

## THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—I

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Khwarezmian linguistic studies have progressed but slowly since their inception in 1927, when A. Z. V. Togan published his discovery of some Khwarezmian (hereafter Xw.) sentences in an Arabic *fiqh* book.<sup>1</sup> W. B. Henning's first article appeared after nine years<sup>2</sup> and a quarter of a century later H. W. Bailey could still<sup>3</sup> refer to 'the slowly emerging Chorasmian'. The latest bibliography cannot boast more than two dozen titles. It is our tragic loss that Henning, having studied all the available Xw. material in the course of four decades, should have left ready for publication only the first 260 entries (from ' to 'kw-) of the Khwarezmian dictionary on which he was working at his most untimely death.<sup>4</sup> Of course, Togan's publication in 1951 of the facsimile of a manuscript of Zamakhshari's Arabic dictionary *Muqaddimatu 'l-adab*, almost completely glossed in Xw.,<sup>5</sup> made the greater part of the extant Xw. material generally available, but, not least because of the labour involved, few have cared to duplicate or anticipate Henning's work. Now suddenly, however, in the words of a colleague, 'everyone has become a Khwarezmologist', through the publication of a transliteration and translation of this same linguistic material by Johannes Benzing.<sup>6</sup>

Benzing promises a second volume of indexes: an alphabetic list of all the Xw. words,<sup>7</sup> with translation and line references, a 'grammatical index', and a German-Khwarezmian index. But his first volume makes only one major new contribution: besides bringing together, entry by entry, transcriptions of the Arabic and Persian texts of the *Muqaddimatu 'l-adab* and Latin translations of the former, all from J. G. Wetzstein's edition,<sup>8</sup> he has presented his own readings of the Xw. glosses. This very expensive volume is, in fact, one form of the work-notes which any user of the facsimile edition would necessarily make for himself. Until the resulting indexes appear it may seem premature to evaluate the work, but as the readings of the Xw. glosses are its essence there is much to go on.

<sup>1</sup> 'Hwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen *Fiqh*-Werke', *Islamica*, III, 1927, 190-213.

<sup>2</sup> 'Über die Sprache der Chvarezmier', *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, \*30-\*34.

<sup>3</sup> In a review in *JRAS*, 1961, 54.

<sup>4</sup> This fragment is to be published shortly as a supplement to *Asia Major*. Its contents are not anticipated here but are referred to as *Dict*.

<sup>5</sup> *Documents on Khorezmian culture*, 1. *Muqaddimat al-adab*, with the translation in *Khorezmian*, Istanbul.

<sup>6</sup> *Das chwarezmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der 'Muqaddimat al-adab' von Zamaxšari*. I. Text. xx, 403 pp. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1968. DM 184.

<sup>7</sup> It remains to be seen whether by 'sämtliche vorkommende Wörter' the author means analysed dictionary forms, i.e. the nominatives of nouns and stems of verbs, or the various inflected forms actually occurring.

<sup>8</sup> *Samachscharii lexicon arabicum persicum ex codicibus manuscriptis . . . edidit atque indicem arabicum adiecit Dr. . . . Wetzstein*, Leipzig, 1850. In addition to this, I have had considerable use of the available parts of an edition by Muhammad Kāzim Imām, *Pishrav-i adab*, Tehran, 1963-5 (hereafter *Pishro*, the editor's spelling). The work is cited by Benzing (p. xiii), but has evidently not been used.

Since many may be tempted to sample this ‘digested’ Khwarezmian alone, rather than the raw diet of the MS facsimile, it may be as well to say at the outset that Benzing’s work is open to criticism on a number of counts. Details will emerge below, but the following general statements are justified. First, he transliterates the Xw. glosses according to an elaborate and would-be rigid scheme, but frequently, inconsistently, and above all tacitly, departs from his own ideal. The very rigidity of the scheme adopted, moreover, makes no allowance for either deficiencies or mistakes, or even possible alterations to the MS *secunda manu* (difficult to identify from the facsimile), in the pointing of letters. As the MS, with all its shortcomings, is generally available in facsimile, the opportunity has thus so far been almost entirely missed to *interpret* the spellings of the glosses. Only very rarely has the comment ‘recte . . .’ been made, with the implication that when it is absent the author accepts the gloss as it stands as correct Khwarezmian. His only intentional departure from a rigid representation of the original is in the introduction of points or colons to indicate ‘Kompositionsfugen’, including the juncture of definite article and noun. This unfortunately leads to many unnecessary mistakes. These considerations of principle apart, Benzing can also be faulted for many misreadings and, worse, wrong generalizations from them.

Benzing’s transliteration scheme comprises three kinds of type: roman for ‘certain, unambiguous’ letters, italic for ‘probable’ readings, and italic capitals to denote the *shapes* of ‘badly written or unpointed, uncertain’ letters. In the latter case, however, a rich source of confusion is introduced by the occasional use of other letters than the basic **B, C, D, R, S, F**, etc., when a ‘certain probability’, its basis never stated, ‘speaks for such a reading’, e.g. **JD’k** (110.8, read *xr’k*). The justification given for the unadventurous representation of the ‘certain’ letters, e.g. **b** in **b’rwzd**, although **p’rwzd** is amply attested, is that ‘sound-laws yet to be discovered’ may have governed the spelling. That this is over-cautious is easily shown by examples of the alternative spellings occurring in identical phonetic contexts, e.g. 226.3 **br xrk** ~ 319.7 **pr xrk**, 171.2 **mbxyt’h** ~ 202.4 **mpxyt’h**, 510.8 **’zr b’rwzd** ~ 414.5 **’zr p’rwzd**.

Ideally a close transliteration of the glosses should provide for five different states of the pointing: in the first case all readings can be classed as confirmed (either by multiple occurrences or, to some extent, by etymology) or unconfirmed, and then their individual letters shown as fully (and correctly) pointed, unpointed, or incorrectly (including insufficiently)<sup>9</sup> pointed. For example:

	<i>Confirmed</i>	<i>Unconfirmed</i>
Fully pointed	<b>p’rwzd</b>	xz
Not pointed	<b>p’rwzd</b>	CR
Incorrectly pointed	<b>P’rwzd</b>	—

<sup>9</sup> There are very few sure cases of over-pointing.

Such a close transliteration alone is of little practical value, however. It would be far better to rearrange the material entirely, presenting all the information relevant to each Xw. word together, in dictionary form, including an evaluation of the spellings which occur. With regard to Benzing's work it is too late for this counsel of perfection, but in the detailed discussion of it below, of necessity now arranged according to the pagination of the MS (Benzing's 'Zm' references), an attempt will be made to apply the surviving principle, of comparing occurrences.

An obvious difficulty in interpreting the glosses in the first 72 pages of the manuscript, containing the end of the chapter 'Nouns', is that it contains many *hapax legomena*. It is more profitable to begin with the chapter 'Verbs', particularly as the MS is in general more fully pointed towards the end. Of course many nominal forms appear, often repeatedly, in this section and reference has to be made to their appearance in the first chapter. The verbal glosses also give a clearer view of the grammar of Khwarezmian. Let us consider first, therefore, Benzing's p. 60, concentrating on the debatable entries.

73.3-5 **mkw'rd**<sup>o</sup>: the stem \**kw'r-* is borrowed from NP *guwār-* 'digest, be digestible'. Although *g* is only once distinguished from *k* in the script (45.1 *grk*, v. Benzing, p. xv), it must surely have been a phoneme of Xw., beside /b, d/ in initial as well as medial position (e.g. *b-* 'without', *dh-* 'hit', *cwb* 'water', *w'd* 'wind'). A case can, therefore, be made for distinguishing *g* in transliteration, as *b*, *d* are, though necessarily always as 'under-pointed', particularly in loan-words like 137.6 *gč* 'plaster', 4.7, 89.1 *gnj* 'treasure', 361.1, 407.8 *grym* 'carpet, NP *gīlīm*', 86.2, 351.4 *gwr* 'grave', 60.4, 184.2 *rng* 'colour', 365.4 *swg* 'sorrow', etc., and here *'gw'r-*, *mgw'rdybr*.

73.6, 75.1 **y'.šy-δ'r**: this first example shows how misconceived is Benzing's insertion of points to mark juncture. 'š \**/uššʷ/* 'she-camel', with the fem. article *y' /yā/*, presumably lost its initial vowel in this context, \**/yā-ššʷya-dār/* (contrast 125.3 *y' 'š*), since *y'š<sup>o</sup>* can scarcely represent either \**/y-uššʷ<sup>o</sup>* or \**/yā-uššʷ<sup>o</sup>*. If a point is to be introduced at all—and it is of very doubtful value—it should, therefore, be after the article, *y'.šy-δ'r*.

74.6 **'sbd'rmd**: read *'spnd<sup>o</sup>*, as at 348.1. MSgd. *spnd'rmd*, etc.

75.8, 156.7 **mncwryd**: this should be **mncwRyd** according to Benzing's scheme. But since it means 'he screwed up (his face)', i.e. 'frowned', it is possible to connect it with the verb \*(*'*)*ncxs-* 454.4, 463.3, etc., p.p. *'ncydyk* 249.3,<sup>10</sup> 'be wrinkled', and NP *anjūy* 'wrinkle' (Xw. idem 276.7). These forms are transparently from *ham* √ \**kaug*, -*čuxsa-*, -*čuryda-*, -*čauga-* [cf. Khot. *hamggūjs-* 'to fear' (Emmerick, *SGS*, 137, and ref. there) < *ham* √ *karik*, Skt. *sam-kuc-* 'shrink']. Our causative can then be seen as \**'ncwzy-* < \**han-čaujaya-* 'contract, wrinkle'; cf. formally *ywzy-* 346.5, 388.4, etc., 'make firm, ready' < \**yaujaya-* : *yxs-* 455.8, 466.4 'be firm, ready' < \**yuxsa-*.

75.8 **mwrzyd'h**: read *mzurcyd'h*, as at 389.5. (*'*)*zurcy-* 'turn over' <

<sup>10</sup> In my transliteration of Xw. words, a penultimate raised *y* represents the letter written only when the word is in pause.

\**uz-wartaya-*, caus. of (')*zurd-* 470.3, etc., 'cross (a wall)'; cf. XSgd. *zwyrt-*, caus. of *zwrt-* 'return'.

77.3 **P'Dyt'h y škrfyk**: is not 'he sawed the wood' (q.v. 129.3) but 'he cut, hewed . . .'. The personal ending *-t* indicates a stem in /-ay-/ (H, 'Verb', 45)<sup>11</sup> with the preverb *apa-*; comparison with *-ncy-* 'show' < \**ni-čaša-* (H, *Hb.*, 111) makes an etymon \**apa-taša-* (cf. Skt. *apa-takṣ-*) > \**bdy-* most likely, thus *b'dyt'h*; the same at 87.2, 147.4.

\*(')*škrf(y)k* 'wood', so written by B. throughout, is spelt plainly with *-β-* at 47.6 and nowhere pointed š-: it is \*(')*skrβ<sup>y</sup>k* and probably connected with Khot. *skarba-*, XSgd. *sqrβ* 'rough, harsh' (Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxix, 3, 1966, 518, at 65b); the same at 87.1f, 94.5, 98.8, 99.5, 129.3, 156.4, 164.1, 178.1.

