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BY

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PREFACE

MOST of the work involved in writing this volume of grammatical studies was done during three years, 1962-5, while, as a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, I was working for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under the supervision of Professor Sir Harold W. Bailey of Queens' College, Cambridge. It was Professor Bailey also who had in earlier years instructed me in Indian and Iranian studies, and introduced me to the problems and fascination of Khotanese. While he left me, on the one hand, complete freedom to solve in my own way the problems in my chosen subject, he gave me, on the other hand, every kind of assistance, not only reading texts with me, but placing at my disposal books, photographs, and indexes, as well as his wide knowledge of things oriental. It is with great pleasure that I thank him for his kind and constant help, and generosity unsparing of time and effort. Many of his suggestions have been adopted here, and they are indicated by the initials H. W. B.

Cambridge possesses another Iranist of distinction, whom it has been my pleasure to know and from whose knowledge I have benefited, Dr. I. Gershevitch. Suggestions made by him will also be found in this volume, indicated by the initials I. G.

The large section on nominal inflection found on pp. 249-349 is the second draft of a dissertation entitled *Saka Grammatical Studies*, which also included a small section on 'Syntax of the Cases in Khotanese', subsequently published as an article in *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24-33. On the basis of this dissertation I was elected on 2 May 1964 a Research Fellow of St. John's College. In October of the same year I took up a lectureship in Iranian studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and during the following year a thesis entitled 'Indo-Iranian Studies: Saka Grammar' was completed and successfully submitted for the Ph.D. degree. This thesis is available for consultation in the Cambridge University Library. One further year has elapsed before a revision of this thesis, under the new title *Saka Grammatical Studies* (to be referred to as *SGS*), could be sent to the printer, despite several requests in the meantime for information from the volume. During this period a

considerable amount of new material has been added and especially the sections dealing with the verb have been extensively revised.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank the School of Oriental and African Studies for meeting the cost of publication, and the Oxford University Press for their magnificent handling of a difficult manuscript.

R. E. EMMERICK

London, August 1966

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INTRODUCTION

THE grammatical studies here presented to the public, by contributing to the advancement of the knowledge of Khotanese, a language of the Sakas, add to what is known in the wider field of Indo-Iranian studies, of which Khotanese is an important but comparatively little-known part. Khotanese, especially the old variety, is still highly inflected, preserving more of the Indo-European inflectional system than any other later Iranian language. Thus, the verb is still found with endings for the three persons in singular and plural, in active and middle, and in modal forms, subjunctive, optative, injunctive. Old Khotanese preserves in its nominal inflection, in the singular six of the eight cases normally attributed to Indo-European, and in the plural, five.

The grammar of Khotanese has received little attention, priority having been given to the vocabulary and the transcription of the texts. The most detailed treatment of the grammar available has remained that of S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, Oslo, 1932. All the topics treated in the present work are there covered in a mere sixteen pages.

The work of S. Konow is now thirty-four years old, and much has been done in the whole field of Indo-Iranian studies since then. S. Konow's own more recent *Primer of Khotanese Saka*, Oslo, 1949, is basically the same as his earlier work. An up-to-date treatment of Khotanese grammar using the Late Khotanese material is found in the preface to M. J. Dresden's edition of the Khotanese *ġātakastava*. The whole grammar is dealt with in sixteen pages. A brief description of the whole language is given by H. W. Bailey in *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 131-47. The present volume had been completed when I received on 2 February 1966 L. G. Gercenberg's *Xotano-sakskij ġazyk*, Moscow, 1965, in the series *ġazyki narodov Azii i Afriki*. This again is a brief sketch of the whole language, giving some useful general information and some new sections, as on syntax (pp. 117-37), but otherwise not going beyond *Saka Studies*.

Now that virtually all the Khotanese texts at present available have been published in transcription, principally in a monumental series by H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts*, 1-5, Cambridge, 1945-63,

and *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London, 1951, the time is ripe for a grammar of Khotanese for the first time based on a wide range of the extant literature. Such a grammar cannot have any finality until all the texts have been edited and translated, but it can help towards the detailed interpretation of the many still untranslated or imperfectly understood texts.

The present volume is to be regarded as a first contribution towards such a grammar. I have collected material on all aspects of the language and I hope to cover further sections of the grammar in subsequent volumes. Consequently, this volume does not replace the preceding grammars such as even Konow's *Primer*. When, however, all sections of the grammar have been completed, it will be simple enough to write an up-to-date primer by abridging and selecting the material provided and adding some texts and a glossary.

Here are presented studies on the verbal and nominal systems. The study on the verbal system treats verb morphology (excluding the verb 'to be' and hence, periphrastic tenses) and the preverbs; that on the nominal system treats the declension of nouns and adjectives (excluding pronouns and pronominal adjectives) and nominal prefixes. It is hoped they will be as useful to others as they have been to me.

One all-pervading feature distinguishes these studies from the previous grammars: references are given for every form cited. Not only does this enable the reader to verify statements for himself, but it prevents the citation of non-existent forms (see, for example, pp. 226-7, 288). Ultimately one should further check the manuscript readings, but this is not easy to do, as the manuscripts are scattered all over the world, and few people can have photographs of them all. The four volumes of facsimiles published by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, called *Saka Documents*, London, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1967, and the recent *Skazanie o Bhadre (Novye listy sakskoj rukopisi «E»)* by V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij and M. I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskaja, Moscow, 1965, containing facsimiles of all the Leningrad folios of MS. E (see my review in *BSOAS*, xxx, 1, 1967, 83-94 and *AM* n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 148-78) are therefore especially to be welcomed.

Although I have given references for the forms quoted, I have not attempted to give complete references. This is particularly the case in the section on nominal inflection. Thus, there would have

been no point in giving thousands of examples of nom. sing. -ā or instr. -abl. pl. -yau. In every instance I have given only a few examples even when I had collected many. Often, however, I have given a judgement of the kind 'frequent in Old Khotanese'. My collection of different spellings is not complete, but those given should be sufficiently numerous and varied to give guidance in the interpretation of other spellings that may be found. Should it be objected: 'Why give all these spellings and references anyway?', my answer would simply be: 'Try translating some previously untranslated Late Khotanese text without such help!'

While I do not believe it is possible to classify satisfactorily all the extant texts into four stages of linguistic development (see H. W. B., *KT* 5, pp. vii-viii), although this is an interesting generalization, it is true that a chronological appreciation of each text is necessary to guide one in deciding which spellings can represent which older form. In combining all the forms from all the texts as I have done here for convenience, I have not lost sight of this, but I hope this warning will prevent others from being misled. The alternative is to write a separate grammar for each text, but a synthesis seems to me more useful and more practicable, especially as many texts are very short. Later, I hope to provide a kind of chronological guide to the Khotanese texts.

The oldest stage of Khotanese is represented by the language of MS. E, which has late forms very rarely. This text is also the longest single text in Khotanese, so that in general it provides a solid context. It has been made the basis for the present work. This text was carefully transcribed by E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1933-6, translated and provided with a very useful index. It is a pleasure to pay tribute to Leumann's careful, pioneering work, although it is now antiquated in many details. Additional folios of this text have since been published, and it was possible during the revision of this volume to incorporate a number of forms from those most recently published. I have now in the press a new edition and translation of all the known folios to be published as *The Book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*. As Leumann's numbering of the chapters is inaccurate by one after chapter two (see V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij, *Kratkie soobščeniija instituta vostokovedeniija*, xvi, Moscow, 1955, 68-71), I have used Z (for Ysambasta) with the new numbering and E when it was necessary to refer to the old.

In addition E 3 = Z 14, and I have numbered Leumann's folio s as Z 1 and folio y as Z 24. Z 18. 37-48 can be seen in facsimile in *Monumenta Serindica*, iv, 1961, pl. 10 and in transcription by H. W. Bailey in *KT* 5. 355 and by M. Leumann in *ZDMG*, 113. 1, 1963, 80-86. I do not see why Leumann's folio z ('E' p. 355) need have anything to do with MS. E. This fragment has been re-edited in *KT* 5. 49-50.

In addition to the published indexes, I have been able to use Professor Bailey's unpublished Khotanese dictionary, which he kindly allowed me to copy out entire by hand, and, during revision, I have made sporadic use of an index to *KT* 1-5 and *KBT* made by an IBM computer at Harvard under Mr. J. Moyne. The latter has not been as useful as was hoped on account of technical defects (e.g. wrong division of words) that arose in the absence of help from someone with a knowledge of Khotanese. A large proportion of the references were incorporated during the course of reading texts, and no form has been cited without a careful reading of the passage in question.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AdhS</i>	<i>Adhyardhasatikā Prajñāpāramitā</i> , edited E. Leumann, <i>Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur</i> , Straßburg, 1912, pp. 92-99.
<i>Adyar</i>	<i>The Adyar Library Bulletin</i> , xxv. 1-4, 1962.
<i>AIW</i>	C. Bartholomae, <i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> , Berlin, 1904.
<i>AM</i>	<i>Asia Major</i> .
Andreev	M. S. Andreev and E. M. Pešereva, <i>Uagnobskie Teksty</i> , Moscow, 1957.
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> .
<i>ApS</i>	<i>Aparimitāyuh-sūtra</i> .
Asm.	J. P. Asmussen, <i>The Khotanese Bhadracaryādeśanā</i> , Copenhagen, 1961.
Av.	Avestan.
<i>Avdh</i>	<i>Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī</i> .
Bal.	Balōči.
Barth.	C. Bartholomae.
<i>BBB</i>	W. Henning, <i>Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch</i> , Berlin, 1937.
Benv.	É. Benveniste.
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. See F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , II Dictionary, New Haven, 1953.
Brough	J. Brough, <i>The Gāndhārī Dharmapada</i> , O.U.P., 1962.
Brown Vol.	<i>Indological Studies in Honor of W. Norman Brown</i> , New Haven, 1962.
Brugmann	K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, <i>Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen</i> , Straßburg, 2nd ed., 1897-1916.
<i>BSL</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris</i> .
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i> .
<i>Dhp</i>	<i>Dharmapada</i> .
<i>Dhy</i>	<i>Der Dhyāna-Text</i> , ed. H. Reichelt, <i>Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums</i> , Heidelberg, i, 1928, pp. 33-56.
<i>Donum Nyberg</i>	<i>Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum</i> , Uppsala, 1954.
Dresden	M. J. Dresden, <i>The Jātakastava or 'Praise of the Buddha's Former Births'</i> , Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., N.S., xlv. 5, 1955.

- Dumézil Vol.* *Hommages à Georges Dumézil*, Collection Latomus, xlv, Brussels, 1960.
- E }
'E' } E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xx, Leipzig, 1933-6. E = Khotanese text; 'E' = the remainder.
- Elfenbein J. Elfenbein, *A Vocabulary of Marw Baluchi*, Naples, 1963.
- Et. Etymology.
- EVP* G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo, 1927.
- Ghilain A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, Louvain, 1939.
- GIP* *Grundriß der Iranischen Philologie*, ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Straßburg, i, 1895-1901.
- GMS* I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1954.
- HAG* E. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895-7.
- Hdb.* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv Iranistik, I Linguistik, Leiden, 1958.
- Herzenberg L. G. Gercenberg, *Xotano-sakskij Jazyk*, Moscow, 1965.
- H. W. B. H. W. Bailey.
- IE Indo-European.
- IIFL* G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*. Vol. i: Parachi and Ormuri, Oslo, 1929; vol. ii: Iranian Pamir Languages, Oslo, 1938.
- I. G. I. Gershevitch.
- inch. inchoative.
- inf. infinitive.
- Jackson A. V. Williams Jackson, *An Avesta Grammar*, Stuttgart, 1892.
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- JP* *Jivakapustaka* (see *KT* I, p. vii, n. 3) = Khotanese MS. Ch ii. 003.
- JS* *Jātakastava*.
- Kent R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, 2nd ed., 1953.
- Kh. Khotanese.
- Khar. Docs.* T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge U.P., 1937.
- Khar. Inscr.*,
1920 *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart. Part I, Oxford, 1920; Part II, Oxford, 1927.
- Khar. Konow *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. S. Konow, Calcutta, 1929.

- Koyasan Vol.* *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism*, Koyasan, 1965.
- KT* *Khotanese texts*, ed. H. W. Bailey. 1, 1945; 2, 1954; 3, 1956; 4, 1961; 5, 1963. Cambridge U.P.
- KZ* (*Kuhns*) *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*.
- Languages of the Saka* H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I, iv, Leiden, 1958, pp. 131-54.
- Lazard G. Lazard, *La Langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963.
- L.Kh. Late Khotanese.
- Mayrh. M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg, i, 1956; ii, 1963. Lieferung 18, 1964.
- Mithra* I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge U.P., 1959.
- MirMan* F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*. i, 1932; ii, 1933; iii, 1934. *SPAW*, Berlin.
- MO* *Le Monde oriental*.
- Morg. G. Morgenstierne.
- Morg. Vol.* *Indo-Iranica*, Wiesbaden, 1964.
- MPE* Middle Persian.
- MS Rems* *Manuscript remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, ed. A. F. R. Hoernle, Oxford, 1916.
- Mvy* *Mahāvvyūtpatti*.
- N E. Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, I. Teil, *Nebenstücke*, Leipzig, 1920.
- nom. ag. nomen agentis.
- NP New Persian.
- NTS* *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*.
- NWPkt* North-west Prakrit.
- O.Ind. Old Indian.
- O.Ir. Old Iranian.
- O.Kh. Old Khotanese.
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- OP Old Persian.
- Oss.* É. Benveniste, *Études sur la langue ossète*, Paris, 1959.
- Oss. Ossetic. D. = Digoron; I. = Iron.
- P Pelliot Sogdian MSS., ed. in *TSP*.
- Parth. Parthian.
- Pok. J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern and Munich, i, 1959.

ppp.	past participle passive.
pres.	present.
<i>Primer</i>	S. Konow, <i>Primer of Khotanese Saka</i> , Oslo, 1949.
pt.	participle.
pt.nec.	participle of necessity.
redupl.	reduplicated.
Reichelt	H. Reichelt, <i>Awestisches Elementarbuch</i> , Heidelberg, 1909.
<i>RV</i>	<i>Rgveda</i> .
<i>Saka Studies</i>	S. Konow, <i>Saka Studies</i> , Oslo, 1932.
<i>SCE</i>	<i>Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets</i> , ed. R. Gauthiot and P. Pelliot. Paris, i, 1920; ii, 1926-8.
<i>Si</i>	<i>Siddhasāra</i> .
Sogd.	Sogdian. B. = Buddhist; Chr. = Christian; Man. = Manichean.
<i>Sogd(ica)</i>	W. B. Henning, <i>Sogdica</i> , London, 1940.
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> .
<i>SS</i>	<i>Saṅghātasūtra</i> .
<i>ST</i>	<i>ST</i> , i = F. W. K. Müller, <i>Soghdische Texte</i> , i, Berlin, 1913. <i>ST</i> , ii = F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, <i>Soghdische Texte</i> , ii, Berlin, 1934.
<i>StH</i>	Staël-Holstein roll.
<i>Suv. K.</i>	<i>Suvarṇabhāsasūtra</i> , ed. S. Konow, <i>SPAW</i> , 1935, 428-86.
<i>Taqizadeh Vol.</i>	<i>A Locust's Leg</i> , London, 1962.
them.	thematic.
<i>Togan Vol.</i>	<i>Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan</i> , Istanbul, 1950-5.
<i>TPS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> .
Tq	Tumšuq.
<i>TSP</i>	É. Benveniste, <i>Textes sogdiens</i> , Paris, 1940.
Turner	R. L. Turner, <i>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-aryan Languages</i> , O.U.P., 1962- .
<i>Unvala Vol.</i>	<i>Dr. J. M. Unvala Memorial Volume</i> , Bombay, 1964.
<i>Vajr.</i>	<i>Vajracchedikā</i> .
<i>Verbum</i>	<i>Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente</i> , <i>ZII</i> , ix. 2, 1933, 158-253.
<i>Vim.</i>	<i>Das Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra</i> , ed. H. Reichelt, <i>Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums</i> , i, Heidelberg, 1928, pp. 1-13.
<i>VY</i>	É. Benveniste, <i>Vessantara Jātaka</i> , Paris, 1946.

Waag	A. Waag, <i>Nirangistan</i> , Leipzig, 1941.
Whitney	W. D. Whitney, <i>Sanskrit Grammar</i> , Harvard U.P., 2nd ed., 1889.
Yaghn.	Yaghnōbī.
Z	See introduction, p. xi.
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> .
<i>Zor. Prob.</i>	H. W. Bailey, <i>Zoroastrian Problems in the ninth-century books</i> , Oxford, 1943.
<i>ZP</i>	Zoroastrian Pahlavi.
<i>Zur nordar. Spr.</i>	E. Leumann, <i>Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur</i> , Straßburg, 1912.

THE LANGUAGE

1. *The local name of the language, country, and people.*

THE local name of the language to be described here is, in its oldest form, attested as *hvatana-*. Thus, in Z 23. 2, we read:

ttutu hvanau kho gyastā balysā ttāvattrīsyau jsa vahāštā
*hvatana*u yi haṃjsāte byūhā sarvasatvānu hātāyā

'This account of how the divine Buddha descended from the Trāyastriṃśat-gods I intend to translate into Khotanese for the welfare of all beings.'

The name of the people was also *hvatana-*. Thus, in Z 23. 4, we find:

ne ysvā're *hvatana* kari *hvatana*u dātu

'The Khotanese do not at all appreciate the Law in Khotanese.'

In the same chapter, a slightly later spelling is also found:

cu aysu ttū *hvatāna*u byūttaimā avaśśā balysā hāmāne (Z 23. 372)

'Since I have translated this into Khotanese, may I surely become a Buddha.'

In the Old Khotanese version of the *Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra*, a still later spelling is found:

biśyau *hvatam*-kṣīryau uysnauryau haṃtsa haṃbrihe (Or 9609. 3v6 *KT* 1. 232)

'I will share with all the beings of the land of Khotan.'

In Late Khotanese, three more stages of development of the word are found: *hvaṃna-*, *hvana-*, *hvaṃ-*.

Both O.Kh. *hvatana-* and L.Kh. *hvaṃna-* must be dated prior to the seventh century A.D., because according to Hsüan Tsang, the local language said 煖 Huan-na, but the Iranians said 豁旦 Huo-tan.¹

A dialect closely related to Khotanese is attested in a few documents mainly from Tumšūq. This dialect is now referred to as Tumšūq, though it was previously known as Maralbaši. Here we have *havadna* (vi. 6-7) and *havadna* (viii. b6).

The East Iranian Sogdian language renders the name *γωδnyk* (*Sogd.* p. 10).

In the Prakrit used as the administrative language of Kroraina in the third century A.D., *h* was not regularly pronounced (*Khar. Docs.*,

¹ See P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, s.v. *Cotan*.

§ 28, p. 10). In this Prakrit, *khotana-* was used. It is found in a Prakrit inscription dated in the reign of the Great King of Khotan (*khotana maharaya rayatiraya*).¹

The realm of Khotan was also referred to by means of the Sanskrit *Gostana-*. Thus, we find *gaustana-desa* (P 5538b. 11 *KT* 3. 121); *gāmstana-desa* (ibid. 13); *gaustamā desa* (Ch i. 0021a. 111 *KT* 2. 53) (2).

In the Khotanese document P 2739 *KT* 2. 85-, the land of Khotan is referred to by means of *yūtyenā kuhā* (l. 12), *yūtyaina kūauha* (l. 43). These spellings render the old Chinese name 于闐 *Yu-t'ien* and Chinese 國 *kuo* 'country'.²

2. The Sakas³

The word *Saka-* is not certainly attested in the Khotanese documents. *sakāñā śanirā* (MT c. 0017. 2 *KT* 5. 221) may be 'Śanira of Sakā', and *sakām* is attested as a personal name in one of the Hedin documents (13. 13 *KT* 4. 29). If, however, as is likely, the word is of Iranian origin, its most probable derivation is from the Iranian verbal base **sak-* 'be powerful' (Av. *sak-*, O.Ind. *śak-*).³ Derivation from **sak-* 'move' in the sense of 'nomad' has also been proposed (O. Szemerényi, *ZDMG*, ci, 1951, 212).

Three groups of Sakas, viz. *paradraya*, *tigraxauda*, and *haumavarga*, are distinguished in the Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C., and from the Greek historian Herodotus (vii. 64) we learn that the Persians called all Scythians Sakas.⁴

From the beginning of the first century B.C. there are traces of Sakas in north-west India. That the western satraps were Iranian and spoke a language closely akin to, if not identical with, Khotanese is shown by the Iranian names on their coins. These also display a peculiar feature of orthography common in Khotanese, the use of the digraph YS for [z].⁵

3. The affinities of the language

(a) The Iranian character of Khotanese is readily apparent from the comparison of the common words with their cognates in Avestan on the one hand and in Old Indian on the other:⁶

Kh. <i>aysu</i> 'I'	Av. <i>azəm</i>	O.Ind. <i>aham</i>
<i>ggara-</i> 'mountain'	<i>gari-</i>	<i>giri-</i>

¹ *Khar. Inscr.*, 1920, no. 661.

² See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 541-2.

³ See H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 131-3.

⁴ οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλέουσι Σάκας.

⁵ H. Lüders, 'Die Śakas und die "nordarische" Sprache', *SPAW*, 23, 1913, 406-27.

⁶ A longer list in H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 137-41.

Kh. <i>puls-</i> 'ask'	Av. <i>paras-</i>	O.Ind. <i>prcch-</i>
<i>bar-</i> 'carry'	<i>bar-</i>	<i>bhar-</i>
<i>basta-</i> 'bound'	<i>basta-</i>	<i>baddha-</i>
<i>ysāta-</i> 'born'	<i>zāta-</i>	<i>jāta-</i>
<i>sata-</i> '100'	<i>sata-</i>	<i>śata-</i>

(b) A number of phonological features characterize Khotanese as East Iranian rather than West.¹ Thus, in Khotanese, fricatives [β], [δ], [γ], spelled *b*, *d*, *g*(*g*) developed from initial **b-*, **d-*, **g-* of O.Ir. Khotanese has *tc* [ts] < O.Ir. **č-*, as in Ossetic, Paštō, etc., as opposed to *č* in West Iranian. Khotanese agrees with particular East Iranian languages rather than with West Iranian on a number of special points. Thus, Khotanese has *dr-* < **θr-* but *-r-* < **-θr-* as in Paštō. Usually, **θr* is treated in the same way in both positions, but Yidgha-Munji also makes a distinction. From IE **k₂*, Kh. has *ś*, written *śś* in O.Kh., *ś* in L.Kh., in agreement with Waxi *ś*, whereas *sp* is almost universal elsewhere.

(c) Khotanese and Tumsuq agree so closely with one another that they must be regarded as different dialects of a 'common Saka':

<i>Tumsuq</i>		<i>Khotanese</i>
<i>biša-</i>	'all'	<i>biśša-</i>
<i>dudar-</i>	'daughter'	<i>dutar-</i>
<i>drainu</i>	'of three'	<i>drainu</i>
<i>khāza-</i>	'food'	<i>khāysa-</i>
<i>re</i>	'king'	<i>rre</i>
<i>sazda-</i>	'snake'	<i>śśaysda-</i>
<i>vasuta-</i>	'pure'	<i>vasuta-</i>

Further examples may be seen in H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, pp. 148 ff.

A number of Saka dialects no doubt existed. One appears to have been spoken in Kāšyar in the time of Al-Kāšyarī in the eleventh century. In the Caucasus, a Scythian language known as Ossetic is still spoken at the present day. It has two main dialects, Digor and Iron.

¹ On Iranian dialect-geography, see: I. M. Oranskij, *Vvedenie v iranskiju filologiju*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 341 ff.; *Iranskije Jazyki*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 171-90.

THE VERBS

THE verbal system in Khotanese preserves traces of all the moods found in Avestan: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, optative, injunctive. Forms are found to continue these moods both in the active and in the middle voice. The use of active or middle appears to convey no special signification. To all intents and purposes, *yīndā*, 3 sg. pres. act., is exactly the same as *yande*, 3 sg. pres. mid.

In the indicative, there is a consistent formal distinction between active and middle but not in the other moods. If a verb shows a third person plural in *-indā*, we can be sure it is active, if in *-āre* it is middle, however these terminations may be spelled, and the same verb will have the same type of conjugation from the oldest to the latest kind of Khotanese. To be sure, a few verbs like *yan-* are indifferent as to voice, but by far the majority adhere strictly to one or the other. Where, however, there is a distinction between act. and mid., the regular usage is to oppose act. tr. to mid. intr. e.g. *bar-* act. tr. 'to carry', but mid. intr. 'to ride'. For other examples, see under the following: *āysān-*, *car-*, *thamj-*, *dajs-*, **dav-*, *dyāñ-*, *padav-*, *pātāl-*, *birāt'*-, *buysai-*, *burš-*, *byüh-*, *samkhal-*, *hatīs-*.

The choice of active or middle seems to be entirely arbitrary. Thus, *panaś-* is middle, but *hanaś-* is active. Both are intransitive. They should, of course, from a descriptive point of view be considered as two different words and not simply the same verbal base with two different preverbs, though from an historical point of view such a statement is meaningful. In order to keep constantly in mind the status as words of these verbal compounds and because of the differences in the extent to which information is available concerning the various present stems, the plan here adopted is to list all the verbs in alphabetical¹ order giving where possible the following information:

1. The verb class (cf. pp. 177-89).
2. The voice.
3. Transitive or intransitive.
4. The ppp.
5. Etymology (cf. pp. 157-64).

Ideally the following forms are quoted:

1. 3 sg. pres. ind.
2. 3 pl. pres. ind.

¹ Except that under *h* words beginning with the preverb *ham-* (however spelled) are listed first.

3. 3 sg. pf.
4. 3 pl. pf.
5. Infinitives.

Other forms are usually quoted only if the texts do not furnish us with all the required forms.

The head word is given in the oldest Khotanese spelling attested. If a verb is attested only in L.Kh., a reconstructed O.Kh. form has been given if this is thought to differ from the L.Kh. form. Loanwords are indicated as such by LW, and no verb class is assigned to them.¹ Not all loanwords are included but only such as are of some particular interest, whether because of their form or their frequent occurrence. The verb 'to be' is merely listed with essential information, as it is intended to deal with it separately on another occasion. Verbs attested only in the ppp. are not given unless their present stem can be inferred with some certainty. Past participles lacking present stems will be treated elsewhere. On the other hand, those past participles that are suppletive to existing present stems are given under those present stems.

Although it is not intended that this list should in any way take the place of a dictionary, it seemed convenient to include some statements about the idiomatic use of certain verbs. Bilingual texts have frequently been used in order to state in a more objective way the meaning of verbs.

More detailed work on more texts will doubtless add information to that here assembled, but every verb of reasonable frequency of occurrence is listed here and many rare verbs have already been included.

ajs- 'to pursue' ? I b

1 pl. pres. act. or mid., L.Kh.: *ajsām* Ch 00269. 67, 89 *KT* 2. 45, 46.
Et. Cf. OP *haj-*, O.Ind. *saj-*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 537.

añāy- 'to order' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *añāyīda* P 2787. 107, 108 *KT* 2. 105.
Et. -y-? Pkt < *ā-jñā-*. Skt *ājñāpayati*, Pāli *añāpeti*. *Dhp* 250 *añā'i*
= Pāli *aññāya* (= Skt *ājñāya*).

adhiṣṭh- 'to take control of; bless' LW mid. tr. A ppp. (1)

**adhiṣṭhāta-*; (2) **adhiṣṭhāta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhe* Z 3. 133.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāte* Z 3. 130, 131.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāre* Z 15. 110.
ppp. **atāṣṭhāta-* implied by O.Kh. 3 pl. pf. tr. m.: *atāṣṭhāndā*

¹ For a summary of the information concerning loanwords, see pp. 178-9.

Z 13. 159. ppp. *ayāṣṭhāta-* Or 9609. 4r4 *KT* 1. 233 (O.Kh.); 3 pl. pf. tr. m.: *ayīṣṭhātāndā* *Suv.* K. 63v2 *KT* 5. 114 (O.Kh.).
Et. LW < BHS *adhīṣṭhāti*.

anandīśś- 'to be indifferent to' ? V e, VI mid. intr. A

+I-A *hva'ndāna* Z 12. 114.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anandīśśāte* Z 12. 114; *anamdīśśāte* *Suv.* K. 65v5 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *samupekṣāte*.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *anamdīśśāre* *Suv.* K. 64r6 *KT* 5. 115.

Et. ? denom. **a-ham-dais-(a)ya-*. ? dissim. < *aramdīśś-* H. vii. 150.

1v2 *KT* 5. 99 (*r* changed to *n*); *aramdīśś-* ibid. 1v4 (*naṃ* under *raṃ*).

Cf. Av. *arəm*, *Saka Studies*, p. 117 s.v. *aramdīśś*.

anuj- 'to inquire' LW A ppp. **anuvarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anujātā* H 142 NS 58. 50r1 *KT* 5. 87.

Et. ? for **anuyuj-* or **anj-*. Pali *anuyujāti* 'asks a question'.

anuvartt- 'to conform to' LW tr. A ppp. **anuvarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 61; *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 39; *anuvarttāte* Z 14. 81, 85.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *anuvarttyai* N 171. 25.

Et. BHS *anuvart-* 'conform'.

armūv- 'to congratulate on' LW act. tr. A ppp. *armūvāta-*

1 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *armūvāmā* Z 11. 70; *armūvīmā* Z 11. 70.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *armūtāndā* Or 9609. 5r3 *KT* 1. 234. L.Kh.

2 pl. imper.: *armūvyari* Kha i. 221. 29 *KT* 3. 130; hence, (?) *armūvyāmā* Kha ii. 29. 9r1 *KBT* 10.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *armūvātemā* H 142 NS 78r3 *KT* 5. 104.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *armūvātātāndā* *Suv.* K. 66r5 *KT* 5. 117 (one -āt- intrusive).

Et. BHS *anumodaya-*.

avamañ- 'to despise' LW tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *avamañtru* Z 22. 299.

Et. BHS *avamanyate* 'despises'.

aviṣṣimj- 'to consecrate' LW act. tr. A ppp. *aviṣṣāgyāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *aviṣṣimjāte* Z 24. 404.

3 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *aviṣṣajjāda* P 3513 28r2 *KBT* 58.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *aviṣṣāgyāte* Z 24. 46.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *aviṣṣājātāndā* *Suv.* K. 63v2 *KT* 5. 114.

Et. BHS *abhiṣīñcati* 'consecrates'. NWPkt *avi-* < *abhi-* Brough, § 44, p. 96.

ah- 'to be' I a act. intr. B suppletive ppp. *vāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *astā* Z 1. 37+; *stā* Z 1. 36+.

3 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *indā* Z 2. 135+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vāti* Z 24. 246.

Et. 3 sg. pres. **asti*: Av., O.Ind. *asti*; Parth. 'st (Ghilain, p. 46), MPe

'st (*Verbum*, p. 167); Man., B. Sogd. 'sty, Chr. sty < **asti* (I. G.,

GMS, § 87, p. 12). ppp. < **būta-*: Av. *būta-*, O.Ind. *bhūta-*; cf.

Waxī vīt < **būta-*, *IIFL*, ii. 548 s.v. *vōc-*.

ahamañ- 'to despise' LW tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *ahamañā* *Avdh* 18r3 *KT* 3. 9; *ahamañā* *Avdh* 20r1 *KT* 3. 11.

Et. Pkt, cf. Skt *adhimanyate* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1957, 105; *Adyar*, 1962, 8.

ahāvāys- 'to endure; condescend' LW act. tr. intr. B ppp.

ahāvāysāta-

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ahāvāśdā* P 2787. 75 *KT* 2. 104.

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *ahāvāysāte* Z 2. 60; 23. 120; *ahāvāysāte* Or 9609. 68r6 *KT* 1. 241 tr. *adhivāsyāi*.

Et. BHS *adhivāsyāti*. Cf. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 113.

ākūṭ- 'to strike' LW tr.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *ākūṭa* Z 2. 102.

Et. BHS *ākotayati*.

ākṣuv- 'to begin' I c act. intr. B ppp. *ākṣutta-*

For constructions, see REE, *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 158.

(1) +inf.: *pulsu* Z 2. 159; *būṣṣā* Z 2. 169; *boanā* *Suv.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117; *ysānājā* Z 24. 220.

(2) +co-ordinate verb: *pvai'ttā* Z 24. 428; *vajsiṣṭe* Z 4. 15.

(3) +pres. pt.: *dāyāna* Z 9. 27; *hāmānā* Z. 15. 93.

(4) +inf. and pres. pt.: *ākṣutte lāstanā yanā u jvānā* *SS* 80r6 *KT*. 5. 340.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ākṣūtā* Z 4. 15+; *ākṣū* *Suv.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ākṣuvindā* Z 24. 499; *ākṣvīndi* Z 23. 133; *ākṣvīndā* Z 15. 111.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ākṣutte* *SS* 80r6 *KT* 5. 340.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ākṣuttāndā* Z 24. 220; Or 9609. 68v7 *KT* 1. 241; *SS* 80r6 *KT* 5. 340.

Et. < **ā-xšaub-*. Cf. MPe 'šub 'Bedrängung, Aufruhr' (*Verbum*, p. 184), NP *āšuftan*.

āchāy- 'to donate' LW intr.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āchāyūm* P 3513. 78v4 *KBT* 63 'I make donation'
(H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 19).
Et. BHS *āchādayati* 'presents'.

***āchānn-** 'to cut off' LW tr. ppp. *āchānnāta-*

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *āchānnāte* Z 13. 89.
Et. Cf. BHS *āchādana-* 'breaking, violation'; *Khar. Inscr.*, 1920,
235, 545 *āchānnāti*.

ājīṣ- 'to ask for; to beseech' LW act. tr. A ppp. *ājīṣāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāmā* Z 11. 71; 22. 189.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāte* Z 12. 65.
3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *ājīṣāte* Z 24. 271.
Et. BHS *adhyeṣ(ay)ati* 'requests'; Niya *ajiṣana-* Brough, p. 61.

ājum- 'to bring' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *ājūnda-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ājumindā* SS 80v5 *KT* 5. 341.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ājimyarā* Or 11252. 3a2 *KT* 2. 15.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ājimdai* JS 15v2 (65).
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ājūndāmdā* P 2958. 40, 61 *KBT* 40, 41.
Et. H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 469 s.v. *ājim-* cf. ZP *yumb-*, NP *jumb-*
'to move'. Derivation from **ā-yam-* seems to me more likely, cf.
B. Sogd. "y'm- 'finir' P. Cf. also O.Ind. *āyāmayati* 'brings'.

ātas- 'to fall down' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ātasāre* Z 24. 168.
Et. < **ā-kas-*, v. *kaś-*, H. W. B.; v. Dresden, p. 471 s.v. *kaś-*.

ātim- 'to desire' VI b mid. tr. A ppp. **ātaunda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ātimāte* Z 12. 57; *āyīmāte* Z 12. 58.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ātimāre* Kha 0013c. 1. 9v1 *KT* 5. 122.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ātaudānd<ā>* Kha 1. 27a1. v3 *KT* 5. 129
(= <ā> *taudānde* E. 1. 7 152r2 *KT* 5. 79).
Et. < **ā-kāmaya-*, secondary shortening from **ā-kāmaya-*, as
ppp. < **ā-kām-*, and cf. O.Ind. *kāmayati*; Parth. *k'm-*, *k'm'd*
'desirer' (Ghilain, p. 60), MPe *k'm-* (*Verbum*, p. 177).

āphār- 'to be disturbed' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *āphiḍa-*

3 sg. pres.: *āphāde* *Suv.* K. 64r6 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *pralupyate*; L.Kh.:
āphiḍe *Si* 106r5 *KT* 1. 44 tr. *hkhruḡs* 'be disturbed'.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āphārāre* *Suv.* K. 64v6 *KT* 5. 115.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *āphiḍāndā* Z 24. 162.

caus. *āphīr-*, *āphīrāñ-*.

Et. < **ā-ḥr-ya-*. *āphāde* for **āphīde* (cf. *mīde*) due to *āphārāre* (cf. *mārāre*). **far-* in *-gyā* abstract *āphārgye* *Suv.* K. 32r3 *KT* 5. 110
tr. *saṃkṣobhā*. Cf. Parth. *whyrd* 'tomber en désordre' (Ghilain,
p. 97) < **vi-far-* W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509.

āphīr- 'to disturb' V e mid. tr. A

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āphīre* Z 2. 204.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āphīrātā* *Suv.* K. 64r4 *KT* 5. 115.
2 sg. opt.: *āphīrā* Kha 1. 185. 1a6 *KT* 5. 155.
Et. < **ā-fār-aya-*, caus. < *āphār-*.

***āphīrāñ-** 'to disturb' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *āphīrāñāre* *Si* 5r2 *KT* 1. 8.
Et. See *āphār-*, *āphīr-*.

***ābei'ls-** 'to turn' IV a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ābeistā* Z 24. 500.
Et. < **ā-vart-*. Cf. noun *ābei'sa-* 'whirlpool' Z 17. 13.

āy- 'to be reflected' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āyāte* Z 4. 100+.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āyāre* Z 3. 90+.
Et. < **ā-dī-ya-* < **day-*, v. *dai-*, *did-*.

āyāc- 'to request' LW tr.

1 sg. pres.: *āyācu* P 3513. 46r4 (Asm. 15) tr. *abhiyācamī*.
Et. BHS *āyācati* 'supplicates'.

āyaus- 'to be disturbed' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *āyoṣta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āyausāri* Kha 1. 306a. 5v1 *KBT* 8.
ppp. *āyoṣta-* Z 4. 101.
Et. < **ā-yauz-*, cf. Av. *ā.yaoza-* 'aufwogen' *AIW* 1232; MPe
'*ywšt[gyh]*' 'aufgeregt' (*Verbum*, p. 183); Parth. "ywoz-, "ywošt
'(s)'agiter' (Ghilain, p. 64); B. Sogd. "ywoz-, "ywošt- (I. G., *GMS*,
§ 551, p. 87).

āyv- 'to heat' tr.

Only in L.Kh. pt. nec.: *āyvāñā* *Si* 125r2 *KT* 1. 54 tr. *bsros-pa*.
Et. < **ā-tap-* (H. W. B.), cf. Av. *ātāpa-* 'wärmen' *AIW* 632.

- āysän-** 'to equip; adorn' III b mid. tr. B ppp. *āysāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āysindā* Z 16. 60; *āysāndā* Z 16. 62, 64.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *āysānāre* Z 3. 56.
 Since *āysānāre* here is the only evidence for act. or mid. and here the meaning is apparently reflexive 'they adorn themselves', *āysän-* may have contrasted act. tr. and mid. reflexive.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āysāte* Z 2. 49.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āysyāṃde* P 3513. 72v4-73r1 *KT* 1. 248. L.Kh. ppp. *āysya-* P 3513. 73r2 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *samalamkṛta-*.
 O.Kh. inf.: *āysāte* Z 5. 96; 12. 17.
 Et. < **ā-zai-nā-*. See H. W. B., *AO*, 1936, 267; *Donum Nyberg*, 5-6. Cf. B. Sogd. *zywr* 'collier; bijoux'; NP *zēvar* 'ornement' (v. Benv., *JĀ*, 1936, 232); *zytyh* 'approvisionnement' *VJ*; Av. *zaya-* m. 'equipment', *zaēna-* m. 'weapon'.
- ārr-** 'to grind' ? III b tr. ppp. *ārda-*
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ārryari* MT a.i. 0033. 6 *KT* 2. 71; pt. nec., L.Kh.: *ārrāñā* *Si* 150v5 *KT* 1. 96.
 ppp. *ārda-* *JP* 78v5 *KT* 1. 163+, secondary, < *ārr* < **ar-nā-*. The original ppp. < **ar-ta-* is used as a noun: *āḍa-* 'flour' *Si* 133r1 *KT* 1. 66 tr. *phye*.
 Et. See H. W. B., *University of Ceylon Review*, 1957, 28; *TPS*, 1959, 81, n. 4. Cf. Av. **aša-* 'gemahlen, vom Getreide' *AIW* 239; B. Sogd. *'rd* 'meule' *SCE* 231; *'rdn'k* 'moulin à meules' *SCE* 161; Paštō *ōra* 'flour', *anə* 'to grind' *EVP* 12.
- *ārramj-** 'to contract' V e tr. A
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ārraje* *Si* 128v5 *KT* 1. 60 tr. *hkhums*. Quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 118.
 Et. < **ā-ranṣaya-*. **rang-*, cf. Av. *rənṣyō*, *rənṣišta-* (I.G., *Mithra*, p. 215); Man. Sogd. *rynčk*, Chr. *rynč*(*')*q 'small' (I.G., *GMS*, § 983, p. 149); Sogd. B. *rynčwōk* 'petit' P; Waxī *rānjk* *IIFL*, ii. 537; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 3, 1945, 482, n. 5.
- ārāh-** 'to please; propitiate' LW tr. A ppp. *ārāhāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ārāhātā* Z 24. 432; Or 9609. 36v5 *KT* 1. 237.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ārāhātāimā* N 154. 27 = H 142 NS 78r5 *KT* 5. 104. L.Kh. ppp. *ārāhya-*: 2 sg. pf. tr. m. *ārāhye* *JŚ* 23r2 (100).
 Et. Skt. *ārādhayati* 'propitiates'.
- ārīs-** 'to decrease' IV a act. intr. B
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ārīšta* Ch 00266. 318 *KBT* 109.
-āmatā abstract: *ārīsāma* *Si* 128v3 *KT* 1. 60 tr. *saṅkoca*.
 Et. Inch. < **ā-rang-*, v. **ārramj-*.

- ārīh-** 'to share' mid. tr. ppp. *ārīsta-*
 1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ārīhe* Or 9609. 36v6-7 *KT* 1. 232.
 3 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *ārīyāro* *Suv. K.* 33vi *KT* 5. 111.
-āmatā abstract *ārīyāmatā-* Z 6. 20 (v. S. Konow, *AO*, 1946, 79-80).
 Cf. also *ārīho* Z 24. 205.
 O.Kh. ppp. *ārīsta-* Z 2. 223; 4. 94, 115, 120; 10. 8; 20. 46 (H. W. B.).
 Et. < **ā-raiθ-*. Cf. Av. *raēθwa-* '(sich) mengen' *AIW* 1482. Cf. also B. Sogd. *'r'yδ* 'mélanger' P 2. 774, but *'r'yδ-* < **rāθ-* according to W. B. Henning, *BBB*, p. 69 (560) against Rosenberg, *Izvestija*, 1918, 837.
- ārūh-** 'to move, shake' V b intr. A ppp. *ārōtta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ārūhāte* Z 2. 103, 235.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ārāutta* H 142 NS 47 23vi *KT* 5. 87.
 O.Kh. ppp. *ārōtta-* Z 2. 66; *ārāutta-* Z 24. 224.
 Et. < **ā-raufya-* < **raup-*, v. *rrūh-*.
- ālamgr-** 'to adorn' LW tr. ppp. **ālamgrta-*
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ālagrū* P 3513. 78v4 *KBT* 63.
 ppp. *ālamgrya* P 3513. 54r4 (Asm. 52) tr. *alamkṛta-*; L.Kh. 3 pl. pf. tr.: *ālamgrāyāṃdi* P 2957. 73 *KBT* 34 = *ālagrrauda* P 2025. 188 *KBT* 17 = *ālagrauda* Ch 00266. 122 *KBT* 25.
 Et. Skt. *aram-kṛ-*, *alam-kṛ-*; NWPkt *Dhp* 80 *alagido* (*alamkṛta*).
- āljs-** 'to sing' I b act. tr. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *āljsindā* Z 23. 159; *āljsīndi* Z 20. 7; 22. 266; 23. 156.
 Et. < **ark/g-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 412. Arm. *erg* 'song' LW < Ir. or < IE **erk-* or **erkʰ-* (Pok. 340). O.Ind. *ārcati* 'praises' but *rgmīn-* 'singing' (*RV*).
- āvad-** 'to obtain' V a act. tr. C ppp. *āvasta-*
 3 sg. opt. act., O.Kh.: *āvaiyā* Z 18. 3.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *āvyañā-* Z 12. 23.
 ppp. *āvasta-* Kha 1. 13. 147v3 *KBT* 7 (O.Kh.), Or 8212. 162. 24 *KT* 2. 2 (L.Kh.).
 Et. < **ā-vad-* (H. W. B.). Cf. 2. *bad-*.
- āvun-** 'to approve' III b tr. ppp. *orāta-*
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *aumū* P 2026. 69 *KT* 3. 51.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *āvunāñā* Z 4. 90.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *orātāndi* Z 22. 112; 23. 43; L.Kh.: *auryāṃdā* P 2958. 12 *KBT* 40.

Et. < **ā-fri-na-ti*, ppp. **āfrita*- H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 907.
Av. *āfrinā*- 'feierlich anwünschen' *AIW* 1017; Parth. 'fryn-', 'fryd'
'bénir, louer' (Ghilain, p. 84); Man. Sogd. '(')fryn-, 'fryt 'to bless',
B. "pryn- (I.G., *GMS*, § 579, p. 91).

āvul- 'to strike, beat' LW tr. ppp. *āvulāta*-

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *āvula* Z 2. 100; 3 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *āvulātu*
Z 2. 101.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āvulāte* Z 2. 104.

Et. Pkt form of BHS *ākoṣayati* 'beats'; v. *ākūṭ*-.

āśvās- 'to comfort' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āśvāsāte* Z 14. 22.

Et. Skt *āśvāsayati*.

***āṣṭ-** 'to begin' II b ppp. **āṣṭāta*-

+pres. pt. or inf., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 589.

+pres. pt.: *mīrām* *ṢS* 26v3-4, 4 (117).

+inf.: *hvarā* *ṢS* 17v2 (74).

L.Kh. ppp. *āṣṭa*- < **āṣṭāta*-: 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *āṣṭi* *ṢS* 26v3, 4 (117);

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *āṣṭā* *ṢS* 17v2 (74).

Et. Secondary formation < *ā+ṣṭ-* q.v. See also *eṣṭ*-.

***āṣṭañ-** 'to begin' ppp. *āṣṭamda*-

+inf., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 589.

+inf.: *ysanā* P 2834. 40 *KBT* 46.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *āṣṭamda* P 2957. 56 *KBT* 33.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *āṣṭadā* P 2834. 39-40 *KBT* 46.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āṣṭamdamda* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75; Ch
00269. 70 *KT* 2. 45.

Et. Probably a secondary formation due to the influence of *ṣṭ-* and
later **āṣṭ-* on *āṣṭañ-* q.v.

***āsal-** 'to besmear' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *esalyāñā* *Si* 14713-4 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *bskus-pa*; *esalyāñā*
Si 15211 *KT* 1. 98 tr. *g-yogs*.

Et. < **ā-sard-*, cf. Oss. D. *isārdun* 'to smear' H. W. B., *BSOAS*,
xii. 2, 1948, 330; *KT* 4. 96.

āstañ- 'to begin' VI b tr. A ppp. *āstañda*-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āstañe* *Si* 6v1 *KT* 1. 10 < **āstañāte*.

1 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *āstañāmanai* P 2787. 153 *KT* 2. 107.

pt. nec.: *āstañāñā*- *Si* 6v3 *KT* 1. 10.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *āstañdādi* Or 11252. 32. 1 *KT* 2. 26; *āstañdamda*
P 2787. 171, 187 *KT* 2. 107, 108.
Et. Denominative < *āstana*- 'beginning' Z 4. 29+, < **ā-stā*-.

āspar- 'to tread' I b or I c act. intr. B ppp. *āspuḍa*-

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *āspīḍā* Z 22. 147.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *āspuḍe* Z 23. 153, 169.

Et. < **ā-spar-*, cf. Av. *spar-* 'schnellen, treten' *AIW* 1613, pres. I c

(3) *spara-*, cf. O.Ind. *sphurāti*; NP *supurdan*; Parth. 'bysp'r- 'livrer'

< **upa-spar-* (Ghilain, p. 75).

āh- 'to sit; remain' I a mid. intr. B ppp. *āsta*-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *āste* Z 6. 18+.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh. *ā'te* Z 2. 222.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ā're* Z 2. 45+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *āstā* Z 2. 2+.

Et. Av. 'āh- 'sitzen' *AIW* 344, *āste*, *ānhāire*; O.Ind. *āste*.

āhalj- 'to contract' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. **āhriya*-

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *aihai'jāda* Or 8212 (162). b3 *KT* 2. 10.

The *āp.* λεγ. *āhaljānindā* Z 24. 424 is probably for **āhaljāna indā*
(? assuming the verb was originally mid.), cf. *mīrāniya* *ṢS* 22v1 (97)

for **mīrāna iya*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *āhri* *Si* 128v4 *KT* 1. 60; 132r3 *KT* 1. 66, v. H. W. B.,

AM, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 24.

Et. < **ā-thrak-*.

***āhus-** 'to sweat' IV a intr. ppp. *āhusāta*-

3 sg. pf. m.: *āhusāte* Z 2. 57.

Et. Meaning established H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71. <

**ā-hvis-* inch. < **ā-hvaid-*. Cf. Av. *x'isa-*; B. Sogd. *γwys-* (I. G.,

GMS, § 539, p. 83).

***āhusāñ-** 'to make sweat' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *āhusāñe* P 2893. 256 *KT* 3. 93.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *āhasāñāñā* *Si* 8v3-4 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *svedanam*; *āhasāñāñā*

Si 121r3 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *duḡs byas-pa*.

Et. Caus. < **āhus-* q.v.

ihaste v. *uhy-*.

iśś- 'to turn back' V e act. tr. A

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *iśśāmā* *Suv.* K. 31v5 *KT* 5. 109 tr.

pratinivartayisyāmaḥ.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *iṣṣāte* Z 12. 48.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *iṣṣā* H 147 MBD 25b 42 *KT* 5. 64.
 Nom. ag., O.Kh.: *iṣṣākā* Or 9609. *27v5 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *pratinivartaka*.
 Et. Caus. < *ī-* q.v.

is- 'to return' IV a act. or mid. intr. B ppp. *iṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: act., *iṣṭā* Z 8. 47; mid., *iṣṭe* Z 2. 61+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *iṣāre* Z 12. 131; *Suv.* K. 29v3 *KT* 5. 107.
 Inf., O.Kh.: *iṣā* Z 2. 99.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m.: *iṣṭā* Z 20. 48; 24. 252 (O.Kh.); P 2801. 18, 46 *KT*
 3. 66, 67; P 2958. 47 *KBT* 41 (L.Kh.).
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *iṣṭī* *JS* 32v4 (143).
 Et. < **ā-isa-* inch. < **aiṣ-*. See *hī-*.

uchānn- 'to cut off' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uchānnāte* Z 13. 87, 88.
 Et. Skt. *ucchinatti*; NWPkt *uchina Dhp* 299 = Pāli *ucchinda*. Cf.
 **āchānn-*.

***uthep-** 'to send out' LW tr. ppp. *uthepāta-*

O.Kh. *uthepāte āya* (*Suv.* K. 32r5 *KT* 5. 110 tr. *yoyajitvā*) 'he should
 send out (army)'.
 Et. Skt. *utthāpayati* 'sends out'.

upekṣ- 'to neglect' LW tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *upekṣāna-* Z 12. 72.
 Et. Skt. *upekṣate* 'neglects'.

upev- 'to produce' LW mid. (? or act.) tr. A ppp. *upautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *upevāte* H. vii. 150. 1. 15 *KT* 5. 99.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *upevāri Vajr.* 13a4-b1 *KT* 3. 22 tr.
utpādayiṣyanti.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *upevāna-* Z 4. 89, 94, 120. Some O.Kh. modal
 forms: *upevāte* (Z 13. 97) 3 sg. subj.; *upevīṇi* (Z 7. 5) 1 sg. subj.;
upevīyā (Z 8. 24, 25) 3 sg. opt.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *upautāmdī* P 3513. 40r4-v1 *KBT* 61.
 Et. Pkt form of BHS *utpādaya-* 'produce'.

uysan- 'to breathe out' ppp. *uysanda-*

O.Kh. *uysanā-* 'the breath' Z 20. 57.
 L.Kh., 2 sg. pf. intr. m.: *uysandī JS* 21v4 (94).
 Et. < **uz-an-*. O.Ind. *āniti* 'breathes'.

uysgārñ- 'to redeem' III b mid. tr. ppp. **uysgārāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *iysgede* Or 6397. 1. 6 *KT* 2. 66.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *uysgārñu* Z 5. 51; 3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *uysgināte*
 Or 9268. 1a10-11 *KT* 2. 13; 3 pl. subj. *uysgināmdē* Or 9268. 1c3
KT 2. 14.
 L.Kh. ppp. *iysgārya* Or 6397. 1. 6 *KT* 2. 66.
 Et. < **us-xrina-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71. Cf. B. Sogd.
sy'yn- 'racheter' P 6. 141, 171 < **us-xrīn-* Benv., *TSP*, p. 206.

uysgun- 'to open' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579. III a act. tr.
 A/B ppp. *uysgusta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysgunindā* Z. 4. 111.
 O.Kh. ppp. *uysgusta* Z 5. 32; 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *uysguste* FM
 25. 1a3 *KT* 3. 125; L.Kh., *uysgaustai* P 2801. 67 *KT* 3. 68.
 Et. < **uz-gunda-*. Cf. Parth. *ngwnd-*, *ngwst* 'couvrir, cacher';
 'bgwnd- 'découvrir, révéler' (Ghilain, p. 83); B. Sogd. 'py'wnt-
 'découvrir' P.

uysgurs- 'to tear off' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysgursti* Z 20. 42.
 Inch. < **uysgru-* q.v.

***uysgru-** 'to tear' ppp. *uysgruta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uysgrute* Z 5. 7.
 Et. < **xrav-*, cf. Parth. 'xr'w- 'égratigner' (Ghilain, p. 76) W. B.
 Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509.

uysdav- 'to rub, polish; beat; reject, remove' I b act. tr. A/B
 ppp. **uysduta-*

L.Kh. only. Probably here belong: *āysdyūvi* P 3513. 20r4 *KBT* 56;
 ||| < u > *ysdyū* Kha 1. 306b. b2 *KBT* 8; ?? *aysdyūva* P 2956. 7 *KT*
 3. 36 = *aysdyāva* Ch 00266. 12 *KT* 3. 34 = *aysadrūvā* P 2895. 15
KT 3. 40.
 3 pl. pres. act.: *uysduidā* Kha 1. 306b. b1 *KBT* 8; *ūysdvida* Ch
 00266. 29 *KT* 3. 35.
 1 sg. pres.: *uysdyūmā* Ch c. 001. 979-80 *KBT* 140 'remove'.
 2 sg. imper.: *uysdvyā Avdh* 13r1 *KT* 3. 6 'reject'.
uysdyāmcīnā Ch c. 001. 893 *KBT* 137 tr. *prrataṣedhami* l. 895.
 Ppp. *uysdva-* in *uysdva-chata* P 3513. 69v2 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *varṇa-*
avabhāsita.
 Et. < **uz-dav-*, v. *dav-*. -y- is secondary L.Kh. palatalization. Some
 forms may contain **dab-* 'to steal'.

1. **uysdiśś-** 'to throw' H. W. B. V e tr. A
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysdiśātā* H 142 NS 61. 47v3 *KT* 5. 29.
Et. See 1. *diśś-*.
2. **uysdiśś-** 'to confess; expound' V e act. tr. A/B
1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uysdiśimā* P 3513. 65v1 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *deṣeyam*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *uysdiśīdi* P 3513. 34r4 *KBT* 59.
Et. Av. *daēsaya-* 'zeigen'; O.Ind. *deśaya-*.
- uysdai-** 'to look up (at)' I b act. tr. or intr. D ppp. *uysdāta-*
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *uysdāindī* Z 3. 6; 20. 17, 20.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *uysdāya* Z 2. 84; pt. nec., O.Kh.: *uysdiyāñā-*,
uysdyāñā- Or 9609. 36r4 *KT* 1. 236.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uysdāte* Z 2. 56+.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *uysdātānde* Stein E. 1. 7. 145v4 *KT* 5. 77.
Et. < *uz-day-, v. dai-.
- uysdem-** 'to cool; extinguish' V e act. tr. A ppp. *uysdaunda-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysdemāte* Z 5. 36, 49; 22. 186.
3 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *uysdaimīdā* P 3513. 69r1 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *prahlādayan*.
pt. nec., L.Kh.: *uysdaimāñā* Si 101r5-v1 *KT* 1. 36 tr. *bsgrāns-pa*.
ppp., O.Kh.: *uysdaunda-* Z 23. 123.
Et. < *uz-dam-, v. 1. dam-.
- uysbāy-** 'to lead out' V e tr. A
3 sg. pres.: L.Kh., *uysbāyā* ṽS 5v1 (17); *uysbāyi* P 2893. 166 *KT* 3.
89; O.Kh. (l), *usbā* *Suv.* K. 63v7 *KT* 5. 115.
Et. Caus. < *uz-vad-, cf. Av. *uzvādaya-* 'entführen' Yt 17. 59.
- *uysbrījs-** 'to roast' tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *aysbrījsāñā* Si 146r2 *KT* 1. 88 tr. *brīnos-pa*.
Et. < *uz-braig-, v. brījs-.
- uysvāñ** 'to throw up' V e tr. A
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uysvāñātā* N 50. 23.
Et. Caus. < *uz-van-. Cf. OP *van-* 'throw' Benv., *BSL*, 47, 1951, 26.
- usahy-** 'to deign to come, go' LW act. intr. A ppp. *usahyāta-*
1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usahyāmā* Z 2. 70, 71; *Suv.* K. 31v1 *KT*
5. 109.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *usahya* Z 2. 58, 59; 5. 91; ? 3 sg. inj., O.Kh.:
usahyāta SS 16a3 = E 1. 7. 19r3 *KT* 5. 388.

- 3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *usahyāte* Or 9609. 68r6 *KT* 1. 241. *usahye*
Z 2. 61 is probably 3 sg. opt.
Et. Skt *utsahate* 'endures'; Pāli *ussahati* 'is able'. = *sahy-* q.v.
- usāv-** 'to encourage' LW tr. A
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *usāvātā* Z 11. 49.
Et. ? Pkt form of BHS *utsāhayati* 'encourages'.
- uskalj-** 'to open' V e tr.
O.Kh. nom. ag.: *uskaljāka-* 'opener' Z 24. 643.
Et. < *us-kark-, v. kalj-.
- uskuj-** 'to rise up (against)' V c mid. intr. B ppp. *uskujāta-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *uskuśde* Z 11. 50.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *uskujāre* Z 12. 79.
3 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *uskujāro* Z 12. 70.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *uskujātemā* Z 2. 134 'I attacked'.
Et. Caus. < *us-kauk-. See *hamggūjs-*. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiv. 3,
1961, 480-1.
- uskūṣ-** 'to act frivolously' I b mid. intr. B
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *uskūṣdā* Z 12. 75 'acts frivolously' H. W. B.,
BSOAS, xxiv. 3, 1961, 480, n. 4.
Et. < *us-kauṣ-.
- uskoś-** 'to throw out' V e tr.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *uskośāñā* Or 9609. 53v7 *KT* 1. 238 tr. *nikṣeptavyāḥ*.
Et. Caus. < *us-kauz-. ? cf. Orm. *nikiz-* 'to sow' (< *niś-kūzaya-
Morg., *NTS*, v, 1932, 24, cf. Paštō *kūz* 'low').
- uskhaj-** 'to produce' V e tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *eskhejāñā* Si 133r5 *KT* 1. 68 tr. *bskyed*.
Et. Caus. < *uskhajs-* q.v.
- uskhajs-** 'to rise up' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *uskhasta-*
Nouns: *iskhajsā* Si 7v1 *KT* 1. 10 tr. *abhyudaya* (H. W. B., *AM*,
N.S. vii. 1-2, 1960, 15); *-āmatā* abstract *ūskhājsāmai* P. 2787. 52
KT 2. 103.
3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *uskhajsde* *ApS* 2b3 *KT* 5. 244 tr. *bhaviṣyanti*;
uskhajsde *ApS* 3a1 *KT* 5. 244; *u(s)khajsde* *ApS* 8a1-2 *KT* 5.
245 = *usakhīysde* S 2471. 109, 112, 113 *KBT* 94; *ibid.* 166 *KBT*
96 (-ī- ? due to the influence of *ohīys-*).

L.Kh. ppp.: *uskhastā* P 3510. 3. 4 *KBT* 49; *ūskhastā* P 2787. 55 *KT* 2. 103; *uskhastā* Ch 1. 0021b, b13 *KBT* 152; *gūtera jsa uskhastā* Ch 1. 0021a, a. 1-2, *KT* 2. 53 = *gūtteriāni hamye* Ch 1. 0021b, b. 2 *KBT* 151. Ppp. < *uskhajs-* implying **xač-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 898; but ppp. < (unattested) **uskhah-* (v. **khah-*) H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. vii. 1-2, 1960, 15-16. If *uskhastā*- is < **uskhah-* we have a suppletive system. Cf. also *naškajs-*, *naškasta-*.
Et. < **us-k|xak|g-*. Cf. ?

ustar- 'to remove' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ustaḍa-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *istidā Si* 148v5 *KT* 1. 92 tr. *likhet*.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ustarāndā* Z 24. 385.
3 sg. pf. m., L. Kh.: *ustadi Vajr.* 24a3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *pramijya*.
Et. < **us-tar-*, cf. NP *usturah* 'razor'; ZP *ustartan* 'to shave'; B. Sogd. *prtr-* 'essuyer' *Vj* (H. W. B.).

usthamj- 'to pull out' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *usthīya-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usthamjindā* Z 24. 514.
O.Kh. inf.: *usthamji* Z 13. 75.
3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *usthīyāndā* Z 5. 30; 23. 160.
Et. See *thamj-*.

uspaśd- 'to produce, cause' VI b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uspaśde* Ch 00217. 2r2 *KT* 3. 135; P 3513. 22v2 *KBT* 56; *uspaśdi* P 3513. 21v3 *KBT* 56. *uspaśde* to be read also in P 3513. 31v1 *KBT* 59 (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 123).
Nom. ag., L.Kh.: *uspaśdā'ki* Ch 00268. 214 *KBT* 68; *uspaśdā'ki* ibid. 224 *KBT* 69.
Et. < **us-pazdaya-*, v. *tvāśd-*.

usphan- 'to be happy' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *usphanindā* H [02]. 1b4 *KT* 5. 90 = N 113. 14.
Et. < **us-fan-*, v. *našphan-*. In the Pamir languages **usfan-* has the literal sense 'to rise', e.g. Rōš. *sifan*, *sifod* (v. V. A. Sokolova, *Bartangskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1960, 154).

usphir- 'to splash' V e intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *asphīramdai* *fS* 8v3 (32); *usphīradai* Ch 00266. 147 *KBT* 27 = P 2025. 223 *KBT* 19 = *uphvīramdai* P 2957. 91 *KBT* 35; *asphīraca* Ch 00266. 10-11 *KT* 3. 34 = *asphīrācā* P 2895. 13-14 *KT* 3. 40 = *asphīrāca* P 2025. 19 *KT* 3. 46.
Et. < **us-far-aya-* 'to splash', cf. Oss. D. *purx(ā)* I. *pyrx* 'splashing water, spray' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 539; IE **per-* (v. Pok. 809) H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, 1964, 12.

usphis- 'to splash; flash' IV a intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ūsphisadai* P 2787. 80 *KT* 2. 104; *ūsphisā[ra]dā* P 2787. 77-78 *KT* 2. 104 (-*ra-* due to adj. *usphisara-*: *ūsphisaryān* P 2787. 69-70 *KT* 2. 104).
Et. Meaning is 'splash' (of water), 'flash' (of rays). Possibly inch. < **bag-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhājati* 'sich auf den Weg machen' (H. W. B.). If Kh. *ph* can be < O.Ir. **θw*, we may have inch. of **θwiš-*, O.Ind. *twiṣ-* (I.G.). But cf. **phīś-* p. 90.

uhar- 'to watch over' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *uharide* P 3513. 62v4-63r1 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *samanvāharantu*; *ūharide* P 3513. 66r3 *KT* 1. 245 tr. *vyavāloka-yantu*.
Et. ? Pkt form of Skt *upahar-*, cf. BHS *ohāra-* 'domicile, abode'; Amg *oharai* 'establish, settle'.

uhy- 'to shoot' tr. ppp. *ihasta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *uhyāñā* P 2957. 123 *KBT* 37.
3 sg. pf. m.: O.Kh., *ihaste* Z 13. 73; L. Kh., *uhyastai* P 2783. 231 (70) *KT* 3. 75.
Et. ? reduplication of **ah-* 'throw' (Av. *zah-*, O.Ind. *āsyati*) H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 16.

ūm- 'to fall asleep' intr. ppp. *ūmāta-*

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *ūmanda-* Z. 11. 29.
ppp., O.Kh.: *ūmāta-* Z 4. 71; L.Kh., 3 sg. pf. m.: *ūmye* P 3513. 59v1 *KT* 1. 242; *umye* Ch 00268. 226 *KBT* 69.
Et. < **ava-hvap-* in **humna-* in Mid.Pers. *xumna* H. W. B., *KT* 4. 133. Presumably denominative. If *ūy-* is from **ava-day-* as suggested by H. W. B., then *ūmāta-* may be < **ava-mita-*, cf. B. Sogd. *mytk* 'closed' (on which see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23). *ūm-* would then be for **ūmy-*, cf. O.Kh. *pāmā* for **pāyāmā* p. 86.

ūmījs- 'to awake' I c act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ūmīśdā* Kha. 1. 211. 113v4 *KT* 5. 164.
Et. *ū-* < **ava-*? **maik|g-*, v. *nāmājs-*.

ūy- 'to survey' tr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ūyāñā* P 3510. a r2 *KT* 3. 111; *uyyāñā* P 3510. g3r2 *KT* 3. 111.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *uye* P 3510. d2v3-g3r1 *KT* 3. 111.
Et. = *vūy-* q.v.

ūs- 'to sleep' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ūstā* Hed. 23. 11 *KT* 4. 36.
Et. See *hūs-*.

ešt- 'to endure' II b act. intr. A ppp. *eštāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ešte* P 2025. 232 *KBT* 19.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *eštindā* H 142 NS 59 r4 *KT* 5. 28.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *eštvara* P 2783. 220 (59) *KT* 3. 75 'have courage'
H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 572.
ppp., O.Kh.: *eštāta-* Z 23. 27; 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *eštjai* JS 18v1
(78); 30v4 (135).
Et. ? < **ā-hišta-* < **ā-stā-*. Cf. also **āšt-*, *št-*.

eh- 'to reach' V b mid. intr. A ppp. *autta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ehāte* Z 24. 236 'lasts'.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ehāre* H 143a NSB 4r3 *KT* 5. 84 = N. 93. 24.
O.Kh. ppp. *autta-* Z 24. 237.
Et. < **āfyā-* < **āp-*, v. *byev-*, *byeh-*.

oys- 'to be angry' I b mid. intr. B

+I-A (Comit.) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32 (§ IV. 10 (a)).
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *oysde* Z 2. 137+; *auysde* Z 2. 133; 12. 43.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *oysārā* Z 15. 8; *oysāre* *Suv.* 66v2 *KT* 5. 117.
Et. < **ā-vaz-* H. W. B., cf. semantically, O.Ind. *kopa-* m. 'anger' <
kup- 'shake'.

aurāśś- 'to inform' V e tr. ppp. *orašta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *aurāśśāna-* Z 12. 28.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *orašte* Z 23. 92.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *aurāštāmdā* P 2801. 37 *KT* 3. 66.
Et. < **ā-frās-aya-*, caus. < **ā-fras-*, cf. Av. *ā.fras-* *AIW* 999.

auś- 'to anger' V e act. tr. A ppp. *aušta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *osātā* *Suv.* K. 64r4 *KT* 5. 115.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *osīyā* Z 18. 47 *KT* 5. 355; *auśā* Z 3. 69.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ošte* Z 2. 209; 23. 106.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *auštāimā* Z. 12. 82.
Et. < **ā-vāzaya-*, caus. < **ā-vaz-*, v. *oys-*.

kaṃggan- 'to dig' II c act. tr. B ppp. *kaṃggata-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kaṃggindī* Z 2. 28.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (opt.), O.Kh.: *kaṃggate* *īyā* Z 4. 61.
Et. < **kan-* 'dig' with intensive reduplication as in O.Ind. *caṅkhan-*
(Leumann, 'E', p. 407 s.v.). Av. *²kan-* 'graben' *AIW* 437; MPE

**kn-*, *qnd* (*Verbum*, p. 172); Man. B. Sogd. *kn-* (I. G., *GMS*,
§ 577, p. 91).

kañ- 'to be thrown' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kañāre* Z 24. 515.
Et. < **kan-ya-*, pass. < **kan-* 'throw', v. *kāñ-*, *pārāñ-*.

kalj- 'to strike' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *krīya-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kaļāndā* Z 14. 83; L.Kh.: *ka'jūndā* Or
11344. 7. 2 *KT* 2. 35; *ka'jidā* P 2025. 52 *KT* 3. 47 = *kejida*
P 2956. 33 *KT* 3. 38 = *ke'jida* Ch 00266. 35 *KT* 3. 35 (quoted
H. W. B., *AM*, n.s., ii. 1, 1951, 25).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *krīye* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67; O.Kh. ppp. in
akrīya- Z 13. 114 'unstruck'.
Et. Iter. < **kark-*, v. *kaljs-*.

kaljs- 'to be struck' I b mid. intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kalste* Z 20. 57; 24. 379 'resounds'.
Et. < **kurk-* < IE **krek-* 'schlagen' (Pok. 618). The basic meaning
of this group of words must be 'strike'. The meaning 'sound' (cf.
IE **kleg-* 'klingen' Pok. 599) would suit *kalste* and also *kalj-* 'to
make resound (drum)', but not *uskalj-*, *naṣkalj-* q.v. *kalste* was
taken as inch. by S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 44, but the inch. is
krīs- q.v. As mid. I b *kalste* suffers from the same phonological
difficulty as 3 sg. pres. *pasūste* (v. *pasūjs-*), but in this case the inch.
(*krīs-*) cannot help. The devoicing must be of the type *št* for *śd*,
see p. 192.

kaśś- meaning: see below. V b mid. intr. B ppp. *kašta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kaštā* Z 22. 320; 24. 451; *kašte* Z 2. 111, 118;
10. 12; 11. 27; 24. 504.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kaśśāre* Z 10. 11; 11. 17, 31, 33, 47.
ppp. *akašta* P 3513. 48v2-3 *KT* 1. 225 tr. *asakta-*. *kašte* Z 24. 178
could be 3 sg. pf. tr. m. 'attached'; *kašta* Z 23. 36. 3 sg. pf. intr. f.
'was attached'. But *tye vi kašta* P 2025. 156 *KBT* 16 = *tya vi*
kašta Ch 00266. 97 *KBT* 24 = *tye vi ā* P 2957. 49 *KBT* 33.
Et. *kaśś-* < **kas-ya-*, cf. *ātas-*. That *kas-* is inch. < **kaf-* as implied
by H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 30 seems unlikely as **kafs-* should result
in **kaus-* like *ttaus-* < **tafs-*. The statement that *kaśś-* is 'inchoa-
tive of *kas-* < **kaf-s-*' (Dresden, p. 471 s.v. *kaś-*) is meaningless to
me. Three verbs may be hidden here according to H. W. B., *AM*,
n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 31:

1. *kašte* 'falls' Ch 00268. 47 *KBT* 103 etc., cf. Oss. D. *xaun*;
Parth. *hf-*, *kft*.

2. *kašta-* 'attached' with **kaz-*, cf. Arm. LW *kazm* 'order, ornament' (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 45).

3. *kašte* 'appears' Z 2. 118 < **kas-*, cf. Oss. D. *käsun* 'appear'. *kašta-* 'attached' could, however, be from a base **kas-* and this has been found in Oss. D. *nixäsun* 'to cling' (H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54; *KT* 4. 90). Unless this is really 'fall down upon', we still lack an etymology for **kas-* 'fall'. In further support of a base **kaz-*, H. W. B. has given me Sogd. *k'z'kh* 'hut', cf. NP *kāz* 'den of wild beasts', *kāzah* 'house' (W. B. Henning, *TPS*, 1945, 158, n. 3).

kas- 'to fall' (?) act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kasindä* Kha 0013c6. b3 *KT* 5. 125.
Et. Cf. *ātas-*, *kašt-*.

kāñ- 'to throw' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kāñindī* Z 2. 80.
Et. Iter. < **kan-* 'throw', v. *kañ-*, *pārāñ-*.

kār- 'to pull, draw' I d act. tr. A/B ppp. *kāda-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kārindä* Z 24. 420.
ppp. *kāda-*: *kādä* P 2956. 70-71 *KT* 3. 39 = *kāda* P 2022. 24 *KT* 3. 43.
Et. < **kar-*, cf. Av. **kar-* 'einfurchen' *AIW* 449; **karš-* 'trahere' *AIW* 456, v. Mayrh. s.v. *kāršati*.

kāt- 'to think; protect' I b act. tr. intr. B ppp. *kāšta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kei'tä* Z 2. 5+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kāti'ndi* Z 4. 67.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kāštaimä* Z 3. 109.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *kāštändä* Z 22. 234.
Probably inf.: *kešte* Kha 1. 133. 3a4 *KT* 5. 149.
Et. < **kaš-*, cf. Av. *kaš-* 'lehren' *AIW* 461, s-extension from Av. *kas-* 'perceive' *AIW* 459.

1. **kuš-** 'to look at' I c mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kušde* Z 22. 249.
Et. < **kauš-*, cf. B. Sogd. *tk'wš-* 'regarder' (H. W. B., *BSOS*, vi. 1, 1930, 74).

2. ***kuš-** 'to agitate; flay' ppp. *kušta-*

3 pl. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *kuštāde* JS 28r2 (122); *kuštāmdē* JS 34r4 (150). ppp. *kušta-* JS 24v2 (106).

Et. < **kauš-*. See H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 472 s.v. *kašta-*. Cf. also Av. *fra . . . kušaiti* V. 5. 34; Parth. *qwš-*, *kwš'd* 'combattre' (Ghilain, p. 66); MPE *kwš-*, *kwšt* 'töten' (*Verbum*, p. 168); MPE *qwš-* 'streiten, kämpfen' (*Verbum*, p. 184); ZP *kwš-*; NP *kōšidan*, *kuštan*.

kūt- 'to grind' LW tr. ppp. **kūtāta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec. *kūtāñq* Si 109v4 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *btags* 'grind'.
L.Kh. ppp.: *kūtya-* P 2893. 201 *KT* 3. 90.
Et. Skt *kuṭṭayati* 'crushes'.

kūs- 'to seek' V e act. tr. A ppp. *kūysda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kūsātā* Z 5. 10; Kha 1. 112b2 *KT* 5. 144; *kūsāte* Z 5. 94, 112.
3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *kūsindä* Z 7. 2; 13. 3; *kūsindi* Z 11. 64; 13. 145;
L.Kh., *kūšim'dä* P 2790. 70 *KT* 2. 112.
O.Kh. inf.: *kūsā* Z 3. 74; 23. 107.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kūysde* Z 5. 9, 112.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *kūysdāmdē* JS 36v1 (159).
O.Kh. inf.: *kūsde* Z 23. 144, 145; 24. 431.
Et. Meaning 'seek', not 'protect', H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71. *kūš-* has been noticed once only, O.Kh. *kūššāro* Kha 1. 129a1. b2 *KT* 5. 147. The consistent use of O.Kh. *-š-/L.Kh. -š'* requires interpretation < **kauz-*. H. W. B. compares Arm. LW *xoyz-* 'search'. In any case, *kūs-* cannot possibly be inch. as Dresden, p. 472 s.v. *kūys-*. *kūš-* is probably iter. < **kauz-*. The ppp. *kūysda-* is exceptional; it may represent **kauzata-* with secondary contact of *-z-* and *-t-* as in the 3 sg. pres. of verbs in **-z*, e.g. *haraysde* < **fra-razatai*.

ker- 'to plant' V e act. tr. A/B suppletive ppp. *hilsta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kerindi* Z 22. 125.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *kälste* Z 4. 35; *kilste* Z 4. 61.
2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *kälständä sta* *Suv. K.* 30v6 *KT* 5. 108 tr. *avaropita-*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hilstāmdä* Kha 1. 170v2 *KT* 1. 255.
L.Kh. ppp.: *kai'stä* P 2741. 117 *KT* 2. 91; *kaista* P 2891. 19 *KT* 3. 80 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 46).
Et. < **kārāya-*, **kršta-*. The same suppletive system in Av.: *kārāya-*, *haršta-*; MPE *q'r-*, *kyšt* 'säen' (*Verbum*, p. 192). B. Sogd. has *kyr-* 'to sow' < **kārāya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 540, n. 1, p. 84); Man. Sogd. *kšt-* < **kršta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 147, p. 21). Parth. has *kyšt* 'semer' (Ghilain, p. 98). See R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 612-13.

krris- 'to be beaten' IV a intr.

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstr.: *krrisāme* P 3513. 6111 *KT* 1. 242 tr. *ākotyamānāyā*.

Et. Inch. < **kark-*, v. *kaljs-*, p. 21.

kṣam- 'to endure' (trans.): Z 11. 45+. +inf.: *kṣamātā* . . . *dyte* Z 20. 18; *nā kṣamindā pyūṣṭā* E 1. 7 1913 *KT* 5. 388 tr. *notsahāmi srotum* ? LW act. tr. intr. A ppp. **kṣaunda-*

intr.: (a) 'to please'+G-D: *kṣamātā mā balysūstā* (Z 12. 31) 'bodhi pleases me' (dat., cf. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10); (b) 'to forgive'+I-A (comitative, R. E. E., *ibid.*, p. 32, § IV. 10 (b)): *kṣama muho jsa* (Z 5. 45) 'forgive me'.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣamātā* Z 11. 45+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamindā* Z 19. 60; Otani 5-6a1 *KT* 5. 314.

3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *kṣaudi* *ḥS* 1811 (76); *kṣām'da* P 2801. 9 *KT* 3. 65.

Et. ? LW < O.Ind. *kṣamate*, *kṣamyate*. Or cf. Av. *xṣamōnē* (Y. 29. 9); Paštō *zyamal* 'to bear' *EVP* 101.

kṣamev- 'to ask forgiveness of; take leave of' ? LW V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *kṣamotta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamevimā* Z 1. 189; 2. 125, 127.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣamevindā* Z 12. 84.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *kṣamotte* Z 5. 111; L.Kh., *kṣi'mautte* P 2958. 88 *KBT* 41.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *kṣamauttauda* Ch 00266. 188 *KBT* 29.

O.Kh. inf.: *kṣamvaittä* Z 2. 126.

Et. See *kṣam-*. Cf. also BHS *kṣamāpayati* 'asks pardon; takes leave of'.

kṣimj- 'to desire, long for' III d act. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣimjāte* Z 5. 64; *kṣijāte* Z 5. 64.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *kṣimjyindā* Z 2. 226; *kṣimjindā* Z 3. 16; L.Kh., *kṣaijīdā* P 2022. 14 *KT* 3. 43; *kṣaijīda* P 2956. 31 *KT* 3. 38.

Et. < **xṣi-n-j-aya-*, cf. Oss. D. *āxsidzḡā* 'pleasant' < O. Ir. **xṣija-*, I. G., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 193 (I.G.).

kṣiy- 'to be thrown' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kṣiyāre* Z 2. 43; *kṣyāre* Z 21. 23.

Et. < **xṣub-ya-* rather than < **xṣvīp-ya-*, see on *kṣāv-*.

kṣār- 'to be ashamed' V c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *kṣāḍa-*

+I-A (comitative): *ṣṣūjātena* Z 20. 17.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *kṣārāre* Z 20. 17.

O.Kh. ppp. *kṣāḍa-* Z 19. 73; 22. 99.

Et. < O. Ir. **fšar-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 542. Cf. the inchoatives, Parth. *šfrs-* 'être confus'; Chr. Sogd. *šfrs-* 'be ashamed' (I. G., *GMS*, § 441, p. 67); B. Sogd. 'šβ'rs- P 2. 654.

1. **kṣāv-** 'to throw' V a tr. A ppp. *kṣautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *kṣāvātā* Z 20. 49.

O.Kh. ppp. *kṣautta-* Z 2. 44; 20. 40.

Et. *kṣāv-* is probably secondary for **kṣuw-*, cf. *nikṣuw-*, **nikṣautta-*; **prakṣiv-*, *prakṣautta-*. Hence, < O. Ir. **xṣaub-*, cf. Av. *xṣaob-* in *xṣuṣa-* Yt 10. 113; NP *āṣuftan*, v. *āḥṣuw-*. Earlier suggestions are to be rejected: *kṣautta-* caus. ppp. < *kṣāv-* to O. Ind. *kṣip-* Leumann, 'E', p. 414 s.v. *kṣāv-*; LW < O. Ind. *kṣapita-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 48. A suppletive system < O. Ir. **xṣvaip-* and **xṣaub-* is, however, possible. **xṣvaip-* is known in Av. *xṣvīw-*; Parth. 'šyft' 'troubler' (Ghilain, p. 95); MPe *šyb-* 'zittern' (*Verbum*, p. 180); NP *šēb* 'whip'; Sogd. *xwšyp* 'whip' < **xṣvaipa-* (*Sogdica*, p. 23 (17, 18)). Possibly *kṣāv-* and *kṣuw-* have been conflated.

2. **kṣāv-** 'to cry (of birds)' (H. W. B.) VI b intr. A

3 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *kṣāvīru* Z 4. 63; L.Kh., *kṣvīrā* P 2891. 39 *KT* 3. 81.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *kṣavū* P 2936. 6 *KT* 3. 108 (< **kṣavā*, L.Kh. for older **kṣāvātā*, +u 'and'; see H. W. B. ap. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 614).

Et. < **xṣīy-*, *y-* extension to **xṣai-* 'lament' in Av. *xṣyō* (Y. 31. 20), Yidgha *xṣi-im* 'weep' (*IIFL*, ii. 269), cf. B. Sogd. 'γš' *ywn* 'lamentation' (P, *VJ*), NP *ševan*.

kṣer- 'to make ashamed' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *kṣera Avdh* 2011 *KT* 3. 11.

Et. < **fšāraya-*. Caus. < *kṣār-*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 542.

khad- 'to wound, hurt' V a act. tr. C ppp. *khasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khaittä* Kha 1. 182a1. a1 *KT* 5. 153. Here also belongs L.Kh. *khaitti* Hed. 17. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16 *KT* 4. 31. *cu vara khaitti* 'when it hurts there' (not 'he who aches there' as *KT* 4. 109-10).

O.Kh. ppp. *khasta-* Z 13. 81; 15. 43; 24. 411.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *khaṭādā* *ḥS* 711 (27).

Et. Cf. NP *xastan* 'to wound' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 115. Av. *xad-*; Parth. *xst* (Ghilain, p. 81).

khan- 'to laugh' I b act. intr. B ppp. **khamtta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *khūttā* Si 125v3 *KT* 1. 54 tr. *rgod-pa*; *khūttā*

P 2025. 37 *KT* 3. 46 = id. Ch 00266. 24-25 *KT* 3. 35 = id. P 2956. 20 *KT* 3. 37 L.Kh. for **khimttā*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khanīndi* Z 20. 20.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *khanandaa-* Z 3. 61; 23. 141.

3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *khatta* P 2783. 173 (12) *KT* 3. 73 < ppp. **khamtta-*, as tr. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 568 not 'laughs' as *ibid.*, p. 589.

Et. < O.Ir. **xand-*, cf. Parth. *xnd-* (Ghilain, p. 54); MPe *xn-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); NP *xand-*; B. Sogd. *ynt-* 'rire' *Vj* 1355.

**khah-* 'to appear' V a act. intr. C

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *khaittā* P 5538a 12 *KT* 2. 126 'appears' (H. W. B.).

Et. ? Cf. also *uskhajs-*, *naṣkhajs-*.

kh(ā)- 'to open' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *khāñā* *Si* 150v4 *KT* 1. 96 tr. *gtar*; *khañā* P 2025. 222-3 *KBT* 19 = id. Ch 00266. 146 *KBT* 27 = *khūmāñā* P 2957. 91 *KBT* 35.

Et. O.Ir. **kā-* 'to open', v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 35, n. 8. Here perhaps belongs Av. *xā-* 'Quelle, Brunnen'.

khās- 'to eat, drink' V e act. tr. A ppp. *khaṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khāsāte* Z 23. 42; 24. 412.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khāsīndā* Z 3. 59.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *khaṣṭai* *StH* 57 *KT* 2. 75 (H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 35).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *khaṣṭāmdā* P 2957. 80 *KBT* 35 = *khaṣṭāuda* P 2025. 197 *KBT* 18 = id. Ch 00266. 129 *KBT* 26.

O.Kh. ppp. *khaṣṭa-* Z 2. 120; 23. 42. *khīṣṭe* Z 5. 64; 11. 55; 24. 214 is probably a noun. The O.Kh. ppp. *khāṣṭa-* may have been specialized in a caus. sense 'give to eat/drink': *khāṣṭā* Z 24. 439 ('getränk't 'E', p. 415); ? *khi* < *štāndā* > H 142 NS 46r4 *KT* 5. 96. It is difficult to explain this as a caus. formation with umlaut (so H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 523). The verb may originally have been reciprocal in meaning like many other Ir. verbs, e.g. Av. *baxš-* 'Anteil haben, geben'. *khās-* in relation to *khāysa-* resembles caus./iteratives such as *rrās-*. For *khaṣṭa-/khāṣṭa* in O.Kh. cf. *padānda-/padānda-*.

Et. Denom. < *khāysa-* as Leumann, 'E', p. 415 s.v. *khās-*, is possible, but ppp. *khaṣṭa-*, unless formed secondarily on the analogy of *rrās-*, *rraṣṭa-*, seems to imply a base **xax-*, and as this is found also in the noun *khaśa-* Or 9609. 53r3 *KT* 1. 237+ tr. *pāna-*, class V e

seems certain. Cf. Parth. *x'z-* 'dévorer' (Ghilain, p. 59); NP *xāyīdan*.

khij- 'to be troubled' LW act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khājātā* Z 15. 8.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *khijīndā* Z 12. 83.

Et. BHS *khijjati*, *-te* 'is tormented, wearied'.

**khijev-* 'to torment' LW tr. ppp. **khijautta-*

L.Kh. ppp. *khejautte* *JS* 34r3 (149); *khajauttā* P 2801. 18 *KT* 3. 66.

Et. Caus. < *khij-* q.v.

khaus- 'to move' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *khausta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *khausde* *Si* 8r2 *KT* 1. 12 tr. *hgyur*; *khuāysda* P 4099. 92 *KBT* 117.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *khoysamdaa-* *JS* 33r2 (144); *Si* 150r3 *KT* 1. 94.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *khaustā* *JS* 12v3 (51).

Et. Uncertain. I. G., *Bibl. Orient.* xv. 6, 1958, 263, cf. Av. *xawza-* 'pedicans'.

khaus- 'to make move' V e tr. ppp. *khausta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *khausāñā* *Si* 153r5 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *bsgul-ziñ* (quoted H. W. B., *KT* 4. 132; *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 89).

L.Kh. ppp.: *khausta-* Hed. 23. 10 (22) *KT* 4. 36.

Et. Caus. < *khaus-*.

khvīh- 'to be disturbed' V b intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *khvīhātā* Z 13. 22 'is disturbed' (H. W. B.). For the meaning, cf. the dyadic expression *akhvīhānau akṣubhyā* Or 9609. 4r4 *KT* 1. 233.

Et. ? < **kaufya-* < **kaup-*, cf. O.Ind. *kūpyati* '*shakes' > 'is angry'. v. *pachus-*.

gach- 'to suffer' ? V b

L.Kh. only: *gachānām* *jsa* *Si* 125v2 *KT* 1. 54 tr. *gdūns*; *gachānai* P 2958. 113 *KBT* 42 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 577).

Et. ? < **ava-ačya-*. See *vyach-*.

ggaḍ- 'to lie about' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggaltte* Z 24. 450.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ggaḍāre* Z 2. 44; 20. 44, 62; 21. 28; 24. 409, 411, 422.

Et. < **gart-*, cf. MPe *grd-* (*Verbum*, p. 170); NP *gardīdan* 'to turn';

Orm. *gal-* 'lying down' < **gart-* (Morg., *NTS*, v, 1932, 16). On **gart-*/**vart-*, see Morg., *EVP*, 27 s.v. *γarəl*.

**gatcañ-* 'to break' III d tr. ppp. *gatcasta-*

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *gatciñāmā* Ch ii 004. 314 *KBT* 145.

L.Kh. ppp.: *gatcasta* Ch ii 004. 3v1 *KBT* 145; *gatcastā* P 2741. 110 *KT* 2. 91.

Et. = **vatcañ-* q.v. < **ava-skand-*. Forms and et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 22.

gḡanīh- 'to moisten' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 21-24. tr. A ppp. **gḡanista-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *gḡanīhāte* Z 19. 66.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ganīhāña* *ḡP* 56v1 *KT* 1. 147.

L.Kh. ppp.: *ganaista-* *Si* 6v3 *KT* 1. 10.

Et. < **nai-d/θ-*, v. H. W. B., loc. cit. On *gga-*, see p. 230.

**gḡarah-* 'to reproach' LW ppp. *gḡarahāta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *gḡarahāte* Z 23. 126; pseudo-archaic, *gḡarahyātai* Z 23. 170; L.Kh., *garahye* P 2798. 167 *KBT* 43 = *ga(ra)hye* P 2958. 49 *KBT* 41.

Et. BHS *garahati* 'censures'; O.Ind. *gārhati*; Pāli *garahati*, *garahita-*.

gḡalj- 'to thunder' V e act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *gḡaljāte* Z 4. 107.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *gḡaljīndi* Z 2. 19+.

Et. < O.Ir. **garg-*. Cf. O.Ind. *gārjati* 'roars' Leumann, 'E', p. 418.

gḡān- 'to buy' III b mid. tr. B ppp. *gḡārāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *gḡāndū* Z 22. 209; L.Kh., *gimde* P 2958. 68 *KBT* 41 = *gidi* P 2798. 185 *KBT* 44.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *ginām* P 5538b 81 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *grrāṇṇayamī*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gināre* P 2031. 14 *KT* 2. 84.

ppp., O.Kh. *gḡārāta-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. f., *gḡārātātā* Z 13. 76; inf. *gḡārāte* SS 77v5 *KT* 5. 339; L.Kh. ppp. *gīrya-*: 1 pl. pf. tr., *gīryāmdūṃ* P 2031. 21 *KT* 2. 84.

Et. < **xrina-* < **xray-*. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 71; *KT* 4. 92-93. MPe *xryn-* 'kaufen' (*Verbum*, p. 200); Parth. ppp. *xryd* 'acheter' (Ghilain, p. 96); B. Sogd. *yr'yn-* 'acheter' *Vj*.

gḡih- 'to help' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584. mid. tr. intr. B ppp. *gḡīsta-*

+inf.: Z 23. 105.

+G-D (dat.) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10 (a).

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *gḡihā* Z 12. 51.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *gḡitte* Z 12. 114, 115; 19. 74.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *gīhyarā* P 2781. 103 (35) *KT* 3. 69.

ppp. *gḡīsta-* H vii. 150. 111 *KT* 5. 98; 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gīstai*

ḡS 36v1 (159); inf. *gīste* Hed. 7. 9 *KT* 4. 25.

The L.Kh. form *gīhidai* P 2022. 39 *KT* 3. 44 appears to be 3 pl. pres. act.!

Et. ? Forms imply **gaid-* or **gaid-*.

**gujsabalj-* 'to overcome; disperse' V e tr. A ppp. *gujsabrriya-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gūjsaba'ji* P 3513. 55v3-4 (Asm. 59); *gūjsabaija* P 2739. 42 *KT* 2. 86. Mid. according to Asm., p. 56 s.v.—gratuitous assumption.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gujsabrriya* Ch 00266. 49 *KBT* 22 = *gḡādai* P 2025. 88 *KBT* 14.

Et. < **barg-*, v. *tcabalj-*. On *gujsa-*, see p. 243.

gujsabris- 'to be dispersed' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *gujsabrriya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsabrrišta* P 3513. 37v3-4 *KBT* 60.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsabrrišida* P 2025. 57 *KT* 3. 47 = id. Ch 00266. 39 *KT* 3. 35 = *gūbrrišida* P 2956. 38 *KT* 3. 38.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *gujsabrriya* *ḡS* 35r1 (153).

Et. Inch. < **barg-*, v. *tcabris-*.

gujsar- 'to harm' I b act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūjsarimda* P 2783. 187 (26) *KT* 3. 73.

Et. ? Meaning 'harm'. ? < **vi-čar-*. *ἀπ. λεγ.* See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 590.

gḡuph- 'to dispraise' ? III a tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *gḡupha* *Avdh* 18r2 *KT* 3. 9.

Et. Uncertain, as *ἀπ. λεγ.* Possibly L.Kh. spelling for **ggumph-* as O.Ir. **-f-* > *-h-* and **-b-* > *-v-*. According to H. W. B., *Adyar*, 1962, 7 the meaning is 'dispraise', pejorative development of O.Ir. **gaub-*. OP *gaub-*; MPe *gw-*, *gwpt* 'sagen' (*Verbum*, p. 184); NP *gōy-*, *guft*; Man. Sogd. *γωβ-*, *γωβt-* 'praise' (I. G., *GMS*, § 589, p. 92).

**gḡumal-* 'to besmear' tr. ppp. **gḡumalsta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *gūmalāñā* *Si* 122r1 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *bskus*.

O.Kh. ppp.: *gḡumālsta-* Z 21. 11.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *gūmaistāmdūṃ* Ch 00269. 42 *KT* 2. 44 (v.

H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621).

Et. < **vi-mard-*. See *murr-*. The simplex is now attested in the ppp. *malsta-* Z. 2. 139; see R.E.E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1967, 92-93.

ggumerāñ- 'to remove' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ggumerāñāte* Z 5. 11.

Et. < **vi-māraya-*, cf. Oss. D. *lāmārun* 'auspressen' H. W. B. ap. S. Konow, *NTS*, xi. 1939, 73.

gusprriś- 'to shine out' IV a intr.

Only in L.Kh. pres. pt. 'the east', v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 33, 40. *gusprriśamcā* P 2741. 24 *KT* 2. 88; *gusprriśamcāštā* ibid. 26; *gusprriśaca* P 2896. 45 *KT* 3. 95.

Et. Inch. < **vi-sparg-*. Cf. Parth. *wyspryxt* 'issu' ppp. < **vi-sparg-* (Ghilain, p. 97).

gguhad- 'to harm, wound' V a act. tr. C ppp. *gguhasta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *gguhaimā* Z 2. 199.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *guhei* D. III. 1. 8r5 *KT* 5. 69.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *guhāme jsa Si* 136r5 *KT* 1. 72 tr. *ḥṣata-*.

L.Kh. ppp. *aguhasta* Ch 00266. 140-1 *KBT* 26 'invincible' = *agvīhasti* P 2957. 86 *KBT* 35 = *agvehasta* P 2025. 214 *KBT* 18.

Et. < **vi-xad-*, cf. Parth. *wyxs-* 'être blessé', inch. < **vi-xad-* (Ghilain, p. 81).

ggūch- 'to deliver, set free' V b act. tr. A/B ppp. *ggūta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ggūchūm Avdh* 12r3 *KT* 3. 5.

1 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *ggūchīñi* Z 4. 110.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūchīde* P 3513. 66v3 *KT* 1. 245 tr. *mocayantu*. ppp., O.Kh.: *ggūta-* Z 3. 142 (v. *ggūs-*); 3 pl. pf. tr., *ggūvāndā* Dumaqu 0119. 89v2 *KT* 5. 263 tr. *mohṣayitvā*; L.Kh., *gūva-* JS 35v4 (156).

Et. < **vy-auč-ya-* H. W. B., *IJ*, ii. 2, 1958, 157 < **vi-auk-* 'dis-sociate' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 900. Av. *aok-* in *uśyāi* Y. 43. 15 etc., see H. W. B., *TPS* 1936, 98-101.

gūrās- 'to quarrel' V e or VI b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *gūrāsāre SS* 80v1-2 *KT* 5. 341 (*lāstaniyā gūrāsu gūrāsāre*). The noun *gūrāsa-* also in Kha 0013c4. a3 *KT* 5. 124 (*lāstana gūrāsa*).

Et. Meaning evidently 'quarrel'. If < **vi-rāxaya-*, why -*ū*? If < **vi-frāsaya-*, cf. Parth. *wyfr's-*, *wyfr'st* 'enseigner' (Ghilain, p. 69), -*śś-* expected in O.Kh.

ggūs- 'to escape, be delivered' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *ggūta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ggūštā* Kha 1. 56. 1b4 *KT* 5. 131 tr. *grol-ba*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *gūsīde* P 3513. 73v2 *KT* 1. 248.

3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *ggūte* Z 3. 142.

Et. Inch. < **vi-auk-*, v. *ggūch-* p. 30.

ggei'ls- 'to revolve; return' IV a mid. intr. B ppp. **ggei'sāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ggeiste* Z 4. 98; L.Kh., *gaistā* P 2783. 162 (1) *KT* 3. 72; *ga'ste* P 2790. 73 *KT* 2. 112.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ggei'lsārā* Z 1. 50; *ggei'lsāre* Z 2. 164; *ggeisāre* Z 20. 56; L.Kh., *gesāre* P 4099. 314 *KBT* 129.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ga'se* P 2790. 108 *KT* 2. 114. *gesū* P 5538b 20 *KT* 3. 121 tr. *agatsamī* (? also *gaisū* P 2958. 204 *KT* 2. 120) shows L.Kh. use of originally 1 pl. mid. as 1 sg. due to confusion of form with 1 sg. act.

L.Kh. *ga'sānde* P 2741. 133 *KT* 2. 92 could be 3 pl. subj. mid. or 3 pl. pf. tr. but the pf. is probably intr., see below.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ga'sāva* P 2741. 51-52 *KT* 2. 89; *gasā'ta* P 2741. 83-84 *KT* 2. 90 (v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 41).

The following L.Kh. forms: *gai'sāttā* P 2786. 226 *KT* 2. 100; *gaisāttā* ibid. 220 = *gaisāttā* Or 8212. 186. a55 *KT* 2. 12; *ge'sāttā* P 2786. 233 *KT* 2. 100; *gaisāttā* ibid. 235, appear to be 3 sg. pf. tr. f., but the sense appears to require 'he returned'. H. W. B. suggests contamination with *āta-*. Thus, *gaisāttā* < **ggei'sātā*+*ātā* in O.Kh.

Et. Inch. < **gart-*, v. *ggaḍ-* p. 27.

ggei'śś- 'to make revolve' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ggei'śśāta-*

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *ggei'śśīndi* Z 6. 4; 22. 227; *ggei'śśīndā* Z 11. 72; L.Kh., *ge'sīde* P 3513. 61v4 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *pravartayantu*.

O.Kh. *ggei'śśāta* Z 9. 28 is probably 3 sg. inj. (rather than 3 pl. pf. intr.) = L.Kh. *ge'se* P 4099. 406 *KBT* 133.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ggei'śśātai* Z 2. 178; *ggei'śśātai* 22. 261.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ggei'śśātāndā* Z 11. 65.

Et. Caus. < *ggei'ls-*.

grañ- 'to growl' V a or V b intr.

Only in L.Kh. pres. pt.: *grañamca* JS 17v2 (74) 'growling'.

Et. IE **gr-en-* Pok. 383-4. Cf. also *ggalj-*.

grasḍ- 'to stew' *ān. ley.* ? V e or VI act. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grasḍīndi* Z 2. 43.

Et. ?

***gruśś-** 'to be called' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gūrste Si* 14v1, 2 *KT* 1. 22 tr. *śes-bya-ste*.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gaurštāre* (error for **gauršāre*) *Si* 151r1 *KT*
 1. 96 tr. *śes-bya-ste*.
 Et. < **xrus-ya-*, pass. to *grūs-* q.v.

grūs- 'to call' I b act. tr. B ppp. *gguṛṣṭa-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grūsti Z* 2. 21; *grūstā Z* 22. 240; 24. 378, 481;
grūstu Z 22. 249.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *grūsindā Kha* 1. 13 134r4 *KBT* 1.
 3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *guršte Z* 2. 81, 130; *gguršte Z* 20. 50; 22. 93, 95;
 23. 120.
 O.Kh. inf.: *gguršte Z* 23. 37; 24. 197.
 Et. < O.Ir. **xraos-*, cf. Av. *xraos-* 'schreien' *AIW* 533; MPe *xrwh-*
 'rufen' (*Verbum*, p. 185); Parth. *xrws-*, *xrwošt* 'appeler' (Ghilain,
 p. 64) O.Ind. has *króśati* 'cries out'.

gvach- 'to be digested' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *gvaha-*

- 3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *gvašte N* 75. 40 tr. *jiryate*; L.Kh. *gvašte*
P 4099. 27 *KBT* 114; *gvašte Si* 15v4 *KT* 1. 24. On *gvašte* in
Z 2. 179, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1967, 89.
 3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *gvachāve Si* 8r3 *KT* 1. 12.
 L.Kh. ppp. *gvaha-* *Si* 134r5 *KT* 1. 68 tr. *śu-bar*.
 Et. < **vi-pač-ya*, v. *pach-*.

gvachāñ- 'to cause to digest' V e tr.

- L.Kh. nom. ag.: *gvachāñāka Si* 4v3 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *hjug-par byed-pa*.
 Et. Caus. < *gvach-* q.v.

gvays- 'to be separated' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *gvašta-*

- +I-A (abl.) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (a).
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *gvaysde Suv. K.* 64r7 *KT* 5. 115; Kha
 1. 119. 71v3 *KT* 5. 146; *gvaysdā Z* 4. 116.
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *gvaysū P* 2897. 26 *KT* 2. 115 (v. *ggei's-* p. 31).
 2 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštai ŷS* 35v3 (156) 'you split'.
 1 sg. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštū P* 2897. 37 *KT* 2. 116.
 1 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *gvaštamdūm Or* 8212. 162. 59 *KT* 2. 4.
 Et. < **vi-vaz-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 123.

gvīth- meaning uncertain. mid. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *gvīthāre Ch* 00266. 9 *KT* 3. 34 = *gvīthārā*
P 2025. 17 *KT* 3. 46; *gvīthārā P* 2025. 65 *KT* 3. 47 = *gvīthāva*
P 2956. 44 *KT* 3. 38.
 Et. ?

1. **gvīr-** 'to be revealed' V c intr. (= pass.) B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *gvīde Z* 4. 22.
 L.Kh. pres. pt.: *gvīracākyā StH* 55 *KT* 2. 75 ('opening' H. W. B.,
AM, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 33).
 Et. < **vi-vrya-*, cf. O.Ind. *vivara-* 'hole' < *vr-* 'to cover', v. S.
 Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 49. V. *gver-*.

2. **gvīr-** 'to talk' V b intr. ppp. *gvīda-*; *gūda-*

- O.Kh. pres. pt.: *gvīranda Z* 23. 141.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *gūde P* 2957. 88 *KBT* 35 = *gude P* 2025. 218
KBT 18 = *gūda Ch* 00266. 143 *KBT* 26.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *gvīdā P* 2025. 242 *KBT* 19 = id. *P* 2957. 105
KBT 36 = *gvīda Ch* 00266. 160 *KBT* 27.
 3 pl. pf. tr. (f.), L.Kh.: *gūdāda Ch* 00266. 214 *KBT* 30.
gvīda- secondary < *gvīr-*; *gūda-* < **vi-vrta-*, cf. *hauda-* / *hūda-*
 < *haur-*.
 Et. < **vi-var-ya-*, cf. IE 6. **uer-* 'feierlich sagen' (Pok. 1162-3),
 Av. *varah-* 'ordcal' etc., H. W. B. against *TPS*, 1945, 21 (cf.
 Oss. D. *iūarun* 'to divide, share'). Cf. *šver-* p. 126.

gver- 'to reveal; explain' V e act. tr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *gverīndi Z* 22. 330; L.Kh., *gverīdā P* 5538a33
KT 2. 127; *gvairīda P* 5538b 71 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *kathaiyatti*.
 Et. Caus. < **vi-var-* S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 49. See 1. *gvīr-*.

car- 'to practise' LW act. tr. (O.Kh.); act. tr./mid. intr. (L.Kh.)
 A ppp. *carāta-*

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *carāmā Z* 3. 24.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *carātā Z* 3. 29; *carāte Z* 11. 17, 48; 14. 16.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *carīndi Z* 1. 49; *carīndā Z* 11. 69; L.Kh.,
carīde P 3513. 73r3 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *carantu*.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *cerāre P* 3513. 32r3 *KBT* 59; *civāre P* 3513.
 34r4 *KBT* 59.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *carāte Z* 13. 9+; *carye Z* 13. 63 (L.Kh.1).
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *carātemā H* 142 NS 78r2 *KT* 5. 103.
 Et. BHS *carati* 'practises'.

cav- 'to (trans)migrate' LW act. intr. A/B ppp. *cavāta-*

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *cavīndā Z* 22. 306.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *cavāte Z* 23. 108.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *cavyai N* 171. 10.
 Et. BHS, Pāli *cavati* 'falls'. See also *prvacav-* p. 88.

cev- 'to get' ? V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *cevāta-

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *cevindā* Or 9609. 53r3 *KT* 1. 237 tr. *pratilapsyante*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *cevyai* *JS* 27v4 (121).

Et. Derivation from **cyāvaya-* as Dresden, p. 473 s.v. *cav-*, is impossible as O.Ir. **cyav-* appears in Kh. as *tsu-*. ? < **čāpaya-* < **kap-* 'hold, take'. On **kap-* in Ind. and Ir., see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1954, 146-53. Kh. *cev-* < **čāpaya-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1954, 155-6.

ciṃd- 'to meditate (on)' LW act. tr. or intr. A ppp. *ciṃdāta-

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *cadū* Ch 00266. 165 *KBT* 28 = *caidū* P 2957. 109 *KBT* 36 = *caidu* P 2025. 249 *KBT* 20.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *ciṃdām* P 2790. 70 *KT* 2. 112.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *ciṃdyarā* P 2801. 20-21 *KT* 3. 66.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ceṃdāde* Ch c. 001. 869 *KBT* 136.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *cede* *JS* 32r1 (140).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ciṃdye* P 2801. 15 *KT* 3. 65.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *caidyai* P 3513. 67r4 *KT* 1. 245.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ciṃdyāṇdūm* P 2790. 46 *KT* 2. 112.

Et. NWPkt *ciṃd-* *Khar. Docs.*, p. 89 s.v.

*jad- 'to ask for' V b tr. B ppp. *jista-*

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *jaitta* P 2801. 25 *KT* 3. 66.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *jistā* Kha vi. 14br. b6 *KT* 5. 180.

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *jistā* ibid. b4, 5+.

1 pl. pf. tr. (?), L.Kh.: *jaistādū* P 2024. 10 *KT* 2. 77.

Inf. *jīsci* Hed. 3. 5 *KT* 4. 22.

Et. Av. *gad-*, pres. 26 *jaidyā-*.

jamph- 'to argue' LW intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jamphāte* Z 12. 75.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *jampha* Z 2. 128.

Et. See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 769. Skt *jalpati* 'mutters'; NWPkt *jalpita* *Khar. Docs.*, § 40, p. 15; Pkt *jamp-/japp-* Brough, § 11, p. 64.

gyays- 'to offer (sacrifice)' tr. ppp. *gyašta-*

gyays- in O.Kh. in noun *gyaysna* Z 23. 108 (cf. Av. *yasna-*).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *jaysaṇa* Ch 00266. 145 *KBT* 26 = id. P 2025. 220 *KBT* 18.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *gyašte* Z 23. 108.

Et. < **yaz-*. Av. *yaz-*, *yašta-* *AIW* 1274; OP *yad-*; O.Ind. *yajati*, *ištā-*; MPe *yz-* 'verehren, opfern' (*Verbum*, p. 170); Parth. *yštā*

(Ghilain, p. 99); B. Sogd. 'yz- (I. G., *GMS*, § 206a, p. 32). On the meaning of **yaz-* in Ir., see Benv., *JA*, cclii. 1, 1964, 45-58.

jah- 'to be cleaned, cured' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *gyasta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jatte Si* 6r4 *KT* 1. 10; 144r3 *KT* 1. 86; *jatti JP* 86r5 *KT* 1. 171 (bis); *jattai* H 143 NS 63a3, 4; b3 *KT* 5. 40.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *jahāre* P 2893. 65 *KT* 3. 85.

ppp.: O.Kh. *gyasta-* Z 24. 490; L.Kh. *jasta-* Ch 00266. 258 *KBT* 106.

Et. ? < **yad-*. *jah-* functions as pass. to *gyeh-* q.v.

jāy- 'to meditate' LW act. intr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jāyūm* P 2891. 5 *KT* 3. 79.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jāyāte* Z 12. 60.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jāyāndi* Z 3. 114.

Et. NWPkt *Dhp* 92 *jayadi* (= Skt *dhyāyati*).

jin- 'to destroy' III b act. tr. B ppp. *jāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jāndā* Z 3. 28+; *jindā* Z 18. 6; L.Kh.: *jidā JS* 15r3 (63); *jimdā Si* 10r2 *KT* 1. 14++ tr. *sel-to*.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *jānindā* Z 24. 114+; L.Kh., *jinindā Si* 18r1 *KT* 1. 28+ tr. *sel*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh., *jitai* Z 22. 261, 285; L.Kh.: *jai JS* 20r3 (85).

2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *jātānda* Z 22. 109.

O.Kh. inf. *jāte* Z 7. 2.

Et. Av. *jināiti* 'dehilitat'.

jīy- 'to disappear, be removed' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *jīta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jīye* Z 1. 38; 3. 139+; *jīyā* Z 6. 31; 13. 127; 15. 8; *jītā* Z 24. 482.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jīyāre* Z 3. 29, 140, 143; 6. 1; 9. 21; 22. 116; 23. 370; 24. 458; *jyāre* Z 3. 139+; *SS* 83r6 *KT* 5. 341; *jyārā* Z 15. 11; Kha 1. 160. 2. a1 *KT* 5. 152; L.Kh.: *jāre JS* 38v2 (168); *jāre* P 3513. 55r4 (Asm. 57) tr. *parikṣayu bhoti*.

O.Kh. ppp. *jīta-* Z 3. 139+; L.Kh. ppp. *ja-* Ch 00269. 47, 113 *KT* 2. 44, 48.

Et. See *jin-*. For the form, cf. O.Ind. *jīyāte* or *kṣīyāte* (v. T. Burrow, *JAOS*, 79, 1959, 255-62).

jīṣ- 'to boil' II b mid. intr. B ppp. *jīšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *jīṣāi* P 2893. 63 *KT* 3. 85.

L.Kh. ppp.: *jīšta-* *Si* 122r4 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *skol-ba*.

Et. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 126; *TPS*, 1953, 22. Av. *yah-* 'sieden' (intr.), pres. 6 *yaēša-* (*AIW*); O.Ind. *yēšati*. B. Sogd. *βy'yš'ntk* 'boiling' *SCE* 236 < **abi-yaiš-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 1068, p. 163). V. caus. *jsāñ-*.

1. *juv-* 'to live' ? VI act. intr. B ppp. *juta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jvīmā* P 3510. 8. 1 *KBT* 52.
2 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jvī* P 2781. 92 (24) *KT* 3. 69 for **juvi*.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jütä* Z 11. 47, 57, 60; 12. 74.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jvīndā* N 176. 9, 11.
O.Kh. pres. pt.: *jūndaa-* Z 19. 44, 59.
O.Kh. ppp. *juta-* in 3 pl. pf. tr. m. (intr.) *jutāndā* Z 13. 124. L.Kh. ppp. *jva-* in *jvem* P 2801. 29 *KT* 3. 66 1 sg. pf. tr. m.; *jve* P 2783. 253 (92) *KT* 3. 76 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (both intr.). L.Kh. also has an archaizing ppp. *jutta-* in *juttai* *JS* 26r3 (114) 3 sg. pf. tr. m.
Et. Av. *'gay-* 'leben', pres. 20 *jīva-*, *jva-*, purely graphic for **jīva-* according to Barth. (*GIP*, § 268. 17, p. 155) as in O.Ind. *jīvati*. On the one hand, however, we find Parth. *jywo-* (Ghilain, p. 50), MPe *xywo-* (*Verbum*, p. 169) etc. and on the other, Kh. *juv-*, Man. Sogd. *juw-*, *jwī-*, Paštō *žw-* (*EVP*, p. 106), as pointed out by W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 574, n. 1, pp. 90-91. Kh. *juv-* is evidently a secondary development from older **jiv-* as *j-* instead of *js-* indicates. We clearly have another case of **-i-* > *-u-* due to *-v-* as in *nuvad-* < **nivad-* < **ni-pad-*. **jīva-* may be an old denom. rather than pres. 20, cf. IE **g^hiwo-* in *βlos* (Pok. 467-9).

2. *juv-* 'to fight' I c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *justa-*

+I-A (comitative) R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10 (c).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *juvāre* Z 2. 46; 20. 30; 24. 407, 499; *juvāre* Z 1. 33.
2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *jvīrau* P 2781. 99 (31) *KT* 3. 69.
O.Kh. inf. *juštā* Z 23. 105.
Et. < **yaud-*, cf. Av. *yaod-* 'kämpfen' (*AIW* 1230); O.Ind. *yūdhyati*; Parth. *ywody-*, *ywod-* 'lutter' (Ghilain, p. 87).

jūh- 'to long, yearn' ? V b intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jūhāte* Z 23. 27, 28.
O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *jūhānaa-* Z 23. 25.
Possibly here also the L.Kh. forms: *jūhyī:me* P 2936. 7 *KT* 3. 108
1 sg. pres. act.; *jvīhīnai* P 2027. 35 *KT* 2. 80 1 sg. opt.; *jvīhā* *StH* 61 *KT* 2. 75 2 sg. pres. (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 32).
Et. < **yaufya-* < **yaup-*, cf. Parth. *ywb-* (Ghilain, p. 65) 'souffrir, être affligé' (Benv., *JA*, 1936, 201-2).

jeh- 'to cleanse' V e act. tr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *jehūm* P 2783. 221 (60) *KT* 3. 75.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jehāte* Z 24. 490.
3 sg. opt. act., O.Kh.: *gyehā* Z 2. 174.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *gyehāna* Or 9609. 53v4-5 *KT* 1. 237-8 tr. *śodhayitavyam*.
Et. ? < **yāḥaya-*, caus. < **yaḥ-*, v. *jah-*.

jsāñ- 'to make boil' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *jsāñūdā* *Si* 20r3 *KT* 1. 32 tr. *skol-ba*.
Et. Caus. < *jīs-* p. 35.

jsañ- 'to be struck; slain' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *jsata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jsānde* Z 19. 10.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jsañāre* Z 24. 426.
O.Kh. ppp.: *jsata-* Z 4. 13; 24. 509, 510.
Et. < **jan-ya-*, cf. Av. *janya-*, O.Ind. *hanyāte*. See *jsan-*.

jsan- 'to strike; slay' I b act. tr. B ppp. *jsata-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jsāndi* Z 7. 24+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *jsanīndi* Z 23. 32; 24. 467; *jsanīndā* Z 24. 403.
2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *jsanyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75.
L.Kh. inf.: *jsañā* P 2783. 234 (73) *KT* 3. 75.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *jsataimā* Z 24. 445, 448.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *jsate* Z 24. 449; L.Kh., *jse* P 2801. 50 *KT* 3. 67.
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *jsatāndā* Z 5. 2; *jsatāndi* Z 22. 235; L.Kh., *jsānde* *JS* 30v4 (134).
O.Kh. inf.: *jsīye* Z 24. 442, 450.
Et. Av. *'gan-* 'schlagen' (*AIW* 490), *janaiti* 3 sg. pres. them. (V. 5. 34+); Parth. *jn-* (Ghilain, p. 55); MPe *xn-*, *zd* (*Verbum*, p. 172); Man. Sogd. *jn-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 264, p. 42).

jsā- 'to go' I a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *jsāte* Z 2. 13++; *jsātā* H 143 NS 71r1 *KT* 5. 80;
L.Kh., *jsāte* *JS* 14v1 (59); *jsāvi* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 59) tr. *gacchati*;
jsāvai P 5538b. 64 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *gatsattī*.
O.Kh. pres. pt.: *jsāna-* Z 2. 85+.
jsamane Z 19. 94; 20. 28 may be < **jsamāmane*, v. *hamjsam-*.
Et. Av. *gāt* Y. 46. 6; O.Ind. *gāt*. IE **g^hā-* (Pok. 462).

jsīr- 'to deceive' ? V a or V e mid. tr. A ppp. *jsīda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *jsīrāte* Z 19. 8, 9; Kha 1. 206a2. a4 *KT* 5. 162.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *jsirāre* Z 19. 9; 24. 245.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *jsīde* Z 2. 54.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *jsīdātā* Z 24. 246.
 O.Kh. inf. *jsīde* Z 2. 124.
 Et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 31 cf. Toch. B *tser*- 'deceive'.
 ? < **jaraya*-, v. *ttājser*-.

jsaus- ? 'to amount to' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 141. IV a
 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *jsausīya* Hed. 26. 6 *KT* 4. 38; Or 11252. 30. 8
KT 2. 25.
 Et. ? < **jafs*-, inch., cf. B. Sogd. *γβs*- (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 141).

ttajs- 'to run, flow' I b act. intr. B
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttāstq Si* 131v5 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *hṣag*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttajśida* *JP* 59r3 *KT* 1. 149.
 L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ttajsaca* Ch 00266. 183 *KBT* 29 = *ttajsace* P
 4089a8 *KBT* 21.
 Et. Av. *tak*- 'fließen' (*AIW* 624), pres. 2 *tača*-; Parth. *tč*- 'couler'
 (Ghilain, p. 50).

ttav- 'to be hot' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *ttauda*-
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ttavāre Si* 136v1 *KT* 1. 72 tr. *cha-ba*.
 ppp. *ttauda*- Z 20. 5+ (O.Kh.), *Si* 9r2 *KT* 1. 14+ (L.Kh.).
 Et. < **tap*-, cf. Av. *tap*-; O.Ind. *tāpati* 'heats'; Parth. *t'b*-, *t'b'd*
 'briller' (Ghilain, p. 72); NP *tābad* 'burns'.

ttājser- 'to dispraise' (?) V e tr.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *ttājsera Avdh* 18r2 *KT* 3. 9.
 Et. < **ati-jāraya*- 'dispraise', pejorative development of **gar*- as
 opposed to Av. *gar*- 'preisen' (*AIW* 512). Cf. also Kh. *pajaruṇa*-
 'abuse' H 144 NS 55. 44v1 *KT* 5. 76. H. W. B., *Adyar*, 1962, 8.
 Cf. also Paštō *žarəl* 'to cry, weep' (*EVP*, p. 105), NP *paiyārah*
 'abuse' (H. W. B.).

ttātsu- 'to cross' I d tr. D
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 27; *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 28.
 Et. < **ati-čyav*-, v. *tsu*- p. 42.

ttāš- 'to cut' I b mid. tr. B
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ttāšdā* Z 2. 139.
 Et. < O.Ir. **taš*-, cf. Av. *taš*-, O.Ind. *takṣ*-. See R.E.E., *BSOAS*,
 xxx. 1, 1967, 90.

ttāhvah- 'to cross' V a act. tr. C ppp. *ttāhvasta*-
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttāhvaittā* Z 13. 21, 22.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttāhvaindā* Z 13. 20, 21; 24. 277.
 O.Kh. ppp. *ttāhvasta*- Z 13. 22.
 Et. < **ati-hvah*-, v. *hvah*-.

***ttun-** 'to plunder' III b tr. ppp. *ttunda*-
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ttude* Hed. 2. 4 *KT* 4. 21; *ttudā* ibid. 5.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ttundāndā* Z 22. 235.
 L.Kh. ppp. *ttūda*- P 2790. 66 *KT* 2. 112.
 Et. < **taṭ*-, cf. Oss. D. *tonun*, *tund* 'to pluck off, tear out' H. W. B.,
BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 35-36.

***ttumalys-** 'to consume, devour' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ttumalsta*-
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttremvašta* P 4099. 61 *KBT* 116.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ttumalste* Z 13. 83.
 Et. < **ati-marz*-, v. *nimalys*- p. 54.

ttuvar- 'to bring' I b act. tr. B ppp. **ttūda*-
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttuvidā* Z 22. 156.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *tvaryarā* Or 11252. 16a8 *KT* 2. 22.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tvaridā* Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ttudāndā* P 2790. 22 *KT* 2. 111; id. P 2958. 59
KBT 41 = *ttudādī* P 2798. 177 *KBT* 44 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi.
 1, 1964, 14).
 Et. < **ati-bar*-, cf. Av. *aiti.bara*- 'hinübertragen' (Leumann, N 5).

ttuvāy- 'to convey across' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ttuvāsta*-
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tvāyātā* Z 6. 19; 16. 63.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ttuvāyindā* Z 1. 187.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ttuvāste* Z 5. 105; 24. 229, 275.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ttuvāstāndā* Z 9. 23; 24. 240.
 O.Kh. inf.: *ttuvāsti* Z 23. 53.
 Et. < **ati-vādaya*-, v. *bāy*-. In L.Kh., *ttuvāy*- and *ttrāy*- q.v. were
 conflated as *trvāy*- *Si* 20r4 *KT* 1. 32; see p. 231.

ttuvā'y- 'to bring across' V e tr. ppp. *ttuvā'sta*-
 3 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *tvā'ya* Z 24. 238.
 O.Kh. inf.: *ttuvā'ste* Z 24. 232.
 Et. < **ati-šādaya*-, cf. **mšā'y*- p. 57.

ttrṣṭh- 'to stand' LW act. intr. A
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttrṣṭhāte* Z 14. 17.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttaiṣṭide* P 3513. 61v4 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *tiṣṭhantu*.

Pres. pt.: O.Kh., *ttāṣṭhanda-* SS 21r2 KT 5. 331; *ttṛṣṭhanda-* Z 14. 1+; L.Kh., *ttirṣṭhanda* JS 4v4 (15). Other L.Kh. spellings ap. Dresden p. 475 s.v. *ttirṣṭhanda-*.

Et. BHS *tiṣṭhati*. For intrusive *-r-* due to *-ṣ-*, cf. Kh. *trṅkha-*, Pkt form of Skt *tikṣṇa-* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 769).

ttaus- 'to become hot' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ttausṭā* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *ttausace* Si 128v2 KT 1. 60.

Et. Inch. < **tap-*, cf. Av. *tafsa-*, NP *tafsad*. The genuineness of L.Kh. *ttaus-* is confirmed by the O.Kh. noun *ttausaa-* 'fever' Z 23. 123; 24. 430.

tcabalj- 'to scatter' V e tr. A ppp. *tcabriya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tcabaljātā* N 50. 23.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.+*-i*, O.Kh.: *tcabriyei* Z 24. 267.

Et. *tca-* + **barg-*. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184, cf. Lat. *frangō*. Tq *tsawarg-*. IE **bhreg-* Pok. 165. B. Sogd. *'nbrγtk* 'perclus' SCE 93 < **ham-braxta-* I. G., *JRAS*, 1946, 182. See also p. 232.

tcabrīs- 'to be scattered' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *tcabriya-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *tcabrīṣṭā* Z 24. 520; N 50. 34.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tcabrrīsida* P 4099. 32 KBT 114.

O.Kh. ppp. *tcabriya-*: Z 2. 44+.

Et. *tca-* + inch. < **barg-*, v. *tcabalj-*.

tcāṣ'- 'to perceive' I b mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *tcāṣā'ri* Z 22. 319.

Et. < **caṣ-*, v. *kāt'* - p. 22.

ttrām- 'to cross over; enter' V d mid. (O.Kh.); act. or mid. (L.Kh.) tr. or intr. A ppp. *ttranda-*

Constructions, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26: (i) intr. (ii) +prep.; (iii) +acc. = 'cross over'; (iv) +loc. = 'enter'.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ttrāmāte* Z 2. 132+; *trāmāte* Z 13. 114+.

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *trāmāre* Z 22. 263; L.Kh., *trāmāre* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38; 153r3 KT 1. 100; 156r3 KT 1. 104; *trāmīdā* Si 131v5 KT 1. 64; *trāmīdā* Si 156r1 KT 1. 102; *ttrāmīdā* P 2022. 22 KT 3. 43; *ttrāmīdī* Ch 1. 0021a, b 11 KT 2. 56.

ppp. once spelled with *ttr-*: *ttrāṇdā vyata* Kha ix. 13a1. 40v5 KT 5. 184.

The pf. is formally intr. whether tr. or intr.: 2 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *ttrāṇdī* Z 22. 258+acc.; L.Kh., *ttrāṇdī* JS 24r3 (105) +loc.

1 pl. pf. intr., L.Kh.: *ttrāṇdamdūm* P 2790. 25 KT 2. 111 +loc.

2 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ttrāṇda sta* Z 22. 109 +acc.

O.Kh. inf.: *trāṇde* Z 24. 172.

Et. < **ati-ram-*, cf. Parth. *'hr'm'd* ppp. 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 73); MPe *'hr'm-*, *'hr'pt* 'hinaufleiten' (*Verbum*, p. 190).

ttrāy- 'to rescue, deliver' V e act. tr. A ppp. *ttrāsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *trāyāte* Z 12. 4; 13. 21.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *trāyindā* Z 16. 67.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ttrāste* JS 22v4 (98).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *trāste* Z 4. 9.

Et. < **ati-rādaya-*, cf. Av. *'rād-* '(sich) bereit machen' (*AIW* 1520), pres. 3o *rādaya-*, ppp. *rāsta-*; O.Ind. *rādhmōti* 'achieves, prepares'. See also *ttuvāy-* p. 39.

tvaśd- 'to transfer' VI b act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *tvaśdīm* < *dā* > Hed. 20. 7-8 KT 4. 34.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *tva* < *śdya* > Hed. 20. 6-7 KT 4. 34; *tvaśdyarā*

ibid. 12; *tvaśdyari* Or 11252. 18a3 KT 2. 23.

tvaśdā Or 11252. 18a2 KT 2. 22 form?

Et. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 123 'transfer' < **ati-pazdaya-*, cf. Av. *pazdaya-* 'frighten'; Parth. *pzd-* 'effrayer; chasser' (Ghilain, p. 53). Av. *pazdaya-* denom. < **pazda-* F. B. J. Kuiper, *AO*, xvii, 1939, 28.

tvāñ- 'to strengthen' V e mid. tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *tvāñā* JP 85r1 KT 1. 169; *tvāñe* Si 14v2 KT 1. 22 tr. *skye-bar byed*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *tvāñāre* P 4099. 223 KBT 124.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *tvāñāka* Si 16v3-4 KT 1. 26 tr. *skye-bar byed*.

Et. Caus. < **tav-* 'be strong', cf. Av. *'tav-* 'potentem esse' (*AIW* 638); O.Ind. *tavīti* 'is strong'; Parth. *'stwb-* 'vaincre, affaiblir' < **uz-* + *tav-* (Ghilain, p. 67); MPe *pt'y-* 'bleiben, dauern' < **pati-tāvaya-* (*Verbum*, p. 209); B. Sogd. *pt'w-* 'endurer' P 2. 837.

tsām- 'to swallow' tr. ppp. **tsaunda-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *tsāmāna* JP 84v5 KT 1. 169; *tsāmāna* H 143 NS 63a3 KT 5. 40.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *tsodi* JS 12v2 (51).

Et. < **čyām-*, v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59; *JRAS*, 1957, 105. Cf. Av. *šam-* 'schlucken' (*AIW* 1705-6); B. Sogd. *š'm-* 'avaler' P 2. 115.

tsu- 'to go' I b act. intr. B ppp. *tsuta-*

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *tsimä* Z 3. 73; II. 37; 23. 32.
 2 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *tsai* Z 19. 22; H. vii. 150 13r4 *KT* 5. 82 = N 66.
 31 tr. *upasaṃkramiṣyasi* (inj. according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 186 s.v. *tsu-*).
 3 sg. pres. or opt., O.Kh.: *tsiyä* H 144 NS 55 44r5 *KT* 5. 76; *tsiyü* Z 2. 51 (< *tsiyä u*); *tsilä* Z 2. 214.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *tsindi* Z 2. 135++; L.Kh., *tsida* P 5538b 82 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *gatsattī*.
 Modal: 1 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *tsiñi* Z 2. 214; 7. 4; 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *tso* Z 2. 70; 24. 121; *SS* 20v5 *KT* 5. 330; *tsu* *SS* 8ov2 *KT* 5. 341; Stein E. 1. 7. 145vi *KT* 5. 77; 3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *tsüta* *Sw.* K. 32r5 *KT* 5. 110.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *tsuñaa-* Z 12. 16.

O.Kh. ppp. *tsuta-*, once *tsva-*; L.Kh. *tsva-*, *tsa-*:

- 2 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.): O.Kh., *tsutai* Z 2. 53, 89; L.Kh., *tsvai* *JS* 30r3 (132); *tsuai* 8r2 (30); 16v4 (71); 23r2 (100); *tsve* 27r4 (119); *tsai* 21v1 (92).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *tsute* Z 2. 47, 67, 86.
 3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.): O.Kh., *tsutāndi* Z 2. 24+; *tsvāndi* Z 24. 514; L.Kh., *tsvāndā* P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 56).
 L.Kh. inf.: *tsai* *JS* 13v1 (55); *Si* 129r1 *KT* 1. 60.
 Et. < **čyav-*, cf. O.Ind. *cyāvate*; Av. *š(y)av-*; Parth. *šw-*, *šwd-* (Ghilain, p. 67); MPe *šw-*, *šwd* (*Verbum*, p. 185); NP *šav-*, *šud*; Man. B. Sogd. *šw-*.

thamj- 'to pull' V e mid. intr. (O.Kh.); act. tr. (L.Kh.) A ppp. *thīya-*

- +loc. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 2.
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *thamjū* P 5538b 75 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *ūtpaṇḍayamī*; *thamjūm* P 2781. 111 (43) *KT* 3. 70.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *thamjāte* Z 5. 90; 24. 121.
 3 pl. pres.: O.Kh. mid. intr., *thamjāre* Z 24. 407; L.Kh. act. tr., *thamjūndā* P 2781. 120 (52) *KT* 3. 70; *thajūndā* ibid. 114 (46); *thajūdā* Ch ii 004 2r4 *KBT* 144.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *thīyai* Z 5. 89, 90; 22. 269.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *thīye* Z 24. 263.
 O.Kh. inf.: *thīye* Z 21. 20.
 Et. < O.Ir. **thanjaya-*, cf. Av. *thanjaya-*, *θaxta-*.

thīs- 'to pull' (at, on) IV a act. intr. B ppp. *thīya-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *thīsti* Z 20. 14.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *thīsā* Z 4. 91.

O.Kh. ppp.: *thīya-* Z 20. 37.

Et. Inch. < **θang-*, v. *thamj-*.

thurs- 'to be oppressed' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 114. IV a intr. ppp. **thursāta-*; *thursāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *thursa* *Avdh* 13r4 *KT* 3. 6.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *thursātāndā* H 143 NSB 13r7 *KT* 5. 96.

Note also the following: *thursūm* *Avdh* 13r2 *KT* 3. 6; *thūrsī* P 2787. 87 *KT* 2. 104; *thārsā* P 2891. 30 *KT* 3. 80; *thausāva* P 2025. 121 *KBT* 15 = *thaurasā* Ch 00266. 71 *KBT* 23; *thārsāva* *bijāta* Or 8212. 162. 23 *KT* 2. 2.

