THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—III

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In two previous articles, pp. 60–218 of Johannes Benzing’s edition of Das chwaresmsische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der ‘Muqaddimat al-adab’ von Zamaxšārī 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 retrace one of my riskier suggestions.

344.3 fy Wnk’d’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-Ṣ’r. Besides the absence of any supporting fy . . . -Ṣ’r, this fully-pointed form completely rules out the possibility and shows wnk’d’r (wyk-?) to be one word, for fulān, not ‘business, affair’: < awsam (awahya?) katāra- ‘that which(ever)’?

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

345.8 RB’γtk hy k’cyd: bačča-yi nārasīda afkand nāq, read wy’γtk, as at 393.2 γyk wy’γtk = kitāb-i nātamān, 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 adraʃa l-kitāba nor (as B. suggests) fį darfį l-kitābi kaďā. Read f’nd(r)’yc, as at 405.6, ‘he put something inside the book’; evidently the glossator took the kaďā added above the first kitāba as a correction and so read adraʃa kaďā fį darfį l-kitābi.

346.2 f’ bš c’xby myd: does not accord with ba avval-i šab raft; read

1 In BSOAS, xxxiii, 3, 1970, 540–59, and xxxiv, 1, 1971, 74–90, in which abbreviations are listed.
f' pe at the end (of the night)’, as at 396.7; adlafiga taken as synonymous with iddalaja, at 434.4.


347.2 mft'wydılı: ‘destroyed it’, as at 146.2, 154.4, etc., cf. the trans. mft'wad ‘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 f pointings for c: 347.2 wdnj (H, ‘Lg.’, 426), 347.3 psnjgk (i.e. /*passinjyak / to psınd- 449.6, 492.2), 347.3 'wyj'nyk (H, ‘Lg.’, 425), 350.2 hyj b'ruzd, 350.4 'yjt (H, ‘Verb’, 45), 354.2 wj (H, ‘Lg.’, 427). Similarly b for p (even NP basandida 347.3, from Wetzstein): 349.4 fb'rx (v. my 129.5), 349.7 b'cxryl'n ‘they held them back’ (cf. 388.3), 350.5 mbzbd (my 120.8) 'y keyk ‘ face’ (cf. 353.4).

347.5 y' 'ynbı: for 'nmbc, 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. mfywdılı 'y' 'ynbı: justly corrected to 'nbdh ‘his companion’ by Benzing. Read also mfywdı-, as at 356.6; H, Dict., s.v. 'bwy-.

347.8 fy: rón hy b'brd: read c'brd ‘ put’, not ‘ gave (his back) to the wall’; v. my 135.8.

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

348.4 'nkby fstyk: angubın-i basta, read 'ngby bstrk.

348.6 f. ḧbnk(?y) hy w'sf f'sk: can hardly be ‘ shot and killed him on the spot’. ḧbnk mád is ‘ marked ’ at 195.6, 350.6. The first word is probably the tnByk = hadaf, nişına-yi tır at 43.2, so ‘ put him (as) target in the shooting’, i.e. ‘ shot at him’.

349.1 mbwydılı: ‘helped him’, like mbwydılı, added in mgy. at 349.5, must be an error for mbwydı-, v. my 347.6 f.

349.4 fnyh: ‘ over the other ’, mispointing of fny'h, i.e. fy + (')ny'h, as at 447.4.

349.6 'frk: ‘ fruit ’, read 'brk, as in ckm-bbrk 369.5 ‘ having much fruit’.

350.7 wznk hyn'c kwzyd: ‘ established a relationship with them’. The same sentence at 422.2 has plainly ywyzdl ‘carried out, made firm’, for which kwyzd ‘ asked for ’ is here evidently miswritten.

351.1 (above) msklydılı: is not ‘informed him’ but ‘ despised, reviled him’, as at 393.5, etc.; this is a possible translation of a'tharahu (without 'alá l-amri); v. my 376.8.

351.2 fnyd-wzkl: ‘near to puberty’, a misplaced pause-spelling, as the following f' nyd wzl shows. In both cases B.’s hyphen is otiose; this is a phrase, not a compound.

351.7 ckm d' ḥdyw [ws?]: bisyär kard suzan-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.) 'mk'r.

352.7 b:zf'k: ‘dumb’, pointed just the same at 272.3, but there and 258.1 corrected to bzf'k. zf'k ‘tongue’ is plain at 441.6, 465.8.

352.7 (in marg.) B'S'cvRYN: 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 nms'ryd: n'qūṣār šud. H, Dict. (s.v. š'l'wy-) reads b's'ryd'(h), referring to b's'ry- (my suppl., b's'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'crfdl-, v. my 152.6, and now M. Schwartz’s review.2

354.8 bfnynk . . . 'yw βwmy'n: ‘creator of the earths [sic]’. ßwmn is fem., e.g. c' ßwmy 354.5 ‘from the earth’, so (as with fy, my 202.3) this is a pl. genitive ßwmn'n.

