THE KHWAREZMIAH GLOSSARY—I

By D. N. MacKenzie

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.\(^1\) W. B. Henning’s first article appeared after nine years\(^2\) and a quarter of a century later H. W. Bailey could still\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) Of course, Togan’s publication in 1951 of the facsimile of a manuscript of Zamakhshari’s Arabic dictionary Muqaddimatu irl-adab, almost completely glossed in Xw.,\(^5\) 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.\(^6\)

Benzing promises a second volume of indexes: an alphabetic list of all the Xw. words,\(^7\) 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 irl-adab and Latin translations of the former, all from J. G. Wetzstein’s edition,\(^8\) 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.

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\(^1\) Ḥwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen Fiqh-Werke’, *Islamica*, iii, 1927, 190–213.
\(^3\) In a review in *JRAS*, 1961, 54.
\(^4\) 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*.
\(^5\) *Documents on Khorezmian culture.1. Muqaddimat al-adab, with the translation in Khorezmian*, Istanbul.
\(^7\) It remains to be seen whether by ‘samtliche 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.
\(^8\) Samachscharii lexicm arabicum persicum ex codicibus manuscryptis . . . . edidit atque indicem arabicum adieict Dr. . . . Wetzstein, Leipzig, 1850. In addition to this, I have had considerable use of the available parts of an edition by Muhammad Kāzim Imām, *Pishrov-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 transliterations 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 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. ŠDk (110.8, read zr’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)9 pointed. For example:

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<td>Not pointed</td>
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<td>Incorrectly pointed</td>
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9 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’rdf*: the stem *’kw’r*- is borrowed from NP *guvār-* ‘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 *gē* ‘plaster’, 4.7, 89.1 *gnf* ‘treasure’, 361.1, 407.8 *grym* ‘carpet, NP *gilim*’, 86.2, 351.4 *gw*r* ‘grave’, 60.4, 184.2 *rnq* ‘colour’, 365.4 *swg* ‘sorrow’, etc., and here *gw*r-, *mgw’rdybr*.

73.6, 75.1 *y.’ṣy-ṣr*: this first example shows how misconceived is Benzing’s insertion of points to mark juncture. ‘ṣ */uṣṣa*/ ‘she-camel’, with the fem. article *y’*/yā*/, presumably lost its initial vowel in this context, */yā-ṣṣa*-ṣā-ṣā- (contrast 125.3 *y* ’ṣ), since *y’s* can scarcely represent either */y-uṣṣa/* or */yā-uṣṣa/*. If a point is to be introduced at all—and it is of very doubtful value—it should, therefore, be after the article, *y’ṣy-ṣr*.

74.6 *ṣbd*mrd*: read ’spnd’, as at 348.1. MSgd. *spnd*mrd, etc.

75.8, 156.7 *mcwryd*: this should be *mcwryd*, 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 *’ncz* 454.4, 463.3, etc., p.p. *’ncyd’k* 249.3,¹⁰ ‘be wrinkled’, and NP *anfy* ‘wrinkle’ (Xw. idem 276.7). These forms are transparently from *ham* √ *kawg, -cuxsa*-,*-cwyda-, -cauga*- [cf. Khot. *hamaqtjaj*- ‘to fear’ (Emmerick, SGS, 137, and reff. there) < *ham* √ *kawg, Skt. *sam-kaw*- ‘shrink ’]. Our causative can then be seen as *’nwyzy- < *han-ćawjajya*- ‘contract, wrinkle ’; cf. formally *wyzy*- 346.5, 388.4, etc., ‘make firm, ready’ < *yawjajjya*- *yas* 455.8, 466.4 ‘be firm, ready’ < *yuwja*.

75.8 *mrwd’h*: read *mwerdyd’h*, as at 389.5. (’)zwrcy- ‘turn over’ <

¹⁰In my transliteration of Xw. words, a penultimate raised *y* represents the letter written only when the word is in pause.
*uz-wartaya-, caus. of (*zwrda- 470.3, etc., 'cross (a wall)'; cf. XSGd. *zwyrt-, caus. of zwrt- 'return'.

77.3 P'Ddyth 'y škyv: 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)\(^{11}\) with the preverb apa-; comparison with -ney- 'show' < *ni-čaša- (H, Hb., 111) makes an etymon *apa-taša- (cf. Skt. apa-taks-) > *bdy- most likely, thus b’dy’th; the same at 87.2, 147.4.

*(*)škr(y)k 'wood', so written by B. throughout, is spelt plainly with -β- at 47.6 and nowhere pointed š-: it is *(*)škrβύk and probably connected with Khot. skarβa-, XSGd. sqrb 'rough, harsh' (Bailey, BSOS, xxix, 3, 1966, 518, at 65b); the same at 87.1f, 94.5, 98.8, 99.5, 129.3, 156.4, 161.1, 178.1.

77.7 *y bmɔx: although the initial is here pointed b- and the final -x at 100.4, 108.4, both are suspect (despite Oss. bɔmbaŋ, Arm. bmbak 'cotton'). The word is plural (here = suffix -n) and may well be *pmvč < a notional *pmvκ, rather than *pmvϰ.

78.1 *pnyd’y cm: this is a mistranslation of xalajat 'aynuhu 'his eye flickered' (q.v. 493.4 *pnyd’y cm); it must mean 'he caused the eye to flicker', cf. 302.3 *pnyd’y β’rcyk 'the steed kicked'.

79.1 h bırrn hy hɔryd: *hɔrn 'gift', as B. writes throughout, no doubt influenced by the preverbal stem hɔr- 'to give', is certainly hɔrδn < *frα-brɔtα-, cf. 214.7 *mavk 'dead' < mrtα-ka-. (Only once, at 504.1, could it conceivably be read *hɔrn.) Although the spellings 5.5 *hɔrny and 365.1 *y hɔrnyh 'his gift' seem to tell against the -n being the plural ending /-in/, the pl. verb 79.2 β’ryn = bɔsand proves it.

79.3 ywd ‘y’kt: 'the dog barked'. There seems to be no reason for departing from the written 'wd; cf. Ar. ‘awa ‘bark, howl', NP 'au-'au kordan, North. Kd. 'awtšin 'to bark', rather than Pxt. yapši, Orm. γανγαου 'barking'.

