ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
158

IRANICA IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD (ca. 550-330 B.C.)

Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts

by

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UITGEVERIJ PEETERS en DEPARTEMENT OOSTERSE STUDIES
LEUVEN – PARIS – DUDLEY, MA
2007

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tavernier, J. (Jan)
Iranica in the Achaemenid period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): lexicon of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, attested in non-Iranian texts / by J. Tavernier.
p. cm. -- (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta; 158)
ISBN 90-429-1833-0 (alk. paper)
1. Old Persian language--Etymology--Names. 2. Old Persian language--Influence on foreign languages. 3. Names, Old Persian. 4. Names, Personal--Old Persian. I. Title.

PJ6129.T38 2006
491'.51--dc22

2006047956

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Bondgenotenlaan 153, B-3000 Leuven/Louvain (Belgium)
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D. 2006/0602/122
ISBN-10 90-429-1833-0 (Peeters, Leuven)
ISBN-13 978-90-429-1833-7 (Peeters, Leuven)

Voor mijn ouders,
voor alle steun die ze mij gegeven hebben.

Voor Ineke,
zonder wiens geduld en liefde het schrijven van dit boek niet mogelijk geweest was.

Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὦδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὔ. Τὰ οὐνόματα σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτώσι πάντα ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σᾶν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα. Ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὑρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως (Herodotus I 139).

There is another thing which always happens among them; we have noted it though the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma. You shall find, if you search, that not some, but all Persian names alike end in this letter (translation: A.D. Godley, *Herodotus*, *Volume I: Books I and II* [Loeb Classical Library 117], Cambridge [Mass.], 1920), 179.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the first part of the revised version of my doctoral dissertation "Iranica in de Achaemenidische periode (ca. 550-330 v.Chr.). Taalkundige studie van Oud-Iraanse eigennamen en leenwoorden, die geattesteerd zijn in niet-Iraanse teksten", which was written under the supervision of Prof. Dr. K. Van Lerberghe and Prof. Dr. P. Swiggers. The research conducted in this dissertation was possible thanks to a fellowship of the Research Foundation — Flanders (Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek — Vlaanderen) and was carried out at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Department of Oriental and Slavonic Studies. Section Ancient Near Eastern Studies) within the framework of the Interuniversity Attraction Poles (IAP P5/14).

At the beginning of this study I would like to thank various persons whose help was essential in writing this book, first of all Prof. Dr. K. Van Lerberghe and Prof. Dr. P. Swiggers, my supervisors who were of great help in writing this dissertation. A word of thanks goes to the members of the jury as well: Prof. Dr. W. Skalmowski (K.U.Leuven), Prof. Dr. M.W. Stolper (University of Chicago) and Prof. Dr. A. Berlejung (Universität Leipzig).

Other scholars too have contributed to this dissertation and for this reason I am very much indebted to them: Prof. Dr. P. Vavroušek (Karlová Univerzita v Praze), Prof. Dr. Chl. H. Werba (Universität Wien) and Prof. Dr. R. Schmitt (Universität des Saarlandes). In addition I would like express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. P. Van Deun and Peeters Publishers for their willingness to include this work in the series Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.

I also want to thank my teachers, colleagues, fellow-students and friends, who have contributed in various ways to this study. Finally, and most importantly, I am profoundly grateful to my parents and to Ineke, for obvious reasons.

Leuven, May 2006

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ABBREVIATIONS

1) Abbreviations of languages or textual periods

Ar.	Aramaic.	LB	Late Babylonian.
Arach.	Arachosian.	Med.	Median.
Arm.	Armenian.	MP	Middle Persian.
Ass.	Assyrian.	NB	Neo-Babylonian.
Av.	Avesta.	NE	Neo-Elamite.
Bab.	Babylonian.	NP	New Persian (Farsi).
Chor.	Choresmian.	OInd.	Old Indian.
El.	Elamite.	OP	Old Persian.
Gk.	Greek.	OPd	Old Persian dialect.
Hebr.	Hebrew.	OPs	Old Persian standard.
Hier.	Hieroglyphic.	Oss.	Ossetic.
Ir.	Iranian.	Parth.	Parthian.
Khot.	Khotanese.	Sem.	Semitic.
Lat.	Latin.	Sogd.	Sogdian.

2) Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions

A^1Pb Bab.: ApI 45-46 no.22.
A^1Vsa OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 120-121; Hier.: BdE 11 79.
A^1Vsb OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 120-121; Hier.: BdE 11 81.
A^1Vsc OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 120-121; Hier.: BdE 11 78.
A^1Vsd OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: RA 18 143; Hier.: BdE 11 82.
A^1Vse OP, Bab., El.: VDI 3 (121), 109.
A^1Vsf OP, Bab., El.: AMI 12 322.
A^1Vsg Hier.: BdE 11 80.
A^1Vsh Ar.: ASAE 55 269 no.3.
A^1Vsi Hier.: ASAE 55 269 fig.3.
A^1Vsj OP, Bab., El., Hier.: AMI 12 341-342.
A^2Ha OP: OPG 155; Bab., El.: VAB 3 126-127.
A^2Sa OP, Bab., El.: MDP 53 88-94.
A^2Sb OP, Bab., El.: MDP 53 95.
A^2Sd OP, Bab., El.: MDP 24 126-128 and MDP 53 96-98.
A^2Sg El.: MDP 24 129 no.31.
A^3Pb OP: CII 1/1/2 119-120; Bab.: Schmitt 1999: 22; El.: ibid. 17.
A^3Sa Bab.: MDP 21 99 no.30.
CMa OP: OPG 116; Bab., El.: VAB 3 126-127.
DB OP: CII 1/1/1; Bab.: CII 1/2/1; El.: JA 281 19-60; Ar.: CII 1/5/1.
DBa OP: CII 1/1/1 77; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 49; El.: VAB 3 74-76.
DBb OP: CII 1/1/1 78; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 49; El.: VAB 3 76.
DBc OP: CII 1/1/1 78; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 49; El.: VAB 3 76.
DBe OP: CII 1/1/1 78-79; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 49-50; El.: VAB 3 76.
DBf OP: CII 1/1/1 79; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 50; El.: VAB 3 78.

DBg OP: CII 1/1/1 79; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 50; El.: VAB 3 78.
DBh OP: CII 1/1/1 79; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 50; El.: VAB 3 78.
DBi OP: CII 1/1/1 79-80; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 51; El.: VAB 3 78.
DBj OP: CII 1/1/1 80; Bab.: CII 1/2/1 51; El.: VAB 3 78.
DBk OP: CII 1/1/1 80; El.: VAB 3 78.
DE OP: OPG 147; Bab.:VAB 3 101-103; El.: VAB 3 100-102.
DH OP: OPG 147; Bab., El.: ApI 18 no.6.
DMb OP: OPG 116; Bab., El.: ApI 2 no.2.
DNa OP: CII 1/1/2 25-26; Bab.: VAB 3 87-91; El.: VAB 3 89-90.
DNb OP: CII 1/1/2 33-34; Bab., El.: Hinz 1969: 56-59.
DNc OP: CII 1/1/2 45; Bab., El.: VAB 3 96-97 and VT 22 385-398.
DNd OP: CII 1/1/2 46; Bab.; El.: VAB 3 96-97 and VT 22 385-398.
DNe OP: CII 1/1/2 47-49; Bab.: ibid. 21; El.: ibid. 16.
DPa OP: CII 1/1/2 53; Bab., El.: VAB 3 80-81.
DPb OP: CII 1/1/2 54; Bab., El.: JA 239 267-268; CII 1/1/1 Pl.11.
DPc OP: CII 1/1/2 55; Bab., El.: VAB 3 80-81.
DPe OP: CII 1/1/2 60.
DPf El.: VAB 3 82-85.
DPg Bab.: VAB 3 85-87.
DPh OP: CII 1/1/2 63; Bab., El.: ApI 18 no.6.
DPi OP: CII 1/1/2 65; Bab., El.: OIP 69 50.
DSaa Bab.: Fs Steve 277-287.
DSab OP, Bab., El.: RA 68 158-160.
DSc OP: OPG 141; Bab., El.: MDP 21 35 no.2.
DSd OP: MDP 53 54-55; El.: MDP 21 38 no.4.
DSe OP: OPG 141-142 and StIr 3 9-14, 24-25; Bab.: JAOS 54 47-50 and StIr 3 16-24; El.: JAOS 58 119-120, StIr 3 14-16 and MDP 53 56-63.
DSf OP, Bab., El.: MDP 53 64-77.
DSg OP: OPG 144; Bab., El.: MDP 21 40 no.5.
DSi OP: OPG 144; Bab., El.: MDP 21 42 no.6.
DSj OP: OPG 144-145; Bab., El.: MDP 21 44-45 no.7.
DSm OP 145, Bab., El.: MDP 21 54 no.12.
DSo OP: OPG 146; Bab.: MDP 21 59 no.14.
DSv Bab.: MDP 21 69 no.18.
DSz OP, El.: StIr 1 10-13 and MDP 53 79-82.
DZb OP: OPG 146-147, El.: VAB 3 102.
DZc OP: OPG 147; Bab., El.: VAB 3 102-105.
SDa OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 19.
SDb OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 20.
SDc OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 20-21.
SDd OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 21-22.
SDe OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 22.
SDf OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 23.
SDg OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 24.
SXd OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 26.
SXg OP, Bab., El.: SÖAW 381 32-33.
WDa OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 44-45.
WDb OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 45-47.

WDc OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 47-48.
WDd OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 48-49.
WDg OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 51-52.
WDh OP, Bab., El.: Schmitt 1999: 52-53.
XE OP: OPG 152; Bab., El.: VAB 3 116-117.
XPa OP: CII 1/1/2 67; Bab., El.: VAB 3 106-109.
XPb OP: CII 1/1/2 70-71; Bab., El.: ApI 24-25 and Pl.9.
XPc OP: CII 1/1/2 73-74; Bab.: VAB 3 111-113; El.: VAB 3 110-112.
XPd OP: CII 1/1/2 76-77; Bab., El.: VAB 3 112-115.
XPe OP: CII 1/1/2 79; Bab., El.: VAB 3 114-115.
XPf OP: CII 1/1/2 81-82; Bab.: StIr 4 22-25.
XPh OP: CII 1/1/2 88-90; Bab.: ApI 30-31; El.: WO 2 470-476.
XPj OP: CII 1/1/2 86; Bab., El.: ApI 41 no.17.
XPk OP: CII 1/1/2 98; Bab., El.: ApI 42 no.18.
XPm OP, Bab., El.: StIr 4 20.
XPp OP: CII 1/1/2 109; Bab., El.: OIP 68 Pl.182D.
XPq OP: CII 1/1/2 110; Bab., El.: OIP 68 Pl.188.
XPr OP: CII 1/1/2 111; Bab., El.: OIP 68 Pl.176A-177A and 182A.
XSa OP: OPG 152; Bab., El.: MDP 21 81 no.23.
XV OP: OPG 152-153; Bab., El.: VAB 3 116-119.
XVsa OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 118-119.
XVsb OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 118-119.
XVsc OP: OPG 157; Bab., El.: VAB 3 118-119.

3) Demotic texts

With regard to the Demotic texts published before 1982 reference is made to Lüddeckens 1982, where a good bibliography of all Demotic papyri can be found. Texts published after 1982 can either be found in the *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 18, Wiesbaden, 2000, 1-43 or a reference is offered in the lexicon itself.

4) Bibliographical abbreviations

A Phrygian Texts (cited according to D'JAKONOV & NEROZNAK 1985: 53-76).
AAH Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.
AB Assyriologische Bibliothek.
ABC A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyria and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5), Locust Valley, 1975.
Ach. Hist. Achaemenid History.
AcIr Acta Iranica.
AcOr Acta Orientalia.
AD Astronomical Diaries, published by A. SACHS & H. HUNGER, *Astronomical Diaries and related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. 1-3 (DÖAW 195, 210 and 247), Wien, 1988-1996 and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and related Texts from Babylonia*, vol. 5 (DÖAW 299), Wien, 2001.
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung.
AHw W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vol., Wiesbaden, 1965-1981.

AION Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli.
AION-L Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Sezione linguistica.
AiW Altiranisches Wörterbuch (= BARTHOLOMAE 1904).
AJAH American Journal of Ancient History.
AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AKM Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ALH Acta Linguistica Hungaricae.
AM C. WAERZEGGERS, *Het archief van Marduk-rēmanni*, 2 vol., unpub. diss., Gent, 2001.
AMI Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
AMI Erg. Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Ergänzungsband.
AnOr Analecta Orientalia.
ANSMN American Numismatical Society. Museum Notes.
AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
AÖAW Anzeiger der ÖAW. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
AoF Altorientalische Forschungen.
AOI I. EPH'AL & J. NAVEH, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century B.C. from Idumaea*, Jerusalem, 1996.
AOS American Oriental Series.
AP Aramaic Papyri (= COWLEY 1923).
ApI Altpersische Inschriften (= HERZFELD 1938).
ArOr Archiv Orientální.
ARTA Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archeology (electronic journal).
ASAE Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.
ASN Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen (= HINZ 1975).
ATNS Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra (= SEGAL 1983).
Aul.Or. Aula Orientalis.
AUWE Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka: Endberichte.
BaM Baghdader Mitteilungen.
BAR British Archaeological Reports.
BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BdE Bibliothèque d'études de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire.
BE Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
BE (Ber) Excavation numbers Berlin.
BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
BIN Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies.
BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis.
BM British Museum (museum numbers London).
BNF Beiträge zur Namenforschung.
BOR The Babylonian and Oriental Record.
BPPE Business and Politics under the Persian Empire (= ABRAHAM 2004).
BRM Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan.
BSA Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture.
BSAE British School of Archaeology in Egypt.
BSCAS Bulletin of the Southern California Academy of Sciences.

BSFE	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie.
BSLP	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
BV	F.E. PEISER, *Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums*, Berlin, 1890.
CAD	Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.
Camb.	J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon (529-521 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 8-9), Leipzig, 1890.
CBS	Collections of the Babylonian Section (museum numbers University Museum, Philadelphia).
CDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran.
CdE	Chronique d'Égypte.
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
Comm. Cyr.	*Commémoration Cyrus: actes du Congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études rédigées à l'occasion du 2500e anniversaire de la fondation de l'Empire Perse: hommage universel*, 3 vol. (AcIr 1-3), Tehran, 1974.
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum.
CTMMA	Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Cyr.	J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538-529 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 7), Leipzig, 1890.
Dar.	J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon (521-485 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 10-12), Leipzig, 1892-1897.
Dem. Nb.	E. LÜDDECKENS, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Wiesbaden, 1980-2000.
DNWSI	HOFTIJZER, J., JONGELING, K. & STEINER, R.C., *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (HdO 1/21/1-2), Leiden, 1995.
DÖAW	Denkschriften der ÖAW. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
DS	Daskyleion Seal (cf. Ach. Hist. 12).
EE	Entrepreneurs and Empire (= STOLPER 1985).
EI	Encyclopedia Iranica, London, 1982-.
ElW	Elamisches Wörterbuch (= HINZ & KOCH 1987).
EPHE	École Pratique des Hautes Études.
Erm.	Ermitage (museum numbers St.-Petersburg).
ESE	M. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 3 vol., Giessen, 1902-1915.
EWA	Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen (= MAYRHOFER 1956-1980).
EWAi	M. MAYRHOFER, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (Indogermanische Bibliothek. II. Reihe: Wörterbücher), Heidelberg, 1992-2001.
FLP	Free Library of Philadelphia (museum numbers).

Fort.	Unpublished Elamite Fortification Tablets (signature).
Fs Benveniste	Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Benveniste (Société de Linguistique de Paris. Collection linguistique 70), Leuven, 1975.
Fs D'jakonov	M.A. DANDAMAYEV (ed.), *Societies and languages of the Ancient Near East: studies in honour of I.M. D'jakonov*, Warminster, 1982.
Fs Lipiński	K. VAN LERBERGHE & A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East. Festschrift E. Lipiński* (OLA 65), Leuven, 1995.
Fs Palmer	A. M. DAVIES & W. MEID (eds.), *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics offered to Leonard R. Palmer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday June 5*, 1976 (IBS 16), Innsbruck, 1976.
Fs Perrot	*Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran: mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot*, Paris, 1990.
Fs Smith	A. LEAHY & J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, London, 1999.
Fs Steve	L. DE MEYER, H. GASCHE & F. VALLAT (eds.), *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: mélanges offerts à M.-J. Steve*, Paris, 1986.
FuB	Forschungen und Berichte (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
FX	A. DUPONT-SOMMER, "L'inscription araméenne", in: *Fouilles de Xanthos VI: la stèle trilingue du Letôon*, Paris, 1979, 129-178.
G	Lydian Texts (cited according to GUSMANI 1964: 249-270 and 1986: 147-159).
GCCI	Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Giessen	K. HECKER, *Die Keilschrifttexte aus der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen* (Berichte und Arbeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Giessen 9), Giessen, 1966.
GiPh	Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.
GM	Göttinger Miszellen.
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen.
Gs de Menasce	Ph. GIGNOUX & A. TAFAZZOLI (eds.), *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Fondation culturelle iranienne 185), Leuven, 1974.
Gs Henning	M. BOYCE & I. GERSHEVITCH (eds.), *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume* (Asia Major Library 1), London, 1970.
HdA	Handbuch des Altpersischen (= BRANDENSTEIN & MAYRHOFER 1964).
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik.
HSM	Harvard Semitic Museum (museum numbers Harvard University).
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual.
IBK	Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft.
IBS	Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen.
IFA	Indogermanische Forschungen. Anzeiger.
IIGK	Исгория иранского государства и культуры к 2500-летию иранского государства, Moskva, 1971.
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal.

IMT	Istanbul Murašû Texts (= DONBAZ & STOLPER 1997).
IN	Iranisches Namenbuch (= JUSTI 1895).
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies.
IPNB	Iranisches Personennamenbuch.
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
JANES	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of the Columbia University.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch genootschap Ex Oriente Lux.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JNSL	Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies.
KAI	Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften (= DONNER & RÖLLIG 1966 and 1968).
Kiš	Excavations at Kiš, Paris, 1924-1930.
KZ	Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (since 1988: Historische Sprachforschung).
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, 1975-1990.
LBAT	T.G. PINCHES, A.J. SACHS, J. SCHAUMBERGER & J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Brown University Studies 18), Providence, 1955.
LingAeg	Lingua Aegyptia.
Liverpool	J.N. STRASSMAIER, "Die babylonischen Inschriften im Museum zu Liverpool, nebst andern aus der Zeit Nebukadnezzar bis Darius", in: *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1883 à Leide. Deuxième Partie. Section 1: Sémitique*, Leiden, 1885, 569-624.
LO	J. MACGINNIS, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the administration of the Ebabbara in the Late Babylonian Period*, Poznan, 1995.
MDP	Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse. Mémoires de la délégation en Perse / Mémoires de la délégation archéologique en Iran.
Mich	MOORE 1939.
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.
MSLP	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.
MUS	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph Beyrouth.
N.A.B.U.	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires.
NBC	Nies Babylonian Collection (museum numbers Yale University).
Nbk.	J.N. STRASSMAIER, *Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon (604-561 v. Chr.)* (Babylonische Texte 5-6), Leipzig, 1889.
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle.

NCT	N.W. FORDE, *Nebraska Cuneiform Texts of the Sumerian Ur III Dynasty*, Lawrence, 1967.
NESE	Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.
NW	Neue Wege im Altpersischen (= Hinz 1973).
ÖAW	Österreichiche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.
OGWA	The other gods who are (= HENKELMAN 2006)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
OMRO	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.
OnP	Onomastica Persepolitana (= MAYRHOFER 1973).
OPG	Old Persian: Grammar (= KENT 1953).
Or.	Orientalia.
P. Berl.	Papyrus Berlin.
P. Bibl. Nat.	Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale.
P. BM	Papyrus British Museum.
P. Cairo CG	Papyrus Caïre, Catalogue Général.
P. Dem. Lille	Papyrus démotiques Lille.
P. Dem. Saq.	Saqqâra Demotic Papyri I (= SMITH & TAIT 1983).
P. Loeb	Payrus Loeb.
P. Louvre	Papyrus Louvre.
P. Mainz	Papyrus Mainz.
P. Mich.	Papyrus Michigan.
P. Ryl.	Papyrus Rylands.
P. Sam.	Papyrus Samaria (Aramaic).
P. Sorbonne	Papyrus Sorbonne.
P. Strassburg	Papyrus Strassburg.
P. Turin	Papyrus Turin.
P. Wien	Papyrus Wien.
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section (University of Pennsylvania: the Museum).
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarter.
Pers	Aramaic texts from Persepolis (= BOWMAN 1970).
PF	Persepolis Fortification (Elamite texts, published by HALLOCK 1969).
PFa	Persepolis Fortification a (Elamite texts, published by HALLOCK 1978).
PFNN	Persepolis Fortification NN. Unpublished Elamite texts, numbered and transliterated by HALLOCK.
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seals.
PFT	Persepolis Fortification Texts (= HALLOCK 1969).
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais à Stamboul.
PNA	Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.

PT	Persepolis Treasury (Elamite texts, published by CAMERON 1948, 1958 and 1965).
PT Teh.	Persepolis Treasury Tehran (signature Tehran).
PTS	Persepolis Treasury Seals.
PTT	Persepolis Treasury Texts (= CAMERON 1948).
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RdE	Revue d'Égyptologie.
REA	Revue des études anciennes.
REarm	Revue des Études arméniennes.
RÉS	Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique.
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, Berlin – New York, 1928-.
RN	Revue Numismatique.
RO	Rocznik orientalistyczny.
ROMCT	Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts.
RSM	Royal Scottish Museum. Information Series. Art & Archaeology.
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
RT	Recueil de travaux rélatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
RV	Rigveda.
Sach	Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka (= SACHAU 1911).
SCT	C.H. GORDON, *Smith College Tablets: 110 cuneiform texts selected from the College collection* (Smith College Studies in history 38), Northampton, 1952.
SED	M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary: etymologically and philologically arranged with special reference to cognate Indo-European languages*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1899.
SEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico.
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW. Phil.-hist. Klasse.
StIr	Studia Iranica.
Strassmaier 8e Congrès	J.N. STRASSMAIER, "Einige kleinere babylonische Keilschrifttexte aus dem Britischen Museum", in: *Actes du 8e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu à Stockholm et à Christiana.* Volume 2, Leiden, 1893, 281-283 and Pls.1-35.
TAD A	B. PORTEN & A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volume 1: Letters*, Jerusalem, 1986.
TAD B	B. PORTEN & A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volume 2: Contracts*, Jerusalem, 1989.
TAD C	B. PORTEN & A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volume 3: Literature, Accounts, Lists*, Jerusalem, 1993.
TAD D	B. PORTEN & A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt. Volume 4: Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions*, Jerusalem, 1999.
TAPhS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.
TBER	J.M. DURAND, *Textes babyloniens d'époque récente* (Recherche sur les grandes civilisations 6), Paris, 1981.

TCL	Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre.
TIEI	Travaux de l'institut d'études iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle.
TL	Lycian Texts (cited according to E. KALINKA, *Tituli Asiae Minoris. Volumen I: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Wien, 1901.
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society.
TuM	Texte und Materialen der Frau Professor Hilprecht collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena.
UCP	University of California Publications.
UET	Ur Excavation Texts.
UF	Ugaritforschungen.
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung (museum numbers Berlin).
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii.
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin.
VT	Vetus Testamentum.
WDSP	Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri (= GROPP 2001).
WO	Die Welt des Orients.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Xer.	"Appendix", in: B.T.A. EVETTS, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach (B.C. 538-529), Neriglissar (B.C. 559-555) and Laborosoarchod (B.C. 555)* (Babylonische Texte 6B), Leipzig, 1892, 90-94.
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection (museum numbers Yale University).
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Studies.
YOS	Yale Oriental Series.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.
zAiW	Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch (= BARTHOLOMAE 1906).
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.

5) Other abbreviations

Abl.	ablative	Part.	participle
Dan.	Daniel	Pass.	passive
Fem.	feminine	Pers.	personal
Gen.-dat.	genitive-dative	Pl.	plural
GN	Geographical name	PN	personal name
Instr.	instrumental	Pron.	pronoun
Loc.	locative	Sg.	singular
Masc.	masculine		

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INTRODUCTION

On 12 October 539 the Ancient Near East witnessed the disappearance of the last real Mesopotamian state. On that day Babylon, the capital of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, was conquered by Persian armies. The fall of Babylon meant the end of this Neo-Babylonian Empire and of its last king Nabonidus.

The conqueror of Babylon was a man named Cyrus, the king of a small state in what is now Western Iran. Before defeating the Babylonians he had already added the Lydian kingdom of Croesus to his state and he also took control over the East Iranian regions. Nowadays Cyrus is considered the founder of the Achaemenid Empire.

Eventually the Achaemenid Empire controlled the entire Near East (for the first time in world history) through the annexation of Egypt by Cambyses (529-522) and that of Thrace, Macedonia and parts of India by Darius I (521-486). The latter also tried to subdue the Greeks (in the so-called Persian Wars) but neither he nor his son Xerxes (486-465) was able to accomplish this aim. The Persian Wars stopped the northwestern expansion of the Achaemenid Empire, but are even more important because they intensified the contacts between Greeks and Persians.

The Achaemenid Empire lasted for more than two centuries, a long period of peace in the Ancient Near East. Its greatest power must be situated in the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes. Its end came with the military actions of Alexander the Great, who succeeded in conquering it during the thirties of the fourth century. The battle of Gaugamela, where Alexander defeated the Achaemenid king Darius III (336-331), marked the end of the Achaemenid Empire as a territorial state ruled by the Achaemenid dynasty. In January 330 B.C. Alexander conquered Persepolis, one of the most important cities of the Achaemenid Empire.

It goes without saying that the management of such a vast territory required a well-organized government and administration. A governing principle of the Achaemenid kings was not to interfere too heavily with the (private) life of the subject people. As a consequence of this attitude the annexation of a multitude of kingdoms in the Near East was not a break with the past. The Achaemenids kept the same officials and governmental practices as the kings they defeated and did not impose abrupt changes in the socio-economic organisation of the lands they had

conquered. Their main concern was the collection of taxes. Nevertheless the fact that one ethnic group (Iranians) controlled the entire area now generally described as the "Ancient Near East" inevitably had its consequences, not only on the administrative and socio-economic but also on the linguistic field.

Within this context of an Iranian dynasty governing the entire Near East the infiltration of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords into texts recorded in a non-Iranian language must be situated. Already during the reigns of the first Achaemenid kings officials with Iranian names appear in texts written in various languages and originating from various areas. An example of such an official is Gaubarva, who was the satrap of Babylonia and Syro-Palestine during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses and who frequently appears in Babylonian administrative texts of that time. Gradually more and more people with Iranian names appear in all kinds of functions in all kinds of texts, which originate from the entire territory of the Achaemenid Empire, from Egypt to Bactria.

Not surprisingly most of these persons belong to the higher echelons of society, but it should be noted that Iranian names were borne by members of all social classes. Even slaves could have Iranian names.

The texts also contain more than 250 geographical names with an Old Iranian origin. The places indicated by these names are especially situated in Elam and Persia proper. As a result of this the Elamite texts contain most of the Iranian geographical names. The Babylonian and Aramaic texts only contain a few Iranian toponyms.

The third category of Iranica are loanwords. Mostly these loans belong to the administrative, juridical or socio-economic fields and they are probably expressions belonging to the Achaemenid administrative language. Among these loans are a lot of appellatives, but next to these there are also metrological indications, food products, names of plants, etc. Remarkably there are very few verbal forms.

The Iranica included in this book are not the oldest Iranica attested in non-Iranian texts. When the Neo-Assyrian kings tried to gain control over the Western Zagros they inevitably came into contact with Iranian-speaking tribes living in that region. Names of persons and places accordingly appear in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (9th-7th centuries B.C.). Other Iranica are attested in the Neo-Elamite texts, dated to the first half of the sixth century B.C. A few Iranica occur in Neo-Babylonian texts (626-539 B.C.)[1].

[1] More information on the Neo-Assyrian Iranica can be found in Grantovskij (1970) and Zadok (2002e). The Neo-Elamite Iranica are discussed in Tavernier (forth. b), while Dandamayev (1992) also has included the Neo-Babylonian Iranica in his study of the Achaemenid Babylonian Iranica.

Goals and Methodology

The research conducted in my doctoral dissertation consists of two major parts. The first part of this research is presented in this volume: a lexicon of the Old Iranian names of deities, personal names, place names, names of rivers and mountains and loanwords that are attested in non-Iranian texts dated to the Achaemenid period. This lexicon contains the source material for the second part, a linguistic study of these Iranica. In this study the importance of the Iranica for the knowledge of Old Iranian, as well as the information provided by these Iranica for the languages in which they are attested, are looked at.

Accordingly the present volume makes up the first methodological step in this process: to establish a corpus of all Old Iranian proper names and words attested in texts recorded in a non-Iranian language. Old Iranian is the source language, whereas Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian, Elamite, Lycian, Lydian and Phrygian are the target languages. The lexicon is divided into five categories:

1) Directly attested Iranica: proper names and loanwords attested in the non-Persian, i.e. Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian or Elamite versions of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions. As the Old Iranian original name or word is known through the Old Persian version of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions it is easy to compare this original and its reflections in other languages.
2) Semi-directly attested Iranica: this category is closely connected with the previous category and contains two types of Iranica:
   (a) Names and words from category one appearing in texts different from the non-Persian versions of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions (e.g. Babylonian and Elamite documentary texts) and thus lacking an Old Iranian original. The Achaemenid royal names, occurring on many documentary texts, written in one of the target languages, are a good example of this category. Accordingly it is possible that the same name or word belongs to both category one and two.
   (b) Proper names and loanwords whose Iranian original is attested in the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions, but that show slight differences with that original. Such a difference might be a dialectal one (e.g. OP Ạrtavardiya- [category 1] vs. Med. *Ạrtavarziya- [category 2]), but also contracted or monophthongized equivalents of forms belonging to

category one are included here (e.g. **yanē* [category 1] vs. OP *yanaiy* [category 2]). It must be noted that the differences belong to the underlying Iranian linguistic level.

The semi-directly transmitted Iranica, together with the directly transmitted Iranica, make up the key to the transpositional systems between the source language on the one hand and the target languages on the other hand.

3) Non-Iranian proper names and loanwords in Old Persian: this category is the smallest one and consists of non-Iranian expressions concerning which there is no doubt that they entered the target language (e.g. Elamite) through Old Persian. Unfortunately it is not very easy to determine whether a proper name or a word entered the target language through Old Persian or not. A helpful criterion is the occurrence of the name or the word in native (e.g. Babylonian) pre-Achaemenid texts.
4) Indirectly attested Iranica (= *Nebenüberlieferung*[2]): proper names and loanwords that are reconstructed on the basis of their reflections in the target languages, in other words all Iranica which do not comply with at least one of the conditions of the first three categories. The main target languages are Aramaic, Babylonian, Elamite and Greek (which is not included in this study). Egyptian and some languages from Asia Minor too provide us with various Iranica.
5) Incerta: this is a collection of different subcategories that have one common aspect: because of the veil of uncertainty surrounding the expressions of this category none of them can be included in the linguistic study of Iranian elements attested in non-Iranian texts. Consequently the names and words listed in this category do not belong to one of the previous four categories. The subcategories are:
   a) fragmentary names and words: Iranian expressions whose transcription is not fully preserved. Consequently the Iranian original cannot be fully reconstructed. Only those fragmentary forms are included which are certainly Iranian.
   b) hybrids: names and words belonging partly to the Iranian language and partly to a non-Iranian language.
   c) problematic names and words: expressions which are certainly Iranian, but which lack any etymology or meaning or are too ambiguous.
   d) dubia: expressions concerning which there is no certainty as to their Iranian character.
   e) pseudo-Iranica: as indicated by the name, pseudo-Iranica are words or proper names that were once believed to be Iranian but that later turned out to belong to a non-Iranian language.

[2] This untranslatable German expression was used for the first time by Hinz (1973: 39). English equivalents could be "indirect transmission" or "side-tradition".

Every category is divided into four parts: (a) names of deities, (b) personal names, (c) geographical names (i.e. toponyms, oronyms, hydronyms) and (d) loanwords. The latter are divided into various groups based on semantic or morphological criteria. This only happens in the categories 1-4 since the loanwords of category 5 are not well known and can therefore not be divided into semantic or morphological categories.

The lexicon is followed by a list of the various Iranian components that are used to form the compounds studied in this lexicon. This alphabetical list contains not only the Old Iranian expressions with their meanings, but also some equivalents, if existing, from other Indo-Iranian languages, such as Avestan, Middle Persian, Old Indian, Parthian, Sogdian, etc. Suffixes and prefixes are brought together in a separate list.

Following these lists are tables connecting the Iranian components and the proper names they are attested in. Some indexes (personal names, geographical names, loan words, text citations) make up the end of the study. All this should help to make this volume a useful working tool for researchers.

It is worthwhile emphasizing that the lexicon has no prosopographical intentions at all. It collects only personal names, without attempting to distinguish or identify individuals. One name may be borne by two or more persons; one person may have had two or more names (e.g. an original name and a hypocoristic). Equivalent, e.g. Median and Persian, forms of a particular name are treated as separate names. Only in a few cases prosopography is used when it may help to find the correct Iranian form of a particular name.

Chronological delineation

This lexicon encompasses Iranian proper names and loanwords, which are attested in texts dating from the Achaemenid period (ca. 550-330). Yet the facts that linguistic developments cannot be precisely and absolutely dated and that the end of the Achaemenid Empire was not an abrupt transitional event in the history of the Ancient Near East make it difficult to

use a precise chronological border. Therefore the lexicon will also contain some Iranian names and words, which are attested in texts dated not long after the fall of this empire. Old Iranian expressions occurring in texts dated before the Achaemenid period (e.g. Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Elamite texts) are not included in the lexicon.

Linguistic delineation

The expression Old Iranian, indicating the source language, actually refers to several contemporary languages or dialects, the best known of which are Old Persian and Avestan. Apart from these two languages various dialects are indirectly attested. The existence of these dialects is based on philological phenomena, which separate these dialects from Old Persian or Avestan. Unfortunately it is extremely difficult to determine the dialects to which the various phenomena belong. Expressions such as Median or Arachosian are conventional. Some dialects are named after a philological phenomenon, e.g. the *l*-dialect, the distinctive feature of which is the appearance of /l/, a phoneme not attested in Old Persian or Avestan.

The target languages, discussed here, are Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian, Elamite, Lycian, Lydian and Phrygian, the languages best attested in contemporary written sources. Reference is also sometimes made to loanwords and proper nouns found in Greek and Old Indian texts.

Sources

The sources for studying Old Iranian linguistic elements in the target languages mentioned above are diverse. Actually one could consider almost all written documents from that period as source, as long as they are written in one of the target languages.

The first category is the corpus of Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions, the most famous of which is undoubtedly the Bīsotūn Inscription. The inscriptions are mostly recorded in three languages: Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite. Certainly Aramaic versions of some inscriptions did exist, but Aramaic fragments of only two inscriptions are preserved. The Aramaic version of Bīsotūn is written on a papyrus from Elephantine and also contains the last paragraph of one of Darius' tomb inscriptions at Naqš-i Ruštam (DNb). Finally there are some inscriptions recorded in

Egyptian hieroglyphics. The latter can be divided into two groups: Egyptian versions of Old Persian or trilingual inscriptions (e.g. inscriptions on stone vessels) and monolingual Egyptian inscriptions from Achaemenid kings (e.g. the Darius inscriptions at the Kharga oasis temple or the inscriptions on the base of the statue of Darius found at Susa).

Documentary texts make up the second category: administrative and legal texts (e.g. ration lists, contracts, settlements of litigation, etc.). Many such texts have been discovered in the territory of the Achaemenid Empire and contain, next to valuable historical information, many Iranian proper names and loanwords.

Further there are other categories of inscriptions (decrees, funeral inscriptions, inscriptions on coins, seals, etc.) with Old Iranian proper names and loanwords. An example is the Xanthos Stela, a trilingual (Lycian, Aramaic, Greek) inscription from Lycia.

As Aramaic became very popular among the Achaemenid administration as an administrative language, Aramaic texts have been found in the complete territory, which was controlled by the Achaemenid dynasty. Among these texts are inscriptions from Asia Minor, mortars and pestles and administrative tablets from Persepolis, Aramaic papyri from Egypt and Syro-Palestine, Aramaic indorsements on Babylonian tablets and administrative texts from Bactria. Especially the texts from Egypt and Persepolis have revealed many Iranica.

Babylonia has yielded many texts, written on clay tablets, with Old Iranian names and words. Logically most of these texts come from Babylonia, but some have been found in Elam and Persepolis. Most of the Babylonian Iranica are found in texts belonging to the so-called Murašû Archive, a family archive from Nippur (second half of the fifth century B.C.).

Elamite documentary sources mainly consist of thousands of administrative texts from Persepolis, which can all be dated to the first half of the Achaemenid period (509-458 B.C.). Elamite has by far the most attestations of Iranian names and words.

Isolated Elamite texts have been unearthed at Chogha Mish, Susa (e.g. MDP 11 308 and MDP 28 468) and Kandahar (Jones & Stolper 1986: 248; Garrison 1996: 16-20; Helms 1997: 101), showing that there must have been more archives than the Persepolitan ones (Jones & Stolper, l.c.; Garrison 1996: 17).

Few hieroglyphic texts from the Achaemenid period are preserved and next to the royal names only a few anthroponyms of officials and their

family occur in them. The demotic texts contain more Iranian names and also four loanwords. The few Iranian names attested in Lycian, Lydian and Phrygian are represented in various inscriptions, with Lycian having the most Iranica.

Research History

The first person who to some extent studied Old Persian names was Herodotus, who, however, turns out to be a weak linguist in that matter. According to him (VI 98) Dārayavauš means "Doer" or "Restrainer" (Gk. *ἐρξείης*), Xšayaršā means "Warrior" (Gk. *ἀρήιος*) and Aṛtaxšaça- means "Great warrior" (Gk. *μέγας ἀρήιος*).

As soon as the Babylonian and Elamite versions of the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions became known to scholarship (first half of the 19th century), scholars such as Rawlinson, Norris and Oppert recognized the Babylonian and Elamite equivalents of Old Persian names and words and sometimes used them to decipher and/or restore difficult Old Persian proper names. A good example of this is Činčaxriš, the correct reading of which has been established by means of its Babylonian and Elamite equivalents. Since then many studies have been published on the proper names and loanwords which are attested in the Achaemenid Royal Inscriptions. Not surprisingly the royal names too were studied intensively (e.g. Eilers 1964, Schmitt 1979 and 1990c, Vittmann 1990, Cruz-Uribe 1992-93, etc.).

The same process took place with regard to the Old Iranian *Nebenüberlieferung*. From the discovery of inscriptions in various languages, Aramaic papyri and the Babylonian and Elamite cuneiform tablets onwards (19th century), various scholars started to study these texts and found several expressions which did not belong to the language in which the document was recorded. The Aramaic papyri from Egypt, for instance, contain a lot of non-Aramaic anthroponyms. Some of them are Egyptian, others are Iranian and again others belong to another language. The same may be said of the Babylonian and Elamite tablets.

As a result of this the Old Iranian proper names and loanwords have been the object of many studies. These can be divided into two categories: text editions and other studies. Text editions usually add comments to their texts and in such comments Old Iranian elements are sometimes discussed. The second category contains the studies that are completely devoted to the Old Iranian proper names and loanwords which

are attested in non-Iranian texts. In this regard it is conspicuous that these studies in nearly all cases deal with only one target language.

1) Aramaic — Iranian: Scheftelowitz 1902, Schaeder 1930, Benveniste 1934 and 1954, Eilers 1954-56, Kornfeld 1978.
2) Babylonian — Iranian: Eilers 1936 and 1940, various publications by Zadok, Dandamayev 1992.
3) Egyptian — Iranian: Huyse 1992; Vittmann 2004.
4) Elamite — Iranian: Benveniste 1958 and 1966; Gershevitch 1969, 1969b and 1970, various publications by Schmitt, Hinz 1970 and 1971, Mayrhofer 1973.

Exceptional is the work of the German scholar W. Hinz, who published in 1973 a book in which he brought together both Aramaic and Elamite Iranica (Hinz 1973). Two years later his opus magnum on the *Nebenüberlieferung* was published. In this book Hinz intends to collect and analyze all Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, no matter what language they are found in. Both studies are extremely important but their scope and the great amount of material found in them unfortunately leaves space for inaccuracies. Some of the names or persons are treated as separate names or persons, but actually they are precisely the same. Despite these remarks Hinz's book is a landmark in the history of the research on the Old Iranian *Nebenüberlieferung*.

Since Hinz's publications no similarly comprehensive study has been published. Yet many new texts have emerged and consequently many new proper names and loanwords were added to the corpus.

How to use this book

Complete citations are given for each entry, except for words and names that are attested very often, e.g. the Babylonian versions of the Achaemenid royal names or the Elamite versions of the Old Persian month names. It should be noted that the PFNN citations are drawn from copies of Hallock's working transliterations and not from the original documents. The abbreviations used in text citations can be found in the list of abbreviations.

Additionally not all particular places where a name or a word is damaged are indicated in the lexicon. A particular character is indicated when it is unreadable and nearly completely destroyed. Partially damaged

characters are only indicated when they occur in the same expression with wholly destroyed or missing characters.

The Iranian transcriptions are based on the transliterations of the Old Persian script, for this is the only contemporary Old Iranian script. One exception: in category four (indirectly attested Iranica) -*ṛ*- is preferred to -*ar*-, the usual transcription of OP [ṛ].

One entry sometimes has more than one form. This happens when both the original form and the contracted or monophthongized form of a particular name or word are attested and when these forms belong to the same category. The reason for this is that contractions and monophthongizations belong to the same linguistic level (they are situated within e.g. Old Persian).

All personal names belong to male individuals, unless otherwise indicated, and are presented in their masculine shape.

1. DIRECTLY TRANSMITTED IRANICA

1.1 NAMES OF DEITIES

1.1.1 Anāhitā- (A-n-h-(i-)t[3]; fem.): An-āhitā-, "who is not defiled" (OPG 167; Boyce 1987b: 1006), MP Anāhīd, NP Nāhīd.
- Babylonian:
  1) A-na-aḫ-i-tu-[']: A^{2}Sa 5-6.
  2) A-na-[']-ti[4]: A^{2}Sd 4.
- Elamite: An-na-hi-ud-da: A^{2}Sa 5.

1.1.2 Auramazdā- (OPs; A-u-r-m-z-d-a): Aura-mazdā-, "lord wisdom" or "wise lord" (HdA 108; NW 121; Boyce 1987: 684; Schmitt, pers. comm. 13/11/2003). Cf. 2.1.1-2.
- Babylonian:
  1) Ú-ra-ma-az-da: DB passim in the lines 67-108; DSaa 4.
  2) Ú-ra-mi-iz-da: DB passim in the lines 46-65.
  3) Ú-ri-mi-iz-da: DB passim in the lines 10-39.
  4) Ú-ri-mi-iz-da-[']: DB passim in the lines 4-10.
  5) Ú-ru-ma-az-da: DPg 1,13.
- Elamite:
  1) U-mar-maš-da: A^{2}Sa 4-5. Inaccurate spelling.
  2) U-ra-maš-da: DB passim; DE 2; DH 6,7; DNa 26,40-41,44,45; DNb 1; DPf 19-20; DPh 6,7; DSab 1,3; DSd 3; DSi 6; DSj 3,4; XE 1; XPc(a/b) 1; XPd(a/b) 1; XPh passim; XSa 1; XV 1.

1.1.3 Mitra- (Mi-i-t-r): synonym of Miθra-, "treaty" (HdA 13). Cf. 2.1.4 and 2.2.43-44.
- Babylonian: Mi-it-ri: A^{2}Ha 4; A^{2}Sd 4.

1.1.4 Miθra- (Mi-i-t/θ-r): Miθra- (OPG 203; also Mayrhofer 1978). Cf. 2.1.4 and 2.2.43-44.
- Babylonian: Mi-it-ri: A^{2}Sa 6.

[3] This spelling — dating from the reign of Artaxerxes II (405/404-359/358) — is not accurate, because it does not denote vowel length. The correct Old Persian spelling should be A-n-a-h-i-t-a.

[4] This spelling cannot refer to a contracted form *Anāitā-, as the Middle and New Persian expressions of this name retain /h/. Either /h/ is replaced here by /'/ or the Babylonian writing is inaccurate.

1.2. Personal names

1.2.1 Āçina- (A-ç-i-n-): Āç-ina-, adjectival form (ending in *-ina-*) of *āç-*, "fire" (from *āṭṛ-/āθṛ-*; Humbach 1981: 89)[5]. Cf. 2.2.1 and 2.2.8.

Since this person is described as "an Elamite" (OP *Ūvjiya-*) some scholars have doubts on the Iranian character of his name (Foy 1904: 498n.2; Weissbach 1911: 23; OPG 166). Justi (IN 50) believes that it is an abbreviated form of *Āṭṛdāta-. Schmitt (apud OnP 11.1.8.3.3) and Mayrhofer (1979: II/11) plead for an *-ina-*extension of *āç-*, "fire".

– Babylonian: A-ši-na: DBc 1.
– Elamite:
  1) Ha-iš-ši-na: DB i 57,59,64.
  2) Ha-ši-na: DB iii 50 ([Ha]-ši-na), DBc 1.

1.2.2 Ardumaniš (A-r-du-u-ʳm¹-n-i-š): Ardu-mani-š. Its etymology is not known with certainty.

Various proposals are based on two different readings of the Old Persian name: A-r-du-u-ʳm¹-n-i-š and A-r-[di-i-m]-n-[i-š]. The former one (for the first time implied by Rawlinson 1850: xi, xvii) was for a long time the standard reading until Schmitt (1971: 1-8; also Mayrhofer 1979: II/12) argued that one should read A-r-di-i-° (because of the Babylonian reading Ar-di-°) and supported the etymology of Nyberg (1937: 352 and 476nn.1-2; also König 1938b: passim; Rossler 1938: 57; Henning, apud Gershevitch 1954b: 22), according to whom Ardimaniš was composed of *ardi-*, "faithful" (cf. Av. *arəδra-*) and *mani-*, "mind, thought". The name then means "loyally minded".

Humbach (1981: 89-90; also Schmeja 1986: 215 and 218n.24) accepts a spelling A-r-di-i-m-n-i-š and reads Ṛdimaniš. He connects *ṛdi-* with OInd. *ṛji-*, "fast, swift" and translates "having a swift mind". This is, however, an incorrect proposal since in that case the Babylonian version would be Ar-zi-ma-ni-iš (Median) instead of Ar-di-ma-ni-iš (Schmitt 1990: 55n.45).

Eventually the reading Ardimaniš has proven to be wrong (Schmitt 1990: 55-56), the correct spelling being A-r-du-u-ʳm¹-n-i-š. Some scholars (AiW 194; Müller 1895: 287; Bartholomae 1895-1901: 168 and 1898: 266; Foy 1899: 13 and 24; Meillet & Benveniste 1931: 78; OPG 171; Asmussen 1960: 143; HdA 94) have seen in this spelling the OP form of Median *Ṛzu-mana-, "upright minded" (OInd. *ṛju-*, Av. *ərəzu-*). Again, however, the Bab. spelling would begin with Ar-zi-[6].

Other proposals are Ardumaniš, "having a venerable mind" (Spiegel 1882: 224), "having a mild mind" (IN 21), "striving for splendour" (Hoffmann-Kutschke 1908: 64) and Ardumaňiša- (Sen 1941: 78 and 188). None of these proposals was ever taken seriously.

– Babylonian: Ar-di-ma-ni-iš: DB 111.

1.2.3 Aršāma- (A-r-š-a-m-): Arša-ama-, "having a hero's strength" (Stonecipher 1918: 22; OPG 171; HdA 106; Schmitt 1967: 120, 1978: 24-25 and 2006: 79-80; ASN 206; Mayrhofer 1979: II/12), Gk. Ἀρσάμης. Cf. 2.2.2.

Spiegel (1881: 208) connects the name with Av. *ərəš-*, "true". Bartholomae (AiW 204) believes in *Ṛšāma-, "having the strength of a bear", with reference to OInd. *ṛkṣa-* and Av. *aršan-*.

– Babylonian:
  1) Ar-šá-am: XPf 13.
  2) Ar-šá-am-ma: DSm.
  3) Ar-šá-am-ma-ʾ: DB 2.
  4) Ar-šam: A³Sa 4.
  5) Ar-šam-mu: A³Sa 4.
– Elamite:
  1) Ir-šá-ma: DB i 2; DSf 12.
  2) Ir-šá-um-ma: DB i 3; DBa 4.

1.2.4 Aṛtavardiya- (A-r-t-v-r-di-i-y-): Aṛta-vard-iya-, *-iya*-extension of Aṛtavarda-, "doer of justice, truth" (OPG 171; ASN 217; Mayrhofer 1979: II/13). Cf. 2.2.3-4.

Mayrhofer also mentions a less probable alternative: *-vard-* could be connected with Av. *varəz-*, "dwelling", as a consequence of which Aṛtavardiya- would mean "dwelling of truth".

– Elamite: Ir-du-mar-ti-ia: DB iii 14.

1.2.5 Aṛtaxšaça- (OP; A-r-t-x-š-ç-): Aṛta-, "truth, justice, right order" and *xšaça-*, "power, empire", Gk. Ἀρταξέσσης and Ἀρτασέσσης. Cf. 2.2.5.

The precise meaning of this name is not yet clear, since all possible syntactical relations between both parts have been proposed (Mayrhofer 1979: II/13): (1) "who gives power to Truth" (AiW 192), (2) "having a kingdom of justice" (OPG 171; Bollée 1975: 453-454), (3) "being ruled by Arta" (HdA 106), (4) "whose reign is through Arta" (Thieme 1971: 297; Schmitt 1987c: 654) and (5) "whose reign is in accordance with Arta" (Werba 1979: 22-23). Meyer (1892: 195; also How & Wells 1912: 105) translates "he whose kingdom/rule is perfect".

– Babylonian:
  1) Ar-ta-ʾ-ḫa-šá-is-su: A¹Vsa; A¹Vsj.
  2) Ar-ta-ak-šá-as-su: A¹Pb 1,9; A¹Vsb; A¹Vsc; A¹Vsd; A¹Vsf.
  3) Ar-tak-šat-su: A²Sa 1,2.
  4) Ár-tak-šat-su: A²Ha 1,2; A²Sd 1.
  5) Aš-ta-ak-šá-as-su: StIr 30 196.
– Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-ik-šá-iš-šá: A¹Vsa; A¹Vsj.

[5] *Āç-* is, because of /ç/, a typical Old Persian form (Median *āθṛ-*). Avesta has both *āṭṛ-* and *āθṛ-*, but the former is much more frequent than the latter. Scholars offer different explanations for the existence of both forms: either **āṭṛ-* developed in Old Persian to *āç-* when the second part of a compound containing this word started with a vowel or /y/ (NW 68-69), or it is Indo-Iranian **āṭṛ-* which occurs in Avestan and out of which Median *āθṛ-* evolved (Humbach 1981: 89). This easily explains the existence of *āç-* in Old Persian. According to Schmitt (1982b) *āθṛ-* is the zero grade of *āṭṛ-*.

[6] Schmitt (1990: 56 and n.46) wonders if the sign DI is certain and mentions the possibility of a sign DU or ZU, which would of course correspond with the etymology of Nyberg. Yet this is fully speculative.

2) Ir-tà-ik-šá-áš-šá: A^2Sb; A^2Sd; A^2Sg.
3) Ir-tà-ik-šá-iš-šá: A^1Vsb; A^1Vsc; A^1Vsd; A^1Vsf.

– Hieroglyphic: 𐎹-rw-t̲-ḫ𐎹-š-s-š𐎹: A^1Vsa-f; A^1Vsj.

1.2.6 Aryāramna- (A-r-i-y-a-r-m-n-): Aryā-ramna-, "who creates peace for the Aryans" (Werba 1979: 20-21; Mayrhofer 1979: II/12; Schmitt 2006: 74-75)[7]. Cf. 2.2.6 and 2.3.5.
– Babylonian: Ar-ia-ra-am-na-ʾ: DB 2.
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-ra-um-na: DB i 4; DBa 4-5.

1.2.7 Aspačanā (A-s-p-č-n-a-): nom. sg. of Aspa-čanah-, "delighting in horses" (OPG 173; HdA 107; NW 126; Mayrhofer 1979: II/15; Shahbazi 1987: 786). Cf. 2.2.7.
– Babylonian: As-pa-ši-ni: DNd 1.
– Elamite: Áš-ba-za-na: DNd 1.

1.2.8 Bagābigna- (B-g-a-b-i-g-n-): Baga-abigna-, "having the attacking power of Baga (or: God)" (Humbach 1981: 90). Cf. 2.2.10.
Henning (1937: 76) makes a link between *-bigna-* and Sogd. *prbγn*, "gift", while Sims-Williams (1985: 207) pleads for a connection with Sogd. *bγn*, "altar, temple".
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-bi-ig-na-ʾ: DB 111.
– Elamite: Ba-ka_4-pi-ik-na: DB iii 91.

1.2.9 Bagabuxša- (B-g-b-u-x-š-): Baga-buxša-, "rejoicing Baga (or: God)" or "to whom Baga (or: God) bestows benefit" (Benveniste 1966: 110-112; Miller 1968: 846; Mayrhofer 1979: II/16; Schmitt 2006: 109-110), Gk. Μεγάβυξος. Benveniste (l.c.) convincingly showed that **buxša-* is a nomen agentis, which is formed out of the present tense of **baug-*. Cf. 2.2.11.
Other scholars (IN 56-57; AiW 922) translate "freed by God", but **buxša-* cannot be a passive participle (Benveniste 1966: 110).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-bu-uk-šú: DB 111.
– Elamite: Ba-ka_4-bu-uk-šá: DB iii 91.

1.2.10 Bạrdiya- (OP; B-r-di-i-y-): Old Persian equivalent of Median *Bạrziya-, a *-ya*-extension of a name containing **bṛzi-*, "high" (Mayrhofer 1979: II/16-17; Schmitt 1997: 163). Other examples of such names are Av. Bərəziiaršti- and Bərəzišnu-. Cf. 2.2.12.
– Elamite: Bìr-ti-ia: DB i 24,25,29,39,40, ii 2-3,9,20,49-50,57-58,93; DBb 1-2, DBh 3.

1.2.11 Čiçantaxma- (Č-i-ç-t-x-m-): hybrid (OP-Med.) name Čiçan-taxma-, "brave in lineage". The name evolved from *Čiçam-taxma- (Spiegel 1881: 218; Humbach 1954: 96-97; HdA 112; Mayrhofer 1979: II/17). Cf. 2.2.13-14.

[7] Kent (OPG 170) translates "having the Aryans at peace".

According to Kent (OPG 53n.1) the *-n-* at the end of Čiça- is not an old accusative ending, but a remainder of "some other compound in which a nasal in this position was justified".

– Elamite:
1) Zí-iš-šá-an-tak-ma: DBg 1.
2) Zí-iš-šá-in-tak-ma: DB ii 58, 63, 65, iii 54-55 ([Zí]-iš-šá-in-tak-ma).

1.2.12 Činčaxriš (Č-i-č-i-x-r-i-š): the Babylonian and Elamite expressions clearly show that the written Old Persian form is an error for Č-i-č-x-r-i-š (Schmitt 1971: 12-14; Mayrhofer 1979: II/17).
Either Čiⁿčaxri-š < *Čim-čaxri-š, "effectuating something" (Schmitt, l.c.; cf. OInd. *kím* and Av. *čim*), or Čiⁿčaxri-š, "servant" (OInd. *kíṃkara-*; Bollée 1975: 452).
– Babylonian: Ši-in-šá-aḫ-ri-iš: DB 41.
– Elamite: Zí-in-za-ak-ri-iš: DB ii 4-5.

1.2.13 Dādaršiš (D-a-d-r-š-i-š): "the brave one", cf. OInd. *dādhṛṣi-*, "brave", a derivation from *darš-*, "to dare", with reduplication (Spiegel 1881: 225; OPG 189; HdA 113; Kornfeld 1978: 103; Mayrhofer 1979: II/18; Schmitt 1980b: 11 and 1991: 57n. ad r.29). Cf. 2.2.15.
– Aramaic: Ddrš: DB 8,15,17.
– Babylonian: Da-da-ar-šú: DB 48,49,50,52,53,69.
– Elamite:
1) Da-tar-ši-iš: DB ii 82.
2) Da-tur-ši-iš: DB ii 21,23,24,28,32-33,36,80.

1.2.14 Dārayavauš (D-a-r-y-v-u-š): royal name (Darius), Dāraya-vau-š, "holding firm what is good" (Spiegel 1881: 81; How & Wells 1912: 105; OPG 189; HdA 115; NW 131; Mayrhofer 1979: II/18), Gk. Δαρειαῖος and Δαρεῖος. Cf. 2.2.17-20.
– Babylonian:
1) Da-a-re-ʾ-a-muš: WDa 2; WDc 2.
2) Da-a-re-ia-a-muš: DE 8,13; DSab 1,2,3; XE 19; XPa 8; XPb 12; XPc 12; XPd 13; XPe 3; XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1.
3) Da-a-re-ia-a-mu-uš: A^2Sb; DSc 1; DSg 2.
4) Da-a-re-ia-muš: DH 1; DNa 3,4; DNb 3; DPc; DPg 4,12; DPi 1; DSe 5; DSo 2; WDb 1; WDd 2 ([Da]-a-ri-[ia]-muš); WDg 1; WDh 1.
5) Da-a-re-ia-mu-uš: MDP 21 no.27:2 (Da-a-re-ia-mu-[uš]).
6) Da-hu-a-iá-muš: SDb; SDd (written °-šá-muš). Error for Da-re-a-iá-muš.
7) Da-re-a-[iá-muš]: SDc; SDg.
8) Da-re-ia-a-muš: A^2Sa 2; DPa 1; DPb 1 ([Da]-°); XV 13,16.

9) Da-re-ia-muš: DB passim; XPj 1.
10) Da-re-iá-muš: SDa; SDe; SDf.

– Elamite:
1) Da-hu-a-ma-u-i[š]: SDd. Error for Da-re-°. Cf. the Bab. spelling no.6.
2) Da-re-ia-ma-u-iš: A^{2}Sa 1-3; DB passim; DPb 1; DPi 1; DSab 1,2,3; DSc 1; DSd 1 (°-u-[iš]); DSi 1; DSj 1; SDa; SDb (°-u-i[š]); SDe; WDa 2-3; WDb 1; WDc 2; WDd 2; WDg 1 (ˈDa-reˀ-[ia]-ˈmaˀ-u-iš); WDh 1; XPe 2-3; XPj 1; XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1, etc. in Darius- and Xerxes-inscriptions.

– Hieroglyphic:
1) In-ti-rw-y-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 9 I; JA 260 254 (1a),(1b); JA 260 255 (3):1.
2) In-t̲-rw-y-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 9 iii 22,fr.35,fr.36.

1.2.15 Dātavahyā (D-a-t-v-h-y-): nom. sg. of Dāta-vahyah-, "born better" (Schmitt 1991: 44 and 73; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 38n.89). Cf. 2.2.21 and 2.2.71.

On the basis of an earlier reading D-a-tu-[u]-v-h-y- (Cameron 1951: 52; OPG 130) this name has been interpreted as Dātuvahyah-, "better by nature" (HdA 115; Mayrhofer 1979: II/19), to OInd. *jātu-*, "by nature" (cf. EWA I 428). The semantic implications of the new reading, however, remain limited.

– Elamite: Da-ad-du-man-ia: DB iii 91-92.

1.2.16 Frāda- (F-r-a-d-): "who furthers, promotes", hypocoristic of a compound with *frāda-* as one of the compound members, e.g. Av. *frādaṯ.gaēθā-*, "prospering the household" (Benfey 1847: Glossary s.v.; Hübschmann 1897: 85n.1; Foy 1904: 509; OPG 198; Mayrhofer 1979: II/20). Cf. 2.2.22.

Other proposals are (1) Frahada-, "presiding", to Gk. *πρόεδρος* (IN 101; Justi 1896-1904: 430n.2 and 1897: 242 and n.1); (2) a derivative of OInd. *pra-āj-*, "to drive, to urge" (Sen 1941: 52n.12) and (3) a nominalization of *ad-pra-*, "he who eats" (Wüst 1966: 208-209).

– Babylonian: Pa-ra-da-ˀ: DB 68,70,93; DBj 1.
– Elamite: Pír-ra-da: DB ii 79, iii 56; DBj 1.

1.2.17 Fravartiš (F-r-v-r-t-i-š): Gk. Φραόρτης, "guardian angel", abbreviated form of a compound containing OP *fravartiš*, Av. *frauuaši-*, "guardian angel", from *frauuar-*, "to protect" (AiW 1360; OPG 198; Mayrhofer 1979: II/20). Cf. Parth. Prwrty (Schmitt 1998: 184).

A connection with Av. *fraorətī-*, from *fra-var-*, "to choose" (Spiegel 1881: 232), is less probable.

– Aramaic: [Prw]rt: DB 25.
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-mar-ti-iš: DB 64,65,92; DBe 1.

2) Pa-ar-ú-mar-ti-iš: CII 1/2/1 63:10,13; DB 44,58,59,60.

– Elamite: Pír-ru-mar-ti-iš: DB ii 9,50,52,54, iii 53; DBe 1.

1.2.18 Gaubar(u)va- (G-u-b-ru-u-v-): Gau-bar(u)va-, Gk. Γωβρύης, "devouring cattle, chewing cattle" (Mayrhofer 1957: 178 and 1979: II/21; Gershevitch 1969: 224; Bollée 1975: 452-453; Humbach 1981: 90; Schindler 1987: 339; Huyse 1992b: 169-170). Cf. 2.2.23.

Justi (IN 112 and 1899: 90; also OPG 182 and Grantovskij 1970: 179) reads Gaubaruva- and identifies this name with Gk. βουφορβός, "herding cattle, possessing cattle, lord of the cattle", to OInd. *bharu-*, "lord". Foy (1898: 599n.1; also D'jakonov 1956: 434; Altheim & Stiehl 1963: 97; Werba 1982: 136-138; Schmitt 2001b: 331) proposes Gaubruva-, "having the eyebrows of cows", to Ir. **brū-*, "eyebrow" (OInd. *bhrū*, NP *abrū*). The Elamite and Babylonian renderings, however, contradict this. Hinz (ASN 103) translates "taking care of cattle", to Av. *bar-*, "to carry, bear".

– Babylonian:
1) Gu-ba-ru-ˀ: DB 111.
2) Ku-bar-ra: DNc 1.

– Elamite: Kam-bar-ma: DB iii 90; DNc 1.

1.2.19 Gaumāta- (G-u-m-a-t-): Gaum-āta-, "possessing cattle", *-āta-*extension of Gau-m- (Mayrhofer 1977: 18), Av. *gaomaṇt-* (also known as personal name). Cf. 2.2.24.

Kent (OPG 182) reads *Gau-māta- and considers *-māta-* an unknown participial stem. According to Wüst (1966: 85) Gaumāta- is the same as Gauvāta-, with *-vāta-* being equal to Av. *vāti-*, "chase, hunt". Accordingly the name means "hunting for cattle".

– Aramaic: Gwmt: DB 74.
– Babylonian:
1) Gu-ma-a-ti: DB 109.
2) Gu-ma-a-tú: DB 15,18,20,22,23,25,26,28,29,90.
3) Gu-ma-a-tu$_4$: DBb 1.

– Elamite: Kam-ma-ad-da: DB i 28,35,33-34,38,41,43,50,54,56-57, iii 49,92-93; DBb 1.

1.2.20 Haxāmaniš (H-x-a-m-n-i-š): Haxā-mani-š, Gk. ʾΑχαιμένης, "having the mind of someone allegiant" (Werba 1979: 21-22; Mayrhofer 1979: II/22). Here *haxā-* has its older meaning "he who is bound by allegiance". Only later it came to mean "friend". Cf. 2.2.30.

– Babylonian: A-ḫa-ma-ni-iš-ˀ: DB 2.
– Elamite: Ha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-iš: DB i 4-5; DBa 6.

1.2.21 Haxāmanišiya- (H-x-a-m-n-i-š-(i)-y-): "Achaemenid", name of a Persian tribe (Schmitt 1987d: 246-247). Cf. 2.2.31-32.

– Elamite:
1) Ha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-iš-ši-ia: DBa 1-2,7.

2) Ha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-ši-ia: CMa 1; DE 20; DMb; DNa 10; DPa 5; DPb 4; DPf 5-6; DSf 7; DSi 3; DSj 1-2; DZc 5; WDa 6-7; WDb 6; WDc 7; WDd 6; WDg 6; WDh 6; XPb 12; XPc 8-9; XPd 9; XPe 4; XPh 9; XPj 1; XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1.
3) Ha-ak-ka$_4$-man-nu-u-ši-ia[8]: A^{2}Sd 3.
4) Ha-ka$_4$-man-na-šá: A^{2}Sa 4 (var.). Inaccurate spelling.
5) Ha-ka$_4$-man-na-za: A^{2}Sa 4. Inaccurate spelling.
6) Ha-ka$_4$-man-nu-iš-ši-ia: DH 2-3; DPh 2-3; XPa 10; XV 15-16.
7) Ha-ka$_4$-man-nu-ši-ia: DB i 2; XE 20.

– Hieroglyphic:
1) I-ꜣ-ḫ-m-n-š: BdE 11 9 iii 5.
2) I-ꜣ-ḫ-m-i-n-š: JA 260 255 (2):4.

1.2.22 Kambūjiya- (K-b-u-ji-i-y-): Kam-būjiya-, royal name (Cambyses), Gk. Καμβύσης. Cf. 2.2.35.

There is still disagreement as to the reading and the meaning of this name. The two most cited readings are Kambaujiya- (Harmatta 1971: 7; Mayrhofer 1979e: 294n.32a; Skalmowski 1993: 74) and Kambūjiya- (AiW 436-437; OPG 173-174; HdA 128; Schmitt 1967: 121 and 2006: 101; NW 141; Eilers 1974: 54; Dandamayev 1990b: 726). In his work on Old Persian anthroponyms Mayrhofer (1979: II/23) does not deal with the issue, since it is indeed difficult to reach convincing conclusions on the precise reading. There is, however, an important argument against *Kambaujiya-: both the Greek and Elamite versions of this name do not point to the presence of a diphthong in it. If there were a diphthong one would expect forms like El. *Kam-ba-u-zí-ia or Gk. *Καμβώσης, the more since these two languages make clear distinctions in their denotation of vowels and diphthongs[9]. Harmatta (1971: 7) cites Gk. *Ἀμύργιοι* (OP *haumavarga-*) to prove that Gk. υ may render Ir. /ava/. Yet this expression is inaccurate in its representation of *hau* and cannot be used in this discussion. Especially the Greek forms are of the utmost importance. *Kambōjiya- would have to appear with an *omikron* or an *omega*, but does not. Accordingly a reading Kambūjiya- is more plausible than *Kambaujiya-.

The disagreement among scholars does not confine itself to the reading, also the etymology and the meaning of this royal name are a matter of debate. Some authors (Hüsing 1908: 320-322; Frye 1962: 87) believe Cambyses to be an Elamite name, but that is unlikely.

Most scholars connect Kambūjiya- with the Old Indian gentilic and toponym Kamboja-[10] (Windischmann 1857: 79n.; Marquart 1907: 137; Hoffmann-Kutschke 1908: 21; Charpentier 1923: 143-144; Hoffmann 1940: 146n.8; Eilers 1964: 210-211 and 1974: 54-55; Abayev 1965: 291-293 and 1971: 266-268; Herzfeld 1968: 344-345; Harmatta, l.c.; Bailey 1971: 69 and 1972b: 18; Mayrhofer 1979: II/23), the precise meaning of which is under discussion. Marquart (l.c.; also Charpentier 1923: 148-150) translates "king of the Kamboja-". Foy (1899: 62) reads Kambuj-iya-, "who enjoys happiness" (to OInd. *kam-*, "well" and *bhuj-*). According to Eilers (l.c.) Kam-bauj-iya- means "whose rescue is fine", with reference to OInd. *kám*, "in favour of" and Av. *kąm*. Harmatta (l.c.) considers Kamb-auj-iya- as an apotropaic name meaning "weak", to Av. *kambišta-*, "the least", a name which was given to the Kambojas by their enemies. The same scholar adds that the name is a remainder of an archaic name-giving habit. This is shown by the alleged disappearance of this name after the death of Cambyses in 522. Unfortunately for Harmatta the name occurs in three Elamite tablets (Ach. Hist. 13 110-111; PF 302 and PFNN 2350), dated to 498-497 and 501-500[11]. Skalmowski's (1993: 74) justified criticism on Harmatta is based on Herodotus (I 139), who writes that "their [i.e the Persians] names agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility". Remmer (2005) has picked up Foy's reconstruction, but translates "what a bringer of joy".

Bailey (1971: 67-71) analyzes the name as Kam-bauja- or Kan-bauja- and focuses on the second part, *-bauja-*. This should be a form belonging to one of the three Iranian roots *baug-: (1) "to bend", (2) "to free, loose, deliver, save", (3) "to possess, be lord, rule" (deriving from "to enjoy"). In Bailey's eyes the last root is the good one. Simultaneously he refers also to OInd. *bhojá-*, "lord, king". The first part, *kam-*, has a relation with Av. *kan-*, "to long, want" (OInd. *kā́ma-*). The OInd. lexeme occurs in compounds where it means "at will", e.g. *kāma-kṛta-*, *kāma-cara-* and *kāma-vṛtti-*. Avestan has *vasō.xšaθrō*, "ruling at will" (Yasna 9,17). Bailey's ultimate translation is "king at will". Bollée (1975: 453) agrees with Bailey concerning the second part of the compound.

Finally there are also scholars who denounce a connection between Kamboja and Kambūjiya- (Benveniste 1958: 48n.1) and who defend another etymology. Bartholomae (AiW 437; also Werba 1979: 14n.2 and 1982: 205-06) believes in Ka^{m}bū-jiyā-, "with few snares". Skalmowski (1993: 74-75) pleads for *Kamp-aujias > *Kambaujiya-, "unshaken, intrepidus", lit. "stronger than trembling".

– Babylonian: Kam-bu-zi-iá: DB 13,14,16,17,19.
– Elamite: Kán-bu-zí-ia: DB i 22-25, 29-30, 30, 32-33, 34, 35.

1.2.23 Mąrduniya- (M-r-du-u-n-i-y-): Mąrdu-n-iya-, "the mild one", Gk. Μαρδόνιος, *-iya*-extension of a *-na*-suffixed **mṛdu-* (Eilers 1954-56: 330; Mayrhofer 1964: 81 and 1979: II/24; HdA 132; Schmitt 1971: 14-16, 1997: 163 and 2006: 105-106; NW 144). Cf. 2.2.42.

It is impossible to consider the name as the Old Persian equivalent of *Mąrzuniya-, from **mṛzu-*, "short", because in that case the Aramaic and the Babylonian expressions would rather have preserved the Median form *Mąrzuniya-, which would have led to the respective spellings Mrzwny and Mar-zu-ni-ia. A connection with **marduna-*, "winegrower" (OPG 203), with reference to OInd. *mṛdvīkā-*, "grapevine" and NP *mul*, "wine" must be ruled out.

– Aramaic: Mrd[wn]y: DB 76.
– Babylonian: Mar-du-ni-ia: DB 111.
– Elamite: Mar-du-nu-ia: DB iii 91.

[8] Inaccurate spelling because of the superfluous U. Yet it may not have been the intention of the scribe to write U. As U stands very close to ŠI (according to the copy in MDP 24 127), it could also be a wrongly written ŠI.

[9] The Babylonian, Aramaic and Egyptian versions of the name are of no importance to this discussion, since BU (Bab.) can denote both /bau/ and /bū/ and the Aramaic and Egyptian writing systems do not necessarily denote all vowels and diphthongs.

[10] The Iranian form is the original one (Eilers 1964: 213 and 1974: 54).

[11] The first one, however, refers to the grave of Cambyses (Henkelman 2003b: 159).

1.2.24 Martiya- (M-r-t-i-y-): Mart-iya-, *-iya*-hypocoristic of **marta-*, "mortal, man" (Schmitt 1997: 165).

The similarity between the OP noun *martiya-* and the proper name discussed here has led scholars (OPG 203; Humbach 1981: 90) to believe that both forms are identical, but Schmitt (1997: 164) has pointed out that this cannot be the case. Another posssibility is that Martiya is a retrenchment of a compound with *martiya-* (Mayrhofer 1979: II/25 no.41; Schmitt 1989f).

Martiya- is generally held (OPG 203; HdA 132; EWAi II 327) to be an *-iya*-extension from the Indo-Aryan root **mṛ-*, "to die", but Skalmowski (1993: 76-77) considers the word as a derivation from OInd. *smṛ-*, "to remember". In that case the sense of *martiya-* would be close to the sense of Lat. *nobilis*, "noble, famous, illustrious".

– Babylonian:
  1) Mar-ti-ia: DBf 1.
  2) Mar-ti-iá: DB 41,42,92.
– Elamite: Mar-ti-ia: DB ii 4,7-8, iii 52; DBf 1.

1.2.25 Skunxa- (S-ku-u-x-): "the excellent, outstanding one" (Freyman 1948: 239-240; Abayev 1949: 38, 182; Mayrhofer 1979: II/26).
– Elamite: Iš-ku-in-ka$_4$: DBk 1-2.

1.2.26 Taxmaspāda- (Med.; T-x-m-s-p-a-d-): Taxma-spāda-, "(belonging to) a brave army" (OPG 185; HdA 144; Mayrhofer 1979: II/26). Cf. 2.2.55.
– Babylonian: Taḫ-ma-as-pa-da: DB 62.
– Elamite: Tak-maš-ba-da: DB ii 61,62-63.

1.2.27 Θuxra- (OP; Θ-u-x-r-): "the red one, the bright one", Old Persian equivalent of Med. *Suxra- (OPG 188; HdA 147; Mayrhofer 1979: II/26). Cf. 2.2.54 and 2.2.57.
– Elamite: Du-uk-kur-ra: DB iii 90.

1.2.28 Upadarma- (U-p-d-r-m-): Upa-darma-, "he who is under (= who behaves himself according to) right conduct" (AiW 390; OPG 176; Bollée 1975: 454; Tavernier 2003: 247-250).

This name has been the subject of many studies. Herzfeld (ApI 190; also Zadok 1976b: 74) connects it with Av. *drang-*, "to strengthen". Hinz (NW 154) prefers Upadrama-, with reference to OInd. *dram-*, "to run". Schmitt (1980: 122) postulates a reading *Upadarama- (based on the Babylonian writing), but does not offer a meaning. Names such as *Rauxšnadāta- and *Rauxšnapāta- (both written Ru-šu-un-°), however, make clear that Schmitt's reading is not the only plausible one (Tavernier 2001). Some scholars consider the name to be Elamite (Oppert 1879: 121; Foy 1899: 11n.1 and 1904: 541-542; Hüsing 1901: 139; König 1938: 70).

– Babylonian: U-pa-da-ar-am-ma-': DB 30.
– Elamite: Uk-ba-[tar]-ra-an-ma: DB i 57.

1.2.29 Utāna- (U-t-a-n-): U-tāna-, "having a good offspring" (IN 513; AiW 1823; OPG 176; Schmitt 1991: 72). Cf. 2.2.34.

This name is possibly OPd (Hoffmann 1976b: 641n.37). According to Wüst (1966: 32) Utāna- is the Iranian equivalent of OInd. *sutāna-*, "well-tuned, melodious".

Isebaert (1980: 277-278) pleads for an *-āna*-patronymic of *Huta-, a retrenchment of e.g. *Hutausa-, "bestowing richly".

– Babylonian: Ú-mi-it-ta-na-': DB 110.
– Elamite: Hu-ud-da-na: DB iii 90.

1.2.30 Uvaxštra- (U-v-x-š-t-r-): Uv-axštra-, "having good oversight" (ApI 209-216; HdA 149; Wüst 1966: 80; Mayrhofer 1979: II/27). Cf. 2.2.58.

Less probable alternatives are (1) Hu-vaxšatara-, a comparative of *uvaxša-* (IN 140), (2) Hvaxšatar- (Hüsing 1899: 140), (3) Uvaxštra-, "having good growth" (AiW 1836; OPG 177; Lejeune 1978: 787), (4) Uvaxšatra-, "having good dominion" (Eilers 1936: 174), (5) Uvaxšᵃra- (Mittelberger 1965: 117) and (6) Xvaxštra-, "self-ruler" (NW 139).

– Babylonian: Ú-ma-ku-iš-tar: DB 43,58,61,93; DBe 4; DBg 3.
– Elamite: Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra: DB ii 10,60, iii 54,55; DBe 3-4; DBg 3-4.

1.2.31 Vahuka- (OPd; V-h-u-k-): Vahu-ka-, "the good one" (Schmitt 1984: 197-198). Cf. 2.2.59 and 2.2.61.

The general transcription is Vahauka- (AiW 1394-1395; HdA 151), which Kent analyzes as Vahau-ka- (OPG 207). He believes that there is no suffix *-auka-* involved, but that we are dealing with guna in the second syllable of the name Vahuka-.

– Babylonian: Ú-ma-aḫ(?)-ku[12]: DB 111.

1.2.32 Vahyazdāta- (V-h-y-z-d-(a)-t-): Vahyaz-dāta-, a bahuvrīhi meaning "having the better law" (AiW 1405; Wüst 1966: 273-274; Schmitt 1970: 14; Mayrhofer 1979: II/28). Cf. 2.2.64.

Alternative, but less plausible meanings are (1) "given by the best (= Ahuramazda)" (Kossowicz 1872: Glossarium 45; Oppert 1879: 178; Spiegel 1881: 240; IN 340; Hoffmann-Kutschke 1908: 58), (2) "created by the better (gods)" (Milewski 1969: 91), (3) a passive form of Av. *vaŋhaz.dā-*, "giving the better things", said of gods (Hoffmann 1979: 91-92) and (4) "better born" (ASN 253).

– Aramaic: Wyzdt: DB 36,48,54.

1.2.33 Vaumisa- (OPs; V-u-mi-i-s-): Vaum-isa-, "longing for the good" (Mayrhofer 1979: II/30). Cf. 2.2.60 and 2.2.62.

Kent (OPG 206) considers Vaumisa- to be a compound of *vau-* and *miθra-*, "friend of the good", but the meaning of *miθra-* in Iranian can only be "treaty".

– Babylonian:
  1) Ú-mi-is-si: CII 1/2/1 63:1; DB 53, 55, 57.
  2) Ú-mi-is-su: DB 54.
– Elamite: Ma-u-mi-iš-šá: DB ii 37-38,40,40-41,44-45,48.

1.2.34 Vidarna- (Vi-i-d-r-n-): Vida-ṛna-, "piercing the guilty" (Werba 1983: 205). Cf. 2.2.65. Gk. Ὑδάρνης.

[12] Aḫ may possibly be read UK (King & Thompson 1907: 206n.4; Von Voigtlander 1978: 48). In that case the Babylonian spelling rather reflects OPs *Vauka-.

Kent (OPG 208) pleads for a meaning "supporting" (OInd. *vídharaṇa-*, "supporting"), while Hinz (NW 176; ASN 260) analyzes the name as Vi-dạrna-, "who tears apart" (Av. *vi-*, "apart, asunder" and *dar-*, "to tear"). Bogoljubov (1976: 4) reads Vidạrna- < *Vitar-darna-, which he connects with Av. *vītar-*, "overcoming" and MP *dard*, "pain". His opinion is not taken over by Mayrhofer (1979: II/29), who reads Vi-dạr-na-, "granted, bestowed", a **-no-*participle, with a prefix *vi-*, of *vi-dar-* (Av. *vī-dar-*). The name could also be read Vid-ṛna-, "he who knows the guilty" (Isebaert 1980: 278; to Av. ^{1}*vaēd-*, "to know" and OInd. *ṛṇa-*, "guilt").

– Aramaic: Wd[rn]: DB 77.
– Babylonian: Ú-mi-da-ar-na-$^{\flat}$: DB 44,45,47,111.
– Elamite: Mi-tar-na: DB ii 13,15, iii 91 ([Mi]-tar-na).

1.2.35 Vindafarnā (Vi-i-d-f-r-n-a): nom. sg. of Vinda-farnah-, "finding glory" (OPG 208; ASN 261; Kornfeld 1977: 127; Mayrhofer 1979: II/28), cf. the Av. PN Viδat.x^{v}arənah-, Parth. Wyndprn(k) (Schmitt 1998: 184) and 2.2.66.

– Aramaic: Wndprn: DB 76.
– Babylonian:
  1) Ú-mi-in-ta-pa-ar-na-$^{\flat}$: DB 86,87.
  2) Ú-mi-in-ta-par-na-$^{\flat}$: DB 110.
– Elamite: Mi-in-da-bar-na: DB iii 40 (Mi-[in-da-bar-n]a),41-42 ([Mi]-in-da-bar-na),42-43,89-90.

1.2.36 Vištāspa- (Vi-i-š-t-a-s-p-): *Višta-aspa-, "having free, unbridled horses"[13] (Szemerényi 1950-51: 169-170; Mayrhofer 1979: I/97 and II/29; Schmitt 2006: 124), MP Vištāsp, MP and NP Guštāsp, Gk. Ὑστάσπης. Cf. 2.2.67.

Bailey (1953: 102-103) translates "he who has trained horses". Less probable explanations of Vištāspa- are (1) *višta-* as participle of ^{2}*vaēd-*, "to find" (Fick 1874: 134; "he by whom horses [or: whose horses] have been found") or (2) ^{1}*vaēd-*, "to know" (Hoffmann-Kutschke 1908: 46; "he by whom horses are known"); (3) *višta-* as participle of Av. *had-*, "to sit down" (AiW 1474; Tolman 1908: 127; Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 172; "having spiritless horses"); (4) *višta-* as development from *vahišta-*, "best" (*vahišta- > vaišta- > vešta- > višta-*; Hüsing 1912: 540-541; "having the best horses"); (5) *višta-* meaning "bound" (Bailey 1939: 117; "with bound horses"); (6) Vištaspa- as "having trembling horses", in relation to Sogd. *"wyštk* (Benveniste 1936: 229-230), which is, however, nothing more than an error for *"ywštk* (Henning 1940: 51; Szemerényi 1950-51: 167); (7) *višta-* as participle of *vaēs-*, "be ready for action". In that case the name's translation is "he whose horses (or: horse has) have come in ready (for riding, etc)" (Kent 1945: 57-58; Herzfeld 1947: 71).

– Babylonian:
  1) Uš-ta-as-pa: DE 20; DH 2; DPa 4; DPb 3 ([Uš-t]a-°); DPh 2; DSab 3; DSe 7; DSf 5,9; DSg 2; DSj 2; DSm; WDa 4; WDb 3-4; WDc 4; WDd 4-5 (Uš-ta-[as-pa]); WDg 3-4; WDh 3-4.

[13] The meaning of this name may seem onomastically unlikely, but is supported by Greek names such as Ἱππόλυτος, "whose horses are unbridled" and Λύσιππος, "unbridling the horses" (Schmitt 2006: 124-125).

  2) Uš-ta-as-pi: DB 1,64,65,66,67; DSaa 2.
  3) Uš-ta-as-pu: XPf 12-13; A^{2}Sa 13.
  4) [Uš-t]as-pu: A^{3}Sa 4.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-da-áš-ba: DB i 3, ii 69,70,71-72,74; DBa 3,3-4; DE 18-19; DNa 10; DPa 4; DPb 2-3; DPf 4-5; DSab 3; DSj 1; DZc 5; WDa 4-5; WDb 5; WDc 6; WDd 5-6; WDg 5; WDh 5.
– Hieroglyphic: W𐎳-𐎱-ti-i-𐎱-p: JA 260 255 (2):4.

1.2.37 Vivāna- (Vi-i-v-a-n-): "brilliant", contraction of *Vivahana- (AiW 1452; Herzfeld 1929-30: 83n.2; Szemerényi 1950: 235 and 1977: 38n.144), cf. OInd. *vivásvant-* and the Av. PN Viuuaŋ^{v}haṇt-. Cf. 2.2.68.

Kuiper's opinion (1934: 194n.3; also OPG 208) that the name is a derivation from *van-*, "to win, to overpower", is problematic. Mayrhofer (1979: II/29) only mentions that the meaning is not clear.

– Aramaic: [W]ymn: DB 60.
– Babylonian: Ú-mi-ma-na-$^{\flat}$: DB 79,80,83,84.
– Elamite: Mi-ma-na: DB iii 21,22,24,27,32.

1.2.38 Xšaθrita- (Med.; [X]-š-[θ-r]-i-t): Xšaθr-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of an abbreviated form of a compound containing *xšaθra-* (OPG 180; HdA 126; Mayrhofer 1979: II/30). Cf. 2.2.69.

According to Isebaert (1980: 278) the name should be read Xšaθrīta- < *Xšaθriya-t-a-, a retrenchment of e.g. *Xšaθriyatausa-, "granting the kingdom".

– Babylonian:
  1) Ḫa-šá-at-ri-e-ti: DBe 1.
  2) Ḫa-šá-at-ri-it-ti: DB 43,58.
  3) Ḫa-šá-at-ri-tu$_{4}$: DB 92.
– Elamite:
  1) Šá-at-tar-ri-da: DB ii 10.
  2) Šá-ut-tar-ri-ud-da: DB iii 54; DBe 2-3.

1.2.39 Xšayaršā (X-š-y-a-r-š-a): royal name (Xerxes), Gk. Ξέρξης, nom. sg. of Xšaya-ṛšan-, "ruling over heroes" (Hoffmann 1955: 85n.15 and 1976b: 633; HdA 126; D'jakonov 1970: 108; NW 139; Mayrhofer 1979: II/31; Werba 1983: 204, also on the transcription). Cf. 2.2.70.

Others (AiW 550; OPG 182) translate "hero among kings" (Av. *xšaiia-*, "king") or "the mighty prince" (How & Wells 1912: 105).

– Babylonian:
  1) Ḫi-ši-$^{\flat}$-ar-šá-$^{\flat}$: A^{1}Pb 3; OIP 69 Pls.50-52; XE 9,13; XPc 5,8; XV 5,10,15; XVsa; XVsb; XVsc.
  2) Ḫi-ši-$^{\flat}$-ar-ši: SXd ([Ḫ]i-ši-$^{\flat}$-a[r-ši]); SXg; XPa 4,9; XPb 6,9,14; XPe 1; XPf 4,6; XPh 4,10,23,47; XPj 1; XPm ([Ḫi]-ši-$^{\flat}$-ar-ši); XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1.

3) Ḫi-ši-ar-šú: A^{2}Sa 2.
4) Ḫi-ši-ár-ši: A^{2}Ha 3.
– Hieroglyphic: Ḫ3-š3-y-3-rw-š3-3: BdE 11 43, 74; OIP 69 Pls.50-52.

1.3. Geographical names[14]

1.3.1 Abirāduš (A-b-i-r-a-du-u-š): Abi-rādu-š. The meaning of this toponym is still unknown (OPG 169; HdA 100; NW 119).
– Elamite: Ha-pi-ra-du-iš: DSf 40 ([H]a-pi-ra-du-iš); DSz 43.

1.3.2 Ākaufačiya- / (A-k-u-f-č-i-y-): Ā-kaufa-č-iya-, "dweller of the mountain-land", name of the inhabitants of *Ākaufaka-, which consists of the prefix *ā-*, the substantive *kaufa-*, "mountain" and the suffix *-ka-* (Schaeder 1942: 128-130; OPG 165; HdA 130; NW 122). Cf. 2.3.1.
– Babylonian: A-ku-pi-i-iš[15]: XPh 22.