77.7 **y bmbx**: although the initial is here pointed *b-* and the final *-x* at 100.4, 108.4, both are suspect (despite Oss. *bāmbāg*, Arm. *bambak* 'cotton'). The word is plural (here = suffix *-n*) and may well be \**pm<sup>y</sup>c* < a notional \**pm<sup>y</sup>k*, rather than \**pm<sup>y</sup>x*.

78.1 **'npnyd'h y' cm**: this is a mistranslation of *xalaġat 'aynuhu* 'his eye flickered' (q.v. 434.3 *'pnyd y' cm*); it must mean 'he caused the eye to flicker', cf. 302.3 \**'npnyd y' β'rcyk* 'the steed kicked'.

79.1 **hβrn hy h'βryd**: \**hβrn* 'gift', as B. writes throughout, no doubt influenced by the present stem *hβr-* 'to give', is certainly *hβdn* < \**fra-brta-*, cf. 214.7 \**md<sup>y</sup>k* 'dead' < *mrtā-ka-*. (Only once, at 504.1, could it conceivably be read \**hβrn*.) Although the spellings 5.5 \**hβdny* and 365.1 \**'y hβdnyh* 'his gift' seem to tell against the *-n* being the plural ending /-in<sup>a</sup>/, the pl. verb 79.2 *β'ryn* ≡ *bāsand* proves it.

79.3 **γwđ 'y 'kt**: 'the dog barked'. There seems to be no reason for departing from the written *'wđ*; cf. Ar. *'awa* 'bark, howl', NP *'au-'au kardan*, North. Kd. *'awtīn* 'to bark', rather than Pġt. *γapəl*, Orm. *γauγau* 'barking'.

79.7 **mδšyd'h**: read *-δβšy-*, as at 484.2; 'to envy' perhaps trans. to a \**'δβš-* 'be envious', < \**dwar-sa-* (cf. 50.8 *δš* 'goat-hair' < \**darsa-*, H, 'Lg.', 432, and formally *'yr'sy-* 'waken': *'yr's-* 'be awake'); then Pġt. *wyār* 'envy' < \**dwar-ti*<sup>o</sup>.

80.8 **tnk f'ncyd**, 81.1 **'y tnyk**: the second consonant is not pointed at 18.3 either and one would expect **tBk** 'bandage', more likely connected with NP *tāb-* 'twist' than *tan-* 'spin'. Read *β'ncyd* 'he bound', as at 75.4, etc., after *-k* at 448.3. The letter *č* evidently represents both *c* and *j* (*ts*, *dz*), as in the traditional Pashto orthography, and we may further distinguish \**βnjy-* < *bandaya-* from, say, *'wrcy-* < *ā-wartaya-*.

81.4 **'y δrwyk (!)**: a cross-reference to 261.2 would have made it clearer that *δrw<sup>y</sup>k* translates *bēmār*, not *bālīš*, of the NP equivalent.

<sup>11</sup> Henning's articles are quoted thus:

*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.

'Verb' = 'The structure of the Khwarezmian verb', *AM*, NS, v, 1, 1955, 43-9.

81.6 **'nbneydyθ**: read *'nbncdyθ*, as at 408.6, 410.6, 435.3, etc. *'nbncyd* (*'nbicyd*) does occur at 81.3, 168.4, 464.5 and is probably the better spelling; \**'nbnjy-* 'intend' < \**ham-bandaya-*? Cf. BSgd. *'nβ'nt* 'cause', Khot. *hambañ-* 'compose' (SGS, 142).

81.8 **'yǞwBk pcx's**: read rather, *Cwlk*. It is not 'clothes worn one over the other' but 'piled one on the other'. *Ǟwbk* 473.2 is a *Ǟbba*.

82.2 **š'w'zyd'h**: 'threw it', read \**š'w'žyd-*, as correctly at 94.2. The same assimilation, \**š'w'žy-*: *w'zy-*, is seen in 430.1 *š'wžd* 'jumped', \**šwž-*: *wz-*; v. also my 123.8.

82.6 **b'smyrd'h**: correct, as at 417.4, but here the MS actually has initial *n-*!

82.8 **'wd:n y'mzd 'y rncyc**: read \**b'mžd*, as at 394.5, 464.3, 465.7. The basic meaning appears to be 'to tuck up (sleeves, skirts, ready for action)', but here it is transferred to 'forearms' (cf. 311.6 *rycc* 'cubits', NP *arš*; \**rnck* < \**arančika-* < *arašni-*); *bmž-* < \**upa-m(a)rza-*, cf. Skt. *upa-mrj-* 'stroke, touch, sweep'.

83.7 **f:'hd**: apparently \**P-'hd*, but 154.8 *fy 'hd*, 386.7 *f-'hd*.

83.8 **fy wδstyk**: read *fy wrysyk*. 25.6, 114.8 (*'wrysyk* 'dough', from (*'wrysy-* 105.1, 114.8 'to knead' < \**wi-riθya-*, cf. MSgd. *wryδ-*, *wryst* 'mix' (BBB, 69 on 560). 25.6, 176.5 *wδstyk* is specifically 'unleavened dough'.

83.8 **mÑrd**, 84.3 **mBRyd**: read *mnr<sup>yd</sup>* = *nālīd*, as at 125.3, *bāng kard* (*šēr*), as at 509.8. Xw. also has *nrδ<sup>yd</sup>* = *nālīd* at 125.6, 368.5, cf. BSgd. *nrδ-*, Pĕt. *narəl*. Perhaps \*/*narr-*/ (the more likely position of the *tashdīd* in 83.8) has been influenced by Ar. *na'ara*, cf. Pĕt. *nāra* < *na'ra*.

84.1, 154.2 **mnbysyd**, 161.7, 174.1 **mnbsyd**: however unexpectedly, the verb 'to write' is pointed *nps-* at 407.4, 419.7, 436.2, 483.5, against as many times *nbs-*, so read \**mnp<sup>ysd</sup>*.

84.4 **TRd'd**: for *nāy zad* 'played the flute' a form close to Pahl. *pzd-* might be expected. *-azd-* is preserved in *'zd'k* 'clever' 243.5, etc. (\**bzk* 'bad', 7.5, 116.2, etc., is evidently a loan-word from WMIr.). Probably \**pzd<d>d* is to be read.

84.7 **f:rc**: read *f-wcc* 'by spans' (NP *bidast*, not *ba:dast*!), cf. 72.1 *'wck* \*/*ucc<sup>1</sup>k*/ < \**úcas(t)ik*, or \**úcasik*, < *witasti-ka-*.

84.8 **fc'wn'wk**: 'patience', pointed *βc°* at 341.2, 480.8 (against B.'s **f-**). An abstract in *-'wk* from \**βc'wn* < \**abi-tāwana-*, cf. Sgd., Pth. *pt'w-* 'endure' < *pati-tāwa-*.

**mCBδd'd**: 'whistle, chirp', perhaps \**'xyδ-* < \**xšwaida-*, Skt. *kšvedati*; cf. Pĕt. *špeláy* 'whistle' (EVP, 75). Then \**mxyδd'd*.

85.7 **p'rβ'rcyd°**: 'forgave'. The *-c-* must be a smudge, cf. *prβ'ry'k* 'forgiveness' at 496.3. *'β'ry-* also 'forgive', 303.6, 376.7, 382.5, 490.2. *prβ'ry-* < \**para-bāraya-*, cf. Av. *para.baraiti* (AIW, 940) 'makes good'?

86.2 **fy kwr**: *dar gōr*, v. my 73.3.

**'pcpk'n'wc mkd**: read *'ncyk'n'wc*, as at 351.4, *-'w<sup>1</sup>k* 5.1, 'severity,

frugality'. Not to be confused with (')*pcpk'wk*, 423.4, 430.3, 491.8, 'opposition', from (')*pcpk* 'facing'.

86.7 **prt'w hy mkd**: this would mean 'he made him victorious' (cf. 389.4), not 'he forced him', so read *BRB'D*.

87.1 **škrfk θγδ-mt**: *škrβk*, *v.* my 77.3. *saxt-šikan* is *θγδ-mt*, lit. 'hard-broken'; *θγδ*, H, *Hb.*, p. 109, n. 2; *mt*, H, 'Lg.', 435.

87.7 **cy mynk**: 'from Miná', Ar. *mny*, so read *mnyk*.

87.8, 147.3 **C'δfwBd**: \**cδβwy-* 'talk nonsense' < \**ati-dwawaya-*, an odd stem, perhaps produced by conflation of Av. *dawa-* 'speak (daevic)' and *drāwaya-* 'deceive' (Schwartz, *JRAS*, 1966, 122) ?

88.2 *šm'zyk*, but *šm'zk-b'n*.

88.3, 141.1 **mnkyd'h**: the verb 'to sew' is often miswritten, 220.2 *mnkd*, 305.5 *mnkyd*, 362.4 *mnkynd* (for *mnkn'd*). '*nknc* 'needle', however, is unambiguous at 88.6, 190.5, 305.6. Better \**mnknd'h*, as at 97.6. Is Pñt. *gandəl* 'sew' then Ir., < \**han-kan*° ?

88.5 **f'we f' yr'nh**: this might mean 'in the place of his \*mountain' (in fact *γryc'k* 157.8, 480.4). But read 'z'n-h, g. s. m. of Ar. 'z 'honour'.

88.6 **WR'k'R**: 'incapable, impotent', with *w-* at 352.3. From \**wr'n-k'r* (cf. Pñt. *wrān*), against 370.1 *wyr'n* 'desolate' ?

90.1 **zšyyd**: *zβnd* at 466.7, *zβy'd* at 327.3, 476.4. Benzing's system makes no provision for this frequent alternation (*v.* H, *Hb.*, 116 f.), which we may conveniently write *-ñ-* (without any phonetic implications), thus *zβñ'd*. *zβñ-* 'guess, imagine' < \**uz-brna-*, as \**βn-*, 500.2 *mβnd*, 'shave' < \**brna-* (: Av. *brīna-*), \**xn-*, 507.3 *mān'd*, 'buy' < \**xrna-* (: XSgd. *xryn-*), *bfn-*, 82.5, 85.8 *b'fnd*, 'create' < \**upa-frna-* (: Sgd. *s-fryn-*) ?

90.3 **'y pcbhyk 'yc 'st'ryc**: 'the retrogressing (not "zurückbleibenden") stars'. '*yc*, pl. of \**yk*, is not a defective spelling of '*ynk*, *-c*, pres. part. of '*y-* 'go'. It cannot be a verbal noun 'going', since this is always '*yd*. As in *pc 'yk* = *pas-raw* 238.1, 262.5 (abstract *pcyk'wk* 448.7 ?), it is the verbal stem as second element of a compound, with final *-k*; *v.* H, *Dict.*, s.v. *-knk* (= NP *-kun*).

