ARYA IV

By H. W. Bailey

1. gaś-
2. mand-
3. mar-
4. tap-
5. Suppleta

1. gaś-

Older Khotanese Saka has the word jseī'na-, jseīna-, jsāna-, superlative jseī'ndama-, later Khotanese jseīna-, jsai'na-, jsena-, jsenma-, jsaīna-, jsaīna-'small', of size rendering Sansk. sākṣma-, Tib. cha phra-ba 'fine' and ēb-tu ²; of weakness or ignorance, rendering Sansk. bāla- ³; of time 'short' in the dyadic phrase thyau jsa jsenma ⁴ compared with thyau jsa ma-dārā 'at once, not long'. Tumshuq has tsāṇakai.

Selected passages are the following:
Kha ix, 13a, 1 v 6 jseīna gurviča 'small grains'; Kha ix, 13a, 1 v 5 kho jseī'ndama gurviča 'like the smallest grains'; E 21.47 phāni jseī'ni 'fine dust'; Siddhasāra 132 v 4, KT, 1, 66 jsenā kutānā, Tib. ēb-tu brārus-pa-ste 'is to be ground small'. The word is duplicated in N 74.46 〈jseī〉n〈u〉 jsenvi nīcate 'he broke it into small pieces'; P 2893.177, KT, iii, 89 jsenā jsenā gūsāu'nā 'is to be divided into small pieces'.

With the postpositions vāte and virā occur E jseī'nu vāte, jsānu virī, jseī'nu virā, and later P 3513.69 r 2 (Suvarnabhāsa) jsinā vī and P 2790.74, KT, ii, 113 bīśa jsimni vī lasā haisimām 'we all promptly will send a report'.

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

In Siddhasāra 121 v 2 jsimnā brīhā renders Sansk. kuksi-, Tib. mkhal-sked, that is the 'belly' named as the 'smaller wide part' in contrast with byha-, braha-, braha- 'wide part' to render 'back, prṛṣṭha-'. It may be traced to the base fraθ- 'be wide' as in Avestan fraθhaθ- 'width', Old Ind. prath-. In the Jātaka-stava 12 v 2 brahyte-ti jsenā 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. kōṭhā, Zor. Pahl. kōtak 'small, little, short, mean', Greek βαχχος 'small, short, insignificant', Latin breuis 'small, short, narrow, low, shallow'.

For the history of the word, comparison with the -ei'- before nasal of Khot. tceī'man- 'eye' (later tceīn, tceṃ, teī from *caśman- (Avestan caśman-), OPers. čaṃ, Zor. Pahl., NPers. čaṃ, Bal. čam, but Oss. cāsta) and Khot. beī'man- 'fortune', later bema, and beī'juana- 'fortunate' from *bçśman- (Avestan

1 For parts i-iii see BSOA, xxi, 3, 1958, 522-45; xxiii, 1, 1960, 13-39; xxiv, 3, 1961, 470-83.
2 Siddhasāra 4 v 1; 124 v 4.
3 P 5538 b 80, KT, iii, 124: bala ajñāna, jsaīna satta na bauattai.
4 Or. 11344, 11 b 2, KT, ii, 37; P 3513.68 r 1, KT, i, 246. Like Sansk. acīra-, Pali sacīra-.
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. büṣṣ-, būta-) establishes that jsei’na- is from older *fašna-, or *fazšna-.

Iranian ŋ- is the palatalization of g- and usually both g- and ŋ- occur in the one base. It is possible to compare the faī- of Saka Khot. īšna- ‘life’, Timshuq tseñā- (ts = dz) from *fainā- (or possibly *feyanā-) with the gai- of Avestan gaθā- ‘household’ and gaya- ‘life’ (OInd. gāya-s). Similar are Avestan gam- and jam- (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 𐭠𐭩𐭠𐭠 which renders Avestan məɾzuz-. This Avestan word is now known to mean ‘short’ corresponding to Khot. mulyaga-, later muʿysga-, muysga-, Sogd. məɾzək-. The meaning long eluded translators.

The dots above the first letter assure initial g-, at least in the intention of the scribe. The second letter seems certainly to be ʃ, although the difference between ʃ and yh is evanescent in the manuscripts. The third letter may be n or w. If the Khot. jsei’na- ‘small’ belongs with the Pahlavi word there will be some presumption in favour of the same suffix -na-, although the suffix -uk (-uk, -uk, -ok) 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-mēnīṁhā āvē ke drāyaṅ xvarēt ut xvarēt ‘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-mēnīṁhā paniḥ [w] xvatāyīh vitakēnēd ‘they make flow away the sovereignty by small-minded niggardliness’. This contrasts with the statement, line 7, pat vazurk-niāvīṁhā rāttī ... anōsakēnēd ‘by wide-minded liberality they perpetuate sovereignty’. Of time we have DkM 804.17 zamānāk ī nēvahāy gašnak bāt ut ān ī anākāh drāz hast ‘the time of good fortune was 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 vēs-zīvīṁhīh ‘abundant life’ beside 14 gašnak-zīvīṁhīh ‘short life’. This gašnak-zīvīṁhīh renders Avestan məɾzuz- jītī- and məɾzuz- jwa-. Of statute occurs DkM 808.4 tan ī sēšomand 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. mukur and mukūrtam.
3 J. Darmester, Zend-Avesta, ii 268, gweve ḏuk ‘sin ’; Jamasp, Vendidad, has aḥūk ‘defective, sinful’ (without reference to dots); E. W. West, SBE, v 352, ‘huny’ as if NPers. gweru, SBE, xxxvii 208, gauk ‘dwarfish, short ’; M. Haug, Essays on the Parsee, 2nd ed., 386, gushed-zakāshdān ‘poluters’ with gušā ‘male’, whence Bartholomae, s.v. mærus, wrongly rescripted ā n dan k, adding the n for Haug’s u (a vowel unrepresented in the script) as if it were for āv. In the AIW the word is left unread. Sanjana, Dēnkart, ix, cap. 18, p. 45, has gushnag ‘dwarfish, short’.
4 In utk- *vitak one may see the cognate of the Armenian loan-word vītak ‘stream ’. Or is it vatakēnēd ‘vitate’ ?
5 Or read bavē ‘is’.
which I made short for you’ in contrast to 22 tan i sêžomand kê-t man buland kart ‘perishable body which I made tall for you’. Here gaśnak 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-jsêni ‘long-lived’, Or. 9069, 5 v 5, KT, r, 234 dâra-jsînyavnu ‘long life’, Or. 11252, 1.16, KT, rii, 15 muysga-jsêni, plural muysga-jsînya. Note also E 15.12 aysmûna mulysga.

Further support for the reading gaśn of gaśnak can be found in a word gašnič (with -č as in Zor. Pahl. dahluč, Armen. loan-word dahluč ‘hall’; or with -čč if the ending is that in Armen. loan-word Mančé, spelled in Greek Movaičes). This word gašnič is NPers. gašnîz, in Mašhâdi dialect yešnîz ‘coriander’.2 In the Greater Bundahišn TD2 (DH is missing) we have kešnî, 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 gušnyâ, that is, either *gošnîc or *gušnîc with modification of -a- in the direction of -o- or -u- after g-; somewhat as the Avestan varâza- ‘boar’ is represented in NPersian by gušrâ, a change already found in a proper name on the inscription of Šâhpur I where the Parthian text 25 has ur’es, the Persian ur’c, and the Greek gouraz. The Chinese 蝦 hu-sui < γυο-συ K 91, 1012 (Tibetan loan-word ho-su) will represent Iranian *gošnîc.3

The Franhâg i Pahlavi has gšnîc with two dots over the g-, Pâzand gašnîz; and Iskâšmî has gašnîz.4 Other words for coriander are Armen. gindz, gen. sing. gndzoy (whence Georgian k’indz-i) and Balochi gânîch for *gênîc and kînîch for *kînîc,5 and NPers. yarmîc.