Et. Formally *thurs-* must be inch. < **θrau-*, probably IE **tr-eu-* (Pok. 1072-3).

thūs- 'to kindle' IV a mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *thūste* Z 4. 45.

Et. Inch. < **θau-*, v. *paṭhu-* p. 66.

daj- 'to ripen' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *dīṣta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *dasde* *Si* 15v4, 5 *KT* 1. 24 tr. *smin-pa*; *dasde* *Si* 138r2 *KT* 1. 76 tr. *smin-te*. Hardly act. or from *das-* as H. W. B., *KT* 4. 115. Rather < **daj-ya-tai*, cf. *uskuṣde/uskujāre* p. 17.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *dagyāre* *Sw.* K. 64r2 *KT* 5. 115 tr. *paripacyate*.

ppp.: O.Kh., *dīṣta-* Z 22. 294; L.Kh., *dīṣtā* *Si* 18v1 *KT* 1. 28+ tr. *smin-pa*.

Et. < **daj-ya-*, pass. < **dag-* 'burn' (v. *dajs-*). Cf. O.Ind. *dahyāte*. Ppp. *dīṣta-* either secondary < inch. **dīs-* (cf. *pandīs-*) H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 30 or < **daxš-*, cf. Av. *ḍaxšta-* < **daxš-* (v. W. B. Henning, *TPS*, 1954, 176; *Sogdica*, p. 49), cf. Yaghn. *daxš-* 'to give pain' (Benv., *JA*, 1955, 154).

dajs- 'to burn' I b act. tr. (?); mid. intr. B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *dajsīndā* Kha 0013c6. a3 *KT* 5. 125.

3 sg. pres. mid. intr., L.Kh.: *daysdi* Hed. 17. 3, 5, 13, 15, 17 *KT* 4. 31.

Et. Av. *dag-* 'urere', pres. 2 *daža-* (*AIW* 675); O.Ind. *dāhati*. Parth. *'wdj-* < **ava-dag-* (Ghilain, p. 51).

dam- 'to blow' V a act. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *damāte* Z 19. 88.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *damīndā* Z 23. 160; L.Kh., *damāda* P 2928. 33 *KT* 3. 106.

Et. O.Ir. *dam- 'blow' in Av. only in *dādmāinya-* 'sich aufblasend' (*AIW* 731-2) and *dušdaḥadrō* V. 19. 43 'qui respire difficilement' (Benv., *MO*, xxvi-xxvii, 1932-3, 179-80). O.Ind. *dhāmati* 'blows'. Parth. *dm-* 'souffler' (Ghilain, p. 56); MPe *dm-* 'atmen' (*Verbum*, p. 173); NP *damīdan* 'to blow'. B. Sogd. has extended **dmā-* in *dm's't* 'swollen' P 7. 61 (I. G., *GMS*, § 318, p. 49).

darrv- 'to dare' III e mid. intr. A/B ppp. **darruta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *darvāre* Ch 00327. 11a *KT* 2. 52.

3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *darrauva* N 21. 5 = H 147 NS 109. 41v3 *KT* 5. 73 +pres. pt. *vahīysānā*; < **dṛšnavata* with strong stem extended; inj. confirmed by following inj. *hautta*.

L.Kh. ppp. *dirva-*, *darva-* < **darruta-*:

3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *darvā* P 2781. 127 (59) *KT* 3. 70.

3 pl. pf. tr.: *dirvāmdā* P 2741. 60 *KT* 2. 89 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 585).

Et. < O.Ir. **dṛš-nu-*, cf. OP *daršnu-*, O.Ind. *dhṛṣṇōti*.

dals- 'to make firm, fasten; load' V e ppp. *dārṣṣa-*; *dirṣta-*

dalsā N 76. 42 tr. *upanāmya*. Form? 2 pl. imper. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 131 s.v. *dalys-*; 2 sg. imper., read **dalsā* Leumann, N 88; 2 sg. subj. H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144.

O.Kh. ppp.: *dārṣṣa-* Z 4. 57 (variant *dirṣṣa* Kha 1. 101, 1 r3 *KT* 5. 380); 5. 99; *dirṣta-* Z 17. 22; 20. 53; 21. 31. The ppp. means 'firm, secure'.

Et. < **darzaya-* < O.Ir. **darz-* 'load', cf. Av. *darz-* 'stabilire; uincire' (*AIW* 697); Parth. *drz-* 'lier, charger (les bêtes de somme)' (Ghilain, p. 52); B. Sogd. *βδ'yšk* 'loaded' < **abi-drṣta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 147. A, p. 245); Orm. *daḡ-ʷēk* 'to load' (*IIFL*, i. 393); Paštō *lēšəl* (*EVP* 42); Waxī *durz-*, *dežd* 'to take, seize' (*IIFL*, ii. 520-1). O.Ir. **darz-* appears in Kh. also in: *dālysa-* 'raft' Z 13. 28; *drāysā* *Vajr.* 14b4 *KT* 3. 23 tr. *kola-* 'raft'; *draysa-* 'load' (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 767-8) in *draysi-barā stūra* P 5538a 34 *KT* 2. 127.

***dav-** 'to strike; to clean' I b act. tr.; mid. intr. (= pass.) B

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *dvāñā* *Si* 137r5 *KT* 1. 74 tr. *dhautam* (v. H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, 1960, 13); *dvāñā* P 3513. 71v1 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *saṃtāḍitā*; id. *Si* 126v5 *KT* 1. 58 tr. *rdeg-pa* (-y- due to secondary L.Kh. palatalization).

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *dyū* P 2801. 36 *KT* 3. 66 'beats' < **dyūtā* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 576; **dyūtā* < **dyūtā* impossible; **dyūtā* for **dūtā* (with -y- as above) < **duvati* < **davati* (cf. *nuvatte|nütte* < *nuvad-*).

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *dūte* Z 24. 379 < **duvatei* < **davatai*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *dvymdā* *Si* 121v2 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *hkhyil-bar*.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *dvya* P 5538b 70 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *ttāḍaya*.

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract.: *dvymī* *ḡP* 91v1 *KT* 1. 173 tr. *ttāḍami*.

Et. Av. *ḍav-* 'reinigend abreiben' (*AIW* 688); O.Ind. *dhāvati* 'wipes off, cleans'; B. Sogd. *ḍ'w-* 'frotter, balayer' P; Oss. D. *daun* 'frottir, polir' (Benv., *Oss.*, p. 89).

dāsś- 'to complete, finish' ? V e act. tr. A ppp. **dāsśāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dāsśāte* Z 10. 26; *dāsśātā* N 50. 37.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh. *dāsśide* Or 11344. 3b4 *KT* 2. 33.

+inf.: *padīde* Z 23. 36; *naḥkošā* N 50. 37.

+pres. pt. (?): *dāsśādūm paphūjā* Hed. 3v6 *KT* 4. 23 'we have completed collecting'. Cf. *āksuv-* p. 7.

L.Kh. ppp. *dāsśya-*, *dāsśa-* < **dāsśāta-*: *dāsśyā* *ḡP* 47v3 *KT* 1. 139 tr. *samāpīta*; 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dāsśe* *ḡS* 13v1 (55) +inf. *tsai*; 3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *dāsśā* *ḡS* 814 (31) +inf. *hīsā*; 3 pl. pf. tr.: *dāsśāmdā* P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

Et. H. W. B. cf. Oss. D. *dāsun*, *dāst* 'heap up; cut'.

did- 'to appear' II a mid. intr. B ppp. *dista-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ditte* Z 1. 37+; *dātte* Z 1. 38+; *dittā* Z 6. 6; *dāttā* Z 9. 27.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *diyāri* Z 4. 37; *diyāre* Z 4. 100; *dāyāre* Z 5. 12; 23. 13; *dyāre* Z 3. 113, 137+; *dyārā* Z 17. 3.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *dāsta* Z 5. 36.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *dāsta* Z 22. 238.

Et. < **di-da-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 42. Them. of **di-dā-* (like Av. *datha-* them. of *dathā-* redupl. pres. of *dā-*), cf. Av. *diḍā-* redupl. pres. of *ḍā(y)-* 'sehen' (*AIW* 724-5).

1. **dīm-** 'to tame' V e tr. ppp. *danda-*

O.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *dīmāmātā-* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v4 *KBT* 9.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *danḍe* Z 24. 273.

ppp., O.Kh.: *danda-* Z 6. 20; L.Kh., *damḍa-* *ḡS* 17r4 (73).

Et. < **damaya-*, cf. O.Ind. *damāyati* 'overpowers'. Cf. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 163. **dam-* is attested in Kh. in the -*gyā* abstract: *damgyo* *Suv.* K. 67r5 *KT* 5. 118 tr. *damanam*; *dagyē* *ibid.* 66r5 *KT* 5. 117 tr. *damana-* (v. H. W. B., *ḡRAS*, 1961, 55). O.Ir. **dam-*, cf. Oss. D. *domun* 'dompter' (Benv., *Oss.*, p. 90); Chor. *ḍms-* 'be tamed' (W. B. Henning, *Togan Vol.*, p. 434).

2. *dīm- 'to create' V e ppp. *danda-

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *didai* JS 25v4 (112).Et. See *padīm-*.1. dīśś- 'to throw' H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 121, 1935. V e tr. ppp. *dīšta-*L.Kh. pt. nec.: *dīsāñā, dīsāñā* Si 153v2 KT 1. 100 tr. bor.2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *dīštai* JS 6v2 (23); 9v1 (36).3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *dīšte* Ch 00266. 203 KBT 29 = *nīsāve* P 2957. 138 KBT 38.Et. H. W. B., cf. *daxš-* 'throw' in Av. *fradaxšanā-* 'sling'. *dīśś-* is then caus. < inch. of **dag-* 'throw', and Av. has an *s*-extension (cf. Av. *bag-*, *baxš-*, etc.). I. G. draws my attention to B. Sogd. 'nd'yšēy 'Verwerfen', d.i. *pratikšepa* ST, ii. 575 s.v. From a base **daj-* (with *s*-extension in Sogd.), the inch. should be **dīs-*. However, all presents of class V e in *-śš* have a long vowel in the root syllable.

2. *dīśś- 'to confess' V e act. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *dīsāmā* Z 11. 68; L.Kh., *dīsūm* P 3513. 63r2 KT 1. 243 tr. *dešayisyāmi*.2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *dīša* Z 12. 53.Et. Iter. < **dais-*, cf. Av. *daēs-* 'zeigen', pres. 3o *daēsaya-* (AIW 672); O.Ind. *dīśāti, deśayati*; Parth. 'bdys- 'montrer, informer' < **abi-dais-* (Ghilain, p. 61); B. Sogd. *pδ'ys-* 'montrer' P 15. 30; Oss. D. *rādesun* 'manifeste' < **fra-dais-* (Benv., Oss., p. 41). O.Kh. always *-ś-*, L.Kh. usually *-š-* instead of expected *-śš-* and *-š-* respectively. Probably influenced by BHS *deśayati*, but Ir., cf. 2. *uysdīśš-* p. 16.dukhev- 'to make unhappy' LW tr. A ppp. *dukhautta-*3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dukhevāte* Z 12. 43.O.Kh. ppp.: *dukhautta-* Z 5. 74+; *dukhotta-* Z 11. 15+; L.Kh. ppp. *dakhautta-* JS 28v2 (125); 33r4 (145).Et. BHS *dukhkhāpayati*; Pāli *dukkhāpeti*. For *dukh-*, cf. NWPkt *dukha* Dh 106++.drjs- 'to hold' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *dyta-*3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *drysde* Z 12. 8, 47; *dārysde* Z 6. 35 (bis); 11. 23, 26; 16. 8; 22. 291; *dīrysde* Z 11. 19; 22. 158; *dārysde* Or 9609. 68r4 KT 1. 241 tr. *dhāreti*; L.Kh., *daiysda* P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 60).3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *drjsāre* Z 22. 265; *dījsāre* Z 2. 45; (!) *trjsāre* Z 3. 126 only.O.Kh. ppp. *dyta-*, *draita-*, *dreita-*, *drita-*, *dārāta-*:1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dytemā* Z 22. 286.2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dritai* Z 24. 512.3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyte* Z 22. 301; *draite* Z 24. 392; *drraite* Z 24. 46.3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *dytāndā* Z 24. 507; *drreitāndā* Z 22. 229; *dārātāndā* Kha 1. 13 142r3 KBT 4.Inf. *dyte* Z 20. 18.L.Kh. ppp. *dyrya-*, *dūrya-*:2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dūryai* JS 25r4 (110).3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dūrye* P 2801. 34 KT 3. 66.Et. < **dyja-* < O.Ir. **drag-*, cf. Av. *drag-* 'halten' (AIW 771); Man. Sogd. *jyt-*, B. Sogd. *dyrt-* ppp. 'to hold' (I. G., GMS, § 285, p. 45).dai- 'to see' I b act. tr. D ppp. *dāta-*

Complete O.Kh. pres. paradigm:

1 sg.: *daimā* Z 6. 7+; Stein E. 1. 7 149r2 KT 5. 78 (so read).2 sg.: *dai* Stein E. 1. 7 149r2 KT 5. 78.3 sg.: *daiyā* Z 2. 11+; *deiyā* Z 14. 70+; *daitā* Z 24. 416.1 pl.: *dāyāmā* Z 14. 56; *dyāmā* Z 4. 54; 23. 168.2 pl.: *daiya* Z 14. 58+.3 pl.: *dāindā* Z 14. 57+.L.Kh. has 3 sg. pres. *daitā* P 3513. 54v4 (Asm. 54) tr. *pašyati* but also *daitā* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12. This is the common use of L.Kh. *-tt-* for O.Kh. *-t-*. *-tt-* is not found in O.Kh., where C and D are always distinct in 3 sg. pres. act.O.Kh. ppp. *dāta-*, *dīta-*:3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dāte* Z 4. 70+.3 pl. pf. tr.: *dātāndā* Z 3. 17+.Inf. *dāte* Z 20. 28; *dīte* Z 22. 284.L.Kh. ppp. *dya-*:2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *dyai* JS 5v4 (20)+.Et. < **daya-*, S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 42. Cf. Av. *²dā(y)-* 'sehen' (AIW 724); Parth. *dyd* ppp. 'voir' (Ghilain, p. 96); NP *dīdan*; B. Sogd. *wyδ'y-* 'disparaître' P. *dai-* contrasts with *did-* 'appear' q.v.*dem- 'to blow' V e tr. ppp. *daunda-*3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *daunde* Z 4. 45.O.Kh. ppp. *daunda-* Z 20. 35; cf. *adaunda-* Z 13. 114.Et. Iter. < **dam-*, v. *uysdem-* p. 16; *dam-* p. 43.

dyāñ- 'to make appear, reveal' V e act. tr.; intr. mid. (= pass.) A ppp. *dyāñāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dyāñāte Suv. K. 66r3 KT 5. 117; Z 19. 20; dyāñāte Z 22. 165.*

1 sg. pres. act. tr., L.Kh.: *dyāñāme P 2787. 87 KT 2. 104.*

3 pl. pres. mid. (= pass.?), O.Kh.: *dyāñāre Z 19. 30.*

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyāñātaimā Kha 1. 13. 142r3 KBT 4 tr. bstan.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *dyāñāte Z 13. 55; dyāñāte Z 13. 136.*

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *dyāñātāndā Kha 1. 13. 142r4 KBT 4.*

Et. Caus. to *dīd-*.

drāh- 'to fly (up)' V d act. intr. A ppp. *drautta-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *drāha Z 17. 1.*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *drāhe P 2936. 6 KT 3. 108.*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *drāhidā P 2895. 21 KT 3. 40.*

ppp. *drautta-*: *drautta hamīya P 2025. 172 KBT 17 = drautta hamī Ch 00266. 110-11 KBT 25 = āśa' hamdrāyāsi tsoq P 2957. 60-61 KBT 33. Cf. also aysdrauttā P 2783. 180 (19) KT 3. 73 ('flying up' H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 590).*

Et. < **drāfya-* < **drap-* < IE **dr-ep-*, see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxix. 3, 1966, 613-15.

drem- 'to drive away' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *dremāte Z 12. 95.*

Et. Caus. < **dram-*, cf. O.Ind. *dramati* 'runs'. **dram-* in Ir. also in Av. *handramanā-* 'Zusammenrottung' (AIW 1772) and Kh. *hamdrāmā* Or 9609. *27v6 KT 1. 236 tr. *kāntāra-*.

najs- 'to make a noise (of animals)' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *najsīndi Z 2. 46; najsīndā Z 20. 30.*

Et. ? Base **nag/k-*. H. W. B. points to Toch. A *nāk-*, B *nāk-* 'to reproach'.

namas- 'to worship' LW act. tr. B ppp. *namasāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *namastā Z 12. 55; 22. 188, 282, 296; 23. 170.*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *namasīndā Z 5. 40+.*

O.Kh. ppp. *namasāta-*:

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *namasāte SS 13v2 KT 5. 329.*

3 pl. pf. tr.: *namasātāndā Z 24. 240; H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3 KT 5. 81.*

L.Kh. ppp. *namasya-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. f.: *namasyā Ch c. 001. 1035-6 KBT 142.*

Et. NWPKt *Dhp 3 namase'a* = Pāli *namasseyya*.

narām- 'to go out' (of, from) V d act. tr. or intr. A ppp. *naranda-*

Constructions, see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 27: (i) intr. Z 3. 99; (ii) +acc. Z 13. 147; (iii) +I-A Z 2. 104; 24. 166.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *narāmāte Z 4. 96; narāmātā Z 22. 204, 213; Khot. (IO). 1a3 KT 5. 346.*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *narāmīndā Z 3. 99; 22. 279; narāmīndi Z 22. 173, 205, 212, 303.*

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *narānda Z 2. 104; naranda Z 2. 123.*

3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *narānde Z 13. 109.*

O.Kh. inf.: *narānde Z 22. 276.*

Et. < **niš-ram-*. See *ttrām-* p. 40. Cf. Av. *ram-* 'ruhen', pres. 28 *rāmya-* (AIW 1511); Parth. *n(y)r'm-* 'abaisser, soumettre' < **ni-ram-* (Ghilain, p. 73).

***naljsem-** 'to finish' V e tr. ppp. *naljsonda-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *naljsonde Z 3. 150; 22. 334; naljsondā Z 1. 188.*

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *naljsondāndi Z 2. 166.*

Et. < **niš-jāmaya-*, caus. < **niš-gam-*. Cf. Av. *gam-* 'kommen', pres. 30 *jāmaya-* (AIW 494).

***naltcīph-** 'to remove' III d tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naltcīphā Si 16v3 KT 1. 26 tr. sel-bar byed-do; na'tcīphe Si 15v3 KT 1. 24.*

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *naltcīphāq Si 129v4 KT 1. 62 tr. sel-to.*

Et. < **niš-sčambaya-*, cf. Av. *skamb-* 'stemmen', pres. 9+24 *sčimbaya-* (AIW 1587). For **niš-* here, see p. 232.

naltsu- 'to go out' I d act. tr. or intr. D ppp. *naltsuta-*

Constructions, see R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 27: (i) intr.; (ii) +acc.; (iii) +loc.; (iv) +preposition: *patā rrunde naltseyā Z 24. 405* 'he goes out against the kings'.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naltseye Z 22. 202; naltseye Z 24. 252; naltseyā Z 24. 405.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *naltsute Z 5. 32; L.Kh., natsū Ch 00266. 112 KBT 25 = netsūe P 2025. 173-4 KBT 17 = netsve P 2957. 62 KBT 33.*

Et. < **niš-čyav-*, v. *tsu-* p. 42.

***nalysv-** 'to issue' H. W. B., KT 4. 134. I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *na'ysvārai P 4099. 70 KBT 116; na'ysvāre P 4099. 205 KBT 123.*

Et. < **niš-zav-*, cf. Oss. D. *ävzujun* 'fall' (of hair) H. W. B., loc. cit.

naṣkalj- 'to drive away' V e tr. A ppp. *naṣkrriya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkaljāte* Z 12. 67.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *naṣkalja* Avdh 13r2 KT 3. 6.

L.Kh. ppp. *naṣkrriya-* Avdh 18r4 KT 3. 9.

Et. < *niš-+kalj- p. 21.

naṣkār- 'to drag away' H. W. B., KT 4. 65. I d tr. ppp. *naṣkāda-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *naṣkāra* Or 11252. 4b7 KT 2. 17; Hoernle MBD 2522 KT 5. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *naṣkāḍāmdā* Hed. 2. 6 KT 4. 22.

Et. < *niš-+kār- p. 22.

naṣkīrr- 'to cut out' III b tr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naṣkīrdā* P 2893. 199 KT 3. 90.

Et. < *niš-kīrra- < niš-kar-, cf. Av. *frākēronaoḡ* (V. 22. 2) < kar- 'to cut' < IE *(s)ker- (Pok. 938). O.Ind. *kṛṇāti* 'injures'.

naṣkoš- 'to bale out' V e tr.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkoṣātā* N 50. 32.

O.Kh. inf.: *naṣkoṣā* N 50. 38.

Et. < *niš-kauz-aya-, v. *uskoš-* p. 17.

naṣkhaj- 'to remove' V e tr.

O.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *naṣkhajāmata* Sw. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 tr. *parihāraṃ*.

Et. See *uskhaj-*, *uskhajs-* p. 17.

naṣkhajs- 'to come out' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *naṣkhasta-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: <na>*ṣkhaysdi* Kha vi. 3 3a1 KT 5. 191 (fragment).

L.Kh. ppp.: *naṣakhastye* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124; *naṣkhasta* H 147

MBD 23a12 KT 5. 66. ? *naṣkhasta-* = *naṣkhasta-*: *naṣkascye* P 2896. 45 KT 3. 95; *naṣkastyai* Or 8212. 162. 116 KT 2. 7.

Et. See *uskhaj-*, *uskhajs-* p. 17.

naṣkhan- 'to laugh' I b intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *naṣkhamttā* Z 12. 75; *naṣkhamtt* <ā> Kha 1. 115 3b1 KT 5. 189 (fragment).

Et. < *niš-+khan- p. 25.

1. ***naṣtav-** 'to burn' ppp. *naṣtauda-*

Cf. *naṣtāvuyau jsa* P 3513. 64r4 KT 1. 244 tr. *saṃtāpair*.

ppp. O.Kh., *naṣtauda-* Z 5. 49; L.Kh., *niṣtauda* P 3513. 68v4 KT 1. 246 tr. *tapta*.

Et. < *niš-tav-, v. *ttav-* p. 38.

2. **naṣtav-** 'to pour out' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *naṣtvāṇā* Si 156v2 KT 1. 104 tr. *dbo-bar* (pour out).

Et. < *niš-tav-. H. W. B. cf. Av. *taoš-* 'leer, los sein' (AIW 624) as s-extension. Cf. also Oss. D. *itaun* 'säen'; Rōš. *patēw-* 'throw' (Sokolova, *Ruṣianskie i xufskie teksty i slovar'*, 1959, 228).

***naṣtos-** 'to be consumed' IV a intr. ppp. *naṣtosāta-*

3 sg. pf., O.Kh.: *naṣtosāte* Z 5. 28.

Cf. also *naṣtausai* Si 140r1 KT 1. 78 tr. *śoṣaḡ* (v. H. W. B., BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76).

Et. < *niš-tafsa- inch. < *niš-tap-, v. *ttaus-* p. 40.

***naṣthris-** 'to be pushed out' (v. Leumann, N 78) IV a intr.

ppp. *naṣthrrita-*

O.Kh. ppp. *naṣthrrita-* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v5 KT 5. 92.

Et. < *niš-+θrak-; v. *hamthris-* p. 140.

naṣdam- 'to blow out, extinguish' V a act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naṣda'mide* P 3513. 62r1 KT 1. 243 tr. *vidhamantu*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *naṣdamāka* Avdh 11r4 KT 3. 5.

Et. < *niš-+dam- p. 43.

***naṣḍem-** 'to blow out, extinguish' V e ppp. **naṣḍaunda-*

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *naṣḍodai*, JS 34v4 (152).

Et. Iter. < *naṣdam-* q.v.

naṣpaśd- 'to remove' VI b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *naṣpaśde* Si 4v2 KT 1. 8 tr. *hbyuñ-bar byed-pa*; id. P 2893. 70 KT 3. 85 'dispels' (H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 14).

L.Kh. -āmatā abstract: *naṣpaśdāme* Si 4v2 KT 1. 8 tr. *hbyin-pa*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niṣpaśdā'nū* Si 102v3 KT 1. 38.

Et. < *niš-paśdaya-, v. *tvaśd-* p. 41.

naṣpul- 'to hiss' or 'to spit'

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *naṣpulamdā* JS 23r1 (99).

Et. Dresden, p. 477 s.v. cf. Av. *pərədan* V. 3. 32 (why 'vomited'?). Cf. also O.Ind. *pardate* 'farts'; Yidgha *pil-em* (IIFL, ii. 236).

naṣphaj- 'to be obtained' V c intr.

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *naṣphajānde* JS 38r2 (166) only.

Et. ? < *niš-bag-, cf. Av. *bag-* 'als Anteil zuweisen, zugehören' (AIW

921); O.Ind. *bhājati*. See also *hamphāj-*. If Kh. *ph* can be < *θw*, L. G. suggests < **niš-θwāj-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *tfyž-* 'to collect'.

našphan- 'to come out' intr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *našphanā* Z 5. 28 'come out'.
? L.Kh. *našphana* P 4099. 87 KBT 117.
Et. < **niš-fan-*, see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120-3.

našphašt- 'to remove' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *našphašta* *Avdh* 13r2 KT 3. 6.
pt. nec.: O.Kh., *našphaštānā* N 52. 12; L.Kh., *našphaštānā* *Si* 100v5 KT 1. 34.
L.Kh. nom. ag.: *našphaštākā* *Si* 121v1 KT 1. 48; *našphaštākā* *Si* 19r1 KT 1. 30 tr. *hbyun-bar byed-do*.
Et. Caus. < **našphast-*; v. *phast-* p. 90.

našphāñ- 'to bring out' V e tr. A

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *našphāñū* *Vajr.* 20a1 KT 3. 24 tr. *nišpādayiṣyāmi*.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *našphāñe* *Vajr.* 34a3 KT 3. 27.
-*āmātā* abstract: *našphāñāme* *Kha* ii. 29. 8v4, 5 KBT 10.
Et. Caus. < *našphan-* q.v. Cf. Sarikolī *nalfon-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120, n. 3; *KT* 4. 18. Cf. also Šughnī *našfēn-* (I. Zarubin, *Šugnanskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1960, 185); Rōš. *nawfēn-* (V. S. Sokolova, *Ružanskie i xufskie teksty i slovar'*, Moscow, 1959, 213).

našphīśš- 'to avoid' V e A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *našphīśšātā* H 143a NSB 24r3 KT 5. 86 'avoids'.
Et. Iter. < **našphis-*, see *usphis-* p. 19.

nās- 'to take' I d act. or mid. (L.Kh.); mid. (O.Kh.) tr. B ppp. *nāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *nāste* Z 14. 78++; *nāstā* Z 12. 63; L.Kh., *nāste* *ŠS* 38v2 (168).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nāsāre* Z 3. 55+; L.Kh.: *nāsāra* P 4099. 15 KBT 114.
3 pl. pres. (? opt.) act., L.Kh. only: *nāsīda* P 2942. 5 KT 3. 109; *nāsīdā* Or 8212. 162. 32 KT 2. 2; Ch 1.0021a, a8 KT 2. 53; *nāsīde* P 2027. 49 KT 2. 81; *nāsīdai* P 2027. 60-1 KT 2. 82.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nātaimā* Z 1. 190.
2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nātai* Z 24. 436; L.Kh., id. *ŠS* 4v2 (14)+; *nāvai* *ŠS* 14v2 (60).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nāte* Z 2. 57+.
3 sg. pf. tr. f.: O.Kh., *nātā* Z 23. 106 < **nātātā*; L.Kh., *nā* *ŠS* 8v1 (31).
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *nāndā* Z 5. 6++ < **nātāndā*; L.Kh., *nāmdā* *ŠS* 17r3 (72); *node* *ŠS* 35r4 (154).

O.Kh. inf.: *nete* *Suw.* K. 35r7 KT 5. 113.
L.Kh. inf., see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 3: *nāte* P 5538a 39, 40 KT 2. 127; *nī* P 2801. 21 KT 3. 66; *nati* *Vajr.* 11b4 KT 3. 22 tr. *udgrāhītum*; *nātā* ibid. 12a1; *nitā* ibid. 12a4.
Et. Cf. Av. **nas-* 'hingelangen zu', pres. 4 *nāsa-* (*AIW* 1056); O.Ind. *nāsati* (aor.-subj.); Yaghn. *nos-*, *nōta* 'take' (Andreev, p. 295). The ppp. *nāta-* is secondary, due to reinterpretation of *nās-* as inch. on the analogy of *stās-/stāta-* etc. That the base is **nas-* is shown by the noun *nasa-* 'share' Z 5. 42, 48; *Vajr.* 31a2 KT 3. 26 tr. *kalā-*.

nišsuv- 'to urge; promote' I c act. tr. B ppp. **nišsautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nišsūtā* Z 24. 43 (H. W. B.).
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nišsūi(da)* Ch 00268. 168 KBT 67 = *nakšvīda* Ch 00277. 7r2 KBT 70.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nakšūauttāndi* P 2834. 11 KBT 45.
L.Kh. inf.: *nakšāttai* P 2787. 111 KT 2. 105; *nakšūauttā* P 2834. 14 KBT 45 (?).
Et. See **ksuv-* p. 25.

nājs- 'to fight' I c act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nājsindā* Z 22. 118.
Et. < **naik-* < IE **neik-* (Pok. 761) 'attack', Gk. *νεῖκος* 'strife' (H. W. B.).

nijaš- 'to show' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *nijašta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nijašde* Z 2. 73+.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nājsātā're* Z 4. 73.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nijašte* Z 23. 149+; L.Kh., *nījsūšta* P 4099. 402 KBT 133 = *nijašde* Z 9. 24 (3 sg. pres., O.Kh.).
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nijašāndā* Or 9609. 68r3 KT 1. 241 tr. *daršenti* var. *dešenti*.
Et. < **ni-čaša-*, see *tcāš-* p. 40; *kāt'* p. 20. Cf. also Yidgha *nišāž-*, Munjī *nišāš-* 'to show' < **ni-čaš-* (*IIFL*, ii. 233); Chor. 'nčtk < **ničašta-* (W. B. Henning, *Hdb.*, p. 111, n. 6).

nijsvāñ- 'to show' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *nijsvāñāre* *Si* 140r4 KT 1. 78 tr. *bstan-to*.
Et. Caus. < *nijaš-* q.v.

***nitcañ-** 'to break up' III d ppp. *nitcasta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nitcaste* N 76. 46 tr. *cchitvā*.
Et. See *hatcañ-*.

nād- 'to sit down' I c act. intr. B ppp. *nāta'sta-*

+*dī*, *bendā*, *vīrā*, *vāte*, *patāna* or loc. (Z 19. 91; 24. 488).

- 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *nättä* Z 13. 28; 22. 215; *Suv. K.* 63r4 *KT* 5. 114 tr. *pravekṣyati*; L.Kh., *naittä* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59) tr. *niṣṭati*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nindā* Z 3. 60.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *nya* Z 2. 188; 5. 52.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *niyāñā-* Z 2. 221; 3. 30.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *na'sti* N 171. 16, 18.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *nāta'stā* Z 2. 168; 5. 44; *nita'stā* Z 2. 187; 14. 88; 24. 254; *niga'lstā* Z 2. 93; L.Kh., *naista* Ch 00266. 194 *KBT* 29 = *ne'stā* P 2957. 132 *KBT* 38.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *na'sta* Z 2. 98.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *nāta'sta* Z 19. 91; L.Kh., *ne'sta* P 2741. 55 *KT* 2. 89.
 Et. Hardly < **ni-ṣad-*, **ni-ṣasta-* as Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *ne'sta-*, as there is no trace of -ṣ- in the pres. forms. Rather is *nād-* to be derived < **ni-hida-* as is Man. Sogd. *nyd-* 'to sit' (I. G., *GMS*, § 545, p. 85). Other forms are: Av. *niṣhida-* (with shortening of -ī- in compound, see *AIW* 1754, n. 3; O.Ind. *niṣṭati*); Parth. *nṣyd-*, *nṣst* (Ghilain, p. 50); MPe *nṣyy-*, *nṣst* (*Verbum*, p. 169). Kh. and Sogd. seem also to show that -ī- was shortened in polysyllabic forms as a phonetic feature. Ppp. < **niṣasta-*.

***niphan-** 'to rejoice' I b act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naphanida* Or 8212. 162. 29 *KT* 2. 2.
 Et. < **ni-fan-* H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. vii. 1-2, 1959, 20.

nimandrai- 'to invite' LW act. tr. D ppp. *numandrāta-*

- 1 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nimandraimā* Z 2. 50.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāmaṇdraiyā* Z 24. 465, 473.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *nāmaṇdraindā* Z 12. 61; *numandraindā* Z 1. 53; L.Kh., *namadrīda* P 5538b32 *KT* 3. 122 tr. *nmatrriyatti*.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nimaṇdrye* ḡS 2r2 (4).
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *numadrta* Z 2. 99.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *numandrāte* Z 12. 1; L.Kh., *namaṇdrye* P 2801. 19 *KT* 3. 66.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nimaṇdrādi* Kha 1. 221. 23 *KT* 3. 129.
 L.Kh. inf.: *nimaṇdre* Kha 1. 221. 25-26 *KT* 3. 130.
 Et. < BHS **nimandrayate*, cf. *upanimandrayate SPAW*, 1930, 11 (6v6) H. W. B.

nimalys- 'to rub down' I b act. tr. B ppp. *nāmalsta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nimalśdā* Z 22. 147.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nima'ysāñā* H 143 NS 63b3 *KT* 5. 40.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nāmalsta-* Z 21. 32.

Et. < **ni-marz-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 113-14. Ppp. < **ni-mard-* according to S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 57, but see H. W. B. loc. cit. and R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 613. Av. *nī marqṣdyāi* Y. 44. 14; B. Sogd. *nm'rz-* 'berühren' *Dhy* 298, 385, 403; Parth. *nmrz-*, *nmwšt* 'épurer, nettoyer' (Ghilain, p. 53).

nāmājs- 'to wink' I c act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāmāśdi* Z 23. 122.
 Cf. *anāmājsyau tce'maṇyau* H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3-4 *KT* 5. 81.
 Et. < **ni-maig-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23. Cf. Yidgha *nəmiž* 'winking' (*IIFL*, ii. 232); B. Sogd. *nymz'y Vim.* 201 (Benv., *JA*, 1933, 1, 241; *BSL*, xxxviii. 1937, 280-1).

niriḱṣ- 'to examine' LW tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niriḱṣā'nā* Si 4v5 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *phyed-par byas*.
 Et. Skt *niriḱṣate* 'views'.

***nirūj-** 'to burst; disappear' V c act. intr. (= pass.) A

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nirūje* Ch 00268. 170-1 *KBT* 67 = *narrūje* Ch 00277. 7v2 *KBT* 70; *nairūje* P 4099. 398 *KBT* 133 (= *nihuśdā* Z 9. 21); id. ibid. 394 (= *niruddha* Z 9. 17).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *narūjidi* P 3513. 16v3 *KBT* 55; *narrūjiddā* ibid. 17r1; *narūjidi* ibid. 17v4.
 Et. < **ni-ruj-ya-*, v. 2. **nirūj-*. For the act. cf. *baj-* p. 91.

***nirus-** 'to burst' IV a act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nirauštā* Si 103v5 *KT* 1. 40 tr. *brdol-ba*.
 L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *nirasamḍai* Si 103r1 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *rdol-ba*.
 Et. Inch. < **ni-raug-*; v. 2. **rrus-* p. 116.

nirūj- 'to break open' V e tr. ppp. **niruta-*

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nirūjāñā* Si 156v3 *KT* 1. 104 tr. *rtol-te*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *narvoa-* < **niruta-*:
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *narvoai* ḡS 18r3 (77).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *narvoāṇḍā* P 2891. 26 *KT* 3. 80.
 Et. < **ni-rauḱaya-*; v. 2. **rrus-* p. 116.

nārmān- 'to create magically' III b act. tr. B ppp. *nārmāta-*

- 2 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nārmāñi* Z 2. 155.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nārmāṇḍā* Z 1. 34; 14. 93; *nirmānde* Z 2. 48; *nirmāṇḍā* Z 2. 50.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nārmānindī* Z 4. 30; *nārmānāṇḍā* Z 4. 31.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nirmāte* Z 2. 47; *nārmāte* Z 14. 90.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *nārmātātā* Z 4. 13.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nārmītāndā* *Suv. K.* 63r5 *KT* 5. 114 tr. *nirmito*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *narmya-*: *cā'ya-narmya* P 4099. 183 *KB*T 122 =
cā'ya-nirmātu Z 5. 58.
 Et. See *hamān-* and p. 233.

nārsāy- 'to present' LW tr. A ppp. *nārsāyāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *narasā'yū* P 3513. 8or4 *KB*T 64; *nārisā'yūm*
 P 3510. 4. 5 *KB*T 49.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nārsāyāte* Kha 1. 13. 138v4 *KB*T 3 tr. *phul-nas*.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nārsāyātāimā* *Suv. K.* 67v1 *KT* 5. 118 tr.
niryātītā.
 Et. BHS *niryātayati*, *niryādayati*; Pāli *niyyādeti*; Niya 511v2 p. 186
niryādayāti; Khar. Konow 88, p. 172 *niryāide*.

nivartt- 'to repel' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nivartte* *JS* 12r1 (47) 'repels'.
 Et. BHS *nivarteti*.

niśś- 'to throw away' V b act. tr. A ppp. *niśśāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *niśśmā* P 3510. 5. 7 *KB*T 50.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *niśśāte* Z 19. 54.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *niśśāmdā* P 2782. 7 *KT* 3. 58 = *nīśāda* Or
 8212. 162. 89 *KT* 2. 6.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *niśśāñā* *Si* 109v3 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *btāb-pa*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *niśśāte* Kha 1. 185. 1a3 *KT* 5. 155.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *niśśāmdā* P 2783. 245 (84) *KT* 3. 76; *niśśāmdī*
 P 2801. 65 *KT* 3. 68 < **niśśātāndā+i* 'they cast her'.
 Et. < **ni-śūā-ya-* with secondary shortening of *-ā-* as in Av. *spaya-*
 < 'spā-' 'iacere' (*AIW* 1615), ppp. *spāta-*. Cf. Parth. *nyspy-*,
nysp'd 'ployer le genou' (Ghilain, p. 87). See also *paśś-* p. 76.

nāṣam- 'to be stilled; cease' act. (O.Kh.); mid. (L.Kh.) intr. (= pass.)

A/B ppp. *nāṣa'ta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nāṣamīndā* Or 9609. 4v5 *KT* 1. 233 tr.
sāmyante.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *niṣe'māre* P 3513. 37r1 *KB*T 60; *naiṣa'mārai*
 P 4099. 399 *KB*T 133 (= *nāhuta puṣṣo* Z 9. 21).
 3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *niṣi'māte* *Si* 102r3 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *śi-bar . . . gyur-na*.
 3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *niṣa'māmdī* P 3513. 71r1 *KT* 1. 247 tr. *praśamantu*.
 Note formal confusion in L.Kh. of pres. stem of *nāṣam-* with
niṣem- q.v.
 L.Kh. abstract noun: *niṣā'mā* *Vajr.* 18b2 *KT* 3. 23.

O.Kh. ppp.: *nāṣa'tā* Or 9609. 5v2 *KT* 1. 234; *ibid.* 55r2 *KT* 1. 239.
 Et. ? H. W. B. < **niṣ-am-*, cf. O.Ind. *dmīti* 'presses on'.

nāṣa's- 'to end' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nāta'stā* Z 2. 29; 5. 83.
 Et. Inch. < **ni-ṣad-* H. W. B. V. *nād-*. Cf. noun *nāṣa'skyā-* 'end'
 Z 24. 252 and adj. *aṇe'scya* P 3513. 57v1 (Asm. 67) tr. *ananta-*.

***niṣā'y-** 'to establish; appoint' V e act. tr. A ppp. *nāṣā'sta-*

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nā'yūm* P 2801. 41-42 *KT* 3. 67.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *nā'ya* P 2781. 152 (84) *KT* 3. 72.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nātā'yātā* H 142 NS 61. 47r3 *KT* 5. 29.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nā'yidā* Hed. 20. 13 *KT* 4. 34.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *nesta* Ch 00266. 118 *KB*T 25 = *neste* P 2957. 67
*KB*T 34 = *naiste* P 2025. 181 *KB*T 17.
 3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *nāṣā'stāndā* *Suv. K.* 63v2 *KT* 5. 114; L.Kh.,
nā'stāmdā P 2783. 232 (71) *KT* 3. 75; *ne'stāmdā* P 2741. 12 *KT*
 2. 88.
 Et. < **ni-ṣādāya* (Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *ne'sta-*). Cf. Av. *niṣādāya-*;
 MPe *nš'y-*, *nš't* (*Verbum*, p. 169); Man. Sogd. *nšyyδ-* (I. G.,
GMS, § 545, p. 85).

niṣem- 'to remove, extinguish' V e tr. A ppp. *nāṣaunda-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *niṣemāñā-* Z 5. 79; *-āmatā* abstract: *nāṣemāmate*
Suv. K. 33r2 *KT* 5. 111; nom. ag.: *nāṣemākā* Or 9609. *27v7 *KT*
 1. 236 tr. *oprasamayitā*, *opraṇāsayitā*.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāṣeme* Reuter 1v6 *KT* 5. 395 tr. *nirvāpayiṣyanti*.
 O.Kh. ppp.: *nāṣaunda-* Z 3. 103; 10. 6; 22. 101, 223; 23. 158; *niṣaunda-*
 Z 20. 32; *niṣonda-* Z 5. 35; *neṣo'nda* Z 3. 103.
 Et. Iter. < *nāṣam-* p. 56. Not from **niṣrāmay* as Leumann, 'E',
 p. 451 s.v., but S. Konow's objection is not strong (*NTS*, xi, 1939,
 57).

niṣkal- 'to expound' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. **niṣkālsta-*

L.Kh. *-āmatā* abstract: *niṣkalyāme* Ch xlvi. 0012c. 3a2 *KT* 2. 59
 'exposition' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 531).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *naiṣkalīda* S 6701. 18 *KT* 3. 137.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *naṣkaista* Or 8212. 162. 121 *KT* 2. 7.
 Et. < **ni-ṣkard-*, v. *pāṣkal-* p. 83.

nihalj- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A ppp. *niḥiṣya-*

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *nihaljāka* Z 22. 142; L.Kh., *nihejāka* *Si* 10r3 *KT*
 1. 14 tr. *sel-to*.

- 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *niheje Si* 10r4 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *sel-to*.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nihaljā Z* 2. 178.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *nihaljīndi Kha* 1. 131r1. b2 *KT* 5. 148; L.Kh.,
nihejūde P 3513. 62r1 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *hanantu*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nḥīye Z* 23. 46.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nḥīyāndā Z* 12. 92.
 Et. Iter. < **ni-θrak-*, v. *hamθrīs-* p. 140.

nihujs- 'to sink down, set' I c act. intr. B ppp. *nihuta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nihuśdā Z* 5. 54; 9. 21; 22. 90; *nāhuśdā Z* 5. 79; 22. 187.
 O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nihujsāmatā-* Kha 1. 13. 139v3 *KBT* 3;
 140r4 *KBT* 4; 145v2 *KBT* 6.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nāhuta-* Z 9. 21; 14. 10, 27; 22. 285; *nihuta-* Z 24. 320;
 Kha 1. 13. 140r4 *KBT* 4.
 Et. < **ni-baug-* E. Leumann, *Festgabe für H. Jacobi*, 1926, 80. O.Ind.
bhujāti 'bends'.

nāhvarr- 'to long for; grasp at' III b mid. intr. B ppp. *nihvarrda-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nāhvarrde Z* 12. 93; H 142 NS 77+H 142 NS 80.
 16r4 *KT* 5. 102; *nihvarrde H* 144 NS 32+H 144 NSB 17r1, 4, 7
KT 5. 93.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *nāhvarāre P* 4099. 147 *KBT* 120.
 -*āmatā* abstract: *anāhvarremāte ja* Kha 0013c4. b4 *KT* 5. 124.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *nihvarrdye bāvani gīhna P* 3510. 10. 10 *KBT* 53 =
anahvarrdye bāvāna gīhna P 3513. 78r1 *KBT* 63 'by aid of the . . .
 ungraspable *bhāvanā-* meditation' (H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 19).
 Et. < **ni-hvar-na-* H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.* 71-72. See *hvar-*.

1. **nuvad-** 'to lie down' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *nvasta-*

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nvatte Z* 4. 72; *nütte Z* 22. 129.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nūyāre Z* 24. 168.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nvasta P* 2834. 17 *KBT* 45.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nvasta Ch* 00266. 68 *KBT* 23 (= *vīstauda P* 2025. 118 *KBT* 15 = *vīstāve P* 2957. 24 *KBT* 31).
nvastā JS 18v3 (79) ppp. or 2 sg. pf. m. (for **nvastī*).
 Et. < **ni-pada-* < **ni-pad-*, cf. B. Sogd. *nypδ-* *SCE* 324 < **nipada-*
 (I. G., *GMS*, § 545, p. 85). Pres. V b in Av. *ni.paiḍya-* and O.Ind.
nīpadyate. **ni-pad-* is found in caus. forms in Parth. *nb'y-* 'deposer'
 (Ghilain, p. 70); MPe *nb'st* ppp. 'warf nieder' (*Verbum*, p. 188).

2. ***nuvad-** 'to make a noise' V a act. intr. C/D

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nuvaindā Z* 2. 46; *nuveindi Z* 24. 420; *nvaindā Z* 20. 30.

Et. ? < **ni-vadaya-* < **ni-vad-*, cf. O.Ind. *nivādayate* 'to make
 resound (drum)' *MBh*.

nuvamth- 'to be removed' v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 131.
 III a mid. intr. B ppp. *nuvamthāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nvamtte Z* 20. 14; 23. 30.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nvamthāre Z* 12. 6; *nvamthārā Z* 24. 423.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nvamthātai JS* 22r4 (96).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nuvamthātā Z* 24. 117.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nuvamthāndā Z* 20. 14 < **nuvamthātāndā*.
 L.Kh. inf.: *nvūthye P* 5538a. 57 *KT* 2. 128; 65 *KT* 2. 129 (v. H. W. B.,
AM, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 25). See p. 219.
 Et. < **ni-pa-n-θ-* H. W. B. On O.Ir. **paθ-*, see Benv., *Oss.*, p. 47.

***nuvamthān-** 'to purify' V e tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *nvamthānā Si* 141r4 *KT* 1. 80 tr. *sbyāns*.
 Et. Caus. < *nuvamth-* q.v.

***nuvar-** 'to offer' I b act. tr. B ppp. *nūda-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nūḍā P* 2781. 146 (78) *KT* 3. 71.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nūḍai JS* 16r3 (68); 30r3-4 (132); *nūḍai JS*
 33r3-4 (145).
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *nūḍā P* 2781. 86 (18) *KT* 3. 69 < **nūḍātā*.
 Et. < **anu-bar-* or **ni-bar-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 582.
nūḍā excludes a pres. stem **nuvār-* as Dresden, p. 477 s.v. *nuvār-*.

nuvalys- 'to flow down' I b mid. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvalysde Z* 17. 18; *nuwaysde Z* 20. 57.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuva'ysāre Z* 3. 125; 4. 56 (= *nuvajsā* < *re* >
 Kha 1. 101. 1r2 *KT* 5. 380); *nuva'ysāre Z* 3. 121; 24. 413.
 Et. Probably there has been conflation of **ni-šarx-*, cf. Skt *sarj-*
 (S. Konow, *NTS*, 1934, 30) and **ni-vax-*, cf. Av. *ni.vax-* (S.
 Konow, *Primer*, p. 109 s.v. *nuwaysa-*). < **ni-barx-*, cf. Skt *nī-barh-*,
 Leumann, 'E', p. 452 s.v.

nuvašt- 'to examine' V b mid. tr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nuvaštāre Z* 1. 51; 15. 94; *nuvaštāri Z* 22. 317;
nuvaštāre Z 20. 20.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *nuvaštāna-* Z 4. 83; *nuvaštāna-* Z 12. 11.
 Et. < **anu-ā-stā-ya-*, see pp. 243-4.

nuhamj- 'to hold back; open' V e act. A/B ppp. *nuhīya-*

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nuhamjīndā Kha* 0013c6. b4 *KT* 5. 125.
 O.Kh. ppp. *nuhīya-* Z 22. 169.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *nuhīyāndā* Kha 001306. a1 *KT* 5. 124.
Et. < **ni-ṭanṭaya-* < **ni-ṭang-*, cf. Parth. *nhynj-*, *nhxt* 'retenir' (Ghilain, p. 51); MPe *nhynz-*, *nhxt* 'zurückhalten' (*Verbum*, p. 198); NP *nihaxtan* 'zügeln'.

nṛhīśś- 'to restrain' V e tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nṛhīśśīyā* Z 12. 128, 129.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *nṛhīśśāna* Z 12. 128.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nṛhīśśāma* Kha 1. 182a1. b3 *KT* 5. 154.
Et. Caus. < inch, **nṛhīs-* < **nīhrīs-* < *nīhalj-* E. Leumann, N 60.
See *nīhalj-* p. 57.

nei'hvah- '*ati-kram-*' H. W. B. i.e. 'to cross over; conquer' V a act. tr. C ppp. *nei'hwasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ne'hvettā* P 3513. 28r1 *KBT* 58; *ne'hwaitta* P 4099. 169 *KBT* 121.
O.Kh. ppp. *nei'hwastu* Z 11. 3; 24. 469 (H. W. B.).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *nehwāste* Ch 00266. 140 *KBT* 26 = *nehveste* P 2025. 213 *KBT* 18; *nai'hwastai* Ch ii. 004. 1v2 *KBT* 144 ('he mastered' H. W. B., *Koyasan Vol.*, 1965, 35).
Et. < **niś-hvah-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 936. Cf. B. Sogd. *nšy(')wst-* 'to lacerate' < **niś-xwasta-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 679, p. 106).
See also *hwah-*.

nyas- 'to despise' I b mid. tr. B

O.Kh. -*cā* abstract: *nyascā-* Z 22. 300; 23. 116; *nyaskyā-* Z 22. 249.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nyasāmatā-* Kha 1. 13 138r3 *KBT* 3 tr. *smad-pa*.
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyaste* Z 2. 7; 12. 41, 44, 67.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyasāre* N 77. 5 tr. *kutsayanti*; *smod-do*; *nyasārai* (+-i) H 144 NS 55 44r1 *KT* 5. 76 tr. *smad-par hgyur-ro*.
Et. < **ni-kas-* 'dēspiciō', cf. Oss. D. *nikkāsun* 'look down on' (H. W. B.). Older connexions: cf. Av. *nyās-* Leumann, 'E', p. 454 s.v.; inch. < *ni-yam-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 162 s. v.

nyāp- 'to be known' LW act. intr. A ppp. **nyāpāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyāpātā* SS 20v2 *KT* 5. 330 tr. *yod-do*.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *nyāpiyā* H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 *KT* 5. 81; *Suv. K.* 31v2 *KT* 5. 109 tr. *pracariṣyati*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ñāpīdā* P 2958. 87-8 *KBT* 41.
L.Kh. ppp. *ñāpya-* P 2781. 105 (37) *KT* 3. 70 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584).
Et. Skt *ñāpyate*. ñ < jñ in NWPkt, Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 44, p. 17.

nyūj- 'to teach' V e tr. A ppp. *nyūta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyūjāte* Z 24. 194.
1 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *ñūjāne* Hed. 23. 15 (26) *KT* 4. 36.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nyūjāmatā-* Z 12. 86.
O.Kh. ppp. *nyūta-* Z 5. 1; 22. 233; Kha 1. 302 2v4 *KT* 5. 171; *nyūwa-* Z 24. 117.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nyūte* Z 24. 176.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *nyūtemā* Kha 1. 108a1. 13r3 *KT* 5. 142 tr. *ñas . . . ye-śes-la . . . bkod-pa*.
Et. < **ni-yaučaya-* < **ni-yauk-* H. W. B., *IIj*, ii. 2, 1958, 153. Cf. Man. Sogd. *ywč-*, *ywxt-* 'to teach'.

nyūd- 'to rush down' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *nyūltte* Z 17. 14; 24. 419.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyūdāre* Z 17. 14.
Et. < **ni-vart-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. O.Ind. *nivartate* 'turns back'. ? Cf. Man. Sogd. *nw'rt* 'Anregung' (*BBB*, p. 82 (679)).

***nyūr-** 'to harness' III b ppp. *nyūrda-*

O.Kh. ppp. *nyūrda-* Z 24. 405.
Cf. O.Kh. *aśā-nyūrra-* Z 24. 405 'horse-harness'.
Et. < **ni-var-na-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. < **ni-var-* 'to cover' H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 13.

nyūšt- 'to wrap up' act. tr. A/B ppp. **nyūštāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ñūštīndā* Si 128v3 *KT* 1. 60.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ñūštyāñā* Si 153v1 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *phur-la*; *ñūštāñā* Si 152v2 *KT* 1. 98.
L.Kh. ppp. *ñūšt(y)a-*: *ñūštye basti* Ch 00268. 137 *KBT* 66 = *ñūšte basta* Ch 00277. 2r3 *KBT* 69.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ñūštīyāndi* P 2957. 87-88 *KBT* 35.
Et. < **ni-pašt-aya-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 131. Cf. ZP *pašt* 'covenant' (H. W. B.). Rather < **ni-yauxšt-*, cf. *pajarūšt-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 526.

nyūs- 'to learn' IV a mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyūste* Kha 1. 302. 2v4 *KT* 5. 171.
3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *ñūsāmde* Hed. 23. 17 (29) *KT* 4. 37.
Et. Inch. < **ni-yauk-* H. W. B., *KT* 4. 134. Cf. B. Sogd. *ywys-*, *ywyt-* 'to learn'.

nyauys- 'to be overcome' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *nyaušta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *nyauysāre* Z 12. 40.

O.Kh. -*auscā* abstract: *nyauscā*- *Sw.* K. 29v2 *KT* 5. 107 tr. *parājaya*-
 < older **nyausauscā*- cf. *purroscā*- *ibid.* < *pur-*.

O.Kh. ppp. *nyausta*- *Z* 12. 45; 14. 91.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *nyaustūm* P 2783. 213 (52) *KT* 3. 74
 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 593).

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ñaustā* P 2783. 247 (86) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. < **ni-yaux-*, v. *āyauys-* p. 9.

nvāy- 'to grasp' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *nvāsta-*

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *nvāyīme* P 3513. 51v2 (Asm. 39) tr. *abhinirhari*.
 L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *nvā'yāme* *AdhS* 93. 36; 94. 1-2; *nvā'yāmā*
ibid. 93. 1.

ppp. *nvāsta*- Kha vi. 14b1. a13, 14 *KT* 5. 180.

2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *nvāstai* N 169. 10; L.Kh., *nvā'stai* *JS* 7r2
 (25); *nvāstai* *JS* 30v3 (134).

Et. < **ni-vādaya-* < **ni-vad-*, cf. Dresden s.v. *uysbāy-* p. 470 <
 **anu-vād-*, but see p. 234. See *bāy-*. Most of these forms probably
 belong under **niṣā'y-* p. 57 < **ni-śādaya-*, as the subscript hooks
 imply *-ś-.

nvāśś- 'to make a noise' V e act. intr. A ppp. **nvāśśāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *nvāśe* P 2025. 175 *KBT* 17 = id. P 2957. 63
KBT 34 = *mīśe* Ch 00266. 113 *KBT* 25 < O.Kh. **nvāśśātā*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *nvāśśindā* Z 24. 503.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *nvāśā* P 2025. 241 *KBT* 19.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *nvāśāṃde* *JS* 37r4 (163); *nvāśāṃdā* P 2781. 88
 (20) *KT* 3. 69 < **nvāśśātāndā*.

Et. Iter. < **ni-vas-*, cf. Oss. D. *niūūasun* 'make a sound'. Nouns:
nvāsa- Z 13. 137; *bāsa-* P 2781. 158 (90) *KT* 3. 72 'trumpeting' (of
 elephants). B. Sogd. *w's-* 'hurler' P; O.Ind. *vāś-* 'to roar'. See
 H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 27.

pakūt- 'to strike' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pakūtāte* Z 22. 282.

Et. Cf. *ākūt-* p. 7. See S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 59.

pacan- tr. ppp. **pacata-*

1. 'to give, present'; 2. 'to cover' H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, p. 10.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pacanūm* P 3513. 67r2 *KT* 1. 245 tr. *cchādayāmi*.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pacana* P 5538b. 68 *KT* 3. 123 tr. *prratsadaya*
 (i.e. *pracchādaya*).

Dyadic, L.Kh.: *pvī'stā pace* P 2906. 27 *KT* 3. 98 'covered'.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pacā* P 2801. 47 *KT* 3. 67 < **pacatātā* (rather
 than as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 577).

Et. < **pati-čan-* < **kan-* 'cover', H. W. B., *Morg. Vol.*, pp. 9-10.

pacas- 'to confess' mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pacaste* Z 24. 434.

1 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pacase* P 3513. 84r4 *KBT* 66 (dyadic with
dīśū).

Et. < **pati-čaxs-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54-55, cf. Oss. I. *fā-dzāxs-*
 'donner instruction', cf. Av. *čaxse* Y 65. 9 (Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 32-33).

pach- 'to be cooked, refined' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp.
paha-

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *paste* Si 132v5 *KT* 1. 66 tr. *béos-pas*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pachāre* Si 101r4 *KT* 1. 36 tr. *chos-par*
byed-do.

O.Kh. ppp. *paha-* Z 20. 36 'cooked'; Z 3. 37, 48, 89 'refined'.

L.Kh. ppp.: *pahā* Si 111v1 *KT* 1. 16 tr. *pakoa-*, *zu-ba*.

Et. < **pač-ya-* < **pak-*, v. *pajs-*. Cf. O.Ind. *pacyāte* 'is cooked'.

The ppp. *paha-* (cf. also *gvaha-* < *gvach-*) is possibly < **paxva-*,
 cf. O.Ind. *pakvā-* (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 118) rather than <
 **paxθa-*, cf. RV *pakthn-*, as **paxθa-* appears as *°puxda-* in Av.
 (v. Waag, p. 77, 1. 1) (cf. for the vowel also B. Sogd. *pwyl-*, I. G.,
GMS, § 551, p. 87) and cf. Kh. *pūha-* 'fifth' beside Av. *puxda-*.

***pachiś-** 'to be called, considered' V c intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pachište* S 2471. 209 *KBT* 98 (= *pachiśyde* *ApS*
 9b1 *KT* 5. 245); *pachiśde* P 3513. 84v3 *KBT* 66.

Et. < **pati-xiz-ya-*, v. *pachiśys-*.

pachiys- 'to be called, considered' I b mid. intr. (= pass.) B

+nom. complement, R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25.

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiyse* Z 22. 324.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiśyde* Z 11. 22, 35; 24. 463; L.Kh.,
pachiśyśdā *Vajr.* 3a1 *KT* 3. 20.

Et. < **xaiz-*, cf. **xaig-* in Oss. D. *xincun*, *xinst* 'to count' H. W. B.,
KT 4. 79. Different is Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 85-86.

pachiś- 'to regard, consider' V e mid. tr. A ppp. **pachiśta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiśe* Z 22. 284; L.Kh., *pachiśe* P 4649.
 6 *KT* 2. 124.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., <*pa*>*chiśāte* H 144 NS 30 etc. v5 *KT* 5. 95;
pachiśete *ibid.*

1 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pachiśāmane* Z 22. 107; 23. 115.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pachiśā're* Kha 1. 221. 17-18 *KT* 3. 129;
 25 *KT* 3. 130.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pachiśte* P 2957. 47 *KBT* 33.

Et. < **pati-xaiz-aya-*, v. *pachiśys-*.

- pachus-** 'to vanish' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pachuta-*
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pachustā* Z 5. 41.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pachusindā* Z 14. 54.
 O.Kh. ppp.: *pachutātena* Kha 1. 133. 4b5 *KT* 5. 150 (I-ASm with intrusive -āt-). *parchuta* Or 9609. 4r7 *KT* 1. 233 tr. *upahata* may have preverb **pari-*.
 Et. < **pati-kufs-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 33. Cf. for **kaup-* O.Ind. *kūpyati*, v. *khvūh-* p. 27.
- pajarūṣṭ-** 'to envelop' (H. W. B.) act. tr. A/B ppp. **pajarūṣṭāta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pajarūṣṭāda* Ch 00266. 26 *KT* 3. 35 = id. P 2025. 39 *KT* 3. 46 = *pajarūṣṭidā* P 2956. 22 *KT* 3. 37.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajarūṣṭāda* Ch 00266. 142 *KBT* 26 = *parajūṣṭāda* P 2025. 217 *KBT* 18 (= *nūṣṭyāmdī* P 2957. 87-88 *KBT* 35).
 Et. ? < **parā-ā-yauxšt-*, cf. *nyūṣṭ-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 526.
- pajāy-** 'to ask for, beg' V e mid. tr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāyāre* Z 3. 86.
 Et. < **pati-jādāya-*, v. *pajād-*.
- pajāys-** 'to enjoy; accept' I d mid. tr. B ppp. *pajāṣṭa-*
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāysde* E 1. 7 19v4 *KT* 5. 389; *SS* 32v1 *KT* 5. 334.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajāysāre* Z 3. 114; *pagyāysāre* *Suv.* K. 34v7 *KT* 5. 112 tr. *anubhaviṣyanti*; id. *ibid.* 65r7 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *bhuktivā.*
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pajāṣṭe* Z 13. 90, 91, 94; *pajāṣṭā* Z 5. 110; 13. 83; *pajāṣṭi* Z 24. 271.
 Et. < **pati-jāza-* < **pati-gaz-*, cf. *Man.* Sogd. *ṣčy'z-* 'to receive' (I. G., *GMS*, § 957, p. 141).
- pajād-** 'to ask for' V b act. tr. B ppp. *pajāṣṭa-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pajāṣṭā* Z 12. 42.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pajāyī* Z 11. 19.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pajāṣṭa* Domoko F 11 *KT* 2. 64 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 921).
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *pajāṣṭā* Z 2. 190; L.Kh., *pajāṣṭā* Or 11252. 4b2 *KT* 2. 16; *pajāṣṭā* Or 11344. 9b8 *KT* 2. 36.
 O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *pajāyandaa-* Z 11. 19.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pajāṣṭe* *JS* 20r4 (86); *pajāṣṭe* *ibid.* 37r1 (161); *pajāṣṭe* *ibid.* 514 (17).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajāṣṭāmdī* Domoko A4. 2 *KT* 2. 62; *pajāṣṭāmdī* P 2781. 71 (3) *KT* 3. 68.
 L.Kh. inf.: *pajāṣṭā* MT c. 0013. 6 *KT* 5. 220.

- Et. Cf. Av. *paiti. jaidya-*, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76; *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 573.
- pajīy-** 'to decay (of teeth)' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pajiyāre* *Si* 156r1 *KT* 1. 102 tr. *brug.*
 Et. See *jīy-* p. 35.
- pajud-** 'to conceal' I c tr. B ppp. *pajusta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pajuttā* Z 2. 28.
 O.Kh. ppp.: *pajusta-* Z 21. 34; Stein E 1. 7 145v5 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *brgyan.*
 Et. < **pati-juda-* < **pati-gaud-*, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76.
 Cf. B. Sogd. *ṣty'wδ Dhuta* 101 = *āvarana* (< **pati-gaud-* Benv., *JRAS*, 1933, 39-40); Chr. Sogd. *ṣtywst* 'caché' (Benv., *JA*, 1959, 133).
- pajs-** 'to cook; refine' I b act. tr. B
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paṣṭā* Z 2. 198 (R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1967, 91); L.Kh., *paṣṭa* P 2025. 257 *KBT* 20; Ch 00266. 169 *KBT* 28.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pajṣāṇā* *Si* 122r1 *KT* 1. 50+ tr. *chos-pa.*
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pajṣāka* *Si* 11v4 *KT* 1. 18 tr. *pācaniyo.*
 Et. < **pača-*, cf. Av. *pak-* 'kochen', pres. 2 *pača-* (*AIW* 819); O.Ind. *pācati*; B. Sogd. (')*ṣč-* 'to cook' *SCE* 219, 233; Yaghn. *pač-* (Andreev, p. 301; S. Klimčitskij, 1937, 22).
- pajsañ-** 'to be struck, beaten' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *pajṣata-*
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pajṣinde* Z 5. 86; 19. 58.
 O.Kh. ppp.: *pajṣata-* Z 5. 86; 17. 25.
 Et. See *jsañ-* p. 37.
- *pajṣabalj-** 'to beat (drum)' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pajṣabrrīya-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pajṣaba'jūdi* Stein E 1. 7 149r1 *KT* 5. 78.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh. *pajṣabrrīyāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) *KT* 3. 72.
 Et. For *pajsa-*, see p. 244. Iter. < **barg-*, v. *icabalj-* p. 40.
- pajsamev-** 'to honour' V e tr. ppp. **pajsamevāta-*
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pajsamevuṃ* P 3513. 65r1 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *pūjayiṣye... aham.*
 L.Kh. ppp. *pajsamevya-* P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 18) tr. *pūjita.*
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pajsameyāuda* Ch 00266. 128 *KBT* 26 = *pajsamevyādi* P 2957. 79 *KBT* 35 = *pajsamīyāuda* P 2025. 196 *KBT* 18.

Et. Secondary formation to *pajsama-* 'honour' Z 2. 72+ on the analogy of *dukhev-* beside *dukha-* etc.

***pajsiṭh-** 'to store away' V b ppp. **pajsiṭhāta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pajsiṭhyi Vajr.* 4b2 KT 3. 20 tr. *pratisāmya*.
Et. < **pa-jarṭhya-*, cf. MPe *gyš-*, *gyšt* (*Verbum*, p. 181) < **grṭhya-*;
Paštō *γarəl* 'to twist, spin' (*EVP* 27); O.Ind. *granth-* etc. (H. W. B.,
JRAS, 1953, 111).

paṃjs- 'to put on (clothing)' I c mid. tr. A/B ppp. *paṃāta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paṃjsāre* Z 3. 55; 15. 86.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṃjsāñā Suv.* K. 35v7 KT 5. 113 tr. °*dhāriṇā*.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pamyē JS* 30v4 (135).
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paṃā* Z 5. 31 for expected **paṃāte*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paṃātāndā* Z 24. 406; *SS* 155 a 5 (unpublished;
Leningrad).
Et. < **pa(ti)-muča-* < **pa(ti)-mauk-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937,
72, cf. Av. *paiti.šmuxta-*; Parth. *pdmwč-*, *pdmwxt* 'revêtir' (Ghilain,
p. 62); MPe *pymwč-*, *pymwxt* 'anziehen' (*Verbum*, p. 182); NP
paimōxtan; B. Sogd. *ptm'ynč-*, *ptm'wytk* (I. G., *GMS*, § 119,
p. 16).

paṭhu- 'to burn up' I d tr. D ppp. *paṭhuta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paṭhaiyā* Z 4. 95; 9. 16; 19. 84.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṭhāñā* Or 9609. 53r6 KT 1. 237.
O.Kh. ppp.: *paṭhuta-* Z 15. 4.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paṭhute* Z 8. 44.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paṭhutāndā* Kha 1. 13 143r3 KBT 5 tr. *bsregs-so*.
Et. < **ṭhay-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78. Cf. Waxī *ṭāw-*, *ṭit* 'to
burn' (intr.) (*IIFL*, ii. 546). On *-ṭh-*, see H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953,
111. See also H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 27.

pat- 'to fall' I b act. intr. B ppp. *pasta-*

+loc., see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32.
3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pittā* Z 2. 29, 125; 11. 58; 13. 131+.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *patīndā* Z 4. 59; 24. 169; *payīndā* Z 12. 40.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pastā* Z 5. 29; 13. 71.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pasta* Z 13. 77; 20. 63.
3 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *paste* Z 5. 105.
Et. Av. *pat-* 'fallen', pres. 2 *pata-* (*AIW* 819); O.Ind. *pātati* 'falls'.

pattamj- 'to produce' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pattīya-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pattamjāñā* H 143 NS 63a4 KT 5. 40.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pattajidā* Si 102r2 KT 1. 38 tr. *bskyed-cii*.

3 pl. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *pattīye* P 2741. 100 KT 2. 91; 3 sg. *pattīya*
ibid. 123 KT 2. 92 'increased'.

O.Kh. noun: *pattīma-* Z 24. 517 'result'.

Et. See H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 543; *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 45. IE
**ten-k/g(h)-* Pok. 1065 ff.

pattav- 'to illuminate; burn up' ppp. *pattauda-*

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *pattaviya* P 3513. 60v3 KT 1. 242.
O.Kh. ppp. *pattauda-* Z 13. 152.

Et. < **pati-tap-*, v. *ttav-* p. 38. Cf. Parth. *pt'b-* 'marquer au fer rouge'
(Ghilain, p. 72); Man. Sogd. *ptṭpyy*, B. *ptṭpy* 'lamp, light' <
**pati-tapah-* (*BBB*, p. 84 ad 717).

patāts- 'to give up, abandon' V b tr. ppp. *patātsāta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *patātsāñā* *Suv.* K. 66v4 KT 5. 117 tr. *parityajya*;
L.Kh., *paṃtsāñā* Si 122v5 KT 1. 50 tr. *span-bar byaho*, H. W. B.,
BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 133.

3 sg. pres. O.Kh. possibly *patāste* Z 2. 190 (< **patāts(ā)te*), see
R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxx. 1, 1966, 93-94.

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *patātsātaimā* *Suv.* K. 67v3 KT 5. 118 tr.
tyaktam.

L.Kh. ppp. *pa(n)ts(y)a-*

2 sg. pf. tr. m.: *paṃtsyai JS* 7v2 (27)+; *patsyai JS* 13vi (55)+;
paṃtsai JS 12r2 (48).

3 pl. pf. tr.: *paṃtsyānde JS* 24r2 (104).

Et. < **pati-tyā-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 168 s.v. *patātsā-*. Cf.
B. Sogd. 'nč'y- 'to cease' H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 54.

patāmar- 'to report' I b mid. tr. A/B ppp. **patāmuḍa-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *patāmarāre* Z 23. 133.

L.Kh. *paṃmar-*, *paṃmuḍa-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 584-5;
KT 4. 115. L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paṃmarāñi* Kha vi. 4. 1 a2 KT 3. 130.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paṃmuḍāndū* P 2790. 44-45 KT 2. 112.

Et. Av. *paitišmara-* 'recall; long for'; Man. Sogd. *pišmrt* 'to think,
count' (I. G., *GMS*, § 142, p. 20).

patālt- 'to cut off' I c tr. B ppp. *patālstā-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *patālttā* Z 12. 49; *patā'ttā* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69
tr. *bcad-la*.

O.Kh. ppp. *patālstā-* Z 5. 78; 24. 491.

L.Kh. ppp. *pa'stā-*: 3 sg. pf. tr. m. *pa'ste Vajr.* 25b2 KT 3. 25 tr.
acchātsit.

Et. < **pa(ti)-krta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptkrnt-* 'découper' *SCE* H. W. B.,
TPS, 1945, 33. See also *naškirr-* p. 50.

patīs- 'to withdraw' IV a intr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *patīsā* Z 4. 117.

O.Kh. inf.: *patīsā* Z 2. 98.

Et. < **pati-*+*is-* p. 14.

pathamj- 'to restrain' V e act. tr. A ppp. *pathīya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pathamjāte* Z 12. 118.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathamjīndi* Z 22. 91.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pathīye* Z 2. 128.

Et. < **pa-θamjaya-*, v. *thamj-* p. 42. Cf. Parth. *p̄dhymj-* 'peser' (Ghilain, p. 51); Man. Sogd. *p̄ḍḍynč-*, B. *p̄ḍ'ynč-* 'to pull'; Man. ppp. *p̄ḍḍ'yt-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 600, p. 93).

pathīs- 'to refrain' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pathīya-*

+I-A (abl.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathīstā* Z 12. 68; *pathīsti* Z 2. 196; 22. 313.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pathīsīndā* Z 24. 49.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pathīyā* Z 13. 124.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pathīya* Z 22. 230.

Et. Inch. < **pa-θang-*, v. *pathamj-*.

padajs- 'to burn' (tr.) I b act. tr. B ppp. *padīya-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *padaśdā* Z 11. 36; L.Kh., *padaśtā* Ch 0048. 19 *KBT* 72. L.Kh. *padaśta* Ch 00266. 224 *KBT* 104 is probably intr. and hence < *padaj-*, v. *daj-* p. 43.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *padajsīndā* Z 24. 394.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *padajsāñā* *Si* 14114 *KT* 1. 80 tr. *sregs-* 40.

O.Kh. ppp. *padīya-* Z 4. 46+.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *padīyāndā* N 169. 6.

Et. See *dajs-* p. 43.

padav- 'to dim, smoke; perfume; burn' I b act. tr. (?) / mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. **paduta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *padūte* Z 6. 39.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *padvāñā* *ʔP* 5411 *KT* 1. 145.

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *padvāmi* *ja* *ʔP* 9112 *KT* 1. 173 tr. *dhūpattis*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *padva-* *ʔP* 5411 *KT* 1. 145; P 2783. 245 (84) *KT* 3. 76 ('burnt' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 597).

Et. < **dav-* 'burn', cf. Kh. *nādo* 'fire' Z 24. 500 < **ni-dāva-*; O.Ind. *dunōti* 'burns', *dāvā-* 'fire'; Man. Sogd. *pr̄d̄w̄y* 'entflammt'; *pr̄d̄'w* 'Flammen' (*BBB*, p. 92 ad b15), Benv., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 518, n. 1. If the meaning 'fumigate' (S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 1941, 94) is taken as basic, we would probably have to connect rather with O.Ind. *dhūmōti* 'agitates', *dhūmā-* 'smoke'.

padīm- 'to make' V e mid.¹ tr. A ppp. *padānda-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *padīme* Z 23. 132.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *padīmātā* Khot. (IO) 1b3 *KT* 5. 346; *padīmāte* *Suv.* K. 66v6 *KT* 5. 117.

3 pl. pres. mid.: L.Kh., *padīmāre* N 176. 7; P 2790. 57-58 *KT* 2. 112; *Si* 17v5 *KT* 1. 28 tr. *hbyuni-ba*.

O.Kh. ppp. *padānda-* Z 2. 91+; *padānda-* Z 22. 143.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *padānde* Z 2. 91+.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *padēmdai* *ʔS* 1714 (73); *padēdai* *ʔS* 3314 (145).

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *padāndāndā* Z 23. 38; L.Kh., *padīmdāmdā* P 2790. 81 (bis) *KT* 2. 113; *padāidāmda* P 2787. 188 *KT* 2. 108.

O.Kh. inf.: *padīnde* Z 23. 3; 23. 33, 43; *padīde* Z 23. 36.

Et. < **pati-dam-aya-*. See H. W. B., *ʔRAS*, 1953, 96-97. IE **dem-* Pok. 198.

padīs- v. *pandīs-*

***padem-** 'to blow' (tr.) V e ppp. **padaūmda-*

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *padāmdāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) *KT* 3. 72.

Cf. Kh. *padama-* 'wind' Z 3. 57+ (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 587).

Et. Iter. < **pati-dam-*, v. *dam-* p. 43; **dem-* p. 47.

pader- 'to maintain' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *padāda-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paderīndā* Z 22. 90.

2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *padādānda* Z 22. 239.

Et. < **pati-dāraya-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *pd'r-* 'soutenir' (Benv., *ʔA*, 1955, 331); Man. Sogd. *p̄ḍḍ'r-* '*to keep' (I. G., *GMS*, § 892, p. 133); Oss. I. *fādaryn* 'soutenir' (Benv., Oss., p. 99). Av. *dāraya-* (iter.); O.Ind. *dhārāyati* 'holds'.

padaus- 'to swell' IV a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *padausidā* *ʔP* 56v3 *KT* 1. 147, tr. *vardha* <*na*>*m*.

Et. ? < **pati-dafsa-*, cf. ZP *daftan* 'to blow'.

panam- 'to rise' V a mid. intr. A ppp. *panata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panamāte* Z 2. 125, 240; 22. 207.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *panamāre* Z 5. 54; 16. 45; 24. 498.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *panatī* Z 22. 263.

3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *panatā* D III. 1 8r2 *KT* 5. 69; L.Kh., *pana* *ʔS* 34vi (150).

¹ Once only, act. tr., L.Kh.: *padīmīdā* (P 2787. 97 *KT* 2. 105) 3 pl. pres. act.

Et. < **pati-nam-aya-*. See *binam-*, *hanam-*. Cf. Orm. *nim-^vek* 'to descend' (IIFL, i. 402).

panaśś- 'to perish' V b mid. intr. B ppp. *panašta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panašte* Z 10. 2+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *panaštāre* Z 24. 52.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *panaštā* Z 23. 108; 24. 379.

Et. < **apa-nas-ya-*, cf. Av. *apanasya-*, *apanašta-* 'verschwinden' (AIW 1055). O.Ind. *ndśyati*, *naštā-* 'disappear'; Man. Sogd. *nyš-* 'be lost' < **nasya-* (I. G., GMS, § 549, p. 86).

panāy- 'to make a noise' V e act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *panāyida* Ch 00266. 12 KT 3. 34 = *panāyīdā* P 2956. 7 KT 3. 36.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *panāyāma* JP 87r4 KT 1. 171.

Et. < **pati-nādaya-* < **pati-nad-*, v. H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 588. O.Ind. *nādati* 'sounds, roars'. ? Av. *nadant-* Y 33. 4.

panāśś- 'to lose' V e tr. ppp. *panašta-*

1 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *panāśśamanai* P 2787. 17-18 KT 2. 102.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *panāśśari* MT a. 1. 0033. 4 KT 2. 71.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *panaštāmdā* JP 54r3 KT 1. 145.

Et. Caus. < *panāśś-* q.v. < **apa-nāsaya-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pn'yš-* 'perdre' P; Chr. Sogd. *pnys-* (I. G., GMS, § 549, p. 86).

panīys- 'to bind up' I b act. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *panīśdā* P 2895. 27 KT 3. 41.

Et. < **pati-naiza-*. On **nai-z-*, see H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 23. **naik/g-* is also possible.

panem- 'to raise' V e tr. A ppp. *panata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *panemāte* D III. 1 8v1 KT 5. 69.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *panatān[d]ā* Kha i. 13 147v4 KBT 7^{tr}. *bskyed-de*.

Et. < **pati-nāmaya-*, v. *panam-* p. 69.

pandīs- 'to catch fire' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pandištā* Z 4. 45.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pandīsindā* Z 4. 59.

Et. Inch. < **pati-dag-*, v. *padajs-* p. 68. For *pan-*, see p. 236. For inch., cf. B. Sogd. *δγs-* 'mūrir' (intr.) P 6. 158 (v. R. E. E., TPS, 1966, 2n. 5.).

paphan- 'to rejoice' I b act. intr. B ppp. *paphanda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paphindā* Iledong 023a6 KT 3. 134.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paphanīndi* Z 21. 22, 23.

O.Kh.: -*āmatā* abstract: *paphanāmata* Suv. K. 65r7 KT 5. 116 tr. *trptim*.

O.Kh. ppp. *paphanda-* Z 21. 22; (with privative *a-*) *avaphanda-* Z 19. 18.

Et. < **pati-fan-*. See *našphan-*, *našphān-* p. 52.

paphāñ- 'to make happy' V e mid. tr. A/B ppp. *paphānda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *paphāñu* Z 5. 95.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paphāñāre* Suv. K. 34r6 KT 5. 112 tr. *sañtarpayed*; id. ibid. 65r6 KT 5. 116 tr. *prīnayisyanti*.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paphādai* JS 23v4 (103).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paphānde* Z 5. 47.

Et. Caus. < *paphan-* q.v.

paphūj- 'to collect' H. W. B., KT 4. 60. V e tr. ppp. **paphuta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *paphūjā* Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23.

3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *paphūjīrau* P 2790. 33 KT 2. 111.

Cf. noun *paphūka* Hed. 1. 7 KT 4. 21 'sum'.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paphvai* JS 27v4 (121).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paphvādi* MT c. 0019. 5 KT 5. 222.

Et. ? < **baug-* H. W. B. See 2. *hambuj-*; **hampūj-* pp. 142-3.

pabañ- 'to bind' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *pabasta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pabañida* P 4099. 281 KBT 127.

Cf. O.Kh. noun: *pabana-* Z 5. 81 'connexion'.

ppp., cf. *pabastā* P 3513. 49v2 (Asm. 30); P 2801. 6 KT 3. 65 'continuously'.

Et. < **pati-band-aya-*. Cf. Parth. *pdbstg* 'relié' (Ghilain, p. 55); MPE *pywst* 'verbinden' = NP *paivand* < **pati-band-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); B. Sogd. *ptβ'ynt-* 'répondre' VJ.

paysān- 'to recognize' III b act. or mid. tr. B ppp. *paysānda-*

1 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *paysāni* Z 2. 135; L.Kh., *paysāne* P 3513. 45v4 (Asm. 12); Hed. 23. 8 (19) KT 4. 36.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paysendā* Z 4. 97, 98; 5. 54+; *paysendī* Z 3. 146.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paysānīndā* Stein E 1. 7 149r4-5 KT 5. 78.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paysānāre* Suv. K. 66r1 KT 5. 117.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paysānde* Z 2. 237; 6. 11; 13. 151+.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paysāndāndi* Z 22. 226.

Et. Cf. Av. *paiti.zāna-* 'recognize'; B. Sogd. *ptz'n-*; Orm. *pa'zan-* (IIFL, i. 405).

1. *par- 'to bring out; present' ppp. *puḍa-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *puḍi* Hed. 1. 5 *KT* 4. 21; *puḍā* ibid. 25. 7 *KT* 4. 38; 70a1 *KT* 4. 50; 70b1 (bis), 2 *KT* 4. 50.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *puḍāmdī* S 2469. 7 *KT* 2. 130 'they produced'; *puḍāmdā* P 2741. 68 *KT* 2. 90 'they brought out'.

Et. See H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59, 56, 117. Cf. MPE *p'rg* 'gift'; O.Ind. *prṇāti* 'gives', *pūrtā-* n. 'gift'.

2. *par- 'to remove' ppp. **puḍa-*

L.Kh. ppp. *puḍa-* P 4099. 89 *KBT* 117; P 3510. 9. 3 *KBT* 53 = id. P 3513. 76v2 *KBT* 62.

Et. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 57 cf. ZP *appurtan* 'take'; *āpār* 'booty'. Doubt must remain as the L.Kh. spelling *puḍa-* could be genuine and derive < **apa-brta-*, cf. *hūḍa-* < **frābrta-*.

parajūṣṭ- v. *pajarūṣṭ-*paranirv- 'to attain complete *nirvāna*' LW act. intr. A ppp. *paranārvṛta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paranirvite* Z 22. 297.

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paranirvāmā* Z 22. 107.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *paranārvāte* Z 24. 461.

3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *paranārvṛtāndū* SS 24r5 *KT* 5. 332.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paranirvāṇa* *Vajr.* 10a1-2 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *parinirvāpayitavyāh.*

L.Kh. ppp. *parinārvya* P 3513. 29r4 *KBT* 58.

Et. BHS *parinirvāyati*, *parinirvṛta-*. Popular etymological connexion with Skt *para-* 'other', see Z 13. 131-2. Cf. also Parth. *prnybr'd* 'il mourut' (Ghilain, p. 92).

parāth- 'to sell' II a tr. ppp. *parāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *parā[n]tha* Ch 00266. 109 *KBT* 25 = *parātha* P 2025. 170 *KBT* 17 = *parāthā* P 2957. 58 *KBT* 33.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pirāthyarā* P 2958. 60-61 *KBT* 41 = (*pa*)*rāthiyari* P 2798. 178 *KBT* 44.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *parāti* MT c. 0019. 7 *KT* 5. 222.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pirāmdā* P 2958. 62 *KBT* 41 = *pirāmdī* P 2798. 179 *KBT* 44.

O.Kh. inf.: *parētā* SS 77v3 *KT* 5. 339 tr. *hchoñ-du*.

Et. < **parā-daba-*, **parā-dāta-*, cf. Av. *para.daba-*, *paradāta-*; B. Sogd. ppp. *pr'(*)ḍt-* 'sell' < **parādāta-*. The B. Sogd. pres. stem *pr'yḍ-* is from **parā-dāya-* according to W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 122, n. 1, p. 17. Cf. also Paštō *prōlāl* 'to sell' (*EVP* 58).

parrām- 'to grasp, understand' V d act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *parāmīdi* *Vajr.* 29b3 *KT* 3. 26 tr. *paryavāpsyanti.*

O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *parrāmemate* D. x 10a. b1 *KT* 5. 261.

Et. < **pari-ram-*, v. *trām-*, *narām-*.

parikalp- 'to imagine falsely' LW tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parikalpāte* Z 4. 38, 51, 56.

Et. BHS *parihalpayati* 'imagines falsely'.

pariṇām- 'to ripen' LW act. tr. A ppp. **pariṇāmāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pariṇāmūṃ* P 3513. 45r1 (Asm. 8); *pariṇāmūṃ* N 164. 12.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *pariṇāmāte* H 142 NS 43r5 *KT* 5. 100; L.Kh., *pariṇāme* P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 54).

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *pariṇāmāmdaa-* Or 9609. 54v3 *KT* 1. 238.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pariṇāmīti* H 142 NS 43v1 *KT* 5. 100; <*pa*>*riṇāmīyā* ibid. v7 *KT* 5. 101.

L.Kh. ppp.: *paraṇaunya-* Ch 00267. 43 *KBT* 148; *paraṇāmya-* ibid. 44.

Et. BHS *pariṇāmāyati* 'ripens'.

paridiv- 'to lament' LW tr. or intr. ppp. **paridivāta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paradivāñā* *Avdh* 10r4 *KT* 3. 4.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *paridivoyai* JS 6r4 (22).

Cf. also *parādīvaṃ* P 2022. 6 *KT* 3. 42.

Et. Skt, Pāli *paridevati*.

pari- 1. 'to order'; 2. 'to deign' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 574-act. intr. ppp. *parsta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9 (a).

+inf. e.g. *parste padīnde* Z 23. 3.

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parimā* Z 12. 51; 23. 33.

2 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pari* Z 22. 112; 23. 114.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paritā* Z 24. 450; *pariyi* Z 24. 442.

2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *parīya* Z 12. 28 (?).

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *parya* Z 23. 52.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *parindā* N 158. 29; L.Kh., *paridi* JS 39v1; *Vajr.* 30b4 *KT* 3. 26.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parste* Z 2. 101+; *paste* Z 5. 43.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *parstāmdī* Or 11252 18a2 *KT* 2. 22.

Et. *pari-* < **pa-rud-* N, p. 102; 'E', p. 459 s.v.; *paru* cf. Skt *ru*, *rud* or Av. *mraṇ* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 167 s.v. The ppp. requires a stem ending in a dental but the pres. forms seem to exclude it, cf. e.g. *rroūtā* 'grows' ppp. *rrusta-*.

parrīj- 'to deliver, rescue' V e act. tr. A ppp. *parrāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parrījāte* Z 9. 24, 28+; *parrījātā* Z 2. 230.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parrījīndi* Z 1. 187; 11. 69; 22. 227.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parritaimā* Z 22. 293; *parvetemā* Z 22. 227.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parrāte* Z 4. 10; 5. 22+.
 L.Kh. ppp. *parrya-*: 2 sg. pf. tr. m., *parryai* JS 19r2 (81).
 Et. < **pari-raičaya-* < **pari-raik-*, v. *rrij-* p. 115. See also p. 237.

parruṣ- 'to be afflicted (by)' ? I b mid. intr. B
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parruṣte* H 144 NS 32 etc. r4 KT 5. 93; Kha
 1. 56. 2 b1 KT 5. 132.
 O.Kh. noun *parrūṣka* H 143 NS 65 etc. 8r5 KT 5. 68 = 'kleśa'. Cf.
 also O.Kh. *avarrūṣka-* Z 6. 44.
 Et. H. E. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 53 assumes *-ūṣka* suffix and cf. Av.
paršta- but this does not account for *parruṣte*, which clearly belongs
 here. Better formally is the older derivation < **rauxš-*, s-extension
 of **rauk-* 'desire' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 581), but the
 meaning is unsuitable. Perhaps s-extension of **raug-* 'break; afflict'.
 See *burs-* p. 101.

parrus- 'to shine' IV a act. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parrusindā* Z 24. 417.
 Et. See *rrus-*.

pareh- 'to restrain oneself' V e mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr.
 ppp. *parausta-*
 +I-A (abl.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (d).
 1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parehi* Z 24. 493.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *parehāte* Kha 1. 205. 35r3 KT 5. 161.
 3 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *parehāre* E 1. 7. 19v5 KT 5. 389 tr. *vivarjayanti*;
 L.Kh., *paraihi* P 2787. 106 KT 2. 105.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parauste* Z 24. 494.
 2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *parostānda* Z 22. 237.
 O.Kh. noun *parāha-* Z 2. 16+ = *śīla*.
 Et. < **pa-rāfaya-* < **pa-raf-*, cf. Parth. *rf-* 'attack', O.Ind. *raphitā-*,
 Kh. *rraphai* 'fighting' (*Si* 104v2 KT 1. 40) H. W. B., *Dr. S. K.*
Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, 1957, pp. 1-2. The ppp. *parausta-*
 is difficult to relate to *pareh-*. H. W. B. suggests **rafs-* or **raf-*,
 extensions of **raf-*.

paraus- 'to drown' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *parausta-*
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paroyde* Kha 0013c6. b2 KT 5. 125.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *parausārā* Z 24. 467.

O.Kh. ppp. *parausta* Z 20. 65; *parausta* Z 2. 225.
 Et. < **parā-vaza-*, cf. Av. *para.vaza-* 'wegfliegen' (*AIW* 1388);
 B. Sogd. *pr'wyz-* 'inonder' P 12. 48, ppp. *pr'wōst* P 7. 139 (W. B.
 Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 716).

paraus- 'to drown' V e tr.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *parausa'rā* P 2801. 64 KT 3. 68.
 Et. Caus. < *paraus-* q.v., H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 579.

***parkun-** 'to sprinkle, scatter' ? III B tr. ppp. **parkunda-*
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *parkūnāñā* *Si* 100r2 KT 1. 34.
 L.Kh. ppp. *parkānda* P 3513. 79v3 KBT 63.
 Et. ? < **pari-ku-na-*. The above spellings can hardly be reconciled
 with derivation < **pari-kan-* with **kan-* 'throw'. Cf. *usko-* p. 17.

parchās- 'to make consume' V e tr. ppp. *parchaṣta-*; *parchāṣta-*
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *parchāsa* Z 24. 237.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *parchāṣtai* Z 5. 89.
 ppp. *parkhyaṣtu* H 144 NS 30 etc. r8 KT 5. 95.
 Et. < **pari-+khās-* p. 26.

parnai- 'to touch' I b or V b act. tr. C/D
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parnaindā* Z 2. 122, 228 (-i).
 Et. See H. W. B., *TPS*, 1955, 70. Either < **nāya-* V b < **nā-* or
 < **naya-* I b < **nay-*. Cf. Oss. *nād* 'beaten' or O.Ind. *navanīta-*.

parbav- 'to overcome' (tr.); 'to grow up' (intr.) ppp. **parbuta-*
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *parbava* *Avdh* 13r1 KT 3. 6.
 3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *parbutti* P 2798. 161 KBT 43 = *parbutā* P
 2958. 42 KBT 41; *parbautta* P 2928. 13 KT 3. 105. *parbutta-*
 archaizing, cf. *jutta-* p. 36.
 Et. Cf. Av. *pairi.bava-* 1. 'sich machen über'; 2. 'sich bemächtigen';
 3. 'zum Abschluß kommen' (*AIW* 932).

parvach- 'to ripen' V c mid. intr. (= pass). B
 3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *parvaste* *Si* 138v1 KT 1. 76 tr. *smin*; 142r2-3
 KT 1. 82.
 Et. < **pari-+pach-* p. 63.

parś- 'to serve' VI b act. tr. A/B ppp. **parśāta-*
 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *paśūm*, *parśūm* Or 11252. 15b3 KT 2. 21.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *parśi'dā* P 3510. 7. 8 KBT 52.

- 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *parśai* JS 4v4-5r1 (15).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *parśāmdā Vajr.* 13b3 KT 3. 22 tr. *paryupāsītā*.
 O.Kh. noun *pārśa-* 'service' Z 2. 185.
 Et. Denom. < *pārysa-* 'servant' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 587.
 O.Kh. *parysa-* Z 2. 50; *pārysa-* Or 9609. 5r4 KT 1. 234.

pars- 'to escape' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *parrāta-*
 +I-A (abl.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § IV. 1 (e).
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parśtā* Z 2. 68+.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *parśindī* Z 2. 60+.
 1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *parrātāmā* D III. 1. 8v5 KT 5. 70.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *parrāta* Z 13. 14.
 Et. Inch. < **pari-raik-*. See *parrij-* p. 74 and p. 237. Cf. also Man.
 Sogd. *prxs-* inch. < *pryc-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 825, p. 124).

***paljsan-** 'to put round, surround; apply' I b act. tr. B ppp. *paljsata-*
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pejsidā* JS 26r4 (115) 'applies'.
 3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *pīsanīra-m* Si 1 bis r1 KT 1. 2 (differently H. W. B.,
Taqizadeh Vol., p. 37).
 O.Kh. ppp.: *paljsata-* Z 17. 26; *paljsāta-* Z 17. 23. *paljsāte* Or 9609.
 56r6 KT 1. 240 tr. *ārāma-* 'enclosure'.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *pa'jsa-* JS 7r4 (27).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pa'jsāmdē* JS 34v3 (151).
 Et. < **pari-čana-* < **pari-kan-*. See *pārān-* p. 83.

paljsem- 'to go about, be engaged in' v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951,
 26. V e tr. A ppp. **paljsaunda-*
 3 sg. pres.: *paljsemāte* H 144 NS 30 etc. r5 KT 5. 95.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pa'jsāmdāmdā* StH 41 KT 2. 74 'they engaged in'.
 L.Kh. inf.: *paijsādai* P 2787. 132 KT 2. 106.
 Et. < **pari-jāmaya-* < **pari-gam-*, cf. Av. *pairi.gam-*.

paltcīmph- 'to check' III d tr. A ppp. **paltcautta-*
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pi'tcīphe* Si 15v4 KT 1. 24.
 O.Kh. nom. ag.: *paltcīmphākā* Or 9609. *27v5 KT 1. 236 tr. °*chedaka-*.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *pa'tcautta-* Si 127r3 KT 1. 58.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *patcautte* JS 29v2 (129).
 Et. < **pari-sčambaya-*, v. **naltcīmph-* p. 49.

paśś- 'to let go, release' V b act. tr. A ppp. *paśśāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paśśātā* Z 12. 116; 22. 203; *paśśāve* Z 2. 179.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paśśindā* Z 16. 50; 24. 390.

1 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *paśśātaimā* Z 3. 71; L.Kh., *paśśāvem* P 2741.
 76 KT 2. 90.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paśśāte* Z 2. 6+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *paśśāndā* Z 5. 6+ < **paśśātāndā*.
 O.Kh. inf.: *paśśete* Z 22. 106.
 Et. < **apa-šūā-*, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76. See *miś-* p. 56.
 Cf. B. Sogd. *psp-* 'rejeter' P 5. 72; *pspy-* 'verwirft' Dhuta 94.

pašauj- 'to wash' V e tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pašoajāñā* Si 156r2 KT 1. 102 tr. *bsal*.
 Et. ? The vowel hardly permits comparison with Chr. Sogd. *psynč-*,
psyč- 'vergießen'.

paškūj- 'to strike' H. W. B. V e act. tr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paškūjindā* H 142 NS 58. 50r2 KT 5. 88.
 L.Kh.: *paškūjā* P 2834. 56 KBT 47.
 Et. ? **(s)hauk-*, cf. *uskuj-* p. 17.

paškaus- 'to swell' IV a intr. ppp. *paškauta-*
 L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *paškosā* Si 122r2 KT 1. 50; *paškausā* Si
 121v3 KT 1. 48 tr. *ādhmāna*.
 L.Kh. ppp. *paškauta* Vajr. 42b3 KT 3. 29 (= *paškauva* P 4099. 270
 KBT 126).
 Et. ? Formally, cf. *vau's-*; *vo'ta-* p. 125.

pašt- 'to arise, set out' II b act. intr. A ppp. *paštāta-*
 +inf. of purpose: *ggārāte* SS 77v5 KT 5. 339.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *paštātā* N 50. 21.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paštīndī* Z 22. 325; *paštīndā* Z 24. 484; SS
 77v5 KT 5. 339; *paštāndā* Z 17. 15.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *paštātā* Z 2. 78; 5. 37.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *paštāta* Z 23. 135.
 Et. < **pati-hišta-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 33.

***paštarr-** 'to strew' III b ppp. *paštarrda-*
 L.Kh. ppp.: *paštarda* Ch 00267. 36 KBT 147; P 3513. 79v3 KBT
 63.
 Et. < **pati-+star-*, v. *baštarr-*, *starr-*. Cf. Bal. *pastark* 'saddle' <
**pati-staraka-* Morg., *AO*, xx. 290.

paštāñ- 'to satisfy; promote' V e mid. tr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *paštāñāre* Kha 1. 13 147r2 KBT 7.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *paštāñāka* Or 8212. 162. 93 KT 2. 6.
 Et. Caus. < *pašt-* q.v.

***paṣṭu-** 'to promise' ppp. *paṣṭuta-*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *paṣṭute* Z 23, 37.

Et. < **pati-stav-*, cf. Parth. ppp. *ṣḍystwā* 'promettre' < **pati-stav-* (Ghilain, p. 77). See *stav-* p. 134.

pasad- 'to seem good' V a act. intr. C ppp. *pasasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pasaitta* P 2896. 49 *KT* 3. 36 = *paṣaittā* P 2895. 1 *KT* 3. 40 = *ṣḍaittā* P 2025. 7 *KT* 3. 45 (so read H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 3).

O.Kh. ppp. *pasastā* Z 19. 87; Kha 1. 309b2. 202v6 *KT* 5. 172.

Et. < **pa-sadaya-*, v. *sad-*. Cf. Parth. *psynd-* 'apprécier'; NP *pasandādan* (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. *ptš'ynt-* 'approuver' *Vj* < **pati-sand-* (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 179).

pasamaṇḍ- 'to rub' LW tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pasamaṇḍānā* Si 103v4 *KT* 1. 40 tr. *mñe-ba*.

Et. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 76-77 from Pkt *maḍḍ-* < Skt *mard-*.

***pasal-** 'to besmear' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pisalyāñā* Si 103v3 *KT* 1. 40 tr. *bsku-ba*.

L.Kh.- *āmatā* abstract: *pisalyāma* Si 151r1 *KT* 1. 22 tr. *bsku-ba*.

Et. See **āsal-* p. 12.

***pasuṣ-** 'to become soundless' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pasuṣḍi* *ṢP* 73v4 *KT* 1. 159; *pasauṣḍe* Si 121v3 *KT* 1. 48.

Et. < **pa-sauṣ-*, cf. Oss. D. *sosāg* 'silent'; *sos kânun* 'to make hoarse' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 88. Cf. also Oss. I. *fāsūs* 'hoarse' (H. W. B.).

pasūj- 'to light' (lamp) V e tr. A ppp. **pasuta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pasūje* P 4099. 158 *KBT* 120.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pasvāde* *ṢS* 31r3 (137).

Et. < **apa-saučaya-* < **apa-sauk-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *pswč-*, *pswyt-* 'to purify, clean' (I. G., *GMS*, § 591, p. 92).

pasūjs- 'to burn' I b mid. intr. B ppp. **pasuta-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *pasūste* Z 4. 95; 9. 16; 24. 417; L.Kh., *pasūste* *ṢS* 6r2 (21); *pasūste* *ṢS* 31r4 (137). **pasūysde* expected, as pointed out by E. Leumann, *Festgabe Jacobi*, 1926, 79. Cf. *vataysde*, *hatīysde*.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pasūjsāre* Z 24. 501.

L.Kh. ppp. *pasva* P 3513. 62r2 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *ādipta-*.

Et. < **apa-sauča-* < **apa-sauk-*, v. *pasūj-*. The 3 sg. may have been influenced by the inch. **pasūste* 3 sg. pres. mid. (-*ūs-*, cf. *vasus-*), although the inch. was probably act. (cf. *pasūste* P 2026. 58 *KT* 3. 50, L.Kh. for **pasūstā* (cf. *vasūstā*)). The simplex *sūjs-* q.v. is act., so that we can explain *pasūste* by a proportional analogy thus: *sūstā* : *ōsūste* = *istā* : *iste* (v. *is-* p. 14).

***pastramj-** 'to repress' V e ppp. *pastrīya-*

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pastrīyāmdā* Si 1v5 *KT* 1. 2.

Et. < **pa-stranjāya-* < **pa-strang-* H. W. B., *Taqizadeh Vol.*, 1962, 36. IE **strenk|g-* Pok. 1036.

pastrīs- 'to become stiff; revolt' IV a intr. ppp. *pastrīya-*

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pastrīsāme* Si 131v1 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *rens-pa*.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *pastrīya* P 2783. 202 (41) *KT* 3. 74; id. P 2958. 91 *KBT* 42 = *pastrīya* P 2798. 207 *KBT* 44 'they revolted' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 592).

Et. Inch. < **pa-strang-*, v. **pastramj-*.

***paspar-** 'to trample on' ppp. *paspuḍa-*

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *paspuḍāmdā* *ṢS* 7v2-3 (28).

Et. < **pa-spar-*, cf. Arm. LW *patspar-* (*HAG*, p. 226); Man. Sogd. *ṣṣpr-* '*to fix, compose, level' (I. G., *GMS*, § 370, p. 56; § 1100, p. 167). See *āspar-* p. 13.

pahāj- 'to flee' H. W. B. V e act. intr. A/B ppp. *pahīya-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pahājīdā* Or 11252. 4b3 *KT* 2. 16.

ppp. *pahīya-*, v. *pahīs-*.

Et. < **apa-hāčaya-*, iter. < **apa-hak-*; v. *pahīs-*.

***pahālīj-** 'to stop, obstruct' V e tr. ppp. **prhīya-*

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pahājīrā* Ch 1. 0021b, a² 26 *KBT* 150.

L.Kh. ppp. *ipihī* Ch 1. 0021b, b 48 *KBT* 154 (with privative *a-*).

Et. < **apa-brak-*, cf. *prahālīj-*. See also inch. **prhīs-* p. 86.

***pahālījāñ-** 'to stop, obstruct' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pahejāñe* Si 122v3 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *hgags-par hgyur-ba*.

Et. Secondary caus. to **pahālīj-*.

pahiys- 'to disappear' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *pahāṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pahaiysde* P 4099. 317 *KBT* 129; Ch 00268. 222 *KBT* 69.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pahīysāre* Z 24. 457.
O.Kh. ppp. *pahāṣṭa-* Z 6. 10+.
Et. < **apa-haiṣa-*, see *vahīys-* p. 122.

pahīś- 'to remove' V e tr. A ppp. *pahāṣṭa-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pahīśāte* Z 6. 26.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pahāṣṭā* Z 2. 93.
Et. Caus. < *pahīys-*.

pahīs- 'to flee' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *pahīya-*
3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pahaiṣṭā* P 2781. 154 (86) *KT* 3. 72; P 2741.
13-14 *KT* 2. 88.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pahaiṣīda* P 4099. 309 *KBT* 128; *pahaiṣīṃdā*
P 2782. 6 *KT* 3. 58.
L.Kh. ppp. *pahaiya-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 4, 1939, 859-60; *BSOAS*,
x. 3, 1941, 592.
3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh. **pahīyā* > L.Kh. *pahai* P 2783. 216 (55)
KT 3. 75.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *pahīya* Z 20. 33; 24. 421; *pahaiga* Z 2. 142;
L.Kh., *pahaiya* P 2783. 246 (85) *KT* 3. 76.
Et. < **apa-haxsa-*, inch. < **apa-hak-*; v. *pahāj-*. Cf. Parth. *hxs-*,
hxs'd 'suivre' (Ghilain, p. 81), inch. < **hak-* 'follow'. Hardly to
thamj- with Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bihī*, as *pathamj-*, *pathis-* p. 68
occur and differ in meaning.

paher- 'to steep, soak' V e tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *paherāñā* *Si* 149v3 *KT* 1. 94 tr. *sbañ*.
Et. **har-* here is perhaps IE **ser-* 'strömen' (Pok. 909), O.Ind. *sārati*
'flows', *sāras-* 'lake'.

pahvāñ- 'to dry up' V e tr.
L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pahvaiñākā* P 2787. 73-74 *KT* 2. 104.
L.Kh. *pahvāñārī* P 3513. 69v2 *KT* 1. 246 (form?) tr. *samsusyate*.
Et. See *hvāñ-*.

1. ***pār-** 'to pay' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 56-57. ppp. *pāḍa-*
pāra- 'debt' Hed. 4. 3 *KT* 4. 23.
ppp. *pāḍa-* Kha 1. 176a. b3 *KT* 5. 153.
Et. See H. W. B., loc. cit. Sogd. *Anc. Lett.* ii. 30 *p'r*; i. 9; iii. 35 *p'rh*
'debt' (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 607, n. 2); Paštō
pōr 'debt' (*EVP* 58); Av. **pāra-* m. 'guilt' (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 245),
par- (pass.) 'owe' (I. G., *Mithra*, p. 247).

2. **pār-** 'to nourish' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 57-58; *TPS*, 1960, 82. tr.
ppp. *pāḍa-*
Nom. ag.: *pārāka* H 147 MBD 23a11 *KT* 5. 66.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pādemā* Z 5. 51.
1 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pādā* P 2834. 53 *KBT* 47.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pāde* P 2801. 68 *KT* 3. 68.
Et. See H. W. B., loc. cit. B. Sogd. *p'r-* *Dhuta* 266.

pārajs- 'to be supported' I b mid. intr. B
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pārajsāñā-* Z 2. 125.
L.Kh. nom. ag. + *-i* 'you are': *pārajsāki* *Avdh* 14r4 *KT* 3. 7.
3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *pāraysā* *Vajr.* 16a2 *KT* 3. 23.
Nouns: < *patā* > *rajsye jsa* Or 9609. 24v1 *KT* 1. 235 tr. *samāsritam*;
pārajsye jsa Si 5v3 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *āstrayād* (H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1942, 23).
Et. ? IE **legh-* (Pok. 658) '(sich) legen'.

pārañj- 'to diminish' V e tr. A ppp. *pārīya-*
3 sg. pres.: *pārañjite* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v3 *KT* 5. 92.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pārañjāñā* *Si* 144v2 *KT* 1. 86 tr. *dbri-xīñ*.
L.Kh. inf.: *pārīye* P 2834. 16 *KBT* 45+.
Et. See **ārañj-*, p. 10.

pārañs- 'to diminish' I b tr.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pārañsāñā* *Si* 133r5 *KT* 1. 68 tr. *phri-ste*.
Et. See *pārañj-*.

pārah- 'to be established' intr. ppp. *patārotta-*
3 pl. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *pārahaude* P 3513. 79r3 *KBT* 63 'may they
establish themselves' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962. 19.
2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *pārihīryau* Kha 1. 221. 31 *KT* 3. 130.
O.Kh. ppp. *patārotta-* Or 9609. 24r3, 4 *KT* 1. 235 tr. *samsrita-*.
L.Kh. ppp. *pārautta-* *Si* 4v4 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *osthita-*; *pārautta-* *Vajr.*
10b4 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *opraṣṭhita-*.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), L.Kh.: *pārautte* Ch c. 001. 860 *KBT* 135.
Noun: *pārahā-* *Si* 3r1 *KT* 1. 4 tr. *gāi*.
Et. Stem-analysis uncertain, but evidently connected with Av. *rap-*
'Unterstützung gewähren, finden' (*AIW* 1508); O.Ind. *rāpati*
'helps, holds to'.

***pārīmph-** 'to establish' V e act. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārīphīda* P 2787. 81 *KT* 2. 104; *pārīphīdā* Ch
ii. 004 3r1 *KBT* 145.

1 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *pāriṣhī* P 3513. 65r3 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *sthāpayiṣye*.
Et. < **pati-ramb-aya-*, cf. O.Ind. *rambh-* 'support' (IE **rem-bh-* Pok. 864).

pāris- 'to diminish' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pāristā* P 3513. 17v2, 18r3 *KBT* 55.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pāriṣindā* P 2788. 6 *KT* 2. 109.
L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pārisāme* *Si* 714 *KT* 1. 10 tr. *dbri-ba*.
Et. Inch. < *pāramjs-* p. 81.

pājsaṣ- 'to look at' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *pājsaṣta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pājsaṣde* Z 23. 161.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pājsaṣā'ne* Or 9609. 36r4 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *prekṣitavya-*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pājsaṣtāndā* H 142 NS 88+89 8v4 *KT* 5. 81.
Et. < **pati-čaṣa-*, v. *tcāṣ'* - p. 40. For **kaṣ-*, see *kāt-* p. 22.

pātāy- 'to speak' V e act. intr. A ppp. *pātāsta-*

+I-A (comitative), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10 (d).
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pātāyātā* H 142 NS 61. 47r3 *KT* 5. 29.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pātāyindā* Z 2. 13; *SS* 85v2, 4 *KT* 5. 343.
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *pātāyāna-* Or 9609. 36r5 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *ālāpayitavya-*.
O.Kh. ppp. *pātāsta-* Z 5. 101.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pātāste* Z 5. 103; 24. 221, 495.
3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pātāstāndi* Z 2. 160.
O.Kh. inf.: *pātāste* Z 12. 13.
L.Kh. *pyāy-*, *pyāsta-*:
2 sg. imper.: *pyāya* *Avdh* 10v5 *KT* 3. 4.
2 pl. imper.: *pyāyarā* P 2790. 84 *KT* 2. 113.
3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *pyāsta* P 2801. 37 *KT* 3. 66.
3 pl. pf. tr.: *pyāstāmda* P 2787. 176 *KT* 2. 108.
Et. ? < **pati-ādaya-*, cf. Av. *ad-* 'speak' (H. W. B.).

pātāl- 'to prosper' I d act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *pātālsta-*

2 pl. imper.: *pātā'lta* H 144 NS 30 etc. v1 *KT* 5. 95 (so read, as correctly N 128. 44).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pātālyāre* Z 23. 94; H 142 NS 45r2, 6, 7 *KT* 5. 93; *pyālyāre* H 144 NSB 19 v7 *KT* 5. 92.
O.Kh. ppp.: *pātālsta-* H 144 NSB 19 v7 *KT* 5. 92.
L.Kh. noun *pyālyā-*: *pyālyā* P 3513. 72v1 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *sampatti*; *pyālye jsa* *Vajr.* 12b4 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *śampadā*.
Et. < **pati-arda-*, cf. O.Ind. *rdhāti* 'prosper, succeeds'; Av. *arəd-* 'gedeihen lassen' (*AIW* 193).

pātem- 'to confound' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *pātaunda-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pātemindi* Z 9. 3.
O.Kh. ppp. *pātaunda-* Z 5. 6+. L.Kh. ppp. *pyauda-* P 3513. 68r4 *KT* 1. 246.
Et. < **pati-tāmaya-*, cf. O.Ind. *tāmyati*, *tamayati*. Note Sogd. *pt'*'m *Sogdica*, p. 47.

pārāñ- 'to scatter' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pārāñātā* N 50. 23.
Iter. < **pārāñ-* q.v.

pārān- 'to sow' I b act. tr. B ppp. *pārānda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pārēndā* E 1. 7. 19v4 *KT* 5. 389 tr. *vuptā*.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pārāñindā* *Adh. Ś.* p. 99, l. 8.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pārāñdāmdā* P 3513. 74v1, 2-3 *KT* 1. 249.
Et. < **parā-kan-*, H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 105. Cf. B. Sogd. *pr'kn-* 'säen' (*BBB*, p. 72 ad 570); Parth. *pr'gnā* (Ghilain, p. 55); NP *parāgandan*. On OP *kan-* 'throw', see Benv., *TPS* 1945, 71.

pāṣkal- 'to analyse' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *pāṣkālsta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pāṣkalindā* Z 14. 36.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pāṣkalyāñā* *Si* 142v1 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *bsal-nas*.
O.Kh. ppp.: *pāṣkālsta-* Z 2. 108, 109+.
Noun, L.Kh.: *pāṣkala-* *Si* 1 bis v4 *KT* 1. 4+ tr. *lehu* 'section'.
Et. < **pati-skard-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptškrδ* P 21 II 2 (?); *wyškyrδ-* 'to pierce' P 3. 199 (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 728).

pāhad- 'to strike' tr. ppp. *pāhastā-*

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *pāhatta* Z 24. 414.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pāhei* D III. 1 8v3 *KT* 5. 70.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pāhāmata* Z 7. 22.
O.Kh. ppp. *pāhastā-* Z 24. 411, 416; *pāhastā-* Z 24. 319.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pyahaste* *JS* 14r2 (58).
Et. < **pati-xad-*, v. *khad-* p. 25.

pāp- 'to prepare' (food, drink) LW mid. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pāpe* Z 2. 52.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pāpāre* Z 2. 50.
Et. < Pkt **payapp-* < BHS *prakalp-* H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 134.

pāim- 'to bring' H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 535; ix. 4, 1939, 860.
? LW tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pāimā* P 5538b87 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *mīnaya* (? *vinaya*).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pimāñā Si* 141r5 *KT* 1. 80 tr. *hṛtvā*.

Et. ? Probably not < **pati-yamaya*- unless through Pkt: see *ājum*-p. 8.

1. **pīr-** 'to write, paint' mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) tr. B ppp. *pīda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pīde* Z 9. 19.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *pīrāte* H 147 NS 109 41r5 *KT* 5. 73.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *pīrāka-* Z 7. 29; 9. 19; 23. 37.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pīrīde* *ApS* 13a1 *KT* 5. 246 tr. *likhīṣyanti* *likhāpavīṣyanti*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *pīde* Z 5. 8; 22. 226; 23. 15; L.Kh., id. *ṣS* 39r2 (169).

O.Kh. inf.: *pīde* Z 11 app.; 14 app.; 19 app.

Et. Cf. Oss. I. *pīryn*, *pyrd* 'to scratch, comb' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 539.

2. **pīr-** 'to be filled' S. Konow, *NTS*, vii. 1934, 53. V c intr. (= pass.) B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pīde* Z 4. 43.

Et. < **par-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *pūryāte* 'is filled'. Av. has *par-* 'füllen' (*AIW* 850) and possibly pass. *pairya-* in V. 19. 27 (v. K. Geldner, *Studien*, p. 5; I. G., *Mithra*, p. 247).

3. **pīr-** 'to believe' H. W. B. ap. R. E. E., *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 153. act. intr. A/B

2 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *pīre* Z 24. 245.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *pīra* Z 13. 67.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pīrindā* Z 15. 28.

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *pīrādī* Ch 0048. 26 *KBT* 72.

pīrāttāti- 'belief': *pīrāttetu yande* H 147 NS 110 42v3 *KT* 5. 74 tr. *dad-cin*; *pīrāttā hā yanāti* (so read) *Vajr.* 24b2 *KT* 3. 25.

Et. Cf. B. Sogd. *pyr-* 'croire' P.

purr- 'to overcome' III b act. tr. B ppp. *purrda-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purrimā* Z 4. 6.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *purdā* Z 24. 400.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purrindā* Z 24. 51.

2 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *purdai* Stein E 1. 7 145r5 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *gṛom-pa*; L.Kh., *purrđai* *ṣS* 16v3 (70).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *purrđā* Z 13. 65; *purde* Z 14. 9; *purrde* Z 24. 242.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *purrđāmdā* P 2783. 247 (86) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. < **prna-* < **par-* 'to fight', IE 3. **per-* (Pok. 818), cf. Av. *parānā-*, *parān-* < *par-* (*AIW* 868 s.v. *parat-*), Arm. LW *goupar-*.

See H. W. B., *KT* 4. 57.

puror- 'to take away' I b act. tr. B ppp. *purauḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pūreḍa* *ṣP* 52r5 *KT* 1. 143; 65r1 *KT* 1. 153; *pūreḍe* *ṣS* 11v4 (47).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *purorindī* Z 22. 321.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *purorāka* *Si* 14r3-4 *KT* 1. 20 tr. *sel-to*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *purauḍe* Z 20. 32; *puroḍe* Z 20. 47.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *purauḍāndā* Z 22. 238; *purauḍāndī* Z 22. 308.

Et. < **parā-bara-* (so Dresden, p. 479 s.v. *piraur-*), cf. Av. *para.bara-* 'wegtragen' (*AIW* 940); OP *parābara-*.

puls- 'to ask' IV a act. tr. B ppp. *braṣṭa-*

+2 acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, § II. 5.

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulsimā* Z 2. 53.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulstā* Z 3. 75+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pulsindī* (+-ī) H 142 NS 58 50r2 *KT* 5. 88.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *braṣṭe* Z 22. 312.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *braṣṭāndī* Z 13. 18; *braṣṭāndā* *Suv.* K. 63r1 *KT* 5. 114 tr. *paripṛcchitaḥ*.

L.Kh. inf.: *brriṣṭi* Kha 1. 221. 16 *KT* 3. 129.

For L.Kh. spellings of *puls-*, see Dresden, p. 480 s.v. *pva'se*. 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pva'se* *ṣS* 28v4 (126).

Et. < **prsa-* inch. < **fras-*, cf. Av. *parasa-*, *paršta-*; Parth. *pwrs-*, *pwrs'd* (Ghilain, p. 79); MPe *pwrs-*, *pwrsyd* (*Verbum*, p. 196); NP *pursidan*.

puva'd- 'to fear' V a act. intr. C ppp. *puva'sta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 8.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pvai'ttā* Z 2. 101+.

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *puva'tta* Z 24. 474.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pvai'ndī* Z 11. 10+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *pvestī* *ṣS* 5v3 (18)+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *puva'stā* Z 11. 42.

O.Kh. ppp. once *puva'lsta-* Z 14. 75 with intrusive *-l-*.

Et. < **apa-śadaya-*. Cf. *apa.hiḍaṭ* Yt 19. 56 'wich aus'. For *-ṣ-*, cf. ZP *āṣinṣitan*, Kh. *āṣimṅyā-* 'pond' < **ā-ṣinčā-* (Leumann, 'E', p. 397 s.v.).

pūy- 'to look' ? A ppp. *pūyāta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *pūya* *Avdh* 18v4 *KT* 3. 10.

3 sg., pres. or pf. m., O.Kh.: *pūyāte* Z 22. 249.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *pūyātātā* Z 21. 14.

Et. See *dai-* p. 47. (H. W. B.). For *pū-*, see p. 237.

*pūśś- 'to read' V c act. tr. A/B ppp. *pūšta-*

- 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pūśū* P 5538b 29, 30 *KT* 3. 122 tr. *śaikṣapayamī*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pūśīda* Or 8212. 162. 18, 19 *KT* 2. 2.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *pūśākā* *Si* 1v4-5 *KT* 1. 2.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pūśtāndā* Z 22. 224 (H. W. B.); Z 15. 21.
 L.Kh. inf.: *pūśtai* P 5538b 29, 31 *KT* 3. 122 tr. *śaikṣapaya*.
 Et. H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 118-19; *Tagizadeh Vol.*, 1962, 36, <
 **pati-fras-ya-*, cf. OP *patipr̥sa-*, B. Sogd. *pt̥s-*, Parth. *pd̥wrs-*
 (Ghilain, p. 79), MPe *phywrs-*, *phywrs-* (*Verbum*, p. 196).

pūhā't 'to bind' (?) I b act. tr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pūhei'tā* Z 22. 168.
 Et. Meaning and hence et. of this *ἄπ. λει.* uncertain. H. W. B.
 conjectures **hai-š-* 'bind', cf. Av. *hā(y)-* etc. For the form cf.
kei'tā 3 sg. pres. < *kāt'* - p. 22.

*pr̥hīs- 'to be stopped, blocked' IV a intr.

- L.Kh. *-āmatā* abstract: *pihisāme* *Si* 122v4 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *hgags-pa*.
 Et. Inch. < **apa-θrak-*, v. **pahālj-* p. 79. For the form, cf. inch.
 **n̄rhīs-* < **n̄hrīs-*, v. *n̄hīsś-* p. 60.

pai- 'to protect' V b act. tr. D ppp. *pāta-*

- 1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pāmā* *Suv. K.* 30r6 *KT* 5. 108 tr. *paripālanam*.
 **pāya-* > **pāya-*, cf. Av. *paya-*; **payāmā* > **pāyāmā* > **pyāmā*
 (cf. *dāyāmā*, *dāyāmā* < **dayāmā* < *dai-* p. 47) > *pāmā*.
 2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *paiya* Z 22. 277; *Suv. K.* 29r5 *KT* 5. 107; L.Kh.,
paiya Domoko A 4. 9 *KT* 2. 63; H 147 MBD 23b. 24 (3) *KT* 5. 63.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *paindā* Z 16. 5.
 2 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pānda* Z 22. 237 < **pātānda*.
 Et. < **pā-ya-*, cf. Av. *pāya-*, *paya-*; MPe *p'y-* (*Verbum*, p. 203);
 Parth. *p'y-* (Ghilain, p. 86); Man. Sogd. *p'y-*, Sogd. *p't-* (I. G.,
GMS, § 565, p. 89).

peh- 'to obtain' (?) V b tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pehāte* Z 12. 80.
 Et. < **pa-āfya-*, cf. *byeh-* H. W. B. against *TPS*, 1961, 138.

pyan- 'to cover' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *pyanda-*

- 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *pyanarā* P 2801. 64 *KT* 3. 68.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyanīda* *JP* 54r1 *KT* 1. 145.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pyanāñā* *Si* 153r5 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *pūrañāt*; tr. *gai-bar*
blugs.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh. (+ *-i* 'her'): *pyamāndī* P 2801. 65 *KT* 3. 68.

Et. < **pati-kan-*, cf. NP *āgandan* 'to fill, stuff' H. W. B., *BSOAS*,
 x. 3, 1941, 578.

pyays- 'to seal' (?) H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 14. I b act. tr.
 B ppp. *pyašta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyasāda* Or 9268. 109 *KT* 2. 14.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *pyaysīda* Or 9268. 2b9 *KT* 2. 14.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *pyašti* Or 9268. 1a1 *KT* 2. 13.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *pyaštāmdā* P 2790. 23 *KT* 2. 111; *ibid.* 76 *KT*
 2. 113; MT 0429. 1a-2 *KT* 5. 196.
 Et. < **pati-kaz-*, cf. Arm. LW *kazm* 'order' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1,
 1949, 45. For **kaz-*, see also p. 22 s.v. *kaśś-*.

pyūmj- 'to deny' III d act.? tr. A

- 1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *pyūmjūm* *Avdh* 6v2 *KT* 3. 2; 17r3 *KT* 3. 9.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pyūmjāte* Z 12. 127.
 Et. < **pati-vang-*, cf. Bal. *gwānjag* 'to call'; NP *bāng* 'voice' H. W. B.,
BSOS, ix. 1, 1937, 76-77. Possibly **va-n-čaya-* < **vak-* 'to speak'.
 Cf. *byūmj-* p. 105, *vamj-* p. 117.

pyūṣ- 'to hear' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *pyūšta-*

- 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pyūṣde* Z 14. 73+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *pyūwā're* Z 1. 52+; *pyūwā'ri* Z 22. 326;
pyūwā're Z 2. 76+; *pyū'wā're* Z 13. 121; *pyū'wā're* Z 14. 76; *pyūā're*
 Z 14. 38; *pwā're* Z 5. 12; *pyūā're* Z 5. 101 (metathesis).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pyūšte* Z 2. 123+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *pyūštāndā* Z 5. 15; 13. 111+; *pyūštāmdā* Z 2. 61.
 O.Kh. inf.: *pyūšte* Z 14. 97; 24. 487.
 Et. < **pati-gauša-*, cf. B. Sogd. *ptywš-*, *ptywšt-*; Yaghn. *dūyūš-*,
dūyūšta (Andreev, p. 249). Western Ir. has **ni-gauša-*: MPe *nywš-*
 (*Verbum*, p. 185); Parth. *ngwš-* (Ghilain, p. 66); NP *niyōšīdan*.

*praksiv- 'to reject' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *praksautta-*

- 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *praksīvi* *Vajr.* 28b4 *KT* 3. 26 tr. *pratikṣipet*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *praksīvidi* P 3513. 41r4 *KBT* 61.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *praksauttai ime* P 3513. 64v1 *KT* 1. 244 tr.
pratikṣiptah.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *praksauttāndā* N 158. 34.
 Et. < **parā-xšaub-*, v. 1. *kšāv-* p. 25.

pracar- 'to proceed to' LW intr.

- 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *pracariyā* *Suv. K.* 32r7 *KT* 5. 110.
 Et. Skt *pracarati*.

prracav- 'to transmigrate' LW A

3 sg. pres.: *prracavāte* H 144 NS 30 etc. r2 *KT* 5. 95.
Et. Skt *pracyavate*. See *cav-* p. 33.

praysal- 'to have faith, believe' LW act. intr. D

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *praysaiyā* H 147 NS 110. 42v2 *KT* 5. 74 =
praysaitu SS 35v3 *KT* 5. 337.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *prayseindī* Z 2. 75.
Noun *praysāta-* Z 2. 76+ < BHS *prasāda-* tr. *dad-pa* *Mvy* 6822+.
Et. BHS *prasādayati* taken as denom. < *prasāda-* in above sense. Skt
prasādayati 'purifies'; BHS, according to F. Edgerton, 'grants the
favour of'.

pravartt- 'to turn, make revolve (wheel); effect' LW act. tr. A
ppp. *pravarttāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pravarttāte* Z 22. 216.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *pravarttindā* Z 1. 187+.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pravarttāte* Z 14. 10, 25.
3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *pravarttātātā* Z 4. 103.
Et. BHS *pravartayati*.

***pravāy-** 'to lead over, convert' V e ppp. *pravāsta-*

L.Kh. ppp. *prravāsta* P 2787. 133 *KT* 2. 106.
L.Kh. inf.: *prravāste* MT b ii 0066a1 *KT* 5. 387.
Et. < **parā-vādāya-* < **parā-vad-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 43.
See *bāy-* p. 94, *ttuvāy-* p. 39.

praval- 'to enter ascetic life' LW act. intr. D ppp. *pravaiya-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pravaiyā* Z 22. 206.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *prravaindi* Z 22. 205+.
3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *pravaiye* Z 5. 110.
pravaita Z 22. 323 ppp. or 3 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.).
Et. Pkt *pavvaya* (Sheth) < *pravraj-*; Pāli *pavajati*; NWPkt *Dhp* 146
[*pravaya*]di = *pravrajanti*.

prahālj- 'to open' V e tr. A ppp. *prhīya-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *prahālja* Z 22. 192; L.Kh., *prrahāja* P 5538b 78
KT 3. 124 tr. *ūdūgātaya* (Skt *udghātaya*) H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix.
3, 1938, 535.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *prahāje* Si 14r1-2 *KT* 1. 20 tr. *hbye-bar byed-la*.
O.Kh. ppp.: *prhīya-* Z 5. 87; 22. 100, 263; *prhīta-* Z 22. 263.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *prrihīye* StH 36 *KT* 2. 74.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *prrihīyāmdā* P 2741. 101 *KT* 2. 91.
Et. < **parā-θrak-*, see *hamθhris-* p. 140. See also p. 239.

prahīs- 'to open' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *prhīya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *prrahīsta* P 2786. 205 *KT* 2. 99 = id. Or
8212. 186 a43 *KT* 2. 11.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *prrahīsida* JP 78r1 *KT* 1. 163; *prrehīsīdā* Si
152v4 *KT* 1. 98.
O.Kh.: ppp. *prhīya-*, v. *prahālj-*.
Et. Inch. < **parā-θrak-*, v. *prahālj-*.

prahauy- 'to put on (clothing)' tr. ppp. *prahaušta-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *prahauyāña* Or 9609. 5r6 *KT* 1. 234 tr. *prāvryta*;
prohauyāña Or 9609. 36v2-3 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *prāvaritavyāni*.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *prahaušte* Z 2. 63; *prahošte* D III. 1 8r2 *KT*
5. 69 tr. *gzar-nas*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *prahauštāndā* Or 9609. *27r7 *KT* 1. 236.
Cf. noun: *prrahauna-* Z 2. 63+ 'clothing'.
Et. Uncertain. Note that the ppp. apparently has its form from an
s-extension. H. W. B. suggests connexion with OP *saudā-* 'cap'
rather than with Kh. *thauna-* 'cloth' (on which, see H. W. B., *TPS*,
1945, 26-27).

prīh- 'to conceal' tr. ppp. *pārsta-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *prīhā* Z 24. 387.
O.Kh. ppp. *pārsta* Z 24. 514.
3 sg. pf. tr. f., L.Kh.: *pīrstā* P 2834. 50 *KBT* 46.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh. (+-i 'her'): *pārstāndī* Z 19. 43.
L.Kh. inf.: *pīrstā* Or 11344. 9b4 *KT* 2. 36; *ibid.* 12b3 *KT* 2. 37.
Et. ? Formally resembles *hambrih-*, *hambirsta-*, but the sense is against
derivation from < **pa-raiθ-*.

prev- 'to obtain' V e tr. A ppp. *proda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *prrevāte* Kha 1. 13 139v5 *KBT* 3 tr. *hthob-bo*.
2 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *prrevā* Kha 1. 13 148r2 *KBT* 7 tr. *thob-par*
gyur-cig.
O.Kh. ppp. *proda-* in *prodaphārrā* SS 33r3 *KT* 5. 335 tr. *rgyun-tu*
zugs-pa (= *srota-āpanna-* *Mvy* 5132).
Et. < **parā-āpaya-*, see *byev-*, *byeh-*. Probably not < **pari-āpaya-*,
although cf. Parth. *pry'b-*, *pryft* 'atteindre, obtenir' (Ghilain, p. 60);
Man. Sogd. *pryp-* 'to lead, take' < **pari-āpaya-* (W. B. Henning
ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 205, p. 32).

pvā'ñ- 'to frighten' V e tr. A-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *pvā'ñāte* Z 4. 114.
Et. Caus. < *puva'd-* p. 85.

pvīys- 'to cover' H. W. B., *Taqizadeh Volume*, 1962, 35. ppp. *pvīsta-pvīys-* in noun *pvīysakā Si 149v1 KT 1. 94* where *pvīysakā bañāñā* tr. *phur-te. pvīysakā* 'a cover'.

L.Kh. ppp. *pvīsta-* *Si 136v3 KT 1. 72* tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

In O.Kh. *pūlsta-* (Z 3. 12; 21. 32; 24. 387) means 'covered'.

Et. *pvīys-* and *pvīsta-* were considered to be extensions of **pav-* 'cover' by H. W. B., loc. cit. He now prefers **vai-z-* and **vai-d-*.

