

H. W. BAILEY

## A Problem of the Indo-Iranian Vocabulary

As the materials for the investigation into the Iranian vocabulary are gradually printed, it is becoming clear that they will also invigorate the study of the vocabulary of the earliest Indian texts. The materials themselves, which have been lying in Museums for some fifty years, are contained in manuscripts of four Iranian languages in the middle stage of development, namely Parthian and Persian, and the eastern dialects of Sogdian and Saka (the latter being still highly inflected). By comparison among these four languages it is possible in many cases to reach back to the Old Iranian vocabulary from which these dialects have received their words, and so recover contact with at least part of the lost vocabulary of Old Iranian at the stage of development known in the Avesta and Old Persian texts, which is also the stage of Vedic Indian.

Though considerable material in these four languages has now been published<sup>1</sup>, much of it still awaits full interpretation. In addition to the Iranian material, further unpublished texts in Kharoṣṭhī await publication.

Here in this short paper to honour the memory of Professor Schayer, I have taken up one of the many problems involving the Veda in India, and the later Pali; the language of ancient Iran, and the Aryans of Mesopotamia.

### 1. Iranian *sam-*.

In the Middle Saka language of Khotan occurs a verbal base pres. *sam-*: pret. *sonda-*, the meaning of which is clear from bilingual evidence. The word is attested in the following passages.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the publications are the following: Persian and Parthian in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, W. B. Henning, *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn Cycles in Parthian*. Sogdian in E. Benveniste, *Textes sogdiens*; *Vesantara-jātaka*. Saka in E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrge-dicht des Buddhismus*, Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*; H. W. Bailey,

Saṅghāṭa-sūtra 80 b 5 *cūḍe uhu naḍaunyau śśūjātāna ne samāta* 'why do you not agree with one another, sirs?'<sup>2</sup>. Here the Tibetan version has *hthab-ciṅ rćod-pa* to render *ne samāta*, where both *hthab* and *rćod* mean 'to fight'.

Siddhasāra 9 r 5 *tī burā hera buḍa švīdā jsa ni samīdā, haṃtsa ni hverai* 'these things further do not agree with milk. It must not be taken with them'. The Tibetan has *mī mthun-te* 'not suitable'. Siddhasāra 148 r 4 *tta tta tcerai khu hā samīde* 'it must so be done that they agree'. In the Tibetan occurs *mthun-mthun-đu byaḥo*<sup>3</sup>.

P 2741.126 *khu tta tta bādūna śujamṇa ni samīṃde* 'so that thus the budun-officials do not agree with one another'<sup>4</sup>.

Ch 00268.160 *suṣma parimāṇava śai āvaṣina ni samīṃdi hāysa* 'even the subtle atoms (*sūkṣma, paramāṇu*) do not fit with the *ākāśa*-space'<sup>5</sup>.

In Old Khotanese the text E has 13.123 *harbiśśo mato yande kho sūtrāna samāte* 'he makes every thought so that it agrees with the sūtra-text'.

E 13.125 *ka ttari gratā sondā bādā nāštā gratā* 'when the one has accepted the injunction: it is not time for the injunction'.

E 7.16 *kho ttā ttuśāttete aggūnaina anau aursi samīndi* 'how do they (the Buddha's dialogues) accord with the (three *samādhis* of) *śūnyatā* ("void"), *animitta* ("markless") and *apraṇihita* ("unwilled")?'<sup>6</sup>.

A fragment, preserved after a lacuna, has: *soṃdā yanīndā* 'they can agree'<sup>7</sup>.

The present participle *samant-* is attested with added adjectival suffix in *samāṃdva-* 'suitable' (in the Tibetan *hphrod-pa*) used of medicaments in the Siddhasāra 140 r 5 and 156 v 3.

To this Khotanese material for Iran. *sam-*, *sām-* may be added two Ossetic words. Digoron *somi*, Iron *sómy* 'oath' represents an Old Iran. *\*sāmya*<sup>8</sup>. The 'truth' attested by 'oath' was held to be a fitting of the facts. The same meaning is found in Ossetic *ard* 'oath', *māngard* 'false oath' (abl. *māngardāj*), from Old Iran. *ṛta-* attested in Old Pers. (*a*)*rta-*, in Greek spelling *Arta-*, Avestan *arəta-*, *ərəta-*, *aša-* 'truth' from *ar-* 'to fit'.

