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Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams
(Iranica, 17),
Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2009, 127–140
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An Etymological Trifle

JOST GIPPERT, Frankfurt am Main

With the decipherment of the “Albanian” palimpsests from St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai, Iranianists have gained one more *Nebenüberlieferung* that witnesses to the spread and use of Middle Iranian lexical material in the Southern Caucasus in the early Middle Ages. As in the case of Old Georgian, many of the items concerned pose the question whether they were borrowed into the Caucasian “Albanian” language directly from a Middle Iranian vernacular or *via armeniaca*, i.e. with an Armenian loan as an intermediary. The latter assumption seems all the more probable since there is good reason to believe that the Biblical texts contained in the palimpsests were translated from Armenian models.¹ Nevertheless there are clear indications that the Caucasian “Albanians”, ancestors of the present day Udi people, did have direct contacts with Middle Iranian languages, too, given that some of the Iranian words they used differed considerably from their Armenian equivalents (such as *margaven*-“prophet” vs. Arm. *margarē*)² or had no matching counterpart in Armenian at all (such as *bamgen*-“blessed” vs. Arm. *erani*).³

One of the less clear cases is the equivalent of the Armenian verb *xortakem* ‘to break, crack, grind’, which has for long been regarded as a denominal formation built upon an unattested adjective **xortak*, in its turn related with MPers. *xwurdag* ‘something small, particle’, NPers. *xurda* ‘small, fine, minute’.⁴ Arm. *xortakem* does have a counterpart in the “Albanian” palimpsests, in the formation *xartak-biyesun*, which occurs three times in Jo. 19,31–33 rendering Arm.

1 Cf. GIPPERT 2007 and GIPPERT/SCHULZE 2007 for details as to the palimpsests and their contents. The *editio princeps* is at present being prepared by Z. ALEKSIZE (Tbilisi), J. GIPPERT (Frankfurt) and W. SCHULZE (Munich) in cooperation with J.-P. MAHÉ (Paris) and will be published in the series “Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi” (Brepols, Turnhout) in 2008. The edition project has been supported by the Volkswagen Foundation since 2000; cf. <http://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/armaz04.htm>. For preliminary reports cf. ALEKSIZE 1997, 2001 and 2003, and ALEKSIZE/MAHÉ 2001.

2 Cf. GIPPERT 2005 and below for details as to this word.

3 Cf. GIPPERT 2007 for details as to this word.

4 Cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 57, no. 507 (contra HORN 1893, p. 112) and 1897, p. 161, no. 286, for details; for the MPers. lemma cf. MACKENZIE 1971, p. 96, for the NPers. lemma, STEINGASS 1977, pp. 454a (s.v. *khurda*) and 484a (s.v. *khwurdā*).

xortakem (Greek κατάγυμι ‘to break, smash’)⁵ and once in Mt. 2,16 in the position of Arm. *ketorem* ‘to slay’ (Greek ἀναίρεω ‘to remove’). As a compound verb, “Alb.” *xarṭak-biyesun* contains, besides the otherwise unattested nominal base *xarṭak-*, the usual transitive auxiliary *biyesun* ‘to do, make’, thus matching the formation of NPers. *xurda kardan*.⁶ The present-day meaning “to change money” of this latter compound must have derived from a less specific “to make small”, cp. German *kleinmachen* used in the same sense to denote the changing of banknotes into coins. The same meaning is also conveyed by Georgian (ga)-*da-xurda-v-eb-*, a denominal verb built upon the noun *xurda-* which is primarily used in the sense of “small change, cash money” today.⁷

There can be no doubt that the Georgian noun directly reflects NPers. *xurda*. This is clearly suggested by its late attestation, none of its occurrences preceding the 15th century, even though the original meaning of Georgian *xurda-* is hard to ascertain from the few instances we find in the literary works of the Middle Georgian period.⁸ The least problematic case is met with in the so-called *Saamiani*, which is a 15th–16th century prose derivative of the Persian epic tradition on Sām son of Narīmān and part of the Georgian *Šāhnāme* adaptation.⁹ Here the word is obviously still used as an adjective denoting something “small” or “minute”; cf.

Saam. 11 (p. 308, ll. 5–6):

მივიდა იმ ციხესთან, თავისი ცხრაასი ლიტრიანი გურზი ხელთ აიღო ფრიდონმა და ერთი ასეთი დაჰკრა იმ ციხის კარებს, რომ ხაშხაშით ხურდა ხარშირი გახადა.

“He, Pridon (Pers. *Firēdūn*) went to that castle, took up his 900 litre cudgel (*gurz-i*, Pers. *gurz*) with his hands and stroke such a blow at the gate of that castle that he turned it into a rocket plant (?)¹⁰, minute like a poppy (*xašxaš-i*, Pers. *xašxaš*).”

Unfortunately, the Persian model of the given passage has not yet been determined¹¹ so that the source for the wording remains uncertain.

5 The other NT verses containing *xortakem* (Mk. 5,4; Lk. 9,39; 20,18; Rom. 16,20) are not contained in the “Albanian” palimpsests, nor is any one of the 147 OT attestations.

