THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—IV

By D. N. MacKenzie

This fourth article 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 Zamanšərī, 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’rəzd for p-, ʃrm for ʃ-, etc., and in the first instance only the more debatable transliterations of the Xw. glosses are discussed. We take up the tale at Muq., Benzing’s p. 316.

439.4 Məsxš’t: ‘they were reconciled, intimate’, with m- quite certain, < *-səxša-, inchoative to ms’cyd- ‘prepared’ < ham-səcəya-, though closer in meaning to mws’cyd-yə 426.7, 428.6 ‘made peace with him’. Cf. 424.4 ‘ssk’we ‘consideration’, and XSGd. ssx- (Schwartz) = BSgd. ns’γys- ‘be arranged, reconciled’ (TSP, 3, 214; Vim., 141 和 默 ~ sandhisāmagrī).

439.6 yu-prs ḵən: read ’yu’prs, as at 473.6, translating (T, II, 524) o āmad-u-šud mēkundād. Only ’y-, the stem ‘come’, is recognizable.

439.8 mp刹T腹部y ywvr: read mpzʃytd-, lit. bīburid bīyabān-rā, as at 446.4, with an unexplained intrusive -d-; cf. 213.5 mpzʃytd’hyd.

440.4 məz̰ʃp̲t̲d, 512.8 məz̰y̲d̲: read mβz̰p̲d̲ and mβz̰p̲d̲ ‘flashed’, v. my 120.8.

440.6 marg. [b]y’rynkJ š̱r’b hy b’ʃrd: a mistranslation of iytabaqa as yabagahū, q.v. 189.3.

b’dʃxš’t, 468.4 b’dʃxtʃ’t, 473.3 b’dʃxtʃst, 504.6 p’dʃxtʃst: all for b’dβʃz-, ‘spread, scattered’, as at 457.1, 514.8, 515.2, incho. to bβʃz’y- ‘spread, unfold’ 180.5, 396.2, etc.; cf. BSgd. wyβʃʃʃs- ‘spread’ (Vim., 82), < *dəʃəs-, *dʌʃʃa-, and Xw.-bβʃγ̀ ‘-fold’ 329.7, 357.7, my 400.2, etc., Sgd. wyβʃγ̀ ‘explanation’ < *-dɔengkapə.

440.7 yx̱fd ḏryd: mispointing of d’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 wzn[y̱]...k ‘w’ɾdyk: lit. ‘mixed relationship’, apparently *wzn[y̱]’k’wk, abstract to wzn[y̱] 350.7, 422.2.

441.5 [d]r m’ʃərd: ‘the fire blazed’, read *y’dr, as mɔ y’dʃr 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’yʃst, from *byʃs-, perhaps < *api-afsa-, √ap, in the sense ‘have something attain, happen to one’, cf. XSGd. ptyʃs- ‘happen’ to MSgd. pty’p- ‘reach’.


441.7 *mcrwbsyd*: ‘bathed’, apparently *mzrwbsyd*, \(<*xraub?\). It is perhaps related to *xrb*, my 220.4.

442.2 *y pkn|d w‘xsrd*: *nān-x‘uriš kard ba sirku*, would imply a trans. verb *wuxr* ‘to dunk’, or the like. But we already have both *ngwzy* ‘to dunk’ (\(m\)nkwsyd‘w 439.4), \(<*\)ham-gaudaya-, and *wy’ry* ‘to submerge’ 401.6, caus. of *wy’ry* ‘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. *weg‘l = ōyār ‘ebb*. This is simply *w xrd* ‘he ate (the bread) therein’; it is not a pause form *xrsd*, as at 440.5, perhaps because there was no room for the intended *fy ęfey ‘in the vinegar’, cf. 25.7. See also my 454.2.

442.8 *f*xrs’h*: ‘divided it’, for \(\beta x\)\(x\), \(v\). my 213.3. The verb is nowhere fully pointed in Muq., except in \(\beta x\)\(k\), my 423.3.

443.8 *ms7mydh*: ‘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 *xurda angār ‘consider (them) “eaten” (viz. triple divorce)’ and the reply *msp\‘mn’d (or *msp\‘mn’ n’d?), omitted by Frejman, angāštamin. ‘sp\‘my- must then be ‘to esteem’ from ‘consider, think (highly of)’.

444.4 *pdrskm\‘dh*: ‘snatched it’, otherwise always *p\‘r\‘skmd-, v. my 160.3, for which this is presumably an error.

449.1 *mpxyt fy.n\‘dzkh*: better simply *fy\‘dzkh*, as written, /f\(\acute{\text{i}}\)d-/ from /f\(\text{r}\)ndāzikahi/, the whole meaning lit. ‘he cut to his measure’; for ‘imitated him’, T, II, 547 kār kard bar midāl-i ō, the glossator seems to have understood ‘cut (out shoe patterns). . .’.

449.6 *mtsyc ‘y ḥqq*: ‘took (not ‘forderte’) his due from him’; T, II, 548, has *bisat ad vaz ḥaq\‘i ṣārā-

449.7 *δwsd’h y ‘s*: 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-ryw\‘a = spuma lactis* is not ‘Sahne’ but ‘froth’. At 26.1 *R\(\text{Ry}k\), i.e. zrk, translates *d\(\text{w}d\)ya = pellicula “skin on milk”, but since both are glossed *sar-sīr 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 *xrg’ *kyx fmy cy nfqt ‘if, hidden from me, you spend (anything) from my things on other than (your allotted) maintenance’, with the gloss *prdk cmk ‘y bṣ’h’weym ‘hidden from me, that is without my permission’, cf. *xw’h\‘we 275.3, 499.4. In view of the stem ending *-y-, 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\‘sy- (not *prsy-) for the intrans. stem.