*Khotanese Texts I; Indo-Scythian Studies, Khotanese Texts II; Khotanese Buddhist Texts; Saka Texts of the Hedin Collection* (in the hands of the printer) and *Khotanese Texts III*.

<sup>2</sup> K o n o w, *Saka Studies*, p. 97, and "Norsk Tidssk. Sprogvid". 11.79.

<sup>3</sup> *Khotanese Texts I*, p. 14 and 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Khotanese Texts II* 92; BSOAS 12.321 ff; Asia Major n.s. I 28 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> On these technical terms, see L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Koṣa* 8, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> E. L e u m a n n, *Nebenstücke*, p. 175. 25.

<sup>8</sup> For Ossetic *-i* from *-ya-*, see Transactions Philol. Soc. 1945, 8. Thus we have *xūali*, Iron *xoly* 'fodder' from *\*hvārya-*, as we have Tumshuq Saka *bārya-* (BSOAS 13.667). The word *somi* 'oath' can be seen in *Pamiatniki narodnogo tvorčestwa Osetin II*, p. 6: *cāmāj somijān ācāg ādtājdā* 'that he might be true to his oath'.



The second Ossetic word is *somun*, quoted only from Digoron, developed in a different direction, in the phrase *kārā somun* 'to handle the heap of grain' in winnowing, where the Iron has correspondingly *kārī āppāryn* 'to throw the grain'. Here in *somun* we have the shift to 'deal with' which will occur below in Indian and Greek cognates. This *som-* then represents an Old Iran. *sāma-*, as Oss. *domun* 'to tame' represents an older *dāma-*<sup>9</sup>. The preterite *sonda-* suffices to exclude a derivative from Old Indian *sama-* 'equal', which was moreover not a verbal base, but to the Khotanese speakers there may have seemed a superficial association in sound with *pratāsama-*, later *prasama-*, 'suitable'<sup>10</sup>.

The inflexion of Khotanese bases in *-am-* shows five types. 1. pres. *-ām-*, pret. *-am-*, as in *narām-*: *naranda-* 'go out'; *ttrām-*: *ttranda-* 'enter'. 2. pres. *-am-*, pret. *-am-*, as in *bam-*: *baṇda-* 'vomit'<sup>11</sup>. 3. pres. *-am-*, pret. *-ām-*, *-aum-*, as in *kṣam-*: *kṣāṇda-*, *kṣauda-* 'desire, please'<sup>12</sup>. 4. pres. *-am-*, causat. *-em-*, pret. *-aum-*, as *pātam-*: *pātaunda-* 'cover'; *niṣgam-*, *niṣem-*, pret. *niṣgunda-* 'quieten'; *-jsam-*, *-jsem-*, pret. *-jsaunda-* 'move'; pres. *\*ggam-*: *ggaunda-* 'ema- ciated'<sup>13</sup>. 5. pres. *-ām-*, pret. *-aunda-*, as in *tsāmāña*: *tsoda-* 'swallow', attested in *ṣvīda tsāmāña* 'milk is to be swallowed'<sup>14</sup>, and *saṃ ṣvīdā tsā<mā>ñā*<sup>15</sup>; in *ṣvīda tsāmāña* 'milk is to be swallowed'<sup>14</sup>, and *saṃ ṣvīdā tsā* 'he (the yakṣa) swallowed her alive into his belly'<sup>16</sup>. Here *tsoda-* is Later Khotanese for *\*tsaunda-*. Note that Khotan. *ts-* comes from *tsy-*, as in *tsav-*: *tsu-* 'go' from *tsyav-*, Old Iran. *čyav-*, Oss. *cāu-*: *cu-*, and so decides for Avestan *šam-* from *čyam-*, not from *śšam-*. Oss. *cumun*, Zor. Pahlavī *šamb-*, NPers. *šam-*, and Sogd. *š'm-* were ambiguous.

Hence in *sam-* and *sonda-* we have the reflexes of Old Iran. *sam-* and *sām-*. For the forms with *-ā-* (without *-e-* by *i*-umlaut due to *-aya-*) note also Khotan. *kār-*: *kāḍa-* 'draw', and *bār-* 'to rain'. The Avestan *tāp-* thus gets welcome confirmation<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The verb *vam-* 'vomit' has the two forms Dig. *ūmun*, Iran *ūōmyn*, *ūāmyn* from *vām-* and *vam-*.

<sup>10</sup> Also Khotanese *samu*, later *saṃ* 'just; but' may be rather an adverb *\*sa-* *mam* from a noun *\*sama-* from this same base than an Indian word.

