

ARYA IV¹

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1. *gaš-*
2. *mand-*
3. *mar-*
4. *tap-*
5. Suppleta

1. *gaš-*

Older Khotanese Saka has the word *jsei'na-*, *jseiṇa-*, *jsāna-*, superlative *jsei'ndama-*, later Khotanese *jseiṇa-*, *jsaiṇa-*, *jsena-*, *jsemṇa-*, *jsimṇa-*, *jsina-* 'small', of size rendering Sansk. *sūkṣma-*, Tib. *cha phra-ba* 'fine' and *zib-tu*²; of weakness or ignorance, rendering Sansk. *bāla-*³; of time 'short' in the dyadic phrase *thyaṇ jsa jsemṇa*⁴ compared with *thyaṇ jsa ma-dārā* 'at once, not long'. Tumshuq has *tsāṇakai*.

Selected passages are the following :

Kha ix, 13a, 1 v 6 *jseiṇa gurvīca* 'small grains'; Kha ix, 13a, 1 v 5 *kho jsei'ndama ggurvīca* 'like the smallest grains'; E 21.47 *phāni jsei'ni* 'fine dust'; *Siddhasāra* 132 v 4, *KT*, I, 66 *jseṇā kutāñā*, Tib. *zib-tu brduṅs-pa-ste* 'is to be ground small'. The word is duplicated in N 74.46 <*jse*>*n*<*u*> *jseṇvī nītcaste* 'he broke it into small pieces'; P 2893.177, *KT*, III, 89 *jseṇā jseṇā gvāsau'ñā* 'is to be divided into small pieces'.

With the postpositions *vāte* and *vīrā* occur E *jsei'nu vāte*, *jsānu vīri*, *jsei'nu vīrā*, and later P 3513.69 r 2 (*Suvarṇabhāsa*) *jsinā vī* and P 2790.74, *KT*, II, 113 *biśā jsimṇi vī haṣḍi hajsīmām* 'we all promptly will send a report'.

With the later suffix *-aka-* (which retains *-k-*) *Jātaka-stava* has 24 r 3 *jsiṇakye chale* 'thin skin'.

In *Siddhasāra* 121 v 2 *jsimṇā brihā* renders Sansk. *kukṣi-*, Tib. *mkhal-sked*, that is the 'belly' named as the 'smaller wide part' in contrast with *brha-*, *briha-*, *braha-* 'wide part' which serves to render 'back, *prṣṭha-*'. It may be traced to the base *fraθ-* 'be wide' as in Avestan *fraθah-* 'width', Old Ind. *prath-*. In the *Jātaka-stava* 12 v 2 *brahye-t-ī jseṇā* means 'into his belly'.

The range of meaning from 'small' in any context to 'fine' and 'short' is similar in the case of other IE words, as NPers. *kōtāh*, Zor. Pahl. *kōtak* 'small, little, short, mean', Greek *βραχύς* 'small, short, insignificant', Latin *brevis* 'small, short, narrow, low, shallow'.⁵

For the history of the word, comparison with the *-ei'*- before nasal of Khot. *teci'man-* 'eye' (later *teim*, *tceṃ*, *tce*) from **čašman-* (Avestan *čašman-*, OPers. *čšm*, Zor. Pahl., NPers. *čašm*, Bal. *čham*, but Oss. *cāstā*) and Khot. *bei'man-* 'fortune', later *bema*, and *bei'mañā-* 'fortunate' from **baxšman-* (Avestan

¹ For parts I-III see *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 522-45; XXIII, 1, 1960, 13-39; XXIV, 3, 1961, 470-83.

² *Siddhasāra* 4 v 1; 132 v 4.

³ P 5538 b 80, *KT*, III, 124: *bala ajñāna, jsaiṇa satta na baṭṭtai*.

⁴ Or. 11344, 11 b 2, *KT*, II, 37; P 3513.68 r 1, *KT*, I, 246. Like Sansk. *acira-*, Pali *nacira-*.

⁵ The rendering 'leicht, mit Leichtigkeit' in E is based upon the use with time 'in short time', but is inadmissible in other contexts.

baxš-, *baxta-*, Khot. *būṣṣ-*, *būta-*) establishes that *jsei'na-* is from older **jašna-*, or **jaxšna-*.

Iranian *ǰ-* is the palatalization of *g-* and usually both *g-* and *ǰ-* occur in the one base. It is possible to compare the *ǰai-* of Saka Khot. *jsīnā-* 'life', Tumshuq *tsenā-* (*ts-* = *dz*) from **ǰainā-* (or possibly **ǰayanā-*) with the *gai-* of Avestan *gaēθā-* 'household' and *gaya-* 'life' (OInd. *gāya-s*). Similar are Avestan *gam-* and *ǰam-* (OInd. *gam-* only) and in the corresponding unvoiced *k-* and *č-*, Avestan *kar-* and *čar-* 'to make'. It is therefore possible to adduce here a west Iranian *gaš-*.

Zor. Pahlavī has a frequent word 𐭮𐭲𐭩¹ which renders Avestan *mərəzu-*. This Avestan word is now known to mean 'short' corresponding to Khot. *mulysga-*, later *mu'ysga-*, *muysga-*, Sogd. *mwrzk-*.² The meaning long eluded translators.³

The dots above the first letter assure initial *g-*, at least in the intention of the scribe. The second letter seems certainly to be *š*, although the difference between *š* and *yh* is evanescent in the manuscripts. The third letter may be *n* or *w*. If the Khot. *jsei'na-* 'small' belongs with the Pahlavī word there will be some presumption in favour of the same suffix *-na-*, although the suffix *-wk* (*-uk*, *-ūk*, *-ōk*) is also well known elsewhere.

Adopting now the reading **gašnak*, the meaning allows as does *jsei'na-* various senses of 'small'.

In *DkM* 116.7 *gšnk CB<W>* **gašnak* (*h*)*ēr* is 'small treasure', that is, small in amount. *DkM* 793.1 has *apar gašnak-mēnišnīh ī avē kē drāyān xvarēt ut xvāret* 'on the small-mindedness (folly) of him who eats and drinks while talking'. *DkM* 293.10 on the wide and limited views of rulers has *pat gašnak-mēnišnīhā panīh [w] xvatāyīh vitakēnēnd* 'they make flow away the sovereignty by small-minded niggardliness'.⁴ This contrasts with the statement, line 7, *pat vazurk-nikīrišnīhā rāīh . . . anōšakēnēnd* 'by wide-minded liberality they perpetuate sovereignty'. Of time we have *DkM* 804.17 *zamānak ī nēvakīhy gašnak bāt ut ān ī anākīh drāz hast* 'the time of good fortune was⁵ short and that of ill is long'. In *DkM* 627.15 *gašnak-dānākīh* 'small knowledge' contrasts with 14 *dēr zamān dānākīh* 'long continued knowledge'. Of life we find *DkM* 100.20 *pat vēš-zīvišnīh* 'abundant life' beside 14 *gašnak-zīvišnīh* 'short life'. This *gašnak-zīvišnīh* renders Avestan *mərəzu.ǰiti-* and *mərəzu.ǰva-*. Of stature occurs *DkM* 808.4 *tan ī sēzōmand kē-t man gašnak kart* 'perishable body

¹ K 20, 170 v 20; elsewhere without the two dots.

² An isolated cognate is preserved in OInd. *muhur* and *muhūrtam*.

³ J. Darmester, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 268, gave *áhók* 'sin'; Jamasp, *Vendidad*, has *ahák* 'defective, sinful' (without reference to dots); E. W. West, SBE, v, 352, 'hungry' as if NPers. *gursnah*, SBE, xxxvii, 208, *gasúk* 'dwarfish, short'; M. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 2nd ed., 386, *gushno-zahishnán* 'polluters' with *gušn* 'male', whence Bartholomae, s.v. *mərəzu*, wrongly rescripted *d n dan k*, adding the *n* for Haug's *u* (a vowel unrepresented in the script) as if it were for *vāv*. In the *AIW* the word is left unread. Sanjana, *Dēnkart*, ix, cap. 18, p. 45, has *gushnaq* 'dwarfish, short'.

⁴ In *wtk-* **vitak* one may see the cognate of the Armenian loan-word *vtak* 'stream'. Or is it *vatakēnēnd* 'vitiating'?

⁵ Or read *bavēt* 'is'.

which I made short for you' in contrast to 22 *tan ī sēžōmand kē-t man buland kart* 'perishable body which I made tall for you'. Here *gašnak* is set opposite to *buland*.

Khotanese has the two expressions of long and short life in the compounds Ch. c. 001, 925, *KBT*, 138 *bu'ysa-jšīnī* 'long-lived', Or. 9609, 5 v 5, *KT*, I, 234 *dāra-jšīnyauñu* 'long life', Or. 11252, 1.16, *KT*, III, 15 *muysga-jšīnī*, plural *muysga-jšīñya*. Note also E 15.12 *aysmūna mulysga*.

Further support for the reading *gašn-* of *gašnak* can be found in a word *gašnīč* (with *-īč* as in Zor. Pahl. *dahlīč*, Armen. loan-word *dahlīč* 'hall',¹ or with *-ēč* if the ending is that in Armen. loan-word *Manēč*, spelled in Greek *Movaióης*). This word *gašnīč* is NPers. *gašnīz*, in Mašhadī dialect *yešnīz* 'coriander'.² In the Greater *Bundahišn* TD2 (DH is missing) we have *kšnyč*, but the *k-* is marked with the two dots of *g-*. TD in Anklesaria's edition of the *Bundahišn* is given as having initial *k-*, without reference to dots. The Indian *Bundahišn* has *gvsnyč*, that is, either **gošnīč* or **gušnīč* with modification of *-a-* in the direction of *-o-* or *-u-* after *g-*; somewhat as the Avestan *varāza-* 'boar' is represented in NPersian by *gurāz*, a change already found in a proper name on the inscription of Šāhpuhr I where the Parthian text 25 has *wr'z*, the Persian *wr'č*, and the Greek *gouraz*. The Chinese 胡菜 *hu-swi* < *γuo-swi* K 91, 1012 (Tibetan loan-word *ho-su*) will represent Iranian **gošnīz*.³

The *Frahang ī Pahlavīk* has *gšnyč* with two dots over the *g-*, Pāzand *gašnīz*; and Iškāšmī has *gašnīz*.⁴ Other words for coriander are Armen. *gīndz*, gen. sing. *gīndzoy* (whence Georgian *k'īndz-i*) and Baloči *gainīch* for **gēnīč* and *kīnīch* for **kēnīč*,⁵ and NPers. *yarmič*.

This association of *gašnak* and *gašnīč* assumes that *gašnīč* is named as the plant with small seeds, that is, small, thin, or flat.

From Hebrew it is known (Numbers xi, 7) that the *mān* 'manna' resembled the *zr'-gd* 'seed of coriander' and that the *mān* was *daq* 'small, thin, fine' (Exod. xvi, 14) which was rendered by *λεπτόν* in the LXX. The same connexion of 'small' with 'coriander' can be seen in the Greek *κόριον* 'coriander' cognate with the word *κόρις* 'bug', and, with other vowels *ἀκαρί* 'mite (insect)', *ἀκαρίς* 'small, short'. Both coriander seed and bug may be named from thinness or flatness rather than from the supposed unpleasant smell as suggested in H. Frisk, *GEW*, 922 'wegen des Geruches', since for the eaters of coriander seed the smell is not unpleasant. (It recalls to me how a smoker of opium called the smell of opium *būy i bihišti* 'heavenly perfume'.)

¹ K 20, 53 r 4 *d'hlyč* with capped *d* and dashed *l*.

