

THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—II¹

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As a preliminary, merely, to the long task of compiling a dictionary of 'Islamic' Khwarezmian, it is my purpose here to scotch as many as possible of the ghost-words and misunderstandings which mar the otherwise useful publication *Das chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der 'Muqaddimat al-adab' von Zamaxšarī*, by J. Benzing. A beginning has been made, dealing with more than 150 such errors in the first 70 pp. of the chapter 'Verbs' (Benzing, 60–129 = his 'Zm', better *Muq.*, 73–199). I continue here in the same vein, i.e. by dealing only with debatable entries in the ensuing pages (130–218 = *Muq.*, 199–344).

199.7 **'y w'sm**: 'ugliness' is no less clearly *w'sym* here than at 122.3; fully pointed 372.2, 391.6, 494.5, none in pause position. See H, *Dict.*, supplement, s.v.

199.8 **f:xwfcy**: 'with milk', read *xwβcy*, *v.* my 95.4. Here it is a mistranslation of the NP gloss *ba šīra* 'with grape-juice' or 'rob', Ar. *rubb*. Similarly *xwβcy* at 213.7 f., 224.6, *xwβc(y)k* 'sweet' 238.4–6.

200.8 **'m'xyd'hyn'br**: it is by no means clear that, in 'Gott liess — ihnen — die Erde erbeben', the words 'to them' are omitted only from W's NP gloss; Ar. *bi-him* = *bar ēšān* (*Pishro*) = *-n'br*.

201.1 **byncd'h ~ bynōd'h**: 'poured it'. This odd pointing is noted, but not 117.4, where actually *nYNcd'n*! Elsewhere only *bync*- 356.4, 378.8 (except *bnyf*- 302.6!), as one would expect from the inchoative *byxs*- 161.1, 201.2, 361.4, etc. (cf. *pcmc*- 'wear' 461.8: *pcmxs*- 234.1): perhaps primarily 'to loose: be loosed', < **apa-yunfa*-: *-yuxsa*-.

201.4 **mSNd'n**: the glossator evidently understood *biburūd xurmā-rā* 'cut the dates', not *xurmā-bun-rā* 'the date-palm' as in some MSS. Read *mspd'n*, as at (my) 99.7; *v.* my 301.4.

201.7 **b'sb'ryd'h**: *bāz-gardānūd ō-rā*. Not to be confused with *b'sb'ryd*- 404.3, correctly *b'sp'ryd*- 472.7 'entrusted'; this is *b's'ryd'h*, as at 301.6, 407.2, *bs'ry*- 'to reject' < **apa-srāraya*- 'ab-lehnen' (-*sr*- not > -š- because of -*y*-).

¹The first part appears in *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 3, 1970, 540–59. References to the *Muq.* (*Muqaddimatu 'l-adab*) facsimile from 73 to 199.2, preceded by 'my', will be found there. Other abbreviations also used below are:

H (Henning), *Dict.* = *A fragment of a Khwarezmian dictionary* (Asia Major Library), London, 1971

Hb. = *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, iv. Bd., Iranistik, 1, Linguistik, 'Mitteliranisch'

'Lg.' = 'The Khwarezmian language', in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul, 1955, 421–36

Pishro = Muḥammad Kāzīm Imām, *Pišrav-i adab*, Tehran, 1963–5

W = J. G. Wetzstein, *Samachscharii lexicon arabicum persicum*, Leipzig, 1850

XJ = A. A. Frejman, *Xorezmijskij jazyk*, Moscow–Leningrad, 1951.

202.1 **'y iš**: 'the dam', read *βš* as at 174.2; < **bastra-* (H, *Hb.*, p. 114, n. 1).

202.3 **fy.m'r fy.jyy'n**: *ba šumār-i rēg*. At 464.5 *y' jγ* is fem.; this genitive must therefore be plural, in *-n'n*. Even pointed *j* is the most suspect letter in Xw., but there is no other evidence on which to judge this *Cγ* 'sand'.

203.2 **β'ncyd'n f:pwdk**: 'tied them (coins) in the *šurra*'; **pwdk zrny** also at 35.5. for *šurra*, but it is doubtful whether 'Beutel' was intended. At 28.8 *pwdyk* (in pause) is 'rag', *riḡōy*, and some NP glosses give *šurra* a similar meaning: *zar-i basta dar riḡōy*, and here *bībast dīramhā-rā dar riḡōy* (*Pishro*).

203.5 **mpxyt'h 'y pcx's-δ'r**: not 'cut the purse off' but 'cut the clothing', a correct translation of *ṭarra ṭ-tarrāru θ-ṭawba* (which latter word B. ignores).

204.1 **mfyd'h**: 'sheared it' and 'shaved it' is *mβnd'h*, as at (101.5), 400.7, 500.2; *'βn-* < **brinā-* (H, *Dict.*) or rather **brna-*, as Man. MP, NP *burr-*.

204.3 **p'rmžd'h**: 'touched it' is NP *parmāsīd ō-rā*, not 'bar-māsīd'; Xw. *prmž-* = Skt. *pari-mrj-*, but NP *parmās-* is from (non-Pers.) **pati-mrs-* via **pah-rmās-*, cf. Pahl. *ptlm'h-* = *pahrmāh-*, with **mrθ-*.

205.1 **'y xš'dc**: 'drops', only here, so *Cš'dc*, pl. of the p. p. in *-'dk* of a verb **Cš-* 'drip, exude'; perhaps a denom. from **ati-asru-*, cf. *'šwk* 496.2 'a tear' < *asruka-*.

206.5 f. **mH'T**: *al-ḥaṭūṭa* 'abatement of price', read *mh'b*, as at 397.4 for *ar-ruḥṣa*, 431.1 *muhābā*.

206.8 **mpxyt'h c:ΒΘNy**: *az pahnā biburūd-aš*. Read *pθny* as (pointed *pnyy*) at 328.1 'breadth', to *pθnk* 'broad' as *βžny* 202.4 'length' to *βžk* 505.3 'long'.

208.4 **PCfRD δ'ryd**: 'had doubt', read *yxfrd* as at 440.7, 446.5, 449.4; *v. my* 134.2.

208.7 **'y ny'k**: 'the pledge', read *nb'k* as at 364.1, 443.3; *ny'k* 317.4 is an error. Cf. Sgd. *np'k(h)*, NP *navā* (Henning, *BSOAS*, xxviii, 2, 1965, p. 248, n. 37).

209.4 **c.'γwc**: 'from the sheath' is actually pointed *-'γdc*. See *f'γδk* 348.5; H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'γδk*.

210.2 **'nbycdyθ**: 'intended it', *v. my* 81.6.

210.3 **y'.γδ fy Dm'γ nγsc'nw**: 'the wound (that) reaches the brain'. There can be no doubt about Ar. *dm'γ*. *nγsc'nw* is a 'permansive' pres. 3 sg. of *nγs-* 'arrive' (*v. H, Dict.*, s.vv. *'βc'nw*, *'kc'nw*). T² has the gloss *šikastagī ki bā dimāy rasad* (II, 129).

210.3 f., 211.1 **w'z'ryd'h, 'y wz'rnyc**: *v. my* 91.8.

210.4 **p'rcydh**: *v. my* 107.5.

210.7 **'y kwBYk**: 'nosegay', probably read *kwn'yk*, from *'kw-* 'pick, pluck' (H, *Dict.*, and *my* 153.1).

bšt hy w'sd: is as wrong as *čift nihād* at 313.5. Xw. *bšt* is 'open' and NP *čift* 'a latch'; read *pšt* 'joined, close' = *juft*, cf. 428.3, 457.5, 484.2, etc.

² T = *Aqsā al-arab, tarjama Muqaddimat al-adab* [Turkish translation of *Muq.*, on the basis of NP glosses], Aḥmad b. Khair al-Dīn Iṣḥāq Efendi, Istanbul, 1313/1895-6.

210.8 **γ'mc n' mkd**: such a reading is rather perverse for 'amma; *v.* my 192.7.

211.4 **bycd'hyn'br**: 'poured it on him', read *by(n)cd-*; *v.* my 201.1.