1.3.3 Arakadriš (A-r-k-d-r-i-š): Arak-adri-š, "???-rock" (Foy 1899: 62; HdA 104; NW 124; Eilers 1987: 50).
Arakadriš might originate from an older Zagros-language (Eilers 1987b: 248). Foy (l.c.) connected Arak- with **ark-*, "fortress", but this is denied by the later authors.
– Babylonian: A-ra-'-ka-ad-ri-': DB 15.
– Elamite: Ha-rák-ka$_4$-tar-ri-iš: DB i 28.

1.3.4 Aršādā- (A-r-š-a-d-a-): most likely the meaning of this toponym is "place of heroes, shelter of heroes" (Wüst 1966: 24-25).
With regard to the precise etymology the scholars disagree. Justi (1896-1904: 430n.5 and 1897: 240; also ApI 53 and 131) believes that Aršādā is the contracted equivalent of *Aršа-hadā-, "seat of Aršan". Foy (1904: 509) derives it from Indo-Aryan *Aršā-dhā(s)-, with *dhā(s)-* < **dhārs-*, from the root **dhar-*, "to hold". Kuiper (1934: 194n.3) believes that the correct analysis is Aršā-dā-, lit. "receptaculum virorum" (cf. OInd. *dāyāda-*, "heir").
– Aramaic: 'Ršd: DB 60.
– Babylonian: Ar-šá-da-': DB 83.
– Elamite: Ir-šá-da: DB iii 31.

1.3.5 Arya- (A-r-i-y-): "Aryan, Iranian" (OPG 170), Gk. 'Αριαν (Bailey 1959: 97). Cf. 2.3.2 and 2.3.4.

[14] It is remarkable that the Elamite versions of the Old Persian lists of satrapies sometimes deviate from their Old Persian originals by offering ethnic names instead of toponyms (cf. Schmitt 1999: 20). This has led some scholars to assume that these lists are not lists of lands, but lists of peoples governed by the Achaemenid kings (Cameron 1973).

[15] At first sight this spelling seems to render *Ākaufīš. Perhaps it is an error instead of A-ku-pi-ši-i-iš, which could render a contraction *Ākaufačīš < Ākaufačiya-.

According to Skalmowski (2000: 764) this expression comes from Indo-Aryan **ṇ-ṛ-ia-*, "not moving" (cf. **ṛ-*, "to move", OInd. *ṛ-*) and has a religious connotation ("faithful, fidelis"). Consequently the ethnic connotation "not moving, sedentary" (Skalmowski 1993b) is not correct.
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia: DB iv 1; DNa 10; XPh 10.

1.3.6 Aryačiça- (OP; a-r-i-y-č-i-ç-): Arya-čiça-, "of Iranian lineage" (OPG 170; HdA 105). Cf. 2.3.3.
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-zí-iš-šá: XPh 10.

1.3.7 Asagartiya- (A-s-g-r-t-i-y): Asa-gart-iya-, "man from the land of stone-cave dwellers" (AiW 207; zAiW 119-120; OPG 173). Cf. 2.3.6 and 2.3.39.
Other proposals: Asa-garta-, "possessing chariots" (Justi 1904-07: 113-114) and "land of horse-drawn wagons" (OPG 173 mentions this alternative), to OInd. ^{1}*gárta-*, "chariot". Eilers (1987c: 701) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Áš-šá-kar-ti-ia: DB ii 58, iii 56; DBg 4-5.

1.3.8 Bāxtri- (B-a-x-t-r-i-): "Bactria", land named after the river Βάκτρος. The name of this land has to be linked with the verbal root **bhag-*, "to divide" (OInd. *bhájˀ-*, Av. *bag-*) and means "she who divides" (Eilers 1977: 228). Cf. 2.3.7 and 2.3.9.
The Elamite Nebenüberlieferung has reflections of an Old Persian equivalent *Bāxçi- (2.3.7). Despite the expectation of Median *Bāxθri-, such an expression is not attested. Kent's (OPG 8) explanation for this is that Proto-Iranian /tr/ developed to Av.-Med. /tr/ and OP /ç/ after fricatives. Nonetheless Bāxtri- does not need to be Median and accordingly one cannot know where Bāxtri- comes from (Schmitt 1984: 204).
The Avestan equivalent of Bāxtri- is Bāxδī-, an un-Avestan expression, probably belonging to some dialect, perhaps Arachosian (Schmitt 1984: 203-204 and 206; cf. also Humbach 1966: 52 and Grenet 1989: 343).
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-a-ḫa-ta-ar: XPh 16.
2) Ba-aḫ-tar: DB 6,69; DNa 12; DSe 15; DSf 26.
3) Ba-aḫ-ti-ir: DSaa 28.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ak-tar-ri-iš: DSf 31-32 (Ba-ak-tar-[ri-iš]); DSz 32-33.
2) Ba-ak-tur-ri-iš: A^{3}Pb 6; DSe 5-6 ([Ba]-ak-tur-[ri-iš]).
3) Ba-ik-tur-ri-iš: DNa 17-18.

1.3.9 Bāxtriya- (B-<a>-x-t-r-i-y-): Bāxtr-iya-, "Bactrian". Cf. 2.3.8 and 2.3.10.
– Babylonian: Ba-aḫ-tar-a-a: A^{3}Pb 6.

1.3.10 Daha- (D-h-): Scythian tribal name (HdA 113-114). Cf. 2.2.16 and 2.3.11.
– Elamite: Da-ha: XPh 21-22.

1.3.11 Gandutava- (G-du-u-t-v-): not yet explained (OPG 183; Schmitt 1991: 66).
– Babylonian: Gan-da-ta-[ma]-ki-': DB 81.

1.3.12 Hagmatāna- (H-g-m-t-a-n-): Ha-gmata-ana-, Ecbatana, Gk. Ἐκβάτανα, "city of the gathered" (OPG 212; Brown 1998: 80), from *Ham-gmata-ana-, participle of OP *ha(m)-gam-*, "gather, come together". Cf. 2.3.12.

Frye (1971: 107) pleads for an Elamite etymology, being *hal.mata.na*, "land of the Medes", but in all likelihood the Median capital did not have an Elamite name (Brown, l.c.).

– Babylonian: A-ga-ma-ta-nu: DB 48,60,61.
– Elamite: Ak-ma-da-na: DB ii 56,57.

1.3.13 Harauvatiš (H-r-u-v-t-i-š): "rich in waters, Arachosia" (OPG 213-214), OInd. Sárasvatī-, Arach./Av. Haraxᵛaitī-. Harauvati- (with nom. on *-iš*) is the Old Persian transformation of an Iranian *ī*-stem (with nom. on *-ī*) to an *ǐ*-stem (Hoffmann 1976b: 641; Mayrhofer 1980: 135; Schmitt 2001: 69)[16]. Cf. 2.2.27 en 2.3.13-15.

– Elamite: Har-ra-u-ma-ti-iš: DB i 14, iii 24,25,28 (°-[ma-ti-iš]),31,34-35.

1.3.14 Hinduš (H-i-du-u-š): "India", Iranian representation of OInd. Sindhu-, "big river, Indus" (Eggermont 1975: 145 and 168; Eilers 1977: 288). Cf. 2.2.33 and 2.3.20.

– Babylonian: In-du-ú: DSe 17; DSv 6 (In-du-[ú]); XPh 20.
– Elamite: Hi-in-du-iš: DNa 19-20; DPh 5; DSf 38-39; DSz 41; XPh 21.

1.3.15 Hinduya- (H-i-du-u-y-): "Indian" (Schmitt 1977: 97). Cf. 2.3.21.

– Babylonian: In-du-u: A^{3}Pb 13.
– Elamite: Hi-in-du-iš: A^{3}Pb 13.

1.3.16 Kampanda- (K-p-d-): not yet explained (Schmitt 1991: 57), but certainly not identical with Bīt Ḫamban, as some scholars assume (König 1938: 71; Herzfeld 1938b: 165; Dandamayev & Pohl 1976: 12n.39).

– Aramaic: Ḫnbn: DB 7. Inaccurate spelling.
– Babylonian: Ka-am-pa-da-': DB 47.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-um-pan-taš: DB ii 20.

1.3.17 Kāpišakāni- (K-a-p-i-š-k-a-n-i-): Kāpiša-kāni-. The first part is related to NP *kābīša*, "safflower, carthamus tinctorius", but disagreement prevails with regard to the second part, *kāni-*. Justi (1897: 247) connects it with OInd. *khani-*, "cave, mine", while Herzfeld (1929-30: 84n.1) prefers a link with Av. *xan-*, "well, spring, source" (NP *xānī-*, Kurdish *qāni-*).

[16] Some older forms are still preserved in Old Persian, e.g. loc. and abl. *Harauvatiyā*.

– Babylonian: Ka-pi-šá-ka-na-': DB 80.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ap-pi-iš-šá-ka$_4$-nu-iš: DB iii 24.

1.3.18 Kaṛmāna- (K-r-m-a-n-): "Carmania", present Kermān (OPG 180; HdA 129). Cf. 2.3.25.

– Elamite: Kur-ma-na: DSz 32.

1.3.19 Kuganakā- (Ku-u-g-n-k-a-): Ku-gana-ka-, "Streu-Siedlung, non-compact settlement", a settlement with scattered habitation (Wüst 1966: 52-54). Cf. 2.3.27.

– Babylonian: Ku-gu-na-ak-ka: DB 41.
– Elamite: Ku-uk-kán-na-ka$_4$: DB ii 5.

1.3.20 Kunduruš (Ku-u-d-u-ru-u-š): place where South Arabian and African incense is being processed (Wüst 1966: 56-57, with reference to OInd. *kunda-* and *kunduru-*, "Boswellia Thurifera"). Cf. 2.3.28 and 4.3.131.

– Aramaic: Kndwr: DB 25.
– Babylonian: Ku-un-du-ur: CII 1/2/1 63:9; DB 57.
– Elamite: Ku-un-tar-ru-iš: DB ii 50.

1.3.21 Mačiya- (M-č-i-y-): "Macian" < Maka- (Schmitt 1977: 97).

– Elamite:
  1) Ma-zí-ia: XPh 20.
  2) Máš-zí-ia: DNa 25; DNe 29.

1.3.22 Māda- (M-a-d-): (1) "Media", (2) "Median". Cf. 2.2.37-38 and 2.3.29-30.

Concerning the etymology of this proper name, which lacks a separate gentilic (Schmitt 1977: 97), Skalmowski (1995: 312) believes that Māda- is related to PIE **med(h)-*, "central, situated in the middle". He refers to OInd. *mádhya-* and Av. *maidiia-*, both having the same meaning.

– Aramaic: Mdy: DB 2,39, etc. in DB.
– Babylonian:
  1) Ma-da-a: DSe 14.
  2) Ma-da-a-a: DB passim; DNa 11; DPg 7; DSaa 21; DSv 4; XPh 14.
– Elamite: Ma-da-: A^{3}Pb 2; DB passim; DNa 17; DSf 47; DSz 47,52; XPh 15.

1.3.23 Maka- (M-k-): "strong, vehement", OInd. *mákaka-* (Bailey 1982: 12). Cf. 2.2.40-41 and 2.3.31.

– Babylonian:
  1) Ma-ak: XPh 19.
  2) Ma-ka: DB 7.
– Elamite: Ma-ak-ka$_4$: DB i 14.

1.3.24 Mārgava- (M-a-r-g-v-): "Margian", with *vṛddhi* (OPG 202; Schmitt 1977: 97).

– Aramaic: Mrgw: DB 30,32,35.
– Babylonian: Mar-gu-ma-a-a: DB 64 ([Mar]-gu-ma-a-a),69,93.

1.3.25 Marguš (M-a-r-gu-u, M-r-g-u-): region, named after the river Μάργος, cf. MP and NP Marv (Schmitt 1987-90b: 380).
– Babylonian:
1) Mar-gu-ʾ: DB 68,71; DBj 3.
2) Mar-gu-u: DB 94.
3) Mar-gu-ú: DB 41.
– Elamite: Mar-ku-iš: DB ii 3,79,82, iii 56; DBj 2-3.

1.3.26 Māruš (M-a-[ru-u]-š): not yet explained (OPG 202).
– Babylonian: Ma-ru-ʾ: DB 45.
– Elamite: Ma-ru-iš: DB ii 16.

1.3.27 Nisāya- (N-i-s-a-y-): *Ni-sāya-, "place of lying down, settlement"[17] (OPG 194; Bailey 1975: 309). Cf. 2.2.45 and 2.3.32.
Eilers (1987: 71) believes this name should be connected with MP *nisāγ/k*, "bright, splendid".
– Babylonian: Ni-is-sa-a-a: DB 23.
– Elamite: Nu-iš-šá-ia: DB i 44.

1.3.28 Paṛga- (P-r-g-): although the reading Paṛg- is certain (Schmitt 1980: 123), the etymology is not known. Possibly identical with present Forg (Spiegel 1881: 229; Foy 1898: 128n.3; Herzfeld 1929-30: 86).
– Aramaic: [Pr]gʾ: DB 46.
– Babylonian: Pa-ar-ga-ʾ: DB 76.
– Elamite: Bar-rák-ka$_4$: DB iii 14.

1.3.29 Pārsa- (P-a-r-s-): (1) "Persia", (2) "Persian" (HdA 138). Cf. 2.2.47 and 2.3.33.
It should not be amazing that several proposals concerning the etymology of Pārsa- have been put forward. In Hoffmann's eyes (1940: 142) the name is related to OInd. Parśu-, the name of a warrior tribe. Eilers (1954: 357) analyzes Pārsa- through OInd. *paraśú-*, "battle-axe" and offers a translation "battle-axe people". Elsewhere (1956: 188; also Harmatta 1971c: 221-222) he uses Assyrian Parsua to prove that Pārsa- evolved from *Pārsva-. Again Eilers (1987: 49) finds another OInd. word to explain Pārsa-. This time it is *parśu-*, "rib, sickle". More recently Skalmowski (1995: 311) pointed out that Pārs(u)a- is the equivalent of OInd. *pārśva-*, "the region of the ribs, immediate neighbourhood".
– Aramaic:
1) Prs: DB 36,38,40.
2) Prsy (nisbe): DB 19,36,39,77.
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-sa-a-a (nisbe): XPh 8-9.
2) Pa-ar-su: DB 5; DSaa 20; XPh 11.

[17] Eilers's translation is "lowland" (1954: 330n.107).

3) Par-sa: XPa 13.
4) Par-sa-a-a: DB passim; DNa 6,7,28,29; DNe 1; DSab 2; DSe 8; XPh 8-9.
5) Par-su: DB passim; DNa 9; DPg 6.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ir-šá: XPa 13; XPh 13.
2) Bar-šìp (pl.): DB passim; DBa 2; DNa 14,37-38; DSe 13.
3) Bar-šir$_8$(-ra): A^{3}Pb 1; DB passim; DNa 10-11,11,35-36; DNe 1; DSab 2; DSe 10; XPh 10.
– Hieroglyphic: P-r-s: BdE 11 9 iii 16.

1.3.30 Parθava- (P-r-θ-v-): (1) "Parthia", (2) "Parthian" (HdA 138). Cf. 2.3.34.
Either an extension on *-va-* of the same root to which Pārsa belongs (OPG 196), or related to OInd. *pṛthvī-*, "the earth", *pṛthú-*, "broad, wide", Av. *pərəθβī-*, "surface" and *pərəθu-*, "broad, wide" (HdA 138)[18]. Skalmowski (1995: 306-311) offers a third possibility: Parθava- is a secondary formation with the adjectival suffix *-va-*. *Parθa- itself evolved through haplology from *Parārθa- (OInd. *parārtha-*), "highest advantage, interest". The latter expression can, however, also mean "(having a) distant purpose/aim", which would lead to a meaning "exterior, remote" for Parθava-. This suits the geographical situation of Parθava-, in the northeast of the Achaemenid empire.
– Aramaic: Prtw: DB 29,30.
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-tu-ma-a-a (nisbe): DB 64.
2) Pa-ar-tu-ú: DB 6,41,64,65,67,68; DSaa 26; DSe 14 (Pa-[ar]-tu-ú); XPh 16.
3) Par-tu: A^{3}Pb 4.
4) Par-tu-ú: DNa 12.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-tu-ma: A^{3}Pb 4; DB i 12, ii 3; DNa 17; DNe 4; XPh 16-17.
2) Bar-tu-maš: DB ii 68,69,71,75,78.

1.3.31 Patigrabanā- (P-t-i-g-r-b-n-a-): possibly Pati-grab- followed by a suffix (OPG 195). According to Eilers (1987: 28) it is a name of a tribe robbing people in mountain passes.
– Babylonian: Pa-tig-ra-[ba]-na: DB 67.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-ik-ráb-ba-na: DB ii 75.

1.3.32 Pātišuvariš (P-a-t-i-š-u-v-r-i-š): Pātiš-uvar-, "lying towards the sun" (Eilers 1971: 92-93). Cf. 2.2.48 and 2.3.35.
– Babylonian: Pa-di-iš-ú-ma-riš: DB 111.
– Elamite: Ba-ut-ti-iš-mar-ri-iš: DNc 1.

[18] Eilers (1954: 357n.192) denies this possibility.

1.3.33 Ragā- (R-g-a-): present Rey, a southern suburb of Teheran (OPG 205; NW 150).
- Babylonian: Ra-ga-$^{?}$: DB 59,66.
- Elamite: Rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): DB ii 54,73.

1.3.34 Raxā- (R-x-a-): town in Persia, whose etymology is not known (OPG 205). Cf. 2.3.38.
- Aramaic: Rḫ$^{?}$: DB 41.
- Babylonian: Ra-[ḫa]-$^{?}$: DB 74.
- Elamite: Rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): DB iii 8.

1.3.35 Saka- (S-k-): "Scyth". Cf. 2.2.49 and 2.3.40.

Szemerényi (1951: 212 and 1980: 44-45) believes that this name is derived from the Proto-Iranian root **sak-*, "to move, go", cf. Av. *sak-*, "pass (said of time)", OP *θakatā-*, "completed" and Sogd. *syty'*, "completed". The same root also yields OInd. *śakata-*, "cart, waggon". The name means "mobile, nomadic". Bailey (1958: 133; also Glaesser 1976: 269) devised another theory, according to which Saka- is an adjective, derived from **sak-*, "be powerful, skilful", cf. OInd. *su-śáka-*, "easy to be done". It is not easy to determine which theory is the most plausible one (HdA 142; Litvinskij 1972: 156-158).
In Van Windekens' view (1949: 99-100) Saka- means "dog", with reference to Med. **spaka-* (Gk. *σπάκα*), MP *sag*, NP *sag*, OInd. *śvan-* and *śvā-*. The "Dogs", however, does not seem an apt name for a tribe (Szemerényi 1951: 211).

- Elamite: Šá-ak-ka$_4$: A^{3}Pb 14,15,24; DB i 14, ii 3-4; DBk 2; DH 4; DNa 20,23; DNe 15; XPh 22.

1.3.36 Sikayuvatīš (S-i-k-[y]-u-v-t-i-š): meaning not yet precisely known. Cf. 2.3.47.

Kent (OPG 209) reads Sikā-yas-vatī- and derives the first part from OP *θikā-*, "gravel, rubble, broken stone". Schmitt (1980: 121) proposes to read Sika-yu-vatī- (with *-yu-*, "provided with" and pleonastical use of *-vant-*, fem. *-vatī*) and wonders why /ā/ (of *θikā-*) would appear as /ă/ in the Old Persian spelling.

- Babylonian: Si-ku-ú-ma-at-ti-$^{?}$: DB 23.
- Elamite: Ši-ik-ki-ú-ma-ti-iš: DB i 44.

1.3.37 Skudra- (S-ku-u-d-r-): (1) "Thracia", (2) "Thracian". Cf. 2.2.50 and 2.3.42.

Either a derivation from PIE **skeud-*, **skud-o-*, "archer" (Szemerényi 1980: 20-21 and 26)[19] or related to Waxi *skīd*, a kind of head gear (Cornillot 1981: 31).

- Babylonian:
  1) Is-ku-du-ru: DNa 17; XPh 22 (Is-ku-du-<ru>).
  2) Is-[k]u-du-ur: DSe 21.
- Elamite: Iš-ku-ud-ra: A^{3}Pb 25; DNa 23-24; XPh 22-23.

1.3.38 Sug(u)da- (Su-gu-u-d-): "Sogdia; the burnt land" (Tomaschek 1877: 74-75; Abayev 1949: 183 and 211; Harmatta 1977: 3-6 and 1979: 153-156; Tremblay 2004: 133-135). According to Tremblay (2004: 134) Suguda- is a slow or hypercorrect pronunciation of Sugda-. Cf. 2.2.52 and 2.3.45.

[19] This name evolved to **skuda-* in Proto-Iranian.

Two other theories on Suguda- are mentioned here for the sake of completeness: (1) The river Sox (meaning unknown) is affiliated with Suguda- (Eilers 1977: 289). (2) Szemerényi (1980: 34-39) pleads for a Sogdian form **Suγda-* < Old Iranian **Sug(u)da-*. **Suγda-* presupposes an older expression **Sukuda-*, which itself is an anaptyctical form of **skuda-*, "archer". See, however, Tremblay's objections (2004: 134).

- Babylonian:
  1) Su-gu-du: XPh 16.
  2) Su-gu-ud: DSaa 28.
  3) Su-ug-du: DB 6; DH 4; DNa 12; DPh 4; DSe 15; DSf 17.
- Elamite:
  1) Šu-ug-da: DH 4; DNa 18; DPh 4; DSz 35.
  2) Šu-ug-daš: DB i 13.

1.3.39 Tāravā (T-a-r-v-a): nom. sg. of **Tāra-van-*, "having a ford", present Tārum (Wüst 1966: 145; Herzfeld 1968: 299; Gershevitch 1979: 148n.37), Gk. Ταροανα (Metzler 1977: 1059).

The restoration of the Elamite spelling is not certain: either TUR-°- (King & Thompson 1907: 130; Weissbach 1911: 46; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt and Malbran-Labat 1993: 31) or DA-°- (NW 152; ElW 289).

- Aramaic: Trw: DB 76.
- Babylonian: Ta-ar-ma: DB 71.
- Elamite: [Da/Tur]-ra-ú-ma: DB iii 1.

1.3.40 Θataguš (Θ-t-gu-u-š): "Sattagydia", Θata-gu-š, "possessing hundreds of cattle" (OPG 187). Cf. 2.2.56 and 2.3.41.
- Elamite:
  1) Sa-ad-da-ku-iš: DB i 14; DNa 19.
  2) Sa-da-ku: XPh 18.
  3) Sa-ud-da-ku-iš: DB ii 3.

1.3.41 Uvādaičaya- (U-v-a-d-i-č-y-): "residence": Uvād-aiča-ya-, *-ya-* hypocoristic of an *-aiča-*extension of OP *uvādā-*, "residence, abode" (Zadok 1976b: 69). Cf. 2.3.22 and 2.3.48-49.

Zadok postulates an expression on *-iya-* (not *-aya-*) because all attested expressions of this toponym (Uvādaičiya-) comply with this reading. Nevertheless it is simpler to consider both **Uvādaiča-ya-* and **Uvādaič-iya-* as two perfectly possible variants of one name **Uvādaiča-*. The argument that the Babylonian version renders the name with SA instead of SI does not withhold Zadok from his postulation of Uvādaičiya-, as Iranian /i/ can — in his opinion (Zadok 1976d: 217) — be denoted in Babylonian with a Ca-sign. To prove his thesis Zadok refers to Čincixriš, which, however, must be read Činčaxriš (1.2.12).

- Babylonian: Ú-ma-da-sa-ia/a-a(?): DB 78.

1.3.42 Uvārazmiš (U-v-a-r-z-mi-i-š; OPs): "Chorasmia", Uvāra-zmi-, "dark-soiled land" (OPG 177; Bailey 1976: 30). Cf. 2.3.23 and 2.3.52.

According to another proposal (HdA 150) it is a vṛddhi from *uva-*, "own" (OPG 177) and **razm-* (< Av. *rasman-*, "battle line"), cf. OInd. *sva-rājya-*, "own dominion or kingdom".

– Elamite:
1) Ma-ra-iš-mi-iš: DNa 18.
2) Ma-ra-iz-ma: XPh 17.

1.3.43 [Uvāraz]miya- ([U-v-a-r-z]-mi-i-y-): "Chorasmian" (Schmitt 1977: 97). Cf. 2.3.53.
– Elamite: Ma-ráš-mi-ia: DB i 13; DSz 36-37.

1.3.44 Uyavā (U-y-v-a): name whose etymology is not yet known (Schmitt 1991: 58). Cf. 2.3.24.
– Babylonian: Ú-ia-a-ma-': DB 52.
– Elamite: Ú-i-ia-ma: DB ii 33.

1.3.45 Višpauzāti- (Vi-i-š-[p]-u-z-[a]-t-i-): the etymology and meaning of this toponym are not yet known (OPG 209; Schmitt 1991: 62).
– Babylonian: Ú-mi-iš-pa-za-tu: DB 65.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš: DB ii 70.

1.3.46 Yutiyā (Y-u-t-i-y-a): the inhabitants of this district are called Οὔτιοι in Greek (Marquart 1907: 144) and this name has led Gershevitch (1979: 148-149n.37) to consider /y/ as prosthetic and derive the expression from Av. *aota-*, "cold". His meaning is "cold land".
– Aramaic: Ywty: DB 36.
– Babylonian: Ia-ú-ti-ia: DB 71.
– Elamite: Ia-ú-ti-ia-iš: DB iii 1.

1.3.47 Zranka- (Z-r-k-): "Sea-land" (Eilers & Mayrhofer 1960: 120-121n.59). Cf. 2.3.54.
– Babylonian: Za-ra-an-ga: DB 6; DNa 13; DSaa 26; DSe 15 (Za-[ra-an]-ga); XPh 15.
– Elamite:
1) Iz-ra-an-ka$_4$: XPh 16.
2) Zir-ra-an-ka$_4$: DNa 18.

1.3.48 Zrankā- (Z-r-k-a-): gentilic of Zranka-. Cf. 2.3.55.
– Elamite:
1) Zir-ra-an-ka$_4$: A^{3}Pb 9; DNe 9 (^{r}Zir^{1}-ra-^{r}an^{1}-[ka$_4$]).
2) [Zir-ra]-in-kaš: DB i 12.

1.4. Loanwords

1.4.1. Abstract expressions

1.4.1.1 Ąrtā (a-r-t-a): *ąrtā*, instr. sg. (Skalmowski 1990: 84) of OP *ąrta-*, "truth, justice, right order" (OInd. *ṛtá-*, Av. *aša-*).

– Babylonian: ar-ta-: XPh 34,42,45.
– Elamite: ir-da-ha-: XPh 34,42,45.

1.4.1.2 Ar(u)vastam (A-ru-u-v-s-t-): acc. sg. of OP *ar(u)vasta-*, "physical prowess" (Cameron 1948: 42; Schaeder 1940: 289; OPG 170).
– Elamite: har-ma-[iš]-tam$_6$: DNb 3.

1.4.1.3 Čiça- (OP; č-i-ç-): "seed, lineage" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 184; HdA 112).
– Elamite: zí-iš-šá: DNa 11.

1.4.1.4 Miθa (mi-i-θ-): acc. sg. of *miθah-*, "evil" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 203).
– Elamite: mi-sa-iš: DNb 5.

1.4.1.5 Šyātiš/m (š-i-y-a-t-i-): "prosperity" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 210; HdA 143), more precisely the absence of war, famine and lies on the one hand and the presence of peaceful happiness on the other hand (Herrenschmidt 1991: 16). Cf. 2.4.1.1.

Šyāti- is a derivation (with suffix *-ti-*) from the Av. root **šiiā-*, "to enjoy" (AiW 1716; Johnson 1917: 106; ApI 318-319; OPG 210). Skalmowski (1990: 85-86) relates *šyāti-* to the OInd. root *khyā-*, "to see".

– Elamite: ši-ia-ti(-iš/-um)[20]: DE 6; DNa 3; DNb 2; DSab 1; DSf 2; DZc 2; XE 7; XPa 3; XPb 4; XPc 3; XPd 3; XPh 3; XV 5-6.

1.4.1.6 Xraθum (OP; x-r-θ-u-m): "wisdom" (OPG 180; HdA 125).
– Elamite: kur-r[a-a]d-[du]-um: DNb 3.

1.4.1.7 Xšaçam (OP; x-š-ç-m): acc. sg. of OP *xšaça-*, "dominion, kingship" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 181).
– Elamite: šá-iš-šá-[um]: XV 26-27.

1.4.2. Adjectives indicating a certain quality

1.4.2.1 Dr(u)va- (du-u-ru-u-v-): "stable, firm" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 45 and 191; HdA 90).
– Elamite: tar-ma: DB iii 65; DPf 16.

1.4.2.2 Frašam (f-r-š-m): acc. sg. of OP *fraša-*, "excellent" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 198; HdA 119; Hallock 1969: 744).
– Elamite: pír-ra-šá-um: DSf 49 ([p]ír-ra-šá-um), 49-50 (pír-ra-šá-[um]); DSj 5 (pír-ra-[šá]-um); DSz 54,55.

1.4.2.3 Paruzanānām (Med.; p-ru-u-v-z-n-a-n-a-m, p-r-u-z-n-a-n-a-m, p-ru-u-z-n-a-n-a-m): "having many tribes, having many kinds of men", gen. pl. of *paruzana-* (Cameron 1948: 42; HdA 138).
– Elamite:
1) bar-ru-za-na-iš-be-na (pl.): XV 12-13.

[20] The spellings, ending on UM, are a reflection of *šyātim*, the acc. sg. of *šyātiš*.

2) bar-ru-za-na-na-um: DE 15-16; XPa 8; XPb 9; XPd 7; XPh 7.
3) ba-ru-za-na-na-um: XE 16.

1.4.2.4 Tigraxaudā (t-i-g-r-x-u-d-a-): nom. pl. of *tigra-xauda-*, "wearing the pointed cap" (OPG 186).
- Babylonian: ti-gir-ḫu-ú-du: XPh 21.
- Elamite: ti-ik-ra-ka$_4$-u-da: A^{3}Pb 15; DNa 20-21; DNe 15; XPh 22.

1.4.2.5 Vispazana- (Med.; vi-i-s-p-z-n-): "containing all tribes, all kinds of men" (HdA 153). Cf. 2.4.2.1-3.
- Elamite: mi-iš-ba-za-na: DPa 3-4.

1.4.3. Appellatives

1.4.3.1 Apan(i)yāka- (a-p-n-y-a-k-): *apa-n(i)yāka-*, "great-great-grandfather" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 168; HdA 104).
- Elamite: ab-ba-nu-ia-ak-ka$_4$-: A^{2}Sa 3.

1.4.3.2 Framātāram (f-r-m-a-t-a-r-m): "master, lord, commander", acc. sg. of *framātar-* (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 198; HdA 119; NW 134).
- Elamite:
  1) pír-ra-ma-da-ra-um: DE 11-12; XE 12-13; XPb 7; XPc 5; XPd 5; XPh 5; XV 9-10 (pír-ra-ma-da-ra-na).
  2) pír-ra-ma-ud-da-ra-<<na>>-um: XPa 6.

1.4.3.3 Maguš (m-gu-u-š): "magian" (Cameron 1948: 43; HdA 130-131). Cf. 2.2.39 and 2.4.3.2.
- Aramaic: mgwš: DB 75.
- Babylonian: ma-gu-šú: DB 15,18,20,22,23,25,26,28,29,90,110; DBb 2.
- Elamite: ma-ku-iš: DB i 34,35,37,48,50,57, iii 49,92-93; DBb 1.

1.4.3.4 N(i)yākam (n-y-<a>-k-m): acc. sg. of *n(i)yāka-* "grandfather" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 194; HdA 135). Cf. 2.2.46.
- Elamite: nu-ia-ak-kam: A^{2}Sa 4.

1.4.3.5 Takabarā (t-k-b-r-a): nom. pl. of *takabara-*, "wearing the petasos-shield" (OPG 185; HdA 144; NW 152).
- Elamite:
  1) da-ak-ka$_4$-bar-ra: A^{3}Pb 26.
  2) da-ka$_4$-bar-ra-be: DNa 24.

1.4.3.6 Xšaçapāvana- (OP; x-š-ç-p-a-v-a): thematization of *xšaça-pāvan*, "satrap" (Cameron 1948: 42; Schmitt 1976: 374 and n.6). Cf. 2.4.3.3.

According to Hinz (NW 55; ASN 134) it means "satrapy" (**xšaçapā-vana-*, with *-vana-* being an abstracting suffix), but Schmitt (l.c.) pointed out that the function of this suffix is already being fulfilled by El. ME. The El. transcription thus consists of šá-ak-šá-ba-ma-na- on the one hand and *-me-* on the other hand. Possibly NA renders the final *n* of the original Ir. stem **xšaçapāvan-*.

- Elamite: šá-ak-šá-ba-ma-na-me: DB ii 80.

1.4.4. Architectural and technical expressions

1.4.4.1 Apadāna- (a-p-d-a-n-): "apadana, column hall" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 168; HdA 104).
- Babylonian: ap-pa-da-an: A^{2}Sa 2.
- Elamite: ha-ba-da-na: A^{2}Sa 3,4.

1.4.4.2 Ardastāna- (a-r-d-s-t-a-n): *arda-stāna-*, "window-frame" (Justi 1896-1904: 451n.5; AiW 193; König 1930: 69; ApI 74-76; Herzfeld 1947: 684; Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 171; Henning 1956: 328n.1; HdA 104; Wüst 1966: 22; Mayrhofer 1970: 284; NW 125; Tavernier 2003: 250-254), cf. NP *āstān* (< **ālstān*), "threshold". Although all authors agree on the meaning of the word, they have different opinions on the first part of it, *arda-*.

Skalmowski (apud Tavernier, l.c.) mentions an alternative etymology, according to which *ardastāna-* is an evolution from OInd. **arhṇt-tāna-*, meaning lit. "capable of expansion, extension", i.e. "space provider". Consequently the second part of *ardastāna-* could not be *stāna-*, "place". Itō's (1970: 16-18) proposal *ardastāna-*, "treasury" is not tenable because of the Babylonian equivalent *kuburru*, which clearly denotes an architectural element (George 1992: 435; Tavernier, l.c.).

- Elamite: har-da-iš-da-na: DPc.

1.4.4.3 Asa-: "stone" (Duchesne-Guillemin 1939-42: 925; Vallat 1970: 159).
- Elamite: áš-šá: DSz 38.

1.4.4.4 Patikarā (p-t-k-r-a): "sculptures", acc. pl. of *patikara-*, MP *patkar*, Sogd. *ptkr'k* (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 194-195). Cf. 2.4.4.3.
- Elamite: bat-ti-kar-ra-um: DB iii 85.

1.4.4.5 Pīru- (p-i-ru-u-š): "ivory" (Vallat 1970: 159; Mayrhofer 1972c: 53; NW 149). Cf. 4.3.168.

Despite the fact that Akk. *pīru*, "elephant" is attested earlier than its OP equivalents and a possible Semitic origin of *pīru* looks more probable at first sight, the expression's origin must be sought for in India (EWA II 296). Cf. Arab. *fīl*, "elephant", OInd. *pillakā-*, "female elephant", MP *pīl*, Parth. *pyl*, Sogd. *pyδ(h)*, NP *pīl*, Old Norse *fill*, "elephant". According to Hinz (apud Mayrhofer 1972c: 53n.4) HI is used to indicate the length of */i/*.

- Elamite: pi-hi-ra-um: DSz 40.

1.4.4.6 Sinkabruš (s-i-k-b-ru-u-š): "carnelian" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 209; HdA 142). Cf. Arm. *sngoir*, "red paint" (< **singaura-* < *sinkabru-* [Bailey 1961: 482]).

The Babylonian version of DSf is less well preserved, which has led to several readings: ṣ[i-i]r-ga-ru-ú (Scheil 1929: 8), ṣ[i-i]n-ga-[ba]-ru-ú (ApI 15 and 303-305) and ṣ[i-i]n-ga-[ab]-ru-ú (CAD Ṣ, 200; NW 151; Steve 1987: 77).

– Babylonian: ṣ[i-i]n-ga-[ab]-ru-ú: DSf 26.
– Elamite: ši-in-ka$_4$-ab-ru-iš: DSf 33; DSz 34.

1.4.4.7 Stūnā- (s-tu-u-n-a): "column" (OPG 210; HdA 143). Cf. 2.2.51 and 2.4.4.4.
– Elamite: iš-du-na-um: DSz 42.

1.4.4.8 Tačara- (d/t-č-r): "palace" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 186; HdA 144). Cf. 2.4.4.5.
– Babylonian:
1) da-šá-ri: A^{2}Sd 3.
2) ta-áš-šá-ri: XPj 1 (ta-áš-[šá-ri]); XPm.
– Elamite:
1) da-iz-za-ra(-um): DPa 6; XPj 1 (da-[iz]-za-ra); XPm.
2) da-za-ra: A^{2}Sd 4; XPj 3.

1.4.5. Colours and related expressions

1.4.5.1 Āranjanam (a-r-j-n-m): "colour, painting materials", MP *aβrang*, "splendour", Sogd. *rnk'n*, "coloured", NP *ārang*, "colour" (Bailey 1930-32: 598; Mayrhofer 1972c: 53; NW 124). Cf. 2.4.5.1.
Certainly not "ornament, decoration" (OPG 170; HdA 105), to MP *arzān-*. Vallat's (1970: 159) reading *arjanam* is not correct.
– Elamite: ha-ra-an-za-na-um: DSz 38-39.

1.4.5.2 Kapautaka- (k-p-u-t-k-): "blue" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 178; HdA 129). Cf. 2.4.5.3.
– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-ba-u-[da-ka$_4$]: DSf 32-33.
2) ka$_4$-ba-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: DSz 34.

1.4.6. Conjunctions and prepositions

1.4.6.1 -Čā- (-č-a-): "and" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 183).
– Babylonian: -šá-': XPh 34,42,45.
– Elamite: -zí-: XPh 34,42,45.

1.4.6.2 Hačā (h-č-a): "away from" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 212; HdA 122).
– Elamite: ha-iz-za: XPh 12-13.

1.4.6.3 Pasāva- (p-s-a-v-): "afterwards...me" (OPG 197; HdA 138).
– Elamite: ba-iš-šá-ma-: XPh 26.

1.4.6.4 Utā (u-t-a): "and" (OPG 175; HdA 149), OInd. *utá*, Av. *uta*, OP *utā*, Parth. *'wd*.
– Elamite: ud-da: A^{2}Sa 4,5.

1.4.6.5 Yanaiy (y-n-i-y): "where, whereon" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 205; HdA 155). Cf. 2.4.6.1.
– Elamite: ia-na-a: XV 22.

1.4.7. Fiscal expressions

1.4.7.1 Bājiš (b-a-ji-i-): bāji-š, "tax" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 199), MP and NP *bāj*, Sogd. *bwž* (in *bwžbr*, "tax collector"). Cf. 2.4.7.1.
– Elamite: ba-zí-iš: XPh 13.

1.4.8. Geographical expressions

1.4.8.1 Būmiyā (b-u-mi-i-y-a): loc. sg. of *būmi-*, "earth, world" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 200-201; HdA 111).
– Elamite: bu-mi-ia: A^{2}Sa 1.

1.4.8.2 Dahyāu- (d-h-y-a-u-) / dahyu- (d-h-y-u-): "country, province" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 62-63 and 190; HdA 64 and 114; Schmitt 1999b).
Rather not "people, nation" (Lecoq 1990: 131-139). Originally it was an adjective meaning "surrounding, adjoining" (Skalmowski 1991: 188-189). In all likelihood the El. scribe thought of a form with the diphthong /āu/, when he inserted U in his spelling. Spellings with Ú render *dahyu-*. The co-existence in Old Persian of both *dahyāu-* as *dahyu-* must have been confusing for the Elamite scribes.
– Elamite:
1) da-a-hu-iš(-be-na): A^{2}Sa 1; A^{2}Sg 1; DE 14-15; XPca 6.
2) da-a-ia-ma[21]: XPh 11-12,25,28,29.
3) da-a-ia-u-iš(-mi/-da): DB i 15,17,18-19,26,27,31, iv 1; DNa 31,32,44; DSf 51 ([d]a-a-ia-u-iš-mi); DSj 5; DSz 56.
4) da-a-ia-ú-iš(-mi): DB i 45,51, ii 20,77-78,78-79,85, iii 34,65; XPh 49.
5) da-a-u-[iš-be-na]: DSm.
6) da-a-ú-iš(-be-na): A^{2}Sd 1-2 (da-[a]-ú-iš-be-na); DB i 1 (da-a-ú-[i]š-be-na); DH 1-2; DNa 8; DPa 3; DPf 3; DPh 1-2; DSab 3; DSi 2 ([da]-a-ú-iš-be-na); DSz 2; DZb 3 ([da]-a-ú-iš-[be-na]); DZc 4; WDb 3-4; WDc 4-5; WDd 4; WDg 3-4; WDh 3-4; XE 15-16; XPcb 11; XPd 6-7; XPh 7; XPj 1; XV 12.
7) da-a-hu-na-um[22]: XPa 7-8.

1.4.8.3 Stāna- (s-t-a-n-): "place" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 210; HdA 143). Cf. 2.3.44.
– Elamite: iš-da-na: XV 21.

1.4.8.4 Visadahyu- (vi-i-s-d-h-y-u; OP): "of/for all countries" (OPG 208). Cf. 2.4.8.1.
– Elamite: mi-iš-šá-da-a-hu-iš: XPa 11-12.

[21] This spelling renders two declined forms of *dahyāu-*/*dahyu-*: *dahyāva* (nom. pl.) and *dahyāvam* (acc. sg.).
[22] This spelling renders *dahyūnām* (d-h-y-u-n-a-m), the gen. pl. of *dahyāu-*/*dahyu-*.

1.4.9. Indications of character traits

1.4.9.1 Arīka- (A-r-i-k-): "unfaithful, evil" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 170). Cf. OInd. *alīka-*, OP *arīka-* and Sogd. *ryk*.
– Elamite: ha-ri-ik-ka$_4$: DB i 26, iii 79.

1.4.9.2 Aṛtāvā (a-r-t-a-v-a): nom. sg. of *aṛtavant-*, "righteous, truthful", an adjectival derivation from *aṛta-* (OPG 171; HdA 106), cf. Av. *aṣ̌āuuaṇt-*.
– Babylonian: ar-ta-a-ma: XPh 40,46.
– Elamite: ir-da-ma: XPh 40,46.

1.4.9.3 Ayāumainiš (a-y-a-u-m-i-n-i-š): "weak, unsteady, clumsy, careless" (Sims-Williams 1981: 6; Tavernier 2001c: 167).
– Aramaic: ʾymnš: DB 69.

1.4.9.4 Učāram (u-č-a-r-m): nom.-acc. sg. of *učāra-*, "successful, well done" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 175; Schmitt 1978d: 106).
– Elamite: ú-za-ra-um: DSf 18; DSj 4; DSz 16-17.

1.4.10. Juridical expressions

1.4.10.1 Dātā (d-a-t-a): instr. sg. of *dāta-*, "law, decree" (OPG 189; HdA 115), MP and NP *dād*, Khot. *dāta-*. Cf. 2.4.9.1.
– Babylonian: da-a-ta: XPh 40,43.
– Elamite: da-ad-da-ma (with Elamite ending *-ma*): XPh 40,43.

1.4.10.2 Dātam (d-a-t-m): acc. sg. of *dāta-* (Cameron 1948: 42).
– Babylonian: da-a-tu: XPh 14.
– Elamite:
1) da-ad-da-um: XPh 14-15.
2) da-at-tam$_5$: DNa 16.

1.4.11. Metrological expressions

1.4.11.1 Kaṛša- (k-r-š-): "weight" (Kent 1943: 227-229; Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 180; HdA 129). Cf. 2.4.10.1.
– Elamite: kur-šá-um: WDa 1; WDc 1; WDd 1.

1.4.12. Month names[23]

1.4.12.1 Āçiyādiya- (a-ç-i-y-a-di-i-y-): 9th month. *Āçi-yād-iya-*. Adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from **āçiyāda-*, "worshiping by means of fire", named after a religious feast celebrated in this month (Schmitt 2003: 32-33, with literature). Cf. 2.4.11.1-3.

[23] Other theories on these month names, which are not accepted here, are mentioned in Schmitt 2003.

– Elamite: ha-iš-ši-ia-ti-ia-iš: DB i 71, ii 84.

1.4.12.2 Adukana- (a-du-u-k-n-i-š-h-y): 1st month. *Adu-kana-*, "month of the digging of canals" (Schmitt 2003: 41-42, with literature). Cf. 2.4.11.4-6. Composed of **adu-*, "canal" (Av. *aδu-*) and **kan-*, "to dig" (OInd. *khan-*, Av. and OP *kan-*).
– Elamite: ha-du-kán-na-iš-na (gen.): DB ii 53.

1.4.12.3 Anāmaka- (a-n-a-m-k-): 10th month. *An-āma-ka-*, "having no raw meat for sacrifice" or "having no raw meat for food" (Schmitt 2003: 28-29, with literature), to OInd. *āmá-*, Khot. *hāma-*, NP *xām*, Pašto *ōm*, and Arm. *hum*. Cf. 2.4.11.7.
– Elamite: ha-na-ma-ak-kaš: DB i 77, ii 19,43, iii 26.

1.4.12.4 Bāgayādiš (b-a-g-y-a-d-i-š): 7th month. *Bāga-yādi-*, adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from **baga-yāda-*, "worship of god", name of the New Year Festival (Schmitt 2003: 30, with literature). Cf. 2.4.11.8-10.
– Elamite: ba-ge-ia-ti-iš: DB i 42.

1.4.12.5 Garmapada- (g-r-m-p-d-): 4th month. *Garma-pada-*, "causing very warm footsteps" (Schmitt 2003: 26-27, with literature). Cf. 2.4.11.11.
– Elamite: kar-ma-bat-taš: DB i 32, ii 76-77.

1.4.12.6 Θāigračīš (Θ-a-i-g-r-č-i-š): 3rd month. *Vṛddhi*-derivation on *-i-* from **θigra-ka-*, an adjective of **θigra-*, "garlic" (Schmitt 2003: 38-39, with literature), cf. OInd. *śígru-*, "horse radish tree", MP and NP *sīr*. The palatalisation occurred following the pattern of Maka- / Mačiya- and *Ākaufaka- / Ākaufačiyā- (Schmitt 2003: 39); Cf. 2.1.5 and 2.4.11.12.
– Elamite: sa-a-kur-ri-zí-iš: DB ii 35.

1.4.12.7 Viyaxana- (vi-i-y-x-n-): 12th month, whose exact etymology is not yet known (Schmitt 2003: 44, with literature). Cf. 2.4.11.14-17.
– Elamite: mi-ia-kán-na-iš: DB ii 72.

1.4.13. Plants

1.4.13.1 Yakā- (y-k-a-): "Dalbergia Sassoo", the jaγ-tree (Gershevitch 1957: 317-320; HdA 155).
– Elamite: ia-ka$_4$-um: DSz 31.

1.4.14. Pronominal expressions

1.4.14.1 Ahyāyā (a-h-y-a-y-a): loc. fem. sg. of OP *iyam*, "this one" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 68).
– Elamite: a-ia-a-e: A^{2}Sa 1.

1.4.15. Religious expressions

1.4.15.1 Brazmaniya (b-r-z-m-n-i-y): instr. sg. of *brazmanī-*, "devotion" (Cameron 1948: 43; Skalmowski 1990: 83-84), OInd. *bráhman-*, "pious effusion". Cf. 2.4.13.1.

Henning (1944: 108) prefers a nom. sg. of an adjectival derivation from *brazman-*.

– Elamite: pír-ra-iz-man-nu-ia: XPh 34,42,45.

1.4.15.2 Daivā (d-i-v-a): nom. pl. of *daiva-*, "demon, idol" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 189; HdA 114).

– Elamite: da-a-ma: XPh 29-30,32,33.

1.4.15.3 Daivadānam (d-i-v-d-a-n-m): "daiva-temple", acc. sg. of *daivadāna-* (OPG 189; HdA 114).

– Elamite: da-a-ma-da-na-um: XPh 31.

1.4.15.4 Haumavarga- (h-u-m-v-r-g): most likely "laying *hauma*-plants (instead of the usual grass) around (the fire)" (Hoffmann 1976: 612n.6; Jacobs 1982: 78n.39a; Schmitt 2003b: 63). Cf. 2.2.29 and 2.4.13.2.

The first part of this word is clear: *hauma-*, "the haoma-plant" (HdA 125)[24]. The second element, *-varga-*, however, has caused a debate among the scholars (cf. Schmitt 2003b: 63). Bailey (1971b: 17 and 1972: 105) considers Av. *varaxəδra-*, a ritual-technical expression, as related with *-varga-* and translates "celebrating the haoma-cult". Originally Gershevitch (1969b: 168-169) toyed with the possibility that the OP /v/ was at first /b/, which developed to /v/ through /β/, resulting in a meaning "welcoming haoma" (Av. *barəg-*, "to welcome"). Later (1974: 56 and 72), however, he changed his mind: *-varga-* now was a PIE *-gh*-extension of OIr. **hvar-*, "to eat, drink". Gershevitch's new translation is "haoma-swiller". Finally according to the opinion of Schmid (1978: 21) *-varga-* is derived from PIE **u̯elg-*, "to be moist, humid". His translation of the expression is "haoma-moist". The connections with Av. *varəka-*, "leaf" and *vəhrka-*, "wolf" should be abandoned (Schmitt, l.c.).

– Elamite: u-mu-mar-ka$_4$: A^{3}Pb 14; DNa 20.

1.4.15.5 Kayādā (k-y-a-d-a): "black magic rituals" (Steve 1975: 11; Szemerényi 1979: 60), Av. *kaiiaδa-*.

– Elamite: ke-ia-da: A^{2}Sa 5.

1.4.15.6 Yātu- (y-a-tu-u-): (1) "magic, wizardry", (2) "harm, disadvantage" (Steve 1975: 11; Mayrhofer, apud Steve 1975: 11n.5; Szemerényi 1979: 60). OInd. *yātú-*, Av. *yātu-*, Sogd. *y't̲wq*, MP *jādūg*, NP *jādū*.

According to Werba (2006: 289n.137) hi-ia-du cannot render **yātu-*, but must represent **ha-yātl/θu-*, because of HI. This is, however, not necessary. Either *hi* is an El. pronoun or it is a scribal error.

– Elamite: ia-du: A^{2}Sa 5.

[24] Despite Kothe (1969: 76-77), Parlato (1981: 224-226) and Bailey (1985: 69-70), who deny any connection with *hauma-*.

1.4.16. Verbal expressions

1.4.16.1 Āham: "I was", impf. 1 sg. of *ah-*, "to be" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 174; EIW 651). The Elamite scribe considered OP *arīka āham* as one entity, which explains his spelling ha-ri-ik-ka$_4$-ha-um.

– Elamite: ha-um: DB iii 79.

1.4.16.2 Ahaniy (a-h-n-i-y): "I would be", subj. 1 sg. of *ah-* (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 174). Again the El. scribe put two OP expressions together: *šāti ahaniy* appears as šá-da-ha-nu.

– Elamite: ha-nu: XPh 39.

1.4.16.3 Ayauda (a-y-u-d): "he became rebellious", impf. 3 sg. of *yaud-* (OPG 204), Av. *yaoz-*.

– Elamite: ha-a-ia-u-da: XPh 26.

1.4.16.4 Framātam (f-r-m-a-t-m): "commander", past part. nom. sg. of *fra-mā-* (HdA 119; OnP 2.396; EIW 215).

– Elamite: pír-ra-ma-ut-tam$_6$: DSz 54-55.

1.4.16.5 Patiyāvahyaiy (p-t-i-y-a-v-h-y-i-y): "I prayed to", med. impf. 1 sg. of *pati-avahya-* (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 173; HdA 140).

– Elamite: bat-ti-ia-man-ia-a: DB i 41-42.

2. SEMI-DIRECTLY TRANSMITTED IRANICA

2.1. Names of deities

2.1.1 *Ahuramazdā- (OPd): expression belonging to a dialect within Old Persian. Cf. 1.1.2.
- Aramaic: ʾHwrmzd: DB 2,5,10,12,13,16,26,32; ESE 1 71 no.2:2 (= RÉS 1785 H).
- Babylonian:
  1) A-ḫu-ru-ma-az-da: DE 1.
  2) A-ḫu-ru-ma-az-da-ʾ: A^1Pb 7-8; DPa 1,16,17,20; DSab 1,3; DSe 10; XPa 1,11,17; XPb 1,15; XPd 1,9; XPf 1,14,21,26,34, 35,38; XPh 1,10,26,27,30,33,36,37.
  3) A-ḫu-ru-mu-uz-da: A^3Sa 6.
  4) A-ḫu-ru-mu-uz-du: A^2Sa 4.
  5) A-ḫu-ur-ma-az-da-ʾ: DNa 1,8,20; DNb 1; DH 6,7; DPh 6,7; DSe 6; DSf 1,10; XE 1; XPc 1,9,13; XSa 1; XV 1.
  6) A-ḫu-ur-mu-zu-d[u]: A^2Sd 3.

2.1.2 *Auramazdā- (OPs): OPs equivalent of *Ahuramazdā-. Cf. 1.1.2.
- Elamite:
  1) U-ra-maš-da: PF 337:7-8, 339:4, 771:4; PFNN 114:4-5, 366:6-7, 379:4, 683:4-5, 978:5, 2200:2.
  2) U-r[i]-um-maš-da: PF 338:5.

2.1.3 *Axšēna-: < OP *axšaina-*, "turquois", indication of colour as a divine name (EIW 44). Cf. 2.2.9 and 2.4.5.2.
- Elamite: Ak-še(?)-na: OGWA 321-322:4.

2.1.4 *Miça-: OP equivalent of Miθra-. Cf. 1.1.3-4 and 2.2.43-44.
- Elamite: Mi-iš-šá: A^2Sa 4,5.

2.1.5 *Θāigračīš: month name used as name of a deity. Cf. 1.4.12.6 and 2.4.11.12.
- Elamite:
  1) Sa-a-kur-ra-zí-iš: OGWA 321-322:12.
  2) Sa-a-kur-zí-iš: PFNN 613:7-8, 679:7-8, 1679:6-7.

2.2. Personal names

2.2.1 *Āçina- (OP). Cf. 1.2.1 and 2.2.8.
- Aramaic: ʾŠyn: AP 65,5; TAD D 7.29:2.

– Elamite:
  1) Ha-iš-ši-na: PF 1548:2-3, 1948:70; PFNN 593:7-8, 1361:3, 2163:2-3.
  2) Ha-ši-na: PF 35:4, 351:2, 426:2, 1465:1-2, 1549:8, 1945:4, 1985:8; PFNN 9:3, 329:13, 2532:3, etc. in PFNN.

2.2.2 *Aršāma-: cf. Hinz (ASN 206), Kornfeld (1978: 99), Neumann (1979: 43), Schmitt (1982c: 375 and 1982d: IV/18), Vittmann (2004: 164) and cf. 1.2.3.
– Aramaic: ʾRšm: OIP 117 22:4; TAD A 4.1:2, 4.2:5,8,9,14, 4.5:2, 4.7:4,30, 4.8:4,29, 6.2:1,22,27, etc. in TAD A 6; TAD D 6.7f:2, 6.8a:1, 6.13g:2 (ʾRš[m]).
– Babylonian:
  1) Ar-šá-am: BE 10 130-131:2, 132:2,5,13; PBS 2/1 144-148:2.
  2) Ar-šá-am-mu: BE 9 1:6,19; EE 109:1; IMT 9:4; TCL 13 203:8.
  3) Ar-šá-mu: EE 11:4.
– Demotic: ỉršm: P. Mainz 17:1 (cf. Vittmann 1989: 224); S.H5-434 i 1,12, rev. ii 1,9,13 (cf. Huyse 1992: 292; Smith 1992: 296-298).
– Elamite: Ir-šá-ma: PF 309:3, 733:5, 734:5, 2035:4,5.
– Lycian: Arssãma-: DÖAW 135 318a.

2.2.3 *Ạrtavardiya-: cf. OnP 8.623 and 1.2.4.
– Elamite:
  1) Ir-du-mar-ti-ia: PF 689:4-5, 690:3, 1207:4-5, 1208:3, 1247:5-6, 1830:2, 1831:1-2, 1968:6,17, 1991:5, 1997:7, 2082:7; PFNN 522:35, 549:5, 758:6, 2367:2-3, etc. in PFNN.
  2) Ir-du-ur-ti-ia: PF 76:6-7, 1225:2; PFNN 47:29, 957:3, 516:8-9.

2.2.4 *Ạrtavarziya- (Med.): cf. Kornfeld (1978: 100). Cf. 1.2.4.
– Aramaic: ʾRtwrzy: DB 39.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia: DB 73,74 (Ar-ta-mar-zi-<ia>),76.

2.2.5 *Ạrtaxšaça- (OP): Artaxerxes. Cf. 1.2.5.
– Aramaic: ʾRtḫšsš[25]: AOI 13:2; A[1]Vsh; FX 136:2; KAI 260:1; TAD B 2.2:2, 3.11:1, 7.2:1; TAD D 2.12:1, 12.2I, 12.2P, 17.1:4; Transeuphratène. Suppl.9 19:2; WDSP 2:12, 7:19 (ʾRtḫš[sš]), 10:1.
– Babylonian:
  1) Ar: AfO 19 78 Amherst 247:15.
  2) Ár: OECT 10 215:2.

[25] An abbreviated form of this spelling is ʾRtḫš (TAD B 3.3:1).

3) Ar-ta-aḫ-sa-su: BM 13256:3,4 (cf. Stolper 1999: 596n.17).
4) Ar-ta-aḫ-šá-as-si-iš: TCL 13 205:39; TuM 2/3 7:25.
5) Ar-ta-aḫ-šá-as-su: BaM 21 604:24; OECT 10 192:17; RA 97 97-98 (BM 54647:26; [A]r-°).
6) Ar-ta-ak-šá-as-su: RA 85 58:34; RA 97 89-90 (BM 54297:32), 100-101 (BM 54671:16; [Ar-t]a-°), 104 (BM 54813:rev.5'; °-a[s-s]u).
7) Ar-ta-as-su: OECT 10 191:19.
8) Ar-taḫ-sa-su: JCS 53 87 no.1:19.
9) Ar-taḫ-sa-tu: TBER Pl.37 (AO 17604:22), Pl.42 (AO 17612:42').
10) Ar-taḫ-ša-as-su: BE 9 3:27.
11) Ar-taḫ-šá-as: BE 9 42:14, 63:19, 83:3.
12) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-aḫ-su: UET 4 92:13.
13) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-is-su: BE 9 31:25.
14) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-sa-áš: BaM 15 268 no.4:11; BaM 21 602:19; ROMCT 2 20:17.
15) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-si-iš: BE 9 39:16, 70:2,17.
16) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-siš: BE 9 60:16; IMT 37:2,18.
17) Ar-taḫ-šá-as-su: BE 8/1 122:20, 125:16, 126:17; BE 9 passim; BRM 1 86:16; IMT 3:10; JCS 28 200:rev.6'; TBER Pl.54 (AO 17657:3); UET 4 3:39, passim in LB texts.
18) Ar-taḫ-šat-su: Mich 28:4; OECT 10 200:15; TBER Pl.55 (AO 17659:13), passim in LB texts.
19) Ar-táḫ-šá-as-su: OECT 10 191:19.
20) Ar-tak-a-ḫi-ši: LBAT 1411-1412:rev.1.
21) Ar-tak-as-su: CT 44 81:17.
22) [A]r-ta-ka-su: OECT 10 189:rev.8.
23) Ar-tak-šá-as-si: OECT 10 197:25, 204:18.
24) Ar-tak-šá-as-su: BE 9 32a:16, 78:14, 98:15; IMT 64:4.
25) Ar-tak-šá-i-su: AJSL 16 82 no.33:rev.12'.
26) Ar-tak-šá-si: OECT 10 193:16.
27) Ar-tak-šá-su: OECT 10 232:7; RA 85 55:20.
28) Ar-tak-šat-su: ABC 9:1; AD -361:obv.1; AD 5 60:rev. iv 10',12'; Akkadica 126 142 O.316:8' (Ar-tak-šat), O.318:11, O.319:14'; BE 8/1 121:5,18; BE 9 59:4,23; CT 44 76:23; CT 49 2:7; CTMMA 3 125:2'; IMT 9:10; OECT 10 228:rev.6'; TBER Pl.20 (AO 8165:14'); UET 4 42:36, passim in LB texts.
29) Ar-ta-ri-ta-as-su: AOAT 267 237:17, 598:23; RT 19 101:3. Cf. Stolper 1999: 595-597.

30) Ár-šat-su: Mich 2:23; TBER Pl.47 (AO 17628:12), Pl.53 (AO 17653:5), Pl.54 (AO 17654:11). Error for Ár-taḫ-šat-su.
31) Ár-taḫ-šá-as-si: OECT 10 199:16.
32) Ár-taḫ-šá-as-su: UET 4 4:rev.10, 18:44, 28:31, etc. in UET 4.
33) Ár-taḫ-šá-as-ú-su: UET 4 193:4.
34) Ár-taḫ-šá-su: UET 4 22:25, 57:30.
35) Ár-taḫ-šat-su: AD 5 63:obv.1,4, 64:obv. ii 18' ('Ár-taḫ-šat'-[su]); ROMCT 2 35:27; UET 4 2:43, 48:3, 11,16, 49:3,12,17,30, 109:4,rev.11.
36) Ár-taḫ-šá-za-su: UET 4 105:16.
37) Ár-tak-'-su: AJSL 16 81 no.31:8.
38) Ár-tak-šá-as-su: Iraq 41 138 no.49:20.
39) Ár-tak-šat-su[26]: AD -346:obv.1,Lo.E., -366:Le.E., -453:obv. i 1, -440:obv.1; AD 5 61:obv. v 11'; CT 49 1:8, 3:11, 4:10; JAOS 121 646 7',11'-12'; JCS 28 34 no.20:13; Mich 2:7; OECT 10 194:42; TBER Pl.88 (AO 26780:3').
40) Ár-tu(?)-š[at-su(?)]: CT 22 181:7.
41) Aš-taḫ-šá-as-su: BSCAS 32 50 SC.61:4; JCS 28 24 no.3:5, 37 no.24:5; JCS 40 149:7, 152:9; NBC 6150:6, 6157:6 (cf. Zadok & Zadok 1997).
42) Aš-taḫ-šá-si: NBC 6245:12 (reference M.W. Stolper).
43) Aš-taḫ-šat-su: ROMCT 2 47:5, 48:7, 49:5; TBER Pl.51 (AO 17640:22).
44) Áš-taḫ-šá-as-su: TBER Pl.51 (AO 17641:14).
45) []-taḫ-šá-as-si(?)-šú: VS 6 188:32.

– Demotic:
1) ʒrṯḫššš[27]: Anonymus 1997 120 no.621; Studia Demotica 5 1-3, 5-6; P. Dem. Lille 27:6; P. Sorbonne 1276:1; P. Wien 10151:1.
2) ʒrṯḫšt<š>: Studia Demotica 5 11 (ʒrṯḫšt<š>).
3) ʒrṯḫšṯš[28]: Studia Demotica 5 10.
4) ʒrṯḫṯš: Studia Demotica 5 8-9 (ʒrṯḫ<š>ṯš).

– Hieroglyphic:
1) ʒ-r-tʒ-ḫʒ-šʒ-s-šʒ: BdE 11 33:3.
2) ʒ-rw-tʒ-ḫ-šʒ-šʒ-s: BdE 11 31:3.
3) ʒ-rw-tʒ-ḫʒ-šʒ-s-šʒ: BdE 11 32:2.

[26] An abbreviated form of this spelling is Ár-tak (OECT 10 217:2).
[27] An abbreviated form of this spelling is ʒrṯ (BSFE 137 43; Chauveau 1996: 43).
[28] Concerning the spellings 3 and 4 Vleeming (2001: 2) argues that an engraver misread s as ṯ.

4) ʒ-rw-ṯ-ḫ-š-ś-ʒ: ASAE 55 270 fig.4.
5) ʒ-rw-ṯ-ḫʒ-š-s-šʒ: A^1Vsg; A^1Vsi.

– Lydian[29]:
1) Artakśassa°: G 2:1, 41:1-2 (Arta[kśass]a°).
2) Artakśaś[sa][30]: G 71:3-4.

2.2.6 *Aryāramna-. Cf. 1.2.6 and 2.3.5.
– Aramaic: 'Ryrmn: JNES 58 3 fig.2:2.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ri-ia-ra-ma[n-na]: PFa 24:5.
2) Har-ri-ia-ra-am-na: PFNN 2539:8.
3) Har-ri-ia-ra-um-na: PFa 29:10; PFNN 2300:21.

2.2.7 *Aspačanā[31]: cf. 1.2.7.
– Aramaic: 'Spšn: TAD B 8.8:5.
– Elamite: Áš-ba-za-na: Fort. 7093:2; PF 565:6-7, 806:7, 1444:9, 1853:2; PFNN 1359:9, 2401:3; PFS 1567 (°-<na>); PT 12:2, 12a:2 (°-b[a-za-na]), 14:2 (°-z[a-na]); PTS 14 (°-<na>).

2.2.8 *Āθrina- (Med.): Med. equivalent of *Āçina-, Parth. 'Tryn (Schmitt 1998: 187). Cf. 1.2.1 and 2.2.1.
– Babylonian: At-ri-na: DB 30,31,33,99.

2.2.9 *Axšēna-: < **axšaina-*, "turquois" (ASN 25). Cf. 2.1.3 and 2.4.5.2.
– Elamite: Ak-še-na: PF 479:2; PFNN 522:14, 1467:2, 2127:2.

2.2.10 *Bagābigna-. Cf. 1.2.8.
– Aramaic: Bgbgn: TAD C 3.26:38.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-bi-gi-in: PBS 2/1 107:17,L.E.
– Elamite: Ba-ka_4-pi-ik-na: PF 1451:2-3, 1798:18, 1802:13-14, 1829:5-6, 1951:30; PFNN 705:7, 1209:3, 1895:6, 2357:22; PT 4:9.

2.2.11 *Bagabuxša-: cf. Kornfeld (1978: 101), ElW 141 and 1.2.9.
– Aramaic:
1) Bgbḫš: TAD C 4.7:10.
2) Bgbwḫš: TAD B 8.4:10.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka_4-bu-ik-iš-šá: PFNN 1542:4-5.
2) Ba-ka_4-bu-ik-šá: PF 1271:2, 1953:22,25; PFNN 2434:3.

[29] Cf. Gusmani (1964: 62 and 1980: 33) and Schmitt (1982d: IV/29-30).
[30] Originally Gusmani (1986: 33 and 153) read Artakśa[], a reading which Gusmani & Akkan later (2004: 147n.16) changed into the current reading.
[31] PFS 1567 and PTS 14 are seals of this person, despite the disappeared sign NA (Garrison 1998: 124-125).

3) Ba-ka$_4$-bu-uk-šá: PF 137:2-3, 667:8-9, 981:3, 1119:6-7 (Ba-ka$_4$-[bu]-uk-šá), 1255:2; PFNN 709:10-11, 970:3-4 (°-pu-u[k]-šá), 1801:2-3, 2519:2-3; PT 37-38:21, 41:17-18, 42:25, etc. in PT.

2.2.12 *Bạrziya- (Med.): equivalent of Bạrdiya- (Mayrhofer 1979: II/17). Cf. 1.2.10.
- Aramaic: B[r]zy: DB 41.
- Babylonian:
  1) Ba-ar-z[i-ia/iá]: AION Suppl. 67 25:6.
  2) Ba-ri-zi-ia[32]: ZA 4 149-150 no.4:7.
  3) Bar-si-[ia/iá][33]: AION Suppl. 67 21:7.
  4) Bar-zi-ia: AION Suppl. 67 9:19, 18:8, 20:3, 23:8, 30:2,22, 34:2; BE 8/1 101:17; CII 1/2/1 64 ii 10; DB 12,72,74,79,94; GCCI 2 132:9; JCS 28 35 no.21:23; VS 4 85:17; ZA 4 147-148 no.1:16, 149 no.3:7, 150 no.5:8, 152 no.9:16.
  5) Bar-zi-iá: AION Suppl. 67 11:18, 14:8, 36:11; BE 8/1 100:14; DB 13,16, 21,75,91,110; DBb 3; DBh 3; IOS 18 291 no.6:18; Liverpool 22:20; VS 4 86:15; VS 6 117:20; ZA 4 148-149 no.2:20, 150-151 no.7:17.

2.2.13 *Čiçanta(h)ma- (OP): Čiçan-ta(h)ma-. This is the correct Old Persian form (ASN 72). Cf. 1.2.11.
- Elamite: Ti-iš-šá-an-tam$_5$-ma: PF 48:3-4.

2.2.14 *Čiθrantaxma- (Med.): Med. equivalent of *Čiçan-ta(h)ma- (Gershevitch 1969: 250; OnP 8.1884; ASN 75). Cf. 1.2.11.
- Babylonian:
  1) Ši-it-ra-an-taḫ-ma: DB 61,63.
  2) Ši-tir-an-taḫ-mu: DB 93; DBg 1.
- Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-an-tak-ma: PFNN 558:32.

2.2.15 *Dādạrši-. Cf. 1.2.13.
- Babylonian: Da-da-ar-šú: PBS 2/1 37:5; TuM 2/3 147:24.
- Elamite: Da-tur-ši-iš: PFNN 2541:20.

2.2.16 *Daha-: gentilic used as anthroponym (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.330; ASN 79). Cf. 1.3.10 and 2.3.11.
- Elamite: Da-ha: PF 320:5.

2.2.17 *Dārayahuš (OPd): retrenchment of Dārayavahuš (Schmitt 1973b: 142 and n.30; Werba 1982: 152-153; Schmitt 1990c). Cf. 1.2.14.

[32] Stolper (pers. comm. 11/07/01) wonders if Ba-ar-zi-ia is a better reading.

[33] Graziani (1991: 24) reads Bar-di-[ia/iá], but the photograph on Pl.7 makes clear that Bar-si-° is a better reading than Bar-di-[ia/iá].

- Aramaic: Dryhwš: BE 10 78:rev.2; DB 51,74; PBS 2/1 149:obv.4; TAD A 4.7:19,21,30; TAD B 3.7:1.

2.2.18 *Dārayauš / *Dārēyauš: OPs equivalent of *Dārayavahuš. Cf. 1.2.14.
- Babylonian:
  1) Da: FuB 14 22 no.12:4. Abbreviation of *Dāraya(h)uš or *Dārayava(h)uš.
  2) Da-ar-'-šú: PIHANS 86 140:19 (Pl.8).
  3) Da-a-re-'-ia-uš: AM 79:23.
  4) Da-a-re-'-i-šu: Dar. 38:16.
  5) Da-a-re-'-šu: AM 53:18.
  6) Da-a-re-'-šú: TuM 2/3 169:21; VS 4 140:15.
  7) Da-a-re-'-uš: Dar. 390:15.
  8) Da-a-re-a-šú: VS 3 169:10.
  9) Da-a-re-ia-'-uš-šú: BE 8/1 108:28, 113:13.
  10) Da-a-re-ia-šú: Dar. 443:18, 446:22, 449:11.
  11) Da-a-<re>-šú: AM 38:23.
  12) Da-ar-iá-'-a-šú: VS 5 94:20.
  13) Da-ar-iá-a-šú: AM 74:18.
  14) Da-a-ru-eš-šú: CT 55 74:16; CT 57 36:29; Dar. 5:2, 113:1, 281:3, 320:9.
  15) Da-a-ru-ia-eš-šú: CT 55 293:8; CT 56 139:7, 444:3'; CT 57 17:2; Dar. 74:15, 285:3.
  16) Da-ra-áš: SCT 83:15. Inaccurate spelling.
  17) Da-re-'-a-šú: Dar. 176:3, 563:17.
  18) Da-re-'-ia-uš: VS 3 88:16.
  19) Da-re-'-i-šu: Dar. 38:16.
  20) Da-re-'-i-ú-šú: OECT 12 A133:19.
  21) Da-re-'-šú: CT 55 27:11, 114:17; Dar. 35:17, 70:22, 124:20, 126:21, etc.; EPHE IV/2/25 Pl.2:15, 4:19; TuM 2/3 96:13, 165:18; VS 3 91:21 (Da-'-re-šú); VS 4 126:18, 168:15, etc. in LB texts.
  22) Da-re-'-uš: CTMMA 3 66:18; Dar. 138:16, 140:21, 191:18, 206:3,21; EPHE IV/2/25 261:16; TuM 2/3 220:15.
  23) Da-re-'-uš-šú: BE 8/1 110:18.
  24) Da-re-'-ú-šú: Dar. 53:21, 323:45; TuM 2/3 163:16; VS 3 95:16, 98:16, etc. in LB texts.
  25) Da-re-a-'-uš: Dar. 380:24.
  26) Da-re-e-šú: Dar. 143:5, 195:13.
  27) Da-re-eš-šú: Dar. 7:14, 517:2; VS 3 89:15; VS 6 118:20.
  28) Da-re-ia-a-šú: Dar. 67:17, 117:14, 181:17, 196:11.

29) Da-re-ia-a-uš-šú: AM 109:19.
30) Da-re-ia-eš-šú: Dar. 250:6.
31) Da-re-iá-šú: BM 74644:26; EPHE IV/2/25 Pl.11:19; TuM 2/3 172:19.
32) Da-re-ia-uš: AM 94:15; BE 8/1 107:25; CT 55 30:10.
33) Da-re-i-šú: Dar. 414:5.
34) Da-re-še-ia: AM 43:17. Inaccurate spelling.
35) Da-re-šú: CT 55 285:11, 767:rev.7; CT 56 190:8, etc. in CT 56-57; Dar. 2:3, 8:3, 436:11, 445:6, 516:2; EPHE IV/2/25 248:18.
36) Da-re-uš: BOR 4 6:9; Dar. 56:19, 218:3, 525:7.
37) Da-re-uš-šú: CT 55 286:11, 573:10, 873:5; CT 56 462:3, etc. in CT 56-57; Dar. 1:16, 32:6, 33:8, 49:12, 65:10, 183:9, 365:14; PIHANS 86 228 (Pl.56).
38) Da-re-ú-šu: CT 51 49:16; Dar. 311:16.
39) Da-re-ú-šú: Dar. 245:38.
40) Da-rè-'-šú: Dar. 526:17.
41) Da-ru-'-šú: VS 3 111:22.
42) []-ia-'-ši: AM 39:10'.

– Demotic: T3riwš[34]: Fs Smith 195:1; P. Berl. 3079:1, 3110:1.
– Elamite:
1) Da-re-ia-hu-iš: A^{2}Sd 2. This spelling could also render *Dārayahuš.
2) Da-re-ia-u-iš: DB i 20; PF 1829:7, 1860:4; PFNN 290:12, 1776:3; PT 4:19-20, 5:9-10.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) In-ti-rw-š3: BdE 11 35, 102.
2) T3-rw-š3: RT 23 76 no.130 ii 1.
– Lycian[35]: Ñtarijeus: TL 44b:59.

2.2.19 *Dārayavahuš (OPd). Cf. 1.2.14.
– Aramaic:
1) Drywhš: Syria 41 285:2; WDSP 1:1 ([D]rywhš]).
2) Drywhwš: ATNS 27:4; TAD A 4.1:2, A 4.7:2,4, A 4.8:4,19,29; TAD B 2.9:1, B 2.11:1.

[34] Iw is rather to be expected in a hieratic text (Martin 1999: 194-196 n.a).
[35] Cf. Benveniste (1966: 102) and Schmitt (1982c: 376 and 1982d: IV/24). The Lycian name comes directly from Old Persian, contrary to what Arkwright (1899: 56; also Sundwall 1913: 19) believes, but it is not a representation of Dārayavauš, as Carruba (1978: 865-866) argues.

– Demotic:
1) T3rywhš: Stela Berlin 2137:1 (cf. Brugsch 1855: 200 and Pl.4 no.1).
2) T3rywhwš: BSFE 137 42 fig. 4:1.
– Elamite: Da-re-ia-u-ú-iš: PFNN 1528:8-9.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) In-ti-rw-y-w3-h-w-š3: Settgast 1978 256.
2) T3-rw-y-w-h-š3: Goyon 1957 109:1.
3) T̲-rw-y-w-h-š3: CdE 12 139.

2.2.20 *Dārayavauš / *Dārēvauš: OPs equivalent of *Dārayavahuš. Cf. 1.2.14.
– Aramaic:
1) Drwš: TAD B 1.1:1.
2) Drywš[36]: TAD B 5.1:1; TAD D 22.29:1.
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-da-ia-a-muš: PBS 2/1 182:8. Error for Da-ar-ia-a-muš.
2) Da-ar-'-a-mu-uš: TCL 13 202:18.
3) Da-ar-'-muš: YNER 1 Pl.5 no.4:18.
4) Da-ar-'-mu-šú: AM 96:20.
5) Da-a-ra-ia-a-muš: PBS 2/1 190:2.
6) Da-a-ra-ia-muš: Dar. 214:15.
7) Da-a-ra-ia-mu-uš: AM 27:27.
8) Da-ar-a-muš: PBS 2/1 180:20.
9) Da-a-ra-mu-uš: AM 26:16.
10) Da-a-re-'-muš: AJSL 16 71 no.9:19; BM 74625:21, 74658: 20, 79714:17 (Da-a-<ri>-'-muš); Dar. 133:16, 151:20, 358: 20, 404:19, 415:18, 482:4,17, 491:27.
11) Da-a-re-'-mu-šú: AM 92:14; VS 3 102:20.
12) Da-a-re-a-a-muš: PBS 2/1 20:17.
13) Da-a-re-a-muš: BE 10 4:29, 17:21, 19:23, etc. in BE 10; OECT 10 156:16.
14) Da-a-re-a-mu-uš: AnOr 9 11:23.
15) Da-a-re-em-muš[37]: Dar. 392:26.
16) Da-a-re-em-uš-šú: Dar. 39:15.
17) Da-a-re-ia-a-muš: AD -418B:rev.1; BE 10 5:23, 7:20, 9:36, etc. in BE 10; IMT 81:rev.2'; PBS 2/1 19:4,6, etc. in PBS 2/1.

[36] As Ar. w reflects both /au/ and /v/, Drywš can render both OP forms *Dārayauš and *Dārayavauš.
[37] Possibly EM is here and in the spellings 16 and 71 a mistake for '.

18) Da-a-re-ia-a-mu-uš: Dar. 298:19, 409:27; EPHE IV/2/25 251:21; Mesopotamia 10-11 19 no.33:2; TCL 13 181:29; YNER 1 Pl.8 no.7:21.
19) Da-a-re-ia-muš: BM 74010:22 (Da-a-re-muš-ia; reference C. Waerzeggers); CT 51 51:16; CT 55 104:17, 274:rev.3, 277:2, etc. in CT 55-57; CTMMA 3 98:19, 114:18 ([D]a-a-re-ia-ʳmušˀ), 117:6, 122:26, 124:16; Dar. 37:39, 80:55, 100:10, 120:17, etc.
20) Da-a-re-ia-mu-uš: CT 51 56:25; Dar. 189:1, 321:44, 341:19, 465:16, 568:29; Iraq 59 155 no.9:21; Liverpool 177:44; VS 4 119:18, 130:15.
21) Da-a-re-iá-ʾ-muš: VS 6 145:4.
22) Da-a-re-iá-a-muš: VS 3 128:17.
23) Da-a-re-iá-muš: AfO 38-39 92:34; Liverpool 181:23; TuM 2/3 200:13; VS 5 77:21.
24) Da-a-re-iá-mu-šú: BM 67429:5 (reference C. Waerzeggers).
25) Da-a-re-iá-mu-uš: AfO 42-43 60:29; CTMMA 3 120:19.
26) Da-a-re-i-muš: AM 31:3; VS 5 64:26.
27) Da-a-re-i-mu-uš: Dar. 50:17; VS 4 153:17.
28) Da-a-re-muš: AD -418B:obv.1; BRM 1 69:17; CTMMA 3 96:15; Dar. 122:17, 127:19, 158:19, 207:15, 313:20, 315:2,17, 362:3,19, 384:2,23, 387:18, 391:17, 392:5, 393:24, 398:2,8, 403:17, 428:16, 431:25, 441:16; OECT 10 137:21, 155:17; UET 4 93:18; VS 3 127:17; VS 6 153:12.
29) Da-a-re-muš-šú: AfO Beih. 25 52:rev.5'.
30) Da-a-re-mu-šú: CT 55 43:7; Dar. 42:4, 116:15, 136:4; LO 144:rev.1; VS 3 97:19.
31) Da-a-re-mu-uš: Dar. 27:2, 95:18, 227:41; Liverpool 173:18, 175:41; TuM 2/3 164:17.
32) Da-ar-ia-a-muš: BE 10 45:22; EPHE IV/2/25 Pl.13:30; RA 90 42:11.
33) Da-ar-ia-muš: VS 3 96:16.
34) Da-ar-ia-mu-uš: OECT 10 161:19.
35) Da-ar-muš: BM 28899:7 (cf. Zadok 2002c); Dar. 243:17.
36) Da-ar-mu-šú: FLP 628:30.
37) Da-ar-ra-a-muš: BaM 21 600:22.
38) Da-ar-ra-šú: BE 8/1 102:11 (collation E. Leichty)[38].

[38] Zadok (2002d: no.3) believes that the name is written Da-ar-ra-ku and that it is a mistake for Da-ar-ra-šu.

39) Da-ar-re-muš: TuM 2/3 61:15.
40) Da-a-ru-a-[muš]: CT 57 357:9.
41) Da-a-ru-i[a-muš]: PIHANS 86 216-217:3,rev.9'.
42) Da-a-ru-ia-mu-[u]š-šú: LO 23:9.
43) Da-a-ru-mu-šú: Dar. 22:15, 28:2.
44) Da-a-ru-mu-uš-šú: Dar. 253:15.
45) Da-ra-ʾ-muš: VS 5 65:rev.5'.
46) Da-ra-a-muš: AM 44:23, 54:17, 56:18, 88:28; BaM 21 607:20, 608:23, 610:14; BE 10 118:2,19,39; Dar. 275:21; PIHANS 86 180:20 (Pl.30: Da-ra-a-m[uš]); TBER Pl.39 (AO 17606:22).
47) Da-ra-a-mu-šú: AM 63:2,18; VS 6 172:rev.4'.
48) Da-ra-ia-a-muš: AMI N.F. 16 234:20.
49) Da-ra-iá-muš: BE 10 41:19.
50) Da-ra-ia-mu-uš: AM 20:19.
51) Da-ra-muš: AD 5 65 A rev. ii 31'; BaM 21 606:21; BE 10 108:16; EE 9:6'; IMT 87:rev.8'; JAOS 121 646 4'-5',10',14'; PBS 2/1 81:24; UET 4 10:rev.14, 53:rev.34, 65:17.
52) Dar-a-muš: UET 4 25:48.
53) Da-ra-muš-šú: AM 52:5', 59:17.
54) Da-ra-mu-šú: AD 5 9: rev. ii' 6'; AM 37:14.
55) Da-ra-mu-uš: AM 46:21, 131:8'; Dar. 15:20.
56) Da-re-ʾ-a-muš: BE 8/1 106:24; CT 55 31:5; Dar. 159:2, 238:21; VS 4 134:19, etc. in LB texts.
57) Da-re-ʾ-ia-a-mu-uš: Dar. 31:13; Liverpool 172:13.
58) Da-re-ʾ-ia-muš: BE 8/1 103:14; Dar. 350:2,15, 361:14, 372:20, 494:27, 502:17, 504:2, 507:20, 514:18, 569:11, 573:17.
59) Da-re-ʾ-ia-mu-uš: Dar. 134:20.
60) Da-re-ʾ-^{mu}muš: VS 4 101:20.
61) Da-re-ʾ-muš: BE 10 120:15; CT 55 682:5; CT 57 122:rev.2, 374:rev.3; CTMMA 3 68:4,19, 69:20, 89:20, 93:19, 113:16; Dar. 46:9, 64:20, 73:15, 77:18, 97:16, 105:15, 132:13, 164:21, 166:18, 329:9, 346:14, etc.; PBS 2/1 91:21, U.E., 222:15.
62) Da-re-ʾ-muš-šú: AM 51b:21, 57:18, 64:15, 90:16, 116:16; AOAT 272 738 no.7:16; CT 55 748:9; TuM 2/3 131:16, 171:14; VS 5 114:23.
63) Da-re-ʾ-mu-šú: Dar. 76:23, 259:3, 263:2, 345:16, 550:22; TCL 13 189:32; VS 3 104:20; VS 4 99:20, 176:14.

64) Da-re-ʾ-mu-uš: VS 3 105:22; VS 5 79:23.
65) Da-re-a-ʾ-muš: AM 108:17, 136:2,15 ([Da]-°).
66) [Da]-re-a-meš-mu-šú: ROMCT 2 31:18.
67) Da-re-a-muš: BE 10 16:22, 33:22; CT 51 52:18; Dar. 153:15, 332:20, 374:14, 389:16, 412:12, 476:4,16, 485:22, 496:19, 505:13, 506:15, 543:33, 560:16; IMT 46:14, 99:4; PBS 2/1 9:24, etc. in PBS 2/1; VS 3 157:18.
68) Da-re-a-muš-šú: OECT 10 139:17.
69) Da-re-a-mu-šú: VS 3 109:20.
70) Da-re-a-mu-uš: AM 66:15; Dar. 17:15; VS 4 105:14.
71) Da-re-em-mu-uš: Dar. 349:17. Cf. no.16.
72) Da-re-i: TuM 2/3 185:20. Abbreviation of Da-re-i-°.
73) Da-re-ia-ʾ-muš: CT 51 55:20; CT 57 262:2.
74) Da-re-ia-a-ʾ-muš: AM 169:17.
75) Da-re-ia-a-muš: AM 143:2'; BE 10 22:14; CT 51 53:18; Dar. 84:14, 211:14, 212:22, 220:9, 229:4, 244:24, 262:16, 265:36, 267:25, 273:26, 294:9, 418:20, 478:21; IMT 23:8; Iraq 59 174 no.57:23 (°-m[uš]); PBS 2/1 6:4, 7:16, 8:11, etc. in PBS 2/1; UCP 9/3 277:28.
76) Da-re-iá-a-muš: AM 133:16; CT 4 45b:16; CT 56 308:3; CT 57 545:rev.1; CTMMA 115:19, 126:3,19; Dar. 78:14, 279:19, 571:2,20; OECT 12 A119:23; TuM 2/3 62:17; VS 3 103:18; VS 4 157:20.
77) Da-re-ia-a-mu-šú: Fs D'jakonov 125 no.2:23.
78) Da-re-ia-a-mu-uš: CT 51 48:26 ([Da]-re-ia-a-mu-uš); Dar. 44:13, 266:27, 413:19; TBER Pl.71 (AO 20172:22), 74 (AO 20297:44); VS 4 89:20.
79) Da-re-iá-a-mu-uš: VS 3 162:21; VS 4 141:14.
80) Da-re-ia-^{mu}muš: VS 4 90:18.
81) Da-re-ia-muš: BE 10 1:22, etc. in BE 10; CT 44 74:2; CT 55 37:10, 139:rev.6, 269:6, etc. in CT 55-57; CTMMA 3 41:16, 90:28, 94:18, 97:26, 110:3' (Da-re-[ia-muš]), 111:rev.5' (Da-re-i[a-muš]), 112:18 (Da-r[e-ia-mu]š), 119:5,15 (Da-r[e-i]a-muš), 123:rev.10' (Da-re-ia-[muš]), 124:2 ([D]a-re-ia-m[uš]), 128:7; Dar. 6:3, 10:3, 13:9, 25:19, 26:40, 51:14, 60:13, 61:17, 69:14, etc.; PBS 2/1 25:24; TuM 2/3 2:43 (Da-re-ia-<<iá>>-muš, cf. Oelsner 2000: 179), etc. in LB texts.
82) Da-re-iá-muš: BE 10 32:21; CT 55 306:21, 866:8; CT 57 9:2, etc. in CT 57; CTMMA 3 90:1; Iraq 59 168 no.44: rev.8'; ZA 90 84:21.

