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Hvatanica II

By H. W. BAILEY

THE present notes were suggested by the publication of the Glossary to the texts contained in the Khotanese MS. designated E by the late Professor E. Leumann.

The Glossary has been awaited eagerly. Professor Ernst Leumann's work, as one of the pioneers in the study of the unknown languages of Central Asia, has already been warmly recognized. And to his son, Professor Manu Leumann, we owe the edition of the Glossary, and of the two previous parts containing the text and translation. In all three parts we find the same exact work.

There is much in the Glossary which will need testing. This is perhaps partly due to the author's emphasis on Indian connections to the partial neglect of Iranian. Secondly to the undeveloped stage to which Khotanese phonology had been brought, so that, for example, the participle malsta- is assigned to a verbal base malys-, although under rrasta- the regular st had been recognized; but also in the forms of Indian loanwords. At times it is doubtful if Leumann could himself have been satisfied with his own interpretations. But this should not hide from us his energetic and earnest devotion to a difficult study. His results will in large measure remain secure.

One practice should be at once referred to, a practice which will, it is feared, disturb the reader, that of constantly abandoning the manuscript reading. Happily the manuscript readings can always be discovered, for it is far more important, for example, to have the reading anūvatta 1475, in view of its connections with the place Anuta, than to have the uninteresting Prakrit form *Anavatatta.

A great service would have been rendered to the reader, had it been possible to indicate which meanings were based upon parallel texts, which were due to contextual conjecture, and which were due to etymologies. Each reader must in the present form of the Glossary search for the evidence himself.

One misconception in regard to the script in Heft 2, p. 356, should be noticed. Leumann referred to the *in der Kursive orthographisch zu* h *umgestaltetes* y *in der Ligatur* ys. However, in the cursive the y of ys

¹ E. Leumann, Das Nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Manu Leumann, 3. (letztes) Heft, 1936.

is quite distinct from the cursive h and represents a natural cursive development of y in this group ys. There is no substitution of h. The misconception has arisen from judging the sign from the standpoint of the non-cursive.

For the users of the Glossary, who will not all be specialists of Khotanese, it seems desirable to indicate briefly where later discoveries and unpublished texts have brought clearer understanding: firstly, among the unexplained words (the translation at times has interpretations missing in the Glossary), secondly, words wrongly or uncertainly explained, and, thirdly, etymologies.

I. Unexplained Words

ahäna, 2^{120} , used of catching the wind, probably Instr. sing. to aha-, Skt. $p\bar{a}$ śa. $h\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$ häna 25^{413} may contain the same aha-.

 $\bar{a}ce$ 'water-bird'; $\bar{a}ci$, Skt. jalapaksin, hamsa.

uysma 'clay', Skt. mṛttikā.

.aukalä, probably braukalä. In a text containing references to parts of the body, the right braukalä is mentioned before a reference to the left eye: brau- < *brāva-, cf. Mid. Pers. brūk, Av. brvat-, Skt. bhrū. Below brausāra.

karāśā, cf. haskye kṣa śīya khu śäga ā vā ṣvīdā, ā mīrāhīja karāśā ' six tusks white like conch or milk or karāśa of pearl '.

ggälserai, loc. sing. with -ī, to gesāra- 'neck', Skt. grīvā.

tcampha 'distraction (?)', bitcampha 'overcome (?)', cf. natcīphāka-'subduing', base tcamph-, OIran. skamb-, Mid.Pers. škaft 'astonishing, harsh', Pali chambhin, Bud.Skt. chambin 'stupefied'. tcanā 'wrinkle', Skt. valī.

durna- 'bow', dūna, duñe, Skt. dhanus.

 $d\bar{u}$ ' pain, distress (?) ', cf. $y\bar{sira}\ d\bar{u}v\bar{a},$ Skt. hrdroga.

pamjusta ' finger-ring ', $paj\bar{u}\underline{s}ti,$ Skt. $angulimudr\bar{a}.$

pahīya- 'stopped', to pahēj-, pihīs-, Tib. hgags-par hgyur-ba, pihejāṃma, Skt. sandhāraṇa, ptc. pahī. [BSOS viii 131 pihīsāṃme is out of place.]

