

THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—IV

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This fourth article¹ brings us to the end of a preliminary survey of the main chapter (six-sevenths by length of what survives) of *Das chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der 'Muqaddimat al-adab' von Zamaxšarī*, as it is presented in the edition of Johannes Benzing. Notice is no longer taken of the underpointed spellings of words which have been met frequently before, of the type *b'rwzd* for *p-*, *ǰrm* for *č-*, etc., and in the first instance only the more debatable transliterations of the Xw. glosses are discussed. We take up the tale at *Muq.*, 439, Benzing's p. 316.

439.4 **Msxs'r**: 'they were reconciled, intimate', with *m-* quite certain, < **saxsa-*, inchoative to *ms'cyd-* 'prepared' < *ham-sāčaya-*, though closer in meaning to *mws'cyd-yθ* 426.7, 428.6 'made peace with him'. Cf. 424.4 '*sžsk'wc* 'consideration', and XSgd. '*sžs-* (Schwartz) = BSgd. '*ns'γs-* 'be arranged, reconciled' (*TSP*, 3, 214; *Vim.*, 141 和 安 ~ *saṃdhisāmagrī*).

439.6 '**y-prs'kc'n**: read '*y'prs*, as at 473.6, translating (T, II, 524) *ō āmad-u-šud mēkunad*. Only '*y-*, the stem 'come', is recognizable.

439.8 **mpxTYdyd'y ywyr**: read *mpxytd-*, lit. *biburīd biyābān-rā*, as at 446.4, with an unexplained intrusive *-d-*; cf. 213.5 *mpxyt'hyd*.

440.4 **mβzptd**, 512.8 **mβzyd**: read *mβzpt'd* and *mβzpd* 'flashed', *v.* my 120.8.

440.6 marg. [**b'y'rynk šr'b hy h'βrd**: a mistranslation of *iytabaqa* as *yabaqahu*, q.v. 189.3.

b'dβxs'r, 468.4 **b'δfxs'r**, 473.3 **b'δfxst**, 504.6 **p'δfxst**: all for *b'δβxs-* 'spread, scattered', as at 457.1, 514.8, 515.2, incho. to *bδβ'zy-* 'spread, unfold' 180.5, 396.2, etc.; cf. BSgd. *wyδβγs-* 'spread' (*Vim.*, 82), < **dwaxsa-*, **dwāčaya-*, and Xw. *-δβ'γ* 'fold' 329.7, 357.7, my 400.2, etc., Sgd. *wyδβ'γ* 'explanation' < **dwāga*.

440.7 **yxīrd d'ryd**: mispointing of *δ'ryd*, as at 446.5, 449.4. The meaning is 'had doubt, was at a loss' (rather than 'blieb stecken'), *v.* my 134.2, 208.4.

440.8 **wzny'..k'w'r'dyk**: lit. 'mixed relationship', apparently **wzny'(k)'wk*, abstract to *wznyk* 350.7, 422.2.

441.5 [**d'r m'βr'zd**: 'the fire blazed', read **y'dr*, as *m° y'dvr* at 445.8, 449.8, 462.6, etc. Being in the wrong position, however, the word was probably a later addition; cf. its absence at 442.7, 473.4.

b'NYst: 'was busy, occupied', read *b'yfst*, from **byfs-*, perhaps < **api-afsa-*, √*ap*, in the sense 'have something attain, happen to one', cf. XSgd. *ptyfs-* '*happen' to MSgd. *pty'p-* 'reach'.²

¹ The previous parts appear in *BSOAS*, xxxiii, 3, 1970, 540–59, xxxiv, 1, 1971, 74–90, and 2, 1971, 314–30.

² M. Schwartz, *Studies in the texts of the Sogdian Christians*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1967, 51, 152, with note there from Gershevitch.

441.7 **mcrowβyd**: 'bathed', apparently *mærwβyd*, < **xraub*? It is perhaps related to *xrb-*, my 220.4.

442.2 **'y pknd w'xrd**: *nān-x'uriš kard ba sirka*, would imply a trans. verb **wxr-* 'to dunk', or the like. But we already have both **'ngwzy-* 'to dunk' (*mknkwzyd'w* 439.4), < **ham-gaudaya-*, and *wy'ry-* 'to submerge' 401.6, caus. of *wryy-* 'to subside' (my 120.7) and 'be submerged, sink' 267.4, 288.2, < **awa-gar-*, cf. BSgd. *wy'yr-* 'to steep, soak' (*Dhu.*, 39), Pahl. *'wg'l = ōyār* 'ebb'. This is simply *w' xrd* 'he ate (the bread) therein'; it is not a pause form *xr'yd*, as at 440.5, perhaps because there was no room for the intended **fy čfcy* 'in the vinegar', cf. 25.7. See also my 454.2.

442.8 **f'x'r'h**: 'divided it', for *β'x-*, *v.* my 213.3. The verb is nowhere fully pointed in *Muq.*, except in *βx'k*, my 423.3.

443.8 **ms'myd'h**: 'was proud of it', read *mSP'myd'h*. The verb is known from the *Qunya*: *xrcy n'd 'sp'my* (*XJ*, 57, and Togan, *Islamica*, III, 1927, 198.7) is glossed *x'urda angār* 'consider (them) "eaten" (viz. triple divorce)' and the reply *mSP'myn'd* (or *mSP'myn' n'd* ?), omitted by Frejman, *angāštam*. *'sp'my-* must then be 'to esteem' from 'consider, think (highly of)'

444.4 **p'rškm'd'h**: 'snatched it', otherwise always *p'r'škm'd-*, *v.* my 160.3, for which this is presumably an error.

449.1 **mpxyt fy.nd'zkh**: better simply *fyd'zk'h*, as written, /fid-/ from /fi-ndāzikahi/, the whole meaning lit. 'he cut to his measure'; for 'imitated him', T, II, 547 *kār kard bar miθāl-i ō*, the glossator seems to have understood 'cut (out shoe patterns) . . .'

449.6 **m'styc 'y hqh**: 'took (not 'forderte') his due from him'; T, II, 548, has *bisitad az vay haqq-i ō-rā*.

449.7 **δwsd'h y' š**: comparison with 449.4 *δwsd'h* is enough to show that this is 'milked the camel', not 'sat on it'. The glossator has made a mistake.

450.2 **y' zrk**: *ar-ruywa = spuma lactis* is not 'Sahne' but 'froth'. At 26.1 **RRyk**, i.e. *zr'vk*, translates *duwāya = pellicula* 'skin on milk', but since both are glossed *sar-š'ir* the glossator may have intended 'cream' in both cases.

450.3, 502.1 **b'rsyd-**: 'he hid', read *p'rsyd* as at 493.1. The p. p. *prdk*³ appears in two sentences in the *Qunya* (distorted by Frejman, *XJ*, 111): *k' cy xsn(y)m prdk cmk xr'j 'kyx fyny cy nfqt* 'if, hidden from me, you spend (anything) from my things on other than (your allotted) maintenance', with the gloss *prdk cmk 'y bx'h'wcyw* 'hidden from me, that is without my permission', cf. *xw'h'wc* 275.3, 499.4. In view of the stem ending *-sy-*, a corresponding trans. in *-y-* must be sought (cf. *pxsy-*, my 452.8, and further my 454.8). It is probably to be found in *p'ry-* 'to restrain', *v.* my 468.2, giving *p'rsy-* (not **prsy-*) for the intrans. stem.

450.4 **hβrn hy h'βrd**: (read *hβdn*) is 'gave him a gift', not 'sought one from him', another mistake of the glossator.

³ Distinguish *pr'vk* 'curtain' 173.7, my 433.2, probably via NP *parda*, but ultimately from the same root; cf. further Khot. *pādaka*, etc. (Bailey, *Acta Or.*, xxx, 1966, 30 f.).