More under-pointings in 355.2 ḫw'xync for ḫw-, same line; 355.6 'y ḥsyr for ḥsyr, as 119.5, 391.5, etc.; 355.8 ḥk for ḥbθc, as twice in the Qunya, Frejman, XJ, 57. As fem. of a p. p. *hβdk < *frabraτaka (v. Henning, ZDMG, xc, 1936, *32'), ḥβc in all MSS of the Qunya recorded casts some doubt on the reading *hθc ‘arched’ (which I proposed at my 279.5 and apud H, Dict., s.v. kβdk). But */ākafa(c)a: *ākåsdik/ may still have had a different development from */hθβja < *ḥåqα(c)a: *ḥåqådik < *ḥåqådik/.

355.8 b'wrdyc: ‘departed from him’ is an error for b'wrd-, as at 119.2, 144.4, 425.5, etc.

356.1 (in marg.) qhr h:mkτ: a unique and revealing example of untraditional spelling for hy mkd.

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 'sw-ðf'γ (cf. 418.1), 358.3 nfyryc (tacitly corrected by B.), 358.5 'y f'r (β'r same line), mnf'rydc (if < *nî-båraya-) ‘caused him some’, 358.6 b'ðfd'h (v. my 367.6), nθfd(b)l (my 370.2), 359.1 b'ryfγk (my 379.5), pθfc (fem. of *pθBSTK, cf. 432.2), 359.5 f'nycd'h (my 80.8), 359.7 h'f'rc (cf. 369.6, etc.).

357.7 f:nywywy c'yl: for fy-nywywy, 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 c'k: sām-i pur, a misprint for c'k.

358.6 b'θxydbyr: ‘stuck on it’, read *p'θcd-. The verb is not otherwise attested, but appears to stand in similar relation to its intrans. pšš- (v. my 246.8) as ṣšš- ‘be joined’ 453.6 :šcy- ‘join’ (v. H, Hb., p. 109, n. 2). An etymon *pati-s/θraxa- seems somewhat more likely than the necessary alternative, an s-enlarged stem *-s/θraxša- > *-sax-, beside inchoative *-s/θrax-sa- > *-saxs- > ṣšš-. The pointing -x- is probably a second-hand mistake, due to confusion with pšš-.

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

360.3 y' èft'h: over-pointing of ḫf’t ‘spouse’, 444.7, 446.6.

2 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'er'zyd- appears as X'w'zyd- 368.8, divided into two 343.4, and joined to preceding *w* 414.2; c'er'zy- 'lead in' < *ati-wādaya-.

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

Under-pointing, *f* for β, again in 361.4 m'fr'zyd'h (H, Dict., 1'βr'zy-, 362.1 f'neyd'h (my 80.8), 362.5, 368.2, 403.7 mzew'hyd- 'annoyed' and 472.3 mzew'hd- 'was annoyed' (cf. 272.7, 282.6), 363.3 fc'wn'vk and f'zyd (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-fy 353.8, fy rnc'v'k 344.2, but at least as often is not, e.g. f-yxfrd 134.2, f-βyuk'k 141.2, f-βryk'k 357.7, f-θnk 344.8, f-γyk 345.8, etc. Since 'haste' is tncyk'k 498.5, 'hastening' tncyd (my 270.6) or tncy'dnd 328.6, from the frequent verb tncy-, we are left to guess whether this is a mispointing of *f-tncyk (-tcyk) or stands for fy-t(n)cyk.

361.8 mr'cy: 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-d'w'ny'd, without the article, as at 403.6, 405.5 (δ'w'ny'd).

362.6 bδ'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-rav. B. twice ignores the plain stroke of a letter before *h*: this is abstract of prw'zynh'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 hye 'nc = nēst o-rā, read nhyc 'nc, like nyc 402.2, nhyhc 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 bθkr: 'house(s)', read pθkn(n), as at 449.4, 501.6 (H, 'Lg.', 435).

364.8 f' ny:mn'e pxs'r 'y hfn'nyh: fulān ki burīda na-mēšavad az mā dādānu-ji vay. Read *n' ny-mn'e pxs'r 'y hbd'n'hyh: n' 'that ', where one might expect *n' (n)k, with relative -k; pxs- ' be cut ', cf. mpxsd 455.6; to the examples of hbdn '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. msbd'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'gryd?]: ziyan rasānīd ba vay. B. here generalizes
from his own misreadings of 138.5 and 203.3 (which I overlooked in *loc*), *p*" hybr and *hyd* h'bryd respectively. His 290.5 would have been a better guide, with the correct c'bryd; *v.* my 138.5.

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

367.2 *βpdık* (für *βndık?*) hy 5'ryd: ‘enslaved him’. In view of Henning’s remarks (*Hb.*, 116 f.) on this very word, *βydr* seems the more likely emendation. Wetzstein’s gloss bårda kard banda-rā is rather odd, meaning ‘captured the slave’ (not ‘marched the Gefangenen zum Sklaven’): *T*, ii, 365, is better with bīguḏāšt dar bāndaḵ.

367.5 *šmnydbṛ, *šmnyk*: since *šmnyk* certainly means ‘hope’, 402.6, 416.1, etc., the Xw. glosses plainly differ from Pers. nāz, tuvānā, gustāzī, etc. The glossator presumably understood addalla ‘alayhi as bihī ‘relied upon him’.