450.4 *ḥsrn ḥy h\‘srzd*: (read hĂ̈dsn) is ‘gave him a gift’, not ‘sought one from him’, another mistake of the glossator.

*Distinguish prdk ‘curtain’ 173.7, my 433.2, probably via NP *parda, but ultimately from the same root; cf. further Khot. pādka, etc. (Bailey, Acta Or., 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. nbbrs-

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 fraty mkd: ‘made a roast’, read byry; v. H, Dict., s.v. 'brty.

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

452.6 'y jr'yuk: ‘the lamp’, of course er'γy'k, as at 494.3.

452.8 b'syd y'rsyn: ‘the rope was cut’, read p'xsyd. Just as pxy- ‘to cut’ has both imperfets mpxyt and p'xyt (v. my 309.1), so the passive pxs(y)-has a variety of forms, mpxsyd 454.7, 456.1, mpxsyd' (?), 458.3, 462.5, mpxsd 455.6, mpxst 455.4, this p'xsyd, and p'xst 468.6. The pres. part. ‘cutting’ is *pxw'hnk, pl. -n'es 111.2, but ‘sharp’ pxyk 41.2, 171.2. Altogether these forms show that ('pxy-/pxw')- is < *apa-xwāhayā-, like Sgd. pxw'y- (H, ‘Lg.’, 432), the p. p. ('pxst (v. my 114.2) = Sgd. pxvest < *xwasta-, and ('pxs- probably < *xvas-so-, an inchoative later taking (a passive !) -y- in pxy-.

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

b'ssāy: 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 mšr'yr: ‘overflowed’, an altered, over-pointed writing of mʃrwr' 466.1, 5, etc., as 454.2 mʃrwr' should also be read; H, Dict., s.v. 'brwr-

454.2 'kw'x w'xrd fy:owb: ‘became submerged in the water’. At 220.3 B. read 'kwC, 457.2. The corresponding caus. verb, however, is 'kwC-, 359.4 m'kwcydyw fy cwb, with the -e- one would expect from comparison with Sgd. 'kwC-, *qyC 'suspend’ (Schwartz, review, ZDMG, cxx, 2, in press, n. 7), Parth. ’quxt (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 yātā xw'rndan. See also my 442.2.

454.4 mrskpd: a rather punctilious reproduction of the facsimile, for mrskwngk ‘men’ (H, Hb., p. 120, n. 1).

454.7 y'b'kyynn: for *bgyn'k ‘glass’, an assimilated loan from NP aðgīna (H, Dict.).

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

454.8 nwrynq 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 = bā fulān, as at 456.5, etc.

455.3 w'dršyd: ‘was strangled’. The unpointed -R- in this hapax is tantalizing. ‘To strangle’ is wδžy-, 187.7, 401.1 w'džyd'h, < *awa-darzaya-
(H, ‘ Lg.’, 426): is this then a secondary passive *wōðsy-, like bōsy- ‘be opened’ (my 308.8) to bōsy- ‘open’, or a genuine *wōdr- < *darz-sa- with added -y- (as pēsy-, 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 -Sey- from a stem in -Sy- is ‘zāssy-’ in 455.7 mx’ssy’r ‘(the hair) hung down, loose’, to ‘x(w)s(y)- ‘release, let down’, mx’sd 128.8, 208.7, mx’s’sd 182.8, mx’syd 384.5, mxw’s’d 176.4, 302.4, mxw’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 (JRA S, 1970, 1, p. 69). *pscy- is the passive of *ps- ‘tear’, 89.5, 402.1, etc.; *apa-said-, however, intrans. -sidya- in Pahl. *psyh-, MMP *bysy- ‘be destroyed’, XSGd. psyd- ‘fail’, would have given a verb *bsy-, with a corresponding trans. in all probability *bsnd-, neither of which occurs.

455.4 *y śwy: ‘the stitch’ (rather than ‘seam’), here and 28.1, looks more like śry. If < *sarga-, a connexion with NP širāz, Taj. šeroza ‘embroidery, bookbinding tape’ is probable, with the same development as šēr, MMP šgr, Parth. štr ‘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’chyk ‘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.’ywo: ‘from the sheath’, read ‘γω, abl. of ‘γvκ 41.6, v. my 209.4.

458.1 m’zynd *y s[f]yk: ‘the bone broke’ (ustuzān 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 m’synd’d: ‘came to an end’, really m’sn’d, with -ṇ- simultaneously pointed m’snd-, as 408.7, and msyd-, as 306.1.

The p. p. of this verb *sn- occurs in a previously unmapped 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’n)k) zafāna si ast — būgil kim zafāna ucc turur — yw’ry’n ky zj’n k sy yīl, zj’n sy yīl ‘know that languages (?) are three’.

(2) mādī — guđasta — kāčmi — ‘sn’dk ‘past’.

(3) mudārī — hāt, akmīn — imdi — h’lyk, wyō, wydy ‘present, now’.

