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

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

199.8 fxbfyy: ‘with milk’, read xebbey, v. my 95.4. Here it is a mis-translation of the NP gloss ba šira ‘with grape-juice’ or ‘rob’, Ar. rubb. Similarly xebbey at 213.7 f., 224.6, xebb(y)k ‘sweet’ 238.4–6.

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

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

201.4 mSn’d’n: the glossator evidently understood bibrūd xurmā-rā ‘cut the dates’, not xurmā-bun-rā ‘the date-palm’ as in some MSS. Read mspd’n, as at (my) 99.7; v. my 301.4.

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

---

1 The first part appears in BSOAS, xxxiii, 3, 1970, 540–59. References to the *Muq. (Muqaddimatu l-adab)* facsimile from 73 to 199.2, preceded by ‘my’, will be found there. Other abbreviations also used below are: H (Henning), *Dict.* = *A fragment of a Khwarezmian dictionary* (*Asia Major Library*, London, 1971


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

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

202.3 ty.m'r fy.jyy'í : ba šumär-i rēg. At 464.5 y' jyy is fem.; this genitive must therefore be plural, in -mn'. Even pointed j is the most suspect letter in Xw., but there is no other evidence on which to judge this Cy ‘ sand ’ .

203.2 β'neyydní f:pwdk : ‘ tied them (coins) in the surra ’ ; pwdk zrny also at 35.5. for surra, but it is doubtful whether ‘ Beutel ’ was intended. At 28.8 pvedy (in pause) is ‘ rag ’ , rīgøy, and some NP glosses give surra a similar meaning : zar-i basta dar rīgøy, and here ibibast diramhā- rā dar rīgøy (Pīshro).

203.5 mpxyt'h ' y pex's-δ'r : not ‘ cut the purse off ’ but ‘ cut the clothing ’ , a correct translation of tarr t-tarrāru θ-thavba (which latter word B. ignores).

204.1 mfyd'h : ‘ sheared it ’ and ‘ shaved it ’ is mbdn'h, as at (101.5), 400.7, 500.2 ; βn- < *brinā - (H, Dict.) or rather *brn-, as Man. MP, NP burr-. 204.3 p'rmδd'h : ‘ touched it ’ is NP parrmāśd o-rā, not ‘ bar-māsīd ’ ; Xw. prmzd = Skt. pari-mrg-, but NP parrmāś- is from (non-Pers.) *pati-mrs- via *pah-rmās-, cf. Pahl. pilmh = pahrnāh-, with *mrθ-.

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

206.5 f. mHT : al-ḥaṣṭa ‘ abatement of price ’ , read mḥhb, as at 397.4 for ar-razṣa, 431.1 muḥābā.

206.8 mpxyt'h c:BONy : az pahnā bibrīd-as. Read pbn as (pointed pmn) at 328.1 ‘ breadth ’ , to pbnk ‘ broad ’ as βnny 202.4 ‘ length ’ to βzh 505.3 ‘ long ’ .

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

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

209.4 c.'γwe : ‘ from the sheath ’ is actually pointed -'γδc. See f.'γδk 348.5;

210.2 'nbycdyθ : ‘ intended it ’ , v. my 81.6. 210.3 y'.γδ fy Dm'y nyšc'wnw : ‘ the wound (that) reaches the brain ’ . There can be no doubt about Ar. dm'y. nyšc'wnw is a ‘ permansive ’ pres. 3 sg. of nyš- ‘ arrive ’ (v. H, Dict., s.vv. 'βc'wnw, 'kç'wnw). T 2 has the gloss šikastaqi ki bā dimāy rasad (π, 129).

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

210.4 p'rcyd'h : v. my 107.5.

210.7 'y kwBYk : ‘ nosegay ’ , probably read kwny, from 'kw- ‘ pick, pluck ’ (H, Dict., and my 153.1).

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

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

211.4 bycd’hyn’br: ‘poured it on him’, read by<n>cd-; v. my 201.1.

212.5 γyrd f:γwendyk: a literal, wrong translation of bā’a bi l-iðmi ‘ returned to ’ for ‘acknowledged (his) sin’.

mnc’dn fy ḥq’h: ‘acknowledged his right’ (‘gestand’, not ‘bestand auf seinem Recht’) is odd in view of mnc’nd pr xsyn 366.3 ‘admitted the thing’, mnc’nd fy γwendyk 439.7 ‘the sin’; presumably the same verb, but it is not clear which form is abnormal.


214.1 ’y byxsnyk: bārān-i furū’-rēzanda (T, ii, 134), but 110.1 ’y byxsnyk wr’. The latter, not in the pause, must be correct. This is then an exception to the rule of spelling -ynk participles -ynvk in pause, e.g. γmyvnk 392.7 ‘singing’, šwvnk 117.8 (but šwvnk 279.6) ‘quarrelling’, γwvnk 270.1 ‘failing’, hβynk 171.5 ‘giver’, nγvsynk 262.7 ‘hearing’, trwynk (sic, for *trwynk) 377.8 ‘capable’, yšwvnk 517.1 ‘goer’. ’cmynk 321.7 ‘delaying’, npsynk 407.4 ‘writer’ must also be counted ‘wrong’ in pause. With a single exception (*šž’wy-nk 265.6 ‘violent’), all certain participles in -nk, especially from verbs in -y-, have -nvk in pause (examples are too numerous to list). The odds therefore seem to be on a pause form ‘stem-BBk’ being -nvk, rather than a ‘wrong’ -ynk, but only the occurrence of a non-pause form can clinch the matter.

215.4 mntrjd, 315.4 mβzptd: read mβzp’d, v. my 120.8.

215.6 p’Zmyd: read p’rmyd, v. my 136.3.

215.8 jw’n-m’n wk, 231.1 jw’n-. jwānmardī ‘generosity’, probably to be read (‘)cw’n-m’n wk, lit. ‘ample-mindedness’ (v. H, Dict., supplement, s.v. jw’n).