L.Kh. *pvī'sta-* (P 2782. 2 *KT 3. 58*; P 2906. 27 *KT 3. 98*; P 3513. 79r2 *KB T 63*; *Si 1v3 KT 1. 2*), with subscript hook, may be a contamination of **pvī'sta-* with **pū'sta-*, the expected L.Kh. form of *pūlsta-*. See R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 615-16; *AM*, n.s. xii, 2, 1966, 165.

pvīś- 'to cover' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pvīśā'ñā Si 146r5 KT 1. 90* tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

Et. Caus. < *pvīys-* q.v.

pver- 'to remove' H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 134. V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *pverāñā Si 127r2 KT 1. 58* tr. *bsal-bar*.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *pverāma Si 2v5 KT 1. 4* tr. *bsal-ba*.

Et. < **apa-vāraya-* < **apa-var-*. See *var-* p. 119.

phast- 'to flutter' mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *phastāre Z 3. 81*; *phastāri Z 5. 38*; L.Kh., *phastāre Ch 00266. 22 KT 3. 35* = *phastārra P 2956. 17 KT 3. 37* = *phasttāra P 2022. 46 KT 3. 44*; *phastāra Ch 00266. 26 KT 3. 35* = id. P 2956. 21 *KT 3. 37* = *phastārā P 2025. 38-39 KT 3. 46*.

Et. ?? < **fan-d-t-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 121.

phaśt- 'to make flutter' V e tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *phaśtiya Z 13. 113*.

Et. Caus. < *phast-*.

phir- 'to be disturbed' V c intr.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *phirāme P 2790. 45 KT 2. 112*.

3 sg. pres. or pf. intr. L.Kh.: *phaiḍi P 2790. 8 KT 2. 111*; *phaiḍā* ibid. 11.

Forms ap. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

Et. < **frya-*, v. *āphār-* p. 8.

phīśś- 'to escape' V e act. intr. A ppp. **phīśśāta-*

+I-A (abl.): *phīśe avāyau jsa P 3513. 74r2 KT 1. 249* tr. *jahate apāyān*.

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phīśime P 3513. 70v4 KT 1. 247* tr. *vivarjayeyam*.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *phīśe P 3513. 74r2 KT 1. 249* tr. *jahate*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phīśide P 3513. 72v4 KT 1. 248* tr. *vyativṛttāh*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *phīśāñā Si 103r1 KT 1. 38* tr. *vivarjayet*; tr. *span-bar byaho* (quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 133).

1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *phīśem P 3513. 67v1 KT 1. 245* tr. *varjeyam* (parallel with *hahrriyai*) < **phīśśātaimā*.

Et. ? Iter. < inch. **phīs-*, v. *usphīs* p. 19.

phūm- 'to blow' H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 1965, 3. act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phūmīdā P 2025. 9 KT 3. 45* = *phūmīdā*

P 2895. 4 *KT 3. 40* = *phūmīdā Ch 00266. 3 KT 3. 34*.

Et. Probably onomatopoeic.

***pherr-** 'to speak' act. A/B ppp. *pherda-* (?)

3 sg. pres. or 3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *pherde P 2781. 74 (6) KT 3. 68*. See H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 580.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *phairīdā P 2022. 22-23 KT 3. 43* (v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 15).

Cf. noun *pharā-* 'speech' tr. *ruta-* P 3513. 48r2, 3 (Asm. 23).

Et. *pherde* seems to indicate a stem **pherr-* (cf. *purr-*, *purra-*), ? < **fārnya-* (? denom. < **far-na-*). **far-* is perhaps < **bar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *prβ'yr-* 'raconter' *Vj* < **pari-bāraya-*. Note also Kh. *haura-* 'talk', see H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 129.

pheh- 'to cough' V e tr.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *phehāme Si 1 bis v5 KT 1. 4* tr. *lud-pa*.

L.Kh. noun: *phāhā Si 2r2 KT 1. 4* tr. *lud-pa*.

Et. Iter. < **faθ-* < **paθ-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1961, 137-8. Possibly < **hvāfaya-* < **hvaf-*, cf. Oss. D. *xufun* 'to cough' (I. G.). Note Kh. *phārra-* < **hvarna-*, Av. *xvarnah-*, OP *farnah-*, for *ph-* < **hv-*.

baj- 'to be broken' V c act. intr. (= pass.) A

3 sg. pres.: *bajāte Z 24. 47*; *bajātā Suv. K. 64r5 KT 5. 115* tr. *vinakṣyati*; L.Kh., *bajaiti Vajr. 21a1 KT 3. 24*; *41a3 KT 3. 28*.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *baji Z 13. 78*; *bajā Z 23. 110*; *bajiyā Z 11. 27*.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *bajindā Suv. K. 64v6 KT 5. 115* tr. *vinakṣyanti*; L.Kh. *bajaidā Hed. 22. 4. 3 KT 4. 35*.

Et. < **baj-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhajyāte* 'is broken'. For the form, cf. *daj-* p. 43. LW < O.Ind. on account of caus. *bajev-* (cf. ?) according to Leumann, 'E', p. 469 s.v. Cf. BHS *bhajjati* 'is broken'. Always spelled *b-* not *bh-*, and **bag-* 'break' is not so rare in Ir. as would

appear from, e.g., Mayrh. s.v. *bhanākti*. Cf. Parth. *bxs'dnyft* 'schism', MPE *bxtgyh* (W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 81); Man. Sogd. *βxtbwry* 'Zwiespalt herbeiführend'; *βxtwnyy* 'Zwiespalt, Schisma' (*BBB*, p. 123).

bajev- 'to break' V e act. tr. A ppp. *bajautta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bajevātā* *Suv. K.* 63v7 *KT* 5. 115.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bajevindā* *Z* 24. 395, 403.

O.Kh. inf.: *bajevā* *Suv. K.* 32r7 *KT* 5. 110.

O.Kh. ppp. *bajautta-* *H* 147 *NS* 109 41v5 *KT* 5. 74.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bajottāndā* *Z* 15. 9.

Et. Caus. < *baj-*.

bajeṣṣ- 'to make a noise' ? VI b mid. intr. A/B ppp. **bajeṣṣāta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bajeṣṣāre* *Z* 13. 112; *bagyeṣṣāre* *Z* 20. 4; *bajeṣṣārā* *Z* 3. 57; *bajeṣṣāre* *Z* 5. 100.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bajeṣṣyāmdā* *P* 2801. 55 *KT* 3. 67; *P* 2781. 136 (68) *KT* 3. 71.

Et. Denom. < *bajāṣṣa-* *Z* 3. 101+ Leumann, 'E', p. 469 s.v. Origin unknown.

bañi- 'to bind' V a act. tr. A ppp. *basta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bañāte* *Z* 11. 36, 50; *bañāte* *Z* 13. 28; 24. 444.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bañāndi* *Z* 22. 324.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh. *baste* *Z* 5. 31+.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh. *bastāndi* *Z* 23. 21 = L.Kh. *ba'stāda* *P* 4099. 124 *KBT* 119.

L.Kh. inf.: *bañi* *P* 2787. 85 *KT* 2. 104.

Et. < **bandaya-* < **band-*, cf. Av. *bandaya-*, *basta-*; O.Ind. *bandhayati*. For **band-*, cf. MPE *bn-*, *bst* (*Verbum*, p. 171); Parth. *bnd-*, *bst* (Ghilain, p. 54); Man. Sogd. *βynd-*, *βyst-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 601, p. 94).

baḍ- 'to move; writhe' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *baḍte* *Z* 20. 57; 24. 504.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baḍāri* *Z* 24. 503.

Et. < **varta-*, cf. O.Ind. *vartate*; MPE *wd-*, *wšt* 'sich wenden' (*Verbum*, p. 170); Parth. *wd-*, *wšt* se tourner' (Ghilain, p. 53).

1. bad- 'to be bound' V c act. intr. (= pass.) C ppp. *basta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *baittā* *Z* 5. 55, 57; 12. 94; *Kha* 1. 205 35v2 *KT* 5. 161 tr. *bcins-par*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *baīndā* *Z* 3. 107; 22. 273.

O.Kh.: ppp. *basta-* *Z* 4. 67+.

Et. < **bad-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *badhyāte* 'is bound' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 55. See *bañ-* p. 92.

2. bad- 'to produce' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byāñā* *Si* 12214 *KT* 1. 50+ tr. *skyed-de*.

Et. < **vad-* 'to lead'; v. *avad-* p. 11, *bāy-* p. 94.

ban- 'to cry out' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *banāre* *Z* 24. 516.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *banīya* *P* 2025. 173 *KBT* 17 = *bunīya* *Ch* 00266. 111 *KBT* 25.

Cf. also noun *band-*: *banānu* *Suv. K.* 33r2 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *bhaṇḍaṇa-*. Et. Cf. O.Ind. *bhānāti* 'speaks, sounds'.

bam- 'to vomit' V a tr. A ppp. **banda-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *bame* *Si* 105v4 *KT* 1. 42.

L.Kh. -*amatā* abstract: *bamāme* *Si* 1013 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *lud-pa* (cough up).

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bamāñe* *P* 2893. 244 *KT* 3. 92.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *banḍa* *JS* 18r2 (77) 'gushed' (Dresden).

Et. Av. *vam-* 'ausspeien' (*AIW* 1356); O.Ind. *vamiti*, *vamayati*.

bamāñ- 'to make vomit' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bamāññā* *Si* 135r2 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *skyug-tu gzug-pa*.

Et. Caus. < *bam-*.

bays- 'to go (quickly)' I b mid. intr. A/B ppp. *baṣta-*

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baysāre* *Z* 4. 46+.

1 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *baštū* *P* 2027. 26 *KT* 2. 80.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *baṣta* *Dumaqu* 0019. 89v2 *KT* 5. 263 tr. *pradhāvitvā*.

Et. < **vaza-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123 s.v.; H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 99-100. Cf. Av. *vaza-*, *vašta-* 'fahren' tr. intr. (*AIW* 1386).

O.Ind. *vdhati* tr. intr. Parth. *wz-* 'souffler' (Ghilain, p. 52).

bar- 'to carry' (act.); 'to ride' (mid.) I b act. tr.; mid. intr. B ppp. *buda-*

+loc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V, 1 (h).

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bīḍi* *Z* 11. 58; *bīḍā* *Z* 18. 15; 24. 452.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *barīndā* *Z* 2. 86+.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *baḍe* *Z* 2. 95; 13. 26; 22. 150; 24. 120, 249; *baḍḍe* *Z* 13. 149.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *barāre* *Z* 5. 33; 13. 25; 22. 202; 24. 403.

Indistinguishable in the pf.:

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bude* P 2783. 192 (31) *KT* 3. 73; *buda* ibid. 225 (64) *KT* 3. 75 'carried'.

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *būdāndūn* Ch 00269. 45 *KT* 2. 44 'carried'.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *budāndi* Z 5. 35 'rode'; *budānda* Z 23. 138, 141, 164 'rode'; L.Kh., *budānda* JS 7r2 (25) 'carried'; *budāda* JS 13v4 (57) 'carried'; *budānde* JS 36v1 (159) 'carried'.

L.Kh. inf.: *budā* Or 11252. 17a3 *KT* 2. 22 'to carry'.

Et. Av. *bara-* act. 'carry'; mid. 'ride' (see I. G., *Mithra*, p. 177). **bar-* 'carry', cf. MPe *br-*, *bwrđ* (*Verbum*, p. 175); Parth. *br-*, *bwrđ* (Ghilain, p. 58); Man. Sogd. *br-*, *brt-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 592, p. 92).

baś- 'to be suitable' V b act. intr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *baštā* Ch 0048. 8 *KT* 2. 41 'it fits' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 165. *baštā* is L.Kh. for **baśdā*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *baši'di* Hed. 62a *KT* 4. 48 'are sufficient for' rather than 'they provide enough for' (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 164).

Et. < **dbaz-ya-*. H. W. B., *KT* 4. 165 cf. Oss. D. *bāzzun* I. *bāzzyn* 'to fit, suit, be useful'. On O.Ir. **dbanz-*, Av *dəbaxz-*, see Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 21-22.

baštarr- 'to bestrew' III b tr. ppp. *baštarrda-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *baštarrānā* Or 9609. 54v5 *KT* 1. 238.

O.Kh. ppp. *baštarrda* Z 22. 136.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *baštarrde* Or 9609. 68v1 *KT* 1. 241 tr. *avakīrñām . . . krtvā*.

Et. For *ba-*, see p. 239. See *starr-* p. 134.

bāthamj- 'to pluck out' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *bāthamje* JS 5v2 (18).

Et. See Dresden, p. 481 s.v. For *bā-*, see p. 239. See also *thamj-* p. 42.

bāy- 'to lead' V e act. tr. A ppp. *bāsta-*

+acc. pers. and loc. goal of motion, see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § V. 1.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bāyāte* Z 13. 7 (bis); *bāyātā* Or 9609. 36v6 *KT* 1. 237.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāyindā* SS 80v4 *KT* 5. 341.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bāste* Z 5. 4.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bāstāmdā* P 2741. 17 *KT* 2. 88+; P 2781. 71 (3) *KT* 3. 68.

L.Kh. inf.: *bāste* P 5538a 24 *KT* 2. 126.

Et. < **vādaya-* < **vad-*, cf. Av. *vad-*, *vādaya-* 'lead' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 123 s.v. Cf. also Parth. *w'y-*, *w'št* 'conduire' (Ghilain, p. 71).

bāysdai- 'to look at, observe' I b act. tr. D ppp. **bāysdāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bāysdaiyā* Z 3. 149; L.Kh., *bāysdaitā* P 2786. 109 *KT* 2. 97.

2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *bāysdaiya* Z 23. 8.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāysdāindā* Z 3. 17.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bāysdye* P 2790. 2 *KT* 2. 110.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bāysdyāmdā* P 2790. 15, 21 *KT* 2. 111.

Et. See *dai-* p. 47. On *bāys-*, see p. 240.

bār- 'to rain' VI a act. intr. B ppp. *bāda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *beḍā* Z 22. 121, 125; 24. 203.

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *bārindā* N 69. 10; *Suv.* K. 33v6 *KT* 5. 111+; L.Kh., *bārīde* P 3513. 72v3 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *pravaršayantu*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bādāmdā* P 2782. 27-28 *KT* 3. 59.

Et. Denom. < *bāra-* 'rain' Z 14. 70+. Av. *²vār-*, pres. *vāra-*; MPE *w'r-*, *w'ryst* (*Verbum*, p. 177); Parth. *w'r-* (Ghilain, p. 60); Man. B. Sogd. *w'r-*; NP *bār-*.

bichän- 'to neigh' act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bichänindā* Z 24. 413.

Cf. *rachana* P 2781. 158 (90) *KT* 3. 72 'neighing'.

Et. ? Leuman, 'E', p. 473 s.v. < **vi-khan-* ? or cf. Lat. *hinnire*.

bijs- 'to pour over; smear' I c act. tr. B ppp. *bīya-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bijsāñā* Si 139r3 *KT* 1. 76+ tr. *blugs-pa* (pour).

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bištā* Z 22. 110.

O.Kh. ppp. *bīya-* Z 20. 31; 24. 416.

Et. < **vija-* < **vaig-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 99, cf. Arm. LW *vižel* 'to flow'.

bijsā- 'to depart' I a intr.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *bijsāma[na]ne* P 2790. 90 *KT* 2. 113; *bijsāmane* ibid. 95-96 *KT* 2. 113.

Et. < **vi-jā-*, v. *jsā-* p. 37.

bitam- 'to doubt, be perplexed' intr. ppp. *bitanda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *bitamu* Z 2. 131.

O.Kh. ppp. *bitanda* Z 4. 84+.

Et. See *pātem-* p. 83.

bitar- 'to develop' (ᾱπ. λει.) I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bitarāre* Z 24. 457.

Et. < **vi-tar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *wytr-* 'to go on, pass, pass away' (I. G., GMS, § 630, p. 99).

bitcañ- 'to break up' III d tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *bitcañāñā* P 2893. 252 *KT* 3. 93.

Et. See *hatcañ-*. Cf. also H.W.B., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 522.

bitcūśś- 'to cover, adorn' V e tr. ppp. *bitcūśśāta-*

2 sg. pres. or opt., O.Kh.: *bitcūśśā* H. vii. 150. 13v2 *KT* 5. 82 tr. *samalaṃkariṣyasi*.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bitcūśśātāndā* Z 21. 13.

Et. ? < **abi-scausa-* < **abi-skaus-*, cf. IE **skeu-* (Pok. 951) in O.Ind. *skunāti* 'covers' extended to *(s)*keuk-* (Pok. 953) in O.Ind. *kośa-* m. 'container', Av. *kusra-* 'sich wölbend'.

bid- 'to pierce' I c act. tr. B ppp. *bista-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *bitte* Z 2. 138; L.Kh., *bitte* *Si* 130r5 *KT* 1. 62 tr. *chod-pa*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bīndi* Z 24. 408.

O.Kh. ppp. *bista* Z 24. 411+.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bi'stānde* *ṣS* 7v3 (28).

Et. < **bida-* < **baid-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhinātti* 'splits' S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 124 s.v. In Ir., cf. Av. *astō.bid-*; Waz. Paštō *wāranai* 'tusk' < **baidra-* (? *EVP* 89); Waxī *zūbü-* 'to burst' (tr.) < **uz-baid-* (*IIFL*, ii. 556) etc.

binam- 'to split apart' V a intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *binamāte* Z 22. 128.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *binamīye* P 2927. 44 *KT* 3. 104 = *bināmāve* P 2936. 4 *KT* 3. 108 (3 sg. subj.).

Et. < **vi-namaya-*, cf. Av. *vī.nāma-* V. 2. 10 'sich auseinander tun'. See also *hanam-*.

bināj- 'to steep, soak' tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *binājāñā* *Si* 106r1 *KT* 1. 42+ tr. *sbañs-pa*.

Et. ? Secondary formation due to *ysānāj-* q.v. or < IE *(s)*nā-*.

binās- 'to be hungry, starving' I d act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bināstā* H 144 NS 55 44r6 *KT* 5. 76 tr. *bkres-śiñ*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bināsīndi* Z 4. 45.

Et. < **vi-nāsa-* < **vi-nas-*, cf. Av. *vī.nānāsā* Y. 32. 15; MPe *wn'h-*, *wn'st* 'schädigen' (*Verbum*, p. 191).

binem- 'to split' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *binema* *Avdh* 5r2 *KT* 3. 1; 15v3 *KT* 3. 8.

Et. < **vi-nāmaya-* caus. < **vi-nam-*, see *binam-*.

bīyāśś- 'to open' V b act. tr. B ppp. *byāṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bāyāstā* Z 18. 10.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *bīyāśśa* Z 13. 113.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byāśāñā* *Si* 146r5 *KT* 1. 88 tr. *gdañs-te*.

L.Kh. ppp. *byāṣṭa-* with privative *a-*: *abyāṣṭi* P 2957. 123-4 *KBT* 37.

Et. ? < **kāśya-* < **kās-*, *s*-extension to **kā-*, v. *khā-* p. 26. Not caus. to inch. as type B inflection and the ppp. show.

***biysajs-** 'to take hold of' I b act. tr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *biysaste* *Si* 134r2 *KT* 1. 68+ tr. *hdebs-pa*; *biysaste* Ch 00268. 171-2 *KBT* 67 = *biysaste* Ch 00277. 7v2-3 *KBT* 70; *biysasdi* Ch 0048. 59 *KBT* 74.

Et. < **zag/k-*, v. *biysamj-*.

bīysamj- 'to take hold of' III d mid. tr. A/B ppp. *bīysīya-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *bīysamjāre* *ApS* 11b1 *KT* 5. 246 = *beysajāre* S 2471. 183 *KBT* 97 tr. *upanāmāyanti*; *bīysamjāre* P 2893. 171 *KT* 3. 89; *bīysamjāre* Ch 00327. 10 *KT* 2. 52.

L.Kh. *bīysajīda* S 5212b 1 *KT* 2. 130 appears to be 3 pl. pres. act., cf. **bīysajs-*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *baysamjāñā* *Vajr.* 7a1 *KT* 3. 21 tr. *pragrahītavyam*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bīysīye* P 2801. 58 *KT* 3. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *bīysīyāmdā* Or 11252. 11b2 *KT* 2. 20; *bīysīyāmdā* P 5538a 15 *KT* 2. 126.

Et. Cf. Sanglēcī *zenz-*, *zenj-/zuyd* 'seize' Morg., *IIFL*, ii. 425; H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 39. < **abi-zanč/j-aya-* < **abi-zak/g-*, v. **bīysajs-*.

bīysāñ- 'to waken' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bīysāñāte* Z 4. 102.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *bīysāñāka-* Z 4. 93.

Et. Caus. < *bīysāñ-*.

bīysān- 'to wake up' III b act. intr. B ppp. *bīysānda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bīysendā* Z 4. 114+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bīysānīndi* Z 4. 71.

O.Kh. ppp. *bīysānda-* Z 4. 120; *bīysāmda-* Z 4. 119.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *biysāndī* Stein E 1. 7. 14514 *KT* 5. 77.
biysānāme jsa . . . *biysāmda* P 3513. 46r3 (Asm. 14) tr. *bodhi vibudhya*.
 Et. < **vi-zan-*, cf. *paysān-* p. 71, *haysān-*. Semantically, cf. Av. *fra*.
baod- 'aufwachen' (V. 18. 49).

biysīs- 'to take hold of' IV a act. tr. B

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *biysīstā* H 142 NS 45v6 *KT* 5. 93; H 144 NS
 32 etc. 17r7 *KT* 5. 93; L.Kh., id. *Si* 136v2 *KT* 1. 72.
 3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *biysīsīye* P 5538a 56 *KT* 2. 128.
 Et. Inch. < **abi-zag/k-*, v. *biysan̄j-* p. 97.

birays- 'to extend, spread' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *birāṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *biraysde* Z 22. 195, 305; *bāraysde* Z 17. 15.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *biraysāre* *Si* 3r4 *KT* 1. 6.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣṭā* Z 2. 3.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣṭa* Z 24. 270.
 Et. < **vi-raz-*. See *birās-*. For **raz-*, cf. Av. *raz-* 'richten'.

birās- 'to spread, proclaim' V e act. tr. A ppp. *birāṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārāsātā* *Suv.* K. 67v6 *KT* 5. 118; H 142 NS 87
 171v1 *KT* 5. 81.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *birāsī'di* *Vajr.* 29a4 *KT* 3. 26; 39a4 *KT* 3. 28.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *bārāsīyā* Or 9609. 55v6 *KT* 1. 240 tr.
saṃprakāśayiyati.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *birāṣṭe* Z 23. 122.
 Et. Caus. < **vi-raz-*, v. *birays-* Cf. Parth. *wyr'z-* 'parfaire, arranger'
 (Ghilain, p. 70).

bārāh- 'to soar up' V d intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārāhātā* Kha 1. 13. 142v1 *KBT* 5.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *brāhā* Z 22. 115.
 Et. < **vi-rāfya-* < **rap-* 'to move', cf. MPe *rw-*, *rpt* 'gehen'
 (*Verbum*, p. 172).

birāt- 'to split' ? I b act. tr.; mid. intr. B ppp. *birṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid. intr., L.Kh.: *berṣṭā* *Si* 138v1 *KT* 1. 76 tr. *rdol-ba*.
 3 pl. pres. act. tr., O.Kh.: *birātīndi* Z 22. 330.
 3 sg. subj. act. (tr. ?), O.Kh.: *birāta* Z 13. 79.
 O.Kh. ppp. *birṣṭa-* Z 13. 71; 20. 35, 37.
 Et. < **vi-raiṣ-*, cf. O.Ind. *virīṣṭa-*. O.Ind. *reṣat* cl. 1. Av. *raēṣ-*
 'Schaden tun, nehmen' (*AIW* 1485). < **abi/vi-riṣ-* H. W. B., *AM*,
 n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 13. **raiṣ-* also in B. Sogd. *ptr'yṣky* 'en déchirant'
 P 2. 458 < **pati-raiṣ-* Benv., *TSP*, p. 175; Man. Sogd. *zryṣ-*
 'verletzen' (*BBB*, p. 56 ad 492).

birriys- 'to shake' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *birriysāta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bārriysde* H 143a NSB 10+25 v3 *KT* 5. 84.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *birriysya* P 2781. 158-9 (90-91) *KT* 3. 72.
bārriysāta Kha 1. 13 144r2 *KBT* 5 tr. *g-yos-so* (shook) is misquoted as
bārriysātā by H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 588 and *BSOAS*,
 xxiii. 1, 1960, 16. *bārriysātā*, 3 sg. pf. intr. m., is, however, expected.
 Possibly the 3 sg. pf. intr. f. has been used to agree with the logical
 subject *śśandā* (cf. *birriysya śśandā* P 2781 above) instead of the
 grammatical subject *sahasrya-lovadāti*.
 Et. See 2. *rrriys-* p. 116.

bārūñ- 'to shine' VI b mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr. A ppp.
bārūñāta-

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bārūñāte* Or 9609. *27v4 *KT* 1. 236 tr. °*ābhāsitaḥ*;
brūñāte Z 2. 84+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bārūñāre* Bal. 0152 a4 *KT* 3. 131; *brūñāre*
 Z 3. 53+; act., L.Kh.: *brriñāde* P 2958. 23 *KBT* 40.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bārūñātāndā* Kha 1. 187a1 a2 *KT* 5. 156.
 Et. < **abi-rauxšn(a)ya-* Dresden, p. 483 s.v. *brūñ-*. Denom. < *brūna-*
 Khot. (IO) 1a4 *KT* 5. 346 < **abi-rauxšna-* cf. Av. adj. *raoxšna-*.
 Cf. also Av. *aiwi.raočaya-*. Parth. denom. *wrušn-* 's'illuminer'
 (Ghilain, p. 91; v. W. B. Henning, *BSOS*, x. 2, 1940, 509). Cf.
 also Chr. Sogd. *wyrw[x]š-* 'to shine' (I. G., *GMS*, § 216, p. 34);
 B. Sogd. *wyrwvš* 'briller' P 22. 20.

***bisimj-** 'to make a noise' V e or VI act. intr. A/B ppp. **bisimjāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *bisaijīdā* P 2891. 32 *KT* 3. 80.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bisaije* *JS* 15r4 (64).
 Et. Cf. RV *śin̄j-* H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bisaij-*.

bihan- 'to smile' I b ? mid. (O.Kh.); act. (L.Kh.) intr. B ppp.
bihan̄tta-

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *bihante* Z 5. 26 (? *bihatte* 3 sg. pf. tr. m.).
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *byahanīda* P 2956. 20 *KT* 3. 37 = id. Ch
 00266. 24 *KT* 3. 35 = *byihānīdā* P 2025. 36-37 *KT* 3. 47.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bihan̄ttai* *SS* 27r1 *KT* 5. 333 tr. *h̄jum-pa*
mjad-pa.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bihan̄tte* *SS* 20v5 *KT* 5. 330; *bihan̄tte* E 6.
 46 (Leumann *bihan̄te*).
 Et. < **vi-xand-*, v. *khan-* p. 25.

bihar- 'to dwell' LW mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *biharāre* Kha 1. 13 134v1 *KBT* 1.
 Et. BHS *viharati* 'dwells'.

***bihis-** 'to increase' IV a intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *bihisadā-jūna* JS 15r2 (63).
Et. Inch. to *bihījs-*.

bihījs- 'to increase' R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxix. 3, 1966, 616-17; *JRAS* 1967. I b mid. intr. B ppp. *bihīya-*

3 sg. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *bihīysde* Z 22. 113; L.Kh., *bihīysda* Ch 00266. 318 *KBT* 109.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *bihīvi* JS 18v2 (79).

O.Kh. ppp. *bihīta-* 'intense' Kha i. 187a 1b3 *KT* 5. 156; adv. *bihīyu* 'very' Z 4. 87+.

Et. Uncertain. **haik/g-*.

***bihīys-** 'to rise' H. W. B. intr. ppp. *bihīṣṭa-*

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *bihīṣṭa* Ch 00266. 341 *KBT* 110.
Et. < **abi-hais-*, v. *vahīys-* p. 122.

bihīs- 'to raise' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *bihīśu* *Avdh* 20v4 *KT* 3. 11.

Et. Caus. to **bihīys-*.

biṭh- 'to writhe; twist' V b tr. or intr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *biṭhāñā* *Si* 121v4 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *dril-ba*.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *biṭhā* P 2958. 53 *KBT* 41 = id. P 2798. 171 *KBT* 43.

Et. < **varṭya-* < **vart-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1960, 87. See *baḍ-* p. 92.

1. **bīr-** 'to saw' W. B. Henning, *Togan Volume*, 436. VI tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bīrāte* Z 2. 142; 5. 106.

Et. W. B. Henning, loc. cit., cf. Chor. *wryrk* 'saw'; *wryrd'h* 'he sawed it'; B. Sogd. *wyr'kh* 'a saw'. See also H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 121.

2. **bīr-** 'to be broken' V c act. intr. (= pass.) A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *bīrimda* JP 85v5 *KT* 1. 169 tr. *bhagni*.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *bīraca* P 4099 113-14 *KBT* 118.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *beramdā* *Si* 131v4 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *hgas-pa* (quoted H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 120).

Et. < **brya-* < **bar-*. IE **bher-* Pok. 133, Av. *tiži.bāra-*. *bīr-* is probably a L.Kh. spelling for **bār-*, cf. *mār-* etc.

3. **bīr-** 'to throw, sow' V b tr. B ppp. *bīḍa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bīḍā* Z 11. 36.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *bīḍe* Z 22. 294.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bīḍāndi* Z 2. 23.

Et. < **bar-ya-*, cf. Lith. *berū*, Lett. *beru* 'strew' O. Hansen, *BSOS*, viii. 2-3, 1936, 580.

bud- 'to perceive, know' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *busta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *butte* Z 2. 3++.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buvāre* Z 2. 121+; *bvāre* Z 2. 122+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *bustā* Z 2. 1+.

2 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *bustī* Z 2. 53+.

Et. Av. *baod-* 'sentire', ppp. *obusta-*.

buysal- 'to extinguish' I d act. tr.; mid. intr. (= pass.) D ppp. *buysuta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buysaimā* Z 20. 23, 24.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *buyso* Z 5. 50 < **vi-zāva*.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *buysaiyā* Z 13. 132 (bis), 158; *buysaitā* Z 4. 95; L.Kh., *buysvaiye* JS 19v4 (84).

1 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *buysvāne* Hed. 23. 14 (25) *KT* 4. 36.

3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *buysvāve* P 3513. 62v2 *KT* 1. 243.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bu'ysvai* JS 29v4 (130).

O.Kh. ppp. *buysuta-* Z 7. 21; 23. 98.

Et. < **vi-zav-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *wyz'w* 'extinction', Parth. *wzwd* (Ghilain, p. 66) W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 216, p. 34 (v. Dresden, p. 482 s.v. *buysva-*). Cf. also Śughni *wizéw-*, *wizūd* 'extinguish' (tr.) (Morg., *NTS*, 1, 1928, 75) H. W. B.

***burūv-** 'to destroy' V e tr. A

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *burvām* P 2781. 138 (70) *KT* 3. 71.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *burrvai* P 4099. 411 *KBT* 134 (cf. *pajsinde* Z 5. 86) < **burūvāte*.

Et. < **vi-raup-* cf. NP *rūb-*, *ruftan* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586. Parth. *pdrwb-* 'mettre en déroute' < **pati-raup-* (Ghilain, p. 65); B. Sogd. *rup-* 'cueillir' *VJ*.

burūvāñ- 'to destroy' V e tr.

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *burūvāñi* Z 2. 110 (not pt. nec. as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586).

Et. Iter. < **burūv-*.

burṣ- 'to break up' I c tr. intr. B ppp. *burṣta-*

Probably act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.), v. *birāt-* p. 98.

3 sg. pres. tr., L.Kh.: *buṣḍā* *Vajr.* 2b2 *KT* 3. 20; *buṣḍi* JP 55r2 *KT* 1. 147.

- 3 sg. pres. intr., L.Kh.: *buršdā* JS 19v1 (83).
 O.Kh. ppp. *buršta-* Z 13. 136, 138; 20. 46; Kha ii. 29 Ab5 KBT 10.
 3 pl. pf. tr. m. (tr.), *buštāmdā* P 2781. 153 (85) KT 3. 72 (H. W. B., BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 587).
 3 pl. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *buršte* P 2781. 159 (91) KT 3. 72.
 Et. < **vi-ruxša-* < **vi-rauxš-*, see p. 240. **rauxš-* is *s*-extension < **raug-* in O.Ind. *rujāti* 'breaks' and probably Av. *fra-uruxti-*.

bulj- 'to honour' V a act. tr. A ppp. *buljāta-*

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buljīmā* Z 12. 52.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *buljāte* Z 12. 41.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *buljātāndā* Or 9609. *27v3-4 KT 1. 236.
 Cf. *buljsaā* Z 14. 73+; *bu'jsām* P 3513 66r1 KT 1. 245 tr. *guṇa-*.
 Et. < **brjaya-* < **barg-*, cf. Av. *barag-*, *barajaya-* Leumann, 'E', p. 477 s.v. Cf. also B. Sogd. *βrys-* 'féliciter' Vj.

buva'd- 'to mount; ride' V a act. tr. C ppp. *buva'sta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bvai'ttā* Z 14. 92; *bvaittā* Z 22. 150.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *buva'stā* Z 23. 139; *bva'stā* N 76. 44 tr. *abhiruhya*.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m. (intr.), L.Kh.: *bvestā* P 2801. 25 KT 3. 66; *bvā'stā* P 2783. 191 (30) KT 3. 73.
 O.Kh. ppp. once *bva'lsta-* with intrusive *-l-*: *bva'lstānu* Suv. K. 29v2 KT 5. 107, tr. *abhirūḍhānām*.
 Et. < **abi-šadaya-*. Cf. Av. *aiwišasta* Y. 11. 2 (of rider).

buvan- 'to be harmed, ruined' I b act. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *buwata-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buwīndi* Z 22. 310; 24. 386; *buvīndā* Z 22. 315; 24. 389; *butīndā* Z 24. 454; *bvīndā* Z 12. 47.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *buwanīndā* Z 24. 391; Suv. K. 66v2 KT 5. 117; *bvanīndi* Z 22. 331.
 O.Kh. inf. *bvanā* Suv. K. 66r2 KT 5. 117.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m. (tr.), O.Kh.: *bvatemā* Z 1. 189.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bvatāndi* Z 22. 310; *buvatāndi* Z 22. 328.
 Et. < **vi-kan-* (v. *Primer*, p. 117 s.v. *buwāna-*), cf. Av. *vikānaya-*, Parth. *wygn-*, MPe *gwg'n-* 'détruire' (Ghilain, p. 71).

buvāñ- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A/B

- 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *buvāñyā* Z 12. 47.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bvāñīndā* N 68. 38.
 Et. < **vi-kānaya-*, cf. Av. *vikānaya-*. Caus. < *buvan-* q.v.

bušš- 'to be fragrant' VI b mid. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buššāre* Z 3. 37+.
 Et. Denom. < *bušā* Z 3. 35+ 'perfume'; or < **bauš-*, see p. 332.

būd- 'to be fragrant' I b mid. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bütte* Z 3. 57, 85 (bis); 20. 3.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *buwāre* Z 3. 35; *bvāre* Z 3. 118.
 Et. < **baud-*, cf. MPe *bwyy-* 'duften' (*Verbum*, p. 184); B. Sogd. *βwδ-* 'parfumer' P 7. 115.

būšš- 'to give, distribute' tr. ppp. *būta-*

- O.Kh. modal forms: 1 sg. opt., *būššā* Z 2. 127; 1 sg. inj., *būššu* Z 2. 129; 2 sg. imper., *būšša* Z 2. 100; 3 sg. opt., *būšā* Kha 1. 13 146v2, 3 KBT 6 tr. *sbyin-pa*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *būta* Z 14. 11.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *būte* Z 13. 84.
 1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *buwāmdūm* P 2031. 16, 17 KT 2. 84.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *buwāmdē* JS 27r2 (118).
 Et. < **baxš-*, **baxta-* H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 135; *TPS*, 1959, 71.
 Cf. Av. *baxš-* 'Anteil haben, geben'; MPe *baxš-* 'teilen' (*Verbum*, p. 174); Parth. *baxš-*, *bxt* 'distribuer' (Ghilain, p. 59); Man. Sogd. *βxš-*, *βyt-* 'to give' (I. G., *GMS*, § 551, p. 87).

būšv- 'to place' tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *būšvāñā* P 2893. 98 KT 3. 86 'to be placed' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 36-37.
 Et. < **abi/vi-šav-*, cf. Av. *šav-*, Oss. D. *ānsonun* 'to thrust' H. W. B., loc. cit. Probably a L.Kh. spelling for **bušv-*, see p. 241.

bai- v. 1. *bad-*.

beñ- 'to split, tear' tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *beñā'ñā* Si 104r1 KT 1. 40 tr. *dral-ba*; tr. *pātanā-*; *beñā'ñā* Si 141r5 KT 1. 80 tr. *dral-te*.
 Et. < **vi-šan-*. ? cf. Paštō *šanēdāl* 'to shake' (*EVP* 75). I. G. gives me Baškardi *šen-* 'to separate, tear asunder'.

ber- 'to rain' VI b mid. intr. A ppp. *bāḍa-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *berāte* Z 14. 70; 24. 475.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *berāre* Z 3. 122+.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *bāḍāndā* Z 2. 108; 24. 225; *bāḍāndi* Z 3. 150.
 Et. < **vāraya-*, cf. Av. *vāraya-* Leumann, 'E', p. 478 s.v. See *bār-* p. 95.

berāñ- 'to rain' V e intr. A ppp. *berāñāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *berāñāte* Z 5. 49; *berāñite* Z 22. 151, 186.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *berāñātāndā* Or 9609. 68v5, 7 *KT* 1. 241 (7 tr. *pravaraṣayanti*).
 Et. Iter. < *ber-* p. 103. Cf. ZP *vārāñidan* *GIP*, i. 305.

***bei'śś-** 'to make turn (wheel)' V e tr.

- 2 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *baisāva* Or 8212. 162. 70 *KT* 2. 5.
 Et. < **vart-s-aya-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1954, 32. Cf. *ggei'śś-* p. 31.

by- v. *bad-*.

byajs- 'to dissolve' I b act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *byāsde* *Si* 131v5 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *hjiḡ-pa* (L.Kh. for **byāstā*).
 Et. < **vi-tača-* < **vi-tak-*, cf. MPe *wdč-* 'schmelzen' (*Verbum*, p. 169); Parth. *wdč-* 'fondre' (Ghilain, p. 50); B. Sogd. *wytwyt-* ppp. < **wytč-* 'to flow' (I. G., *GMS*, § 113, p. 15).

***byays-** 'to equip' ppp. *byašta-*

- L.Kh. ppp. *byašta-* P 5538a 71 (bis) *KT* 2. 129 (v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 25).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *byašte* *StH* 48 *KT* 2. 75.
 Et. < **abi-kaz-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 30. Cf. *pyays-*, *pyašta-* p. 87. On **kaz-*, see *kaśś-* p. 21. *bātašta* occurs in fragment H 143 NS 54r6 *KT* 5. 40.

byav- 'to be hot' I b mid. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byavāre* *Si* 156r1 *KT* 1. 102 tr. *brče-ba*.
 Et. < **vi-tap-*, cf. Parth. *wyt'b-* 'briller' (Ghilain, p. 72); B. Sogd. *wyt'p-* 'rayonner' P 14. 33.

byals- 'to overcome' V e

- byalsu* H vii. 150 13v1 *KT* 5. 82 appears to tr. Nobel's **atikrāntāni*; see *byāls-*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *byalsta-* 'overcome' *Suv. K.* 29v5 *KT* 5. 107.
 Et. ? < **vi-darz-aya-*. On **darz-*, see *dals-* p. 44. See also *byāls-*.

byāj- 'to dissolve' V e tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *byājāñā* *Si* 109v2 *KT* 1. 48 tr. *bzu-ste*.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *byāja* P 2025. 229 *KBT* 19 'remove' = *byājā* Ch 00266. 151 *KBT* 27 = *byāji* P 2957. 96 *KBT* 36.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *byājara* Ch 1. 0021b. b43 *KBT* 154 'remove'.
 Et. Caus. < *byajs-* q.v. Cf. Parth. *wd'č-* 'fondre' (Ghilain, p. 67).

byāñ- 'to cover' V e tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byāñāte* Z 17. 4.
 Et. < **abi-kan-*, cf. *pyan-* p. 86. Possible also is derivation < **vi-tan-* 'spread over'.

byāls- 'to stride' ? VI b mid. intr. A (B L.Kh.) ppp. *byāšta-*

- 1 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byāše* Ch 1. 0021b. b46 *KBT* 154.
 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *byālsāte* Or 9609. 36v7 *KT* 1. 237; L.Kh., *byāśda* P 2781. 73 (5) *KT* 3. 68; *byāśde* P 2026. 8 *KT* 3. 48 (parallel with *jsāve*); *byešti* Ch 0048. 24-5 *KBT* 72.
 3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *pve byālsāte* Or 9609. 36v5 *KT* 1. 237 tr. *padāny atikramiṣyati*. See *byāls-*.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byāśā'ra* P 3513. 80v1 *KBT* 64.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pve byāštai* N 171. 12.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *pve byāšte* Z 24. 220; *byāšte* Z 24. 226.
 Et. ? Denom. < *byālysa-* Z 2. 83 'step, pace' (itself < **vi-darz-* 'hold apart' ? v. *byāls-*). The ppp. seems to belong to **byās-* 'open' (v. *biyāśś-* p. 97), with which there seems to have been some confusion. The L.Kh. 3 sg. *byāśde* probably likewise represents **byāstā* < **byās-*.

byūmj- 'to abuse' III d tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byūjāte* Z 11. 54.
 O.Kh. -āmātā abstract: *byūmjāmate jsa* SS 13r6 *KT* 5. 329 tr. *pišuna-vacanāt*.
 O.Kh. noun *byūmḡga-* 'abuse' Z 24. 449.
 Et. < **vi-va-n-čaya-*, v. *pyūmj-* p. 87.

byūv- 'to burn' I b mid. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *byūwā're* Z 4. 59.
 Et. < **vi-auš-*, cf. O.Ind. *ósati* 'burns' S. Konow, *NTS*, vii. 1934, 46, n. 1. **auš-* in Ir. also in Arm. LW *atrušan* Benv., *JA*, 1964, 1, 57.

byūs- 'to dawn' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *byūšta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byūštā* Z 4. 111; 22. 197; 24. 329.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *byūštā* Z 2. 62.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *byūšta* Z 23. 51; 24. 195.
 Et. < **vi-vas-*, cf. Av. *vi.usa-* Leumann, 'E', p. 479 s.v. Cf. also Man. Sogd. *wyros* 'Morgen' (*BBB*, p. 138); Chr. Sogd. *wyws-* 'to dawn' (I. G., *GMS*, § 217, p. 34).

byūh- 'to change; translate' V b act. tr.; mid. intr. A ppp. *byūta-*

- 1 sg. pres. act. tr., O.Kh.: *byūhimā* Z 23. 132.
 3 sg. pres. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhāte* H 142 NS 29 etc. 61111 KT 5. 91.
 3 sg. opt. mid. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhiya* Z 13. 74.
 3 pl. pres. mid. intr., O.Kh.: *byūhāre* H 147 NS 115r4 KT 5. 56 tr. *parivartayanti*.
 O.Kh. inf. *byūhā* Z 23. 2.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byūttaimā* Z 1. 189; 23. 372.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *byūttā* Z 5. 22.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *byūtta* Z 13. 73.
 L.Kh. inf.: *byūtti* JS 2r4 (5).
 Et. < **vi-yaufya-* < **vi-yaup-*, cf. Chr. Sogd. *pčyowfs* ST i, 16. 7 tr. *μετεμορφώθη* I. G. (letter). Not < **vi-vad-* as Dresden, p. 482 s.v. *byūtta-*, as *-sta* ppp. would then be necessary.

byev- 'to obtain' V e act. tr. A ppp. *byauda-*

- +inf. ('succeed in') Z 22. 284 (+*dite*).
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byevātā* H 142 NS 76. 19r5 KT 5. 103.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byevindā* FM 25, 1 a2; b5 KT 3. 125.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byodemā* Z 22. 284.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *byaudai* Z 5. 42.
 3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *byodāndi* Z 22. 222; *byaudāndā* Z 2. 143.
 The ppp. is once in O.Kh. spelled *byonda-* Z 2. 231.
 L.Kh. ppp. *bīda-* < *byauda-*:
 1 sg. pf. tr. m.: *bīde* P 3510. 10. 10 KBT 53 = id. P 3513. 78r1 KBT 63 'I have conceived' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 19.
 3 pl. pf. tr.: *bīdāmdā* P 5538a 29-30 KT 2. 127 'received' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 18; *bīdauda* P 2027. 17 KT 2. 80 'they got' H. W. B. *BSOAS*, xviii. 1, 1956, 34; *bīdāmdā* P 2781. 93 (25) KT 3. 69; P 2783. 218 (57) KT 3. 75.
 (*bīda-* for **bīnda-* ppp. < **bīn-* < **abi-gun-*, cf. Av. *gūnaoiti* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 576; xviii. 1, 1956, 34. But see *byau-*.)
 Et. < **abi-āpaya-*, cf. Av. *avi apaya* Yt 16. 2; MPE 'y'b-, 'y'pt 'erlangen' (*Verbum*, p. 176); NP *yāftan*; Orm. *waw-*, *wōkh* 'to obtain, find' < **abi-āp-* (*IIFL*, i. 412). Ppp. *byauda-* < **abi-āfta-*.

byeh- 'to obtain' V b act. tr. A ppp. *byauda-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byehātā* Z 12. 61+; *byehāte* Z 14. 77+.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *byehindā* Z 4. 104; *SS* 13r3 KT 5. 329;
 L.Kh., *byehīnde* Si 1 bis v2 KT 1. 3; *byaihidā* P 2787. 121 KT 2. 105; *byaihidā* ibid. 181 KT 2. 108.
 O.Kh. ppp. *byauda-*, see *byev-*.
 Et. < **abi-āfya-* < **abi-āp-*, v. *byev-*.

byau- 'to be found; to be' I a mid. intr. (= pass.) B

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *byaude* Z 3. 25+; *byode* Z 3. 18+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *byaure* Z 2. 130+; *byore* Z 5. 69+.
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *byaide* JS 38r1 (165); *byaide* P 4099. 179 KBT 121 = *byaude* Z 5. 55; *bīde* P 4099. 392 KBT 133 = *byode* Z 9. 16.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *byaura* P 4099. 178 KBT 121 = *byaure* Z 5. 54.
 Et. < **abi-āftai*, **abi-āfrai* S. Konow, *Primer*, § 70, p. 46. See *byev-*.
 I a as *byaude* not **byaute*.

braśś- 'to fall' V b intr. B ppp. *braśśāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *braśśā* Z 24. 455.
 3 sg. pf. m., O.Kh.: *braśśāte* Z 23. 103.
 Et. < **bras-ya-*, cf. O.Ind. *bhrāṁsate*, *bhraśyate* 'falls'; Oss. I. *ālvāsyn* (Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 35-37).

brrijs- 'to roast' tr.

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *brrijsāñā* Si 132v2 KT 1. 66 tr. *brrijs-pa*.
 Et. < **braig-*, cf. Bal. *brējag* 'bake, roast' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxvi. 1, 1963, 90.

brūṣc- 'to afflict' VI b tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *brūṣcāte* Z 23. 26.
 2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *brriṣṭā* P 2957. 100 KBT 36 (= ? errors, *byūṣṭa* Ch 00266. 155 KBT 27 = *byuṣṭa* P 2025. 234 KBT 19).
 Et. Denom. < *brūṣka-* Z 20. 14 'painful'. *b-* not preverb, cf. *ous-brute'māte* 'massage' H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v7 KT 5. 92 tr. *udvartana* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 38); < **frauṣ-*, cf. Bal. *pruṣag* 'to break' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 13.

brem- 'to weep' V e act. intr. A ppp. **braunda-*

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bremāmā* Z 24. 235; L.Kh., *brremū* P 2834. 21 KBT 45.
 2 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *bremā* Z 24. 235.
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *brraimai* P 2834. 19 KBT 45.
 O.Kh.: inf.: *bremā* Z 5. 26.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *braudaimā* H 142 NS 48 etc. 11 KT 5. 71.
 Et. < **brāmaya-* iter. < **bram-*, cf. Parth. *brm-* 'pleurer' (Ghilain, p. 56), v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 73.

bhāv- 'to meditate on' LW tr. A ppp. **bhāvāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *bhāvāte* Z 4. 16; 11. 16; 13. 67, 123.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *bhāvayai* ʃS 28r3 (123).
Et. BHS *bhāvayati* 'meditates on'.

maḡṣ- 'to rub, besmear' LW tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *maḡṣā'ñā* Si 135v1 KT 1. 70+ tr. *bsku-ñin*.
L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *maḡṣā'ma* Si 129r3 KT 1. 60+ tr. *lus bsku-ba*.
Et. Pkt form of Skt *mraḡṣ-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 522. Cf.
BHS *maḡṣita-* (F. Edgerton, *Dict.*); NWPkt *Dhp maḡṣu* (27) =
Pāli *makkho*.

mañ- 'to consider as' V b mid. tr. A ppp. *mañāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *mañāte* Z 5. 53; 6. 21.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *mañāre* *Vajr.* 38a2 KT 3. 28; id. P 4099. 177
KBT 121 (= *mañāte* Z 5. 53).
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *mañātāndā* Kha 1. 13. 143r5 *KBT* 5 tr. *hdu-śes-so*.
Et. < **man-ya-*, cf. Av. *man-*, *mainya-*, O.Ind. *mānyate* 'thinks'. Cf.
B. Sogd. *myn-* 'denken' *ST* ii; Sogd. *myn-* *Anc. Lett.* ii. 5; iii. 4, 5.

mad- 'to be intoxicated' V a act. intr. C ppp. *māsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *maitti* H 144 NS 32 etc. r4 KT 5. 93.
O.Kh.: ppp. *māsta-* Z 12. 64+.
L.Kh. *māstā* P 3513. 63r4 KT 1. 243 tr. *omattena* (quoted H. W. B.,
BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 129).
Et. Av. *mad-*, *maḡaya-* 'sich berauschen' (*AIW* 1113); MPe *mst*
'trunken' (*MirMan*, ii); Man. Sogd. *mstkr'ryy* 'berauschend', B.
Sogd. *mstkr'k* (*BBB*, p. 74 ad 591).

man- 'to harm' III b act. tr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *mindā* Z 12. 43; *mindī* Z 24. 497.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *manindā* Z 24. 410; *manindī* Z 22. 324.
Et. < **mṛna-*, cf. O.Ind. *mṛṇāti* 'crushes' Leumann, 'E', p. 482 s.v.
See also *ggumerāñ-* p. 30. A base **man-* would be more satisfactory
for phonology, v. *vahan-* p. 122. See on *yan-* p. 112.

maṃth- 'to agitate' V a tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *maṃthāte* Z 2. 16.
3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *maṃthā* Z 2. 112.
Et. < O.Ir. **manθ-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 77. On **manθ-* in
Ir., see also Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 87-88; *II* ʃ, vii, 1964, 307-9. B. Sogd.
mnd- *Dhuta* 27, 29.

maṣ- 'to forgive' LW tr.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *maṣya'rā* ʃS 3v2 (9) 'forgive'.
Et. BHS *maṣayati*, v. Dresden, p. 483 s.v.

1. **māñ-** 'to remain' V e act. intr. A ppp. *mānda-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *māñimā* Z 24. 255.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *māñātā* Or 9609. 54v5 KT 1. 239 tr. *sthāsyati* =
māñe Kha 0012r4 KT 1. 255.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *muñidā* Si 140v5 KT 1. 80.
O.Kh. ppp. *mānda-* Z 5. 94.
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *muṃdai* ʃS 9r2 (34)+; *mudai* ʃS 17r1 (72).
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *mūṃdāṃdā* P 2741. 60 KT 2. 89.
Et. < **mānaya-* iter. < **man-*, cf. Av. *man-*, *mānaya-* 'remain';
MPe *m'n-* *m'nd* (*Verbum*, p. 189); Parth. *m'n-* (Ghilain, p. 71);
Man. B. Chr. Sogd. *myn-* (*BBB*, p. 97 ad b91).

2. **māñ-** 'to resemble' VI b act. intr. A ppp. **mānda-*

+ G-D (gen.), occasionally + acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965,
27 § III. 1 (b) (ii).
1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *māñimā* Z 2. 138.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *māñāte* Z 5. 11+.
Frequent is pres. pt., O.Kh. *māñanda-* Z 2. 4+, cf. NP *mānandah*,
B. Sogd. *m'n'ntk* 'semblance' *SCE* 12, Man. Sogd. *myndk* (I. G.,
GMS, § 641, p. 100).
2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *muṃdai* ʃS 20v3 (88).
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *mūṃdāṃdā* P 2781. 102 (34) KT 3. 69; id. *ibid.*
105 (37) KT 3. 70.
Et. < **mān(a)ya-* denom. < **māna-* = O.Ind. *māna-*. Cf. MPe
m'n- and v. W. B. Henning, *Verbum*, p. 177.

***mich-** 'to miscarry' ? LW act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *maichide* ʃP 47r5 KT 1. 139.
L.Kh. pres. pt.: *maichām* ʃP 47r5 KT 1. 139.
Et. ? cf. NWPkt *micha*²; Pāli *micchā*² 'false', cf. Kh. *māchādṛṣṭā*
Z 24. 451. If Iranian, < **mič-ya-* < **maik-*. Av. *maēk-* 'hervor-
quellen', Bal. *mičag* 'saugen' hardly suit.

michāñ- 'to cause to miscarry' ? LW mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *michāñāri* ʃP 91v4 KT 1. 175.
Et. Caus. < **mich-* q.v.

mār- 'to die' V c mid. intr. B ppp. *muda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *mīḡe* Z 4. 116+; L.Kh., *mīḡe* ʃS 6r4 (22)+.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *mārāre* Z 3. 62+; L.Kh., *mīrāre* ʃS 14v2
(60)+.
O.Kh. ppp. *muda-* Z 24. 509+.
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *muḡi* ʃS 15v3 (66).

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *muḍa Si* 1 bis 11 *KT* 1. 2.

Et. < **mrya-* < **mar-*, cf. Av. *'mar-*, *mərətā-*, *mīryeite*; O.Ind. *mriyāte*, *mṛtā-*. MPE *myr-*, *mword* (*Verbum*, p. 206); Parth. *myr-*, *mword* (Ghilain, p. 90); NP *mīr-*, *murdan*; Man. Sogd. *myr-*, *mwort* (I. G., *GMS*, § 593, p. 92).

murr- 'to rub; crush' III b tr. ppp. *murda-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *murāṇa Si* 106r4 *KT* 1. 44 tr. *brjīs-pa* (crush); *murāṇā Si* 134v3 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *māes-te* (rub).

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *murdaī* *JS* 27v4 (121).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *murrde* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *murrdāmdā* P 2781. 95 (27) *KT* 3. 69.

Et. < **mrya-* < **mar-*, v. *ggumerān-*. O.Ind. *mṛṇāti* 'crushes', with *d*-extension *mṛdnāti* 'rubs', Av. *marəd-*.

mūys- 'to be foolish' intr.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *mūysamdai Avdh* 6v3 *KT* 3. 2; 17r4 *KT* 3. 9 'foolish'.

Et. < O.Ir. **mauz-*, cf. O.Ind. *mūdhā-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1960, 78.

mūr- 'to teem' VI a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *mūrīndi* Z 20. 41; L.Kh., *mūrīmdā* P 2783. 244 (83) *KT* 3. 76.

Et. Denom. < **mūra-*, cf. O.Ind. *mūrā-* 'swift' (v. Mayrh. ii. 664). For the possibility of **mav-*/**myav-*, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx. 1, 1957, 58-59. Av. *myav-*, O.Ind. *mīvati* but IE **meu-* (Pok. 743). *mvīr-* could be a L.Kh. spelling of *mūr-* (cf. *jvīh-* for *jūh-* p. 36), but L.Kh. seems to have *mūr-* 'teem' beside *mvīr-* 'move'. For Ir. **mav-*, cf. also Parth. *prmwus-* (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, x. 2, 1940, 509). With preverb, the ppp. *vamūda-* occurs in Z 24. 116.

mvīr- 'to move' VI b intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *mvīre Si* 144v4 *KT* 1. 86; *mvīra* P 4099. 92 *KBT* 117 (parallel with *khuāysda*); *mvīrau* P 4099. 31 *KBT* 114 (< *mvīre u*; parallel with *khuāysda*).

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *mvīramdā Si* 150r3-4 *KT* 1. 94 (parallel with *khoysamdā*).

Et. < **mūr(a)ya-* denom. < **mūra-*, v. *mūr-*.

yan- 'to make, do' III b act. or mid. tr. B ppp. *yāda-*, *yūda-*

In L.Kh. *yan-* is found but also *yīn-* > *īn-*. Similarly in the ppp., *yāda-* > *īda-*.

Act. 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *yīndā* Z 2. 6++; *tīndā* Z 2. 17+; *gīndi* Kha

1. 13 146r3 *KBT* 6; *gīndā Suw.* K. 66r2 *KT* 5. 117; *īndā* Z 5. 16; L.Kh., *īndā Si* 138r2 *KT* 1. 76; *īdi* P 3513. 39r4 *KBT* 61 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 936).

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *yanīndā* Z 2. 66++; *tanīndi* Z 23. 95; *tanīndā* Z 23. 140, 163; L.Kh., *yanīde JS* 31v4-32r1 (139); *yīndi* P 3513. 72v3 *KT* 1. 248 tr. *grhṇantu*; *īndā Si* 122r3 *KT* 1. 50.

Mid. 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *yāde* Z 2. 65++; *tāde* H 144 NS 83 a 2 *KT* 5. 52; L.Kh., *yāde JS* 38r4 (167). Note that with *ya-* > *ī-* in L.Kh., *īndā* etc. can be act. or mid.

3 pl. pres.: O.Kh., *yanāre* Z 20. 13+; L.Kh., *yenāre JS* 39r2 (169); *īnārai* P 2787. 119 *KT* 2. 105.

That *g-* is older (< **k-* in enclisis) is shown by *guḍu gīndi* H vii. 150. 1 v8 *KT* 5. 99 with subscript *yu-*, *yī* indicating later pronunciation.

O.Kh. inf.: *yanā* Z 3. 67; 20. 18.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *yūdaī* Z 5. 41.

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: O.Kh., *yāde* Z 12. 1+; L.Kh., *īde* P 2025. 203 *KBT* 18 (= *īnyī* P 2957. 82 *KBT* 35 3 sg. opt.); *īdaī* P 2787. 133 *KT* 2. 106.

3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *yīdāndi* Z 2. 25+; L.Kh., *yūdāmdā JS* 7v1 (27). O.Kh. inf.: *yāde* Z 8. 49.

On *yan-* + loc. idiomatic 'put into', see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 1 (i).

It will be convenient to include here the result of a study of all the examples in Z of the use of *yan-*+ ppp. On this use, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 586; *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 40; I. G., *GMS*, § 881, p. 131 (v. W. B. Henning, *Hdb.*, p. 91). On the construction in Ir. as a whole, see Benv., *BSL*, 1, 1954, 56-57. See also *hām-*. This construction is used to express 'potentiality' ('one cannot') or the 'consummation of an action' ('he had spoken').

1. *yan-* act. (\pm *yūdu*) + ppp. in *-u* + object (all numbers, genders): Examples: *balysā ttū hvatu yāde sūtru* Z 2. 243 'the Buddha had spoken this *sūtra*'; *cī aysura purrdū yādānda* Z 23. 105 'when you defeated the *asuras*'; *ne balysu . . . jsīḍu yanīndā* Z 2. 107 'they cannot deceive the Buddha'; *ye . . . ttuśāttetu ne yūdu yīndā nājsaṣṭu* Z 6. 8 'one cannot demonstrate *sūnyatā*'.

Note: ppp. in *-ā*: Z 8. 40; 13. 22 only; *-o*: Z 23. 42, 366, 367 only.

2. *yan-* act. + ppp. in *-u* from intr. verbs:

Example: *hana vaḷīṣṭāndā . . . u muta pātāstu yādānda* Z 5. 101 'the blind saw . . . and the dumb could speak'. Other verbs: *eṣṭātu* Z 23. 27; *ne' hvastu* Z 11. 3; 24. 469; *māndu* Z 5. 94 (remain).

3. *yan-* mid. + ppp. in *-u* + object:

Z 12. 132 only: *ku ne ne yūdu yāde samu* 'if he simply cannot do them (= *ṛddhis*)'.

Et. *yāda-* < **kṛta-*, cf. Av. *kərata-*, O.Ind. *kṛtā-*; MPE *kyrd* (*Verbum*, p. 202), Parth. *kyrd* (Ghilain, p. 57), Man. B. Sogd. *'k(r)t-*, Chr. Sogd. *qṭ-*. Kh. *yan-* presents a difficulty. No certain example of **ʔn-* > *-an-* is found in Kh., where the normal treatment would be > *-arr-* (*ttarra-* 'grass', cf. O.Ind. *tyṇa-* but *kārra-* 'deaf', cf. Av. *karṃa-*; in verbs, cf. *starr-* < **stṛnā-*, and with **-a-* > *-u-* after labial, *pur-* p. 84).

ysan- 'to give birth' I b act. tr. B ppp. *ysāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ysānīmā* Z 4. 50.
3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysāda* P 4099. 191 KBT 122.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysānīde* Or 11252. 1 141 KT 3. 15.
L.Kh. inf.: *ysānā* P 2834. 40 KBT 46.
3 pl. pf. tr. (f.), O.Kh.: *ysāndā* Z 5. 101 < **ysātāndā*.
Et. Av. *'zan-* 'gebären', ppp. *zāta-*; O.Ind. *jānati, jātā-*; B. Sogd. *zn-* 'enfant' *Vj*.

ysah- 'to cease' V a act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ysahāte* Z 24. 423.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysahīda* P 4099. 91, 93 KBT 117.
Et. 'vergehen, cf. Av. *zah-*' Leumann, 'E', p. 489 s.v. Caus. *yseh-* q.v.

ysān- 'to shine' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 16-17. mid. intr. B ppp. *ysānda-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysānde* Z 2. 80, 172; 22. 99; 23. 148;
ysāndi Z 2. 85.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysānāre* Z 22. 108.
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ysāmdī* *ʔS* 23VI (101).
Et. ?

ysār- 'to sing' I d mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysārāre* P 2895. 10 KT 3. 40 (= *rāysāra* P 2956. 34 KT 3. 38).
Et. Cf. Oss. D. *zārun* 'to sing' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 31.
**zār-* is attested in Oss. D. *āzālun*, I. *āzālyn* 'to echo' H. W. B., loc. cit.

ysān- 'to take by force' III b act. tr. A/B ppp. *ysāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ysānīndi* Z 22. 321; *ysānīndā* Z 23. 128.
O.Kh. ppp. *ysāta-*, L.Kh. ppp. *ysya-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 575.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *ysye* P 2801. 29 KT 3. 66.
3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *ysātāndi* Z 22. 308; *ysātāndā* Z 18. 14; 24. 464;
L.Kh., *ysyāmdā* P 2741. 99 KT 2. 91.

Et. < **zinā-*, cf. Av. *zinā-* Y. 11. 5 'take by force' (v. T. Burrow, *JAOS*, 1959, 258); Man. Sogd. *zyn-*, *zyt-* 'to ruin'; Bal. *zin-*, *zit* 'to take' (Elfenbein, p. 82).

ysānāj- 'to bathe' V e act. tr. A/B

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ysānājē* Z 3. 102.
O.Kh. inf.: *ysānājā* Z 24. 220.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ysānājīde* P 3513. 66v4 KT 1. 245 tr. *snāpayantu*.
Et. Apparently < **snā-č/j-aya-* < **snā-k/g-*. See *bināj-* p. 96;
ysānāh-, *haysn-*. Cf. also Av. *snādaya-*.

ysānāh- 'to bathe' V b tr. or intr. A ppp. *ysānautta-*

3 sg. pres. intr., L.Kh.: *ysānāhe* *ʔS* 6VI-2 (23).
O.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysānāhānu* Or 9609. 53v5 KT 1. 238 tr. *susnātavyam* (Nobel p. 116 l. 4).
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysānāhānā* Si 135VI-2 KT 1. 70 tr. *khruš bya-ba*.
O.Kh. ppp. in *huysānauttāna* Or 9609. 4v3 KT 1. 233 (so read).
Et. *ysānāh-* < **snāfyā-* as ppp. implies labial stem. Cf. ZP *šn'p-*, NP *šināvidan* (v. *Sogdica*, p. 34). See also *haysn-*.

***ysīr-** 'to become old' V c mid. intr. A/B ppp. *ysāda-*

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysīrāre* P 4099. 14 KBT 114 (= O.Kh. **ysīrāre*).
O.Kh. ppp. *ysāda-* Z 4. 116+.
Et. < **zryā-*, **zar-ta-*, cf. O.Ind. *jāratī, jīryatī* 'grows old'; Av. *zaratā* 'old', Paštō *zōr* (*EVP*, p. 103), Orm. *zāl* (*IIFL*, i. 413).

ysun- 'to pour; strain' III b tr. ppp. **ysuta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *ysunāmdai* Si 103r5 KT 1. 38 tr. *hʃag-pa*.
L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysunānā* Si 124v5 KT 1. 54 tr. *bčags-pa* (to strain).
L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *ysunāmate* Kha 1. 13. 146VI KBT 6 tr. *zag-pa*.
L.Kh. ppp. *ysva* *ʔP* 88r3 KT 1. 171 'strained'.
Et. < **zu-nā-* < **zav-*, v. *buysai*-p. 101. Av. *zao-θra-* 'Trankopfer'; O.Ind. *juhōti* 'pours'.

ysūš- 'to value; approve' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *ysūšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysūšde* Z 12. 44.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysvā're* Z 23. 4.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ysūšte* Z 24. 253.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *ysūštāndi* Z 23. 45.
Et. < **zauš-*, cf. Av. *zaoš-*, *zušta-* 'Geschmack finden an'; OP *dauš-*.

ysai- 'to be born' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) D ppp. *ysāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ysaiye* Z 4. 115+; *ysaite* Z 2. 212.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ysiyāre* Z 13. 59; *ysāyāri* Z 22. 130; *ysyāre*
 Z 3. 62; 13. 59; 24. 398.
 1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ysātāmā* Z 14. 59.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *ysātī* JS 18v2 (79).
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *ysāta* Z 2. 57.
 Et. < **zāya-* with secondary shortening to **zaya-* as in Av. *zan-*,
zaya- beside O.Ind. *jāyate*; MPe *z'y-*, *z'd* (*Verbum*, p. 203);
 Parth. *z'y-*, *z'd* (Ghilain, p. 87); NP *zāyad*.

yseh- 'to give up' V e tr.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysehāna* *Suv.* K. 66r3 *KT* 5. 117 'aufzugeben'
 (S. Konow, *SPAW*, 1935, 462).
 Et. Caus. < *ysah-* p. 112.

ysauy- 'to disappear, cease' tr. or intr. ppp. *ysautta-*
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ysauyānā* *Si* 100r2 *KT* 1. 34, 'to be poured out' ?
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ysautta* Z 24. 206; *ysotta* Z 3. 142.
 L.Kh. *ysautte* *Si* 153r3 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *hfag-pa* (v. H. W. B., *BSOS*,
 viii. 1, 1935, 141) appears to be 3 sg. pres. mid. (? < **zaubatai*).
 Et. ? **zau-b-*, v. *ysun-* p. 113.

ysyāñ- 'to cause to be born' V e mid. tr. A
 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ysyāñate* *Suv.* K. 34r7 *KT* 5. 112 tr. *sañjanayet*;
 L.Kh., *ysyāñe* *Si* 18v2 *KT* 1. 28+ tr. *skye-bar byed-do*; *ysyāñi* JP
 88r5 *KT* 1. 171.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ysyāñāri* JP 91v4 *KT* 1. 175.
 Et. Caus. < *ysai-* q.v.

rakṣ- 'to protect' LW act. tr. A
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rakṣātā* Z 12. 69.
 1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rakṣāmā* FM 25, 1 a5 *KT* 3. 125.
 O.Kh. pt. nec.: *rakṣāñi* Z 11. 60.
 Et. Skt *rakṣati*, *rakṣayati* 'protects'.

ram- 'to enjoy oneself' LW ? act. intr. A
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ramāte* Z 22. 172, 211; *ramātā* Z 22. 199.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ramāndi* Z 3. 58; 20. 11; *ramāndā* Z 3. 96;
 11. 15; 22. 223.
 Et. Ir. **ram-* in *narām-* etc. has different sense and O.Kh. *r-* (not *rr-*)
 indicates a LW. O.Ind. *rāmate* 'rests; enjoys' may have influenced
 Ir. **rram-*. MPe has *r'm-* 'sich freuen' in *r'myśn* 'Freude' (*Verbum*,

p. 190) whereas Parth. 'hr'm'd is 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 73); v.
ttrām- pp. 40-41.

***rran-** 'to scrape' tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *rañāñā* P 2893. 258 *KT* 3. 93.
 L.Kh. noun: *rañūska-* P 2893. 76 *KT* 3. 85+ 'scrapings'.
 Et. < O.Ir. **rand-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 53. Cf. O.Ind.
rādāti 'bites'; *rāndhra-* 'hole, split'; NP *rañāñān* 'to scrape'; Waxī
zārend- 'to scrape' < **uz-rand-* (*IIFL*, ii. 556).

rrāys- 'to cry out' (of birds) act. (O.Kh.); mid. (L.Kh.) intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrāysāndi* Z 2. 46; 20. 30.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *rrāysārā* P 2025. 53 *KT* 3. 47 = *rāysāra*
 P 2956. 34 *KT* 3. 38 = *rrāysāda* Ch 00266. 35-36 *KT* 3. 35.
 Et. ? < **rā-z-*, IE **lā-* Pok. 650. O.Ind. *rāyati* 'barks', cf. Oss. D.
rāyun 'to bark', Paštō *rayal* 'to bray' (*EVP*, p. 65) Mayrh. s.v. Cf.
 also B. Sogd. *r'y-* 'pleurer' *Vj*; Av. *raya-* (< **rāya-*) in
gāθrō.rayant- (W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 565, n. 1, p. 89).

rrās- VI b 'to rule' denom. < *rrāsa-* Z 5. 42+ 'dominion'. V e 'to make
 straight' < **rāzaya-*, cf. Av. *raz-*, *rāzaya-* 'richten'. VI b intr. A
 (O.Kh.); V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *rrāsta-*
 3 sg. pres. intr., O.Kh.: *rrāsāte* Z 14. 67 'he rules'.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *rrāsīm'dā* P 2782. 8 *KT* 3. 58; *rāsī'da* Or 8212.
 162. 90 *KT* 2. 6 'make straight'.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *rrāsīq'nā* *Si* 144v3 *KT* 1. 86 tr. *sran-zin* (straighten).
 O.Kh. ppp. *rrāsta-* adj. 'right' Z 2. 7++.
 Et. See above. Cf. also Parth. *r'z-*, *r'št* 'se diriger' (Ghilain, p. 69).

rrij- 'to leave behind, excel' V e mid. tr. A ppp. *rrīya-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rrijite* Z 2. 77; 22. 165+ 'leaves behind, excels'.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *rrijāre* Z 18. 43 *KT* 5. 355.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rrīye* Z 24. 223+.
 Et. < **raičaya-* < **raik-*, cf. Av. *raēk-*, *raēčaya-* 'linquere' (*AIW*
 1479).

rrinth- 'to flutter' ? VI b act. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrinthindā* Z 24. 415; *rrinthindā* Z 5. 34.
 Et. ? denom. < **rrantha-* 'disturbance' in L.Kh. *rañthā* JS 34r4
 (150). ?? IE **reth-* Pok. 866.

1. ***rrīys-** 'to lick' H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1954, 30, n. 1. I b act. tr. B
 ppp. *rrāsta-*
 3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *rīstā* P 2022. 18 *KT* 3. 43 (L.Kh. -*št-* for
 -*sd-*; or IV a ?).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rräšte* Z 5. 44.

Et. < **raiz-*, v. H. W. B., loc. cit. Av. *raēz-*; NP *lēs-*, *lištan*; B. Sogd. *rys-* Vj 970; Yaghn. *lēs-*, *lēsta* (Andreev, p. 282; Klimčitskij 1937, 22).

2. *rrīys-* 'to tremble' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *rīysde* P 2783. 237 (76), 238 (77) *KT* 3. 76.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *rrīysamđai* N 75. 26 tr. *pravēpamāno*.

O.Kh. noun; *rrīysai nāte* Z 2. 57 'trembling seized him' H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 74.

Et. < **raiz-*, cf. Oss. D. *rezun* I. *rizyn* 'to tremble'; O.Ind. *rējate* 'trembles' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 16. Already Leumann, N 79. 26, cf. O.Ind. *rējate*.

1. *rrus-* 'to shine' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrustā* Z 3. 35+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrusindā* Z 3. 37, 48.

Et. Inch. < **rauk-*, cf. Av. *raok-* 'shine'; MPe *rwč-* (*Verbum*, p. 182); Parth. *rwčyn-* (caus.) 'éclairer' (Ghilain, p. 63).

2. **rrus-* 'to burst, break' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *raustā* Si 132r3 *KT* 1. 66 tr. *rdol-cin*.

Et. Inch. < **raug-*, cf. O.Ind. *rujāti* 'breaks' and probably Av. *fra-uruxti-*.

rrūd- 'to grow' I b act. intr. B ppp. *rrusta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrōittā* Z 15. 4; 22. 117, 125 (bis), 126.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrvīndā* Z 18. 25.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *rrustā* Z 4. 61.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *rrusta* Z 24. 220, 226.

Et. < **raud-*, cf. Av. *²raod-* 'wachsen', pres. I b *raoda-*; O.Ind. *ródhati*; MPe *rwv-*, *rust* (*Verbum*, p. 183); Parth. *rwđ-* (Ghilain, p. 65); NP *rōy-*, *rustan*; B. Sogd. *rwđ-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 586, p. 92); Man. Sogd. ppp. *rwst* (*BBB*, p. 74 ad 580).

rrūy- 'to lose' V e act. tr. A ppp. *rrusta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *rrūyāte* Z 2. 29; 11. 59; 12. 49.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *rrūyīndā* Z 12. 40.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *rrustai* JS 18v4 (80); 35v4 (156).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *rruste* Z 5. 4; 23. 111; L.Kh., *rruste* JS 16r1 (67).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *rrustāmdā* P 2787. 163 *KT* 2. 107.

Et. < **raudaya-* < **raud-*, cf. Av. *²raod-* 'abhalten', pres. V e *raodaya-*. **raud-* in Ir. also in Parth. *²rws-* 'repousser, écarter' < **ā-raud-* (Ghilain, p. 81).

rrūh- 'to attack' (ἄπ. λεγ.) V b mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *rrūhārā* Z 24. 409.

Et. < **raufya-* < **raup-*, see *burūw-* p. 101. **raup-* in *ārūh-* p. 11 is intr. and belongs with Kh. *ārūva* 'refuge', Man. Sogd. *ptrwup* 'castle', O.Ind. *ropaya-* 'raise' (v. H. W. B., *Lieenthal Vol.*, 1957, 1-2). Ir. **raup-* appears, however, to be tr. and intr. 'move', cf. B. Sogd. *pr²wp-* 'sweep' *Dhy* 1, 68, Bal. *rop-*, *rupt* 'to sweep up' (Elfenbein, p. 67).

rrv- 'to remove' tr.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *rrvāñi* Z 7. 33.

Et. < **raup-* H. W. B. See **burūw-* p. 101.

vajsās- 'to perceive, see' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *vajsišta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vajsišde* Z 2. 113; 4. 15, 48; 19. 19; 22. 200; 24. 433, 490; *vajsišde* Z 4. 79, 97 (bis); 6. 49; 14. 89; *vajsišdā* Z 22. 170; *vajsišde* Z 5. 108; 10. 31; 14. 62; *vajšāde* Z 23. 48; L.Kh., *vijšde* Si 8v2 *KT* 1. 12; *vijšaišde* Si 7v4 *KT* 1. 12.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vajsiṭā're* Z 22. 306; *vajšā're* Z 4. 46; 5. 75; 9. 7.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vajsište* Z 2. 62; *vajšte* Z 23. 16; 24. 119; *vajāšte* Z 2. 158.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *vajsištāndā* Z 5. 101.

Et. < **ava-čaša-*. See *nīsaš-* p. 53.

vaṃj- 'to dispute' III d

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *vaṃjāmayyau* Ch c. 001. 879 *KBT* 136 tr. *rcod-pa*.

Et. < **va-n-čaya-*, v. *pyūṃj* p. 87.

vatajs- 'to flow down' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vataysde* Z 17. 12.

Et. < **ava-tača-* < **ava-tak-*. See *itajs-* p. 38.

**vatcañ-* 'to cripple' III d ppp. *vatcasta-*

O.Kh. ppp. *vatcasta* Z 24. 249 'crippled'.

Et. < **ava-sčandaya-*, see *hatcañ-*.

vatciš- 'to besprinkle' I b mid. tr. B ppp. *vatcāšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vatcišde* Z 22. 140.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vatcāšte* Or 9609. 68v1 *KT* 1. 241 tr. *osikte*.

O.Kh. ppp. also in *hvatcāšta* *Suv.* 35 v 4 *KT* 5. 113 tr. *susiktam*.

Et. < **ava-sčaša-*. ? s-extension of IE **skek-* Pok. 922-3 H. W. B.

vatsu- 'to go down' I d intr. D

3 sg. inj., O.Kh.: *vatsēiya* N 50. 30.

Et. < **ava-čyav-*, v. *naltsu-* p. 49.

***vadim-** 'to make' V e ppp. **vadanda-*

L.Kh. ppp. *vadida* ṢS 10r2 (39); *vadimḍā* P 2801. 35 *KT* 3. 66;
vadida Si 144v5 *KT* 1. 86 tr. *byas-pa* (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x,
3, 1941, 576).

Et. < **ava-dam-aya-*, v. *padim-*, *padanda-* p. 69.

van- 'to honour' I b act. tr. A/B

1 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vanimā* Kha 1. 160 3v3 *KT* 1. 253 tr.
namasyāmah; L.Kh. *vanimā* P 3513 68v1 *KT* 1. 246 tr. *vandāmi*.

Et. < **vand-*, cf. Av. *vand-* 'loben'; MPe *w(y)nd-* (*Verbum*, p. 171);
Parth. *wynd-* (Ghilain, p. 55). O.Ind. *vandate*.

vanās- 'to quiver, shake' H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. ii. 1, 1951, 42. I d act.
intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vanāštā* (so read) Si 134r3 *KT* 1. 68 tr.
mer-mer-po.

L.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *vanāsāma* Si 122v4-5 *KT* 1. 50 tr. *mer-po*.

L.Kh. pres. pt.: *vanāsacau* StH 71 *KT* 2. 76.

Et. < **ava-nas-*, v. *binās-* p. 96.

vanau- 'to become inactive' I d mid. intr. B ppp. *vanuta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh. (+ *-i*): *vanautai* Z 4. 72.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *vanuta* Z 4. 75; *vanutai* Z 7. 25 (+ *-i*).

Et. < **ava-nāva-*. H. W. B. cf. IE 2. **neu-* Pok. 767, *veúw*; O.Ind.
návate 'moves' (?); Parth. *nu-* 'se mouvoir' (Ghilain, p. 67); Man.
Sogd. *n'w-* 'shake' (*BBB*, p. 55 ad 490).

vanvāñ- 'to make inactive' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vanvāñe* Si 19r3 *KT* 1. 30.

vaphast- 'to make tremble' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaphastāte* Z 18. 6.

Et. Caus. < **vaphast-*, v. *phast-*, *phast-* p. 90.

vabār- 'to rain down' I d act. intr. B ppp. *vabāḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vabēḍā* Z 17. 10; 24. 399.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *vabāḍe* Z 23. 155, 158.

Et. Pres. I d with preverb **ava-* formed secondarily to denom. *bār-*
p. 95.

***vamays-** 'to handle violently' (?) tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vameysāñā* Si 135v1 *KT* 1. 70 tr. *dril-ba*.

Et. < **ava-+*maz-* 'to handle violently' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi.
3, 1958, 522-. Kh. ppp. in *garma-māṣṭai* P 2925. 40 *KT* 3. 101 (for
-ā-, cf. *mad-*, *māsta-* p. 108). Orm. *max-*, *maṣṭak* 'break'; Paštō
māt < **mašta-* (H. W. B.). Parth. 'mšt' 'détruire' < **ā-mard-*
according to Ghilain, p. 99 could be < **ā-maz-*. Kh. *vameys-*
may, however, be simply for **vamalys-*, cf. *nimalys-* p. 54.

vamas- 'to experience' IV a act. tr. B ppp. **vamasāta-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vamasīme* P 3513. 58r1 (Asm. 69).

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vamaštā* *Vajr.* 15a1-2 *KT* 3. 23.

O.Kh.: -*āmatā* abstract: *vamasāmata* SS 35r3 *KT* 5. 336.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vamasyāñdi* P 3513. 40v1 *KB* 61.

Et. Inch. < **ava-man-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 192 s.v. Cf.
Parth. *pdm-* 'comprendre' inch. < **pati-man-* (Ghilain, p. 80).

vamurr- 'to vanquish, crush' III b tr. ppp. *vamurrda-*

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *vamurāke* ṢS 32v2 (142).

L.Kh. ppp. *vamurdā* P 3513. 52v1 (Asm. 43), tr. *parimardayamāñah*.

Et. < **ava-+murr-* p. 110.

vaysān- 'to recognize' (ἀπ. λει.) III b tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *vaysāñiro* Z 5. 38.

Et. < **ava-zan-*, v. *paysān-* p. 71. Morg. cf. Yidgha *v'zān-* 'know'
IIFL, ii. 260).

var- 'to tear away' tr.

2 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *varā* P 2783. 193 (32), 196 (35) *KT* 3. 74.

3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *varaira* P 2783. 207 (46) *KT* 3. 74.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *varadā* ṢS 15r3 (63); *viraḍdā* ṢS 29r4 (128).

Et. These L.Kh. forms were assigned to *varrad-* by H. W. B.,
BSOAS, x. 3, 1941, 591, but as they seem to mean 'tear away'
rather than 'scratch', it is better to take them more simply < **var-*
< IE **uel-* (Pok. 1144-5), cf. Lat. *uellō* 'tear away'.

varrad- 'to scratch' I b act. tr. B ppp. *varrasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *varrittā* Z 2. 137.

O.Kh. ppp. *varrasta-* Z 20. 37.

Et. < **ava-rada-*, cf. O.Ind. *rādati* 'bites, gnaws', v. **rran-* p. 115.

varās- 'to experience' V e mid. tr. A ppp. *varaṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *varāsāte* Z 9. 18.

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *varāśāri* Z 4. 32; *varāśāre* Z 2. 152; 4. 30, 87; 22. 98, 251; Or 9609 56v4 *KT* 1. 240 tr. *anubhaviṣyanti*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *varaṣṭe* P 2928. 8 *KT* 3. 105.
 L.Kh. inf.: *varaṣṭe* P 2787. 94 *KT* 2. 104.
 Et. < **ava-rāxaya-* < **ava-raz-*, v. *rrāś-* p. 115.

vartt- 'to practise' LW act. tr. A

- 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *varttimā* Z 24. 492.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *varttāte* Z 24. 191.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vartimā* P 2781. 145 (77) *KT* 3. 71.
 Et. O.Ind. *vartayati* 'enters on a course of conduct'.

valj- 'to go astray; be deceived' (?) (ἀπ. λει.) act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *valjindū* Z 4. 66 (-ī u).
 Et. ?? < **varčya-* < **vark-*, cf. Av. *varək-* 'ziehen', pres. 2 *varəča-*.

vavaj- 'to be reborn' LW act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vavajindā* *Suv.* K. 65v6 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *upapadyante*; L.Kh., *vavajidā* P 3513. 32r3 *KB* 59.
 Et. NWPkt *Dhp* 211, 212 *vavajadi* = Pāli *upapajjati*. BHS *upapadyati*.

vavat- 'to fall down' I b act. intr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vavatindā* Z 19. 81; *vapatindā* *Suv.* K. 64v1 *KT* 5. 115 (due to simplex if genuine, but *bijwa* precedes on previous folio).
 Et. < **ava-pat-*, cf. Av. *avapastōiš*; MPe 'wbyst (*Verbum*, p. 170); B. Sogd. 'wpt-, 'wp'st 'tomber' *Vj*.

vaś- 'to shun, avoid' V b mid. tr. A/B

- 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vaśāre* Z 13. 56.
 Et. < **ava-zāya-*, cf. Av. *ava.zā(y)-* S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 53.

vaśiv- 'to experience' LW act. tr. A

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaśivāte* H 147 NS 111 43v5 *KT* 5. 75 tr. *myōn-no*; H 147 NS 112v4 *KT* 5. 77 tr. *myōn-bar hgyur*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vaśivindā* E 1. 7 19r4 *KT* 5. 388.
 Et. Pkt form of Skt *upajīvati*. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 193 s.v.

vaṣṭ- pres. 'to remain, be'; pf. also 'to approach' II b act. intr. A ppp. *vistāta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vaṣṭāte* Z 24. 387, 485; *vaṣṭātā* Z 24. 389; *Suv.* K. 65v3 *KT* 5. 116 tr. °*saṃsthūtah*.

- 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vaṣṭindā* SS 13r6 *KT* 5. 329; L.Kh., *vaṣṭide* P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63) tr. *bhaveyyu*; *viṣṭide* P 3513 46v1 (Asm. 15).
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vāstātī* Ch 00271. 14 *KT* 2. 49.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vistātā* Z 2. 55, 90+.
 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vistāta* Z 5. 47+.
 Et. < **ava-hišta-*, **ava-stāta-*, cf. Av. *ava.hišta-*, *ava.stāta-*; B. Sogd. 'wšt- 'to stand, step' (I. G., *GMS*, § 557, p. 88); B. Sogd. 'wst't(y) (I. G., *GMS*, § 554, p. 88).

vaṣṣrīs- 'to burst' IV a act. intr. B

- 3 sg. pres. act. intr., L.Kh.: *vaṣṣrīstā* *JS* 19v1 (83); *vaṣṣrīstā* *JP* 54 r4 *KT* 1. 145.
 Et. Inch. < **ava-sparg-*. See *guṣṣrīs-* p. 30.

vasus- 'to become pure' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *vasuta-*

- 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vasuṣṭā* Z 3. 68+; *vasuṣṭi* Z 4. 57+.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *vasusindā* N 69. 8; L.Kh., *vasasidā* *Si* 152v4 *KT* 1. 98.
 O.Kh. ppp. *vasuta-* Z 4. 57+; *vasva-* Z 11. 34; 24. 652 (L.Kh. form).
 Et. Inch. < **ava-sauk-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'wswys- 'se purifier', 'wswyt- 'pur' P; Tq *vasuta-* (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 3, 1950, 658).

vasūj- 'to purify' V e act. tr. A ppp. *vasuta-*

- 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vasūjāte* H 147 NS 109. 41r1, 3 *KT* 5. 73 tr. *dañ-bar byed-pa*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vasūjidā* *Si* 18r5 *KT* 1. 28.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vasve* H 147 NS 112v3 *KT* 5. 76.
 Et. < **ava-saučaya-* < **ava-sauk-*, v. *vasus-*. Cf. Av. *saok-*, *saočaya-*; O.Ind. *śocdyati*.

***vaspar-** 'to trample on' ppp. *vaspuḍa-*

- 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *vaspuḍai* *JS* 33r3 (145).
 Et. < **ava-spar-*, v. *āspar-* p. 13.

vahaj- 'to accompany' V e tr. ppp. **vahīya-*

- L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vahajāññā* *Si* 106r1-2 *KT* 1. 42 tr. *dbul-lo*.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *vahī* *JS* 29r2 (127) 'escorted'.
 Et. < **ava-hag-*, cf. O.Ind. *sājati* 'clings to' H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 485 s.v. *vahī*.

***vahad-** 'to smite' ppp. *vahasta-*

- O.Kh. ppp. *vahasta-* Z 24. 416, 510, 515 'smitten'.
 Et. < **ava-xad-*, v. *khad-* p. 25.

vahan- 'to disappear' I b act. intr. B ppp. *vahanda-*
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vahīndi* Z 5. 27; *vahīndā* Z 23. 28; 24. 48, 423.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vahanīndi* Z 22. 314.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vahaṃdā* P 2801. 58 *KT* 3. 67.
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *vahanda* Z 5. 99.
 Et. < **ava-hy-na-*, with **har-* cf. B. Sogd. *yr-*, O.Ind. *sar-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 413; ap. Dresden, p. 485 s.v. *vahaṃda-*; *KT* 4. 76; agreed by S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 25. But this does not account very satisfactorily for the caus. *vahāñ-*, and it seems unwise to accept as a general rule a development seen only in *yan-* (v. p. 112). ? < **ava-fan-* H. W. B. See *naṣphan-* p. 52.

vahāñ- 'to make disappear' V e tr.
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *vahāña* N 168. 34.
 Et. Caus. < *vahan-*.

vahiys- 'to descend' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *vahāṣṭa-*
 3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *vahiysde* Z 23. 125+; L.Kh., *vahaiysde* *ṢS* 24r3 (105).
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *vahaiysāre* P 2893. 136 *KT* 3. 88.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *vahaiṣṭi* *ṢS* 15v2 (65).
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *vahāṣṭā* Z 2. 86+.
 Et. < **ava-haiz-*, cf. Man. Sogd. 'wxx-', Chr. Man. 'wyz-', Chr. ppp. 'wxšt' 'to descend'; MPe 'wxyz-', 'wxyšt-' 'to descend' (*Verbum*, p. 178); H. W. B., *BSOS*, vii. 2, 1934, 413; *TPS*, 1945, 32-33. On **haiz-* in Ir., see I. G., *BSOAS*, xiv. 3, 1952, 488-93.

vahiś- 'to make descend' V e tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vahaiśāñā* *Si* 100v2 *KT* 1. 34.
 Et. < **ava-haizaya-* caus. < **ava-haiz-*, v. *vahiys-*.

vāj- 'to hold' V e mid. tr. A/B ppp. *vāta-*
 2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *vāju* Z 5. 30.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *vājāre* Kha 0013 c6 b4 *KT* 5. 125; *draiṣṭu vājāre* D III. 1 8r1 *KT* 5. 69 = *draiṣṭu vājāre* *SS* 13r5 *KT* 5. 329 tr. *hjin-par hgyur*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *vāta-* Z 6. 20; 9. 15.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *vātā* Z 24. 216 < **vātātā*.
 Et. < **vājaya-* iter. < **vag-*, cf. OP *avajam*, Bal. *gwajag* 'to pull out' H. W. B., *ṢRAS*, 1951, 194.

vāñ- 'to scatter' V e tr. A ppp. *vāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vāñite* Z 24. 520.

The ppp. should be **vāñita-*, **vāñda-* or **vāta-* (cf. *ysan-*, *ysāta-*), so that the ppp. is probably to be found in *hvātu* Z 24. 520, see H. W. B., ap. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25 (read *hvātu vāñite*; misprint).
 Et. Iter. < **van-*, see *uysvāñ-* p. 16.

vāys- 'to perfume' LW ppp. *vāysāta-*
vāysāte Z 17. 25 (form ?).
 L.Kh. ppp. *vāysa-* < **vāysya-* in: *vāyse* *ṢS* 32r2 (140) 'permeated' (?).
 Et. Pāli *vāseti* 'to perfume'; *vāsita-* 'scented'.

vāś- 'to recite' v. H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 27. LW act. tr.
 A ppp. **vāśāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vāśāte* Z 15. 11.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vāśīndā* H 142 NS 82r3 *KT* 5. 105.
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vāśām'dā* P 2783. 201 (40) *KT* 3. 74 < **vāśātāndā* (H. W. B., ap. J. P. Asmussen, *X'āstvāñift*, 1965, 152) or < **vāśātāndā*.
 Et. O.Ind. *vācayati*. Niya **vafidesi* 376. 3 T. Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 17, pp. 6-7.

vikalp- 'to imagine falsely' LW act. tr. A/B
 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vikalpīmi* H 147 NS 106 17v5 *KT* 5. 90.
vikalpāte Z 4. 22; *vikalpetu* Z 4. 23 are probably both nouns, cf. BHS *vikalpita-* n. 'false discrimination'.
 Et. BHS *vikalpayati*.

vibram- 'to be excited' LW act. intr. A/B ppp. *vibramāta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vibramīndā* Z 5. 26.
 3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *vibramātāndā* Z 5. 28.
 Et. Skt *vibhramayati* 'confuse, perplex' (tr.).

vimath- 'to tear off' ? LW tr.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vimathāñā* *Si* 100v2 *KT* 1. 34; *vimathāña* P 2893. 38 *KT* 3. 84.
 Et. Skt *vimathati* 'tears off'. Cf. *manth-* p. 108.

virāh- 'to displease' LW act. A/B ppp. **virāhāta-*
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *virāhīndā* Z 22. 323.
 L.Kh. ppp. *virāhya* *Vajr.* 30b2 *KT* 3. 26 tr. *virāgitāh*.
 Et. BHS *virāgayati* 'displeases'; Pāli *virāgeti*, *virādheti*.

višt- 'to place, establish' V b act. tr. A ppp. *vistāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vištātā Suv. K. 66v7 KT 5. 117 tr. śihāpyate*; id. H 142 NSB 4r2 KT 5. 78.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vīstānda Si 152v5 KT 1. 100.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vāstāte Z 2. 100+*; *vistātā Z 2. 136.*

1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *vistāmdūm P 2790. 116 KT 2. 114 < *vistātāndā mā.*

3 pl. pf. tr.: *vistāmdi Khot. (IO) 02a4 KT 5. 303. vistāmdā P 2783. 236 (75) KT 3. 75* is translated as intr. (v. *vašt-* p. 120) by H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 571, but the sense is not clear to me.

Et. < **ava-stāya-* < **ava-stā-*, v. *vašt-* p. 120. Cf. Av. *avastaya-*, OP *avāstāyam*; Parth. 'wyst-, 'wyst'd 'mettre, placer' (Ghilain, p. 90).

vāhañ- 'to be depressed' LW intr.

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *vāhañamce Z 5. 92* 'depressed'.

Et. Skt *vihanyate* 'is distressed' Leumann, 'E', p. 501 s.v.

vihīl- 'to injure' LW act. tr. A/B ppp. *vihīlāta-*

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *vihīlā P 2787. 11 KT 2. 101.*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vihīlāde Ch c. 001. 869 KBT 136.*

O.Kh. ppp. in *vihīlāta* Iledong 04 b3 *KT 3. 133 tr. anutpīditā.*

Et. BHS *vihēṭhayati* 'injures' Leumann, 'E', p. 501 s.v. *vihīlā-*.

vīv- 'to shine' intr.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vīvīya P 3513. 60v3 KT 1. 242 tr. vīrocate.*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *vīvamāda P 3513. 68v4 KT 1. 246 tr. svvirājīta²; vīvadā P 2787. 69 KT 2. 103; vīvace P 2896. 42 KT 3. 95.*

Et. Always -ī- but only L.Kh., hence, possibly for **viv-* as expected < **vi-bā-* (them., cf. pres. pt.). But perhaps *vīv-* < **vi-bi-bā-* (them.), although no reduplicated present is found in O.Ind. or Av. (unless we accept Av. *bavāiti* < **ba-bati* as suggested by P. Thieme, *BSOAS*, xxiii. 2, 1960, 267). Av. *vyāvanti-* was taken by Bartholomae < **vi-bā-* (*AIW* 1479 s.v.), but acc. to Mayrh. (s.v. *bhāti*) it is rather < **vi-ā-bā-*. RV has *vibhāvan-*, *vibhāti* etc. Note also Oss. D. *ivayun*, I. *ivain* 'to pale' < **vi-bā-* (W. Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 64).

***vūy-** 'to survey' tr. ppp. *vūyāta-*

O.Kh. ppp.: *vūyātā uysdātā Or 9609. *27v2 KT 1. 236 tr. avalokītaḥ* (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 910).

Et. < **ava-day-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1954, 29. = *ūy-* p. 19.

vūs- 'to fast' LW act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vūsindā Kha 0013c1 r5 KT 5. 122.*

Et. < Pkt < BHS *upavasati* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 116.

NWPkt (*u*)*va-* < *upa-*, see Brough, § 35, pp. 87-88.

vau's- 'to swoon' ? IV a intr. ppp. *vo'ta-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *vau'samḍai JS 6r2 (20).*

O.Kh. ppp. *vo'ta-* Z 7. 26.

For meaning, cf. L.Kh. noun *vausai Si 8v1 KT 1. 12 tr. mūrccā* H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 140.

Et. ?? Inch. < **vi-šauk-*, cf. IE **seuk-* 'turn' Pok. 914 H. W. B. See also on *vyach-*.

vyach- 'to vanish, cease' V c act. tr. or intr. A ppp. **vyachāta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *vyache Ch 00266. 147 KBT 27 = id. P 2957. 92 KBT 35 = id. P 2025. 224 KBT 19.*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vyachīmdā JS 2v1 (5); vyachīde JS 39r1 (169).*

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *vyachyai Ch c. 001 863 KBT 136.*

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vyachī JS 3r4 (9).*

1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *vyichīme JS 39v4.*

vyach- is used to translate Skt *adhimuc-*, Tib. *mos-pa*, in *Vajr.*:

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *vyachī Vajr. 34a3, 4 KT 3. 27 tr. adhimucyate* 'is intent on'.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *vyachāñā Vajr. 40b1 KT 3. 28 tr. adhimoktavayāḥ.*

The tr. use may be secondary, 'be loosed' > 'be loosed upon' (*adhi-muc-*) i.e. 'be intent on' (H. W. B.).

Et. The et. as inch. < **ava-kaf-* 'fall down' as H. W. B. ap. Dresden, p. 486 s.v. *vyach-* is presumably a suggestion for the entry *vau's-* immediately above, but it does not account for the subscript hook in *vau's-* nor for the ppp. H. W. B. draws attention to *āchaa-* 'illness' Z 5. 18+++; *byāchāta-* 'afflicted' Khot. (IO) 2r2 *KT 5. 299*, indicating a verbal base **ak-* 'to oppress', cf. Av. *aka-* 'bad' (MPE 'g, NP *āk Sogdica*, p. 30), *axti-* f. 'pain'. *vyach-* would then be < **vi-ač-ya-*.

vyāgar- 'to prophesy; explain' LW act. tr. A/B ppp. *vyātarāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *vyāgarindā Z 24. 198; vyātarāndā Z 24. 400.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *vyātarāte Otani 5-6 a4 KT 5. 314; Z 2. 241.*

O.Kh. ppp. *vyātarāta-* Z 13. 156; *vy<ā>garāta-* Kha 1. 13 139r3-4 *KBT 3.*

L.Kh. *vyār-*, *vār-*, *vyir-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 901; *JRAS*, 1942, 23:

3 sg. opt.: *vyīra Vajr. 33a3 KT 3. 27 tr. vyākarīyad*; id. *ibid.* 18b4 *KT 3. 23.*

3 sg. pf. tr. m.: *vyārye* P 2782. 13 *KT* 3. 58.

ppp. *vārya-* P 2787. 160 *KT* 2. 107.

Et. BHS *vyākaroti*.

vyusthah- 'to stand up' LW intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *vyusthahāte* Z 22. 282.

Et. Cf. BHS *abhyusthah-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1955, 14. Classical Skt *vyutthā-*. On BHS *sthahati*, cf. Pāli *thahati*, see F. Edgerton *Grammar*, pp. 139, 236.

śās- 'to ask for' LW tr.

+2 acc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, § II. 5.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *śāsāna-* Z 12. 24, 26, 27.

Et. Pkt form of Skt *yācati* 'asks for' H. W. B. Cf. NWPkt *Dhp* 281 *yayida* = Pāli *yācīto*. See T. Burrow, *Khar. Docs.*, § 17, p. 6.

***śir-** 'to go ill' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 167. V c intr.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *śī'rī* Or 11344. 12a5 *KT* 2. 37.

Et. < **śvrya-* H. W. B., loc. cit., cf. Av. *zbar-* 'krumm gehen', O.Ind. *hvārate*; Chr. Sogd. *'zbr-* 'to cross' (W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 158, n. 1, p. 24); Oss. D. *zurun* 'to turn' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 34-35).

śūh- 'to prepare, equip' act. tr. A/B ppp. *śūsta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *śūhīmā* Or 9609. 54r4-5 *KT* 1. 238 tr. *prayojayāmi*.

2 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *śūhāta* Z 22. 96 (only instance of *ś-* out of quite a number of occurrences of this word).

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *śūhyāna* Kha vii. 1 43r1 *KT* 5. 182; L.Kh., *śū'hyānā* Si 122v1 *KT* 1. 50+.

O.Kh. ppp. *śūsta-*; *huśūsta-* Z 5. 34; 23. 137.

L.Kh. ppp. in *huśū'stā* P 3513. 74r4 *KT* 1. 249 tr. *upetaḥ*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *śūste* Z 6. 12; 24. 276, 281.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *śū'stāmdā* P 2783. 226 (65) *KT* 3. 75.

Et. ?? < **adḡ-ād-* H. W. B., See p. 244.

śaul- 'to suck' tr. A

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *śau'lānā* Si 142r5 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *hḡib-pa*.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *śau'le* P 2893. 181 *KT* 3. 90.

Et. ? Reminds one of B. Sogd. *zβ'β-* 'goûter' P.

śver- 'to tell' ? V e tr.

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *śvera* P 2783. 180 (19); 188 (27) *KT* 3. 73; 196 (35); 197 (36) *KT* 3. 74; *śveri* P 2741. 42 *KT* 2. 89.

Et. Meaning not 'be cursed' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 590, but 'tell', < **adī-vāraya-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 41. For *ś-*, see p. 244. **var-* is IE 6. **mer-* Pok. 1162 'feierlich sagen'.

śś- 'to lie down' I c mid. intr. A ppp. *śśāta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *śśāte* Z 24. 509+; L.Kh., *śe'* P 2781. 71 (3) *KT* 3. 68 (pret. as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579 seems impossible < **śśāta-*).

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *śśāre* Z 2. 44+.

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *śśāna-* Z 5. 47+.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *śśātā* Z 13. 54.

Et. *śśāte*, *śśāre* cannot continue directly **saitai*, **sairai* (Av. *saēte*, *sōire*; O.Ind. *śēte*, *śēre*), although the pres. pt. *śśāna-* < **syāna-* < **sayāna-* corresponds with Av. *sayana-*, O.Ind. *śāyāna-*. The ppp. is clearly secondary with *-āta* added to the pres. stem *śś-*. Pres. I b can be excluded as **sayatai*, **sayārai* might be expected to be treated like **zayatai*, **zayārai*, which resulted in *ysaiye*, *ysyāre* (v. *ysai-* p. 114). I have therefore decided upon I c < **syatai*, **syārai*, even though such a pres. seems without parallel in Ir. The PPs and NP forms were derived from **sāya(ya)-* in *Verbum*, p. 208. Oss. D. *sāyun*, I. *sāin* 'être malade' have also been brought into this group, see Benv., *Oss.*, p. 89.

***śśāv-** 'to curse' LW ppp. *śśāvita-*

3 pl. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *śśāvītāndi* Z 2. 23.

Et. Pkt form of O.Ind. *śāpati* 'curses'. NWPkt **śiv-*: *-i-*, v. Brough, § 22a, p. 81; *-v-*, § 34, p. 87.

śāñ- 'to shake down' V e act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *śāñdi* Z 4. 62.

Et. Meaning 'schwingen' Leumann, 'E', p. 507 s.v. *ān. ley.* If for **śśāñ-*, cf. B. Sogd. *šn-* 'shake', Paštō *šanēdāl* (*EVP*, p. 75) etc. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, vii. 4, 1935, 777-8. Accepting *śāñ-*, derive < **zr-ān-ya-* < **zar-* 'to move' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1955, 58. Better, following this derivation, to explain as caus. < **zr-an-*, cf. IE **dher-|*dhr-en-* Pok. 255 etc. and v. *śsan-*.

***śad-** 'to prepare' tr. ppp. *śasta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *śā'na* JP 45r1 *KT* 1. 137; H 143 NS 63 a2, b1 *KT* 5. 40.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *śa'sta* P 2801. 32 *KT* 3. 66.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *śa'stāmdā* P 2783. 215 (54) *KT* 3. 75.

Et. < O.Ir. **śad-*, cf. O.Ind. *kṣad-* H. W. B., *TPS*, 1959, 86-87. But the initial is voiced; < **yṣad-* as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 4.

ṣumār- 'to count' II b+I d act. tr. B ppp. *ṣumuḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act.: *ṣu'meḍa* Ch 00277. 2v3 *KBT* 70 = *ṣi'meḍi* Ch 00268. 140 *KBT* 66 (not inf.).

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣumārā* SS 27r6 *KT* 5. 333.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣa'mārida* Ch ii. 004 1r1 *KBT* 143.

O.Kh. ppp. in *aṣumuḍā* Or 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234 tr. *aṣamkhyeyam*.

Et. < **hišmāra-* < **mar-*, cf. Av. *mar-* 'merken', pres. 5 *hišmar-*; MPe *'sm'r-* 'zählen' (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *ṣumārād*; Man. Sogd. *sm'r-*, B. Sogd. ppp. *sm'rt-* 'to think' (I. G., *GMS*, § 593, p. 92).

ṣer- 'to make a noise' V e act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ṣerate* Z 13. 111.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣe'rida* Ch 00266. 38 *KT* 3. 35.

Et. Denom. < noun or adj. **zāra-* < **zar-*, cf. Oss. D. *zārun* 'to sing' S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 30. See *ysār-*. Better < **γzāraya-* < **γzar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *zγ'yr-* 'to call' *Vj*, Man. *jyjr-* *BBB*, H. W. B.

***ṣkav-** 'to touch' I b act. tr. B suppletive ppp. **ṣkusta-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *ṣkū* Ch 00266. 180 *KBT* 28 = id. P 4089a 5 *KBT* 21. < **ṣkūtā* (cf. *ākṣū* = *ākṣūtā* p. 7) < **ṣkuvati* < **ṣkavati* (v. on *dyū* p. 44).

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣkūda* P 2928. 33 *KT* 3. 106.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *ṣkū* Ch 00266. 39 *KT* 3. 35 for **ṣkūvi* for **ṣkavi* or from **ṣkaviyā*.

Suppletive ppp. **ṣkusta-* in O.Kh. *aṣkusta* Z 13. 114; L.Kh., *aṣkūstai* P 4099. 414 *KBT* 134.

Et. **ṣkau-* with dental extension in ppp. ? IE **sheu-* Pok. 951 (cf. Leumann, N 79. 41): O.Ind. *skunāti* 'covers' etc. See also *skau-* p. 134.

ṣkīm- 'to create' III d act. tr. A ppp. *ṣkaunda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *ṣkimate* Z 1. 89.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *ṣkīmindā* Z 3. 107.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *ṣkonde* Z 2. 49.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ṣkādādi* P 2957. 101 *KBT* 36.

Et. < **skambaya-* < **skamb-*, cf. Av. *skamb-* 'stemmen', pres. *ścimbaya-*. **skab-*, cf. O.Ind. *skabhnāti*.

ṣt- 'to stand; be' II b mid. intr. A ppp. *stāta-*; *ṣtāta-*; *ṣtuta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *ṣtāte* H 142 NS 43 r6 *KT* 5. 100; Or 9609. 24r5 *KT* 1. 235 tr. *stīta*; *ṣte* Z 3. 102; 22. 283; L.Kh., *ṣte* P 2892. 131 *KT* 5. 322 (= *astā* Si 13r1 *KT* 1. 20).

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *ṣtāre* Z 2. 14+.

3 sg. subj. mid., O.Kh.: *ṣtāte* Z 5. 114.

3 pl. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣtānde* P 3513. 62r2 *KT* 1. 243 tr. *tiṣṭhanti* (parallel with *pvānde*); *ṣtāndā* P 3513. 81r2-3 *KBT* 64 (parallel with *ttrāqmānde*). Not act. as Dresden, p. 487 s.v. *ṣtā-*, quoting H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii, 1, 1951, 43.

1 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣtām* P 2741. 86 *KT* 2. 90.

O.Kh. pres. pt.: *ṣtāna-* Z 2. 20+.

The ppp. has three forms:

(1) *stāta-*:

O.Kh. *stāta-* Z 2. 89, specialized in the sense of 'tired'. L.Kh. *stā* e.g. *stā khajauttā* P 2801. 18 *KT* 3. 66 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 598). Cf. also *stā-* in abstract *stāmā-* 'exertion; weariness' Z 2. 15+; L.Kh. *stā* Si 131v2 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *nal-ba*. Cf. Oss. DI. *stād* 'tired' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 1, 1943, 3; Oss. D. *stayun*, I. *stain* 'to weary' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 24.

(2) *ṣtāta-*:

The normal ppp. in practice, e.g. 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtātā* Z 22. 236; 24. 275; Kha 1. 13 141v2 *KBT* 4. O.Ir. **stāta-* as in Av. *stāta-*, having in Kh. been specialized in sense (1), *ṣtāta-* was formed to the pres. stem *ṣt-*; cf. Parth. '*st-*, '*yšt'd* 'se trouver' (Ghilain, p. 78).

(3) *ṣtuta-*:

O.Kh. only and rare: 2 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtuta sta* Z 22. 237; 2 pl. pf. intr. f., O.Kh., *ṣtute sta* Z 22. 241; 3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh., *ṣtuta* Z 2. 93. Possibly a different base, cf. IE **st-eu-* Pok. 1009, beside **stā-*.

Et. *ṣt-* < **hišta-* < **stā-* cf. Av. *stā-*, *hišta-*.

ṣṣaddah- 'to believe in' LW act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *ṣṣadahidā* *Vajr*. 24b2 *KT* 3. 25.

Cf. O.Kh. *ṣṣaddā-* Z 2. 57+ (NWPkt *Dhp* 260 *ṣṣadha* = Pāli *saddhā*, BHS *śraddhām*); *ṣṣadda-* Z 22. 96+ adj. (once *ṣṣraddā* Z 15. 12!) (NWPkt *Dhp* 218 *ṣṣadhu* = Pāli *saddham* (BHS *śraddha-*)).

Et. BHS *śraddhayate*; Pāli *saddahati*.

ṣṣan- 'to protect' ? LW tr.

2 pl. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣṣanirā* H 142 NS 49v3 *KT* 5. 26.

Et. Either < O.Ir. **sran-* or NWPkt LW. For **sar-*/**sr-an-*, cf. IE **dher-*/**dhr-en-* Pok. 255 etc. (v. *ṣān-* p. 127). In O.Ind., cf. *saranā-* 'protecting' and BHS *viśrāṇayati* (**covers* >) 'presents' H. W. B. Cf. also Paštō *ṣandəl* 'to give' (*EVP*, p. 78).

ṣṣarr- 'to exhilarate' III b tr. ppp. **ṣṣuḍa-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *ṣṣarri* Z 7. 24.

O.Kh. *-āmatā* abstract with private *a-*: *aṣarrāmata* Kha 1. 13. 139v1-2 KBT 3 tr. *ḥum-pa*.
 O.Kh. ppp. **ṣṣuda-* in *āṣṣuda* Z 20. 8.
 Et. < O.Ir. **fšar-* 'exhilarate', cf. RV *psāras-* H. W. B., BSOAS, xxi. 3, 1958, 543-5. This assumes **fš-* > *ṣṣ-*, a development found only in this word.

ṣṣiṣ- 'to take hold of' I c mid. tr. B ppp. *ṣṣiṣta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *ṣiṣḍā Si* 136v1 KT 1. 72; 136r4 KT 1. 72 tr. *hdebs-pa*.
 L.Kh. ppp.: *ṣiṣti* P 2956. 56 KT 3. 39 = *ṣaiṣta* P 2025. 77 KT 3. 48 (= *basta* P 2022. 36 KT 3. 43); *ṣiṣta-biṣa* JS 18v4 (80) 'tonguetied' (< **sriṣta-* H. W. B., AM, n.s. ii. 1, 1941, 35). With a preverb, we now have the ppp. attested in O.Kh. *nāṣṣiṣta* Z 2. 225.
 Et. < **sriṣa-* < **svaiṣ-*, cf. Av. *sraēš-* 'sich heften', pres. I c *sriṣa-*, H. W. B., BSOS, viii. 1, 1935, 136. Cf. Parth. *sryšyṣn* 'mélange', NP *siriṣtan* 'mélanger' (Ghilain, p. 62).

ṣṣun- 'to throw' III b tr. ppp. **ṣṣuta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *ṣunāṣṣa Si* 153v4 KT 1. 100 tr. *smyugs* 'to be thrown'.
 I pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *ṣvaudū* P 2024. 41. KT 2.78 'we put on' < **ṣṣutāndāmā*.
 Et. < **ṣu-na-* < **ṣav-*, cf. Av. *ṣav-* in *vātō.ṣūtəm* Y. 9. 32; *aiwiṣvaṣ* V. 2. 10; Oss. D. *ānsonun* 'thrust' H. W. B., BSOAS, xxiii. 1, 1960, 36-37.

saṃkhal- 'to be tainted' I b act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *saṃkhilsta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *saṃkhilttā* Z 22. 259; *saṃkhiltte* Z 24. 227.
 3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *saṃkhalyāre* P 3513. 48v2 (Asm. 25) tr. *ḥiptah*.
 O.Kh. ppp. with privative *a-* in *asaṃkhilsta-* Z 6. 22; *asaṃkhilsta-* Z 6. 39; L.Kh. ppp. *saṃkhaista Si* 9r1 KT 1. 14 tr. *bskus-te*.
 3 sg. opt. tr., O.Kh.: *saṃkhalī* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69. This form appears to indicate a I b pres. that is act. tr.
 Et. For *saṃ-*, see p. 242. < **xard-*, cf. Yaghn. *xird-* 'cacāre' (Andreev, p. 359), NP *xard* 'muddy place' H. W. B.

sad- 'to appear, seem' V a act. intr. C ppp. *sasta-*

+G-D (dat.), R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 10 (b).
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *saittā* Z 1. 35++; *seittā* Z 4. 83+.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *saindā* Z 3. 116++; *seindā* Z 3. 108.
 O.Kh. ppp. *sasta-* Z 2. 96+.

Et. Av. *'sand-* 'appear', *sadaya-*; OP *ṭadaya-*; O.Ind. *chadāyati*, MPE *sh-* (*Verbum*, p. 171); Parth. *sy-* (Ghilain, p. 91).

sam- 'to agree' V a act. intr. A ppp. *sonda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *samāte* Z 12. 123 'accords'.
 2 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *samāta* SS 8ov5 KT 5. 341.
 3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *samīndi* Z 6. 16 'agree with'; L.Kh., *saṃide Si* 148r4 KT 1. 92 tr. *mthun-mthun-du byaho*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *sonda-* Z 12. 125; *sonda-* N 175. 25.
 Et. < O.Ir. **sam-*, cf. O.Ind. *śam-*; Oss. D. *somi* 'oath' < **sāmya-*; Oss. D. *somun* 'to handle' etc., H. W. B., *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xxi, 1957, 59-69.

1. ***samev-** 'to make agree, compare' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *sameyāñā Si* 4r1-2 KT 1. 6 tr. *sbyar-ro*.
 Et. Caus. < **sam-* q.v.

2. **samev-** 'to appoint' H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii. 4, 1951, 921. LW tr. ppp. *samautta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *sameva* Or 11252. 12b2 KT 2. 20.
 2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *samevya* Or 11252. 12a4 KT 2. 20.
 L.Kh. inf.: *samauti* Or 11252. 13a1 KT 2. 20.
 Et. < Pkt **samāpaya-*, cf. Pāli *samappaya-*, Skt *samarpayaya-*.

saṃbaj- 'to succeed' LW intr.

3 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *saṃbajātu* Or 9609. 54r5 KT 1. 238 tr. *saṃrdhyatu*.
 3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *sabajyā* Or 9609. 4r1 KT 1. 233.
 3 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *saṃbajāṇdu*, *saṃbajāṇdu* Or 9609. 54v3 KT 1. 238 tr. *saṃrdhyantu*.
 Et. Pkt, cf. Pāli *sampajjati* 'succeeds'.

sarb- 'to rise' V a act. intr. A suppletive ppp. *sata-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *sarbātā* Z 2. 43; *sarbite* Z 2. 55+; L.Kh., *sarbe Si* 103v2 KT 1. 40 tr. *byun-ste*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sarbīndi* Z 22. 160; *sarbīndā* Z 24. 415.
 1 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *satāmā* Kha 1. 13. 142v1 KBT 5.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *satī* Z 22. 191, 261, 285; L.Kh., *satī JS* 7r3 (26); 35v3 (156).
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *sa* P 2782. 26 KT 3. 59 < **satā* (H. W. B., BSOAS, xiii. 4, 1951, 928).
 3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *sata štā* Z 23. 22.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *sata* Z 24. 206.
Et. *sarb-/sata-* suppletive. **sar-b-*, cf. O.Ind. *śal-* 'leap' H. W. B. **san-/sata-* common, v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 77. Parth. *sn-, sd* 'monter' (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. *sn-* 'monter' *Vj*; Man. Sogd. *stty* 'he rose' (I. G., *GMS*, § 864, p. 128); Chr. Sogd. *sty* (§ 864A, p. 248); Yaghn. *san-, sāta-* 'to mount' (Andreev, p. 318); Waxī *san-, sat-* (*IIFL*, ii. 540).

**salś-* 'to have intercourse' H. W. B., *KT* 4. 132-3. ppp. **salsāta-*
3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *seširyau* Ch 00266. 2 *KT* 3. 34; P 2025. 9 *KT* 3. 45 ('will feel love' H. W. B., *Unvala Vol.*, 1965, 3) = *saisiryau* P 2895. 3 *KT* 3. 40.
3 sg. pf. m., L.Kh.: *sa'se* Ch 00269. 66 *KT* 2. 45.
Et. ? cf. Yidgha *šešo* (*IIFL*, ii. 252) H. W. B., loc. cit. The spellings found, *seś-, se's-, saīs-, saīs-, sa's-,* are best reconciled in an O.Kh. **salś-*. This would be < **sarzaya-*. **sar-z-* is perhaps IE **ker-ǵ(h)-*, cf. Av. *sar-* 'vereinigen', Paštō *sara* 'with'.

sahy- 'to endure' LW act. tr. A ppp. **sahyāta-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sahyimā* Z 2. 138.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *sahyātā* Z 2. 138; *sahyāte* Z 11. 45.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sahyindā* Z 16. 27.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *sahye* P 2801. 3 *KT* 3. 65.
1 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *sahyāmdūm* P 2031. 20 *KT* 2. 84.
Et. = *usahy-* p. 17.

sāj- 'to learn' V e act. tr. A ppp. *sīya-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *sājātā* N 50. 28; L.Kh., *sāji* P 3513. 8r1 *KT* 3. 115; *sāje* P 3513. 84v2 *KBT* 66.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sājindī* Z 23. 5; *sājindā* Z 24. 646.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *sīye* Z 13. 57+; *sīte* Kha 1. 13 137v1 *KBT* 2.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *sīyāndī* Z 12. 32+.
Et. < **sāčaya-* < **sak-*, cf. Av. *śak-* 'sich verstehen auf', *sāčaya-*; Parth. *s'č-* 'préparer, former' (Ghilain, p. 68); B. Sogd. *'βs'č-*, *'βs'yt-* 'to teach' < **fra-sāčaya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 316, p. 48).

sāñ- 'to raise' V e act. tr. A ppp. *sata-*

3 sg. opt.: *sāñi* Khot. (IO) 02 a5 *KT* 5. 303.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *sāña* Z 5. 50.
3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *sāñe* *JS* 14r4 (59).
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sāñindī* Z 22. 159.
Pt. nec.: *sāñāña* Khot. (IO) 01 a5 *KT* 5. 303.
3 pl. pf. tr.: *sāñdi* Khot. (IO) 02 a2, 3, 4 *KT* 5. 303 < **satāndī*.

Et. < **sānaya-* caus. < **san-*, v. *sarb-* p. 131. Cf. Parth. *s'n-, s'n'd* 'élever' (Ghilain, p. 71); *syn-* 'faire monter' (Ghilain, p. 90); Man. Sogd. *syn-* 'to raise' < **sānaya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 543, p. 85).

sāh- 'to prepare' LW tr. A ppp. **sāhāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *sāhāte* Z 14. 19.
3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *sāhye* P 2957. 33 *KBT* 32 = id. P 2025. 133 *KBT* 15 = *sāhya* Ch 00266. 79-80 *KBT* 23.
Et. Skt *sādhayati*; Pāli *sādheti*. NWPkt *-dh-* > *-h-*, v. *Khar. Docs.*, § 27, p. 10; Brough, § 42, p. 94).

sāj- 'to succeed' LW act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *sāje* *JS* 5v3 (18).
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sājindā* Z 12. 4; 22. 326.
Et. Pkt form of Skt *sidhyati*, cf. Pāli *sijhāti*.

**suhev-* 'to make happy' LW ppp. *suhautta-*

O.Kh. ppp. *suhautta-* Z 3. 28+.
Et. Cf. *dukhev-*, *dukhautta-* p. 46. *suha* frequent in NWPkt *Dhp*.

sūch- 'to call, name' H. W. B., *IJ*, ii. 2, 1958, 156-7. V b tr. A ppp. **sūchāta-*

3 sg. pres. or pf., L.Kh.: *sūche* MT c. 0013. 7 *KT* 5. 220 < **sūchāte*.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *sūchāmdā* P 2958. 24 *KBT* 40 (= *sūchāsā* P 2798. 141 *KBT* 43 (for *sūchādā* H. W. B., *KBT* 43, n. 3)) < **sūchātāndā* (or **sūchātāndā*).
Et. < **saučya-* < **sauk-*, cf. O.Ind. *śūka-* 'parrot'; Lett. *saukt* 'to call, name'; Lith. *šaukti* 'to call' H. W. B., loc. cit.

sūjs- 'to burn' I b act. intr. B ppp. *sūta-*

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *sūstā* Z 20. 12; 24. 323; L.Kh., *sustā* Ch c. 001 738 *KBT* 90.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *sūjsindī* Z 4. 59; 22. 137.
O.Kh. ppp. *sūta-* Z 19. 87; 23. 107; *SS* 24v3 *KT* 5. 332 tr. *chig-pa*.
L.Kh. ppp. (with privative *a-*): *asuva* Si 153v2 *KT* 1. 100 tr. *ma-chig*.
Et. < **sauča-* < **sauk-*, cf. Av. *saok-* 'in lichter Flamme brennen', pres. I b *saōča-*; O.Ind. *śocati*; MPE *swč-* (*Verbum*, p. 182); NP *sōxtan*; Parth *swč-*, *swxt* (Ghilain, p. 63); B. Sogd. *swč-*, *swyt-* 'allumer' P.

sai- v. *sad-*.

saury- 'to rub' V b tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *sauryāñā Si 109r5 KT 1. 46+* tr. *bdar-te; sīyāñā Si 137v3 KT 1. 74* tr. *bdar-ba* (cf. *byaude/bide* p. 107).

Et. Cf. Man. B. Sogd. *ps'w-* 'berühren' (*BBB*, p. 72 ad 576) H. W. B.

skau- 'to touch' I d tr. B ppp. *skuta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *skote Z 13. 23; 19. 84; skaute Z 22. 144; skauye N 127. 11 = H 144 NS 32+NSB 17r2 KT 5. 93 (?)*.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *skute Z 24. 194*.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *skutātā Z 2. 56*.

O.Kh. inf. *skute Z 21. 26*.

Et. < **skāva-* (-*āva-* > -*uva-* > *ū*; v. **škav-* p. 128) < **skav-*, v. **škav-* p. 128.

skauy- 'to touch' V b tr. ppp. *skuta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *skauya P 2025. 169 KBT 17 = id. Ch 00266. 108 KBT 25 = skauyi P 2957. 58 KBT 33*.

3 sg. subj., O.Kh.: *skauyāte Z 22. 148*.

O.Kh. ppp. *skuta-*, v. *skau-*.

Et. < **skau-ya-*, v. *skau-*.

starr- 'to spread' III b tr. ppp. *starrda-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *starrāñā P 2893. 252 KT 3. 93*.

L.Kh. ppp. *starrda JS 34v2-3 (151)*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *starrdānde JS 31r3 (136)*.

Et. < **strynā-* < **star-*, cf. Av. **star-*, **starnā-*; O.Ind. *strṇāti*.

stav- 'to praise' ? hybrid act. tr. A/B ppp. *stavāta-*

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *stavi P 3513. 74r2 KT 1. 249* tr. *stošyate*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *stavīdā Hed. 23. 16 KT 4. 36*.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *stavātāndā Or 9609. *27v3 KT 1. 236* tr. *stavito*.

Et. Ir. has **stav-* as in Av. *stav-* 'preisen', ppp. **stūta-*, but the ppp. is apparently due to the influence of BHS *stavita-* (on which see F. Edgerton, *Grammar*, p. 236). O.Ind. had *stauti*, *stutā-*. Cf. also MPe **st'y-* < **stāvaya-* (*Verbum*, p. 209); Parth. **st'w-* (Ghilain, p. 77); Man. Sogd. **pstw-* 'disown' < **apa-stava-* (*BBB*, p. 101 ad e20); Waxī *stau-*, *staudi-* 'to praise' (*IIFL*, ii. 541). See **paštu-*.

stās- 'to come to a standstill; to become weary' IV a act. intr. B

ppp. *stāsta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *stāsti Z 10. 26; L.Kh., stāsti Ch 00268. 198 KBT 68*.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *stāsīndā Z 9. 25; L.Kh.: stāsīndā P 2782. 21 KT 3. 59* 'fail'.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *stāstā JS 27v2 (120) (+-ā 'you')*.
Et. Inch. < **stā-*; v. *stāta-* p. 129.

***stramj-** 'to stiffen' V e tr. A ppp. *strīya-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *straji Si 8v3 KT 1. 12* < **stramjātā*.

L.Kh. ppp. *strīya JS 20r2 (85)*.

Et. See **pastramj-* p. 79.

***stramjāñ-** 'to stiffen' V e tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *strajāñākā Si 5v3 KT 1. 8+*.

Et. Iter. < **stramj-*.

strīs- 'to become stiff' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *strīya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *strīstā P 2893. 92 KT 3. 86*.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *strīsīndā Si 134r2 KT 1. 68* tr. *reñs-pa*.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., L.Kh.: *strīya Ch 00266. 205 KBT 29 = strīyi P 2957. 140 KBT 38*.

Et. Inch. < **strungj/k-*. See **pastramj-* p. 79.

strīsāñ- 'to make stiff' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *strīsāñāñā Si 137r5 KT 1. 74*.

Et. Caus. < **strīs-*.

spal- 'to twitch' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *spa'tte Kha vi. 4. 1 a1, 5 KT 3. 130; spa'tti ibid. a3, 4, 6; b1, 3; spa'ttā ibid. b6*.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *spalāri Kha vi. 4. 1 b4 KT 3. 130*.

3 sg. subj. mid., L.Kh.: *spalāte ibid. a3; b5*.

Et. < **spard-*, cf. B. Sogd. **sp'rδt P 3. 74* I. G. ap H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 36. O.Ind. has *spārdhate* 'vies'. Cf. also Waxī **spārdāñj* 'flea' (*IIFL*, ii. 540).

spāśś- 'to see; appear' V e mid. tr. intr. A ppp. *spāšta-*

1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *spāše Z 2. 199*.

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *spāśśāte Z 5. 47; L.Kh., sāše P 2025. 23 KT 3. 46 = id. Ch 00266. 14 KT 3. 34 (= hajsī'sdai P 2956. 9 KT 3. 37)*.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *spāśśāre Z 3. 6; 19. 10; spāśśārā Z 20. 15*.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *spāśśāñā Si 104r1 KT 1. 40* tr. *brtag-pa* 'examine'.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *spāšte Z 2. 81+*.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *spāštāndā Z 21. 17; L.Kh., sāštāndā P 5538a 3 KT 2. 125*.

O.Kh. inf. *spēštā Z 21. 18*.

Et. The L.Kh. forms with *s-* for *sp-* are probably purely graphical in origin (H. W. B.). < **spāsaya-* < **spas-*, cf. O.Ind. *spāsāyate* caus. Av. 'spas-', **spašta-*, pres. V b *spasya-*; O.Ind. *pāsyati*, *spāštā-*. In Parth. and Sogd. the meaning is 'serve': Parth. 'sps-', 'spyšt' (Ghilain, pp. 51-52); B. Sogd. 'sp'yš-', Chr. Sogd. *spš-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 192, p. 30).

spai- 'to satisfy; be satisfied' V b mid. tr. intr. D ppp. *spata-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *spaiye* Z 2. 201; 20. 64; *spaiyā* Z 19. 18.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *spyārā* P 2783. 255 (94) KT 3. 76.

3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *spatā štā* Z 20. 66.

O.Kh. ppp. *spata-* also Z 2. 169.

Et. Leumann, 'E', p. 515 s.v., cf. O.Ind. *sphāyate*. See also H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 137. The ppp. *spata-* is difficult. One would expect *spata-* to be ppp. to **spam-* or **span-*. Perhaps suppletive **spā-*/*span-*. The O.Ind. ppp. was *sphūta-*. Possibly **spāta-* > *spata-* due to **spāya-* > **spaya-* (cf. *pai-* p. 86; *ysai-* p. 114).

sphan- 'to agitate' I b mid. tr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *sphande* Z 4. 72, 81; 19. 7.

Et. < **sfanda-* or **spanda-*, cf. O.Ind. *spāndate* 'is agitated' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 118-23.

hamkhiš- 'to count' Ve tr. A ppp. *hamkhišta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh. *hamkhišate* *Suv* *27r2 KT 1. 235.

O.Kh. -*gyā* abstract: *hamkhišgyā-* Z 19. 79; 24. 241.

L.Kh. noun: *hamkhišya-* Si 4r1 (bis) KT 1. 6+.

O.Kh. ppp. *hamkhišta-* Z 23. 366; (with privative *a-*) *anamkhišta-* Z 13. 87+.

Et. Cf. Av. *ahaxšta-* E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, 31. Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 85-86 suggests **xšta-* replaced by **xišta-* to which was formed **xiz-* (cf. S. Insler's explanation of B. Sogd. *γwyz-*, *IF*, 1962, 53, n. 3). But see on *pachšys-* p. 63.

***hamggad-** 'to result; develop' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hamggälsta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamggaltte* Z 4. 47; 5. 84; L.Kh., *hagetta* P 2026. 90 KT 3. 52.

O.Kh. ppp. *hamggälsta-* Z 4. 103; 5. 27.

Et. < **ham-gart-*, v. *ggad-* p. 27.

hamggalj- 'to gather, assemble' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hamgriya-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *hamga'ja* Or 11252. 21. 3 KT 2. 23.

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *haga'ja* P 4099. 137 KBT 119.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hagai'jara* P 2787. 183 KT 2. 108.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggäljindi* Z 22. 297.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrite* Z 2. 78.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hagrīyānda* P 2787. 186 KT 2. 108.

Et. < **ham-garjaya-* < **ham-garg-*, cf. Lat. *congregō*; v. IE **ger-* Pok. 382.

hamggār- 'to draw together' I d act. tr. B ppp. *hamggāda-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hamggāru* Z 21. 21.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggedā* Z 19. 23.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggārindi* Z 19. 29; 24. 647.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamggārāñā* Si 156v2 KT 1. 104 tr. *drañ-bar byaho*.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamggādāmdā* P 2790. 16 KT 2. 111.

