

## HUNA

In four passages of the Khotan-Saka texts there is reference to a marauding people called *Huna*. The older spelling is *huna* in Z 15.9. In older Khotan-Saka *u* replaces old *u* and *ū* (as *tsuta-* 'gone' from *čyuta-*, *dura-* 'far' from *dūra-*) but *ū* was the older diphthong *au* (as *stūra-* 'large cattle', Avestan *staora-*, Zor. Pahl. *stōr*, Bud. Skt loanword *sthora-*). Later Khotan-Saka confuses *u* and *ū*. The passages are the following:

Z 15.9 *huna ciṅga supīya kye nā hvatāna-kšīru bajottāndā* 'the Huna, Chinese, the Supīya- who devastated our Khotan land'.

KT 2.38.17.4 Spāta Sudārrjum's despatch to Sāmdara: *kīthi vā ysamgauñā huna parrya* 'to the city the robber Huna have approached'.

KT 2.89.38 *cu jsām va gyaṣti hīya dyāma ya tvā vālai hūnvāštā haj-sāmdāmdā* 'what was the queen's gift for them, that they [the envoys] sent to the Huna'.

KT 4.34.20.5 the King of Khotan's command and message to Spāta Sudārrjām: *huna ttā khyeṣvā ttuṅga ṣem parrya* 'the Huna in that direction among the men of Kāšyar have approached to attack Ttuṅga Ṣem (Tonga ṣen)'.

The *xwn* of the ancient letter in Sogdian II 18 and the Mug document *wβyw γwn* (= *xwn*) ZY *čyn* 'both Hun and Chinese' will belong here.<sup>48</sup> The Sui-šu (circa 600) lists a tribe 渾 K 508, *xun* < *γuən*, G 458 b *g'wən*;<sup>49</sup> Bud. Skt *hūna-* (rendering Chinese *Hiung-nu*), Kumaoni *huñiyā* 'Tibetan', and the Kālacakra *hūna-deśa*-<sup>50</sup> can be associated with Khotan-Saka *huna*. The *Hiung-nu* dominated Khotan in the fourth century.<sup>51</sup>

The discussion of the Chinese *Hiung-nu* and Latin *Hunni* has in Europe proceeded for some 200 years. As archaeologist, O. Maenchen-Helfen found the *Hunni* different from the *Hiung-nu* in China.<sup>52</sup> He, however, as a result of the analysis of Soviet archaeological reports, recognised the mainly Europoid physique of the *Hiung-nu*. From some Chinese evidence it seems that the *Hiung-nu* had long yellow beards,

<sup>48</sup> V. A. Livšić, *Sogdijskij posol v Čače* (1960), 102 (*A Sogdian envoy in Čač*).

<sup>49</sup> J. Hamilton, *JĀ* (1962), 27.

<sup>50</sup> H. Hoffmann, 'Kālacakra Studies 1', *Central Asiatic Journal* 13 (1969), 62f.

<sup>51</sup> P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I (1959), 411, thought no true *Hiung-nu* were in this region in the seventh century.

<sup>52</sup> *The World of the Huns* (1973).

quite unlike Turks and Mongols. P. Pelliot held the view that the names Hiung-nu and the many forms of Hunni could hardly be unrelated.<sup>53</sup>

Words are quoted in Chinese from the *Hiung-nu* language and there exist proper names. One *Hiung-nu* verse of the tribe 鞬 *Kie* (G 49 c' + 313 r *kīāt*) is preserved in the Dynastic History with Chinese translation.<sup>54</sup> Three Turkish interpretations offered ignore the Chinese translation. Ed. Pulleyblank gave no Ket reading. The leader of the *Kie* tribe is a *Xu* (*hu*) 胡 Iranian.

The earliest *Hiung-nu* names of the second century B.C. can be recognised as being of Iranian type. Thus 頭曼 K 1015, 595 *t'ou-man* < *d'zu-muān*, G 118 e, 266 a *d'u-miwān* resembles the later Hūṇa name *Toramāṇa* (of circa 500 A.D.). The first component *tora-* is an older form *\*taura-* beside *tura-*, for which a first component *tu-* stands (Old Ind. *tuvi-*), an adjective from *tau-*: *tu-* 'to increase in size or power'. Below s.v. *Gara* the large vocabulary of this base is elaborated. The second component *māna-* can be variously traced but perhaps the Khotan-Saka *māna-* 'delight' is more likely than *māna-* 'thinking' or *māna-* 'measure' or the *mā-* of *māya-* 'good fortune' or the base *mā-* in Zor. Pahl. *mātak* 'basic material'.

The son of *T'o-man*, 冒頓 is *Mau-tun*, K 604, 1144 *mau-tun* < *māu-tuən* (and *mək*), G 1062 b *mog*, *māu*, *mao* and *mək*, *mək*, *mo*, 427 j *twən* (and *tu* < *d'uók*), and a second reading *Mo-tu* from *mək-d'uók*.<sup>55</sup> If *Māu-tuən* is adopted, the word may be from *móg-twən* from Iranian *\*bakatura-* 'truly strong' with Turfan Parth. 'bg 'unsure', Turfan Pers. *bg* 'sure', Oss. *bägü* 'surely' and *bägüdärtä* epithet of the strong Nārtä heroes.<sup>56</sup>

The third name 老上 *Lau-šang*, K 515, 855 *lau-šang* < *lāu-šiang*, G 1055 a, 726 a *lóg-điang*, can be traced to Iranian either *\*raux-š-* 'to be bright' or to *rauk-* 'to rule'.<sup>57</sup> The name of the Sogdian leader *An Lu-šan* also can be connected with either of those two bases.

The Chinese reported an unverifiable tradition that the *Hiung-nu* were ancestors of the Turks, which may mean they originated from the same remote regions. Contact with Turks is shown by the Turkish word *tänri* 'sky' from *Iiung-nu* *čangli* (see below on the Iranian basis, *\*čanyaraka-*).

<sup>53</sup> *JA* (1920.1), 141.

<sup>54</sup> *Monumentum G. Morgenstierne*, 1 (1981), 25-6.

<sup>55</sup> G. Haloun, *Zur Üe-tšü-Frage* (1937), 245.

<sup>56</sup> Not with Turkish *bayätur* since the *-ur* is secondary in Turkish from Iranian *-tr-* in *\*baka-atra-* 'true hero', Oss. *пакатар* and Georgian *baqat'ar*. See *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, 1 (1975), Excursus Irano-caucasicus, 35.

<sup>57</sup> 'North-Iranian problems', *BSOAS* 42 (1979), 207-8.

Words cited in Chinese sources in Chinese syllabic script with interpretation can also be recognised as Iranian. The following are selected cases, starting with an assured case of Iranian which illustrates also the important development of the frequent suffix *-aka-*, common in Iranian and also Bud. Skt and NW Prakrit. It passes by way of *-aka-* (Khotan-Saka nom. sing. *-ai* from *-akā*, plural *-ā* from *-akā*) to *-aga*, *-aya-*, *-aya-*, *-a'e*, *-ai*, *-ē*, *ī*, *i*.

1. 鞞鞞 K 818, 202 *so-to* < *sāk-dāk*, G 770, 790 p *sāk-d'āk* 'boot'. This is the Iranian word *saxtaka-* 'prepared leather' in the Draxt asōrik 35 *mōčak saxtak āzātān* 'the leather boot of nobles'.<sup>58</sup> N Pers. has *saxtiyān* 'morocco leather'. By the usual changes the word passed from *saxtaka-* to *\*suydē* in Ket *sāgdi*, *šāgdi*. The Ket has also the certain case of *nan* 'bread', N Pers. *nān* from the older *nikāna*, *naγana-*. The base of *saxtaka-* is *sak-* 'to prepare'.