 $pv\bar{a}ca$, fem. to $pv\bar{a}ta$ - 'cool', cf. $dr\bar{a}tai$ fem. $dr\bar{a}ca$, Skt. cancala.

brausāra-: cf. teimmajām āchām va brausīra vīna jimda 'in eyediseases it takes away pains of the brausāra (eyelid?)', Skt. paricakṣuṣābhya(ḥ).

būkaja: cf. bukajā puṣa tsûai, unexplained.

rramja- 'shore', in the story of the shipwrecked merchants.

hoka: cf. u vemja haukām hīyai pūra 'sons of the . . . women '.

holaña Konow, Suvarnabhasa, uholaña 'elsewhere'.

The words khavä, ggūysnä, grūṣke, caṃbule, tcaṃjsa, ttājä, patärahvā, pyaḍa, bajvārra, bṛhaña, ysambasta, rrīmä (2145), sträha, hauśśu (1471) were explained in BSOS viii 117 ff.

II. Incorrect or Uncertain Meanings

 $\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}ho$ 25^{205} , cf. $\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}he$ 1st sing., parallel to $hambr\bar{\imath}he$ 'I share'. * $\bar{a}st\ddot{a}ta$ -, $est\ddot{a}tu$ 'firm, strong', as estavana. $\bar{a}ska$ - 'deer'.

 $\bar{a}hus\ddot{a}te$ 'he sweated', cf. $\bar{a}h\ddot{a}s\bar{a}\tilde{n}$ - 'make sweat', Tib. $dugs\ byas-pa$. Quoted in the Glossary as $\bar{a}hu$ and $s\ddot{a}te$. To $\bar{a}hv\bar{a}m\tilde{n}\ddot{a}$.

uysgana-: aysgana-rūvye, Skt. gṛdhra-rūpa.

uysgärnu 6⁵¹: cf. (official document) u pyada ūtca uysgināte mūri śau dva hedā. Konow, Saka Studies, iysgänāte [uys- is later replaced by ays- iys-, eys-], to Inf. ggäräte, Tib. ño 'buy', BSOS viii 925 girye, ptc. ggäräte, Tib. ños-nas. So also ggändā 3 Sg., ggärätātā 14⁷⁶. It belongs with Mid. Pers. χrīn-, χrīt, NPers. χar-, χarīd, Sogd. γr'yn-, γr'yt- 'buy', hence *χṛnati > Khotan ggändā.

käysarkulna: xii app. p. 355. Read possibly: pharṣata ysambastā parste pīḍe haṃtsa-pūrakā ysarkulna 'The official Ysambasta, associated with his sons, of¹ the Golden Family, ordered to write'. Here pharṣata beside pharṣava, pharṣavata is the title pharṣa, pharṣṣa, in Tib. script phar(a)śa. For ysarkula (= Skt. suvarṇa-gotra), see F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents, vol. i, 151 ff. The ysar- could be ysarra- 'gold', as in ysarragūna- 'of golden hue', in an early or late Khotan compound. But more probably haṃtsa purakā ysarkulna 'with his son Ysarkula' (? cf. -kula in Mihirakula); -na used as in gyastā balysāna. The ä of the conjectured käysar- would make one suspicious of a connection with καῖσαρ, Tib. ke-sar, ge-sar, Chr. Sogd. qysrk·n, since in dīnāra- we have -ī-, Armen. denar, Skt. dīnāra, and also the final vowel of haṃtsa-pūra.

kuys-, kūś- 'seek' (not 'protect'), kūśemäte, Skt. parimārgaṇa. So the context requires 6¹0: ttrāmu kūśāñi hajvī hvamndi ṣā balysāñi salāvi kho ju aruvo kūśätä āchānai ce biśśä āchā jindā 'this word of the Buddha must be sought out by the wise man, as a sick man seeks a medicine which cures all ills'.

