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SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF THE LAHORE *TAFSĪR*, ITS DATE AND PROVENANCE

The monument described in the present article is a Persian Commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qur'ān. The manuscript of the Commentary is preserved now in the Library of the Lahore University (Pakistan), hence one of its names — the Lahore *Tafsīr* (henceforth *LT*) [1]. Formerly it belonged to the late Prof. M. Shīrānī who bequeathed the manuscript to the Library [2].

In 1966 a facsimile edition of *LT* appeared, with a brief introduction by M. Mīnavī, under the title of *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk* [3]. The text of *LT* is unique, it represents a part (46 folios) of a Commentary on the second Sūra *Al-Baqara* — "The Cow" (65—151/161—146 Flügel and 233). The beginning and the end of the manuscript, as well as its colophon are missing, so the name of its author or copyist and the date of the manuscript are unknown.

In 1966, shortly after M. Mīnavī's publication, an article by A. Z. Khuyī in *Yaghmā* appeared, where its author considered some idiomatic peculiarities of the text [4]. Four years later, A. Ravāqī issued a printed edition of *LT*, supplemented with a vocabulary marking all original, and even unique meanings and spellings present in the text, as well as archaic forms and dialectological peculiarities [5]. To illustrate the parallel use of the unusual vocabulary of *LT* in other Persian works, A. Ravāqī is citing 77 writings composed in the 9th—15th centuries.

At the International Congress held in Ann-Arbour in 1968 J. Matīnī delivered a paper dealing with the spelling, the manner of writing, and the style of the 11th century Persian works. In his paper J. Matīnī compared the manner of writing which is characteristic of three earliest prose texts: *Hidāyāt al-Muta'allimīn fī al-Ṭibb* (A.D. 1100), *Al-Abnīya 'an Haqā'iq al-Adwīya* (A.D. 1069) to *LT* [6]. In 1971 a famous Isfahan calligrapher and scriptologist M. Faḍā'ilī published his *Aṭlas-i Khaṭṭ* containing a passage from *LT* [7]. According to M. Faḍā'ilī, the style and spelling of *LT* are characteristic of the Persian texts written in Arabic script at the earliest stage of the New Persian language.

In the same year (1971) an article by D. N. MacKenzie dealing with the most peculiar words of the text appeared [8]. In many cases etymologies were suggested to supplement those quoted in the *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* and in G. Lazard's famous work [9]. D. N. MacKenzie was the first to reveal a distinct eastern Parthian and even Sogdian layers in the language of *LT* [10].

We are most grateful to Iranian scholars Dr. A. Taffazzulī and Dr. J. Mazāhirī who pointed out several important publications concerning *LT* to the author of this article. These are a brief study of the linguistic peculiarities of *LT* by 'Alī Ashraf Ṣādiqī [11] and a detailed monograph investigating its orthographic system by Husayn Dāvarī Āshtyānī [12].

LT is a bilingual text. In other words, after each quotation from the Qur'ān a short commentary in Arabic follows, then its Persian translation supplemented with extensive comments comes. There are many quotations from *qiṣṣas* and *ḥadīths*, for the most part with references to their sources, though as a rule the *isnāds* are incomplete. In all 16 *qiṣṣas* and 7 *ḥadīths* are present in the text which is given in different versions. The names of 37 theologians are mentioned in the *isnāds*. They are: Ibn 'Abbās and al-Kalbī (his name mentioned 8 times), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (6 times), Wahb ibn Munabbih and Khāja Imām (5 times), 'Umar ibn Khattāb (4 times), Khurāsānī, Shāfi'ī (3 times), 'Ikrima, Abū Hurayra, Bā Manṣūr Mātarīdī, Ismā'īl Suddī, Mujāhid, Abū Ḥanīfa (each mentioned two times), Yusha' ibn Nūn, Abū Bakr Ṣiddiq, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn 'Umar Dhahhāk, Ibn Surya, Qāḍī Abū 'Āsim, Khāja Abū Ja'far, Sa'd Mu'ādh, Wāqidī, Barā'azib, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salam, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, Mālik b. Anas, 'Ā'isha, Ẓafar, Masākin, and Abū Ḥayāda Rāhib (mentioned only once).

