

## INDO-IRANICA

In August 1979 my Dictionary of Khotan Saka was published by the Cambridge University Press (cited below as Dict.). But as usual new materials tend to accumulate. Here are some in anticipation of a Supplement.

1. Saka III 90.180 *rrūva*, III 86.100 *rūva* is the name of a medicinal plant. The *rr-*, variant with *r-*, indicates an Iranian word. The form can be traced to *\*ruvā-*, *\*rūvā-* and *\*rauvā-*. The meaning could be « rhu-barb » which has not otherwise been noted in the long lists of medicinal plants, but was known in Central Asia. That would point to a connexion with Zoroastrian Pahlavī (Zor. Pahl.) *lyp's* *\*rēβās*, NPers. *rēvās* (with suffix *-ās* as in NPers. *rōnās* « madder » (beside *rōdan*, Saka *rrūnai*), found also with other suffixes: *-ā*, *-āj*, *-ēj*, *-ēz*, *-ad*, *-and*, *-anj*). The Saka *rrūva* may have passed through *\*ra(i)uā-*. B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica 547 listed the many names known to him and the places where it is reported.

2. *pase* « stones » has been misunderstood (as in the Dict. 225 s.v. *pa-sai*). Jātaka-stava 13v2 *pase te rrisceye gūhaiñā hvastāmdā beda* means « they struck sharp cutting stones upon thee ». The corresponding Pali text has *silā* « stone » and the Chinese similarly. The translation « 500 » was hardly likely. Cognates are then to be sought in an older Iranian Saka *\*pals-*, whence *\*pgsa-* and *pasa-* (like the similar *\*pals-* in *pgsa-*, *pasa-* « messenger » in the Dict. 224). That is Indo-European (IE) *pel-k-* beside *pel-s-* in Pašto *parša*, Nūristānī Kati *parši*, Old Ind. *pāśyā-*, *pāśāñā-*, OHG *felis*, ONorse *fjall*.

3. *alāśva* « wild life » II 1. 61 has *al-*, *alaa-* to be taken to a base *al-* « be wild » (see Dict. 7 s.v. *arā-*) with *al-d(h)-* like the other base *al-* « grow » with *al-dh-*. The *-śvā-* is palatalised *-śutā*, as in *praśvava* « nature » (Dict. 254) from *\*pari-śutā*. Saka keeps older *š-* distinct from

čy- (base *šau-* and *tsau-*). The context excludes the Buddhist Sanskrit (BS) *ālasya-* « languour ».

4. *auja* (*aujaṃ*) « thick juice » is only in I 191,113rl. It can be traced to the base *vaiš-*, see here *bista-*, *bištaka-* « thick juice » (I, 159,72v5; I 171, 90v3) and Dict. 291 *biška-*, 205 *patābātāñā* and 282 *ḅāta-*, IE *ueis-* « flow, dissolve ». Hence *auja-* may be *\*ā-v(i)ž-ya-*.

5. *carq* (or *carāṃ*) « troop » I 177,93v5 *pūrda carāṃ māñamḍūm śakrra-aysūrāṃ jsa* « like the defeated troop (in the fight) of Śakra with the Asura demons ». This is from the base *kar-* « to fight » cited in the Dict. 98 s.v. *candarno*. The basic BS text has an unclear *śakṛsūthā* (the *-ūthā* may disguise *yathā*).

6. *garśi* « heavy, important » occurs once in II 85.10 *rrvīyi garśi āvaśā māñamḍā muśḍā* « royal revered favour (vast) as the sky » with II 118.138 *rrvīyi garkhā āvaśi māñamḍa muśḍā*. Hence *garsa-* *gars-ya-* to *garśa-* with suffix *-s-* (IE *-k-*) beside *-kh-* (IE *-kh-*) in *garkha-* like Yidgha *γarx*, with *-ān* in Zor. Pahl. NPers. *garān* to Old Ind. *gurū-*, Greek βάρύς.

7. *aśūma* is in the passage II 34.5.2 *aśūma pastādū gārye* « they ardered to buy *aśūma-* » in reference to animals who are to be given sesame as fodder. The first component is *āśa-* « horse » and the second component can be *kuma-* « young » as in O. Ind. *kumārā-* « young », from the base *kau-* in Zor. Pahl. *kavāt* « young animal », Pāzand *kaḅādah*, Waxī *kuāt* « young ass », Zor. Pahl. *kavāh* « small cattle », Av. *kuṭaka-* « small », NPers. *kōtāh*; and more remotely Lit. *kumēlē* « mare », *kumēlyš* « stallion » (TPS 1954,146; BSOS 8,1936-7, 599).

8. *sūliya* « merchants » in the story of the earlier feat of the Buddha in saving the merchants from *rākṣasa* demons. N 169.10 has *nvāstai sūliya rakṣaysyo jsa* « you delivered the merchants from the demons ». This same story is in the Jātaka-stava 7rl *rakṣaśāṃ... myāña jabvīyā pa-sse sātīka anāha* « among the demonesses the 500 merchants of Jambudvīpa (India), helpless ». This *sātīka-* is from BS *sārtha-* « caravan », beside *sārthavāha-* « caravan-leader ». From it came later the ethnic *Sart* in Central Asia, in Mongol *Sartaγul* « land of the Sarts ». The Sogdians were the silk-merchants in colonies along the Silk Route, so that the ethnic name became a noun for « merchants ». In the same way Sogdian used *frōmčiq* « Roman » for « soldier ». The many forms of the name Sogdian are listed BSOS 6,1930-2,948, and BSOS 7,1933-6,765. The Greater Bundahišn 205.11 has Zor. Pahl. *sūlik*.

