

## THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—III

By D. N. MACKENZIE

In two previous articles,<sup>1</sup> pp. 60–218 of Johannes Benzing's edition of *Das chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der 'Muqaddimat al-adab' von Zamaxšari* have been subjected to a close scrutiny. Benzing's work, a combined cornucopia and Pandora's box, holds the seeds of a number of tares which it is my endeavour to remove, before they flourish, from among the good seed of the certain or possible items of Khwarezmian glossary to be reaped from the *Muq.* The ultimate publication of a full glossary will provide the opportunity to grade the whole harvest, but meanwhile it seems useful to provide a commentary on the existing publication.

What follows takes us from p. 218 to p. 314, corresponding to *Muq.*, 345–438. Inevitably many of the items mentioned are repetitive, but by no means trivial on that account. A commentary also, for all its untheological brevity, permits a broader view of the original glossator's habits than a mere listing of items in a fixed pattern: cf. for example the similar mistranslations at 384.8, 385.6, 386.1, etc. It is moreover a way of introducing evidence from other Iranian languages, where it is needed. As before, only debatable entries in Benzing's publication are treated here. But first I may be permitted to retire a few lines, to retract one of my own riskier suggestions.

344.3 **fy WnkD'R xsyn**: *dar fulān kār*, must be the same as 291.3 **fy wBkD'R**, which was tentatively interpreted at my 171.6 as \**fy wyk-δ'r*. Besides the absence of any supporting *fy . . . -δ'r*, this fully-pointed form completely rules out the possibility and shows *wnkD'r* (*wyk-?*) to be one word, for *fulān*, not 'business, affair': < *awam* (*awahya?*) *katāra*- 'that which(ever)'<sup>?</sup>

345.3 **mnbsd'h**: 'wrote it'. Once again we meet an example of under-pointing. To the examples of *nps-* given at my 84.1 add 306.4, 433.7 *mnpsd-* (as here), 208.5, 403.1 *mnpst*, and the verbal noun *nps'k* 402.1. All these are transcribed with *-b-* by Benzing, against the correct form of the noun *npc* 'writing' at 344.7 (*-j*), 494.2, 6 (< \**nipišti-*) and the cautious **NPC** of the fem. p. p. at 9.3.

345.8 **RB'γtk hy k'cyd**: *bačča-yi nārasīda afkand nāqa*, read *wy'γtk*, as at 393.2 *γyck wy'γt'k* = *kitāb-i nātāmām*, i.e. 'incomplete' of camel foetus or book; < \**wi-ā-gašta-* as 'only begun, not finished', cf. *γ'z-* 'begin', H, *Dict.*, and Bailey, *Prolexis*, 151.

346.1 **f'ndyc f' γyck'n cy w'sd xsyn**: a fine muddle, translating neither *adraja l-kitāba* nor (as B. suggests) *fī darji l-kitābi kaḏā*. Read *f'nd<r>yc*, as at 405.6, 'he put something inside the book': evidently the glossator took the *kaḏā* added above the first *kitāba* as a correction and so read *adraja kaḏā fī darji l-kitābi*.

346.2 **f' bj c'.xby myd**: does not accord with *ba arval-i šab raft*; read

<sup>1</sup> In *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 3, 1970, 540–59, and xxxiv, 1, 1971, 74–90, in which abbreviations are listed.

*f'* *pc* 'at the end (of the night)', as at 396.7; *adlaḡa* taken as synonymous with *iddalaḡa*, at 434.4.

347.1 **'ḡjk**: 'messenger', read *'fjk*, probably for *'fck*, q.v. H, *Dict.*

347.2 **mft'wyd'h**: 'destroyed it', as at 146.2, 154.4, etc., cf. the intrans. *mftw'd* 'perished, was spoilt', 291.1, 295.8, etc.; seemingly a mistranslation of *ab'adahu*, but the same verb is also used for *arkasahu* 'inverted it' at 352.7.

Here again a small group of *ḡ* pointings for *c*: 347.2 *wdnḡ* (H, 'Lg.', 426), 347.3 *psnḡy'k* (i.e. /\*passinjyāk/ to *psñd-* 449.6, 492.2), 347.3 *'wyḡ'nkcyk* (H, 'Lg.', 425), 350.2 *hyḡ b'rwzd*, 350.4 *ḡ'yt* (H, 'Verb', 45), 354.2 *w'ḡ* (H, 'Lg.', 427). Similarly *b* for *p* (even NP *basandāda* 347.3, from Wetzstein): 349.4 *f'b'rx* (v. my 129.5), 349.7 *b'cxryl'n* 'they held them back' (cf. 388.3), 350.5 *mḡzbd* (my 120.8) *'y bcy'k* 'face' (cf. 353.4).

347.5 **y' ynbc**: for *'nbc*, v. my 167.6 f. The suspicion that the points of a *y* have been added *sec. manu* is strengthened by a similar occurrence in

347.6 f. **mfywd'h y' ynbh**: justly corrected to *'nbθh* 'his companion' by Benzing. Read also *mḡywd-*, as at 365.6; H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'ḡyw-*.

347.8 **fy:rōn hy h'ḡrd**: read *c'ḡrd* 'put', not 'gave (his back) to the wall'; v. my 138.5.

348.3 **p'dr p'rwzd**: a rare example of over-pointing, prob. *sec. manu*, for *b'dr* 'fireless', as at 228.5.

348.4 **'nkby fstyk**: *angubān-i basta*, read *'ngby ḡst'y'k*.

348.6 f. **θḡnk(?) hy w'sd f.'s'k**: can hardly be 'shot and killed him on the spot'. *θḡnk mkd* is 'marked' at 195.6, 350.6. The first word is probably the **tnByk** = *hadaf, nišāna-yi tīr* at 43.2, so 'put him (as) target in the shooting', i.e. 'shot at him'.

349.1 **mḡwywd'h**: 'helped him', like *mḡwyd'h*, added *in marg.* at 349.5, must be an error for *mḡywd-*, v. my 347.6 f.

349.4 **f.nyn'h**: 'over the other', mispointing of *fyny'h*, i.e. *fy* + (')*ny'h*, as at 447.4.

349.6 **'frk**: 'fruit', read *'ḡrk*, as in *ck'm-ḡrk* 369.5 'having much fruit'.

350.7 **wzynk hyn'c kwzyd**: 'established a relationship with them'. The same sentence at 422.2 has plainly *ywzyd* 'carried out, made firm', for which *kwzyd* 'asked for' is here evidently miswritten.

351.1 (above) **mskfyd'h**: is not 'informed him' but 'despised, reviled him', as at 393.5, etc.; this is a possible translation of *a'ḡarahu* (without *'alā l-amri*); v. my 376.8.

351.2 **f:nyyd-wx'k**: 'near to puberty', a misplaced pause-spelling, as the following *f' nyd wx'k* shows. In both cases B.'s hyphen is otiose; this is a phrase, not a compound.

351.7 **ck'm d' ḡdyθ [ws ?]**: *bisyār kard suxan-rā*. More probably the commonest of verb forms is omitted, viz. *mkyd*; on *d' 'k-*, v. H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'k-*, (a).

352.2 **'mk'r**: a misprint for (Ar.) *'nk'r*.

**y' γδkyn-ḡ'r**: plainly *γδkny*, against 250.6 *γδkn*, in pause 7 *γδkyn* (unpointed) 'wounded', v. H, *Dict.*, suppl., s.v.

352.7 **b:z'k**: 'dumb', pointed just the same at 272.3, but there and 258.1 corrected to *bzβ'k*. *zβ'k* 'tongue' is plain at 441.6, 465.8.

352.7 (in marg.) **B'SR'RYN**: this second translation of *arkasahu* (v. my 347.2) must be compared with 299.1 **n'ms'ryd'h**, equally 'inverted it', and the intrans. 452.6 **n'ms'rsyd**: *nigūsār šud*. H, *Dict.* (s.v. 'ft'wy-) reads *b'sr'ryd'(h)*, referring to *bs'ry-* (my suppl., <sup>2</sup>*bs'ry-* 'reject, repel'?), but (s.v. *nms'ry-*) I suggest a possible alternative reading *\*n'sw'ryd'(h)*, by dissimilation.

352.8 **b'crfdyθ**: read *p'crβd-*, v. my 152.6, and now M. Schwartz's review.<sup>2</sup>

354.8 **bfnynk . . . 'y βwmy'n**: 'creator of the earths [*sic*]'. *βwm* is fem., e.g. *c' βwmy* 354.5 'from the earth', so (as with *ǰy*, my 202.3) this is a pl. genitive *βwmn'n*.

More under-pointings in 355.2 *ǰw'xync* for *čw-*, same line; 355.6 'y *δfyr* for *δβ'vr*, as 119.5, 391.5, etc.; 355.8 *hfc* for *hβc*, as twice in the *Qunya*, Frejman, *XJ*, 57. As fem. of a p. p. *\*hβdk* < *\*frabrtaka* (v. Henning, *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, \*32\*), *hβc* in all MSS of the *Qunya* recorded casts some doubt on the reading *\*'kfc* 'arched' (which I proposed at my 279.5 and *apud* H, *Dict.*, s.v. 'kβdk). But */\*ākaf(c)a: \*ākaβdik/* may still have had a different development from */\*hiβja* < *\*haβæc(c)a: \*hiβdik* < *\*haβædik/*.