(4) māṣdar — kardan, guftan, x’urdan, guvārdan, zadan, nivīštan — qīmaq, *sōzlāmāk, yīmāk, sīyāmāk, urmāk (*urm’k!), bitimāk — ’kt, bōd, xwrd, ēBR’k, SqlParameter k, nps’k ‘Infinitive: to do, speak, eat, digest, hit, write’.

(5) bar iṇ qiyās bāyad dānīstan — bu qiyās . . . bilmāk — fy n’n qy’s n’ yw’ry’k γwε ‘one should know them in this form’.

(6) ’k’k, bōr’k, xw’r’k ‘doing, speaking, eating’.
(7) mustaqbil — āyanda — kālgān — 'synk 'future, coming'.
(8) ğ'l — kār — ḍīlgīq, īs, āyvl — kth, 'kth, we' 'act, business'.
(9) qawl — guft, saxun (!) — sōz, ḥadīṣ — ḥyt [for ḥdyī?] '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) 'snīyk', but it is hard to decide between the two; the unpointed zā-Š'YNk, my 238.7, is no help.

458.5 mfrxst: 'it roasted', for mfrxst (H, Dīct., s.v. 'brxst), begins a spate of under-pointings, including xdrk-f'm 459.3 'dust-coloured' (-b'm 459.4), sbydk 459.8, 460.8 'white' (my 248.7), ğmry 460.5 'green' (cmry 459.2), pcy'mfrk'wk 461.3 'prophetess' (-b'r 6.6), f'reyt 461.4 'he found' (my 375.4), mżfd- 462.1 'absorbed' (mżf-d. 469.8), brx's following prx's 462.3 'strife'.

461.3 b'kynd 'b'ywšyk: 'he was filled with wrath', read b'knyd, from bknr-, as at 505.1, both times with strange omission of the prep.' (H, Dīct., s.v. 'b'ywšk), cf. 514.3 c'b'wyšk.

462.1 māššt: for parāiqanda šud we already have 437.1 šsd and b'dβxzst, māsšt is 'joined, united' 456.6, incho. of 'scy' (v. my 359.6) and it is this meaning the glossator has given to Ar. taša'aba; cf. 300.1 šc'yd'h 'repaired it' for ša'aba (NP bīsīkast and farāham kard).

462.7 kwcdnoc: not 'avoided him', but 'inquired of him', as at 397.3, 467.3. The glossator seems to have understood tanakkabarhu wa... 'anhu as tanaaqaba 'anhu (after tanaaqahat), cf. kwcdn c-n'n 389.8 for naqqa'ba 'anhu.

y.yyw f:ryj k'cyd: for y'γryw f-rn', lit. 'threw himself into trouble', as reflexive of f-rn'y k'cyd 435.5, contains an odd spelling in an odd translation; ta'annata is normally translated like a'nata, not 'anita = fy rn' hwb'd 247.6.

463.3 wssj mkd: 'coquetted', for wss, as correctly at 474.5, pl. of wssk at 249.4. A connexion with the verb wss- 'to hang loose' 472.2, 481.7 is not very flattering to XX. womanhood.

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

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

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

464.2 cy pcx'ssh: 'from his clothes', read pcy'syh, like pšy perylh 479.5 'after his father'. Both pcy's 'clothing' 469.8 and pcy(r-) 'father' are m. sg.; these ablative in */-i/ are, therefore, exceptions to the general abl.-loc. */-a/ (H, 'Verb', p. 46, n. 1); cf. f-pcxx'sh 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 b'yndk'wk: bandaqī, is simply b'ydk'wk, for b'dk-, v. my 367.2.

464.8 bdw fy nyk'n cye: for 'accumulated wealth', is a mistranslation. 'y nyk'n y'w'ry'r 489.6 is 'the people' knew one another', T, II, 656 yakāgar-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). cye is f. or pl. p. p. of cy-, cf. cyd'k 45.4 (H, 'Lg.', 427).

465.2 'rəwe myd fy 'lm f.'myd: 'went deep into science', hardly 'science of learning', so f.'myd a substitute for fy 'lm? If a f. noun < *muxtâ- (cf. 'yḏ, yṯ, H, Dict.), does it have ā-, as 'mxs- 'learn' 474.8, or not, as nwcy-'teach' 404.5, i.e. do we read f.'myd or /fâmyyda/ from *f' 'myd?

465.8 b'səḏ <Renderer> 'y zeqkh: 'his tongue slipped', with T, P, 589 bilayzîd, rather than 'blieb hängen'; v. my 453.6.


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

468.1 β'yd cy βγcn h'bryd: 'gave gifts nā-xʷās'a', not 'a gift from gifts'; read βγucy 'additional', H, Dict., s.v. 'βγucy, and my 477.8. βγcn is f. pl. of β'yd 445.7, and so read 470, 502.4.

468.2 pr-ōB'D: 'cross-legged' (not 'in die Runde'), pointed pr ḏ/d, must contain ṣ'ā 'g. 'leg', leaving pr- to account for. This recalls pr- in a gloss in the Qu'na (XJ, 88), k-f' m' ny pr'n-k 'that you cannot restrain me', with a p. p. to p'r'y'r 492.7 'they restrained'. That the verb is p'r-y- is confirmed by a secondary p. p. in another Qu'na gloss: k-f' m'r-d'r 'y 'llh ny p'r'y'd kye 'that God cannot restrain me'. We have already met the corresponding intr. p'r-šy-'be hidden', my 450.3. pr-c-p' could then be another inverted bahuvrīhi 'with restriction /concealment of the feet', prc < *parti-, Av. ₃par, 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'v, here omitted, it there translates sana'a, with which the glossator has evidently taken taqann'a as synonymous.