79.7 mšfšyd’h: read δšy-, as at 484.2; 'to envy' perhaps trans. to a *δš- 'be envious', < *dwar-sa- (cf. 50.8 δš 'goat-hair' < *darsa-, H, 'Lg.' 432, and formally 'yršy- 'waken': 'yrš-' 'be awake'); then Pxt. wyār 'envy' < *dwar-ti-

80.8 tink f’neyd, 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 təb- 'twist' than tan- 'spin'. Read β’neyd 'he bound', as at 75.4, etc., after -k at 448.3. The letter ṭ evidently represents both c and j (ts, dz), as in the traditional Pashto orthography, and we may further distinguish *bnjy- < bandaya- from, say, wrcy- < ã-wartaya-.

81.4 *y šrwk (!): a cross-reference to 261.2 would have made it clearer that šrwk translates bēmār, not bālīš, of the NP equivalent.

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\(^{11}\) Henning's articles are quoted thus:

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


Verb = 'The structure of the Khwarezmian verb', AM, NS, v, 1, 1955, 43–9.
81.6 'nbncdyθ': read 'nbncdyθ, as at 408.6, 410.6, 435.3, etc. 'nbncyθ ('nbncdy)' does occur at 81.3, 168.4, 464.5 and is probably the better spelling; *'nbnjy- ‘intend’ < *ham-bandaya-? Cf. BSgd. 'nβnt ‘cause’, Khot. hambaï-‘ compose’ (SGS, 142).

81.8 *yJwBk pce's: read rather, Culk. It is not ‘clothes worn one over the other’ but ‘piled on the other’. Jw 473.2 is a ḫubba.

82.2 šw'ẓyd'h: ‘threw it’, read *šw'zyd-, as correctly at 94.2. The same assimilation, *šw'zy-: w'zy-, is seen in 430.1 šw'zd ‘jumped’, *šwż-: 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 'wdn y'mzd y rncye: read *b'mzd, 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; *rûck < *arančika- < arašni-); bmž- < *upa(m)a-ra-, cf. Skt. upa-nrj- ‘stroke, touch, sweep’.

83.7 f'-hḍ: apparently *P-hḍ, but 154.8 fy 'ḥḍ, 386.7 f'-ḥḍ.

83.8 ty wūṣṭyk: read fy wūṣy{k. 25.6, 114.8 (')wūṣy{k ‘dough’, from (')wūṣys- 105.1, 114.8 ‘to knead’ < *wu-rīṭya-, cf. MSGd. wūṣ-, wṛṣt ‘mix’ (BBB, 69 on 560). 25.6, 176.5 wūṣṭyk is specifically ‘unleavened dough’.

83.8 mNrd, 84.3 mBRyd: read mnṛvd = nālūd, as at 125.3, bāng kard (šēr), as at 509.8. Xw. also has nrṣvd = nālūd at 125.6, 368.5, cf. BSgd. nrṣ-, Pšt. narḍ. Perhaps */nar|- (the more likely position of the tashēd in 83.8) has been influenced by Ar. na'ara, cf. Pšt. nāra < na'ra.

84.1, 154.2 mnbyṣyd, 161.7, 174.1 mnbyṣyd: 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 *mnps'd with.

84.4 TReq'd: for nāy zad ‘played the flute’ a form close to Pahl. pẓd-might be expected. -azd- is preserved in 'zd'k ‘clever’ 243.5, etc. (bẓk ‘bad’, 7.5, 116.2, etc., is evidently a loan-word from WMIg.). Probably *pẓd(d'y) is to be read.

84.7 f'rcc: read f-wcc ‘by spans’ (NP bidast, not ba:dast!), cf. 72.1 'wck */ucc'k/ < *uc(t)k, or *uc'cistik, < vilasti-ka-.

84.8 fc'ẉn'wk: ‘patience’, pointed β̣e at 341.2, 480.8 (against B.’s f-). An abstract in -ẉk from *β̣e'vn < *abi-tāwana-, cf. Skg., Pth. p̣'w- ‘endure’ < pāti-tāwa-.

mCBSd'd: ‘whistle, chirp’, perhaps *'xỵ < *xwaida-, Skt. kśvedati; cf. Pšt. śpelāy ‘whistle’ (EVP, 75). Then *mxỵd'd.

85.7 p'r̥'reỵd: ‘forgave’. The -c- must be a smudge, cf. pr̥'rỵk ‘forgiveness’ at 496.3. pr̥'rỵ- also ‘forgive’, 303.6, 376.7, 382.3, 490.2. pr̥'rỵ- < *para-biraya-, cf. Av. para.baraiti (AIW, 940) ‘makes good’?

86.2 fy kẉr: dar gōr, v. my 73.3.

'pck'n'wc mkd: read 'neky'n'wc, as at 351.4, *w³k 5.1, ‘severity,
frugality’. Not to be confused with (')pcpk'wk, 423.4, 430.3, 491.8, ‘opposition’, from (')pcpk ‘facing’.

86.7 prtw hy mkd: this would mean 'he made him victorious' (cf. 389.4), not 'he forced him', so read BR'B'D.

87.1 škrfk θy-š-mt: škrBk, v. my 77.3. sxt-šikan is θy-nd-mt, lit. ‘hard-broken’; θy-d, 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 CšfWBD: *čβwe- 'talk nonsense' < *ati-duawaya-, an odd stem, perhaps produced by conflation of Av. dawa- 'speak (daevic)' and dřawa- 'deceive’ (Schwartz, JRAS, 1966, 122)?

88.2 ſm'zyk, but ſm'zq-b’n.

88.3, 141.1 mnkya'dh: the verb 'to sew' is often miswritten, 220.2 mnd, 305.5 mnkya'd, 362.4 mnkyd (for mnknd). ‘nknc ‘needle’, however, is unambiguous at 88.6, 190.5, 305.6. Better *mnknd'h, as at 97.6. Is Pxt. gandil 'sew' then Ir., < *han-kan'?

88.5 ġw 'we ſe ſt’ yr’nh: this might mean 'in the place of his *mountain’ (in fact yr’yc’k 157.8, 480.4). But read 'z'n-h, g. s. m. of Ar. 'z ‘honor’.