2. 撐犁 K 1208, 527 *tš'əng-li* < *t'əng-liei*, G (1076 a + 746 a), 519 *t'əng-liər* 'sky' is to be traced to Iranian *\*čanγaraka-* with intruded nasal like Bud. Sogd. *wnγr*'k in the compound *šrγw-wnγr*'k *\*šarγu-wanγaraka-* 'lion's roar', rendering Bud. Skt *siṃha-nāda-* with *wnγr* 'speech', nasalised from *wxr* *\*waxar-* as Man. Chr. Sogd. *wxr* to base *vak-* 'speak'. Iranian *čaxra-* 'wheel, circle, sky' gave to Armenian *čaxarak*, and the nasalised form is in *Hiung-nu*. The *Hiung-nu* word is translated by Chinese 天 *t'ien* 'sky'. From *Hiung-nu* the Turks took *tänri* 'sky' and 'god'.

The development *č-* > *t-* occurs in various languages. Bud. Skt *cimara-* 'iron', known in North-west Indo-Aryan languages,<sup>59</sup> Khovar *čumur*, Nūristānī Waigali *čümār*, resulted in Turkish *timür*. Within Iranian Avestan *čaθru-* is in N Pers. *tasū*, *tasūj*, Zor. Pahl. *tasūk* 'fourth part', *tasom* 'fourth', Turfan Pers. *ts-b'y* 'quadruped' (*čaθru-pāda*), *ts-kyrb* 'four-bodied'; N Pers. *čašmīzak*, Arabicised *tašmīzaj* 'black eye-ointment' (*čašm* 'eye'); Avestan *tašta-* 'cup', Khotan-Saka *tcašta-*. The reverse *t-* > *č-* also occurs as in *tarš-* 'to thirst', N Pers. *tišnah* 'thirsty', Sogd. *čšn* 'thirst'; Pašto *tansarai* 'partridge', Ormuṛī *čindzarai* (*č = ts*), see DKS 122; *tarp-* 'to steal', Zor. Pahl. *truftak* 'stolen', Yidya *cif-*, *caft*, Sogd. *cf-*, but Munjānī *tərif-*, Avestan *trəfya-*.

3. 輶輜 'wagon' K 709, 1316 *fən-uən* < *b'jūən-uən*, G 437 s, 426 d *b'jūən-wən*, that is *fən-uən*. The Iranian for 'wagon' is *vartana-*,

<sup>58</sup> Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts* (1897), 109-14; J. M. Unvala, 'Draxt i asurik', *BSOS* 2 (1921-3), 637-78; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS* 13 (1950), 641-8; Ed. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 243-4.

<sup>59</sup> R. L. Turner, *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages* (1966), 828.

in Sogdian *wrtñ*, Oss. Digoron *uärdun*, Iron *uärdon*, Zor. Pahl. *vartan* (also *vāš* from Avestan *vāša-* < *\*varta-*), Turfan Parth. *wrdywn* 'journey', Romani *vardo*, Caucasian Čečen *vorda*, plural *vordanaš*, Abxaz *a-wardən*, Abaza *a-wandyr*. In Saka *-rt-* passed in Khotan to *-d-* = *-l-* (although in Tumšūq it became *-rd-*) and *\*vaḍana-* could pass to *\*vuluna-* as Old Pers. *wazarka-* 'great' passed to N Pers. *buzurg*, *guzurg*, for which Hiung-nu *\*vur-un* (Chinese *bun-un*)<sup>60</sup> would be a good survival. The laryngal with *n* in *-n-u-* might perhaps suit *-l-*, rather than *-r-*. The changes *va-* to *vu-* and *bu-* can be seen in Khotan-Saka *būnaa-* 'naked' from *bagnaka-*, Oss. *bäynäg*. The *-arta-* can be seen in Khotan-Saka *baḍa-* 'captive', Avestan *varəta-*.

4. 夾兜 K 345, 1017 *kia-tou* < *kap-tzu*, G 630 a, 117 a *kāp* (no spelling), is from the frequent Iranian base *kap-* 'to contain', as Khotan-Saka *kaba* 'a measure', Old Pers. *καπιθης*, Zor. Pahl. *kapīč*, Armenian Parth. *kapīč*, N Pers. *kafīz*, Oss. *k'ābič* 'storeroom'. With suffix *-ča-*, *-čaka-*, occur N Pers. *kafč*, *kafčah* 'spoon', Sogd. *kpčky*, Waxī *kapč* (and other words; see DKS 76, s.v. *khausa*, and TPS (1954), 146–56). Uigur Turkish *qapčūq* 'small bag' is from an Iranian *\*kapčik*, as the name *Lopčūq* is from *Napčik*. With suffix *-āta-* Balōči has *kapātag* 'basket'. Possibly Mongol *xattaya-*, *-n* 'bag, purse', cited by Rubruquis, *cap-targas* 'square bag' and Turkish *qatırçai* belong here. The Hiung-nu *kap-tzu* could be older *\*kaptava-* or *\*kavdava-*. The *-u-* suffix occurs also in the vessel name, Armenian Parth. *k'andouk* 'wheat bin', N Pers. *kandūk*, *kandū*, Syr. *kndwq*, Arabic *kandūj*, Turfan Pers. *kndwg*, Oss. Digoron *xāndug*, Iron *xāndyg*, Persian in Greek *κόλδου*; and also in Khotan-Saka *phaysdve* (DKS 259).

5. 鞞 'stone', K 73 *kīe*, (486 + 73) *kīāt*, G *kīat*. Iranian has derivatives of Indo-European *ak-* and *ak-* 'sharp' to name 'stone'. From *ak-*, Iranian *as-*, Avestan *asan-*, *asənga-*, *asman-*, Khotan-Saka *saṃgga-*, Turfan Parth. *'sng*, Zor. Pahl., N Pers. *sang* and without *-n-* direct *-aka* Zor. Pahl. *sag*, adjective *sagēn*, beside *sakēn* 'coralline', Khotan-Saka *saka-*, *saṃka-* 'coral' rendering Bud. Skt *pravāḍa-*, Sogd. *snk*. The base *ak-* is in Lit. *akmuō* 'stone' beside *ašmuō*. From *ak(h)-* Khotan-Saka has *chaskām* 'pointed top, forehead', *chaska-* 'barley' ('the pointed grain'), connected with N Pers. *kašk* and Armenian Parth. *k'āškēn* 'barley-bread' (DKS 107), Greek *ἀκοστή*. Here *kata-* will be from *ak-*: *k-* with suffix *-ata-* as in Avestan *urvata-*, Old Ind. *vrata-*. With *-t-* note also Latin *cōt-*, nom. sing. *cos* 'whetstone'.

<sup>60</sup> For Chinese *-n* for foreign *-r-* and *-l-*, see Ed. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 219, against a contrary opinion.

6. 徑路 'sword', K 391, 577 *king-lu* < *kieng-luo*, G 831 f, 7661' *kieng-glāg*. That is \**keng*( )*lag* with Sogdian *γnyrh* \**xangarā-*, Chr. Sogd. *xgr* (assuring initial *x-*), Waxī *xingār*, Yidya *xugor*; with Arabicised *g* > *j*, N Pers. *xanjar*, whence loanwords Lakk *xaržan*, Russian *xinžal*. The Turkish form is *qingīraq* 'knife'. The Iranian base is (s)*kharg-*.