<sup>11</sup> Jātaka-stava 18 r 4 (recognised here by I. Gershevitch).

<sup>12</sup> P 2801.9; Jātaka-stava 18 r 1, Avestan *xšānman-*.

<sup>13</sup> Here with *ggaunda-* may belong the *ṣāma-* of Avestan *ṣāmāspa-* and the *jamad-* of Ind. *jamādagni-*. The Sogdian *gmb-* 'exert' seems also to be the same base.

<sup>14</sup> Khotanese Buddhist Texts, Jivaka-pustaka 84 v 5.

<sup>15</sup> Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī 9 v 3 (now in the hands of the printer). The syllable *mā* is broken out.

<sup>16</sup> Jātaka-stava 12 v 2.

<sup>17</sup> C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch* 362.

2. Indo-Iranian *śam-*.

The Iranian evidence thus attests an Indo-Iranian verbal base *śam-* with the meaning 'to fit, suit, agree, accord'. Isolated words derived with such a meaning are found in Old Indian texts, beside meanings later evolved.

The Rīgveda *śām* loosely rendered 'welfare, good condition, blessing' derives from the 'fitness' of things. Thus we find 1.173.8 *evā hi te śām sāvānā samudrā(ṇi)* 'for so the somapressings in the mass of water befit thee (Indra)'. Here *śām* means 'are suitable'. Thus also in 5.11.6 *túbhyaṃ manīṣā iyām astu śām hṛdé* 'this mantra shall be suited to thee to thy heart'. The same occurs in 8.48.4 *śām no bhava hṛdā ā pitā indo* 'be, O soma-drop, when drunk suited to our heart'. The 'fitness' produces comfort and satisfaction.

In nominal use we find 7.86.8 *śām naḥ kṣéme śām u yóge no astu* 'it shall be good for us in keeping, and good for us in getting'. The superlative is *śām-tama-*, and in compounds we find *śām-bhúv-*, *śām-bhaviṣṭha-*. With the noun *yós* 'goodness' from 'fit state'<sup>18</sup> *śām* is frequent. Thus we have 2.33.13 *tā śām ca yós ca rudrásya vaśmi* 'I desire those, the good and the comfort (fit state) of Rudrá'.

In a governing compound we have *śām-gayá-* 'giving fit state to the household, prospering it' used in the Rīgveda of Agní and of rain; in Geldner's translation 'heilbringend'. From later Vedic are quoted *śaṃgāya*; and *śaṃgavī* with variant *śaṃgāve*<sup>19</sup>.

A compound with *prá* is found in the *praśám-* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>20</sup>: *átha ákṣyāv ānakti árur vai púruṣasya ákṣi praśán māmēti ha smāha Yājñavalkyo* 'then he anoints his two eyes; man's eye is truly sore; may my eye be fit: thus said Yājñavalkya'.

In this same meaning 'to fit, suit' I see also a way to explain the Old Indian compound *nī-śam-* 'observe, notice, heed', Pali and Prakrit *nī-sam-*, in causat. *śāmaya-* and *same-*. As *nī-yog-* was used for to 'direct (glance or thought to) an object from the sense of 'joining', so from 'to fit' we can understand 'to be applied'. The participle *nīśanta-* shows a base *śami-*: *śām-*, and has the meaning 'tested'. The verb has regularly the preverb *nī-*, and other preverbs occur before *nī*, as *anu-nī-* and *upa-nī-*. Pali *nīsamma* 'carefully' is in Dhammapada 24, for which the Tibetan Udānavarga has *brtags-nas* 'having investigated'. Pali *nīsanti-* means 'attention'.

<sup>18</sup> So indicated by its connexions with Avestan *yaoš*, *yaoš* in *yaoš-dā-*, Mid. Parthian and Mid. Persian *yōš-dahr* 'holy', and Celt Ir. *huisse*, Latin *iūs*. G. Dumézil, *A propos de latin "jūs"*, "Rev. Hist. Rel." 133, 1948, has a recent note on *yaoš*.

<sup>19</sup> J. Wackernagel, *Altind. Grammatik* II. 1. 314.

<sup>20</sup> 3.1.3.10, see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* III 82, 244. We have the meaning of 'excellent' in *prá*.



The difficult Pali *atidhona-* 'extravagant?' of Dhammapada 240 *evaṃ atidhona-cāriṇaṃ saka-kammāni nayanti duggatim* has been replaced in the Udānavarga<sup>21</sup> by *evaṃ hy aśāmya-cāriṇaṃ svāni karmāṇi nayanti durgatim*. The meaning of *aśāmya-*, perhaps 'reckless', remains uncertain.