This association of gaśnak and gašnič assumes that gašnič is named as the plant with small seeds, that is, small, thin, or flat.

From Hebrew it is known (Numbers xi, 7) that the mân ‘manna’ resembled the zv-gd ‘seed of coriander’ and that the mân was daq ‘small, thin, fine’ (Exod. xvi, 14) which was rendered by λεπτῶν in the LXX. The same connexion of ‘small’ with ‘coriander’ can be seen in the Greek kôpov ‘coriander’ cognate with the word kôpis ‘bug’, and, with other vowels âkapî ‘mite (insect)’, âkapîs ‘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 bûj i bihištî ‘heavenly perfume’.)

1 K 20, 53 r 4 d’hîyê with capped d and dashed l.
2 I have the Mašhâdi (with initial fricative) from M. Muhaqqiq, who knew no pronunciation with initial -k-. For -k- beside the dictionaries, NPers. kînîz, kînîj, we have also Kurdish kînîz and Russian loan-word kînîc.
3 E. Pulleyblank, Asia Major, NS, rix, 1, 1962, 132.
4 T. N. Pakhalina, Iskâšmîski jazyk, 200.
5 F. de Lagarde, Gesamm. Abhandlungen, 57; E. W. Maresden, Grammar and vocabulary of the Mekranee Balochee dialect, 1877, 57; Mr. Mayer’s English–Biluchi dictionary; G. W. Gilbertson, English–Balochi colloquial dictionary, 148 (quoting from north Balochi dhanîyâ from Indo-Aryan).
Further that the coriander plant was named from the seed can be seen in the Sanskrit name dhānyam, dhānyā, dhānyākam, dhānyabījam from dhānā- ‘grain’.

A problem not yet solved now arises. In NPersian there is a word gašn, gašan ‘much’ in gašan-sāx ‘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 apormāyu-. 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 gakš-. On the evidence of Śiṅa gaç ‘branch’, gaçhi ‘tree’ an Indo-Aryan *gakša- has already been constructed. 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, Bengāli, and Nepāli gach is rendered by ‘tree’.

The relatively smaller size of the plant indicated by gaccha- and gaç seems appropriately to associate it with west Iran, gašnak and Khot. jse’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 Bengāli khud ‘broken rice’, and SANS kṣudṛ ‘small’ and ‘bee, fly, gnat’ as ‘small’ living things. But. Sanskrit has kṛmi-kṣudra- rendered in Khotanese by pāra u hajse. Similarly Sansk. kaninī, kanīnikā from kan- ‘small’ are used as nouns for ‘little finger’.

2. mand-

Ailios Dionysios stated that μανδός ‘mantle’ was a Persian word: Αἴλιος Δεὶ διονύσιος λέγει ὅτι περσικὸν ὄνομα καὶ ὁ μανδός. Variant forms are μανδά, μανδή, μανδύη.

Earlier in a fragment of Aiskhulos, 364, the word is applied to a cloak of Liburnia (Illyria): Λιβυρνικῆς μίμησα μανδύης χιτών. It has been claimed that the mandua was the sleeved cloak with clasps.

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 dešanā ‘confession text’.

Here we read:

1 R. L. Turner, Nepali dictionary, s.v. gach.
2 No etymology is adopted in Mayrhofer, Concise etym. Sanskrit dictionary.
4 Aelii Dionysiī et Pausanīae atticistorum fragmenta, ed. E. Schwabe, 1890, p. 191, where sources are quoted.
6 P 3513.70 r 2, KT, 63. A translation of the whole dešanā will be printed in the volume dedicated to W. Norman Brown.
that is, ‘(I present) lotus seats, lion seats, excellent canopies covered with gold-threaded coverlets, kamaka-cloths’.

This text, as usual in Middle Iranian, requires some notes. The word ysara-‘golden-coloured’ is found also in ysara-gûna- rendering Sansk. swarna-varna-1 and in ysara-gûna-bâysu ‘golden-coloured arms’ where the Tibetan has gser-gyi kha-dog-can. The phrase is also in Tocharian A 91 a 3 wsâ-yakâs pokenyô. The word -ttaša- 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, kattalâ bahyâ ‘plantain tree’, Sansk. kadâlî. If the word is here dasa-, it can be recognized in NPers. dasah ‘thread remaining in the loom’, Yidya loso, lâso ‘rope of goat’s hair’, sam-lasiko ‘neck-rope’, Dardic Šumâsti daso ‘thread’, Sansk. daśâ ‘fringe’.2

We have then to see in ysarattaša- from *zara-das-ya- (with the -ya- of possessive compounds) the equivalent of the loan-word Sanskrit (E 14.137) svarna-sûttâra, P 3513.78 v 2 svarna-sûttarrî peśârâ ‘brocade and crowns’. The word kamaka- may be taken as a variant of kâiméja-, kêmajâ- for which we have elucidatory evidence. In the jâataka tale of Nanda3 occurs: mîrâhi ā kêmajâm âstana pharâka vásta avamâga ‘pearls and many innumerable clothes, kêmajâ- and the rest’. The kâiméja- are mentioned in the list of donations to two âcâryas, Ratanavaraiksâ âsî and Prakaittu.4 They are yellow, red, and blue in colour. The word pośîsta- ‘covered’ is well attested with present pośî- and noun pośîsaka- ‘covering’.5

In *mándula- found only here in the inst. plural mândulyâm (where the gen. plural and inst. plural are fused) we can isolate a base mând- ‘to cover’ whence the noun is formed by -u- suffix mандu- (as we have Old Pers. manda above) and the common -la- suffix, as in bagala- ‘vessel’ (beside Armenian loan-word bažak with the -z-). 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. bástulai for Sansk. vástu, vástiâka- ‘the plant chenopodium album L.’.6

A note is needed also on Khot. -nd- and -nd-, which seem not to have differed in sound. The hvand- ‘man’ of older Khotanese corresponds to Later Khot. hvand-, but also hvand- and hvand-. The loan-word Later Khot. iranda- is from Sansk. erânda-, through a Prakrit. The variation of -nd- and -nd- is known frequently elsewhere. Pašto has both. Old Iranian -nd- is normally Pašto -nd- as in wandanai ‘rope’, but it has also yand ‘round’, corresponding to Avestan gunda-; both lavand and lavand ‘adventurer’, as also sarbande,

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1 P 3513.68 v 2 (Swarabhâna), 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. cvii. 001, 20, 23, 26, KT, ii, 60.
5 A locust’s leg: studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh, 35.
6 Siddhasâra 17 v 4, KT, i, 28; Jivaka-pustaka 80 v 5; 104 v 1.