**mSBRd'h**: 'kicked him' can only be *msprd'h*, '*spr-* < Av. *spara-*.

90.4 **'xTym**: 'sixth' is plainly written '*atm*, as at 180.3.

90.8 **bčf-pcy'k**: *turš-rōy*. 'Sour' is *čfk*, 391.6 marg., 408.4, 515.3 (< *trfšaka-*, H, 'Lg.', 434) and *čfk-pcy'k* occurs at 396.6, 472.5. Since **bčf** occurs alone at 304.7 it may be an elative form of the adjective (< \**api-trfšā-* ?) and in all probability is \**pčf*. Similarly 171.4 **bjī-pcy'k**.

91.1, 104.3 **δ'ryd'h**: this would mean 'he had it'. Read *d'ryd'h* 'turned, changed it', as at 400.1. Similarly at 114.3; p. p. fem. pl. in *rng-dry'cy* 114.3, 196.6.

91.2 f. **'fr'γ-z'dk**: read '*βr'γ* (H, *Dict.*).

91.6 **mwstNByd**: *-n-* is pointed here and at 133.7 *mstnb'd*, and 414.4 has the caus. *mstnbyd'h* 'made him vomit' fully pointed.

91.7 'y **ŠFR**: *šōy*. Confirmed by the verb *šyr*- 'become wet' at 445.2 and the caus. *šy'ry*- at 208.8.

91.8 f., 210.3, 211.1 **w'z'ryd'h**: 'swept it', but 84.4 **w'r'zyd'h**. Neither is confirmed, so *w'R' Ryd'h*. Khot. *varrad*- 'scratch' < \**awa-rada*- (SGS, 119), however, suggests \**w'zy*- < \**awa-rādaya*- (cf. 'nb'zy- < *nipādaya*-, H, Hb., 112).

93.2 [**y brfityk**, ergänzt nach 370.7] should read *prftk* 'covetous', as at 370.6. There is no evidence of the voicing of initial *p*-, or any other consonant, after 'y': cf. 402.1 'y *pcx's*, 408.5 'y *pxtyc*, 451.2 'y *prhyyz*, etc.

93.3 **mBCRfdy**c: 'pinched'. After *m*- the odds are 50-1 in favour of -*n*-; then cf. Waxī *cerev*- 'pinch'. Probably \**ncrβ*-.<sup>12</sup>

94.5 **tRBBKwDS w'syd 'y škrfk f' BβBYk**: for -*DS* read -*Dhy*; *skrβk*, *v. my* 77.3; *f*- \**bβn'k* (H, Dict.); \**tryngwδ* 'cross-cover' < \**tara-hangauda* ?

95.4 f. **mkwbyd'n 'y xwfcy**: 'churned the milk'. 'Milk' is only pointed *-f*- (119.4), but its derivative 'sweet' (cf. NP *švīrīn* < *švīr*, Pth. *šyftyn* < *šyft*) is plainly *xwβc'k* at 507.2, 509.1. *xwβcy* also occurs in the Muq. MS quoted by Togan, *Islamica*, III, 1927, 211, no. 3 (misquoted as *xwfcy*, Benzing, p. 397). In short, as one would expect < \**xšwifta*-, 'milk' is *xwβjy*, *f. pl.* (e.g. 159.7) of \**xwβdk*, cf. MSgd. *xšyft*, Pxt. *šodā*, etc. The same at 144.1, 173.1, 199.8.

95.5 f. The Ar. has *al-mimxadatu* twice (no \**maxadatu*), meaning both 'churn-stick', 'y *kwbyk*, and 'churn (vessel)', 'y *pxrs* as at 488.7, so there is no 'Verwechslung'.

95.8, 102.3 **pCXRδ**: 'dung', confirmed at 302.7. Cf. Pxt. *xaxəl*, Yaγn. *xīrd*- 'defecate' < \**xard*-.

95.8 **B'hyd'h**: read *B'hd*-, as at 200.3, 205.3. \**b'h*- 'shake off (leaves)' < \**apāha*- < Av. *²ah*- 'throw' ?

96.2 **CCd'h**: read \**čxd*- /čuxid<sup>a</sup>/; cf. the caus. *čw'xyd* at 355.2 'give milk, suckle', and the verbal noun *č'xy'k* 497.2.

96.8 'y **xRD kw pr hy δmn'ryn**: 'the . . . in (?) which they tan it'. The NP gloss is '*alaf, giyāh* (= Xw. *wš* 241.2); 'bark' is *mSk* 230.6 f. Perhaps 'the ooze', called in NP *šīra* 'juice'; then cf. 315.2 *cwb'n-xrd* 'drinking of water'—\**'y xrd k-w-br* (?) 'the "drink" in which . . . ?

97.1 **m'βk'ryd'h**: read *m'Fk'Ryd*- 'led him astray', not the same as 303.8 *m'βk'ryd* 'looked up' (H, Dict., \**βk'zy*-).

97.2 **n'wcyd'h**: 'rowed it' with an oar (NP *fih*, not '*faya*'). At most *N'wcyd*, but such a denominative, 'to boat', is rather unlikely. Probably \**bwcy*- 'to propel'.

97.6 **mknd'h**: read *mnknd'h*, *v. my* 88.3.

97.7, 13.1 **FRBN**: 'awl'. Cf. Pxt. *rīna*; if this is < \**wrīna* (unattested), then with Xw. \**βryn* < \**brīnā*- ?

97.8 'wspyk: 'lightning', read 'wspk, as at 160.4.

98.8 f. **B'knByd'h 'y škrfk-δ'r**: 'bent the wood', read *m'knbyd'h 'y skrβk-δ'r*, as at 153.2. With /ākambiy-/ cf. MSgd. ''*kmb*- 'curb' (H, *Sogdica*, 43).

<sup>12</sup> [See now M. Schwartz, 'Miscellanea iranica', in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (ed.), *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, London, 1970, p. 386, n. 6.]

99.1 **y' SFYk**: better *y'SFYk*.

99.5 f. **y' škrfyč**: *skrβ<sup>yc</sup>*, *v. my* 77.3; whether Xw. 'woods' is a correct translation of Ar. 'lutes' is moot.

99.7 **mSBd'h y' nkys**: read *mspd*, as at 402.7? This \**sp-* is 'to cast down', but the same verb may have been used of cutting off grapes and dates (at 201.4). *'nk<sup>o</sup>δ* is fem., cf. 371.8 *y' pxc 'nk<sup>o</sup>δ*, so read *y'.nk<sup>o</sup>δ* (*v. my* 73.6), or *ng<sup>o</sup>δ*?

99.8 **m'βwzyd 'y xr cy xr-γwθyk**: *der Esel roch an dem (not nach) Mist*, as is clear from the gloss B. omits, *bōy kard sargīn-rā xar*. *'βwzy-* is trans., with *c-*, cf. 210.6, 445.5 *m'βwzydyč* 'smelt it' (H, *Dict.*, s.v.).

100.4 **mxyd'n 'y bmbx**: read *mcbd'n*. The verb \**cb-* can be deduced from 19.6 \**cb<sup>o</sup>k* 'cotton-teaser', *'cbc* his 'bow'. \**pm<sup>yc</sup>*, *v. my* 77.7.

100.7 **'y CkByk**: 'drop, drip'. Cf. 183.7 **CkDyk** = *nugta* 'drop' (not 'point'). Presumably alternative forms of p. p. to the stem \**čk-* borrowed from NP, \*/čakid<sup>1</sup>k/ and \**čkn<sup>o</sup>k*. But assimilated \**ck-* is possible; cf. Pšt. *cacedəl*.

100.8 **w'γRd**: 'fled'. Cf. *γ'zd* 'ran' < \**γz-* or \**γ'z-*, 349.8, 511.7, and *Yidya γāz*, etc. (*IIFL*, II, 214a); then \**wγz-* 'run away'?

102.6 **mCFydyc**: 'stole it from him'. Cf. MSgd. *čf-* 'steal' < Av. *tr<sup>o</sup>fya-*; then, on the analogy of *čfk* (*v. my* 90.8), \**čfy-* 'steal'.

103.8 **'y fš'n**: an extraordinary misreading of *γγθb'n* 'shepherd' (presumably made in the light of NP *šubān*), repeated at 180.7. The correct reading at 320.1 has not been recognized. \**γγθ* 'flock' < OP *gaiθā-*, cf. Pšt. *yele*, and Pth. *gyhb'n* as 'world-protector'. For **pšy 'ps'n** read *pšy psn'n* 'after the sheep'.

104.4 f. **M'Ryd'n**: not 'gudāxt = melted them' (\**t'syd'n*, cf. 308.3, 372.6, and 356.5 *t'sy'd<sup>o</sup>k* 'molten') but 'bipālīd = purified them' (omitted by B.), i.e. *p'žyd'n*, as at 298.5, 417.1. *p'žy-*, lit. 'filter', < \**parzaya-*. **y' M'Ryk** 'pure metal' could be its 'essence', \**m'd<sup>o</sup>k*.

105.3 **RBSd'h**: 'tore it', probably \**rys-* < Av. *raēšya-* 'harm', Skt. *riś* 'tear' (-*šy-* < -*s-*, H, *Hb.*, 110).

105.6 f. **y.'b'd'n pθk**: 'the inhabited house'. *y' pθk*, fem., so \*/yā ābādān/ > *y'b-*, needing no intrusive points.

106.7 **'NYhcybr 'nc**: 'there is not in him'. The initial '-' is a very dubious stroke: \*/ne-hi-ci-b<sup>1</sup>r ənc/ 'not-him-\*also-on isn't', cf. 402.2 *ny-c 'nc*.

107.1, 127.8, 142.2, 146.5 **'y'zd 'y 'š**: the camel neither 'ging schnell' nor 'schritt stolz einher', but 'lief', as correctly at 88.1. *γ'z-* 'run', *v. my* 100.8.

107.5 **p'rcyd'h**: 'blamed him'. A form so pointed, and likewise glossed with NP *malāmat kardan*, occurs at 490.5. At 408.7, however, it is pointed both *p-* and *n-* (ignored by B.), and 446.5 has *n'rcyd'h* 'slandered him' (but 474.7 *nrcyk* = *malāmat*). It is, therefore, by no means clear whether the unpointed forms at 107.5, 210.4, 227.4 'blamed', 135.5 'slandered' represent \**prcy-* or \**nrcy-*. To complicate matters further, a verb *prmrçy-*, *p'rmrcyd*,



also corresponds to *malāmat*, 143.7, 230.7, 431.3. *prcy-* could be < \**partaya-*, Av. *par<sup>3</sup>t-* ‘fight, accuse’; to take *nrcy-* as \**nrjy-* < \**nardaya-* (cf. *nrδ-* ‘complain’, my 83.8) and *prmrCy-* as \**prmrjy-* < \**pari-mardaya-*, Av. *mar<sup>3</sup>d* ‘spoil, destroy’, would require a different development of *-rdaya-* from that in *zrzy* ‘heart’, \**xrzy-* ‘chase’ (v. H, *Hb.*, 112 f.), but *-rcy-* < *-rt(a)ya-* here offers no connexions.