450.5 **mnprst**: *basanda kard* (not *p-*), appears to have been pointed *mnbrst*, perhaps later changed to *-p-*; *v. H, Dict.*, suppl., s.v. *nbrs-*.

452.1 **prftk'wk mkd pr xsyn**: repeats 93.1 (and cf. 486.7), where it translates correctly 'coveted the thing'. Here it is another mistake of the glossator, for 'gained possession of'.

452.2 **'y pz**: 'the crooked', read *pž*, as at 139.1, 288.6, etc.

452.4 **fryy mkd**: 'made a roast', read *βryy*; *v. H, Dict.*, s.v. 'βryy.

y' 'wrc: read 'wzc 'going out', *v. my* 157.7.

452.6 **'y jr'γyk**: 'the lamp', of course *čr'γ^uk*, as at 494.3.

452.8 **b'xsyd y' rsyn**: 'the rope was cut', read *p'xsyd*. Just as *pxy-* 'to cut' has both imperfects *mpxyt* and *p'xyt* (*v. my* 309.1), so the passive *pxs(y)-* has a variety of forms, *mpxsyd* 454.7, 456.1, *mpxs^ud* (?) 458.3, 462.5, *mpxsd* 455.6, *mpxst* 455.4, this *p'xsyd*, and *p'xsd* 468.6. The pres. part. 'cutting' is **paw'hnk*, pl. *-n^uc* 111.2, but 'sharp' *pxyk* 41.2, 171.2. Altogether these forms show that (')*pxy-/paw'h-* is < **apa-xwāhaya-*, like Sgd. *paw'y-* (H, 'Lg.', 432), the p. p. (')*paxst* (*v. my* 114.2) = Sgd. *pawst* < **-xwasta-*, and (')*paxs-* probably < **xwas-sa-*, an inchoative later taking a (passive ?) *-y-* in *paxy-*.

453.6 **srd [mwznyd durchgestrichen] s'syd**: *srd* goes with the deleted verb, as at 466.8, meaning 'sighed coldly', a near miss for *inbahara* 'panted, gasped'. *s'sd* also at 248.4, *s's'r* 303.6.

b'sδβyd: rather than merely 'descended', at its other occurrences this means 'slipped', of foot 123.6 or tongue 465.8, and similarly the caus. 358.6, *v. my* 367.6.

453.8 **mβžry'r**: 'overflowed', an altered, over-pointed writing of *mβzrw'r* 466.1, 5, etc., as 454.2 **mβžrw'r** should also be read; H, *Dict.*, s.v. 'βzrw-.

454.2 **'kwx w'xrd fy:cwb**: 'became submerged in the water'. At 220.3 B. read **'kwč**, following 457.2. The corresponding caus. verb, however, is *'kwcy-*, 359.4 *m'kwcydyw fy cwb*, with the *-c-* one would expect from comparison with Sgd. *'kwc-*, *'qwyt* 'suspend' (Schwartz, review, *ZDMG*, cxx, 2, in press, n. 7), Parth. *'gwxt* (Henning, *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 79). The *-w* there also shows that we must read *w' xrd* (*f-*) here and 457.2, lit. 'ate submersion therein, (in . . .)', as NP *γūta x'urdan*. See also *my* 442.2.

454.4 **m'rskrpd**: a rather punctilious reproduction of the facsimile, for *m'rskwnd* 'men' (H, *Hb.*, p. 120, n. 1).

454.7 **y.'bkynnk**: for **'bgyn^uk* 'glass', an assimilated loan from NP *ābgīna* (H, *Dict.*).

b'wrd'd: correctly pointed *b'wzd'd*, as it also appears three lines later 455.2; *bwz-* 'disperse' < **apa-waz-*, also at 136.4, 457.6 (so, not **m'wzd'd**), 458.3, 468.6.

454.8 **nwrynk yt 'y n'n'm 'y n'n'm-s'r**: 'so-and-so is devoted (lit., inclining) to so-and-so', read for the smudge (*fy*) *n'n'm s'r* = *ba fulān*, as at 456.5, etc.

455.3 **w'δrsyd**: 'was strangled'. The unpointed *-R-* in this *hapax* is tantalizing. 'To strangle' is *wδžy-*, 187.7, 401.1 *w'δžyd'h*, < **awa-darzaya-*

(H, 'Lg.', 426): is this then a secondary passive **wδžsy-*, like *bšsy-* 'be opened' (my 308.8) to *bšy-* 'open', or a genuine **wδrš-* < **darz-sa-* with added *-y-* (as *pšsy-*, my 452.8)? The general palatalizing effect of *-r-* on a following sibilant tells against the latter possibility, as does the divergence from the trans. form. Another example of a passive in *-Ssy-* from a stem in *-Sy-* is 'x'ssy- in 455.7 *m'x'ssy'r* 'the hair hung down, loose', to 'x(w)'s(y)- 'release, let down', *m'x'sd* 128.8, 208.7, *m'x's'd* 182.8, *m'x'syd* 384.5, *m'xw'sd* 176.4, 302.4, *m'xw'syd* 186.8, 380.5, etc.

455.3, 5 **'pscyd**: *darīda šud*, fully pointed at 470.1, 7, I mention only because of an implausible etymology by Emmerick (*JRAS*, 1970, 1, p. 69). 'pscy- is the passive of 'pst- 'tear', 89.5, 402.1, etc.; **apa-said-*, however, intrans. *-sidya-* in Pahl. 'psyh-, MMP 'bysyh- 'be destroyed', XSgd. *psyd-* 'fail', would have given a verb **bszy-*, with a corresponding trans. in all probability **bsnd-*, neither of which occurs.

455.4 **'y šwγ**: 'the stitch' (rather than 'seam'), here and 28.1, looks more like *šry*. If < **šarga-*, a connexion with NP *šīrāza*, Taj. *šeroza* 'embroidery, bookbinding tape' is probable, with the same development as *šēr*, MMP *šgr*, Parth. *šrg* 'lion'.

455.4, 456.7, 464.5 **f'syd**: for β'syd, as at 453.5. On βsy- 'be bound', v. my 388.1.

457.1 **'y b'ch**: 'the hawk', odd as it appears, is confirmed by 56.3 *b'(c)h*, with *-ch* added, and 56.4 'y *b'ch'n* 'of the hawk', 56.5 *b'ch'yk* 'small hawk', both with *-h-* changed to *-h-* sec. manu. The word is plainly from WIr., NP *bāz*, but Arm. *bazē*, etc., make both *-c-* and *-h-* more inexplicable.

457.4 **c.'γwc**: 'from the sheath', read 'γδc, abl. of 'γδ'k 41.6, v. my 209.4.

458.1 **m'zynd 'y s[ʃ]yk**: 'the bone broke' (*ustuxān* has dropped out of the gloss), with an inexplicable spelling of *m'zyd*, as at 454.1, 7, etc., v. my 112.2. The pointing may be of the same nature as in

458.3 **msynd'd**: 'came to an end', really *msñd'd*, with *-ñ-* simultaneously pointed *msnd-*, as 408.7, and *msyd-*, as 306.1.

The p. p. of this verb 'sn- occurs in a previously untapped minor source. The British Museum MS Add. 7429 of *Muq.* (dated 760/1359) is glossed in NP throughout and for a few pages in ETk., but the first page (fol. 1 v.) also bears a few Xw. glosses which may conveniently be quoted here.

(1) *bidān ki (bd'nk) zafāna si ast — bilgīl kim zāfanā üc turur — yw'ry'n ky zf'nk šy yī, zf'nc šy yī* 'know that languages (?) are three'.

