ARYA

By H. W. BAILEY

IN the following 15 condensed analyses are published some of the many problems arising when the full Indo-Iranian field is considered. Only when all the Iranian evidence is studied together with the Old Indian will it be possible to survey Indo-Iranian as a whole, an indispensable preliminary to the history of the Indo-Iranian vocabulary, and the texts behind. The constant necessity of quoting elementary data indicates how little has yet been garnered into convenient reference books. The workers (and they, too, usually distracted by other tasks) have hitherto been very few.

1. *maz-*	9. *arva-*
2. *had-*	10. *ai-*
3. *kom*	11. *farva-*
4. *gad-*	12. *iza-*
5. *haik-*	13. *khoca*
6. *sor-*	14. *mala*
7. *nắyám*	15. *fśar-*
8. *śūghaná-*	

1. Iran. *maz-*, OInd. *maj-*

Iranian sources have preserved *maz-* with three meanings, 1. ' to handle violently ' (specifically press, twist, strike, break, kill), 2. ' make ', and 3. ' smear '.

Khotanese *vameys-*, pres. stem *vameysa-*, is attested in the Siddhasāra medical text [1] : *tcārbaṃdye jsa makṣāñä u vameysāñä u ysīnāhāñą* corresponding to Tibetan *snum-gyis lus bsku-źiṅ dril-ba daṅ khrus bya-ba daṅ*, from the Sanskrit 77 v 5 *abhyanga-utsādana-snāna-*. The *abhyanga-* expresses the act of ' smearing with oil '. The *utsādana-* is the violent action of ' massage, twisting and rolling ',[2] translated by Tib. *dril-ba* here and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* 6781 *utsādanam*. Tib. *ḥdril-ba* means ' to be twisted, turned, rolled about ; to wrap up '. The Chinese rendering is 捲 *küan* ' roll up, pack up, exert strength '.

The Khotanese text shows *makṣ-*, a Prakrit form corresponding to Sansk. *mrakṣ-* ' rub '.

The *ysänāh-* ' bathe ' belongs to Av. *snāδ-*.

The word *vameys-* contains *va-* from *ava-* or *apa-*. The medial syllable *-meys-* can in the *Siddhasāra* represent either older *-mäys-* from *-miz-*, or *-maz-* with *-ä-* from *-a-* in the second syllable of a trisyllable. A doubt exists as to whether *-meys-* could represent the *i*-umlaut form from **māzaya-*. If the umlaut

---

[1] *Khotanese texts* (abbreviated *KT* below), I, 70, 135 v 1.

[2] See below, p. 526, on Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-*.

could have passed over the consonant -z- leaving it intact this explanation is possible. Forms of umlaut in Khotanese show variety. Thus there occur *dāśś-* ' finish ' from **dās-*, *māštā* ' month ' from *mästa-*, *dīšta* loc. sing. ' in the hand ' from *dasta-*, and with loss of medial syllable *ysīrra-* ' gold ' from *zaranya-*, *hīšaṃ* ' iron '. The vowel is affected in *khāṣṭa-* ' given to drink ' (E 25.439) as causative to *khaṣṭa-* ' having drunk ', pres. *khās-* ' to drink ' (-*ś*- here for -*ź*-).

The *-ta-* participle is twice attested in the compound *garma-māṣṭaa-* ' oppressed by heat ' (P 2925.39–40, *KT*, iii, 101) with -*ā*- as in *māsta-* ' intoxicated ; thickened ', NPers. *mast* and *māst*.

In New Iranian the base *maz-* is frequent. Ormuṛī has *maz-* : *maštak* and *mēz-* : *muštuk* ' it breaks ' intrans., with trans. in causat. form *mizaw-*. In Pašto only the partic. *māt* ' broken ' from **mašta-* has survived. Yidγa-Munjī has *maz-* : *mōšk'-əm* and *mōz-* : *mašč-im* ' to kill '.[1]

For ' to twist ' we find Ormuṛī *maz'ēk* ; Pašto *mazai* ' twist, thread ', Waz. Pašto *məzzai* ' thread, cord ' and adj. ' twisted, turned '.[2]

Possibly we should claim here the Armen. *maz* ' hair ', *maz-kʻ* ' whip, lash ' for an Iranian loan-word from *maz-* ' twist '. The meanings can be compared with Khot. *gīsai* ' grass ', *gīska* ' rope ' and Pers. *gēs*, *gēsū* ' long hair '. Armen. *mazmzoukʻ* means ' root fibres '.

The base *maz-* is of ambiguous origin : it represents also ' great '. When then *maz-* provides words meaning ' violent ' or ' monstrous ' it is difficult to decide the base. Khot. *maysirka-* is applied to *rākṣasa*, hammer, tortoises, the monster Kalmāṣapāda in the *Jātaka-stava* (references in the Indices). The Turfan Persian *azdahāy ī mazan* ('zdh'g 'y mzn), and the Av. *māzainya daēva* may be called either ' huge ' or ' violent '. Pašto *mazai* ' strong, powerful ', and the epithets for the tiger Pašto *mzarai*, *zmarai*, Balōčī *mazār* demand ' violent '.

Connexions of this Iran. *maz-* ' treat violently ' are in the *mag-* of Greek μαγῆναι, μάσσω ' to knead, mould ', μάγειρος ' cook, butcher '.[3]

The sense of ' break ' in Pašto *māt* ' broken ', the result of violent action, suggests that here belongs the Baltic *maž-* used with suffixes in the sense of ' small '. Such an origin of a word for ' small ' is well known in OSlav. *xudŭ* ' small, bad ', OInd. *kṣudrá-*.[4] From this Baltic *maž-* we find Lit. *mãžas* ' little, small ', Let. *mazs*, OPruss. *massais*. This shows Indo-Eur. -*a*-. The long grade occurs in Lit. *mõžis* ' smallness ' with *o* from *ā*.[5]

The second meaning in Iranian for *maz-* ' to make, build ' is attested in Šuγnī *mōz-* : *mīzd-* ' to erect, build ' and ' to cut, form '.[6]

Here we have to compare Old Saxon *makōn* ' to make ' with the other

¹ G. Morgenstierne, *Etym. voc. Pashto*, 48 ; *IIFL*, ii, 230 ; I. Zarubin, *Iran*, i, 1927, 155.
² *IIFL*, i, 401 ; ii, Index ; *EVP*, 49.
³ Walde–Pokorny, ii, 226 ; Pokorny, *IEW*, 696.
⁴ WP, i, 502.
⁵ No firm decision in E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*
⁶ H. Sköld, *Materialien zu den iranischen Pamirsprachen*, p. 270 ; Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, ii, 230.

Germanic cognates derivable from an older *maĝ-*. It may be a different word, or with specialized meaning the same *maĝ-* of Greek μάσσω ' to knead '.[1]

The third meaning ' to smear ' is frequent in Slavonic, OSlav. *mazati* ' smear, anoint ' and many modern forms. In Iranian it has been noted only in Oss. Digor *māzä*, Iron *māz*, *mādz* in the compound with *borä*, *burä* ' yellow '. Thus in *Pamiatniki* ii, 20, 10 *borāmäzäj isärd äj* ' he was welded with yellow *māzä* '. The Iron *burä-mädz* occurs in *Iron Ādämon Sfäldystād* 5.274, no. 48.

The meaning of Iran. *maz-* ' to handle violently ' is now important to establish the meaning of the isolated *maj-* occurring in Old Ind. *majmán-*, *khara-majrá-*, and *nírmaj-*. The origin of OInd. *maj-* is naturally ambiguous. It could represent Indo-Eur. *meg-* or *mag-* with palatal, velar, or labiovelar final consonant. The meaning, however, will show that it is *maĝ-*.

The Rigveda has *majmán-* consistently translated by *bala-* ' force ' in Sāyaṇa. This is based upon the *Naighaṇṭuka* 2.9 : *majmán-* is included in the list of the *bala-nāmāni*. This is offered also in Mādhava's *Ṛg-artha-dīpikā*. In the published portion we find also 1.51.10 *majmanā mahattayā* and 2.22.2 *tejasā*.

The following passages confirm the meaning *bala-* ' force '.

2.22.2   *ádha tviṣīmǎ abhy ójasā krívim yudhǎ⁀abhavad*
          ǎ ródasī apṛṇad asya majmánā

Here Sāyaṇa offered *sva-tejasā . . . yad vā sāreṇa*.

1.55.5   *sá ín mahǎni samithǎni majmánā*
          kṛṇóti yudhmá ójasā jánebhyaḥ

Sāyaṇa has *sarvasya śodhakena*.

1.130.4   *saṃvivyāná ójasā śávobhir indra majmánā*

1.64.3   *dṛḍhǎ cid víśvā bhúvanāni pārthiva*
          prá cyāvayanti divyǎni majmánā

10.29.6   *mǎtre nú te súmite indra pūrví*
          dyaúr majmánā pṛthiví kǎvyena

1.143.2   *asyá krátvā samidhānásya majmánā*
          prá dyǎvā śócih pṛthiví arocayat

1.51.10   *tákṣad yát ta uśánā sáhasā sáho*
          ví ródasī majmánā bādhate śávaḥ

The Rigveda knows only the instr. sing. but we have the loc. sing. *majmáni* in the Atharvaveda 13.1.14 and 37 *bhúvanasya⁀ádhi majmáni* where Whitney gave ' range ', due to etymological connexion with *mah-* ' great '. Here too ' force ' should be adopted.

While giving the meaning *bala-* Sāyaṇa (as often elsewhere) offered his

---

[1] So in Pokorny, *IEW*, 696.

etymology, from *majj-* ' to purify ', thus we have in 1.84.6 *majmanā śodhakena balena.*[1]

The effort to connect *majmán-* with the base *mah-* has obscured the problem. If we put aside the convenience of ' laryngeal ' interpretation, the association with *mah-* has caused the vagueness in Geldner's *Übersetzung*. Here we have ' Mächtigheit, Macht, kraft, Grösse, in ganzem Umfang, mit einer Fülle von ', as in his *Glossar* ' Grösse, Macht, Erhabenheit '. In his supplement to Wackernagel's Grammar A. Debrunner declared the meaning of *majmán-* to be uncertain.[2]

The second word *khara-majrá-* occurs only in the difficult hymn RV 10.106.7

> *ṛbhú ná⌢ăpat kharamajrā kharájrur*
> *vāyúr ná parpharat kṣayad rayīṇám*

That can be rendered by ' the roughly-moving (Aśvins' car) did not toss out the two roughly violent *ṛbhú-* (men of skill), like the wind it scattered, it threw away (part of) the treasures '. For *kṣayad* note RV 1.62.12 *rāyo . . . kṣíyante.*

Here the word *khara-* ' rough ', Iran. *xara-* (applied to stones or sharp plants) emphasizes the basic meaning of *maj-*, Iran. *maz-* ' act violently '.[3] The word *kharájru-* contains the same *khara-* with *jr-u-* in which we have the cognate of Iran. *zar-* ' go, rise, descend '.[4] For *parpharat*, Khot. *phar-*, and Avestan *pafrē*, discussion must be offered elsewhere.