355.8 **b'wrđyc**: 'departed from him' is an error for *b'w'rd-*, as at 119.2, 144.4, 425.5, etc.

356.1 (in marg.) **qhr h: mkt**: a unique and revealing example of untraditional spelling for *hy mk'd*.

356.4, 363.3, 422.1, 436.4, 465.7, 499.3 **fc'wn'wk**: 'patience', read *βc'wn-*, v. my 84.8. The same pointing, *f* for *β*, occurs in 357.6 *'sk'f'rc* (cf. 414.7, 511.6), 357.7 *'δw-δf'γ* (cf. 418.1), 358.3 *nfyryc* (tacitly corrected by B.), 358.5 'y *f'r* (*β'r* same line), *mnf'rydyc* (if < *\*ni-bāraya-*) 'caused him some', 358.6 *b'sδfyd'h* (v. my 367.6), *mzbd* (my 370.2), 359.1 *byrfyk* (my 379.5), *pefsc* (fem. of *\*peβstk*, cf. 432.2), 359.5 *f'ncyd'h* (my 80.8), 359.7 *hf'ry'k* (cf. 369.6, etc.).

357.7 **f:nywmy c'yl**: for *fy-nywmy*, seems to mean 'they entered one another'; how such a translation of *ad'afa l-qawmu = du-čandān šud qawm* arose is obscure.

358.5 **β'r č'k**: *ǰām-i pur*, a misprint for *c'k*.

359.6 **b'šxdybyr**: 'stuck it on', read *\*p'šcd-*. The verb is not otherwise attested, but appears to stand in similar relation to its intrans. *pšxš-* (v. my 246.8) as *'šxš-* 'be joined' 453.6: *'šcy-* 'join' (v. H, *Hb.*, p. 109, n. 2). An etymon *\*pati-s/θrača-* seems somewhat more likely than the necessary alternative, an *s*-enlarged stem *\*-s/θraxša-* > *\*-šax-*, beside inchoative *\*-s/θrax-sa-* > *\*-šaxs-* > *-šaxš-*. The pointing *-x-* is probably a second-hand mistake, due to confusion with *pšxš-*.

360.1, 425.7, 440.8, 483.4 **'nkyθk**, etc.: read *'ngyθk*, v. my 268.4.

360.3 **y' čft'h**: over-pointing of *ǰft* 'spouse', 444.7, 446.6.

<sup>2</sup> To appear in *ZDMG*. Dr. Schwartz kindly sent me a typescript in March 1970.

360.7 **rysd y.'kt**: for 'the bitch' one would rather see *y'.kt*, since 'dog' is often *'y'.kt*; on the verb, *v. my* 131.4 f.

361.2 **c'w'nydyw**: a misprint? The correct *c'w'zyd-* appears as **X'w'zyd-** 368.8, divided into two 384.3, and joined to preceding *w'* 414.2; *cw'zy-* 'lead in' < \**ati-wādaya-*.

361.4 **mfXw'sd'h**: 'let it down', read *maw'sd'h*, as at 359.2, 414.5, etc. B.'s *-f-* is an exaggerated point on the *-x-*.

Under-pointing, *f* for  $\beta$ , again in 361.4 *m'fr'zyd'h* (H, *Dict.*,  $\text{'}\beta\text{'r'zy-}$ ), 362.1 *f'ncyd'h* (my 80.8), 362.5, 368.2, 403.7 *mwzf'hyd-* 'annoyed' and 472.3 *mwzfhd-* 'was annoyed' (cf. 272.7, 282.6), 363.3 *fc'wn'wk* and *f'xyd* (my 84.8, 213.3).

361.6 **fy:tcyk hy m'z'myd**: 'brachte ihn in Eile'. In similar constructions the indirect object may be definite, e.g. *fy bfyk* 358.2, *fy xndk* 360.2, *fy-ŷy* 353.8, *fy rnc'wk* 344.2, but at least as often is not, e.g. *f-yxfrd* 134.2, *f-βywdk* 141.2, *f-hβ'ry'k* 357.7, *f-θnk* 344.8, *f-γšyk* 345.8, etc. Since 'haste' is *tncy'k* 498.5, 'hastening' *tncynd* (my 270.6) or *tncy'wnd* 328.6, from the frequent verb *tncy-*, we are left to guess whether this is a mispointing of \**f-tncyk* (*-tncyk*) or stands for *fy-t<n>cyk*.

361.8 **mrcy**: read simply *mrc* 'man'.

362.1 **'y pcy'k hyw'br δ'ryd**: read *d'ryd* 'turned (his face on him)', *v. my* 91.1.

362.2 **fy:δ'w'ny'd**: 'as security', read *f-δ'w'ny'd*, without the article, as at 403.6, 405.5 (*δ'wny'd*).

362.6 **b'δ'byd**: 'twisted (it)', read *b'd'byd*, as at 366.5, 378.3, etc., *bd'by-* obviously from the same \**tāpaya-* as NP *tāftan*.

363.1 **prw'z-hnk'wk**: *pēš-rawī*. B. twice ignores the plain stroke of a letter before *h*: this is abstract of *prw'zyhn'k* = *pēšraw*, i.e. *prw'z* + pres. participle of *'y-* 'go', with *-h-* perhaps to distinguish it from the pres. part. of the trans. *prw'zy-* 'lead before', 107.3, 424.3.

This misreading of *Bh-* is met again at 381.1. I have also previously overlooked it at 135.6 where, for **hyc 'nc** = *nēst ō-rā*, read *nhyc 'nc*, like *nyc* 402.2, *nyhyc* my 106.7.

363.4 **f'MN hy w'syd**: 'put him in safety'. There can hardly be any doubt of the Ar. word *'mn*.

364.2 **bθk**, 384.3 **bθkn**: 'house(s)', read *pθk(n)*, as at 449.4, 501.6 (H, 'Lg.', 435).

364.8 **f' ny:mn'c pxsy'r 'y hfrnyh**: *fulān ki burīda na-mēšavad az mā dādānī-yi vay*. Read \**n' ny-mn'c pxs'r 'y hβdnyh*: *n'* 'that', where one might expect \**n'(n)k*, with relative *-k*; *pxs-* 'be cut', cf. *mpxsd* 455.6; to the examples of *hβdn* 'gift(s)' listed at my 225.6 add 380.6 f., 382.8, 412.5, 448.6, 494.7, 504.1, 506.5.

365.1 **msbd'h fy bcy'k'h**: both times *b* for *p*, and a mistranslation of the Arabic. *mspd'h* is not 'he fell' but 'threw him down', as at 402.7, *v. my* 99.7; 'on his face', cf. 362.1.

366.3 **prknb hybr [h'βryd?]**: *ziyān rasānīd ba vay*. B. here generalizes

from his own misreadings of 138.5 and 203.3 (which I overlooked *in loco*), *p° hybr* and *hyθ h'βryd* respectively. His 290.5 would have been a better guide, with the correct *c'βr°d*; *v. my* 138.5.

366.7 **qš's hyc m'sd**: a mistranslation of the Ar. 'avenged him', this is 'took revenge on him', as correctly at 444.6.

367.2 **βpdk** (für **βndk** ?) **hy δ'ryd**: 'enslaved him'. In view of Henning's remarks (*Hb.*, 116 f.) on this very word, *βydk* seems the more likely emendation. Wetzstein's gloss *barda kard banda-rā* is rather odd, meaning 'captured the slave' (not 'machte den Gefangenen zum Sklaven'): T, II, 365, is better with *bigudāšt dar bandagī*.

367.5 **š'mnydybr, 'y šmnyk**: since *šmn°k* certainly means 'hope', 402.6, 416.1, etc., the Xw. glosses plainly differ from Pers. *nāz, twānā, gustāxī*, etc. The glossator presumably understood *adalla 'alayhi* as *bihi* 'relied upon him'.

367.6 **p'sδβyd'h**: confirms the *-β-* of *\*bsδβ-* 123.6 and *\*bsδβy-* 358.6 and hardly shakes the initial *b-*, since the 'p-' is much smudged. The verbs are basically 'to slip' and 'cause to slip', so here probably only *azallahu* is translated, not '*an ra'yihī*).

367.8 **'y bnk 'stwr**: 'the lost animal' (not 'camel'), read *bnk*, < *apanašta-ka-*, as Khot. *panašta-*, p. p. of *bn'sy-* 'lose', as Khot. *panāšš-* (*SGS*, 70), Sgd. *pn'yš-*, Yaγn. *pinayš-*, etc.; cf. *šnt°k* 157.3 'astray' to *šnš-* 'go astray', *šn'sy-* 'lead astray' (*v. my* 123.8).

368.2 **b'rβ'syd'h**: 'tired him', read *p'rc'syd-*, as at 343.2, from *prc'sy-*, intrans. *p'rc'sd* 82.8, *p'rc'st* 124.4, etc., < *\*pari-tāsa-/aya-*, as Arm. *partasi/em*, JP *t'sydh*, etc. (Bailey, *TPS*, 1956, 123).

