ARYA II

By H. W. Bailey

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1. Vijaya Sambhava

A Buddhist practice existed 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 aśṭāna mahā-grārahānā voidhasanakara hu ttrā raksā rakṣa mama vaṣayānasya ‘O destroyer of the eight great ravishers, hūṃ trām. Protect, protect me Vaṣayāna.’ In lines 48, 70, 88, 117 the name is Sidyākaraca. Here we read:

48 āuma svasta<kha>ra bavattā mama sidyākaracasya
70 rakṣa rakṣa mama sidyākaracasya
88 ye ke cai satvā mama sidyākaracasya ||
117 : rakṣa rakṣa mama sidyākaracasya :

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:

raksā rakṣa mama rājñā vijitti sambhavasya ‘protect, protect me the king Vijita Sambhava’.

This name is found in the Gostana-vyākarana (lihi yul-gyi lwa-bstan-pa). One king Vijaya Sambhava is called son of Yehula, builder of the Tsr-ma vihāra.3 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, viṣā sambhata is named. He is referred to also in line 32 miṣṭāṃ gyastā hvamnā rrumdā sarau viṣā sambhata. 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. 912–66.4 The family name is in Khotanese viṣā and viṣāta, in Sanskrit viṣāya and viṣāta, and in Tibetan biṣa, biṣa, byiṣa, Kroraina viṣi’dā.5

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1 For Part I see BSOAS, xxii, 3, 1958, 522-45.
2 A. F. R. Hoernle, Manuscript remains, 55 ; Watanabe, JRAS, 1907, 263.
3 F. W. Thomas, Tibetan literary texts and documents, 1, 105.
4 Asia Major, NS, iv, 1, 1954, 94.
5 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 Harśa.\(^1\)

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

- line 197 sahaicā salya puhye māṭi paḍauṣye hādai āḍrā nakṣatrā vī
- line 846 puhye māṭi 20mye hādai
- line 1060 sahaicī salya naunye māṭi pūhye: hādai
- line 1102 sahaicī salya dasamye māṭi 8 hādai, pūrvabhadrīva nakṣatrā 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. ārdā) and 847 pūrvabhadrīva (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’\(^2\).

In the medical text P 2893.70 (KT, iii, 85) occurs khāysāṇa u ahaña āṇa naspaśde ‘it dispels indigestion in the khāysāṇa- and in the aha’. The khāysāṇa- (from *khāysa-dāna-) is ‘stomach’. In 124 we have sji pinchai pipherāṇa, neha baṅāṇa, aha vasuje ‘this painḍaka medicament is to be steeped, to be bound on the navel, it cleanses the aha’.

The meaning ‘innermost part’ suited that of Rigveda ṛpvā- and Old Pers. āfvā- which could be referred to ‘belly’ and ‘fear, panic’ as originated there.\(^3\)

It was possible also to cite Ossetic Digoron āppā, ṣāppā, Iron āpp, plur. āppyṭā, ṣāpp 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 Suvarṇabhāṣa-sūtra \(^4\) occurs haysgamata īyā o ḍaśca u vadrava īyo gārvāḥ o puṇanā a ahvarīṣaṁ īyā rendering the Sanskrit verse 8 sokāyāse ’py anarthe ca bhaya-vasana eva ca. The Khotanese words are in synonymous pairs and puṇanā a ahvarīṣaṁ corresponds to bhaya-vasana ‘fear, distress’.

Here in ahva-ṛiṣa- can at once be seen ṛīṣ-‘to tremble’ familiar in Khotan.

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1 G. K. Nariman, A. V. Williams Jackson, and C. J. Ogden, Priyadarśikā, XLIII, with facsimile plate.
2 BSOAS, xx1, 3, 1958, 536; ‘Languages of the Saka’, in Handbuch der Orientalistik, iv, 1, p. 137.
3 Karl Hoffmann, Corolla linguistica, 80 ff.
4 KT, i, 233, 4 v 2; Sanskrit, ed. J. Nobel, p. 3.
rṛiṣa/- ‘tremble’. It is constant in the medical text Jīvaka-pustaka 54 r 4 y śīra rṛiṣa/- ‘trembling of heart, hṛṣa-roga’, similarly 65 v 3, 106 r 5. In Old Khotanese E has hṛiṣai ‘trembling’ (see Sten Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 14). The verb occurs in the Rāma text P 2783.76-7 (KT, iii, 76) y śīra-ni šām bīśā taa tta rṛiṣe, khū ja kattalā bahyā rṛiṣe ‘my heart trembles altogether as a kadali tree trembles’.

Ossetic has Dig. rezn, ristān (so intransitive), rizt, Iron rizyn, ryzt ‘tremble, have fever’. Bāyārātī Sozur 114 has nā zārdītā nīrrezuncā sā buntāj. On p. 111 occurs tār yādāt ristāncā.

These Iranian forms show Indo-Eur. *leig- assumed by WP, ii, 399 (the same in Pok., IEW). The Old Ind. rējatī is ambiguous.

With preverb bi- Khotanese has bārrīṛ̑ṣatā in the cliché kṣī-ṛadya bārrīṛ̑ṣatā ‘shakes in six ways, sād-vikāraṃ kampati’, Tib. g-yos-so ‘shake, waver’.1 In P 2781.91 bārrīṛ̑ṣyā šaṃdartī mista ‘the great earth shook’ the participle birīṛṣita- 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, pāṣa-’. In the Suvarṇabhāṣa 73 v 2 ahyau jsa renders pāṣaih. The word occurs in the Sudhana-avatāra 2 with subscript hook aha-.

An older form has just been identified in a fragment of the Śanghāṭa-sūtra 3 for which the Tibetan equivalent has been found. Here occurs ||/ahvāna bāttā || ‘is bound by a noose’. The whole phrase in Tibetan reads sred-pahi zags-pa bkins-par mī hgyur-ro ‘is not bound by the noose of desire’. Elsewhere Tibetan zags-pa translates Sansk. pāṣa-.

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 prāṣa- ‘missile’, found also as a loan-word in Khotan. The base ah- may occur reduplicated in Khot. E 14.73 ihaste ‘he shot’, P 2957.123 uhyāna ‘he must be shot’ following pānām 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. apek- with the -e- still retained.

3. āyśa-

In one passage Khotanese has āyśa- 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 ḫ pojiṃha

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1 Kha 1.13, 144 r 2, KBT, 5. Sanskrit in Divyāvādāna, 158.
2 KBT, 16.154 ff.
3 Kha 1.205 a, 35 b 2.
mara āysňa gabhîra paramārtha baiysâm dā hvāñâma štai ‘ to-day on this evening here is preaching of the noble profound Buddha’s Dāta of supreme truth ’.1

In a second passage āyšna is again the attribute of the Dāta. This is in the same text 100 tītyai pravârňajai șava vîra āyšna gabhîra heysâm dā pastai ājasî ‘ he graciously blessed on this prâvaranâ night the noble profound Buddha’s Dāta ’.

It will be recalled that early Buddhist texts know the ārya-satyâni ‘ the ārya truths ’.

In other passages namau, namâna, namâm is known in similar use. P 2787.10 ttă namau na gabhîra heysâm dă pvâmanai ; ibid. 2 ttve namâm gabhîra paramârtha (also 14). The namau is found in colophons Kha 1.223 a, 7 b 3 ttă namau kalparâją sâtrâ ; Kha 1.27 a, b 4 ttă namau saṃghâtu dă ; Chc c 001, 842 ttă namau bhadrakalpya-sâtrî. 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 āyšna- 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 āsa- (of frazainti-), and Armenian loan-word azniu ‘ noble, excellent ’.2 The basic noun Armen. azn is more generalized ‘ nation, people ’. The phrase tohmk’ azanc’ renders Greek αἰ πατρια τῶν ἐτῶν (Psalm xxi, 28). The Georgian negative uazno renders Greek τὰ ἄγενν in 1 Cor. i, 28 following aznaur for ἀγενεύεις in verse 26.3

The word āznâvar from older *āznâbara- ‘ bearer of nobility ’ is attested in Zor. Pahl. 𐐾𐐺 ‘en’wil in the passage of the Dâtastān i dēnîk 4:

ut-âs patrâst ân i šrîvatâk ă aptîyârâkâhâ xvânišnî i āpēčâkân amahraspandân ut kart-spâsân ahravan kē čegôn āznâvar gurtâ [î] hâmbitik avîrâst bavandâkîhâ kôxšênd andar artîk ut vâneîd.