Pali *sammati* has kept the older meaning 'to fit'. Thus in the Cullavagga of the Vinaya 10.24 we have, when the Buddha permits the use of an *uddosita* 'shed', an *upassaya* 'dwelling' and the rest, the statement *uddosita na sammati* 'the shed does not fit' in the sense of 'suffice'. Similarly in 5.13.3<sup>22</sup>.

The word *śam-* occurs more frequently in a more developed meaning 'fashion, work, tend'. Such a shift from 'to fit' to 'to make' is paralleled by the verb *ar-*. Thus we have in Old Indian *dra-*, *ala-* 'fitting'<sup>23</sup>, as in Rigveda 1.170.4 *draṃ kṛṇvantu védim* 'make ready the altar'. The Avesta has *arəm*. Greek too has *ἀρρῖσκω* 'to fit', pret. *ἤρραρον*, but the Armenian *arēm*, pret. *arari* means 'to make'. In Latin note *art-* and *artifex*.

The verb *śami-*: *śam-* is used of the officiant at the sacrifice. We have in 2.12.14 the four ministrants: *survānt-*, *pācant-*, *śāmsant-* and *śaśamānā-*, the 'presser' of the soma stalks, the 'boiler' of the milk, the 'singer', and the 'preparer'. The noun of agent is *śamitār-*, whether of the preparer of soma, or of the animal victim. His activity is called *śāmī-*. In a generalised sense we have with a different ablaut development<sup>24</sup> *śīmī-* 'work', with the adjective *śīmīvant-*.

If now for the meaning we notice that, for example, Old English *swincan* has, beside the sense 'work', also developed the meaning 'to fatigue oneself, torment oneself', and that the causative *swencan* means 'to trouble', we can (if we do not wish to seek another verbal base whose difference might reside only in a different second syllable) connect with this *śami-* 'to work' the further meaning 'become weary', whence 'to rest, be tranquil'. This brings in the many uses of *śama-*, *śamatha-* and *śānti-*.

<sup>21</sup> N. P. Chakravarti, *L'Udānavarga sanskrit*, p. 107, rendered by 'impure'. It is not in F. Edgerton, *Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*.

<sup>22</sup> Pali Text Society's Dict., s. v. compares Old Ind. *śamyati*.

<sup>23</sup> See J. Gonda, *The meaning of the word 'alaṃkāra'*, in the Volume dedicated to F. W. Thomas, New Indian Antiquary.

<sup>24</sup> F. B. J. Kuiper, "Acta Orientalia" 20, 29 ff, has considered this ablaut. I prefer to see in it one of the three solutions adopted in Indo-Iranian in replacing the consonant groups, such as *kṃbhī-*: here the vowel may be partly reduced but survive as *-a-*, as in Old Ind. *pakvā-*; or the vowel may be so reduced as to leave Old Ind. *-i-*, as in *śīmī-*; or the *-m-* may become the syllabic *-m-*, as in Mid. Iran. *vātak* 'vomited' from *vam-*.

## 3. Greek κάμνω, -κόμος.

Like the Old Indian *śam-* the Greek κάμνω, καμᾶτος, has the two meanings 'prepare, tend' and 'be weary'. Here too we should trace as the original meaning 'to fit', thence 'prepare, tend' and (if it is not a different but homonymous base) 'be fatigued' as a result of 'work'.

The following phrases show these meanings. The word was used of making ὄπλα (Il. 18.614 πᾶνθ' ὄπλα κάμε), of a robe (Il. 5.338 πέπλον), and of other things. It was used of tending a horse (Od. 11.523 ἵππον ὄν κάμ' Ἐπειός). It expressed 'fatigue' of limbs (Il. 19.170 γυῖα... κάμνει), a weariness refreshed by wine (Il. 6.261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι), and of actual illness (Herodotos 1.197 οἱ κάμνοντες).

For its interest at an earlier period it is desirable to notice especially the compound ἵπποκόμος 'tender of horses'. It is the compound corresponding to the phrase ἵππον... κάμ' (Od. 11.523). Beside it we have the derivative κομέω (Il. 8. 104—9 τρώιοι ἵπποι... τούτω μὲν Θεράποντε κομείτων), which was used also of dogs and children.