 $k\bar{u}ysa\text{-},$ used of a bow : $kuysye~du\tilde{n}e~m\bar{a}m\tilde{n}amd\bar{u}m$ ' like a bent bow '.

¹ -na in this sense would be conjectural.

 $k\bar{u}ra$ - 'crooked, bent': $k\bar{u}r\ddot{a}$ $ges\bar{a}r\ddot{a}$ Tib. mjin-pa yo-ba, 'crooked neck', hence kav- (BSOS VII 703), Mid. Pers. $k\bar{o}r$ 'blind', <*kaura-. So also Tedesco, ZII 4. 101.

kṣārma 'shame '25495, cf. F. W. Thomas, loc. cit., p. 67.

kṣustä 'serum'.

ggaysa- 'reed'.

ggarkha- 'heavy' to OIran. *garu, Mid. Pers. garān, Sogd. γr n. ggär-, see uysgärnu.

ggu-<*vi frequently.

ggumalsta, pres. $g\bar{u}maly$ - < *vi-mard-.

- ggulna 847 'molasses': găla Skt. guḍa. ośā vättarkä kho yā suttāna hvīḍā bātu kuśśalā vättarkā kho yā ggulna hvīḍā bātu, 'evil doubt is as when one eats poison with vinegar, favourable doubt is as when one eats poison with molasses'. suttā, Skt. śukta- 'vinegar', attested in Iranian by Parāčī sītō 'sour', Western dialects as Kašaī sutá 'vinegar'. OIran. *suxta- may have influenced the loan-word here. gūlye 'ball', Tib. ril-lu, is elsewhere attested. jeh-, quasta- 'cleanse, heal'.
- drātaa- Skt. cancala [BSOS viii 122 'languid' rendering rgod-pa is wrong].
- drūṇaa- 'healthy', not 'rich', Tib. nad med-pa Skt. svastha, ārogya.
 To Av. drva-, Sogd. δrwt·t-.
- $n\bar{a}hune$ 'nails', Mid. Pers., NPers. $n\bar{a}\chi un$. Not $sn\bar{a} > n\bar{a}h$: Khotan $ysn \langle sn$ as $ysn\bar{a}na$ -, $haysn\bar{a}ta$, so also Av. $sn\bar{a}ta$ -, hazasnam gen. pl. of hazanhan- 'robber', Mid. Pers. $\check{s}n$ in $\check{s}n\bar{a}vi\check{s}n$ 'swimming', NPers. $\check{s}in\bar{a}$, Sogd. sn'y- 'wash'. Sogd. $n\gamma n$.
- nimāna- 'regret', Sogd. nm'n-.
- pamjs-, ptc. pamäta-, 'put on,' the usual Iranian word *pati-mauk-, Mid. Pers. $patm\bar{o}\chi t$, Sogd. $ptmw\gamma t$ -, with -u- lost in secondary syncope, as in $\bar{a}rsta$ -. So $pam\bar{u}ha$ <*pati- $mu\chi\theta a$ [not as BSOS viii 132 *- $mau\chi sa$] with - $\bar{u}h$ as in $p\bar{u}ha$ 'fifth', Av. $pu\chi\delta a$ -, probably also $vim\bar{u}ha$ <*vi- $mu\chi\theta a$ -, $str\ddot{u}ha$ -, striha- 'stiff' <* $stra\chi\theta a$ -, agvaha- 'indigestion' <*avi- $pa\chi\theta a$ -.
- parvacha 275 belongs with parvaste 'is ripened' < *pari-pak-, cf. pachāre to pak-.
- pale 'banners', Prakr. $pad\bar{a}\bar{a}$ (Skt. $pat\bar{a}k\bar{a}$).
- palvala 25³⁹³: Chinese version 'Pahlava' (Przyluski, La légende de l'empereur Açoka, p. 400).
- $p\bar{a}ramgga$ 24^{109} 'decrease', $p\bar{a}ramga$ -, Tib. hbri, with verbal forms $p\bar{a}ramjs$ -, $p\bar{a}r\bar{i}s$ -.