Et. < **ham-kāra-*, see *kār-* p. 22. See H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 12.

hamggun- 'to cover up' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 579. III a tr. ppp. *hamggusta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamggūnāñā* Si 148r2 KT 1. 92 tr. *g-yog-par byaho*.

L.Kh. ppp.: *hamgaustā* P 2906. 27 KT 3. 98 (so read, as H. W. B. loc. cit.) = *hagausta* P 2910. 31 KT 3. 99; *hamggüstā* Si 150v2 KT 1. 96 tr. *g-yogs-pa*.

Et. < **ham-gunda-*, v. *uysgun-* p. 15.

hamggūj- 'to meet' V e act. intr. A ppp. **hamgguta-*

+I-A (comitative): +*balysyau* H 144 NSB 1 2r2 KT 5. 54 (cf. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § IV. 10).

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamggūjimā* H 144 NSB 1 2r2 KT 5. 54.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamggūjate* Khot. (IO) 18. 4 b 4 KT 5. 302.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamggūjimdā* P 2790. 26, 28 KT 2. 111; 96-97 KT 2. 113.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamggvāmdā* P 2790. 38 KT 2. 111.

Et. < **ham-kauk-* H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 14. See *hamggūjs-*.

hamggūjs- 'to fear'

Only in O.Kh. noun: *hamggūjsu* E 1. 7 19r4 KT 5. 388 tr. *hjijs-pa*.

There seems to be no certain verbal form in the sense of 'fear' as suggested by H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 124; *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 578. *hamggvāmdūm* Ch. 00269. 34 KT 2. 43 1 pl. pf. tr. 'we were afraid of' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621 is more likely 'we met', as it is preceded by *cimūdām jsa* 'with the Čimuls' (I-A as *hamggūj-* q.v.).

Et. < **ham-kauk-*, cf. O.Ind. *kocati* 'draws together'; *samkoca-* 'contraction, fear' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiv. 3, 1961, 481; *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 14. Cf. also MPe *ngwč-*, *ngwčyd* 'sich verbeugen' < **ni-kauk-* (*Verbum*, p. 182).

hamggūš- 'to heed' H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 578, 592; *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 15. I b mid. tr. A/B ppp. *hamggūšta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *hamgū'* P 2790. 55 *KT* 2. 112.

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hamgvāre* P 2790. 65 *KT* 2. 112; *ibid.* 97 *KT* 2. 113.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamgūšta* P 2783. 201 (40) *KT* 3. 74.

Et. < **ham-gauš-* H. W. B., loc. cit. See *pyūš-* p. 87.

***hamggeils-** 'to turn' IV a intr. ppp. **hamggeilsta-*

3 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *hamge'sta* *JS* 2911-2 (127) 'whirled'; *hamga'stā* P 2783. 228 (67) *KT* 3. 75 'reeled'; *hamgaistā* P 2783. 233 (72) *KT* 3. 75 'turned round' (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 596).

Et. < **ham-+gget's-* p. 31.

hamgrīs- 'to assemble' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamgrīya-*

+loc., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 1 (j).

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *hamgrīsta* Z 24. 465.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamgrīsindī* Z 22. 320; 24. 651; *hamgrīsindā* Z 24. 479.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrīta* Z 2. 64; 23. 124; *hamgrīya* Z 3. 100+.

Et. Inch. < **ham-garg-*, v. *hamggalj-* p. 136.

hamgrīh- 'to raise; uphold (order)' H. W. B. V tr. PPP. *hamgrautta-*

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamgrīhāñā* *Si* 10213 *KT* 1. 38 tr. *dgug-ciñ*; *hagrrihāñā* P 2786. 215 *KT* 2. 100.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hamgrīhyarā* P 2781. 93 (25) *KT* 3. 69.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamgrautta* P 2801. 58 *KT* 3. 67 ('raised', not 'embraced' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 564).

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hagrāuttāmdā* Khot. (IO) 74 vii r2 *KT* 5. 310; *hagrāmdā* P 2933. 6 *KT* 3. 108.

3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hamgrautta* Z 5. 47 'they arose'.

Et. *hamgrautta* < **grab-* Leumann, 'E', p. 516 s.v. *hamgrīs-*; < **ham-grābita-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78 (rather < **ham-grāfta-*). *grīh-* might be **grabaya-*, **grabya-* or **grbya-*, cf. Av. *grab-*, *gaurvaya-*, *garōbya-*; O.Ind. *grabh-*, *grbhāya-*. Parth. *pdgyrw-* 'prendre' (Ghilain, p. 89); MPe *gyr-*, *grypt* 'greifen' (*Verbum*, p. 205); Man. Chr. B. Sogd. *γ7β-* 'to know' (I. G., *GMS*, § 503, p. 76).

hamjv- 'to gnaw, chew' tr.

L.Kh. -*amatā* abstract: *hamjvāme* *Si* 156v3 *KT* 1. 104 tr. *mur-šm*.

Et. -j- not -js- requires **fyav-* (IE **g(i)eu-* Pok. 400). Cf. Paštō *šōwul*, NP *jāvidan*, Bal. *jāyag* 'to chew' (*EVP*, p. 106). Yaghn. *šav-* (Andreev, p. 369).

hamjsam- 'to go (together)' I mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. subj., L.Kh.: *hamjsimānde* P 3513. 46v3 (Asm. 17).

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hamjsāmāri* Ch 00268. 195-6 *KBT* 68 = *hajsāmāre* Ch 00277. 11v3 *KBT* 71.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hamjsamdaa-Vajr.* 9a3 *KT* 3. 21 tr. *samprasthita-* < **hamjsamādaa-* (v. H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120).

1 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *ha<m>jsamane* H 142 NSB 4r1 *KT* 5. 78 tr. *mchi* (? < **hamjsamāmane* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 140 s.v.).

Et. < **ham-gam-*, cf. Av. *hanjasa-*, *hanjamana-* n.; Man. Sogd. 'njmn, 'nčmn (I. G., *GMS*, § 265, p. 42).

hamjsaš- 'to be about to; intend to' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hamjsašta-*

+inf.: *patišā* Z 2. 98; *pamete* Z 2. 83; *hamihā* Z 2. 97; *haurā* Z 13. 71.

+pres. pt.: *hamjsašda barāñā* *Suv.* K. 32r6 *KT* 5. 110 tr. *upasamkramitukāmo bhavet*.

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamjsašde* Z 2. 83+.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamjsā're* Z 20. 18; 24. 172.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamjsašte* Z 13. 71.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *hamjsaštātā* Z 13. 76.

Et. < **ham-čaš-*; see *njsaš-* p. 53.

hamjsul- 'to kindle' tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *dai hamjsulyākā* *Si* 5r5 *KT* 1. 8 tr. *drod skyed-par byed-do*.

3 sg. opt., L.Kh.: *hamjsulī* *Si* 11v3 *KT* 1. 18 (*dai hamjsulī* tr. *drod-pa skyed-la*).

Et. < **ham-+jsul-* < **kau-* 'burn' (IE **kēu-* Pok. 595) H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 122-3.

hamjsem- 'to gather' V e tr. ppp. *hamjsonda-*

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamjsemāña* Z 23. 97.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamjsonde* Z 24. 482.

L.Kh. ppp. *hajsaidī* *JS* 39v1 (for -ai-/-au-, cf. *byau-* p. 107).

Et. < **ham-jāmaya-* < **ham-gam-*, v. *hamjsam-*.

hamtrāñ- 'to diminish, remove' V e mid. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh. (ἀπ. λει.): *hamtrāñāre* *Si* 19r1 *KT* 1. 30 tr. *hbyi-bar byed-do*.

Et. < **ham-tar-*, cf. *ustar-* p. 18 (H. W. B.).

hamthraj- 'to oppress' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *hamthriya-*
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamthrajāmdā Si* 128v3 *KT* 1. 60.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamthriyai* *JS* 17v4 (75).
 3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hamthriyāmdā P* 2741. 101 *KT* 2. 91.
 Et. < **ham-θarčaya-* < **ham-θrak-*, v. *hamthris-*. S. Konow's
hamthaltc- (*Saka Studies*, p. 140) is impossible; Dresden's *hamthalj-*,
 p. 467, is unattested.

hamthris- 'to be oppressed' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamthriya-*
 3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hamthristā SS* 77r2 *KT* 5. 339; L.Kh.,
hamthristā Si 9v3 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *ñam-thag-paham*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamthrisīda P* 3513. 81v2 *KBT* 64.
 O.Kh. ppp. *hamthriya Kha* 1. 108a1. 13r5 *KT* 5. 142 tr. *yois-su*
bzir-bar gyur-pa.
 Et. Inch. < **ham-θrak-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'ntr'ys- inch. 'être opprimé' *Vf*
 < **ham-trnxs-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 152c, p. 22). Cf. Av. *θraxta-* *Yt*
 14. 63; Parth. *tryxs-*, *tryxtg* 'être opprimé' (Ghilain, p. 79). IE
 **trenk-* Pok. 1093.

handaj- 'to be ripened' V c intr. (= pass.) ppp. *hamdišta-*
 3 pl. subj., O.Kh.: *handajāro Kha* 1. 58a1 b4 *KT* 5. 132.
 L.Kh. ppp. *hamdišta Si* 142r5 *KT* 1. 82.
 Et. < **han-dajya-* < **ham-dag-*, v. *daj-*, *dajs-* p. 43.

handajāñ- 'to ripen' V e tr. ppp. *handajāñāta-*
 1 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *handajāñāne P* 3513. 52v3 (Asm. 44) tr.
vimocayamānah.
 1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *handajāñātemā Kha* 1. 13 142v4 *KBT* 5 tr.
yois-su smin-par byas-so.
 Et. Caus. < *handaj-*.

hamdajs- 'to gallop' I b mid. intr. A/B
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamdajsāre Z* 24. 424.
 Et. Meaning is not 'verbrennen' as Leumann, 'E', p. 518 s.v. (followed
 by Assussen 'burn, ripen' p. 58 s.v. *hamdajāñ-*), but 'run away' as
 S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 129 s.v. *hamdajsa-*, < **ham-tača-*. 'they
 gallop' cf. ZP *handāk*, H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 532.

***hamdav-** 'to become hot' ppp. *handauda-*
 O.Kh. ppp. *handaudu Z* 22. 285.
 Et. < **ham-tap-*, cf. Av. *ham.tapta-* Leumann, 'E', p. 437 s.v.
ttauda-. Cf. also B. Sogd. 'ntph 'fièvre' P < **ham-tapah-* (Benven.
TSP, p. 193); Waxī *andav* 'fever' (*IIFL*, ii. 514); Yidgha *i'dou*

'fever' (*IIFL*, ii. 188); Oss. DI *āntāf* 'hot, heat' (H. W. B., *BSOAS*,
 xxvi. 1, 1963, 83).

hamdavāñ- 'to ripen' V e tr.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hamdavāñāka Si* 142v1 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *pācanam*.
 Et. Caus. < **hamdav-*.

handār- 'to care for' I d mid. tr. B ppp. *handāda-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *handāde Z* 12. 63, 72, 116.
 2 sg. pres. mid.: *hadāra N* 176. 31.
 2 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *hadāriryau P* 2834. 51 *KBT* 46.
 3 pl. opt., L.Kh.: *hadārira P* 2834. 37 *KBT* 46.
 O.Kh. ppp. *handāda-* *Z* 13. 153.
 Et. < **ham-dāra-* < **ham-dar-*, cf. MPE *hn'r-* (< **ham-dar-*) '(das
 Auge auf etw.) richten' (*Verbum*, p. 193). For **dar-* 'hold', cf. Av.
dar-, pres. I d *dāra-*; OP *dar-*; O.Ind. *dhārayati* 'holds'. MPE
d'r-, *d'št* (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *dār-*, *dāstan*; Parth. *d'r-*, *dyrd*
 (Ghilain, p. 74); Man. B. Sogd. *δ'r-*; Chr. Sogd. *d'r-*.

hamdev- 'to ripen' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hamdeve P* 2893. 189, 196 *KT* 3. 90.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hamdevāka Si* 142v2 *KT* 1. 82; *hamdevāka Si*
 142r5 *KT* 1. 82 tr. *smin-par bya-ba*.
 Et. < **ham-tāpaya-* < **ham-tap-*, v. **hamdav-* p. 140. Cf. Av.
tāpaya-.

hamdramj- 'to keep' H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 1, 1935, 124; *JRAS*,
 1955, 14-15. III d act. tr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hadrajāda Or* 8212. 162. 132 *KT* 2. 8.
 L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamdramjāñā Si* 126v5 *KT* 1. 58 tr. *bsruñ-žin*.
 Et. < **ham-dramjaya-* < **ham-drag-*, v. *drjs-* p. 46. Cf. Av.
handraxta-; Parth. 'ndrynj-, 'ndrst 'condamner' < **ham-drang-*
 (Ghilain, p. 51).

hamdris- 'to hold together' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hamdrriya-*

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamdrrištā Si* 122v1 *KT* 1. 50.
 O.Kh. ppp. *hamdrriye Z* 20. 53.
 Et. Inch. < **ham-drag-*. Cf. Parth. *drxs-* 'se maintenir, rester' inch.
 < **drang-* (Ghilain, p. 79).

hamphāj- 'to take hold of' (?) V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamphājāñā Si* 155r2 *KT* 1. 102 tr. *phur-te* 'to wrap'.
 Et. ? < **ham-bājaya-* < **ham-bag-*. Cf. O.Ind. *bhāj-*, *bhājayati*; Av.
bag- 'als Anteil zuweisen, zugehören' (H. W. B.). See *našphaj-*.

hamphīśś- 'to mix' V e tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hamphīśāñā* Si 130r3-4 KT 1. 62+ tr. *sbyar-na*.

Et. Caus. < inch. **hamphīs-* (v. *uspīs-* p. 19) < **ham-bag-*, v. *hamphāj-*. Cf. also *hambīsa-* 'heap' (Z 22. 139).

***hamphus-** 'to share in, be endowed with' IV a act. intr. A/B ppp. *hamphuta-*

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hamphūsīde* P 3513. 71v2 KT 1. 247 tr. *samyuyjiṣu*.

O.Kh. ppp.: *hamphuta* Or 9609. 56v5 KT 1. 240; id. *Suv. K.* 33v5 KT 5. 111 tr. °*prayuktāni*.

Et. Inch. < **ham-baug-*, v. **hamphūj-*. v. 1. *hambuj-*.

***hamphūj-** 'to enfold, embrace' V e ppp. *hamphuta-*

1 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hamphutemā* D. x. 10c r4 KT 5. 261.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamphvai* JS 13r1 (53).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hamphve* P 2781. 125 (57) KT 3. 70 (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 582); P 3513. 60r4 KT 1. 242.

Et. Formally **hamphūj-* (not *hamphuj-* as Dresden, p. 467 s.v.), **hamphus-* (L.Kh. spelling *hamphūs-*), *hamphuta-* like *vasūj-*, *vasus-*, *vasuta-*. **hamphūj-* < **ham-baujaya-* < **ham-baug-*, v. 2. *hambuj-* (H. W. B.).

hambañ- 'to compose' V a act. tr. A/B ppp. *hambasta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambañindā* Z 24. 385.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hambaste* Z 5. 3, 5; L.Kh., *hambistā* *Vajr.* 2a4 KT 3. 20.

Et. < **ham-bandaya-* < **ham-band-*, v. *bañ-* p. 92. Cf. Parth. 'mbst 'tresser' (Ghilain, p. 55); B. Sogd. 'nβ'st inf. 'atteler' *Vj* 342; 'nβ'st'k 'lié, assemblé' P.

hambad- 'to stop' V c act. intr. (= pass.) C

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambette* Si 13r3 KT 1. 20 tr. *hgags-pa* (stop).

Et. < **ham-badya-* < **ham-band-*, v. *hambañ-*. See 1. *bad-* p. 92.

hambid- 'to pierce' I c tr. B

2 pl. imper., O.Kh.: *hambitta* Z 24. 414.

Et. < **ham-baid-*, v. *bid-* p. 96.

hambīth- 'to retain' V b tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambīthe* Si 18r5 KT 1. 28 tr. *sri-bar byed-cin*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hambīthāka* Si 5v3 KT 1. 8.

Et. < **ham-varṭhya-* < **ham-var-*, cf. Parth. 'murd-', 'mōšt' 'rassembler' (Ghilain, pp. 53-54); MPe 'murd-' 'herwenden' (*Verbum*, p. 170).

hambīr- 'to be filled' V c act. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *hambāda-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambīdā* Z 2. 194; 6. 31; 10. 22.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambīrindā* Z 3. 20, 25.

O.Kh. ppp. *hambāda-* Z 14. 69+.

Et. < **ham-parya-* < **ham-par-*, v. 2. *pīr-* p. 84. Cf. MPe *hmb'r-* etc., v. *hamber-*.

1. **hambuj-** 'to enjoy' H. W. B. I c act. intr. B

+I-A: *pāta'ñyau jsa* Z 10. 32.

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambūdā* Z 10. 32.

Et. < **ham-buja-* < **ham-baug-*. Cf. Kh. *būjsana* Hed. 17. 24 KT

4. 32 'feasting' (H. W. B., KT 4. 116; *Annali*, 1959, 135). O.Ind. *bhūñkté*, *bhūñkti* 'enjoys'.

2. **hambuj-** 'to bow down' I c act. intr. B ppp. **hambujāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hambūdā* Z 22. 194, 268.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hambujye* Ch c. 001. 945 KBT 138.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hambujyāmdā* Ch c. 001. 960 KBT 139.

Et. < **ham-buja-* < **ham-baug-*. O.Ir. **baug-* 'bend', cf. O.Ind. *bhujāti* 'bends'. Av. *aipiḍbaoya-* Yt 15. 45 (v. *AIW* 85) doubtful.

hambus- 'to agree, be fit' IV a act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambustā* P 2026. 36 KT 3. 49; *habaustā* P 2958. 52 KBT 41 = *hambauṣti* P 2798. 170 KBT 43.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hambusidā* Hoernle 143a 4 KT 2. 68.

For meaning, cf. L.Kh. adj. *ahambusana-* Si 8v4 KT 1. 12 tr. *mi-hphrod-pa*.

Et. Inch. < **ham-baud-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v. Cf.

Parth. 'mbwy- 'baiser, embrasser' < **ham-baud-* (Ghilain, p. 65).

For inch., cf. Parth. *pdbws-* 'désirer' (Ghilain, p. 80).

hamber- 'to fill' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hambāda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamberāte* Z 10. 32; 22. 110; 24. 175.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haberindā* Z 24. 180.

O.Kh. ppp. *hambāda-* Z 10. 24.

Et. < **ham-pāraya-* < **ham-par-*, cf. Man. Sogd. 'mbyr- 'to fill' < **ham-pāraya-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 544, p. 85); Parth. 'mb'r- (Ghilain, p. 75); MPe *hmb'r-* (*Verbum*, p. 193); NP *ambār-*, *ambāstan*.

hambrāñ- 'to heal' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambrāñe* Si 143v2 KT 1. 84 tr. *hđrub-par hgyuro; hābrāñe* Si 144r1 KT 1. 84 tr. *hcho-bar byedo*.

L.Kh. nom. ag.: *hambrāñākā* Si 5v3 KT 1. 8 tr. *bco-bar byed-do*.

Et. Caus. < *hambrūd-*.

hambrīh- 'to share' mid. tr. A/B ppp. *hambirsta-*

+acc. and I-A (comitative): Hed. 23. 19 KT 4. 37.

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hambrīhe* Hed. 23. 19 KT 4. 37; *habrrīhū* JS 39v1, 2 (bis).

3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hambrīhāre* Kha 1. 221. 37 KT 3. 130.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hambrīhāñā* Si 133r1 KT 1. 66 tr. *sbyar-bar byaho*, ppp., O.Kh.: *hambirsta* Z 23. 157; L.Kh., *hambirstā* Si 135r1 KT 1. 70 tr. *sbyar-ba*.

Et. < **ham-raiθ-*, v. *ārīh-* p. 11. Cf. Av. *ham.raēθwaya-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139.

hambrūd- 'to heal' I b act. intr. B

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hambruittā* Z 22. 128; D III. 1 v4 KT 5. 70 tr. *hcho-bar hgyur-ro*; L.Kh., *hambrīttā* JP 76r3 KT 1. 161.

Et. < **ham-rauda-*, cf. Av. *²raod-* 'wachsen', pres. I b *raoda-* (v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v.).

hagav- 'to long'

L.Kh. -*āmātā* abstract: *hagavāma* JS 24r4 (105) 'longing'.

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hagavaṃdai* Si 133v3 KT 1. 68, tr. *bskam-pa* (long).

Et. < **ham-gav-* cf. Av. *gūnaoiti* Yt 10. 16 Dresden, p. 489 s.v. *hagavāma-*. But Av. means 'increases', Kh. 'longs' (v. I. G., *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xv. 6, 1958, 263). *ha-* in both occurrences could be L.Kh. spelling for *ham-*. Cf. **gav-* 'to lack, need' in Oss. D. *yāun*, I. *qāun*; B. Sogd. *γw-* 'manquer, falloir' P; Parth. *prg'w-* 'to lack' (*MirMan* iii) (I. G.). H. W. B. gives me Oss. D. *yāun* 'to intend, desire'.

hajsem- 'to send' H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. 1, 1949, 40. V e tr. ppp. **hajsauṃda-*

1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hajsīmūm* P 2790. 104 KT 2. 114.

1 pl. pres., L.Kh.: *hajsīmām* P 2790. 74 KT 2. 113.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hajsemyari* Domoko A4. 5, 6 KT 2. 62; *ibid.* 8 KT 2. 63.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hajsāmdāṃdā* P 2741. 35 KT 2. 88; 38 KT 2. 89; 80 KT 2. 90.

L.Kh. inf.: *hajsāṃde* P 5538a 8. KT 2. 126+.

Et. < **fra-jāmaya-* < **fra-gam-* H. W. B., loc. cit. See *hamjsam-* p. 139.

hataljs- 'to flutter' I b mid. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hatālsā're* Z 3. 98; *hataljsāre* Z 15. 113.

Et. < **fra-tark-* H. W. B. Cf. O.Ind. *tarkū-* 'spindle' (IE **terk-* Pok. 1077).

hatijs- 'to shine' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hatīysde* Z 16. 33.

Et. < **fra-taija-* < **fra-taig-*, cf. O.Ind. *téjas-* n. 'splendour' H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 135.

hatīś- 'to give' V e act. tr./mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B ppp. *hatāṣṭa-*

1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haiṣīmi* Kha 1. 171 3b3 KT 1. 257.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *haiṣa* Z 5. 43.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hatīśindā* Z 18. 20.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haiṣāre* Sw. K 65r4 KT 5. 116.

The pt. nec. is spelled *hatīśāñā* with *ai* over *ha* in H 144 NSB 19 r4 KT 5. 92.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hatāṣṭe* Z 2. 237; *hataiṣṭe* Z 5. 43; L.Kh., *haiṣṭa* Ch 00266. 95 KBT 24 (= *hūde* P 2957. 46 KBT 33 = *hūḍai* P 2025. 152 KBT 16).

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hataiṣṭāṃdā* Z 5. 31.

Et. Uncertain, see R. E. E., *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 164-5. The comparison with Av. *fra-aēš-* made by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 138 (followed by Asmussen, p. 60) is phonologically impossible, as the O.Kh. spelling is always *-ś-* (never *-śś-*), and L.Kh. regularly has *-ś'*. This indicates original **-z-* followed by palatalization.

hatcañ- 'to break' III d act. tr. A ppp. *hatcasta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hatcañāte* Z 6. 34.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hatcañīndi* Z 22. 198.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hatcaste* Z 24. 266; *hatcastā* Z 23. 15.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *hatcastāṃdā* Ch 00269. 46-47 KT 2. 44 (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 3-4, 1948, 621).

Et. < **fra-sčandaya-* < **fra-skand-*, cf. Av. *skand-* 'brechen', *fracīndaya-*. **fra-skand-* also in B. Sogd. *βskstw* *Vim.* 116 = *kalpa* < **fra-skasta-* W. B. Henning ap. I. G., *GMS*, § 365, n. 1, p. 55. *βskstw* = id. P 20. 13 (v. Benv., *TSP*, p. 233). IE **sked-* Pok. 918.

In some places *hatcasta-* seems to require a different interpretation. *hatcastā* Hed. 39b2 KT 4. 43 may be 3 sg. pf. tr. m. 'he gave' and

hatcastāmdā Hoernle 143a 11 *KT* 2. 68 (quoted H. W. B., *KT* 4. 150) may be 3 pl. pf. tr. 'they gave'. These will then belong to *hatcan-* in *hatcanaka* P 3513. 79v2 *KBT* 63 'gifts' H. W. B., *Brown Vol.*, 1962, 20, n. 12, < *s-kan-d- 'cover' beside *kan- (v. *pacan-* p. 62); cf. semantically, O.Ind. *chādayati* 'covers', *ācchādayati* 'gives' (cf. 'invest'), v. H. W. B., loc. cit.

hatcy- 'to be broken' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) A/B ppp. *hatcasta-*
3 sg. subj., L.Kh.: *hatcyāve* *Si* 144v3 *KT* 1. 86 tr. *chag-gam*.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *hatcyāre* P 2781. 147 (79) *KT* 3. 71.
L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hatcyadā* *Si* 131v4 *KT* 1. 64 tr. *grum-zñ*.
O.Kh. ppp. *hatcasta-* Z 13. 138; 20. 44.
Et. < *fra-sčadya- < *fra-skand-, v. *hatcañ-* p. 145.

hats- 'to take off (clothing)' V b mid. tr. A/B
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hatsāre* Z 15. 86, 111.
Et. < *fra-čyā-, see R. E. E., *AM*, n.s. xii. 2, 1966, 157. v. *patāts-* p. 67.

hanam- 'to bend down' V a intr. A
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanamāte* Z 2. 89.
Et. < *fra-namaya- < *fra-nam-, cf. Av. *frā.nəma-* 'fliehen vor';
MPe *prum-* 'gehen' < *fra-nam- (*Verbum*, p. 173). O.Ind. *ndmati*
'bends'.

hanaśś- 'to go astray, fail' V b act. intr. A ppp. *hanašta-*
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanaśśāte* Z 2. 69, 198.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hanaśśidā* *JP* 95v3-4 *KT* 1. 177.
L.Kh. ppp. *hanašta* P 4099. 160 *KBT* 120.
1 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hanaštāimā* Z 2. 133.
3 pl. pf. tr. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hanaštāndā* Z 24. 180.
Et. < *fra-nas-ya- < *fra-nas-, cf. Parth. *frnštg* 'détruit' < *fra-nas-
(Ghilain, p. 69). See *panaśś-* p. 70.

hanāśś- 'to destroy' V e act. tr. A/B
1 sg. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hanāśśimā* P 3513. 48r4 (Asm. 24) tr. *vimuhyet*.
1 pl. pres., O.Kh.: *hanāśśāmanai* *Suv.* K. 32v2-3 *KT* 5. 110 (? subj.).
Et. < *fra-nāsayā- < *fra-nas-, v. *hanaśś-*. O.Ind. *nāsayati*
'destroys'.

hanem- 'to bend down' V e tr. A ppp. *hanata-*
1 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hanaimūm* P 3513. 46v3 (Asm. 16) tr. *nāmayamī*.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hanemāte* *SS* 21r1 *KT* 5. 331 tr. *hdud-na*.
3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hanatāndā* *FM* 25, 1 b4 *KT* 3. 125.

Et. < *fra-nāmaya- < *fra-nam-, v. *hanam-* p. 146. Cf. Av. *frā.nāmaya-* 'niederbeugen'; Parth. *frn'm-* 'mener, conduire' (Ghilain, p. 73).

haphan- 'to move, quiver' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120.
L.Kh. pres. pt.: *haphada* P 2956. 13 *KT* 3. 37 = id. Ch 00266. 19
KT 3. 34 = id. P 2025. 29 *KT* 3. 46. **haphanda-* < **haphananda-*.
Et < *fra-fan- H. W. B., loc. cit. See *našphāñ-* p. 52.

haphast- 'to flutter' mid. intr. A/B
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haphastāre* Z 20. 3.
O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *haphastandā* Z 23. 141.
Et. < *fra-phast- p. 90.

haphār- 'to be distracted' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *haphada-*, *haphāda-*
3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haphāde* Z 4. 72 (for -ā-, cf. *āphāde* p. 9).
O.Kh. ppp.: *haphadā* Z 7. 25; *haphāda* Z 4. 76 (-ā- due to *haphār-*
etc.).
O.Kh. noun: *haphāra-* Z 5. 6+.
Et. < *fra-frya- < *fra-far-, v. *āphār-* p. 8.

hamān- 'to make' III b act. tr. B
+predicative adj.: *vasuta* Z 10. 23; *pāta'jsu* Z 22. 126.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamāndā* Z 10. 23; 22. 126; 23. 98.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamānindā* Stein E 1. 7 149v1 *KT* 5. 79.
Et. < *mi-nā- < *maj-, cf. O.Ind. *minōti* 'builds'. Ir. **maj-* in Av.
ppp. in *bərəzi.mita-*. See also *nārmān-* p. 55.

hamāh- 'to change' (intr.) I c mid. intr. B ppp. *hamāsta-*
3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *hamāttā* Z 15. 93; 22. 131; L.Kh., *hamāitte* *JS*
16v2 (70).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hamāyāre* Z 24. 2; *hamyāre* Z 6. 17.
O.Kh. ppp.: *hamāsta-* Z 5. 104+.
3 sg. pf. m.: O.Kh., *hamāstä* Z 24. 3; *hamāste* Z 5. 104; L.Kh.,
hami'stā *JS* 16v2 (70).
Et. < *fra-mīda- < *fra-maiθ-. Cf. Av. *maēθā* 'schwankend' Y. 30. 9
(v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 139 s.v.).

hamih- 'to change' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hamāsta-*
1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hamihimā* Z 2. 52.
2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hamiha* Z 2. 95.
3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamihāte* H 143a NSB 24r5 *KT* 5. 86.

O.Kh. inf. *hamihä* Z 2. 97.

3 sg. pf. tr. m. (?), O.Kh., *hamästä* Z 24. 4.

Et. < **fra-maiṭaya-* caus. < **fra-maiṭ-*, v. *hamäh-*.

hamurr- 'to crush' III b tr. B

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hamurdä* Z 17. 19.

Et. < **fra-+murr-* p. 110.

hayär- 'to rejoice, be happy' V c act. intr. B ppp. *hayäda-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hayädä* Z 24. 215 (for *-ä-*, cf. *äphäde* p. 9).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hayärindä* Z 3. 58; 14. 82; *hayärindi* Z. 3. 58, 60; *hayärindi* E 1. 7 19 v 5 *KT* 5. 389 tr. *ramante*.

O.Kh. inf.: *hayäde* Z 14. 84.

Et. < **fra-grbya-* H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 25. Doubtful; v. *hamgrih-* p. 138. < **fra-kar-* to IE *(s)ker-, *οκαίρω* 'dance', O.Ind. *kriḍati* 'plays' H. W. B.

hays- 'to drive, send' I b act. tr. A/B ppp. *hašta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *haysa* Hed. 11. 7 *KT* 4. 28 'conduct' (*KT* 4. 99); id. Or 11252. 35b4 *KT* 2. 28 'send' (*KT* 4. 100).

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haysindi* Z 22. 331.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *haysāñä* *Si* 104r2 *KT* 1. 40 tr. *byas-nas*.

L.Kh. inf.: *haysä* Ch 00269. 85 *KT* 2. 46.

Cf. *hīnāyasa-* Ch c. 001 987 *KBT* 140 'general' (v. H. W. B., *BSOS*, viii. 2-3, 1936, 790-1) < **hīnā-*+**az-*.

L.Kh. inf.: *hašta* Ch 1. 0021a, a22 *KT* 2. 54.

Et. < O.Ir. **az-* (with prothetic *h-*), cf. Av. *az-*, O.Ind. *aj-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 143 s.v.; H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xv. 3, 1953, 538; *KT* 4. 102 (not to Av. *haz-*, O.Ind. *sah-* as H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 74).

haysän- 'to be aware' III b intr. ppp. *haysända-*

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *haysänandaa-* Z 12. 112; 24. 440.

O.Kh. ppp.: *haysända-* Z 17. 24.

Et. < **fra-zan-*, cf. Parth. *frz'ng* 'sage' (Ghilain, p. 84). See also *paysän-* p. 71.

haysñ- 'to bathe' V b tr. A ppp. *haysnäta-*

2 sg. imper., L.Kh.: *haysña* P 5538b 85 *KT* 3. 124.

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *haysñäte* Z 4. 96.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *haysñāñā* *Si* 100r5 *KT* 1. 34.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *haysnäte* Z 2. 170; 21. 13.

Et. < **fra-snāya-* < **fra-snā-*, cf. Av. *frasnaya-*, *frasnāta-*. Cf. also MPe **sn'y-* 'reinigen' (*Verbum*, p. 203); B. Sogd. *sn'y-*, *sn't-*.

harañ- 'to throw' ? III a act. tr. A/B ppp. *harasta-*

3 sg. opt., O.Kh.: *haraña* Z 13. 72.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harañindä* Z 22. 265.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *harastai* *JS* 23v2 (102).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *haraste* Z 13. 52.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *haraständä* Z 13. 137; *haraständä indä* N 158. 8.

Et. < **fra-randa-* < **fra-rad-*, cf. O.Ind. *rādhyati* 'succumbs'; *randhāyati* 'subjects' (v. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 141 s.v.).

harays- 'to extend' I b mid. intr. (tr. fig.); act. L.Kh. B ppp. *harayšta-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *haraysde* Z 2. 132, 182 'stretches out'.

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *haraysindä* Hed. 23. 17 *KT* 4. 36.

3 sg. pf. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *harayšte* Z 24. 258; *harayštä* Z 2. 142.

In L.Kh. used tr. of 'extending favours': 3 sg. pres., L.Kh., *mušdä haraysde* P 2788. 12 *KT* 2. 109; *mwai'sdä haraysde* Ch 00269. 118 *KT* 2. 48 (v. Dresden, pp. 483-4 s.v. *rays*).

Et. < **fra-raz-*, cf. Av. *raz-* 'richten'; v. *rräs-* p. 115.

haräs- 'to extend' V e tr. ppp. *harayšta-*

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *haräšu* Z 4. 109.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *haräsa'ra* Ch 1. 0021b, a2. 28 *KBT* 150.

2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *harayštai* *JS* 23vi (102).

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *harayšte* Z 2. 136; 5. 45.

3 sg. pf. tr. f., O.Kh.: *harayštätä* Z 5. 107.

3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *harayštädi* Or 11252. 34. 11 *KT* 2. 27.

Et. < **fra-rāzaya-* caus. < **fra-raz-*, cf. Av. *raz-*, *rāzaya-*. Cf. also MPe *pr'r'z-* 'ausstrecken' < **frā-raz-* (*Verbum*, p. 187).

harät'- 'to burst' ? I b mid. tr. intr. B ppp. *harayšta-*

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *haršdä* *Suv.* K 63v7 *KT* 5. 115; *haršdi* Z 20. 57 (so now H. W. B. against Leumann, 'E', p. 522 s.v. *haršda-* and H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx. 1, 1957, 59); L.Kh., *haršda* P 4099. 31, 32 *KBT* 114.

O.Kh. ppp. *harayšta* Z 22. 258.

Note that in Z 6. 23 *haräta'* is 2 sg. imper. (not 2 pl. as Dresden, p. 490 s.v. *harayšta-*).

Et. < **fra-raiš-*, see *birät'* - p. 98.

harīys- 'to tremble' I b mid. intr. B

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *harīysde* *SS* 80v4 *KT* 5. 341; *ha<r>ī<y>de* H 143a NSB 10+25 v3 *KT* 5. 84.

3 pl. pres. mid.: O.Kh., *harīysäre* Z 24. 480; L.Kh., *harīysäri* *Vajr.* 25a3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *saṃtrasīyanti*.

O.Kh. pt. nec.: *harīysāñu* H 143a NSB 9VI KT 5. 83.
Et. < **fra-* + 2. *rīys-* p. 116.

harrūñ- 'to shine' VI b act. intr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *harrūñe* JS 714 (26); *harūñe* P 2906. 27 KT 3. 98 = *harūñai* P 2910. 31-32 KT 3. 99.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *harūñindā* P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58 = *harūñida* Or 8212. 162. 90 KT 2. 6.
Et. Denom. < **harrūna-*, v. *bārūñ-* p. 99. Cf. Man. Sogd. *frwwoq* 'flash, brightness' < **fra-rauka-* (W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 29; I. G., *GMS*, § 319, p. 49).

hars- 'to be left, remain' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *harita-*

3 sg. pres. act.: O.Kh., *harstā* Z 24. 428, 447; L.Kh., *harstā* Si 10113 KT 1. 36 tr. *lus-pas*.
1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harsāmā* Z 22. 107.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *harsīndi* Z 2. 217.
3 sg. pf. intr. m.: O.Kh., *harāte* Z 5. 106; L.Kh., *harye* P 2783. 235 (74) KT 3. 75 'he was left behind' (not 'they left him' as H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 571).
1 pl. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *haryadū* P 2786. 184 KT 2. 99 = id. Or 8212. 186. 220 KT 2. 11 < **harātandā mā*.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *harita* Z 22. 288; id. f., O.Kh.: *harāte* Z 24. 269.
Et. Inch. < **fra-raik-*, v. *pars-* p. 76.

haškīm- 'to make' III d act. tr. A ppp. *haškaunda-*

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *haškīme* P 3513. 20v2 KBT 56.
3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *haškīmīdā* P 3513. 16v3-4 KBT 55.
O.Kh. ppp. *haškaunda-* Z 5. 56; 24. 384; *haškonda-* Z 24. 382.
Et. < **fra-skambaya-* < **fra-ska(m)b-*, cf. Av. *frascūmbaya-* V. 18. 74.

hašpalgy- 'to make bloom' V e tr.

2 sg. imper., O.Kh.: *hašpalgya* Z 22. 191.
Et. < **fra-sparjaya-* < **fra-sparg-*, v. *gusprīs-* p. 30. Cf. Av. *fra-sparəya-* m. 'Schößling, Zweig' Y. 10. 5. Cf. B. Sogd. 'sprym'k 'fleur' P; NP *siparam* (Lazard, § 76, p. 161).

hašprīs- 'to bloom' IV a intr. ppp. *hašprīya-*

L.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hašprīsāndai* P 4089b 11 KT 3. 117.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hašprīya* Z 24. 203.
Et. Inch. < **fra-sparg-*, v. *hašpagyl-*.

hasamīth- 'to destroy' tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hasamīthātā* *Suv.* K. 63v7 KT 5. 115; 65v4 KT 5. 116.
Et. ? See p. 242.

hastrīs- Meaning? IV a act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hastrīsīdā* P 2786. 30 KT 2. 94; *hastrīsīda* P 2786. 114 KT 2. 97.
Et. < **fra-* + *strīs-* p. 135.

haspās- 'to strive' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *haspāta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspāstā* Z 11. 47.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspāsīndā* Z 13. 6; Or 9609. 56v2 KT 1. 240 tr. *vyāpayiṣyanti*; *haspāsāndā* Z 13. 8.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *haspāta* *īndi* Z 22. 290.
Et. Inch. < **fra-spaik-*. Cf. Kh. *spāta-* 'flower' Z 2. 80++. MPe 'spyz-', **spyxt* 'to shine; bloom' (*Verbum*, p. 178); ZP *spēč-* 'emit' H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 103-4.

haspīj- 'to urge' V e act. tr. A/B ppp. *haspāta-*

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *haspījīndā* Z 2. 95; Kha 1. 119 2911 KT 3. 127.
3 pl. pf. tr., L.Kh.: *haspīyāmdā* P 2958. 119 KBT 42.
Et. < **fra-spaicāya-* caus. < **fra-spaik-*, v. *haspās-*.

hasv- 'to swell' I b act. intr. A/B

3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hasvīmdā* Si 140r3 KT 1. 78 tr. *skrañ-ba yin*.
Et. < **fra-sav-*. Pres. I b as not **hasś-*. IE **key-*/**kūā-* Pok. 592.
O.Ind. *śvāyati* but *śav-* in *śavas-* n. Av. *spā(y)-* 'aufschwellen'.

***hahalj-** 'to direct upon' V e tr. ppp. *hahrīya-*

3 sg. subj.: *haha'jāte* *AdhS* p. 94, l. 19+.
1 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hahrīyai* P 3513. 67v1 KT 1. 245 tr. *careyañ*.
L.Kh. noun: *haharka* P 3513. 75r3-4 KT 1. 249 < **fra-θarka-ka-*.
Et. < **fra-θrak-*.

hahāls- 'to be glad' ? IV a intr.

O.Kh. pres. pt. adj.: *hahālsandau* Kha 1. 13. 142v2 KBT 5 tr. 大歡喜 (T. I. 642. 642B). Old L.Kh. *hahi'sam dai* Kha 1. 306a 5r3 KBT 8 (with *ramam dai*).
Et. ? Perhaps in some way inch. to *hayār-* p. 148 (for *-h-/-y-*, cf. *hamāyāre* < *hamāh-* p. 147).

***hahvah-** 'to hash' S. Konow, *A Medical Text in Khotanese*, 1941, 15+.
tr.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hahvāṇa* JP 73VI KT 1. 159+; 4914 KT 1. 141.
Et. < **fra-hvah-*, cf. B. Sogd. β₇γw'y- 'to chop' SCE (I. G.).

hāy- 'to help' (ἄπ. λεγ.) V e tr.

2 pl. imper., L.Kh.: *hāyarā* Hed. 20. 8 KT 4. 34.
Et. < **frādaya-*, cf. Av. 'frād-, frādaya- 'fördern' H. W. B., KT 4. 124. Cf. also Parth. wyfr'y- 'faire progresser' (Ghilain, p. 60); MPe wypr'y- 'fördern' (*Verbum*, p. 176).

***hārūd-** 'to grow' I b act. intr. A/B ppp. *hārsta-*

3 pl. pres. act.: O.Kh., *hāruvīndā* Or 9609. 56r6 KT 1. 240 tr. *prarohayīṣyanti*; L.Kh., *hārveda* P 4099. 275 KBT 126; *hārvaidā* Vajr. 43b2 KT 3. 29.
O.Kh. ppp. *hārsta-* Z 4. 61+.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hārsta* SS 80r3 KT 5. 340.
Et. < **frā-raud-*, v. *hambrūd-* p. 144. Cf. Av. *frāurusta-* Yt 18. 6.
For *hā-*, see p. 242.

hām- 'to be, become' mid. intr. A ppp. *hāmāta-*

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hāmāte* Z 2. 76++.
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hāmāre* Z 3. 147++.
3 pl. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hāmāta* Z 22. 334.
L.Kh. *ham-*, *him-*, *hem-*; ppp. *hamya-*, *himya-*, *hemya-* v. Dresden, p. 467 s.v. *ham-*.
Uses: +nom. complement (v. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24, § I. 2): *ṣā balysā brāte hāmīya* Z 13. 69 'Would he become the Buddha's brother?' *ttai hāmāte* Z 2. 124+ 'thus it occurs to him'; *ttai hāmātu* Z 23. 29+ 'thus it occurred to him', and very similar to the Skt it translates, *ttye tta hāmātu* Or 9609. 5v4 KT 1. 234 tr. *taṣyāitad abhavat*; but probably indigenous, cf. *kai ju hāmāte* Z 3. 66 'if it should occur to one' (v. R. E. E., loc. cit., p. 29, § III. 10(c)). *hām-* is used to express 'potentiality' or the 'consummation of an action' (v. *yan-* p. 111) with intr. verbs and in the passive. Cf. Sogd. βw- beside *kwn-* (v. I. G., *GMS*, §§ 881, 884-5, pp. 130-2). Examples: 1. with intr. verbs: *ku hā tsute hāmāte* Z 22. 128 'when he has gone away'; *cīyā . . . ṣsamana āta hāmāre* Z 24. 473 'when the monks have come'; *ku . . . nāta'sta hāmāre* Z 24. 488 'when they have sat down'; *ka . . . nirvānā ttranda hāmānde* Z 22. 92 'may they be able to enter *nirvāṇa*'; 2. in the passive: *ūtca biṣṣa khaṣṭa hāmāte* Z 2. 120 'the water can all be drunk up'; *ne hvatā hāmāre . . . puṇa* Z 3. 149 'his merits cannot be told'.

Et. ? See p. 242.

hāv- 'to appropriate' VI mid. tr. A

3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *hāvīyā* Z 3. 138; 9. 17; *hāvīye* Z 5. 79; *hāvīyā* Z 7. 37; *hāvīye* Z 3. 138; 6. 46 < **hāvīyāte* (cf. Leumann, 'E', p. 525 s.v. *hāvīa-*).
3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hāvīyāre* Z 4. 68; *hāvīyāre* Z 2. 226; 4. 76; 9. 8.
O.Kh. inf.: *hāvīye* Z 22. 112.
O.Kh. nom. ag.: *hāvīyāka-* Z 22. 156, 163.
O.Kh. -*āmatā* abstract: *hāvīyāmatā-* Z 5. 55, 57, 58; *hāvīyāmata* *Sw.* K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 tr. *parigrahaṃ*.
Et. Denom. < *hāvīa-*, *hāvīa-* 'suus'.

hīs- 'to come' IV a act. intr. B suppletive ppp. *āta-*

+loc. goal of motion (v. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 32, § V. 1): Z 22. 115+.
3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hīstā* Z 22. 115++.
3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hīsīndā* Z 3. 72+.
3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *ātā* Z 2. 99+.
3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *āta* Z 5. 23.
Et. *hīs-/āta-* suppletive like Man. Sogd. 'ys-/yt- (I. G., *GMS*, § 603, p. 94). Man. Sogd. 'ys- < **ā-isa-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 539, p. 83). Kh. *hīs-* is likely therefore to have the same origin (with prothetic *h-*). Difficulty arises in trying to account also for *īs-* 'to return' (p. 14). If *īs-* is < **ā-isa-*, we would expect *īs-/āta-*. It seems likely that *īs-* is < **ā-isa-* where **isa-* is inch. < **aiš-* and *hīs-* < **ā-isa-* where **isa-* is inch. < **ay-* 'go' (Av. 'ay-; O.Ind. *éti* 'goes'), the prothetic *h-* developing to enable the two verbs to be distinguished. The inch. of **ay-* is possibly also represented in Orm. *nīs-* 'to go out' < **niš-isa-* (*IIFL*, i. 403); *wīs-* 'to enter' < **abi-isa-* (*IIFL*, i. 411). *āta-* < **āgata-*, cf. Av. *agata-* V. 19. 31; O.Ind. *āgata-*; Parth. 'gd (Ghilain, p. 47).

huṣ- 'to become dry' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *huṣṭa-*

3 sg. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *huṣṭi* JP 95v3 KT 1. 177; *hausṭe* Si 121v1-2 KT 1. 48 tr. *bskams-nas*.
3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *huṣṭi* JP 109v2 KT 1. 189.
O.Kh. inf.: *hū* SS 35r2 KT 5. 336 = id. H 147 NS 110 42r1 KT 5. 74 < **hūsi* < **hausai*.
L.Kh. ppp. in *dūma-hauṣṭa* Si 100v1 KT 1. 34 'smoke-dried' (quoted Dresden, p. 490 s.v. *hus-*).
2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṭi* JS 28r3 (123) 'you shrivelled up' (Dresden, p. 439; not < **hūs-* as H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii. 1, 1951, 31).
Et. < **haus-*, cf. Av. *haoš-* 'exarēscere', pres. I b *haoša-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 145 s.v.

huṣṣ- 'to grow' I c act. intr. B ppp. *huṣṣāta-*; *huṣṣāta-*
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *huṣṣā* Z 11. 50+.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *huṣṣindā* Sw. K. 31r6 KT 5. 109 tr. *vivardhayet*.
 O.Kh. ppp. *huṣṣāta-* Z 23. 128+; *huṣṣāta-* Z 22. 245.
 2 sg. pf. intr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāvī* Ch 00271. 13 KT 2. 49.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m.: L.Kh., *huṣṣā* P 2798. 161 KBT 43 = id. P 2958.
 42 KBT 41 < *huṣṣātā* Z 24. 241 (O.Kh.).
 2 pl. pf. tr. f. (intr.), O.Kh.: *huṣṣātāndā sta* Z 22. 245.
 Et. < **uxṣa-* < **vaxṣ-*, cf. Av. 'vaxṣ-' 'grow', pres. V c *uxṣya-* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 145 s.v.; Leumann, 'E', p. 526 s.v.; H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 33 (cf. also B. Sogd. 'γωṣ'y-; v. I. G., *GMS*, § 428, p. 65).

huṣṣāñ- 'to increase' V e mid. tr. A ppp. **huṣṣāñāta-*
 1 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *huṣṣāñe* Or 9609. 56r3 KT 1. 240 tr. *vivardhayiṣyāmi*.
 3 sg. pres., O.Kh.: *huṣṣāñāte* Or 9609. 54r3 KT 1. 238 tr. *vivardhayiṣyati*; id. Sw. K. 34r7 KT 5. 112 tr. *vivardhayet*.
 3 pl. pres. mid., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāñāre* Si 17v3 KT 1. 28 tr. *hphel-ba*.
 L.Kh. nom. ag.: *huṣṣāñāka* Si 17v4 KT 1. 26; *huṣṣāñāka* Ch 1. 0021A, 110 KT 2. 53.
 L.Kh. 3 sg. pres. or pf. tr. m.: *hūṣvāñai* Ch 00266. 75 KBT 23 = *huṣvāñe* P 2025. 126 KBT 15 = *hūṣvāñye* P 2957. 29 KBT 32 (-v- due to development in L.Kh. of -ā- to [ə:]).
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *huṣṣāñai* JS 10v1 (41); *hūṣvāñai* JS 13v2 (56).
 Et. Caus. < *huṣṣ-*.

hūs- 'to sleep' IV a act. intr. B ppp. *hūta-*
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hūstā* Z 9. 17; 12. 60, 88.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hūsīndī* Z 4. 93.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hūte* Sw. K. 67v5 KT 5. 118 tr. *supto*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. f. (intr.), O.Kh.: *hūtātā* Z 13. 55.
 Et. < **hvafsa-* inch. < **hvap-*, cf. Av. *xvāp-*, *xvāpta-* inch. *xvāfsa-*.
 Av. has presented a problem in that **hufsa-* with reduced grade root is expected in the inch. B. Sogd. **wβs-* (3 sg. impf. *wβs*), cf. Yaghn. *ūfs-*, was therefore derived < **hufsa-* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 539, p. 83; § 620, p. 97). But Kh. has also *hūna-* 'sleep' < **hvafna-*, cf. Av. *xvāfna-*, O.Ind. *svāpna-*. The development in Kh. is thus in each case **hvaf-* > **hvuf-*.

hei- 'to send' I c act. tr. B ppp. *hiṣṭa-*; *hiṣṭāta-*
 1 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hei'mā* Z 17. 27.
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hei'tā* Z 24. 431.

1 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hā'mā* Stein E 1. 7 145r2 KT 5. 77 tr. *bžud hčhal-lo*.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hūdā* Or 11252. 35b4 KT 2. 28 for **hei'ndā* ('they send' rather than 'they give' as H. W. B., *KT* 4. 100).
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hiṣṭe* Z 5. 33; 24. 260; *hiṣṭāte* Z 23. 144, 145 (H. W. B.).
 Et. < **fra-iša-* < **fra-aiš-*, cf. Av. *²aēš-* 'set in motion', pres. I c *iša-*; *fraēšya-* 'impellere'; OP *frāišayam*; Man. Sogd. *fryš-*, *fryšt-* 'send' (I. G., *GMS*, § 331, p. 50; § 598, p. 93); Parth. *fryšig* 'envoyé, apôtre' (Ghilain, p. 95).

hot- 'to be able' I b mid. intr. B ppp. *hosta-*
 +inf.: *hviye* Z 14. 3; *hviyā* Z 24. 437.
 3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hotte* Z 14. 78+.
 3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hotāre* Z 13. 36.
 O.Kh. noun: *hotā-* Z 1. 32+.
 3 sg. pf. intr. m., O.Kh.: *hostā* N 168. 30.
 Et. < **fra-vat-*, cf. Arm. LW *havat*; Av. *frā-*, *aiṣi-vat-*; Skt *api-vat-*; Parth. *frwd-* (Ghilain, p. 53) H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78; *TPS*, 1960, 70-75.

haur- 'to give' +G-D (dat.) pers., R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9. I b act. tr. B ppp. *hauḍa-*; *hūḍa-*
 3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *heḍā* Z 2. 30+.
 3 pl. pres. act., L.Kh.: *hauridā* Si 103v4 KT 1. 40; *haurimde* P 2958. 147 KT 2. 118.
 Old L.Kh. ppp. *hauḍa* Kha 1. 306a 5v3 KBT 8.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hoḍe* Z 13. 103; *hūḍe* Z 13. 82+.
 2 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hūḍai* P 2787. 142 KT 2. 106.
 3 pl. pf. tr.: O.Kh., *hūḍāndā* Z 22. 321; L.Kh., *hauḍāmdā* P 2790. 34 KT 2. 111.
 O.Kh. inf.: *haurā* Z 13. 71.
 Et. < **fra-bar-*, cf. Av. *frabara-*, OP *fra-bar-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 78; *Annali*, 1959, 129. Man. Sogd. *ḍ'βrw* (1 sg. imperf.); Chr. *i'br*, B. *ḍ'βr* (3 sg. imperf.) (I. G., *GMS*, § 621, p. 97) < **fra-bara-* I. G., *GMS*, § 621A, p. 246. Note *hūḍa-* < **fra-bṛta-* but *hauḍa-* < **fra-barta-*, cf. Sogd. heavy stem *ḍβrt-* < **fra-barta-* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 486, pp. 72-73).

haus- 'to carry off' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hausṭa-*
 3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hoṣā* JS 34r1 (148) < **hausātā*.
 3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hausindā* Sw. K. 63v6 KT 5. 115 tr. *haranti*; id. 64v2 KT 5. 115 tr. *harīṣyanti*.
 3 sg. pf. tr. m., L.Kh.: *hausṭe* P 2801. 31 KT 3. 66.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hoštāndi* Z 22. 308.

Et. < **fra-vāzaya-* < **fra-vaz-* (caus.; not < **fra-vaz-ya-* as Dresden, p. 491 s.v. *hoš'-*), cf. Av. *fravaza-*; Parth. *frwšt* 's'envoler' (Ghilain, p. 52); MPe *prwz-* 'fliegen' (*Verbum*, p. 170); B. Sogd. *ḫrwz'n'k* 'qui vole' SCE 304. For caus. of **vaz-*, cf. Parth. *prw'z-* 'faire voler' (Ghilain, p. 70).

hvañ- 'to be called' V c mid. intr. (= pass.) B ppp. *hvata-*

3 sg. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hvīnde* Z 5. 13++.

3 pl. pres. mid., O.Kh.: *hvañāre* Z 5. 69+.

3 sg. pf. intr. f., O.Kh.: *hvata* Z 3. 142.

+nom. complement, R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 25, § I. 2.

Et. < **hvan-ya-* < **hvan-*, cf. O.Ind. *svanati* 'makes a noise'; MPe *xw'n-*, *xw'nd* 'rufen' (*Verbum*, p. 189); Parth. *xwn-* (Ghilain, p. 48); B. Sogd. *γwynth* 'il s'appelle' (Benv., JRAS, 1933, 48-49); Waxī *ḫan-*, *ḫat-* 'to speak' (IIFL, ii. 552).

hvar- 'to consume' I b act. tr. B ppp. *hvaḍa-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hviḍā* Z 2. 26+.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvarindā* Z 3. 59; *hvarindī* Z 4. 33.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvaḍāndi* Z 2. 24; 4. 50; *hvaḍāndā* Z 22. 235.

L.Kh. inf.: *hvarā* JS 17v2 (74).

+loc. source of motion, R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 2.

Et. < **hvar-*, cf. Av. *x'ar-* 'genießen, verzehren', pres. I b *x'ara-*; MPe *xwr-*, *xwrd* 'essen' (*Verbum*, p. 174); Parth. *wxr-*, *wxrd* 'manger' (Ghilain, p. 57); B. Sogd. *γwr-* 'manger' V7+.

hvah- 'to strike' V a act. tr. C ppp. *hvasta-*

3 sg. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvaittā* Z 2. 16.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvastāndi* Z 22. 309.

Et. < **hvahaya-* < **hvah-*, cf. Av. *x'aḥhaya-*, *x'asta-*; see Benv., Oss., pp. 43-44.

hvāñ- 'to speak' V e act. tr. A ppp. *hvata-*

+dat. pers., R. E. E., BSOAS, xxviii. 1, 1965, 29, § III. 9 (d) (e).

+I-A (comitative) pers., R. E. E., ibid. 32, § IV. 10 (e) (f).

3 sg. pres.: O.Kh., *hvāñāte* Z 2. 7++; L.Kh., *hvāñe* P 3513. 4v2 KT 3. 113 = *hūñe* ibid. 4r4.

3 pl. pres. act., O.Kh.: *hvāñindā* Z 3. 100+.

O.Kh. inf.: *hvāñi* Z 2. 64.

3 sg. pf. tr. m., O.Kh.: *hvate* Z 2. 102++.

3 pl. pf. tr., O.Kh.: *hvatāndi* Z 2. 20+.

O.Kh. inf.: *hvīye* Z 5. 7+.

Et. < **hvānaya-* < **hvan-*, v. *hvañ-*

hvā'ñ- 'to make dry' V e tr. A

3 sg. pres., L.Kh.: *hvaiñe* Si 1115 KT 1. 16 tr. *skems-sin* = *hvēñe* P. 2892. 99 KT 5. 320.

L.Kh. pt. nec.: *hvā'ñāñā* P 2893. 178 KT 3. 89.

O.Kh. nom. ag.: *hvā'ñākā* Or 9609. *27v5 KT 1. 236 tr. °*saṃśośakaḥ*.

Et. Caus. < *huš-* p. 153.

The following words are of uncertain or unknown origin: *ājum-*, *ḫšmij-*, *ḫvōh-*, *gach-*, *ggih-*, *grasd-*, *gvōih-*, *cev-*, *jsir-*, *najs-*, *nāsam-*, *nišem-*, *nuvalys-*, *pajarūšt-*, *pari-*, *pašauj-*, *paškūj-*, *paškaus-*, *paher-*, *pātāl-*, *pīm-*, *pūhā't-*, *prahauy-*, *pvīys-*, *pvīs-*, **phīśś-*, *phūm-*, *pherr-*, *bajēš-*, *bichān-*, *bitcūśś-*, *bihījs-*, *byālś-*, *ysān-*, *vaticš-*, *vau's-*, *sūh-*, *saul-*, **sals-*, *sphan-*, *hayār-*, *hasamīth-*, *hahāls-*, *hām-*.

LIST OF VERB ROOTS

*ak-	vyach-
*ad-	pātāy-
*an-	uysan-
*ay-	hīs-
*ar-	ārr-
*ark g-	āljs-
*ard-	pātāl-
*az-	hays-
1. *ah- 'be'	ah-
2. *ah- 'throw'	uhy-
*āp-	eh- peh- byeh- prev- byev- byau-
*āh-	āh-
*aiš-	hei'- īs- patīs- īśś-
*auk-	ggūch- ggūs-
*auš-	byūv'-
1. *kan- 'dig'	kaṃggan-
2. *kan- 'put/throw'	pacan- *paļsan- pārān- pyan- buvan- kañ- kñ- pārāñ- buvāñ- byāñ-
*kap-	cev-
1. *kar- 'pull'	gujsar- kār- naškār- haṃggār-
2. *kar- 'do'	yan-
*kark-	uskalj- kalj- naškalj- kris-

*kart-	naṣkurr- patält-
1. *kav-	*parkun-
2. *kav- 'burn'	hamjsul-
*kaš-	kāt- tcāš'- nijsaš- pājsaš- vajsāš- hamjsaš- nijsvāñ- ātas- kas- kašš- nyas- pyays- *byays- kašš- biyāšš- uskuj- hamggūj- hamggūjs- pachus- v. khvīh- uskūš-
1. *kas-	
2. *kas- 'see'	
*kaz-	
*kā-	
*kauk-	
*kaup-	
1. *kauš- 'act frivolously' (?)	1. kuš-
2. *kauš- 'look at'	2. *kuš-
3. *kauš- 'flay'	kūš-
1. *kauz-	uskoš- naškoš-
2. *kauz- 'throw'	uskhaj- naškaj- uskhajs- naškajš- khad- gguhad- pāhad- *oahad- khan- naškhan- bihan- samkhal- khāš- parchāš- khah- v. uskhajs- naškajš- khā- pachīys- pachīš- hamkhīš- *pachiš- khvīh- khauiys- uysgārñ- ggāñ- uysgurs- *uysgru- grūs- *gruśš- kšam- kšamev- v. 2. kšāv- kšimj- ākšuw- niḱšuw- 1. kšāv- *prakšiv- kšiy- v. kšāv- kšiy- *jad- pajād- pajāy- jsan- jsañ- pajsāñ- jsaus- hamjsam- *naljšem- paljšem- hajšem- hamjšem- v. hīs- jin- jīy- pajīy- 1. juv- jsīr- ttājšer-
1. *gay- 'harm'	
2. *gay- 'live'	
*gar-	

1. *garg- 'assemble'	hamggalj-
2. *garg- 'make a noise'	ggalj-
*gart-	ggad- *hamggaḍ- ggei'ls- *hamggeils- ggei'šš- *pajstīh- hagav- pajāys- jsā- bijsā- ggih- pajud- uysgun- hamggun- gguph- pyūš- hamggūš- hamjv- grañ- hamgrīh- *šad- pacas- tsām- ttātsu- tsu- naltsu- vatsu- patāts- hats- ttajs- byajs- vatajs- hamdajs- byāj- pattamj- āyv- ttav- 1. *naštav- pattav- byav- *hamdav- ttaus- naštos- hamdavāñ- hamdev- bitam- pātem- ustar- hamtrāñ- bitar- hataljs- tvāñ- ttun- 2. naštav- ttāš- hatījs- usthamj- thamj- nuhamj- pathamj- bāthamj- thīs- pathīs- thūs- paṭhu- *āhalj- nihalj- *hahalj- hamthraj- *pahālĵ- prahālĵ- *pahālĵāñ- *naštīrīs- *pīhīs- prahīs- hamthīrīs- nīhīšš- thurs- 1. uysdīšš- 1. dīšš- dajs- padajs- pandīs- daj- handaj- handajāñ- v. uysdav-
*garθ-	
*gav-	
*gaz-	
*gā-	
*gaid θ-	
*gaid-	
*gaub-	
*gauš-	
*gyav-	
*gran-	
*grab-	
*gžad-	
*čaxs-	
*čyam-	
*čyav-	
*čyā-	
*tak-	
*tank g-	
*tap-	
*tam-	
1. *tar- 'remove'	
2. *tar- 'extend'	
*tark-	
1. *tav- 'be strong'	
2. *tav- 'thrust'	
*taš-	
*taig-	
*θang-	
*θav-	
*θrak-	
*θrav-	
*daxš-	
*dag-	
*dab-	

*daf-	padaus-
1. *dam- 'make'	2. *dīm- padīm- *vadīm-
2. *dam- 'tame'	dīm-
3. *dam- 'blow'	dam- naṣdam-
	wysdem- *dem- *naṣdem- padem-
*day	āy- ūy- pūy- *vūy- did- dyāñ-
	wysdai- dai- bāysdai-
	handār- pader-
*dar-	darrv-
*darš-	dals- byāls-
*darz-	padav-
1. *dav- 'burn'	wysdav- *dav-
2. *dav- 'rub'	dāś-
*das-	parāth-
*dā-	anandiś-
*dais-	2. wysdiś-
*dbanz-	2. *diś-
*drag-	baś-
*drap-	drjs- haṃdraṃj- haṃdris-
*dram-	drāh-
	drem-
*nak g-	najs-
*nađ-	panāy-
*nam-	panam- binam- hanam-
	panem- binem- hanem-
	vanau- vanvāñ-
*nav-	nās-
1. *nas- 'take'	panaś-
2. *nas- 'fare ill'	hanaś-
	panāś-
	hanāś-
	binās- vanās-
*nā-	parnai-
*naik-	nājs-
*naid θ-	ganih-
*naiz-	paniys-
*pak-	gvach- pach- parvach- pajs- gvachāñ-
*pat-	pat- vavat-
*paθ-	nuvamih- pheh-
*pad-	1. nuvad-
1. *par- 'give, pay'	1. *par- 1. *pār-
2. *par- 'fill'	2. pūr- haṃbūr- haṃber-
3. *par- 'nourish'	2. pār-
4. *par- 'remove'	2. *par-
5. *par- 'fight'	purr-
*pard-	naṣpul-
*pašt-	nyūšt-
*pazd-	uspaśd- tvaśd- naṣpaśd-
*pā-	pai-

*fan-	usphan- naṣphan- *niphān- paphān- vahan-
	haphān-
	naṣphāñ- paphāñ- vahāñ-
	āphār- phūr- haphār- āphūr- usphūr-
*far-	*āphūrāñ-
	phast- haphast- naṣphašt- phašt- vaphašt-
*fast-	āvun-
*fray-	aurāś-
*fras-	*pūś-
*frād-	pul-
*frauš-	hāy-
1. *fšar- 'be ashamed'	brūšc-
2. *fšar- 'exhilarate'	kšār- kšer-
*baxš-	ššarr-
*bag-	būš-
	naṣphaj- haṃphāj- usphūs-
	naṣphīś-
	*phīś-
	haṃphīś-
	ban-
*ban-	pabañ- bañ- haṃbañ- bai- haṃbai-
*band-	ttuvar- nuvar- puror- bar- haur-
1. *bar- 'carry'	2. bīr-
2. *bar- 'break'	3. bīr-
3. *bar- 'throw'	pherr-
4. *bar- 'speak'	*gujsabalj- tcabalj- *pajsabalj-
1. *barg- 'break'	gujsabrīs- tcabrīs-
	bulj-
2. *barg- 'praise'	parbau-
*hav-	vīv-
*bā-	bid- haṃbid-
*baid-	nihujs- 2. haṃbujs-
1. *baug- 'bend'	paphūj- bāhūj- *haṃphūj- *haṃphus-
	1. haṃbujs-
2. *baug- 'enjoy'	bud- būd- haṃbus- buś-
*baud-	brem-
*bram-	braś-
*bras-	*uysbrījs- brījs-
*braig-	mad-
*mad-	mañ- vamas-
1. *man- 'think'	1. māñ-
2. *man- 'remain'	mañih-
*manθ-	nārmān- hamān-
*may-	man- ggumerāñ- murr- vamurr- hamurr-
1. *mar- 'crush'	patāmar- šumār-
2. *mar- 'notice'	mār-
3. *mar- 'die'	*ggumal-
*mard-	ttumalys- nīmalys-
*marz-	

*nav-	mūr- mvīr-
*maz-	*vamays-
*maik g-	ūmājs- nāmājs-
*maid-	hamāh- hamāh-
*mauk-	pañjs-
*mauz-	mūys-
*yaθ-	jah- jeh-
*yam-	ājum-
*yaz-	gyays-
*yah-	jīš- jīšāñ-
*yauk-	nyūj- nyūs-
*yaug-	v. nyūšt-, pajarūšt-
*yauđ-	2. juv-
1. *yaup- 'change'	byūh-
2. *yaup- 'yearn'	jūh-
*yauz-	āyauys- nyauys-
*rag-	pārajs-
1. *rad- 'scratch'	varrad- *rran-
2. *rad- 'throw'	harañ-
3. *rad- 'achieve'	ttrāy-
*ra(n)g-	*āramñj- pāramñj- pāramjs- āris- pāris-
1. *rap- 'support'	pārah-
2. *rap- 'move'	bārāh-
*raf-	pāreh-
*ram-	ram- ttrām- narām- parrām-
*ramb-	*pārīmph-
*raz-	birays- harays-
	gūrās- birās- rrās- varās- harās-
	rrāys-
*rāz-	parrīj- rrīj- pars- hars-
*raik-	ārīh- prīh- hambrih-
*raiθ-	birāt- harāt-
*raiš-	birriys- 2. rriys- harriys-
1. *raiž- 'tremble'	1. *rriys-
2. *raiž- 'lick'	bārūñ- harrūñ- parrus- 1. rrus-
*rauk-	parruš- burš-
*rauxš- 'break'	nirūj- *nirus- 2. *rrus-
*raug-	rrūy-
1. *raud- 'obstruct'	rrūd- hambrūd- *hārūd- hambrāñ-
2. *raud- 'grow'	*burūw- rrv- burūvāñ- ārūh- rruh-
*raup-	pyūmj- byūmj- vañj-
*vak-	hušš- huššāñ-
*vaxš-	vāj-
*vag-	hot-
*vat-	

1. *vad- 'lead'	uysbāy- ttuvāy- nvāy- bāy- *pravāy-
	āvad- bad-
2. *vad- 'make a noise'	2. *nuvad-
*van-	uysvāñ- vāñ-
*vand-	van-
*vam-	bam- bamāñ-
1. *var- 'tear away'	pver- var-
2. *var- 'cover'	1. gvīr- *nyūrr-
3. *var- 'speak'	2. gvīr- šver-
*vark-	valj-
*vart-	nyūd- bad- bīh- hambīh- *bei'šs-
	*ābei'ls-
1. *vas- 'shine'	byūs-
2. *vas- 'make a noise'	nvāšš-
*vaz-	oys- gvays- parauys- bays-
	auš- parauš- hauš-
	bār- vabār- ber-
*vār-	bijs-
*vaig-	beñ-
*šan-	būsv- šsun-
*šav-	sāj-
*sak-	*san- (v. sarb-) sāñ-
*san-	pasad- sad-
*sa(n)d-	sam- 1. *samev-
*sam-	šš-
*say-	*āsal- pasal-
*sard-	hasv-
1. *sav- 'swell'	sauy-
2. *sav- 'rub'	*bišimñj-
*sing-	pasūjs- sūjs- pasūj- vasūj- vasus-
1. *sauk- 'burn'	sūch-
2. *sauk- 'call'	pasauš-
*sauš-	gatcañ- *nitcañ- bitcañ- *vatcañ- hatcañ-
1. *ska(n)d- 'break'	hatcy-
	v. hatcañ-
2. *skand- 'present'	paltcīmph- *naltcīmph- škim- haškim-
*ska(n)b-	niškal- pāškal-
*skard-	skau- skauy- *škov-
*skav-	*paštarr- baštarr- starr-
*star-	*paštu- stav-
*stav-	āšt- ešt- pašt- vašt- št- āstañ- paštāñ-
*stā-	nuvašt- višt- stās-
	*pastramñj- *stramñj- pastris- stris- hastris-
*strang-	*stramñjāñ- strisāñ-

* (s) m̄-	bināj-	ysānāj-	ysānāh-	haysñ-
*spar-	āspar-	*paspar-	*vaspar-	
*sparg-	haspalgy-	gusprīs-	vašprīs-	hasprīs-
*spard-	spal-			
*spas-	spāšš-			
1. *spā- (< *spā-)	spai-			
2. *spā- (< *svā-)	mišš-	pašš-		
*spaiḥ-	haspās-	haspāj-		
*sraiš-	ššiš-			
1. *zan- 'know'	paysān-	biysān-	vaysān-	biysāñ-
2. *zan- 'bear'	ysan-	ysai-	ysyāñ-	
*za(n)g k-	*biysajs-	biysamj-	biysīs-	
1. *zay- 'take by force'	ysān-			
2. *zay- 'equip'	āysān-			
1. *zar- 'make a noise'	ysār-	? šer-		
2. *zar- 'grow old'	*ysīr-			
*zav-	*nalysv-	buysvai-	ysun-	ysauy-
*zah-	ysah-	yseh-		
*zauš-	ysūš-			
*zran-	šāñ-			
*zvar-	šīr-			
*hak-	pahāj-	pahīs-		
*hag-	ajs-	vahaj-		
*had-	nād-	puva'd-	buva'd-	ttuoa'y-
	pvā'ñ-	nāša's-		*nišā'y-
*har-	paher-			
*haiz-	pahīys-	bihīys-	vahīys-	
	pahīs-	bihīs-	vahīs-	
*haus-	huš-	pahvā'ñ-	hvā'ñ-	
*hvan-	hvañ-	hvāñ-		
*hvap-	ūm-	ūs-	hūs-	
*hvar-	nāhvarr-	hoar-		
*hvah-	ttāhvah-	nei' hvah-	hvah-	*hahvah-
*hvaid-	*āhus-	*āhusāñ-		

LOANWORDS

añāy- adhiṣṭh- anuj- anuvartt- armīv- avamañ- aviṣṣimj- ahamañ- ahāvāys- ākūt- āchāy- *āchānn- ājīš- āyāc- ālamgr- āvul- āsvāš- uchānn- uthep- upekš- upev- usahy- usāv- uhar- kūt- kšam- kšamev- kšāv- khij- *khijev- *ggarah- car- cav- cimd- jaṃph- jāy- ttrīṣṭh- dukhev- namas- nimandrai- nirikš- nārsāy- nūvartt- nyāp- pakūt- paramīro- parikalp- paridiv- parinām- pasamañd- pīp- pracar- pracav- praysai- pravartt-

pravai- bihar- bhāv- makš- marš- rakš- ram- vartt- vavaj- vašv- vāys- vās- vikalp- vibram- vimath- virāh- vāhañ- vihil- vūs- vyāgar- vyusthah- sās- *ššāv- ššaddah- ššan- samkhal- samev- sambaj- sahy- säh- sāj- *suhev- stav-.

REVERSE INDEX OF PRESENT STEMS

khā-	gach-	nyūj-
jsā-	pach-	nirūj-
bijsā-	vyach-	pasūj-
pari-	gvach-	vasūj-
*paštu-	parvach-	pašauj-
paṭhu-	*nich-	pattamj-
*uysgru-	ggüch-	thamj-
tsu-	süch-	pathamj-
vatsu-	naškaj-	bāthamj-
ttätsu-	uskaj-	usthamj-
naltsu-	dāj-	*ārramj-
khai-	handaj-	*pāramj-
dai-	našphaj-	*stramj-
bāysdai-	baj-	*pastramj-
wysdai-	sabaj-	hamdramj-
parnai-	hamthraj-	vamj-
pai-	vavaj-	biysamj-
spai-	vahaj-	nuhamj-
bai-	ysānāj-	aviṣṣimj-
hambai-	hamphāj-	kšimj-
nimandrai-	byāj-	*bisimj-
pravai-	vāj-	pyūmj-
āvai-	sāj-	byūmj-
*nuvai-	pahāj-	kalj-
sai-	khij-	naškaj-
pasai-	sāj-	uskaj-
ysai-	haspāj-	ggalj-
praysai-	rrij-	hamggalj-
buysai-	parrij-	haspalgy-
gguhai-	uskuj-	tcabalj-
hei'-	anuj-	*pajsabalj-
skau-	*niruj-	*gujsabalj-
vanau-	paškūj-	valj-
byau-	hamggūj-	*hahalj-
āyāc-	paphūj-	*āhalj-
brūsc-	*hamphūj-	nihalj-

*pahālġ-	hamdavāñ-	ṣṣan-
prahālġ-	buvāñ-	beñ'-
bulġ-	burūvāñ-	pat-
kañ-	tvāñ-	vavat-
gatcañ-	vanvāñ-	hot-
*vatcañ-	nijsvāñ-	vartt-
hatcañ-	uysvāñ-	pravartt-
*nitcañ-	hvāñ-	nivartt-
bitcañ-	ṣāñ-	anuvartt-
*āṣṭañ-	jsāñ-	patālt-
āṣṭañ-	pvā'ñ-	phast-
bañ-	huṣṣāñ-	vaphast-
pabañ-	hvā'ñ-	naṣphast-
hambañ-	pahvā'ñ-	nuvast-
mañ-	sāñ-	viṣṭ-
avamañ-	*āhusāñ-	phast-
ahamañ-	strisāñ-	haphast-
grañ-	biysāñ-	vimath-
hvañ-	vahāñ-	parāth-
jsañ-	harrūñ-	gvūth-
pajsāñ-	bārūñ-	manth-
vāhañ-	haysñ-	nuvamth-
kāñ-	kūt-	rrīnth-
gvachāñ-	pakūt-	khad-
michāñ-	ākūt-	*jad-
handajāñ-	ṣṭ-	1. 2. bad-
*stranjāñ-	paṣṭ-	hambad-
*pahālġāñ-	vaṣṭ-	mad-
paṣṭāñ-	*āṣṭ-	varrad-
*nuvamthāñ-	nyūṣṭ-	āvad-
paphāñ-	pajarūṣṭ-	1. nuvad-
naṣphāñ-	eṣṭ-	2. *nuvad-
1. māñ-	bīth-	*ṣad-
2. māñ-	hambīth-	puva'd-
bamāñ-	hasamīth-	bvva'd-
dyāñ-	*pajṣīth-	sad-
ysyāñ-	adhīṣṭh-	pasad-
pārāñ-	ttrīṣṭh-	*vahad-
*āphīrāñ-	ggaḍ-	pāhad-
berāñ-	*hamggaḍ-	gguhad-
ggumerāñ-	baḍ-	pajād-
hamtrāñ-	nyūḍ-	did-
hambrāñ-	pasamanḍ-	nād-
vāñ-	haran-	bid-

hambid-	ggān-	tsām-
pajud-	bichān-	hām-
bud-	jin-	ṣkim-
būd-	hamān-	haṣkim-
rrūd-	nārmān-	ātīm-
*hārūd-	ysān-	1. dīm-
hambrūd-	āysān-	2. *dīm-
ciṃd-	*parkun-	padīm-
naṣpaṣd-	hamggun-	*vadīm-
uṣpaṣd-	uysgun-	pīm-
graṣd-	*ttun-	ājum-
tvāṣd-	āvun-	ūm-
khan-	ṣṣun-	phūm-
naṣkhan-	ysun-	*naṣdem-
kaṃggan-	*āchānn-	pātem-
pacan-	uchānn-	*dem-
paphan-	uysgān-	panem-
haphan-	nyāp-	hanem-
*nīphan-	pīp-	binem-
naṣphan-	uthep-	uysdem-
sphan-	parikalp-	drem-
uṣphan-	vikalp-	brem-
ban-	gguph-	hajsem-
man-	jamph-	hamjsem-
yan-	*naltcīmph-	*naljsem-
pyan-	paltcīmph-	paljsem-
*rran-	*pārīmph-	āy-
haran-	sarb-	āchāy-
van-	naṣdam-	jāy-
buvan-	bitam-	pajāy-
ṣṣan-	dam-	añāy-
jsan-	panam-	pātāy-
pajsan-	hanam-	panāy-
paljsan-	binam-	bāy-
ysan-	vibram-	uysbāy-
uysan-	ram-	ttrāy-
vahan-	nāṣam-	*pravāy-
bihan-	kṣam-	ttuōāy-
pārān-	sam-	nvāy-
ysān-	hamjsam-	nārśāy-
paysān-	parinām-	*niṣā'y-
vaysān-	narām-	ttuōā'y-
haysān-	parrām-	hāy-
biysān-	ttrām-	kṣiy-

jīy-	2. pār-	naṣkīrr-
pajīy-	bār-	ṣurr-
ūy-	vabār-	murr-
pūy-	ṣumār-	vamurr-
rrūy-	ysār-	hamurr-
*vūy-	phīr-	*nyūrr-
skavy-	haphār-	*pherr-
savy-	āphār-	niṣkal-
ysavy-	mār-	pāṣkal-
prahavy-	hayār-	samkhal-
hatcy-	*śīr-	ṣpal-
by-	kṣār-	*ggumal-
*ūmy-	*ysīr-	*pasal-
pātāly-	1, 2, 3. pūr-	*āsal-
hāvvy-	āphūr-	pātāl-
dvy-	usphūr-	vihīl-
uysdvy-	1, 2, 3. būr-	naṣpul-
sahy-	hambūr-	āvul-
usahy-	1, 2. gvūr-	hamṣul-
uhy-	mvūr-	śaul-
vyāgar-	jsūr-	*ṣkav-
car-	ysūr-	hagav-
pracar-	mūr-	cav-
bitar-	ker-	pracav-
ustar-	pader-	1. *naṣtav-
1. *par-	pher-	2. naṣtav-
2. *par-	ber-	ttav-
*paspar-	hamber-	pattav-
*vaspar-	gver-	stav-
āspar-	pver-	*dav-
bar-	śver-	padav-
patāmar-	ṣer-	hamdav-
var-	kṣer-	parbav-
ttuvar-	ttājser-	byav-
nuvar-	paher-	bhāv-
hvar-	puror-	usāv-
gujsar-	haur-	*śśāv-
bihar-	ālamgr-	1, 2. kṣāv-
uhar-	*paṣtarr-	*prakṣiv-
kār-	baṣtarr-	paridiv-
naṣkār-	starr-	viv-
hamggār-	nāhvarr-	vaśiv-
handār-	ṣsarr-	prakṣiv-
1. *pār-	ārr-	1, 2. juv-

buv-	pachūs-	bitcūsś-
ākṣuv-	hatūs-	*pūsś-
nikṣuv-	poūs-	ggei' śś-
būv-	pahūs-	*bei' śś-
armūv-	vahūs-	kāt-
*hārūv-	bihūs-	tcāṣ'-
*burūv-	kūs-	ttāṣ-
*hambrūv-	haiś-	nijsaṣ-
dukhev-	aus-	pājsaṣ-
cev-	naṣkoś-	vaticṣ-
bajev-	uskoś-	harāt'-
*khijev-	khaus-	bivāt'-
hamdev-	paraus-	ṣṣiṣ-
upev-	haus-	vajsāṣ-
kṣamev-	parś-	jīs-
samev-	dals-	ājīs-
pajsamev-	byāś-	1. kuṣ-
byev-	*sals-	2. *kuṣ-
prev-	byāś-	parrus-
*suhev-	śś-	pasuṣ-
hamjv-	kaśś-	huṣ-
uysdv-	panaśś-	uskūs-
āyv-	hanaśś-	hamggūs-
rvv-	paśś-	pyūs-
paramrv-	braśś-	byūv'-
darrv-	dāśś-	ysūs-
būṣv-	panāśś-	makṣ-
hasv-	hanāśś-	rakṣ-
*nalysv-	spāśś-	nirikṣ-
hahv-	bivāśś-	upekṣ-
baś-	aurāśś-	marṣ-
vaś-	nvāśś-	burṣ-
khāś-	niśś-	huṣṣ-
parchāś-	iśś-	būṣṣ-
bivāś-	1. dīśś-	bajeṣṣ-
rrāś-	2. *dīśś-	kas-
varāś-	anandīśś-	pacas-
harāś-	1, 2. uysdīśś-	ātas-
gūrāś-	*phīśś-	namas-
vāś-	naṣphīśś-	vamas-
āśvāś-	hamphīśś-	nyas-
śāś-	nphīśś-	nāṣa's-
*pachīś-	buśś-	stās-
hamkhīś-	*gruśś-	nās-

<i>vanās-</i>	<i>nyūs-</i>	<i>gyays-</i>
<i>binās-</i>	<i>byūs-</i>	<i>bays-</i>
<i>haspās-</i>	<i>grūs-</i>	<i>*vamays-</i>
<i>*bihīs-</i>	<i>vūs-</i>	<i>pyays-</i>
<i>īs-</i>	<i>hūs-</i>	<i>*byays-</i>
<i>patīs-</i>	<i>paṣkaus-</i>	<i>harays-</i>
<i>thīs-</i>	<i>naṣtos-</i>	<i>birays-</i>
<i>pathīs-</i>	<i>ttaus-</i>	<i>gways-</i>
<i>pandīs-</i>	<i>padaus-</i>	<i>hays-</i>
<i>usphīs-</i>	<i>vau's-</i>	<i>pajāys-</i>
<i>āris-</i>	<i>jsaus-</i>	<i>rrāys-</i>
<i>pāris-</i>	<i>ajs-</i>	<i>vāys-</i>
<i>kris-</i>	<i>naṣkhajs-</i>	<i>ahāvāys-</i>
<i>hamgrīs-</i>	<i>uskhajs-</i>	<i>pachīys-</i>
<i>*naṣthrīs-</i>	<i>ttajs-</i>	<i>panīys-</i>
<i>strīs-</i>	<i>vatajs-</i>	1. <i>*rrīys-</i>
<i>pastrīs-</i>	<i>dajs-</i>	2. <i>rrīys-</i>
<i>hastrīs-</i>	<i>padajs-</i>	<i>harīys-</i>
<i>hamthrīs-</i>	<i>hamdajs-</i>	<i>birrīys-</i>
<i>hamdrīs-</i>	<i>najs-</i>	<i>pvīys-</i>
<i>vaṣprīs-</i>	<i>pajs-</i>	<i>pahīys-</i>
<i>haṣprīs-</i>	<i>byajs-</i>	<i>vahīys-</i>
<i>guṣprīs-</i>	<i>pārajs-</i>	<i>*bihīys-</i>
<i>tcabrīs-</i>	<i>*biysajs-</i>	<i>mīys-</i>
<i>gujsabrīs-</i>	<i>nājs-</i>	<i>oys-</i>
<i>biysīs-</i>	<i>bijs-</i>	<i>khaūys-</i>
<i>hīs-</i>	<i>nāmājs-</i>	<i>āyavūys-</i>
<i>pahīs-</i>	<i>ūmījs-</i>	<i>nyavūys-</i>
<i>prahīs-</i>	<i>drjs-</i>	<i>paravūys-</i>
<i>bihīs-</i>	<i>hatījs-</i>	<i>nimalūys-</i>
<i>*prhīs-</i>	<i>brījs-</i>	<i>*ttumalūys-</i>
<i>pachus-</i>	<i>*uysbrījs-</i>	<i>nūvalūys-</i>
<i>*hamphus-</i>	<i>bihījs-</i>	<i>pars-</i>
<i>hambus-</i>	1, 2. <i>hambujs-</i>	<i>hars-</i>
1. <i>rrus-</i>	<i>nihujs-</i>	<i>uysgurs-</i>
2. <i>*rrus-</i>	<i>hamggūjs-</i>	<i>thurs-</i>
<i>*nirus-</i>	<i>sūjs-</i>	<i>hahāls-</i>
<i>parrus-</i>	<i>pasūjs-</i>	<i>puls-</i>
<i>*pasus-</i>	<i>pamjs-</i>	<i>ggei'ls-</i>
<i>vasus-</i>	<i>pāramjs-</i>	<i>*hamggeils-</i>
<i>*āhus-</i>	<i>hataljs-</i>	<i>*ābei'ls-</i>
<i>ūs-</i>	<i>āljs-</i>	<i>ah-</i>
<i>ggūs-</i>	<i>hats-</i>	<i>jah-</i>
<i>thūs-</i>	<i>patāts-</i>	<i>vyusthah-</i>

<i>ṣṣaddah-</i>	<i>virāh-</i>	<i>jūh-</i>
<i>*ggarah-</i>	<i>drāh-</i>	<i>byūh-</i>
<i>pārah-</i>	<i>sāh-</i>	<i>rrūh-</i>
<i>hvah-</i>	<i>hamāh-</i>	<i>ārūh-</i>
<i>*hahvah-</i>	<i>ggīh-</i>	<i>sūh-</i>
<i>ttāhvah-</i>	<i>gganīh-</i>	<i>eh-</i>
<i>nei' hvah-</i>	<i>hamīh-</i>	<i>jeh-</i>
<i>ysah-</i>	<i>ārīh-</i>	<i>peh-</i>
<i>āh-</i>	<i>hamgrīh-</i>	<i>pheh-</i>
<i>ysānāh-</i>	<i>prīh-</i>	<i>byeh-</i>
<i>ārāh-</i>	<i>hambrih-</i>	<i>pareh-</i>
<i>bārāh-</i>	<i>khvīh-</i>	<i>yseh-</i>

REVERSE INDEX OF PAST PARTICIPLES

It will be convenient to have here a reverse index of those past participles occurring in the verb-list. It is intended to deal on another occasion with those past participles that lack present stems.

<i>kaṣṭa-</i> < <i>kaś-</i>	<i>vatcāṣṭa-</i> < <i>vatciṣ-</i>
<i>khaṣṭa-</i> < <i>khāś-</i>	<i>*pachāṣṭa-</i> < <i>pachiś-</i>
<i>gyaṣṭa-</i> < <i>gyays-</i>	<i>jiṣṭa-</i> < <i>jiś-</i>
<i>panaṣṭa-</i> < <i>panāś-</i> ; <i>panāśś-</i>	<i>hatāṣṭa-</i> < <i>hatiś-</i>
<i>hanaṣṭa-</i> < <i>hanāś-</i>	<i>rrāṣṭa-</i> < 1. <i>*rrīys-</i>
<i>baṣṭa-</i> < <i>bays-</i>	<i>ṣṣiṣṭa-</i> < <i>ṣṣiś-</i>
<i>pyaṣṭa-</i> < <i>pyays-</i>	<i>vajiṣṭa-</i> < <i>vajiś-</i>
<i>byaṣṭa-</i> < <i>*byays-</i>	<i>pājsāṣṭa-</i> < <i>pājsaś-</i>
<i>rraṣṭa-</i> < <i>rrāś-</i>	<i>pahāṣṭa-</i> < <i>pahiś-</i> ; <i>pahiś-</i>
<i>varaṣṭa-</i> < <i>varāś-</i>	<i>*bihāṣṭa-</i> < <i>*bihīys-</i>
<i>haraṣṭa-</i> < <i>harays-</i> ; <i>harāś-</i>	<i>vahāṣṭa-</i> < <i>vahiś-</i>
<i>birāṣṭa-</i> < <i>birays-</i> ; <i>birāś-</i>	<i>iṣṭa-</i> < <i>iś-</i>
<i>oraṣṭa-</i> < <i>aurāśś-</i>	<i>dīṣṭa-</i> < <i>daj-</i> ; 1. <i>dīśś-</i>
<i>braṣṭa-</i> < <i>puls-</i>	<i>hamdāṣṭa-</i> < <i>hamdaj-</i>
<i>gvaṣṭa-</i> < <i>gways-</i>	<i>hiṣṭa-</i> < <i>hei-</i>
<i>nājsaṣṭa-</i> < <i>nījsaś-</i>	<i>bihiṣṭa-</i> < <i>*bihīys-</i>
<i>haṣṭa-</i> < <i>hays-</i>	<i>kuṣṭa-</i> < 2. <i>*kuś-</i>
<i>kāṣṭa-</i> < <i>kāt-</i>	<i>huṣṭa-</i> < <i>huś-</i>
<i>parchāṣṭa-</i> < <i>parchāś-</i>	<i>hamggūṣṭa-</i> < <i>hamggūs-</i>
<i>pajāṣṭa-</i> < <i>pajāys-</i>	<i>pūṣṭa-</i> < <i>*pūśś-</i>
<i>spāṣṭa-</i> < <i>spāśś-</i>	<i>pyūṣṭa-</i> < <i>pyūś-</i>
<i>byāṣṭa-</i> < <i>byāś-</i> ; <i>biyāśś-</i>	<i>byūṣṭa-</i> < <i>byūs-</i>
<i>khāṣṭa-</i> < <i>khāś-</i>	<i>ysūṣṭa-</i> < <i>ysūs-</i>
<i>hamkhiṣṭa-</i> < <i>hamkhīś-</i>	<i>haiṣṭa-</i> < <i>haiś-</i>

<i>auṣṭa</i> < <i>auś-</i>	<i>yuda</i> < <i>yan-</i>
<i>khaṣṭa</i> < <i>khaṣy-</i> ; <i>khaś-</i>	* <i>ttūda</i> < <i>ttuvar-</i>
<i>āyoṣṭa</i> < <i>āyauys-</i>	<i>nūda</i> < * <i>nuvar-</i>
<i>nyauṣṭa</i> < <i>nyauys-</i>	<i>hūda</i> < <i>haur-</i>
<i>paraṣṭa</i> < <i>paraṣy-</i>	<i>purauḍa</i> < <i>puror-</i>
<i>haṣṭa</i> < <i>haś-</i>	<i>hauḍa</i> < <i>haur-</i>
<i>prahaṣṭa</i> < <i>prahaṣy-</i>	<i>dārṣṭa</i> < <i>dals-</i>
<i>harṣṭa</i> < <i>harāt'</i>	<i>kaṃggata</i> < <i>kaṃggan-</i>
<i>dirṣṭa</i> < <i>dals-</i>	* <i>pacata</i> < <i>pacan-</i>
<i>ggurṣṭa</i> < <i>grūs-</i>	<i>panata</i> < <i>panam-</i>
<i>burṣṭa</i> < <i>burṣ-</i>	<i>hanata</i> < <i>hanem-</i>
<i>ustaḍa</i> < <i>ustar-</i>	<i>spata</i> < <i>spai-</i>
<i>haphaḍa</i> < <i>haphār-</i>	<i>buvata</i> < <i>buvan-</i>
<i>hambaḍa</i> < <i>hambīr-</i>	<i>hwata</i> < <i>hvañ-</i> ; <i>hvañ-</i>
<i>hvaḍa</i> < <i>hvar-</i>	<i>nāṣa'ta</i> < <i>nāṣam-</i>
<i>kāḍa</i> < <i>kār-</i>	<i>sata</i> < * <i>san-</i> (<i>sarb-</i>);
<i>naṣkāḍa</i> < <i>naṣkār-</i>	<i>sāñ-</i>
<i>hamggāḍa</i> < <i>hamggār-</i>	<i>jsata</i> < <i>jañ-</i> ; <i>jsan-</i>
<i>padāḍa</i> < <i>pader-</i>	<i>pajsata</i> < <i>pajsañ-</i>
<i>handāḍa</i> < <i>handār-</i>	<i>paljsata</i> < * <i>paljsan-</i>
<i>pāḍa</i> < 1. * <i>pār-</i> ; 2. <i>pār-</i>	<i>āta</i> < * <i>āgam-</i> (<i>hīs-</i>)
<i>bāḍa</i> < <i>bār-</i> ; <i>ber-</i>	<i>ṣṭāta</i> < <i>ṣṭ-</i>
<i>vabāḍa</i> < <i>vabār-</i>	<i>hiṣṭāta</i> < <i>hei'</i>
<i>hambāḍa</i> < <i>hambēr-</i>	* <i>atāṣṭhāta</i> < <i>adhīṣṭh-</i> LW
<i>kṣāḍa</i> < <i>kṣār-</i>	<i>stāta</i> < <i>ṣṭ-</i>
<i>ysāḍa</i> < <i>ysīr-</i>	<i>pastāta</i> < <i>paṣṭ-</i>
<i>haphāḍa</i> < <i>haphār-</i>	<i>vistāta</i> < <i>viṣṭ-</i> ; <i>viṣṭ-</i>
<i>āphāḍa</i> < <i>āphār-</i>	<i>nuvamthāta</i> < <i>nuvamth-</i>
<i>yāḍa</i> < <i>yan-</i>	<i>nāta</i> < <i>nās-</i>
<i>hayāḍa</i> < <i>hayār-</i>	<i>haysnāta</i> < <i>haysñ-</i>
<i>pāḍa</i> < 1. <i>pīr-</i>	<i>pāta</i> < <i>pai-</i>
<i>bīḍa</i> < 3. <i>bīr-</i>	<i>parāta</i> < <i>parāth-</i>
<i>gvīḍa</i> < 2. <i>gvīr-</i>	<i>vāta</i> < <i>vāj-</i>
<i>jsīḍa</i> < <i>jsīr-</i>	<i>śṣāta</i> < <i>śś-</i>
<i>puda</i> < 1, 2. * <i>par-</i>	<i>paśṣāta</i> < <i>paśś-</i>
<i>paspuda</i> < * <i>paspar-</i>	<i>niśṣāta</i> < <i>niśś-</i>
<i>vaspuda</i> < * <i>vaspar-</i>	<i>huśṣāta</i> < <i>huśś-</i>
<i>āspuda</i> < <i>āspar-</i>	* <i>ggei'sāta</i> < <i>ggei'ls-</i>
<i>buda</i> < <i>bar-</i>	<i>ysāta</i> < <i>ysan-</i> ; <i>ysai-</i>
<i>muda</i> < <i>mār-</i>	* <i>thursāta</i> < <i>thurs-</i>
* <i>patāmuda</i> < <i>patāmar-</i>	* <i>vyachāta</i> < <i>vyach-</i>
<i>sumuda</i> < <i>sumār-</i>	* <i>sūchāta</i> < <i>sūch-</i>
* <i>ṣṣuda</i> < <i>ṣṣarr-</i>	<i>jāta</i> < <i>jin-</i> ; <i>jīy-</i>
<i>guda</i> < 2. <i>gvīr-</i>	<i>aviṣṣāgyāta</i> < <i>aviṣṣimj-</i> LW

<i>uskujāta</i> < <i>uskuj-</i>	<i>dyta</i> < <i>dījs-</i>
<i>bāhujāta</i> < * <i>bāhuj-</i>	<i>numandrāta</i> < <i>numandrai-</i> LW
* <i>bisimjāta</i> < * <i>bisimj-</i>	<i>parrāta</i> < <i>parrīj-</i> ; <i>pars-</i>
<i>buljāta</i> < <i>bulj-</i>	<i>paranārvyta</i> < <i>paranīrv-</i> LW
<i>mañāta</i> < <i>mañ-</i>	<i>vihlāta</i> < <i>vihl-</i> LW
<i>dyāñāta</i> < <i>dyāñ-</i>	<i>āvulāta</i> < <i>āvul-</i> LW
<i>berāñāta</i> < <i>berāñ-</i>	<i>vāta</i> < <i>ah-</i>
* <i>huśṣāñāta</i> < <i>huśṣāñ-</i>	<i>cavāta</i> < <i>cav-</i> LW
<i>bārūñāta</i> < <i>bārūñ-</i>	<i>stavāta</i> < <i>stav-</i> (LW)
* <i>kūtāta</i> < <i>kūt-</i> LW	* <i>bhāvāta</i> < <i>bhāv-</i> LW
* <i>āṣṭāta</i> < * <i>āṣṭ-</i>	<i>śśāvāta</i> < * <i>śśāv-</i> LW
* <i>nyūṣṭāta</i> < <i>nyūṣṭ-</i>	* <i>paridivāta</i> < <i>paridiv-</i> LW
* <i>pajarūṣṭāta</i> < <i>pajarūṣṭ-</i>	<i>armivāta</i> < <i>armiv-</i> LW
<i>eṣṭāta</i> < <i>eṣṭ-</i>	* <i>cevāta</i> < <i>cev-</i>
* <i>pajsiṭhāta</i> < * <i>pajsiṭh-</i>	* <i>pajsamevāta</i> < <i>pajsamev-</i>
<i>ayāṣṭhāta</i> < <i>adhīṣṭh-</i> LW	* <i>vāśāta</i> < <i>vāś-</i> LW
<i>pravarttāta</i> < <i>pravartt-</i> LW	* <i>parśāta</i> < <i>parś-</i>
* <i>anuvarttāta</i> < <i>anuvartt-</i> LW	<i>braśśāta</i> < <i>braśś-</i>
<i>dīta</i> < <i>dai-</i>	* <i>dāśśāta</i> < <i>dāśś-</i>
* <i>ciṃdāta</i> < <i>ciṃd-</i> LW	* <i>nvāśśāta</i> < <i>nvāśś-</i>
* <i>bāysdāta</i> < <i>bāysdai-</i>	* <i>phīśśāta</i> < * <i>phīśś-</i>
<i>uysdāta</i> < <i>uysdai-</i>	<i>bitcūśśāta</i> < <i>bitcūśś-</i>
<i>āchānnāta</i> < * <i>āchānn-</i> LW	<i>ggei'śśāta</i> < <i>ggei'śś-</i>
* <i>nyāpāta</i> < <i>nyāp-</i> LW	<i>ājīṣāta</i> < <i>ājīṣ-</i> LW
<i>uthepāta</i> < * <i>uthep-</i> LW	<i>huśṣāta</i> < <i>huśṣ-</i>
<i>haspāta</i> < <i>haspās-</i> ; <i>haspūj-</i>	* <i>bajēṣṣāta</i> < <i>bajēṣṣ-</i>
<i>pamāta</i> < <i>paṃj-</i>	<i>namasāta</i> < <i>namas-</i> LW
<i>vibrāmāta</i> < <i>vibrām-</i> LW	* <i>vamasāta</i> < <i>vamas-</i>
* <i>pariṇāmāta</i> < <i>pariṇām-</i> LW	<i>āhusāta</i> < * <i>āhus-</i>
<i>hāmāta</i> < <i>hām-</i>	<i>naṣṭosāta</i> < <i>naṣṭos-</i>
<i>ūmāta</i> < <i>ūm-</i>	* <i>hambujśāta</i> < 2. <i>hambujś-</i>
<i>nārmāta</i> < <i>nārmān-</i>	<i>patātsāta</i> < <i>patāts-</i>
<i>nārsāyāta</i> < <i>nārsāy-</i> LW	<i>ysāta</i> < <i>ysān-</i>
<i>pūyāta</i> < <i>pūy-</i>	<i>āysāta</i> < <i>āysān-</i>
<i>vūyāta</i> < * <i>vūy-</i>	<i>vāysāta</i> < <i>vāys-</i> LW
* <i>sahyāta</i> < <i>sahy-</i> LW	<i>ahāvāysāta</i> < <i>ahāvāys-</i> LW
<i>usahyāta</i> < <i>usahy-</i> LW	<i>bīrīysāta</i> < <i>bīrīys-</i>
<i>carāta</i> < <i>car-</i> LW	<i>thursāta</i> < <i>thurs-</i>
<i>vyātarāta</i> < <i>vyāgar-</i> LW	<i>ggarahāta</i> < * <i>ggarah-</i> LW
<i>harīta</i> < <i>hars-</i>	<i>ārāhāta</i> < <i>ārāh-</i> LW
<i>ggārāta</i> < <i>ggān-</i>	* <i>virāhāta</i> < <i>virāh-</i> LW
* <i>uysgārāta</i> < <i>uysgār-</i>	* <i>sāhāta</i> < <i>sāh-</i> LW
<i>orāta</i> < <i>āvun-</i>	<i>skuta</i> < <i>skau-</i> ; <i>skauy-</i>
* <i>ālamgrāta</i> < <i>ālamgr-</i> LW	* <i>hamggūta</i> < <i>hamggūj-</i>

<i>pachuta</i> < <i>pachus</i>	<i>drautta</i> < <i>drāh-</i>
<i>juta</i> < 1. <i>juv-</i>	<i>kṣautta</i> < 1. <i>kṣāv-</i>
<i>ṣtuta</i> < <i>ṣt-</i>	<i>prakṣautta</i> < * <i>prakṣiv-</i>
<i>paṣtuta</i> < * <i>paṣtu-</i>	* <i>nikṣautta</i> < <i>nikṣuv-</i>
<i>paṭhuta</i> < <i>paṭhu-</i>	<i>ysautta</i> < <i>ysavy-</i>
* <i>paduta</i> < <i>padav-</i>	<i>suhautta</i> < * <i>suhev-</i> LW
* <i>uysduta</i> < <i>uysdav-</i>	* <i>khamtta</i> < <i>khan-</i>
<i>vanuta</i> < <i>vanau-</i>	<i>bihamtta</i> < <i>bihan-</i>
* <i>paphuta</i> < <i>paphūj-</i>	<i>khasta</i> < <i>khad-</i>
<i>hamphuta</i> < * <i>hamphus-</i> ; * <i>hamphūj-</i>	<i>naṣkhasta</i> < <i>naṣkhajs-</i>
* <i>parbuta</i> < <i>parbav-</i>	<i>uskhasta</i> < <i>uskhajs-</i>
* <i>darruta</i> < <i>darrv-</i>	<i>gatcasta</i> < <i>gatcañ-</i>
* <i>niruta</i> < <i>nirūj-</i>	<i>vatcasta</i> < * <i>vatcañ-</i>
<i>uysgruta</i> < * <i>uysgru-</i>	<i>hatcasta</i> < <i>hatcañ-</i> ; <i>hatey-</i>
* <i>ṣṣuta</i> < <i>ṣṣun-</i>	<i>nitcasta</i> < * <i>nitcañ-</i>
* <i>pasuta</i> < <i>pasūj-</i> ; <i>pasūjs-</i>	<i>gyasta</i> < <i>jah-</i>
<i>vasuta</i> < <i>vasus-</i> ; <i>vasūj-</i>	<i>pasta</i> < <i>pat-</i>
<i>tsuta</i> < <i>tsu-</i>	<i>basta</i> < <i>bañ-</i> ; <i>bai-</i>
<i>naltsuta</i> < <i>naltsu-</i>	<i>pabasta</i> < <i>pabañ-</i>
* <i>ysuta</i> < <i>ysun-</i>	<i>hambasta</i> < <i>hambañ-</i>
<i>buysuta</i> < <i>buysai-</i>	<i>varrasta</i> < <i>varrad-</i>
<i>nihuta</i> < <i>nihujs-</i>	<i>harasta</i> < <i>harañ-</i>
<i>ggūta</i> < <i>ggūch-</i> ; <i>ggūs-</i>	<i>āvasta</i> < <i>āvad-</i>
<i>būta</i> < <i>būṣṣ-</i>	<i>ttāhvasta</i> < <i>ttāhvah-</i>
<i>nyūta</i> < <i>nyūj-</i>	<i>nvasta</i> < 1. <i>nvad-</i>
<i>sūta</i> < <i>sūjs-</i>	<i>hvasta</i> < <i>hvah-</i>
<i>hūta</i> < <i>hūs-</i>	<i>nei' hvasta</i> < <i>nei' hvah-</i>
<i>paṣkauta</i> < <i>paṣkaus-</i>	<i>ṣasta</i> < * <i>ṣad-</i>
<i>vo'ta</i> < <i>vau's-</i>	<i>nāta'sta</i> < <i>nād-</i>
<i>ākṣutta</i> < <i>ākṣwo-</i>	<i>puva'sta</i> < <i>puva'd-</i>
<i>byūta</i> < <i>byūh-</i>	<i>buva'sta</i> < <i>buva'd-</i>
<i>autta</i> < <i>eh-</i>	<i>sasta</i> < <i>sad-</i>
<i>dukhautta</i> < <i>dukhev-</i> LW	<i>pasasta</i> < <i>pasad-</i>
* <i>paltcautta</i> < <i>paltcimph-</i>	<i>vahasta</i> < * <i>vahad-</i>
<i>bajautta</i> < <i>bajev-</i>	<i>ihasta</i> < <i>uhy-</i>
* <i>khijautta</i> < * <i>khijev-</i> LW	<i>pāhasta</i> < <i>pāhad-</i>
<i>ysānautta</i> < <i>ysānāh-</i>	<i>guhasta</i> < <i>guhād-</i>
<i>upautta</i> < <i>upev-</i> LW	<i>āsta</i> < <i>āh-</i>
<i>kṣamotta</i> < <i>kṣamev-</i> (LW)	<i>pātāsta</i> < <i>pātāy-</i>
<i>samautta</i> < 2. <i>samev-</i> LW	<i>stāsta</i> < <i>stās-</i>
<i>ārautta</i> < <i>ārūh-</i>	<i>bāsta</i> < <i>bāy-</i>
<i>patārotta</i> < <i>pārah-</i>	<i>māsta</i> < <i>mad-</i>
<i>hamgrautta</i> < <i>hamgrih-</i>	<i>ttrāsta</i> < <i>ttrāy-</i>
	<i>pravāsta</i> < * <i>pravāy-</i>

<i>ttuvāsta</i> < <i>ttuvāy-</i>	<i>proda</i> < <i>prev-</i>
<i>nvāsta</i> < <i>nvāy-</i>	<i>āṣtānda</i> < * <i>āṣtāñ-</i>
<i>nāśa'sta</i> < * <i>niśa'y-</i>	<i>bitānda</i> < <i>bitam-</i>
<i>jīsta</i> < * <i>jad-</i>	<i>āṣtānda</i> < <i>āṣtāñ-</i>
<i>pajīsta</i> < <i>pajād-</i>	<i>dānda</i> < 1. <i>dim-</i>
<i>dīsta</i> < <i>did-</i>	* <i>dānda</i> < 2. * <i>dīm-</i>
* <i>gganīsta</i> < <i>gganīh-</i>	<i>padānda</i> < <i>padīm-</i>
<i>bīsta</i> < <i>bid-</i>	* <i>vadānda</i> < * <i>vadīm-</i>
<i>hamāsta</i> < <i>hamāh-</i> ; <i>hamīh-</i>	<i>paphānda</i> < <i>paphan-</i>
<i>ggīsta</i> < <i>ggīh-</i>	<i>pyānda</i> < <i>pyan-</i>
<i>pvīsta</i> < <i>pvīys-</i>	<i>narānda</i> < <i>narām-</i>
* <i>ṣkūsta</i> < * <i>ṣkav-</i>	<i>ttrānda</i> < <i>ttrām-</i>
<i>hamggūsta</i> < <i>hamggun-</i>	<i>uysānda</i> < <i>uysan-</i>
<i>uysgūsta</i> < <i>uysgun-</i>	<i>vahānda</i> < <i>vahan-</i>
<i>justa</i> < 2. <i>juv-</i>	<i>paphānda</i> < <i>paphāñ-</i>
<i>pajūsta</i> < <i>pajud-</i>	<i>mānda</i> < 1. <i>māñ-</i>
<i>būsta</i> < <i>bud-</i>	* <i>mānda</i> < 2. <i>māñ-</i>
<i>rrūsta</i> < <i>rrūd-</i> ; <i>rrūy-</i>	<i>pārānda</i> < <i>pārāñ-</i>
<i>sūsta</i> < <i>sūh-</i>	<i>ysānda</i> < <i>ysāñ-</i>
<i>paraūsta</i> < <i>pareh-</i>	<i>paysānda</i> < <i>paysāñ-</i>
<i>hōsta</i> < <i>hot</i>	<i>haysānda</i> < <i>haysāñ-</i>
<i>parsta</i> < <i>parī-</i>	<i>biysānda</i> < <i>biysāñ-</i>
<i>ārsta</i> < <i>ārīh-</i>	<i>ājūnda</i> < <i>ājum-</i>
<i>hārsta</i> < * <i>hārūd-</i>	* <i>parkūnda</i> < * <i>parkun-</i>
<i>pārsta</i> < <i>prīh-</i>	<i>ttūnda</i> < * <i>ttum-</i>
<i>hambīrsta</i> < <i>hambrih-</i>	<i>ṣkāunda</i> < <i>ṣkīm-</i>
<i>nāmālsta</i> < <i>nīmaly-</i>	<i>haṣkāunda</i> < <i>haṣkīm-</i>
* <i>ggūmalsta</i> < * <i>ggūmal-</i>	* <i>naṣḍāunda</i> < * <i>naṣḍem-</i>
<i>ttūmalsta</i> < * <i>ttūmalys-</i>	* <i>ātaunda</i> < <i>ātīm-</i>
<i>pātālsta</i> < <i>pātāl-</i>	<i>pātaunda</i> < <i>pātem-</i>
<i>kīlsta</i> < <i>ker-</i>	<i>daunda</i> < * <i>dem-</i>
* <i>niṣkālsta</i> < <i>niṣkal-</i>	<i>uysdaunda</i> < <i>uysdem-</i>
<i>pāṣkālsta</i> < <i>pāṣkal-</i>	* <i>braunda</i> < <i>brem-</i>
<i>saṃkhalsta</i> < <i>saṃkhal-</i>	* <i>kṣaunda</i> < <i>kṣam-</i> (LW)
<i>hamggālsta</i> < <i>hamggad-</i>	<i>sonda</i> < <i>sam-</i>
<i>patālsta</i> < <i>patālt-</i>	* <i>hājsaunda</i> < <i>hājsem-</i>
<i>ggūmalsta</i> < * <i>ggūmal-</i>	<i>hājsonda</i> < <i>hājsem-</i>
<i>pūlsta</i> < <i>pvīys-</i> (?)	<i>naļsonda</i> < <i>naļsem-</i>
* <i>hamggeilsta</i> < * <i>hamggeils-</i>	* <i>paļsonda</i> < <i>paļsem-</i>
<i>naṣtaunda</i> < 1. * <i>naṣtav-</i>	* <i>tsaunda</i> < <i>tsām-</i>
<i>ttāunda</i> < <i>ttav-</i>	<i>paṣtarrda</i> < * <i>paṣtarr-</i>
<i>pātāunda</i> < <i>pātāv-</i>	<i>baṣtarrda</i> < <i>baṣtarr-</i>
<i>hāndaunda</i> < * <i>hāndav-</i>	<i>starrda</i> < <i>starr-</i>
<i>byāunda</i> < <i>byev-</i> ; <i>byeh-</i>	<i>nihvarrda</i> < <i>nāhvarr-</i>

ārrda- < ārr-
 purrda- < purr-
 murrda- < murr-
 vamurrda- < vamurr-
 nyūrrda- < *nyūrr-
 pherrda- < *pherr-
 kūysda- < kūś-
 pattīya- < pattamj-
 thīya- < thamj-; thīs-
 pathīya- < pathamj-;
 pathīs-
 usthīya- < usthamj-
 padīya- < padajś-
 biya- < biś-
 rrīya- < rrīj-
 pārīya- < pārāmj-
 krīya- < kalj-
 haṃgrīya- < haṃggalj-;
 haṃgrīs-
 naṣkrīya- < naṣkalj-
 naṣṭhrīya- < *naṣṭhrīs-
 strīya- < *strāmj-; strīs-
 pastrīya- < *pastrāmj-;
 pastrīs-

haṃthriya- < haṃthraj-;
 haṃthris-
 haṃdrīya- < haṃdrīs-
 haṣprīya- < haṣprīs-
 tcabrīya- < tcabalj-;
 tcabrīs-
 pajsabrīya- < *pajsabalj-
 gujsabrīya- < gujsabalj-;
 gujsabrīs-
 hahrīya- < *hahalj-
 *āhrīya- < *āhalj-
 sīya- < sāj-
 biysīya- < biysamj-
 pahīya- < pahīs-; pahāj-
 *vahīya- < vahaj-
 prhīya- < *pahālj-;
 prahālj-;
 prahīs-
 nuhīya- < nuhamj-
 nrhīya- < nihalj-
 pravaiya- < pravai- LW
 paha- < pach-
 gvaha- < gvach-

VERB CLASSES

THE Sanskrit present system is still usually described by means of the ten classes taught by native Indian grammarians from an early date. This description is usually refined by superimposing a further classification into two conjugations. An example of this type of classification may be seen in W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*, 1889, pp. 228 ff.¹ Whitney's system was applied to Avestan by A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta Grammar*, i, 1892, 137 ff. C. Bartholomae in *GIP*, i, 67 ff. developed a more elaborate system of thirty-two present classes,² having mainly in view the description of Avestan.

By and large, Bartholomae's description is still valid, although in some respects it is antiquated. Thus, his present 25 would not now be maintained. A practical disadvantage of the system he created is that there is nothing with which to associate thirty-two numerals. In describing the present stems found in Khotanese, I have therefore developed a new system of classification based essentially on Bartholomae. It has the advantage that there are a small number of groups of presents having common characteristics. Both the number of groups and the number of subdivisions can easily be increased as required.

In the table below the present classification adopted here is set out accompanied by references to the appropriate class number of Bartholomae. Roman numerals in brackets give the traditional Indian class numbers.

Abbreviations: Rf = root in full grade; Rz = root in zero grade; R̄ = root in lengthened form; (n) = nasal contained in root; rd. = reduplicated; int. rd. = intensive reduplication.

In the verb list, further classification on a purely descriptive level was thought to be useful, because all Khotanese verbs fall into one of the following categories based on the 3 sg. and 3 pl. pres.:

- A. -iti, -īndi| -ite, -āre
- B. -ti, -īndi| -te, -āre
- C. -aitā, -aindā
- D. -aiyā, -aindā| -aiye, -(i)yāre

These categories are always maintained in Old Khotanese, and are only partly obscured in Late Khotanese.

¹ Essentially the same type of description is to be found in the most recent grammar by L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, 1961, 416 ff.

² For literature on the present classes, see K. Brugmann, *Grundriß*, ii, 3, 1, 1913, 43 and J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Kratylos*, vii, 1, 1962, 25.

I. Primary

(a) Rf/Rz	<i>ds-ti</i> ; <i>y-ánti</i> (ii)	B1
(b) Rf+a	<i>bhávati</i> (i)	B2
(c) Rz+d	<i>tudáti</i> (vi)	B3
(d) R̄±a	<i>rāṣṭi</i> ; <i>rājati</i>	B4

II. Reduplicated

(a) rd. Rf/Rz (occas. them.)	<i>juhóti</i> (iii)	B5
(b) rd. Rz+d	<i>tṣṭhati</i>	B6
(c) int. rd. Rf/Rz (occas. them.)	<i>cárkarti</i> Intensive	B7

III. Nasal

(a) Rz (n)+d	<i>vindáti</i>	B9
(b) Rz+nā/n (occas. them.)	<i>punáti</i> (ix)	B11
(c) Rz+nau/nu (occas. them.)	<i>sunóti</i> (v); <i>tanóti</i> (viii)	B10
(d) Rf (n)+aya	Av. <i>sčimbaya-</i>	B9+24

IV. Sibilant

(a) R+IE *sk+a	<i>rccháti</i> Inchoative	B14
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V. Yod

(a) Rz+ay+a (occas. Rf)	<i>iṣayati</i>	B24
(b) Rf+y+a	<i>ndśyati</i> (iv)	B26
(c) Rz+y+a	<i>yujyáte</i> Passive	B27
(d) R̄+y+a	<i>śrámyati</i>	B28
(e) R̄/Rf+d̄y+a	<i>pātayati</i> ; <i>vardháyati</i> (x) Causative/Iterative	B30

VI. Denominative

(a) noun ±a	<i>bhiṣákti</i>	B32
(b) noun (±a)+y+a	<i>bhiṣajyáti</i>	B31

LOANWORDS

Loanwords were not given verb classes in the verb list. Such information as could be deduced concerning their inflection is summarized here:

- A. (i) act. mid. X¹: *anuj-*, *anuvartt-*, *ārāh-*, *āśvās-*, *uchānn-*, *usāv-*, *jamph-*, *dukhev-*, *nivartt-*, *pakūt-*, *parikalp-*, *pracav-*, *bhāv-*, *vāys-*, *vyusthah-*, *sāh-*.

¹ X in this section means 'unknown'.

- (ii) act.: *armūw-*, *aviṣṣimj-*, *ājīṣ-*, *usahy-*, *kṣam-*, *khij-*, *car-*, *ciṃd-*, *jāy-*, *tṣṣṭh-*, *nyāp-*, *paraniv-*, *parinām-*, *pravartt-*, *rakṣ-*, *ram-*, *vartt-*, *vaśv-*, *vās-*, *sahy-*, *sāj-*.

- (iii) mid.: *adhīṣṭh-*, *upev-*.

- A/B. (i) act.: *añāy-*, *uhar-*, *cav-*, *mich-*, *vavaj-*, *vikalp-*, *virāh-*, *vibram-*, *vihīl-*, *vūs-*, *vyāgar-*, *ṣṣaddah-*, *stav-*.

- (ii) mid.: *pīp-*, *bihar-*.

- B. act.: *ahāvāys-*, *namas-*.

- D. act.: *nimandrai-*, *praysai-*, *pravai-*.

Unless therefore a present is of type A or D one should be cautious about accepting it as a loanword.

CLASS Ia

- B. (i) act. intr.: *ah-*.
(ii) mid. intr.: *āh-*, *jsā-*, *byau-*.

Surprising here is *byau-*. See also *bījsā-*.

CLASS Ib

- A/B. (i) act.: *āljs-*, *uysdav-*, *usphan-*, *kas-*, *gujsar-*, *najs-*, **nīphan-*, *niṣkal-*, *pāṣkal-*, *pyan-*, *van-*, *vavat-*, *hays-*, *hasv-*, **hārūd-*.

- (ii) mid.: *ātas-*, *āyauys-*, *ttav-*, *tcāṣ'*, **nalysv-*, *nyauys-*, *patāmar-*, *ban-*, *bays-*, *bitar-*, *byav-*, *byūv'*, *hamggūṣ-*, *hamdajs-*, *hataljs-*.

- B. (i) act.: *āspar-* (? Ic), *ustar-*, *kāt'*, *khan-*, *grūs-*, *jsan-*, *ttajs-*, **ttumalys-*, *ttuvar-*, *tsu-*, *nimalys-*, **nuvar-*, *pajs-*, *pat-*, *padajs-*, *panīys-*, *paphan-*, **paljsan-*, *pārān-*, *puror-*, *pūhāt-*, *pyays-*, **biysajs-*, *buwan-*, *byajs-*, *ysan-*, 1. **rrīys-*, *rrūd-*, *varrad-*, *vahan-*, **škav-*, *sūjs-*, *hambrūd-*, *haur-*, *hvar-*.

- (ii) mid.: *uskūṣ-*, *uskhajs-*, *oys-*, *kaljs-*, *khausy-*, *ggad-*, *gvays-*, *jah-*, *ttās-*, *naṣkhajs-*, *nijsaṣ-*, 1. *nuvad-*, *nuvalys-*, *nyas-*, *nyūd-*, *pachīys-*, *parruṣ-*, *parausy-*, *pasuṣ-*, *pasūjs-*, *pahīys-*, *pārajs-*, *pājsaṣ-*, *pyūṣ-*, *baḍ-*, *birays-*, *birrīys-*, *bihījs-*, *būd-*, *ysūṣ-*, 2. *rrīys-*, *vajsāṣ-*, *vatajs-*, *vaticiṣ-*, *vahīys-*, *spal-*, *sphan-*, **hamggad-*, *hamjsaṣ-*, *hatijs-*, *harays-*, *harāt'*, *hariys-*, *huṣ-*, *hot-*.

- (iii) act. tr./mid. intr.: *dajs-*, **dav-*, *padav-*, *bar-*, *birāt'*, *saṃkhal-*.

See also *ajs-*, *naṣkhan-*, *bihan-*, *pāramjs-*.

- D. *uysdai-*, *dai-*, *bāysdai-* (all act.). See also *parnai-*,

CLASS Ic

- A. mid. intr.: *śś-*.

- A/B. (i) act. intr.: *nājs-*.

- (ii) mid. tr.: *paṃjs-*; mid. intr.: 2. *juv-*.

- B. (i) act.: *ākṣuv-*, *ūmījs-*, *nikṣuv-*, *nād-*, *nāmājs-*, *nihujs-*, *bijs-*, *bid-*,
1, 2. *hambujs-*, *huṣṣ-*, *heī-*.
(ii) mid.: 1. *kuṣ-*, *drjs-*, *bud-*, *ṣṣis-*, *hamāh-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *pajud-*, *patält-*, *burs-*, *hambid-*.

CLASS I d

The existence of this class was denied by Andreas-Wackernagel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1931, 325-6 and again by F. B. J. Kuiper, *AO*, xvii, 1939, 42, but reaffirmed by Benv., *MSL*, xxiii. 6, 1935, 395 and H. W. B., *Schayer Vol.*, 1957, 61. Note that in Khotanese *kār-* Id is phonologically distinct from *ker-* Ve. This class in Khotanise is characterized by B inflection, *-ā-* vocalism, and absence of palatalization.

A/B. act.: *kār-*; mid.: *ysār-*.

- B. (i) act.: *binās-*, *vanās-*, *vabār-*, *hamggār-*.
(ii) mid.: *nās-*, *pajāys-*, *vanau-*, *handār-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *naṣkār-*, *skau-*.
D. *ttātsu-*, *naltsu-*, *vatsu-*; *paṭhu-* (probably all act.); *buysai-*.
pätäl- (B), *buysai-* (D) have act. tr./mid. intr. See also *ṣumār-*.

CLASS II a

Two verbs only left in this class, both thematicized: *did-* (mid.), *parāth-*.

CLASS II b

- A. (i) act. intr.: *eṣṭ-*, *paṣṭ-*, *vaṣṭ-*.
(ii) mid. intr.: *ṣṭ-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: **āṣṭ-*.
B. mid. intr.: *jīṣ-*.
ṣumār- II b+I d act. tr. B.

CLASS II c

- B. act. *kaṃggan-*.

CLASS III a

- A/B. act. tr.: *uysgun-*, *haraṇ-*.
B. mid. intr.: *nuvaṃṭh-*.
Here also **rran-*, *hamggun-*.

CLASS III b

- A/B. act. tr.: *ysān-*.
B. (i) act.: *jīn-*, *nārmān-*, *purr-*, *biysān-*, *man-*, *hamān-*.
(ii) mid.: *āysān-*, *ggān-*, *nāhvarr-*.
(iii) act. or mid.: *naṣkīrr-*, *paysān-*, *yan-*, *hamurr-*.

According to their form, the following also belong here: *ārr-*, *āvun-*, *uysgār-* (mid.), **ttun-*, **nyūrr-*, **parkun-*, **paṣṭarr-*, *baṣṭarr-*, *ysun-*, *vamurr-*, *vaysān-*, *ṣṣarr-*, *ṣṣun-*, *starr-*, *haysān-*.

CLASS III c

A/B. mid.: *darrv-*.

CLASS III d

- A. (i) act. tr.: *ṣimj-*, *pyūmj-*, *ṣkim-*, *hatcañ-*, *haṣkīm-*.
(ii) mid. tr.: *biysamj-*.
(iii) act. mid. X: *byūmj-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *hamdranj-*.

Here also: **naltcīmph-*, *paltcīmph-* (both A. tr.); **gatcañ-*, **nitcañ-*, *bitcañ-*, *vamj-*, **vatcañ-*.

CLASS IV a

- A/B. act. intr.: *padaus-*, *parrus-*, **hamphus-*, *hastris-*.
B. (i) act. tr.: *puls-*, *biysis-*, *vamas-*.
(ii) act. intr.: *ārīs-*, *uysgurs-*, *ūs-*, *gujsabris-*, *ggūs-*, *ttaus-*, *tcabris-*, *thīs-*, **nirus-*, *nāṣa's-*, *pachus-*, *pathīs-*, *pandīs-*, *pars-*, *pahīs-*, *pārīs-*, *prahīs-*, *byūs-*, 1. *rrus-*, 2. **rrus-*, *vaṣprīs-*, *vasus-*, *stās-*, *strīs-*, *hamgrīs-*, *hamīhrīs-*, *hamdrīs-*, *hambus-*, *hars-*, *haspās-*, *hīs-*, *hūs-*.
(iii) mid.: **ābei'ls-*, *ggei'ls-*, *nyūs-* (all intr.), *thūs-* (tr.).
(iv) act. or mid. intr.: *īs-*.

Also belong here: **āhus-*, *usphīs-*, *krīs-*, *guṣprīs-*, *jsaus-*, *thurs-*, *naṣṭos-*, **naṣṭhrīs-*, *paṭīs-*, *paṣkaus-*, *pastrīs-*, **prhīs-*, **bihīs-*, *vau's-*, **hamggeils-*, *haṣprīs-*, *hahāls-*.

The inchoatives relate to the root as follows:

*a < IE *ṇ	<i>vamas-</i>	<i>mañ-</i>
*ā	<i>stās-</i>	° <i>stā-</i>
*i	<i>hīs-</i>	

*u	uysgurs- ihūs-	uysgru- °thu- (cf. pathu-; hamthuta-)		
*k/g	kris- biysīs- *bihis-	kalj- biysamj- bihijs-		
*k	ggūs- *naṣṭhris- nyūs- parrus- pars- *prhis- prahis- I. rrus- vasus- vau's- hamthris- hars- haspās-	ggūch- nyūj- parrij- *pahālĵ- prahālĵ- vasūj- hamthraj- haspāj-		
*g	ārīs- usphīs- gujsabrīs- guṣprīs- tcabrīs- thīs- *nirus- pathīs- pandīs- pastrīs- ggei'ls- *ābei'ls-	*ārramj- *gujsabalj- °spalgy- tcabalj- thamj- nirūj- pathamj- padajs- *pastramj- ggaḍ- baḍ-	pāris- 2. *rrus- vaṣprīs- strīs- hamgrīs- hamdrīs- hamphūs- haṣprīs- hastrīs-	pāramj- °rūj- °spalgy- *stramj- hamggalj- hamdramj- hamphūj- haṣpalgy- °stramj-
*t				
*d	*āhus- nāsa's- hambus-	nād- bud-		
*p	ūs- jsaus- ttaus- naṣṭos-	ttav- I. *naṣṭav-	pachus- padaus- hūs-	
*ṣ < IE *s	īs- patīs-	ppp. iṣṭa- " "		
*s < IE *k	puls-	ppp. braṣṭa-		
*h < IE *s	byūs-	ppp. byūṣṭa-		

Uncertain are paṣkaus-, hahāls-.

CLASS V a

Type A inflection without modification of the root vowel is a feature of this class. Here also belong the peculiar presents of type C inflection (except for *bad-* < **badya-* V c, with which they have coalesced). These cannot represent a transfer to I b, as from, e.g., **sadati*, **pasadati*, one would expect **sittā*, **pasittā*, like *varrittā* < **ava-radati*, but one has *saittā*, *pasaittā*, like *baittā* < **badyati*.

A/B. act. tr.: *naṣdam-*, *pabañ-*, **prakṣiv-*, *hambañ-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: tr., I. *kṣāv-*, *bam-*, *maṁth-*; intr., *binam-*, *hanam-*.
(ii) act. tr.: *dam-*, *bañ-*, *bulj-*.
(iii) act. intr.: *ysah-*, *sam-*, *sarb-*.
(iv) mid. intr.: *panam-*.

- C. act.: *āvad-*, *khad-*, *khah-*, *gguhā-*, *ttāhvah-*, *ne' hvah-*, *pasad-*, *puva'd-*, *buva'd-*, *mad-*, *sad-*, *hvah-*.

Here also belong: 2. **nuvad-*, *pāhad-*, **vahad-*.

CLASS V b

This class is characterized by palatalization and division between types A and B, *-ya having some effect but not necessarily coalescing with *-aya as in V e. -ū-, as often, is sometimes not palatalized, probably due to words already with a palatal such as *byūh-*, *jūh-*, *sūch-*. Such are *rrūh-*, *ārūh-*. *ysānāh-*, if correctly explained (p. 113), is surprising. Either -ā- prevented palatalization or else the word was associated with V d.

- A/B. (i) act. tr.: *ggūch-*.
(ii) mid.: *nuvaṣt-*, *rrūh-*, *vaṣ-*, *hats-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: *ārūh-*, *khvāh-*, *jūh-*, *peh-*, *bīḥ-*, *ysānāh-*, *sūch-*, *hambīḥ-*, *haysñ-*.
(ii) act.: *niśś-*, *paśś-*, *byeh-*, *viśt-*, *hanaśś-*.
(iii) mid.: *eh-*, *mañ-*.
(iv) act. tr./mid. intr.: *byūh-*.

- B. (i) act. mid. X: **jad-*, 3. *bīr-*, *braśś-*.
(ii) act.: *pajād-*, *baś-*, *biyāśś-*.
(iii) mid.: *kaśś-*, *panaśś-*.

- D. (i) act. tr.: *pai-*.
(ii) mid.: *spai-*.

Here also belong: 2. *gvīr-*, **pajṣīḥ-*, *patāts-*, *sauy-*, *skauy-*. See also *parnai-*, *hamgrīh-*.

