THE KHWAREZMIAN GLOSSARY—V

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In memoriam A. Z. V. Togan (1890–1970)

The four preceding articles in this series have been devoted to the chapter ‘Verbs’ of Das chwarazmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der ‘Mugaddimah al-adab’ von Zamanšārī, 1, attention being focused chiefly on the doubtful or erroneous transliterations of the Xw. glosses provided by the editor, Johannes Benzing. In this final article we return to the incomplete chapter on ‘Nouns’ which begins the book. Many of the glosses in Muq., 1–72 (Benzing, 1–60) remain sadly obscure, being insufficiently pointed hapax legomena of the type CCByk, BC'Dyk. Even some of these entries show the inadequacy of Benzing's transliteration scheme, e.g. TBBc 22.1 to indicate 'BBBc with the points of t, probably for the first letter', RNB 25.4 for 'RBB with one point, probably for -n-', B'BBwk 40.3 which could well be B'mwk, kCYNyk 26.5 but BCBBYk 44.4 for the identical sequence of undotted letters, SY'MY'NYk 49.1 for what could as well be SY'SByk, NTY 58.4 'owl' for what is undoubtedly, if surprisingly, nty. In every such case reference to the facsimile is absolutely essential, and occasionally profitable, as will be seen below.

1.2 nb'snyk : for nabīra, nabīsa, navāsa, etc. 'grandson'. At this single occurrence only initial n- is pointed, so by Benzing's own scheme we should have nB'SNYk at most. Pers. *nap'asa(k) has been widely borrowed (v. EVP, 54, nwasa), but only one other language has a further consonantal suffix, viz. Sgd. npyyšn, Yāym. nippayš. This suggests a Xw. *np'snyk; for the preservation of -p, cf. nps-, my 84.1, 345.3.

1.4 XN'dyk : 'pusar-i japsānida-šuda' exceeds reasonable bounds of arbitrariness. Where Wetzstein has jupsanīda, for caps-, what is the point of half-correcting the error? More important, what 'gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit' is there that an adoptive son would be called 'bought' in Khwarezmian? *xn'dvk might be p. p. of 'xn- 'buy' (my 90.1), as rynd'dvk here, for pusar-xvānda (so), is p. p. of 'rynd- 'call'. This CB'dvk could as, if not more, likely be *čp'dvk from čp-, only attested in 449.3 ĝp'dyd'er 'y čkyš 'contrived the lie against him', y' čp'k 'the fabrication'. Though the preservation of č- is remarkable, this could be the base čap- 'suffix' underlying NP čaps-

3.1 hm-p'na : 'fellow-townsman', read hm-n'fe, from n'f 'town', 274.4, 297.5, etc. The function of -c is obscure, since neither fem. nor pl. is called for. Sgd. has n'f 'people, nation', n'fe 'a national', but the latter kind of adjective would be out of place in the Xw. compound.

3.3 b'rnxRnye : 'hireling'. p'rx has been met often, v. especially my 495.4. This might be *p'rxnr'n< *p'rx-xnr'vek 'wage-eater', again with

unexplained -c, but mykmnyk-xw'r'k 6.6 = sīlī-x'āra, sknd-xw'r'k 401.5 = sauqand-x'āra tell against such a form.

**XTRYw**: *mard-i kār nā-ażmūda*, despite the odd pointing, can be no other than xyrw, as correctly at 119.6 f., fully pointed xyrw 326.2; cf. BSGd. yyr'k (my SCE, 57).

3.4 wē txyk brx: *dayyyūd* ‘contented cuckold’, is first a wē-bxyk ‘wife-sharer’ (for -bznk ?), then b-rx = bē-rašk, cf. ’rx 289.8 ‘jealousy’.

4.2 jZYYk, with the note: ‘XRYBK?’: Ar. ġarība = qismat-i šahr, bāz ki az šahrīstān sitānand (Pishro), could not be confused with jīzīya ‘poll-tax’, which is Xw. tvry 4.4. The word, moreover, is clearly pointed xr- and one -y. In xryBk/xrBrk we probably have an adj. formed from the Xw. issue of xşabrə-, viz. *xr*, but between the candidates for the third consonant there is no way of deciding: *xry'k*, *n'k*, *ynk*?

4.3 p'Fansj: *pāy-muzd* (not pāy-i muzd) has a synonym pāy-ranf, which is obviously paralleled by this p'Fansj.

5.1 'pçpk'n'wyk: ‘misfortune’, read 'ncyk'n'w'k (n- pointed), v. my 86.2.

5.2 lCy meyk: basandagī ‘sufficiency’ could be either ('m)evrk ‘a handful’, as 95.2, or vbl. noun to 'mc- ‘be contained’, 'mod 284.4 = bigun'fdir; then perhaps *c'cyk, 'from what has come, is present’, with abl. of *'yd(k), cf. *ydk'w, H, Dict.

'cn'wy: farāzī. Despite its odd appearance the final letter must be -k, as at 5.4 (where the word stands for th-c'n'w'k, cf. 244.4 f.); v. H, Dict., s.v. *cw'n'w'k.

5.5 hšrYN: dādanī ‘gift’, added in another hand, is patently hfdNy, for the more common hδd'n, v. my 79.1, 364.8.

5.6 RB'R'WRYR: W’s translation suppellex [sic] domus for hūtām rightly belongs to the following word, matā’. The normal meaning of hūtām is ‘fragment, piece’. T, r, 91, has rīz-ba-rīz for this, suggesting the reading ryz'wryz for the Xw. gloss; cf. ryzn ‘fragments’ 200.4, 406.8, 456.6.

bδx'st k'lyk: kāla-yi bod, read byδx'st, as at 332.3. 335.7.

5.8 berδyk, ber'yk: ‘earnest money’, read *perδ'yk and v. my 502.7.

6.2 xnkyk hwn'n: kanīzak-i xunyāgar (not ‘xināgar’!). NP xunyā, < Pahl. hu-niyyag, could scarcely appear in Xw. as xnk-. The gloss in T, r, 49, muğanniye cariye ki čenjī cariye tābīr olunur, clearly shows that this is *öngyk, < NP čangī.


9.3 'y 'BBwDk: sitābrī-yi kitāb, or with T, r, 96, purī-yi k., so ‘the bulk’, could be the same as NP anbōh, Arm. ambox ‘crowd’, i.e. *nmwšk < *ham-bauša-ka-, perhaps containing the bav- ‘be complete, suffice’ in Xw. ’β-2 (H, Dict.), Sgd. bāw-, etc.

9.5 bwr t.5w x'syk: lit. ‘separation between two lines’, not miyān-i dō suxan. y' xu'syk translates ‘line’ 174.1, 206.7, ‘furrow’ 201.6, and ‘stripe’ 48.1; suxan, on the other hand, is ’y hš'r'k 61.7, 405.1, or y' hš'Wey'k 344.5,
420.4, etc. The second part of the ‘ambiposition’ (pre- and postposition combined) seems to have been omitted; cf. 189.3 "bwr'...f'āw xsn f' mōn'.

10.8 nywdnyk: ‘lid’ of an ink-pot, must be nywōn'k, q.v. H, Dict., suppl., and cf. *trynew̱ḏ, my 94.5.


11.5 člyp'k: ‘cross’, assumes that the word is taken from NP čalipā. Although the -p- is unexplained, however, this is probably the case, since an alternative source, XSwd. clyb’ (BST, π, 62, C 2/10’, 13), like the Syr. slīb’ it reproduces, seems to imply a pronunciation -β-.

12.4 'MS'Bc: ‘uqāba, which appears as Xw. ’y ’qubt at 419.5. Here the glossator was thinking of ‘requital’, rather than ‘punishment’, and wrote ‘m’nc, as at 113.7, 440.3, 443.2.