468.8 y.'bwk: 'the spittle' (xayū, not xīv) is βzwk at 187.3, 4, showing that the preceding 'bwk 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' 485.5 'each', for */i akdam/., 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'gb'res'k (not y' byres'k) 'the sufficiency', ānči ba-vay basanda kunad.

469.1 y.'re-d'r: 'for the job'. 'r'k 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 'nbyth: 'from his companions', for 'nbtyh or *nbthynh ? See my 464.2.

469.5 mpxsd 'y ywyr: is not 'he wandered in the desert' (cf. p'rzwèd fy ywyr 145.5) but 'the desert was crossed', pass. to mpxytddyd; v. my 439.8, and for the verb 452.8.
469.7 mβyx’d’h: ‘learnt it’, read mβyx’d-, as at 496.1, 504.3; v. H, Dict., ‘βyx- < *aby-axṣaya-.

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.

. 1dk’wc hyθh mykd: read (m)b’rk’wc, for tabarruk in the sense ‘benediction’, i.e. ‘blessed him, called benedictions on him’.

471.3 ktrm’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 msmy’d’n ˚y ˚sɔcn, in marg. f:hs’kynk [?], f:x’skynk]: read msmd’n ‘wiped (his hands)’, from ˚sm-, *ham- form of sm- ‘wipe out’, 90.6, 230.8, 315.7, 417.2; cf. ˚st’-smv’k 27.2 = dostmala. For mindil = dostar we find fnsckykd 26.8, 31.3, a diminutive of fnsck 29.4.1 ‘sheet’, and it is ‘f-fnsckykd that presumably lies behind the corrupt *fc’s(n)k(y)k added in the margin.

472.4 mwɔnyd: is certainly ‘smiled’, 422.6, 442.2, etc.; cf. perhaps ɔny- ‘tremble’ 513.1. NP biqumārid, 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. Adib-Toussi, in his excellent Glossaire des mots littéraires (Farhang-e logāt-e adabi), Tabriz, 1345–1967–, π, 732, has it from Baihaqi’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 ˚yβyd and mpxsyd: B. has mixed the pointing. ˚yβyd ‘took’ is fully pointed, except -d, and the next word regrettably reads mmBxsyd. Even a */mambaxsid/ should be written *mnb-, so this is presumably only an error for mpxsyd, v. my 452.8.

473.3 br’c p’rzd: 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’βrzd: the bold square brackets, otherwise used for letters to be supplied, here mean that the ‘is superfluous.

474.5 f’ mɔ’n w’e’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’ ˚ryw b’rwxswyd: ‘diverted himself’, read p’rxwysyd; v. my 406.1.

475.1 mswny’d ˚y nm’cy: ‘made his ablutions for the prayer’, with -Şr omitted (H, Dict., s.v. ‘yswny-’).

475.2 f’ t’wy: ‘on the stick’, is remarkable. ‘asā is tyy at 43.8, 44.1, 234.5 f’ tyyyy, while t’wy 4.4 is ‘poll-tax’ < *tauga-, cf. Sgd., Parth. tuj-, MMP tuzz- ‘pay, atone’.

475.3 bryɔy: ‘belt, baldric’ rather than ‘Schärpe’, is preyɔy at 409.2.

475.7 qsm’t by mk’r f’ mɔ’n lyn: translates exactly the gloss in T, π, 626 bazx karxand ो-रा dar miyān-i ेsān, not the distorted one quoted from W.

477.6 s’n-k’r’wɔk: ‘facility’, spelled with internal alif mamdāda, is
remarkable. The loss of initial ā- is possible (cf. NKd. p-sānā(h)i ‘with ease’), but the madda is probably only a reminder of the NP āsāṅkār 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'z'd 230.1 and γ'z'v 511.7.

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

478.2 tʃw' mkyd: an obvious mistake due to reading tatāwawafa again, as in the previous line, for tatāwawafa; cf. 413.2, (510.5) trsk hyb 〈w'sd〉 ‘put a collar on . . .’.

478.3 γ'yw hybr [w'yd] 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'yw) remarks, this is a mixture of γ'yw hybr w'yd 193.2, 211.8, 471.7, etc., and γ'yw w'syd 445.6, 490.5 ‘negligently leaving the choice to the reader’, soil. 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 ḡalala and tatāwala, both of which have a pejorative sense, as afdalā (361.7) and tatāwvala (here) respectively.

478.7 tʃw' mkyd: for ḫwδ. Note that this is bōy-i x'as, baxūr, also at 16.2, 465.2, 8, distinct from βw's'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-say'a), has taken tamayyasa as trans., against the NP ġudā ṣud 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. knkč'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 /or-/ or /urcy/- < *wartaya-, trans. to 'wrd- (and not /awrciy- ‘make return’ 362.2, etc., < ā-wartaya-), this spelling y'wrc- must represent /yāwr/- as well as /yāwar/-; v. my 424.3.