368.2 f. **r'xyd 'y nwk m'h**: since 'to shine' of the sun, stars, etc., is *βzpp-* (*v. H, Dict.*, s.v.), this is hardly *\*rx(y)-*, as NP *raxš-*, but more likely a mistake for *r'xyzd* 'the new moon rose (anew)', as 323.7 *r'xyzd = naw šud va šuwān šud*.

368.3 **snk**: *tamām*, read *spnk*, as '*spnk* 362.2, etc.

**h'c'wyd'h**: *āsūda kard (asb-rā)*, for *h'nc'wyd-*, as at 373.4, 411.5, caus. of *hncy-* 'to rest', 124.6, 501.8 *h'ncyd*. It is difficult to separate this from Sgd. *'nc'y-*, Oss. *āncay-* < *\*han-čyā-ya-*; the caus. in *-'wy-* (generally to a stem in *-w-*) would then be secondary, cf. 342.2 (-č-), 405.5 *pcr'wy-* 'to warm': 451.1 *pcry-* 'be warmed'.

**f'fwzy'k**: 'for smelling', surely read *f-βwzy'k*, the inf. of *βwzy-* (+ *c-*) 'smell (trans.)', *v. my* 99.8. Although Henning also read *βwzy'k* (*Hb.*, 112), the definite article would seem out of place here.

369.5 **γrk-βrk msk'syd**: is not exactly *girān-bār šud*, as B.'s hyphen implies, but 'carried a heavy (crop of) fruit', with three separate words.

370.2 **mǰzpd**, 372.3 **mǰzptd** and **mǰzptd'h**: 'shone' and 'made it bright', for *mǰzpd* and caus. *mǰzpyd-*, *v. my* 120.8.

373.5 **jw'kd 'y 'š**: cannot be *bix°ābānīd uštūr-rā*, since this would require *-d'h* with suffixed object (*v. H*, 'Verb', 48), as e.g. 355.2 *čw'xyd'h 'y z'dkh* 'she suckled (him) her child'. It is a mistranslation, simply a doublet of 189.8, 504.1 *č'kd 'y 'š* 'the camel knelt'.

374.1 **y'znyd'h**: 'freed him', read *y'žnyd-*, as at 372.8, 495.2 (not *b-*!).

375.4 f. **'kw'ruc n' fryt**: not 'made them', but 'found them (the food and drink) wholesome', cf. 461.3 f. **'kw'ryk hy fryt**: *guvārandā yāft (ta'ām-rā)*. Read *'gw'rnk*, pl. *-nc*, *v. my* 221.7, and *β'ryt*, as at 383.5, etc. (*v. H, Dict.*, suppl., s.v. *βyr-*).

375.5 **'njcy'k**: 'fearsome', read *'nčcy'k*, as correctly 263.7 f., 413.6; cf. *'nč-* 'to fear' 358.6, 451.6, etc.

375.7 **b'cxw'ryd'h**: *bičašānīd-aš čīz-rā*, read *p-*, this being the caus. of *pcxr-* 'to taste', 398.1.

376.6 **βzc n' š'myt**: lit. '(God) decreed them long', viz. *'y* 'life', a pl. noun, cf. 490.4 where correctly *βžc*; (') *βžk* 'far, long' < *\*barzaka-*, *v. my* 304.4.

376.8 **y' skβcy'h**: 'his fault', appears to be an error for *skβcyk'h*, as at 467.4, cf. 467.5, 7 *skβcyk*, 505.4 gen. *skβcyc*. Through Arabic, here *'aθrat*, our word is connected with *'sknb-* 'stumble', e.g. 85.2 for *'aθara* (*v. my* 228.5). *skβcyk* is perhaps formed with *-cyk* from the p. p. *\*skβd*, like 298.2, 377.3 *y' βcyck* 'help' < *\*βyweyk* < *\*βywd* (*v. H, Dict.*, s.v. *'βyw-*), and adjective *'βyγcyk* 'miserable' < *\*'βyγd* (*v. my* 256.4); *'sknb-*, *\*skβd* suggest a base *\*skamb/p* or *\*uz-kamb/p*, cf. perhaps Waxī *skaf-*, *skaft* 'to trip'. By chance Ar. *a'θara* is translated by a similar verb form in Xw., *'skfy-* (*v. my* 351.1), but it seems unlikely that this verb 'to revile' should combine another meaning of the Arabic, 'to cause to stumble', and so be connected etymologically.

377.1 **f' mry n' d'ryd**: if this translates *ba čarā dāšt (sutūrān-rā)* it must be *δ'ryd*, but T, II, 384, has *gudāšt*, *čiqarup*, so *d'ryd*, which almost exclusively equates *gardānīd*, is possibly correct.

377.7 **trwdyθ**: *aqāta 'alayhi* is not 'ernährte ihn' (*aqātahu*) but, as at W, 204, 8 = *iqtadara*; the latter, occurring at 436.8, has the same Xw. gloss, = 'was able to (do something)'. *'y trwynyk* is thus for *trwyn<sup>y</sup>k* = *muqūt* in the meaning *muqtadir* 'able, powerful'; cf. Man. MP, Parth. *trw-* 'overcome, conquer'.

377.8 **y' pctyk** [r.: **pcpyk**]: for *bahāna*, read *pcn<sup>y</sup>k*, as at 445.4; the ambivalent Ar. *'illat* suggests a link with BSGd. *ptšny* (*TSP*, 19, 10 f.), if this is 'illness'.

378.2 f., 468.7 **f'ydk fryt**: for *β'ryt*, *v. my* 374.5.

378.3 **p'm'**: *nawmēd*, read *b'm'* (as B. has elsewhere, besides *b.'m'*, *b:'m'*), cf. 286.1 *b'm'n*. This is not Ar. *amān*, however, attested at 499.5 *'m* 'security', but *\*āmān*, cognate with BSGd. *'m'n* '\*power, authority' (*Vim.* 140 = Chin. 勢 *shē*, with *'δ-* 'eminence' = 威 *wei*, for Skt. *mahābala*).

379.2 **nyc δrkrc f' bck'h stryk**: this misreading of *δrkdc* disguises an important feature of Xw., the potential construction. *δrkdc* is a corruption of the form found in 486.7 *f'n-δrdkc* 'he could not hold', with *δrd-* p. p. of *δ'ry-*; *v. H, Hb.*, 119 (I, a), and *Dict.*, suppl., s.v. *-k-*. The whole, 'he cannot keep a dirham in his palm', is a slight mistranslation of the Ar. 'his palm cannot hold . . .', but the gloss appears to have been 'corrected' to *f'* from an unpointed *y'* before *bck'h*.

379.3 f. For **βywy**, etc., B. relies on W's incomplete translations of the NP glosses, omitting the better ones (*v.* also those in T, II, 388). Ar. *ayālat* is 'she suckled (her child) when newly pregnant', i.e. inadequately; the NP glosses turn around *šīrzada*, the 'inadequately suckled child', which *βywy(n)* also represents. Perhaps < \**abi-šuti-* (or *-huti-*), Av. √ <sup>3</sup>*haw*, the unfortunate suckling being 'born upon, against'.

379.5 **byrβk**, 380.3 **byrβyc**: 'cloud(s)', read *p-*, *v.* my 187.1.

380.2 **y βtwyk**: for *al-fatwā* is odd, with *ftwk* in the previous line, but the three dots of the β have a different appearance from the other triple dots on the page, suggesting another unhelpful 'correction' by a later hand. Cf. also

380.4 **c' βtw'cyc**: 'from perdition', for *c'ftw'cyc* as at 495.2; *v.* H, *Dict.*, s.v. 'ftw'cyk, to 'ftw- (my 347.2).

380.5 **f: bknd-'yd**: *ba čāštāh*, so read *pknd-* 'bread, food', as at 442.2, and correctly 25.2, 88.2, 120.6 463.4; 'yd 'time', *v.* H, *Dict.*

380.8 **p'cB'cyd'h**: 'it (scabies) infected him' is clearly trans., unlike the NP *bigudašt ba vay*. Probably \**p'cy'cyd-*, \**pcy'cy-* < \**pati-yātaya-*, caus. of Sgd. *ptyt-* 'arrive, happen' (*v.* Benveniste, *Indo-Iranica, mélanges . . . Morgenstierne*, 24).

381.1 **hzwr b'rwzd**: B. ignores the distinct point of a *b-* before *hzwr* (cf. my 363.1), despite the NP gloss *bē-xayr šud*; read *b-hzwr p'rwzd* 'became useless, unproductive' as at 254.1.

381.7 **h'frd**: 'gave', of course *h'βrd*, as 380.6.

**y p'rc**: 'hire, rent', certainly *p'rx* (with a superfluous dot after *-x*), cf. 421.1, etc.

381.8 **k'cyd'h br'šck**: *šahānīd (gušn-rā) bar mādiyān*, correct except that *br* stands for *pr*, cf. 350.8, 397.7.

