

## JUDEO-PERSIAN DEVERBATIVES IN *-šN* AND *-šT\**

by

HERBERT H. PAPER

*The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

The starting point of this presentation of data is the modern Persian deverbative nominal abstract in *-éš*.<sup>1</sup> These are freely formed in Persian from the present stems of verbs. A trustworthy standard source on the origin of this suffix is P. Horn, "Neupersische Schriftsprache", *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, I, 182:

*-iš* älter *-išn*, phlv. *(i)šn*, pāz. *-ašn -ešn -išn*, bildet Nomina actionis von Präsensstämmen, z.B. np. *kun-iš* 'That, Thun', phlv. *kun-(i)šn*, — *s<sup>t</sup>tāy-iš* 'Preis', phlv. *stāy-(i)šn* etc. Das *n* ist im Np. nur in *pādāšn* 'Vergeltung', phlv. *pātdah(i)šn* und *dāš<sup>n</sup>n* 'Geschenk', phlv. *dah(i)šn* erhalten, dagegen findet es sich in den Dialekten, hier auch in der Form *-ešm*, und die Wörterbücher überliefern noch bisweilen np. Wörter auf *-išn*, wie *guvār-išn guḡār-išn man-išn* ...

Neben *-iš* findet sich auch die Endung *-išt* (besonders dann in den Dialekten) z.B. *bāl-išt* 'Kissen' neben *bāl-iš*, phlv. *bāl-išn*, — *baḡ-kun-išt* 'übelthuend' (Schahn. 648 Anm. 11, V.2 Calc.), — wohl auch *ang-išt* 'Kohle' ... — *guvār-išt* 'Stimulans' neben *guvār-iš* — *rām-išt* 'Freude, Lust' neben *rām-iš* — *pādā-št* 'Vergeltung' neben *pādā-šn*, — *dih-išt-a* 'Freigebigkeit' *dih-išt* (Asadī) neben *dih-iš* ... — Darmesteter hat es wohl richtig mit ai. *-iṣṇú-* in Beziehung gebracht ...

Unfortunately there exists no historical dictionary of Persian where the older *-šn* and *-št* forms that are still retained in Persian can be systematically tracked down – other than the kind of occasional reference given by Horn.

Recent study of a number of Judeo-Persian manuscripts has brought to light a larger number of these *-šn* and *-št* forms. Judeo-Persian is the

\* I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and colleague, Professor Gene M. Schramm, for his help with the Hebrew and Aramic citations.

<sup>1</sup> For transcription purposes, the phonemic system for modern Persian used by Hodge, Ferguson and other American scholars will be used. This includes the vowels æ e i a o u to which correspond a i ī ā u ū, respectively, of older 'classical' usage; the diphthongs ey ow, for older ai au. However, č and j will be used for c and j; the acute accent marks primary stress. Boldface roman in citation forms stand for the transliteration of Hebrew letters (cf. footnote 3).

somewhat cumbersome name given to various forms of modern Persian that are and have been written with the Hebrew writing system. Except for a brief period at the end of the 19th century, Iranists have paid little attention to these texts. The present study illustrates, for only one form, the rich data that can be gleaned from these sources. The texts await publication and will only then yield to systematic examination and study.

A further short account of the *-šn* and *-št* forms in Judeo-Persian can be quoted from W. Geiger, "Bemerkungen über das Judenpersisch", a discussion of altogether 4½ pages – *GdIP*, I, 408-412, esp. 411 – where the form **vynšn** is given as *vinišn* 'das Sehen', and later on the same page, '... Das sehr häufige Abstract-suffix *-išn* = phl. *-išn*, gegen np. *-iš*, z.B. **dhšn** *dahišn* 'das Geben', **xrynšn** 'das Kaufen' (Sch.) zu np. *xaridan*; **jvryšn** *žurišn* 'das Suchen', Neubildung zu np. *žustan* ... – Das auch sonst dialektisch nachweisbare Abstract-suffix *-išt* in *mšnšt* 'das Bleiben' ...'

The most recent discussion of these forms is found in the excellent comprehensive grammar of early modern Persian by Gilbert Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane* (Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1963).<sup>2</sup> The following are cited in Lazard's thorough index (page numbers in parentheses):

#### Judeo-Persian

- ʔsʔhyšn** 'repos' (169)
- bstryšn** 'déploiement' (133, 153)
- gwšʔhyšn** 'ouverture' (169)
- jwryšn** 'recherche' (262)
- bwzyšt** 'quittance' (161)
- kwšt** 'combat' (161)
- ryzšt** 'effusion' (161)

#### Classical Persian

- ravišn* 'méthode' (115, 161, 162)
- rāmišn* (161)
- yazišn* (161)

<sup>2</sup> In a short survey of 'textes judéo-persans' that covers an astounding amount of bibliographical information, Lazard writes (134): 'Elle [la littérature judéo-persane] mériterait mieux que des éditions fragmentaires et des sondages; un dépouillement systématique serait susceptible d'enrichir très notablement notre connaissance des variétés dialectales du persan. ... La littérature judéo-persane n'a donc pas été incluse dans nos dépouillements, mais les matériaux rassemblés par Lagarde, Nöldeke, Horn, Salemann, Bacher, etc., se sont révélés utiles plus d'une fois pour éclairer des faits relevés dans les textes en écriture arabe.'

These are the forms that have been cited again and again in the few discussions of this topic. Let it be said to Horn's credit that he did mention in a footnote (183) that 'In einem hebräisch-persischen Wörterbuche eines gewissen Schīrvānī aus dem 15. Jhdt. kommen nach freundlicher Mitteilung des Herrn Prof. Bacher in Budapest ca. 80 solcher Substantiva auf *-išn* vor. ...' Though he gives the reference to Bacher's publication of the full list he does not reproduce any of the examples. The specific discussion of Judeo-Persian by Geiger does not mention the Bacher list.

