

# ARYA II<sup>1</sup>

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	PAGE		PAGE
1. Vijaya Sambhava . . . . .	13	8. <i>kāṭhamjsuva</i> . . . . .	29
2. <i>ahva-</i> . . . . .	14	9. <i>ysār-</i> . . . . .	31
3. <i>āysñā-</i> . . . . .	16	10. <i>hūṣa-</i> . . . . .	31
4. <i>ganāh-</i> . . . . .	21	11. <i>tau- : tu-</i> . . . . .	32
5. <i>barb-</i> . . . . .	24	12. <i>zurun</i> . . . . .	34
6. <i>kumjī</i> . . . . .	26	13. <i>ttunda-</i> . . . . .	35
7. <i>ysimarye</i> . . . . .	29	14. <i>tilläg</i> . . . . .	38
		Addenda . . . . .	38

## 1. Vijaya Sambhava

A Buddhist practice existed<sup>2</sup> whereby a *dānapati*, patron, had a manuscript of a Buddhist religious text copied, into which at the appropriate place his personal name was inserted with Sanskrit inflexion. In the Buddhist Sanskrit *Sitātapatra-sūtra*, the 'Book of the white umbrella', Stein manuscript S 2529, two personal names are inserted. In lines 45–6 occurs *aṣṭānā mahā-grrahānā vaidhvasanakara hu ttrū <rakṣa rakṣa> mama vaṣayānasya* 'O destroyer of the eight great ravishers, *hūṃ trūṃ*. Protect, protect me Vaṣayāna'. In lines 48, 70, 88, 117 the name is *Sidyākaraca*. Here we read :

48 *auma svasta<ka>ra bavattū mama sīdyākaracasya*

70 *rakṣa rakṣa mama sīdyākaracasya*

88 *ye ke cai satvā mama sīdyākaracasya ||*

117 : *rakṣa rakṣa mama sīdyākaracasya :*

Instead of a name in line 122 occurs the word *īthanāmasya* 'of so-and-so'.

In another Stein manuscript, Ch. c 001, 63, in the same *Sitātapatra-sūtra* the word *īthanāmasya* is used. But in line 59 a strikingly interesting name is inserted :

*rakṣa rakṣa mama rājñā vījitti sambhavasya* 'protect, protect me the king Vijita Sambhava'.

This name is found in the *Gostana-vyākaraṇa (lihi yul-gyi lus-bstan-pa)*. One king Vijaya Sambhava is called son of Yehula, builder of the Tsar-ma vihāra.<sup>3</sup> A second king of the same name (*ibid.*, p. 127) is mentioned as building Khe-gan-tsa. In two documents of the Staël-Holstein miscellany, lines 1 and 7, *viśā sambhata* is named. He is referred to also in line 32 *miṣḍām gyastā hvamñā rrumdā sarau viśā sambhatā*. These two documents are dated in the Cock year, year 14 of his reign. E. G. Pulleyblank has given reasons for dating this king A.D. 912–66.<sup>4</sup> The family name is in Khotanese *viśā* and *vījitta*, in Sanskrit *vijaya* and *vijita*, and in Tibetan *bīza*, *bzah*, *byīza*, Kroraina *vij'ida*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Part I see *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 522–45.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript remains*, 55 ; Watanabe, *JRAS*, 1907, 263.

<sup>3</sup> F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan literary texts and documents*, I, 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Asia Major*, NS, IV, 1, 1954, 94.

<sup>5</sup> Fuller details are given in *Khotanese texts*, IV (now in the hands of the printer).

The insertion of the name *Vijitti Sambhavasya* in the manuscript Ch. c 001 is in the scribe's hand. It is not therefore an autograph signature such as we have earlier in India for King Śrī Harṣa.<sup>1</sup>

The date of the manuscript is given in four colophons of the scribe Śāṃ khīnā hyām Saṃgakā :

line 197 *sahaicā salya pūhye māṣṭi paḍavysye haḍai ādrā nakṣatṭrā vī*

line 846 *pūhye māṣṭi 20mye haḍai*

line 1060 *sahaicī salya nauṃye māṣṭi pūhye : haḍai*

line 1102 *sahaicī salya dasamyē māṣṭi 8 haḍai, pūrvabhadriva nakṣatṭrā vī*

In the period A.D. 912–66 the regnal years 8, 20, 32, and 44 were years of the Hare.

The scribe Saṃgakā cites also the names of two *nakṣatras*, line 198 *ārdā* (Sansk. *ādrā*) and 847 *pūrvabhadriva* (Sansk. *pūrvabhadrapadā*), at an interval of five months from the fifth month to the tenth month. This does not fit the position of these *nakṣatras* in the Indian calendar. Possibly some inexactitude has arisen. It does not seem that these names would help to decide the exact date in the cycles.

## 2. *ahva-*

In two brief references I referred earlier to Khotan. *aha*, loc. sing. *ahaña* in the sense of 'innermost part of the body, stomach, abdomen'.<sup>2</sup>

In the medical text P 2893.70 (*KT*, III, 85) occurs *khāysāññā u ahaña āma naṣpaśde* 'it dispels indigestion in the *khāysāna-* and in the *aha*'. The *khāysāna-* (from \**khāysa-dāna-*) is 'stomach'. In 124 we have *ṣi piṇḍai piherāññā, neha baññāññā, aha vasūje* 'this *piṇḍaka* medicament is to be steeped, to be bound on the navel, it cleanses the *aha*'.

The meaning 'innermost part' suited that of Rigveda *apvā-* and Old Pers. *afwā-* which could be referred to 'belly' and 'fear, panic' as originated there.<sup>3</sup>

It was possible also to cite Ossetic Digoron *āppā, qāppā*, Iron *āpp*, plur. *āppytā, qāpp* in the sense of 'innermost part' of a fruit or nut, 'kernel'.

It has only recently been noticed that an older form of this Khotanese word was printed in 1945 and in a compound close to the meaning 'fear' in Rigveda and Old Persian inscription.

In the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra*<sup>4</sup> occurs *haysgamata iya o kāṣca u vadrava iyo gārīvā o puvañā o ahvarīysā iya* rendering the Sanskrit verse 8 *śokāyāse 'py anarthe ca bhaya-vyasana eva ca*. The Khotanese words are in synonymous pairs and *puvañā o ahvarīysā* corresponds to *bhaya-vyasana* 'fear, distress'.

Here in *ahva-rīysa-* can at once be seen *rīys-* 'to tremble' familiar in Khotan.

<sup>1</sup> G. K. Nariman, A. V. Williams Jackson, and C. J. Ogden, *Priyadarśikā*, XLIII, with facsimile plate.

<sup>2</sup> *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 536; 'Languages of the Saka', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Hoffmann, *Corolla linguistica*, 80 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *KT*, I, 233, 4 v 2; Sanskrit, ed. J. Nobel, p. 3.

मलभापुर्णं त्रैलोक्यं त्रैलोक्यं त्रैलोक्यं त्रैलोक्यं त्रैलोक्यं  
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STEIN MS Ch. c 001, 57-61

*rrīys-* 'tremble'. It is constant in the medical text *Jīvaka-pustaka* 54 r 4 *ysīra rīysai* 'trembling of heart, *hṛd-roga*', similarly 65 v 3, 106 r 5. In Old Khotanese E has *rrīysai* 'trembling' (see Sten Konow, *NTS*, VII, 1934, 14). The verb occurs in the Rāma text P 2783.76-7 (*KT*, III, 76) *ysīra-m śtām bisā tta tta rīysde, khu ja kattalā bahyā rīysde* 'my heart trembles altogether as a *kadalī* tree trembles'.

Ossetic has Dig. *rezun, ristān* (so intransitive), *rizt*, Iron *rizyn, ryzt* 'tremble, have fever'. *Bāyārāti Sozur* 114 has *nā zārditā nirrezuncā sā buntāj*. On p. 111 occurs *tār yādtā riziāncā*.

These Iranian forms show Indo-Eur. *ǵ*, beside the \**leig-* assumed by WP, II, 399 (the same in Pok., *IEW*). The Old Ind. *rējati* is ambiguous.

With preverb *bi-* Khotanese has *bārrīysātā* in the cliché *kṣei-padya bārrīysātā* 'shakes in six ways, *ṣaḍ-vikāraṃ kampati*', Tib. *g-yos-so* 'shake, waver'.<sup>1</sup> In P 2781.91 *bīrīysyā śamḍā mista* 'the great earth shook' the participle *bīrīysita-* is attested.

Hence in *ahva-* can be seen the 'innermost part of the body' which by trembling indicated fear.

A second word *aha-* is frequent in the sense 'noose, *pāśa-*'. In the *Suvarṇa-bhāsa* 73 v 2 *ahyau jsa* renders *pāśaiḥ*. The word occurs in the *Sudhana-avadāna*<sup>2</sup> with subscript hook *aha-*.

An older form has just been identified in a fragment of the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra*<sup>3</sup> for which the Tibetan equivalent has been found. Here occurs *||ahvāna baittā ||* 'is bound by a noose'. The whole phrase in Tibetan reads *sred-pahi žags-pas bcins-par mi hgyur-ro* 'is not bound by the noose of desire'. Elsewhere Tibetan *žags-pa* translates Sansk. *pāśa-*.

In *ahva-* 'noose' we thus have the Old Khotanese form of later *aha-*. Since it is a line or rope for throwing the etymology may be *ah-* 'throw' with suffix *-va-*. Old Ind. *as-* is familiar in *prāsa-* 'missile', found also as a loanword in Khotan. The base *ah-* may occur reduplicated in Khot. E 14.73 *ihaste* 'he shot', P 2957.123 *uhyāñā* 'he must be shot' following *pūnām jsa* 'with arrows', pret. *uhyastai* (P 2783.70), participle *uhyasta* (P 2801.51). Avestan has *ah-*, pres. *ahya-*, partic. *asta-*, as Old Ind. *as-*, pres. *asyati*, partic. *asta-*.

From these two cases of *ahva-*, later *aha-*, it is evident how greatly to be regretted is the loss of so many Old Khotanese texts, and what the value of even small fragments is. Here in *ahva-* occurs the equivalent of Old Pers. *afwā-* and Old Ind. *apvā-* with the *-v-* still retained.

### 3. *āysñā-*

In one passage Khotanese has *āysñā-* as a laudatory epithet of the Buddha's Dāta (dharma) identified with *paramārtha* 'supreme truth' where it would be suitable to find in Buddhist Sanskrit *ārya-*. This passage is P 2787.66 *ī pgiśām*

<sup>1</sup> Kha 1.13, 144 r 2, *KBT*, 5. Sanskrit in *Divyāvadāna*, 158.

<sup>2</sup> *KBT*, 16.154 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Kha 1.205 a, 35 b 2.

*mara āysñā gabhīra paramārtha bhāysām dā hvāñāma ṣṭai* 'to-day on this evening here is preaching of the noble profound Buddha's Dāta of supreme truth'.<sup>1</sup>

In a second passage *āysñā* is again the attribute of the Dāta. This is in the same text 100 *tyai prāvārñajai śava vīra āysñā gabhīra bhaysām dā pastai ājaṣṭi* 'he graciously blessed on this *prāvaranā* night the noble profound Buddha's Dāta'.

It will be recalled that early Buddhist texts know the *ārya-satyāni* 'the *ārya* truths'.

In other passages *namau*, *namauna*, *namām* is known in similar use. P 2787.10 *tū namauna gabhīra bhaysām dā pvāmanai*; *ibid.* 2 *tte namām gabhīra paramārthā* (also 14). The *namau* is found in colophons Kha 1.223 a, 7 b 3 *tū namau kalparājā sūtrā*; Kha 1.27 a, b 4 *tū namau samghātu dā*; Ch. c 001, 842 *tū namau bhadrakalpya-sūtri*. It is likely (though search has been made to see if the word could be Iranian) that this *namau* is from Bud. Sansk. *namo* used sometimes with an adjectival suffix *-na* employed to express an honorific.