**š'wž[. . .] nrk y.šcyk**: though indistinct this must be *š'wž(d) '(y) nrk f'šc'k* 'the male leaped the female', a mistranslation of the Arabic, as if *naẓā l-fahlu*, cf. (my) 233.3.

382.2 **mnγ'sydc**: 'brought to him', read *-dyθ*, as at 418.5 and correctly 385.6, 416.4.

382.5 **y' cm hy mncnyd**: clearly *hyc*, as at 353.5 'shut his eye to it'; the glossator probably mistook *aynahu* for *'anhū*.

382.7, 385.4 **b:z'β'r**: 'weak'. There is no sanction for the colon and the spelling 116.8 'bz'β'r tells against this being the privative prefix *b-* (*v.* my 332.1).

383.1 **č[k nyθ]d y'kt**: 'the dog squatted'. B.'s very likely reconstruction is based on 229.1.

384.1 **'yl' mnfYcyd**: 'abjured his wife', can hardly be other than \**mnβncyd*, with \**nβncy-* < \**ni-bandaya-*, cf. BSgd. *nβ'ynt-* 'attach'. 'yl' is an unassimilated loan from Arabic, since such words normally take a final *-y*, e.g. 235.3 *dw'y* 'prayer', 386.7 *wf'y* 'faith', 420.2 *zn'y* 'fornication'.

384.2 **ǰ'r mkyd**: *hunar namūd dar ǰang*. Whatever it is, this word, found also at 9.1 for *hunar*, cannot be \*ǰ'r. The apparent \*ǰ'r affords no sense. Compare rather the shape of *xy'[dr* at its second occurrence in 186.5, 332.8,

suggesting that this be read \**jB'r*. *pēša* is \**nwr* at 439.5, cf. *hm-'nwr* 2.8, probably < *hunara-*. This may be for \**cn'r* < \**ati-nāra-*.

384.3 **c' w'zyd'n'd cy bθkn-hyn**: 'he led them out from their homes', read *c'w'zyd-* < *cw'zy-* (v. my 361.2) + *-d*, and *pθkn* (my 364.2).

384.7 **bTNd'd c' βžyc**: *dūr šud az bāliš*, read *bynd'd* (v. my 108.8) and *βžnc*, from (')*βžnk* as at 409.3, < \**barzanaka-* (v. Henning, *TPS*, 1944, 117, (B)).

384.8 **pxd**: 'it boiled', intrans. (v. my 218.8), a translation of the impossible Ar. *aylá l-qidru* (for *qidra*) as *yalat*, v. 151.5.

385.6 **mwrçyd'h**: is 'gathered it', as at 398.8, 451.4, etc., translating *qanāhu*, *iqtanāhu*, not the *aqnāhu* of the text.

386.1 **wdy w's'nyd**: repeats 154.3, and represents *wadā*, not the *awdá* of the text. B.'s 'er liess nach der Waschung ein Urinröpfchen austreten', if it purports to translate the Arabic, is also misplaced.

386.4 **p'rcy'dk** (r.: **y.'rcy'dk** ?): there is no need for the emendation, since both Ar. *bi θ-θulθ* and NP *ba siyak* have a preposition; *p-*, though rare, is attested clearly at 366.4, 469.6.

387.6 **h'rzyd'w**: 'stretched (his hand) to it', an *alif* has been omitted from the partially corrected form (*h'ryd'w* with *z* above), cf. 235.2 *h'r'zyd'w*.

387.8 **y.'xb'h**, 396.7 **c:'xby**: 'his' and 'in the night' resp., read *y'*- and *c'-xb-*, as correctly at 346.2.

388.1 **mzfsydybr**: 'became obscure to him'. B. ignores the embarrassing three dots above the *-ybr*. Although the form occurs thrice more 498.2, 7, 499.1 with *-f-* it may contain *-β-* (for which the three dots could have been intended as a correction), since it is the passive of 392.7 *'zβncy-* 'make obscure', just as *βsy-*, 453.5 *β'syd*, is passive of *βncy-* 'bind'. Such a passive cannot be original, for from \**badya-* (cf. BSgd. \**βydy-*, my *SCE*,<sup>3</sup> 51) only \**βzy-* could be expected; perhaps the p. p. *βstk* (my 348.4) has affected it. Parallels are to be seen in *'šksy-* 'be split' 250.5, 273.7, to *'škwnd-* 'split' 188.4, p. p. *škst'k* 250.6, and *nxsy-* 'be hidden', *nywnd-* 'hide', *nxstk* 'hidden' (v. my 144.5). The extended devoicing in the latter, however, *nxsy-* < \**nyssy-* < \**nyzy-*, may equally have occurred in \**'zfsy-* < \**'zβsy-*.

388.8 **zrny-krk'wk**: not literally *zar-andūd* but *zargarī* (*kard*), as at 343.6. Evidently 'goldsmith' is both \**zrny-grk* < \**zaranya-* and *zn-grk*, as at 222.1, < \**zarnu-karaka*; cf. Pahl. *zlykl* (*Dk.M* 208, 17): NP *zar(r)gar*.

389.1 **θ:fryk**: 'desirous', read *θ-βryk*, or better *θ-βrñg*, v. my 131.4.

390.3 **brywfyncn**: 'frayed, fragmented' of the head of a *miswāk*, has *-ywβ-* 463.1, 481.3, where B.'s *-nycn* is unlikely.

390.8 **hct-pcy'k**: *āmāsīda-rōy*, read *pct-*, after 339.7 *pct-'wδr* lit. 'swollen-bellied' (but 150.8 *'wδr pcc*, fem. of \**pctk*). The verb is *pcy-*, 476.3 *p'cyd*, indicating a stem ending in *-š-* (like *špy-*, *šptk*, v. H, *Hb.*, p. 111, n. 5); < \**apī-tušya-* 'be empty'?

391.3 **'y 'xw'sy'de 'stwr**: 'the animals set free', so translating *sarh*, as at 302.5, not *sarāh*.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Sūtra of the causes and effects of actions' in Sogdian, London, 1970.



š'by[. . P]d'n : 'combed them (= hair)' is \*š'bnzd'n (my 183.6).

391.4 'y 'llh':s . . . šm'h'c : 'may God command'. This colon is quite misplaced, -'s being an optative particle, occurring quite often in the *Qumya*; v. H, *Dict.*, suppl., s.v. -'s.

391.6 hbyr : obvious mispointing of *hybr*. Similarly 397.1 *mnγwnddbyr* 'hid it from him', 402.8, 403.8 δ'žydbyr 'inflicted it on him', for -ybr, better -y<sup>br</sup>.

391.8 p'cx'wd'n : *šaddaxa r-ru'ūsa*. This verb translates *xadaša* 'scratched' at 92.6 and *šadaxa* at 306.1, which latter is unfortunately glossed both 'scratched' and 'smashed (his head)' in the Persian of Wetzstein's edition; Ar. *šdx* does not have the meaning 'scratch' and both Pers. and Xwar. glossators have evidently confused it with *xdš*. But in which sense? The only similar stem is the simplex \*x'w-, 103.3, 470.5 *mx'wd'h* 'gnawed (the bone), stripped it of flesh', which may point to *pcx'w-* being 'scratch'. However, the stem \*xšāwa- also gives Yidya *axšōw-*, Sangl. *šāw-*, Waxī *šuw-* 'chew, gnaw' (*IIFL*, II, 195b, 414a, 543a) and \*xšāwaya- the NP *xišāy-*, Yaγn. *xišōy-* 'bite' (this latter via \*xšwāy-, like *xōy-* 'thresh' < *xwāy-*); BSgd. 'γšy'k (my *SCE*) remains obscure. The alternative of connecting Xw. *pcx'w-* with Sgd. *x'w-* 'beat', *ptxw'y-* 'kill', etc. < *xwāhaya-*, is ruled out by Xw. *xw'h-* 'thresh' 180.1, 219.7.

392.3 jyd : for Ar. j'd. The dot above ' is that of the Ar. *d* above. B. seems not to have noticed that ('*ayn*) is written twice here and frequently throughout the MS with a small hook beneath it, specifically to distinguish it from γ, e.g. 393.1 'δr, 395.1 t'zyr, 396.4 'lm. The same is true of *h*, v. 391.5 šryh, 397.4 mh'b, 5 šrh, etc.

'wc'nkyk : *šāvādāna*, for 'wyc'nkyk, as at 167.3, 347.3.

392.7 mzβncyd'h : not 'verknüpfte, verfasste die Rede' but 'made it obscure, involved'; v. my 388.1.

393.1 mnd'myd'h : 'made it firm', as at 205.6. The NP gloss *narm kard binā-rā* means 'made smooth (the walls of) the house (with plaster)', certainly not 'weich'.

395.3 p'nc hy pepk h'βryd : *xāk zad dar rōy-aš*. Though admittedly smudged, *c'βr'd* in the sense 'inflicted' seems a more likely reading here than 'gave'; v. my 138.5, 347.8, 366.3.