83) Da-re-ia-mu-šú: BM 64072:11 (reference C. Waerzeggers); LO 106:9.
84) Da-re-iá-mu-šú: VS 3 107:14.
85) Da-re-ia-mu-uš: BRM 1 75:23; Dar. 23:19, 45:15, 93:24, 114:14, 163:23, 173:20, 409:7; VS 3 68:12; VS 4 114:18; VS 6 126:17.
86) Da-re-i-muš: AfO 36-37 52 no.7:11'; UET 4 99:15.
87) Da-re-i-mu-šú: Dar. 110:18.
88) Da-re-i-mu-uš: WVDOG 4 Pl.15 no.3:2.
89) Da-re-mu-a-šu: VS 3 141:18.
90) Da-re-mu-eš: LO 43:13.
91) Da-re-mu-eš-šú: CT 57 153:4; Dar. 7:6,18, 71:14; PIHANS 86 141 (Pl.9).
92) Da-re-^{mu}meš: Dar. 119:13; Liverpool 174:13.
93) Da-re-^{mu}muš: AM 36b:21; UET 4 107:16; VS 4 103:15.
94) Da-re-muš: BE 10 29:1,7,20; BRM 1 71:15; CT 55 46:11, 95:18, 380:7, etc. in CT 55-57; CTMMA 3 42:rev.4', 65:13, 92:29 (Da-re-m[uš]); Dar. 75:19, 94:3, 96:15, 142:19, 144:21, 145:5, 148:6, 170:19, 190:8, 208:8, 216:14, 226:16, 240:8, 260:33, 278:15, 288:26, 327:13, 335:15, 342:14, 448:16, 521:11; PBS 2/1 121:18.
95) Da-re-mu-šá: Dar. 535:11.
96) Da-re-muš-šú: AM 71:19, 91:7'; CT 55 137:rev.7.
97) Da-re-mu-šú: CT 55 32:12, 61:7, 66:13; CT 55-57 passim; CTMMA 3 91:24; Dar. 3:16, 4:12, 11:11, 18:6, 21:4, 24:3, 29:8, 30:10, 34:8, 36:15, 40:3, 41:6, 47:2, 52:24, etc.; Iraq 59 167 no.40:4, no.42:18 (°-<šú>); ROMCT 2 23:19, 24:18; Stevenson 1902 36:rev.2, 39:rev.3; VS 4 124:18, etc. in LB texts.
98) Da-re-mu-uš: Dar. 141:12, 287:24, 397:21; VS 4 174:12.
99) Da-re-mu-uš-šú: Stevenson 1902 33:rev.7.
100) Da-re-uš-mu-šú: Dar. 121:8.
101) Dar-ia-a-muš: AM 40:8'.
102) Dar-iá-a-muš: BE 10 121:14.
103) Dar-ia-muš: BE 10 111:19; PBS 2/1 92:12.
104) ^{Da}dar-muš: EE 42:15; PBS 2/1 214:6,16.
105) Dar-muš: AfO 19 77 Amherst 241; UET 4 11:rev.24, 55:39, 205:13,18,53.
106) Dar-ra-a-muš: BM 116622:11 (reference M.W. Stolper).
107) Da-ru-ʾ-muš: CT 55 36:9; PIHANS 86 216:6' (Pl.50: [Da]-ru-ʾ-muš).

108) Da-ru-ma-áš-šú: RA 90 43:20, 44:22, 47:18.
109) Da-ru-ú-me-šú: Levant 16 21:16.
110) Di-x-ʾ-x-meš[39]: CBS 3566:8.

– Demotic:
1) Tɜrwš: P. Bibl.Nat. 223:2; P. Cairo CG 31046:1.
2) Tɜryɜwš: P. Wien 10150:1.
3) Tɜrywš: P. Berl. 3078:1, 13582:1; P. Bibl.Nat. 216-217:1; P. BM 10450:1; P. Loeb 45:1; P. Louvre 3231a:1; P. Strassburg 4:1; P. Turin 2125:1, 2127:1.
4) Trwyš: P. Turin 2122:1.
5) Trywš: Enchoria 23 33:5; P. BM 10449:1; P. Dem. Saq. I 8:5; P. Loeb 46:1; P. Louvre 2430 passim, 7128:1, 9292:1; P. Mich 3525b:1; P. Turin 2123:1.
6) Ṯrɜwš: P. Ryl. 9 i 1.
7) Ṯrwš: Stela Cairo 50042:9 (cf. Spiegelberg 1932: 13 and Pl.10).
8) Ṯrywš: P. Berl. 13540:1; P. Cairo CG 31241:1.

– Elamite: Da-re-a-ma-u-iš: PTS 3 (cf. Cameron 1948: 55n.6).
– Hieroglyphic:
1) In-tɜ-r-w-šɜ: BdE 11 22:1.
2) In-ti-r-w-šɜ: BdE 11 19:1, 21:1.
3) In-ti-rw-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 106; BSAE 29 Pl.57 no.27:2.
4) In-ti-rw-y-w-šɜ: BdE 11 28:2, 30:1.
5) In-ti-rw-y-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 8 I, 24:3, 37, 38, 103-105, 107-112; RT 21 66-67 no.25 ii 8; RT 23 78-79 no.133 ii 8.
6) In-ti-sḫt-rw-šɜ[40]: ZÄS 49 71 and Pl.8,1.
7) In-ṯ-r-y-w-šɜ: RT 21 67 no.26 ii 1.
8) In-ṯ-rw-y-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 8 iii 4.
9) N-d-rw-iw-ṯ: BdE 11 1 i 43 ii 5.
10) T-r-w-šɜ: Serapeum 421 (cf. Posener 1936: 162).
11) T-r-y-w-šɜ: ASAE 55 267 no.1.
12) T-t-r-w-šɜ: Serapeum 320 (cf. Posener 1936: 162).
13) Tɜ-r-w-šɜ: BdE 11 15-18:1.
14) Tɜ-rw-wɜ-šɜ: BdE 11 5 i 2,ii 1, 101; RT 23 80-81 no.135 ii 1.

[39] The first x could be RI, written over an erased sign. The second x looks more like UR, possibly IA, also written over an erased sign (Stolper, pers. comm. 11/07/01).

[40] The presence of SḪT is probably due to an imitation of the demotic sign Y on the original demotic version of this text (Burchardt 1911: 71). Demotic Y can indeed be seen, albeit with a line underneath, resulting in a non-perfect SḪT. The bad spelling In-ti-sḫt-rw-šɜ is the result of this, but this fits with the bad artistic quality of the stela.

15) Tɜ-rw-y-w-šɜ: BdE 11 114; Cahiers de Karnak 6 211 (T3-rw-y-[w-š3]).
16) Ṯ-r-y-w-šɜ: BdE 11 13:5.

2.2.21 *Dātavahyā (OP). Cf. 1.2.15 and 2.2.71.
Cameron (1948: 210) considers Da-ad-da-man-ia as a variant of Dātuvahyā. Yet this proposal should be discarded since the latter name should be read Dātavahyā. Hinz & Koch (EIW 247) reconstruct *Dātavanya-.
– Aramaic: Dtwhy: TAD C 4.7:2.
– Elamite:
1) Da-ad-da-man-ia: PT 8:11-12.
2) Da-du-man-ia: PF 1455:2, 2018:45; PFNN 850:3, 2101: 4-5,12, 2356:1,23, 2291:12-13, etc. in PFNN; PT 6:10, 7:11.
3) Da-ud-du-man-ia: PFNN 2529:29.

2.2.22 *Frāda-. Cf. 1.2.16.
– Aramaic: Prd: ATNS 71:3, 73:2, 101:5; Pers 21:3.
– Elamite: Pír-ra-da: PF 745:3; PFNN 822:4.

2.2.23 *Gaubar(u)va-. Cf. 1.2.18.
With regard to the Aramaic spelling Gbrw Lemaire (2002: 170) mentions a connection with Gbr, the name of an Aramaic king in the inscription of Kilamuwa.
– Aramaic:
1) Gbrw: Transeuphratène. Suppl.9 324:2.
2) Gwbrw: Pers 69:1.
– Babylonian:
1) Gu-bar: EE 111:rev.; Mich 14:2; PBS 2/1 100:12.
2) Gu-ba-ra: VAT 15613:5',9' (cf. Eilers 1940b: 194n.2).
3) Gu-ba-ri: Akkadica 126 152 O.168:2; BE 10 91:20,U.E.; PBS 2/1 70:15; YOS 7 178:16.
4) Gu-bar-ra: AnOr 8 45:3,13,15; BE 10 128:18,U.E.; PBS 2/1 105:13, 128:17, 133:20,23, 224:9; TBER Pl.1 (AO 1729:10,14); TuM 2/3 190:U.E.; VAT 15613:4' (cf. Eilers 1940b: 194n.2); WZKM 86 198:5.
5) Gu-bar-ri: BE 10 84:5,9,11,Lo.E., 85:15, 97:17, 101:25, 114:14, 118:14; EE 32:4'; PBS 2/1 70:Lo.E., 72:12,Lo.E., 96:16; TBER Pl.1 (AO 1729:4).
6) Gú-bar-ri: BE 8/1 80:13,14,15.
7) Gu-bar-ru: AnOr 8 43:16,18; BIN 1 114:15; BIN 2 169:22; Mich 89:44; YOS 3 111:35; YOS 7 160:12, 168:8, 172:13, 177:9.
8) Gú-bar-ru: YOS 3 106:7.
9) Gu-ba-ru: ABC 7 iii 20; AnOr 8 46:2,8,12, 61:12; Camb. 96:3,4,8; JCS 28 48 no.43:13; YOS 7 56:5, 70:5, 92:4, 128:19, 137:27.

10) Ug-ba-ru: ABC 7 iii 15,22. Inaccurate spelling.

– Elamite: Kam-bar-ma: Fort. 1017:5; PF 353:10, 688:2, 1153:7, 1219:2, 1986:4; PFNN 210:2, 1133:2-3, 1581:5, 1847:4, 2298:29, 2533:4.

2.2.24 *Gaumāta-. Cf. 1.2.19.

– Elamite: Kam-ma-da: PF 756:5; PFNN 595:4-5.

2.2.25 *Halēva-: equivalent (*l*-dialect) of *Harēva- < Haraiva- (2.3.17).

– Elamite: Ha-le-ma: Fort. 8628:3, 8629:7; PF 1194:2, 1950:13 (Ha-le-[ma]); PFNN 590:2-3, 714:3, 2123:2.

2.2.26 *Haraya-: gentilic of Haraiva-, used as an anthroponym (ASN 118). Cf. 2.3.16.

Benveniste (1966: 82) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.458) read Arya-, which is, however, usually spelled Har-re-ia (ASN 118).

– Elamite: Ha-re-ia: PF 458:2, 1217-1218:2; PFNN 1606:2-3.

2.2.27 *Haraxūtīš (East Ir.): < *Haraxvatiya- (as read by ASN 117), gentilic of *Haraxvatī-, used here as personal name. Cf. 1.3.13 and 2.3.13-15.

According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.460) this name is identical to the name Haraxvatiš itself, but it is more likely that not the toponym but the gentilic was used as a personal name (ASN 117).

– Elamite: Har-ku-ti-iš: PF 1462:2-3.

2.2.28 *Harēva-: < Haraiva-. Cf. 2.3.17.

Benveniste (1966: 82) pleads for *Aryama- or *Aryāva-. Lipiński (1977: 107) believes in an Aramaic name, being *Ḥarīma, "sacred", but this is, however, unlikely (ElW 629). Hinz (ASN 117) reads *Haraiva-.

– Elamite: Ha-re-ma: PF 753:3; PFNN 556:3-4 (H[a-re]-ma).

2.2.29 *Haumavarga-: loanword used as anthroponym (ElW 1223). Cf. 1.4.15.4 and 2.4.13.2.

– Elamite: U-ma-mar-ka$_4$: PFNN 2277:10.

2.2.30 *Haxāmaniš. Cf. 1.2.20.

– Aramaic: ʾḤmnš: TAD A 6.1:1,5; TAD C 3.8 i 8.

2.2.31 *Haxāmanišī-: < Haxāmanišiya- through contraction. Cf. 1.2.21.

– Babylonian:

1) A-ḫa-ma-an-ni-iš-ši-ʾ: DPa 5; XPa 9; XPc 13; XPf 9; XPh 8; XPj 1 (A-ḫa-[ma-an]-ni-iš-ši-[ʾ]); XV 14.
2) A-ḫa-ma-an-niš-ši-ʾ: DSab 3 (°-an-[niš-ši-ʾ]); XPb 13; XPd 14; XPe 4; XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1.
3) A-ḫa-^{ma}man-ni-iš-ši-i: XE 20.
4) A-ḫa-ma-ni-iš-ši: DB 3; DSaa 3.
5) A-ḫa-ma-ni-iš-ši-ʾ: DB 1; DE 20; DSe 5; DSg 2.
6) A-ḫa-ma-ni-ši-ʾ: A^{2}Sa 3.
7) A-ḫa-ma-niš-ši-ʾ: CMa; DH 2; DMb; DNa 6; DPh 2; DSe 7.

8) A-ḫa-man-niš-ši-ʾ: WDa 5; WDb 4; WDc 4; WDd 5; WDg 4; WDh 4.
9) A-ḫa-ma-nu-uš: A^{2}Sd 2. Inaccurate spelling.

2.2.32 *Haxāmanišiya-. Cf. 1.2.21.

– Hieroglyphic: I-ɜ-ḫ-m-in-š: BdE 11 8 iii 5.

2.2.33 *Hinduš: "Indian" (OnP 8.400; ASN 121). Cf. 1.3.14 and 2.3.20.

– Elamite:

1) E-du-iš: PFNN 2279:6-7.
2) E-du-šá: PF 1171:3.
3) E-in-du-iš: PF 1172:2.
4) Hi-du-iš: PF 596:2.
5) Hi-in-du-iš: PFNN 2303:8.

2.2.34 *(H)utāna-: although (H)utāna- is rendered in the Babylonian version of DB by Ú-mi-it-ta-na-ʾ, it can be assumed that Hu-ta-an-na-ʾ too is a rendering of (H)utāna- (Stolper 1989: 287). Cf. 1.2.29.

– Babylonian: Ḫu-ta-an-na-ʾ: JNES 48 284:1 (reading: Stolper 1989: 286).

– Elamite:

1) Ú-da-na: PF 66:4, 1495:5; PFNN 375:2, 534:3; PT 36:7-8, 52:6-7, 1963-14:7.
2) Ú-ud-da-na: PF 1400-1401:2, 1687:2.

– Lycian[41]: Utãna: TL 44c:5.

2.2.35 *Kambūjiya-: Cambyses. Cf. 1.2.22.

– Aramaic:

1) Kbwz[y]: ATNS 34a:3.
2) Knbwzy: ATNS 99:1; TAD A 4.7:13, 4.9:5.
3) Knbzy: TAD A 4.6:17.

– Babylonian[42]:

1) Gab-b[u-zi]-iá: GCCI 2 218:12.
2) Gam-bu-zi-ia: EPHE IV/2/25 241:13; Iraq 59 152 no.2:19.
3) Gam-bu-zi-iá: AfO 19 77 Amherst 231 and 235; Camb. 261:19, 322:5, etc.
4) Ka-am-bu-zi-ia: Akkadica 126 156 O.1931:2; AnOr 8 69:3, 72:4, 74:20, 75:4, 78:4; AnOr 9 20:1; Camb. 39:15, 40:6,

[41] Cf. Arkwright (1899: 56), Houwink ten Cate (1961: 8) and Schmitt (1982c: 376 and 1982d: IV/25-26).

[42] Because of the fact that GAB and GAM cannot be read *kab*$_x$ and *kam*$_x$, an inaccuracy occurs here: the distinction voiced-voiceless is not maintained.

The Late Babylonian shapes of KAM and KAM are extremely hard to distinguish. As a consequence all spellings are transliterated using *kam*.

46:17, 233:19; IBK 7-8 162:3; TCL 13 148:4, 162:20, 164:26, 165:21, 175-176:4, 177:26; YOS 1 48:4, 49:2, 51:4, etc. in LB texts.
5) Ka-am-bu-zi-iá: OECT 12 A115:17.
6) Ka-am-mu-zi-ia: AOAT 330 259 no.23:9.
7) Ka-ba-zi-iá: Camb. 144:12.
8) Kam^{am}-bu-zi-ia: Camb. 1:14.
9) Kam^{am}-bu-zi-iá: Camb. 16:20, 219:14, 337:14; Iraq 59 167 no.41:16.
10) Kam-bu-si-iá[43]: OECT 10 127:12'.
11) Kam-bu-si-sá: BE 8/1 102:11[44].
12) Kam-bu-ú-zi-ia: BE 8/1 77:2,16.
13) Kam-bu-zi-a: Camb. 363:7; Giessen 47:15; RA 25 80 no.19:rev.6.
14) Kam-bu-zi-i-a: PSBA 9 289:10.
15) Kam-bu-zi-ia: ABC 7 iii 24; BE 8/1 passim; Camb. 2:19, 3:20, 4:13, 5:5, 15:17, 203:7 (Kam-<bu>-zi-ia), 207:8 (Kam-<bu>-zi-ia), 220:7, 434:8, passim in Camb.; CT 51 47:5'; CT 55 186:9; CTMMA 3 37:19, 38:19 (Kam-[bu]-⌜zi-ia⌝), 61:13, 62:7; Cyr. 177:1, 325:6, 335:10, etc.; ROMCT 2 27:14 (Kam-bu-zi-<ia>); TBER Pl.67 (AO 19927:18); UET 1 194:2; YOS 1 50:4; YOS 3 106:34, passim in LB texts.
16) Kam-bu-zi-iá: AnOr 9 9:7; Camb. 6:10, 7:8, 26:4, 35:11, 229:5, 260:16, 264:6, 293:13, 300:3, 312:5, 339:7, 340:8, 417:7, 438:21; CT 55 120:14, 260:7; CT 56 227:7, 240:8; CTMMA 3 40:rev.7', 63:17, 109:47; Cyr. 270:4; VS 4 70:23, 71:14, etc. in LB texts.
17) Kam-bu-zi-<<zi>>: CT 55 168:13. Error for Kam-bu-zi-ia/iá.
18) Ku-am-bu-zi-ia: CT 55 822:7; CT 56 124:4.

– Demotic:
1) Gmʒd̲[45]: P. Ryl. 9 xxi 7,9.
2) Kbd̲: P. Cairo CG 50059:8,10.

– Elamite: Kán-bu-zí-ia: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:6 (Kán-⌜bu⌝-z[í-i]a),19; PF 302:5-6; PFNN 2350:6-7,19.

[43] Audial error for Kam-bu-zi-iá (Zadok 2002d: no.3).
[44] Clay (1908: 35 no.29), the editor of this text, reads Kam-bu-zi-ia. Zadok (2002d: no.3) reads Kam-bu-si-di-a, but his final A belongs to the following a-di-i.
[45] This is in all probability a propagandistic spelling. The tekst displays a negative image of Cambyses (Vittmann 1998: 564) and Eg. *gm-ʒd̲* means "he who finds injustice" (cf. Erichsen 1954: 14 and 579).

– Hieroglyphic:
1) K-m-b-i-t̲: BdE 11 2:2.
2) K-m-b-i-t̲-t: BdE 11 1:11,18,25, 2:3, 3 ii 10 ([K-m]-b-i-t̲-t), 4:1.
3) K-n-b-w-ḏʒ: BdE 11 28:1.

2.2.36 *Kāθaka- (OP): "semiprecious stone". Cf. 2.4.4.1-2.
– Elamite: Ka-si-ka$_4$: PFNN 1022:27.

2.2.37 *Māda-: "Median" (Arkwright 1899: 55; Kretschmer 1909: 33 and n.1; Benveniste 1966: 101; Schmitt 1982c: 375-376 and 1982d: IV/23). Cf. 1.3.22 and 2.3.29.
– Lycian: Mede: TL 37:3-4.

2.2.38 *Mādā- (fem.): "Median woman" (Zadok 1977: 113; Dandamayev 1992: 96). Cf. 2.3.30.
– Babylonian:
1) Ma-du-'-mi-i-tu$_4$: PBS 2/1 75:3.
2) Ma-du-mi-i-tu$_4$: BE 9 39:2.
3) Ma-du-ú-'-i-tu$_4$: IMT 39:11.
4) Ma-du-ú-mi-i-tu$_4$: IMT 38:2.

2.2.39 *Maguš: "magian", professional expression used as anthroponym (Gershevitch 1969: 202; OnP 8.921). Cf. 1.4.3.3 and 2.4.3.2.
– Elamite: Ma-ku-iš: PF 1:8, 1945:10,20, 1952:6, 1955:18, 1974:11, 2011:11.

2.2.40 *Maka-: toponym functioning as personal name. Cf. 1.3.23 and 2.3.31.
– Elamite: Ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2397:8-9.

2.2.41 *Makā- (fem.).
– Elamite: Ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:47.

2.2.42 *Maṛduniya-. Cf. 1.2.23.
– Babylonian:
1) Ma-ar-du-ni-ia: PBS 2/1 37:4.
2) Mar-di-ni-ia: Xer. 4:2.
3) Mar-du-ú-ni-ia: Aul. Or. 10 214:2.
4) Mar-du-n[i-ia?]: VAT 15633:3' (cf. Eilers 1940b: 222 n.3).
– Elamite: Mar-du-nu-ia: PF 60:2-3, 348:3, 1818:5; PFa 5:1-2; PFNN 61:16, 1345:1-2, 2529:26-27.

2.2.43 *Miça- (OP): Old Persian form of *Miθra- (ElW 927). Cf. 2.1.4.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá: PFNN 2350:21.

2.2.44 *Miθra- (Med.): "treaty", retrenchment of a Miθra-name (OnP 8.1167 and 1172; ASN 166). Cf. 1.1.3-4.
– Elamite: Mi-ut-ra(-iš): PF 775:3-4, 1956:20, 1960:26.

2.2.45 *Naisāya-: "Nisaean", *vṛddhi* of Nisāya- (Grelot 1972: 483; Hoffmann, apud OnP 8.1252; ASN 172; Kornfeld 1978: 109). Cf. 1.3.27 and 2.3.32.

With regard to the Aramaic form Hinz (ASN 176) reads Nisāya. Nonetheless the presence of the first *yod* rather indicates a diphthong.

– Aramaic: Nysy: TAD B 3.6:16.
– Elamite: Na-a-šá-a-ia: PF 335:15.

2.2.46 *N(i)yāka-: "grandfather" (OnP 8.1268; ASN 177). Cf. 1.4.3.4.

Gershevitch (1969: 242) reconstructs *Nayaka-, "the leader".

– Elamite: Nu-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1689:3.

2.2.47 *Pārsa-: "Persian" (Cameron 1948: 127; Schmitt 1973: 20-21; OnP 8.259). Cf. 1.3.29 and 2.3.33.

Not *Bāra-isa-, "longing for the harvest" (Hinz 1971: 264; ASN 64).

– Elamite: Ba-ir-iš-šá: PT 25:1, 35:5, 78:7-8.

2.2.48 *Pātišuvariš (OP). Cf. 1.3.32 and 2.3.35.

– Elamite: Ba-ti-iš-ma-ri-iš: PFNN 1581:4-5.

2.2.49 *Saka-: gentilic used as anthroponym (Benveniste 1966: 92; OnP 8.1478; ASN 220), Gk. Σάκας (IN 279). Cf. 1.3.35 and 2.3.40.

Gershevitch (1969: 229; also Hinz 1971: 264) too reads *Saka-, but considers this to be the Old Persian equivalent of Median **spa-*, "dog" (NP *sag*).

– Elamite:
1) Šá-ak-ka$_4$: OGWA 321-322:17; PF 1340:3, 1970:19, 1987:56; PFNN 6:3, 2270:2,12, 2539:4; PT 1:1, 11:2-3, 17:2, 20:2, 23:2, 24:3, 26:2.
2) Šá-ka$_4$-iš: PF 505:3-4.

2.2.50 *Skudra-: "Thracian". Cf. 1.3.37 and 2.3.42.

Hinz (ASN 225) reconstructs *Skudrva-, a *-va*-extension of Skudra, which is, however, not probable (Schmitt 1994: 85). Zadok (2004: 115) prefers *Skauθra-, "serious, grievous", to Sogd. *šqwrθ* and Bactrian *ασκωρο*.

– Babylonian:
1) Is-ku-du-ru-ʾ: PBS 2/1 116:5.
2) Is-ku-du-ru-ʾ-ú[46]: BE 9 28a:5.
3) Is-ku-du-ru-u: PBS 2/1 122:7.
4) Us-ku-du-ru-ʾ: BE 9 74:4.

2.2.51 *Stūnā-: "column" (Zadok 1977: 109 and n.223; Dandamayev 1992: 119). Cf. 1.4.4.7 and 2.4.4.4.

– Babylonian:
1) Si-ṭu-nu: BE 10 117:R, 129:16; TuM 2/3 148:15,U.E.
2) Si-ṭu-ú-nu: BE 10 117:3,4,11.

[46] Written Is-di-du-ru-ʾ-ú. Another example of DI as scribal error for KU is attested in the same text: Ka-di-nu for Ka-ku-nu (cf. 5.3.2.77). The ending ʾ-ú is probably influenced by I-si-pa-ta-ru-ʾ-ú (Zadok 2004: 115n.8).

2.2.52 *Sug(u)da-: "Sogdia", name of a land used as anthroponym (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1574; ASN 228). Cf. 1.3.38 and 2.3.45.

– Elamite: Šu-ug-da: PF 1659:3-4, 1660:4; PFNN 160:5, 553:3-4 ([Šu-u]g-da), 2066:2-3.

2.2.53 *Sug(u)diya-: "Sogdian", gentilic of Sug(u)da- (Röllig 2002: 200; Schmitt 2005: 333-335). Cf. 2.3.46.

Kornfeld (1978: 123) lists various possibilities with regard to this Aramaic spelling, which he reads Sgry. It could render (1) Eg. Sgr.y, "silence" (Ranke 1935: 321 no.12), (2) Ug. Sgr(yn) (Gröndahl 1967: 255-256) or (3) Hurr. *sug/kur*, cf. Hett. Šá-ak-ri-áš-wa/-e (Laroche 1966: 1081). Lemaire (2001: 33) too reads Sgry and compares it with Gk. Σαγάριος (KAI 265:1), the equivalent of Ar. Sgr (KAI 265:1).

– Aramaic: Sgdy: DS 18; TAD C 3.15:64,72.

2.2.54 *Suxra- (Med.): "reddish, bright" (Gershevitch 1969: 229; OnP 8.1577; ASN 228). Median equivalent of Θuxra- (1.2.27).

– Babylonian: Su-uḫ-ra-ʾ: DB 110.
– Elamite:
1) Šu-ik-ra: PFNN 1026:3-4, 1450:3-4, 1785:3-4.
2) Šu-uk-ra: Fort. 6766:2.

2.2.55 *Taxmaspāda- (Med.). Cf. 1.2.26.

– Babylonian: Ta-ḫa-ma-as-pa-da: BM 79541:4 (reference C. Waerzeggers).
– Elamite:
1) Tak-ma-áš-ba-da: PFNN 2184:20.
2) Tak-ma-iš-ba-da: PF 77:4-5, 331:11-12.
3) Tak-maš-ba-da: PF 1957:7,9,10, 1960:12; PFNN 728:4,8, 757:8.

2.2.56 *Θataguš: geographical name used as personal name. Cf. 1.3.40 and 2.3.41.

– Elamite:
1) Sa-da-ku-iš: PF 2020:4-5; PFNN 47:35, 389:5-6, 1562:2-3, 1600:4-5, etc. in PFNN.
2) Sa-ud-da-ku-iš: PF 789:2; PFNN 378:3, 1288:4-5, 2167:4, 2124:3.
3) Šá-da-ku-iš: PF 2018:48.

2.2.57 *Θuxra- (OP). Cf. 1.2.27.

– Elamite: Tu-ik-ra: PFNN 2277:2.

2.2.58 *Uvaxštra-. Cf. 1.2.30.

– Elamite:
1) Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-[iš]: PFNN 2541:5.
2) Ma-ik-iš-tar-ri-iš[47]: PFNN 2541:30.

[47] The text clearly shows that this is the same individual as Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-[iš]. The spelling in *–ri-iš* is either inaccurate or shows a contraction /iya/ > /ī/.

2.2.59 *Vahuka- (OPd). Cf. 1.2.31.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1056) reconstructs *Vahauka-, but the use of u makes this improbable (NW 70; ASN 250).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ú-ka$_4$: PT 7:7.
2) Ma-ú-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 3567:2-3; PF 1655:2-3.

2.2.60 *Vahumisa-: OPd equivalent of Vaumisa-. Cf. 1.2.33.
– Aramaic:
1) Whmws: DB 22.
2) Whwms: DB 19,20.

2.2.61 *Vauka- (OPs): OPs equivalent of Vahuka-. Cf. 1.2.31.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1416:3.
2) Ma-u-ka$_4$: PF 1654:3; PFNN 2407:3-4; PT 1:9 ([M]a-u-ka$_4$), 63:8.
3) Ma-u-uk-ka$_4$: DB iii 92; PF 492-493:5-6, 566:6, 645:6, 1121-1122:3, 1210:3, 1965:7, 2022:7-8; PFa 31:28-29; PFNN 787:7, 2166:5, 2329:4.

2.2.62 *Vaumisa- (OPs). Cf. 1.2.33.
– Elamite: Ma-u-mi-iš-šá: PF 1095-1096:3-4, 1114-1115:3; PFNN 1453:5-6, 1645:4, 1693:3-4, 1844:4.

2.2.63 *Vēspar(u)va-: < Vahyaspar(u)va- (V-ⁱh⁾-y-s-p-ʳru-u-v⁾-h-y-a), "better — first" (cf. Schmitt 1990: 54).
– Babylonian: Ú-mi-is-pa-ru-': DB 110.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-bar-ma: DB iii 90 (°-[ma]); PF 158:8, 496-497:2, 588:2-3, 929-932:2, 1103:8, 1621:3, 2027:7, 2041:2, 2073:19-20; PFNN 371:2, 1404:2, 2304:8-9, etc. in PFNN.
2) Mi-iš-bar-na: PF 498:2-3; PFNN 418:2. Error for Mi-iš-bar-ma.
3) Mi-iš-pír-ma: PFNN 522:13.

2.2.64 *Vēzdāta-: < *Vahyazdāta- through contraction. Cf. 1.2.32.
– Babylonian:
1) Ú-mi-iz-da-a-ti: DB 76.
2) Ú-mi-iz-da-a-tú: DB 77,78,94; DBh 1.
3) Ú-mi-iz-da-a-tu$_4$: DB 71,72,74,75,80,81,82.
– Elamite:
1) Man-iš-da-ad-da: PFNN 2492:8,14.
2) Mi-iš-da-ad-da: DB iii 1,9,11,12-13 (Mi-iš-da-ad-[da]),17 ([Mi-i]š-da-ad-da),20,30,57 ([Mi]-iš-da-ad-da); DBh 1.
3) Mi-iš-da-da: PF 464:3; PFNN 2374:12.
4) Mi-iš-da-ud-da: PFNN 586:2-3.
5) Mi-ši-da-ud-da: PF 1480:3-4.

2.2.65 *Vidarna-: cf. Hallock (1969: 733) and 1.2.34.
– Aramaic: Wdrn[48]: NC 3/15 169 nos.3,4 and Pl.7.12.
– Babylonian:
1) Ú-'-da-ar-na-': BE 10 7:15 (= TuM 2/3 181:15).
2) Ú-da-ar-na: PBS 2/1 107:U.E.
3) Ú-da-ar-na-': BE 9 59:17, 69:1,7,8,10,12,L.E.; BE 10 84:15; IMT 3:17; PBS 2/1 107:18.
4) Ú-dar-na-': EE 35:11.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-tar-na: PF 1363:15, 2009:22, 2055:9,13; PFa 18:7; PFNN 520:5-6,12, 575:42, 1528:6, etc. in PFNN.
2) Mi-tur-na: Fort. 1638:2; PF 939-940:2, 1135:2, 1150:2, 1151:2-3, 1483:5-6, 1545:2; PFNN 826:8, etc. in PFNN.
– Lycian[49]: Widrñna-: TL 44c:11-12.

2.2.66 *Vindafarnā. Cf. 1.2.35.
– Aramaic: Wndprn: Pers 36:1, 72:2 (reading: Bogoljubov 1973: 177).
– Babylonian: Un-da-pa-ar-na-': BM 79541:2 (reference C. Waerzeggers).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-in-da-bar-na: PFNN 2229:3-4.
2) Mi-in-tab-bar-na: PFNN 728:8.

2.2.67 *Vištāspa-: cf. 1.2.36.
– Aramaic: Wšt'sp: Shaked, apud Schmitt 2006: 124.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-da-áš-ba: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:6; PF 1596:7-8; PFa 31:14-15, 2290:19-20, 21-22.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) W3-y-š3-ti-ś3-p: JA 260 255 (2):4.
2) [W3-y]-š3-ti-ś3-p-y: BdE 11 8 iii 5.
– Lycian[50]: Wizttasppa-: TL 44c: 48.

2.2.68 *Vivāna-. Cf. 1.2.37.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-ma-na: PF 570:4; PFNN 303:3, 759:27, 874:3-4, 2349:16.
2) Mi-hi-ma-na: PF 455:3.

[48] Six (1895: 171) reads Wrrn and reconstructs *Vararana-.
[49] Cf. Arkwright (1899: 56), Sundwall (1913: 28), Augapfel (1917: 34), Benveniste (1966: 102) and Schmitt (1982c: 376 and 1982d: IV/27-28).
[50] Cf. Arkwright (1899: 56), Benveniste (1966: 101), Sundwall (1913: 28), Heubeck (1965: 75-76n.13) and Schmitt (1982c: 376-377 and 1982d: IV/28).

2.2.69 *Xšaθrita- (Med.): cf. Schmitt (1994: 87). Cf. 1.2.38

Zadok (1977: 107) and Dandamayev (1992: 122) connect the first part with **šāta-*, "prosperous".

– Babylonian: Šá-ta-ri-ta: GCCI 2 321:13 (collation: M. Sigrist, 21/8/00).

2.2.70 *Xšayaršā / *Xšēršā: Xerxes. The Babylonian spellings with MA (nos.37-39) or MAR (nos.14-15, 17, 44, 53-54) could render *Xšaya-varšā (OInd. *vṛṣan-*, "male, man") as the result of a folk etymology (Zadok 1976d: 217). Cf. 1.2.39.

– Aramaic:
  1) ʾḤšyrš: TAD D 2.1:1.
  2) Ḥšyʾrš: KAI 267:3; TAD B 2.1:1; TAD D 1.33c:5 (Ḥšyʾ[r]š), 20.3:3.
  3) Ḥšyrš: TAD B 4.4:1.
– Babylonian:
  1) Aḫ-áš-šá-ḫu-šú: OECT 10 176:17.
  2) Aḫ-ḫi-ar-šú: Oppert & Ménant 1877: 340 no.43.
  3) Aḫ-eš-ri: Ach. Hist. 11 138:21.
  4) Aḫ-ši-ar-šú: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 21:17.
  5) Aḫ-ši-ár-šú: Mich 56:13.
  6) Aḫ-ši-as-su: BM 74476:14 (reference M.W. Stolper).
  7) Aḫ-ši-ḫu-šú: Royal Scottish Museum. Information Series. Art & Archaeology 2 72:rev.7.
  8) Aḫ-ši-i-ar-šu: Xer. 3:22.
  9) Aḫ-ši-i-ar-šú: AfO 19 77 Amherst 244.
  10) Aḫ-ši-ia-ar: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 20:16.
  11) Aḫ-ši-ia-ar-ši: AM 177:20.
  12) Aḫ-ši-ia-ar-šú: Kiš 3 Pl.16 142:15; OECT 10 173:15, 177:18, 182:21; Xer. 5:20.
  13) Aḫ-ši-iá-ar-šú: RA 85 52:22.
  14) Aḫ-ši-i-mar-šú: CT 4 34d:14; Strassmaier 8e Congrès 19:7.
  15) Aḫ-šú-mar-ši-ʾ: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 16:12.
  16) Áḫ-ši-ar-šú: OECT 12 A111:4.
  17) Áḫ-ši-mar-šú: TBER Pl.1 (AO 1729:22).
  18) Áḫ-ši-ri-ar-šú: OECT 10 170:16.
  19) Ak-ar-áš-ḫu: OECT 10 183:11.
  20) Ak-ka-ši-ar-ši: Xer. 4:20.
  21) Ak-ka-ši-ar-šú: RA 90 50:6'.
  22) Ak-ki-iš-ar-šú: AM 174:rev.5'; Strassmaier 8e Congrès 17:9.
  23) Ak-šá-ar-šú: BaM 21 622:20.

  24) Ak-šár-re-eš-šú: OECT 10 185:16.
  25) Ak-ši-ʾ-ar-ši: AfO 38-39 82 no.2:24.
  26) Ak-ši-ak-ar-šú: Xer. 2:12.
  27) Ak-ši-ar-a-šú: OECT 10 171:8.
  28) Ak-ši-ar-ri-šú: VS 6 180:11.
  29) Ak-<ši>-ar-ši-i-ʾ: AM 178:16.
  30) Ak-ši-ar-šu: VS 4 194:16.
  31) Ak-ši-ar-šú: Kiš 3 Pl.16 143:18.
  32) Ak-ši-ia-ar-ʾ-šú: VS 4 192:4.
  33) Ak-ši-ia-ar-ši: BRM 1 85:20; VS 3 182:13, 185:16; VS 6 182:30.
  34) Ak-ši-ia-ar-šú: VS 4 193:5.
  35) Ak-ši-iá-ar-šú: AfO 19 77 Amherst 245.
  36) Ak-ši-i-ar-šú: AM 176:19.
  37) Ak-ši-i-ma-ar-šú: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 18:15.
  38) Ak-ši-ma-ak-šú: VS 6 177-178:8. Inaccurate spelling.
  39) Ak-ši-ma-ar-šú: TuM 2/3 177:17 (Ak-<ši>-ma-ar-šú); VS 4 191:15.
  40) Ak-ši-re-eš-šú: AfO 19 78 Amherst 246.
  41) Ak-šu-ar-šú: VS 3 183-184:15.
  42) Ak-šú-ar-šú: OECT 12 A124:rev.6'.
  43) Ḫa-ši-i-ar-šú: VS 3 181:5.
  44) Ḫi-še-mar-šú: AUWE 13 299:17.
  45) Ḫi-ši-ʾ-ar-ši: LO 86:7,11.
  46) Ḫi-ši-ʾ-ar-ši-ʾ: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 22:6.
  47) Ḫi-ši-ʾ-ar-šú: JCS 28 55 no.51:7,12; NABU 1999/6 (CBS 10059:19); ROMCT 2 15:16.
  48) Ḫi-ši-ʾ-áš-šú: Anatolica 14 121 no.9:12'.
  49) Ḫi-ši-ar-šá-šú: AUWE 13 300:18.
  50) Ḫi-ši-ár-šú: AD 5 4 iv' 4; JAOS 121 646 obv.6'; UET 4 115:17.
  51) Ḫi-ši-ia-ar-šú: UET 4 52:60.
  52) Ḫi-ši-iá-ar-šú: UET 4 193:3.
  53) Ḫi-ši-iá-mar-šú: UET 4 64:17.
  54) Ḫi-ši-mar-šú: LO 88:rev.2'.
  55) Ik?-ar-ar-ši: VS 6 181:15.
  56) Ši-ku-uš-ti: AfO 19 79 Amherst 249:23. Cf. Graziani (1986: vii and n.9).
– Elamite:
  1) Ik-še-er-iš-šá: XPa 4,6,10,17; XSa 1; XV 7,10,16.

2) Ik-še-er-šá: OIP 69 Pls.50-52; SXd ([I]k-še-er-šá); XPc 3,5,9; XPd 4,6,9; XPe 1; XPj 1; XPk 1; XPm; XPp 1; XPq 1; XPr 1; XVsa; XVsb; XVsc, etc. in Xerxes-inscriptions; A^2Sa 2.
3) Še-er-šá: PFNN 1657:4.

– Hieroglyphic:
1) Ḫ-š꜀-y-꜁-rw-š꜀: BdE 11 25:3, 26:2, 30:2.
2) Ḫ-š꜀-y-꜁-rw-š꜀-꜁: BdE 11 36, 44-47, 49-53.
3) Ḫ-š꜀-y-rw-š꜀: BdE 11 28:3, 29:3.
4) Ḫ-y-š꜀-꜁-rw-š꜀: BdE 11 27:1. Error for Ḫ-š꜀-y-꜁-rw-š꜀.

2.2.71 *Zātavahyā / *Zātavē-: nom. sg. of *Zātavahyah-, the Median equivalent of Dātavahyah- (Eilers 1957-58: 126; Zadok 1977: 98; Dandamayev 1992: 143; Lemaire 2001: 34; Röllig 2002: 207; Schmitt 2005: 337-338). Cf. 1.2.15 and 2.2.21.

Some scholars (Driver 1965: 57; ASN 278; Kornfeld 1978: 107) reconstruct *Zātuvahyah- based on the earlier reading of OP Dātuvahyah-.

– Aramaic:
1) Z'twhy: DS 112.
2) Ztwhy: Pers 5:2; TAD A 6.9:1.

– Babylonian:
1) Za-'-tu-'-a: DB 111.
2) Za-ta-me-e: BE 9 45:30 (= TuM 2/3 143:30), 50:13; BE 10 1:2 (= TuM 2/3 29:2), 75:11; EE 7:10' ([Za-t]a-me-e), 12:15 (Za-ta-[me-e]); PBS 2/1 30:U.E., 211:14,L.E.

2.3. Geographical names

2.3.1 *Ākōfačiya-: monophthongized equivalent of Ā-kaufa-č-iya-. Cf. 1.3.2.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 593) read Har-ku-zí-ia, "Arachosian".

– Elamite: Ha-ku-pi-zí-ia: XPh 23; PF 1829:3 (Ha-ku-<pi>-zí-ia, reading: Schmitt 1978c: 120).

2.3.2 *Arī-: < Arya-. Cf. 1.3.5.
– Babylonian: Ar-ri-i: XPh 9.

2.3.3 *Arīčiθra- (Med.): Median equivalent of Aryačiça-. Cf. 1.3.6.
– Babylonian: Ar-ri-i-ši-tir: XPh 9.

2.3.4 *Arya-: "Iranian". Cf. 1.3.5.
– Aramaic: 'Ry: TAD C 3.14:17, 4.7:7.

2.3.5 *Aryāramna-: "place of Aryāramna-". Cf. 1.2.6 and 2.2.6.
– Elamite:
1) Har-ri-ia-ra-man-na: PF 1955:2.
2) Har-r[i-ia-r]a-um-na: PFNN 2358:2.

2.3.6 *Asagarta-: "land of the stone-cave dwellers". Cf. 1.3.7 and 2.3.39.
– Elamite: Áš-šá-kur-da: PF 1501:7-8; PFa 31:3; PFNN 2040:5, 2261:17,28.

2.3.7 *Bāxçiš: OP equivalent of *Bāxtriš (ElW 107). Cf. 1.3.8.
– Elamite: Ba-ak-ši(-iš): DB i 13, ii 80-81,86; PF 1555:8-9; XPh 17.

2.3.8 *Bāxçiya-: OP equivalent of *Bāxtriya- (ElW 107). Cf. 1.3.9.
– Elamite: Ba-ak-ši-ia: PF 1947:62,64; PFNN 939:11, 2513:6-7.

2.3.9 *Bāxtriš (cf. Vittmann 2004: 159). Cf. 1.3.8.
– Elamite: Ba-ik-tur-ri-iš: PFNN 1507:5.
– Hieroglyphic: B꜁-ḫ-t-rw: BdE 11 8 ii 6; JA 260 256 (5a):6.

2.3.10 *Bāxtriya-. Cf. 1.3.9.
– Aramaic: Bḥtry: TAD D 2.12:2.
– Babylonian: Ba-aḫ-tar-ú-'-i-ti: ZA 90 84:2.

2.3.11 *Dā-: < Daha-. Cf. 1.3.10 and 2.2.16.
– Babylonian: Da-a-an: XPh 21.

2.3.12 *Hagmatāna-. Cf. 1.3.12.
– Babylonian:
1) A-ga-ma-ta-nu: Cyr. 60:16; JCS 28 40 no.28:16.
2) A-gam-ma-ta-nu: AMI N.F. 23 165:17.
3) A-gam-ta-nu: ABC 7 ii 3-4.
4) Ag-ma-ta-nu: Cyr. 227:6.

– Elamite: Ak-ma-da-na: PFNN 2502:7-8 ([A]g-ma-da-[n]a).

2.3.13 *Harauvatiš / *Harōvatiš (OPs). Cf. 1.3.13 and 2.2.27.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ra-ma-ti-iš: PF 1439:4; PFNN 547:22, 1761:13, 1898:3-4 (Ha-ra-ma-ti-<<ti>>-iš).
2) Ha-ra-u-ma-ti-iš: PF 1351:9-10, 1385:7-8, 1953:34-35 ([Ha]-ra-u-ma-ti-iš); PFNN 1761:13, 1898:3-4.
3) Har-ma-ti-iš: PF 1443:7.
4) Har-ra-ma-ti-iš: PFNN 65:49, 881:3-4.
5) Har-ru-ma-ti-iš: A^3Pb 10; DNa 19; DSz 42; PF 2049:8; PFNN 2503:9-10.
6) Har-ru-ma-ut-ti-iš: DSf 39 ([Har-ru-ma]-ut-ti-iš); PFNN 257:5-6, 2062:4.
7) Ha-ru-m[a-ti-iš]: DSe 19.

2.3.14 *Haraxūtī- (East Ir.): < *Haraxuvatī-, dialect equivalent of Harauvatiš (Schmitt 2001: 73-74). El. Harkutiš renders a hybrid form of East Iranian / Arachosian *Haraxuvatī- and OP Harauvatiš (Hoffmann 1976b: 641 n.38; Schmitt 2001: 81n.49). Cf. 1.3.13 and 2.2.27.
– Babylonian: A-ra-ḫu-ut: XPh 15.

– Elamite:
1) Har-ku-ti(-iš): XPh 16; PF 1484:8, 1510:11.
2) Har-ku-ut-ti: PF 1474:10-11.

2.3.15 *Haraxvatī-: East Iranian or Arachosian (Hoffmann 1974: 15n.2, 1976b: 641 and 1979: 92; Zadok 1976: 66; Schmitt 1984: 205-206 and 2001: 75, 77 and 83) form of OP Harauvatiš. *Haraxvatī- is an original nominative on *-vatī* and not the OP formation on *-vatiš* (Hoffmann 1976b: 641 and n.38; Mayrhofer 1980: 135). Cf. 1.3.13 and 2.2.27.
– Aramaic: Hrḥwty: Pers 9:4, 43:6, 45:4, 48:7.
– Babylonian: A-ru-ḫu-at-ti: DSaa 31 (reading: Zadok 1985b: 30).

2.3.16 *Haraya-: gentilic of Haraiva- (ASN 118). Cf. 2.2.26.
– Elamite: Ha-re-ia-ip (pl.): DB i 13 (Ha-re-ia-i[p]).

2.3.17 *Harēva-: < OP Haraiva-, Av. Harōiva- (cf. OInd. *saráyu-*, "air, wind"). Cf. 2.2.25 and 2.2.28.
– Babylonian:
1) A-re-e-me: DSaa 27.
2) A-re-e-mu: DB 6; DNa 12; DSe 14.
3) Ar-re-e-me: XPh 16.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-re-ma: PF 2056:13; PFa 29:57.
2) Har-re-ma: DNa 17; PF 1438:4-5; XPh 17.
3) Har-ru-ma: PF 1361:7, 1540:7; PFNN 1997:4.
4) Ha-ru-ma: PFNN 1713:6.
– Hieroglyphic: H-rw-wꜣ: BdE 11 8 ii 4; JA 260 256 (5a):4[51].

2.3.18 *Harōvatiya-: contraction of Harauvatiya- (H-r-u-v-t-i-y-), the gentilic of Harauvatīš, "Arachosian" (Schmitt 1977: 97).
– Elamite: Har-[ru]-ma-ti-ia: DNe 10.

2.3.19 *Harūxatī-: "Arachosia", metathesis of *Haraxūtī- (Schmitt 2001: 74), rather than of *Haravxatī- (Eilers 1954: 281; Zadok 1976: 66). The metathesis is in all likelihood Median (Schmitt 2001: 77). Cf. 1.3.13 and 2.2.27.
– Aramaic: Hrwḥty: DB 53, 63 ([Hr]wḥty).
– Babylonian:
1) A-ru-ḫa-at-ti: DB 79,80,83,84.
2) A-ru-ḫa-at-ti-': DNa 13; DSe 16.
3) A-ru-ḫat-ti: DB 7.

[51] Vittmann (2004: 144) argues that the name is not taken over directly from Iranian.

– Hieroglyphic: H-rw-ḫ-d-y: BdE 11 8 ii 8; JA 260 256 (5a):8[52].

2.3.20 *Hinduš. Cf. 1.3.14 and 2.2.33.
– Elamite:
1) Hi-du-iš: PF 1397:4, 2057:12; PFNN 246:12.
2) Hi-in-du(-iš): PF 1318:8, 1383:10, 1524:5, 1548:5, 1552:11-12, 1556:6, 1558:6, 1572:9-10; PFNN 317:10, 1458:8, 1571:10-11, 2195:8, 2323:4-5, 2349:13, 2584:9-10 (°-[d]u-iš).

2.3.21 *Hinduya-: "Indian", name of the inhabitants of Hinduš. Cf. 1.3.15.
– Babylonian:
1) In-du-ma-a-a: BE 9 76:11; BE 10 53:Lo.E., 70:10; IMT 36:5; PBS 2/1 135:L.E.; TuM 2/3 190:14,R.E., 191:15,16,U.E.
2) In-du-ma-a-a-': IMT 79:L.E.
– Elamite:
1) Hi-du(-be/-iš): PF 785:7, 1410:7, 1529:5, 1601:3.
2) Hi-in-du-ia(-be/-ip/-iš): PF 1425:8, 1437:6, 1525:4-5, 1552:5-6, 1572:6; PFNN 1458:6, 2323:3-4.
– Hieroglyphic: H-n-d-wꜣ-y: BdE 11 9 ii 24; JA 260 256 (5b):24 (cf. Vittmann 2004: 162n.147).

2.3.22 *Huvādēča- (OPd): < Uvādaiča-. Cf. 1.3.41 and 2.3.48-49.
– Babylonian:
1) Ḫu-ma-de-e-šú: WZKM 86 476 no.2:18; ZA 4 148-149 no.2:18; ZA 61 256:18.
2) Ḫu-ma-de-šú: Camb. 251:10, 309:16, 310:7', 384:2, 388:4,19; Hebraica 8 134:14; Giessen 47:14; OECT 10 131:4',19' (Ḫu-ma-de-[šú]); TCL 9 85:10.

2.3.23 *Huvārazmiš (OPd): dialect variant of Uvārazmiš. Cf. 1.3.42 and 2.3.52.
– Babylonian:
1) Ḫu-ma-'-ra-za-am: XPh 17.
2) Ḫu-ma-ri-iz-ma-': DNa 12; DSe 15; DSf 28.
3) Ḫu-ma-ri-iz-mu: DB 6.
4) Ḫu-ma-ri-zi-im: DSaa 27; DSm ([Ḫu-ma]-ri-zi-im).

2.3.24 *Huyavā (OPd): the Aramaic version of DB deviates at this point from the original Old Persian text by using the dialect variant of OP Uyavā (cf. Schmitt 1990: 29). Cf. 1.3.44.
– Aramaic: Hyw: DB 15.

2.3.25 *Karmāna-. Cf. 1.3.18.
– Elamite:
1) Kur-ma-an: PF 1348:11-12, 1398:8, 1466:8; PFNN 498:7, 765:11, 801:8, 1081:82, 1580:7, 2543:5-6.

[52] According to Vittmann (l.c.) the Egyptian form actually renders *Haraxvatī-.

2) Kur-ma-na(-an): OGWA 321-322:28; PF 1289:10, 1330:4, 1332:5, 1377:8, 1399:6-7, 1436:5; PFa 14:10; PFNN 445:5, 692:9, 946:9, 1044:3, 1621:9, 1662:7-8, etc. in PFNN.
3) Kur-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 558:15. Inaccurate spelling.

2.3.26 *Kaṛmāniya-: inhabitant of Kaṛmāna- (ElW 526).
– Elamite: Kur-ma-nu-ia: PFNN 2206:13, 2261:16.

2.3.27 *Kuganakā-. Cf. 1.3.19.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-ik-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 718:5-6; PFNN 1137:13-14, 2089:6-7 ([Ku]-ig-na[k-k]a$_4$).
2) Ku-ik-na-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1836:3-4.
3) Ku-ik-na-ka$_4$: PF 1837:3.
4) Ku-ka$_4$-na-ak-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 1707:6-7.
5) Ku-ka$_4$-na-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 260:8 (°-[ka$_4$-an]), 1011:24, 1481:48.
6) Ku-kán-na-ik-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 2559:7-8.
7) Ku-kán-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 1483:19, 2368:15,18.
8) Ku-[u]g-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2502:4-5.
9) Ku-ug-na-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 373:6-7, 2140:6-7.

2.3.28 *Kunduruš. Cf. 1.3.20.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-un-tar-ru-iš: PF 2004:5, 2084:5; PFNN 2040:1.
2) Ku-un-tur-ru-iš: PF 243:3, 1970:23, 2084:3; PFNN 2300:20.

2.3.29 *Māda-. Cf. 1.3.22 and 2.2.37-38.
– Aramaic: Mdy: TAD B 3.6:17.
– Babylonian (all spellings render a gentilic):
1) Ma-da-a: UET 4 52:60; VS 6 181:16.
2) Ma-da-a-a: BRM 1 85:21; CT 44 75:21; Dar. 51:2; GCCI 2 395:3; Mich 89:41,53; TCL 9 99:11; VS 4 160:3; VS 5 118:24; VS 6 252:6,14, etc. Cf. Zadok (1985b: 214-215).
3) Mad-da-a-a: Mich 15:L.E.
4) Mád^{ad}-da-a-a: YOS 17 300:23.
– Demotic: Mdy: P. Cairo CG 50099:1; P. Berl. 13633:rev.11; S.H5-490 (cf. Smith 1992: 295).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ad-da: PFa 28:9-10; PFNN 1517:10; PT 1963-4:x+17.
2) Ma-da(-be): PF 1262:14; PFa 28:9.
3) Ma-taš: PF 1480:8-9; PFa 31:15-16; PFNN 2195: 3,5,7,9,11,13,15, 2261:7,11, 2290:20,22, etc. in PFNN.

– Hieroglyphic[53]: M^{c}-d-y: BdE 11 8 ii 2; JA 260 256 (5a):2.
– Lycian: Mede: TL 29:7.

2.3.30 *Mādā-: fem. form of *Māda- (Zadok 1977: 113; Dandamayev 1992: 96). Cf. 2.2.38.
– Babylonian: Ma-du-$^{\flat}$-i-tu$_4$: EE 93:1.

2.3.31 *Maka-. Cf. 1.3.23 and 2.2.40-41.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ak-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1545:7-8; PFa 17:8-9, 29:55; PFNN 1081:74.
2) Ma-ak-kaš: PF 679-680:5; PFNN 534:11, 2135:5.
3) Ma-kaš: PF 2050:4.
– Hieroglyphic: M^{c}-g: BdE 11 9 ii 23; JA 260 256 (5b):23.

2.3.32 *Nisāya-. Cf. 1.3.27 and 2.2.45.
– Elamite: Nu-šá-ia: PF 1844:7.

2.3.33 *Pārsa-: in the Elamite texts Pārsa indicates the city of Persepolis. Cf. 1.3.29 and 2.2.47.
– Babylonian: spellings 1 and 5 render a gentilic.
1) Pa-<ar>-sa-a-a: Dar. 397:7.
2) Pa-ar-su: BM 54063:32, 79792 (references M.W. Stolper); VS 4 194:17.
3) Par-ri-sa-a-a: BE 10 101:13.
4) Par-sa: UET 4 52:60, 64:18.
5) Par-sa-a-a: Dar. 379:3, 410:2; VS 4 87:6 (= 88:6), 191:2; VS 6 171:23.
6) Par-su: ABC 7 ii 15; BaM 21 588:20; BRM 1 85:20; CT 44 75:21; CT 55 89:17; VS 5 118:24.
7) Par-su-ú: BSOAS 30 495 ii 5'.
– Demotic: Prs: P. Dem. Saq. I 22:5.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ir-da: PFNN 1657:3,6 (inaccurate spelling).
2) Ba-ir-iš-šá: PF 1325:9, 1326:10, 1328:9-10, 1421:10-11; 1490:8-9, 1508:12; PFNN 127:10-11, 1252:11-12, etc. in PFNN; PT 25:2, 34:4-5, 35:2-3, 1963-4:17, 1963-9:2.

[53] There has been discussion among Egyptologists on the relationship of Māda- with Coptic MATOI. Sethe (1916: 125-126; followed by Vittmann 2004: 140) believed that a semantic shift occurred as a result of which *Māda-, "Median" started to mean "soldier" in later periods, while Müller (1893: 24n.3 and 370n.3; followed by Vandersleyen 1988: 194-196) argued that demotic *mdy* simply means "soldier", like Coptic MATOI.

It should be noted that the Egyptian form is derived from Aramaic Mdy (Sethe 1916: 131).

3) Ba-ir-sa-an (loc.): PF 701:6 (inaccurate spelling).
4) Ba-ir-šá-(an/áš/iš/um): Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:7, 107-108:11-12; PF 2:4, 6:4, 7:5, 54:10, 722:5, 1352:10-11; PFNN 71:8, 248:7, 1329:8; PT 37:3, 38:1-2, passim in PFT, PFNN and PT.
5) Ba-ir-za[54]: Fort. 2029:9; PF 1546:5; PFNN 1492:9-10, 1566:9.
6) Ba-ra-iš-šá-an (loc.): PF 658:4-5.
7) Bar(?)-šá-an (loc.): PFNN 2196:23.
8) Bar-šìp (pl.): PF 871:3, 1137:4, 1442:5, 1480:7-8; PFNN 1485:4, 1588:3, 2195:3,5,7,9,11,13,15; PT 4:16-17.
9) Bar-šir$_8$-ráš-be: PF 695:7.

– Hieroglyphic:
1) P-r-s: BdE 11 8 ii 1 ([P-r]-s[55]) and iii 6, 10 iii 5,16, 25:4, 26:3, 28:4, 30:3, 31:4.
2) P-r-ś: BdE 11 24:2, 27:3, 29:4, 34:3.
3) P-rw-sɜ: JA 260 256 (5a):1.

– Lycian[56]:
1) Parza: TL 44c:14.
2) Parzza: TL 44c:2.

2.3.34 *Parθava-. Cf. 1.3.30.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) P-r-ti-i-wɜ: BdE 11 8 ii 8.
2) P-rw-ti-i-wɜ: JA 260 256 (5a):5.

2.3.35 *Pātišxvariš: East Iranian variant of Pātišuvariš. Cf. 1.3.32 and 2.2.48.
– Babylonian: Pa-id-di-iš-ḫu-ri-iš: DNc 1-2.

2.3.36 *Pēšiyāhvādiya- (OPd): < *Paišiyāhvādiya- (the denotation of an inhabitant of OP Paišiyāuvādiya-, East Iranian *Paišiyāxvādā-) (cf. ASN 178, reconstructing *Paišyāxvādiya-).
– Elamite:
1) Be-ši-ia-ma-ti-ia: PF 329:4-5.
2) Be-zí-ia-ma-ti-ia: PF 330:3-4, 2027:3-4; PFNN 1159:4-5, 1254:4-5, 1816:3-4.

2.3.37 *Pēšiyāxvādā- / *Pēšīxvādā- (East Iranian): contracted form of OP Paišiyāuvādā- (P-i-š-i-y-a-u-v-a-d-a). This expression is composed of

[54] According to Hinz & Koch (EIW 125) this is an error for Ba-ir-šá.
[55] A restoration [P-rw]-s is also possible (Posener 1936: 53).
[56] Cf. Deecke (1887: 128), Imbert (1891: 111), Arkwright (1899: 55), Sundwall (1913: 19), Benveniste (1966: 102) and Schmitt (1982c: 376).

Paišiyā and OPs *uvādā-* and means "archive" (OPG 194). The OP word does not refer to the real name of the town, which was Elamite Naširma (Metzler 1977: 1058).

A less probable proposition is "Vorstammsitz" (NW 146) based on *paišiyā-*, "in the presence of, before" and OInd. *svadhā-*, "own place, home".

The Bab. spellings might render *Pēšīhuvādā-, but the Ar. spelling reflects *Pēšīxvādā-.

– Aramaic: [Pšy]ḥ[wd]: DB 45.
– Babylonian:
1) Pe-ši-'-ḫu-ma-da: DB 76.
2) Pe-ši-'-ḫu-ma-du: DB 15.

2.3.38 *Raxā-. Cf. 1.3.34.
– Elamite:
1) Ra-ak-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 64:9-10.
2) Ra-ka$_4$(-an/-ma/-um): PF 65:10, 66:11, 866:4; PFNN 887:8-9, 1231:9, 1253:13-14, 1614:8, 2210:3, 2413:10, 2514:9-10 (Ra-[k]a$_4$-an).
3) Rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 657:3, 906:4, 1136:4, 1945:6,8,10, 1946-1947:passim, 1971:1, 2072:7; PFa 30:11,14; PFNN 475:3, 726:46, 977:7, etc. in PFNN.

2.3.39 *Sagarta-: < Asagarta-. The aphaeresis of the initial vowel shows that this form is a younger one. Cf. 1.3.7 and 2.3.6.
– Babylonian: Sa-ga-ar-ta-a-a: DB 61,93.

2.3.40 *Saka-. Cf. 1.3.35 and 2.2.49.
– Babylonian: Sak-ka-a-a: CT 55 93:10.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) Śɜ-g: JA 260 256 (5a):12
2) Ś-sk-k: BdE 11 8 ii 12.

2.3.41 *Sataguš: Median equivalent of OP Θataguš. Cf. 1.3.40 and 2.2.56.
– Babylonian:
1) Sa-ad-d[a]-gu-ši: DSm.
2) Sa-at-a-gu-uš: XPh 17.
3) Sa-at-gu-šú: DNa 13.
4) Sa-at-ta-gu-ú: DB 6,41,81.
5) Sa-at-ta-gu-ú-ši-': DSaa 30. This spelling probably renders a gentilic.

– Hieroglyphic: Śɜ-d-g-wɜ-ḏɜ: BdE 11 8 ii 10; JA 260 256 (5a):10.

2.3.42 *Skudra-. Cf. 1.3.37 and 2.2.50.
– Elamite:
1) Iš-ku-tar-ra(-be/-ip) (pl.): PF 852-853:5; PFNN 750:4-5 (Iš-ku-tar-r[a-ip]), 955:3-4, 1968:5, 2196:24.

2) Iš-ku-tur-la-ap (pl.): PFNN 1827:7-8, 1909:5-6.
3) Iš-ku-tur-ra-ip (pl.): PF 1813:10-11, 1819:5, 1946:15, 1947:76; PFNN 1396:4, 1870:9-10 (I[š]-ku-tur-[r]a-ip), 2078:6-7, 2237:3-4.
4) Iš-ku-tur-ráš(-be): Fort. 3566:5; PF 1820:4-5, 1823:4-5, 2069:4-5; PFNN 259:4-5 ([Iš]-ku-tur-ráš).
5) Iš-ku-ud-ra(-ap/-be/-ip): PF 1056:3, 1057:5-6, 1085:3, 1847:5-6, etc. in PF; PFa 18:4-5; PFNN 175:6, 606:2, 728:10, 2184:3, etc. in PFNN.
6) Iš-ku-ud-ráb-be (pl.): PFNN 2261:30-31.
7) Iš-ku-ut-tar-ra-ip (pl.): Fort. 2562:4-5; PF 851:5; PFNN 823:4-5, 2170:5, 2265:13.
8) Iš-ku-ut-tur-ip (pl.): PF 1946:19,21.
9) Iš-ku-ut-tur-ra-ip (pl.): PF 1946:15; PFNN 823:4-5.

– Hieroglyphic: Ś𐎹-k𐎹-t̲-rw-𐎹: JA 260 256 (5b):17.

2.3.43 *Skudriya-: *Skudr-iya-, "Thracian", name of the inhabitants of Skudra-.
– Babylonian: Is-ku-du-ru-a-a: A^{3}Pb 25.
– Elamite: Iš-ku-ud-ri-ia: PF 1215:5-6; PFNN 867:5.

2.3.44 *Stāna-: "place", cf. OP *stāna-*, "place". Cf. 1.4.8.3.
– Elamite: Iš-da-na-an (loc.): PFNN 2374:11.

2.3.45 *Sug(u)da-. Cf. 1.3.38 and 2.2.52.
– Elamite: Šu-ug-da: PF 1132:4.

2.3.46 *Sug(u)diya-: *Sug(u)d-iya-, "Sogdian" (ElW 1189). Cf. 2.2.53.
– Elamite: Šu-ug-ti-ia-ip (pl.): PF 1118:6-7, 1175:4-5; PFNN 862:5.
– Hieroglyphic: Ś𐎹-q-d-y: BdE 11 8 ii 7; JA 260 256 (5a):7.

2.3.47 *Θikayūtīš (OP): < *Θikayuvatīš, OP equivalent of Med. Sikayuvatīš (ElW 1087). Cf. 1.3.36.
– Elamite: Si-ka$_4$-hu-ut-ti-iš: PFNN 2341:31.

2.3.48 *Uvādēča-: < OP Uvādaiča-. Cf. 1.3.41 and 2.3.22.
Originally Uvādaiča- denoted both the name of the town itself and of its inhabitants, while *Uvādaičiya- / Xvādaiciya- only referred to the inhabitants. This confusing situation, in which an inhabitant of the town could be referred to by both *Uvādaiča- / *Xvādaiča- and Uvādaičiya-/*Xvādaiciya-, resulted in the town itself being named Uvādaičiya- / *Xvādaiciya- (Zadok 1976b: 69-70).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ad-du-za: PFa 26:11. Inaccurate spelling.
2) Ma-te-ez-za: Fort. 9407:9; PFa 16:6; PFNN 443:9-10, 1194:7-8, 1452:6.
3) Ma-ti-iz-za: PFNN 348:10, 2113:9-10 (Ma-ti-i[z]-za), 1950:8, 2218:13-14.

4) Ma-ti-za: PF 1547:7.
5) Ma-tu$_4$-ez-za: PF 15:5, 1342:5.

2.3.49 *Uvādēčīš: < Uvādaič-iya- (Zadok 1976b: 69). Cf. 1.3.41 and 2.3.22.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-še-zí-iš[57]: PT 83:6.
2) Ma-te-es-si-iš: PF 1572:8.
3) Ma-te-ez: PF 1394:10.
4) Ma-te-ez-iš: PFNN 1081:6.
5) Ma-te-ez-zí-iš: PF 69:9-10, 741:6-7, 760:7-8, 761:3-4, etc. in PF; PFa 30:2,5; PFNN 449:4-5, 1081:73, 1138:3-4, 1140:3-4, 1299:5-6, 1602:6-7, etc. in PFNN.
6) Ma-te-zí(-iš): DB iii 19; Fort. 7112:6-7; PF 71:12, 731:4-5, 1288:6-7, 1481:6, 1513:6-7, etc. in PF; PFa 29:61; PFNN 472:13, 548,10,67, 592:9, etc. in PFNN.
7) Ma-ti-zí-iš: PF 1380:9, 2018:17.
8) Ma-tu$_4$-zí(-iš): PFNN 1417:10, 1631:7-8.

2.3.50 *Vṛkāna-: Hyrcania, "Wolf-Land" (OPG 206).
– Elamite: Mi-ir-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 2512:6.

2.3.51 *Vṛkāniya-: name of the inhabitants of Vṛka- (V-r-k-a-n-), "Hyrcania" (Schmitt 1987: 149).
According to Segal (1983: 20) the Aramaic spelling renders Vṛkāna-, followed by the Aramaic *nisbe*-ending /y/.
– Aramaic: Wrkny: TAD B 8.3:3.
– Elamite: Mi-ir-ka$_4$-nu-ia-ip (pl.): DB ii 68.

2.3.52 *Xvārazmī-: East Iranian equivalent of OP Uvārazmī- (U-v-a-r-z-mi-i-y-), which is an archaic form of Uvārazmiš (U-v-a-r-z-mi-i-š). The latter actually is an old *ī*-stem that has evolved to an *ǐ*-stem (Kent 1943: 223; Mayrhofer 1980: 135). Cf. 1.3.42 and 2.3.23.
– Hieroglyphic (cf. Vittmann 2004: 144):
1) [Ḫ𐎹-rw]-ś𐎹-m: BdE 11 8 ii 11.
2) Ḫ𐎹-rw-ś𐎹-m-^{c}: JA 260 256 (5a):11.

2.3.53 *Xvārazmiya- (East Ir.): "Chorasmian". Cf. 1.3.43.
– Aramaic: Ḥrzmy: TAD B 2.2:2, 2.3:23.
– Babylonian: Ḫur-zi-ma-a-a: Dar. 458:13-14; Mich 89:51; YOS 7 154:11.

[57] Cameron (1948: 199) argues that this is a normal variation and refers to the variation Ti-ra-zí-iš and Ši-ra-zí-iš (present Šīrāz). Yet this is not correct: Ti-ra-° and Ši-ra-° denote the Old Persian and the Median form of Šīrāz, while the spelling discussed here certainly must denote *Uvādēčīš. Accordingly it is an inaccurate spelling.

2.3.54 *Zranka-. Cf. 1.3.47.
- Elamite:
  1) Iz-ra-an-ka$_4$: PFNN 827:6 (Iz-ra-an-<ka$_4$>).
  2) Zí-ra-an-ka$_4$: PFNN 2096:6-7.
  3) Zir-ra-kaš: PFNN 690:5.
- Hieroglyphic: Ś3-rw-n-g: BdE 11 8 ii 9; JA 260 256 (5a):9.

2.3.55 *Zrankā-. Cf. 1.3.48.
- Elamite: Zir-ra-an-ka$_4$: PFNN 620:4-5, 690:3-4.

2.4. Loanwords

2.4.1. Abstract expressions

2.4.1.1 *Šāta-: "prosperous", variant of OP *šyāta-*, "prosperous". Cf. 1.4.1.5.

According to Mayrhofer (OnP 312) this is either a word belonging to a more recent linguistic level (cf. MP *šād* and Parth. *š'd*) or a word belonging to another dialect (cf. Av. *šāta-* and *šāti-*). Hinz & Koch (ElW 1143) argue that it is a rendering of Middle Iranian *šāta-*.
- Elamite: Šá-ud-da: XPh 45-46.

2.4.2. Adjectives indicating a certain quality

2.4.2.1 *Visadana- (OP): OP equivalent of *vispazana-* (Schmitt 1978d: 106). Cf. 1.4.2.5.
- Elamite:
  1) mi-iš-šá-da-na-iš-be (pl.): DNa 8.
  2) mi-iš-šá-tan-na-iš: PFNN 1517:4-5.
  3) mi-iš-tan-na: PFNN 1544:8.
  4) mi-šá-tan-na-iš: PF 1223:1-2; PFNN 726:33.

2.4.2.2 *Vispadana- (Med. — OP): hybrid form (Schmitt 1978d: 106; ElW 924). Cf. 1.4.2.5.
- Elamite:
  1) mi-iš-ba-da-na-áš-be (pl.): DSe 2; DZc 4.
  2) mi-iš-ba-tan-na: PF 1749:4-5.

2.4.2.3 *Vispazana- (Med.): cf. Schmitt (1978d: 106), Hinz & Koch (ElW 925) and 1.4.2.5.
- Aramaic: wspzn: TAD A 6.10:3,7.
- Elamite:
  1) mi-iš-ba-šá-na: PF 1747:8-9, 1748:4-5; PFNN 574:18, 1664:5 (mi-<iš>-ba-šá-na).
  2) mi-iš-ba-za-na: PFNN 1674:8; PT 79:4-5.

2.4.3. Appellatives

2.4.3.1 *Dana- (OP): "tribe" (ElW 281). XPc OP 7 has *zanānām*, the gen. pl. of *zana-*.
- Elamite: da-na-iš-be-na (gen. pl.): XPc 7.

2.4.3.2 *Maguš (Telegdi 1935: 229; De Menasce 1954: 161; Eilers 1954-56: 333). Cf. 1.4.3.3 and 2.2.39.
- Aramaic:
  1) mgš: TAD B 3.5:24.
  2) mgwš: PF 1798:rev.
- Babylonian[58]:
  1) ma-gu-še-e: VS 3 138:2 (= BM 42383 = BM 42451 = VS 3 139). Cf. Jursa (1999: 168).
  2) ma-gu-šu: YOS 3 66:7.
  3) ma-gu-šú: BE 9 88:4; OECT 10 163:3, 182:13; YBC 11611:11.
  4) ma-gu-uš: BE 10 97:8; PBS 2/1 195:6; TuM 2/3 184:8.
- Elamite: ma-ku-iš: PF 757:4-5, 758-759:4, 769:4, 772:6-7, 1798:7-8, 1951:1, 1955:1, 1957:1, 2036:4.

2.4.3.3 *Xšaçapāvā- (OP): **xšaça-pāvā-*, "satrap", OP *xšaça-pāvan-* (ElW 1112). Cf. 1.4.3.6.
- Elamite: šá-ak-šá-ba-ma: PF 679:5-6, 680:6, 681:5; PFNN 2135:6.

2.4.4. Architectural and technical expressions

2.4.4.1 *Kāsaka- (Med.): "semiprecious stone", cf. OP *kāsaka-* (Eilers & Mayrhofer 1960: 117nn.44-45; HdA 130; NW 142; ElW 452), an East Iranian borrowing (Hoffmann 1986: 31-33). Cf. 2.2.36.
- Elamite: kaš-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 1560:5.

2.4.4.2 *Kāθaka- (OP): "semiprecious stone" (ElW 447). The Elamite scribe "Oldpersianized" *kāsaka-* by using the equation rule Med. /s/ = OP /θ/. Cf. 2.2.36.

Cameron (1948: 42) reconstructs **kāsaka-*.
- Elamite: ka$_4$-si-ka$_4$: DSf 32,34; DSz 34,36.

2.4.4.3 *Patikara-: "statuc" (Torrey 1915: 372; Driver 1965: 72-73; Donner & Röllig 1968: 304; ElW 170). Cf. 1.4.4.4.
- Aramaic: ptkr: KAI 258:1,4; TAD A 6.12:2,3.
- Elamite: bat-ti-kur-ráš: PT 17:4, 24:4,7, 1957-1:6,8, 1963-5:5-6.

[58] Cf. also LÚ ma-g[u-...] (BIN 1 40:35). A restoration ma-g[u-šú] is, however, not certain.

2.4.4.4 *Stūnā-: "column" (Torrey 1917-18: 193; Rowley 1929: 136; Donner & Röllig 1968: 306). Cf. 1.4.4.7 and 2.2.51.
– Aramaic: stwn: KAI 260:2,4.

2.4.4.5 *Tačara-: "palace" (ElW 303). Cf. 1.4.4.8.
– Elamite: da-za-ra: PFNN 602:3, 696:4.

2.4.5. Colours and related expressions

2.4.5.1 *Āranjana-: "colour, painting materials" (ElW 624). Cf. 1.4.5.1.
– Elamite: ha-ra-in-za-na-iš: PFNN 1510:6-7.

2.4.5.2 *Axšēna-: < OP *axšaina-* (a-x-š-i-n-), "turquois" (Cameron 1948: 42; OPG 165; ElW 44). Cf. 2.1.3 and 2.2.9.
– Elamite: ak-še-na-um: DSf 34 (ak-še-[na-um]); DSz 36.

2.4.5.3 *Kapautaka-: "blue" (Bowman 1970: 170). Cf. 1.4.5.2.
– Aramaic: kpwtk: Pers 122:2.

2.4.6. Conjunctions

2.4.6.1 *Yanē: < yanaiy (ElW 1263). Cf. 1.4.6.5.
– Elamite:
1) ia-né: PF 231:7, 243:6, 1952:18, 1954:20, 1956:32, etc. in PFT; PFa 31:35; PFNN 2337:40, etc. in PFNN.
2) i-ia-né: PFNN 2350:17-18.

2.4.7. Fiscal expressions

2.4.7.1 *Bājiš: *bāji-š, "tax" (NW 101; ASN 66). Cf. 1.4.7.1.
– Elamite:
1) ba-zí(-iš): PF 267:8, 268:5, 269:5-6, 271:3, 272-273:3-4, 1495:4-5, 2008:1; PFNN 768:9, 880:14, 1628:2, 2149:6-7, etc. in PFNN.
2) ba-zí-iš-šá: PF 2025:21.

2.4.8. Geographical expressions

2.4.8.1 *Vispadahyu-: Median equivalent of *visadahyu-* (Weissbach 1911: 108). Cf. 1.4.8.4.
– Babylonian: ú-'-is-pi-da-a-'-i: XPa 11.

2.4.9. Juridical expressions

2.4.9.1 *Dāta-: "law, decree" (Mayrhofer 1979b: 184; ElW 289; Dandamayev 1992: 42). Cf. 1.4.10.1.
– Aramaic: dt: FX 136:19.
– Babylonian:
1) da-a-ta: Dar. 53:15.
2) da-a-ti: AfO 50 256 (BM 25098:14); VS 3 159:10.
3) da-a-tu_4: UET 4 101:12; VS 6 128:10.
– Elamite:
1) da-tam_5: PF 1980:31.
2) da-ut-tam_5: ZA 87 258-259:9.

2.4.10. Metrological expressions

2.4.10.1 *Kaṛša- (Eilers 1954-56: 333; Cameron 1948: 42). Cf. 1.4.11.1.
– Aramaic: krš: ATNS 24:2,10, 39:4, 64a:11,12, 83:5; TAD A 4.4:9, 6.2:14,17; TAD B 5.1:7, 8.6:5, 8.7:1; TAD C and D passim.
– Elamite:
1) kur-šá-am: PT 4:1, 5:1,12, 6:1-2, passim in PTT.
2) kur-šá-um: PT 1-2:3, 9:3, passim in PTT.

2.4.11. Month names

2.4.11.1 *Āçiyādiš / *Āçīdiš (spellings 2 and 6): adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from *āçiyāda-* (Schmitt 2003: 32). Cf. 1.4.12.1.
– Elamite:
1) ha-iš-ši-ia-ti(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:10; PF 398:7-8, 674:11-12,15, 821:7-8, 1948:41-42, etc. in PFT; PFNN 413:9-10, PFNN 529:9; PT 22:26-27.
2) ha-ši-ha-ti(-iš): PF 1189:17, 1431:12-13, 1515:10-11; PFNN 1664:11, 2507:10-11.
3) ha-ši-ia-du-iš[59]: PFNN 820:13-14.
4) ha-ši-ia-taš[60]: PF 1505:11-12, 1784:10.

[59] At first sight this spelling seems inaccurate, but it is not the only case of a Cu-iš-sequence apparently rendering Ir. /Cǐš/, cf. Ha-u-ti-ia-ru-iš for *Autiyārīš (3.2.5), Ir-taš-du-iš for *Ṛdastiš (4.2.1414), Ka_4-mu-ia for *Kāmiya- (4.2.923), Ku-ra-an-du-iš for *Kurāntiš (4.3.133), Ma-za-en-du-iš for *Mazantiš (4.2.1074), Šá-ri-su-iš for *Sāričiš (4.2.1569) and Šu-iš-šá-ma for *Čiçava- (4.2.404). Two explanations may be offered for this phenomenon.

(1) The function of DU (or the other signs involved) is only to render /d/, in which case one is dealing here with a very faint trace of alphabetization of the Elamite cuneiform writing.

(2) In Elamite there was a tendency to pronounce NU as /ni/. It looks like there were more Cu-signs (at least DU, RU and SU) involved in this tendency.

The second explanation is the most plausible one (Tavernier, forth.). Consequently this spelling is not an error for ha-ši-ia-ti-iš, as Schmitt (2003: 22n.44) believes.

[60] This spelling can be explained by assuming that the vowel of CVC-signs is not determined, as a result of which TAŠ can render /tiš/ (Schmitt 2003: 22n.46).

5) ha-ši-ia-ti(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:15; PF 77:10, 1051:10, 1172:13, 1299:8, 1375:13-14, 1382:8-9, 1455:11, 1469:8-9, 1506:8, 1699:9, 2052:10, 2062:12, passim in PFT; PFa 30:12; PFNN 371:5-6, 397:6-7, 427:7, 1489:7; PT 21:10.
6) ha-ši-ti-iš[61]: PFNN 686:12-13.

2.4.11.2 *Āçiyādiya-. Cf. 1.4.12.1.
– Elamite:
1) ha-iš-ši-ia-ti-ia: Fort. 5904:12.
2) ha-ši-ia-ti-ia(-an/-iš)[62]: PF 913:7-8, 1012:7, 1050:7-8, 1157:9, 1951:5,16, 2072:19; PFNN 437:7, 528:11-12, 711:8-9, 1284:8-9, 2204:16, 2477:2.

2.4.11.3 *Āçīziš (OP — Med.): OP — Med. hybrid expression (Schmitt 2003: 32n.101). Cf. 1.4.12.1.
– Elamite: ha-ši-ha-zí: PF 299:4,7, 1040:8, 1077:9; PFNN 1678:3-4.

2.4.11.4 *Adukana-. Cf. 1.4.12.2.
– Elamite:
1) ha-du-ge-na: PF 998:6-7, 999:5; PFNN 2187:7-8.
2) ha-du-ka$_4$-na(-iš): PF 744:10-11, 1003:6, 1357:16-17, 1454:7, 1663:7-8, 1664:8-9, 1719:7, 1720:7-8, 1721:6-7, 2046:8-9; PFNN 315:8-9, 724:10-11, 779:7-8.
3) ha-du-kán-na(-iš): PF 667:6-7, 768:10-11, 850-851:8-9, 861:7, 865:6-7, 957:8, 963:7, 1013:5-6, 1116:11, 1408:3, 1823:1, 1826:11; PFNN 312:13-14, 1553:3, 2160:8-9, 2339:56, 2564:9, passim in PF and PFNN; PT 49:9-10.

2.4.11.5 *Adukani-: adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from *adukana-* (Schmitt 2003: 42). Cf. 1.4.12.2.
– Elamite:
1) ha-du-kán-nu(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:14; PF 398:11-12, 916:6, 950:7, 1031:7, 1041:9, 1129:11, 1236:12, 1362:14, 1599:9-10, 1790:15, 1795:10-11, 1944:54; PFNN 1621:11-12, passim in PF and PFNN.
2) ha-du-kin-nu: PF 1092:13.
3) ha-du-ka$_4$-nu(-iš): PF 60:11-12, 61:13-14, 686:7, 687:9, 1040:9-10, 1078:8-9, 1082:8, 1083:11-12, 1279:9, 1452:10, 1950:11; PFNN 1386:11, 1601:10-11, 2390:14-15, 2500:7-8, 2551:12.

2.4.11.6 *Adukanya-: adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from *adukana-* (Schmitt 2003: 42). Cf. 1.4.12.2.
– Elamite:
1) ha-du-kán-ia(-iš): PF 1060:7; PFNN 858:11-12, 2404:11.
2) ha-du-kán-na-ia(-iš): PFNN 1303:10-11.
3) ha-du-kán-nu-ia(-iš): PF 11:8, 405:10, 758:8-9, 767:7-8, 800:9-10, 804:12, 921:6-7, 936:5, 977:5-6, 1071:16-17, 1112:9, 1159:11-12, 1202:12, 1360:7, 1385:10, 1399:9, 1459:7-8, 1725:7, 1833:9-10, 1948:59, 1978:18, 1980:27-28, 2070:32, etc. in PF; PT 12a:rev.x+2, 23:9-10, 24:12-13, 51:10, 62:10-11, 1957-1:17.
4) ha-du-ka$_4$-nu-ia(-iš): PF 1084:5-6, 1142:11, 1186:7-8, 1380:11-12; PFNN 399:12-13, 721:13-14, 606:9-10, 625:9, 1300:11-12, 1504:5-6, 2185:8-9, 2484:9-10.
5) ha-du-kin-nu-ia: PFNN 2426:18-19.
6) [ha]-tu-kán-nu-i[a-iš]: PFNN 2472:11-12.

2.4.11.7 *Anāmaka-. Cf. 1.4.12.3.
– Elamite:
1) an-na-ma-ak-ka$_4$: Fort. 3666:12; PF 934:9-10; PFNN 2530:10-11.
2) an-na-ma-ak-kaš: PF 804:9, 918:6, 1657:10-11; PFNN 2345:21.
3) an-na-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1077:11, 1189:18, 1190:8; PFNN 1572:11,13.
4) an-na-ma-kaš: PF 920:8, 1012:8, 1022:9-10.
5) an-na-ma-kaš^{iš}: PF 1761:9.
6) ha-na-ma-ak[63]: PT Teh. 1957-1:13.
7) ha-na-ma-ak-ka$_4$(-iš): PF 546:10, 1692:8-9; PFNN 2536:10-11.
8) ha-na-ma-ak-kaš: Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:16 (ha-na-ma-⌜ak⌝-[kaš]); PF 654:6, 672:17, 741:8, 1234:10-11, 1689:11, 1790:12, 1828:10; PFNN 1211:6-7, 1535:14-15, 1602:10, 1642:10, 2471:10-11.
9) ha-na-ma-ik-kaš: PF 1806:13-14, 1834:10-11.

[61] Hinz & Koch (EIW 643; also Schmitt 2003: 22n.44) believe in a scribal error for ha-ši-ia-ti-iš. Yet it is more likely that this spelling represents a contracted form (/iya/ > /i/).

[62] Concerning the spellings ending in AN Schmitt (2003: 22n.45) thinks that dittography is the cause of this ending, because month names usually were preceded by the determinative AN.

[63] The assumption of Hinz & Koch (EIW 615) that this spelling reflects a Middle Persian form is not convincing (Schmitt 2003: 23n.49). According to Schmitt it is a scribal error, which is, however, not convincing either.

10) ha-na-ma-ka$_4$(-iš): PF 830:4, 1069:12, 1070:11-12, 1072:14, 1464:10-11, 1699:10, etc. in PFT; PFNN 397:7-8, 438:5-6, 491:9-10, 497:12-13, 1385:8-9, 2467:13-14, etc. in PFNN.
11) ha-na-ma-kaš: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:10-11; PF 397:7, passim in PFT; PT 21:10-11, 38:10-11,18-19, 43:10, 75:12.
12) ha-na-ma-kaš^{iš}: PF 1032:8-9, 1742:5-6; PFNN 1265:6-7.
13) ha-na-man-ka$_4$[64]: PF 1048:12.
14) ha-na-man-kaš: PF 862:11.
15) ha-na-mi-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1067:17-18, 1068:15-16.
16) ha-na-muk-ka$_4$: PF 1188:9.