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sARBÀNGE 'plough rope' are quoted.\textsuperscript{1} Waxî has both mând- and mänd- 'to rub'.\textsuperscript{2} Similarly Aškun Nūristānî has both -nd- and -nđ- in mûnda, mûnda, mʊnda 'clothes' beside the verb mʊnd-, mën- 'to dress' and causative mʊndawâ.\textsuperscript{3} Aškun mandâ 'neck', Pašâi manda, Romani mend, compares with Parâčî manda. Parâčî has pendî kanem 'I squeeze', Sansk. piṇḍī-kar-, connected with Armenian piṇd 'compact'. In older Indo-Aryan we find Sansk. bhîndipâla- 'missile', Bud. Sansk. bhîndipâla- (whence Tocharian A bhîndipâla\textsuperscript{4} plural), Sansk. lex. bhîndimâla-, ArdhaMâg. bhîndimâla-, bhîndî-vâla-, Pali bhîndivâla-. Nepali manuscripts confuse -nd- and -nđ-, hence in the Nepali manuscript of the Siddhâsâra 9 r 4 we have manda- for the more normal manda- 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 nādā- 'reed', AV naddā-, where Baḷoči has the unchanged nadda- in naddag 'the plant cymbopogon iwarancusa'\textsuperscript{4} while both Avestan nadda- 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\textsuperscript{3}, by ejective k\textsuperscript{1}, and by fricative x-. With a verb Old Pers. mand-, Khot. mänd- as a source of words for 'clothing' in general or for 'clothes', can be compared many similar cases. Thus Zor. Pahlavi has apar-nihumb 'covering' from nihviṣtam 'cover, hide' to render Avestan aiwi.varma-. The usvârîn LWBSYA 'dress' is used for Zor. Pahl. varr, Armenian loan-word vər 'royal mantle', Avestan varnā-.\textsuperscript{5} From the base gauδ- 'cover' comes Khot. hâmûn-: hâmûsta- 'cover'; uṣṇγun-: uṣṇγusta- 'uncover', Baḷoči gud 'clothing', Sogd. nγun, nγust-, nγud, "γwst-, γwûn, βγûδ, Parth. gûnd-, gûst, Oss. ąγû główne.\textsuperscript{6} The base kauδ- 'cover' has supplied Zor. Pahl. ētwl, *cátur or *câtαr 'covering', Khwar word-loan cátir, NPers. cādār 'covering', Turkish, from Sogdian, cātîr. Similarly Mongol nemûre- 'to cover' provides nemûrđe 'felt cloak'.\textsuperscript{8} If a variation in enlargement d/∅ is assumed the Old Persian mand- in māvûmā must now be connected with Latin mant- in mantu-s 'short mantle', mantuâtus 'cloaked', mantica 'wallet', mantellum 'covering'.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{1} G. Morgenstierne, EVP, 26.
\textsuperscript{2} IIFL, ii, 529.
\textsuperscript{3} G. Morgenstierne, NTS, ii, 1929, 266.
\textsuperscript{4} Acta Orientalia, xx, 3-4, 1948, 289; NTS, v, 1932, 48.
\textsuperscript{5} Gr. Bd. 03.14, 136.7; Hübchmann, AG, 243; C. Bartholomae, Zendhandschriften, *53.
\textsuperscript{6} In Öss. Dig. fâlutuñ 'dress' seems more suitably traced to a base -aud-, unenlarged in Avestan aôdra- 'shoe', Pahl. môk, since -γ- would be expected to survive from gauδ- (against 'Asics', EFS, 1943, 3).
\textsuperscript{7} Yavist i frîgān 3.56 ut câtâr apar sar nihviṣtam 'and she placed a covering upon her head'.
\textsuperscript{8} For Khwar, BŚOS, viii, 2-3, 1936, 669.
\textsuperscript{9} N. Poppe, Vergleichende Grammatik d. altasischen Sprachen, 1, 37-8.
\textsuperscript{10} Similar d/∅ variation is claimed for IE (a)kar- and (a)ker-, see Pokorny, IEW, 938, 1023, and in Lit. splêns-, plînd- beside plûnt-, E. Fraenkel, LitEW, 616, 624, 617.
\textsuperscript{10} Walde, LitEW: Celtic in origin.
Aśkun mond-, mund- in mōnda, munda ‘clothing’ beside mōṇḍa is from mand- beside maṇḍ-.

In Indo-Aryan Bud. Sansk. maṇḍa- occurs in maṇḍa-pūla- ‘shoes with upper parts’ (variant with maṇḍa-). 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. 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 āgarhapatya- are likened to two nau-maṇḍa-.

The kṣīrakotar- is the nāvāja- ‘navigator’. If the nau-manṭhena of the Vādhiṇa-sūtra is to be read *nau-mandaṇa, suggested by the commentary maṇḍayate 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 Mahāyānapiṭṭha 1141. This seems preferable to the Pali gloss by sāra- for maṇḍa- derived from the sense ‘top, best’, as also in the Tibetan sṅin-po ‘heart’. In the Sunukha-sūtra 853 we find bauddhimaṇḍā caityā vīra ‘upon the bodhimaṇḍa caitya’ corresponding to Tib. byan-chub sṅin-pohi mchod-rt’en chen-po-na. N 66.34 has āyana-, 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 gṛha-maṇḍa- and sarpi-maṇḍa-, the Mahābhārata dadhi-maṇḍa-; also dadhiya- maṇḍa- occurs. The word maṇḍa- is explained in the Amarakoṣa 2.9.54 as dadhi-bhavam mastu. In the Siddhasāra 20 v 4 Khot. amāsta ṳye renders Tib. zo ma-lins-pa from Sansk. maṇḍa-jātāṃ mastu (manda- for maṇḍa-). Generalized we have Siddhāsāra 123 r 1 yasuijā mauna for Tib. chan žim-po ‘flavoured intoxicant’ from Sansk. surā-maṇḍa-. The Avadāna‑sūtaka has the clichē (p. 15) kṣirenā dadhinā navanītena sarpiśa sarpi-mañḍena. In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 4.16 we find gṛṭṭā pari māṇḍam īva‑atissūkṣamam. The same concept of surface covering is in Tibetan in žo ‘thick milk’ (used for Sansk. dadhi), zo-sri ‘cream’, and ho-sri ‘cream of milk’ where sri is a component form from sbris-ma, spri-ma, spris-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, Bauddhāyana-brahmaṇa 18.46 ; H. Oertel, Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa in JAOS, xcviii, 1907, 82. The phrase is nau-maṇḍa uṣāṣadśa (variant uṣāṣīye).
3 ŚB kāṇḍa 2, adhāya 3, brāhmaṇa 3, 15.
5 KBT, 135.
6 In India, as F. R. Alcchin 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 skev- ‘to cover’.

A problem arises now in regard to Indo-Aryan manda-pa- 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 sipātikā- and sivātikā- ‘receptacle’. Sanskrit has rājapattā-, rājavatya-, and rājāvarta- ‘lapis lazuli’.\(^1\) Bud. Sansk. kaḍepara-, kaḍevara- corresponds to kālevara- ‘body’.\(^2\) Bud. Sansk. jādūvara-, jādūpāra-, jādūvāra- ‘zedoary’ are loan-words from Iranian but the oldest form is not yet certain.\(^3\) Sansk. nepathyas-, nāipathyas- ‘tiring-room’ has been traced to Mid. Indo-Aryan nīvasta- attested in Bud. Sanskrit,\(^4\) with secondary -p-.

In Khotanese the Sanskrit word paramānu- has through Prakrit taken the base form paramānava- in Old Khotanese (in E) and later; similarly we have from Sansk. dhātu- ‘basis’ Khot. dhātavva acc. plur., dhātavām gen. plur.,\(^5\) that is a base form dhātava-. With -i- we find from Sansk. riśi- ‘sage’ Khot. riśaya- (Kuci riśāke). The Bud. Sansk. brahmāna- from older brahmān- with similar thematic -a- differs with the long -ā-. Such forms indicate a development within Middle Indian.