In *āysñā* - it is easy to recognize *ā-* with the verbal base *zan-*: *zn-* 'be born'. The word is then to be analysed *ā-zn-ya-* meaning 'born into' the Great House or briefly 'noble'. This is accordingly a more developed form with *-ya-* suffix of the word attested in Avestan *āsna-* (of *frazainti-*), and Armenian loan-word *azniū* 'noble, excellent'.<sup>2</sup> The basic noun Armen. *azn* is more generalized 'nation, people'. The phrase *tohmk' azanc'* renders Greek *αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἔθνῶν* (Psalm xxi, 28). The Georgian negative *uazno* renders Greek *τὰ ἀγενῆ* in 1 Cor. i, 28 following *aznaur* for *ἐγγενεῖς* in verse 26.<sup>3</sup>

The word *āznāvar* from older *\*āznābara-* 'bearer of nobility' is attested in Zor. Pahl. *𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭫𐭮* 'zn'wl in the passage of the *Dātastān ī dēnīk* 4:

*ut-aś patrāst ān ī sriśvatak o apityārakīhā xvānišn ī apēčakān amahraspandān ut kart-spāsān ahravān kē ēgōn āznāvar gurtak [ī] hambitīk avīrāst bavandakīhā kōxšēnd andar artīk ut vānēnd.*

'and he prepared that third part for irresistible summons of the undefiled *amahraspands* and serving *ahravs* who like noble heroes fight the enemy in disorder to a finish in battle and vanquish them'.

This *āznāvar*<sup>5</sup> became an important word in Georgia for the *aznaur* class. From an Ossetic informant I have the note: *Digōrā xónuncā āznāurtā ūāzdān mugkāg*. The Georgian word came into Ossetic, into Swanetic (*aznavir*), and into Armenian (*aznavor*).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *KT*, II, 103, translated in *Asia Major*, NS, VII, 1959, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Avestan *āsna-* in H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 10, no. 1; earlier *BSOS*, VI, 4, 1932, 954; *TPS*, 1956, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Details on the social position of the *uazno* can be found in W. E. D. Allen, *History of the Georgian people*, 225 ff. S. Janashia, *Istoriija Grusii*, I, 90, explained *uazno* by 'ne-*aznaur*'.

<sup>4</sup> *Dd* 36.17, quoted in *BSOS*, VI, 4, 1932, 954; *TPS*, 1956, 91.

<sup>5</sup> The Pahlavī word was misunderstood by E. W. West, *SBE*, XVIII, 87, as *azenāvar* 'unarmed', a wrong reading; in H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 151, the word is changed into *azēnāvar* with *-ē*.

<sup>6</sup> *Svanskije teksty* 70 of Nižeradzje, *Sbornik Materialov . . . Kavkaza*, XXXI; *Haykakan matenagrout' iun*, 1883, 23, in Latin script, part of a personal name.

In Khotanese *āysāta-*, the participle to the same compound *ā-zan-*, occurs twice. In E 4.64 *harbiššā āysāta ne ju ye bīsa karā* 'all noble, not any servants at all' the word *āysāta-* contrasts with *bīsa* 'servant'. The second occurrence in later Khotanese is in the *Deśanā*<sup>1</sup> *baiša ysamtha daha ysyāne āysā krraṇa* 'through all births may I be born a man, noble, grateful'.

This Iranian word is found also in Kroraina *ajhata-*, *ajhataa-*, *ajhateya-*, and *ajhadaa-*.<sup>2</sup>

The word *āzāta-* is known earlier in the Avesta occurring in the early list of believers Yašt 13.108 *āzātahe . . . ašaonō*. In the *Hadōxt nask* 2.9 it is applied to a maiden *kainīnō kahrpa srīrayā . . . āzātayā raēvasčiθrayā*; similarly in the Yašt 5.64. The queen Hutaosā is called *āzātā-* in Yašt 9.26.

Zor. Pahl. *āzāt* and *āzātak* is frequent. In the *Ađvēnak ī nāmak-nīpēsišnīh* (BSOS, IX, 1, 1937, 93 ff.) 4 *āzāt-gōhrīhā*, 10 *āzātak pat tōxmak*, 34 *āzāttom pat gōhr buržšīnīktom*, DkM 815.9 *Humāy ī āzāttōxmak*, the connexion with *gōhr* 'origin, nature' and *tōxmak* 'seed, origin' is marked. The reverse was expressed in Bahman Yašt 3.35 *višūtakān vat-tōxmakān*. In the name *Čihrāzāt* (adjectival form *GrBd.* 240.3) the *čihr* 'origin' has the meaning of *tōxmak* (which renders Avestan *čiθra-*).<sup>3</sup>

The word *āzād* and *āzādah* is familiar in New Persian. Turfan Mid. Persian and Parthian have 'z'd, 'z'dyh, and ''z'dyft. From Persia Armenian has *azat*, *azatak* 'noble, free', *azatatohm*, *azatatohmik* 'of noble origin'. Georgian has *azat* in similar meanings. The Sasanian inscription of Hājjiābād, line 6, has 'z'tn \*āzātān<sup>4</sup> in the phrase *šahradārān ut vispuhrān ut vazurkān ut āzātān*.<sup>5</sup>

In Old Indian the verbal compound *ā-jan-* gave RV 3.17.3 *ājāni-* 'birth' and thence the adjective *ājāneya-* in Buddhist texts used of the superman *puruṣājāneya-* and of animals.<sup>6</sup> Here too the well-born is called *sujātā-*, in reference to gods and men.

The word *čiθra-* in the Avesta and in Old Persian *čiśsa-*, Zor. Pahl. *čihr* meant 'origin'. The Sasanian kings on their coins used the formula *MLKAN MLKA 'yr'n MNW čtry MN yzd'n \*šāhān šāh ērān kē čihr hač yazdān* 'emperor of Persia whose origin is from the yazd-deities'.

This word *čiθra-* 'origin' is to be separated from *čiθra-* 'face', Old Ind. *ciṭrā-*. A cognate is preserved in Armenian *čet* 'offspring', *ančet* 'without offspring', *ančitem ančetem* 'to deprive of children', *miačeti* 'univestirpis'. The word is attested in Ep'rem and P'austos Bouzandac'i. The gen. plural is *četie'* showing an -i- stem. By this comparison we reach back to a base *čait-* or *čai-* possibly the connexion of Indo-Eur. *kei-* in Greek *κίω* 'move', with -eu-

<sup>1</sup> P 3513, 82 r 4, KBT, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Boyer, Rapson, Senart, and Noble, *Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions*, s.vv. No further case in the additional texts BSOS, IX, 1, 1937, 111 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the rank of nobles in Sasanian Persia, see A. Christensen, *Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., 100 and 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> H. S. Nyberg, *Øst og vest*, 1945, 68.

<sup>5</sup> The Armenian *azat-k'* are noticed by J. Markwart, *Caucasica*, VII, 1931, 150.

<sup>6</sup> *Zoroastrian problems*, 10, no. 1, and *JRAS*, 1955, 14.

in Indo-Iran., Osset. *cāu-* (*cāiāt*, *cot* 'offspring' from \**čyavaθa-*), Avestan *šyav-*, Old Ind. *cyav-*. It is then for the meaning like Lat. *oritur* and *origo*.<sup>1</sup> The rendering of Avestan *čiθra-* by Zor. Pahl. *tōxmak* 'seed, origin' was correct.

The importance of 'birth' and 'origin' is paramount in the society disclosed in the Rigveda, the Avesta, and the Achaemenian records, both the indigenous and Greek. Since in both Rigveda and Avesta the swift horse-drawn chariot is imbedded in the texts as no new invention, it is clear that in their present form these traditions belong to a period not before about 1500 B.C. In the Iranian tradition the 'son of the house', the Avestan *visō.puθra-*, Khot. \**bisōvira-* (attested in the adjective *bisōviraa-* rendering Sansk. *uccaiḥ-kulīna-*), and in other Iranian dialects,<sup>2</sup> embodies this concept of birth within the dominant group.

It is to this concept of 'noble birth' that the speakers of the languages of the Rigveda, the Avesta, and the Old Persian alluded in their use of the word Iran. *arya-*, Old Indian *ārya-*, to denote themselves.<sup>3</sup> It was continued in the Parthian and Persian of the Sasanian period, Parth. 'ry \**arya-*, Pers. 'yly \**aira-*, later *ēra-*,<sup>4</sup> retained in the name Parth. *Aryān*, Pers. *Ērān*. Zor. Pahlavī knows the *hutōxmaktom ēr martōm*.<sup>5</sup>

The Old Persian *ariya-čissa-* 'of *arya* origin', part of the titulature of Dareios, belongs in this context of 'nobility'. To such a context belongs also the name \**Čiθrāzātā-*, attested in later *Čiθrāzāt*, which could serve in legend as the name of the mother of a Dareios.

From different sides the meaning 'noble' for *ārya-* can be noted. In Buddhist sources the very frequent *ārya-* may fittingly from the contexts be rendered 'noble'. It can be assumed to lie behind the use of Khotanese *āysña-* where in the Sanskrit text *ārya-* would be expected, as an epithet of the *paramārtha*,

<sup>1</sup> AIW rightly saw the difference. It is not better explained by J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'L'homme dans la religion iranienne', in *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)*, II, 1955, 98, as from 'appearance', with parallel in Latin 'species'. The proposal to see here the base reduced grade *kə-* by K. F. Johansson requires more assumptions, see H. Petersson, *Arische und armenische Studien*, 59 ff.

<sup>2</sup> References for *vispuhr* are given in *TPS*, 1956, 91; they have been widely discussed. The 'daughter of the house' is also known. In Sogdian occurs *wysδγwθ* (P 6.165).

<sup>3</sup> It will be seen below that though it has rendered great services P. Thieme's book *Der Fremdling im Rgveda* (and its sequel *Mitra and Aryaman*) has not seemed satisfactory. The main thesis which connects in one group *ari-* 'foe', *ari-* with *aryá-* 'īšvara', *aryamán-*, and *ārya-*, is an assumption which seems to lack a foundation. V. Abaev (*Voprosy jazykoznanija*, II, 1958, 114), though favourable, failed to find confirmation outside Indo-Aryan. To alleviate this difficulty he proposed to connect Ossetic *ācāgālon* 'foreign'. But here a different analysis by the negative *a-* and *čakara-* offering a meaning 'not inmate of the house' would be more acceptable, on which elsewhere. It hardly seems possible to get good results in a matter as deeply involving Iranian terms as Indian unless the Iranian vocabulary is fully used. Here in this book neither the Avestan nor Ossetic vocabulary has been considered in the interpretation of Iranian *arya-* which has given Pers. (*h*)*ēr* 'wealth' and Iranian *ar-* which has given Ossetic Iron *āryn* 'to bear children'.

<sup>4</sup> Inscription of Šāhpuhr I, Parth. 19, Pers. 24. The Greek has *Αριαν*.

<sup>5</sup> *DkM* 438.23; E. W. West, *SBE*, XLVII, 129.

and the Buddha's dharma. The word *ārya-* apart from linguistic theory has suggested this meaning to G. Redard who mentions 'le mot dont l'étymologie n'est pas assurée ("noble, de pure lignée"?)'.<sup>1</sup>

The Indo-Aryan as it was carried eastwards lost more and more of its older vocabulary (as in the loss of *uṣ-* 'ear', for which *kārṇa-* was adopted), whereas the Iranian, less removed from its old sources, retained more of its archaic vocabulary. It is in Iranian accordingly, though less abundantly preserved, that we may expect to find in less isolation both nominal and verbal forms of words which are reduced to one nominal derivative in Indo-Aryan, as of *śuká-*, *śurúdh-*, *bāhú-*, *aṭṭa-*, and others. In Iranian as in Germanic studies it is necessary to seek the original vocabulary in all the stages of Iranian dialects since so much has been lost.<sup>2</sup> For Germanic with materials less ancient than those to hand for Iranian studies a large knowledge of the vocabulary of the early stage of Germanic has been attained.

The nominal form of the word Iran. *arya-*, Old Ind. *ārya-* (with secondary *ā-*), belongs with the verbal *ar-* of Ossetic *ār-* : *ārd* in Iron *āryñ*, pret. *ārdtā*, participle *ārd*. Both Digoron and Iron have *ārd* in the compound *kāvdās-ārd*, plur. *-ārdtā*<sup>3</sup> 'born in the stall', but Digoron uses *jerun*, pret. *irdtā*, participle *ird* elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

This Ossetic word has the meaning 'get' and 'beget, bear children'. Without preverb we have *ārgā āryñ us lāmāry* 'in time of childbirth the woman has seizures' and in the new year's wish : *nā syltā nāltā ārāg, nā fos tā syltā zājāg* 'our women bear males, and our cattle bring forth females'.<sup>5</sup>

With the preverb *ni-* in Iron *nijāryñ* it is confined to the sense 'beget, bear children' and *nijārāg* is 'parent' on both sides.