– Phrygian: anamaka: Kadmos 4 155:7.

2.4.11.8 *Bāgayādiš / *bāgēdiš (spellings 1 and 3). Cf. 1.4.12.4.
The spelling with HA may render both *Bagayādi- and *Bāgēdi-.

– Elamite:
1) ba-ge-ha-t[i-iš]: PF 1189:15.
2) ba-ge-ia-ti(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:8-9; PF 76:10, 661:6, 860:7, 1759:10, 1953:13, passim in PFT; PFNN 1417:13 (ba-ge-ia-<ti>-iš), 2342:20; PT 12b:8, 15:13, 20:10-11, 26:11-12, passim in PT.
3) ba-ge-ti-iš[65]: PF 1296:12, 1772:6-7; PFNN 1234:7-8.
4) ba-ke-ia-ti(-iš): PF 416:7-8, 930:5, 932:5-6, 1050:6, 1051:8, 1172:11, passim in PFT; PFNN 626:9 (ba-ke-ia-<ti>), 1470:10-11, 1652:7 (ba-ke-ia-<ti>), 2512:8-9, 2543:8-9, etc. in PFNN.

2.4.11.9 *Bāgayādya-: adjectival *vṛddhi*-derivation from **bāgayāda-* (Schmitt 2003: 29-30). Cf. 1.4.12.4.

– Elamite:
1) [b]a-ge-ia-ti-ia-iš: PF 1131:9.
2) ba-ke-ia-ti-ia-áš: PF 762:9-10.

2.4.11.10 *Bāgēziš (Med.): Median equivalent of OP **bāgēdiš*. Cf. 1.4.12.4.
The spelling with HA could also render *Bāgayāzi- (Schmitt 2003: 29).

– Elamite:
1) ba-ge-ha-zí: PF 299:2.
2) ba-ke-ha-zí-iš: PFNN 1664:8-9.

[64] Two possible explanations are available for the use of MAN: (1) MAN may render /ma/ (Harmatta, apud OnP 110-111) or (2) MAN has a value mi$_4$ (Schmitt 2003: 22-23n.48).

[65] Although Schmitt (2003: 21n.40) prefers a scribal error in this spelling, he has to admit that the number of occurrences (three) is an objection to this. Accordingly it is better to accept a contracted form in this spelling.

2.4.11.11 *Garmapada- (ElW 443). Cf. 1.4.12.5.

– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-ir-ma-bad-da: Fort. 5231:15-16.
2) ka$_4$-ir-ma-ba-taš: PF 6:10, 1029:7, 1094:11-12, 1098:10-11, 1589:7-8, 1830:7; PFNN 2202:25.
3) ka$_4$-ma-ba-da-iš[66]: PFNN 1380:4-5.
4) kar-ma-ba-da: PF 1051:6, 1460:8, 1716:4; PFNN 585:11-12, 644:8, 1428:7-8.
5) kar-ma-bad-da: PF 1053:18-19; PFNN 1223:12-13.
6) kar-ma-ba-taš: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:13; JNES 53 264:7-8; PF 69:12, 243:12, 273:13-14, 399:8-9, 400:11, 409:9, 790:14, 848:9, passim in PFT; PT 12:24, 68:8-9, 69:8, 70:7, 72:10-11, 73:9-10.
7) kar-ma-bat-taš: PF 272:13-14, 385:6-7, 856:9-10, 976:7-8, 1575:13-14, 1653:14, 1673:10, 1737:7, 1744:4-5; PFNN 863:12, 1248:11, 1269:10, 2493:13,18, etc. in PFNN; PT 9:14, 18:12-13.
8) kur-ma-ba-taš: PF 911:7, 1047:7; PFNN 1312:8, 1432:7; PT Teh. 1957-2:8.

2.4.11.12 *Θāigračīš (ElW 1052-1053). Cf. 1.4.12.6 and 2.1.5.

– Elamite:
1) sa-a-ak-kur-ra-zí-iš: Fort. 5899:8-9.
2) sa-a-ak-ri-iz-zí-iš: PT 13:14.
3) sa-a-ik-ra-zí-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:12; PF 1097:11, 1821:9, 1826:13, 2042:6-7; PFNN 495:8-9, 1590:14, 2369:16.
4) sa-a-ik-ri-iz-zí-iš: PF 978:5.
5) sa-a-ik-ri-zí-iš: PF 945:6, 985:7, 992:4-5, 2067:19; PFNN 1301:7-8, 2357:23-24.
6) sa-a-kar-ri-iz-zí-iš: PF 1029:6.
7) sa-ak-ri-iz-zí-(-iš): Fort. 226-3:11-12; PFNN 2377:7-8.
8) sa-ak-ri-za[67]: Fort. 8863:9-10; PF 1051:5, 1510:9; PFNN 868:9-10.
9) sa-ak-ri-zí(-iš): Fort. 5231:15; PF 1189:11.
10) sa-a-kur-da-iš[68]: PFa 18:16.

[66] Error for ka$_4$-<ir>-ma-ba-da-iš (ElW 424; Schmitt 2003: 20n.31).

[67] PFNN 2390:17 has sa-ak-ri-[za/zí] (cf. ElW 1051 and Schmitt 2003: 20n.29). The spellings ending in *-za* (nos. 8, 14, 16, 22, 25, 26 and 28) are probably ad hoc formations (Schmitt 2003: 37, who refers to the El. spellings Matezziš and Matezza).

[68] Error for sa-a-kur-zí-iš (Schmitt 2003: 20n.26).

11) sa-a-kur-ez-zí-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:15; PF 1788:8, 1802:12; PFNN 425:9-10.
12) sa-a-kur-ra-iz-zí-iš: PF 790:13-14, 852:9-10, 853:8-9, 1665:6-7, 1720:10-11, 1721:9-10, 1951:4-5,10; PFNN 818:7-8, 851:15-16, 891:7-8, 1376:5-6, 2170:8, 2406:5-6, 2477:7.
13) sa-a-kur-ra-zí-iš: PF 664:14-15, 861:9, 898:9-10, 981:13, 1291:11-12, 1292:13-14, 1363:19-20, 1595:10-11, 1719:9-10, 1944:6,40; PFNN 408:10, 596:18-19, 638:10-11, 775:8-9.
14) [sa-a-ku]r-ri-iz-za: PT 1963-3:26.
15) sa-a-kur-ri-iz-zí(-iš): PF 659:5-6, 865:8, 880:10-11, 908:8-9, 946:7-8, 1030:5-6, 1150:8-9, 1725:8-9, 1790:16, 1805:8-9; PFNN 405:9-10, 1485:13-14, 1588:11-12, 1624:10-11, 2211:41.
16) sa-a-kur-ri-za: PF 1053:18; PFNN 1223:11-12, 2496:7-8.
17) sa-a-kur-ri-zí(-iš): PF 666:5-6, 848:8-9, 863:10, 993:8 (sa-a-kur-re°-<zí>-iš); PFNN 1308:11-12, 2583:9-10 (sa-a-kur-re-<zí>-iš), passim in PF and PFNN.
18) sa-a-kur-zí-ia-iš[69]: PF 1948:9,39,51,59.
19) sa-a-kur-zí-iš: JNES 53 264:7; PF 658:7, 854:6, 856:8-9, 857:6-7, 1108:7-8, 1386:12, 1841:9-10; PFNN 517:12-13, 1498:5-6, 2493:2,7,13,17-18,25.
20) sa-ik-ra-zí-iš: PF 1704:11-12.
21) sa-kar-ri-zí-iš: PF 1257:10-11.
22) sa-ki-ri-iz-za[70]: PFNN 2558:9.
23) sa-kur-iz-zí-iš: PFNN 439:9-10, 1550:14-15.
24) sa-kur-ra[71]: OGWA 321-22:28.
25) sa-kur-ra-a-iz-za[72]: PF 1325:12, 1326-1327:12-13.
26) sa-kur-ra-za: PFNN 2392:10-11.
27) sa-kur-ra-zí-iš: PF 1292:13-14.
28) sa-kur-ri-za: PFNN 1428:6.
29) sa-kur-ri-zí(-iš): PF 1094:10-11, 1116-1117:11-12, 1119:9-10; PFNN 311:10, 312:8-9, 585:10, 644:7-8, 2179:5, 2568:8-9.

[69] Probably an ad hoc formation of a particular scribe (Schmitt 2003: 37).
[70] Schmitt (2003: 37) proposes to read Sa-ik-ri-iz-za.
[71] Short spelling of sa-kur-ra-za (Schmitt 2003: 20n.30) or of sa-kur-ra-zí-iš.
[72] The three occurrences are probably written by the same scribe. They are mistakes for sa-a-kur-ra-iz-za (Schmitt 2003: 20n.28).

30) šá-ak-ri-iz-zí-iš: Fort. 706:15-16.
31) šá-kur-ri-iz-zí-iš: PFNN 1553:5.
32) šá-kur-zí-iš: PF 306:12.

2.4.11.13 *Θūravār- (OP; θ-u-r-v-a-h-r-): 2nd month. < *Θūra-vāhara-* (/āha/ > /ā/), "bringing the very first spring" (Schmitt 2003: 33-36). Cf. Av. *sūrəm*, "early in the morning", OInd. *vasantá-*, "spring" and *vāsará-*, "matutinal (light)", MP *wahār* and NP *bahār*.

– Elamite
1) du-ru-ma-ir: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:11; PF 1097:10, 1182:11-12, 1815:10-11, 1826:12, 1930:5; PFNN 2561:10.
2) šu-ra-ma-ir: PFNN 336:12-13.
3) šu-ra-ma-ra: PF 1053:17, 1188:12-13, 1189:10; PFa 29:15 (šu-ra-<ma>-ra), 21; PFNN 409:14, 1223:10-11, 1511:9.
4) šu-re-ma-ir: PF 1286:13.
5) šu-ru-ma-ir: Fort. 3667:13-14; PF 975:10-11, 1061:10; PFNN 577:18, 606:10, 2371:37, 2484:10-11.
6) šu-ru-^{ma}mar[73]: Fort. 706:14.
7) šu-ru-mar[74]: PF 1988:34 ([š]u-ru-mar); PFa 31:36.
8) šu-ru-ma-<<šu>>-ur: Fort. 7090:10-11.
9) šu-ur-ma-ir: PF 1078:9-10, 1079:10, 1279:10; PFNN 2551:14.
10) šu-ur-ma-ra: PFNN 2390:16.
11) šu-ur-ma-ráš: PT 53:10, 54:8.
12) tu-ir-ma-ir: DB ii 27,31,47; JNES 53 264:6; PF 406:10-11, 909:7, 921:7, 963:8, 1003:7, 1030:4-5, 1098:10, 1281:13-14, 1637:9, 1957:36, 2025:23-24; PFNN 408:9, 425:8-9, 780:7, passim in PF and PFNN.
13) tu-ir-ma-ir-ra(-iš): PF 852:8, 1661:5-6.
14) tu-ir-mar: Fort. 395-1:15[74].
15) tu-ir-ma-ra(-iš): PF 1611:12, 1675:6-7; PFNN 496:5-6 (tu-<ir>-ma-r[a]), 794:6-7, 894:6-7, 2174:14-15.
16) tu-ir-ma-ráš: PF 781:6, 856:7-8, 1051:4-5, 1112:10, 1318:10, 1350:13; PFNN 692:13-14, 1330:11, 1428:6, 2468:12-13; PT 59:9, 13-14 (tu-<ir>-ma-ráš).
17) tu-ir-ma-ráš^{iš}: PF 1729:5-6.

[73] According to Schmitt (2003: 19n.18) this spelling is a writing error for šu-ru-ma-ir. The use of a phonetic complement, however, is a much more plausible explanation.
[74] This is one of the few occasions where a CaC-teken renders Old Persian /ā/ (Sims-Williams 1978: 97).

18) tu-ir-ma-ri-iš: PF 1623:8-9. Scribal error (Schmitt 2003: 20n.23).
19) tu-ir-ra-ma-ir: PFNN 1650:9.
20) tu-ir-ru-ma-ir: PF 1663:9, 1664:10, 1719-1720:8-9, 1721:7-8; PFNN 376:7, 1593:6-7.
21) tu-ma-ráš[75]: PT 59:9,13-14.
22) tu-ra-ma-ir: PF 657:8-9, 801:9-10, 1029:5, 1039:12, 1290:14-15, 1558:10, 1948:51; PFNN 607:8-9, 711:10, 734:11, 1292:6-7, 2317:10-11.
23) [tu]-ra-ma-ra: PFNN 496:5-6.
24) tu-ra-ma-ráš: PF 1023:6, 1940:27, 1942:13,35, 1945:5,7, 1947:8,25,60, 65,73, 1949:5, 2072:81; PFNN 1521:9-10, 1582:5-6, 2405:10-11.
25) tu-re-ma-ir: PF 1372:11-12, 1373:13, 1550:11-12; PFNN 615:12-13, 739:14.
26) tu-re-ma-ra: PF 1184:11, 1320:13, 1322:11-12, 1323:11, 1324:12; PFNN 1271:11.
27) tu-ru-ma-ir: PF 656:7, 861:8, 878:11, 936:6, 977:6, 1448:8-9, 1790:15, 1944:2; PFNN 1411:15-16, 1692:12-13, 2153:6-7, 2163:8-9, 2352:22, 2377:7 (tu-ru-ma-<ir>), 2400:11-12, 2487:31; PT 16:12.
28) tu-ru-mar: PFNN 2337:41.
29) tu-ru-mar[ir][76]: PFNN 1595:6.
30) tu-ru-ma-ra: PF 1997:24-25.
31) tu-ru-ma-ráš: PF 848:7-8, 865:7, 876:11-12, 880:8-9, 949:7, 957:9, 961:7, 983:8, 1142:9-10, 1162:10-11, 1833:10-11 (tu-ru-ma-<ráš>); PFNN 359:7, 390:8, 1485:11-12, 1588:10-11, 1616:8; PT 24:13, 51:11, 61:6-7, 80:12.
32) tu-ur-ma-ir: PFNN 2500:8-9, 2583:8-9.
33) tu-ur-ma-ráš: PF 665:13, 1045:15, 1548:11-12; PT 55:7-8, 56-57:9-10, 58:8-9,17, 59a1:8, 59a2:2-3.

2.4.11.14 *Vīxana-: < Viyaxana- (Cameron 1948: 45n.16; Schmitt 2003: 43). Cf. 1.4.12.7.
– Elamite:
1) man-ka$_4$-na-iš: PF 1775:7. Cf. Ha-na-man-ka$_4$.

[75] This spelling shows a dissimilatory loss of the first *r*, possibly due to Elamite phonetics (Sims-Williams 1978: 99n.6; Schmitt 2003: 20n.21).

[76] Schmitt (2003: 19n.17) does not accept that IR is a phonetic complement, because it would indicate a sequence /mir/. Alternatively one may assume a mistake in the use of the phonetic complement.

2) mi-ik-ka$_4$-na: Fort. 5901:7.
3) mi-ik-kán-na-iš: PFNN 2519:8-9.
4) mi-kán: PF 1051:11.
5) mi-ka$_4$-na(-áš/-iš): PF 240:6, 246:8, 248:5, 258:5, 688:11, 1060:8, etc. in PF; PFNN 409:12, 420:7, 438:6-7, 544:15, 721:12, 1352:12-13, 1501:16.
6) mi-kán-na(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:17-18; DB i 28; PF 662:8-9, 804:11, 862:13, 1195:11, 1359:11, etc.; PFNN 437:9-10, 491:11-12, 520:4, 773:7, 2335:47, 2486:29; PT 1:16, 15:15, 21:12, 23:12, 27:12, 33:10, 43:11, 44:13a-13b, 46:8, 47:8,13, 48:10,14, 75:13-14, 78:13, 79:10.
7) mi-kin-na(-iš): PF 297:8-9, 998:8, 999:6, 1950:10; PFNN 2537:13-14 (mi-ki[n]-na-iš).

2.4.11.15 *Vīxani-: variant of **vīxana-* (EIW 930). Cf. 1.4.12.7.
– Elamite: mi-kán-nu-iš: PF 1433:13; PFNN 1675:9-10; PT 12b:11.

2.4.11.16 *Viyaxana-. Cf. 1.4.12.7.
– Elamite:
1) mi-ia-ka$_4$-na(-áš/-iš): PF 767:10, 868:8, 1098:13, passim in PFT; PFNN 361:14-15, 486:14, 528:14, 859:10-11, 1486:6-7, 2301:9-10.
2) mi-ia-kán-na(-áš/-iš): PF 970:6, passim in PFT; PFNN 370:5-6, passim in PFNN.

2.4.11.17 *Viyaxaniš: variant of **vīxana-*. Cf. 1.4.12.7.
– Elamite: mi-ia-kán-nu-iš: PF 1635:9, 1658:10; PFNN 516:12, 1496:6-7.

2.4.12. Pronominal expressions

2.4.12.1 *-Mē: monophhongization of *-maiy* (-m-i-y): "me, mine", enclitic pers. pron. (gen.-dat.) of the first person sg. (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 67; HdA 66). Because El. neutralized the final vowels /e/ and /i/ (Khačikyan 1998: 7), the El. script makes no distinction between /e/-signs and /i/-signs in a final position. Consequently MI renders -/mē/.
– Elamite:
1) -me-: XPh 26.
2) -mi-: A^{2}Sa 4; DB iii 65; DSf 18,51; DSj 4,5; DSz 16-17,56.

2.4.13. Religious expressions

2.4.13.1 *Brazmanī: < *brazmaniya-*. Cf. 1.4.15.1.
– Babylonian: bi-ra-za-am-man-ni-i: XPh 34,42,45.

2.4.13.2 *Haumavarga- / *Haumārga-: Cf. 1.4.15.4 and 2.2.29.
- Babylonian:
  1) ú-mar-ga: XPh 21.
  2) ú-mar-ga-$^{?}$: A^{3}Pb 14.
  3) ú-mu-ur-ga-$^{?}$: DNa 14; DSe 17.
- Elamite: u-mar-ka$_{4}$: XPh 22.

3. NON-IRANIAN PROPER NAMES AND LOANWORDS IN OLD PERSIAN

This category contains names and words, that are originally non-Iranian, but that were borrowed from Old Persian (and not directly from the language, to which the expression originally belongs). Accordingly the Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian and Elamite renderings of these words reflect the Old Persian forms. Nevertheless their non-Iranian character necessitates a careful treatment.

Not all non-Iranian proper names and loanwords are included. Only proper names and loanwords of which it can be safely assumed that they ended up in the target language through Old Persian are included in this category. Examples of names and words which do not comply with this condition, are:

1) OP Arabāya-: "Arabia". In Elamite this name only occurs since the Achaemenid period, so most likely Old Persian was the transmittor of this name. In Babylonian, however, it already appears in texts dating from the Neo-Babylonian period, which excludes the Babylonian version of inclusion in this category. As a result only the Elamite version will be listed.
2) OP Sparda- (S-p-r-d): "Lydia". The original Lydian name is Śfard-. Babylonian has Sa-par-du, Elamite has Iš-bar-da. Since these spellings can render both the Lydian and the Old Persian equivalents, one cannot know for sure whether Old Persian transmitted this name from Lydian to Babylonian and Elamite. Possibly the name was directly borrowed from Lydian.
3) OP Nadi^{n}tabaira- (N-i-di-i-t-b-i-r): rendering of the Babylonian name Nidintu-Bēl. In Babylonian this name is written Ni-din-tu-^{d}EN, which appears in Elamite as Nu-ti-ut-be-ul. A comparison of the different spellings of this anthroponym makes clear that the scribe of the Elamite version of DB had the Babylonian form of this name in mind, as the usage of the sign UL (against OP /r/) indicates. Moreover pre-Achaemenid Elamite documents already contain transcriptions of Babylonian words, where Bab. /l/ was expressed by El. /l/ (examples can be found in ElW 24).
4) This problem is also valid for the other Babylonian names occurring in Old Persian: on the one hand OP Nabukudračara- (N-b-u-ku-u-d-r-č-r-), Bab. Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, El. Nab-ku-tur-

ra-sir, Nab-ku-tur-ru-sir and Nab-ku-tur-sir (ElW 977), on the other hand OP Nabunaita- (N-b-u-n-i-t-), Bab. Nabû-na'id, El. Na-bu-ni-da (ElW 977).

5) It is not sure whether the anthroponym Haldita- and the geographical expressions Dubāla- (Du-u-b-a-l), Izalā- (I-z-l-a) and Lab(a)nāna- (L-b-n-a-n) have entered the Elamite language through Old Persian. In Old Persian cuneiform writing there is a sign for the sound /l/, which, however, does not exist in Old Persian. This sign is similar to the Sumero-Akkadian sign LA, but may also have evolved from the OP sign R (cf. Justeson & Stephens 1991-93: 31). Consequently it is equally possible that the examples mentioned above were borrowed by Old Persian through Babylonian and Elamite and not vice versa. A support for this idea is the older date of the Elamite version of the Bisitun Inscription in comparison to the Old Persian version (Hinz 1968b: 95-98; Cameron 1973: 51; Gershevitch 1979: 114; Borger 1982: 110).

3.1. Personal names

3.1.1 Ain[aira]- (A-i-n-[i-r]-): name lacking a plausible etymology or meaning. The person bearing this name is generally considered to be the father of the Babylonian rebel Nidintu-Bēl, but the Babylonian version of DB has the name Kin-zēr instead of a Babylonian rendering of Ainaira. In addition Nidintu-Bēl is described as a *zazakku*, an important official. Consequently Von Voigtlander (1978: 20) argues that the expression is a loanword and not an anthroponym.
- Babylonian: A-a-ni-ir: YBC 11644, 11650:16 (references M.W. Stolper).
- Elamite: Ha-a-na-a-ra: DB i 60.

3.1.2 Araxa- (A-r-x-): originally Armenian (Schmitt 1980b: 9-10).
- Babylonian: A-ra-ḫu: DB 85,86,88,94; DBi 1.
- Elamite: Ha-rák-ka$_4$: DB iii 36,38,44,45,58; DBi 1.

3.2. Geographical names

3.2.1 (*)Arabāya- (A-r-b-a-y-): Arabia (OPG 169-170).
- Elamite:

1) Har-ba-a(-be): PF 1477:8, 1507:4, 1534:5-6; PFa 17:3-4 (Ha[r-ba]-a-be).
2) Har-ba-ia: A^{3}Pb 18; DB i 11 ([Har]-ba-ia); DNa 21; XPh 20-21.

3.2.2 *Arbērā-: < Arbairā- (A-r-b-i-r-a-), i.e. Arbela, a town situated between present Mossul and Kirkuk (OPG 171; NW 124). The original Bab. name is Ar-ba-'-il.
- Elamite: Har-be-ra: DB ii 66; PFNN 2342:27.

3.2.3 *Armina-: "Armenia", Urartian name (Schmitt 1980b: 8 and 1987b: 417).
- Hieroglyphic: ɜ-rw-mᶜ-y-n-ɜ: BdE 11 8 ii 14, 9 ii 14; JA 260 256 (5b):14.

3.2.4 (*)Arminiya- (A-r-mi-i-n-i-y) / Arminī- (A-r-mi-i-n-, cf. Sims-Williams 1978: 98): (1) "Armenia", (2) "Armenian". Meaning "Armenia" this expression is an equivalent form of Armina-, used especially to form the locative (Schmitt 1977: 96n.16).
- Elamite:
  1) Har-man-nu-ia: PFNN 1344:4.
  2) Har-mi-nu: XPh 20.
  3) Har-mi-nu-ia: A^{3}Pb 20; DB i 12, ii 22,24,26,29-30,33-34,38,40,48, iii 36,58; DNa 22.

3.2.5 *Autiyārīš: < *Autiyār-iya-. Autiyāra- (A-u-t-i-y-a-r-) is an Armenian district, of which neither the name nor the precise localization are known (Schmitt 1980b: 12). Its connection with the Tiārī-Kurds (Rawlinson 1846-49: 71-72) is speculative (Schmitt, l.c.). Perhaps it is an Urartian name (Hüsing 1898: 12).
- Babylonian: Ú-ti-ia-a-ri: DB 56 (Ú-ᵀtiᵀ-[ia-a-ri]); CII 1/2/1 63:2.
- Elamite: Ha-u-ti-ia-ru-iš: DB ii 45. Cf. **āçiyādiš* (2.4.11.1).

3.2.6 (*)Gandāra- (G-d-a-r-): Old Indian Gandhāra- (HdA 120; EWAi I 462-463). Both the etymology and meaning of this name are clear (Vogelsang 1999-2001: 270).
- Babylonian:
  1) Ga-an-da-ri: DSaa 29, DSe 16 (Ga-a[n-da-ri]).
  2) Gan-da-ar: XPh 20.
  3) Gan-da-ra-: GCCI 2 361:8,20.
  4) Gan-da-ri: DNa 13; DSf 25.
  5) Ka-an-da-ra: YOS 3 145:14.
- Elamite:
  1) Ka$_4$-in-da-ir: PFNN 1573:4.
  2) Kán-da-ra: A^{3}Pb 12; DNa 19; DSe 19-20 (Kán-d[a-ra]), DSf 30; PF 1139:4, 1358:10-11; PFNN 431:3,15; XPh 21.

3) Kán-da-ráš: DSz 31; PF 1440:6, 1550:4; PFNN 290:1, 534:18, 2383:9.

3.2.7 *Gandāraya- (g-d-a-r-y-): name of the inhabitants of Gandāra- (OPG 183; Schmitt 1977: 97).
- Babylonian: Ga-an-da-ru-i-tu$_4$: Dar. 379:44.
- Elamite: Kán-da-re-ia: PFNN 547:20.

3.2.8 (H)ufrātuš (U-f-r-a-tu-u-): "Euphrates". The original name is Bab. Purattu, which developed to OP (H)ufrātuš, "having good fords" through folk etymology (Schmitt 1967: 122).
- Elamite: Ú-ip-ra-du-iš: DB i 73.

3.2.9 (*)Katpatuka- (K-t-p-tu-u-k-): (1) "Cappadocia", (2) "Cappadocian", native Cappadocian name (Tischler 1977: 72).
- Babylonian:
  1) Ka-at-pa-tuk: XPh 20.
  2) Ka-at-pa-tuk-a-a: A^{3}Pb 21.
  3) Ka-at-pa-tuk-ka: DNa 16.
  4) Ka-at-pa-tuk-ku: DSaa 25; DSe 19.
  5) Kát-pa-tuk-ka: DB 6.
- Elamite:
  1) Ka$_4$-at-ba-du-kaš: DB i 12; PFa 30:11.
  2) Ka$_4$-at-pu-tuk-kaš: PF 1577:6-7; PFNN 596:8-9.
  3) Kat-ba-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 1382:4-5.
  4) Kat-ba-du-kaš: PF 850:5, 1016:3-4, 1156:4-5, 1281:6-7, 2039:4-5; PFNN 513:5-6, 741:5, 2470:5-6.
  5) Kat-ba-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2349:16-17.
  6) Ka$_4$-ut-ba-du-ka$_4$: DNa 22; XPh 21.
  7) Ka$_4$-ut-ba-tuk-ka$_4$: A^{3}Pb 21.
- Hieroglyphic: G-d-p-d-kȝ-y: BdE 11 9 ii 16-17; JA 260 256 (5b):16.

3.2.10 (*)Kṛka-: Caria (Herzfeld 1931: 59-60; Eilers 1935: 205-213 and 1940b: 190-191).
- Elamite:
  1) Kur-ka$_4$(-ap/-be/-ip/-ra): A^{3}Pb 29; DNa 25; DNe 30 ([Kur]-ˈka$_4$ˈ); DSf 29; DSz 30; XPh 23; PF 123:2, 1123:5-6; PFNN 1822:5.
  2) Kur-kaš: PT 37:4, 1963-2:4.

3.2.11 Pirāva-: the Nile. Originally Egyptian expression, i.e. Pȝ-itrw, "big river" (Maspéro, apud Ménant 1887: 153n.; Benveniste 1951: 40; OPG 197; HdA 140). From the eighteenth dynasty onwards this name lost its dental, which is made clear by Bab. Iaruˈū (VAB 7/2 161:32), Hebr. Yəʾor and Coptic Piaro, Piero.
- Elamite: [Pi-ra]-ma: DZc 6.

3.2.12 Putāya- (P-u-t-a-y-): Egyptian name of Libya (Posener 1936: 186), probably Eg. Pwd > Pjjt (Osing 1980: 1016). Bab. Pu-ú-ṭa (DNa 18), Pu-ú-ṭu (XPh 22) and Pu-ṭa-a-a (A^{3}Pb 27) come directly from Egyptian, since a toponym Pu-ṭu-ia-a-man occurs in a Neo-Babylonian chronicle (Wiseman 1956: Pl.21:rev.2).
- Elamite:
  1) Pu-ud-da-a-ia: A^{3}Pb 27.
  2) Pu-ud-da-ia: XPh 23.
  3) Pu-ú-ti-ia-ap (pl.): DNa 24-25.

3.2.13 Tigra- (T-i-g-r-): most likely an Urartian or Armenian name, which the Persians connected with Av. *tiγra-*, "sharp" through folk etymology (Schmitt 1980b: 12).
- Aramaic: Tgr: DB 12.
- Babylonian: Di-ig-ra: DB 51.
- Elamite: Ti-ik-ra: DB ii 29.

3.2.14 Tigrā- (T-i-g-r-a-): "Tigris", Bab. Diqlat. Folk etymology based on Av. *tiγri-*, "arrow" (Schmitt 1967: 123n.35).
- Elamite: Ti-ik-ra: DB i 67,70.

3.2.15 (*)Yauna- (Y-u-n-): (1) "Ionia", (2) "Ionian" (OPG 204; ElW 1265).
- Elamite:
  1) Ia-u-na(-ap/-ip): A^{3}Pb 23 and 26; DNa 22-23,24; DSf 29,37; DSz 30,39-40,45-46; PF 1224:8-9, 2072:84,86 (Ia-u-[na-ip]); PFNN 726:45-46, 2261:33, 2486:57; PT 15:6; XPh 19.
  2) I-ia-u-na-ip (pl.): DB i 11-12.

3.2.16 *Yauniya-: "Ionians", Yaun-iya- (cf. ElW 796).
- Elamite: I-u-nu-ia-ip (pl.): PFNN 2108:7-8.

3.2.17 Zūzahya- (Z-u-z-h-y-): neither the precise localisation, nor the etymology of this place name is known (Schmitt 1980b: 11). Zūzahya is rendered inaccurately by both the Babylonian and the Elamite versions of DB. Possibly the clerks thought that they were dealing with a Persian genitive and therefore elided *-hya*.
- Babylonian: Zu-ú-zu: DB 49.
- Elamite: Su-iz-za: DB ii 25.

3.3. Loanwords

3.3.1 Maškāuvā (m-š-k-a-u-v-a): loc. pl. of OP *maškā-*, "skin, leather" (Cameron 1948: 43; OPG 203), a Semitic loanword which was picked up by the Elamites from Old Persian (Hallock 1969: 727; ElW 894). Cf. Bab. *mašku*, Ar. *mšk* and NP *mask*.

Hoffmann (1965: 249n.) argues that one may also read *maškāva-*.
- Elamite: maš-ka$_4$-um-ma: DB i 68.

4 INDIRECTLY TRANSMITTED IRANICA (NEBENÜBERLIEFERUNG)

This category encompasses the Old Iranian proper names and expressions that are reconstructed from their reflections in Aramaic, Babylonian, Egyptian, Elamite, Lycian, Lydian and Phrygian texts. Their Old Iranian original is not attested in the Old Persian inscriptions, but fortunately there are some other Indo-European languages that are very valuable for the reconstruction of the Old Iranian form of proper names and words. The most important ones are the other Indo-Iranian languages, especially Old Indian and Avesta, but also some Middle and New Iranian languages, such as Parthian, Sogdian, Middle and New Persian, are useful to reconstruct Old Iranian proper names and words. Other, less important, Indo-Iranian languages are inter alia Khotanese and Ossetic.

Next to the Indo-Iranian languages other Indo-European languages too can help in finding the correct form of a particular name or word. The most important language in that regard is doubtlessly Greek, because through the contacts between the Iranian and the Greek worlds many Iranian names appear in Greek literature, e.g. Herodotos' Historiae or the works of Xenophon and Ctesias.

All this may be illustrated by some examples. A Babylonian spelling Ba-ga-'-da-a-ta (*Bagadāta-), for instance, can easily be connected with OP *baga-* and *dāta-*, Av. *baγō.dāta-*, Middle Persian Bgdt, Parthian Bgdt and Greek Βαγαδάτης. An Elamite spelling Iš-ban-da-ra-mat-ti-iš probably renders *Spantārmatiš, a reconstruction supported by the occurrence of the name in other Iranian languages: Av. Spəntā Ārmaiti-, MP Spandarmad and NP Isfandārmad.

4.1. Names of deities

4.1.1 *Bṛtakām(i)ya-: *Bṛta-kām-(i)ya, "he who fulfills wishes" (NW 114; ASN 68), cf. NP *kām burdan*, "to fulfill wishes".

According to Gershevitch (1969b: 179) *Frāda(t)-gav-ya should be reconstructed, i.e. the name of a feast honouring *Frādat-gav-.

– Elamite: Bìr-da-ka$_4$-mi-ia: PF 303:4; PFNN 310:4-5.

4.1.2 *Dṛvā (OP): "Time, Kronos", nom. sg. of *Dṛvan- (Gershevitch 1969b: 183; ASN 93; Koch 1977: 85-87), Av. Zruuan-, "time (as divinity)".

– Elamite:
1) Tur-ma: PF 1956:1; PFNN 1495:15.
2) Tur-me: PF 1957:1.

4.1.3 *(H)uvarīra- (OP): *(H)uvar-īra-, "sunrise", a Persian genius (Gershevitch 1969b: 173-174; ASN 130-131; Koch 1977: 94-95).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ri-ráš: Fort. 8960:1-2; PF 1956:2; PFNN 2268:2.
2) Mar-ri-ráš: PF 773:8.

4.1.4 *Miždušī-: "she who bestows richly", Old Iranian equivalent of the nom. fem. sg. of OInd. *mīḍhvás-*, i.e. *mīḍhúšī-*, "bestowing richly" (Gershevitch 1969b: 174; ASN 168; Koch 1977: 90-91; EWAi II 358).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-du-ši(-iš): PF 336:5, 337:9; PFNN 613:6, 679: 5-6, 1679:5.

4.1.5 *Narēsanga-: < *Naryasanga-, cf. OInd. Narāśáṃsa-, Av. Nairiiō. saŋha-, MP Neryōsang (Duchesne-Guillemin 1964: 116-117; OnP 8.1243; ASN 174; Koch 1977: 92-93).
– Elamite: Na-re-šá-an-ka$_4$: PF 1960:4; PFNN 2362:2-3.

4.1.6 *Spantārmatiš: name of a goddess (Razmjou 1997-98: 6-9 and 2001: 8-10), Av. Spəntā Ārmaiti-, MP Spandarmad, NP Isfandārmad[77].
Hinz & Koch (EIW 786) propose *Spantara-grdya-, "chapel".
– Elamite: Iš-ban-da-ra-mat-ti-iš: PFNN 2200:3-4, 2206:2-3, 2211:5, 2290:2, 2337:1-2, 2370:1.

4.1.7 *Šēθrapatiš (Med.): < *Šaiθra-pati-š, "lord of the dwelling" (Schmitt 1988: 87-88). Cf. OInd. Kṣetrasya páti-, a divinity's name, and Av. Šōiθrahe paiti (Yasna 2,16), an epithet of Auramazdā-.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 1154) propose to read *Xšaθrapatiš.
– Elamite: Še-ut-ra-bat-ti-iš: PFNN 2479:2-3.

4.1.8 *Vṛkažana-: name of the god of the wolf hunt (EIW 884), also a month name (4.4.17.5).
– Elamite: Mar-ka$_4$-šá-na: PFNN 1386:9.

4.1.9 *Xšaθrapati- (Med.): *Xšaθra-pati-, "lord of power" (Mayrhofer 1975b: 279 and 1979b: 185; Teixidor 1978: 185).
– Aramaic: Ḥštrpty: FX 137:25.

4.2. Personal names

4.2.1 *Abdāta-: *Abd-āta-, "very excellent" (ASN 17), *-āta*-extension of **abd-*.

[77] This solution requires a reading *mat* of the sign KUR (cf. Jusifov 1963: 204, 224 and 242; Harmatta, apud OnP 114).

According to Gershevitch (1969: 181) haplology transformed an original *Abda-dāta- into *Ab-dāta-, rendered here. Yet haplology is very rare in the corpus of Old Iranian anthroponyms.
With regard to the spelling Ab-da-a-tam$_5$ Hinz & Koch (EIW 23) suggest that Ca-a- normally renders /ai/, as a consequence of which Ab-da-a-tam$_5$ could not reflect *Abdāta-. This problem can be solved, however, by considering A as rendering /ā/. The use of TAM$_5$ is a scribal inaccuracy.
– Elamite:
1) Ab-da-a-tam$_5$: PFNN 724:2.
2) Ab-da-ud-da: PFNN 42:3, 2257:8-9 (°-ud-[da]).

4.2.2 *Abdava-: *Abda-va-, "excellent" (Tavernier 2002b: 148).
– Elamite: Ab-da-um-ma: PFNN 1009:14, 2362:17.

4.2.3 *Abičagniš: *Abi-čagni-š, "the forthcoming, gracious" (Benveniste 1934: 182; Gershevitch 1969: 182; OnP 8.100; ASN 17).
– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-za-ak-nu-iš: Fort. 7090:2-3; PF 1794:4-5; PFNN 1427:2-3, 1464:1-2, 1616:2-3, 1828:2, 1903:2, 2138:2.
2) Ap-pi-za-ik-nu-iš: PF 1580:6-7.

4.2.4 *Abidranga-: *Abi-dranga-, "cunning" (ASN 17).
Benveniste (1966: 77) considers **dranga-* as "terme de relation sociale". Gershevitch (1969: 210) reconstructs *Abi-θranga- and refers to Sogd. *βtrnng*, "oppression".
– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-tur-ra-an-ka$_4$: PF 1942:29 (Ap-pi-tur-ra-a[n-ka$_4$]); PFNN 546:33.
2) Ap-pi-ut-ra-an-ka$_4$: PF 272:6-7.

4.2.5 *Abigna-: "attacking power" (Schmitt 1994: 83), retrenchment of an *Abigna-name, e.g. Bagābigna- (1.2.8).
Zadok (1977: 107 and n.191; also Dandamayev 1992: 25) connects this name with the oronym Bi-ig-ni/nu. Schmitt (1994: 83) reads *Ābigna-.
– Babylonian: A-bi-ig-ni: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 31:13.

4.2.6 *Abisaukā- (fem.): female equivalent of *Abisauka- (Zadok 1977: 95 and n.34 and 1977b: 57; Dandamayev 1992: 25).
The sequence -be-e- only exceptionally appears as the representation of /bi/. The cause is probably influence from the Babylonian orthography which sometimes confuses /e/ and /i/.
– Babylonian: A-be-e-su-uk-ku: VS 4 152:2,6,8,12,14.

4.2.7 *Abisōka-: < *Abi-sauka-, "shining" (Gershevitch 1969: 180), cf. OInd. *abhi-śocá-*, "shining".
Hinz (ASN 33) reads OP *Abiθuka- (to Av. *sūka-*, "light"), but later rejects this idea (EIW 76).
– Elamite: Ap-pi-šu-ka$_4$: PF 57:4-5.

4.2.8 *Abističa-: *Abi-st-iča-, "walking towards" (ASN 18; EIW 73), *-ič́a*-extension of **abi-stā-*.

Gershevitch (1969: 186) reconstructs *Abišta- < Av. *aδbišta-*, *aṯbišta-*, "not hostile", but this proposal should be discarded, since the Av. cluster *δ/ṯb* did not become /b/ in Old Persian (ASN 18). This is proven by the name *Patidbēša- (4.2.1258) and the loanword **ādbaza-*, "shortage" (4.4.10.2). Cf. also *Abiš(h)uvanta- (4.2.11) and *Nāfyābiš (4.2.1158).
Another reconstruction is *Apištaiča-, from **api-stā-*, "to be inferior to" (ASN 18).

– Elamite: Ap-pi-iš-ti-iz-za: PFNN 534:11-12.

4.2.9 *Abistīš: *Abi-st-ī-š < *Abi-st-iya-.

– Elamite: Ap-pi-iš(?)-ti-iš: PFNN 1585:3.

4.2.10 *Abišana-: *Abi-šana-, "additional merit" (Benveniste 1966: 77; OnP 8.91, also pointing to Appiyašana).

Hinz (ASN 18) suspects two different personal names behind the El. spellings. Nevertheless this is not the case: the spellings beginning with Am-pi- are traces of a nasal pronunciation. An alternative possibility is *Abīsāna- < *Abiyāsāna-.

– Elamite:
1) Am-pi-iš-na: PF 287:12-13.
2) Am-pi-šá-na: PF 616:5.
3) Ap-pi-šá-na: PF 31:3.

4.2.11 *Abiš(h)uvanta- (OP): *Abiš-(h)uvanta-, "he who has been called" (Weber, apud ASN 19). Cf. the equivalent toponym (4.3.2).

Again (cf. 4.2.8) Gershevitch (1969: 180; also Hinz 1971: 305-306) believes to have found a remnant of the cluster *δ/ṯb* in a reconstruction *Abišvanta-.

– Elamite: Ap-pi-iš-man-da: PF 485:7-9; PT 2:2, 9-9b:2.

4.2.12 *Abivanya-: *Abi-vanya-, "victorious" (Gershevitch 1969: 178; OnP 8.104; ASN 19), Av. *aiβi.vaniia-*, "victorious".

– Elamite:
1) Ab-bu-man-ia: PF 40:4-5, 1914:7-8, 1964:8; PFNN 316:2, 2233:2, 2250:4.
2) Ab-man-ia: PF 316:2-3.
3) Ab-ma-ia: PFNN 2566:8-9.
4) Ha-bu-man-ia: Fort. 8629:6; PF 227:3, 806:4-5, 1306:2, 1325:3.

4.2.13 *Abiyāsāna-: *Abi-yās-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Abi-yāsa-, "solicitous" (Gershevitch 1969: 182; OnP 8.99; ASN 19), cf. OInd. *abhi-yāc-*.

– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-ia-šá-na: PF 1414:3.
2) Ha-pi-ia-šá-na: PF 1413:6-7.

4.2.14 *Abiyauga-: *Abi-yauga-, "bracing, tensing" (ASN 19).

– Elamite: Ap-pi-ia-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 2490:20.

4.2.15 *Abrača-: *Abra-ča-, *-ča*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Abra-name.

Hinz (NW 50; ASN 20) reconstructs *Aβra-ča-, which he connects with OInd. *abhrá-*, "cloud" and Av. *aβra-*.

– Aramaic: [']Brš: Pers 78:2.

4.2.16 *Abragauš: *Abra-gau-š, "having dark-coloured cattle".

Because of the end-*š* Gershevitch (1969: 179; also ASN 20) argues that the expression has to be a *u*-stem. Nevertheless this is not necessary, since the nominative of an *-ău*-stem also ends in *-š* (cf. HdA 64). Moreover, a sign containing -š- can occur with all stems in the El. renderings of Ir. words and names.
Benveniste (1966: 78) considers the first part to be *Afraka-, while Hinz (apud OnP 8.108) pleads for *A-frakava-, "with no hump on the chest", a privative *a*, followed by Av. *frakauua-*. Armayor (1978: 148) connects this name with Gk. Ἀβροκόμας, but this is incorrect (Schmitt 2002: 41).

– Elamite: Ab-ra-ka$_4$-u-iš: PF 820:2-3.

4.2.17 *Abraka-: *Abra-ka-, "the dark one" (Gershevitch 1969: 179; OnP 8.89; ASN 20), Gk. Ἄβραγος (IN 2; Zgusta 1955: 60).

Hinz (ASN 20) mentions the possibility that the name is derived directly from **abra-*, "cloud".

– Elamite: Ap-pír-ka$_4$: PF 338:3-4.

4.2.18 *Abravadīš (OP): *Abra-vadī-š, "having dark-coloured milch cows" (Gershevitch 1969: 179; ASN 20-21, with the wrong reading *Aβravadīš).

– Elamite:
1) Ab-ra-hu-[m]a-ti-iš: PFNN 207:3-4.
2) Ab-ra-man-ti-iš: PFNN 482:2-3,5-6.
3) Ab-ra-ma-ti-iš: PF 834:4-5; PFNN 1370:3.

4.2.19 *Abravarsa-: *Abra-varsa-, "having dark-coloured hair" (Gershevitch 1969: 179; ASN 21).

A connection with OInd. *abhrávarṣa-*, "raining from the clouds" is accepted by Gershevitch, but not by Hinz (ASN 21).

– Elamite: Ap-pír-mar-šá: PF 42:2-3.

4.2.20 *Ābṛtiya-: *Ābṛt-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Ābṛta-, "water bearer" (ASN 19).

According to Gershevitch (1969: 179) the name should be read *Hapṛθya-, "the juniperous", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.438) rejects this.

– Elamite:
1) Ha-bar-ti-ia: PT Teh. 1957-1:2.
2) Ha-bìr-ti-ia: PF 1942:4; PFNN 1832:3, 2329-2331:2-3; PT Teh. 1957-2:2-3.

4.2.21 *Ābūya-: *Ābū-ya-, "helper, assistant" (Gershevitch 1969b: 186; OnP 8.443, with doubts; ASN 20).

– Elamite:
1) Ab-bu-ia: PF 105:2.
2) Ab-bu-hi-ia-iš: PFNN 1152:5.
3) Ha-bu-ia: PF 87:2, 1053-1054:2, 1071:2.

4.2.22 *Āçiča- (OP): *Āçi-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Āçi-name (ASN 21).

Other possible readings (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.488) are *Āsaiča-, "little horse", *Haši-ča- (Av. *haši-*, "friend") or a derivation from **hašya-*.

– Elamite: Ha-ši-iz-za: PF 313:2, 1591:2.

4.2.23 *Āçidāta- (OP): *Āçi-dāta-, "given by the Fire" (Benveniste 1934: 187-188; ASN 21; Kornfeld 1978: 100; Schmitt 2002: 91-92).

– Aramaic: ʾŠydt: TAD C 4.7:14.

– Elamite:

1) Ha-iš-ši-da-ad-da: PF 742:3-4.
2) Ha-ši-[d]a-ad-da: PF 157:6-7.
3) Ha-ši-da-da: PFNN 1654:2-3.

4.2.24 *Āçika- (OP): *Āçi-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Āçi-name (OnP 8.142; ASN 22).

– Elamite:

1) Áš-ši-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 598:3.
2) Áš-ši-ka$_4$: PF 482:4, 768:4; PFNN 2209:11.

4.2.25 *Āçima- (OP): *Āç-ima-, *-ima*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Āçi-name.

Hinz & Koch (EIW 87) propose *Aišma-.

– Elamite: A-ši-ma: PFNN 2150:2.

4.2.26 *Āçipāta- (OP): *Āçi-pāta-, "protected by the Fire" (OnP 8.486; ASN 118).

Possibly the El. spelling Ha-ši-° does not render **āçi-*, but **hašiya-*, "true, real" (OP *hašiya-*). The second part could also reflect **pāda-*, "foot" (ASN 118).

– Elamite: Ha-ši-ba-da: PF 2076:16.

4.2.27 *Āçuka- (OP): *Āç-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Āçi-name (Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8.3.3.; ASN 21).

Gershevitch (1970: 85; also EIW 642) mentions a connection with **āsuka-*, "gazelle" (OP **āθuka-*, MP *āhūg*, Sogd. *ʾs'wk'* and *ʾswk* and NP *āhū*).

– Elamite: Ha-šu-ka$_4$: Fort. 6833:3-4.

4.2.28 *Ādāka-: *Ādā-ka-, "reward" (Zadok 1976e: 247n.4).

– Babylonian: A-dak-ka-ʾ: IMT 44:17; PBS 2/1 77:3.

4.2.29 *Ādrazdā- (OP): *Ā-drazdā-, "loyal, faithful" (OnP 8.147).

Gershevitch (1969: 189) reconstructs *Āθr-azda-, "known to, an intimate of the fire". The alternative reading *Āṭr-rāsta- (EIW 95) would in all likelihood be written Ha-tur-ra-áš-da.

– Elamite: Ad-ra-áš-da: PFNN 583:2-3.

4.2.30 *Aduka-: *Ad-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Adā-.

– Elamite: A-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2544:8,11,13.

4.2.31 *Ādusta- (OP): *Ā-dusta-, "loved", "Old-Persianized" equivalent of *Ādušta-. Normally **dušta-* is not subject to the variation of OP /st/ and Med. /št/, because its Proto-Indo-European precursor is **geus̯-* and not **geuk̂-*[78]. Yet MP and NP *dōst*, "friend", support a name *Ādusta-.

Bowman (1970: 76) argues that this name should be related to Gk. ʺΑδοσθος, a name which Justi (IN 5) considers to be the Ir. equivalent of OInd. *a-duṣṭa-*, "not vitiated". According to Hinz (NW 36; ASN 23) it is the Old Persian equivalent of *Āzušta-, but Lecoq (1974: 60 and n.28) refutes this reading in favour of *Ā-dausta-.

– Aramaic: ʾDwst: Pers 3:3, 52:2, 133:2.

4.2.32 *Afuviča-: *Afuv-iča-, "belly" (Gershevitch 1969: 186; ASN 24) or, less probably, "fear".

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.82) does not agree with Gershevitch.

– Elamite: Ap-mi-iz-za: PF 1907:5.

4.2.33 *Agnātā- (fem.): *A-gn-ātā-, "the invulnerable", cf. Av. *a-gna-*, "invulnerability".

Gershevitch (1969: 175) proposes *Agna-dā-, "she who gives invulnerability", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.417) rejects this. Hinz (ASN 24) believes that HA must render /ha/ or /ā/, while he himself, however, reconstructs *Agny-ātā- (Av. *agəniiā-*, "milch cow"), beginning with *a-*.

– Elamite: Ha-ik-na-da: PFNN 541:49.

4.2.34 *Āgriya-: "loyal" (ASN 24).

Gershevitch (1969: 175) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.31) derive this name from Av. *aγriia-*, "the foremost". Mayrhofer (1979: I/17) prefers a retrenchment of a name such as Av. Aγraēraθa-.

– Elamite: Ak-ri-ia: PF 1859:5-6.

4.2.35 *Amadahyuš: *Ama-dahyu-š, "having a strong land" (ASN 27).

– Elamite: Am-ma-da-[a]-ú-iš: PFNN 1406:4-5.

4.2.36 *Amadara-: *Ama-dara-, "holding strength" (Bogoljubov 1966b: 7).

Not ʾRtdr, "holding the right order", as Bowman (apud Cameron 1948: 58 and 92) and Schmidt (1957: 31) believe.

– Aramaic: ʾMdr: OIP 69 30-31 no.33:2.

4.2.37 *Amadasma-: *Ama-dasma-, "gift of Ama" (Bowman 1970: 111; ASN 27).

– Aramaic: ʾMdsm: Pers 41:2.

4.2.38 *Amadāta-: *Ama-dāta-, "given by Ama" (Bowman 1970: 72; ASN 27-28).

Although both Babylonian spellings seem to indicate different names, they do render one anthroponym (Stolper 1996: 520, with literature; Tavernier 2000: no.3).

– Aramaic: ʾMdt: Pers 1:1; TCL 13 193: seal caption ([ʾ]Mdt).

– Babylonian:

1) Am-ma-da-a-tú: Dar. 435:15.
2) Um-ma-da-a-tú: TCL 13 193:25,Le.E.2.

[78] Cf. most recently Schmitt (1997c: 122-123) on the development of PIE /k̂t/ and Proto-Ir. /št/ into OP /st/ and Med. /št/.

– Elamite:
1) Am-ma-da-ad-da: PFa 29:61.
2) Am-ma-da-da: PFNN 820:2.
3) Am-ma-da-ud-da: PF 1060:2, 1308:3.
4) Ha-ma-da-da: PF 1459:2.
5) Ha-ma-da-ud-da: PFNN 130:2-3.

4.2.39 *Amasrī- (Med.): *Ama-srī-, "having power and beauty" (Tavernier 2000: no.2).

Hinz (1974b: 126; ASN 114) prefers *Hammisrī-, "with beauty". Oppenheim (1985: 577n.4) connects the name with Gk. Ἀμηστρις, but Stolper (1985: 64; also Schmitt 2006: 69) rejects this on philological grounds. Such a name should appear in Babylonian as A-mi-is-ti-ri-ʾ. Zadok (2004: 110) supports the identification of both names as a result of the development *str* > *sr*, of which he gives some examples. Nevertheless one would at least expect one occurrence where the cluster *str* is still preserved, as in Zadok's examples. Dandamayev (1992: 28) remains undecisive.

– Babylonian:
1) A-mi-is-ri-ʾ: BE 10 45:9.
2) A-mi-si-ri-ʾ: BE 9 39:2; EE 1:5; IMT 38:3.
3) Am-me-si-ir: OECT 10 238:6.

4.2.40 *Āmastivanya-: *Ā-masti-vanya-, "prevailing through knowledge".

Gershevitch (1969b: 185) reconstructs *Avastāvanya-, with reference to OInd. *avasthā́van-*, "possessed of stability". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.39), however, is doubtful of this. Hinz (ASN 28) reads Am-ma-du-man-ia and reconstructs *Amātavanya-, "noble and prevailing", but the reading with AŠ is more probable (Stolper, pers. comm. 19/04/2006).

– Elamite: Am-áš-du-man-ia: PFNN 2305:4.

4.2.41 *Amātā- (fem.): *Am-ātā-, *-āta*-extension of *Ama- (Hinz 1974: 260; ASN 28).

Gershevitch (1969: 177) wants to read *Āmātā-, the nom. fem. sg. of OP *āmāta-*, "noble".

– Elamite: Am-ma-ad-da: PFNN 541:32.

4.2.42 *Amāvanya-: *Amā-vanya-, "victorious through Ama" (Schmitt 1970: 16; OnP 8.53).

Gershevitch's (1969: 176) reconstruction *Amă̄-vaŋhya(h)-, "better through strength" is unlikely, as well as Hinz's (ASN 28) proposal *Amavanya-, "strong and victorious".

– Elamite: Am-mu-man-ia: PF 1422:3-4.

4.2.43 *Amavṛta-: *Ama-vṛta-, "the strong hero" (ASN 28).

According to Benveniste (1966: 77) it should be *Amavarda-, "he who increases strength". Hinz (NW 120; ASN 112) explains the spellings beginning with HA as *Hama-varta-, "turning at the same time" (Av. *varət-*, "to turn").

– Elamite:
1) Am-ma-mar-da: PF 356-357:2, 358:2-3, 433:4-5, 434:2-3, 435:8-9, 551:5, 553-554:6-7, 555:3-4, 797:2, 1102:2-3, 1192:2-3, 1266:2-3, 1672:2-3, 1747:2-3, 1750:2, 1770:3-4, 1988:10, 2037:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 623:5-6, etc. in PFNN; PFS 45.
2) Am-ma-ur-da: PF 798:2; PFNN 1681:2-3.
3) An-ma-mar-da: PF 1261:2-3.
4) Ha-ma-mar-da: PF 1360:3-4.
5) Ha-am-ma-mar-ud-da: PF 1538:3.

4.2.44 *Amazāta- (Med.): *Ama-zāta-, "born strongly" (ElW 54).

– Elamite: Am-ma-za-ud-da: PFNN 1680:2-3.

4.2.45 *Amēča-: < *Am-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ama-name (ElW 54 and 615, reading *Amaiča-).

– Elamite:
1) Am-me-ez-za: PFNN 1284:3, 1481:27.
2) Am-me-ia(?)-za: PFNN 674:4-5 (reading: Hallock, apud ElW 54).
3) Ha-mi-za: PFNN 2367:7.

4.2.46 *Āmiθra-: *Ā-miθra-, "treaty" (ASN 29; ElW 614).

Some scholars (OnP 306; Zadok 1983: 110) consider it an hypocoristic of El. *hamit*, "faithful", also attested in a Neo-Elamite anthroponym (Ha-mi-ti-ra). Hinz & Koch (ElW 614) deny this firmly.

– Elamite:
1) H[a-m]i-tar-ra: PFNN 1751:25.
2) Ha-mi-tur-ra: Fort. 1709:3; PFNN 573:1,9,15.
3) Ha-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 91:6-7.

4.2.47 *Āmṛda-: *Ā-mṛda-, "he who crushes" (Zadok 2004: 109).

Zadok also mentions various other possibilities: (1) *Amṛta-, "immortal", (2) a derivation from the Old Ir. equivalent of OInd. *amardhant-*, "not becoming lazy" or "not making weary" and (3) a connection with the allegedly Iranian name Ἀμαρδοι.

– Babylonian: Am-mar-da-ʾ: HSM 1909.6.601:1,5,8.

4.2.48 *Amuka-: *Am-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ama-name (Benveniste 1958b: 50; OnP 8.52; Hinz 1974: 259 and ASN 28, reconstructing *Am-auka-).

Gershevitch (1969: 176) reads *Ama-vahu-ka-, "strong and good".

– Elamite: Am-mu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 207:6; PFNN 1578:8; PT 4:3.

4.2.49 *Ānāmača-: *Ā-nāma-ča-, *-ča*-extension of *Ā-nāma-, "having fame".

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.70) offers no explanation of this name, while Hinz (ASN 115) reconstructs *Hana-maθa-, "old-great" (ASN 115).

– Elamite: An-na-ma-sa: PF 1978:15; PFNN 704:14, 2206:4, 2265:15, 2284:17.

4.2.50 *Andaka-: *Anda-ka-, "the blind one" (ASN 29).

Hinz (NW 75) connects this name with NP *andak*, "little", which Mayrhofer (OnP 8.61a) does not accept.

– Elamite: An-da-kaš: PT 4:17-18, 5:8.

4.2.51 *Angmāna-: *Angma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a name containing **angma-*, "bracelet", e.g. *Angmărma- (Gershevitch 1969: 177; OnP 8.66-67; ASN 29).
– Elamite: An-ku-ma-na: PF 204:2-3.

4.2.52 *Angmărma-: *Angma-arma-, "wearing bracelets" (Gershevitch 1969: 177; OnP 8.67; ASN 29).
– Elamite: An-ku-mar-ma: PF 750-751:2.

4.2.53 *Anθa- (OP): "share", retrenched name (Gershevitch 1969b: 186; OnP 8.74; ASN 29).
– Elamite: An-sa-iš: PF 310:3, 396:2, 437-438:2, 568:5, 569:6, 740:3, 1701:2, 1714:2; PFa 3:2; PFNN 1316:2-3, 1331:2, 1333:2, 2398:3.

4.2.54 *Anzātika-: *Anz-āt-ika-, hypocoristic (with the suffixes *-āta-* and *-ika-*) of a name containing **anzū-*, "narrow".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 68) merely recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: An-za-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 2582:3.

4.2.55 *Anzūka- (Med.): *Anzū-ka-, "the narrow one" (ASN 29).
Not *Anθa-vahu-ka-, "having a good share" (Gershevitch 1969b: 185). The identification with Ha-šu-ka$_4$ (= *Āçuka-, 4.2.27; OnP 8.75) is not plausible.
– Elamite: An-su-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 6764:18-19; PF 656:8, 768:2-3, 1371:3, 1790:25, 1795:12; PFNN 224:9, 1115:2, 1983:11.

4.2.56 *Apadahyuš: *Apa-dahyu-š, "exile", lit. "away from the land" (Gershevitch 1969b: 186; OnP 8.2; ASN 30).
– Elamite[79]:
1) Ab-ba-da-a-hu-iš: PF 686:4-5, 687:4.
2) Ab-ba-da-a-ú-iš: Fort. 226-3:3-4,5-6.

4.2.57 *Apadaiva- / *Apadēva-: *Apa-daiva-, "he who turns away from the *daivas*" (Gershevitch 1969: 180; OnP 8.2; ASN 30; Mayrhofer 1979d: 180), OInd. Āpadeva-. As the person is described as an Indian it is not sure whether the name is originally Indian or Iranian.
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-da-a-ma: PF 785:4-5, 1318:2.
2) Ab-ba-te-ma: PF 1317:4, 1556:4, 1558:5-6, 1704:8, 1785:4-5; PFNN 615:4-5, 794:3-4.

4.2.58 *Apaka-: retrenchment of *Apakava- (OnP 8.5 and 15; ASN 30).
Gershevitch (1969: 178) reconstructs *Haba-ka-, "assembler".
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 283:7.
2) Ab-ba-ka$_4$: PF 341:4.

[79] Formerly these writings were read Ap-su-°. Cf. Cameron (apud ASN 30) for the correct reading.

4.2.59 *Apakava-: "having a bump" (ASN 30).
Gershevitch (1969: 178) prefers *Haba-gav-, "bringing together the cattle". Benveniste (1966: 77) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.3) do not offer proposals, while according to Lipiński (1977: 101) it is an Aramaic name: ʾAbbā-qām, "the father has risen".
– Elamite: Ab-ba-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1445:2, 2010:2.

4.2.60 *Apamā- (fem.): "the last, youngest" (Zadok 2002c), Gk. ʾΑπάμα.
– Babylonian:
1) Ap-pa-mu-ú: BM 29447:7, 85009:14 (cf. Zadok 2002c).
2) Pa-am-mu-ú (with aphaeresis): BM 28899:7 (cf. Zadok 2003).

4.2.61 *Apara-: "the later one" (Benveniste 1966: 82; OnP 8.406; ASN 31).
Hinz (ASN 31) expresses doubts on Benveniste's theory, because in his view *Apara- would rather appear in Elamite as Ab-bar-ra. He offers a link of this name with **bāra-*, "burden". Nevertheless Ha-ba-ra is a perfect rendering of *Apara-.
– Elamite: Ha-ba-ra: PF 1991:13.

4.2.62 *Āparuša-: *Ā-paruša-, "the grey one" (OnP 8.72; ASN 31), cf. the Avestan personal name Pourušaspa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/72).
– Elamite:
1) An-bar-ru-šá: PF 1999:15.
2) An-pír-ru-šá: PFNN 1310:2-3.

4.2.63 *Āpātaya-: *Āp-āta-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Āp-āta-, "the dweller" (ASN 31), lit. "strongly watered, irrigated, cultivated".
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.9) is sceptical with regard to this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-te-ia: OIP 117 218:1-2; PF 1182:7-8 (°-<ia>), 1224:5-6,10, 1580:4, 1582:8, 1583:7, etc. in PF; PFNN 745:2, 759:18, 807:2, 1441:7, etc. in PFNN; PT 1963-20:8.
2) Ab-ba-ti-ia: PF 1581:5-6.

4.2.64 *Āpāθra- (Med.): *Ā-pāθra-, "protection" (ASN 31).
Benveniste (1958b: 50) reconstructs *Ā-badra-, "happy".
– Elamite:
1) Ab-bat-ra: PFNN 541:3; PT 4:4.
2) Ab-ba-ut-ra: PF 1747:5.
3) Ha-ba-at-ra: Fort. 7091:3.
4) Ha-bat-ra: PF 1750:3, 1751:2.
5) Ha-bat-tur-ra: PFNN 463:3-4.

4.2.65 *Āpayauka-: *Āpa-y-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Āp-name.
Because of the difficult reading of spelling no.1 various etymologies have been brought forward. Nevertheless the reading with A is the most plausible (Stolper, pers. comm. 6/4/2000). Gershevitch (1969: 178) mentions *Haba-vahu-ka-, "he who collects goods", while Hinz (ASN 46) reads Áš-ba-a-u-ka$_4$ and reconstructs *Aspāyauga-, "der Pferde anspannt". Elsewhere Hinz (ASN 262) reconstructs

*Vipāyauka-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1) does not agree with Gershevitch, but offers no alternative.
Spelling no.2 is considered by Benveniste (1966: 77; also OnP 8.84) to be the rendering of a retrenchment of a name containing the prefix **abi-* or **api-*. Hinz (ASN 19) argues that a reading *Ab/pika- is excluded, because UK never loses its vocalic value in a broken writing, so pe/pi-uk ≠ /pik/. Yet the spelling pe-uk may perfectly reflect /payauk/.

– Elamite:
1) A-ba-a-u-ka$_4$: PF 1523:10.
2) Ap-pe-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1231:2-3; PFNN 762:26.

4.2.66 *Āpbōjana-: < *Āp-bauja-na-, "bestowed with benefit by the water (god)" (Benveniste 1966: 114; ASN 32).
Probably not an *-āna-*patronymic of *Āp-bauja- (Gershevitch 1969: 182).
– Elamite: Ab-bu-za-na: PFNN 575:7.

4.2.67 *Āpbuja-: *Āp-buja-, "whom the water (god) frees".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 23) reconstruct *Āpbauja-.
– Elamite: Ab-bu-za: PFNN 2277:8.

4.2.68 *Āpēča-: < *Āp-aiča- (cf. Zadok 1976b: 67).
Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 30) and Schmitt (1994: 84) reconstruct *Āp-iča-, but the sequence Ce-e- normally renders Ir. /ē/.
– Babylonian: Ap-pe-e-šú: FuB 14 11 no.1:obv.4.

4.2.69 *Āpičīš: *Api-čī-š, "collecting water" (ASN 32).
– Elamite: Ha-pi-zí-iš: PF 1437:4-5.

4.2.70 *Apinaka-: *Api-n-aka-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Api-napā (OnP 8.86; ASN 32).
Gershevitch (1969b: 186) reads *Abiyāhanaka-, "the girt", to Av. *aiβiiāŋhana-*, "girdle".
– Elamite: Ap-pi-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 2304:4.

4.2.71 *Apinapā: nom. sg. of *Api-napāt-, "great-grandson" (NW 35; ASN 32).
Benveniste (1966: 77) prefers *Ab/pi-nāfa-.
– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-na-ab-ba: PF 607:5-6.
2) Ap-pi-na-ba: PFNN 584:7.
3) Ap-pi-na-pa: PF 439:2.
4) Ha-pi-na-ab-ba: PF 440:11.

4.2.72 *Apinara-: *Api-nara-, "man" (Benveniste 1966: 77; OnP 8.88; ASN 32).
– Elamite: Ap-pi-na-ra: PF 304:5-6.

4.2.73 *Apišyātiš: *Api-šyāti-š, "prosperity" (Benveniste 1958b: 52; OnP 8.320; ASN 33).
– Elamite: Ap-pi-ši-ia-ti-iš: PF 272:11-12, 273:9-10; PFNN 1456:3-4; PT 7:5-6.

4.2.74 *Apiva-: retrenchment of *Api-vahu-š, "possessing a good" (OnP 8.85; ASN 33; EIW 620), Av. Aipi.vohu- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/18).
Gershevitch (1969b: 186) reconstructs *Abi-ama-, "very strong". It cannot, however, be excluded that Ha-pi-ma renders an Elamite name (ASN 33; EIW 620).
– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-ma: PF 136:9, 318:4, 319:2; PFNN 1579:4, 2288:2.
2) Ap-pu-ma: PFNN 2277:12.
3) Ha-pi-ma: PF 124:5, 125:6.

4.2.75 *Apivarsa-: *Api-varsa-, "the hairy one" (ASN 33).
Gershevitch (1969: 178) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.105) reconstruct *Abi-varsa-, but Hinz corrects this to *Api-varsa- (Av. *aipi.aβra-*). Gershevitch also mentions a reading *Abi-varša-, to Av. Varəšauua-, with uncertain meaning (Mayrhofer 1979: I/92).
– Elamite: Ap-pu-mar-šá: PF 1254:2; PFNN 315:2.

4.2.76 *Apizāvā: nom. sg. of *Api-zāvar-, "strength, power".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 76) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ap-pi-su-ma: PFNN 2132:2.
2) Ha-pi-su-ma: PF 420:3-4.

4.2.77 *Arabāzuka- (Med.): *Ara-bāzu-ka-, "having wild arms" (Frye, apud Bowman 1970: 96; ASN 33), Gk. Ἀρβαζάκιος (IN 21).
– Aramaic: ʾRbzk: Pers 23:2.

4.2.78 *Aramdāta-: *Aram-dāta-, "given in the right way" (Benveniste 1966: 82; OnP 8.446).
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ra-in-da-ad-da: PFNN 726:45.
2) Har-an-da-da[80]: PF 1036:10-11.

4.2.79 *Ārāšta-: *Ā-rāšta-, "equipped with truth" (Zadok 1984d: 71, with typo [A for Ā]; Dandamayev 1992: 30)[81].
– Babylonian: A-ra-al-tu$_4$: ROMCT 2 27:3 (Bab. /lt/ < /št/ [Von Soden 1995: 38]).

4.2.80 *Ārayavahuš (OPd): *Āraya-vahu-š, "he who sets in motion well" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 97; ASN 34) or "he who sets in motion the good", same type of name as Dārayavahuš, but with **ar-*. The *h*/*ḥ*-alternation to indicate Ir. /h/ is remarkable.
This etymology is more plausible than *Arya-vahu-, "good in the Aryan sense" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 97).

[80] Hinz (ASN 269) reads Mur-an-da-da and reconstructs *Vrantāta-.
[81] Zadok identifies this name with Neo-Ass. A-ra-áš-tu$_4$, but the latter is an erroneous reading. The correct reading is A-ra-áš-tu-a (also Ar-áš-tu-a), the rendering of Ir. *Ṛša-tavā, the nom. sg. of *Ṛša-tavah-, "with the strength of a hero" (PNA 124).

– Aramaic:
1) ʾRywhš: Pers 24:2, 43:2, 48:2, 52-53:2, 106:2, 107:2 ([ʾR]ywhš), 108:2, 111:2 (ʾ[R]ywhš), 112-113:2, 116:4.
2) ʾRywhw[82]: Pers 47:2.
3) [ʾRy]whwš: Pers 73:2.
4) ʾRywḥwš: Pers 49:2.
5) ʾRywḥw: Pers 42:2 (ʾ[Ryw]ḥw), 46:2, 51:2 (ʾR[yw]ḥ[w]), 102:2, 110:2.

4.2.81 *Arbaiča- / *Arbēča-: *Arb-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of *Arba-, "juvenile" (Grantovskij 1970: 268; ASN 34).
Gershevitch (1970: 86) mentions *Arpa-, "support".
– Elamite:
1) Har-ba-a-iz-za: PF 654:2.
2) Har-be-ez-za: PF 655-660:2, 661:1-2, 696:8, 1348:3-4, 1633:5-6, 1693:3; PFNN 475:1-2, 490:5, 509:1-2, 778:2, 818:1-2, 1014:2, 1569:2-3, 1717:2, 2156:2-3, 2164:7-8.

4.2.82 *Arbaka-[83]: *Arba-ka- (Grantovskij 1971: 300; OnP 8.448; ASN 35; Schmitt 1994: 84 and 2006: 130), Gk. Ἀρβάκης (IN 20-21).
– Babylonian: Ar-ba-ak-ka: AMI N.F. 23 175:2.
– Elamite: Har-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 2346:3.

4.2.83 *Arbakā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Arbaka- (OnP 8.448; ASN 35).
– Elamite: Har-ba-a[k]-ka$_4$: PF 1790:6-7.

4.2.84 *Arbakāna-: *Arba-ka-āna-, *-āna*-extension of *Arbaka- (OnP 8.447; ASN 35).
– Elamite: Har-ba-ka$_4$-an: PF 1712:4.

4.2.85 *Arbakaya-: *Arba-ka-ya- (Zadok 1986: 42).
– Aramaic: ʾRbky: ATNS 58:3.

4.2.86 *Arbamiça- (OP): *Arba-Miça-, "young through Mithra".
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.449; also ASN 35) translates "the young friend", but Schmitt (pers. comm. 13/11/2003) points out that *miça- / miθra-* only means "friend" in Indo-Aryan, not in Iranian, where the correct meaning is "the (deified) treaty".
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ir-ba-mi-iš-šá: Fort. 5904:2-3.
2) Har-ba-mi-iš-šá: PF 1438:9-10, 1460:2, 1603:5-6, 1796:1; PFNN 848:2, 1154:4-5, 2121:4-5, 2248:1-2, 2456:2-3.

[82] Bowman [1970: 117] reads ʾRyḥw, but the photo of the text (ibid. Pl. 13) contradicts him.

[83] The Lycian version of this name (Arpaχu- [DÖAW 135 310:4; TL 44a:1-2,30, 44c:57-58, 77:2]) is derived from Gk. Ἄρπαγος, which was born through folk etymology (Imbert 1891: 109; Zwanziger 1973: 83; Schmitt 1982c: 378 and 1982d: IV/17-18).

4.2.87 *Arbamihra-: younger form of *Arba-Miθra- (Eilers 1936: 173n.1; ASN 35; Zadok 1977: 95 and n.41; Dandamayev 1992: 30).
– Babylonian: Ar-ba-mi-ʾ-ri: OECT 12 A124:1,4.

4.2.88 *Arbamiθra- (Med.): *Arba-Miθra-, Median equivalent of *Arba-Miça- (Zadok 1977: 98; Tavernier 2001: no.1).
A reading Ar-ma-° would yield *Arva-Miça-, "brave through Mithra" (Zadok, l.c.).
– Babylonian: Ar-ba-ʾ-$^{(d)}$mit-ri: FuB 14 17-18 no.7:3,U.E. 2.

4.2.89 *Arbāna-: *Arba-āna, *-āna*-patronymic of *Arba- (NW 49; ASN 35).
Not *Araya-bānu- (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 110) or *Arya-bānu- (Frye, ibid.).
– Aramaic: ʾRbn: Pers 40:2.

4.2.90 *Arbarēva-: < *Arba-raiva-, "young and rich" (Eilers 1936: 173n.1; ASN 35; Zadok 1977: 109; Dandamayev 1992: 30; Schmitt 2006: 131-132), Gk. Ἀρβάριος.
– Babylonian: Ar-ba-re-me: TuM 2/3 204:5,10,11,13,14,17.

4.2.91 *Arbaθēva- (OP): < *Arba-θaiva-, "the young orphan" (ASN 35; Zadok 1977: 108 and n.199; Dandamayev 1992: 30).
– Babylonian: Ar-ba-te-ma-ʾ: VS 4 191:2.

4.2.92 *Arbauka-: *Arb-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a name containing *Arba- (ASN 35).
Gershevitch (1970: 86) translates "he of whom what is good (*or* whose property) derives from Arpa".
– Elamite: Har-ba-[u]-ka$_4$: PF 1713:2-3.

4.2.93 *Arbaupama-: *Arba-upama-, "child of a superior" (NW 109; ASN 35-36).
Gershevitch (1970: 86) prefers *Arpa-hu-bāma-, "deriving good lustre from Arpa", but El. uk-ba- mostly renders /upa/ (ASN 35-36).
– Elamite: Har-ba-u-uk-ba-ma: PF 1530:3-4.

4.2.94 *Arbēna-: < *Arb-aina-, "the young one" (cf. ASN 35).
Gershevitch (1969b: 186) reconstructs *Arpāyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Arpa-. Schmitt (1978e: 50-51 and 2006: 223) reads *Arbina-, since he does not believe in the existence of a hypocoristic suffix *-aina-*. Nevertheless there are several spellings of other proper names which do support the existence of such a suffix.
– Elamite: Har-be-na: PFNN 920:2.

4.2.95 *Arbina-: *Arb-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a name containing *Arba- (Schmitt 1978e: 50, 1982c: 378-379, 1982d: IV/20-21 and 2006: 223). Gk. Ἀρβίνας.
Formerly scholars assumed this was a Lycian name (Kretschmer 1896: 320; Sundwall 1913: 70; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 102; Zgusta 1964: 88 §85-4 and 166 §348-2). Zgusta (1964b: 72-73 §11) connects it with Luw. **arpa-*, "disfavour, failure".

– Lycian: Erbbina-: Arbinas II[84]:3 (Erb[bina]); DÖAW 135 311:1 ([Erb]bina); Hunter 1979: 104 nos.23-28; NAWG 1978/1 238a-c; TL 44a:25.

4.2.96 *Arbuka-: *Arb-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Arba-name (OnP 8.450; ASN 35).

Zadok (1976: 67) derives the name from OInd. *ṛbhu-*, "clever, skillful", but it should be noted that this lexeme has seemingly no Iranian equivalents (EWAi I 259-260).

– Babylonian:
1) Ar-bu-ka-': JAOS 114 627:14.
2) Ar-bu-uk-ku: PBS 2/1 160:5.

4.2.97 *Arduma-: retrenchment of Ardumaniš (1.2.2; ASN 36, reading *Ardima-).

– Aramaic: 'Rdm: Pers 129:2.

4.2.98 *Arēbṛdana- (OP): < *Arya-bṛdana-, "exalting the Iranians" (OnP 8.473; Schmitt 2002: 81). Its Median equivalent would be *Aryabṛzana- (cf. Parth. 'Rybrzn [Schmitt 1998: 183]).

According to Gershevitch (1969: 230) this and other names ending in **bṛd/zana-* are *-āna*-patronymics. Hinz (ASN 39; also Schmitt 2006: 141n.36), however, rejects this.

– Elamite: Har-re-bìr-tan-na: PF 140:8-9.

4.2.99 *Arēkāma-: < *Arya-kāma-, "he who is the desire of the Iranians" (Gershevitch 1969: 182; OnP 8.469; ASN 40).

– Elamite: Har-re-ek-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 155:3,7-8,14-15.

4.2.100 *Arēvada-: < *Arya-vada-, "leading Iranians" (Gershevitch 1969: 183; ASN 41).

– Elamite: Har-re-ma-da: PF 818:4.

4.2.101 *Arēvauna- (OPs) / *Arēvōna-: < *Arya-vauna-, "of Iranian blood" (Gershevitch 1969: 182; ASN 41).

– Elamite:
1) Har-re-u-mu-na: PF 20:4-5. U or MU is superfluous.
2) Har-re-u-na: PF 21:4-5.

4.2.102 *Arēzantu- (Med.): < *Arya-zantu-, "belonging to an Iranian tribe" (Benveniste 1966: 83; ASN 42).

– Elamite:
1) Har-iz-za-an-du-iš: PFNN 1128:1-2.
2) Har-re-za-an-du-iš: PF 1270:3.

4.2.103 *Argaiča-: *Arg-aiča-, "the valuable".

Bowman (1970: 139) considers the final *š* as the nom. ending. It is, however, more likely that this letter represents the suffix *-ča-* (Livšic 1977: 181). Hinz (NW 47; ASN 83-84) reads Drgyš and reconstructs *Dargāyu- (**darga-*, "long" and **āyu-*, "life span"), but this is impossible because of the spelling.

– Aramaic: 'Rgyš: Pers 9:2, 75:2.

4.2.104 *Arjaka- *Arja-ka-, "the valuable" (ASN 37).

Benveniste (1966: 83) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.485) reconstruct *Arja-ka-, with reference to Av. Arəjaṭ-aspa-, "desiring for horses" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/20), but Mayrhofer (1987: 106-107) has shown that the Avestan name can only be connected with **arj-*, "to be valuable".

– Elamite:
1) Har-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 347:2, 459:2-3, 460:3, 1282:2-3, 1670:2, 1706:2-3, 1707:2, 1712:2-3; PFNN 288:3-4, 388:2-3 (°ak-[ka$_4$]), 821:2, 2177:2-3, 2422:3.
2) Har-za-ik-ka$_4$: Fort. 4695:6; PF 559:7-8; PFNN 689:2-3, 1422:5.

4.2.105 *Arjukā- (fem.): *Arj-ukā-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Arja- (OnP 8.483; ASN 37, where Hinz has *Arj-auka-).

Gershevitch (1969b: 186) reconstructs *Arja-vahu-ka-, "precious and good".

– Elamite: Har-su-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 865:11, 1003:11-12.

4.2.106 *Ārmati-: retrenchment of a name such as e.g. Ārmatidāta- (Schmitt 1994: 84).

Zadok (1977: 95 and n.43) and Dandamayev (1992: 32) refer to Av. *arəm.mati-*, "to think properly". Hinz (ASN 35) reconstructs *Arb-āta-.

– Babylonian: Ar-ra-ma-ti: TuM 2/3 171:6.

4.2.107 *Ārmatidāta-: *Ārmati-dāta-, "given by Ārmati" (Naveh & Shaked 1971: 380; ASN 37; Kornfeld 1978: 99).

– Aramaic:
1) 'Rmtydt: TAD A 3.10:7.
2) 'Rrmntydt: TAD A 3.10:2.

4.2.108 *Arnapā-: *Arna-pā-, "protector of the battle" (ASN 37).

– Aramaic: 'Rnp: TAD B 5.6:1.

4.2.109 *Aruna-: "reddish brown" (OnP 8.481; ASN 38), OInd. Aruṇa-.

A connection with Av. *auruna-*, "wild" is preferred by Gershevitch (1970: 85) and Hinz (1971: 269n.73). As it is possible that both Aruṇa- and *auruna-* derive from the same root (cf. French *fauve*), such a connection is not very unlikely (against Mayrhofer).

– Elamite:
1) An-ru-na: PF 228:2-3.
2) Har-ru-na: PF 1940:11,12.

4.2.110 *Aruša-: "white" (Mayrhofer 1987: 105-106 and n.6), Gk. Ἀρύσης (IN 41). It is not sure whether this is a full name or a retrenchment of for instance Av. *aurušāspa-*.

Hinz & Koch (EIW 637) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Har-ru-iš: PF 786:3-4.

[84] Cf. Laroche (1979: 55n.2 and 71) on this inscription.

4.2.111 *Ar(u)vastă(h)māra-: *Ar(u)vastă-(h)māra-, "he who relies on his physical prowess" (Benveniste 1934: 186-187[85]; Grelot 1972: 507; ASN 38; Kornfeld 1978: 98-99).

Grelot also mentions *Ar(u)vasta-mara-, "he who is reminded by his physical prowess".

– Aramaic: ʾRwstmr: TAD B 2.2:21, 7.2:3 (ʾ[Rwst]mr).

4.2.112 *Arvaiča- / *Arvēča-: *Arv-aiča-, "the swift one", *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Arva- (ASN 38; ElW 631).

Gershevitch (1969: 186) derives this name from **har(u)va-*, "all, entire" (Av. *haruua-*, OP *haruva-*).

– Elamite:

1) Har-ma-iz-za: PFNN 1386:2.
2) Har-me-za: PF 1758:3-4, 2018:24 (Har-ʳmeˡ-[za]),44.

4.2.113 *Arvaina-: *Arv-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Arva- (Zadok 1976: 68; Dandamayev 1992: 45).

– Babylonian: Ar-ú-ma-i-na-ʾ: BE 10 128:4.

4.2.114 *Arvăniča-: either an *-iča*-hypocoristic of a patronymic *Arva-āna- or a two-stem hypocoristic *Arva-n(aya)-iča-, "leading the swift ones" (Tavernier 2002b: 149).

Some scholars (Gershevitch 1969: 182; ASN 37) reconstruct *Armān-(a)iča-, "trouble, grief", to NP *armān*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.461) has doubts. Concerning the second part of the name Gershevitch (1969: 182) also mentions **-niža-* (Av. *naēg-*, "to wash away").

– Elamite: Har-man-iz-za: PFNN 340:3-4.

4.2.115 *Arvantapāta-: *Arvanta-pāta-, "protected by the swift" (Schmitt 2006: 179), Gk. ʾΟροντοβάτης and ʾΟροντοπάτης. Perhaps Vāyu- is meant by "the swift".

Hinz (ASN 38) reconstructs *Arvantā-pāta(r)-, "protecting the heroes" (Av. *pātar-*, "protector"). Aramaic *-pt* usually is, however, the rendering of *-pāta-*.

– Aramaic: [ʾ]Rwntpt: NC 3/5 27 no.38 Pl.2:9.

4.2.116 *Arvaraθa-: *Arva-raθa-, "having a fast chariot" (Shaked, apud TAD B: xlvi).

Based on Cowley's reading ʾSwrt (1923: 4 and 7) some authors read *Asu-raθa-, with the same meaning (Grelot 1972: 507; Schmitt 1972b: 144-146; ASN 47; Kornfeld 1978: 98).

– Aramaic: ʾRwrt: TAD B 4.4:21.

4.2.117 *Arvasaxta- (Med.): *Arva-saxta-, "swift and strong" (ASN 38).

Gershevitch (1970: 85) proposes *Arma-saxta-, "Mr. Armstrong", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.463) points out that it is better to read *Arva-.

– Elamite: Har-ma-šá-ak-da: PFNN 1008:30.

[85] Benveniste's translation is "respecting the (divine) sovereignty".

4.2.118 *Arvāspa-: *Arva-aspa-, "having swift horses" (ElW 632).

– Elamite: Har-maš-ba: PFNN 2351:7.

4.2.119 *Arvātiya-: *Arv-āt(a)-iya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Arva-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of *Arva- (ASN 38-39).

Hinz does not accept the proposals of Gershevitch (1970: 85) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.464). The former reconstructs *Harvaθiya-, "observing", with reference to a present stem *haurva-* of Av. *har-*. Mayrhofer prefers a gentilic of Harauvatiš, "Arachosia". Yet the spelling Har-ma-ti occurs only once as a reflection of Arachosia (ASN 38-39).

– Elamite: Har-ma-ti-ia: PFNN 1008:10.

4.2.120 *Arvazūlā: nom. sg. of *Arva-zūlah-, "the swift evildoer" (ASN 39). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.462) is convinced of the Iranian origin of this name, which belongs to the so-called *l*-dialect of Old Iranian. **Zūla-* is the equivalent of **zūra-*.

– Elamite:

1) Har-ma-su-la: PF 1315:3.
2) Har-ru-mas-su-la: PF 2011:4,20.

4.2.121 *Arvišta-: "the bravest one", superlative of *Arva- (ASN 39).

Benveniste (1966: 83) reconstructs *Ara-mižda- and Gershevitch (1969: 183) prefers *Armaištā-, "the lonely, secluded", to Av. *armaēštā-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.466) only points to the incorrectness of both opinions.

– Elamite:

1) Har-mi-iš-da: PF 806:3, 1153:6, 1463:2-3, 1592:2, 1636:2, 1765:2; PFNN 851:3-4, 2047:2, 2404:2-3.
2) Har-ra-mi-iš-da: PF 1635:2-3, 1657:2-3.
3) Har-ru-mi-iš-da: PFNN 1344:2-3.

4.2.122 *Aryabāma-: *Arya-bāma-, "having the lustre of the Iranians" (Mayrhofer, apud Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler & Schwertheim 1983: 13; Lemaire 2001: 31).

– Aramaic: ʾRybm: Epigraphica Anatolica 1 11:1,3.

4.2.123 *Aryaiča- / *Arēča-: *Ary-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of *Arya- (OnP 8.479; ASN 40).

Contrary to what Hinz (ASN 39-40, reading *Aryača-) assumes, Har-ri-ia-iz-za is also a denotation of *Aryaiča-. Cf. Mayrhofer (OnP 2.316) for the equation CaiC = Ir. /ai/.

– Aramaic: ʾRyyš: TAD B 2.2:21.

– Elamite:

1) Har-e-ez-za: PFNN 2371:25.
2) Har-re-ez-za: PF 1702:3.
3) Har-ri-ia-iz-za: PF 1372:3; PFNN 1074:8.

4.2.124 *Aryaina- / *Arēna-: *Ary-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Arya- (Benveniste 1958b: 54; ASN 40; Zadok 1976: 68 and 1977: 98; Dandamayev 1992: 31).