If now from *manda-, with the -u- as in Old Pers. manda-va and Lat. mantu-s we assume *manda-va- the Sansk. manda-pa- may have replaced -v- by -p-. The Jaina inscriptive Sansk. manda-vikā ‘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 maṇḍetī ‘to adorn’ with participle maṇḍitā-, may be associated with Iranian Old Pers. mand- ‘to cover’ in māvāna and Khot. maṇḍ- in maṇḍala- if it is assumed that the sense ‘adorn’ was reached through ‘cover’. The Dhātupātha indeed has maṇḍate ‘to invest’ in a variant (ed. O. Böhtlingk, i, 290–1) vaiḍi 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 maṇḍaitē and mōrondāt, Indo-Aryan has maṇḍati and mṛndāti. From this came Pali maddati, Prak. maddai, maḍḍai; in New Indo-Aryan Palola māṇḍ-, Hindi māṛ- have arisen by nasalization from māṇḍ-.

Khotanese has one case \(^8\) of pasamaṇḍāna- ‘to be rubbed’ rendering Tib. mñe-ba ‘rub’. Here we may have *sam-maṇḍ- with Iranian pa- (or possibly

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\(^1\) JRAS, 1955, 21.
\(^2\) JRAS, 1955, 16.
\(^3\) JRAS, 1955, 71.
\(^4\) H. Lüders, ZDMG, xcv, 2, 1941, 290 ff.; F. Edgerton, Bud. Hyb. Sansk. dict., s.v. nivasta-.
\(^5\) Siddhasāra 5 r 4; 4 r 4.
\(^7\) 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 mānd- one could see an early replacement in Prakrit of madd-, as Khotanese has jarnph- ‘to state’ from *japph-, older jalp-.

In Yidya we have, however, to start from *marnd- to explain pres. magv-, magvám ‘I rub’, pret. magvítim. That is, *marnd-, *mánd-, *mangv-, magv- to be compared to *arñati ‘he grinds’ yielding *an(a)t, *ankv-, *akv- and thus to the attested yeikv ‘he grinds’ beside yāνem ‘I grind’. Here there is no possibility of Indo-Aryan origin for the retroflex n in yāνem since the base ar- is lost in India.

Yazgulāmī marn- ‘twist, rub’ may have preserved a less developed form. In Wāxi mānd- and mānd- ‘rub’, Sanglēči mānd- and Sarikoli mānd- in warmāndao ‘to rub’ one might also conjecture older *marn-.\(^1\)

Paśto kšē-mandal ‘to shampoo’ has been traced to *manbhā- and compared with Avestan vīmanāt and amaṇta from manθ- ‘to stir’.\(^2\) This manθ- is well known in Iranian as in Older Khotanese manθhāte ‘he stirs’, later vīmath- ‘to rub apart’ \(^3\) and patāmanthā-, pamanthā- ‘arrow’, Sansk. sālya. Yidya has lomān- ‘rub’, Śuṣṇi śemān-.\(^4\) Oss. Dig. āśmāntun ‘to mix’, Parāči menth- ‘rub’. Sarikoli māθ ‘stick’ may belong here. Sogd. mnθ- (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 *mānd- (or mānd-?) developed. It would, however, seem unnecessary to postulate borrowing into Iranian where an inner-Iranian explanation is possible.

A compound manda-cara-vat explained as lāngala-pāsa-vat still awaits explanation.\(^5\)

3. mar-

The Veinax\(^6\) languages contain Iranian loan-words which show direct contact with modern Ossetic or at least its ancestral Alan.\(^7\) Thus Inguš bāri, beri ‘horsemam’ is equivalent to Oss. bārāg from older *bāraka- ‘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 = i) ‘male, brave’. From eastern Dagestan we have Darga marga ‘male’. The word majra is abundantly attested. The following will suffice to illustrate the dialect forms:

Čečen majra, majranig, majrínig (-nig adj. suffix) ‘brave’, majra k’ant ‘brave youth’, majralla ‘bravery’; majr, māri, mār ‘male’.

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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.
6. Čečen, Inguš, and Batabi.

Batsbi marol ‘courage’; mar ‘male’.

From Dagestan 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’.

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

In western Iranian there are many traces of a word marya- sometimes modified in meaning according to social milieu. Zor. Pahl. mylk *mērak ‘husband’ occurs in the phrase žan ut ěšū ut mērak3 ‘wife and husband’. For the husband in legal contexts in the Mātikān ī hazār dātastān there are the notes of Bartholmaeus.

In modern use we have Luri mērā, Baxtāiri mera, mūra ‘husband, man’, plural mē-ryēl, mē-ryēl, Zardūšti (Gabri) mūra ‘husband’. Khotanese where marya- has not been found used daha-, dahaka- for ‘male’.

In a pejorative sense, as we have Khot. daha- ‘man’, hudaha- ‘mahāpurusa’, but Parth. dāhīst ‘slavery’,6 we find Old Pers. m r i k marīka- ‘man of lower class’ translating Akkad. LU galla ‘menial’; and Khowar maristan ‘slave’, Pašto mrayaī, Wazirī maryaī, fem. mrayaī, Ormuī mrīk, mēg ‘slave’.

The names Vaṅgamarṣa and Haṃṭhuntu maretja may contain this same marya-.

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 Rudrā-, as the hunter of wild beast, in one type of society almost the only fully lauded male, gave later the vrddha adjective rudhr- in the sense of ‘cruel, savage’, a meaning suitable only to a stage of belief imbued with non-violence, ahimsā.

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

In the Avesta the mairya- is uniformly disparaged. Thus we have Yašt 10.2 mairyō mihrō.druxš ‘agreement-breaking man of violence’; Vid. 5.35 mairyō drvād ‘man of violence, holding to the lie’, like the DkM 638.6 marōn ī drvan-

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1. B. Collinder, Fennou-Ugric vocabulary, 131.
2. TPS, 1959, 75, 97; TPS, 1960, 87.
4. SR 16; zSR 4.50.2; Mitteliran. Mundarten, 6.5.
5. TPS, 1959, 107 ff.
7. G. Morgenstierne, Felicitative volume presented to S. K. Belvarkar, 93; EV, 47.
8. H. Lüders, Die šākischen Mūra, 763; ’Kusana’, BSOAS, xiv, 3, 1962, 422 (where it was unsuitably proposed to see in this name mar ‘word’ from older mantra-); H. Lüders and K. L. Janert, Mathurā inscriptions, p. 171.
dān; Yasna 9.18 the mairyā- associated with the (to Zoroastrians evil) sātar-‘ruler’; and kavi-‘poet-priest’; the enemies Tūrya Frawrasyan- and Hyaona-Arjat.aspa- (Yašt 5.41; 9.30) ‘men of violence’; similar are the mythological serpent (Yasna 11. aši-, the demoness sloth (Fr. W 10.42 būṣṭata), and the supremely evil awrō mainyus, the zatār ‘destroyer’ (Vid. 22.2). The activity of the mairyā- is described by the verb āb- ‘to terrify, drive off’.

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

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

Inevitably the Sasanian Pahlavi commentators had to explain Avestan mairyā-. By using mar, plural marān, and adj. marānik, they provided no help to interpretation. Later in the Sanskrit gloss, however, we rightly find nṛṣamsa-‘violent, cruel’. The phrase Yasna 10.15 gundān i marānik is explained by dastak i vattaran ‘group of evil men’. By using mar of the Macedonian Alexander as in DKM 405.21 mar i duṣkvarrach 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 Pahlavi denunciatory word, just as zatār is the appropriate epithet for Ahriman.

The two meanings ‘male’ and ‘brave, bold, violent’ are familiar in Vedic márya-, maryakā-. For ‘male’ note AV 14.2.37 márya iwa yosām ádhi rohayā with márya- beside yōsā-; and RV 5.2.5 maryakám ‘male’. The word márya-‘violent’ is regularly used in a good sense, not yet sickled over, in the case of Rudrá’s followers, the Marutás. It may be recalled also that the ethos of the apsarás- ‘voluptuous woman’ belongs to the same uninhibited society.