In this paper we shall present the following sets of data: 1. *-šn* forms from the oldest dated Judeo-Persian Bible translation – 1319 A.D. – from a manuscript in the British Museum (Or 5446); 2. *-št* forms from a Judeo-Persian Bible translation manuscript in the Vatican Library (Vat. Pers. 61); 3. Bacher's list of *-šn* forms; 4. a few *-šn* forms from several other Judeo-Persian texts.<sup>3</sup>

1. *-šn forms from British Museum Text – Or 5446*

1. *ʔndʔynšn /ʔændayænéšn/ : ʔændaʔidæn/ʔænda- < ʔændudæn/ʔænda-*  
'to smear'  
Nu 4.16 (54r14):<sup>4</sup>  
J-P ... vrvgn *ʔndʔynšn* ...  
Heb. wəšēmen hammišhā
2. *dhšn /dæhéšn/ : dadæn/dæh- 'to give'*  
Gn 25.6 (19r11):  
J-P ... bdʔd ʔbrhm *dhšnhʔ* ...  
Heb. mattānóθ
3. *gvšʔyšn /gošayéšn/ : gošudæn/goša- 'to open'*  
Nu 3.12 (51v9):  
J-P ... bdl hmh nkvt zʔd *gvšʔyšn* rḡym ʔz psrʔn ysrʔl

<sup>3</sup> The citations from each text are not exhaustive but only illustrate the contexts. The Hebrew letters are given in transliteration according to the following scheme:

ʔ א, b ב, β β, g ג, γ γ, j י, d ד, δ δ, h ה, v ו, z ז, h ח,  
t ט, z ט, y י, k כ, x כ, l ל, m מ, n נ, s ס, ʔ ע, p פ, f פ,  
s צ, ʔ צ, z צ, q ק, r ר, š ש, t ת, θ ת.

Hebrew (Heb.) and Aramaic (Aram.) citations are given in the transliteration/transcription that is normally used for these languages. Gn Genesis; Ex Exodus; Lv Leviticus; Nu Numbers; Dt Deuteronomy.

<sup>4</sup> Nu 4.16 = Numbers, Chapter 4, Verse 16. 54r14 = ms. folio 54, recto, line 14.

- Heb. pēter rēḥem  
Nu 30.7 (76v30):  
J-P ... yʔ gvšʔyšn lptḥʔy (= lfzhʔy) ʔn ...  
Heb. miḥtāʔ šəfāθēhā  
Nu 30.9 (77r3):  
J-P ... vʔzmr gvšʔyš lptḥʔy ʔn ...
4. **kvʔnšn** /xʋanéšn/ : xʋandáen/xʋan- ‘to call’  
Lv 23.2 (37r17):  
J-P skvn gvy ʔbʔz psrʔn ysrʔl včvnyv gvy bʔyšʔn mvšdhʔ yvy ʔnč  
prʔz rsyd ʔyšʔnrʔ kvʔnšnhʔ kʔš ...  
Heb. ... miqrāʔē qóðeš ...  
Lv 23.3 (37r19):  
J-P ... kvʔnšn kʔš ...  
Heb. ... miqrāʔ qóðeš ... (Immediately preceding *kvʔnšn* in this  
line *prđʔktn prđʔzš* occurs instead of *prđʔzšn* – on which cf.  
below.)
5. **kvʔršn** /xʋoréšn/ : xʋordáen/xʋor- ‘to eat’  
Lv 25.37 (52r28):  
J-P ʔzmr sym tv mdyh bʔvy bslp vbrby mdyh kvʔršn tv  
Heb. ... ʔəxléxā
6. **kvššn** /košéšn/ : koštáen/koš- ‘to kill, slaughter’  
Lv 19.5 (33v22):  
J-P vkv kvšš kvnyd kvššn šlmym bḥzrt yvy bršʔy ʔšmʔ kvšš kvnyd  
ʔvyrʔ (Note the alternation here between *kvšš* and *kvššn*.)  
Heb. ... θizbəḥū zéḇəḥ ... tizbāḥūhū  
Lv 17.5 (32v3-5):  
J-P bqbl ʔnč byʔrnd psrʔn ysrʔl ʔzmr kvššnhʔy ʔyšʔn ʔnč ʔyšʔn kvššn  
kvnʔʔn ʔbr ʔbrvy ʔn dšt vbybrnd ʔyšʔnrʔ bḥzrt yvy bdrḡʔh gvyʔn  
všdh bnzdyk ʔn khn vkvššn kvnnd kvššnhʔy qrbn šlmym bḥzrt  
yvy ʔyšʔnrʔ  
Heb. ... ziḇəḥēhēm ... zōḇəḥīm ... wəzāḇəḥū ziḇəḥē ...
7. **prđʔzšn** /pærdazéšn/ : pærdaxtáen/pærdaz- ‘to finish, free’  
Lv 23.39 (30r25):  
J-P ... dr rvz ʔn nkvtmyn prđʔzšn vdr rvz ḥ ʔvmyn prđʔzšn  
Heb. ... šabbāθōn ... šabbāθōn
8. **rššn** /ræséšn/ : ræsidáen/ræs- ‘to reach, arrive’  
Dt 15.10 (100v28):  
J-P ... vbhmv rššn dst tv  
Heb. ūḇəxól mišlāḥ yādéxā  
Dt 23.11 (108v10):