108.5 **mxšwəyd’h**, **’y xšwəynyc**: ‘washed it, of washing’. Against his earlier \**xšwəθy-* ‘from *xšaudaya-*’ (‘Lg.’, 434), unlikely because *xš-* > *’x-* and *-daya-* > *-zy-* (v. *Hb.*, 115, 112 f.), Henning (*Dict.*, s.v. *’γswny-*) reads \**xšwny-*.

108.6 **mpxyt’h** **’y xswmyt-δ’r**: read *xswmt*, despite its appearance; ‘he decided (lit., cut) the litigation’, the same as the NP gloss, mistranslated in German.

108.8 **nyəd’d c-**: *’judā šud az*; cf. 384.7 **bTNd’d c-** = *dūr šud az*. Both to be read *bynd’d*, as at 224.3 *byndyc*. *byn-* ‘be removed’ < \**apa-nīya-*, passive of *bny-* ‘remove’ < \**apa-naya-* (378.6, 416.3 *bnydyd c-* = *dūr kard-aš az*).

110.3 f. **’fxn**: ‘condiment’. As at 25.5, **’FXn** at most. H, *Dict.*, also \**’fxn*. But ‘spices’ in MP (e.g. *GB*, 116.7 *’pz’l*) and NP are *afzār*, lit. ‘means, materials’, < \**abi-čarna-* (H, *Hb.*, p. 39, n. 4): the Xw. could also be \**’fen*. For **D’** read *w’ mk<sup>3</sup>d*.

110.8 **’JD’k hy mkd cy hšryñ**: read *xr’k* = *maħrūm*, as at 424.8, 159.1. *hβd<sup>3</sup>n*, v. my 79.1.

111.3 **Dky**: ‘brand’. Cf. the denominative \**Dkyy-* ‘cauterize’ at 157.3, *D’kYyd’h*. Perhaps < Ar. *ḍaká* ‘burn fiercely’, since no form of Ir. *√dag* could retain *-g*.

111.3 f. **mkw’ryd’h** **’y kw’ršyn**: read *mgw’ryd’h* *’y gw’ršn*, despite the *-y*-points. Unlike 114.3, *gw’rš<sup>3</sup>n* is not here in pause. On *-g-*, v. my 73.3.

111.6 **p’rDBSt’h**: ‘repaired it’, read *p’rdyst’h*; Xw. \**prδys-* = MSgd. *prδys-* ‘build’, < \**pari-daisa-*.

112.1 **cy θ:fy’ny’h**: at 212.3 **θ.fy’h** and 428.2 **θfy’n** ‘friend’, free of point-less points; v. H, *Hb.*, 117.

112.2 **’y m’Ryk-mynk myθ**: presumably \**m’zyk-mynk* ‘(day) of being broken’, \**m’zyk* being verbal noun of the intransitive verb *m’zy-* ‘break’, 454.1, 7, etc. (the long stem vowel also in *ym’z-* ‘crumble’ 86.8 f.).

113.1 f. **mnfrd’h**: ‘swallowed it’, read *mnγrd’h*; \**nγr-* < \**ni-gar-*, cf. Pšt. *nγardəl* (*EVP*, 51).

**θyk-nfr’dyk**: ‘havingswallowed (his) anger’ (not ‘angry’ = *θ’βywd<sup>3</sup>k*), read *θñk-nγr’d<sup>3</sup>k*; ‘anger’ is both *θnk* 75.2, 251.7, and *θyk* 354.1, 6. *θñk* also at 127.5, 163.6.

113.4 **Č’PČydyñ**: ‘slapped him’, read *x’bčydyñ*, \**xbčy-* < 427.1, 488.1 *xbč* ‘a slap’. Like *dh-*, the normal verb ‘to hit’, 74.7, 510.6, etc., *xbčy-* takes a notional 3rd pl. object ‘blows’, expressed by *-n*; cf. 92.3 \**mncpnydy-n* ‘prodged him’, and my 129.7, 188.2.

114.2 **’NĴST mkyd**: this reading is perhaps inspired by 167.1, 401.8 *’ndst* =

*θarīd*, but there can be no comparison. By misreading the NP gloss as *\*burīd kard* the Xw. glossator has put *\*'pxst mk'd* 'made cut', with the p. p. of *\*'pxy-*; cf. 85.6 *pxy-pxst = pay-burīda*.

114.3 f. **'y rnk δ'ry'r, rnk-δry'cy**: read *rng d'ry'r, -dry'cy* (v. my 77.3 and 91.1); also at 196.6.

114.7 f. **δ'knd'h**: is 'filled it', as at 317.6; 'buried it' must be *\*n'knd'h*, *\*nkn-* < *ni-kan-*, cf. MP *ngndn* (H, BSOS, IX, 1, 1937, 85), Oss. *nəgānən*. 'Buried' is then *\*nkndk*. The same at 127.3.

116.2 **Bx bzk**: read <βwδ>*nc bzk* 'evil-smelling'.

**'y 'čw**: better 49.6 **'Cw** 'he-goat'. Perhaps read *'cw* = Oss. *cāw*, despite the pointing of 506.1 *čw'wc* 'he-goat-behaviour' (differently H, *Dict.*, 'čw, excluding the Oss.).

117.1 **BC'D**: read (')*tx'δ = nā-xwuš*, as at 324.1, 397.6.

118.1, 125.8 **nYND**: 'niggardly', confirmed by 488.4 *'nynd'wc* 'miserliness' and the verb *\*nyncy-* 'be mean', 269.2.

118. 3, 150.5 **č'krd**: 'hiss (snake), \*screech (owl)', read *C'kRd*.

118.4 **RTYk-mynk'wc mkd**: read *zBykmnyk'wc* (or *zyBk-*), as at 365.3. The underlying word for 'serious, zealous' is itself a compound 'serious-minded', *mnyk* being verbal noun of *mny-* 'think, consider', 244.2, 290.4, etc., as at 195.1. The first element remains obscure.

119.4, 6, 121.5 **'nwf**: 'noise', read (')*nwβ*, as at 343.4 and, in *mnwβd* 'made a noise', 99.6, 117.7. Cf. BSgd. *nwβ* (correctly *TSP*, 13, 23, against H, apud Gershevitch, *JRAS*, 1946, 180, *zwβ*), Yagn. *nóvva* (*Jagn. teksty*, 296a, < *navo*), borrowed into NP as *nōf(a)*, *nōfīdan*.

120.6 **mZFWdn'w**: glossed *puxt, xušk kard* (*Pishro*), so not 'schob'! The ordinary verb 'to dry', however, is *yw'sy-*, 407.8. Probably *\*δβw-*, cf. Pxt. *alwoyāl* 'parch, scorch'; < *\*dwaba-* or *\*dwaya-*?

120.7 f. **mžsd'n'd** . . . : Wetzstein's Ar. text has no object (*l-mā'a*), so the NP glosses are irrelevant. The Xw. translates 'the pool absorbed the water', cf. 266.3. Similarly the next gloss, *w'γry'r*, is not '(the water) hissed' but 'subsided, was absorbed', as at 76.5, 218.6, *wryr-* < *\*awa-garya-*.

120.8, 122.1, 129.8 **mšry(y)d**, 130.1 **mfryd**, 215.4 **mnfryd** (!), 187.2, 315.4 **mšzptd**, etc. 'shone, flashed': for all this odd variety read *mšzrp'd*, as at 469.8 (H, *Dict.*, 'βzp-). The pointing **mšzptd** once at 372.3 is extraordinary.

121.8 **znc p'rwzd**: *sabuk šud*, read *rnc*, as at 408.1, 500.7 (but *ryc'wc*, 246.1), or better *\*rñj*, cf. BSgd. *ryncwk-*, etc. (H, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, p. 482, n. 5). *znc* is f. or pl. of *znk* 'small'.

122.7 **'y zyz**: 'frog', read *\*wyz* < Av. *wazaya-*.

123.1 **'stnb-t'ryn** (?): read *'stnb'wk = buzurgī* (*az čiz-ē*), as at 326.4.

123.3 **mrc hl'l-z'dyk**: v. Benzing's note, p. xix.

123.8 **'y spynyk 'BCByk**: 'the iron nail'. Read (')*spynyk* < 242.2 *spny* 'iron', as MSgd. *'spyny*. The shape of *'BCByk* suggests *\*ncpnny-* 'to prod', 92.3.

123.8, 157.2 **š'nsyd**: 'went astray', read *š'nš'yd*, *\*šnš-* < *\*fra-nasya-*, with

assimilation as in *šn'sy* < \**šn'sy* < \**franāsaya*- 'lead astray', 367.7 (similarly *škš-*, H, *Hb.*, p. 119, n. 3).

125.2 **mC'BBD'hybr**: the better NP gloss is omitted, *γamz kard bar vay suxan-rā* 'told defamatory tales about him'. The scope of Ar. *namma* suggests a connexion with 352.4, 491.6 *c't'k* = *suxan-i pōšīda* and 'riddle', so perhaps \**mc'tyd-* from an \**c'ty-* meaning 'insinuate, traduce'.

125.4 **rḥmt β'BYr β'c**: *rahmat bād bar tu*. Read *β'nbr* (-*n-* so pointed), as already Bogoljubov, 'Lič.', 10, no. 67.<sup>13</sup>

125.5 f. **RNB-R'W**: 'snotty'. With \**rnb* cf. Pth. *rumb*, NP *rum*, Sgd. *rwβ* 'mouth'. -*r'w* appears to be the pause form of *rw-* /*raw*/ 'be runny (nose)'.

126.6 **tpyd**: 'palpitated', read *tpd*, as at 101.7.

127.3 **zywyc hy b'knd**: 'buried her alive', read *zywnc hy n'knd*. *zywnc* is fem. of \**zywnd'yk* (wrongly *zywyd'yk* 296.2, 507.8), pres. part. corresponding to *zyw-* 'live', cf. Pth. *jywndg*: *jyw-*, MSgd. *jwndyy*: *jw-*, Pxt. *žwandáy*, etc., and to be distinguished from *zywk*, 157.6 'person', as Pxt. *žšway. nkn-*, *v.* my 114.7.

128.1 **y.'bxw'rc FC'n**: the -*c* suggests a fem. noun, requiring *y'*. The following word is (*'*)*βc'n* 'is' (q.v. H, *Dict.*, and *Hb.*, 116), as at 410.3, etc.

128.3 f., 369.3, 489.4 **krk**: 'group, *gurōh*' is surely the same word as 45.1 *grk* = NP *galla* (with the only pointed *g* in the MS, *v.* my 73.3).

129.5 **'y b'rx**: 'hire, wage', read *p'rx* [sic], as at 381.7; cf. Av. *pāra-* 'debt'?

129.7 **γBSdyn l'kcdyn**: these appear to be two verbs, in addition to *'mtyd'h* 113.5 and *mt hyθ x'zyd* 427.1, all 'punched him'. Both then have a notional pl. object in -*n*, *v.* my 113.4. The first remains unconnected, but the second could be \**lkc-/lgj-*, a denominative from \**lakat-ya-*, cf. NP *lagad* 'kick'.