The third word is *nírmaj-* occurring only in Rigveda 8.4.20, in Kurunga's *dānastuti* :

> *ṣaṣṭim sahásrā⌢ánu nírmajām aje*
> *nír yūthắni gávām ṛṣih*

' I, as a *ṛṣi*-sage, drive out and along herds of sixty thousand for myself, of nimble cattle '. Here Sāyaṇa recognized in *nir-* the meaning *niḥśeṣeṇa* ' completely '. His explanation of *maj-* by *śuddha-* was aberrant. The word, however, evidently suits the admired *bhū́rṇi-* and *ayā́s-* cattle. Thus we have

RV 1.154.6   *yátra gắvo bhū́riśṛngā ayắsaḥ*
and 9.41.1   *prá ye gắvo ná bhū́rṇayas*
              tveṣā́ ayā́so ákramuḥ

The ' violence ' expressed by *maz-* seems also to provide the possible connexion for Oss. Digor, Iron *mäst* ' anger ; angry ', *mäst* ' anger ', *mästi*, Iron *mästy* ' angered '. This could represent the participle **mašta-* attested also in Khot. *māṣṭaa-*, Pašto *māt*, and Ormuṛī *mašta-* quoted *supra*. The alternative **masta-* from *mad-*, however, is not certainly excluded. The more archaic

---

[1] Mentioned for rejection by Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, I, 160.

[2] *Nachträge* I to p. 160, and II, p. 765. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Ṛgveda*, p. 62, in 1.64.3 has ' Macht ', similarly H. Lommel, *Gedichte des Rig-veda*, p. 85 ; L. Renou, *Hymnes et prières du Véda*, p. 17 uses ' puissance '.

[3] Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, II, 2, p. 852 has ' wohl " scharf reinigend " prākritisierend für *-*mṛjrá* v. *mrj-* '.

[4] The earlier discussion, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1953, 33, needs correction since the epithet belongs with the *rátha-*. The base *jar-*, Iran. *zar-* was further noticed in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 55 ff. It is also in Oss. *läzäryn* ' fall to pieces '.

maz- ' to exert pressure ', in Avestan *zastō.mazah-* ' hand-pledged ', is replaced
by *marz-* ' to rub ' in *zastā.maršta-.*

2. Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-*

In the Bahrām Yašt 14.56 the *daēva-*worshippers are condemned, those
whose *daēva* are *vyāmbura.* The worship, their *yasna*, is reprobated

> *yaṱ nūrəm vyāmbura.daēva mašyāka daēvayāzō*
> *frā fraštīm nāmayeinti*
> *vī maiδyqnəm fšānayeinti*
> *vī [spa] handāma rāzayeinti*
> *ǰana hō saiδin nōiṱ ǰanən*
> *haδa hō saiδin nōiṱ haδən*
> *yaṱ nūrəm vyāmbura.daēva mašyāka daēvayāzō*
> *uši pairi.dārayeinti*
> *daēma hō pairi.urvaēsayeinti*
> *ahe raya x*arənaṇhača . . .*

The two phrases *ǰana* to *ǰanən* and *haδa* to *haδən* have long caused difficulty.
We have the savage acts of the sacrifice, the victim ill-treated. First note that
the word *had-* would get a good meaning if rendered ' treat violently ' but it
would still leave the precise treatment unspecified.

I take *ǰana-* as derivative agent adjective formed from the verbal base by
-a- suffix. The OIndian type is *ajá-* ' driver '. The form *ǰana* is nom. plur.
masc. from older *-ā.* In *hō* we may have the gen. sing. pronoun, hence ' the
strikers of it (the victim) '. In *saiδin* we have a form of *sad-* ' appear ', familiar
also in Khotanese and Sogdian. In *had-* can now be recognized the OInd.
sad- attested in *utsādana-* ' rolling, twisting ', discussed above under *maz-.*
The phrases thus yield : ' they seem strikers of the victim, but they do not
strike (to death), they seem twisters of it, but they do not thereby kill it '.

This Iran. *had-*, OInd. *sad-* ' to treat roughly ' seems to stand alone. Possibly
it was an Indo-Eur. *sed-* from which a better explanation of Greek πιέζω and
OInd. *pīḍ-* ' oppress '[1] could be reached. A compound **pi-sed-, pi-sd-* ' to
use force upon ' seems nearer than the base *sed-* ' to be seated '.

3. Iran. *kom*, OInd. *komyá-*

Ossetic Iron *kom-qäd*,[2] Digor *kon-γädä* ' beam of timber ' contain *qäd*, Digor
γädä [3] ' wood, forest, timber '. The epithet *kom*, *kon* refers to its preparation
fitting it for beams. The Digor final *-n* where Iron has *-m* is well attested.
Thus we find *dumäg* ' tail ', but in compounds we have *därγ-dym*, Digor *därγ-*

---

[1] This *pīḍ-* is claimed in Khowar *peḷik* ' to wrap ' and *niṣpeḷik* ' to pull out, squeeze out '
(G. Morgenstierne, *Felicitation volume presented to Professor Sripad Krishna Belvalkar*, 93, 94).
A non-Aryan origin is sought by F. J. B. Kuiper, *Studia Indologica : Festschrift für Willibald
Kirfel*, 174.

[2] Ossetic *q* is uvular, now indicated by *x*'.

[3] Also *γäd* in *γädgäs*, Iron *qädgäs* ' forester ', and as second component in *rāγän-γäd*, Iron
rāγ-qäd ' rafters '.

dun ' long-tailed '. Similarly *xŭm-gond*, Digor *xun-gond* ' field work ' and in
the ending 1st plur. Iron *fyssäm*, Digor *finsän* ' we write '. For ' name ' we
find Digor *non* and *nom*, Iron *nom*.[1]

The Digor word occurs in *Pamiatniki* 2.58

> *Äxsä-budāj ŭosä älvesuj : kon-yädä je'lxujnä, kuronfid*
> *ä ŭädärtä räväjnä bā ä xälä*
> ' the wife of Äxsä-budä spins, her spindle a beam, her
> spindle weights a mill-stone, and her thread a rope '.

Before a nasal Ossetic *o* in both dialects is ambiguous in origin since it
represents not only an *u*-diphthong but also OIran. *ā*, as in *nom* ' name ', *xom*
' raw ', Khot. *nāma*, *hāma-*, OInd. *náman-*, *āmá-*. In Digor, Iron *koj* ' rumour,
care, memory ' the *-o-* may be explained from *-āu-* shortened to *-au-* after
OIran. *au* had passed in Ossetic to Digor *o* and Iron *ū*, and before nasals to
Digor *u*, and to Iron *ŭ* (after velars) and *y*. That would give *koj* from **kāuya-*
from *kav-*, familiar in Greek ἀκούω ' hear ', Germanic Got. *hau-s-*. The Old
Indian has, with developed meaning, *kāvya-*. Similarly Digor *xoj* ' raven ',
plur. *xojtä*, is from **xāuya-*, from the widely attested *kau-* ' to caw ', as in
OInd. *kaúti*, *kokūyate*, Greek κωκύω, Lit. *kaŭkti* ' to howl ', *kòvas* ' daw '.[2]
It should be noted here that OIran. **āuya-* ' egg ' gave Oss. Digor *äjkä*, Iron
äjk, plur. *iĉytä*, *äiĉytä*, where the *-u-* has left no trace.

In this Oss. *kom*, *kon* used of prepared timber it is easy to see a derivative of
the base Indo-Eur. *kāu-* ' to hew ', Lit. *káuti*, OEngl. *héawan* ' to hew ', Lat. *cū-*
in *cūdo*, OSlav. *kovati*. This gives **kāuma-* by way of **kauma-* to Ossetic *kom*.
It can hardly derive from **kāumya-* since Ossetic retains *-i* from *-ya-*.

For the *-o-* in both dialects from an *u*-diphthong note Digor *tonun*, *tund*,
Iron *tonyn*, *tynd* ' to tear out ' ; Digor *änsonun*, *änsudt*, Iron *ässonyn*, *ssonyn*,
ssyd ' to thrust '.

As a parallel to *kom*, note also Digor *yom*, Iron *qom* ' adult ' from the base
gav- ' to grow ' attested in Zor. Pahl. *gōhr* ' growth, nature (as the result of
growth) ', *gōhrak* translating Greek φύσις, Sogd. *γwš* **γōš* ' substance ', OInd.
gotrá-m ' family '.[3]

From the Iranian evidence it is now possible to trace the word in the Rigveda.
Here occurs the word *komyá-* in RV 1.171.3

> *ūrdhvā́ naḥ santu komyā́ vánāny*
> *áhāni víśvā maruto jigīṣá*

' for us the *komyá- vána-* shall be upright, days and nights, O Marúts, with
desire for gains '.

With this Geldner noted the parallel in RV 1.88.3 to the Marúts :

> *medhā́ vánā ná kṛṇavanta ūrdhvā́*
> ' they shall raise the mántras(?) like trees '.

---

[1] *GIP*, ' Die Sprache der Osseten ', p. 33.

[2] For *x* beside *k* from OIran. *k* see ' Asica ', *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 30. In Iron ' raven ' is *xälon*, found also in Digor.

[3] *Zoroastrian problems*, 83 (with correction *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 44).

The ambiguity felt in *vána-* ' tree ' or ' things made of timber, wood ' such as wooden vessels is partly removed by the use of *ūrdhvá-* ' upright ' and now clearly by the interpretation of *komyá-* ' prepared, hewn ' from *kāu-* ' to hew '. The form resembles *somyá-*.

From the post-Vedic OIndian we have *komalá-* ' soft ' : if this derives from ' smoothed ' we are near to ' hewn ' and hence the same base *kāu-*.

Older explanations are listed in Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.vv. Sāyaṇa proposed to take *kom-* as equivalent to *kām-* ' desire ' : that gave *kāmyāni sprhaṇīyāni sarvaiḥ sambhajanīyāni*. Similarly Mādhava has *kamanīyāni, araṇyāni*.