## 4. Mesopotamian Aryan

It is possible to make use of this result to advance the solution of another problem. With the evidence of Iran. *sam-* 'to fit', Ind. *śam-* 'fit, make, work, tend' and Greek κάμνω 'prepare, make, tend' we can consider a word from ancient Mesopotamia. The Hittite has the word *aššuššanni*<sup>25</sup>. The meaning is 'tender of horses'. The word has therefore the same meaning as Greek ἵπποκόμος. If then we accept it as one of the words connected with the hippological vocabulary of Aryan origin in Mesopotamia we can at once propose as its earlier form \**aśva-śama-* from words attested later as Indo-Iran. *aśva-* 'horse' and *śama-* from the verb *śam-* 'to tend'<sup>26</sup>.

This would add to the Aryan words from this source. The Mesopotamian Aryan word *aika-vartana* 'one turn' is clear, and similarly with other numerals<sup>27</sup>. The same use of *vart-* in the training of horses survives in Ossetic where we have in Digoron *äüüärdun*, Iron *äüüärdyn* 'to train horses', with a prefix not yet clearly explained (possibly *ä-*, or *abi-*). The word can be seen in the phrase *äüüärdyn räjdýdä jä bāxy* 'he began to train his horse'<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Hittite has only the sibilant *s*, and *ts* (transliterated *z*).

<sup>26</sup> The form *śama-* rather than *śāma-* since we know *kara-* as the second component in similar use.

<sup>27</sup> J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, p. 327.

<sup>28</sup> *Narty Kādšytä*, p. 227, 246.



For the word 'ašuwā 'horse' in Hieroglyphic Hittite (whether as indigenous Hittite word or another Mesopotamian Aryan loan-word) there seems now reason to accept the reading with šu<sup>29</sup>. The existence of the word aššu- 'horse' in the compound aššuššanni makes it likely that the word 'ašuwā is Aryan. If the word tekam- in Hieroglyphic Hittite is the word for 'land' to be compared with Greek χθών and Old Ind. kṣam- we have -k- (not -š-) for older ḡh<sup>30</sup>.

If we now seek to explain the difference between the expected \*ašva-šama- with -m- and the attested Hittite aššuššanni with -n-, we have two possible solutions. By the simpler explanation šama- has been replaced by šana- in Hittite pronunciation, as we find Hitt. šani- 'one and the same, single' beside ašma- 'one'<sup>31</sup>, comparable to Kuci ("Tocharian B") še, obl. šeme 'one', fem. somo, and in compounds somo-, with Agni sas, fem. sām, and in compounds šoma-, like Greek év- in gen. sing. évος beside fem. μή. A similar relation of -m- and -n- will be present in Hieroglyphic Hitt. tekam- (dakam-) 'land'<sup>32</sup> if correctly so explained and compared with Cuneiform Hittite tekan- 'earth', and Kuci ken-, Agni tkan-. Possibly the existence of other words referring to officials in -anni may also have had influence here.

The second explanation would be to trace -šanni to \*-šam-ni, taking -ni as a suffix. Such an explanation was offered for the -anni of širyanni 'cuirass'<sup>33</sup>.

The earlier attempt to explain aššuššanni by Old Ind. ašva-sāni- 'winning horses' fails by reason of the meaning of san-<sup>34</sup>.

The details of the survival of the word aššuššanni 'horse groom' in later Mesopotamia are given by E. Ebeling<sup>35</sup>, who pointed out that the word was later generalised in Akkadian. Thus (amēl) šušani ša sisī 'tender of horses', but also (amēl) šušanu ša alpē 'tender of oxen'. In Syriac the word acquired the still less precise meaning of 'servus'. The horse-trainer Kikkuli was called the (amēl) aššuššanni of the land Mitanni<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> J. Friedrich, "Archiv Orientalní" 21.134.

<sup>30</sup> On tekam-, see below.

<sup>31</sup> A. Götze, quoted in J. Friedrich, *Hethit. Wörterbuch*, pp. 183, and 36.

<sup>32</sup> For tekam- (dakam-), see H. Th. Bossert, "Jahrbuch für kleinasiat. Forschung" I 224. For other cases of the variation of m and n in Indo-European, see the bibliography quoted by G. Bonfante, I. J. Gelb, "Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc." 65, 186—7.

<sup>33</sup> C.-G. von Brandenstein, cited in *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*, p. 14, fn. 2.

<sup>34</sup> H. Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, p. 138; approved by A. Kammenhuber, "Forschungen und Fortschritte" 28, 1954, 119.