² I have the Mašhadī (with initial fricative) from M. Muhaqqiq, who knew no pronunciation with initial *k-*. For *k-* beside the dictionaries, NPers. *kišnīz*, *kišnīč*, we have also Kurdish *kišnīš* and Russian loan-word *kišnec*.

³ E. Pulleyblank, *Asia Major*, NS, IX, 1, 1962, 132.

⁴ T. N. Pakhalina, *Iškašimskij jazyk*, 200.

⁵ P. de Lagarde, *Gesam. Abhandlungen*, 57; E. W. Marsden, *Grammar and vocabulary of the Mekranee Beloochee dialect*, 1877, 57; *Mr. Mayer's English-Biluchi dictionary*; G. W. Gilbertson, *English-Balochi colloquial dictionary*, 148 (quoting from north Baloči *dhaniyá* from Indo-Aryan).

Further that the coriander plant was named from the seed can be seen in the Sanskrit name *dhānyam*, *dhānyā*, *dhānyākam*, *dhānyabijam* from *dhānā*- 'grain'.

A problem not yet solved now arises. In NPersian there is a word *gašn*, *gašan* 'much' in *gašan-šāx* 'having many branches' and *diraxt i gašan* 'large tree'. The word may not be connected with *gašnak* 'small'. If, however, it is connected, it might be claimed that an initial negative *a*- has been lost as in NPers. *nāb* 'pure', Avestan *anāpa*- or NPers. *burnā* 'boy', Avestan *apərənāyu*-. Possibly as an alternative the base *gaš*- may have meant 'extent' in a neutral sense whence came 'extensive, much' and 'only so extensive, small'.

The base *gaš*- or *gaxš*- has so far been considered only within Iranian. It would correspond to an Indo-Aryan *gaks*-. On the evidence of *Šinā gaç* 'branch', *gaçhi* 'tree' an Indo-Aryan **gakša*- has already been constructed.¹ In Pali (*Jātaka* v 37) *khuddaka-gaccha-vana*- is a 'small wood of *gaccha*-' or a 'wood of small *gaccha*-' and *gaccha-gumba*- means 'underwood'. This Pali *gaccha*- is translated by 'shrub, bush'. Later Sanskrit of the lexica *gaccha*- and Hindi, Bengālī, and Nepālī *gāch* is rendered by 'tree'.²

The relatively smaller size of the plant indicated by *gaccha*- and *gaç* seems appropriately to associate it with west Iran. *gašnak* and Khot. *jsei*'na-. For an epithet used to serve for 'bush' or 'tree', may be cited Zor. Pahl. *draxt*, NPers. *diraxt* 'tree' deriving from the participle *draxta*- 'held firmly'. For nouns from a word meaning 'small' one can compare Bengālī *khud* 'broken rice', and Sansk. *kṣudrā*- 'small' and 'bee, fly, gnat' as 'small' living things. Bud. Sanskrit has *kṛmī-kṣudra*- rendered in Khotanese by *pāra u hajse*.³ Similarly Sansk. *kanīnī*, *kanīnikā* from *kan*- 'small' are used as nouns for 'little finger'.

2. *mand*-

Alios Dionusios stated that *μανδύας* 'mantle' was a Persian word: *Ἄλιος δὲ Διονύσιος λέγει ὅτι περσικὸν ὄνομα καὶ ὁ μανδύας*.⁴ Variant forms are *μανδύα*, *μανδύης*, *μανδύη*.

Earlier in a fragment of Aiskhulos, 364, the word is applied to a cloak of Liburnia (Illyria): *Λιβυρρικῆς μίμημα μανδύης χιτῶν*. It has been claimed that the *mandua* was the sleeved cloak with clasps.⁵

The newly recovered Iranian of the Saka of Khotan has revealed a word likely to be related, formed by suffix *-u*- from *mand*-. It occurs in a passage of a *desanā* 'confession text'.⁶ Here we read:

¹ R. L. Turner, *Nepali dictionary*, s.v. *gāch*.

² No etymology is adopted in Mayrhofer, *Concise etym. Sanskrit dictionary*.

³ *Svarṇabhāsa*, ed. J. Nobel, p. 60; Khot. Or. 9609, 24 v 4, *KT*, I, 235.

⁴ *Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae atticistarum fragmenta*, ed. E. Schwabe, 1890, p. 191, where sources are quoted.

⁵ A. Alföldi in G. Widengren, 'Some remarks on riding-costume and articles of dress among Iranian peoples in antiquity', *Actica: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia*, XI, 1956, 248.

⁶ P 3513.79 r 2, *KBT*, 63. A translation of the whole *desanā* will be printed in the volume dedicated to W. Norman Brown.

padmāyasanā sīhāyasnā kūrāra śairika
ysarattaśām maṇḍūlyām kamacām pviṣṭā

that is, ' (I present) lotus seats, lion seats, excellent canopies covered with gold-threaded coverlets, *kamaca*-cloths '.

This text, as usual in Middle Iranian, requires some notes. The word *ysara-* ' golden-coloured ' is found also in *ysara-gūna-* rendering Sansk. *svarna-varṇa-*¹ and in *ysarra-gūnā bāysu* ' golden-coloured arms ' where the Tibetan has *gser-gyi kha-dog-can*. The phrase is also in Tocharian A 91 a 3 *wsā-yokās pokenyo*. The word *-ttaśa-* may represent older **tas-ya-* or **das-ya-*. Medial *-tt-*, though not often, replaces *-d-*, as clearly to be seen in the loan-word P 2383.76, *KT*, III, 76, *kattalā bahyā* ' plantain tree ', Sansk. *kadaḥī*. If the word is here *dasa-*, it can be recognized in NPers. *dasah* ' thread remaining in the loom ', Yidya *loso*, *lāsa* ' rope of goat's hair ', *sam-lasiko* ' neck-rope ', Dardic Šumāšti *dasə* ' thread ', Sansk. *daśā-* ' fringe '.²

We have then to see in *ysarattaśa-* from **zara-das-ya-* (with the *-ya-* of possessive compounds) the equivalent of the loan-word Sanskrit (E 14.137) *svarna-sūttāra*, P 3513.78 v 2 *svarna-sūttarrū pe'sārā* ' brocade and crowns '. The word *kamaca-* may be taken as a variant of *kaimeja-*, *keṃmaja-* for which we have elucidatory evidence. In the jātaka tale of Nanda³ occurs: *mīrāhi ū keṃmajām āstana pharāka vāsta avamāga* ' pearls and many innumerable clothes, *keṃmaja-* and the rest '. The *kaimeja-* are mentioned in the list of donations to two ācāryas, Ratanavaraikṣā āśī' and Prrakaittu.⁴ They are yellow, red, and blue in colour. The word *pviṣṭa-* ' covered ' is well attested with present *pviṣṭ-* and noun *pviṣṭaka-* ' covering '.⁵

In **maṇḍula-* found only here in the inst. plural *maṇḍūlyām* (where the gen. plural and inst. plural are fused) we can isolate a base *mand-* ' to cover ' whence the noun is formed by *-u-* suffix *maṇḍu-* (as we have Old Pers. *mandua* above) and the common *-la-* suffix, as in *bagala-* ' vessel ' (beside Armenian loan-word *bažak* with the *-ž-*). In Later Khotanese *u* and *ū* are interchanged: either can represent earlier *u* or *ū*. The addition of *-la-* to an *-u-* suffix can be seen in Khot. *bāstulai* for Sansk. *vāstu*, *vāstūka-* ' the plant chenopodium album L. '.⁶

A note is needed also on Khot. *-nd-* and *-ṇḍ-*, which seem not to have differed in sound. The *hvand-* ' man ' of older Khotanese corresponds to Later Khot. *hvamḍ-*, but also *hvand-* and *hvamḍ-*. The loan-word Later Khot. *īranda-* is from Sansk. *eranda-*, through a Prakrit. The variation of *-nd-* and *-ṇḍ-* is known frequently elsewhere. Pašto has both. Old Iranian *-nd-* is normally Pašto *-nd-* as in *wandanai* ' rope ', but it has also *γūṇḍ* ' round ', corresponding to Avestan *gunda-*; both *lawand* and *luwand* ' adventurer ', as also *sarbande*,

¹ P 3513.68 v 2 (*Suvarṇabhāsa*), *KT*, I, 246, Sanskrit, ed. J. Nobel, 3.60.

² G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 224. E 2.39 *daso*; Av. dh. 21 v 5 *dasa*.

³ P 2834.8, *KBT*, 45.

⁴ Ch. cvi. 001, 20, 23, 26, *KT*, II, 60.

⁵ *A locust's leg: studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, 35.

⁶ *Siddhasāra* 17 v 4, *KT*, I, 28; *Jivaka-pustaka* 80 v 5; 104 v 1.

sarbāṇḍe 'plough rope' are quoted.¹ Waxī has both *māṇd-* and *māṇḍ-* 'to rub'.² Similarly Aškun Nūristānī has both *-nd-* and *-ṇḍ-* in *mōnda*, *mūnda*, *moṇḍa* 'clothes' beside the verb *mūṇḍ-*, *mōṇ-* 'to dress' and causative *mūṇḍawā-*.³ Aškun *mandā* 'neck', Pašai *manda*, Romani *mend*, compares with Parāčī *maṇḍō*. Parāčī has *pendī kanem* 'I squeeze', Sansk. *piṇḍī-kar-*, connected with Armenian *pind* 'compact'. In older Indo-Aryan we find Sansk. *bhīṇḍipāla-* 'missile', Bud. Sansk. *bhīṇḍipāla-* (whence Tocharian A *bhīṇḍipālyi* plural), Sansk. lex. *bhīṇḍimāla-*, ArdhaMāg. *bhīṇḍimāla-*, *bhīṇḍivāla-*, Pali *bhīṇḍivāla-*. Nepali manuscripts confuse *-nd-* and *-ṇḍ-*, hence in the Nepali manuscript of the *Siddhasāra* 9 r 4 we have *manda-* for the more normal *maṇḍa-* 72 r 3. If the history of a word is not known the Indo-Aryan evidence cannot decide the original form. Fission of one sound into two took place early in Indo-Aryan beginning in the Vedic stage as in RV *nadā-* 'reed', AV *naḍā-*, where Balōčī has the unchanged *nada-* in *nadaḡ* 'the plant cymbopogon *iwarancusa*'⁴ while both Avestan *nada-* and Hittite *nata-* have already changed the word. The cause of the fission may be beyond recovery but possibly contact with another people is suggested by the still more radical fission in Ossetic which knows three replacements of Old Iran. *k-*: by aspirate *k'*-, by ejective *k'*-, and by fricative *x-*.

With a verb Old Pers. *mand-*, Khot. *maṇḍ-* as a source of words for 'clothing' in general or for 'clothes', can be compared many similar cases. Thus Zor. Pahlavī has *apar-nihumb* 'covering' from *nihuftan* 'cover, hide' to render Avestan *aiwi.varəna-*. The *uzvārišn* *LWBŠYA* 'dress' is used for Zor. Pahl. *varr*, Armenian loan-word *var* 'royal mantle', Avestan *varəṇā-*.⁵ From the base *gaud-* 'cover' come Khot. *haṃgūn-*: *haṃgūsta-* 'cover'; *uysgun-*: *uysgusta-* 'uncover', Balōčī *gud* 'clothing', Sogd. *nywḍn*, *nywst-*, *γwḍḍ*, *γwst-*, *γwḍn*, *βγwḍ*, Parth. *'bgwnd-*, *ngwst*, Oss. *āγūndyn*.⁶ The base *kat-* 'cover' has supplied Zor. Pahl. *č'twl*, **čātūr* or **čātar* 'covering', Khovar loan-word *čātīr*,⁷ NPers. *čādar* 'covering', Turkish, from Sogdian, *čātīr*. Similarly Mongol *nemüre-* 'to cover' provides *nemürge* 'felt cloak'.⁸

If a variation in enlargement *d/t* is assumed⁹ the Old Persian *mand-* in *μανδία* must now be connected with Latin *mant-* in *mantu-s* 'short mantle', *mantuātus* 'cloaked', *mantica* 'wallet', *mantellum* 'covering'.¹⁰

¹ G. Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 26.