Gershevitch (1969: 183; also OnP 8.468) considers it to be an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Arya-.

– Babylonian: Ar-'-en-nu: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 24:10.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-re-e-na: PFNN 2392:3.
2) Har-re-e-na: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:1, 113-114:1; JNES 53 264:1; PF 271:8-9 (Har-[r]e-e-na), 1791-1792:1, 1794:1, 1854:2-3, 2008-2009:2, 2025:5,12-13, 2070:8; PFNN 71:2, 473:7, 572:15,20, 727:1, etc. in PFNN.
3) Har-ri-ia-a-na: Fort. 7095:3.

4.2.125 *Aryamanā / *Arēmanā: nom. sg. of *Aryamanah-, "having an Aryan mind, of Aryan reasoning" (Arkwright 1899: 56; Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.471; ASN 40; Schmitt 1982c: 379, 1982d: IV/21, 2002: 54 and 2004: 480), Gk. Ἀριαμένης, Lat. Hieramenes.
– Elamite: Har-re-ma-na: PF 1588:7-8; PFNN 1477:7-8.
– Lycian: Erijamãna-: TL 44c:12.

4.2.126 *Aryāna-: *Ary-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Arya- (ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-na: PFNN 2246:2.

4.2.127 *Aryāpāna-: *Aryā-pāna-, "protector of the Iranians" (Segal 1983: 86; ElW 636; Schmitt 1987: 151 and 1994: 84; Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 32).
According to Koch (apud ElW 636) the El. form is a genitive (in *-na-*), as a result of which the actual name should be *Aryāpā-.
– Aramaic: 'Rypn: ATNS 63:4.
– Babylonian: Ar-ia-a-pa-nu: Iraq 54 137:29,31.
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-ba-na: PFNN 2205:13.

4.2.128 *Aryarā- (fem.): *Arya-rā-, "Iranian" (ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-ra: PFNN 2270:3.

4.2.129 *Aryastāna-: *Arya-stāna-, "the Iranian stand" (ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-iš-da-na: PFNN 2344:6.

4.2.130 *Aryāstu-: *Arya-astu-, "may he be an Iranian" (ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-iš-du: PFNN 2449:3,5.

4.2.131 *Aryāujaka-: *Arya-auja-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Arya-auja-, "Iranian power" (OnP 8.446; ASN 40).
Benveniste (1966: 83) reads *Arya-yauzaka-, to Av. *yaog-*, "to revolt".
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-u-za-ka$_4$: PF 1956:28.

4.2.132 *Aryaupama-: *Arya-upama-, "superior as an Iranian" (Eilers 1936: 172n.1 and 1955: 229; ASN 41; Zadok 1977: 100; Dandamayev 1992: 32). An alternative possibility is *Aryā-upama-, "superior of the Iranians".

– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ia-'-pa-ma: EE 56:4.
2) Ar-ia-ú-pa-am-ma: VAT 15612:2',3' (Ar-ia-ú-pa-am-[ma]).

4.2.133 *Aryaušta-: *Arya-ušta-, "Iranian happiness"(Zadok 1997: A no.1).
A name *Arya-vahišta-, "the best of the Iranians" would be possible (Zadok 1999-2000: 211) if -uš-tu- could render /vahišta/.
– Babylonian: A-ra-e-uš-tu: BM 25690:2.

4.2.134 *Aryāvrata-: *Arya-vrata-, "ruling over Iranians" (ASN 42; Vittmann 2004: 164), cf. Av. Uruuatat.nara-, "commanding men" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/84).
Not *Aryāvraθa-, "friend of the Iranians", as Posener (1936: 122) assumes.
– Aramaic: 'Rywrt[86]: Alram 1986 346-348, 349 ('Rywr<t>).
– Hieroglyphic:
1) ɜ-r-y-w-r-tɜ: BdE 11 27:5.
2) ɜ-r-y-w-r-ti: BdE 11 34.
3) ɜ-r-y-wɜ-r-tɜ: BdE 11 33:6.
4) I-rw-y-w-r-tɜ: BdE 11 31:4.

4.2.135 *Aryavṛta-: *Arya-vṛta-, "Iranian hero" (ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-ri-ia-mar-da: PFNN 1507:11.

4.2.136 *Aryuka-: *Ary-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Arya- (Schmitt 1974b: 155; ASN 41, reading *Ary-auka-; ElW 636).
– Elamite: Har-re-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 283:2, 589:3-4, 701:1-2, 2304: 2-3.

4.2.137 *Arzaraθaina-: *Arza-raθ-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Arza-raθa-, "battle-chariot" (ASN 42).
Bowman (1970: 138) reconstructs *Arza-rāti-, "he who makes a slaughter offering", to Av. *rāti-*, while Frye (apud Bowman, l.c.) prefers *Arzaraθ(a)ina-, "having precious chariots". Hinz (NW 50) reads *Ṛzi-raθyāna-, "walking the right path".
– Aramaic: 'Rzrtyn: Pers 74:5.

4.2.138 *Asabanda- (OP): *Asa-banda-, "horse-fastener, groom" (Gershevitch 1969: 184; OnP 8.137; ASN 42), OInd. *aśvabandha-*, "groom".
– Elamite: Áš-šá-ban-da: PF 1714:3; PFNN 1331:3, 1333:2-3.

4.2.139 *Asaçŭtaka- (OP): *Asa-çŭta-ka-, "famous through horses" (OnP 8.141; ASN 42).
Gershevitch (1969: 184-185) mentions *Asasta-tauka- (with haplology and OP **asasta-* for Median **aspasta-*). The sign TUK, however, cannot render Ir. /tauk/

[86] Reading by Reinach (1888: 29) and Alram (1986: 111-112). Other proposed readings are 'Rtgn (Robinson 1936: 196-197), 'Rtym (Bivar 1961: 124-125) and 'Ryyn (= *Aryāyana-; Lipiński 1975: 166-167).

(ASN 42). Hinz's (NW 106) etymology *Asa-šūti-ka- (Av. *šūti-*, "moving") is not very plausible.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-šu-tuk-k[a_4]: PF 184:3.

4.2.140 *Asaka- (OP): *Asa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Asa-, "horse" (Gershevitch 1969: 184; OnP 8.134; ASN 42).

Schmitt (1982d: IV/34) is not convinced of the Iranian origin of the Phrygian spelling.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 140:2, 2161:3.
– Phrygian: Asakas (nom.): A 77a.

4.2.141 *Asanga-: "the stone" (Gershevitch 1969: 184; ASN 42).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.136) is doubtful of this etymology.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-an-ka$_4$: PF 619:5-6.

4.2.142 *Asapāna- (OP): *Asa-pāna-, "protector of horses" (ASN 42).

Benveniste (1966: 78) compares this name with the Av. PN Asabanā-, the meaning of which is not fully clear (Mayrhofer 1979: I/21-22).

– Elamite: Áš-šá-ba-na: PF 1959:12.

4.2.143 *Asara- (OP): *Asa-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Asa-name (Schmitt 1972c: 340-341; OnP 8.138; ASN 43).

– Elamite: Áš-šá-ra: PF 1383:3 (⌈Áš-šá⌉-[r]a), 1535:2.

4.2.144 *Asastiya- (OP): *Asasti-ya-, OP equivalent of *Aspastiya- (4.2.162; OnP 8.139; ASN 43). Cf. 4.4.20.2.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-iš-ti-ia: PF 759:2, 780:3, 1757:2-3; PFNN 300:6-7, 1715:3.

4.2.145 *Asāštrāna- (OP): *Asa-aštrāna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Asā-aštrā-, lit. "horse-whip" (Gershevitch 1969: 185; ASN 43).

Périkhanian (1970: 357n.20) reconstructs *Āça-sturāna-, "taking care of the fire". Benveniste (1966: 78) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.140) reconstruct *Asa-stūra-, "as strong as a horse". Hinz (ASN 43) rejects the latter explanation, because in his view TUR should render /tr/ of /tir/. At first sight this is true, but in one case an exception must be made: Ir. *Kunduru- is rendered by Ku-un-tur-ru-iš, so if TUR = /dur/, then the same sign also may render /tūr/.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-áš-tur-ra-na: PF 1560:3-4.

4.2.146 *Asāvanta- (OP): thematization of *Asā-vant-, "equipped with horses" (Gershevitch 1969: 184; OnP 8.135; Mayrhofer 1979c: 113; ASN 43[87]; Werba 1982: 77-78; Schmitt 2006: 230). Cf. *Aspāvatīš (4.2.166) and OInd. *áśvāvant-*.

– Elamite: Áš-šá-man-da: PF 1658:4; PFNN 2364:11.

4.2.147 *Asmaraupa-: *Asma-raupa-, "stone-breaker" (Driver 1965: 53; Kornfeld 1978: 98), cf. the English name Mason.

According to Goetze (1962: 56-57) and Grelot (1972: 461) this is an Anatolian name.

[87] Gershevitch, Mayrhofer and HInz reconstruct *Asavanta-.

– Aramaic: ʾSmrwp: TAD A 6.7:4.

4.2.148 *Aspa- (Med.): "horse", retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (Zadok 1983c: 319; Schmitt 1997b: 926).

Zadok's alternative proposal (*Spā-, "dog") is less probable.

– Babylonian: As-pa-ʾ: CT 56 615:rev.2.

4.2.149 *Aspabāra- (Med.): *Aspa-bāra-, "horseman" (Bowman 1970: 102; ASN 43; Dandamayev 1992: 46), OP *asabāra-* (OPG 173).

– Aramaic: ʾSpbr: Pers 31:2.
– Babylonian: As-pa-bar: VS 5 128:20,32.

4.2.150 *Aspača- (Med.): *Aspa-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (ASN 43).

Not the same as Áš-be-ez-za (cf. 4.2.170), as assumed by Hallock (1969: 670) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.127).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-[a]z-za: PF 238:11-12.

4.2.151 *Aspačinā (Med.): *Aspa-činā-, "desiring for horses".

Actually the same name as *Aspačanā, since Av. *čanah-* and *činah-* are synonyms (AiW 595). This is also the reason why some scholars reconstruct *Aspačanah- (Zadok 1977: 94; EIW 86).

– Babylonian: A-sa-pa-ši-in: Dar. 339:2.
– Elamite: Áš-ba-zí-na: PFNN 456:12.

4.2.152 *Aspadasta- (Med.): *Aspa-dasta-, "he by whom horses are trained" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976d: 213; Dandamayev 1992: 46).

Clay & Hilprecht (1898: 51) doubt between *Aspadasta- "horse-hand" (cf. Av. *zasta-* and OP *dasta-*; also OnP 8.123) and Spāda-dasta- (with haplology). Other explanations are (1) *Aspadāšta- (Benveniste 1966: 78, cf. Av. *dāšta-*, "received") and (2) *Aspatāšta- (Gershevitch 1969: 184; ASN 45), "having the build of a horse", to Av. *taš-*, "to form".

– Babylonian:
  1) As-pa-ʾ-da-as-ta: BE 10 50:6; PBS 2/1 192:4.
  2) As-pa-ʾ-da-as-ta-ʾ: BE 9 106:4.
– Elamite:
  1) Áš-ba-da-áš-da: PF 1911:6-7.
  2) Áš-ba-taš-da: PF 2:8.

4.2.153 *Aspadṛda- (Med.-OP): *Aspa-dṛda-, "horse-heart" (ASN 44), cf. OInd. *aśvahṛdaya-*, "horsemanship".

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.124) is doubtful of this etymology.

– Elamite: Áš-ba-tur-da: PFNN 760:30-31, 2173:3-4.

4.2.154 *Aspaguš (Med.): *Aspa-gu-š, "horse and cattle" (EIW 85).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-ku-iš: PFNN 2300:26, 2487:5.

4.2.155 *Aspaka- (Med.): *Aspa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (Benveniste 1966: 78; OnP 8.114; ASN 44).

– Babylonian: As-pa-a[k]-ku: YBC 11611:13.

– Elamite:
1) Áš-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1675:4-5; PFNN 1482:103.
2) Áš-ba-ka$_4$: PF 1448:2; PFNN 2370:29.

4.2.156 *Aspamiša- (Med.): *Aspam-iša-, "looking for a horse" (Zadok 1977: 96; Schmitt 2006: 145-146).

Zadok (1977: 96n.53) argues that the spelling with Us-pa-° cannot render *Aspa-. Yet there are various examples pleading against this theory (Tavernier 2000: no.3). Moreover only one individual is involved (Dandamayev 1992: 139). Hinz (ASN 44) reconstructs *Aspa-miça-, "friend of horses". Zadok (1976d: 213) also mentions a reading *Aspa-vīra-.

– Babylonian:
1) As-pa-mi-iš-šú: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:5.
2) Us-pa-mi-iš: VS 6 307:12.

4.2.157 *Aspanaxva- (Med.): *Aspa-naxva-, "he who is at the head of horses" (Benveniste 1966: 87; ASN 44).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.117) has doubts with regard to this reconstruction.

– Elamite: Áš-ba-na-ak-ku-iš: PF 1782:3.

4.2.158 *Aspanjĭra- (Med.): *Aspan-jĭra-, "having smart horses" (ElW 85).
– Elamite: Áš-ba-an-zí-ra: PFNN 2184:30.

4.2.159 *Aspasrī- (Med.): *Aspa-srī-, "having a beautiful horse" (OnP 8.119).

Not "with the beauty of a horse", as Benveniste (1966: 78) and Hinz (ASN 44) translate.

– Elamite: Áš-ba-ši-ri: PF 1329:3.

4.2.160 *Aspasta- (Med.): *Asp-asta-, "with the bones of a horse" (Benveniste 1966: 78; ASN 45).

Other etymologies are (1) *Aspasta- (Gershevitch 1969: 184; NW 51), the Iranian equivalent of OInd. *aśvatthá-*, "the holy fig tree"; (2) *Aspa-stā-, "standing on a horse" (Schmitt 1968: 65-66), a possibility that was already denied by Benveniste (l.c.), who argued that in that case the name should be *Aspai-stā-; (3) *Aspa-ašta-, "having eight horses" (Abayev 1969: 109-110), to Av. *ašta-*, "eight"; (4) *Aspasta-, a retrenchment of e.g. *Aspa-stūra- (Isebaert 1980: 276).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-iš-da: PF 441:2-3, 848:2; PFNN 266:2, 1102:2, 1492:2-3, 1968:2.

4.2.161 *Aspastāna- (Med.): *Aspa-stāna-, "he whose place is with horses" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 173; ASN 43). Cf. 4.2.646.

Less likely are *Asp-ast-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Aspasta- (NW 51) and *Aspastana-, "having a horse-like voice" (Frye, apud Bowman, l.c.).

– Aramaic: ʾSpstn: Pers 126:2.

4.2.162 *Aspastiya- (Med.): *Aspa-sti-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Aspa-sti- (Gershevitch 1969: 184; OnP 8.120; ASN 45), cf. *Asastiya- (4.2.144) and the loanword **aspasti-* (4.4.20.2).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-iš-ti-ia: PF 262:3, 263:3-4, 729:2-3; PFNN 240:4-5, 2498:5-6.

4.2.163 *Aspasuptiš (Med.): *Aspa-supti-š, "having a horse's shoulder" (Benveniste 1966: 78; ASN 45).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.122) is not completely convinced by this analysis.

– Elamite: Áš-ba-šu-ip-ti-iš: PF 1224:2-3.

4.2.164 *Aspašuna- (Med.): *Aspa-šuna-, "having a horse-whip" (Gershevitch 1969b: 186; ASN 45), cf. MP *ʾspšwn*, "whip".

Because of the uncertain reading of NA Mayrhofer (OnP 8.121) considers it impossible to analyze this name. Nevertheless this is the most probable reading: the last sign of this name is very similar to other NA-signs in this text (Stolper, pers. comm. 20/10/2000).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-šu-na: PFNN 1032:66.

4.2.165 *Aspatatika- (Med.): *Aspa-tati-ka, "having a crowd of horses" (Zadok 1976b: 77).

Hinz (ASN 46) reconstructs *Aspatāt-ika-, an *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Aspa-tāta-, "flying like a horse" (Av. *tāta-*, "flying").

– Babylonian: As-pu-ta-ti-ka: Camb. 384:5.

4.2.166 *Aspāvatīš (Med.): *Aspā-vatī-š, "rich in horses" (Benveniste 1966: 78; OnP 8.116; ASN 46[88]). Fem. equivalent of Med. *Aspāvanta-. Cf. OP *Asāvanta- (4.2.146).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-ma-ti-iš: PF 1205:2-3.

4.2.167 *Aspavēθāna- (Med.): < *Aspa-vaiθa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Aspa-vaiθa-, "he who knows horses" (ASN 44).

Concerning this name a lot of possibilities have been brought forward: (1) *Aspa-avita- (Grantovskij 1970: 100n.19); (2) *Aspa-mait-āna-, "enduring on horses", to Av. *maēt-* (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976b: 76); (3) *Aspa-maiθana-, "dwelling of horses", to Av. *maiθana-* (ASN 44); (4) *Aspa-maiθ-āna-, "fighting on horses" (Gershevitch, l.c.); (5) *Aspa-mit-āna-, "horse-built" (Scheftelowitz 1903: 165)[89]; (6) *Aspa-vaiθ-āna-, "Pferdeknecht", to Av. *vaēs-* (ASN 44); (7) *Aspa-vetana-, "whose wages are horses", to OInd. *vetana-* (Gershevitch, l.c.).

– Babylonian: As-pu-me-ta-na-ʾ: Camb. 384:4.

4.2.168 *Aspāyauda- (Med.): *Aspā-yauda-, "fighting on horseback" (Benveniste 1966: 78), Av. Aspāiiaoδa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/22).

– Elamite: Áš-ba-ia-u-da: OGWA 321-322:29-30; PF 101:3-4, 1987:28,31,70.

4.2.169 *Aspazanta- (Med.): *Aspa-zanta-, "he who is recognized because of his horse" (Eilers 1940: 104n.3).

Not *Aspa-jantar-, "killing horses" (ASN 44) or *Aspā-janta-, "horse-rutting" (Zadok 1976d: 213; Dandamayev 1992: 47).

– Babylonian: Ás-pa-za-an-da-ʾ: BE 10 66:4.

[88] Benveniste, Mayrhofer and Hinz read *Aspavatīš.

[89] This name is, however, improbable, since in that case one would expect a spelling °-mi-ta-na- (Zadok, l.c.).

4.2.170 *Aspēča- (Med.): < *Asp-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (OnP 8.127; ASN 44).
– Elamite: Áš-be-ez-za (Med.): PF 1952:16-17; PFNN 754:6, 793:3.

4.2.171 *Aspēna- (Med.): < *Asp-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (OnP 8.128; ASN 44).
Gershevitch (1969: 184) prefers an *-āyana*-patronymic.
– Elamite: Áš-be-na: PFNN 101:10.

4.2.172 *Aspṛna- (OP): "entire, complete", OP equivalent of Ir. **uspṛna-* (4.4.2.21; Henning, apud Driver 1965: 76; Gershevitch 1969b: 186; ASN 46).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.129) and Schmitt (apud OnP 11.1.8.8.5) believe that the name contains the element **farnah-*.
– Elamite: Áš-bar-na: PFNN 1646:7-8.

4.2.173 *Aspṛnika- (OP): *Aspṛn-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Aspṛna- (OnP 8.130; Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8.8.5; ASN 46).
Benveniste (1966: 78) mentions *Aš-farn-uka-, whereas Gershevitch (1969b: 186) pleads for *Aspṛna-vahu-ka-, "sound and good".
– Elamite:
1) Áš-bar-nu-ka$_4$: PF 1606:2, 1848:1.
2) Áš-pír-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 442:2-3, 1605:2-3 (Áš-pír-[nu]-uk-ka$_4$); PFNN 1405:4.

4.2.174 *Aspuka- (Med.): *Asp-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Aspa-name (ElW 89).
– Elamite: Áš-pu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 690:2-3.

4.2.175 *Aspušta- (Med.): *Asp-ušta-, "Pferdeglück" (ASN 46).
Hinz (NW 106) reconstructs *Aspavasta-, "horse-praised".
– Elamite: Áš-pu-iš-da: PF 1449:2.

4.2.176 *Astašēbarva-: < *Asta-šai-barva-, "cherishing his homestead" (ASN 47; Zadok 1977: 104; Dandamayev 1992: 47).
– Babylonian: As-tu-še-bar-ma: BE 9 18:8.

4.2.177 *Astauka-: *Ast-auka-, *-auka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Asta-name (ASN 47) or of an *Asti-name.
Gershevitch (1970: 85) reads *Asastauka- (with haplology), while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.143) is doubtful of this reconstruction.
– Elamite: Áš-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PFNN 1107:2, 1576:2.

4.2.178 *Astiya- / *Astīš: *Asti-ia, "the guest", *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Asti-name (OnP 8.144; ASN 47).
Gershevitch (1969: 185) mentions *Azdiya-, "the fat one", to Av. *azdiia-*, but Hinz (ASN 47) argues that in that case one would expect As-ti-ia. Nonetheless Hinz is not right: *-š-* can also render Ir. */z/*. Hinz (NW 107) himself derives the name from **asti-*, "bone".

– Elamite:
1) Áš-ti-ia: PF 1978:3,13.
2) Áš-ti-iš: PFNN 2282:32.

4.2.179 *Āsušava-: *Āsu-šava-, "proceeding quickly" (Shaked 1987: 410).
– Aramaic: ʾSwšw: ATNS 1:5. Porten & Yardeni (TAD B 8.8:5) read ʾSw/pšn.

4.2.180 *Ašasaraya-: *Aša-sara-ya-, "having a relation with Arta" (Tavernier 2002: 107-108).
– Demotic: ʒššry: P. Dem. Saq. I 8:4.

4.2.181 *Ātarva-: *Ā-tarva-, "the victorious one" (ASN 48).
Gershevitch (1969b: 186-187) proposes *Aθarva-.
– Elamite:
1) Ad-da-ir-ma: PF 1957:21.
2) At-tar-ru-ma[90]: PF 1957:23.

4.2.182 *Atikāma-: *Ati-kāma-, "beyond wish" (Zadok 1975: 245; Dandamayev 1992: 48).
– Babylonian: A-ti-ka-am: TCL 13 193:29.

4.2.183 *Ātikāna-: *Ātika-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ātika- (ASN 48), Parth. ʾTykn.
Gershevitch (1969b: 170) derives the name from **ātika-*, "duck" (cf. 4.4.6.1).
– Elamite: Ha-ti-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 146:28-29.

4.2.184 *Ātṛbānuš: *Ātṛ-bānu-š, "with the lustre of the Fire" (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.429; ASN 48; Zadok 1977: 93n.17; Dandamayev 1992: 47).
The Babylonian writings could also be read with MA instead of BA, because in Late Babylonian these two cuneiform signs are hard to distinguish. Accordingly a name *Ātṛ-vanuš, "wishing fire" is possible, to Av. *van-*, "to wish" (cf. ASN 49; Zadok, l.c.; Dandamayev 1992: 49).
– Babylonian:
1) A-tar-ba-nu-uš: TCL 13 193:31,U.E.4.
2) At-ru-ba-nu-ʾ: BE 9 18:11.
3) A-tu-[ra/ru-ba-nu-ʾ]: BE 9 74:3.
4) Tu-ra-ba-na-ʾ: BE 9 28a:15.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tar-ba-nu-iš: PF 461:2, 636:3-4, 759:3, 854:1-2, 855-858:2, 1587:2; PFNN 717:1-2, 742-743:1-2, 1228:1-2, 1339:2, 1371:1-2, 2239:1-2, 2258:2, 2389:4-5, etc. in PFNN.
2) Ha-tur-ba-nu-iš: PF 245:5-6, 462:2-3, 1996:4-7; PFNN 486:1-2, 2167:2.

[90] Lipiński (1977: 108-109) considers this spelling to render the Aramaic name ʿAttar-rām, "Attar is exalted".

4.2.185 *Āṭṛbāzu- (Med.): *Āṭṛ-bāzu-, "Fire-arm" (Lemaire 1975: 92).
Teixidor (1976: 332-333) reads ʾTrpr[n], but the photograph of the text does not allow such a reading.
– Aramaic: ʾTrbz: Semitica 25 93:13.

4.2.186 *Āṭṛbṛzana- (Med.): *Āṭṛ-bṛzana-, "exalting the Fire" (Schaeder 1930: 271; Bowman 1970: 173; NW 43; ASN 48; Schmitt 2006: 158).
– Aramaic: ʾTrbrzn: Pers 58:3 (ʾTrb[rzn]), 127:1.

4.2.187 *Āṭṛčiça- (OP): *Āṭṛ-čiça-, "originating from the Fire" (ElW 651) or "brilliant Fire".
– Elamite: Ha-tur-zí-iš-šá: PFNN 2471:3-4.

4.2.188 *Āṭṛči0ra- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Āṭṛ-čiça- (Zadok 1976b: 77; Dandamayev 1992: 47).
– Babylonian: A-ta-ar-ši-it-ra: Hebraica 8 134:3.

4.2.189 *Āṭṛdāta-: *Āṭṛ-dāta-, "given by the Fire" (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.497; ASN 48), Av. Atərə.dāta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/29), MP Ādurdād (Gignoux 1986: II/33), Parth. ʾTrdtk (Gignoux 1972: 47) and ʾTrwdt (Schmitt 1998: 181), Gk. ʾΑτραδάτης (IN 48).
The writing Ha-tur-da (PFNN 344:1), considered by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.496) and Hinz (ASN 48) as a retrenchment of *Āṭṛdāta-, is a mistake for Ha-tur-da-da (also in PF 84:4-5). Gershevitch (1969: 189) reconstructs *Āṭṛ-dāh-, "giver of fire".
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tar-da-da: OIP 117 180:1-2 (Ha-[tur]-da-da); PF 2018:32.
2) Ha-tur-da-ad-da: PF 85:4-5, 107:4-5, 1313-1314:2, 1316:2, 1319:2, 1323:2, 1325-1326:2, 1327:2-3; PFNN 1300:2-3, 2254:4-5, 2392:2, 2569:2.
3) Ha-tur-da-da: PF 83:4, 84:4-5 (°-da-<da>), 795:2, 1081:2-3, 1307:3, 1308:11-12, 1309:10, 1315:2, 1320-1322:2, 1324:2, 1328-1329:2, 1466:2; PFNN 316:5, 344:1 (°-da-<da>), 1389:2-3, 1397:3-4, 1421:2-3, 1519:3, 1616:3-4, 2152:4, 2396:2-3, 2472:2-3.
4) Ha-tur-da-ud-da: PF 423:11-12; PFNN 1320:2-3, 1684:3.

4.2.190 *Āṭṛfarnā: *Āṭṛ-farnā, "having the glory of the Fire" (Benveniste 1966: 83; Grelot 1972: 462; OnP 8.502; ASN 48; Kornfeld 1978: 101), MP Ādurfarr (Gignoux 1986: II/34).
The first spelling was read ʾTrprt by Cowley (1923: 172). Based on this reading Hinz (NW 43; ASN 49) reconstructed *Āṭṛ-frata-, "excellent through the fire". Kornfeld (1978: 100) considers the second spelling as a dialect variant in Old Parthian transcription.
– Aramaic:
1) ʾTrprn: TAD B 3.6:16; TAD D 2.10:9.
2) ʾTrwprn: TAD B 2.2:9.

– Elamite: Ha-tur-bar-na: PF 1334:3.

4.2.191 *Āṭṛka-: *Āṭṛ-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Āṭṛ-name (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.498; ASN 49).
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tar-ka$_4$: PFNN 1495:16.
2) Ha-tur-ak(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 619:2-3.
3) Ha-tur-ka$_4$: PF 9:6, 34:4-5, 104:6-7 ([Ha-tur]-ka$_4$), 321:2-3, 461:3, 472:3, 670:2, 1037:2, 1180:4, 1330:2, 1331:2-3, 1332:2, 1568:2-3, 1654:2, 1971:8; PFNN 205:3, 344:1, 537:3, 833:3, 928:2, 1243:5, 1458:2, 1944:2-3, 2236:3.
4) Ha-tur-[r]ák-ka$_4$: PF 708:7-8.

4.2.192 *Āṭṛpāna-: *Āṭṛ-pāna-, "having the protection of the Fire" (Huyse 1992: 289n.4; Vittmann 2004: 165).
Some scholars (Mayrhofer 1972: 319; ASN 48; Dem. Nb. 49) reconstruct *Āṭṛ-bānuš, but dem. P normally renders Old Ir. /p/. Spiegelberg (1928: 617-618) proposed *Ṛta-bānuš.
– Demotic: ʒṭrpn: P. Loeb 1:2,5,13.

4.2.193 *Āṭṛpāta-: *Āṭṛ-pāta-, "protected by the Fire" (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.491; ASN 49; Zadok 1977: 100; Dandamayev 1992: 49), Av. Atərə.pāta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/29), MP Ātūrpāt (Gignoux 1986: II/30-31), Gk. ʾΑτροπάτης (IN 49).
– Babylonian: At-ta-ra-pa-ta: BE 9 6:4.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tar-ba-ad-da: PF 1173:3; PFNN 1437:3.
2) Ha-tar-ba-ud-da: PFNN 1668:3-4.

4.2.194 *Āṭṛrāta-: *Āṭṛ-rāta-, "granted by the Fire"[91] (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.503; ASN 49; Dandamayev 1992: 48; Werba, apud Jursa 2003: 68).
Benveniste mentions *Āṭṛ-rāda-, "taking care of the fire" as alternative possibility. Hinz (ASN 49) mentions *Āθra-āta-.
– Babylonian:
1) A-ta-ra-tu$_4$: RA 97 67-68 (BM 54064:31).
2) At-ra-ta-ʾ: VS 3 138:14 (= BM 42383:13 = VS 3 139:13).
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tur-ra-ad-da: PF 1940:7.
2) Ha-tur-ra-da: PF 547:3, 1574:2, 1640:3-4; PFNN 1609:2-3, 2345:3,10,17.
3) Ha-tur-ra-ud-da: PFNN 2299:25, 2387:2-3.

[91] Livšic (apud Dandamayev, l.c.) translates "gift of the fire".

4.2.195 *Ātṛvaxša-: *Ātṛ-vaxša-, "he who pokes up the Fire" (ElW 650). Cf. 4.4.7.12.
- Elamite:
  1) Ha-tar-mak-šá: PFNN 2542:10.
  2) Ha-tur-ma-ak-šá: PFNN 2374:13,20.
  3) Ha-tur-mak-šá: PFNN 2364:13.
  4) Ha-tur-ma-šá: PF 752:2-3.

4.2.196 *Aθarvā: nom. sg. of *Aθarvan-, "the priest" (Gershevitch 1969: 189-190), most likely a retrenched name.

Hinz (ASN 23) believes that the sequence at-sa- is a scribe's attempt to render OP /δ/. He reconstructs *Aδarma-, "not decreasing", to Av. *azarəma-*. Yet it is much more likely that it simply renders OP /θ/ (Gershevitch 1969: 227). Cf. 4.2.314 and 4.2.737.

- Elamite: At-sa-ir-ma: PF 463:3, 973:2-3, 1009:3 (At-sa-<<ir>>-ma).

4.2.197 *Āθavāna-: *Ā-θav-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ā-θava-, "yielding benefit".

Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 85) prefers a scribal error for ʾRtwn (= *Ṛtavan-). Hinz (NW 47; ASN 50) translates "burner" and connects it with the Chor. root *θwa-* and the OP root *θav-*, as postulated by Steve by his reading *aθavā* in A²sa 4 (1975: 10). Yet such a root did not exist in Old Persian and the reading in A²Sa should be emendated to *aθauča* (Werba 2006: 268-286).

- Aramaic: ʾTwn: Pers 13:2.

4.2.198 *Āθavaya-: *Ā-θava-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ā-θava- (ElW 29).
- Elamite: Ad-du-ma-a: PFNN 611:3.

4.2.199 *Āθfiča-: *Āθfi-ča- (Gershevitch 1969: 188; OnP 8.146; ASN 50), cf. the Av. anthroponym Āθβiia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/30) and the OInd name Āptyá- (SED 144). The meaning of these names is not yet clear, but perhaps they have related to OInd. *āpat-*, "to rush in *or* on".
- Elamite: At-pi-iz-za: PF 1131:2-3; PFNN 1533:10.

4.2.200 *Āθi- (Med.): retrenchment of an *Āθi-name.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 99) reconstruct *Haθya-. This, however, would be the only *Haθya-name written without TE or IA, but only with TI.

- Elamite: At-ti: PF 201:2, 258:3, 389:7, 613:2, 1171:2-3, 1616:2-3, 1617:2; PFNN 406:2, 819:2, 834:3, 1605:2-3, 2222:2, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.201 *Āθimušti-: *Āθi-mušti-, "fist against distress".

Most authors (Stolper 1990: 167; Dandamayev 1992: 48) identify this name with A-te-e-a-muš-tu$_4$ (*Haθyavišta-, cf. 4.2.729). This is seducing, but °-mu-uš-ti- cannot render **višta-*. If both Babylonian writings (A-ti-mu-uš-ti and A-te-e-a-muš-tu$_4$) do render the same name (what is highly improbable), then they both reflect *Āθimušti-.

- Babylonian: A-ti-mu-uš-ti: AMI N.F. 23 164:13.

4.2.202 *Āθīpāta-: < *Āθiyā-pāta-, "protected against distress". HI AND HU indicate the vowel length (Tavernier 2002b: 149).

Benveniste (1966: 79) and Hinz (ASN 50) consider *Āθiyāhupāta-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 100) reconstruct *Haθyahupāta-. The second spelling might also render *Aθīhupāta-.

- Elamite:
  1) At-hi-ba-ad-da: PFNN 2084:5.
  2) At-ti-hu-ba-ud-da: PF 1650:3-4.

4.2.203 *Āθivahyā: *Āθi-vahyā-, "better, stronger in (times of) calamity".

Benveniste (apud Posener 1936: 119; also ASN 50 and Vittmann 2004: 165) read *Āθiyavahyā-.

- Hieroglyphic:
  1) ꜣ-ti-w-h-y: BdE 11 27:4.
  2) I-ti-wꜣ-h-y: BdE 11 24:3, 26:5, 29:5.

4.2.204 *Āθiyabuga- / *Āθibuga-: *Āθi-buga-, "releasing from fear" (Gershevitch 1969: 185; OnP 8.156; ASN 50; these authors reconstruct *Āθiyābauga-).
- Elamite:
  1) At-te-bu-u-ka$_4$: PF 1200:3-4.
  2) Ha-te-ia-bu-[u(?)]-ka$_4$: PFNN 2068:3-4.

4.2.205 *Āθiyavahyā: nom. sg. of *Āθiya-vahyah-, "better, stronger in (times of) calamity" (Benveniste, apud Posener 1936: 119; ASN 50; Vittmann 2004: 165).
- Hieroglyphic:
  1) ꜣ-tꜣ-y-w-h-y: BdE 11 28:5; Goyon 1957 109:4.
  2) ꜣ-ti-y-w-h-y: BdE 11 25:5, 30:4.

4.2.206 *Āθravā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Āθravan-, "the priest" (ASN 50). Cf. 4.3.18.

Gershevitch (1969: 189) prefers *Āθarvā- (4.2.196). With regard to the Aramaic spelling a reading Rthy is also mentioned, which Röllig (l.c.) considers to be a denotation of *Ṛtaxaya-. The elision of the *aleph* can be explained using the preceding *l-*, "belonging to" (cf. Segert 1975: §3.7.8.5.4). Another possible reading is Bthw, an Arabic theophoric name, but this does not fit the Persian iconography of the seal on which the text is attested (Röllig, l.c.). According to Lemaire (apud Röllig 2002: 205) it is an appellative and not a personal name, but most Achaemenid seals mention the name of the owner, not his profession (Schmitt 2005: 336). Lemaire (l.c.) also mentions the possibility of a shortened name containing *āṭṛ-, "fire". Schmitt (l.c.) reads ʾTrp, *Ātṛpa-, a two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Ātṛpāta- (4.2.193).

- Aramaic: ʾTrw: DS 65.
- Elamite:
  1) An-tar-ma: PF 1956:27, 1969:19, 2084:13; PFNN 573:28.
  2) At-tur-ma: PF 1961:26, 2077:20.
  3) Ha-tar-ra-ma: PF 1958:1.
  4) Ha-tur-ma: PF 2078:5.

4.2.207 *Augā: nom. sg. of *Augah-, "strength" (Zadok 1995b: 442).
– Aramaic: 'Wgh: TAD D 22.40.

4.2.208 *Aujā: nom. sg. of *Aujah-, "strong" (Zadok 1995: 159).
– Babylonian: Ú-za-a: JCS 28 36 no.22:1,3,9.

4.2.209 *Aujaka-: *Auja-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Aujah- (NW 117; ASN 51).
Gershevitch (1969: 244) mentions *Hu-zăga-, "having a beautiful voice".
– Elamite: U-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1280:4.

4.2.210 *Aura- (OPs): "lord", retrenchment of a compound containing **aura-* (OnP 8.1755; ASN 25).
– Elamite: U-ra: PT 31:20, 31a:x+3.

4.2.211 *Auradāta- (OPs): *Aura-dāta-, "given by Ahura" (Zadok 1977: 104). Cf. 4.2.1384.
Hinz (ASN 127) reconstructs *Hu-raud-āta-. Dandamayev (1992: 117) believes that this name indicates the same individual as Ru-ud-da-a-tú, but as both names have different patronymics, this is not likely (Tavernier 2001: no.5).
– Babylonian: Ú-ru-ud-da-at: PBS 2/1 173:18,L.E.

4.2.212 *Aurikāma-: *Auri-kāma-, "wish of a lord" (ASN 24) or "Ahura's wish".
Gershevitch (1969: 243) connects this name with Av. *uruui-*, "pointed" and Ossetic *kom*, "mouth". His translation is "with a pointed mouth".
– Elamite: U-ri-ka$_4$-ma: OGWA 321-322:3,30; PF 1877:4, 1878:3-4, 2011:35-36; PFNN 2183:7,7-8, 2202:7,12,15,23,32.

4.2.213 *Autaya-: *Auta-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Auta-, "cold" (Tavernier 2002b: 151).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1198) consider *Auδaya- (as OP equivalent of *Aujaya-).
– Elamite: U-da-a-ia: PFNN 2292:2,6.

4.2.214 *Āvarsa-: *Ā-varsa-, "hairy" (ASN 51).
Gershevitch (1969: 176) pleads for *A-varsa-, "without hair". Hinz (ASN 51) rejects this, because in his view El. HA should render Ir. /ā/.
– Elamite: Ha-mar-šá: AMI 19 149:3; PF 1951:20,31; PFNN 2183:21, 2357:4.

4.2.215 *Avāryamanā: nom. sg. of *Avārya-manah-, "having an irresistible mind" (Schmitt 2005: 337).
Lemaire (2001: 33) proposes *Arya-manah-, "having an Iranian mind". The spelling, however, does not permit such an analysis according to Röllig (2002: 206), who does not exclude a Semitic (containing e.g. the deity Amurru or *'urī*, "my light") or Anatolian origin. The second part of the name could be related to Ar. *ymn*, "right side".
– Aramaic: 'Wrymn: DS 100.

4.2.216 *Avastāna-: *Ava-stāna-, "Hinstand" (ASN 51; Kornfeld 1978: 99; Shaked 1987: 411).
Segal (1983: 25) reconstructs *Hustāna, but that would be written H(w)stn (Shaked, l.c.). Hinz (ASN 51) wrongly considers Bab. Ú-ma-as-ta-nu (4.2.872) as a rendering of this name.
– Aramaic: 'Wstn: TAD A 4.7:18, 4.8:18; TAD B 8.6:1.

4.2.217 *Avuθa- (OP): *Av-uθa-, "desiring for water" (Tavernier 2002b: 148-149).
Gershevitch (1969: 176) prefers *Ham-uθa-, "desiring", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.59) is very sceptical about this. Hinz (NW 106; ASN 26) wrongly believes that El. A (initial position) may render Ir. /ai-/ and reads *Aiva-uθa-, "desiring one thing" (Av. *aēuua-*, "one", OP *aiva-*).
– Elamite: A-mu-sa: PF 436:2.

4.2.218 *Āxraθuš (OP): *Ā-xraθu-š, "wise" (Gershevitch 1969b: 185; ASN 25).
– Elamite: Ak-ra-du-iš: PFNN 1128:3-4.

4.2.219 *Āxšētē-: < *Ā-xšaita-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ā-xšaita-, "the illustrious one".
Zadok (1977: 94 and n.33; also Dandamayev 1992: 27-28) identifies the name with *Xšēti- (4.2.1986), but Schmitt (1994: 83-84) points to the fact that a sequence a-ḫi-še cannot represent /xšē/-.
– Babylonian:
1) A-ḫi-še-ti-e: AfO 19 78 Amherst 253:19.
2) A-ḫi-ši-tu$_4$: BPPE 46:16.

4.2.220 *Axšīvazra- (OP): < *Axšiya-vazra- (Gershevitch 1969: 175), OP equivalent of Median *Axšiyat-vazra-, "hurling a mace".
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.38) considers only *vazra-* to be sure.
– Elamite: Ak-ši-maš-ra: PF 363-364:3, 487:4-5.

4.2.221 *Āxštibara-: *Āxšti-bara-, "he who brings peace" (Benveniste 1966: 82; ASN 25).
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ik-iš-ti-bar-ra: PF 162:3-4; PFNN 1478:4-5.
2) Ha-kaš-ti-bar-ra: PF 2084:5.

4.2.222 *Āxštifarnā: *Āxšti-farnā, "peace and glory" (Benveniste 1966: 82; ASN 25).
Schmitt (1972f: 83-86) reconstructs *Axšiti-farnah-, with reference to OInd. *akṣiti-*, "imperishable".
– Elamite: Ha-ik-iš-ti-pír-na: PF 130:2.

4.2.223 *Ayaka-: *Aya-ka-, "metal", *-ka*-extension of *Ayah-.
– Elamite: E-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PF 2086:8,18-19.

4.2.224 *Ayaska-: *Ayas-ka-, "he who is without disease" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Grelot 1972: 462; Kornfeld 1978: 98).
Another possibility is *Aisa-ka-, "being the master", to Av. *aēs-* (ASN 26). Eilers and Kornfeld (l.c.) proposed other reconstructions too: (1) *Ā-yasa-ka-, with two possible meanings, namely "he who has a share (in something)" (Av. *yas-*) and "dignity" (OInd. *yáśas-*); (2) Isaka-, a retrenchment of Av. Isaṯ-vāstra- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/54). The latter possibility is less plausible, because hypocoristics of compounds with a verbal form as first part are not a usual onomastical category (Kornfeld, l.c.).
– Aramaic: 'Ysk: TAD B 3.4:24; TAD C 4.7:8.

4.2.225 *Āyaza- (Med.): *Ā-yaza-, "worshiping" (Shaked, apud TAD D lxiii).
– Aramaic: 'Yz': TAD D 6.8e:3.

4.2.226 *Āyuka-: *Āyu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Āyu-, "the everlasting, who lives long", retrenched name (Gershevitch 1969: 175; OnP 8.167; ASN 52).
– Elamite:
1) A-a-uk-ka$_4$: PF 590:9.
2) A-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1447:8-9.

4.2.227 *Āyurēva-: < *Āyu-raiva-, "rich for a long time" (EIW 392).
– Elamite: E(?)-hu(?)-re-ma: PFNN 2184:35-36.

4.2.228 *Āyuš: *Āyu-š, retrenchment of an *Āyu-name.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 652) recognize the Old Persian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ha-ia-ú-iš: PFNN 347:10-11.

4.2.229 *Āzaka-: *Aza-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Aza-, "pointing" (Cameron 1948: 91; Gershevitch 1969: 191), Sogd. "Z'kk.
Benveniste (1958b: 51) mentions *Azaka-, the Ir. equivalent of the OInd. PN Ajaka-. Hinz (NW 107; ASN 26-27) rejects this, because in his view initial A can only render Ir. /ai/. He reconstructs *Aiza-ka-, with reference to Av. *aēza-*, "desiring". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.168) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: A-za-ak-ka$_4$: PT 4:7.

4.2.230 *Badrapārsa-: *Badra-pārsa-, "the happy Persian", *-ya*-extension of *Badrapārsa- (Zadok 1995: 158, who, however, reads <LU>pa-ar-sa-i instead of pa-ar-sa-').
Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 66) reconstructs *Pāθra-pārsa-, "protection of the Persian", but this is denied by Schmitt and Mayrhofer (apud Stolper 1994b: 626) because of the spelling.
– Babylonian: Ba-ad-ra-pa-ar-sa-': JAOS 114 627:19.

4.2.231 *Bādura- (OP): *Bādu-ra-, "little arm", *-ra*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Bādu-name (ASN 53).
Gershevitch (1969: 224) connects the name with Av. *bāzura-*, "wing", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.181) emphasizes the uncertain character of this proposal.
– Elamite: Ba-du-ra: PF 1981:6; PFNN 734:2-3.

4.2.232 *Bāduvasta- (OP): *Bādu-vasta-, "whose arm is being praised" (NW 107; ASN 53).
Gershevitch (1969: 223) reads *Pāda(h)-vazda(h), "whose face and back surfaces are well-nourished". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.180) prefers *Bādu-vazda-, "having the stamina of an arm".
– Elamite: Ba-du-ma-iš-da: PF 1306:3.

4.2.233 *Baga-: *Bag-a-, "god", retrenchment of a *Baga-name, followed by a hypocoristic suffix *-a-* (NW 53; Zadok 1976b: 67n.65).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-a: BE 9 74:3,11; PBS 2/1 122:9.

4.2.234 *Bagabāduš (OP): *Baga-bādu-š, "arm of Baga, God" (Benveniste 1966: 79; Hinz 1970: 430; ASN 53-54).
Schmitt (1968: 68; also OnP 8.187) notices semantic problems with compounds having a body part as second part, since they could only mean "holding X in the [name of body part]". Consequently *Bagabādu- would mean "holding Baga in the arm". These problems are minimized by Hinz (ASN 54).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba-du(-iš): PF 62:4, 185:3, 499:3, 500:2, 1299:5-6, 1462:8, 1536:7-8; PFNN 521:3-4,42, 547:4, 827:2, etc. in PFT and PFNN.

4.2.235 *Bagabāma-: *Baga-bāma-, "light of Baga" (EIW 140).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba-ma: PFNN 1300:3.

4.2.236 *Bagabanda- (OP): *Baga-banda-, "he who serves, supports Baga" (Gershevitch 1969: 216; OnP 8.205; ASN 54).
Benveniste's reading (1966: 79) *Baga-banda-, "bound to God" is less plausible.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ban-da: PF 1450:2.

4.2.237 *Bagabanza- (Med.): *Baga-banza-, Median equivalent of *Baga-banda- (Gershevitch 1969: 216; OnP 8.206; ASN 54).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-ban-šá: PFNN 2211:42,47.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-ban-za: PFNN 535:3.

4.2.238 *Bagabasta-: *Baga-basta-, "supported by Baga" (Tavernier 2002: 108; Vittmann 2004: 165 and n.169).
Huyse (1992: 293) and Smith (1992: 300) read Bgbyṭ, but palaeographically a reading Bgbst is more convincing (Tavernier, l.c.; Vittmann 2004: 165n.169). An alternative explanation of Bgbst is *Baga-basta, "bound to god", with *basta-* as past participle of Av. *band-*, "to bind".
– Demotic: Bgbsṭ: S.H5-202:1.

4.2.239 *Bagabauga-: *Baga-bauga-, "whom Baga is releasing" or "he who enjoys Baga".
Some scholars translate "serving Baga" (Gershevitch 1969: 216; OnP 8.190; ASN 54) and base this on Benveniste's assumption (1966: 112, with reference to Minard 1956: 223 n.596a) that **baug-* may also mean "to serve". Yet this meaning is without support (Werba, pers. comm. 12/03/04).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba-u-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 422:7-8.

4.2.240 *Bagabāzu- (Med.): *Baga-bāzu-, Median equivalent of *Bagabādu- (Mayrhofer 1971c: 15; ASN 54; Lemaire 2002: 170).
– Aramaic: Bgbz[92]: Transeuphratène. Suppl.9 324:1.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba-su: PFNN 1592:7-8, 1733:8, 2149:4, 2580: 3-4.

4.2.241 *Bagabṛdiš (OP): *Baga-bṛdi-š, "Baga, the high one" (EIW 143).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-bìr-ti-iš: PFNN 2492:20.

[92] Lemaire (l.c.) proposes to restore Bgbz[w], but that is not necessary.

4.2.242 *Bagabṛta-: *Baga-bṛta-, "carried by Baga".

Zadok (1977: 127 and n.369) reads Ba-ga-mas-ta, which he connects with the Neo-Assyrian divine name Ba-ag-mas-ti. He reconstructs *Baga-masti-, "having the knowledge of Baga", to Av. *masti-*. Grantovskij (1970: 302-303) reconstructed the Assyrian name as *Baga-Mazda-, which, however, is not very credible (Zadok, l.c.). Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 55) reconstructs *Baga-vasta-, "he who is welcome to Baga". Nevertheless the Aramaic version of this name supports a reading Ba-ga-bar-ta (Zadok, apud Cross, pers. comm. 28/01/01), while the Neo-Assyrian theonym is usually read Ba-ag-bar-ti (Winckler 1889: 237; Fuchs 1994: 247).

– Aramaic: Bgbrt: WDSP 10:2,4 (Bgbr[t]),9.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-bar-ta: CT 49 5:2.

4.2.243 *Bagačiθra- (Med.): *Baga-čiθra-, "of divine lineage" (Bowman 1970: 166; ASN 54), Gk. Μεγασίδρης.

– Aramaic: Bgštr: Pers 117:3.

4.2.244 *Bagadāna-: *Baga-dāna-, "gift of Baga" (Schmitt 1972c: 345; ASN 54; Kornfeld 1978: 101; Bordreuil & Gubel 1987: 313).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.218; also EIW 144) mentions *Baga-dana-, the OP equivalent of *Bagazana-, "with a divine character", but in that case the Aramaic spelling would have been Bgzn (ASN 54), unless one is dealing here with two different names.

– Aramaic: Bgdn: Syria 64 312-313; TAD A 6.1:1.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-tan-na: PF 1793:4.

4.2.245 *Bagadantuš (OP): *Baga-dantu-š, "belonging to Baga's clan" (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.217). Cf. the Av. anthroponym Ātərəzaṇtu- (Mayhrofer 1979: I/30).

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-tan-du(-iš): PF 454:8-9, 950-954:2, 1552:3; PFNN 1080:2-3.

4.2.246 *Bagadāta-: *Baga-dāta-, "given by Baga (or: God)" (IN 57; Cameron 1948: 142; Benveniste 1966: 79; Gershevitch 1969: 218; OnP 8.192; ASN 54-55; Kornfeld 1978: 101; Millard 1978: 24; Dandamayev 1992: 50; Lozachmeur 1998: 149), Av. *bayō.dāta-*, MP and Parth. Bgdt (Gignoux 1972: 20 and 49), Gk. Βαγαδάτης (IN 57). Cf. the hybrid name *Ildāta- (5.2.1.5).

– Aramaic: Bgdt[93]: ATNS 99:3; PEQ 110 23-24 and Pl.4; Semitica 48 148:1; TAD A 4.6:10; TAD B 2.1:18, 4.3:24; TAD D 19.1a:2, 19.1b:2.
– Babylonian:
  1) Ba-ag-da-tu$_4$: Dar. 253:13.
  2) Ba-ga-'-da-a-ta: BE 9 18:2,3.
  3) Ba-ga-'-da-a-ta-': BE 10 9:1,9,13,17.

[93] This name can also be read Bgrt (Zadok 1986: 41), a rendering of *Bagarāta-. Yet this seems less probable.

  4) Ba-ga-'-da-a-ti: BE 9 65:3.
  5) Ba-ga-'-da-a-tú: BE 9 74:7; BE 10 66:3,9, 111:12,L.E.; EE 36:4, 47:5, 109:6 ([B]a-°); IMT 43:2; PBS 2/1 51:4, 77:9, 84:R.E., 97:3, 122:3, 158:25,Lo.E., 192:7,19,U.E.
  6) Ba-ga-'-da-at-ta-': IMT 44:6,13,16.
  7) Ba-ga-'-da-ta-': PBS 2/1 84:13.
  8) Ba-ga-da-a-ti: OLA 65 9:10.
  9) Ba-ga-da-a-tú: IMT 100:2; TCL 13 193:32.
  10) Ba-ga-da-a-tu$_4$: PBS 2/1 13:4.
  11) Ba-ga-da-du: CT 44 81:5; Strassmaier 8e Congrès 31:15; VAT 15608:6',R.E. (cf. Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.31).
  12) Bag-da-da: BM 54189:14,16 (cf. Zadok 1997: A no.4).
  13) Ba-ge-da-a-tú: IMT 42:3,6,Lo.E.
– Elamite:
  1) Ba-ak-da-ad-da: PF 777:4-5, 831:4-5; PFNN 2121:3.
  2) Ba-ak-da-ud-da: PF 1017:2; PFNN 833:4-5.
  3) Ba-ik-da-ud-da: PF 1410:5-6; PFNN 1222:4-5.
  4) Ba-ka$_4$-da-ad: PFNN 2149:3, 2580:3.
  5) Ba-ka$_4$-da-ad-da: PF 159:5-6, 160:5-6 (Ba-ka$_4$-da-ad-<<ad>>-da), 495:5, 732:3-4, 1140:2,6, 1179:5-6, 1810:1, 2079:6; PFNN 540:3, etc. in PFNN; PT 36:2-3, 44:2-3.
  6) Ba-ka$_4$-da-da: PF 307:2-3, 800-802:2, 980:4, etc. in PFT; PFNN 351:6, 515:2, 2493:4, etc. in PFNN.
  7) Ba-ka$_4$-da-ud-da: PF 1196:2, 1298:2, 1392:3, 1396:6-7, 1536:2, 1599:2, 1754-1756:6-7; PFNN 335:6-7, 337:7-8, 829:6-7, 885:3.

4.2.247 *Bagadātā- (fem.): *Baga-dātā-, "she who is given by Baga".

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-da-ud-da: PFNN 541:29.

4.2.248 *Bagadauça- (OP): *Baga-dauça-, "sacrifice for God" (Schmitt 1973: 16-17; ASN 55), cf. OInd. Deva-hotra-.

Benveniste (1966: 79) reconstructs *Baga-zauša-, "zestfulness of Baga", with reference to Av. *zaoša-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.194) remains undecisive.

– Elamite:
  1) Ba-ka$_4$-da-u-šá: PF 416:2.
  2) Ba-ka$_4$-tam$_5$-šá: PF 447:4.

4.2.249 *Bagadautā: nom. sg. of *Baga-dautar-, "he who sacrifices to God" (Benveniste 1966: 79; ASN 55).

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-da-ú-da: PT Teh. 1957-1:7,17.

4.2.250 *Bagadāyuš: *Baga-dāyu-š, "cherishing Baga" (ASN 55).

Gershevitch (1969: 218), Mayrhofer (OnP 8.195) and Schmitt (1973b: 147n.54) reconstruct *Baga-dahyu-, but cannot give a plausible meaning to this name.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-da-a-ia-ú-iš: Fort. 6576:3.

4.2.251 *Bagadušta- (OP): OP equivalent of *Bagazušta- (4.2.310; Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.196; ASN 55).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ak-du-iš-da: PF 83:7-8.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-du-iš-da: PF 8:3-4, 12:2-3, 13:4-5, 55:4-5, 73:3-4, etc. in PFT; PFNN 351:1, 719:7-8, 768:10-11, 1478:3-4, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.252 *Bagafarnā (nom.): *Baga-farnā, "God's glory" (Aimé-Giron 1931: 27; Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.207; ASN 56; Kornfeld 1978: 102; Schmitt 2006: 166-167), Sogd. Bγyfrn (Weber 1972: 196).
Aimé-Giron (1931: 103) reads in one case (TAD D 19.1b) Bgrmn and explains this as *Baga-ramnā, "delight of Baga". Kornfeld (1978: 103) accepts the reading, but considers the name to be unclear.
– Aramaic: Bgprn: Pers 22:2 (Bgpr[n]); TAD A 5.2:6, 6.7:4, 6.9:1; TAD C 3.8 iii b 16,30, 3.15:136, 4.2:fragm. d:1, fragm. e:1; TAD D 19.1b:1.
– Elamite:
1) [B]a-ka$_4$-ba-ra-[na]: PFNN 362:8-9.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-bar-na: JNES 53 272:3; PF 68:4, 156:4, 1311:2, 1390:3, etc. in PF; PFNN 537:4, 548:1, 704:15, etc. in PFNN.
3) Ba-ka$_4$-pa-ir-na: Fort. 1680:4-5.

4.2.253 *Bagafarnaya-: *Baga-farna-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Baga-farnā (J.D. Ray, pers. comm. 22/10/1999; Vittmann 2004: 166).
– Demotic: Pgprny: DO Saqqâra 1:7-8 (cf. Ray 1987: 89).

4.2.254 *Bagafradāta-: *Baga-fradāta-, "furthered by Baga" (Zadok 2000: no.1).
According to Stolper (2001: 112) *Baga-fradāta- is improbable, because it is "otherwise unattested". The name *Vātafradāta- (4.2.1823), however, supports this reconstruction.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-ʾ-par-da-a-tú: JCS 53 110 no.10:6,8.

4.2.255 *Bagafravartiš: "he who has chosen Baga" (NW 107; ASN 56).
Benveniste (1966: 79) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.209) read El. °-pír-ru- (without -ir-ti-[iš]), i.e. *Bagafru- of *Bagafrava-.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-pír-ru-ir-ti-[iš]: PF 1957:21.

4.2.256 *Bagāgaya-: *Bagā-gaya-, "obtaining life through Baga" (Schmitt, apud Kornfeld 1978b: 198), cf. Av. Gaiia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/51).
The readings Bdʾš[mn] (Derenbourg & Derenbourg 1886: 84), Bgbgʾ (CIS 2/1 125; Shaked, in TAD D: lxiv), Bšgy (Lidzbarski 1909: 108), Bgmgy (Kornfeld, l.c.) are untenable (cf. the photograph of the inscription [ibid. fig.8]).
– Aramaic: Bgʾgy: TAD D 22.12:1.

4.2.257 *Bagā(h)uvīra-: *Bagā-(h)u-vīra, "a good man through Baga".
All authors (ASN 60; Zadok 1977: 93; Dandamayev 1992: 56) reconstruct *Bagavīra-. The spelling, however, makes it clear that one has to read *Bagā(h)uvīra-.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-ʾ-ú-mi-ir: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:13.

4.2.258 *Bagaiča- / *Bagēča-: *Bag-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (ASN 56).
Other explanations of the Bab. writings are (1) *Bag-īsa-, "Baga the lord" (Eilers 1953: 47n.3), to OInd. *īśá-*, "lord"; (2) *Bag-aiša-, "looking for Baga" (Zadok 1977: 96; Dandamayev 1992: 63).
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-iš-šú: IMT 41:2,5.
2) Ba-ge-e-šú: BE 9 106:2,8,16; EE 34:7,10; IMT 41:L.E.
3) Ba-ge-šú: UET 4 99:1,3,6.

4.2.259 *Bagaina- / *Bagēna-: *Bag-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (Eilers 1954-56: 330; Benveniste 1966: 80; ASN 56-57; Zadok 1977: 94; Kornfeld 1978: 102; Dandamayev 1992: 54).
Gershevitch (1969: 216) and Grelot (1972: 467 and 507) reconstruct *Bag-āyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic. Hinz (ASN 61, only on Ba-ge-nu) and Schmitt (apud OnP 292-293 and 1994: 84-85, on Ba-ga-ʾ-i-na) prefer *Bag-ina-.
– Aramaic: Bgyn: TAD B 3.2:13.
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-ʾ-in: BE 8/1 107:19.
2) Ba-ga-ʾ-i-na-ʾ: BE 9 76:2,3,7.
3) Ba-ga-a-na-ʾ: BE 9 76:Lo.E.
4) Ba-ge-en-na-ʾ: BE 10 70:17.
5) Ba-ge-nu: VS 3 138:13 (= BM 42383:13 = VS 3 139:12).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ge-na: PF 962:6, 1561:3, 1962:11, 1972:7, 1991:12, 2012:11, 2076:4; PFNN 461:2, 757:57, 2372:25, etc. in PFNN.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-a-na: PFNN 381:3-4.

4.2.260 *Bagaka-: *Baga-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (Gershevitch 1969: 215; OnP 8.199; ASN 57).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 511:3-4, 719:5, 1759:5.

4.2.261 *Bagakāma-: *Baga-kāma-, "following Baga's wish" (Zadok 1976b: 77; Dandamayev 1992: 55).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-a-ka-mu: Giessen 47:12.

4.2.262 *Bagakāna-: *Baga-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Baga-ka- (Stolper 1989b: 287).
– Babylonian: Pa-ga-ka-an-na[94]: JNES 48 284:2.

[94] Inaccurate spelling, which cannot be emendated to Ba-ga-ka-an-na.

4.2.263 *Bagāma-: *Baga-ama-, "strong through Baga" (Zadok 1995: 158).
Hinz & Koch (EIW 143) read *Baga-va-, which, however, is less probable.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-am-ma-': JAOS 114 627:16.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 1681:7.

4.2.264 *Bagamihra-: younger form of *Baga-miθra-, a dvandva-compound (Eilers 1936: 175n.; ASN 57, erroneously translating "Gottesfreund"; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 55). Eilers reconstructs *Bagamih^r, which explains the missing *-r-* in the spellings.
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-'-mi-ḫa-': BE 9 50:8,R.
2) Ba-ga-'-miḫ-': BE 9 23:22.
3) Ba-ga-mi-ḫi-': BE 9 50:1,10.

4.2.265 *Bagamiša-: *Bagam-iša-, "looking for Baga" (ASN 57; Zadok 1977: 95; Dandamayev 1992: 57).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-mi-šú: VS 5 118:21.

4.2.266 *Bagamkāma-: *Bagam-kāma-, "having Baga as desire, wishing Baga" (Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.203; ASN 57).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-an-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1054:2-3, 1857:8, 1948:65,67, 2079:8; PFNN 759:7, 1371:7-8, 2172:3-4, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.267 *Bagāmṛždya-: *Bagā-mṛžd-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Baga-mṛžda-, "forgiving through Baga" (Aimé-Giron 1939: 45; ASN 303; Kornfeld 1978: 102).
– Aramaic: Bgmrzdy: TAD D 14.4:1.

4.2.268 *Bagamsaka-: *Bagam-saka-, "remembering Baga" (Benveniste 1966: 79; Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.204; ASN 57). Cf. 4.2.282.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-an-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PF 784:4-5, 837:2-3, 1378:3-4, 1966:2; PFNN 576:7, 1033:3-4 (°-[ak-ka$_4$]).
2) Ba-ka$_4$-an-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1688:3-4.

4.2.269 *Bagāna-: *Baga-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (Naveh 1979: 186).
– Aramaic: Bgn: Tel Aviv 6 186 no.34:4, 190 no.43:4, 191 no.46:1.

4.2.270 *Bagānika-: *Baga-ān-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of an *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-nu-ka$_4$: PFNN 1270:2.

4.2.271 *Bagapā-: *Baga-pā-, "Baga protects, having Baga as protector" (Zadok 1977: 138). This name is related to *Bagapāna- in the same way as **xšaθrapā-* is related to **xšaθrapāna-*.
Dandamayev (1992: 58) identifies this name with *Bagapāna-.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-a-pa-': JCS 28 36 no.22:7,14.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba: PFNN 2224:1-2.

4.2.272 *Bagapāça- (OP): *Baga-pāça-, "having protection from Baga, Baga's protection" (Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.189; ASN 57).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-áš-šá: PF 203:3-4, 2001:10-11 (°-ba-á[š]-šá); PFNN 524:4-5.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-šá: PF 1696:3; PFNN 579:4-5, 2277:13, 2318:3.

4.2.273 *Bagapāka-: *Baga-pā-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Baga-pā- (Zadok 1986: 41).
According to Schmitt (1987: 151) Bgpk renders a two-stem hypocoristic: *Baga-p-aka-.
– Aramaic: Bgpk: ATNS 63:3.

4.2.274 *Bagapāna-: *Baga-pāna-, "having Baga as protection" (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 51; Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.188 and 8.232; ASN 57; Zadok 1977: 92 and n.13; Dandamayev 1992: 58).
– Aramaic: Bgpn: TAD B 8.4:1.
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-'-pa-na: BM 79541:5' (reference: C. Waerzeggers).
2) Ba-ga-a-pa-na: Camb. 316:3,7,11.
3) Ba-ga-pa-nu: BE 9 54:2.
4) Ba-ga-pa-nu-u: CTMMA 3 117:rev.3.
5) Ba-ga-pi-an-na: AOAT 281 885-886:30.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-na: PF 58:8, 336-37:3, 997:2, passim in PFT; PFa 13:8-9; PFNN 366:3, 570:5-6, passim in PFNN.
2) Ba-ku-ba-na[95]: PF 615:3, 1289:2.

4.2.275 *Bagapāta-: *Baga-pāta-, "protected by God" (IN 57; Aimé-Giron 1931: 17; Benveniste 1958b: 51 and 1966: 79; Schmitt 1971: 10-11, 1982c: 381, 1982d: IV/23 and 2006: 156; OnP 8.185; ASN 58; Zadok 1977: 94 and n.29; Kornfeld 1977: 127 and 1978: 103; Dandamayev 1992: 59), Gk. Βαγαπάτης and Μεγαβάτης.
– Aramaic: Bgpt: ATNS 54:11; Pers 20:4, 24:5, 25:3, 30:5, 32:4, 36:2, 39:4, 41:3, 43:5, 45:4, 47:4, 51:4, etc. in Pers; TAD C 3.8 iii a 4,7,9.
– Babylonian:
1) Bag-'-a-pa-a-tu$_4$[96]: HSM 8414:4,6.

[95] Hinz (ASN 56) considers this writing to be a reflection of *Baga-u-pāna-, "Baga's good protection", but rather /u/ < /a/ before a labial is attested here.

[96] Zadok (1995: 442 and 1997: A no.5) reads ^{md}Ḫu-'-a-pa-a-tu$_4$, in which he recognizes Ir. *Huua-pati, "sovereign" (OInd. *svapati-*, Av. *x^{v}aēpaiθiia-*). Yet such a reading does not comply with the determinative for "god". It is thus better to read ^{md}Bag-'-a-pa-tu$_4$ (Tavernier 2004).

2) Ba-ga-'-pa-a-tú: BE 10 53:25,Lo.E., 70:7; BM 17032 (cf. Zadok 1997-98: 297); PBS 2/1 135:25, 137:16 ([Ba-g]a-'-pa-a-tú); TuM 2/3 190:15,R.E., 191:17.
3) Ba-ga-'-pa-da: Hebraica 8 134:6.
4) Ba-ga-pa-a-ta: Dar. 301:17; PBS 2/1 4:17.
5) Ba-ga-pa-a-tu$_4$: PBS 2/1 16:17.
6) Ba-ga-pa-da: AfO 19 78 Amherst 253:20.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-ad-da: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:13-4 (Ba-[ka$_4$]-ba-ad-da), 113-114:5-6; PF 53:5, 144:3, 215:3-4 (Ba-ka$_4$-ba-ad-<<ud>>-da), 444:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 54:2-3, 770:5, etc. in PFNN; PT 58:13-14, 68:16.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-da: PF 3:2-3, 30:6, 94:10, 375:3, 695:3, etc. in PFT; PFa 29:56; PFNN 326:7, 582:2, etc. in PFNN; PT 8:5-6.
3) Ba-ka$_4$-ba-ud-da: PF 300:2, 306:6, 508:3-4, 509:3, 1256:6, 1272:2, 1600:4-5, 1957:2; PFNN 414:5, 522:34, 668:2-3, 1245:3-4, 1553:16, 2307:2, 2337:7,19.

– Lycian: Magabata-[97]: DÖAW 135 310:2.

4.2.276 *Bagapātāta-: *Baga-pāta-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Bagapāta- (ASN 58).

The theories of Gershevitch (1970: 89: *Baga-pā-dāta- < *Baga-pāta-dāta- by haplology) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.186: error for *Baga-pāta-) are not convincing.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ba-da-da: PF 206:2-3, 1385:3.

4.2.277 *Bagapitā: nom. sg. of *Baga-pitar-, "God / Baga is (my) father", with intervocalic *t* > *d* (Zadok 2004: 111).

– Babylonian: Ba-ga-pi-du: JEOL 34 45:1,7.

4.2.278 *Bagārāsta-: *Bagā-rāsta-, "sincere through Baga" (ASN 58).

Gershevitch (1969: 217) has two options: *Bagarašta-, "directed by Baga", or *Baga-rāšta-, "true to Baga". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.212) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ra-iš-da: PFNN 577:2.

4.2.279 *Bagaratuš: *Baga-ratu-š, "Baga's assistant priest".

Schmitt (apud OnP 8.211) translates "knowing Baga's judgements", to Av. *ratu-*, but Hinz (ASN 56) does not agree with this. In his view *Baga-ratu- may only mean "judge through Baga", which is, however, a title used only for Zarathustra (Hinz 1960). Consequently Hinz reads *Bagaxratu-, "having Baga's wisdom". This is not correct either. Firstly Av. *ratu-* has various meanings (AiW 1498-1502) and is used not only with regard to Zarathustra. Secondly *Bagaxratu- would appear in Elamite as Ba-ka$_4$-kur-ra(d)-(ad)-du-iš.

– Elamite:

[97] At first sight the Lycian spelling cannot render *Bagapāta- because of the initial *m-*. Yet the existence of an *m*/*b*-alternation in Lycian (Neumann 1962: 203-204; Schmitt 1982c: 381) solves this problem. Consequently the Lycian form is the transition between the original form *Bagapāta- and Gk. Μεγαβάτης.

1) Ba-ka$_4$-ra-ad-du-iš: PF 790:3, 1236:3.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-rad-du-iš: PF 1007:3-4, 1092:3-4; PFNN 439:5, 1313:4, 1341:3, 1576:2-3, 2102:3-4, 2112:4, 2145:2-3, etc. in PFNN.
3) Ba-ka$_4$-rid-du-iš: PFNN 1238:3, 2497:3.

4.2.280 *Bagaraučā: nom. sg. of *Baga-raučah-, "light of Baga" (Hüsing, apud Peiser 1896: 305 n.**; Zadok 1977: 94; Dandamayev 1992: 60).

– Babylonian: Ba-ga-ru-uš: Dar. 82:5.

4.2.281 *Bagarēvastă-: < *Baga-raivastă-; "having Baga's opulence", thematization of *Baga-raivantā- (Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.213; ASN 58).

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-re-ma-iš-da: PFNN 231:3-4.

4.2.282 *Bagasaka-: *Baga-saka-, "remembering Baga" (OnP 8.214; ASN 58), actually the same name as *Bagamsaka- (4.2.268), with the only difference that *Bagamsaka- contains an accusative ending *-m*. Cf. Gk. Βαγασάκης.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PF 2079:7; PFNN 9:4, 877:3-4, 2509:3-4.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 1556:2.

4.2.283 *Bagaspāda-: *Baga-spāda-, "with Baga's army" (Benveniste 1966: 79; OnP 8.215; ASN 58), OInd. Deva-sena- (SED 495; EWAi II 746). Cf. 4.2.1501.

Other reconstructions: (1) *Baga-zbāta-, "called by Baga" (Benveniste, l.c.), to Av. *zbā-*, "to call"; (2) *Baga-spāta-, "united with Baga" (Périkhanian 1970: 349n.3; NW 48) and (3) *Baga-zbātā, "he who invokes Baga" (Schmitt 1972c: 342-343), to Av. *zbātar-*, "invoker". Schmitt does not believe in *Bagaspāda- and other combinations of names of deities and **spāda-*, because the Aryan texts do not contain evidence for host of heaven.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-áš-ba-da: PF 1717:2; PFNN 1376:2.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-áš-ba-du: PFNN 391:6.
3) Ba-ka$_4$-iš-ba-da: PF 968:1-2 (°-iš-ba-[da]); PFNN 632:2-3, 2545:1-2.

4.2.284 *Bagasravā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Baga-sravah-, "Baga's fame" (Driver 1965: 62; ASN 58-59; Zadok 1976b: 77; Kornfeld 1978: 102; Dandamayev 1992: 60; Schmitt 1994: 85).

– Aramaic: Bgsrw: TAD A 6.8:4, 6.9:6, 6.12:1.

– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ag-sa-ru-ú: Dar. 105:2,4,5.
2) Ba-ak-ka-su-ru-ú: Dar. 527:4.

3) Ba-ga-ʾ-sa-ru-ú: Dar. 296:2; VS 6 302:6 (Ba-ga-ʾ-sa-ru-[ú]).
4) Ba-ga-ʾ-si-ru-ú: Hebraica 8 134:11.
5) Ba-ga-sa-ru-ú: Dar. 534:3, 542:2,6,7; OECT 10 151:7.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-šir$_8$-ru-ma: PFNN 2184:17,18.

4.2.285 *Bagāšta-: *Bag-āšta-, "Baga's messenger".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 143) propose *Bagastā-.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-iš-da: PFNN 2341:29.

4.2.286 *Bagāta-: *Baga-āta, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (ASN 59).

According to Schmitt (1973: 16) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.191) it is a two-stem hypocoristic *Baga-d-a-. The Reiner-test, however, postulates a name with *-t-* because of ud-da.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-da: PF 1990:16.
2) Ba-[k]a$_4$-ud-da: PF 767:2.

4.2.287 *Bagātaumāna-: *Bagā-tauma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of Baga-tauma-, "strong through Baga".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 144) read *Bagatahmāna-.

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-tam$_5$-ma-na: PFNN 2257:5.

4.2.288 *Bagātvana- (OPs): *Bagā-tvana-, "capable through Baga".

Gershevitch (1969b: 193) mentions a spelling Ba-ka$_4$-ad-ma-na, which he explains as *Baga-advăna-, "whose path is Baga's". Yet this spelling is attested nowhere in the El. texts and the subsequent studies on this spelling are therefore outdated (cf. OnP 8.219 and ASN 55).

– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ut-ma-na: PFNN 1221:3.

4.2.289 *Bagauka- / *Bagōka-: *Bag-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (ASN 59).

Not *Baga-ka- (Benveniste 1966: 80), *Bagă-va(h)u-ka- (Gershevitch 1969: 215) or *Bag-uka- (Grantovskij 1970: 297; Schmitt, apud OnP 293).

– Elamite:
1) Ba-kam-ka$_4$: PF 1589:2.
2) Ba-kam-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1946:27.
3) Ba-ka$_4$-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 1484:14,17,20,35.
4) Ba-ku-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1264:2-3.
5) Pa-ku-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 260:1.

4.2.290 *Bagāupama- / *Bagōpama-: *Bagā-upama-, "superior through Baga, the highest through Baga" (NW 107; ASN 59).

Alternative proposals are (1) *Bagabāma- (Benveniste 1966: 80), (2) *Bagapāva- (ibid.) and (3) *Baga-hu-bāma-, "deriving good lustre from Baga" (Gershevitch 1970: 86). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.233) remains undecisive.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-kam-ba-ma: PFNN 2261:33.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-u-ba-ma: PFNN 284:3-4.

3) Ba-ka$_4$-uk-ba-ma: PF 1770:5-6.
4) Ba-ku-ba-ma: PF 803:5, 1943:15.
5) Ba-ku-ib-ba-ma: PF 1244:3, 1268:3,8, 1668-1669:2-3.

4.2.291 *Bagāuparšā: nom. sg. of *Bagā-upa-ṛšan-, "being a second hero (lit. "by-hero") through Baga" (ASN 59).

Gershevitch (1969b: 192-193) reads *Baga-hambarza-, "due to receive Baga as guest", while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.202) is convinced that the name starts with *Bagam-. The latter would, however, be written Ba-ka$_4$-am-°. Hinz (ASN 59) offers two other, but less plausible readings: *Baga-hu-barza-, "Baga-good height" and *Baga-hu-parša-, "Baga-good-ear".

– Elamite: Ba-kam-bar-šá: PF 2080:15.

4.2.292 *Bagāvahišta-: *Bagā-vahišta-, "the best through Baga" (Zadok 1991: 39).

The reading Bgwšt (TAD) is not correct.

– Aramaic: Bgwhšt: TAD C 3.8 iii b 9.

4.2.293 *Bagāvahuš: *Bagā-vahu-š, "good through Baga" (Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.222; ASN 59).

Benveniste (1966: 80) proposes *Baga(h)uvi-.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-ú-iš: PF 1372:2; PFNN 490:2, 1186:5.
2) Ba-ka$_4$-u-ú-iš: PF 908:2-3, 1827:1.

4.2.294 *Bagāvahyā: nom. sg. of *Bagā-vahyah-, "better through Baga" (Eilers 1954-56: 327-328; Grelot 1972: 467 and 507; ASN 59-60; Kornfeld 1978: 101-102), Gk. Βαγόας (Huyse 1990: 39), Βαγώας (IN 59-60).

Schmitt (1970: 16) considers the Elamite spelling as the denotation of *Bagā-vanya-, "victorious through Baga". Nevertheless it is more plausible to connect the El. spelling with Ar. Bgwhy.

– Aramaic: Bgwhy: TAD A 4.7:1, 4.9:1.
– Elamite: Ba-ku-man-ia: PF 131:1-2, 284:8; PFNN 641:5, 1507:1.

4.2.295 *Bagavanra-: *Bagavan-ra-, "adherent of Baga", *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Baga-van- (ASN 60), parallel of Av. *aṣauuan-*, "adherent of truth".

Gershevitch (1970: 88) reconstructs *Baga-(h)vanra-, "pleasing Baga", to Av. *x^{v}andra-*.

– Elamite: Ba-ku-un-ra: PFNN 1209:7.

4.2.296 *Bagavanta-: *Bagavanta-, "the happy one" (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 216; OnP 8.240; ASN 60; Zadok 1976b: 67 and n.60; Dandamayev 1992: 65).

– Aramaic: Bgwnt: Shaked 2004: 55 (Doc. A4:1) and 56 (Doc. A6:1).
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-ʾ-un-du: BM 79541:5' (reference C. Waerzeggers).

2) Ba-ga-un-du: BM 79541:1' (reference C. Waerzeggers).
3) Ba-gu-un-du: YOS 7 99:9.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ku-man-da: PFNN 2371:35.
2) Ba-ku-un-da: PF 1816:7, 1817:7 (°-man-d[a]), 1818:6; PFNN 349:5, 495:5-6, 580:3-4, 896:2-3,9-10, 1329:2, 2341:33-34, 2371:35, 2486:22.

4.2.297 *Bagavara-: *Baga-v-ara-, two-stem hypocoristic.
– Aramaic: Bgwr: TAD C 3.12:25.

4.2.298 *Bagavarda- (OP): *Baga-varda-, "Baga's labourer" (Benveniste 1966: 80; ASN 60).
– Elamite: Ba-ku-mar-da: PF 10:1-2, 325:7-8.

4.2.299 *Bagavardāna- (OP): *Baga-varda-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Bagavarda.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.238) pleads for a genitive (with *-na-*) of *Bagavarda-, but as all names attested in that part of the text are nominative, this one too will probably be a nominative (Hinz, ASN 60). Hinz connects the name with Av. *vərəzana-*, "community" and does not believe in a patronymic because TAN should be rendering a short *a*. This is not necessarily true: the length of the vowels was not indicated in El. cuneiform.
– Elamite: Ba-ku-mar-tan-na: PF 1988:8.

4.2.300 *Bagavarniš: *Baga-varn-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Baga-varna-, "he who believes in Baga" (OnP 8.239).
With regard to the meaning Benveniste (1966: 80) is correct, but his reading (*Bagavṛnu-) is not. Hinz's solution (ASN 61), *Bagavṛnya-, "Baga's offshoot" (Av. *vərəna-*) is less probable.
– Elamite: Ba-ku-mar-nu-iš: PF 167:4-5.

4.2.301 *Bagavarθa-: "having Baga as defense, shield" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; OnP 8.244; ASN 60[98]).
– Elamite: Ba-ku-ur-sa: PFNN 751:3.

4.2.302 *Bagavauš (OPs): *Baga-vau-š, OPs equivalent of *Bagavahuš.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-u-iš: PF 1116:2-3, 1117:3, 1118:2-3 (Ba-[k]a$_4$-°), 9-10.

4.2.303 *Bagavīra-: *Baga-vīra-, "man of God" (Nöldeke, apud Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 51; Scheftelowitz 1903: 166; Eilers 1936: 184; Benveniste 1958b: 53 and 1966: 79; OnP 8.200; ASN 60; Zadok 1977: 95; Dandamayev 1992: 56).
– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-'-a-mi-[ri]: CT 22 244:14.
2) Ba-ga-'-a-mir-ri: BE 9 106:4,9,16; BE 10 50:5,R; PBS 2/1 192:3,12.

[98] According to Hinz the name was pronounced /Bagavṛθa/.

3) Ba-ga-'-mi-i-ri: BE 9 48:1,13,14,16,17,19,34,37 (= TuM 2/3 144:1, etc.).
4) Ba-ga-me-ri-': IMT 41:2,5,Le.E.
5) Ba-ḫa-me-i-ri[99]: OECT 10 191:2.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ka$_4$-mi-ra: PF 1286-1288:2; PFa 10:2 ([Ba]-°), 29:60; PFNN 108:2, 271:2, 445:2, 739:2, 839:2, 980:2, 1462:5.
2) Ba-ku-mi-ra: PF 336-337:2, 340:2, 766:2, 1038:2; PFNN 318:2, 366:2, 650:2, 1213:2.

4.2.304 *Bagavrāda- (OP): *Baga-vrāda-, "he who enjoys Baga" (Benveniste 1958b: 54-55; ASN 60).
The spelling Ba-ku-rat-sa renders another name, *Bagōrvāθā- (cf. 4.2.314), despite Hinz's assumption that this is not the case (ASN 60).
– Elamite: Ba-ku-ra-da: PT 42:5, 60:5.

4.2.305 *Bagaxaya-: *Baga-x-aya-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Bagaxraθ/tuš (Schmitt 1972: 75-76; OnP 8.198; ASN 56; Dandamayev 1992: 53).
Benveniste (1958b: 52; also Hallock 1969: 672) reads *Bagagaya-, "he who holds his life from Baga". Gershevitch (1969: 215) prefers *Baga-xaya-, "Baga's partner". The El. writing is read *Bagāgaya-, "having life through God", by Schmitt (apud Kornfeld 1978b: 198n.56).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-ḫa-a-a: JAOS 114 627:14; OECT 10 192:4,7,14.
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-ke-ia: PF 69:7-8, 473:3-4, 591:5-6 (B[a-g]a-ke-ia), 592:5-6, 1320:3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 1480:2-3, etc. in PFNN; PT 4:14, 1957-5:16-17.

4.2.306 *Bagaya-: *Baga-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (OnP 8.227; ASN 61; Huyse 1992: 293; Schmitt 2002: 50; Vittmann 2004: 165), Gk. Βαγαιος (IN 57).
The various spellings do not make a distinction between *Bagaya- and *Bagiya-. Gershevitch's translation "longing for god" (1969: 218) is not correct.
– Demotic: Bgy: S.H5-174:obv.1 (cf. Huyse 1992: 293n.59); S.H5-202:2 (cf. Huyse 1992: 292-293).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ge-ia: OGWA 321-322:27; PF 823:1-2, 1146:4, 1377:5.
2) Ba-ke-ia: PFNN 2206:13.

4.2.307 *Bagayāsa-: *Baga-yāsa-, "he who implores Baga" (Gershevitch 1969: 218; ASN 61).
Benveniste (1966: 80) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.228) reconstruct *Bagayāza-.
– Elamite: Ba-ge-ia-šá: PF 129:2-3.

[99] Exceptional and inaccurate spelling (with ḪA = /ga/; cf. Stolper 1994: 622).

4.2.308 *Bagayāza-: *Baga-yāza-, name of a child which is born on the feast named Bagayāza- (Eilers 1953: 52). The literal meaning of the name is "Baga-worship" (ASN 61; Zadok 1976b: 67n.62; Dandamayev 1992: 54). Cf. also Scheftelowitz (1903: 166).

Hinz & Koch (ElW 119) read the El. spelling as *Baga-ya-ča-.

– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-ia-a-zu: PBS 2/1 67:5 ([Ba-ga]-ia-a-zu),9.
2) Ba-ge-ʾ-a-zu: BE 10 100:8 (°-[a]-ʳzuˀ),U.E.; YOS 6 169:20 (= YOS 6 231:24).
3) Ba-ge-ia-a-zu: BE 9 11:1,3,6,7,10 (erroneously written Ba-ge-ia-a-nu).

– Elamite: Ba-ge-ia-za: PFNN 2357:15.

4.2.309 *Bagazauša- (Med.): *Baga-zauša-, "Baga's satisfaction" (Schmitt 1987: 151).

– Aramaic: Bgzwš: ATNS 11:6 (reading: Zadok 1986: 41).

4.2.310 *Bagazušta- (Med.): *Baga-zušta-, "loved by Baga" (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 51; Eilers 1954-56: 332; ASN 61; Zadok 1977: 96 and n.51; Dandamayev 1992: 62), Median equivalent of *Bagadušta- (4.2.251).

– Aramaic:
1) Bgzšt: Pers 18:2 (reading: Bogoljubov 1973: 177); TAD B 3.4:2,10,23,25, 3.12:4,12,31.
2) Bgzwšt: TAD B 3.5:3; TAD C 3.7 Av:4.

– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-ʾ-zu-uš-ta-ʾ: IMT 36:4.
2) Ba-ga-ʾ-zu-uš-tu-ʾ: RA 90 48 no.6:1,11.
3) Ba-ga-ʾ-zu-uš-tú: BE 10 70:R; PBS 2/1 135:L.E.
4) Ba-ga-ʾ-zu-uš-tu$_4$: BE 9 76:11; BE 10 53:24,Lo.E., 70:6; PBS 2/1 16:17, 137:15, 192:U.E.; TuM 2/3 147:25, 190:14, 191:16,U.E.
5) Ba-ga-zu-uš-tú: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:12.
6) Ba-ga-zu-uš-tu$_4$: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:4; EE 39:5'; VAT 15608:R.E. (cf. Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.31).

4.2.311 *Bagērapa-: < *Bagai-rapa-, "whose support is in, rests on, Baga", with *Bagai- as loc. (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.226; ASN 57).

Some scholars (Eilers 1962: 58; Zadok 1976b: 62n.7 and 1977: 98; Dandamayev 1992: 60) consider the two Bab. spellings as renderings of *Baga-rapa-, "supporting Baga".

– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ga-ra-ap-pa: BE 10 15:19. Inaccurate spelling.

2) Ba-ge-ra-ap: BE 10 15:Lo.E.

– Elamite: Ba-ge-ráb-ba: PF 397-398:3, 399-400:4, 401:4-5, 402:4; PFNN 401:4, 402:4-5, 638:4-5, 640:4-5, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.312 *Bagēsa-: < *Baga-isa-, "desiring Baga" (Grantovskij 1970: 316; Zadok 1976b: 77 and 1977: 92; Dandamayev 1992: 63).

– Babylonian: Ba-ge-e-su: YOS 7 149:8.

4.2.313 *Bagiča-: *Bag-iča-, hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Baga- (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.229). Cf. 4.3.23.