367.6 *pšbḇydh*: confirms the β- of *bšbš*- 123.6 and *bšbš*- 358.6 and hardly shakes the initial b-, since the π- is much smudged. The verbs are basically ‘to slip’ and ‘cause to slip’, so here probably only azallahu is translatable, not ‘an ra’yihi.

367.8 *y bnk 'stwr*: ‘the lost animal’ (not ‘camel’), read bnk, < apa-

368.2 *b'rš'ydh*: ‘tired him’, read *p'r'syd*, as at 343.2, from *pr'sy*, intrans. *p're'sd* 82.8, *p're'st* 124.4, etc., < *pari-tāsa-/eya-, as Arm. portasi/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 *βzq-

368.3 sbnk: tamām, read spnk, as *spnk* 362.2, etc.

b'c'wyd'h*: āsūda kard (ash-rā), for *h'nwyd*, as at 373.4, 411.5, caus. of hney*y* ‘to rest’, 124.6, 501.8 h'neyd. It is difficult to separate this from Sgd. *'nwy*y*, Oss. āncay-* < *han-eyy-yaw*; the caus. in -wy* (generally to a stem in -w-) would then be secondary, cf. 342.2 (-c-), 405.5 per'wy* ‘to warm’; 451.1 pery* ‘be warmed’.

f 'fz'yyk*: ‘for smelling’, surely read *f'βz'y*k, the inf. of *βz'y*-(+c-) ‘smell (trans.)’, *v.* my 99.8. Although Henning also read *βz'y*k (*Hb.*, 112), the definitive article would seem out of place here.

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

370.2 *mζp* and *mζp* and *mζp*‘: ‘shone’ and ‘made it bright’, for mζβp* and caus. mζζp* and caus, mζζp*, *v.* my 120.8.

373.5 *jh'kd *y* 's*: cannot be *bik'ābānūd uštur-rā, since this would require -d'ḥ with suffixed object (*H*, ‘Verb’, 48), as e.g. 355.2 *c'o'xyd'h* *y z'dk* she suckled (him) her child*. It is a mistranslation, simply a doublet of 189.8, 504.1 c'kd *y* 's ‘the camel knelt’. 
374.1  yızynyd’h: ‘freed him’, read yıźnyd-, as at 372.8, 495.2 (not b-!).
375.4 f. kwırmnc nı fryt: not ‘made them’, but ‘found them (the food and drink) wholesome’, cf. 461.3 f. kwıryk hy fryt: gwäranda yāšt (ta’am-rā). Read kwırmnk, pl. -nc, v. my 221.7, and βryt, as at 383.5, etc. (v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v. βyr-).
375.5 nıjcı’yık: ‘fearsome’, read nıcę’yık, as correctly 263.7 f., 413.6; cf. nıć- ‘to fear’ 358.6, 451.6, etc.
375.7 bıcxwıryd’h: bičašanıd-aš čiz-rā, read p-, this being the caus. of pcır- ‘to taste’, 398.1.
376.6 bıze nı śmyt: lit. ‘(God) decreed them long’, viz. yı ‘life’, a pl. noun, cf. 490.4 where correctly beć; (’) bızk ‘far, long’ < barzaka-, v. my 304.4.
376.8 yı skıcyı’h: ‘his fault’, appears to be an error for skıcyk’h, as at 467.4, cf. 467.5, 7 skıcyk, 505.4 gen. skıcyce. Through Arabic, here aḥrat, our word is connected with skınb- ‘stumble’, e.g. 85.2 for aḥara (v. my 228.5). skıcyk is perhaps formed with -cyk from the p. p. *skıby, like 298.2, 377.3 yı ğıcyk ‘help’ < ḡıcyık < ğıyod (v. H, Dict., s.v. ḡıy-), and adjective ğıcyık ‘miserable’ < ğıyad (v. my 256.4); skınb-, *skiβ suggest a base *skımb/p or *uz-kımb/p, cf. perhaps Wāxī skaf, skafat ‘to trip’. By chance Ar. aṭbara is translated by a similar verb form in Xw., skıfy- (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 be connected etymologically.
377.1 fı mrı nı dıryd: if this translates ba čarā dāšt (sutūrān-rā) it must be sırød, but T, n, 384, has qudāšt, qiqarap, so dırød, which almost exclusively equates gardānīd, is possibly correct.
377.7 trıwıyık: aqāta alyahı is not ‘ernährte ihm’ (aqāṭahu) but, as at W, 204, 8 = iqtodara; the latter, occurring at 436.8, has the same Xw. gloss, = ‘was able to (do something)’. yı trıwınık is thus for trımınık = muqāb in the meaning muqītdar ‘able, powerful’; cf. Man. MP, Parth. trw- ‘overcome, conquer’.
377.8 yı pętyık [r.: pępyık]: for bahāna, read pęnyık, as at 445.4; the ambivalent Ar. ʿillat suggests a link with BSgd. pīnny (TSP, 19, 10 f.), if this is ‘illness’.
378.2 f., 468.7 fęyk fıyıt: for βröyt, v. my 374.5.
378.3 pı mı: nawmēd, read bım (as B. has elsewhere, besides bım, bım’), cf. 286.1 bım’n. This is not Ar. amān, however, attested at 499.5 ’m ‘security’, but *ämān, cognate with BSgd. ’m‘*power, authority’ (Vim. 140 = Chin. shì, with *š- ‘eminence’ = 威 wei, for Skt. mahābala).
379.2 nye śırıcə fı bcek’h stryk: this misreading of śırıcə disguises an important feature of Xw., the potential construction. śırıcə is a corruption of the form found in 486.7 fı śırıcə ‘he could not hold’, with śrd- p. p. of śr̛y̯-; 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 fı from an unpointed yı before bcek’h.
379.3 f. For **bywcy**, etc., B. relies on W’s incomplete translations of the NP glosses, omitting the better ones (v. also those in T, π, 388). Ar. *ayālat* is ‘she suckled (her child) when newly pregnant’, i.e. inadequately; the NP glosses turn around *ṣirzada*, the ‘inadequately suckled child’, which **bywcy(n)** also represents. Perhaps *< *abi-šuti-*(or -huti-)*, Av. √/*šaw, the unfortunate suckling being ‘born upon, against’.