212.5 **γyrd f:γwndyk**: a literal, wrong translation of *bā'a bi l-iθmi* 'returned to' for 'acknowledged (his) sin'.

mncd'n fy hq'h: 'acknowledged his right' ('gestand', not 'bestand auf seinem Recht') is odd in view of *mnc'nd pr xsyn* 366.3 'admitted the thing', *mnc'nd fy γwndyk* 439.7 'the sin'; presumably the same verb, but it is not clear which form is abnormal.

213.3 **twbk hy f'xd**: 'granted him repentance', read *β'xd* as correctly at 356.4; similarly 318.6, 363.3, 395.3, 442.8. *βaxx-* 'grant, divide' < *βaxša-*, already Henning, *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, *32.

214.1 **'y byxsnyk**: *bārān-i furō-rēzanda* (T, II, 134), but 110.1 **'y byxsnyk w'r**. The latter, not in pause, must be correct. This is then an exception to the rule of spelling *-ynk* participles *-yn^uk* in pause, e.g. *γmyn^uk* 392.7 'singing', *šwyn^uk* 117.8 (but 'šwynk 279.6) 'quarrelling', *γwyn^uk* 270.1 'failing', *hβryn^uk* 171.5 '-giver', *nywsyn^uk* 262.7 'hearing', *trwnynk* (*sic*, for **trwyn^uk*) 377.8 'capable', *y'swyn^uk* 517.1 'goer'. 'čmynk 321.7 'delaying', *npsynk* 407.4 'writer' must also be counted 'wrong' in pause. With a single exception (**šžwy-nk* 265.6 'violent'), *all* certain participles in *-nk*, especially from verbs in *-y-*, have *-n^uk* in pause (examples are too numerous to list). The odds therefore seem to be on a pause form 'stem-*BBk*' being *-n^uk*, rather than a 'wrong' *-ynk*, but only the occurrence of a non-pause form can clinch the matter.

215.4 **mnfryd**, 315.4 **mšzptd**: read *mβz^up'd*, *v.* my 120.8.

215.6 **p'žmyd**: read *p'rmyd*, *v.* my 136.3.

215.8 **ǰw'n-m'n'wk**, 231.1 **ǰw'n-**: *ǰwānmarđi* 'generosity', probably to be read (')*cw'n-m'n'wk*, lit. 'ample-mindedness' (*v.* H, *Dict.*, supplement, s.v. *ǰw'n*).

216.1, 261.3 **y.'rk'h**: 'his work'. 'rk is fem. (as the '-h is enough to show, but cf. *f' 'rk* 461.1), so the point is misplaced.

216.3 **b'w'ryd'n'd**: this would be 'chose them', cf. *b'w'rydyd* 495.3; read *b'w'zyd-* = *bāz dāšt*, as at 311.4, 424.1.

216.7 **'šN'S hy mkyd**: 'visited the sick', 'sp's seems more likely, in the MP sense of 'service'; writing 'bē:mār' 'snakeless', for NP *bēmār* 'sick', is bad medicine.

217.2 **ǰhwd**: 'Jew', read *ǰhwd*, as at 477.3 and correctly 11.6.

218.8 **pcd 'y psnyk**: *biǰōšid dēg*. *pc-* is 'to cook' trans., 166.7, etc.; read *pzd*, as at 120.2, 139.7, 151.5, **paxx-* < *paxša-*, cf. Sgd. *pwγš'* 'boiler' (*GMS*, § 551).

219.2 f. **'y xl'f 'y hqyqt'n**: for *maǰāz* 'metaphor', lit. 'the opposite of the literal meaning', certainly not for *ǰāy-i gudaštan*.

219.5 **žwzd'h y' βwm**: 'kissed the earth', read *zwzd-*, as 'y *zwz* 'the kiss' at 403.5.

219.5 f. **d'rw'r'r f' mδ'n pθkn**: 'they went about inside the houses (in search of plunder)', not 'drangen ein'; better 'zogen herum', as at 389.7, 411.7, 413.4.

219.7 **xw'hd'h 'y xryk**: *bikōft xarman-rā*, must surely be **xrnmk*, however badly written. *xr^uk* 180.7, 226.3, 311.6, etc., is only 'pasture'.

219.8 [. . ?] **B'NB'wd'h f:NJW'γ[. ?]**: 'rubbed, polished it with a burnisher'; probably *b's'wd-*, cf. *'rs'w-* 'to rub' 208.3, NP *sūdan*; can **n'jw'γ* be connected with *'n'jwγ* 'wrinkle' (as at 276.7, v. my 75.8), as some kind of corrugated scraper?

220.2, 3 **mnkd-**: 'sewed', v. my 88.3.

220.4 **xryd'w**: 'went into (the water)', read *xrbd-*, as in the caus. *x'rbyd-* 355.5. So too *y' xrb'k-mync'we* 'the fording place'.

220.8 **B'S'Ryd'h**: 'stirred it'. Not *ps'ry-* (v. my 298.6) or *bs'ry-* 'reject' (my 201.7); probably another **bs'ry-* < **apa-sāraya-*, with *sar-* 'to mix, unite'.

221.1 **w'zydyd**: is more than *bizad asb-rā ba tāziyāna*; it is 'drove it', as *w'zyd'n'd* 222.6 = *birānd šutarān-rā*; v. my 158.7.

221.2 **R'hyRyd cY . . .**: 'hung something on it', read *w'hyzyd cybr*, as at 461.6; *whyzy-* < **ava-haizaya-* 'cause to descend', as Khot. *vahīs-* (SGS, 122).

221.6 **'šxt xndd y' rwbs**: *rōbāh bāzī kard*. *'šxt* is 'near' 323.4, etc.; read *'sxt*, as *sxt hyθ xndyd* 429.7 = *rubāhī kard bā ō*, with (')*sxt* < **uz-xašta-* or the like; cf. Khot. *khausy-*, *khausṭa* 'move' (< **xauz*, SGS, 27), or *uskūs-* 'act frivolously' (< **kauš*, SGS, 17)?

221.7, 322.2 **'kw'rnk**: 'wholesome', from *'gw'r-*, v. my 73.3.

223.1 **zk[n ?]k**: 'hiccups', can have nothing to do with NP *zayang*. **zknk** at 20.8 is only *Rk^uk*, and this *Rkk*.

223.6 **'y BBwD**: *huwa l-ma'ālu*, not 'Ausgang, Resultat', but 'retreat, refuge'; read **pθwδ*, v. my 131.6.

223.8 **γyrd pcYBR 'y srδ**: *sāl bar vay bigudašt*. Read *γyrdycybr* and cf. 224.2 **γyrd'hycBR 'y dwlt** = *gudašt bar vay dawlat* (*Pishro*, for *dālat* 'alayhi, not *lahu*), i.e. both /**γērida-*(h)i-ci-bir/. *γyr-* + *-br* is to 'surround', 121.6, 358.2, etc., and + *-c* 'be repeated', 473.7; the combination is evidently to 'pass by'.

224.1 f. **pr'dk w'zyd y' 'š, 'š pr'dyk**: the she-camel did not remain 'divorced' (and masc. at that!), but 'barren', i.e. 'childless' *b-z'd^uk*.

224.3 f. **'y dwlt fy x'zyn, f' fdw**: Ar. *dawla* and *dāla* are thus distinguished as 'fortune in battle' (*x'zyn* 278.4, 485.1, etc. = *jang*) and 'in property', for the last word can only be *bdw* (= *māl* 316.6, *x'āsta* 365.6, etc.), however badly written.

225.4 **m's'r'h y.'rd'wn**: 'the ghouls took him', read *'rδ'wn*, v. M. Schwartz, *JRAS*, 1966, 120, and *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, 385 f., 388 f.

225.6 **hβr(y)n**: 'gift', read *hβd^un*, v. my 79.1; other occurrences at 80.4, 110.8, 231.6, 317.2, 360.6, etc.

226.2 **'Sc nyθ'r, 'y 'Sc cwbd**: 'sc 'still (water, wind)' is known from 168.1; pl. of **stk* < **stitaka-*?