88.6 WR'R'k'R: 'incapable, impotent’, with w- at 352.3. From *wr'n-k’r (cf. Pxt. wrån), against 370.1 yr’n ‘desolate’?

90.1 zsyyd: zsnd 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 -n- (without any phonetic implications), thus zβn’d. zβn- 'guess, imagine’ < *uz-brna-, as *βn-, 500.2 mβnd, 'shave’ < *brna- (Av. brina-), *x'n-, 507.3 mxn'd, 'buy’ < *xrn' (Sgd. xryn’), bfn', 82.5, 85.8 b'fn'd, 'create’ < *upa-frna- (Sgd. sfryn’)?

90.3 ſy pccbyk '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 pe 'yk = pas-row 238.1, 262.5 (abstract peyk'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).

mSRD'h: ‘kicked him’ can only be msprd'h, 'spr- < Av. spara-.

90.4 'xTym: 'sixth’ is plainly written 'xtm, as at 180.3.

90.8 bět-psyk': turs-rêt. 'Sour' is čf k, 391.6 marg., 408.4, 515.3 (< tfšaka-, H, ‘Lg.’, 434) and čf k-psy'k occurs at 396.6, 472.5. Since bět occurs alone at 304.7 it may be an elative form of the adjective (< *api-tfša- ?) and in all probability is *pēf. Similarly 171.4 bift-psy'k.

91.1, 104.3 s’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. 'tr’γ-z’dk: read 'βr’γ (H, Dict.).

91.6 mwstNByd: -n- is pointed here and at 133.7 mstnbv’d, and 414.4 has the caus. mstbyd'h ‘made him vomit’ fully pointed.
91.7 'y ŠFR: šöy. Confirmed by the verb šyr- ‘become wet’ at 445.2 and the caus. šyrya- at 208.8.


93.2 [y brftyk], ergänzt nach 370.7] should read prtfk ‘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 pexs, 408.5 'y pxtyc, 451.2 'y prhyyz, etc.

93.3 mBCRtdyc: ‘pinched’. After m- the odds are 50–1 in favour of -n-; then cf. Waxy cerve- ‘pinch’. Probably *ncrβ-.

94.5 tRBBKw DS w'syd 'y škrfk t'BβBYk: for -DS read -Dhy; skrβk, v. my 77.3; f- *bβn'yk (H, Dict.); *tryngd ćross-cover’ < *tara-hongoada ?

95.4 f. mkubyd'n 'y xyfcy: ‘curled the milk’. ‘Milk’ is only pointed -f- (119.4), but its derivative ‘sweet’ (cf. NP širin < šīr, Pth. šyftyn < šyft) is plainly xwβcyk at 507.2, 509.1. xwβcy also occurs in the Muq. MS quoted by Togan, Islāmica, in, 1927, 211, no. 3 (misquoted as xyfcy, Benzing, p. 397). In short, as one would expect < *xwβfta-, ‘milk’ is xwβfjy, f. pl. (e.g. 159.7) of *xwβdk, cf. MŠgd. xšβfšt, Pxt. šoš, etc. The same at 144.1, 173.1, 199.8.

95.5 f. The Ar. has al-mimzádatu twice (no *maxażafu), meaning both ‘churn-stick’, ‘y kwbyk, and ‘churn (vessel)’, ‘y prxrs as at 488.7, so there is no ‘Verwechslung’.

95.8, 102.3 pCXRs: ‘dung’, confirmed at 302.7. Cf. Pxt. xaral, Yaγn. xird- ‘defecate’ < *xard-.

95.8 B'yhdẖ: read B'hd-, as at 200.3, 205.3. *b'h- ‘shake off (leaves)’ < *apah-a- < Av. 2ah- ‘throw’ ?

96.2 CÇa'h: read *χxd- /χuxidɔ/; cf. the caus. ġw'xyd at 355.2 ‘give milk, suckle’, and the verbal noun ġxyk at 497.2.

96.8 'y xRD kw pr hy δmnr'yyn: ‘the . . . in (?) which they tan it’. The NP gloss is ‘alaf, giyah (= Xw. ws 241.2); ‘bark’ is mŠk 230.6 f. Perhaps ‘the ooze’, called in NP šira ‘juice’; then cf. 315.2 čwβ'n-xrd ‘drinking of water’— *y xrd k-w-br (?) the ‘drink’ in which . . . ?’

97.1 m'sbkryd'h: read m'Fk'Ryd- ‘led him astray, not the same as 303.8 m'bkryd ‘looked up’ (H, Dict., *bk'zy-).

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

97.6 mknḍ'h: read mnknd'h, v. my 88.3.

97.7, 13.1 FRBN: ‘awl’. Cf. Pxt. řina; if this is < *wrina (unattested), then with Xw. *þrym < *brinã-?