According to Hinz (ASN 56) the spellings 1,4-6 render *Bagaiča-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 117) recognize the Iranian character of the spellings 2 and 3.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-gi-iz-za: PF 407:2-3, 649:6, 650:8, 703:7, 864:2, 956:2, 1615:2, 1772:4, 1941:14; PFNN 390:2, 1483:60, etc. in PFNN; PT 4:13.
2) Ba-gi-in-sa: PFNN 2275:12-13, 14.
3) Ba-gi-sa: PFNN 2275:15-16.
4) Ba-gi-za: PFNN 1209:6.
5) Ba-ki-iz-za: PF 1988:12.
6) Ba-ki-za: PF 609:6.

4.2.314 *Bagōrvāθā-: < *Baga-urvāθā-, "enjoying Baga's friendship" (Gershevitch 1969: 227).

Benveniste (1966: 80) identifies this name with *Bagavrāda- (4.2.304). According to Hinz (ASN 60-61) this name must be read *Bagavraða-. It has, however, already been shown that a sequence t-s may render an Ir. /θ/ (cf. 4.2.196 and 4.2.737). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.243) is doubtful of Gershevitch's proposal.

– Elamite: Ba-ku-rat-sa: PF 6:4, 1639:3, 1934:3-4, 2011:3,19; PFNN 380:3.

4.2.315 *Bagupaisa- / *Bagupēsa- (Med.): *Bagu-paisa-, "Baga's ornament" (with /u/ < /a/ before a labial; OnP 8.234).

Gershevitch (1969: 216) reconstructs *Baga-upāiša-, "approaching Baga with prayers", to OInd. *upa-ā-īṣ / upê-*. Hinz (ASN 56), reconstructs *Bagahupaisa-.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ku-ba-a-šá: PF 1327:3-4.
2) Ba-ku-be-iš-šá: PF 448:3, 449:2; PFNN 492:4-5.
3) Ba-ku-be-šá: PF 24:2-3, 388:2-3, 653:2-3; PFNN 1274:2, 1607:2-3.
4) Ba-ku(?)-uk(?)-be-šá: PFNN 765:3-4.

4.2.316 *Bahyaina-: *Bahy-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Bahya-, "quince" (ASN 62).

Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 119) reads *Bahayaina- or *Bahyayāna-, from *Baŋhya-yāna-, "whose favour lies in hemp", to OInd. *bhaṅgă-* and Av. *baŋgha-*, "hemp, cannabis sativa".

– Aramaic: Bhyyn: Pers 48:3, 112:3.

4.2.317 *Bǎliča- (*l*-dialect): either *Bal-iča- or *Bāl-iča-, an *-ič̌a*-extension of *Bala- or *Bāla-, the equivalents of *Bara- and *Bāra- (OnP 301; ElW 132).

– Elamite: Ba-li-iz-za: PF 1594:4-5.

4.2.318 *Bāma-: *Bāma-, "light, lustre".

– Babylonian: Ba-am-ma-[']: OECT 10 192:3.

4.2.319 *Bāmaka-: *Bāma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Bāma- (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 218; OnP 8.247; ASN 62).

Gershevitch (l.c.) also mentions *Pavāka-, "pure" (MP and NP *pāk*).

– Elamite: Ba-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1228:1-2, 2031:3; PFNN 1483:23.

4.2.320 *Bāmuš: *Bāmu-š, "light, lustre" (Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 101 and n.107), contamination of Av. *bāma-* and **bānu-*, both derived from the same stem.

– Babylonian: Ba-am-mu-uš: EE 109:2 (Ba-am-mu-[uš]),4.

4.2.321 *Bāmya-: *Bām-ya- (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.248; ASN 62).

– Elamite: Ba-mi-ia: PF 407:3-4, 1615:3, 1630-1632:3, 1956:26,38; PFNN 552:2-3, 573:21, 1541:2-3, 2197:6,12, 2350:15-16, 2372:31.

4.2.322 *Bandaka-: "servant" (ElW 105).

– Babylonian: Ban-dak-ku: Fs Perrot 173-174 no.1:rev.9'.

– Elamite: Ba-an-da-ka$_4$: PFNN 889:3-4.

4.2.323 *Banduxšaçā- (OP; fem.): *Bandu-xšaçā-, "ruling over her kin" (Gershevitch 1969: 218; OnP 8.1270; ASN 63).

– Elamite: Ban-du-šá-iš-šá: PF 784:3.

4.2.324 *Bangavā: nom. sg. of *Banga-vant-, "possessing hemp" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; ASN 63), thematization of *Banga-vant-, cf. Av. Pouru-baŋgha-, "possessing much hemp" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/71).

Benveniste (1966: 80) considers the El. writing as an erroneous rendering of *Bagamkāma-, but the number of attestations makes this unlikely (ASN 63).

– Elamite: Ba-an-ka$_4$-ma: PF 648:2-3, 1177:2; PFNN 244:2, 385:3.

4.2.325 *Bānuš: *Bānu-š, "beam, light", retrenchment of a *Bānu-name (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.252; ASN 63).

– Elamite: Ba-nu-iš: PF 1452:2-3.

4.2.326 *Bānuya-: *Bānu-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Bānu-name.

According to Lemaire & Lozachmeur (1996: 107) this name is Semitic.

– Aramaic: Bny: Parrot 1961 fig. 256.

4.2.327 *Barātauka-: *Bar-āt-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Bar-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Bar-name.

*Bārātauka-, from **bār-*, "to ride" is also possible. Hinz & Koch (ElW 147) read *Bāratauka-.

– Elamite: Ba-ra-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PFNN 1633:2.

4.2.328 *Baratkāma- (Med.): "he who fulfills wishes" (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 171; Hinz 1971: 262; ASN 64; OnP 8.256).

– Elamite:

1) Ba-rat-ka$_4$-ma: PF 864:5, 866:3, 879:5; PT 1:2, 2-3a:1, 9-10b:1, 11:5, 12-16:1, etc. in PTT.
2) Ba-re-ut-ka$_4$-ma: PF 865:4-5.
3) Bar-ra-at-ka$_4$-ma: PT 10a:1.
4) Bar-rat-ka$_4$-ma: PT 14:1, 21:1.

4.2.329 *Baratvahuš (Med.): *Barat-vahu-š, "carrying the good" (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.255 and 11.2.2.8; ASN 64).

– Elamite:

1) Ba-rad-du-ma-ú-iš: Fort. PF 1819:6-7, 1820:5-6, 2069:6-7; N 3566:6-7.
2) Ba-rad-ma-ú-iš: PF 1813:12.

4.2.330 *Barēna-: < *Bar-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Bar-name (Zadok 1977: 104; Dandamayev 1992: 65).

An alternative possibility is *Bāraina-, from **bār-*, "to ride". As RI can also be read *-re-*, it is better to add El. Ba-re/ri-na to this name and not to consider it a separate name, which is what Hinz & Koch do (ElW 151, reading *Bārina-).

– Babylonian: Ba-re-e-na-[']: PBS 2/1 25:5.

– Elamite: Ba-re-na: PFNN 830:2.

4.2.331 *Bāta-: "wine", retrenchment of a *Bāta-name (Alram 1986: 116 and 117n.462B), Gk. Βᾶτις.

– Aramaic: Bt: Alram 1986 369A.

4.2.332 *Bātadāta-: *Bāta-dāta-, "one giving wine" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 161) or "weingezeugt" (NW 50; ASN 64).

Eilers (l.c.) also mentions *Bāta-rātā-, 'he whose (sacrificial) gift is wine".

– Aramaic: B'tdt: Pers 110:3.

4.2.333 *Baudā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Bauda- / *Bōda-, "fragrant" (Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.299; ASN 65).

– Elamite: Ba-u-da: PF 2038:21.

4.2.334 *Baudēna- / *Bōdēna-: < *Baud-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Baud- (NW 108; ASN 65).

Gershevitch (1969: 223) prefers *Bauθina-, "playful, merry", with reference to Khot. *būs-*, "to play" and Arm. *zbōs-*, "to be cheerful". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.303) reconstructs, based on TIN, *Baud-ina-. A reconstruction *Baud-aina-, however, is better, because TIN was pronounced /ten/ in Elamite, cf. te-en-gi-h versus tin-gi-iš (ASN 65).

– Elamite:

1) Ba-u-tin-na: PFNN 332:2-3.
2) Bu-te-na: Fort. 1869:5-6.

4.2.335 *Bauga-: "releasing" (ASN 65), Gk. Βόγης (IN 70).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.300) reconstructs *Pāyuka-.
– Elamite: Ba-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 1316:5, 1395:8, 1426:7-8, etc. in PFNN; PT 1:9, 1963-19:4.

4.2.336 *Baujana-: *Baujana-, "benefit", retrenched name, Parth. Bwzn(y) (Schmitt 1998: 184).
Zadok (1985: 174) believes in an *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenched name containing *Bauja-.
– Aramaic: Bzn: TAD B 5.6:4.

4.2.337 *Baujaya-: *Bauja-ya-, *-iya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Bauja-name (Gershevitch 1969: 225; OnP 8.304; ASN 66).
– Aramaic: Bwzy: TAD C 4.7:4.
– Elamite: Ba-u-zí-ia: PF 1625:4-5.

4.2.338 *Bauraka- / *Bōraka-: *Baura-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Baura-, "reddish brown" (Gershevitch 1969: 218; ASN 66).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.301) considers it a retrenchment of *Baur-aspa-, Gk. Βόρασπος (IN 70; Zgusta 1955: 86).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-u-ra-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1892:5.
2) Bu-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1946:63; PFNN 2487:20.

4.2.339 *Bauriš: *-i*-patronymic (*Bauriš) of *Baura- or contracted form (*Baurīš) of *Bauriya-, "red-haired" (Tavernier 2002b: 149).
– Elamite: Ba(?)-u(?)-ri-iš: PFNN 1209:2.

4.2.340 *Baušēka-: < *Bauša-ya-ka-, "rescue, salvation" (OnP 8.302; ASN 66).
Gershevitch (1970: 89) has another opinion: *Paušiyaka-, "knowing prosperity" (OInd. *poṣya*-, "prosperous, flourishing").
– Elamite: Ba-u-še-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:51.

4.2.341 *Bauxšavīra- / *Bōxšavīra-: *Bauxša-vīra-, "he who releases the men" (OnP 8.306; NW 108; ASN 65).
Benveniste (1966: 81) reads *Buxšavīra-.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-u-uk-šá-mi-ra: PF 1786:2.
2) Bu-ik-ši-ra[100]: PF 1787:3.
3) Bu-uk-šá-mi-ra: PFa 26:3, 29:48.

4.2.342 *Baxša-: "dispenser", retrenchment of a *Baxš-name (Gershevitch 1969: 217; OnP 8.231; ASN 62).
– Elamite: Ba-ak-šá: PF 1101:3, 2032:2; PFNN 521:3,41.

4.2.343 *Baxta-: retrenchment of e.g. Av. *bayō.baxta*-, "destined by the gods" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; OnP 8.223; ASN 62).

[100] Inaccurate spelling; or is this the only attestation of a contraction /avī/ > /ī/?

– Elamite: Ba-ak-da: PFNN 996:4.

4.2.344 *Bayaçā- (OP)/ *Bēça: *Baya-çā-, "protecting from fear", Gk. Βήσσος.
Dandamayev (1992: 66-67) prefers Ir. *Baisa-, with reference to Sogd. Bysh (Livšic & Škoda 1982: 136n.4). According to Zadok (1989-90: 274) the spelling renders Eg. Bś.
– Aramaic: Bys: Shaked 2004: 17.
– Babylonian: Bé-e-su: PBS 2/1 226:13; TuM 2/3 187:10,L.E.

4.2.345 *Bāzu- (Med.): retrenchment of a *Bāzu-name or *-va*-extension of *Bāzu- (Eilers 1954-56: 332; ASN 66; Schmitt 1975: 179; Kornfeld 1978: 103).
– Aramaic: Bzw: TAD B 3.4:2.

4.2.346 *Bāzubaga-: *Bāzu-baga-, "Baga's arm" (Tavernier, apud BPPE 329).
– Babylonian: Ba-az-ba-ka: BPPE 69:4.

4.2.347 *Bīmēna-: < *Bīm-aina-, an *-aina*-extension of *Bīm-, "frightening" (Koch, apud ASN 67; Mayrhofer 1974-77: 183), OInd. Bhīmá- (SED 758).
Hinz (apud OnP 8.1311; also Zadok 1984: 28, 34 and 74) prefers an El. name.
– Elamite: Pi-me-na: PF 302:3-4.

4.2.348 *Bīza-: "seed, semen".
– Elamite: Pi-iz-za: PFa 30:24.

4.2.349 *Bīzuka-: *Bīz-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Bīza- (ASN 67).
Gershevitch (1969b: 193) reads *Piθ-uka-, "the fleshy", but SU never renders /θu/ (OnP 8.1356; ASN 67).
– Elamite: Pi-su-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1330:9, 1708:3-4.

4.2.350 *Bōda-: < *Bauda-, "odoriferous" (OnP 8.1363; ASN 65).
Gershevitch's (1969: 222) connection of this name with the Av. family name Puδa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/72) is not very credible.
– Elamite: Bu-da: PF 70:2.

4.2.351 *Bōdaka-: < *Baudaka-, the masc. equivalent of *Baudakā-.
– Elamite: Bu-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2151:2.

4.2.352 *Bōdakā- (fem.): < *Bauda-kā-, "odoriferous", *-ka*-extension of *Bauda- (Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.1364; ASN 65).
Gershevitch (l.c.) offers, next to *Baudakā-, two other possibilities: *Būda-kā- (Av. *būza*-, "goat") or *Puda-kā-.
– Elamite: Bu-da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 2038:12.

4.2.353 *Bōdāna-: < *Bauda-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Bauda-.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1365) prefers a patronymic of *Puda-, an Av. family name. Hinz (ASN 65) mentions *Baud-ana-, with *-ana*- being the same suffix as Av. *van-ana*-, from the root *van*-. The reason why Hinz does not accept a patronymic is probably the writing -tan-na, which renders — according to Hinz — a short *a*. This is not correct, because El. cuneiform does indicate the vowel length (cf. also 4.2.299).
– Elamite:
1) Bu-tan-na: PF 312:2.
2) Bu-u-da-na: PF 2032:3.

4.2.354 *Bōdaspa-: < *Baud-aspa-, "having an odoriferous horse" (ASN 65).

Other proposals are (1) *Bud-aspa-, "having intelligent horses" (Gershevitch 1969: 224), to OInd. *budhá-*, "smart, intelligent", and (2) *Būtāspa- (Mayrhofer 1971: 60), to NP *bota*, "melting-pot". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1336) considers only *-aspa-* as certain.

– Elamite:
1) Bu-da-áš-ba: PF 803:3, 1767:3, 1768:3-4, 2073:12,21.
2) Bu-da-iš-ba: PF 2063:3-4; PFNN 2454:3.

4.2.355 *Bōdiča-: < *Baud-iča-, an *-ič́a*-hypocoristic of *Bauda- (OnP 8.1379; ASN 65).
– Elamite: Bu-ti-iz-za: PF 205:5-6, 644:11-12; PFNN 1408:5.

4.2.356 *Bōraya-: < *Baura-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Baura- or of a retrenchment of a *Baura-name (OnP 8.1376; ASN 66).

Gershevitch (1969: 221) reads *Būrāya- < *Būri-rāya-, "having much riches", to Av. būri- and OInd. *á-rāya-*.

– Elamite:
1) Bu-ra-a: PF 815:4, 1947:21.
2) Bu-ra-ia: Fort. 6831:3; PF 816:4, 1727:2-3, 1728-1729:3; PFNN 1273:4.

4.2.357 *Brāduš (OP): *Brādu-š, "the shining" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; OnP 8.1325). Cf. 4.2.774.
– Elamite: Pír-ra-du-iš: PFNN 1126:2-3.

4.2.358 *Bṛdanta- (OP): "tall, high", thematic extension of *Bṛda- (Gershevitch 1969: 221; OnP 8.1349; ASN 67).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-tan-da: PFNN 2514:4.
2) Bìr-tan-da: PF 73:6-7, 74:4-5, 75:5-6; PFNN 344:9-10, 617:5-6, 1638:5-6.

4.2.359 *Bṛdava-: *Bṛda-va-, *-va*-extension of *Bṛda-.
– Elamite: Ba-ir-du-ma: PFNN 1727:2-3.

4.2.360 *Bṛdiaspa- (OP): *Bṛdi-aspa-, "having a tall horse" (Gershevitch 1969: 221; Mayrhofer 1971: 60; OnP 8.1353; ASN 67), OInd. Bṛhad-aśva- (SED 736), MP and NP Burjāsp (IN 73).

Hinz (NW 114) reconstructs *Pṛtiš-pā-, protector of warriors".

– Elamite: Bìr-ti-iš-ba: PF 1346:9.

4.2.361 *Bṛdisāra- (OP): *Bṛdi-sāra-, "high-headed" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; OnP 8.1352; ASN 68).
– Elamite: Bìr-ti-šá-ra: PFNN 706:45.

4.2.362 *Bṛdiš (OP): *Bṛdi-š, "the tall one" (OnP 8.1351; ASN 67).

Gershevitch (1969: 221) connects this name with OInd. Pṛthĭ-.

– Elamite: Bìr-ti-iš: PF 320:3, 513:5, 708:2, 917-918:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 335:8, 712:2, 749:7-8, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.363 *Bṛza- (Med.): "the tall one, high" (Zadok 1976b: 77; Dandamayev 1992: 66).
– Babylonian: Bar-zu: Hebraica 8 134:2.

4.2.364 *Bṛzaka- (Med.): *Bṛza-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Bṛza- (Gershevitch 1969: 221) or of a retrenchment of a *Bṛza-name (OnP 8.1354).

Hinz (ASN 68) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Bìr-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1347:3.

4.2.365 *Bṛzanarava- (Med.): *Bṛza-narava-, compound of *Bṛza- and *Narava- (Hoftijzer 1988: 47), Av. Narauua-, the meaning of which is not yet clear (Mayrhofer 1979: I/64)..
– Aramaic: [B]rznrw: TAD D 2.12:2.

4.2.366 *Bṛzēna- (Med.): < *Bṛz-aina-, an *-aina*-extension of *Bṛza- (Eilers 1936: 171n.1; Grantovskij 1970: 210; ASN 68; Zadok 1977: 95; Dandamayev 1992: 66).

Schmitt (1998: 187) prefers *Bṛzina-.

– Babylonian: Bar-ze-en-na: CT 22 73:20.

4.2.367 *Bṛzimanā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Bṛzi-manah-, "high-minded" (Gershevitch 1969: 221 and 1970: 89; OnP 8.1355; ASN 68). Compare the OInd. anthroponym Bṛhan-manas- (SED 737).
– Elamite: Bìr-zí-ma-na(?): PFNN 416:7-8.

4.2.368 *Budra-: "the vigilant" (OnP 8.1380), Av. Buδra- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/32).

Another possible reconstruction is Med. *Puθra-, "the son" (Gershevitch 1969: 224; OnP 8.1380; ASN 194).

– Elamite: Bu-ud-ra: PF 645:7.

4.2.369 *Buga-: "releasing".
– Elamite: Bu-ka$_4$: PFNN 1176:5.

4.2.370 *Buja-: "releasing" (OnP 8.1382).

Gershevitch (1969: 224; seemingly followed by ASN 69) connects this name with Av. *būza-*, "goat" and NP *bauz*.

– Elamite: Bu-za: PF 1950:1.

4.2.371 *Bujina-: *Buj-ina, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Buja-name (OnP 8.1383).

Hinz (ASN 69) reconstructs *Būz-ina-, "goat".

– Elamite: Bu-zí-na: PF 2025:27.

4.2.372 *Būmēθa- (OP): < *Būm-aiθa-, "lording it over the earth" (Gershevitch 1969: 218; ASN 69).
– Elamite: Bu-me-sa: Fort. 6582:3-4; PF 1661:2-3, 1662:3, 1675:3 (Bu-me-s[a]), 1763:3-4, 1776:4; PFNN 245:2-3, 1436:4.

4.2.373 *Buxša-: retrenchment of a name containing *Buxša- (Aimé-Giron 1931: 105; Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1370; ASN 68; Kornfeld 1978: 103; Schmitt 2006: 249).

– Aramaic: Bḥš: TAD D 18.12.
– Elamite: Bu-uk-šá: PF 72:4, 413:3-4, 439-440:4, 649:4, 1027:3, 1049:2, 1705:3, 1745:2-3, 2018:17; PFNN 661:3, 2491:1-2,47.

4.2.374 *Buxtaka-: *Buxta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a name with *Buxta- (Benveniste 1966: 115; OnP 8.1373; ASN 69), Parth. Bwḥtk (Gershevitch 1969: 217).
– Elamite: Bu-uk-tuk-ka$_4$: Fort. 6781:4-5; PF 1168:2-3; PFNN 1096:2-3, 1513:2-3, 1942:4-5.

4.2.375 *Buxtavīra-: *Buxta-vīra-, "by whom the warriors were saved" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1367; ASN 69).
– Elamite:
1) Bu-ik-da-mi-ra: PF 1691:2, 2064:2-3; PFNN 930:2.
2) Bu-ik-ti-mi-ra: PF 326:4.
3) Bu-uk-da-mi-ra: PF 476:3.

4.2.376 *Buxtēča-: < *Buxt-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of a name containing *Buxta- (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1372; ASN 69).
– Elamite:
1) Bu-ik-tu$_4$-iz-za: Fort. 7859:3-4.
2) Bu-uk-te-ez-za: PF 335:20 (Bu-uk-te-ez-z[a]), 666:8-9, 1853:16-17; PFa 30:19.
3) Bu-uk-te-za: PFNN 745:6.

4.2.377 *Buxtēna-: < *Buxt-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Buxta-name (Benveniste 1966: 115; ASN 69).
Gershevitch (1969: 217) prefers *Buxtāyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic, whereas Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1371) proposes *Buxt-ina-.
– Elamite: Bu-uk-te-na: PF 1941:20.

4.2.378 *Buxθika-: *Buxθ-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Buxθa-, "the saved one" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193, who prefers a *-ka*-extension of an *i*-patronymic; OnP 8.1369; ElW 232; Tremblay 2004: 135).
Hinz (ASN 66) reconstructs *Bauxθika- (to Av. *bauxša-*).
– Elamite:
1) Bu-ik-si-ka$_4$: PFNN 2201:9.
2) Bu-uk-si-ka$_4$: PF 1989:7,10, 2038:3, 2084:16; PFNN 2337:39-40.

4.2.379 *Čagmana-: thematic extension of **Čagman-*, "gift" (Gershevitch 1969: 247; OnP 8.1815; ASN 69).
Another possibility is an *-āna*-patronymic of *Čagma- (Gershevitch, l.c.)
– Elamite: Za-ak-ma-na: PF 237:3.

4.2.380 *Čaita- / *Čēta-: "insight", thematized retrenchment of e.g. *(H)učaita- (Gershevitch 1969: 250; ASN 70; Zadok 1983c: 319; Dandamayev 1992: 122).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1809) does not have an opinion on this name.

– Babylonian: Še-ta-': CT 55 93:1.
– Elamite: Za-a-da: PF 778:2.

4.2.381 *Čaitakā- (fem.): *Čaita-kā-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Čaita-.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1056) prefer *Θaitakā-.
– Elamite: Sa-a-tuk(?)-ka$_4$(?): PFNN 541:64.

4.2.382 *Čaitāta-: *Čaita-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Čaita- (ASN 70).
According to Gershevitch (1969: 251) it is a haplology of *Čaita-dāta-, "born in splendour".
– Elamite: Za-a-da-da: Fort. 8865:2.

4.2.383 *Čakauka- / *Čakōka-: *Čak-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Čakā-, "lark" (NW 89; ASN 70).
Gershevitch (1969: 247 and 1969b: 198) reconstructs *Zăgă-vahu-ka-.
– Elamite:
1) Za-ak-kam-ka$_4$: PF 832:3-4, 2082:17.
2) Za-kam-uk-ka$_4$: PF 254:9-10 ([Za]-kam°), 676:3; PFa 30:25; PFNN 1141:2-3, 1460:2, 1463:2-3, 2255:25.
3) Za-ka$_4$-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 512:3-4.
4) Za-ku-ka$_4$: PFNN 2433:4.
5) Zí-kam-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2011:12,28.

4.2.384 *Čamanpā-: *Čaman-pā-, "protecting the meadows" (ASN 70).
Gershevitch (1969: 247) pleads for *Jaman-pā-, "drinking the libation at the right hour", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1819) does not accept this.
– Elamite: Za-man-ba: PF 532:2.

4.2.385 *Čamanva-: *Čaman-va-, adjectival derivation from a retrenchment of a *Čaman-name (ASN 71).
Gershevitch (1969: 247) mentions *Jaman-va-, "the timely". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1820) simply states that there are various possible readings.
– Elamite:
1) Za-man-ma-(na): Fort. 7108:2; PF 859:2; PFNN 593:9-10, 1514:2, 2106:13.
2) Za-man-nu-ma: PF 225:12-13, 955:1-2, 1948:31; PFNN 191:1, 598:2.

4.2.386 *Čanadāta- (OP): *Čana-dāta-, "born with a desire".
– Elamite: Za-an-da-da: PFNN 1144:2.

4.2.387 *Čanagōθrā- (fem.): < *Čana-gauθrā-, "desiring jewels" (Gershevitch 1970: 91; OnP 8.1826; ASN 71).
– Elamite: Za-na-ku-ut-ra: PFNN 1097:6.

4.2.388 *Čanakā- (fem.): *Čana-kā-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Čanah- (OnP 8.1925; ASN 71).
Gershevitch (1969b: 199) reconstructs *Zānakā-, "the knowing".
– Elamite: Za-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:37.

4.2.389 *Čaraka-: *Čara-ka-, "pasturing" (ElW 1284). Cf. 4.4.5.6.
– Elamite: Za-ra-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2564:2.

4.2.390 *Čāravana-: *Čāra-vana-, "helping to prevail" (Bowman 1970: 168, reconstructing *Čāravāna-; ASN 71).
– Aramaic: Šrwn: Pers 119:4.

4.2.391 *Čartukāna-: *Čartu-k-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Čartu-ka-.
– Elamite: Za-ir(?)-du(?)-ka$_4$(?)-na: PFNN 1694:2-3.

4.2.392 *Čartuš: *Čartu-š, "race course", retrenched name.
– Elamite: Za-ir-du-iš: PF 1957:30; PFNN 728:27, 2289:29.

4.2.393 *Čašēna-: < *Čaš-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Čaša-, "teacher" (Zadok 1977: 107 and n.193; Dandamayev 1992: 120).
– Babylonian: Šá-še-in-nu: GCCI 2 360:32.

4.2.394 *Čaθriya-: *Čaθr-iya-, *-iya*-extension of a retrenchment of a name containing **čaθru-*, "four".
– Elamite: Za-ut-ri-ia: PFNN 1183:4

4.2.395 *Čaukiča- / *Čōkiča-: *Čauk-iča-, *-ič́a*-hypocoristic of *Čauka-, "owl" (ASN 71, reconstructing *Čaukaiča-).

Gershevitch (1969: 187) connects this name with a name *Jahuka-, "the weakling", while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1843) describes this name as a hypocoristic of the preceding name.

– Elamite:
1) Su-ki-iz-za: PF 1643-1644:3.
2) Za-u-ki-iz-za: PF 302:2-3; PFNN 1262:2-3, 1306:3.

4.2.396 *Čaxra-: "the wheel", retrenchment of a *Čaxra-name (Gershevitch 1969: 199; OnP 8.1816; ASN 70).

According to Lipiński (1977: 106-107) this name is an Elamite rendering of the Aramaic name Zakkūr. Yet this is unlikely: KUR never renders /kūr/. The hypothesis that KUR can only reflect Ir. /kr/ of /kir/ (ElW 1279), however, is not correct either.

– Elamite: Za-kur-ra: PFNN 431:2.

4.2.397 *Čiça- (OP): "splendid, brilliant" (OnP 8.1645; ASN 72) or "lineage".
– Elamite: Ti-iš-šá: PF 781:2 ([T]i-iš-šá), 1124:2; PFNN 66:2, 1972:2.

4.2.398 *Čiçabānuš (OP): *Čiça-bānu-š, "having bright lustre" (OnP 8.1871; ASN 72), cf. 4.2.419.
– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-ba-nu-iš: PF 95:2-3, 1584:2,3-4, 1611:2-3; PFNN 128:1-2, 432:2, 616:2-3, 687:2-3, 953:2-3, 1729:5, 2410:2-3.

4.2.399 *Čiçafarnā (OP): *Čiça-farnā, "with shining splendor" or "glorious because of his origin" (Imbert 1891: 110; IN 164; Arkwright 1899: 56; Sundwall 1913: 15; Heubeck 1965: 75-76n.13; Benveniste 1966: 101-102; Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 121; ASN 72; Schmitt 1982c: 380-381, 1982d: IV/22-23 and 2006: 123; Jones 1999), Gk. Τισσαφέρνης (IN 164). Cf. 4.2.423.
– Aramaic: Šširn: Pers 50:3 (Šš[prn]), 53:5.
– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-bar-na: OIP 117 5:1-2.
– Lycian:
1) Kizzaprñna-: TL 44c:11,14,15.
2) Zisaprñna-: NAWG 1978/1 221; TL 44c:1.

4.2.400 *Čiçaka- (OP): *Čiça-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Čiça-name (OnP 8.1873; ASN 72).
– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 839:3.

4.2.401 *Čiçakarāna- (OP): *Čiça-kara-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Čiça-kara-, "creating an offspring".

Zadok (1985: 176) connects the name with **čiça-*, "bright".

– Aramaic: Šškrn: ATNS 135:2.

4.2.402 *Čiçārba- (OP): *Čiça-arba-, "bright and young" (ASN 72).

Gershevitch (1969b: 200) reconstructs *Čiça-arpa(h)-, "bright support".

– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-har-ba: PFNN 1378:3-4.

4.2.403 *Čiçauka- (OP): *Čiç-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Čiça-name (ElW 1394, where this name is identified with *Čiçuka-. The spelling, however, does not allow such an identification).
– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-u-ka$_4$: PF 1366:9.

4.2.404 *Čiçava- (OP): *Čiça-v-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Čiçavahuš (OnP 8.1876; ASN 73). Cf. 4.2.430.

Gershevitch (1969: 249-250) prefers *Čiça-vahu-a, a thematic extension of *Čiça-vahu-.

– Elamite:
1) Šu-iš-šá-ma: PF 1515:8-9. Cf. **āçiyādiš* (2.4.11.1).
2) Zí-iš-šá-hu-maš: PF 1413:8, 1424:6-7.
3) Zí-iš-šá-ma(-iš): PF 73:5-6 (Zí-iš-šá-<ma>), 74:5, 75:4-5, 573:4, 1518:9-10, 1578:5; PFNN 617:5, 652:5, 705:8, etc. in PFNN.
4) Zí-iš-šá-maš: PF 1917:2.
5) Zí-iš-šá-ú-ma-iš: PT 28:2, 29:3.
6) Zí-šá-ma(-iš): PF 1454:9, 1476:7-8, 1500:6, 1504:6.

4.2.405 *Čiçavā- (OP; fem.): fem. equivalent of *Čiçava- (ASN 73).

Gershevitch's (1969b: 200) connection of this name with Av. *čašman-*, "eye" is not plausible because of the Elamite spelling.

– Elamite: Zí-iš-ma: PFNN 1097:44.

4.2.406 *Čiçavahuš (OPd) / *Čiçāhuš: *Čiça-vahu-š, "of good lineage" (Cameron 1948: 133; Gershevitch 1969: 249-250; ASN 73).

– Elamite:
1) Zí-iš-šá-hu-iš: Fort. 1019:7-8.
1) Zí-iš-šá-ú-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:2 (Zí-ⁱᵉiš¹-[šá]-ⁱᵉú-iš¹), 107-108:2; PF 317:2, 672:9, 673:3, 675:3, 676:4, 1373:4, passim in PFT; PFNN 333:2, 381:7-8, 561:11, etc. in PFNN.
2) Zí-iš-šá-u-ú-iš: PF 1811:3, 1949:6; PFNN 544:3, 862:13, 1528:2-3, 2279:2, 2339:23, 2356:5, 2486:29,47,48,60, 2566:2-3.

4.2.407 *Čiçavaka- (OP): *Čiça-v-a-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Čiçava- (OnP 8.1874; ASN 73).

Not *Čiçamaga-, "with brilliant talents" (Benveniste 1966: 96).

– Elamite: Zí-iš-šá-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1493:6-7; PFNN 2114:10-11.

4.2.408 *Čiçavauš: OPs equivalent of *Čiçavahuš.

Wüst (1966: 89) prefers a connection with OInd. *citrāvasu-*, "rich in brilliant ornaments".

– Elamite:
1) Zí-iš-šá-u-iš: OGWA 321-322:23; PF 670-671:3, 674:3, 678:3, 1285:9, passim in PFT; PFa 29:53 ([Zí]-iš-šá-u-iš),59; PFNN 2:9, 485:7-8, 543:3, 745:1,3, 2493:22, passim in PFNN.
2) Zí-šá-u(-iš): PF 1458:8, 1459:4; PFNN 447:10, 1470:8.

4.2.409 *Čiçavṛka- (OP): *Čiça-vṛka-, "of wolf-lineage" (ASN 73).

Gershevitch (1969: 248) prefers *Čašma-harka, "froth-eye" (lit. "eye-discharger"), to Av. *harək-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1867) has doubts on this.

– Elamite: Zí-iš-mar-ka$_4$: PF 1352:3.

4.2.410 *Čiççanduš (OP): < *Čiça-θanduš, "shining and charming" (ASN 73).

– Elamite:
1) Zí-šá-in-du-iš: PF 1440:3, 1550:7-8 (Zí-[š]á-in-du-ⁱᵉiš¹).
2) Zí-šu-in-du-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:8. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.411 *Čiçēča- (OP): < *Čiç-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Čiça-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1877; ASN 72).

– Elamite: Zí-iš-še-ez-za: PF 1912:4-5; PFNN 129:7-8, 326:8-9.

4.2.412 *Čiçōpama- (OP): < *Čiçā-upama-, "superior through lineage" (NW 118; ASN 73).

Benveniste (1966: 96) pleads for *Čiçabāma- or *Čiçapāva-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1878) prefers *Čiçabāma-. Yet both names would be written Zí-iš-šá-° in Elamite. Šu clearly points to /u/ or /ō/.

– Elamite:
1) Zí-iš-šu-ba-ma: PF 604:3-4.
2) Zí-iš-šu-uk-ba-ma: PFNN 2298:29-30.

4.2.413 *Čiçuka- (OP): *Čiç-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Čiça-name (OnP 8.1879; ASN 73, where a name *Čiçauka- is reconstructed).

– Elamite:
1) Ti(?)-šu(?)-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1432:4-5.
2) Zí-iš-šu-ka$_4$: PF 1523:2-3, 1769:3.
3) Zí-iš-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 41:4-5.
4) Zí-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 67:2; PFNN 460:1-2.

4.2.414 *Čihramēθana-: < *Čiθra-maiθana-, "having a splendid dwelling" (Hallock, apud Gershevitch 1969b: 199; ASN 75; Mayrhofer 1979c: 114-115). Cf. 4.2.426.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1304) prefer *Jĭra-vaiθana-, "having intelligent servants".

– Elamite:
1) Zí-ra-me-sa-na: PFNN 1337:2, 1401:6-7, 1442:2-3, 1549:2-3.
2) Zí-ra-mi-sa-na: PFNN 729:3-4.

4.2.415 *Činiča-: *Čin-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Činah- (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1853; ASN 74, with a reading *Činaiča-).

Zadok (1977c: 79 and 1983: 116) pleads for an Elamite name. He refers to the El. anthroponyms Am-ba-zi-ni-za (attested in a NB text), Si-ni-ni, Zi-ni-ni and Zi-ni-ni-ia. An argument supporting an Iranian origin of this name is the suffix iz-za-, which is never used in El. names. According to Koch (apud ElW 1301) we are dealing with a hybrid name: El. zí-ni and Ir. *-iča-*.

– Elamite: Zí-ni-iz-za: PF 666:2; PFNN 702:1, 2544:1.

4.2.416 *Činika-: *Čin-ika-, *-ika*-extension of a retrenchment of a name with *Činah-.

– Elamite: Zí(?)-nu(?)-ka$_4$(?): PFNN 351:7.

4.2.417 *Čiratakā- (fem.): *Čira-takā-, "the capable runner" (ASN 74).

Gershevitch (1969b: 200) reads *Jĭra-tauka-, "due to have clever offspring", but this is rejected by Hinz, according to whom TUK cannot render Ir. /tauk/. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1860) is doubtful of this etymology.

– Elamite: Zir-ra-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:39.

4.2.418 *Čitēgōθra- (Med.): < *Čitaya-gauθra-, "intent upon jewels" (Gershevitch 1969: 250 and 1970: 85; OnP 8.1880; ASN 74).

– Elamite: Zí-te-ku-ut-ra: PFNN 602:4-5, 696:5-6, 1526:7-8.

4.2.419 *Čiθrabānuš (Med.): *Čiθra-bānu-š, "brilliant beam of light" (ElW 1306). Cf. 4.2.398 and OInd. citra-bhānu-.

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-ba-nu-iš: PFNN 2479:30-31, 2300:21-22.

4.2.420 *Čiθrabṛzana- (Med.): *Čiθra-bṛzana-, "exalting his lineage" (ElW 1306).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-bìr-za-na: PFa 29:8.

4.2.421 *Čiθračardāta- (Med.): *Čiθra-čar-dāta-, "given by the one who makes brilliant" (Shaked 2004: 48 and n.52).

– Aramaic: Štršrdt: Shaked 2004: 48.

4.2.422 *Čiθradauçaka- (Med. — OP): *Čiθra-dauça-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Čiθra-dauça-, "with splendid sacrifices" (OnP 8.1887; ASN 74).

Gershevitch (1969: 251) prefers *Čiθra-dauša-ka-, "fond of his family".

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-tam$_5$-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 535:18.

4.2.423 *Čiθrafarnā (Med.): *Čiθra-farnā, cf. 4.2.399 (Gershevitch 1969: 251; OnP 8.1885; ASN 74: Schmitt 1992: 636), Gk. Τετραφέρνης (Huyse 1990: 62).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-bar-na: PFNN 548:16 (°-bar-[na]), 2184:17 (°-ba[r-na]).

4.2.424 *Čiθraka- (Med.): *Čiθra-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Čiθra-name (ElW 1306).

– Elamite: Zí-ut(?)-rák(?)-ka$_4$(?): PFNN 2374:13.

4.2.425 *Čiθrakiš: *Čiθra-k-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Čiθraka-.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 342) reconstruct *Čiθra-gi-.

– Elamite: Ti-ut-ra-gi-iš: PFNN 2569:3.

4.2.426 *Čiθramēθana- (Med.): < *Čiθra-maiθana-, "having a splendid dwelling" (Benveniste 1966: 95; ASN 74). Cf. 4.2.414.

– Elamite:
1) Zí-ut-ra-me-sa-na: PF 1128:2-3.
2) Zí-ut-ra-mi-sa-na: PFNN 2184:19.

4.2.427 *Čiθramiθra- (Med.): *Čiθra-miθra-, "having a Mithraic origin" (ElW 1307).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 2274:5.

4.2.428 *Čiθraspāda- (Med.): *Čiθra-spāda-, "having a brilliant army" (Gershevitch 1969: 251; OnP 8.1886; ASN 75), OInd. Citrá-sena- (EWAi II 746).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-iš-ba-da: PFNN 548:29.

4.2.429 *Čiθraspauka- (Med.): *Čiθra-sp-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Čiθra-spā-, "happy by lineage" (ElW 1306).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-áš-ba-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 728:8-9.

4.2.430 *Čiθrava- (Med.): *Čiθra-va-, Median equivalent of *Čiçava- (4.2.404) (OnP 8.1882; ASN 75).

– Elamite:
1) Zí-is-ra-ma-iš: PF 1482:7.
2) Zí-ut-ra-ma: PFNN 2290:26.
3) Zí-ut-ra-maš: PFNN 728:38.

4.2.431 *Čiθravanya- (Med.): Čiθra-vanya-, "victorious by lineage" (ElW 1307) or "brilliantly victorious".

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ru-man-ia: PFNN 1836:4, 2243:4.

4.2.432 *Čiθrazṛvā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Čiθra-zṛvan-, "having a brilliant old age" (ElW 1307).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ra-zir-ma: PFNN 2479:23.

4.2.433 *Čiθrēna- (Med.): < *Čiθr-aina-, an *-aina*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Čiθra-name (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 123).

– Babylonian: Ši-it-re-en-na-': EE 62:3'.

4.2.434 *Čiθrina- (Med.): *Čiθr-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristion of a retrenchment of a *Čiθra-name (OnP 8.1888; ASN 75).

– Elamite: Zí-ut-ri-na: PF 1788:4-5, 1789:5, 1947:31; PFNN 174:9, 644:3-4, 2493:12.

4.2.435 *Čōbaka-: < *Čauba-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Čauba-, "wood, log" (Gershevitch 1969: 228; ASN 71).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1456) has no opinion on this name.

– Elamite: Su-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 791:15.

4.2.436 *Čusta-: "the elegant one" (Shaked 1987: 411).

Equally possible is *Čista-, "learned", the past part. of Av. *kaēθ-*, "to learn". The connection with NP *šast*, "thumb, fish-hook" (Segal 1983: 70) is unlikely, as is Schmitt's opinion (1987: 153), who considers this name to be Semitic because of the Semitic name of the son of Šst. As, however, *Farnaka- (4.2.567) had two daughters with Semitic names (Gabia and Re'indu), Šst must not necessarily be Semitic.

– Aramaic: Šst: ATNS 50:4.

4.2.437 *Çauraθya-: *Çau-raθ-ya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Çau-raθa-, "having a beautiful chariot" (NW 48; ASN 75).

Bogoljubov (1973: 177) prefers *Šava-raθai, "driving in a chariot", with *raθai* as loc. sg. of **raθa-*.

– Aramaic: Šwrty: Pers 36:1, 119:2, 120:2-3.

4.2.438 *Çašaya- (OP) / *Çašē-: *Çauša-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Çauša-, "the obedient" (ASN 75).

Gershevitch (1969: 231) prefers *Šašya-, an equivalent of Av. *sraošiiant-*, but also mentions *Çašaya-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1527) takes no decision.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-u-šá-a: PF 1324:3.
2) Šá-u-še-iš: PFNN 2541:30.

4.2.439 *Çavahaxtiš (OP; fem.) or *Çavāxtiš: *Çava-haxti-š, "having a beautiful womb" (Gershevitch 1969b: 194; OnP 8.1485; ASN 75).

– Elamite: Šá-ma-ak-ti-iš: PFNN 541:33.

4.2.440 *Çavasixa- (OP): *Çava-sixa-, "with a beautiful tuft, lock of hair" (Gershevitch 1969b: 195; ASN 76).

Gershevitch (l.c.) also mentions *Çava-siga-, "having a shapely bottom", to Osset. *sidzä*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1488) is doubtful concerning this analysis, while Delaunay (1976: 26) prefers a Semitic name *Šamšikā, "Šamaš is here".

– Elamite: Šá-ma-ši-ka$_4$: PFNN 136:3-4, 2077:2, 2542:15.

4.2.441 *Çāzanā- (OP; fem.): *Çā-zanā-, "she who protects the tribe".

Gershevitch (1969b: 196; also ASN 224) reconstructs *Sač-ānā-, "the seemly", to NP *sazad*, "it is fitting". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1528) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Šá-za-na: PF 171:4-5.

4.2.442 *Çēšta- (OP): < *Çaišta-, "the most beautiful" (Gershevitch 1969: 232; OnP 8.1535; ASN 75).
– Elamite: Še-iš-da: PF 1616:3-4, 1617:3.

4.2.443 *Çībara- (OP): *Çī-bara-, "carrying beauty" (NW 51; ASN 76).
– Aramaic: Šbr: Pers 118:2.

4.2.444 *Çimaka- (OP): *Çima-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Çima-, "with strength" (ASN 76).

Gershevitch (1969: 229) offers three readings: (1) *Saiva-ka-, "the orphan", the Median equivalent of OP *θaiva-; (2) *Sīma-ka-, "the confused, muddle-headed" (Av. *sima-*); (3) *Siva-ka-, "the benevolent" (OInd. *śíva-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1542) is undecisive.

– Elamite:
1) Ši-ma-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 354:2-3.
2) Ši-ma-ka$_4$: PF 308:1-2, 1434:3.

4.2.445 *Çimavīra- (OP): *Çima-vīra-, "strong man" (ASN 76).

Gershevitch (1969: 229) mentions *Sīmavīra-, "whose memory is confused", with reference to Av. *vīra-*, "memory". According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1543) the first element can be read in many ways, while the second element must be **vīra-*, "man".

– Elamite: Ši-ma-mi-ra: PF 1531:4; PFNN 924:1.

4.2.446 *Çipuka- (OP): *Çi-p-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Çi-pā-, "protected three times".

Hinz (ASN 76) reconstructs *Çif-auka-, to Av. *srifa-*, "nostrils".

– Elamite: Ši-ip-pu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 155:4-5.

4.2.447 *Çīra- (OP): "beautiful" (NW 49; ASN 76).

Bowman (1970: 132) has two less probable possibilities: (1) *Šīrā-, "sweet" (NP *šīrā*); (2) a name of which the first element is the same as in Gk. Σιρομίτρης (IN 303).

– Aramaic: Šyr: Pers 66:2.

4.2.448 *Çīrabṛzana- (OP — Med.): *Çīra-bṛzana-, "exalting the beautiful".
– Elamite: Ši-ra-bìr-za-na: PFNN 1703:3.

4.2.449 *Çīrafarnā (OP): nom. sg. of *Çīra-farnah-, "whose glory is beautiful" (Gershevitch 1969: 230; OnP 8.1555; ASN 76).
– Elamite: Ši-ra-bar-na: PFNN 604:3-4.

4.2.450 *Çīrakā- (OP; fem.): *Çīra-kā-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Çīra- or of a retrenchment of a *Çīra-name (Benveniste 1966: 93; Gershevitch 1969: 231; Mayrhofer 1969: 110; OnP 8.1554; ASN 77).
– Elamite: Ši-ra-ak-ka$_4$: PF 2038:18.

4.2.451 *Çīratama- (OP): "the most beautiful", superlative of *Çīra- (Benveniste 1966: 93; Gershevitch 1969: 231; OnP 8.1553; ASN 77).

Hinz (ASN 77) also mentions *Çīra-tahma-.

– Elamite: Ši-ra-da-um-ma: PF 195:3.

4.2.452 *Çīrauka- (OP): *Çīr-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Çīra- (OnP 8.1556; ASN 77).
– Elamite: Ši-ra-u-ka$_4$: PF 1513:2.

4.2.453 *Çīrayauda-: *Çīra-yauda-, "the beautiful warrior" (ElW 1169).
– Elamite: Ši-ra-ia-u-da: PFNN 2286:32.

4.2.454 *Çīruka- (OP): *Çīr-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Çīra- (OnP 8.1557).

Hinz (ASN 77) considers the name to be a rendering of *Çīrauka-, because both spellings point to one individual. In any case they are the expression of two different names.

– Elamite: Ši-ru-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1547:2-3.

4.2.455 *Çōastiya- (OP): < *Çau-asti-ya-, "having beautiful bones" (ASN 75) or "having beautiful guests".

Gershevitch (1969: 232) mentions *Çāvast-iya-, an extension of *Çāvasta-, with reference to the OInd. anthroponym Śrāvasta-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1565) only acknowledges that šu-a° renders Ir. /çava(h)-/.

– Elamite: Šu-áš-ti-ia: PF 1586:3-4.

4.2.456 *Çōčika- (OP): < *Çau-č-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Çau-ča-, a *-ča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Çau-name (Tavernier 2001b).

Gershevitch (1969: 196 and 197) and Hinz (ASN 241) reconstruct *Θuθika-, "beetle", to NP *sūsk*, but this is a strange anthroponym. Delaunay (1976: 28) refers to Kassite Šuzigaš, but Hinz & Koch (ElW 1183) reject this.

– Elamite: Šu-si-ka$_4$: PF 1905:5-6.

4.2.457 *Çōmēzaka- (OP): < *Çau-maiza-ka-, "cherishing the capable".

Gershevitch (1969: 229) presents two possibilities: (1) *Çāvaya(t)-zăga-, "raising his voice" and (2) *Çavya-zăga-, "having an audible voice". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1583) has no opinion. Hinz (ASN 76) considers *Çavya-ča-ka-, an extension on *-ča-* and *-ka-* of *Çavya-, "audible" (OInd. *śravya-*).

– Elamite: Šu-mi-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1646:2-3.

4.2.458 *Çŭta- (OP): "the famous" (Gershevitch 1969: 233; OnP 8.1568; ASN 77), OInd. Śruta- (SED 1101).
– Elamite: Šu-ud-da: PF 111:2, 1515:2.

4.2.459 *Çŭtaka- (OP): *Çŭta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Çŭta- or of a retrenchment of a *Çŭta-name (OnP 8.1567; ASN 78).
– Elamite:
1) Šu-da-ak-ka$_4$: Fort. 3543:3.
2) Šu-da-ka$_4$: PF 1957:34.
3) Šu-tak-ka$_4$: PFa 31:25.

4.2.460 *Çŭtakāra-: *Çŭta-kāra-, "with a famous army" (ElW 1171 and 1194).
– Elamite:
1) Ši-ú-ut-ka$_4$-ra: PFNN 2286:38.
2) Šu-ut-ka$_4$-ra: PFNN 233:2, 1016:1, 2535:1.

4.2.461 *Çŭtavāta- (OP): *Çŭta-va-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Çŭta-va-.

Gershevitch (1969: 233) reconstructs *Çutā-māta-, "having a famous mother". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1572) remains undecisive concerning this analysis, but does

refer to the Av. anthroponym Srūtaṯ.fədrī-, "having a famous father" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/79). Hinz (NW 115; ASN 230) prefers *Šūta-vāta-, "moving in the wind", an inversion of Av. *vātō.šūt-*. Hinz's proposal seems awkward, but Gershevitch's proposal too has a problem: the sequence -du-ma- is most likely a rendering of Ir. /dava/, /duva/, /tava/ or /tuva/.

– Elamite: Šu-du-ma-da: PF 169:4-5.

4.2.462 *Çŭtayauda-: *Çŭta-yauda-, "famous as a warrior" (OnP 8.1569; ASN 78).

Less plausible proposals are *Š(y)ūta-yauda-, "by whom the agitation is set in motion" (Benveniste 1966: 93) and *Sūta-yauda-, "striving for profit" (Gershevitch 1969: 233).

– Elamite:
1) Šu-da-ia-u-da: PF 1202:6-7, 1825:6-7, 1852:6-7; PFNN 1590:7-8.
2) Šu-ud-da-ia-u-da: OIP 117 180:2-3; PF 149:7-8, 156:10, 157:12-13 ([Š]u-ud-da-ia-u-[da]), 245:7-8, 251:7-8, 372:2-3, 427:9-10, etc. in PFT and PFNN.

4.2.463 *Çŭtēča- (OP): < *Çŭt-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Çŭta- or of a retrenchment of a *Çŭta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1591; ASN 77).

Schmitt (apud OnP 292) reads *Çŭt-iča-.

– Elamite:
1) Šu-te-ez-za: PF 151:10-11, 640:2-3, 1029:2, 1830:13-14.
2) Šu-ut-te-ez-za: PF 150:9-10, 152-153:9-10, 154:8-9, 481:8, 520-521:2-3, 638:5-6, 641:3-4, 1030:2; PFNN 572:8,13,17, 1244:6, 1294:2.

4.2.464 *Çŭtēna- (OP): < Çŭt-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Çŭta- or of a retrenchment of a *Çŭta-name (ASN 78).

Gershevitch (1969b: 196) mentions *Çut-āyana-, while Schmitt (apud OnP 292) reads *Çut-ina-, which, however, does not correspond with the spelling.

– Elamite: Šu-te-na: PF 53:2; PFNN 1520:2-3.

4.2.465 *Çŭtuka-: *Çŭt-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Çŭta- or of a retrenchment of a *Çŭta-name (OnP 8.1571; Schmitt, apud OnP 292). Cf. 4.3.46.

Gershevitch (1969: 238) mentions *Sudu-ka-, "miller" (Av. *suδu-*, "mill").

– Elamite:
1) Šu-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 1577:2.
2) Šu-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1941:3,6.

4.2.466 *Dadātika-: *Dadā-āt-ika-, "he who gives".

– Elamite: Da-da-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1670:7.

4.2.467 *Dādṛša-: same name as Dādṛšiš, except for the fact that it is transferred to the *a*-declension (OnP 8.372; ASN 79).

– Elamite: Da-tur-šá: Fort. 1680:9, 7107:2.

4.2.468 *Dahačaka-: *Daha-ča-ka-, "belonging to the Daha-tribe" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 68, with a reconstruction *Dahičaka-).

– Babylonian: Da-ḫi-za-ak-ka-': EE 62:rev.5'.

4.2.469 *Dahima-: *Dah-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of *Daha-, "member of the Daha-tribe" (ASN 79).

Benveniste (1966: 81) reconstructs *Dahyuma-, with reference to the Av. deity Dāxiiuma-.

– Elamite: Da-hi-ma: PF 1988:20.

4.2.470 *Dahyubṛdana- (OP): *Dahyu-bṛdana-, "exalting the land" (Benveniste 1966: 98; OnP 8.378; ASN 79).

Benveniste (1966: 82) also presents *Dahyu-pṛtana-, "fighting for the land". Gershevitch (1969: 236) prefers *Dahyufrādana-, but according to Hinz (ASN 79) such a name would be written Da-a-ú-pír-ra-tan-na in Elamite.

– Elamite: Da-a-ú-bìr-tan-na: PF 1553:3-4.

4.2.471 *Dahyučiça- (OP): *Dahyu-čiça-, inversion of *Čiça-dahyu-, "having a splendid land", cf. OInd. *citra-kṣatra-*, "whose dominion is brilliant" (Mayrhofer 1974-77: 182). Hinz (ASN 79) translates "land-race".

– Elamite: Da-a-ú-zí-iš-šá: PFNN 1634:2-3.

4.2.472 *Dahyufarnā: *Dahyu-farnā, "glory of the land" or "providing glory for the land" (Gershevitch 1969: 236; OnP 8.377; ASN 79; Schmitt 2002: 100), Gk. Δαϊφάρνης (IN 76).

– Elamite: Da-a-ú-pír-na: PF 749:2.

4.2.473 *Dahyufraša-: *Dahyu-fraša-, "land — excellent" (ElW 248).

– Elamite: Da-a-hu-pír-ra-šá: PFNN 2370:4.

4.2.474 *Dahyuka-: *Dahyu-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a Dahyu-name (Benveniste 1966: 81; Gershevitch 1969: 234; OnP 13n.3 and 8.332; Schmitt 1973b: 146-147 and 1996: 226: ASN 79). The fact that two Elamite writings (nos. 4 and 10[101]) at first sight render a name *Dahyāuka-, despite the certainty that one person is involved, may have two possible reasons, of which the first one is the most plausible one: (1) cuneiform writing has no simple means to write the sound /yu/, so the scribes invented various ways to accomplish this (Schmitt, l.c.); (2) the individual may have had two different name forms (cf. Tallqvist 1905: xvi-xix). It must thus be assumed that all spellings render *Dahyuka-.

– Elamite:
1) Da-a-hi-ú-ka$_4$: PF 547:7.

[101] These spellings are attested only four times, against 16 attestations of *Dahyuka-.

2) Da-a-hi-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1809:13.
3) Da-a-hi-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PF 241:7-9.
4) Da-a-ia-u-ka$_4$: PF 581:5-6; PFNN 547:10,13.
5) Da-a-ia-uk-ka$_4$: PF 804:2.
6) Da-a-u-ka$_4$: PF 1099:3, 1167:3-4, 1252:3.
7) Da-a-u-uk-ka$_4$: PF 594:5-6; PFNN 324:3-4, 798:2, 2479:5.
8) Da-a-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PF 47:3-4, 1942:7; PFNN 541:2, 2265:13.
9) Da-ia-hu(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 857:2-3.
10) Te-ia-u-ka$_4$: PF 2070:4.

4.2.475 *Dahyuvrēsa- (Med.): < *Dahyu-vraisa-, "he who wanders in the land", Median equivalent of *Dahyuvraiθa- (ASN 80), cf. Av. *daiŋhāuruuaēsa-*.
– Elamite:
1) Da-a-hu-re-šá: PF 704:2-3.
2) Da-a-ú-re-šá: PF 705:2-3.

4.2.476 *Dahyuvrēθa- (OP): < *Dahyu-vraiθa- (Gershevitch 1969: 237; ASN 80).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.330) has doubts concerning this explanation.
– Elamite:
1) Da-a-hu-re-sa: PF 331:13-14; PFa 31:11; PFNN 2261:19, 2344:1.
2) Da-a-ir-re-sa: Fort. 6179:3; PF 741:3. Inaccurate spelling.
3) Da-a-ú-re-sa: PF 329:2-3 (°-ú-r[e]-sa), 763:3-4, 764:3; PFNN 2493:1.

4.2.477 *Dainaka-: *Daina-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Daina-name (OnP 8.352; ASN 80-81), MP and Parth. Dynky (Gignoux 1972: 22 and 51).
Gershevitch (1969b: 197) mentions *Dainaka-, the OP equivalent of *Zainaka- (Av. *zaēna-*, "weapon").
– Elamite: Da-a-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 760:5, 875:1-2.

4.2.478 *Dainamazdāyasnīš (fem.): *Daina-mazdāyasnī-š, "adherent to Mazdeism" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 277-279; ASN 81).
– Aramaic: Dynmzdysnš: KAI 264:1,4.

4.2.479 *Daisaka- (Med.) / *Dēsaka-: *Daisa-ka-, "he who shows" (ASN 81). Retrenchment of a name containing *Daisa- and Median equivalent of OP *Daiθaka-.
– Elamite:
1) Da-a-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2523:1.
2) Te-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2347:8.
3) Te-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1983:8, 1984:6,11.

4.2.480 *Daiθaka- (OP) / *Dēθaka-: *Daiθa-ka-, Old Persian equivalent of *Daisa-ka- (NW 91; ASN 81).
Gershevitch (1969: 238) reconstructs *Θaiθūka-, "partridge", but TUK only renders /tak/ of /tik/ (at least according to ASN 81; see, however, s.v. *Katpatuka- [3.2.9]). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1623) reconstructs *Daida-ka-, a retrenchment of a compound with *Paridaida-.
– Elamite:
1) Da-a-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 831:2-3, 1585:2-3, 1835:1.
2) Te-a-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 346:3, 1256:3.
3) Te-tuk-ka$_4$[102]: PF 75:2, 289:6, 432:2, 481:3, 522:2, 634:4, 1639:2, 1951:3,3-4,8,8-9,14,14-15; PFNN 353:2-3, 754:3, 1638:2, 1995:9, 2008:5-6, 2241:2, 2477:1,10,13,23, 2269:18, 2298:22; PT 27:29.

4.2.481 *Daiθauka-: *Daiθ-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Daiθa-name (ElW 255).
– Elamite: Da-a-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: PF 182:3-4.

4.2.482 *Daivuka- / *Dēvuka-: *Daiv-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Daiva-name (ASN 81, where, however, a reading *Daiv-auka- is preferred).
Gershevitch (1970: 90) proposes to read *Θwa(x)ma-vaha-ka-, "clothed in skins", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1651) firmly denies this possibility.
– Elamite:
1) Ti-mu-ka$_4$[103]: PF 560:2.
2) Tu$_4$-a-mu-ka$_4$: PF 1152:4-5.

4.2.483 *Daizaka- (Med.) / *Dēzaka-: *Daiza-ka-, "the one from the fortress" (Scheftelowitz 1903: 166; Zadok 1977: 118; Dandamayev 1992: 70).
– Babylonian:
1) Da-[ʾ]-za-ak-ka-ʾ: IMT 35:2.
2) [D]a-ʾ-za-ʾ-a-ka-ʾ: IMT 37:10.
3) De-za-ka-ʾ: BE 9 47:2.

4.2.484 *Dāmidāta-: *Dāmi-dāta-, "given by the creator" (Grelot 1972: 469; OnP 8.349; ASN 81; Kornfeld 1978: 103), Av. *dāmidāta-*, MP Dāmidātē (Schaeder 1930: 269), Parth. Dmydt (Schmitt 1998: 181).
– Aramaic: Dmydt: ATNS 60:2; TAD B 2.2:6.

[102] The attestation in PF 432:2 is read Am-ku-tuk-ka$_4$ by Hallock (1969: 168). Based on this reading Hinz (ASN 113) reconstructs a name *Hamgaudaka-. Collation has shown, however, that Te-tuk-ka$_4$ is a better reading (Stolper, pers. comm. 25/3/1999).
[103] Hinz & Koch (ElW 330) have doubts on the Iranian character of Ti-mu-ka$_4$.

– Elamite: Da-mi-da-ad-da: PF 1752:2-3; PFNN 265:7-8, 1751:8,19, 2183:3 (°-da-an-da).

4.2.485 *Dāmika-: *Dāmi-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dāmi-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 196; OnP 8.350; ASN 82).
– Elamite: Da-mi-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2349:24.

4.2.486 *Dantubṛdana- (OP): *Dantu-bṛdana-, "exalting the tribe" (Benveniste 1966: 98; OnP 8.353 and 8.1494; ASN 91). Cf. *Zantubṛzana- (4.2.2040).
Gershevitch 1969: 229-230) believes in an *-āna*-patronymic. Another etymology is *Dantu-pṛtana-, "fighting for his tribe" (Benveniste 1966: 82).
– Elamite:
1) Da-an-du-bìr-da-na: PF 1963:7, 2044:16-17 (written Ru-an-du-°).
2) Tan-du-bìr-da-na: PFNN 1072:8.

4.2.487 *Dantubṛzana- (OP — Med.): hybrid form of OP *Dantubṛdana- and Med. *Zantubṛzana- (OnP 8.1608b; ASN 91).
– Elamite: Tan-du-bìr-za-na: PF 1111:7, 1169:5-6, 1957:2,5.

4.2.488 *Dantuka- (OP): *Dantu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dantu-name (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.1608a; ASN 91). Cf. Med. *Zantuka- (4.2.2041).
Benveniste (1966: 94) reconstructs *Θanduka-.
– Elamite: Tan-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 638:2-3.

4.2.489 *Dantūšta- (OP): *Dantu-ušta-, "the well-being of the tribe" (ASN 91).
Gershevitch's (1969: 236) and Hinz's (NW 115) proposals to read respectively *Zantu-zušta-, "the darling of the tribe" and *Δantau-stā-, "standing on the tribe", are not plausible.
– Elamite: Tan-du-iš-da: PF 1435:3.

4.2.490 *Dantuvanta- (OP): *Dantu-vanta-, "having a tribe", thematization of *Dantuvant- (ElW 252).
– Elamite: Da-an(?)-du(?)-man-da: PFNN 2503:2.

4.2.491 *Daraiča- / *Darēča- (OP): *Dar-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dara-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187). Old Persian equivalent of a name *Zar-aiča-, "goal".
Benveniste (1966: 82) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.364) plead for *Dāraya-ča-, which is seemingly in contradiction with the spelling Da-⌜ra⌝-iz-z[a]. Hinz (ASN 82) reads *Dār-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dāraya-name.
– Elamite:
1) Da-⌜ra⌝-iz-z[a]: PF 1909:4.
2) Da-re-ez-za: PF 963:2, 1838:5.

4.2.492 *Dāraya-: retrenchment of a *Dāraya-name, e.g. Dārayavauš (Benveniste 1966: 82; Grantovskij 1970: 324-325; OnP 8.361; ASN 82).
– Elamite: Da-re-ia: PF 2011:8,24.

4.2.493 *Dārayafarnā / *Darēfarnā: nom. sg. of *Dāraya-farnah-, "holding the glory" (Gray and Torrey, apud Clay 1912: 19; Benveniste 1966: 82; Bowman 1970: 129; Bogoljubov 1973: 177; OnP 8.360; ASN 82-83).
Not all Aramaic signs are very clear and so doubts may arise with regard to Bowman's readings. In Pers 8:2 he reads Dryw'n and reconstructs *Draya-vāna-, "conquering the sea", to Av. *draiiah-* and OP *drayah-*, "sea" (Bowman 1970: 80). Mayrhofer (1971b: 69) changes this into *Dāraya-vāna-, "holding the victory".
– Aramaic: Dryprn: Pers 8:2 (reading: Bogoljubov, l.c.), 34:2, 38:2 (readings: Degen 1974: 126n.8), 54:2 (reading based on Bowman 1970: Pl.15), 61:2.
– Babylonian:
1) Da-ar-par-na-ʾ: BE 9 48:33[104]; EE 1:14,rev.; IMT 3:16,U.E., 4:12,R.E, 38:8; TuM 2/3 144:33.
2) Da-re-ʾ-par-na-ʾ: IMT 70:13; PBS 2/1 12:14.
3) Da-re-pa-ar-na-ʾ: EE 95:19.
4) Da-re-par-[na-ʾ]: EE 25:2'.
– Elamite: Da-re-bar-na: PF 1957:40-41; PFNN 1561:5.

4.2.494 *Dārayapā-: *Dāraya-pā-, retrenched equivalent of *Dārayapāna-, "holding protection" (cf. ElW 291).
According to Schmitt (1988: 84-85) the reading should be Da-re-ia-ú-iš, a rendering of *Dārayavahuš (Darius). A collation, however, has shown that the signs -ib-ba- are clear (Stolper, pers. comm. 26/07/01).
With regard to PFNN 522 Gershevitch (1969: 237) reads Da-ri-ia-ia-ib-ba, for which he reconstructs *Dāraya(t)-yăfa-, "holder of boons" (Av. *āiiapta-*, "boon"), a derivation from *yam-* (Bailey 1933: 23 and Henning 1935: 13). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.363) and Hinz (ASN 83), however, question this analysis. Hinz reconstructs *Dārayāyapa-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 291) propose to consider this spelling as an error for Da-re-ia-ib-ba. Again a collation has provided the solution (Stolper, l.c.): the correct reading is Da-ri-ia-ib-ba.
PFNN 846 has Da-re-ia-ap-pan-na. Hinz & Koch (ElW 290) mention *Dārayapā, followed by a genitive suffix, but Schmitt (l.c.) prefers *Dārayapāna-, "holding protection". The context (*kurmin* Dareiappanna) postulates a genitive, but it might also be a haplology (Stolper, pers. comm. 27/07/01).
– Elamite:
1) Da-re-ia-ap-pan-na: PFNN 846:2-3.
2) Da-re-ia-ib-ba: PFNN 522:9, 2365:8,30.

4.2.495 *Darga-: "long", hypocoristic without suffix (cf. OnP 285) of a *Darga-name (Schmitt 1975: 180; Kornfeld 1978: 103). Cf. 4.3.49.
– Aramaic: Drg': TAD B 2.1:18.

4.2.496 *Dargaçavā (OP): "of long fame, far-renowned" (Gershevitch 1969: 236; OnP 8.1614; ASN 83), OInd. *dīrghá-śravas-*.

[104] Spelled Ša-ar-par-na-ʾ. This spelling induces Hinz (ASN 135) to reconstruct *Xšahrafarnā, a younger form of *Xšaθrafarnā.

– Elamite: Tar-ka$_4$-šu-ma: PF 1951:30.

4.2.497 *Dargaka-: *Darga-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Darga-name.

– Elamite: Tur-ka$_4$-ka$_4$: PFNN 575:41.

4.2.498 *Dargam/va-: *Darga-m/v-a, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Darga-manā (OnP 8.365; ASN 83).

Gershevitch (1969: 236) reconstructs *Dar(ga)-gava-, "Longimanus".

– Elamite:

1) Da-ir-ka$_4$-ma: Fort. 6411:3.
2) Tar-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 2010:6, 2038:13-14, 2116:3.
3) Tur-ka$_4$-ma: PF 339:2-3.

4.2.499 *Dargamanā: nom. of *Darga-manah-, "long-minded" (Scheftelowitz 1923: 14; Schaeder 1930: 269; NW 43; ASN 83; Kornfeld 1977: 127 and 1978: 104).

Problems concerning this name are related to the translation: most authors translate, with reference to MP *dargman-* (Schaeder, l.c.), "long-suffering, gloomy" (Scheftelowitz, l.c.; Schaeder, l.c.; ASN 83). Only Kornfeld (l.c.) proposes a better translation: "long-minded, having long courage".

– Aramaic: Drgmn: TAD B 2.2:2,7,8,17,22, 2.3:5,23,26.

4.2.500 *Dargaya-: *Darga-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Darga-name (ASN 83; Kornfeld 1978: 104).

– Aramaic: Drgy: Semitica 25 93:10; TAD B 2.7:19.

4.2.501 *Dargāyuš: *Darg-āyu-š, "having a long life" (Cameron 1948: 98; Gershevitch 1969: 236; OnP 8.1615; NW 47; ASN 83-84; Schmitt 1974: 105), OInd. *dīrghấyu-*, Av. *darəgāiiu-*.

– Elamite:

1) Tar-ka$_4$-a-ú-iš: Fort. 707:4-5 (reading: NW 115-116); PF 1987:8; PFNN 10:12, 1057:14, 2265:7; PT 10-10b:2, 13:2, 15-16:2, 18-19:2, 1957-1:2.
2) Tar-ka$_4$-hi-ú-iš: PF 1774:4-5.
3) Tar-ka$_4$-ú-iš: PF 1988:36; PFNN 511:7-8.

4.2.502 *Dargazṛvā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Darga-zṛvan-, "having a long time" (ElW 293).

– Elamite: Tar-ka$_4$-zir-ma: PFNN 2357:11,14.

4.2.503 *Dargina-: *Darg-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Darga-name (OnP 8.1616; Schmitt, apud OnP 297).

Gershevitch (1969: 236) pleads for *Darg-āyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Darga-name. Hinz (ASN 83) reconstructs *Dargaina-.

– Elamite: Dar-gi-na: PFNN 290:4-5.

4.2.504 *Darmāka-: "bearer, supporter" (Scheftelowitz 1903: 166; Zadok 1977: 116; Dandamayev 1992: 69).

Zadok (2004: 111) also mentions *Darma-ka-, "support; law" and *Dṛva-ka-, "the stable", which Hinz (ASN 89) already preferred.

– Babylonian: Da-ar-ma-ak-ka-$^{?}$: BE 9 74:6.

4.2.505 *Dāruka-: *Dāru-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a name containing **dāru-*, "wood".

Zadok (2004: 111) reconstructs *Druvaka-, "healthy" (MP Druvag, Sogd. *δrwk*, Bactrian *δδρογο*).

– Babylonian: Da-ru-uk-ku: EE 47:3.

4.2.506 *Dasapāθrauka- (Med.): *Dasa-pāθr-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Dasapāθra-, "having ten kinds of protection" (Frye, apud Bowman 1970: 98; ASN 84).

Bogoljubov (1974b: 107) mentions two other etymologies: *Dasta-parva-ka-, "being the first in capability" and *Rāsta-fravā-ka-, "honest in words".

– Aramaic: Dsptrwk: Pers 26:3.

4.2.507 *Dasta-: "trained".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 269) plead for *Tāšta-.

– Elamite: Da-iš-da: PFNN 1297:3.

4.2.508 *Dāta-: "given", retrenchment of a *Dāta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 238; OnP 8.322; ASN 84), cf. NP Dād (IN 81, s.v. Δᾶτις).

– Elamite:

1) Da-ad-da: PFNN 343:11, 1622:2, 2493:46, 2515:2-3,19; PT 12:25.
2) Da-ud-da: PF 775:3, 1278:14; PFNN 744:3.

4.2.509 *Dātafarnā: *Dāta-farnā, "bestowing splendor" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.367; ASN 85; Dandamayev 1992: 67), Gk. Δαταφέρνης (IN 81).

According to Eilers (1936: 176n.) Bab. Da-da-° reflects MP *Dāda-. Schmitt (1970b: 76n.74 and 1997: 167) considers the Elamite spelling Da-tub-bar-na to be a rendering of *Dāti-farnah-, "bestowing splendor", with **dāti-* as verbal noun. Hinz (ASN 85) supports this[105], because TUB should be pronounced as /tib/, /tif/ or /tip/. Yet the names *Ṛtabānuš (4.2.1451) and *Ṛtapāta- (4.2.1494) clearly indicate that TUB could also be pronounced /tab/ or /tap/ and, consequently, also /taf/. As a result of this Da-tub-bar-na may also render *Dātafarnah-.

– Aramaic: Dtprn: Pers 46:3.

– Babylonian:

1) Da-da-a-pa-ar-na-$^{?}$: UCP 9/2 38:7, 39:6 ([Da]-da-°),13.
2) Da-da-par-na-$^{?}$: BE 10 58:14.

– Elamite:

[105] Although he has some doubts about it, since Databbarna and Datubbarna should be one individual. Yet both *Dātafarnah- and *Dātifarnah- may belong to one individual, if the latter is the older form of the former (Schmitt 1970b: 76n.74, with reference to Wackernagel 1905: 276 § 208e α).

1) Da-ad-da-bar-na: PFNN 2486:23.
2) Da-da-bar-na: PF 1963:27; PFNN 700:10, 2345:9.
3) Da-tab-bar-na: PF 880-881:3, 1657:4-5, 1788:1, 1941:11, 1942:34; PFa 30:30-31; PFNN 544:73, 607:3, 1312:2-3, 1479:7-8, 2493:4,62, etc. in PFNN; PT 4:11 (reading: Hallock 1958: 261n.19).
4) Da-tub-bar-na: PF 608:7; PFNN 1615:5-6.
5) Da-ud-[d]a-bar-n[a]: PFNN 2260:8-9.
6) Da-ud-da-pa-ir-na: PF 1789:1.
7) Da-ud-da-pír-na: PF 546:9, 1262:3.

4.2.510 *Dātahukṛta- (OPd): *Dāta-hu-kṛta-, "well made when born / given".
Hinz (ASN 85) translates "made good through the law".
– Elamite: Da-ud-da-ú-kur-da: PFNN 2208:4,16-17.

4.2.511 *Dātaka-: *Dāta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dāta-name (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.320; ASN 85).
– Elamite:
1) Da-at-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 145:2-3; PFNN 1439:3-4.
2) Da-da-ka$_4$: PF 1386:3, 1387:2.
3) Da-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1075:2, 1603:3-4, 1952:9, 1955:20; PFNN 541:11, 573:29, 2261:12, 2371:2.
4) Da-ud-da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 705:7.
5) Da-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2269:4.

4.2.512 *Dātama-: *Dāta-m-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Dāta-miθra- (OnP 8.323; Zwanziger 1973: 46-47; ASN 86; Schmitt 1978: 38 and 2002: 102-103), Gk. Δατάμης (IN 81).
Bailey (1959b: 132-133; also Benveniste 1966: 81) connects the name with Av. *datəma-*, "bestowing the most", but this expression is only attested as second part of a compound.
– Aramaic: Dtm: OIP 69 26 no.20.
– Elamite:
1) Da-ad-da-ma: Fort. 3568:2; PF 817:5-6, 1242:2-3,9, 1243:2-3,9-10, 1620:3.
2) Da-da-ma: PF 791:3; PFNN 2352:23, 2357:24.
3) Da-ud-da-ma: PFa 31:5; PFNN 479:3-4,6-7, 578:5, 2369:17.

4.2.513 *Dātamanθra-: *Dāta-manθra-, "given by the word (of God)" (ElW 246).
– Elamite: [Da]-ad-da-man-tur-ra: PFNN 2378:9-10.

4.2.514 *Dātamiça- (OP): *Dāta-Miça-, "given by Mithra" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.321; NW 47; ASN 86).
Benveniste (l.c.) and Gershevitch (1969: 239) consider *Dāta-misa-.
– Elamite: Da-da-mi-iš-šá: PF 2018:4.

4.2.515 *Dātamiθra- (Med.): *Dāta-Miθra-, "given by Mithra" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 73; NW 47; ASN 86), NP Dādmihr (IN 75).
– Aramaic: Dtmtr: Pers 1:4, 8:3, 10:5, 11:4, 12-14:3, 15:5, 17:6, 74:4.
– Elamite:
1) Da-ad-da-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 2184:31, 2477:21-22.
2) Da-da-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 2345:2.
3) Da-tam$_5$-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 2198:9, 2344:20.

4.2.516 *Dātapar(u)va- (OP): *Dāta-par(u)va-, "the first-born" (ElW 300).
Alternative possibilities are *Dātāparva-, "being the first through the law" and *Dātabarva-, "cherishing the law".
– Elamite: Da-ud-da-bar-ma: PFNN 2349:1.

4.2.517 *Dātauka-: *Dāt-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dāta-name (ASN 86).
The spelling Da-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$ is being read Da-pír-uk-ka$_4$ by Hallock (1969: 210). Gershevitch (1969b: 197), Mayrhofer (OnP 8.356 and 8.358) and Hinz (ASN 78) accept this reading, on the basis of which Hinz reconstructs a name *Daβr-auka-. Nevertheless this name is less plausible than *Dātauka-, so a reading with *-tam$_5$-* is preferable (ElW 299).
– Elamite:
1) Da-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PFNN 586:2.
2) Da-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: PF 677:3; PFNN 2168:2.

4.2.518 *Dātaupama-: *Dāta-upama-, "given as a superior".
Again a reading with the value *-pír-* has caused confusion: Hinz (ASN 78) reads *Daβra-upama-, "dark-coloured superior", but a reading with *-tam$_5$-* is preferable (ElW 298).
– Elamite: Da-tam$_5$-uk-ba-ma: Fort. 6664:7-8; PF 1660:3, 1862:2-3, 1866:2-3; PFNN 160:3,15, 553:1-2, 1233:1-3.

4.2.519 *Dātavēθa- (OP): < *Dāta-vaiθa-, "born as a knight" (ElW 300).
– Elamite:
1) Da-tam$_5$-me-[sa]: PF 2074:9 (restoration: ElW 298).
2) Da-ud-da-me-sa: PFNN 2453:3.

4.2.520 *Dātāyana- / *Dātēna-: *Dāt-āyana-, *-āyana*-patronymic of a *Dāta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 239; Schmitt, apud OnP 288).
Benveniste (1966: 82; also ASN 85) reconstructs *Dāt-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dāta-name. According to Schmitt (l.c.) Da-(at)-te-na is the rendering of *Dāt-ina-.
– Elamite:
1) Da-at-te-na: PF 690:11-12.
2) Da-te-na: PF 689:14-15; PFNN 2288:12.
3) Da-ut-te-na: PF 1987:28-29,71.
4) Da-ut-ti-ia-na: PF 1987:31-32.

4.2.521 *Dātēča-: < *Dāt-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dāta-name (Benveniste 1966: 82; Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.369; ASN 85).
– Elamite:
1) Da-at-te-ez-z[a]: PF 2012:18.
2) Da-te-ez-za: PF 1948:31,34,38,44, 2070:16; PFNN 2298:23,28.

4.2.522 *Dātiya- / *Dātīš: *Dāt-iya-, *-iya*-extension from the well-attested stem *Dāta- (Keiper 1878: 256; Schmitt 1997: 167 and 2006: 97). This person is identical with the well-known Persian commander Δᾶτις (Lewis 1980: 194-195; Schmitt 1997: 167)[106].
– Elamite:
1) Da-ti(?)-hu-iš[107]: PFNN 2466:2-3.
2) Da-ti-ia: PFNN 1809:2-3.

4.2.523 *Dātuçika- (OP): *Dātu-ç-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Dātu-çā-, "naturally protecting" (ElW 262).
– Elamite: Da-du-ši-ka$_4$: PFNN 2193:4,9.

4.2.524 *Dātuka- (OP): *Dātu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dātu-name.
Hitherto the preferred reconstruction was an *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dāta-name (OnP 8.371; Schmitt, apud OnP 293; ASN 86, with a reading *Dāt-auka-; ElW 247).
– Elamite:
1) Da-ad-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2340:7, 2349:7.
2) Da-du(?)-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 1217:3.
3) Da-du-ka$_4$: PF 1161:2.
4) Da-du-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 6180:2-3; PF 1772:2; PFNN 347:2, 399:2-3, 466:2, 586:2, 2183:24, 2340:12.
5) Da-tuk-ka$_4$: ZA 87 258-259:2 (°-[ka$_4$]),6-7 ([Da]-°),13,14,18,22 (°-[ka$_4$]).
6) Da-ud-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1162:2-3, 1206:2-3.

4.2.525 *Dātuya- (OP): *Dātu-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dātu-name.
Benveniste (1966: 81) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.329) consider the name a variant of *Datuvahyah-. Hinz (ASN 87) prefers an anthroponym, which is related to the ration system, because of **daθv(i)ya-* (cf. 4.4.14.1), an indication of a liquid measure. He refers to the German proper name Siebenkäs. Unfortunately for him his objection against a *Dātu-name (TU always renders Ir. /θu/) is erroneous.
– Elamite:
1) Da-du-ia: PF 1966:8.
2) Da-tu-ia: PF 1778:4.

[106] Cf. OP Bardiya- vs. Gk. Σμέρδις.
[107] With regard this spelling Hinz & Koch (ElW 299) only recognize its Iranian character. In fact HU indicates vowel length.

4.2.526 *Dauçakāma- (OP): *Dauça-kāma-, "he who likes to sacrifice" (Schmitt 1972e: 191; OnP 8.1607; ASN 92).
Another proposal is *Daušakāma-, "looking for pleasure" (Gershevitch 1969b: 197). The spellings with *-tam$_5$-* could also be read Pír-šá(-ak)-ka$_4$-ma. Gershevitch (1969: 220) considers the latter spelling as a rendering of *Frašakāma-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1345) and Hinz (ASN 235) did read Tam$_5$-šá-°, but did not connect these spellings with Da-u-šá-°. Hinz reconstructed *Tausa-kāma-, "Dickbein-Wunsch", but Mayrhofer (1977: 39 and 1979: I/52) has later pointed out that Ir. **tausa-* is more related to OInd. *tośá-*, "granting" than to Av. *hu-taosa-*, "having beautiful thighs". Hinz & Koch (ElW 279) finally connect the three El. spellings with each other.
– Elamite:
1) Da-u-šá-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 948:7, 1612:3,6, 2409:3, 2552:3.
2) Tam$_5$-šá-a[k]-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1815:7-8.
3) Tam$_5$-šá-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1182:5-6, 1506:2; PFNN 1368:8, 1465:2, 1657:2, 2165:11-12.

4.2.527 *Dauša- (OP): "zestfulness" (Schmitt 1972e: 191; OnP 8.381; ASN 92), Av. Zaoša- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/105).
– Elamite: [D]a-ú-šá: PFNN 773:2.

4.2.528 *Daušaka- (OP): *Dauša-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dauša-name (OnP 8.382; ASN 92).
Hinz (ASN 92) also mentions MP *došag*, "loving, dear".
– Elamite:
1) Da-u-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1563:3; PFNN 728:20.
2) Tam$_5$-šá-ka$_4$: PF 739:3; PFNN 1657:4.

4.2.529 *Daušava- (OP): *Dauša-va-, adjectival extension of a retrenchment of a *Dauša-name (ASN 92).
– Elamite: [D]a-u-šá-maš: PFNN 2396:4.

4.2.530 *Davantāna-: *Davant-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Davant-, "he who impels" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976: 67; Zadok 1977: 109; Dandamayev 1992: 71).
Hinz (ASN 89) rightfully claims that the phonological similarity with NP *dandān*, "tooth" is coincidental.
– Babylonian: Du-un-da-na-$^{?}$: BE 10 82:4 (°-ʳdaʾ-[na-ʾ]),6,12,Lo.E, 89:2 (°-ʳnaʾ-[ʾ]),3 (<du>-un-°),7,10,U.E.

4.2.531 *Daxšēna-: < *Daxš-aina-, "teaching", *-ina*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Daxša-name (OnP 8.1600; Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8.7.8, reading *Daxšina-; ASN 80, reading *Daxšaina-), e.g. Kharosthi Daṣavhara- (Humbach 1968-69: 30).
Benveniste (1966: 94) reconstructs *Taxšaina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Taxša-, "he who exerts himself". Gershevitch (1969: 235) reads *Daxša-, "throwing", to NP *andāxtan*.
– Elamite: Tak-še-na: PF 1821:6-7, 1822:7; PFNN 2287:52.

4.2.532 *Dēfrāda-: < *Dahyu-frāda-, "furthering the land" (Butz, apud Zadok 1983c: 319), Av. Daiǰhufrādah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/35).

Eilers (1953: 48n.; also ASN 152) reads Ke-e/ʾ-° instead of De-° and reconstructs *Kavi-frāda- > *Kai-frāda-. Zadok (1977: 119 and n.317; also Dandamayev 1992: 94), however, prefers a reading De-°.

– Babylonian:
1) De-ʾ-ep-ra-da-ʾ: PBS 2/1 192:5.
2) De-e-ep-ra-da-ʾ: BE 9 106:3; BE 10 50:6 (°-ep-ra-[da-ʾ]).

4.2.533 *Dēnāva-: < *Dainava-, a retrenchment of Av. Daēnāuuāzah-, "furthering religion" (OnP 8.1639; ASN 81; Mayrhofer 1979: I/34).
– Elamite: Tin-nu-ma: PF 291:8,10.

4.2.534 *Dēθa- (OP): < *Daiθa-, "showing" (ASN 81).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1628) has no information on this name.
– Elamite: Te-sa: PFNN 781:3.

4.2.535 *Dēviča-: < *Daiv-iča- (Zadok 2002d: no.1).
Earlier on, Zadok (1983c: 319; also Dandamayev 1992: 70) meant that the spelling rendered *Dahyaum-iša-, "looking for the land".
– Babylonian: De-e-mi-ši: CT 55 93:9.

4.2.536 *Did(i)yaka-: "the supervisor", cf. 4.4.7.33.
– Elamite: Ti-ti-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 261:3-4.

4.2.537 *Dištiya-: *Dišt-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Dišti-, "kettle".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 328) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ti-iš-du-ia: PFNN 868:2.

4.2.538 *Draxtāma-: *Draxta-ama-, "as strong as a tree" (ASN 240; EIW 293).
Gershevitch (1969b: 197) reads *Draxtavant-, "owner of trees". Hinz (ASN 240) also mentions Av. *θraxta-*, "packed together", followed by **ama-*, "strong".
– Elamite:
1) Tar-ra-ak-da-ma: PFNN 1010:33, 1734:1-2, 1238:2, 2497:2.
2) Tur-^{ra}rák-da-ma: PFNN 1550:2.

4.2.539 *Dr(u)va-: "well, safe and sound" (Gershevitch 1969: 236; OnP 8.1617; ASN 88).
– Elamite: Tar-ma: PFNN 188:4.

4.2.540 *Dr(u)vagēθa-: < *Dr(u)va-gaiθa-, "with a stable household" (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1659; ASN 88), Av. *druuo-gaēθa-*.
– Elamite: Tur-ma-ge-sa: PF 1956:29-30 (Tu[r-m]a-ʾraʾ-sa),31, 2006:15.

4.2.541 *Dr(u)vāna-: *Dr(u)v-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Dr(u)va-, "firm, steady" (Gershevitch 1969b: 197; OnP 8.1668).
Hinz (ASN 88) does not accept this, because one should expect Tur-ma-na or Tur-man-na in Elamite. He prefers *Dravāna-, a patronymic of the Av. root *drav-*, "to run". Nevertheless his reconstruction too is problematic, since the name is not spelled Tur-ra-°, as Hinz believes, but Tur-ru-° (Stolper, pers. comm. 27/4/2000).
– Elamite:

1) Tur-man-na: PFNN 1644:10, 2279:1.
2) Tur-ru-man-na: PFNN 1018:6-7.