<sup>35</sup> *Bruchstücke einer mittellassyrischen Vorschriftsammlung für die Akklimatisierung und Training von Wagenpferden*, p. 11, fn. 5.

<sup>36</sup> "Archiv Orientalní" 3.433.

Another case of the ending *-anni* occurs in Hittite *ummiṣanni*, a functionary, whose title survives in Akkad. *ummeanu* 'Werkmeister, Künstler', surviving in Syriac *umānā* 'artifex'<sup>37</sup>. This could easily be claimed as another Mesopotamian Aryan word, since the word *mā-* 'to measure' occurs frequently in the Rigveda<sup>38</sup> in the compound *vi-mā-* 'to measure, out, survey' (as of an architect<sup>39</sup>). A derivative in *-ya-* of a base in *-ā-* gave either *-āya-* or *-aya-* (as Old Ind. *dāti* 'he gives shares', *dāyate*, verbal noun *dayā*). Hence a noun of action *\*vi-maya-* for 'measurer' or 'artificer' might well lie behind the Hittite word<sup>40</sup>.

The original meaning of the two components of *\*aśva-śama-* taken separately need not have been present to the mind of the writers of the hippological texts. It has already been remarked<sup>41</sup> that the other Mesopotamian Aryan words for horse-training had been adopted at an early period and had ceased to be fully understood. This same obscurity may explain also why the title *maryanni* could be used by persons with non-Aryan names, since there seems no reason to doubt the connexion of *maryanni* with the *mārya-* of the Rigveda and the *mairya-* of the Avesta and the many other connected Iranian words<sup>42</sup>.

### 5. Indian *śmaśānā-* 'tomb'.

The base *śam-* 'to fit' seems also to offer the means to explain Old Indian *śmaśānā-*, Pali *susāna-*, Prakrit *masāṇa-*. The meaning of the word in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was clearly of some raised tomb, originally, it is likely, in-

<sup>37</sup> J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, s. v.; C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon syriacum*.

<sup>38</sup> 1.154.1 (*Viṣṇu*) *yāḥ pārthivāni vimamé rājamsi*.

<sup>39</sup> As, in the Avesta, *Rašnu*, who builds a palace for *Miθra*, has a name connected with Mid. Pers. *rāz* 'architect'.

<sup>40</sup> Variant spellings with *ui-* and *u-* are known in Hittite words, and later in the Achaemenian inscriptions we have Akkad. *uštaspā* for Old Pers. *Viš-* *tāspa*. For the possibility of *-iṣa-* replacing *-aṣa-* in Hittite, note *iṣa-* 'make', beside Hieroglyphic Hittite *aiā-*.

<sup>41</sup> A. Kammenhuber, "Forschungen und Fortschritte", 28. p. 122.

<sup>42</sup> Old Pers. *mrik* *\*maryaka-* corresponds to Akkad. *gal-la* which in turn is equated with Old Pers. *bandaka-* 'servant' used of any official. Pašto *mrayai*, *maryai*, Ormuṣi *mrik* 'slave' continue the word. Less debased we have Mid. Pers. *mērah* 'husband', Luri *mērā* 'husband'. See R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*; G. Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, and *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* I 400. For Avestan *mairya-*, see S. W. to see *maryaka-* in the name in Kharoṣṭhī script *vaḡa-mareḡa*, that is *\*baga-* *-maryaka-* 'servant of the god', quoted in BSOAS 14.422. The position of the *maryanni* can be clearly seen in the texts assembled by R. T. O'Call-



ended to contain the body. Yāska in the Nirukta<sup>43</sup> had tried to find in *śma-* a word meaning 'body' and in the second component *-śāna-* saw the equivalent of *śayana-* 'bed'<sup>44</sup>. B. Delbrück and J. Charpentier found in *śma-* a word *śman-* 'body' possibly connected with a base *ḱem-* 'to cover', though this has been doubted<sup>45</sup>. But from *śam-* 'to fit, fashion' we could quite simply get *śma-* (or *śman-*) for 'fitted together, fashioned' to mean 'body'. Similarly the word *śārīra-* 'body', from the Rigveda onwards, should be derived from the verb *śari-*: *śir-*, Avestan *sar-* 'to join together'<sup>46</sup>. The Old Eng. *bodig* has been associated with Old Norse *buðka-*, nom. sing. *buðkr* 'box', which would imply the same concept of the body as a thing put together. In Khotanese *hamara-* 'joining, fitting together' is used for 'limb'.