12.6 RNyk: ‘plumb-line’. The -n- appears to be pointed, but this is much more likely to be *zy'nk, cf. NP zīg, ziĝ = riśta-yi bannāi.

12.8 NYM:D'Nyk: B. quotes the glosses to sāfīha, una tabula januae, etc., from another chapter (lost in Xw.), out of context here. His guess ‘Platte, Fliese (?)’ may be nearer the mark, but does not suggest ‘half-’ of anything. Even if it did, cf. the words with nymB(-) for ‘half-’, 10.3, 35.3, 36.6. The interpretation seems hopeless.


13.5 ĉbt'n: plainly the same as the cābātān of Wetzstein’s MS 5, is not ‘Oberteil des Schuhes’ but an overshoes worn over a soft leather sock. The NP word I can find in no dictionary, but it appears in T, 1, 104, s.v. mūq: sarmūza...far side čapatan dahi derler.

13.8 ūy'r: ‘water-carrier’, certainly 'by'w, with H, Dict.

14.1 x'Śk'-n'yk: xāsakān. Though totally unpointed, C'm'k- at least is certain. *Śn'k also occurs in ēk'Śn'k 19.5 ‘spindle-holder’, f'r'-Śn'k 17.3 = ār'adān, glm'-Śn'k 10.4 ‘pen-box’, but nowhere is it pointed.

sunbūr: B'CBYk is not a ‘lederner Wasserbeutel für Trinkwasser’ but the ‘pipe’ fitted in its neck. This does not help, however, in choosing between the 1,080 possible readings of the Xw. word.

14.2 wabārī Pelzhändler?: šţ'BkBYk. The Ar. word is vowelled but unpointed; in the context, therefore, the choice seems to lie between a dealer (?) in wabar ‘camel hair, mohair, etc.’ (not ‘Pelz’) or wītr ‘skins of beasts of prey’. šţ ‘wild beast’ 51.8, 94.2 suggests that the glossator understood the latter. The rest of the word is obscure, however: *'-nknv'k would be *'sewer’ (v. my 88.3), an improbable livelihood, while for ‘skinner’ only *'-'knv'k would be expected (v. H, Dict., 'k-').

pl's-dwz: pōstīn-dōz. NP palās is ‘coarse woollen cloth’, Xw. pr's 30.3, not ‘sheepskin’. The ‘-s-’ could be either -y or the odd -k noted at 5.2.

14.5 'wīYr: baftarí-yi bāfandā ‘warp-beam’ (?). *'wfr seems a more
likely derivative of *wlf- ‘weave’, in view of NP baftarî. The verb only occurs as wîfâ’îh ‘wove it’ 78.6, 80.5, 132.8, 142.8, and wîfik ‘woven’, but Oss. wafîn, Sgd. wîf-, wêt, YAYn. wêf-, etc., all point to pres. wîf-.

bt prwyk čçyr: čarx-i bat, seems to be a ‘wheel for spreading (?) size (bt) on cloth’. The nearest one can get to a reading is *bt-B RwNk. To this riddle, unfortunately, must be added B.’s PRwNyk 17.5 ‘bundle of laundry’ and pôn-PRwNk 43.1 ‘broad-headed (arrow)’.

mattîth?: TBBYk. The Xw. remains a mystery, but we can at least approach the ‘Arabic’ word. Although it does not occur in any other edition of Muq. it must be a genuine weaver’s term. It is recognizable as the mtut listed by Redhouse as metut, metit ‘a weaver’s mete-wand’ (with a nice sense of archaism?) but by the Burhân-i qâsi‘ as matit...sâna-yi karpâs ‘a weaver’s comb’. The former is correct: I have recorded the word in Zakho, among Kurdish-speaking Armenian weavers from Dibê (v. my KDS, II, Zx., § 772 and n. 673), as maṭîtık ‘warp-stick, for keeping the newly-woven cloth a regular width’; cf. also Arm. màtit ‘pencil’? The ‘comb’ is already present here as Xw. ’wîf*kw.

14.6 ’bt: ‘size’, read bt, as in NP. The ‘alif’ is the second vowel mark of Ar. najîr.

15.2 ëyk-hnbnyk: bâzîgar. This ‘player’ plays with an ’bêrk, not just any bâzîca but (T, I, 110) a duxtarak-i bâzîgar ‘doll’ (already H, ‘Lg.’, 439). Presumably he causes it to dance, cf. 182.1 raqâṣa = hnb’d < hnb- and 397.5 raqqaṣat walaḍa-hâ = h’byd’yd, for *h’nbyd’ < *hnb-’. Our ‘puppeteer’ is then a bêy-hnbynk.

Of the toys which follow, *dryf 15.3 is a ‘tip-cat’, yyr 15.4 a ‘top’ (which, for all its humming, is not a ‘turn-flute’ in NP, B.’s ‘gard:nây’, but gardanây), RnD-u’d 15.5 a ‘tin-whistle’ (not a ‘shawm’), and the ‘wooden sword’ 15.5 skrîskynk (similarly skrîskyn 40.2, skrîskyh 47.6 ‘its woods’).

15.5 klylk ñsk òncyk: ‘pellet-bow’, surely for glnlk- = NP gülula ‘pellet’. The second element of the compound *glnlk- ñsk, evidently ‘shooting’, is especially interesting for providing the only non-finite form of the verb ‘to throw, shoot’ seen in ms”d 432.1, ms’r 451.3, etc., ‘he, they shot’. Unlike ’s- ‘come’, imperf. ms”d, and ’s- ‘take’, ms”d, ms’r, this must be /as(s)-/, < *æya-? If so, a connexion with the stem of Oss. äyse, Sgd. ßry’ Looking at the CE, 50 suggests itself.

15.6 ŞX’RC: ‘chess’, appears to be plainly mC’R’C.

15.6 Bryc-mynic sbwî: bôy-i afrûxta. ‘Incense’, for burning, is probably *pzw-mynic, as a Bryck śm 22.2 śăm-i afrûxta is *pzwck. With *pzw ‘combustion’, cf. pzn- ‘burn, kindle’, p”zw”d 346.4, 465.2, my 494.3.

17.3 ēk ß’r: qarâba-yi pur az šarûb. Wetzstein here has the same NP gloss for ka’s (not kâs), ūs, and dihâq; Pishro and T, r, 114, are both better with šâm-i pur may, i.e. a ‘full wine-glass’, not ‘flagon’. Practically the same combination, ka’s dihâq = šâm-i pur, is plainly pointed ß’r c’k at 358.5 (B. misprints ē’k), the c- confirmed at 81.6. ē’k is both ‘slit’ 28.5, 206.7 (as in NP)
and ‘snap’ of the fingers 512.4. The club with which the inmates of hell are trounced is C'k 12.3.

kl'jWk: kalâfû, in Pishro and T kalâfûd. Whether a ‘large cup’ or ‘salver’, there is nothing to suggest that the word is compounded of Xw. kl'(n) ‘big’ and *jw-.

17.8 nRměyk: ‘a drill’, is attractively analysed by Schwartz (review, ZDMG, cx, 2, 1970, 295) as nzměyk < *niž-maθ-.

18.4 *wškyk: ‘split’. Nothing justifies more precision than ’wSk'yk. y' ’wškk- 49.2 is ‘hoof’ (y'skk- 46.8, cf. my 73.6) < *aendra, (H, Hb., p. 119, n. 3). A split is more likely to be a diminutive of ’wS'yk 220.8 ‘ladle, stirrer’.

18.6 *nwvc: rawyam-rēz ‘funnel’, read only 'BkRc.

19.3 k’recc: ‘shears, scissors’, a misprint for kroc, as at 51.1, where ps-bn’k’ne ‘of sheep-shearing’ is to be read. kroc is pl. of *krok, diminutive of kro ‘knife’ 43.5, 366.4, etc.