CLASS Vc

- A. (i) act. intr. (= pass.): **niruj-*, *baj-*.
 (ii) act. tr. or intr.: *vyach-*.
 (iii) mid. intr. (= pass.): *āy-*.
- A/B. (i) act. tr.: **pūśt-*.
 (ii) mid. intr. (= pass.): *kañ-*, *kṣiy-*, *kṣār-*, **ysir-*, *hatcy-*.
- B. (i) act. intr.: *hambīr-*, *hayār-*.
 (ii) mid. intr.: *āphār-*, *uskuj-*, **gruśt-*, *gvach-*, 1. *gvīr-*, *jīy-*, *jsañ-*,
daj-, *pach-*, *pajīy-*, *pajsañ-*, *parvach-*, *mār-*, *haphār-*, *hvañ-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: **pachiś-* (intr. pass.), 2. *pūr-*.

In this group probably belong: 2. *pūr-*, *phīr-*, 2. *būr-* (A/B act. intr.),
 **śīr-*, *handaj-*.

C. act. intr. (= pass.): 1. *bad-*, *hambad-*.

D. mid. intr. (= pass.): *ysai-*.

See also *naṣphaj-*.

CLASS Vd

A/B. *parrām-* act. tr.

- A. *ttrām-* tr. intr. mid. (O.Kh.); act. or mid. (L.Kh.).
narām- tr. intr. act.
drāh- intr. act.; *bārāh-* intr.

CLASS Ve

This is by far the largest class. One of the most noticeable general characteristics of Indo-Iranian in general is to emphasize the contrast between tr. and intr. even at the expense of other distinctions. In Khotanise this is seen in the constant opposition of intr. inch. to tr. caus.

All members of this class show both palatalization and type A inflection. Palatalization is as follows: *-js* > *-j*; *-n* > *-ñ*; *-st* > *-št*; **-zd* > *-śd*; *-d* > *-y*; *-ys* > *-ś*; *-s* > *-śś*; *a* > *i* over *m*ph, *m*, *r*, *h*; *ā* > *e* over *m*, *r*, *v*, *h*.

The stems will be treated in order of their final consonant:

-j

- aj *uskhaj-*, *naṣkhaj-*, *vahaj-*, *hamthraj-*.
 -āj *pahāj-*, *byāj-*, *ysānāj-*, *vāj-*, *sāj-*, *hamphāj-*.
 -aṅj **ārraṅj-*, *usthaṅj-*, *thaṅj-*, *nuhaṅj-*, *pattaṅj-*, *pathaṅj-*,
 **pastraṅj-*, *pāraṅj-*, *bāthaṅj-*, **straṅj-*.
 -alj **āhalj-*, *uskalj-*, *kalj-*, *ggalj-*, **gujsabalj-*, *tcabalj-*, *naṣkalj-*,
nihalj-, **pajsabalj-*, *hamggalj-*, *haṣpalgy-*, **hahalj-*.
 -āl̥j **pahāl̥j-*, *prahāl̥j-*.

- imj **bisimj-* (? VI).
 -īj *parrīj-*, *rrīj-*, *haspīj-*.
 -ūj *nirūj-*, *nyūj-*, *paphūj-*, *paṣkūj-*, *pasūj-*, *vasūj-*, *hamggūj-*,
 **hamphūj-*.
 -auj *paṣauj-*.

The intr. corresponding tends to be in *-js* (Ib) or *-s* (IV a), the two next largest classes:

- j/-js *uskhaj-*/*uskhajs-*, *kalj-*/*kaljs-*, *naṣkhaj-*/*naṣkhajs-*, *byāj-*/*byajs-*,
pasūj-/*pasūjs-*, *hamggūj-*/*hamggūjs-*.
 -j/-s **ārraṅj-*/*ārīs-*, *kalj-*/*krīs-*, **gujsabalj-*/*gujsabrīs-*, *tcabalj-*/*tcabrīs-*,
thaṅj-/*thīs-*, *nirūj-*/**nirus-*, *nyūj-*/*nyūs-*, *pathaṅj-*/*pathīs-*,
parrīj-/*pars-*, **pastraṅj-*/*pastrīs-*, *pahāj-*/*pahīs-*, **pahāl̥j-*/**prhīs-*,
pāraṅj-/*pārīs-*, *prahāl̥j-*/*prahīs-*, *biysaṅj-*/*biysīs-* (tr.), *vasūj-*/*vasus-*, **straṅj-*/*strīs-*, *hamggalj-*/*hamgrīs-*,
hamthraj-/*hamthrīs-*, **hamphūj-*/**hamphus-*, *haṣpalgy-*/*haṣprīs-*,
haspīj-/*haspās-*.

- A. (i) act. mid. X: **ārraṅj-*, **gujsabalj-*, *tcabalj-*, *naṣkalj-*, *nyūj-*,
pasūj-, *pāraṅj-*, *prahāl̥j-*, *bāthaṅj-*, **straṅj-*.
 (ii) act.: *ggalj-*, *nirūj-*, *nihalj-*, *pathaṅj-*, *parrīj-*, *vasūj-*, *sāj-*,
hamggalj- *hamggūj-*.
 (iii) mid.: *rrīj-*.
 (iv) *thaṅj-* mid. intr. (O.Kh.); act. tr. (L.Kh.).
- A/B. (i) act.: **āhalj-*, *usthaṅj-*, *kalj-*, *nuhaṅj-*, **pajsabalj-*, *pattaṅj-*,
paṣkūj-, *pahāj-*, **bisimj-*, *ysānāj-*, *hamggūj-*, *hamthraj-*, *haspīj-*.
 (ii) mid.: *biysaṅj-*, *vāj-*.

-āñ

1. Primary: *uysvāñ-*, *kāñ-*, *naṣphāñ-*, *paphāñ-*, *pārāñ-*, *biysāñ-*,
buvāñ-, *byāñ-*, 1. *māñ-*, *vahāñ-*, *vāñ-*, *śāñ-*, *sāñ-*, *hvañ-*.
 Beside these tend to stand presents in *-an*: *naṣphan-*/*naṣphāñ-*,
paphan-/*paphāñ-*, *buvan-*/*buvāñ-*, *vahan-*/*vahāñ-* or in *-ān*:
pārān-/*pārāñ-*, *biysān-*/*biysāñ-*.
 2. Secondary: **āphīrāñ-*, **āhusāñ-*, *ggumerāñ-*, *gvachāñ-*, *jsāñ-*,
tvāñ-, *dyāñ-*, *nijsvāñ-*, **nuvamthāñ-*, *paštāñ-*, **pahāl̥jāñ-*, *pahvā'ñ-*,
pvā'ñ-, *bamāñ-*, *burīvāñ-*, *berāñ-*, *michāñ-*, *ysyāñ-*, *vanvāñ-*,
 **straṅjāñ-*, *strīsāñ-*, *hamtrāñ-*, *hamdavāñ-*, *hambrāñ-*, *handajāñ-*,
huṣṣāñ-, *hvā'ñ-*.

These are based secondarily on present stems as follows:

- Ib *tvāñ-* < **tv-*, *nijsvāñ-* < *nijsaṣ-*, *pahvā'ñ-* < **pahuṣ-*, *vanvāñ-*
 < *vanau-*, *hambrāñ-* < *hambrūd-*, *hvā'ñ-* < *huṣ-*.
 Ic *huṣṣāñ-* < *huṣṣ-*.

- II a *dyāñ-* < *did-*.
 II b *jsāñ-* < *jīṣ-*, *paṣtāñ-* < *paṣt-*.
 III a **nuvamthāñ-* < *nuvamth-*.
 IV a **āhusāñ-* < *āhus-*, *strīsāñ-* < *strīs-*.
 V a *pvā'ñ-* < *puva'd-*.
 V c *gvachāñ-* < *gvach-*, *ysyāñ-* < *ysai-*, *handajāñ-* < *handaj-*.
 V e **āphirāñ-* < *āphir-*, **pahāljāñ-* < **pahālj-*, *burūwāñ-* < **burūw-*,
**stramjāñ-* < **stramj-*.
 VI b *berāñ-* < *ber-*.
 A. (i) act. mid. X: **āhusāñ-*, *uysvāñ-*, *ggumerāñ-*, *naṣphāñ-*,
**pahāljāñ-*, *pārāñ-*, *pvā'ñ-*, *biysāñ-*, *berāñ-*, *byāñ-*, *vanvāñ-*,
vāñ-, *hambrāñ-*, *hvā'ñ-*.
 (ii) act.: 1. *māñ-*, *sāñ-*, *hvāñ-*.
 (iii) mid.: *tvāñ-*, *ysyāñ-*, *huṣṣāñ-*.
 (iv) *dyāñ-* act. tr./mid. intr.
 A/B. (i) act.: *kāñ-*, *jsāñ-*, *buvāñ-*, *ṣāñ-*.
 (ii) mid.: **āphirāñ-*, *nijsvāñ-*, *paphāñ-*, *paṣtāñ-*, *michāñ-*, *hamtrāñ-*.

-t, -d

phaṣt-, *naṣphaṣt-*, *vaphaṣt-*.

vaphaṣt- A tr.

phaṣt- stands beside *phaṣt-* mid. intr. A/B.

-ph

**pārimph-* A/B act. tr.

-m

-īm A. mid. tr.: *ātīm-*, *padīm-*. Here also: 1. *dīm-*, 2. **dīm-*, **vadīm-*.

-um A/B. act. tr.: *ājum-*.

-em *uysdem-*, **dem-*, *drem-*, **naljsem-*, **naṣdem-*, *nāṣem-*, **padem-*,
panem-, *paljsem-*, *pātem-*, *binem-*, *brem-*, *hamjsem-*, *hajsem-*,
hanem-.

A. (i) act.: *uysdem-*, *brem-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *drem-*, *nāṣem-*, *panem-*, *paljsem-*, *hanem-*.

A/B. *pātem-* act. tr.

These stand beside presents in -am of class Va: **dem-|dam-*,
**naṣdem-|naṣdam-*, *panem-|panam-*, *binem-|binam-*, *hamjsem-|*
hamjsam-, *hanem-|hanam-*. Note also: *nāṣem-|nāṣam-* (cl.?).

-y

-ūy A. act. tr.: *rrūy-*.

-āy *uysbāy-*, *ttuvāy-*, *ttuvā'y-*, *ttrāy-*, **niṣā'y-*, *nvāy-*, *pajāy-*, *panāy-*,
pātāy-, **pravāy-*, *bāy-*, *hāy-*.

A. (i) act.: *ttuvāy-*, *ttrāy-*, **niṣā'y-*, *pātāy-*, *bāy-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *uysbāy-*.

A/B. (i) act. tr.: *nvāy-*; act. intr.: *panāy-*.

(ii) mid. tr.: *pajāy-*.

-r

-ir *āphir-* (mid. tr. A) *usphir-*.

-er *ker-*, *kṣer-*, *gver-*, *ttājser-*, *pader-*, *paher-*, *pver-*, *ṣver-*, *ṣer-*,
hamber-.

A. (i) act. tr.: *hamber-*.

(ii) act. intr.: *ṣer-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *ker-*, *gver-*, *pader-*.

These stand beside presents: *kṣer-|kṣār-* V c, *gver-|gvīr-* V b,
hamber-|hambīr- V c.

-v

-ūv A. tr. **burūv-* (?). For -ū-, cf. p. 183 (on V b).

-ev

1. Primary: *cev-*, *prev-*, *byev-*, *hamdev-*.

A. (i) act. tr.: *byev-*.

(ii) act. mid. X: *prev-*, *hamdev-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *cev-*.

2. Secondary: *kṣamev-*, *pajamev-*, *bajev-*, 1. **samev-*.

A. (i) act. tr.: *bajev-*.

A/B. act. tr.: *kṣamev-*.

These stand beside *kṣam-*, *baj-*, *sam-*.

It is difficult to continue to believe that -ev is Ind. in origin (< *-āpaya*) the more widespread it appears to have been in Ir. Of certainly Ind. origin, Kh. has *dukhev-*, **khijev-*, *upev-*, 2. *samev-*, **suhev-*. In Ir. cf. Par. -ēw-, Paštō, Orm. -aw-, Munjī -ōv-, Yidgha -iēw-, Waxī -uw- (see Morg., *IIFL*, i. 101).

-ś

uskoś-, *auś-*, *kūś-*, *khāś-*, *khauś-*, *gūrāś-* (?), *dals-*, *naṣkoś-*, *pachīś-*,
paraūś-, *parchāś-*, *pahīś-*, *pvīś-*, *birāś-*, *bihīś-*, **bei'śś-*, *byalś-*, *rrāś-*,
varāś-, *vahīś-*, *hamkhīś-*, *hatīś-*, *harāś-*, *haus-*.

A. (i) act.: *auś-*, *kūś-*, *khāś-*, *birāś-*, *rrāś-*, *haus-*.

(ii) mid.: *pachīś-*, *varāś-*.

(iii) act. mid. X: *naṣkoś-*, *pahīś-*, *hamkhīś-*.

- A/B. (i) *hatīs-* act. tr./mid. intr.
 (ii) *gūrās-* (?) mid.

These verbs relate to present stems of class I b: *aus-*/*oys-*, *khaus-*/*khoys-*, *pachīs-*/*pachīys-*, *paraus-*/*paraiys-*, *pahīs-*/*pahīys-*, *pviš-*/*pviīys-*, *birās-*/*birays-*, *bihīs-*/**bihīys-*, *vahīs-*/*vahīys-*, *harās-*/*harays-*.

-śś

īśś-, 1. 2. *uysdīśś-*, *aurāśś-*, *ggei'śś-*, *dāśś-*, 1. 2. *dīśś-*, *naṣphīśś-*, *nṛhīśś-*, *nvāśś-*, *panāśś-*, **phīśś-*, *bitcūśś-*, **bei'śś-*, *spāśś-*, *hanāśś-*, *hamphīśś-*.

- A. (i) act.: *īśś-*, *ggei'śś-*, *dāśś-*, *nvāśś-*, **phīśś-*.
 (ii) mid.: *spāśś-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: 1. *uysdīśś-*, *naṣphīśś-*.

A/B. act.: 2. **uysdīśś-*, 2. **dīśś-*, *hanāśś-*.

Beside these are presents in classes IV a and V b:

IV a *īśś-|īs-*, *ggei'śś-|ggei'ls-*, **phīśś-|*phīs-*, **bei'śś-|*bei'ls-*.
 V b *panāśś-|panaśś-*, *hanāśś-|hanaśś-*.

-h

jeh-, *pareh-*, *pheh-*, *yseh-*, *hamih-*.

- A. (i) act.: *jeh-*, *hamih-*.
 (ii) mid.: *pareh-* (act. L.Kh.).

These relate to presents thus:

jeh-|jah- I b *yseh-|ysah-* V a *hamih-|hamäh-* I c.

CLASS VI a

This class is characterized by absence of palatalization. Unless *bār-* has been wholly adapted to I d, this class is also likely to be characterized by type B inflection. *bār-* act. intr. B < *bāra-*. *phūm-* act. intr. A/B and *mūr-* act. intr. A/B may belong here. Here also no doubt belongs 1. *juv-* 'to live' (act. intr. B).

CLASS VI b

This is the main class of denominatives. They may be tr. or intr. *ātīm-*, *āstañ-*, *uspaśd-*, 2. *kṣāv-*, *tvaśd-*, *naṣpaśd-*, *parś-*, *bajeṣṣ-*, *bārūñ-*, 1. *bīr-*, *buśś-*, *ber-*, *byāls-*, *brūśc-*, 2. *māñ-*, *mvīr-*, *rrās-*, *rrīnth-*, *harrūñ-*, *hāvvy-*. Here possibly belong: *gūrās-*, *grāśd-*, *pheh-*, **bisiñj-*.

Nouns or adjectives attested beside these are: *ātīm-|ātama-*, *āstañ-|āstana-*, *parś-|parysa-*, *bajeṣṣ-|bajāṣṣa-*, *bārūñ-|brūna-* (adj.), *buśś-|busä-*, *ber-|bāra-*, *byāls-|byālysa-*, *brūśc-|brūška-* (adj.), *rrās-|rrāsa-*, *rrīnth-|rañtha-*, *hāvvy-|hāvvia-* (adj.).

- A. (i) act. intr.: 2. *māñ-*, *harrūñ-*.
 (ii) mid.: *ātīm-*, *bārūñ-* (act. L.Kh.), *ber-*, *byāls-* (B L.Kh.), *hāvvy-*.
 (iii) act. mid. X: *āstañ-*, *uspaśd-*, 2. *kṣāv-*, *naṣpaśd-*, 1. *bīr-*, *brūśc-*, *mvīr-*, *rrās-*.
- A/B. (i) act.: *tvaśd-*, *parś-*, *rrīnth-*.
 (ii) mid. intr.: *bajeṣṣ-*, *buśś-*.

VERB MORPHOLOGY

LITERATURE: S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, 1932, pp. 52-59; *Primer*, 1949, pp. 45-52; P. Tedesco, *ZII*, 1923, 281-315; H. W. Bailey, *Languages of the Saka*, 1958, pp. 143-7; M. J. Dresden, *The Jātakastava*, 1955, pp. 413-17; S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, pp. 41-54; Herzenberg, 1965, pp. 101-13.

PRESENT INDICATIVE ACTIVE

A complete paradigm can be found for *yan-* in O.Kh.:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. <i>yanimā</i> Z 5. 94+; <i>yanāmā</i> Z 24. 222+.	1. <i>yanāmā</i> Z 2. 26+.
2. <i>yañi</i> Z 5. 42+.	2. <i>yanda</i> <i>Suv.</i> 30 v 7
3. <i>yindā</i> Z 2. 6+.	3. <i>yanindā</i> Z 2. 66+.

1. The first person singular

-imā < **-āmi*, shortened < **-āmi* in unaccented syllable. Av., O.Ind. *-āmi*. *-imā* is the usual spelling in O.Kh., and it is found also in L.Kh.: *byehimā* P 3510. 8. 2 *KBT* 52; *hanāšimā* P 3513. 48r4 (Asm. 24). Occasionally *-imi* is found both in O.Kh. e.g. *hvarimi* Z 4. 50, and in L.Kh. e.g. *wysdīšimi* P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 23). **kāt'imā* has been contracted already in O.Kh. to *kei'mā* Z 2. 216.

Already in O.Kh. *-imā* was shortened to *-āmā*, e.g. *trāyāmā* Z 12. 1; *namasāmā* Z 6. 1; *parsāmā* Z 2. 217; *pulsāmā* Z 3. 18; *barāmā* Z 11. 7; *māñāmā* Z 2. 138; *sahyāmā* Z 2. 202, 216; *haṃberāmā* Z 2. 194. Occasionally this is spelled *-imā*, e.g. *yanimā* Z 3. 119, 120; *horimā* Z 11. 75; *hvāñimā* Z 13. 39; 23. 18. *-āmā*, *-imā* are due to shortening in unaccented syllable.

I have not noticed *-āmā* in L.Kh., but the modification of *-āmā* to *-umā* due to the labial influence of *-m-*, found rarely in the oldest Kh., e.g. *pulsumā* Z 23. 120; *hvāñumā* *SS* 84v2 *KT* 5. 342 (both preceded also by a labial and common words, perhaps therefore the starting-point), is common in L.Kh.: *namasumā* *JS* 9v3-4 (37)+; *hvāñumā* Ch c. 001. 954 *KBT* 139.

-umā was apparently lengthened, due to *-imā*, to *-ūmā*. In O.Kh. only *haurimā* N 125. 44 = H 144 *NSB* 19r5 *KT* 5. 92 has been noticed, but it is common in L.Kh.: *namasūmā* *Avdh* 10v1 *KT* 3. 4; *parrijūmā* *Avdh* 12r3 *KT* 3. 5; *dīšūmā* *Avdh* 17r3 *KT* 3. 9, in older texts.

Attempts to explain *-umā*, *-ūmā* as of ancient origin seem to be clearly contradicted by the distribution of forms as stated. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 55, wanted to derive *-ūmā* < *-u* 1 sg. inj. (< **-am*)+

primary *-mi* (cf. the addition of *-tā* in *-itā* 3 sg. opt.). According to E. Leumann, *-ūmā* spread from **yanūmā* < **krnaumi* (N, p. 176). But in such a case we should expect **yanūmā* to occur already in O.Kh. Z has 1 sg. pres. act. of *yan-* 15 times but not once **yanūmā*. Konow's proposal could only have developed late (*-u* < **-am*), but one would expect *-ūmā* if based on the inj. to have some modal force (cf. *-itā*), whereas it is a mere alternative to *-imā*.

In the case of verbs conjugated as types C and D, the 1 sg. pres. ind. act. ending is *-aimā* in O.Kh.: *daimā* Z 6. 7+; *SS* 20r2 *KT* 5. 330+; *nimandrainmā* Z 2. 50; *puvai'mā* Z 24. 435; *buysaimā* Z 20. 23, 24; *saimā* Z 13. 60. I have noticed one example of *-eimā* in O.Kh.: *hei'mā* Z 17. 27. In L.Kh. are found also: *-inme*, *diṃme* P 3513. 51r4 (Asm. 38); *-aiṃa*, *daṃna* Hed. 23. 20-21 *KT* 4. 36; *-aimi*, *daimi* P 3513. 50r4 (Asm. 33); *-aime*, *daimē* P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31); *ibid.* 56r4 (62)+.

The O.Kh. endings are thus: *-imā*, *-imi* > *-āmā*, *-imā* > *-umā* > *-ūmā*. Verbs of types C and D: *-aimā*, *-eimā*.

In L.Kh., further modifications are found in three stages: 1. the final vowel *-ā*, *-i* was weakened to *-e*, *-a*; 2. the final vowel was lost; 3. the nasal, becoming final, was lost.

1. *tsīma* Hed. 23. 23 *KT* 4. 36; *tsīme* P 3513. 52r3 (Asm. 42); *tsūme* *JS* 20r3 (85). *-ime* is especially common: *byehīme* *JS* 39v4; Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34; *yinīme* P 3513. 52v1, 2, 4 (Asm. 43, 45); *ttrāyīme* Hed. 23. 28 *KT* 4. 36. For *-yme* cf. also *hvāñūyme* Ch c. 001. 883 *KBT* 136.

2. *tsum* *JS* 11v3 (46); *namasum* Ch 00268. 132 *KBT* 66; *tsūm* P 3513 76v1 *KBT* 62; *barūm* *Avdh* 12r5 *KT* 3. 5; *vāsūm* *JS* 1v4 (2); *hīsūm* Hed. 20. 14 *KT* 4. 34. In L.Kh., *-ū-* alternated with *-ā-* and *-au-* especially before a nasal, e.g. *rāmda* P 2787. 51 *KT* 2. 103; *rūda* *ibid.* 50; *rrumdā* *Si* 145r1 *KT* 1. 86. Hence, we find beside *tsūm* also *tsām* P 5538b 32 *KT* 3. 122 and *tsau* *ibid.* 44 (v. 3.). Another example of *-ām*: *birāsām* *Si* 19v3 *KT* 1. 30.

3. *-u*: *āyācu* P 3513. 46r4 (Asm. 15); *caidu* P 2025. 249 *KBT* 20 (= *caidū* P 2957. 109 *KBT* 36 = *cadū* Ch 00266. 165 *KBT* 28); *-ū*: *ājīšū* P 3513. 46r3 (Asm. 14) tr. *adhyesami*; *tsū* P 5538b 82 *KT* 3. 124 tr. *gatsamī*; *namasū* *JS* 16r2 (67); P 4099. 1, 2, 5 *KBT* 113; *byehū* P 3513. 44r1 (Asm. 3); *brremū* P 2834. 21 *KBT* 45; *yanū* P 3513. 80v4 *KBT* 64; *haurū* Hed. 4. 4 *KT* 4. 23. On the writing of *-u* and *-ū*, see *KT* 1 p. ix. *-ā*: *birāsā* *Si* 20r5 *KT* 1. 32. *-au-*: *ttrāyau* Ch 1. 0021b, a² 38 *KBT* 151 (= *ttrūyū* Ch 00266. 317 *KBT* 109); *tsau* P 5538b 44 *KT* 3. 122; *dīšau* P 3513. 84v1 *KBT* 66.

In addition to the O.Kh. endings (except perhaps *-āmā*, *-imā*), L.Kh. thus has: *-ima*, *-ime*; *-yme*, *-ū(m)*, *-ā(m)*, *-au*. Types C and D: *-inme*, *-aiṃa*, *-aimi*, *-aime*.

2. The second person singular

-iā, -i \leftarrow *-ahi, cf. Av. -ahi; O.Ind. -asi. The palatalization has no effect if the present stem ends in a palatal (-j, -y, -ś attested) or a labial preceded by a palatal vowel (-em). O.Kh. *trāyi* Z 22. 259; L.Kh. *itrāyi Avdh* 12v2 KT 3. 6 \leftarrow *trāy-*. O.Kh.: *jsāñā* Z 24. 50; *nārmāñi* Z 2. 155; *paysāñi* Z 3. 10, 11; *parrīji* Z 6. 3; 22. 259; *paśśā* Z 21. 20; 24. 47; *pulśā* Z 3. 21; *bremā* Z 24. 235; *yañi* Z 5. 42; 12. 33, 53, 54; *yañā* Z 24. 43; *sājā* Z 12. 32; *herā* Z 2. 92; 24. 463. *dai* SS 85r4 KT 5. 343 \leftarrow *dayā. *pari* Z 22. 112; 23. 114 may be opt.

3. The third person singular

Basically, -ti \leftarrow *(a)ti, cf. Av. -aiti; O.Ind. -ati.

From a purely descriptive point of view, there are four types of ending in the 3 sg. (see p. 177): A. -iti; B. -ti; C. -aittā; D. -aiyā.

A. In the oldest Kh., -āte is more common than -ātā. Thus, *byehāte* occurs 9 times in Z, but *byehātā* only 3 times; *māñāte*, *māñāte* occur 7 times in Z but *māñātā* is found only in Z 24. 4 (2. *māñ-*). It is thus unwise to emend -āte to -ātā as done by Leumann in all these cases. In one case only in Z have I noticed more forms in -ātā, and there they are almost equalled in number by -āte: *kṣamātā* 6 times; *kṣamāte* 5 times. Rarely in O.Kh. do we find the spelling -ete: *peḍete* Z 6. 13; *paśsete* H 147 NS 110 42v5 KT 5. 74. The evidence suggests dissimilation of -ātā to -āte, whence -te alternated with -tā in type B presents. O.Kh. -ātā, -āte resulted normally in L.Kh. -e: *trāye Avdh* 20v3 KT 3. 11; *paśe* S 2471 123 KBT 95; *prāvartte* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59); *byehe* Ch c. 001. 216 KBT 76; *hvāñe* ibid. 731 KBT 90. -e is rarely found already in O.Kh.: *nāṣeme* Reuter 1v6 KT 5. 395. Other L.Kh. spellings are -ai: *brāimāi* P 2834. 19 KBT 45; and with further weakening, -a: *mūñā* Hed. 23. 14 KT 4. 36; *habā'ra* P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62; -ā: *sājā* Ch c. 001. 741 KBT 90; -i: *paśi* Hed. 17. 7 KT 4. 31. *bajaitti Vajr.* 21a1 KT 3. 24; 41a3 KT 3. 28, if genuine, is an archaizing form of O.Kh. *bajātā* (v. p. 91).

B.D. As a result of the loss of the unaccented thematic vowel, the -t- of the 3 sg. came into secondary contact with the stem final requiring various adjustments. It will be convenient to set these out as in table on next page.

Not surprisingly, this elaborate system showed signs of disintegration. In particular, *št* and *śd* tended to be confused. In L.Kh. we find for example: *gvašte/gvaśde* (v. *gvach-* p. 32); *dašte/dasde'* (v. *daj-* p. 43); *naṣphaštākā/naṣphaśdākā* (v. *naṣphašt-* p. 52); *padaštā/padaśdā* (v. *padajs-* p. 68); *baštā* for **baśdā* (v. *baś-* p. 94); *byaśde* for **byaštā*, cf. *ttaštā* \leftarrow *ttajs-* p. 38 (v. *byajs-* p. 104); ? *rištā* for **rrīśdā* (v. 1. **rrīys-* p. 115). In O.Kh. this confusion is much less common, but note *bištā* \leftarrow

bijs- (v. p. 95). Note also in the middle O.Kh. *pasūste* for **pasūysde* (\leftarrow *pasūjs-* p. 78) and *kalste* \leftarrow **karčatai* (v. *kaļjs-* p. 21).

	Active	Middle	Active	Middle
1.	*k/g	*-č-t' št sūštā	*-j-t' śd padaśdā	*-j-t- ysd dryśde
2.		*-čy-t' št gvašte	*-jy-t' št uskuśde daśde'	*-jy-t- śd uskuśde daśde'
3.			*-ny-t' ind hvānde	*-ny-t- ind hvānde
4. ¹	*-t-t' itt pittā	*-t-t- tt hotte	*-d-t' itt rrvūttā	*-d-t- tt butte
5.	*-rt-t'	*-rt-t- ltt ggalitte	*-rd-t' ltt *spalitte	*-rd-t- ltt *spalitte
6.			*-nd-t' *imtt *khiṃttā	*-nd-t- mtt nvaṃtte
7.			*-n-t' ind yīndā	*-n-t- nd yānde
8.	*-p-t'	*-p-t- ūt ākṣūtā	*-b-t' ūt ākṣūtā	*-b-t- ūt ākṣūtā
9.			*-y-t' aiy daiyā	*-y-t- [*aiy] [spaiye]
10.			*-r-t' ḍ biḍā	*-r-t- ḍ miḍe
11.			*-v-t' jūtā tsiyā otseyā	*-v-t- skaute
12.	*-ś-t'	*-ś-t- št panašte	*-z-t' št kei'tā	*-z-t- št pyūśde
13.	*-ś-t' št huštā	*-ś-t- št parrušte	*-z-t' št kei'tā	*-z-t- št pyūśde
14.	*-s-t' št pulštā	*-s-t- št nāste	*-z-t' śd nimalśdā	*-z-t- ysd bāraysde

¹ Under 4 belongs *-θ-t- > -tt- in *hamāttā*.

Although it belongs more to phonology than to morphology, it will be convenient to draw attention to a particular phonological feature of some of these forms, especially since the voiced series in 2 has not previously been recognized. In the case of *dyysde* < *drjs-* we have:

js-d > *ysd* i.e. *dzd* > *zd*.¹

This is parallel with the development in 2:

ch-t > *št* i.e. *tsyt* > *št*
gy-d > *šd* i.e. *dzyd* > *šd*.

With regard to 4c, see p. 183.

With regard to 10, note that *-rd-* is maintained in type III b presents (v. p. 181) e.g. *purdä* < *purr-*.

Both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. the most frequent spellings are *-tä*, *-ti*, *-te*. O.Kh.: *ākšütä* Z 4. 15+; *grüšti* Z 2. 21; *bitte* Z 2. 138. L.Kh.: *ttauštä* Si 103r3 KT 1. 38; *pajitti* Hed. 50a1 KT 4. 45; *pīreḍe* JS 11v4 (47). The spelling *-tu* is rare. Two O.Kh. examples only have been noticed: *grüštu* Z 22. 249; *praysaitu* SS 35v3 KT 5. 337 (= *praysaiyā* H 147 NS 110. 42v2 KT 5. 74).

-te for *-tä*, *-ti* is rarely found in O.Kh. All examples found in O.Kh. are preceded by *-y-* or *-i-*, *-ä-* (cf. p. 192): *naltsaiye* Z 24. 252; *naltseiye* Z 22. 202; *nirmānde* Z 2. 48; *nārmānde* Z 4. 5+; *bitte* Z 2. 138; *daiye* Or 9609. 4v3 KT 1. 233. Here again we have an indication of dissimilation.

In L.Kh. *-tä* is frequently weakened further to *-ta*: *ārišta* Ch 00266. 318 KBT 109; *paršta* Hed. 23. 15 KT 4. 36; *pīreḍa* JP 52r5 KT 1. 143; *byūšta* P 4099. 262 KBT 126 (= *byūštā* Vajr. 41b1 KT 3. 29); *ṣu'meḍa* Ch 00277. 2v3 KBT 70.

Apart from these treatments of the final vowel, *-tä* may be modified as follows:

(a) *-tä* is sometimes lost after *-ū-* and *-ai-* already in O.Kh.: *ākšū* *Suv.* K. 66r2 KT 5. 117; *dai* Z 5. 58; *buysai* Z 20. 24. L.Kh. has *jū* Hed. 17. 2 KT 4. 31 for O.Kh. *jütä* Z 11. 47+.

(b) *-dä* (< **-r-ti*) with present stems in *-r* (not *-rr*): *ttuwiḍä* Z 22. 156 < *ttuwar-*; *hamggedä* Z 19. 23 < *hamggār-*; *heḍä* Z 2. 30+ < *haur-*.

(c) *-di*, *-dä* with present stems in *-n* (< **-n* not **-nd*) and *-rr* and after *š* with present stems in *-js*, *-ys* (but see also p. 192 on *št|šd*): *-n*: *yīndä* Z 2. 6+; *paysendä* Z 4. 97+; *jändä* Z 3. 28+; *kaṃggīndi* Z 2. 28; *-rr*: *purdä* Z 24. 400; *-js*: *padašdä* Z 11. 36 < *padajs-*; *-ys*: *nimalšdä* Z 22. 147 < *nimalys-*.

(d) *-yā* alternates with *-tä* in O.Kh. after *-ai-*, *-ei-*: < *kät'* -: *kei'yā* Z 19. 85 beside *ke'tä* Z 2. 5; *ke'tä* H 144 NS 55 44v4 KT 5. 76 (L.Kh. has *kä'ttä* JS 22r4 (96); *ke'ttä* JS 26v4 (117)); < *dai-*: *daiyā* Z 2. 11;

¹ Cf. [tʃ] > [ʃ] in Sogd. 3 sg. pres.: *s'št* < *s'š-*; *w'št* < *w'š-* (v. I. G., GMS, § 260, p. 41).

deiyā Z 14. 70+ beside *daitā* Z 24. 416 (L.Kh. *daittä* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12; P 3513. 54v4 (Asm. 54) (so read); *Vajr.* 42b4 KT 3. 29); < *buysai-*: *buysaiyā* Z 13. 132, 158 beside *buysaitä* Z 4. 95 (L.Kh. *buysvaiye* JS 19v4 (84)). Note also *pariyi* Z 24. 442 beside *paritā* Z 24. 450 if not opt.

C. A few verbs only, all active, have type C inflection. See Class V a p. 183. The spellings noticed are: *-aitta* (L.Kh.): *ne'hvaitta* P 4099. 169 KBT 121; *pasaitta* P 2896. 49 KT 3. 36; *-aitti*: O.Kh., *maitti* H 144 NS 32 etc. r4 KT 5. 93; L.Kh., *khaitti* Hed. 17. 3+ KT 4. 31; *-aittä*: *saittä* Z 1. 35++; *hvaittä* Z 2. 16; *-eittä* (O.Kh.): *seittä* Z 4. 83+; *-että* (L.Kh.): *ne'hvettä* P 3513. 28r1 KBT 58.

Palatalization. This is one of the most striking characteristics of Kh. morphology, obscuring the connexion between the 3 sg. pres. and the stem. Palatalization is found also in the 2 sg. (p. 192), but few forms are attested. Note also that palatalization serves to keep act. and mid. distinct.

(a) Vowels:

<i>aⁱ</i> > <i>i</i>	over <i>t</i>	<i>pittä</i> < <i>pat-</i>
	<i>d</i>	<i>varrittä</i> < <i>varrad-</i>
	<i>nd</i>	<i>khittä</i> < <i>khan-</i>
	<i>n</i>	<i>jsīndä</i> < <i>jsan-</i>
	<i>r</i>	<i>biḍä</i> < <i>bar-</i>
<i>āⁱ</i> > <i>e</i>	over <i>n</i>	<i>paysendä</i> < <i>paysān-</i>
	<i>r</i>	<i>beḍä</i> < <i>bār-</i>
<i>aiⁱ</i> > <i>ai</i>		<i>daiyā</i> < <i>dai-</i>
<i>auⁱ</i> > <i>e, ai</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>heḍä</i> < <i>haur-</i>
		<i>°tsaiyā</i> (<i>tsiyā</i> due to <i>tsimā</i>) < <i>tsu-</i>
		<i>buysaiyā</i> < <i>buysai-</i> (<i>*vizāvati</i>)
<i>ūⁱ</i> > <i>vī, uī</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rroittä, hambruittä</i> < <i>rrūd-, hambrūd-</i>

(Not however *uⁱ*, cf. *ākšütä, jütä, pajuttä, purdä, huṣṭä*.)

(b) Consonants:

<i>*-č-t'</i> > <i>št</i>	<i>sūštä</i> < <i>sūjs</i> < <i>*sauča-</i>
<i>*-j-t'</i> > <i>šd</i>	<i>padašdä</i> < <i>padajs-</i> < <i>*pa-daḥa-</i>
<i>*-s-t'</i> > <i>št</i>	<i>pulštä</i> < <i>puls-</i> < <i>*prsa-</i>
<i>*-z-t'</i> > <i>šd</i>	<i>nimalšdä</i> < <i>nimalys-</i> < <i>*ni-marza-</i>
<i>*-d-y-t'</i> > <i>aittä</i>	<i>saittä</i> < <i>*sadayati</i>

See also p. 193.

4. The first person plural

-āmā < **-āmāh* (cf. O.Ind. *-āmāḥ*) < **-āmahi* (cf. Av. *-āmahi*; O.Ind. *-āmāsi*) with early loss of *-i* before palatalization by final *-i* took place.

O.Kh. has *-āmā* (*-āmi* has not been found): *padajsāmā* Z 2. 30; *parsāmā* Z 22. 334; *pulsāmā* Z 2. 28; *yanāmā* *Suv.* K. 31v4 *KT* 5. 109 tr. *kariṣyāmaḥ*; *hatcañāmā* Z 2. 72; *horāmā* Z 24. 517.

In L.Kh. *-āmā* > *-ām*, e.g. *paśām* P 2741. 69 *KT* 2. 90 and further reduced *-ā*: *vihilā* P 2787. 11 *KT* 2. 101. Note that all the examples of 1 pl. act. given by Dresden, p. 414, are from mid. (!) verbs.

In L.Kh. *-ām* resulted from *-īmā* (p. 191) 1 sg. pres. act. and also from *-āmane* 1 pl. pres. mid. There begins therefore to be confusion between 1 sg. and 1 pl. Notice in L.Kh.: *mahi* . . . *hvāñimā* Ch c. 001. 962 *KBT* 139 beside *aysā* . . . *hvāñumā* *ibid.* 954, whereas in O.Kh. *muhu* and *buhu* take a 1 pl. verb.

5. The second person plural

-ta cannot be from O.Ir. **-θa*, cf. Av. *-θa*, O.Ind. *-tha*. It is due to secondary *-ta* and 2 pl. imper. *-ta*. Cf. Sogd. *-t'* I. G., *GMS*, § 722, p. 112.

A. O.Kh. *-āta*, *-ita*: *parrijāta* *Suv.* K. 3311 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *parimocayisyatha*; *byehāta* Z 23. 100, 101; *māñita* Z 22. 278; 23. 93; *rrūyāta* Z 23. 101.

B. O.Kh. *-ta*: *ākṣūta* Z 22. 276; *parsta* Z 19. 94; *pulsta* Z 24. 492; *hūsta* Z 15. 115. After *-n* the spelling is *-da*: O.Kh., *jānda* Z 22. 275; *yanda* *Suv.* 30v7 *KT* 5. 108; L.Kh., *yamda* P 2741. 104 *KT* 2. 91 (*yanda*, *yamda* could be mid.). Note also *parya* Z 23. 52 < *pari-* 'order'.

C. Not noticed.

D. O.Kh. *-ya* (cf. p. 194 (d)): *daiya* Z 14. 59+; *bāysdaiya* Z 23. 8.

6. The third person plural

-indā < **-anti*, cf. Av. *-anti*, O.Ind. *-anti*.

A, B. In O.Kh. the usual spellings are *-indā*: *ākṣvīndā* Z 24. 407; *jānīndā* Z 24. 114; *jsanīndā* Z 24. 403; *narāmīndā* Z 3. 99; *parsīndā* Z 2. 69; and *-īndi*: *ākṣvīndi* Z 23. 133; *jsanīndi* Z 23. 32; *narāmīndi* Z 22. 173; *parsīndi* Z 2. 60.

Rarely is the nasal weakened in O.Kh. *-īndā*: *tsīndā* Or 9609 24r6 *KT* 1. 235; *yanīndā* Z 22. 324. *-īndi*: *hayārīndi* E 1. 7 19v5 *KT* 5. 389. *-idā*: *tsidā* Z 22. 163; *byehidā* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8v5 *KT* 5. 68. *-idi*: *yanīdi* Stein E 1. 7 145r3 *KT* 5. 77. In L.Kh. these spellings are common: *-īndā*: *visūsīndā* P 2782. 41 *KT* 3. 60; *-īndi*: *byehīndi* Ch 00268. 175-6 *KBT* 67; *-idā*: *tsidā* Hed. 6. 3 *KT* 4. 24; *vasusidā* Ch c. 001. 213-14 *KBT* 76; *-idi*: *hīsīdi* Kha vi. 4. 1b3 *KT* 3. 130.

As in the case of *-īmā* shortened to *-āmā* in O.Kh. but not found in L.Kh., *-indā* is often shortened to *-āndā* in O.Kh.: *kaljāndā* Z 14. 83; *carāndā* Z 13. 8; *ttrāyāndā* Z 4. 112; *tsāndā* Z 17. 7; *parsāndā* Z 2. 195;

yanāndā Z 13. 140; *-īndā* > *-īndi*: *nārmānīndi* Z 4. 30; *-īndā*: *sarbīndā* Z 24. 390, 501. Such spellings have not been noticed in L.Kh.

As, however, in L.Kh. *e*, *ai* are found for O.Kh. *i* (Dresden, p. 406) and also *ai* for O.Kh. *i* (v. e.g. *vahīys-* p. 122), it is not possible to tell whether L.Kh. spellings *-aidā*, *-eda* represent O.Kh. *-īndā* or *-āndā*. *-aidā*: *bajaidā* Hed. 22. 4. 3 *KT* 4. 35 (v. p. 91); *hārvaīdā* *StH* 52 *KT* 2. 75; *-eda*: *hārveda* P 4099. 275 *KBT* 126.

In one place in O.Kh. *-īndi* has been weakened to *-īnde*: *parsinde* Stein E 1. 7 149v3 *KT* 5. 79. In L.Kh., with the further weakening of *-n-* to *-m-*, this is common: *tsīnde* P 3513. 49r4 (Asm. 29); *vasūsīnde* P 3513. 53v2 (Asm. 48); *haurīnde* P 2958. 147 *KT* 2. 118. With further loss of *-m-* in L.Kh.: *tside* *JS* 3r1 (7); *yanide* *JS* 31v4-32r1 (139); *vaštide* P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63); *byehide* P 3513. 80v1 *KBT* 64. L.Kh. frequently has *-ida*: *gūsīda* P 3513. 78r1 *KBT* 63; *tsīda* Hed. 6. 18 *KT* 4. 25; *byehīda* S 2471. 178 *KBT* 97; *-īnda*: *strīsīnda* *Si* 134r2 *KT* 1. 68.

In O.Kh. *kātī'ndi* Z 4. 67; 24. 645; *kā'tīndi* Z 4. 17; *kā'tīndā* Z 4. 26 has already been contracted in O.Kh.: *kei'ndā* Z 2. 116; *kei'ndi* Z 20. 13; 22. 316; *kai'ndā* *SS* 77v1 *KT* 5. 339; *kai'ndi* Stein E. 1. 7 145r3 *KT* 5. 77. L.Kh. spelling shows: *kim'dā* P 2741. 13 *KT* 2. 88; *kai'da* S 6701. 20 *KT* 3. 137; *kai'di* MT bii 0065. 3 *KT* 2. 72; *kaidā* S 6701. 17 *KT* 3. 137; *keda* P 4099. 172 *KBT* 121.

C, D. O.Kh.: *-aindā*: *daindā* Z 3. 14; *nāmandraindā* Z 12. 61; *puvai'ndā* Z 22. 118; *saindā* Z 3. 116; *-aindi*: *uysdaindi* Z 20. 17, 20; *prravaindi* Z 22. 205; *-eindā*: *deindā* Z 4. 91; *seindā* Z 3. 108; *-eindi*: *prayeindi* Z 2. 75. L.Kh. has: *-aidā*: *pvaidā* *Vajr.* 25a3 *KT* 3. 25; *saidā* *Vajr.* 42a1 *KT* 3. 29; *-aide*: *daide* P 3513. 71v3 *KT* 1. 247; *-eda*: *deda* *Vajr.* 38a1, 2 *KT* 3. 28 tr. *paśyanti*.

The spellings may be summarized thus:

- O.Kh.: 1. *-īndā* (*-īndi*); *-īndā* (*-īndi*); *-idā* (*-īdi*)
 2. *-īnde*
 3. *-āndā* (*-īndi*, *-īndā*)
 4. *-aindā* (*-aindi*, *-eindā*, *-eindi*)

L.Kh. in addition to O.Kh. (except 3, 4):

1. — (not *-n-* except in oldest L.Kh.)
2. *-ī(m)de*; *-ī(m)da*
3. (or 1) *-aidā*; *-eda*
4. *-aidā*; *-aide*; *-eda*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE MIDDLE

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1. <i>yane</i> Z 11. 27	<i>hāme</i> Z 12. 52	1. —	<i>hāmāmane</i>
2. —	<i>hāma</i> Z 6. 3	2. [<i>yanda</i> <i>Suv.</i> 30v7 KT5. 108]	<i>SS</i> 77v2 KT 5. 339
3. <i>yande</i> Z 2. 65	<i>hāmāte</i> Z 2. 76	3. <i>yanāre</i> Z 20. 13	<i>hāmāre</i> Z 3. 147

1. The first person singular

-e < O.Ir. *-ai, cf. Av. -e, O.Ind. -e.

O.Kh.: *oyse* Z 11. 25; *ttrāme* Z 2. 126; *nāse* Z 2. 195; 11. 75; *padīme* Z 23. 132; *paname* Z 24. 259; *buve* Z 6. 45; *spāse* Z 2. 199; *hamjsā'te* Z 2. 124; L.Kh.: *yane* *Avdh* 6v4 KT 3. 2; *paysāne* P 3513. 45v4 (Asm. 12); Hed. 23. 20 KT 4. 36; *mīre* P 2936. 12 KT 3. 109.

-e is rarely weakened to -ā, -i in O.Kh.: *ggihā* Z 12. 51; *paysāmi* Z 2. 135; *parehi* Z 24. 493. L.Kh. has -a: *pachīśa'* Hed. 4. 8 KT 4. 23; -ā: *hambrihā* N 164. 6; -i: *yani* Hed. 7. 5 KT 4. 25; *hambrihi* N 164. 12.

As a result of the confusion that developed in L.Kh. of 1 sg. pres. act. and 1 pl. pres. act. and mid. (v. p. 196), the 1 sg. pres. act. ending -ū(m) (v. pp. 190-1) is found in L.Kh. with mid. verbs: *gesū* P 5538b 20 KT 3. 121; *gvaysū* P 2897. 26 KT 2. 115; *habrrihū* *JS* 39v1, 2 (bis).

2. The second person singular

-a < O.Ir. *-aha (as H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. xi. 1, 1964, 15), the secondary termination, cf. Av. -aḥa (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 115. 2, p. 63); not from *-ahai, which caused S. Konow difficulty (*Saka Studies*, p. 54; *NTS*, vii, 1934, 42). For secondary ending in pres., cf. -ta p. 196.

-a is the only spelling noticed, except that it appears to have been lost in L.Kh. *yam* P 2741. 22, 29 KT 2. 88 (not 1 sg. as Dresden, p. 414; see H. W. B., *AM*, N.S. i, 1949, 33). O.Kh.: *nāsa* Z 12. 14, 30; 24. 50; *panama* Z 24. 263; *buva* Z 3. 9; 24. 52; *vahīysa* Z 23. 118, 119; *hadāra* N 176. 31; *hāma* Z 6. 3+. L.Kh.: *pva'* Hed. 11. 7 KT 4. 28; 20. 6 KT 4. 34; *vijsya* P 2783. 194 (33) KT 3. 74; P 2790. 54-55 KT 2. 112; *hama* *Vajr.* 33a3 KT 3. 27.

3. The third person singular

-te < O.Ir. *-tai, cf. Av. -te, O.Ind. -te (< IE *-toi, v. M. S. Ruipérez, *Emerita*, 20, 1952, 8-31).

A. Although -ātā is frequently spelled -āte in O.Kh. (v. p. 192), -āte (mid.) is never in Z spelled -ātā, and I have not noticed -ātā (mid.)

elsewhere in O.Kh. *hāvīyā* Z 3. 138; 9. 17 beside *hīvīye* Z 3. 138; *hāvīye* 5. 79 < **hāvīyāte* is a special case. Examples of -āte: *trāmāte* Z 2. 90; *bārūnāte* Or 9609. 3v3 KT 1. 232; *berāte* Z 14. 70; 24. 475; *mañāte* Z 5. 53; 6. 21; *hāmāte* Z 2. 76+. -ite is rare: *rrījite* Z 2. 77; 22. 165; 24. 658. -āve is found once in O.Kh. *passāve* Z 2. 179.

The normal development of -āte in L.Kh. was to -e. -e is found already in O.Kh. in: *hāme* Stein E 1. 7 145r1 KT 5. 77. L.Kh.: *brīñhe* Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36; *hīme* *JS* 1v4 (2). L.Kh. has also further weakening: -a: *brīñā* *JS* 23r4 (101); *varāśa'* P 4099. 395 *KBT* 133 (= *varāśāte* Z 9. 18); -i: *himi* Hed. 17. 8 KT 4. 31.

B, D. On secondary contact, see pp. 193-4. O.Kh. has -te, -tā and rarely -ti. -te: *īste* Z 2. 61+; *kašte* Z 2. 111+; *ditte* Z 1. 37+; *ysānde* Z 2. 80+; *hvīnde* Z 1. 41+; -tā: *īstā* Z 12. 68+; *kaštā* Z 22. 320+; *dittā* Z 6. 6+; -ti: *ysāndi* Z 2. 85; *hvīndi* Z 11. 4; 13. 131. L.Kh. has -te, -tā, and more often than in O.Kh., -ti. -te: *spa'tte* Kha vi. 4. 1a1 KT 3. 130; *ysānde* *JS* 33v2 (147); *vahaiysde* *JS* 24r3 (105); -tā: *kaštā* *Avdh* 9v2 KT 3. 4; -ti: *pyūṣḍi* Ch c. 001. 731 *KBT* 90; *butti* P 3513. 55v3 (Asm. 59); *spa'tti* Kha vi. 4. 1b1 KT 3. 130. The final vowel was also weakened further in L.Kh.: *daiysda* P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 60); *bautta* P 3513. 84v3 *KBT* 66.

Modifications of -te other than affecting the final vowel:

- de: with present stems in -r (not -rr) and -ṣ (< *-š): *baḍe* Z 2. 95+ (note unique *baḍḍe* Z 13. 149) < *bar-*; *mīde* Z 4. 116+ < *mār-*; *pyūṣḍe* Z 14. 73+ < *pyūṣ-*; *ysūṣḍe* Z 12. 44 < *ysūṣ-*.
- de: after -n, -ys (present stems in -js < *č or *j, and -ys), -rr (< *rn), -ś (< *jy or < *zy): *jsinde* Z 19. 10 < *jsañ-*; *yande* Z 2. 65 < *yan-*; *vataysde* Z 17. 12 < *vatajs-*; *drysde* Z 12. 8, 47 < *drjs-*; *vahīysde* Z 23. 125 < *vahīys-*; *nāhvarrde* Z 12. 93 < *nāhvarr-*; *uskuṣde* Z 11. 50 < *uskuj-*; *pachīśde'* P 3513. 84v3 *KBT* 66 < *pachīś-*.
- ye, -yā, -tā, -te: after -i, -ai. O.Kh.: *jīye* Z 1. 38+; *jīyā* Z 6. 31+; *jītā* Z 24. 482; *ysaiye* Z 4. 115; *ysaite* Z 2. 212; *spaiye* Z 20. 64.
- ve, -vi, -vai are found for -te in L.Kh. 3 sg. of *jsā-*: *jsāve* P 4099. 63 *KBT* 116; *jsāvi* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 59); *jsāvai* P 5538b 64 KT 3. 123 tr. *gatsattī*.
- Note *byaude* Z 2. 9+. See pp. 107, 179.

4. The first person plural

-āmane is the usual O.Kh. form for the 1 pl. pres. mid. ind. and also 1 pl. pres. mid. subj. and (!) 1 pl. pres. subj. act. -āmane is probably a secondary formation beginning in 1 pl. pres. subj. mid., where it was

formed from *-āma* (1 pl. subj. act. in Kh., Av., O.Ind.) under the influence of *-āne* (1 sg. subj. mid. in Kh., Av.). This *-āmane* then replaced **-āmade* (cf. Av. *-āmaide* 1 pl. pres. mid.).

O.Kh.: *nījsātā'mane* Z 2. 72; *pachīśāmane* Z 22. 107; 23. 115; *padāmāmane* Sw. K. 31v3 KT 5. 109; 32v2 KT 5. 110; *panamāmane* Stein E. 1. 7. 145v2 KT 5. 77; *pvāmane* Z 24. 518; *hāmāmane* SS 77v2 KT 5. 339; *hīvyāmane* Sw. K. 31v3 KT 5. 109; 30r6 KT 5. 108. L.Kh.: *himāmane* Kha 1. 221 13 KT 3. 129.

In L.Kh. *-āmane* is weakened to *-āmaṃ*: *yanāmaṃ* Hed. 3vi KT 4. 23; *hāmāmaṃ* Hed. 3v3 KT 4. 23; and further to *-ām*: *stām* P 2741. 86 KT 2. 90; *hamjśyām* P 2741. 104-5 KT 2. 91.

See also 1 pl. pres. subj. act. and mid., from which it is often difficult to distinguish 1 pl. pres. ind. mid.

5. The second person plural

No certain example of the 2 pl. mid. has been found. *yanda* given in the paradigm on p. 198 could equally well be 2 pl. act. (p. 196). No form was given by S. Konow in *Saka Studies*, p. 55. In S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 48; Dresden, p. 414; H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144; Herzenberg, p. 106, *vaštāta* is given as the only example of the 2 pl. mid. I have noticed *vaštāta* only in *Sw. K. 33r2 KT 5. 111 tr. āpādayiṣyatha. vašt-* is, however, clearly active as seen for example in 3 pl. pres. *vaštindā* SS 13r6 KT 5. 329. I have been unable to discover why this particular active verb should have been chosen to illustrate the 2 pl. middle!

6. The third person plural

-āre < O.Ir. **-ārai*, cf. Av. *-āire*. Kh. *āste, ā're* (v. *āh-* p. 13) = Av. *āste, ānhāire*. Kh. has *-re* only in *byaure* < **abi-āfrai* (p. 107). I.I. **-rai*, cf. Av. *sōire*, O.Ind. *śere* (v. Barth., *GIP*, i, § 121. 2e, p. 66).

The usual form in O.Kh. and L.Kh. is *-āre*. O.Kh.: *jīyāre* Z 3. 29; *dījsāre* Z 2. 45; *nāsāre* Z 3. 55; *panamāre* Z 5. 54; *pyūvā're* Z 11. 52; *hāmāre* Z 3. 147. L.Kh.: *panamāre* Si 133v3 KT 1. 68; *mīvāre* JS 21v1 (92); *hamāre* P 3513. 44r1-2 (Asm. 3).

Already in O.Kh. the final vowel of *-āre* was weakened to *-ā, -i*. O.Kh.: *-ārā*: *oysārā* Z 15. 8; *jyārā* Z 15. 11; *nvaṃthārā* Z 24. 423; *parawysārā* Z 24. 467; *bvōārā* Z 24. 646; *bvārā* Z 23. 10; *hāmārā* Z 24. 442; *-āri*: *jyāri* Z 2. 191; *diyāri* Z 4. 37; *nvaštāri* Z 22. 317; *pyūvā'ri* Z 22. 326; *bvōāri* Z 24. 519; *mārāri* Z 22. 322; *yanāri* Z 22. 319. L.Kh.: *hamjśā'rā* F II. 1. 006. 3-4 KT 2. 69; *spalāri* Kha vi. 4. 1b4 KT 3. 130.

In L.Kh. the further weakening to *-a* is found: *niṣa'māra* P 3510. 9. 5 KBT 53 (= *nāsi'māre* P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62); *phastāra* Ch 00266. 26 KT 3. 35; *byāsā'ra* P 3513. 80v1 KBT 64. L.Kh. has also *-ārai*: *bvārai* P 2787. 105 KT 2. 105.

Unless the vowel-mark has been omitted through carelessness, L.Kh. has occasional forms with *-ā-* shortened to *-ā-*: *štara* P 4099. 106 KBT 118; *hamara* P 3513. 58r1 (Asm. 69). Cf. also *hamjśāmāri* Ch 00268. 195-6 KBT 68 = *hajsāmāre* Ch 00277. 11v3 KBT 71.

Only in the lyrical P 2956 have I noticed spellings with *-rr-*: *phastārra* P 2956. 17 KT 3. 37 (= *phastāre* Ch 00266. 22 KT 3. 35); *bīješārrā* P 2956. 3-4 KT 3. 36 (= *bīješāre* Ch 00266. 9 KT 3. 34); *ysaunārra* P 2956. 18 KT 3. 37 (= *ysanāra* Ch 00266. 23 KT 3. 35).

THE SUBJUNCTIVE

The subjunctive, or conjunctive, as it is often called, is in Kh. functionally indistinguishable from the optative and injunctive. Formally it is on the whole distinct, the subj. being characterized by *-ā-*, the opt. by *-ī-*. The forms collected so far are here set out on a purely descriptive basis.

SUBJUNCTIVE

Active Middle

SINGULAR

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>-īñi</i> | 1. <i>-ā -āne</i> |
| 2. <i>-e</i> | 2. <i>-ā</i> |
| 3. <i>-a</i> | 3. <i>-āte</i> |

PLURAL

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>-āma -āmane</i> | 1. <i>-āmane</i> |
| 2. <i>-āta</i> | 2. <i>-āta</i> |
| 3. <i>-āru -āro</i> | 3. <i>-āru -āro -ānde</i> |

SUBJUNCTIVE ACTIVE

1. The first person singular

-īñi was derived with some hesitation < **-ani* < **-āni* by S. Konow in *Saka Studies*, p. 54 and *NTS*, vii, 1934, 43. In *Primer*, pp. 46, 49 *-īñi* is treated as opt. < *-ī-*+**-ni*. It is listed with the opt. by H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144. If *-īñi* is opt. we are left with no 1 sg. subj. act. Note that in Z 7. 4-5 *parsimā* is parallel with *tsīñi, upevīñi* and the ind. is commonly so used (v. Dresden, p. 414, n. 65). *-imā* beside 1 pl. *-āmā, -āmane* may have resulted in producing *-īñi* (for **-āñi*) beside 1 pl. *-āma, -āmane*. Note also that **-āni* may be supported by the B. Sogd. spelling *-n* beside *-'n* (v. I. G., *GMS*, §§ 685-6, p. 108).

-īñi, less common *-īñā*, and once only *-īñe*, have been found only in O.Kh. Only one example of *-īñi* has been noticed with a *mid. verb.*: *upevīñi* Z 7. 5 < LW *upev-*. This verb also provides the only instances

of *-iyā* 3 sg. opt. from a mid. verb. It is likely therefore that *upev-* was act. or mid.

-īni: *ggūchīni* Z 4. 110; *gūchīni* Kha I. 69a a5 KT 5. 134; *carīni* Z 7. 6; *jānīni* Kha I. 69a a5 KT 5. 134; *joīni* D III. 1. 8v5 KT 5. 70; *tsīni* Z 2. 213, 214; 7. 4; *dāsīni* Z 23. 36; *dīni* Z 2. 100; *parrījīni* Z 2. 184, 216; 5. 113; 6. 60; *yanīni* Z 13. 4; *hvānīni* Kha I. 13. 141r5 KBT 4.

-īnā: *jīnīnā* Kha I. 214 b5 KT 5. 164; *tsīnā* SS 83r5 KT 5. 341; Kha I. 214 a6 KT 5. 164; *byehīnā* Kha II 29 8r2 KBT 9; Or 9609. 3v7 KT I. 232; *hvānīnā* SS 83r5 KT 5. 341.

-īne: *byehīne* Kha IX 13a2 a2 KT 5. 184.

2. The second person singular

-e < O.Ir. **-āh(i)*, cf. Av. *-āhi*, *-ā*.

One example only has been noticed so far, O.Kh. *pīre* Z 24. 245.

3. The third person singular

-a < O.Ir. **-āt*, cf. Av. *-āt*.

Only one clear example: *yana* Z 21. 15. In the case of present stems unable to show palatalization it is not possible to distinguish the 3 sg. subj. from the 3 sg. opt. act. in *-ia*. Ambiguous O.Kh. examples from act. verbs are: *tuwāya* Z 24. 239; *twā'ya* Z 24. 238 (?); *birāta'* Z 13. 79; *byeha* Z 13. 70, 82, 84; *bvāna* Z 13. 62; *sāja* Z 13. 57.

4. The first person plural

(a) *-āma*, cf. Av. O.Ind. *-āma*.

-āma is found in O.Kh. only and is rare: *parsāma* Z 22. 212, 336; *yanāma* Z 2. 106; Kha. I. 13. 139v3 KBT 3.

(b) *-āmane* has probably spread from the 1 pl. subj. mid. See also pp. 199-200.

O.Kh. *-āmane*: *byehāmane* Z 22. 336 (parallel with subj. *parsāma* and *jiyānde*); *-āmanai*: *hanāśśāmanai* Sw. K. 32v2-3 KT 5. 110 (parallel with pres. ind. act. (1) *yanāmā*, *ājumāmā*).

L.Kh. *-āmane*: *byehāmane* P 2790. 95 KT 2. 113; *hamgūjāmane* P 2031. 20 KT 2. 84; *-āmana*: *pyāmana* P 2781. 131 (63) KT 3. 71; *-āmine*: *byehāmine* Kha I. 158. 15-16 KT 3. 128; *-āmanai*: *tsoāmanai* P 2787. 7 KT 2. 101.

5. The second person plural

-āta cannot continue O.Ir. **-āθa*, cf. GAv. *-āθā*, O.Ind. *-ātha*. There has probably been interference with 2 pl. inj. *-ta* (Av. *-ata*).

O.Kh. *-āta*: *kṣamāta* Z 23. 92; *śśūhāta* Z 22. 96; *haspāsāta* Z 19. 94; *hīsāta* Z 22. 99. L.Kh. *-āta*: *byehāta* P 2790. 13 KT 2. 111; *-āva*: *kṣamāva* Ch 00266. 107 KBT 24; *byehāva* P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70.

6. The third person plural

-āru, *-āro* beside 2. 3. pl. opt. act. and mid. *-īru* and 3 pl. opt. act. and mid. *-īro* show that *-ā-* is here the subj. characteristic. *-r* endings in Av. are confined to the 3 pl. but extended to the 3 dual in the perfect. In O.Ind. also they have been extended from 3 pl. to 2. 3. dual in the perfect. For bibliography of the much-discussed *r*-endings of IE, see W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogermanischen Sprachgebiets*, Heidelberg, 1954, 83. See also M. Leumann, *Morphologische Neuerungen im altindischen Verbalsystem*, in *Med. d. kon. nederl. Ak. v. wet.*, 1952, 72-123. Leumann, op. cit., p. 91, takes *-ram* in Av. *vaozīram* Yt 19. 69 to be a sandhi-form of **-rām* because Vedic *rām*, which stands beside *-ran*, occurs only in late books of RV. O.Ir. **-ram* is, however, expected from Kh. *-ru*. Just as in O.Ind. *-ur* replaced **-at* (< **-nt*) in *adadhur* beside Av. *dadaṭ* 3 pl. imperf. and **-ant* in *bhareyur* beside Av. *baraym* 3 pl. opt. act. them., so in Kh. we have here *-āru* for expected **-āndi* < **-ānti*, cf. Av. *-ānti*; in the mid. *-āru* beside *-ānde* < **-āntai*, cf. Av. *-ānte*. Further, if Av. *vaozīram* is taken as 3 pl. opt. (for *-i-*, cf. *varōzimācā* Y. 35. 3), we have **-īram* to set beside O.Ind. *-īran*. With this **-īram* there is no difficulty in identifying *-īru*. (Av. *vaozīram* was so interpreted by J. Wackernagel ap. H. Lommel, *Die Yāšt's des Awesta*, Leipzig, 1927, 183, n. 5.)

O.Kh. *-āru*: *diyāru* Z 4. 91; *parsāru* Z 2. 193; 12. 87; *biysānāru* Z 4. 90; *yanāru* Z 23. 29 (or mid.); *-āro*: *kūśśāro* Kha I 129a1 b2 KT 5. 147; *numāndrāro* H 144 NS 67 v2 KT 5. 88; *parsāro* Z I. 84; 5. 112; *pvā'ro* Z 13. 81; 15. 44; *byehāro* Kha II. 31 a1, 2 (b3) KT 5. 176; *yanāro* Z 2. 106; 24. 50 (or mid.); *ramāro* Sw. K. 33r3-4; VI, 2 KT 5. 111; *vihilāro* Sw. K. 33r6 KT 5. 111; *hayirāro* Sw. K. 33r4; v2 KT 5. 111; *haisāro* Z 2. 156; *haurāro* Kha I. 129a1 b2 KT 5. 147.

In L.Kh. I have noticed two examples of the mid. ending used with act. verbs: *sijāṃdi* Avdh 21v2 KT 3. 12; *hambīrānde* Kha I. 221. 10, 11 KT 3. 129.

SUBJUNCTIVE MIDDLE

1. The first person singular

-āne < O.Ir. **-ānai*, cf. Av. *-āne* (v. Barth., *GIP*, I, § 114. 4, p. 63).

O.Kh. has once *hāmā* Z 11. 1. Cf. L.Kh. *mīrā* StH 73 KT 2. 76 (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. II. 1, 1951, 43). According to S. Konow, *NTS*, VII, 1934, 43 *-ne* in *hāmāne* 'was felt to be a separable particle'. It was not, however, very often separated. As *hām-* is a very frequent auxiliary, it would seem more likely that *hāmā* shows an early reduction < **hāmān* < *hāmāne* (cf. *-āmane* > *-āman* > *-ām*, p. 200).

O.Kh. *-āne*: *awysāne* Z 3. 70; *bvāne* Z 5. 113; 11. 77; 12. 1; 24. 259; Kha I. 214 b3 KT 5. 164; *varāśāne* Z 2. 203; *hāmāne* Z I. 190; 14. 100;

23. 93, 372; 24. 185; *hotāne* Z 14. 3. O.Kh. -ānā: *panamānā* E 20 app. 'E', p. 355; -āni: *buwāni* Z 2. 206.

The act. ending -āni is found once only with a mid. verb, O.Kh.: *upevīni* Z 7. 5 (v. pp. 201-2).

L.Kh. -āne: *kaśāne* P 3513. 50r2 (32); *ttrāmāne* P 3513. 50v2 (34); 51v3 (39); *dījsāne* P 3513. 49v2 (30); *dyāne* Hed. 23. 29 KT 4. 37; *bwāne* JS 3v2 (9); *StH* 54 KT 2. 75; P 3513. 54r2 (Asm. 50); P 3513. 74r1 KT 1. 248; *ysyāne* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65; *vījsyāne* Ch 1. 0021b, b35 KBT 154; *himāne* P 3513. 70v4 KT 1. 247.

L.Kh. has various later spellings: -āna: *ysyāna* Ch 0048. 69 KBT 74; -āni: *himāni* Hed. 23. 24 KT 4. 36; -ānai: *ysyānai* P 3513. 82r3 KBT 65; *vījsyānai* Ch 1. 0021b, a²36 KBT 151; -auna: *vījsyauna* P 3510. 5. 3 KBT 50; -aune: *kaśaune* P 3513. 82v1 KBT 65; *nāsaune* P 3513. 82r2 KBT 65; *vījsyaune* P 3510. 8. 3 KBT 52; *hamaune* P 3513. 78r3 KBT 63; -aunai: *hamaunai* P 3513. 84v1 KBT 66; P 2027. 41. KT 2. 81; *mīraunai* P 2027. 37 KT 2. 81.

2. The second person singular

-ā < *-āha, cf. Av. *dānhā* (v. Barth. § 115. 2, p. 63), rather than < *-āhai, cf. Av. -āhe, O.Ind. -āse, as *-e might be expected < *-āhai. Not < *-aha as S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 43, which, as expected, gives -a in the ind. (v. p. 198).

O.Kh. -ā: *yanā* Z 12. 53. L.Kh.: -ā: *mīrā* P 2783. 196 (35) KT 3. 74; *hamā* JS 5v3 (19). -ā is found also in: *dalsā* N 76. 42 (v. p. 44); *prrevā* Kha 1. 13. 148r2 KBT 7; *varā* P 2783. 193 (32), 196 (35) KT 3. 74.

3. The third person singular

-āte < O.Ir. *-ātai, cf. Av. -āite, O.Ind. -āte.

O.Kh.: *ā'te* Z 2. 222; *upevāte* Z 13. 97; *oysāte* Z 19. 51; *kaśāte* Z 19. 11; *iyāte* Z 3. 63; *dyjsāte* Z 5. 114; *dījsāte* H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; *nāsāte* Z 8. 48; *pīrāte* (write) H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; *pvā'te* Z 15. 133; *pyūvā'te* H 147 NS 109. 41r4 KT 5. 73; *pyūvā'te* SS 36r4 KT 5. 337; *pyūvā'te* Suv. K. 31r4 KT 5. 109 tr. *śṛṇuyāt*; *bāraysāte* Suv. K. 30r2 KT 5. 107; *hāmāte* Z 2. 51+; Suv. K. 31v6, 7 KT 5. 109; 34r2 KT 5. 112; *hīvyāte* Suv. K. 30r4 KT 5. 108 tr. *parigraham*.

L.Kh.: *disjāte* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76; *pvāte* ibid.; *spalāte* Kha vi. 4. 1a3 KT 3. 130.

L.Kh. shows also the following spellings: -ātā: *hāmātā* Vajr. 10a4-b1 KT 3. 22 tr. *pravarteta*; -āva: *hamāva-m* P 3513. 53r4 (Asm. 47); -āvā: *hamāvā* JS 39r3; 39v2; -āvi: *hamāvi* JS 39r4; -āve: *āyīmāve* S 2471. 114 KBT 94; *pvāve* ibid. 117 KBT 94; *pvā've* P 3513. 84v2 KBT 66; *bwāve* P 3513. 57v4 (Asm. 69); *yanāve* S 2471. 114-15 KBT 94; *hamāve* P 3513. 47r3 (Asm. 18).

4. The first person plural

-āmane is probably a secondary formation, v. pp. 199-200, ad 4. Sogd. Anc. Lett. -'ymn and Chor. -āmmi have been compared, v. I. G., GMS, § 716, n. 1.

O.Kh.: *yanāmane* SS 77v4 KT 5. 339 (conditional clause); *yanāmane* Kha 1. 13 139v3-4 KBT 3 (parallel with *yanāma*) < yan- act. or mid.; *hāmāmane* Kha 1. 13 142v3 KBT 5. L.Kh.: *himāmane* Kha 1. 221. 13 KT 3. 129 could be ind.

In O.Kh. -amane is found with *jsā-* and *hamjsā-*: *jsamane* Z 19. 94; 20. 28; *ha<m>jsamane* H 142 NSB 4r1 KT 5. 78. Cf. *jsaman<e>* Hoernle 142, 143. 1 (bis) KT 5. 67. In L.Kh. the expected -ā- is found: *jsāmanai* P 2787. 7 KT 2. 101. Possibly by haplology < **hamjsam-āmane* as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 56, 140.

5. The second person plural

-āta = act., v. p. 202, 5.

One example only, L.Kh.: *bwāta* P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70.

6. The third person plural

(a) -ānde < O.Ir. *-āntai, cf. Av. -ānte.

O.Kh. -ānde: *jiyānde* Z 22. 336; *pyūvā'nde* SS 83v1 KT 5. 341; *pyūvānde* Or 9609. 4v3-4 KT 1. 233; *pyūvānde* ibid. 5r2 KT 1. 234; *bwānde* Z 23. 372; *hamjsāšā'nde* Suv. K. 32r7 KT 5. 110; *haraysānde* Z 3. 66; *hāmānde* Z 2. 203; 8. 26; 11. 74, 76; 22. 92. -ānde is rare in O.Kh.: *pyūvām'de* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8v2 KT 5. 68, but usual in L.Kh.: *jānde* P 3513. 48v1 (Asm. 24); *JS* 13r4 (54); *ttrāmānde* P 3513. 81r2 KBT 64; *dījsānde* P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *pvānde* P 3513. 71v3 KT 1. 247; *bwānde* ibid. v4; *jinānde* P 3513. 44r1 (Asm. 3); Hed. 23. 30 KT 4. 37; *hāmānde* Avdh 6v5 KT 3. 2.

L.Kh. has also the following spellings: -ādi: *jādi* JS 39v1; -āndi: *hamāndi* Hed. 7. 10 KT 4. 25; *niša'māndi* P 3513. 71r1 KT 1. 247; -āde: *himāde* Kha 1. 221 7 KT 3. 129; *nišimāde* Si 1 bis v1-2 KT 1. 3; -aude: *pajāysaude* P 3513. 79r4 KBT 63; *hamaude* P 3513. 82r3 KBT 65; 84v4 KBT 66.

On transfer to act. verbs in L.Kh., v. p. 203 ad 6.

(b) -āru, -āro, v. p. 203 ad 6.

O.Kh. -āru: *āysānāru* Z 5. 97; *baysāru* Z 3. 135; *barāru* Z 13. 24; *bwāru* Z 2. 105; 11. 76.

O.Kh. -āro: *āryāro* Suv. K. 33v1 KT 5. 111; *uskujāro* Z 12. 70; *pajāysāro* Z 11. 44; Or. 9609. 3r2 KT 1. 232; *bwāro* Z 11. 7; Kha 1. 214a3 KT 5. 164; *mañāro* (think) Suv. K. 33r4 KT 5. 111;

vasusāro H 142 NS 79 b2 *KT* 5. 30; *hamjśāṣā'ro* *Suv.* K. 33r6 *KT* 5. 111; *handajāro* Kha 1. 58a1 b4 *KT* 5. 132; *hamyāro* Z 2. 140; *haraysāro* Z 5. 43; *hāmāro* Z 3. 97, 151; 11. 43; 20. 6; 23. 134, 368; Kha 1. 13. 138r5 *KBT* 3; *SS* 27v5 *KT* 5. 334; 33r4, v1, 3, 5 *KT* 5. 335; *huṣṣāñāro* *Suv.* K. 33v2 *KT* 5. 111.

OPTATIVE

The optative is characterized by *-ī-* in formal contrast to the subj. which has *-ā-*. The forms are here classified on a purely descriptive basis. Striking is the absence of 1 pl. forms. The subj. supplies this need. *parsimā* was hesitatingly given as 1 pl. by H. W. B., *Languages of the Saka*, p. 144. This *-īmā* could formally derive < IE **-oimi*; but it is no doubt simply 1 sg. pres. ind. act. (v. p. 201).

OPTATIVE					
Active			Middle		
SINGULAR					
1.	-ā	- <i>io</i>	- <i>īne</i>	1.	*- <i>īne</i>
2.	-ā?			2.	
3.	- <i>ia</i>	-ā	- <i>iyā</i>	3.	- <i>īya</i>
PLURAL					
1.				1.	
2.	- <i>īru</i>			2.	- <i>īru</i>
3.	- <i>īru</i>	- <i>īro</i>		3.	- <i>īru</i> - <i>īro</i>

OPTATIVE ACTIVE

1. The first person singular

(a) *-ā*, *-i* < O.Ir. **-aim*, cf. B. Sogd. *-y* < **-ai(ya)m* (I. G., *GMS*, § 689, p. 108). Kh. would have **-ī* < **-aiyam* at least and probably **-ai*. The Kh. was previously unexplained; v. S. Konow's difficulties, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 45.

O.Kh. *-ā*: *ttuwāyā* Z 11. 8; *byehā* Z 7. 3; *-i*: *parsi* Z 13. 45; 22. 333; *bvāñi* Z 11. 23. L.Kh. *-i*: *nāsi* P 3513. 81v4 *KBT* 64.

(b) *-io* < O.Ir. **-yām*, cf. Av. *-yam*, O.Ind. *-yām*.

O.Kh. *-io* is clearly visible only in *hiśso* Z 22. 335 < *hiś-*. In other cases the present stem cannot show palatalization: *-o*: *anuvartto* Z 4. 108 (or mid.); *ttrāyo* N 168. 28; *byevo* Z 2. 183; *byeho* Z 7. 3; *hvāño* H 144 NS 69. 467r2 *KT* 5. 49.

O.Kh. also has *-iu* in *paysāñu* Z 13. 160 (cf. *-o/-u* < **-ām* in ASf *ā-* decl.). With present stems already palatalized it is not possible to distinguish from the inj. as pointed out by S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 44. Such are O.Kh.: *dāśsu* Z 11. 77; *parrīju* Z 4. 112; *byehu* Z 7. 2.

(c) *-īne* is found only in L.Kh. and is thus evidently a secondary formation, the O.Kh. endings (a), (b) being insufficiently distinctive. The form is based on opt. *-ī-+ne*. The ending probably began in the mid. under the influence of *-āne* 1 sg. subj. mid. *-āne*: *-āru* = *-īne*: *-īru*. L.Kh. *-ī* belongs to *-īne* as *-ā* to *-āne*, v. p. 203.

L.Kh. *-īne*: *byehīne* Ch 1. 0021b. b39 *KBT* 154; b45 *KBT* 154; *byehīne* P 2783. 44-45 *KT* 3. 74.

L.Kh. has also the spellings: *-ina*: *tsīna* P 2891. 42 *KT* 3. 81; *yanīna* (or mid.) P 2786. 195 *KT* 2. 99; P 2958. 207-8 *KT* 2. 120; *hajsaimīna* P 2897. 42 *KT* 2. 116; *-īnai*: *paśīnai* P 2897. 41 *KT* 2. 116; *byehīnai* Ch 1. 0021b. b48 *KBT* 154; *hīsīnai* P 2027. 38 *KT* 2. 81.

L.Kh. has also the further reductions: *-īm*: *pīm* *Avdh* 21r2 *KT* 3. 11; *-ī*: *namasi* P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17); *pārīphī* P 3513. 65r3 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *sthāpayiṣye*; *pī* (fall) P 2783. 179 (18) *KT* 3. 73; *bārī* P 3513. 79v2 *KBT* 63; *byehī* Hed. 11. 3 *KT* 4. 27; *yini* P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17) (or mid.); *vasūjī* P 3513. 52v2 (Asm. 44); *hamgūjī* P 3513. 49r3 (Asm. 28); *harsi* P 3513. 81r3 *KBT* 64.

2. The second person singular

? *-ā* < O.Ir. **-aiš*, cf. Av. *-ōiš*, O.Ind. *-es*.

If O.Kh. *dai* *SS* 21r4 *KT* 5. 331 is not 2 sg. pres. but opt., it will derive < **dayā*. See also on 2 sg. imper. mid. (p. 213).

3. The third person singular

(a) *-ia* < O.Ir. **-yāt*, cf. Av. *-yāt*, O.Ind. *-yāt*.

O.Kh. *-ia* is clearly visible in: *kṣīma* Z 2. 243; 21. 19, 26 < *kṣam-*; *pulśa* Z 13. 105, 107 < *pulś-*; *bināśśa* Z 13. 100 < *binās-*; *haraña* Z 13. 72 < *harañ-*; *hiśa* Z 6. 58 < *hiś-*; *hvīra* Z 13. 93, 100 < *hvar-*. L.Kh. has *hera* *JS* 8r4 (30) < *haur-*.

Where the present stem is already palatalized, it is not possible to distinguish the 3 sg. opt. from the 3 sg. subj. act. (v. p. 202, 3) e.g. *hvāña* Z 23. 7 < *hvāñ-* could have *-a* or *-ia*. *biyāśśa* Z 13. 113 is probably opt., as it is parallel with *phaštīya*, < *biyāśś-* (act. mid. X).

(b) *-ā* < O.Ir. **-ait*, cf. Av. *-ōit*, O.Ind. *-et*.

O.Kh.: *-ā*: *usthamjā* H 147 NS 111 43v1 *KT* 5. 75; *kerā* *SS* 33r1 *KT* 5. 335; *kṣamā* Z 21. 18; *kṣamevā* Z 19. 57; *khāśā* Z 2. 59;

thiśā Z 4. 91; *nihaljā* Z 2. 178; *patā* Z 20. 63; *pātāyā* Z 6. 36; 13. 111; *bajā* Z 23. 110; *bajevā* Z 6. 19; *byūsā* Z 5. 32; *ysānājā* Z 3. 102; *vaṣṭā* Z 16. 4; *sumārā* SS 2716 KT 5. 333; *saitā* Z 2. 71; *saiyā* Z 7. 26; 10. 35; *hatcañā* SS 3616 KT 5. 337; *harsā* Z 2. 216.

O.Kh.: *-i*: *kūśi* Z 4. 118; *parsi* Z 23. 11; *baji* Z 13. 78; *māñi* (resemble) Z 2. 181; *sāji* Z 6. 18; *saiyi* Z 13. 107; *harsi* Z 23. 29; *hauri* Z 3. 148; *hvāñi* Z 24. 165. *kei* Z 13. 31 < **kāt'i*. L.Kh. *byehi* JS 38v1 (167) is probably 3 sg. pres. ind. (v. p. 192).

(c) *-iyā* is clearly a secondary formation, probably based on the 3 sg. opt. mid. *-iya* < **-ita*, **-aita* under the influence of the 3 sg. pres. ind. act. *-tā*.

-iyā is the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *kṣamīyā* Z 3. 24+; Or 9609. 53v4 KT 1. 237 (tr. *°kāmo bhavet*); *kṣamevīyā* Z 12. 83; *khijīyā* Z 19. 51; *tsīyā* Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237 (tr. *atikramīyati*); *namasīyā* H 147 NS 109. 41v1 KT 5. 73; *pathamjīyā* Z 12. 119, 129; *parrījīyā* Z 22. 292; *pulsīyā* Z 17. 28; *pravartīyā* Z 4. 104; *bajīyā* Z 11. 27; *bārāsīyā* Or 9609. 55v6 KT 1. 240 (tr. *sampra-kāśayīyati*); *bvāñīyā* Z 12. 47; *bvāñīyā* Z 12. 48; *byehīyā* H 144 N 30 etc. v5 KT 5. 95; *manīyā* Z 2. 200; *vaṣṭīyā* Z 10. 29; *vāṣṭīyā* H 147 NS 109. 41r5 KT 5. 73; Kha ix. 13a2 a5 KT 5. 185; *hvarīyā* Z 2. 213.

-iyā is occasionally found in L.Kh.: *kṣamīyā* Avdh 9r1 KT 3. 3; *siṣīyā* Avdh 21v3 KT 3. 12; *vāśī'yā* Ch c. 001. 210-11 KBT 76.

O.Kh. also has the spellings: *-itā*: *narāmītā* Z 24. 199; *pātāyitā* Z 19. 52; *byehītā* Z 22. 99; *-īti*: *vāṣīti* Z 11. 66; *-īyi*: *jsanīyi* Z 2. 200; *ramīyi* Z 24. 199; *hīsiyi* Z 22. 103.

The usual spelling in L.Kh. is the reduced form *-ī*. *-ī* has been noticed only once in O.Kh.: *saṅkhalī* D III. 1 8v2 KT 5. 69 (v. p. 130). (Note that O.Kh. *bī* Z 21. 15 is perhaps < **bīdi* and belongs to (b) above.) L.Kh. *-ī*: *tsī* P 3513. 82v1 KBT 65; JS 3r4 (9); *parī* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76; S 2471. 106 KBT 94 (or ind.); *paśī* JS 9r1 (34); *mūñi* Hed. 23. 20 KT 4. 36; *vyāchī* JS 3r4 (9); *sāji* Ch c. 001. 210 KBT 76; *hambīri* P 3513. 56v4 (Asm. 64); *hūrī* S 2471. 207 KBT 98; *huṣī* JS 2v3 (6); *hvāñi* Ch c. 001. 211 KBT 76.

O.Kh. *kātai'yā* H 147 NS 109 41r5 KT 5. 73 is probably < **kātī'yā*+**kai'yā*, cf. 3 pl. pres. *kātī'ndā* beside *kai'ndā*.

-īye is also found in L.Kh.: *yanīye* S 2471. 108-9 KBT 94; *vāśī'ye* S 2471. 122 KBT 95; *hīsiye* P 2790. 120 KT 2. 114.

-īya, properly 3 sg. opt. mid., is found once in O.Kh.: *pīya* Z 13. 72. It is found occasionally in L.Kh.: *vāśī'ya*, *tsīya* StH 43 KT 2. 74; *vaṣṭīya* P 2801. 55 KT 3. 67.

(d) Miscellaneous:

-u in O.Kh.: *padajsu* Z 2. 112; *hauru* SS 33r2 KT 5. 335. These are the only forms noticed. They are probably variants of *-ā* (b).

O.Kh. *daira*, Z 5. 72 only, appears to have **-ira*. Although the context formally requires 3 sg., transition to the 3 pl. in general statements is common, so that *daira* may be a late spelling for **dairu*.

-e is not yet established as an opt. termination. In O.Kh. perhaps: *paname* Stein E 1. 7. 145v1 KT 5. 77; *vaṣṭe* Z 24. 48. In L.Kh.: *viṣṭe* Avdh. 8v4 KT 3. 3; *vāṣṭe* ibid. 8v5 KT 3. 3. These may be early examples of L.Kh. *-e* < *-āte* 3 sg. pres. ind. act. mid.

4. *The first person plural*

Not found.

5. *The second person plural*

-īru v. p. 203.

O.Kh.: *usthamjīru* Z 23. 99; *vasūjīru* Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234 tr. *prasādaya*, *yanīru* Z 2. 96; 13. 4; 23. 1; Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234 (act. or mid.).

6. *The third person plural*

-īru, *-īro* v. p. 203.

O.Kh. *-īru*: *kaljīru* Z 24. 379; *purorīru* Z 4. 63; *buysairu* Z 4. 63; *sūjsīru* Z 4. 49; *hvāñīru* Z 13. 105. *yanīru* Z 11. 75; 19. 38 (act. or mid.).

O.Kh. *-īro*: *patīro* Z 13. 79; *pīro* Z 13. 72; *vamasīro* Kha 1. 13. 141v3-4 KBT 4.

OPTATIVE MIDDLE

1. *The first person singular*

**-īne* v. 1 (c) p. 207.

L.Kh. only, *-īna*: *bvīna* Hed. 3. 10 KT 4. 22; *-īnai*: *gaisīnai* P 2958. 192 KT 2. 120.

2. *The second person singular*

Not found.

3. *The third person singular*

-īya < O.Ir. **-aita*, cf. Av. *-aēta*, O.Ind. *-eta*.

O.Kh. *-īya*: *ggihīya* Z 13. 86, 89; *bvīya* Z 13. 62; *byūhīya* Z 13. 74; *mārīya* Z 15. 18; *mirīya* Z 13. 79; *ysaiya* Z 24. 121; *hāmīya* Z 13. 69, 103, 104, 107, 134; 23. 173.

Only one instance of act. *-īyā* with a mid. verb has been noticed, O.Kh.: *upevīyā* Z 8. 24, 25 (two occurrences). See pp. 201-2.

4. The first person plural

Not found.

5. The second person plural

-īru, *-īro* v. p. 203.

-īru is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *kaśīru* Z 23. 99; *nvaśīru* Z 20. 52; *pyuvīru* Z 5. 13; *pyuvī'ru* Z 5. 1, 8; 10. 1; 23. 3; *pyūvī'ru* Z 24. 209; Or 9609. 5r7 KT 1. 234; *buvīru* Z 23. 93; *bvīru* Z 11. 71; *padīmīru* *Suv.* K. 32v7 KT 5. 110; *vajśāśī'ru* Z 24. 209; *vajśī'ru* Z 23. 99; *varāśīru* Z 23. 94; *vahīysīru* Z 24. 481; *śīru* *Suv.* K. 29r3 KT 5. 106; *hāmīru* Z 22. 108, 277; 23. 171, 173; 24. 213.

Other O.Kh. spellings are: *-īrā*: *pyuvī'rā* Z 6. 1; *vajśitī'rā* Z 23. 96; *hīvīrā* *Suv.* K. 29v4 KT 5. 107; *-īri*: *pyuvī'ri* Z 5. 21; *buvīri* Z 22. 317; *-īro*: *thanjīro* Z 5. 1.

L.Kh. spellings: *-īrau*: *gyinīrau* Hed. 8. 4 KT 4. 26; *jvīrau* (fight) P 2781. 31 KT 3. 69; *paṅmarīrau* Hed. 20. 13 KT 4. 34; *pvī'rau* Hed. 20. 11 KT 4. 34. *yanīrau* Hed. 8. 1 KT 4. 26 (act. or mid.). *-īryau*: *hadārīryau* P 2834. 51 KBT 46.

6. The third person plural

-īru, *-īro* v. p. 203.

O.Kh. *-īru*: *dīru* Z 11. 73; 21. 25; *hāmīru* Z 13. 70, 113; *-īro*: *baysīro* Z 21. 29; *ysairo* Z 8. 25.

L.Kh. spellings: *-īra*: *hadārīra* P 2834. 37 KBT 46; *-īryau*: *pajāysīryau* P 3513. 80v4-81r1 KBT 64.

INJUNCTIVE

Active	Middle
1. sg. <i>-u</i>	1. sg.
3. sg. <i>-(ā)ta</i>	3. sg. <i>-(ā)ta</i>

1. First person singular active

-u < O.Ir. **-am*, cf. Av. *-əm*, O.Ind. *-am*. Cf. Chr. B. Sogd. *-w* I. G., GMS, § 688, p. 108.

One certain example, O.Kh.: *parsu* Z 24. 435. In the case of present stems already palatalized, it is not possible to distinguish inj. from opt. (v. p. 207, 1 (b)).

2. Third person singular active

-ta must be from the mid. *-ta* generalized.

A. *-āta*, *-īta*. O.Kh. *-āta*: *kūśāta* Z 14. 98; *-īta*: *māñita* Z 22. 278 (v. S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 16-17).

B. *-ta*: *tsūta* *Suv.* K. 32r5 KT 5. 110; *-da* (after *-n*): *jinda* Z 22. 278 (v. S. Konow, NTS, vii, 1934, 16-17). Act. or mid.: *paysānda* *Suv.* K. 34r3 KT 5. 112; *yanda* Z 2. 180; 5. 48; 14. 86; 20. 22; 22. 278.

3. Third person singular middle

-ta < O.Ir. **(a)ta*, cf. Av., O.Ind. *-(a)ta*.

A. O.Kh. *-āta*: *hāmāta* *Suv.* K. 35r6 KT 5. 113.

B. O.Kh. *-ta*: *nāsta* Z 3. 149; 24. 387; Kha 1. 13. 147r5 KBT 7; SS 36v1 KT 5. 337; *butta* Z 2. 25, 117; 8. 36; *hautta* Z 24. 437.

After *-ś* O.Kh. has *-ḍa*: *nīśaḍa* Z 14. 96; *pyūḥḍa* Z 5. 25; 8. 35; *Suv.* K. 34r5 KT 5. 112 tr. *śṛṇuyād*; *hamjśaḍa* Z 13. 147; *Suv.* K. 32r6 KT 5. 110 tr. **kāmo bhavet*.

After *-ys* O.Kh. has *-da*: *pachīysda* Z 11. 4; *haraysda* Z 5. 88, 106. *-va* is found in O.Kh.: *darrauwa* H 147 NS 109 41v3 KT 5. 73.

IMPERATIVE

Active	Middle
2 sg. <i>-a</i>	2 sg. <i>-u</i>
3 sg. <i>-(ā)tu</i>	3 sg. <i>-āto</i>
2 pl. <i>-(ā)ta</i>	2 pl. <i>*-ta</i>
3 pl. <i>-āndu</i>	3 pl.

IMPERATIVE ACTIVE

1. The second person singular

-a, cf. Av., O.Ind. *-a*.

-a is frequent in O.Kh.: *uysdāya* Z 2. 84; *kṣama* Z 2. 132; 5. 45; *jina* Z 22. 192; *trāya* Z 24. 435; *dīśa* Z 12. 53; *nya* Z 5. 52; *pathīsa* Z 24. 456; *pūsa* Z 7. 41; 11. 4; *hamīha* Z 2. 95; *haura* Z 12. 10; and in L.Kh.: *uysdāya* Avdh 18v4 KT 3. 10; *trāya* Avdh 20r1 KT 3. 11; *haura* Hed. 3. 16 KT 4. 22.

-a is absorbed in roots in **-av*: *tso* Z 2. 70+; *tsau* Z 2. 144 < **čyava*; *nalīso* Z 5. 30; *buyso* Z 5. 50 < **vi-zāva*. The resulting *-o* is found weakened to *-u* already in O.Kh.: *tsu* SS 80v2 KT 5. 341.

-u, the mid. ending, is rarely found with act. verbs. O.Kh. has: *hamggalju* Z 12. 15, 29; *hamggāru* Z 21. 21.

L.Kh. has -e: *pu'a'se* JS 28v4 (126). -a has been lost in L.Kh. *yan* Hed. 3. 16 KT 4. 22 < O.Kh. *yana*.

2. The third person singular

-tu, cf. Av., O.Ind. -tu.

A. -ātu in O.Kh. *āvulātu* Z 2. 101 (act. mid. X) and *sambajātu* Or 9609. 54r5 KT 1. 238 tr. *samḍhyatu*. The latter is probably act., cf. 3 sg. opt. *sabajiyā* Or 9609. 4r1 KT 1. 233.

B. -tu in O.Kh. *pu'attu* Z 2. 101.

O.Kh. -to (> -do after -n) is extended from the mid.: *jindo* Z 5. 11.

3. The second person plural

-ta, cf. O.Ind. -ta. See also p. 196, 5.

A. -āta in O.Kh.: *ājumāta* Dumaqu 0119. 89r1 KT 5. 263; *parrijāta* Z 11. 72; -ita in O.Kh.: *hatcañita* Z 22. 276; *hvāñita* Z 11. 72; 24. 491. -ita > -ya in L.Kh.: *padaimya* P 2786. 25-26 KT 2. 94. The particle *ra*, *rā* (< O.Kh. *ro*, *ru*) has become in L.Kh. attached to the 2 pl. imper. The following spellings have been noticed:

(i) -ara < -yara after palatals: *bāyara* P 2801. 41 KT 3. 67; *hagai'jara* P 2787. 183 KT 2. 108; *hausā'ra* P 2783. 186 (25) KT 3. 73.

(ii) -arā < -yarā after palatals: *ka'jarā* Hed. 20. 16 KT 4. 34; *paśarā* Ch 00269. 84 KT 2. 46; *bāyarā* P 2790. 33 KT 2. 111; *mūñarā* (remain) Ch 00269. 112 KT 2. 47; *hūñarā* Hed. 7v6 KT 4. 26.

(iii) -yara: *nāraumyara* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39; *bāvuyara* P 2022. 34 KT 3. 43 (or mid.).

(iv) -yarā: *cinḍyarā* P 2801. 20-21 KT 3. 66; *tvaśdyarā* Hed. 20. 12 KT 4. 34 (A/B); -yari: *hajsemyari* Domoko A 4. 5, 6 KT 2. 62; *ibid.* 8 KT 2. 63 (?).

(v) -yerā: *bāvoyerā* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39 (or mid.).

(vi) *-ira < *-yira < -yara in *bāyirai* P 2957. 148 KBT 39.

B. -ta in O.Kh.: *kei'ta* Z 22. 277; *hamgrīsta* Z 24. 465; *haspīsta* Z 22. 270; *haspāsta* Z 22. 276.

-ḍa from pres. stems in -r: *hoḍa* Z 12. 27; 24. 414.

-da from pres. stems in -rr: *purra* Z 11. 71.

In L.Kh. the type A ending was extended to type B verbs:

(i) -yara: *gūsyara* P 2022. 34-35 KT 3. 43.

(ii) -yarā: *jsanyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) KT 3. 75; *tvaryarā* Or 11252. 16a8 KT 2. 22; *hauryarā* Hoernle 143a. 9 KT 2. 68.

(iii) -yari: *tvaryari* Hed. 20. 8 KT 4. 34.

C. -ta in O.Kh.: *puva'tta* Z 24. 474.

D. -ya in O.Kh.: *daiya* Z 20. 50; *paīya* *Suv.* K. 29r5 KT 5. 107.

4. The third person plural

-āndu, possibly < *-andu (< O.Ir. *-antu, cf. Av., O.Ind. -antu)+ *-āndi (< O.Ir. *-ānti, cf. Av. -ānti, 3 pl. subj. act.).

-āndu only in O.Kh.: *parrijāndu* Kha 1. 214 a4 KT 5. 164.

O.Kh. has the weakened forms -āndu: *dyāndu* Z 14. 58; *śkīmāndu* Z 5. 96; *sambajāndu* Or 9609. 54v3 KT 1. 238 (probably act.); *hamgrīsāndu* Z 23. 121, 146; *hīsāndu* Z 2. 202; and -ādu: *hamgrīsādu* Z 2. 70; *hvāñādu* Z 10. 35.

IMPERATIVE MIDDLE

1. The second person singular

-u < *-ahva, cf. Av. -aṅuha, O.Ind. -asva S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 46. Extended from *yanu* Z 2. 132+ < *kṛnu (cf. O.Ind. *kṛṇu* *RV*+ S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57.

-u is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh.: *wysgärnu* Z 5. 51; *ggūhu* Z 23. 105; 24. 435; *trāmu* Z 2. 131; *nāsu* Z 13. 66; 89; *nuvaštu* Z 7. 32+; *panamu* Z 6. 23+; *paphānu* Z 5. 95; *parehu* Z 24. 247; *vahīysu* Z 23. 120; *vāju* Z 5. 30; *spāśsu* Z 21. 12, 21; *hāmu* Z 2. 188; 24. 208, 244. Contracted in *pyū* *SS* 27r1 KT 5. 333 (L.Kh. id. *Avdh* 7v2 KT 3. 2; *pū* S 2471. 101 *KBT* 94).

L.Kh. shows weakening to -ā (causing formal confusion with 2 sg. opt.): *anamāisā* *Avdh* 20v4 KT 3. 11; *āphirā* Kha 1. 185. 1a6 KT 5. 155; *nāsā* JS 15v4 (66); *nvamthā* *Avdh* 19v5 KT 3. 10; *pajāysā* N 176. 22; -i: *nvamthi* *Avdh* 13r4 KT 3. 6.

O.Kh. may show extension of act. -a in *padīma* Z 19. 37; L.Kh. in *auysa* P 2025. 183 *KBT* 17.

2. The third person singular

-to < O.Ir. *-tām, cf. Av. -tām, O.Ind. -tām.

A. O.Kh. -āto: *hāmāto* Kha 1. 13. 139r3 *KBT* 3.

3. The second person plural

*-ta = 2 pl. act.

-yarā extended to type B verb (v. p. 212): *nāsyarā* P 2783. 234 (73) KT 3. 75.

PARTICIPLES OF THE PRESENT

1. -anda

< *-anta-, thematization¹ of O.Ir. *-ant-, cf. Av., O.Ind. -ant.

-anda is comparatively rare, being replaced by -andaa (2). It has been noticed only with act. verbs. -anda is added directly to the pres. stem as follows:

- LW *ttṛṣṭhanda*- Z 14. 1 < *ttṛṣṭh*-
 Ib *hvaranda*- Z 13. 94 < *hvar*-
 Ic *mihujśanda*- Z 14. 27; Or 9609. 4r5 KT 1. 233 < *mihujś*-
 IV a *hūsanda*- Z 4. 118+ < *hūs*-
 Va *hvāñanda*- Z 12. 112 < *hvāñ*-
 VI a *bāranda*- Z 22. 110 < *bār*-
 VI b *māñanda*- Z 2. 4+ < *māñ*-

-anda occasionally coexists with -andaa: *sarbanda*- Z 2. 84+; Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233 beside *sarbandaa*- Z 14. 26; *hūsanda*- Z 4. 118+ beside *hūsandaa*- Z 9. 9.

2. -andaa

*-ka extension of -anda 1, which it has largely replaced. -andaa was added directly to the pres. stem as follows:

- Ib *sūjsandaa*- Z 11. 55 < *sūjs*-; *bāysdyamdaa*- P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24)
 II b *avaṣṭandaa*- Z 11. 37; 22. 313, a-+*paṣṭ*-
 III b *haysānandaa*- Z 12. 112; 24. 440 < *haysān*-
 IV a *haspāsandaa*- Z 24. 642 < *haspās*-; *hūsandaa*- Z 9. 9 < *hūs*-
 Va *hanamandaa*- Z 22. 233 < *hanam*-
 Ve *byehandaa*- Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237 < *byeh*-
 VI b *bārūñandaa*- Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77 < *bārūñ*-

In the case of *tsu*- Ib, -m- was inserted before -andaa: *tsūmandyau* Or 9609. 5r5 KT 1. 234; *tsūmamda* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12.

In the case of *āh*- Ia and *śś*- Ic, which usually have the expected inherited mid. part. -āna (3), -andaa has been added to -āna to reinforce it. Thus, beside *āna*- Z 14. 70+ (< **āh-āna*-), *ānamdaa*- is found already in O.Kh.: *Suv. K.* 34v5 KT 5. 112 *ānamcānu* tr. *nivāsinyas*; *ānamdā* SS 25r4 KT 5. 332. Beside O.Kh. *śśāna*- Z 5. 47+, found also in L.Kh. as *sām* Hed. 23. 22 KT 4. 36; JS 21r1 (89), L.Kh. has *śānamdā* Ch c. 00r. 87r KBT 136; *śānamdā* P 3513. 71r2 KT 1. 247.

¹ Av. has them. forms e.g. *Jaiḍyantāi* Yt 5. 19+.

The addition of -andaa to -āna, which is mid., is in accordance with the general tendency to confuse act. and mid. outside the pres. ind. -andaa is found with pres. stems whose pres. is exclusively:

- (a) act.: *pajyandaa*- Z 11. 19 < *pajād*-; *bāysdyamdaa*- P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24); *byehandaa*- Or 9609. 36v7 KT 1. 237; *bremamdaa*- Z 2. 218; SS 24v1 KT 5. 332; *māñamdaa*- JS 17r4 (73) < 2. *māñ*-; *sarbandaa*- Z 14. 26; *sājamdaa*- P 3513. 53v4 (Asm. 49); *sūjsandaa*- Z 11. 55; *hūsandaa*- Z 9. 9.
 (b) mid.: *bārūñamdaa*- Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 KT 5. 77; *gesamdaa*- JS 14v2 (61); *parauysamdaa*- P 3513. 57v1 (Asm. 67); JS 15r4 (64); *khoysamdaa*- JS 33r2 (144); Si 150r3 KT 1. 94.

In L.Kh. there is some evidence for haplology with -anda(a) participles of pres. stems in -am and -an. See H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 120. *pajsadaa*- P 2022. 1 KT 3. 42 < **pajsamandaa*- (H. W. B., *Annali*, 1959, 127). This probably provides the *pajsam*- implied by *pajsamev*- (v. p. 65). *haphada* P 2956. 13 KT 3. 37 (v. *haphan*- p. 147). *hamjsamdaa*- *Vajr.* 9a3 KT 3. 21 tr. *samprasthita*- < **hamjsamandaa*-.

3. -āna

-āna continues the O.Ir. pres. pt. mid. *-āna, cf. Av., O.Ind. -āna. Still confined to the mid. in Kh., it had spread to the thematic presents, but was being displaced by -andaa (2).

O.Kh. examples: *jiyāna*- Z 24. 456; *javāna*- SS 80r6 KT 5. 340; *jsāna*- Z 2. 85+; *dāyāna*- Z 9. 27; *dyāna*- *Suv. K.* 35v7 KT 5. 113; *pyūwāna* H 147 NS 109. 41v2 KT 5. 73; *barāna*- *Suv. K.* 32r6 KT 5. 110; *vahīysāna*- H 147 NS 109. 41v3 KT 5. 73; *śśāna*- Z 5. 47+; *štāna*- Z 2. 20+; *hāmāna*- Z 15. 93.

paphūjā Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23 may be L.Kh. for **paphūjāna*- (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 73-74), but it is not yet known whether this verb is act. or mid. *mirām* P 2783. 219 (58) *KT* 3. 75 is L.Kh. for **mirāna*- H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 594.

4. -ānaa

*-ka extension of -āna (3). Cf. -andaa/-anda. But -ānaa is seldom extended to the act.

-ānaa coexists with -āna: *āna*- Z 14. 70+ beside *ānaa*- Z 23. 45; *jiyāna*- Z 24. 456 beside *ajānaa*- P 3513. 44v2 (Asm. 7); *dyāna*- *Suv. K.* 35v7 KT 5. 113 beside *adyānaa*- H 144 NS 83b1 *KT* 5. 52.

- (a) mid.: *anamdīśśānaa*- Kha 1. 82a1 a4 *KT* 5. 135; *āyimānaa*- P 3513. 54v2-3 (Asm. 53); *nvaštānaa*- Kha 1. 52a1 a2 *KT* 5. 130; *buśśānaa*- Z 3. 61+.

(b) act.: *kūsānaa*- Kha 1. 110 a4 *KT* 5. 143; *byehaunai* P. 3513. 83r3 *KBT* 65.

jūhānaa- Z 23. 25 < *jūh*- (act. mid. X). *alysānaa*- Z 13. 47+ 'youth' is probably a part. in origin (< **arz*- 'to grow' seen in Oss. D. *irāzun* according to H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 20-21); but no pres. occurs in Kh.

5. -amca

< *-*anta-ēi*- (-c- not -tc-), fem. of -*anda(a)* in O.Kh.: *āṇamkya* Or 9609. 4v6 *KT* 1. 233 tr. *vāsini*; *khanamce* Iledong 023a4 *KT* 3. 134; *pūyamce* Z 20. 20; *bārūnamce* Or 9609. 5v1 *KT* 1. 234; *vāhañamce* Z 5. 92; *hūsamkya* Kha 0012a, 135r1 *KBT* 11.

In L.Kh. -*amcā* may be masc.: *sājamcā*, *hamberamcā* NSm P 3513. 47v4 (Asm. 22); *tsūmacā* P 3513. 50r1 (Asm. 32; not as Asm.); *hvāñamcā* P 3513. 55r4 (Asm. 57); *be'saci* JS 10v4 (43); or fem.: *grañamca* JS 17v2 (74); *tsuñamce* Si 19v5 *KT* 1. 30 (+*utca*); *pajaca* P 2834. 36 *KBT* 46 (+*strriya*).

6. -āña

-*āña* is formed by adding -*ya* to a verbal noun in -*āna* according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 58. This verbal noun is known from the caus. in -*āñ*, S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 52. It seems to me more likely to have developed secondarily from the pres. pt. mid. in -*āna* (p. 215, 3). Thus, *dīyāña*- Z 5. 65 < *dāyāna*- Z 9. 27; *pyūvā'ña*- *Suv.* K. 35v3; *KT* 5. 113 tr. *śrotavyah* < *pyūvā'na*- H 147 NS 109. 41v2 *KT* 5. 73.

-*āña* forms a participle of necessity (gerundive) when attached to the pres. stem. This is by far the most common of the participles formed from the present stem. Forty-five different examples have been found in E; 18 in *Avdh* *KT* 3. 1-13; 25+ in Or 9609. *KT* 1. 232-41, and comparable numbers elsewhere, being especially numerous in the prescriptive medical texts. They correspond in translation most frequently to Sanskrit participles in -*tavya*, e.g. *āysānāña*- Or 9609. 36v3 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *samalamkartavyah*.

Examples according to pres. stem classes are:

I b *padajsāña*- *Avdh* 9r5 *KT* 3. 3; *pyūvā'ña*- Z 12. 96.

I c *dājsāña*- Or 9609. 5r6 *KT* 1. 234; *nyāña*- ibid. 36r1 *KT* 1. 236; *pañjsāña*- *Avdh* 9v1 *KT* 3. 4.

I d *nāsāña*- Hed. 17. 26 *KT* 4. 32.

II b *ṣṭāña*- Z 2. 215.

III a *hamgūnāña*- Si 148r2 *KT* 1. 92.

III b *jānāña*- Z 16. 31; *paysānāña*- Z 4. 116; *murāña* Si 106r4 *KT* 1. 44.

III d *būcañāña*- P 2893. 252 *KT* 3. 93.

IV a *haspāsāña*- Z 12. 78+.

V a *bañāña*- *Avdh* 21v5 *KT* 3. 12.

V b *mañāña*- Or 9609. 36r7 *KT* 1. 236; *haysñāña*- Si 100r5 *KT* 1. 34.

V d *ttrāmāña*- Ch c. 001. 747 *KBT* 90; *narāmāña*- Hed. 17. 18 *KT* 4. 31.

V e *varāsāña*- Z 4. 65; *sājāña*- Z 23. 17.

VI b *āstañāña*- Hed. 17. 19 *KT* 4. 31.

-*āña* is also attached to loan-words, e.g. *rakṣāña*- Z 11. 60 and causatives in -*ev*: *kṣamevāña*- Z 12. 82 and -*āñ*: *huṣṣāñāña*- *Avdh* 18r5 *KT* 3. 9. It is found with both act. and mid. verbs: act. tr. *sāj*-; act. intr. *haspās*-; mid. tr. *drjs*-, *nās*-; mid. intr. *panam*- Z 12. 16+.

-*āña* participles are construed with the subject in the G-D (dat. of standpoint; see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 30, § III. 11 (b)), e.g. *kama jsa hvandī parehāñu bihiyu* Z 11. 53 'before whom a man should restrain himself extremely'. With intr. verbs it is normally found in the old nt. -*u* < *-*am*: *niyāñu* Z 2. 221; 3. 30; *pathīsāñu* Z 12. 133; *panamāñu* Z 2. 221; 12. 16; *ṣṭāñu* Z 2. 215; *haspāsāñu* Z 2. 229; 12. 78; 13. 18; 22. 201. With tr. verbs the pt. nec. agrees with a noun in the nom., e.g. *tīye bodhisatvā nvaṣṭāñā śā satvā* Z 12. 11 'such a being is to be tested by that *bodhisatvā*'. Intr. verbs have the same construction in the case of a 'cognate accusative' (see R. E. E., loc. cit., p. 25, § II. 2 (a) (i)): *parehāñi parāhi* Z 11. 24.

-*uñaa* is found in O.Kh. *tsuñaa*- Or 9609. 36v1 *KT* 1. 236; *patātsuñaa*- ibid. 36v4 *KT* 1. 237 (as if from **ēyav*- ?), and L.Kh. *tsuñaa*- *Avdh* 8r4 *KT* 3. 3; Hed. 17. 25-26 *KT* 4. 32.

L.Kh. has the spellings: -*uñā*: *jehuñā*- Si 155v3, 4 *KT* 1. 102 (= O.Kh. *gyehāña*- Or 9609. 53v4-5 *KT* 1. 237-8); -*aiña*: *padīmañā* Ch 00266. 147 *KBT* 27 = id. P 2025. 223 *KBT* 19 (= *padīmāñū* P 2957. 9r *KBT* 35).

7. -ya

-*ya* continues the O.Ir. pt. nec. *-*ya*, cf. Av., O.Ind. -*ya* (Barth., *GIP*, § 209. 12, p. 111). In Kh. it is no longer productive, being replaced by -*āña* (6).

The pt. nec. in -*ya* also corresponds to Sanskrit -*tavya*, e.g. *hvañā*- Or 9609. 53v6 *KT* 1. 238 tr. *uccārayitavyam*. As in the case of the other participles, a *-*ka* suffix may be added without change of meaning, see 8 -*yaa*.

-*ya* is added directly to the root: *niyāssa*- Z 21. 12 < *nyas*-; *hvañā*- Z 11. 61+ < **hvan*- (pres. stems *hvañ*- Vc, *hvañ*- Ve). In most cases the root is lengthened: *tcera*- Z 3. 24+ < **čārya*- (cf. *icāraṇa*- 'capable' Z 23. 35+) < **čar*-; *bera*- Z 5. 17+ < **bārya*- < **bar*- (cf. O.Ind. *bhārya*-); *ysera*- Z 5. 27+ 'pitiable' < **zārya*- (cf. B. Sogd. *z'ry VJ*).

< *zar-. perra- Z 12. 13+ if < *pārnya- as H. W. B., *KT* 4. 58 is so far unique.

8. -yaa

*-ka extension of -ya (7).

hveraa- *Avdh* 8v1-2 *KT* 3. 3 stands beside hvarāñña- *Si* 9r1 *KT* 1. 14. In Z 24. 42 hvīrā is thus 2 sg. pres. rather than pt. nec. as Leumann, 'E', p. 529 s.v. hvar-.

-yaa stands beside -ya in tceraa- Or 9609. 36r7 *KT* 1. 236 beside tcerā-; hvañāa- Z 23. 17+ beside hvañā-.

-yaa is added directly to the root: hvañāa- < *hvan-. In other cases the root is lengthened: tceraa-; pāchaa- *Si* 147v5 *KT* 1. 92+ < *pāčyaka- < *pāč- (pres. stems pajs-, pach-); hveraa- < *hvāryaka- < *hvar- (pres. stem hvar-).

INFINITIVES

On the infinitive in Ir., see É. Benveniste, *Les Infinitifs avestiques*, Paris, 1935, especially pp. 101-12.

1. From the pres. stem

O.Kh. -ā, -i without palatalization added directly to the present stem forms the pres. inf. Derived < *-ah according to S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 59; *Primer*, p. 52; Dresden, p. 416, but Ir. has no inf. in *-ah (see Benv., p. 14). < O.Ir. *-ai, cf. Av. -ōi, O.Ind. -e; Sogd. -y (*GMS*, § 905, p. 135).

O.Kh. -ā, -i are attached to pres. stems as follows:

I b haurā Z 13. 71 < haur-

III b yanā Z 3. 67+ < yan-

IV a īsā Z 2. 99 < īs-

V b byūhā Z 23. 2 < byūh-

V e usthamji Z 13. 75 < usthamj-; dukhevā Z 2. 220 < dukhev-; bajevā *Suv.* K. 32r7 *KT* 5. 110 < bajev-; birāsā Z 14. 2 < birās-; bremā Z 5. 26+ < brem-; hamihā Z 2. 97 < hamih-; hvāñi Z 2. 64 < hvāñ-.

O.Kh. has also the spellings -u: pulsu Z 2. 159 < puls-; -e: jsīre Z 2. 124 < jsīr-. -ā is lost in O.Kh. hū' *SS* 35r2 *KT* 5. 336 < *haušai. L.Kh. has yaṃ Hed. 7. 8 *KT* 4. 25 < O.Kh. yanā *Suv.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113; ka' P 2781. 141 (73) *KT* 3. 71 < *kašai.

2. From the ppp.

O.Kh. *īe* added to the ppp. forms an inf. functionally indistinguishable from that based on the pres. stem. Historically, -te < O.Ir. *-tayai as

S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 58. Cf. Av. -tōe, -tayaēča. See also Benv., op. cit., pp. 69-70, 107-9. Note Sogd. past inf. with -y (*GMS*, § 922, p. 136).

The palatalization is as follows:

a > ī	over t	hvīte Z 2. 211, hvīye Z 5. 7+ < hvata-; jsīye Z 24. 442 < jsata-
	over š	nījsište Z 23. 171 < nījsašta-
	over nd	trīnde Z 24. 172 < tranda-; narīnde Z 22. 276 < naranda-; padīnde Z 23. 3+ < padanda-
ā > e	over t	nete <i>Suv.</i> K. 35r7 <i>KT</i> 5. 113 < nāta-; pamete Z 2. 83 < pamāta-; paššete Z 22. 106 < paššāta-; pareiā <i>SS</i> 77v3 <i>KT</i> 5. 339 < parāta-.
	over š	kešte Kha 1. 133. 3a4 <i>KT</i> 5. 149 < kāšta-; speštā Z 21. 18 < spāšta-
au > vai	over tt	kšamvaiittā Z 2. 126 < kšamautta-
st > št		gīšte Hed. 7. 9 <i>KT</i> 4. 25 < gīsta-; juštā Z 23. 105 < *justa-; ttuvāšti Z 23. 53 < ttuvāsta-; pravāšte <i>MT</i> bii 0066 a1 <i>KT</i> 5. 387 < pravāsta-; pātāšte Z 12. 13 < pātāsta-; bāšte P 5538a 24 <i>KT</i> 2. 126 < bāsta-; hvāšti Hed. 7v 6 <i>KT</i> 4. 26 < hvasta-.

In the case of the ppp. in -āta, which cannot show palatalization,¹ the inf. becomes formally indistinguishable from the 3 sg. pf. tr. m.: āysāte Z 5. 96+ < āysāta-; jāte Z 7. 2 < jāta-; ggārāte *SS* 77v5 *KT* 5. 339 < ggārāta-; hušāñāte Or 9609. 53v4 *KT* 1. 237 < hušāñāta-.

As in the case of the pf., in L.Kh. -āta > -ya, so that the inf. is -ye: varrye Hed. 7. 8 *KT* 4. 25; cemdye Hed. 11. 5 *KT* 4. 28.

Note that -š- remains unpalatalized in: tsute Z 7. 26; pyūšte Z 14. 97; 24. 487; byūtti *JS* 2r4 (5); yude *Avdh* 5r5 *KT* 3. 1; -au- in: haškaunde *Avdh* 5v1 *KT* 3. 1; haude Hed. 21. 4 *KT* 4. 34.

An inf. based on the ppp. may coexist with one based on the pres. stem: tsute Z 7. 26 beside tsei *Suv.* K. 32v3 *KT* 5. 110 (< *čyavai); yāde Z 8. 49 beside yanā *Suv.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113.

3. tvamdanu

O.Kh. tvamdanu in: tvamdanu jsāte Z 11. 38; 22. 296; tvamdanu tsute *SS* 21v2 *KT* 5. 331 (= Kha 1. 58a2 a5 *KT* 5. 133); H 142 NS 87. 171v2 *KT* 5. 81; later, tvamdanā tsuñai Or 6402 b 2 10r1 *KT* 5. 14.

¹ *nvithye* in P 5538a 57, 65 *KT* 2. 128, 129 if inf. < *nvamth-*, as H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 1, 1964, 25, implies therefore a pres. III d *nvimth-* 'remove' (*nvamth-* 'be removed').

L.Kh. *tvamdam tsue* P 3513. 6or4 KT 1. 242. ? *dvamdam* MT a i 0044 a1 KT 5. 386.

hvaramcainā tvanā tsuāmdā Vajr. 5a3 KT 3. 21 tr. *pradakṣiṇīkṛtya*; *hvaramcainā tvamdanā tsuñai Vajr.* 29b1 KT 3. 26 tr. *pradakṣiṇīyaś*. There is no need to read *tvamdanā* in 5a3, as *vnanā* would be the regular inf. of a pres. stem *tvān-* < **ati-van(d)-*. This would help support the form *tvamdanu*.

-tanu inf. < **-tanam* AS < **-tana-*, cf. OP *-tanaiy* S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 59; *Primer*, p. 52. The form is unique; see Benv. p. 105. Toch. *tvamtam* is a LW from Kh. according to S. Konow, *NTS*, xiii, 1945, 207. Note also comparison with B. Sogd. *čyβnt* (W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 724).

PERFECT TENSE

Paradigms of the tr.: S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57; *Primer*, p. 50; tr. and intr.: Leumann, N, p. 48; 'E', p. 387; Dresden, pp. 415-16; Herzenberg, pp. 109-12. The last three authors include non-existent forms in their paradigms.

The pf. tr. formative was derived from **-ta-vant* by E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, pp. 115-16 and *-tavant* is well known in Indian and even thought by some to be Indo-Iranian (see M. Leumann, *Der altindische Typus kṛtavān*, in *Mélanges . . . Pedersen*, 1937, 115-24). The phonological development would, however, be exceptional (**-āva-* > *-au-*, not **-ā-*).

If the ending **-tandā mā* implied by the L.Kh. spellings, *-tamdūm* etc. for 1 pl. pf. intr. m. is not simply analogical in origin (e.g. *-tāmā*: *-tāndā¹ mā* = **-tamā*: **-tandā mā*), then the element *-ānd* is not confined to the tr. pf.

The 3 sg. tr. f., type *hvatātā*, may be by haplology < **hvatatātā* with the abstract suffix *-tāti*. Haplology occurred in *bitandāti*- Z 11. 30+ 'perplexity' < *bitanda-+tāti*.

In *Primer*, § 80, p. 50, S. Konow describes the pf. as 'formed with the suffix *tānt*, with nominative singular *te*, fem. *tātā*, plural *tāndā*'. But in *Saka Studies*, p. 36 he had described the formation as containing 'the present participle of the base *ah*, to be, being added to the past part'. Certainly, the *-t-*, as seen clearly in the pf. intr., is the *-t-* of the ppp. In both pf. tr. and intr., the enclitic forms of the verb 'to be' are found: pf. tr. and intr.: 1 sg. m. f. *-mā*; 2 sg. m. f. *-ī*; 1 pl. m. f. *-mā*; 2 pl. m. f. *-sta*. Possibly we have here as S. Konow suggested in *Saka Studies*, the pres. pt. Perhaps *-āndā* < **-ānti* nt. pl. < **-ant*, hence the same

¹ *-tāndā* could be explained as < *-ta+(h)antah*, the masc. being used for the fem. also (I. G.).

form for m. and f. **-ānti* would be secondary for **-anti* as in O.Ind. *mahānti*, *paśumānti*; cf. also Barth., *GIP*, § 229. 2a, p. 133. The 3 sg. m. *-e* might therefore be < **-ants* as NSm < **-ant*, cf. *hve'*, *hva'nd-*. *-tātā* could be brought into the same system < ppp. f. *-tā+*atī* f. < **-ant* (cf. O.Ind. NSf *mahatī*). But all is quite hypothetical.

The two types of conjugation in the pf. have been described as transitive and intransitive. Similarly in Sogd. we find a distinction between the intr. pret. from ppp. with **ah-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 861, p. 128) and the tr. pret. from ppp. with *δ'r-* (I. G., *GMS*, § 877, p. 130).

According to S. Konow, *Primer*, § 80, p. 50, the pf. tr. is used with 'such intransitives as have a stronger active sense'. I have puzzled over this expression for some years now, but I have come to the conclusion that it is meaningless. All that can be said is that the pf. tr. was clearly more distinctive formally and was consequently expanding at the expense of the pf. intr. Similarly in Sogd. *δ'r-* is occasionally found with intr. verbs (I. G., *GMS*, § 877, n. 2, p. 130).

(a) intr. verbs with pf. tr.: *paranārvtāndā* SS 24r5 KT 5. 332; *jutāndā* Z 13. 124 < *juv-* 'live'; *tsutāndi* Z 2. 24+ < *tsu-* 'come'; *buḍāndi* Z 5. 35 < *bar-* 'ride'; *braudaimā* H 142 NS 48 etc. r1 KT 5. 71 < *brem-* 'weep'; *hanaṣṭaimā* Z 2. 133 < *hanaś-* 'fail'; *himyai* (2 sg.) JS 8v3 (32); 21r1 (89) < *him-* 'become; be'; *huṣṣātāndā* sta Z 22. 245 < *huṣ-* 'grow'; *hūtātā* Z 13. 55 < *hūs-* 'sleep'; *mūmdāndā* P 2741. 60 KT 2. 89 < *mān-* 'remain'.

(b) tr. verbs with pf. intr. are unknown, unless we include *bud-* (e.g. *bustāmā* Z 14. 60) 'be aware, understand'.

ttrām-, which is both tr.+acc. 'cross' and intr.+loc. 'enter', has the pf. intr. in both uses: *tāto bisvo' ttranda* Z 3. 51 'they have entered these dwellings'; *vāmu . . . ttranda* sta Z 22. 109 'you have crossed the ocean'.

In some cases, however, the distinction between pf. tr. and pf. intr. continues a difference in meaning. Thus, *parretemā* Z 22. 227 'I have delivered' < *parrij-* and *parrātāmā* D III. 1 8v5 KT 5. 70 'I have been delivered' < *pars-*. See also *burš-* pp. 101-2.

Examples of the relationship between the pres. stem and the pf. are:

A. Perfect transitive

1. tr. act. pres.: *ggān-*, *grūs-*, *jsan-*, *dai-*, *ttrāy-*, *pai-*, *puls-*, *jān-*, *sāj-*, *haur-*, *hvar-*, *hatcañ-*
2. intr. act. pres.: *tsu-*, *mān-* (remain), *brem-*, *juv-* (live), *hūs-*
3. tr. mid. pres.: *thamj-*, *drjs-*, *nās-*, *pañjs-*, *pajāys-*, *padim-*, *pyūš-*
4. intr. mid. pres.: *ggh-*, *bar-* (ride)
5. tr. act./mid. pres.: *yan-*

B. Perfect intransitive.

1. tr. act. pres.: —
2. intr. act. pres.: *nād-*, *pat-*, *sad-*

3. tr. mid. pres.: *bud-*
4. intr. mid. pres.: *kaśś-*, *did-*, *panam-*, *panaśś-*, *bays-*, *mār-*, *ṣṭ-*, *hām-*
5. tr./intr. act. pres.: *narām-*
6. tr./intr. mid. pres.: *ttām-*

PARADIGM

PERFECT TRANSITIVE

Masculine	Feminine
SINGULAR	
1. <i>-t-aimā</i>	1. <i>-tāmā</i>
2. <i>-t-ai</i>	2. <i>*-t-ātā</i>
3. <i>-t-e</i>	3. <i>-tātā</i>
PLURAL	
1. <i>-t-āndā mā</i>	
2. <i>-t-āndā sta t-ānda</i>	
3. <i>-t-āndā</i>	

PERFECT INTRANSITIVE

Masculine	Feminine
SINGULAR	
1. <i>-t-āmā</i>	1. <i>*-t-amā</i>
2. <i>-t-ī</i>	2.
3. <i>-t-ā</i>	3. <i>-t-a</i>
PLURAL	
1. <i>*-t-andā mā</i>	1.
2. <i>-t-a sta</i>	2. <i>-t-e sta</i>
3. <i>-t-a</i>	3. <i>-t-e</i>

PERFECT TRANSITIVE

1. 1 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-taimā* < *-te imā*; cf. *ggīste imā Avdh 515 KT 3. 1* beside *gīstemā imā 1611 KT 3. 8*; *yude imā 514 KT 3. 1* beside *yudemā imā 1711 KT 3. 9*.

O.Kh. *-taimā*: *dātaimā Z 5. 109+*; *jsataimā Z 24. 445+*; *parstaimā Or 9609. 314 KT 1. 232*; *yidaimā Z 2. 124+*; *hvataimā Z 5. 113+*. Later: *dyaimā Kha 1. 135a3 a4 KT 5. 381*; *namasyaimā ibid. b2*.

O.Kh. has also *-temā*: *jsatemā Z 24. 434*; *dytemā Z 22. 286*; *bāraṣṣemā Kha 1. 13. 137v3 KBT 2*; *byodemā Z 22. 284*. L.Kh.: *yudemā Avdh 1911 KT 3. 10*; *hāmyemā Avdh 1912 KT 3. 10*.

-teimi has been noticed only once, O.Kh.: *diteimi Z 22. 316*. *-tāmā*, with further weakening resulting in confusion with the pf. intr., is not yet established: *yādā mā H 144 NS 69. 467v2 KT 5. 50*; *jsādā mā Kha 1. 13. 14115 KBT 4*. L.Kh. has *-teme*: *yudemā Avdh 614 KT 3. 2*.

In L.Kh. the final vowel may be lost: *-tem*: *pastem Hed. 21. 4 KT 4. 34*; *byaudem Ch 00269. 58 KT 2. 44*; *yudem P 2741. 24 KT 2. 88*; *hvem P 2741. 42 KT 2. 89* (< **hvatem*); *-tim*: *pastim Hed. 21. 3 KT 4. 34*; *hamgovim P 2741. 89 KT 2. 90*.

The nasal may be lost as well as the final vowel in L.Kh.: *-ti*: *hvi JS 38r3 (166)* < *hvem*; *-te*: *yade Hed. 7. 11 KT 4. 25*; *nimamdrrye JS 2r2 (4)*; *-tai*: *yudai P 3513. 56v2 (Asm. 63)*; *yudai, caidyai P 3513. 6714 KT 1. 245*. On *-tai*, v. H. W. B., *KT 4. 63 ad 3. 2*.

2. 2 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-tai* < *-te ī*.

O.Kh. *-tai*: *jsatai Z 24. 497*; *thiyai Z 5. 89+*; *dritai Z 24. 512*; *nātai Z 24. 436*; *nṛhīyai Z 2. 178*; *braṣṭai Z 3. 22*; *yādai Z 3. 22*. L.Kh.: *thiyai JS 13r2 (53)*; *nātai JS 23v3 (102)*; *naṣṭhīstai Avdh 2113 KT 3. 11*; *yudai JS 4v3 (14)*; *Hed. 3. 10 KT 4. 22*. L.Kh. with reduced ppp.: *hvai JS 5r1 (15)*; *17r2 (72)* < *hvatai*; *jai JS 20r3 (85)* < *jitai*.

O.Kh. has reduced *-tei*: *paśṣātei Z 19. 21*; *-te*: *paśṣāte Z 5. 42*.

-te is common in L.Kh.: *pyūṣṭe JS 4r3 (12)*; *byaude JS 4v4 (14)*; *ahamañe Avdh 2113 KT 3. 11*. *-ti* is also found: *haudī JS 14v3-4 (61)*.

3. 3 sg. pf. tr. m.

O.Kh. *-te*. See p. 221.

O.Kh. *-te*: *dāte Z 5. 40+*; *nāte Z 2. 63+*; *parrāte Z 4. 10+*; *parste Z 2. 101+*; *purrde Z 24. 242*; *yide Z 13. 69+*; *sīte Kha 1. 13. 137v1 KBT 2*; *hvate Z 5. 19+*. O.Kh. has once at least *-ye* < *-āte*: *carye Z 13. 63* = *carāte Z 13. 9+*. L.Kh.: *jye Hed. 7v3 KT 4. 26*; *thīye JS 16v1 (69)*; *paśāte JS 24v1 (106)*; *haude Hed. 15 1b KT 4. 29*.

O.Kh. *hvete SS 3511 KT 5. 336*; *hvetā SS 8411 KT 5. 342* are pseudo-archaic due to an attempt to write *hvate Z 5. 19+* when the pronunciation was *hoe Z 2. 71, 145*; *Stein E 1. 7 145v3 KT 5. 77* (L.Kh. *JS 8v4 (33)*).

O.Kh. occasionally has *-tā*: *naḥṣondā Z 1. 188*; *pajāṣṭā Z 5. 110*; *13. 83*; *paśṣātā Z 5. 39*; *11. 30*; *siyā Z 16. 53*; *24. 430*; *hatcastā Z 23. 15*; *-ti*: *pajāṣṭi Z 24. 271*. L.Kh.: *byaudi JS 9v4 (38)*; *yudi JS 1514 (64)*; *haudī Hed. 19. 9 KT 4. 33*; *hvaḍi JS 10v2 (42)*.

L.Kh. has further reduced *-ta*: *pasta JS 39r3* < *parste*; *nūṣṣūṣṭa P 4099. 402 KBT 133* (= *nūṣṣaṣṭe Z 9. 24*); *bāsta JS 20v2 (87)*.

O.Kh. has twice only *-ā* < *-āte*: *ahāvāysā Z 5. 95* (beside *ahāvāysāte Z 2. 60*; *23. 120*); *pamā Z 5. 31*.

4. 1 sg. pf. tr. f.