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

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

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

217.2 jhwd: ‘Jew’, read jhwd, as at 477.3 and correctly 11.6.

218.8 pcd ‘y psncyk: bīʃāsd dēg. pc- is ‘to cook’ trans., 166.7, etc.; read pzd, as at 120.2, 139.7, 151.5, *paxx- < paxṣa-, cf. Sgd. pwṣ’s ‘boiler’ (GMS, § 551).


219.5 žwzd’h y’ βwm: ‘kissed the earth’, read zwzd-, as ‘yw zw the kiss’ at 403.5.
219.5 f. *drw'rr f' m$ñn pθkn: ‘they went about inside the houses (in search of plunder)’, not ‘drangen ein’; better ‘zogen herum’, as at 389.7, 411.7, 413.4.

219.7 *wx'hdh 'y xryk: bikōft xarman-rā, must surely be *xrmnk, however badly written. xryk 180.7, 226.3, 311.6, etc., is only ‘pasture’.

219.8 [ . . ?] *BN'Bw'dh f*NJW[y]. ?]: ‘rubbed, polished it with a burnisher’; probably b’swd-, cf. *rs’w- ‘to rub’ 208.3, NP sūdan; can *n'wɣ be connected with n'nwɣ ‘wrinkle’ (as at 276.7, v. my 75.8), as some kind of corrugated scraper?

220.2, 3 mnk̪d: ‘sewed’, v. my 88.3.

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

220.8 B’S'Ry’dh: ‘stirred it’. Not p’s’ry- (v. my 298.6) or b’s’ry- ‘reject’ (my 201.7); probably another *b’s’ry- < *apa-sāraya-, with sar- ‘to mix, unite’.

221.1 w’zdyd: is more than bizad asb-rā ba tāziyāna; it is ‘drove it’, as w’zyd’n’d 222.6 = bīrānd štāraṇ-rā; v. my 158.7.

221.2 R’hyRyd cy. . . : ‘hung something on it’, read w’hyzd cybr, as at 461.6; whyzy- < *ava-haiyaya- ‘cause to descend’, as Khot. vahš- (SGS, 122).

221.6 ’sx̂tx xndd y’ rwbs: ṛobāh bāsī kard. ’sx̂tx is ‘near’ 323.4, etc.; read ’sx̂tx, as sxt hyθ xndydr 429.7 = ṛubāhī kard bā ʾ опционъ (‘sxt < *uz-xašta- or the like; cf. Khot. khaun-, khaun’ta ‘move’ (< *xauz, SGS, 27), or uskūš- ‘act frivolously’ (< *kauš, SGS, 17) ?

221.7, 322.2 kw’rnk: ‘wholesome’, from gw’r-, v. my 73.3.

223.1 zk[n ]k: ‘hiccups’, can have nothing to do with NP zayang. zk̪nk at 20.8 is only Rkk, and this Rkk.

223.6 y BβwD: hũw̱a l-ma’alu, not ‘Auszang, Resultat’, but ‘retreat, refuge’; read *ptwθ, v. my 131.6.

223.8 yryd pcYBR y sṟō: sāl bar vay ḇugušst. Read γyrdycybr and cf. 224.2 yryd’hycyBR y dw̱t = guḍašt bar vay dualat (Pisko, for dālašt ṣaλayhi, not lahu), i.e. both /*γyṛida-(h)-l-ci-bir/. γγfr- + -br is to ‘surround’, 121.6, 358.2, etc., and + -c ‘be repeated’, 473.7; the combination is evidently to ‘pass by’.

224.1 f. pr’dk w’zyd y’ źš, *h pr’dyk: the she-camel did not remain ‘divorced’ (and masc. at that !), but ‘barren’, i.e. ‘childless’ b-z’dv’k.

224.3 f. y’ dw̱t fy x’zyn, f’ fdw: Ar. dauna and dala are thus distinguished as ‘fortune in battle’ (x’zyn 278.4, 485.1, etc. = jang) and in ‘property’, for the last word can only be bdw (= māl 316.6, x’asta 365.6, etc.), however badly written.

225.4 m’s’r’h y’dr’d’wn: ‘the ghouls took him’, read ’rš’wn, v. M. Schwartz, JRAS, 1966, 120, and W. B. Henning memorial volume, 385 f., 388 f.

225.6 ũhr(y)n: ‘gift’, read ḥḍ̱n, v. my 79.1; other occurrences at 80.4, 110.8, 231.6, 317.2, 360.6, etc.

226.2 *Sc ny̱θ’r, *y’ Sc cwb: ‘se still (water, wind)’ is known from 168.1; pl. of *stk < *stītaka-?
226.4 'y pr xrk 'ynyc: ‘those going to pasture’ must be 'ynyc, pl. in pause of 'ynk, pres. part. of 'y-, as in mrc 'ynk 136.5 (so, not 'yyk) = ravanda, 'ynk hy mkyd 346.7 = ravā.

m nf r y dy c ' wrz yw: ‘made him taste oppression’ is lit. ‘made swallow’, mny' r'y-d-, with n'y'ry- the caus. of n'y-, v. my 113.1.

226.5 B'mBBk bryd: ‘he fasted’ is *y'myobl bryd, v. my 185.6.

226.7 wRd fj: cw b, 302.3 wrd: ‘swam in the water’, pointed wzd at 74.6.

226.7 'rōwk wk mkd: īstādaqī kard is probably 'rōbk'wk, abstract from 'rōbk ‘staying, erect’ < Av. ārōβa (H, ‘Lg.,’ 432), rather than from an *rōwk ‘stea fast’. (with M. Schwartz, JAO S, lxxix, 2, 1969, 446).

227.2 kSB: v. my 169.2.

BBBk'd: īstād ‘stood, stopped’, read tŷnk'd, as at 428.7.

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

228.6, 7 BSIRB: ‘backwards’, apparently -RF; *ps-trf (for Ar. trf)?

229.1 mnkwfst (so pointed 515.6): ‘became senile’, apparently -nkRfst.