This meaning of 'born' is required also in the Digoron and Iron *kāvdās-ārd* 'born in the stall'.

Possibly this Ossetic word is a coalescence of two originally distinct bases. In Kuci *er-* and Agni *ar-* 'produce' a cognate could be found from older *ar-*, since Kuci *ere*, Agni *arām* 'form' may derive from *ar-* 'to fit' and show similarly *er-* and *ar-* for older *ar-*. But Oss. *ār-* may as easily be compared with the meaning of Old Norse *geta*, participle *getinn* 'get, bear children', which belongs with Got. *bigitan* 'find, possess', Old Saxon *bigetan* 'seize' Old Engl. *gietan*, *bigietan* 'get, beget'. A close parallel to *kāvdās-ārd* is known in Old

<sup>1</sup> *Études asiatiques*, 1954, 137.

<sup>2</sup> A valuable theoretical examination of the case of Ossetic *ivāzun* 'be outstretched', *ivāzun* 'stretch out' to represent the expected verbal use not otherwise attested is presented by E. Benveniste, *BSL*, LII, 1, 1956, 60-71.

<sup>3</sup> In *kāvdās* 'stall' we have an older *\*kafta-* with added suffix *-sa-*, connected with the many words from *kap-* 'be contained' listed in *TPS*, 1954, 144 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dig. *jerun* is not yet certainly explained. Possibly older *a-* was replaced by *ā-*, whence *jā-*, *je-*, with the result that the *jer-* was associated with other verbs containing *-er-*, as *per-* 'scratch', *c'erun* 'lick', and *serun* 'amble'. In *ūāryñ*, A. Munkácsi, *Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung*, I, 25, the *ū-* is secondary (further details in *TPS*, 1959).

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Vs, Miller's dictionary s.v. *lāmāryñ*, and *ārāg*.



Norse *bæsingr* 'born in a stall' of the child of an outlawed mother (*báss* 'stall'), beside the *laun-getinn* 'born secretly'.

In this case of social distinction the Rigveda (2.29.1) knew the term *raha-sū-* 'bearing a child in secret'. In Indo-Iranian this base *sav- : sū-* (like *jan- : jā-*, Iran. *zan- : zā-*) was widely extended, whereas in Greek *ύίός, ύίός* and Kuci *soy*, Agni *se* the base is isolated. The *ar-* was abandoned except in Ossetic, just as was the base attested in Oss. *ivāzun* 'extend'.

In Iranian *\*arya-* 'birth', that is 'high birth', which can be deduced from the adjectival *arya-*, connected thus with Ossetic *ār- : ārd* 'bear children' we have a synonym to *ā-zna-* 'birth' cited above likewise with the pregnant meaning 'high birth'.

If this *ar-* 'bear children' is the same as *ar-* 'get' we have here the familiar base Iran. 'get, possess' in Avestan *ərənāvi, aši-*, later *art* 'fortune', with Greek *ἀρρῦμαι*, Armenian *ārnoum* 'take'. It is then Indo-Eur. *ar-* (older laryngeal + *-er-*). Traces have been conjectured in Germanic Runic (a)*rjostez arbijano* 'the noblest of the heirs (?)'.<sup>1</sup> In meaning Celtic Irish *aire* from older *\*ariak-* 'noble, chief, leader', *airechus* 'nobility' fits well with the Iranian and Old Indian.<sup>2</sup> Only the inevitable uncertainty due to Celtic loss of initial *p-* prevents the full acceptance of this word into the company of Iranian *arya-*.<sup>3</sup>

#### 4. *ganīh-*

The Khotanese verb *ganīh- : ganista-* is attested in three forms :

Present base *ganīhāña-* in the bilingual *Jivaka-pustaka*<sup>4</sup> *ṣṣi arva ārāña : na nauka na ysira gvīha bīysma jsa dasau jūna ganīhāña u hvaiñāña* : rendering Sansk. *gavā mūttreṇa bāvayetta (gavāṃ mūtreṇa bhāvayet)* 'the medicament must be ground, not soft, not rough, with cow's urine ten times it must be moistened and dried'.

Participle *ganista-* in the *Siddhasāra* 153 v 3 *cu netcamna bese bāgara tti hāyse dīśāñq u sedalūm pā hāyse dīśāñā u hamdamna bese ysīce perq cu hā arve hīvī raysq tramdaq ganaiste* 'what are the outside leaves they must be removed, and the *saindhava* salt must be removed, and the yellow inner leaves, which then the juice of the medicine after penetrating has moistened . . .'. The Tibetan has *lo-ma phyi-rim rnams kyan bor, nan-gi rgyam-cha yan bor-la, nan-rim-gyi lo-ma ser-po-la gser bag yod-pa bcir-bahi khu-ba rna-bar blugs-na yan rna-bahi nad sel-to*. This is short in Sanskrit *paktvā lavaṇam uddhūya tad-rasaḥ karṇaśūlahā*.

It is also in *Siddhasāra* 6 v 3 *cu diśq, kuṣṭa pharāka utca hame u gara u bahya, u ganaistā hālai, ṣā diśq śīlīṣā, u bava jsa va āchā panimāre*, Tibetan

<sup>1</sup> W. Krause, *Was man in Runen ritzte*, 2nd ed., 1943, 23 ; *Runeninschriften*, 539, no. 56.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pokorny, *Celtica*, III (Zeuss volume), 308 ; *Études Celtiques*, VII, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller details in *TPS*, 1959.

<sup>4</sup> 56 v 1, *KT*, I, 147.

*de-la yul ni chu man-pa, nags-ri-can ni gser-bahi phyogs zes-bya-ste*, Sanskrit *bahūdaka-nago 'nūpah kapha-māruta-roḡavān*. Here *anūpa-* 'swamp' corresponds.

The noun *ganista-* occurs in the loc. sing. *ganištā* in the *Vajracchedikā* 9 b 1 (*KT*, III, 21) *āhya ysāta o pūrāñā ysāta cu ganištā ysā(ta) cu ūvavā*, Sansk. *aṇḍajā vā jarāyujā vā samsvedajā vaupapādukā vā*. Here *ganištā ysāta-* 'born in moisture' translates *samsvedajā-* 'born in sweat', the normal technical term.

These forms give Khot. *ganīh-* : *ganista-* 'be wet, make wet'. The *-h-* beside *-st-* indicates a dental consonant in the base either *-d-* through *-θ-* to *-h-*, or *-θ-* direct to *-h-*. Hence the base is either *naiḍ-* or *naiθ-*, used of liquid.

The preverb *ga-* occurs also in Khot. *gatcan-* : *gatcasta-* 'break' beside *hatcan-* : *hatcasta-*. These words are in Ch. ii 004, 3 r 4 (*KBT*, 145) *u samai gatcyāma u parau gatciñāma mistā gatcasta samai ṣṭai* 'and breaking of covenant and infringement of commandment, great broken covenant'. This is a *vajrayāna* text. The participle occurs also in P 2741.110 (*KT*, II, 91) *tī tta gatcastā tta tta burštā* in a hendiadys expression. In Ch. xc 002 (*JRAS*, 1911, 453) the phrase *u āysāja gatcastā tka sadham* is not yet clear. It is not yet known if *gatcaustada* in P 2958.176 is connected here. The origin of this *ga-* is not certain : possibly it has replaced an older *va-* from *ava-*.

A base *nīys-* is attested in Khotanese *panīysai* equivalent to Tib. *chu-so*,<sup>1</sup> 'urinary organ, Sansk. *vasti-*'. Similarly *Suvarṇabhāsa* has 24 v 3 *bīysma u panīysau* rendering Sansk. *mūtra-* alone.<sup>2</sup> Uncertain is the fragment Kha 1.187 a, 7 a 1 ///*panīysde* || 4 ||, where *pa* and *nī* are not clear.

If it is recalled that the Indo-Eur. *pleu-* with many determinatives ranges over the meanings 'flow, float, swim, sail, inundate, pour, leak, rain, splash, wash', it may be claimed that a base Indo-Iran. *nai-* with determinatives could lie behind the following : Khot. *naiḍ-* (or *naiθ-*) 'moisten, be wet', *naiḥ-* 'flow', Avestan *naiḡ-* 'wash off', Old Ind. *neg-* (*nénekti, niktā-*) 'wash', Khovar *nigik*, Kāfirī Waigalī *niḡ-, niž-* 'wash clothes', Aškun *niz-, nidz-*.<sup>3</sup> This last word is known outside Indo-Iranian in Greek *νίχω*, fut. *νίψω* 'wash' with *χέριψα* acc. sing. 'hand-washing (water)', Celtic Ir. *nigim* 'wash', Old Engl. *nicor* 'water monster'.<sup>4</sup>

Khot. *nīra-* 'water' occurs in the *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* in a fragment Kha 0013 c, 6 b 3 *abāḍā nīro* 'water out of season' one of the causes of fear, and in 20 b 2 *ne ne ju nyāpātā nīrā* corresponding to Tib. *chu yan ma yod-do* 'water does not reach it'.

An Iranian *nīra-* would belong with *nai-* in *naiḍ-*, *naiḥ-* used of liquid. This makes it unwise to conjecture that Khot. *nīra-* is a loan-word rather than an inherited word.

Since this group of words seem clearly to be evident in Iranian it will be

<sup>1</sup> *Siddhasāra* 12 v 5.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 9609, *KT*, I, 235.

<sup>3</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, xvii, 1954, 281; *NTS*, II, 1929, 270.

<sup>4</sup> *WP*, II, 323.

necessary to join here the much-discussed Sansk. *nīra-* 'water' and *nīvara-* 'water, mud'.<sup>1</sup>

There is still another problem presented by a base Iran. *naiž-* and Old Ind. *neṣ-*.

In the later Veda, the *Taittirīya āraṇyaka* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica) *prapā-thaka* 10, *anuvāka* 13, 2 has the word *niṣṭi-* in the phrase *ádho niṣṭyā vitástyām*. Here Sāyaṇa's commentary rendered by *grīvā-bandha-* 'a fastening on the neck'.<sup>2</sup> In Kāfirī Kati *nište* 'belt' and Aškun *nēstē* 'turban' have been compared with *niṣṭi-*.<sup>3</sup>

From the oldest Vedic comes *niṣká-* which occurs in a compound RV 5.19.3 *niṣká-grīva-* 'wearing a *niṣká-* on the neck'. The *niṣká-* could be of metal.

Khot. *pīnīysda-* is found in P 3513, 80 r 3 (*KBT*, 64) *ysarijā pīnīysdyau usthīya ura* 'belly drawn in with golden girths'. A verbal form occurs in Paris Y 27 (*KT*, III, 41) *khvā daittā hvāṣtā kāṣa harūya ā panīśdā*. Here the translation has not yet been achieved: *kāṣa* might be connected with Mid. Pers. *kaš*, Avestan *kaša-*. The Sansk. *kakṣā-* and *kakṣyā-* used of a 'girth' or 'woman's girdle' would give a good meaning in this amorous poem. The *jīškā-* is in the following verse. If then *kāṣa* means 'girdle' the two verbs in this phrase may mean 'loosen or tie up'. This would give Khot. *nīys-* with *pa-*, *pī-* from *pāti-* or *pa-*. The basic word was accordingly *nai-* with determinatives *nai-z-* and *nai-š-* 'to bind up', an archaic equal to *bandh-*.

Note now that the Indo-European base *mei-* 'to close the eyes', in Sogd. *mytk* 'closed' (*Dhyāna* 25), occurs also with determinatives. There occur in Iranian Khot. *mājs-* in *nāmājsīndā* 'they wink', 3rd sing. *nāmāśdi*, adj. *anāmājsa-* 'not winking' in H 88 (N 42.29) *anāmājsyau ṭcemañyau*. Zor. Pahl. *myčšn* is in *GrBd*. 181.13 *čašm mēčšn* 'winking of the eye, moment'. Here either *-č-* or *-ž-* or *-z-* can be read, from Old Iran. *maič-* or *maiṣ-*. In *myč \*mič* 'eyelid' (*Zātspram* 1.21), the Balōči *mičāč*, *mišāš* would show older *-č-*. *Zaza miṣā*, *mižā* is ambiguous. Bud. Sogdian has the ambiguous *nymz'y* 'winking' (*Vim*. 201)<sup>4</sup> where *-z-* can be *-z-* or *-ž-* from older *-z-* or *-ḷ-*, but not *-č-*. From the Pamirs Yidya *nə-miž-* has older *-č-* or *-ḷ-*. Iškāšmī *numul-* has older *-š-*.<sup>5</sup>

Old Indian has *meṣ-*: *miṣ-*. Elsewhere Lit. *miegmi* 'sleep' and *mingū* 'fall asleep' have *-g-* from older *-g-* or *-gh-*. Like Lit. *dūkti* 'to rave' and *dusti* 'to gasp', whose base *dheu-* occurs without determinative, in the word for 'wink' we have *mei-* with velar *-g-* and sibilant *-s-*.