O.Kh. *-tāmā* < **-tātā mā* according to Dresden, p. 415.

O.Kh. *-tāmā*: *dātāmā* Z 5. 106; 24. 197; *pyūštāmā* N 90. 35; *yondāmā* Z 19. 21.

L.Kh. has further reduced *-tām*: *pādām* P 2834. 53 (sic) KBT 47; *pyūštām* P 2834. 23 KBT 45 and *-tā*: *ysā* P 2834. 47 KBT 46 < **ysātāmā*.

5. 2 sg. pf. tr. f.

< **-tātā ī* I would expect **-tātī*. What is Dresden's **-tātā-ī*? The forms given imply **-tātā* only. I have not found Herzenberg's *dātātāi* (p. 111).

L.Kh. *-tāyā* < **-tātā*: *pyūštāyā* P 2781. 124 (56) KT 3. 70; *hwāyā* P 2781. 64-65 (132-3) KT 3. 71.

6. 3 sg. pf. tr. f.

O.Kh. *-tātā*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tātā*: *ggārātātā* Z 13. 76; *jātātā* Z 5. 39; *paḍāḍātā* Z 3. 15; *yiḍātā* Z 23. 104; *hvatātā* Z 2. 82+. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nātā* Z 23. 106 (< **nātātā*); (?) *nāte* Z 21. 27; *paśātā* Z 23. 170; *vātā* Z 24. 216.

-tā < *-tātā* in L.Kh.: *kūysdā* P 2781. 115 (47) KT 3. 70; *gūdā* P 2781. 134 (66) KT 3. 71; *darvā* ibid. 127 (59) KT 3. 70; *namasyā* Ch c. 001. 1035-6 KBT 142; *pyūštā* P 2834. 43 KBT 46; *braṣṭā* P 2834. 41 KBT 46; *yuḍā* JS 8r3 (30). With reduced ppp.: *dāsā* JS 8r4 (31); *nvāsā* P 2834. 46 KBT 46; *ysā* ibid. 32; *hwā* ibid. 23 KBT 45. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nā* JS 8v1 (31).

L.Kh. *-ta* < *-tā* is probably an error: *gviḍa* Ch 00266. 160 KBT 27 (= *gviḍā* P 2025. 242 KBT 19 = id. P 2957. 105 KBT 36).

7. 1 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā mā*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tāndā mā*: *dātāndā mā* Kha 1. 13. 144r5 KBT 5; *pyūštāndā mā* ibid. 144v1; *byaudāndā mā* H 142 NSB 4 r5 KT 5. 78.

L.Kh. *-tāndūm*: *ciṇḍyāndūm* P 2031. 19 KT 2. 84; *paśāndūm* Ch 00269. 81 KT 2. 46; *yiḍāndūm* Hed. 7v4 KT 4. 26; *-tāndū*: *tsvāmdū* Hed. 3v9 KT 4. 23; *paśāmdū* P 2786. 66 KT 2. 95; *-tādūm*: *nimaṇḍryādūm* P 2788. 4 KT 2. 109; *dāsādūm* Hed. 3v6 KT 4. 23.

8. 2 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā sta* (v. p. 220) and abridged *-tānda*.

O.Kh. *-tāndā sta*: *jsiḍāndā sta* Z 23. 107; *huṣṣātāndā sta* Z 22. 245; *-tāndī sta*: *pyūštāndī sta* Z 22. 243, 335; *yiḍāndī sta* Z 22. 108; *vūlstāndī sta* Z 22. 239.

Once only, O.Kh. *-tāndā*: *tsutāndā* Z 24. 211 (but context already 2 pl.).

O.Kh. *-tānda*: *jātānda* Z 22. 109; *tsutānda* Z 2. 96; *paḍāḍānda* Z 22. 239; *paṣtānda* Z 22. 237; *paśānda* Z 22. 242; *pānda* Z 22. 237; *yiḍānda* Z 22. 219+; *hūḍānda* Z 22. 220. L.Kh.: *paśtāmda* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25; *yuḍāmda* Hed. 20. 16 KT 4. 34; *haṣṭāmda* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25.

9. 3 pl. pf. tr.

O.Kh. *-tāndā-*, v. p. 220.

O.Kh. *-tāndā*: *ākṣuttāndā* Z 24. 220; *jsatāndā* Z 5. 2+; *tsutāndā* Z 5. 35; *dātāndā* Z 3. 17+; *yiḍāndā* Z 4. 6; *spāṣṭāndā* Z 21. 17; *-tāndī*: *bastāndī* Z 23. 21; *braṣṭāndī* Z 13. 18; *yiḍāndī* Z 2. 25; *ysātāndī* Z 22. 308; *hvatāndī* Z 2. 20. With contracted ppp.: *hvāndā* SS 20v4 KT 5. 330. With ppp. in *-āta*: *nāndā* Z 5. 6+ < **nātāndā*; *ysāndā* Z 5. 101; *nāndī* Z 5. 111; *paśāndī* Z 2. 8+.

L.Kh. has the corresponding forms with *-m-*: *-tāmdā*: *byodāmdā* JS 21v1 (92); *yuḍāmdā* JS 7v1 (27); 19r1 (81); *ysyāmdā* Hed. 2. 3 KT 4. 21; *haudāmdā* Avdh 19v1 KT 3. 10; *-tāmdī*: *paśtāmdī* Hed. 3. 5 KT 4. 22. With reduced ppp.: *dāsāmdā* P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13); *hwāmdā* P 2801. 36 KT 3. 66; P 2741. 103 KT 2. 91.

-tānde has been noticed in O.Kh.: *uysdātānde* Stein E. 1. 7. 145v4 KT 5. 77. L.Kh. has *-tānde*: *paṁtsyānde* JS 24r2 (104); *buḍānde* JS 36v1 (159); *haudānde* Hed. 16. 6 KT 4. 30. With reduced ppp.: *jsāmdē* JS 30v4 (134).

The final vowel is reduced to *-a* in L.Kh.: *-tāmda*: *tsvāmda* P 2786. 55 KT 2. 95; *pyūštāmda* P 3513. 84v4 KBT 66; *yuḍāmda* JS 9v3 (37). With reduced ppp.: *hvāmda* S 2471. 129 KBT 95.

All these spellings occur without the nasal in L.Kh.: *-tāda*: *ba'stāda* P 4099. 124 KBT 119 (= *bastāndī* Z 23. 21); *hvāda* S 2471. 139 KBT 95; *-tādā*: *paḥṣṭāda* Hed. 2. 5 KT 4. 21; *buḍādā* JS 13v4 (57); *haudādā* Hed. 7v4 KT 4. 26; *hvādā* Hed. 2. 6 KT 4. 22; *-tādī*: *tsvādī* Hed. 6. 6, 9 KT 4. 24; *byondādī* Avdh 19r4 KT 3. 10; *-tāde*: *kuṣṭāde* JS 28r2 (122).

L.Kh. has *-au-* for *-ām-* as in *khaṣṭāuda* P 2025. 197 KBT 18 (= *khaṣṭāmdā* P 2957. 80 KBT 35).

PERFECT INTRANSITIVE

1. 1 sg. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-tāmā* < *-tā mā*.

O.Kh. *-tāmā*: *paṇāṣṭāmā* H 147 NS 111. 43v3, 4 KT 5. 75; *parrātāmā* D III. 1 8v5 KT 5. 70; *bustāmā* Z 2. 241; 14. 60; Kha 1. 13 142v4 KBT 5; *satāmā* ibid. 142v1.

O.Kh. shows labial assimilation¹ in *-tumä*: *ätumä* SS 24v5 KT 5. 332 (= *ätämä* H 142 NS 48 etc. r6 KT 5. 71); *jjāṣṭumä* SS 83r6 KT 5. 341; *pastätumä* SS 24v4 KT 5. 332 (= *pastätämä* H 142 NS 48 etc. r5 KT 5. 71); *bustumä* SS 84r1 KT 5. 342; *-tümä*: *ätümä* Kha 1. 135a3 b4 KT 5. 381; *pastätümä* ibid. a4.

O.Kh. *hämätämä* Z 5. 29, 46; SS 24r2 KT 5. 331; H 144 NS 55 44v6 KT 5. 76 (cf. L.Kh. *himyemä imä* Avdh 16r2 KT 3. 8) may be due to dissimilation or may be pf. tr. (v. p. 221).

L.Kh. has *-tum*: *ätum* Hed. 7. 9 KT 4. 25; *piṣkāstum* Avdh 13v4 KT 3. 6; *-tüm*: *kaṣṭum* Hed. 11. 3 KT 4. 27; *Avdh* 7r4 KT 3. 2; 19v3 KT 3. 10; *pastätüm* Avdh 7r4 KT 3. 2; *piṣkistüm* Avdh 13v3 KT 3. 6; *-tü*: *pastävü* P 3513. 77v3 KBT 62.

2. 2 sg. pf. intr. m.

-tī < *-tā i*.

O.Kh. *-tī*: *āstī* Z 23. 115; *ttrandī* Z 22. 258; *panatī* Z 22. 263; *bustī* Z 2. 53+; *vātī* Z 24. 246; *satī* Z 22. 191, 261, 285. L.Kh.: *ttramḍī* JS 23r2 (99); 24r3 (105); *pastī* JS 17v3 (75); *muḍī* JS 15v3 (66); *satī* JS 7r3 (26).

-tā, *-ti* are not yet established. *nvastā* JS 18v3 (79) and *ysuṣṭi* JS 35r3 (153) are cited by Dresden, p. 416; but *nvastā* could be ppp. NSm and *ysuṣṭi* is 2 sg. pf. tr. m.

3. 3 sg. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-tā* = NSm ppp.

O.Kh. *-tā*: *ātā* Z 2. 99+; *iṣṭā* Z 20. 48; 24. 252; *trandā* Z 5. 102; *dāstā* Z 24. 217+; *panatā* Z 22. 195+; *pastā* Z 5. 29; *pastātā* Z 2. 78+; *bustā* Z 2. 231; *vātā* Z 8. 19+; *sastā* Z 2. 96; *hämätā* Z 5. 109+. *vei* Z 23. 22 < *vātā*.

O.Kh. occasionally has *-te* (under the influence of the pf. tr.): *trande* Z 24. 274; *panate* Z 8. 21; *vāte* Z 2. 7+. L.Kh.: *himye* JS 16r4 (69).

-ta in L.Kh.: *ṅaista* Ch 00266. 194 KBT 29 (= *ne'stā* P 2957. 132 KBT 38).

-tā is often lost in L.Kh.: *ā* Hed. 20. 1 KT 4. 33; JS 5r3 (17) < *ātā*; *pana* Ch c. 001. 217 KBT 76 < *panatā*.

4. 1 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. **-tandā mā*, v. p. 220, to be inferred from L.Kh. *-tamḍüm*. **-tamä* might logically have been expected, and Leumann accordingly

¹ Hardly < nt. ppp. + *mā* as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 57.

reconstructed *āstamä* as an example (N 48). Dresden (p. 416), whose table derives from Leumann, has *-amä* in the table but *-a(m)dü(m)* as examples. Leumann's (unattested) *āstamä* appears again in Herzenberg, p. 110. **-tamä* does not exist.¹ For *-tamḍüm*, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1941, 594; *Languages of the Saka*, p. 146.

L.Kh.: *-tamḍüm*: *āvamḍüm* P 2790. 34-35 KT 2. 111; *gvaṣtamḍüm* Or 8212. 162. 59 KT 2. 4; *ttramḍamḍüm* P 2790. 25 KT 2. 111; *-tamḍü*: *baustamḍü* P 2786. 63 KT 2. 95; *-tadü*: *ṅaradadü* Ch 00269. 111 KT 2. 47; *baṣṭadü* Or 8212. 162. 134 KT 2. 8; *haryadü* P 2786. 184 KT 2. 99.

5. 2 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-ta sta* < NPm ppp.+*sta*.

O.Kh. *-ta sta*: *ttranda sta* Z 22. 109; *vāta sta* Z 23. 102; *ṣṭuta sta* Z 22. 237.

6. 3 pl. pf. intr. m.

O.Kh. *-ta* = NPm ppp.

O.Kh. *-ta*: *āta* Z 13. 92; *ttranda* Z 3. 51+; *ṅaranda* Z 2. 104+; *nita'sta* Z 3. 6; *panata* Z 24. 407; *parrāta* Z 2. 242; *pasta* Z 20. 63+; *pastāta* Z 23. 135; *sata* Z 24. 206; *vāta* Z 1. 41+; *hämāta* Z 3. 32; 22. 334; 23. 3. L.Kh.: *ttramḍa* P 2741. 73 KT 2. 90; *niramḍa* ibid. 84; *ṅaramḍa* JS 21r4 (91); *panava* S 2471. 133 KBT 95; *hamya* JS 7r2 (25).

Rare are O.Kh. *-tā*: *panatā* Z 22. 104; *-ti pathiyi* Z 22. 122.

L.Kh. *-te*: *hamye* JS 9v2 (37).

7. 1 sg. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. **-tamä* < NSf ppp.+*mä*.

One example only, L.Kh.: *hamya* P 2834. 54 KBT 47. < **hamyaṃ* < **hämätamä*.

8. 3 sg. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. *-ta* = NSf ppp.

O.Kh. *-ta*: *āta* Z 5. 23+; *dāsta* Z 5. 36; *na'sta* Z 2. 98; *panata* Z 24. 215; *panaṣṭa* Z 4. 29; *vāstāta* Z 5. 39; *sasta* Z 4. 4; *hämāta* Z 16. 14; 24. 193, 216, 221, 230. L.Kh.: *baṃda* JS 18r2 (77).

The auxiliary is also found in O.Kh.: *sata stā* Z 23. 22.

9. 2 pl. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. *-te sta* < NPf ppp.+*sta*.

O.Kh. *-te sta*: *vāte sta* Z 22. 241, 242; *ṣṭute sta* Z 22. 241.

¹ *vāta mā* in Z 3. 70 is not an example.

10. 3 pl. pf. intr. f.

O.Kh. *-te* = NPf ppp.

O.Kh. *-te*: *trande* Z 24. 269; *dāste* Z 4. 14; *narande* Z 2. 232; 13. 109; *SS* 84v3 *KT* 5. 342; *paste* Z 5. 105; *panašte* Z 23. 24; *pastāte* Z 20. 5; *birāšte* Z 2. 232; *vahāšte* Z 11. 32; *vāstāte* Z 24. 45; *saste* Z 4. 14.

PREVERBS¹

1. Khotanese has most of the preverbs found in Old Iranian (for Avestan, see Jackson, § 750, p. 209; for Old Persian, Kent, § 206, p. 70) and in Old Indian (see Whitney, § 1077, p. 396). Of the rarer preverbs *api*, *anu*, *antar*, not in Sogdian (I. G., *GMS*, p. 102) or OP (Kent, loc. cit.), Kh. probably has **anu* (v. § 25). In addition to the usual preverbs, some of uncertain origin are found in Kh.: *ga-*, *tca-*, *bā-*, *bāys-*, *ša-*, *sam-*.

2. The Kh. preverbs are: I. *ā-*; II. *us-*, *uys-*; III. *ga-*; IV. *ggu-*; V. *tī-*; VI. *tca-*; VII. *na(l)-*, *naš-*; VIII. *nī-*; IX. *pa(tā)-*; *pa-*; X. *par-*; XI. *pra-*; XII. *ba-*; XIII. *bā-*; XIV. *bāys-*; XV. *bi-*; XVI. *va-*; XVII. *vi-*; XVIII. *sam-*; XIX. *hā-*; XX. *ham-*.

Historically, some of these are of several different origins.

3. As in the related languages, preverbs may be combined. The following compound preverbs are found in Kh.: I. *gu-ja-*; II. *nuva-*; III. *pa-ja-*; IV. *parā-*; V. *ša-*. See also on the simple preverbs *tca-* and *pra-*.

A. SIMPLE PREVERBS

4. I. *ā-* < I. I. **ā-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ā-*).

Correspondences: *āta-* Z 2. 51 < **āgata-*, cf. Av. *agata-*, Man. Sogd. **yt-*, Parth. **gd-*; O.Ind. *āgata-*; *ākšuv-*, cf. NP *āšuftan*; *ājum-*, cf. B. Sogd. **y'm-*; *āyāna-* 'mirror' Z 4. 100 < **ādaj(a)na-*, cf. B. Sogd. **ḍ'yn'k* (H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, p. 10); *āyauys-*, cf. Av. *ā.yaoz-*, Parth., B. Sogd. **ywz-*; *āysāta-* Z 3. 64, cf. Av. *āzāta-*; *āyv-* < **ā-tap-*, cf. Av. *ā.tap-*; *ārih-* < **ā-raiθ-*, cf. B. Sogd. **r'yδ*; *āvun-*, cf. Av. *āfrinā-*, Parth. **fryn-*, Man. Sogd. **fryn-*.

ā- usually undergoes no modification, but in some words it contracts with a following labial to *au-*, *o-*. Examples are: *oys-* < **ā-vax-* (Av. *ā.vax-* uncertain; O.Ind. *ā.vah-*); *orašta-* Z 23. 92 < **āfrašta-*, cf. Av. *ā.fras-*; *orga-* *JS* 6v3 (23), *aurga-* *JS* 7r4 (26) < **ā-barga-*, cf. Av. *barəg-*. Not so treated are: *ābei'sa-* Z 17. 13, *ābeistā* Z 24. 500 < **ā-varts-* (see Dresden, p. 469 s.v. *ābe'sa-*); *āvun-* < **ā-frina-*, see above.

āhalj- is modified in L.Kh. to: (i) *a'haij-* P 2786. 162 *KT* 2. 98; (ii) *ihe'j-* P 2956. 8 *KT* 3. 37; (iii) *ehe'j-* P 2025. 212 *KB* 18; (iv) *ahaj-*

¹ 'A special study on the Khotanese preverbs is an urgent desideratum', W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xxviii. 2, 1965, 246, n. 29.

Ch 00266. 139 KBT 26. Historically, probably $\bar{a} > e$ -, $ai > i > a$ - (H. W. B.).

5. II. *us*-, *uys*- < O.Ir. **us*-, **uz*- (cf. Av. *us*-, *uz*-).

Correspondences: *uska* Z 15. 126 adv., cf. Av. *uskāt*, *uścā*; O.Ind. *uccā*; *ustama*- Z 11. 41 'last', cf. Av. *ustāma*-; O.Ind. *uttama*-; 2. *uysdāśś*-, cf. Skt **uddeśayati* (Turner 1999); *uysgārñ*-, cf. B. Sogd. *syr'yn*-; *uysnata*- Z 17. 2, cf. O.Ind. *unnata*-; *uysbāy*-, cf. Av. *uzvādāya*-.
us- occurs only before voiceless, *uys*- before voiced sounds:

us-+*k*- *kh*-; *t*- *th*-; *p*- *ph*-
uys+*V*- *g*- *d*- *b*- *n*- *m*-

But note *usbā Suv*. K. 63v7 KT 5. 115, which may be < **uysbāyātā*; and *usbrute māte* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v7 KT 5. 92 (v. *brūsc*- p. 107).

Examples of *us*-: *uskalj*-, *uskhajs*-; *ustar*-, *usthamj*-; *uspaśd*-, *usphan*-.

Examples of *uys*-: *uysan*-; *uysgun*-; *uysdem*-; *uysbāy*-; *uysnata*-; *uysmalsta*- Z 5. 31.

L.Kh. spellings of *us*-: (i) *as*-: *aspaśd*- Si 19r3 KT 1. 30 for *uspaśd*- P 3513. 21v3 KBT 56; (ii) *is*-: *isthamj*- Si 146v4 KT 1. 90 for *usthamj*- Z 24. 514; (iii) *usa*- (anaptyctic resolution of cluster; or graphic?): *usakhāysdāe* S 2471. 109 KBT 94 = *uskhāysde ApS* 2b3 KT 5. 244; (iv) *es*-; *esthamj*- Si 151v5 KT 1. 98 for *usthamj*- Z 24. 514.

L.Kh. spellings of *uys*-: (i) *ays*-: *aysdem*- Si 146v5 KT 1. 90; (ii) *iys*-: *iysgin*- Or 6397. 1 (v. KT 5. 5) 6 KT 2. 66; (iii) *ūys*-: *ūysdāśś*- Ch ii. 004. 1v1 KBT 144; (iv) *eys*-: *eysbrrijs*- Si 151v4 KT 1. 98.

6. III. *ga*-

ga- was thought to be a L.Kh. replacement of older *va*- (v. § 19) (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xxiii. 1, 1960, 22). *ga*- is found in L.Kh.: *gatcasta*- (v. p. 28), cf. O.Kh. *vatcasta*- Z 24. 249; *ganīh*- JP 56v1 KT 1. 147 < **nai-d/θ*- (H. W. B., loc. cit., 21-24). But *gganīh*- now occurs in O.Kh. *gganīhāte* Z 19. 66.

7. IV. *ggu*- < I. I. **vi*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *vi*-).

Kh. has *ggu*-, *bi*- (§ 18), and *vi*- (§ 20), all from O.Ir. **vi*-. *bi*- is not found before *m*-, but *ggu*- occurs before *m*- in *ggumāta*- Kha 1. 211 113r3 KT 5. 164; *ggumālsta*- Z 21. 11; *ggumerāñ*-. Similarly in ZP *gu*- before *m*- is found beside *vi*- (v. *GIP*, i. 310).

Correspondences: *ggumāta*- < **vi-māta*-, cf. B. Sogd. *wm't*-; Parth. *wm'dn*, MPe *gum'y*- (H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 76; I. G., *GMS*, § 215, p. 33); *gusprriś*- inch. < **vi-sparg*-, cf. Parth. *wyspryxt*; *gguhād*-, cf. Parth. *wyxs*-. On *ggumerāñ*- < **vi-māraya*-, see p. 30.

Other examples: *gujsar*- p. 29; **gujsabalj*- § 24; *gurva*- JS 18r1 (76) < **vi-ruxta*- (Dresden, p. 473 s.v. *gurvai*).

In some words, **vi-pa*- **vi-va*- seem to have resulted in *gva*- instead of *byū*- (§ 18): *gvach*- < **vi-pač-ya*-; *gvays*- < **vi-važ*-; *gvar*- < **vi-var*-, see *gvīr*-, *gver*-.

gva- could be < **vi-ā*- in *gvaścānda* Hed. 3. 6; *gveśce* Hed. 3. 11, see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 68 (and note O.Ind. *vyāsthāpayati*).

If *ggūch*- 'deliver' is < **vi-auč-ya*-, we have an instance of the treatment before a vowel.

L.Kh. spellings are: (i) *gū*-: *gūmaly*- Si 122r1 KT 1. 50 for **ggumal*- < **vi-mard*-; (ii) *gau*-: *gausprriś*- P 2896. 45 KT 3. 95.

8. V. *tī*- < I. I. **ati*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ati*-).

Formal correspondences are rare: *ttuvar*- < **ati-bar*-, cf. Av. *aiti.bar*-; O.Ind. *ati-bhṛ*-. L.Kh. *ttajsar*- in *ttajśāda*- JS 13v4-14r1 (57), if < **ati-čar*- (as Dresden, p. 475 s.v. *ttajśāda*-), can be paralleled by O.Ind. *ati-car*-.

The spellings *ttā*-, *tī*- are found rarely, both in O.Kh.: *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 27; *ttātsaiyi* Z 13. 28 < **ati-čyav*-; *ttirāndā* Kha ix. 13a1. 40v5 KT 5. 184 < **ati-ram*-; *ttāhvaitā* Z 13. 21, 22 < **ati-hvah*-; and in L.Kh.: *ttajser*- *Avdh* 18r2 KT 3. 9 < **ati-jāraya*- (?).

tī- may be reduced to *tt*-, *t*- before *r*- or *v*- both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *trām*- Z 2. 90 beside *ttrām*- Z 2. 132; *trāy*- Z 12. 4 beside *ttrāy*- Z 24. 435 < **ati-rad*-; *tvāy*- Z 6. 19 < **ati-vad*-; *tvāmdanu* Z 11. 38 (see p. 219). L.Kh.: *trāy*- JS 38r3 (166) beside *ttrāy*- JS 5v4 (19); *tvāśd*- Hed. 20. 7 KT 4. 34 beside *ttvāśd*- Or 11252. 18a3 KT 2. 23 (*ttv*- here only).

Before a labial (*m*- or *v*-), *tī*- may by assimilation become *ttu*-: *ttumalsta*- Z 13. 83 < **ati-mard*-; *ttuvar*- Z 22. 156; *ttvāy*- Z 24. 239.

In L.Kh. *tta*- is found for *tī*- in *ttajśāda*- JS 13v4-14r1 (57), if correctly interpreted. *ttra*- for expected *ttu*- is found in *ttramē'ste* JS 4r2 (11), *ttramaste* P 2781. 84 (16) KT 3. 69 for expected **ttume'ste* = O.Kh. *ttumalste* Z 13. 83 (see Dresden, p. 475 s.v. *ttume'ste*). This spelling, if not a purely graphic error, awaits explanation.

L.Kh. forms like *trvāy*- Si 20r4 KT 1. 32, *ttrvāy*- P 3510. 8. 2 KBT 52, *ttrūāy*- P 3513. 36r2 KBT 60 probably represent a conflation of O.Kh. *trāy*- and *tvāy*-, which resemble each other in meaning and form.

9. VI. *tca*- < **patiśā*, cf. Av. *paitiša*; cf. Tq *tsa*-.

This preverb is rare and of uncertain origin. Oss. *cā*- and Paštō *ca*- are probably connected, but their origin also is obscure (v. H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 7-8). Derivation from **hačā*- (Morg., *EVP*, 17), cf. Av. *hačā* adv., prep. is possible. Kh. has *jsa* < **hačā* as a postposition, and *tī*- < **ati*- with *tī*- not *t*-. Derivation from **ati*-, suggested long ago (H. W. B., *BSOS*, vi. 1, 1930, 67-68), is not possible phonologically; and Kh. already has *tī*- < **ati*- (§ 8). Derivation from **patiśā* (cf. Av.

paitiṣa IS as adv., *AIW*, 836) is possible (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 7-8). For loss of *-a-*, H. W. B. cf. Kh. *pra-* < **parā-* (v. § 14). **iṣ-* [tʃ] coming together would like O.Ir. **č-* [tʃ] have resulted in Kh. *tc-* [tʃ]. H. W. B. points also to Oss. D. *dzubandi* 'Gespräch, Erzählung' beside B. Sogd. *pčβ'nt*. Formally, one could also compare Av. *uṣča* adv. 'nach oben; fort, weg' (*AIW*, 407). For **-sč-* > *-tc-*, cf. Kh. *hatcañ-* < **frasčandaya-*. But see below.

Three words have *tca-*: *tcabalj-* Z 24. 643; *tcarsua-* Z 10. 25+; *tcāraṃpha-* Z 24. 250. It occurs also in the compound preverbs *gujsa-* (§ 24) and *pajsa-* (§ 26). Beside *tcabalj-* (cf. Tq *tsawarg-*), we find also the ppp. *tcabrīya-* Z 2. 44+ and the inch. *tcabrīs-* Z 24. 520. *tcabalj-* 'break up' is from **brag-*, IE **bhreg-* (not **bhreg-* as Pok. p. 165). Comparison with Lat. *frangō* is found already in S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184. Ir. has **brag-* also in B. Sogd. 'nβrytk. *tcarsua-* has *tca-*+*-rsua-* < **ruxšuka-* < **rauk-* 'to shine' (Av. *raok-*, *raoxšna-*) (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 184). *tcāraṃpha-* 'stick' may have *tca-*+**āraṃpha-* < **ā-ramb-*, cf. O. Ind. *ālamba-* 'support, prop' and *rambhā-* 'staff, support'. Kh. has also **pārīmph-* (p. 81) 'to establish' < **pati-ramb-aya-*. Comparison with B. Sogd. *pir'β'k* 'stick' heavily favours *tca-* being related to **pati-* (I. G.).

tca- appears in L.Kh. as *tčā-* in *tcābrī* P 2741. 104 KT 2. 91.

10. VII. *na(l)-*, *naš-* < I. I. **niš-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *niš-*)/**niž-* (cf. Av. *niž-*).

Correspondences: *našphāñ-*, cf. Sarikoli *nalfon-* (v. p. 52); *nei'hvah-*, *nei'hvasta-*, cf. B. Sogd. *nšy(')wst-* (v. p. 60).

**niš-*, **niž-* is treated as follows:

(i) *na-* before *r-*

One word only, O.Kh. *narām-* 'go out' Z 4. 96+. L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *nā-*: *nāraum-* P 2956. 55 KT 3. 39; (b) *nī-*: *nīrān-* *Si* 156r3-4 KT 1. 104; (c) *ne-*: *nerām-* *Si* 140v5 KT 1. 80; (d) *nai-*: *nairām-* P 4099. 70 KBT 16.

(ii) *nal-* before *js-*, *ts-*

For *nal-* < **niš-*, cf. Sarikoli *nal-*. *nal-* is actually found so spelled only in O.Kh.: *naljšem-* < **niž-jāmaya-*; *naltsu-* < **niš-čyav-*. *nal-* in *naltsu-* is spelled *na-*, *ne-* in L.Kh.: *naṣū* Ch 00266. 112 KBT 25 = *neṣūe* P 2025. 173-4 KBT 17 = *neṣve* P 2957. 62 KBT 33.

**niš-* probably resulted in *nal-* also before *tc-* as the spellings in L.Kh. indicate. Thus, **niš-sčamb-* appears in L.Kh. nominal and verbal forms with the following spellings of the preverb: (a) *na'-*: *na'tcīphe* *Si* 15v3 KT 1. 24; (b) *nī-*: *nītcāmpa* P 2893. 24-25 KT 3. 83; (c) *ne-*: *netcāmpa* P 2893. 28 KT 3. 83; (d) *na-*: *naticph-* *Si* 129v4 KT 1. 62 (tr. *sel-to*);

(e) *na'-*: *na'tcapha* *JS* 9r3 (35) (MS. *na/na'tcapha*); (f) *nī-*: *nītcīph-* *Si* 16v3 KT 1. 26. See **naltcīmph-* p. 49.

**niž-* may also have resulted in *nal-* before *sk-*. L.Kh. has *neskauḍq* *Si* 128v3 KT 1. 60 (tr. *chag-pa*; *bhaṅga-*) < **niž-skap-* (IE **skep-* Pok. 930-3) rather than < **nī-skap-* as *s* not *š* indicates. Cf. *pal-* < **pari-* before *s-* (§ 13).

**niž-* may also have resulted in *nal-* before *ys-*. L.Kh. has *na'ysvārai* P 4099. 70 KBT 116; *na'ysvāre* ibid. 205 KBT 123 < **nalysv-* (p. 49) < **niž-zav-*. *nī'ysānā* *Avdh* 13r1 KT 3. 6 may belong here, but the word is of uncertain meaning and origin.

nal- was thus probably found before *js-*, *ts-*, *tc-*, *sk-*, *ys-*.

(iii) *naš-* before *k-* *kh-* *g-*; *t-* *th-* *d-*; *p-* *ph-*.

(a) before *k-*, *kh-*: *naškaj-*, *naškan-*; (b) before *g-*: only in L.Kh. *naš'gai'sta* Or 8212. 162. 40 KT 2. 3 for **našgai'sta* < **niž-garts-*; (c) before *t-*, *th-*, *d-*, which may be assimilated to *t-*, *th-*, *d-* by Sanskritization: *naštos-* < **niš-tap-*; *našhrrīta-* H 142 NS etc. 611v5 KT 5. 92 < **niš-θrak-*; *našdam-* < **niž-dam-*. Unassimilated are O.Kh.: *našīṣa* (nominal prefix, v. p. 247, 5) *Sw.* K. 6517 KT 5. 116 (tr. *durvarnāh*) (LW < Ind. I!); *našdraunjsa-* *jsera-* Z 22. 125 < **niž-dram-*; (d) before *p-*, *ph-*: *našpūsta-* Z 2. 94; *našphan-* < **niš-fan-*.

L.Kh. spellings of *naš-*: (a) *nāš-*: *nāšphāne* *Vajr.* 34a3 KT 3. 27; (b) *niš-*: *ništauda* P 3513. 68v4 KT 1. 246 (for O.Kh. *naštauda-* Z 5. 49); (c) *neš-*: *nešphana* P 4099. 87 KBT 117. In L.Kh. the consonant cluster was sometimes simplified by anaptyxis: *našakhasta-* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124, *naš'gai'sta* Or 8212. 162. 40 KT 2. 3, *naš'gaista* Ch 00270. 13 KT 2. 49. Here only do we find **niš-* and **niž-* distinguished in the spelling.

(iv) *nir-* before *m-*

One word only: *nārmān-* Z 4. 30+ 'to create magically'. As BHS uses *nirminoti*, *nirminati* in exactly this technical sense (v. F. Edgerton, *Dict.*, s.v. p. 302), an original **našmān-* may have been influenced by BHS. No example of the treatment of **niž-* before *m-* is available. *našmāvā* P 2787. 73 KT 2. 104 only is probably an error for *naštāvā* (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. xi. 2, 1965, 113). *nārmān-* cannot be a direct borrowing from BHS as can be seen from its conjugation IIIb, type B (v. p. 55). *nārmīndi*, *nārmānīndi* are like *āysīndā*; *hamāndā*, *hamānīndā*. *hamān-* < **fra-may-* (v. p. 147) shows the same verb root.

(v) *nei'-* before *hv-*

One word only, O.Kh. *nei'hvah-*, *nei'hvasta-* < **niž-hvah-* (v. p. 60). L.Kh. spellings of *nei'-* are: (a) *na-*: *naḥvasta* P 4089a 16 KBT 21; (b) *nī-*: *nīhvasta* P 2896. 5 KBT 12 (= *nehvasta* P 2025. 86 KBT 14; Ch 00266. 47 KBT 22); (c) *ne-*: *nehveste* P 2025. 213 KBT 18; (d)

ne'-: *ne'hvast* <ā> P 3513. 8211 KBT 64; (e) *nai*-: *naihvasta* Ch 00266. 189 KBT 29 (MS. *naimasta*) (= *nahvasta* P 4089a 16 KBT 21); (f) *nai'*-: *nai'hvastai* Ch ii 004. 1v2 KBT 144; (g) *ne'*-: *ne'hvettä* P 3513. 2811 KBT 58.

11. VIII. *ni*- < I. I. **ni*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ni*-).

Only exact correspondences are reliable, especially where *ni*- is modified to *nu*-, as *nu*- could continue O.Ir. **anu*-.

Correspondences: *nīsaṣ*-, cf. Yidgha *nīšāž*-, Munjī *nī'jāš*-; *nātauda*- Z 5. 49 < **ni-tap*-, cf. O.Ind. *ni-tap*-; *nād*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *nyδ*-; *nimalys*-, cf. B. Sogd. *nm'rz*-, Parth. *nmrz*-; *nāmājs*-, cf. Yidgha *nə'miš*, B. Sogd. *nymx'y*; *nātā'y*- H 142 NS 61. 47r3 KT 5. 29 < **ni-šādaya*-, cf. Av. *nišādaya*-, MPe *nš'y*-, Man. Sogd. *nšyy*-; *nuvad*- < **ni-pad*-, cf. Av. *ni.pad*-, B. Sogd. *nyḍ*-; *nuhamj*- < **ni-ḥanḡaya*-, cf. Parth. *nhynj*-, MPe *nhynz*-, NP *niḥaxtan*; *nyas*- < **ni-kaš*-, cf. Oss. D. *nikkāsun*; *nyūd*- < **ni-vart*-, cf. O.Ind. *ni-ort*-; *nvāšš*-, cf. Oss. D. *nūūasun*.

O.Kh. has *ni*- or *nā*- (rarely *nyi*-) before any consonant. This may become *nu*- before *m*- or *v*- by labial assimilation. *ni*- may be reduced to *n*- before *y*- and *nu*- to *n*- before *v*-.

(i) *ni*-, *nā*-, *nyi*- in O.Kh.

Examples: *nāhujs*- Z 5. 79; *nihujs*- Z 14. 27; *nyihujs*- SS 85v5 KT 5. 343 < **ni-baug*-; *nājsada*- Z 6. 57; *nīsaṣ*- Z 2. 73; *nākwarr*- Z 12. 93.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *na*-: *anahvarda*- P 3513. 7811 KBT 63; (b) *nī*-: *nījvāḥa* P 4099. 150 KBT 120; (c) *nū*-: *nījsūṣṭa* P 4099. 402 KBT 133 (= O.Kh. *nājsaṣde* Z 9. 24); *nūhvarāre* P 4099. 147 KBT 120; (d) *ne*-: *nejsadā* Si 140v1 KT 1. 78; (e) *nai*-: *naiṣkalīda* S 6701. 18 KT 3. 137.

(ii) *nu*- before *m*-, *v*- in O.Kh.

Only exact correspondences are reliable, see above. O.Kh.: *nuvatte* Z 4. 72 < **ni-pad*-; *numāsa* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611r2 KT 5. 91 beside *nimalsa* Z 2. 85 < **ni-marz*-, v. *nimalys*-. Other instances of *nu*- in O.Kh. are: *nuvaṃṭhātā* Z 24. 117; *nuvalysde* Z 17. 18.

In one instance O.Kh. has *nu*- < **ni*- before *h*-, the reason being unknown. This is O.Kh. *nuhamjindā* Kha 0013c6 b4 KT 5. 125 < **ni-ḥang*-.

(iii) *n*- before *y*-, *v*-

O.Kh. *nyas*-, *nyūd*-; *nvāšš*-, above.

(iv) *nṛ*-

nṛ- (= **nri*-) is found in O.Kh. forms derived < *nihalj*- (p. 57) < **ni-ḥrak*- as a result of the mobility of *-r*-. Thus, *nṛhiya*- Z 2. 81+

ppp., < **ni-hriya*- < **ni-ḥraxta*-; *nṛhišš*- Z 12. 128+ caus., < **nīhrišš*- caus. of inch. **nīhriš*-.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *na*-: *nahiše* P 3510. 7. 2 KBT 52; (b) *nī'*-: *nī'hīya* P 3513. 62v1 KT 1. 243; (c) *nī*-: *nīhīša* P 2787. 122 KT 2. 106; (d) *nī*-: *nīhīyai* P 2022. 9 KT 3. 42 (= *tcabrriyi* P 2956. 61 KT 3. 39).

In L.Kh., the pres. stem of O.Kh. *nihalj*- has been influenced analogically by these forms as shown by the following spellings: (a) *na*-: *nahej*- Si 100v5 KT 1. 34; (b) *na'*-: *na'hej*- Si 12r5 KT 1. 18; (c) *nī*-: *nīhej*- Si 10r4 KT 1. 14; *nīha*'j- Si 8r3 KT 1. 12; (d) *ne*-: *nehej*- Si 138r5 KT 1. 76; (e) *ne'*-: *ne'hej*- Si 130r4 KT 1. 62.

12. IX. *pa(tā)*-; *pa*- < O.Ir. **pa*- (cf. Av. *pa*-); **pati*- (cf. Av. *paiti*-, OP *pati*-); **apa*- (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *apa*-).

On O.Ir. **pa*-, see Benv., *Oss.*, pp. 98-103; on **pati*-, see Barth., *ZAIW*, pp. 179-88.

Correspondences for **pa*-, **pati*-: *pacas*- < **pati-čaxs*-, cf. Oss. I. *fādsāxs*-; *pajād*-, cf. Av. *paiti.jaidya*-; *pajāys*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *pčy'z*-; *pajud*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pty'wδ*; *paṃjs*- < **pa(ti)-muča*-, cf. Av. *paiti.šmuxta*-, Parth. *pdmwč*-, MPe *pymwč*-, B. Sogd. *ptm'ync*-; *pattaw*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pttpy*-; *patāmar*-, cf. Av. *paitišmar*-; *patālt*- < **pa-krta*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ptkrnt*-; *pathamj*- < **pa-ḥang*-, cf. Parth. *pḥynj*-, Man. Sogd. *pḥḍync*-; *pader*-, cf. Av. *paiti.dar*-, Man. Sogd. *pḥḍ'r*-, Chr. *pd'r*-; *pabañ*-, cf. Parth. *pabstg*; *paysān*-, cf. Av. *paiti.xāna*-, B. Sogd. *ptz'n*-; *paštuta*- Z 23. 27, cf. Parth. *pḍystwδ*; *pasad*-, cf. Parth. *psynd*-, NP *pasandādan*-, B. Sogd. *pts'ynt*-; **paspar*- in ppp. *paspuḍa*-, cf. Arm. LW *patspar*-; *pāskal*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ptškrδ*; *pyūs*- < **pati-gauša*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ptywš*-; *prūa*- H 142 NS 49v5 KT 5. 26 < **pati-raupa*-, cf. Man. Sogd. *ptr'wp*- (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii, 1951, 920-6; KT 4. 73; Liebethal *Vol.*, pp. 1-2).

Correspondences for **apa*-: *panašš*-, *panašta*-, cf. Av. *apanasya*-, *apanašta*-; *panāšš*-, cf. B. Sogd. *pn'yš*-; *pašš*-, cf. B. Sogd. *psp'*-; *pasūj*-, cf. B. Sogd. *ps'wč*-; *puwa'd*-, cf. Av. *apa.had*- (?).

While it is possible to establish the existence of **pati*- because of the effect of *-i* on the stem initial, it is not possible to prove its absence as the influence of the simplex may have played a part. Thus, we have **pati*- in *pacas*-, *pajād*-, *pajāys*-, *pajud*-, *paštuta*-, *pāskal*- as indicated by *-c*- for *-tc*-, *-j*- for *-js*- (not certain in *pajād*-), *-ṣ*- for *-st*-. *-sk*- for *-sk*- (uncertain, cf. *škim*- etc.). On the other hand, in *paspar*- with *-sp*- not *-sḡ*- (cf. Man. Sogd. *pšpr*-) we may still have **pati*- with **spar*- due to the simplex (cf. Arm. LW *patspar*-). Similarly, *pathamj*- with *-th*- not *-th*- as in *paštuta*- may have been influenced by *thamj*-. The most probable case of **pa*- is in *paštāta*- Z 2. 78 < **pa-stāta*- beside the pres. stem *pašt*- < **pati-hišta*-.

The spellings attested for **pa(tā)*- are:

(i) *patā-* before *ts- m- v- r- hv-* in O.Kh.

Examples: *patāts-* *Suv. K. 67v1 KT 5. 118*; *patāmamth-* *Z 13. 73*; *patāvoutta-* *Z 2. 12*; *patārotta-* *Or 9609. 24r3 KT 1. 235*; *patāhvānaa-* *Z 22. 92.*

(ii) *pat-* before vowel in O.Kh.

One example only, O.Kh. *patīs-* *Z 2. 98.*

(iii) *pan-* before *d-* in O.Kh.

One example only, O.Kh. *pandīs-* *Z 4. 59.* Cf. (iv).

(iv) *paṃ-* before *ts-, m-* in L.Kh.

O.Kh. *patāts-* (v. (i)) > L.Kh. *paṃts-* *ḡS 14r1 (57)* > L.Kh. *pats-* *ḡS 13v1 (55)* (v. (v)); O.Kh. *patāmar-* (v. (i)) *Z 23. 133* > L.Kh. *paṃmar-* *P 2781. 111 (43) KT 3. 70* > L.Kh. *paṃmar-* *Ch 00266. 102 KBT 24* (v. (v)).

(v) *pa-*

This is the most frequent form, found before all consonants both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. Some examples: *pakūt-*, *pacas-*, *pachīys-*, *pajāys-*, *pattav-*, *pathamj-*, *padajs-*, *panam-*, *paphan-*, *pabañ-*, *paṃāta-* *Z 2. 100*, *paysān-*, *pasad-*, *pahvā'ñ-*.

(vi) *pā* before *r-, ś-, s-*

Before *r-* the development was **pati-r-* > **patar-* (cf. *-i-* > *-a-* in *narām-*) > **paar-* (I. G.) > **pār-*, as in some cases O.Kh. also attests *patā-*. Thus, *patārotta-* *Or 9609. 24r3 KT 1. 235* beside L.Kh. *pāvaūūā-* *Si 4v4 KT 1. 8*; *patārah-* *Suv. K. 34v7 KT 5. 112* beside L.Kh. *pārah-* *P 3513. 79r3 KBT 63*. Other examples of *pā-* before *r-* are: *pārajs-*, *pāraṃj-*, **pārīmph-*.

Before *ś-* and *s-*, in uncertain words, *pā-* may derive from O.Ir. **pāti-*. Thus, *pāsārā-* *Z 22. 254+*, cf. Lith. *pažāras* (H. W. B.), and *pāstuṅga-* *Z 13. 71*; *24. 168* (et.?). *pāstuṅga-* and *pārṣṣa-* 'antidote' *Z 24. 213* < **pāti-raxša-* (H. W. B.), not being verbal forms, may simply show lengthening of the vowel before a consonant group as in *āstaa-* 'bone', *āļs-* 'sing'.

(vii) *pā-*, rarely *pi-*, in O.Kh. before *ch- js- t- šk- s- h-*.

pā- is not likely to continue the rare preverb **pi-* (O.Ind. *pi-*, v. Mayrh. ii, p. 267), and in the case of *pāṣkal-* we have a strong indication of original **pati-* in B. Sogd. *ptškrδ*.

Examples of *pā-*, *pi-*: *pāchaṣṭa-* *Z 14. 70, 71*; *pājsaṣ-* *Z 23. 161*; *pātem-* *Z 5. 6+*; *pāṣkal-* *Z 14. 36*; *pāsaā-* 'sunbeam' *Z 20. 47*; *24. 189* (if *pā-* is preverb); *pāhad-* *Z 24. 414*; *pīhasti* *Z 24. 319.*

O.Kh. *pārsta-*, ppp. < *prih-*, shows *a* > *ā* due to following **i* (< **rista-*).

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *pe-*: *pesaly-* *Si 121r1 KT 1. 48*; (b) *pai-*: *paiṣkala* *P 2787. 167-8 KT 2. 107*; (c) *pya-*: *pyahasta-* *ḡS 14r2 (58).*

(viii) *pāt-* before a vowel in O.Kh.

Cf. (ii), p. 236. Only examples are O.Kh. *pātāy-*, *pātāl-*. In these words, *pāt-* > *py-* in L.Kh.: *pyāy-*, *pyāl-*. See p. 82.

(ix) *pu-* before *v-* in O.Kh.

O.Kh. *puvāta-* 'cool' *Z 22. 155* < **pa(ti)-vāta-* H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix, 1, 1937, 76; *puva'd-* *Z 24. 474* may have **apa-*. O.Kh. has *punūka-* *Z 5. 1* 'attentive', which is perhaps < **pa(ti)-nauda-ka-*, cf. O.Ind. *nuddti*. *pu-* will then be due to *-ū-* following.

(x) *pū-*

In O.Kh. *pū-* has been noticed only in *pūy-* and *pūhei'tā*. H. W. B. points also to *vū-*, *bū-*. The reason for *pū-* is unknown. L.Kh. *pūmūda* *StH 53 KT 2. 75* 'withered' (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. ii, 1, 1951, 32) may have L.Kh. *pū-* for *pu-* (ix) before *m-*.

(xi) *p-* before *y-, v-*

Before *y-*: *pyūs-*; *pyan-* < **pa-kan-*; *pyūmj-* < **pati-vang-*.

Before *v-*: *pvā'matā-* *Z 23. 18* < **patigauśāmātā-*; *pvāta-* *Si 16v2 KT 1. 26* (tr. *bsil-ziñ*).

13. X. *par-* < O.Ir. **pari-* (cf. Av. *pairi-*; OP *pari-*; O.Ind. *pari-*).

Correspondences: *parāv-*, cf. Av. *pairi.bav-*, O.Ind. *pari-bhū-*; *parvach-* < **pari-pačya-*, cf. O.Ind. *paripacyate* 'be cooked; ripen'; *paljsem-* < **pari-jāmaya-*, cf. Av. *pairi.gam-*.

It is difficult to believe that *parā-* is preserved in *parāpāchūṃ* *N 175. 39*. *parāpāch-* is there used in the technical sense of BHS *paripācayati* (v. F. Edgerton, *Dict.*, s.v.). Cf. also *satvapariṣkā* *P 2893. 13 KT 3. 82* with BHS *paripāka-* (Mvy 7140). **parvāch-* (cf. *parvach-*) has evidently been influenced by *paripāc-* of BHS.

parrīj- was derived < **apa-raičaya-* by P. Tedesco, *BSL*, 1924, 59-60. This is possible, as the invariable spelling with *-rr-* in O.Kh. may be due to the simplex *rrīj-*. Similarly, *parrus-* may have *-rr-* due to *rrus-*. Having in mind Av. *paiti.raēk-* etc. (v. Benv., *Oss.*, p. 99), one might think of **pati-*, but *parrīj-* means 'deliver', *paiti.raēk-* 'leave behind'; and the treatment of **pati-* before *r-* appears to be different (v. § 12). It would seem best to accept the suggestion made by H. W. B. that we have here **pari-*. This would account both for the meaning of both words and for *-rr-*.

(i) *par-* before *k- ch- n- b- m- r- v-*.

Examples: *parkūn- Si 100r2 KT 1. 34; parchās-; parnai-; parbau-; parmihā- Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1; parvach-*.

(ii) *pal-* before *tc- js- ś- s-* in O.Kh.

Cf. *nal-* § 10 (ii).

Examples: *paltcana- Z 24. 422; paltcīmph-; paljsata- Z 17. 26; paljsārgga- Z 23. 25; paljsem-; palsārā Godfrey 3b5 KT 3. 126 'evening'; palsārā H 143 NS 87v2 KT 5. 42 'garland'.*

(iii) *pa'-, pe-, pe'-, pai-, pai'-* in L.Kh.

In L.Kh., *par-* is usually retained: *parvašte Si 138v1 KT 1. 76* etc., while *pal-* is confined to O.Kh. But in two words, *par-* seems to have been treated like *pal-* in L.Kh.: *pa'niḍa-* Hed. 7v5 KT 4. 26 if < **pari-nar-* (H. W. B., *KT 4. 88*); *pe'me'sta- JS 24v1 (106)* < **pari-marz-* (rather than **pari-mard-* as Dresden, p. 480 s.v. *pe'me'sti*).

The following spellings are found in L.Kh. in words with *pal-* in O.Kh. (v. (ii)): (a) *pa'-: pa'sārā P 3513. 45r2 (Asm. 9) tr. mālyā-; pa'jse JS 34r3 (149); pa'jsāmdāmdā StH 41 KT 2. 74; (b) pe'-: pe'sārā P 3513. 72v2 KT 1. 248; pe'jsata P 3513. 59v4 KT 1. 242; (c) pe-: peśā' P 2834. 17 KBT 45; (d) pai'-: pai'jsaim- P 2787. 114 KT 2. 105; (e) pai-: paijsādai P 2787. 131 KT 2. 106; paisā' P 2925. 43 KT 3. 101.*

14. XI. *pra-* < O.Ir. **parā-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *parā-*).

Correspondences: *parauys-* < **parā-vaz-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pr'wyz-*, *pr'wšt*; *parāth-* < **parā-daθa-*, cf. Av. *para.daba-*; *pārān-* < **parā-kan-*, cf. B. Sogd. *pr'kn-*, Parth. *pr'gnđ*; *puror-* < **parā-bar-*, cf. OP *parā-bar-*, Av. *para.bar-*.

(i) *par-, pār-*

When the final vowel of **parā-* contracted with the following sounds, the vowel of the first syllable was either retained as *-a-* or modified by labial assimilation to *-u-* (ii) in O.Kh. *pārān-* shows weakening of this *-a-* to *-ā-* already in O.Kh.

Examples: *parauys-, parāth-*.

(ii) *pur-*

One example only, O.Kh. *puror-* Z4. 63.

L.Kh. spellings of (i) *par-* and (ii) *pur-* are: (a) *par-: parauys- JS 15r4 (64); (b) pīr-: pīror- Si 14r3-4 KT 1. 20 tr. sel-to; (c) pīr-: pīrauda- JS 11r3(44); pīrān- P 2787. 90 KT 2. 104; (d) per-: peroda- JS 27v1 (120).*

(iii) *pra-*

Cf. Paštō *pra-* < **parā-* (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 8).

O.Kh.: *prakṣauttāndā N 158. 34; prahāl̄j- Z 22. 192; prrahauna- Z 2. 63; prahausta- Z 2. 63. L.Kh.: prravāsta P 2787. 133 KT 2. 106; prrahauna P 3513. 72r3 KT 1. 248.*

L.Kh. has also the following spellings: (a) *para-: parajausta P 2781. 83 (15) KT 3. 69; parabyūta-¹ JS 15v1 (65); (b) pari-: paribyūttā Si 5r3 KT 1. 8 tr. ldog-ste; (c) prri-: prrivāsti P 2741. 75 KT 2. 90; (d) prre-: prrehis- Si 152v4 KT 1. 98 (v. (v)).*

(iv) *pru-, pro-*

pru-, pro- for *pra-* (iii) found in O.Kh. only, and only in the following: *pruhoṇa- Z 5. 31; prušoṣṭa- Z 23. 169; pruhaṣṭa- Z 2. 78; 3. 82; prohauy- Or 9609. 36v2-3 KT 1. 236.*

(v) *pr-*

pr- (= **pri-*) for *pra-* (iii) is found in O.Kh. only, and only in the ppp. of *prahāl̄j-* 'open': *prhīya- Z 5. 87; 22. 100; prhīta- Z 22. 263.*

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *prri-: prrihīya- P 2741. 101 KT 2. 91; (b) prri-: prrihīya- P 4649. 9 KT 2. 124.*

pru- (iv) and *pr-* (v) are evidently due to vowel assimilation.

15. XII. *ba-* < I. I. **upa-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *upa-*).

This rare preverb remains doubtful for lack of an exact correspondence. It has been noticed in three words only in O.Kh.: *bajeṣṣ- Z 13. 112; baštarr- Z 22. 136; bahūṣṭa- Kha 1. 309a1. 43r3 KBT 9* (late, here only). Intervocalic **-p-* does not normally result in Kh. *b*, but it may do so in the preverbs *bā-* (§ 16) and *bāys-* (§ 17). The etymology of *bajeṣṣ-* is obscure. It may not contain a preverb at all (v. p. 92). In the sense of 'carpet' (cf. Kh. *baštargyā-* Z 2. 49, probably 'carpet') and the like, *upa-* is found both in O.Ir. and in O.Ind.: Av. *upa.starəna-*, O.Ind. *upastāraṇa-*. But **star-* is found with various preverbs in later Ir.: **abi-*: Par. *wīranō (IIFL, i. 297); *upa-: Paštō brastən (EVP, 16); *pati-: Bal. pastark (Morg., AO, xx. 290); *pari-: B. Sogd. pr'strn (Vf); *vi-: MPE wyštyr-, NP gustar- (Verbum, p. 206). Without preverb is Waxī stramj (IIFL, ii. 541). Derivation from **abi-* or **vi-* would explain *-št-*; but see on *puva'd-* p. 85.*

L.Kh. spellings of *bajeṣṣ-* are: (a) *bi-: bijeṣṣ- P 2801. 55 KT 3. 67; (b) bī-: bījeṣṣ- P 2956. 3-4 KT 3. 36; (c) be-: bejeṣṣ- JS 35v2 (155).*

16. XIII. *bā-* < O.Ir. **apāk-*

bā- is found only in *bāhūj- Z 23. 154* 'to hold in the hand' and in *bāthamj- JS 5v2 (18)* 'pluck'. Derivation < **ava* or **upa+ā* has been suggested (Dresden, p. 481 s.v. *bāthamj-*). But as Kh. has also *bāys-* (§ 17), it seems more likely that *bā-* stands beside *bāys-* like NP *bā-|bāz-*, ZP *apāk|apāč* (v. Lazard, § 655, p. 413). Similar, < **upāk-* H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1961, 55.

¹ Apparently < **parā-vi-*, but evidently secondary as the phonology shows.

17. XIV. *bāys-*

bāys- is found only in *bāysdai-* 'look at'. Derivation of *bāys-* < *bā-* + *uys-* has been suggested (H. W. B.). But see § 16. Note also the NP *bā dād* (ŠN), v. Lazard, § 663, p. 417. *bāysdai-* < **bājs-* + *dai-* is like *drysde* < *drys-* (v. p. 194).

18. XV. *bi-* < O.Ir. **abi-* (cf. Av. *aibi*, *aiwi*; OP *abi-*; O.Ind. *abhi-*) and < O.Ir. **vi-* (cf. Av.; O.Ind. *vi-*)

Correspondences for **abi-*: *byāta-* Z 3. 128 < **abi-yāta-*, cf. Parth. 'by'd, MPe 'y'd (BBB, pp. 106, 108 s.v.; Ghilain, p. 83); *byāna-* Z 24. 647 'bridle' < **abi-dāna-*, cf. Av. *aiwi.dāna-*, B. Sogd. βyδ'n (I. G., GMS, § 90, p. 12) (H. W. B., *Dumézil Vol.*, p. 11; *Donum Nyberg*, pp. 6-7); *byeh-* < **abi-āp-*, cf. Av. *avi apaya*, MPe 'y'b-, B. Sogd. 'βy'p- (Vf); *bārūn-* < **abi-rauxšnaya-*, cf. Av. *aiwi.raočāya-* and *raoxšna-*; *buva'd-* < **abi-šad-*, cf. Av. *aiwišasta-*.

Correspondences for **vi-*: *bitar-*, cf. B. Sogd. *wytr-*; *binam-*, cf. Av. *vī.nāma-*; *binās-*, cf. Av. *vī.nānāsā*, MPe *wn'h-*; *birays-*, cf. Parth. *wyr'z-*; *birāt-* < **vi-riš-*, cf. O.Ind. *virīšta-*; *buysai-* < **vi-zav-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *wy'z'w*, Parth. *wzwd*; *buvan-*, *buwān-*, cf. Av. *vikānaya-*, Parth. *wyg'n-*, MPe *gwg'n-*; *byajs-* < **vi-tāča-*, cf. MPe, Parth. *wdč-*, B. Sogd. *wytwyt-*; *byāj-* < **vi-tāčaya-*, cf. Parth. *wd'č-*; *byav-* < **vi-tap-*, cf. Parth. *wyt'b-*, B. Sogd. *wyt'p-*; *byūs-* < **vi-vas-*, cf. Av. *vī.usa-*, Man. Sogd. *wy'wos*, Chr. *wy'wos-*.

(i) *bā-*, *bi-*

bā- is found in O.Kh. only and is rare: *bātcūss-*; *bārūn-* Or 9609. *27v4 KT 1. 236; *bārāh-* Kha 1. 13. 142vi KBT 5. *bi-* is frequent before all sounds in O.Kh. and in L.Kh.: *bitam-* Z 2. 131; *binam-* Z 22. 128; *biysān-* Z 4. 114; *birays-* Z 22. 195; *bihājs-* Z 22. 113. L.Kh.: *birays-* Si 4r2 KT 1. 6; *biysamj-* Si 156vi KT 1. 104.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *ba-*: *baysamj-* Vajr. 7a1 KT 3. 21; (b) *bi-*: *bīysīs-* JS 17v2 (74); (c) *be-*: *berāš-* Si 139r4 KT 1. 78; *besaij-* JS 29vi (128).

(ii) *bu-*¹ before a labial in O.Kh.

Cf. *pu-* § 12 (ix), p. 237.

buysai- Z 4. 95 < **vi-zav-*; *burūwān-* < **vi-raup-*; *buršta-* Z 13. 136 < **vi-ruxšta-*; *buva'd-* Z 23. 139; *buvan-* Z 24. 391; *buškuta-* Z 20. 46; *busūa-* Z 19. 18.

L.Kh. spellings are: (a) *bi-*: *bisūna* Ch 00268. 194 KBT 68; (b) *bū-*: *būsūna* Ch 00277. 11vi (38) KBT 71.

¹ Cf. W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer, *Festschrift Franz Hančar*, 1962, 81, n. 99.

(iii) *b-* before *y-* *r-* *v-* in O.Kh.

byana- Z 3. 67 beside *biyana-* Z 22. 309; *brūn-* Z 2. 84 beside *bārūn-* Or 9609. *27v4 KT 1. 236; *buva'd-* Z 14. 92 beside *buva'd-* Z 23. 139.

Other examples: *byāta-* Z 3. 128; *byūj-* Z 11. 54; *byūs-* Z 5. 32; *brāh-* Z 22. 115; *buan-* Z 22. 331.

(iv) *bū-*

Cf. *pū-* § 12 (x), p. 237.

bū- is found only in O.Kh. *būšāta* Z 23. 142+ < **abi-srišā-* (H. W. B., cf. Paštō šl 'stair', Oss. D. *asinā* 'ladder' < **ā-srišna-*, v. *EVP*, 78). In L.Kh. words *bū-* may be written for *bu-* as in *būšwāna*, v. p. 103.

19. XVI. *va-* < I. I. **ava-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *ava-*)

Correspondences: *vaysān-*, cf. Av. *ava.xan-*, Yidgha *v'zān-*; *vaysgasta-* Z 5. 37 < **ava-zgad-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'wzyδ- (Vf); *vavat-* < **ava-pat-*, cf. Av. *avapastōiš*, B. Sogd. 'wpt-; *vašt-* < **ava-hišta-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'wšt-; *vasuta-* Z 4. 57 'pure' < **ava-suxta-*, cf. B. Sogd. 'wswyt- 'pure' (Vf) but Av. *upa.suxtō* Yt 10. 127 'blazing'; *vahīys-* < **ava-haiza-*, cf. Man. Sogd. 'wxz-, MPe 'wxyz-.

Spellings other than *va-* are rare. L.Kh. has *virāš-* P 2958. 120 KT 2. 117; *viārāš-* ibid. 135 KT 2. 118.

The spelling *vū-* is found rarely in O.Kh., cf. *pū-* § 12 (x), p. 237. *vūyāta-* contains *vūy-* < **ava-day-*, and *vūmūva* Z 14. 50; 20. 37, 40 is ppp. < **ava-mav-* according to H. W. B.

vū- is further reduced to *ū-* in a few words: *ūy-* = *vūy-*; *ūmījs-* < **ava-maig-*, cf. *nāmājs-*; *ūmāta-* < **ava-mita-* (v. p. 19).

20. XVII. *vi-* < I. I. **vi-* (cf. Av., OP; O.Ind. *vi-*)

This preverb is very rare. Kh. has *ggu-* (§ 7) and *bi-* (§ 18) < O.Ir. **vi-*. *vibram-* Z 5. 26+, although never spelled with *-bh-*, is probably a LW from NWPkt (for loss of aspiration, see *Khar. Docs.*, § 24, p. 9), as it has the ppp. in *-āta*: *vibramāta-* Z 5. 28. *vimūha-* Z 10. 30+ may also be a LW from NWPkt rather than Ir. < **vi-muxθa-* (H. W. B., *BSOS*, ix. 1, 1937, 72), although **mauk-* is found in Kh. *pamjys-*. *-kš-* (BHS *vimokṣa-*) does not normally result in *-h-* in NWPkt (v. *Khar. Docs.*, § 48, pp. 18-19), but the *Dhp* has *aveha* (169) < *apekš-* (v. Brough, § 52, p. 102). In *vāyau* Z 19. 20 may be concealed **vi-dab-*, cf. Parth. *wdyb-* (Ghilain, p. 81), MPe *wyyb-* (*Verbum*, p. 173) or **vi-dav-*, cf. Av. *vī.dav-*, Oss. D. *idāun* (v. Benv., *Oss.*, p. 14). *vūv-* is perhaps < **vi-bā-* (p. 124). *virāva* Z 22. 121 is of uncertain meaning and origin, but it appears to have *vi-*. *vistāta-*, however, as ppp. < *vašt-* and with *-st-* not *-št-* probably contains **ava-*. *virasātū* in Ch 1. 0021b, 1r8 KBT 153 (so read) probably contains the preverb **vi-* with 1. *rrus-* 'shine' (H. W. B.).

21. XVIII. *saṃ-* (?)

saṃkhal- D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69 'smear; pollute' (v. p. 130) appears Ir. in its inflection: 3 sg. pres. *saṃkhiltā*, ppp. *saṃkhilsta-*. The verbal base is evidently **xard-*, which can be compared with Yaghn. *xīrd-* etc. *ham-* is expected, however, in Ir. (v. § 23). I can suggest only that **hamkhal-* has been influenced by BHS *saṃkirati* 'soils'.

Here may be mentioned the LW *pasamaṇḍ-* with unexplained *pasa(m)-* and *hasamīṭh-* of unknown origin.

22. XIX. *hā-* < O.Ir. **frā-* (cf. Av. *frā-*, OP *fra-*; O.Ind. *prā-*)

On *hā-*, see O. Hansen, 'Das sakische Präverb *ha-*', *OLZ*, 1935, 6, 350-5, where some exact correspondences are found. Note that only here does **fr-* > *h-* instead of *br-* in Kh. **pro* beside **prō* is ascribed to IE (Pok., p. 813), although the distribution of the forms is dependent upon rhythmical tendencies in the individual languages (see Mayrh. s.v. *prā*, Ernout-Meillet s.v. *prō*). According to Benv. *BSOS*, ix. 3, 1938, 508-10, Avestan distinguishes *fra-* 'devant' from *frā-* 'fort-, weg-'.

Correspondences: *hatcañ-* < **fra-sčandaya-*, cf. Av. *frascīndaya-*; *hanam-* < **fra-nam-*, cf. Av. *frā.nāma-*, MPe *prnm-*; *hanaśś-*, cf. Parth. *frnštg*; *haysān-*, cf. Parth. *frz'ng*; *haysñ-*, *haysnāta-*, cf. Av. *frasnaya-*, *frasnāta-*; *haškīm-*, cf. Av. *frascūmbaya-*; *hašpalgy-*, cf. Av. *frasparyā-*; *hāmura-* Z 19. 86, cf. NP *farāmōš*; *hārsta-* < **frārusta-*, cf. Av. *frāurusta-*; *harrūñ-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *frwvq* (p. 150); **hahvah-* < *fra-hvah-*, cf. B. Sogd. *βrʷv'y-*; *hot-* < **fra-vat-*, cf. Av. *frā.vat-*, Parth. *frwd-*; *haur-* < **fra-bar-*, cf. Av., OP *fra-bar-*; *hausta-*, cf. Parth. *frwšt*.

The final vowel of the preverb contracts with a following vowel: **hēi-* < **fra-iša-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *fryš-*. The final vowel contracts to *-au-* with initial **va-* in *hot-* and **ba-* in *haur-*.

No other modification of *ha-* is found,¹ unless *hām-* contains *ha-*. *hām-* is found more than 200 times in Z but *him-* does not occur once. It is, however, occasionally found in O.Kh.: H 147 NS 108. 40r2 *KT* 5. 72; H 147 NS 109. 41r3 *KT* 5. 73 etc. L.Kh. has *ham-* *ʃS* 32r2 (140)+; *him-* *ʃS* 1v4 (2)+; *hem-* *ʃS* 28v3 (125)+. If, on the other hand, Waxī *hūmū-* 'to be' is compared (*IIFL*, ii. 524), **fra-* is excluded, as Waxī has *ra-*, *re-* < **fra-* (*IIFL*, ii. 467).

23. XX. *ham-* < O.Ir. **ham-* (cf. Av., OP *ham-*; O.Ind. *sam-*)

Correspondences: *hamjsam-*, *hamjsem-*, cf. Av. *hanjasa-*, *hanjamana-*, Man. Sogd. *'nǰmn*, *'nčmn*; *hamthris-*, cf. B. Sogd. *'ntr'ys-*; *hamdajs-*, cf. ZP *handāk*; *haṇdauda-* Z 22. 285 < **ham-tafta-*, cf. Av. *ham.tapta-*;

¹ If *hudūtā* in Z 19. 53 is < **fra-dav-* (H. W. B.), we have an instance of vowel assimilation.

handār-, cf. MPe *hn'r-* < **ham-dar-*; *haṇdraṇj-*, cf. Av. *handraxta-*, Parth. *'ndrynj-*; *hambañ-*, cf. Parth. *'mbst*, B. Sogd. *'nβ'st*; *hambīṭh-*, cf. Parth. *'murd-*; *hambir-*, *hamber-*, cf. Man. Sogd. *'mbyr-*, Parth. *'mb'r-*, MPe *hmb'r-*; *hambus-*, cf. Parth. *'mbwy-*; *hambrīh-* < **ham-raiθ-*, cf. Av. *ham.raēθwaya-*.

(i) *ha-*. This spelling is rare in O.Kh.: *habirsta-* Z 24. 264; *haber-* Z 24. 180; but common in L.Kh.: *habair-* P 2787. 168 *KT* 2. 107; *habujs-* Ch c. 001. 960 *KBT* 139.

(ii) *han-* is found rarely in O.Kh. and only before *d-*: *haṇdauda-* Z 22. 285; *handajāñ-* Kha 1. 13 142v4 *KBT* 5; 145r4 *KBT* 6; *handaj-* Kha 1. 58ar b4 *KT* 5. 132.

(iii) *ham-* is found only before vowels: *hamara-* *Si* 144v3 *KT* 1. 86 (tr. *chigs*) < **ham-āra-*; *hamūda-* Z 24. 479 ppp. < **hamīr-* < **ham-ar-ya-*. Note that *hamraṣtu* Z 6. 17+ beside O.Kh. *hamaraṣta-* Z 23. 35 probably has **hama-* 'all', not *ham-* preverb (H. W. B.).

(iv) *ham-* is by far the most frequent spelling in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. It is found before all consonants except *r-*: *hamkhīys-* Z 19. 79; *Si* 7r3 *KT* 1. 10; *hamggalj-* Z 22. 297; *hamjsaṣ-* Z 2. 83+; *hamdār-* Z 12. 63; *hamphuta-* Stein E 1. 7 145v2-3 *KT* 5. 77; *hamtharka-* Avdh 11v5 *KT* 3. 5.

(v) *-am-*

anamkhāṣta- Or 9609. 4v6 *KT* 1. 233 (tr. *anekair*); Z 13. 97+ is clearly < **a-ham-khāṣta-*, cf. *hamkhāṣta-* Z 23. 366. *anandīśś-* Z 12. 114 could be denominative **a-ham-dāis(a)ya-*, but it may be due to assimilation < *aramdīśś-* H vii. 150. 1v2 *KT* 5. 99 (with *-r-* changed to *-n-*). Av. *arəm* has been compared (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 117 s.v. *aramdīs*).

-(a)m- is also found in words containing the suffix **ham-kāra-* e.g. *baśdamggāra-* 'evil-doing' Z 13. 70, cf. Man. Sogd. *'βjng'ryy* (v. I. G., *GMS*, § 1126, p. 172).

B. COMPOUND PREVERBS

24. I. *gu-ja-*

< **vi-* (§ 7) + *tca-* (§ 9). Only in L.Kh. **gujsabalj-*, *gujsabrīs-*. The spellings found are: (a) *gu-ja-*: *gujsabrīya* Ch 00266. 49 *KBT* 22; (b) *gu-jse-*: *gujsebrīya* *ʃS* 35r1 (153); (c) *gū-ja-*: *gūjsabrīśīda* P 2025. 57 *KT* 3. 47. Cf. also *pa-ja-* § 26.

25. II. *nva-*

< **any-ā-*? This preverb is found only in *nvašt-* Z 1. 51+, *nvašt-* Z 12. 11 'to examine'. 'E', p. 452 has 'ni-vastay' presumably *ad hoc*.

ni-upa-stā- and *anu-upa-stā-* are suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 162 s.v. In *NTS*, xi. 1939, 58, S. Konow suggested *anu/ni-pati-stay*. No *ny-upa-* is found at all in O.Ind. *anūpasthā-* 'to approach in order' is semantically satisfactory, but phonologically doubtful. **anu-ā-stā-* (H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 42) can be supported by O.Ind. *anvāsthāna-* (Monier-Williams, p. 1313) 'attainment'. *nvašta* 'easy' *Si* 139r1 *KT* 1. 76 tr. *sla-ba* is probably also connected, but the exact form is not clear.

26. III. *pa-jsa-*

< **pa-* (§ 12) + *tca-* (§ 9). Cf. also *gu-jsa-* § 24. This preverb has been found only in **pa-jsa-balj-*: O.Kh., *pajsaba'jīndi* Stein E 1. 7. 149r1 *KT* 5. 78; L.Kh., *pajsabrrīyāmdā* P 2781. 156 (88) *KT* 3. 72.

27. IV. *parā-*

parājsāñā Avdh 13r4 *KT* 3. 6, of uncertain meaning and origin, appears to have a preverb *parā-*. < **parā-ā-* (?), as *pra-* is found already < O.Ir. **parā-* (§ 14).

28. V. *śa-*

? < **adi-ā-* H. W. B., *AM*, n.s. i, 1949, 42. This preverb is rare. It has been found only in the following: *śatcampha* *JS* 28v2 (125) < **adi-ā-scamba-* (v. Dresden, p. 474 s.v. *tcamph-*); *saphīḍa* P 2786. 196-7 *KT* 2. 99, *bāḍa-śīpherā* P 2741. 70 *KT* 2. 90 (v. Dresden, p. 489 s.v. *haphāra-*) v. **adi-ā-far-*. Two words may show the uncompounded preverb: *śveri* P 2741. 42 *KT* 2. 89 < *śver-* < **adi-vāraya-* (H. W. B., loc. cit., p. 41) and O.Kh. *śūh-*, if < **adi-aud-* (IE **audh-* Pok. 75) (H. W. B.). O.Kh. has *śūh-* once only in Z 22. 96. L.Kh. has *śūh-* *Si* 122v1 *KT* 1. 50+. There remains the difficulty pointed out by H. W. E., loc. cit., that *śa'* is expected in L.Kh. *śatcampha* etc.

NOMINAL PREFIXES

1. The following seven nominal prefixes are found in Kh.: I. *a-*; II. *ggu-*; III. *duš-*; IV. *naśi'-*; V. *bi-*; VI. *ha-*; VII. *hu-*. Of these Av. has six: *a-*, *vi-*, *duš-*, *vi-*, *ha-*, *hu-*. Av. has *niš-* only as a preverb, but it is found as a nominal prefix in O.Ind.

2. *a-*

(i) As in Av. and O.Ind., Kh. has *a-* before consonants, *an-* before vowels:

a-+C-: *akā'matā-* Z 6. 51; *aggamīsa-* Z 2. 6; *adāta-* Z 24. 45; *abasta-* Z 22. 158; *avyūṣṭa-* Z 2. 117; *aṣṣadda-* Z 15. 4; *ahotana-* Z 12. 117.

an-+V-: *anārra-* Z 2. 133; *anāspetu* Z 24. 247; *anaursa-* Z 6. 32; *aneṣṭavana-* Or 9609. 24r4 *KT* 1. 235 tr. *asārahakā*.

(ii) *an-* (with unmotivated *-n-*) is occasionally found in L.Kh.: *anūtca* P 2739. 27 *KT* 2. 85; *anau'sa* P 4099. 168 *KB*T 121.

(iii) Although *a-* is usual before all consonants including *h-* (e.g. *ahaṃdrūṣṣā-* *Suv.* K. 33v1 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *avighraha-*), *anaṃkhāṣṭa-* Z 13. 97+ is found as the opposite of *haṃkhiṣṭa-* Z 23. 366. See § 23 (v), p. 243.

(iv) Instead of *an-* before vowels, *a-* is occasionally found both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh.: *a-uysānānu* H 144 NS 83b3 *KT* 5. 52; *a-uysānetā* H 142 NS 76. 19v3 *KT* 5. 103 (= N 153. 17-18); *a-uysnoratete* Kha 1. 13. 135v3 *KB*T 2. This *a-* may be modified in the usual way (see (v), (vi)): *i-īsedai* Ch 00268. 39-40 *KB*T 101 (= *a-v-īsadai* P 3513. 4r3 *KT* 3. 113 (H. W. B.)).

(v) Already in O.Kh., *a-* is occasionally modified. Thus, we find *i-*: *iḥvia-* Z 12. 64; *iḥvia-* H 142 NS 29 etc. 611v2 *KT* 5. 91, due to early vowel assimilation. *a-* is attested in this word only in L.Kh.: *ahīye* Ch 1. 0021b. 641 *KB*T 154 (H. W. B.). *u-*: *udyānaina* *Suv.* K. 31r7 *KT* 5. 109 (tr. *adrīyabhih*) beside *adyāneina* *Suv.* K. 32v1 *KT* 5. 110 (tr. *adrīya-*).

(vi) L.Kh. spellings of *a-*: (a) *ā-*: This spelling is found only in *āhvaraa-* 'sour' (cf. *hvarra-* Z 19. 29 'sweet'), which is always spelled with *ā-*. The form is not found in O.Kh., but it may have been the same. Cf. also O.Ind. *ā-* for *a-* (Whitney, § 1121c, p. 412). Examples: *āhvarai* *Si* 5r2 *KT* 1. 8; *āhvari* *JP* 99r2 *KT* 1. 181; (b) *i-*: *iṣada* P 2798. 167 *KB*T 43; *iḥīye* *Si* 1v4 *KT* 1. 2; *imamgīlyi* P 2958. 75 *KB*T

41; (c) *e-*: *eharṣṭā Si* 147r3 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *rgyun-tu* (cf. *aharṣṭā Si* 146v5 *KT* 1. 90 tr. *rgyun-tu*).

(vii) Both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh., *a-* may or may not cause the following consonant to be treated intervocalically.

(a) voiceless: *kh- gg- ts- p- rr- ṣṣ-* (O.Kh.) + *c- tt- ph-* (L.Kh.): *kh-*: *akhijāndei Kha* 1. 58a1 b3 *KT* 5. 132 (O.Kh.); *akhajāmdai P* 2957. 110 *KBT* 36 (L.Kh.); *gg-*: *aggamja- Z* 2. 6+ (in *Z*, only so; 19 ×); *aggūnaa- Z* 6. 8+ (in *Z*, only so, 6x) (both O.Kh.); L.Kh.: *agamja- P* 3510. 9. 2 *KBT* 53; *agūnaa- P* 3513. 19r2 *KBT* 56; *c-*: *acimḍya P* 3513. 50r3, 4 (Asm. 33); *tt-*: *attisā' P* 2957. 25 *KBT* 31; *attūṣima Ch* 1. 0021a, a 2-3 *KT* 2. 53; *ts-*: *atsāṣṭo Z* 20. 10 (O.Kh.); *atsūmaviḍya P* 3513. 39v2 *KBT* 61 (L.Kh.); *p-*: O.Kh.: *apadīmāmata Kha* 1. 56. 1 b2 *KT* 5. 131; *apātāyāme SS* 85v5 *KT* 5. 343; L.Kh.: *apaysāmda- Si* 1 bis 11 *KT* 1. 2; *apaphanāme P* 3513. 63v3-4 *KT* 1. 243; *ph-*: *aphārā P* 2781. 94 (26) *KT* 3. 69; *rr-*: O.Kh.: *arrimajsa- Or* 9609. 4r3 *KT* 1. 233; L.Kh.: *arimajsa- P* 3513. 69r3 *KT* 1. 246; *ṣṣ-*: *aṣṣadda- Z* 15. 4 (O.Kh.); L.Kh.: *aṣadī S* 2471. 184 *KBT* 97 = *aṣadīna ApS* 11b2 *KT* 5. 246.

(b) voiced: *k/g/t- js- ṣ- v-*:

k/g/t-: O.Kh.: *akā'matā- Z* 6. 51; *agāṣṭa- Kha* 1. 13. 144v1 *KBT* 5; *atāṣṭa- Or* 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234; L.Kh.: *akāṣṭa- P* 3510. 10. 10 *KBT* 53; *agapya JS* 38v1 (167); *js-*: *ajsera- Z* 24. 438 (O.Kh.); *ṣ-*: *a-ṣarrāmata Kha* 1. 13. 139v1-2 *KBT* 3 (< *ṣṣarr- Z* 7. 24); *aṣumuḍa- Or* 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234; *v-*: O.Kh.: *avurda- Sw.* K. 35r1 *KT* 5. 113; *avaysānda- Z* 2. 117; L.Kh.: *avaurda- P* 3510. 7. 3 *KBT* 52; *avaysāmda- Ch* 00277. 9v1 (31) *KBT* 71.

(viii) In one word only, *a-* is followed by a hiatus-filler before an initial vowel: O.Kh.: *a-t-īsaṃdai H* 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11. 8r1 *KT* 5. 68; L.Kh.: *a-t-īsaṃdai Ch* c. 001. 735 *KBT* 90; *a-v-īsadai P* 3513. 4r3 *KT* 3. 113. See (iv).

(ix) The function of *a-*. *a-* is used to form adjectives and nouns. Adjectives are most frequently formed by using *a-* with the ppp. e.g. *abasta- Z* 22. 158; *arrusta- Z* 7. 22; *avaphanda- Z* 19. 18; *avathīya- Z* 22. 322; *avamāta- Z* 1. 47; *avyūṣṭa- Z* 2. 117; *ahvata- Z* 6. 55. It is found also with the pres. part. adj. in *-andaa*: *avaṣṭandaa- Z* 11. 37; *atīsaṃdāa- H* 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11. 8r1 *KT* 5. 68, and with the pt. nec.: *ajsera- Z* 24. 438. Abstract nouns are usually formed by prefixing *a-* to an abstract noun: *akā'matā- Z* 6. 51; *adāta- Z* 24. 45; *aṣkaugye Z* 6. 26. With the further addition of a suffix, these may become adjectives: *adātīa- Z* 22. 91; *adyematīje Z* 6. 7; *arrimajsa- Or* 9609. 4r3 *KT* 1. 233. Sometimes they become adjectives without the addition of a suffix: *anārra- Z* 2. 133; *avīha- JS* 14r1 (58). An adjective may be

formed also with a common noun and a suffix: *abīsāta- Kha* 1. 119. 71v4 *KT* 5. 146. Occasionally a common noun is formed by prefixing *a-* to a common noun: *ahva'ndā SS* 61r4 *KT* 5. 338; or an adjective by prefixing *a-* to an adj.: *ahotana- Z* 12. 117.

3. *ggu-*

< O.Ir. **vi-*, see § 7, p. 230. Two examples only have been noticed. *ggu-* is used as a reversal prefix to form an abstract noun with an abstract noun: *gguhamaṅgatātā Z* 3. 66; *guhamaṅ* <*g*> *atete Kha* 1. 13. 135v4 *KBT* 2; L.Kh., *gūhamagaūña P* 4099. 168-9 *KBT* 121; and to form an adj. with a ppp.: O.Kh., *gguwaṭhuta- Z* 2. 43 (< *paṭhuta- Z* 15. 4).

4. *duṣ-*

< O.Ir. **duš-/*duž-*, cf. Av. *duš-, duž-*. *duṣ-* is found in three words in O.Kh.: *duṣdarrau- Z* 2. 57+; *duṣpāta'- Z* 7. 26+; *duṣhāmamkya Kha* 1. 13. 139v2 *KBT* 3. In L.Kh., only *duṣpya P* 3513. 71r2 *KT* 1. 247 (tr. *durbala-*) is found. Elsewhere the consonant cluster has been simplified by anaptyxis with the result that **duž-* has been generalized. Examples: *duṣa'caidye P* 3513. 63v1 *KT* 1. 243; *duṣa'tsūmā P* 3513. 64v1 *KT* 1. 244 tr. *duṣcaritam;* *duṣi'byau* <*da*> *Kha* 0013d2 b4-5 *KT* 5. 126; *duṣa'yudya P* 3513. 67r2 *KT* 1. 245; *duṣa'hoa P* 3513. 63v1 *KT* 1. 243; *dūṣa'busta Vajr.* 38a3-4 *KT* 3. 28.

For **duš-* in Indian loanwords, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xi. 4, 1946, 791. Kh. has the isolated form *duṣschata Sw.* K. 65r7 *KT* 5. 116 tr. *svālpasthāmāh*, and three treatments: (a) Ir. forms as above, e.g. *dūṣa'rśīli P* 4099. 67 *KBT* 116; (b) O.Ind. *duṣ-, dur-*, e.g. *duṣkara- Z* 5. 13 < BHS *duṣkara-*; *durbhikṣa- Z* 22. 137 < BHS *durbhikṣa-* (*Mvy* 8284). These are attested in L.Kh. spellings also: *dauṣkari P* 5538a 4 *KT* 2. 125; *dārabaiḥṣa Ch* 1. 0021b. b52 *KBT* 155; *dūrabīha:kṣā P* 2898. 7-8 *KT* 2. 117; *daurabaiḥṣa S* 2471. 279 *KBT* 100; (c) NWPkt *dru-*: *drukṣimaina Kha* 1. 214a r4 *KT* 1. 250. *dru-* is < *dur-* generalized like Kh. **duž-* above. Thus, Kh. has <*du*> *rśīli Kha* 1. 206a2 b2 *KT* 5. 162; *dūrsī'laṅa P* 4099. 286 *KBT* 127 where Skt has *duṣṣīla-* or *dūṣṣīla-*, NWPkt *druṣīla-* (*Dhp* 329).

5. *naṣi'*

< O.Ir. **niž-*, cf. Preverbs, § 10, p. 232. For **niž-* as a nominal prefix in Ir., H. W. B. cf. Arm. LW *nždeh* (*HAG*, p. 203). On *nždeh*, see A. Meillet, *BSL*, 23, 1922, 108; P. Tedesco, *BSL*, 25, 1925, 151.

In L.Kh. **niž-* was generalized as a nominal prefix like **duž-* (§ 4): *naṣa'be'vai JP* 47v1 *KT* 1. 139 tr. *nurvaṣau* (= *nirvaṣo*); *naṣi'rīma P* 3513. 48r1 (Asm. 22) tr. *vimalām;* *naṣi'rīma P* 2787. 26 *KT* 2. 102; *naṣarrīma P* 4099. 91 *KBT* 117.

6. *bi-*

< O.Ir. **vi-*, cf. Preverbs, § 18, p. 240. O.Kh. *bijūndaa-* Z 24. 411 'lifeless', cf. Av. *vī.ʃva-*.

7. *ha-*

ha- < O.Ir. **ha-*, cf. Av. *ha-* in *ha-zaoša-*, is probably not found in Kh., as *hamāṅga-* Z 2. 5, *hamamṅga-* Z 4. 89+, *hamagga-* Z 3. 54+ means 'equal', not 'like', and is therefore better taken < **hamanaka-* (as Dresden, p. 489 s.v.), cf. Av. *hama-* 'same' rather than < **ha-mānaka-* (as S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 27), cf. O.Ind. *samāna-* (< **sa-*+*māna-*, v. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, ii. 2, p. 275), ZP *homānāk* 'like' (H. W. B.).

8. *hu-*

< O.Ir. **hu-*, cf. Av. *hu-*; O.Ind. *su-*. *hu-* can cause the following consonant to be treated intervocalically: O.Kh., *huvaraustu* Kha 1. 205. 35r3 *KT* 5. 161; L.Kh., *hūvamāva* JP 44v4 *KT* 1. 137 (both *-v-* < *-p-*). *hutsuta-* Or 9609. 5r7 *KT* 1. 234 (tr. *svāgatam*) is the only example noticed of *hu-* followed by a voiceless sound.

hu- is frequently prefixed to the ppp. e.g. *hubyauḍa-* Kha 1. 13. 144r5 *KBT* 5; *hubasta-* JS 7v2 (28); *huysānautta-* Or 9609. 4v3 *KT* 1. 233; *huyūḍa-* Vajr. 12a3 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *sukaram*; *husū'sta-* P 3513. 74r4 *KT* 1. 249. It is found also with the pres. pt. adj.: *hubārūñandaa-* H 143a NSB 6v1 *KT* 5. 85, and with other adjectives: *hunusṭhura-* Or 9609. 4v4-5 *KT* 1. 233 tr. *sudārūṇa-*.

hvāha- Z 22. 136+ may be < **hu-pāḥa-* (S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 13; H. W. B., *TPS*, 1961, 135) and *hvāta-* Z 24. 520 may be < **hu-vāta-* (H. W. B.).

The L.Kh. spelling *hau-* has been noticed in *havyūḍa-* Vajr. 11b4-12a1 *KT* 3. 22 tr. *sukaram*; and *hū-* in *hūvasve* P 3513. 50v3 (Asm. 35).

NOMINAL INFLECTION

1. *General characteristics*

KHOTANESE nouns show two numbers, singular and plural, with traces of a third, the dual. It has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter, but the neuter has almost disappeared. In the oblique cases of the plural, there is no longer any distinction of gender. There are six cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive-dative, instrumental-ablative, and locative. Nominal declension can be conveniently divided into two classes, as in Avestan (see Jackson, § 219, p. 62): the vocalic and the consonantal. The vocalic class can be further subdivided into primary and secondary, i.e. uncontracted and contracted (< **-aka* etc.). A secondary **-aka* class developed similarly in Sogdian (I. G., *GMS*, §§ 1252 ff., pp. 187 ff.).

2. *Number*

The dual tended to disappear in IE languages. In Khotanese, it is found only in slight traces. It does not occur in adjectives or in pronouns. Several words that are historically dual have received plural terminations. Thus, *d(u)va* 'two' < IE **d(u)uō* has G(P) *dvīnu* < IE **d(u)u-oi+*-*nu* from the regular GP in Kh. Kh. *uvā* 'senses' corresponds with the Avestan dual *uši* but it has oblique terminations like those for 'two': G-DP *uī'nu*, I-AP *uvyau*'. Similar, no doubt, was *suwā* 'lungs', cf. Av. *suši*, but only L.Kh. LP **svīyvā* is found in the oblique cases, and this appears to indicate **svī'yā-* < **sušikā-* (cf. *strīyā-*). *pā* 'feet' could be derived from an old dual (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 40), but all the forms of *pā-* are identical with the rest of the words in the same declension. Kh. *mārāpātara* 'parents' must originally have been a dual *dvandva*, but it too has received plural endings. The ending of the I-AP *-yau* would show a trace of the dual if a contamination of the IP **-aiḥ* (OP *-aiḥ*) and the IDAbl dual **-ābyām* (O.Ind. *-ābhyām*), but a different explanation is possible.

3. *Case*

The Kh. case-system is essentially that of O.Ir., O.Ind., and IE. The number of cases has, however, been reduced from eight to six by conflation of the genitive and dative and of the instrumental and ablative. These cases have here been simply called G-D and I-A, following earlier writers, because the G-D and the I-A do in fact have the syntactic functions of the cases conflated. On the syntax of the cases

in Kh., see now R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 24-33. Conflation of I and Abl. took place also in Latin, but there the form retained was that of the Abl. always, whereas in Kh. the ISm, but the AblSf, were retained because of their distinctiveness. Conflation of G and D is found in OP, where the G has assumed the functions of the D (Kent, § 168, p. 57).

The most notable feature of the Kh. case-system is the identity in form of the VPM and the I-APm in *-yau*. This shows remarkable similarity with the frequent use of the IS *vohū manauhā* as VS in Avestan (Reichelt, § 427, p. 223). It should be observed that Kh. had *-a* VS < **-a* beside *-a* IS < **-ā*.

An important feature of the Kh. case-system is the complete absence of distinction between N and A in the plural. Everywhere the old NP form has prevailed. In Avestan, the NP is more often used for the AP than the reverse (Barth., *GIP*, i, § 378. 14, p. 213). From the time of the oldest Kh., there is a strong tendency to use the NS for the AS and occasionally the reverse, probably due in part to the structural pressure from the NAP.

As a result of a number of sound-changes, L.Kh. is perceptibly moving towards a simplified system, which it never reaches in the surviving corpus. This is: Sg. NVAG-DL *-a*; I-A *-a jsa*; Pl NA *-a*; G-D, L *-ā*; I-A *-ā jsa*.

4. Nominal declensions

The division between vocalic and consonantal classes is already blurred by the time of the oldest Kh. Most of the forms have been thematized. Only the distinction between NS and the other forms tended to remain firm, e.g. between NS *hve* 'man' and *hvand'* forms. But in the *n*-decl. (nt.), we find both the thematic NS, e.g. *tcei'mā* 'eye' and the inherited NS, e.g. *nāma* 'name'.

In the vocalic class, there was a tendency for forms to be transferred to the *ā*-decl. Thus, no *u*-decl. is found in Kh., but we have NS *pasā* 'sheep' (*SS* 77r6 *KT* 5. 339) from an old *u*-stem, cf. Av. *pasu-*. In addition to G-DP *ggarīnu* 'mountain', we find G-DP *ggarānu* from an old *i*-stem, cf. Av. *gairi-*. Fem. *i*-stems of O.Ind. were usually transferred to the *ā*-decl. in Kh. Thus, Kh. *ggatā-*, LW < O.Ind. *gati-* f., has NSf *ggata* Z 23. 117. A similar treatment of *i*- and *u*-stems is found in Paštō (see Morg., *NTS*, xii, 1942, 93).

In L.Kh., as a result of the weakening of short final vowels, the primary vocalic declensions tended to be confused. Consequently, gender distinction was largely lost.

5.

I. THE VOCALIC CLASS

A. PRIMARY

1. The *a*-declension

It will be convenient in treating of the various declensions to begin by giving a table showing a selection of the oldest forms. This is sometimes followed by a more detailed table showing the variety of spellings and their distribution. See detailed table for the *a*-declension on p. 252.

The words belonging to this decl. are all masc. (or originally nt.).

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
N	<i>-i -ā</i> (nt.)	-u	NA <i>-a</i> (nt.)
V	<i>-a</i>		V <i>-yau</i>
A	<i>-u</i>		
G-D	<i>-i -ā</i>		G-D <i>-ānu</i>
I-A	<i>-āna</i>		I-A <i>-yau, -yo (+jsa)</i>
L	<i>-ā -o -'a -a</i>		L <i>-uso' -uvo'</i>

6. NS

(i) *no ending*

Because of the loss of final short vowels in L.Kh., the NS termination sometimes disappeared. Thus, *dā* NS 'the Law' *YS* 13v1 (55) < *dātā*. This is particularly common in the case of words ending in *-m, -n*: *āysam* 'seat' *YS* 11v1 (45) < *āysana-*; *āvam* 'desire' P 3513. 47r2 (Asm. 18) < *āvama-*; *pajsam* 'honour' *Avdh* 8v2 *KT* 3. 3 < *pajsama-*; *brammanam* *YS* 12r2 (48) < *brammana-*; *maram* 'death' Kha vi. 4. 122 *KT* 3. 130 < *marana-*; *vyaysam* 'disaster' Hed. 17. 20 *KT* 4. 32 < *vyaysana-*; *sāsam* 'sāsana' P 3513. 47r4 (Asm. 19) < *sāsa'na-*; *samāham* 'meditation' P 3513. 43v2 (Asm. 1) < *samāhāna-*.

(ii) *-a*

This ending is rare in O.Kh.: *Prādyautta* Z 23. 136; *jāna* 'meditation' Z 11. 32. In L.Kh., however, it is very common. It is due to the development of final short vowels to [ə] in L.Kh. Examples in L.Kh.: *ba'ysa* 'Buddha' Hed. 23. 13 *KT* 4. 36; *gara* 'mountain' *YS* 12v3 (51); *satva* 'being' *YS* 14v1 (59).

(iii) *-i*

This is the expected form < O.Ir. **-ah* (IE **-os*), cf. Sogd. *-y* (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 126). It is found both in O.Kh.: *balysi* 'Buddha' Z 1. 39; *bādi* 'time' Z 1. 37; *lovi* 'world' Z 2. 21, and in L.Kh.: *bāti* 'wind' *Si* 122v2 *KT* 1. 50, but it is rare in L.Kh.

		SINGULAR					
O.Kh. only		O.Kh.+L.Kh. rare L.Kh. = rare O.Kh.			L.Kh. only		
N	-r	-i	-ä	-a	no ending		
		-u	-e				
V	-a				-ä		
	-r				-e		
A	-u	-i	-ä	-a	no ending		
	-r				-e		
	-o						
G-D	-u	-i	-ä	-a	no ending		
	-r				-ye		
I-A		-ina	-a	-ana	-ani	-äni	
			-äna	-ena	-ine	-aina	
			-na		-nä	-ni	
					(na) jsa		
L	-i	-a	-aä		-aä		
	-u	-i	-iä		-aä		
	-o	-ä	-ie		-i		
	-i _o	-ña			-e		
	-o'				-ñä		
		PLURAL					
NA	-aäi	-ä	-a	-i	-ye		
	-u	-e	-aä		-ia		
V			-yau				
G-D	-aänu	-änu	-äna	-ä	-äñ	-aä	
	-änu		-äni	-änä	-au	-aäñ	
				-auma	-yäñ	-aäñna	
				-yau		-aäñni	
I-A		-aänu			-äñ		
		-yau			-yäñ		
		-yo					
L	-aäuvo'		-vā		-uā		
	-aävoo				-vā'		
	-u'				-aävā		
	-uo						
	-utuo (num.)						
	-uovo'						
	-uto	-uvo	-uvo'				
	-vo	-vo'					
	-o	-o'					

(iv) -ä

-ä alternates freely with -i from the time of the oldest Kh. This spelling for the NS is very common both in O.Kh.: *dukhä* 'woe' Z 2. 9; *balysä* 'Buddha' Z 1. 41; *padamä* 'wind' Z 20. 3, and in L.Kh.: *bārä* 'rain' JS 14VI (60); *raysä* 'taste' Si 4r5 KT 1. 8; *satvā* 'being' JS 6VI (23).

(v) -u

The ending -u is expected for the NSn < O.Ir. *-am (IE *-om), cf. Sogd. -w. Similarly, the ASm has -u < O.Ir. *-am.

In O.Kh., *ysāru* is frequently found, e.g. Z 13. 59, for the NS of *ysāra* '1000' (cf. Av. *hazāra*- n.). Other traces of the neuter are *ysamthu* 'birth' Z 5. 13+, cf. Av. *zāba*- n., and *ārru* 'fault' Z 23. 93, cf. Av. *arəna*-, O.Ind. *ṛṇam* n.

Already in O.Kh., however, there is evidence of the development of -u to [ə]. Thus, we not only find NS *ysamthi* 'birth' Z 5. 109 instead of *ysamthu*, but there are a considerable number of old masculines with NS in -u: *udvīyu* 'disgust' (O.Ind. *udvega*- m.) Z 20. 48; *wysnoru* 'being' Z 13. 14; *Pryadarśamu* Z 6. 46; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 110; *Mahindraysenu* Z 24. 404. *praysātu* 'faith' NS is found in SS 34V4-5 KT 5. 336 but *praysātā* NS in N 21. 4 = H 147 NS 109. 41V2 KT 5. 73, a variant of the same text.

In L.Kh. P 3513. 62r3 KT 1. 243: *sa ysamtha ysārū kūlā* (tr. *jāṭisatā jāṭisahasrakotyaḥ*), *ysārū* could represent either *ysāru* or *ysārā* with *u* 'and'.

(vi) -r

As -r in Kh. is the equivalent of -ri, this is really the same as -i (iii). It is found chiefly in Indian proper names ending in a consonant + -ra: *Badr* Z 2. 47 < O.Ind. *Bhadra*-; *Śakṛ* SS 20r4 KT 5. 330 < *Śakra*-; *Samantabhadr* Z 1. 188; *Vasumätṛ* Z 7. 42 < *Vasumitra*-.

(vii) -e

As -ä and -e alternate in a number of circumstances in the oldest Kh., this ending may be no more than a spelling variant for (iv) above. Its use, however, suggests it may be older in origin. Its frequent use with names of animals in the JS has been noticed (Dresden, p. 408): *aše* 'horse' JS 27VI (120); Hed. 8. 2 KT 4. 26; *ašṇake* 'dove' JS 34r2 (149); *kurme* 'tortoise' JS 30v3 (134); *gode* 'lizard' JS 27v4 (122). This use is found also in O.Kh.: *sahe* 'hare' Z 13. 23. Two other categories of words are found with NS -e: words for people and abstract nouns derived from the ppp. Thus, *ba'yse* 'Buddha' JS 36v2 (159); 38r4 (166); *dahe* 'man' Z 6. 42; *Aysäte* Z 2. 21; *khīṣṭe* 'drink' Avdh 9VI KT 3. 4; Ch c. 001. 871 KBT 136; *cā'yanārmāte* 'the magic-created' Z 6. 53 as noun; *jīvāte* 'life' Z 24. 236, 237; *Sampusṣāte* Z 22. 215; *skyāte* 'time' Z 1. 37; *satve* 'being' JS 38v3 (168).

The use of -e for the NS of words for people recalls the cons. class: *pāte* 'father'; *brāte* 'brother'; *naḍe* 'man'; *rrāyse* 'ruler'; *rre* 'king'; *hve* 'man'. However, *pāte* and *brāte* themselves require explanation. As -e in NPf derives from *-āh, it is possible that the -e of *pāte* does so too. If so, we probably have to analyse the form as **pitā-h*. The addition

of *-*h* in the *r*- and (m.) *n*-decl. may be by analogy with the radical *ā*-decl. I prefer this explanation to looking outside Ir. to the Greek *-as*-decl. (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, i, pp. 558 ff.), although an explanation of this kind is tempting in view of the 3 sg. pf. tr. m. ending *-e*; but see p. 221.

The use of *-e* with the ppp. in *-āta* is due to dissimilation of *-ātā* to *-āte*, see pp. 192, 194, 198.

7. VS

As the N is used instead of the V in all the IE languages (Brugmann ii. 2. 1, § 123, pp. 132-4), we can expect to find eventually all the spellings listed for the N as well as the inherited VS (i).

(i) -a

The commonest spelling of the VS, < O.Ir. *-*a* (IE *-*e*). Examples: *Badra* Z 2. 91; *balysa* 'Buddha' Z 2. 58; *ŚŚāriputra* Z 6. 3. See also § 3, p. 250.

(ii) *-ā* = § 6 (iv). *Avalokiteśvarā Avdh* 21r3 KT 3. 11.

(iii) *-r* = § 6 (vi). *Badr* Z 2. 101.

(iv) *-e* = § 6 (vii). *ba'yse* 'Buddha' JS 27r4 (119).

8. AS

(i) no ending

Because of the loss of final short vowels in L.Kh., the AS termination sometimes disappeared; cf. § 6 (i). Examples: *dā* 'law' AS P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 23) < *dātu*; *āva* 'desire' P 3513. 76v4 KBT 62 < *āvama-*; *thau* 'cloth' Hed. 15. 1b KT 4. 29 < *thauna-*; *hū* 'sleep' JP 84v5 KT 1. 169 < *hūna-*. The loss of the termination in L.Kh. is found also in some instances of sandhi: *pāysvīrā* 'on the breast' JS 20v4-21r1 (89) beside O.Kh. *pāysu vīri* Z 2. 132.

(ii) -a

See § 6 (ii). This spelling is rare in O.Kh.: *pārṣṣa* 'antidote' Z 24. 213, but common in L.Kh.: *āsa* 'horse' Hed. 8. 3 KT 4. 26; *ādara* 'respect' JS 13v2 (56).

(iii) -i

= NS § 6 (iii). *-i* is also the ending of G-DS, so that one might think of a partitive G, but the *-ā* decl. has AS *-a* (= NS) not *-ye*. The weakening of final short vowels has caused loss of distinction between NS and AS. On the structural pressure of the NAP, see § 3, p. 250. O.Kh.: *arṭhi* 'meaning' Z 23. 11; *ātāśi* 'sky' Z 2. 83; 9. 3; *balysi* 'Buddha' Z 2. 83, 125+; *hori* 'gift' Z 2. 92. L.Kh.: *pūri* 'son' P 3513. 43v3 (Asm. 2).

(iv) -ā

= *-i* (iii). Common in O.Kh.: *kālā* 'time' Z 24. 117; *dātā* 'the law' Z 5. 12; 23. 9; *prahaṇā* 'garment' Z 2. 63; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 2. 123; *rīvā* 'form' Z 3. 14; *satvā* 'being' Z 22. 166; *sthavārā* 'elder', Z 23. 120, and in L.Kh.: *āmuḥā* 'dwelling' JS 15v4 (66); *nasā* 'share' JS 14v2 (60); *hūnā* 'sleep' JP 84v5 KT 1. 169.

(v) -u

This is the expected spelling for the inherited AS < O.Ir. *-*am* (IE *-*om*) cf. Sogd. *-w* (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 131). O.Kh. only: *arṭhu* 'meaning' Z 1. 189; *khāysu* 'food' Z 2. 26; *ggaru* 'mountain' Z 2. 2; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 50+; *bāysu* 'wood' Z 4. 8.

(vi) -r

= NS *-r* § 6 (vi). *mahāsamudr* 'ocean' SS 35r1 KT 5. 336 (= *mahāsamuṇḍrru* N 21. 9 = H 147 NS 109. 41v5 KT 5. 74).

(vii) -e

= NS *-e* § 6 (vii). O.Kh. *praysāte* 'faith' Z 2. 143 (cf. § 6 (v)). L.Kh.: *jīye* 'life' JS 13v1 (55); *samudrre* 'ocean' JS 34r4 (150).

(viii) -o

= *-u* (v). O.Kh. only: *arahaṇdo* 'arhat' Z 24. 497; *kalyāṇamāttro* 'spiritual adviser' Z 23. 9; *pājsamo* 'honour' Z 5. 87; *paramārtho* 'supreme meaning' Z 23. 10; *satvo* 'being' N 22. 4 = H 147 NS 111. 43v1 KT 5. 75.

9. G-DS

(i) no ending

Because of the loss of short final vowels in L.Kh., the G-DS termination was sometimes lost. Cf. § 6 (i); § 8 (i). Examples: *āysam* 'seat' JS 20v4 (89); *dā* 'the Law' P 3513. 57v4 (Asm. 69); JS 19r4 (82); *braṃmaṃ* 'brāhmaṇa' JS 20r3 (86); *vīvā* 'vipāka' P 3513. 73v1 KT 1. 248. Loss of the termination in L.Kh. occurs also in some instances of sandhi: *kṣīr-myāṇa* 'in the midst of the land' JS 5v4 (19).

(ii) -a

-a for *-i* (iii) as in NS § 6 (ii). Rare in O.Kh.: *balysa* 'Buddha' Z 6. 4. In L.Kh. common: *pūra* 'son' Or 8212. 162. 110a KT 2. 7; *bahya* 'tree' JS 29r4 (128); *viyasa* 'lotus' Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36; *Śakra* JS 20v3 (88); *hasta* 'elephant' JS 35v3 (156).

(iii) -i

This spelling is usual in O.Kh.: *ttarandari* 'body' Z 2. 17; *ŚŚādūvani* Z 2. 22, but rare in L.Kh.: *dūsi* 'doṣa' Si 4v5 KT 1. 8.

In 1912, E. Leumann proposed to derive the G-DS *-i* < LS **-ai* (*Zur nordar. Spr.*, p. 48), and this is still phonologically possible. But as this derivation is semantically unsatisfactory, and as a LS in *-i* < O.Ir. **-ai* is found in Kh., P. Tedesco's derivation from O.Ir. GS **-ahya* has been accepted since 1926 (*ZII*, iv. 130). It has been accepted also for Sogd. *-y* (I. G., *GMS*, § 1177, p. 178).

It seems to me, however, difficult phonologically to assume **-ahya* > *-i*, and this explanation seems to leave out of account the G-DSmf ending *-ye* for *a*-stem adjectives. This may be due to generalization of original **-āyāh*, but it must have absorbed **-ahya* to have become the masc. ending. In view of other evidence for the influence of the consonant stems on the thematic decl., it seems simplest to assume that *-i* is also due to the cons. stems, where both original GS **-ah* and DS **-ai* would regularly have resulted in *-i*. The O.Ir. them. DSM **-āi* would probably, by itself, have resulted in *-ī*, one stage behind the development of **-ai*. But under the influence of the cons. stems, the combined result would be *-i*. It is possible that the secondary declensions show a trace of an earlier G-DS *-ī*. Thus, in the *ua*-decl. the NS is *-ū* < **-uki*, the G-DS *-uī* < **-ukī* and in the *au*-decl. the NS is *-au* < **-āvi*, the G-DS *-uai* < **-āvī*.

(iv) *-ā*

= *-i* (iii), cf. § 6 (iv). This spelling is common both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *kṣaṇā* 'moment' Z 1. 187; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 1. 34; *hūnā* 'dream' Z 3. 13. L.Kh.: *bādā* 'time' JS 3v1 (9); *brrahā* 'back' JS 18r1 (76).

(v) *-u*

The use of *-u* for the G-DS is due to the development of *-i* and *-u* to [ə] and the confusion of NS *-i* and AS *-u*. See §§ 6 (v); 8 (iii). It is found occasionally in O.Kh. only: *kṣaṇu* 'moment' Z 2. 116; 23. 367; *dātu* 'the Law' Z 22. 91; *balysu* 'Buddha' Z 2. 107; *marāṇu* 'death' Z 24. 222.

(vi) *-r*

-r = *-ri*, the same therefore as *-i* (iii). See § 6 (vi). Examples: *Badr* Z 2. 102; *ŚŚakr Avdh* 15r3 KT 3. 7.

(vii) *-e*

-e is a spelling variant of *-i* (iii), *-ā* (iv). See §§ 6 (vii); 8 (iii), (iv), (vii). Some instances are due to dissimilation of *-ātā* to *-āte*.

Rare in O.Kh.: *jvāte* 'life' Z 4. 43; 6. 48; *śśāyaysane* 'the Śākya race' Z 24. 188. Common in L.Kh.: *āvāse* 'sky' JS 33v3 (147); *jīye* 'life' JS 20v1 (87); *bemhye* 'tree' JS 29v1 (129); *hye* 'welfare' P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *Avdh* 11v1 KT 3. 5.

(viii) *-ye*

L.Kh. only, rare. This spelling is found in words with the suffix *-āka*, which are virtually adjectives. *-ye* is in fact the G-DSm termination of the *a*-decl. of adjectives. This spread has no doubt been influenced by the use of *-ye* beside *-ā* in the *nd*-decl., originally pres. participles. Examples: *dijśākye* 'holder' JS 22v1 (96); *piroṛākye* 'remover' JS 7r4 (26).

10. *I-AS*(i) *-a*

In Avestan, IS *-ā* < IE **-ō/-ē* is found beside AblS *-ā̄* < IE **-ōd/-ēd*. Both these endings might be expected to result in Kh. *-a*. In fact, the only trace of *-a* is in adverbs. Thus, we find *uska* 'above' beside *uskāna* in O.Kh. (Z), which reminds one of Av. *uskā̄t* beside *usca*.

paramārtha 'supreme meaning' in Z 9. 14 corresponds with *paramārthana* in a L.Kh. version of the same verse (P 4099. 390 KBT 133), but it is probably LS, as Kh., like Avestan, uses both L and I of respect. See now R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 33, § V. 3.

(ii) *-ana*

L.Kh. spelling for *-ina* (iv), *-āna* (v). Examples: *virśa'na* 'heroism' JS 7v4 (29); *khīṣṭana* 'drink' Ch c. 001. 871 KBT 136; *dastana* 'hand' S 2471. 183 KBT 97; *bijāšana* 'sound' S 2471. 129 KBT 95; *horana* 'gift' JS 32v4 (143).

In O.Kh., *-ana* is found only in *nitcana* adv. 'outside' and possibly *duraṇa* 'afar' Z 5. 37. *nitcana* and *nātcana* both occur six times in E. *nitcāna* has been noticed only in L.Kh.: P 3513. 14r4 KBT 54. *nitcana* may, however, be < **nisčanāt*.

(iii) *-ani*

L.Kh. only, = *-ana* (ii). *gīha'ni* 'help' Kha 1. 221. 31 KT 3. 130.

(iv) *-ina*

-ina is found both in O.Kh.: *arthina* 'meaning' Z 6. 18; *ggūnina* 'colour' Z 3. 48; *virśina* 'heroism' Z 16. 46; and in L.Kh.: *cakrīna* 'wheel' P 3513. 51v4 (Asm. 40). In the vicinity of *r* or *s*, it is sometimes spelled *-iṇa* due to Sanskritization: *ggūttrīna* 'gotra' Z 13. 30; *ttamṛṇa* 'weariness' Z 4. 72 (*r* = *ri*); *sūtrīna* 'sūtra' Z 6. 1.

In 1912, E. Leumann suggested that the ending *-ina* was associated with the *n*-decl. (*Zur nordar. Spr.*, pp. 5-6). In 1926, P. Tedesco compared O.Ind. ISm *-ena* with Kh. *-ina* and derived both from an I. I. **-aina* and likewise the New Iranian forms in *-an* (*ZII*, iv. 131). In *Saka Studies*, 1932, 41, S. Konow proposed to see in *-ina* the GS

followed by a particle **na*, which he compared with Av. *anā*. In 1963, C. Hauri, in a thesis on the ending *-ena* of O.Ind., adopted Meillet's view of 1896 that the I. I. ISm ending was **-anā*, the *-e-* of *-ena* being due to *-ebhiḥ* (*Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs -ENA des Instr. Sing. der A-Stämme des Altindischen*, pp. 10-11). According to Hauri, Kh. *-ina* is derived from I. I. **-anā*, *-i-* being due to *-yau* of the IP (op. cit., p. 38).

From O.Ir. **-aina*, Kh. **-ina* would be expected. In a trisyllabic word, this **-i-* could be shortened, cf. *āyāna*- Z 'mirror' < **ā-daina*- etc. *ttina* would then be from **ttina* by analogy with words of more than two syllables in the IS. Thus, Hauri's objection to Tedesco's proposal cannot stand (op. cit., p. 37). The oblique sing. *-en*, *-an* in Yidgha-Munjī is more likely to be derived from **-ana* (IIFL, ii. 123), as is the oblique sing. in Waxī, where **-ai-* > *-i-* (IIFL, ii. 481). But the treatment of vowels in the Pamir languages is not fully understood (see IIFL, ii. 88, 476). The derivation from O.Ir. **-aina* cannot be excluded. However, the existence of an IS ending **-anā* seems certain from ÖP *tyanā*, Av. *kana* etc., and this renders an ending **-aina* undesirable, especially as **-anā* seems old.

In proposing to derive Kh. *-ina* from the GS followed by the postposition **na*, S. Konow seems to have been influenced by two factors: the use of group-inflection in Kh. (*Saka Studies*, p. 41) and the variation between *-na* and *jsa* (GGA, 1912, 561).

Av. *anā* occurs three times only—with the accusative (AIW, s.v.). In OP, *anā* is found twice, but not as a preposition (Kent s.v.). Moreover, *-na* is not used in Kh. with personal pronouns nor in the plural nor, except in L.Kh., with the fem. All these factors weigh heavily against the assumption of a postposition **na* with the GS. The derivation of *jsa* from **hačā*, by contrast, does not provide the same difficulty. In Av. and OP¹ *hačā* frequently governs the Abl, a case which in Kh. coalesced with the I.

The use of group-inflection in the ISm is no doubt due to analogy with the ISf (so Hauri, op. cit., p. 36) and so also is the treatment of *-na* as a postposition. Variation between *-na* and *jsa* (e.g. *daina* 'fire' Z 11. 55; JS 6r3 (21) but *dai jsa Si* 128r5 KT 1. 60) is found only in L.Kh., where the terminations of the *a-* and *ā-*declensions have been largely confused with the result that the distinction of gender has begun to disappear.

In referring to the *n*-decl., E. Leumann long ago pointed the way to a solution. In O.Ind., the *a*-decl. has a NAPn in *-āni* and a GPmfn in *-ānām* due to the influence of the *n*-stems. In Av. also the *n*-stems influenced the *a*-decl. (Barth., GIP, i, § 229. 2, p. 133). In Kh., the

¹ See now W. P. Schmid, 'Zur Konstruktion von altpers. hačā', IF, 69, 3, 1964, 213-17.

n-decl. is in process of fusing with the *a*-decl. Thus, *pāta*'- 'strength' has both *pāta*' Z 13. 141 and *pāta'ni* Z 3. 26 as NAP in O.Kh. In the NS both *-ā* (from the *a*-decl.) and *-a* (from the *n*-decl.) are found: *tcei'mā* 'eye' Z 6. 5; *nāma* 'name' Z 2. 3.

In Kh., from the time of the earliest texts, *-a-* in a word of more than two syllables in medial position is subject to weakening. In L.Kh., it is frequently lost altogether. Thus, in O.Kh. we find *hvatana*- 'Khotanese' Z 23. 4 beside *hvatāna*- Z 5. 114 (see p. 1); *uysnata*- 'high' Z 17. 2 beside *uysnāta*- Z 22. 145; *bvemate* 'knowledge' Z 3. 140 beside *bvemāte* Z 2. 4; *ratana*- 'gem' Z 4. 13 beside *ratāna*- Z 22. 142.

Kh. *tcei'māna* 'eye' Z 6. 17+ thus derives regularly < O.Ir. **čašmanā* (cf. Av. *čašman*- n.). Thence *-āna* spread to the *a*-decl.:

tcei'mā:*tcei'māna* = *balysā*:*balysāna*.

From this we see why Av. and OP have *-anā* but Kh. only *-ina*: Av. and OP did not have the extensive trisyllabic weakening of Kh.

(v) *-āna*

= *-ina* (iv). Common in O.Kh.: *kiḍgānāna* 'evil deed' E 1. 7. 19v3 KT 5. 388; *padamāna* 'wind' Z 20. 3, and in L.Kh.: *parāhāna* 'sūla' P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17); *puñāna* 'merit' ibid. 57v4 (69); *ysamthāna* 'birth' JS 2111 (90). In the vicinity of *r* or *ṣ*, it is sometimes spelled *-āna* due to Sanskritization. Examples: *vaiṣāna* 'garb' Z 2. 11; *ārrāna* 'fault' Suv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112.

(vi) *-āni*

L.Kh. only, = *-āna* (v). *gūtteriāni* 'gotra' Ch 1. 0021b. b2 KBT 151.

(vii) *-ine*

L.Kh. only, = *-ina* (iv). *tcephine* 'tumult' JS 34v1 (150).

(viii) *-ena*

= *-āna* (v). In O.Kh., *-ena* is frequent with *dāta*- 'appearance' Z 2. 4+ and *jīvyena* 'life' is found in H 144 NS 55. 44v5 KT 5. 76. It is due to dissimilation of *-ātā-* to *-āte-* (> *-ye-*); see § 6 (vii). In L.Kh., *-ena* is common in all circumstances: *jīyena* 'life' JS 12v1 (50); *paceḍena* 'course' JS 35r4 (154); *virse'na* 'heroism' JS 30r3 (132); *hastavālena* 'elephant-keeper' JS 4r2-3 (12).

(ix) *-aina*

L.Kh. only, = *-ena* (viii). *jīvaina* 'life' JS 18r2-3 (77).

(x) *-na*

As a result of trisyllabic weakening of words in *-ina* (iv), *-na* is found commonly both in O.Kh.: *Kaṃsadāysna* Z 5. 2; *kṣīrna* 'land' Suv. K. 32r5 KT 5. 110; *padamna* 'wind' Z 2. 43; *marāna* 'death' Z 6. 30;

ṣṣamanna 'monk' Z 2. 19; and in L.Kh.: *kīrna* 'deed' JS 11VI-2 (45); *garna* 'mountain' JS 5VI (18); 17V3 (75); *bāḍna* 'time' JS 19V2 (83); *dāna* 'the Law' P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17). In the vicinity of *n*, it is sometimes spelled *-ṇa*: *grahaṇṇa* 'grasping' Z 7. 14.

(xi) *-nā*

L.Kh. only, = *-na* (x). *gīhnā* 'help' MT c. 0020. 3 KT 5. 222.

(xii) *-ni*

L.Kh. only, = *-na* (x). *gīhni* 'help' Ch 1. 0021b. b25 KBT 153.

(xiii) *jsa*

On the use of *jsa* in L.Kh., see also *-ina* (iv). In L.Kh., *jsa* and *-na* preceded by an indeterminate vowel were used interchangeably. Thus, with O.Kh. masculines, we find in L.Kh.: *gūṭera jsa* 'gotra' Ch 1. 0021a. a1-2 KT 2. 53 beside *gūṭterāni* Ch 1. 0021b. b2 KBT 151 (quoted H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 4, 1942, 898); *aṃgā jsa* 'limb' Si 7v3 KT 1. 10 beside *aṃgna* JS 6v4 (24); *dasta jsa* 'hand' P 2781. 128 (60) KT 3. 71 beside O.Kh. *dastāna* Z 11. 20; *dā jsa* 'the Law' Ch 1. 0021a. a8 KT 2. 53 beside *dāna* P 3513. 47r1 (Asm. 17); *bāḍā jsa* 'time' P 3510 d v1 KT 3. 110 beside O.Kh. *bāḍāna* Z 5. 101; *satsāra jsa* 'saṃsāra' Ch ii. 004. 2r2 KBT 144 beside O.Kh. *saṃtsāra* Z 19. 91. Similarly, with O.Kh. feminines, we find: *parṣi' jsa* 'assembly' P 3513. 49v4 KT 1. 225 (Asm. 31) beside *parṣa'na* P 2893. 16 KT 3. 83.

In L.Kh., *-na* and *jsa* are even found rarely together (H. W. B.). Thus, *ṇena jsā* P 2893. 237 KT 3. 92 beside *ṇye jsa* Si 9r3 KT 1. 14+ 'curds', cf. Yidgha *ṇīya* (H. W. B., *BSO(A)S*, viii. 1, 1935, 131; xxi. 1, 1958, 43); *saṃdvainā jsa* Si 125v5 KT 1. 56+ beside O.Kh. *sandāvātāna* Z 4. 73 < *sandāvāta-*, cf. BHS *saṃnīpāta-*.

11. *LS*(i) *-a*

This spelling is common both in O.Kh.: *kṣīra* 'land' Z 23. 121; *Suv.* K. 65v2 KT 5. 116; *kṣetra* 'field' Z 3. 111; *grvīca* 'particle' Z 3. 111; *ṣambvīya* Z 23. 146; and in L.Kh.: *kṣīra* 'land' JS 2v1 (5); *āśa* 'sky' JS 19v1 (83); *samudrra* 'ocean' JS 16r3 (68).

O.Ir. **-ayā* (Av. *-ayā*) resulted in Kh. *-ⁱa* (ii). In many instances, the effect of palatalization was no longer apparent, e.g. when the stem vowel was itself a palatal (*kṣīra-* etc.). Hence, *-a* was felt to be an ending of the LS. It is particularly common in loanwords.

(ii) *-ⁱa*

< O.Ir. **-ayā*, cf. Av. *-ayā* (IE **-e₂-ā*). The effects of palatalization are as follows:

1. *a* > *i* before *ḍ* *st* *mth* *m r*

pacīda N 75. 35; *Si* 9v4 KT 1. 14 < *pacāda-* 'course'; *dīṣṭa* Z 2. 86+ < *dasta-* 'hand'; *ysimtha* Avdh 5r3 KT 3. 1 < *ysamtha-* 'birth'; *pajsīma* Avdh 18r4 KT 3. 9 < *pajsama-* 'honour'; *gīra* Hed. 9. 2 KT 4. 27 < *gara-* 'mountain'.

2. *ā* > *e* before *ḍ* *t* *m* *rm* *r h*

beḍa P 3513. 61r1 KT 1. 242 < *bāḍa-* 'time'; *lovadeva* ApS 1b4 KT 5. 244 < *lovadāta* 'lokadhātu'; *vema* Z 20. 65 < *vāma-* 'sea'; *saṃkherma* Z 23. 32 < *saṃkhārama-* 'saṅghārāma'; *saṃtsera* Z 6. 48 < *saṃtsāra-* 'saṃsāra'; *jsahera* Z 20. 41 < *jsahāra-* 'belly'; *alava-kamṭtera* Avdh 7r3 KT 3. 2 < *alava-kamṭtāra-* 'forest'; *ggālserai* Z 22. 149 < *ggālsāra-* 'neck'; *erra* Z 24. 511 < *ārra-* 'arm'; *eha* Z 20. 41 < *āha-* 'mouth'; *pneha* JS 24v1 (106) < *panāha-* 'beak'.

3. *ū* > (*u*)*i* before *r s*

ūra *Suv.* K. 63r4 KT 5. 114 < *ūra-* 'womb'; *kīśsa* Z 2. 16 < *kūsa-* 'vessel'.

4. *h* > *c*

byūca Z 24. 189 < *byūka-* 'chamber'.

5. *ṃgg* > *ṃgy*

bālsamṃgya Z 22. 103 < *bālsamṃga-*; *bhikṣusamṃgya* Z 22. 228 < *bhikṣusamṃga-*.

6. *rgg* > *rj*

khārja Z 5. 90 < *khārgga-* 'mud'; *hamṃgarja* Z 21. 19 < *hamṃgarga-* 'assembly'.

7. *mts* > *ṃch*

ggamṃcha Z 2. 29; 20. 63 < *ggamṃtsa-* 'hole'.

8. *n* > *ñ*

ātīña Z 15. 123 < *ātīna-* 'mirror'; *uryāña* Or 9609. 53v3 KT 1. 237 < *uryāna-* 'garden'; *kālṣāña* Z 13. 112 < *kālṣana-* 'garden'; *thāña* Kha 1. 13. 146v4 KBT 7 < *thāna-* 'place'; *nirvāña* Hed. 23. 25 KT 4. 36 < *nirvāna-*; *bārmaña* Avdh 13v2 KT 3. 6 < *bārmana-* 'prison'; *mahāyāña* Z 1. 49+ < *mahāyāna-*; *vāña* Z 24. 240 < *vāna-* 'temple'; *śśāsīña* Z 23. 173 < *śśāsana-* 'śāsana'; *bahoysña* Z 22. 136 < *bahoysana-* 'market'; *śrāvākayāña* Z 13. 133, 140 < *śrāvākayāna-*; *hūña* Z 6. 52 < *hūna-* 'dream'.

9. *s* > *śś*

kīśsa Z 2. 16 < *kūsa-* 'vessel'; *rahāśsa* SS 7v1 KT 5. 329 < *rahāsa-* 'secret'.

10. *st* > *śt*

dīṣṭa Z 2. 86+ < *dasta-* 'hand'.

11. *ys* > *ś*

kuvāśa Z 24. 189 < *kuvā'ysa*- 'side'; *khāśa* Z 2. 26 < *khāysa*- 'food'; *bāśa* Z 20. 9 < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *hamkhīśa* *Avdh* 18r4 *KT* 3. 9 < *hamkhīysa*- 'reckoning'.

12. (*ū*)*h* > (*ū*)*hy*

nūhya Z 23. 172 < *nūha*- 'point'.

(iii) *-āña*

The LS *-āña* spread from the *n*-decl. before the weakening to *-ña* (xvi). *-āña* is rare in O.Kh.: *ysraña* Z 19. 70; 24. 255, 494 < *ysāra*- 'heart'. Frequent in L.Kh.: *khājaña* 'mud' *JS* 23v2 (102); *padānaña* *JP* 53v5 *KT* 1. 145 < *padāna*- 'vessel'; *pāysaña* Hed. 17. 9 *KT* 4. 31 < *pāysa*- 'breast'; *bāysaña* *JS* 15r3-4 (63) < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *vīysaña* P 3513. 57r1 (Asm. 65) < *vīysa*- 'lotus'; *hamtharkaña* *Avdh* 11v5 *KT* 3. 5 < *hamtharka*- 'oppression'.

Note that L.Kh. *khājaña* for expected **khāgaña* is due to LS *khārja* (ii) 6.

(iv) *-āñā*

L.Kh. only, = *-āña* (iii), cf. I-AS *-āni* for *-āna*. *śaśvāñāñā* 'grain of mustard' P 2026. 99 *KT* 3. 52.

(v) *-añe*

L.Kh. only, = *-āña* (iii), cf. I-AS *-ine* for *-ina* § 10 (vii). *hā'jañe* 'dust' *JS* 14r3 (59).

(vi) *-ā*

-ā < O.Ir. **-ai*, cf. Av. *-aē* (< IE **-ei*) (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 131). Common both in O.Kh.: *avāyā* 'hell' Z 20. 63; *kūṣḍā* 'palace' Z 23. 51; *nārvānā* Z 19. 91; *ysāmānā* 'winter' Z 17. 4; and in L.Kh.: *maṇḍalā* 'circle' P 3513. 57v1 (Asm. 65); *samudrā* 'ocean' *JS* 21r3 (91).

(vii) *-i*

Rare, = *-ā* (vi). O.Kh.: *arañi* 'forest' Z 6. 18.

(viii) *-iā*

L.Kh. spelling for *-iā* (ii) influenced by *-ā* (vi). *beḍā* S 2471. 92 *KBT* 94 < *bāda*- 'time'.

(ix) *-i*

L.Kh. only, = *-iā* (vii). *bāśi* *JS* 15v1 (64) < *bāysa*- 'wood'.

(x) *-u*

Common in O.Kh.: *gūttāru* 'gotra' Z 13. 32; *ysāmānu* 'winter' Z 22. 155; *śrāvākayānu* Z 13. 58; *samudru* 'ocean' Z 5. 82; *sūtru* Z 4. 44;

24. 446, 493; *hamānu* 'summer' Z 22. 155. Not yet found in L.Kh., where *-u* is rare.

On account of its frequency in the oldest Kh., *-u* is unlikely to be a simple spelling variant of *-ā* (vi) or of *-o* (xiii). As the A and L were both used to express 'point of time' in Kh. (see R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26, 33), it is probable that we have here AS *-u* standing beside LS *-ā* (vi) as beside AS *-ā* (§ 8 (iv) (v)). This may have been helped by Kh. **-u* < O.Ir. LS **-āu* in the *i*- and *u*-decl. (Barth., *GIP*, p. 125), because in Kh. these were largely transferred to the *a*-decl. (§ 4).

(xi) *-e*

L.Kh. only, = *-ā* (vi). *ttūrre* 'mouth' *JS* 5r4 (17); *samumdrre* 'ocean' *JS* 33r3 (145).

(xii) *-ie*

= *iā* (viii), cf. § 34 (vii), p. 283. One example only has been noticed in O.Kh.: *nirvānye* Z 6. 58. Common in L.Kh.: *beḍe* S 2471. 133 *KBT* 95 < *bāda*- 'time'; *gīre* *JS* 32v4 (143) < *gara*- 'mountain'; *bāse* *JS* 32r1 (139) < *bāysa*- 'wood'; *brahye-t-i* *JS* 12v2 (51) < *braha*- 'back'.

(xiii) *-o*

Probably = *-u* (x), cf. AS *-o* (§ 8 (viii)). Common in O.Kh., especially in loanwords, so that it may be for *-iō* (xiv), cf. (i). Examples: *kṣīro* 'land' *Suv.* K. 33r3 *KT* 5. 111; *gūttāro* 'gotra' Z 2. 6; 24. 121; *andviro* 'harem' Z 24. 243; *śrāvākayāno* Z 13. 41; *samudro* 'ocean' Z 6. 47; *sūttro* Z 4. 40+.

(xiv) *-iō*

One example only, O.Kh., has been noticed: *śrāvākayāño* Z 13. 40. I had thought of a contamination of LS *śrāvākayāña* Z 13. 133, 140 (ii) and *śrāvākayāno* Z 13. 41 (xiii); but recalling the O.Kh. prep., adv. *myāño* 'in the middle' (Z), evidently LS < **myāna*- (LSf P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 132), it seems better to accept a spread of the LSf. There is, of course, no distinction of gender in the LP. Cf. adj. LSm *-iū* § 34 (vi), p. 283.

(xv) *-o'*

One example only has been noticed: O.Kh., *janavato* 'district' Kha 1. 13. 143v4 *KBT* 5. This is like *āvuto* 'village' Z 13. 82; 22. 115; *āvuvo* Z 6. 24 for *āvuto* Kha 1. 13. 134v1 *KBT* 1 and *āvuvo* Z 13. 90. This is thus a pseudo-archaic spelling due to forms like *gguvo* 'ear' Z 8. 35 LS < **gauša*- and resemblance with such LP forms as *lovadhātu* 'lokadhātu' H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 *KT* 5. 81.