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

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

233.3 ś'wūd' y byr 'š t' brycyn: bar-fast gušn-i šutur bar màda. Instead of Turk. bûyûr, which would scarcely need 'š, the gušn (also 45.7) is probably (')yûr ‘stallion’, as at 36.8. His juft (also 45.7) is probably */birijēn/ ‘desirous’, from */biřīg/ ‘desire’ (H, Dict., 'bryk); v. my 131.4.

233.5 m's'mydh: ‘drank it’, read b's'mdh, as at 449.5. The verbal noun is even pointed b- (certainly not -): 233.6 'y bs'm'k; bs'm- <*a-pa-čyāma- cf. Khot. tsām- (SGS, 41), Pth. 'bs'm-, Sgd. ʿs'm-, ‘s'm-, NP āšām-.

234.1 p'cmcydh: ‘dressed him’; miswritten and mistranslated. ‘To clothe’ another person requires -br, as at 211.5, 353.1; this is ‘donned, wore it’, p'cem'd-, as at 258.8, 422.3, 461.8, etc.

235.6 mnywsdy: ‘listened to him’, mistaken translation of aṣrā i lāyhi, as at 383.2, not aṣrā.

236.2 swyd'h: ‘tyrannized him’, pointed swyd'h at 506.7, where it stands for istāfāhu ‘considered him tyrannical’, probably in error.

237.2, 248.6, 305.7 p'cwrz'd : read p'cwr'zd, v. my 136.8.

237.7 f. NYo 'bDBBC kcyk: ‘does not withhold strength’, provides the only example of this stem, which could be 'bwn- < Av. aţi. vaēna-, with the same semantic development, ‘gewahren’ to ‘wahren’, ‘observe’ to ‘conservae’, as NP niqāh dāstan (similarly H, Dict., s.v. 'bwn ‘grudges’).

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

238.3 'y 'wnyc: for ‘wanderers’, pres. part. pl. of 'wzy- ‘go out’; read 'wzync, as correctly at 516.6 (-ynk).
B’š’wd’h: ‘polished it’, v. my 192.8.
238.3 f., 344.5, 346.4 bfw’k: ‘evident’ is bwyd’k, v. my 144.5.
238.7 ų xž’-šnyk: read ‘šnyk or ‘synk, as at 362.1, as this translates
the NP gloss x’raš-áyanda (Pishro; T, II, 159); ‘s- ‘come’, like Sgd. ‘ys-, <*ā-isa-
239.2 fy’nN: dōšt, inexplicable reading in view of the correct fy’ny at
122.3, 344.1, etc. (H, Hb., 117).
239.8 šxt: názdik, the initial ‘- of ‘šxt has been obliterated (H, Hb., p. 109,
n. 2).
240.2 y’ ČXYR: as-sāniya. Although no NP gloss supports it this is
plainly ‘water-wheel’, not the camel working it, as B. presumably recognizes,
cf. ĉxyr = ĉarz at 14.5; pointed ĉ- at 400.6, 413.6, etc.
240.3 m’y’zyd: šahā, not ‘xwuš šud’ but ārzū kard (Pishro), as at 482.2;
cf. Sgd. ’gyd-, <*ā-gādaya-.
241.1 mnpsr’r: ‘they were satisfied’, an erratically pointed verb; v. H,
Dict., s.vv. ’bnrd, ’nbsn, ’nbsn.
241.3 f. b’zyk: NP lāy ‘silt, slime’, read b’zyk; both words probably of
the same origin, *bādyā- or *dādyā-?
241.8 y’ yr[mn?d]: ad-dif’u. B.’s emendation is impossible as γrmnd is pl.,
with ’y, 215.4, 304.7. Another gloss (Pishro; T, II, 162) is pōšī(-i garm-
Kunanda); read simply y’γwī, as at 211.7 (H, Dict., s.v. ’γwī).
242.8 b’kn’nmy: misprint for bkn’n- ‘I fill’.
244.2 BZ B’mnyd ’y hzw: pindašt nēkī-rā badi (so); read fn n’ mnyd
‘considered them evil’; cf. fn-’bw’k 258.5 ‘evil-natured’, fn-f’l 479.1; Ar.
xyr = nēkī is also pl., at 476.4, 505.5.
244.8, 265.3 mfśncdybyr: ‘mounted’, mfšyjd at 508.8; v. H, Dict.,
s.v. ’fšyc-
245.4 nmscyk šr’b xw’ryk: mardē payvasta šarāb-xwaranda or may-xwāra,
not ‘xwurā’; šr’b-xw’r’k is a compound, like mcr sknd-xw’r’k 401.5 = mardē
payvasta talāq-dihanda ‘constantly swearing oaths of divorce’.
245.8 xNDk: may-gūn; 246.1 ’y pcyyd bxtyc: may-i surx. pcyyd and the
trace of a point under the word both indicate xyd’k, which is patently
< *xšaita-ka-, confirming Benveniste’s precise definition ‘d’un éclat rouge’.
pcydyd is peculiar and remains obscure, for pati- is out of place here. ‘Wine’ is
pxtvk 401.5, 422.5, pl. patvc 408.5.
246.1 ryc’wc mkd: sabukṣār šud, for rnc’wc, pl. of rnc’wk at 344.2, 500.5;
v. my 121.8.
246.8 B’sxš, B’sxnc: ‘stuck, sticking’, p’sxš two pages before, 242.6,
and so pointed 440.6, also misread m’sxš- 267.8. pšxš- is ’šxš- (v. H, Hb.,
p. 109, n. 2) with api-, but there are other real oddities of pointing: the abstract
from the pres. part. *pšxšnk is twice pšvnsk’w’k 399.6, 410.1 = muvāfat
‘concord’ < ‘coherence’, and the corresponding trans. verb is b’sxdybyr

* Titres et noms propres en iranien ancien, Paris, 1966, 21, where there is a slight error:
NP šeda is not ‘renard’ but ‘Fuchs’ in the sense ‘sorrel horse’.
359.6 ‘stuck it on it’, instead of *p’sôd-, cf. ‘ścy-. pśxsnk’wék may be the original un assimilated form preserved in a sense remote from that of the verb, but the -x- in the trans. verb is surely mispointing.