- J-P ... mrdy Pnč nbʔšd pʔk Pz *rsšn* šb ...  
 Heb. miqqerē lāylā  
 Dt 23.21 (109r10):  
 J-P ... bhmh *rsš* dst tv ...  
 Heb. bəxól mišlāḥ yāḏéxā
9. *rvyšn* /ruyéšn/ : roštæn ~ ruʔidæn/ru- 'to grow, come forth'  
 Gn 19.25 (12r3):  
 J-P ... vʔzmr hmh nšynʔʔn Pn zmyn *vrvyšn* Pn zmyn  
 Heb. wəšémaḥ hāʔ<sup>a</sup>ḏāmā
10. *ryzšn* /rizéšn/ : rixtæn/riz- 'to pour'  
 Lv 15.17 (43v8):  
 J-P vhmh jʔmh vhmh pvst Pnč bʔšd Pbrvy *ryzšn* tvkm ...  
 Heb. šixbáθ záraḥ
11. *svzšn* /suzéšn/ : suxtæn/suz- 'to burn'  
 Dt 32.24 (121r11):  
 J-P tvyšhʔ qḥṭ vgrmyhʔ *svzšn* vsvzš zhr Pʔvd ...  
 Heb. məzē rāšáḅ ūləḥumē réšef wəqéṭeḅ mərīṭī

2. -št forms from the Vatican text Vat. Pers. 61

1. *Pbrʔzšt* Pæbrazéšt : Pæbraxtæn ~ Pæfraxtæn/Pæfraz-  
 Nu 18.11: vʔyn btv jvdʔ krdh bxššt Pʔyšʔn bhmh *Pbrʔzšt*ʔ pvsrʔn  
 yvsrʔl ...  
 Heb. tənūfóθ
2. *Pmvrzšt* Pamorzéšt 'forgiveness' : Pamorzidæn/Pamorz-  
 Lv 10.17: *bʔmvrzšt* xvʔstn  
 Heb. lāséʔθ
3. *Pʔʔyšt* Parayéšt 'decoration, adornment' : Parastæn/Para-  
 Ex 33.4: mrd *Pʔʔyšt* slyḥ Pvy  
 Aram. gəḅár tiqún zēnēḥ  
 Nu 7.10: vnzdyk bvrndd Pn rʔysʔn mr *Pʔʔyšt* Pn mzbḥ ...  
 Heb. ḥ<sup>a</sup>nukkáθ hammizbé<sup>a</sup>ḥ
4. *Pʔʔyst* Pasayéšt 'rest, repose' : Pasudæn ~ Pasaʔidæn/Pasa-  
 Gn 49.16: ... vbsʔlhʔ Pvy *Pʔʔyšt* gyrnd ...  
 Aram. ūbišnóhī yənuḥún  
 Ex 23.12: ... vbrvz hftvmyn *Pʔʔyšt* gyry bjʔdh *Pʔʔyšt* gyrd gʔv tv ...  
 Heb. tišbóθ ... yānū<sup>a</sup>ḥ  
 Ex 31.17: ... vʔʔʔyšt [gr]ft  
 Heb. wayinnāfáš

- Ex 34.21: ... vbrvz hftvmyn *PsPyšt* gyny bkštn vbdvrvdn *PsPyšt* gyny  
 Heb. tišbóθ ... tišbóθ
5. *Švβšt* Pašubéšt 'disturbance, agitation': Pašoftáén/Pašub-  
 Dt 7.23: ... vby řšvbnd řyšřn rř *Švβšty* bvzvrg ...  
 Heb. wəhāmám məhūmá  
 Dt 28.28: ... vbřšvβšt dl  
 Heb. ūβəθimhón leβáβ
6. *řvzmřyšt* řozmayéšt ~ řazmayéšt 'test, trial': řazmudáén/řazma-  
 Gn 22.1 ... vxvdřy *řvzmřyšt* krd mr řbrhm ...  
 Heb. nissá  
 Ex 15.25: ... vřňřy *řvzmřyšt* krd řvyrř  
 Heb. nissáhū  
 Ex 17.2: ... čy *řvzmřyšt* kvnřřn hyd řvmř dr pyš xvdřy  
 Heb. tənassún
7. *bvxšřyšt* boxšayéšt ~ bæxšayéšt 'forgiveness': bæxšařidáén ~  
 bæxšidáén/bæxša- ~ bæxš-  
 Ex 22.26: ... ky *bvxšřyšt*gr hm mn  
 Heb. ḥannún  
 Ex 34.6: ... xvdřy řhym *vbvxšřyšt* gr drřz xšm ...  
 Heb. ḥannún
8. *bxššt* bæxšéšt 'portion, gift': bæxšidáén/bæxš-  
 Gn 25.6: ... dřd řbrhm *bxššt*ř  
 Heb. mattānóθ  
 Nu 18.6: ... bšvmř *bxššt* dřdygřn ...  
 Heb. mattānā
9. *bynšt* binéšt 'sight, view': didáén/bin-  
 Nu 15.39: ... vps *bynšt* čšmřn řvmř ...  
 Aram. ḥēzū  
 Dt 28.34: ... řz *bynšt* čšmřn tv ...  
 Heb. mimmarřé
10. *črbšt* čærbéšt 'fat, grease': (unrelated to a verb)  
 Gn 27.39: ... řynk řz *črbšt* řn zmyn ...  
 Heb. mišəmanné hāřáreš  
 Gn 45.18: ... vby xvvyřd mr bhtryn (marginal gloss for bhtryn:  
*črbšt*) řn zmyn  
 Heb. ḥéleβ  
 Gn 27.28: ... vřz *črbš* řn zmyn ...<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This text has many additions in another, later hand; *črbš* in this line is such an addition. For more details on Vat. Pers. 61, cf. H. H. Paper, "The Vatican Judeo-Persian Pentateuch: Genesis", *Acta Orientalia*, 28 (1965), 263-340.