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

This āznâvar 5 became an important word in Georgia for the aznaur class. From an Ossetic informant I have the note: Diğôra xônmoc āznâurtâ ūâzdân muqkgâ. The Georgian word came into Ossetic, into Swanetian (aznâvir), and into Armenian (aznavor).6

1 KT, ii, 103, translated in Asia Major, NS, vii, 1959, 24.
2 Avestan āsa- in H. W. Bailey, Zoroastrian problems, 10, no. 1 ; earlier BSOS, vi, 4, 1932, 954 ; TPS, 1956, 91.
3 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, Istoriia Grusii, i, 90, explained uazno by ‘ ne-aznaur- ’.
4 Dd 36.17, quoted in BSOS, vi, 4, 1932, 954 ; TPS, 1956, 91.
5 The Pahlavi word was misunderstood by E. W. West, SBE, xviii, 87, as azendâvar ‘ unarmed ’, a wrong reading ; in H. Hubschmann, Armenische Grammatik, 151, the word is changed into azendâvar with -e-.
6 Svanskie teksty 70 of Nideradze, Sbornik Materialov . . . Kavkaza, xxxi ; Haykakan matenagrou’t’iun, 1883, 23, in Latin script, part of a personal name,

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In Khotanese āysāta-, the participle to the same compound ā-zan-, occurs twice. In E 4.64 harbiṣṭā 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 1 baisā yasaṃtha daha yasyāne āysā krtaṇā ‘through all births may I be born a man, noble, grateful’.

This Iranian word is found also in Kroraina ajhata-, ajhataa-, ajhateya-, and ajhadaa-.  

The word āzāta- is known earlier in the Avesta occurring in the early list of believers Yašt 13.108 āzātahe ašaonī. In the Ḥaṣēxt nask 2.9 it is applied to a maiden kaininō khrpa srīrāyā āzātaī raevāsvāšārāyā; similarly in the Yašt 5.64. The queen Hutaoṣā is called āzātā- in Yašt 9.26.

Zor. Pahl. āzāt and āzātak is frequent. In the Advēnak nāmak-nipēśiṁīh (BSOS, IX, 1, 1937, 93 ff.) 4 āzāt-gohrihā, 10 āzātak pat tōzma, 34 āzāttom pat gōhur bezhīntom, DkM 815.9 Humāy āzāttōzma, the connexion with gōh ‘origin, nature’ and tōzma ‘seed, origin’ is marked. The reverse was expressed in Bahman Yašt 3.35 visūtakān vat-tōzmašān. In the name Čihrāsāt (adjectival form Gr.Bd. 240.3) the āhhr ‘origin’ has the meaning of tōzma (which renders Avestan ēibra-). 3

The word āzdāt and āzdādh is familiar in New Persian, Turfan Mid. Persian and Parthian have ’z’d, ’z’dhyh, and ’z’dyst. From Persia Armenian has azat, azatāk ‘noble, free’, azatatohn, azatatohnik ‘of noble origin’. Georgian has azat’ in similar meanings. The Sasanian inscription of Hájjijabād, line 6, has ’z’tn *āzātān 4 in the phrase šahradārān ut vispuhrān ut vazurkān ut āzātān. 5

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 purusājāneya- and of animals. 6 Here too the well-born is called sujātā-, in reference to gods and men.

The word ēibра- in the Avesta and in Old Persian ēissa-, Zor. Pahl. ēibhr meant ‘origin’. The Sasanian kings on their coins used the formula MLKAN MLKA ‘yr n MNW ētry MN yd n *sāhan sāh ērān kē ēibhr hač yazdān ‘emperor of Persia whose origin is from the yazd-deities’.

This word ēibhra- ‘origin’ is to be separated from ēibhra- ‘face’, Old Ind. citrā-. A cognate is preserved in Armenian ēt ‘offspring’, anēt ‘without offspring’, anētem anětem ‘to deprive of children’, miaetni ‘unistorp’. The word is attested in Ep‘rem and P‘austos Bouzandac‘i. The gen. plural is ētēc showing an -i- stem. By this comparison we reach back to a base ēt- or ēi- possibly the connexion of Indo-Éur. kei- in Greek kíō ‘move’, with -eu-

1 P 3513, 82 r 4, KBT, 65.
2 Boyer, Rapson, Senart, and Noble, Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, s.vv. No further case in the additional texts BSOS, IX, 1, 1937, 111 ff.
3 For the rank of nobles in Sasanian Persia, see A. Christensen, Iran sous les Sassanides, 2nd ed, 100 and 111 ff.
4 H. S. Nyberg, Øst og vest, 1945, 68.
5 The Armenian azat-k’ are noticed by J. Markwart, Caucasia, VII, 1931, 150.
6 Zoroastrian problems, 10, no. 1, and JRAS, 1955, 14.
in Indo-Iran., Osset. cāu- (cāūat, cot 'offspring' from *kāvavatha-), Avestan šav-, Old Ind. cyav-. It is then for the meaning like Lat. oritur and origo.\(^1\) The rendering of Avestan čiθra- by Zor. Pahl. tōzmak '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 visī. puθra-, Khot. *bisīvira- (attested in the adjective bisīviraa- rendering Sansk. uccaih-kulina-), and in other Iranian dialects,\(^2\) 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.\(^3\) It was continued in the Parthian and Persian of the Sasanian period, Parth. 'ry *arya-, Pers. 'yly *aira-, later ēra-,\(^4\) retained in the name Parth. Aryān, Pers. Ėrān. Zor. Pahlavī knows the hūtōzmakom ēr martōm.\(^5\)

The Old Persian ariya-cissaa - '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,

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\(^1\) *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 k̄- by K. F. Johansson requires more assumptions, see H. Petersson, *Arische und armenische Studien*, 59 ff.

\(^2\) 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 wydroyth (P 6.165).

\(^3\) It will be seen below that though it has rendered great services P. Thiemen’s book *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (and its sequel *Mitra und Aryaman*) has not seemed satisfactory. The main thesis which connects in one group ari- 'foe', ari- with aya- 'śivarā', aryamān-, and aya-, is an assumption which seems to lack a foundation. V. Abaev (*Voprosy jazykossnaniia*, II, 1958, 114), though favourable, failed to find confirmation outside Indo-Aryan. To alleviate this difficulty he proposed to connect Ossetic aćagālom 'foreign'. But here a different analysis by the negative a- and ēkara- 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 aya-which has given Pers. (h)ēr 'wealth' and Iranian ar- which has given Ossetic Iron āryan 'to bear children'.

\(^4\) Inscription of Šābhpuhr I, Parth. 19, Pers. 24. The Greek has Ἄπαος.

\(^5\) *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”?)’.¹

The Indo-Aryan as it was carried eastwards lost more and more of its older vocabulary (as in the loss of uś- ‘ear’, for which kārṇ- 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 śukā-, śurīdh-, bāhū-, 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.² 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. ārya-, Old Ind. ārya- (with secondary ā-), belongs with the verbal ar- of Ossetic ār- : ārd in Iron āryn, pret. ārdtā, participle ārd. Both Digoron and Iron have ārd in the compound kāvdās-ārd, plur. -ārdtā ³ ‘born in the stall’, but Digoron uses jerun, pret. īrdtā, participle īrd elsewhere.⁴

This Ossetic word has the meaning ‘get’ and ‘beget, bear children’. Without preverb we have ārgā āryn 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’.⁵

With the preverb ni- in Iron nijāryn 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. getan, bigetan ‘get, beget’. A close parallel to kāvdās-ārd is known in Old

¹ Études asiatiques, 1954, 137.
² A valuable theoretical examination of the case of Ossetic ivāzun ‘be stretched out’, ivāzun ‘stretch out’ to represent the expected verbal use not otherwise attested is presented by E. Benveniste, BSL, lxi, 1, 1956, 60-71.
³ In kāvdās ‘stall’ we have an older *kafta- with added suffix -sa-, connected with the many words from kop- ‘be contained’ listed in TPS, 1954, 144 ff.
⁴ 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 āryn, A. Munkácsi, Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung, i, 25, the ā- is secondary (further details in TPS, 1959).
⁵ Quoted in Vs, Miller’s dictionary s.v. lāmāryn, and ārāg.
Norse bæsingr ‘born in a stall’ of the child of an outlawed mother (báss ‘stall’), beside the law-gétinn ‘born secretly’.