4. Iran. *gad-*, OInd. *gadh-*

In Iranian it is possible to trace four bases *gad-* as follows :

1. *gad-* in **gadā-* ' club ' attested in Av. *gaδā-*, *gaδavara-*, Zor. Pahl. *gaδ, gaδak, gaδavar*, OInd. *gadā-*. If we put here Ossetic Digor *γādä*, Iron *qäd* ' wood, forest, timber ' this would give the basic meaning ' wood ' and the feminine with *-ā* suffix would be ' the thing made of wood ', hence a convenient word for ' club '. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 2.507 (Bibliotheca Indica) *gadhā, gadā* is part of the upper part of a wagon. If this was of wood, the same connexion may lie with this OInd. *gad-*. A third derivative may be seen in Khot. *gahaa-* nom. sing. *gahai, gahe*, plur. *gahā* ' shaft of arrow ', hence here too the ' wooden ' thing would be expressed by an adjectival form by suffix *-aka-*.[1]

2. *gad-* ' ill ' in Av. *gaδa-* ' ill ', Zor. Pahl. *yudt-gaδ* with variant *yudt-bēš* [2] ' free of harm ', OInd. *gada-s* ' illness ', *agada-* ' remedy ', *vigadá-* RV 10.116.5.

3. *gad-* ' beg ' in OPersian, Avestan pres. *jadya-*, Sogd. ʾʾγδ'k ' desire ', Khot. *pajya-, paja- : pajista-* ' demand '. It is widely attested in Greek πόθος, Celtic as OIr. *guidim*, OSlav. *žędati*. Scheftelowitz proposed to see this base in OInd. *jighatsā* ' hunger '.[3]

4. *gad-* ' to plunder, steal ' in Av. *gaδa-* ' robber ' Yasna 65.8 *tāyuš* . . . *hazanha* . . . *gaδō* ' thief, plunderer, robber ', Sogd. γδ- ' thief ', plur. γδ'yšt (P 6.14), γδ'wny ' theft ' (*SCE*, 312, 331) with suffix *-wny* ' act of stealing '. From Saka we have Tumshuq *Karmavācanā* 47 *gauna* ' theft ' ; Khot. *ggamuna-* (E 25.467) ' robber ' may contain a modification of **gadūna-*. Zor. Pahlavī has survived in Pāzand *gadūg-* ' robber '.[4]

In New Iranian we find Pašto *γal*, plur. *γlə, γlūna* ' thief ' (whence Orm. *γlī*), Waxī *γūδ* ' thief ', *γūδi* ' theft ', Yidγa *γäl* ' thief '.[5]

In all Iranian dialects the act of the base *gad-* is reprobated.

With this Iranian *gad-* we have now to associate the Rigvedic OInd. *gadh-* in verbal use *-gadhita-* and with *-ya-* suffix in *gádhya-* and *-gandhya-*. The

---

[1] Khot. *gahaa-* translates Turkish *ulun* in P 2892.173, published *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 292, and now in *KT*, iii, 81. The *gahai* forms part of a gift in *KT*, ii, 60, lines 12, 18 and verso 4. For *qäd*, H. Sköld, *Die osset. Lehnwörter im Ungarischen.*

[2] *Gr. Bd.* 92.3.

[3] *ZII*, ii, 1923, 272, not accepted Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, 433, where *ghas-* is offered.

[4] Tumshuq in *BSOAS*, xiii, 3, 1950, 666. Pāzand in *Škand-gumānīk Vičār.*

[5] Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 24 ; *IIFL*, ii, 523 and 212.

activity in Old Indian is approved : it is a rightful ' plundering ' of the enemy.
Thus it is the reverse of the Iranian *gad-* which is an act condemned, against the
community. The difference can be seen similarly in Russ. *razboj* ' robbery ',
Bulgar *razboinik* ' brigand ' beside Roumanian (Slavonic loan-word) *razboi*
' war ', *razboinic* ' warrior '. This ambivalence is like that found in OInd.
ásura-, OIran. *ahura-* ; *deva-*, *daiva-*.

The Old Indian *gadh-* has remained an object of dispute. The basic meaning
is ' seize, grasp ', whence ' seize, plunder '.

The participle *gadhita-* occurs in RV 1.126.6

> *ágadhitā párigadhitā yá kaśīkéva jaṅgahe*
> *dádāti máhyam yádurī yáśūnām bhojyá śatá*

' she who writhes like *kaśīká* beast held and embraced, gives to me as *yádurī*
a hundred pleasures of *yáśu-* '.[1]

Here Sāyaṇa and Mādhava cite the *Nirukta* 5.15 where *gadh-* is explained
by *gṛhṇāti* ' take ' and *miśrībhāva-* ' junction '. In RV 4.16.11, 16 *gádhya-*
is rendered in Sāyaṇa by *gṛāhya-*. Mādhava offers 4.38.4 *abhikāṅkṣya-*, 6.26.2
abhikāṅkṣita-. In 1.126.6 Geldner has ' angedrückt, umarmt ' recognizing a
verb *gadh-* ' grasp '.

The derivative *gádhya-* is an epithet of *vája-* ' booty ' in four verses :

> 4.16.11   *r̥jrá vájam ná gádhyam yúyūṣan*
>   *kavír yád áhan páryāya bhūṣát*

> 4.16.16   *yó mávate jaritré gádhyam cin*
>   *makṣú vájam bhárati spārhárādhāḥ*

> 6.10.6   *bharádvājeṣu dadhiṣe suvŕktím*
>   *ávir vájasya gádhyasya sātaú*

> 6.26.2   *tvám vājí havate vājineyó*
>   *mahó vájasya gádhyasya sātaú*

The form *-gandhya-* occurs in a compound

> 9.98.12   *aśyáma vájagandhyam*
>   *sanéma vájapastyam*

One other passage [2] has *gádhya-* in a context of cattle-raiding :

> 4.38.4   *yáḥ sma⁀ārundhānó gádhyā samátsu*
>   *sánutaraś cárati góṣu gáchan*

In all these passages the *gádh-* is an approved practice. The ' plunder '
comes from the enemy.

---

[1] For *yádurī* Sāyaṇa offers *bahuretoyuktā*, for *yáśu-* he gives *bhoga-* so that *yáśūnām bhojyá*
is tautological. Support outside Old Indian is desirable to establish the precise meaning.

[2] This *gádhyā samátsu* is rendered by ' Beute in den Schlachten ' by P. Thieme, *Untersuchungen
zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, p. 40.

By an unfortunate aberration [1] Geldner in these passages tried to find an otherwise unattested adjectival derivative of *gadhā-*, variant *gadā-* ' part of a wagon '. This belongs rather with Iran. **gada-* as proposed above.

Yet another Iranian word with *gad-* (or possibly *gaθ-*) is preserved in Sogdian *γδy'///* in the phrase *'rsk 'ty γδy'///* ' envy and . . .', and in the adjective *γδk'yn* for some pejorative sense.[2]

5. Iran. *haik-*, OInd. *sek-*

The Armenian loan-word *xnčoy* (*-kʻ, xnǰoy, -kʻ*) ' feast, banquet, rejoicing, assembly ', in *dahlič xnčoyicʻ* ' banqueting-hall ', according to the Mekhitarist Dictionary *sełan ouraxoutʻean, manauand harsaneacʻ* ' table of rejoicing, especially of nuptials ', quoted from Agathangelos, has been brought into connexion with Ossetic Digor *xincun, xinst*, Iron *xyncýn, xyɣd, xyɣtoj* (plur.), and nominal *xync* ' entertainment ' in which we find the same sense of joy and feasting.[3] Thus *xinst* is used of wedding entertainment in the *Iron Ādāmon Sfäldystād* 5.177 ; and G. Maliti, p. 37, spoke of *ustur xinstitä, cijnädzinādä* ' great entertainments, delight '.

In Middle Western Iranian and Ossetic *x-* can replace an older Iranian *h-*. Hence one possible origin of this word would be Iran. **hink-* from a base *haik-* in which one would seek a meaning ' to make joyful by feasting ', more simply ' to satiate '.

This consideration induces me to propose a connexion of this Iran. *haik-* with the OInd. *sek-* attested in the adjective *asecana-*. This word is found in Hindu Sanskrit hymns to the goddess Devī,[4] Buddhist Sanskrit *asecana-, -ka, asecaniya-*,[5] and Pali *asecana-, -ka-*.[6] The interpretation offered from Buddhist Sanskrit is ' insatiable '. The compound *asecanaka-darśana-* ' handsome ' is that which one ' cannot be satiated with gazing at '. Thus the Tibetan rendering *blta-bas chog mi śes-pa* ' not content with seeing ', Chinese yielding the same meaning, both in the *Mahāvyutpatti*,[7] accord with the Agni *asinät lkālyo* ' insatiable in gazing ' and similarly Kuci *lkātsy ontsoytte*.[8] A similar phrase occurs also in Ossetic where *ne 'fsäst äm käsynäj cäst* ' the eye was not sated gazing thereon ' is used to render Pushkin's *rascvela*.[8]

This OInd. *sek-* ' to satiate ' has not been quoted from Vedic texts. Late attestation of Old Indian words is not unknown. Thus *parút* ' last year ' is found from the time of Pāṇini though known in Greek *πέρυσι*. The word *gada-* ' illness ', common in medical texts from the time of Suśruta, is otherwise

---

[1] It was rejected by Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des R̥gveda* ; it is absent from Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *gádhya-*. Geldner has *gadhā-* rendered ' Wagenversteck ' in his *Glossar*, p. 53.

[2] W. B. Henning, *Manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 105 ; P 2.1069 and Dhuta 128.

[3] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1956, 94. Further cognates were left undecided.

[4] V. Raghavan, *Indian Linguistics*, XVI, 1955, 322.

[5] F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit dictionary*, s.v.

[6] Pali commentaries, quoted in the Pali Text Society's *Dictionary*, try to connect with *sek-* ' to sprinkle '.

[7] Ed. Sakaki, 392 *asecanako rūpeṇa*.

[8] Agni 218 b 1, and *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 247. Puškin, *Uácmystä*, p. 151.

confined in the Rigveda to the compound *vigadá-*.[1] Similarly the base *kas-*, frequent in the Prakrits, occurs in Sanskrit in the causative *niṣkāsaya-* ' expel '.[2] It is found in Iranian Khot. *khah-* : *khasta-* ' arise ', with *niš-* in *naṣakhasta-*, *naṣkasta-*, and in Armenian loan-word *nškahem* ' rise, rise against '.