20.3 mh’swi: ‘an opiate’. Both W and Pishro have NP mahābōl, against the Burhān-i qātī with mahānāl, -nul. To make matters worse, the Xw. form looks like nothing so much as *mh’tul.

20.6 fręyk: tab-i garm, read brz'k, as at 341.4; v. H, Dict., s.v. 'bržk.

20.7 cf'r- mycyk: ‘quartan (fever)’. Read cf'r, as at 35.3, 4, v. my 425.5. Similarly 31.5, 32.2, 4, 6, 33.5, 7, 34.6, 8, 35.6, 44.8, 45.5, 6.

yzyk: yāzidan, ‘stretching (oneself)’, not ‘Schauer, Fieberschauer’, is verbal noun of yz-, 481.2 yz’d; v. H, Dict., suppl.

wB'Syk: ‘yawn’. The form wy's'k is proven by the verb wy's-, 483.3 mwy’s’d, < *wi-yādsya-?

21.1 wHyc: bahak, Ar. bahaq. Whether the glossator understood dark ‘liver-spots, chloasmata’ or white patches on the skin, he wrote ’wBh'Be; with this misreading of Bh- cf. my 44.1, 142.7, 363.1. The correct reading is easily reconcilable with the Pers. as *wBh'c, pl. of *wBh'k < *upahaka-, perhaps originally meaning ‘sequala’ < hak- < *sek-.

21.2 wux: Ar. thu'lul (misprinted thu'lul) ‘wart’, read ḥzx, like the NP gloss āzax, T, i, 120, āzax; cf. Taj., Ya'bn. ḥzax, Pxt. ḥzza.

21.3 k’S: Ar. sil'a, not here ‘Balggenschwulst’ (= ‘cystis’), but ‘scrofula’, NP xūl(ak), Ar. xanāzīr, and Xw. k’s; cf. k’s 52.7 ‘pig’, as in Sgd.

22.4 BzγW?ND: Ar. qaraq ‘leaves of salam (Acacia arabica) tree, used in tanning’ is glossed pzynd in T, i, 122, i.e. pzynd = buzynd, also ‘pistachio galls’ (Burhān-i qātī); Schlimmer, Terminologie). Only the initial of Bzγwnd seems to remain in slight doubt, probably p-.

zryZ: Ar. ‘andam ‘a yellow dye-stuff’, appears to be RRBz, but can hardly be other than *sryr, like the NP gloss zarīr; < *zari-dru-, or *zari-drā-like Skt. haridrā- ‘turmeric’?

22.5 hñY: ‘henna’. Such a spelling could be expected from Ar. h’n, cf. the examples at my 384.1. But this is certainly h’n, as the final letters of BCGywn 22.7, wš’n 22.8 put beyond doubt.

22.6 sbdyk: ‘ceruse’, read spyd- as at 50.5, 59.6 ‘white’. The same at
22.7 **pnc:ywn**: 'rouge, made from cotton pods'. Nothing justifies the reading *pnc* for BBC (180 possibilities): 'cotton' is *pnc* (my 77.7) and either a 'five-coloured' or 'leaf-coloured' cosmetic would be a little bizarre, even to-day (cf. **pnc:ryc** 396.6 'pentagonal'; **pnc** 371.1, 512.1 'leaves').

**prknY**: 'aromatics for embalming', cf. 398.3 **prknC d' mkd** 'embalmed it' (actually *-n*), suggesting a sg. *prknk*. NP has **parga/ina** 'a compound of aromatics, Indian argaja, Ar. *śarīra* (Burhān-i qātī)'.

23.1 **bwsmy'd**: 'hospitality', twice, read *pus-, v. my 142.3.

23.4 **Wṛī**: *carbū-ya pūst, farbih-yi gōst*. It would be remarkable if this did not contain Ir. *wazda-, Pkt. wāzda, Yīdya wāzd, Sangl., Sariq. wāst 'fat'. The matter is complicated by *zd'gnd* 25.5, *zdxynk* 23.5, θ-zδx 333.1 'fatty' (H, Hb., p. 115, n. 1, implies *wazdana-). Perhaps the simple noun */wuzd/ was pronounced *wuzīd* in pause, which rarity was here written *wzd*.

**pCk xWr**: Ar. *qadīr*, and 5 **pxk xWr**: *qaddād*. The former, meat 'cooked (in a dēg)', is **pak**, cf. 249.8 'y BxBk = *pxv/k* 'cooked', 388.6 xwr hzw Bxk = *pxv/k* 'meat well-cooked' (both uncorrected by me in loco). The latter, 'dried' meat, is distinguished by a *tašādīd* at 401.2 pxk (x unpointed), but is merely **pak** at 407.3. Whether **pak** 'cooked' and **pxk** 'dried' are really distinct remains uncertain.

23.7 f. **skp'k, yzp'k**, sbydp'k, swr'p'k, dyp'k**: NP sikbā, zīrbā, sapēdbā, šorbā, dōrbā. There is nothing to be said for preferring *p* over *b* for the -B'k of these compounds, rather the opposite.

24.2 **dh'ryk**: *ārdhāla is certainly *dh'rk*; v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v.

24.2 **xwcf-mynk, -mync**: 'milky', 6 **xwcfyc**, 'sweet', 8 **xwcfyc**: 'in milk', 25.7 **xwcfyc**: 'milk', 8 **xwcf-prōyk**: 'milk-seller', 49.7 **xwfc**: 'ewe) in milk', **xwfc-xwryk**: 'sucking (lamb)'. Read xweč throughout, v. my 95.4.

24.5 **pzm'wrd**: Ar. *zummāwārd*, reads into the Xw. The NP form the most altered from original basma'wurd (Pahl. *bzm'wlt*), which is at least as likely to have been the form borrowed.

**FXn**: *nān-x'u ris* (without an izafe), v. my 110.3.

25.4 **Kk pīnd**: 'dry bread', with no doubt about either *k*; cf. fem. *koc* 286.3, etc., H, Dict., s.v.

25.7 **čk-prōYk**: *sirka-fūrūs*. Of the many 'sellers' in Muq. this, though unpointed, is the one clearly written -p'rōk, showing the others to be pause-forms, e.g. xweč-p'roık 25.8, *n'j-d-p'rōık* my 31.1. *p'ro- 'sell' is < *prō- < *parā-dāya-, as Sgd. pr'yda-, Pkt. prol-, cf. also Yāyān. pirōnt/s-, Waxī purūnda-, Šuyān *parāδa-, Kh. *parā- (SGS, 72), etc.

26.1 **RRyk**: sar-śīr, v. my 450.2.

**dm'dyk**: *māst-i pālād*. Since **dm'dv** 25.2, 26.6, 246.6, 328.2 f. is 'coarse, thick, sīabr' the reading is presumably correct, for 'drained, coagulated' rather than 'durchgesieht, strained' curds, despite the word’s appearance of **RBm'dv**.

27.1 *pōk-mync*: *fabaq-pōs* ‘a bag in which a traveller carries his plate, dish’. Of the 36 possible readings of *BBk*,- why pick *pōk* ‘house’ (my 364.2) or ‘pedestrian, pawn’ 15.6, 270.3, 361.2, 471.4? Far more likely is *tīb-mync*; cf. NP *ṭaq* ~ Xw. *tīk* 34.2 ‘single, odd’.

27.6 *kṛtyīk*: ‘button’, is *kṛtyk* 202.8, 365.8, here *kṛtyīk* in pause.