226.4 **'y pr xrk 'ynync**: 'those going to pasture' must be *'ynyc*, pl. in pause of *'ynk*, pres. part. of *'y-*, as in *mrc 'ynk* 136.5 (so, not *'yyk*) = *ravanda*, *'ynk hy mkyd* 346.7 = *ravā*.

mnf'rydyc 'wrzyw: 'made him taste oppression' is lit. 'made swallow', *mnγ'ryd-*, with *nγ'ry-* the caus. of *nγr-*, *v. my* 113.1.

226.5 **B'mBBk βryd**: 'he fasted' is **y'myθk βryd*, *v. my* 185.6.

226.7 **wRd fy:cwb**, 302.3 **wrd**: 'swam in the water', pointed *wzd* at 74.6.

226.7 **'rδwk'wk mkd**: *īstādagī kard* is probably *'rδβk'wk*, abstract from *'rδβk* 'standing, erect' < Av. *ərəδβa-* (H, 'Lg.', 432), rather than from an **'rdwk* 'steadfast' (with M. Schwartz, *JAOS*, LXXXIX, 2, 1969, 446).

227.2 **kSB**: *v. my* 169.2.

BBBkd: *īstād* 'stood, stopped', read *tynkđ*, as at 428.7.

228.5 **mSknyd**: 'stumbled', read *msknbd*, as correctly at 85.2, 237.1; fully pointed 46.2 *k-n-sknbyc* 'which does not stumble'.

228.6, 7 **BStRB**: 'backwards', apparently *-RF*; **pš-trf* (for Ar. *trf*) ?

229.1 **mnkwfst** (so pointed 515.6): 'became senile', apparently *-nkRfst*.

230.1 **mrhydyc**: 'escaped', read *mrhd-*, as at 453.2, 462.8, 467.1, 481.1; the stem *rh-* is borrowed from Pers., at a late date to judge from the caus. *rh'ny-* 345.5, etc.

230.2, 241.4 **'Sn'd mkyd**: *cacavit*, is simply a euphemism 'made ablutions', as at 7.1, 408.4 (where *f' sn'd*, fem., so not **y.'Sn'd** 230.2).

233.3 **š'wzd' y bγr 'š f' βrycyn**: *bar-ǰast gušn-i šutur bar māda*. Instead of Turk. *bwyr'*, which would scarcely need *'š*, the *gušn* (also 45.7) is probably (*'yγr* 'stallion', as at 36.8. His *ǰuft* (also 45.7) is probably */*βrījēn/* 'desirous', from */*βrīg/* 'desire' (H, *Dict.*, *'βryk*); *v. my* 131.4.

233.5 **m's'myd'h**: 'drank it', read *b's'md'h*, as at 449.5. The verbal noun is even pointed *b-* (certainly not *'-*), 233.6 *'y bs'm'k*; *bs'm-* < **apa-čyāma-* cf. Khot. *tšām-* (*SGS*, 41), Pth. *'bš'm-*, Sgd. *š'm-*, *'š'm-*, NP *āšām-*.

234.1 **p'cmcyd'h**: 'dressed him'; miswritten and mistranslated. 'To clothe' another person requires *-br*, as at 211.5, 353.1; this is 'donned, wore it', *p'cmcd-*, as at 258.8, 422.3, 461.8, etc.

235.6 **mnγwsdyθ**: 'listened to him', mistaken translation of *ašyá ilayhi*, as at 383.2, not *šayá*.

236.2 **swyd'h**: 'tyrannized him', pointed *šwyd'h* at 506.7, where it stands for *īstāǰāhu* 'considered him tyrannical', probably in error.

237.2, 248.6, 305.7 **p'cxr'zd**: read *p'cxw'zd*, *v. my* 136.8.

237.7 f. **NYe 'βDBBC kcy'k**: 'does not withhold strength', provides the only example of this stem, which could be *'βwyn-* < Av. *aīβi.waēna-*, with the same semantic development, 'gewahren' to 'wahren', 'observe' to 'conserve', as NP *nīgāh dāstan* (similarly H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'βwynyc* 'grudges').

238.1 **'y pc 'Ykh**: *pasrav-aš*, **pc-'yk** at 262.5, *v. my* 90.3.

238.3 **'y 'wzync**: for 'wanderers', pres. part. pl. of *'wzy-* 'go out'; read *'wzyn^{vc}*, as correctly at 516.6 (*-ynk*).

- B'δ'wd'h**: 'polished it', *v. my* 192.8.
- 238.3 f., 344.5, 346.4 **bfwδ'k**: 'evident' is *bγwδ'k*, *v. my* 144.5.
- 238.7 **'y xž-'šnyk**: read -'sn^{vk} or -'synk, as at 362.1, as this translates the NP gloss *x^oāš-āyanda* (*Pishro*; T, II, 159); 's- 'come', like Sgd. 'ys-, < *ā-isa-.
- 239.2 **fy'nN**: *dōstī*, inexplicable reading in view of the correct *fy'ny* at 122.3, 344.1, etc. (*H, Hb.*, 117).
- 239.8 **šxt**: *nazdīk*, the initial ' - of 'šxt has been obliterated (*H, Hb.*, p. 109, n. 2).
- 240.2 **y' ČXYR**: *as-sāniya*. Although no NP gloss supports it this is plainly 'water-wheel', not the camel working it, as B. presumably recognizes, cf. **čxyr** = *čarx* at 14.5; pointed č- at 400.6, 413.6, etc.
- 240.3 **m'y'zyd**: *šahā*, not 'xwuš šud' but *ārzū kard* (*Pishro*), as at 482.2; cf. Sgd. ''γyδ-, < *ā-gādaya-.
- 241.1 **mnprs'r**: 'they were satisfied', an erratically pointed verb; *v. H, Dict.*, s.vv. 'bnrd, 'nbrs-, nbrs-.
- 241.3 f. **β'zyk**: NP *lāy* 'silt, slime', read *θ'zyk*; both words probably of the same origin, *θādaya- or *dādaya-?
- 241.8 **y' γr[mn?]d**: *ad-dif'u*. B.'s emendation is impossible as *γrmd* is pl., with 'y, 215.4, 304.7. Another gloss (*Pishro*; T, II, 162) is *pōšiš(-i garm-kunanda)*; read simply *y'γwδ*, as at 211.7 (*H, Dict.*, s.v. 'γwδ).
- 242.8 **b'kn'mhy**: misprint for *bkn'm-* 'I fill'.
- 243.7 **B'mn**: 'mangy', *p'mn*, *v. my* 151.4.
- 244.2 **BZ B'mnyd 'y hzwr**: *pindāšt nekī-rā badī* (so); read *fn n' mnyd* 'considered them evil'; cf. *fn-βw'k* 258.5 'evil-natured', *fn-f'l* 479.1; *Ar. xyr* = *nekī* is also pl., at 476.4, 505.5.
- 244.8, 265.3 **mfšncdybyr**: 'mounted', *mfšyjd* at 508.8; *v. H, Dict.*, s.v. 'fšyc-.
- 245.4 **nmscy k šr'b xw'ryk**: *mardē payvasta šarāb-x^oaranda* or *may-x^oāra*, not 'xwurda'; *šr'b-xw'r^{vk}k* is a compound, like *mrc sknd-xw'r^{vk}k* 401.5 = *mardē payvasta talāq-dihanda* 'constantly swearing oaths of divorce'.
- 245.8 **xNDk**: *may-gūn*; 246.1 **'y pcyd bxtyc**: *may-i surx*. *pcydyd* and the trace of a point under the word both indicate *xydk*, which is patently < *xšaita-ka-, confirming Benveniste's precise definition 'd'un éclat rouge'.³ *pcydyd* is peculiar and remains obscure, for *pati-* is out of place here. 'Wine' is *pax^{vk}k* 401.5, 422.5, pl. *pax^{vc}* 408.5.
- 246.1 **ryc'we mkd**: *sabuksār šud*, for *rnc'wc*, pl. of *rnc'wk* at 344.2, 500.5; *v. my* 121.8.
- 246.8 **B'šxšt-, Bšxnc**: 'stuck, sticking', **p'šxšt** two pages before, 242.6, and so pointed 440.6, also misread **m'šxšt-** 267.8. *pšxš-* is 'šxš- (*v. H, Hb.*, p. 109, n. 2) with *api-*, but there are other real oddities of pointing: the abstract from the pres. part. **pšxšnk* is twice *pšxsnk'wk* 399.6, 410.1 = *muwāfaqat* 'concord' < 'coherence', and the corresponding trans. verb is *b'šaxdybyr*

³ *Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien*, Paris, 1966, 21, where there is a slight error: NP *šēda* is not 'renard' but 'Fuchs' in the sense 'sorrel horse'.