(2) *mādī — gudašta — kāčmiš — 'sn'dk* 'past'.

(3) *mudāri' — hālī, aknūn — imdi — h'lyk, wyδ, wyδy* 'present, now'.

(4) *mašdar — kardan, guftan, x'urdan, guwārīdan, zadan, nivištan — qīlmaq, *sözlāmāk, yimāk, siymāk, urmak ('wrm'k!), bitimāk — 'kt, bβd, xwrd, éBR'k, δnby'k, nps'k* 'Infinitive: to do, speak, eat, digest, hit, write'.

(5) *bar īn qiyās bāyad dānistān — bu qiyās . . . bilmāk — fy n'n qy's n' yw'ry'k γwc* 'one should know them in this form'.

(6) 'k'k, bβr'k, xwr'k 'doing, speaking, eating'.

(7) *mustaqbil* — *āyanda* — *kālgān* — *'synk* 'future, coming'.

(8) *fi'l* — *kard*, *kār* — *qiliq*, *iš*, *šuyl* — *kth*, *'kth*, *w'c* 'act, business'.

(9) *qawl* — *guft*, *saxun* (!) — *söz*, *hadis* — *hyt* [for *hdyθ* ?] 'speech, word'.

The spelling in (7) *'synk* (< 's- 'come', unconnected with *'sn-* 'pass away'), in a text without pause forms, throws doubt on 362.1 (274.5) *'snyk*, but it is hard to decide between the two; the unpointed *xž-'sYNk*, my 238.7, is no help.

458.5 **mfrxst**: 'it roasted', for *mβræst* (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'βræx-*), begins a spate of under-pointings, including *xθrk-f'm* 459.3 'dust-coloured' (*-β'm* 459.4), *sbydk* 459.8, 460.8 'white' (my 248.7), *šmry* 460.5 'green' (*čmry* 459.2), *pcy'mfrk'wk* 461.3 'prophethood' (*-βrk* 6.6), *f'ryt* 461.4 'he found' (my 375.4), *mžfd-* 462.1 'absorbed' (*mžβd-* 469.8), *brx's* following *prx's* 462.3 'strife'.

461.3 **b'kynd** **'βywδyk**: 'he was filled with wrath', read *b'knyd*, from *bkny-*, as at 505.1, both times 'with strange omission of the prep.' (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'βywδk*), cf. 514.3 *c'βywδyk*.

462.1 **mšxšt**: for *parāganda šud* we already have 437.1 *šsd* and *b'δβxst*. *mšxšt* is 'was joined, united' 453.6, incho. of *'šcy-* (v. my 359.6) and it is this meaning the glossator has given to Ar. *taša'aba*; cf. 300.1 *s'cyd'h* 'repaired it' for *ša'aba* (NP *bišikast* and *farāham kard*).

462.7 **kwcydyc**: not 'avoided him', but 'inquired of him', as at 397.3, 467.3. The glossator seems to have understood *tanakkabahu wa . . .* '*anhu* as *tanaqqaba* '*anhu* (after *tanaqqabat*), cf. *kwcyd c-n'n* 389.8 for *naqqaba* '*anhu*.

y.ryw f:ryj k'cyd: for *y' rryw f-rn'j*, lit. 'threw himself into trouble', as reflexive of *f-rn'j hy k'cyd* 345.5, contains an odd spelling in an odd translation; *ta'annata* is normally translated like *a'nata*, not *'anita = fy rn'j hwβyd* 247.6.

463.3 **wxsj mkd**: 'coquetted', for *wæsc*, as correctly at 474.5, pl. of *wæsk* at 249.4. A connexion with the verb *wæx-* 'to hang loose' 472.2, 481.7 is not very flattering to Xw. womanhood.

463.4 **'jxw'rd mynd**: 'walked with wide steps' must also be for **'cæw'rd myyd* (or **'cæw'rd*, with H, *Dict.*, who translates 'pigeon-toed' on unspecified grounds; T, II, 580 has *gām farāx zad dar raftan-aš*).

θBB'n mkd: **θ-BB'n* 'mouldy' would be more convincing with *p'rwzd*. This appears to be *š'n*, perhaps simply a 'covering' < **θrāna-*, Skt. *trāna-* 'protection, helmet'.

463.5 **c'rbd**: '(the balance) tilted' (hardly 'ging nach unten'), v. my 130.7.

464.2 **cy pcx'sh**: 'from his clothes', read *pcx'syh*, like *pšy peryh* 479.5 'after his father'. Both *pcx's* 'clothing' 469.8 and *pc(r-)* 'father' are m. sg.; these ablatives in **/-i/* are, therefore, exceptions to the general abl.-loc. */-a/* (H, 'Verb', p. 46, n. 1); cf. *f-pcx's'h* 471.5 'in his clothes', *fy pcr'h* 148.8, 162.6 'in, to his father', and *cy xwmr'h* 443.6 'from his sleep', *cy z'dk'h* 450.5 'from his son', etc.

464.5 **βyndk'wk**: *bandagī*, is simply *βydk'wk*, for *βñdk-*, v. my 367.2.

464.8 **bdw fy nyk'n cye**: for 'accumulated wealth', is a mistranslation. *'y nyk'n y'w'ry'r* 486.2 is '(the people) knew one another', T, II, 656 *yakdāgar-rā šināxtand*, and this is lit. 'property (*bdw* f., here pl.) entered into one another',

i.e. 'commingled, compacted' (from the literal meaning of Ar. *lbd*). *cyc* is f. or pl. p. p. of *cy-*, cf. *cγd^vk* 45.4 (H, 'Lg.', 427).

465.2 **'rδwc myd fy 'lm f.'mγd**: 'went deep into science', hardly 'science of learning', so *f'mγd* a substitute for *fy 'lm*? If a f. noun < **muxtā-* (cf. *'γd*, *γt*, H, *Dict.*), does it have *ā-*, as *'mxs-* 'learn' 474.8, or not, as *mvcy-* 'teach' 404.5, i.e. do we read *f' myd* or /*fāmuyda*/ from **f' 'mγd*?

465.8 **b'sδβd 'y zβ'kh**: 'his tongue slipped', with T, II, 589 *bilayzīd*, rather than 'blieb hängen'; *v. my* 453.6.

466.2 **mrδfst**: 'was skinned', read *mrδβst*, as at 453.8. On *'rδβs-* and the trans. *'rδnb-*, *v. Schwartz*, in M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (ed.), *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, London, 1970, 385 f.

466.3 **ny'r . . . mscyd**: 'disguised himself from him', appears to be *ny(s)'r h[yb]š*. The meaning of *'scy-* 494.2, 499.5, 500.7, 504.2 'seem' is no help in defining **nys'r*.

468.1 **βγd cy βγcn h'βryd**: 'gave gifts *nā-x^vāsta*', not 'a gift from gifts'; read *βγwcy* 'additional', H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'βγwcy*, and *my* 477.8. *βγcn* is f. pl. of *βγd* 445.7, and so to be read 470.4, 502.4.

468.2 **pr-cB'D**: 'cross-legged' (not 'in die Runde'), pointed *prcb'd/δ*, must contain *p'δ* f. 'leg', leaving *prc-* to account for. This recalls *prd-* in a gloss in the *Qunya* (XJ, 88), *k-f' m' ny prd-k* 'that you cannot restrain me', with a p. p. to *p'ry'r* 492.7 'they restrained'. That the verb is *p'ry-* is confirmed by a secondary p. p. in another *Qunya* gloss: *k-f' m'r-δ'r 'y 'llh ny p'ry'd kyc* 'that God cannot restrain me'. We have already met the corresponding intr. *p'rsy-* 'be hidden', *my* 450.3. *prc-p'δ* could then be another inverted *bahuvrīhi* 'with restriction / concealment of the feet', *prc* < **parti-*, Av. *⁵par*, like *'wzc-nb'z* (*my* 258.7).