In this Iran. *haik-*, OInd. *sek-* ' to satiate ' we have the *-k-* enlargement of the base OInd. *si-* attested in Rigvedic *asinvá-*, *ásinvant-* ' not satisfied ', Agni *si-* in pres. *sināṣṭ*, partic. *sasyu*, noun *siñlune*, Kuci *soy-* in pres. *soyeṃ*, inf. *soytsi*, pret. *soyāre*, and the negat. *ontsoyte*.[3] For the *-k-* note Greek τᾱ́κω, τήκω ' to melt ' beside Ossetic Digor *tāyun*, Iron *táin* ' melt ' ; Lit. *kaũkti* ' to howl ' beside OInd. *káuti*, and *infra aik-* s.v. *ai-*.

Thus the meaning dissevers OInd. *sek-* ' to satiate ' from *sek-* ' to sprinkle, pour water ' even though drinking is a prominent part of the feasting.

It is now possible to advance to the interpretation of the Avestan name *Haēčaṯ.aspa-*, the name of the fourth ancestor of Zoroaster. In *haēčat-* we have the participle in a governing compound, with the meaning ' satiate ' : the word means ' satisfying, feeding the horses '.[4]

The Iranian thus knows three verbs *haik-*, 1. ' to pour ', 2. ' to dry ',[5] and 3. ' to satiate '.

6. Iran. *sor-*, OInd. *śurúdh-*

Khotanese *hasǔra-*, *husura-*[6] occurs in three contexts which assure a meaning ' quarry, hunted beast or bird '. These passages are the following :

Rāma text P 2801.13 (*KT*, III, 65)

> *ṣi vā rre byaha buḍe*   *pharākye hīña jsa haṃtsa* ⌒
> *hasūrā jsāṃ vara vaṣṭā ā*   *kūṣṭa mūmda brramma ysāḍā* ⌒

' the king rode out hunting with a great retinue. The quarry came through to where the aged brahman lived '.

Jātaka-stava 29 v 1

> *tteñe bāṣa husure śe bemhye bemda*
> *ttere ṣīke āstīye bujsyau jse samartha* ⌒

ibid. 31 v 2   *ttī ahā baiste hasure vīysāṃje ṣṭāna* ⌒

In Ossetic Digor *sorun*, partic. *surd*, Iron *suryn*, *syrd* is frequent in the meaning ' to hunt, drive '. A derivative has been claimed in the earlier name Σωρακος.[7] In the *Digorskie skazania* 23.1 we find *äz ärsordzänän sirdtä* ' I shall

---

[1] *Supra* s.v. *gad-*.

[2] *JRAS*, 1955, 15.

[3] Without the *-y-*, see Pokorny, *IEW*, 876, *sā-* : *sə-*. OInd. *si-* is ambiguous.

[4] The *AIW* knowing only *haik-* ' to sprinkle ' had conjectured ' Rosse (mit Wasser) besprengend, badend '.

[5] *JRAS*, 1954, 26, n. 3, and *BSOAS*, XX, 1957, 53.

[6] Assimilated first syllable *-u-*, as in *rruspura-* (*Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 35 a 4) for older *rrispura-*, and *śśuru* acc. sing. to *śśāra-*.

[7] V. Abaev, *Oset. jazyk i fol'klor*, I, 182, from Vasmer. In the *AIW* placed under Av. *zaranyō.saora-*.

hunt the beasts' and similarly Iron *syrdty xicāu āfsāti* ' the lord of wild beasts, Äfsāti '.

Isolated from the verb we have in Digor *i* for *u* in *sird* ' wild beast, quarry ', Iron *syrd*. Such a replacement is familiar in Digor *siŭä* ' horn '; Iron *sy*, *syk'ā*, *siŭ*, beside Digor *siŭgun*, Iron *siŭdžyn* from older *sru-*, Khot. *ṣū-* and many other dialect forms ; in Digor *mistä* ' rat ' even an Old Iran. *-ū-* has been changed to *-i-* and that after *m-*.[1] Digor *ämsurd*, Iron *änsyrd* ' common driving ' is explained by *ämtārd*, *äntārd*.

Earlier (*BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 56) I cited the Armen. *sour-* in *sourhandak* ' courier '. The word *handak* is familiar in Zor. Pahl. *hnd'k* **handāka-* in the gloss to Avestan Yasna 50.7 *zəvištyə̄ng aurvatō* rendered *handāk ut apāyišnīk ut arvand*. This verb *handāč-* is used to render Av. *vōiθwa-* and *vyeiti*. In Krorain Prakrit we have *aṃtaǵi* used of horses and camels.[2] The verb occurs in Khotanese (E 25.424)

> *āphäḍe ni rraysma   haṃdajsāre ggäyyo jsa*

' their ranks are confused, they gallop with their troops '.

In view of such variant forms as those of Vedic *dhvar-* with *dhur-* and *dhru-* it may be desirable to call attention here to Kuci *śerwe* ' hunter ', Agni *śarw-* in nom. *śaru*, obliq. *śarwäṃ* with the verb Kuci *śer-* inf. *śerītsi* (from *śerwyitsi).

From Khotanese *hasura-* and Ossetic *sorun* we reach back to an Iranian **saura-* : *sur-*. Iran. *s-* corresponds to OInd. *ś-* or *ch-*. Here it is excellent to trace this word in OIndian *śur-* of Rigvedic *surúdh-*.[3]

In form *śurúdh-* has been compared with RV *iṣudh-* attested in a denominative verb *iṣudhyá-* and adj. *iṣudhyú-*. The Avestan *išud-* is explained by the Zor. Pahl. *āpām*, Sansk. *ṛṇam* ' debt '. It is clearly something to be delivered up or paid over. The *iš-* of Av. *išud-* and RV *iṣudh-* may be the *-s-* form from the Indo-Eur. *ai-* : *i-* ' to give ' attested in Hittite *pai-*, *pe-* (from *pa ai-*) ' to give ' and *i-* in *iwaru-* ' gift ', Hierog. Hitt. *pa-* ' to give '. Kuci has *ai-*, Agni *e-* ' to give ' in full use, pres. *aisk-* and *es-*, and the Agni noun *el* ' gift '. The *-s-* enlargement is so frequent (as in RV *jeṣ-* from *jay-* and *hoṣ-* from *hav-*) that there need be no hesitation in finding it in *išud-*. The suffix *-udh-* can then be simply taken for the ' product ', the *išud-* is ' what is to be given ' and the *śurúdh-* is thus ' what is to be hunted ' or more generally ' to be won ', as the contexts show, by plundering the enemy.

The word *śurúdh-* is found in the plural in the Rigveda. The following contexts indicate the scope of the word :

1.169.8	*śurúdho gó-agrāḥ*	' the booty consisting chiefly of cattle '
6.49.8	*śurúdhaś candrágrā(ḥ)*	' the booty of bright (metals) '
10.122.1	*śurúdho viśvádhāyaso*	' the booty offering all kind of nourishment '

---

[1] The assumption that OIran. *-ždra-* gave Oss. *-rd-* is unsupported in E. Benveniste, *BSL*, LII, 1956, 41.

[2] T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhi documents from Chinese Turkestan*, p. 73.

[3] A different word, OInd. *churati*, has been compared with Avestan *saora-* in the *AIW*.

1.72.7   *surúdho jīváse* ' the booty for sustenance '

7.23.2   *surúdho vívāci* ' the booty in the conflict '

6.3.3   *hésasvatah surúdho* ' the booty of the armed man '

9.70.5   *ādédiśānah śaryahéva surúdhah* ' like the archer intent upon booty

7.62.3   *sahásram surúdho* ' the thousand booties ', the provision of Varuna, Mitra, and Agni

3.38.5   *surúdhah santi pūrvíh* ' the first booties ', these transferred to *ṛtá-* from the gods ; (and 4.23.8 *sánti*).

Earlier interpretations yielded only the choice between ' gains ' (which was correct but too indefinite) and ' gifts '. Sāyana is here aberrant with *śucah śokasya rodhayitrīr* in RV 6.3.3. At the same place Mādhava offered *tejaso rodhayituh*. Both tried to find a verb *rodh-*. Geldner's *Übersetzung* has both ' gift ' and ' reward '. The recent study by P. Thieme also seeks a verbal *rodh-*.[1]

It will here once again be noticed that the Old Indian vocabulary has kept one derivative where Iranian in Ossetic has a verb in full use. This has previously been remarked for the Iranian base *ar-* ' to grind ', in Indo-Aryan Kalāṣā *at* and Sansk. *aṭṭa-m*, and in Iran. *tarp-* ' steal ', beside the isolated Rigvedic *-tṛ́p-* with *paśu-* and *asu-*.

7. Rigvedic *nā́yám*

The interpretation of *surúdh-* involves an attack upon the difficult problem of *nā́yám* occurring five times. Three of the five cases demand a meaning ' direction ' or (the result of directing) ' place '. Thus we have in the Rigveda

1.130.1   *ā́indra yāhy úpa nah parāváto*
            nā́yám áchā vidáthāniˆiva sátpatir
            ástam rā́jāˆiva sátpatih

8.2.28   *svādávah sómā ā́ yāhi*
            śrītā́h sómā ā́ yāhi
            śíprinn ṛṣīvah sácivo
            nā́yám áchā sadhamā́dam

8.33.13   *ā́indra yāhi pītáye*
            mā́dhu śaviṣṭha somyám
            nā́yám achā maghávā śṛnavad gíro
            bráhmokthā́ ca sukrátuh

With this meaning it is also possible to propose interpretation of the two other passages

1.121.13   *tvám sū́ro haríto rāmayo nṝ́n*
            bhárac cakrám étaśo nā́yám indra
            prā́sya pārám navatím nāvyā̀nām
            ápi kartám avartayo (á)yajyūn

---

[1] ' Beiträge zur Vedaexegese ', *ZDMG*, xcv, 1941, and *KZ*, lxix, 1951, 172.

6.3.3.   *sûro ná yásya dṛṣatír arepá*
          bhīmá yád éti śucatás ta á dhíḥ
          héṣasvataḥ śurúdho nắyám aktóḥ
          kútrā cid raṇvó vasatír vanejắḥ

In 6.3.3 the poet allusively describes a raiding party at night. The sense is thus *śurúdho nắyám aktóḥ* ' in the direction, to the booty, at night ', with the two accusatives in apposition. Similar RV 1.116.8 *agním ghraṃsám*.