395.6 'nd'k'n'wc mkd : 'kept them (his family) frugally, on short commons'. This is an odd mistake, giving the impression at first sight that an object suffix 3 pl. -n- has been infixated before the abstract ending (pl.) -'wc. Comparison with the Ar. synonym at 351.4, however, shows that the glossator has here conflated two words: 'ncyk'n'wk = *saxti, tangi* (v. my 86.2) and \*'nd'k'wk, abstract to 'nd'k = *tang* 249.1, 254.7, 268.6 f., 415.4. That such things can happen is neatly pointed by the Latin reproduced here as '*ergam familiam*'.

396.5 kl'n-šwmc p'rwzd : '*ašjazat*, the lady did not 'become old' but (with T, II, 423) *buzurg-surīn šud*, the same gloss as for '*ašjazat* at 257.7, or more literally 'large-tailed', like the sheep at 50.7.

396.8 **'y šbw'k pry'βyd**: *xudāy-i pāk*. One is spared analysing this name of God by reading the correct *sry'βyd*, as at 3.8, 168.5, 216.5, 232.7, 411.8, 424.1, 'lord'.

399.1 **t'j nh'zy'dyk**: would be a 'seated' rather than a 'bejewelled crown', cf. *mnh'zyd-* 91.2, 348.7, 352.6, and H, *Hb.*, 112. This, though oddly written, is more likely the same word as in **fy'zy'dc βz'ny** 401.6 'bridle ornamented with silver', p. p. of a putative verb \*βy'zy- with the routine etymology \**aby-ā-zaya-*, cf. Khot. *āysän-* 'decorate', base *zay-* (Bailey, *Prolexis*, 16).

400.2 **'ck'm-δf'γ**: 'manifold', rather than the 'twofold' of the NP glosses; 'ck'm 'much, many' 396.1, 407.3, etc., -δβ'γ as at 418.1. The same *f* for β in 400.3 *xž-fwδ'nc* 'sweet-smelling', as at 414.5.

400.7 **mr̄yndyd**: 'called him', clearly but wrongly pointed *mr̄yndnd*.

401.2 **pcm'r** 'reckoning' likewise clearly written *pčm'r*, as again at 419.3, albeit *sec. manu* (cf. the pointing of *pax'k* 401.5).

401.3 **ršt hy ws**: repeats 188.5, for *šadaqahu* = *rāst guft ō-rā*, not the *šaddaqahu* wanted here.

401.4 **p'žnd'h**: for *p'žyd'h* 'purified it (wine)', v. my 104.4. *mfswcyd'h* is a synonym (joined by *wb'* 'or'), cf. the p. p. *'fsyd* 'pure' (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'fswcy-*). The meaning 'mixed it' of the Arabic is not glossed.

401.4, 416.5 **č'bd'd**: 'clapped'. The 2 pl. imperative is pointed *č'pβ'-d* in the *Qunya* (XJ, 67: Frejman's quotation of Tājikī *čop* there is mistaken; Tāj. is *čapak zadan*, like NP *čape*).

401.8 **hd̄yθ čyn'dyc (yc)**: 'fabricated, lying stories'. The verb is pointed *čyt-* at 187.6, 440.4, 441.7. This is the p. p. \**čyt'd'k*, pl. -*'c*, the last letters repeated with partial pointing, for no clear reason.

402.1 **[m]y'nk**, 44.6 **my'nyk**: *kamar*. This misreading of *by'nk*, -*'k*, correct at 470.8, is treated in detail in Schwartz's review. To the related words for garments or girdles quoted there, < *-yāhana-*, we may perhaps add the *hapax leg. Man. MP* (')*by'ng* (Henning, *Sogdica*, 29, e (2b)), of unknown meaning. If it is the same word, the fragmentary Sgd. equivalent could be \**r[ny]c[q]*, or some other derivative of *r'n'* 'belt'.

**x'rz'wyd'h f.'nbs'k**: *xūb* (not 'xwub') *nibišt kitāb-rā*, read *β'rz'wyd'h*, as at 481.7 (v. my 145.2), i.e. 'adorned it in the writing', *f'-nps'k* (my 345.3).

402.5 **γwy'RM'wk**: *buzurgvārī*, the reading is confirmed by 169.3 f. *γwy'r'm* (unpointed) for *buzurgvār*, a derivative of the verb *γwy-* 'to praise', e.g. 398.7, 405.2. As the -*r-* is here actually pointed, a reading with \**-žm* 'worthless' is ruled out.

403.1 f. **šjl mnyst f:n'n**: a passive, 'sentence was recorded against (lit., reached) him', for the active original *saǰǰala 'alayhi*; cf. my 210.3.

404.1 **šbyw-hyn C'L h'βryd**: for 'greased their moustaches'. Read *h'l*, i.e. 'gave them a fat condition'; *šbyw* is *farbiḥ*, not *čarb-ālūd*, and the glossator appears to have used a Xw. idiom to replace that in Arabic, which means 'fed them well'. Note the positioning of the 3 pl. pron. suffix, between adjective and noun.

404.3 **b'sb'rydybyr**: 'entrusted it to him', read *b'sp'ryd-*, as (corrected *sec. manu*) at 472.7.

**θ:nk'c p'rwzd 'y b'dysh F** . . . : 'submitted to His command'. Despite the appearance of an extra 'tooth' this is simply the adj. *nk'c* 'submissive, humbled', as at 408.5; \**θ-nk'c* is an impossible form. The abstract *nk'cy'wk* 'humility' 457.7, 474.6, etc., suggests an original \**nikāti-*, with which the mysterious Pahl. (Psalter) *nk'hšny* 'shame, ignominy' may perhaps be remotely connected. Read also 'y *b'dysh δ(r)*, the normal gen.-dative.

Further under-pointings occur in 404.4 'sb 'horse' (413.7 'sp), 'sbn-b'fryc 'perfectly-formed' (cf. 406.8 (')*spn-byrd* 'fully-armed'), 404.6 *brw'z mfyd* 'pēs šud' (cf. 499.2 *prw'z, mβyd*), 406.6 *δfr* 'door' (401.7 *δβ<sup>yr</sup>*): in 404.4 *θβš kwrst'n* 'humped grave', 405.3 *w'nk* 'cry', the *k* is of course 'unpointed' *g*.

406.1 **p'rxsdybr 'y w'c**: misled by the vowelism *amru* (for *amra*) the Xw. glossator has translated *pōšīda šud*, like *ištabaha* at 443.5, instead of *šabbaha*. In *prxsy-* 'become difficult, obscure' (also at 299.7, 361.5) we appear to have a passive < \**xruθya-* to put beside the intrans. *prxwθ-* 'be disturbed' < \**xrauθa-* and caus. *prxwsy-* 'disturb, divert' < \**xrauθaya-* (H, *Hb.*, p. 113 with n. 6); if connected with Av. *xraod-*, the Xw. change to *-θ-* was very early.

408.6 **sy'k ēryc**: 'ample shadow', is actually pointed correctly *ērbc*, *v. my* 130.7.

**δrwk hy mkyd**: is 'er machte ihn krank', but misrepresents Ar. 'allala-hu, repeating rather *a'alla-hu*, as at 368.1.

**slym hy mkyd**: 'made it small', read *slm*, although the only other non-pause form appears to be *slym* 124.3 (unpointed).

408.7 **p'rcydh**: 'blamed him', pointed simultaneously *n'rcyd-*, *v. my* 107.5.

**kwnc**: *gūnāgūn*, i.e. pl. of the following *kwn'yk*, rather *gwn'yk*, a loan from NP *gūna*, different from Xw. *γwnc* 'hair', 395,8, etc.

409.1 **mfswnydh**: 'washed him', *v. H, Dict.*, s.v. 'γswny-.

410.6 'nbncdyd': 'intended it', misprint for *-yθ*; *v. my* 81.6.

410.8 **y' 'nkd 'xb myyd**: does not translate *hama rōz raft* but, as again at 434.4, *dar āxir-i šab raft*. 'nkd, better 'ngd, is 'complete', as Parth. 'ngd, Sgd. 'nγtyy. The whole adverbial phrase, repeated 411.1 with *y'* pointed, but *b'* at 434.4, is perhaps introduced by the preposition *p-*, i.e. 'at the completed night'.

411.3 **y' šw'c**: 'the voice', an error for *š'w'c* 76.8, 206.3, 325.6, 482.3, or a by-form?

411.8 **s'w hy b'δd**: 'dyed it black', read *p'δd*, as at 184.5, 388.7.

412.5 **hβrn hy h'βrd**: the glossator either understood NP *nwēd* as *muždagānī* (*dād ō-rā*), i.e. 'gave him (a reward for bringing) good news', or Ar. *nawwaša-hu* like *nawwala-hu* at 413.6, with (*h*)βdn 'gift'.

413.1 marg. **brd škšTc**: '\*striped material', has no *-T-* stroke, although *škšc* is probably fem. or pl. of an unattested \**škštk*, < \**fra-krštaka-*?

416.2 'fsnc **hybr r'zyd**: not quite *bipōšānīd murda-rā* but 'drew a sheet over him'; (')*fsnc* = *čādar* 29.4, 415.5, *r'zyd* = *kašīd* 353.7.