6 Cf., e.g., STEINGASS 1977, p. 484a s.v. *khwurda kardan*.

7 Cf. TSCHENKELI 1974, p. 2410; RAYFIELD 2006, p. 1709.

8 The Middle Georgian period extends from about the 12th to the 18th century AD.

9 Cf. the edition by ҲОБИЗЕ 1974, pp. 295–443. The text is not called *Saamiani* but “Ҷигни Saam Palavnisa”, i.e. “The Book of Saam The Hero” in the edition.

10 The meaning of *xaršir-i* is uncertain. For the proposal to regard it as a synonym of Georg. *gongola-* ‘(London) rocket’ (RAYFIELD 2006, p. 433) cf. ҲОБИЗЕ 1974, p. 649; the Persian word *xakšir* mentioned there as a source of Georg. *xaršir-i* has not been verifiable so far.

11 There is no matching passage in the corresponding chapters of the Persian *Šāhnāme* (on the struggles between Zuhhāk and Firēdūn, chs. 5–6 according to the numeration system used in WOLFF 1935). According to ҲОБИЗЕ 1974, p. 55ff., the Georgian text is relatively close to the prose version of the Persian *Sām-nāme*.

In a verse of the poem on “the customs of Georgia” (*Sakartvelos zneobani*) by the 17th century king Arčil, part of the so-called *Arčiliani*,¹² *xurda*- is used with a totally different meaning, in a context which obviously refers to polo or another game with horses but is quite obscured by several hapax legomena. Here, Georg. *xurda*- might reflect NPers. *xurda* in another meaning still persistent today, viz. denoting “small stones” or “gravels”;¹³ cf.

Arčil. Sak. Zn. 27 (vol. I, p. 6, ll. 5–8):

ჩოგნის მოხვეტა, მოზანდვა,	სწორის ბურთისა გამოჭრა,
ბურთობის დროსა ასპარეზს	პირმხიარულად გამოჭრა,
ცხენის მოხტომა უხელოდ,	იმის დროს ფიცხლად გარდმოჭრა,
და მოპაიტრობა, სახმობის	ამორთმა, ხურდის ამოჭრა.

“Perforating the stick, wattling it, forming a smooth ball,
dashing out happily on the playground, in the time of the ball-game,
leaping up on the horse without using hands, at the same time cutting swiftly
across,

and acting as a horseshoer(?)¹⁴, taking (it) out for drying(?)¹⁵, cutting out the
gravel(?)¹⁶.”

The least comprehensible attestation of *xurda*- in the Middle Georgian period is found in the poem on the “Seven Planets”, also called the *Baramguriani*, i.e., the 17th century adaptation of the Persian story on Bahrām Gōr and the Seven Princesses by Nodar Cicišvili.¹⁷ Here *xurda* occurs in an idiomatic combination with *hila*, another hapax legomenon obviously representing (Pers. *hīla* ← Arab. *hīla* ‘trick, stratagem, ruse’;¹⁸ cf.

Šv.Mt. XIX, 1192 (p. 147, ll. 9–12):

ყმამ თქვა: “პირველ თუმცა მეცან,	შენი ხლება რად მომსურდა?
ოდეს მქონდა მე შენებრი	საზრდო, შენთვის არა მშურდა;

12 Cf. the edition BARAMIŠE/BERŽENIŠVILI 1936–1937.

13 Cf. ČIKOBAVA *et al.* 1964, VIII, col. 1529 s.v. *xurda*: “čvrili an namčvrevi kva; xmaroben kēdlis ašenebisas savseb masalad, – gōrgi” (“a little or crushed stone; it is used as filling material in the construction of a wall, – grit”).

14 The hapax legomenon *mo-paiṭroba*- is not accounted for in Georgian lexicography (the lexicon provided in BARAMIŠE/BERŽENIŠVILI 1936–1937, p. 183, lists the word but gives no explanation); the proposal to interpret it as “acting as a horseshoer” is built upon Arm. *paytar* ‘horseshoer’ (→ *mo-paiṭr-oba*-).

15 Georg. *saxmob-i* usually denotes a place or area where something is dried (*sa-xmob-i*); a second meaning “ethmoid hæmatoma” is given in RAYFIELD 2006, p. 1177. The ethmoid bone (of horses) itself is usually named *cxav-is zval-i*, i.e. “sieve bone” in Georgian (cp. German *Siebbein*), so that this cannot be meant here.

16 It is hardly probable that Georg. *xurda* might match NPers. *xurda* meaning “that part of a horse’s leg round which the fetter passes” here (cf. STEINGASS 1977, pp. 454a and 484a).

17 Cf. the edition KĖKELIŠE 1930.

18 KĖKELIŠE 1930, p. 246, proposes the meaning “veragoba, xriķebis močqoba, inṭriganoba” (“perfidy, performing dirty tricks, intriguing”) for *hila xurda*, without referring to the Arabic word.

და ვსჭამდით, ვსვემდით ჩემსა ერთად, დამელია, აწ მომწყურდა,
მართლად გმძობდი, არ მეგონა შენი ესრეთ ჰილა ხურდა.”

“The knight said: ‘If I had known you earlier, why should I have wished to be with you?’

If I had had the same nourishment as you, I should not be envious of you.

We ate and drank mine together, it was exhausted, now I am hungry;

and I was truly close friends with you, I could not imagine your being so tricky (?).”