7. 穹廬 'tent', K 471, 579 *k'iung-lu* < *k'iung-līwo*, G 901 e, 69 q *k'iūng-līo*. This is \**kung*(a)*rū* from \**kunakāraka-*, Bud. Man. Sogd. *kwn'k'r* \**kunakār* 'bier', Pali *kūtāgāra-* 'bier', more generally a 'pinnacled building', Bud. Skt *kūtāgāra-*, pseudo-Tokhara A *kūrekār*, Khotan-Saka *kulatāra-*, *kulāra-*, *kūlāra-*. The suffix *-ū* from *-aka-* occurs variously in Indo-Aryan, Bud. Skt *kremeru-*, *kremeruka-* 'red', Tibetan *kekeru*,<sup>61</sup> Chinese 若榴 'pomegranate', K 938, 565 *zo-liu* < *nīziāk-līau* (but without radical 69) G 777, 1114 p *nīak-līōg*, Sogdian *n'r'kl* \**nāraka-*; Zor. Pahl. *anār*, N Pers. *anār*, *nār*, *nārvān*; Khōwar *veznū* 'garlic', (from *uṣṇa-* 'sharp'), *šargū* 'dung', *isperu* 'white', and participles in *-dū* and *-rū* from *-taka-*.<sup>62</sup> For Sogdian *kwn'k'r* with *-n* *..-r* from *-r* *..-r*, note also Khotan-Saka s.v. *candarno*, *maṅgāra-*, *ysaṅgāra-*.

8. 馱驢 'excellent horse, mule', K 440, 890 *küe* (but without radical 187), *t'i* < *kiwet-d'iei*, G 312, 866 *kiwat-d'ieg*.<sup>63</sup> That is, Hiung-nu \**kavātaka-* (> *-ē*) to Old Iranian *kavāta-* from *kau-* 'young, vigorous' and 'small'; a royal name *Kavāta-*, N Pers. *Qubād*; Zor. Pahl. *kavāh* 'small cattle' contrasting with *stōr* 'large cattle', Pāzand *kaβādah* 'young animal', Waxī *kuāt* 'young ass', Balōči *kawāt* 'camel of three years'. The base *kan-* had similar meanings. In pseudo-Tokhara *wire* 'young' belongs with Iranian *vīra-* 'man'. The reading *kavāt-* for Chinese *kiwat* recalls the Chinese 伊 *i-* for the Iranian *ka-* of *Qāmūl*, Sogd. Ancient Letter 11 2 *km'yδ*, Turkish *Qamīl*.

9. 孤塗 'son', K 426, 1133 *ku-t'u* < *kuo-d'uo*, G 41 c, 82 d' *kwo-d'o* is preserved in the phrase 撐犁孤塗 *ṭṣ'əng-li ku-t'u* 'son of heaven' translating the Chinese 天 *t'ien-tsi*, Bud. Skt *deva-putra*. Here the Turkologist could only suggest *qut* 'fortune'. For *ṭṣ'əng-li* see no. 2 above.

Here *ku-t'u* can be taken for \**kudu-* or older \**kutu* but it may be either *ku-* with suffix *-tu* or *kut-* with *-ū* from *-aka-*.

The Iranian base is *kau-*: *ku-* 'to be small', in meaning like Indo-European (Pokorny, 842-3) *pōu-*: *pū-*, *pu-*, in Got. *fawai* 'few', Latin

<sup>61</sup> 'Hārahūya', *Asiatica*, Festschrift Friedrich Weller (1954), 15.

<sup>62</sup> G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan* (1926), 72, 74; 'Khōwar morphology', *NTS* 14 (1947), 7, 27.

<sup>63</sup> *TPS* (1954), 146; *BSOS* 7 (1935-6), 69; Zātspram, *Vičītakihā* (1964), 24; *Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dātastān ī dēnīk*, ed. B. N. Dhabhar (1913), 160.

*paucus*, Greek *παῦρος*, Got. *fula* 'foal', Old Ind. *putra-*, Avestan *puθra-* 'son', Latin *puer*. Thus Avestan has *kutaka-* 'small', Zor. Pahl. *kōtak*, *kūč* (see above on *kavāta-*). With *-r-* Zor. Pahl. has *kurrak*, Armenian Parth. *k'ourak* 'foal', N Pers. *kurrah* 'small animal', Kurd *kurr* 'son' (*-rr-* from *-rn-*), Sarikolī *čur*, *čōr* 'strong young man' (*č-* = Old Iranian *k-*), Old Ind. *kuḍaka-*, NW Prakrit *kuḍāga-* 'boy'.<sup>64</sup> Sogdian has *wkwr-* 'kinsman' and Ossetic has the verbal Digoron *igurun igurd*, 'be born', Iron *gūryn*, Dig. *igurčä* 'birth', Iron *gūrdz* 'embryo'. Ormuḡī has *-l-* in *kulān* 'son', *kulāk* 'boy'. P. Pelliot proposed to compare Tungus *xutu* 'child' but that is traced to *hutē* and words commencing with *p-*.<sup>65</sup>

For the form *ku-t'u*, note the Indo-European *seu-*: *su-* 'to bear young' (Pokorny, 913), Old Ind. *sūtu-* 'act of bearing', Celtic Old Ir. *suth* (*\*sutu-s*) 'birth, fruit' beside the derivatives with *-n-* Old Ind. *sūnu-*, Got. *sunus*, Avestan *hunu-*, and with *-i-* Greek *víos*, pseudo-Tokhara B *soyā*, A *se*.

Possibly the verbal base is in Avestan *hākurəna-* glossed by Zor. Pahl. *ham-kartārīh* 'acting together'. Thus *ku-t'u* with suffix *-u-* has support in preference to *\*kutaka-* (as Avestan *kutaka-* 'small').

10. 酪 'fermented mare's milk', K 411 *lo*, *lau* < *lāk*, Jap. *raku*, G 766 p *glāk*. Ed. Pulleyblank rightly rejected B. Karlgren's connexion with the entirely different distilled spirits Arabic 'araq with initial laryngal.<sup>66</sup>

The connexion has been noted in Khotan-Saka of *ragai* (DKS 356) with Ossetic *rong*, older *rang*, in the Kartvel languages Svanetian, Mingrelian and Georgian Račinskij dialect *rang-i*. This *rong* was the favourite drink of the Nārtā heroes in the Ossetic epic tales. The Khotan-Saka *ragai* is still conjectural in meaning, but it seems to be an intoxicant drink, hence for nomadic Saka peoples 'fermented mare's milk', the Avestan *hurā-*, Zor. Pahl. *hur*, glossed by *asp-pēm* 'mare's milk', the later Turkish *qumīs*. Ed. Pulleyblank did not identify the word outside Chinese. The Khotan-Saka retained also the word *hurā-* (DKS 492).

The etymon of *ragai* is not established. It could be from a base *rak-*, *rank-* or *rangaka-* from a base *rang-*. The Ossetic *rong* could derive from *rank-* or *rang-*, but not *rak-*. If the archaic Chinese *glāk* had retained *g-* from Indo-European *glak-* as in Greek *γάλα* 'milk', the Iranian *\*rank-* could have lost initial *γ-* and so be connected.

<sup>64</sup> T. Burrow, *The language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan* (1937), 83.

<sup>65</sup> *Sravitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov*, II (1977), 357.

<sup>66</sup> *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 249-50.

11. 燻 蠶 'dried curds, hard cheese', K 613 (no radical 86), 1136 *mi*-[*li*] < *miek*-[*liei*] (no *luá*), G 859, 1241 o *miek-luá* (and *miek-liei*). This can be traced to an Iranian \**mīlāka*- from \**mižāka*-, older *miyž*-, in Khotan-Saka *bišī*, *bešī* (*b* < *m*) 'curds', Yaγnābī (New Sogdian) *mešin*, Oss. Digoron *mesin*, Old Ind. *āmikṣā*. The *-l*- derived from *-ž*- as in *mūla*- 'rat' from \**mūža*- from *mūš* and in the loanword *bāl-saṃgha*-, Bud. Skt *bhikṣu-saṃgha*-. Kroraina had *bhighu-saṃgha*-, but had also *bhukṣu*-, which is in Uigur *bur*- in *bur-sang*, Mongol *bur-sang* 'community of monks' (misinterpreted by *bur* 'Buddha'; there is of course no 'Community of Buddha' or 'Buddhas'). An *-l*- also replaced *-ž*- in Bud. Skt *uṣṇīṣa*- 'tuft', Khotan-Saka *uṣṇīla*-, Uigur Turkish *uṣnir*. The Khotan-Saka *ula*- 'camel' is also from \**uža*-, to be compared with Old Pers. *uša*-.