² *IIFL*, II, 529.

³ G. Morgenstierne, *NTS*, II, 1929, 266.

⁴ *Acta Orientalia*, xx, 3-4, 1948, 289; *NTS*, v, 1932, 48.

⁵ *Gr. Bd.* 63.14, 136.7; Hübschmann, *AG*, 243; C. Bartholomae, *Zendhandschriften*, *53.

⁶ In Oss. Dig. *fālundun* 'dress' seems more suitably traced to a base *-aud-*, unenlarged in Avestan *aotra-* 'shoe, Pahl. *mōk'*, since *-γ-* would be expected to survive from *gaud-* (against 'Asica', *TPS*, 1945, 3).

⁷ *Yavišt ī friyān* 3.56 *ut čātar apar sar nihuft* 'and she placed a covering upon her head'. For Khovar, *BSOS*, VIII, 2-3, 1936, 660.

⁸ N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik d. altaischen Sprachen*, I, 37-8.

⁹ Similar *d/t* variation is claimed for IE *(s)ker-* and *(s)ter-*, see Pokorny, *IEW*, 938, 1023, and in Lit. *splend-*, *plind-* beside *plent-*, E. Fraenkel, *LitEW*, 616, 624, 617.

¹⁰ Walde, *LatEW*: Celtic in origin.

Aṣkun *mond-*, *mund-* in *mōnda*, *munda* ‘clothing’ beside *mōṇḍa* is from *mand-* beside *maṇḍ-*.¹

In Indo-Aryan Bud. Sansk. *maṇḍa-* occurs in *maṇḍa-pūla-* ‘shoes with upper parts’ (variant with *muṇḍa-*). The word *maṇḍa-* is found in the Vedic compound *nau-maṇḍa-*. Here in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* it is explained by *bhitti-* ‘matting made of reeds’. It is used to form a ‘covering’ on the boat possibly as a shelter for the crew. It can be grasped by one coming to the boat.² There is a variant *nau-maṇḍapa-* which at least indicates that a ‘covering’ was thought of. In an analogy of the *agnihotra-* as a boat conveying to heaven the two fires *āhavanīya-* and *gārhapatya-* are likened to two *nau-maṇḍa-*.³ The *kṣīrahotar-* is the *nāvāja-* ‘navigator’. If the *nau-manthena* of the *Vādhūla-sūtra*⁴ is to be read **nau-maṇḍena*, suggested by the commentary *maṇḍ(ā)ayate alamkriyate*, being used of a vessel to convey water, it may be a vessel of woven reeds, possibly in boat shape.

In Buddhist texts the *bodhi-maṇḍa-* is the *maṇḍa-* where *bodhi-* was attained. It could well be the ‘covered place’ under the *bodhi* tree, whence it is called a ‘platform, terrace’ in Chinese, the Japanese *bodai-dōjō*, or a *ts’ang* ‘treasury’ as an enclosed space in the *Mahāvīyutpatti* 4114. This seems preferable to the Pali gloss by *sāra-* for *maṇḍa-* derived from the sense ‘top, best’, as also in the Tibetan *sñin-po* ‘heart’. In the *Sumukha-sutra* 853 we find *baudhimandā caityā vīra* ‘upon the bodhimandā caitya’ corresponding to Tib. *byañ-chub sñin-pohi mchod-rten chen-po-na*.⁵ N 66.34 has *āysana-*, Turk. *orun* (*Uig.* II, 36), both ‘seat’.

The Indo-Aryan word *maṇḍa-* was employed to refer to a different ‘covering’, that gathered on the surface of liquids. It is ‘scum, top of an oily liquid or of rice, cream’. Suśruta’s medical text has *ghṛta-maṇḍa-* and *sarpir-maṇḍa-*, the *Mahābhārata dadhi-maṇḍa-*; also *dadhija-maṇḍa-* occurs. The word *maṇḍa-* is explained in the *Amarakoṣa* 2.9.54 as *dadhi-bhavaṃ mastu*. In the *Siddhasāra* 20 v 4 Khot. *amāstq ñye* renders Tib. *zo ma-laṅs-pa* from Sansk. *maṇḍa-jātaṃ mastu* (*maṇḍa-* for *maṇḍa-*). Generalized we have *Siddhasāra* 123 r 1 *ysaujsā mauna* for Tib. *chañ zim-po* ‘flavoured intoxicant’ from Sansk. *surā-maṇḍa-*. The *Avadāna-śataka* has the cliché (p. 15) *kṣīreṇa dadhinā navanītena sarpiṣā sarpi-maṇḍena*.⁶ In the *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* 4.16 we find *ghṛtāt paraṃ maṇḍam iva atisūkṣmam*. The same concept of surface covering is in Tibetan in *zo* ‘thick milk’ (used for Sansk. *dadhi*), *zo-sri* ‘cream’, and *ho-sri* ‘cream of milk’ where *sri* is a component form from *sris-ma*, *spri-ma*, *spri-ma* ‘fatty substances on the surface of fluids’. The Germanic Old High

¹ In *NTS*, II, 1929, 266 associated with Sansk. *maṇḍ-* ‘to adorn’.

² W. Caland, *Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, 18.46; H. Oertel, *Jaiminīyabrāhmaṇa* in *JAOS*, XXVII, 1907, 82. The phrase is *nau-maṇḍa upaśiṣeṣa* (variant *upaśiṣye*).

³ *ŚB kāṇḍa* 2, *adhyāya* 3, *brāhmaṇa* 3, 15.

⁴ W. Caland, *Acta Orientalia*, IV, 1926, 170.

⁵ *KBT*, 135.

⁶ In India, as F. R. Allchin informs me, butter is made from the whole milk.

German *scūm* 'foam, Schaum', OEngl. *scūm* is in the same way likely to be derived from IE *skew-* 'to cover'.

A problem arises now in regard to Indo-Aryan *maṇḍapa-* in later Sanskrit and Pali for a 'temporary structure, awning, tent'. It is therefore some 'covering'. Owing to dialect development intervocalic *-p-* and *-v-* may appear in the one word. Thus Pali has both *sipātīkā-* and *sivātīkā-* 'receptacle'. Sanskrit has *rājapaṭṭa-*, *rājapaṭya-*, and *rājāvarta-* 'lapis lazuli'.¹ Bud. Sansk. *kaḍepara-*, *kaḍevara-* corresponds to *kalevara-* 'body'.² Bud. Sansk. *jaḍuvāra-*, *jaḍupāra-*, *jaḍuvāra-* 'zedoary' are loan-words from Iranian but the oldest form is not yet certain.³ Sansk. *nepathya-*, *naipathya-* 'tiring-room' has been traced to Mid. Indo-Aryan *nivasta-* attested in Bud. Sanskrit,⁴ with secondary *-p-*.

In Khotanese the Sanskrit word *paramāṇu-* has through Prakrit taken the base form *paramāṇava-* in Old Khotanese (in E) and later; similarly we have from Sansk. *dhātu-* 'basis' Khot. *dhāttava* acc. plur., *dhāttavām* gen. plur.,⁵ that is a base form *dhātava-*. With *-i-* we find from Sansk. *ṛṣi-* 'sage' Khot. *riṣaya-* (Kuci *riṣāke*). The Bud. Sansk. *brahmāṇa-* from older *brahmān-* with similar thematic *-a-* differs with the long *-ā-*. Such forms indicate a development within Middle Indian.

If now from **mandu-*, with the *-u-* as in Old Pers. *mandua* and Lat. *mantu-s* we assume **mandava-* the Sansk. *maṇḍapa-* may have replaced *-v-* by *-p-*. The Jaina inscriptional Sansk. *maṇḍavikā* 'small pavilion'⁶ may show either the earlier *-v-* or a later replacement of *-p-*. Alternatively should finally the *-p-* be older than *-v-* the word would contain a suffix *-apa-*.

Sansk. *maṇḍayati*, Pali *maṇḍeti* 'to adorn' with participle *maṇḍita-*, may be associated with Iranian Old Pers. *mand-* 'to cover' in *μανδία* and Khot. *maṇḍ-* in *maṇḍūla-* if it is assumed that the sense 'adorn' was reached through 'cover'. The *Dhātupāṭha* indeed has *maṇḍate* 'to invest' in a variant (ed. O. Böhtlingk, I, 290-1) *vaḍi vibhājane veṣṭane maḍi ca*. It is not sufficient without support.⁷

Since 'adorn' might equally derive through 'polish' from 'rub' it is necessary to notice the words of that meaning.

From *maṇḍ-* 'crush' older Avestan has *marədatē* and *mōrəndat*, Indo-Aryan has *maṇḍati* and *mṛḍnāti*. From this came Pali *maddati*, Prak. *maddai*, *maddai*; in New Indo-Aryan Palola *māṇḍ-*, Hindi *māṇ-* have arisen by nasalization from *madd-*.

Khotanese has one case⁸ of *pasamaṇḍāṇa-* 'to be rubbed' rendering Tib. *mñe-ba* 'rub'. Here we may have **sam-maṇḍ-* with Iranian *pa-* (or possibly

¹ *JRAS*, 1955, 21.

² *JRAS*, 1955, 16.

³ *JRAS*, 1955, 71.

⁴ H. Lüders, *ZDMG*, xcvi, 2, 1941, 260 ff.; F. Edgerton, *Bud. Hyb. Sansk. dict.*, s.v. *nivasta-*.

⁵ *Siddhasāra* 5 r 4; 4 r 4.

⁶ H. Lüders and K. L. Janert, *Mathurā inscriptions*, p. 53, 89 c 2.

⁷ M. Mayrhofer, *Concise etym. Sansk. dict.*, s.v. *maṇḍayati* leaves all connexions uncertain.

⁸ *Siddhasāra*, 103 v 4.

a Prakrit *pa-* from *pra-*). In this *maṇḍ-* one could see an early replacement in Prakrit of *maḍḍ-*, as Khotanese has *jaṃph-* 'to state' from **japph-*, older *jalp-*.

In Yidya we have, however, to start from **marnd-* to explain pres. *mag^y-*, *mag^yim* 'I rub', pret. *mag^yīm*. That is, **marnd-*, **maṇḍ-*, **mang^y-*, *mag^y-* to be compared to **arnati* 'he grinds' yielding **aṇ(a)t*, **ank^y-*, **ak^y-* and thus to the attested *yeik^y* 'he grinds' beside *yānem* 'I grind'. Here there is no possibility of Indo-Aryan origin for the retroflex *ṇ* in *yānem* since the base *ar-* is lost in India.

Yazgulāmī *marn-* 'twist, rub' may have preserved a less developed form. In Waxī *māṇḍ-* and *māṇḍ-* 'rub', Sanglēčī *māṇḍ-* and Sarikolī *māṇḍ-* in *warmāṇḍao* 'to rub' one might also conjecture older **marnd-*.¹

Pašto *kšē-maṇḍəl* 'to shampoo' has been traced to **manθnā-* and compared with Avestan *vīmanāt* and *amašta* from *manθ-* 'to stir'.² This *manθ-* is well known in Iranian as in Older Khotanese *mamthate* 'he stirs', later *vīmath-* 'to rub apart'³ and *patāmamtha-*, *pamamtha-* 'arrow', Sansk. *śalya*. Yidya has *lāmōn-* 'rub', Šuynī *demān-*,⁴ Oss. Dig. *āzmāntun* 'to mix', Parāčī *menth-* 'rub'. Sarikolī *māθ* 'stick' may belong here. Sogd. *mnd-* (*Dhuta* 25).