As no exact model of the given passage has been found in Nizāmī’s *Haft Paikar* or any other Persian adaptation of the Bahrām Gōr story,¹⁹ it must remain uncertain whether *xurda* is at all related to NPers. *xurda* (in the sense of “mean”?) in this idiom.²⁰

These problems notwithstanding, we may safely maintain the assumption that Georgian *xurda*- is a relatively recent borrowing from NPers. *xurda* denoting “something small” such as “pebbles” or, later, “coins”. In contrast to this, Arm. *xortak*- and “Alb.” *xartak*- must represent an older stratum, and it is by no means certain that they represent the same formation as the NPers. (and Georgian) word and its alleged MPers. ancestor, *xwurdag*. The problem consists in the vowel of the first syllable. It was PAUL HORN who first drew attention to the fact that the NPers. word contains a *u* vowel as its rhyming behaviour shows; he therefore read its MPers. cognate as *χurtak*, too, and proposed to separate the word from the root *χ^oar* ‘to eat, drink’ with its full grade *a*.²¹ In spite of the different vowel, both HORN and HÜBSCHMANN²² seem to have regarded Arm. *xortak* as a direct representative of MPers. **xurtak*. While the vocalism of the Persian word is now confirmed, at least for New Persian, by the evidence of the Georgian loan, “Alb.” *xartak*- can hardly be assumed to represent a MPers. **xurtak*, and even its derivation via Arm. *xortak*- is anything but probable, given that the language did possess an *o* vowel²³ which regularly occurs in loan words; cp., e.g., *angelos*- ‘angel’ ← Greek ἄγγελος or *betanos* ‘gentile, heathen’ ← Arm. *bet’anos* (⇐ Greek ἑθνος). This is also true for Armenian words for which an Iranian origin can be assumed.

19 The passage is located within the story told by the sixth princess, ch. 37 in the edition by RITTER/ RYPKA 1934 of the *Haft Paikar*; in general the Georgian text shows a “remarkable agreement” with Nizāmī’s in this chapter (cf. RUDENKO 1975, p. 37: “разительное сходство”).

20 A comparable quasi-compound *hīla-xurda* seems not to be attested for Persian. Arab. *burda* ‘iron part, pellet’ and *burdaq* ‘pellet’ (WEHR 1958, p. 210: “Eisenteilchen; Schrot”) are likely to be derived from NPers. *xurda* themselves.

21 HORN 1893, p. 112, no. 507.

22 HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 57, no. 507, and 1897, p. 161, no. 286; cf. also SCHMITT 1987, p. 453a, who explicitly derives “xortak-em ‘I break into small pieces’ from Mid.Pers. *xurdag* ‘small’”.

23 Additionally it even seems to have had a second *a* vowel different from plain *a* as in *xartak*-, with a more back articulation.

One example is Arm. *xoran* ‘tabernacle, hut, tent’ which is rendered by the totally identical stem *xoran*-²⁴ in the “Alb.” palimpsests in Heb. 9,3,6, and 13,10 (Gk. σκηνή); additionally, “Alb.” *xoran*- occurs in Ps. 83,2 (84,1)²⁵ as the equivalent of Arm. *yark* ‘tabernacle’ (Gk. σκηνωμα).²⁶ It is true that for Arm. *xoran*, an Iranian origin seems not to have been proposed so far, different from its two quasi-synonyms, *vran* and *talavar* which have for long been derived from Parthian sources: *talavar*, which is also mirrored by “Alb.” *talavar*- occurring once in Mt. 17,4, reflects Parth. *talawār* <tlw’r> ‘hall, tabernacle’,²⁷ and *vran*, Parth. *wiḏān* <wd’n> ‘tent’.²⁸ Considering the similarity of *xoran* with the latter, both containing the element *-ran*, there is good reason to assume an Iranian etymon for *xoran*, too. Starting from *vran* ← *wiḏān*-, *xoran* might well reflect a compound with the same second member, **-ḏān*-, which can be deduced from an OIr. **dāna*- meaning “construction, building” or the like (Ir. √dhā); the same element is also present in Avest. *uz-dāna*- ‘rack, stand’, lit. ‘superstruction’ (Vd. 6,50 and 8,74) and OPers. *apa-dāna*- (→ Arm. *aparan*) ‘palace’. In *xoran*, then, **-dāna*- might have been composed with **xṣa*- ‘self’,²⁹ thus denoting the “separate” or “detached” construction of tents or huts. With its *xo*-, Arm. *xoran* would show the regular outcome of MIr. **xwā*- as in *xortik-k* ‘food’ ← **xwartik* (MPers. *xwardig*), Avest. *xʷaraiti*-, or *xost*- ‘confess’ ← **xwāst*- (Parth. *wxāstwānift*, MPers. *xwastūg*); “Alb.” *xoran* would share this development.

A slightly more problematic case is Arm. *xoršak* ‘heat’. Different from *xoran*, this word has an exact counterpart in Georgian, viz. *xoršak*-, which is attested several times in NT and OT texts, e.g. in Lk. 12,55, Is. 49,10, and Deut. 28,22. In the “Alb.” palimpsests we meet a word *xoʿak* in Jac. 1,11 in the position of Arm. *xoršak* and Gk. καύσω, which obviously represents the same etymon and is identical with its Arm. counterpart except for the medial consonant.