- $p\bar{a}rajs$ 'hold firm ', so also $p\bar{a}rajsye$ jsa, Skt. $\bar{a}\acute{s}ray\bar{a}d.$
- phara 676 may be phara, Skt. ghaṭa, 'pot.'
- pharṣavata a title, see käysarkulna above.
- phārra-, Sogd. farn, BSOS viii 914.
- batha- 'armour', confirmed by the Chinese version (Przyluski, loc. cit., p. 401).
- beittä 618: samu kho hambūvu beittä harbiśśī āchai jīye; with 616 trāmu māñamdu kho hvamdā hambūtā hambadā ysūna cvī ye ālīva nitcana īndā samvī ttamdu hamārgya. Confusion of ysū 'pus' with ysuyañi 'taste' obscured both these passages. Beside ysū, hambūta-, hambūva- must be connected with Oss. ämbuyun 'to rot', Mid. Pers. hambūsītan, pūtak, NPers. anbūsīdan, pūsīdan 'to rot', Av. Skt. pav-. In medical texts passim jeh- is used for 'heal', hence beittä rather from band- 'bind'. So render: 618 'just as when he binds up the fester, all his disease is removed'; 616 'as when for a man, the fester full of pus, if he has ointments outside it, is no more than a hamārgya (—?—)'.

 $b\bar{\imath}ysman$ - 'urine'.

- byūrru 6⁸⁷ '10,000', Av. baēvar-, here treated as a verbal form under byūs-. Besides the phrases in BSOS viii 121, note also: tcause kūla pīrma haṣṭūsa lakṣa byūri hauda ysāri haṣṭase. The corresponding episode of the Mahāvastu iii 114 mentions the Śākiyamaṇḍala.
- brem-'weep'. The story of Asita 25²³⁴ ff. is well known: at sight of the child Asita wept. It is the asitam tv aśru-pariplutākṣaṃ of Buddhacarita i 62 (ed. Johnston). Mid. Pers. bram-'weep'. In the Saṃghāṭa-sūtra brem- corresponds to Tibetan nu'weep'.
- brorcu, brokye, braukyä, brocä. No parallel version has yet been noted, but it is probably to be connected with brorä, Skt. bhakta-, Tib. yi-ran-ba ('glad'), and with puror- 'to remove'. The -r- of brorcu is then original.
- murāsa- 'peacock'.
- mrāha- 'pearl': mirāhe, Skt. muktā, Tib. mu-tig, has nothing to do with marakata- (Gr. σμάραγδος, NPers. zumurrud, Tib. margad, etc.) 'emerald', but may represent a form of μαργαρίτης, Mid. Parth. mrg·ryd, Mid. Pers. mwrw·ryt, NPers. murvārīd.
- ysarū̃ne 21⁵. ūtce pastāte ysarū̃ne tcalce jahe. With yseruna, yserūna <*zari-gauna-, yseruna ttuṃgara 'fresh (= green) ginger'. Mid. Pers. zargōn, NPers. zaryūn.