Beside the bases Indo-Iran. *naiž-* and *naiš-* a third form *nai-g-* could be expected. This base seems to be contained in Rigvedic *nirniḡ-* 'garment,

<sup>1</sup> It has previously been proposed to trace this *nīra-* to the *nī-* of *nīta-*, which, however, is rather to be set with Lettish *nīju*, see *BSOAS*, XXI, 1, 1958, 43; also to *snā-* and *nā-* which, however, seem to offer a less satisfactory connexion than this Khot. *nai-d-*. Rōšāni has *nay-*: *nid* 'to churn butter'.

<sup>2</sup> The commentary of Bhaṭṭabhaṣkara-mīśra is cited in the *Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, II, 1929, 269.

<sup>4</sup> E. Benveniste, *JA*, 1933, 2, 241.

<sup>5</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 232.

covering' which has perhaps too long been connected with *neg-* 'to wash' with difficult conjectural intermediaries.

In Orošorī, Rōšānī, and Bartangī the word *panidz-* 'to dress', and Sanglēčī *pānec-*, Šuγnī *peniz-* stand beside Wakhī *pūmec-*, Iškāšmī *pomuc-*, Sanglēčī *pumec-*, Sarīkolī *pamez-*. Are all these from older *pati-mauk-* (Zor. Pahl. *patmōk*) or were there two bases *mauk-* and *naik-*?

If there is a base *naiš-* 'to bind up' it may supply an interpretation for Armen. *patnēš*, Georgian *p'at'nez-* 'place fortified by palisade, rampart'. The sense of *bandha-*, New Pers. *band* 'embankment' is not remote. This would give a better connexion than an earlier proposal.<sup>1</sup>

The Sanskrit word *tūvara-*, *tuvara-* 'astringent' was compared with Apabhramśa *tūra-* 'cheese', Avestan *tūrya-*, *tūiri-*, Zor. Pahl. *tyl \*tēr* 'solid', the Greek, Mycenaean, and Homeric *τυρός*.<sup>2</sup> The verbal base expected has survived in Ossetic Dig. *tūāg*, Iron *tūāg* 'sour', Dig. *āntāun*, *āntud*, Iron *āntāun*, *āntyd* 'to make sour, brew', Dig. *āntud*, Iron *āntyd* 'lees, distiller's grains', Dig. *āntāūān*, Iron *āntūān* 'mash'. In Khotanese the word *ttavamdyā*, obliq. *ttavamdye* 'bile, gall' is to be connected with the Ossetic words. The derivative of Sansk. *tuvara-* is used for 'alum'. So Russ. *kvascy*.

The meanings 'acid, bitter, astringent' are all ascribed to Mod. High Germ. *herb* (Mid. Germ. *here*, *herwes*). The base Indo-Iranian *tanḱ-* has given words for three kinds of taste. Old Ind. *takrá-* 'buttermilk', Mid. Pers. *taxl*, New Pers. *talx* 'bitter', *talzīnah* 'milk sour and dried', Khowar *tror* 'bitter'. Khot. *byamjśa* 'astringent' represents older \*(a)bi-tanča-. In the case of *tau-* the meanings 'sour, bitter, astringent' are similarly present.

#### 5. *barb-* 'lead, draw'

The Buddhist Sanskrit writers use a phrase *trṣṇā-gardūra-* 'leash of lust' (as in the compound *trṣṇā-gardūra-baddha-* 'bound by the leash of desire'), Tib. *lu-gu-brgyud* 'rope to tie calves'.<sup>3</sup> The phrase is inherited. Pali has *taṇhā-gaddula-* beside *taṇhā-samyojana-*.

Correspondingly in Khotanese we find in P 2022.10 and 12 (*KT*, III, 42)<sup>4</sup>:

10 *traiṣṇājai bīrā jsā pāsq ttā ttu mauñada aysmū nūṣṭārā* 'with the *bīra-* of desire the bonds thus bind the mind'.

The Khotanese *bīra-* can be derived from various older forms, since *-īra-* can represent Old Iran. *-īra-* or *-arya-* or, as will appear, *-arbya-*. Between these possibilities the Sogdian is decisive.

Here in Sogdian Buddhist texts *βrβ-* occurs with two meanings, with

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Linguistics*, xvi, 1955, 119, written before the complexity of bases containing *nai-* had been realized.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Linguistics*, xvi, 1955, 118. Other words in Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon*, s.v. *Käse*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, iv, part iii, 218.6, *Mūla-madhyamaka-kārikā*, cited by Edgerton, *Dictionary*, beside *Lalita-vistara*, ed. Lefmann, 207.17, *kurkurā iva gardūra-baddhāb*, ed. Vaidya, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*, 11.

pejorative sense 'mislead' and in a good sense 'draw on'. In SCE 273 occurs *rty prw βrβ'nt APZYn prw δrymh ZKw 'ny' γppδ γr'm'y 'st* 'and by βrβ'nt and by falsehood takes the riches of others for his own'. The Chinese has 誑 *k'uang* 'lead into error'. This same Chinese word is rendered by Sogdian 'šk'rt in 250-1 *rty 'ny' mrtγm'k γyr'k 'šk'rt ZKw γr'm'kw 'st* 'drives other men to be stupid, takes their riches'. In 253 *prw δrymh* 'by falsehood' renders the same Chinese *k'uang*.

In βrβ'nt 'misleading, deception' may be contained the suffix '-nt, familiar in Bud. Sogd. čš'nt 'beverage', Chr. Sogd. čšnt. If it belongs with the ''β'rβ next cited, an interpretation \*fraβanda- is excluded.

In a good sense Sogdian has ''β'rβ 'leading thing' to draw a being onwards. *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 155 reads *č'wn ''βr'γs'k ''β'rβ s'r γršt* 'draws with the \*āβarβa- of lust'. Here we are reminded of the Sansk. *gardūra-* of lust. In the Chinese version, however, 鉤 *kou* 'hook; to induce' and the corresponding Tibetan *lcags kyu* 'iron hook' render Sansk. *ankuśa-*, Pali *ankusa-* 'hook, pole to pluck fruit'.<sup>1</sup> This may also be intended by the Sogdian but with less precise word 'drawing (hook)'.  
Sogdian may give unchanged an older Iranian *barb-* 'lead', but since interchange of *b-* and *m-* is frequent, the original may have been \**marb-*. Here βr- \*fra- is hardly possible.

In Khot. *bīra-* 'rope, *gardūra-*' now may be claimed an older \**b(a)rbya-* connected with the Sogdian βrβ- 'draw'. That would require the changes through \**b(a)rvya-* to \**b(a)rya-*. Two other Iranian bases end in reduced grade *-rb-*. Possibly Khot. *hayir-*, *hayār-*, *hayar-*, *hiyir-* 'take pleasure in, *rati*, *abhīrati*' may derive from older \**fra-grbya-* (the retention of the second syllable may be due to the former presence of a consonant after *-r-*) from *grab-* 'take' with short *-i-* in second syllable of a trisyllable. In Tumshuq Saka *paītrya-* 'agree, accept' the base may be *grab-*.<sup>2</sup> Mid. Persian and New Persian have *gīr-* 'take', and like Khotanese also *mīr-* 'die' from \**mrya-*.

Of *darb-* 'fasten' can be quoted Khurī *dur-*: *duruft*, Kurd (Kirmānšāh) *dur-*. The word *baru-* 'boil' was replaced by New Iran. *uarb-* in Munjāni *wurv-*, Sanglēči *wārv-*, Parāčī *γarw-*.<sup>3</sup>

The Iranian *barb-* allows several possible older Indo-European forms with *b/bh*, *er/ar*, *re/ra*/, *b/bh*. Either *b* could also have been *m*.

An isolated present participle to *brb-* occurs in the Rigveda which would permit a full grade either *barb-* or *brab-*. Initial Old Indian *b-* and *v-* are always uncertain unless an extra-Indian cognate is known. Here too initial *m* is possible.

In RV 8.32.10, a poem to Indra, occurs :

*br̥bād-uktham havāmahe s̥rprá-karasnam ūtāye*  
*sādhu kr̥vántam ávase*

<sup>1</sup> F. Weller, *Zum soghdischen Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, 62 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In *BSOAS*, XIII, 3, 1950, 654 *paītrya-* was taken to contain *dar-* 'hold', as had been proposed before, but shortly after the meaning of *grab-* seemed more suitable.

<sup>3</sup> *TPS*, 1955, 76 ff.; G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 420. Other forms are cited there.

In the *Sāmaveda* I, 217 c this third verse has *sādhaḥ kṛṇvāntam āvase*.

Note that *ukthā-vāhas-* introduces the charioteer's sphere of driving the vehicle of *ukthā-*. It is used four times in the Rigveda of Indra (8.96.11 ; 10.104.2), of Indrāgnī (6.59.10), and of the *vīpra-* (6.32.13). Hence here in *brbād-uktha-* Indra may be thought of as 'conducting the *ukthā-*' in a metaphor from 'leading' an animal on a leash. The form is a governing compound of the usual type. In *uktha-bhṛt-* the metaphor of 'carrying' is used. The verse can then be rendered : 'we call on (Indra), the leader of the poem, the long-armed, to help, on the creator of good, to succour'.

The word *brbād-uktha-* is not translated in K. Geldner's *Übersetzung*. Grassmann's *Wörterbuch*, like Sāyaṇa's *mahad-uktham*, has taken *brbād-* to be *brhād-* and rendered 'hoch zu preisen'.

The proper name of a *dānapati* in a *dānastuti* RV 6.45.31-3 is *Brbú-*. In form it can be associated with adjectives like *dhṛṣú-* 'bold' and *mṛdú-* 'soft'.<sup>1</sup> If this is connected with *brbād-* and Sogd. *βrβ-*, *-β'rβ* 'conduct' the word *brbú-* would mean 'leading' or in reference to a man's capacity 'fitted for leadership'. *Brbú-* like other patrons was *sahasradātama-*.<sup>2</sup>

### 6. *kuṃjī*

The Khotanese word *kuṃjī* 'yeast' renders Tib. *rcabs* 'yeast' in the *Siddhasāra* medical text.<sup>3</sup> Here there are two passages to quote :

102 r 1 *gūṣṭī hīvī raysā u ṣvīdā ṇyevutcā kuṃjī āstaṃna* 'juice of flesh and milk, curd water, yeast and the rest', in Tibetan *śa-khu dam, ho-ma dam, zo kha chu dam, rcabs rnams*.

131 r 1 *suttā, āhvarai kuṃjī, ṇetutcā, biśī āstaṃna* 'vinegar, sour yeast, curd water, buttermilk and the rest', in Tibetan *čhva dam, rcabs skyur-po dam, zo kha chu dam, dar-ba rnams*.

A later form with the frequent *-ām* replacing older *-um-* before consonant occurs in P 2893.221 (*KT*, III, 92), of which the original Sanskrit text has not yet been identified :

*kāṃjsa kūṭāñā, kāṃjīna, ā vā biśīna vara samkhalayāñā, kuṣṭā vīna īṃde, vāśarūṃ jīṃdā*.

Here too *kāṃjī* is associated with *biśī*. The whole means : 'sesame seed is to be ground, with yeast or with buttermilk it is to be smeared there where the pains are, it removes rheumatism (*vāta-śoṇita-*)'.

Analysis of *kuṃjī* gives *kuṃ-j-* with *-ī* from older *-iya-* as in *āṣṭī-* 'thumb', gen. *āṣṭye*, inst. *āṣṭīna*. For the *-j-* note the adjective *hūṃjīnai* 'with blood', in E and frequent in medical texts, and *Siddhasāra* 101 r 4 *hūṃjūda*, from *hūnā* 'blood'.