481.2 y'γryw mnywyd: ‘dressed himself’ must be for mnywūnd〈yd〉, as at 476.8.

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

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

484.2 xšn x'ry'r: where the NP glosses have ḫān kardān, T, 11, 649 šāmšīr zanān, the Xw. glossator has understood taḏālādū as ‘they fought with whips’, v. my 299.3, on account of jaḏadhah = zšy hy b'nyd 79.6.
hārn ḥ'br'r: ‘they gave gifts (ḥbdn)’ is also a mistaken translation of tarafadā, based on rafadahu = ḥbdn ḫy ḥ'bṛd 80.4.

484.3 ṭdtk'wk mk'r: ‘they were present, made an appearance’, yet again a translation based on the simplex šahīda 252.8; a similar gloss for tašāhadā appears in T, 11, 649 bā yakhātgar ḥāzīr šudand.

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

486.6 pry nywny b'rwx's'r: ‘they embraced’, read p'rwx's'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’, 'nbš'd'h 316.7, we must concur with this reading; *'pš- ‘ask’ < prsa-, 'nbš- ‘consult’ < ham-prsa.

488.7 nšk f'ry prxs myt d'n xryd: lit. ‘this which was in the vessel he drank’, as T, 11, 665 has, harcī dar inā būd (az šarāb, hama) ō-rā bix'urd (šarāb-x'aranda).

490.4 s'wār: ‘they jumped’, mispointing for s'wāz'r, as at 489.2; v. my 82.2.

491.7 fr'd'wc mk'r: ‘brotherliness’ requires initial β-, as β'rd 150.4 shows.

491.9 cy'k xnd'r: certainly read cy'k; v. my 431.4.

492.7 B'r'y'r: ‘they restrained’, for p'r'y'r, v. my 468.2.

492.8 wfy 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 ḫ'yšd ṣ'yf d:pcx's: lit. ‘took cover in clothes’, for ‘dressed warmly’; H, Dict., s.v. ṣ'ud.

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

'y ḫ'ryk b'nzyd: for p'zn'd, is simply ‘lit the lamp’, as at 346.4 p'zn'd'h. Emmerick (JRAS, 1970, 1, p. 69) points the similarity of Pth. pdyn- (Waxī pižing-, however, is very doubtful; v. Lorimer, Wakhī lg., s.v.) and could have added the closer Šuyānī, etc., pižin-, pižid, pass. pižis-. All these forms suggest an Elr. by-form (pa-t-) *day- of IE *aīd 'burn', with stems *d(a)ina- and *d(a)īsa-. Xw. pzn-, moreover, indicates a late date for the palatalization of *pa(d)inz-.

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

495.1 yw'č hyd 'mryd: instead of ‘asked him for help’, this is ‘considered him brave’, cf. yw'č 399.1, etc., 'mrd 494.7, 495.2. Yet again the Xw. glossator has been misled by the simplex, nafida = dīlēr šud 253.7.

495.2 b'žnyd'h: for bīrahānīd ō-rā, read y'žnyd-, v. my 374.1; y'žnyp-perhaps denom. < *viśarzana-, Skt. viśarjana- ‘discharge, dismissal’.
495.3 $b'rnx\text{yd}'h$: ‘hired him’, for $p'rnx\text{yd}$-, 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 *$\text{pari-}$xrī, and Sgd. $prxyy$ ‘compensation’ from *$\text{parixraya}$-, Skt. $\text{parikraya}$ 4 (and my unhappy reference at 129.5 to Av. $\text{p\text{r}a}$- to be struck out).

495.4 marg. $'frs\ldots$: of the few words beginning so, only one has any relevance to this line, viz. $'frsMy$d 504.6 = $\text{ma}$\text{sv}$\text{ra}$, but both spellings are sadly unclear. From Av. $fr\text{asa}$- ‘question’?

495.8 $y\ p'\text{sk} w'd\text{'ryd}$: for $w$- (better, probably, $w'$) with $d\text{'ryd}$ ‘turned the back thereto’, v. my 91.1, 362.1.

496.4 $bncyk\ hyc\ kwz\text{yd}$: this is ‘sought victory from him’, as at 494.4, with the same misinterpretation of $nu\text{sr}$\text{at} as at 484.8; $bncyk <$*apa-nut\text{i}$-.

497.2 j$'xyk' kwz\text{yd}$: lit. ‘sought nursing, suckling’ with $c'xyk$ the verbal noun of $c'wy$, my 96.2.

497.4 $p'j'k'w\text{nd}'n\w'k\ f'r\text{yt} f:n'n$: for $p'c$-, as at 399.4, and $b'r\text{yt}$, my 375.4, lit. ‘acquired usufruct in it’.

497.8 tyk hyc $\delta\text{'ryd}$: $\text{tang d\text{\d{a}}s\text{t}}$ az $\hat{o}$, shows that even in monosyllables ‘final’ $'a$- was fronted, $\text{tang} > /t\hat{\imath}g/$. 

498.1, 507.1 $y.'\delta'r'h$: ‘his belly’, with $'h$ to show that $(w)\delta r$ is fem., also $y.'u\delta r$ 171.6, so read $y.'\delta r$, as B. has at 154.5.

498.8 $b\text{xst}$: ‘became firm’, for $y\text{dst}$, v. my 166.1.