From Nūristān we have Askun marāk, marāk ‘boy’ whence has been made mârek, mœrak ‘girl’, as from Old Ind. nár- ‘man’ was made nārī- ‘woman’.

1 If Alan Sātīnīk, the name of the princess, is originally a word meaning ‘female ruler’, to be compared with Os. 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, 1939, 136.

2 In the Gothic phrase Yasna 51.12 vaēpyō koenō we must see the satiric poet who holds Zarathuṣtra 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 med- 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 mar ‘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 μεῖραξ ‘boy, girl’ is connected with Old Ind. mārya- we have an IE base mer- originally of the male, and thence transferred to the female.

In one Zor. Pahlavi 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: gōbēt pat dēn kū znīk pat ādast 2 ī ān aγray mārt 3 pat σρίσvataκ ī ān zamīk uta-š drupuṣṭih-ē pērāmēn kart ēstē tāk fraškār karē andar apēyē 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 Fraškār when (Hōm) will be needed’.

The Gr. Bd. text has suffered some damage. TD2 has znīk with capped d. DH is missing. The Ind. Bd. has Pāzand zanda. The older manuscript TD reading is hidden behind zinda, which will mean zyndk for *zandak if not an error for znīk. 5 The passage of Dēn has been taken out of its context and ill adjusted in the Bundahiśn. 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mā thā hauomō bandayaē} \\
\text{yaθa mairēm bandayaē} \\
\text{yım tūirēm fravasīyānōm} \\
\text{madome brīsve aūhē zsmō} \\
\text{pairīš.xaheēm ayanahe}
\end{align*}
\]

For this the Pahlavi gloss 6 offers: ku mā tō hōm bandāt ḍēgōn-ās mar bast tūr frasyāk pat miyān σρήsvatāk ī ān zamīk kē pērāmēn ī ān hangan advēnāk 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:

Yaśna 61.3 hamistayaēca nihrāstayaēca zandaṃcā yātumatamcā ‘to repulse and to remove the zanda- and the yātumant- sorcerers’;

Vid. 18.55 yabha zanda yātumonta morsēča gaēbd ṛṣāhe ‘as zanda- (and) yātumant- sorcerers would destroy the living ones of Arta (truth)’;

Frahang ī oim 20 zinda . yātumonta, zand yātūk.

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1 Pokorný, IEW, 738.
2 Pāzand, ed. Antia, p. 4, pa ādast.
3 That is, Hōm.
4 The word bas is omitted after znīk; it is found after mar in the gloss corresponding in Yasna 11.7 below.
5 Anklewaria, Zand-ākāsik, p. 196, cap. 24.22, rendered ‘is living’, as if zivandak, in an attempt to fit the text to the context.
6 J. M. Unváltá, Nerbostākh’s Sanskrit version of the Hōm yašt, p. 92 ff.
7 'symn' is written for 'symny *asēnēn, in place of 'symn.
8 BSOAS, xx, 1957, 47.
This association persists in Zor. Pahlavî in the Mênôk î xrat, ed. Anklesaria, 35.16–17 ut 13om kê zandikîh kunêt ut 14om kê yâtûkîh kunêt ‘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 yâtûkîh.

These Avestan and Pahlavi 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-vâf, zand-bûf ‘nightingale’, which corresponds to or comes from Sogdian znt- *zand- ‘to sing’ attested in SCE 179 zntw’ch ‘mry’ ‘singing bird’ (whence Turkish in Kâbhâbî sanduwâc). The Pers. vâf, bûf is equivalent to Sogdian w’b- ‘speak’, Yaññâbî wâw-, cognate with Germanic Goth. wôpjan ‘cry, call’, ONorse òp ‘cry, lament’, OSlav. vab- ‘call, entice’, that is, IE yâb-.

The Sogdian noun  occurs Đîrghanakha-sûtra 80 znt ‘song’, 42 zntyHy, SCE 122 znth, Vînalakirti-nirdesa-sûtra 77 zHy (alluding to the drm’yk w’yê *Sarmik yâzî ‘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.

For ‘singing’ as incantation it is easy to point to folklore of many lands. Thus Euripides has Bakkhî 234 γῶς ἔπωδος Ἀυδαίας ἀπὸ χθονός; Latin has incantare, carmen; the ëkwant- gand- ‘singing choir’ of Bhaspâtî- (RV 4.50.5) whose singing burst (rurôja) the rocks; Celtic derivatives of can- ‘singing’, Welsh gorchân ‘incantation’, Old Irish to-ind-can- ‘incantare’; the flute-playing of Ācâmâz and the xátîâgu ðzorun ‘speaking in xátîâg language’ of Ossetic tales; Lit. žavêti ‘to enchant’, Old Ind. hâvate ‘call’ and Avestan zavaiti ‘call, curse’.

The second word zandik is used of sectaries whom the Zoroastrians condemned and in its Arabic form zandîq was a term of religious abuse in the mouths of Muslims. If the Avestan zandâ-, glossed by Pahlavi zandîk, 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 zandik meant ‘gnostic’ this would most likely be the source of the name.

The third Pahlavi word znd, zndk *zand, *zandak, Pâzand zanda, zandah, NPers. zand, zandah means ‘violent’. The zandah pîl ‘the violent elephant’ is explained as the pîl i mast ‘the intoxicated elephant’ and the fil i buzurg
'large elephant'. If the uzwārišn for the Pahl. zandak-pīl is rightly explained
by the Aramaic ZWKRWTA 1 ' masculinitas' (Syriac dkerw') 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 ż-.

In Balōhī 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 ż- 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 əxt '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 unchangeable and do not decide the older
sound.

If now, as previously proposed 5 we have in žand a base gand- with palatalized
jand-, we can add the Balōhī gandag 'bad'. Here possibly the -nd- is evidence
of Old Iran. -nd-, since elsewhere as in WBalōhī ispantān 'name of a shrub'
and Marv Balōhī spantānān 'rue seeds', NPers. sipandān, as in Bal. kunt
'blunt', NPers. kund, Sansk. kuntha-, the Balōhī has kept older -nt-. 5 Sogdian
Bud. γντ'k and Chr. γντ' 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 yandol 'be disgusted', Oss. Dig. iyändun 'besmear, befoul', Khot.
ganānaa- 'stinking' (from either gan- or gand-), NPers. gand 'stink', Old Ind.
gandhā-s, su-gandhī-.

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

It was proposed 8 earlier to see in Avestan agōnyā- 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 ahanō-, ahanā-, ahanās-, and ághnya-. 9

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2 Dvəxt əsrərīk, § 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 BSOS, xx, 1957, 47.
5 A doubt may be felt if Bal. thankəm 'narrow' is compared since this seems certainly to
correspond to NPers. təng which may have either -nk- or -ng-. Khotanese has təngga- 'scarce'
and Ossetic tənəq 'thin'.
6 G. Morgenstierne, IIFL, 1, 254.
7 W. Geiger, Etymologie des Balācī, p. 18, no. 99; G. W. Gilbertson, Engl.-Bal. dict., s.v.
fool.
8 BSOS, xx, 1957, 44 ff.
9 Yāsaka’s hesitant alternative connexion with gham- ‘strike’ (working with a depleted vocabu-
rary) 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 Hsura u tətak-č, §§ 22, 30, including varəz and ģav.
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 τάρης, Zor. Pahl. tapašt), 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’.


For this way of naming the forehead from flat surface reference can be made to IE (s)ter- ‘to extend’, familiar in Khot. tārā- ‘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 (Wāxī tārak ‘collar-bone’) ‘top of head’, tārah (Wāxī tōr) ‘crown of head’, Germanic Old High Germ. stirna (from *sternjā-).² Beside this we have also Oss. D ūtārā, I tār ‘breast’ and Greek στέρπω.