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

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

99.1  \(y\)' SYyk: better \(y\)'SYyk.
99.5 f.  \(y\) škrt\(y\)e: sk\(r\)β\(c\), v. my 77.3; whether Xw. ‘woods’ is a correct translation of Ar. ‘lutes’ is moot.
99.7 mSBd\(h\) y.n\(k\)y\(δ\): read mspd, as at 402.7? This *\(s\)p- is ‘to cast down’, but the same verb may have been used of cutting off grapes and dates (at 201.4). *\(k\)y\(δ\) is fem., cf. 371.8 \(y\)’ pxc ‘\(k\)y\(δ\)’, so read \(y\).\(k\)y\(δ\) (v. my 73.6), or \(ny\)δ?
99.8 m\(b\)wzyd \(y\) xr \(e\)y xr-\(γ\)w\(δ\)yk: der Esel roch an dem (not nach) Mist, as is clear from the gloss B. omits, \(b\)\(y\) kard sarq\(i\)n-r\(ā\) xar. \(b\)wzy- is trans., with c-, cf. 210.6, 445.5 m\(b\)wzyd\(yc\) ‘smelt it’ (H, Dict., s.v.).
100.4 mxyd\(n\) \(y\) bmb\(x\): read mcb\(d\)\(n\). The verb *\(c\)b- can be deduced from 19.6 *\(c\)b\(v\)k ‘cotton-teaser’, cbc his ‘bow’. *\(p\)mc\(e\), v. my 77.7.
100.7  \(y\) Ck\(D\)yk: ‘drop, drip’. Cf. 183.7 Ck\(D\)yk = nuq\(τ\)a ‘drop’ (not ‘point’). Presumably alternative forms of p. p. to the stem *\(c\)k- borrowed from NP, */\(c\)ak\(d\)k/ and */\(c\)kn\(k\). But assimilated *\(c\)k- is possible; cf. P\(x\). cacedol.
100.8 wγ\(R\)d: ‘fled’. Cf. γ\(z\)d ‘ran’ < *γ\(z\)- or *γ\(z\)-, 349.8, 511.7, and Ydya γ\(d\)z, etc. (I\(F\)F, II, 214a); then *\(γ\)\(z\)- ‘run away’?
102.6 mCFyd\(c\): ‘stole it from him’. Cf. M\(S\)gd. cf- ‘steal’ < Av. tr\(f\)\(y\)a-; then, on the analogy of cf\(k\) (v. my 90.8), *\(c\)fy- ‘steal’.
103.8 \(y\) fs\(n\): an extraordinary misreading of γ\(y\)θ\(b\)n ‘shepherd’ (presumably made in the light of NP \(s\)ub\(ā\)n), repeated at 180.7. The correct reading at 320.1 has not been recognized. *γ\(y\)θ ‘flock’ < OP ga\(i\)θ\(a\)-, cf. P\(x\). ge\(θ\), and P\(t\). γ\(h\)\(b\)b\(n\) as ‘world-protector’. For psy \(p\)s\(n\) read psy psn ‘after the sheep’.
104.4 f. M\(R\)yd\(n\): not ‘gud\(a\)xt = melted them’ (*\(t\)syd\(n\), cf. 308.3, 372.6, and 356.5 \(t\)\(s\)yd\(k\) ‘molten’) but ‘bip\(a\)lid = purified them’ (omitted by B.), i.e. p\(\z\)yd\(n\), as at 298.5, 417.1. p\(\z\)-, lit. ‘filter’, < *\(p\)raz\(a\)-. \(y\) M\(R\)yk ‘pure metal’ could be its ‘essence’, *m\(d\)\(v\)k.
105.3 RBSd\(h\): ‘tore it’, probably *\(r\)ys- < Av. ra\(\i\)\(s\)ya- ‘harm’, Skt. ri\(ś\) ‘tear’ (-\(s\)- < -\(s\)-, H, H\(b\), 110).
105.6 f. \(y\):b\(d\)\(n\) p\(k\): ‘the inhabited house’. \(y\) p\(k\), fem., so *\(y\)ā āb\(d\)ān/ > \(y\)b-, needing no intrusive points.
106.7 \(N\)Y\(h\)cy\(b\)r ‘nc: ‘there is not in him’. The initial ‘is a very dubious stroke: *\(h\)-c-\(i\)-\(l\)-b\(r\) anc/ ‘not-him-also-on isn’t’, cf. 402.2 ny-c ‘nc.
107.1, 127.8, 142.3, 146.5 γ\(z\)d \(y\) ‘s: 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\(r\)cyd\(h\): ‘blamed him’. A form so pointed, and likewise glossed with NP mal\(ā\)m\(ā\)t k\(a\)\(r\)\(d\)an, occurs at 490.5. At 408.7, however, it is pointed both p- and n- (ignored by B.), and 445.6 has n\(r\)cyd\(h\) ‘slandered him’ (but 474.7 n\(r\)cyk = mal\(ā\)m\(ā\)t). It is, therefore, by no means clear whether the unpointed forms at 107.5, 210.4, 227.4 ‘blamed’, 155.5 ‘slandered’ represent *\(p\)rc- or *\(n\)rc-. To complicate matters further, a verb pr\(m\)rc-, pr\(m\)rcyd,
also corresponds to malāmat, 143.7, 230.7, 431.3. prcy- could be < *partaya-, Av. par'it- ‘fight, accuse’; to take nrcy- as *nrjy- < *nardaya- (cf. nrā- ‘complain’, my 83.8) and prmrca- as *prmrjy- < *pari-mardaya-. Av. mard ‘spoil, destroy’, would require a different development of -rdaya- from that in srzy ‘heart’, *xrszy- ‘chase’ (v. H, Hb., 112 f.), but -rcy- < -rta(y)a- here offers no connexions.

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

108.6 mpxyt’h *y xšwmyt̄-t’r: read xšwmt, 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 byndye. byn- ‘be removed’ < *apa-niya-, passive of bny- ‘remove’ < *apa-naya- (378.6, 416.3 bnyyd c- = dūr kard-aš az).

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

110.8 JD’k hy mkd cy hǒryn: read xrw k = mahrūm, as at 424.8, 159.1. hbd’m, v. my 79.1.

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

111.3 f. mkw’yrd’h *y kw’ršyn: read mgw’yrd’h ’y gw’ršn, despite the -y-points. Unlike 114.3, gw’ršn is not here in pause. On -g-, v. my 73.3.

111.6 p’rDBSt’h: ‘repaired it’, read p’rōyst’h; Xw. *prōys- = MSpd. prōys- ‘build’, < *pari-đaisa-.

112.1 cy c:jf’y’ny’h: at 212.3 酽fy’h and 428.2 酽fy’n ‘friend’, free of pointless 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.)


θyk-nfr’dyk: ‘havingswallowed (his) anger’ (not ‘angry’ = θ’βynδw’k), read ŭnk-nyr’dk; ‘anger’ is both ŭnk 75.2, 251.7, and ţyk 354.1, 6. ŭnk also at 127.5, 163.6.

113.4 Č’PČydyn: ‘slapped him’, read x’bēydyn, *xbēy- < 427.1, 488.1 xbē ‘a slap’. Like dh-, the normal verb ‘to hit’, 74.7, 510.6, etc., xβy- takes a nominal 3rd pl. object ‘blows’, expressed by -n; cf. 92.3 *mncompnyd-n ‘prodded him’, and my 129.7, 188.2.

114.2 ḟNJSṬ mkyd: this reading is perhaps inspired by 167.1, 401.8 ’ndst =
θurīd, 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 *'pzy-; cf. 85.6 pzy-pxst = pay-burīda.

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

114.7 f. b'kn'd'h: is filled it', as at 317.6; 'buried it' must be *n'kn'd'h, *nkn- < nī-kan-, cf. MP ngndn (H, BSOS, ix, 1, 1937, 85), Oss. nagān. Buried' is then *nkn'dk. The same at 127.3.