4.2.542 *Dr(u)vaspāda-: *Dr(u)va-spāda-, "having a firm army" (Benveniste 1966: 94; Gershevitch 1969: 237; OnP 8.1661; ASN 89).
– Elamite:
1) Tur-ma-iš-ba-da: PFNN 2071:1.
2) Tur-maš-ba-da: PF 1812:4-5; PFNN 425:4, 543:5, 1100:4, 1745:6-7, 2356:5.
3) Tur-ru-iš-ba-ud-da: PFNN 1202:5.
4) Tur-ru-ma-iš-ba-da: PFNN 458:4, 2071:10.

4.2.543 *Dr(u)vāta-: *Dr(u)va-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Dr(u)va-.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 368) recognize its Iranian character.
– Elamite: Tur-ma-du: PFNN 1295:2.

4.2.544 *Dr(u)vavistva-: *Dr(u)va-vistva-, "the steady shooter" (ASN 89).
Gershevitch (1969: 237) mentions *Druviš(ta)-tama-, "he who is in most excellent health". Hinz (NW 116) prefers *Drva-vistaxva-, "very brave". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1663) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Du-ra-mi-iš-du-ma: PF 730:4-5.
2) Tur-ma-mi-iš-du-ma: PFNN 1206:3-4, 2368:35-36.
3) Tur-mi-iš-du-ma: PF 846:2-3.

4.2.545 *Dr(u)viča-: *Dr(u)v-iča-, *-iča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dr(u)va-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1664; ASN 89).
– Elamite: Tur-mi-iz-za: PFNN 534:48, 1825:4-5.

4.2.546 *Dr(u)viya-: *Dr(u)v-iya-, *-iya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dr(u)va-name (OnP 8.1618; ASN 89).
– Elamite: Tar-mi-ia: PF 754:3.

4.2.547 *Dṛdavanuš (OP): *Dṛda-vanu-š, "loving wholeheartedly" (Schmitt 1970: 21; ASN 93).
Gershevitch (1969: 237) reconstructs *δṛda-vaŋhu-, "heart-good".
– Elamite:
1) Tar-du-man-nu-iš: PFNN 2192:11.
2) Tur-du-man-nu-iš: PF 1291:4.

4.2.548 *Dṛnaka-: *Dṛna-ka-, "harvest", *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Dṛna-name (cf. EIW 369).
– Elamite: Tur-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 493:3.

4.2.549 *Dṛθiš (OP): "he who looks at" (EIW 373).
– Elamite: Tu[r]-ši-iš: PFNN 308:2.

4.2.550 *Dṛθiya- (OP): *Dṛθ-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Dṛθ-, "looking at". Median *Dṛsiya- is equally possible, since the El. spelling does not allow us to determine the real reading.

– Elamite: Tur-ši-ia: PFNN 2539:7.

4.2.551 *Dṛvapāta- (OP): *Dṛva-pāta-, "protected by Dṛvan-" (ASN 89).
Hinz (ASN 89) also mentions *Dr(u)vapāda-.
– Elamite:
1) Tur-me-ba-da: PFNN 91:2.
2) Tur-ru-i[b]-ba-da: PFNN 387:5-6.

4.2.552 *Dūramiždva-: *Dūra-mižd-va-, *-va*-extension of *Dūra-mižda-, "whose reward is far(-reaching)" (Zadok 1976: 67; Dandamayev 1992: 71).
– Babylonian:
1) Du-ru-muš-du-': BE 9 60:R.
2) Du-ur-muš-du-': BE 9 60:21; IMT 33:22.

4.2.553 *Dušxauda-: *Duš-xauda-, "vicious" (Gershevitch 1969: 238; OnP 8.395; ASN 90).
With regard to the El. spelling Benveniste (1966: 82) mentions *Duš-kamta-, "he who is not loved". Segal (1983: 103) considers the Aramaic writing as rendering a Semitic name. The ', that at first caused problems to Zadok (1985: 176), later appears to be a normal reflection (together with H) of Old Ir. /a/ (Zadok 1991: 39).
– Aramaic: Dwšḥd': ATNS 89:1.
– Elamite: Du-iš-kam-da: PF 729:3-4.

4.2.554 *Dūta-: "messenger" (OnP 8.387; ASN 90).
– Elamite: Du-ud-da: PF 746:3-4, 747:3, 748:4, 1960:19; PFNN 2211:39, 2265:31, 2542:27.

4.2.555 *Dūtaka-: *Dūta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of either a retrenchment of a *Dūta-name (OnP 8.399; ASN 90) or of a name *Dūta-.
– Elamite:
1) Du-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1355:4, 1759:2, 1879:3, 1889:2-3, 1955:11; PFNN 2274:5.
2) Du-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 323:10-11; PFNN 2299:9.

4.2.556 *Dūtaxšaya-: *Dūta-xšaya-, "ruling over the messengers" (ASN 90).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.386) offers no explanation.
– Elamite: Du-da-šá-ia: PF 1832:2.

4.2.557 *Dūtēna-: < *Dūt-aina, an *-aina*-extension of either a retrenchment of a *Dūta-name (OnP 8.397; ASN 90) or of *Dūta-.
– Elamite:
1) Du-te-na: PF 1644:2, 1729:2; PFNN 890:2.
2) Du-ut-te-na: PFNN 1624:3, 2520:3-4.

4.2.558 *Dūtina-: *Dūt-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Dūta-name (OnP 8.397; ASN 90) or of *Dūta-. Cf. 4.3.56.
– Elamite: Du-ti-na: PF 216:3.

4.2.559 *Dvitauka-: Dvi-tauka-, "twins" (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.390; ASN 90).
– Elamite: Du-mi-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PFNN 444:5.

4.2.560 *Ēsmabṛju-: < *Aisma-bṛju-, "bringing the (holy) firewood" (OnP 8.520; ASN 26), cf. *aēsmam...bərəja* in Yasna 62,10 and OInd. *idhmábhṛti-*, "bringing fuel".
Gershevitch (1969: 195-196) reconstructs *Hišva(t)-pṛθu-, "compressing her flanks", with reference to OInd. *suṣv-*, a present stem of *su-*, "to compress" and Av. *pərəsu-*, "flank".
– Elamite: He-iš-ma-bìr-su: PFNN 541:35.

4.2.561 *Ēsmāčirīš (fem.): < *Aismā-čir-iya-, "capable through the holy firewood".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 393) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: E-iš-ma-zir-ri-iš: PF 2038:30.

4.2.562 *Ēsmapāna-: < *Aisma-pāna-, "protector of the (holy) firewood" (ElW 664).
– Elamite: He-iš-ma-ba-na: PFNN 2240:2-3.

4.2.563 *Fanuka-: *Fan-uka-, "little sun", *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Fan-name.
Benveniste (1966: 80; also Gershevitch 1969: 218 and OnP 8.1271) pleads for *Bānu-ka-, while Hinz (NW 113) prefers a connection with Av. *x"aini-*, "beautiful". The same author (ASN 93) later proposes *Fan-ika-, but the spelling -nu-uk- makes clear that it has to be *Fanuka. *Fanika- would be written Pa-nu-ik-ka$_4$.
– Elamite:
1) Pa-nu-ka$_4$: PF 2085:11; PFNN 518:2-3.
2) Pa-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2085:2.

4.2.564 *Farnabāzu- (Med.): *Farna-bāzu-, "having Farnah's arm" (ASN 94; Kornfeld 1978: 110), Gk. Φαρνάβαζος (IN 92-93).
Schmitt (2002: 76 and 2006: 126) reconstructs *Farnavazdā and explains the Aramaic spelling as rendering the Greek form (Schmitt 2006: 76n.97). This could be possible because the coins with the Aramaic legend were minted later than the ones with the Greek legend (Casabonne 2004: 188-196). Yet one would expect a spelling *Prnbzws in that case. Cf. 4.2.1707.
– Aramaic: Prnbzw: Alram 1986 327-334; Babelon 1893 169, 173, 180.

4.2.565 *Farnadāta-: *Farna-dāta-, "given gloriously" (Cameron 1948: 153; Benveniste 1966: 90; Mayrhofer 1972: 318; OnP 8.1281; ASN 94; Dem. Nb. 468; Vittmann 2004: 166), cf. Gk. Φαρανδάτης and Φερενδάτης (IN 91).
– Aramaic: Prndt: TAD D 7.39:10.
– Demotic: Prntt: P. Berl. 13539:1,rev., 13540:1,rev.
– Elamite:

1) Bar-in-da-ad-da[108]: PT 62:5-6.
2) Bar-na-da-ad-da: PF 414:2-3, 1841:1, 1955:26; PFNN 212:5-6, 548:32,33, 2567:2; PT 70:4.
3) Bar-na-da-da: PFNN 1697:2, 1806:2.
4) Bar-na-da-ud-da: Fort. 7864:8-9; PFNN 63:3-4, 395:7-8; PT 43:5.
5) Pa-ir-in-da-ad-da: PFNN 1271:5-6.
6) Pa-ir-in-da-[da]: PFNN 2472:7-8.
7) Pa-ir-na-da-da: Fort. 1706:2; PFNN 1267:2-3.
8) Pa-ra-an-da-ad-da: PFNN 230:2.
9) Pa-ra-an-da-da[109]: PFNN 822:2-3, 1346:3.

4.2.566 *Farainiš: *Farn-ain-i-, *-i*-patronymic of an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name.

Hinz (ASN 100) reconstructs *Frīn-āni-, an *-āni*-patronymic of *Frīna-, "dear, sweet". Zadok (1976: 69) and Dandamayev (1992: 110) take an *-aini*-hypocoristic into consideration.

– Babylonian: Par-ri-na-'-ni-iš: BE 10 76:4,9,11.

4.2.567 *Farnaka-: *Farna-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name (Benveniste 1958b: 51; OnP 8.1282; ASN 94), Gk. Φαρνάκης (Huyse 1990: 62).

– Aramaic: Prnk: OIP 117 22:2.
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-na-ak: PBS 2/1 5:2,11.
2) Pa-ar-nak-ku: EE 32:5'.
3) Pa-ár-na-ku: BM 16996:8[110].
4) Pa-ra-na-kab(?): JCS 28 46 no.41:6.
5) Par-na-ak-ka: AnOr 8 67:6.
6) Par-nak: YOS 7 128:20.
7) Par-nak-ki: Erm. 15539:21 (cf. Dandamayev 1992: 108).
8) Par-nak-ku: YBC 11611:3 (reference M.W. Stolper).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-na-ak-ka$_4$: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:2; OGWA 321-322:1,5,7,9,11,13,15,17,19,21,26; PF 229:3, 654:3, 655:4-5, 656:2-3, 657:3-4, 658:3, 659:2-3, passim in PFT and PFNN; PFa 17:7, 28:15-16; PT 4:12.

[108] This spelling (together with the spellings nos. 5-6 and 8) renders the allegroform *Farndāta- (Schmitt 1988: 83).

[109] Schmitt (1988: 83) prefers here an allegroform *Farandāta- and so denies his former opinion (1976b: 30) that the cluster /rn/ (in *Farndāta-) was remodeled to /ραν/ by the Greeks.

[110] Cf. Zadok (1997-98: 297 and 301 with collation by M.W. Stolper).

2) Bar-na-ik-ka$_4$: PF 776:10, 1031-1032:3-4, 1338:6; PFa 4:3-4,13, 20:10; PFNN 1511:3, 1684:7, 2183:5, 2516:10.
3) Bar-na-ka$_4$: PF 314:2, 420:2-3, 1255:7-8, 1259:6, 1272:4,6, etc. in PFT and PFNN; PFa 12:6, 16:5, 19:10, 28:4,11.
4) Pa-ir-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1789:3; PFNN 446:4, 1295:4-5.
5) Pa-ir-na-ka$_4$: PF 187:6; PFNN 1276:11, 1564:11, 1565:4-5, 2504:5-6.
6) [Pí]r-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2214:9-10.
7) Pír-na-ka$_4$: PF 1369:7.

4.2.568 *Farnauxti-: *Farna-uxti-, "glory's obligation" (Zadok 1981-82: 137n.45; Dandamayev 1992: 109).

– Babylonian: Par-na-uḫ-ti-': BE 9 11:3,7,19.

4.2.569 *Farnavā: nom. sg. of *Farna-vant-, "having glory" (Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.1287; ASN 94; Dem. Nb. 468; Schmitt, apud Vittmann 2004: 166 and n.171).

Demotic Prnw is analyzed by Hinz (ASN 94) and Huyse (1992: 289n.4) as *Farnahva-. Schmitt (2006: 204) prefers *Farnaṷvā.

– Babylonian: [P]a-ar-nu-ma-': JAOS 114 627:17.
– Demotic: Prnw: P. Berl. 13582:2,3 (reading: Hughes 1984: 75-77); P. Loeb. 1:1,2,18.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-nu-ma: Fs Steve 249:4; PF 415:3, 1959:19; PFNN 158:3, 162:3, 202:3, 344:3, 432:4, 1171:5, 2188:2, 2371:6,13.
2) Pír-na-ma: PFNN 2256:12.

4.2.570 *Farnaya-: *Farna-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name (Kornfeld 1978: 110).

– Aramaic: Prny: ASAE 39 355 no.5:1.

4.2.571 *Farnazāta- (Med.): *Farna-zāta-, "born gloriously" (Clay 1904: 60; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 110).

– Babylonian:
1) Par-ri-na-za-a-ta: BE 10 92:14.
2) Par-ri-na-za-a-tú: BE 10 92:Lo.E.

4.2.572 *Farniča-: *Farn-iča-, *-ič̌a*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name (Benveniste 1958b: 52; Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1285; Schmitt 1975: 183; Kornfeld 1978: 110), Parth. Prnyš (Schmitt 1998: 186).

Hinz (ASN 94) proposes *Farn-aiča-.

– Aramaic: Prnyš: TAD C 4.7:11.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ni-iz-za: PF 161:12, 260-261:3, 679:3, 680:2-3, 757:3, 1107:3, 1138:2-3, 1160:2-3, 1212:2, 2036:2-3; PFNN 296:2, 1357:2-3, 1441:2, 2131:3, 2411:2.

2) Pa-ir-ni-iz-za: PF 1505:1-2.

4.2.573 *Farnima-: *Farn-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name (Schmitt 1975: 183).

Kornfeld (1978: 110) takes a variant of *Parnuš into consideration.

– Aramaic: Prnm: TAD C 4.7:9.

4.2.574 *Farnuka-: *Farn-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Farnah-name (OnP 8.1286; Schmitt, apud OnP 298 and 2002: 77; ElW 154). Gk. Φαρνοῦχος.

Hinz (ASN 95) reconstructs *Farn-auka-.

– Elamite:

1) Bar-nu-ka$_4$: PFNN 2097:1.

2) Bar-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2012:13; PFNN 677:2, 2280:23.

4.2.575 *Faršandāta-: *Fa-ṛšan-dāta-, "given as a good hero" (ASN 95). Sometimes Aramaic (as well as Elamite) inserts a nasal element. In that case the reconstruction is *Faršadāta-. Another explanation for the extra *-n-* is a function as indicating the ending of the stem.

Other etymologies: (1) *Paršana-dāta-, "created for the battle" (IN 243-244); (2) *Paršno-dāta-, "created for the defense" (Scheftelowitz 1901: 51); (3) *Frašna-dāta-, "the inquisitive one" (Gehman 1924: 327); (4) *Paršanta-dāta-, "born from a multi-coloured person" (Schwartz, apud Greenfield 1971: 628; Zadok 1977: 100 and n.91), cf. Av. Paršaṯ-gu-, "having multi-coloured cattle" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/68).

– Aramaic: Pršndt: CIS 2/1 100:2.

4.2.576 *Faršēna-: < *Fa-ṛš-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *F(a)-ṛša-, "good hero" (OnP 8.1299; ASN 95).

Hinz (NW 43) reconstructs *Farašyāna-.

– Elamite: Pa-ir-še-na: PF 1577:3.

4.2.577 *Fatigra-: *Fa-tigra-, "well slender" (NW 116; ASN 95).

– Elamite: Pa-ti-ik-ra: PFNN 299:5.

4.2.578 *Fraçŭta- (OP): *Fra-çŭta-, "famous, known". Cf. 4.2.588.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-šu-ud-da: PFNN 1722:3-4.

4.2.579 *Frādafarnā: *Frāda-farnā, "furthering glory" (Driver 1965: 59; ASN 96; Zadok 1977: 110 and nn.235-236; Kornfeld 1978: 110; Dandamayev 1992: 86), Av. Frādaṯ.xᵛarənah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/42-43), Parth. Prdpr[n] (Schmitt 1998: 183).

Driver (1954: 21) prefers *Fratafarnah-, "having a fiery radiance".

– Aramaic: Prdprn: TAD A 6.9:2.

– Babylonian:

1) Ip-ra-a-du-par-na-': BE 10 114:5,6.

2) Ip-ra-du-par-na-': PBS 2/1 138:U.E.

4.2.580 *Fradāta-: *Fra-dāta-, "furthered" (Eilers 1936: 176n.1 and 1940: 5n.2; ASN 96; Zadok 1977: 98, 109 and n.220; Dandamayev 1992: 86 and 114), Parth. Prdt (Schmitt 1998: 179).

– Babylonian:

1) Ip-ra-da-a-ta: PBS 2/1 103:3,6.

2) Ip-ra-da-a-tú: PBS 2/1 201:3,7,8.

4.2.581 *Frādauka- / *Frādōka-: *Frād-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of Frāda- or of a retrenchment of a *Frāda-name (ASN 96).

Unlikely etymologies are *Fratama-ka- (Benveniste 1966: 90) and *Frāda(t)-vahu-ka- (Gershevitch 1969: 220).

– Elamite:

1) Pír-ra-da-u-ka$_4$: PF 1428-1429:2, 1430:3-4, 1433:2-3; PFNN 381:2-3.

2) Pír-ra-du-ka$_4$: PF 963:3, 1104:2-3, 1426-1427:2, 1436:2, 1987:54.

3) Pír-ra-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1435:1-2, 1941:10; PFNN 2294:19.

4) Pír-ra-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PF 744:2-3, 964-965:2, 1147:2-3, 1235:2-3, 2051:2-3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 1252:2-3, 1305:2-3, 1518:2, etc. in PFNN.

5) Pír-ra-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:1; PF 1813:1.

4.2.582 *Frādavauš: *Frāda-vau-š, "furthering the good" (Gershevitch 1969: 221; OnP 8.1323; ASN 96).

– Elamite: Pír-ra-da-u-iš: PF 2003:1.

4.2.583 *Fragauka-: *Fragau-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Fragau-, "treasure" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; OnP 8.1326; ASN 96).

– Elamite: Pír-ra-kam-ka$_4$: PF 699:9-10.

4.2.584 *Fraištāna-: *Fraišt-āna-, "messenger" (Zadok 1995b: 442).

Zadok's second possibility, a connection with Av. *fraišta-*, "most", is less likely, since the Av. word refers to the number, not to the quality.

– Aramaic: Prystn: TAD C 3.7 Jr i 3.

4.2.585 *Fraitĭš: *Frait-ĭ-š, *-i*-patronymic (*Fraitiš) or contracted form (*Fraitīš < *Frait-iya-) of *Fraita-, "walking on" (ElW 208; Tavernier 2002b: 150).

– Elamite: Pír-a-a-ti-iš: Ward 1910: 331 no.1076.

4.2.586 *Framā-: *Fra-mā-, retrenchment of *Framāna-[111].

– Aramaic: Prm: TAD D 22.49:1.

4.2.587 *Frāpariš: *Frāpari-š, "leading forward" (ASN 97).

Gershevitch (1969b: 193; also OnP 8.1321) reconstructs *Frabari-, "he who bestows" (Av. *frabar-*).

– Elamite: Pír-ráb-ba-ri-iš: PFNN 1227:1-2.

4.2.588 *Frasrŭta- (Med.): *Fra-srŭta-, "famous" (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 111). Cf. 4.2.578.

– Babylonian: Pa-ar-sa-ru-tú: EE 19:5.

[111] The Ar. rendering of Ahuramazdā- ('Hwrmzd) shows that Ir. /ā/ is not necessarily reflected by Ar. '.

4.2.589 *Frasta-: "asked" (Gershevitch 1969: 220; OnP 8.1331; ASN 98).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-iš-da: PF 1952:16.

4.2.590 *Frastauka-: *Frast-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Frasta-.
– Elamite: Pír-ra-iš-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PFNN 145:8.

4.2.591 *Frasuka-: *Fras-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Fras-, "he who asks".
– Elamite: Pír-ráš-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2268:1.

4.2.592 *Frašagu-: *Fraša-gu-, "having excellent cattle" (Stolper 1992: 126; Zadok 1994: no.17).
– Babylonian: Pa-ar-šá-gu-ú: OECT 12 AB243:2.

4.2.593 *Frašāma-: *Fraša-āma-, "having an excellent strength" (ElW 218, reading *Frašam).
– Elamite: Pír-re-šá-um: PFNN 728:3.

4.2.594 *Frašēna-: < *Fraš-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Fraša-name (ElW 216).

Gershevitch (1969b: 193) mentioned Pirrašeia and reconstructed *Fraša-aya-, "advancer". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1332) prefers Pirrašeia and reconstructs *Frašiya-, whereas Hinz (ASN 98) mentions *Fraša-ya-. Nevertheless this spelling has to be ruled out, for it was corrected by Hallock to Pirrašena.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-še-na: PFNN 373:5-6.

4.2.595 *Frašiš: *Fraš-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Fraša-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; OnP 8.1333).

Hinz (ASN 98) identifies this name with *Frašaya-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 216) read *Fraišiš.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-ši-iš: PF 178:4-5.

4.2.596 *Frataka-: *Frata-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Frata-name (ASN 98).

Other proposals: (1) *Frāda-ka- (Benveniste 1966: 90; OnP 8.1324), (2) *Fraθ-auka- (Gershevitch 1969b: 193), (3) *Frāda(t)-vahu-ka- (Gershevitch, l.c.) and (4) *Fra-taka-, "running ahead" (ASN 98).

– Elamite:
1) Pír-ra-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 2011:14,30; PFNN 2077:21 (°-tuk-<ka$_4$>), 2274:14.
2) Pír-ra-ud-da-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1278:3-4.

4.2.597 *Fratama-: "noble" (Eilers 1955: 229-236; Hallock 1969: 745; Zadok 1976d: 215 and 1977: 107 and n.197; Dandamayev 1992: 111). Cf. 4.4.2.5.

Hinz (ASN 129) reads *Hu-tava-, "bringing about well" (Ut-ta-am-mu).

– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-ta-am-mu: Dar. 410:2.
2) Par-ta-am-mu: Dar. 379:3.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-tam$_6$-ma: PT 1957-2:5-6.

4.2.598 *Fraθanja-: *Fra-θanja-, "pulling forward" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193 and 197; OnP 8.1327; ASN 99).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-sa-an-za: PFNN 754:7.

4.2.599 *Fraθanjāna-: *Fraθanja-āna, *-āna*-patronymic of *Fraθanja- (Zadok 1991: 40).

Sachau (1911: 93) and Ungnad (1911: 39) read Prtnwn. Cowley (1923: 156) reads Prtprn, a rendering of *Frata-farnah (Kornfeld 1978: 111).

– Aramaic: Prtnzn: TAD B 2.1:17; TAD C 4.7:13.

4.2.600 *Fraθasavā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Fraθa-savah-, "spreading the profit, benefit" (Zadok 1975: 246 and 1979: 298; Dandamayev 1992: 111, who reads *Fratasavah-), cf. Av. *fraθa-sauuah-*.
– Babylonian: Pa-ar-ta-sa-mu: OECT 12 A124:2.

4.2.601 *Fraθauka-: *Fraθ-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Fraθa-, "asking" (OP) or "spreading".

Hinz (1968: 434) mentions *Fraθa-vahu-ka-, while Gershevitch (1969: 219-220) rather prefers a connection with Oss. *räsug*, "pure". Later Hinz (ASN 99) reconstructs *Fraθauka-, which he erroneously considers to be the Old Persian equivalent of *Fratauka-, an *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Frata-, "prime, fine". The alternation t/θ is only attested in *u*-stems.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-sa-u-ka$_4$: PF 1964:17-18.

4.2.602 *Fraurē-: < *Fra-vara-ya-, "he who is to be chosen" (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 112).

Hinz (ASN 182) reconstructs *Paru-raiva-, "much-rich".

– Babylonian: Pa-ru-re-e: BE 9 76:12.

4.2.603 *Fravānpā-: *Fravān-pā, "amply protecting" (NW 114; ASN 99).

Gershevitch (1969: 219) reconstructs *Par(u)vam-pā-, "drinking first", which, however, does not convince Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1342).

– Elamite: Pír-ru-man-ba: PF 1663:4-5.

4.2.604 *Fravartipāta-: *Fravarti-pāta-, "protected by Fravarti" (Naveh & Shaked 1971: 381; ASN 99, translating "protected by the protective spirits"; Kornfeld 1978: 110), Parth. Prwrtypt (Schmitt 1998: 181).
– Aramaic: Prwrtpt: TAD A 3.10:9.

4.2.605 *Fravrāza- (Med.): *Fra-vrāza-, "very joyful" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; ASN 99).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1336) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Pír-ra-u-ra-za: unread V-text, box 657:x+5.

4.2.606 *Frāza-: "forward" (ASN 99).

Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 176) pleads for a hypocoristic of a *Frāza-name.

– Aramaic: Prz: Pers 131:2; PF 126 (cf. Bowman 1970: 176n.372).

4.2.607 *Frazuš: *Frazu-š, "the valuable" (ASN 100).

Gershevitch (1970: 89) mentions *Fraθu-, "very swift", to OInd. *prāśú-*. Hinz (ASN 100) argues that SU never renders Ir. /θu/ and rejects Gershevitch's etymology, something which was already done by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1329).

– Elamite: Pír-ra-is-su: PFNN 1181:3 (reading: M.W. Stolper 18/05/2001).

4.2.608 *Frēna-: < *Fry-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Frya- (ASN 100).
Gershevitch (1969: 219) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1337) plead for *Fryāyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Frya-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 218) consider Pír-re-na a rendering of *Frīna-, "beloved".
– Elamite:
1) Pír-re-e-na: PF 30:2, 515-516:2, 517:2-3, 597:3, 1908:4-5; PFNN 751:2, 1365:6-7.
2) Pír-re-na: Fort. 1968-5:3-4.

4.2.609 *Friθuš (fem.): *Friθu-š, "joyful". Cf. 4.3.70.
– Elamite: Pír-ri-du-iš: PFNN 541:19.

4.2.610 *Frya-: "dear, sweet" (ASN 100; Dandamayev 1992: 114; Stolper 1994b: 626), Av. Friia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/45).
– Aramaic: Pr[y]: TAD C 3.8 iii b 16.
– Babylonian: Pi-ri-ia: JAOS 114 627:20.

4.2.611 *Fryamanā: nom. sg. of *Frya-manah-, "having a friendly mind".
– Elamite: Pír-ri-ia-ma-na: PFNN 1758:3-4.

4.2.612 *Fryāna-: *Fry-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Frya- (Benveniste 1966: 91; Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.1339; ASN 100), Av. Friiāna- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/45).
– Elamite: Pír-ri-ia-na: PF 1941:3,5, 1981:10-11 (°-[i]a-na), 2040:2.

4.2.613 *Fryapatiš: *Frya-pati-š, "the beloved master" (Gershevitch 1969: 221) or "he who is at the head of the beloved ones" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1338; ASN 100), OInd. *priyápati-*, Parth. Prypt(k) (Schmitt 1998: 182).
– Elamite: Pír-ri-ia-bat-ti-iš: PF 2013:passim; PFNN 2262:52.

4.2.614 *Fryāspa-: *Frya-aspa-, "having sweet horses", (Schmitt 1968: 67; OnP 8.1340; ASN 100) or "to whom horses are dear" (Benveniste 1966: 91). Cf. Av. Frīnāspa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/45).
– Elamite:
1) Pír-ri-áš-ba: PF 39:4.
2) Pír-ri-ia-iš-ba: PF 40:8-9.

4.2.615 *Fšuvīra-: *Fšu-vīra-, "possessing cattle and men" (OnP 8.1582; ASN 100).
– Elamite: Šu-mi-ra: Fort. 2510:2, 7253:2; PF 315:1-2, 1696:2; PFNN 1232:1-2.

4.2.616 *Gadaka-: *Gada-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Gadā-, "mace" (ASN 101), cf. Av. *gaδa-vara-*.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.698) reconstructs *Kāta-ka-.
– Elamite:

1) Ka_4-da-ak-ka_4: PF 1355:2-3.
2) Ka_4-da-ka_4: PF 1348:2-3; PFNN 487:2, 666:2.
3) Ka_4-tuk-ka_4: PF 287:11-12, 288:2, 289:4-5, 290:4, 2008:16, etc. in PFT; PFNN 395:6, 453:3, 571:48, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.617 *Gadakara-: *Gada-kara-, "making maces" (ASN 101).
Gershevitch (1969: 201) reconstructs *Kātakara-, "he who respects, esteems", to Oss. *kadʲkadä*, "honour". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.699) mentions a connection with Av. *kāta-*, "popular, desired" as a possibility.
– Elamite: Ka_4-da-ka_4-ra: PF 2011:7,23.

4.2.618 *Gadāta-: *Gada-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Gadā- (ASN 101), Gk. Γαδάτας (known from the famous Gadatas-letter[112]).
Schmitt (1972f: 91) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.697) consider this name to be an abbreviation of *Bagadāta-. Dressler (1974: 125) too pleads for a connection with *Bagadāta-, but as an allegroform: *Bagadāta- > *Bgadāta- > *Gadāta-. Nevertheless other *Baga-names are never abbreviated.
– Elamite: Ka_4-da-da: PF 279:3.

4.2.619 *Gadauka- / *Gadōka-: *Gad-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Gadā- (ASN 101).
Gershevitch (1969: 201) reads *Ka-tauka-, "what an offspring" or *Kāta-vahuka-, "of good honour", while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.701) connects it with Av. Kāta-, "desired".
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-da-u-ka_4: PF 1085:7-8, 1125:5, 1126:7; PFNN 674:5, 1695:7-8, 2101:2-3.
2) Ka_4-du-ka_4: PF 1616:4-5, 1617:4.
3) Ka_4-du-uk-ka_4: PF 143:4, 1302:4, 1569:3, 1847:7, 2018:7.
4) Ka_4-du-uk-ku: Fort. 5897:3-4; PF 15:4.
5) Ka_4-tam-ka_4: PF 691:8-9.

4.2.620 *Gadavara-: *Gada-vara-, "leading the mace" (ASN 101), cf. Av. *gaδa-vara-*.
Gershevitch (1969b: 189) mentions *Gǎda(t)-ahura-, "addressing request to Ahura", which is rejected by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.702).
– Elamite: Ka_4-da-u-ra: PF 2012:5.

4.2.621 *Gadēča-: < *Gad-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of *Gadā-, "mace" (ASN 101) rather than of *Gada-, "looter, robber".
Gershevitch (1969: 186) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.801) reconstruct *Kāt-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of Av. Kāta-, "desired" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/58-59), but such a name would be written Ka_4-at-te-°, in correspondence with the Reiner-test. Of course there are exceptions to this test, but the other names, brought into relation with Kāta- (*Gadaka, *Gadakara-, *Gadauka-) by the aforementioned authors, follow the Reiner-test, so in all likelihood Hinz is right.

[112] The authenticity of this letter has been recently been questioned by Gauger (2000: 205-209).

– Elamite: Ka_4-te-ez-za: PF 1658:2, 1864:2.

4.2.622 *Gafēzāta-: < *Gafya-zāta- (Gershevitch 1969: 200). Gafya- is the equivalent of Av. *Gafiia-, attested in the anthroponyms Aēuuō. gafiia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/17) and Ašti.gafiia- (ibid. I/26).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.696) only mentions the El. spelling, while Hinz (ASN 146) prefers *Kapai-zāta-, "born in Pisces (the sign of the zodiac)".

– Elamite: Ka_4-be-za-da: PF 312:3-4.

4.2.623 *Gaiθu- (OP) / *Gēθu-: "the curly" (Gershevitch 1969: 202; OnP 8.825; ASN 102).

Bowman (1970: 124-125) considers Gyt as a hypocoristic of *Gaiθa-, "cattle, household", which, however, is not convincing. He also mentions that it is easy to see *-yt-* as **yata-* (Av. *yata-*, "share"). This, however, creates problems with the *gimel*.

– Aramaic: Gyt: Pers 54:2.

– Elamite:

1) Ge-a-du-iš: PFNN 1409:2.

2) Ge-tu-iš: PF 254:4-5.

4.2.624 *Gandṛva-: OIr. equivalent of OInd. Gandharvá- (EWA I 321-322, name of a mythical king) and Av. Gaṇdərəβa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/46). The meaning of this name is not sure (Gershevitch 1969: 199; OnP 8.746; ASN 102).

– Elamite: Kán-tur-ma: PF 1779:3; PFa 29:39 (-tu[r]-°); PFNN 1483:50, 2158:3.

4.2.625 *Ganjavā- (Med.; fem.): *Ganja-vā-, *-va*-extension of *Ganja-, "treasure" (Tavernier 2002: 108-109; Vittmann 2004: 167).

Posener (1936: 119) proposes *Ganja-. Hinz (ASN 103; cf. also Vittmann, l.c.) prefers *Ganza-vā-. Both readings are wrong. The objection against Posener's proposal is that w(ȝ) is the rendering of Ir. *v*. Hinz wrongly equates ḏȝ with Ir. /z/, which is always rendered by sȝ in Egyptian. Additionally ḏȝ is in Egyptian the expression of an affricative /ʤ/, so one can safely assume that this sign also expresses the Iranian affricative /j/. The hieroglyphic renderings of Kambūjiya- (1.2.22), with ḏȝ or ṯ, support this hypothesis.

– Hieroglyphic:

1) Q-n-ḏȝ-w: BdE 11 31:5.

2) Q-n-ḏȝ-wȝ: BdE 11 24:5, 33:8.

4.2.626 *Garšapāta-: *Garša-pāta-, "joyfully protected" (Zadok 1986: 41), cf. Av. Garšta-, the past part. of **garš-* (Mayrhofer 1977: 40 and 1979: I/48).

– Aramaic: Gršpt: ATNS 27:5.

4.2.627 *Gaubāna-: *Gau-b-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Gau-b-a-, a two-stem hypocoristic of Gaubarva- (OnP 8.712).

Other proposals are *Gaub-āna-, "speaker" and *Gau-p-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Gau-pā-, "cow-herd" (Gershevitch 1969: 198).

– Elamite: Kam-ba-na: PF 137:4, 421:2.

4.2.628 *Gaubāra-: *Gau-bāra-, "bull-rider" (OnP 8.805; ASN 103).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) reconstructs *Gau-bara-, "cattle-raiser".

– Elamite: Ka_4-u-ba-ra: PFa 2:3.

4.2.629 *Gaubiya-: *Gau-b-iya-, two-stem hypocoristic of a name such as Gaubar(u)va- (Zadok 1994: no.2).

Perhaps Gaub-iya-, "speaker", to OP *gaub-*, "to speak".

– Babylonian: Gu-bi-iá: OLA 65 447:13.

4.2.630 *Gaudēna-: < *Gaud-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Gauda-, "concealing" (ASN 103).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.736) reconstruct *Gaudāya-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Gaudāyah- (Av. *gaodāiiah-*, "he who fosters cows").

– Elamite: Kam-te-na: Fort. 7861:3; PF 744:4-5.

4.2.631 *Gaudika-: *Gaud-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Gauda- (ASN 104).

Gershevitch (1969: 198) reconstructs *Gaudi-ka-, to Av. *gaọ-δi-*, "milkpot". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.737) believes in a hypocoristic of a *Gaud-name, which is equally possible.

– Elamite: Kam-ti-ka_4: PFNN 214:2.

4.2.632 *Gaufrāda-: *Gau-frāda-, "furthering the cattle" (Gershevitch 1969: 198; OnP 8.727; ASN 104).

– Elamite: Kam-pír-ra-da: PF 1945:18.

4.2.633 *Gauka-: *Gau-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Gau-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; ASN 104; Zadok 1977: 106; Dandamayev 1992: 80).

*Gauka-, "frog" (ASN 104) is also possible, cf. Parth. Gwk (Gignoux 1972: 51) and NP *gok*.

– Babylonian: Gu-uk-ka-': EE 34:6,10,rev.

– Elamite:

1) Ka_4-u-ik-ka_4: PFNN 541:5.

2) Ka_4-u-ka_4: PF 1483:2.

4.2.634 *Gaukava-: *Gau-kava-, "prince of the cattle", cf. Av. Kauuāta-, an *-āta*-hypocoristic of *Kauua- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/58), which is related to Av. *kauui-*, "prince", rather than to MP *kawād*, "young animal".

Hinz (ASN 104) translates "calf".

– Elamite: Ka_4-u-ku-ma: PF 1999:17.

4.2.635 *Gaumā: nom. sg. of *Gaumanta-, "equipped with cattle" (Gershevitch 1970: 87; OnP 8.809; ASN 104), cf. Av. *gaomaṇt-* and the personal name Gaomaṇt- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/46).

– Elamite: Ka_4-u-ma: PF 2012:7,20.

4.2.636 *Gaumaka-: *Gauma-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Gaumā (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; OnP 8.810; ASN 105).

– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-u-ma-ak-ka_4: PF 1286:3.
2) Ka_4-u-ma-ka_4: PFNN 1580:2.

4.2.637 *Gaumata(h)ma-: *Gauma-ta(h)ma-, "brave as the owner of cattle" (ASN 105).
Gershevitch (1969: 198) reconstructs *Kāma-ta(x)ma-, but that would be written El. Ka_4-ma-tak-ma (OnP 8.721).
– Elamite: Kam-ma-da-um-ma: PF 188:3-4.

4.2.638 *Gaumēšā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Gōmaiša- / *Gōmēša-.
– Elamite: Kam-mi-šá: PFNN 541:40.

4.2.639 *Gaumiča-: *Gaum-iča-, *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of *Gaumā (OnP 8.724; ASN 104). Cf. 4.3.74.
– Elamite:
1) Kam-mi-iz-za: Fort. 226-2:2.
2) Kam-mi-za: PF 1954:25.

4.2.640 *Gaunaka-: *Gauna-ka-, "hairy" (Gershevitch 1969: 198; ASN 105).
Another reconstruction is *Kamna-ka-, "the little one" (Benveniste 1966: 85; ElW 427), to OP *kamna-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.725) remains undecisive. Another possibility is a connection with Av. *gaona-*, "profit, benefit".
– Elamite: Kam-na-ak-ka_4: PF 1478:2.

4.2.641 *Gauniya-: *Gaun-iya-, *-iya*-hypocoristic of *Gauna- (Zadok, apud Stolper 1994b: 626; Zadok 1995b: 442).
Here too *Gauna- can have a meaning "profit".
– Babylonian: Gu-ni-ia: JAOS 114 627:19.

4.2.642 *Gaupatiš: *Gau-pati-š, "lord of the cattle" (ElW 425).
– Elamite: Kam-ba-ti-iš: PFNN 2362:1.

4.2.643 *Gaupavanta-: *Gau-pavanta-, "protector of cattle" (Gershevitch 1969: 198; OnP 8.730; ASN 105).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-pu-man-da: PFNN 545:10.
2) Kam-pu-un-da: PF 1660:5.

4.2.644 *Gauraka-: *Gaura-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Gaura- (OnP 8.731), cf. Av. Gaori- and Gaoraiiana-, connected by Mayrhofer (1979: I/47) with OInd. Ghorá-, "terrifying; noble".
Gershevitch (1969: 198; also ASN 105) *Gaura- as "wild ass".
– Elamite:
1) Kam-ra-ak-ka_4: PF 1953:34.
2) Ka_4-u-ra-ak-ka_4: PFNN 2582:2.

4.2.645 *Gaurēča- / *Gōrēča-: *Gaur-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Gaura-, "he who inspires fear".
Gershevitch (1969: 201; also OnP 8.873 and ASN 154) reconstructs *Kur-aiča-, to OInd. *kúla-*, "family". Other readings are (1) *Xva-raič̆ā-, "gut-freimachend" (NW 110-111), (2) *Gaur-aiča-, "wild ass" (ElW 522), to NP *gōr* and (3) *Kur-aiča-, "neck" (ASN 154).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-re-ez-za: PFNN 1669:4-5.
2) Ku-re-ez-za: PF 54:3, 2017:11-12.

4.2.646 *Gaustāna-: *Gau-stāna-, "cattle-place" (ASN 106). Cf. 4.2.161.
Gershevitch (1969: 198) mentions Gavišt-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of the OInd. anthroponym Gaviṣṭha-. This proposal is rejected by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.718).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-iš-da-na: Fort. 7864:9-10; PF 105:6, 475:2, 1334-1336:2-3; PFNN 86:4, 1269:1.
2) Ka_4-u-iš-da-na: PFNN 721:2.

4.2.647 *Gausūri- (Med.): *Gau-sūr-i-, *-i*-patronymic of *Gau-sūra-, "having strong cows" (cf. Zadok 1975: 245; Dandamayev 1992: 80) or "as strong as a cow" (Schmitt 1994: 85).
– Babylonian:
1) Gu-su-ri: PBS 2/1 95:8,11,12.
2) Gu-su-ri-$^{?}$: PBS 2/1 189:7.
3) Gu-sur-ri-$^{?}$: BE 10 80:5,6,8,12,R.

4.2.648 *Gaušapāna-: *Gau-šapa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Gau-šapa-, "fostering cattle" (OnP 8.734; ASN 106).
According to Gershevitch (1969: 198) this is an *-āna*-patronymic of *Gau-šaba-, the name which he recognizes in Kam-šá-ba (PFNN 480:3[113]). He reconstructs *Gau-šaba-, "collecting cattle", to OInd. *sabhā́-*, "collection". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.733; also ASN 106) pleads for *Gau-šapa-. A spelling Kam-šá-ba is, however, nowhere attested.
– Elamite: Kam-šá-ba-na: PF 1837:5-6; PFNN 480:3, 1180:3.

4.2.649 *Gautama-: "very rich in cattle", superlative of **gau-* (Benveniste 1966: 86; OnP 8.806; ASN 106), OInd. Gótama- (SED 364), Av. Gaotəma- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/47).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-da-um-ma: PFNN 1415:3.
2) Kam-u-ut-tam_6: PF 1337:3.
3) Ka_4-u-da-ma: PF 1482:2.

4.2.650 *Gauzaina- (Med.) / *Gauzēna-: *Gauz-aina-, "concealing", *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Gauza- (ASN 106), Gk. Γοζίνης (IN 119).
Driver (1954: 21 and 1965: 59) reads Gwz'n and mentions, if Iranian, *Gavazāna- or *Gauzāna- or, if Babylonian, a connection with the Bab. anthroponym Guzanu (5.5.1.19). Grelot (1972: 472) reads Gwzyn and reconstructs *Godi-, "big cow" or Av. *gaodāiiah-*, followed by the patronymic suffix *-āyana-*. In his appendix (1972: 506), however, only the patronymic suffix is retained, while the connection with Av. *gaodāyah-* is excluded.

[113] The spelling in that text, however, is Kam-šá-ba-na, as this name is followed by *hiše*, "his name" (Stolper, pers. comm. 17/11/05).

– Aramaic: Gwzyn: TAD A 6.9:2.
– Elamite: Kam-še-na: PFNN 1277:3.

4.2.651 *Gāvṛθa-: "sorghum" (NW 85; ASN 106).
Gershevitch (1969: 198) prefers *Gāvarθa-, "sorghum". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.717) is doubtful of this.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-mar-sa: PF 211:2-3.
2) Ka_4-mi-ir-sa: PF 210:2-3.

4.2.652 *Gēdāstiš: < *Gayadā-asti-š, "having the Life-Bestower (= Mithra) as a guest" (Gershevitch 1969: 202; OnP 8.818; ASN 106), Av. Gaiaδāsti- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/46).
– Elamite: Ge-da-áš-ti-iš: PFNN 53:1.

4.2.653 *Gēdāta-: < *Gaya-dāta- (contraction) < *Gayadā-dāta-, "given by the Life-Bestower" (haplology) (OnP 8.817).
Hinz (ASN 107) reconstructs Gaya-dāta-, "created by life", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.817) describes this proposal as semantically difficult. A name *Kaitāta-, an *-āta*-extension of *Kaita-, "magician" (Av. *kaēta-*, MP *kēd*) is unlikely.
– Elamite: Ge-da-ud-da: PF 187:3-4.

4.2.654 *Gēθ̆iš: < *Gaiθ-ĭ-š, an *-i*-patronymic of a name containing *Gaiθa-, "household" or a contracted form of *Gaiθ-iya-.
According to Hinz & Koch (EIW 470) the name must be Iranian, since it belongs to a high official.
– Elamite: Ge-iš-ši-iš: PFNN 2319:3-4.

4.2.655 *Gēvaniš: < *Gaivani-š, Av. Gaēuuani-, the meaning of which is not yet determined (Mayrhofer 1979: I/45).
– Elamite: Ge-man-nu-iš: PFNN 2183:1, 2188:9-10.

4.2.656 *Gīrafarnā: nom. sg. of *Gīra-farnah-, "seizing the glory" (ASN 107; Zadok 1981-82: 137; Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 72), Parth. Grprn (Schmitt 1998: 179).
– Babylonian: Gi-ir-par-na-': PBS 2/1 114:8,10; TuM 2/3 204:2,6,17.

4.2.657 *Gītika-: *Gīti-ka-, "singer" (EIW 489), cf. NE Ki-ti-ik-ka_4 (Zadok 1984b: 388).
– Elamite: Ki-ti-ik-ka_4: PFNN 339:4.

4.2.658 *Gmata-: "he who has come", past part. of **gam-*.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 748) plead for *Gmāta-.
– Elamite: Ik-ma-da: PFNN 1526:6.

4.2.659 *Gōduka-: < *Gaud-uka-, an *-uka*-extension of *Gauda- (ASN 104, reconstructing *Gaud-auka-; EIW 500).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-du-ka_4: PF 1121-1122:2.
2) Ku-du-uk-ka_4: PF 1210:2; PFNN 1614:2, 2349:10.

4.2.660 *Gōmaiša- / *Gōmēša-: < *Gau-maiša-, "buffalo", lit. "cow-ram" (ASN 104).
Gershevitch (1970: 87) reconstructs *Gau-v(a)išă-, "cattle-tender", to OInd. *viṣa-*, "servant". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.854) remains undecisive. Hinz & Koch (EIW 512) do not exclude the possibility of an El. name.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-ma-šá: PFNN 2349:21. Inaccurate spelling for Ku-ma-a-šá.
2) Ku-me-iš-šá: PFNN 2326:2.

4.2.661 *Gōmanta-: < *Gaumanta, the equivalent of Av. *gaomaṇt-*, "equipped with cattle" (Gershevitch 1969: 198; OnP 8.853; ASN 105).
– Elamite: Ku-man-da: PFNN 577:9.

4.2.662 *Gōnika-: < *Gaun-ika-, an *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Gauna-.
Hinz (ASN 154) proposes *Kūn-ika-, to NP *kūn*, "backside".
– Elamite: Ku-nu-ik-ka_4: PF 282:2-3.

4.2.663 *Gōpāna-: < *Gau-pāna-, "cattle-protection".
– Elamite: Ku-ba-na: PFNN 2040:14,31.

4.2.664 *Gōpāruš: < *Gau-pāru-š, "having the shoulders of an ox" (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; ASN 105).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.842) has doubts concerning this name, but Hinz (ASN 105) refers to similar names, e.g. *Aspasupti-.
– Elamite: Ku-ba-ru-iš: PFNN 1018:5,10.

4.2.665 *Grabāta-: *Grab-āta-, "seizing" (ASN 107).
Other etymologies are (1) *Kura-pada-, "belonging to the family-stock" (Gershevitch 1969: 200), (2) *Kura-pāta-, "protected by the family" (OnP 8.878), (3) *Xrăpāda-, "Wanderfuß" (NW 111) and (4) *Xrap-āta-, "angelegen sein" (ASN 107), to Av. *xrap-*.
– Elamite: Kur-ra-ba-da: JNES 53 272:2; PF 1627:2-3.

4.2.666 *Gṛdavā: nom. sg. of *Gṛdavant-, "owner of servants" (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; OnP 8.869).
Hinz (ASN 108) identifies this name with Kur-ti-ia-ma. Yet it is clear that these two spellings cannot render the same name. Kur-ti-ia-ma reflects *Gṛdyavā (4.2.670).
– Elamite: Kur-da-ma: Fort. 7250:4; PF 1542:2, 1602:4; PFNN 740:3-4, 1375:2; PT 1963-15:7.

4.2.667 *Gṛdavīš: < *Gṛdaviya- (cf. Koch 1990: 341).
– Elamite: Kur-du-mi-iš: Fort. 3678:11; PF 614:8-9, 670:9, 1133:2-3, 1812:16-17; PFNN 107:2, 543:16, 947:11, 1506:2-3, 1841:2-3, 1958:3, 2192:29; PT 5:5.

4.2.668 *Gṛdauššapāna-: < *Gṛda-ušša-pāna-, *Gṛda-ušša-pāna-, "protecting the house and the camels" (EIW 521).
– Elamite: Kur-du(?)-u-iš(?)-šá(?)-ba-na: PFNN 2214:2-3.

4.2.669 *Gṛdyabṛza-: *Gṛdya-bṛza-, "the exalted servant".

Hinz (ASN 108) erroneously reconstructs *Gṛda-parša-, "servant-are" (cf. Av. *parša-*).

– Elamite: Kur-ti-e-bar-šá: PF 1854:1.

4.2.670 *Gṛdyavā: nom. sg. of *Gṛdya-vant-, "having servants" (ASN 108).

Gershevitch (1969: 201) reads *Kṛti-yāhma-, "whose dress is a shirt", to Av. *kərəti-*, "dress" and NP *jāma*, "shirt". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.886) firmly denies this.

– Elamite: Kur-ti-ia-ma: PF 485:3.

4.2.671 *Gṛziyuka-: *Gṛz-iy-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Gṛz-iya-, "he who complains" (ASN 108, reconstructing *Gṛzy-auka-).

– Elamite: Kur-zí-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1173:2.

4.2.672 *Gunda-: "thick" (NW 111; ASN 108).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) prefers *Kunda-, an Av. daevic name (AiW 474). Such a name is, however, not a usual personal name.

– Elamite: Ku-un-da: PF 190:3, 1439:3; PFNN 530:4.

4.2.673 *Gundaini-: *Gund-ain-i-, *-i*-patronymic of an *-aina*-extension of *Gunda- (cf. Zadok 1990, who prefers an *-aini*-hypocoristic).

– Babylonian: Gu-un-da-a-a-ni-': IMT 46:5.

4.2.674 *Gundaka-: *Gunda-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Gunda- (Eilers 1940b: 205n.4 and 1953: 58n.1; ASN 108; Zadok 1977: 102n.26; Dandamayev 1992: 80).

– Babylonian:
  1) Gu-un-da-ka-': PBS 2/1 192:19,U.E.
  2) Gu-un-dak-ka-': BE 10 67:17, 90:10,Lo.E.; PBS 2/1 150:24, Lo.E.

– Elamite: Ku-un-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 230:2 (Ku-<un>-tuk-ka$_4$), 322:2-3, 368:2, 414:2, 421:1-2, 484:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 438:1-2, 560:1-2, 1214:2-3, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.675 *Habārda-: *Haba-ṛda-, "he who makes the community prosper" (ASN 109).

– Babylonian: Ḫa-bar-da-': BE 9 18:8.

4.2.676 *Hadābāga-: *Hadā-bāga-, "wealthy", lit. "with a share" (ASN 109; Zadok 1977: 101 and n.114; Dandamayev 1992: 25).

– Babylonian:
  1) A-da-ba-ga-': BE 9 39:10; IMT 38:11.
  2) Ad-ba-ga-': BE 9 12:12,R. (Ad-ba-[ga]-').
  3) Ḫa-ad-ba-ga-': BE 9 9:12,L.E.; IMT 66:16 (°-ba-g[a-']),L.E., 67:11,L.E.

4.2.677 *Hadābānuš: *Hadā-bānu-š, "equipped with splendour" (Gershevitch 1969: 185; OnP 8.409; ASN 109).

– Elamite: Ha-da-ba-nu-iš: PFNN 146:11.

4.2.678 *Hadārāsta-: *Hadā-rāsta-, "equipped with truth" (Gershevitch 1969: 189; OnP 8.410; ASN 110).

– Elamite: Ha-da-ra-iš-da: PFNN 577:1-2.

4.2.679 *Hadavana-: *Hada-vana-, "he who always prevails" (Bowman 1970: 152, who, however, reconstructs *Hadavāna-).

This is the most probable etymology out of a series of proposals: (1) *Hārvāna-, "prevailing Protector" (Bowman 1970: 152), to Av. *hāra-*, (2) *Hadā-vāna-, "with a victory" (ASN 110) and (3) *Harv-āna, an *-āna*-patronymic (ibid.) of OP *haruva-*, "all, entire".

– Aramaic: Hdwn: Pers 95:2.

4.2.680 *Haduka-: *Had-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Hadā-name.

Hinz & Koch (EIW 588) prefer an Elamite name, meaning "increase".

– Elamite: Ha-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1853:3, 2425:1-2.

4.2.681 *Hafniaspa-: *Hafni-aspa-, "he who takes care of horses" (OnP 8.11; ASN 110).

Gershevitch (1969: 178) reconstructs *Afnu-aspa-, "he who obtains horses".

– Elamite: Ap-nu-áš-ba: PFNN 264:2.

4.2.682 *Haftiš: *Hafti-š, "steed" (Gershevitch 1969: 181; ASN 110).

Cameron (1948: 117) considers it to be Elamite. Delaunay (1976: 13n.16) believes in a Semitic name.

– Elamite: Ap-ti-iš: PT 19:20.

4.2.683 *Haina-: retrenchment of a name with **hainā-*, "army" (Gershevitch 1969: 177; OnP 8.413: ASN 112).

– Elamite: Ha-e-na: PF 78-79:2.

4.2.684 *Hainapāθra- (Med.): *Haina-pāθra-, "offering protection against the army of the enemy" (Schmitt 1987: 152).

Segal (1983: 87) mentions *Haina-pitar-, "the army's father". Zadok (1986: 41) has *Hainapāθra-, "protection of the army" and *Hainapuθra-, "son of the army".

– Aramaic: Hynptr: ATNS 64:3.

4.2.685 *Hakṛta-: "the sudden one", retrenchment with extension of some compound like Av. *hakərət.gan-* (Gershevitch 1969: 175).

Hinz (ASN 27) reconstructs *Ā-kṛta-, "well made".

– Elamite: Ha-ak-kur-da: PF 2004:5; PFNN 2104:6.

4.2.686 *Hamarāziš: *Hama-rāz-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Hama-rāza-, "going alike".

– Elamite: Am-ma-ra-zí-iš: PFNN 2192:12.

4.2.687 *Hambāduš (OP): *Ham-bādu-š, "the embracer", lit. "co-arm" (Gershevitch 1969: 178; ASN 112).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.40 and 8.61) is doubtful of this etymology.

– Elamite:
  1) Am-ba-du(-iš): Fort. 6749:4, 7112:2; PF 741:2; PFa 21:3-4, 30:8; PFNN 1474:5-6.
  2) Am-pe-du-iš: PFNN 707:2.
  3) An-ba-du-iš: PF 340:3; PFNN 650:3.

4) Um-ba-du-iš: PF 1439:2; PFa 19:2-3.

4.2.688 *Hambāmya-: *Ham-bāmya-, "shining together" (OnP 8.41; ASN 112).

Not *Hambāviya-, as Gershevitch (1969: 176, referring to OInd. *sambhāviya-*, "honourable, respectable") believes.

– Elamite: Am-ba-mi-ia: PFNN 360:2-3.

4.2.689 *Hambarača-: *Ham-bara-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Ham-bara-, "he who brings together" (ASN 113).

Gershevitch (1970: 85) reconstructs *Hambarza-, "entertainer", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.54) is not convinced by this explanation.

– Elamite: Am-bar-za: PFNN 776:21.

4.2.690 *Hambauja-: "partaker" (Gershevitch 1969: 176; NW 47; ASN 113).

– Aramaic: [H]mbwš: Pers 1:2 (reading: NW 47).

– Elamite: Am-ba-u-za: PF 1094:2.

4.2.691 *Hambāzu- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Hambādu- (Zadok 1976: 67; Dandamayev 1992: 81).

Hinz (ASN 114) erroneously reads Ḫa-am-ma-su-' and reconstructs *Hammasva-, which he connects with Av. *mas-*, "long".

– Babylonian: Ḫa-am-ba-zu-': BE 10 89:16 (°-[b]a-°),R.

4.2.692 *Hambṛtavahuš (OPd): *Ham-bṛta-vahu-š, "having brought together goods (*or*: good things)" (Mayrhofer 1972b: 201; OnP 8.55; ASN 113), cf. Av. Hąm-barətar-vaŋhuuąm (Mayrhofer 1979: I/50).

– Elamite: Am-bìr-da-ú-iš: PFNN 2159:4-5.

4.2.693 *Hambṛtavauš: *Ham-bṛta-vau-š, OPs equivalent of *Hambṛtavahuš.

– Elamite: Am-bìr-da-u-iš: PF 58:10-11, 1159:3-4; PFNN 886:9-10.

4.2.694 *Hambṛza- (Med.): *Ham-bṛza-, "high together" (ElW 55).

– Elamite: Am-bìr-za: PFNN 2355:14.

4.2.695 *Hamidmanya-: *Hamid-manya-, "governing the fellowship" (Benveniste 1966: 77; OnP 8.51; ASN 114), cf. Av. *hamiδ-pati-*, "lord of the fellowship".

Gershevitch (1969: 177) reconstructs *Hammiθwanya-, "given birth to together" (for twins), with reference to Av. *miθβana-*.

– Elamite: Am-mi-ut-man-ia: PF 581:4.

4.2.696 *Hammanya-: *Ham-manya-, "having the same authority" (ElW 53).

– Elamite: Am-man-ia: PFNN 2387:3-4.

4.2.697 *Hammanyuš: *Ham-manyu-š, "having the same mind" (ASN 114).

– Elamite:

1) Am-man-nu-hu-iš: PFNN 1947:2-3.

2) Am-ma-nu-ú-iš: PFNN 1554:4-5 (Am-<ma>-°), 1757:2.

4.2.698 *Hampāna-: *Ham-pāna-, "co-protection" (OnP 8.42; ASN 114).

Gershevitch (1969: 176) prefers *Hampāna-, "the (= looking like a) goat-skin".

– Elamite: Am-ba-na: PF 824:6-7, 825:4-5.

4.2.699 *Hanaka-: *Hana-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Hana-, "the old one" (OnP 8.60), OInd. Sanaka- (SED 1141), Lat. Seneca.

Gershevitch (1969: 177) reconstructs *Anāka-, "the stealthy". Hinz (ASN 26) identifies this name with *Ainaka- (Neo-El. A-a-na-ak-ka$_4$), but a-na- cannot render /ai/.

– Elamite:

1) A-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 472:3, 510:7, 1360:10, 1447:2, 2256:12-13, 2541:24.

2) A-na-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2209:6.

4.2.700 *Hanāruš: *Hanāru-š, "gaining, achieving" (OnP 8.434; EWAi II 426), OInd. Sanāru- (SED 1141).

Gershevitch (1970: 85; also ASN 115) reads *Haṇārū-, but the OInd. equivalent has no /ū/.

– Elamite: Ha-na-ru-iš: PF 2038:17.

4.2.701 *Hamfrya-: *Ham-frya-, "mutually dear" (Gershevitch 1969: 176; OnP 8.56; ASN 113). Cf. Neo-El. Am-pi-ri-iš, the name of a king of Samati (Mahboubian 1995; Donbaz 1996; Vallat 1996; Potts 1999: 306; Henkelman 2003: 223).

– Elamite: Am-pi-ri-ia: PF 830:2.

4.2.702 *Hangāma-: retrenched equivalent of *Hangāmāsī- (Gershevitch 1969: 177; OnP 8.64; ASN 116).

Gershevitch also mentions a retrenchment of NP *hangām*, "time".

– Elamite: An-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1835:6; PFNN 2523:7-8.

4.2.703 *Hangāmāsīš (OP): fem. equivalent of *Hangāma-asā-, "horse-assembler" (Gershevitch 1969: 177; ASN 116).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.64) remains undecisive concerning this name.

– Elamite: An-ka$_4$-ma-áš-ši-iš: PFNN 541:47.

4.2.704 *Hangōdā- (fem.): < *Han-gaudā-, "concealing".

Gershevitch (1969: 178) proposes *Hangutā-, meaning "the punctual", to Oss. *ängud*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.65) rejects this proposal and Hinz (ASN 116) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: An-ku-ud-da: PFNN 651:3-4.

4.2.705 *Hangōθrā- (fem.; Med.): < *Han-gauθrā-, "bejewelled" (Gershevitch 1970: 85; OnP 8.68; ASN 116).

Hinz (ASN 116) offers an alternative possibility: *Angudra-, "grape", to Chor. *'ngyδ*.

– Elamite: An-ku-ut-ra: PF 2038:15.

4.2.706 *Hanjāmāna-: *Hanjāma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Hanjāma-, a palatalized retrenchment of *Hangāmās(p)a- (Gershevitch 1969: 177).

Benveniste (1966: 77) reconstructs *Hanjamana-, to Av. *hanjamana-*, "reunion". Hinz (ASN 116) accepts this, because the sequence -man-na- would indicate a short syllable. As already mentioned before, Elamite cuneiform does not indicate

vowel length (cf. 4.2.299), so -man-na- may equally render long vowels. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.79) does not take a decision. Nonetheless a name meaning "reunion" does not seem very plausible.

– Elamite: An-za-man-na: PF 96:3.

4.2.707 *Hantu(h)ma-: *Han-tu(h)ma-, "the striving" (Zadok 1976b: 76).

Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 29) connects this name with OInd. *takṣ-*, "to form by cutting, chisel", but this does not correspond with the Bab. spelling.

– Babylonian: An-tu-um-ma-': Hebraica 8 134:1.

4.2.708 *Hanzantuš: *Han-zantu-š, "from the same tribe" (ASN 117).

According to Hinz (1971: 292; also OnP 8.78) it is an Elamite name.

– Elamite:
1) An-za-an-du-iš: PF 2019:5-6; PFNN 1659:2-3.
2) An-za-du-iš: PF 119:2-3, 1626:2; PFNN 1661:2-3, 2221:2-3.
3) Na-za-du-iš: PF 374:2-3. Error for An-za-du-iš.

4.2.709 *Hapa-: retrenchment of *Hapataspa- (ASN 117).

Gershevitch (1969: 178) pleads for *Haba-, a retrenchment of *Habat-aspa-, but the Reiner-test does not allow such a reconstruction (OnP 8.408). Perhaps it is an El. name (ElW 590).

– Elamite: Ha-ib-ba: PF 1328:3.

4.2.710 *Hapataspa- (Med.): *Hapat-aspa-, "keeping horses" (OnP 8.7; ASN 117).

Gershevitch (1969: 181) reconstructs *Habat-aspa-, "he who assembles horse", but that does not comply with the Reiner-test (ASN 117). Cf. *Hapa-.

– Elamite: Ab-ba-taš-ba: PFNN 699:17-18.

4.2.711 *Hapṛθa- (OP): "juniper" (Gershevitch 1969: 179; OnP 8.437, with question marks; NW 109; ASN 117).

– Elamite: Ha-pír-sa: PF 612:4.

4.2.712 *Haptaxva- (East Iranian): "the seventh" (Schmitt 1987: 149-150).

Scholars disagree on the character of this word. Segal (1983: 85) considers it to be an appellative, Shaked (1987: 412) doubts and Schmitt believes it is an anthroponym.

– Aramaic: Hpṯḥ: ATNS 63:4.

4.2.713 *Hartika-: *Hart-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Harta-, "well-nourished" (Tavernier, forth.).

– Elamite: Ha-ir-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 577:23.

4.2.714 *Hāta-: "wealth", retrenchment of e.g. Av. *hātă.marāni-* (Gershevitch 1969b: 186; OnP 8.411; ASN 118).

– Elamite: Ha-ud-da: PF 7:4, 387:3; PFNN 248:5-6, 657:3, 1028:2, 2532:4.

4.2.715 *Hātafarnā: *Hāta-farnā, "he who has earned glory" (ElW 652).

– Elamite: Ha-ut-bar-na: PFNN 2345:17-18.

4.2.716 *Hātaka-: *Hāta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Hāta-name (OnP 8.164; ASN 118).

– Elamite:
1) Ad-da-ka$_4$: PF 443:9; PFa 3:3; PFNN 2023:3.
2) At-tuk-ka$_4$: Fort. 5234:3-4; PF 290:5, 438:3, 567:7; PFNN 16:3, 573:24, 704:5, 1483:52.

4.2.717 *Hātamarga-: *Hāta-marga-, "he by whom pastures have been acquired" (Zadok 1976d: 214).

Hinz (ASN 118) reconstructs *Hāta-βarga-, "welcoming the opulence", to Av. *barəg-*, "to welcome". According to Gershevitch (apud Zadok 1977: 104; also Dandamayev 1992: 49 and Zadok 2004: 111) the name is *Ātata-marga- (with haplology).

– Babylonian: At-ta-mar-ga-': BE 9 32:3.

4.2.718 *Hātarāda-: *Hāta-rāda-, "fostering wealth" (OnP 8.412; ASN 118).

Gershevitch (1969: 189) proposes *Hada-rāza(h)-, "at one with the law".

– Elamite:
1) Ha-ad-da-ra-da: PFNN 2:7-8.
2) Ha-da-ra-da: PFNN 2353:5.

4.2.719 *Haθēbāduš (Med.-OP): < *Haθya-bādu-š, "true arm" (ASN 119).

– Elamite: At-te-ba-du-iš: PT 31:18-19, 31a:x+2.

4.2.720 *Haθēkāma- (Med.): < *Haθya-kāma-, "desirous of truth" (Gershevitch 1969: 185; OnP 8.152; ASN 119), OInd. Satyakāma- (SED 1135).

– Elamite: At-te-ka$_4$-ma: PF 225:8-9; PFNN 27:3, 1001:2, 1560:3, 1834:3.

4.2.721 *Haθēna- (Med.): < *Haθy-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Haθya-name (OnP 8.155; ASN 119).

According to Gershevitch (1969: 185) it is an *-āyana*-patronymic.

– Elamite: At-te-na: PF 1156:2-3; PFNN 274:3, 883:3.

4.2.722 *Haθēvanya- (Med.): < *Haθya-vanya-, "victorious through truth" (Schmitt 1970: 16; OnP 8.153; ASN 119).

Gershevitch (1969: 185) reconstructs *Haθya-vaŋhya-, "better through truth".

– Elamite: At-te-man-ia: PFNN 319:4-5, 320:3-4.

4.2.723 *Haθēvīra- (Med.): < *Haθya-vīra-, "a real man" (Gershevitch 1969: 185) or "with real heroes" (OnP 8.154).

Hinz (ASN 119) remains undecisive with regard to the translation.

– Elamite: At-te-mi-ra: PF 2012:17; PFNN 791:4-5 (At-te-[mi]-ra).

4.2.724 *Haθya- (Med.): retrenchment of a *Haθya-name (Gershevitch 1969: 190; OnP 8.161; ASN 119). Cf. 4.3.89.

– Elamite:
1) At-te-hi-ia: PF 1948:38,44.
2) At-ti-ia: PF 1941:2; PFNN 517:3-4, 1475:7-8.

4.2.725 *Haθyabaga- / *Haθēbaga- (Med.): *Haθya-baga-, "truthful through Baga" (OnP 8.150; Stolper 1993: 27).

Zadok (1976b: 77 and 1977: 99) mentions *Āθiya-baga-, "distress-god". Gershevitch's original reconstruction (1969a: 185) was *Haθya-pā-ka-, "protecting the truth". Later (1969b: 187; also ASN 50) he prefers a reconstruction *Āθiyapāka-, "protecting from fear". Delaunay (1976: 10-11) pleads for a hybrid name, consisting of Ar. Atē and Ir. **baga-*, "share". Its meaning is "share of Atē".

– Babylonian: A-te-ba-ga-': Mich 46:4,9.
– Elamite:
  1) At-te-ba-ka$_4$: PF 1995:5; PFNN 522:15, 898:6-7, 1254:2-3, 1995:5, 2443:2, etc. in PFNN.
  2) Ha-ti-ia-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 985:2.

4.2.726 *Haθyaka- (Med.): *Haθya-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Haθya-name (Gershevitch 1969: 190; OnP 162; ASN 119), OInd. Satyaka- (SED 1137).

Two authors (Benveniste 1966: 79; Zadok 1990) connect the name with **āθi(ya)-*, "distress".

– Babylonian: A-ti-'-ka: OECT 10 389:10.
– Elamite: At-ti-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PF 969:3-4, 970:4; PFNN 782:3-4 (°-a[k-k]a$_4$), 1272:3-4, 1379:3-4, 1704:3-4.

4.2.727 *Haθyāna- (Med.): *Haθya-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Haθya-name (Schmitt 1994: 84).

Zadok (1981-82: 137; also Dandamayev 1992: 48) prefers a patronymic of a retrenchment of an *Āθiya-name.

– Babylonian: A-te-ia-na-': BE 9 75:16,R.

4.2.728 *Haθyauka- (Med.): *Haθy-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Haθya-name (OnP 8.163; Schmitt 1973b: 147n.54; ASN 119).

Gershevitch (1969: 190) reconstructs *Haθya-va(h)u-ka-, "Truegood".

– Elamite: At-ti-ia-u-ka$_4$: Fort. 8625:4-5; PFNN 117:8.

4.2.729 *Haθyavišta- (Med.): *Haθya-višta-, "he who is trained in truth" (Schmitt 1994: 84). Cf. 4.2.201.

Gershevitch (apud Zadok 1976b: 77) prefers *Āθiya-višta-, "he by whom fear has been subjugated".

– Babylonian: A-te-e-a-muš-tu$_4$: Hebraica 8 134:9.

4.2.730 *Haumadāna-: *Hauma-dāna-, "gift of Hauma" (ASN 119).

Gershevitch (1969: 241) reconstructs *Hu-vāda-, "leading well".

– Elamite: U-ma-da-na: PFNN 42:12.

4.2.731 *Haumadāta-: *Hauma-dāta-, "given by Hauma" (Bowman 1970: 86-87; Grelot 1972: 472; ASN 120), Parth. Hwmdt(?) (Schmitt 1998: 181).

Bowman (l.c.) also mentions *Hauma-rāta-, "whose sacrificial gift is *hauma*".

– Aramaic: Hwmdt: Pers 14:2, 15:3; TAD B 2.3:2, 2.4:2.
– Elamite: U-ma-da-da: PFNN 201:2-3.

4.2.732 *Haumaka-: *Hauma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Hauma-name (OnP 8.1715; ASN 20), OInd. Sómaka- (SED 1251), MP Hōmak (IN 130).

Gershevitch (1969: 240) reads *Hu-maxa-, "very joyful", to OInd. *su-makha-*.

– Elamite:
  1) U-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 662:2, 1980:3,8,13,22; PFNN 102:5, 1628:3-4, 2344:26-27.
  2) U-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1979:4,12, 1983:2,4, 1984:2; PFNN 2284:4, 2347:2,4.

4.2.733 *Haumakā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Haumaka- (ASN 120).

– Elamite: U-ma-ik-ka$_4$: PF 822:4-5.

4.2.734 *Haumanā: nom. sg. of *Hau-manah-, "having a good mind", derived from *Hu-manah- (OnP 8.1717), Parth. Hwmny (Schmitt 1998: 179) Gk. Εὐμένης.

Gershevitch (1969: 241) reconstructs *Hu-manah-, but this postulates a writing with U (OnP 8.1717). Hinz (ASN 250) pleads for *Vahu-manah-.

– Elamite: U-man-na: Fort. 5206:3; PF 1:9, 54:13-14, 1831:1.

4.2.735 *Haumataxma- (Med.): *Hauma-taxma-, "brave through Hauma" (ElW 1225).

– Elamite: U-ma-tak-ma: PFNN 2284:18.

4.2.736 *Haumayāsa-: *Hauma-yāsa-, "desiring for hauma" (Shaked, apud TAD C: lix).

Kornfeld (1977: 127 and 1978: 104-105) erroneously identifies this name with *Vahumisa-.

– Aramaic: Hwmys: TAD C 3.8 iii a Fragm. a:2.

4.2.737 *Havaraθa-: *Hava-raθa-, "chariot-impeller" (Gershevitch 1969: 176). Cf. 4.2.196 and 4.2.314.

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.429) is not convinced by this explanation. According to Hinz (ASN 112) the sequence *t-s* is an attempt to render a voiced dental fricative /δ/.

– Elamite: Ha-ma-rat-sa: PF 1321:3.

4.2.738 *Haxā-: "friend, companion" (ElW 40).

– Elamite: Ak-ka$_4$: PF 1410:6; PFa 29:47; PFNN 2367:5.

4.2.739 *Haxādātiča-: *Haxā-dāt-iča-, *-ič̌a*-hypocoristic of *Haxā-dāta-, "given by a friend".

Gershevitch (1969: 186) proposes *Āgata-hāda-, "successful", which Mayrhofer (OnP 8.16) describes as too farfetched. Hinz (ASN 111) reconstructs *Haxā-dāt-aiča-, "friend-street".

– Elamite: Ak-ka$_4$-da-ti-za: PF 1402:2.

4.2.740 *Haxauka-: *Hax-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a *Haxā-name (ASN 111).

Gershevitch (1969: 175) reads *A-gau-ka-, "cattle-less, without cattle", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.17) does not accept this. Another proposal is *Āgauka-, "possessing cattle" (ElW 39).

– Elamite: Ak-kam-ka$_4$: PF 1130:2.

4.2.741 *Haxāuriš (OPs): *Haxā-aur-i-, *-i*-patronymic of *Haxā-aura-, "having Ahura as friend" (Gershevitch 1969: 175).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.18) and Hinz (ASN 111) have doubts on this etymology.

– Elamite: Ak-kam-ri-iš: PFNN 430:4-5.

4.2.742 *Haxāya-: *Haxā-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Haxā- or of a retrenchment of a *Haxā-name (OnP 8.20; ASN 111). Cf. 4.3.90 and 4.4.7.64.

Gershevitch (1969: 176) prefers an adjective *Hăxăya-, "befriended". Schmitt (1972f: 83) reads *Hax-aya-, an *-aya*-hypocoristic from *Haxi-, "friend".

– Elamite:

1) Ag-ge-ia: PF 1333:4.
2) Ak-ka$_4$-ia: PF 947-949:2, 1964:14; PFNN 1411:2.
3) Ak-ka$_4$-a-ia: PF 1853:1.

4.2.743 *Haxāyaka-: *Haxā-ya-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Haxāya- (ElW 42).

– Elamite: Ak-ka$_4$-ia-ka$_4$: PFNN 1636:3-4.

4.2.744 *Haxāyāna-: *Haxā-ya-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Haxāya- (ElW 42).

– Elamite: Ak-ka$_4$-ia-na: PFNN 2490:19.

4.2.745 *Haxāzušta-: *Haxā-zušta-, "the dear friend" or "united-loved" (Benveniste 1966: 77; OnP 8.35; NW 106; ASN 112).

Gershevitch (1969: 175) read *Axšusta-, "unwashed, filthy" (NP *šustan*), but he has given this up in favour of *Hax0a(t)-ušta-, "he who achieves his wish" (Gershevitch 1969b: 185).

– Elamite:

1) Ak-ka$_4$-su-iš-da: PFa 29:4.
2) Ak-su-iš-da: PF 1677:3, 1703:3; PFa 29:2.

4.2.746 *Haxina-: *Hax-ina-, *-ina*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Haxā-name (OnP 8.22; ASN 111).

– Elamite: Ak-ki-na: PF 504:4-5, 589:4, 1447:2-3.

4.2.747 *Haxiyabānuš / *Haxībānuš: *Haxiya-bānu-š, "lustre of friendship" (Schmitt 1994: 83).

Some authors (Hilprecht, apud BE 10: p.38n.; Dandamayev 1974: 123-124 and 1992: 26) identify this name with Haxāmaniš (Achaemenes), because *Haxiya-bānuš is not yet attested as anthroponym (Dandamayev 1992: 26). Zadok (1976: 66-67 and 1977: 109) mentions *Haxā-bānuš because of -nu-uš (indicating an *u*-stem) and believes that IA is used to connect the name with Semitic *aḫia*, "my brother". Stolper (1985: 66) takes no decision in this discussion.

– Babylonian:

1) Aḫ-$^{\text{?}}$-ba-nu-uš: PBS 2/1 201:3.
2) Áḫ-ia-a-ba-nu-uš: BE 10 84:17, 85:4,10,U.E; PBS 2/1 103:3.

4.2.748 *Haxmaina-: *Haxm-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Haxma-, "fellowship" (ASN 111).

Gershevitch (1969b: 185) reconstructs *Haxmāyana-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.28) has doubts.

– Elamite: Ak-ma-a-na: PFNN 1191:2.

4.2.749 *Haxmaka-: *Haxma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Haxma- (Gershevitch 1969: 175; OnP 8.27; ASN 111).

– Elamite: Ak-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 61:4.

4.2.750 *Haxmastāna-: *Haxma-stāna-, "having a dwelling for the fellowship" (Benveniste 1966: 77).

According to Benveniste the element **stāna-* occurs mostly in toponyms and practically never in anthroponyms. Based on that assumption other authors have proposed alternative solutions, e.g. *A-xvasta-āna-, "unbeaten, unbeatable" (Gershevitch 1969b: 185). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.29) argues that both proposals are wrong, without offering, however, another etymology. Finally Hinz (ASN 111-112) confuses this name with *Haxā-stāna- and translates "Freundesstand habend". Anyhow, contrary to what Benveniste believes, there are various personal names containing **stāna-*, e.g. *Aspastāna- (4.2.161), *Gaustāna- (4.2.646) and *(H)ustāna- (4.2.831).

– Elamite:

1) Ak-ma-áš-da-na: PF 71:2.
2) Ak-ma-iš-da-na: PFNN 2492:18.

4.2.751 *Haxva-: *Hax-va-, "friendly", *-va*-extension of *Haxā- (ASN 112).

Benveniste (1966: 82; also OnP 8.419) reconstructs *Haxma-, but -ku-ma- rather expresses /xva/ (ASN 112).

– Elamite: Ha-ku-ma: PF 1987:6,16.

4.2.752 *Hēnaka-: < *Haina-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of a *Haină-name (ElW 667).

– Elamite: He-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2192:14.

4.2.753 *Hidabaga-: *Hida-baga-, "succeeding through Baga".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 656) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Hi-da-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 2238:4.

4.2.754 *Hidarāsta-: *Hida-rāsta-, "succeeding in truth".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 656) reconstruct *Hitarāsta-, "the right team".

– Elamite: Hi-da-ra-iš-da: PFNN 2349:4.

4.2.755 *Hidāta-: *Hid-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Hida-name (Hinz 1974: 260; ASN 120; Dandamayev 1992: 82).

Zadok (1976d: 214) prefers a Babylonian name Ḫidâtu, "joy".

– Babylonian:

1) Ḫi-da-ta-$^{\text{?}}$: TuM 2/3 147:23 (Ḫi-da-ta-<<ta>>-$^{\text{?}}$),R.E.
2) Ḫi-i-da-ta-$^{\text{?}}$: PBS 2/1 119:13,U.E.

4.2.756 *Hidātiya-: *Hida-āt-iya-, *-ya*-extension of *Hidāta- (ASN 120).

Gershevitch (1970: 85) identifies this name with Hi-sa-ti-ia (4.2.886).

– Elamite:

1) Hi-da-ti-ia: PFNN 2269:3.
2) Hi-da-ut-ti-ia: PFNN 746:4-5.

4.2.757 *Hikita-: *Hik-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Hiku-, "dry" (ASN 120).

Hinz (ASN 120) also mentions *Hikita-, derived from Av. *haēk-*, "to pour". Hinz & Koch (ElW 666 and 747) have no comments.

– Elamite:
1) Hi-ki-ud-da: PF 774:2, 1419:3; PFNN 105:2.
2) I-ki-ud-da: PFNN 760:7, 1007:2,7.

4.2.758 *Hindauka-: *Hind-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Hinduš (OnP 8.399, 8.512 and 8.514, with doubts; ASN 120).

Gershevitch (1969: 191) mentions *Inda(t)-vahu-ka-, "one who gives radiance to what is good".

– Elamite:
1) E-in-da-u-ka$_4$: PF 1456:2.
2) Hi-in-da-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 447:3.
3) Hi-in-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:18, 107-108:21; PF 673:11, 675:9, 676:13, 677:15-16, 678:12, etc. in PFT; PFNN 333:14-15, 349:14-15, 727:3-4,19, 779:10, etc. in PFNN.
4) Hi-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: PF 672:11, 1827:11, 1828:10; PFNN 561:13, etc. in PFNN; PT 1:21, 3a:x+7.

4.2.759 *Hindaukā- (fem.): equivalent of *Hindauka- (ASN 120).
– Elamite: Hi-in-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1204:2-3.

4.2.760 *Hinduka-: *Hind-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Hinduš (Benveniste 1966: 83; Gershevitch 1969: 191, reconstructing *Hindauka-; OnP 8.513; ASN 120; Dandamayev 1992: 86; Schmitt, apud Stolper 1994b: 626).
– Babylonian:
1) In-du-k[a]: PBS 2/1 101:20.
2) In-du-ka-': JAOS 114 627:4,8.
– Elamite:
1) An-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1979:5,13. Inaccurate spelling.
2) Hi-du-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1578:3-4.
3) Hi-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1946:17.
4) Hi-in-du-ka$_4$: PF 441:3-4, 1377:3, 1591:2, 1761:3-4, 1762:3, 1805:5-6, 1960:25, 1980:22-23; PFNN 809:3-4, 1249:3, 1951:4-5, 2139:6-7, 2344:27, 2478:1, 2490:39.

4.2.761 *Hindukā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Hinduka- (Dandamayev 1992: 86).
– Babylonian: In-duk-ka: PT 85:2.
– Elamite: Hi-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:3.

4.2.762 *Hiθagṛzi-: *Hiθa-gṛzi-, "ally of those who complain", with vowel colouring because of the palatal (/ša/ > /ši/).
– Elamite: Hi-iš-ši-kur-zí: PF 1808:4-5.

4.2.763 *Hiθika-: *Hiθ-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Hiθa-, "ally".

Delaunay (1976: 15) connects it with Palmyrene 'Atēka-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 674) reconstruct *Hitika-.

– Elamite:
1) Hi-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PF 463:2 (°-ik-k[a$_4$]), 973:2, 1009:2; PFNN 43:2, 1217:2.
2) Hi-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 2185:2, 2377:2.
3) Hi-ut-tak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2364:8.
4) Hi-ut-ti-ka$_4$: PF 464:2, 1248:3.
5) Hi-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2276:11.

4.2.764 *Hiθiš: *Hiθ-i-š, i-patronymic of *Hiθa-, "ally". Cf. 4.3.92.

Hinz (ASN 121) connects the name with Av. *hita-*, "team (of horses)". Delaunay (1976: 15) relates it to the two princes It-ti-i, attested in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions.

– Elamite: Hi-ti-iš: PT 19:19-20.

4.2.765 *Hiθyauna- (Med.): *Hiθ-yauna-, "the place of the fellowship" (ASN 121).
– Elamite: Hi-ut-ia-u-na: PFa 16:3, 29:62; PFNN 1452:3.

4.2.766 *(H)ubāduš (OP): *(H)u-bādu-š, "having a good arm" (ElW 1196). Perhaps this name is the same as *(H)ubanduš.
– Elamite: Ú-ba-d[u-iš]: PFNN 364:2.

4.2.767 *[Hu]bāma-: *[Hu]bāma-, "of beautiful lustre" (ASN 121).

Bogoljubov (1973: 177) reconstructs *Mā(h)-bāma-, "moon-lustre", but in that case a reading [Mh]bm is obliged. Yet there is space for only one letter (Bowman 1970: 105), most likely[114] H. Bowman himself (1970: 109) reads [M]bm.

– Aramaic: [H]bm: Pers 33:5, 38:4.

4.2.768 *(H)ubānāna-: *(H)u-bān-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *(H)ubānu-, "the good light / ray of light" (Tavernier, apud BPPE 331).
– Babylonian: Ú-ba-na-na: BPPE 70:15.

4.2.769 *(H)ubanduš (OP; fem.): *(H)u-bandu-š, "with a good family" (ElW 1196).
– Elamite: Ú-ban-du-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:7,20.

4.2.770 *Hubara- (OPd): *Hu-bara-, "cherishing" (Zadok 1991: 39-40).
– Aramaic: Hwbr': TAD B 8.6:8.

4.2.771 *(H)ubaugā- (fem.): *(H)u-baugā-, "releasing well" (ElW 681).
– Elamite: Hu-ba-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:46.

4.2.772 *(H)ubōdā- (fem.): < *(H)u-baudā-, "odoriferous" (Gershevitch 1969: 243; OnP 8.547; ASN 122), cf. Av. *hubaoδi-*.
– Elamite: Hu-bu-da: PFNN 541:59.

4.2.773 *(H)ubōdiš: < *(H)u-baud-i-š, "odoriferous" (ElW 1198). Cf. 4.3.93.
– Elamite: Ú-bu-ti-iš: Fort. 6180:3-4; PF 2087:43.

[114] Based on the photograph (Bowman 1970: Pl.9).

4.2.774 *(H)ubrāduš: *(H)u-brādu-š, well shining".

According to Gershevitch (1969: 243) the name of the Euphrates is meant here. Hinz (ASN 123) mentions *Hufrādavahuš, "well furthering what is good". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.545) rightfully points out that this name cannot be separated from Pír-ra-du-iš (*Brāduš; 4.2.357), hence the reading *(H)ubrāduš.

– Elamite: Hu-pír-ra-du-iš: PFNN 127:3-4.

4.2.775 *(H)ubrīra-: *(H)u-brīra-, "giving a good yield" (Gershevitch 1970: 91; OnP 8.1750; NW 33; ASN 122), Av. *xᵛa.βrīra-*.

– Elamite: Ú-pír-ri-ra: PF 1950:7-8.

4.2.776 *(H)ubṛta-: *(H)u-bṛta-, "respected" (Benveniste 1958b: 52; ASN 122).

Cameron (1948: 7n.41) prefers *U-frāta-, Gk. Εὐφράτας (IN 89).

– Elamite: Ú-bìr-da: Fort. 3126:1-2.

4.2.777 *(H)ubṛtā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *(H)ubṛta- (Benveniste 1966: 94).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1675) connects it with **bṛda-*, whereas Hinz (ASN 245) reconstructs *Upa-ṛta- and connects this with Av. *ərəta-*, the past part. of *ar-*, "to grant".

– Elamite: Ú-ba-ir-da: PF 2038:22.

4.2.778 *Hubṛtāna- (OPd): *Hu-bṛta-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Hu-bṛta- (NW 50; ASN 122).

– Aramaic: [H]brtn: Pers 74:2.

– Elamite: Hu-bìr-da-[na]: PFNN 804:4 (restoration: ElW 682).

4.2.779 *(H)uçavā (OP): nom. sg. of *(H)u-çavah-, "having good fame" (Gershevitch 1969: 243; OnP 8.1779; ASN 122).

– Elamite: Ú-iš-šu-ma: PF 252:9, 1988:34.

4.2.780 *(H)uçavya- (OP): *(H)u-çav-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *(H)uçava- (ElW 1520).

– Elamite: Ú-šá-mi-ia: PFNN 2105:2-3.