379.5 **byṛšk**, 380.3 **byṛye**: ‘cloud(s)’, read p-, v. my 187.1.

380.2 **ỵ βtwyk**: for *al-fatwá* is odd, with *ftw* 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’ **βtŵ’cy**: ‘from perdition’, for *c’ftw’cy* as at 495.2; v. H, Dict., s.v. ‘ftw’cyk, to ‘ftw-’ (my 347.2).

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


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’brd, as 380.6.

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

382.2 **mny’sydyce**: ‘brought to him’, read -dyθ, as at 418.5 and correctly 385.6, 416.4.

382.5 **y’ cm by mnecnγd**: clearly *hyc, as at 353.5 ‘shut his eye to it’; the glossator probably mistook *‘aynahu* for *‘anhu.

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

383.1 **ē[pk nyθ]d ‘y’ kt**: ‘the dog squatted’. B.’s very likely reconstruction is based on 229.1.

384.1 **y’l mnfYcyd**: ‘abjured his wife’, can hardly be other than *mnfYcyd*, with *fYcy < *mi-bandaya-, cf. B. *nšynt- ‘attach’. ‘yl’ is an unassimilated loan from Arabic, since such words normally take a final -y, e.g. 235.3 d’w’y ‘prayer’, 386.7 wfy ‘faith’, 420.2 zn’y ‘fornication’.

384.2 **j’r mkδy**: hunar namūd dar jang. Whatever it is, this word, found also at 9.1 for hunar, cannot be *j’r. The apparent √s’r affords no sense. Compare rather the shape of sy’[dr at its second occurrence in 186.5, 332.8,
suggesting that this be read *j'Br. pēša is *mr at 439.5, cf. hm mr 2.8, probably < *kmra-. This may be for *cnr < *ati-nāra-.

384.3 c wzyd'nd' cy bknh-hyn: 'he led them out from their homes', read c'wzyd < c'wzy- (v. my 361.2) + -d, and pdkhn (my 364.2).

384.7 bTN'd c βcy: dūr šud az bālīš, read bynd'd (v. my 108.8) and βnc, from (')bnk 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. aylā l-qidrw (for qidra) as yalat, v. 151.5.

385.6 mwrey'd'h: is 'gathered it', as at 398.8, 451.4, etc., translating qanāhu, iqtanāhu, not the aqānu of the text.

386.1 wdy ws'n̄y: repeats 154.3, and represents wadā, not the awdā of the text. B's 'er liess nach der Waschung ein Urintröpfchen 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 th-thul and NP ba siyak have a preposition; p-, though rare, is attested clearly at 366.4, 469.6.

387.6 h'ryd'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'ryd'w.

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

388.1 mzf syd br: '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 -b- (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 bsy-, 453.5 b'syd, is passive of bn- 'bind'. Such a passive cannot be original, for from *badya- (cf. BSgd. *byṣy-, my SCE, 51) only *bṣy- could be expected; perhaps the p. p. βstk (my 348.4) has affected it. Parallels are to be seen in 'ṣksy- 'be split' 250.5, 273.7, to 'ṣkund- 'split' 188.4, p. p. šsšt v 250.6, and nxsy- 'be hidden', nyund- 'hide', nxstk 'hidden' (v. my 144.5). The extended devoicing in the latter, however, nxsy- < *nysy- < *nysy-, may equally have occurred in *zf sy- < *zbsy-.

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

389.1 thfrk: 'desirous', read θ-βryk, or better θ-brg, v. my 131.4.

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

390.8 bct-pcyk: āmāsāda-rūy, read pct-, after 339.7 pct- wdr lit. 'swollen-bellied' (but 150.8 wdr pcc, fem. of *pctk). The verb is pcy-, 476.3 p'cyd, indicating a stem ending in -s- (like ṣpy-, ṣptk, v. H, Ḥb., p. 111, n. 5); < *apituṣya- 'be empty'?