Setting aside at first the problem of the accentuation, note that, if Avestan *naēma-* ' direction, side ', Sogd. *nymyδ* ' south ', *nym'k*, NSogd. Yaɣnābī *nema* ' side ', Zor. Pahl. *nēmak* [1] ' direction, part ' with the OInd. *nēma-* ' side, half ' are compared, we can see a word *nāyá-* ' direction ' from *náyati* ' to conduct ', of the form well attested in Rigvedic *vāyá-* in *vāso-vāyá-* and *śrāyá-*, similar to the bases in *-av-* in Rigvedic *sāvá-*, *āhāvá-*.

This explanation would prove the double accentuation to be wrong. Hence we touch that period between the poets' original *Saṃhitā* and the *Padapāṭha* when irregularities could arise. To that period, for example, belongs the confusion over the word *itáūti-* which is recorded in two forms, either as one word with one udātta accent or as two words with two accents *itá ūtí*. The meaning ' perpetual ' was clearly lost.[2] Here also the accentuation points to a failure of understanding. To the same period belongs also the *dhiṣṇyemé* containing *dhiṣṇyā* as unaccented vocative and *dhiṣṇyemé* containing *dhiṣṇyā* (the *Padapāṭha dhiṣṇye* with unusual sandhi before *imé*), with accent, in RV 7.72.3 c. Here too belongs the spelling of *pāvaká-*.

If thus *nắyám* is associated with other cases of faulty transmission it loses its strangeness. Now add that this type of derivative is attested with the udātta both on the second and on the first syllable. Thus *máda-* attested in *sadhamáda-*, and *sāvá-*. In the sense of agent we find *nāyá-* ' leader '.

The *Padapāṭha* interpreted by *ná* and *ayám*. Geldner offered in his *Glossar* *ná* and *ayám*. In his *Übersetzung* 1.121.13 he keeps this and proposes to render ' selbst '; in 1.130.1 ' in eigner Person '; 6.3.3 ' derselbe '; 8.2.28 and 8.33.13 as 1.130.1. H. Lüders incidentally dealt with 6.3.3 and gave ' derselbe ' (*Acta Or.*, XIII, 1935, 123). A new survey was put forward by P. Thieme [3] with a proposal to read *ná* deduced from *nānā* ' various ' in the sense of ' alone ' with *āyám* acc. sing. ' coming '. In this L. Renou in his review found it impossible to follow him.[4] H. Oldenberg in his *Exegetische Noten* preferred to assume an error of accentuation and to read *nắyam*.

---

[1] In *Zātspram, Vičītakīhā*, K35, 244 v 8 occurs *pat nēmak ī rās* ' in the direction, course of the road, midway ', when the fire was being transferred over the ocean in the reign of Hōšang.

[2] A preliminary attempt to interpret Avestan *utayūti-* and Rigvedic *itáūti-* was made in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 138 ff. I should now develop that to propose that the *uta-* of Avestan meant ' extended ' being the participle to the verb attested in Rigvedic *unoti*, which must be treated elsewhere.

[3] *Untersuchungen zur Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda*, pp. 50 ff.

[4] *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, XLV, 1949, 66 (' désespéré).

Sāyaṇa follows the *Padapāṭha*. Similarly Mādhava in 1.130.1 and 6.3.3, but in 1.121.13 he has *naikaśo 'yam*.

8. śūghaná-

The word *śūghaná-* occurs once in the Rigveda. It is listed in the *Naighaṇṭuka* 2.15 among the *kṣipra-nāmāni*, the words for 'swift'. The passage is RV 4.58.7

> síndhor iva prádhvané śūghanáso
> vátapramiyaḥ patayanti yahváḥ
> ghṛtásya dhárā aruṣó ná vājī
> káṣṭhā bhindánn ūrmíbhiḥ pínvamānaḥ

In a context of flood water the word *ghaná-* would at once suggest the base *ghan-* 'to be exuberant, overflowing'.[1]

In *śū-* it is possible to see an ablaut form of *āśú-* 'swift', OIran. Av. *āsu-*, Greek ὠκύς. It gave the word Khot. *āska-*, Bud. Sogd. ''s'wk- *āsuka-*, Zor. Pahl. *āhūk*, NPers. *āhū* ' antelope ', the ' swift ' animal.

Something is now known about the ablaut system of words with long Indo-Iranian *ā-*. Thus we have OInd. *áyu-*, *áyus-* ' vitality ', Av. *āyu-* ' duration of time '. From this arise forms *yav-* and *yu-*. Thus in the Avesta occur *yav-*, *yavaētāt-*, NPers. *jāveðān*, Armen. loan-word *yauēt* ' ever ', Zor. Pahl. *yāvētān*, and in Ossetic Digor *jāŭä*, *jaŭ* ' energy, vitality '. From the reduced grade *yu-* derived the adj. OInd. *yúvan-* ' young ', Lat. *iuvenis* and the other forms in Germanic, Celtic, and the rest.[2]

A second case is the OInd. *ātmán-* with *tmánā*.[3]

Hence there is no difficulty in claiming the same ablaut *āśú-* : *śu-* ' swift '. The long vowel of *śū-* in *śūghaná-* may be simply explained by adopting the reduced grade of the *a-* which occurs before *ghan-* in OInd. *aghnyá-* and Av. *agənyā-*, Armen. *-o-* in *yogn* as we accept the reduced grade in the initial vowel of *ap-* ' water ' in OInd. RV *pratīpá-*, *anūpá-* ; of the verbal *āp-* ' reach ' and *īpsati* ; and the long vowel of *sūnára-* compared to the *a-* of Armen. *ayr* ' man '.

The compound *śūghaná-* thus combines the sense of a violent flood of water and its swift rush in the river-bed.[4]

9. OInd. arva-

A word *arva-* is attested in OInd. *arvāvát-* ' vicinity ', and the directional adjective *arvāñk-* ' turning in this direction ', adverbial *arvák* ' hither '.

The suffix *-va-* is familar in the OInd. *pūrva-*, OPers. *paruviya-* contrasting with the *-m-* of Khot. *pīrma-* ' first ' and Lit. *pìrmas*. A similar *-va-* can be

---

[1] For Iranian *gan-*, OInd. *ghan-*, Greek θεν- see the words grouped in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 44 ff.

[2] For the complex *āyu-*, see E. Benveniste, *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, xxxviii, 1937, 103 ff. ; Ossetic *jāŭä* in Morgenstierne, *NTS*, xii, 1942, 269.

[3] Details can be found in F. B. J. Kuiper, *Notes on Vedic noun-inflexion*, 19 ff. ; E. Polomé, *Zum heutigen Stand der Laryngaltheorie*, 456.

[4] This explanation seems to have merit over against the translation ' cattle-killing ' in P. Thieme, *ZDMG*, xciv, 1941, 348, whose conjectured *pśu-* is hardly acceptable.

detected also in OInd. *apvá-* ' inner part of the body ' with which we have to associate Ossetic Digor *āppä*, Iron *āpp* ' kernel ', with prosthetic *q- = x'* also *qāppä* and *qāpp*. The *-pp-* arises from OIran. *-fv-*. In Khotanese the word *ahā-* means the ' innermost stomach '.[1]

In the *ar-* of OInd. *arva-* it is now easy to see the base of Lit. *artùs* ' near ', *artì* adv. ' near ', *iš arto* ' from the vicinity '. These and other forms are compared with Greek ἄρτι ' just ', ἀρτύς, ἄρτιος, Lat. *artus* ' narrow ', *artus* ' limb ', and Armen. *ard* ' now '.[2] The basic word occurs in Let. *ar* ' and, with '.[3]

With these words we have further to connect Agni *ārtak* and Kuci *ārte*, *ārtte* which translate Bud. Sansk. *upa* ' near '.

By these connexions the base is established as *ar-*, not *er-*.

Note as a parallel that a *-tāka-*, *-taka-* suffix is added to the indeclinable *fra* (OInd. *prá*) in Zor. Pahlavī *plt'k *fratāk*, NPers. *fardā* ' to-morrow ' from ' in front ' and in Khotanese *padā* ' first '.

The recognition of the connexion of OInd. *arvá-* (in *arvāvát-*) and Lit. *artùs* with the cognate words offers a solution of the problem of Šuɣnī *ar* ' to, at ' as preposition and postposition.[4] With this *ar* ' to ' it will be desirable to join Ossetic Digor and Iron *är-*, *äl-* before *l-*, in use as a preverb ' towards '.[5] Both these words may have lost an older final vowel. Thus Ossetic *fäl-* represents older *pari-*. The Ossetic *är-* would seem to exclude the form **ari*.

10. *ai-* ' teach '

It was proposed in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 41 ff. to see in the *aē-* of OIranian Avestan *aēθra-*, and the reduced grade *-i-* in the *-iδ-* of Avestan *hamiδpati-*, a title, an Iranian base *ai- : i-* meaning ' to teach ' ; then to explain OIndian Rigvedic *āyú-*, the fellow of the *kārú-*, as the derived adjective of agent ' teacher ', creator of *mántras*, formed as *jāyú-* from *jáyati* ' to win '. With suffix *-n-* the word is common in Greek αἶνος ' tale, decree ', αἰνέω ' to praise ', παραινέω ' to enjoin ', Pindaros, *Pyth.* iv 222 καταίνησαν . . . γάμον ' they vowed marriage '.

In Kuci and Agni a base [6] *en-* ' to teach ' translating Bud. Sansk. *śās-* contains Kuci *e-*, Agni *e-*. Normally Kuci has retained the diphthong *ai* where the Agni has reached the stage *e*, as in Kuci *ai-* ' to give ', Agni *e-* (pres. 1 sing. *aiskau, esam*) corresponding to Hittite *ai-* in *pai-, pe-* ' to give ', Hierog. Hitt. *pa-*, with *i-* in *iwaru-* ' gift '. But in Kuci the development from *ai* to *e* can be seen in the extant texts, just as the similar diphthong *au*, Agni *o* is sometimes *o*

---

[1] For *apvá-* see K. Hoffmann, *Corolla linguistica*, 80 ff. ; Khot. *ahā-* in nom. sing. *aha*, loc. sing. *ahaña* in the medical text P 2893 (in *KT*, III, 85) 70, 124. The *x'* in *qāpp* is comparable to the non-ejective *x* in *xom* ' raw ', Khot. *hāma-*, OInd. *āmá-*.

[2] E. Fraenkel, *Lit. et. Wb.*, s.v., p. 17.