In the text which is written in prose there is a little passage in verse, a single Arabic *bayt*:

> 'izā saqata samā'un bi 'arḍi qawmin
> ra'aynāhu wa 'in kānū ghiḍāban

> When it was raining on the earth of people,
> We were looking at it, though we were angry.

This verse was cited to illustrate the polysemy of the word *samā'*.

When considering the text of *LT*, it is probably worthwhile to bear in mind that most of the survived Persian manuscripts of the 11th—12th centuries are of secular nature [13]. In his comprehensive book G. Lazard investigated 51 prose texts of the 10th—11th centuries [14]. Only 9 of them can be classified as works on theology. Ch. A. Storey achieved the same results (4 works on theology and 14 secular texts) [15]. O. F. Akimushkin explains this fact by 1) different unfavourable circumstances: wars, fires etc.; 2) bad quality of manuscripts; 3) the dominating role of the Arabic language, especially in the field of Qur'ānic studies [16].

In the works devoted to *LT* some attempts were made to date the text. Most of scholars are inclined to think that *LT* was written in the period between the 10th and 12th centuries. As for its provenance, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the text M. Mīnavī suggested that *LT* had been written in Khorasan-Ghazni [17]. A. Z. Khuyī, A. Ravāqī, H. D. Āshtyānī, Z. Safā [18], and M. Faḍā'ilī agree with M. Mīnavī. To make these assumptions more sound it would be probably important to give an analysis of some linguistic peculiarities of the text.

Phonetic peculiarities and spelling of LT

The text is written in two scripts: one of the Kūfī styles was used for Qur'ānic quotations, and the early form of Naskh — for Arabic and Persian commentaries. The text is partly vocalized. Diacritic marks are applied to toponyms, personal names and those words which appeared to be difficult from the author's (or copyist's) point of view. He felt it necessary to help the reader to pronounce these words in a proper way and to understand their meaning.

The peculiarities of the use of the Persian arabographic script in *LT* allow us to make the following conclusions:

1. The existence in the text of the letters *fā-yi si-nukta* for β and *zāl-i fārsī* for postvocalic δ in verbal forms brings *LT* close to the earliest manuscripts of the New Persian prose. The letter δ is rarely used (only 73 times in the text of 92 pages: 31 times in the word *bāshaδ* and 20 times — in words with the stem *shuδ-*). At the same time the letter *dal* appears in the text in the verbs *padīruftan*: *padīr-*, *gudāshtan*: *gudār-*.

2. *Alif* with *madda* for long *-ā-* in the plural suffix *-ān*, is transferred into the initial syllabic '*ā*: D'N''N — "sages", N'BYN''N — "blinds", etc.

3. There are two graphic variants of the letter *yā*: the main one — full-shaped letter with points above or below and the auxiliary form — incomplete, with points under the letter or with no points at all. From the contextual frequency of the use of these variants it is possible to suggest that the traditional sign of *hamza* in the words ending in *-a* developed from the auxiliary variant of *yā*. The letter *yā*, with or without diacritic signs, stands for the phonemes [*ī*], [*ē*], [*y*], ['*ī*], ['*ē*], [*i*], [*ī'ē*] and [*ī'i*].

4. The long *-ō-* appears in such words as Y$^{a/u}$WBHG'H (67.14) — "aim, object of desire", R$^{a/u}$WY (11, 1) — "copper", G$^{a/u}$WS'LH (15, 1) — "calf", B$^{a/u}$WZNH (12, 10) — "monkey", F^{u}RGH$^{a/u}$L (11, 13) — "negligence". But one cannot be sure whether the diacritic mark placed here is "damma" or "fatha".

5. The following series of vowels can be distinguished in the text of *LT*: long vowels — [*ā*], [*ē*], [*ī*], [*ō*], [*ū*] and short vowels — [*a*], [*i*], [*u*]. The comparison of the two ways of spelling, like: TRS'''N (56, 14) *tarsā'ān* — "Christians", M'H^{ay}Y (1, 8) *māhī'ē* — "fish", J'DWY (45, 1) *jādūyī* — "witchcraft" and ZN'SHWYY (42, 6) *zanāshō-yī* — "matrimony", GD'YY (38, 12) *gadāyī* — "poverty", brings us to the conclusion that two different phonetic traditions are reflected in *LT*.