The second component of *śmaśānā-* is also of great interest since it seems to offer another derivative of a word rare in Old Indian but common in Iranian. The word *śāna-* of *śmaśānā-* can be recognised as a derivative of the type found in Old Ind. *tāna-* 'tension' from a base *śan-* 'to rise, raise'. Other words survived in isolation from verbal bases in Old Indian, thus the word *dām-* 'house' is known only in nominal use in Indian, whereas Greek has the noun *δῶμος*, but also the verb *δέμω* 'build', as in Khotanese *dam-* is well known in *padam-* 'to make' and in the noun *damāna-* 'house'. Similarly the verb 'to gird' frequently attested in Avestan *yāh-*: *yāsta-*, Greek *ζώννυμι* 'to gird', *ζωστῶς* 'girt', *ζώνη* 'girdle', Lit. *jūsiu*, *jūsti* 'to gird', *jūstas* 'girt', and Old Slav. *jas-* in *pojasū* 'girdle' and other words, is found in Indian only in the Prasun Kāfirī *yasē* and *āyasmīk* 'belt'<sup>47</sup>.

In Iranian the verb *san-* 'to rise, raise' is frequent. Thus Khotanese has *sata-* 'risen' as the participle to *sarb-* 'to rise', and the trans. *sāña-* 'to raise, mount upon': E 23.159 *stunai sāñndī nāgarāja* 'the serpent kings raise a pillar for him' has the causative *sāñ-*. Sogdian has *san-*: *sat-* in the three dialects. Mid. Parth. *sn-*: *sd-* 'to rise', *wsn-* 'descend', causat. *syn-*, and *s'n'dn*, beside the intrans. inf. *sdn*. Mid. Persian has *s'n-* 'to bring forth'. Wakhī has *san-*: *sat-*

l a g h a n, "Jahrbuch für kleinasiat. Forschung" I 309 ff. The claim of Hurlan origin, see D. J. Wiseman, *Alalakh*, p. 11, seems less substantial. See also S. Segert and L. Zgusta, "Archiv Orientalní" 21, 272.

<sup>43</sup> Nirukta 3.5 *śmaśāna-samcayo* 'pi garta ucyate, gurateh, apagūrṇo bhavati, śmaśānam śmaśayanam, śma śārīram, śārīram śrṇāteḥ, śamnāter vā, śmaśru lo-ma, śmani śritam bhavati.

<sup>44</sup> A. Weber, *Indische Studien* I 189 had thought of *aśman-* 'stone', see J. Eggeling, SBE 44.421.

<sup>45</sup> Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, I 387.

<sup>46</sup> For this *sar-* see "Trans. Phil. Soc." 1954, 130. The earlier etymology by K. Brugmann from *ker-* 'nourish' was not acceptable to Walde-Pokorny, *loc. cit.* I 408. V. Pisani, "Rivista degli studi orientali" 15, 364, kept to the explanation by *śari-*: *śir-* 'break'.

<sup>47</sup> G. Morgenstierne, "Norsk Tidssk. Sprogvid." 15.280, 253.

'rise', Yaṇnābī inf. *sanāki* 'to rise'. Zor. Pahlavī has *ōsān-*, *aḥsān-*, and *ussān-*. The same *san-* has also been detected in Avestan *sanat*<sup>48</sup>.

To this verb *san-* belongs Avestan *sanaka-* to which the meaning 'rising, high ground' should be given, as the place where the Rāphā river rises<sup>49</sup>.

This also clarifies the meaning of the word *ṣini-* occurring in the Khilāni of the Rigveda<sup>50</sup>. The word is found as variant to *giri-* 'hill' with the same epithet. It is clearly 'rising, high ground'. The ablaut is the same as that in *ṣīm-* cited above<sup>51</sup>.

A word *śāna-* 'rising, hill, mound' can then be securely recognised, and it at once gives a good explanation of the second part of *śmaśānā-* which was in fact a mound.

It was proposed in BSOAS 12.331 to see in Khotanese *ulatāna-* which corresponds in meaning to *śmaśāna-* the components *ula-* 'up' and the verb *kan-* 'put'<sup>52</sup>, as indicating a burial in a raised position, and to compare the Ossetic *ūālmārd*.