247.5 mıyordu RBdybr: ‘rejoiced over (his enemy’s misfortune)’, but the caus.

mf’t ryd’hyn’br 345.4 ‘made (the enemies) rejoice over him’. Read mfrvd- and mfrw’ryd- (H, Dict., s.vv. ‘yr(y)-, ‘yrw’-ry-).

248.1 mfrsy’r y jyd; y tr’d-jyd: on *’brs-, v. my 180.6; the p. p.

*’br’d confirms the relationship between *’brs- ‘be dishevelled’ and ’br- ‘to fluff out’; jyd is based on a ‘certain’ pointing at 392.3, but this is in fact certainly j’d, with subscript ‘hook’ to mark the ‘ayn, cf. ṣdr 393.1 (the point above probably being for the ḏ in Ar. ḏd).

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

248.6 y’syyk: ‘the panting (dog)’, read s’snvk.

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

248.8 pst’d-brwc: gušāda-abru; possible, in view of pśxš- (my 246.8), with p- preserved before a voiceless sibilant; H, Dict., has ‘bst’d-.

249.6 bô’brw’ p’rwz’r: ‘were separated’, read yô’brwc, the same as yô’br wc p’rwz’r 364.8, i.e. ‘having intervals (‘yô’). bô’br- yô- appears as yô’br-yô 390.7.

wrfkh: ‘āṣiq, correctly wfrk at 265.7; cf. wfrk’vḵ 370.7.

249.8 psyd: puxta šuḏ, read psd, as at 461.3; also 371.7 ‘ripened’. 250.6 yôšk: bā-roš, read yôšn (H, Dict., suppl., s.v.).

252.4, 262.4, (6) mnfr’d’h: ‘swallowed it’, read mnfrv’d-, v. my 113.1, 226.4.

252.5 bryk mk’d fn’n: ‘desired it’, a mistranslation of zahida fih, opposing it to zahida ankhu, whereas they are synonymous (v. H, Dict., s.v. ’bryk).

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

254.6 CCBrR: ‘happy’ and xnk r at 349.6 both to Ar. btr. Beside xndk ‘laughter’ 360.2, and xnd- ‘to play, contend’ 133.3, 221.6 (v. my note), 422.5, etc., this perhaps contains xno- < *xandi-, + -kara. *xjnk r could be a mistake or a real metathesis /*xanjar > *xajangir/.

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

4 There is also a Turcological problem here, in that the corresponding words are translated in T as (II, 178 zadr = dar xēb šudan-i andāmhā) āza *oğüşmek and (II, 183 dars = kund šudan-i dandān az turē xāyīdan) ekší nenne çığnemek ile diği *oğüşmek, both with ’wkušmek for expected uyuşmek.
256.4 m’byrest: dīltang šud, patently m’byrest, despite ‘some distortion in the middle’ (H, Dict., s.v. ‘byrest’). y’byv’k is the p. p. *’byyd + *-cyk, perhaps pause-form for -ck.

257.6 BNM’R y’by’r: ‘they took heed (of the enemy)’ is very likely NP tym’r ‘care’.

258.3 ’y rymyc: al-adnās, corresponds to a NP gloss (Pishro) rūmḥā, čirkḥā ‘impurities’, not ‘ṣūx girlītagān’ (which would be ḏṛymyc).

258.5 fn-’βR’ik: ‘evil-natured’ is fn-’bw’k. ’bw’k appears in the abl. fy ‘ny c’bw’cyh 470.2 ‘in other than his (normal) nature’; < *abi-wākā- (H, Dict.), cf. Oss. waq ‘character, disposition’.

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

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

260.6 k’ ’y x’s: ‘the leper. The k’ is in fact a deleted y’.

’y tyx-cm: ‘having purulent eyes’ is surely θ-., but whether -n- or -x is pointed is unclear. ‘Pus’ is x’θ, 365.6, 478.7.

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

262.4 BCa: bē-maza ‘tasteless’ is b-xn, cf. ’y x̌n ’y t’m’n 273.2 (so, not x̌z, which is ‘pleasant’) ‘the taste of the food’.

262.6, 264.2 mnd-fc’wy(n): ‘impatient’, read -βc’, v. my 84.8.

263.1 ’y’nbf’c ōyn: ‘the satiated woman’; another pointless point, y’ + ’nb’ > y’nb’.

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

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

266.3  initWithFrameElements “absorbent ground”, probably ’zbnv, pause fem. pres. part. of ’žb (v. my 214.1).

267.7 mwHdybr: read mwbdh-, v. my 142.7.

mrc xRBD: Ar. labīq, besides ţābuk, is glossed zēbā-, xūb-kār (Pishro); perhaps x̌-, then (’)yd, though this would suggest rather x̌aš-raftūr.

267.8 m’tzss[ty]br: ‘stuck to it’, v. my 246.8.
268.4 'nkyyk: 'partner'; Henning, Zoroaster, 44, already 'angēθ', compared with Aram. ḫngt, <*han-gaithā-

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

270.2 nd'khy hyj b'rzwz: 'ignored him', read simply nd'k, as at 487.3, (361.2, 491.5) and of course hy p'.

270.6 'y τnynk: štābanda, plainly tncynd, as at 68.2, 454.3, 471.5.

271.1 'y b'ryst: 'pay', read p'r'x, v. my 129.5.

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

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

'y sbYNk: 'lousy', probably spynk <*spahēn-, cf. PŪt. spōḥn.

From this page on the point of, of c as if especially, becomes increasingly untrustworthy: 271.5 'w'n-jm 'wide-eyed', 272.1 'ṣj 'hateful' (cf. 485.5), 275.4 w'j 'matter' (v. H, 'Łg.', 427).

272.4 b'xswnd'h: 'exerted himself over it' is y/xsWyd'h 423.2, 431.5, (472.5 (not b-!)