- Heb. ūmišəmanné hāʔáreš
11. **dʔršt** daréšt, in, negəhdaréšt ‘guarding, keeping’: daštən/dar-  
Gn 40.3: vby dʔd ʔyšʔn rʔ bnygh *dʔršt* xʔnh srng qtʔlʔn ...  
Heb. bəmišmár  
Ex 12.6: vbʔšd bšvmʔ bnygh *dʔršt* ...  
Heb. ləmišméreθ  
Nu 1.53: ... vnygh dʔrnd lvyʔn mr nygh *dʔršt* mškn gvvʔh grft  
Heb. mišméreθ  
Nu 4.32: ... bšmʔryd mr ʔlʔthʔ nygh *dʔrš* bʔr br dʔštn ʔyšʔn<sup>6</sup>  
Heb. mišméreθ
12. **drfššt** derəfšéšt ‘glitter’: derəfšidən/derəfš-  
Nu 21.11: *drfššt* ʔpy xvvršyd  
Heb. mimizráh haššáməš
13. **grdšt** gærdéšt ‘turning around, completion’: gæštən/gærd-  
Ex 23.16: ... vʔj grd krdh *bgrdšt* sʔl bgrd krđn tv ...  
Heb. bəšéʔθ  
Ex 27.5: vby dhy ʔnrʔ zyr *grdšt* ʔn mzbh ʔz zyr ...  
Heb. karkóβ hammizbéʔh  
Ex 34.22: vʔj grd krdh *bgrdšt* sʔl  
Aram. bəmifqá dəšattá  
Heb. təqūfáθ haššānā
14. **gvhrʔnšt** gowhæranéšt ‘exchange’: gowhæranidən/gowhæran- <  
gowhæridən/gowhæ- (cf. J. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*,  
II, 1059b ‘commutare alqd cum alia re’)  
Lv 27.10: nh mvbdl kvnd ʔvyrʔ vnh *gvhrʔnd* ʔvyrʔ nyk bbd yʔ bd  
bnyk vʔgr *gvhrʔnydn* by *gvhrʔnd* čhʔr ʔpy bčhʔr ʔpy vbʔšd ʔvy  
*vgvhrʔnšt* ʔvy bʔšd xʔš  
Heb. ... yāmír ... hāmér yāmír ... ūθəməūrāθó
15. **gvsʔršt** gosaréšt ‘drink, pouring’: gosar(i)dən/gosar-  
Ex 29.40: ... *vgvsʔršt* čhʔr yk ʔndʔzh myy ...  
Heb. wənésex  
Ex 29.41: ... včvn *gvsʔršt* ʔn by kvny ...  
Heb. ūxənikáh  
Ex 30.9 ... *vʔvvsʔršt* nh *ʔsʔršt* kvnyd ʔbr ʔvy  
Heb. wənésex lóʔ θissəxú šālāw  
Lv 23.13: ... *vʔvvsʔršt* ʔvy myy ...  
Heb. wənikó yáyin  
Lv 23.18: ... *vʔvvsʔršt* ʔyšʔn qrbn bpdyrvftb bmvrʔd dr ʔyš xvdʔy

<sup>6</sup> *ny(gh dʔrš)* – the parentheses enclose material in the later manuscript hand.

- Heb. wənikēhēm
16. *gvšʔyšt* gošayēšt ‘opening’ : gošudān ~ gošadān/goša-  
Ex 13.2: xʔš kvn dr pyš mn hmh bvxrhy *gvšʔyšt* hmh zhdʔn ...  
Heb. pēter  
Ex 13.12: vby gvdrʔny hmh *gvšʔyšt* zhdʔn ...
17. *gyršt* girēšt ‘taking, possession’ : gereftān/gir-  
Nu 27.7: ... dʔdn by dhy bʔyšʔn *gyršt* ʔhšnth ...  
Heb. ʔ<sup>a</sup>huzzáθ nah<sup>a</sup>lā
18. *kššt* kešēšt ‘drawing, extending’ : kešidān/keš-  
Dt 12.7: ... všʔdy kvnyd bhmh *kššt* dst švmʔ ...  
Heb. mišlāḥ yeðəxēm  
Dt 12.18: ... bhmh *kššt* dst tv  
Heb. mišlāḥ yādəxā
19. *kvššt* košēšt ‘killing’ : koštān/koš-  
Gn 43.16: ... *vkvššt* kvn *kvšš* ...<sup>7</sup>  
Heb. ūṯəβó<sup>a</sup>ḥ ṯéβaḥ  
Gn 49.6: ... ky bxšm ʔysʔn *kvššt* krdnd *kvššt*  
Aram. qəṯālū qəṯól  
Nu 11.33 ... vby kvšt xvdʔy bqvvv *kvššty* bsyʔr byʔyt  
Heb. makkā
20. *lrzšt* lærzēšt ‘trembling’ : lærizdān/lærz-  
Gn 27.33: vby lrzyd yšḥq *lrzšty* bvzvrg tʔ byʔyt ...  
Heb. wayeḥ<sup>e</sup>rād ... ḥ<sup>a</sup>rādā  
Dt 28.25: ... vbʔšy *blrzšt* bhmh mmlkthʔ ʔn zmyñ  
Heb. læzaʕ<sup>a</sup>wā
21. *nvmʔyšt* nomayēšt ‘sight, appearance, vision’ : nomudān/noma-  
Gn 29.17: ... vrḥl bvd nykvy dydʔr vnykvy *nvmʔyšt*  
Heb. wifáθ marʔé  
Gn 46.2: vgvft xvdʔy byšʔl *bnvmʔst* (= *bnvmʔ<y>št*) ʔn šb ...  
Heb. bəmarʔóθ halláyā  
Ex 3.3: ... vby bynm mr ʔn *nvmʔyšt* bvzvrg ʔyn  
Heb. hammarʔé  
Ex 24.10: ... včvn *nvmʔyšt* ʔsmʔn bpʔkyzky  
Aram. ūxəmeḥezé šāmāyá  
Heb. ūxəʕéšem haššāmáym  
Lv 13.12: ... bhmh *nvmʔyšt* čšmʔn khn  
Heb. marʔé
22. *nygršt* negærēšt ‘look, observation, appearance’ : negærístān ~

<sup>7</sup> This entire phrase is in the later hand.