- ysua-: ysū, Tib. rnag 'pus'. 9^{32} ysū bīysma kṣuśtu 'pus, urine, serum'.
- ysuyañi ' taste ', Suvarṇabhāsa 24 r 2 loc. pl. ysvyañuvo.
- -ranga: jātaranga-8³³, aśśarangga 14⁹². maharangga-25³³⁷ = 'athlète', Chinese version (Przyluski loc. cit., p. 401). raga-'side, riverbank' is different.
- $r\bar{a}\tilde{n}$ 6^{11} probably read $ggumer\bar{a}\tilde{n}\ddot{a}te$. Caus. to *vi-mar-. Cf. patämār- 'oppose'.
- rraa-: rrau $v\bar{v}r\ddot{a}$ 'upon the rraa-' not 'in', hence probably to Sogd., Mid. Pers. $r\bar{a}\gamma$ 'plain'.
- rrīysai sb. 'trembling'. ysīra rīysai, Skt. hṛdroga, hṛllāsa.
- $rrus\bar{a}$ 'barley'.
- rrūva- 'intestines', instr. pl. rrutāṃ jsa, cf. also krriṃga-rūvai, Skt. guda. OIran. *rauta-.
- $rr\bar{u}v\bar{a}sa$, Sogd. rwps-, NPers. $r\bar{u}b\bar{a}h$ (not to be interpreted from a hypothetical translation of Khotan $rr\bar{u}va$ -), Gr. $\dot{a}\lambda\dot{\omega}\pi\eta\xi$, etc.
- śakauna- $25^{3:3}$ 'Śaka', as in the Chinese version (Przyluski, loc. cit., p. 400).
- śśumbāka-, cf. in a medical text dva śūmba used in measuring water.
- samgga- 'stone', Tib. rdehu, distinct from śśamgga- 'sankha'.
- siyā-, Skt. hamsa, at every occurrence.
- suraa-, Skt. śuci 'clean'.
- syūta 'orphanėd', as Konow, Saka Studies. Cf. Mid. Parth. sywg, syywg.
- $hamgged\ddot{a}$ belongs to $hamgg\ddot{a}r$ -, as $bed\ddot{a}$ to $b\ddot{a}r$ -.
- haṃbirsta-, habirsta- 'united', ptc. to haṃbrīh- (not to vard- 'grow'). hambūta-, see above beittä.
- haysīndi 23²³¹: sṣaddo tvīṣṣe haysīndi 'they ruin faith'. haysāmñä, Tib. byas 'make'. To Av. haz-'to force', Skt. sah-.
- haysga-: 16¹⁰ haysgu. haysg-uṣṭana Skt. upasarga, āyāsa 'trouble'. haysga-mata-, Tib. bsam-pa 'thought'. Possibly haysga-<*hazaka-, cf. Av. hazah-, Skt. sahas-'violence'.
- halīrau, Skt. harītakī.
- hätänaa- 'red', Tib. dmar-po, Skt. aruṇa.
- $h\ddot{a}ry\ddot{a}$ ņa 23²⁵⁰, cf. later $h\bar{\imath}r\ddot{a}$ m̃ä 'condition', $\ddot{a}ry$, $\bar{\imath}r$ as $hary\bar{a}sa$ -, $h\bar{\imath}r\bar{a}sa$ 'black'.
- $hura\bar{a}$ 21^{45} 23^{168} Tib. brla 'thigh'.
- hulga 'soft', later hauga -, <* rduka -.
- hvādaśta- 25⁴⁹⁶ Tib. version 'with both hands' (Thomas, loc. cit.,
 p. 68), Chinese 'tenant à la main' (Przyluski, loc. cit., p. 407).