28.1 *NX’Zyn*: ‘seam’. What ‘gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit’ is involved? *x’zyn* is ‘fight, battle’ 224.3, etc., *nx’r* is ‘cud, niśvār’ 48.5; *nktn* ‘to sew’, my 88.3 (where perhaps add Wazīrī Pšt. *ngānda* ‘seam’) is no help here; we cannot do better than *BC’Ryn*. On *šwy*: ‘stitch’, v. my 480.1.


28.4 *knck’RB*: *qabā*, v. my 480.1.

*BDryk*: *band-i qabā*, looks like *BDryk*. Perhaps *ndē’k*, diminutive of *ndē* 47.5, 108.3 ‘feetters’ (H, ‘Lg’), 432); cf. my 179.2.

*yldā*: *yalma* ‘tunie’. The other NP gloss is not ‘yaq’étāq?’ but *bayyaltāq* in Pishro and T, r, 132, a word in most Persian dictionaries, and Redhouse.

29.2 *sr’γwX*: for NP *sarāyōf*, a sort of ‘snoood’. Can the transcription of the other NP gloss *sarγwś* mean that B. has read an ‘ear’ (Xw. *γwx* 188.4, etc.) into what is obviously *sr’γwʃ*, the same as the NP form?

*CBR’R*: *abrā-band*, is actually pointed Cns’R.

29.4 *xkbyk*: *jāmadān*, with *hagbā* given as an Ar. synonym, is rather more likely to be *ḥkybk*, but in view of the Tk. loan *hhb* > *heye*, CKurd. *hagba* ‘saddle-bag’, Xw. *ḥkbv’k* is also possible.

29.6 *ššk krym*: ‘fringed rug’, 31.4 *šyšk*: ‘fringe’. The word is thrice pointed (θyšk) 361.1.

30.3 *Dyw*. . . .: *palās-i sitabr*, needs no extra letters, only to be read correctly as *γz*, the -z pointed, to be recognized as ‘kersey’; cf. Sgd. *reyz*, Yāyn. *rayza* (v. J. Hamilton, *BSOAS*, xxxi, 2, 1968, 331 ff.).

30.8 *jbyw*, but 306.7 *bbyw* : ‘quilt’, pointed /- 492.4, but /- 502.2. The *Burhān-i gāti* has both spellings, of course, and *jāybāt* ‘wadding’, all found already in different MSS of Asadi’s *Luvat-i furs*. Tk. *jāypūt* (Kāshghari, facsimile, p. 227.5 *bbyw* = al-*hašīya*) gives modern *zapūt* ‘rag’.

31.1 *bsm’knd*: ‘wadding’, must be *psm’qnd*, which occurs again at 48.6, with a redundant *k’n* (v. H, *Dict.*, s.v. *k’nw*).

*pC’D*: ‘old clothes, rags’ is supported by *pC’D-p’rošk* ‘rag-seller’ in the next line, but the pointing of the *p* is so misplaced as to be suspect. Perhaps it was added in error, being intended for the *p’rošk*. If so, *BC’D* is very likely the same as the Ar. word it glosses, *n’d*.

31.2 *pec’s*: also mispointed, the three points above -s probably being intended for the -c- of *pec’s*.

31.7 *hršN*: ‘thirteen’. This -N- should mean ‘an unpointed -B-,
probably -n-', when in fact it is 'a pointed -n-', in error for -y-'. Read hrðys, cf. 33.2 hrðs hz‘r.

32.6 sy hz‘r: ‘3,000’, misprint for śy.

34.7, 40.7 ḥyym: ‘sixth’, read ḥtv‘m, v. my 90.4.

35.2 ṭyṣ znry: ‘a grain, barley-corn of gold’. ‘Barley’ as fodder, never fully pointed (H, ‘Lg.’, 436, rsy, but offprints annotated ‘probably to be read rṣsy’), is plural: ‘y rBsy y‘ b‘ryeq 48.5, xwrd’n (!) ’y rBsy y‘ b‘ryeq 274.5. Despite Khot. rrsqā- (Prolezis, 307), Xw. could as well be *rbs or rps < *(a)rpsā-, like Pkt. orbaša, Yidya yersio, etc. (IIFL, 11, 273a).

tswy, cswy: not ‘Goldgewicht von ½ Dānak, = 3 Grān’, but ‘½ dāŋq, = 4 grains’; cf. Burhān-i qaṭi‘, ‘tasū ... vazn-i cabār jau bāsād’. All the following grain equivalents are therefore wrong: 1 dīnār or miqāl = 6 dāŋq = 24 tasū = 96 grains.

35.3 ᾰ‘b‘pyuñ: however transliterated this is a mysterious form, in place of the expected *b‘nkv = dāŋq.

35.5 ḷ‘ywk č‘k črm: ‘a cowhidedul’, read č‘k, v. my 17.3.

37.5 ṭyByk: for Ar. ḥarūr ‘restive (horse)’, perhaps ḥynkv: ‘a goer’?

37.6, 45.8 ṭwr‘c: ‘pregnant’, read ‘wzc, v. my 269.8.

38.2 rxt‘βš, 3 s‘wβš: ‘red-, black-manned’, read -(‘)fš; v. my 187.4, where it is perhaps not clearly enough stated that the word is nowhere pointed -β-. At 187.4 itself only the -s is pointed. Similarly 38.5 read ‘y ‘fšh, 7 ‘y ‘fšn‘.

38.2 ṭy Rk kprn: tā ba rān, read z‘k, as in ‘rāz‘k 441.6, v. H, Dict., s.vv.

38.4 blyk-rnk: palang-rang, obviously the same word, *plyg-rng /palig-rang/; cf. 52.6 plynk for /palig/.

38.6, 46.7 ‘y ‘NB‘Rh: ‘its breast’, read ‘nb‘z-h, v. my 258.7.

38.8 ‘y ṭwnc ‘y ...: māy-i dunbāl, the missing word being just legible as ṭwm‘n, cf. 54.1, 59.4 ‘y ṭwm‘ its tail’.

39.1 ḷ‘ cf‘r p‘δ y‘spn: yak pāy-i asb, quoted to the exclusion of pāyahā-yi asb, dast u pāy-i asb, is odd enough, but the Xw. gloss actually corresponds to the NP for the next Ar. word wawan = cabār pāy-i asb. Its particular interest lies in its showing that a noun qualified by a cardinal number can not be singular in form but also keep the sg. article, here feminine (pl. ‘y p‘dn 387.3). The following genitive, therefore, also has the article y‘, so read y‘ cβ‘r p‘δ y‘spn.

For pl. forms with higher numbers, cf. ‘strk 35.6 ‘dirham’, but 64.7 ‘uswc, 35.6 cβ‘rs, 35.5, 376.3 (δs) hz‘r ‘strc ‘twenty, forty, (ten) thousand dirhams’; śy pr‘d ‘three’, but hz‘r pr‘en ‘thousand divorcées’ (H, Dict., suppl., s.vv. pr‘d).


39.6 bńczyk: fully pointed bńcvk at 48.3, if we assume that the glossator misunderstood the former, mēx-i ligām = zābāna-yi ligām, some projecting
part of a bridle, to be the same as the latter, mēx-i āxrur ‘hitching-peg’. The NP ‘lungām’ B. uses, only 39.4–6, is an error from the Burhān-i gāšt; elsewhere correctly ligām.

40.3 ’DRm : ‘felt saddle-cloth’ is the Turkish word, T, 1, 153, ”δrm (v. H, Dict.).

41.5 ’y khr ’y xr’xn : gauhar-i šamšīr, is not the ‘Materie? ’ but the damsak of the sword’, as is plain from the Ar. firānd, borrowed from Pers. parand (v. H, TPS, 1945, 156). The Xw. *ghr is as plainly borrowed from NP guhar.