6. Consonants in *LT* are the following: [*p*], [*b*], [*m*], [*t*], [*d*], [*ch*], [*j*], [*n*], [*k*], [*g*], [*f*], [*v*], [*s*], [*sh*], [*z*], [*zh*], [*l*], [*r*], [*y*], [*x*], [*gh*], [*h*]. The presence in the text of letters for *fā-yi si-nukta* and *zāl-i fārsī* could be explained by the influence of its protograph.

Morphological peculiarities

1. To form plural nouns suffix *-'N* is used for animate nouns and suffix *-H'* for inanimate nouns. There is, however, one exception: in the Arabic word *sufla*, which ends in *-a* plus suffix *-ān*; *-g- > -k-* is "restored": *suflagān* (14, 19) — "base, mean". At the same time Persian words may get Arabic plural suffixes: NYRNJ'T(38, 23) — "witchcraft, trick", cf. N^{ay}RNGH' (33, 18) *nēranghā*, Tajik: найранг.

2. The article used for distinction is not obligatory. This is in conformity with G. Lazard's suggestion made in connection with the text of *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* [19], that the initial period of the early New Persian language could be defined as the time when the article was in the process of developing a new function. If taken as a criterion for dating the text, it allows us to presume that *LT* is "younger" than *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*. In *LT* the article is used together with a personal pronoun, while in *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* there is no evidence of any such use.

3. The Superlative is usually formed by the addition of suffix *-tar*. Suffix *-tarīn* is also used but very rare — only two times in the whole text. Besides comparative and superlative adjectives, *LT* has the so-called "intensive" form which is made up by a) reduplication of the stem with the infix "izāfa" *na pīr-i pīr va na javān-i javān* (5, 2) — "not very old and not very young", *zard-i zard* (5, 10) — "very yellow" (in such cases the sign of "kasra" is used); b) with the help of the words *saxt, nēk*: *saxt zard* (8, 4) — "very yellow", *nēk mihrabān* (87, 22) — "very gracious".

4. Enclitics of personal pronouns after final vowels of stems are lost: VQTH'SH (54, 22) *vaqthā-sh* — "[do] it sometime", DSHMNYT'N (31, 23) *dushmanī-tān* — "your hostility", DLH'SH'N (41, 9) *dilhā-shān* — "their hearts". The 1st sing. enclitic has the vowel *-u-*: 'BN '^{a}M^{u}M (20, 5) *ibn-i 'am-um* — "my cousin". But it should be admitted that this is the only example where the vowel of the 1st sing. appears as a diacritic mark. The position of the enclitics is not rigidly fixed: *āb-u nān-ish* (*-i-* is marked with *kasra*) *nadihad* (67, 23) — "neither water nor bread one will give him", *bijumbīd-ish* (73, 21) — "shook him", *har shab du māhī-yish muzd dādand-ē* (38, 15) — "every evening they gave him two fishes in payment", *hanōz-ish pa kar nayaphganda and* (6, 4) — "they have not yet engaged it (cow)", *pā-d-ān* [20] *qibla k-it* (marked with *kasra*) *farmūdēm* (92, 17) — "to that *qibla* we ordered you".

5. The ordinal numerals "second" and "third" are expressed in *LT* by the words *dīgar* and *sidīgar*, respectively. There are three examples of the so-called "separating nu-

merals" which are formed by the addition of the suffix -*g-an*: *dahgān-u panjgān* (2, 4) — "ten by ten, five by five".

6. In *LT* there are three homographs: *hamē* — adverb with the equivalent "constantly, ever", verbal preposition and demonstrative particle. As an adverbial preposition *hamē* or its variant *mē* participates in the formation of the Present, Past, Future tense, and Imperative. Another verbal preposition *bi-* (in four cases *bu-*) has no contextual grammatical meaning. It is found in verbal forms of the Present tense, Past, Perfect, Past Perfect, and Future. Very often it is used in combination with (*ha*)*mē* and the suffix -*ē*.

The Subjunctive mood is formed mainly by the addition of the formant -*ē* to verbs of the Present tense and Preterite. In some cases, diacritics are used in order to indicate personal verbal endings.

7. These are the following: 1st sing. -*um*, in 1st plur. -*ēm* and 2nd plur. -*ēd*. The vowel -*ē*- is marked by a "vertical *fatha*". The present indicative of the verb "to be" has a form with -*i*-: *ist* where a diacritic is used. In the Present indicative the substantive verb either loses its vowel in the postvocalic forms: *ān kashā-rā ki farmānburdār-i tu-nd* (86, 6) — "those who are obedient to you", *na man dōst-i tu-m* (53, 8) — "Am I not your friend?" or it has the iotated variant: *in juhūdān kas nayand* (56, 3) — "these Jews are nobody".