2. Ossetic DI tāpān adj. ‘flat, level, low’ and noun ‘flat part’ as in ārmy tāpān ‘palm of the hand’, Dig. (Pamiatniki, ii, 30.3) ārmī tāpānājī.³ The compound, equative, is found in nā rāzi māzān āmlatāpān budurtā ‘before us lie equally flat fields’ (Miller’s dictionary, i, 131).

This tāpān ‘flat’ can be traced to an older *tapana- or *tafaana-. The suffix -ana- is familiar also in Oss. DI fātān ‘broad’, Avestan pāthana-, Sogd. (P 5.52) pōn-, 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 āt’aŋ un ‘be extended’ and āt’aŋ kānyn ‘to extend’ we have t’āŋ extended ‘from older tan- with suffix or from tang- (or bang-)’ to stretch’. The noun I t’aŋ was used to mean ‘intestines’. From the same base tantcome also Oss. D tānā, I tán ‘string’, Greek τέρνων ‘sinew’.

The intervocalic -p- of tāpān 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 -ū-), as for -b-, but -f- replacing -p- or -f- in DI ōntāf ‘hot, heat’, Sogd. ’nph, Wāxī andav; DI ḫāf ‘fish’, Sogd. kp., Khot. kava-; D xafā, I xaf ‘pus’, Avestan kafa- ‘foam’, Khot. khava-, Yidya zof, Wāxī xūf. In D robās, I rūbās, rūvās ‘fox’ both -b- and -v- occur. Note also D nāffā ‘navel’, Avestan nāfā-, nabā-

¹ G. Morgenstierne, HIIFL, ii, 545, 452.
² Pokorny, IEW, 1030. Sogdian in P 5.57; Dhyāna 214 gṛṛ t’r ‘top of mountain’; Dhyāna 48, 383, 387, 402.
⁴ Other connected words are quoted TPS, 1961, 134 ff.
⁵ Provisionally BSOAS, xxx, 3, 1958, 218; xxiii, 1, 1960, 27.
Sogd. n’h, Khot. gen. sing. nehă from *nähā-.

In form Oss. DI qāpān ‘heap, drift’ as in mity qāpān ‘snow-drift’ is similar to tāpān. The connexions are not settled. It could represent *gafana- with Šuynā γάφ, Munjānī γαφ ‘fat’, Wāxī γαφ ‘much’ (but Sogdian has γρβ with -r), or derive from gaf- (from gahh-) ‘deep’, as, with ğ-, in Avestan jafra-.

3. Oss. D t’āffā ‘blade, leaf, broad point of whip’ can be compared with naffā ‘nail’ and hence come from *tāfa-, from older *tāpa- (or *tāfa-, *tāba-).

Oss. tāvāg t’āffā is ‘sour leaf’ for ‘sorrel’. A similar way of naming a leaf is found in Mongol nabol- in nablaj- (j = ğ) ‘be flat’ and naab ‘leaf’.

4. Oss. I tābāgk is ‘fallen in, flat’, nyttābāgk kodtoj ‘they made flat, pressed together’. For -ğk note also zillāğk ‘a turning’, I gāk, D igāk ‘sign’. Here as in robās, rūbās ‘fox’ -b- has resulted. Of similar form is sābāgk ‘flat, smooth’.

Kases’s dictionary has tāhāk kāyn ‘sīm’, spluşčīvatt’.5

5. A ‘flat’ surface may explain the name for ‘seal’ in Sogdian Man. Chr. t’p- both verb and noun, as Man. t’pv t’ph ‘he sealed with a seal’; oblique t’pv, t’py, verbal t’pnt.6

6. A ‘flat’ surface explains also the Armenian loan-word tapak ‘small shield’, āspādiosκη in the passage 1 Makk. iv, 57 oskt psakok ei oskunoκ tapakok ‘with golden crowns and golden shields’, rendering otēfāνοις χρυσοίς καὶ āspādiosκας.4

7. The Armenian participle tapakeal occurs only in the one passage (describing a soldier’s dress) ink’n Zauenn (z)at’ineals ei ztapakeals eu zżapauineals narotok’ aganer. 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’ar adj. and noun, ‘level, even, flat’, tap’aran ‘flat side of a bridge’, tap’aran ‘flat’ (tap’aran teki ‘plain’), tap’aranem ‘to flatten’, as second component touaracapot ‘pasture land’ seem by their meaning to belong to Iranian tap- ‘be flat’. The word tap’a-, tap’er, and tap’aran occur in the OT and NT. If they are Iranian, tap would represent *tapa-, like the Oss. tāpān.6

9. Many Alani 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’épîze ‘be flat’, t’épàr ‘flattened out’, causat. t’épiz-abize. I note also in Batsbi t’ép, plural t’épi ‘ravine’, a feature which

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1. NTS, i, 1928, 55; IIFL, ii, 212. For DI q- from g- we have also D qāzāl, I qāz ‘reed’, Khot. qaya-.
4. Hübchemmann, AG, 252, unnecessarily doubted the word.
5. P’astos Biuzandac’i, ed. 1914, p. 332; M. Lauer, translation, p. 211.
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’.

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

The Oss. tāpānāg ‘vessel’ in susqādāj tāpānāg ‘a vessel made of lime-
wood’, and tāpān-byn ‘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. riwny tpy ‘jar of oil’ from *tapaka- 2; Georg. t’ap’ak’-i, t’abak’-i ‘a great tray or plate of wood, didi 
xon’ca an lank’ani xīsa’ 3; ʃam-t’abak’-i ‘large wooden cup’; t’abak’oba
‘presentation of bread on trays’; Svanetian t’a’baq ‘table’ 4; Syriac ṭbq’
‘patina, lanx’ with Arab. ṭabaq ‘dish’, plurals ṭbāq, ṭbāqah.

Ossetic has tābōy ‘plate’ and ‘drum’. 5 From Arab-Persian came Turk.
ṭabaq. 6 Pašto tabač ‘iron dish for baking cakes’ has the -b- of a loan-word;
ṭabara ‘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. tpm’ (or tp’n) has been associated with Syriac
daynā ‘bier’, ḏypnā ‘coffin’. 8 A box with flat sides might well belong to
tap- ‘flat’. Bud. Skt. tapana- is ‘box’ or ‘basket’.

Early NPersian has ṭbūk *tabōk ‘platter’ with -ok as in *makōk attested in
Armenian loan-word makōyq ‘boat’ and Zor. Pahl. takōk rendering Avestan
goodana- ‘milk pail’, Armen. t’ako’q. 9 A Mid. Pers. tpwug has been tentatively
associated with NPers. tabōk.

11. From an Iranian tap- with -s- suffix we find Oss. D tefseg ‘plate’, and in
Qabardei tengav, 10 in which the -eg is an occasional variant to the ending
-āg. Georg. t’ep’ši ‘dish, cup’ is traced by Čubinov to Persian, where the
dictionaries offer tabši, tabši ‘dish with rim of gold, silver, or brass’. Turkish
has tāspsı, tābei ‘plate, small dish’, also tāpći, tāpší. 11 These forms permit a
starting-point *təsakə-, of which Ossetic and Qabardei have kept the -ak-
and Persian, Turkish and Georgian show the change to -ay, -e, and -i (as, for
instance, in Sogdian).