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

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š’by[...?]d’n: ‘combed them (= hair)’ is *š’bnxal’n (my 183.6).
391.4 *y ‘lhb’s ... *sm’h:c: ‘may God command’. This colon is quite misplaced, *s being an optative particle, occurring quite often in the Qunya; v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v. *s.
391.6 hbyr: obvious mistepping of hynbr. Similarly 397.1 mv’wnddbyr ‘hid it from him’, 402.8, 403.8 š’zydbyr ‘inflicted it on him’, for -ybr, better -ybyr.
391.8 p’cx’wd’n: šaddaxa r-rw’ūsa. This verb translates xadaša ‘scratched’ at 92.6 and šaddaxa at 306.1, which latter is unfortunately glossed both ‘scratched’ and ‘smashed (his head)’ in the Persian of Wetzsteim’s edition; Ar. sdz 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 *’xw-, 103.3, 470.5 mx’wd’h ‘gnawed (the bone), stripped it of flesh’, which may point to p’cx’w- ‘being scratched’. However, the stem *xšwawa- also gives Yidya axšw-, Sangl. šaw-, Wāxī šaw- ‘chew, gnaw’ (IIFL, II, 195b, 414a, 543a) and *xšwawya- the NP xišāy-, Yawm. xišāy- ‘bite’ (this latter via *xšwāy-, like xōy- ‘thresh’ < xwāy-); BSgd. ’yšy’k (my SCE) remains obscure. The alternative of connecting Xw. p’cx’w- with Sgd. x’w- ‘beat’, pxw’y- ‘kill’, etc. < -xawhaya-, 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 šr, 395.1 t’zyr, 396.4 ’lm. The same is true of h, v. 391.5 ṣryh, 397.4 mh’h, 5 šrh, etc.
’wo’nkyk: jāvūdānā, for ’wyc’nkyk, as at 167.3, 347.3.
392.7 mzbnfydh’n: not ‘verkünptte, 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-rå means ‘made smooth (the walls of) the house (with plaster)’, certainly not ‘weich’.
395.3 p’nc hy pcpk b’zryd: xāk zad dar rōy-aš. Though admittedly smudged, c’brd 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’we mdk: ‘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 infixed before the abstract ending (pl.) -uc. Comparison with the Ar. synonym at 351.4, however, shows that the glossator has here conflated two words: ’nyjk’n’wk = saxtī, tanqī (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 familiarum’.
396.5 kl’n-śwme prwzd: ‘affazat, the lady did not ‘become old’ but (with T, II, 423) buzurg-surīn šul, the same gloss as for ‘afizat at 257.7, or more literally ‘large-tailed’, like the sheep at 50.7.
396.8 ‘y šbw’k pry’ýyd: xudáy-i pāk. One is spared analysing this name of God by reading the correct sry’ýyd, 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’dÝ ñ²yn 401.6 ‘bridle ornamented with silver’, p. p. of a putative verb *βý’zy- with the routine etymology *aby-āzaya-, cf. Khot. āysān- ‘decorate’, base zay- (Bailey, Prolexis, 16).

400.2 ‘ek’Ým-šfÝγ: ‘manifold’, rather than the ‘twofold’ of the NP glosses; ‘ek’Ým ‘much, many’ 396.1, 407.3, etc., -δβ’γ as at 418.1. The same f for β in 400.3 xž-fwÝnc ‘sweet-smelling’, as at 414.5.

400.7 mryndyd: ‘called him’, clearly but wrongly pointed mrynnd.

401.2 pcm’r ‘reckoning’ likewise clearly written pcm’r, as again at 419.3, albeit sec. manu (cf. the pointing of pxw’k 401.5).

401.3 rÝst by ws: repeats 188.5, for sadaqahu = rÝst qyÝft ò-rÝ, not the sadaqahu wanted here.

401.4 pÝndÝh: for pÝyÝ’dÝh ‘purified it (wine)’, v. my 104.4. myswydÝh is a synonym (joined by wÝb ‘or’), cf. the p. p. fÝyÝl ‘pure’ (H, Dict., s.v. fswyd). The meaning ‘mixed it’ of the Arabic is not glossed.

401.4, 416.5 ÝbdÝd: ‘clapped’. The 2 pl. imperative is pointed ÝpÝβ’Ýl in the Qumya (XJ, 67): Frejman’s quotation of Tājiki Ýdp there is mistaken; Tāj. is Ýçapk ÝzdÝn, like NP Ýçape).

401.8 ḥdyth ÝynÝvÝc (ye): ‘fabricated, lying stories’. The verb is pointed Ýyt- at 187.6, 440.4, 441.7. This is the p. p. *ÝytÝdÝk, pl. *Ýc, the last letters repeated with partial pointing, for no clear reason.