In this case of social distinction the Rigveda (2.29.1) knew the term raha-sú- ‘bearing a child in secret’. In Indo-Iranian this base sav- : sú- (like jan- : jā-, Iran. zan- : zá-) was widely extended, whereas in Greek óús, óús and Kuci soy, Agni se the base is isolated. The ar- was abandoned except in Ossetic, just as was the base attested in Oss. ivázun ‘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 arnāvi, aši-, later art ‘fortune’, with Greek ἀρνύμαι, Armenian arnoum ‘take’. It is then Indo-Eur. ar- (older laryngeal + -er-). Traces have been conjectured in Germanic Runic (a)jrostes arbījano ‘the noblest of the heirs (?)’.¹ In meaning Celtic Irish aíre from older *arik- ‘noble, chief, leader’, aírechus ‘nobility’ fits well with the Iranian and Old Indian.² Only the inevitable uncertainty due to Celtic loss of initial p-prevents the full acceptance of this word into the company of Iranian arya.-³

4. ganīh-

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

Present base ganīhāna- in the bilingual Jivaka-pustaka ⁴ ści arva āraṇa : na nauka na yśira guḥa bīyama jśa dasau jūna ganīhāna u hvaināna : rendering Sansk. gavā mūtreṇa bāvayeta (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 netcānna bese bāgara tī hāyeśa diśaṇa u sedalamiḥ pā hāyeśa diśaṇa u hanādamma bese yśice perq cu hā arve hīrī raysa trāṇaṃ ganīaste ‘what are the outside leaves they must be removed, and the saṁdhavā 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 rnam kyan bor, nan-gi rgyam-chi yan bor-la, nan-rim-gyi lo-ma ser-po-la gser bég yod-pa béir-bahi hu-ba rna-bar blugs-na yan rna-bahi nad sel-to. This is short in Sanskrit paktvā lavoñaṃ uddhūya tad-rasaḥ karṇasālaḥā.

It is also in Siddhasāra 6 v 3 cu diṣa, kuśa pharāka utca hame u gara u bahya, u ganiṣṭā hālai, sā diṣa śilīṣā, u ḫa va āchā panimāre, Tibetan

¹ W. Krause, Was man in Runen ritzte, 2nd ed., 1943, 23; Runeninschriften, 539, no. 56.
² J. Pokorny, Celtica, III (Zeuss volume), 308; Études Celtiques, VII, 18.
³ Fuller details in TPS, 1959.
⁴ 56 v 1, KT, i, 147.
de-la yul ni chu man-pa, nags-ri-can ni gsér-bahi phyogs žes-bya-ste, Sanskrit bhaḍḍaka-nago 'nūpaḥ kapha-māruta-rogovān. Here anūpa- 'swamp' corresponds.

The noun ganista- occurs in the loc. sing. ganiṣṭa in the Vajracchedikā 9 b 1 (KT, iii, 21) āhya yṣāt o pūrāṇa yṣāta cu ganiṣṭa yṣā(ta) cu āvavā, Sansk. anḍajā vā jāryajī vā samsvedajā vaupapādūkā vā. Here ganiṣṭa yṣāta- 'born in moisture' translates samsvedajā- 'born in sweat', the normal technical term.

These forms give Khot. ganih-: 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 naid- 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 gateyāna u parau gateyāna mīstā gatcasta samai stāi '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 tā gatcasta tā tā burṣṭā in a hendiadys expression. In Ch. xc 002 (JRAS, 1911, 453) the phrase u āysāja gatcasta lika sadham is not yet clear. It is not yet known if gatcaustado in P 2998.176 is connected here. The origin of this ga- is not certain: possibly it has replaced an older va- from ava-.

A base nīyas- is attested in Khotanese panīysai equivalent to Tib. chu-so,1 'urinary organ, Sansk. vasti-'. Similarly Swarnabhāsa has 24 v 3 biyysa u panīysau rendering Sansk. mūtra- alone.2 Uncertain is the fragment Kha 1.187 a, 7 a 1 ///panīysde || 4 ||, where pa and ni 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. naid- (or naiθ-) 'moisten, be wet', naiz- 'flow', Avestan naig- 'wash off', Old Ind. neg- (nénekta, nikt-) 'wash', Khowar nīgiikt, Kāfīri Waigalī nīj-, niż- 'wash clothes', Aśkūn niz-, nīdz-.3 This last word is known outside Indo-Iranian in Greek vížω, fut. vížω 'wash' with χέρνβα acc. sing. 'hand-washing (water)', Celtic Ir. nígem 'wash', Old Engl. nicor 'water monster'.4

Khot. nīra- 'water' occurs in the Sanghāṭa-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 naid-, naiz- 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

1 Siddhasāra 12 v 5.
2 Or. 9609, KT, i, 235.
3 G. Morgenstierne, NTS, xvii, 1954, 281; NTS, ii, 1929, 270.
4 WP, ii, 323.
necessary to join here the much-discussed Sansk. nīra- ‘water’ and nīvara- ‘water, mud’.

There is still another problem presented by a base Iran. naiz- and Old Ind. nes-.

In the later Veda, the Taittirīya āranyaka (ed. Bibliotheca Indica) prapāṭhaka 10, anusvāka 13, 2 has the word nisti- in the phrase ādho nistiḥa vīṣṭasyām. Here Śāyaṅa’s commentary rendered by grīva-bandha- ‘a fastening on the neck’. In Kāfiri Kati niṣṭe ‘belt’ and Aśkun nēṣṭe ‘turban’ have been compared with nistī-.

From the oldest Vedic comes niṣkā- which occurs in a compound RV 5.19.3 niṣkā-grīva- ‘wearing a niṣkā- on the neck’. The niṣkā- could be of metal.

Khot. pīnīysda- is found in P 3513, 80 r 3 (KBT, 64) ysaṛīja pīnīysdyau usthīya uro ‘belly drawn in with golden girths’. A verbal form occurs in Paris Y 27 (KT, III, 41) khvā daittā hraṣṭā kāṣa harīya a panaśṭa. 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 jiśkā- 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. niys- with pa-, pī- from pati- or pa-. The basic word was accordingly nai- with determinatives nai-z- and nai-s- ‘to bind up’, an archaic equal to bandh-.

Note now that the Indo-European base mei- ‘to close the eyes’, in Sogd. myth ‘closed’ (Dhyāna 25), occurs also with determinatives. There occur in Iranian Khot. mājs- in nāmājsindā ‘they wink’, 3rd sing. nāmāṣdi, adj. anāmajṣva- ‘not winking’ in H 88 (N 42.29) anāmajṣyavu ācťaṇyavu. Zor. Pahl. myeṣn is in GrBd. 181.13 čaṣm mečišn ‘winking of the eye, moment’. Here either -č- or -ź- or -ṣ- can be read, from Old Iran. maici- or maʃ-. In mye *mič ‘eyelid’ (Zatspram 1.21), the Balochi mič, mišaš would show older -č-. Zaza miʃa, miša is ambiguous. Bud. Sogdian has the ambiguous nymz’y ‘winking’ (Vim. 201) 4 where -z- can be -ź- or -ṣ- from older -z- or -f-, but not -č-. From the Pamirs Yidya na-miż- has older -č- or -ʃ-. Iškāšmī numul- has older -s-.

Old Indian has meš- : miʃ-. Elsewhere Lit. miegmį ‘sleep’ and minqį ‘fall asleep’ have -g- from older -g- or -gh-. Like Lit. dąktį ‘to rave’ and dūstį ‘to gasp’, whose base dheu- occurs without determinative, in the word for ‘wink’ we have mei- with velar -g- and bilabiant -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 nirnįg- ‘garment,

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1 It has previously been proposed to trace this nira- to the ni- of niša-, which, however, is rather to be set with Lettsish niжу, see BSOAS, xxxi, 1, 1958, 43; also to snā- and nā- which, however, seem to offer a less satisfactory connexion than this Khot. nai-d. Rōšānī has nay- : nīd ‘to churn butter’.

2 The commentary of Bhaṭṭabhaṭṭakara-miśra is cited in the Vaidika-pañchnkrama-kosa, s.v.

3 G. Morgenstierne, NTS, II, 1929, 269.

4 E. Benveniste, JA, 1933, 2, 241.

5 G. Morgenstierne, IIFL, II, 232.
covering’ which has perhaps too long been connected with neg- ‘to wash’ with difficult conjectural intermediaries.

In Oroshori, Rošani, and Bartangi the word panidz- ‘to dress’, and Sangelči ponec-, Šuyuni peniz- stand beside Wakhī pamec-, Iškāšmi pomuc-, Sangelči punece-, Sarikolī pamec-. 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’al’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.1

The Sanskrit word tāvara-, tuvara- ‘astringent’ was compared with Apabhramśa tāra- ‘cheese’, Avestan tūrya-, tūri-, Zor. Pahl. tyl *tēr ‘solid’, the Greek, Mycenaean, and Homeric τυρός.2 The verbal base expected has survived in Ossetic Dig. tūyāg, Iron tūyāg ‘sour’, Dig. āntuun, āntu ‘sour’, Iron āntuun, ānty ‘to make sour, brew’, Dig. āntuul, Iron ānty ‘lees, distiller’s grains’, Dig. āntuunān, Iron āntuun ‘mash’. In Khotanese the word ttavandya, obliqu. ttavandye ‘bile, gall’ is to be connected with the Ossetic words. The derivative of Sansk. tuvara- is used for ‘alum’. So Russ. kvasev.