- negæridæen/negær-  
 Gn 24.21: ... *nygršt* kvn? x?mvš bvd bšn?xtn ...  
 Aram. mistakkél  
 Heb. maḥ<sup>a</sup>rīš
- Gn 26.8: ... *vnygršt* krd ?βymk mlyk plšt?ʔn ?z ?n dryčh ...  
 Heb. wayyašqéf
- Gn 31.49: vʔn *nygršt* jʔy ?nčy gvft *nygrš* kvnd ?mr xvdʔy ...  
 Heb. wəhammišpá ... yísef
- Nu 23.9: ... vʔz jʔyʔdh? *nygršt* krdm ?vyr? ...  
 Heb. ʔ<sup>a</sup>šūrénū
- Nu 23.14: ... vby rʔyʔnyd ?vyr? bdšt *nygršt* jʔy ...  
 Heb. šəde šofīm
- Nu 23.21: *nygršt* krdm vnyst prsšt kvn?ʔn bxʔndʔn yʔqb ...  
 Aram. ʔistakkālīθ léθ pālḥé gillūlīn biðəβéθ yaʔ<sup>a</sup>qóβ  
 Heb. lóʔ hibbīʔ ʔāwen bəyaʔ<sup>a</sup>qóβ
23. **prsšt** porséšt ‘request, asking’: porsidæen/pors- (cf. also Nu 23.21 above: prsšt kvn?ʔn)  
 Gn 43.32: ... ky čhʔr pʔy ?nčy mšryʔn *prsšt* kvn?ʔn bʔvy ʔbryʔn xvvrʔʔn  
 Aram. ʔ<sup>a</sup>ré βəʔīrā dəmišraʔé dāḥ<sup>a</sup>līn léh ʔiβrāʔé ʔāxlīn
- Ex 8.22: vgvft mšh nh ʔrʔsth hst bkrdn hmydvn ky čhʔr pʔy ?nčy mšryʔn *prsšt* kvn?ʔn bʔvy ʔz ʔvy ʔymʔ stʔn?ʔn bdyḥt krdn dr pyš xvdʔy xʔlq ʔymʔ ʔynk dbyḥt kvnym mr čhʔr pʔy ?nč mšryʔn *prsšt* kvn?ʔn bʔvy ʔyšʔn bʔšnd byn?ʔn hʔ nh by gvynd bsng ʔvyj krdn ʔymʔ.  
 Aram. dāḥ<sup>a</sup>līn léh (bis)
- Dt 4.28: vxzmt kvnyd ʔnʔy bqvvmʔn *prsšt* kvn?ʔn mʔbvdʔn ʔml dst mrdvm ...  
 Aram. pālḥé ʔaʔ<sup>a</sup>wāθá
24. **prvršt** pærværéšt ‘fostering, nourishment’: pærværdæen/pærvær-  
 Gn 49.20: ... vʔvy prvʔr kvnʔ *prvrsth*ʔ pʔdvšʔhʔn  
 Aram. mərəβyá bəθafnūqé maləxīn  
 Heb. wəhūʔ yittén maʔ<sup>a</sup>ðanné mélex
25. **pvššt** pušéšt ‘clothing, covering’: pušidæen/puš-  
 Gn 49.11: ... bʔšd ʔryvvʔn nykvy lbys ʔvy *pvššt* ʔvy [d]ybʔ ...  
 Aram. ləβūšōhī kəsūθéh
- Ex 21.10: ... nfqh ʔn *pvššt* ʔn ...  
 Heb. kəsūθáh
- Ex 26.14: vby kvny *pvššt* bbyʔn pvsthʔ nrmýšʔn svrx krdyʔn *vpvššt* pvsthʔ šʔd lvvnhʔ ʔz bʔlʔ