402.1 [m]yÝnk, 44.6 myÝnyk: kamar. This misreading of byÝnk, -Ýk, correct at 470.8, is treated in detail in Schwartz’s review. To the related words for garments or girdles quoted there, < -yÝhÝnÝ-, we may perhaps add the hapax leg. Man. MP (‘)byÝng (Henning, Sogdica, 29, e 2b), of unknown meaning. If it is the same word, the fragmentary Sgd. equivalent could be *rÝnÝ[yÝc[q, or some other derivative of rÝn ‘belt’.

xÝrzÝwyÝdÝh f,nbsÝk: xÝb (not ‘xwub’) nÝbÝist kÝtÝb-rÝ, read βýrÝzÝwyÝdÝh, as at 481.7 (v. my 145.2), i.e. ‘adorned it in the writing’, fÝmÝps ký (my 345.3).

402.5 ÝwyÝRMÝwÝk: buzÝrÝqÝrÝ, the reading is confirmed by 169.3 f. ÝwyÝrÝÝm (unpointed) for buzÝrÝqÝrÝ, a derivative of the verb ÝwyÝ ‘to praise’, e.g. 398.7, 405.2. As the -Ý is here actually pointed, a reading with *ÝzÝm ‘-worthy’ is ruled out.

403.1 f. sjÝl mÝnst fÝnÝn: a passive, ‘sentence was recorded against (lit., reached) him’, for the active original saÝfÝala ‘alayhí; cf. my 210.3.

404.1 šbyÝwÝ-hÝyÝn CÝL hÝbÝryÝd: for ‘greased their moustaches’. Read hÝl, i.e. ‘gave them a fat condition’; šbyÝwÝ is farÝbhÝ, not êarÝbÝlÝd, 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 bšb’rydybyr: ‘entrusted it to him’, read b*sp’ryd-, as (corrected sec. manu) at 472.7.

θ: nk’c pr’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’c’v’k ‘humility’ 457.7, 474.6, etc., suggests an original *nikäti-, with which the mysterious Pahl. (Psalter) nk’hšny ‘shame, ignominy’ may perhaps be remotely connected. Read also ’y b’dysh 5(‘r), the normal gen.-dative.

Further under-pointings occur in 404.4 sb ‘horse’ (413.7 sp’), smb-bfryc ‘perfectly-formed’ (cf. 406.8 *spn-byrd ‘fully-armed’), 404.6 brw’z mfrd ‘pēš šud’ (cf. 499.2 prw’z, mbyd), 406.6 5fr ‘door’ (401.7 5βwr): in 404.4 θbš kwrst’n ‘humped grave’, 405.3 w’nk ‘cry’, the k is of course ‘unpointed’ g.

406.1 p’r’xsydybr ’y w’c: misled by the wavelling amru (for amra) the Xw. glossator has translated pōštā šud, like ištahaba at 443.5, instead of šabbaha.

In prxsy- ‘become difficult, obscure’ (also at 299.7, 361.5) we appear to have a passive < *-xraθya- to put beside the intrans. prxwθ- ‘be disturbed’ < *-xraθya- and caus. prxwyθ- ‘disturb, divert’ < *-xraθya- (H, Hb., p. 113 with n. 6); if connected with Av. xraod-, the Xw. change to -θ- was very early.

408.6 sy’k cryc: ‘ample shadow’, is actually pointed correctly crbc, v. my 130.7.

šrwk hy mkyd: is ‘er machte ihn krank’, but misrepresents Ar. ‘allala-hu, repeating rather d’alla-hu, as at 366.1.

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’r’cyd’h: ‘blamed him’, pointed simultaneously n’rcyd-, v. my 107.5.

kwnc: gūnāgūn, i.e. pl. of the following kwνk, rather gwνk, a loan from NP ġūna, different from Xw. γωνε ‘hair’, 395.8, etc.

409.1 mǐswynyd’h: ‘washed him’, v. H, Dict., s.v. γσωνυ-.

410.6 ’nhucyd: ‘intended it’, misprint for -γθ; v. my 81.6.

410.8 y’ nkδ xb myyd: does not translate hamā rōz raft but, as again at 434.4, dar āxir-i šab raft. ’nkδ, better ’ndδ, is ‘complete’, as Parth. ’ndδ, Gsd. ’ntyγ. 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 šw’c 76.8, 206.3, 325.6, 482.3, or a by-form?

411.8 s’w hy b’δδ: ‘dyed it black’, read p’δδ, as at 184.5, 388.7.

412.5 hbrn hy h’bd: the glossator either understood NP nuyēd as nużdagānī (dād ő-rā), i.e. ‘gave him (a reward for bringing) good news’, or Ar. navwša-hu like nauwala-hu at 413.6, with (h)b’dn ‘gift’.

413.1 marg. brd škk’tC: ‘*striped material’, has no -T- stroke, although škš is probably fem. or pl. of an unattested *škšt, < *fra-krštaka-?

416.2 ʾyfnc hybr r’zyd: not quite bīpōšānūd murda-rā but ‘drew a sheet over him’; (ʾ)yfnc = cūdar 29.4, 415.5, r’zyd = kāṣīd 353.7.

416.4 f. mny’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. j' psy 419.4 'for the debt'.