498.1 $'y yrdk$: ‘the neck’, mispointed for $\gamma r\delta k$, as in $\gamma r\delta k\text{-}b\text{nd}$ 47.5 ‘neck-rope’.

501.2 $\beta ndk\ldots$: repeats $\beta ndk\ h\text{y}\ \delta\text{'ryd}$ 367.2, q.v.

502.7 $\text{bewyd}$: ‘deposit, pledge’, read $*\text{peryd}$ and cf. $*\text{p}e\text{rdvk}$ 5.8; v. Schwartz, in W. B. Henning memorial vol., p. 386, n. 9.

502.8 $Y'B\text{bd}$: ‘$\text{ul}\dot{\text{a}}j$, v. my 150.2.

503.3 my$r\text{st}$: ‘woke up’, for all that it is spelled so at 473.1, 476.6, is certainly $mqr\text{st}$ here. This is nevertheless very slight evidence on which to base a comparison with the modern Pers. coincidence of $q$ and $\gamma$.

503.8 *$'y \text{r}\delta d\ 'y \text{llh}'n$: would be ‘God’s guidance’ (though Xw. has ‘$m'nyk$ 494.7). Read ‘$u\delta d$ for ‘the peace of God (be with you !)’; cf. 69.4 ‘$u\delta d\ dy-\beta c$ ‘peace, ease be yours’, for $\text{ma}$:\text{r}$\text{h}$\text{a}$\text{n}$ b\text{t}k$. Henning’s translation ‘wide’ (‘Lt.’, 431) needs revising, but not of course the implied derivation <$*\text{wi}$-$\text{s\=a}$-\text{t}$-, Sgd. $u\delta t$ ‘open’, etc.

504.3 $m\text{bxyd}'h$: is simply ‘learnt it’, not ‘profited from it’; v. my 469.7.

504.4 $y\text{zny}'k$: ‘security’, read $y\text{zny}'k$, as correctly 372.8, verbal noun to $y\text{zny}$-, v. my 495.2.

$\text{wrk hyc kwz\text{yd}}$: ‘sought a choice from Him’, not $\text{bihtar}$n $x\text{\'a}$\text{st}. For istic\text{\=a}ra the glossator has again mistakenly thought of the simplex xāra, cf. 138.2 $\text{i}$\text{\=a}iyār $d\text{\=a}$\text{-a} $\text{\=a} = \text{wrk hy h}'\beta r\text{d}$. $\text{wrk} <$ Av. $^2\text{w}ar$ ‘choose’; cf. also $b\text{w}'\text{ry}$- ‘choose’ 433.8, 447.1, 479.1.

4 Henning, BSOAS, xxviii, 2, 1965, p. 246, n. 29, implies *upa + xrī.
504.5 y.‘rθ: ‘the millstone’, read y.’( )rθ, as at 374.1, like BSgd. ‘rθ; v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v. for related words.

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

506.1 ɛw‘wco mkd y’bzx: with the wrong article (‘βz f. 133.4), is ‘acted the he-goat’, not ‘suchte den Book’; v. my 116.2.

506.7 bfcyky: ‘remedy’, read yfcyky, v. my 150.2.


507.2 xvθck: but xwθck reconstructed in the next line. See my 95.4.

508.4, 5 k’sbd’k: duśvār. The second occurrence, though so pointed, may have an extra ‘tooth’, for *k’sbd’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 xðd: not bišiškī kard (no word *bišaškī exists) but ‘punctured a vein’, i.e. ‘bled’, as at 435.4.

511.4 fyxečb’n’wk: for nighābhānī; already H, Hb., p. 116, n. 2, has byxeč’n, as it is pointed 423.7, 438.6 (βyxco-).

512.4 γ’wfy’nk [. . .]: for zvirānūd read γwβγ’n myd, as at 447.7 ‘walked proudly’.

513.1 f.δw w’c: misprint for f.δw, as always.

513.5 b’dyk f:p’δ mkdy: ‘put on an anklet’, must be p’dyk. A similar word is *p’δycn 28.7 ‘trouser leg’.

513.6 yrδ’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. yrδk m., my 498.8.

514.4 z’fk w’c’y: is ‘went deeply, far therein’, as 455.6, 471.2, etc.

514.5 γ’šynd: ‘happy’, read γšynd as at 360.6, 391.6, etc., though γšydl also occurs, 349.5.

514.5, 8 y’tš 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 *pry- ‘to set free, extract’, etc., cf. 311.4 ‘put out tongue’.

515.4 b’swyd cy w’c: ‘abstained from, abhorred the matter’, despite the pointing, must be b’swyd, as at 98.6, 466.2, 473.8; v. H, Dict., suppl., bšy-.

515.6 mnkwsft: ‘grew very old, senile’, probably mnkRfs, as at 229.1.

516.2 mny’h k-: ‘consider that’, read mny’h /manyah-h/, 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.’swc’n ‘goes, departs’, y’sw’ryn ‘they go away’, and Qunyā twice y’swyk’m (XJ, 84) ‘you will go’. This is the pres. stem formed from *sv–, which appears in the imperf. m’swd 152.4, m’sw’r 238.8, etc.; on /ä-/ ~ /yä-/; v. H, ‘Lg.’, 425 f. /āsaw/- /st- shows a combination
only found elsewhere in Oss. ācāwan ‘go away’. (My 177.3 *šw- < āyawa- 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 Musq. 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’s’t 197.3, pr w’c 169.5, 240.8, 244.4, fy w’c 199.3, mn’s’d f- 291.6, mn’s’dyth 264.5, mn’s’t yth 477.3, p. p. n’d’k 197.4, 264.6, fem. n’c 49.8. This is patently < xšnāša-, *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’s’ydh 388.8, pry xsyn 356.5, pr w’c 412.1, f-msrn’n’w’k 469.2.