273.2 'y xē: v. my 262.4.

274.7 f. 祛斑 be'x'B: 'repentant', read ṭpe'x'θ, the noun clearly pointed at 344.7 (except ṭ for c). ṭpe'x'θ < *paty-ā-xāda-? Cf. Pth. xādā (āxād) 'pity'.

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

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

278.1, 3 xw-m': x'as-maniš, certainly xē-m' (v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v.).

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

280.2 s'mwSyd: misprint for s'mwSyd.

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

283.5 'BRDyd, v. my 157.1.

284.5 ny:dy'r k-: read ny-d 'β'r, lit. 'not-thee they are', i.e. 'you do not have the ability', pl. because Xw. 'prefers plurals for impersonal subjects' (H, Dict., s.v. 'β-1 (J); v. also 'β2 'suffice '); cf. 'the good' at my 244.2. Certainly 'y kcyk' ibid. 'ability' is m. sg., cf. mwžyd'h 495.2 'he expended it'.

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

284.8 'y 'nčynk: tarsanda, read 'nčm'k, as correctly at 254.6 (v. my 214.1).

285.3 f. BR-b.ws: 'distraught (with grief)', possibly bz-bus 'badly senseless', cf. bus 'senseless (with love)' 415.6, and *bz-k'r'v 3.5 = bad-kār, from
*bẕk* 280.5 f. (v. my 116.2). Although nowhere pointed -z-, this can hardly be other than a loan-word from Pth. *bẕq* 'sinful' (though Sgd. *βj̲= βẕ > NP faž̲- is simply ‘bad’).

285.6 *y̲.γy̲ḏk*m̲: ‘my desire’, read *γy̲šk*, as at 418.2, 482.2, and Sgd. ’γy̲ōy.

286.6 *myr’ryc SBm’ḏy̲k* : ‘incomparable pearl’, perhaps *stn̲b’ḏk /a̲stam-m~mādik/ < *stn̲b-m’ḏk* ‘of fine matter’, as NP gīrān-māya. There is no such contraction, however, in *stn̲b-m’n* 465.3 ‘proud’, at least in the spelling.

287.1 *skrβy̲k* : ‘wood’, i.e. skrββk, v. my 77.3.

287.7 *pš̱-NB’R*, v. my 258.7.

287.8 *mnpdd[ . . . ]*: this fits ‘(the undermined river-bank) collapsed’, *n̲p̲ḏ- < ham-pat-, as Sgd. *n̲p̲t-, *n̲p̲ḏ- ‘fall’, with caus. *n̲p̲’cy̲-, mnp’cy̲d* 113.8, 405.1 ‘destroy’; but if a word for ‘the bank’ were to follow we should expect *y̲ or *y̲’, instead of what appears to be -t, possibly in another hand. It is perhaps followed by an alternative translation, krββd ‘sank, subsided’, as at 137.2.

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

290.5 *pr̲kn̲b hy̲w eβry̲ḏ*: read hybr, as at 138.5 (v. my note).

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

291.3 *fy wBk*D’R*: ‘on account of such-and-such a matter’ (*Pishro*, T, ii, 222, ba fulān éizi), v. my 171.6.

292.5 f. *š̱nsyḏyc*: for the form v. my 123.8, on šn̲s̱- ‘go astray’, šn̲s̱’̲y̲- ‘lead astray’. With the latter cf. šn̲s̱’̲yḏ’h 354.3 ‘forgot it’, which must be another meaning of the same verb. The present *š̱ns̱yḏyc*, therefore, must be ‘he was forgotten by him’ (cf. Skt. prawaśya- ‘be lost’), a mistranslation of Ar. nasiya(-hu) continued in šnt’k ‘forgotten’, instead of ‘forgetful’.

292.7 *y̲ BY’r-kwrk*: ‘night-blind’, with capital letters misused to indicate that the gloss is mispointed b’y̲n’r-. byr’, lit. ‘evening’, is certain 373.3, -kwrk 382.2; cf. Sgd. *pyy’rh ‘last night*, βy’y̲ry̲y̲ ‘evening’ < *api-/abi-(a)yəra-.

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

293.6 *mn̲x̲ṣy̲ḏ*: ‘was hidden from him’, read mn̲x̲ṣyḏ- as at 500.4 (v. my 144.5). Then why *y̲ pcsc’wy̲k* for nxs(t)k’wy̲k ‘secrecy’? The abstract is from the p. p., nxs’tk at 397.8, fem. (*)nxs 388.4, 393.6, 394.1 (v. my 299.6).

296.2 *zyu̲ydy̲k*: for zyv̲nd’k, v. my 127.3.

297.5 *mny̲yd ty n’f*: ‘stayed in the town’, misprint (!) for m’ny̲d, cf. 295.3 and my 192.2.

297.8 f. *st’r̲k βẕpty̲k*: v. my 158.6.
298.1 nsêy'k: nā-kas, 'mean, vile' appears as nsf'y'k 334.3, but the abstract (nā-kast) as msq'y'k'wɔk 420.8. The last seems the best reading, if we take the word from *n-sey'dk 'un-considered', i.e. the p. p. of *scy-, msqyd 499.5, 500.7, 504.2; this perhaps < *sa'aya-, Av. *ṣak, with -e< -s- prevented by the initial s-.

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

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

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

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

299.5 byryşykg: 'cloud', read p-, v. my 187.1. (The b would have been better employed at 299.4 'bi:pālūd', for bibālūd 'grew'.)

299.6 bêšl'skwk: payvastagi, extraordinary pointing of pebs(t)k'wɔk, as at 421.3, 432.4, from *pebs'tk, fem. pebs'c 359.1, p. p. of pebsncy- = NP payvand-. With the apparent loss of -t-, cf. nxs(t)k'wɔk, my 293.6.

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

300.1 mnj'ymd'h: 'frightened him', with -e-, as at 307.5 (myč-), 355.7, and correctly 223.3, 225.7, etc.