The base is then either *\*kuma-* or *\*kuna-* of which the *ku-* can be found

<sup>1</sup> J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> Legends of *Brbú-* occur later, see *Vedic index*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Here the Sanskrit text diverges.

in other words connected with fermentation in solid and liquid form. From the Indo-European side occur Old Ind. *kvath-*, Old Slav. *kvassū*, Lit. *kūšlas*, Lat. *cāseus*, from *kyā-* or *kā-*.<sup>1</sup>

Ossetic knows this base in two words. First in *k'umäl* 'sour drink or its lees' we have \**kuma-la-*. It is frequent: *Bāγārāti Sozur* 116, Digoron, *xuari k'umäl imisuj* 'he recalls the sour drink of the grain'; *P'esätä* 334 *äz mā tänäg k'umäl ku bānāzon* 'may I drink the thin sour drink'; *k'umälän mā jä p'ārätä bāzzādysty* 'the lees of *kvass* are left' (Miller's dictionary, s.v. *k'umäl*); (ibid., 155) *k'umäl ānγezuj* 'the drink ferments'.

Čečen has a word *k'omal*, as in *vajn zudarša k'omal xi čuħ t'adabo* 'our women moisten hemp in water'.<sup>2</sup> The word is Inguš *k'omal*, *k'uomäl*.<sup>3</sup> If a word for intoxicant has been shifted in meaning from the one (fermented drink) to the other (hemp) this word may belong with Ossetic *k'umäl*.

The second Ossetic word is Dig. *k'upxä*, Iron *k'ūpx* 'lees of sour drink' formed from a base enlarged by *-p-*, as commonly to a labial final of a base, with the suffix *-xa-*. In *Pamjatniki*,<sup>4</sup> II, 83, occurs *k'upxitä ku rälämāridä* 'the woman pressed out the lees, *ona vyzimala vyzimki*'.

With Oss. *k'umäl* it is now necessary to associate the word Dig. *xumälläg*, Iron *xümälläg* 'hops'.

An older Iranian *k-* is represented in Ossetic in three ways, by *k-* normally, by *k'*- not rarely, and least commonly by *x-*.<sup>5</sup> This *x-* from *k-* may be an Ossetic replacement or may indicate an early Old Iranian alternation. In *xumälläg* the *xu-* may indicate older *khu-* or be a recent Ossetic change.

In Ossetic *xumälläg* we have an adjectival derivative from \**xumal-* by *-aka-*, if the *-ll-* is a secondary doubling before a suffix (as is familiar in Oss. Dig. *γiggäg* and the like) or by *-yaka-* if the *-ll-* arises from *-ly-*. The suffix *-aka-* is added without change of meaning or may give the sense of connexion. Thus Dig. *äxsärä*, Iron *äxsär* 'nut' and *äxsäräg* 'squirrel'; Dig. *xurxä*, Iron *xürx* 'curds', and Iron *xürxäg* 'sorrel'.

In *xumälläg* is then the name for the thing connected with fermented drink, a suitable name for the herb which was added to the drink, hops.<sup>6</sup>

The Ossetic legend of brewing and the addition of *xumälläg* is given in *Narty kaddžytä*, ed. 1946, 59–60, ed. 1949, 110–11, and in Digoron Iron *Ädämon Sfäldystäd*, v, 182.

The *xumälläg* is called the *äntäuän* 'souring stuff' in the Digoron *je 'ntäuän bā äxsärä k'otärbäl bor xumälläg* and in the Iron *äxsäry k'utäryl bur xümälläg, je 'ntäuän tä ümäj väjgy*.

<sup>1</sup> Further forms in WP, I, 468; Pok., *IEW*, 627–8; M. Vasmer, *REW*, I, 546.

<sup>2</sup> N. Jakovlev, *Sintaksis čečenskogo literaturnogo jazyka*, 77.

<sup>3</sup> A. N. Genko, *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov*, v, 718; Dumézil-Jabagi, *Textes populaires inguš*, 26.

<sup>4</sup> *Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorčestva osetin*, II, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> This problem needs further work. Preliminary notes are given in *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 538–9.

<sup>6</sup> The practice of adding a herb to drink was noted by Hesukhios, s.v. *μελίτιον* · *πόμα τι Σκυθικόν μέλιτος ἐφομένου σὺν ὕδατι καὶ πόα τινί*.

In the Alanian ancestor of our modern Ossetic there was likely to have existed \**kumala-* and \**xumala-* and the derivatives in *-aka-*. The Alans were powerful in the Caucasus until the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup> The hops grow nowadays freely there.<sup>2</sup>

The three words Khotanese *kumjī* 'yeast', Ossetic *k'umäl* and *xumälläg* can be interpreted from earlier Iranian. They form part of a larger group traceable to Indo-European times.

Here lies the solution to an ancient problem, the name of hops in Germanic, Romance, Slavonic, Finno-Ugrian, and Turkish languages.<sup>3</sup>

Two types are represented with and without *-k-*.

Of interest here are the Turkish forms. Al-Kāšğari (eleventh century A.D.) has *qumlāq*<sup>4</sup> as the name of a plant growing in the Qipčaq regions. Modern Čuvaš *xumla*, and Hungarian *qumlou*, *kombó* from Old Čuvaš \**kumlaγ*, Teleut *kumlak* all show a word in *-ak*. Without the *-k-* there is Finnish *humala-*, but Vogul *k'umlāx*, with Medieval Latin *humulus*, Old Engl. *hymele*, Old Norse *humall*.

Old Slavonic *xumelī* differs with its *-i* and *-e-* in *-eli-*. If it comes from an Alanian \**xumala-* it has been modified to a Slavonic form. In modern use this Slavonic *xmel'* means 'hops' and the 'carousal' which they serve.

Khotanese has another word for yeast in *tcī-* with suffixes. This word is attested in adjectival form in the medical texts for Sansk. *kinva-*, Tib. *phabs*. Thus we have *Siddhasāra* 142 v 1 *kumjsa tcimña sumam kumbā* 'sesame, yeast powder, flax'; 100 v 4 *kāmjsa kām̄bā tcīña sūmam āra*; 110 v 3 *dājsam̄dai hīya tīma āra tceñq sūmam*. These give three variant spellings. With *-ān-ya-* we find P 2893.186 (*KT*, III, 90) *kāmjsaq, kām̄bā, tcyqñā sūmam, kuštā*; P 2893.184 (*KT*, III, 90) *dājsam̄dai tīma, āra tcyqñā sūmam*; *Siddhasāra* 132 v 2 *tcyauña sūmam, buysññī švīdā*. The basis of these words is thus *tcī-* with suffixes *tcin-ya-* and *tcy-ānya-* with the meaning 'yeast'. The word *sumam* 'powder' connected with Avestan *suđuš* and Mid. Pers. *sūtan* 'rub', Sogd. Bud. and Man. *ps'w-* (assuring the Old Iran. *s*) must be discussed elsewhere.

With this Khot. *tcīña* the *tcī* of *hamatcī* of P 2786.187 (*KT*, II, 99), which is likely to mean a 'drink made of fermented barley', is to be connected.<sup>5</sup>

Beside this Khot. *tcī-* we can set the Oss. Dig. *k'insä*,<sup>6</sup> Iron *čyysä*, *xyssä* 'dough', which is flour mixed with yeast. In New Persian one word *sirīšah* has both meanings 'yeast' and 'dough'. This has *ki-* with *-ns-* from older *-ss-*

<sup>1</sup> V. Minorsky, *History of Sharvān and Darband*, 107 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Herbert, *Casuals in the Caucasus*, 1912, 253.

<sup>3</sup> A recent large survey is contained in A. Steiger, in F. Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen*, R. Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht, 1954, 87-106.

<sup>4</sup> W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, p. 85, connects with Sogd. *xōm* from older *hauma-*, Avestan *haoma-*.

<sup>5</sup> Details are given in *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, I, fasc. 2, 139.

<sup>6</sup> Dig. *k'insä* has the intrusive *-n-* familiar in Oss. Dig. *ānsurā*, Iron *ssyr* 'tusk', and earlier in Bud. Sogd. *'ns'wr* occurring in the cliché *wγwšw 'ns'wr* 'six-tusked', the usual epithet *ṣaḍ-danta-* in Buddhist texts (VJ 201, *et al.*). Avestan *tiži.asūra-* has the word without *-n-* (Yašt 14.15). If Avestan *māzā-* is pre-Sasanian it has a similar *-n-*.



from *-ts-*, giving the base *kit-* to set beside the *kāt-* of Latin *cāseus*. The *k-* of Oss. *k'i-* may be an archaic feature before Indo-Eur. *-ə-*.

Three Indo-Aryan words may be added here. Old Ind. *kinva-* 'yeast' in Suśruta, and adj. *kinvya-*, *kinvīya-* ascribed to Pāṇini, is formed from *\*ki-nu-* with Indonaryanized *-n-* beside Khot. *tei-n-ya* with *-n-*. The word Kāfirī Waigali *kilā* 'boiled cheese', Aškun *cila* are from older *\*kilāta-* with dental *-t-*. Indo-Aryan Old Ind. *kilāta-* has the modified *-ṭ-*. In the Rigveda, *kīlāla-* is the name of a drink (only in 10.19.14 *kīlāla-pā-*).<sup>1</sup>

### 7. *ysimarye*

Khotanese *ysimarye* has been found once in P 3510.3.3 (*KBT*, 49) :

<i>jastūna pūjā-karma</i>	<i>gasamḍā ysarrnā kṣattrā,</i>	
<i>śāhaujā pale uvāre,</i>	<i>bveyaustyāṃ ramnyau ūde</i>	12
<i>caṃḍāvaṇā ysimarye brrūne,</i>	<i>ñanauvā visva bījairma,</i>	
<i>padmi rāysāṃ jsa uskhasta,</i>	<i>haṃbīsa tcaṣva śairka</i>	13

That is : 'worship of the Buddhas, turning golden umbrellas, parasols, noble banners, covered with shining jewels, brilliant *cintāmaṇi*-jewel *ysimarye*, treasures pure and excellent, risen from the lotus throne, splendid goodly heaps'.

The forms taken in Khotanese by the name *cintāmaṇi* are numerous. There are the following : E 14.118 *candāvanā mūra* ; *Jātakastava* 30 r 3 *cettāmene . . . ramne* ; P 2801.16 *ciṃḍāmanā* ; Hedin 23.17 *caṃḍāvaṇā mūra* ; Thomas 2 a 4 *caṃḍātaṇā mūri* ; Or. 8212.162 36 (*KT*, II, 3) *caḍāvaṇā rana*.

With the name these passages show a following word for 'jewel'. In *ysimarye* may lie similarly some general word for jewel or a specific name.

In Iranian there is a word for 'emerald' in Zor. Pahl. *'wzmburt* (*Pahlavi texts*, 115, 1 in the *Čatrang-nāmak*), Armen. *zmrouxt* (*HAG*, 151), New Pers. *zumurrud*. Here the vowels have been affected by *-m-* to *-u-*. The Greek *σμάραγδος*, *μάραγδος* is reflected in Sansk. *marakata-*, whence Tib. *margad*. If now the word was known in Khotan as *\*zmarata-* or *\*zmarada-* this might have given *ysimarya-* with anaptyctic *-i-*, familiar in Khot. *ysānāh-* 'bathe' and *ṣṣānauma-* 'propitiation'.<sup>2</sup> The replacement of *-ata-* through *-āta-* by *-ya-* would be normal. An ending *-atā-* would rather have given *-ā-* in later Khotanese.

I had previously thought there might be a connexion with Kuci *wamer*, *wmer*, Agni *wimār* 'jewel' translating Sansk. *maṇi-*, *ratna-*. It occurs in the phrase A 1 b 5 *cindāmaṇi wmar*.

### 8. *kāṭhamjswa*

An idealized picture of a city occurs in the *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*. In E 23.136 we have

*bahoyasani hvāhā u māstā syata baṣṭarrda ysarīṃgya*

<sup>1</sup> Further details are given in *TPS*, 1955, 69-70.

<sup>2</sup> *BSOAS*, XII, 2, 1948, 327.

<i>ne vara kâtham̐jsuwa ttâte</i>	<i>muśśa jśīrāka bahoyśna</i>
<i>ggamuna harštāyā ni īndā</i>	<i>ne vara durbhikṣā ni hīna</i>
<i>ne vara āchaina mārāre</i>	<i>ni bise sūjsīndi ttu kālu</i>

That is, 'the market is wide and large. Golden sand is strewn about. There are not goods-stealing thieves, robbers cheating in the market. There are no robbers at all, nor famine nor invading troop. There they do not die of illness. Houses are not then burnt'.