416.4 f. **mnγ'sydyθ y'ps**: 'repaid him the debt', read *y' psy*, since *psy*

(379.6, 430.7) is plainly fem.: cf. the indef. *f-psy* 491.3 'by credit' with the def. *f'psy* 419.4 'for the debt'.

416.5 **y'ny'sy'k**: here 'the repayment', read *y'ny'sy'k*, fem. like all verbal nouns in *-'k* (except only *'y'stw'k* 'promise' 128.2, 352.4, 357.1), e.g. with *y'*, 402.2 *'mx'k* 'movement', 406.5 *'wrw'k* 'belief', 294.2 *'wz'k* 'meeting', 507.5 *bndry'k* 'exception'; with abl. in *-'c*, 457.1 *\*'sks'k* 'being high', 458.1 *\*'scy'k* 'uniting', 384.6 *\*'sl'ly'k* 'incitement'.

**y'mncy'n hyd x'ryd**: repeats 383.2 'caused him to exceed the limit', and so exceeds the Ar. *'addā-hu*, which has no 'limit'. At 354.2, 480.5 'the limit' is *'y'mycy'n*, so *'mñcy'n* would have been preferable here.

**βy'dkyнк XRd**: for 'gave him breakfast'. The *\*xrd* seems to have been added *sec. manu*, making the phrase 'morning meal', as at 23.4, with no verb; if *xr'd* 'he ate' was intended, it is equally a mistranslation. The correct spelling of the adjective is *βy'dkyнк*, as at 434.4 and, with initial *f-*, 463.5, 480.5. Similarly the noun *βy'd'k* 'dawn' 391.4, 431.4, etc., with *f-* at 421.3, 448.7.

417.5 **γwydyw y' tn'h**: 'praised himself', can only be *γwydyd*, as at 381.5, 405.2, < *γwyd'hyd*, as at 305.1, 385.3, 392.8, 398.7, 434.6; cf. 463.7 *y' γryw d' γwyd*.

**y' βγwnc'h**: 'his appearance', *v. my* 178.5.

417.6 **mxw'syd'h**: 'set him free', as it should be, but in fact the second *alif* was omitted in the MS.

417.7 **brδ'β**: 'deception', read *prδ'β*, in view of the verb *\*prδ'βy-* 85.7, 203.5. Although the *p-* is unpointed, this can only be < *\*pari* + Av. *dābaya-*; cf. BSGd. *prδ''β'k* 'treacherous' (*Intox.*, 26).

**drwd mfrysd**: lit. 'sent praise', actually pointed *drwδ*. This can only be a loan-word from WIr. (with initial *d-*) and agrees with early NP spelling.

418.7 **fr'wy'k hyn h'βrn**: 'I got him to recite them (poetry)', lit. 'gave him them . . .'. It would be carrying coincidence too far to expect any other word in this (for *rawwaytu* = *rivāyat kardam*) than a derivative of Ar. *rvy*. Presumably ' . . . in recitation', *f-r'wy'k*, dissimilated from *\*r'wy'wk* 'narratorhood'. Formally *r'wy'k* could be verbal noun of *r'wy-* 'cause to flow', 415.5 *r'wyd'h*, but the caus. meaning is inappropriate here.

418.8 **k'ncY'r'n y s'rx[wδ . . .]**: 'they turned their heads'. The verb occurs only here. In agreement with the object suffix *-n* the plural of *s'rxwt/d* is to be expected, *\*s'rx[wcn]*, cf. *pr'cn* 'divorces' (*XJ*, 58, 68), pl. of 401.5 *pr'd*.

419.7 **prt'w/wc** [ . . ? ]: *γālib šud bar vay*. Possibly a hyphen has fallen out after *prt'w*, at the end of a line; this cannot be two words (which would mean \*'victorious place'), but is the pl. of *\*prt'w'wk* 'victoriousness'. The *\*hyθ* which follows it B. has put with the next phrase, in an impossible position since it must be enclitic. A similar gloss, leaving the verb unexpressed, is 419.4 *šr'b hyθ* [ . . ].

**'xsy ny'ST**: for 'an average, moderate thing', this is a peculiar misreading. The adjective is surely Ar. *mn'syb* in the sense 'proportionate'.

420.8 **'y nscy'k'wk** (-'n, gen.): like *nākašī*, this is 'meanness, worthlessness' rather than 'schimpfliche Tat'; *v. my* 298.1.

**spzγ'wc** [. . .] **mk[yd]**: *gardankašī kard ba-ō*. The obliterated letters can only be *hyθ*.

421.1 **f:b'rx**, 422.1 **fy b'rx**: 'for hire', read *p'rx*, *v. my* 129.5, 381.7.

421.8 **'y šwyck** [- . . . ?]: for *afsāna-gōyanda*, the second half of the compound is known from the pl. 174.3 *'šwyck-knyn<sup>vc</sup>*. Forming nouns *-yck* is not common (e.g. fem. 353.6 *b'my<sup>vc</sup>ck* 'loan', masc. 480.4 *γry<sup>vc</sup>ck* 'mountain'), but as a clear diminutive cf. 19.4 *n'wy<sup>vc</sup>ck* = NP *nāvak*, *nāvča*; (') *šwyck* 'story' is thus probably so formed from *'šyw* 'news, message' 71.6, 171.5, 393.3 < *srawah-* (H, 'Lg.', 435, corrected *Hb.*, p. 113 f., n. 9).

422.6 **hm-'rδn hybš** [. . .]: corresponds more closely to the gloss in T, II, 483 *ham-dēvār šud bā ō*. How *hm-'rδn* 'must belong with Kh. *hamālā*', meaning 'grouped' (Emmerick, *JRAS*, 1970, No. 1, 69) escapes me, as does the point of the attached fn. 6. 'The wall' is certainly *'y'rδn*, e.g. in the *Qunya* (*XJ*, 104, misunderstood by Frejman), conceivably *\*rδin* < *darana-*.

423.1 **hyδdYN'θ**: actually *hyδyB't* with *d* added above, but for 'read them to him' it can be no other than *hyδdyn'θ* < *hyδd'-hy-n'-θ*, as already H, 'Verb', p. 47, n. 2.

423.3 **y'n'k βγ'k hyθ mkyd**: the closest NP gloss, *bārīkī kard bā ō dar šumār*, is omitted: it shows that the other should read *tanukī* (not *tangī*; similarly *tanuk* for *tang* at 408.2). So probably read *y' n'<r>k βx'k* [*sic*] 'the fine, delicate division', though the masc. appearance of the adj. is puzzling. On *n'rk*, *v. my* 329.3; *βx'k* is verbal noun of *βx-* 'divide, distribute', 442.8 *β'x'r'h* (read so) 'they divided it'.

423.4 **'y pcpkk'wyk**: not *kālā* 'wares', or any of the many possible meanings of *al-'ard*, but 'opposition' again, a mistake explicable from the context; cf. 430.3, 491.8.

424.3 **y.'wrey'k**: 'bringing back (a divorced wife)', fem. like all such nouns in *-'k*, *v. my* 416.5, so *y'w°* < *y'w°*, cf. *my* 105.6, 153.3.

424.8 **'y bβγNk** [. . .]: the *-n-* (it could be no other letter of that shape) appears to be pointed here; from the NP and Turkish glosses (T, II, 489 *ādāb nasıbsızlıđı*) it is possible to reconstruct *'y bβγnk['wk 'y 'db'n*, or *y' 'dby* ?] meaning 'having no portion of *adab*', not 'die elende Lage der Bildung'. The underlying *\*βγnk* ≡ *baxt* (distinguish *βγnk* 'naked' 416.6, etc., < *\*bagna-*) is perhaps from *\*bigna-*, in OP *Bagābigna*, *Αριαβιγνης*; if so, this would support Bartholomae's derivation from *bag*, *\*bæg* (*AIW*, 922).

425.3 **fēwr'kc hyθ xndyd**: this stands to 426.3 **fēwr'c hyθ** [. . .] as (with VI forms of the same Ar. roots, *sbq* and *fđl*) 486.5 to 487.3, both *fēwr'c xnd'r* 'they contested (for) the precedence'. B. has omitted the first and best NP gloss *pēšī girift bā ō* (so T, II, 491; W, *ba ō*). See H, *Dict.*, s.vv. *'fēwr* et seqq.

425.4 **p'rwxsYDYθ**: 'embraced him', read *p'rwxsstyθ*, as 440.6 *p'rwxsst<y>b<sup>vr</sup>*; cf. also 452.4 *mzwxsst* = *dar pēčīd*; *-wxs-* incho. of *\*wag* (cf. Khot. *vāj-*, *SGS*, 122) ?

425.5 **brkc š'dy'c pr fyk**: 'may He bestow blessings on thee'. The verb, a *hapax*, must be from Av. *frādaya-*, and so be read *š'zy-*, as *'nb'zy-* < *\*nipādaya-*, *nh'zy-* < *\*nihādaya-* (H, *Hb.*, 112), *w'zy-* < *wādaya-* (my 158.7).