It is obvious that contamination between Iranian and Indo-Aryan may have occurred as soon as (at an uncertain date) the nasalized Indo-Aryan **māṇḍ-* (or *maṇḍ-*?) developed. It would, however, seem unnecessary to postulate borrowing into Iranian where an inner-Iranian explanation is possible.

A compound *maṇḍa-cara-vat* explained as *lāngala-pāša-vat* still awaits explanation.⁵

3. *mar-*

The Veinax⁶ languages contain Iranian loan-words which show direct contact with modern Ossetic or at least its ancestral Alan.⁷ Thus Inguš *bāri*, *beri* 'horseman' is equivalent to Oss. *bāräg* from older **bāraka-* from *bar-* 'to ride' (a verb found also in Avestan, Sogdian, and Khotanese).

From an older Iranian word not now attested in Ossetic can be derived a Veinax word Čečen *majra* (*j = ʔ*) 'male, brave'. From eastern Daghestan we have Darga *marga* 'male'. The word *majra* is abundantly attested. The following will suffice to illustrate the dialect forms :

Čečen *majra*, *majranig*, *majrinig* (*-nig* adj. suffix) 'brave', *majra k'ant* 'brave youth', *majralla* 'bravery'; *majr*, *māri*, *mār* 'male'.

¹ G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 226, 529.

² G. Morgenstierne, *EVP*, s.v.

³ E 2.16; P 2893.38; *Siddhasāra* 100 v 2.

⁴ *IIFL*, II, 78, 223.

⁵ W. Caland, *Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* 6.5, vol. I, p. 161. Here a mechanical rendering from the commentary by 'Pflugstrick' is offered.

⁶ Čečen, Inguš, and Batsbi.

⁷ A. Genko, *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov*, v, *Iz prošlogo Ingušej*. On *alæ*, *eli*, *TPS*, 1959, 98.

Inguš *mejra*, *meyra* 'brave', *majræl*, *mejral* 'bravery'; *mar*, plural *moruoŷ*, 'male, husband', obl. *märe*. The phrase *meyra k'antuoy* means 'brave youths'.

Batsbi *marol* 'courage'; *mar* 'male'.

From Daghestan I have so far noticed only the Darga *marga* quoted above, rendering Russian *samec* 'male'. Note that Darga has also *ras* 'saw' which is from Ossetic (or older Alan) *räs* 'file' an Iranian word from *rad-* 'to scrape' with *-s-* suffix **rad-s-a-*.

Remote from the Caucasus but evidence for this word in Iranian is the Finno-Ugrian Čeremis *marij*, *mari* 'human male'.¹

In Veinax we have to see *majra* from **marya-* with epenthesis and retention of *-r-*. The Alan (Ossetic) development gave, from *arya*, *ir*, *al*, and *ar*.²

In western Iranian there are many traces of a word *marya-* sometimes modified in meaning according to social milieus. Zor. Pahl. *mylk *mērak* 'husband' occurs in the phrase *žan ut šūd ut mērak*³ 'wife and husband'. For the husband in legal contexts in the *Mātikān ī hazār dātastān* there are the notes of Bartholomae.⁴ In modern use we have Lurī *mērā*, Baxtiārī *mera*, *mīra* 'husband, man', plural *mēr-gyēl*, *mīr-gyēl*, Zarduštī (Gabrī) *mīra* 'husband'. Khotanese where *marya-* has not been found used *daha-*, *dahaka-* for 'male'.⁵

In a pejorative sense, as we have Khot. *daha-* 'man', *hudaha-* 'mahā-puruṣa', but Parth. *dāhīft* 'slavery',⁶ we find Old Pers. *m r i k marīka-* 'man of lower class' translating Akkad. *LU galla* 'menial', and Khovar *maristan* 'slave', Pašto *mrayai*, Wazirī *maryai*, fem. *mrayai*, Ormuṣī *mrīk*, *mrīg* 'slave'.⁷

The names *Vaḡamareḡa* and *Haṣṭhunā mareḡa* may contain this same *marya-*.⁸

As the religious feelings changed the word *marya-* took on a second pejorative meaning in the books of the Zoroastrians. This is somewhat as in the Veda the splendid much-admired Rudrá-, as the hunter of wild beast, in one type of society almost the only fully lauded male, gave later the vṛddhi adjective *raudrá-* in the sense of 'cruel, savage', a meaning suitable only to a stage of belief imbued with non-violence, *ahiṃsā*.

The Zoroastrians were aware of the two aspects in their concept of *vayu* which is in Zor. Pahlavī shown by the two names *vay ī vēh* and *vay ī vattar*.⁹

In the Avesta the *mairyā-* is uniformly dispraised. Thus we have Yašt 10.2 *mairyō miθrō.druxš* 'agreement-breaking man of violence'; Vid. 5.35 *mairyō droā* 'man of violence, holding to the lie', like the *DkM* 638.6 *marān ī druvan-*

¹ B. Collinder, *Fenno-Ugric vocabulary*, 131. ² *TPS*, 1959, 75, 97; *TPS*, 1960, 87.

³ *Gr. Bd.* 228.10.

⁴ *SR* 16; *zSR* 4.50.2; *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, 6.5.

⁵ *TPS*, 1959, 107 ff.

⁶ *TPS*, 1959, 108.

⁷ G. Morgenstierne, *Felicitation volume presented to S. K. Belvalkar*, 93; *EVP*, 47.

⁸ H. Lüders, *Die šākischen Mūra*, 763; 'Kusanica', *BSOAS*, xiv, 3, 1952, 422 (where it was unsuitably proposed to see in this name *mar* 'word' from older *manθra-*); H. Lüders and K. L. Janert, *Mathurā inscriptions*, p. 171.

⁹ *Mēnōk ī xrat*, ed. Anklesaria, 1.115.

dān; Yasna 9.18 the *mairya-* associated with the (to Zoroastrians evil) *sātar-* ‘ruler’¹ and *kavi-* ‘poet-priest’²; the enemies *Tūrya Framrasyan-* and *Hyaona-Arəjat.aspa-* (Yašt 5.41; 9.30) ‘men of violence’; similar are the mythological serpent (Yasna 9.11) *aži-*, the demoness sloth (Fr. W 10.42 *būšyasta*), and the supremely evil *avrō mainyuš*, the *zatār* ‘destroyer’ (Vid. 22.2). The activity of the *marya-* is described by the verb *āθ-* ‘to terrify, drive off’.³

The other earlier sense of ‘male’ may, however, be traced in its juxtaposition with *ḡahikā-*: Yašt 8.59 *mā . . . mairyō mā ḡahika* ‘let not the (evil) male, let not the (evil) female . . .’.

For the Parsi commentator in New Persian this *mairya-* was more precisely called the *rāh-zan* ‘robber of the roads’, in meaning somewhat too limited. But this interpretation suits the ethos of the heroic age.⁴

Inevitably the Sasanian Pahlavī commentators had to explain Avestan *mairya-*. By using *mar*, plural *marān*, and adj. *marānīk*, they provided no help to interpretation.⁵ Later in the Sanskrit gloss, however, we rightly find *nṛśamsa-* ‘violent, cruel’. The phrase Yasna 10.15 *gundān ī marānīk* is explained by *dastak ī vattarān* ‘group of evil men’. By using *mar* of the Macedonian Alexander as in *DkM* 405.21 *mar ī dušcvarrah alaksandar* ‘the man of violence ill-destined Alexander’ the sense of ‘violent’ enemy is made clear. It is notable too that *vināskār* ‘destroyer’ is the Pahlavī denunciatory word, just as *zatār* is the appropriate epithet for Ahriman.⁶

The two meanings ‘male’ and ‘brave, bold, violent’ are familiar in Vedic *mārya-*, *maryakā-*. For ‘male’ note AV 14.2.37 *mārya iva yōsām ādhi rohaya* with *mārya-* beside *yōsā-*; and RV 5.2.5 *maryakām* ‘male’. The word *mārya-* ‘violent’ is regularly used in a good sense, not yet sicklied over, in the case of Rudrā’s followers, the Marūtas. It may be recalled also that the ethos of the *apsarās-* ‘voluptuous woman’ belongs to the same uninhibited society.⁷

From Nūristān we have Aškun *marāk*, *mrāk* ‘boy’ whence has been made *mārek*, *māraik* ‘girl’, as from Old Ind. *nār-* ‘man’ was made *nārī-* ‘woman’.

¹ If Alan *Sat’īnik*, the name of the princess, is originally a word meaning ‘female ruler’, to be compared with Oss. *Sātānā*, the typical mistress of the Nart family system, the word *sātar-* will have had a favourable meaning in some Iranian groups. See *Annali Ist. Univ. Orient. Napoli, Sez. Ling.*, 1, 2, 1959, 136.

² In the Gathic phrase Yasna 51.12 *vaēpyō kavīnō* we must see the satiric poet who holds *Zaraθuštra* at bay (the *vaēp-* is that preserved in the Armenian loan-word *vēp* ‘narrative’). One is reminded of the tale of king Fedlimid to whom the satiric poet Gulide sought to refuse hospitality, see M. Dillon, *The cycles of the kings*, 33.

³ *TPS*, 1956, 88–90. Sogd. *m’r* (P 2.1152) hardly here.

⁴ The Armenian *meł-* expressing the introspective ethos of repentance, guilt, and sin seems to be completely excluded and to represent one of Bartholomae’s less felicitous etymologies in *AIW*. More satisfactory is Stig Wikander’s *Der arische Männerbund*, who has caught the earlier ethos, although one need not demand closely knit and secret groups or clubs.

⁵ Zor. Pahl. *mar* may be either an inherited west Iranian word or a transcription from the Avestan tradition. Note how *nar* ‘male’ can represent *nara-* or *narya-* in meaning, although the word *nērōk* ‘strength’ is the direct descendant of *narya-*.

⁶ H. Lommel in Yašt 17.12 translated by ‘Unmensch’.

⁷ Not from *psar-* ‘be ashamed’, see *BSOAS*, xxi, 3, 1958, 544.

If now Greek $\mu\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha\zeta$ 'boy, girl' is connected¹ with Old Ind. *márya-* we have an IE base *mer-* originally of the male, and thence transferred to the female.

In one Zor. Pahlavī passage we have the word *zandak* 'violent' to render Avestan *mairya-*. This is in Gr. *Bd.* 153.11–12 where in a passage dealing with Hōm a quotation is presented from the Dēn texts: *gōβēt pat dēn ku zndk pat dast*² *ī ān aγray mart*³ *pat srišvatak ī ēn zamīk uta-š drupuštīh-ē pērāmōn kart ēstēt tāk fraškart kađ andar apāyēt* that is, 'it is stated in the Scripture that the *zandak* <was bound>⁴ by that heroic man in the third part of this earth and around him a fort was built till the Fraškart when (Hōm) will be needed'.

The Gr. *Bd.* text has suffered some damage. TD2 has *zndk* with capped *d*. DH is missing. The Ind. *Bd.* has Pāzand *zanda*. The older manuscript TD reading is hidden behind *zīnda*, which will mean *zyndk* for **zendak* if not an error for *zndk*.⁵ The passage of Dēn has been taken out of its context and ill adjusted in the *Bundahišn*. It proclaims a feat of Hōm and hence has been brought in here.