(xvi) *-ña*

-ña < *-āña* (§ 247 (i)) as I-AS *-na* (§ 10 (x)) < *-āna* (§ 10 (v)). O.Kh.:

orñā Z 23. 158 < *ora-* 'sky'. L.Kh.: *vīysñā* Ch 1. 0021a. a2 *KT* 2. 53 < *vīysa-* 'lotus'.

(xvii) *-ñā*

L.Kh. only, = *-ñā* (xvi). *vīysñā* Ch 1. 0021a. a2 *KT* 2. 53 < *vīysa-* 'lotus'.

12. *NAP*(i) *-a*

Common both in O.Kh.: *aḥsara* 'syllable' Z 20. 58; *aysura* 'asura' Z 1. 33+; *uysnora* 'being' Z 1. 32+; *pūra* 'son' Z 20. 23; *birgga* 'wolf' Z 2. 46; *murka* 'bird' Z 20. 4; and in L.Kh.: *āmāca* 'minister' *ḥS* 3r3 (8); *āyauysa* 'disturbance' *ḥS* 13r4 (54); *āvama* 'desire' P 3513. 47v2 (Asm. 20); *ysatha* 'birth' P 3513. 76v4 *KB*T 62.

-a cannot be derived from O.Ir. **-āh* (so P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 127, 131), as the NPf *-e* must be < **-āh*, and certainly *pande* 'path' corresponds with Av. *panthā*, O.Ind. *panthāh* (P. Tedesco, *ZII*, iv, 1926, 128). The usual NPM in Avestan is *-a* < O.Ir. **-ā*, the sandhi-form of **-āh* (Reichelt, § 339, pp. 175-6). Like the NSf *-a*, the Kh. *NAP -a* derives < O.Ir. **-ā* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 42).

(ii) *-añā*

From *NAP* of the *n*-decl. (nt.), cf. *tcei'mañā* 'eye' Z 20. 37. For the transfer, cf. the Av. 'metaplastic forms', *a*-stem neuters following the *n*-decl. according to Barth., *GIP*, 1, § 412. 3, p. 233. O.Kh.: *jsārañā* 'corn' Or 9609. 56r6 *KT* 1. 240; *bāysañā* 'wood' *ibid.* 56r5, 6; *buṣṣañā* 'perfume' *ibid.* 54v4 *KT* 1. 238. L.Kh.: *buṣṣañā* P 3513. 45r2, 3 (Asm. 9, 10).

(iii) *-añi*

= *-añā* (ii). *bāysañi* 'wood' Z 16. 22; *buṣṣañi* 'perfume' Z 5. 97; 8. 36; *ḥsīrañi* 'land' H 142 NS 88+89. 8r4 *KT* 5. 80; *ysuyañi* 'sweetmeat' Z 3. 59; 8. 36.

(iv) *-ā*

Common in O.Kh.: *bajāṣṣā* 'sound' Z 6. 36; *banhyā* 'tree' Z 3. 45; *balysā* 'Buddha' Z 3. 100; *horā* 'gift' Z 2. 49; 11. 18; occasionally in L.Kh.: *ba'ysā* 'Buddha' P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31).

According to S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934; 31-32, this ending is due to the shortening of *NAP -e* (vii). It may also have been due to the influence of *NAP -ā* < **-ah* in the consonant stems.

(v) *-i*

= *-ā* (iv). Rare in O.Kh.: *adhiṣṭhāmi* 'miracle' Z 23. 149; occasionally found in L.Kh.: *dasti* 'hand' *ḥS* 27r2 (118); *pūñi* 'merit' P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

(vi) *-u*

One example only has been noticed, O.Kh.: *nāggū* 'nāga' Z 23. 159. But cf. *bhūmu* *SS* 84v1 *KT* 5. 342 for *bhūmā* Z 13. 17 *NAP i*-decl.; G-DSm *-u* § 9 (v). Hence, for *-ā* (iv).

(vii) *-e*

Like the NPf *-e*, this *-e* is < O.Ir. **-āh*. Kh. thus continues both O.Ir. **-āh* and its sandhi-form **-ā* (i) for *NAPm* (v. S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 31-32).

Common in O.Kh.: *ḥīre* 'act' Z 23. 47; *ggare* 'mountain' Z 20. 4; *ggūne* 'hair' Z 24. 250; *date* 'wild beast' Z 2. 24; *śśaysde* 'snake' Z 2. 45. Occasionally found in L.Kh.: *āyauyse* 'disturbance' *ḥS* 36r1 (157).

(viii) *-ta*

As *-ti*, *-tā* were lost earlier than *-ta*, a contrast began to be felt in L.Kh. between NS without ending and *NAP* in *-ta* e.g. *nā* NS 'nāga' *ḥS* 8v3 (33); 13r1 (53), and *nātā* *ḥS* 17r1, 4 (71, 73) *NAP*. The addition of *-ta* enabled L.Kh. to distinguish between sg. and pl. in the *au*-decl., where there was no distinction in O.Kh.

(ix) *-ye*

L.Kh. spelling variant of *-e* (vii). *ḥaskye* 'tusk' *ḥS* 5r2 (16); 9v2 (36).

13. *VP*(i) *-yau*

The *VP* is rare but of considerable interest (see § 3, p. 250). In form, it is the same as the *I-AP* and it is in fact a special use of that case. O.Kh.: *āmācyau* 'minister' Kha 1. 135a2. v4 *KT* 5. 381; *nyandyyau* 'ascetic' *SS* 20r1 *KT* 5. 330; *balysyau* 'Buddha' *SS* 25r5 *KT* 5. 332; 25v1 *KT* 5. 333; *balysy*<*au*> *SS* 32r2 *KT* 5. 334; *pūryo* 'son' Z 22. 111. L.Kh.: *ṣamanyau* 'monk' P 2783. 248 (87) *KT* 3. 76; *ṣṣamanyau* Ch c. 001. 204 *KB*T 76.

14. *G-DP*(i) *-añā*

L.Kh. only, < *-añām* (ii). *ysvañā* *Vajr.* 20a4 *KT* 3. 24 tr. *rasānām*.

(ii) *-añām*

L.Kh. only, from the *n*-decl. (nt.), e.g. *tcema'nām* 'eye' *ḥS* 25v2 (111). *buṣṣañām* *Vajr.* 20a4 *KT* 3. 24; 26b3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *gandhānām*; *ysvañām* *Vajr.* 26b3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *rasānām*.

(iii) *-añāna*

L.Kh. only, cf. (ii). *buṣṣañāna* 'perfume' *Vajr.* 11a3 *KT* 3. 22.

(iv) -*qñāni*

L.Kh. only, cf. (ii). *yvaqñāni* 'taste' *Vajr.* 11a3 *KT* 3. 22.

(v) -*añānu*

O.Kh. only, from the *n*-decl. (nt.), e.g. *tceimañinu* 'eye' *Z* 19. 93. Examples: *kṣīrañānu* 'land' *Sw.* K. 31v4 *KT* 5. 109 tr. *rāṣṭrāñām*; *jsārañānu* 'corn' *Sw.* K. 65r2-3 *KT* 5. 116; *ibid.* 65r6.

(vi) -*ā*

The usua JG-DP in O.Kh. -*ānu* (xi) had weakened already in O.Kh. to -*āna* (viii), -*āni* (ix), -*ānā* (x). As a result of the loss of short final vowels in L.Kh., these became -*ām* (vii), which was further reduced to -*ā*.

L.Kh. only: *aṃgā* 'limb' *JS* 7r3 (26); *puñā* 'merit' *JS* 39r1 (169); *ba'ysā* 'Buddha' P 3513. 84r4 *KBT* 66; *hastā* 'elephant' *JS* 5r3 (16).

(vii) -*ām*

< -*ānu*, v. (vi). L.Kh. only: *karmām* P 3513. 52v1 (Asm. 43); *kīrām* 'act' *JS* 13v3 (56); *garām* 'mountain' *JS* 7v4 (29); *dharmām* *Vajr.* 20a4 *KT* 3. 24; 26b3 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *dharmāñām*; *baudhisatvām* *Avdh* 6r3 *KT* 3. 1; *ysanām* 'race' *Avdh* 6r5 *KT* 3. 1; *viṣyām* 'lotus' *JS* 10r1 (39).

(viii) -*āna*

See (vi). One example only has been noticed in O.Kh.: *bāstāna* 'pierced' *Z* 24. 421. L.Kh.: *karmāna* P 3513. 84r4 *KBT* 66; *jāstāna* 'deva' P 3513. 42r3 *KBT* 61; *purāna* 'son' *JS* 37r3 (162); *ba'ysāna* 'Buddha' P 3513. 51r1 (Asm. 36); P 3513. 77v4 *KBT* 62; *raṣi'yānā* 'sage' *JS* 17r2-3 (72).

(ix) -*āni*

See (vi). Rare in O.Kh.: *karañāni* 'deed' *Z* 2. 82; *mudāni* 'corpse' *Z* 2. 53 (perhaps < *mudaa-*); *hvatanāni* 'Khotanese' *Z* 23. 6. Frequent in old L.Kh.: *kuśala-mūlāni* 'merit-root' *Avdh* 14r1 *KT* 3. 7; *puñāni* 'merit' *ibid.*; *balysāni* 'Buddha' *Avdh* 17v1 *KT* 3. 9; *satvāni* 'being' *Avdh* 14v1 *KT* 3. 7. Rare otherwise in L.Kh.: *parrīyastāni* 'delivered' *JS* 19r1 (80).

(x) -*ānā*

See (vi). L.Kh.: *dharmānā* *Vajr.* 11a3-4 *KT* 3. 22; *balysānā* 'Buddha' *Avdh* 10r5 *KT* 3. 4; *ba'ysānā* Ch c. 001. 221 *KBT* 77; *bādānā* *Vajr.* 26a1-2 *KT* 3. 25 tr. *kālānām*; *baudhisatvānā* *Avdh* 16v4 *KT* 3. 8.

(xi) -*ānu*

< O.Ir. *-*ānām* one would expect *-*āno*, cf. ASf -*o* < *-*ām*. But *-*āno* is not attested even as a spelling variant. *-*ānām* was probably shortened to *-*ānam* as a result of the heavy stress on the penult in Kh.

Common in O.Kh.: *dharmānu* *Z* 6. 33; *balysānu* 'Buddha' *Z* 1. 32+; *satvānu* 'being' *Z* 1. 37+. In the vicinity of *r*, it is sometimes spelled -*ānu* in O.Kh. through Sanskritization: *aysurānu* 'asura' *Sw.* K. 29v2 *KT* 5. 107; *uysnorānu* 'being' *Z* 6. 19; *pūrānu* 'son' *Z* 20. 24; *sūtrānu* 'sūtra' Or 9609. 312 *KT* 1. 232. Rare in L.Kh.: *gyastānu* 'deva' Ch c. 001. 219-20 *KBT* 77; *ba'ysānu* *Vajr.* 21a3 *KT* 3. 24 tr. *bhagavatām*.

(xii) -*ānu*

-*ānu* has been found in O.Kh. only. Examples: *dātānu* 'dhātu' *Z* 6. 48; *bramanānu* 'brāhmaṇa' *Z* 1. 35; *raṣṣaysānu* 'raṣṣasa' *Z* 24. 118; *vetānu* 'veda' *Z* 22. 205; *skandhānu* 'skandha' *Z* 6. 48.

As -*ā-* in the G-DP continues into the latest L.Kh. and as there seem to be no spellings in *-*ānu*, it seems unlikely that this is a shortening of -*ānu* (xi). One would expect -*ānu* to derive from an O.Ir. *-*ānām*. In fact, Avestan normally has GP -*anəm*, due to the influence of the *n*-stems (Barth., *GIP*, § 233, pp. 135-6). -*anəm* in Av. is held to represent a genuine linguistic development by H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.*, p. 182. See also § 57 (iv), p. 293.

(xiii) -*au*

= -*ām* (vii). *ā/ām/au* interchange in L.Kh., indicating a pronunciation [o:]. L.Kh. only: *dūkhau* 'woe' P 3513. 84v1 *KBT* 66; *nātau* 'nāga' *JS* 8v3 (32); *pūñau* 'merit' P 3513. 46v2 (Asm. 16).

(xiv) -*auna*

= -*āna* (viii), see (xiii). L.Kh. only: *nāvauna* 'nāga' P 2787. 42, 43 *KT* 2. 103.

(xv) -*yām*

The development of -*ānu* to -*ām* (vii) in the L.Kh. G-DP and of I-AP -*yau* to -*yām* (§ 15 (iii)) (interchanging with -*au* in G-DP (xiii)) meant complete coalescence of G-DP and I-AP in L.Kh. after a palatal, e.g. *pūñau* 'merit' G-DP in P 3513. 46v2 (Asm. 16) but I-AP in *JS* 10v1 (41).

L.Kh. only: *karmyām* P 3513. 48v1 (Asm. 25); *prrañihānyām* 'vow' P 3513. 57v2 (Asm. 68); *beysyām* 'Buddha' P 3513. 79v2 *KBT* 63.

(xvi) -*yau*

See (xv). L.Kh. only: *aṃgyau bidi* 'on limbs' P 3513. 10. 2 *KBT* 53 = *agām baidā* P 3513. 77r4 *KBT* 62.

15. I-AP

The I-AP termination is often followed by *jsa* (< **hačā*, cf. Av. *hačā*), but it need not be.

(i) *-añ(y)au*

From the *n*-decl. (nt.), cf. *tcei'mañyau* 'eye' Or 9609. 36r4 *KT* 1. 236. O.Kh.: *pa'ñyau* 'strength' Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 *KT* 5. 77; *buśañyau* 'perfume' Kha 1. 217. 1b2 *KT* 5. 165; Or 9609. 53v7 *KT* 1. 238. L.Kh.: *kṣīrañau jsa* 'land' *ṢS* 11r3 (44); *buśañau jsa* 'perfume' *Vajr.* 17a4 *KT* 3. 23.

(ii) *-ām*

< *-yām* (iii). L.Kh. only: *klesām'* . . . *jsa* 'klesa' P 3513. 16v1 *KBT* 55.

(iii) *-yām*

See § 14 (xv). L.Kh. only: *kalpyām jsa* 'kalpa' P 3513. 54v1 (Asm. 52); *kūlyām 'koṭi'* P 3513. 57r3 (Asm. 66); *baudhisatvyām* Ch c. 001. 201 *KBT* 76.

(iv) *-yau*

This is by far the most frequent spelling of the I-AP both in O.Kh.: *puñyau jsa* 'merit' Z 1. 190+; *balysyau* 'Buddha' Or 9609. 4r4 *KT* 1. 233 (tr. *buddhair*); *biṣṭyau* 'pupil' Z 2. 50; *śāvvyau jsa* 'śravaka' Z 2. 23; *salāvvyau jsa* 'speech' Z 6. 55; and in L.Kh.: *kṣīryau jsa* 'land' *ṢS* 4v1 (13); *garyau* 'mountain' *ṢS* 25r3 (109); *puñau* 'merit' *ṢS* 10v1 (41); *rañnyau* 'gem' Hed. 23. 14 (2) *KT* 4. 36.

The origin of this termination presents a difficult problem. *-yau* with frequent variant *-yo* in the oldest Kh. bears remarkable resemblance to the Toch.A instrumental ending *-yo*, but this must be fortuitous. In 1912, E. Leumann derived *-yau* from the IPf **-ābiš* (*Zur nordar. Spr.*, p. 51). In 1926, P. Tedesco proposed derivation < **-aibiš*, cf. OP *-aibiš*, Vedic *-ebhiḥ* (*ZII*, iv. 132). In 1932, S. Konow pointed to the difficulty of reconciling **-iš* and *-au* and proposed to see in *-yau* a contamination of **-aibiš* and **-ābyām* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 42).

However, *-au* still presents a problem. The frequency of the spelling *-yau* beside *-yo* (v) even in the oldest Kh. would lead us to expect something more than **-ām*, for the ASf has *-o* < **-ām*, but the spelling *-au* is extremely rare. *-yau* is, however, more common than *-yo*. Thus in Z we find *dukhyo* nine times beside *dukhyau* 51 times.

To judge by the NS *-au* in the *au*-decl., one would expect *-yau* to derive in the first place from something like **-yāvi*. That the *-y-* of *-yau* is secondary in origin is clear from the fact that it does not cause palatalization. Thus, we find *bisyo jsa* Z 24. 166 as I-AP < *bisā-* 'house' not **biśyo*, although O.Ir. **sy* > *ś* in *śāta-*, *śāva-* < **syāva-*, cf. O.Ind. *śyāva-* (v. H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xx, 1957, 59). I am inclined therefore to follow E. Leumann, op. cit., pp. 50-51, and derive *-yau* < **-ābiš*. **-ābiš* > **-āvi* and *-i* causes palatalization of the kind seen in Paštō *miyāst*, *myāšt* < **māsti-* (*EVP*, 49) (H. W. B.). For palatalization passing

over a vowel, cf. in Kh. *ysirra-* 'gold' < **zaranya-*, cf. Av. *zaranya-*, and *hiśšana-* 'iron' Z 15. 43 < **aśvanya-* (H. W. B., *AO*, 1936, 259; *AION*, 1959, 135). Note also that the obl. pl. *-o* in Paštō has been derived < **-ābiš* (Morg., *NTS*, xii, 1942, 95).

(v) *-yo*

= *-yau* (iv). Frequent in O.Kh.: *dukhyo jsa* 'woe' Z 1. 188; *gyastyo* 'deva' Z 1. 33; *ttirthyo* 'heretic' Z 2. 47; less common in L.Kh.: *puño* 'merit' *ṢS* 29v2-3 (129); *rañnyo jsa* 'gem' *ṢS* 21v3 (93).

16. LP

(i) *-añuwo'*

< *n*-decl. (nt.). O.Kh. only: *kṣīrañuwo'* 'land' *Suv. K.* 33r3 *KT* 5. 111; *bāysañuwo'* 'wood' Z 2. 24; 20. 8; *ysvyañuwo'* 'taste' Or 9609. 24r2 *KT* 1. 234.

(ii) *-añvā*

< *n*-decl. (nt.). L.Kh. only: *kṣīrañvā* 'land' P 2801. 60 *KT* 3. 67; P 2787. 146 *KT* 2. 107; *kṣī'rañvā* P 2801. 46 *KT* 3. 67.

(iii) *-añvo*

= (i). O.Kh. only: *kṣīrañvo* 'land' H 142 NS 62. 42r2 *KT* 5. 29; *bāysañvo* 'wood' Z 24. 166.

(iv) *-u'*

One example only, O.Kh., has been found: *Tuṣātu'* 'Tuṣita' Z 24. 182. It is probably a variant of *-o'* (xii).

(v) *-uā*

= *-vā* (xiii). L.Kh. only: *buddha-kṣetruā* 'Buddha-field' Ch c. 001. 736 *KBT* 90; *rūvuā* 'form' P 3513. 38r2 *KBT* 60.

(vi) *-uo*

= *-uvo* (ix). O.Kh. only: *kulāruo* 'pavilion' *SS* 62r2 *KT* 5. 338; *gyastuo* 'deva' *SS* 79r2 *KT* 5. 339; Kha 1. 182a1 44 *KT* 5. 153; *dīvuuo* 'continent' *SS* 27r2, 3 *KT* 5. 333; *salāvuo* 'speech' Z 23. 8.

(vii) *-uovo'*

One example only, O.Kh.: *sūtruovo'* 'sūtra' H vii. 150. 10 b 7 *KT* 5. 60. Probably < *-uo* (vi) + *-uvo'* (x). Cf. in numeral: *kṣaṣṭutuo* '60' Kha 1. 135a3 a1 *KT* 5. 381 (= *kṣaṣṭuuo* *SS* 24r3 *KT* 5. 331).

(viii) *-uto*

= *-uvo* (ix). One example only, O.Kh.: *banāsuto* 'tree-hole' Z 2. 45.

(ix) *-uvo*

Probably an inaccurate spelling of *-uvo*' (x). O.Kh. only: *kūluvo* 'koṭi' SS 2416 KT 5. 332; *kṣaṇuvo* 'moment' Z 1. 48.

(x) *-uvo*'

-uvo' is the usual ending of the LP in O.Kh., but it is not found in L.Kh. < O.Ir. *-aiṣy-ām (P. Tedesco, ZII, iv, 1926, 132).

Examples: *aysuruvo* 'asura' Or 9609. 514 KT 1. 234; *ātamuvo* 'āgama' Z 14. 76; *uryānuvo* 'garden' Z 3. 58; *janavatuvo* 'district' Kha 1. 13. 143v4 KBT 5; *ttuṣuvo* 'Tuṣita' Z 1. 37; *nāguvo* 'nāga' Or 9609. 514 KT 1. 234.

(xi) *-o*

< *-vo* (xv) after a consonant. O.Kh. only: *kalpo* 'kalpa' Suv. K. 67v3 KT 5. 118 < **kalpvo*. Cf. also *parimāṇvo* 'atom' Z 1. 187 < **paramāṇavuvo*'.

(xii) *-o*'

Always preceded by a hiatus-filling consonant, *-o*' is due to haplology. O.Kh. only: *ttuṣāto* 'Tuṣita' Z 24. 186; *dīvo* 'continent' Suv. K. 67v4 KT 5. 118 < **dīvuvo*'; *lovadhāto* 'lokadhātu' H 142 NS 88+89 8v1 KT 5. 81; *lovadāvo* E 1. 7. 152v2 KT 5. 79.

(xiii) *-vā*

This is the usual spelling in L.Kh., although it is strictly inaccurate for *-vā*' (xiv). An example in old Kh. may be *drahvā* 'cave' Z 2. 66. Note also *gyastvā* 'deva' H vii. 150. 1 r1 KT 5. 98. L.Kh.: *avāyivā* 'hell' P 3513. 82r2 KBT 65; *kvā'ysvā* 'side' Hed. 17. 4 KT 4. 31; *garvā* 'mountain' Ch c. 001. 743 KBT 90; *ysamthvā* 'birth' P 3513. 47v3 (Asm. 21); *veysvā* 'lotus' JS 27v3 (121).

(xiv) *-vā*'

L.Kh. only: *ttuṣvā* 'Tuṣita' JS 27r4 (119). It is usually spelled inaccurately as *-vā* (xiii). *-vā*' cannot be a variant of *-vo*' (xvi); in the LP *-o* is conspicuously absent in L.Kh., as is *-ā* in O.Kh. It is possible that we have here an indication of a difference of dialect. *-vā*' is evidently to be derived from O.Ir. *-aiṣy-ā, cf. Av. *-hva*, *-šva* (Barth., GIP, i, § 232, pp. 134-5), Vedic *-eṣv ā* (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 72).

(xv) *-vo*

= *-uvo* (ix). O.Kh. only: *kūlvo* 'koṭi' SS 2413 KT 5. 331; Kha 1. 135a3 a1 KT 5. 381; *kṣaṇvo* 'moment' Z 1. 187; *gyastvo* 'deva' Kha 1. 182a1 a3 KT 5. 153; *parimāṇvo* 'atom' Z 1. 187 (v. xi).

(xvi) *-vo*'

= *-uvo*' (x). O.Kh. only: *ratānvo* 'gem' Or 9609. 3v3 KT 1. 232.

17. 2. The ā-declension

All words in this decl. are fem.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	-a	NA -e -ā
A	-o -u -a	
G-D	-(i)e -ā	G-D -ānu
I-A	-(i)e(jsa) -(i)ā(jsa)	I-A -yau(jsa) -yo(jsa)
L	-(i)a -i'e -o	L -uvo'

18. NS

(i) *-a*

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-ā, cf. Av. *-ā* (< IE *-ā). Very common both in O.Kh.: *ā'mata* 'dwelling' Z 24. 123; *āspāta* 'refuge' Z 19. 34; 24. 248, 425; *ūtca* 'water' Z 3. 32+; *kantha* 'city' Z 22. 130; *rrīṇa* 'queen' Z 13. 55; *hīna* 'army' Z 22. 137; and in L.Kh.: *āspāta* 'refuge' JS 1014 (40); *jsīna* 'life' P 3513. 55r1 (Asm. 56); *rrīṇa* 'queen' JS 3r2 (8).

(ii) *-ā*

Rare in O.Kh.: *dīvātā* 'goddess' Z 2. 82; *hvāñāmatā* 'preaching' Z 24. 388; and in L.Kh.: *jsīnā* 'life' JS 39v2. Due to influence of the *i*-decl.

(iii) *-e*

= *-ā* (ii). Noted only in L.Kh.: *āspāve* 'refuge' JS 32v1-2 (142); *keve* 'fish' JS 28v2 (125).

19. AS

(i) *-a*

= NS *-a* § 18 (i). Cf. § 8 (iii).

Common both in O.Kh.: *padamgya* 'description' Z 10. 1; *bvāmata* 'knowledge' Z 2. 65; *ṣṣadda* 'faith' Z 24. 433; *hota* 'power' Z 2. 121, 122; and in L.Kh.: *āspāta* 'refuge' Avdh 12r5 KT 3. 5; *kaṃga* 'skin' JS 18r1 (76); 21v4 (93); *jsīna* 'life' P 3513. 46v1 (Asm. 15); *ṣṣava* 'night' Avdh 8r5 KT 3. 3.

(ii) *-ā*

= NS *-ā* § 18 (ii). Cf. (i).

Occasionally found in L.Kh. *pūjā* 'honour' P 3513. 49v4-50r1 (Asm. 31); *sījāṣṭā* 'success' JS 39v4.

		SINGULAR		
	O.Kh. only	O.Kh.+L.Kh.	L.Kh. only	
rare L.Kh. = rare O.Kh.				
N		-a -e	-ā -ä	
A	-u -o		-a -ā	
G-D	-eññā?		-ā -i -e -ie	-iā -i -iā
I-A	-iā	-ie	-ā -i -e	-a -iā -ana -i
L	-u -o	-ie	-a -iā -i -i	-iā -i -e -añā
PLURAL				
NA	-ā	-i	-e	-a
G-D	-ānu			-ā -āñ -āñi -au
I-A	-yo		-yau	
L	-avo' -uo' -wuo -wvo -uṣo' -vo -vo'		-vā	-vā'

(iii) -u

= -o (iv). Common in O.Kh., but not found in L.Kh., where -u is in general rare. Examples: *dyāmatu* 'appearance' Stein E 1. 7. 149v4 *KT* 5. 79; *padamju* 'description' Z 3. 150; *hīnu* 'army' Z 24. 267; *hotu* 'power' Z 1. 32; 14. 68; *hautu* N 90. 35.

(iv) -o

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-ām, cf. Av. -am (< IE *-ām). Very common in O.Kh., but not noticed in L.Kh. Examples: *ūtco* 'water' Z 2. 16+; *Ggamggo* Z 2. 22; *padamgyo* 'description' Z 1. 52; *biso* 'house' Z 2. 47+; *vaṣṭāmato* 'engaging' Kha 1. 13. 146r3 *KBT* 6; *hīno* 'army' Z 13. 65; *hoto* 'power' Z 22. 298.

(v) -au

= -o (iv) ? I have noticed two examples only: *būṣṣātau* 'staircase' Z 23. 153 (beside *būṣṣāto* Z 23. 166); *Sīysau* Z 5. 4 'Sita'.

20. G-DS

(i) -iā

L.Kh. only, = -ie (vii). Examples: *ūca* 'water' JS 3v3 (10) < *ūtca*-; *jigya* 'removal' JS 11v2 (46) < *jigā*-; *jsñā* S 2471. 114 *KBT* 94 < *jsñā*- 'life'.

(ii) -ā

= -e (vi). Occasionally found in O.Kh.: *ātmā* 'self' Z 4. 43; 6. 53; *Ggamggā* H 143 NS 65+144 NSB 11 8r4 *KT* 5. 68; *pārāmatā* 'pāramitā' Z 11. 21; and in L.Kh.: *āspāvā* 'refuge' *Avdh* 11r5 *KT* 3. 5.

(iii) -i

= -ā (ii). Not yet found in O.Kh. Occasionally in L.Kh.: *kañthi* 'city' Hed. 10. 1 *KT* 4. 27; *jegi* 'removal' JS 13v3 (56).

(iv) -iā

= -ie (vii). Not yet found in O.Kh. Occasionally in L.Kh.: *gvihā* *Avdh* 9r3 *KT* 3. 3 < *gühā*- 'cow'; *jsñā* JS 39r4 < *jsñā*- 'life'.

(v) -i

= (iv). O.Kh.: *rrñi* 'queen' Z 14. 4; 24. 119; *hñi* 'army' Z 24. 643. L.Kh.: *jsñi* 'life' *Si* 1v2 *KT* 1. 2.

(vi) -e

-e is probably due to the occurrence of -ie (vii) with stems not showing palatalization e.g. *strīyā*-. Cf. § 11 (i). -e is found not only in L.Kh. but occasionally in O.Kh., always in loanwords or words not showing palatalization. -e is not likely therefore to be a survival of IE *-ās.

O.Kh.: *āme* 'self' Z 6. 5; *kṣāndā-pārāmate* 'kṣānti-pāramitā' Z 6. 21; *marikye* 'mirage' Z 3. 13; *ṣkaugye* 'saṃskāra' Z 5. 57; *strīye* 'woman' Z 19. 82. L.Kh.: *āme* 'dwelling' JS 19r1 (80); *syē* 'sand' Avdh 12v2 KT 3. 6.

(vii) *-ie*

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-*āyāh*, cf. Av. -*ayā*, OP -*āyāh*. It is frequent both in O.Kh.: *ūce* 'water' Z 14. 79+; *kīnthe* 'city' Z 5. 35+; and in L.Kh.: *āspete* 'refuge' Avdh 10v2-3 KT 3. 4; *hīhthe* 'truth' Avdh 21r4 KT 3. 11.

The effects of palatalization in the G-DS and, in square brackets, in the I-AS are as follows:

1. *a > ī* before *th(th)*, *mth*, *v*
hīhthe Avdh 21r4 KT 3. 11; [*hīthe* *jsa* Avdh 21r5 KT 3. 11] < *hath(th)ā*- 'truth'; *kīnthe* Z 5. 35+ < *kanthā*- 'city'; *ṣṣīve* Z 2. 62+ < *ṣṣavā*- 'night'.

2. *ā > e* before *mat*, *t*
pātāyemāte Z 6. 43 < *pātāyāmatā*- 'talking'; *bvemāte* Or 9609. 54v2 KT 1. 238 (tr. *jñānasya*) < *bvāmatā*- 'knowledge'; *yanemate* Kha 1. 13. 144r3 KBT 5 < *yanāmatā*- 'doing'; *āspete* Avdh 10v2-3 KT 3. 4 < *āspātā*- 'refuge'; [*bete* *jsa* Z 4. 73 < *bātā*- 'wind'].

Note *ā > e* before *r* in adj. *maṅgere* 'old' N 50. 29 I-ASf but not in *padārye* (8).

3. *ū > vī* before *r*, *h*
[*mvīre* *jsa* Z 22. 252 < *mūrā*- 'coin']; *gvīhā* Avdh 9r3 KT 3. 3 < *gūhā*- 'cow'.

4. *o > ve* before *t*
[*hvetā* *jsa* SS 21r6-21v1 KT 5. 331 < *hotā*- 'power'].

5. (*m*)*g > (m)gy*
[*jaigya* *jsa* P 3513. 76v2 KBT 62 < *jaigā*- 'disappearance'].

6. *tc > c*
ūce Z 14. 79+ < *ūtā*- 'water'.

7. *n > ñ*
ājīṣaṇe Z 11. 74 < *ājīṣaṇā*- 'supplication'; *armūtaṇe* Z 11. 74 < *armūtanā*- 'congratulation'; *jsīṇe* Or 9609. 3r3 KT 1. 232 < *jsīnā*- 'life'; *rrīṇe* Sv. K. 34v4 KT 5. 112 < *rrīnā*- 'queen'.

8. *r > ry*
padārye Sv. K. 29v3 KT 5. 107 < *padārā*- 'upholding'.

9. *s > ś*
[*biśśā* *jsa* Z 22. 323 < *bisā*- 'house'].

Note that *st > śt* in the G-DSf and I-ASf of the adj. *māsta*-.

(viii) *-eññā*

One example only, O.Kh. *būṣṣāteññā* Z 23. 143. It is probably a spelling variant of *-*āñe*, which is attested in the I-ASf of *ā*-decl. adj. Cf. *-eñe* I-ASf in pron. adj.: *bisēñe* Z 2. 168.

21. I-AS

(i) *-a(jsa)*
= *-e(jsa)* (viii). L.Kh. only, frequent: *ārūva* *jsa* 'refuge' P 3513. 46v4 (Asm. 17); *brriya* 'love' JS 12r3 (49); *hawva* *jsa* 'power' P 3513. 51r1 (Asm. 36).

(ii) *-i(jsa)*
= *-ie(jsa)* (ix). L.Kh. only, frequent: *āspeta* *jsa* 'refuge' JS 24v2 (106); *āspeva* *jsa* P 3513. 51v4-52r1 (40); *jaigya* *jsa* 'disappearance' P 3513. 76v2 KBT 62; *hīñā* *jsa* 'army' P 2787. 161 KT 2. 107.

(iii) *-ana*
= *-a(jsa)* (i) with *-na* for *jsa*, v. § 10 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *parṣa'na* 'assembly' P 2893. 16 KT 3. 83 replacing *parṣi'na* *jsa* P 3513. 49v4 (Asm. 31).

(iv) *-ā(jsa)*
= *-e(jsa)* (viii). Rare both in O.Kh.: *hotā* *jsa* 'power' Z 22. 298; and in L.Kh.: *parṣā* 'assembly' P 3513. 42r4 KBT 61.

(v) *-i(jsa)*
= *-ā(jsa)* (iv). L.Kh. only: *parṣi'na* *jsa* 'assembly' P 3513. 49v4 (31); *phari* *jsa* 'language' Avdh 10r2 KT 3. 4; *ṣadi* *jsa* 'faith' JS 2r2 (4); P 3513. 43v1 (Asm. 1); *hovi* 'power' Avdh 13v4 KT 3. 6.

(vi) *-iā(jsa)*
= *-ie(jsa)* (ix). Not yet found in L.Kh. Occasionally found in O.Kh.: *biśśā* *jsa* Z 22. 323 < *bisā*- 'house'; *hvetā* *jsa* 'power' SS 21r6-21v1 KT 5. 331.

(vii) *-i(jsa)*
= *-iā(jsa)* (vi). Occasionally found both in O.Kh. *bārmañi* 'prison' Z 17. 18; *ṣṣahāñi* 'virtue' Z 23. 31; *hīñi* *jsa* 'army' Z 24. 426+; and in L.Kh.: *ūci* *jsa* 'water' Sī 124v4 KT 1. 54; *hīñi* *jsa* 'army' P 3513. 70v1 KT 1. 247.

(viii) *-e (jsa)*

For *-ie (jsa)* (ix) from instances where palatalization is not apparent; cf. §§ 11 (i); 20 (vi). Common both in O.Kh.: *ātme jsa* 'self' Z 6. 13; *kā'mate jsa* 'imagination' Z 6. 42; *drūje jsa* 'lie' SS 13r6 KT 5. 329; *padamgye jsa* 'vyūha' Kha 1. 13. 143v2 KBT 5; *phare jsa* 'language' Z 23. 10; *hote jsa* 'power' Z 13. 114; and in L.Kh.: *bvāme jsa* 'knowledge' P 3513. 50r2 (Asm. 32); *bvāme jsa* JS 12r4 (49).

(ix) *-ie (jsa)*

The results of palatalization in the I-AS have for convenience been listed under the G-DS (§ 20 (vii)). Av. *hačā* was usually accompanied by the abl., OP *hačā* by the instr. In Kh., these cases have everywhere coalesced. *-ie* is derived from the O.Ir. AblSf **-āyāh*, cf. OP *-āyāh*, O.Ind. *-āyāh*. **-āyāh*, being more distinctive, absorbed the O.Ir. ISf **-āyā* (OP *-āyā*).

Frequent in O.Kh.: *ūce jsa* 'water' Z 24. 504; *pyū've'māte jsa* 'hearing' Or 9609. 4r3 KT 1. 233; *bīše jsa* 'house' Z 4. 117; *hīne jsa* 'army' Z 24. 261+; *hvēte jsa* 'power' Kha 1. 13. 140v2 KBT 4. It is found also in L.Kh.: *ūce jsa* 'water' Si 134v3 KT 1. 70.

22. LS

(i) *-a*

Due to the use of *-ia* (ii) where palatalization is not apparent; cf. § 11 (i). O.Kh.: *ggata 'gati'* Z 11. 9; *nīta'sca* 'end' Z 6. 2; *hamkhysgya* 'reckoning' Kha 1. 13. 134r2 KBT 1. L.Kh.: *hamjsara 'gocara'* P 3513. 51v1 (Asm. 38), not AS as Asm. p. 58, because *ttrām-* 'enter' governs loc. (v. R. E. E., *BSOAS*, xxviii. 1, 1965, 26); Skt has *otari* 'penetrate' (F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, II Dictionary, New Haven, 1953, s.v. *avatarati*).

(ii) *-ia*

This must be derived from **-āyā*, as **-āyā* resulted in *-ie* (ix). It is not likely to be secondary due to the *a*-decl. (§ 11 (ii)), as it is common from the time of the oldest Kh. It is for this reason also not a spelling variant of *-ie* (ix). It is thus probable that Av. *-aya* indicates a genuine shortening of O.Ir. **-āyā* (OP *-āyā*). Examples: O.Kh.: *ūca* 'water' Z 2. 130+; *e'māta* 'dwelling' Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1; *kīntha* 'city' Z 5. 102+. L.Kh.: *khyeha* 'pool' P 3513. 80r2 KBT 64; *kītha* 'city' JS 23r2 (100).

The results of palatalization in the LSf are as follows:

1. *a > ī* before *nth, v*

kīntha Z 5. 102+ < *kanthā-* 'city'; *ṣṣīvi* Or 9609. 5r1 KT 1. 233 < *ṣṣavā-* 'night'.

2. *ā > e* before *mat, r, rṣ, h*

e'māta Kha 1. 13. 134v1 KBT 1 < *ā'matā-* 'dwelling'; *vaṣṣemāta* Kha 1. 13. 145v3 KBT 6 'engaging'; *tvera* 'scroll' Z 9. 19; *keṣa* 'circle' Avdh 9v5 KT 3. 4; *khyeha* P 3513. 80r2 KBT 64 < *khāhā-* 'spring'.

3. *tc > c*

ūca Z 2. 130 < *ūtā-*.

4. *n > ñ*

ulatāne Z 2. 64+ < *ulatānā-* 'cemetery'.

5. *ysm > śm*

rrasma Suv. K. 29v2 KT 5. 107 < *rraysmā-* 'battle-rank'.

6. *st > śt*

paṣṣtā JS 24r3 (105) < *paṣṣtā-* 'pool'.

7. *s > śs*

bīśsa Z 14. 6+ < *bīśā-* 'house'.

(iii) *-āna*

L.Kh. only: *paṣṣa'na* 'assembly' *Vajr.* 5a4-5b1 KT 3. 21. Due to confusion of *a-* and *ā*-decl. in L.Kh. Cf. *-ana* I-ASm (§ 10 (ii)) and I-ASf (§ 21 (iii)). See LSm *-āna* (§ 11 (iii)).

(iv) *-i*

= *-i* (vi) where palatalization is not apparent. L.Kh. only: *viṣṣāṃje* 'lotus pond' JS 6v1 (23).

(v) *-iā*

L.Kh. spelling variant of *-ia* (ii) or *-ie* (ix) due to vowel-weakening. L.Kh. only: *bīśā* JS 16v4 (71) < *bīśā-* 'house'. See also § 45 (iv), p. 287.

(vi) *-ī*

= *-ie* (ix). O.Kh.: *ṣṣīvi* Or 9609. 5r1 KT 1. 233 < *ṣṣavā-* 'night'. L.Kh.: *ūci* JS 21v1 (92) < *ūtā-* 'water'.

(vii) *-u*

= *-o* (x). One example only, O.Kh.: *marīcu* 'mirage' Z 3. 136.

(viii) *-e*

= *-ie* (ix) where palatalization is not apparent. L.Kh. only: *viṣṣāṃje* 'lotus pond' JS 31v2 (138).

(ix) *-ie*

< O.Ir. **-āyā*, cf. OP *-āyā*. O.Kh.: *ulatāne* Z 2. 64; 20. 62 < *ulatānā-* 'cemetery'; *ṣṣīve* Z 1. 54+ < *ṣṣavā-* 'night'. L.Kh.: *kīthe* JS 27v4 (121) < *kanthā-* 'city'; *bīse* JS 30r3 (132) < *bīśā-* 'house'.

(x) -o

Common in O.Kh.: *ggato* 'gati' Z 5. 80; *tcalco* 'side' Z 6. 7; 23. 147; *dišo* 'direction' Z 3. 30+; *paršo* 'assembly' Z 2. 21+; *maitro* 'love' Z 3. 24. Not yet found in L.Kh.

Probably for *-io < *-āyām, cf. § 11 (xiv). An O.Ir. Lsf *-ām could be supported outside Ir.

23. NAP

(i) -a

= -e (iv). L.Kh. only: *bīsa* 'house' JS 21v1 (92); *dīša* 'direction' P 2781. 71 (3) KT 3. 68; *dīša* P 2025. 57 KT 3. 47.

(ii) -ā

= -e (iv). O.Kh.: *avitsarā* 'apsaras' Z 14. 94; 23. 95; *kāścā* 'anxiety' Z 23. 29; *ggatā* 'gati' Z 11. 9; *hīnā* Z 22. 325.

(iii) -i

= -ā (ii). O.Kh.: *abhiñi* 'supernatural knowledge' Z 13. 16. L.Kh.: *dīši* 'direction' JS 14v3 (61); P 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4).

(iv) -e

This is the expected form < O.Ir. *-āh, cf. Av. -ā, O.Ind. -āh (< IE *-ās). This is the most frequent spelling of NAPf in O.Kh.: *kañthe* 'city' Z 22. 133; *dīše* 'direction' Z 2. 44; *bīse* 'house' Z 20. 10; *rrīne* 'queen' Z 23. 28; *strīye* 'woman' Z 19. 9. Found also in L.Kh.: *deše* 'direction' JS 35r1 (153).

24. G-DP

(i) -ā

< -ām (ii). L.Kh. only: *skaumatā* Vajr. 20a4 KT 3. 24 tr. *sparsānām*.

(ii) -ām

< -ānu (iv); see § 14 (vii). L.Kh. only: *arvām* 'medicine' Si 135r3 KT 1. 70; *strīyām* 'woman' P 3513. 64r4 KT 1. 244.

(iii) -āni

See § 14 (ix). L.Kh. only: *skvaumatāni* 'touch' Vajr. 11a3 KT 3. 22.

(iv) -ānu

< O.Ir. *-ānām; see § 14 (xi). O.Kh. only: *kañthānu* 'city' Sw. K. 31v4 KT 5. 109; *škaugyānu* 'saṃskāra' Stein E 1. 7. 145r3 KT 5. 77; *škaujānu* Z 6. 26; *strīyānu* 'woman' Z 19. 2. In the vicinity of r, -ānu is sometimes found by Sanskritization: *avitsarānu* 'apsaras' Z 24. 124.

(v) -au

= -ām (ii); see § 14 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *škāmjav* 'saṃskāra' Ch 00268. 154 KBT 67.

25. I-AP

(i) -yo (jsa)

= -yau (jsa) (ii). O.Kh.: *bīsyō jsa* 'house' Z 24. 166; *strīyyō* 'woman' Z 19. 93.

(ii) -yau (jsa)

On the origin of -yau, see § 15 (iv). O.Kh.: *aruvyau* 'medicine' Z 6. 12; *avitsaryau* 'apsaras' Z 20. 66; 24. 125; *kā'matyau jsa* 'thought' Z 6. 51; *kā'mayyau* H 142 NS 45r4 KT 5. 93; *škaugyau jsa* 'saṃskāra' Z 6. 10, 27 (-gy- < -gyy-); *hīnyau* 'army' Sw. K. 35r1 KT 5. 113; *hawvyau* 'power' Kha 1. 27a1 r3 KT 5. 129. L.Kh.: *škāmjav jsa* 'saṃskāra' Ch 00268. 169 KBT 67; *skvaumayau* 'touch' Vajr. 17b1 KT 3. 23 (-y- < -yy-).

26. LP

The LPf is in form identical with the LPm (§ 16). O.Ir. LPm *-aišy-ā(m) and LPf *-āhy-ā(m) were evidently conflated at an early date. The frequency of the spellings without a subscript hook may be due to *-āhy-ā(m), as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 43.

(i) -avo'

= -uvo' (iv). One example only, O.Kh.: *škaunavo* 'touch' Or 9609. 24r2 KT 1. 234.

(ii) -uo'

= -uvo' (iv). O.Kh.: *Ggamguo* H 147 NS 110. 42r3 KT 5. 74.

(iii) -uvo

See § 16 (ix). O.Kh.: *abhiñuvo* 'supernatural knowledge' Z 23. 128; *pārgyiñuvo* 'enclosure' Z 22. 135.

(iv) -uvo'

See § 16 (x). O.Kh. only: *kañhuvo* 'city' Sw. K. 31v1 KT 5. 109; *kinnaruvo* 'kinnari' Or 9609. 5r4 KT 1. 234; *Gamguvo* SS 32v2 KT 5. 334; *škojuvo* 'saṃskāra' Z 5. 57.

(v) -uvuo

Probably < -uo (cf. (ii)) + -uvo (iii). Cf. LPm -uvoo' § 16 (vii).

One example only, O.Kh.: *Ggamguvuo* H 147 NS 110 42v1 KT 5. 74.

(vi) -*uṣo*'

This is the oldest attested form, but it is pseudo-archaic as the hook together with \mathfrak{s} indicates. O.Kh.: *gavuso* 'gati' Khot. (IO) 12 at KT 5. 348; *hāruṣo* 'thing' H 144 NS 83a2 KT 5. 52.

(vii) -*vā*

See § 16 (xiii). One example only in O.Kh.: *patārahvā* 'place' Z 20. 69. The regular ending in L.Kh.: *gavvā* P 3513. 8or4 KBT 64; *ggavā Avdh* 10v4 KT 3. 4 < *g(g)atā*- 'gati'; *diṣvā* 'direction' *Avdh* 12r2 KT 3. 5; *bīsvā* 'house' *ṽS* 19r3 (82); *ṣkaujvā* 'saṃskāra' Hed. 23. 25 (14) KT 4. 36.

(viii) -*vā*'

See § 16 (xiv). L.Kh. only: *diṣvā* 'direction' P 3513. 5ov1 (Asm. 34); *pārāmvā* 'pāramitā' P 3513. 48r3 (Asm. 24).

(ix) -*vo*

See § 16 (xv). O.Kh. only: *Ggaṃgvo* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39r1 KT 5. 71; *bīsvvo* 'house' Z 3. 52, 58.

(x) -*vo*'

See § 16 (xvi). O.Kh. only: *gavo* 'gati' Stein E 1. 7. 149r5 KT 5. 78; *diṣvo* 'direction' *SS* 85r4 KT 5. 343; Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233 (tr. *dīkṣu*); *bīsvvo* 'house' Z 3. 51, 79.

27. 3. \ddot{a} -declension adjectives

The terminations are for the most part identical with those of the *a*-decl. of nouns for the masc. and of the \ddot{a} -decl. of nouns for the fem. A few fem. terminations come from the *i*-decl., which contains fem. nouns exclusively, but there is no separate *i*-decl. of adjectives in Kh.

There is no trace of the nt. in the adj. In fact, NS -*u* is more often found with an old masc. than with an old nt. (§ 29 (v)).

The main feature that distinguishes the adj. decl. is the G-DSm -*ye* (§ 32 (vii)). This was thought to be < *-*ahya* by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 47. Later, accepting the derivation of G-DSm -*i* < *-*ahya* (see § 9 (iii)), he proposed to see in -*ye* 'a special suffix' < *-*yahya* (S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 41). The G-DSm is here explained otherwise (§ 9 (iii)). -*ye* probably derives, as G-DSmf < *-*ahya*+*-*āyāh*.

Distinctive also are the oblique terminations -*āñe* I-ASf (§ 44 (iii)), p. 286) and -*iñā* LSf (§ 45 (v), p. 287), which may show the fem. suffix *-*inī*.

For details concerning the orthography and history of the endings, reference should be made to the appropriate paragraphs of the *a*- and \ddot{a} -declensions.

28. Terminations of the \ddot{a} -declension of adjectives

	MASCULINE	SINGULAR	FEMININE
N	none	- <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>e</i>	- <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i>
V	- <i>a</i> [- <i>o</i> ?]		- <i>a</i>
A	none	- <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>o</i>	- <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>o</i>
G-D	- <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>āte</i> - <i>āye</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>yi</i> - <i>ye</i> - <i>yai</i>		- <i>ā</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i>
I-A	- <i>a</i> (<i>na</i>) - <i>ā</i> (<i>na</i>) - <i>e</i> (<i>na</i>) - <i>na</i> - <i>ye</i>		- <i>i</i> - <i>āñi</i> - <i>āñe</i> - <i>iñe</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i>
L	- <i>a</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>u</i> - <i>ye</i>		- <i>a</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>ñā</i> - <i>o</i> - <i>ñā</i>
		PLURAL	
NA	- <i>a</i> - <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>ñā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>ye</i>		- <i>a</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>ā</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i>
V	- <i>anyau</i> - <i>yau</i>		
G-D	- <i>āṃ</i> - <i>ānu</i> - <i>yāṃ</i>		
I-A	- <i>iyau</i> - <i>yau</i>		- <i>ā</i> - <i>yau</i>
L	- <i>āṃ</i> - <i>āvvo</i> - <i>uvo</i> - <i>vā</i> - <i>vo</i>		- <i>uvo</i> - <i>vā</i> - <i>vo</i> - <i>vo</i>

29. NSm

(i) *no ending* *āysā* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65 < *āysāta*- 'noble'; *aggumā Avdh* 6v4 KT 3. 2 < *aggumāta*- 'unmeasured'; *eṣṭava* *ṽS* 7v4-8r1 (29) < *eṣṭavana*- 'firm'.

(ii) -*a* *agajsa* 'faultless' P 3513. 76v3 KBT 62; *āysāta* 'adorned' Z 3. 27; *mīsta* 'great' *ṽS* 12r2 (48) + *rre* 'king'; *śśūka* 'alone' *Avdh* 9v2 KT 3. 4; *tēra* 'to be done' Hed. 17. 21 KT 4. 32 + *hīri* 'act'.

(iii) -*ā* *asamkhilstā* 'undefiled' Z 6. 39 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *utārā* 'noble' Z 24. 281 + *pande* 'path'; *hvi'yā* 'human' Z 5. 13 + *ysamthū* 'birth'; *hastamā* 'best' Z 4. 105 + *śśāstāri* 'teacher'.

(iv) -*i* *sarvañi* 'all-knowing' Z 2. 3 + *balysā* 'Buddha'; *hastari* 'better' Z 13. 29 + *dātā* 'Law'.

(v) -*u* *asamkhilstu* 'undefiled' Z 6. 22 + *padānā* 'vessel'; *vasutu* 'pure' Z 6. 39 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *śśāru* 'good' Z 24. 211 + *pande* 'path'; *sastu* 'appeared' Z 21. 18 + *tceimā* 'eye'.

(vi) -*e* *cā'ya-nārmāte* 'magic-created' Z 19. 8 + *hārā* 'thing'; *pyūvā'ñe* 'to be heard' Stein E 1. 7. 145v1 KT 5. 77 + *dātā* 'the Law'; *vasute* 'pure' Z 4. 28 + *jānā* 'meditation'; *vasve* 'pure' *ṽS* 10r4 (40) + *ṣvīdī* 'milk'.

30. VSm

(i) -*a* *māsta* 'great' Z 6. 39 + *rre* 'king'; *Avdh* 10v2 KT 3. 4 + *balysūñāvūyā* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *gyasta* 'deva' Z 23. 112 + *balysa* 'Buddha'; *sarvañā* 'all-knowing' Z 2. 64 + *balysa* 'Buddha'; *hastama* 'best' Z 22. 257 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.

(ii) -o ? *hvāṣṭo* 'chief' Z 22. 257 + *balysa* 'Buddha'. No other example found. *hvāṣṭo* was noted as remarkable by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 41, n. 1. Cf. AS *a*-decl. -o § 8 (viii)? Or < *hvāṣṭa* + *u* 'and'?

31. *ASm*

(i) *no ending āṣai* 'blue' JS 23v2 (102) < *āṣaina-* + *upala* 'lotus'; *ustam* 'last' Z 22. 102 + *kālu* 'time'; *hvi* P 3513. 55r2 (Asm. 56) < *hviya-* 'human' + *ysamthā* 'birth'.

(ii) -a *hastama* 'best' Hed. 23. 30 *KT* 4. 37 + *dā* 'Law'.

(iii) -ā *gyastūñā* 'divine' Z 23. 154 + *bīnāñu* 'lute-music'; *cārā* 'visible' SS 715 *KT* 5. 328 + *khanau* 'laugh'; *mistā* 'great' JS 23r2 (100) + *rrumdi* 'king'; *ysīñiyā* 'entrusted' Z 24. 502 + *śśāsanu* 'śāsana'.

(iv) -i *gyastūñi* 'divine' Z 5. 44 + *āysanu* 'seat'.

(v) -u *māstu* 'great' SS 7r6 *KT* 5. 329 + *balysūñavūysau* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *ośu* 'evil' D III. 1. 8vi *KT* 5. 69 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *rraṣṭu* 'right' Z 2. 76 + *dātu* 'Law'; *śśāru* 'good' Z 3. 22 + *arthu* 'subject'; *hastamu* 'best' Z 13. 2 + *dātu* 'Law'.

(vi) -e *miste* 'great' JS 29v4 (130) + *de* 'fire'; *hūvasve* 'very pure' P 3513. 50v3 (Asm. 35) + *brrahma-svarā*.

(vii) -o *rraṣṭo* 'right' Z 13. 2; 22. 186 + *dātu* 'Law'; Z 24. 171 + *pando* 'path'.

32. *G-DSm*

(i) -ā *māstā* 'great' Z 23. 16 + *āchai* 'illness'; *Suv.* K 35r5 *KT* 5. 113 + *kūṣḍi* 'palace'.

(ii) -i *sarvañi* 'all-knowing' Z 3. 115 + *balysi* 'Buddha'.

(iii) -āte *dīrāte* 'evil' Z 24. 648 + *hārā* 'thing'. Either = -āye (iv) or -e (v) with intrusive -āt-.

(iv) -āye O.Kh. only, = -ye (vii). *agumātāye* 'untried' N 52. 18 + *hvaṇḍye* 'man'; *ysāṣṭāye* 'hated' Z 4. 19 + *hvaṇḍā* 'man'.

(v) -e *vasute* 'pure' Z 22. 254 + *ysīrrā* 'gold'.

(vi) -yi = -ye (vii). *hvatyi* 'spoken' Kha 1. 13. 139vi *KBT* 3 + *hvanai* 'speech'.

(vii) -ye See § 27. *abustye* 'unperceived' Z 23. 11 + *arhi* 'meaning'; *dīrye* 'evil' Z 24. 433 + *hārā* 'thing'; *batye* 'small' Z 23. 14 + *suhā* 'blessing'; *śīrye* 'kind' JS 6v2 (23) + *ādarā* 'regard'; *pūhye* 'fifth' P 2790. 35 *KT* 2. 111 + *haḍai* 'day'; *hvatye* 'spoken' Kha 1. 13. 136r5 *KBT* 2 + *hvanai* 'speech'.

(viii) -yai = -ye (vii), L.Kh. only: *pūhyai* 'fifth' P 2786. 34 *KT* 2. 94 + *haḍai* 'day'.

33. *I-ASm*

(i) -a(*na*) *bu'ysa bādna* 'long time' JS 19v2 (83).

(ii) -ā(*na*) *pīrūyā bādna* 'former time' JS 22r2 (95); *māstāna* 'great' Z 22. 280 + *bālsamggāna* 'bhikṣusaṅgha'; *hastamāna* 'best' Z 22. 277 + *śilna* 'moral restraint'; *vasutāna* 'pure' Z 22. 243 + *aysmūna* 'mind'; *batāna* 'small' E 1. 7. 19v3 *KT* 5. 388 + *kiḍāgānāna* 'evil deed'.

(iii) -e(*na*) *vasvena* 'pure' P 3513. 44r3 (Asm. 4) + *aysmūna* 'mind'; *vasve* 'pure' JS 23v4 (103) + *ne'na* 'nectar'.

(iv) -na *śśārna* 'good' Z 22. 243 + *aysmūna* 'mind'.

(v) -ye = I-ASf § 44 (vi). Due to confusion of *a*- and \check{a} -declensions in L.Kh., see § 10 (xiii). This was assisted in the adj. decl. by the use of -ye for G-DSmf. L.Kh. only: *mistye* 'great' Hed. 7v9 *KT* 4. 26 + *āśī'rīna* 'teacher'; *traiḱṣye* 'fierce' P 3513. 81v2 *KBT* 64 + *daima* 'fire'; *bu'ysye* 'long' JS 7r2 (25); 20r2 (85) + *bādna* 'time'.

34. *LSm*

(i) -a *hvi'ya* 'human' Z 20. 67 + *ysītha* 'birth'; *vasuta* 'pure', *parisuddha* 'purified' Z 10. 24 + *buddhakṣetru* 'Buddha-field'; *pvestyāna* 'fearful' JS 17r1 (71) + *eha* 'mouth'.

(ii) -ⁱa *balysāna* 'of Buddha' SS 7vi *KT* 5. 329 + *rahāśśa* 'secret'; *māsta* 'great' Z 5. 82 + *samudru* 'ocean'.

(iii) -āna *karyaustaña* 'torment-filled', *dukhajaña* 'woe-filled', *kāṣca-jseraña* 'anxiety-causing' Avdh 7r3 *KT* 3. 2 + *alava-kamṭtera* 'forest'; *pasvaña* 'burning' JS 6v2-3 (23) + *dāña* 'fire'.

(iv) -āña *natāña* 'profound' Or 9609. 4r2 *KT* 1. 233 + *rahāśśa* 'secret' (tr. *gaṃbhīre*); *vasutāña* 'clean' Z 15. 123 + *ātīña* 'mirror'.

(v) -u *battamu* 'least' Z 24. 228 + *biṣṭu* 'disciple'.

(vi) -ⁱu One example only, O.Kh.: *māstu* 'great' Z 10. 24 + *ggūtāro* 'gotra'. Cf. § 11 (xiv).

(vii) -ye *śātye* 'second' Kha 1. 13. 143r5 *KBT* 5 + *janavati* 'district'.

35. *NAPm*

(i) -a *dīra* 'bad' Z 3. 29 + *kāḍāyāne* 'evil deed'; *gyastūna* 'divine' Z 6. 16 + *salāva* 'discourse'; *māsta* 'great' Avdh 7r2 *KT* 3. 2 + *śśaysde* 'snake'; *vicitra* 'variegated' Z 20. 2 + *spāte* 'flower'; *śśāra* 'good' Z 21. 17 + *rūva* 'form'; *śśīya* 'white' Z 24. 191 + *haska* 'tusk'.

(ii) *-āna* = *-āñā* (iii). L.Kh. only: *wāraña* 'noble' Hed. 7. 6 *KT* 4. 25 + *ttaramdara* 'body'.

(iii) *-āñā* *duṣpāta'ñā* 'feeble' *Z* 7. 26 + *indriye* 'sense'.

(iv) *-āñi* *abustañi* 'unrecognized' *Z* 23. 14 + *kādāyāne* 'evil deed'.

(v) *-ā* *uṣpurrā* 'complete' *Z* 11. 14 + *indra* 'sense'; *hūsandā* 'sleeping' *Z* 9. 11 + *uysnora* 'being'; *hvatā* 'told' *Z* 3. 149 + *puña* 'merit'.

(vi) *-i* *gyastūñi* 'divine' *Z* 3. 59 + *ysuyañi* 'sweetmeat'; 4. 34 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'; *nauni* 'soft' *Z* 21. 23 + *bajāṣṣā* 'sound'.

(vii) *-āñi* *-āñi* stands beside *-āñi* (iv) like LSm *-āña* beside *-āña* (§§ 11 (iii), (ix); 34 (iii), (iv)). There is thus no question of an inherited **-ñi* fem. (E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 197). *śīyāñi ggūne* *Z* 24. 250 ('his hairs were white'); *śīyāñi ggūne* 'white hairs' *Z* 18. 4; *harśāñi* *Z* 22. 150 + *tcei'mañi* ('its eyes will be brilliant').

(viii) *-iñā* = *-āñi* (vii). *śīyāñā* 'white' *SS* 84v4 *KT* 5. 342.

(ix) *-e* *vasute* 'pure' *Z* 6. 14 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'; *śāre* 'good' Or 9609. 5r5 *KT* 1. 234 + *prahaṇe* 'garment'.

(x) *-yi* = *-ye* § 12 (ix). L.Kh. only: *śirkyi* 'beautiful' *JS* 10r2 (39) + *gvaḥa* 'ear'.

36. *VPm*

(i) *-anyau* One example only. O.Kh.: *śāranyau* 'good' *SS* 21v3 *KT* 5. 331. Cf. I-AP *a*-decl. *-añ(y)au* (§ 15 (i)) and see § 3, p. 250.

(ii) *-yau* *jad̄yau* 'foolish' *SS* 20r1 *KT* 5. 330 + *nyañdyau* 'ascetic'; *gyastyau* 'deva' *SS* 25r5 *KT* 3. 332 + *balysyau* 'Buddha'; *māstyau* 'great' *Suv.* K. 34r1 *KT* 5. 112 + *rrundyau* 'king'; Or 9609. 36v2 *KT* 1. 236 + *rrundyau*.

37. *G-DPm*

(i) *-ām* *dukhauttām* 'woe-oppressed' *Avdh* 10v2 *KT* 3. 4 + *savāñi* 'being'.

(ii) *-ānu* *avamātānu* 'unmeasured', *anamkhāṣṭānu* 'unnumbered', *gyastānu* 'deva' Kha 1. 13. 135v1 *KBT* 1 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *pharākānu* 'many' Or 9609. 3r4 *KT* 1. 232 + *gyastaṣṣānu* 'devaputra'; *rruīyānu* 'royal' *Suv.* K. 31v4 *KT* 5. 109 + *kūṣḍānu* 'palace'.

(iii) *-yām* *hastamyām* 'best' P 3513. 45v1 (Asm. 11) + *ba'ysām* 'Buddha'.

38. *I-APm*

(i) *-iyau* *vicitriyau* 'various' Kha 1. 13. 142r4 *KBT* 4 + *sañyau* 'expedient'.

(ii) *-yau* *ahumāryau* 'countless' *Suv.* K. 31r7 *KT* 5. 109 + *yakṣyau* 'yakṣa'; *pharākyau* 'many' *Z* 22. 246 + *ṣṣamanyau* 'monk'; *ratanīnyau* 'of gems' Stein E 1. 7. 145v5 *KT* 5. 77 + *dāmyau* 'garland'; *śāryau* 'good' *Z* 22. 122 + *hvam'dyau jsa* 'man'.

39. *LPm*

(i) *-ām* L.Kh. confusion of obl. pl. terminations. = *-ām* *G-DP* § 37 (i); I-AP § 15 (ii). *mī'stām* 'great' P 2787. 8 *KT* 2. 101 + *avāyāvā* 'hell' (palatalization generalized from *i*-decl. forms).

(ii) *-āvo* One example only, O.Kh.: *mīstāvo* 'great' Kha 1. 13. 134v1 *KBT* 1 + *janavato* 'district' (palatalization generalized).

(iii) *-uvo* *avamātuvo* 'unlimited' H 143a NSB 4r4 *KT* 5. 84 + *buddha-kṣetruvo* 'Buddha-field'; *puñauduvo* 'meritorious' *Z* 22. 130; *ysīruvo* 'rough' *Z* 24. 168 + *āṣṭāruvo* 'bed'.

(iv) *-vā* *avamāvā* 'unlimited' *Avdh* 5r4 *KT* 3. 1 (-*v*- < -*vv*-) + *ysamthvā* 'birth'; *pharākvā* 'many' *Avdh* 19r5 *KT* 3. 10 + *ysamthvā* 'birth'.

(v) *-vo* *māstvo* 'great' Kha vii 1. 43r5 *KT* 5. 182 + *vāmvo* 'sea'.

40. *NSf*

(i) *-a* *dīra* 'defective' *Z* 1. 189 + *bvāmata* 'knowledge'; *māsta* 'great' *Z* 13. 86 + *baśdā* 'sin'; *raṣṭa* 'right' *Z* 24. 386 + *dṛṣṭā* 'view'; *śāra* 'good' *Z* 24. 386 + *ṣṣadda* 'faith'; *hastama* 'best' *Z* 11. 46 + *jśina* 'life'.

(ii) *-ā* *utārā* 'noble' *Z* 11. 2 + *mulysdā* 'compassion'; *batā* 'slight' *Z* 1. 189 + *bvāmata* 'knowledge'; *māstā* 'great' *Z* 2. 9 + *arātā* 'envy'; *haṃbaḍā* 'full' *Z* 24. 206 + *purra* 'moon'.

(iii) *-i* *gyastūñi* 'divine' *Z* 3. 49 + *ttanā* 'skin'.

41. *VSf*

(i) *-a* = NS *-a* < O.Ir. **-ā* § 18 (i). Av. and O.Ind. have VSf *-e* < I. I. **-ai*. This would give **-i* in Kh.

Example: *anāha* 'helpless' *Z* 24. 208 + *ysamaṣṣandā* 'earth'.

42. ASf

(i) -a *uvāra* 'noble' *JS* 4v4 (14) + *ba'ysüstā* 'bodhi'; *vasva* 'pure' P 3513. 4411 (Asm. 3) + *bhadra-ciryā* 'excellent course'; *haryāsa* 'black' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *hastama* 'best' Z 13. 30 + *balysüstu* 'bodhi'.

(ii) -ā *mistä* 'great' Hed. 23. 28 *KT* 4. 36 + *hawva* 'power'.

(iii) -u *garkhu* 'pregnant' *JS* 20r2 (85) + *strīya* 'woman'; *jaḍḍḅgyu* 'of folly' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *ttāru* 'dark' Z 4. 10 + *ṣṣavo* 'night'; *hastamu* 'best' Z 2. 1 + *balysüstu* 'bodhi'; *hodamu* 'seventh' Z 16. 62 + *būmu* 'bhūmi'.

(iv) -*iu* From the *i*-decl.; see § 52 (viii). *māstu* 'great' Z 5. 99 + *rründetu* 'brightness'; Z 20. 23 + *daju* 'flame'; *mīstu* 'great' Or 9609. 53v2 *KT* 1. 237 + *śśāratetu* 'goodness'.

(v) -o *gyaḍḍḅgyo* 'of folly' Z 22. 192 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *nuṣṭhuro* 'severe' Z 24. 212 + *ttādetu* 'darkness'; *hastamo* 'best' Z 13. 2 + *balysüstu* 'bodhi'; *hulgo* 'soft' Z 2. 49 + *baṣṭargyo* 'carpet'.

43. G-DSf

(i) -*iā* *māstä* 'great' Z 23. 148 + *pyore* 'cloud'; *mistä* 'great' Or 9609. 53r5 *KT* 1. 237 + *gyašte* 'devi' (so read) (tr. *mahādevyāh*).

(ii) -e *küre* 'false' Z 9. 10 + *syemāte* 'appearance'.

(iii) -*ie* *bveysye* 'long' S 2471. 114 *KBT* 94 + *jsñā* 'life'; *māste* 'great' Z 5. 11 + *dajā* 'flame'; *hvāṣṭye* 'chief' *Sw.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113 + *rrīne* 'queen'.

44. I-ASf

(i) -*i* *balysāñi* 'of Buddha' Z 13. 114 + *hote jsa* 'power'.

(ii) -*āñi* = -*āñe* (iii). *batāñi* 'little' Z 2. 115 + *karye jsa* 'effort'.

(iii) -*āñe* Unless attested by the isolated spelling -*eññā* (§ 20 (viii)), this termination is found only in the adj. and pronoun. It cannot therefore be derived from -*na* ISm + -*e* from the noun decl., as suggested by C. Hauri, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs -ENA des Instr. Sing. der A-Stämme des Altindischen*, 1963, p. 38. And the -*n*- of *ttāna* is not likely to have changed an I-ASf **tye* to *ttāñe*, as proposed by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 48. It is here (and in the LSf) that we do in fact find the fem. suffix -*ini* (< O.Ir. *-*inī*, cf. Av. *spaētini-* fem. of *spaēta-* 'white'), which E. Leumann proposed to see in NAP -*āñi* (§ 35 (vii)). The ending is then really -*ie*, the normal I-AS of the *i*-decl. (§ 54 (vii)).

O.Kh. examples: *anamkhāṣṭāñe* 'uncounted' *Sw.* K. 34v6 *KT* 5. 112 (so read) + *paphanemāte jsa* 'joy'; *māstäñe* 'great' Or 9609. 24v5 *KT* 1. 235 + *hāmēmāte jsa* 'coming into existence'; Or 9609. 36r7 *KT* 1. 236 + *siratete jsai* 'contentment' (tr. *mahatā praharṣeṇa*); *vasutāñe* 'pure' Or 9609. 68v1 *KT* 1. 241 + *ūce jsa* 'water'.

(iv) -*iñe* = *āñe* (iii). *pvātīñe* 'cool' *Sw.* K. 31r4 *KT* 5. 109; 34r6 *KT* 5. 112 + *ūce jsa* 'water'; *mīstiñe* 'great' Kha 1. 13. 144r2 *KBT* 5 + *rründete jsa* 'brightness'.

(v) -*e* *adyematīje* 'unseeing' Z 6. 7 + *dyemāte jsa* 'sight'; *gyastūñe* 'divine' Z 23. 10 + *phare jsa* 'speech'.

(vi) -*ie* *īñete* 'foreign' *Sw.* K. 35v1 *KT* 5. 113 + *hīñe jsa* 'army'; *daśśīme* 'tenth' Z 15. 126 + *bhūme jsa* 'bhūmi'; *balysāñe* 'of Buddha' Kha 1. 13. 140v2 *KBT* 4 + *hvete jsa* 'power'; *māste* 'great' Z 2. 5; 4. 94 + *mulśde jsa* 'compassion'; *mīstye Avdh* 13r2 *KT* 3. 6 + *mulśdi jsa*; *mīstye* 'great' *Avdh* 15v2 *KT* 3. 8 + *ūci jsa* 'water'; *mamgere hatcašte nvyē jsa* 'old, broken ship' N 50. 29; *hatcascye* 'broken' *JS* 21r3 (91) + *nauvi jsa* 'ship'; *rrundāñe* 'royal' Or 9609. 36r1 *KT* 1. 236 + *māye jsa* 'intoxication'; *sāḍye* 'cold' MT a. vi. 0084a5 *KT* 5. 217 + *ūci jsa* 'water'; *hvamnye* 'Khotanese' *Avdh* 10r2 *KT* 3. 4 + *phari jsa* 'language'.

45. LSf

(i) -a *rrvīya* 'royal' *Sw.* K. 35v3 *KT* 5. 113 + *biśa* 'house'.

(ii) -*ia* *gyastāña* 'divine' *JS* 23r2 (100) + *kītha* 'city'; *balysāña* 'of Buddha' *SS* 24v4 *KT* 5. 332 + *tcārīma* 'sphere'; *mīsta* 'great' Or 9609. 5v2 *KT* 1. 234 + *kīntha* 'city' (tr. *mahānagare*).

(iii) -*āña* *pvātāña ūci* 'cool water' P 2958. 42-43 *KBT* 41 = *pvāvaña ūci* P 2798 161-2 *KBT* 43. L.Kh. for -*īña* (v).

(iv) -*iā* *tterā* (< *ttāra-* 'dark' S. Konow, *NTS*, xi, 1939, 23) Z 2. 122 + *ṣṣīve* 'night'.

(v) -*iña* Really LS -*ia* (§ 55 (i)) with -*ini* fem. suffix (v. § 44 (iii)). *hastamiña* 'best' *Sw.* K. 35v3 *KT* 5. 113 + *biśa* 'house'.

(vi) -o *tsāṣṭo* 'calm' Z 3. 30 + *diśo* 'direction'.

(vii) -*ña* < -*iña* (v). *śśārña* 'good' H 144 NS 55. 44r3 *KT* 5. 76 + *biśsa* 'house'.

46. NAPf

(i) -a *kāña* 'to be thought' Z 6. 51 + *akā'mate* 'non-thought'; *ttīśa'sta* 'brilliant' *JS* 21r2 (90) + *bu'jse* 'virtues'.

(ii) *-ā aniccā* 'impermanent' Z 2. 195 + *ṣkaunṅye* 'saṃskāra'; *daṣṭā* 'skilful' Z 22. 210 + *strīye* 'woman'; *yserā* 'pitiable' Z 5. 92 + *rrīṇe* 'queen'; *hwāṣṭā* 'chief' Z 23. 134 sc. *aṣye* 'nun'.

(iii) *-i tsāti* 'rich' Z 22. 210 + *strīye* 'woman'; *balysūni* 'of Buddha' Z 11. 5 + *ṣṣahāne* 'virtue'; *vicitri* 'variegated' Z 22. 168 + *bā'yi* 'ray'.

(iv) *-iā = -ie* (vi). *jaṣṭā* 'devī' Z 23. 156 + *avātsare* 'apsaras'; *māṣṭā* 'great' Z 3. 121 + *pyaure* 'cloud'.

(v) *-e kūre* 'false' Z 6. 35 + *dṣṣṭiyate* 'wrong view'; *tsāte* 'rich' Z 20 10 + *bise* 'house'; *miste* 'great' JS 4r3 (12); 21r2 (90) + *bu'jse* 'virtue'; *ṣṣāre* 'good' Z 24. 192 + *byātagargye* 'amusmṛti'; *hambaḍe* 'fulfilled' Z 24. 201 + *māṣṭā* 'month'.

(vi) *-ie* < *i*-decl., v. § 56 (ix). *māṣṭe* 'great' Z 10. 17 + *smṛtā* 'smṛti'.

47. I-APf

(i) *-ā* Cf. I-AP *a*-decl. *-āṃ* § 15 (ii); G-DP *-ā(ṃ)* § 14 (vi), (vii). L.Kh. only: *maiṣṭā* 'great' P 2787. 12 KT 2. 101 + *baṣḍām* 'jsa (so read) 'sin'.

(ii) *-yau avamāyau* 'unmeasured' (*-y-* < *-vy-*) Hed. 23. 13 KT 4. 36 + *bā'yau* 'ray'; JS 23v3 (103) + *bu'jsyau* 'virtue'.

48. LPf

(i) *-uvo* *dīruvo* 'inferior' Khot. (IO) 12a1 KT 5. 348 + *gavušo* 'gati'.

(ii) *-vā aysmvojoā* 'of the mind' JS 19r3 (82) + *bisvā* 'house'.

(iii) *-vo balysānvo* 'of Buddha' SS 24r4 KT 5. 332 + *tcārīmvvo* 'sphere'.

(iv) *-vo* *dīrvo* 'inferior' Stein E 1. 7 149r5 KT 5. 78 + *gavo* 'gati'.

49. 4. The *i*-declension

There is only one *i*-decl. in Kh., corresponding both to the *i*-decl. and to the *i*-decl. of I.I. and I.E. This must from a descriptive point of view be called the *i*-decl., from a historical point of view the *i*-decl. Here we must follow Leumann (e.g. 'E', p. 386) rather than S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 38. Konow's NS *ṣṣāratātī* does not exist; it is his own invention. The normal *ṣṣāratātā* is well attested: Z 15. 4; 23. 12, 110, 113; *Suv. K.* 34v4 KT 5. 112. Note also that there is no NS in *-ā* as in S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 38. *ṣṣādaā-* belongs to the *aā*-decl. As pointed out by Leumann, it is an abstract in **-takā* ('E', p. 94) like O.Kh. *brīyaā-* 'love' < **frītakā-*.

In the Kh. *i*-decl., we thus find *hālsti-* 'Av., OP *arṣṭi-* f., O.Ind. *rṣṣṭi-* f.) 'spear' as well as *nāri-* 'wife' (Av. *nāri-* f., O.Ind. *nāri-* f.). As there was only one *i*-decl. in Kh., loanwords from O.Ind. also, whether

from the *i*-decl. or the *i*-decl., were declined alike in Kh. Thus, Kh. has *dṣṣṭi-* < O.Ind. *dṣṣṭi-* f., *bhūmi-* < O.Ind. *bhūmi-* f., but also *dhāraṇi-* < O.Ind. *dhāraṇi-* f.

O.Ind. inherited two kinds of *i*-decl. (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 163-4) as well as an *i*-decl. I leave aside the question of root nouns in *-i*, as none is found in Kh. O.Ir. **stri-* (Av., O.Ind. *stri-*) has been transferred to the *ā*-decl. in Kh.: *strīyā-* (cf. Man. Sogd. (')*stryč* 'female' < **stri-kā-* I. G., GMS, § 248, p. 40). OP has a single paradigm (v. Kent, § 179, p. 61). Avestan has both *i*-decl. and *i*-decl., the former showing traces of two kinds of decl. as in O.Ind. (v. Barth. GIP, i, § 191, p. 104). Kh. is noteworthy in showing an AS *-iu* < O.Ir. **-yam*, not found elsewhere in Ir. but attested in O.Ind. (v. § 52 (viii)), and a NP *-ie* < O.Ir. **-yāh*, not found in I.I. elsewhere but representing IE **-iās* (v. § 56 (ix)).

All words in the Kh. *i*-decl. are fem. Already in O.Ir. all *i*-decl. words were fem. (v. Barth., GIP, i, § 191. 2, p. 104). See also § 27, p. 280. Note that *cā'yā-* 'magic' shows transfer to the *ā*-decl. already in the O.Kh. compound *cā'ya-nārmāta-* 'magic-created' Z 4. 41+. *ggara-* 'mountain' (Av. *gairi-* m.) has been transferred to the *a*-decl. See also § 4, p. 250.

As palatalization was a feature of most of the case-forms in this decl. it was often extended analogically to other cases: O.Kh.: G-DP *hālštānu* 'spear'; I-AP *atapyattetyau* 'impurity'; LP *tcārīmuvo* 'sphere'; L.Kh.: NS *huṇā* 'blood'; *mu'sde* 'compassion'; NAP *māṣṭā* 'month', G-DP *māṣṭām*; I-AP *bvaiyyau jsa*, *bveyā jsa*, *bvaiyām jsa* 'ray'; LP *tcārīmvā* 'sphere'. In dealing with the *i*-decl., I have used PG (= palatalization generalized) to indicate this feature.

The effects of palatalization in the *i*-decl. are as follows:

1. *a* > *i* before *nth, m, r*

brīnṭhi NAP < *branṭhi-* 'whirlwind'; *tcārīmā* LS < *tcārami-* 'sphere'; *tcīru* AS < *tcari-* 'face'.

2. *ā* > *e* before *t, r*, (L.Kh. only) *y*

esp. in *-ttetu* AS < *-ttāti* abstr. suffix; *sīravetu* AS < *sīravāti* 'contentment'; *aretu* AS < *arāti-* 'envy'; *tteru* AS < *ttāri-* 'forehead'; *bveyā isa* I-AP (L.Kh. only) < *bā'yi-* 'ray'.

3. *n* > *ñ*

hūnu AS < *hūni-* 'blood'.

4. *st* > *št*

balysūstu AS < *balysūsti-* 'bodhi'.

5. *ysd* > *śd*

mulśdu AS < *mulysdi-* 'compassion'.

50. Terminations of the *i*-declension

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	-ā	NA -(i)ā
A	-i <u>u</u> -ā	
G-D	-i <u>e</u> -iā	G-D -ānu
I-A	-i <u>e</u> -iā (jsa)	I-A -yau -yo (jsa)
L	-i <u>a</u>	-(u)vo'

51. NS

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only, due to loss of short final vowels; cf. § 6 (i), p. 251. *hajvattā* P 3513. 50r2 (Asm. 32) < *hajvattāti*- 'wisdom'.

(ii) -a Either a L.Kh. spelling of -ā (iii) or due to transfer to the ā-decl.: *nāra* 'wife' P 2789. 24 KT 2. 110.

(iii) -ā Very common in O.Kh.: *arātā* 'envy' Z 2. 9; *ttādātā* 'darkness' Z 2. 229; 5. 79; *tcārā* 'face' Z 21. 16; *dr̥ṣṭā* 'view' Z 1. 35; *dhāraṇā* Z 6. 19; *nārā* 'wife' Z 24. 448; *balysūstā* 'bodhi' Z 3. 18; *būmā* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 18; *māstā* 'moon' Z 23. 22; *mulysdā* 'compassion' Z 2. 58, 189, 196, 197 (bis), 225; *ysurrā* 'anger' Z 3. 63; *rrustā* 'dominion' SS 83r3 KT 5. 341; *śśāratātā* 'goodness' Z 15. 4; 23. 12, 110, 113; *hajvattātā* 'wisdom' Z 2. 197; 20. 26; *hūnā* 'blood' Z 15. 93; 20. 54. Found also in L.Kh.: *nārā* P 2741. 50 KT 2. 89; *Amṛta* 20 KT 5. 62.

This ending could be derived from O.Ir. *-i or *-iṣ. It is probably not like O.Ind. -iḥ in *vr̥kīḥ* (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 170 ff.).

(iv) -i = -ā (iii), but rare; *tcari* 'face' Z 4. 100; *mulysdi* 'compassion' Z 2. 201.

(v) -iā = AS -iā § 52 (v); G-DS § 53 (vi); I-AS § 54 (iii); LS § 55 (ii). Generalization of the oblique form (cf. Dresden, p. 408, n. 35a). L.Kh. only: *tterā* 'forehead' JS 4v1 (13); *māstā* 'month' Si 3r4 KT 1. 6; *hūñā* 'blood' JS 18r3 (77).

(vi) -ie Cf. (v). L.Kh. only: *mu'sde* 'compassion' JS 33r4 (146).

52. AS

(i) *No ending* = NS § 51 (i). L.Kh. only: *ttādā* JS 19r4 (82); 19v2 (83) < *ttādāti*- 'darkness'; *rrumḍā* JS 18v3 (79); Ch 00268. 147 KBT 66 < *rrumḍāti*- 'brightness'.

(ii) -a = NS § 51 (ii). L.Kh. only: *ttāra* 'forehead' JS 22r3 (95); *nāra* 'wife' P 2928. 7 KT 3. 105; *ysura* 'anger' P 2783. 201 (40) KT 3. 74.

(iii) -ia L.Kh. spelling of -iu (viii). Examples: *beysūsta* 'bodhi' S 2471. 200 KBT 97; *mu'sda* 'compassion' Hed. 23. 27 KT 4. 36; *hūña* 'blood' JS 22v3 (98).

(iv) -ā = NS § 51 (iii). O.Kh.: *bā'yā* 'ray' Z 2. 56; *ysurrā* 'anger' Z 3. 71; *Sarasvatā* 'Sarasvati' Z 24. 223. L.Kh.: *nārā* 'wife' JS 12v1 (50).

(v) -iā = -iu (viii). O.Kh.: *rrustā* 'royalty' Z 5. 42. L.Kh.: *ba'ysūstā* 'bodhi' P 3513. 53r3 (Asm. 46); 56r1 (60); *hūñā* 'blood' Ch ii. 004. 2r4 KBT 144.

(vi) -ii O.Kh. spelling of -iu (viii); *paysānosti* 'understanding' Z 22. 244; *rrusti* 'dominion, royalty' Z 13. 31.

(vii) -u From -iu (viii) with stems not showing palatalization. O.Kh. only: *dr̥ṣṭu* 'view' Z 12. 77; *bā'yu* 'ray' Z 5. 39; *būmu* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 32; *bhūmu* Z 16. 64; *ysurru* 'anger' Z 3. 72+.

(viii) -iu Very common in O.Kh. As *-io has not been found even once yet, -iu must be derived from O.Ir. *-yam (as S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 33), not < *-yām (as S. Konow, *Primer*, 1949, p. 38). *-yam is not found elsewhere in Ir., but it occurs in the O.Ind. *vr̥kī*-decl. (*vr̥kyam*; J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 170). Not yet found in L.Kh., where -u in general is rare.

Examples: *aretu* 'envy' Z 23. 111+; *ttādetu* 'darkness' Z 5. 11; 22. 192; *tcūru* 'face' Z 21. 22; *tteru* 'forehead' Z 2. 56+; *tsāṣtatetu* 'calmness' *Suv. K.* 29r6 KT 5. 107; *ttuśṣāttetu* 'emptiness' Z 6. 8; *rrāṣtatetu* 'rightness' Z 6. 11; *pīrātetu* 'belief' SS 35v4 KT 5. 337; *rrūndetu* 'brightness' SS 84v5 KT 5. 342; *mulśdu* 'compassion' Z 2. 132+; *balysūstu* 'bodhi' Z 3. 74; *śśāratetu* 'goodness' *Suv. K.* 29r6 KT 5. 107; *śīravetu* 'contentment' *Suv. K.* 33v2 KT 5. 111; *hūnu* 'blood' Z 24. 412.

(ix) -ie = -iā (v). O.Kh., rare: *balysūste* 'bodhi' Z 24. 199. L.Kh.: *mu'sde* 'compassion' JS 16v3 (70).

(x) -o Probably due to transfer to the ā-decl.: *dr̥ṣṭo* 'view' Z 24. 170.

53. G-DS

(i) *No ending* = NS § 51 (i); AS § 52 (i). < -ā (iv). L.Kh. only: *styūdā* JS 18r4 (77) < *styūdatāti*- 'steadfastness'.

(ii) -a L.Kh. spelling for -ā (iv): *ysūra* 'anger' P 3513. 81v1 KBT 64.

(iii) -ia L.Kh. spelling for -iā (vi): *mu'sda* 'compassion' JS 8v2 (32); *hūña* 'blood' Si 17r4 KT 1. 26; *tterra* 'forehead' P 4649. 6 KT 2. 124.

(iv) -ā From -iā (vi) in words not showing palatalization: *Kettumatā* 'Ketumatī' Z 22. 246; *cā'yā* 'magic' Z 3. 13.

(v) -i = -ā (iv). *ysūrri* 'anger' P 3513. 45v3 (Asm. 12).

(vi) -iā As this spelling is found in O.Kh., it may not be a spelling variant of -ie (ix). In that case, it is < O.Ir. *-yāh (Av. -yō, O.Ind. -yah; Barth., *GIP*, § 191, p. 104). O.Kh.: *balysūstā* 'bodhi' Z 10. 5.

(vii) *-i* = (vi). O.Kh.: *ttāni* 'skin' Z 23. 15. L.Kh.: *ba'yüsüti* 'bodhi', *ḡS* 12v4 (52); 21r2 (90).

(viii) *-e* From *-ie* in words not showing palatalization. Examples: *cā'ye* 'magic' Z 6. 42; *bhūme* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 51; *mulysde* 'compassion' Z 11. 3, 9.

(ix) *-ie* The most common spelling both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. < O.Ir. **-yāh* (Av. *-yā*, O.Ind. *-yāh*; Barth., *GIP*, i, § 191, p. 104). O.Kh.: *arete* 'envy' Z 23. 102, 104; *ttēre* 'forehead' Z 20. 52; *dhāraṇe* 'dhāraṇi' Z 13. 51; *balysüste* 'bodhi' Z 13. 62; *mulśde* 'compassion' Z 3. 14; *śśāratete* 'goodness' Z 11. 5+; *hajvattete* 'wisdom' Z 14. 73; *hūñe* 'blood' Z 13. 99. L.Kh.: *nere* 'wife' *ḡS* 23r2 (99).

54. I-AS

The I.I. abl. was identical in form with the gen. For the explanation of the forms, see the appropriate section of § 53.

(i) *-a* (*jsa*) *draiṣṭa jsa* 'view' P 3513. 82v4 *KBT* 65; *ysurra jsa* 'anger' Hed. 23. 18 *KT* 4. 36.

(ii) *-ia* (*jsa*) *ttēra jsa* 'forehead' P 3513. 76v1 *KBT* 62; *nera jsa* 'wife' P 2783. 211 (50) *KT* 3. 74; P 2928. 14 *KT* 3. 105; *naira . . . jsa* *ḡS* 39v2; *mu'śda jsa* 'compassion' *ḡS* 8r2 (30).

(iii) *-iā* (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *vasutattētā* 'purity' Z 3. 93. L.Kh.: *hūñā* 'blood' *ḡS* 10v2 (42).

(iv) *-i* (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *mulśdi* 'compassion' Z 22. 292; *hūñi jsa* 'blood' Z 23. 15. L.Kh.: *tcīri jsa* 'face' *ḡS* 11r1 (43); *mu'śdi jsa* 'compassion' *ḡS* 7v2 (27).

(v) *-i* (*jsa*) *ysurri jsa* 'anger' *ḡS* 16v4-17r1 (71).

(vi) *-e* (*jsa*) *drṣṭe jsa* 'view' Z 7. 25; *bhūme jsa* 'bhūmi' Z 15. 126; *ysurre jsa* 'anger' Z 2. 19+.

(vii) *-ie* (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *ttēre jsa* 'forehead' Z 22. 256; *balysüste jsa* 'bodhi' Z 12. 45, 48; *mulśde jsa* 'compassion' Z 5. 19+; *śśāratete jsa* 'goodness' Z 24. 191; *rrūndete jsa* 'brightness' Kha 1. 13. 144r2 *KBT* 5; *hajvattete jsa* 'wisdom' Z 2. 224. L.Kh.: *mvai'śde' jsa* 'compassion' P 3513. 82v3 *KBT* 65.

55. LS

(i) *-ia* The expected form < O.Ir. **-yā*, cf. OP *-iyā* (< IE **-iā*). O.Kh.: *ttādetā* 'darkness' Z 23. 99; *balysüsta* 'bodhi' Z 10. 2; *hajvatteta* 'wisdom' Z 11. 31. L.Kh.: *ttādetā* 'darkness' *ḡS* 25v1 (111); *māsta* 'month' Hed. 3. 13 *KT* 4. 22.

(ii) *-iā* = (i). *tcārīmā* 'sphere' Kha 1. 135a3 b4 *KT* 5. 381.

(iii) *-i* = (ii). *māsti* 'month' *Si* 1 bis r5 *KT* 1. 3.

56. NAP

(i) *-a* L.Kh. spelling for *-ā* (iii): *bhūma* 'bhūmi' Hed. 23. 24 *KT* 4. 36.

(ii) *-ia* = *-iā* (v). L.Kh.: *hūsta* 'spear' P 4099. 231 *KBT* 124 (= *hālsti* Z 5. 74).

(iii) *-ā* Probably = *-iā* (v) in words not showing palatalization rather than a distinct inherited termination (cf. Av. *-iṣ*, O.Ind. *-iḥ*). Examples: *drṣṭā* 'view' Z 3. 140+; *bā'yā* 'ray' Z 13. 109; *SS* 84v3 *KT* 5. 342; *bhūmā* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 17.

(iv) *-i* = (iii). *dhāraṇi* Z 1. 47; *būmi* 'bhūmi' Z 10. 21.

(v) *-iā* < O.Ir. **-yah* (Av. *-yō*; O.Ind. *-yāh*) in the *i*-decl. and O.Ir. **-ayah* (Av. *-ayō*; O.Ind. *-ayah*) in the *i*-decl.

O.Kh.: *māstä* 'month' Z 24. 201; *hālstä* 'spear' Z 4. 60. L.Kh.: *māstä* 'month' *ḡS* 14v4 (62); 22r3 (95).

(vi) *-i* = (v). *dhāraṇi* 'dhāraṇi' Z 13. 49, 154; *brīnṭhi* 'whirlpool' Z 22. 325; *hālsti* 'spear' Z 5. 74.

(vii) *-u* = *-ā* (iii), *-i* (iv); cf. NAP *-u* in *a*-decl. § 12 (vi). *būmu* 'bhūmi' Z 16. 65; *bhūmu* *SS* 84v1 *KT* 5. 342.

(viii) *-e* Either from *-ie* (ix) in words not showing palatalization or due to transfer to the *ā*-decl. L.Kh.: *nāre* 'wife' *ḡS* 35r3 (153).

(ix) *-ie* This spelling is frequent in O.Kh. and is therefore not likely to be a spelling variant of *-iā* (v), although an O.Ir. **-yāh* (IE **-iās*) is not found elsewhere in I.I. (see Brugmann, ii. 2. 1, § 221, p. 214). Examples: *daṣṭatete* 'skilfulness' Z 20. 19; *bitandete* 'perplexity' Z 11. 30; *hālste* 'spear' Z 24. 279.

57. G-DP

(i) *-āṃ* L.Kh. < *-ānu* (ii). L.Kh.: *bā'yāṃ* 'ray' *Avdh* 11r4 *KT* 3. 5; *māstäṃ* 'month' Ch c. 001. 743 *KBT* 90 (PG).

(ii) *-ānu* Due to transfer to the *ā*-decl. O.Kh.: *dāraṇānu* 'dhāraṇi' H 142 NS 82r2 *KT* 5. 105 (PG); *būmānu* 'bhūmi' Z 13. 43.

(iii) *-ānu* O.Kh. only, < O.Ir. **-inām* (Av. *-inām*; O.Ind. *-inām*). O.Kh.: *drṣṭānu* 'view' Z 24. 644; *dhāraṇānu* 'dhāraṇi' Z 23. 10; *bā'yānu* 'ray' Kha 1. 160. 1r2 *KT* 1. 252; *māstänu* 'month' N 75. 40 (PG); *hālstänu* 'spear' Z 24. 422 (PG).

(iv) *-inu* = (iii). O.Kh. only: *hālstinu* 'spear' Z 24. 410 (PG). O.Kh.: *ggariṇu* 'mountain' Z 17. 21; *SS* 21r1 *KT* 5. 331 (*-ṇ-* due to *-r-* by

Sanskritization) could show a trace of its *i*-stem origin or belong to the *a*-decl. (cf. § 14 (xii)), to which it normally belongs. Note that *-ānu* in the *a*-decl. is not likely to have been influenced by the *i*-decl., as the more closely associated *ā*-decl. does not show *-ānu*.

58. *I-AP*

(i) *-yā (jsa)* L.Kh. spelling for *-yau (jsa)* (iv). *bveyā jsa* 'ray' (*-y- < -yy-*) Ch I. 0021b b35 *KB T* 154 (PG).

(ii) *-yām (jsa)* L.Kh. for (iv). *bvaiyām jsa* 'ray' (*-y- < -yy-*) P 2787. 29 *KT* 2. 102 (PG).

(iii) *-yo (jsa)* = (iv). O.Kh.: *cā'yyo jsa* 'magic' Z 2. 47. L.Kh.: *bā'yo* 'ray' (*-y- < -yy-*) *ṢS* 711 (24).

(iv) *-yau (jsa)* If *-yau* is *< *-ābiš* (§ 15 (iv)), it has spread to the *i*-decl. from the *ā*-decl.

O.Kh.: *atapyattetyau* 'impurity' Or 9609. 24v3 *KT* 1. 235 (PG); *cā'yrau* Or 9609. 4v2 *KT* 1. 233 tr. *kākhorda-*; *dr̥ṣṭyau jsa* 'view' Z 24. 172; *bā'yrau jsa* 'ray' Z 13. 115; *rāddhyau 'rddhū'* Z 23. 129. L.Kh.: *bvaiyrau jsa* 'ray' P 2787. 31 *KT* 2. 102 (PG).

59. *LP*

(i) *-uvo'* *< O.Ir. *-išu-ām*. O.Kh.: *tcārimuvo* 'sphere' *SS* 61r6 *KT* 5. 338 (PG).

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh.: *tcārimvā* 'sphere' Kha I. 135a3 a3 *KT* 5. 381 (PG).

60. 5. *Diphthong declension*

Kh. shows perhaps a trace of the inherited diphthong declension of I.I. in one word only: *nau* f. 'boat; ship' (B. Sogd. *n'wh*; NP *nāv*; O.Ind. *nauh*; Av. *nav-* in *navāza-*, cf. MPe *n'w'z*, O.Ind. *nāvāja-*).

The forms attested in O.Kh. are:

NS *nau* N 50. 34; *no* N 50. 32; Z 13. 27
G-DS *nve* N 50. 30
I-AS *nve jsa* N 50. 33; *nve jsa* N 50. 29
LS *noya* N 50. 35; *nauya* Kha vii 1. 43r2 *KT* 5. 182; *nva*
N 50. 32.

The forms attested in L.Kh. are:

NS *nauvi* *ṢS* 30v2 (134)
I-AS *nauvi jsa* *ṢS* 16r3 (68); 21r3 (91)
NP *nānvi* Ch I. 0021a, b30 *KT* 2. 57

The L.Kh. forms are evidently late replacements of the O.Kh. forms. They probably indicate a stem **nauvā-*, with which we may compare the similar post-Vedic development of *naukā-* f. in O.Ind.

Of the O.Kh. forms, only the NS *nau* and the LS *nauya* could be inherited, *< O.Ir. *nāuh* and **nāvī-ā* (cf. O.Ind. *nauh*, *nāvī*) respectively. If, however, NS *nau* is derived *< *nāvā*, as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 44, then all forms could be derived from an O.Ir. **nāvā-*. The oblique forms (except *nauya*, *noya*) must be derived *< *nāvā-* (cf. Av. *navāza-*; O.Ind. *bhinna-nāvah*; see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii. 218).

61. Two other words have previously been referred to under this heading: Kh. *gūhā-* 'cow' and *rrāya-* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 44; *Primer*, p. 38). *gūhā-* represents an O.Ir. **gāu-* with a suffix, cf. Oss. D. *γog*, I. *qūg* *< *gaukā-*, Bal. *gok*, and consequently, it has here been included in the *ā*-decl. In *Saka Studies*, p. 44, S. Konow refers Kh. *rrānā* to O.Ir. **rāi-*. This form has been found once only so far, in N 52. 9, and is doubtful. Better with H. W. B. is the derivation *< O.Ir. *rāna-*, cf. Oss. D. *ronā*, I. *ron* 'girdle' (on which, H. W. B., *TPS*, 1945, 23-24); B. Sogd. *r'n'kh*, Chr. *r'n'* (I. G., *ṢRAS*, 1946, 180). In the *Primer*, S. Konow refers Kh. *rrāyi*, *rrāyā* to O.Ir. **rāi-*. Three occurrences of the word are known to me: *dr̥rai rrāyā ṣṣīve haḍāya* Z 11. 61; *dr̥rai rrāyi ṣṣīve haḍāya* Z 22. 270; *ce ne tye rrāyā mārāre* N 105. 37 = H 142 NS 58. 50r3 *KT* 5. 88. In the glossary to 'E', Leumann suggested 'night' comparing O.Ind. *rātri-*. Neither 'night' nor 'wealth' suits the contexts. H. W. B. explains as meaning 'time, fois', and compares Oss. D. *rādā* I. *rād* 'turn' *< O.Ir. *rāta-*. The Kh. forms imply a stem *rrāyā-*.

62.

B. SECONDARY

The second great division of the vocalic declension has been called the 'secondary' vocalic declension (see § 1, p. 249), because it has developed secondarily within Kh. and merely continues the *ā*-declensions, though they are disguised by the contractions that have taken place. Most branches of the secondary vocalic declension contain words which had a **-kā* suffix. The intervocalic **-k-* was voiced, disappeared, and the resulting hiatus was closed by vowel contraction. Thus, we find:

**-a-ka* *āstaa- kṣundaa- pīśaa-*
**-a-kā* *buljsā- śśandaā-*
**-ā-ka* *nātā-*
**-i-ka* *Anāhaṇḍiā-*
**-i-kā* *ūvāysiā-*
**-u-ka* *bāysua-*
**-ū-ka* *busūa-*

The same type of secondary declension resulted from the loss of other intervocalic stops: *dāa-* 'fire' < **dāga-*; *pāa-* 'foot' < **pāda-* etc. A unique type of declension is formed by the contraction of words in older *-*āva*, e.g. *nādau* 'fire' < **nī-dāva-*. -*y-* in loanwords from Indian was sometimes lost with the same result: *praca-* 'pratyaya'; *ṛṣaa-* 'ṛṣi' (beside more usual *riṣaya-* in the *a*-decl.).

It has proved possible to establish a set of 'rules of contraction' that applies to all the secondary vocalic declensions. At the time when contraction took place, the G-DSm was in *-*i* (see § 9 (iii) p. 256); G-DSf, I-ASf -*ye*; I-ASm -*ina*; LS -*ya*, -*ña*; LP -*vo'*, -*vā'*.

Note that K means any intervocalic consonant whose loss results in contraction; *ǝ* = any short vowel; *ǝ̄* = any long vowel.

RULES OF CONTRACTION

- i a *ǎ+ǎ* > *ǎ*
 b *ǐ+ǐ* > *ī*
 c *ǔ+ǔ* > *ū*
 ii a *ǎ+ǐ* > *ai*, *ei*
 b *ǎ+u*, *o* > *au*, *o*
 c *ǎ+e* > *e*
 iii a *ǐ+u* > **ī+i* > *ī*
 b *ǔ+i* > **ū+u* > *ū*
 c *ǔ+ī* > *vī*, *uī*, *uvi*
 d *e+i* > *ei*
 iv a *i+ǎ*, *e*, *o* > -(*i*)*yǎ*, -(*i*)*ye*, -(*i*)*yo*
 b *ǎ+ǎ*, *e*, *o* > -(*u*)*vǎ*/-*ūvǎ*, -(*u*)*ve*/-*ūve*, -(*u*)*vo*/-*ūvo*
 v a *ǎ+v* > *au*, *o*
 b **ǎ+v* > *vai*, *uai*
 c *ǎ+y* > *auy* (but *-*āvya* > -*vyau*, not *-*avyau*)
 vi a *ǎK* lost before *y*, *v*
 (but *ǎK* > *ǎ* before *y*, *v* in polysyllabic stems)
 b -*Kǎ* lost after *ǎ* in polysyllabic stems
 c *ǎK* > -(*i*)*y* before *y*, *v*
 -*ǎK* > -(*u*)*v* before *y*, *v*

On *-*avya* > -*avya* in Ir., see H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 92.

In O.Kh. *iy* (*āy*, *āt*, etc.) appears to alternate freely with *y* after a consonant. Similarly -*uv* alternates with -*v*.

References in brackets after the endings in the secondary declensions are to the above rules of contraction.

63. I. aa-declension

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	NA - <i>ā</i> , - <i>e</i> (i a, ii c)
V	- <i>ā</i> (i a)	
A	- <i>au</i> (ii b)	
G-D	- <i>ai</i> (ii a)	G-D - <i>ānu</i> (i a)
I-A	- <i>āina</i> (ii a)	I-A - <i>yau</i> (<i>jsa</i>) (vi a)
L	- <i>iya</i> (vi a)	L - <i>uvo'</i> (vi a)

Forms of *rraa-* 'vein' have been included in the *aa*-decl., although from the point of view of its declension it could belong to the *āa*-decl. Phonologically, however, it must be *rrāa-*. Parth. *rhg* and Sogd. *r'k* indicate an O.Ir. **rahaka-* (see W. B. Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 56; *BSOAS*, xiv. 3, 1952, 449, n. 1). That Kh. *rraa-* belongs with these words was pointed out by Dresden (p. 484 s.v. *re-*; *rrāa-* etc., is, however, quite different) and H. W. B., *KT* 4. 113. Kh. *rrāa-* < **rahaka-* is like *hvar-* 'sister' < **hvahar-* (cf. Av. *x^vanhar-*; Oss. D. *xūārā*; Sogd. *xw'r* etc.).

Among the words belonging to the *aa*-declension are the following: *āchaa-* 'illness, disease'; *āstaa-* 'bone'; *kṣundaa-* 'husband'; *ggāthaa-* 'householder'; *pīśaa-* 'teacher'; *praca-* 'pratyaya'; *balysūñavūysaa-* 'Bodhi-seeker'; *Mitraa-* 'Maitreya'; *ysamaśśandaa-* 'loka'; *ṣṣāvaa-* 'śrāvaka'; *spātaa-* 'flower'; *hālaa-* 'side, direction'.

64. NS

(i) -*e* -*ai* (ii) > -*ei* (iii) > -*e*. L.Kh. only: *pīse* Ch ii. 004. 3r2 *KBT* 145; *ṣāve* P 3513. 36v1 *KBT* 60.

(ii) -*ai* O.Kh.: *āchai* Z 5. 18; *ḡivai* 'Jivaka' Z 6. 12; *pīśai* Z 11. 42+; *pratābimbai* 'image' Z 6. 6; *pracai* Z 5. 80+; *balysūñavūysai* Z 6. 47; *SS* 7v2 *KT* 5. 329; *bārrai* 'carpenter' Z 2. 91; *Mitrai* Z 22. 165; *ysamaśśandai* Z 2. 8; *vinai* 'vinaya' Z 13. 16; *ṣṣāvai* Z 22. 283. L.Kh.: *āstai* *Si* 13214 *KT* 1. 66; *pīśai* *ḡS* 5v3 (19).

(iii) -*ei* Rare, = -*ai*. O.Kh. only: *āchei* Z 13. 108+; *ṛṣei* 'ṛṣi' Z 24. 235; *ysamaśśandei* Z 22. 188+.

65. VS

(i) -*ā* *balysūñavūysā* *Avdh* 10v2 *KT* 3. 4; *Maitrā* Z 3. 21; *vaṭhāyā* 'pupil' Leningrad S 1. o. 20. 1b5 *KT* 5. 313.

66. AS

(i) -*i* L.Kh. spelling of -*ai* (ii); cf. NS -*e* § 64 (i). *āchī* *Si* 123r3 *KT* 1. 52; *ḡP* 85r1 *KT* 1. 169.

(ii) *-ai* = NS *-ai* § 64 (ii). O.Kh.: *balysūñāvūysai* Z 2. 189; *Maitrai* Z 3. 6; L.Kh.: *āstai* §S 18r2 (76).

(iii) *-o* = *-au* (iv). Common in O.Kh., but not yet noticed in L.Kh.: *āsto* Z 23. 15; *kṣumdo* Z 24. 448; *ñivo* 'Jivaka' Z 13. 105, 107; *pīso* Z 12. 22, 24, 26; *Mātro* Z 22. 311; *ysamaśśando* Z 24. 247; *hālo* Z 23. 143.

(iv) *-au* Common in O.Kh., but not yet noticed in L.Kh.: *kṣundau* Z 19. 74; *balysūñāvūysau* SS 7r6 KT 5. 329; *Māttrau* Z 22. 215; *vinau* 'vinaya' Z 22. 224; *hvanau* 'speech' Z 1. 189.

67. G-DS

(i) *-i* L.Kh. only; *-ai* (iii) > *-ei* (iv) > *-e* (ii) > *-i*. *āchi* Si 14v5 KT 1. 22.

(ii) *-e* See (i). L.Kh., but once in O.Kh.: *hāle* Or 9609. 4r4 KT 1. 233. L.Kh.: *āche* Si 134r2 KT 1. 68; P 3513. 22r2 KBT 56.

(iii) *-ai* O.Kh.: *kṣundai* Z 22. 123; *Maitrai* Z 3. 151; *hālai* Z 12. 126. L.Kh.: *kṣudai* §S 19v3 (84).

(iv) *-ei* = (iii). O.Kh. only: *kṣundei* Z 22. 241; *Mātrei* Z 22. 334; *ysamaśśandei* Z 24. 185, 248; *hālei* Z 23. 153.

68. I-AS

(i) *-ina* *-aina* (iv) > *-ina* (v) > *-ena* (iii) > *-ina*. L.Kh. only: *prracīna* P 3513. 17v2 KBT 55.

(ii) *-ai* *jsa* Cf. § 10 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *āchai* *jsa* S 2471. 281 KBT 100.

(iii) *-ena* See (i). L.Kh. only: *prracēna* P 2958. 40 KBT 41.

(iv) *-aina* The usual spelling in O.Kh.: *āchaina* Z 7. 37; *āstaina* Z 5. 8; *pracaina* Z 24. 383; *Maittraina* Z 13. 8. Found also in L.Kh.: *kṣāmdai* . . . *-na* N 164. 8; *pracaina* §S 8v1 (31)+.

(v) *-ena* O.Kh. only, = *-aina* (iv). *balysūñāvūyseina* Kha 1. 13. 134v4 KBT 1; *vineina* 'vinaya' Z 13. 106.

69. LS

(i) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *drrau-mūjsiya* 'hair-pore' Z 23. 366; *ysamaśśandiyā* Z 24. 52; *vinīya* 'vinaya' Z 13. 90 (*a*-decl.?).

(ii) *-ai* *-ai* < **-aki* (ii a); *-i* LSM § 11 (vi), (vii). *hālai* in §S 10v2 (41); 22v1 (96) seems best regarded as LS. This is supported by *hālaiyāṣṭa* §S 13v3 (56), where the L is regular.

(iii) *-ya* O.Kh.: *drau-mūjsya* 'hair-pore' Z 6. 4. L.Kh.: *āstyā* Si 100v4 KT 1. 34; Ch ii. 003. 86r1 KT 1. 169; *drā-maujsya* 'hair-pore' P 3510. 3. 1 KBT 48.

(iv) *-yā* = (iii). L.Kh. only: *āstyā* Ch ii. 003. 88r5 KT 1. 171; 102v3 KT 1. 183.

70. NAP

(i) *-ā* The usual ending both in O.Kh. and in L.Kh. O.Kh.: *āchā* Z 3. 144; *ggāthā* Z 22. 316+; *ṣṣāvā* Z 2. 77; 13. 14; *pr(r)acyā* Z 5. 54, 76; 8. 16 (*pr(r)acya* in Z 8. 21; 13. 41 is the *a*-decl. form < **pracaya-*, cf. NWPkt *prace'a* DhP 88; the spelling *pracyaa-* is due to *pracaa-* + *pracya-*). L.Kh.: *āchā* Si 8v4 KT 1. 12; *pīsā* P 2026. 88 KT 3. 52; *rā* 'vein' Hed. 17. 14 KT 4. 31 (read *rā ve*; L.Kh. *ve* = O.Kh. *vāte*+A); *rrā-v-ī* 'his veins' Si 150v4 KT 1. 96.

(ii) *-i* L.Kh. spelling for *-e* (iii). *rri* 'vein' P 2025. 222 KBT 19 (= *re* Ch 00266. 146 KBT 27; P 2957. 90 KBT 35).

(iii) *-e* O.Kh.: *āste* Z 13. 138, 139; 20. 46, 53; *rre* 'vein' Z 15. 93; *spāte* Z 2. 80; 5. 97. L.Kh.: *āste* Si 151r4, 5 KT 1. 96; *drā-mūjse* 'hair-pore' §S 14r4 (59); *re* 'vein' Ch 00266. 146 KBT 27; P 2957. 90 KBT 35; §S 18r3 (77); Si 128v5 KT 1. 60.

71. G-DP

(i) *-ām* L.Kh. only: *āchām* Si 3r1 KT 1. 4; *khenām* 'laugh' §S 32v2 (142); *pīsām* Avdh 6r4 KT 3. 1; P 3510. 2. 6 KBT 48; *rrām* 'vein' Si 103v3 KT 1. 40; *ṣṣāvām* Avdh 6r4 KT 3. 1.

(ii) *-āna* L.Kh. only: *pīsāna* P 2781. 145-6 (77-78) KT 3. 71.

(iii) *-āni* L.Kh. only: *ṣṣāvāni* Avdh 16v4 KT 3. 8; *haṭṭha-hvāñāni* 'truth-speaker' Avdh 21v1 KT 3. 12.

(iv) *-ānu* O.Kh. only: *āchānu* Z 24. 222; *ggāthānu* Z 22. 317, 330; *pājsama-garānu* 'doer of honour' Sv. K. 31v2 KT 5. 109 (*-n-* due to *-r-* by Sanskritization); *pracyānu* (or *a*-decl.; see § 70 (i)) Z 8. 14, 15, 26; 14. 33, 35; Kha 1. 133. 1 a3 KT 5. 148; *balysūñāvūysānu* Kha 1. 13. 139v1 KBT 3; *ṣṣāvānu* Z 3. 120.

72. I-AP

(i) *-ām* (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *āchām* *jsa* Si 105r1, 3 KT 1. 42.

(ii) *-au* (*jsa*) L.Kh. only: *pīsau* P 2787. 17 KT 2. 102.

(iii) *-yo* (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *dāta-hvāñyo* 'preacher of the Law' Z 1. 52.

(iv) *-yau* (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *āchayau* Sv. K. 65v2 KT 5. 116; *pracyau* *jsa* Z 5. 72+ (or *a*-decl.; see § 70 (i)); *vaṭṭhāyau* 'pupil' H 142 NS 61. 47r1 KT 5. 29; *ṣṣāvayau* *jsa* Z 12. 71; *stāryau* 'star' Z 23. 22, 148; *spātyau* Z 3. 60.

73. LP

(i) -uvo' O.Kh. only: *ggāthuvo'* Z 22. 315; 23. 127.

74. 2. ā-declension

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
N	-ā	(i a)	NA	-e	(ii c)
A	-au	(ii b)			
G-D	-ye	(vi a)	G-D	*-ānu	(i a)
I-A	-ye (<i>jsa</i>)	(vi a)	I-A	-yau (<i>jsa</i>)	(vi a)
L	-ya	(vi a)	L		

Forms of *palaā-* have been included here. All attested forms of this word could be from either *palaā-* or *palāā-* except the I-AP. The I-AP *palyau*, not **palāyau* as expected < *palāā-* by (vi a), shows that it follows the ā-decl. As, however, *palāā-* would be expected < Pkt *padāgā* (Sheth), we evidently have to do with a secondary shortening within Kh., where no noun belonging to the ā-decl. has yet been found.

Among the words belonging to the ā-declension are the following: *uysānāā-* 'self'; *baśdāā-* 'sin'; *bitamāā-* 'doubt, perplexity'; *buljsāā-* 'virtue'; *brīyāā-* 'love'; (*ysama*)*śśandaā-* 'earth'; *śśādaā-* 'goodness'.

75. NS

(i) -ā O.Kh.: *uysānā* Z 5. 53; *baśdā* Z 12. 70+; *bitamā* Z 5. 20; 24. 230, 494; *buljsā* Z 24. 478; *brīyā* Z 4. 29+; *śśamdā* Z 2. 125+; *śśādā* Z 6. 18. L.Kh.: *pārahā* 'basis' *Avdh* 14r2 *KT* 3. 7; *byqmā* P 3513. 56r1-2 (Asm. 60).

76. AS

(i) -ā = NS § 75 (i). O.Kh. doubtful: *uysānā* Z 19. 30. Common in L.Kh.: *aysānā* *Si* 7v3 *KT* 1. 12; *uysānā* *JS* 6v2 (23)+; *baśdā* *JS* 9v4 (38); *śamdā* *JS* 12r1 (48); 35r1 (152); P 2801. 36, 37 *KT* 3. 66.

(ii) -o O.Kh. only: *uysāno* Z 2. 220; *Kha* 1. 13. 142r2 *KB* 4; *baśdo* Z 13. 87+; *bitamo* Z 14. 86; 22. 312; *brīyo* Z 22. 171+; *śśando* Z 11. 67+; *śśādo* Or 9609. 3v7 *KT* 1. 232.

(iii) -au O.Kh. only: *uysānau* Z 5. 47, 78; *bātamau* Harv. 9. 37r2 *KT* 5. 293; *baśdau* Z 23. 34+; *brīyau* H 142 NS 77 etc. 16r3 *KT* 5. 102; *śśandau* Z 5. 49+.

77. G-DS

(i) -āye *brītye* Z 22. 200.

(ii) -iye *baśdiye* Z 13. 81; *śśandiye* Z 24. 427.

(iii) -e L.Kh. for -ye (v). *śamde* *JS* 12v3 (51); 33v4 (148); P 2782. 20 *KT* 3. 59; Ch 00268. 182-3 *KB* 67.

(iv) -yi L.Kh. for -ye (v). *brīyi* P 3513. 22r4 *KB* 56.

(v) -ye O.Kh.: *uysānye* Z 2. 135+; Or 9609. 5r7 *KT* 1. 234; *palye* FM 25. 1 a1 *KT* 3. 124; *baśdye* Z 24. 428; *buljsye* Z 13. 144; 24. 477; *brītye* Z 3. 144; *brīye* Z 12. 92+; *śśamdye* Z 24. 48; *śśādye* Or 9609. 5v1 *KT* 1. 234. L.Kh.: *uysānie* *Avdh* 6r3 *KT* 3. 1; *JS* 18r2 (76); *śamdye* *JS* 6r2 (20).

78. I-AS

(i) -iye (*jsa*) O.Kh. only: *baśdiye jsa* Z 24. 456; *śśandiye jsa* Z 24. 121.

(ii) -ya (*jsa*) Only *brīrya*, frequent in the phrase *śadi jsa brīrya* 'with faith (and) love' *JS* 9v4 (37)+, has been noticed. It is probably a L.Kh. spelling for -ye (*jsa*) (iii), I-AS as Dresden, p. 462, rather than LS (v. § 79 (vii)), the alternative given by Asmussen, p. 49.

(iii) -ye (*jsa*) O.Kh.: *uysānye jsa* Z 8. 13+; *baśdye jsa* Z 12. 68+; *buljsye jsa* *Suv.* K. 66v6 *KT* 5. 117; *brīye jsa* Z 19. 4; *brītye jsa* Z 13. 59+; *śamdye jsa* *SS* 24v3 *KT* 5. 332; *śśādye jsa* Z 13. 145. L.Kh.: *brīrye JS* 31r2 (136); 36r2 (157); *śamdye jsa JS* 10r4 (41).

79. LS

(i) -ā One example only: *śśanda* Z 13. 79. For -ya (vii), due to ā-decl. (§ 22 (i), (ii)).

(ii) -ita = -iya (iii). O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandita* Z 23. 53.

(iii) -iya O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandiya* Z 1. 39; 20. 71.

(iv) -āya O.Kh. only: *ysamaśśandāya* Z 22. 195; *śśandāya* Z 24. 510.

(v) -u = -o (vi), cf. § 22 (vii). One example only: *śśamdu* Z 24. 509.

(vi) -o < *-ako (ii b), with -o LS ā-decl. (§ 22 (x)). O.Kh. only: *śśando* Z 3. 113+; *śando* *SS* 13v2 *KT* 5. 329.

(vii) -ya O.Kh.: *ysamaśśandya* Z 6. 3+; *śśamdyā* Z 5. 29; *brītya* Z 5. 51. L.Kh.: *śamdyā JS* 27r2 (118); 35r1 (152).

80. NAP

(i) -ā? This ending is not yet certainly established. If genuine, it must be < *-aka (i a), with NAPf -a. This ending is in the ā-decl. confined so far to L.Kh. (v. § 23 (i)). The ending could, of course, be explained as a sandhi-form *-ā beside *-āh (> Kh. -e, § 23 (iv)), as in NAP -a in the a-decl. (§ 12 (i)). *ysamaśśandā* Z 2. 163; 5. 63; 22. 158 may be due to the aa-decl. of this word. *ysamaśśandaā-* '(inhabitant of the) world, people' is declined differently from *ysamaśśandaā-* 'earth, world',

although the meanings are similar (so Dresden, pp. 466, 488). *uysānā* Z 19. 30 (v. § 76 (i)) is of uncertain case (so Leumann, 'E', p. 402 s.v.). *baśdā* in *Avdh* 5v1 *KT* 3. 1; 16r4 *KT* 3. 8 could be AS or AP in old L.Kh. *palā* in O.Kh. N 108. 14 = H 144 NS 67v5 *KT* 5. 89 is more likely NAP than NS (as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 164). *palo* *ibid.* 67v4 can hardly be AS (S. Konow, *ibid.*), but is probably < *palā*+*u* 'and'. On *palaā*-, see § 74, p. 300.

(ii) *-e* O.Kh.: *baśde* Z 11. 68; 22. 333; *bitame* Z 6. 23; *bātame* Kha ii. 31b4 *KT* 5. 176; *buljse* Z 3. 99; 11. 52; 14. 73; *śśāde* Z 22. 239. L.Kh.: *baśde* *Avdh* 5r1, 4+ *KT* 3. 1; *bu'jse* *JS* 4r3 (12); 21r2 (90); *byame* P 2026. 4 *KT* 3. 48.

(iii) *-ye* L.Kh. spelling of *-e* (ii): *bu'jsye* *JS* 38r1-2 (165).

81. G-DP

(i) *-ā* L.Kh. only: *bu'jsā* *JS* 1v2 (1).

(ii) *ām* L.Kh. only: *bu'jsām* P 3513. 66r1 *KT* 1. 245.

(iii) *-au* L.Kh. only: *bvaijsau* P 3510. 9. 8 *KBT* 53.

(iv) *-āni* L.Kh. only: *brriyāni* *Avdh* 19v4-5 *KT* 3. 10.

(v) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *bujsyām* P 3513. 50r3 (Asm. 32).

82. I-AP

(i) *-ām(jsa)* *baśdām' jsa* P 2787. 12 *KT* 2. 101 (so read).

(ii) *-yo(jsa)* *buljso* Z 10. 11; *śśāndyo jsa* H 142 NS 48 etc. r3 *KT* 5. 71.

(iii) *-yau(jsa)* O.Kh.: *palyau* *Suv.* K. 35v6 *KT* 5. 113 (tr. *patākaik*); *baśdyau jsa* Z 6. 22. L.Kh.: *bu'jsyau* *JS* 23v3 (103); P 3513. 52r2 (Asm. 41).

83. 3. *aā*-declension of adjectives

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N	<i>-ai</i>	NA	<i>-ā, -e -e</i>
A	<i>-au</i>		
G-D	<i>-ai</i>		
I-A	<i>-eina</i>	G-D	*- <i>āmu</i>
L	<i>-ai</i>	I-A	<i>-yau</i>
		L	

For the rules of contraction (§ 62) applying to these forms, see §§ 63, 74.

Among the *aā*-decl. adjectives are the following: *ttuśśaa*- 'empty'; *dātīnaa*- 'pertaining to the Law'; *ysarrnaa*- 'golden'; *ratanīnaa*- 'made

of jewels'; *rrājsaa*- 'sharp'; *suraa*- 'clean'; *syandaa*- 'left'; *hvarandaa*- 'right'.

84. NSm

(i) *-ā* L.Kh. only: *dāvīnā* P 3513. 18r3 *KBT* 55 + *ttaraṃdarā* 'body'.

(ii) *-ai* O.Kh.: *ttuśśai* Z 6. 13 + *balysā* 'Buddha'; *dātīnai* Z 6. 10 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *kāścīnai* 'of anxiety' Z 23. 123 + *ttausai* 'fever'; *buśśānai* 'scented' Z 23. 158+ + *bāri* 'rain'; *surai* Z 20. 51 + *hārā* 'thing'. L.Kh.: *ttūśśai* P 3513. 16v1 *KBT* 55 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *dātīnai* P 3513. 17r4 *KBT* 55 + *ttaraṃdarā* 'body'.

(iii) *-ei* O.Kh. only: *kādāgānīnei* 'of karma' Or 9609. 24r5 *KT* 1. 235 + *yamdrā* 'mechanism'; *ttuśśei* Z 8. 15 + *tcei'mā* 'eye'; *dātīnei* Z 13. 81 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *baśdāinei* 'of sin' D III. 1. 8r6 *KT* 5. 69 + *hambīsā* 'heap'; *buśśānei* 'fragrant' Z 22. 117 + *hvāṣṣakā* 'plant'; *ysarrnei* 'golden' Z 24. 233 + *nākā* 'ornament'.

85. ASm

(i) *-e* L.Kh. only: *dāvīne* P 2782. 8 *KT* 3. 58 + *bārā* 'rain'.

(ii) *-ai* O.Kh.: *syandai* D III. 1. 8r2 *KT* 5. 69 + *suti* 'shoulder' (*suta*- m., not *suti*- f. as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, s.v.). L.Kh.: *tvānai* 'your' *JS* 7v3 (28) + *brrihā* 'back'; *dātīnai* *JS* 25v3-4 (112) + *cirau* 'lamp'; *khāysīnai* 'of food' *JS* 14v2 (60) + *nasā* 'share'; *prraṇihānīnai* 'of vows' P 3513. 53r1 (Asm. 45) + *ttū samādrā* 'the ocean'; *bā'tai* 'often' *JS* 9v1 (36) + *ttūrrā* 'mouth'.

(iii) *-o* O.Kh.: *dātīno* Z 14. 70 + *bāru* 'rain'; *bei'tīno* 'poisoned' Z 2. 26 + *khāysu* 'food'.

(iv) *-au* O.Kh.: *ttuśśau* Z 8. 38 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *dātīnau* Z 14. 78 + *raysu* 'savour'; *hvarandau* *SS* 13v2 *KT* 5. 329 + *ysānū* 'knee'.

86. G-DSm

(i) *-ai* *brītinai* 'of love' *JS* 3v2 (10) + *dai* 'fire'.

87. I-ASm

(i) *-eina* O.Kh. only: *adyāneina* 'invisible' *Suv.* K. 32v1 *KT* 5. 110 + *ttarandarna* 'body'; *rrājseina* D III. 1. 8v3 *KT* 5. 70 + *kādarna* 'knife'.

(ii) *-e jsa* Cf. § 68 (ii), p. 298. L.Kh. only: *dāvīne ttaradara jsa* 'with the *dharmakāya*' Ch ii. 004. 2r4 *KBT* 145.

88. LSm

(i) *-añā* L.Kh. only: *ttuśāñā* *JS* 32r1 (139) + *bāśe* 'wood'; *surāñā* *JP* 53v5 *KT* 1. 145 + *padāñā* 'vessel'. *-añā* probably continues an

O.Kh. *-āna*, as O.Kh. has *-iña* in the *ia*-decl. (§ 151 (i)). These forms point to a reduction of *-iña* to *-ña* (§ 11 (xvi), p. 263) before loss of K.

(ii) *-ai* One example only, L.Kh.: *rraijsai* *ṢS* 24v1 (106) + *pneha* 'beak'.

(iii) *-ya* (vi a). O.Kh.: *ratanīnya* H 142 NS 88+89. 8r3 *KT* 5. 80; 8v1 *KT* 5. 81 + *kṣattro* 'umbrella'. L.Kh.: *kāścīnya* 'of anxiety' *Avdh* 13v2 *KT* 3. 6 + *vyihera* 'vihāra'.

89. *NAPm*

(i) *-ā* O.Kh.: *avaśārṣṭā* 'remaining' Z 1. 46 + *yāna* 'vehicle'; *ttarrā* 'thirsty' Z 2. 226; 9. 8 + *āśka* 'deer'; *ttuśṣā* 'empty' Z 6. 2 + *dharma*; *ratanīnā* Z 3. 81, 126 + *kṣatra* 'umbrella'; *rrājsā* Dumaqu 0019. 89r1 *KT* 5. 263 + *paḍe* 'axe'. L.Kh.: *ttūśā* P 3513. 14v1 *KBT* 54 + *sarvadharmā*; *surā* *Avdh* 9v1 *KT* 3. 4 + *prahaunā* 'garment'.

(ii) *-e* One example only, O.Kh.: *gyaḍīne* 'foolish' Z 4. 42 + *satva* 'being' (cf. S. Konow, *NTS*, vii. 1934, 17).

(iii) *-ai* L.Kh. spelling of *-e* (ii): *ttūśai* P 3513. 18r4 *KBT* 55 + *hera* 'thing'.

90. *G-DPm*

(i) *-ām* L.Kh.: *raṃṃnīnām* P 3513. 73r4 *KT* 1. 248 + *baṃhyām* 'tree'; *vīrūlīnām* 'of beryl' *ibid.* + *āysanām* 'seat'.

91. *I-APm*

(i) *-yo* O.Kh.: *kāścīnyo* 'of anxiety' Z 21. 15 + *pūnyau* 'arrow'; *suryo* Or 9609. 4v4 *KT* 1. 233 + *prahaun̄yau* 'garment'.

(ii) *-yau* O.Kh.: *klaiśīnyau* 'of kleśas' Z 24. 162 + *rakṣaysyau* 'rākṣasa'; *ratanīnyau* Z 3. 59 + *hamvyau* 'goblet'. L.Kh.: *rrījsyau* *ṢS* 7v3 (28) + *ṣambajsyau* 'claw'; *ṢS* 22r3 (95) + *ṣabajsyau*.

92. *ASf*

(i) *-au* O.Kh.: *ttūśau* Stein E 1. 7. 145r1 *KT* 5. 77 + *uysānu* 'self'.

93. *G-DSf*

(i) *-ye* Doubtful. One example only, O.Kh.: *mudye* 'dead' Z 8. 25 + *merā* 'mother'. This could be < *mudā-*.

94. *NAPf*

(i) *-e* O.Kh.: *avaśārṣṭe* 'remaining' Z 10. 21 + *būmi* 'bhūmi'; *ttuśṣe* Z 24. 45 + *kubāye* 'pot'; *saṃñā-mātre* 'imagination-only' Z 9. 20 + *ṣkoṅgye* 'saṃskāra'.

95. 4. *āa*-declension of nouns

The fundamental division of this declension into the monosyllabic and the polysyllabic varieties has not previously been noticed.

A. MONOSYLLABIC

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	<i>-ai</i> (ii a)	NA	<i>-ā</i> (i a)
A	<i>-au</i> (ii b)		
G-D	<i>-ai</i> (ii a)	G-D	<i>-ānu</i> (i a)
I-A	<i>-aina</i> (ii a)	I-A	<i>-yau</i> (<i>jsa</i>) (vi a)
L	<i>-āña</i>	L	<i>-vo</i> (vi a)

B. POLYSYLLABIC

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	NA	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)
A	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)		
G-D	<i>-ai</i> <i>-āyi</i> (ii a)	G-D	
I-A	<i>-āna</i> (vi b)	I-A	
L	<i>-āya</i> <i>-āyi</i> (vi a)	L	<i>-āvo</i> (vi a)

96.

A. MONOSYLLABIC

This decl. includes: *dāa*- 'fire'; *pāa*- 'foot'; *rrāa*- 'plain'. In 'E', *Saka Studies*, Dresden, s.v., *pāa*- has been given as the stem. In *Primer*, s.v., *pāa*- is found. *pāa*- is the only possible form, cf. Parth. *p'd*, MPe *p'y*, NP *pāy*, B. Sogd. *p'δ-*. O.Ind. distinguishes *pāda*- 'footstep' from *pāda*- 'foot'.

97. *NS*

(i) *-ai* O.Kh.: *dai* Z 3. 32+. L.Kh.: *dai* *ṢS* 29r1 (127).

(ii) *-ei* O.Kh. only: *dei* H 142 NS 47 23v3 *KT* 5. 87; N 169. 6.

98. *AS*

(i) *-e* L.Kh. spelling for *-ai* (ii): *de* *ṢS* 29v4 (130).

(ii) *-ai* = NS § 97 (i). L.Kh.: *dai* *ṢS* 29v4 (130); *rrai* P 4099. 256, 260 *KBT* 125, 126.

(iii) *-o* O.Kh.: *rro* Z 3. 16; 5. 63; 19. 7, 9.

(iv) *-au* O.Kh.: *dau* Z 4. 45+; *pau* Z 13. 81; *rrau* Z 2. 226; 6. 52; 9. 8, 12.

99. *G-DS*

(i) *-ai* O.Kh.: *dai* Z 2. 14+; *pai* Z 22. 305. L.Kh.: *dai* *ṢS* 3v2 (10).