[3] K. Hoffmann, summarized in Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, 552, offered an inversion of **avra-*.

[4] G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, I, 1928, 46–7.

[5] The never satisfactory attempt to see in this Oss. *är-* the older **adi-* would thus drop, see ' Supplementary note to Asica ', *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1946, 203–4.

[6] Briefly noted in *BSOAS*, XXI, 1, 1957, 47.

in Kuci.[1] Thus it is possible to compare Kuci *sai*- ' to support ', Agni *se*-
from which occur Kuci inf. *saitsi*, partic. *sasainu* and pret. *sentsamai*, Agni
partic. *sāseyu*, conj. *señmār*. Similarly Kuci has *aun*- ' begin ' with partic.
aunu, auntsate and *omtsate* beside Agni *on*-, partic. *āwu, onu*, pret. *osāt*. The
replacement of *ai* by *e* can be seen in Kuci *maiyyā*- ' power ' beside *meyyā*-.
In Agni we have *ske*- ' to exert oneself ', pres. *skeneñc*, pret. *skāyā*, noun *ske*
to compare with Kuci *skai*-, pres. *skainaṃ*, optat. *skāyoy*, noun *skeye*.

The development of Kuci *ai*- to *e*- in *e-n*- ' to teach ' had the additional
advantage of keeping *ai*-, Agni *e*- ' to give ' distinct from *e*- ' to teach '. This
word *en*- is placed beside the forms with suffixed *-n*- in the *Tocharische Gram-
matik*, p. 245, but the decisive forms without *-n*- are not known or at least not
published. For the similar Agni *on*- the partic. *āwu* and the pret. *os*- show that
the *-n*- is suffix. Kuci texts have preserved only forms with *-n*-.

In Old Indian occurs a verb *e*- : *i*- which with the preverb *ádhi* means ' to
teach '. The Petersburg Dictionary unhesitatingly derives this *adhy-e*- from
e- : *i*- ' to go ', but it seems impossible to bridge the gulf between ' to go ' and
' to teach '. The verb is well attested in active and middle, and in the partic.
ádhīta-, adhītá- ' taught, having learnt ', noun *adhyāyá*- ' teaching '.[2] Note
the phrase *Taittirīya upaniṣad* 3.1 *Bhṛgur vai Vāruṇiḥ, Varuṇam pitaram
upasasāra, adhīhi bhagavo brahmeti, tasmā etat provāca*. Thát is, ' Bhṛgu son
of Varuṇa approached his father Varuṇa, saying, Sir, teach me the brahma.
He stated it to him '. *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa* (10.3.3.5) *adhīhi bhos tam agnim*
is similar. The present participle *adhīyánt*- differs from the present participle of
the verb *e*- ' to go ', that is, *yant*-. The long vowel of *adhīyánt*- may preserve the
reduced grade of the *a*- of *ai*- ' teach '. In the *Chāndogya upaniṣad* 7.1.2 we find
ṛgvedaṃ bhagavo 'dhyemi yajurvedaṃ ' I study the Rigveda and Yajurveda '.

This evidence seems sufficient to recover the base *ay*-, *e*- : *i*- in Old Indian,
a word destined to early extinction by its smallness and its rival *ay*-, *e*- : *i*-
' to go '. That a verbal base can survive only with a preverb can be seen in *ápi
vat*-, *nír akṣ*-, *ā́ kuv*- or in nominal form *akṣ*- ' look ' in *ádhyakṣa*-.

Above under *haik*- it was noted that an enlargement *-k*- was fully assured.
In Kuci there is a verb *aik*- ' to know ' (not found in Agni, which uses *knā*-).
If the *-k*- is an enlargement to express the termination or result of the act, it
would be possible to take *ai-k*- ' to know ' from *ai*- ' to state, teach ' as the
result of ' information given '.

With the similar enlargement *-g*- we have Germanic Gothic *aik*- in the
compound verb *afaikan* ' to deny '. The meaning can be reached by recognizing
the repudiation in the preverb *af*- with a verb of statement, that is, ' to state
that a thing is not '. The positive statement is made by *eihhon* ' vindicare,
zusprechen ' and *in-eih(h)an = insagēn* in Old High German.[3]

---

[1] In footnotes in *Tocharische Sprachreste*, Sprache B, Ht. 2, an effort is made to reverse this
development as if the more archaic *ai* and *au* were correct.

[2] A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II, p. 170.

[3] S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, p. 3.

3 7 *

In Greek ἀναίνομαι ' to deny ' shows the reversive preverb ἀνα- with a base αι- and -*n*- suffix. Since these various words in Old Indian, Avestan, Kuci, Agni, Gothic, and Greek seem to form a related group by meaning, it seems likely that the Greek -αιν- of ἀναίνομαι belongs here, even if the pret. ἀνήνατο must be separated off.

<h2 style="text-align:center">11. Iran. farva-</h2>

In a note[1] on Old Indian *pharva-* attested in acc. sing. fem. *prapharvyàm* compared with Ossetic Digor *p'ăruă*, *p'ārä*, Iron *xärv* ' thin skin, film ', Armen. *p'aṙ* ' thin skin, film, shirt ', I had occasion to mention some of the representatives in Ossetic of OIran. *p-*.

It is now possible to extend the problem by adding Ossetic Digor *färŭākä*, *färākä*, Iron *färăk*, plur. *färāktä* ' bran, *otrubi* ', the husk being named as the ' thin skin '. For this meaning note Ossetic Digor *xotxä* meaning both ' thin skin ' and ' bran ', and in *ni xotxä un* ' to become ash ' also ' ashes '. The cognate is Digor *xotäg*, *xotug*, Iron *xútäg* ' flake '.[2] Hence in *färŭākä* we have the third spelling of **farva-* with suffix -*ā*- and secondary -*kä* (with -*k*- retained).[3]

A passage containing Digor *färākä* occurs in the *Iron Ādämon Sfäldystäd* 5.168

> dä āvd furtej ändurti fättä din uällāg sinxäg cägär Čeregiqo dä kolduäri duärttäbäl listäg färäka nikkodtä mā din jeci xābär iγosun känunmä ärbā-cudtän, zäγgä

with the footnote *se 'nduri fättä listäg färäkä nikkodtä*.

Here should be mentioned also Waxī *pärg*, Sanglēčī *park* ' ashes '. If ' ashes ' are named from the flakes thought of as ' thin skin ' as in Ossetic *xotxä* then this *para-* with -*k*- suffix would belong with **farva-* ' film '. The Lit. *pelenaĩ* ' ashes ' could also be placed here.[4]

The Ossetic system deriving from the one series of Old Iranian unvoiced stops *k*, *t*, *p*, can now be set out as follows. OIran. *k* normally gave Ossetic *k* (= *k'*, in earlier Cyrillic spellings written *kx*), medial doubled -*gk*- unaspirated non-ejective, *k'* ejective, and *x* fricative. Thus we find *känun* ' to make ' (OIran. *kṛn-*, OPers. *kun-*), *mugkāg* ' family ' beside *mugä* ' seed ' ; *k'äs* ' innermost part of a house ', Khot. *kasä-*, *kasäjsa-*[5] ; Digor *k'insä* ' dough ', Iron *č'yssä* and with fricative *xyssä*.[6]

For the dental series we have for OIran. *t*, Ossetic *t* (= *t'*) normally, doubled *dt*, but also ejective *t'*. Thus Digor, Iron *tänăg* ' thin ', Khot. *ttaṃga-* ' rare ' ;

---

[1] *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 49–50.

[2] Further below, p. 541 on Khotanese *khoca*.

[3] Other cases are cited *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1945, 35.

[4] Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, ii, 407, from *pel-* ' dust ', as in Pokorny, *IEW*, 802.

[5] Ossetic Digor *k'äsi bädäg* ' witch ', as one ' sitting in the innermost part of the house ', corresponds to Iron *k'uli bädäg* ' sitting in the *k'ül* '. This *k'ül*, Digor *k'olä*, is the ' innermost part of the house between the hearth and the back wall '. Probably OInd. *kásas-* occurring once belongs here, on which elsewhere.

[6] This represents an older **kisa-* from **kitsa-* derived from *kat-*, *kāt-* : *kit-* attested in Lat. *cāseus* ' cheese ' and its cognates. Khotanese has *tciña-* adj. ' of yeast ', OInd. *kiṇva-m* ' yeast '.

Digor, Iron *t'äpän* ' flat ', from *tap-* ' flat ', on which elsewhere, Digor *st'älu*, Iron *st'äly* ' star '. The expected θ fricative to set beside x is absent. It can be noted that the OIran. θ also has lost friction in Ossetic : *fätän* ' broad ', *itindzun* ' to extend '.

The same series as for k can be shown for p. The usual result is f, as in *finsun* ' write ', *fondz* ' five ' ; doubled *bp*. For ejective p' the *p'ärua* ' film ' cited above occurs. To this must be added the rare p ($= p'$) which I see in Digor *per-*, Iron *pir-* attested in Digor *peron* ' combed ball of wool ', *pernä* ' wheel of a water-mill ', Iron *piryn*, *pyrd* ' to scratch, to comb ', *pirän* ' comb for wool '. The meaning ' scratch ' at once recalls the Germanic OEngl. *wrītan* ' to write ', OSwed. *rīta* ' scratch, write ', and the derivatives of Indo-European *peik̂*, *peiĝ-*.

This would seem to provide the connexion of Khot. *pīr-* : *pīḍa-* ' to write, paint '. Previously [1] I had proposed to see in it OIran. *pati-kar-* ' to imitate ' known .in OPers. *patikara-* ' inscription ', later *patkar* ' image ', through an intermediate **paiγar-*.

Note that Tumshuq Saka has *pyerdanu* to translate Bud. Sansk. *saṃcintya* ' deliberately ' from **pati-kar-* ' think '.[2] The Tumshuq Saka equivalent of Khotanese *pīr-* ' to write ' has not yet been found. Incidentally it should be added here that Tumshuq *piṣtane* is used where Khotanese uses *haṣda-* ' message ', so that it is not certainly translated by ' to write '.

A second case in which Ossetic has p- corresponding to older p- is Digor *purxä*, *purx*, Iron *pyrx* ' splashing water, spray ', Khot. *usphīr-*, *asphīr-*, *isphīr-* ' to splash ',[3] from *par-* with suffix *-xä*, as in *xotxä* ' thin skin ', *k'upxä* ' dregs from sour milk '.