416.5 y, 'ny'n 'sy'k: here 'the repayment', read y, 'ny'n '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 'mä'mk 'movement', 406.5 'wrv'k 'belief', 294.2 'wz'k 'meeting', 507.5 'bdry'k 'exception'; with abl. in -c, 457.1 *'sks'k 'being high', 458.1 *'sécy'k 'uniting', 384.6 *'slly'k 'incitement'.

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

βy'dkynk 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 x'rd 'he ate' was intended, it is equally a mistranslation. The correct spelling of the adjective is βy'dkynk, as at 434.4 and, with initial f-, 463.5, 480.5. Similarly the noun βy' stick 'dawn' 391.4, 431.4, etc., with f- at 421.3, 448.7.

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

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

418.7 fr'wyk hyn b'ern: '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 rāwuyt = rīwāyat kardam) than a derivative of Ar. rwy. 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'wy'dh, but the caus. meaning is inappropriate here.

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

419.7 prtw'w/wc [ . . . ]: yālibād sud bar hay. Possibly a hyphen has fallen out after prtw, at the end of a line; this cannot be two words (which would mean *victorious place'), but is the pl. of *prtw'wk 'victoriousness'. The *hay 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 sr'hay [ . . . ].

'xsy ny'ST: for 'an average, moderate thing', this is a peculiar misreading. The adjective is surely Ar. mn'sxb in the sense 'proportionate'.
420.8 'y nscy'k'wk (‘n, gen.): like nākasī, this is ‘meanness, worthlessness’ rather than ‘schimpfliche Tat’; v. my 298.1.

spzy'wc [..] mk[yd]: gardankaśī kard ba-ō. The obliterated letters can only be hyθ.

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

421.8 'y swyck [.. .?] : for afsāna-gōyanda, the second half of the compound is known from the pl. 174.3 'swyck-knyvr'. Forming nouns -yck is not common (e.g. fem. 353.6 b'mycy'k ‘loan’, masc. 480.4 grycy'k ‘mountain’), but as a clear diminutive cf. 19.4 n'wycy'k = NP nāvak, nāvēa; (')swyck ‘story’ is thus probably so formed from 'swy’ news, message 71.6, 171.5, 393.3 < srawah-(H, 'Lg.'), 435, corrected Hb., p. 113 f., n. 9).

422.6 hm-’rōn hybē [.. .] : corresponds more closely to the gloss in T, π, 483 ham-dēvār šuḏ bā ō. How hm-’rōn ‘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 ’rōn, e.g. in the Qunya (XJ, 104, misunderstood by Frejman), conceivably *srōn < darana-.

423.1 hydēYNθ : actually hydēBt with d added above, but for ‘read them to him’ it can be no other than hydēynθ < hydē-hy-n-θ, as already H, ‘Verb’, p. 47, n. 2.

423.3 y'n'k ēy'k hyth mkýd: the closest NP gloss, bārīkī kard bā ō dar sumār, is omitted: it shows that the other should read tanukī (not tangī; similarly tanuk for tang at 408.2). So probably read y' n'k(r)k bēx'k [sic] ‘the fine, delicate division’, though the masc. appearance of the adj. is puzzling. On n'r'k, v. my 329.3; bēx'k is verbal noun of bēx- ‘divide, distribute’, 442.8 bēx'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'.wrzy'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 bēyNk[.. ..]: the -n- (it could be no other letter of that shape) appears to be pointed here; from the NP and Turkish glosses (T, π, 489 ādāb nasībsizliği) it is possible to reconstruct ’y bēynk’uk ’y ’dībn, or y’ ’dby’?] meaning ‘having no portion of adab’, not ‘die elende Lage der Bildung’. The underlying *bēynk ≡ bašt (distinguish bēynk ‘naked’ 416.6, etc., < *bagna-) is perhaps from *bigna-, in OP Bagabīna, Ḍabābīna; if so, this would support Bartholomae’s derivation from bag, *bag (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 jdl) 486.5 to 487.3, both fēwr'c xnd'r they contested (for the precedence). B. has omitted the first and best NP gloss pēdī girift bā ō (so T, π, 491; W, ba ō). See H, Dict., s.vv. ’fēwr et seqq.

425.4 p'rwxaYD9: ‘embraced him’, read p’rwastyθ, as 440.6 p’rwast(y)yny; cf. also 452.4 mzwxst = dar pêcid; -wxs- incho. of *wag (cf. Khot. vaj-, SGS, 122)?
425.5 **brkc ś'ẏy'c pr fyk**: ‘may He bestow blessings on thee’. The verb, a *hapax*, must be from Av. *frādaya-*, and so be read ś'zy-, as ‘nbz'vy- < *nipādaya-, nh'zy- < *nīhādaya-* (H, Hb., 112), w'zy- < wādaya- (my 158.7).

The writing as one word of 65.8 *pbβycz* ‘nearth’, etc., shows that *prβyk* here is intended to be the same. The 2 sg. suffix is not pointed β in *Mug.*, but cf. 35.3 f. cβr ‘four’, with the same development of *θor-, and in the *Quny* the many examples of -β(‘) quoted by Bogoljubov, ‘Lič’, 10.

425.8 **xWB’c**: nękōn, for *xwβwc*, as at 360.8; presumably a simple writing error.