468.4 **ktk'ncyd**: makes an improbable verb. This is plainly *ktk'ncyk* = *kār*, as at 313.8. With *mk^vd*, here omitted, it there translates *šana'a*, with which the glossator has evidently taken *tašann'a* as synonymous.

468.8 **y'βzwk**: 'the spittle' (*xayū*, not *xīv*) is *βzwk* at 187.3, 4, showing that the preceding *'βzwk* has no more than a prosthetic '-. This is then probably *y' βzwk*, as indeed B. has at 260.7 *f' βzwk*, but certainty is impossible; cf. *y'kd'm* 485.5 'each', for **/ī əkdām/*, a curious use of the Ar. script.

byrsd f:slym: 'was satisfied with little', read *mb(n)rsd*, q.v. H, *Dict.*, suppl., s.v. *nbrs-*. The verbal noun is pointed *y'ybrs'k* (not **y' byrs'k**) 'the sufficiency', *ānci ba-vay basanda kunad*.

469.1 **y'rc-δ'r**: 'for the job'. *'rk* is fem., *f' 'rk* 461.1, and this gen. *'rc* confirms it, so again (*v. my* 216.1) *y' + 'rc* > *y'rc*.

469.3 **cy 'nbyθh**: 'from his companions', for *'nbθyh* or **'nbθnyh*? See *my* 464.2.

469.5 **mpxsd 'y wyyr**: is not 'he wandered in the desert' (cf. *p'rxwθd fy wyyr* 145.5) but 'the desert was crossed', pass. to *mpxytdyd*; *v. my* 439.8, and for the verb 452.8.

469.7 **mβyxd'h**: 'learnt it', read *mβyxyd-*, as at 496.1, 504.3; *v.* H, *Dict.*, *'βyxy-* < **aby-axšaya-*.

470.4 **qbl'w nyθyd**: 'sat in the sunshine', apparently *f-b'l'w nyθyd*.

470.8 **b'k'wyd**: 'clicked his tongue', read *b'k'wyd* as pointed.

. . . **ldk'wc hyθ mkyd**: read *(mb)'rk'wc*, for *tabarruk* in the sense 'benediction', i.e. 'blessed him, called benedictions on him'.

471.3 **kt.rm'ncyk**: 'obedience'. Comparison with *ktrm'ncyk* 429.7, etc., suggests that the dot here represents the extra 'tooth' which, regrettably, stands in the facsimile after *-t-*; *v.* my 180.4 and H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'ktrm'n*.

472.1 **msmyd'n 'y δscn**, in marg. **f:h'šykyk** [?, **f:x'škyk**]: read *msmd'n* 'wiped (his hands)', from *'sm-*, **ham-* form of *sm-* 'wipe out', 90.6, 230.8, 315.7, 417.2; cf. *δst-'sm'yk* 27.2 = *dastmāl*. For *mindīl* = *dastār* we find *fsnckyk* 26.8, 31.3, a diminutive of *fsnc* 29.4 'sheet', and it is **f-fsnckyk* that presumably lies behind the corrupt **fc'š(n)k(y)k* added in the margin.

472.4 **mwsnyd**: is certainly 'smiled', 422.6, 442.2, etc.; cf. perhaps *šny-* 'tremble' 513.1. NP *bigumārīd*, not queried at its other appearance 110.4, does not appear in dictionaries in this meaning (indeed, Steingass has distorted it to 'gnash the teeth in indignation'), but M. A. Adīb-Toussi, in his excellent *Glossaire des mots littéraires (Farhang-e loqāt-e adabi)*, Tabriz, 1345- /1967- , II, 732, has it from Baihaqī's 'History'.

472.5 **b'xswbyd'h**: 'exerted himself over it', is clearly pointed with initial *y-*, except at 272.4, which is doubly wrong; *v.* my note.

472.8 **γ'βyd** and **mpxsyd**: B. has mixed the pointing. *γ'βyd* 'took' is fully pointed, except *-d*, and the next word regrettably reads *mmBaxsyd*. Even a **/mambaxsid/* should be written **mmb-*, so this is presumably only an error for *mpaxs'd*, *v.* my 452.8.

473.3 **b'rc p'rwzd**: would mean 'became secure', e.g. 334.8, 336.8. For what appears as *y-*, read here *p'rc* 'broken in pieces', *v.* my 248.1.

473.4 [']**m'βr'zd**: the bold square brackets, otherwise used for letters to be supplied, here mean that the ' is superfluous.

474.5 **f' mδ'n w'c'yt**: in fact *w-c'yt*, as also 471.2, 476.3, against 343.8, 359.4, etc., *v.* my 132.1. The reason for the variation, if there is one, remains unclear.

474.6 **y' γryw b'rxwsyd**: 'diverted himself', read *p'rxwsyd*; *v.* my 406.1. **trxyk**: 'notched', for *θ-rxñk*, as at 374.4, 445.2.

475.1 **mfswnyd 'y nm'cy**: 'made his ablutions for the prayer', with *-δ'r* omitted (H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'γswny-*).

475.2 **f' twy**: 'on the stick', is remarkable. *'ašā* is *tyγ* at 43.8, 44.1, 234.5 *f' tyγγ*, while *twy* 4.4 is 'poll-tax' < **tauga-*, cf. Sgd., Parth. *twj-*, MMP *twz-* 'pay, atone'.

475.3 **brwys**: 'belt, baldrick' rather than 'Schärpe', is *prwys* at 409.2.

475.7 **qsmt hy mk'r f' mδ'n hyn**: translates exactly the gloss in T, II, 626 *baxš kardand ō-rā dar miyān-i ēšān*, not the distorted one quoted from W.

477.6 **s''n-k'r'wk**: 'facility', spelled with internal *alif* *mamdūda*, is

remarkable. The loss of initial *ā-* is possible (cf. NKd. *p-sānā(h)ī* ‘with ease’), but the *madda* is probably only a reminder of the NP *āsānkār* on which the word is based. For ‘easy’ Xw. has *xspk* 410.5, 414.2 (< **hu-sapuka-* ?), but more frequently *xspnk* 476.6, and so to be read at 503.2.

477.8 **p’c[xw’zd]**: ‘was fragrant’. The correct reconstruction is luckily based on 255.5; *v.* my 136.8. There is no definite significance in the fact that this verb nowhere has a pause spelling; *γ’z-* ‘run’, for example, appears in pause both as *γ’zd* 230.1 and *γ’z’d* 511.7.

βγ[w]c nm’c hyδ[yd]: *namāz-i* [so] *afzūnī kard*, probably contains the same form for ‘additional’ as 7.3 **βγwcy sbht** = *tā’at-i afzūnī* (for the *SBCB* ‘service’ H, *Dict.*, s.v. *βγwcy*, reads a possible **spxt*), so *βγ(w)c(y)*.

478.2 **tw’f mkyd**: an obvious mistake due to reading *taṭawwafa* again, as in the previous line, for *taṭawwaga*; cf. 413.2, (510.5) *trsk hybr* <*w’sd*> ‘put a collar on . . .’.

478.3 **γ’w hybr [w’syd] f:n’n**: for ‘bestowed benefits on him’ B.’s addition of the verb is not in itself sufficient. As H (*Dict.*, s.v. *γ’w*) remarks, this is a mixture of *γ’w hybr w’syd* 193.2, 211.8, 471.7, etc., and *γ’w w’syd f-n’n* 445.6, 490.5 ‘negligently leaving the choice to the reader’, scil. of how the indirect object is to be expressed. At 193.2 and 490.5 the phrase seems to be misapplied, the glossator having misunderstood *fadala* and *taṭāwala*, both of which have a pejorative sense, as *afdala* (361.7) and *taṭawwala* (here) respectively.