8. The manuscript seems to belong to the period when prefixed verbs were much used [21]. In the text there are more than fifty prefixed verbs compounded with proverbs (*an*) *dar*, *bāz*, *bar*[1], *bar*[2], *furō*(*d*). The most productive of them is *bar*[1]: *bar bālīdan* — "grow", *bar xāstan* — "stand up", *bar raftan* — "go upwards", etc. (all in all 17 verbs).

There are also verbs not found in the available dictionaries of the New Persian language including the Tajik Dictionary [22]. Some prefixed verbs are distinguished for their original meanings, not found in the vocabularies: *andar aβgandan* — "engage", *andar īstāndan* — "begin", *bāz giriftan* — "hold back" *bar giriftan* — "take for", *bar sāxtan* — "turn into", *bar gashtan* — "distort", etc.

9. The Perfect has four variants: a) formed from the past participle by the addition of enclitic Present of the substantive verb — *karda ēd* (10, 11) — "you have made"; b) from the Past participle with prefix *bi-* and enclitic present or the substantive verb: *bigiravīda ēm* (12, 3) — "we have believed", c) Past participle by the addition of the present indicative of the substantive verb: *karda bāshēd* (55, 5) — "you have made", d) Past participle, the Present indicative of the substantive verb and prefix *bi-*: *bimurda bāshad* (16, 23) — "she has died".

10. The Plusquamperfect is formed by the past participle, the past indicative of the substantive verb and also with the addition of the suffix -*ē* to a substantive verbal form: *shinīda būdand-ē* (12, 12) — "they had heard".

11. There are two causative infixes in the text. One of them is the traditional -*ān*-: *nishastan*: *nishāndan* (and *nishāxtan*). Another one is -*an*: *bix*(*w*)*ābanīd* (69, 8) — "lay down". One of the most peculiar features of *LT* is the so-called "double causative" form of the verb *shudan* in the phrase: *va likan kāfir-rā vābishāvānum andar ān jahān pa pāyvāh-ē dardnāk* (71, 15) — "However, I shall bring a pagan by force into a painful punishment in the other world". The transitive verb *vābishāvāndan* appears to have the proverb *vā-*, which means that it is followed by the adverbial modifier of place. This is the only time this proverb is used in the text. It is not certain if *bi-* in *vābishāvānum* is

the verbal prefix *bi-*. Possibly this *bi-* here is the same as *bu-* in another word from *LT*: *buruxshīdan/* B*uR uXSHYDN* (8, 5) — "shine", cf. NP *ruxshīdan, raxshīdan* where *bu* — < *wi*: *wiruxsh-*. May be **bishāwaya-*, **vishāvaya*, **apishāvaya* > *bishāv-*. The stem (*bi*)*shāv-* is not of Persian origin, because in Persian the causative form from *shyav-* "go" is absent. D. N. MacKenzie suggested an etymon for *vābishāvānum*: Parth. FRSH'W- "send" [23]. According to A. Ghilain [24], Parth. FRSH'W is the causative to OP *shaw-*/*shyaw-* "go". The idea of *vābishāvānum* as a double causative can be proved by the I. Yu. Krachkovsky's translation of the Qur'ān as illustrated by the Qur'ānic phrase: *thumma 'adtarruhu 'ilā 'adhābi-n-nāri* (2, 126) — "but will soon drive them to the torment of Fire" where the verb '*adtarruhu* for the *vābishāvānum* is translated by Krachkovsky as "bring by force" [25]. H. W. Bailey supposed that Parthian FRSH'W- had developed not from **shāw*/*shyaw* "go" but from *shāw-*: *shuta* "drive, push, impel" [26]. The use of this word seems to be unique for that period. For the sake of comparison it will be enough to mention that the word '*adtarruhu* corresponds to *bēchāra kunam*.