42.7 ’m’c-myńk pθ : ‘target arrow’, contains NP āmāf or Tk. amaç ‘target’, no more likely to be changed to *m’c than tʃ ‘crown’ 399.1, 411.4 or qʃ ‘plaster’ 407.6, kwč ‘migration’ 317.8. Read *m’C-


43.1 bš pθ : not ‘mišqas (?)’, which appears un glossed 42.8, but an Ar. word found only in the edition T, 1, 159, mšrād = tīr-i bē-parr. The Xw. is thus brn pθ; cf. the last gloss in the line, parr-i tīr = ’y pyn’fh.

43.8 krz : gurz ‘mace, club’, obviously borrowed as *grz.

44.1 hnjw-tyr : ‘iron-pointed staff’. Again (v. my 21.1) B. misreads Bh’. Read th-hnwx ‘having an iron tip’, cf. hnw 389.1, 461.7, and (showing it is any iron tip, not only a spear-head) ’y nkyx hnw 42.4 ‘the iron shoe (of the spear)’. That hnw is ‘iron’ and not just ‘tip’ is given some support by Kucheans ećçwvo, etc., v. Henning, AION, Sez. Ling., vi, 1965, p. 36, n. 1 (suggestion of M. Schwartz).

44.2 ’y SBBh : ‘whip-lash’, must be NP šēb borrowed, ’y šyb-h; v. my 299.3.

44.4 ’NBWmyk : ‘short’ is known as ’nbzmk 326.3, and fem. ’nbzmc 336.5, 369.6, etc.

44.6 mynyk : ‘girdle’, read by’nyk, v. my 402.1 (Schwartz, review, ZDMG, cxx, 2, 1970, 293). Similarly, C’MCwγr is more likely C’BCwyγ ‘comb-case’.

45.1 ’swr : sutūrān, is (*)stwr everywhere else, 168.5, 216.3, 311.7, etc.

45.2 znk krk : ‘small herd’ is as much grk as in the preceding gloss, grk š, assimilated from NP galla. Similarly 49.7, 51.6.

45.7 byr š : gušn-i uštur, read *yyγr, and βryγyn : fuft-i gušn, probably βncyν; v. my 233.3.

47.2 ’y brndwy : ‘nose-plug’ of the camel. The ‘-n-’ is pointed -t-. Just possibly, compounded of brt ‘moustache’ 383.3 and tγy ‘stick’, but v. my 475.2.

γRn’eyk : ‘nose-ring of hair’, read γwn’cyk, cf. γwnγc pl. ‘hair’ 100.3, n’c ‘nose’ 195.5, 310.7, etc. The superior * is in fact the kasra of Ar. xizāmā above.

47.7 hwydfyn : misprint for hwydfyn. Better NP glosses in Pishro, gušn ki bar kōhān ni-hand, and T, 1, 168, hwydf. The word seems to be Ir. by origin, NP havād, borrowed by Ar. and Tk. (havut). The Xw. is hardly a plural, so has a further suffix -vn or -yn, and the initial influenced by the Ar. hawīγa.
49.3 γ'w-skyn: 'cow-dung', read -SkBy, though this is certainly for γ'wskny, cf. Yidya γ̣wskn < *gau-sakana- (IIFL, II, 213b), Wašī sağm. The spelling -ny is probably no more than an optional way of writing -i, the realization of final /-in/, cf. ḥbdṇy for ḥbdyn, my 5.5, ỵḍkn, -kn, -kny, my 352.2, and ṣṃny 27.5 for ṣdıṃṃi/, NP dâman.

49.4 mhynk: 'ram', probably mhṇṿk, from *ṃḥ 'ewe', as *ḅzṇṿk 49.5 'he-goat' from *ḅẓ 'she-goat'; H, Dict., s.vv.

49.5, 50.7 xc: 'ram', v. my 434.6, *x̣ẹ.

49.6 'Cw: 'he-goat', v. my 116.2.

50.3 ỵnDYR, 61.2 'Nryw: 'the other', read 'bryw, v. H, Dict., s.v.

50.6 krwyc γ̣ẉx: gāṣ-aš ba-pah-nā šikāštä, but the glossator may have thought of the root meaning of Ar. ḫūm 'to mangle, cut off, reduce to a stump' and so translated krwmc γ̣wx 'a pared ear'; cf. 112.8 'y krwncv 'pared (nails)'. Here the p. p. of krwy- (v. my 153.1) would be fem., qualifying γ̣wx, and so not forming an adjectival compound like the surrounding words.

ṣṭḍ-γ̣wx: 'having pierced ears', must be ṣbḍ-, p. p. of *ṣnb- 158.4, 163.1, cf. Sgd. swmb-, swbst and v. my 279.5.

53.2 Cḅk: 'small dog', appears to be pointed, or rather 'hooked', ḳḅk. T, i, 177, seems to confirm this with the gloss ḫḅ-yi šikārī, a word which the editor justly laments he can find in no Persian dictionary.

53.7 zẉ: 'hedgehog', read *zẉx, v. my 314.5.

53.8 sḅh: 'louse', read sp̣h, v. my 271.3.

55.3 BNwk-mynk kṛm: B. even emends the Ar. to 'dūdu l-qar[i] Eingeweideuwarm', though the tašūd shows it to be dūdu l-qazz 'silkworm'. Read *pyrk-mynk 'cocoon-(worm)', cf. pyrvk 14.8 < NP pīla.

δ̣γ̣ye: 'wasp' is too barely pointed to allow any outside connexions; v. my SCE, 36. Within Xw. we may perhaps compare the Df 125.8 'buzzing' of a fly, if *δ̣β̣.

56.3-6 ḅX-ch, etc.: 'hawk', read ḅch/h, v. my 457.1.

57.6 ḳBẉk: 'dovecot'; kābūk is a NP word, appearing as a gloss in Pishro, T, i, 185.

58.7 sỵṛ: 'osprey', already H, 'Lg.', 435, reads sx̣r < *asti-xwaran-. 58.8 ḳṣ̌: 'magpie', only ḳṣ̌ is justified.

59.2 ỵ jkṇk'h: 'its beak', lit. 'pecker', read ỵcknk'h; v. note to 178.6, infra.

ỵ p̣ỵrk'h: 'its crop', is pointed p̣če- 510.7.

60.5 ṇḅnk: bē-mišān, is wrongly pointed; cf. ḅbṇk 361.7, the expected form, opposed to θ̣ḅnk 195.6, 350.6 'marked', from ỵ ḅnṿk ibid., cf. MSgd. ḅjṇh 'mark, sign'. In the next gloss also

Arẉk: 'reputation', the points of the first letter seem to have been added later, since they are inverted. The same 61.2 with pc. Arẉk is verbal noun of *Arẉ-, of which only the caus. Arẉy- 'remember' is attested, p̣oṛwyd'h 350.3, 394.1, etc. (v. H, 'Lg.', 433).

61.1 p̣ckΤ: 'end', p- pointed later (as above), -c- certain, -k- really alif
and kasra from Ar. māya/iβba above it, -YΘ possibly -pθ (-byθ ?). Read pe\(^c\)b\(^v\)θ, v. my 161.6.

62.2 \(y\)'\(?\)w: ṑsān du mard, appears no less certainly \(y\)'\(?\)w than the \(h\)βy \(y\)'\(?\)w in the line immediately below it. In the facsimile a ghostly *mr-follows the word, as if \(m\)rcy (as at 70.7), but elsewhere on this page only the fem. is distinguished, by Xw. \(d\)yn, etc.