12. 酥 'fat, fatty matter, butter', K 70 *su* < *suo*, G (434 a + 46 d') *so*. Clearly it is connected with Iranian *fšau*-: *fšu*- 'to fatten' in Avestan *fšutā*-, *pšutā*- 'cheese', glossed by Zor. Pahl. *panīr*, Šuynī *χu*- in *χu-māδ* 'stale buttermilk to ferment cheese', (from \**fšu-mādyā*-) with dialectal Xūfi *xe-miδ*, Bajūi *xi-mā*. From *fšau*- Avestan has *fšaoni*- 'fattening', verbal *fšuya*- 'to feed', *fšuyant*- 'fattener', Zor. Pahl. *fšōnēnitan*. The *fšuyant* was developed to express 'husband' in Khotan-Saka *kṣundaa*-. From *fšuyaka*- came Yidya *šifē*, *šfūi* 'husband', Zor. Pahl. *šwy* \**šūy*. The *fšōnišn* is glossed by Parsi-Skt *sphītayitum*. Ossetic has Digoron *sojnā* 'fat', adjective *songun*, *sojnāgun*, Iron *soj*, gen. sing. *sojy*, *sojdzyn*. If this has older *sōn*- it is ambiguous since *-ān*- passed to *-on*-, and *-aun*- passed to *-un*-. From *-āun*- one could expect *-on*-. Waṇetī has *čuk* 'butter' and possibly *č*- has derived from *tš*- from *fš*-, as Khotan-Saka replaced *fš*- by *xš*- (written *kš*-). Ossetic has *s*- from various older sounds (Indo-European *k*-, *ts*-, *k̂s*-, *k̂i*-, *k̂u*-).

The failure to note the dominance of Iranian till the year 1000 in the Tarim Basin is shown (Ed. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 254) by the citation of Mongol *tosun*, Turkish *yay*, pseudo-Tokhara B *šalype*, A *šalyp*, Tib. *mar* for 'fat', without any inquiry as to Iranian.

13. 醍醐 'clarified fermented mare's milk', K 890, 91 *t'i-xu* < *d'iei-guo*, G 866 i, 49 a' *tiēg-g'o* (and variants). In this *d'iei-guo* can be seen at once Avestan *tayu*- familiar in *tāyuri*-, *tūiri*- 'sour milk' glossed by Zor. Pahl. *tyl* \**tēr* 'cheese' from the base *tau*-: *tu*- 'to swell'; Pašto *tomna*, *toma* 'rennet', Oss. Digoron *tāuäg*, Iron *tuäg* 'sour', Dig., Iron *āntāuun*, *āntud* 'make sour, brew', Dig. *āntāuän*, Iron *āntuān* 'ferment'. Khotan-Saka has *ttavamdyā* 'bile', rendering Bud. Skt *pitta*-, and has *ttaujai* 'cheese(?)'. These are listed under *teu*- by Pokorny, 1083, with Greek *τῆρός* 'cheese' and Old Bulg. *tvarogŭ* 'coagulated milk'. Ed.

Pulleyblank proposed to trace the word also in Mongol *čige*, *čigen* from (\**tigän*) 'fermented mare's milk'.

14. 漚, 漚酪, 桐馬 'milk fluid', with uncertain readings. G 1188 c *tung*, *tung*, *tung* (not *t'ung*), K 411 *lo*, *lau* < *lák*, G 766 p *glák*; K 1150 *t'ung* < *d'ung*, G 1176 h *d'ung*, K 592 *ma* < *ma*, G 40 a *mā*. That will give *tung*, *tung-lau*, *tung-ma* from *d'ung*, *d'ung-ma*. The Iranian words for 'milking' and 'milk' are from the base Indo-European Pokorny, 271, *dheugh-*. Ossetic has Digoron *donγ*, Iron *donq*, *doγ* 'a once milking' showing a nasal intrusion. The verb is Oss. Dig. *dočun duγd*, Iron *dučyn*, *dyγd* 'to milk', Zor. Pahl., N Pers. *dōz-*, *dōxtan*, Avestan *duγda-*. The noun is *dauga-* in Turfan Pers. and Parthian *dwug*, Zor. Pahl. *dwg*, N Pers. *dōγ*, Waxī *δīγ*. Old Indian has *dohati*, *dogdhi*, *dugdha-*, *doha-*. The Oss. Dig. *rānyä*, Iron *rānq*, *räγ* 'row, line' shows the same variant spellings.

There are six Hiung-nu titles which have survived in Turkish and Tibetan. Titles with *x-* are not originally Turkish, which had *q-* but no *x-*.

1. The supreme Hiung-nu title was 單于 K 968, 1317 *tan-ü*, and *šan-ü* (*šan* is assured by an old gloss) from *tán-jju* and *šän-jju*, G 147 a *tán*, with radical 32 *đian*, with G 97 a *giwo*. Ed. Pulleyblank had *tan-ü* and saw in it another form of *tarxan*, rejecting a proposal of G. Clauson to see in the title the Kušan *yavuga*. This *yavuga-*, from \**yāvuka-* 'troop-leader', is one of the Iranian titles of the Kušans. It was written in the Han-šu 歙侯 K 128, 79 *hi-xou* < *xjəp-γəu*, G 675 q, 113 a *xjəp-g'u* which is clearly Iranian *yāvuka-*. This title is carried far down the centuries into Persian histories. Kušan has *yavuga*, *ya'uga*, Greek ΖΑΟΥΥ, Kroraina *yaβgu*, Mahrnāmay *yaβγυ*, *žabγy*, and Arabic *jabγy*. In Turkish it is *yapyu*. The vowel *-a-* of the Turkish transmission is valuable as proving the Iranian *-ā-* which the Kharoṣṭrī script leaves uncertain, since the Turkish has *-ä-* for Iranian *-ā-*, as in *bäγ* from *baga-*. The base *yau-* 'to assemble troops' gave also \**fra-yauna-* in Khotan-Saka *hayūna-* 'companion, friend' (DKS 465).

Since the initial *y-* varies within Iranian, from a Chinese *šänjju* one could reach back to *yāyu* < *yāvū-* and so have a title direct from the base *yau-* without the *-ka-* suffix. The form \**yāvū-* would be the common type with long *-ā-* in the base with suffix *-ū-* forming agent nouns and instrumental nouns. Old Ind. *kāru-*,<sup>67</sup> Greek *κάρυξ* attest its early

<sup>67</sup> For *kāru-* and the related words, see BSOAS 20 (1957), 41-4. For *kar-* 'to sing', note its survivance *karya-* in Sarikoli *čir-*, *čird* 'to sing' (with *č-* from Old Iranian *k-*), and probably also in Avestan *karapan-* a priestly non-Zoroastrian title 'incantator', with the Armenian Parth. loanword *karap*, gen. sing. *karapoy* 'swan' as the 'singing' bird, like Old Engl. *swin* 'song' and *swan* 'the bird swan'. Chorasmian has *krb-* 'to murmur prayers'.



development and Avestan *bāzu-*, Khotan-Saka *bāysū-* ‘arm’, shows its maintenance. Such a *\*yāvu-* would mean again ‘troop-assembler’, and ‘leader’.

To take *ziän-jju* for *yāvu-* one would assume an intermediate *-uiü* yielding *-uu*, with loss of the nasal.