The relevant passage of Dēn is found in Yasna 11.7, in the third part of the Hōm yašt :

mā θwā haomō bandayāt
yaθa mairīm bandayat
yim tūirīm fraṃrasyānəm
mađəme θrišve aśhā zəmə
pairiš.x^vaxtəm ayənhahe

For this the Pahlavī gloss⁶ offers: *ku mā tō hōm bandāt čēgōn-aš mar bast tūr frasγāk pat miγān srišvatak* <ī> *ēn zamīk kē pērāmōn* <ī> *ān hangan advēnak* <ī> **āsēnēn*.⁷

Thus the *mar* is here the *zandak*. This word then in its two forms *zand* and *zandak* needs a fuller note than has been offered earlier.⁸

It is necessary here to distinguish three different words. An Old Iranian *zand-* appears in the Avestan word *zanda-*. This Avestan *zanda-* occurs in connexion with *yātumant-* 'sorcerer' in three passages :

Yasna 61.3 *hamistayaēča nižbərətayaēča zandəmča yātumataṃča* 'to repulse and to remove the *zanda-* and the *yātumant-* sorcerers' ;

Vid. 18.55 *yaθa zanda yātumənta mərənēnta gaēθā ašahe* 'as *zanda-* (and) *yātumant-* sorcerers would destroy the living ones of Arta (truth) ' ;

Frahang ī oīm 20 *zīnda . yātumənta, zand yātūk*.

¹ Pokorny, *IEW*, 738.

² Pāzand, ed. Antia, p. 4, *pa dast*.

³ That is, Hōm.

⁴ The word *bast* is omitted after *zndk* ; it is found after *mar* in the gloss corresponding in Yasna 11.7 below.

⁵ Anklesaria, *Zand-ākāsih*, p. 196, cap. 24.22, rendered 'is living', as if *zīvandak*, in an attempt to fit the text to the context.

⁶ J. M. Unvālā, *Neryosangh's Sanskrit version of the Hōm yašt*, p. 92 ff.

⁷ 'sym'n is written for 'symyn *asēmēn, in place of 'synyn.

⁸ *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 47.

This association persists in Zor. Pahlavī in the *Mēnōk ī xrat*, ed. Anklesaria, 35.16–17 *ut 13om kē zandīkīh kunēt ut 14om kē yātūkīh kunēt* ‘and 13th he who practises the work of a *zand* and 14th he who does sorcery’. The gloss to Vid. 18.55 has similarly *pat zand yātūkīh*.

These Avestan and Pahlavī passages may well contain a dyadic phrase which would assure a meaning ‘a kind of sorcerer’ for *zanda-*. Such a translation can be confirmed by referring to the word *zand* occurring in NPersian compounds *zand-vāf*, *zand-bāf* ‘nightingale’, which corresponds to or comes from Sogdian *znt- *zand-* ‘to sing’ attested in SCE 179 *zntw’čh ’mry’* ‘singing bird’ (whence Turkish in Kāšyari *sanduuwač*). The Pers. *vāf*, *bāf* is equivalent to Sogdian *w’β-* ‘speak’, Yaṅnābī *vāw-*, cognate with Germanic Goth. *wōpjan* ‘cry, call’, ONorse *ōp* ‘cry, lament’, OSlav. *vab-* ‘call, entice’, that is, IE *uāb-*.¹

The Sogdian noun² occurs *Dīrghanakha-sūtra* 80 *znt* ‘song’, 42 *zntyh*, SCE 122 *znth*, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 77 *ztyh* (alluding to the *δrm’yk w’γš *δarmīk wāxš* ‘voice of the Law’).

By comparing Avestan *zanda-* and Sogd. *zand-*, Pers. *zand-*, the base *zand-* is assured for Old Iranian. The Avestan proves *-nd-* not *-nt-*. The earlier attempt to find a Middle Iranian word in the Avesta can now not be sustained.³

For ‘singing’ as incantation it is easy to point to folklore of many lands. Thus Euripides has *Bakkhai* 234 γόης ἐπωιδὸς Ἀυδίας ἀπὸ χθονός; Latin has *incantare, carmen*; the *řkvant-gaṅá-* ‘singing choir’ of Bṛhaspāti- (RV 4.50.5) whose singing burst (*ruroja*) the rocks⁴; Celtic derivatives of *can-* ‘sing’, Welsh *gorchan* ‘incantation’, Old Irish *to-ind-can-* ‘incantare’⁵; the flute-playing of Ācāmāz and the *xātiāgāu dzorum* ‘speaking in *xātiāg* language’ of Ossetic tales⁶; Lit. *žavėti* ‘to enchant’, Old Ind. *hāvate* ‘call’ and Avestan *zavaiti* ‘call, curse’.

The second word *zandīk* is used of sectaries whom the Zoroastrians condemned and in its Arabic form *zindīq* was a term of religious abuse in the mouths of Muslims. If the Avestan *zanda-*, glossed by Pahlavī *zandīk*, was developed from ‘sorcerer’ to ‘sectary’ this *zanda-* could be at the base. But an Old Iranian *zanti-* ‘knowledge’ would equally give Mid. Iran. *zand* and if *zandīk* meant ‘gnostic’ this would most likely be the source of the name.⁷

The third Pahlavī word *znd*, *zndk* **zand*, **zandak*, Pāzand *zanda*, *zandah*, NPers. *zand*, *zandah* means ‘violent’. The *zandah pīl* ‘the violent elephant’ is explained as the *pīl ī mast* ‘the intoxicated elephant’ and the *fīl ī buzurg*

¹ Pokorny, *IEW*, 1109; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, x, 1, 1939, 104.

² W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, x, 1, 1939, 104, who corrected the reading from *nnt-*.

³ This view was hesitatingly approved in my *Zoroastrian problems*, 171.

⁴ *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 53.

⁵ H. Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik d. keltischen Sprachen*, II, 479.

⁶ *Pamiatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin*, v, 180–1 (Iron); *Iron ūdāmon sfāldistād*, 1961, I, 270 ff. (Digoron). For *xātiāgāu*, *Pam.*, II, 28; *Pam.*, v, 169.

⁷ Texts on the *zandīk* are discussed by H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, I. Earlier see E. W. West, *The Book of the Mainyo-i-khrad*, pp. 222–3. M. Molé, *Oriens*, XIII–XIV, 1961, 1–28.

'large elephant'. If the *uzvārišn* for the Pahl. *zandak-pīl* is rightly explained by the Aramaic ZWKRWTA ¹ 'masculinitas' (Syriac *dkrut*) the word *zandak* might be taken as 'male', but even if correct, it may be only the 'violence' of the male. Zor. Pahlavī has also *zand-pīl*.² Here in Pahlavī the *z-* may represent older *z-* or *ǰ-*.

In Balōčī *zand* in the phrase *zanden naryān* is rendered by 'fat or stout horse'. The word *zand* is given as meaning 'stout' usually of cattle and horses.³ If the *z-* corresponds to an older Iranian *ǰ-* the word will be a loan-word here.

Earlier ⁴ the Armenian loan-word *žant*, *žand* 'violent, wanton' has been cited in such phrases as *žant axt* 'pest' and *žandahot* 'having a bad smell'. The Armenian *ž-* renders a Parthian *ž-*, but it is possible that *ž-* is occasionally secondary. Armenian *nd/nt* are interchangeable and do not decide the older sound.

If now, as previously proposed ⁵ we have in *žand* a base *gand-* with palatalized *ǰand-*, we can add the Balōčī *gandag* 'bad'. Here possibly the *-nd-* is evidence of Old Iran. *-nd-*, since elsewhere as in WBalōčī *ispantān* 'name of a shrub' and Marv Balōčī *spantānān* 'rue seeds', NPers. *sipandān*, as in Bal. *kunt* 'blunt', NPers. *kund*, Sansk. *kuṇṭha-*, the Balōčī has kept older *-nt-*.⁵ Sogdian Bud. *γnt''k* and Chr. *γnt''k* are not decisive between *-nd-* and *-nt-*. Parāčī *geš* ⁶ 'bad' from **gasya-*, and Old Pers. *gasta-* have been joined with Bal. *gandag*.

The base *gand-* used of good or bad smell should be kept distinct. The Avestan *gainti-* from **ganti-* may contain *gan-ti-* or *gant-i-*. If it has *gant-* it would give the variant enlargement *-t-* beside *-d-*. Elsewhere Iranian has Pašto *γandəl* 'be disgusted', Oss. Dig. *iyändun* 'besmear, befoul', Khot. *ganānaa-* 'stinking' (from either *gan-* or *gand-*), NPers. *gand* 'stink', Old Ind. *gandhā-s*, *su-gandhi-*.

Since the *zandak pīl* as the *pīl i mast* shows derangement of mentality or disposition it may be suitable to call attention to WBalōčī *ganōk*, EBalōčī *ganōx*, rendered by Pers. *dīvānah*, 'fool, idiot' made from *gan-* by the suffix of habit *-ōk*.⁷

It was proposed ⁸ earlier to see in Avestan *agēnyā-* a connexion of IE *ghen-* 'be wanton, exuberant' and to see the same in the *žand*, *zandak* 'violent'. Cognates occur also in Old Indian in *ahanyā-*, *ahanā-*, *āhanās-*, and *āghnyā-*.⁹

¹ *Frahang ī Pahlavik*, ed. H. Junker, 2nd ed., p. 24.

² *Draxt asōrik*, § 41, *BSOS*, II, 4, 1923, 658.

³ M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, 44, 188; G. W. Gilbertson, *English-Balochi dictionary*, s.v. stout.

⁴ *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 47.

⁵ A doubt may be felt if Bal. *thanken* 'narrow' is compared since this seems certainly to correspond to NPers. *tang* which may have either *-nk-* or *-ng-*. Khotanese has *ttamga-* 'scarce' and Ossetic *tänäg* 'thin'.

⁶ G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, I, 254.

⁷ W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balūčī*, p. 18, no. 99; G. W. Gilbertson, *Engl.-Bal. dict.*, s.v. fool.

⁸ *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 44 ff.

⁹ Yāska's hesitant alternative connexion with *ghan-* 'strike' (working with a depleted vocabulary) is preferred in L. Alsdorf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, 1961. The Zoroastrian appreciation of flesh foods is well known in the Pahlavī text *Husrāu ut rētak-ē*, §§ 22, 30, including *varāz* and *gāv*.

4. *tap-*

The one form *tap-* in Iranian has resulted from the coalescence of several different bases. Of *tap* 'to heat, shine', *tap-* 'to twist, weave' (as in Homeric *τάπης*, Zor. Pahl. *tapast*), *tap-* 'to insert' (Rōšānī), *tap-* 'to strike' (Zor. Pahl. *tapāh*, Slav. *tep-*), *tap-* in Parthian *tfr* 'cheese', and with *s-* *stap-* 'to be violent' it may be possible to write later. Here only *tap-* 'to be flat' is treated, with some overlapping with *tap-* 'to heat'.

1. Waxī *tāpik* 'forehead' from *tap-* with the *-ka-* suffix before which from *-a-* we find *-a-*, *-i-*, *-ə-*, *-ü-*. In Waxī intervocalic *-p-* is maintained, thus in *nəpūs* 'grandson', *yupk* 'water', *dərapč* 'broom', *təpār* 'axe', *rešup-* 'to sleep', *rēp* 'body', *repk* 'refuse', *nīpes* 'comb', *šūp* 'night's halt' and the like.¹

For this way of naming the forehead from 'flat surface' reference can be made to IE (*s*ter- 'to extend', familiar in Khot. *tāra-* 'forehead', Sogd. *t'r* 'top', Oss. *tār-* in the tautologic compound D *tār-nix*, I *tār-nyx* (with *nix* from older *naxa-* 'expanse' or *naxva-* 'front'), NPers. *tārak* (Waxī *tārak* 'collar-bone') 'top of head', *tārah* (Waxī *tōr*) 'crown of head', Germanic Old High Germ. *stirna* (from **sternjā-*).² Beside this we have also Oss. D *itārä*, I *tār* 'breast' and Greek *στέρον*.