1 Ju. D. Dešerevič, Batibijški jazyk, p. 370.
2 O. Hansen, Berliner sogdische Texte, II, 9.51.
3 D. Čubinov, K’art’ul-rusni lek’šik’onı; R. Meckelein, Georgisch-deutsches Wörterbuch.
4 O. Wardrop, J.RAS, 1911, 2, 628; G. Deeters, Caucasica, Fasc. 4, 1927, 40; R. Bleich-
steiner, Die Indo-germanen- und Germanenfrage, 1936, 473.
5 Loan-word, GIP, 1, Anhang, 9; Ştajy cärmdarag, 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, BSOS, XI, 3, 1945, 479; K. Bouda, ZDMG, XCVIII, 1, 1939, 66.
9 Asad’i’s lexicon, ed. Teheran, 103: ṭabak-ē bāšad; Henning, Sogdis, 47–8. For the
base mak- note that Tocharian B, Kuoi, has mək-, mək- ‘to run’.
10 Kabardino-Balkskij slovar’, 1957, s.v.
11 W. Radlov, Opys slovarja tjurskih narodi: Uigur, Çayatai, 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 *tāpāk, B *tāpākī ‘mirror’. In A 212 b 6 *tāpākīs ānt is ‘the surface of the mirror’. Kuci has 73 b 6 *kaṣcan-\*sāṣṣai tapākine ramt ‘like a mirror of *kānca*na gold’.

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 Frāśyāk’s attempt to seize the *kaṇveṁ* *xvarnō, the *kayān farr*, we read:

\begin{align*}
\text{pairī yāśī ĥapta karśaṇ} \\
\text{mairīyō apataţ frawrase} \\
\text{isō *xvarnō zarābāštāi} \\
\text{ā *tāx *xvarnō fraṇgaśaṇa} \\
\text{avi vayān viṭāpom}
\end{align*}

An earlier verse 56 dealt with a similar case:

\begin{align*}
\text{ā *tāx *xvarnō fraṇgaśaṇa} \\
\text{taţ *xvarnō apataćaţ} \\
\text{taţ *xvarnō apa.hīdaţ}
\end{align*}

the *farr* fled into an *apayāţara- ‘outlet, bay’ of the sea *Vouru.kāša*.

In verse 82 the *farr* fled (*fra-zgaď-* 2) to the *vayān viṭāpom*. The variants in the Avestan passage show embarrassment of scribes or reciters: F 1 *avi*vayān, J 10 *avaev.veyān, D *avaev.veyn*. For the *viṭāpom* of J 10 occur also F 1 *viṭāpom* and D *viṭāšapom*. The *avi* for older *aivi, aiwi, and later *aoi* is known. The word *vay-: vi- ‘bird’ corresponds to Old Ind. *vāy-: vi-, Lat. *avis*. The gen. plur. is well attested in Vid. 2.8 *vayām* and in the Yašts beside the nom. plur. *vayō*. Interchange of *-qn and -qm (and older -*ŋν*) is known in the loc. sing. of an -*an* stem. From *rāman-* we find Yasna 48.11 *rāmāq* and Yasna 53.8 *rāmāqdaţ*. Here we can take *vayān* as equivalent to *vayām* gen. plur. ‘of the birds’. The refuge of the *farr* is thus the *viṭāpom* of the birds. This would give a meaning ‘level space all around’. The bird Čamroš also dwells *pat sar i köf ‘on the top of the mountain’.

As always earlier attempts have been made to explain the text. J. Darmesteter, *ZA*, 2, 637, thought of NPERS. *guzāf* ‘copious’ and rendered

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


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

5 *Gr. Bd. 103.15.*
empty, immense’. A. V. W. Jackson, *JAOS*, xx, 1899, 56, has ‘out of reach’ as if *vita* ‘gone’ and *ap* ‘attain’. There is no help in *AIW* nor in H. Lommel, *Die Yaśṭ’s*. V. Pisanī utilized Nigāyin 1.1 to interpret Yaśṭ 19.82, and adopted F. Spiegel’s ‘waterless’, and the same is in Hertel’s ‘wasserlos’.

The Yaśṭ will be primary. In the Nigāyin the *vaya* and *vayam* was assumed to contain *vaya*- or *vaya*-, then the *viśāpam* was replaced by *dargā. x'adātım* which yielded a known phrase, surviving later in Gr. Bd. 11.8 *vay i dēraṅg-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. *stepǐ* ‘low region’ and Russ. *stepǐ* fem., ‘steppe, vast treeless plain’. From Iranian *tap* - and Slav. *step* - we get an IE (*s)tep* - ‘to be flat, level, low’. The s-mobile is well attested. Note (*s)ter- ‘stretch’ quoted above in Khot. *tārā*- ‘forehead’ and Germ. *stirna*; Old Indian has both *stāy* - and *tāy* - ‘steal’, Avestan *tāyu*-, Sogd. *t’y, t’yḥ, t’y’wny*, and Hittite *tay*- in *taiezzi* ‘he steals’. Greek has both *tēvōs* and *stēvōs*.

15. Aškun Nūristānī has *tavalā* ‘not steep, flat’, Waigeli *tavere* ‘low’, Damel *thavara* ‘low, short’, where *-w* has replaced *-p*-. In Damel the initial *th-* may indicate older *taphara*- as phon ‘road’ has come from *panth* -.

16. This IE (*s)tep* - ‘be level’ is to be seen in an isolated word in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda: *Rv viṣṭāp* - fem., and *viṣṭāpā* neut., carried down through the Vedic texts to the later language. In the Rigveda *viṣṭ āp* - occurs with *vārṣma* - ‘top’ used of Ārbuda (8.32.3), the demon crushed by Indra. It is used of the higher surface of the sea in 8.97.5 *samudrāsya-ādhi viṣṭāpi* and 8.34.13 *samudrāsya-ādhi viṣṭāpah*. It occurs with *sānu* ‘ridge’ in 10.123.2 *sānu ādhi viṣṭāpi*. It is used of *bradhna* in 8.69.7 and 9.113.10 *bradhnaṣya viṣṭāpam* ‘the *viṣṭ āp* - of the sun (or sky)’. Three are named in 8.91.5 *imāṇi trīni viṣṭāpā*. The Atharvaveda knows the *viṣṭāp* - of the *nāka* - (11.1.7) *ūrdhvō nākasya-ādhi roha viṣṭāpam*. In AV 18.4.4 we have the birds:

trāyāḥ suparnā úparasya māyā
nākasya prṣṭhe ādhi viṣṭāpi śrūṭāḥ

Here the Paippalāda text has *viṣṭāpas*. Whitney and Lanman render ‘at the back of the firmament at the summit’ (*?*).

The *vyṛddhi* adjective *vaiṣṭāpā* - is in the phrase 9.27.4 *trīn vaiṣṭāpāṇ*.

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2 Secondary use in the Nigāyin, see K. Geldner, *GIP*, ii, 8.
3 M. Vaemer, *REW*, iii, 11.
4 It may derive from an interchangeable fourfold initial which gave with *p* the forms *p*, *sp*, *ph*, *spā*. According to F. Edgerton, *Language*, xxxiv, 4, 1938, 445–33, the s-mobile was due to juncture changes.
5 *NTS*, ii, 1929, 202, 263; *NTS*, vii, 1934, 109; *NTS*, xii, 1942, 193, 126.
Some concept of the meaning was later retained but it was generalized in the commentaries. Śāyaṇa has svargaloke, sthānam, sthānāni, sahasthānam. An etymology is indicated in 9.12.6 viśṭapī viśṭabdhe sthāne, as usual from the depleted vocabulary. Skandavāmin 1.46.3 has viśṭap iti divo ‘bhūdānam ‘viśṭap is an epithet of the sky’. Mādhava’s Rgvedavyākhyā has viṣṭapo viṣṭabhnāti bhūtāni with the same suggested connexion with stambh-. He has added viṣṭab rātrīḥ, viṣṭabanāya so that he rendered viṣṭap- by ‘night’. Mādhava’s Rgvedadhāpikā 1.46.3 has similarly rātrā apararātre viṣṭap rātrir viṣṭambhanāt.