A similar form occurs in the verb

(2) *bn’sy- ‘to wean’, b’n’ydh 108.7, 112.5, 239.6, unpointed except for -n- in the p. p. bn’s’y’d’k 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 bxw’rwc (my 175.1). This is equally true of the simplex ‘n’s-’, however, compared with ‘xmvry- < *xšnaudravya-, 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) ny’s(yl-) ‘bring to’, e.g. mn’y’sdyth 356.3, 382.2, 385.6, mn’y’sdyw 359.6, spnk hy’t mn’y’s’d 409.5, to nγ’s- ‘go to, reach’, e.g. mn’y’sdyt 266.6, 267.8, mn’y’s 348.8, 359.3, 8, mentioned already by Henning, ZDMG, xc, 1936, *33*. This is < *ni-gasa-, like Skt. niaccha-, √gam, where Av. has niṣa-.

(4) bk’sy- ‘astonish’, b’k’s’ydh 300.4, to bk’s- ‘be surprised’, b’k’s’d’k 274.4, p. p. bk’d’k 247.5, < *apa-kāsā-, √kā (Schwartz, review, ZDMG, cxx, 2, in press).


(6) t’sy- ‘melt’, t’s’ydh 308.3, 372.6, p. p. t’s’y’d’k ‘molten’ 356.5, to t’s- ‘melt’ intr., t’st 213.6, t’s’t 141.7, < *tā-sa- (Schwartz, review).

(7) yuv’sy- ‘to dry’, yuv’y’d’k 407.8, to yuv’s- ‘become dry’, yuv’w’s’d 121.4, 286.2, yuv’s’t 156.4, secondary p. p. yuv’s’d’k 286.3, < *wi-wāsā-, cf. BŚgd. ptw’s- ‘dry out’, MŚgd. ptw’tyy ‘dry, desert’. 

(8) *x'sy- `let (horse) wallow', *x'syd'ɛ 399.6, to *xs- `wallow', *xsd 469.1, 471.1, if < *x̂sva-; inchoative to √xavu, Skt. ksud?

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

(9) bd'̣sy- `heat', bd'̣sfyd'ɛ 385.1, to bddfs- `become hot', bddfsəd 294.5, p. p. fem. bdʃc, presumably < *apiq-taʃsa-.

(10) *zm'x'sy- `put to sleep', zmzm'xyd'ɛ 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) *ṇd'my- `make firm', mnd'ɔmyd'ɛ (my 393.1), to *ndm- (or *ndmy-?) `become compact', mndmvd (−myd ?) 437.2, < *hɔm-daʃ-, with the 'make' root seen in Khot. padim- (SGS, 69)?

(12) *s'ny- `pass (time), fulfill, carry out', ms'nyd 141.3, 142.2, 228.8, etc., ms'nyd'ɛ 344.3, 357.5, to *sn- (*sy- = sən-) `pass away' (my 458.3). This seems to be a specialization of the common Ir. √san `rise', sənaya- (exx., v. SGS, 131 f., s.vv. sarb-, sən-), with *hɔm-?

(13) (*w'z'y- `present (something)', mw'zydyθ `it to him' 417.2, to w'z- `meet', mwɔzdyθ 431.8, 481.5, mwɔzyθ 177.4, 450.6 `I met him', Qunya (Frejman, XI, 97) k'y ɜrmymn `w'z' if our skins touch', < √waʃ, wɔʃaʃa. Frejman rightly compared Sgd. pɔwz- `meet', but was probably unwisely to trust the pointing of his MS and read *uwuwuz- < awa-waz-.

(14) *w'z'ry- `establish', mwɔzryd 345.2, 390.1, to w'zr- `arise, be firm', mwɔzd 305.7, 437.7, imper. wɔzr / 68.3, < uz-ar, -araya-.

(15) k'fy- `split', kf'yd'ɛ 103.6, 117.4, 171.6, etc., to kf- `be split', kfɛd 117.5, 176.5, 453.8, < √kaʃ, kəʃaya-, as in BSGd. kβ-, Pth. kʃd.

(16) poc'my- `settle, calm', poc'myd'ɛ 364.2, 366.4, 405.5, etc., to pocrm- `be settled, rest', pocrd 347.4, 473.7, < pati-ram-.

(17) x'ry- `cause to go, pass', x'ryd'ɛ 194.4, also 374.8, 377.7, 383.2, etc., to xr- `go, pass', x'rɛd- 175.6, 354.2, 429.6, etc., < √xr, cf. Sgd. xr/-xyr- `go, walk'.

(18) wx'ry- `cause to eat, swallow', wx'ryd'ɛ 398.7, to x'rw- `eat', xrđ 264.5, 480.5, x rw đ 191.1, 440.5, xwr- `drink', xwrđ 224.2, 450.2. Similarly pcoxw'ry-: pcoxr-, my 357.7.