2. Ossetic DI *t'äpän* adj. 'flat, level, low' and noun 'flat part' as in *ärmy t'äpän* 'palm of the hand', Dig. (*Pamiatniki*, II, 30.3) *ärmi t'äpänäj*.³ The compound, equative, is found in *nä räzi māxän ämt'äpän budurtä* 'before us lie equally flat fields' (Miller's dictionary, I, 131).

This *t'äpän* 'flat' can be traced to an older **tapana-* or **tafana-*. The suffix *-ana-* is familiar also in Oss. DI *fätän* 'broad', Avestan *paθana-*, Sogd. (P 5.32) *pδn-*, NPers. *pahan*.⁴ Older Iranian *t-* is replaced in Ossetic by either aspirate *t'* (which represents also older *θ-* and *-θ-*), and less commonly ejective *t'̥*.⁵ In Oss. I *ät'äng un* 'be extended' and *ät'äng känyn* 'to extend' we have *t'äng* 'extended' from older *tan-* with suffix or from *tang-* (or *θang-*) 'to stretch'. The noun I *t'äng* was used to mean 'intestines'. From the same base *tan-* come also Oss. D *tänä*, I *tän* 'string', Greek *τένων* 'sinew'.

The intervocalic *-p-* of *t'äpän* is aspirate, one of the three replacements of older *p*. Initially older *p-* is normally *f-* (hence coalescent with older *f-*), occasionally aspirate *p'* or ejective *p'̥*. Medially we have usually *-v-* (not *-ü-*), as for *-b-*, but *-f-* replacing *-p-* or *-f-* in DI *äntäf* 'hot, heat', Sogd. *'ntph*, Waxī *andav*; DI *käf* 'fish', Sogd. *kp-*, Khot. *kava-*; D *xäfü*, I *xäf* 'pus', Avestan *kafa-* 'foam', Khot. *khava-*, Yidya *xof*, Waxī *xūf*. In D *robās*, I *rübās*, *rübās* 'fox' both *-b-* and *-v-* occur. Note also D *näffä* 'navel', Avestan *nāfa-*, *nabā-*,

¹ G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 545, 452.

² Pokorny, *IEW*, 1030. Sogdian in P 5.57; *Dhyāna* 214 *γry t'r* 'top of mountain'; *Dhyāna* 48, 383, 387, 402.

³ Cited earlier *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 539. Khot. *ninārra-* 'inner part of hand' in *KT*, IV, 112.

⁴ Other connected words are quoted *TPS*, 1961, 134 ff.

⁵ Provisionally *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1958, 538-9; XXIII, 1, 1960, 27.

Sogd. *n'β*, Khot. gen. sing. *nehā* from **nāha*-. In I *k'ūpp* 'hill' one could see a cognate of Old Pers. *kaufa*-.

In form Oss. DI *qāpān* 'heap, drift' as in *mity qāpān* 'snow-drift' is similar to *t'āpān*. The connexions are not settled. It could represent **gafana*- with Šuγnī *γāfc*, Munjānī *γafs* 'fat', Waxī *γaf* 'much' (but Sogdian has *γrβ* with -r-),¹ or derive from *gaf*- (from *gabh*-) 'deep', as, with *ǰ*-, in Avestan *ǰafra*-.

3. Oss. D *t'āffā* 'blade, leaf, broad point of whip' can be compared with *nāffā* 'navel' and hence come from **tāfa*-, from older **tāpa*- (or **tāfa*-, **tābha*-). Oss. *tāuäg t'āffā* is 'sour leaf' for 'sorrel'. A similar way of naming a leaf is found in Mongol *nab*- in *nabtaji*- (*j = ǰ*) 'be flat' and *nabci* 'leaf'.

4. Oss. I *tābāgk* is 'fallen in, flat', *nyttābāgk kodtoj* 'they made flat, pressed together'. For -*gk* note also *zillāgk* 'a turning', I *gāgk*, D *igākā* 'sign'. Here as in *robās, rūbās* 'fox' -*b*- has resulted. Of similar form is *sābāgk* 'flat, smooth'.² Kasaev's dictionary has *tābākk kānyn* 'sžimat', *spljuščivat*'.

5. A 'flat' surface may explain the name for 'seal' in Sogdian Man. Chr. *t'p*- both verb and noun, as Man. *t'pw t'ph* 'he sealed with a seal'; oblique *t'pw, t'py*, verbal *t'pnt*.³

6. A 'flat' surface explains also the Armenian loan-word *tapak* 'small shield', ἀσπίδισκη in the passage I Makk. iv, 57 *oski psakōk' eu oskuovk' tapakōk'* 'with golden crowns and golden shields', rendering στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς καὶ ἀσπίδισκαῖς.⁴

7. The Armenian participle *tapakeal* occurs only in the one passage (describing a soldier's dress) *ink'n Zauēnn <z>at'ineals eu ztapakeals eu zzapauineals narōtōk' aganēr*. The precise meaning is uncertain. M. Lauer's translation runs: 'prächtige, farbige mit Geweben garnirte Kleider'.⁵

8. Armen. *tap'* (as first component *tap'a*-), *tap'er* adj. and noun, 'level, even, flat', *tap'erakan* 'flat side of a bridge', *tap'arak* 'flat' (*tap'arak tēi* 'plain'), *tap'arakem* 'to flatten', as second component *touaracatap'* 'pasture land' seem by their meaning to belong to Iranian *tap*- 'be flat'. The word *tap'a*-, *tap'er*, and *tap'arak* occur in the OT and NT. If they are Iranian, *tap'* would represent **tafa*-, like the Oss. *t'āpān*.⁶

9. Many Alan words have survived in Caucasian languages, some deriving from more recent Ossetic.⁷ It is therefore relevant to point out in Avar of Daghestan the base *t'ep*- in *t'epize* 'be flat', *t'eparab* 'flattened out', causat. *t'epiz-abize*. I note too in Batsbi *t'ap*, plural *t'apvi* 'ravine', a feature which

¹ NTS, I, 1928, 55; IIFL, II, 212. For DI *q*- from *g*- we have also D *qāzā*, I *qāz* 'reed', Khot. *gaysa*-.

² Pamiatniki, V, 217, Iron *t'āpān sābāgk ānānyv*.

³ W. B. Henning, BSOAS, XI, 3, 1945, 478; id., Sogdica, 61, 62, 64; E. Benveniste, JA, CCXLIII, 3, 1955, 329.

⁴ Hübschmann, AG, 252, unnecessarily doubted the word.

⁵ P'austos Biuzandac'i, ed. 1914, p. 332; M. Lauer, translation, p. 211.

⁶ No solution in Adjarian, Arm. etym. Wurzelwörterbuch.

⁷ Above, p. 77. For Alans in the Caucasus see also V. Minorsky, A history of Sharvān and Darband, 107, with references.

may be named from 'flatness, openness'.¹ The *-e-* may be taken to represent older *-ä-*, which is found occasionally in Ossetic as in *tefseg* below, this page.

10. From *tap-* 'flat' is derived a group of widespread words denoting 'table, tray, plate, dish, jar'.

The Oss. *t'äpänäg* 'vessel' in *susqädäj t'äpänäg* 'a vessel made of lime-wood', and *t'äpän-byñ* 'a copper beer kettle with flat bottom' indicate how this meaning could be used to name a vessel or kettle.

Direct from *tap-* are the following: Sogd. Chr. *rwyny tpy* 'jar of oil' from **tapaka-*²; Georg. *t'ap'ak'-i*, *t'abak'-i* 'a great tray or plate of wood, *didi xonč'a an lank'ani xisa*'³; *šam-t'abak'-i* 'large wooden cup'; *t'abak'oba* 'presentation of bread on trays'; Svanetian *t'abag* 'table'⁴; Syriac *t̄bq-* 'patina, lanx' with Arab. *ṭabaq* 'dish', plurals *aṭbāq*, *ṭibāq*, *aṭbiqah*.

Ossetic has *täbäg* 'plate' and 'drum'.⁵ From Arab-Persian came Turk. *tabaq*.⁶ Pašto *tabāi* 'iron dish for baking cakes' has the *-b-* of a loan-word; *tabara* 'slate, slab of stone' might be a loan-word from a meaning 'flat'.⁷

Of uncertain connexion is Armen. *tapan*, *-ac* 'large box, trough, coffin, tomb', *tapanak* 'box', *tapanim* 'to be buried', whence Udi *t'ap'an* 'belly' in the Niž dialect. Sogd. Man. *tpñ* (or *tp'n*) has been associated with Syriac *dapnā* 'bier', *dupnā* 'coffin'.⁸ A box with flat sides might well belong to *tap-* 'flat'. Bud. Skt. *tapana-* is 'box' or 'basket'.

Early NPersian has *tbwk* **tabōk* 'platter' with *-ōk* as in **makōk* attested in Armenian loan-word *makoyk* 'boat' and Zor. Pahl. *takōk* rendering Avestan *gaodana-* 'milk pail', Armen. *t'akoyk*.⁹ A Mid. Pers. *tpwvq* has been tentatively associated with NPers. *tabōk*.

11. From an Iranian *tap-* with *-s-* suffix we find Oss. D *tefseg* 'plate', and in Qabardei *тештэч*,¹⁰ in which the *-eg* is an occasional variant to the ending *-äg*. Georg. *t'ep'si* 'dish, cup' is traced by Čubinov to Persian, where the dictionaries offer *tabšī*, *tabšī* 'dish with rim of gold, silver, or brass'. Turkish has *täpsi*, *täbsi* 'plate, small dish', also *täpči*, *täpši*.¹¹ These forms permit a starting-point **tafšaka-*, of which Ossetic and Qabardei have kept the *-ak-* and Persian, Turkish and Georgian show the change to *-ay*, *-ē*, and *-ī* (as, for instance, in Sogdian).

¹ Ju. D. Dešeriev, *Batsbijskij jazyk*, p. 370.

² O. Hansen, *Berliner sogdische Texte*, II, 9.51.

³ D. Čubinov, *K'art'ul-rusuli lek'sik'oni*; R. Meckelein, *Georgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*.

⁴ O. Wardrop, *JRAS*, 1911, 2, 628; G. Deeters, *Caucasica*, Fasc. 4, 1927, 40; R. Bleichsteiner, *Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage*, 1936, 473.

⁵ Loan-word, *GIP*, I, Anhang, 9; *Stäjy cärmäräg*, 1466, 1467 for Georg. *t'abak'-i*; for 'drum' *ibid.*, 1414.

⁶ Eastern Turkish, Caucasian Balkar; also in Qabardei.

⁷ G. Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 80.

⁸ W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, XI, 3, 1945, 479; K. Bouda, *ZDMG*, XCIII, 1, 1939, 66.

⁹ Asadi's lexicon, ed. Teheran, 103: *ṭabaq-ē bāšad*; Henning, *Sogdica*, 47-8. For the base *mak-* note that Tocharian B, Kuci, has *māk-*, *mak-* 'to run'.

¹⁰ *Kabardinsko-Russkij slovar'*, 1957, s.v.

¹¹ W. Radlov, *Opyt slovarja tjurskiz narečij*: Uigur, Čayatai, Osmanli, and other dialects.