100. *I-AS*

- (i) *-ai jsa* L. Kh.: *dai jsa Si* 128r5 *KT* 1. 60.
 (ii) *-ina* Cf. § 68 (i), p. 298. L. Kh.: *dīna P* 3513. 37v3 *KBT* 60.
 (iii) *-ena* L. Kh.: *dēna JS* 6r2 (20).
 (iv) *-aina* O. Kh.: *daina Z* 11. 55. L. Kh.: *daina JS* 6r3 (21)+.
 (v) *-eina* O. Kh.: *peina Z* 2. 89.

101. *LS*

(i) *-āna* In view of the LSm *hivīna* in the *ia*-decl. (see also § 88 (i), pp. 303-4), I am now inclined to view this as showing LS *-na* rather than *-āna* as § 11 (iii), p. 262. *-āna* may well have been reduced to *-na* earlier in the secondary decl. than in the *a*-decl. (The suggestions for *dāna* offered earlier by S. Konow, *NTS*, vii, 1934, 36, are in any case no longer necessary.) O. Kh.: *dāna Z* 2. 43; 19. 90; 24. 169. L. Kh.: *dāna JS* 6v2 (23); *dāna JS* 24r3 (105).

102. *NAP*

(i) *-ā* O. Kh.: *pā Z* 2. 63+. L. Kh.: *pā JS* 10r2 (39).

103. *G-DP*

(i) *-ānu* O. Kh.: *pānu Or* 9609. 56r1 *KT* 1. 240.

104. *I-AP*

(i) *-āyau (jsa)* O. Kh.: *pāyau jsa Z* 22. 148.

105. *LP*

- (i) *-ā'* L. Kh.: *pā' Vajr.* 522 *KT* 3. 21. L. Kh. spelling for *pā'* (v) like *pō'* (iii) for *pvo'* (vi). Not AP as *MS Rems*, p. 346 s.v., as shown by the hook and the idiom: *pā' ttirā jsa namasyādā Vajr.* 522-3 *KT* 3. 21, cf. *tterā jsai pvo' namasindā* 'with the forehead they worship him at his feet' *Z* 5. 40.
 (ii) *-āto'* Cf. LPm *-āvo'* § 39 (ii), *-uto* § 16 (viii). O. Kh.: *pāto' Or* 9609. 68r5 *KT* 1. 241; *Z* 3. 5; 12. 9; 23. 131.
 (iii) *-o'* Cf. (i). O. Kh. only: *pō' Z* 2. 132; 5. 43.
 (iv) *-au'* = *-o'* (iii). O. Kh.: *pau' Z* 5. 105.
 (v) *-vā'* L. Kh. only: *pā' Hed.* 7. 5 *KT* 4. 25; *P* 3513. 60r4 *KT* 1. 242.
 (vi) *-vo'* O. Kh. only: *pvo' Z* 5. 40+.

106.

B. POLYSYLLABIC

This decl. includes the following: *nitāa*- 'river'; *biśāa*- 'tongue'; *mijsāa*- 'marrow'; *haḍāa*- 'day' (on which see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 75-76); *hasāa*- 'dhātu'.

107. *NS*

(i) *-ā* O. Kh.: *nitā Z* 23. 109; *biśā Z* 8. 36+; *mājsā Z* 20. 54; *haḍā Z* 5. 35+. L. Kh.: *nā Hed.* 11. 4 *KT* 4. 27; 11. 8 *KT* 4. 28; *biśā P* 3513. 19v1 *KBT* 56.

108. *AS*

(i) *-ā* O. Kh.: *nitā Z* 13. 27; *biśā Z* 13. 113; *haḍā Z* 13. 88. L. Kh.: *biśā' JS* 9v2 (36); *haḍā Or* 9268. 1b4 *KT* 2. 13; *Avdh* 8r5 *KT* 3. 3.

109. *G-DS*

(i) *-ā* L. Kh. < *-āyā* (ii). *biśā' P* 3513. 19v1 *KBT* 56; perhaps *nā JS* 7v2 (28).

(ii) *-āyā* = (iii). O. Kh.: *nātāyā H* 143 *NS* 65 etc. 8r4 *KT* 5. 68 (or *LS*); *Z* 17. 21; *haḍāyā Z* 22. 140.

(iii) *-āyi* O. Kh.: *nātāyi Z* 13. 51; *haḍāyi Z* 11. 17.

(iv) *-ai* O. Kh.: *haḍai Z* 23. 121+. L. Kh.: *haḍai-y-um JS* 17r2 (72).

110. *I-AS*

(i) *-āna* O. Kh.: *biśāna Z* 5. 44. L. Kh.: *biśāna Avdh* 5v2 *KT* 3. 1; *biśā'na P* 3513. 44r3 (Asm. 4).

111. *LS*

(i) *-āya* O. Kh.: *nitāya Z* 5. 75; 9. 27; *mijsāya N* 141. 16 = H. vii. 150. 1r5 *KT* 5. 99; *haḍāya Z* 2. 134; 4. 9; *hasāya Or* 9609. 4r2 *KT* 1. 233. L. Kh.: *nāya S* 2471. 160 *KBT* 96; *biśāya JP* 116v2 *KT* 1. 195; *mijsāya JP* 102v2 *KT* 1. 183; *haḍāya JS* 32r2 (140); *Si* 8v2 *KT* 1. 12.

(ii) *-āyā* < *-āya* (i), influenced by the *G-DS* *-āyā* (§ 109 (ii)). O. Kh.: *nātāyā H* 143 *NS* 65 etc. 8r4 *KT* 5. 68 (or *G-DS*).

(iii) *-āyi* = (ii). O. Kh.: *nātāyi Kha* 1. 13. 145r3 *KBT* 6.

112. *NAP*

(i) *-ā* O. Kh.: *nātā Z* 2. 109; 22. 117; *haḍā Z* 20. 5. L. Kh.: *haḍā Hed.* 17. 15 *KT* 4. 31.

(ii) *-āva* L. Kh. only: *nāva Hed.* 11. 2 *KT* 4. 27. *-va* = *-ta* (§ 12 (viii)), added to *NS nā* (§ 107 (i)).

113. LP

- (i) *-ātuṣo'* One example only, O.Kh.: *nātātuṣo'* D III. 1. 8r5 *KT* 5. 69. Intrusive, semi-historical *-t-*. See also § 26 (vi).
- (ii) *-āvā* L.Kh. only: *nyāvā Avdh* 12v2 *KT* 3. 6.
- (iii) *-āvūā* L.Kh. only: *nyāvūā AdhŚ* 99. 19.
- (iv) *-āvuo'* One example only, O.Kh.: *nātāvuo'* *SS* 32r6 *KT* 5. 334.
- (v) *-āvo* O.Kh.: *nātāvo* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39r1 *KT* 5. 71.
- (vi) *-āvo'* O.Kh.: *nātāvo'* *SS* 32v2 *KT* 5. 334.
- (vii) *-vā* One example only, L.Kh.: *haḍvā* Or 11252. 21. 3 *KT* 2. 23. **haḍvāvā* (cf. (ii)) is expected (vi a). The form can be accounted for only on the assumption of a by-form of the stem: *haḍā-*. *haḍvā* is the expected LP < *haḍā-* (vi a). In *AdhŚ* 89. 5, *haḍai haḍai* translates *dine dine*. If *haḍai* is not G-DS (§ 109 (iv)) but LS, it would be the regular LS < *haḍā-* (§ 69 (ii)).

114. 5. *pandā-* m. 'path'

pandā- has the regular endings of the polysyllabic *āa*-decl. (§ 95 B, p. 305) except in the NS and AS, where it retains direct descendants of the I.I. forms, which resemble the radical *ā*-decl.

-āka is actually found in the compound *tāra-pandāka-* 'on a dark path' Z 24. 211. Traces of the old *i*-decl. of this word (cf. YAv. *panti-*m.) are found in the compounds *duva-pandā-* Z 4. 3; *tcahaur-pandā-* FM 25. 1 b1 *KT* 3. 125, where *-ia* (< **-ika*) has replaced *-i* in the same way as *-āa* (< **-āka*) has replaced *-ā*. In L.Kh., the *āa*-decl. of this word is extended sometimes to the NS and AS also. For the history and connexions of *pandā-*, see H. W. Bailey and A. S. C. Ross, 'Path', *TPS*, 1961, 107-42.

	O.Kh.		L.Kh.
NS	-e	NS	-a -ā -ā -i -e
AS	-o	AS	-a -ā -ā -i -e
G-DS		G-DS	-a
LS	-āya	LS	-āya
NAP	-ā	NAP	-āta -āvi

115. NS

- (i) *-a* L.Kh. only: *pada* P 2786. 174 *KT* 2. 99; *paṃda* *Si* 121v2 *KT* 1. 48.
- (ii) *-ā* L.Kh. only: *paṃdā* P 2782. 19-20 *KT* 3. 59. Extension of *āa*-decl.
- (iii) *-ā* L.Kh. only: *paṃdā* Or 11344. 3b3 *KT* 2. 33.

(iv) *-i* L.Kh. only: *paṃdi* Hed. 17. 18 *KT* 4. 31.

(v) *-e* The inherited form, < O.Ir. **-āh*, cf. Av. *pantā*, O.Ind. *panthāh*. *-e* is weakened in the usual way in L.Kh. to *-ā*, *-i*, *-a*. O.Kh.: *pande* Z 6. 25, 57; 7. 31; 22. 100; 24. 211, 281; *paṃde* Z 22. 263. L.Kh.: *paṃde Avdh* 7r5 *KT* 3. 2; *pade* Ch ii. 004. 3r1 *KB*T 145.

116. AS

- (i) *-a* = NS *-a* § 115 (i). L.Kh. only: *paṃdā* *Si* 132v5 *KT* 1. 66; *paṃda* P 3513. 55r2 (Asm. 56); P 2782. 8 *KT* 3. 58; Ch 00268. 141 *KB*T 66.
- (ii) *-ā* = NS *-ā* § 115 (ii). L.Kh. only: *paṃdā* P 3510. 4. 8 *KB*T 50; *Avdh* 7r4 *KT* 3. 2.
- (iii) *-ā* = NS *-ā* § 115 (iii). L.Kh. only: *padā* P 2786. 163 *KT* 2. 98.
- (iv) *-i* = NS *-i* § 115 (iv). L.Kh. only: *paṃdi* P 3513. 4r1 *KT* 3. 113 (cf. Z 23. 21); P 3513. 49v1 (Asm. 29); Ch 00268. 182 *KB*T 67.
- (v) *-e* = NS *-e* § 115 (v). L.Kh. only: *pade* P 4099. 3 *KB*T 113; *paṃde* *JS* 38v1 (167).
- (vi) *-o* The inherited form, < O.Ir. **-ām*, cf. Av. *pantam*, O.Ind. *panthām*. O.Kh. only: *pando* Z 3. 23; 22. 275; 23. 21; 24. 171, 274; *pando* Z 22. 189.

117. G-DS

- (i) *-a* Generalization of NS *-a*, AS *-a*. L.Kh. only: *pada* P 2786. 105 *KT* 2. 97; 179 *KT* 2. 99.

118. LS

- (i) *-āta* O.Kh.: *paṃdāta* Z 24. 467. L.Kh.: *paṃdāta* Or 11252. 3a4 *KT* 2. 16.
- (ii) *-āya* O.Kh.: *pandāya* Z 2. 87; 12. 62; *Suv.* K. 32v1 *KT* 5. 110; *paṃdāya* Z 13. 75; 24. 468; *padāya* Z 24. 249. L.Kh.: *paṃdāya* Or 11252. 13b2 *KT* 2. 21; *JS* 23v1 (101).
- (iii) *-āyā* One example only, O.Kh.: *pandāyā* *SS* 20r2 *KT* 5. 330 (uncertain).
- (iv) *-āyi* One example only, L.Kh.: *paṃdāyi* Ch 00269. 32 *KT* 2. 43.

119. NAP

- (i) *-ā* O.Kh. only: *pandā* Z 24. 180, 484.

(ii) *-āta* L.Kh. only: *paṃdāta* P 2029. 17 *KT* 3. 55. Cf. NAP *-āva* § 112 (ii). Based on L.Kh. NS *paṃdā* § 115 (ii).

(iii) *-āvi* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *paṃdāvi* P 2782. 56 *KT* 3. 61 (= *paṃdāta* P 2029. 17 *KT* 3. 55).

120. 6. *āḍ*-declension of adjectives

Masculine		Feminine	
NS	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	NS	
AS	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	AS	<i>-o</i> (ii b)
I-AS	<i>-āna</i> (vi b)	I-AS	
LS	* <i>-āya</i> (vi a)	LS	

One word only has been found to follow this declensional pattern, viz. *paḍā*- 'first; previous' (cf. ZP *fratāk*, NP *fardā*; < **fratāka*-; H. W. B., *Zor. Prob.*, 179, n. 1; *BSOAS*, xxi. 3, 1958, 536).¹ As *paḍā* ASm (= nt.) is often used as an adverb, it is frequently impossible to decide whether in a particular passage one is dealing with an adjective or an adverb. The forms given here, except for the LS, appear to be securely established.

121. *NSm*

(i) *-ā* O.Kh.: *paḍā SS* 80r2 *KT* 5. 340 + *phārrā* 'stage'; perhaps Z 4. 30 + *kāma-dātā* 'kāma-dhātu'.

122. *ASm*

(i) *-ā* *paḍā* Stein E 1. 7 149v2 *KT* 5. 79 + *phārrā* 'stage'; Z 11. 41 + *śāmu* 'watch'.

123. *I-ASm*

(i) *-āna* O.Kh.: *paḍāna* H 142 NS 48 etc. 39v5 *KT* 5. 72 + *phārrāna* 'stage'; H 142 NS 49v2 *KT* 5. 26 + *hauna* 'sound'.

(ii) *-auna* = (i). L.Kh.: *paḍauna* N 166. 6 + *baysā* 'Buddha'.

124. *LSm*

(i) *-auya* L.Kh. spelling of **-āya*. *paḍauya* N 166. 18 (? as adverb).

125. *ASf*

(i) *-o* O.Kh.: *paḍo* Z 16. 60 + *būmu* 'bhūmi'.

¹ According to Lazard (§ 28, p. 145), the discovery of early NP *fardāḍ* excludes the etymology from **fratāka*-; but *fardāḍ* evidently owes its final to the analogy of NP *bāmdāḍ*.

126. 7. *ia*-declension of nouns

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
N	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)	NA	<i>-ya -ye</i> (iv a)
V	<i>-ya</i>	(iv a)	V	
A	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)		
G-D	<i>-ī</i>	(i b)	G-D	<i>-yānu</i> (iv a)
I-A	<i>-īna</i>	(i b)	I-A	<i>-iyyau</i> (vi c)
L	<i>-ya -yo</i>	(iv a)	L	<i>-iyvo</i> ' (vi c)

Among *ia*-nouns are the following: *anyattīrthia*- 'heretic'; *āśīria*- 'teacher'; *indīria*- 'senses'; *īsvāria*- 'dominion'; *kr̥tāna*- 'gratitude'; *jaḍia*- 'folly'; *ttīryasūmia*- 'animal'; *nāria*- 'hell'; *padia*- 'way, manner'; *sūlia*- 'scribe' (see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59).

127. *NS*

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *Anāhapiṇḍī* 'Anāthapiṇḍika' Z 22. 209; *āśīri* Z 2. 91+; *indri* Z 15. 2; *īsvārī* Z 20. 66; *kr̥tāni* Z 22. 111+; *jaḍi* Z 2. 83+; *nārī* Z 4. 64; *Maṇyusūtrī* 'Mañjusūtrī' Z 13. 9. L.Kh.: *āśī'ri* *Vajr.* 36b2 *KT* 3. 27; *sūli* Or 11252. 36b2 *KT* 2. 28 (see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 59).

128. *VS*

(i) *-ya* O.Kh.: *Maṇyusūrya* 'Mañjusūri' Z 6. 38. L.Kh.: *āśī'rya* *Vajr.* 36a2 *KT* 3. 27 tr. *ācārya*.

129. *AS*

(i) *-iyu* O.Kh.: *indriyu* Or 9609. 24r3 *KT* 1. 235. Uncontracted; see § 62.

(ii) *-ī* O.Kh.: *jaḍi* Z 5. 58; *paḍi* Z 8. 35+; *Maṇyusūri* 'Mañjusūri' Kha 1. 13. 140v4 *KBT* 4; *mākṣi* 'honey' D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69 (< O.Ind. *mākṣika*-). L.Kh.: *paḍi* *Vajr.* 1b3 *KT* 3. 20.

130. *G-DS*

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *īsvārī* Z 22. 200; *gyaḍi* Z 2. 133; *nārī* Z 16. 26. L.Kh.: *kr̥rāṇū* *JS* 1v2 (1); *jaḍi* P 3513. 45v3 (Asm. 12).

131. *I-AS*

(i) *-ī jsa* L.Kh. only: *jaḍi jsa* Si 9v3 *KT* 1. 14. Cf. § 10 (xiii).

(ii) *-īna* O.Kh.: *gyaḍīna* Z 5. 56; *īsvārīna* *Suv.* K. 33r4 *KT* 5. 111; *paḍīna* Z 13. 29; *Maṇyusūri* 'Mañjusūri' Godfrey 3b4 *KT* 3. 126. L.Kh.: *āśī'ri* Hed. 7v9 *KT* 4. 26; *kr̥rāṇīna* *JS* 32r2 (140); *jaḍīna* *JS* 25v3 (112); *jiḍīna* Ch 00268. 158-9 *KBT* 67; *sūlīna* Or 11252. 38. 1 *KT* 2. 29.

132. *LS*

- (i) *-ī* Cf. § 151 (ii). O.Kh.: *nari* H 147 NS 112r4 *KT* 5. 76.
 (ii) *-ya* One example only, O.Kh.: *narya* Z 3. 72+. Probably *-ya* is secondary, < **-yya* (vi c) with *LS -ya* rather than *-ya* < **-ika* (iv a) with *LS -a* (§ 11 (ii)), but cf. (iv).
 (iii) *-ye* L.Kh. only: *narye* S 2471. 170 *KBT* 96. Either L.Kh. spelling for *narya* (i) or with *-y-* < *-yy-* *LS -ye*, cf. § 11 (xii).
 (iv) *-yo* O.Kh. only: *naryo* Z 13. 72+; E 1. 7. 1914 *KT* 5. 388. *LS -o* § 11 (xiii).

133. *NAP*

- (i) *-a* One example only, O.Kh.: *indra* Z 11. 14. Simplified < *indrya* (v).
 (ii) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *anyattīrthiya* Z 2. 1; *indriya* Z 2. 77+.
 (iii) *-iye* O.Kh. only: *indriye* Z 7. 26, 38; *Kha* 1. 91a1 b4 *KT* 5. 139.
 (iv) *-e* L.Kh.: *edre* fS 38v1 (167). Simplified < *indrye* (vi).
 (v) *-ya* O.Kh.: *anyattīrthya* SS 61r3 *KT* 5. 338; *indrya* Z 6. 45; *īsoarya* Z 20. 10; *ttīryasūnya* Z 2. 11; *padya* Z 10. 9+; *samaidṛṣṭya* 'right view' Z 24. 391. L.Kh.: *āśi'rya* *Vajr.* 5a1 *KT* 3. 20; Ch 00269. 82 *KT* 2. 46; *sūlya* Ch 00269. 78 *KT* 2. 46; Or 11252. 38. 3 *KT* 2. 29.
 (vi) *-ye* One example only, O.Kh.: *indrye* N 75. 41.

134. *G-DP*

- (i) *-iyānu* O.Kh.: *indriyānu* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v1 *KBT* 9.
 (ii) *-yā* L.Kh. only: *sūlyā* P 2024. 35 *KT* 2. 77.
 (iii) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *āśi'ryām* Hed. 7v5 *KT* 4. 26; *trreṣu'nām* S 2471. 199 *KBT* 97.
 (iv) *-yānā* One example only, O.Kh.: *ttāryasūnyānā* Z 11. 10.
 (v) *-yānu* O.Kh.: *anyattīrthyānu* SS 20v6 *KT* 5. 330.

135. *I-AP*

- (i) *-ā (jsa)* L.Kh. only: *emdrā jsa* Hed. 23. 26 *KT* 4. 36. Simplified < **emdrīyā jsa* (cf. § 134 (ii)).
 (ii) *-iyo (jsa)* O.Kh. only: *indriyo* Z 14. 75 < **indriyyo*, cf. (iii).
 (iii) *-iyyau (jsa)* O.Kh. only: *indriyyau jsa* Or 9609. 4r7 *KT* 1. 233; *indriyyau* *ibid.* 24r3 *KT* 1. 235.
 (iv) *-o (jsa)* One example only, L.Kh.: *sūlo jsa* Hed. 19. 20 *KT* 4. 33. < **sūlyo jsa*, cf. (v), (vi).

- (v) *-au (jsa)* One example only, L.Kh.: *idrrau jsa* P 3513. 82v2 *KBT* 65. Simplified < *idryau jsa* (vii).
 (vi) *-yām (jsa)* L.Kh.: *sūlyām jsā* P 2786. 70 *KT* 2. 95. Simplified < **sūlyyām jsā*.
 (vii) *-yau (jsa)* *-yau* simplified < **-yyau*, cf. (iii). O.Kh.: *indryau jsa* Z 2. 75; *idryau jsa* Z 2. 74. L.Kh.: *āśi'ryau jsa* *Vajr.* 4a2 *KT* 3. 20; *sūlyau* Or 11344. 16. 2 *KT* 2. 38.

136. *LP*

- (i) *-iyvo'* O.Kh. only: *indriyvo'* Or 9609. 24r3 *KT* 1. 235.
 (ii) *-ūā* L.Kh.: *imdrūā* P 3513. 28v1 *KBT* 58. < **imdrīyūā*.

137. 8. *īā*-declension of nouns

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	<i>-iya</i> (iv a)	NA	<i>-(i)ye</i> (iv a)
A	<i>-yo</i> (iv a)		
G-D	<i>-(i)ye*</i> (vi c)	G-D	<i>-yānu</i> (iv a)
I-A	<i>-ye*</i> (vi c)	I-A	
L	<i>-ya*</i> (vi c)	L	

Asterisked forms show *-y-* < **-yy-*.

138. *NS*

- (i) *-iya* One example only, O.Kh.: *ggāṭhiya* 'female householder' Z 22. 310.

139. *AS*

- (i) *-yo* O.Kh.: *ggamdyo* 'gong' Z 2. 101, 102, 104.
 (ii) *-yu* One example only, O.Kh.: *Ggaupyu* 'Gopikā' Z 25. 242.

140. *G-DS*

- (i) *-iye* One example only, O.Kh.: *kumbiye* 'pot' Z 4. 63.
 (ii) *-e* L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrre* *Vajr.* 16a4 *KT* 3. 23. Simplified < *mahāsahasrye* (iv).
 (iii) *-ya* L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrya* *Vajr.* 36a4 *KT* 3. 27.
 (iv) *-ye* O.Kh.: *mahāsahasrye* SS 34r1 *KT* 5. 335. L.Kh.: *mahāsahasrye* *Vajr.* 15b1 *KT* 3. 23.

141. *I-AS*

- (i) *-ye (jsa)* One example only, O.Kh.: *ggamdye jsa* 'gong' Z 2. 104.

142. LS

(i) *-ya* O.Kh.: *mahāsahasrya* SS 32v6 KT 5. 334.

143. NAP

(i) *-i* < *-yi* (iv). L.Kh.: *asi* 'nun' *Vajr.* 44a3 KT 3. 29.(ii) *-iye* O.Kh. only: *kumbiye* 'pot' Z 4. 65; 24. 175; *ggāṭhiye* 'female householder' Z 23. 130.(iii) *-āye* One example only, O.Kh.: *kubāye* 'pot' Z 24. 45.(iv) *-yi* L.Kh.: *uvāysyi* 'lay-woman' P 3513. 40r3 KBT 61.(v) *-ye* O.Kh.: *asye* 'nun' Z 23. 124, 131, 132+; *uvāysye* 'lay-woman' Z 23. 124. L.Kh.: *ūysye* *Vajr.* 44a3 (*ū(vā)ysye* KT 3. 29).

144. G-DP

(i) *-yānu* O.Kh. only: *asīyānu* 'nun' Z 22. 310; *Suv. K.* 29v4 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. 56v6 KT 1. 240; *uvāysyānu* 'lay-woman' *Suv. K.* 29v4 KT 5. 107.145. 9. *iā*-declension of adjectives

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-(ī)ya</i>	NA	<i>-(ī)ya</i>
V	<i>-iya</i>		V	<i>-ye</i>
A	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-yo</i>		
G-D	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-ye*</i>	G-D	<i>-yānu</i>
I-A	<i>-īna</i>	<i>-ye*</i>	I-A	<i>-yau*</i>
L	<i>-ī</i> (i b)	<i>-yo</i> (iv a)	L	<i>*-yvo*</i> (vi c)

For the application of the rules of contraction where not indicated here, see §§ 126, 137. Forms followed by an asterisk show *-y-* < **-yy-*.

Among adjectives belonging to the *iā*-declension are the following: (*adātia-* '(un)lawful'; *paḍāṃjsia-* 'former'; *biśśūṃia-* 'of all kinds'; *briā-* 'beloved'; *hīvia-* 'one's own' (in L.Kh. also used as a sign of the gen.).

146. NSm

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *hāvī* Z 3. 31+ + *ttarandarā* 'body'; *hīvī* Z 24. 443 + *jīvātā* 'life'; *paḍāṃjsī* Z 4. 3 + *karmī*; SS 83r3 KT 5. 341 + *rre* 'king'; *auṣkāṃjsī* 'eternal' Z 6. 10 + *ttarandari* 'body'; *bri* Z 3. 66. L.Kh.: *kapī* 'pure' *Avdh* 8v1 + *khāysā* 'food'; 8v2 + *khaśā* 'food' KT 3. 3; *hīvī* JS 6v3 (24) + *bārai* 'steed'; *Si* 1 bis v3 KT 1. 4++ + *Sidhasāvā*.

147. VSm

(i) *-iya* One example only, O.Kh.: *briya* Z 19. 3 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.

148. ASm

(i) *-iyu* One example only, O.Kh.: *briyu* Z 20. 22 + *pūru* 'son'. Uncontracted.(ii) *-ī* O.Kh.: *dātī* Z 6. 4 + *cakkru* 'wheel'; *biśśūṃi* Z 16. 20; *vāstāri* 'extensive' Z 10. 35; *hīvī* Z 5. 7 + *tcārma* 'skin'; *hīvī* Z 22. 237 + *aysmū* 'mind'. L.Kh.: *hīvī* JS 24r2 (104) + *jīye* 'life'; *hīvī* JS 13r1 (53) + *purā* 'son'; JS 14v3 (61) + *bhāgā* 'share'.

149. G-DSm

(i) *-ī* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsī* Z 5. 67 + *karmā*; *hāvī* Z 22. 274 + *aysmū* 'mind'; *hīvī* Z 22. 241 + *kṣundei* 'husband'. L.Kh.: *briī* JS 19v3 (84) + *kṣudai* 'husband'; *hīvī* JS 20v1 (87) + *jīye* 'life'; *hīvī* JS 5r3 (16) + *tīśā* 'glory'.

150. I-ASm

(i) *-ī(na)* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃjsīna* Kha 1. 13. 146r5 KBT 6 + *kādāgānāna* 'evil deed'; *biśśūṃīna* *Suv. K.* 33v6 KT 5. 111 + *ttagatāna* 'wealth'; *briṇa* Z 11. 14; *hīvīna* Z 5. 8 + *āstāna* 'bone'; *hīvīna* *Suv. K.* 33r4 KT 5. 111 + *iśvarīna* 'dominion'; *hīvīna* (so read) *Suv. K.* 32r5 KT 5. 110 + *kṣīrna* 'land'. L.Kh.: *biśśūṃi* *Avdh* 9r4 KT 3. 3 + *pājsamāna* 'honour'; *hīvī* JS 30r3 (132) + *virśēna* 'heroism'.(ii) *-ye* = I-ASf § 159 (iii). L.Kh. only: *hīye* (*-y-* < *-vy-*) JS 39v2 + *brrāvāra* . . . *jsa* 'brother'; *Si* 149v5 KT 1. 94 + *rraysā* *jsa* 'taste'.

151. LSm

(i) *-īna* This O.Kh. form points to the LS ending having become *-ña* in the secondary declensions before contraction; see § 101 (i), p. 306. *-īna* would require **-īna* (i b); *-āna* would require **-yaña* (iv a).O.Kh.: *hīvīna* Z 23. 169 + *vihera* 'vihāra'; *hīvīna* *Suv. K.* 33r3 KT 5. 111 + *kṣīro* 'land'. L.Kh.: *hīna* (< *hīvīna*) JS 5r4 (17) + *ttūrre* 'mouth'; P 3513. 15r2 KBT 54 + *saṃttāṇa* 'continuity'; P 3513. 77v4 KBT 63 + *aysmya* 'mind'; *hīña* P 2801. 15 KT 3. 65 + *aysmya* 'mind'.(ii) *-ī* L.Kh. only: *anāstānī* 'beginningless' *Avdh* 5r3 KT 3. 1; 15v4 KT 3. 8 + *saṃtsāri* 'saṃsāra'. LS *-ā* (i b) § 11 (v).

152. NAPm

(i) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *Jambūvīya* Z 16. 44 + *huva'ndi* 'man'; *briya* Z 3. 70.

(ii) *-āya* O.Kh. only: *mārapakṣāya* Z 24. 519 (< BHS *mārapakṣika*-) + *ttārtha* 'heretic'.

(iii) *-ya* O.Kh.: *ḥambūvīya* (-yy- < -vy-) *Suv.* K. 33v6 *KT* 5. 111 + *uysnaura* 'being'; *dātya* Z 24. 51 + *hvaṇḍi* 'man'; *paḍāṃsya* Z 22. 199 + *puṇa* 'merit'; Stein E 1. 7. 149v2 *KT* 5. 79 + *hvaṇḍā* 'man'. L.Kh.: *kūra-drraiṣṭya* 'of false views' P 3513. 82v3 *KB*T 65 + *hvaṇḍa* 'man'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *ḥS* 3r3 (8) + *pārysā* 'servant'; *ḥS* 16r1 (67) + *dasta* 'hand'.

153. *G-DPm*

(i) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *paḍāṃsyaṃ* *Vajr.* 44b3 *KT* 3. 29 + *bādāṃ* 'time'.

(ii) *-yānā* L.Kh. only: *paḍāṃsyaṇā* *Vajr.* 26a1 *KT* 3. 25 + *bādānā* 'time'; 30a1 *KT* 3. 26 + *satvāṇā* 'being'; *hīvyānā* H 142 NS 56r1 *KT* 5. 90 (old) + *mārāpyarāṇā* 'parents'.

(iii) *-yānu* O.Kh. only: *adātyānu* *Suv.* K. 64v4 *KT* 5. 115 + *uysnaurānu* 'being'; *paḍāṃsyaṇu* *Suv.* K. 34v2 *KT* 5. 112 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *biśūnyānu* Or 9609. *27v4 *KT* 1. 236 + *suhānu* 'blessing'; *mū-ysamṭhyānu* 'of this birth' *Suv.* K. 66r3 *KT* 5. 117 + *kādātānānu* 'evil deed'.

154. *I-APm*

(i) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *hīyām* (-y- < -vy-) *Si* 142r4 *KT* 1. 82 + *gūnām* *jsa* 'characteristic'.

(ii) *-yo* O.Kh.: *biśūnyo* *Suv.* K. 34v3 *KT* 5. 112 + *upakāryau* 'help'; *hīvyo* *Suv.* K. 32r2 *KT* 5. 110 + *kṣīryau* 'land'.

(iii) *-yau* O.Kh.: *dātyau* *Suv.* K. 67r2 *KT* 5. 118 + *uysnauryau* *jsa* 'being'; *biśūnyau* *Suv.* K. 35v4 *KT* 5. 113 + *spātyau* 'flower'; *hīvyau* Z 13. 135 + *karmyau*; *hīvyau* Z 14. 54 + *karmyau*.

(iv) *-āyo* One example only, O.Kh.: *brāyo* Z 11. 11.

(v) *-iyo* One example only, O.Kh.: *briyo* Z 20. 11.

155. *LPm*

(i) *-yūā* = *-yvā* (iii). L.Kh. only: *ūstimāṃsyaūā* 'last' P 3513. 50r1 (Asm. 31) + *kalpā* 'kalpa'.

(ii) *-yo* O.Kh. only: *hīvyo* Z 3. 38 + *paramāṇvo* 'atom'; *hīvyo hīvyo kṣīraṇuwo* (tr. *sveṣu sveṣu viṣayeṣu*) *Suv.* K. 33v1 *KT* 5. 111; *hīvyo* H vii. 150. 10 b7 *KT* 5. 60 + *sūtruovo* 'sūtra'. *hīvyo* < **hīvyvo*.

(iii) *-yvā* L.Kh. only: *hīyvā* Ch 00267. 33 *KB*T 147 + *jasta-bavinūā* 'divine abode'. Simplified < **hīvyvā*.

(iv) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *ustamāṃsivā* 'last' P 3513. 49r2 (Asm. 27) + *kalpā* 'kalpa'. Simplified < **ustamāṃsivyā*.

156. *NSf*

(i) *-iya* O.Kh. only: *mū-ysamṭhiya* 'of this birth' Or 9609. 3r6 *KT* 1. 232 + *hamdāra* 'solicitude'.

(ii) *-ya* O.Kh.: *brya* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115 + *dūva* 'daughter'; *lovyā* 'lokika' Z 13. 125 + *jsīna* 'life'; *hāvya* Z 14. 76 + *hota* 'power'. L.Kh.: *vaisthārya* 'extensive' P 3513. 54r1 (Asm. 50) + *carya* 'career'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *ḥS* 2v3 (7) + *jsīna* 'life'; P 3513. 49v3 (Asm. 30) + *hauva* 'power'; *Si* 8r1 *KT* 1. 12 + *grauttā* 'warmth'.

157. *ASf*

(i) *-iya* = *NSf* § 156 (i). O.Kh.: *briya* Z 20. 21 + *ṣṣuva* 'news'.

(ii) *-āyo* O.Kh. only: *dātāyo* Z 19. 30 + *uysānā* 'self' (?).

(iii) *-ya* = *NSf* § 156 (ii). L.Kh.: *paḍāṃsya* *Avdh* 11v4 *KT* 3. 5 + *tvā*, *pratiṇā* 'this promise'; *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) *ḥS* 22v3 (98) + *huṇā* 'blood'; P 3513. 55v4 (Asm. 59) + *hīna* 'army'.

(iv) *-yo* O.Kh.: *ustamāṃsyo* 'future' Z 6. 11 + *rraštatetu* 'rightness'; *tcūrysanyo* 'fourfold' *Suv.* K. 32r5; 32v2 *KT* 5. 110 + *hīno* 'army'; *paḍāṃsyo* Z 6. 11 + *rraštatetu* 'rightness'; *hāvyo* Z 14. 68 + *hotu* 'power'.

158. *G-DSf*

(i) *-ye* O.Kh.: *hāvye* Z 23. 15 + *ttāni* 'skin'. L.Kh.: *hīye* (-y- < -vy-) *MT* a. i. 0045a7 *KT* 5. 387 + *nera pya* < *tsa* > 'before the wife'.

159. *I-ASf*

(i) *-iñe* See § 151 (i). O.Kh. only: *hīviñe* Z 5. 8 + *hūñe* *jsa* 'blood'; H 142 NS 76. 19v2 *KT* 5. 103 + *uysānye* *jsa* 'self'; *hīviñe* Z 13. 95 + *ṣṣadde* *jsa* 'faith'.

(ii) *-iye* O.Kh. only: *hīviye* Z 22. 292 + *mulśdi* 'compassion'.

(iii) *-ye* O.Kh.: *tcūrysanye* 'fourfold' Z 23. 136, 166 + *hīñe* *jsa* 'army'; *brye* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115 + *nere* *jsa* 'wife'.

160. *LSf*

(i) *-ya* -y- < -yy- (vi c). On *LSf* *-ya*, see § 22 (ii). L.Kh.: *hīya* (-y- < -vy-) P 3513. 51r4 (Asm. 38) + *hamṣara* 'gocara' (see § 22 (i)).

(ii) *-yo* *LSf* -o § 22 (x). O.Kh.: *paḍāṃsyo* Z 6. 7 + *tcalco* 'side'.

161. *NAPf*

- (i) *-iye* O.Kh.: *paḍāṃsiye* Z 3. 117 + *bise* 'house'.
 (ii) *-ye* O.Kh.: *atapye* 'impure' Z 13. 150 + *ṣkaumgye* 'saṃskāra';
lovyē 'lokika' Z 23. 111 + *abhijñe* 'supernatural knowledge'. L.Kh.:
hīye (*-y-* < *-vy-*) *ṣS* 9r1 (34) + *bā'yā* 'ray'.

162. *G-DPf*

- (i) *-yām* L.Kh.: *hīyām* *Si* 149v5 *KT* 1. 94 + *perām* 'leaf'.

163. *I-APf*

- (i) *-āyyau* One example only, O.Kh.: *osāyyau* 'evil' H 142 NS 45r4
KT 5. 93 + *kā'mayyau* 'thought'. Elsewhere I have noticed only *osā-*,
 not *osā-*.
 (ii) *-yām* L.Kh. only: *hīyām* *Si* 14v4 *KT* 1. 22 + *bātyau* *jsa* 'root'.
 (iii) *-yau* O.Kh.: *hīvyau* Z 3. 107 + *uvyau* 'wits' *jsa* 'wits'; *hīvyau* Z 3.
 107 + *uvau* 'jsa'. L.Kh.: *hīvyau* *ṣS* 6v4-7r1 (24) + *bā'yo* 'ray'; *hīyau*
 (*-y-* < *-vy-*) *ṣS* 19r4 (82) + *bā'yau*.

164. *LPf*

- (i) *-yā* One example only, L.Kh.: *hīyā* *Si* 153v1 *KT* 1. 100 +
pervā 'leaf'. Simplified < **hīvyā*.

165. 10. *Monosyllabic īa*-declension of nouns

The only word certainly belonging to this declension is *hvīa*- 'sweat'
 < **hvīda-*, cf. O.Ind. *svēda-* ('E', p. 530 s.v.). Only the NS *hvī* (i b)
 has been noted, O.Kh. Z 20. 54.

Note: NS *bī* 'willow' *Si* 10r2 *KT* 1. 14 tr. *lcañ-ma* (cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
 see H. W. B., *AION*, 1959, 116-17) and *hī* 'bridge', NS *hī* *ṣS* 7v2 (28),
 AS *hī* P 2781. 152 (84), 153 (85) bis *KT* 3. 72 (cf. Av. *haētu-*; see
 Dresden, p. 490) do not belong here. *bī*, *hī* are from O.Kh. **bīta-*,
**hīta-* like L.Kh. NS *nā*, *dā* < O.Kh. *nāta-*, *dāta-* (§ 6 (i) p. 251).

166. 11. *īā*-declension of nouns

SINGULAR ONLY

N	<i>-ī</i>	(vi b)
G-D	<i>-āyā*</i>	(vi c)
I-A	<i>-īye*</i>	(vi c)

Forms followed by an asterisk have *-y-* < **-yy-*.

One word only has been noted: *pīā-* 'fat', cf. Av. *pīvah-*; Oss. D. I.
fū; MPe *py(y)* (*MirMan* i). The attested forms are:

- (a) NS *pī* O.Kh.: Z 20. 54. L.Kh.: *Si* 4r5 *KT* 1. 8+.
 (b) G-DS (i) *pāyā* once only, O.Kh.: Z 20. 56.
 (ii) *pī* L.Kh.: *Si* 12v4 *KT* 1. 18+. Generalization of NS.
 (c) I-AS (i) *piye* once only, O.Kh.: *piye* Z 20. 53.
 (ii) *pī* *jsa* L.Kh.: *Si* 9v1 *KT* 1. 14.

167. 12. *salīā-* 'year'

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	<i>salī</i>	(vi b)	NA	<i>salī</i> (vi b) / <i>*salye</i> (iv a)
A	<i>salī</i>	(vi b)		
G-D	<i>sal(i)ye*</i>	(vi c)	G-D	
L	<i>salya</i> , <i>salye</i>	(vi c)	L	

There is no evidence of gender in the O.Kh. occurrences of the word,
paṃsū sate salī occurs with a predicative adj. *uspurre* in Z 24. 462, but
-e is used both for NAPm (§ 35 (ix)) and NAPf (§ 46 (v)). It was pre-
 sumably therefore because the cognate Av. *sarəd-* and O.Ind. *śarad-*
 are fem. that the word was listed by Leumann ('E', p. 512 s.v.) as
 'salī f.' and by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 179 s.v., as 'salī f.' In
 Konow's *Primer*, p. 126 s.v., it is listed as 'salī-, salīā-'. The *i*-decl. can
 at once be excluded, as it has no ending in *-ī* (see §§ 49, 50). The
īā-decl. also has no ending in *-ī* (see §§ 137, 145), but the L.Kh. spellings
 implying a NAP **salye* replacing older *salī* indicate an *īā*-decl. (cf. the
 L.Kh. *hadāa-* replacing older *hadāa-* § 113 (vii), p. 308). The applica-
 tion of the rules of contraction (§ 62) shows that the sg. forms can be
 interpreted only on the assumption of a stem *salīā-* f. We thus have in
 the singular *salīā-* f., in the pl. *salīa-* m.

In O.Kh., *śsau* 'one' is used both for NSm and NSf. It is found also
 as ASm. It was therefore no doubt ASf also, although this has not yet
 been found. In L.Kh., *śā* occurs as NSf and ASf. It is often contrasted
 with *sau* e.g. *sau hadā śā ṣṣava* Or 9268. 1a6 *KT* 2. 13. With *salīā-*, we
 find in the same L.Kh. text *sau salā* AS (*Si* 7r1 *KT* 1. 10) and *śā salī*
 AS (*Si* 104v2 *KT* 1. 40; 140v4 *KT* 1. 80). *śā* is, however, usual in
 L.Kh. with *salīā-*. *sau* as ASf in L.Kh. is probably to be regarded as
 an archaism.

In compounds and derivatives, *sal-* is associated with a number of
 suffixes, confirming that only *sal-* (< O.Ir. **sard-*) was inherited. With
 this can be compared the similar situation with the Iranian descendants
 of IE **bhāgh-* (Benv., *Oss.*, p. 64).

Suffixes found with *sal-*:

- (i) *-a*
pasāla- 'spring' < **pati-sarda-* according to H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii,

2, 1948, 329 (cf. Dresden, p. 479 s.v. *paśa'*). More strictly, it must represent a *vrddhi* **sārda-* (cf. O.Ind. *śārada-*), as *sal-*, not *sāl-*, is < **sard-*. Only NS *pasālā* (Z 20. 2; 24. 201) and LS *pasālā* (Z 17. 5; N 76. 1; *Si* 3v1 *KT* 1. 6; 4r1 *KT* 1. 6) have been found. It has a derivative in *-ia*: *pasālya Si* 3v4 *KT* 1. 6 (cf. O.Ind. *śārādika-*), and one in *-āṃjsia Si* 3v4 *KT* 1. 6. *pasālī* occurs in P 2927. 50 *KT* 3. 104.

(ii) *-iā*

salya-bāyaa- 'president of the year' (Hed. 7222 *KT* 4. 50; see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 171) implies *-iā* rather than *-īa*, as in the case of *-īa* we should expect **salī-bāyaa-* (vi b), see (iii).

(iii) *-iā*

salīā- f. sg.; *salīa-* m. pl. 'year'.

salī-hadāa- 'day of the year': *salī-hadā Suv. K.* 33v4-5 *KT* 5. 111 tr. *saṃvatsarāṇi*.

(iv) *-ua*

**salua-* 'year-old': *paṃjsa-satā-salūvo ASf Z* 22. 123 '500-year-old'; *ysāra-salū P* 2893. 19 *KT* 3. 83 '1000-year-old'; *śā-salū* (? as adv., AS) *Si* 132r3 *KT* 1. 66 (tr. *lo gciḡ chun-chad lon-pa ni*).

-ua is also implied in *śā-salvāṃjsa MT* a iv. 00170. 2 *KT* 5. 215 'one-year-old'; *dvāsā-salāṃjsū (-l- < -lv-)* 'twelve-year-old' NSm *JP* 76r3 *KT* 1. 161.

168. In view of the special interest of the word *salīā-*, it will be convenient to list in this paragraph all the forms of the word.

(i) *sala*

AP L.Kh. only, spelling variant of *salā* (iii): P 2783. 241 (80) *KT* 3. 76; P 4099. 114 *KBT* 118; Or 8212. 162. 22 *KT* 2. 2.

(ii) *salā*

Ch 00266. 75 *KBT* 23 = *sal<ā>* P 2025. 126 *KBT* 15. The passage is not quite clear to me. *salā* may be < **salyā* G-DP or I-AP.

(iii) *salā*

AS L.Kh. only: *salā Si* 7r1 *KT* 1. 10.

AP L.Kh. only: H 147 MBD 24b 14 *KT* 5. 62; P 2783. 235 (74) *KT* 3. 75; *Si* 7r1, 2 *KT* 1. 10; 127v5 *KT* 1. 58.

Both are L.Kh. shortenings of O.Kh. *salī*.

(iv) *salī*

NS L.Kh. only: Hoernle 1. 1 *KT* 2. 64; Hoernle 7. 1 *KT* 2. 66; MT c. 0018. 1 *KT* 2. 72; Or 6392. 1 *KT* 5. 1; Or 6395. 1 *KT* 5. 3 (*salī*); Or 6396. 1. 1 *KT* 5. 4; Or 6398. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 6; P 2957. 137 *KBT*

38 = Ch 00266. 200 *KBT* 29; Or 9268. 2a1 *KT* 2. 14; P 2958. 165 *KT* 2. 119; P 5538a 53 *KT* 2. 128; *Si* 140r5 *KT* 1. 78; *StH* 32 *KT* 2. 74.

AS L.Kh. only: MT b ii 0065. 5 *KT* 2. 72; Or 11252. 1r2 *KT* 3. 13; Or 11252. 2. 1-2 *KT* 2. 15; P 2788. 5 *KT* 2. 109; *Si* 104v2 *KT* 1. 40; 140v4 *KT* 1. 80.

NAP O.Kh.: Z 2. 106, 239; 5. 114; 13. 61; 14. 30; 22. 123; 23. 108; 24. 45, 275, 276, 462, 474. L.Kh.: *ApS* 2b3, 3b4 *KT* 5. 244; 8a1 *KT* 5. 245; *JS* 18v3 (79); Kha vi. 12. 2b4 *KT* 5. 180 (fragm.); P 4649. 12 *KT* 2. 125; P 2745. 6 *KT* 2. 93; *ibid.* 8; P 2786. 234 *KT* 2. 100; P 2787. 158 *KT* 2. 107; P 2957. 132 *KBT* 38 = P 2025. 257 *KBT* 20 = Ch 00266. 194 *KBT* 29; P 2958. 21 *KBT* 40; P 2958. 156 *KT* 2. 118; P 5538b 13 *KT* 3. 121.

LS? P 2897. 36, 37 *KT* 2. 116.

(v) *salya*

LS L.Kh. only: Ch 00271. 7 *KT* 2. 49 (<*sa*>*lya*); Ch 0048. 1 *KT* 2. 40; Ch 00269. 01 c, e, g *KT* 2. 42; Ch 1. 0021b. a². 39 *KBT* 151; Ch c. 002. a92 *KT* 5. 385; Ch cvi 001. ar *KT* 2. 59; H 147 MBD 24b 12 *KT* 5. 62; Hed. 4. 2 *KT* 4. 23; Hoernle 3. 1 *KT* 2. 65 = Or 6395. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 4; Kha ix. 53a *KT* 5. 186; Or 6400. 2. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 10; Or 9268. 2a2 *KT* 2. 14; Or 11252. 1. 23 *KT* 3. 14; 32 *KT* 3. 14 (<*sa*>*lya*); 16, 20, 25, 29 *KT* 3. 14; 35, 43, 47, 51, 54 *KT* 3. 15; P 2028. 89 *KT* 2. 82; P 2834. 25 *KBT* 46; P 2958. 167 *KT* 2. 119; P 5538a 80 *KT* 2. 129; S 2469. 1 *KT* 2. 130; *StH* 1 *KT* 2. 72.

(vi) *saliye*

G-DS One example only, O.Kh.: N 125. 40 = H 144 NSB 19r3 *KT* 5. 92.

(vii) *salyā*

AP L.Kh. spelling for NAP **salye*. P 2834. 51 (sic) *KBT* 46.

(viii) *salyī*

LS ? = *salī* LS ? One example only, L.Kh.: *Vajr.* 1a1 *KT* 3. 19.

(ix) *salye*

G-DS O.Kh.: Z 22. 125. L.Kh.: Hed. 29. 2 *KT* 4. 39; Hoernle 4. 1 *KT* 2. 65 = Or 6397. 2. 1 *KT* 5. 5; Kha 0013c 1. 9r5 *KT* 5. 122; Or 6396. 1. 9 *KT* 5. 4; Or 9268. 1a9 *KT* 2. 13; P 2781. 97 (29) *KT* 3. 69.

LS L.Kh. only: Ch 00272. 18 *KT* 2. 50 (*māstaiṇa salye*); H 143 MBD 13a1 *KT* 5. 33; Kha 1. 138b 1a4 *KT* 5. 189; MT c. 0018. 2-3 *KT* 2. 72 (? *salya*).

(x) *sali*

AP L.Kh. only: P 5538a 35 *KT* 2. 127. = *salī* (iv).

(xi) *sālya*

LS = *salya* (v). One example only, L.Kh.: Ch 1. 0021b. a² 44 KBT 151.

(xii) *sālyā*

AP L.Kh. spelling for NAP **salye*. P 2834. 52 (sic) KBT 47.

Note: *salā* and *salī* listed as 'year' in *MS Rems*, p. 402 do not belong here. *salā* in B₄ (= Hoernle 143a 4 KT 2. 68) is L.Kh. < *salāva* 'words'; *salī* in B₅ (= Hoernle 143a 5 KT 2. 68) is probably part of a personal name *misali*.

169. 13. *ua*-declension of nouns

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	-ū (iii b)	NA	-(u)va, -uve (iv b)
A	-ū (i c)		
G-D	-ū (iii c)	G-D	-(u)vānu (iv b)
I-A	-ūna (iii b)	I-A	-vyau (vi c)
L	*-uvya (vi c)	L	*-vo ¹ (vi c)

kṣua- 'hunger' is included in this decl., although the attested forms could be treated as **kṣūa*-. Leumann listed the word as *kṣāa*-, but compared Skt *kṣodha*-, which, however, as S. Konow pointed out (*NTS*, xi, 1939, 45), does not exist. S. Konow gave 'kṣū f.' in *Saka Studies*, p. 153 s.v. and compared Skt *kṣudh*-. I know of no indication that the Kh. word is fem. On the contrary, *-na* I-AS in O.Kh. is always a sign of the masc.; and the comparison extends only to the stem.

In Av., *śudō* in V. 7. 70 is parallel with *tarśnō*: *yaśca śudō yaśca tarśnō*. This is clearly a thematic NSm (not NP as *AIW*, 1710) as Barth., *GIP*, § 213, p. 118. It has been influenced by *tarśnō*, as words for 'hunger' and 'thirst' tend to be assimilated; cf. Paštō *təžai*, *wəžai* *EVP* 85. Av. *śuda*- m. beside *tarśna*- m. corresponds with Kh. *kṣua*- m. beside *ttarra*- m., both in contrast to O.Ind. *kṣudhā*- f. beside *ṛṣṇā*- f.

Also included in the *ua*-declension are the following: *aysmua*- 'mind'; *āvua*- 'village'; *bāysua*- 'arm'; *ysānua*- 'knee'; *hārua*- 'merchant'.

170. *NS*(i) *-u* L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṽS 12v3 (51).(ii) *-ū* O.Kh.: *aysmū* Z 4. 43+; *āvū* Or 9609. 24r1 KT 1. 234; *kṣū* Z 22. 127; *bāysū* Z 13. 76. L.Kh.: *aysmū* P 2790. 99 KT 2. 113; *au* Ch 1. 0021a, b22 KT 2. 56 < O.Kh. *āvū*.¹ *vo* < **vo*.171. *AS*(i) *-u* L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṽS 10v1 (41); 11v4 (47); *bāysu* Ch c. 001. 1042 KBT 142; *ysānu* Ch c. 001. 860 KBT 135.(ii) *-ū* O.Kh.: *aysmū* Z 5. 30+; *ysānū* Z 22. 149; *SS* 13v2 KT 5. 329; Kha 1. 187 a6 a1 KT 5. 158; *Suv*. K. 29v7 KT 5. 107.172. *G-DS*(i) *-u* = NS, AS *-u*; cf. § 117. Perhaps influenced by the otherwise parallel *ia*-decl., which has NAG-DS *-ī* § 126. L.Kh. only: *aysmu* ṽS 8v4 (33).(ii) *-uī* O.Kh. only: *aysmuī* Z 4. 42; *āvūī* Z 6. 24.(iii) *-uvā* O.Kh. only: *aysmuvā* H 142 NSB 4 v2 KT 5. 78.(iv) *-uvi* O.Kh. only: *hāruvi* Z 13. 31.(v) *-ū* = NS, AS *-ū*; v. (i). L.Kh. only: *aysmū* P 3513. 21v1 KBT 56; P 3513. 78r2 KBT 63; *hāru* *ApS* 1b2 KT 5. 243; *Vajr*. 4a1 KT 3. 20.(vi) *-vī* O.Kh.: *aysmvī* Z 19. 31.173. *I-AS*(i) *-una* L.Kh. only: *aysmuna* P 3513. 44v1 (Asm. 5); *kṣuna* ṽS 6r4 (22); *kṣu* . . . *-na* ṽS 17v1 (74).(ii) *-une* L.Kh. only: *kṣune* ṽS 32r1 (139).(iii) *-ū jsa* L.Kh. only: *aysmū jsa* *ApS* 7b1 KT 5. 245; *aysamū jsa* S 2471. 138 KBT 95.(iv) *-ūna* O.Kh.: *aysmūna* Z 2. 116+; *kṣūna* Z 22. 274; 24. 467. L.Kh.: *aysmūna* S 2471. 133 KBT 95.174. *LS*(i) *-uto* O.Kh. only: *āvuto* *Suv*. K. 30r1 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. 24r1 KT 1. 234; 54v6 KT 1. 239; 55v2 KT 1. 239. = *-uvo* (iii); cf. LP *a*-decl. *-uto/-uvo* § 16 (viii), (ix).(ii) *-uto'* = *-uvo* (iv); v. (i). O.Kh. only: *āvuto'* Z 13. 82; 22. 115 (not LP, as S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 120 s.v., because + *sātāña*).(iii) *-uvo* < **-uko* (iv b), with LS *-o* § 11 (xiii). O.Kh.: *āguvo* *Suv*. K. 31v1 KT 5. 109; *āvuvo* Z 13. 90.(iv) *-uvo'* O.Kh. only: *āguvo'* Or 9609. 55v3 KT 1. 239 (tr. *grāme*; + *tīña*); *āvuvo'* Z 6. 24. Confusion of *-uvo* (iii) with LP *-uvo'* § 16 (x). Cf. § 11 (xv). Cf. LS *gguvo'* § 213 (i), p. 333.

(v) **-wvya* L.Kh. *auvya* Or 9268. 1 c 3 *KT* 2. 14 < **āvuvya* attests indirectly the expected O.Kh. ending.

(vi) *-ū* Doubtful so far. If *ggālū gga* < *lū* > is read in Or 9609. 4v1 *KT* 1. 233 and is interpreted with H. W. B. as LS < *ggalua*- 'householder' < **garduka*- (cf. ZP *gāl*), then we have one example. < **-uki* (iiib); with LS *-i* § 11 (vi), (vii).

(vii) *-ya* O.Kh.: *aysmya* Z 2. 9+. L.Kh.: *aysmya* *JS* 19v4 (84). Simplified < **aysmvyā*.

175. *NAP*

(i) *-ute* = *-uve* (iii). O.Kh. only: *āvute* Z 22. 115.

(ii) *-uva* O.Kh.: *hārva* Z 22. 208+. L.Kh.: *auva* P 2957. 24 *KBT* 31 = Ch 00266. 68 *KBT* 23 = P 2025. 118 *KBT* 15 < **āvuva*.

(iii) *-uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *bāysuve* Z 21. 27.

(iv) *-va* O.Kh.: *bāysva* Kha ix. 13a1 40r1 *KT* 5. 184. L.Kh.: *hārva* Or 11252. 15a2 *KT* 2. 21; P 2801. 35 *KT* 3. 66; P 2957. 63 *KBT* 34.

(v) *-vā* L.Kh. only, due to confusion of *NAP* *-va* (iv) with *LP* *-vā* § 178 (iii): *hārvā* Ch 00266. 120 *KBT* 25 = *hārvā* P 2025. 185 *KBT* 17; *hā[rue]rvā* Ch 00266. 113 *KBT* 25 = *hārvā* P 2025. 176 *KBT* 17 (= *hārva* P 2957. 63 *KBT* 34).

(vi) *-ve* O.Kh.: *ysānve* Iledong 04 b5 *KT* 3. 133. L.Kh.: *bāysve* P 2801. 45 *KT* 3. 67; *bvāysve* *JS* 29r3 (127).

176. *G-DP*

(i) *-uvānu* One example only, O.Kh.: *hārvoānu* Z 24. 398.

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *hārvā* Hed. 1. 2 *KT* 4. 21; 12. 7 *KT* 4. 28.

(iii) *-vānu* O.Kh. only: *ysānvānu* Z 23. 162; N 77. 6.

177. *I-AP*

(i) *-uvyau* O.Kh.: *ysānuvyau* N 90. 29.

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā* P 3513. 82r1 *KBT* 64. Simplified < **bāysvyā*.

(iii) *-vyau* O.Kh. only: *ātamdvyau* 'guest' Z 22. 98; *ysānvoyau* *SS* 20v3 *KT* 5. 330; *hārvyau* Z 2. 95.

178. *LP*

(i) *-uo* O.Kh. only: *āvuo* N 75. 29.

(ii) *-uto'* = *-uvo'*. O.Kh. only: *āvuto'* H 143a *NSB* 4v1 *KT* 5. 84.

(iii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā* P 2783. 223 (62) *KT* 3. 75; *ysānvā* Hed. 17. 4 *KT* 4. 31. L.Kh. *auvā* Or 11252. 30. 1 *KT* 2. 25+ is probably a secondary formation based on the *NAP* *auva* § 175 (ii) rather than < **āvuvā*. *auvā* Or 11252. 15a2 *KT* 2. 21; Kha 1. 136. 2 v4 *KT* 5. 152 is probably secondary < *auvā*.

(iv) *-vā'* L.Kh. only: *bāysvā'* P 2790. 135 *KT* 3. 63.

179. 14. *uā*-declension of adjectives

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N	<i>-ū</i>	<i>-uva</i> (iv b)	NA <i>-uva -uve</i>	<i>-uve</i> (iv b)
A	<i>-ū</i>	<i>-uvo</i> (iv b)		
G-D	<i>-vī</i>		G-D <i>-vānu</i>	
I-A	<i>-ūna</i>		I-A <i>-vyau</i>	
L			L	

Among the *uā*-declension adjectives the commonest are: *kṣīrua*- 'of the land'; *tcarsua*- 'brilliant' (v. p. 232); *hajua*- 'wise'.

180. *NSm*

(i) *-ū* O.Kh.: *tcarsū* Z 22. 145 + *asī* 'his horse'; *ysāravālsū* 'having a thousand spokes' Z 22. 143 + *caḥṛ* 'wheel'; *hajū* Z 2. 133 + *huve* 'man'. L.Kh.: *hajū* P 3513. 30r2 *KBT* 58.

181. *ASm*

(i) *-u* L.Kh. only: *tcarsu* *JS* 14r2 (58) (probably); *tcarsu* P 3513. 60v2 *KT* 1. 242 (= *tcarsū* N 57. 31) + *kūsā* 'drum'.

(ii) *-ū* O.Kh.: *kṣīrū* Z 24. 390 + *dātu* 'the law'. L.Kh.: *kṣīrū* Hoernle 1. 3 *KT* 2. 64 + *hirā* 'thing'.

182. *G-DSm*

(i) *-vī* O.Kh.: *hajvī* Z 2. 133 + *hvaṇḍi* 'man'; *hajvī* Z 2. 199 + *uysnorā* 'being'.

183. *I-ASm*

(i) *-ūṃ* L.Kh. < *-ūna* (ii). *saṃtsārūṃ bārmanna* 'prison of *saṃtsāra*' Kha 0013d 2 b1 *KT* 5. 126.

(ii) *-ūna* O.Kh.: *kṣīrūna* Z 24. 391 + *dātāna* 'the law'.

(iii) *-va* L.Kh. only: *hajva hvaḍāna Vajr.* 3a3 *KT* 3. 20 (tr. *prājñena puruṣeṇa*). *hajva* may be simplified < **hajvya*, L.Kh. for **hajvye* I-ASf; cf. § 150 (ii).

184. *NAPm*

(i) *-uva* O.Kh. only: *kāṭhamjṣuva* 'goods-stealing' *Z* 22. 136 + *ttā'te* 'thief'; *tcaṣuva* *Z* 22. 124 + *hva'ndā* 'man'; *hajvuva* *Z* 22. 321 + *ggāthā* 'householder'.

(ii) *-uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcaṣuve* *Z* 21. 22 + *tcei'mañi* 'eye'.

(iii) *-va* O.Kh.: *hajva* *Z* 24. 190 + *hva'ndi* 'man'. L.Kh.: *tcaṣva* *P* 2783. 168 (7) *KT* 3. 72 + *aśa* 'horse'; *dribāḍva* 'of the three times' *P* 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4) + *saravva* 'lion'; *drabāḍva* 'of the three times' *P* 3513. 77r2 *KBT* 62 + *baudhasatva* 'bodhisattva'.

185. *G-DPm*

(i) *-uvānu* O.Kh. only: *kṣīruvānu* *Suv.* K. 66v4-5 *KT* 5. 117 + *uysnaurānu* 'being'; *hālysdamjṣuvānu* 'of the present' *Suv.* K. 34v2 5. 112 + *balysānu* 'Buddha'; *hajuvānu* *SS* 20v4-5 *KT* 5. 330.

(ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *drabāḍvā* 'of the three times' *P* 3513. 84r4 *KBT* 66 + *ba'ysā* 'Buddha'.

(iii) *-vām* L.Kh. only: *kṣīrvām* *Or* 11344. 15b1 *KT* 2. 21 + *kivām* 'act'; *drā-bāḍvām* 'of the three times' *P* 3513. 50v4-51r1 (Asm. 36) + *ba'ysāna* 'Buddha'; *drri-bāḍvām* 'of the three times' *Avdh* 21r4 *KT* 3. 11 + *balysāni* 'Buddha'.

186. *I-APm*

(i) *-vyau* O.Kh.: *ysāravā'svyau* 'having a thousand spokes' *H* 142 *NS* 29 etc. 611v1 *KT* 5. 91 + *cakryau* 'wheel'.

187. *NSf*

(i) *-uva* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcaṣuva* *Z* 22. 155 + *strī* 'woman'.

188. *ASf*

(i) *-uvo* One example only, O.Kh.: *pañjsa-satā-saluvo* '500-year-old' *Z* 22. 123.

(ii) *-ū* = *ASm* § 181 (ii); L.Kh. lack of concord. One example only: *dri-bāḍū* 'of the three times' *P* 3513. 53r2 (Asm. 46) + *carya* 'course'.

189. *NAPf*

(i) *-uve* One example only, O.Kh.: *tcaṣṣuve* *Z* 22. 210 + *strīye* 'woman'.

190. 15. *ūa*-declension of nouns

A. MONOSYLLABIC

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	*-ū (iii b)	NA -ūva (iv b)
L	-ū (iii b)	L

B. POLYSYLLABIC

A	-ū (vi b)	NA
G-D	-vī (iii c)	G-D
I-A	-ūna (vi b)	I-A

Two words certainly belong to this decl.: *prūa*- 'military post' < **pāti-raupa*- (H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xiii. 4, 1951, 920-6; *KT* 4. 73; *Lieenthal Vol.*, pp. 1-2), and *busūa*- 'fuel' < **vi-sauka*- (H. W. B.).

rrahāmūa- 'washerman' probably belongs here, though the forms attested could also be from *rrahāmūa*-. If, however, *rraha*- is 'clothing' < **raxa*- or **raxθa*- as has been suggested (H. W. B., *KT* 4. 150), then the final element is probably < **mauka*- and means 'beater' or 'washer'. This is perhaps IE **meuk*-, cf. Pok. 741, who quotes i.a. OCS *myje*, *myti* 'waschen' s.v. **meu*- (H. W. B.).

kṣua- does not belong here; see § 169, p. 322.

191. *A. Monosyllabic*

(a) *NS* *-ū Implied by L.Kh. G-DS (cf. § 172 (v)): *prū* *Hed.* 3v5 *KT* 4. 23.

(b) *LS* -ū L.Kh. only: *prū* *Or* 11252. 5a10, 11 *KT* 2. 17; *Or* 11344. 8a3 *KT* 2. 35.

(c) *NAP* -ūva One example only, O.Kh.: *prūva* *Hoernle* 142 *NS* 49v5 *KT* 5. 26.

192. *B. Polysyllabic*

(a) *AS* -ū O.Kh.: *busū* *Z* 19. 18.

(b) *G-DS* -vī One example only, O.Kh.: *busvī* *H* 143 *NS* 72. 56v4 *KT* 5. 41.

(c) *I-AS*

(i) *-u* (*jsa*) < -ū *jsa*, cf. § 173 (iii). L.Kh. only: *bisu jsa* *Si* 9r1 *KT* 1. 14 (tr. *śin-gi*); *besu jsa* *Si* 152r1 *KT* 1. 98.

(ii) *-una* L.Kh. only: *bisūna* *Ch* 00268. 194 *KBT* 68 (= *būsūna* *Ch* 00277. 11v1 (38) *KBT* 71).

(iii) *-ūna* O.Kh.: *rrahāmūna* *Z* 5. 86 (+ *pajśinde*, pass.). L.Kh.: *būsūna* *Ch* 00277. 11v1 (38) *KBT* 71.

(iv) *-āne* One example only, O.Kh.: *rrahamūne* Z 19. 58 (+ *pajsinde*, pass.). Cf. *-une* § 173 (ii).

193. 16. *au*-declension

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
N	- <i>au</i> (v a)	NA	- <i>au</i> (v a)
A	- <i>au</i> (v a)		
G-D	- <i>uai</i> (v b)	G-D	*- <i>aumu</i> (v a)
I-A	- <i>auma</i> (v a)	I-A	- <i>vyau</i> (v c)
L	- <i>auya</i> (v c)	L	

Among words included in the *au*-declension are the following: *cārau*- 'lamp'; *gyau*- 'fight'; *darrau*- 'courage'; *drau*- 'hair'; *parau*- 'order'; *sarau*- 'lion'; *hamau*- 'goblet'; *hau*- 'speech'. For L.Kh. *ḥsau*- 'voucher, receipt', see H. W. B., *KT* 4. 55.

194. *NS*

(i) *-ā* = *-au* (iii); cf. § 14 (xiii). L.Kh. only: *sarā* Ch 1. 0021b. b3 *KBT* 152; Ch ii. 004. 4r2 *KBT* 146.

(ii) *-o* O.Kh.: *āho* 'depression' Z 22. 114; *cāro* FM 25. 1 at *KT* 3. 124; *cīro* Z 6. 15; *tsāsto* 'calm' Z 12. 134; 23. 150; *nādo* 'fire' Z 24. 500; *ho* Z 12. 25. L.Kh.: *sero* JS 34v4 (152).

(iii) *-au* O.Kh.: *gyau* *Suv.* K. 32r2 *KT* 5. 110; *parau* Z 22. 103+; *sarau* Z 2. 90+; *hamau* Z 4. 33; *hamphau* 'union' Z 11. 14. L.Kh.: *ḥsau* Hed. 1. 7 *KT* 4. 21; *sarrau* JS 25r1 (108); P 2025. 83 *KBT* 14.

195. *AS*

(i) *-o* O.Kh.: *cīro* Z 11. 36; *nācho* 'refuge' Z 22. 110; *paro* Z 24. 512; *ho* Z 23. 7.

(ii) *-au* O.Kh.: *parau* H 142 NS 47. 23r5 *KT* 5. 87; *vāyau* 'deceit' Z 19. 20 (? see § 20, p. 241). L.Kh.: *carau* P 4099. 157 *KBT* 120.

196. *G-DS*

(i) *-uai* O.Kh. only: *cāruai* Z 14. 10; *druai* Z 2. 115; *saruai* Z 5. 38+.

(ii) *-au* Generalization of NS, AS; cf. § 172 (v). L.Kh. only: *carau* *Vajr.* 42a3 *KT* 3. 29; *cīrau* *Avdh* 14r4 *KT* 3. 7; *parau* Hed. 20. 11 *KT* 4. 34.

(iii) *-vai* O.Kh. only: *sarvai* Z 2. 65, 178; 24. 221.

197. *I-AS*

(i) *-a(jsa)* < *-ā(jsa)* (ii). L.Kh.: *tsāsta jsa* 'calm' Or 8212. 162. 29-30 *KT* 2. 2.

(ii) *-ā(jsa)* L.Kh. only: *darā jsa* Ch 1. 0021a. a12 *KT* 2. 53.

(iii) *-au(jsa)* L.Kh. only: *jyau jsa* P 4099. 58 *KBT* 115; *darau jā* P 2786. 2 *KT* 2. 93.

(iv) *-ona* O.Kh.: *darrona* Z 13. 21; 24. 493 (*-n-* due to *-rr-* by Sanskritization). L.Kh.: *darrona* JS 12r2 (48).

(v) *-auna* O.Kh.: *darrauna* Z 2. 56 (+ *-i*); H 142 NS 47. 23v5 *KT* 5. 87; *parauna* Z 2. 102 (*-n-* due to *-r-* by Sanskritization). L.Kh.: *carauna* P 4099. 151 *KBT* 120; *cirauna* *Avdh* 8v2 *KT* 3. 3.

198. *LS*

(i) *-oya* = (ii). One example only: *paroya* Khot. (IO) 159. 1r3 (*SS*) (H. W. B.).

(ii) *-auya* O.Kh.: *parauya* E 1. 7. 19v5 *KT* 5. 389. L.Kh.: *parauya* P 2787. 162 *KT* 2. 107; P 3513. 83r2 *KBT* 65.

(iii) *-auyi* L.Kh. spelling for (ii): *parauyi* P 2958. 94 *KBT* 42.

199. *NAP*

(i) *-āva* = *-auva* (v). L.Kh. only: *cīrāva* P 3510. 3. 9 *KBT* 49.

(ii) *-o* O.Kh.: *hāro* 'vegetation' Z 22. 116.

(iii) *-au* O.Kh.: *tcīrau* 'ruddy-geese' Z 22. 135; *darrau* Z 3. 26+; *myau* 'storm-cloud' Z 24. 415, 501 (?); *hamau* Z 2. 48; 3. 84; *hārau* 'vegetation' Kha 1. 119. 71v6 *KT* 5. 146. L.Kh.: *darrau* Kha vi. 14b 1 a14 *KT* 5. 180; P 4099. 128 *KBT* 119.

(iv) *-auta* NAP *-ta* (§ 12 (viii)) added to NAG-DS *-au*. L.Kh. only: *ḥsauta* Hed. 3. 2 *KT* 4. 22; *drauta* P 2783. 242 (81) *KT* 3. 76; *parauta* P 2741. 18 *KT* 2. 88.

(v) *-auva* = *-auta* (iv). Cf. also L.Kh. NS *au* (< O.Kh. *āvū*) § 170

(ii) beside NAP *auva* (< O.Kh. **āvūva*) § 175 (ii). L.Kh. only: *carauva* P 3513. 46r2 (Asm. 14); *parauva* Hed. 3. 2 *KT* 4. 22; *sarauva* P 3513. 44r2 (Asm. 4).

200. *G-DP*

(i) *-autām* Based on NAP *-auta* § 199 (iv). L.Kh. only: *sarautām* P 2781. 136 (68) *KT* 3. 71.

(ii) *-oṇu* One example only, O.Kh.: *cāroṇu* FM 25. 1 at *KT* 3. 124 (*-n-* due to *-r-* by Sanskritization).

(iii) *-auvā* < *-auvām* (iv). L.Kh. only: *ḥsauvā* Hed. 13. 5 *KT* 4. 29.

(iv) *-auvām* = (i). L.Kh. only: *ḥsauvām* Hed. 1. 3 *KT* 4. 21.

201. I-AP

(i) *-au* (jsa) O.Kh.: *hau jsa* Or 9609. 36r5 *KT* 1. 236 (tr. *vacanaś*) < **hvyau jsa* (iv). L.Kh.: *jau* Ch c. 001. 879 *KBT* 136 (read *jau lāstanyau*; not as a compound) < **vyau* (iv).

(ii) *-auvām* (jsa) Based on NAP *-auva* § 199 (v) with L.Kh. I-AP *-ām* (jsa) § 15 (ii). L.Kh. only: *parauvām jsa* P 2958. 185 *KT* 2. 120.

(iii) *-auvyau* Based on L.Kh. NAP *-auva* § 199 (v). L.Kh. only: *carauvyau* P 3513. 45r4 (Asm. 10).

(iv) *-vyau* (jsa) One example only, O.Kh.: *hamvyau* Z 3. 59.

202. 17. rraysāḍ-|rraysau- 'empty'

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
N <i>-ā</i> (vi b)	<i>-ā</i> (vi b)	NA <i>-ā</i> (vi b)	
A	<i>-au</i> (ii b)		
G-D <i>-vai</i> (v b)		G-D	
L <i>-auya</i> (v c)		L	

The NA follow the *āḍ*-decl. (§ 120, p. 310), the G-D and L the *au*-decl. (§ 193, p. 328).

203. All forms known to me are listed in this paragraph.

(a) NSm *-ā* O.Kh.: *rraysā* Z 8. 13.

(b) G-DSm *-vai* O.Kh.: *rraysvai* Z 6. 24 + *āvui* 'village'.

(c) LSm *-auya* O.Kh.: *rraysauya* Or 9609. 24r1 *KT* 1. 234 + *āvuto* 'village' (tr. *śūnya-grāme*).

(d) NAPm

(i) *-ā* O.Kh.: *rraysā* Z 2. 155; 5. 6; 19. 56; 20. 58; 24. 505. L.Kh.: *rraysā* P 2957. 24 *KBT* 31; *rraysā* Ch 00266. 307 *KBT* 109 + *dharmā*.

(ii) *-āva* Cf. § 112 (ii), p. 307. L.Kh. only: *raysāva* P 2025. 118 *KBT* 15 = *raysāva* Ch 00266. 68 *KBT* 23 (= *rraysā* P 2957. 24 *KBT* 31).

(e) NSf *-ā* Not quite certain. O.Kh.: *rraysā* Z 7. 16 + *ātma*.

(f) ASf L.Kh.: *raysau* P 2801. 63 *KT* 3. 68 + *kaṃtha*.

rrayso in Z 2. 23 may be adverbial 'emptily, i.e. in vain', hence AS. Note also *rrayso* in FM 24. 1 a5 *KT* 3. 125.

204. 18. nāta'- 'nectar' and bāta'- 'poison'

These words are declined in exactly the same way as each other. From

an O.Ir. **anausa-* (Av. *anaoša-*), one would expect in Kh. **nua-* declined like *ggua'-* 'ear' < O.Ir. **gauša-* (Av. *gaoša-*) (§ 209). *nāta'-* has evidently been assimilated to *bāta'-*, < O.Ir. **viša-* (Av. *viša-*), its semantic antonym. Similarly, *pāta'-* 'strength' is to be derived from O.Ir. **paiša-* (cf. E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 189) rather than < O.Ir. **pauša-* (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 169 s.v. *pāša'-*, cf. O.Ind. *poša-*?). This I would now connect with Av. *pištra-* 'blow', taking both from **paiš-* 'strike' or 'use force' (cf. also **pai-* in Oss. *fyd* 'millstone' (I. G., *BSOAS*, xvii. 3, 1955, 480, n. 1) and B. Sogd. *pyz-* 'frapper' *Vf*). As, however, no contracted forms of *pāta'-* are found but only uncontracted thematic forms and nt. *n*-decl. forms, it has been listed under the *n*-decl. (nt.).

Dissimilation of **-ātā*' to **-etā*' (cf. the dissimilation of *-ātā* to *-āte*), which then contracted to *-ei-* (iii d), must have taken place before vowel contraction, as otherwise **-ī* would be expected (i b).

Here no doubt belongs *chā'ta-* 'sprout', of uncertain origin. The forms found, all O.Kh., are: NS *chei'* Z 13. 153; AS *chei'* Z 14. 79, *chā'tu* (uncontracted) Z 3. 12; NAP *chā'te* Z 7. 20.

SINGULAR ONLY

N		<i>bei'</i>
A	<i>nei' nātu'</i>	<i>bei' bātu'</i>
G-D		<i>be'</i>
I-A	<i>nei'na</i>	<i>bei'na</i>

205. NS

(i) *-e'* L.Kh.: *be' Si* 133v2 *KT* 1. 68.

(ii) *-ei'* O.Kh.: *bei'* Z 3. 76; 11. 16; 19. 48.

206. AS

(i) *-ātu'* Uncontracted. O.Kh.: *nātu'* Z 3. 59; *bātu'* N 168. 34.

(ii) *-ā'tu* Uncontracted. O.Kh.: *nā'tu* Z 3. 114; *bā'tu* Z 7. 47.

(iii) *-e* = *-e'* (v). L.Kh.: *be Si* 14r5 *KT* 1. 22.

(iv) *-ai* = (iii). L.Kh.: *nai* P 4099. 414 *KBT* 134 (= *nei'* Z 5. 89).

(v) *-e'* < *-ei'* (vi). L.Kh.: *ne' JS* 26r4 (115); *be' Si* 13v2 *KT* 1. 20.

(vi) *-ei'* = NS *-ei'* § 205 (ii). O.Kh.: *nei'* Z 2. 59; 5. 89; 24. 237; *bei'* Z 2. 26; 5. 11.

207. G-DS

(i) *-e* = (ii). L.Kh.: *be Si* 16r3 *KT* 1. 24; *JP* 46r3 *KT* 1. 137.

(ii) *-e'* < *-ei'*, cf. § 206 (v). O.Kh.: *be'* H 142 NS 47. 23r2 KT 5. 87. L.Kh.: *be'* Si 2r4 KT 1. 4.

208. I-AS

(i) *-a'(na)* = (iii). L.Kh.: *na'* P 3510. 4. 4 KBT 49.

(ii) *-ā' < tāna > ?* Uncontracted. Possible conjecture of E. Leumann in N 168. 33: *bā' < tāna >*.

(iii) *-e'(na)* L.Kh.: *ne'* JS 4r3 (12); *ne'na* JS 8v3 (32); *be'na* JS 8v2 (32); 8v4 (33); Ch c. 001. 870 KBT 136.

(iv) *-ei'na* Sometimes spelled *-ei'na* with *-n-* due to **š* by Sanskritization. O.Kh.: *nei'na* Z 3. 50; *nei'na* Z 3. 85, 102; *bei'na* Z 11. 55; 13. 104.

(v) *-e'ne* = (iii). L.Kh.: *ne'ne* JS 37r2 (161).

209. 19. *ggua'*- 'ear' and *bua'*- 'incense'

These words are declined in exactly the same way as each other. *bua'*- was derived from O.Ir. **bauda-* (cf. Av. *buōda-*) by Leumann, 'E', p. 478 s.v. *bū'*. If correct, this etymology would require a stem *būa-*. But in all except one of the occurrences of *bua'*- known to me, the subscript hook is used. The verb *būd-* 'to be fragrant' < O.Ir. **baud-* never has the subscript hook; nor does the frequent *bud-* 'to know'. Moreover, **bauda-* appears in Kh. *bū* (without hook) meaning 'consciousness': *bū raustai* 'he lost consciousness' P 2928. 31 KT 3. 106. *bua'*- shows *-n-* in the I-AS in O.Kh., which points to an O.Ir. **bauša-*, exactly parallel with *ggua'*- < O.Ir. **gauša-* (Av. *gaoša-*). **bauša-* at once recalls Man. Sogd. *pšwš-*. The Sogd. has been compared with Kh. *buš-* (W. B. Henning, *BBB*, p. 79 ad. 659) < O.Ir. **bud-s-y-*, but it could equally be derived < O.Ir. **baus-*. **baus-* and **baud-* I would regard as extensions of an I.I. root **bhay-* 'to smell' surviving in O.Ind. *bhāvayati* 'to perfume, cause to smell' < *bhū-*, *bhav-* '*smell'.

The stem forms have been given as *ggua'*-, *bua'*- because they follow the *ua*-decl. (§ 169). *-ī-* and *-ū-* are frequently shortened before **š*.

SINGULAR	PLURAL
NA <i>-ū'</i>	NA <i>-wva'</i>
I-A <i>-ū'na</i>	I-A <i>-wvyo'</i>
L <i>-wvo'</i> <i>-va'</i>	L

210. NS

(i) *-u'* < *-ū'* (iv). L.Kh.: *bu'* Si 10v2 KT 1. 16++.

(ii) *-wvā'* Uncontracted. O.Kh.: *ggvā'* Z 8. 35.

(iii) *-ū* L.Kh.: *gū* P 3513. 19r4 KBT 56.

(iv) *-ū'* O.Kh.: *bū'* Or 9609. 53r6 KT 1. 237. L.Kh.: *gū'* Kha vi. 4. 1 b2 KT 3. 130; *bū'* P 2893 77 KT 3. 85; *bū'* P 2893. 191 KT 3. 90.

211. AS

(i) *-ū'* L.Kh.: *bū'* Avdh 21v4 KT 3. 12.

212. I-AS

(i) *-ūna* L.Kh.: *būna* Avdh 8v2 KT 3. 3.

(ii) *-ū'na* O.Kh.: *bū'na* Z 2. 242; 5. 87; 12. 19; 22. 231; 23. 140; *bū'na* Kha 1. 217. 1 b2 KT 5. 165; *ggū'na* Z 2. 22. *-n-* due to **š* by Sanskritization.

(iii) *-ū'na* *ggū'na* Avdh 14v3 KT 3. 7.

213. LS

(i) *-wvo'* O.Kh. only: *gguvo'* Z 8. 35; 24. 213; Kha 1. 205. 35v6 KT 5. 161; Or 9609. 5v1 KT 1. 234 (tr. *karnapute*); *gwvo'* Kha 1. 13 135v2 KBT 1.

(ii) *-va'* O.Kh.: *gva'* SS 32r2 KT 5. 334.

(iii) *-vaña* L.Kh.: *gvaña* S 2471. 199 KBT 97; Si 153r3 KT 1. 100. Formed secondarily to (ii).

(iv) *-va'ña* L.Kh.: *gva'ña* Si 153r5 KT 1. 100.

(v) *-vo'* L.Kh.: *gvo'* AdhŚ 99. 7.

214. NAP

(i) *-wva'* O.Kh.: *ggwva'* Z 5. 1, 6; 21. 23; 22. 146.

(ii) *-wvi'* O.Kh.: *buvi'* Z 3. 123.

(iii) *-va* = (iv). L.Kh.: *gva* P 2783. 206 (45) KT 3. 74 (uncertain); Ch 00271. 3 KT 2. 49 (not sentence).

(iv) *-va'* O.Kh.: *gva'* Z 24. 491. L.Kh.: *gva'* P 5538a 77 KT 2. 129.

(v) *-vañä* L.Kh.: *bvañä* P 3510. 3. 9 KBT 49.

215. I-AP

(i) *-wvyo'* O.Kh.: *ggwvyo'* Z 8. 35.

(ii) *-va'ñām* L.Kh.: *bva'ñām* P 3513. 45r4 (Asm. 10).

216. II. THE CONSONANTAL CLASS

This class has been almost wholly removed by thematicization (see § 4). Non-thematic forms tend to be found in NAG-DS and NAP.

1. nd-declension

Two very common words are included in this decl.: *rrund(a)*- 'king' and *hva'nd(a)*- 'man'. Only the N(V)AS, P, and G-DS belong to the cons. decl. The thematic stem is found in a compound: *hva'nda-jsanā* 'man-slaying' H 143 NS 72 56v3 KT 5. 41 (O.Kh.).

The etymology of neither word is securely established. For *rrund-*, Leumann, 'E', p. 494 s.v. *rrē*, suggested **rāvant-*, cf. Av. *raēvant-*. This was followed by S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 121 s.v. *rre*: < **raivant-*.

rre, *rrund-* beside *hve'*, *hva'nd-* seems to indicate **rvant-*, **hva'nt-*. Beside these occur the adjectives *rrviya-* 'royal' and *hvi'ya-* 'human'. As *-iya* is a common adjective suffix, we thus have bases *rrv-* and *hv'*. These are evidently verbal bases, forming, on the one hand, present participles active **rvant-*, **hva'nt-* and on the other, nouns **rava-*, **hva-* giving adjectives *rrviya-*, *hvi'ya-*. So much seems clear.

The verbal bases behind these words are according to H. W. B. **var-* 'order' and **auš-* 'die'. **var-* is the base seen in Kh. *šver-*, Av. *urvata-* and O.Ind. *Varuna-*; < IE **uer-* Pok. 1162. For **vr-* > *r-*, cf. *rriysua-* 'rice' beside O.Ind. *vrīhi-*. **auš-* 'die' as in Av. *anaoša-* 'immortal'.

As *rrund(a)*- and *hva'nd(a)*- are participles in origin, they have the thematic G-DS *-ye* as in *a*-decl. adjectives § 27, p. 280 as well as the G-DS *-i* < **-ah* of consonant stems.

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
N	<i>rre</i>	<i>hve'</i>	NA	<i>rrundā hva'ndi</i>
V	<i>rre</i>		V	<i>rrundyau</i>
A	<i>rrundu</i>	<i>hva'ndu</i>		
G-D	<i>rrundi</i>	<i>hva'ndi(ye)</i>	G-D	<i>rrundunu hva'ndānu</i>
I-A	<i>rrundāna</i>	<i>hva'ndāna</i>	I-A	<i>rrundyau hva'm'dyau</i>
L			L	<i>hva'm'duvo'</i>

217. NS

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh.: *hvi* Hed. 7. 7 KT 4. 25.

(ii) *-e* < **-ants*; see § 216. O.Kh.: *rre* Z 1. 46++; *hve'* Z 2. 112+; *hve'* Z 2. 121+; *hve* Z 20. 62. L.Kh.: *rre* JS 3v4 (11)++; P 3513. 74r4 KT 1. 249; *hve'* Si 2v5 KT 1. 4; *hve* Si 7v3 KT 1. 12.

(iii) *-ai* = (ii). L.Kh.: *rai* P 2787. 60 KT 2. 103.

218. VS

(i) *-e* = NS *-e* § 217 (ii). O.Kh.: *rre* Z 6. 39; SS 80v6 KT 5. 341.

219. AS

(i) *-ā* = *-u* (iii). O.Kh.: *rrundā* Z 23. 107.

(ii) *-i* = *-u* (iii). L.Kh.: *rrundi* JS 23r3 (100).

(iii) *-u* < O.Ir. **-am*. O.Kh. only: *rrundu* Z 5. 111; Or 9609. 4r3 KT 1. 233; Kha 1. 13. 134r4 KBT 1; *hva'ndu* Z 2. 77; *hva'm'du* Z 4. 54+; *hva'du* Z 24. 442; *hva'm'du* SS 80v2 KT 5. 341.

220. G-DS

(i) *-a* = *-i* (iii). L.Kh. only: *rrundā* JS 16v4 (71); *rūda* P 2787. 50 KT 2. 103; *rāmda* P 2787. 51 KT 2. 103.

(ii) *-ā* = (iii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndā* Z 3. 144; *hva'm'dā* Z 2. 208; SS 77v1 KT 5. 339; *hva'ndā* Z 2. 229; *hva'ndā* SS 21v6 KT 5. 331; *rrundā* Z 22. 213. L.Kh.: *rrundā* JS 2v1 (5).

(iii) *-i* < O.Ir. **-ah*; see § 216. O.Kh.: *rrundi* Sw. K. 32r2 KT 5. 110; *hva'ndi* Z 2. 133+; *hva'ndi* Z 2. 219; 14. 68; *hva'ndi* D III. 1. 8v4 KT 5. 70. L.Kh.: *rrāmdi* Hed. 18. 3 KT 4. 32.

(iv) *-āye* = (v). O.Kh.: *hva'ndāye* Z 5. 32; *hva'ndāye* Z 12. 49.

(v) *-iye* = *-ye* (vii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndiye* D III. 1. 8v2 KT 5. 69.

(vi) *-e* = (ii). One example only, O.Kh.: *hva'nde* SS 83r2 KT 5. 341.

(vii) *-ye* Adj. decl.; see § 216. O.Kh.: *hva'm'dye* Z 23. 17. L.Kh.: *hva'dye* Hed. 41b1 KT 4. 43; *hva'm'dye* Hed. 1. 1 KT 4. 21; Si 100r3 KT 1. 34.

221. I-AS

(i) *-ā jsa* L.Kh. only: *rrundā jsa* Si 145r1-2 KT 1. 86 (tr. *rgyal-pos*).

(ii) *-āna* O.Kh.: *rrundāna* Or 9609. *27r5 KT 1. 235; *hva'ndāna* Z 12. 114; *hva'm'dāna* Z 19. 85; *hva'ndāna* Z 18. 23.

222. NAP

(i) *-a* = *-ā* (ii). L.Kh.: *hva'nda* P 3513. 82v3 KBT 65.

(ii) *-ā* = (iii). O.Kh.: *hva'ndā* Z 15. 8; *hva'ndā* Z 22. 124+; *hva'm'dā* Sw. K. 33v7 KT 5. 111; *hva'tam'dā* Dumaqu 0119. 89v2 KT 5. 263 (intrusive *-ta-*); *rrundā* Z 24. 393. L.Kh.: *hva'ndā* JS 3r4 (8).

(iii) *-i* < O.Ir. **-ah*. O.Kh.: *hva'ndi* Z 13. 24; *hva'ndi* Z 13. 27+; Kha 1. 13. 146v3 KBT 6. L.Kh.: *rrundi* JS 11r3 (44); *hva'm'di* Hed. 13. 1 KT 4. 29.

(iv) *-e* Thematic, < **-āh* § 12 (vii). O.Kh.: *rrunde* Z 5. 98+; Sw. K. 29r4 KT 5. 107; Or 9609. *27r6 KT 1. 235. L.Kh.: *rāde* P 4099. 58 KBT 115.

223. *VP*

(i) *-yau* O.Kh.: *rrundyau* *Suv.* K. 34r1 *KT* 5. 112 tr. *rājāno*; *rrundyau* Or 9609. 36v2 *KT* 1. 236 tr. *rājānah*.

224. *G-DP*

(i) *-ā* L.Kh.: *hvaḍā* Hed. 39a2 *KT* 4. 43.

(ii) *-ām* L.Kh.: *hvaṇḍām* *JP* 85v5 *KT* 1. 169; *hvaṇḍām* Hed. 13. 2 *KT* 4. 29; P 3513. 46r1 (Asm. 13).

(iii) *-āna* L.Kh.: *rāṇḍāna* P 2787. 5r *KT* 2. 103; *hvaṇḍāna* P 3513. 83r1 *KBT* 65.

(iv) *-ānā* L.Kh.: *rruṇḍānā* P 3510. 7. 4 *KBT* 52.

(v) *-ānu* O.Kh. only: *hvaṇḍānu* Z 23. 116; *hvaṇḍānu* Z 4. 88; *hvaṇḍānu* Kha 1. 108a1. 13r1 *KT* 5. 142; Kha 1. 13. 141v1 *KBT* 4; *hvaṇḍānu* *SS* 80v6 *KT* 5. 341; *hvaṇḍānu* H 142 NS 45v4 *KT* 5. 93.

(vi) *-ānu* O.Kh. only: *rruṇḍānu* Kha 1. 13. 134v1 *KBT* 1; *Suv.* K. 31v2 *KT* 5. 109; *rruṇḍānu* Or 9609. *27r5 *KT* 1. 235.

(vii) *-unu* < *-ānu* (vi) by vowel assimilation. O.Kh. only: *rruṇḍunu* Stein E 1. 33a4 *KT* 1. 250; *rruṇḍunu-ṃ* *jsa* Or 9609. 3r6 *KT* 1. 232.

(viii) *-auna* L.Kh. only: *raudauna* P 2739. 43 *KT* 2. 86.

225. *I-AP*

(i) *-yau (jsa)* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍyau* Z 14. 69; *Suv.* K. 33v4 *KT* 5. 111; *rruṇḍyau* Z 22. 202, 203; *rruṇḍyau* *Suv.* K. 32r2 *KT* 5. 110. L.Kh.: *rruṇḍyau* Ch c. 001. 105r *KBT* 142; *hvaṇḍyau* Ch c. 001. 202 *KBT* 76; *hvaṇḍyau jsa* P 3513. 55v2 (Asm. 58).

226. *LP*

(i) *-uvo* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍuvo* Z 11. 4.

(ii) *-uvo'* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 5. 76; 24. 452; *Suv.* K. 65v6 *KT* 5. 116; *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 11. 11; *hvaṇḍuvo'* Z 23. 116; Or 9609. 5r4 *KT* 1. 234.

(iii) *-vo* O.Kh.: *hvaṇḍvo* Kha 1. 182a1 a3 *KT* 5. 153.

227. 2. *n*-declension (masc.)

This decl. includes: *naḍe*, *naḍaun(a)*- 'man'; *bye*, *byāvan(a)*- 'witness'; *śve*, *śvān(a)*- 'dog'; **ṣṣe*, **ṣṣaun(a)*- a title. For *naḍe* < O.Ir. **nytāvan-*, see H. W. B., *JRAS*, 1953, 103 ff. *bye* < **vi-kāvāna-* (I. G.), cf. Parth. *wyḡ'h*. On the title, see H. W. B., *BSOAS*, x. 3, 1940, 599 ff.; xii. 2, 1948, 327-9 (< **xšāvan-*); *KT* 4. 62.

These words have been thematized except in N(V)AS, P and G-DS. The NS of masc. *n*-stems ended in *-ā in I.I. (see Brugmann, ii. 2. 1, p. 126). Av. has NS *advā* (< **advāh*) for **advā* (cf. O.Ind. *ddhvā*) due to the influence of *pantā* (< **pantāh*; cf. O.Ind. *panthāh*) (Barth., *GIP*, § 213, p. 118). Kh. has -e NS < *-āh throughout the *n*-decl. (m.) and the *r*-decl. See § 6 (vii).

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N	<i>naḍe</i> <i>bye</i> <i>śve</i>	NA <i>naḍaune</i> <i>śvānā</i>
V	<i>naḍe</i>	V <i>naḍaunyau</i>
A	* <i>naḍaunu</i>	
G-DS	<i>naḍaunā</i>	G-D <i>śvānānu</i>
I-A	<i>naḍaunāna</i>	I-A

228. *NS*

(i) *-a* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *naḍa* P 2834. 17 *KBT* 45; P 2783. 19r (30) *KT* 3. 73; 240 (79) *KT* 3. 76; P 2801. 34, 35 *KT* 3. 66.

(ii) *-e* < O.Ir. *-āh; see § 227. O.Kh.: *naḍe* Z 13. 77; *SS* 33r2 *KT* 5. 335; *bye* Kha 1. 13. 141r5 *KBT* 4 (tr. *dpañ*); *śve* H 142 NS 73 v2 *KT* 5. 30. L.Kh.: *bye* Hed. 4. 6 *KT* 4. 23.

(iii) *-au* L.Kh. only: *ṣṣau* Hed. 2. 8 *KT* 4. 22. < **ṣṣaunā*, thematic NS (so already H. W. B., *BSOAS*, xii. 2, 1948, 327).

229. *VS*

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *naḍi* *JS* 15v3 (66).

(ii) *-e* = NS -e § 228 (ii). O.Kh.: *naḍe* *SS* 80v2 *KT* 5. 341.

230. *AS*

(i) *-a* = NS -a § 228 (i). L.Kh. only: *naḍa* P 2781. 96 (28) *KT* 3. 69; P 2783. 194 (33) *KT* 3. 74.

(ii) *-au* Probably = NS -au § 228 (iii), but could be directly < **aunu* with -u AS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-am. L.Kh.: *naḍau* *JS* 13r2 (53); *ṣṣau* Hed. 2. 1 *KT* 4. 21.

231. *G-DS*

(i) *-ā* < **-ānā* with -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh. only: *śvā* Or 11252. 1r5r1 *KT* 3. 15.

(ii) *-ām* < **-ānā*; see (i). L.Kh. only: *naḍām* P 2801. 34-35 *KT* 3. 66.

(iii) *-au* < *-aunā* (iv). L.Kh. only: *naḍau* P 2834. 23 *KBT* 45; *ṣṣau* MT c. 0018. 2 *KT* 2. 72.

(iv) *-aunä* -ä G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. O.Kh.: *naḍaunä* SS 8or5 KT 5. 34o.

232. I-AS

(i) *-aunāna* O.Kh.: *naḍaunāna* SS 8or6 KT 5. 34o.

233. NAP

(i) *-āna* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *byāna* Hoernle 1. 9 KT 2. 64.

(ii) *-ānā* -ā NAP cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. O.Kh.: *śśuvānā* Z 20. 30; *śśvānā* Z 2. 46; 4. 58; 20. 33; 24. 42o.

(iii) *-āni* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *byāni* Avdh 17v2 KT 3. 9; *byāni* Avdh 6v5 KT 3. 2. L.Kh. spellings < **byauni*.

(iv) *-ānu* = (ii). O.Kh.: *śśvānu* SS 155b2 (Leningrad; unpublished).

(v) *-āvāni* -i NAP cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. Uncontracted stem. L.Kh.: *byāvāni* Avdh 7r2 KT 3. 2.

(vi) *-aune* Probably thematic, with -e < O.Ir. *-āh § 12 (vii). O.Kh.: *naḍaune* Z 5. 2.

234. VP

(i) *-aunyaw* Thematic. O.Kh.: *naḍaunyaw* SS 8ov5 KT 5. 341.

235. G-DP

(i) *-ānānu* O.Kh. only: *śśvānānu* Z 19. 44; 21. 26, 28, 30.

236. 3. *n*-declension adjectives

Two adjectives follow the *n*-decl. (§ 227): *māde*, *māṣḍān(a)*- 'gracious' and *mulysgyaṣṣe*, *mulysjaṣṣon(a)*- 'compassionate'. *mulysgyaṣṣe* is evidently a derivative of *mulysdi*- 'compassion' as suggested by Leumann, 'E', p. 485. *mulysdi*- is < O.Ir. **mṛṣḍi*- ('E', p. 485). Hence, *māṣḍe* cannot be < **mṛṣḍāna*- with Dresden, p. 483 (see I. G., *Bibl. Or.* xv, 1958, 263). It must be derived < **miṣḍāna*- < **miṣḍa*- (on the possessive suffix -ān (here with thematic extension also), see K. Hoffmann, *MSS*, vi, 1955, 35-40), cf. Av. *miṣḍa*-. Thus already Leumann, who compared O.Ind. *mīḍhvas*-.

Only N(V)G-DS and NAP (AS not yet found) have forms derivable from cons. decl. endings. Only one fem. form has been noticed: VSf *māḍāngya* Z 5. 88 (O.Kh.). This shows a special fem. suffix; < **miṣḍāna-čā*- < **miṣḍāna-čī*-.

Note: The forms of *mulysgyaṣṣe* collected by H. W. B. now appear in J. P. Asmussen, *X^aāstvanīft*, pp. 150-2 with a translation of one of the

passages. The forms given there are included in §§ 237-41 except for *mvejdaṣṣauṇa* P 2027. 56 KT 2. 82, which has the common abstract suffix *-auṇā* (-*n*- does not normally = -*ñ*-). Note also that Avdh is L.Kh. (LPm *-vā*, G-DP *-ām* etc.) not O.Kh.

MASCULINE ONLY

NS	<i>māde</i>	<i>mulysgyaṣṣe</i>
VS	<i>māṣḍāna</i>	<i>mulysgyaṣṣe</i>
G-DS	* <i>miḍānā</i>	* <i>mulysgyaṣṣaunā</i>
I-AS	* <i>miḍānāna</i>	* <i>mulysgyaṣṣaunāna</i>
N-AP		<i>mulysjaṣṣonā</i>

237. NSm

(i) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh.: *miṣḍi* Si 1 bis r3 KT 1. 2 + *gyastī* 'deva, king'.

(ii) *-e* O.Kh.: *māde* SS 8ov3 KT 5. 341 + *gyastā* 'deva'; *mulysgyaṣṣe* Z 22. 267 + *Sārthavāhā*. L.Kh.: *muā'sdā'se* Ch 1. 0021b, b58 KBT 155.

(iii) *-ai* = (ii). L.Kh.: *mvai'sdā'sai* P 3513. 82r4 KBT 65.

238. VSm

(i) *-āna* Thematic, VS -a. O.Kh.: *māḍāna* Z 2. 64, 181; 3. 9; 5. 51, 91; 12. 9; 22. 105, 112; 24. 235, 494 (often + *balysā*); Kha 1. 13. 143v2 KBT 5+ + *Sārīputra*; *māṣḍāna* Kha 1. 205 35r1 KT 5. 160; 35r2 KT 5. 161 + *gyasta balysa* 'deva Buddha'.

(ii) *-āni* = NS thematic or = (i). L.Kh. only: *miḍāni* JS 16v4 (71).

(iii) *-āne* = (ii). L.Kh. only: *miḍāne* JS 2r4 (5); 5v4 (19)+.

(iv) *-i* = (v). L.Kh. only: *mīḍi* JS 18r1 (76).

(v) *-e* = NS § 237 (ii). O.Kh.: *mulysgyaṣṣe* Z 6. 23.

(vi) *-auna* Thematic, VS -a. L.Kh.: *mulṣdaṣṣauna* Avdh 11v2 KT 3. 5.

239. G-DSm

(i) *-ā* < **-ānā*, with -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh. only: *miḍā* Or 11252. 12a3 KT 2. 20 + *jasti*; *miṣḍā* JS 2v3 (7) + *gyastā*.

(ii) *-ām* < **-ānā*; see (i). L.Kh. only: *miḍām* Or 11344. 8a8 KT 2. 35 + *jasti*; P 2787. 61 KT 2. 103 + *jastā*.

(iii) *-onā* -ā G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-ah. L.Kh.: *mu'sdī'sonā* ApS 17b2 KT 5. 247 tr. *kārunikasya* (-*ṇ*- due to -*ṣ*- by Sanskritization).

240. I-ASm

(i) *-ām(na)* *-ām* < **-ānā*; **-āna* ISm thematic. L.Kh. only: *miṣḍām*

gyastāna Hed. 20. 1 *KT* 4. 33; *miṣḍām gyastāna* Or 11344. 7. 1 *KT* 2. 35; *miḍām gyastāna* Or 11344. 17. 3 *KT* 2. 38.

(ii) *-auna(na)* L.Kh. only: *mu'sda'ssauna śirna aysmūna* 'compassionate, good mind' P 3513. 63r1 *KT* 1. 243 (-*n*- due to -*ṣṣ*- by Sanskritization).

(iii) *-aunā(na)* L.Kh.: *mu'sdā'ssaunā śirna* (so read) *aysmūna* P 3513. 66r4 *KT* 1. 245.

241. *NAPm*

(i) *-oṇā -ā* < O.Ir. *-*ah* NAP cons. decl. O.Kh.: *mulysjaṣṣoṇā* Z 6. 55 + *balysa* 'Buddha'.

(ii) *-auna* = (i). L.Kh.: *mu'sdi'sauna* P 3513. 66v2-3 *KT* 1. 245 + *ba'ysa* 'Buddha'.

242. 4. *n*-declension (nt.)

The *n*-decl. provides the largest number of cons. stem terminations. The NAS *-a*, G-DS *-i*, I-AS *-āna*, LS *-āñā*, NAP *-a*, *-añi* all belong to the cons. decl. Beside all, however, except the LS, thematic forms are also found. It is not therefore surprising that most of the cons. decl. endings have spread to the thematic decl.: e.g. *-āna* § 10 (v); *-ña* § 11 (xvi); *-añi* § 12 (iii).

-añi was not at first regarded as the normal NAPn termination < O.Ir. *-*ani* but was thought by E. Leumann to be a suppletive fem. (E. Leumann, "Suppletivwesen" im Nordarischen, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 184-200). In his 'Note on the neuter gender in Khotanī Saka' (*Studia Indo-Iranica*, 1931, 261-6), S. Konow suggested that *-añi* was in fact the NAPn termination < O.Ir. *-*ani*. Except, however, by referring to the fact that Kh. was beginning to lose the distinction between masc. and fem., Konow gave no explanation of the consistent use of *-iṅgye* as the adj. termination agreeing with nouns in *-añā*: O.Kh.: *dātīṅgye tcei'mañā* 'dharma-eyes' Z 4. 92; *dātīṅgye tcei'mañi* Z 5. 87. Even the *a*-decl. word *bāysa-* 'wood' is found with *kīśāṅgye* 'luxuriant' in O.Kh.: Or 9609, 56r5 *KT* 1. 240.¹ As it is only with adjectives with this suffix that confusion of gender is found in O.Kh., it seems clear that a different explanation is needed. We may start from *dātīṅgyā-* as an *ḍ*-decl. adj. This may have spread from the LSm *-iṅgya* (e.g. *brīṭīṅgya* Z 20. 65 + *vema*), which is < *-*inakya* according to E. Leumann, *Zur nordar. Spr.*, p. 101, although the expected LSm *-inya* is also found in O.Kh. (§ 88 (iii), p. 304).

¹ *bīśūnya raysāyana aruve* 'kīśāṅgye bāysañā ysāyase translates Sanskrit *nānātrīnagulmaṣṣadhivanaspataya* (ed. J. Nobel, p. 122 ll. 7-8). *kīśāna-* is a common epithet of *bāysa-*, cf. Z. 15. 5; Ch 00268. 140 *KBT* 66; Ch 00277. 2v2-3 *KBT* 70.

SINGULAR			PLURAL	
	Cons.	Them.	Cons.	Them.
N	-a	-ā	NA	-a, -añā [-a]
A	-a	-u		
G-D	-an-i	-ā	G-D	-añinu, -añānu
I-A	-ān-a	-an-na	I-A	-añyau
L	-āñā		L	*-añvo'

Among words belonging to the neuter *n*-declension are the following: *kamalan-* 'head'; *tīman-* 'seed'; *tcārman-* 'skin'; *tcei'man-* 'eye'; *nāman-* 'name'; *pāta'n-* 'strength'; *rrīman-* 'filth'; *śśāman-* 'mouth, face'.

243. *NS*

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only: *tīṅ Si* 129v2 *KT* 1. 62; *tce* P 4099. 412 *KBT* 134; *tciṅ Si* 146r5 *KT* 1. 88; *tceṅ Si* 145v3 *KT* 1. 88. *tce* < *tceṅ* < *tcemā* (iii).

(ii) *-a* < O.Ir. *-*a* NSn *n*-decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-a* < IE *-*ṇ*). O.Kh.: *tīma* Z 6. 37; 15. 4; *tcārma* Z 2. 214; *nāma* Z 2. 3; *śśāma* Z 6. 28. L.Kh.: *śāma* JS 14r3 (58).

(iii) *-ā* O.Kh.: *tcei'mā* Z 6. 5; 21. 17. L.Kh.: *tcemā Vajr.* 35b2 *KT* 3. 27.

244. *AS*

(i) *-a* < O.Ir. *-*a* ASn *n*-decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-a* < IE *-*ṇ*). O.Kh.: *tcārma* Z 5. 7; 23. 15; *tīma* Z 22. 125, 306; E 1. 7. 19v4 *KT* 5. 389; *nāma* Z 2. 21+; *śśāma* Z 6. 56.

(ii) *-u* O.Kh.: *kamalu* D III. 1. 8v2 *KT* 5. 69; *tcei'mu* Z 21. 17.

245. *G-DS*

(i) *No ending* L.Kh. only: *tīṅ Si* 104v1 *KT* 1. 40; 107r1 *KT* 1. 44. < **tīmā* cf. (ii).

(ii) *-ā* L.Kh.: *tce'mā* Kha vi 4. 1b6 *KT* 3. 130; *tcemā Vajr.* 41b2 *KT* 3. 29.

(iii) *-ani* *-i* G-DS cons. decl. < O.Ir. *-*ah* (Av. *-ō*; O.Ind. *-ah* < IE *-*e/os*). O.Kh.: *śāmani* Kha 1. 13. 135r4 *KBT* 1.

246. *I-AS*

(i) *-a (jsa)* L.Kh. for *-*a(na)*. L.Kh. only: *śāma jsa* P 3513. 44v1 (Asm. 5).

(ii) *-aṅna* < *-anna* (iii). O.Kh.: *tcārmaṅna* Z 20. 53.

- (iii) *-anna* < **-anina* (as E. Leumann, *KZ*, 57, 1930, 193) based on G-DS *-ani* § 245 (iii) after the *a*-decl.: *balysina:balysi* etc. O.Kh.: *tcārmanna* Z 21. 31; *biysmanna* 'urine' Or 9609. 24v3 *KT* 1. 235.
 (iv) *-āna* *-a* I-AS < O.Ir. **-ā* IS cons. decl. (Av. *-ā*, O.Ind. *-ā*). See also § 10 (iv). O.Kh.: *tcei'māna* Z 6. 17; 8. 13, 14. L.Kh.: *tce'māna* *Avdh* 14v2 *KT* 3. 7.

247. *LS*

- (i) *-āña* < **-an-i-ā* (cf. § 11 (xvi)) with O.Ir. **-i* LS cons. decl. (Av., O.Ind. *-i* < IE **-i*. O.Kh.: *tcei'māña* Z 4. 91; 20. 41; 22. 272; *śśāmāña* Z 22. 167; 24. 250.
 (ii) *-iña* = (i). O.Kh.: *sāmiña* *SS* 155a4 (Leningrad; unpublished) tr. *gdon-du*.
 (iii) *-ña* < *-āña* (i). O.Kh.: *kamalña* Z 13. 74. L.Kh.: *kama'ña* *JS* 22r3 (95); *tcimña* *Si* 145v3 *KT* 1. 88+; *tcaiña* *Vajr.* 41b4 *KT* 3. 29.

248. *NAP*

- (i) *-a* Probably < O.Ir. **-ā* (< IE **-ō(n)*; Brugmann ii. 2. 1, p. 235), cf. Av. *-a*, O.Ind. *-ā* rather than thematic. O.Kh.: *pāta'* Z 13. 141+; *śśāma* Z 10. 19; *rrīma* Z 4. 96. L.Kh.: *ttīma* *JS* 14v1 (60).
 (ii) *-āña* = (iii). L.Kh.: *ttīmaña* P 4099. 276 *KB*T 126 (= *ttūnqñā* *Vajr.* 43b2 *KT* 3. 29); *tcema'ña* *JS* 16v1 (69).
 (iii) *-añā* Probably < O.Ir. **-ani* (Av. *ašaoni*, *nāmāni*; Barth., *GIP*, i, § 229, p. 133) rather than < **-āni*, as the further weakening to *-āñi* is found in the NAPm *a*-decl. adj. (§ 35 (vii), p. 284). O.Kh.: *tcei'mañā* Z 20. 37; *ttīmañā* Or 9609. 5v5 *KT* 1. 234. L.Kh.: *tcama'ñā* *Vajr.* 34b1 *KT* 3. 27+; *ttīmañā* *Vajr.* 43b2 *KT* 3. 29; *rrīmañā* *Si* 4v1 *KT* 1. 8.
 (iv) *-añi* = (iii). O.Kh.: *tcei'mañi* Z 4. 34; *pāta'ñi* Z 3. 26.
 (v) *-ā* = *-a* (i). L.Kh. only: *ttīmā* *JP* 116v1 (bis) *KT* 1. 195.
 (vi) *-e* = (v). L.Kh. only: *ttīme* P 2893. 241 *KT* 3. 92; *nāme* Ch c. 001. 204 *KB*T 76.
 (vii) *-eña* = *-āña* (ii). L.Kh. only: *tcaimēña* P 3513. 77v2 *KB*T 62.
 (viii) *-eñā* = *-añā* (iii). L.Kh. only: *tcīmeñā* P 3510. 10. 6 *KB*T 53.

249. *G-DS*

- (i) *-añā* < *-añām* (ii). L.Kh. only: *ttīmañā* P 4099. 275 *KB*T 126.
 (ii) *-añām* < *-añānu* (iii). L.Kh. only: *ttīmañām* *Vajr.* 43a4 *KT* 3. 29; *tcīmañām* *Si* 146r5 *KT* 1. 90; *tcema'ñām* *JS* 25v2 (111); *nāmañām* Ch c. 001. 751 *KB*T 90; *rimañām* *Si* 4r4 *KT* 1. 6.

- (iii) *-añānu* Thematic based on NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). One example only, L.Kh.: *abe'mañānu* 'misfortune' *AdhS* 89. 3.
 (iv) *-añīnu* Thematic based on NAP; cf. (iii). O.Kh.: *tceimañīnu* Z 19. 93; *tcei'mañīnu* Kha 1. 309a1. 43v1 *KB*T 9.
 (v) *-ānu* O.Kh.: *pātānu* Z 6. 34.
 (vi) *-eñām* < *-añām* (ii). L.Kh.: *pe'ñām* P 3513. 52r1 (Asm. 41).

250. *I-AP*

- (i) *-añām (jsa)* < (ii). L.Kh. only: *tcīmañām jsa* P 2783. 173 (12) *KT* 3. 73.
 (ii) *-añ(y)au (jsa)* Thematic based on the NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). O.Kh.: *tcei'mañyau* Or 9609. 36r4 *KT* 1. 236; *tce'mañyau* H 142 NS 88+89. 8v3-4 *KT* 5. 81; *pa'ñyau* Stein E 1. 7. 145r5 *KT* 5. 77; *pāga'ñyau jsa* Kha 1. 13. 145v2 *KB*T 6; *pāta'ñyau* Z 2. 128+; *rrīmañyau* N 52. 12; *śśāmanyau* Kha viii. 1b4 *KT* 5. 183. L.Kh.: *pā'ñau jsa* P 3513. 52r2 (Asm. 41).
 (iii) *-eñām (jsa)* = (i). L.Kh. only: *pe'ñām jsa* P 3513. 52r3 (Asm. 42).
 (iv) *-eñ(y)au (jsa)* = (ii). L.Kh.: *pe'ñau jsa* P 2025. 205 *KB*T 18.
 (v) *-yo (jsa)* O.Kh.: *pātyo'* Z 2. 119.

251. *LP*

- (i) *-añūā* Thematic based on NAP *-añā* § 248 (iii). L.Kh. only: *tcamañūā* P 4099. 29 *KB*T 114.
 (ii) *-vā* L.Kh. only: *śāmvoā* Or 8212. 162. 27 *KT* 2. 2; *sāmvoā* Or 8212. 162. 30 *KT* 2. 2.

252. 5. *r*-declension

The only words that show traces of the *r*-decl. are those of relationship: *pāte* 'father'; *māta* 'mother'; *dūta* 'daughter'; *brāte* 'brother'; **hvara* 'sister'. *mārāpātara* 'parents' is declined as a thematic plural *mārāpātara-*, but the *-ā-* of *mārā-* is a direct inheritance of the I.I. dual in **-ā*, cf. O.Ind. *mātarāpitarau* (see S. Konow, *NTS*, xiii, 1945, 206-7). The final *-a* of *mārāpātara* NAP could represent the O.Ir. dual ending **-ā* (I.I. **-a* and **-ā* coalesced in Av.; Barth., *GIP*, § 221. 1, p. 127) as well as the O.Ir. thematic NP **-ā* (§ 12 (i)).

Endings belonging to the cons. decl. are: NSf, ASmf, G-DSm, NAP. The O.Ir. NSm **-ā* (Av., O.Ind. *-ā*) has been replaced by **-āh*, perhaps to distinguish it from the NSf (see § 6 (vii)). The G-DSf and I-ASf also show in part the old endings of the cons. decl. The exclusive use of *-ā*, *-i* in O.Kh. prevents the derivation of *merā* < **mātarāyāh* the G-DS of **mātarā-* as proposed earlier (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46). **mere*

would be expected to be the usual form < *mātarāyāh, but this is never found, whereas *merā* is frequent in O.Kh. On the other hand, O.Ir. *mābrah should result in *mārā, not *merā*. *mābrah may have been replaced by *mābryah through analogy with *duxbryah (> *dvīrā* G-DSf < *duxθrī-) (I. G.). *duxθrī- is attested for OP in Elamite (Benv., *BSL*, 47, 1951, 21 f.); MPe inscr. *dwšy* (H. W. B., *TPS*, 1956, 93) and Bal. *duskīc* (Morg., *NTS*, v, 1932, 43) also derive < *duxθrī-.

The G-DSm *pīrā* derives without difficulty < O.Ir. *pībrah (cf. OP *piça* i.e. *piθra*); I.I. *pitras, as Leumann, 'E', p. 463 s.v. *pātar-*). There is no need therefore to assume either *pītarah or *pītarahya as suggested by S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46.

-ānu in the G-DP in O.Kh. is probably due to -ānu G-DP in the i-decl. (§ 57 (iii)), cf. O.Ind. *pitṛnām* with -n- due to the i- and u-declensions (Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, iii, § 118, pp. 209-11).

Beside the AS *mātaru* < O.Ir. *mātaram (cf. Av. *pītarəm*, O.Ind. *mātaram*), *mātarō* is found following the ā-decl.

SINGULAR

	Masculine		Feminine
N	<i>pāte brāte</i>		<i>māta dūta</i>
A	<i>pātaru brātari</i>		<i>mātaru</i>
G-D	<i>pīrā</i>		<i>merā dvīrā</i>
I-A	[<i>pyarina</i>] [<i>brātari . . . -na</i>]		[<i>dvīrā jsa</i>] [<i>hvāri . . . jsa</i>]
PLURAL			
NA	<i>brātari</i>		<i>dutarā</i>
G-D	[<i>brātārānu</i>]		[<i>°duīrānu</i>] [<i>hvarānu</i>] [<i>dvātaryau</i>]
I-A	[<i>brātaryau jsa</i>]		

253. NSm

(i) -a = (ii). L.Kh. only: *brrāta* P 5538a 27 *KT* 2. 127; *brrāva* P 2958. 163 *KT* 2. 119.

(ii) -e < O.Ir. *-ā + -h (see § 252). O.Kh.: *pāte* Z 2. 137+; *pye-t-ī* H 147 NS 112 14 *KT* 5. 76; *brāte* Z 13. 69. L.Kh.: *pye* P 3510. 7. 4 *KBT* 52; P 2026. 36 *KT* 3. 49; *brrāte* JS 16r4 (68).

(iii) -ai = (ii). L.Kh.: *pyai* P 2958. 162 *KT* 2. 119.

254. ASm

(i) -ā = thematic NSm. L.Kh.: *brrātārā* P 5538a 58 *KT* 2. 128.

(ii) -i = (i). O.Kh.: *brātari* Z 22. 295.

(iii) -u < O.Ir. *-am AS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *pātaru* Z 2. 137+.

255. G-DSm

(i) -a = (ii). L.Kh.: *pyara* Hed. 23. 19 *KT* 4. 36.

(ii) -ā

1. < O.Ir. *-ah GS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *pīrā* Z 5. 19, 20, 88; *SS* 36v1 *KT* 5. 337; Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232.

2. Thematic. L.Kh.: *pyarā* P 2026. 37 *KT* 3. 49; P 3510. 2. 6 *KBT* 48.

(iii) -i = (ii) 1. O.Kh.: *pīri* Z 22. 105, 234.

(iv) -e = (ii) 2. L.Kh.: *pyare* JS 28r3 (123); 31v3 (138).

[(v) -o] One example only: *pīro* Z 24. 439. Leumann appears to be correct in emending to *pīrā*. It is followed by *biśso karyo*.

256. I-ASm

(i) -a (*jsa*) L.Kh.: *brrāvāra . . . jsa* JS 39v2; *brrāvāra . . . jsa* JS 39v3.

(ii) -āna L.Kh.: *pyarāna* H 147 MBD 23a 15 *KT* 5. 66.

(iii) -i(*na*) *pyarina* N 164. 5; *brātari . . . -na* N 164. 6-7 (bis).

257. NAPm

(i) -a See § 252. O.Kh.: *mārāpyatara* H 142 NS 46r4 *KT* 5. 96; *mārāpātara* SS 77r2-3 *KT* 5. 339. L.Kh.: *mārāpyara* JS 31v4 (139).

(ii) -i < O.Ir. *-ah NAP cons. decl. L.Kh.: *brātari* H 147 MBD 23a 5 *KT* 5. 66.

258. G-DPm

(i) -ām L.Kh.: *mārāpyarām* Ch 00269. 98 *KT* 2. 47.

(ii) -āna L.Kh.: *mārāpyarāna* Ch 00271. 13 *KT* 2. 49.

(iii) -ānā L.Kh.: *mārāpyarānā* H 142 NS 56r1 *KT* 5. 90.

(iv) -ānu See § 252. O.Kh.: *brātārānu* Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232 (-n- due to -r- by Sanskritization).

(v) -au = -ām (i). L.Kh.: *mārāpyārau* Ch ii. 004. 4r1 *KBT* 146.

(vi) -nu < -ānu (iv). O.Kh.: *pātarnu* Sw. K. 66r1 *KT* 5. 117.

259. I-APm

(i) -ām (*jsa*) L.Kh.: *brrāvāqarām jsā* P 2786. 209 *KT* 2. 100.

(ii) -yau (*jsa*) *brātaryau jsa* N 164. 10.

260. *NSf*

(i) *-a* < O.Ir. **-ā* (Av., O.Ind. *-ā*). O.Kh.: *dūta* Z 24. 125; *dūva* *Suv.* K. 64r7 *KT* 5. 115; *māta* Z 2. 5+. L.Kh.: *dūva* P 280r. 62 *KT* 3. 68; *māta* P 2026. 36 *KT* 3. 49.

(ii) *-ā* = (i). L.Kh.: *māvā* P 3510. 7. 5 *KBT* 52.

261. *ASf*

(i) *-a* = *NSf -a* § 260 (i). L.Kh.: *dūva* Hed. 2. 7 *KT* 4. 22.

(ii) *-ā* = (i). L.Kh.: *dūrā* Hed. 2. 9 *KT* 4. 22; *dvarā* Hed. 2. 3 *KT* 4. 21.

(iii) *-u* < O.Ir. **-am* AS cons. decl. O.Kh.: *mātaru* Z 24. 188.

(iv) *-o* *ASf ā*-decl. O.Kh.: *mātaru* H 142 NS 46r5 *KT* 5. 96 (= N 129. 21 *mātaru*).

262. *G-DSf*

(i) *-a* = (ii). L.Kh.: *mera* Hed. 23. 19 *KT* 4. 36; P 2026. 37 *KT* 3. 49; P 3510. 2. 6 *KBT* 48.

(ii) *-ā* See § 252. O.Kh.: *dvīrā* Z 7. 36; *merā* Z 8. 25++; *SS* 36v1 *KT* 5. 337; Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232. L.Kh.: *merā* N 164. 3.

(iii) *-i* = (ii). L.Kh.: *meri* P 5538a 27 *KT* 2. 127.

(iv) *-e* = (ii). L.Kh.: *mire* *JS* 31v3 (138); *mere* *JS* 28r3 (123).

263. *I-ASf*

(i) *-a (jsa)* L.Kh.: *dvīra* . . . *jsa JS* 39v2.

(ii) *-ā (jsa)* L.Kh.: *dvīrā* . . . *jsa JS* 39v3; N 164. 9-10.

(iii) *-i (jsa)* L.Kh.: *hvari* . . . *jsa* N 164. 7-8 (bis).

264. *NAPf*

(i) *-ā* < O.Ir. **-ah* *NAP* cons. decl. O.Kh.: *dutarā* Z 24. 260. L.Kh.: *dvarā* P 2741. 50 *KT* 2. 89; *rrīysdvarā* P 3510. 7. 7 *KBT* 52.

265. *G-DPf*

(i) *-āṃ* L.Kh.: *dvarāṃ* P 2790. 141 *KT* 3. 63.

(ii) *-āṇu* See § 252. O.Kh. only: *rrāysdūrāṇu* *Suv.* K. 35r4 *KT* 5. 113 tr. *rājaduhitṛṇāṃ*; *hvarāṇu* Or 9609. 3v5 *KT* 1. 232.

266. *I-APf*

(i) *-ā (jsa)* L.Kh. only: *dvarā jsa JS* 39v2; *raysdvyārā* Ch 1. 0021b. b51 *KBT* 155.

(ii) *-āṃ (jsa)* L.Kh. only: *rrīysdvarāṃ* . . . *jsi* P 5538a 62 *KT* 2. 128; *raiysdvarāṃ* Ch 1. 0021b. a² 33 *KBT* 150.

(iii) *-yau (jsa)* O.Kh.: *dvataryau* E XX App. 'E', p. 355. L.Kh.: *dvaryau* H 147 MBD 23a 9 *KT* 5. 66.

267. 6. *h*-declension

Only a few traces of the *h*-decl. of O.Ir. (the **s*-decl. of I.I.) remain in Kh. These are in *ysare* 'old age' and *mase* 'size'.

In *Saka Studies*, p. 197, S. Konow gave *ysara* f. 'old age' referring to *ysare* in E 23. 127, which he then regarded as NPf. Later, E 25. 251 provided the unmistakable NS *ysare*, and it was clear that *ysare* in all passages is NS (Z 11. 11; 20. 72; 22. 127; 24. 251). The only other occurrence of the word known to me is in the fragment Kha 040. 10r4 *KT* 5. 121, which has *ysare maraṇā* (cf. Z 11. 11; 20. 72 id.), where also *ysare* is probably NS. *ysare* was consequently mentioned under 'bases in sibilants' in S. Konow, *Primer*, p. 40. This was not noticed by Mayrh. (s.v. *jarā* f.), who compared it with O.Ind. *jarā* instead of his O.Ind. '*jarā*- (f.?)'. *ysare* is in fact < **sarāh*, as already Leumann, 'E', p. 489 s.v.

mase (cf. Av. *masah*- n.) has been brought under the heading of *h*-bases (cf. S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 46; *Primer*, p. 40). *mase* is found frequently as second element in adjective compounds: O.Kh.: *ggampha-mase* NSm Z 14. 43; NPf Z 22. 168; L.Kh.: *sau-mase* NSm P 4099. 50 *KBT* 115; *vaskalyāmata-mase* Npm *Si* 314 *KT* 1. 6. In L.Kh., spelling variants of *mase* are found: *masa* Ch 00266. 147 *KBT* 27 = P 2957. 92 *KBT* 35 = *masai* P 2025. 224 *KBT* 19; *masi* *ApS* 14a1 *KT* 5. 246. *mase* is evidently invariable. However, < O.Ir. **masah* NASn **masi*, **masā* would be expected in O.Kh. I. G. suggests generalization of NSm in compounds.

268. APPENDIX I. *urmaysde* 'sun'

urmaysde NSm 'sun' is < **ahuramazdāh*, cf. Av. *ahurō mazdā* NSm; OP *auramazdā*^(h) NSm. The divine name is still used for the 'sun' in some Pamir languages, e.g. Sangl. *or'mōzd* (*IIFL*, ii. 381). All other cases have been formed with the thematic stem *urmaysdāna*-. Av. *mazdā* was derived from a stem *mazdāh*- by Barth., *AIW*, s.v., but more recent writers (see Mayrh. s.v. *medhā*- f.) regard it as belonging to a stem *mazdā*-, declined according to the radical *ā*-decl.

269. *NS*

(i) *-a* = (iii). L.Kh.: *āauramaysda* Ch 00266. 126 *KBT* 25 = *auramaysda* P 2025. 192-3 *KBT* 17.

(ii) *-i* = (iii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdi* JS 19v1 (83); P 3513. 48v2 (Asm. 25); *urmaysdi* Si 3v4-5 KT 1. 6; *aurmaysdi* P 2957. 76 KBT 34.

(iii) *-e* < O.Ir. **-āh* (see § 268). O.Kh.: *urmaysde* Z 3. 48+. L.Kh.: *urmaysde* P 3513. 69r4 KT 1. 246.

270. AS

(i) *-ān-u* The expected AS in O.Kh. *urmaysdānu* is found in a fragment without context: Kha ix 13a1. 40v2 KT 5. 184.

271. G-DS

(i) *-ā* < *-ām* (ii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdā* JS 24r1 (104).

(ii) *-ām* < *-ānā* (iii). L.Kh.: *urmaysdām* Hed. 7. 2-3 KT 4. 25; JS 14r1 (57); Si 20r3 KT 1. 32; *ārmaysdām* P 4649. 1 KT 2. 124; *aurmaysdām* Si 149v5 KT 1. 94; P 2782. 8 KT 3. 58.

(iii) *-ān-ā* O.Kh.: *urmaysdānā* Suv. K. 67v6 KT 5. 118 tr. *sūrya-*; N 157. 39-40.

(iv) *-aun-a* = (iii). L.Kh.: *aurmaysdauna* P 2787. 34 KT 2. 102.

272. NAP

(i) *-ān-e* O.Kh.: *urmaysdāne* H 142 NS 88+89. 8r3-4 KT 5. 80; Otani 3-4 a2 KT 5. 314 (no context).

273. G-DP

(i) *-ān-ām* L.Kh.: *aurmaysdānām* P 2933. 2 KT 3. 107.

(ii) *-ān-ānu* O.Kh.: <u>*urmaysdānānu* Kha 1. 160. 1r2 KT 1. 252.

274. APPENDIX 2. *uvā* 'senses' and *suwā* 'lungs'

Archaic words, *uvā*, *suwā* NAP continue O.Ir. duals **uśī*, **suśī* (Av. *uśī*, *suśī*; Barth., *GIP*, i, § 222, p. 128; cf. also Man. Sogd. *wšy*, 'šy', B. Sogd. 'šyh, Man. Chr. šy' 'remembrance' I. G., *GMS*, § 102, p. 14; § 948, p. 139). In Kh. they are treated as *i*-stem words, *-ā* < O.Ir. NADu **-ī* falling together with *-ā* NAP *i*-decl. On the G-DP, see § 2. The LP **svīyvā* seems to imply a secondary formation **suśīkā-* (§ 2). The following forms are found:

(a) NAP

O.Kh.: *uī*' Z 3. 103++; *uvā*' Z 3. 16, 66; *uvi*' Z 21. 21; *uvī* Z 3. 30; *suwā*' Z 20. 35; *svī*' Z 20. 55. L.Kh.: *avī* JP 95v3 KT 1. 177; *uvī* Si 125v2 KT 1. 54; *svī* Ch ii. 004. 2r4 KBT 144.

(b) G-DP

One example only, O.Kh.: *uī'nu* Z 19. 7 (*-n-* due to *š by Sanskritization).

(c) I-AP

O.Kh.: *wau'* *jsa* Z 3. 107; *wyau'* (*jsa*) Z 3. 31, 107; 5. 13; *u'vyau* Z 4. 20.

(d) LP

One example only, O.Kh.: *uvo'* Z 12. 134 (< **uvo'vo'*, as Leumann, 'E', p. 403 s.v. *uvi*). *stīyvā* (Si 155r3 KT 1. 102 tr. *glo*) is no doubt a mistake for **svīyvā* (H. W. B., KT 1. 102, n. 2). It is probably suppletive LP to *suwā*'.

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