- Heb. ... *mixsé* ... *ūmixsé* ...  
 Nu 3.25: ... *pvššt* *řvy* *vpvššt* *drǵḥ* *byḥn* *všdh* *ǰḥy*  
 Heb. *mixséhū* *ūmāsáx* *péḥaḥ* *řóhel* *mōšéd*
26. *řpyḥnšt* *rayanéšt* ‘taking, leading; something taken away’: *rayandæn/*  
*rayan-*  
 Ex 33.23: *vdvr* *kvn̄m* *mr* *řḥyḥnšt* *řzyzy* *mn* ...  
 Aram. *wəpašəðé* *yáθ* *diβráθ* *yəqārí*  
 Nu 31.11: *vbrdh* *krdnd* *mr* *hmh* *řvr* *vmr* *hmh* *řḥyḥnšt* *bmr̄dvm*  
*vbčḥḥr* *pḥy*.  
 Heb. *wəřéθ* *kól* *hammalqōáḥ*
27. *rsšt* *ræséšt* ‘arrival, coming’: *ræsidæn/ræs-*  
 Lv 23.2: ... *vby* *gvy* *bḥyšḥn* *řydhḥ* *xvdḥy* *řnčy* *prḥz* *rsyd* *řyšḥn* *ř*  
*řḥz* *rsštḥḥ* *xḥš* ...  
 Heb. *miqráḥ* *qōðeš*  
 Lv 23.3: ... *vbrvz* *hftvmyn* *mšḥl* *mšḥlhḥ* *řḥz* *rsšt* *xḥš* ...  
 Heb. *miqráḥ* *qōðeš*  
 Dt 16.17: *mrd* *čvn* *rsšt* *dst* *řvy* ...  
 Heb. *řiš* *kəmattonáθ* *yāðó*
28. *rvnšt* (written *rv<sup>n</sup>nšt*) *runéšt* = *ranéšt*: *randæn/ran-*  
 Dt 14.1: ... *vnh* *nhyd* *rv<sup>n</sup>nšt* *myḥn* *čšmḥn* *švmḥ* *řbr* *mvr̄dh*  
 Heb. *qərḥá*
29. *rvvšt* *rævéšt* ‘going, path’: *ræftæn/ræv-*  
 Ex 9.23: ... *vxvdḥy* *dḥd* *řvḥzhḥ* *vtyyrg* *vr̄vvšt* *řtš* *dr* *zmy* ...  
 Heb. *wattiháláx* *řéš*  
 Ex 21.19: *řgr* *br* *xyzd* *vr̄vvšt* *kvnd* *bbyrvn* ...  
 Heb. *wəhiḥhalléx* *baḥúš*  
 Nu 11.31: ... *čvn* *rvvšt* *rvzy* *bčvnyn* *včvn* *rvvšt* *rvzy* *bčvnyn* *grḥn*  
*grdhḥ* *řn* *lškr* *gḥḥ* ...  
 Heb. *kəðérex* *yóm* *kó* *ūxəðérex* *yóm* *kó*
30. *ryzšt* *rizéšt* ‘pouring, flowing’: *rixtnæn/riz-*  
 Ex 16.13: ... *vbbḥmdḥd* *bvd* *ryzšt* *nm* *grḥn* *grd* *blškr* *gḥḥ*  
 Heb. *šixəβáθ* *haḥḥál*
31. *stḥyšt* *setayéšt* ‘praise, glory’: *setudæn* ~ *setaḥidæn/seta-*  
 Gn 30.12: *vgvft* *lḥ* *stḥyšt* *bvd* *bmn* *ky* *bḥyn* *sbb* *stḥyšt* *gvynd* *mrḥ*  
*znḥn* ...  
 Heb. *bəḥšərí* *kí* *řiššərúni*  
 Ex 15.2: *pḥdyḥvnd* *ǰḥy* *mn* *vstḥyšt* *mn* *shmvmnd* *hst* ...  
 Aram. *wəḥišbaḥḥí*
- Lv 9.24: ... *vstḥyšt* *gvftnd* *vby* *řvftydnd* *řḥr* *rvyhḥ* *řyšḥn*  
 Heb. *wayyārónnū*

- Nu 21.17: ... *stʔyšt* gvyvd bʔn  
 Aram. šabbāḥu lāh  
 Dt 10.21: ʔvy hst *stʔyšt* tv vʔvy hst xvdʔy tv ...  
 Heb. θəhillāθəxā
32. *svpʔršt* soparēšt ‘charge, instruction, command’: sopor(i)dān/  
 separ- ~ sopar-<sup>8</sup>  
 Nu 4.16: vʔnčy svpʔvrd bʔlʔzr ... *svpʔršt* hmh ʔn mškn ...  
 Heb. pəqūddāθ kəl hammiškān
33. *trʔššt* tərašēšt ‘something scraped or shaved; graven image, piece of  
 sculpture’: tərašidān/təraš-  
 Gn 30.37: ... vby trʔšyd bʔyšʔn *trʔššt*ʔ svpydʔn ...  
 Heb. pəšālōθ  
 Dt 5.8: ... nh kvny btv *trʔššt* hyč svrt ʔnč dr ʔsmʔn ʔz bʔlʔ ...  
 Heb. fēsel
34. *tvzšt* tuzēšt ‘repayment’: tuxtān/tuz-  
 Dt 32.32: ... vbʔz *tvzšt* ʔmlhʔ ʔyšʔn čvn ʔlxyhʔ ʔyšʔn  
 Aram. wəθušlāmaθ
35. *xvʔššt* xʔofsēšt ‘lying down’: xʔofsidān/xʔofs-  
 Lv 15.16: vmrdy ky byrvn ʔyyd ʔz ʔvy *xvʔššt* tvxm ...  
 Heb. šixəβāθ zāraʕ  
 (also Lv 15.17 and 15.18)
36. *xvʔšmnšt* xʔošmənēšt ‘comfort, ease’ = mod. Pers. xošmənēš ‘good-  
 natured’ < xoš ‘happy’ + mənēš ‘disposition’  
 Gn 46.30: ... *xvʔšmnšt* bʔšʔ hm mn ps ʔnčy dydm ʔyšʔn rʔ ...  
 Aram. mənəḥém  
 Gn 50.21: vʔkvn mh trsyd mn nfqh dhm švmʔ rʔ vmr ʔʔʔn švmʔ  
*xvʔšmnšt* dʔd ʔyšʔn rʔ vsxvn gvft *xvʔšmnšt*ʔ ʔβr dl ʔyšʔn.  
 Aram. wənəḥém yāθhōn ūmallél tanḥūmín ʕal libbəhōn  
 Heb. wayənaḥém ʔōḥām wayəḏabbér ʕal libbām

### 3. Bacher's list of -šn forms<sup>9</sup>

These were culled by Wilhelm Bacher from his study of several manuscripts of a fifteenth century Judeo-Persian lexicon. The list is repeated here with some emendations; e.g., the related Persian infinitive *with its*

<sup>8</sup> sefarēš is commoner in modern Persian, but separēš does occur; of course, p can stand for f in these mss.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. Bacher, “Ein hebräisch-persisches Wörterbuch aus dem 15. Jahrhundert”, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 16 (1896), 201-247; the list is found on pp. 232-236.