130.5 f. **BBCwk**: 'snout', read *pncwk*, as at 370.8, and cf. Oss. *fənj* 'nose, tip' (Abaev, *IESOJ*, 497). **'BβBYk**: read \**ββn'yk* (H, *Dict.*).

130.7 **γ'r'r**: 'they ran', read *γ'z'r*, *v.* my 107.1.

130.7 f. **čryc**: 'ample' of shadow, read as at 408.6 *črbc* [sic], fem. of \**črbk*, with the same stem as \**črb-* 'preponderate' 78.8, 463.5 (pointed *c-*!), caus. *črby-* 391.1, NP *čarbīdan* 'preponderate, abound'.

131.4 f. **rysd y' xyr**; **y' rysnc**: similarly 263.2, 360.7, read *rBs-*; not \**rys-* 'tear', *v.* my 105.3; in view of 45.7 (-*n-* certain), 233.3 *βrncyn* ' (she-camel) in heat', i.e. \**βrnjyn* 'desirous' < 485.4 *'brng* (423.2 *'βryg*) 'desire', cf. Pth. *'brng* 'zeal' (H, *TPS*, 1945, p. 154, n. 2; but connexion denied *Dict.*, s.v.), < \**abi-ranaka-*, perhaps \**rns-* 'be desirous, in heat'.

131.6 **'y pθwd**: 'refuge', final -*δ* at 155.7, but apparently \**yθwā* [sic] at

<sup>13</sup> M. N. Bogoljubov's articles will be cited thus:

'Čast.' = 'Časticy v xorezmijskom jazyke', *UZLU*, No. 305, 12, 1961, 81-4.

'Lič.' = 'Ličnye mestoimenija v xor. jaz.', *UZLU*, No. 306, 16, 1962, 6-15.

'Mest.' = 'Mestoimenija v xor. jaz.', *KSINA*, LXVII, 1963, 99-103.

'Pis'm.' = 'O nekotoryx osobennostjax arabo-xorezmijskoj pis'mennosti', *NAA*, 1961, No. 4, 182-7.

435.1, with an excess of points which may be *sec. manu*. Possibly *\*upa-davata-* > *\*bθwd* > *\*pθwδ* by assimilation.

132.1 **bwndst w'c'yt**: read *w' c'yt* 'therein entered'; 'uninvited' is probably 'without invitation', cf. 495.7 *wnd-* 'invite', Pth. *w(y)nd-* 'pray', *prwnd-* 'beseech', but the ending *-SB* is unique; = JP, Kurd. *-št*?

133.7 **DRd**: *bigašt, dr-* intrans. to *dry-*, v. my 91.1.

134.2, 377.6, 408.2 **fy:xfrd**: 'in doubt', read *f-yxfrd*, as correctly at 503.5; v. also my 148.7.

136.1 **'xyzk**: 'dust', read *'xθrk*, as in 459.3 f. *xθrk-β'm* = *xāk-rang*.

136.3, 167.4, 170.2, 192.2, 215.6 **p'Žmyd**: with *Ž* presumably from NP *pīžmurdan*; but cf. Pth. *wyzmr-*! Read *p'rmyd*, *prmy-* 'die, wither', like Waxi *permər-*, < *\*pari-mrya-*.

136.4 **y'pcpyk**: *bahāna*, read *pcn<sup>v</sup>k*, as at 377.8 (sic, not *pctyk*), 445.4.

136.8, 237.2, 248.6, 305.7 **p'cxR'zd**: 'be fragrant' is plainly *pcxw'z-*, as correctly at 255.5.

137.6 **kj**: both NP and Xw. glosses read *gč*; so too at 407.6.

138.4 **'y dstyw**: *darvēš*, here *dstw*. Henning's hope ('Lg.', 435) that this represents *\*δšt w* (like Sgd. *δšt w'n*) incompletely pointed, appears to be dashed by the plainly marked *-s-* at 436.7.

138.5 **h'βryd**: read *c'βr<sup>v</sup>d*, as correctly at 290.5; *cβr-* 'insert, inflict' < *ati-bar*.

139.7 **mcBXYZd y' tn'h**: *bižōšid tanaš* (mistranslated) is 'he became flustered', as at 146.4. Probably *\*mcyxyzd*, from a compound verb *mcy-xyz-*, lit. 'anxiety arise', cf. the independent n. f. *mcyk* 'concern' at 227.6, 449.2, etc., < *mati-*.

141.7 **m'st 'y xsyn**: 'it melted', read *t'st*, as *t'sd* at 213.6.

142.1 **nwc nyθ'r**; **'strc nwc**: evidently the same as *brc*, 415.4. For 'valueless' a *\*/b-ary/* might be expected, or *\*/b-až/*, but *\*/b-arj/* is impossible. *brc*, if the pl. of *\*brk*, appears to mean 'without work'. Perhaps *\*bzc* should be read, pl. of *\*bzk* 'bad', 116.2, 212.7, 280.5, etc. (though *-z-* never pointed).

142.2, 479.4 **y.'mnk**, 447.5 **y:'mnk**: from no occurrence is it certain that 'summer' is m. or f. Though probably masc. (v. H, 'Lg.', 426) like MSgd. *"mynny*, Pxt. *mənay*, against North.Kurd. *hāvīn* fem., there is no justification for the points.

142.3, 148.5, 378.7 **bwsmy'd**: *mihmānī* is plainly pointed with initial *p-* at 371.2, but B. gives the points to the preceding *-c*.

142.4 **'y šsy'k**: a *xayāl* 'phantasm, vision' may well 'foreshadow' something (*š* < *fra-*; 514.5 *y' sy'k*, fem. 'shadow'), but there is no other justification for writing more than *šSB'k* here.

142.7, 267.7 **mWHdybr**: certainly read *mwBhd-*. Possibly *\*'wbh-* 'be fitting' < *upaya-*, like Pahl. *abāy-*, NP *bāyad* < *\*upāya-*; formally cf. *'xh-*, 309.5 *māhd*, < *xšaya-* 'rule'.

143.3 **h'D'RByd**: for Ar. *nāka* one would expect the common *wty-*, 283.6, etc., *pcrβ-*, my 152.6, or *'yy-*, my 188.5, except that all are transitive.

But this appears to be *h'r'zy<sup>u</sup>d* which, with *f-*, *-w*, at 235.2, 387.6, 490.3, 5, 492.4 means 'reached (with the hand), procured'. If 74.1 'y *hr'zyk* = *kašīda* is a 'stretch (of road)', the glossator may have intended 'stretched (self) out' for *dar bistar āmad* (as *Pishro*).

144.2 **θ:byrsk**: 'cloudy', v. my 187.1.

144.5 'y **bywd'k**, 238.3 f., 344.5, 346.4 **bfwδ'k**: *paydā*, read *bywδ'k*, as correctly at 301.2, 382.2, etc. *bywδ'k* < \**apa-gaudāka-*, as the verb *bywnd-* 'uncover, reveal' < \**apa-gunda-* (like BSgd. \**py'wnt-*, *TSP*, 6, 83, not necessarily < *-gundaya-*, as H, *Hb.*, 117), intrans. *basy-* 'appear' < \**byzy-* < \**apa-gudya-* under the influence of the p. p. \**bast* < \**apa-gusta-*, cf. the converse *nywnd-* 'hide', *nasy-* 'be hidden', 293.6, 500.4 *mnxsyd* < \**nyzy-*, 397.8 *naxtk* 'hidden'.

144.6 *hāna* . . . : the gloss is Ar. *miθlu āna*, the verb at 144.4.

145.2 **f'rz'wyd'h**: 'adorned it', read initial β-, as at 481.7, though elsewhere always *f-*, 151.2, 393.5, 402.1, 412–15, 463.2, 471.4, 479.8.

145.3 **cm hybr δ'ryd**; **mrc cm-δ'rnyk**: 'put the (evil) eye on him; a man doing this (*ayūn*)'. This cannot be merely *δ'ry-* 'have', or (formally) *dry-* 'turn' (v. my 91.1). Read, probably, *w'zyd*, *cm-w'zynk* (v. my 158.7).

146.6, 208.7 **msBxnd'h**: 'ransomed him', the extra stroke of the *-B-* is a mistake, cf. 416.6, 438.7, 448.7 *msxñd-* (H, 'Lg.', 434).

148.7 **B'xrcy<sup>d</sup>**: 'doubted'. As 'doubt' is *yxfrd*, 440.7, 446.5, the verb must be a denominative \**yxfrcy-*, here *y'xfrcy<sup>d</sup>*.

150.2 **mδf'nyd'n**: lit. 'scattered them', read *-δβ'ny-*, as correctly at 147.7, 232.6, 416.6 (H, 'Lg.', 432).

**bfcyk**: 'cure', this reading from 506.7 where, however, initial *y-* is clear. Cf. 502.8 *Y'Bβd* 'remedy'; perhaps \**y' yβd* 'the remedy', whence \**yβj<sup>u</sup>k* 'cure', < Av. *āyapta-* 'boon'.

150.3, 342.1 **ywzk'wk**: 'sufficiency', abstract from 70.4, 150.3 *Bwzk* 'enough'. Possibly \**twzk* 'sufficing', cf. MSgd., Pth. *twj-*, MP, NP *tōz-* 'make good, requite'.

151.4 **B'mnk**, 243.7 **B'mn**: 'mangy', read *p'mn(k)* as Av. *pāman-*, BSgd. *p'm*, Pxt. *pam* 'mange', *pamən* 'mangy'.

152.1 **y' pθwδ**: this reading is impossible, and \**pθwδ* is masc. at 131.6, 155.7. Read *y'BR'D*, 'interdicted' rather than 'Asylplatz'.

152.6 **p'cβdyθ**: *concubuit cum ea*, read *p'crβd-*, as at 352.8 (for **b'crfdyθ**) < \**pcrβ-*.

153.1 'y 'kwync: for *mēva-yi čīda* the p. p. pl. of \**kw-* 'pick (fruit)' is to be expected. To judge from 403.6 'ktk, p. p. of 'k- 'do' (< *krta-*, against *mdk* < *mrtā-*), this could be \**kwt<sup>u</sup>c*. But some past participles end in *-nk*, pl. *-nc*, e.g. \**čknk* (my 100.7), and 112.8 'y *krwn<sup>u</sup>c* = *nāxun-i bar-čīda* < *krwy-* 'pare', so \**kwn<sup>u</sup>c* is equally possible (v. H, *Dict.*, 'kw-).

153.2 **m'kNBByd'h**: 'bent it', read *m'knbyd'h* (the second *-B-* is a *lapsus*), as at 98.8, q.v. *supra*.