Since however the word for 'axe' in Khotanese *paḍa-* (acc. sing. *paḍu*, plur. *paḍe*) represents an older \**paraθu-* with *-t-* from *-θ-* and loss of the second *-a-*, that is, *-θ-* for Indo-European *k̂*, the origin of Khotan. *-t-* is complex. This same *t* for Indo-European *k̂* is known in Old Persian, but also in Avestan words with *θ* beside the more usual *s*, as in *aiwiθūra-* 'strong'. It occurs also in Ossetic in *tālm* 'ulmus', *rātān* 'rope', and *fārāt* 'axe'<sup>53</sup>. I think now

<sup>48</sup> Sogdian forms quoted in I. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Parthian in A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe* 55; Wakhī in G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* II 540; Yaṇnābī in H. Junker, *Yaghnoobi-Studien*, p. 12; Avestan, see P. Tescosco, ZII 2.39 (with connexions excluded by the participle Khotan. *sata-*). Zor. Pahlavī in H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems*, p. 211, 215.

<sup>49</sup> Not, as in the *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, the 'estuary'; beside the *aōda-* 'the streams'.

<sup>50</sup> J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, 36—37, and ZII 2.278, where he saw the connexion of *ṣini-* with Avestan *sanaka-*, but gave the meaning 'stream'.

<sup>51</sup> P. 63.

<sup>52</sup> Iranian has two distinct verbs *kan-*, the one *kan-* 'put, throw', and the other *kan-* 'dig, destroy'. A third base *kan-* occurs in adjectival use for 'young, small'.

<sup>53</sup> These words were pointed out by V. Abaev, *Oset. Jazyk i Fol'klor* I 140, but we need not confine the change of *k̂* to *t* to Old Persian. For *tālm*, Old Persian *θarmiš* we should (with E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitteil. aus Iran* 3.58) see a cognate in Mid. Pers. (gr Bd 116.9), NPers. *sarv*. This is the 'cypress' but with other epithets may refer to different trees, thus *sarv i siyāh* is translated by 'juniper'. In the Old Persian *θarmiš hya naučaina* we have similarly a wide general name *θarmi-* made specific by the addition of the adjective *naučaina* 'of the species *nauča-*'. Schrader-Nehring, *Real-*



also to see the change in *guppur-* as from an Old Iranian *\*vis-puθra-* 'son of the great house' since this meaning would admirably suit Iran *guppyrsar* and Digoron *guppurgin* 'great ones, nobles'. The intermediate form would then be *\*uīθa-uurθa-*, from which the *-θu-* gave *-pp-*, as we have *cuppār* 'four' from older *\*čaθuārah*, Avestan *čaθwārō*. The attempt to find in *guppur-* a word meaning 'family' (as we have in Old Indian *kulīna-* 'of good family, noble'), would thus prove to be inadequate, although the basis of the explanation remains<sup>54</sup>.

Possibly we may therefore have to find in Khotan. *ulatāna-* two words: *ula-* perhaps meaning 'body' and *tāna-* from *\*θāna-* equivalent to *sāna-* 'mound'. At the moment this is still speculative. But it may be noted that the Old Ind. *vr̥nda-* 'mass', Mid. Iran. *gund* 'group', permit the recognition of a base *ured-* and *urend-*; from the reduced grade *\*urdo-* would develop normally in Middle Iranian Khotanese *ula-*. The Pali *bondi-*, Prakrit *bundi-* and Bud. Sanskrit *vr̥ndi-* 'body' have been traced to the Old Ind. *vr̥nda-* 'mass; tumour'<sup>55</sup>. This *vr̥nda-* is the reduced grade to *urend-*. For the three bases, note *bher-* 'to jut out', with *bhred-* and *bhrend-*<sup>56</sup>. The problem must await further examination.

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*lexikon*, s. v. *Kypresse*, had already quoted Akkadian *šurmenu* for the 'cedar' of Lebanon. The close association of *sarv* and *noč* is clear from the Armenian *saroy eu noč*, see H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 237. The views of V. Pisani, who connected NPer. *sarv* with Greek *καπρίσος*, IF 56.4., quoted "Rivista degli studi orientali" 18.92; of J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Donum...* Nyberg, p. 27 ff., who took *θarmiš* for 'roof'; and of R. G. Kent, who rendered *θarmiš* by 'timber', seem hardly convincing.

<sup>54</sup> See JRAS 1955, 114 ff. The final *-t* may be absent as in *āxsār* (unless the word *guppur-* is a loan-word from a dialect in which *-r-* replaced *-θr-*).

<sup>55</sup> F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*.

<sup>56</sup> Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch*, II 162.