359.6 ‘stuck it on it’, instead of **p’šcd-*, cf. *’šcy-*. *pšxsnk’wk* may be the original unassimilated form preserved in a sense remote from that of the verb, but the -*x-* in the trans. verb is surely mispointing.

247.5 **mγRBdybr**: ‘rejoiced over (his enemy’s misfortune)’, but the caus. **mfr’ryd’hyn’br** 345.4 ‘made (the enemies) rejoice over him’. Read *mγryd-* and *mγw’ryd-* (H, *Dict.*, s.vv. *’γr(y)-*, *’γw’ry-*).

248.1 **mfrsy’r ’y jyd**; **’y ’ir’d-jyd**: on **βrs-*, *v.* my 180.6; the p. p. **βr’d* confirms the relationship between **βrs-* ‘be dishevelled’ and *’βr-* ‘to fluff out’; *jyd* is based on a ‘certain’ pointing at 392.3, but this is in fact certainly *j’d*, with subscript ‘hook’ to mark the *’ayn*, cf. *’δr* 393.1 (the point above probably being for the *d* in Ar. *j’d*).

b’rc: ‘fragmented’, the head of a *miswāk*; read *p’rc*, also at 473.3, assuming this is ‘in pieces’ = *pāra pāra*, i.e. pl. of *p’rk* 47.5, as at 512.1.

248.6 **’y s’syk**: ‘the panting (dog)’, read *s’sn’k*.

248.7 **sbydk**: ‘white’, and a dozen times on pp. 37, 38, is pointed *spyd’k* 59.6. It could be no other.

248.8 **’pst’d-βrcw**: *gušāda-abrū*; possible, in view of *pšxš-* (my 246.8), with *p-* preserved before a voiceless sibilant; H, *Dict.*, has *’bst’d-*.

249.6 **bδ’βrc p’rwz’r**: ‘were separated’, read *yδ’βrc*, the same as *’yδ’βrc* *p’rwz’r* 364.8, i.e. ‘having intervals (*’yδ*)’. **bδ’βr-γš** appears as *yδ’βr-γš* 390.7.

wrfyk: *’āšiq*, correctly *wrfk* at 265.7; cf. *wrfk’wk* 370.7.

249.8 **psyd**: *puxta šud*, read *psd*, as at 461.3; also 371.7 ‘ripened’.

250.6 **rδky**: *bā-rēš*, read *γδkn* (H, *Dict.*, suppl., s.v.).

252.4, 262.4, (6) **mnfrd’h**: ‘swallowed it’, read *mnγrd-*, *v.* my 113.1, 226.4.

252.5 **βryk mkd f:n’n**: ‘desired it’, a mistranslation of *zahida fīhi*, opposing it to *zahida* ‘*anhu*, whereas they are synonymous (*v.* H, *Dict.*, s.v. *’βryk*).

254.1 f. **kr**: ‘hernious’, is surely *gr*, a NP form, generally superseded by the seemingly EIr. form *γur*; but cf. Kurd. *qōr*, Hawr. *qēra*.

254.6 **CCBkR**: ‘happy’ and *xnʃkr* at 349.6 both to Ar. *bṭr*. Beside *xndk* ‘laughter’ 360.2, and *xnd-* ‘to play, contend’ 133.3, 221.6 (*v.* my note), 422.5, etc., this perhaps contains *xnj-* < **xandi-*, + *-kara*. **xjnkr* could be a mistake or a real metathesis /**xanjəgir* > **xajəgir*/.

255.1 **p’cmxšt**: ‘(his foot) went to sleep’. Despite the pointing **p’jmxš’r** at 258.6 (teeth ‘became numb’, not ‘stumpf’), it is hard to separate the stem from *’zmxs-* ‘to sleep’ (my 167.8). It also shares the p. p. *pcmγdk*, pl. *pcmγdc* 258.6, with *pcmxs-* ‘be covered, clothed’ 234.1, *pcmγd’k* 234.2. Presumably ‘be clothed’ and ‘be numbed’ are both meanings of an inchoative of *pati-mauk-*, rather than the former being *-muxs-* and the latter *-muxš-*, which could not survive in Xw.⁴

⁴ There is also a Turcological problem here, in that the corresponding words are translated in T as (II, 178 *xadr* = *dar x’āb šudan-i andāmhā*) *āza *ōğüşmek* and (II, 183 *dars* = *kund šudan-i dandān az turš xāyīdan*) *ekşi nesne çignemek ile diş *ōğüşmek*, both with *’wkwšmk* for expected *uyuşmak*.

256.4 **m'βyrcst**: *diltang šud*, patently *m'βyrcst*, despite 'some distortion in the middle' (H, *Dict.*, s.v. 'βyxs-). *y'βyrc^uk* is the p. p. **βyγd* + **-cyk*, perhaps pause-form for *-ck*.

257.6 **BNm'R γ'βy'r**: 'they took heed (of the enemy)' is very likely NP *tym'r* 'care'.

258.3 **y rymyc**: *al-adnās*, corresponds to a NP gloss (*Pishro*) *rīmḥā*, *čirkhā* 'impurities', not 'šūx giriftagān' (which would be *θrym^uc*).

258.5 **fn-βR'k**: 'evil-natured' is *fn-βw'k*. 'βw'k' appears in the abl. *fy'ny c'βw'cyh* 470.2 'in other than his (normal) nature'; < **abi-wāka*- (H, *Dict.*), cf. Oss. *wag* 'character, disposition'.

258.7 **wRC-'NB'R**: *bērūn-bar* 'pigeon-chested', read 'wzc-'nb'z. 'nb'z 'breast' (38.6, 46.7 barely pointed) < **ham-pāza*-, cf. Kurd. *āmbāz*, *ham(b)ēz* 'embrace'; *pž-'nb'z* 'crooked-breasted' at 287.7. 'wzc; cf. 'wzc-cm 310.4 'with protruding eyes', preceded by *w'zyt'c y' cm'h* 'his protruded', showing this to be < *uz-i*-, v. my 157.7. *cm* is fem., but 'nb'z masc., so 'wzc is not the fem. of a p. p. **wz(y)dk*. Both compounds must be inverted *bahuvrihis*, 'having a protrusion of the eye(s), chest'.

260.1 **y z'd k:nf's βc'nw**: for *wa l-waladu manfūsun* most NP glosses are inaccurate, *W farzand-i zāda*, *T bačča-yi zāda*. This seems to express better 'the child is new-born', though the joining of two words is wrong and the use of Ar. *nf's* vulgar. Read **y z'dk[-]nf's βc'nw*, since no **z'd* is attested.

260.6 **k' y x's**: 'the leper'. The *k'* is in fact a deleted *y'*.

y tYx-cm: 'having purulent eyes' is surely *θ*-, but whether *-n*- or *-x* is pointed is unclear. 'Pus' is *x'θ*, 365.6, 478.7.

261.4 **š'BC**: 'lank' (hair, so pl. of **š'bk*) is probably the same word as *š'b* 349.7 'down-stream', i.e. 'flowing down', < *frāpa*-. In *Yt.* 8, 0, the 'mighty (lake) Satavaēsa' is *frāpa*-, perhaps 'down-stream' in the sense that it is next to *Pūtika*, down to which all the world's waters flow (*Vend.*, 5, 18 f.; *MX*, 44, 15; *GB*, x, 9).

262.4 **BCn**: *bē-maza* 'tasteless' is *b-xn*, cf. *y xn y t'm'n* 273.2 (so, not *xž*, which is 'pleasant') 'the taste of the food'.

262.6, 264.2 **mnd-fc'wy(n)**: 'impatient', read *-βc°*, v. my 84.8.

263.1 **y.'nbf'c δyn**: 'the sated woman'; another pointless point, *y' + 'nb°* > *y'nb°*.