153.3 **y' wRDk y'.wxy**: *gardiš-i rōd*. At 138.5 *y' wrd'k* means 'the

becoming, issue', and the verb *\*wrd-* 'become' is attested (Frejman, *XJ*,<sup>14</sup> 115 top, *\*xr wrd*). Here the glossator has deleted an *alif* after *y'*; it is perhaps the masc. verbal noun from *'wrd-*, 452.6 *m'wrdđ*, 'return, *bāz gaštan*', *\*/j-āward<sup>1</sup>k/*. In the related fem. form */yā āw-/* also becomes *y'w-*, 175.3 *y'wrd'k-maync 'wc* 'the place of returning'. *y'wxy* is to 175.6 *y'wx* (< *\*waxšw-*, H, *Hb.*, 115) as *y'šy-*: *y'š*, *v. my* 73.6. So better simply *y'wrdk y'wxy*.

157.1, 190.4 **'BRdyd**: 'trod', not 'travelled', in view of 283.5. If, as seems likely, the stem is *\*br-*, cf. Khot. *āspar-* (Bailey, *Prolexis*, 21); Xw. is then unique in using  $\surd$  *spar* without the *s-* here, but *v. my* 90.3.

157.8, 452.4 **y'wrc**: 'going out' is *'wzc* < *\*uz-iti-*, verbal noun to *\*wzy-* 'go out' (*v. H*, 'Verb', p. 48, n. 3).

158.3 **βrdr**: 'better' is so pointed at 367.3, but this is probably one of the rare examples of over-pointing, against *frdr* at 318.4, 450.4, 487.4 (H, 'Lg.', 433).

158.6, 297.8 f. **'st'rk (')szptyk**: 'shining star', must be *'βzpn<sup>o</sup>k*, pres. part. to *'βzp-*, *v. my* 120.8.

158.7 **ǰnybt hy δ'ryd**: 'led (the horse) by his side', read *\*w'zyd*, the common verb for 'led, drove', e.g. 216.7, 222.6. In *w'zy-* two verbs, *wādaya-* 'lead', as Pth. *w'y-*, Khot. *bāy-*, and *\*wāzaya-* 'cause to move', coincide.

160.3 f. **p'r'skmyd**: at every occurrence, 97.7, 161.1, 433.5, 437.5, 439.6, this corresponds to NP *birubūd* 'snatched', and it is this meaning of Ar. *xalaba*, rather than 'deceive', that the glossator has understood. Of *'wspk*, cf. 98.1.

160.8 **y'wšy'dy[k]**: 'hungry', read *\*wšy'wnd*, an alternative to 412.7 *'wšynd* analogous to *'č/cy'wnd* 'thirsty', 225.8, 342.4.

161.6 **y'pc'BYθ**: 'āqibat, is confirmed by 61.1 *\*pc'bθ* [sic, -c- certain], 344.6 (-*bθ* certain), so *pc'b<sup>o</sup>θ*.

162.7 **mrc θ:nsbt**: read *\*θ-nsb*? The glossator seems to have understood *nassābat* as *\*bā-nižād*, cf. 322.3 f. *θ-znk*, 331.3 f. *θšl = bā-ašl*.

164.1 **BkRBRd'h**: 'beat it', read *mkwndd'h*, as at 207.6, 208.4. With *'kwnd-* 'beat', p. p. *'kstk* 207.6, cf. *'ckwnd-* 'hammer', 188.6 *mckwndd'h fy ckwnd<sup>o</sup>k*, and the passive *'ks-* 'be beaten', 457.3 *mks<sup>o</sup>d*, < *\*kutsa-*? NP *kutak* 'cudgel', *kudīn(a)*, *kudang* 'fuller's mallet' may be related.

165.1 **wfyrk**: 'snow' can scarcely be other than *\*wfrk*, MSgd. *wfr'*, Av. *wafra-*, etc.

166.1 f. **bxsyd**; **y'bydyk**: *nēk šud*, etc. Other glosses, however, *ārāsta*, *sāxta*, etc. (*Pišhro*), show this to be *\*yaxs<sup>o</sup>d*, the same as 455.8, 466.4, 498.8 [sic] *yxst*, from *yxz-* 'be firm, ready', pass. to *ywzy-*, *v. my* 75.8. The p. p. *ygd<sup>o</sup>k* occurs in the *Qunya*, *v. Bogoljubov*, 'Pis'm.', 187, nos. 90, 91.

166.8, 211.5 **š'fs'nyd'h**: 'filed it'. Neither *S* is pointed; assuming the common preverb *š-*, one would expect assimilation of the second sibilant, as in *š'kš<sup>o</sup>d*, *š'nš<sup>o</sup>d* (*v. my* 123.8), *š'w'zyd* (*my* 82.2), so *Š'FŠ'nyd'h*.

167.5 f. **RCŠN-pnd'k**: *rāh-i rāst yāfta*. The *-N* is imaginary and there is

<sup>14</sup> A. A. Frejman, *Xorezmijskij jazyk*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1951.

no evident reason for writing more than *RCS*-. *rāst* is generally equated by 'wδk, 50.5, 407.2, etc.; Xw. *ršt*, *rtk* mean 'true' (H, 'Lg.', 435).

167.6 f. **y' 'nnc**; **y' 'nync**, 464.3 **y' 'NBnc**: *sar-i rāh*, read 'nbnc < \**ham-panti*- everywhere. The -y- of B.'s 347.5 'ynbc appears to be *sec. manu*.

167.8 **mrmsydyd**: 'slept', read *mzmxs<sup>u</sup>d*, as correctly at 288.7, 292.2, the -z- from 490.6 *zmx*, fem. of *zmγdk* 'asleep', and the caus. \**zmx'sy*- 377.3, 413.8.

169.2 f., 227.2 **kSB**: 'dull (market)', perhaps \**kst*, cf. Pahl. *kast(ag)* 'diminished'.

170.8 **p'cys**: 'command', read *b'δys*, as at 369.7, 404.3, 7, etc., < \**upādāisa*-, cf. Skt. *upa-ā-diś*.

171.2 **mbxyt'h**: 'cut it', read *mpxyt*-, as at 202.4, 402.2.

171.3 **y' tncync prm'dyk**: 'plötzlich eintretende Vorfall' translates neither Wetzstein's Latin, nor the Xw. accurately. *prm'd<sup>u</sup>k* is an 'accident, misfortune, *balā*', 109.3, 201.2, etc.

**b'rkyd'h**: *parāgand* is of course *p'r'kñd*, as at 202.7; MSgd. also *pr'kn*-.

171.4 f. **bs'rt**: *bašārat*, mispointed -s-, deserves some comment (as it is correctly written at 484.5), not simply copying, in \**bš'rt-hβryn<sup>u</sup>k*.

171.6 f. **DBkrc**, **DBkyr**: 'trade' and 'merchant', are perhaps \**wykr*, *wyk'r* resp., cf. MSgd. *xw'qr* 'merchant' < \**wahākara*-; 'trade' is then probably the pl. of a \**wykrk*. The simple form \**wyk* 'business' is perhaps to be seen in 291.3 **fy wBkD'R**, i.e. \**fy wyk-δ'r* 'in the affair'. 'Price', however, is *w'h*, 5.7, 169.8, etc.

173.5 **c' txd'h**: 'restrained him', read *č'txd'h*, as at 436.2; p. p. there *č'tx'dk*, so stem *č'tx*-. Similarly 309.4 'drove him away'.

173.8 **θ'Byd'h**: 'heated it', with θ- taken from 187.5 *θ'wy*- 'burn'? Probably \**t'by*- < Av. *tāpaya*-, as NP *tābīdan*. *t'byd* also occurs in other meanings, 134.4, 372.6, 509.8 [sic] 'hit the mark', 76.4, 89.5, 110.7, 183.6, 195.6, 398.6, etc. 'pointed, vowelised (Arabic letters)', cf. 38.5 *tb* 'spot', 192.7 *t'b* 'point', but this must be from another root, perhaps basically 'to mark'.

175.1 **mxyzdyd'n**: sic! For 'was grateful for them', read \**mānwryd'n*, \**xnwry*- being a denominative from Av. *xšnaoθra*- 'satisfaction', cf. 169.3, 177.1 *bxmw'r'wc* 'ingratitude' (H, 'Lg.', 434).

175.6 **b'cysyd'h**: 'interpreted it', to be read with initial *p*- and perhaps without the second -y-, as 406.1 *p'cysd'h* 'likened it'; cf. Man. MP *p'cyh*-, XSgd. p. p. *pcyst* 'teach, taught' < \**pai-čaiθa*-, *-čista*-. Without proof of the palatalization of -θ- by a preceding -i-, however, it may as well be \**pcysy*- from \**čaišaya*- as \**čaiθaya*-.

176.6 **y' TBBWk** . . . : the Xw. translates a different NP gloss, *muhra-yi vay bišikast balā-yi muhra-šikan* (*Pishro*), lit. 'the back-breaking calamity broke his vertebra(e)'. The letters *tb*- seem plainly pointed in the MS, so perhaps \**tbNwk* 'vertebra'. For *muhra-šikan* it is certainly compounded with *mzk*, showing the trans. verb 'to break' to be *mz*-, against intrans. *m'zy*- (v. my 112.2)!

177.3 **š'Dtyc**: 'came out from it', apparently \*š'wt-, < \*šw-? Sgd. also šw- 'go', as in WIr.

177.8 **'y bn'wynByk**: not 'helper' but 'victory-giver', pres. part. of *bn'wy-*, 350.8, 376.4 *b'n'wīd'h*, caus. of *bnw-* 'win', 165.6 *b'nwd*. In view of 356.7 *ft'wyn<sup>yk</sup>* 'destroyer' < *ft'wy-*, 265.6 \*šž'wynk (for *-yn<sup>yk</sup>?*) 'violent' < *šž'wy-*, and only particles in *-nk* from other verbs in *-y-*, it is presumably *bn'wyn<sup>yk</sup>*, the extra stroke of the *-B-* being a *lapsus*.

178.5 **y'βγwnc**: 'appearance' is *'βγwnc* with initial /ā-/, as 124.8 f. *b'βγwnc* 'ugly' shows, so read *y'βγwnc*. 417.5 *y'βγwnc'h* 'his appearance' shows it to be fem., another example of /yā āC-/ > *y'C-* (v. my 105.6, 153.3).

**D'R'myd'h**: the glossator has understood *nazarahu* as 'looked for, expected him', not 'gave him respite', i.e. *w'r'myd'h*, from \**wr'my-*, a variant of 437.2, 478.4 *wr'myd-* and 461.7, 467.2 *mwr'myd-*.

178.6 **mckYd'n**: 'pecked them', in view of 59.2 *y'jknk'h* 'its beak' (i.e. 'pecker') is probably \**mčknđ'n*, from \*(<sup>'</sup>)čkn-, [H, *Dict.*, 'jkn-].

**m'Šk'nyd'h**: 'carved it', why -Š-? With the preverb *ā-* present, the *-S-* must be part of the root, obviating a connexion with BSgd. *skn-* '\*engrave' < \**uz-kan-*; a derivation from √\*(*s*)kar is no easier to establish, considering BSgd. *'skr'nt-* 'injure', Pxt. *skan-* 'cut out' < \**uz-krnt-*.