13. All the traditional participles are found in the text. Present participles are quite conspicuous for their elaborate and complicated constructions, they are exact calques of their Arabic counterparts. Their existence in *LT* can be explained by the author's wish to express the meaning of the Qur'ānic terms as close to the original as his native language allowed him. Hence such words as *rāstgōykunanda* (33, 12) — "speaker of the truth" for Arabic *muṣaddaqun*; *muzhdagāndihanda* (32, 5) — "by bringing good news" for Arabic *li mā... bushrā*, etc. Usually these forms stand in contrast with the style of the text which is generally light and lively, with numerous conversational and idiomatic expressions. It should be mentioned, however, that sometimes these calques, in spite of their artificial nature, are more profound than their Arabic equivalents in the Qur'ān. For example: *badī'u-s-samawāti wa-l-'ardi* (2, 117) ... *guft allāhu ta'ālā badī ast... va mubdi-i navsāzanda-yē būd* (62, 5) — "To Him is due the primal origin of the heavens and the earth (Qur'ān). He said: Lord is the Creator... He was the Creator who created things from the very beginning..."

14. The conjunction *ham* has two functions in the text — uniting and subordinating. In the second case *ham* stands in the post verbal position: *chi agar kas-ē bisyār dīda bāshad yōbān-i ān bāshad* (67, 15) — "if someone is looking there for a longtime he aspires to it". In Tajik a similar construction has survived, cf.:

Як чанд дар ин чахон зи худ пайдо шав,
Бар хусну чамоли зиндаги шайдо шав,
Сино нашави хам азми синои кун,
Мачнун нашави хам ошики Лайло шав [27].

yak chand dar in jahon zi xud paydo shav
bar husnu jamoli zindagi shaydo shav
sino nashavi ham azmi sinoi kun
majnun nashavi ham oshiqi laylo shav

"Reveal yourself by something in the world,
Be mad of love for the beauties of life,
If you are not Avicenna aspire to be him
If you are not Majnun love Layli".

In *LT ham* is also a demonstrative pronoun [28].

15. There is a phrase in the text: *pas hamē shab-ē az shabhā ēzad-ē taʿālā ān qawm-rā ki māhī girifta būdand kappīyān gardānīd* (1, 25) — "then in one of the nights the Lord turned those people who had fished into monkeys", where *hamē* can be regarded not as a proverbial prefix or adverb but a demonstrative particle meaning "here, suddenly, then". The specific meaning of the particle *hamē*, which in *LT* continues the old "always, constantly" was illustrated by M. N. Bogolyubov [29], who suggested as a possible etymon for the particle *hamē* the old demonstrative pronoun *aita-* with the particle *ham*. M. N. Bogolyubov proved it by numerous quotations from Rūdakī, A. Balkhī, Balʿamī, Gurgānī, Firdausī, from the *Tafsīr-i Sūrābādī, Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*, and other early texts of the New Persian period.

16. The multifunctional postposition in the text appears in three variants -*mar... -rā* (the most common form), ... -*rā* and *mar...* (occurs two times). It is used in addition to the direct object, the indirect object, in idiomatic expressions, together with modal verbs (*bāyad*), pleonastically (with or without prepositions) [30].

The facts described above concern the peculiarities of the phonetics and the grammar system of the text of *LT*. They seem to confirm the opinion of MacKenzie that *LT* and the Cambridge *Tafsīr* [31] texts are related. The linguistic analysis based on the bright peculiarities of *LT* orthography makes us come to the conclusion that this text is most likely to have been written in the region of Māwarānnahr. It could be compiled in the period between the 10th and the beginning of the 12th century when Persian was becoming the state language, gradually replacing Arabic. The formation of the New Persian language went along with the suppression of other Iranian languages. At the same time it was affected by them. This process is reflected in the text of the Lahore *Tafsīr*.

Notes

1. D. N. MacKenzie, "The vocabulary of the Lahore Tafsire", *Iran and Islam* (1971), pp. 407—19.

2. M. Shīrānī, "Qurʾān Pāk-ki yik qadim Tafsīr", *Oriental College Magazine* (1932).

3. M. Mīnavī, *Tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 1344/1966).

4. A.-Z. Khuyī, "Tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i Pāk", *Yaghmā*, II (1345/1966), pp. 57—63.

5. A. Ravāqī, *Tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 1349/1971).

6. J. Matīnī, "Rasm al-Khaṭṭ-i Fārsī dar qarn-i panjum-i hijrī", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Mashhad*, vols. II—III (s.a.), pp. 139—204.