The Ossetic system replacing OIran. k, t, p, non-aspirate stops, was thus, with the means familiar in Caucasian languages, k', k', x (whence came Iron palatalized *č-*, *č'-* before e and i) ; t', t', and t' from θ ; and p' (rare), p' (rare), f (regularly). In the dental series there is disturbance. Note a disturbance also in the voiced series : Ossetic has b, and d, but the fricative γ from OIran. g-. Ossetic knows also g from older intervocalic *-k-*. It has also a few cases of initial g- from older *u̯-*. OIran. *u̯-* is represented in three forms in Ossetic, by *ŭ-*, *b-*, and *g-* ; the same position is found in Khotanese.[4]

12. Iranian *iza-*

The Iranian *iza-* ' skin ' is attested in the Avestan adjective *izaēna-* (and with *ī-*) and widely in New Iranian. Thus we find Yidγa *ize* (with variants *yizio*, *yijya*, and others), Orm. *īz* ' skin bag ' Bal. *hīz* ' leather churn ', Pašto, Bal. *zik* ' skin for ghee ', Pašto *žai* ' leather bag ' from **izyaka-*.[5]

---

[1] *BSOS*, VIII, 4, 1937, 935.   [2] *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 663.

[3] *KT*, III, 34, 10 ; *KBT*, 19.223. For Yidγa *pərx* ' hoarfrost ' see Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 240. Khotanese shows *phar-* = **far-*.

[4] *JRAS*, 1954, 31-2. Add the Ubyx *ges°a* ' axe ' of *Caucasica*, IV, 1927, 137 to Ossetic *üäs* ' axe ', OInd. *väśi-* in *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1952, 55-6.

[5] Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 105 ; *IIFL*, II, 195.

It has recently been noticed that Old Khot. *häysä* in E 21.35 means a skin which can be inflated. The passage is

kye ttrāma śśāre samu kho häysä daundä putä

kye ūri birṣṭä suvä gyagarrä rrūva nätca

' some lie just like a skin blown up, rotting, others with belly burst, lungs, liver, intestines without '.

The inflated skin is known from the time of the Rigveda 7.89.2 *dŕtir ná dhmātó*. In Persia the Semitic *maškā*- was adopted and this has been handed down to NPersian *mašk*.

In Khot. *häysä* the *h*- is prosthetic. A comparison of Khot. *haṃguṣṭa-* ' finger ', *pajuṣṭa*- ' finger-ring ', like Yidγa *parguščë*, Waxī *plöngöst*, with OKhot. *āṃṣṭī*, later *āṣṭī* ' thumb ' shows that the simple word may have this added *h*- while the word with suffix wants it. The word is Avestan *anguṣta-*, NPers. *angušt* and OInd. *anguṣṭha-*. The Khotanese -*ī*- is from -*iya*-.

This recognition of Khot. *häysa*- ' skin ' has brought me to see that we should distinguish two words in Khotanese, 1. *īṃjīnaa*- with nasal, and 2. *ijīnaa*- without nasal. The first *īṃjīnaa*- belongs with Sogd. *'ynkw'ynč *ēnkwēnč*- [1] ' steel ' but the second will be the adjective to *häysa*- ' skin '. The *ūrabada* ' belt ' is more likely to be made of leather in the passage Ch. cvi 001, 5 *ijīnai hīrāsä hvattarakīnai ūrabada śau* ' a belt, of leather, black, . . .'.[2]

The leather belt is worn by the enemies, the Tūrak, in the Bahman Yašt (3.34) *dwb'l-kwstyk'n *duvāl-kustīkān*.

For the -*j*- of *ijīnaa*- note that Khot. *spuljei* ' spleen ' has -*lj*- from older -*rzy*-,[3] and here too we may assume *ij*- from older **izy*-.

13. Khotanese *khoca*

A difficult problem was presented by the Old Khotanese *khoca*, later *khauca*.[4] The intervocalic -*c*- would normally indicate some secondary conjunction of consonants. It was therefore assumed that the word contained *xaud*- with a suffix -*ča*-.

This base Indo-Eur. *skeu*- and *skeu-d*- is found with two initials *sk*- and *x*- from *kh*-. Thus we have Waxī *skīd* ' cap ' from **skauda*-, with the usual Waxī -*ī*- from -*au*-,[5] and **khauda*- in OPers. *xauda*- ' hat ', Ossetic Digor *xōdä*, Iron *xūd*.[6]

The phrase Khot. *khaucīja khauśka*, however, eventually led to the solution.[7] There is also the later spelling in P 2024 recto b (*KT*, ii, 78) *yaragaka va dva u khāśkya va śä* ' two *yargak* (Turk. *yarγaq* " pelt ") and one *kafša*- (" container ")'.

---

[1] As proposed in *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 55–7.

[2] Cited in *BSOAS*, xix, 1, 1957, 55.

[3] *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 431–4.

[4] An approximate solution was proposed in *Asiatica*: *Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, 20.

[5] Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, ii, 482.

[6] Other connected words cited in Morgenstierne, *EVP*, s.v. *xōl*, p. 96 ; *IIFL*, ii, 266, Yidγa *xūlo* ; M. Mayrhofer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *khola*- ' hat '.

[7] Ch. cvi 001,5 in *KT*, ii, 59.

In *khauśka* we have the word *khauṣa* 'receptacle, shoe', Zor. Pahl., NPers. *kafš*,[1] with the suffix *-kya-* and palatalized *-ś-* from *-ṣ-*.

The recognition that Khot. *khoca* meant 'skin, leather' came through a comparison with Ossetic Digor *xotäg*, Iron *xútäg* 'flake' as in Iron *mity xútäg* 'snow flakes'; and in Digor *ārt-xotäg*, *ärt-xotug*, Iron *ärt-xútäg* 'ashes' (*ārt* 'fire') compared with Digor *xotxä* 'thin skin; bran', and 'ashes' in the phrase *ni xotxä un* 'become ashes'. This *xotxä* is formed with the suffix *-xä*, Iron *-x*, found in other words as in *k'upxä*, *k'üpx* 'lees of thickened milk', *zänxä*, *zäxx* 'earth', *mätyx* 'locust', Avestan *maδaxa-*. This sense of 'skin' indicated a connexion with Indo-Eur. *skeu-* with dental enlargement. The Ossetic intervocalic *-t-* derives from older *-θ-* or from *-θ-* arising from *-d-*. For the combination with 'bran', see *supra fārüākä*, p. 538.

In other languages derivatives of **skeu-* are frequent. Thus Greek σκύλον 'hide', σκῦτος 'leather', Lat. *cutis* 'skin', OEngl. *hȳd* 'hide'.

In Khotanese *khoca* thus seems to mean 'covering', thence 'skin', and so served as an epithet of 'receptacle, shoes', in *khaucīja khauśka*. The name *heinā-khoca* will then mean, not 'red-hatted', but 'red-skinned'.

14. Khotanese *mala*

Khotanese *mala* occurs in hendiadys construction with the loan-word from NW Prakrit *tṛmkha-* 'peak', in Sanskrit *tīkṣṇa-* 'sharp'[2] in a passage P 2787.57–8 (*KT*, II, 103) *mala ttraikha sūmīra gārānä rāmda ttaira haraysā baida* 'upon the peak top of Sumeru king of mountains, the Taira Haraysa'. Here the older Iranian cosmography of the Avesta, the *taēra-* 'peak' of the *Harā bərəz*, has been wedded to the Buddhist Sumeru.[3] The word *mala* was at first taken as a proper name.

In a poem in honour of the king Śrī Vijita Saṅgrāma[4] we read

> *baisū bauspaujañāṇä ranīnai stūpa :*
> *cāvāṃ tta tta daittä khu ramnā male ttraikha :*

'the *balsa-* (= *mchod-rten*, *stūpa*) and the jewelled *stūpa* of the *gandhakuṭi* (perfumed chamber); the *cāvāna-* appears like peaks, mountain tops of gems'.

The *cāvāna-* has been noted only here. The simile with the peaks seems to indicate that the *cāvāna-* is the Sansk. *kūṭa-* and Prakrit *kūla*, of the *stūpa*.[5] Or is it *cā* (= *cu*) and *vāṃ* nom. sing. to *vāna-* 'shrine' or particle *vā-ṃ* ?

The word *mala-* occurs in the inst. sing. *malnä* translating Sansk. *upalair* 'with stones' in a passage of the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* 69 v 4 *khu ra malnä garä sūmīrä* for Sansk. 3.67 *yathā⏑upalair merur ananta-tulyo*, 'like the mountain Sumeru with its peak' for the Sansk. 'like the limitless Sumeru with its rocks'.

---

[1] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1954, 148.
[2] *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 769.
[3] Quoted earlier in *Zoroastrian problems*, 226, and *KT*, II, p. vii.
[4] *KT*, II, 2, lines 30–1.
[5] For this *kūṭa* there is the study of L. de la Vallée Poussin in 'Staupikam', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, II, 1937.

Khotanese -*l*- is ambiguous in origin, since it may represent Indo-Eur. *l* or *r*, or have replaced an OIran. -*rd*-. In Khot. *kamala*- ' head ' we have the cognate of Av. *kamərəδa*-, OInd. *mūrdhán*-.

If Khot. *mala*- ' peak ', however, is traced to an Indo-European base **mel*- ' to be prominent ' it belongs with the following group.

The dictionaries already contain words from Albanian, Celtic, Baltic, and Slavonic implying prominence. From Greek is quoted μολεῖν, βλω-. Thus we have Alb. *mal* ' point ' from **mol-no*- ; Geg. *moje* ' high place ' from **mēl-iā*-. From Celtic Irish *mell* ' hill ' from **mel-no*-, Lit. *mala* in *lýg-mala* ' height of bank ', Let. *mala* ' edge, bank '. In Slavonic occur verbs Serb. *molim* in *iz-molīm* ' hervorzeigen ', and Slovene *molé′ti* ' to project '.[1]

To these words we have to add Kuci *meli* plur. ' nose ' translating Sansk. *ghrāṇa*, Agni *malañ*. The singular is in Agni *ak-mal* ' face ' from ' eye and nose'. For the association of ' point ', and ' nose ' with ' hill, mountain ' note Khot. *piṃja*- ' breast ; peak ' with Ossetic Digor *findzä, fij*, Iron *fyndz* ' point, nose '.[2]

The Khotanese *mala* as ' mountain peak ' suits the second of these two connexions, and thus would have an old -*l*-.