63.7 Two misprints: \(y\)'\(?\)w\(m\)\(?\)r for -\(r\)θ, \(y\)'\(?\)y-\(r\)θ for \(y\)' \(δ\)y-\(r\).

64.4 \(k\)wr\(k\)\(m\): ‘ wherever’, read *\(k\)wž-\(k\)\(m\), cf. ‘\(k\)wž 66.8 ‘ where?’ (certainly not ‘\(k\)wn’);

64.5 CB\(N\): qaṭṭ, not so much ‘ ever ’ as ‘ absolutely, at all ’, cf. 72.2 where it translates al-battā, here (following qaṭṭ) unglossed.

64.6 bš, 7 bšy \(x\)d\(k\): nazd-i vay, correctly pš- when it is unpointed here, but bšy again at 202.3. It is fully pointed at 367.1, only b- at 469.5.

66.2 \(n\)yn \(y\)'\(h\) (‘??’ ‘\(w\)tk ‘\(y\) Ṥ\(h\)’: inak-ī tu zan. The (‘??’) is ‘\(y\) written in error before ‘\(w\)tk and deleted with a stroke.

67.7 \(p\)bk\(y\)'\(nd\)yr: āhista bāš. \(p\)bky\(n\) is adj. āhista 228.1, but here probably adverbial with -\(d\)-br ‘ upon thee’.

68.2 βy\(w\) y’\(c\)yw: with better NP gloss in Pishro, biyafṣāy suzan ‘ add to what you have said’. This is one word, the imperative of (‘)βy\(w\) (H, Dict.) ‘ increase ’ + -\(c\)-\(w\) ‘ something thereto’.

68.3 BN\(rd\): ‘ enough’, with no doubt in the pointing ‘\(b\)nr\(d\) (H, Dict.) for *\(n\)br\(d\), p. p. of ‘\(n\)br- ‘ be satisfied ’.

69.2 \(š\)m\(d\): ḥubban wa karāmatan. See H, Dict., suppl., s.v. \(š\)m\(d\). In one MS of the Qunya this ‘ exclamation of agreement ’ is glossed halā, also used for ‘γ ‘ yes’. It seems, therefore, to be the imperative of \(š\)m\(h\)-, approximately NP bi\(n\)fārmā !, i.e. \(š\)m\(d\) < *\(š\)m\(h\)-\(d\), with the -\(d\) of speech (cf. H, ‘ Verb ’, p. 48, n. 1). Here, for ‘ Thank you ’, it seems something of a mistranslation.

šzwmsnc\(k\): dūrī, probably *βzwm\(č\)y\(k\), v. my 304.4, and cf. the next word.

69.3 \(n\)bf\(y\)'\(c\)yk: sērābī, certainly pointed ‘\(b\)n’, as in ‘\(b\)nr\(d\) above; v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v.

69.6 ša’\(n\)aka: in no edition of Muq., has evidently been taken by the glossator as an imperative, ‘ do your business well! ’, since he translated β’d pr w’e, which (with pry w’e) represents ‘alayka l-amra = bar kār bāš, bar tu bād kār (Pishro) 67.7. On -d, v. my 71.5.

71.3 \(y\) kn\(BY\)k: rō-ḥā-rāy (not ‘ rō yā rō ’) ‘ face to face’, certainly k’b’k ‘ facing, confrontation’, cf. pe\(k\)b ‘ facing ’ 410.5, 443.1, pe\(k\)b’, etc. (H, Dict., suppl., and M. Schwartz, STSC, 148 and revisions thereto, also JAOS, lxxxix, 2, 1969, 445 f.).

71.5 c’ FB\(D\) \(y\)'\(t\) \(y\) mrcy: či dōstāna mard ast, read c’fy-d with c’ ‘ what, how’, as in 68.2, and ‘fy ‘ dear’ (H, Dict., where this example should be
added). The function of -d is less clear, here and at 69.6 above. Probably it is emphatic ‘then’, cf. d’ ūr b’b’r 69.8 ‘(then) woe to thee!’.

72.2 *WČk: *bidast, is confirmed at my 84.7.

pck: ‘palm of the hand’, is pointed b- at 379.2, our only evidence.

We have now come full circle, to our starting-point at the beginning of the Mq. chapter on ‘Verbs’. Before gratefully leaving Benzing’s edition of the material it is possible to add a few afterthoughts on glosses in that chapter.

92.5 *B’kwRydYN: *saxt girtfaš, is more like B’kkRrydyn, the -dyn (for *-d’-hy-n) making it clear that the gloss contains some verb of striking, rather than merely seizing, v. my 113.4. Ar. baṭaša bihi permits such an interpretation. The ‘violent impact’ involved is to be seen in the *bkrdšk ‘blow, wound’ underlying bkrdšk-myn ‘wc 74.7, 458.4 = zaxm-gäh (of a sword). The verb is therefore *bkrzy− < *upa(!)-kardaya-. If krš- ‘sink, subside’, krd 137.2, my 287.8, is the simple verb (cf. NP kāl ‘ditch, valley’?), the basic meaning was perhaps ‘make a dent in’.

134.2 *mdn-šmnk: ‘hopeless’, read byd-, as in byd-šmnk’uk 69.2; v. my 255.2 below.

139.7, 146.4. In inventing here a compound verb *mcy-xyz- I unwisely overlooked the fact that Henning, Dict., had included the gloss s.v. ‘cxyz- ‘arise and proceed, be stirred up’. My oversight was due to his letting the indisputable extra -B- between -C- and -X- pass without comment. But the causative ‘cxyz(y)’ suffers a similar exaggerated spelling at 373.8 meczBBBzyl’h, lending support to H’s tacit assumption. My *mcy-xyz- should as quietly disappear. It is perhaps not entirely clear from H’s entry ‘cxyz(y)’ that at 136.2, ‘where hāja with intrans. meaning is also ‘x’d’k mcxyzyd’, the same intrans. verb ‘cxyz-’ is involved, with pause spelling, = x’d ud angēyta šud.

170.3 PCB’d x[yd]: axta hīrāku, read BeB’D, must be compared with 254.7 NČ’ D’ xː xuḍ hīraka, read BCb’D’. The latter form has nothing to do with *nē- ‘to fear’: both involve *pcb’d caution < *pati-pāta-, cf. Av. paiti,pā-, Sgd. pcp’y- ‘be ready for’ (Henning, BSOAS, xi, 3, 1945, p. 475, n. 4). *pcb’d’ xː is for *pcb’d d’, cf. the imperatives with d’ xː, 68.4 f.

178.6 mckYd’n. Instead of my proposed -c, the verb ‘peck’ should surely be read (’)ckn-, and ‘beak’ 59.2 cknk, and similarly all the Xw. words in Henning’s Dict. beginning ’’o. Further again to my editorial note there, s.v. ’jknk, the full pointings -ck- in p’ckbd- 355.4, pkb 410.5, p’cknd- 444.8, p’ckrd 76.4, for the parallel *patik⁰, show clearly that *atik⁰ developed to /-ck/- or /-jg/-, which was not really ‘replaced’ by /jkl.

179.2 *ndrYnk: I must withdraw my reading *ndžyknk ‘hindrance’, suggested in loco. In the previous line the glossator took ḥafaza bayna wrongly as ‘made a separation between’, viz. bu’r, = ḫudāi at 9.5, 425.5. Instead of the bāz-dāranda of W’s glosses, therefore, this is probably the same word as translates barzax = ḫudāi at 61.7, after all. It is there actually pointed *ndrbnk, but *ndrynk < *antar-ayana-ka-, /i/, does seem more likely.
208.6 c’nd’ny hy p’ryt ’y őst : not laszavit, but lazavit manum. B. has been misled by his copying error: read c’nd’my ‘out of joint’, as at 299.1, 457.3, i.e. /o-ä-ndämïya/ from ’nd’m f.


