'*Sk'ny*. Buddhist Sogdian '*skr'nt'nt* occurs in the following context: '*PZY šy dyβty ZNH mrtxm'tt r'm'nt ZKwh δrγmh 'skr'nt'nt* (Ma(69/70)24-7, ll.440-1), which is translated from Chinese 二者恒為多人所誑 "the second (retribution) is that he is always deceived by many people". I think this '*skr'nt'nt* is a mis-copying for \*'*skr'nt*, since *δrγmh* (')škr- construed with a person in the dative appears to be a compound expression meaning "to deceive a person". Another example is found in the following passage: '*PZY ZKw wyzrw w'xš w'βt rty myšnw w'tδ'r "ž'wnty δrγmh L' šk'rt*<sup>8)</sup> (Ma(76)44, ll.178-9) "and he speaks the true word and does not deceive living beings".<sup>9)</sup> The above quoted passage is, therefore, to be translated as "and secondly people always \*deceive him", which agrees with the Chinese original very well. It should also be noticed that

\*\* Readers are strongly recommended to consult W. Sundermann's review (*Kratylos* 29, 1984 [1985], pp. 55-59) to find additional Sogdian cognates cited from the sources unavailable for Benzing and Taraf.

6) e.g. on '*yδ* see M. Schwartz, *apud* I. Gershevitch, *Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi*. . . . (ed. B. Brogyanyi), Amsterdam, 1979, pp. 294-5; on '*z'n*, +δβ'γ, and *sry* see Henning, *AION-L*, 6, 1965, pp. 47, 32, and 45-6, respectively; on *d'* and *d's* see Sims-Williams, *BSOAS*, 38, 1975, pp. 137-8, etc.

7) I do not bother to correct the inconsistent transliteration of *c* (sometimes *č*) and *j* (sometimes *ǰ*).

8) The latter half of this phrase is also found in *ibid.* 1.200.

9) Differently Ma(76)45.

(')škr- usually translated as “to pursue, to lead” also means “to conduct”, see Ma(76)59.

'wf'ny. Bailey's etymology is rejected by MacKenzie, *JRAS*, 1983, p. 122.

'wrzyw. MacKenzie, *BSOAS*, 46, 1983, p. 535 thinks that it is a loan-word from Sogdian *wr'zyw* “haughty”.

'x. The Sogdian forms for “six” are discussed by J. Hamp, *III*, 25, 1983, p. 102.

'xš'r. Sogd. γžar is not attested but tentatively extracted from *wyjtrγ* “alkali(?)”.

\*'zdžx. For a new etymology see MacKenzie, *apud* O. Skjærvø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, Part 3.2, Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 93.

(')žβ-. Attested forms are B. žyβ' M. jβ-, and Chr. žyb-.

'žnd. 'yžnd is a misprint for 'yžndy (aka-stem), see *GMS* §290.

b'δys. Cf. also Skjærvø, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

c'br. Chr. c'p'r (<c'δrp'r) cannot be a cognate of Chor. c'br.

δ'nc². On the form δ'nc cf. also Chr. *xwšd'nc* (D. Weber, *Die Stellung der sog. Inchoativa im Mitteliranischen*, Göttingen, 1970, p. 196) which is a Sogdian equivalent of New Persian *šaš dāng* “six-sixths whether of a dirham or of a dīnārmiθqāl”, see Y. Yoshida, *Studia Iranica*, 13, 1984, p. 146.

frγ'mk. Its connection with M. (Sogd. script) βrγ'm'k “kid(?)” was pointed out by Sims-Williams in the appendix to W. Sundermann, *Berliner Turfan-texte XI*, 1981, p. 196.

ftmyck. *prtmčyk* is a misprint for 'prtmcyk.

fy[. ]cy'k. MacKenzie now reads it as *fy'cy'k*, see *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East, Studies in Honour of I. M. Diakonoff*, (ed. M. A. Dandamayev et al.), 1982, p. 261.

γwzyn. γwzn' is a misprint for γ'wzn'.

h'ny-. Its connection with B. 'rn “urge, drive on” is tacitly rejected by Ma(76)85.

kfwk. The meaning of the Sogdian cognate B. *kwβ* (cf. Ma(76)46) is not “foam” but “wave”, see Yoshida, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 27, 1984, p. 81.

m'δk. The Sogd. word for “leaven” has recently been discovered by Sundermann, see *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 8, 1981, p. 187 n. 195 with Sims-Williams' comment.

mθ. That -δ- of. *mδy* “here” stands for /δ/ is clear from Chr. *mdy*, which is derived from Old Iranian \**imadā* (cf. *GMS* §136).

n'f. The meaning of Sogd. *n'f* is discussed by Henning, *BSOAS*, 12, 1948, p. 606 n. 8.

nmθk. For *nmδkh* read *nm'δkh*.

p'z. What Ab(58)426 refers to is not a Chor. word but Khovar. For Sogd.

*p'z* see Mo(74)65.

*pcyθ*. The reading of Parthian *ptyyd* is doubtful, see Sundermann, *BTT* XI. 1981, p. 169.

*psy*. For its etymology and Middle Persian cognate see Livshits, *AAASH*, 25, 1977, p. 184.

*šbyw*. Sims-Williams argues that *βrpyγ*, if correctly read and interpreted, is borrowed from Middle Persian, see *BSOAS*, 46, 1983, p. 44.

*w'rynyk*. For *w'ryn-* read *w'ryn'k*, which, like its Chor. cognate, is an *aka*-stem.

*w'ry*. *w'ry* is not attested in Sogdian, while *w'ryšty*(pl.) presupposes a singular *\*w'ryc*, see *GMS* §1186 n. 1.

*wry-*. Sogdian has no verb *wyr-*, see Sims-Williams, *BSOAS*, 46, 1983, p. 44.

*zrywnyk*. Instead of *zrywn* "vegetable", *zrywn'k* "green" should have been compared with the Chor. word.

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