The meanings ‘acid, bitter, astringent’ are all ascribed to Mod. High Germ. herb (Mid. Germ. here, herwes). The base Indo-Iranian tank- has given words for three kinds of taste. Old Ind. takrā- ‘buttermilk’, Mid. Pers. taks ‘bitter’, talsenah ‘milk sour and dried’, Khowar tror ‘bitter’. Khot. byamjəsa ‘astringent’ represents older *(a)bi-tanča-. In the case of taw the meanings ‘sour, bitter, astringent’ are similarly present.

5. barb- ‘lead, draw’

The Buddhist Sanskrit writers use a phraseṛṣṇā-gardūra- ‘leash of lust’ (as in the compoundṛṣṇā-gardūra-baddha- ‘bound by the leash of desire’), Tib. lu-gu-bygyud ‘rope to tie calves’.3 The phrase is inherited. Pali has taṅhā-gaddula- beside taṅhā-saṃyojana-.

Correspondingly in Khotanese we find in P 2022.10 and 12 (KT, III, 42) 4:

10 ttraisvinjai bíra jṣā pāṣq ttu mauṇada aysmā nūṣṭārā ‘with the bíra- of desire the bonds thus bind the mind’.

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

Here in Sogdian Buddhist texts briba- occurs with two meanings, with

1 Indian Linguistics, XVI, 1955, 119, written before the complexity of bases containing nai- had been realized.
2 Indian Linguistics, XVI, 1955, 118. Other words in Schrader-Nehring, Reallexikon, s.v. Kāse.
4 Quoted in Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum, 11.
pejorative sense ‘mislead’ and in a good sense ‘draw on’. In SCE 273 occurs \( \text{rtv p} \text{wr} \ \beta r \beta' n t \ APZ Y n \ \text{p} \text{rw} \ \delta r y m h \ \text{ZK} \ 'n y' \ \gamma y p\delta \ y r 'm' y ' st ‘ and by \( \beta r \beta' n t \) and by falsehood takes the riches of others for his own’. The Chinese has 誠 k'uang ‘lead into error’. This same Chinese word is rendered by Sogdian 'sk'rt in 250–1 rtv 'ny' mtym'm'k \( \gamma y r 'k \ 's k' r t \ \text{ZK} \ y r 'm' k \ ' w' st ‘drives other men to be stupid, takes their riches’. In 253 prw \( \delta r y m h ' \) by falsehood’ renders the same Chinese k'uang.

In \( \beta r \beta' n t ' \) misleading, deception’ may be contained the suffix -nt, familiar in Bud. Sogd. čš'nt ‘beverage’, Chr. Sogd. čšnť. If it belongs with the \( \beta r 'r \beta \) next cited, an interpretation *fraʃ banda- is excluded.

In a good sense Sogdian has \( \beta r 'r \beta ' \) leading thing’ to draw being onwards. Vimalakirti-nirdesa-sūtra 155 reads č'wn \( \beta r 'y s 'k \) \( \beta r 'r \beta \) s'r γrśt ‘draws with the \( *\alpha \beta a r \beta a \)-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 leags kyu ‘iron hook’ render Sansk. ankusa-., Pali ankuza- ‘hook, pole to pluck fruit’.1 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 \( \beta r '-*f\text{ra-} \) is hardly possible.

In Khot. bira- ‘rope, gardūra-’ now may be claimed an older \( *b(a)r\text{bya-} \) connected with the Sogdian \( \beta r \beta \) ‘draw’. That would require the changes through \( *b(a)r\text{rya-} \) to \( *b(a)r\text{ya-} \). Two other Iranian bases end in reduced grade -rb-. Possibly Khot. hayir-, hayar-, hayar-, hiyir- ‘take pleasure in, rati, abhirati’ may derive from older \( *f\text{ra-g}r\text{bya-} \) (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 paityra- ‘agree, accept,’ the base may be grab.-2 Mid. Persian and New Persian have gīr- ‘take’, and like Khotanese also mūr- ‘die’ from *mrya-.

Of darb- ‘fasten’ can be quoted Khūrī dur- : duryft, Kurd (Kirmānsāh) dur-.. The word bary- ‘boil’ was replaced by New Iran. yarb- in Munjānī warw-, Sanglēčī wār-, Parāčī yarw-.

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:

\[ \text{brb} \text{dajūk} \text{tham havāmahe} \ \text{srprā-karasnam uāye} \ \text{sādu kṛyāntam āvase} \]

1 F. Weller, Zum sogdischen Vimalakirtiniṃdesasūtra, 62 ff.
2 In BSOAS, XIII, 3, 1950, 654 paityra- was taken to contain dar- ‘hold’, as had been proposed before, but shortly after the meaning of grab- seemed more suitable.
3 TPS, 1955, 76 ff.; G. Morgenstierne, IIFL, II, 420. Other forms are cited there.
In the Śānaveda i, 217 c this third verse has sādhah kṛṇvāntam ávase.

Note that ukthá-váhas- introduces the charioteer’s sphere of driving the vehicle of ukthá-. It is used four times in the Rigveda of Indra (8.96.11; 10.104.2), of Indragnī (6.59.10), and of the vipra- (6.32.13). Hence here in brbád-uktha- Indra may be thought of as ‘conducting the ukthá-’ in a metaphor from ‘leading’ an animal on a leash. The form is a governing compound of the usual type. In uktha-bhít- 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 brbád-uktha- is not translated in K. Geldner’s Übersetzung. Grassmann’s Wörterbuch, like Sāyana’s mahad-uktham, has taken brbád- to be brbád- and rendered ‘hoch zu preisen’.

The proper name of a dānapati in a dānastuti RV 6.45.31-3 is Bṛbú-. In form it can be associated with adjectives like dhṛṣṭu- ‘bold’ and mṛdú- ‘soft’.1 If this is connected with brbád- and Sogd. βββ-, ββββ ‘conduct’ the word brbú- would mean ‘leading’ or in reference to a man’s capacity ‘fitted for leadership’. Bṛbú- like other patrons was sahasradātama-.2

6. kunjī

The Khotanese word kunjī ‘yeast’ renders Tib. röabs ‘yeast’ in the Siddhasāra medical text.3 Here there are two passages to quote:

102 r 1 giśū hiṇī raysā u śvīḍā nīyevute c kunjī āstānna ‘juice of flesh and milk, curd water, yeast and the rest’, in Tibetan ša-khu dam, ho-ma dan, zo kha chu dan, röabs rmams.

131 r 1 suttā, āhvarāi kunjī, nētute c, biśī āstānna ‘vinegar, sour yeast, curd water, buttermilk and the rest’, in Tibetan čha dam, röabs skyur-po do, zo kha chu dan, dar-ba rmams.

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:

kāṃjha kūṭānā, kāṃjīna, ā vā biśīna vara saṃkhalyāṇā, kuṣṭā viṇā īnde, vāsārām jiṇḍā.

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 kunjī gives kum-j with -i from older -iya- as in āstī ‘thumb’, gen. āṣtye, inst. āṣṭīna. For the -j- note the adjective hūṃjīnai’ with blood’, in E and frequent in medical texts, and Siddhasāra 101 r 4 kunjūda, from hūṇā ‘blood’.

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

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2. Legends of Brbú- occur later, see Vedic index, s.v.
3. 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. kvasă, Lit. kūšlas, Lat. cāsus, from kyā- or kā-.

Ossetic knows this base in two words. First in k’unāl ‘sour drink or its lees’ we have *kumal-ia-. It is frequent: Bāyārīti Sozur 116, Digoron, xwarī k’unāl imisuj ‘he recalls the sour drink of the grain’; P’esúa 334 ăs mă tănāg k’unāl ku bănāzor ‘may I drink the thin sour drink’; k’unămlān mă já p’drătă băzzădysty ‘the lees of kvas are left’ (Miller’s dictionary, s.v. k’unāl); (ibid., 155) k’unāl ān-gyezuj ‘the drink ferment’s.’

Čečen has a word k’omal, as in vaq’in zudarša k’omal xi čuq t’adabo ‘our women moisten hemp in water.’ The word is Ênguš k’omal, k’omal. 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’unāl.

The second Ossetic word is Dig. k’upxă, Iron k’upx ‘lees of sour drink’ formed from a base enlarged by -p-, as commonly to a labial final of a base, with the suffix -za-. In Pamjatniki, i, 83, occurs k’upxătă ku rălamără ‘the woman pressed out the lees, ona vyžimala vyžimki’.