263.8 **pys**: 'bald, scald-headed' is very different from NP *pys* 'leprosy', so read *BBS*, no more certain than *BBS'x* 'bald' 250.1, 263.1, etc.

265.8 **'SBB**: 'freckles'. *tθ* is 'spot' 38.5 (v. my 173.8), so perhaps **'stb* < **us-tapa*-.

266.3 **βwm 'žβync**: 'absorbent ground', probably *'žβn^uc*, pause fem. pres. part. of *'žβ*- (v. my 214.1).

267.7 **mwHdybr**: read *mwbbhd*-, v. my 142.7.

mrc xRBD: Ar. *labiq*, besides *čābuk*, is glossed *zēbā*-, *xūb-kār* (*Pishro*); perhaps *xž*-, then (')*yd*, though this would suggest rather *x^uaš-raftār*.

267.8 **m'šxs[ty]br**: 'stuck to it', v. my 246.8.

268.4 **'nkyθk**: 'partner'; Henning, *Zoroaster*, 44, already 'angēθ', compared with Aram. *hngyt*, < *han-gaiθā-.

269.8 **'wr'c**: 'pregnant', also 37.6, 45.8, probably 'wz'c < awa- (rather than wi-) + *zāti- 'ante-natal'; cf. *z'cyk* 'birth' in *z'cyk-mync* 23.2, 128.6.

270.2 **nzd'ky hyj b'rwzd**: 'ignored him', read simply *nzd'k*, as at 487.3, (361.2, 491.5) and of course *hyc p°*.

270.6 **'y tnjynk**: *šitābanda*, plainly *tncynd*, as at 68.2, 454.3, 471.5.

271.1 **'y b'ryx**: 'pay', read *p'r'rx*, *v. my* 129.5.

271.2 **'y δ'w'n**: is indeed for Ar. *qabūl* 'surety', not *qābūl*, as B. suggests, but a reference to 109.1, 193.8, 195.8 would have been preferable to his simple question mark.

271.3 **sbyn XFyd**: 'became lousy'; H, *Hb.*, 110 f., already *spīna*, < **spahina*, pl. of *sp'h* 54.8, 314.6 (Av. *spiš-*). The verb is far from clear.

'y sbYnk: 'lousy', probably *spynk* < **spahēn-*, cf. Pxt. *spəǰən*.

From this page on the pointing, of *c* as *ǰ* especially, becomes increasingly untrustworthy: 271.5 *'ǰw'n-ǰm* 'wide-eyed', 272.1 *'šǰ* 'hateful' (cf. 485.5), 275.4 *w'ǰ* 'matter' (*v. H.*, 'Lg.', 427).

272.4 **b'xswnyd'h**: 'exerted himself over it' is *y'xsubyd'h* 423.2, 431.5, 472.5 (not *b-*!).

273.2 **'y xž**: *v. my* 262.4.

274.7 f. **θ:bc'x'B**: 'repentant', read *θpc'x'θ*, the noun clearly pointed at 344.7 (except *ǰ* for *c*). *pc'x'θ* < **paty-ā-xšāda-*? Cf. Pth. *'xšd* (*āxšad*) 'pity'.

276.6 **'y bwdyk**: 'rotten', read *pwd'yk*, < **pūtaka-*, p. p. of *pwn-*.

276.7 How NP *anǰūγ* 'wrinkle' could become Xw. **'njry** requires some explanation (misprint?); *v. my* 75.8.

278.1, 3 **zx-m'**: *x'aš-maniš*, certainly *xž-m'* (*v. H.*, *Dict.*, suppl., s.v.).

279.5 **'kfd-βrwc**: 'having arched brows', read *'kβd-*. *'kfc* 'arched' 279.4 is perhaps the correct fem. form (= 'brow') of the p. p. (against H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'kβdk*), with devoiced ending paralleled e.g. in *zmac* 490.6: *zmyd'yk* 200.3, 288.8, etc. 'asleep', but although this is the only such /-βd/ participle from an *-f-* stem attested it could not be /*-fd/.

280.2 **šmwSyd**: misprint for *š'mwSyd*.

283.1 f. **BKBD**: 'tongue-tied', read *kmnd*, as at 333.6.

283.5 **BRdyd**, *v. my* 157.1.

284.5 **ny:d'f'r k-**: read *ny-d'β'r*, lit. 'not-thee they are', i.e. 'you do not have the ability', pl. because Xw. 'prefers plurals for impersonal subjects' (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'β-¹* (J); *v. also* *'β-²* 'suffice'); cf. 'the good' at my 244.2. Certainly *'y kcy'k* *ibid.* 'ability' is m. sg., cf. *mwžyd'h* 495.2 'he expended it'.

284.6 **'fšyd-n'xy**: 'having one toe riding over another'. Read *-n'xn*, lit. 'having a mounted nail', *n'xn* 396.5, *'fšyd* in *y'fšydmync'wc* 38.7 'place of riding', i.e. back of a horse, p. p. of **'fšyc-* (my 244.8; H, *Dict.*, s.vv.).

284.8 **'y nčynk**: *tarsanda*, read *'nčn'yk*, as correctly at 254.6 (*v. my* 214.1).

285.3 f. **BR-b.ws**: 'distraught (with grief)', possibly *bz-bws* 'badly senseless', cf. *bws* 'senseless (with love)' 415.6, and **bz-k'ryk* 3.5 = *bad-kār*, from

**bzk* 280.5 f. (*v. my* 116.2). Although nowhere pointed -z-, this can hardly be other than a loan-word from Pth. *bzg* ‘sinful’ (though Sgd. βj - = $\beta \acute{z}$ - > NP *faž-* is simply ‘bad’).

285.6 **y.’γ’dk:m**: ‘my desire’, read *y’δk*, as at 418.2, 482.2, and Sgd. *”γδy*.

286.6 **my’ryc ’SBm’dyk**: ‘incomparable pearl’, perhaps **stm’d^yk* /*əstam-mādik* / < **stnb-m’dk* ‘of fine matter’, as NP *girān-māya*. There is no such contraction, however, in *stnb-m’n* 465.3 ‘proud’, at least in the spelling.

287.1 **škrfyk**: ‘wood’, i.e. *skrβ^yk*, *v. my* 77.3.

287.7 **pž-’NB’R**, *v. my* 258.7.

287.8 **mnpdd[. . .]**: this fits ‘(the undermined river-bank) collapsed’, **n^ypd-* < *ham-pat-*, as Sgd. *’npt-*, *’mpd-* ‘fall’, with caus. *’np’cy-*, *mnp’cyd* 113.8, 405.1 ‘destroy’; but if a word for ‘the bank’ were to follow we should expect *’y* or *’y’*, instead of what appears to be -*t*, possibly in another hand. It is perhaps followed by an alternative translation, *krδ[d* ‘sank, subsided’, as at 137.2.

289.6 f. **p’rxwtyd**: already, H, *Hb.*, p. 113, n. 6, a convincing etymology of this, in its correct spelling with -*θ-*, as at 479.1, < **para/i-xrauda-*. The p. p. ‘disturbed, mad’ is *prxwθ’dk* 405.8, and correctly 260.3.

290.5 **prknb hyw c’βryd**: read *hybr*, as at 138.5 (*v. my* note).

290.5 f. **B’FBd’w y.’FB’k**: these are two glosses, for *nāla l-watida* and *naylan*. The latter is thus **y’fy’k*, the infinitive of the verb in **y’fyd’w*, which must be *y’fy-*. Oddly, since it is surely the caus. of *yf-* ‘reach, overtake’, there is no object expressed in *y’fyd’w* ‘reached thereto’; cf. *yf-* in 360.1 *yfn’h’y xrδnd δ’r* ‘I overtook the fleeing (man)’.

291.3 **fy wBkD’R**: ‘on account of such-and-such a matter’ (*Pishro*, T, II, 222, *ba fulān čīz*), *v. my* 171.6.