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

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

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

301.5 mētnjd'n: 'acquired them', with -nc- (for /-nj-/, as at 434.4, 440.1; v. H, Hb., 117, ḏfn/ye- < *θwana- (cf. Sgd. δβj- < *θawj-, Sogdica, 32).

Here again the examples of ʃ for c (and ç) come thick and fast: 301.6 ff'wj 'hunting', ff'wunj 'hunted' (v. H, Dict., s.vv. 'f'e'wc, 'f'e'wʌŋk), 302.3 b'rjykg 'mount' (cf. 469.1, 471.1), 302.5 xw's'd' 'loosed' pl. (cf. 45.1), 302.6 bavnjd'n 'poured out (water)' (v. my 201.1), 303.7 k'hjd'yld 'threw it away' (sic, not 'ihn hin'; v. my 183.4).
301.7, 304.1 ṭ̣ubdyḍh-: ‘snatched, ran away with him’ (even NP bi-rubūḍ), read ṭ̣ubyḍ-, as at 203.8, 387.5, etc.

302.1 ỵ mwnryk: ‘slaughtered’; since the victim is usually masc., here and 82.6 ỵ qrḅṇyk, bsmyṛk-ṛṃṇk ṣ́, this is probably ỵ-mwṇṛk; p. p. in -ṇ (v. my 153.1) of an unattested *mwṛ-.

302.2 Ẉỵrḍ: ‘leaked’, is patently mẓỵrḍ; ‘zyṛ-’ ‘leak, ooze’ < *uz-gar-, cf. ṣỵṛ- ‘become wet’ (my 91.7), ṣỵṛ-ỵ- = NP farāṛḍidan (shown to me by M. Schwartz).

304.1 klyṃk hy ḅḥ̣ṛrḍ: ‘prompted him’. H, Dict., evidently from a better copy of the manuscript, reads ṃbṛẓyḍ, ’bṛẓỵ-2.

304.2 ’cẉṇẉk: ‘spaciousness’, a mispointing needlessly repeated in the next glosses; cf. ’cẉṇ 249.5, 271.5, etc., ’cẉṇẉk 463.6.

304.4 f. βzẉṃzḍ: the nearest NP equivalent is az nēḳ ḍūr ‘far from (God’s) goodness’, cf. 69.2 βzẉṃzṇk = ḍūṛī. First we therefore have βẓ-, cf. βẓk 505.3 = ḍūḳ, βẓc 348.1 = ḍūṛ, < barẓ-; then probably *ẉṃzḍ < *wi-ṃrḍḍ- ‘unforgiveness’ or the like, cf. Pth. ’ṃwj̣ḍ ‘pity’. βzẉṃzḍ is still a strange adjectival cpd., * having a distant disfavour ‘for banished’; the abstract is probably βzẉṃzḍỵk.


305.3 ṭẉḅỵḍh: 5 ỵ ṭbẉỵk: ‘admonished him; advice’. There’s many a slip ’twixt naṣḥa and taẉba; read ḅẉyṇḍh, from bẉyṇ-, as at 130.4, 484.1, and verbal noun bẉyṇk, 315.5, 446.1; v. H, Hb., p. 99, n. 1.

306.7 ḅṃ: ‘smooth’, 336.3 ḅṃ ‘soft’, the same 393.1, 409.1, is p̣ṃ at 502.2. This is confirmed by Sariqoli p̣ṃ, Yidya polom (IIFL, 11, 237a); its antonym also occurs, ’wḅṃ 409.3 ‘firm, solid’ < *wi-p̣ṃda-. 306.8 mSkṇh ỵ kynḳh: ‘I avenged him’, lit. ‘took his revenge’. *sḳ seems to be the stem, < *us-ḳṛ? Cf. ’ḳ, without preverb.

307.7 Rẹy ẉỵḍ: ‘burnt brightly’, with little room for doubt in rẹy; cf. Skt. rucạya- ‘bright’?

f. ḄβBỴk(?) = read f̣ḅṇyk (H, Dict., s.v. ḅṇk), as at 94.5, 130.6.

308.6 f. ṭ̣ẉf̣yṇḥỵḅṛ: ‘I boasted about it to him’, read ṭ̣ẉf̣ỵḅ- as at 484.7; evidently a caus. *g̣uḅaya- of Sgd. ṭ̣ẉḅ- ‘praise’, which in Xw. is ṭ̣ẉỵ-, 305.1, etc.; < *g̣uḅya-?

308.8 ḅx̣ỵḍ: ‘it opened’, read ḅṣỵḍ, as at 453.3, 4, the inchoative-passive of ḅỵ, 303.3, etc., ‘to open (trans.)’, with -ṣ and -ỵ.

309.1 p̣c̣ỵṭṇḍ: ‘cut them’, read p̣ẓỵṭ-, as at 468.6; similarly at 314.7. Much commoner is the doublet ṃẓỵṭ-, 202.4, 402.2, etc.

Another group of f̣ pointings for c: 309.1, 315.2 ḥẉḅ- ‘water’, 310.1 f., 317.7 ṃf̣šỵdỵq, ṃf̣šỵdỵq ‘rose, went’ (H, Dict., s.v. čx̣yẓ-), 310.4 ẉẓỵṭ ‘ỵ f̣ṃḥ (v. my 258.7), 311.1 ṇf̣ỵẉk ‘humidity’ (cf. 163.7), 311.2 p̣ṃf̣ḍ- ‘clothed’ (v. my 234.1), 311.3 ṣšṃdỵ ‘undressed him’, 311.4 ḅṛỵṭf̣ (for p̣ṛỵṭc = ḅṛuṇ kard, cf. 354.4), 311.6 f̣ỵṛf̣f̣ (for nṃc̣ ‘ells’, cf. 82.8), ff̣ṃ ‘fourth’ (for čβ̣ṛṃ, cf. 35.3), 311.8 ỵ ṇf̣ḥ ‘his nose’ (cf. 310.7), f̣β̣ẉmy ‘from the earth’,
315.2 *fy bi\f's* (for pe\ac{c} 'on the face'), 316.6 *k\ac{w}zydyf* 'sought from him', and so on.