2. 達干, 達官 K 957, 296, 447 *ta-kan*, *ta-kuan* < *d'ât-kân*, *d'ât-kuân*, G 271 b, 139 a *d'ât-kân*, *d'ât-kuân* represents *tarxan*, *tarqan*, *tarkân*, *tarxân* (the *x-* being non-Turkish). It is possible to trace the base *tark-* or *tark(h)-* to Indo-European *tolkʰ-* (Pokorny, 1088) ‘to speak, name’ used for ‘to command’ (as in *mrau-* ‘to speak’ for ‘command’ in the Saka title *murunḍa-* ‘commander’). From Indo-Iranian *tark-* there is Old Ind. *tarka-* ‘pondering, logic’, *tarkayati* ‘to assume, ponder’. I proposed in 1969 to connect Ossetic *tārxon* ‘judging, counselling’. It is used in the translation of the Georgian *Vep'xis t'qaosani* to translate *sa-vazirod* ‘action of a *vazir* (“adviser”)’. Ossetic *-on* can come from either *-ân-* or *-āun-* (and shortened *-aun*), so that the title of the Sogdian *Nēzuk* at the time of the Arab invasion of Transoxiana, *trxwn*, could be allied to Ossetic.

For *tarxan* the spellings are Orkhon *tʳrqʳn*, plural *tʳrqʳt*, Turfan Pers. *trxân*, Khotan-Saka *ttarkana*, and later, when suprascript *-r-* was replaced by the akṣara *ra*, *ttarakana* (JRAS (1939), 91), pseudo-Tokhara B 377 b 3 *tarkhāne*, B 289 b 5 *ārslām tārkhānem*, Sogd. *trx'n*, Byzantine Greek *ταρχάν*, *ταρκάνος*, *τερκάνος*.<sup>68</sup> Heftal coins have TARKA, TARAKA. Mongol has *d'rq'n*, and Manchu *darhan* as part of a name. I note that *tarxan* is compared with Ossetic *tārxon* in V. Abaev's *Ossetic Etymological Dictionary* (1979).

For the title Mahrnāmay 98 *tmg'ntrx'n* and Menandros *ταγμα ταρχάν*, and the Parthian title *tgm-dr*, s.v. *Ttūlisa*.<sup>69</sup>

3. *dagyaina*, *dagyimnä*, *digyimna* (KT 2.77.31, 33, KT 2.45.63; KT 2.126.10). Avar and thence Turkish *tägin*, *tigin*, Chinese 特勒 (for 勤) K 811, 523 *t'ə-lə* < *d'ək-lək*, K 389 *k'in* < *g'ian*, hence *t'ə-kin* < *d'ək-g'ian*, G 961 h', 928 f, 480 x *d'ək (lək)-g'ian*. Other transcriptions are in J. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours* (1955), 159, s.v. *tegin* (*ti-yin*, *tö-yin*). On

<sup>68</sup> G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica* II (1943), 253.

<sup>69</sup> The title has been much discussed, see Ed. Pulleyblank, *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 256; V. Abaev, *Ossetic Etymological Dictionary*, s.v. *tārxon*; G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-Turcica*, I and II (1942-3), s.v. *ταρκάνος*; B. Laufer, *Loan-words in Tibetan* (1918); *Sino-Iranica* (1919), 592-4; Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (1903), 164, 239; K. H. Menges, ‘The oriental elements in the vocabulary of the oldest Russian epic, The Tale of Igor’, *Word* 7 (1951), supplement, 55-56; G. Doerffer, *Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen*, II (1965), 460ff.

coins in Brāhmī script there is *tigīna* and on Heftal coins ΣΠΙ ΤΑΚΙΝΟ, ΠΑΥΟ, Turfan Pers. Mahrnāmay 19 *tqyn*, 23 *tkyn*, Orkhon *tgit*, Sogdian inscription Karabalgasun<sup>70</sup> *tykyn*, late Sanskrit *thakkana* (Rājatarangiṇī), Mongol *čigin* in *Od-čigin*. The title was glossed in Chinese by 'wise, venerable'.

In form this title would suit an Iranian *\*takīna-* Zor. Pahl. *tg \*tag* or *\*tak* explained by both *nēv* 'good', and *takik* 'bold', Pāzand *θagi* glossed by Parsi-Skt *sūra-* 'bold'. This is the base of Avestan *taxma-* 'bold', Zor. Pahl. *taxm*, N Pers. *tahm*, *taxm*, *tam*, Kroraina *tama-* in the name *tama-špa*, *taxmāšpa-*. The variation of suffixes *-in* and *-ik* is frequent, as in Zor. Pahl. *zamīk*, N Pers. *zamī*, *zamin* 'earth'. N Pers. *yāsmīn*, Armenian Parth. *yasmik* 'jasmine'.<sup>71</sup>

An older spelling<sup>72</sup> of this title is claimed by Ed. Pulleyblank in the Hiung-nu word 屠者 K 1187, 340 *t'u-k'i < d'uo-g'ji*, G 45 i', 5521 *d'o-g'ier*, glossed by 賢王 *hien-uang* 'wise, worthy prince', the title of the heir apparent. In Ed. Pulleyblank's system of Middle Chinese *dou-g'ji* for archaic *dah-gē(δ) = \*dā-gē* is offered for *tegin*. This seems to bring down archaic *-ah* for *uo* too late. The *t'u < d'uo* is rather for Iranian *tu-*, *tō-* 'great' or 'good'. The second syllable *k'i < g'ji* will be Iranian *kai*, the older Avestan *kavi-*, Khotan-Saka *kai*, plural *kā* epithet of prince (*rrisapura-*) and monk (*ārya-*). For *tu-* 'great', see s.v. Gara.

4. Khotan-Saka *KT 2.45.63 khaha:nā*, *ibid.* 65 *ha:ha:nā* (possibly also *KT 2.25. 29.2 khahāni*) is the *xāgān*, for the Hiung-nu, not the supreme ruler who was the 單于 *šan-ü*. The title is Avar (whence Turkish with its *x-*, not *q-*).<sup>73</sup> It is attested in a Chinese reference to the T'u-yü-hun successors to the Ha-ža. The title has been handed down in many forms. For the fifth-century Avar the Chinese wrote 可汗 K 414, 296 *k'o-xan < k'ā-g'ân*, G 1 a, 139 *t k'ā-g'ân*, Mahrnāmay *'wyγwr xng''n* 'Xangān of the Uigurs', Sogdian Mug<sup>74</sup> document *γ'γ'n*, Armenian *xak'an*, Georgian *xaqan-i*, *xayan-i*, *činizis qaen-i*, *qeenn-i*, Byzantine Greek *χαβάνος*, Hebrew *kgn*, Latin *cacanus* (*rex auarum cagan*: 'North-Iranian problems', *BSOAS* 42 (1979), 209), Old Hungarian *chakan* (*ch = χ*), Juvainī *qāān*, Syriac *k'qn*.<sup>75</sup> Syriac had also *k'n, rb' kān rabbā* 'great Kan'.

<sup>70</sup> V. A. Livšić, *Kara-Tepe*, II (1969), 71.

<sup>71</sup> *AM*, n.s. 11 (1964), 20-1.

<sup>72</sup> *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 257.

<sup>73</sup> Earliest for *kagan* circa 400 A.D.; G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish* (1972), 611.

<sup>74</sup> V. A. Livšić, *Sogdijskij posol v Čače* (1960), 102.

<sup>75</sup> J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1903), 482.

Russian had *koganū*, *kaganū*, *xaganū*.<sup>76</sup> Vladimir Iaroslav of Kiev (eleventh century) had the title *kaganū*. An Iranian base is proposed below.