292.5 f. **š’nsydyc**: for the form *v. my* 123.8, on *šnš-* ‘go astray’, *šn’sy-* ‘lead astray’. With the latter cf. *š’n’syd’h* 354.3 ‘forgot it’, which must be another meaning of the same verb. The present **š’nšdyc*, therefore, must be ‘he was forgotten by him’ (cf. Skt. *pranaśya-* ‘be lost’), a mistranslation of Ar. *nasiya(-hu)* continued in *šnt^yk* ‘forgotten’, instead of ‘forgetful’.

292.7 **y’ BY’r-kwrk**: ‘night-blind’, with capital letters misused to indicate that the gloss is mispointed *b’yn’r-*. *by’r*, lit. ‘evening’, is certain 373.3, -*kurk* 382.2; cf. Sgd. *’py’rh* ‘last night’, *βy’ryy* ‘evening’ < **api-/abi-(a)yāra-*.

293.4 f. **p’cr’hd**: ‘became rubbed’, rather *B’Cw’hd* and *BCw’h’d-p’δ* (also 295.6) ‘having sore feet’. Scarcely **bxw’h-*, as Sgd. *pxw’y-* ‘cut off’, since this and *xw’h-* ‘thresh’ 180 (margin), 219.7, are transitive.

293.6 **mnxsdyd**: ‘was hidden from him’, read *mnxsyd-* as at 500.4 (*v. my* 144.5). Then why **y’ p^csk’wyk** for *nxs(t)k’w^yk* ‘secrecy’? The abstract is from the p. p., *naxtk* at 397.8, fem. (’) *naxsc* 388.4, 393.6, 394.1 (*v. my* 299.6).

296.2 **zywydyk**: for *zywnd^yk*, *v. my* 127.3.

297.5 **m’nyyd fy n’f**: ‘stayed in the town’, misprint (?) for *m’nyd*, cf. 295.3 and *my* 192.2.

297.8 f. **’st’rk βzptyk**: *v. my* 158.6.

298.1 **nsčy'k**: *nā-kas*, 'mean, vile' appears as *nsčy'k* 334.3, but the abstract (*nā-kasī*) as *nscy'k'wk* 420.8. The last seems the best reading, if we take the word from **n-scy'dk* 'un-considered', i.e. the p. p. of **scy-*, *mscy'd* 499.5, 500.7, 504.2; this perhaps < **sačaya-*, Av. ¹*sak-*, with *-c^u-* > *-s-* prevented by the initial *s-*.

298.6 **p's'ryd'h**: the *p-* is pointed; 'settled (the boiling pot)' by adding cold water, i.e. cooling it; *ps'ry-*, like Sgd. *psyr-*, < **apa-sāraya-*, cf. *s'ry-* 'to cool' 392.2, 464.2, the *p-* being preserved in distinction from *bs'ry-* 'stir' (*v. my* 220.8).

299.2 **y.'γd'h**: 'his appointed time', fem., cf. *y' γd* 126.8 (though it is obvious from the *-h*), so read *y'γd-*.

y.'psn: 'the debt', read *y' psy*, as at 342.8 (so); *psy* 491.3.

299.3 **f.'xšy**: 'with the whip', a mistranslation of *bi l-minsa'ati*. 'xš 44.1, pl. *xšn* 484.2, is fem., cf. *f' xš(y)* 376.3, 380.5, < *aštrā-*, with secondary *x-*, so here (and 221.1) *f'xšy*. Emmerick's juxtaposition of 'xš with Sgd. *xwšyp*, NP *šēb* (*JRAS*, 1970, 1, p. 68), of quite different origin, is at best misleading.

299.5 **byršyk**: 'cloud', read *p-*, *v. my* 187.1. (The *b* would have been better employed at 299.4 'bi:pālid', for *bibālid* 'grew'.)

299.6 **bēfšk'wk**: *payvastagī*, extraordinary pointing of *pcβs(t)k'wk*, as at 421.3, 432.4, from **pcβstk*, fem. *pcβsc* 359.1, p. p. of *pcβncy-* = NP *payvand-*. With the apparent loss of *-t-*, cf. *nxs(t)k'wk*, *my* 293.6.

299.8 **š'jyd'h**: 'repaired it', with *-c-*, as correctly in 171.8, 300.1, and its doublet *mšcyd'h* 102.4; *v. H, Hb.*, p. 109, n. 2.

300.1 **mnj'myd'h**: 'frightened him', with *-č-*, as at 307.5 (*myč-*), 355.7, and correctly 221.3, 225.7, etc.

301.1 **cy xwmr'h**: 'from his sleep', not 'Schlafplatz', a mistranslation of *min marqadihi*, cf. 406.2.

301.3 **fz-br γ'zk hy r'xyzyd**: '(the game) rose to him from the left', and its opposite 303.2 **hzwr br γ'zk**, are literally 'an ill-' and 'a well-on-runner rose to him', the compounds being *fn-br-γ'zk* and *hzwr-br-γ'zk*; *fn-*, *v. my* 244.2, *γ'z-*, *my* 107.1; it is not clear whether *br* is < *upari* as an adverb (as Man.MP 'br, NP *bar*) or, uniquely, as a preverb **brγ'z-*.

301.4 **msbd'h**: 'threw him (on his face)', read *mspd-*, as at 402.7, and correctly 200.2, 208.8, 313.6, etc.; *v. my* 99.7. The inchoative 'sfs- in 119.4, 345.3 *msfsd*, 456.5 *msfst* (but 453.3 *mšfšd*!) 'prostrated self', seems to rule out a simple derivation from Av. *spā-*, *spaya-* (~ **spāsa-*).

301.5 **mθfnjd'n**: 'acquired them', with *-nc-* (for /-nj-/), as at 434.4, 440.1; *v. H, Hb.*, 117, 'θfn/yc- < **θwanja-* (cf. Sgd. *δβj-* < **θwaja-*, *Sogdica*, 32).

Here again the examples of *ǰ* for *c* (and *č*) come thick and fast: 301.6 *fǰ'wj* 'hunting', *fǰ'wnyǰ* 'hunted' (*v. H, Dict.*, s.vv. 'fč'wc, 'fč'wnyk), 302.3 *β'rǰyk* 'mount' (cf. 469.1, 471.1), 302.5 *xw's'dǰ* 'loosed' pl. (cf. 45.1), 302.6 *bynǰ'd'n* 'poured out (water)' (*v. my* 201.1), 303.7 *k'ǰydyd* 'threw it away' (*sic*, not 'ihn hin'; *v. my* 183.4).

301.7, 304.1 **rdbyd'h-**: 'snatched, ran away with him' (even NP *bi-rubūd*), read *rubyd-*, as at 203.8, 387.5, etc.

302.1 **y' mwrnyk**: 'slaughtered'; since the victim is usually masc., here and 82.6 *y qrb'nyk, bsmyr'k-mynk 'š*, this is probably *y-mwrn'k*; p. p. in *-n-* (v. my 153.1) of an unattested **mwr-*?

302.2 **Wγrd**: 'leaked', is patently *mzγrd*; *'zγr-* 'leak, ooze' < **uz-gar-*, cf. *šγr-* 'become wet' (my 91.7), *šγ'ry-* = NP *farγārīdan* (shown to me by M. Schwartz).

304.1 **klymk hy h'βrd**: 'prompted him'. H, *Dict.*, evidently from a better copy of the manuscript, reads *m'βr'zyd, 'βr'zy-*².

304.2 **'čw'n'wk**: 'spaciousness', a mispointing needlessly repeated in the next glosses; cf. *'cw'n* 249.5, 271.5, etc., *'cw'n'wk* 463.6.

304.4 f. **βzwmZd**: the nearest NP equivalent is *az nekī dūr* 'far from (God's) goodness', cf. 69.2 **βzwmzcnk** = *dūrī*. First we therefore have *βž-*, cf. *βžk* 505.3 = *dirāz*, *'βžc* 348.1 = *dūr*, < *barz-*; then probably **-wmžd* < **wi-mrždā-* 'unforgiveness' or the like, cf. Pth. *'mwjd* 'pity'. *βžwmžd* is still a strange adjectival cpd., **'having a distant disfavour* for 'banished'; the abstract is probably *βžwmžcyk*.

304.7 **bčf**: 'sour', 332.4 f. **'bjf-bjy'k**: 'sour-faced', v. my 90.8.