116.2 Bx bzk: read <βwsδ>ce bzk 'evil-smelling'.

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

117.1 BC'D: read ('tx‘δ = nā-ξovuš, 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 ć'krd: 'hiss (snake), *screech (owl)', read C'kRd.

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

119.4, 6, 121.5 'nwí: 'noise', read ('hwβ, 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), Yavn. nówva (Jagn. teksty, 296a, < navo), borrowed into NP as nōf(a), nōfīdan.

120.6 mZFwvnw: glossed puzt, xuš kard (Pishro), so not 'schob'!
The ordinary verb 'to dry', however, is yw'sy-, 407.8. Probably *δβw-, cf. Pkt. alwqat 'parch, scorch'; < *dwaba- or *dwayya-?

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'r'rey'r, is not 'the water hissed' but 'subsided, was absorbed', as at 76.5, 218.6, w'r'y'rr- < *awā-garya-.

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

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

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

123.1 'stnb-t'ryn (?): read 'stnb'wuk = buzurqī (az ēz-e), as at 326.4.

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

123.8 'y spnynk 'BCByk: 'the iron nail'. Read (')spnynk < 242.2 spny 'iron', as Mdg. 'spnyn. The shape of 'BCByk suggests *ncpny- 'to prod', 92.3.

123.8, 157.2 ș'nsyd: 'went astray', read ș'nșd, *șns- < *fra-nasya-, with
assimilation as in śnśy- < *śnśy- < *franāsaya- ‘lead astray’, 367.7 (similarly śkś-, H, Hb, p. 119, n. 3).

125.2 mCBBd'hybr: the better NP gloss is omitted, γαμζ καρδ βαρ βαυ suzan-rā ‘told defamatory tales about him’. The scope of Ar. namma suggests a connexion with 352.4, 491.6 c'tvk = suzan-i pōšida and ‘riddle’, so perhaps *mc'tyld- from an *c'ty- meaning ‘insinuate, traduce’.

125.4 rḥmt β'BYr b'ce: rahmat bād bar tu. Read β'nbr (-n- so pointed), as already Bogoljubov, ‘Lič.’, 10, no. 67.13

125.5 f. RNB-R'W: ‘snotty’. With *rmb cf. Pth. rwmw, NP rum, Sgd. rwβ ‘mouth’. -r'w appears to be the pause form of rvc-/raw/ ‘be runny (nose)’.

126.6 tpyd: ‘palpitated’, read tpd, as at 101.7.

127.3 zywyc by b'knıd: ‘buried her alive’, read zywnce by n'knıd. zywnce is fem. of *zywndw Kök (wrongly zywndwk 296.2, 507.8), pres. part. corresponding to zyw- ‘live’, cf. Pth. jywdg: jyw-, MŚgd. jwándyj: jw-, Pkt. žwandáy, etc., and to be distinguished from zywık, 157.6 ‘person’, as Pkt. žówaty. nkn-; v. my 114.7.

128.1 y.'bxw'rc FC'n: the -c suggests a fem. noun, requiring y'. The following word is (')b'c'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'r: ‘hire, wage’, read p'r [sic], as at 381.7; cf. Av. pāra- ‘debt’?

129.7 γBSdyn l'kedyn: these appear to be two verbs, in addition to 'mtyd'h 113.5 and mt hyd 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 *lkci-[kjr], a denominative from *lakat-ya-, cf. NP lagad ‘kick’.

130.5 f. BCBw: ‘snout’, read pncw, as at 370.8, and cf. Oss. fmnj ‘nose, tip’ (Abaev, IESoJ, 497). 'BβBYk: read *hβny [H, Dict.).

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

130.7 f. c'ryo: ‘ample’ of shadow, read as at 408.6 črbc [sic], fem. of *c'rbk, with the same stem as *c'rb- ‘preponderate’ 78.8, 463.5 (pointed c-!), caus. c'ryo- 391.1, NP čarbidan ‘preponderate, abound’.

131.4 f. ryss y' xyr; y' rynsc: similarly 263.2, 360.7, read rBs-; not *rys- ‘tear’, v. my 105.3; in view of 45.7 (-n- certain), 233.3 brncyn ‘(she- camel) in heat’, i.e. *brnjyν ‘desirous’ < 485.4 'brng (423.2 'brg)' ‘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 pōwd: ‘refuge’, final -s at 155.7, but apparently *yθw [sic] at

13 M. N. Bogoljubov’s articles will be cited thus:
435.1, with an excess of points which may be sec. manu. Possibly *upa-davata-
> *bəwd > *pəwə by assimilation.

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

133.7 DRd: bīgašt, 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 xərk, as in 459.3 f. xərk-b’m = xāk-rang.

136.3, 167.4, 170.2, 192.2, 215.6 p’źmyd: with Ž presumably from NP pižmurdan; but cf. Pth. wyzm-! Read p’rmyd, prmy- ‘die, wither’, like Wixi permeri-, < *pari-myrwi-

136.4 y’ pcypk: báhāna, read pcv’k, as at 377.8 (sic, not pcyk), 445.4.

136.8, 237.2, 248.6, 305.7 p’cxRz’d: ‘be fragrant’ is plainly pcxw’z-, as correctly at 255.5.

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

138.4 y’ ŝståw: darvēš, here ŝståw. Henning’s hope (‘Lg.’, 435) that this represents ŝståw (like Sgd. ŝståw’n) incompletely pointed, appears to be dashed by the plainly marked -s- at 436.7.

138.5 h’bryd: read c’brzd, as correctly at 290.5; cbr- ‘insert, inflict’ < ati-bar.

139.7 mCBXYzd y’ tn’h: biyōṣid tanaš (mistranslated) is ‘he became flustered’, as at 146.4. Probably *meyxyzd, from a compound verb mey-xyz-, lit. ‘anxiety arise’, cf. the independent n. f. meyk ‘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 ny’r; ‘strc nwe: evidently the same as brc, 415.4. For ‘valueless’ a */b-arý/ might be expected, or */b-aw/, but */b-ar/ 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. ’mynyy, Pš. 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’sys’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 ŝSB’k here.