24 AČAŔYAN 1973-1979, B, p. 406b, mentions an Udi word *xoran* ‘sanctuary’ (“Owt. *xoran* «ekelec’i xoran»”) which he regards as a borrowing of Arm. *xoran*. This word may well continue its “Alb.” predecessor.

25 In the “Alb.” lectionary, Psalms are numbered according to the Septuagint model, the present Psalm being introduced by no. “83”.

26 *xoran* has no counterpart in Georgian, its regular equivalent being *karav-i*. – The place name *xoranta* mentioned in the Old Georgian chronicle *Kartlis Cxovreba* (I, 5, 11 ed. QAUXČIŠVILI 1955) may well reflect the “Alb.” word, given that the town in question lies in *hereti*, i.e. “Albania”.

27 Cf., e.g., SCHMITT 1985, 452a; the Parthian word is attested five times in the Parthian Manichaean texts contained in BOYCE 1975, viz. at (2), ax (3), bc (1), bh (3), and bp (3).

28 Cf., e.g., SCHMITT 1987, p. 452a, and BAILEY 1987, pp. 463a and 465a, who further refer to MPers. *wiḡyān*, NPers. *gayān*, and Judeo-Pers. *by’n*. The Parthian word is attested in ac (1) of BOYCE 1975, the Middle Persian word, in the *Ayādgār-ī Zarērān* (32ff.; cf. JAMASPASANA/ORIAN 1992, p. 204f.). Cf. also Sogd. *wy’n* (“LW from MP”, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 58) and Bal. *gidān* (KORN 2005, p. 98, after MORGENSTIERNE 1932, p. 44).

29 Cf. already GIPPERT 2005, p. 163, for this proposal.

As a matter of fact, a similar constellation – Armenian and Georgian $-(r)š-$ vs. “Albanian” $-ʃ-$ – occurs in two other words that are shared by the three languages.³⁰ One of them is “Alb.” *vaʃamak* ‘cerecloth’ occurring in Jo. 20,7 as the equivalent of Arm. *varšamak* and Georg. *varšamag-i*. While this triad can be established with no doubt, the second one is less certain as far as the “Albanian” partner is concerned. The word in question appears two times in Mt. 20,1 and 2, and in both cases it has not been preserved entirely due to damages of the manuscript. What we can read is $\langle mo \rangle$ in the latter and $\langle ʃak \rangle$, in the former verse. Taken together, these scraps permit to reconstruct a word $\langle mowʃak \rangle$, i.e. *muʃak*,³¹ as the equivalent of Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušak-i* ‘worker, labourer’.

Nevertheless the correspondence of “Alb.” $\langle ʃ \rangle$ and Armenian and Georgian $(r)š$ remains hard to account for. It is true that the “Alb.” letter here transcribed $\langle ʃ \rangle$ (the 14th letter of the “Alb.” alphabet, with a numerical value of 50) bears the name *šá* in the alphabet list contained in the Armenian ms. Echm. 7117³², a name which suggests a *š*-like articulation offhand. In the three words discussed above this would well match the corresponding Armenian and Georgian forms. In the (few) words that have clear equivalents in modern Udi, there is no such correspondence though. Instead we find pharyngealised vowels where “Albanian” words have a sequence of *šá* plus a vowel letter; cp., e.g., “Alb.” *vʃan* ≈ Udi *vʃan* ‘you (pl.)’ or *bʃeg* ≈ Udi *beg* ‘sun’. The only exception seems to be “Alb.” *iʃa* ‘near’ which is obviously reflected in Udi *iša*, i.e. a constellation with both a pharyngealised vowel and a sibilant.³³ The letter $\langle ʃ \rangle$ is therefore likely to have represented a sound with a pharyngeal articulation or, at least, co-articulation.

For the three triads discussed above, this does not help very much, given that neither the Armenian nor the Georgian equivalents have any pharyngeal features. However, starting from *xoʃak* / *xoršak* and *vaʃamak* / *varšamak*, one might consider such a feature to have developed from $-r-$ in the sequence $-rš-$, a suggestion first made by WOLFGANG SCHULZE.³⁴ As there are no words with a consonant cluster $-rš-$ in the whole “Albanian” corpus and plain $-š-$ seems to have been preserved in loans of the same sphere in “Albanian” – cf., e.g., *ašarket* – ‘disciple, pupil’ ≈ Arm. *ašakert* – this would imply that *muʃak* would have to be

30 The following considerations were discussed in detail by J. GIPPERT and W. SCHULZE in the course of the edition of the palimpsests.

31 In the “Albanian” script, the vowel *u* is always denoted by a digraph $\langle ow \rangle$ as in the Armenian and Old Georgian scripts.

32 Cf. the facsimile of the ms. provided in ŠANIŽE 1938, tables between pp. 16–17.

33 Udi possesses two series of postalveolar sibilants, usually transcribed $\langle š/ž \rangle$ vs. $\langle ś/ź \rangle$ (plus the corresponding affricates). The same must have been true for “Albanian” $\langle š, ž, ś, ź \rangle$ which are clearly distinguished by different letters.