309.4 *br\acute{r} b\acute{t}y* : 'on the left (hand) ' i.e. *pr* \breve{b}\breve{\gamma}; *b\acute{f}\gamma* also 489.6, but *b\breve{\gamma}\breve{\gamma}yc* 429.1, and *b\breve{\beta}yc* correctly supplied 65.3. *br* for *pr* also 309.5, 311.6.

310.4 *'Wy \textsc{Wr}c-em*: 'having protruding eyes', read *\textsc{wez}c-, v. my 258.7.

310.1 *'bryyd\acute{h}* : 'patched it' is *'pr\breve{y\acute{y}}\acute{d}\acute{h}* at 399.1, so 'patch' also *'pr\gamma\acute{y}k*.

312.6 *\textsc{Jyn}* : 'by the forelock', with more than a little improbability; read \breve{\delta}by, after *f* \breve{\delta}b 510.6, \breve{\gamma} \breve{\delta}b\breve{h} 38.6. This /\\textsc{iba}/ is very reminiscent of \textsc{Ar. jabh\breve{a}/} 'forehead' (was B. thinking of j\breve{a}bin?).

313.2 *\beta\gamma.p\breve{d}k\acute{s}r*: 'towards the street', is *f-pnd\acute{k} s\acute{r} mispointed; correctly at 355.5.

313.5 *b\breve{\delta} hy w\textsc{syd}*: v. my 210.7.

313.6 *f\acute{c} hy \breve{\beta}rd\acute{h} *y p\breve{\delta}ysh*: three errors, read *f\acute{c} hy \breve{\beta}rd\acute{d} *y b\breve{\delta}ysh* (though the second \acute{-d} is perhaps a repeat, in error, of the first ornate one). *f\acute{c} for f* 'wc 366.4, 377.1, in a cpd. verb with *\breve{\beta}r* = NP ba-\breve{\delta}y \breve{\nu}r\breve{d}\breve{\mu}n, is probably \breve{\i}\breve{\f}\breve{c}ca/ including the article, like *y\acute{\acute{s}}y \breve{\delta}r*: *y\acute{\acute{s}}* v. my 73.6. *b\breve{\delta}ys*, v. my 170.8.

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

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

314.5 *f:RWRBk c\acute{y}t*: 'withdrew into its sheath', read *f\acute{\acute{z}}\acute{\acute{\delta}}n\acute{k}* cf. *\acute{\acute{z}}\acute{\acute{\delta}}nk* in the same context 39.1, 46.7. *y zw\grave{\nu}*: 'hedgehog' is only pointed z- at 53.7; why should the final -z be other? Cf. zwz 'kiss', my 219.5.

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

315.3 *f. b\acute{\gamma}yt\acute{h} *y \breve{\delta}rm\acute{\mu}y\acute{k}*: 'the scorpion bit him' ! A literal translation of NP big\breve{\mu}zd\breve{\i}, corrected at 315.7 to zd\breve{\i}h *y \breve{\delta}rm\acute{\mu}yk* 'stung him'; on \breve{\delta}rm\acute{\mu}yk, v. H., 'Lg.', 436.

315.8 *\breve{z}\breve{\delta}k b\breve{\w}rwzd*: 'became clever', read *zd\acute{k} p*, as at 243.5, 274.3, etc.

316.1 *sh\acute{\acute{\theta}}*: 'army', thrice on the strength of one point, can only be *sp\acute{\theta}*- even NP keeps the -p-. On *xw\breve{\beta}(y)*- *xw\breve{\beta}ynk* proved by *mxw\breve{\beta}yd* 315.8, v. BSOAS, xxxiii, 1, 1970, 124. In view of *gubya- > \gamma\nuw-* (my 308.6), the caus. *\breve{x}\breve{s}au\breve{baya}- is perhaps a more likely etymology than *\breve{x}\breve{s}ubya-. 317.3 *mxw\breve{\nu}nd\acute{y}d\acute{\acute{\theta}}*: 'put him in straits' is the same verb, *mxw\breve{\beta}(y)d*, cf. *mxw\breve{\beta}y'ry\acute{\acute{\theta}}* 442.6.

316.3 *y brk\acute{i}*: *barakat*, read *br\acute{c}*, as at 425.5 f., pl. of *brkk*, attested in *\breve{\theta}brkk* 'blessed' (v. H., 'Lg.', 429; text XJ, 71).

317.4 *ny\acute{k}*: v. my 208.7.

318.1 *\gamma\acute{\acute{\i}} d* *m\breve{\kappa} f\acute{\acute{\acute{\i}}}*: 'made errors in reading', read *\gamma dc*, pl. of *\gamma\acute{\acute{d}}k* at 342.1 f., 388.4, etc., and *hsc*, as at 493.7. *m\breve{\i} c\acute{k}'m *\breve{\gamma}ry\acute{k}*: 'man of many (reading) errors' is thus *m\acute{r} c\acute{k}'m-\gamma\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{k}*. *\gamma\acute{\acute{d}}k* is connected with *\gammaw- *'fail', i.e. 'be necessary' and 'make an error' 261.8, 270.1, so < *\gamma\nuw-; *hsc, and
hs 80.5, both fem., correspond to the stem hyš- 'read', 423.1, etc., suggesting a basic *haθya- > *haθəa- as stem, but > *haθyə- in the noun.

318.2 ยฝι d ь mdk f' แฟน: 'modulated in the song', read ьfən, pl. of ьfəc < *grfət-, as NP girift 'playing vibrato', and fn, as at 15.1, cf. fn- 'to sing', 168.3, 418.2, 482.2.

319.4 ย ь sks-k-mynj ьwכ: corresponds to the NP gloss in T, II, 266, ьjay-i nigaristan, for 'aspect'. Read sks-k-mync, from the inf. of sks- 'look at', 425.3, 497.7, assimilated < *skəs- < fra-kasa- (H, Hb., p. 119, n. 3).