142.7, 267.7 mwBHdybr: certainly read mwBhd-. Possibly *wbh- ‘be fitting’ < upaya-, like Pahl. abāy-, NP bāyad < *upāya-; formally cf. ’xh-, 309.5 mzhd, < xšay-a ‘rule’.

143.3 h’D’RByδ: for Ar. nāka one would expect the common wty-, 283.6, etc., perβ-, my 152.6, or ’yy-, my 188.5, except that all are transitive.
But this appears to be h’r’zy’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 h’r’zyk = kazida is a ‘stretch (of road)’, the glossator may have intended ‘stretched (self) out’ for dar bistar ammad (as Pishro).

144.2 th’byršk: ‘cloudy’, v. my 187.1.

144.5 ’y bywd’k, 238.3 f., 344.5, 346.4 bywd’k: paydā, read bywd’s’k, as correctly at 301.2, 382.2, etc. bywd’k < *apa-gaudāka-, as the verb bywd- ‘uncover, reveal’ < *apa-gunda- (like BSgd. *py’wnt-, TSP, 6, 83, not necessarily < -gundaya-, as H, Hb., 117), intrans. bysz– ‘appear’ < *byzy- < *apa-guda- under the influence of the p. *bxs’t < *apa-gusta-, cf. the converse nγwnd– ‘hide’, nxsy– ‘be hidden’, 293.6, 500.4 mnxsyl < *nyzy-, 397.8 nxstk ‘hidden’.

144.6 ẖāna . . . : the gloss is Ar. mīthlu ḏāna, the verb at 144.4.

145.2 fr’z’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 ᵐrd’y; mrc cm-ď’rnyk: ‘put the (evil) eye on him; a man doing this (‘ayūm)’. This cannot be merely ᵐrd’y– ‘have’, or (formally) dry- ‘turn’ (v. my 91.1). Read, probably, w’zjd, 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 msxnd- (H, ‘Lg.’, 434).

148.7 B’xfryd: ‘doubted’. As ‘doubt’ is yxfrd, 440.7, 446.5, the verb must be a denominative *yxfryd-, here y’xfryd.

150.2 msf’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’βsd ‘remedy’; perhaps *y’ yβd ‘the remedy’, whence *yβy’k ‘cure’, < Av. āyapta– ‘boon’.


151.4 B’mnk, 243.7 B’mn: ‘mangy’, read p’mn(k) as Av. pāman-, BSgd. p’m, Pxt. pam ‘mange’, pamon ‘mangy’.

152.1 y’ povš: this reading is impossible, and *p’ovš is masc. at 131.6, 155.7. Read y’BR’d, ‘interdicted rather than ‘Asylplatz’.

152.6 p’c’dyq: concubuit cum ea, read p’crd’-, as at 352.8 (for b’crfdyq) < *pcfrē-.

153.1 ’y ’kwyn: for mēva-ya ḍida the p. pl. of *’kw- ‘pick (fruit)’ is to be expected. To judge from 403.6 ’ktk, p. p. of ’k- ‘do’ (< krtā-, against mdk < mrtā-), this could be *’kwv-c. But some past participles end in -nk, pl. -nc, e.g. *šknk (my 100.7), and 112.8 ’y krenv’c = nāxin-i bar-ḍida < kwy-pare’, so *κwnv’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’xwy: gardiš-i rōd. At 138.5 y’ wrd’s’k means ‘the
becoming, issue’, and the verb *urrd- ‘become’ is attested (Frejman, *XJ*, 115 top, *xr urd*). Here the glossator has deleted an alif after *y*; it is perhaps the masc. verbal noun from *urrd-*, 452.6 m*urrd*, ‘return, bāz gāstān’, *j-i-awrdlk*. In the related fem. form /yā ʾw/- also becomes yʾw-, 175.3 yʾurrdk-myjn wʾc ‘the place of returning’. yʾwxy is to 175.6 yʾwxml (< *waxšw-, H, Hb., 115) as yʾšy- yʾ š, v. my 73.6. So better simply yʾurrdk yʾwxy.

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 *spar* without the s- here, but v. my 90.3.

157.8, 452.4 yʾ *wrc*: ‘going out’ is *wzc < *uz-iš-, verbal noun to *uz-y- ‘go out’ (v. H,. ‘Verb’, p. 48, n. 3).

158.3 *srdr*: ‘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.’, 453).

158.6, 297.8 f. *stʾrk (ʾ)šzptyk*: ‘shining star’, must be *šzpnyk*, pres. part. to *šzp-, v. my 120.8.

158.7 jnʾybt hy sʾryd*: ‘led (the horse) by his side’, read *wʾzyd, the common verb for ‘led, drove’, e.g. 216.7, 222.6. In wʾzy- two verbs, wādaya- ‘lead’, as Pth. wʾy-, Khot. bāy, and *wāzaya- ‘cause to move’, coincide.

160.3 f. pʾrʾškmkd*: at every occurrence, 97.7, 161.1, 433.5, 437.5, 439.6, this corresponds to NP birūbūd ‘snatched’, and it is this meaning of Ar. xalāba, rather than ‘deceive’, that the glossator has understood. Of *wspk, cf. 98.1.

160.8 yʾ wšyʾdy[k]: ‘hungry’, read *wšyʾwnd, an alternative to 412.7 wšynd analogous to *c/nyʾwnd ‘thirsty’, 225.8, 342.4.

161.6 yʾ pcʾBYʾθ*: ‘aqibat, is confirmed by 61.1 *pcʾbθ [sic, –c certain], 344.6 (-bθ certain), so pcʾbθ.

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


165.1 wfrʾk: ‘snow’ can scarcely be other than *wfrʾk, MSgd. wfrʾ, Av. wafra- etc.

166.1 f. bxsyd; yʾ bydyk*: něk šud, etc. Other glosses, however, ārāsta, sāxta, etc. (*Pishro*), show this to be *yxšʾd, the same as 455.8, 466.4, 498.8 [sic] yxst, from yxs- ‘be firm, ready’, pass. to ywx-, v. my 75.8. The p. p. yxdʾk occurs in the Qurʾa, v. Bogoljubov, ‘Mʾsmʾ, 187, nos. 90, 91.

166.8, 211.5 šʾsfʾnyʾdʾh*: ‘filed it’. Neither S is pointed; assuming the common preverb š-, one would expect assimilation of the second sibilant, as in šʾkšʾd, šʾnšʾd (v. my 123.8), šʾwʾyḏ (my 82.2), so ʾŠʾFSʾnyʾdʾh.