34 Personal communication of Dec. 19, 2007. For the “pharyngealisation” effect of $-r-$ one might compare similar effects (retraction of the tongue and contraction of the uvular or pharyngeal region) in German dialects (Swabian, East-Middle-German); this, however, seems to presuppose a uvular articulation of $-r-$.

derived not from an older **mušak* as underlying Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḱ-* but from a preform **muršak-* not attested otherwise. Such a preform is – as a local variant of the same word – all the easier to argue for as at least for one of the terms in question, viz. Arm. *varšamak*, there is good reason to assume that its *-rš-* is due to a secondary development, given that the word was obviously borrowed from an Iranian model which had plain *-š-* instead (cf. NPers. *bāšām(a)/wāšāma*, Khwarezm. *v’š’myk* and Sogd. *v’š’mṯ*).³⁵ Even though the inner-Iranian etymology of this set of cognates remains unclear, its distribution among both West and East Iranian languages excludes the alternative hypothesis that *-š-* was reduced from an older *-rš-* here.

Unfortunately, neither for **mu(r)šak-* nor for **xoršak-* there is any reliable etymological perspective. With their common suffix *-ak-*, both words suggest an Iranian origin offhand, and for Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḱ-i* an Iranian cognate has been suggested indeed; the connection “with Khot. *mišša-* ‘field,’ later *muša-*, base *maiz-* ‘to cultivate’” proposed by H. W. BAILEY³⁶ is anything but trustworthy, however, as there is no trace of the internal *-i-* of that root in the Caucasian words³⁷ and both the word formation and the semantics would remain doubtful (both Arm. *mšak* and Georg. *mušaḱ-* denote a “labourer, worker”, not a “farmer” as BAILEY claims). The proposal to join the word with NPers. *mušāq* ‘servant, domestic’ and Kurd. *mišāq* ‘house servant, worker’ discussed in H. AČAŘYAN’s etymological dictionary³⁸ seems more fruitful then but only if these words can be proven to have been secondarily influenced by the Arab. root *šaqq* and formations such as *mašaqqa’* ‘pains, difficulties, troubles’ or *mušāqq* ‘schismatic’ pertaining to it,³⁹ the attestation of the Caucasian terms being much too early to admit the assumption of a direct Arabic loan here (see below). In any way, the origin of **mūšāḱ-*⁴⁰ remains doubtful even under these conditions.⁴¹

35 For the Pers. word cf. STEINGASS 1977, pp. 147a/1451a; for the Khwarezm., HENNING 1956, p. 432 [= 496]; for the Sogd. word, SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 229a. Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 300ff., for details concerning the etymology.

36 Cf. BAILEY 1987, p. 461a.

37 For the same reason we must exclude a connection with Av. *mīžda-*, MPers. *mīzd* ‘salary, wages’, which would also be hard to argue for because of the consonant cluster involved. – The “very doubtful” Av. adjective *mišāk-* (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 1187: “Sehr zweifelhaftes Wort”), which probably pertains to the root *myas-* ‘to mix’, must as well be kept separate.

38 Cf. AČAŘYAN 1973-1979, G, p. 335b s.v. *mšak*.

39 Cf., e.g., WEHR 1958, p. 435f., for *šaqq* and its derivatives. – Note that Pers. *musāq* is marked with an “a” denoting an uncertain relationship with Arabic in STEINGASS 1977, p. 1243a.

40 None of the three Caucasian languages distinguishes long and short vowels *ā/a* and *ū/u*.

41 There is but a vague chance that the word might be derived from PIr. **mūš* ‘mouse’ (→ ‘muscle worker’?) or from the secondary “root” **muš-* ‘to rub’ as present in Balōčī (cf. KORN 2005, p. 92).

For Arm. *xoršak* and its counterparts, the etymological prospects are not much brighter. H. AČĀRYAN was certainly right in drawing our attention to Hebr. חֲרִישִׁית, i.e. *ḥārīšīt*, occurring as a hapax legomenon in Jon. 4,8 together with *rūḥ qādīm* ‘East wind’ where the Arm. Bible has *hołm xoršak tapaxaṛn*, i.e. “a hot combusting storm”, matching Gk. πνεῦμα κάυσωνος σύγκαιον;⁴² cf.

Jon. 4,8

... יהי כזר השמש וימן אלהים רוח קדים חרישית ותך השמש על־ראש יונה

Եւ եղբւ ՚ի ծագել արեւուն հրամայեաց ա(ստուա)ծ հողմոյ խորշակի տապախանի, եւ անկաւ արեւն զգլխովն յունանու ...

καὶ ἐγένετο ἅμα τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ προσέταξεν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι καύσωνος συγκαίοντι, καὶ ἐπάταξεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωνᾶ ...

“And it happened (together) with the rising of the sun (that) God gave order to a hot burning wind, and the sun fell upon Jona’s head ...”