5. Here should be inserted another word to be separated, a Hiung-nu title 護于 K 120, 1317 *xu-ü* < *γuo-jju*, Jap. *go*, *u*, G 784 k, 97 a *g'wāg-gjwo*. Ed. Pulleyblank (*AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 91, 260) adopted an archaic *γ(w)ā-γā* and conjectured a source of *xagan*. Tested by Iranian it would be later *γuo-jju* which looks like Iranian *huxu(ka)* or *hāvu(ka)* from the base *hau-*: *hu-*, which resulted in words for 'supreme' and 'ruler'. Thus Khotan-Saka *hvāšta-* 'chiefest' (*DKS* 507), *hvāštye rrīne* 'of the chief queen', rendering Bud. Skt *agra-mahiṣī* (the *-ā-* of *hvāšta-* is from *-āi-*), Tumšūq Saka *hvešta-*, Avestan *hvōišta-* (glossed by Zor. Pahl. *mas* 'greatest'), Bud. Sogd. *γwyštr*, *γwyčšt* 'supreme', *γwyšt* 'teacher', Man. Sogd. *xwyštr-*, *xwštr* 'superior', Munjāni *xuškýē* 'teacher', Oss. Digoron *xestār*, Iron *xistār* 'elder, eldest, chieftain'. The Kušan imperial name *Huviška-* is likely to derive from this same base, attesting the grade *huv-*.

6. Khotan-Saka has a Turkish title *hana*, *ha:nä*, *haṃ:nä*, *hamnä*. Here *ha:* represents either *x-* or *γ-*, yielding a foreign *\*xāna-*. *KT* 2.98.150-1 has *mistā hana* 'great *xāna-* ruler' (also *KT* 2.94.9 and *KT* 2.96.92). This is like the seventh-century Heftal title<sup>77</sup> in Chinese 大汗 *t'ai-xan*, K 963, 296 *t'ai-xan* < *t'ai-γán*, G 317 d, 139 f *t'ád-g'án*. Zor. Pahl. *k'n*, Armenian *lan* (= *γan*) in *el-lan* for *il-khan*, Tibetan *gan* in *se-čhen gan* 'Qubilai', Marco Polo *kaan*, Latin *chaam*, N Pers. *xān xān-um* attest the same title. It has been thought to be a contraction of *xagan* (supported by Latin *chaam* with loss of *-γ-*), but it is clearly an inferior title and Khotan-Saka has both *ha:ha:na* and *hana*.

7. Khotan-Saka *KT* 3.137 Dandan 4 *yašāsāri khattunä*, *KT* 2.78.47-8 *maštara hättuna* 'great queen', *KT* 5.271.578.1 *hättuna* is the 'lady, queen'. Elsewhere it is Turfan Pers. Mahrnāmay 149, 150, 151, 152 *x'twn*, *x'twn*, pseudo-Tokhara A 399 *hkhättum*, 302 b 8, 303 a 6 *kättum*, Bud. Sogd. *γ'ttwnh*, Chinese 可賀敦 K 414, 342, 1143 *k'o-xo-tun* < *k'á-γá-tuən*, Jap. *ka*, *ga*, *ton*, G 1 a, 15 j, 464 p *k'á-g'á-twən*; 可敦 *k'o-tun* < *k'á-tuən*, Turkish Orkhon *xatun*, Codex Comanicus *chaton*, Al-Kāšγarī *qātūn*, Tib. *kha-thun*, Armenian *xat'oun*, Georgian *xat'un-i*. Bud. Sogdian *γwt'yinh* will be different connected with *xxatāw* 'lord', and the feminine suffix *-ainā-*.

<sup>76</sup> K. H. Menges, 'The oriental elements in the vocabulary of the oldest Russian epic, The Tale of Igor', *Word* 7 (1951), supplement, 32-5.

<sup>77</sup> J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr (Šahrīhā ī Ērān)* (1938), §9; *Wchrot und Arang* (1938), 47 note.

From this *xatun*, and another Hiung-nu title for the chief lady, a base *xat-* can be extracted: Chinese 關氏 \**a-tṣi* G 270, 867 a, *·át-điēg* or *·at-îiēg*, later *·át-ziē* or *·át-tsiē* (K 1323 has no *a*, but 879 *tṣi* < *tṣiē*). The initial laryngal will be a foreign velar *k-* or *x-*; the final *-g* should survive as a velar, foreign *-k-*. The foreign word would be \**xātika-* in Iranian, the same *xāt-* as in *xātun* but with the suffix *-ika-* instead of *-auna-*.

The dialectal *qasun* and *qačun* could be older \**xātsuna-* and \**xātsūna* from a \**xāti-*, \**xāθi-*. The replacement of Iranian *θi-* is very various. In North Iranian Ossetic replaced *θi-* by *č* (= *ts-*) as in *äčäg* 'true' < \**haθya-*, Khotan-Saka had *haṭṭha-*, Old Pers. *hašiya-*, Avestan *haiθya-*, Zor. Pahl. *-h-* < *-θ-*.<sup>78</sup>

8. Iranian knew reduplication either with a single vowel as Avestan *čakana*, or with long *-ā-* as in Zor. Pahl. *w'pl vāβar*, N Pers. *bāvar* 'trust', or with full syllable as N Pers. *varvarah* 'squirrel'. Hence the Avar title *καύκανος*, *capcanus* can be taken with *kan-* in *kau-kāna-* or *kaf-kāna-* as an Iranian form. The Mongol has prefixed *tep-* to the loanword *tengri* as a name, *Teptengri*.<sup>79</sup>

9. Here is an essay to test a possible Iranian source for *xāgān*, *xān* and *xātūn*. For this the Khotan-Saka *khahana-*, *ha:ha:na-* are convenient starting-points although they have come into Khotan with Altaic sounds.

The frequent base Avestan *han-*: *hāta-* is concerned with 'gain' and 'victory'. The gain of the *mišda-*, originally the reward for fighting, Avestan *mišda-*, Old Ind. *mīḍha-*, Greek *μισθός*, Old Engl. *meode* was 'payment for services'. The Avestan 'winner' becomes the possessor of *nmāna-* 'house', *vis-* 'settlement', *zantu-* 'tribal land' and *dahyu-* 'country', and always *fšu-* 'cattle'. The *fšūmant-* 'cattle-owner' has survived in the Caucasus to the present Ossetic Digoron *fusun*, *fussun*, Iron *fysym* 'host to guests', adjective *fysymāg*, Abxaz *á-ṗšwəma*, Abaza *ṗšuma*, Adyge *bəsəm* (*bysym*), Qabardei *bəsəm* 'host', Inguš *fusam* 'dwelling', Čečen *husam* (xlycam), plural *husamaš*.

The Avestan text reads in Yašt 13.151 *paoiryān tkaēšē yazamaide nmānanam-ča višam-ča zantunam-ča dahyunam-ča nmānanhānō višānō zantušānō daiṭhušānō* 'we revere the early teachers, house-winners, settlement-winners, land-winners, country-winners of the houses, and settlements, tribal lands and countries'. These winners are also the *nmānō .pati-*, *vis-pati-*, *zantu-pati-*, and *dahyu-pati-*, with *pati-* 'owner'.

<sup>78</sup> G. Doerffer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, III (1967), 140; L. Bazin, *TP* 39 (1950), 305.

<sup>79</sup> D. Sinor found the same reduplication in Altaic, but Avar is pre-Turkish; see *JRAS* (1954), 174-84.