210.1 ’y Sk’S-WRD : the loaf of bread so cooked, has interesting synonyms in T, π, 129, sk’rw burryça and angiştba. The former ‘bundle’, in place of the simple sukkarâ, -vâ of dictionaries, is particularly apt if, as seems probable, the Xw. has the same meaning: */sk’s < *skâr-sa- or -ða-*, and *wrđ. This could be either a ‘lump’ < Av. varsta-, Pth. wrт (v. BSOAS, xxxiii, 2, 1970, 400), Kurd. bard, or a ‘roll’, verbal noun of the base wart-. But the latter occurs in Xw. in the required sense only in a group of words with ni-, viz. (y’) nwre 23.1 = na’veš, 439.4 = nän-xuřiš, 511.7 = luqma (the -r- nowhere pointed), i.e. ‘morsel’ < *niwardti-, the trans. verb nwrećy, mnwreḍ’h 156.8, 207.4, ‘roll, wrap up’, p. p. *nwreḍ’k 458.6 ‘rolled’, < *niwardtya-, as NP navarðidân, pass. nwšy-, mwšyd- 440.2, 441.5, 458.6, 468.7, 471.5 ‘be wrapped, involved’, < *niw(a)ṛṛya-.

217.2 gyrd pr ’īh : ‘returned to God’, read fy, as in the next line: ’īh always has the article ‘y; gyrd- with ‘y, ‘to return to’, v. H, Dict., suppl., s.v.

219.8 f:NJWγ : ‘with a burnisher’. My query in loco, regarding a connexion with njur ‘wrinkle’, seems to be answered negatively by the Burhān-i qaṭi’, which has a *bdγγ with the same meaning, misqala. The Xw. could well be *njDγ and, assuming the Persian pointing has been corrupted by bi-zidāyand ‘they polish’, this might be an assimilation of a NP *niž’γ < *niž-dâwaka-, cf. NP zidây-, Khot. uysdav- ‘polish’ < *uz-dav-, Lat. ex-polio. The Burhān’s verb *bislāyādān may also be real, representing *niždāy-

250.8 p’cknd’n ’y BRkwts : qamîha s-sawîqa. BRkwts, also at 22.1, remains obscure (except that its end is similar to the T. equivalent, kavut, but spelled q’wt). It is possible, however, to define the verb rather more closely than by biχ=xurd (pist-râ). Indeed, at 282.1, 444.8 (fully pointed) it is dar dahan andâxt and for all three Ar. verbs glossed T, π, 173, qmî, 211, saffa, 538, istaffa, has NP (v’) pyqydn, explained in the first instance as avuçu ile alub ağızma komak ‘put into the mouth from the palm’ (the other translations, döjüy *yumuşat-mak, etc., follow the Ar.) : cf. the v’ pkydn in the Fargang-i Şu’yîrî, the only Pers. dictionary recording such a word. But *(y)kydn could only imply an odd pres. stem *(y)k-. It is better to reconcile the verb with the Xw. by reading NP paikandânan, like Man. MP phykn- ‘fill, insert’ and Xw. pekn-, < *pati-kan- (*throw*), whence the meaning ‘store up’ (Burhān-i qaṭi’, from Jahânqârî, from Râdâkî). With ‘prayers’ the same Xw. verb means ‘to fulfil’, p’cknd’h 149.6 = biguṣârd, gâzâ kard namâz-râ, and in a Qunya sentence previously unpublished ’m’c ym’c pek’n = namâzhi az man gâzâ kunîd.

251.7, 434.7 ṭy’d-ktm : with mkř’d, mk’r resp. for bikôśîd, -and ‘strove’. All other ṭy’d- compounds are adjectival: -mt, my 87.1, ‘hard to break’,
-pey’k 331.1, 336.4 ‘-faced’, -rrz 233.8 ‘-hearted’; similarly w'sym-’ktvn 212.7 is ‘of evil actions’. Here ðyd is an independent adverb ‘(acted) hard’, as at 98.8, 287.3 (blew) ‘hard’, 307.2 (recited), 463.8 (sneezed), 494.2 (laughed) ‘loudly’. ’kt pl. is omitted by H, Dict., s.v. ’kt ‘action’.

254.5 xmyr ð ð Yc k ð ’ry’ymyn: ðída dāram turā mīrē. The ðyck is mostly confirmed by 421.4 wny’h 8k’rk wyc: ‘I saw him plainly’, a misreading of Dyc, i.e. ðyck ‘view, sight’ < *dīta-. On participial adjectives in -ck, v. 256.4 below.

254.3 xtbk knBYnk: xuṭba-yi nā-tamām, must be compared with 77.9 knb’k ṣ’dk Ḳ’yd: bē-vaqt afkand bācca-rā. In knB’Bk, the common form, there probably lies *knbyk ‘incomplete’, like MSgd. knbyy, < comparative *kəmbiyah- ‘less’. It cannot be an -nk particle as the only similar verb is knb- ‘decrease’, Ḳ’nw’d 182.1, etc. At 350.1 knbk hy mk’a y’tr’yzk, different from knb p’rzwz 225.3, 457.2, also appears to have been altered to read knBYk. Accepting this has the virtue of reducing the number of adjectival forms to two.


[See further Schwartz, review, p. 295, n. 20.]

255.2 BBBD mkyd: ziyan kard, 3 y BBBD-knyk: ziyan-kār, -kunanda ‘loser’ (not ‘Schädiger’). This must be related to the adj. byd in compounds: bydn’m 416.7 ‘defamed, of ill repute’, i.e. ‘of lost name’; byd-šnkk’wk 69.2 = nā-ummēdū, i.e. ‘lost-hope-ness’; bydkwzy’d 169.6, 437.6, etc., ‘seeking (shall the lost)’. It is simply byd < *apā-ita- ‘gone away, lost’, -itā- ‘loss’; cf. ’yd f. ‘going’ 419.6, etc., and ’ydk p. p., XJ, 112. The same adj. probably in bydāśt ‘low, mean’ 332.3, 335.7, etc.

256.4 y’bhycyk: diltyng (T, ii, 180), I analysed in loco as ‘p. p. ðy’d + *-cyk, perhaps pause-form for -ck’. This could have been better expressed. There are two kinds of word ending in -cyk and related to p. pp. in -t/dk. One kind comprises fem. abstract nouns, presumably < *-tikā-, since the -y- is not a pause spelling: e.g. y’rh’cyk 431.7, 467.2 ‘escape, safety’ to ’rh’d’k 273.1 ‘save, rasta’; sncyk 491.8 ‘escape, gmrāh’ to snt’k 157.3 gmrāh (v. my 367.8); on (’)skścyk ‘fault’, v. my 367.8 (where also the analysis is to be revised). The other kind represents pause-forms of participial adjectives in -ck, e.g. bbdśycyk 116.4 ‘scattered’, to bbdśz-, my 440.6; cf. ḫryck 82.1 ‘roasted’, H, Dict., suppl., s.v., and ðyck, 253.5 above. Ambiguity can arise: y’rycyk 470.6 for ’ulqa, glossed both āvizā, āvizatqi (W) and āviz’a (T, ii, 605), could be ’rycyk f. ‘attachment’ or ’rycyk p. p. m. (to ’rzs- ‘depend’). But, if the glossator understood dāṣir correctly as ‘grieved’ ðyrcyk can only be from the p. p. ðy’d- and, since no other explanation of the -c- offers itself, is probably formed with an adjectival suffix -c’k.

266.8 y’bhYnc: fān-i az tan bērūn šawanda (T, ii, 194, bērūn šuda, but gikan). H, Dict., ‘bhyc? Illegible’. The badly preserved word seems,
nevertheless, to have an extra stroke ‘south-east’ of β- making it possible to read *βync. This could be pres. part. fem. (for y'γryw —not y' n m. 69.7) of an *βmy- ‘be to die’ < *abi-mrya-.