Three words here merit a discussion. The first, *kâtham̐jsuwa*, only in this passage, has been translated from the context and with thought of the Jaina epithet of a thief (in default of the Buddhist parallel) in the phrase *para-davva-haraṇa-pasatta-* 'intent upon the carrying off of others' property', that would be a Sanskrit *para-dravya-haraṇa-prasakta-*. The act is called *davva-jāyaṃ ghetūna*, *davva-voḍhāram āneti*, *davva-jāyaṃ ṇṇeūna*, *davvaṃ ṇihanīum*.<sup>1</sup>

The first component *kâtha-* can be traced to an older \**karθra-* which is known in Western Iranian New Pers. *kālah*, *kālā* 'household goods', Armenian loanword *kah* 'furniture', rendering Greek *σκεῦος*, with *kahem*, *kahauorem* 'to furnish'.<sup>2</sup>

The second component *-m̐jsuwa* contains in medial syllable the same *-m̐js-* which is found in Khot. *pa-m̐js-* : *pamāta-*, *pamyā-* 'to wear clothes', *pamūha-* 'clothes'. The Zor. Pahl. *patmōk-*, *patmōč-*, *patmōxtan* 'to wear' corresponds.

In *-m̐jsuwa* it is possible to see the suffix *-uka-* familiar in Khot. *busua-* 'scented' and Old Ind. *véduka-* 'winning'.<sup>3</sup> Sogdian has *čr'γδ'rwk* \**čīrāγ-δāruk-* 'lamp-stand', like Khot. *cārau-dījsāka-* and Oss. Dig. *cīrāγ-dārān*.<sup>4</sup>

The meaning of *mauk-* : *muk-* without preverb varies. It means 'put on' in Zor. Pahl. *mōk*, *mōč*, *mōčak* 'shoe',<sup>5</sup> Bud. Sansk. *moca-*; *maucika-*, *mocika-* 'shoemaker'; Armen. *moyk*, *moyg*, *moučak*, Georg. *mogv-i*, New Pers. *mōzah*, Arab. *mūq*, *mauzaḡ*, Greek *βαυκίς*. The reverse meaning is found in Ormuṛī *mōž-* : *mōk-* 'loosen, untie', Munjāni *muž-* : *muγd* 'be moved'.<sup>6</sup> Old Ind. *mok-* : *muk-* means 'to loosen', Lit. *munkū*, *mūkti* 'to wipe away' (if it belongs here).

With preverbs occur Avestan *pāiti.šmuxta-* 'put on', *framuxti-* 'taking off' referring to shoes (Vid. 6.27; Yašt 5.64, Yašt 10.125). In Ossetic *rāmōdzun*, Iron *rāmādzyn* is 'take away' and Dig. *nimōdzun*, *nimūγd*, Iron *nymūdzyn*, *nymūγd* 'to deliver, betray'.

Old Indian has the verb with preverbs *prati-*, *ā-*, and *pra-*.

The second word to interpret is *muśśa* 'robbers'. In this may be seen an older \**muś-ya-* with *-šy-* palatalized to *-śś-* from the base *mauš-* : *muš-* 'rob',

<sup>1</sup> H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> For Khot. *-th-* see *JRAS*, 1953, 110 ff., with *baṭha-* 'protective mail' from \**v(a)rθra-*. For *kālā*, W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 56.

<sup>3</sup> J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, II, 2, pp. 480 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Khotanese in P 3513, 51 v 3, *KT*, I, 127.

<sup>5</sup> *GrBd.* 131.11 *mōč*, Paris MS *mōčak*. Bud. Sanskrit in *JRAS*, 1955, 21.

<sup>6</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, I, 401; II, 230.

familiar in Old Ind. *moṣṭati* and *muṣṇāti*. It has been noticed only here in Khotanese.

The third word *ggamuna-* occurs also in the fragment Kha 0013 c, 6 b 1 *kvī gamuna ysānī<ndā>* 'if the robbers take it away'.<sup>1</sup> Possibly this contains \**gad-muna-* from *gad-* 'to plunder'. Near to it (if *γ-* is *g-*, not *x-*) is Bud. Sogd. *γ'm* 'robber' (P 7.137), *pr γ'mh* 'by seizure' (VJ 1324). Then the base would be *gam-*. A Chr. Sogdian word *γmy* has been explained as perhaps 'scelestus'.<sup>2</sup>

Note that *jsūr-* 'to deceive', participle *jsūda-*, is similar to Kuci *tser-* 'deceive'.

### 9. *ysār-*

To express the cry of birds Khotanese has once in texts so far examined the word *ysār-* 'to cry'. It is in Paris Y 10 (*KT*, III, 40) *ṣaudākya ysārārū hamdā hauṣkyau bāhyau* : 'the young ravens cry in the dry trees'.

The parallel texts have *rrāys-*, *rāys-*, earlier known in the Old Khotanese of E.

P 2956.34 (*KT*, III, 38) *ṣaudakye rāysāra hada hauṣkām bahyau*

P 2025.53 (*KT*, III, 47) *ṣāmdakyi rrāysārā hadā hauṣṭyā bahyā* :

Ch 00266.35–6 (*KT*, III, 35) *ṣādakye rrāysada hada hauṣkyā bahyā* :

The Khotanese *ysār-* gives the cognate of Oss. Dig. Iron *zār-* 'to sing' earlier by a thousand years, just as in the case of Khot. *karasta-* 'pelt' and Yidḡa *karast* 'hide'.<sup>3</sup>

The Oss. *zārūn* 'to sing' and *zār* 'song' has already been compared with Greek *γᾶρυς*, Lat. *garrire*, *garrulus*, Celtic Ir. *gáir* 'cry', Welsh *gair* 'word', and other words.<sup>4</sup>

The same base with short vowel *-a-* has been seen in Dig. *āzālyn*, Iron *āzālyn* 'to echo', Dig. *zällāng*, Iron *zyllāng* 'echo'. This would give \**ā-zar-ya-*.<sup>5</sup> The preterite occurs in the phrase *ūj māroj dār tā āzālydi qādbynty* 'the lament for the dead echoed in the woods'. The verb Iron *nyjžāzālyn* 'to echo, resound' is, however, given also the meaning 'sodrognut'sja, erzittern, shake, tremble' in Vs. Miller's dictionary. Hence the base may not mean 'sound', but 'movement to and fro'. Possibly two bases *zar-* should be recognized here. In A. M. Kasaev's *Iron-Ūryssāg dzyrduāt*, *nyjžāzālyn* is only rendered *razdat'sja, raznestis'* of the echo.

### 10. *hūṣa-*

The Khotanese word *hūṣa-* is found in loc. sing. *hūṣya* and loc. plur. *hūṣvā* in medical texts.

P 2893.142 (*KT*, III, 88) *ṣi peṇdai hā nīsāññā, u mījsākīnai rūṃ gūmalyāññā,*

<sup>1</sup> It was proposed in *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 528 to connect with *gad-* 'to plunder'.

<sup>2</sup> I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Details in *Annali* cited *supra*, p. 28, n. 5, 1, fasc. 2, 125.

<sup>4</sup> WP, I, 537.

<sup>5</sup> V. Abaev, *Ist.-etim. slovar' oset. jazyka*, 96, citing also *zāl* and *zālyn*.

*hūšya bañāñā naraiya jemdā* ' this *pañdaka* medicament must be placed there, oil from kernels must be smeared on, it must be bound on the *hūša-*, it removes hernia '.

*Jivaka-pustaka* 56 v 2 (*KT*, I, 147) *tta būra āchā jaida : prramīha : hūšvā vīne : śarkarya* ' it cures these diseases, *prameha*, *vankšana*, *śarkarā* '. In *Suśruta vankšana-* is the groin. The Khotanese word may thus represent an older \**vaxša-* or reduced grade \**uxša-* with added initial *h-*. Direct connexion in meaning with Avestan *fravāš*<sup>1</sup> does not exist.

Two other uses of a base of the same form but of different meaning are known. Ossetic has Dig. *usqā*, *uāsk'ā*, Iron *ūāxsk*, plural *ūāxscýtā*, *ūāxš'itā*, ' shoulder '. The Digoron dual occurs in *Pamjatniki*, II, 99, *ā duuā usqebāl* ' on his two shoulders '. In *Pam.*, II, 161, Dig. *dziuārvāsqa* means ' broad-shouldered ' (with *v*, not *ū*). The Digoron plural is in *Pam.*, II, 65, *sā usqiti* (loc. plur.). The hero *Soslān* is *fātān-uāxsk* ' broad-shouldered ' .<sup>2</sup>

Old Indian Vedic *vākṣas-* is the ' breast '.

Since it is known from Oss. Dig. *sinäg* ' breast ', Iron *synäg* ' projection, breast ', Zor. Pahl. *sēnak* ' breast ' with Avestan *saēni-* ' pointed ' that the ' breast ' could be named as the pointed thing, it seems likely that with this Old Ind. *vākṣ-* and Iran. *vaxš-* used of ' breast ' and ' shoulder ' the Oss. Dig. *uxst*, plur. *uxstitā*, *uxstältā* (*Pam.*, II, 7), Iron *uāxst*, plur. *uāxstytā* ' spit ' belongs as the ' pointed ' tool.

This meaning in turn leads on to Armenian *vak-* in *vakas* ' shoulder garment ', *vaxčan* ' end ', and Avestan *vaγ-* in *vaγdana-* ' head ' .<sup>3</sup>

From a meaning ' pointed ' it is possible to explain also Khot. *hausša-*, later *hošg-*, *hausg-* ' finger ' <sup>4</sup> from \**fra-vaš-ya-* with palatalized *-š-* passing to *-ś-*, later voiced.

The word E 21.7 *panā kaso hoššā āljsīndi māstu kāde* ' in every nook the *hošša-* sing most loudly ' will belong rather as \**fra-vas-ya-* or \**fra-vašš-ya-* to *vās-* ' make sound (cry, sing, play music) '. To this may be connected E 25.647 *hauso* in the phrase *ašša hamggārīndi ku ne nā hauso yanīndā* where E. Leumann rendered by ' sound '. If this is right the word could be \**fra-vaššā-* from *vās-* ' sound '.

Iranian thus knows 1. *vaxš-* ' scatter (water or fire) ', 2. *vaxš-* ' grow ', 3. *vaxš-* in Khot. *hūša-*, 4. *vaxš-* ' pointed ', 5. *vašš-*, thence *vaš-* ' sound '.

#### 11. *tau-* : *tu-*

A series of verbs and nouns are derived from a base *tau-* : *tu-*. The meaning shown in all words will emerge from the comparisons.

<sup>1</sup> ' Languages of the Saka ', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv, 1, p. 139. The *h-* also in *hušš-* ' grow ', participle *huššāta-*, from *vaxš-* : *uxš-*.

<sup>2</sup> *Narty Kāddžytā*, ed. 1946, 86.3.

<sup>3</sup> On *vākṣas-* WP, I, 261, is uncertain, but quotes an older proposal to connect *vākṣanā-*, *vākṣas-*, and *vankšana-*. On Armen. *vak-*, H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, 96. Oss. *sinäg*, *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59.

<sup>4</sup> E 14.71 ; *Siddhasāra* 102 r 5 ; P 4089 a 2 (*KBT*, 20).

1. Ossetic *tāū-* : *tu-* occurs in verbal forms with and without preverb.

Dig. *āftāun, āftud*, Iron *āftāūn, āftyd* ‘ put, throw over, add, pile up, place upon (eggs) ’.

Dig. *āftuĵun*, Iron *āftūĵin, āftyn* ‘ be placed upon, come to ’.<sup>1</sup>

Dig. *itāun, itud*, Iron *tāūn, tyd* ‘ spread, scatter, sow ’ from \**vi-tav-*.

Dig. *rātāun, rātud*, Iron *rātāūn, rātŷd* ‘ to quilt, add lining ’ from \**fra-tav-*.

Dig. *āntāun, āntud* ‘ rake hay together ’ (Iron *ssŷvyn*) from \**ham-tav-*.

Dig. *tāūnāg* ‘ hen brooding on eggs ’.