The writing as one word of 65.8 *\*pšβ'c* 'near thee', etc., shows that *prβ'k* here is intended to be the same. The 2 sg. suffix is not pointed *β* in *Mug.*, but cf. 35.3 f. *cβ'r* 'four', with the same development of *\*-θw-*, and in the *Qunya* the many examples of *-β(')* quoted by Bogoljubov, 'Lič.', 10.

425.8 **xWB'c**: *nēkōī*, for *xwb'wc*, as at 360.8; presumably a simple writing error.

426.1 **bcy'm**: 'message', of course *pcy'm*, as at 361.3.

427.3, 432.3, 495.3 **b'rxnyd**: 'he hired, rented', read *p'rxnyd*, as at 430.3, 449.3; *\*prxn-* < *\*pari-xrna-*, Skt. *pari-krī*, as *\*'xn-* 'buy' (v. my 90.1), *\*'sxn-* 'ransom' (my 146.6).

428.8 **p'cfsydyθ**: *payvast bā ō*, 446.2 **p'cfsdyc**: *payvasta šud badō*. Probably *pcβs(y)-* 'be joined', passive of *pcβncy-* 'join' 80.5, 131.7, (*-βycy-*) 489.5; cf. the related forms at my 388.1.

429.1 **b'βyycyk n'W prw'zd**: *sō-yi dast-i čap gīr yārān-i xwud-rā*. This is a difficult gloss, by no means a literal translation of the Persian. Were *prw'z-* a verbal form the imperative, with adverbial *-d*, would end in *'d*, like 68.4 f. *xf'd = bigīr!* It must then be a noun, i.e. 'your *prw'z*', which at 183.3 = *pēš ravanda*. The imperative is then *n'd* (plainly so pointed), which occurs twice in the *Qunya*, glossed NP *dār!*: *XJ*, 71 *n'd y' šy pr'd = dār si talāq-rā*; (previously unpublished) *n'd y'dw δrm n'w pknd = dār in du dīram-rā nān*. So the sense appears to be literally 'hold your foregoer left-handed'. *prw'z* is always fem., so *b'βyycyk* is probably adverbial.

429.7 f. **f' mδ'n hyn CXYzn yt**: for Ar. *muǰāwalat* 'circling (in a fight)', rather than simply *hamla kardan*. This is *čxrn* (so pointed, albeit badly), lit. 'wheels', as confirmed by 478.3 *čxrn mk'd* for *taǰawwala*. The concord ('wheelings is') is remarkable.

429.8 **yyrc'n'c c:mδ'n hyn 'y myθ**: W's NP gloss has the wrong tense; better T, II, 502 (*xudāy*) *mēgardānad rōzgārkhā-rā miyān-i mardumān*. In *yyrc'-n'-c, -n'-* is the object suffix = *'y myθ* 'the days', *-c* apparently anticipates the unique *c-mδ'n hyn* (otherwise always *f' mδ'n*).

430.5 **r'zydyθ fy xt**: 'competed with him in calligraphy'. Although apparently pointed, the *'r-* is probably to be read *w-*, as at 490.8 *w'zy'r f-xt*.

430.7 **b'w'zdyc** and **b'w'rdyc**: both *ǰudā šud az vay*. Patently one is wrongly pointed. 425.5, 441.6 confirm *b'w'rdyc*.

431.1 **m'sdyθ**: 'came to him', repeating 146.1 (292.7, etc.), i.e. for *ātā-hu*, not the *ātā-hu* required here.

In 431.4 *c-βy'δk hybr m's'vd* 'came upon him at dawn' the *hybr* (unpointed) has three dots added above as if to alter it to *\*hyθ*. While this may have been felt to be more idiomatic Xw. than a literal translation of *bar ō*, it does not explain the same addition to 433.1 *'st'xy'd hybr (\*hyθ) mk'd = gustāxī kard bar ō*, which regularly has *-br* at 434.5, 454.5, 461.1, 484.5.

431.4 **f:cy'kc hyθ xndyd**, 492.1 **fcy'kc xnd'r**: 'he raced with him' and 'they raced (one another)'. Apart from the inconsistency, both are to be read *xcy'kc*. Cf., for the same NP verb *davānīdan*, *xw'cy-* 370.5, 8, 495.6. Since the 'regular' etymology of this would require the improbable base *\*hwat*, we may perhaps think of an irregular formation from *\*hu-tāčaya-*, via *\*hwātčaya-*, and the putative intrans. *\*xcy-* < *\*hwātčya-* < *\*hu-tačya-*.

431.6 **'y . . . θfy'ny**: 'his (sincere) friend', read *θfy'n* only, as at 428.2. *θfy'ny-* only appears in the oblique or derivatives.

431.7 **bync'hyd**: 'removes it', read *bnyc-*, as pointed; *v. my* 108.8.

431.8 **p'k n:δ'ry'm**: *bāk na-dāram*. The pointing *p-* is highly unlikely to be correct in such an obvious loan-word.

432.1 **'yl'n hybr βryd**: read *'ym'n*, giving the sense 'reassured him', apparently, rather than 'protected him'.

433.1 **b'cxst[y]θ**: 'took refuge with him', read *p'θxst-*, as at 477.3, *p'θxstyθ* at 429.4, 436.6. *pθxs-* is to be equated with Khot. *pathīs-* 'refrain' < *-θang-* (SGS, 68).

433.2 **f:brdk**: *dar parda*, cf. *prdk* 436.2 and, against any possibility of voicing of the *p-*, 491.3 *f-psy* 'on credit', 513.5 *f-p'δ* 'on (his) foot'.

433.3 **'y b'ryx**: for *muzd*, *a'ŕ* (as in T, II, 509, not *čašm dāštan* thereof), read *p'r'x*, *v. my* 129.5.

433.4 **š'r'mδk mkyd**: *rang kard*, but one would expect an object, as in T, II, 510 *mōy-aš-rā*. It should have preceded this form (since it has no *hy* or *n'* suffix) and probably did, but only a few detached dots appear in the facsimile and they do not seem to fit *\*'y γwncyh* (cf. 413.3).

433.7 **'y . . . 'šc**: read simply *x'šc*, pl. of *y' x's'k* 174.1, i.e. 'lines'. Ar. *asāfīr* is ambiguous and can be translated *satr-hā*, as T, II, 511, and *afsāna-hā*, as in W.

434.6 **'y xj**, but **xc** 49.5, 50.7: 'ram(s)', surely read *xč* and NP *qōčān*, all from Turkish.

437.1 **'y pcnydyk**: read *pcñd<sup>y</sup>k*, pointed *n* and *y* simultaneously. For *muntazim*, *rišta*, this is plainly p. p. of *pcnw-* 'to thread', *nazzama*, e.g. 405.1 *p'cnwd'n* of pearls on a thread, also 190.4 *p'cnwdydw* of thread in a needle. The inchoative is *pcnws-*, 454.5 *p'cnwsyd'w*. The base is clearly *pati-nau-*, p. p. *-nuta-*; cf. Khot. *puṇva-* 'insert' < *-nau-d-* (Bailey, *Prolexis*, 318, s.v. *vanuta*).

437.5 **'dr hy h'βrd 'wd 'lm**: repeats 352.8, i.e. *aqbasa-hu*, instead of *iqtabasa* wanted here.

438.4, 6, 468.2 **mnfrd'h**: 'swallowed it', *v. my* 113.1.

Enough remains of the *Muq.* chapter on 'Verbs' to call for a further examination, to follow.