The Naigraṇṭuka and Nirukta render by ‘sun, sky’. In the later language the Amarakoṣa offers jagat, bhūwana, 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 *tāpak- is ‘baking place or cooking place’. Thus Zor. Pahl. tāpak occurs in Arāy Vīrāz nāmak 94.1 apar tāpak i garm ‘above the hot tāpak’. The Armenian loan-word tāpak renders Greek τάφανον ‘frying-pan’, tapakem ‘to roast’.¹ Balōčī tāfay is ‘oven’; Arabic has tābaq, NPers. tābah, tāñah, whence Sanglēčī 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. *sāa- ‘smooth’ in Wāxī sāt ‘slate, baking-pan’, Yidya sū ‘slate’, Śuynī sūd, Sanglēčī ūsūd ‘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 kānun ‘to make hoarse’, which should be traced to the same source as Khot. saus- in Siddhasāra 121 v 3 bijāsai pasaušde’ ‘his voice becomes soundless’; in the Jīvaka-pustaka 61 r 1 ca garša pasaušde and 73 v 4 cu bijāśa pasauši, Sansk. vaisvarya- ‘voicelessness’, was compared with Turk. susmaq ‘be silent’ by way of Azerbājāni Turk. sus ‘stillness’.³ One could similarly think (unjustifiably) of joining Mongol erke, Turk ārk ‘force’ with Sogs. ʾrk *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 Hübsehmann, AG, 252.
² G. Morgenstierne, UIFL, II, 245.
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 tawa.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 mäšti 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-agareb zamana berk’ni ‘profitless expenditure of time’ and by mäšt’-barestli dušli zamana berk’ni ‘irritatingly long proceedings’. In the Dargala požizjala antologija, p. 207, the word mäšt’-mairid means ‘do not cause mäšt’, irritation’.

Note that Darga has št’ in b-ışšt’aš ‘small’, st in loan-words usta, plural ušt’i (Persian ustād) ‘master’, and bjust (Russian) ‘bust’, and št in ıştaḥ ‘love’, ıştaḥsi ‘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. arīka-, Sansk. ālika-.3 Two words from Khotanese (where h- is often secondary) should also be listed here although not certainly from the same source. Khot. halq khauštā ‘thoroughly agitated’ and hala khaušāʾna ‘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 eloa- could be traced back to *ālya-ka-.6

1 N. Poppe, Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen, 1, 13.
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 ālagāta.

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3. In writing of Avestan arzah- the passage in Yašt 10.67 always needs a reference. Here Mīțra 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 prāṅk-yant-’ eastwards travelling ’ in contrast to his journey pratyank-yant-’ westwards’ during the day. This would associate Mīțra 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 prāṭihārya ‘miracle’ of Maitreya that the sun goes towards its rising and again towards its setting: Agni (Tocharian A) 259 a 2 yās koṃ parkāntac, yās skārā koṃ umānt.

4. An addition to the forms to be derived from tai- ‘to watch over’ cited in the discussion earlier ² should be noted here from Plutarch’s ‘Alexander’, § xxx, the θάλαμηπόλος ‘chamberlain’ called Tēipēs. If this is the name of rather than a personal name the tūra- of Avestan tūra. nākathēa- and of the ancient names Tīridates and others will be the same word, and tūra- 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 ätrem aonyaṭ haca paro.borajyāt dāitum gātum 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. as-para- ‘horse fodder, lucerne’. In boraj- we have to see the familiar word for ‘roast, fry, bake’ (not as in the Pahlavi commentary bary- ‘to honour, desire’). Of this base we know Khot. bṛṭiṣ- in Sūdhasāra 132 v 2 bṛṭiṣ-, 146 r 2 aṣbṛṭiṣ- from *uz-braig-, 151 v 4 eṣbṛṭiṣ-, 147 r 4, 147 v 3 iṣbṛṭiṣ-, in each case rendering Tib. brios. The connected words are Balōći bṛṭṣag, bṛṭṣag, bṛṭāka, bṛṭāta ‘bake, roast’, Turfan Pers. bryṣ- ‘roast’, bryṣn ‘oven’, NPers. bīristan, bārēzan, barējan ‘oven’, Zor. Pahl. bīristan, Khwar loan-word *vrenṣik ‘fry’,⁵ Old Ind. bhrṣjāti (from the Veda onwards), bhrṣṭa-, bhrāṣṭra-. From the Lettish evidence there were three forms of this word: bhreg-, bhreig-, and bhreng.⁶

In addition to Sogdian p’r- in Dhuta 266, two other passages contain p’r-*pār- ‘to nourish’. In SCE 106 is rty γynv ZKZY myṅn w’tšrty p’r ‘ and he who nourishes the living beings’. VJ 1109 reads rty bśn z’ttṛy ‘kwo nów myš pṛm ’γnuś’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

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¹ E. Sieg, Der Nachtweg der Sonne nach der vedischen Anschauung, p. 3.
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 saṃvyttāḥ. Khotanese has P 2958, 42 (KBT, 41) hūsā purbutā 'was reared and grew up'. Sogdian *rusšw will contain the base vaxš- 'to grow', Khot. huss-.

Further to Avestan pārdndi- pārdndi- one should recall Yasna 13.1 yovanqam rātūm . . . pārdndim 'the chiefest of females . . . Parndi-' and the Pahlavi gloss to Afrinakān 3.4 stryō mayā pārṇḍiš which reads kē-šan andar ān mātakān māyakān ān-ic-i pāran(d)tom. In both cases the close association of women with pārṇḍi- with nurture by women is stressed.

In the same way the predominant nutritional function of the pūramaṇḍhī can be seen in the Asvamedha list 1 where the essential function of each class is emphasized: dōdhī dhenūr vōdhā 'nadvān āsūh sūptīh pūramaṇḍhīr yōsā jiśnū ratheṣṭhāh 'cow the milker, ox the draught animal, team of horses the swift, woman the nurturer, charioteer the victorious'.

Recall also for pūrūṣa- the fem. purusī- in RV 7.2.2 (to Parjanya)-

yō gārbham oṣadhīnām gāvām kṛṇoty ārvatām
parjānyāh purusīnām

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

The word pūrīṣa- 'a filling' as in building a wall derives from par- 'to fill'. It can be analysed into the base with suffix -is-, hence IE plu-is-ō-. Similarly pūrūṣa- is best thought of as containing IE pre-us-ō- with suffix -ues- : -us- from which with shifted accent we have pūrūṣa-. The long -ū- of pūrūṣa- will be secondary. The short vowel in the syllable -us- is similar to the short vowel in -is- of RV taviśā- 'strong' from *twe-is-ō-. The Khot. aruṣā- 2 'medicinal herb', later aruva- has similarly the suffix -us- from -ues- : -us-.

6. The name of the father of Ācāmāz 3 is given also in Digoron Uaziji furt minkįj Āčāmāz. 4 The spelling Uazimi occurs twice on the next page. A dialectal Digoron has Uaži furt mangi Āčāmāz. 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 uacā roxsāj occurs complete in Iron ādāmon sfaldistād, 1961, 1, 273.

For the word uac 'news' note the phrase fyduac zayyynl 'to tell bad news' and ciny uāctā 'joyful news'.

On p. 73 read kusinā and kūṣi 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 Maitrīyaṇīya 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 sfaldistād, 1961, 1, 268.

6 Jaziki Dagestan (Akademija Nauk, Dagestan base), 1948, 119.

7 Sātjīy cārmdārīg 518 and 1356.

8 TPS, 1960.