167.5 f. RČŠN-pndʾk*: rāḥ-i rāst yāfiša. The -N is imaginary and there is

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no evident reason for writing more than RCS. rāst is generally equated by
'vsk, 50.5, 407.2, etc.; Xw. ršt, rtk mean ‘true’ (H, ‘Lg.’, 435).
167.6 f. y' 'nnce; y' 'ynce, 464.3 y' 'NBnc: sar-i rāh, read 'nnbc < *ham-
panti- everywhere. The -y- of B.'s 347.5 'ynbc appears to be sec. manu.
167.8 mrnxysyd: ‘slept’, read mzmxysyd, as correctly at 288.7, 292.2, the
-z- from 490.6 zmxc, fem. of zm Crosby ‘asleep’, and the caus. *'zmzx'sy- 377.3,
413.8.
169.2 f., 227.2 kSB: ‘dull (market)’, perhaps *kst, cf. Pahl. kast(aq)
‘diminished’.
170.8 p'Ωys: ‘command’, read bΩys, as at 369.7, 404.3, 7, etc.,
< *upādaia-. cf. Skt. upa-ā-diś.
171.2 mbxyth: ‘cut it’, read mpxyt-, as at 202.4, 402.2.
171.3 y' tncyne prm'dyk: ‘plötzlich eintretende Vorfall’ translates neither
Wetzstein’s Latin, nor the Xw. accurately. prm’dyk is an ‘accident, mis-
fortune, balā’, 109.3, 201.2, etc.

b'rkyd'h: parāqand is of course p'r'knd, as at 202.7; MSGd. also pr'kn-.
171.4 f. bs'rt: baśārat, mispointed -s-, deserves some comment (as it is
correctly written at 484.5), not simply copying, in *bs'rt-hṣrnyk.
171.6 f. DBkr, DBkyr: ‘trade’ and ‘merchant’, are perhaps *wkrc, wyk'r
resp., cf. MSGd. xwqr ‘merchant’ < *wahākara-; ‘trade’ is then
probably the pl. of a *wkrk. The simple form *wjk ‘business’ is perhaps to
be seen in 291.3 fy wBkD'R, i.e. *fy wyk-s'r ‘in the affair’. ‘Price’, however,
is w'h, 5.7, 169.8, etc.
173.5 c'txd'h: ‘restrained him’, read c'txd'h, as at 436.2; p. p. there
c'tx'dk, so stem c'tx-. Similarly 309.4 ‘drove him away’.
173.8 θ'Byd'h: ‘heated it’, with θ- taken from 187.5 θ'wy- ‘burn’? Probably
*tby- < Av. tápaya-, as NP tábdan. tbyd 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, vowelled (Arabic letters)’, cf. 38.5 tβ ‘spot’,
192.7 t'b ‘point’, but this must be from another root, perhaps basically ‘to
mark’.
175.1 mxyzdwydn: sic! For ‘was grateful for them’, read *mwxwyrd'n,
*xmery- being a denominative from Av. xšnaobra- ‘satisfaction’, cf. 169.3,
177.1 bxmnur'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’ < *pati-čaiθa-, -čista-. Without proof of
the palatalization of θ- by a preceding -i-, however, it may as well be *pcysy
from *-čaišya- as *-čaišya-.
176.6 y' TBBWk . . . : the Xw. translates a different NP gloss, muhra-yi
vay bīšikast balā-yi muhra-sikan (Pishro), lit. ‘the back-breaking calamity
broke his vertebra(e)’. The letters tb- seem plainly pointed in the MS, so perhaps
*tbNwkh ‘vertebra’. For muhra-sikan 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’Dye: ‘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’wād’h, caus. of bnw- ‘win’, 165.6 b’nwd. In view of 356.7 f’twynk ‘destroyer’ < f’twy-, 265.6 *šš’wynk (for *šš’wy?) ‘violent’ < šš’wy-, and only particles in -nk from other verbs in -y-, it is presumably bn’wynk’, the extra stroke of the B- being a lapsus.

178.5 y’ baywnc: ‘appearance’ is ’baywnc with initial /a-/ as, 124.8 f. b’baywnc ‘ugly’ shows, so read y’baywnc. 417.5 y’baywnc’h ‘his appearance’ shows it to be fem., another example of /yâ âC-/ > y’C- (v. my 105.6, 153.3).

Di’myd’h: the glossator has understood nazarahu as ‘looked for, expected him’, not ‘gave him respite’, i.e. wr’myd’h, from *wr’my-, a variant of 437.2, 478.4 wr’myd- and 461.7, 467.2 mwr’myd-.

178.6 mckYdn: ‘pecked them’, in view of 59.2 y’]]knk’h ‘its beak’ (i.e. ‘pecker’) is probably *meknd’n, from *(\)kn-, [H, Dict., ]kn-.

m’Sk’nyd’h: ‘carved it’, why -S-? With the preverb a- present, the -S- must be part of the root, obviating a connexion with BSg. skn- ‘*engrave’ < *uz-kan-: a derivation from √(s)e’kar is no easier to establish, considering BSg. skr’nt- ‘injure’, Pšt. skan- ‘cut out’ < *uz-knr-.

178.7 m’Zyd’h: there is no clear reason for taking the point as -Z- instead of -N-. Conceivably to dress (NP barâzid, not bi’râzid) a millstone, 374.1 y’ -rth, is ‘to make it grind’, i.e. */ara- > */ry-, here *mr’d’h; cf. 317.6 mnd’n ‘ground them (corn)’, *n- ‘grind’ < *arna-, as Pšt. anol. However, in the Qunya, *mnnd(’)mz’k describes a millstone which zûd bisyår ârd namiktunad, i.e. ‘non-grinder’, suggesting a stem *(‘)mz-; perhaps *mz- < *marz-. (cf. 427.8 *prmz- ‘rub, touch’) and here caus. *mzy-.

179.2 3ndrynk: bâz-dárandu ‘hindrance’, read ’ndrynkh, pres. part. of ’ndzy- ‘fetter’ < handarzaya-, 438.4 mndzyjd.

180.4 y’ mndkTrmn’n: ‘disobedient’, -t- at 196.8 f., is certain from 375.4 ’ktrmn ‘obedient’.