15. Iran. *fšar*-, OInd. *psar*-

An Iranian base *fšar*- has long been known in Avestan *fšarəma*- ' shame ', in Ossetic both dialects *äfsärm*, Pers. *šarm*. To this are now added Sogd. Bud. *šβ'r* ' shame ', Man. *šf'r* ; Bud. *'šβ'rs*-, Chr. *šfrs*- ' to be ashamed ' ; Bud. *šβ'rm'k* (*SCE*). Turfan Parthian has *šfrs*- ' to be confused '.[3] From *kṣar*- (from *fšar*-) Khotanese has a verb *kṣār*- : *kṣāḍa*- and noun *kṣārma*- ' shame ' translating Sansk. *lajjā*, derivative *akṣārmauña* ' shamelessness ' (P 4099.67), *akṣārma*- ' shameless ' (P5538 b 52). The causative *kṣer*- is in *KT*, iii, 11, 20 r 1.

Two additional words can be added to this group. Old Khotanese has *pakṣāre* in the phrase *Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī* (6 r 1 ; 16 v 2 in *KT*, iii) *kṣārmä pakṣāre rrūyāme jsa* ' with loss of shame and modesty '. For this one would expect the Bud. Sansk. *hrī-r-apatrāpya*-. With the negative prefix occurs (P 4099.67) *akṣārmauña apakṣarāttai* ' shamelessness and immodesty '.

The Khotanese *pakṣar*- from **pa-fšar*- makes it possible to explain two forms in Zor. Pahlavī in the *Dēnkart*.

DkM 790.3. *ut apar driγuš must'ōmand pahlom darmān garzišn ut mustkar hač garzišn ī must'ōmand apāč pafširiśnīh* (written *ppšylšnyh*) *ut apatiriśnīh ut avāvarīkānīh ut adahiśnīh būtan* ' and about the aggrieved poor man's first remedy, complaint ; and in the offender there being from the aggrieved one's complaint withdrawal, cessation of attack, lack of conviction (?) and absence of agreement (?) '.

DkM 654.14. *vināskārān pātfrās kunēt bāstān pafšārēt kastārān* ' he punishes the evildoers, he shames the wrongdoers thoroughly '.

---

[1] Pokorny, *IEW*, 721.   [2] *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1955, 75.
[3] F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, i ; I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, § 441 ; A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 10.

Here we have *pa-fšār-* and the intrans. *pa-fšīr-*, written *ppš'l-* and *ppšyl-*, from *fšar-* ' to be confused, ashamed '.

These Iranian forms have been subsumed under a base **k̑ormo-*.[1] OSlav. *sramŭ* ' shame ' may have lost an initial consonant *p-* ; Germanic OSax. *harm* and the other dialect forms similarly.

This Iran. *fšar-* can be seen also in the *šar-* after *abi-* in Zor. Pahl. *aβšārtan* ' press ' as in *Dēnkart* 614.18 *kāmast taranak sar ī avē pur-xvarr apurnāyak pat gav aβšārtan margēnītan* ' he wished to press in his hand the tender head of the child full of fortune to kill him '. The word occurs in the operation of harvesting.[2] The present base is found in *bē aβšārišn* ' to be pressed '.[3] From NPersian we have *afšurdan, afšārdan, afšārīdan* ' to press ', with pres. *afšār-*, and *afšariš* ' expressio ', *afšurah* ' expressed juice '. Ossetic has Digor *äfsärun*, Iron *äfsäryn*, *äfsärst* ' press, stuff, tread on '.

A second word must now be considered, attested in Khotanese *ṣṣar-*.

In Khotanese OIran. *xš-* gives both *kṣ-* and *ṣṣ-*. Thus we have *kṣustä* ' serum ', Avestan *xšusta-* ' liquid ' and *ṣṣavā-* ' night ', Av. *kṣapā-*. Similarly OIran. *š-* from *x́š-* gives *kṣ-* in *kṣīra-* ' country ', Av. *šōiθra-*, OInd. *kṣetra-*. The word for ' six ' is *kṣäṣa* (from **xšižā*), Av. *xšvaš*, OInd. *ṣaṣ-*. OIran. *fš-* gave *kṣ-* in *kṣundai* ' husband ', Av. *fšuyant-*, *kṣāna-* ' shoulder-blade ', Oss. *äfsondz*, Zor. Pahl. *šānak*, NPers. *šānah*. In the following base Khot. *ṣṣar-* the initial seems also to have been like *kṣ-* from an OIran. *fš-*.

The verb *ṣṣar-* is attested in a present base in *aṣarrāmatā-*, translation of a lost Sanskrit text where Tibetan has rendered by *źum-pa* ' fear, dismay '. The optative 3rd sing. occurs in E 8.24 *suhāna ṣṣarri klaiśa* ' with joy he exhilarates, lightens the afflictions '. The participle is found in E 21.8

māsta bitcampha brītye jsa strīye daha
āṣṣuda tsīndä bāysañuvo murka date

' excited joyous with love are women and men, exhilarated birds and beasts roam in the woods '.

Kha. 1.13 (*Khotanese Buddhist texts*, 3), 139 v 1 *dvīsatänu uysnorānu balysūñavūysānu aṣarrāmata hämāta* corresponds to Tibetan *srog-chags ñis brgya sems źum-par gyur-nas*. The Chinese rendering has 懈 怠 心 *hie tai sin* ' with indolent mind '. The reverse of this state is accordingly ' exhilarated '.

The parallelism of *māsta* with *daha*, and *āṣṣuda* with birds and animals, assures that *ṣṣar-* is near to *mad-* in meaning.

The two forms, present *ṣṣarra-* and partic. *-ṣṣuda-*, show *-rr-* from *-r-n-* and *-uḍa-* from *-ṛta-*.

With this Khotanese *ṣṣar-* we have now to compare a word derivable from the same meaning in Rigvedic *psar-* attested only in the nominal form *psáras-* (in compound *psara-*). The contexts show that *psáras-* is near in meaning to

---

[1] So in Walde–Pokorny, *Wörterbuch*, 463, and Pokorny, *IEW*, 615 ; Vasmer, *Russ. et. Wb.*
[2] C. Bartholomae, *Mitteliranische Mundarten*, II, 26.
[3] J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, I, 201, no. 31.

máda- and *sadhamáda-* ' exhilarated company '. Rigvedic *psáras-* occurs six
times, *psara-* once, as follows.

9.74.3 *máhi psárah súkṛtaṃ somyám mádhu* ' the well-made sweet of the
soma is a great *psáras-* '.

9.96.3   *sá no deva devátāte pavasva*
                                mahé soma psárasa indrapánah

' O god, purify for us for divine use, O soma, for the great *psáras-* as Indra's
drink '.

This recurs in 9.96.27 with *devapánah* ' as the deva-gods' drink ' in place of
indrapánah.

1.41.7 *stómam . . . máhi psáro várunasya* ' the song . . . a great *psáras-*
for Varuṇa '.

9.2.2 *á vacyasva máhi psáro vṛṣā⁓indo dyumnávattamah* ' turn hither,
a great *psáras*, a bull, O drop, most splendid '.

8.26.24 *tvám hi supsárastamaṃ nṛṣádaneṣu hūmáhe* ' thee truly we invoke,
the most excellent *psáras-* in the seats of men '.

4.33.3   *té vájo víbhvā̃ ṛbhúr índravanto*
                                mádhupsaraso no 'vantu yajñám

' Vāja, Vibhvan, Ṛbhu, those having a *psáras* of sweet drink, those of Indra's
following, may they favour our sacrifice '.

1.168.9 (Marúts) *té sapsaráso 'janayanta⁓ábhvam*

' they, the sharers of *psáras-*, produced the monstrous thing '.[1]

With this can be compared the compound *sadhamáda-* ' feasting together '.

The contexts seem clearly to demand a meaning ' carousal '. In the Indian
commentaries we have as a variant *Naighaṇṭuka* 3.7 (in both editions of Roth
and Sarup) *psaras-* among the *rūpa-nāmāni* ' words for *rūpa* '. Sāyaṇa and
Mādhava have this explanation *rūpa-*. But the contexts indicated ' food '.
On 1.41.7 an attempt is made to keep *rūpa* and adjust it to an etymology
from *psā-* ' eat ' identified with *bhakṣaṇa-*, with Uṇādi suffix *-ar-*. Here
Mādhava has *rūpam*. On 9.74.3 Sāyaṇa has *bhakṣaṇam pānīyam* ' drink '.
For 1.168.9 we find Sāyaṇa has *samāna-rūpā himsakā vā* introducing a different
concept of ' injury ', Mādhava also has *himsākarmā vā spṛṇotih, udakam*.
For 8.26.24 we find *atiśayena śobhana-rūpatvam*. On 4.33.3 Sāyaṇa has again
both meanings : *madhurasya soma-rasasya bhakṣayitārah manohara-rūpā vā*.
But here Mādhava is aberrant with a new etymology *somaṃ prati sarantah*,
as if *p-* (from *prati*) and *sar-*.

Now with the Iranian evidence the meaning deduced from the contexts is
clearly correct. The base *psar-* is the archaic equivalent of *mad-*, but survived
only in one nominal form.

The word *psáras-* cannot be discussed without allusion to OInd. *apsarás-*,
apsarā̃-, the name of the female companion of the *gandharva-*, the voluptuous
celestial woman.

---

[1] Grassmann's *Wörterbuch* has ' gleiches geniessend '; Wackernagel, *Aufsätze . . . Kuhn*,
159, no. 1 ' gleichgestaltet '; Geldner's *Übersetzung* ' die Genossen '.

Since later the Epic, medical texts, and gnomic poetry know the *pramadā-* ' the female voluptuary ', a name formed from a strengthened *mad-* ' be exhilarated ', it would be natural to see in *apsarás-* a similar epithet. The *a-* is then the intensive prefix of which various traces survive in archaic Indo-European words [1] corresponding to the *pra-* of *pramadā-*.

Weighed against this connexion the earlier analysis as *a-psarás-* ' shame-less ' [2] seems less suited to the vigour and morale of the celestial attendants of Kubera.

Three corrigenda have come to my notice : *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 48, delete the *n* wrongly typed in after *abhva-* ; *BSOAS*, xxi, 1, 1958, 45, read *khála-s* ; p. 46, read *amākṣpānta* without the third *-a-*.

[1] For *a-* see provisional notes in *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 48.

[2] J. Wackernagel, *Aufsätze . . . Kuhn*, 159 ff. ; reapproved by P. Tedesco, *JAOS*, lxxiv, 1954, 180, against the rejection in Mayrhofer's *Wörterbuch*, where connexion with *ap-* ' water ' is preferred.