AČĀRYAN’s proposal to further connect the Hebrew word with the root *ḥrš* ‘to cut, engrave’ and its Semitic cognates (Syr. *hrt*, Arab. *ḥrt*)⁴³ remains more than doubtful, however, all the more since the Syriac OT has only *rwh* ‘*d-šwb*’, i.e. ‘hot wind’ in the given passage. And of course it would be more than hard to assume that a Hebrew hapax legomenon might have been borrowed into Armenian (and other languages of the Caucasus) on the basis of but one OT verse and become the general term for “heat” there. Instead, textual attestations like the one treated above suggest a connection of *xoršak* with the Iranian word for “sun”, MPers. *xwar*, and its derivatives such as MPers. Parth. *xwarāsān* ‘East’ or *xwar(x)šēd* ‘sun (light)’.⁴⁴ If this is right, the word would be another example for the regular substitution of MIr. *xwa-* by Armenian *xo-*, in this case shared by both the neighbouring Caucasian languages, and the *-rš-* cluster would have to be assumed to be genuine. An alternative solution as well suggested by the attestations would consist in connecting *xoršak* with ManMPers. *hōšāg* ‘hot, parching wind’⁴⁵, with *-rš-* having developed secondarily as in *varšamak*. Tempting as it is,⁴⁶ this solution is problematical as it would presuppose MIr. **hō-* (root **huš-* ‘to dry’) to be represented by Arm. *xo-*, which is not what we expect for

42 Cf. AČĀRYAN 1973-1979, B, p. 410b s.v. *xoršak*.

43 Sic, not Syr. “*xraš*” = *ḥrš* (which pertains to another Hebr. root *ḥrš* ‘to be mute’ instead) and not Arab. “*ḥarṯ*” = *ḥrt* as in AČĀRYAN, l.c.

44 Cf. ANDRONIKĀŠVILI 1966, p. 412f., who connects Georg. *xoršak-i* with NPers. <*xrš*> ‘sun’ drawing upon the dictionary Borhān-e Qāte; according to STEINGASS 1977, p. 455a, this term (“*khurshā*”) alternates with <*xrš*’d> (“*khurshād*”) “in Zand and Pāzand” so that its derivation from an older **xwaršāk* remains doubtful. – Should *xwar(x)šēd* be disguised directly in Hebr. *ḥārīšīt*?

45 Proposal by AGNES KORN (personal communication); for the MPers. word cf. BOYCE 1977, p. 49 s.v. *hwš’g*.

46 Note that the MPers. word is attested in the list of terms denoting the four “Dark Elements”, in text y (25) in BOYCE 1975, p. 68.

early (Arsacid) loans in Armenian.⁴⁷ It must therefore be stated that the actual formation of the etymon of *xoršak* remains unclear for the time being.

Returning to the divergence between Arm. *xortakem* and “Alb.” *xartak-biyesun*, we must now take into account the question of different routes of borrowing. For one of the items treated above, Georg. *varšamag-i*, I have argued elsewhere that it is likely to have been borrowed *via armeniaca*, not only because of its shape but also because of the distribution of its attestations in the Old Georgian literature which show a clear affinity to Armenian sources.⁴⁸ Applying the same criterion to Georg. *xoršak-i*, we may at once state that this word behaves quite similar as *varšamag-i* in that its appearance within the NT is limited to but one attestation (Lk. 12,55) in but one Gospel manuscript, viz. that of the so-called Adishi redaction (C),⁴⁹ whereas both the older Khanmeti redaction (represented in the VIth century palimpsest A-89 of Tbilisi) and the so-called Protovulgate (the Xth century Gospel mss. of Ksani, Berta, Žruči, and Parxali) use the genuine Georg. word *sicxe-* ‘heat’ instead;⁵⁰ and it is the Adishi manuscript (of 895 AD) which shows the most notable coincidences with the Armenian Gospels in general. In Jac. 1,11 where the “Alb.” palimpsest has *xo^ʿak-* agreeing with Arm. *xoršak*, the Georgian version has the genuine *sicxe-* in all its redactions, none of which shows any striking affinity with the Armenian tradition. Other occurrences of *xoršak-i* in the Old Georgian Bible are confined to a few verses in the OT that may well have had Armenian models, viz. in the list of plagues in Deut. 28,22 (where the word occurs, as the equivalent of Arm. *xoršak* and Gk. ἀνεμοφθορία ‘blasting’, side by side with *sicxe-* rendering Gk. πυρετός and Arm. *ĵermn* ‘fever’, but also with the rare stem *goin-* in the position of Gk. ὥχρα ‘mildew’, which clearly reflects Arm. *goyñ* ‘jaundice’ and thus speaks in favour of an Armenian source for the given verse), Is. 49,10 (in the version of the so-called Oški Bible of the XIth century; the text of the XVIIth century Mtskheta Bible has *sicxe-* instead), and in Hiob 15,30 (where the Arm. vulgate text has not *xoršak* but *hołm* ‘wind’, obviously remodelled after Gk. ἄνεμος). In Jon. 4,8, the Georgian Bible text has not *xoršak-i* but *kar-i cxel-i* ‘hot wind’ (in the Oški Bible; the Mtskheta Bible has *sul-i cxel-i* ‘hot breath’); *xoršak-i* does occur

47 It is true that New Persian has *xō-* in *xōšīdan* ‘to dry up’ etc. (cf. STEINGASS 1977, p. 487b s.v. *khoshīdan*). The change from *h-* to *x-* might have emerged earlier, but we would expect the pretonic *-ō-* to be reduced to *-u-* in the Arm. loan. The proper name *Xosrov* is hardly comparable here (← **hōsraw-*? But cf. NPers. *xusraw*).

48 Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p.300ff. – The form *varšamang-i* with *-n-* noted in some dictionaries is a secondary variant that emerged within Georgian (cf. ib.).