*present stem* is given in full. In the originally published list, there are only the Persian infinitives, the *-šn* forms, and the Hebrew-Aramaic roots for which the Persian words are glosses.

<i>ʔrʔyšn</i>	<i>ʔarastǽn/ʔara-</i>
<i>ʔzmʔyšn</i>	<i>ʔazmudǽn/ʔazma-</i>
<i>ʔfrynšn</i>	<i>ʔafæridǽn/ʔafærin-</i>
<i>ʔmrzyšn</i>	<i>ʔamorzidǽn/ʔamorz-</i>
<i>ʔmvzšn</i>	<i>ʔamuxtǽn/amuz-</i>
<i>ʔvyzšn</i>	<i>ʔavixtǽn/ʔaviz-</i>
<i>ʔbzyšn</i>	<i>ʔæbzidǽn/ʔæbz-</i>
<i>ʔrzyšn</i>	<i>ʔærzidǽn/ʔærz-</i>
<i>ʔstršn</i>	<i>ʔostordǽn/ʔostor-</i>
<i>ʔystyšn</i>	<i>ʔistidǽn/ʔist-</i>
<i>ʔnʔmʊšn</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>ʔænjamidǽn/ʔænjam-</i>
<i>ʔndʔzyšn</i>	<i>ʔændaxtǽn/ʔændaz-</i>
<i>ʔndʔyšn</i>	<i>ʔændudǽn/ʔænda-</i>
<i>bxsššn</i>	<i>bæxsidǽn/bæxs-</i>
<i>pʔlʔyšn</i>	<i>paludǽn/pala-</i>
<i>prdʔzyšn</i>	<i>pærdaxtǽn/pærdaz-</i>
<i>prmʔsyšn</i>	<i>pærmāsīdǽn/pærmās-</i>
<i>prvryšn</i>	<i>pærværdǽn/pærvær-</i>
<i>pvššn, pvšyšn</i>	<i>pušidǽn/puš-</i>
<i>pyjšn</i>	<i>pičidǽn/pič-</i>
<i>tʔsyšn</i>	<i>tasidǽn/tas-</i>
<i>tvzyšn</i>	<i>tuxtǽn/tuz-</i>
<i>ʔvmbyšn</i>	<i>ʔombidǽn/ʔomb- [written in mod. Pers. <i>ʔnbydn</i>]</i>
<i>ʔvššn</i>	<i>ʔušidǽn/ʔuš-</i>
<i>ʔkyšn</i>	<i>čekidǽn/ček-</i>
<i>čynšn</i>	<i>čidǽn/čin-</i>
<i>xrynšn</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>xæridǽn/xær-</i>
<i>xvʔhyšn</i>	<i>xastǽn/xah- [the J-ʔ form suggests that /xʷ/ was still pronounced]</i>
<i>ʔbr xyzšn</i>	<i>xastǽn/xiz-</i>
<i>dhyšn</i>	<i>dadǽn/deh-</i>
<i>drynšn</i>	<i>dæridǽn/dær-</i>
<i>dmyšn</i>	<i>dæmidǽn/dæm-</i>
<i>dvsyšn</i>	<i>dusidǽn/dus-</i>

<sup>10</sup> Is the mediating form the noun *ʔænjomæn*?

<sup>11</sup> Bacher analyzes *xrynšn* as an analogical formation to *čynšn*, *ʔfrynšn*. This is probably correct, so that the older form was surely *\*xršn* ~ *\*xryšn*.

<b>dvyšn</b>	dævidǽn/dov-
<b>vynšn</b>	didǽn/bin-
<b>rʔnyšn</b>	randǽn/ran-
<b>rhyšn</b>	ræstǽn/ræh-
<b>rvyšn</b>	rostǽn/ru-
<b>ʔndr rsšn</b>	ræsidǽn/ræs-
<b>rvbyšn</b>	roftǽn/rub-
<b>ryzšn, ryzyšn</b>	rixtǽn/riz-
<b>zʔyšn</b>	zadǽn/za-
<b>znyšn</b>	zædǽn/zæn-
<b>ʔspʔršn, ʔspʔryšn</b>	sopordǽn/sopar-
<b>ʔspvzyšn</b>	sepuxtǽn/sepuz-
<b>stʔyšn</b>	sotudǽn/sota-
<b>skvrfyšn</b>	sækærfidǽn/sækærf-
<b>smbyšn</b>	sombidǽn/somb- [written in mod. Pers. <i>snb</i> -]
<b>svzšn, svzyšn</b>	suxtǽn/suz-
<b>šybšn</b>	šiftǽn/šib-
<b>prgnyšn</b>	færkændǽn/færkæn-
<b>kvššn</b>	koštǽn/koš-
<b>kšyšn</b>	kešidǽn/keš-
<b>knyšn</b>	kændǽn/kæn-
<b>kvbyšn</b>	kuftǽn/kub-
<b>gvdʔzšn, gvdʔzyšn</b>	godaxtǽn/godaz-
<b>ʔndr gvdʔryšn</b>	gozaštǽn/gozar-
<b>grdyšn</b>	gærdidǽn/gærd-
<b>gyršn</b>	gereftǽn/gir-
<b>gryzšn</b>	gorixtǽn/goriz-
<b>kstryšn</b>	gostærdǽn/gostær-
<b>gvšʔyšn, gvšʔhšn</b>	gošadǽn/goša-
<b>gvhryšn</b>	gowhæridǽn/gowhær-
<b>lrzyšn</b>	lærizidǽn/lærz-
<b>lyšn</b>	lisidǽn/lis-
<b>mʔlyšn</b>	malidǽn/mal-
<b>myzšn</b>	mixtǽn/miz-
<b>ngʔh dʔršn</b>	daštǽn/dar-
<b>vzyšn</b>	væzidǽn/væz-
<b>hnjyšn</b>	hænjidǽn/hænj-