The participle *hāta-* is quoted from the Frahang ī oīm 24 and elsewhere is in the compound *hātā.marāni-* ‘remembering merits’. The verb is frequent in present *hana-*, participle *hanant-*, with reduplicated perfect *hanhan-*, and causative *hanaya-*. It occurs with *mižda-* six times.<sup>80</sup>

The Old Indian *san-* is frequent, aorist *sanat*, present *sanoti*, participle *sāta-*, noun *sāti-* ‘possession’. The adjective RV 2.23.7 *sānuká-* is an epithet of the wolf, *sānukó vṛkaḥ* ‘ravening wolf’. It recalls the Khotan-Saka *birgām ttralaphām* ‘the rapacious wolves’ (from *ati-laf-*). The accent on the third syllable does not prevent this *ἀπαξ* word expressing the agent, although differing from *ghātuka-*. The agent *sānitar-* ‘victor’ has the usual suffix *-tar-*. Greek *han-*, *hen-* is applied to war and possessions in *ἀννοῖς* ‘success’, *ἐννοα* ‘spoils’, *ἐννοα* ‘armour’, *ἀθέρης* ‘independent lord’, *συνέρης* ‘lord’.

For the title of ‘lord, lady, ruler’ the reduplicated *hanhan-* or *hāhan-* would give ‘having won, victor, possessor, lord’, exactly like *xāgān* from *\*hāhana-*. If Turfan Pers. *xng’n* *\*xangān* is archaic it would be Iranian *hanhāna-*. The *xān*, lower rank, would be unreduplicated *hāna-* ‘lord’. The Iranian participle *hāta-* is then traceable in the title *hātuna-* beside the *hātika-* ‘lady’ as the woman possessor or as the woman gained as a wife. Note how in Old Indian *bhoja-* from *bhunakti* ‘enjoy, possess’ became a royal title. The older spelling *\*xāxātunā-* is then the reduplicated form for the woman as for the man in *\*hāhāna-*. The foreign *x-* of *xāt-* for Iranian *h-* passed later into Turkish *q-*.

To associate with *xatun*, from North-West Iranian, Alanian, a feminine word ending now in *-tun* is preserved, with many other Alanian words, in the Veinax languages Tuš (Batsbi), Čečen and Inguš. This word is Tuš *pst’un*, *bst’un* (пстын) ‘princess’, Čečen *stū*, base *stūn-*, plural *stūnaš*, Inguš *suw*, base *suwn-*, *sun-*, plural *suwnaš*, that is the ‘wife of a prince’. In the sense ‘wife’ the word occurs in Tuš *bst’u-dad*, Čečen *stun-da* ‘wife’s father’ and Čečen, Inguš *ust-da* ‘wife’s father’ and *ust-nana* ‘wife’s mother’ (with *stu* through *\*ustu-* to *ust-*).

To show the source of this *pst’un* ‘wife, wife of a prince’ it is necessary to cite two other Iranian words. The Alanian (Ossetic cited briefly on p. 36 above), Digoron *fussun*, *fusun*, Iron *fysým*, adjective *fysýmāg*, is rendered by Russian *xozjain* ‘host’ in contrast to the ‘guest’. An older form is Abaza *pšu-na*, and Abxaz *á-pšwəma* ‘host’, with Čerkes Qabardei *bəsəm*, Adyge *bəsəm*, Inguš *fusam* ‘refuge, dwelling’, Čečen *husum*, *husam* ‘dwelling’, *husam-dā* ‘master of the house, head of family’, *husamxō*

<sup>80</sup> For an unknown reason the base *han-* is missing under *sen-* in Pokorny, 906.

'inhabitant'. It has been acceptable to trace this to the equivalent of Avestan *fšūmant-* 'owner of cattle', hence a householder.

The second word is Avestan *fšuyant-* 'husbandman' as rearer of cattle, *fšaoni-* 'fat' and verbal *fšaonaya-* 'fatten', Zor. Pahl. *fšōnišn*, *fšōnēnītan* with Avestan, *fšūtā-*, *pšūtā-* 'fatty stuff (cheese)'. From *fšau-*: *fšu-* come the words for 'husband' in Khotan-Saka *kšundaa-* (*kš-* replacing older *fš-*) in various spellings (*DKS* 69), and *\*fšuya-* and *-aka-* in Zor. Pahl. *šūy-*, N Pers. *šūi-*, Yidya *šfūi* and *šifē*. To this can be added the Swan *bst'w*, *bwst'*, *p'ust'* 'prince', quoted as *pusthj* by R. von Erckert, *Die Sprachen des kaukasischen Stammes* (1895; repr. 1969), no. 134. It will derive from *\*fuš(u)-ta-*, older *\*fšuta-*. The third *pištra-*, Zor. Pahl. *pēšak* 'class' is called *vāstryō.fšuyant-*.

In Tuš *pst'un* 'prince' and *bstu-dad* 'wife's father' the derivation will be from the same *fšau-* in form: *\*fšuvatūnī* from participle *-at-* (present *-ant-*) with a feminine suffix *-āunī*, later *-āunī*, like Avestan *-āunī* and *-aonī* in *ašāunī* and *ašaonī*, feminine to masculine *-āvan-* in *ašavan-*, *ašaonam*. The Tuš *pst'un* 'wife' is then from *\*fšutaun(i)-*, whence Čečen *stūn-* and *ust-*, Inguš *suvn-*, *sun-* and *ust-*. It remains uncertain whether the present participle *\*fšuyant-*, *\*fšuvant-* or a derivative by *-ta-* is concerned. Avestan has both *fšuyant* and *fšūtā-*. The inflexion of Tuš *pst'u* is given in Ju. D. Dešeriev, *Batsbijskij Jazyk* (1953), 76, with nom. sing. *pst'uin*, and (with the plural *-i*) *pst'ei* (for *\*pst'ui*).

This explanation looks back to the one and a half millennia of Iranian presence in the Tarim Basin as on the Oxus and in the Hara land (Ordos) before the Turks created Turkistān, after centuries of penetration.

'Victory' is a prerogative of royalty emphasised by the Khotan royal family title Bud. Skt *Vijaya-* and *Vijita-*.

10. One further word deserves reference here. The Hiung-nu word for 'slave' is transmitted in Chinese 質 K 1096 *tsi* < *tsig*, G 358 m *tsjār*.<sup>81</sup> If this is taken to be *čara-* in the Armenian Parth. *čarāy* 'servant' (from *\*čarāti-*, with *č-* from *č-*), it has the base *kar-*, *čar-* 'to go around, attend upon, serve' in Avestan *čarāiti-*, *-tikā-* 'servant'. A similar use is of Oss. Digoron *zelun*, *zild*, Iron *zilyl*, *zyl* 'to turn round, to attend upon', *ziläg* 'host attending guests', *nizzeläntä kodta* 'she attended upon them'.<sup>82</sup>

The presence of loanwords in a language like the Hiung-nu would be possible. These words, however, particularly the milk products, are of a homely nomadic type which should not be loanwords. Titles, however,

<sup>81</sup> Ed. Chavannes, *TP* 6 (1905), 525 (Wei-liao).

<sup>82</sup> *Pamiatniki narodnogo tvorčestva Osetin*, v (*Iron ādāmon sfäldystād*) (1941), 157. See E. Benveniste, *Études sur la langue ossète* (1959), 29-30.

can easily be borrowed and some of the titles have already been treated as pre-Turkish, whether of Avar or Hiung-nu origin.

A basic problem is the original ethnic name which the Chinese wrote with the signs 匈奴. The first has a meaning 'bad' and the second means 'slave'. It will have been chosen to degrade the bearers of the name. But it is rather a phonetic rendering of a foreign name.

The Sogdian letter had *xwn* in the second (or possibly the third) century A.D. Khotan was, according to their own poet, devastated by the people he called *Huna*. The people called *Hiung-nu* occupied Khotan in the fourth century. The Buddhists writing Chinese equated the Bud. Skt *hūṇa-* with the *Hiung-nu* name.