12. The flat surface of a mirror may be assumed to have received its name in Tocharian A and B from a base *tap-* 'flat' which may be either indigenous Tocharian or of Iranian origin (similarly Sogd. *yat-* in *py't-* can stand beside Toch. *yat-* 'adorn' independently). Here we have A *tāpak*, B *tapāki* 'mirror'. In A 212 b 6 *tāpākyis ānt* is 'the surface of the mirror'. Kuci has 73 b 6 *kañcan-īsāšsai tapākine ramt* 'like a mirror of *kāncana* gold'.¹

13. The evidence has so far been of later date. It seems, however, that the recognition of a base *tap-* 'flat' offers aid to explain one Avestan passage. In Yašt 19.82 in the story of Frāsyāk's attempt to seize the *kavaēm xvarəno*, the *kayān farr*, we read :

pairi yāiš hapta karšvaṇ
mairyo apataṭ fraṇrase
isō x^varəno zaraθuštrāi
ā taṭ x^varəno frazgaḍata
avi vayan vītāpəm

An earlier verse 56 dealt with a similar case :

ā taṭ x^varəno frazgaḍata
taṭ x^varəno apatačat
taṭ x^varəno apa.hiḍat

the *farr* fled into an *apayžāra-* 'outlet, bay' of the sea *Vouru.kaša*.

In verse 82 the *farr* fled (*fra-zgaḍ-*²) to the *vayan vītāpəm*. The variants in the Avestan passage show embarrassment of scribes or reciters : F 1 *avi.vayan*, J 10 *avaē.vyaṇ*, D *avaewyaṇ*. For the *vītāpəm* of J 10 occur also F 1 *vītāpēm* and D *vī.tāspəm*.³ The *avi* for older *aibī*, *aiwi*, and later *aoi* is known. The word *vay-* : *vi-* 'bird' corresponds to Old Ind. *váy-* : *vi-*, Lat. *avis*. The gen. plur. is well attested in Vid. 2.8 *vayam* and in the Yašts beside the nom. plur. *vayō*.⁴ Interchange of *-an* and *-am* (and older *-ang*) is known in the loc. sing. of an *-an* stem. From *rāman-* we find Yasna 48.11 *rāmam* and Yasna 53.8 *rāmamčā*. Here we can take *vayan* as equivalent to *vayam* gen. plur. 'of the birds'. The refuge of the *farr* is thus the *vītāpa-* of the birds. This would give a meaning 'level space all around'.⁵ The bird Čamrōš also dwells *pat sar ī kōf* 'on the top of the mountain'.⁶

As always earlier attempts have been made to explain the text. J. Darmesteter, *ZA*, II, 637, thought of NPers. *guzāf* 'copiosus' and rendered

¹ A mirror is named by an adjective also in Turkish, but here by the sense 'round' : Čuvaš *tögör* 'mirror', whence Hung. *tükör*, Krim Tatar *tögäräk* 'round, round disk'.

² The verb *zgaḍ-* is now known in Khot. *-ysgaḍ-*, E 6.101 *haysgasta-*, E 6.37 *vaysgasta-*, later P 2787.175, *KT*, II, 108 *bāraina vaiysgasta* 'descended from his horse'; Sogd. Bud. *βzyδ-*, 'wzyδ-' (E. Benveniste, *JA*, CCXLIII, 3, 1955, 336), Chr. (ibid., 315) 'zgd-', *mzgd* 'he mounted', Man. 'wžynd 'to dismount' (Henning, *BBB*, p. 60), and Pašto *zyaləm*, *zyāstəl* 'run, flee', Sanglēcī *zīd-* 'flow' (*IIFL*, II, 311), Parāčī *uzg-* : *uzgī* 'descend' (*IIFL*, I, 238).

³ H. Reichelt, *Avesta reader*, 35, has *vayam* which occurs in the Nigāyīšn 1.1 beside *vayan*.

⁴ On Avestan *aēm*, W. B. Henning, *Asiatica* : *Festschrift F. Weller*, 289 ff., and E. Benveniste, *Festgabe für H. Lommel*, 19.

⁵ Below, p. 87, the Atharvaveda passage is cited where also birds are concerned.

⁶ Gr. *Bd.* 153.15.

'empty, immense'. A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xx, 1899, 56, has 'out of reach' as if *vīta-* 'gone' and *ap-* 'attain'. There is no help in *AIW* nor in H. Lommel, *Die Yāst's*. V. Pisani¹ utilized Nigāyīṣṇ 1.1 to interpret Yašt 19.82, and adopted F. Spiegel's 'waterless', and the same is in Hertel's 'wasserlos'.

The Yašt will be primary.² In the Nigāyīṣṇ the *vayaṇ* and *vayam* was assumed to contain *vayu-* or *vaya-*, then the *vītāpəm* was replaced by *darəyā.x^vaδātəm* which yielded a known phrase, surviving later in Gr. *Bd.* 11.8 *vay ī dērang-xvatāy*.

14. Since Slavonic is often close to Iranian it may next be adduced. For 'level' and 'plain' Slavonic has a base *step-*. Thus Old Russ. *stepī* 'low region' and Russ. *stepī* fem., 'steppe, vast treeless plain'.³ From Iranian *tap-* and Slav. *step-* we get an IE (*s*)*tep-* 'to be flat, level, low'. The *s*-mobile is well attested.⁴ Note (*s*)*ter-* 'stretch' quoted above in Khot. *tāra-* 'forehead' and Germ. *stirna*; Old Indian has both *stāy-* and *tāy-* 'steal', Avestan *tāyu-*, Sogd. *t'y*, *t'yh*, *t'y'wny*, and Hittite *tay-* in *taiezzi* 'he steals'. Greek has both *τέγος* and *σρέγος*.

15. Aškun Nūristānī has *tawelā* 'not steep, flat', Waigeli *tawere* 'low', Dameli *thawara* 'low, short', where *-w-* has replaced *-p-*. In Dameli the initial *th-* may indicate older **taphara-* as *phon* 'road' has come from *panth-*.⁵

16. This IE (*s*)*tep-* 'be level' is to be seen in an isolated word in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda: Rv *viṣṭáp-* fem., and *viṣṭápá-* neut., carried down through the Vedic texts to the later language. In the Rigveda *viṣṭáp-* occurs with *vārsman-* 'top' used of Árbuda (8.32.3), the demon crushed by Indra. It is used of the higher surface of the sea in 8.97.5 *samudrásya-ádhi viṣṭápi* and 8.34.13 *samudrásya-ádhi viṣṭápah*. It occurs with *sānu* 'ridge' in 10.123.2 *sānāv ádhi viṣṭápi*. It is used of *bradhná-* in 8.69.7 and 9.113.10 *bradhnásya viṣṭápam* 'the *viṣṭáp-* of the sun (or sky)'. Three are named in 8.91.5 *imāni trīṇi viṣṭápā*.⁶

The Atharvaveda knows the *viṣṭáp-* of the *nāka-* (11.1.7) *ūrdhvō nākasya-ádhi roha viṣṭápam*.

In AV 18.4.4 we have the birds:

trāyaḥ suparnā úparasya māyū
nākasya pṛṣṭhé ádhi viṣṭápi śrítāḥ

Here the Paippalāda text has *viṣṭapas*. Whitney and Lanman render 'at the back of the firmament at the summit (?)'.

The vṛddhi adjective *vaiṣṭápá-* is in the phrase 9.27.4 *trīn vaiṣṭápān*.

¹ *Rendiconti, Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, LXXVIII, 1944-5, 68-9.

² Secondary use in the Nigāyīṣṇ, see K. Geldner, *GIP*, II, 8.

³ M. Vasmer, *REW*, III, 11.

⁴ It may derive from an interchangeable fourfold initial which gave with *p* the forms *p*, *sp*, *ph*, *sph*. According to F. Edgerton, *Language*, xxxiv, 4, 1958, 445-53, the *s*-mobile was due to juncture changes.

⁵ *NTS*, II, 1929, 202, 263; *NTS*, VII, 1934, 109; *NTS*, XII, 1942, 193, 126.

⁶ For these passages K. Geldner, *Übersetzung*, has 'Höhe', 'Scheitelpunkt', 'Sonne', 'Höhepunkt des Sonnes'; L. Renou, 'le domaine du fauve soleil'; and 'diese drei Flächen'; Renou, 'ces trois surfaces'.

Some concept of the meaning was later retained but it was generalized in the commentaries. Sāyana has *svargaloke*, *sthānam*, *sthānāni*, *sahasthānam*. An etymology is indicated in 9.12.6 *viṣṭapi viṣṭabdhe sthāne*, as usual from the depleted vocabulary. Skandasvāmin 1.46.3 has *viṣṭap iti divo 'bhīdhānam* 'viṣṭap is an epithet of the sky'. Mādhava's *Ṛgvedavyākhyā* has *viṣṭapo viṣṭabhānāti bhūtāni* with the same suggested connexion with *stambh-*. He has added *viṣṭab rātriḥ*, *viṣṭabhanāya* so that he rendered *viṣṭap-* by 'night'. Mādhava's *Ṛgarthadīpikā* 1.46.3 has similarly *rātrā apararātre viṣṭap rātrir viṣṭambhanāt*.

The *Naighaṇṭuka* and *Nirukta* render by 'sun, sky'. In the later language the *Amarakoṣa* offers *jaḡat*, *bhuvana*, *loka*, which is too vague.

Recent work is contained in C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, who found it 'unklar'; H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, connected *stambh-*; in Monier-Williams's dictionary it is under *viṣṭambh-*; with no connexions in the Petersburg *Wörterbuch* and K. Geldner, *Glossar*.

17. The base *tap-* 'to burn, make hot, bake' tends to overlap from the fact that a flat stone could serve as a cooking place. The derivative **tāpaka-* is 'baking place or cooking place'. Thus Zor. Pahl. *tāpak* occurs in *Artāy Vīrāz nāmak* 94.1 *apar tāpak ī garm* 'above the hot tāpak'. The Armenian loan-word *tapak* renders Greek *τῆγανον* 'frying-pan', *tapakem* 'to roast'.¹ Balōči *t'āfay* is 'oven'; Arabic has *tābaq*, NPers. *tābah*, *tāvah*, whence Sanglēcī *tāvē* 'griddle'. The word is a loan-word in Oss. D *tabai*, I *t'apa*, *teba*, *taba*, *tebā* 'frying-pan' and Georg. *t'ap'ak'-i*, *t'ap'a* 'frying-pan'.

That a baking place may be a flat surface we know from such a series as Old Iran. **sāta-* 'smooth' in Waxī *sāt* 'slate, baking-pan', Yidya *sūi* 'slate', Šuyñi *sād*, Sanglēcī *ūsīd* 'baking-pan'.² Hence will have come the point of contact.

18. Since the later Iranian dialects are attested from a period long after the Turks had descended from the north of Asia some words of superficially similar sound have been noticed and at times claimed as Turkish. Thus Ossetic *sosāg* 'silent', *sos kāmun* 'to make hoarse', which should be traced to the same source as Khot. *sauṣ-* in *Siddhasāra* 121 v 3 *bijāṣai pasauṣḍe* 'his voice becomes soundless'; in the *Jīvaka-pustaka* 61 r 1 *ca garśa pasauṣḍe* and 73 v 4 *cu bijāṣa pasuṣḍi*, Sansk. *vaisvarya-* 'voicelessness', was compared with Turk. *susmaq* 'be silent' by way of Azerbāijāni Turk. *sus* 'stillness'.³ One could similarly think (unjustifiably) of joining Mongol *erke*, Turk *ärk* 'force' with Sogd. *'rk* **ark* 'labour'. Turkish has many Iranian loan-words, which indeed have often been noticed.⁴

A *prima facie* resemblance of an Iranian and Turkish word does not prove

¹ Hübschmann, *AG*, 252.