178.7 **m'Zyd'h**: there is no clear reason for taking the point as *-Z-* instead of *-N-*. Conceivably to dress (NP *barāzīd*, not *bi:rāzīd*) a millstone, 374.1 *y' rθ*, is 'to make it grind', i.e. \**āraya-* > \**'ry-*, here \**m'rūd'h*; cf. 317.6 *mnd'n* 'ground them (corn)', \**'n-* 'grind' < \**arna-*, as Pxt. *anəl*. However, in the *Qunya*, \**mnd'()**mz<sup>yk</sup>* describes a millstone which *zūd bisyār ārd namākunad*, i.e. a 'non-grinder', suggesting a stem \*(<sup>'</sup>)*mz-*; perhaps \**mž-* < \**marz-* (cf. 427.8 \**prmž-* 'rub, touch') and here caus. \**mžy-*.

179.2 **'ndrYnk**: *bāz-dāranda* 'hindrance', read *'ndžynk*, pres. part. of *'ndžy-* 'fetter' < *handarzaya-*, 438.4 *mndžyd*.

180.4 **y' mndkTrm'n**: 'disobedient', **-t-** at 196.8 f., is certain from 375.4 *'ktrm'n* 'obedient'.

180.6, 30.1 **'y pstrn**: 'bedding', read \**bstn* < Av. *upa.stərəna-* (cf. Pxt. *brastən*, *EVP*, 16); cf. \**bstn-*, 302.6 *b'stnd'h* 'spread, flattened it, *bigustarānīd*', < \**upa-strnā-*. 31.3 **pstrhng** is a loan from NP *b/pistar-āhang* 'coverlet'.

180.6 **mβRd'n**: 'combed, fluffed them (wool) out'. The *-R-* is no less certain than in the passive \**'βrs-*, 248.1 \**mβrs'r* [not **mfrsy'r**, though H, *Dict.*, also *'frsy-*; the 'y' appears to be a catch of the pen-nib only] ' (the curls [Ar. *š'd*, not *šyd*]) were dishevelled'.

180.8 **b'rytyc**: 'extracted it', read *p-*, as correctly at 223.4, 241.4, etc., from 450.3.

181.8 **y' MT**: is nothing but the Ar. *t'nyθ* 'feminine', as at 296.4.

182.2 **jfk**: read *čfk*, v. my 90.8.

182.3 **b'dynBNdby br' b'š'h**: 'kicked it with his foot', a mistranslation of the Ar., largely mispointed. Cf. 192.3 **b'šnbydyw f-** 'kicked it with . . .' and 302.3 **'nbnyd** 'it kicked'. If *'npny-* 'to kick' and 'to make flicker'



(*v. my* 78.1) are both essentially only 'to brandish' or the like, it is not surprising to find a specialization of 'kick' including the word 'foot', viz. \*/pāδ-anpaniy-/. So read \*p'δnpnydybr pr' p'δ'h (*pr* 392.5, etc., p'δ 387.3).

182.4 **B'hd 'y 'š**: 'the camel kicked', perhaps related to \*b'h- 'shake' (*v. my* 95.8), cf. the meanings of 'npny- above; < \*upāha- ?

182.5 **t'byd'h**: 'shook (the dust out of) it'. Instead of yet another t'byd (*v. my* 173.8), perhaps \*t'pyd, caus. of \*tp- 'palpitate' (*my* 126.6).

182.8 **'y fy'w'Wy**: 'surplus'. -'wy is elsewhere an adverbial suffix; despite the appearance, this is perhaps \*βγ'w'wk, to 64.7 \*βγ'w as the NP ziyādatī is to ziyādat. For \*β°, cf. 385.3 mβγ'wyd'h = ziyāda kard (ān-rā).

**f' n'c'h**: the corresponding NP dar bīnī-yi ō (*Pishro*) is wanting.

183.4 f. **k'cyd'h, kcy'dk**: 'threw it, thrown' are mistranslations of Ar. laqāta, etc., which may have been confused with laqa'a (hardly alqā, 383.7).

183.6 **š'bnxyd'n**: 'combed them (hair)', delete the -y-. In 438.5 š'bnx'd it is in pause.

184.1 **y' 'xr-'wrc**: 'sunrise', read -'wzc, *v. my* 157.8.

184.2, 196.5 f. **rnk, 478.5 rnkyn**: 'colour, coloured', read \*rng, *v. my* 73.3.

184.4 **nyc'k'D**: 'ripe', read nyc'k'r, as in the abstract (pl.) 424.7 nyc'k'r'wc 'maturity' [sic].

184.7 **'y pδ'mk'wyk**: 'dyeing' or 'dipping in water'? Why pδ-, for BD-? The glossator presumably distinguished šaby from šiby.

185.1, 190.6, 223.5 **mwSyd-**: 'chewed...'. The -s- is so marked in 401.1 mvsy'dk, lit. 'chewed', i.e. 'a morsel (of meat)'.

185.6 **'y k'm 'y B'mBBk-βrk'n**: 'the mouth of the person fasting', 226.5 **B'mBBk βryd**: 'he fasted'. Cf. *Qunya* (Frejman, *XJ*, 110) prmk w'jyb ky'dynk βr'mk'my 'I am obliged to fast on Friday', 398.8 'δynk 'Friday'. Since 'to fast on Friday' is y'dynk βr-, 'he fasted' in general (rōzī dāšt) is presumably \*y'myθk βr'd (508.5 'y myθ = rōz), though the \*y'- remains obscure. The 'faster' is then 'y \*y'myθk-βrk.

187.1 **'y . . . byrsyk**: 'cloud', when pointed, always has b-, 342.8, 351.3, 367.1, 379.5, etc., but the unique spelling 408.5 bryβ'yk shows it to be ultimately the same word as MSgd. pryβyy and presumably Khot. p(r)yaura-, i.e. \*pari-abra-ka- > \*parēβ(r)ak > /pareβik/ > /perβik/, with \*p- throughout, and \*θpyrβk 'cloudy' 144.2, 479.6.

187.4 **βžc nyθ'r 'y 'βš 'y mr'w-mynyc**: the plural verb and adjectives show this not to be an exact translation of the Ar. 'the palm tree became tall'. In 'Parthian' Pahlavi the same word bšn (cf. BSgd. βnš, < \*brš.na-) is used of horses' manes (*Pahl. texts*, 4.7) and the palm tree's foliage (ibid., 110.5). The Xwar. (')fš 'mane' 38.6, 7, 437.7, 467.1, and 'neck plumage' 514.5, 8, may well also be the word used here in the plural, so 'the date-palm \*frondage'. (H, *Dict.*, 'βs 'uncertain word'.)

188.2 **zwpynydybr**: a Xw. denominative \*z/žwpyny- 'to spear with a z/žōpīn' is much more likely than a lone and *ad hoc* NP \*zōpīnīdaš. But like all verbs of striking (*v. my* 113.4) it has a notional pl. object, so \*Zwpynydyn.

188.5 **mfyd'h**: read *mγyd'h*, \*'γγ-, cf. Pṣt. *γowəl*, *γay-*, Oss. *qāyən*, Waxī *γəy-*, etc.

189.4 **x'ryd'h**: alternative translation of ' (the arrow) passed by (the target) ', read *x'rd'd*, cf. 472.4 *x'r'r'd* ' they passed '.

190.1 **y' pryc'k-mync 'wc**: ' the leaving-behind place '. The verb, corresponding to Sgd. *pryc-*, is only otherwise found in the *Qunya* (Frejman, *XJ*, 98, 104), twice as *pryā-*, i.e. from \**pari-raiāš-* not *-raič-*, so read the inf. also *pryā'k*.

190.6 **b'rMysyd'h**: ' rubbed it '. The closest verb ' to rub ' is *šmšy-*, 190.1, 2, 7, 471.1 *š'mšyd*, indicating \**prmsy-* (without the assimilation), here *pr'msyd'h*; < \**pari-mušya-* (to accommodate Bal. *mušag*) ?

192.2 **y m'ny'c**: not ' inner part of the house ', but its ' inhabitants ', as 297.5; pl. of \**m'ny'dk*, p. p. of *m'ny-* ' dwell ', 198.4, 199.1.

192.7, 210.8 **γ'mc**: read " *mc*, pl. of \*"*mk*, ' all, in general ', < Ar. *عام*.

192.8, 238.3 **B'δ'wd'h**: ' polished it ', can be from nothing but \**bδ'w-* < \**apa-dāwa-*, cf. 73.5 *δ'w-* = BSgd. ' anoint ', NP *zidūdan* < \**uz-daw*.

193.4 **w'zyd'h**: ' killed him ', read either *w'znd'h*, as at 104.5, 149.7, 204.4, and so pointed 447.8, or *w'zñd-*, in view of 347.4, 352.2, etc., *w'zyd-*; < *awa-šan-*, Pth. *'wjn-*, Pṣt. *wažn-*, etc.

194.3 **xwnydyd**: ' delayed it ', read *xwnbdyd*, as at 342.3, 7.

194.4 NP has only \**pēxtan* ' twist '; read *bībēxt* ' sifted ', from the same √ *vaik* as *prwycy-*.

197.8 **P'Rk'Syd'h**: ' imprisoned him ', cf. BSgd. *prk's* ' imprisonment ', MSgd. *prqyš-* ' imprison ' < \**pari-kāšaya-*. The outcome of *-š-y-* in Xw. is uncertain, but \**-sy-* seems likely, so \**prk'sy-*.

199.2 **kCZRY'wc mkyd**: ' practised divination ', pointed *kx-*. \**kxrzy'wc* cannot be separated from Av. *ka-x'arəiḏi-* ' witch ',<sup>15</sup> cf. Arm. *kazard* ' magician ' (Hübschmann, *AG*, 162). This is another fascinating survival of Avestan terminology in medieval Khwarezmian, providing a suitable note on which to pause. Pages 200–517 of the facsimile and Benzing's treatment of them will yield much more worthy of discussion.

[Addendum. 178.5 : the correct 'βγwnc ' appearance ' throws an interesting light on a B Sogdian word, *Dhy.*, 207 *pry''βγwn'k*. In a loosely translated sentence this corresponds to 可愛, Skt. *premanvīya* (Weller, *Mon.Ser.*, III, 1938, 92). Instead of Gershevitch's analysis (*GMS*, §§ 202 fn., 1114) as *pry''β* + *-γwn'k*, it can now be seen to be *pry''βγwn'k* ' of lovely appearance ', a rare example of a *bahuvrīhi* of the type of Parth. *fryhn'm* ' of beloved name '. Probably MSgd. *fryrw'n* too is ' of loved soul ', rather than ' soul-loving ' as Henning later translated (*BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 470, with n. 3).]

<sup>15</sup> [On which, see now Schwartz, art. cit., p. 389.]

## INDEX

Words are quoted in lexical and not necessarily actual form. References are to the page and line under which they are discussed; they do not necessarily occur there in *Muq*.