478.7 **fwδ mkyd**: for *βwδ*. Note that this is *bōy-i x’aš*, *baxūr*, also at 16.2, 465.2, 8, distinct from *βwδ’nc* 16.2, 23.6, plain ‘smell’, and 272.6, 324.1, 373.5 ‘stench’, my 116.2.

479.2 **b’w’rydyc**: ‘separated it from it’. The Xw. glossator, like B. (*aš-šay’a*), has taken *tamayyaza* as trans., against the NP *ḡudā šud čiz az čiz*; *v.* 148.2, 305.7, and the intrans. *b’w’rdyc*, my 430.7.

480.1 **kčk’t** [. . .]: has an *-R-* added below the *-t* and is to be read *kčk’rt*. It also gives the correct reading for *qabā* at 28.4, 5 **knck’RB**, viz. *knčk’rt*.

480.6 **y’wrcy’n**: ‘the gathering’ is shown to be fem. by 448.8 *y’ wrcy’(n ?)*, so the point is again superfluous. Since the underlying verb *wrcy-* ‘gather’ 447.2, 452.1, etc., is /ōr-/ or /ūrciy-/ < **wartaya-*, trans. to *wrd-* (and not /āwarciy-/ ‘make return’ 362.2, etc., < *ā-wartaya-*), this spelling *y’wr-* must represent /yāur-/ as well as /yāwar-/; *v.* my 424.3.

481.2 **y’ γryw mnγwyd**: ‘dressed himself’ must be for *mnγwñd*<*yd*>, as at 476.8.

481.3 **y’ b’rc**: *pāra-yi čōb* is surely *p’rc*, though we also have *y’ p’rk* ‘piece’ 47.5, 314.7, pl. *p’rc* 512.1, and *p’rc* ‘in pieces’, my 248.1.

481.5 **mβyxyn’h**: ‘I learnt it’, inexplicably, for the Ar. and NP 3rd singular; *v.* my 469.7.

484.2 **xšn x’zy’r**: where the NP glosses have *ḡang kardand*, T, II, 649 *šamsūr zanand*, the Xw. glossator has understood *taḡālādū* as ‘they fought with whips’, *v.* my 299.3, on account of *ḡaladahu* = *xšy hy ḡ’nbyd* 79.6.

hβrn h'βr'r: 'they gave gifts (*hβdn*)' is also a mistaken translation of *tarāfadū*, based on *rafadahu* = *hβdn hy h'βrd* 80.4.

484.3 **'ydk'wk mk'r**: 'they were present, made an appearance', yet again a translation based on the simplex *šahida* 252.8; a similar gloss for *tašāhadū* appears in T, II, 649 *bā yakdīgar hāzīr šudand*.

484.8 **'n'wy'r**: the missing initial letter of *b'n'wy'r* is just visible in the facsimile. *bn'wy-*, however, means 'give victory to', not simply 'help', *v. my* 177.8, 496.4.

486.6 **pry nywny b'rwxs'r**: 'they embraced', read *p'rwxs'r*; *v. my* 425.4.

487.2 **'y nywny mpš'r**: 'asked one another'. The verb is sadly indistinct, but as it differs from the only other form for 'ask', *'nbšd'h* 316.7, we must concur with this reading; **pš-* 'ask' < *prsa-*, *'nbš-* 'consult' < *ham-prsa*.

488.7 **nyš:k fy prxs myt d:n' xryd**: lit. 'this which was in the vessel he drank', as T, II, 665 has, *harēi dar inā' būd (az šarāb, hama) ō-rā bix'urd (šarāb-x'aranda)*.

490.4 **s'wž'r**: 'they jumped', mispointing for *š'wž'r*, as at 489.2; *v. my* 82.2.

491.7 **fr'd'wc mk'r**: 'brotherliness' requires initial β-, as *βr'd* 150.4 shows.

492.1 **fcy'kc xnd'r**: certainly read *xcy'kc*; *v. my* 431.4.

492.7 **B'ry'r**: 'they restrained', for *p'ry'r*, *v. my* 468.2.

493.2 **wf'y mk'r**: 'they kept faith' is a mistranslation of *tawāfau* 'they all came in', under the influence of the simplex *wafā* 154.8. See also *my* 384.1.

493.7 **'ywδ γ'βyd f:pcx's**: lit. 'took cover in clothes', for 'dressed warmly'; H, *Dict.*, s.v. *'ywδ*.

494.3 **kwnck m'd'fy hyc [...?]**: the first two words, exactly repeating 390.5, unwarrantedly add the meaning 'bit by bit' to *istaxraǰahu* = *bērūn kard ō-rā*, presumably under the influence of the next word *istadraǰa*. *kwnck*, 'small, short' or the like, occurs at 437.2; on *m'd'fy*, see H, *Dict.*, supplement.

'y čr'γk b'znyd: for *p'zn'd*, is simply 'lit the lamp', as at 346.4 *p'znd'h*. Emmerick (*JRAS*, 1970, 1, p. 69) points the similarity of Pth. *pdyn-* (*Waxi piǰing-*, however, is very doubtful; *v. Lorimer, Wakhi lg.*, s.v.) and could have added the closer *Šuyni*, etc., *piǰin-*, *piǰid*, pass. *piǰis-*. All these forms suggest an EIr. by-form (*pati-*) **day-* of IE **aidh* 'burn', with stems **d(a)ina-* and **d(a)isa-*. Xw. *pzn-*, moreover, indicates a late date for the palatalization of **pa(d)in-*.

494.6 **fy[.]cy'k**: 'help', with *-k* a more feminine-looking form than the usual *y' βycyk* 298.2, 377.3, *βycyk* (so) 500.2. The underlying verb is *βyw-*, adding to the impression that this blundered writing was intended to read **βywcy'k*.

495.1 **yw'č hyd 'mryd**: instead of 'asked him for help', this is 'considered him brave', cf. *yw'č* 399.1, etc., *'mr'd* 494.7, 495.2. Yet again the Xw. glossator has been misled by the simplex, *naǰida* = *dilēr šud* 253.7.

495.2 **b'znyd'h**: for *birahānād ō-rā*, read *y'žnyd-*, *v. my* 374.1; *yžny-* perhaps denom. < **wišaržana-*, Skt. *visarjana-* 'discharge, dismissal'.

495.3 **b'rxnyd'h**: 'hired him', for *p'rxnyd-*, *v.* my 427.3, immediately followed by **'y b'rx**: 'pay, wages' (502.3 **f:b'rx**), for *p'rx*, *v.* most recently my 421.1, suggests that verb and noun may be of similar origin; *p'rx* would then be, by dissimilation, from **pari-xrī*, and Sgd. *prxyy* 'compensation' from **parixraya-*, Skt. *parikraya*⁴ (and my unhappy reference at 129.5 to Av. *pāra-* to be struck out).

495.4 marg. **'frs . . .**: of the few words beginning so, only one has any relevance to this line, viz. **'frysMy'd** 504.6 = *mašvarat*, but both spellings are sadly unclear. From Av. *frasa-* 'question'?

495.8 **y' pšk wd'ryd**: for *w-* (better, probably, *w'*) with *d'ryd* 'turned the back thereto', *v.* my 91.1, 362.1.

496.4 **bncyk hyc kwzyd**: this is 'sought victory from him', as at 494.4, with the same misinterpretation of *nušrat* as at 484.8; *bncyk* < **apa-nuti-*.

497.2 **j'xy'k kwzyd**: lit. 'sought nursing, suckling' with *č'xy'k* the verbal noun of *čw'xy-*, my 96.2.