(19) *z'my- `finish, exhaust', mz'myd 349.2, 359.7, 385.5, dissimilated from *zy'my-, to *zym- `be finished', mzyməd 341.2, mzyməd 253.8, 257.8, 295.4, < *uz-yama- and -yəmaya-, cf. Sgd. zy'm- and 'zy'm- (*zyams-). It is, of course, quite distinct from *z'my- `bring (in), introduce, produce', mz'ɔmyd 349.6, 8, 384.5, 419.6, etc., < *a-ʃəmaya-, cf. MPers. z'm-, Pth. j'm-.

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


(21) mw'ry- `cause to lean, turn', mw'ryd'ɛ 152.7, 376.8, 394.6, 422.1,
505.4, to *nwry- 'lean, turn', mnwryd 137.4, 163.1, 458.4, -yθ 348.7, -ye 469.2, etc., < *ni-uāraya- and -warya-, Av. nivōrya-, √warr (Aı̈r. 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. w'kny'dvk 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 'stl mstr'd 507.2 = sūān vā xuft (T, II, 708) 'lay prostrate', < √star, recalls Av. stōrō, Pahl. stard 'prostrate, stupefied (of demons)'. Elsewhere in Ir. the meaning 'spread, strew' is common, Khot. starr-, Sgd. prstr-, Pahl. wistar-, NP gustardan, bistar, etc.

(24) 'stw- 'promise', mstw'd 154.1, mstw'dh 128.2, mstw'r 489.3, can hardly continue the simple Av. stav-, which commonly means 'praise', Khot. staw-, Pth. st'w-, Man. MP 'st'y-, etc. From M. Schwartz I have the excellent suggestion that it is either */ustaw-/ < wilt-w, as Sgd. wystw- 'promise' (cf. 'stl x 325.5, etc. = MMP wsty-, NP gūstå), or even */o(s)taw-/ < *mstaw- < ni-staw-, as XSGd. n(y)stw- 'promise' (BST, II, 89.12, 99.4, 13), Pahl. ψ nstw- (cf. 's'wk 101.6, etc. < *mīsāvak, 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 √ywar, Av. wɔranav-, wɔrmā-, but there certainty ends. For -rn- > Xw. -.n-, v. my 90.1. Even -arn- normally becomes -n- (H., 'Lg.', 431, parna- > pn, etc.), but Av. wɔrmā- compares with Xw. w'nyv'c '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- < *āvyan-.

(26) 'wrw- 'believe', mnwrw'dh fy 'yllh 363.5, must then be an assimilated loan from MPers. Pth. wrw- < √ywar, wɔranav-.

(27) 'xw- 'sweat', mxsw'd 267.2, 302.1, < *hvid-sa-, Av. xīśa-, Sgd. γwys-, Khot. ā-hus-. The noun 'sweat' is y ('xyδ 462.1, 469.8, 473.2.

(28) 'xw'zy- 'remember', mxw'zyd'h 436.1, shows a remarkable divergence of meaning from Sgd. γwys- (xvēz-), Pth. wxzx- 'seek, desire' < *xvāyāya-(since *xvādaya- 'sweeten' and *xvājaya- offer no better solution).

(29) 'xy- 'weep, mourn', mxwy'd 76.3, 150.8, 417.3, etc., < xśī (H., 'Verb', 45), has the interesting caus. 'xywy-, mxwyd'h 338.8, 417.3, 496.2, < *xśaiwyaya-, probably with the -w- extension seen also in Khot. 2kṣāv- (SGS, 25), since other -w- causatives have 'wy-, v. hnc'wy-, pcr'wy-, my 368.3.

(30) 'ż- 'be worth', ny 'żc 432.6 = namē zarad, < arfa-, has a peculiar caus. 'żny- 'to value', mż'nyd'h 448.1, and so 'bargain', mż'nyd'yθ 226.5, 430.2. One would suspect a denominative, but 'żn is not 'cheap' (pcyw, v. my 327.5) but Ar. sināb 24.4 'a condiment of mustard seed and raisins pounded together'! 'Worthy' is 'żnd, 69.8, 330.5, 501.2, etc.
To end with a few rarer verbs

(31) **bd’s**- is of doubtful meaning, **b’d’st** 456.5 = insabbā = (ba šitāb) raft, but the obvious etymology < *apa-tāsa-* (cf. š’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)’, **by’myd’h** 357.1, < *apa-yāmaya-, cf. *z(y)’my**- (19) above. Sgd. py’m- ‘heal’ must have another preverb.

(33) **bēfš**- ‘become thin’, only partly pointed in b’ēfšt 181.4, but certain from the frequent p. p. bēbd, only seems explicable as an inchoative, with assimilation, from apa-*zra(u)b or the like, perhaps an extension of Skt. jr, IE ĝer (Pok., 390).

(34) **pcmzy**- ‘flow freely’, p’cmyz’r 119.4 ‘milk’, and the caus. pcmzyd’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’ myzd’ = āsmān bar mā mēzd. 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 ʾel-, 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 ťāyēn-, or with preverbs.

(36) **rw**- ‘bark’, rw’d ‘y’kt 120.2 (beside ‘w-, my 79.3), recalls Yidya rov-(II F L, 2, 244) and N Kd. ţaw- ( CKd. wa’r), beside ţav-.

(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. xwawm, Yidya, Sangl. xoft-( II FL, 2, 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 zbdybr 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. zbā is unavoidable.

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