426.1 **beγ’m**: ‘message’, of course *poγ’m*, as at 361.3.

427.3, 432.3, 495.3 **b'rnxyd**: ‘he hired, rented’, read *prxn’d*, as at 430.3, 449.3; *prxn- < *par-i-xyna-, Skt. pari-krī, as ’xn- ‘buy’ (v. my 90.1), *sxn- ‘ransom’ (my 146.6).

428.8 **p’ctsydyθ**: payvastā bā ō, 446.2 **p’cσdyc**: payvasta śud badō. Probably *peβs(y)-* ‘be joined’, passive of *peβnec- ‘join’ 80.5, 131.7, (-βeyc-) 489.5; cf. the related forms at my 388.1.

429.1 **b’βγyycyk n’W prw’zd**: sō-yi dad-i čap gīr yārūn-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. xfd = bigīr! It must then be a noun, i.e. ‘your prw’z’, which at 183.3 = pēs ravaṇa. The imperative is then n’d (plainly so pointed), which occurs twice in the *Quny*, glossed NP dār!: *XJ*, 71 n’d y’ ṣy pr’d = dār si taḷāq-rā; (previously unpublished) n’d y’δw δrm n’w pkn’d = dār īn du diram-rā nān. So the sense appears to be literally ‘hold your foregoer left-handed’. prw’z is always fem., so b’βγyycyk is probably adverbial.

429.7 f. **F mös’n hyn CXYzn yt**: for Ar. muṣāwalat ‘circling (in a fight)’, rather than simply *hamla kardan*. This is ēxrn (so pointed, albeit badly), lit. ‘wheels’, as confirmed by 478.3 śḥrna mk’zd for taṣawwala. The concord (‘wheelings is’) is remarkable.

429.8 **γyγn’c c:mös’n hyn ’y myθ**: W’s NP gloss has the wrong tense; better T, II, 502 (xudāy) mēgardānād rōzgārhā-rā miyān-i mardūmān. In γγγ-c’, -c, -n’- is the object suffix = ’y myθ ‘the days’, -c apparently anticipates the unique c-mös’n hyn (otherwise always f’ mös’n).

430.5 **r’zydyθ fy xtf**: ‘competed with him in calligraphy’. Although apparently pointed, the ‘r’- is probably to be read *w*-., as at 490.8 w’zy’fr xf’. 430.7 **b’wrdyc** and **b’wrdyc**: both *jūdā śud az vay*. Patently one is wrongly pointed. 425.5, 441.6 confirm b’wrdyc.

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

In 431.4 c-βy’dk hybr m’s’zd ‘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 ṽ, it does not explain the same addition to 433.1 *st’xy’d hybr *hyθ* mk’zd = gustāxī kard bar ṽ, which regularly has -br at 434.5, 454.5, 461.1, 484.5.
431.4 *fcy'kc hyθ əndxər: 'he raced with him' and 'they raced (one another)'. Apart from the inconsistency, both are to be read *xey'kc. Cf., for the same NP verb davānūdan, xwe'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-tāçaya-, via *hvātēaya-, and the putative intrans. *xey- < *hwatēya- < *hu-tāçya-.

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

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

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

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

433.1 b'ɔxs[û]: 'took refuge with him', read p'txsst-, as at 477.3, p'txsθdθ at 429.4, 436.6. p'txs- is to be equated with Khot. pathīs- 'refrain' < -θang- (SGS, 68).

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

433.3 'y b'ryx: for muzd, a'fr (as in T, 11, 509, not časm āāstān thereof), read p'r'v, v. my 129.5.

433.4 šr'mθk mk'yd: rang kard, but one would expect an object, as in T, 11, 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 yuneyh (cf. 413.3).

433.7 'y . . . ūsc: read simply x'sc, pl. of y' x'sk 174.1, i.e. 'lines'. Ar. asāṭr is ambiguous and can be translated satr-hā, as T, 11, 511, and afsāna-hā, as in W.

434.6 'y əxj, but əc 49.5, 50.7: 'ram(s)', surely read əc and NP gōcān, all from Turkish.

437.1 ū p'cndyk: read p'cndək, pointed n and y simultaneously. For muntazīm, rištā, this is plainly p. p. of penc- 'to thread', nazzama, e.g. 405.1 p'nwθd'n of pearls on a thread, also 190.4 p'nwθdvw of thread in a needle. The inchoative is pencsw-, 454.5 p'nwθdvw. The base is clearly pati-nau-, p. p. -nata-; cf. Khot. pwnya- 'insert' <-nau-. (Bailey, Prolexis, 318, s.v. vanuta).

437.5 'dr hy h'θr'd əwd 'lm: repeats 352.8, i.e. aqbas-hu, instead of iqtabasa wanted here.

438.4, 11, 468.2 mnrfd’h: ‘swallowed it’, v. my 113.1.

Enough remains of the Muq. chapter on 'Verbs' to call for a further examination, to follow.
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Words are quoted in lexical and not necessarily actual form. References are to the page and line under which they are discussed; they do not necessarily occur there in Muq.