III. THE MORE DISPUTABLE MATTER OF ETYMOLOGIES

- agvaha- *a-vi- $pa\chi\theta a$ to gvach- 'digest'.
- alysānaa- Skt. kumāra, Tib. gźon-nu. Attempts to explain this word have started from the secondary meaning of 'prince'. As an epithet of Manjuśrī it represents kumārabhūta- 'youth'. Hence probably not connected with OIran. arg- 'be worth', where the guttural was difficult, but rather with Khotan aysdau 'young', Skt. bāla, Tib. byis-pa: aysdau < *arzdāvan-.
- avachauda 'unhindered' *a-pati-sčafta-, Av. paiti-sčapti-.
- \bar{a} ṣṣuḍa possibly to ṣarr- or kṣār- or perhaps rather \bar{a} ṣṣuḍa- ' tearful ' to OIran. *asru- as himjuḍa- ' bleeding ' [-uḍa cf. BSOS viii 927].
- āriyāmata requires a verbal base āriy-.
- $\bar{a}sp\bar{a}ta$ 'refuge', not Prakr. $\bar{a}spada$ -, as shown by $-\bar{a}$ in the second syllable.
- āhāra 'ashes', Rōšānī $a\theta\bar{e}r$ 'ashes' $<*a\theta irya$ Morgenstierne NT. 5, 47. Sogd. ''š'kw.
- ihivia- 'not one's own' Konow NT. 7, 14, as iharṣṭä, aharṣṭä 'regularly'.
- $ulag\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ -, $ulat\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ possibly kan- 'dig', as second component.
- uṣṭana with ṣṭ as Av. uštāna, Mid. Pers. (learned word) uštān (cf, Mid. Ind. (Aśoka) uṣṭanaṃ). Hence uš-tāna- 'tension of the uš ' = 'vitality'.
- $\bar{u}tc\bar{a}$ not $<*udaky\bar{a}$, since $uda->\bar{u}$ (as in $\bar{u}ra$ Av. udara), and the suffix must then be voiced. But $*\bar{a}pak$ -, Munjī $y\bar{o}wga$ 'water', etc., Oss. $awg\ddot{a}$ 'glass, flask'.
- $k\bar{a}dara$, d < rt, not Indian.
- kṣāḍa not *kšarita- since ys̄ḍaa- 'yellow ' < *zaritaka shows umlaut, but OIran. * χ šarta-, to Mid. Pers. $a\beta$ šārt, NPers. afšurd 'press'. So $p\bar{a}$ ḍa- < *parta-.
- kṣiyāre with ptc. kṣīta- to OIran. *xšī-, Skt. kṣaya-, etc.
- kṣundaa- (u replaced by \bar{a} in later $kṣ\bar{a}mdai$), Munjī š $\psi \bar{u}y$ (Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages, i, p. 37), šfiy, šfiy (Zarubin, Iran i 168) < *fšuyant-, cf. kṣ in $kṣ\bar{a}rma$ 'shame ', Av. fšarvma-.
- khan- rather kan- as in naskanda, OPers. Av. kan-.
- $kh\bar{a}ha<*\chi\bar{a}\chi a$ -, as Sogd. $\gamma\cdot\gamma$ (* $\chi\bar{a}\chi$), Mid. Pers. $\chi\bar{a}\chi$ Yasna 65, 4.
- ggadaa- 'throat' (?), then to gart- 'turn', cf. NPers. gardan 'neck'. But cf. u hainai gadā hvasti baysgi thauracaihi śau 'and one red . . . -beaten thick cloth (?)'.

 $ggum\bar{a}ce < *vi-m\bar{a}tak-.$

ggūgno kamgo 2¹², possibly to be read *ggūśno (ś and g differ only by one short stroke), if one ought not to have śñ, as adj. to ggūysna-'deer' (Mid. Pers. gavazn, etc.), since the ajina 'deer-skin' is known in Buddhist texts, Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki no. 6994) Tib. g-yan-gźi ham lpags-pa.

jin- Av. jyā-, Skt. jināti, but ysän- Av. zyā-, Skt. jināti.

ttīman- with -ī-, but tceiman < *čašman-, and $rr\bar{\imath}man$ -, Mid. Pers. $r\bar{e}man$, hence *tu χman -> *ta γman > ttīman-.

ttīśä frequently, Skt. tejas.

thatau not *sthitakam nor *taxtakam (Konow) since $a\chi t > \bar{\imath}t$ $\bar{\imath}y$, but possibly * θan -: * θa - = tan-: ta-, as * θap - (in -thuta-) = tap' burn'. Šuynī $\theta \bar{a}wam$, Chorasm. - $\theta \bar{a}vam$

nastos- cf. nastausai, Skt. śosa.

 $n\ddot{a}dau < *nid\ddot{a}ga$ -, since -d- does not replace -t-, cf. dau ' fire '.

nuva, more probably *ni-pad- OPers. nipadiy.

nu-vat- not so, but nu-vad- Av. Mid. Pers. ni-pad- 'lie down', Sogd. np' $y\delta$ - caus.

 $ny\bar{u}rr$ - < *ni-varn-. OIran. -iva-, -aiva- > Khotan - $y\bar{u}$ -, cf. $by\bar{u}rr\ddot{a}$, Av. $ba\bar{e}var$ -.