In Saka there exist the words *sūli*, ablative *sūliṇa*, plural *sūliya*, *sūlyau* (see KT IV 59). The passage II 46.78 *dūmva u caḥā: spata u sūliya*, three ethnic names, requires « Sogdian ». The Chinese word *šu-li* offered from two Sinologists meaning « secretary » must after all go (the translation « Sogdian » had been proposed earlier).

9. In the Dict. the two words 322 *mattūna-* and 335 *muttūm* were taken as two forms of one word from a base *maud-*: *mud-*. It is better to accept two bases with similar meanings. Then *mattūna-* goes with the base *mak-* with *-tt-* from *-xt-* as *sutta-* « vinegar from base *sauk-*. The *mak-* « to be moist » is then used in a bad sense of « decayed » as an epithet of *bausa* « smell », rendering BS *pūta-* « rotted ».

This is the *mak-* « moist, dip, wash » (but in a bad sense), attested in the Sasanian inscription of Kartēr *mktky* \**makata-ka* corresponding to the Greek βαπτισται of the Manikhaïos Codex (see L. Koenen and R. Merkelbach, Ein griechischer Mani-Codex, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 5, 1970, 133-40). From Iranian \**makrta-* (with suffixes *-r-ta-*) came the Armenian *mkrta-* (*mkrтарan* « font ») and *mkrtem* « wash (hands), baptise ». The IE base *mak-* is familiar in Baltic Lit. *makėnti* « to wade », *makōnė* « swamp », and Slavonic Old Slav. *mok-rŭ* « wet », *močiti* « moisten », Cekh. *mákati* « moisten », but has not yet been certainly identified in Old Indian. The *mak-* of Iranian Waxī *mukt*, Yazgulāmī *magūd*, Sanglēcī *moγdōk*, Tājīkī *muqdoq* « frog » may be either « *mak-* » move fast, « jump » or *mak-* « wet », that is « the animal in moisture » (see *mak-* in India Major, dedicated to Jan Gonda, 1972, 41-5).

10. To set beside *śidī* « food » (Dict. 400) there is Sanglēcī *sədik* « porridge, NPers. *āš* soup ».

11. Yazgulāmī *x<sup>o</sup>am* (= *xuam*) « small straws, chaff thrown off in winnowing », Sarikolī *xem* « straw » and Šu-γnī, Rōšānī *xemc* (*c=ts*) « straw » are from older \**huama-*, \**huāma-* and \**huāmačī-*.

The fuller definition of Yazgulāmī excludes the « stiff » and « hard » stalk of straw. Hence the *huam-* will mean « soft ». Of these Pamir words the older Iranian base is *hau-*: *hu-* with increment *-am-*. Two bases *hau-* occur in Iranian (1) « to dry » and (2) « soft » (see Dict. 494 and 491). The word *huma-* « soft » is spelt also in the medical text III 85.81 *hāmma-* in the same context.

For « dry » the IE has *sau-(s-)*; for « soft » the base is not yet certain: *sau-* or *seu-* or *sou-*. With the increment *-em-* it is in Germanic *swams* « sponge », *swamp* and *sump*.

Here one may draw in Ossetic Digoron *γāmpä*, Iron *qāmp* « straw » by assuming the changes *γ-* from *γu-* from *hu-* and with the increment *-p-* (here preserved). In the Lāzī *γvampo* « soft bark of the walnut » the stage *γu-* is attested. For the voiced *γ-* from *x-*, one may note the two forms in Digoron *conuγ*, *dzonuγ*, Iron *dzoniγ* « sleigh ».

12. The *laf-* « to seize, raven » of the phrase III 72.157 *birgām ttralaphām* « of ravening wolves » in the Rāma Epic can be traced in the Georgian loan-word *alap'-i* « booty », verbal *alap'oba* « to plunder » attested in the Old Testament and in Rust'aveli's Man in the Panther's skin (Numbers 31.12; and Rust. 455 and verb 55). This is then \**ā-lāfa-* or \**ālafa-*.

13. *gūha* in the passage I 103,11v3-4 *gūha ysarnīja* may be rather from Iranian \**gaufa-* or \**gufa-* of a « covered place » cognate with Zor. Pahl. *gwp*, *gwp'n*, Sanglečī γῶν « storehouse » (with words in Waxī, Sarīkolī and Yidgha); and Avestan *gufra-* « covered », instead of the BS *guhā* « cave ».

14. *ysauhā* « pleasure » in II 75.58 *tçimiškyām ysauhā* « pleasure of the eyes » had been thought of as an error for the common *suha-*, *sauha-* from BS *sukha-*. But it should be retained from the base *zauš-* « approve, like » with the replacement of -ž- by -h- as in *jūh-* « be excited »

15. *padašdq* « it splits », in I 30,19v3 *kaṇga padašdq* « it splits the skin », is from *dar-g-* with increment to *dar-* « tear, split », as in Slavonic Russ. *děrgati* « tear up », Old Engl. *tiengan* « tear away », IE *der-* and *der-gh-*. This word is then different from *padašdū* « it burns » from base *dag-*. It renders BS *vidāraṇa-*.