305.3 **t'wbyd'h**, 5 **'y twbyk**: 'admonished him; advice'. There's many a slip *'twixt našīha* and *tauba*; read *b'wynd'h*, from *bwyn-*, as at 130.4, 484.1, and verbal noun *bwynk*, 315.5, 446.1; v. H, *Hb.*, p. 99, n. 1.

306.7 **bδm** 'smooth', 336.3 **bδm** 'soft', the same 393.1, 409.1, is *pδm* at 502.2. This is confirmed by Sariqoli *pād̄m*, Yidya *polam* (*IIFL*, II, 237a); its antonym also occurs, *'wbδm* 409.3 'firm, solid' < **wi-padma-*.

306.8 **mSkn'h y' kynk'h**: 'I avenged him', lit. 'took his revenge'. **sk-* seems to be the stem, < **us-kar-*? Cf. *'k-*, without preverb.

307.7 **Rcy θwyd**: 'burnt brightly', with little room for doubt in *rcy*; cf. Skt. *rucya-* 'bright'?

f. **BβBYk(?)**: read *f'βbn'k* (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'βbnk*), as at 94.5, 130.6.

308.6 f. **γwfy'n'hybr**: 'I boasted about it to him', read *γwβy-* as at 484.7; evidently a caus. **gaubaya-* of Sgd. *γwβ-* 'praise', which in Xw. is *γwy-*, 305.1, etc.; < **gubya-*?

308.8 **b'xsyd**: 'it opened', read *b'šsyd*, as at 453.3, 4, the inchoative-passive of *bšy-*, 303.3, etc., 'to open (trans.)', with *-s-* and *-y-*.

309.1 **p'cyt'n'd**: 'cut them', read *p'xyt-*, as at 468.6; similarly at 314.7. Much commoner is the doublet *mpxyt-*, 202.4, 402.2, etc.

Another group of *ǰ* pointings for *c*: 309.1, 315.2 *ǰwb-* 'water', 310.1 f., 317.7 *mǰxyzd̄yθ*, *mǰxyzyd* 'rose, went' (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'cxyz-*), 310.4 *w'zyt'ǰ y' ǰm'h* (v. my 258.7), 311.1 *nk'ǰy'wk* 'humility' (cf. 163.7), 311.2 *p'ǰmǰd-* 'clothed' (v. my 234.1), 311.3 *š'mǰdyǰ* 'undressed him', 311.4 *b'rytyǰ* (for *p'rytyc* = *bērūn kard*, cf. 354.4), 311.6 *f:ryǰǰ* (for *rncc* 'ells', cf. 82.8), *ǰf'rm* 'fourth' (for *cβ'rm*, cf. 35.3), 311.8 *y' n'ǰ'h* 'his nose' (cf. 310.7), *ǰ' βwmy* 'from the earth',

315.2 *fy b'jy'j* (for *pcy'c* 'on the face'), 316.6 *k(w)zydyj* 'sought from him', and so on.

309.4 *br' b'fy*: 'on the left (hand)', i.e. *pr' b'βγ*; *b'fy* also 489.6, but *b'βγγcyk* 429.1, and *b'βγγ* correctly supplied 65.3. *br* for *pr* also 309.5, 311.6.

310.4 *'y' WRc-cm*: 'having protruding eyes', read *'wzc-*, *v.* my 258.7.

312.1 *'bryyd'h*: 'patched it' is *'pryyd'h* at 399.1, so 'patch' also *'pryyk*.

312.6 *c' JYN*: 'by the forelock', with more than a little improbability; read *čby*, after *f' čb* 510.6, *y' čb'h* 38.6. This /čəba/ is very reminiscent of Ar. *šabha* 'forehead' (was B. thinking of *šabīn*?).

313.2 *βy.pd'k-s'r*: 'towards the street', is *f-pnd'k s'r* mispointed; correctly at 355.5.

313.5 *bšt hy w'syd*: *v.* my 210.7.

313.6 *f'č hy βrd'h y p'dysh*: three errors, read *f'c hy βrdd 'y b'dysh* (though the second *-d* is perhaps a repeat, in error, of the first ornate one). *f'c* for *f' 'wc* 366.4, 377.1, in a cpd. verb with *βr-* = NP *ba-šāy āvurdan*, is probably /fācca/ including the article, like *y'šy δ'r: y' 'š*, *v.* my 73.6. *b'dys*, *v.* my 170.8.

313.7 *mykmynd'h*: 'slapped him', *mykmynk* 'slap' at 6.6 also. In both cases *-ny-* is much more likely than *-yn-*.

314.1 *y' brwr'k y.sp'n*: 'the rearing of horse(s)'; *prwr'k* is inf. of *prwr-*, as at 391.2; *'sp'n*, gen. sg. masc., nevertheless takes the fem. article after a fem. noun (H, 'Lg.', 426 f.), so *y'sp'n* without points.

314.5 *f:RWRBk c'yt*: 'withdrew into its sheath', read *fžδ'nk*, cf. *'žδ'nk* in the same context 39.1, 46.7. *'y zwž*: 'hedgehog' is only pointed *z-* at 53.7; why should the final *-z* be other? Cf. *zwz* 'kiss', my 219.5.

314.6 *Z'Ryd'h y' sb'h*: 'killed the louse', read *w'znd'h*, *v.* my 193.4, and *sp'h*, my 271.3.

315.3 f. *b'γyt'h y' δrmjyk*: 'the scorpion bit him'! A literal translation of NP *bigazūd*, corrected at 315.7 to *xdd'h 'y δrmcyk* 'stung him'; on *δrmcyk*, *v.* H, 'Lg.', 436.

315.8 *'zδ'k b'rwzd*: 'became clever', read *'zd'k p°*, as at 243.5, 274.3, etc.

316.1 *sb'θ*: 'army', thrice on the strength of one point, can only be *sp'θ*; even NP keeps the *-p-*. On *'xwβ(y)-* (*xwβynk* proved by *mxwβyd* 315.8), *v.* *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 1, 1970, 124. In view of **gubya-* > *γwy-* (my 308.6), the caus. **xšaubaya-* is perhaps a more likely etymon than **xšubya-*. 317.3 *mxwndyθ*: 'put him in straits' is the same verb, *mxwβ(y)d*, cf. *mxwβy'ryθ* 442.6.

316.3 *'y brkj*: *barakat*, read *brkc*, as at 425.5 f., pl. of **brkk*, attested in *θbrkk* 'blessed' (*v.* H, 'Lg.', 429; text *XJ*, 71).

317.4 *ny'k*: *v.* my 208.7.

318.1 *γrj d' mkd f' hsj*: 'made errors in reading', read *γdc*, pl. of *γdk* at 342.1 f., 388.4, etc., and *hsc*, as at 493.7. *mrj ck'm γryk*: 'man of many (reading) errors' is thus *mrc ck'm-γd'k*. *γd'k* is connected with *γw-* 'fail', i.e. 'be necessary' and 'make an error' 261.8, 270.1, so < **guta-*; *hsc*, and

hs 80.5, both fem., correspond to the stem *hyδ-* ‘read’, 423.1, etc., suggesting a basic **hadya-* > **haida-* as stem, but > **hathya-* in the noun.

318.2 **γfn d' mkd f' fyj**: ‘modulated in the song’, read *γfcm*, pl. of *γfc* < **grfti-*, as NP *girift* ‘playing vibrato’, and *fnc*, as at 15.1, cf. *fn-* ‘to sing’, 168.3, 418.2, 482.2.

319.4 **y' šks'k-mynj 'wc**: corresponds to the NP gloss in T, II, 266, *šāy-i nigaristan*, for ‘aspect’. Read *šks'k-mync*, from the inf. of *šks-* ‘look at’, 425.3, 497.7, assimilated < **šks-* < *fra-kasa-* (H, *Hb.*, p. 119, n. 3).

319.8 **xd'c W'[ZYL]**: ‘(the sheep) went to graze themselves’, as if *'wzy-* were the passive of *w'zyyd* ‘he led (them)’ in the previous line; but *w'zy-* is < *wādaya-* and *wāzaya-* (v. my 158.7) and *'wzy-* < *uz-i-*. The contrast *w'zyd*: *w'zyl* at 384.3 f. gives a different sense. This is probably *xd'c m(y)'r*, as at 180.7, 226.3, 450.2.