497.4 **p'jk'wnd'n'wk f'ryt f:n'n**: for *p'c-*, as at 399.4, and *β'ryt*, my 375.4, lit. 'acquired usufruct in it'.

497.8 **tyk hyc δ'ryd**: *tang dāšt az ō*, shows that even in monosyllables 'final' *-a-* was fronted, *tang* > /tīg/.

498.1, 507.1 **y'δr'h**: 'his belly', with *-h* to show that *'(w)δr* is fem., also *y' wδr* 171.6, so read *y'-δr*, as B. has at 154.5.

498.8 **bxst**: 'became firm', for *yxst*, *v.* my 166.1.

'y yrđk: 'the neck', mispointed for *γrđk*, as in *γrđk-βnd* 47.5 'neck-rope'.

501.2 **βndk . . .**: repeats *βndk hy δ'ryd* 367.2, q.v.

502.7 **bcwyd**: 'deposit, pledge', read **pcryd* and cf. **pcrd'k* 5.8; *v.* Schwartz, in *W. B. Henning memorial vol.*, p. 386, n. 9.

502.8 **Y'ββd**: '*ilā*š', *v.* my 150.2.

503.3 **myr'st**: 'woke up', for all that it is spelled so at 473.1, 476.6, is certainly *mqr'st* here. This is nevertheless very slight evidence on which to base a comparison with the modern Pers. coincidence of *q* and *γ*.

503.8 **'y 'rš'd 'y 'llh'n**: would be 'God's guidance' (though Xw. has *'m'ny'k* 494.7). Read *'wš'd* for 'the peace of God (be with you?)'; cf. 69.4 *'wš'd dy-β'c* 'peace, ease be yours', for *marḥaban bika*. Henning's translation 'wide' ('Lg.', 431) needs revising, but not of course the implied derivation < **wi-šāta-*, Sgd. *wš't* 'open', etc.

504.3 **mβyxyd'h**: is simply 'learnt it', not 'profited from it'; *v.* my 469.7.

504.4 **yzny'k**: 'security', read *yžny'k*, as correctly 372.8, verbal noun to *yžny-*, *v.* my 495.2.

wrk hyc kwzyd: 'sought a choice from Him', not *bihtarīn xwāst*. For *istaxāra* the glossator has again mistakenly thought of the simplex *xāra*, cf. 138.2 *ixtiyār dād-aš* = *wrk hy h'βrd*. *wrk* < Av. *²war* 'choose'; cf. also *bw'ry-* 'choose' 433.8, 447.1, 479.1.

⁴ Henning, *BSOAS*, xxviii, 2, 1965, p. 246, n. 29, implies **upa + xrī*.

504.5 **y'rp**: 'the millstone', read *y' (')rθ*, as at 374.1, like BSgd. 'rδ; *v. H, Dict.*, suppl., s.v. for related words.

504.6 **p'δfxst**, but 505.1 **b'δβxst**: although the form seems to have initial *y-*, the latter is certainly the better reading; *v. my* 440.6.

506.1 **čw'wc mkd'y'βz**: with the wrong article ('βz f. 133.4), is 'acted the he-goat', not 'suchte den Bock'; *v. my* 116.2.

506.7 **bicyk**: 'remedy', read *yfcyk*, *v. my* 150.2.

507.1 **b'cyd**: 'swelled', read *p'cyd*, *v. my* 390.8.

507.2 **xwβck**: but **xwfck** reconstructed in the next line. See *my* 95.4.

508.4, 5 **k'sbd'k**: *dušvār*. The second occurrence, though so pointed, may have an extra 'tooth', for **k'sbnd'k* as at 326.8 f., 487.7. It is difficult to avoid the obvious connexion with *k's* 52.7 and *pnd'k*, but rather than understand the word as 'having the way of a pig' it is better to assume that the meaning 'pig' is secondary, from *k's* 'unfortunate', or the like.

509.8 **t'sd**: means 'melted', cf. 213.6. This is *t'byd* 'hit the target', as at 387.3.

510.8 **r'k xδd**: not *bišškī kard* (no word **bišškī* exists) but 'punctured a vein', i.e. 'bled', as at 435.4.

511.4 **fyxcb'n'wk**: for *nigāhbānī*; already H, *Hb.*, p. 116, n. 2, has *βyxcb'n*, as it is pointed 423.7, 438.6 ('βyxc-).

512.4 **γ"wfy'nk** [..]: for *xirāmād* read *γwβy'nk myd*, as at 447.7 'walked proudly'.

513.1 **f.δw w'e**: misprint for *f'δw*, as always.

513.5 **b'δyk f:p'δ mkyd**: 'put on an anklet', must be *p'δyk*. A similar word is **p'δyca* 28.7 'trouser leg'.

513.6 **γrd'wrd**: 'turning (in bed)'. The *γ-* is unpointed, whereas the third letter is -δ-; the whole, therefore, suggests a 'turning of the neck', cf. Sgd. *γrδ'(kh)* f., but Xw. *γrδk* m., *my* 498.8.

514.4 **z'fk w' c'yt**: is 'went deeply, far therein', as 455.6, 471.2, etc.

514.5 **γ'synd**: 'happy', read *γšynd* as at 360.6, 391.6, etc., though *γšyd* also occurs, 349.5.

514.5, 8 **y'fš b'ryt**: '(the cock) ruffled its neck-feathers', read *p'ryt*, as at 437.7 and correctly 467.1, of a cat. The verb seems to be a specialization of the common **p'ry-* 'to set free, extract', etc., cf. 311.4 'put out tongue'.

515.4 **b'swyd cy w'e**: 'abstained from, abhorred the matter', despite the pointing, must be *b'šzyd*, as at 98.6, 466.2, 473.8; *v. H, Dict.*, suppl., *bšzy*.

515.6 **mnkwist**: 'grew very old, senile', probably *mnkRfst*, as at 229.1.

516.2 **mfy'h k-**: 'consider that', read *mny'h* /*manya-h¹*/, imperative of *mny-*, 476.4, *my* 118.4.

517.1 **'nc y':swynyk**: the colon is entirely superfluous in 'is not a goer', pres. part. of *y'sw-*; cf. 87.7 *y'sw'c'n* 'goes, departs', *y'sw'ryn* 'they go away', and *Qunya* twice *y'swyk'm* (*XJ*, 84) 'you will go'. This is the pres. stem formed from **sw-*, which appears in the imperf. *m'swd* 152.4, *m'sw'r* 238.8, etc.; on /ā-/ ~ /yā-/, *v. H*, 'Lg.', 425 f. /āsa- / < **ā-čyawa-* shows a combination

only found elsewhere in Oss. *ācāwən* 'go away'. (My 177.3 *šw- < *čyawa-* is unsatisfactory.)

So we depart at last from the long chapter on 'Verbs', as it is reflected in Benzing's transcription. Further analysis of the Xw. verbal system, and a review of the 'Nouns', must await another occasion. But this seems an appropriate moment for the self-indulgence of considering just a few of the interesting verbs among the many which have so far escaped attention. These still number about half of the 700 or more verbs attested in the *Muq.* material.

Those beginning with ' - to 'kw- are to be found in Henning's *Dict.* fragment, together with a number of others in my supplement thereto. Continuing in alphabetical order we may first turn to

(1) 'n's- 'to become acquainted, accustomed', with various prepositions, *mn'st* 197.3, *pr w'c* 169.5, 240.8, 244.4, *fy w'c* 199.3, *mn'sd f-* 291.6, *mn'sdyθ* 264.5, *mn'styθ* 477.3, p. p. 'n'd^yk 197.4, 264.6, fem. 'n'c 49.8. This is patently < *xšnāsa-*, **xšnāta-*, with archaic inchoative sense preserved with the form. It is also interesting for giving rise to a new causative 'n'sy- 'to make acquainted, accustom', *mn'syd'h* 388.8, *pry xsyn* 356.5, *pr w'c* 412.1, *f-msrm'n'w^yk* 469.2.