2. Parthian *w’wny* \**vitāvana-* ‘ distance of a bowshot ’,<sup>2</sup> Armen. *vteuan, vtauan*. Armenian *vtauak* ‘ undergarment ’ and *vtauat* ‘ veil ’ may also belong here.<sup>3</sup>

3. Khot. *tturaka-* ‘ cover ’ of a quiver in the Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary.<sup>4</sup> It can be analysed as \**tura-*, representing older \**tūra-* or \**taura-*. The text reads *kapāha:kā, hūlaihā: hīvī tturakā hame* ‘ (Turk.) *qapyaq* is the cover of the quiver ’. This connects with Old Slav. *tulo-* ‘ quiver ’ and with Indo-Eur. *tu-*.<sup>5</sup> Note that Kāfirī Aškun *astar*, Waigali *istār*, Kati *štār*, Prasun *štōr* ‘ quiver ’ belong to Sansk. *āstara-* ‘ covering ’.<sup>6</sup> Prasun has also *duru-štār* ‘ bow and quiver ’.

4. Khot. *ttaura-* corresponds to Bud. Sansk. *kuḍya-* ‘ wall ’ and *prākāra-* ‘ wall ’ in the description of the magical power of passing uninjured through walls. Thus in E 5.38 *avacchoda tsīndi ttaura vaṣṭa vranī nāstā cu beittā* <sup>7</sup> is the poetic equivalent of *Mahāvvyutpatti* 219 *tīrahkuḍyaṃ tīrahprākāraṃ*. The word *ttaura* occurs also in E 4.87 *ttaura vāte śsānde spēte* ; E 6.99 *biśśā dārṣḍa ttaura dātāndā* ; E 23.135 *haudyau yā ratanyau ttaura pārgyiñuwo spēte vicitra* ; and E. 5.56 *o ttaura tī nu ni tsīndā biśśā nuḡaysāre vikalpe*.

5. A second Khot. *ttora-* ‘ covering, top ’ occurs in E 17.33.

*crāmu ggarā tcūryo ratanyau jsa sumūri*  
*samudrā* < >  
*cvi ysarrnai torā kye halci hā hatrys*<d>e

The ‘ four-jewelled Mount Meru ’ is named in Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharma-kośa*, III, 50, *catūratnamayo meruh*. That is, ‘ as the Mount Sumeru with the (sides made of) four precious substances, the ocean . . . , which has a golden top which shines forth everywhere ’. The same *ttora* occurs in a broken passage in E 17.34 *tta vā avasśārṣṭā cvī handara ttora / ttrām*< >.

In these two Khotanese words *ttaura-* and *ttora-* the *-au-*, *-o-* represents an older *-āu-*, since Old Iran. *-au-* passed to Khot. *-ū-*. A similar Khot. *-au-*, *-o-* is familiar in *āyoysa-*, *āyoṣṭa-*, from *yauz-* ‘ be agitated ’, and *khoys-*, *khawys-*, *a-khausṭa-* from *xauz-* ‘ move ’.

<sup>1</sup> Vs. Miller, ‘ Die Sprache der Osseten ’, *GIP*, I, Anhang, 65 tentatively thought of *pat-* ‘ fall ’.

<sup>2</sup> Hājjīābād inscription, edited H. S. Nyberg, *Øst og vest*, 66.

<sup>3</sup> *BSOAS*, xviii, 1, 1956, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 291, the text now in *KT*, III, 81.

<sup>5</sup> M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 150.

<sup>6</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, II, 1929, 244 ; xv, 1949, 257.

<sup>7</sup> *JRAS*, 1953, 100.

6. Khot. *ttaurrjā* occurs once in the Staël-Holstein text 61 : *viysā khāysarā ttaurrjā dādaḡ ṣṭām akhaḡamḡdai / jvīhā* 'in the anther of the filament of the lotus so unweariedly you sport . . .'. Khot. *viysā khāysarā* represents Sansk. *padma-kesara-* 'filament of a lotus'. The top of the filament is formed of the anther within which are the pollen-sacs. The word *ttaurrjā* is thus easily connected with Khot. *tturaka-* 'cover'. In form *ttaurrjā* may be either loc. sing. of \**ttaurrga*, with *-ja* from *-gayā* (like *khārgga*, loc. *khārja*, loan-word *mārga-*, loc. *mārja*) or a loc. sing. of *ttaurrja-*.<sup>1</sup>

7. Ossetic Dig. *turyā*, Iron *tyry* 'court, forecourt, vestibule, balcony' occurs in *Pamjatniki*, II, 5.31 *i fātḡ'u bā ādtāj Bāḡodzājān ā turyi* 'the apple-tree was in Bāḡodzā's court (*dvor*)'. Similarly *ūdon xādzārāj tyrymā rācydysty* 'they went out from the house to the court'. Kasaev's Ossetic-Russian dictionary has *tyry* 'flight of steps, *kryl'co*'. Bāḡodzā has a *keḡog* (*Pam.*, II, 6.5). The Ossetic *keḡog* is described by J. Baddeley.<sup>2</sup>

This *turyā* is formed from older \**tur-ga-* with *-ga-* suffix as in Old Pers. *aθanga-* 'stone', Khot. *saḡga-*. The *turyā* as an enclosed court recalls both Khot. *ttaura-* 'wall' and *tturaka-* 'cover'.

Three words from Indo-Aryan can be associated with these Iranian words.

1. *tūna-*, *tūñi-*, *tūni-*, *tūnira-* 'quiver' is from *tā-* with suffix *-na-* (Indo-aryanized *-ñ-*) or *-rna-*. It is then the 'covering'.

2. *torana-* 'arch, gateway' if it is named from its being the 'cover, top'.<sup>3</sup> It will belong with Khot. *ttora-* 'top'.

3. *pratoli-* 'gateway of a fortress', glossed by *durga-nagara-dvāra*.<sup>4</sup>

The base Indo-Iranian *tav-* : *tu-* has thus a wide range of meanings. Without preverb it would seem to have meant 'place over, upon, or around'. It is Indo-European by the Slavonic evidence.

Note that Ossetic *turyā* as an enclosed place suggests a connexion with Greek *τύρις*, Lat. *turris* 'tower'.

## 12. *zurun*

The Ossetic verb Dig. *zurun* 'to turn' occurs in the verse of Māliṭi Geuārgi 48 *kāfgā kāfgā nizzzuruncā* 'they turn in the dance'.

The Iron form to decide on the older form of Dig. *zurun* was not given in Vs. Miller's dictionary. It occurs in the translation of the Igor story<sup>5</sup> :

*c'ax birāyāu xātyd bāstātyl*  
*sāu qārccyγājāu zyryd āvrāpty byn*

'like grey wolf ranged over the lands, like black hawk turned below the clouds'.

<sup>1</sup> The explanation attempted in *Asia Major*, NS, II, 1, 1951, 37, can thus be completed. Kuci *taur* 'dust', if named as 'covering', could be native or Iranian.

<sup>2</sup> *Rugged flanks of Caucasus*, II, 147.

<sup>3</sup> M. Mayrhofer, *Sanskrit etymological dictionary*, leaves *torāna-* unconnected.

<sup>4</sup> J. Ph. Vogel, 'The Sanskrit *pratoli* and its new-Indian derivatives', *JRAS*, 1906. Here the gloss *rāthyā viśikhā* is rejected.

<sup>5</sup> *Kādāḡ Igorj stāryl*, 1956, 15.

This is offered to render *sěrymü vülkomü po zemli, šizymü orlomü podü oblaky*. The one verb used is *rastěkašetsja* 'rush'.

From V. Abaev I learn that this verb *zyryn* is confined to Southern Iron.

Derivative from *zur-*, *zyr-* are the words Dig. *zurnä*, Iron *zyrn* 'lathe'.<sup>1</sup> The word forms the title to a poem of Epxity Tătäri,<sup>2</sup> beginning *āzil, āzil dy, mä rävdz zyryn*. In Digoron<sup>3</sup> occurs *ävžestīn k'äxtä zurnä-fingitü* 'with silver legs lathe-turned tables'.

To these words have been added Dig. *dzurk'ä*, *zurk'ä* 'trimming on shoes' and *dzurunä känun* 'to destroy'.<sup>4</sup>

Here in *zurun* we accordingly have a base *zur-* which can be the reduced grade to Old Iran. *zvar-*: *zur-*, Old Ind. *hvar-*: *hur-* 'go crookedly, turn'. It is then connected with Iron *ävzär* 'bad' (Digoron uses *läyuz*) from *\*zvar-*. It is also in Bud. Sogd. *zβ'r-*, Chr. *'zbr-*, Avestan *zbar-*.

In Dig. *ävzurun*, *ävzursta-* 'arise', Iron *ävzärun*, with Dig. *ävzärä*, the word will be different: *zar-*, but modified in second syllable to *zur-* in Digoron.<sup>5</sup>

A picture of the Caucasian, Georgian, turner can be seen in A. Byhan, 'Die kaukasischen Völker', in *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, ed. G. Buschan, II, 2, 1926, 706.

### 13. *ttunda-*

Ossetic has in both Digoron and Iron *om*, *on* from older *ām*, *ān*. This change is recent. Older *ām* and *ān* are attested in place-names with *dan*, Oss. *don*, and *kam*, Oss. *kom*.<sup>6</sup> Similarly *ärgom* 'open' is represented by Abkhaz *argäma* 'clear, open', Mingrel *argam* 'clear',<sup>7</sup> where occurs older *\*kāma-*.<sup>8</sup>

Ossetic *ān* needs always special explanation.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that to some extent the Oss. *ān* is due to dialect mixture, direct or by foreign middlemen.

Unusual differences separate Dig. *uärdun* 'waggon', *läk'un* 'troubled', *uezdon*, *jezdon* 'noble' from Iron *uärdon*, *läk'on*, *uäzdän*.

The origin of Dig. *-on*, Iron *-om* in Dig. *ison*, Iron *som*, *räjsom* 'to-morrow' from *-au-* is recent. The *säu-* is retained in compounds Dig. *säu-äxsed*, Iron

<sup>1</sup> V. Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor*, I, 469: *zurun* 'kružit'sja'.

<sup>2</sup> *Iron Literaturä*, 10-äm k'läsän, 1957, 87.

<sup>3</sup> V. Abaev, *Iz osetinskogo ėposa*, 61, 304.

<sup>4</sup> V. Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor*, I, 469, 449.

<sup>5</sup> *TPS*, 1953, 36 ff.; *TPS*, 1954, 152; *TPS*, 1955, 56 ff.; *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 525. Ācārya Limaye has called my attention to the variant between *Atharvaveda* 10.8.6 *gūhā jāran* and the quotation in *Mundaka upaniṣad* 2.1 *guhā caraṇ*. A parallelism of *śray-* 'mount' and *jar-* can be seen in RV 7.72.4 *ārdhvām bhānūm savitā devo āśred / brhād agnāyah samidhā jarante*. Note as to *zar-* that T. Burrow has called attention to *anujīrṇa-* translated 'followed' in *Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras*, XIII, 1957, 'Nirvacanāni', § 1. The word *uäl-āzār*, equivalent to *uäl-āxez* 'prevosrod', has been hardly suitably placed with *āzār* 'terror', which I had carefully avoided, in V. Abaev, *Ist.-etim. slovar' oset. jazyka*, 96.

<sup>6</sup> Vs. Miller, 'Die Sprache der Osseten', *GIP*, I, Anhang, 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> V. Abaev, *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor*, I, 316.

<sup>8</sup> On *kā-*, Khot. *khā-* 'to open' (in *Siddhasāra* 150 v 4) details elsewhere,

<sup>9</sup> *JRAS*, 1953, 113,

*sāu-āxsid* 'dawn', *sāu-dār* 'dawn', *sāu-dzāvđ* 'struck in the morning', and in the derivatives Dig. *sāūmon*, Iron *sāūón* 'of the morning', Dig. Iron *sāūmá* 'in the morning'. The older word is in Avestan *savah-*; Khot. *svī* 'to-morrow', Old Ind. *śvās*. Possibly, however, here in *som* the older form had *-āu-*.

Ossetic replaced Old Iran. *-aun-* by *-un-*, as in Dig. *γun*, Iron *gūn* 'hair', Khot. *ggūna-*, Avestan *gaona-*. The Old Iran. *-afn-* is also *-un-* in Ossetic Dig. *tunä*, Iron *tyn* 'cloth' and 'ray', Dig. *run* 'illness', Iron *ryn*.

In Ossetic Dig. Iron *koj* 'rumour, care' a derivation from older *\*kāyya-* was proposed.<sup>1</sup> Old Iran. *-au-* gave Dig. *-o-*, Iron *-ū-* as in *bodä* Iron *būd* 'incense'. Hence the *-o-* of both dialects in *koj* needs a different explanation. This can be reached by assuming older *-āu-* replaced by Oss. *-o-*.