With Oss. k’unāl it is now necessary to associate the word Dig. xumällăg, Iron ximällăg ‘hops’.

An older Iranian k- is represented in Ossetic in three ways, by k- normally, by k’- not rarely, and least commonly by x-. This x- from k- may be an Ossetic replacement or may indicate an early Old Iranian alternation. In xumällăg the xu- may indicate older khu- or be a recent Ossetic change.

In Ossetic xumällăg 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. yiğğă 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. äxsdrără, Iron äxsdr ‘nut’ and äxsdrărăg ‘squirrel’; Dig. xurxă, Iron xırz ‘curds’, and Iron xürxăg ‘sorrel’.

In xumällăg is then the name for the thing connected with fermented drink, a suitable name for the herb which was added to the drink, hops.

The Ossetic legend of brewing and the addition of xumällăg is given in Närty kădăşytă, ed. 1946, 59–60, ed. 1949, 110–11, and in Digoron Iron Ādămon Šfălstădă, v, 182.

The xumällăg is called the äntuvăn ‘souring stuff’ in the Digoron je ‘ntuvań bă äxsdrără k’otăbărăl bor xumällăg and in the Iron äxsăry k’utărăl bur xümällăg, je ‘ntuvań tă ūmăj văjyy.

1 Further forms in WP, i, 468; Pok., I EW, 627–8; M. Vasmer, REW, i, 546.
2 N. Jakovlev, Sintaksi češského literaturného jazyka, 77.
3 A. N. Genko, Zapiski kollegi vostokovedov, v, 718; Dumézil-Jabagi, Textes populaires inguš, 26.
4 Pamjatniki narodnago tvorčestva osetin, ii, 1927.
5 This problem needs further work. Preliminary notes are given in BSOAS, xx, 3, 1958, 538–9.
6 The practice of adding a herb to drink was noted by Hesukhius, s.v. mel’tion ‘pomų ti Ėqustiówno melitouz fomelou sōn ûxari kai pók tvi’.
In the Alanian ancestor of our modern Ossetic there was likely to have existed *kumala- and *zumala- and the derivatives in -aka-. The Alans were powerful in the Caucasus until the eleventh century.\(^1\) The hops grow nowadays freely there.\(^2\)

The three words Khotanese kumji ‘yeast’, Ossetic k'unjal and zumalag 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.\(^3\)

Two types are represented with and without -k-.

Of interest here are the Turkish forms. Al-Kâşârî (eleventh century A.D.) has qumlâq \(^4\) as the name of a plant growing in the Qipčaq regions. Modern Čuvaš xumla, and Hungarian qumló, komló from Old Čuvaš *kumlay, Telexul kumlač all show a word in -ak. Without the -k- there is Finnish humala-, but Vogul k'umlâx, with Medieval Latin humulus, Old Engl. hymele, Old Norse humall.

Old Slavonic xumeli 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 tci- with suffixes. This word is attested in adjectival form in the medical texts for Sansk. kiṇa-, Tib. phabs. Thus we have Siddhârâra 142 v 1 kumja tsîniṣa sunam kumbā ‘sesame, yeast powder, flax’; 100 v 4 kâmpja kâmba tciṇa sunam âra; 110 v 3 dâjsandai hîya tsîma âra tceñâ sunam. These give three variant spellings. With -ân-ya- we find P 2893.186 (KT, III, 90) kâmpja, kâmba, tcyâna sunam, kusâ; P 2893.184 (KT, III, 90) dâjsandai tîma, âra tcyâna sunam; Siddhârâra 132 v 2 tcyâna sunam, buyşînî urning. The basis of these words is thus tci- with suffixes tciyn-ya- and tcy-annya- with the meaning ‘yeast’. The word sunam ‘powder’ connected with Avestan suvbû and Mid. Pers. sîtan ‘rub’, Sogd. Bud. and Man. ps'w- (assuring the Old Iran. s) must be discussed elsewhere.

With this Khot. tciṇa the tci of ħamatoči of P 2786.187 (KT, II, 99), which is likely to mean a ‘drink made of fermented barley’, is to be connected.\(^5\)

Beside this Khot. tci- we can set the Oss. Dig. k'însâ,\(^6\) Iron c'yssâ, zyyssâ ‘dough’, which is flour mixed with yeast. In New Persian one word sîrîsâh has both meanings ‘yeast’ and ‘dough’. This has ki- with -ns- from older -ss-

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\(^1\) V. Minorsky, History of Sharrān and Darband, 107 ff.
\(^2\) A. Herbert, Casuals in the Caucasus, 1912, 253.
\(^3\) A recent large survey is contained in A. Steiger, in F. Meier (ed.), Westöstliche Abhandlungen, R. Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht, 1954, 87-106.
\(^4\) W. B. Henning, ’Mitteliranisch’, in Handbuch der Orientalistik, iv, 1, p. 85, connects with Sogd. xöm from older hauma-, Avestan haoma-.
\(^5\) Details are given in Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1, fasc. 2, 139.
\(^6\) Dig. k'însâ has the intrusive -n- familiar in Oss. Dig. ānsûrâ, Iron ssvr ‘tusk’, and earlier in Bud. Sogd. 'ns'w occurring in the cliche wyośw 'ns'wur 'six-tusked', the usual epithet pâdanta- in Buddhist texts (VJ 201, et al.). Avestan tiši.asâra- has the word without -n- (Yašt 14.15). If Avestan mazā- is pre-Sasanian it has a similar -n-."
from -ts-, giving the base kit- to set beside the kāt- of Latin cāseeus. 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. kīvva- ‘yeast’ in Suśruta, and adj. kīvvyā-, kīvvyā- ascribed to Pāṇini, is formed from *kī-nu- with Indonaryanized -n- beside Khot. tci-n-ya with -n-. The word Kāfrī Waigalī kilā ‘boiled cheese’, Aśkun cīla are from older *kīlāta- with dental -t-. Indo-Aryan old Ind. kilāta- has the modified -t-. In the Rigveda, kilāla- is the name of a drink (only in 10.19.14 kilāla-pā-).

7. ysimarye

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jastāṇa pūjā-karma} & \quad \text{gāsandā ysarrnā kṣatra,} \\
\text{sāhaujā pale uvāre} & \quad \text{bveyaustyāṁ raṃṇyau ude} \\
\text{camḍāvaṇa ysimarye brāne} & \quad \text{ṇanauvā visva bijairma,} \\
\text{padmi rāyśāṇ jśa uskhasta} & \quad \text{haṃbīsa tevaśa śairka}
\end{align*}
\]

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 camḍāvaṇa mūra; Jātakastava 30 r 3 cettāmene . . . raṃne; P 2801.16 cimḍāmanā; Hedin 23.17 camḍāvaṇā mūra; Thomas 2 a 4 camḍāvaṇā mūri; Or. 8212.162 36 (KT, π, 3) camḍaṇa 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. *wzmbrwt (Pahlavi texts, 115, 1 in the Čatrang-nāmak), Armen. zmrouzt (HAG, 151), New Pers. zomurrud. Here the vowels have been affected by -m- to -u-. The Greek σμάραγδος, μάραγδος is reflected in Sansk. marakata-, whence Tib. maraq. If now the word was known in Khotan as *smara- or *smara- this might have given ysimarya- with anaptyctic -i-, familiar in Khot. ysānāḥ- ‘bathe’ and śsānauma- ‘propitiation’.

The replacement of -ata- through -āta- by -ya- would be normal. An ending -āta- would rather have given -ā- in later Khotanese.

I had previously thought there might be a connexion with Kuci wmer, wmer, Agni vimār ‘jewel’ translating Sansk. mani-, ratna-. It occurs in the phrase A 1 b 5 cimdāmaṇi wmār.

8. kāṭhamjusva

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

\[
\text{bahoysani hvāhā u māstā} \quad \text{syata baśṭarṛda ysarīingya}
\]

---

1 Further details are given in TPS, 1955, 69–70.  
2 BSOAS, xii, 2, 1948, 327.
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, kāthaṃjusva, 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-davvaharana-pasatta- 'intent upon the carrying off of others' property', that would be a Sanskrit para-dravya-harana-prasakta-. The act is called davva-jāyaṁ ghettūṇa, davva-vōdhāram āneti, davva-jāyaṁ niṇāṇa, davvaṁ niḥānyum.₁

The first component kātha- can be traced to an older *karобра- which is known in Western Iranian New Pers. kālah, kālā 'household goods', Armenian loan-word kah 'furniture', rendering Greek σκεῦος, with kahem, kahaworem 'to furnish'.²

The second component -ṃjusva contains in medial syllable the same -ṃj- which is found in Khot. pa-ṃjs- : pamāta-, pamyā- 'to wear clothes', pamāha- 'clothes'. The Zor. Pahl. patmōk-, patmōc-, patmōztan 'to wear' corresponds.