These facts mean that *hun-* was felt to be the equivalent of *Hiung-nu*.<sup>83</sup> The similarity is clear. Assuming a word *hūn-* it can easily pass to a palatalised *h'* and be represented by *h-* or palatalised *x'*. The syllables are then identical.

If now these three names, Sogdian *xwn*, Khotan-Saka *huna*, and Bud. Skt *hūṇa* were attempts to write the name of the *Hiung-nu*, who were directly known to them, this would exclude initial *fr-*, *vl-* or the like, but would fit *h-* passing to *h'* and *x-*. The two ethnic names should be identified.

In the West, in the story of Zoroaster there were enemies of his patron Vištāspa. The date of Zoroaster remains uncertain. His period was one of pasturage with some agriculture; but no great empire can be detected in the oldest poems of the Gāthās. This seems likely to mean eastern ancient Iran by not later than 900 B.C. Much earlier has recently been claimed.<sup>84</sup>

These enemies are called *Hyaona-* in the Avesta and in later Zoroastrian tradition *Zor. Pahl. hyōn* and Pāzand *hayūn*. They are known in Greek *χιονῖται*, *έρμιχίονες*, *κερμιχίονες* and *οἰννοί*.

For these and connected names there is the monograph 'Hārahūṇa' in *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller* (1954), 12–21.

The three initial sounds in the Greek forms indicate a foreign *h-* or a fricative *x-* or *x'-*.

If the name Avestan *hyaona-* is traced to *\*hyauna-* the Iranian form is the exact equivalent of Old Indian Vedic *syoná-*. It can be shown that

<sup>83</sup> P. Pelliot, *J.A.* (1920.1), 141, expressed the opinion that it was improbable that the names *Hiung-nu*, *Hunni* and *Hūṇa* were originally distinct. He thought also (*Notes on Marco Polo*, I (1959), 411) that by the seventh century no true *Hiung-nu* would be in question.

<sup>84</sup> G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's time and homeland* (1980), 159ff, has a summary of recent discussion by T. Burrow, M. Boyce, I. M. Diakonov, and his own views.

these Indo-Iranian words could mean 'possessor', which is also 'lord', and suitable for a royal title or a tribal name.<sup>85</sup>

In the West of Asia, perhaps at 900 B.C., a tribe *Hyaona* with a king with an Iranian name, Arəjat-aspa-, later Arjāsp, is set in opposition to Vištāspa-. In the East of Asia from the second century A.D. there was a tribe with a name which sounded like \**hyōnāh*. That is, Chinese 匈奴 K 162, 674 *hiung-nu* < *xiwong-nuo*, G 1183 d, 941 *xjung-no*, Jap. *kiō* (*kiou*), *do*, *nu*, existed, which foreigners rendered by *huna-*, plural *hunāh*. To bridge this tremendous gap between the Oxus region and Qamul (at one time a city of the *Hiung-nu*) a migration west to east by the eighth century B.C. could be compared to the migration east to west of the *Togara* people from Čaŋ-ie (Θογαρα) to the Oxus. Later the *Avar* migration reached Hungary.

Traces of Iranian (even of perhaps only one group in the *Hiung-nu* nomad tribe) can be taken as survivals from the time when the \**Hyōnāh* (*Hiung-nu*) were at the Oxus with the same name as the *Hyaona*.

A large list of words and names ascribed to the Hún is printed in L. Ligeti, *Körösi Csoma Archivum*, II (1926), 16–20, but without the Chinese signs and without analysis.

#### THE VERSE OF THE KIE TRIBE AMONG THE HIUNG-NU

An account of the Chinese information on this tribe 羯 *Kie*, K 486 + 548 *k(i-l)ie* < *k(iwo-l)iat* = *kīāt-*, G 49 c, 313 r *k(iō-k)iat* = *kīāt*, is given by Ed. Pulleyblank, of the fourth century.<sup>86</sup> A four-line verse is ascribed to them in the Ts'in 晉 Dynastic History (265–317). A proposal to see this verse as a middle North Iranian verse was published in the *Monumentum G. Morgenstierne*, I (1981), 25–6. The Chinese translated the verse with the four phrases (1) 軍, (2) 出, (3) 劉曜胡位, (4) 捉: that is (1) army, (2) go forth, (3) Liu-yau, xu (Iranian) rank, (4) capture – reading modern Chinese *kün*, *tʂ'u*, *liu yau xu uei*, *tʂo*. More fully, this means: 'if the army comes out, the Iranian (Hu) chief Liu-yau will be seized'. The four *Kie* verses are the following: (1) 秀支 (2) 替戾岡 (3) 僕谷 (4) 劬秃當. I gave in the earlier article five transcriptions of the Chinese signs. Here those of K and G will suffice, with modern Chinese signs.

- (1) *siu tʂi t'i li kav p'u küe k'ü t'u tan*  
 (2) K *sju ts'ie t'iei liet kân b'uok kuk g'ju t'uk tân*  
 (3) G *sióg tʂëg t'iei liəd kân b'uk kuk g'ju t'uk tân*

<sup>85</sup> *Indo-Celtica*, *Gedächtnis-schrift für A. Sommerfelt* (1972), 18–28.

<sup>86</sup> *AM*, n.s. 9 (1962), 246–7.



To this the Iranian interpretation can offer: *šūkāčīk tiritkā bāguk(ā) grauttā* 'the army passed over, the *bāguka*-leader is seized'.

The Iranian words in the Middle North Iranian are these: *šūka*- 'sent out', hence 'troop', named from *šau*-: *šu*- 'to send out', as Old Iranian *hai*- 'to send out' *hainā*- 'troop'; the *-čīk* is the common adjective suffix of connexion, and here the adjective as noun. Note that in Waxī *nalčīk* 'reed' and Yazgulāmī *γərčūg* 'mountain' this suffix has not changed the meaning (but Sogdian *γarčīk* 'mountainous'). In *tiritkā* 'he went out' can be seen Iranian *\*ati-rixta* 'crossed over' from *raik*- 'to go', as in Zor. Pahl. *virēk*-, *virēxt* 'to go away, flee', N Pers. *gurēγ* 'flight', and Khotan-Saka *parrīj*- 'to cross over', rendering Bud. Skt *atikram*-. At a later stage Balōči has *-tk*- from older *-xt*-. The title *bāguka*- has the form as in Old Indian *pākuka*- 'cook' and is like Sogdian *w'ywk* *\*vāyuka*- 'hunter', Turfan Pers. *w'ywg* *\*vāyuyγ*, from the base *bag*- from which has come *baga*- 'distributor, giver of *baxta* fortune', and 'god', Old Pers. *baga*- rendered by Akkadian *ilu*. The base *grab*- 'to take, seize' is in Khotan-Saka *grīh*-: *grautta*-, Zor. Pahl. *gīr*-: *grift*, N Pers. *gīr*-, *girift*, Sogd. *γrβ*-: *γrβ't*.

Three earlier interpretations as Turkish are mentioned with references in the above cited article. They did not correspond to the Chinese translation.

In addition to the presence of *xu* (Hu), 'Iranian', of the officer Liu-yau, there is also an obvious etymon of the tribal name *Kie*, from older K *kīāt*, G *kīāt*. This gives a name of the type *daha*- (see below s.v. Gara) in *\*katá*- an agent noun from *kat*- 'to fight', attested in Indo-European *kat*- beside *kat*- 'to fight' (Pokorny, 534), from which (p. 67) the Old Ind. *śātaya*- 'to slay' is taken.<sup>87</sup> The chieftain's name Liu-*ǰau*, K 254, 988 *lǰu-ǰāu*, G 1114 a', 1124 i *lǰog-dǰog* is clearly Iranian *Ruyduka*- from the base *raug*- as in N Pers. *āruydah* 'desired' (see DKS 24).

<sup>87</sup> See s.v. Gara, p. 135.