- 'br- 157.1  
 \*'baw'rc 128.1  
 'βγ'w 182.8  
 \*'βγ'w'wk 182.8  
 'βγ'wy- 182.8  
 'βγwnc 178.5  
 'βn- 90.1  
 \*'βr- 180.6  
 'βr'γ (z'd'k) 91.2  
 'βrñg 131.4  
 'βrs- 180.6  
 'βwzy- 99.8  
 'βzp- 120.8  
 'βzpn'k 158.6  
 \*'c'ty- 125.2  
 'cb- 100.4  
 'cbc 100.4  
 'cb'k 100.4  
 'ckwnd- 164.1  
 'cw 116.2  
 'čfy- 102.6  
 'čkn- 178.6  
 'čknk 178.6  
 'čy'wnd 160.8  
 'δβ'ny- 150.2  
 \*'δβw- 120.6  
 'δynk 185.6  
 \*'fcn 110.3  
 'fš 187.4  
 'ft'wy- 177.8  
 'gw'r- 73.3  
 'gw'rš'n 111.3  
 'yr's- 79.7  
 'yr'sy- 79.7  
 'yy- 188.5  
 'knby- 98.8  
 'ks- 164.1  
 'kstk 164.1  
 'ktk 153.1  
 'ktrm'n 180.4  
 'kw- 153.1  
 'kuby- 95.4  
 \*'kubyk 95.4  
 \*'kwn'c 153.1  
 'kwnd- 164.1  
 'mnk 142.2  
 (')mt 129.7  
 'mty- 129.7  
 'n- 178.7  
 'nbnc 167.6  
 'nbnc(y)- 81.6  
 'ncrβ- 93.3  
 \*'ncwzy- 75.8  
 (')ncas- 75.8  
 'ncyk'n'wk 86.2  
 'ndst 114.2  
 'ndžy- 179.2  
 'ndžynk 179.2  
 'ngyδ 99.7  
 'nfwy 75.8  
 'nkn- 88.3  
 'nknc 88.3  
 'npny- 78.1  
 'nwβ 119.4  
 'nwβ- 119.4  
 'pny- 78.1  
 'pzt 114.2  
 'pxy- 114.2, 171.2  
 \*'ry- 178.7  
 'Sk'ny- 178.6  
 'sp- 99.7  
 'spnd'rmd 74.6  
 'spr- 90.3  
 'stnb- 91.6  
 'stnb'wk 123.1  
 'stnby- 91.6  
 'sxn- 146.6  
 'š 73.6  
 't'δ 117.1  
 \*'wbh- 142.7  
 'wck 84.7  
 'wδk 167.5  
 'wr'my- 178.5  
 'wrcy- 80.8  
 'wrđ- 153.3  
 'wrđ'k 153.3  
 'wrđk 153.3  
 'wrys- 83.8  
 'wrys'k 83.8  
 'wspk 97.8  
 'wstnb- 91.6  
 \*'wšy'wnd 160.8  
 'wšynd 160.8  
 'wx 153.3  
 'wzc 157.8  
 \*'wzy- 157.8  
 'x 90.4  
 'xh- 142.7  
 'xn- 90.1  
 'xnury- 175.1  
 'xr'wzc 184.1  
 'xšwmy- 108.5  
 'xtn 90.4  
 'xθrk 136.1  
 \*'zyδ- 84.8  
 'yd 90.3  
 'zmx'sy- 167.8  
 'zmas- 167.8  
 'zurcy- 75.8  
 'zurd- 75.8  
 'žβ- 120.7  
 'mc 192.7  
 'w- 79.3  
 'z 88.5  
 b'dys 170.8  
 b'h- 95.8, 182.4  
 B'D'mk'w'k 184.7  
 bdy- 77.3  
 bδ'w- 192.8  
 bfn- 90.1  
 bγwδ'k 144.5  
 bγwnd- 144.5  
 bkn- 114.7  
 bmž- 82.8  
 bn'wy- 177.8  
 bn'wyn'k 177.8  
 bnw- 177.8  
 bny- 108.8  
 bsmyr- 82.6  
 \*bstn 180.6  
 bstn- 180.6  
 bš'rt(-hβryn'k) 171.4  
 \*bucy- 97.2  
 \*bwndšt 132.1  
 bxnwr'wc 175.1  
 basy- 144.5  
 byn- 108.8  
 \*bzk 84.4, 142.1  
 βc'n 'is' 128.1  
 βc'wn'wk 84.8  
 βncy- 80.8  
 βncyn 131.4  
 \*βryn 97.7  
 βrz'wy- 145.2  
 c't'k 125.2  
 cβr- 138.5  
 cδβwy- 87.8  
 cm-w'zynk 145.3  
 Cwllk 81.8  
 č'tx- 173.5  
 č'xy'k 96.2  
 čfk 90.8  
 čfk-pcy'k 90.8  
 čkd'k 100.7  
 čkn'k 100.7  
 črb- 130.7  
 črbc 130.7  
 čw'xy- 96.2  
 čx- 96.2  
 dry- 91.1  
 \*δky 111.3  
 \*δkyy- 111.3  
 δrw'k 81.4  
 δst'w 138.4  
 frdr 158.3  
 ft'wyn'k 177.8  
 gč 73.3, 137.6  
 grk 73.3, 128.3  
 grym 73.3  
 gwr 73.3  
 γ'z- 107.1  
 γBs- 129.7  
 γryc'k 88.5  
 γyθb'n 103.8  
 hβdn 79.1  
 hr'zy- 143.3  
 hr'zyk 143.3  
 ĩ'd 180.6  
 ĩwbk 81.8  
 key- 183.4  
 kcy'dk 183.4  
 krwn'c 153.1  
 krwy- 153.1  
 \*kst 169.2  
 \*kxzy'wc 199.2  
 \*lkc- 129.7  
 \*m'd'k 104.4  
 m'ny- 192.2  
 m'ny'c 192.2  
 m'zy- 112.2  
 m'zyk-mynk 112.2  
 mcyk 139.7

- mcyxyz*- 139.7  
*mdk* 79.1  
*mndktrm'n* 180.4  
*\*mnd(')mžvk* 178.7  
*mny*- 118.4  
*mwsy*- 185.1  
*mwsy'dk* 185.1  
*myθ* 185.6  
*mz*- 176.6  
*\*mžy*- 178.7  
*n'c* 182.8  
*nyck'r* 184.4  
*nyck'r'wc* 184.4  
*nγr*- 113.1  
*nywnd*- 144.5  
*nkn*- 114.7  
*nkndk* 114.7  
*nps*- 84.1  
*nr*- 83.8  
*nrcy*- 107.5  
*nrcyk* 107.5  
*nrδ*- 83.8  
*nxstk* 144.5  
*nxsy*- 144.5  
*nymcy*- 118.1  
*nynd* 118.1  
*p'δ* 182.3  
*p'δnpry*- 182.3  
*p'mn(k)* 151.4  
*p'rx* 129.5  
*pc'bθ* 161.6  
*pc-yk* 90.3  
*pcbhyk-yk* 90.3  
*pcn'vk* 136.4  
*pcpk'wk* 86.2  
*pcrβ*- 152.6  
*pczrd* 95.8  
*pcz'z*- 136.8  
*pcyk'wk* 90.3  
*pcys(y)*- 175.6  
*pčf(-pcy'k)* 90.8  
*\*pmyc|x* 77.7  
*pncwk* 130.5  
*pr'kñ*- 171.3  
*pr'skm*- 160.3  
*prβ'ry*- 85.7  
*prcy*- 107.5  
*prδys*- 111.6  
*prftk* 9.32  
*\*prk'sy*- 197.8  
*prm'd'vk* 171.3  
*prmracy*- 107.5  
*\*prmsy*- 190.6  
*prmy*- 136.3  
*prmž*- 178.7  
*prwycy*- 194.4  
  
*prxrs* 95.5  
*pry*- 180.8  
*pryx*- 190.1  
*pryx'kmynk* 190.1  
*prstrng* 180.6  
*\*pθwδ* 131.6  
*pwsmy'd* 142.3  
*pyrβk* 187.1  
*\*pzd*- 84.4  
*pzy-paxt* 114.2  
*pžy*- 104.4  
*rnb* 125.5  
*rnb-r'w* 125.5  
*rñc* 121.8  
*rñck* 82.8  
*rng* 73.3  
*rng-dry'cy* 91.1  
*rngyn* 184.2  
*\*rns*- 131.4  
*ršt* 167.5  
*rtk* 167.5  
*rw*- 125.5  
*rys*- 105.3  
*skrβk* 77.3  
*spny* 123.8  
*spnynk* 123.8  
*sy'k* 142.4  
*šbnx*- 183.6  
*\*šfš'ny*- 166.8  
*šγ'ry*- 91.7  
*šyr* 91.7  
*šyr*- 91.7  
*šmšy*- 190.6  
*šn'sy*- 123.8  
*šnš*- 123.8  
*šSB'k* 142.4  
*\*šw*- 177.3  
*šw'žy*- 82.2  
*šwž*- 82.2  
*šž'wy*- 177.8  
*šž'wymk* 177.8  
*t'b* 173.8  
*\*t'by*- 173.8  
*\*t'py*- 182.5  
*t's*- 141.7  
*t'sy('dk)* 104.4  
*tb* 173.8  
*\*tbk* 80.8  
*\*tbNwk(-mzk)* 176.6  
*tp*- 126.6  
*\*tryngwδ* 94.5  
*\*twzk* 150.3  
*\*twzk'wk* 150.3  
*θ'βywδ'vk* 113.1  
*θ'wy*- 173.8  
*θfy'n* 112.1  
  
*θγd-mt* 87.1  
*θñk* 113.1  
*θñk-nγr'd'vk* 113.1  
*θpyrβk* 187.1  
*θšl* 162.7  
*θznk* 162.7  
*w'h* 171.6  
*w'zy*- 145.3, 158.7  
*wδst'vk* 83.8  
*wfrk* 165.1  
*wγry*- 120.7  
*wγz* 122.7  
*\*wγz*- 100.8  
*wnd*- 132.1  
*wr'k'r* 88.6  
*wr'zy*- 91.8  
*urd*- 153.3  
*urdk* 153.3  
*\*wyk* 171.6  
*\*wyk'r* 171.6  
*\*wykrc* 171.6  
*wyr'n* 88.6  
*wzñ*- 193.4  
*xbč* 113.4  
*xbčy*- 113.4  
*xr* 99.8  
*xr*- (-d) 189.4  
*xr'k* 110.8  
*\*xrd* 96.8  
*xr-gwθ'vk* 99.8  
*xθrk-β'm* 136.1  
*xwβc'vk* 95.4  
*xwβcy* 95.4  
*xwnb*- 194.3  
*\*y'myθk(-βrk)* 185.6  
*\*yβc'vk* 150.2  
*\*yβd* 150.2  
*yγd'vk* 166.1  
*ym'z*- 112.2  
*yw'sy*- 120.6  
*ywzy*- 75.8  
*yxfrcy*- 148.7  
*yxfrd* 148.7  
*yxs*- 75.8, 166.1  
*zBykmnyk'wc* 118.4  
*zβñ*- 90.1  
*zmγdk* 167.8  
*zmxc* 167.8  
*znk* 121.8  
*\*zwpymy*- 188.2  
*zyw*- 127.3  
*zywk* 127.3  
*zywnc* 127.3  
*zywndk* 127.3