In -ṃjusva it is possible to see the suffix -uka- familiar in Khot. busu- 'scented' and Old Ind. vēdūka- 'winning'.³ Sogdian has ēr'γ'r'wək *cīraγ-śōr- 'lamp-stand', like Khot. cārav-dīṣāka- and Oss. Dig. cīraγ-dārən.⁴

The meaning of mauk- : muk- without preverb varies. It means 'put on' in Zor. Pahl. mōk, mōc, mōčak 'shoe',⁵ Bud. Sansk. moça- ; maucaika, mocika- 'shoemaker '; Arman. mok, moyg, moyg, mouck, Georg. mogv-i, New Pers. mōzakh, Arab. mūq, mauzaʃ, Greek βαυκίς. The reverse meaning is found in Ormūrī mōz- : mōk- 'loosen, untie', Munjāni muːz- : mʊyəd 'to move',⁶ Old Ind. mok- : muk- means 'to loosen', Lit. munkū, muktī 'to wipe away' (if it belongs here).

With preverbs occur Avestan pātī.šmuxtā- 'put on', framuxtī- 'taking off' referring to shoes (Vid. 6.27 ; Yašt 5.64, Yašt 10.125). In Ossetic rōmodzun, Iron rōmǔdzyn is 'take away' and Dig. nimodzun, nimu'yd, Iron nymódtyn, nymţi'yd 'to deliver, betray'.

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

The second word to interpret is mušā 'robbers'. In this may be seen an older *muš-ya- with -ṣy- palatalized to -ś- from the base mauš- : muš- 'rob',

₁ H. Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Mādhārāshtri, 65.
² For Khot. -th- see JRAŠ, 1953, 110 ff., with bātha- 'protective mail' from *v(a)ṭhra-. For kālā, W. B. Henning, Sogdica, 56.
³ J. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram., ii, 2, pp. 480 ff.
⁴ Khotanese in P 3513, 51 v 3, KT, i, 127.
⁶ G. Morgenstierne, IIFL, i, 401 ; ii, 230.
familiar in Old Ind. *moṣati* 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 kvi *gamuna yānī (ndā) ‘if the robbers take it away’.

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’.

Note that *jisīr-* ‘to deceive’, participle *jisīda-*, 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) *saudākyā yasārā hāṃḍā hauṣkāṃ 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) *saudakye rāysāra hada hauṣkāṃ bāhyau
P 2025.53 (*KT*, III, 47) sāndakyi *rrāysāra hadā haustyā bāhyā :*

Ch 00266.35–6 (*KT*, III, 35) *sādakye rrāysāda hadā haustyā bāhyā :

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 Ydya *karast* ‘hide’.

The Oss. *zārun* ‘to sing’ and *zār* ‘song’ has already been compared with Greek *γāρυς*, Lat. *garrire, garrulus*, Celtic Ir. *gāir* ‘cry’, Welsh *gair* ‘word’, and other words.

The same base with short vowel -a- has been seen in Dig. *āzālyn* ‘to echo’, Dig. *zāllāng*, Iron *zyllāng* ‘echo’. This would give *az-zar-ya-.*

The preterite occurs in the phrase *uj māroj dār tā āzālydi qādbhnty* ‘the lament for the dead echoed in the woods’. The verb Iron *nyjāzālyn* ‘to echo, resound’ is, however, given also the meaning *sodrozn’ṣja, 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, *nyjāzālyn* is only rendered *razdat’ṣja, 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) *ṣį pendai hā nīṣāṅā, u mīṣāṅkīnai rūṃ gūmalyāṅā,*

---

1 It was proposed in *BSOAS*, XXI, 3, 1938, 528 to connect with *gad-* ‘to plunder’.
3 Details in *Annali* cited supra, p. 28, n. 5, i, fasc. 2, 125.
4 WP, i, 537.
5 V. Abaev, *Ist.-ētim. slovar* oszt. jazyka, 96, citing also zāl and zālyn.
hūsya bañānā naraiya jeṃdā ‘this pain’daka medicament must be placed there, oil from kernels must be smeared on, it must be bound on the hūṣa-, it removes hernia’.  

Jīvaka-pustaka 56 v 2 (KT, i, 147) tta būra āchā jaída : pramīha : hūṣa- vīne : sārkarya ‘it cures these diseases, prameha, vankṣaṇa, sārkara’. In Suśruta vankṣaṇa- is the groin. The Khotanese word may thus represent an older *vazśa- or reduced grade *uxša- with added initial h-. Direct connexion in meaning with Avestan fravāžš ¹ does not exist.

Two other uses of a base of the same form but of different meaning are known. Ossetic has Dig. usqā, uāsk’a, Iron uāzsk, plural uāxsējtā, uāzxējtā, ‘shoulder’. The Digoron dual occurs in Pamjatnīki, p, 99, ā duuā usqebāl ‘on his two shoulders’. In Pam., p, 161, Dig. dxiuārvāsqā means ‘broad-shouldered’ (with v, not ū). The Digoron plural is in Pam., p, 65, sā usqītī (loc. plur.). The hero Soslān is fātān-uāxsk ‘broad-shouldered’.²

Old Indian Vedic vākṣas- is the ‘breast’.

Since it is known from Oss. Dig. sināq ‘breast’, Iron synāq ‘projection, breast’, Zor. Pahl. sēnāk ‘breast’ with Avestan saēni- ‘pointed’ that the ‘breast’ could be named as the pointed thing, it seems likely that with this Old Ind. vaks- and Iran. vazš- used of ‘breast’ and ‘shoulder’ the Oss. Dig. uzst, plur. uzxstītā, uzxstdātā (Pam., p, 7), Iron uzst, plur. uāxstītā ‘spit’ belongs as the ‘pointed’ tool.

This meaning in turn leads on to Armenian vak- in vakas ‘shoulder garment’, vaxstān ‘end’, and Avestan va-y- in vaydana- ‘head’.³

From a meaning ‘pointed’ it is possible to explain also Khot. hauṣṣa-, later hoṣg-, hauṣg- ‘finger’ ⁴ from *fra-vās-ya- with palatalized -s- passing to -š-, later voiced.

The word E 21.7 panā kaso hoṣṣā ālṣīndi māstu kāde ‘in every nook the hoṣṣa- sing most loudly’ will belong rather as *fra-vas-ya- or *fra-vāzš-ya-to vās- ‘make sound (cry, sing, play music)’. To this may be connected E 25.647 hauṣo in the phrase aṣṣā haṃgaṅgīndi ku ne nā hauṣo yānīndā where E. Leumann rendered by ‘sound’. If this is right the word could be *fra-vāzšā-from vās- ‘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.

¹ 'Languages of the Saka', in Handbuch der Orientalistik, iv, 1, p. 139. The h- also in huss- 'grow', participle hussātā-, from vazš- : uzš-. ² Narīt Kaddzytā, ed. 1946, 86.3. ³ On vākṣas. WP, i, 261, is uncertain, but quotes an older proposal to connect vakṣaṇa-, vākṣas-, and vankṣaṇa-. On Armen. vak-, H. S. Nyberg, Hilfebuch des Pehlevi, ii, 96. Oss. sināq, BSQAS, xx, 1957, 59. ⁴ E 14.71; Siddhasāra 102 r 5; P 4089 a 2 (KBT, 20).
1. Ossetic tāu-: tu- occurs in verbal forms with and without preverb. 
Digit. āštāun, āštud, Iron āštāun, āstyd ‘ put, throw over, add, pile up, place upon (eggs) ’. 
Digit. āštuvun, Iron āstuvin, āstyn ‘ be placed upon, come to ’. 
Digit. īštāun, īštud, Iron īštāun, īstyd ‘ spread, scatter, sow ’ from *vi-tav-. 
Digit. rātāun, rātud, Iron rātāun, rātýd ‘ to quilt, add lining ’ from *fra-tav-. 
Digit. āntāun, āntud ‘ rake hay together ’ (Iron ssēvyn) from *ham-tav-. 
Digit. tāuṅāq ‘ hen brooding on eggs ’.


3. Khot. tturaka- ‘ cover ’ of a quiver in the Turkish-Khotanese vocabulary. It can be analysed as *tura-, representing older *tāra- or *taura-. The text reads kapāha-kā, hulaihā: hīvī tturakā hame ‘ (Turk.) qapqaq is the cover of the quiver ’. This connects with Old Slav. tulo- ‘ quiver ’ and with Indo-Eur. tu-. Note that Kāfīrī Aṣkun aṣtar, Waigalī ištār, Kati ištār, Prasun ištār ‘ quiver ’ belong to Sansk. āstara- ‘ covering ’. Prasun has also duru-ṣtar ‘ bow and quiver ’.