320.1 **y' γyθb'n**: ‘the shepherd’, for *rā'ī* instead of *ra'y*; v. my 103.8.

y' xwβ s'y: *sa'ī-yi nēk*, for all that it is pointed *xwt*, is *xwb s'y*, cf. 331.6, 336.2, etc.

320.2 **γ'm'žyd'h**: ‘denounced him’, read *γ'm'zyd-*, as correctly 152.3 (margin), 154.7; *γm'zy-* is a denom. stem < Ar.-Pers. *γammāz* ‘calumniator’.

321.3 **y' b'rj**: ‘trustworthy’, is *b'rc* ‘secure’ 334.8, 336.8, 405.4.

321.4 **b'cyd**: ‘it swelled’ is *p'cyd*, as at 410.3, 476.3, and correctly at 150.7 (wrongly 507.1).

323.6 **y' nmrk sbyn**: ‘soft iron’, read *spny*, as at 242.2.

327.5 f. **'bjyθ**: ‘cheap’. Among so many mispointings of *p* and *c* this is worth noting because it only occurs once more, as *pcyθ*, at 437.8. Confirmation comes from Sgd. *pt'yδ*, *ptyθy* ‘contemptible’ and Pth. *ptyyd* (loan < Sgd.); v. W. Sundermann, *MIO*, xiv, 3, 1968, 399 f., n. 67.

327.8 **pnyc**: ‘wide’, 328.1 **pnny**: ‘width’, for *pθnk*, *pθny* resp., v. my 206.8.

328.3 **š'ž'wydbyr**: ‘behaved roughly to him’, read *-ybyr*, as at 398.7, 400.4.

329.3 **bix's n'ryk** [oder: **b'ryk**?]: ‘thin clothing’. All the NP glosses of *saxufa*, *saxīf* contain *tanuk* (not *tang*), translated by *n'r-*, *n'ryk*, as Pashto *naray*, Oss. *naräg*; cf. 408.2. **b'ryk* does not occur in Xw., NP *bārīk* ‘thin’ being translated *'zmrk* 122.6, 393.7, 408.2, 436.4, 501.2; cf. Oss. *mälläg*?

330.4 **k'nbwyd**: added *sec. manu* in error, as it means ‘decreased’ 182.1, 438.1, not ‘was unskilled’. Conceivably Ar. *xaruqa* was misread as *huziqa* ‘was compressed, contracted’.

330.6 **y' 'žnd βj'n** [durchgestrichen,] **f:n'n**: corresponds to *sazāvār-ast badān*; the *βc'n* ‘is’ (v. my 128.1) is not deleted.

330.8, 334.5 **'δfzk**: *sitabr*, ‘thick’, read (')*δβzk* as at 173.1, cf. Oss. *bāzjən*, Sgd. *δβ'nz*, etc. (Benveniste, *Études* . . . *ossète*, 20 f.).

331.6 **'snyb** [r.: **'stnb**]-**qdr**: why correct this and leave *'stnb-qdr*, etc., 333.4 f.?

332.1 **b:z'f'r**: ‘weak, thin’ is far from certainly ‘without *z'β'r*’, since no such word is attested. Read *bz'β'r* undivided, as at 296.5, etc.

335.7 **θwj**: as at 405.7, the glossator has thought of the meaning 'place' in connexion with Ar. *makuna*, *makkana*, i.e. *θ-wc* is for *bā-ǰāy* 'having a place', not *bā-ǰāh* 'honoured' (which is *θ-nmd* 325.7, 337.1, etc.).

335.8 **ǰrdK**: can hardly correspond to all the NP glosses of *haǰuna*, viz. *bē-ašl*, *čust-u čābuk* (W only), and at 405.8 *zišt* (T), *čarda* (W). This last B. uncritically translates as 'brown'! Reference to 37.1 *haǰīn* = NP *ǰurda* would have been enough to confirm the true meaning of *ǰrdk* as 'half-breed, by an Arab stallion out of a country mare'. There are innumerable other examples of Xw. *-k* replacing NP *-a(h)* in assimilated loan-words.

336.5 (margin) **wrδ-ǰw[nk]**: 'rosy', i.e. 'bay' horse, is simply *wrδǰw*, as *mδǰw* (in *mδǰw-cm* 270.5) 'wine-coloured'; v. H, *Hb.*, 116. True, such compounds generally take *-k*, but *ǰwnk* 'hair' would work against it here. In the *Qunya* there is also *xrbwz-ǰwn*, a kind of melon (glossed *xarbuз-šikl* 'melon-shaped').

338.1 **'y kšpk hy**: 'his side', read *pšpk*. The imagined *k-* is formed by the *kasra* of Ar. *ǰuniba* above. *pšpk*, 126.5, 236.2, 396.1, 492.4, is not rare; < Av. *parswi* 'ribs', cf. Oss. *fārsk*, Yidya *parsəǰē*, Kurd. *parāsū*, etc.

339.4 **'y-βy'n-δ'r**: 'to them', as if a pers. pron. 3 pl. **βy'n* could be separated from the article 'y. This is the only occurrence of **yβy* 'they', but comparison of *mβy* 62.4 'we' with *k's mβy'n δ'r* (*Qunya*; Frejman, *XJ*, 115) 'if to us' leaves no place for an article. Conversely, *pšy mβy'n* 64.8 'by us', *hβy* 62.3 'you', *pry hβy* (*XJ*, 71) 'upon you', show that an article is in place after prepositions, so the point in 339.5 **br.yβy** is doubly unwanted; /*mαβy(ān)*: **ēβy(ān)*/ suggests that **pr-y'yβy* became /**par(y)ēβi/*.

341.2 **mzymd**: here, as rarely, Wetzstein was led astray by his NP glosses. Ar. *'uyila šabruhu* is not *birasīd* but *ba-sar rasīd šabr-aš* (*Pišturo*), *na-mānd šikēb-i ō* (T) 'his patience was exhausted'. The Xw. gloss is accurate, cf. **zym-* 'be finished, exhausted' 253.8, 257.8, 295.4, and Sgd. *'zy'ms-*. Where Sgd. has a new inchoative from (')*zy'm-* 'to consume', Xw. has inherited an older **uz-yama-*.

341.4 **'y 'ws hyc mw'rʷyd**: 'he became senseless'. The reading *hyc* is most unlikely; the glossator seems to have been taken by Ar. (*ǰušiya*) '*alayhi* and translated 'the sense(s) became mixed upon him', *hyb(r) mw'rʷd*. '*ws-'w'r'dʷk* is then 'sense-muddled'; cf. 249.7 f. *āmēxta*.

341.7 **bž:k'm**: 'wry-mouthed', read *pž-*, as correctly at 273.2.

342.1 **ywzk'wk**: 'sufficiency' (NP *basanda*, not *p-*), v. my 150.3.

343.8 **c'yt**: 'went in', wrongly but not less plainly pointed *č-* than 344.3 *ǰ-*.

344.2 f. **rnj'wk**: 'confusion'. As there is danger of another kind of confusion with *rnj* 'trouble', e.g. 345.5, this mispointing of *c* is worth noting; v. my 246.1 and 121.8.

344.8 **mčkyšyd'h**: 'called him a liar', read *mčkyšd-*, as at 389.6. The verb must be a denominative < *čkyš* 'lie', 449.3, 462.5, etc. This word again takes us back to the Avesta. To account for the *č-* one could posit an **ati-kaiša-* > **əčkēš* (not > *c-* before *k-*—see H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'ǰk'cy-*), approximately

παρά-δοξος. But the 'Irrlehre' *par excellence* of early Iranian was Gothic *tkāēsa-*, whose *t-* baffled even Bartholomae (*GIP*, I, 1, 178, § 302, 5). There is still 'no plausible explanation' of it, but it is surely better to see its descendant in Xw. (')*čkyš* than to assume another form with a prefix, for elsewhere *kyš* alone still carries the sense of 'false doctrine', in Man. MP (*Mir. Man.*, II). In any case, Khwarezmian clearly preserves the Avestan concept in its most archaic form.

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