180.6, 30.1 y pstn: ‘bedding’, read bsten < Av. upa.strava- (cf. Pšt. braston, EVP, 16); cf. *bstn, 302.6 b’strdh ‘spread, flattened it, bigustarând’, < upa-strn-. 31.3 pstrng is a loan from NP b/pistar-âng ‘coverlet’.

180.6 m8Rd’n: ‘combed, fluffed them (wool) out’. The -R- is no less certain than in the passive *βrs-, 248.1 *mβrs’r [not mfsry’r], though H, Dict., also *frsy-; the ‘y’ appears to be a catch of the pen-nib only) ‘(the curls [Ar. 7d, not jyd]) 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 3f: read čf, v. my 90.8.

182.3 b’dynBNâbyt br’ b’h: ‘kicked it with his foot’, a mistranslation of the Ar., largely mispointed. Cf. 192.3 b’8nydy w f- ‘kicked it with . . . ’ and 302.3 nbnyd ‘it kicked. If ’npy- ‘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. */pād-anpany-/ . So read *p’dnpanydybyr pr’ p’s’h (pr 392.5, etc., p’s 387.3).

182.4 B’hnd ‘y šś: ‘the camel kicked’, perhaps related to *b’h- ‘shake’ (v. my 95.8), cf. the meanings of *npany- 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 *t’p- ‘palpitate’ (my 126.6).

182.8 *y fy’w’Wy: ‘surplus’. ‘-wy is elsewhere an adverbal suffix; despite the appearance, this is perhaps *βy’w’wk, to 64.7 *βy’w as the NP ziyādatī is to ziyādat. For *βc, cf. 385.3 mβy’wyd’h = ziyāda kard (ān-rā).

f’ n’c’h: the corresponding NP dar bīnī-yi ə (Pishro) is wanting.

183.4 f. k’cyd’h, kcy’dk: ‘threw it, thrown’ are mistranscriptions of Ar. laqṭa, etc., which may have been confused with laq’a (hardly alqā, 383.7).

183.6 s’bnxyd’n: ‘combed them (hair)’, delete the -y-. In 438.5 s’nxyd’v it is in pause.


184.2, 196.5 f. rnk, 478.5 rknyn: ‘colour, coloured’, read *rŋ, v. my 73.3.

184.4 nyck’D: ‘ripe’, read nyck’r, as in the abstract (pl.) 424.7 nyck’r’wc ‘maturity’ [sic].

184.7 *y ps’mk’wyk: ‘dyeing’ or ‘dipping in water’? Why p’s-, for BD-. ? The glossator presumably distinguished saby from siby.

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

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

187.1 *y . . . byryṣyık: ‘cloud’, when pointed, always has b-, 342.8, 351.3, 367.1, 379.5, etc., but the unique spelling 408.5 brṣ’k shows it to be ultimately the same word as MSgd. prṣyy and presumably Khot. p(r)yaur-, i.e. *pari-abra-ka- > *parēθ(r)ak > /pareʃik/ > /pereʃik/, with *p- throughout, and *θpyrβk ‘cloudy’ 144.2, 479.6.

187.4 bžc nyo’r ‘y’ bšś ‘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. bšs, < *bṛš-na-) is used of horses’ manes (Pahl. texts, 4.7) and the palm tree’s foliage (ibid., 110.5). The Xwar. (‘fś ‘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. ’bšs ‘uncertain word.’)

188.2 zwpyndybyr: a Xw. denominative *z/žwpy-my- ‘to speak with a z/žopīn’ is much more likely than a lone and ad hoc NP *zōpīn/dayš. But like all verbs of striking (v. my 113.4) it has a notional pl. object, so *Zwpyndyyn.
188.5 mfyd’h: read myyd’h, *’yy-, cf. Pšt. vouel, yay-, Oss. gæyæ, Waxī gæy-, etc.

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

190.1 y’ pryc’k-myne ‘we: ‘the leaving-behind place’. The verb, corresponding to Sgd. pry-, is only otherwise found in the Qunya (Frejman, XJ, 98, 104), twice as pryx-, i.e. from *pari-raiixš- not -raiç-, so read the inf. also pryx’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 p’rmsyd’h; < *pari-mušya- (to accommodate Bal. mušaq)?

192.2 y’ mny’c: not ‘inner part of the house’, but its ‘inhabitants’, as 297.5; pl. of *mny’dk, p. of mny’- ‘dwell’, 198.4, 199.1.


192.8, 238.3 B’s’wd’h: ‘polished it’, can be from nothing but *bd’v- < *apa-dawa-, cf. 73.5 3’w = BSgd. ‘anoint’, NP zidūdan < *uz-daw.

193.4 w’zyd’h: ‘killed him’, read either w’zd’h, as at 104.5, 149.7, 204.4, and so pointed 447.8, or w’zd-, in view of 347.4, 352.2, etc., w’zyd; < awa-fan-, Pth. ’wijn-, Pšt. wažn-, etc.

194.3 xwnydyd: ‘delayed it’, read xwnbdyd, as at 342.3, 7.

194.4 NP has only *pëxtan ‘twist’; read bìbêxt ‘sifted’, from the same √ vaik as prvycy-.

197.8 P’Rk’Syd’h: ‘imprisoned him’, cf. BSgd. prk’s ‘imprisonment’, MSgd. prqš- ‘imprison’ < *pari-kâšaya-. 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’rašši- ‘witch’,15 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 ‘bywnc ‘appearance’ throws an interesting light on a B Sogdian word, Dhy., 207 pry’βywcn’k. In a loosely translated sentence this corresponds to re 爱, Skt. premâniya (Weller, Mon. Ser., III, 1938, 92). Instead of Gershevitch’s analysis (GMS, §§ 202 fn., 1114) as pry’β + -ywnc’k, it can now be seen to be pry’-”βywnc’k ‘of lovely appearance’, a rare example of a bahwênih of the type of Parth. fyrh’n’ ‘of beloved name’. Probably MSgd. fyrm’n too is of ‘loved soul’, rather than ‘soul-loving’ as Henning later translated (BSOAS, xi, 3, 1945, 470, with n. 3).]

15 [On which, see now Schwartz, art. cit., p. 389.]
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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 *Mqg.*