4. Khot. ttaura- corresponds to Bud. Sansk. kudya- ‘ wall ’ and prākāra- ‘ wall ’ in the description of the magical power of passing uninjured through walls. Thus in E 5.38 avacchoda tṣindī ttaura vaṣṭa vṛnāḥ nāṣtā cu beittā ? is the poetic equivalent of Mahāvyanpatti 219 tirahkudyaṃ tirakprākaraṃ. The word ttaura occurs also in E 4.87 ttaura vāte īsande spāṭe ; E 6.99 biśā dārṣḍa ttaura dātāṇḍa ; E 23.135 haudyau yā ratanyau ttaura pārgyinuva spāṭe vicitra ; and E 5.56 o ttura tī nu ni tṣindā biśā nuvaysāre vikalpe.

5. A second Khot. ttora- ‘ covering, top ’ occurs in E 17.33. 
\[
\text{crāmu ggarā tcyro ratanyau jsa sumiři samudrā} < \\
\text{cvī ysrnanai ttora kye halci hā haśys(d)e
}\]
The ‘ four-jewelled Mount Meru ’ is named in Vasubandhu’s Abhidharma-
kosa, III, 50, catāratnamayo 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 avasārṣṭā cvī handara ttora / trām< >.

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 āyosā-, āyosta-, from yazau- ‘ be agitated ’, and khoys-, khauys-, a-khauṣṭa- from xauz- ‘ move ’.

1 Vs. Miller, ‘ Die Sprache der Osseten ’, GIP, I, Anhang, 65 tentatively thought of pat- ‘ fall ’.
2 Häjjibaib inscription, edited H. S. Nyberg, Øst og vest, 66.
3 BSOAS, XVIII, I, 1956, 32.
4 BSOAS, XI, 2, 1944, 291, the text now in KT, III, 81.
5 M. Vasmer, Rew, III, 150.
6 G. Morgenstierne, NTS, II, 1929, 244 ; XV, 1949, 257.
7 JRAI, 1953, 100.
6. Khot. ttuurrja occurs once in the Staël-Holstein text 61: viysã khiiy sarã ttuurrja dâdq stâm akhajandai / jvihã ‘in the anther of the filament of the lotus so unwealthy you sport .’. Khot. viysã khiiy sarã 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 ttuurrja is thus easily connected with Khot. tturaka- ‘cover’. In form ttuurrja may be either loc. sing. of *ttuurrga, with -ja from -gayã (like khârgga, loc. khârja, loan-word märgra-, loc. márja) or a loc. sing. of ttuurrja.¹

7. Ossetic Dig. turyã, Iron týry ‘court, forecourt, vestibule, balcony’ occurs in Pamjatniki, π, 5.31 i fâtk’u bâ ädtâj Bâyodzâjân â turyi ‘the apple-tree was in Bâyodzâ’s court (dvor’)’. Similarly ūdon zâdzârâj týrynmâ râcydusty ‘they went out from the house to the court’. Kasaev’s Ossetic-Russian dictionary has týry ‘flight of steps, kryl’co’. Bâyodzâ has a keyog (Pam., π, 6.5). The Ossetic keyog is described by J. Baddeley.²

This turyã is formed from older *tur-ga- with -ga- suffix as in Old Pers. abânga- ‘stone’, Khot. sanga-. The turyã as an enclosed court recalls both Khot. ttuura- ‘wall’ and tturaka- ‘cover’.

Three words from Indo-Aryan can be associated with these Iranian words.
1. tûna-, tûnî-, tûnî-, tûnîra- ‘quiver’ is from tû- with suffix -na- (Indo-aryanized -n-) or -ra-. It is then the ‘covering’.
2. toranâ- ‘arch, gateway’ if it is named from its being the ‘cover, top’.³ It will belong with Khot. ttorâ- ‘top’.
3. pratoli- ‘gateway of a fortress’, glossed by durgâ-nagara-dvâra-.⁴

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 turyã as an enclosed place suggests a connexion with Greek ῥύπας, Lat. turris ‘tower’.

12. zurun

The Ossetic verb Dig. zurun ‘to turn’ occurs in the verse of Mâliti Geuârgi 48 kâfgõ kâfgõ nizzuruncã ‘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 ⁵:

c’áx birâyãu xâtyd bástatyût
sâu qârcyryâjãu zyrûd âvrâyty byn
‘like grey wolf ranged over the lands, like black hawk turned below the clouds’.

¹ The explanation attempted in Asia Major, NS, π, 1, 1951, 37, can thus be completed. Kuci taur ‘dust’, if named as ‘covering’, could be native or Iranian.
² Rugged flanks of Caucasus, π, 147.
³ M. Mayrhofer, Sanskrit etymological dictionary, leaves torana- unconnected.
⁵ Kûdâg Ígor stëryl, 1956, 15.
This is offered to render sėrymũ vālkomũ po zemli, šizymũ orlomũ podũ oblaky. The one verb used is rastěkašetsja ‘rush’.

From V. Aabaev I learn that this verb zyrn is confined to Southern Iron.

Derivative from zur-, zyr- are the words Dig. zurnã, Iron zyrn ‘lathe’.

The word forms the title to a poem of Epxity Tătări, beginning āzil, āzil dy, mă răvdz zyrn. In Digoron occurs āvţešin k’āxţă zurnă-fingită ‘with silver legs lathe-turned tables’.

To these words have been added Dig. dzurk’ai, zurk’ai ‘trimming on shoes’ and dzurunũ kāun ‘to destroy’.

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 āvær ‘bad’ (Digoron uses láyuz) from *zvar-. It is also in Bud. Sgod. zbr’, Chr. zbr-, Avestan zbar-.

In Dig. āvzurun, āvzursta- ‘arise’, Iron āvzārun, with Dig. āvzâră, the word will be different: zar-, but modified in second syllable to zur- in Digoron.


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 ān, Oss. don, and kam, Oss. kom. Similarly ārgom ‘open’ is represented by Abkhaz argâma ‘clear, open’, Mingrel argam ‘clear’, where occurs older *kâma.-

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

Unusual differences separate Dig. wūrdun ‘waggon’, lâk’un ‘troubled’, uesdon, jezdon ‘noble’ from Iron wūrdon, lâk’on, uâzdân.

The origin of Dig. -on, Iron -om in Dig. ĭson, Iron som, râjsom ‘to-morrow’ from -au- is recent. The sāu- is retained in compounds Dig. sāu-āxsek, Iron

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1 V. Aabaev, Osetinskiy jazyk i fol’klor, i, 469: zurun ‘krušit’sja’.
2 Iron Literatură, 10-âm k’âsăn, 1957, 87.
3 V. Aabaev, Iz osetinskogo épısa, 61, 304.
4 V. Aabaev, Osetinskiy jazyk i fol’klor, i, 469, 449.
5 TPS, 1953, 36 ff.; TPS, 1954, 152; TPS, 1955, 56 ff.; BSOAS, xxxi, 3, 1958, 525. Ācārya Līmaye has called my attention to the variant between Atharaveda 10.8.6 gūhā jāran and the quotation in Manuska upaniṣad 2.1 gūhā caṇam. A parallelism of śray, ‘mount’ and ār- can be seen in RV 7.72.4 ārādvám bhānûm savitā deva asred / bhād agnājąv samidhā jarante. Note as to zar- that T. Burrow has called attention to anusjura- translated ‘followed’ in Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, xiii, 1957, ‘Nirvacanāni’, § 1. The word uāl-āzâr, equivalent to uāl-āxes ‘prevoszod’, has been hardly suitably placed with āzâr ‘terror’, which I had carefully avoided, in V. Aabaev, Ist.-ētim. slovar’ oset. jazyka, 96.
7 V. Aabaev, Osetinskiy jazyk i fol’klor, i, 316.
8 On kâ-, Khot. khâ- ‘to open’ (in Siddhasāra 150 v 4) details elsewhere.
9 JRAS, 1953, 113.
sāu-āxsid ‘dawn’, sāu-dār ‘dawn’, sāu-dzāvīd ‘struck in the morning’, and
in the derivatives Dig. sāúmon, Iron sāúdn ‘of the morning’, Dig. Iron sāúmdā
‘in the morning’. The older word is in Avestan savah- ; Khot. svē ‘to-morrow’,
Old Ind. śvās. Possibly, however, here in som the older form had -āu-.

Ossetic replaced Old Iran. -au- by -un-, as in Dig. yun, Iron qūn ‘hair’,
Khot. ggūna-, Avestan gōna-. The Old Iran. -afn- is also -un- in Ossetic Dig.
tūnā, Iron tyn ‘cloth’ and ‘ray’, Dig. run ‘illness’, Iron ryn.