49 The facsimile edition of the ms. in TAKAJŠVILI 1916 (tabl. 132) clearly shows that the verse in question must have been added later (by the same hand?), possibly after erasure of a previous text.

50 Cp. the occurrence of *varšamag-* in Jo. 20,7 C where the Protovulgate text has *sudar-* (← Gk. σουδάριον).

in a lectionary variant of that verse, however.⁵¹ Besides the noun *xoršaḱ-* itself, its derivative *xoršaḱeul-* ‘burnt by heat’ is also preserved in the Old Georgian OT tradition where it coincides with Arm. *xoršakahar* (Gen. 41,6.7.23.24.27); this is also true for Prov. 10,5 where the equivalent of the noun *xoršaḱ* is replaced by *sicxe-* again. All in all, there is thus a clear preponderance for Georg. *xoršaḱ-* to have been borrowed *via armeniaca*; this assumption is not disproved by the fact that the word is also attested in a few autochthonous texts from the XIth century on.⁵²

The case of Georg. *mušaḱ-* is very different from this. This word is already attested in the Khanmeti Gospel ms. A 89, in Mt. 20,1 where the fragments of “Alb.” **mušaḱ* are found as well. Here it is the Protovulgate redaction which has *mušaḱ-* too, while the text of the Adishi ms. uses the genuine formation *mokmed-* ‘active, working (person)’ corresponding to Gk. ἐργάτης. In Mt. 20,2, it is the Khanmeti text again which has *mušaḱ-ta mat* ‘to the workers’ (Gk. μετὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν, Arm. *mšakac’n*) while the two later redactions have only the pronoun (*mat* ‘them’). In Mt. 10,10, however, the Khanmeti text agrees with the latter redaction in using *mokmed-* while the Protovulgate alone has *mušaḱ-*. All in all, the distribution of *mušaḱ-* in its earliest attestations does not speak in favour of its having been borrowed *via armeniaca*.⁵³

It goes without saying that the philological method of distinguishing lexical layers according to their textual distribution cannot be applied to “Albanian”, given that the text corpus we have is much too small and homogeneous. Nevertheless the phonetic peculiarities of the words discussed above admit of hypothesising a scenario. Taking into account that an Armenian background is likely for Georg. *xoršaḱ-* and *varšamag-* but not for *mušaḱ-*, we may assume the same for “Alb.” *xošaḱ-* and *vašaḱ-* on the one hand and “Alb.” **mušaḱ-* on the other; in the case of the latter, the assumption agrees with the necessity to reconstruct a preform **muršaḱ-* which cannot underlie Arm. *mšak* (or Georg. *mušaḱ-*) and which must have developed independently in the vernacular the “Alb.” loan was taken from. For the pair of *xortakem* vs. *xartaḱ-biyesun*, all this suggests that these two words were as well borrowed independently. On

51 In the so-called Paris lectionary; cf. the edition DANELIA *et al.* 1987, p. 371. This verse is alluded to in an apophthegm of the so-called alphabetic collection (Agathias no. 4: p. 19, l. 23 of the edition DVALI 1974).

52 Cf. the Vita of Grigor of Xancta, 20 (p. 268, l. 29 of the ed. ABULAṢE 1963) with *sul-i xoršaḱ-isa-* ‘breath of heat’ and the Vita of Giorgi the Athonite, XXII (p. 165, l. 20 of the ed. ABULAṢE 1967) with *kueḡana- xoršaḱ-* ‘hot land’. The only occurrence in a Middle Georgian text is found in the so-called *Abdulmesiani*, an ode to David Soslan (husband of the XIIth century queen Tamar) where *xoršaḱ-* rhymes with *mušaḱ-* (IX: 62,3a; p. 137 of the ed. LOLAŠVILI 1964).

53 The fact that the first syllable vowel was syncopated in Armenian before the beginning of literacy cannot be argued with here as the result of the Armenian syncope was a shewa vowel which may well have been (re-)substituted by Georgian *-u-* in contact with a labial; cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 277f., for examples.

the other hand, they may nevertheless have had a common source, viz. a Mİr. preform **xwartak-*; in Arm. *xortak-*, the **xwa-* would have left its usual trace, i.e. *xo-*, while in “Alb.” *xartak-* the initial consonant cluster **xw-* was reduced to *x-* as clusters of this type do not exist in the “Albanian” language.⁵⁴

It is clear, then, that the Mİr. preform reconstructed here cannot be the ancestor of NPers. *xurda* and (Sasanian) MPers. *xwurdag* as there is no reason to assume that an older **xwa-* should have developed into *x(w)u-* in this word while it remained stable in, e.g., *xwardan* ‘to eat, drink’.⁵⁵ However, Mİr. **xwartak* may well have been a dialectal (NWİr.) cognate of (SWİr.) **xwurtak*, provided that both forms derive from an older stem with a syllabic *-r̥-*. **xwartak-* vs. **xwurtak* would then show the typical divergence we also find in other doublets such as MPers. *murw* vs. NWİr. **mary* ‘bird’⁵⁶ ← **mrga-*, with the latter form being represented in Arm. *siramarg* ‘peacock’ (**sēnamary-*, vs. MPers. *sēnmurw* ‘fabulous bird’), Georg. *paršamang-i* ‘id.’ (**frašamary*, MPers. *fraš(a)murw* ‘id.’)⁵⁷ or Arm. *margarē* and “Alb.” *margaven-* ‘prophet’, lit. ‘augur, Vogelschauer’.⁵⁸