A similar form occurs in the verb

(2) *bn'sy- 'to wean', *b'n'syd'h* 108.7, 112.5, 239.6, unpointed except for -n- in the p. p. *bn'syd^yk* 112.6 (also 45.3). This is different from *bn'sy-* 'to lose' < **apa-nāsaya-* (my 367.8), but if < **apa-xšnāsa-ya-* 'to disaccustom' it shows a different development of -xšn- from *bxnwr'wc* (my 175.1). This is equally true of the simplex 'n's-, however, compared with *xnwry-* < **xšnauθra-ya-*, and is no more surprising than the divergent treatments of various consonant groups discussed by Henning, 'Lg.', 433 ff.

Similar secondary causatives from inchoative stems are

(3) *nγ's(y)-* 'bring to', e.g. *mnγ'sydyθ* 356.3, 382.2, 385.6, *mnγ'sdyw* 359.6, *spnk hyθ mnγ'sd* 409.5, to *nγs-* 'go to, reach', e.g. *mnγsdyθ* 266.6, 267.8, *mnγst* 348.8, 359.3, 8, mentioned already by Henning, *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, *33*. This is < **ni-gasa-*, like Skt. *ni-gaccha-*, √*gam*, where Av. has *niḡasa-*.

(4) *bk'sy-* 'astonish', *b'k'syd'h* 300.4, to *bk's-* 'be surprised', *b'k's^yd* 274.4, p. p. *bk'd^yk* 247.5, < **apa-kāsa-*, √*kā* (Schwartz, review, *ZDMG*, cxx, 2, in press).

(5) 'γr'sy- 'rouse, waken', *mγr'syd'h* 301.1, 371.6, 400.6, to 'γr's- 'wake, be awake' (my 503.3), p. p. (')*γr'd^yk*, < **grāsa-*, cf. BSgd. *wγr'yš-* 'rouse' (so *TSP*, 13, 25): *w(y)γr's-* 'wake', Yaγn. *γurayš-*: *γurōs-*.

(6) *t'sy-* 'melt', *t'syd'h* 308.3, 372.6, p. p. *t'sy'd^yk* 'molten' 356.5, to *t's-* 'melt' intr., *t'sd* 213.6, *t'st* 141.7, < **tā-sa-* (Schwartz, review).

(7) *yw'sy-* 'to dry', *y'w'syd'h* 407.8, to *yw's-* 'become dry', *y'w's^yd* 121.4, 286.2, *y'w'st* 156.4, secondary p. p. *yw's'd^yk* 286.3, < **wi-wāsa-*, cf. BSgd. *ptw's-* 'dry out', MSgd. *ptw'tyy* 'dry, desert'.

(8) *x'sy-* 'let (horse) wallow', *x'syd'h* 399.6, to *xs-* 'wallow', *xsd* 469.1, 471.1, if < **xšVsa-*; inchoative to $\sqrt{xšaud}$, Skt. *kṣud* ?

In two verbs the long *-ā-* is introduced oddly between the final consonant of the root and the inchoative *-s-*, viz. in

(9) *bdf'sy-* 'heat', *b'df'syd'h* 385.1, to *bdfs-* 'become hot', *b'dfs'ud* 294.5, p. p. fem. *bdfc*, presumably < **apa-tafsa-*.

(10) *'zmx'sy-* 'put to sleep', *mzmx'syd'h* 74.8, 347.6, 377.3, 413.8, to *'zmxs-* 'sleep' (my 167.8), < **uz-muxsa-*.

Among other trans. (caus.): intrans. pairs of this pattern we may add

(11) *'nd'my-* 'make firm', *mnd'myd'h* (my 393.1), to *'ndm-* (or *'ndmy-* ?) 'become compact', *mndm'ud* (*-myd* ?) 437.2, < **ham-dam-*, with the 'make' root seen in Khot. *paḍīm-* (SGS, 69) ?

(12) *'s'ny-* 'pass (time), fulfil, carry out', *ms'nyd* 141.3, 142.2, 228.8, etc., *ms'nyd'h* 344.3, 357.5, to *'sn-* (*'sy-* = *'sñ-*) 'pass away' (my 458.3). This seems to be a specialization of the common Ir. \sqrt{san} 'rise', *sānaya-* (exx., v. SGS, 131 f., s.vv. *sarb-*, *sāñ-*), with **ham-* ?

(13) (*'*)*w'zy-* 'present (something)', *mw'zydyθ* 'it to him' 417.2, to *'wz-* 'meet', *mwzdyθ* 431.8, 481.5, *mwznyθ* 177.4, 450.6 'I met him', *Qunya* (Frejman, XJ, 97) *k'y črmymn 'wz'r* 'if our skins touch', < \sqrt{waz} , *wāzaya-*. Frejman rightly compared Sgd. *pcwz-* 'meet', but was probably unwise to trust the pointing of his MS and read **uwuwuz-* < *awa-waz-*.

(14) *'wz'ry-* 'establish', *mwz'ryd'h* 345.2, 390.1, to *'wzr-* 'arise, be firm', *mwzrd* 305.7, 437.7, imper. *'wz'r!* 68.3, < *uz-ar-*, *-āraya-*.

(15) *k'fy-* 'split', *k'fyd'h* 103.6, 117.4, 171.6, etc., to *kf-* 'be split', *kfd* 117.5, 176.5, 453.8, < \sqrt{kaf} , *kāfaya-*, as in BSgd. *kβ-*, Pth. *k'f'd*.

(16) *pcr'my-* 'settle, calm', *p'cr'myd'h* 364.2, 366.4, 405.5, etc., to *pcrm-* 'be settled, rest', *p'crmd* 347.4, 473.7, < *pāti-ram-*.

(17) *x'ry-* 'cause to go, pass', *x'ryd'h* 194.4, also 374.8, 377.7, 383.2, etc., to *xr-* 'go, pass', *x'rd-* 175.6, 354.2, 429.6, etc., < $\sqrt{*xar}$, cf. Sgd. *xr-/xyr-* 'go, walk'.

(18) *xw'ry-* 'cause to eat, swallow', *xw'ryd'h* 398.7, to *xr-* 'eat', *xrd* 264.5, 480.5, *xr'd* 191.1, 440.5, *xwr-* 'drink', *xwrd'h* 422.4, 450.2. Similarly *pcxw'ry-*: *pcxr-*, my 375.7.

(19) *'z'my-* 'finish, exhaust', *mz'myd'h* 349.2, 359.7, 385.5, dissimilated from **'zy'my-*, to *'zym-* 'be finished', *mzymd* 341.2, *mzym'd* 253.8, 257.8, 295.4, < **uz-yama-* and *-yāmaya-*, cf. Sgd. *zy'm-* and *'zy'ms-* (*'zyams-*). It is, of course, quite distinct from *'z'my-* 'bring (in), introduce, produce', *m'z'myd* 349.6, 8, 384.5, 419.6, etc., < **ā-ḡāmaya-*, cf. MPers. *z'm-*, Pth. *j'm-*.

Other such causatives correspond to *-y-* passives, e.g.

(20) *'z'ry-* 'torment', *m'z'ryd'h* 102.7, 208.1, 381.2, to *'zry-* 'be tormented', *m'zryd-yc* 291.3, 480.7, < **ā-zāraya-* and *-zārya-* (not **-zrya-*, necessarily > **-zy-*, cf. *'my-* < *mrya-*), cf. Sgd. *'zyr-* caus. and pass. (GMS, § 548).