This Ossetic *o* in both dialects is found also before *n* and *m*. It is necessary to avoid the assumption that all Ossetic cases of *on* and *om* are from older *ān* and *ām*.

Two Ossetic verbs *tonun* and *ānsonun* contain *-au-* diphthongs in their base.

A base *tun-* or *tu-n-* is attested in two Khotanese texts. In Old Khotanese E 23.235 has a list of reprobated actions. It reads :

<i>jsatāndi śśūjātu satva</i>	<i>śśūjīye ggūšto hvađāndä</i>
<i>ttundāndä drūjo hvatāndä</i>	<i>kūre drṣṭīyate nāndä</i>

That is, 'the beings slew one another, they ate one another's flesh, they plundered, they told lies, they adopted false views'.

In P 2790.66 (*KT*, II, 112), an official document, certain acts are condemned. This reads :

*herä kiṇa kṣīra padamji jādä u śūje hīya stūra biśä ttūda yudāmdä* 'they destroyed the state of the country for money and caused one another's cattle all to be plundered'.

The context decides for this meaning 'plunder' or the like.<sup>2</sup> In form the participle *ttunda-*, later *ttuda-*, has been formed from a present *tun-* with determinative *-n-* or has kept the *-n-* of a present stem. The Indo-European has the base (s)*teu-* with various determinatives, among them *-d-*. This (s)*teu-d-* occurs in Old Ind. *tod-* : *tud-* in the Rigveda *todā-* 'driving', *tudāti*, *tundate*. Latin has both *tundo*, *tunsus*, *tussus*, *tusus* 'thrust', *tudit-*, nom. *tudes*, 'hammer', and *studeo*. Old Saxon has *stōtan*.

The Khotanese verb *ttun-* has developed the meaning from 'thrust, drive' to 'take away, plunder'.

In Ossetic Dig. *tonun*, *tund*, Iron *tonyn*, *tynd* 'to pluck off, tear out' has further developed the meaning.<sup>3</sup> The preterite has retained the *-n-*.

The second word Dig. *ānsonun*, *ānsudt*, Iron *āssonyn*, *ssonyn*, *ssyd* 'thrust' has no *-n-* in the preterite.

Khotanese has a verbal base *ṣun-* : *ṣva-* (where *ṣva-* is a normal later form from *\*ṣuta-*). This is in the *Siddhasāra* 153 v 4 : *ttye askhawysa [ā vā detadārā]*,

<sup>1</sup> *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 527.

<sup>2</sup> E. Leumann in E gave the word doubtfully the meaning of Sansk. *tudati*.

<sup>3</sup> Vs, Miller, *Osetinskie etjudy*, III, 150, gave *tan-*, unsuitable in meaning.



*balohaṇa ṇuṣṭāṅq, kujsaviṇa rrūṃṇa ṣunāṅq u padajsāṇa* ' its top [or of *devadāru*] is to be fastened in a cloth, it is to be thrown into sesame oil, and is to be burnt '. The Tibetan reads *śin-buhi thor-to ras-kyis dkris-te, til mar-gyi nam-du smyugs-la bsregs-te*. The Sanskrit original is short : *pradīpya caila-tailād*.

A second case of the verb is in *ibid.* 155 r 1 *padānaṇa ṣyanāṅq padajsāṇā*. Here Tibetan has only *bsregs-pa*. In 155 r 5 *haysgvā ṣyanāṅq* corresponds to Tibetan *snar blugs-na*. Here *ṣya-* has been written for *ṣu-* (*-ya-* for *-u-* is familiar in *sthyapa-* for *sthūpa-* ' *stūpa-*' in *KT*, II, 107, 168, 171).

The meaning of *ṣun-* can be found from the Tibetan. Here *smyugs-la* is the equivalent of *bcug-pa* which renders Sansk. *nikṣipta-* ' thrown into '. Tib. *blugs-pa* is ' pour '.

A compound with *bū-*<sup>1</sup> occurs in P 2893.98 (*KT*, III, 86) : *nīyakā ahaudī-vārrjā biṃdā būsvāṇa u bidai hā hamaysā*<sup>2</sup> *śikarā parkūnāṇā* ' the butter is to be placed upon a gourd leaf and upon it is to be sprinkled the . . . sugar '.

The preterite occurs in two passages. In P 2024.41 (*KT*, II, 78) occurs *śvyā pvaicām jsa jsā yaḍama ṣvaudū* ' we put on the *yalma*-raincoat with white *pvaicā-*'.<sup>3</sup> P 2024.46 has *cū mūṣakava yaragaka ṣvauda*; the word *mūṣakava* may be connected with Zor. Pahlavī and New Pers. *mušk* ' the musk deer '. The *yaragaka* is Turkish *yaryaq* ' pelt '.

From these passages Khotanese has presents *ṣun-*, *būṣva-* and preterite *ṣva-* from \**ṣuta-*.

In the Avesta older *š-* and *čy-* fell together. Hence a word Avestan *šav-* : *šu-* may conceal two older words. In *Yasna* 9.32 *yeṣhe frafravaite manō yaḥa avrēm vātō.šūtēm* ' whose mind tosses like a wind-driven cloud ' the active sense of *šūta-* would better suit Khot. *ṣun-* than *šyav-* ' go '. In *Vid.* 2.10 *aiwišvaṭ* ' he drove on ', and with separated preverb in verse 38 the same *šu-* may be used.<sup>4</sup>

It is now clear that these words offer a good interpretation of Ossetic *ānsonun* ' thrust ' and allied meanings.<sup>5</sup>

Since words expressing forced motion yield verbs indicating ' put, throw, send, shoot, speed ' it is reasonable to cite here Lit. *šājuju, šāuti*, Lett. *šaut* ' shoot, move quickly ' from an Indo-European *škeu-*, if this is a by-form to *ḷseu-* as we find *sku-* in Lett. *skuju, skūt*, Lit. *sku-t-* in *skūtu, skūsti*, compared with *kseu-* in Greek *ξίω* ' shave '.

There remains to mention the Rigvedic word *kṣonāyo* in 10.22.9 where

<sup>1</sup> *bū-* with *ū* as *pū-* in *pūheitā, pūhaṃjākā, vū-* in *vūmūva*. In a basic syllable *būṣṣ-* from older *baxš-*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *hamaysā* is not explained. By etymology it could mean ' crushed small ' from \**fra-mazaka-* (assuming that here *śikarā* is plural) from *maz-* (*BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 523) like Lit. *māžas* ' small '.

<sup>3</sup> The word *pvaicā-, pvecā-* has not yet been explained. A word of similar form is *hambecā-* ' summary ', older participle *hambirsta-, hambista-* ' combined '. The word *yaḍama* is Turkish *yalma*. For the meaning note Avestan *vark-* ' pull ; wear ', and the similar Baltic *velk-*.

<sup>4</sup> This would improve upon the explanation in H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 220, 224.

<sup>5</sup> The attempt to find in *ānsonun* the word *san-, sān-* ' rise, raise ' is hardly satisfactory for the meaning, see V. Abaev, *Ist.-etim. slovar' oset. jazyka*, s.v.

Indra's followers are so called. Since the Marútas are probably intended it will be another allusion to their violence. The word *kṣoni-* here may mean 'impetuous'.<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out earlier that Ossetic has words from a base *gav- : gu-* 'to grow'.<sup>2</sup> Dig. *gom*, Iron *gom* 'adult' fits here. The same form in adjectival use 'capable' may arise through 'grown up to' and so capable. It occurs also at the end of compounds: *Pam.*, II, 5 *γāzunγon fācāncā* 'mogli uže igrat'.

Dig. *gom*, Iron *gom*, plur. *qomtā*, has also the meaning 'herd'. It occurs also in many compounds as Dig. *gom-xeznā*, Iron *gom-xizān* 'pasture for herds'. A derivative *\*gāuma-* 'growing animals' would well connect this word.

In Ossetic the loan-word *som*, plur. *somtā* 'rouble' corresponds to Arabic *ṣwm*, sing. *ṣwmh* (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) and Italian *sommo*.<sup>3</sup>

#### 14. *tilläg*

The Ossetic word Dig. *tilläg*, Iron *tylläg* 'corn, grain, seed, crop' is a frequent word. With suffix occurs *tilläggun läg* (Iron *Ādāmon Sfäldystäd*, v, 167); *tyllägdžyn āz* 'year with abundant crop'. The phrase *qäzdyg tylläg* 'rich crop' has been noted in a newspaper. *Bā-γārāti Sozur* 70 reads *ä mosmä fäzzäg tilläg ku xāstā* 'he brought the autumn harvest to his threshing-floor'. Similarly we find *ibid.* 129 *mā uāldzäg kārädäggun, mā fäzzäg tilläggun* 'my spring abounding in grass, my autumn full of harvest'.

The Dig. *-i-*, Iron *-y-* normally represents an Old Iran. *-i-*. There are a few cases where this vowel has replaced an older *-u-* as in Dig. *mistā* 'mouse', Iron *myst*. If *-i-* is here assumed to be the older Iranian it is possible to compare *tilläg* with the Rigvedic *tīlvila-* 'rich, fertile' used in 5.62.7 of a field: *bhadre kṣētre nimitā tīlvile vā / sanēma mādho ādhigartyasya*.

The denominative verb occurs in RV 7.78.5: *tīvilayādhwam uṣaso vibhātīr*.

With this *tīl-* the Old Indian *tīlā-s* 'sesame seed', *taila-m* 'oil' could belong with specialized meaning, as Old Indian *dhānās* has given Marāṭhī *dhān* 'rice' through *dhānyā-*.

#### ADDENDA

Addenda to *BSOAS*, xxi, 3, 1958, 522 ff.

p. 522. The Sansk. *abhyanga-udvartana-snātra* is rendered in N 119.14 by *abyaṅga usbruteṃmāte ysnānā*. This is then another verb to express 'rough treatment' in massage.

Pašto Wazīri *gurmat* 'blow with the fist' is explained (G. Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 24) as *\*anguri-muṣṭi-*. If it is replaced by *\*anguri-maṣṭi-* the same *maṣṭa-* would have survived here.

Chorasmian has *m'zd* 'broke', *mtyk* 'broken', *mt-zyyk* 'with broken

<sup>1</sup> This word *kṣoni-* needs full treatment elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> *BSOAS*, xxi, 3, 1958, 527.

<sup>3</sup> H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, 488; Vs, Miller, *Osetinsko-Russko-Nemeckij slovar'*, s.v. *som*,

horns'. Turfan Parthian has 'mšt 'broken' in bšn'n 'mšt 'the branches are broken', see W. B. Henning, *Z.V. Togan'a armağan*, 435; A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 99, 118.

p. 523. Interesting as a parallel to p. 523 is Čečen *kagjar*, Inguš *kagdar* 'to break', Batsbi *kak'e* 'small, fine', quoted *NTS*, XII, 1942, 117.

p. 525. Support for the connexion of Ossetic *māst*, *mäst* 'sorrow, anger' with *mašta-* can be seen in the Alanian loan-word *māšt'* in the Dargwa phrase: *nab hu māšt' wilzulri* 'you cause me pain' (cited in K. Bouda, *Abhandlungen f.d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, XXII, 4, 1937, p. 23, note). Here *št* will be the older sound excluding *st*.

p. 528. The *gaδ* 'club' of Greater *Bundahišn* 138.2 corresponds to *Zātspram* 6.13 *vazr*.

To *gahai* 'shaft of arrow' add Old Khot. *ggeiha* 'timber, Sansk. *kāṣṭha-*' in the *Suvarṇabhāsa* 24 v 4. In Kha 0012 a, 135 v 4 (*KTB*, 11) *ggeha* is likely to be the same word (for *-ei-* and *-e-* note *kṣeīnu* and *kṣeṇu* 'six' gen. plural). For the derivation of *gahaa-*, note Zor. Pahl. *čōpakān* (*Husrāu ut rētak-ē* 12) 'polo-stick' from *čōp* 'wood, stick', New Pers. *čōb* 'log, wood, tree, staff, mace'; with suffix *čōbah* 'wand, walking-stick; white poplar'; *čaugān* 'polo-stick'. The *Kārnāmak* has *čōpagān*.

p. 530. Kharoṣṭhī *Dharmapada* has *aseyaṇa-* (B 31, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 493).

p. 539. With *hāysa-* compare Oss. Dig. *xizä*, Iron *xyz* 'veil, net', *xyzäg* 'membrane', Dig. *xizin*, Iron *xyzyn* 'bag, knapsack, sack'. The meanings could all derive from a basic 'hide'.