 $ny\bar{u}llte < *ni-vart-.$

pa-, not from fra-, which became ha-.

pa-jät- not so, but pa-jäd-, ptc. pajista- to OIran. *gad-, j̃ad- 'beg', with ä as in tcäṣ- OIran. *čaṣ-.

pa-jut-, not so, but pa-jud- 'cover' to gund- 'cover'. Sogd. " γ " $v\delta$. paramjs \ddot{a} , not Prakrit. It occurs in other contexts.

parāha, not Prakrit (parārtha- is attested in Khotanese), but to the verb pareh-.

parysa, probably pārysa 'servant'.

 $paśś\bar{a}$ - to Av. $sp\bar{a}$, Sogd. sp'y-, OPers. $fr\bar{a}sah$ -, as $niśś\bar{a}$ -. Or Sogd. pš·y. patt-, cf. Mid. Pers. $patt\bar{u}tan$ ' to endure '.

pīr, probably *pati-kar-, hence of both 'painting' and 'writing', BSOS viii 935.

 $p\bar{\imath}sa$ -, probably 'teaching' < *pati-daisa-.

 $p\bar{\imath}saa$ - 'teacher' <*pati-daisaka- BSOS viii 935.

puvāta- 'cool' < *pati-vāta- 'blown upon', cf. aysdim- (older *uysdam-) 'to cool'. Fem. pvāca.

pedete, not to * $p\bar{\imath}day$. Skt. $p\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}$ is Khotan $p\bar{\imath}la$.

 $py\bar{u}mj < *pati-vang-.$ $by\bar{u}mgga-,$ $by\bar{u}mj\bar{a}mat\bar{a}-$ (Tib. phra-mahi chig 'slander') < *abi- or vi- vang-, cf. $vamj\bar{a}mmayyau$ instr. pl.,

- Tib. $r\dot{c}od$ -pa 'dispute'. Hence to *vang- in Balōčī $gw\bar{a}n\dot{j}ag$ 'to call', $gw\bar{a}nk$ 'call', Mid. Pers. $v\bar{a}ng$, NPers. $b\bar{a}ng$ 'voice, sound'.
- $py\bar{u}ta$, possibly *pati-vag-, to Balōčī gwajag ' pull out ', OPers. avajam ' I pulled out '.
- pyaura-, pryaura- 'cloud' < *pari-abra-. So Sogd. $pry\beta k$ 'cloud' < *pari-abraka (-ia- > \bar{e} , then written -'y-) with dissimilatory loss of the second r, as of the first in Khotanese.

phaṣṣa, phāṣṣa, both uncertain.

- $baravir\tilde{n}\ddot{a}$ 'pregnant' $<*bara-pu\theta ra$ with -vir- as in $b\ddot{a}s\bar{i}v\ddot{a}rassai$, $b\ddot{a}s\bar{i}vir$ -, $b\ddot{a}s\bar{i}vr$ -.
- barnaa < *branka, as NPers. burr- 'cut' < *branka.
- balysūñavūysai, an Iranian word is to be sought in -vūysai.
- $b\bar{a}y$ -, not * $v\bar{a}say$, but vad- the usual Iranian word for 'lead'.
- $b\bar{a}h\bar{u}j$ -, an Iranian word must be sought.
- bihīya- ptc., rather than Av. vahyah- with Konow, cf. pahīya- 'stopped' to pres. pahēj-.
- bissonda, possibly *abi or *vi- χ šam-, cf. Paštō $z\gamma$ aməl 'endure'. Then also χ šam- in nisem-.
- $by\bar{u}h$ -, evidently not *vi- $y\bar{u}th$ -, possibly *vi-vad-.
- maṃth-: manθ-, mant- is attested elsewhere in Iranian: Paštō kṣ̄ē-mandəl 'knead', Parāčī menth- 'rub', Oss. zmänt'in 'stir', Av. mant-. Hence probably Iranian here.
- malys- in ni-malys-, but malsta- < *mard. The pres. to ggumälsta < *vi-mard- is gūmaly- with secondary palatalization in later Khotanese, cf. päṣkalīndä, piṣkelyāme.
- maula, not Prakr. maüla (Skt. makuṭa), but Skt. mauli-, Pali moli. ysän-, ysäta-, Av. zyā-, OPers. dyā-, Skt. jināti, not hinoti.