(21) *nw'ry-* 'cause to lean, turn', *mnw'ryd'h* 152.7, 376.8, 394.6, 422.1,

505.4, to *nwry-* 'lean, turn', *mnwryd* 137.4, 163.1, 458.4, *-yθ* 348.7, *-yc* 469.2, etc., < **ni-wāraya-* and *-warya-*, Av. *niwōirya-*, √³*war* (*Air. Wb.*, 1362 f.).

(22) *wk'ny-* 'make old, wear out', *w'k'nyd'h* 180.1, 236.7, 384.3, to *wkny-* 'grow old, wear out', *w'knyd* 116.7, 173.3, 358.4, etc., p. p. *wkny'd'k* 294.3, < **awa-kānaya-* and *-kanya-* (not *wi-kānaya-*, like Sgd. *wk'yn-* 'destroy', as this would yield **wk'ny-*).

To return to the general category of verbs of interest

(23) *'str-*, occurring only once in *'st' mstr'd* 507.2 = *sitān vā xuft* (T, II, 708) 'lay prostrate', < √*star*, recalls Av. *stərətō*, Pahl. *stard* 'prostrate, stupefied (of demons)'. Elsewhere in Ir. the meaning 'spread, strew' is common, Khot. *starr-*, Sgd. *prštr-*, Pahl. *wistar-*, NP *gustardan*, *bistar*, etc.

(24) *'stw-* 'promise', *mstw'd* 154.1, *mstwd'h* 128.2, *mstw'r* 489.3, can hardly continue the simple Av. *staw-*, which commonly means 'praise', Khot. *stav-*, Pth. *'st'w-*, Man. MP *'st'y-*, etc. From M. Schwartz I have the excellent suggestion that it is either /**ustaw-* < *wi-staw-*, as Sgd. *wystw-* 'promise' (cf. *'st'x* 325.5, etc. = MMP *wyst'h-*, NP *gustāx*), or even /**ə(s)staw-* < **ənstaw-* < *ni-staw-*, as XSgd. *n(y)st'w* 'promise' (*BST*, II, 89.12, 99.4, 13), Pahl. *ψ nstwt-* (cf. *'s'wk* 101.6, etc. < **nišāwak*, H, *Hb.*, p. 110, n. 3). The converse *bstw-* 'deny, renounce', *b'stwd* 150.4, 306.5, 450.5, matches Sgd. *'pstw-*, Av. *apa.staw-*.

(25) *'w'ny-* 'cover, conceal, protect', *m'w'nyd'h* 173.7, 193.8, 387.2, 464.6, is from *ā* √¹*war*, Av. *wəranaw-*, *wəranā-*, but there certainty ends. For *-ṛn-* > Xw. *-n-*, v. my 90.1. Even *-arn-* normally becomes *-n-* (H, 'Lg.', 431, *parna-* > *pn*, etc.), but Av. *wəranā-* compares with Xw. *w'nyn^{nc}* 'wool' 50.8, 180.7. This is not likely to be a direct development, however, but rather an adjective with *vṛddhi*. *'w'ny-* is then probably a secondary caus. formation from an **wn-* < **āwrna-*.

(26) *'wrw-* 'believe', *mwrwd'h fy 'llh* 363.5, must then be an assimilated loan from MPers., Pth. *wrw-* < √²*war*, *wəranaw-*.

(27) *'xs-* 'sweat', *mxs'd* 267.2, 302.1, < **hwid-sa-*, Av. *x'isa-*, Sgd. *γwys-*, Khot. *ā-hus-*. The noun 'sweat' is *'y* (')*xyδ* 462.1, 469.8, 473.2.

(28) *'xw'zy-* 'remember', *m'xw'zyd'h* 436.1, shows a remarkable divergence of meaning from Sgd. *γwyz-* (*xwēž-*), Pth. *wx'z-* 'seek, desire' < **x'āzaya-* (since **x'ādāya-* 'sweeten' and **x'āḡaya-* offer no better solution).

(29) *'xy-* 'weep, mourn', *mxy'd* 76.3, 150.8, 417.3, etc., < *xšī* (H, 'Verb', 45), has the interesting caus. *'xywy-*, *mxywyd'h* 383.8, 417.3, 496.2, < **xšāiwaya-*, probably with the *-w-* extension seen also in Khot. *²kšäv-* (*SGS*, 25), since other *-w-* causatives have *-'wy-*, v. *hnc'wy-*, *pcr'wy-*, my 368.3.

(30) *'ž-* 'be worth', *ny'žc* 432.6 = *namēarzad*, < *arḡa-*, has a peculiar caus. *'ž'ny-* 'to value', *mž'nyd'h* 448.1, and so 'bargain', *mž'nydyθ* 226.5, 430.2. One would suspect a denominative, but *'ž'n* is not 'cheap' (*pcyθ*, v. my 327.5) but Ar. *šināb* 24.4 'a condiment of mustard seed and raisins pounded together'! 'Worthy' is *'žnd*, 69.8, 330.5, 501.2, etc.

To end with a few rarer verbs

(31) *b'd's-* is of doubtful meaning, *b'd'st* 456.5 = *inšabba* = (*ba šitāb*) *raft*, but the obvious etymology < **apa-tāsa-* (cf. *t's-*, (6) above) suggests that the glossator understood the subject still to be 'water', as in the previous gloss, so 'flowed away'.

(32) *by'my-* 'break (promise)', *b'y'myd'h* 357.1, < **apa-yāmaya-*, cf. **z(y)'my-*, (19) above. Sgd. *py'm-* 'heal' must have another preverb.

(33) *bžfš-* 'become thin', only partly pointed in *b'žfšt* 181.4, but certain from the frequent p. p. *bžβd*, only seems explicable as an inchoative, with assimilation, from *apa-*zra(u)b* or the like, perhaps an extension of Skt. *jr*, IE *ǵer* (Pok., 390).

(34) *pcmyz-* 'flow freely', *p'cmyz'r* 119.4 'milk', and the caus. *pcmyzy-*, *p'cmyzyd'h* 'y w'd 'y w'r δ'r (365.8), 500.3, < *maiz*, is discussed by Schwartz (review, *ZDMG*, cxx, 2, in press). A *Qunya* sentence adds the simplex *myz-* to the repertoire: *y'sm mn' myz'd = āsmān bar mā mēzīd*. From the discussion of whether this remark mocked an act of God we can deduce that *myz-* also had the normal meaning of NP *mēz-*, though this is elsewhere expressed by *čl-*, 132.5, 223.6, 512.1.

(35) *r'y-* 'organize', *r'yd'h* 416.1, seems to be a loan from Pers., though there it only occurs in MP *rāyēn-*, or with preverbs.

(36) *rw-* 'bark', *rud 'y 'kt* 120.2 (beside 'w-, my 79.3), recalls Yidya *rov-* (*IIFL*, II, 244) and NKd. *řaw-* (CKd. *war-*), beside *řay-*.

(37) *xf-*, common as a by-form of *γβy-* 'take, hold' (my 429.1; H, *ZDMG*, xc, 1936, *34*), has a homograph 'to cough', *xf'd* 316.8, cf. Oss. *xwafən*, Yidya, Sangl. *xof-* (*IIFL*, II, 265, 421).

(38) *y'β-* 'creep, crawl', *y'βd* 98.1, 115.6, confirmed by *y'βn'k* 'insect' 53.5, 54.7, is the same as Sgd. *y'β-* 'rove, wander'.

(39) *zβ-* 'curse', in *zβdybr* 235.3, *zβ'r* 441.2, helps to confirm the meaning of Sgd. *zβnd* 'quarrel' (Henning, *BSOAS*, xi, 3, 1945, 470, with n. 5). The connexion with Av. *zβā* is unavoidable.

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