On this basis we may lastly give an answer to the question first raised by PAUL HORN as to whether NPers. *xurda* and MPers. *xwurdag* pertain to the verb *xwardan* ‘to eat, drink’ or not.⁵⁹ The difference between the stem of the latter infinitive form (together with derivatives such as **xwarti-* ‘food’ → Av. *x^varəti-*, MPers. *xwardīg*, ⇔ Arm. *xortik-k’*) and the ancestor of the former (together with the unextended MPers. <hwldy> = *xwurd* occurring in the Pahl. Psalter in Ps. 123 [124],⁷⁶⁰) obviously consists of mere ablaut (zero-grade *-r̥-* vs. full-grade

54 A sequence of *x+v* does not occur in “Alb.” words, neither initially nor in other positions. – Note that the development of Mİr. **xw* to plain *x* is met with in Armenian, too; cf., e.g., *xah* noted as a (later?) variant of *xoh* “food” ⇔ Av. **xvarəθra-* in HÜBSCHMANN 1895, p. 160 (no. 279) or, word-internally, *kaxard* “sorcerer” ⇔ Av. *kaxvarəθa-* (ib. p. 162 no. 291) or *naxarar* ← NWİr. **naxwaðāra-* (cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 152ff.). If this is not due to a special inner-Armenian development (cf. BENVENISTE 1929, p. 5ff. who argues that a Mİr. sequence **axva-* is always substituted by *-axa-* in Armenian loans) it might reflect a dialectal divergence within the NorthWest Middle Iranian dialect continuum (cp. the development of **xwV-* to *whV-* in Parthian, matched by **xwV-* → *wV-* in Zazaki; cf. GIPPERT 1996, p. 151f.).

55 The modern pronunciation which is [xord-] in both words has of course developed secondarily; the rhyming behaviour in the Early NPers. period clearly shows the divergence. – The reading *x^uartak* proposed for MPers. <xwrdg> ‘small, insignificant’ in NYBERG 1974, p. 221b, is as unjustified as the notation *x^uardah* for the NPers. form (ib.); note that NYBERG himself mentions the Pazend form *xurdak*.

56 It must remain open whether the NWİr. idiom in question was “Median” as proposed by GERSHEVITCH 1989, p. 118, n. 10.

57 Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 190ff., for details.

58 Cf. GIPPERT 2005 for details.

59 Cf. HORN 1893, p. 112 (no. 507).

60 In the syntagmatic combination with *būd* (<hwrđy bwty>, cf. ANDREAS/BARR 1933, p. 104a) rendering the (passive) concept of “(the snare) is broken”; note that the Syriac text of the passage uses the same verbal root (*tbr* ‘to break’) as in Jo. 19,31–33 where the “Alb.” palimpsest has the (active) verb *xartak-biyesun*.

-ar-), and **xwṛta-* may well represent the original past participle “eaten” of the root **xwar-*.⁶¹ For the semantics we can then compare the derivation of words denoting “trifles” like Engl. *bit*, Germ. *bisschen* from a verb meaning “to bite”.⁶²

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- 61 For the alternative proposal by MORGENSTIERNE 1927, p. 92, to derive Bal. *hūrt* ‘tiny’ (and, consequently, the Persian word) from an underlying **hū-řta-* ‘well ground’, cf. KORN 2005, p. 122, n. 246.
 62 It would be tempting to add the Old Georgian designation of the “bridle bit” (also “iron ring”), *xartuķ-i*, to this Iranian lemma. The word occurs, e.g., in Is. 37,29, IV Reg. 19,28, and Hiob 40,20 (28); the latter verse is obviously quoted in the VIIIth century legend of St. Habo of Tbilisi (ch. 1; p. 54, l. 28 of the ed. ABULAṢE 1963; the reference to Ez. 29,4 ib. n. ***** is misleading). In some sources, we find the word spelt *xratuķ-* instead; this is true for the long version of the Georgian legend on Barlaam and Josaphat, the so-called *Balavariani* (p. 161, n. A1 of the ed. ABULAṢE 1957) as well as the Mtskheta Bible edited by the XVIIth-century scholar Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani and, accordingly, the dictionary compiled by the same author (vol. 2, p. 416, n. 2 of the ed. ABULAṢE 1966). *xratuķ-* must certainly be regarded as the “forma difficilior” here; the word might therefore rather be a borrowing of a Mlr. **xratuk-* representing a derivative of **xratu-* ‘will, intellect’ (→ ‘prudence’ → ‘taming’?). – It would as well be tempting to connect the doublet of Ud. *xart* and Georg. *xart-i* (not attested in Old or Middle Georgian) denoting a “whetstone” or “grindstone” to NW-Mlr. **xwart-*. This would presuppose that the meaning of “gravel, pebble, small stone” we have noted for Georg. *xurda* would have emerged in the unextended NW-Ir. PP formation as well. Note, however, that *xa-* rendering Mlr. *xwa-* seems not to be attested elsewhere in Georgian.

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