## INDEX

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

- (<sup>1</sup>)bz'w'r 382.7  
 'brk 349.6  
 'bwy'k 368.3  
 (<sup>1</sup>)bycyk 376.8  
 'byy'k 376.8  
 'byw- 347.6, 349.1  
 'bzp- 370.2  
 'bzpy- 370.2  
 (<sup>1</sup>)bžk 376.6  
 (<sup>1</sup>)bžnk 384.7  
 'ck'm, -δβ'γ 400.2  
 'dr 437.5  
 'δw-δβ'γ 356.4  
 \*'fck 347.1  
 'fsyd 401.4  
 (<sup>1</sup>)fšnc 416.2  
 'fšwcy- 401.4  
 'ft'wy- 347.2  
 'ftw- 347.2  
 'ftw'cyk 380.4  
 'gw'rnk 375.4  
 'gd 380.5  
 'γswny- 409.1  
 'jy'r 384.2  
 'k 416.5  
 \*'kfc 355.8  
 'kt 360.7  
 'm' 378.3  
 'mn 363.4  
 'mncy'n 416.5  
 'mz'k 416.5  
 'nbnc 347.5  
 \*'ncn- 382.5  
 'ncyk'n'wk 395.6  
 'nč- 375.5  
 'nčcy'k 375.5  
 'nd'k, -(<sup>1</sup>n)'wk 395.6  
 'nd'my- 393.1  
 \*'ndryc 346.1  
 'ngby 348.4  
 'ngd 410.8  
 'ngyθk 360.1  
 'rcy'dk 386.4  
 'rynd- 400.7  
<sup>1</sup>s- 366.7  
<sup>2</sup>s- 431.1  
 's 391.4  
 's'k 348.6  
 'sk'β'rc 356.4  
 'sk's- 369.5  
 'skfy- 351.1, 376.8  
 'sknb- 376.8  
 \*'sksk'k 416.5  
 'sp- 365.1  
 (<sup>1</sup>)spn-bfryc, -byrd 404.3  
 (<sup>1</sup>)spnk 368.3  
 'st'xy'd 431.4  
 'stw'k 416.5  
 'stwr 367.8, 391.3  
 'šcy'k 381.8  
 'šcy- 359.6  
 \*'šcy'k 416.5  
 'šksy- 388.1  
 'škwnd- 388.1  
 \*'šly'k 416.5  
 'šw 421.1  
 (<sup>1</sup>)šwyck, -knyn'k 421.1  
 'šxš- 359.6  
 'wrcy- 385.6  
 'wrcy'k 424.3  
 'wrw'k 416.5  
 'wyc'nkyk 392.3  
 'wz'k 416.5  
 'wzβ'hy- 361.4  
 'wzβh- 361.4  
 \*'xw- 391.8  
 (<sup>1</sup>)xb 387.8  
 'xw's- 361.4  
 'xw'sy'dk, -c 391.3  
 'y 376.6  
 'yl' 384.1  
 'ym'n 432.1  
 'zβncy- 388.1, 392.7  
 \*'zβ/fsy- 388.1  
 \*'zwxš- 425.4  
 b'βyycyk 429.1  
 b'dr 348.3  
 b'δys 404.3  
 b'k 431.8  
 b'm' 378.3  
 b'myc'k 421.1  
 \*bβynk'wk 424.8  
 bck 379.2  
 bd'by- 362.6  
 bfnynk 354.8  
 bhzw 381.1  
 bn'sy- 367.8  
 \*bn'sy'd'k 367.8  
 bndry'k 416.5  
 bntk 367.8  
 bny- 431.7  
 brγwβyncn 390.3  
 \*bsδβ- 367.6  
 \*bsδβy- 367.6  
 bsp'ry- 404.3  
 bu'r- 355.8, 430.7  
 by'nk 402.1  
 byn- 384.7  
 bzβ'k 352.7  
 βc'wn'wk 356.4  
 βynk 424.8  
 -β'k 425.5  
 βncy- 388.1  
 βñdk 367.2  
 βrk 369.5  
 βrz'wy- 402.1  
 βst'k 348.4  
 βsy- 388.1  
 βwm 354.8  
 βx-, βx'k 423.3  
 βy'δ'k 416.5, 431.1  
 βy'δkynk 416.5  
 \*βy'zy'd'k 399.1  
 βyr- 375.4  
 βywcy(n) 379.3  
 c'k 358.5  
 cβ'r 425.5  
 cβr- 347.8, 366.3, 395.3  
 ck'm-βrk 349.6  
 c-mδ'n 429.8  
 \*cn'r 384.2  
 cw'zy- 361.2, 384.3  
 č'k nyθ- 383.1  
 č'k- 373.5  
 č'p- 401.4  
 črbk, -c 408.6  
 č(w)'k- 373.5  
 čxr(n) 429.7  
 čyt- 401.8  
 \*čyt'd'k 401.8  
 d' 'k- 351.7  
 drwδ 417.7  
 dry- 362.1  
 dw'y 384.1  
 δ'wny'd 362.2  
 -δβ'γ 400.2  
 δβ'w 355.6, 404.3  
 δrd-kc, δrkdc 379.2  
 δrwk 408.6  
 δžy- 391.6  
 f'ndryc 346.1  
 fčwr'(k)c 425.3  
 ftwk 380.2  
 fyny'h 349.4  
 fynywny 357.7  
 gwn'k, -c 408.7  
 gwrst'n 404.3  
 γδkn(y) 352.2  
 γrk 369.5



- γrɣcʷk* 421.1  
*γwnc* 408.7  
*γwy-* 402.5, 417.5  
*γwyʳʷm, -ʷk* 402.5  
*γyr-* 429.8  
*hβʳyʳk* 356.4  
*hβc* 355.8  
*hβdn* 364.8, 412.5  
*h: mkt* 356.1  
*hncʷwy-* 368.3  
*hncy-* 368.3  
*hrʳzy-* 387.6  
*hyd-* 423.1  
*ʃft* 360.3  
*kcy-* 381.8  
*klʳn-δwmc* 396.5  
*\*kncy-* 418.8  
*kwzy-* 350.7  
*mδʳn* 429.8  
*mnʳsb* 419.7  
*mrc* 361.8  
*myθ* 429.8  
*nʳ* 364.8  
*nʳd* 429.1  
*nʳrk* 423.3  
*nʳwycʷk* 421.1  
*\*nβʳy-* 356.4  
*\*nβncy-* 384.1  
*nγʳsy-* 382.2, 416.4  
*nγʳsyʳk* 416.4  
*nγd* 351.2  
*nγr-* 438.4  
*nγs-* 403.1  
*nγwnd-* 388.1  
*nhʳzy-* 399.1  
*nkʳc, -yʳwk* 404.3  
*nmsʳrs-, nmsʳry-* 352.7  
*npc* 345.3  
*nps-* 345.3  
*npsʳk* 402.1  
*nrk* 381.8  
*nscyʳkʷk* 420.8  
*\*nswʳy-* 352.7  
*nxsʳk* 388.1  
*nxsy-* 388.1  
*p-* 386.4, 410.8  
*\*pʳδ-* 411.8  
*pʳnc* 395.3  
*pʳʳx* 381.7, 421.1, 433.3  
*pc* 346.2  
*pcβncy-* 428.8  
*pcβs(y)-* 428.8  
*pcβsc, pcβstk* 356.4  
*pcyʳm* 426.1  
*pcmʳ* 400.2  
*pcndʷk* 437.1  
*pcnʷk* 377.8  
*pcnw-, pcnws-* 437.1  
*pcpkʳʷk* 423.4  
*pcrʳwy-* 368.3  
*pcrβ-* 352.8  
*pcry-* 368.3  
*pctʳwdr, -pcyʳk* 390.8  
*pcxʳw-* 391.8  
*pcxr-* 375.7  
*pcxwʳy-* 375.7  
*pcy-* 390.8  
*\*pcyʳcy-* 380.8  
*pcyʳk* 362.1  
*pknd, -ʳγd* 380.5  
*pr* 381.8, 425.5  
*prʳcn, prʳd* 418.8  
*prcʳs-, prcʳsy-* 368.2  
*prdk* 433.2  
*prδʳβ* 417.7  
*\*prδʳβy-* 417.7  
*prknb* 366.3  
*\*prtʳwʳwk* 419.7  
*prwʳz* 404.3, 429.1  
*prwʳzy-* 363.1  
*prwʳz-yhnk, -ʳwk* 363.1  
*\*prwxs-* 425.4  
*\*prxn-* 427.3  
*prxsy-* 406.1  
*prxwsy-* 406.1  
*prxwθ-* 406.1  
*psncyʳk* 347.2  
*psy* 416.4  
*\*pšc-* 359.6  
*pšxs-* 359.6  
*pθk(n)* 364.2, 384.3  
*pθxs-* 433.1  
*px-* 384.8  
*pxs-* 364.8  
*pyrβʷk* 379.5  
*pžy-* 401.4  
*rʳwy-* 418.7  
*\*rʳwyʳ(w)k* 418.7  
*rʳzy-* 416.2  
*ršt* 401.3  
*rxyz-* 368.2  
*sʳrxwd/t* 418.8  
*skβcyk* 376.8  
*slʷm* 408.6  
*spzyʳw* 420.8  
*sryʳβyd* 396.8  
*strʳk* 379.2  
*syʳk* 408.6  
*šʳwʳc* 411.3  
*šzy-* 425.5  
*šbnx-* 391.3  
*šbwʳk* 396.8  
*šbyw* 404.1  
*škstʳk* 388.1  
*škšc* 413.1  
*šmnʳk, šmny-* 367.5  
*šntʳk* 367.8  
*šrʳmδk* 433.4  
*šwž-* 381.8  
*tnBʷk* 348.6  
*tncy-, -ʳk, -ʳwnd* 361.6  
*\*tncyk* 361.6  
*trw-, trwynʳk* 377.7  
*θβrñg* 389.1  
*θβš* 404.3  
*θfyʳn* 431.6  
*wʳng* 404.3  
*wʳzy-* 430.5  
*wbʳ* 401.4  
*wdnc* 347.2  
*wfʳy* 384.1  
*wnkʳr* 344.3  
*wšny-* 386.1  
*wxʳk* 351.2  
*wyʳγtk* 345.8  
*wznnyk* 350.7  
*xʳšʳk, -c* 433.7  
*xyʳke* 431.4  
*xč* 434.6  
*xf-* 429.1  
*xrd* 416.5  
*xwʳcy-* 431.4  
*xwʳh-* 391.8  
*xwbʳ(w)c* 425.8  
*xž-Bwδʳnc* 400.2  
*ywzy-* 350.7  
*yžny-* 374.1  
*zβʳk* 352.7  
*znʳy* 384.1  
*zngrk* 388.8  
*zrny-grkʷk* 388.8