 $rr\bar{\imath}m\ddot{a}$, see $tt\bar{\imath}man$ -.

rrus- not so, but to OIran. rauk-.

- rrūna- 'oil ', is the well-known OIran. *raugna-, Av. raoγna-, Sogd. Mid. Pers. rōγn, NPers. rōγan, Gazī rūn, Yaγn. ruγin.
- $vam\bar{u}da$ <-mṛź-ta-, $p\bar{u}m\bar{u}da$ -. *pati-mṛź-ta, as $v\bar{u}da$ <-vṛź-ta 'wrought '.
- $vah\bar{\imath}ys$ < OIran. *ava- χaiz -, Mid. Pers. $vih\bar{e}z$ 'remove'.
- $v\ddot{a}m\bar{u}ha < *vi-mu\chi\theta a$ as $pam\bar{u}ha < *pati-mu\chi\theta a$ (see pamjs-) (assimilated to Prakr. vimukkha?).
- śśära- to Sogd. šyr. Parth. šyr.
- sata- in meaning only to sarb- 'rise', in form to Parth. Sogd. san-'mount', $Wa\chi\bar{\imath}$ san-: sat-, $Ya\gamma n$. san-'rise'.
- sarāva- 'lion', to Sogd. šryw-, Mid. Pers. šyr, NPers. šēr.

 $s\bar{\imath}ra$ -, not to Av. $sr\bar{\imath}ra$, since $\acute{s}r > \text{Khotan } \dot{s}\dot{s}$. Cf. rather Mid. Pers. $sa\gamma r$ ($s\bar{e}r$), NPers. $s\bar{\imath}r$ 'satiated'.

haṃgrīta- to haṃggalj, as haṣpalj-, haṣprīya-, and haṃdrīya-, darjs-.

haṃgrīs- as haṃthrīs-. [Iran. grab- had ptc. *grb-tá-, Balōčī gipta, NPers. girift, and *grb- before suffix in Av. gərəfš-.]

hamgrautta- < *ham-grabita- (?).

haththa- $<*ha\theta ya$, certainly not $*h\partial r(a)$ - $sth\bar{a}$ -, which is found as $h\ddot{a}rst\bar{a}ya$ -.

hamthuta- to pathuta-. Chorasmian -واو-

hana- 'blind' < OIran. *anda-: the meaning of OIran. *hana-'old' is quite different. Sogd. 'nt.

hambrauṣṭa-, not *sampraviṣṭa- which cannot explain -au-, but probably to -rauys- in parauysārä.

 $h\bar{a}mura$ - 'forgetting' < * $fr\bar{a}mar\check{s}$ - 'forget', cf. NPers. $far\bar{a}m\bar{u}\check{s}$.

hāvia- 'one's own ', OIran. *hvaipaθya, Mid. Pers. $\chi^v \bar{e} \beta a \check{s}$, Paštō χpul , hūmjīnaa- 'bleeding', adj. to a secondary form with -ka $[ny > \tilde{n}y, \tilde{n}.$ not > nj].

 $hot\bar{a}$ - <* $fr\bar{a}v\bar{a}t\bar{a}$, Armen. havat, with vat, Av. $fr\bar{a}$ -, aipi-vat-, Skt. api-vat. haur- <* $fr\bar{a}$ -bar-, OPers. fra-bar- fra-bar-

Many other points need further elucidation. We are, however, fortunate in having this valuable instrument for the further study of Khotanese. It is particularly useful to have a complete Index verborum of this text, in which the language is 'Classical' in comparison with the later texts.