In Ossetic Dig. Iron koj ‘rumour, care’ a derivation from older *kāwyā-
was proposed.1 Old Iran. -au- gave Dig. -o-, Iron -ū- as in bodā 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 :

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{jsatāndā ssūjātū savā} & \text{ssūjīye ggūsto hvaštāndā}
\\
tundāndū drūjo hvatāndā & kāre ḍṛṣṭiyate nāndā
\end{array}
\]

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 :

\[\text{herā kīna ḍṛṢira pādaṇjī jādā u śūje hīya stūra bīṣā ttūda ṭudāṃdā ‘they}
\text{destroyed the state of the country for money and caused one another’s cattle}
\text{all to be plundered’}.

The context decides for this meaning ‘plunder’ or the like.2 In form the
participle ttundā-, later ttūdā-, 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 tundō, tunsus, tussus, tusus ‘thrust’, tudīt-, 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.3 The preterite has retained the -n-.

The second word Dig. ānsonun, ānsūt, Iron āssonym, ssonyn, ssyd ‘thrust’
has no -n- in the preterite.

Khotanese has a verbal base sun- : sva- (where sva- is a normal later form
from *ṣuta-). This is in the Siddhārtha 153 v 4 : ttye askhawesa [ā vā detadārā],

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1 BSOAS, xxi, 3, 1958, 527.
2 E. Leumann in E gave the word doubtfully the meaning of Sansk. tudati.
3 Va. Miller, Onetinskie ćljudy, iii, 150, gave tan-, unsuitable in meaning.
balohaña ēnštānã, kujsaviña rrũmũña sunãnu padajsãna ‘its top [or of devadāru] is to be fastened in a cloth, it is to be thrown into sesamum oil, and is to be burnt’. The Tibetan reads šin-buñi thor-ーtor-as-kyis dkris-te, til mar-gyi nan-du smyg-la bsregs-te. The Sanskrit original is short: pradīpya caila-tailād.

A second case of the verb is in ibid. 155 r 1 padānaña syanãna padojañã. Here Tibetan has only bsregs-pa. In 155 r 5 haysgva syanãna corresponds to Tibetan snar bsregs-na. Here sva- has been written for su- (-ya- for -u- is familiar in sthyapa- for stūpa- ‘stūpa’ in KT, II, 107, 168, 171).

The meaning of sun- from the Tibetan is the equivalent of bsng-pa which renders Sansk. nikṣipta- ‘thrown into’. Tib. bsng-pa is ‘pour’.

A compound with bũ- occurs in P 2893.98 (KT, III, 86): niyakā ahoudi-vār̥jā bindā bāsvāna u bidai hā hamaysā ² śikarā parkānāna ‘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 śīyā praviśām jṣa jṣa yaḍama śvauḍa ‘we put on the yulma-raincoat with white praviśā-’ ³. P 2024.46 has cū mūsakava yaragaka śvauḍa; the word mūsakava may be connected with Zor. Pahlavi and New Pers. musk ‘the musk deer’. The yaragaka is Turkish yaryag ‘pelt’.

From these passages Khotanese has presents sūn-, būṣva- and preterite sva- from *śuta-.

In the Avesta older ś- and āy- fell together. Hence a word Avestan śav- : śu-may conceal two older words. In Yasna 9.32 yeihe frafravaite mano yāva averyem vāto,śūtom ‘whose mind tosses like a wind-driven cloud’ the active sense of śūta- would better suit Khot. sūn- than śyav- ‘go’. In Vid. 2.10 aśrīṣvāt ‘he drove on’, and with separated preverb in verse 38 the same śu- may be used. ⁴

It is now clear that these words offer a good expressing of Ossetic änsonun ‘thrust’ and allied meanings. ⁵

Since words expressing forced motion yield verbs indicating ‘put, throw, send, shoot, speed’ it is reasonable to cite here Lit. śāvju, śāuti, Lett. šaut ‘shoot, move quickly’ from an Indo-European šeu-, if this is a by-form to ēšeu- as we find šku- in Lett. škuju, škūt, Lit. sku-t- in škūtu, skūsti, compared with kšeu- in Greek ξύω ‘shave’.

There remains to mention the Rigvedic word kṣonāyō in 10.22.9 where

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¹ bũ- with ā as pā- in pūheita, pāhamjāka, vũ- in vāmśiva. In a basic syllable bûs- from older bax-.

² The word hamaysā is not explained. By etymology it could mean ‘crushed small’ from *fra-māsaka- (assuming that here śikarā is plural) from māz- (BSOAS, xxxi, 3, 1958, 523) like Lit. māzās ‘small’.

³ The word praviś-, prveś- has not yet been explained. A word of similar form is kambcā- ‘summary’, older participle kambirsta-, kambista- ‘combined’. The word yaḍama is Turkish yulma. For the meaning note Avestan vark- ‘pull; wear’, and the similar Baltic velk-

⁴ This would improve upon the explanation in H. W. Bailey, Zoroastrian probleme, 220, 224.

⁵ The attempt to find in änsonun the word san-, sān- ‘rise, raise’ is hardly satisfactory for the meaning, see V. Abaev, Ist.-êtim, slonar’ 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 kšoni—here may mean ‘impetuous’.

It has been pointed out earlier that Ossetic has words from a base gav- : gu- ‘to grow’. Dig. yon, Iron qom ‘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 yázun-yon fácancá ‘mogli užë ijrát’.

Dig. yom, Iron qom, plur. qomtä, has also the meaning ‘herd’. It occurs also in many compounds as Dig. yom-xeznä, Iron qom-xizän ‘pasture for herds’. A derivative *gūma- ‘growing animals’ would well connect this word.

In Ossetic the loan-word som, plur. somtä ‘rouble’ corresponds to Arabic šum, sing. šemh (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa) and Italian sommo.²

14. tillág

The Ossetic word Dig. tillág, Iron tyllág ‘corn, grain, seed, crop’ is a frequent word. With suffix occurs tillággun lág (Iron Ādāmón Šfāldystād, v, 167); tyllágdžyn áż ‘year with abundant crop’. The phrase qāzdīg tyllág ‘rich crop’ has been noted in a newspaper. Bāyärāti Sozur 70 reads à mosnā fǎzzāg tillág ku xāstā ‘he brought the autumn harvest to his threshing-floor’. Similarly we find ibid. 129 mā uätzāg kārdāggun, mā fāzzāg tillággun ‘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 tillág with the Rigvedic tilvita- ‘rich, fertile’ used in 5.62.7 of a field: bhadrē kṣétre nimitā tilvile vā / sanēma màdhu ādhigartyasya.

The denominative verb occurs in RV 7.78.5: tilvilyāḍhvam uṣaso vibhātr.

With this til- the Old Indian tīḷa-s ‘sesame seed’, tāḷa-m ‘oil’ could belong with specialized meaning, as Old Indian dhānās has given Marāṭhī dhān ‘rice’ through dhāṅyā-.²

**ADDENDA**

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

p. 522. The Sansk. abhyanga-udvartana-snātra is rendered in N 119.14 by abhyanga usbrutemāte ysnānā. This is then another verb to express ‘rough treatment’ in massage.

Pašto Waziri gurmat ‘blow with the fist’ is explained (G. Morgenstierne, *EVP*, 24) as *anguri-maštī-. If it is replaced by *anguri-maštī- the same maštā- would have survived here.

Chorasmian has m’zd ‘broke’, mtyk ‘broken’, mt-zyyk ‘with broken

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¹ This word kšoni- needs full treatment elsewhere.
² BSOAS, xx, 3, 1958, 527.
horns’. Turfan Parthian has ‘mēšt ‘broken’ in bšn’n ‘mēst ‘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. 528. The gašt ‘club’ of Greater Bundahišn 138.2 corresponds to Zātspram 6.13 vāzr.

To gahai ‘shaft of arrow’ add Old Khot. ggeʃha ‘timber, Sansk. kāʃtha-’ in the Swarnabhāsa 24 v 4. In Kha 0012 a, 135 v 4 (KTB, 11) ggeʃha is likely to be the same word (for -ei- and -e- note kšenu and kšenu ‘six’ gen. plural). For the derivation of gahaa-, note Zor. Pahl. ćopakăn (Husrau ut rētak-ē 12) ‘polo-stick’ from ćop ‘wood, stick’, New Pers. ćob ‘log, wood, tree, staff, mace’; with suffix ćobah ‘wand, walking-stick; white poplar’; ćauğān ‘polo-stick’. The Kārnāmak has ćopagān.

p. 530. Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada has aseyana- (B 31, BSOAS, xi, 3, 1945, 493).