7. M. Faḍāʾilī, *Aṭlas-i Khaṭṭ* (Tehran, 1350/1972).

8. D. N. MacKenzie, *op. cit.*

9. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane* (Paris, 1963).

10. There is some doubt about the case with the stem binj- which, according to MacKenzie, was supposed to produce the NP *bun*, *bunj*- "root, base". This word is found in the phrase: *va firēshta az binj-i kōh sang āvard* (72, 11) — "and the angel(s) brought stone(s) from the base of the mountain(s)"*. Probably it would fit the context better if the word B/PNJ was read as panj; then, if we continue the quotation: *az kōh-i* JWDY *va* L"BN^a'N *va* H'R^a' *va* T"WR S^aYN' *va* TWR ZYT' (72, 11), the number of the mountains, whence the angel brought the stones, was *panj* — "five". There are also several peculiar lexems which could be added to the list of D. N. MacKenzie; *bidādar, bāzhbān/bāzhvān* etc. Some other grammatical and lexical peculiarities of *LT* text have been described by the author of this article in several works (F. I. Abdullaeva, *Leksiko-grammaticheskoe opisanie Lakhorskogo Tafsira* (Lexical and Grammatical Description of the Lahore *Tafsīr*), Ph. D. Thesis (Leningrad, 1989); *idem.*, "Predlog *barāstā-yi* v rannenovopersidskikh tekstakh" ("The preposition *barāstā-yi* in the early Persian texts"), *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, II (1986), pp. 85—90; *eadem.*, "Lakhorskiĭ tafsir", *Vostok* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 95—104 ff.

11. A.-A. Ṣādiqī, "Tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i Pāk", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i ʿUlūm-i Insāni-yi Tihrān*, No. 77 (Tehran, s.a.), p. 45.

12. H.-D. Āshtyānī, *Wizhigīhā-yi Imlāyī-yi Dastnivīs-i Tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 2537/1978).

13. O. Akimushkin, "Zametki o persidskoĭ rukopisnoĭ knige i eĕ sozdateliakh" ("Some notes on Persian manuscripts and on their creators"), *Ocherki istorii kulʾtury srednevekovogo Irana (pisʾmennostʾ i literatura)* (Moscow, 1984), p. 13.

14. Lazard, *op. cit.*

15. Ch. Storey, *Persian Literature. Bio-Bibliograghic Survey*, iii (London, 1972), p. 1755.

16. O. Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

17. M. Mīnavī, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

18. Z. Safā, *Ganj-u Ganjīna* (Tehran 1363/1984), pp. 35—9.

19. G. Lazard, *Persian and Tajik* (Moscow, 1970).

20. The preposition which is the continuation of the OP *pati* in all cases has the form with initial *p-*.

21. Telegdi, "Beitrage zur historischen grammatik des Neupersischen", *Acta Orientalia. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. V, fasc. 1—2 (1955), p. 181.

22. *Farhangi Zaboni Tojiki* (Moscow, 1969).

23. D. N. MacKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

24. A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue Parthe* (Louvain, 1939), p. 77.

25. *Koran* (The Qurʾān), perevod i kommentarii I. Iu. Krachkovskogo (Moscow, 1986), p. 40.

26. H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of the Khotan Saka* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 411.

* Here and below we used *The Holy Qurʾān*, translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (Maryland, 1983).

27. Loiq, *Sohilho* (Dushanba, 1972), p. 23.

28. *Osnovy Iranskogo Iazykoznaniia. Novopersidskie iazyki* (Fundamentals of the Linguistic Iranian Studies. The New Iranian Languages) (Moscow, 1982), pp. 119—20.

29. M. N. Bogolyubov, "K istoricheskoĭ grammatike tadzhikskogo i persidskogo iazykov" ("Some notes on the historical grammar of the Persian and Tajik languages"), *Voprosy iazykoznaniia*, IV (1981), pp. 55—60.

30. J. Matīnī, *op. cit.*

31. E. G. Browne, "Description of an old Persian Commentary to the Kur'an", JRAS (1894), pp. 417—524.
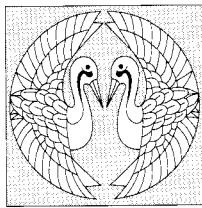
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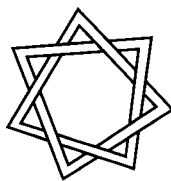
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CONTENTS