² G. Morgenstierne, *IIFL*, II, 245.

³ Vs. Miller, 'Die Sprache der Osseten', *GIP*, I, Anhang, 9.

⁴ Recently see E. Benveniste, *JA*, CCXXXVI, 2, 1948, 183 ff.

original identity. Hence the Turk. *tapan* 'sole of the foot', as adj. 'smooth, flat', and 'flat land, threshing floor' need not be introduced into the problem of Ossetic *t'äpän* 'flat'. Nor would one wish to connect Iranian *tap-* 'flat' with the Mongol *tab-* in Mongol *tauqai* 'the flat side of a knucklebone' and Kazakh *taua*.¹

When, however, we find in Armenian *tap'em* 'to harrow' and *tap'an* 'a harrow', and only in Osmanli Turkish the *taban* 'a harrow' it is likely that the Turkish is the borrower.

5. Suppleta

The attempt to penetrate to the earlier period of Arya (Indo-Iranian) community is fraught with imperfections and some infelicities, yet progress is achieved as new data are examined. Here are certain clarifications of earlier proposals.

1. In quoting Darga *mäšt'*² it was possible to cite only one reference. Recent acquisition of the *Russko-Darginskij slovar'*, 1950, makes it possible to quote further cases. The word *мяшты mäšt'* in the dictionary occurs in the rendering of Russ. *nezavidnyj* 'unenviable' which is translated by *vaisi* 'bad' and by *mäšt'-hebarisi* (*x* printed for *xi*), that is, 'not causing *mäšt'*'. Here the word means 'annoyance'. The Russ. *kanitel'* 'long drawn out proceedings' is rendered by *paida-agar'eb zamana berk'ni* 'profitless expenditure of time' and by *mäšt'-baresli du'li zamana berk'ni* 'irritatingly long proceedings'. In the *Dargala poëzija antologija*, p. 207, the word *mäšt'-mairid* means 'do not cause *mäšt'*, irritation'.

Note that Darga has *št'* in *b-išt'asi* 'small', *st* in loan-words *usta*, plural *ustni* (Persian *ustād*) 'master', and *bjust* (Russian) 'bust', and *št* in *ištaḥ* 'love', *ištaḥsi* 'lover', and *muštuk* 'pipe'. Distinction between *st* and *št* was thus possible. The *št'* of *mäšt'* seems thus genuine support for **mašta-* as the source of Oss. DI *mäšt* 'anger'.

2. In connexion with Avestan *ara-* in *BSOAS*, xxiv, 3, 1961, 473 ff., it should be noticed that Sogd. *ryk* (*VJ* 1097) 'wicked' has been compared with Old Pers. *arika-*, Sansk. *ālīka-*.³ Two words from Khotanese (where *h-* is often secondary) should also be listed here although not certainly from the same source. Khot. *halaḥ khaušṭā* 'thoroughly agitated' and *hala khaušā'ñā* 'to be thoroughly shaken'⁴ have *hala* in a context which would suit a meaning 'wildly'. The second word is Khot. *elai* 'stammerer' rendering Sansk. *gadgada-* and Tib. *dig-pa*.⁵ This *elaa-* could be traced back to **ālya-ka*.⁶

¹ N. Poppe, *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, I, 13.

² *BSOAS*, xxiii, 1, 1960, 39, supplementing an earlier article in *BSOAS*, xxi, 3, 1958, 525-6.

³ W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, 4.

⁴ Hedin 23.22 and *Siddhasāra* 153 v 5, quoted in *KT*, iv, 132.

⁵ *Siddhasāra* 126 v 3.

⁶ In *PHMA*, Ht. 7, 1961, 133, W. Wüst would maintain a connexion of *ālakam* and Ossetic *ālāgātā*.

3. In writing of Avestan *arzah-* the passage in Yašt 10.67 always needs a reference. Here *Miθra* comes from *arzah-*. If this is an early tradition we have an interesting contact with the well-known Vedic cosmological speculation about the return journey of the sun after sunset to its starting point in the east.¹ In this return the sun is *prānk- yant-* 'eastwards travelling' in contrast to his journey *pratyank- yant-* 'westwards' during the day. This would associate *Miθra* as closely with the sun as he is associated in verse 13 when he accompanies the sun over the mountains. In the Buddhist Maitreya text, however, it is due to a *prātihārya* 'miracle' of Maitreya that the sun goes towards its rising and again towards its setting: Agni (Tocharian A) 259 a 2 *yāṣ koṃ parkāntac, yāṣ škārā koṃ umānt*.

4. An addition to the forms to be derived from *tai-* 'to watch over' cited in the discussion earlier² should be noted here from Plutarch's 'Alexander', § xxx, the *θαλαμηπόλος* 'chamberlain' called *Τείρεως*. If this name is the title rather than a personal name the *tīra-* of Avestan *tīrō.nakaθwa-* and of the ancient names *Tiridates* and others will be the same word, and *tīra-* with a further suffix will mean 'overseer'. It should be added that I had separated *tai-* 'to watch' completely from *dai-* 'to see'.³

5. The base *par-*⁴ can be recognized also in an Avestan word in Vid. 8 which treats of places where fire is used. Here we have 86 *yō ātrəm aonyat haça parō.bərəjyāt dāitīm gātīm avi ava.baraiti . . .* 'he who conveys fire to its rightful place from the *aonya-* fire-place which roasts the food . . .'. Here *para-* 'food' corresponds to the *para-* attested in Khot. *aš-para-* 'horse fodder, lucerne'. In *bərəj-* we have to see the familiar word for 'roast, fry, bake' (not as in the Pahlavī commentary *barg-* 'to honour, desire'). Of this base we know Khot. *brrijs-* in *Siddhasāra* 132 v 2 *brrijs-*, 146 r 2 *aysbrrijs-* from **uz-braig-*, 151 v 4 *eysbrrijs-*, 147 r 4, 147 v 3 *isbrrijs-*, in each case rendering Tib. *brños*. The connected words are Balōči *brējag, brijag, brēka, brihta* 'bake, roast', Turfan Pers. *bryz-* 'roast', *bryzn* 'oven', NPers. *birištan, barēzan, barējan* 'oven', Zor. Pahl. *brištan*, Khovar loan-word *vrenjēik* 'fry',⁵ Old Ind. *bhrjāti* (from the Veda onwards), *bhrjā-*, *bhrjātra-*. From the Lettish evidence there were three forms of this word: *bhreg-, bhreig-, and bhreng-*.⁶

In addition to Sogdian *p'rt* in *Dhuta* 266, two other passages contain *p'r- *pār-* 'to nourish'. In SCE 106 is *rty γωνγ ZKZY myšn w'td' rty p'rt* 'and he who nourishes the living beings'. *VJ* 1109 reads *rty βη z'tty 'kw nwr mayδ prm 'γwš'w ZY p'r'w* 'and you, children, up to the present day I have reared and nourished'. This is based on a Buddhist cliché, cf. *Divyāvadāna* 3.14–15

¹ E. Sieg, *Der Nachtweg der Sonne nach der vedischen Anschauung*, p. 3.

² *Annali Ist. Univ. Orient. Napoli, Sez. Ling.*, 1, 2, 1959, 113 ff.

³ Perhaps too concisely since I see that the view I was setting aside is attributed to me in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v, 3, 1962, 219–20, in W. Eilers's interesting paper 'Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon'.

⁴ *TPS*, 1960, 82 ff.

⁵ *BSOS*, viii, 2–3, 1936, 664.

⁶ J. Endzelin, *Lettische Grammatik*, § 576.

unnīyate vardhyate and *ibid.*, 16–17 *vardhyate* . . . *yadā mahān samvṛttaḥ*. Khotanese has P 2958, 42 (*KBT*, 41) *huṣā parbuttā* ‘ was reared and grew up ’. Sogdian *’γwš’w* will contain the base *vaxš-* ‘ to grow ’, Khot. *huṣš-*.

Further to Avestan *pārēndi-*, *parēndi-* one should recall Yasna 13.1 *γənqanəm ratūm* . . . *parēndīm* ‘ the chiefest of females . . . Parēndi- ’ and the Pahlavi gloss to *Āfrīnakān* 3.4 *stryō maydā pārēndīš* which reads *kē-šān andar ān mātakān māyakān ān-ič ī pāran<d>tom*. In both cases the close association of *pārēndi-* with nurture by women is stressed.

In the same way the predominant nutritional function of the *pūraṃdhi-* can be seen in the Aśvamedha list¹ where the essential function of each class is emphasized: *dódhrī dhenúr vódhā ’nadván āsúh sáptih pūraṃdhīr yóšā jišnū ratheštāh* ‘ cow the milker, ox the draught animal, team of horses the swift, woman the nurturer, charioteer the victorious ’.

Recall also for *pūruša-* the fem. *purušī-* in RV 7.2.2 (to Parjanya-):

*yó gárbham óśadhīnām gávāṃ kṛṇoty árvatām
parjányah puruṣīnām*

that is, ‘ he, Parjanya-, it is who creates the germ of plants, of cows, of swift (steeds), of nourishing (women) ’. Sāyaṇa glosses by *nārīnām*.

The word *pūriša-* ‘ a filling ’ as in building a wall derives from *par-* ‘ to fill ’. It can be analysed into the base with suffix *-is-*, hence IE *pl̥-is-ó-*. Similarly *pūruša-* is best thought of as containing IE *pr̥-us-ó-* with suffix *-ues-*: *-us-* from which with shifted accent we have *pūruša-*. The long *-ū-* of *pūruša-* will be secondary. The short vowel in the syllable *-uṣ-* is similar to the short vowel in *-iṣ-* of RV *taviṣá-* ‘ strong ’ from **t^euṣ-is-ó-*. The Khot. *aruṣā’-²* ‘ medicinal herb ’, later *aruwā’-* has similarly the suffix *-uṣ-* from *-ues-*: *-us-*.

6. The name of the father of Ācāmāz³ is given also in Digoron *Uaziji furt mink’ij Ācāmāz*.⁴ The spelling *Uazimi* occurs twice on the next page. A dialectal Digoron has *Uāzi furt mingi Ācāmāz*.⁵ For the variation *c*: *z* one is reminded of the regular Darga *z* where Lakk has *cc* as in *mez* ‘ tongue ’, Lakk *mecc*.⁶

The phrase containing *uācā roxsāj* occurs complete in *Iron ādāmon sfāldistād*, 1961, I, 273.

For the word *uāc* ‘ news ’ note the phrase *fyduāc zārynyl* ‘ to tell bad news ’ and *činy uāctā* ‘ joyful news ’.⁷

On p. 73 read *kusinā* and *kūsi*⁸ with aspirate *k’*, not ejective *k’*, but on p. 74 stands the word D *k’os* and I *k’us* correctly with the ejective.

¹ The list occurs several times, as in *Maitrāyaṇīya saṃhitā* 3.12.6, ed. L. von Schröder, III, p. 162. Recently quoted by F. B. J. Kuiper in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IV, 4, 1960, 265.

² Cited in *TPS*, 1960, p. 79, n. 2; the text is in *Khotanese texts*, v, now in the hands of the printer.

³ *TPS*, 1960, 73.

⁴ *Pamiatniki*, v, 180.

⁵ *Iron ādāmon sfāldistād*, 1961, I, 268.

⁶ *Jazyki Dagestana* (Akademija Nauk, Dagestan base), 1948, 119.

⁷ *Stājy čārmārāg* 818 and 1356.

⁸ *TPS*, 1960.