268.8 ʹy ødruk'wyk: ‘the illness’, is less certain than this writing suggests. For one thing it is y', while ɔnuk'wɔk 445.4 is certainly masc. Although badly written, this could be the same *B'v form seen in ʹy ck'm-ɔnuk'B'v 261.3 ‘the man of many illnesses, payaasta-bemár’. ɔnuk'wyk at 450.4, however, is also masc., so we are robbed of certainty.

271.3 sbyn XYfd: ‘became lousy’ has been noticed in loco. The verb, perhaps altered, looks nothing like ɔf'vd ‘took’. There is a close parallel in ɔkyn mkt 245.5 ‘became nitty’ and this is probably likewise spyn mk'yd.

274.8 f., 405.1 ɔfən: bā-ni'mat. The pointing of -ɔ- appears to be sec. manu in both cases and this is confirmed by the lucky chance of an error by the glossator. At 289.6, for Ar. ɣayida and ayjad, he evidently had the NP glosses, not nāızuk-pōst, narm-əndam but, as in T, n, 219, bā-na'āmat, which he misunderstood as bā-ni'mat. This he translated and wrote clearly as ɔfən. But what is *(')fən = nī'mat? Perhaps *fən < *fratarana-, Skt. pratarana- ‘furthering, promotion’ (cf. cn ‘moist’ < *tar.na- in cn-ngbyn 20.4): quite distinct from *fən, my 110.3.

283.8 bzk p'rwzd ʹy myg 'wed γrmnd: all for wamida l-yawmu, which contains no sense of ‘badness’, to account for *bzk. The word looks like FRk, i.e. βzk ‘long’, as at 505.3, perhaps explainable by some confusion in the glossator’s mind, or eye, with *madda l-yawm.

293.4 f. p'cər'hd: sūda šul. In my second article I proposed to read B'Cwr'hd for this, but second thoughts commend *b'xvr'hd, i.e. *bxr'hd- < *apa-xrāša-; cf. the treatment of -s- in a similar ‘guttural’ context in γwx ‘ear’ < gawša-. *xrāša- could be the intrans. ‘be abraded’ of which Sgd. γryš- is the causative. In NP xarāš- the caus. has usurped the place of the simple verb.

299.2 pHyk: nastiya, a ‘delay granted to a debtor’ was more likely not indefinite but an ‘agreed, fixed’ time, a ‘compact’. Like Pahl. pšt(k) ‘bond, pact’, Pth. pštgy ‘fettered’, read here *ptv'k < *paštakā- ‘pactus, -a’. In form, gender, and meaning, cf. yd f. ‘appointed time’ (H, Dict.).

301.2 b'wəndv'd'h: the -y- is imaginary; v. my 144.5.

315.2 ɔ'nbyd'h f:kbBBk: ‘whipped (the top)’, probably f-kšk, i.e. ‘struck it with the strap’ or ‘plaited thong’, as at 47.3, 132.8 = navār.

321.8 bzk p'rwzd: bad šud, is clearly bzk'( . . . ) , probably *bzk'r; cf. bzk'rwk 3.5.

322.1 ʹy bzk: bad, equally clearly not 'y. Probably *myw-bzk ‘permanently bad’, to express the corruption and malignancy of rādī; cf. ‘mywcy 64.6, 402.6 ‘always’.

346.8 BRnyyk: faryād rasanda, in T, n, 310, faryād-ras, is not ‘der Schreiente?’ but ‘rescuer, who answers a call for aid’. Read ɣynyv, pres. part. of ɣyn-, y'ynyl'h, my 374.1, 495.2, 504.4.

370.4 ɔkr hy mBB'xyd ʹy līh: farā dādaš xudāy šukr-rā (T, n, 373) and
410.5 *twfyq hy ms'cyd f:š:št : taufig dādaš xudāy dar ūrat. Despite B.'s 'certain' writing of ms'cyd and 'doubtful' mBB'xyd, both these verbs are unmistakably pointed mny'xyd. The verb (')ny'xy- so rescued is thus 'to give, bestow upon', particularly of God. The only formally similar verb is mîxy- 'cause to move' < *ā-māwšāyla-, base *mauv (v. BSOAS, xxxiii, 1, 1970, 124): we may then posit *ham-, or more likely *ni-(y)d(u)xšaya- here, in turn suggesting a base *āwš-., as in Lat. auxiliarium, by-form of wazš-, so 'cause to increase upon'.

395.3 p'nc hy pekk h'bryd : zāk zad dar rōya, which I suggested reading c'bryd, is lent more credence by 443.1 fnyenyy pekk k'fsd = barham zadand mauf if (as M. Schwartz kindly indicates to me) this contains hfs- < *fra-brsa-, i.e. an inchoative to hbr- 'give' (with a different development from 'nsš- 'ask', v. H, Dict., suppl.).

406.5 f. s[b]b : 'cause'. There is no need to improve on Xw. sb, however un-Arabic it may be. At its only other occurrence it is the same, sb ṣšyk 21.3 = dard-i gulō 'croup, quinsy'. Having assimilated sabab, the Khwarezmians evidently used it also for 'disease, complaint', on the analogy of the equally ambiguous 'lt 20.5 (θ'lt 283.3, 452.1). The variance between adjectival ṣš(y)k 'of the throat' and y ṣrsk 401.1, 509.3, etc., is puzzling. ṣšk agrees with Khot. garsa- 'throat' (< *gartsa-, Prolezis, 64 f.), but ṣrsk requires some variation of the medial group; perhaps < *garta-stukā-, cf. Yidya stuya 'throat', Kurd. stu, astō 'neck'.

412.8 xsy k'bwšyk : 'something hollow'. In view of NP kāvāk, Tk. gauq 'hollow' it is probably better to read what is written, k'bwšk. A word from the same base is k'buk 'bird's nest', my 57.6.

419.3 wr'myd [?r] hyθ nyşy : rōqabahu. It is unlikely that two separate glosses are involved, since hyθ must be enclitic and cannot begin a clause. It is possible that first w(r)méy 'he waited' was written, as at 478.4. Then somebody, noticing the absence of the object, took this for the pres. part. *wr'mynd and added hyθ nyθxd to make 'sat waiting for him'.

In this connexion, cf. ṣšynd 'rejoicing, happy' often, but written ṣšyd 349.5. The whole question of unwritten nasals, especially before stops, needs further investigation. It is, however, only one aspect of the major task which still lies ahead, that of preparing a reliable dictionary of the Khwarezmian material from the Muqaddimatu 'l-adab and the Qunyatu 'l-munya.

INDEX

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

'BC'Ryn 28.1
'^BKr 18.6
'bnf'cyk 69.3
'bnrdr 68.3
'bryno 50.3
'byw 13.8
(')Byw 68.2
(')Byw 15.2
*βmycn 266.8
*βy'drk 209.8
'byvwk 256.4
'βz 49.4
*βznvk 49.4
(')ckn- 178.6
(')cknk 59.2
(')c(u)n'wck 5.2
'cwy 139.7
'cyr 40.3
'cw 62.2
'ʃi 38.2
'ʃy 71.5
*şd 5.2
'kk 5.4
'kt(n) 251.7
Corrigenda. With a last chance of eating my own hastier words I find these needing it:

I. 177.3 š'wtyc 'y h'b'ryk is probably ' the speech was heard from (his mouth)' , from a stem *šw' - (-t- < *-h'd-) representing Av. šruya- (not ţywâva-, v. my 517.1): cf. 'šw' ' message' 71.6, 171.5, 393.3 < srawâh-.

II. 286.6 'stmd'v'k ' valuable ' is for 'stw-m'dk'; cf. fem. 'stvm'c bdw 4.5 mlâ-i girânmâyâ and 'stw 239.5, 384.7, 507.3 girân.'