At the end of this list, Bacher adds several other *-šn* forms which are problematical:

**r?syšn** – a translation of *yqš* ‘to awaken’, occurs together with J-P *byd?ry* /*bidarí*/.

**gyršn** – a translation of *mšp*, *drš*, *hqr*, *bqr* – all meaning ‘to search, find’ – is indicated as being related to *ǰostán/ǰu-*. This may well be analogical to *šostán/šu-* ‘to wash’ whose modern colloquial present stem is *šur-*. This latter is amply attested in J-P in Or 5446. Thus, **gyršn** = **ǰurész**, from a possible present stem *ǰur-* of *ǰostán*.

**rvnšn** – translates *mrt* ‘to tear out the hair’.

**?ng?nyšn** – along with *bænd*, translates *šll* ‘to lock, close up’.

**rvvšn** – and **rvd** (*rud* ‘river’) translate *nwzl*. Bacher suggests that **rvvšn** = **rvyšn**, since *v* is so similar to *y*. The word would then be **rævész** (*ræftán/ræv-*). The identification is correct, but the *y* for *v* need not be posited, since **vv** is quite common for */v/*, and the suffix – as can be seen from a number of examples in the above list – is written both **-šn** and **-yšn**.

**nvšn** – analogically from *nevěš* ~ *nevěšt* ‘writing’.

#### 4. *The Constantinople Polyglot of 1546 and the Tavus Judeo-Persian Bible translation*

At one time this text was thought to be the oldest J-P translation extant. It figures importantly in Persian studies because of its appearance in the Walton Polyglot Bible published in England in 1646. For this edition, the Tavus text was transcribed into Perso-Arabic characters by Thomas Hyde. A study of the Tavus text by A. Kohut<sup>12</sup> focused primarily on the sources of the translation within the various exegetical traditions. Very little attention was paid to the Persian data themselves.

In this text, only the following pertinent forms are found. It is surprising that even as late as the middle of the 16th century any **-šn** forms occur at all. In the vast majority of cases, only **-š** occurs.<sup>13</sup>

(2a) Gn 1.11: **rvyšn** kvnd ?n zmyñ **rvyšn** gy?h

Heb. taðəše hā?āreš dəše?

Gn 1.12: vbyrvñ ?vvrđ ?n zmyñ **rvyšn** gy?h

Heb. wattóše? hā?āreš dəše?

(34b) Gn 19.25: **vrvyšn** ?n zmyñ

Heb. wəšəmaḥ hā?ādamá

<sup>12</sup> A. Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuch-übersetzung des Jacob ben Joseph Tavus ...* (Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1871).

<sup>13</sup> The citations from this text only give the consonant transliteration. The Tavus text has full Tiberian, sublinear vowel pointing; but this is omitted here.

- (91a) Gn 43.16: vkššn kvn kšš  
 Heb. ūṭəβó<sup>ah</sup> ṭéβah
- (96a) Gn 56.2: dr nmyšn ṛn šb  
 = Heb. marṣé in various forms
- (112a) Ex 3.3: nmyšn  
 – and nmyšn in the following contexts:  
 (221a) Lv 13.4; (222a) Lv 13.20; (222b) Lv 13.25; (223a) Lv 13.30, Lv 13.31, Lv 13.32; (223b) Lv 13.43; (227b) Lv 14.36.  
 But, cf. (159b) Ex 24.17: vnmyšy = Heb. ūmmarṣé; and vnmyš in (221a) Lv 13.3 and (223a) Lv 13.34.

4b. H. Zotenberg, “*Geschichte Daniels*”, Merx Archiv  
 (= Archiv f. wissensch. Erforschung d. Alten Testaments),  
 1, 385-427: no. 128 in the *Bibliothèque Nationale collection  
 of Hebrew and Samaritan texts*

The following pertinent forms are to be noted:

kvššt [twice – p. 406, p. 418]  
 xvn ryzšt [six times – pp. 406, 408, 410, 412<sup>3</sup>]

The form *d<sup>h</sup>šn* occurs (p. 402) in the following context:

vxvdṛy dr dlš nyhṛd vdr zxyynh by gvšṛd d<sup>h</sup>šn dṛd br khnym vlvym  
 vytvmym vbm̄n dnyṛl mṛl bsyṛr dṛd

Zotenberg translated: ‘Und Gott gab ihm ein, seinen Schatz zu öffnen und den Priestern, Leviten und Waisen den Zehnten zu geben. Und mir, Daniel, gab er grossen Reichthum.’ He thus took *dhšn* to mean ‘tithe’ < *dh* ‘ten’. It is perhaps better to read it as ‘gift’ < *dadān/deh-* ‘to give’. Furthermore, the second *dr* may also be better taken as *dr* ‘door’ and not as the preposition.

We may conclude from all of the preceding that Judeo-Persian has indeed preserved archaic forms from earlier even Middle Persian periods. These many examples demonstrate very clearly that Judeo-Persian Bible translations must have existed in centuries prior to the 14th (the date of our earliest text). No other assumption seems able to account for these archaic retentions. Biblical translations would provide the most likely kind of context for an archaizing conservatism in language that would retain the memory of forms such as those collected here in *-šn* and *-št*.

Further detailed study of these texts will provide many additional proofs for the value of these materials in illustrating the linguistic history of the Persian language. The fact that we are dealing with Persian linguistic data in an entirely different orthographic tradition will give us many examples of forms and of usages that will illuminate many hitherto doubtful points and will also confirm much that we know, but from an independent and non-Islamic source.