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

320.1 ь y ьgyбн': 'the shepherd', for rəә instead of ra'y; v. my 103.8.

'ь xwə ьs'y: sa'ə-yi nək, for all that it is pointed xwt, is xeb s'y, cf. 331.6, 336.2, etc.

320.2 ь'm'zyd'н: 'denounced him', read ьm'zyd-, as correctly 152.3 (margin), 154.7; ьm'zy- is a denom. stem < Ar.-Pers. ьamməz 'calumniator'.

321.3 ь ьb'н: 'trustworthy', is b'rec 'secure' 334.8, 336.8, 405.4.

321.4 ьb'yd: 'it swelled' is p'cyd, as at 410.3, 476.3, and correctly at 150.7 (wrongly 507.1).

323.6 ь ьmrk sbyn: 'soft iron', read sbny, as at 242.2.

327.5 f. ьbijә: 'cheap'. Among so many misprints of p and c this is worth noting because it only occurs once more, as pecә, at 437.8. Confirmation comes from Sgd. pt'yә, ptyb'y 'contemptible' and Pth. ptyyд (loan < Sgd.); v. W. Sundermann, MIO, xiv, 3, 1968, 399 f., n. 67.


328.3 ьz'wyb'yr: 'behave roughly to him', read -ybyr, as at 398.7, 400.4.

329.3 бік'c n'ryк [oder: б'ryk ?]: 'thin clothing'. All the NP glosses of saxəfə, saxɔf contain tanək (not tang), translated by n'r-, n'r'k, as Pashto naray, OSS. narag; cf. 408.2. *b'ryk does not occur in Xw., NP bərək 'thin' being translated zmərk 122.6, 393.7, 408.2, 436.4, 501.2; cf. OSS. məllag?

330.4 ьnb'yd: added sec. manu in error, as it means 'decreased' 182.1, 438.1, not 'was unskilled'. Conceivably Ar. xaruna was misread as хузяга 'was compressed, contracted'.

330.6 ь ьznd ьj'н [durchgestrichen.] ьm'n: corresponds to sazəvər-ast badān; the б'н 'is' (v. my 128.1) is not deleted.

330.8, 334.5 ьfzk: sitabr, 'thick', read (')δfzk as at 173.1, cf. OSS. бзфən, Sgd. δb'znz, etc. (Benveniste, Études . . ossète, 20 f.).

331.6 ьsnьb [r.: 'stнb]-qdr: why correct this and leave 'stнb-qər, etc., 333.4 f. ?

332.1 б'z'fr: 'weak, thin' is far from certainly 'without z'β'r', since no such word is attested. Read бз'β'r undivided, as at 296.5, etc.
335.7 θw[j]: as at 405.7, the glossator has thought of the meaning ‘place’ in connexion with Ar. makuna, makkana, i.e. θ-θε is for bā-θây ‘having a place’, not bā-θāh ‘honoured’ (which is θ-θwή 325.7, 337.1, etc.).

335.8 jrdK: can hardly correspond to all the NP glosses of hafn, viz. bē-əsəl, ċust-u ċābuk (W only), and at 405.8 zišt (T), carda (W). This last B. uncritically translates as ‘brown’! Reference to 37.1 hafnin = NP jurd would have been enough to confirm the true meaning of jrdk as ‘half-breed, by an Arab stallion out of a country mare’. There are innumerable other examples of Xw. -k replacing NP -ə(h) in assimilated loan-words.

336.5 (margin) wɾɛ-γw[pʰ]: ‘rosy’, i.e. ‘bay’ horse, is simply wɾɛγw, as mɔγw (in mɔγw-cm 270.5) ‘wine-coloured’; v. H, Hb., 116. True, such compounds generally take -k, but γwŋk ‘hair’ would work against it here. In the Qunya there is also xrbuz-γw, a kind of melon (glossed xarbuz-ṣikl ‘melon-shaped’).

338.1 ‘y kʰpκ hy: ‘his side’, read pšpκ. The imagined k- is formed by the kṣara of Ar. ħuniba above. pšpκ, 126.5, 236.2, 396.1, 492.4, is not rare; < Av. parsva ‘ribs’, cf. Oss. fārsk, Yidya porsɨy, Kurd. parāsū, etc.

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

341.2 mzɔyːd: here, as rarely, Wetzstein was led astray by his NP glosses. Ar. ‘uyila šabrhu is not bērasūd but ba-ṣar rasād šabr-əs (Pishro), na-mānd šikb-ə δ (T) ‘his patience was exhausted’. The Xw. gloss is accurate, cf. *zəṃ ‘be finished, exhausted’ 253.8, 257.8, 295.4, and Sgd. ‘zyms-’. Where Sgd. has a new inchoative from (’)zym- ‘to consume’, Xw. has inherited an older *uza-yam-.m-

341.4 ‘y ’ws hyc mw’ryd: ‘he became senseless’. The reading hyc is most unlikely; the glossator seems to have been taken by Ar. (γuśγa) ‘alayhi and translated ‘the sense(s) became mixed upon him’, hɔb(ə) mw’rɛd. ‘ws-w’r’dvκ is then ‘sense-muddled’; cf. 249.7 f. āmɛtə.

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

342.1 ywɔzkwk ‘sufficiency’ (NP basanda, not p-), v. my 150.3.

343.8 c’yt: ‘went in’, wrongly but not less plainly pointed ə- than 344.3 ʃ. 344.2 f. rnya ‘confusion’. As there is danger of another kind of confusion with rnyf ‘trouble’, e.g. 345.5, this mispointing of ə is worth noting; v. my 246.1 and 121.8.

344.8 mɛkɛy’d’h: ‘called him a liar’, read mɛkɛsə-, as at 389.6. The verb must be a denominative < ȯkys ‘lie’, 449.3, 462.5, etc. This word again takes us back to the Avesta. To account for the ə- one could posit an *at-i-kaiša- > *vekšš (not > c- before k-) — see H, Dict., s.v. ‘ʃkɛcy-’), approximately
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.