4.2.781 *(H)uçayā (OP): nom. sg. of *(H)u-çayan-, "having a splendid beauty".

Benveniste (1958b: 52) prefers *Hu-šaya-, "possessing a good dwelling", to OInd. *su-kṣaya-*.

– Elamite:

1) Hu-šá-a-ia: PFNN 684:2.
2) Hu-šá-ia: PFNN 763:2.
3) Ú-šá-a-ia: PFNN 1685:6-7, 2450:6-7.
4) Ú-šá-ia: PF 48:2-3, 49:3, 50:2-3, 339:2, 379:3, 674-675:2, 2067:1, passim in PFT and PFNN (cf. Hallock 1969: 770-771 and ElW 1251).

4.2.782 *(H)uçēmā- (OP; fem.): < *(H)u-çaima-, "having a splendid superiority" (Schmitt 1972e: 193; OnP 8.1773; ASN 122).

Gershevitch (1969: 243) reconstructs *Hu-šaiva-, "providing good services", to OInd. *sev-*, "to serve", but the latter has no Ir. equivalent (Schmitt, l.c.).

– Elamite: Ú-še-ma: PF 2038:27.

4.2.783 *(H)uçīra-: *(H)u-çīra-, "very beautiful" (Gershevitch 1969: 244; OnP 8.1775; ASN 122).

– Elamite: Ú-ši-ra: PF 1956:20.

4.2.784 *(H)udānāta-: *(H)udān-āta-, "having the right understanding" (Tavernier 2000: no.6).

*Vīdvānāta-, an *-āta*-hypocoristic of an *-āna*-patronymic of *Vīdvah-, "knowing" (Av. *vīduuah-*), is equally possible.

– Babylonian: U-du-na-a-tú: TCL 13 193:25.

4.2.785 *(H)udantuš (OP): *(H)u-dantu-š, "belonging to a good tribe" (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1683; ASN 123).

– Elamite: Ú-da-an-du-iš: PF 1301:4-5.

4.2.786 *(H)udātāna-: *(H)u-dāta-āna-, patronymic of *(H)u-dāta-, "given well" (Zadok 1977: 92n.7).

– Babylonian: Ú-dat-nu: Mich 89:57.

4.2.787 *(H)udēna-: < *(H)u-daina-, "having a good religion" (Zadok 1976: 69; Dandamayev 1992: 131).

– Babylonian: Ú-din-na-': AJSL 27 215 RCT 9:rev.4.

– Elamite: Ú-te-na: PFNN 2268:25.

4.2.788 *(H)ufarnakā- (Med.; fem.): *(H)u-farna-kā-, *-ka*-extension of *Hu-farnah-, "with good glory" (Zadok 1997).

– Babylonian: Ú-pár-na-ak-ka: OECT 10 229:2.

4.2.789 *(H)ufrata-: *(H)u-frata-, "good and excellent" (Gershevitch 1969: 243; OnP 8.1749; ASN 123; Tavernier 2001: no.8).

– Babylonian: Ú-pár-at-ta: Dar. 458:13.

– Elamite:

1) Ú-ip-pír-ra-ud-da: PF 668:2-3.
2) Ú-pír-ra-ad-da: PF 54:11, 763:2-3, 1821-1824:1, 1945:13; PFNN 760:20,23, 2271:7-8.
3) Ú-pír-ra-da: PF 761-762:2, 764:2.

4.2.790 *(H)uftikāma-: *(H)ufti-kāma-, "desirous for sleep" (Gershevitch 1969: 243; OnP 8.546; ASN 123).

– Elamite: Hu-ip-ti-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1469:2.

4.2.791 *(H)ugadaya-: *(H)u-gadā-ya-, "having a good mace" (ElW 1244).

– Elamite: Ú(?)-ka$_4$-te-ia: PFNN 497:4.

4.2.792 *(H)ugōpāna-: < *(H)u-gau-pāna-, "protecting the cattle in a good way" (ASN 123).

Gershevitch (1970: 90; also OnP 8.1709) reads *Hu-gauba-āna-, "he who speaks well".

– Elamite: Ú-ku-ba-na: PF 391:2.

4.2.793 *(H)ujĭrā- (fem.): "good and intelligent" (Gershevitch 1969: 244; ASN 123).

– Elamite: Ú-zir-ra: PFNN 541:61.

4.2.794 *(H)ūka-: "the pig" (ASN 123).

– Elamite:
1) Hu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2364:5,9,11.
2) Ú-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1520:2; PFNN 1229:3, 1571:2, 2184:3.
3) Ú-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 3670:2, 3671:6-7; PF 531:2-3, 564:5-6; PFNN 775:2, 869:2-3, 2364:10.

4.2.795 *(H)ukāma-: *(H)u-kāma-, "having a good desire" (Gershevitch 1969: 240; OnP 8.1786; ASN 123-124).

Gershevitch also mentions *Hu-gāma-, "striding beautifully", to Av. *gam-*, "to come".

– Babylonian: Uk-ka-ma-$^{?}$: PBS 2/1 76:7.

– Elamite:
1) Ú-ik-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 2324:3.
2) Uk-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1857:2.
3) Ú-ka$_4$-ma: PF 300:5, 330:3, 1330:3-4, 2012:8, 2027:3; PFNN 1254:3-4.

4.2.796 *(H)ukārakāna-: *(H)u-kāra-k-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Hu-kāra-ka-, "with a good army" (ASN 124).

Gershevitch (1969b: 198; also OnP 8.1688) prefers an *-āna*-patronymic of *Hukaraka-, "beneficent".

– Elamite: Ú-ka$_4$-rák-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 1008:24,29.

4.2.797 *(H)ukaufī-: < *(H)u-kaufiya-, a *-ya*-extension of *(H)u-kaufa-, "good mountain" (ElW 1210). Probably a gentilic used as anthroponym.

– Elamite: Uk-kam-pi: PFNN 1255:17.

4.2.798 *(H)uk(i)rya-: *(H)u-k(i)r-ya- < *(H)u-kṛ-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *(H)u-kṛ-, "beneficent" (Zadok 1979: 299; Dandamayev 1992: 132).

– Babylonian:
1) Ú-ki-ri-ia: Mich 89:51.
2) Ú-ki-e-ri-$^{?}$: OECT 10 285:5.

4.2.799 *(H)ulāna-: equivalent of *(H)urāna- (Tavernier 2001: no.9).

Zadok (1995: 159) rightfully makes the connection between U-la-na-$^{?}$ and Ú-ra-a-na-$^{?}$, but errs in his analysis of the latter (cf. 4.2.823).

– Babylonian: U-la-na-$^{?}$: PBS 2/1 128:16.

4.2.800 *(H)umarga-: *(H)u-marga-, "having good meadows" (IN 14-15; Benveniste 1966: 101; ASN 125; Schmitt 1982c: 379-380, 1982d: IV/22 and 2006: 72-73).

– Lycian:
1) Humrχχa-: TL 44a:55.
2) Umrgga-: TL 44c:49.

4.2.801 *Humata-: "good thoughts" (ASN 124; Zadok 1977: 123; Dandamayev 1992: 83; Schmitt 2006: 220).

– Babylonian: Ḫu-ú-ma-a-ta-$^{?}$: TuM 2/3 189:8b,12.

4.2.802 *Humāya- (OPd): "beneficial, wholesome" (Benveniste 1958b: 52 and 1966: 95; OnP 8.1723; Zadok 1991: 40), MP Humāy (Gignoux 1986: II/99), Parth. Hwmy (Schmitt 1998: 179), Gk. Ὑμαίης (Schmitt 1967: 130).

Hinz (ASN 125) reconstructs *Humā-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Humā-.

– Aramaic: Hwmy: TAD C 3.8 ii 2, iii b 32; TAD D 3.16:16.

– Elamite:
1) Hu-ma-a-ia: PFNN 705:15.
2) Hu-ma-ia: PF 1407:2, 2000:12, 2081:8; PFNN 705:6, 1484:11,18,21,36.
3) Ú-ma-ia: PF 387:7, 450:3, 571:3, 664:11-12, 672:2, etc. in PFT; PFa 31:11,20; PFNN 10:14, 444:6, 541:4, 761:7, etc. in PFNN.
4) Ú-me-ia: PF 526-530:2, 755:2, 846:1, 860-862:2, 1008:2, 1282:3-4; PFNN 504:2, 895:2-3, 1239:2, 1362:2, 1412:2, 2455:2-3, 2463:1-2, 2488:2, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.803 *(H)umāyafarnā: nom. of *(H)umāya-farnah-, "the beneficial glory" (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1726).

Hinz (ASN 125) reconstructs *Humāyafarnah-, "being lucky as a lucky bird".

– Elamite: Ú-me-ia-bar-na: PF 2056:4-5.

4.2.804 *Humēča-: < *Hum-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of an retrenchment of *(H)umata- or *(H)umāya- (NW 117; ASN 124, with a translation "phoenix").

Gershevitch (1969: 187) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1733) reconstruct *Haum-iya-, but U normally renders Ir. /u/, not /au/. Zadok (1994: no.6) doubts between *Haum-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of *Hauma- and *Hu-maiša-, "having good sheep".

– Babylonian: Ḫu-me-e-šú: EE 119:4.

– Elamite:
1) Ú-me-ez-za: PF 288:3.
2) Ú-mi-iz-za: PF 2025:10-11,22, 2070:6.

4.2.805 *(H)umēθana-: < *(H)u-maiθana-, "with a good dwelling" (ElW 1227).

– Elamite: Ú-me-sa-na: PFNN 2261:26.

4.2.806 *(H)umi-: retrenchment of *(H)u-miç/θra- (ASN 125).

Gershevitch (1969: 240) mentions *Haumī-, but U renders /u/ (OnP 8.1728). It could also be an error for *(H)umiç/θra-.

– Elamite: Ú-mi: PF 1836:7.

4.2.807 *(H)umiça- (OP): *(H)u-Miça-, "good treaty" (Benveniste 1966: 95; Gershevitch 1969: 241; Mayrhofer 1969: 116; OnP 8.1729; ASN 125), OInd. Sumitrá- (SED 1231).
– Elamite:
1) Hu-mi-iš-šá: PF 1405:2.
2) Ú-mi-iš-šá: PF 1023:1-2, 1945:12,16, 1971:4, 2015:2-3; PFNN 1359:7-8, 1643:3, 2126:3-4, 2294:14, 2340:21, 2405:11, etc. in PFNN.
3) Ú-mi-šá: PF 91:6-7, 92:7.

4.2.808 *Humiθra- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Hu-miça- (OnP 8.1732; ASN 125; Naveh & Shaked 1986: 24-25).
Naveh & Shaked (l.c.) also mention *Ham-miθra-, with a reference to El. Ha-mi-tur-ra, but the latter renders Ir. *Ämiθra- (4.2.46).
– Aramaic: Hmtr: JRAS 1986 no.3.
– Elamite:
1) Hu-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 1670:3-4.
2) Ú-mi-ut-ra: PF 1956:4.

4.2.809 *(H)umižda-: *(H)u-mižda-, "bringing a good wage" (OnP 8.1730; ASN 125), OInd. Su-mīḍhá- (SED 1231), Parth. Hwmzdy(k) (Schmitt 1998: 187).
Gershevitch (1969: 241) prefers *Hu-vista-, "found well", a name for an abandoned child.
– Elamite: Ú-mi-iš-da: PFNN 42:13.

4.2.810 *(H)unabanūš: *(H)u-nabanū-š, "the good well" (NW 117; ASN 117).
Gershevitch (1969: 242) reconstructs *Hu-nāfani-, a patronymic of *Hunāfa-. Yet this would rather have been written Ú-na-pa-nu-iš. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1741) takes no decision.
– Elamite: Ú-na-ba-nu-iš: PF 1345:3.

4.2.811 *(H)unāfa-: *(H)u-nāfa-, "belonging to a good family" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; OnP 8.1743; ASN 125; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: 4; Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.37; Schmitt 2006: 176).
– Babylonian:
1) Ú-na-ap-pi: VAT 15709:3.
2) Ú-na-pa-ʾ: IMT 103:15.
– Elamite: Ú-na-pa: Fort. 1711:5, 3670:4-5, 3671:8; PFNN 2154:2, 2233:7-8, 2369:6.

4.2.812 *(H)unāmā: *(H)u-nāmā, "having a good name, reputation" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; OnP 8.1742; ASN 126), OInd. Sunáman- (SED 1226).

– Elamite: Ú-na-ma: PF 1645:3.

4.2.813 *Hunigāma-: *Hu-nigāma-, "(born) at a good time" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; Zadok 1976: 67; Dandamayev 1992: 83).
Mayrhofer (OnP 11.6.4.1; also ASN 126) prefers *Hunukāma-, "desiring for sons" (Av. *hunu-*). An objection to this is the fact that *hunu-* is a daevic word. Hinz tries to solve this problem by assuming that the negative connotation of this word only was introduced after the Achaemenid period.
– Babylonian:
1) Ḫu-un-ga-ma-ʾ: IMT 43:3.
2) Ḫu-un-ga-mu: PBS 2/1 16:1.
– Elamite: Ú-nu-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1160:3.

4.2.814 *(H)uniša-: *(H)u-niša-, "with a good sign" (ASN 126).
Gershevitch's explanation (1969: 242) *Hu-nuša- (OInd. *snuṣá-*, "daughter-in-law") is rejected by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1746).
– Elamite: Ú-nu-iš-šá: PF 1521:2.

4.2.815 *(H)un(i)yāka-: *(H)u-n(i)yāka-, "having a good grandfather" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; ASN 126).
Gershevitch also mentions *Hu-naya-ka-, "a good leader" (Av. *nay-*, "to lead"), but that would appear as Ú-na-ia-(ik)-ka$_4$ in Elamite (ASN 126). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1747) simply mentions both possibilities.
– Elamite:
1) Ú-nu-ia-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 574:22.
2) Ú-nu-ia-ka$_4$: PF 1359:15; PFNN 908:9-10, 1395:15.

4.2.816 *(H)upāka-: *(H)u-pā-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *(H)u-pā-, "protecting well" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; OnP 8.538; ASN 122).
– Elamite: Hu-ba-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1148:5-6, 1626:3.

4.2.817 *(H)upākā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *(H)upāka- (Gershevitch 1969: 242; OnP 8.538; ASN 126).
– Elamite: Hu-ba-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:46.

4.2.818 *(H)upāruš: *(H)u-pāru-š, "having well-formed shoulders" (Gershevitch 1969: 242).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1677) has doubts with regard to this name. Hinz (ASN 126) erroneously reconstructs *Hu-paru-ya-.
– Elamite: Ú-ba-ru-iš: PF 2011:33.

4.2.819 *(H)uparviya-: masc. equivalent of *(H)uparviyā- (ElW 681).
– Elamite: Hu-bar-mi(?)-ia(?): PFNN 541:14.

4.2.820 *(H)uparviyā- (fem.): *(H)u-parv-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Hu-parva-, "the pre-eminent" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; Hinz 1970: 423; ASN 126).
Benveniste (1966: 95) reconstructs *Hu-barm-iya-, to Av. *barəmaiiaona-*, the meaning of which is unclear.
– Elamite: Ú-bar-mi-ia: PF 309:4.

4.2.821 *(H)upātāniš: *(H)u-pāta-āni-š, *-āni*-patronymic of *Hu-pāta-, "well protected" (Gershevitch 1969b: 198; OnP 8.539).

Because he mistakenly believes that -tan-nu- can only render a syllable with a short vowel, Hinz (ASN 245) reconstructs *Upa-tan-ya-, "stretching towards", to Av. *tan-*, "to stretch".

– Elamite: Hu-ba-tan-nu-iš: PFNN 1055:3.

4.2.822 *(H)urākāma-: *(H)urā-kāma-, "desirous for the *hurā*-drink" (OnP 8.1756; ASN 127).

Benveniste (1966: 95) reconstructs *Ahura-kāma-, but Ahura- normally appears as U-ra- in Elamite (OnP 8.1756).

– Elamite: Ú-ra-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1784:1-2.

4.2.823 *(H)urāna-: *(H)u-rāna-, "the good warrior" (Tavernier 2001: no.9). Cf. 4.2.799.

Zadok (1975: 247; also Dandamayev 1992: 138) mentions *Vārāna-, to Av. *vāra-*, "wish, will", while Gershevitch (apud Zadok, l.c.) pleads for *Hu-rāna-, "having beautiful thighs", to Av. *rāna-*.

– Babylonian: Ú-ra-a-na-': TuM 2/3 189:19,U.E.

4.2.824 *(H)urāstaka-: *(H)u-rāsta-ka-, "good and right" (NW 117; ASN 127).

Gershevitch (1969b: 198) reconstructs *Hu-rašta-vahu-ka-.

– Elamite: Ú-ra-iš-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2325:2-3.

4.2.825 *Husāraka- (OPd): *Hu-sāra-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Hu-sāra-, "having a beautiful head" (NW 50; ASN 127).

Bowman (1970: 155) connects this name with Av. *saδā-*, "joy, pleasure" or *sar-*, "connection, community".

– Aramaic: Hsrk: Pers 98:2.

4.2.826 *Huspā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Hu-spān-, "having good dogs" (Gershevitch 1969: 243; OnP 8.1768; ASN 127).

– Elamite: Ú-iš-ba: PF 1045:2; PFNN 1388:2, 1532:2.

4.2.827 *Huspaka-: *Hu-spa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Huspan- (Gershevitch 1951-52: 136n.1 and 1969: 243; ASN 127).

– Elamite:

1) Hu-iš-ba-ka$_4$: PF 1963:12; PFNN 2193:12, 2283:8.
2) Ú-iš-ba-ka$_4$: PF 1829:1, 1992:2,8, 1993:5,12; PFa 30:11,14; PFNN 1321:7, 2207:16, 2540:7.

4.2.828 *(H)uspāra-: *(H)u-spāra-, "having, enjoying a good abundance" (Tavernier 2000: no.7).

Other proposals are (1) *Vahyaspara- (Eilers 1933-34: 333-334), (2) *Vispārva-, "all-swift" (ASN 266), (3) *Vispa-parva-, "the first of all" (Zadok 1977: 104 and n.160) and (4) *Hu-spara-, "possessing a good shield" (Zadok 1997b). Concerning the second spelling Hinz (ASN 267) reads Us-tú-' and reconstructs *Vistva-, "shooting". The same scholar (ASN 248) considers the fourth spelling as a rendering of *Uzbarva-.

– Babylonian:

1) Us-pa-ar-ra-': EE 95:18.
2) Us-par-': BE 9 48:33 (= TuM 2/3 144:33).
3) Us-par-ru-': PBS 2/1 217:U.E.
4) Us-par-ru-ú: PBS 2/1 12:14.
5) Ú-su-pa-ar-ra: BM 59568:26 (cf. Zadok 1997b).

4.2.829 *(H)uspāsta- (Med.): *(H)u-spā-asta-, "with the bones of a good dog".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 1204) recognize the Median character of this name.

– Elamite: Ú-iš-ba-iš-da: PFNN 865:4.

4.2.830 *(H)uspṛda-: *(H)u-spṛda-, "of good zeal, zealous" (Gershevitch 1969b: 198; OnP 8.1777; ASN 127).

– Elamite:

1) Ú-iš-bar-da: PFNN 1566:2, 2369:8.
2) Ú-iš-pír-da: PFNN 844:2, 2352:20.

4.2.831 *(H)ustāna-: *(H)u-stāna-, "having a good place" (Schmitt 1967: 130; ASN 128; EIW 689). Cf. 4.2.1931.

Benveniste (1966: 90) reconstructs *Uštāna-, "vitality", to Av. *uštāna-*, while Gershevitch (1969b: 198) pleads for *Ušta-āna-, "the wanted".

– Elamite:

1) Hu-iš-da-na: PF 239:4-5, 399:3, 400:2-3, 401:3-4, 411:2, 1811:1, 1831:8-9, etc. in PFT; PFNN 359:2, 747:1-2, 760:24. etc. in PFNN.
2) Hu-iš-tam$_5$-na: PF 1470:2.
3) Hu-iš-tan-na: Fort. 1709:12; PF 833:2, 1037:3; PFNN 2278:11.
4) Ú-iš-da-na: PF 138:6, 139:8, 143:5-6 (°-d[a]-na), 325:2, 334:5-6, etc. in PFT; PFNN 425:1, etc. in PFNN.
5) Ú-iš-tan-na: PF 133:2, 247:4-5, 385:3, 433:2, 436:3, 1670:10-11, etc. in PFT; PFNN 782:1-2, 794:2-3, 871:7-8, 1407:2-3, 1512:5, etc. in PFNN; PFS 45 (reference C.E. Jones, 17/10/2000).

4.2.832 *(H)ušaftiš: *(H)u-šafti-š, "having a good steed" (Gershevitch 1969: 244; OnP 8.1766; ASN 128).

– Elamite: Ú-šap$_6$-ti-iš: PF 2085:12.

4.2.833 *(H)ušhaxāya-: *(H)uš-haxā-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Huš-haxā-, "good friend" (Cameron 1948: 149; ASN 128).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1765) has doubts. Stolper (1999b: 375 and n.36) mentions *Hušhaxāha-, "good friend".

– Babylonian: Ú-šá-ḫa-a-a: VAT 15608:4'.

– Elamite: Ú-šá-ka$_4$-ia: PFNN 1227:9, 2460:6-7, 2527:11; PT 41: 6-7.

4.2.834 *(H)utapuka-: *(H)u-tap-uka-, hypocoristic of *(H)u-tapa-, "well warm".
– Elamite: Ud-da-pu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 620:3.

4.2.835 *(H)utōθānā- (OP; fem.): < *(H)utauθa-ānā-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Hu-tauθa-, "bestowing very richly".
Gershevitch (1969: 244), Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1684) and Hinz (ASN 128) rightfully recognize this name as the OP equivalent of Av. *Hutaosā-* (Parth. Ḫwdws [Henning 1943-46: 73-74] and Gk. Ὑτοσσα [IN 50]), but while Gershevitch and Mayrhofer do not venture a translation, Hinz accepts Bartholomae's translation, i.e. "having beautiful thighs" (AiW 1822). The correct meaning, however, is "bestowing very richly" (Mayrhofer 1977: 39 and 1979: I/52), to OInd. *tośá-*.
– Elamite: Ú-du-sa-na: PF 163:5.

4.2.836 *(H)uθifrā- (OP; fem.): *(H)u-θifrā-, "having beautiful lips" (Gershevitch 1969: 198; OnP 8.1763; ASN 129; these authors translate "having beautiful hair"), cf. OInd. *su-śípra-*, "having beautiful lips".
– Elamite: Ú-si-pír-ra: PFNN 1456:4.

4.2.837 *(H)uθrāya- (Med.): *(H)u-θrā-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Hu-θrā-, "protecting well" (Gershevitch 1969: 244).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1791) connects this name with Udriia-, an Av. mountain name (AiW 388). Hinz (ASN 241) prefers Av. *udra-*, "otter".
– Elamite: Ú-ut-re-ia: PF 2011:13,29.

4.2.838 *(H)uvadāmiš (fem.): *(H)uva-dāmi-š, "own creation".
Gershevitch (1969b: 192) reconstructs *Hva-dāmi-, "giving birth easily" (Av. *huzāmi-*, "easy birth"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.910) is not sure of the correctness of this etymology. Hinz (ASN 137-138) reconstructs *Xvă-dāmi-, "good creation", but *m*-signs do not render /xᵛ/.
– Elamite: Ma-da-mi-iš: PF 2070:18; PFNN 1366:4-5.

4.2.839 *(H)uvadāta-: "he who determines his own destiny" (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1713), Av. Xᵛaδāta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/102).
– Elamite: Ú-ma-da-ad-da: PF 1049:4.

4.2.840 *(H)uvaframātiya-: *(H)uva-framāt-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *(H)uva-framāta-, "commanding oneself".
Benveniste (1966: 87) mentions *Xva-framati-. Hinz's (ASN 138) reconstruction *Xva-framāt-iya-, "well commanded" cannot be accepted (MA ≠ /xva/).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ap-pír-ra-ma-[ti-ia]: PFNN 563:4.
2) Ma-ap-ra-ma-ti-ia: PF 1955:12.
3) Ma-pír-ra-ma-ti-ia: PF 1595:2-3; PFNN 548:2, 1013:5.

4.2.841 *(H)uvăfrya-: *(H)uvă-frya-, "good and dear".
– Elamite: Ma-par-ri-ia: PFNN 1887:2.

4.2.842 *(H)uvagauka-: *(H)uva-gau-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *(H)uva-gau-, "possessing his own cow".
The reconstruction *Xvagauka- (ElW 861) is not correct (MA ≠ /xva/).

– Elamite: Ma-kam-ka$_4$: PFNN 2349:26-27.

4.2.843 *(H)uvaičanā: nom. sg. of *(H)uvai-čanah-, "own desire".
Hinz (ASN 138) erroneously reads *Xvai-. Other etymologies are (1) *Vahyazana-, "knowing what is better" or "belonging to a better race" (Gershevitch 1969: 211), (2) an *-āna*-patronymic of Ma-a-za (OnP 8.1061) and (3) *Vačana-, "eloquent" (Schmitt 1970: 15n.8), to OInd. *vacaná-*. The latter name should, however, be written Ma-za-na (ASN 138).
– Elamite: Ma-a-za-na: PF 1258:2.

4.2.844 *(H)uvăkṛta-: *(H)uvă-kṛta-, "well made".
Gershevitch (1969: 240) reconstructs *Hauma-gṛta-, "haoma-sipper", to Av. *gar-*, "to sip". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.541) believes in **hauma-* as the first element. Hinz (ASN 124) argues that **hauma-* normally appears as Ú-ma- and reconstructs *(H)umā-kṛta-, "Humā's solemn mention" (ASN 124), which is, however, also wrong.
– Elamite: Hu-ma-kur-da: PF 805:2.

4.2.845 *(H)uvămanyuš: *(H)uvă-manyu-š, "having a good mind" (Schmitt 1970: 22; OnP 8.925; ASN 130), OInd. Su-manyu- (SED 1231).
Gershevitch (1969: 203) reconstructs *Hva-vaŋhu-, "he who possesses all good", to OInd. *svávasu-* (RV 5 44.7).
– Elamite: Ma-man-nu-ú-iš: PF 305:4, 311:3-4, 352:2, 550:6, 745:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 345:2, 361:2, 566:9-10, 670:2-3, 1275:2, 1438:2-3, 1579:3, 2481:1-2, 2578:2-3.

4.2.846 *(H)uvamnaka-: *(H)uvamna-ka-, "the sleepy".
Gershevitch (1969: 203; also ASN 139) reconstructs *Xvamnaka- (4.2.1991).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-um-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 492:6-7 (Ma-u[m]-°), 531:3-4, 651:5-6, 1825:1; PFNN 869:3-4, 1360:7-8.
2) Ma-um-na-ka$_4$: PF 452:9, 1059:2; PFNN 2374:19.

4.2.847 *(H)uvančanā: nom. sg. of *(H)uvan-čanah-, "with a desire for the sun god". Cf. 4.3.106.
Hinz (ASN 139) reads *Xvančanā. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.962) considers it to be an Elamite name.
– Elamite: Man-za-na: PF 531:8-9, 591:9, 592:8-9, 651:10-11; PFNN 775:4-5, 864:8-9, 869:8, 976:8-9.

4.2.848 *(H)uvandāta-: *(H)uvan-dāta-, "given by the sun god" (ASN 139, reading *Xvandāta-).
Gershevitch (1969b: 189) reads Man-da-da and reconstructs *Vanta-dā-, "praise-giver". Hinz (ASN 139) mentions *Vanta-āta-. Zadok (1977c: 77) considers the name to be Elamite: concerning the element *man-* he refers to Man-si-mu-[ut]. Concerning -da-da- he mentions Um-man-da-da and [Hu]-ut-ra-da-ad-da. In my view the name must be Iranian, since the spelling is not Man-da-da, but Man-da-ad-[da] (Stolper, pers. comm. 08/04/01).
– Elamite: Man-da-ad-[da]: PFNN 1052:5.

4.2.849 *(H)uvanpāka-: *(H)uvan-pā-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *(H)uvan-pā-, "whose protector is the sun god".

Gershevitch (1969: 203) reconstructs *Vahan-pāka-, "protecting him who is good", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.932) does not accept this. Hinz (ASN 139) prefers *Xvan-pā-ka-.

– Elamite: Man-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 284:3.

4.2.850 *(H)uvantīš: *(H)u-vant-ī-š < *(H)u-vant-iya-, "honouring well".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1256) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Ú-un-ti-iš: PF 269:7-8; PFNN 768:8.

4.2.851 *(H)uvanvanta-: *(H)uvan-vanta-, "sunny", Av. X^{v}anuuaṇt- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/102).

Most authors (OnP 8.945; NW 112; ASN 139) prefer *Xvanvanta-, the East Ir. equivalent of this name. Gershevitch (1969: 203) proposes to read *Manavanta-.

– Elamite:
  1) Man-nu-man-da: PF 662:12-13; PFNN 152:17, 509:13, 577:16, 908:11-12.
  2) Man-nu-un-da: PF 5:4, 33:3-4, 95:4, 96:4-5, 326:5, 660:13, 1809:15, etc. in PFT; PFNN 531:18, 569:4-5, 778:12, 825:3-4, etc. in PFNN.
  3) Ma-nu-man-da: PF 658:12.
  4) Ma-nu-un-da: PF 654:11, 667:11; PFNN 1895:13, 1912:9.
  5) Un-nu-un-da: Fort. 1018:8.

4.2.852 *(H)uvarasa- (OP): *(H)uvar-asa-, "sun-horse" (ASN 130).

According to Gershevitch (1969b: 190) one is dealing here with *Vara-asa-, "having willing horses" (cf. OInd. *váram*, "with preference"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.965) correctly identifies the second element as OP *asa-*.

– Elamite: Ma-ráš-šá: PFNN 545:9.

4.2.853 *(H)uvārava-: *(H)u-vāra-va-, "having a good will".

Dandamayev (1992: 137) considers the name to be Iranian, but offers no explanation.

– Babylonian: Ú-mu-ru-ú: AMI N.F. 23 164:13.

4.2.854 *(H)uvāravīra-: *Hu-vāra-vīra-, "having good-willed men" (Zadok 1976b: 78; Dandamayev 1992: 135).

– Babylonian: Ú-mar-$^{\circ}$-mi-ra-$^{\circ}$: Hebraica 8 134:13.

4.2.855 *(H)uvarbānu-: *(H)uvar-bānu-, "with the lustre of the sun god".

Stolper (pers. comm. 24/10/01) prefers East Iranian *Xvar-bānu-, but such a name is not reflected by the spelling.

– Babylonian: Ú-ru-ba-nu-ú: YBC 11611:15.

4.2.856 *(H)uvarčanā: nom. sg. of *(H)uvar-čanah-, "with a desire for the sun god" (ASN 130).

Alternative etymologies: (1) *Vṛzana- (Eilers 1940b: 218; Grantovskij 1970: 299; Zadok 1977: 100) and (2) *Huvṛzana-, "(possessing) a good estate" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 135).

– Babylonian:
  1) Ú-ma-ar-za-nu: VAT 15620:4 (cf. Eilers 1940b: 219),6 ([Ú-ma-ar]-$^{\circ}$).

  2) Ú-mar-za-na-$^{\circ}$: Dar. 458:15.

– Elamite: Ú-mar-za-na: PFNN 2346:6.

4.2.857 *(H)uvardāta-: *(H)uvar-dāta-, "given by the sun god" (OnP 8.971 and 8.1718; ASN 130; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 134).

*Ahuradāta- (Benveniste 1966: 95) and *Vṛda-dāta-, "created by the rose" (NW 116), to Av. *varəδa-* and Arm. *vard*, are less plausible.

– Babylonian:
  1) Ḫu-ú-mar-da-a-tú: BE 10 8:8,R.E., 18:14, 22:9,L.E., 24:11,L.E., 26:15, 34:15,L.E., 35-36:13, 45:13,R.E., 46:17,R.E.; PBS 2/1 6:12, 31:15,L.E. ($^{\circ}$-[tú]).
  2) Ḫu-ur-da-a-tú: PBS 2/1 103:9 ($^{\circ}$-[a-tú]),U.E.
  3) Ú-mar-da-a-tú: BE 10 20:12,R.E., 25:11,L.E., 32:Lo.E., 36:L.E., 37:11,L.E., 41:12,U.E., 42:U.E., 54:15,L.E.; IMT 82:L.E.; PBS 2/1 8:7,R.E. (Ú-[mar-d]a-tú), 14:8,R.E., 153:8, 180:13,L.E., 185:13,L.E.
  4) Ú-mar-da-tú: BE 10 32:14; IMT 82:10.
  5) Ú-ru-da-a-tú: BE 10 50:13,U.E. Inaccurate spelling.

– Elamite:
  1) Hu-mar-da-da: PFNN 2495:21.
  2) Mar-da-da[115]: PF 108-109:3-4; PFNN 112:3.
  3) Ú-mar-da-ad-da: PF 381:3, 382:3-4, 383:3.
  4) Ú-mar-da-da: PF 326:5-6, 835-837:4-5, 838:5, 839:4-5; PFNN 825:4-5, 2342:33, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.858 *(H)uvardiya-: *(H)u-vard-iya-, "doing good" (Schmitt 1997: 165).

Some scholars (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1721; ASN 124) connect this spelling with a name *(H)umartiya-, "having good men".

– Elamite: Ú-mar-ti-ia: PF 431:3-4, 765:3; PFNN 232:3-4, 647:3.

4.2.859 *(H)uvaršā (OP): nom. sg. of *(H)uvă-ṛšan-, "the good hero" (OnP 8.995; ASN 131), cf. Parth. Ḥwrš[k] (Gignoux 1972: 53).

Gershevitch (1969: 206) mentions *Varša-, "hair".

– Elamite:
  1) Mar-šá: PF 1963:30.
  2) Mur-šá: PFNN 921:3.

4.2.860 *(H)uvaršaka-: *(H)uvă-ṛša-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *(H)uvă-ṛsā (OnP 8.996; ASN 131).

Again Gershevitch (1969: 206) mentions *Varša-, "hair", next to *Varša-, "tree", with reference to the Av. PN Varəšauua- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/92).

– Elamite:
  1) Mar-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 1183:3.

[115] Hinz (ASN 270) reconstructs *Vṛdāta-, an *-āta*-extension of *Vṛda-, "rose".

2) Mar-šá-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 6:2-3.

4.2.861 *(H)uvăršauyauda- (OPs): *(H)uvă-ṛša-u-yauda-, "the good hero, the good warrior" (ElW 889).
– Elamite: Mar-šá-u-ia-u-da: PFNN 2285:6.

4.2.862 *(H)uvăršayauda-: *(H)uvă-ṛša-yauda-, "good hero, who fights" (ElW 889).
– Elamite: Mar-še-ia-u-da: PFNN 2368:20,27.

4.2.863 *(H)uvăršēna-: < *(H)uvă-ṛš-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *(H)uvă-ṛšā, cf. 4.2.2003.
– Elamite: Mar-še-na: PF 522:3, 1710:2-3, 1946:67,69; PFNN 123:3, 353:3-4, 2485:4.

4.2.864 *(H)uvăršuka-: *(H)uvă-ṛš-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *(H)uvă-ṛšā (OnP 8.999; ASN 131).
– Elamite:
1) Mar-iš-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1127:2.
2) Mar-šu-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 3127:1-2, 6529:2; PF 909-911:2, 1656:2; PFNN 777:2, 1211:1-2, 1533:2, 1692:2, 2204:13.

4.2.865 *(H)uvartana-: *(H)u-vartana-, "having a good chariot" (ASN 129).
Benveniste (1966: 95) mentions *Hu-vartana-, which he translates "having a good turn". He also mentions *Hu-vardana-, "good growth". Gershevitch (1969: 241) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1719) discern two different names in the two spellings, *Hu-vartana- and *Hu-vartauna-. Nevertheless both spellings render only one name *Hu-vartana-[116].
– Elamite:
1) Ú-mar-tam$_5$-na: PF 1367:3.
2) Ú-mar-tan-na: PF 1946:73,77; PFNN 2183:26.

4.2.866 *(H)uvarvēsa-: < *(H)uvar-vaisa-, "servant of the sun god" (ElW 883).
Gershevitch's (1969b: 190) reconstruction *Varu-ais/θa- is not accepted by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.983). Hinz (ASN 256) reads *Varmaiča-.
– Elamite: Mar-me-šá: PFNN 876:2.

4.2.867 *(H)uvasafarnā (OP): *(H)uv-asa-farnā, "the glory of good horses" (ASN 131).
Gershevitch (1969: 209) connects this name with Av. *vasō.x^{v}arənah-*, "having fortune at his will", while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1018) rather prefers an erroneous spelling of a name *Mazdafarnā.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-šá-pa-har-na: PF 1225:5-6.
2) Maš-šá-bar-na: PF 1826:6-7.

[116] Cf. *(H)ustāna- (4.2.831), which shows the same scribal variation: Hu-iš-tam$_5$-na and Hu-iš-tan-na. TAM$_5$ and TAN may also have a value /ta/ (Harmatta, apud OnP 110-111).

4.2.868 *(H)uvasāvanya- (OP): *(H)uv-asā-vanya-, "victorious with a good horse" (ElW 895).
– Elamite: Maš-šá-man-ia: PFNN 2197:4-5.

4.2.869 *(H)uvasēna- (OP): < *(H)uv-as-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *(H)uv-asa-, "having a good horse" (OnP 8.1014; ASN 132).
– Elamite: Ma-še-na: Fort. 7253:3.

4.2.870 *(H)uvaspa- (Med.): *(H)uv-aspa-, "having a good horse" (Gershevitch 1969b: 198; OnP 8.1672 and 8.1722; ASN 132). Cf. Parth. Hwspynk (Schmitt 1998: 187).
– Elamite:
1) Ú-áš-ba: PFNN 1013:14.
2) Ú-ma-iš-ba: PFNN 1227:3.

4.2.871 *(H)uvaspādafrīš: < *(H)uva-spāda-frya-, "kind to his own army".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 893) reconstruct *Xvaspādafrya-.
– Elamite: Maš-ba-da-pír-ri-iš: PFNN 2542:28.

4.2.872 *Huvastāna-: *H(u)-vast-āna-, "well-dressed" (Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 93; Dandamayev 1992: 135), *-āna*-patronymic of *Hu-vasta-.
Eilers (1940: 121) pleads for *Upastāna-, to OInd. *upasthāna-*, "going near, approach, service". Hinz (ASN 51) mentions *Avastāna- (4.2.216), but elsewhere (ASN 122) he considers the same spelling to be a rendering of *Hubastāna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Hu-basta-, "well bound".
– Babylonian: Ú-ma-as-ta-nu: VS 5 118:20.

4.2.873 *(H)uvaxšara-: *(H)uva-xš-ara-, two-stem hypocoristic of *(H)uva-xšay-, "ruling oneself" (Schulze 1895: 221-222; Mørkholm & Neumann 1978: 16; Schmitt 1982c: 382-383, 1982d: IV/27 and 2002: 57). Gk. Κυαξάρης.
Deecke (1887: 139) reconstructed *Huvaxšaθra-. According to Gusmani (1968: 2) this name is a derivation from Lyc. *waksa-*, "lord". Already Olzscha (1938: 115) and Zgusta (1964: 177 §372 and 376; cf. also Zwanziger 1976: 178) argued that the real name was Waksa.
– Lycian:
1) Waχssere-[117]: NAWG 1978/1 208 (written Waχssebe), 237.
2) Weχssere-[118]: NAWG 1978/1 132a, 133a, 207a, 236.

4.2.874 *Huvāzāta- (OPd): "very, right noble" (Lidzbarski 1908b; Zadok 1997b), cf. Av. *huuāzāta-*.
– Aramaic: Hwzt: ESE 2 400 (= RÉS 1825).
– Babylonian: Ḫu-ma-a-za-ta: BM 59568:26 (cf. Zadok 1997b).

[117] Abbreviated forms of this spelling are (1) Waχsse (NAWG 1978/1 133b) and (2) Waχsse (Hunter 1979: 100 no.4).

[118] Abbreviated forms of this spelling are (1) Weχ (NAWG 1978/1 207c), (2) Weχs (NAWG 1978/1 132b) and (3) Weχss (NAWG 1978/1 207b).

4.2.875 *(H)uvētumaniš: < *(H)uvaitu-mani-š, "having a family mind" (OnP 8.1062).

Gershevitch (1969: 210) mentions *Vaida(h)-vaŋhu-, "having good possessions", to Av. *vaēδah-*. Schmitt (1970: 16) reconstructs *Vaida^{h}-vaya-, "acquiring possessions".

– Elamite: Me-du-man-nu-iš: PF 1368:2.

4.2.876 *(H)uvistva-: *(H)u-vist-va-, "the good shooter" (ASN 129).

Less probable etymologies are (1) *Hu-vista-tama-, "very well found" (Gershevitch 1969: 241), (2) a derivation from OInd. *mīḍhvás-*, "merciful" (OnP 8.1731) and (3) *Huvistāxva-, "well brave" (NW 117).

– Elamite:
1) Hu-maš-du-ma: PF 316:3.
2) Hu-mi-iš-du-ma: PF 465:2 (°-mi-<iš>-°), 1709:1-2; PFNN 1261:4-5, 1664:2 (°-<iš>-°), 2570:3 (°-<iš>-°).
3) Hu-mi-iš-ti-ma: PFNN 2157:2-3.
4) Hu-muš-ti-ma: PF 36:2-3, 1067-1068:2.
5) Ú-mi-iš-du-ma: PF 117:2-3, 118:2, 256:4-5, 1230-1231:3-4, 1408:3-4, 1444:3, 1846-1847:1; PFNN 1391:3-4, 2344:3, 2555:1-2, etc. in PFNN.
6) Ú-mi-iš-ti-ma: Fort. 2568:3-4.
7) Ú-muš-ti-ma: PF 37:2-3; PFNN 889:2-3, 2358:16, 2479:25-26.

4.2.877 *(H)uvyārakā- (fem.): *(H)uvyāra-kā-, *-ka*-extension of *(H)uvyāra-, "easy" (Gershevitch 1969: 241; ASN 129).

– Elamite: Ú-mu-ia-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:45.

4.2.878 *(H)uxraθuš (OP): *(H)u-xraθu-š, "the wise" (Gershevitch 1969: 240; OnP 8.1710; ASN 123). Cf. Av. *huxratu-*.

– Elamite: Ú-kur-rad-du-iš: PFa 31:1.

4.2.879 *(H)uyāra-: *(H)u-yāra-, "(born in) a good year" (Benveniste 1966: 96; OnP 8.1784; ASN 129). Cf. 4.2.2005.

– Elamite: Ú-ia-ra: PF 1945:8,15, 1952:3,9.

4.2.880 *(H)uyāraka-: *(H)u-yāra-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Huyāra- (Gershevitch 1969: 244; OnP 8.1785; ASN 130).

– Elamite: Ú-ia-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 548:10.

4.2.881 *Ibastāna-: *Iba-stāna-, "(occupying an outstanding) place in the house personell" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 85).

Zadok (1977: 96 and n.56) recognizes **iba-* (OInd. *ibha-*), but Schmitt (1994: 85) argues that OInd. *ibha-* is an isolated form, not occurring in Iranian. Schmitt rightfully stresses that the real meaning of *ibha-* is not "family" (as everyone assumes), but "house personell".

– Babylonian: Ib-ba-as-ta-na-': BE 8/1 144:19.

4.2.882 *Ibaθrā- (Med.): *Iba-θrā-, "he who protects the house personell" (Gershevitch 1970: 85-86; ASN 141).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.552) considers it an El. name, but Hinz (ASN 141) objects that El. *iba-*, "to be strong" is always spelled ib-ba.

– Elamite:
1) Hi-ba-tur-ra: PF 341:2 (°-tur-<ra>), 342:3, 343-344:2-3, 1167:2-3, 1214:2-3; PFNN 339:2-3, 621:2-3, 749:10-11, 1234:2, 1377:2, 1400:8-9, 2467:10-11.
2) I-ba-tur-ra: PF 776:2, 777:3, 817:3-4, 1110-1111:2-3, 1181:2-3, 1213:3-4, 1618:2-3; PFNN 153:2-3, 251:2-3, 672:2-3, 774:3, 1064:2-3, 1175:3, 1222:3.

4.2.883 *Ibēčanā: nom. sg. of *Ibēčanah- < *Ibya-čanah-, "desirous for wealth" (Gershevitch 1970: 86).

Hinz (ASN 141) translates "desires of the relatives".

– Elamite: I-be-za-na: PFNN 140:4.

4.2.884 *Isantē- (Med.): < *Isanta-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Isanta-, itself a thematisation of *Is-, "to be lord" (ASN 142).

– Elamite:
1) Iš-an-te: PF 320:9.
2) Iš-an-tu$_4$: PF 37:3-4.
3) Iš-šá-an-te: PF 135:5-6, 318:3, 392:3-4, 393:4-5, 417:4, 418:5, 419:4, 511:3; PFNN 634:4-5, 1351:3-4 (°-<an>-te), 1667:5-6.
4) Iš-šá-an-tu$_4$: PF 394-395:4, 396:3-4.

4.2.885 *Isvōka-: <*Isv-auka-, an *-auka*-extension of a retrenched name *Isvā-, "quiver" (ASN 142, reading *Isvauka-).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.679; also ASN 26) reconstructs *Aišm-uka-, an *-uka*-extension of Av. *aēšma-*, "rage, furiousness", but also mentions **Aismaka-*, "firewood". Gershevitch's (1970: 86) proposal to read *Išu-āhaka-, "arrow-thrower" (OInd. *iṣu-*, "arrow") is unlikely.

– Elamite: Iš-mu-ka$_4$: PF 1525:3-4.

4.2.886 *Iθātiya- (OP): *Iθ-āt-iya-, *-ya*-extension of *Iθ-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of *Iθa-, "ruler" (ASN 142).

Gershevitch (1970: 86) prefers *Iθaθya-, to Av. **isaθiia-*, a derivation from Av. *aēs-*, "to rule over", like *xšāyaθiya-* of *xšay-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.516) takes no decision.

– Elamite: Hi-sa-ti-ia: PF 1039:2.

4.2.887 *Izāta-: *Iza-āta-, emphasized equivalent of *Iza-, "prosperous" or "zealous".

– Elamite: Iz-za-ud(?)-da: PFNN 1559:3-4.

4.2.888 *Jāgarna-: "the watchful" (Gershevitch 1969: 247; ASN 142).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1813) remains undecisive concerning this name.

– Elamite: Za-kar-na: PF 1139:3.

4.2.889 *Jaidriš: *Jai-dri-š, "carrying the people".

Gershevitch (1969: 250; also OnP 8.1840) reconstructs *Jaya-dāri-, an *-i*-patronymic of *Jaya-dāra-, "victory-holder". Hinz (ASN 70) reconstructs *Čaidriš or *Čaiθriš.

– Elamite:
1) Za-a-tar-ri-iš: PF 1970:18-19; PFNN 2337:23.
2) Za-a-ut-ri-iš: PFNN 2202:21 (Za-a-<ut>-°),31.

4.2.890 *Jāma-: retrenchment of a *Jāma-name (Gershevitch 1969: 247; OnP 8.1818; ASN 142).

Gershevitch (1969b: 199) pleads for a thematisation of the Av. PN Zauuan- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/106).

– Elamite: Za-ma: PF 1000:4; PFNN 2237:2.

4.2.891 *Jāmaka-: *Jāma-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Jāma-name (ElW 1280).

– Elamite: Za-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2268:22.

4.2.892 *Jāmāspa-: *Jām-aspa-, "leading the horses" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Benveniste 1966: 96; Gershevitch 1969: 177-178; OnP 8.1821; ASN 143; Zadok 1977: 104 and n.162; Dandamayev 1992: 142; Schmitt 2006: 159), Av. Jāmāspa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/55), MP Y'm'sp, NP Jāmāsp (IN 109), Gk. Ζαμάσφης (ibid.).

Bailey (1957: 61n.13) connects this name with Khotanese *ggaunda*, "emaciated". Schmitt (1975: 181-182) believes in a connection between *Jāma- and OInd. *kṣāmá-*, "burned". He translates "having branded horses".

– Aramaic: Zmsp: TAD B 3.4:24.
– Babylonian:
1) Za-am-ma-as-pi: BM 30136:Lo.E. (cf. Zadok 1976d: 214).
2) Za-ma-as-pa-': TuM 2/3 142:1,5,6.
– Elamite:
1) Za-ma-áš-ba: Fort. 5464:2; PF 447:5-6, 680:3-4, 1593:4, 1956:33; PFNN 428:3, 914:3-4, 2057:1, 2086:2,15.
2) Za-ma-iš-ba: PF 731:2, 812:3, 1259:2.

4.2.893 *Jāmukā- (fem.): *Jām-ukā-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Jāma-name (OnP 8.1822; ASN 143, reconstructing *Jām-aukā-).

– Elamite: Za-mu-ik-ka$_4$: PF 2038:31.

4.2.894 *Jannara-: *Jan-nara-, "killing men" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; OnP 8.149), Av. Jaṇnara- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/54-55).

– Elamite: Šá-na-ra: PF 1211:3. Error for Za-na-ra (ŠA and ZA have a similar shape).

4.2.895 *Jīča-: *Jī-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Jī-, "the vivid".

Gershevitch (1969: 251; also ASN 72) reconstructs *Čič(č)a-, to OInd. *ciccikā-*, some kind of bird. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1892) rejects this. Zadok (1977c: 79) prefers an El. name, but that is unlikely, since a *-ka*-extension of *Jīča- is also attested (ElW 1295).

– Elamite:
1) Si-iz-za: PFNN 2293:20. Inaccurate spelling.
2) Zí-iz-za: PF 1980:16-17.

4.2.896 *Jīčaka-: *Jī-ča-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Jīča-.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1295) erroneously read *Čičča-ka-.

– Elamite: Zí-iz-za-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2211:6,14.

4.2.897 *Jīčuka-: *Jī-č-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Jī-ča-, "alive and capable".

Hinz (ASN 72) reconstructs *Čičč-auka-. Koch (ElW 1304) identifies this man with Zí-iš-šu-uk-ka$_4$ (4.2.413), but already Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1864; also Hinz, l.c.) had shown that this is unlikely.

– Elamite: Zí-su-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 1869:4-5; PF 604:6, 945:2; PFNN 452:4-5, 1435:6-7, 1869:4.

4.2.898 *Jĭrabṛzaka-: *Jĭra-bṛza-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Jĭra-bṛza-, "having an exalted intelligence" (ASN 143).

All authors (Gershevitch 1969b: 200; OnP 8.1825; ASN 143) agree on the first part *Jĭra-. On the second part, however, they disagree: Gershevitch prefers **fraza-*, "offspring" (OInd. *prajā́-*), something which Mayrhofer does not accept.

– Elamite: Zí-ra-bìr-za-ka$_4$: PFNN 625:2.

4.2.899 *Jĭryāna-: *Jĭr-ya-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Jĭr-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Jĭra-name (OnP 8.1862; ElW 1092).

Hinz (ASN 74) prefers *Čirya-āna-, to Av. *čiriia-*, "brave".

– Elamite: Zir-ia-na: PF 1604:3.

4.2.900 *Jišna-: "victorious".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1292) reconstruct *Čišna-, "poult".

– Elamite: Zí-iš-na: PF 1081:3; PFNN 1397:4.

4.2.901 *Jišnika-: *Jišn-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Jišna- (Benveniste 1966: 96).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1869) and Hinz (ASN 74) connect the name with the loanword *zišn-* (5.3.4.66), which itself is not fully explained.

– Elamite: Zí-iš-nu-ka$_4$: PF 1199:2-3.

4.2.902 *Jīvaka-: *Jīva-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Jīva-, "living, alive" (Eilers 1940: 27; Grelot 1972: 500; NW 98-99; ASN 143; OnP 8.1849; Schmitt 1974: 105; Zadok 1977: 103 and 2002: 883; Kornfeld 1978: 106; Dandamayev 1992: 144), Gk. Ζευάκος (IN 385). Cf. OInd. *jīvaka-*, "living, alive".

Gershevitch (1969: 247) reconstructs *Zima-ka-, "the wintery".

– Aramaic: Zywk: TAD A 4.2:3.
– Babylonian:
1) Zi-ma-ak-ka-': EE 39:3.
2) Zi-ma-ak-ki-': BE 10 37:18.
3) Zi-ma-ga: AOAT 281 883:2,5.
4) Zi-ma-ga-': BM 74476:4 (cf. Stolper 1994: 623).
5) Zi-ma-ka-': BE 9 76:4.
– Elamite:

1) Zí-ma-ak-ka$_4$: Fort. 9042:4; PF 2:2-3, 198:3-4, 983:2-3, 1853:3-4, 1995:6; PFa 1:4; PFNN 617:2-3, 619:8, 755:25, 810:9-10, 813:9-10, 831:11, 1520-1521:5-6, etc. in PFNN.
2) Zí-ma-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1210:12-13.
3) Zí-ma-ka$_4$: PF 783:3; PFa 33:25 (Zí-ma-[ka$_4$]); PFNN 2526:2.

4.2.903 *Jīyuka-: *Jīy-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Jī-, "living, alive".
– Elamite: Zí-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1575:5-6.

4.2.904 *Jufra-: "the mysterious one" (OnP 8.1464).
Gershevitch (1969: 229) reconstructs *Θubra-, "shining", to OInd. *śubhrá-*, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1464) points out that SU does not render /θu/.
– Elamite: Su-íp-ra: PF 104:4, 343:3, 344:5, 345:3, 1624:3, 1996:7, 2029:4.

4.2.905 *Jūjā- (fem.): "chicken" (ASN 143).
Gershevitch (1969: 229) reads *Θučā-, "pure", to OInd. *śucá-*, but according to Hinz (ASN 143) SU never renders /θŭ/. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1468) prefers a connection with the toponym Zūzahya-, which is also spelled Su-iz-za.
– Elamite: Su-iz-za: PF 2038:16.

4.2.906 *Kača-: "crooked" (ASN 144).
According to Gershevitch (1969: 202) Ka$_4$-iz-za reflects *Gaz-, "tamarisk-tree" (NP *gaz*). Bowman (1970: 128) reads Kš as *Kauša- and refers to the Av. PN Kaoša- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/56-57). According to Hinz (ASN 144) such a name would be spelled Kwš in Aramaic, but that is not correct, since Old Iranian diphthongs are not always indicated in Aramaic.
– Aramaic: Kš: Pers 60:2.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-iz-za: PF 424:3-4, 1624:2.

4.2.907 *Kačaka-: *Kača-ka-, *-ika*-extension of *Kača- (OnP 8.814; ASN 144).
With regard to the first spelling Gershevitch (1969: 201) pleads for *Kāθaka-, which he connects with OP *kāsaka-*, "semi-precious stone". According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.789) Ka$_4$-sa-ak-ka$_4$ renders *Kāθaka-, related with Av. *kas-*, "to observe", with reference to the Olbian names Κασαγος and Κασακος. Yet all spellings denote one person (EIW 457), whose name in all likelihood was *Kačaka-.
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-sa-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1363:2-3.
2) Ka$_4$-za-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 382:2-3, 2492:6,9-10.
3) Ka$_4$-za-ka$_4$: PF 1360:2, 1362:2; PFNN 2320:2.
4) Ka$_4$-zí-ka$_4$: PFNN 2277:5, 2490:41.

4.2.908 *Kačauka- / *Kačōka-: *Kač-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Kača- (ASN 144).
Gershevitch (1969b: 189) reconstructs *Kaθuka-, "small". It is not sure whether the first spelling really renders this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-su-uk(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 682:2-3.

2) Ki-za-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 695:4.
3) Ki-za-u-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1004:3-4.

4.2.909 *Kafačaya-: *Kafa-ča-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Kafa-, "slobber" (ASN 144).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.750) reconstructs *Kapaka-, "partridge" (NP *kabk*).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-pa-zí-ia: PF 1957:12; PFNN 2494:9.

4.2.910 *Kafya-: *Kaf-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Kafa- (ASN 144).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-pi-ia: PF 304:2.

4.2.911 *Kaika- / *Kēka-: *Kaika-, "flea" (NW 89; ASN 144; OnP 8.705; Zadok 1977: 99 and n.83; Dandamayev 1992: 94).
– Babylonian:
1) Ke-e-ki: VS 6 226:edge.
2) Ke-ki-i: EE 11:7.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-i-ka$_4$: PF 313:3.

4.2.912 *Kāka-: "uncle" (ASN 145; Zadok 1977: 99 and n.84; Dandamayev 1992: 89; Schmitt 1994: 86).
Gershevitch (1969: 197) reconstructs *Kāhaka-, "palace", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.707) rejects this etymology.
– Babylonian:
1) Ka-ak-ka-a: JCS 28 36 no.22:1.
2) Ka-ka: EE 47:5.
3) Ka-ka-': BE 10 66:4,9.
4) Ka-ka-a: TuM 2/3 237:21.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1685:3, 1959:12; PFNN 101:11 (Ka$_4$-[a]k-ka$_4$), 1842:3, 2551:2.

4.2.913 *Kākā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Kāka- (ASN 145).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:31.

4.2.914 *Kākiya-: *Kāk-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Kāka- (ASN 145; Schmitt 1994: 86).
Zadok (1977: 112 and n.252) reconstructs a patronymic *Kāk-i.
– Babylonian:
1) Ka-ki-ia: Dar. 51:2.
2) Ka-ki-iá: Dar. 57:4.

4.2.915 *Kāma-: retrenchment of a *Kāma-name (OnP 8.708; ASN 145).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ma: PT 14:21.

4.2.916 *Kāmafrata-: *Kāma-frata-, "whose desire is excellent".
Bowman (1970: 169) reads *Bḥprt (rendering a name *Baxtafrit, "having the blessing of fortune"). Eilers (apud Bowman, l.c.) reconstructs *Baŋha-friθa-, "liking hemp", to Av. *baŋha-*, "hemp".
– Aramaic: Kmprt: Pers 121:2.

4.2.917 *Kāmaiča- / *Kāmēča-: *Kām-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kāma-name (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.724; ASN 145).

– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-am-me-za: PFNN 2371:1.
2) Ka_4-ma-a-za: PFNN 516:4-5.
3) Ka_4-me-ez-za: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:19, 107-108:24, 110-111:22; JNES 53 264:14; PF 368:3, 661:8, 672:14, 1415:3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 333:16-17, 349:16, 372:3, etc. in PFNN.
4) Ka_4-me-za: Fort. 5899:11; PFNN 1509:18.

4.2.918 *Kāmaina- / *Kāmēna-: *Kām-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kāma-name (ASN 144).
Gershevitch (1969: 197) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.715) reconstruct *Kāma-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Kāma-. Hinz (ASN 144) mentions *Gavaina-, "cattle-".
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ma-a-na: PF 1351:3.
2) Ka_4-me-na: PF 444:3.

4.2.919 *Kāmaka-: *Kāma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kāma-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; OnP 8.710; ASN 145; Zadok 1977: 108 and n.200; Dandamayev 1992: 90).
– Babylonian: Ka-ma-ak-ka: VS 6 171:23.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ma-ak-ka_4: PFNN 2479:8.
2) Ka_4-ma-ik-ka_4: PFNN 1057:22.
3) Ka_4-ma-ka_4: PFNN 1651:4-5.

4.2.920 *Kāmāna-: *Kāma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kāma- (ElW 424).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ma-n[a]: Fort. 3668:3.

4.2.921 *Kāmavanya-: *Kāma-vanya-, "victorious through desire" (ElW 429).
– Elamite: Ka_4-mu-man-ia: PFNN 1630:3.

4.2.922 *Kāmayaza-: *Kāma-yaza-, "he who desires to worship".
Bowman (1970: 121) erroneously reads Kqyz.
– Aramaic: Kmyz: Pers 50:2.

4.2.923 *Kāmiya-: *Kām-iya-, *-iya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kāma-name (OnP 8.719).
Gershevitch (1969: 199; also ASN 106) connects this name with OInd. *gavya-*, "cattle-" and Av. *gaoiia-*.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-me-ia: PFNN 134:2-3, 970:2-3, 1801:2.
2) Ka_4-mi-ia: PF 265:2, 610:5-6 (Ka_4-mi-i[a]), 1280:3; PFNN 206:2.
3) Ka_4-mu-ia: PFNN 98:2 (cf. *āçiyādiš*; 2.4.11.1).

4.2.924 *Kančaka-: *Kan-ča-ka-, hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing **kan-*, "to long for" (Tavernier 2005).

Clay & Hilprecht (1898: 61) connect the name with names such as Βαγασάκης and Μηδόσακκης (IN 59), while Scheftelowitz (1903) pleads for a relationship with the Av. anthroponyms Kərəsaoxšan-, Kərəsauuazdah-, Kərəsāni- and Kərəsāspa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/59-60). Zadok (1977: 103 and n.134) prefers *Kṛsaka-. Dandamayev (1992: 93) believes that *kár* does not exist in Late Babylonian, therefore reads *Kančaka-, but refers to *Kačaka-. Despite Zadok's objections (1995: 159) Dandamayev is right in rejecting a reading with *kár*.
– Babylonian: Kán-šak-ka-°: BE 9 76:12.

4.2.925 *Kantakāna-: *Kanta-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kanta-ka-, "villager". Cf. MP Kntk (Gignoux 1972: 25).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.741) recognizes an *-āna*-patronymic. Hinz (ASN 146) rightfully claims that the name belongs to the root **kan-*, "to dig".
– Elamite: Kán-da-ka_4-na: PF 301:3.

4.2.926 *Kantardra-: *Kant-ardra-, "loyal towards the village" (ASN 146).
Gershevitch (1969: 199) reconstructs *Kānta-ardra-, "loyal towards the loved ones", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.744) is doubtful of this etymology.
– Elamite: Kán-tar-tur-ra: PFNN 576:21.

4.2.927 *Kantiya-: *Kant-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Kanta-, "village" (ASN 146).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.745) recognizes in this name an abbreviation of e.g. *Ṛta-kantiš (which is actually *Ṛtakāntiš). Cf. 4.2.1477.
– Elamite: Kán-ti-ia: PF 1988:16.

4.2.928 *Kapa-: "the fish" (Gershevitch 1969: 199; ASN 146). Cf. 4.3.121.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.695) remains undecisive concerning this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ab-ba: PF 664:2-3; PFNN 2149:2.
2) Ka_4(?)-ba: PFNN 1433:2.
3) Ka_4-ib-ba: PF 325:5, 2030:1-2 (K[a_4]-°); PFNN 1257:2, 1434:2, 2252:2.

4.2.929 *Kapaka-: *Kapa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Kapa- (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; ASN 146).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.750) reconstructs *Kapa-ka- (NP *kabk*, "partridge").
– Elamite: Ka_4(?)-ba-ak(?)-ka_4: PFNN 1180:1-2, 2211:23.

4.2.930 *Kaparšā: *Kapa-ṛšā, "fishman" (ASN 146).
Gershevitch (1970: 87) mentions *Kabarza-, "garlic", but Mayrhofer rejects this proposal.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ab-bar-šá: PF 1480:1; PFNN 543:17-18.
2) Ka_4-pír-šá: PF 142:4.

4.2.931 *Kapasaka- (OP): *Kapa-saka-, "otter", lit. "fish-dog" (NW 114; ASN 146).
Gershevitch (1969: 200) translates "dogfish". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.692) believes none of both etymologies.
– Elamite: Ka_4-ba-šá-ik-ka_4: PF 1195:4-5.

4.2.932 *Kapauta- / *Kapōta-: "pigeon" (Gershevitch 1969: 209; ASN 147).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.694) has no analysis.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ap-pu-ud-da: PFNN 2265:40.
2) Ka_4-ba-ú-du: PF 1909:10. One would rather expect Ka_4-ba-u-du.

4.2.933 *Kapautāna-: *Kapauta-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kapauta- (Benveniste 1966: 85; Gershevitch 1969: 209; ASN 147).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ba-u-da-na: PF 1826:1.

4.2.934 *Kapaya-: *Kapa-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Kapa- (ElW 413).
– Elamite: Ka_4-be-ia: PFNN 1544:3.

4.2.935 *Kāpiša-: "safflower" (Grantovskij 1962: 259; Schmitt, apud OnP 8.753; ASN 147).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ap-pi-šá: PFNN 1570:3.
2) Ka_4-pi-šá: PF 1479:2.

4.2.936 *Kapōtīš (fem.): < *Kapaut-ī-š, the fem. equivalent of *Kapauta- (Gershevitch 1969: 209; ASN 147).
*Kapōtī-, the fem. equivalent of an *-i*-patronymic of *Kapōta-, is also possible (Gershevitch, l.c.).
– Elamite: Ka_4-pu-ut-ti-iš: PF 2038:20.

4.2.937 *Kārabara-: *Kāra-bara-, "esteeming the army" (Bowman 1970: 83-84 and n.82, reading *Kārabāra-).
Hinz (ASN 147) prefers "responsible for the cereals".
– Aramaic: Krbr: Pers 11-12:2.

4.2.938 *Kāradārā- (fem.): *Kāra-dārā-, "having work", retrenchment of *Kāra-dārayā-, a good name for a slave (ASN 149; Zadok 1976b: 77 and 2004: 112), cf. NP *kārdār*.
Dandamayev (1992: 93) translates "having an army".
– Babylonian: Ka-ar-da-ra-$^{\circ}$: Camb. 384:6.

4.2.939 *Kāraiča- / *Kārēča-: *Kār-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kāra-name (OnP 8.781).
Hinz (ASN 132) reconstructs *Xaraiča-, "donkey" and explains that KAR indicates /ă/. Yet he contradicts himself when he argues elsewhere in his study (ASN 149) that *Kārayauda- in El. is spelled both Ka_4-ra-° and Kar-ra-°.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ra-iz(?)-za(?): PFNN 2493:58.
2) Kar-ra-iz-za: PFNN 2374:21.
3) Kar-re-ez-za: PFa 31:34-35; PFNN 728:12.

4.2.940 *Kāraina-: *Kār-aina-, *-aina*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kāra-name (OnP 8.763; ASN 148).
Gershevitch (1969: 200) also mentions *Garāna- and *Xarāna-.
– Elamite: Ka_4-ra-a-na: Fort. 1019:2; PF 1300:3-4, 1384:3.

4.2.941 *Kāraka-: *Kāra-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kāra-name (Benveniste 1966: 86; Schmitt 1972e: 190; OnP 8.762; ASN 148).
Hinz (ASN 132) considers the second spelling as a rendering of *Xaraka-, but see *Kāraiča-.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-rák-ka_4: PF 150:4, 151:4-5, 153-154:4, 238:4, 637:2-3, 702:6, 728:3-4, 1720-1721:4, 1946:63,65; PFNN 146:13,28, 1047:3-4, 1244:3, 1481:47, 1603:4, 1742:4, 1755:4, 2356:9.
2) Kar-rák-ka_4: PF 1952:10; PFNN 754:5, 2370:34-35.

4.2.942 *Kārāmīš: < *Kāra-am-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Kāra-ama-, "having the strength of an army". Cf. 4.3.125.
– Elamite: Ka_4-ra-mi-iš: PFNN 1311:2.

4.2.943 *Kārapā-: *Kāra-pā-, "protector of the army" (OnP 8.761; ASN 148).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ra-ab-ba: PF 1397:2-3.

4.2.944 *Kāravana-: *Kāra-vana-, "defeating the (enemy's) army" (OnP 8.780).
Gershevitch (1969: 200) mentions *Karavana-, "caravan" (Arm. *karavan*). Hinz (ASN 148) believes Kar-ra- should render /kara/ and therefore accepts Gershevitch's analysis. Yet El. cuneiform does not indicate vowel length (cf. 4.2.299).
– Elamite: Kar-ra-ma-na: PFa 31:28.

4.2.945 *Kāravanta-: "being active" (OnP 8.787; ASN 148).
Both authors also present an alternative possibility: *Kāra-vanta-, "eager for battle".
– Elamite: Ka_4-ru-un-da: PF 1481:2-3.

4.2.946 *Kāravaθā (OP): nom. sg. of *Kāra-vaθah-, "eager for the army" (NW 48; ASN 149).
Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 92) reconstructs *Kāravat-.
– Aramaic: Krwt: Pers 19:2.

4.2.947 *Kārayauda- (OP): *Kāra-yauda-, "agitating the army" (OnP 8.766; ASN 149[119]).
Benveniste (1966: 86) translates "he who agitates the people".
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ra-ia-u-da: PF 426:3, 772:3; PFNN 471:2-3, 1315:3-4.
2) Ka_4-re-ia-u-da: PFNN 987:2-3, 1969:3.
3) Kar-ra-ia-u-da: PF 295:2-3, 1529:2-3; PFNN 772:2-3, 815:2-3, 1264:2-3.

4.2.948 *Kārayauza- (Med.): Med. equivalent of *Kārayauda- (ElW 440).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ra-ia-u-za: PF 1184:2-3; PFNN 2399:6-7 (K[a_4]-ra-<ia>-u-za).

[119] Hinz wants to recognize an example of his /δ/ phoneme and reconstructs *Kārayauδa-.

4.2.949 *Kārina-: *Kār-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kāra-name (Schmitt 1972e: 189-190; OnP 8.768; ASN 149), Parth. Kryn (Schmitt 1998: 187). Cf. 4.3.126.

Hinz (NW 133) erroneously reconstructs *Xarina-, "donkey". As RI can also be read *re*, a reconstruction *Kārēna- < *Kāraina- is equally possible.

– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ri-na: Fort. 6352:8; PF 415:4, 1310:2; PFNN 301:3, 971:3, 1706:4.
2) Kar-ri-na: PF 1861:6-7.

4.2.950 *Kārinā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Kārina- (OnP 8.769; ASN 149).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ri-na: PF 1209:7.

4.2.951 *Karkāsa- (Med.): "vulture" (Benveniste 1966: 86; OnP 8.771; ASN 149).

Koch (ElW 444) identifies this name and person with *Kṛkača- and *Kṛkaiča-, but the indications to see only one individual behind these names are weak.

– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ir-ka_4-šá: PFa 29:17.
2) Kar-ka_4-iš-šá: PF 1928:1.
3) Kar-kaš-šá: PF 1955:33; PFNN 2268:24.
4) Kar-ki-iš-šá: PF 317:3; PFNN 2220:1-2. Inaccurate spelling.
5) Kar-ka_4-šá: PF 1550:2; PFNN 615:2.
6) Kur-kaš-šá: PF 647:6.

4.2.952 *Karkāθa- (OP): OP equivalent of *Karkāsa- (ASN 149). The context clearly shows that the person bearing this name must be the same as Ka_4-ir-ka_4-šá.
– Elamite: Kar-ka_4-sa: PFa 9:3.

4.2.953 *Karkira-: *Karki-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Karki-.
– Elamite: Kar-ki-ra: PFNN 2289:23.

4.2.954 *Karkiš: *Kark-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Karkās/θa- (OnP 8.772; ASN 149), Gk. Γέργις (Lewis 1985: 113-114).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ir-ki-iš: PF 1930:1.
2) Kar-ki-iš: PF 10:4, 13:5-6, 22:5, 23:4-5, 134:2, passim in PFT; PFa 29:50; PFNN 352:1-2, 356:7-8, 536:2, etc. in PFNN; PT 22:28.

4.2.955 *Karpuna-: "the lizard" (Benveniste 1966: 86; ASN 149).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.779) remains undecisive with regard to this name.

– Elamite:
1) Kar-pu-na: PF 304:4-5, 1090:2, 1103:2-3, 1252-1253:2, 1269:2, 1586:2-3; PFNN 584:6, 2126:2-3, 2559:4.
2) Kar-pu-un: PF 1950:16; PFNN 377:5.

4.2.956 *Karsna-: "the complete, entire" (Gershevitch 1969: 200; OnP 8.764; ElW 439), Av. Karsna-, connected by Mayrhofer (1979: I/57) with OInd. *kṛtsná-*, "entire".

Hinz (ASN 147) reconstructs *Kāra-xšnā-, "knowing the army" (Av. *xšnā-*, "to know").

– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ra-iš-na: Fort. 6579:3.
2) Ka_4-ráš-na: PF 1959:19.
3) Kar-ráš-na: PFNN 1464:3, 2184:5.

4.2.957 *Kāruka-: *Kār-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kāra-name (Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8.5.3 and 2002: 107; ASN 148, reading *Kārauka-; ElW 447). Gk. Καρούχας.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ru-uk-ka_4: PF 1139:2.
2) Kar-ru-uk-ka_4: PFNN 674:6-7.
3) Kar-ru-ka_4: PFNN 1605:3-4.

4.2.958 *Karva-: "the dwarfish one" (OnP 8.775).

Gershevitch (1969: 200) and Hinz (ASN 150) connect their *Karva- with Av. *kauruua-*, but forget that its meaning is not "bald" (AiW 456; Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 159, but "short, dwarfish" (Bailey 1930-32: 598-599 and 1939: 117; Wüst 1956: 14 and 20n.17; EWA I 243). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.775) remarks that also *Garma-, "warm", a retrenched name, is possible and refers to NP Garm, a name, however, only attested in the 18th century (ASN 150).

– Elamite:
1) Kar-ma: PF 423:2, 783:2, 826:2-3, 1000:2, 1011:2, 1044:2, etc. in PFT; PFa 9:2, 15-17:2, 24-26:2; PFNN 301:2, 398:2, 428:2, etc. in PFNN.
2) Kar-me: PFNN 70:5.

4.2.959 *Karvaka-: *Karva-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Karva- (Gershevitch 1969: 200; OnP 8.776; ASN 150).
– Elamite: Kar-ma-ak-ka_4: PFNN 101:6.

4.2.960 *Karvāna-: *Karv-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Karva-name (Gershevitch 1969: 200; OnP 8.776; ASN 150).

Gershevitch (l.c.) prefers *Kṛmana-, "Carmanian". In Hinz's view (ASN 150) /kṛ/ is normally written KUR in Elamite. This is not true: KAR does render /kṛ/, albeit less frequently.

– Elamite: Kar-ma-na: PFNN 704:26.

4.2.961 *Karvuka-: *Karv-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Karva-name (OnP 8.778; ASN 150, reconstructing *Karvauka-).

Gershevitch (1969: 200) reconstructs *Karvaka-.

– Elamite: Kar-mu-ka_4: PF 1856:2.

4.2.962 *Kāsa-: "shining" (OnP 8.795; ASN 150), cf. OP *kāsaka-*, "semi-precious stone".

– Elamite: Ka_4-iš-šá: PF 1733:3; PFNN 2340:6.

4.2.963 *Kāsā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Kāsa- (ElW 418, referring to Hallock 1969: 712).
– Elamite: Ka_4-iš-[šá]: Fort. 3671:2.

4.2.964 *Kāsaka-: *Kāsa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Kāsa- (ElW 452).
– Elamite: Kaš-šá-ka_4: PFNN 1560:5.

4.2.965 *Kāsara-: *Kāsa-ra, *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Kāsa- (ASN 150).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.796) does not have an opinion on this name.
– Elamite: Ka_4-iš-šá-ra: PF 646:5-6.

4.2.966 *Kāsavanta-: *Kāsa-vanta-, "equipped with brilliance" (OnP 8.799; ASN 150).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-šu-in-da: PFa 32:12.
2) Ka_4-šu-un-da: PF 1943:39,41; PFNN 760:25.

4.2.967 *Kāsēna-: < *Kās-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Kāsa- (OnP 8.797; ASN 150).
– Elamite: Kaš-še-na: PF 821:3-4, 1705:2, 1945:8,15,18, 1946:71,81; PFNN 380:2, 1286:2-3, 1380:2, 1606:3-4, 2340:3,9,15.

4.2.968 *Kātavīra-: *Kāta-vīra-, "having the wanted men" (OnP 8.700).
Other proposals are (1) *Xada(t)-vīra-, "injuring (enemy) warriors" (Gershevitch 1969b: 189) and (2) *Gada-vīra-, "mace-man" (ASN 101).
– Elamite: Ka_4-da-mi-ra: PF 1958:9; PFNN 762:24.

4.2.969 *Katiča-: *Kati-ča-, *-ča*-extension of *Kati-, "the willing".
– Elamite: Ka_4(?)-ti-sa: PFNN 2364:4.

4.2.970 *Kaθāna- (OP): *Kaθa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kaθa-, "looking at" (OnP 8.790).
Hinz (ASN 151) mentions *Kāθāna-, "semi-precious stone".
– Elamite: Ka_4-sa-na: PF 1138:3.

4.2.971 *Kāθrupā- (Med.): "amber-coloured" (Gershevitch 1969: 201; ASN 151).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-iš-ru-ba: Fort. 6829:1-2.
2) Kat-ru-ba: PF 810:3, 2076:35.
3) Ka_4-tur-ru-ib-ba: PF 1358:2.

4.2.972 *Kaufaiča- / *Kaufēča-: *Kauf-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Kaufa-, "mountain" (ASN 151; Zadok 1976: 68; Dandamayev 1992: 94).
Other etymologies are (1) *Kaufyača- (NW 110), (2) *Kaufiča- (Schmitt 1974: 108) and (3) *Gaupaiča- (OnP 8.714).
– Babylonian: Ku-pe-e-šú: Anatolica 14 130 no.88:4; PBS 2/1 100:12.

– Elamite:
1) Kam-ba-a-za: PFNN 561:15.
2) Kam-be-ez-za: PF 251:6-7, 472:2, 473:2-3, 474:2-3 (Kam-[b]e-°), 1131:2, 1945:7,9, 1947:93; PFNN 510:8, 522:5, 2492:2, 2552:4.
3) Kam-[b]e-šá: PF 1281:7-8.
4) Kam-pe-ez-za: PF 225:6-7, 1946:83, 2070:24; PFNN 663:3.
5) Ka_4-u-be-ez-za: PFNN 1360:8-9.

4.2.973 *Kaufaka-: *Kaufa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Kaufa- (NW 110; ASN 151; OnP 8.726; Schmitt 1974: 108).
Gershevitch (1969: 198) reconstructs *Gauba-ka-, "speaker", or *Gaupā-ka-, "cow-herd".
– Elamite: Kam-pa-ka_4: Fort. 4766:4; PFNN 418:3.

4.2.974 *Kaufakāna-: *Kaufa-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kaufaka-.
– Elamite: Kam-be-ka_4-na: PFNN 2203:34.

4.2.975 *Kauf(i)ya-: *Kauf-(i)ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Kaufa- (NW 110; ASN 151; OnP 8.728; Schmitt 1974: 108; ElW 456).
Benveniste (1966: 86) proposes *Kambiyah-. Gershevitch (1969: 198; also mentioned by OnP 8.728) prefers a *-ya*-extension of *Gaub-, "speaker". Hinz (ASN 103) considers Elamite Ka_4-u-pi-ia-u (PF 1943) as a rendering of Ir. *Gaubyavahu-, "speaking well", but in all likelihood this is a scribal error (ElW 456).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-pi-ia: PF 650:4, 659:7, 663:2-3, 678:2, 696:2-3, 843:2, 1323:3; PFNN 544:73, 548:9, 1367:2-3, 2280:57, 2372:26, 2452:5, 2492:1-2.
2) Ka_4-u-pi-ia: PF 1943:37 (-pi-ia-<<u>>); PFa 32:3-4; PFNN 2182:3-4[120].

4.2.976 *Kauša-: OP equivalent of OInd. Koṣa- (SED 314; EWA I 273) and Av. Kaoša- (OnP 8.732; Mayrhofer 1979: I/56). The meaning of this name is unclear: either one should connect it with OInd. *koṣa-*, "treasury" or with Av. *fra-kuš-*, "to slaughter" and MP *kuštan*, "to kill".
– Elamite:
1) Kam-šá: PF 1179:3; PFNN 691:2.
2) Kam-u-šá: PFNN 2499:10-11.

4.2.977 *Kaušāna-: *Kauš-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kauša- (OnP 8.735; ASN 151).
Gershevitch (1969: 198) reconstructs *Gauš-āna-.

[120] The reading Ka_4-u-ra-ia, passed to Hinz (ASN 105) by Hallock, eventually was changed by Hallock into Ka_4-u-pi-ia. Accordingly the name *Gaura-ya-, reconstructed by Hinz, does not exist.

– Elamite: Kam-šá-na: PF 1717:4; PFNN 2203:1, 2545:4.

4.2.978 *Kavusadāna-: *Kav-usadāna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Kav-usadan- (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976: 68; Dandamayev 1992: 96), cf. Av. Kauui- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/58) and Usaδan- (ibid. I/84-85).

– Babylonian: Ku-us-da-na-': BE 9 32:4.

4.2.979 *Kēnaka-: < *Kaina-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kaina-name, "revenge" (OnP 8.822; ASN 145).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) mentions *Gayāna-ka-, "Adamson, son of Gaya-, the first man".

– Elamite: Ge-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFa 31:10.

4.2.980 *Kṛgaya- / *Kṛgē-: *Kṛga-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Kṛga- (Zadok 1995: 159).

– Babylonian:

1) Kar-ge-e: BE 9 39:7; EE 1:14,rev.; IMT 3:16,U.E., 4:12.

2) Kar-ge-ia: IMT 70:13.

4.2.981 *Kṛgina-: *Kṛg-ina-, *-ina*-extension of *Kṛga-, "cock".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 521) read *Kṛkaina-.

– Elamite: Kur-gi-na: PFNN 2203:2.

4.2.982 *Kṛguš: *Kṛgu-š, "the cock", originally an *a*-stem, which was transferred to the *u*-stems.

– Babylonian: Kar-gu-uš: BE 10 76:5,11.

4.2.983 *Kṛka-: "the cock" (Gershevitch 1969: 200; OnP 8.874; ASN 152). Cf. 4.3.129.

Cameron (1948: 143) translates "Carian".

– Elamite: Kur-ka$_4$: PF 757:4, 2036:3; PFNN 1663:2-3, 2261:14.

4.2.984 *Kṛkiča-: *Kṛk-iča-, *-ič̌a*-extension of *Kṛka- (Gershevitch 1969: 186; ASN 152, reading *Karkaiča-).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.773) reconstructs *Kṛkača-. Hinz (ASN 152) considers the first spelling also as a rendering of *Kṛkača-, but this is not necessary, because the vocal quality of CVC-signs is uncertain. Both spellings most likely refer to one individual (Koch 1990: 116).

– Elamite:

1) Kar-kaz-za: PF 814:2-3.

2) Kar-ki-iz-za: PF 1982:9; PFNN 2365:8-9.

4.2.985 *Kṛmiča-: *Kṛmi-ča-, *-ča*-extension of *Kṛmi-, "worm" (Gershevitch 1969: 186; ASN 152).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.877) recognizes a derivation from *Karva-. This should, however, be spelled Kar-mi-iz-za (ASN 152).

– Elamite: Kur-mi-iz-za: PF 1775:2.

4.2.986 *Kṛpa-: "external appearance" (Tavernier 2002b: 149-150).

– Elamite: Kur-pa-iš: PFNN 1445:2-3.

4.2.987 *Kṛpaiča-: *Kṛp-aiča-, *-aič̌a*-hypocoristic of *Kṛp-, "external appearance" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 98; ASN 152).

Eilers (l.c.) also mentions *Kāra-paiša-, which he connects with Av. Uspaēšata- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/85).

– Aramaic: Krpyš: Pers 25:2, 102:3, 103:2.

4.2.988 *Kṛpēna-: < *Kṛp-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Kṛp-.

– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ir-be-na: PFNN 1577:3.

4.2.989 *Kṛpuka-: *Kṛp-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Kṛp-.

– Elamite: [K]ar-pu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 722:3.

4.2.990 *Kṛsaka- (Med.): *Kṛsa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Kṛsa-, "skinny, meagre".

Benveniste (1966: 86) connects the name with Av. *karš-*, "to train, exercise", while Hinz (ASN 150) prefers Av. *kaŕša-*, "furrow".

– Elamite: Kar-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1176:3.

4.2.991 *Kṛsēna-: < *Kṛs-aina-, an *-aina*-extension of a *Kṛsa-name, cf. the Av. anthroponyms containing Kərəs- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/59-60).

According to Gershevitch (1969b: 188) this name is an *-āna*-patronymic of *Karša-, a retrenchment of a compound such as Av. *karšō-rāzah-*, "he who gives the laws to the district". Schmitt (apud OnP 11.1.8.7.6) pleads for an *-ina-* and not an *-aina*-extension, but forgets that ŠE usually renders /šē/ < /šai/ (ASN 149, connecting, however, the first part with Av. *karša-*, "furrow").

– Elamite: Kar-še-na: PFNN 1225:2.

4.2.992 *Kṛšapāna-: *Kṛša-pāna-, "the protector of the district".

Gershevitch (1969: 201) points to the external similarity with Hurrian gur-zi-pa-a-an, the first part (*gur-*) of which has a meaning "neck" (Bailey 1954b: 12). In Mayrhofer's view (OnP 8.882 and 8.883) this name is unclear. Hinz (ASN 153) translates "protector of the furrows".

– Elamite:

1) Kur-šá-ba-na: PFNN 900:1.

2) Kur-ši-ba-na[121]: Fort. 8863:2.

4.2.993 *Kṛšna-: "the black one" (Gershevitch 1969: 200; OnP 8.872; ASN 153).

– Elamite: Kur-iš-na: PF 1960:18, 1998:12; PFNN 577:4, 762:27, 2273:14, 2358:4, 2479:11, 2490:25,38.

4.2.994 *Kṛta-: "made, created", past part. of OP *kar-*[122].

– Elamite: Ku(?)-ur-da: PFNN 2370:43.

4.2.995 *Kṛtaka-: *Kṛta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kṛta-name.

Gray (apud Clay 1912: 26; also Zadok 1975: 245 and 1977: 105 and n.170, ASN 148, Dandamayev 1992: 94 and ElW 446) prefers *Kāra-taka-, "army-runner". Zadok (l.c.) derives it from Av. *karəta-*, "knife".

– Babylonian:

1) Ka-ar-ta-ku: PBS 2/1 84:4.

[121] Either this is an inaccurate spelling or the intended ŠA was written ŠI under influence of the preceding palatal /š/.

[122] Cf. *Amavṛta- (El. Am-ma-ur-da; 4.2.43) for UR rendering Ir. [ṛ].

2) Kar-tak-ku: BE 10 58:13; PBS 2/1 172:12, 193:18,Lo.E.
– Elamite: Kar-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2486:25,45.

4.2.996 *Kṛtama-: < *Kṛta-tama-, "the most praised", through haplology (Zadok 1976: 68; Dandamayev 1992: 94).
– Babylonian: Ka-ar-ta-am: EE 107:10.

4.2.997 *Kṛtayara-: *Kṛta-ya-ra-, *-ya-ra*-extension of a name containing **kṛta-*, "made".
– Aramaic: Krtyr: Porada & Buchanan 1948 833.

4.2.998 *Kṛtīš: *Kṛt-ī-š < *Kṛt-iya-, a hypocoristic of a *Kṛta-name.
According to Hinz & Koch (EIW 505) this is an Old Persian name.
– Elamite: Ku-ir-ti-iš: PFNN 1342:2, 1393:3.

4.2.999 *Kṛθuka- (OP): *Kṛθ-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Kṛθa-, "meagre, skinny".
Koch (1977: 38; also EIW 446) considers the first two spellings as renderings of an Elamite name Karsuka, "coloured".
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-ir-su-ka$_4$: PF 360:3.
2) Kar-su-ka$_4$: PF 91:3, 799:3, 1689:2, 1690:2-3; PFNN 377:4, 384:6, 1243:6-7, 1315:4-5, 1327:2, 1395:2-3, 1682:2.
3) Kar-šu-ka$_4$[123]: PFNN 642:9.
4) Kur-šu-uk-ka$_4$[124]: PFNN 2043:27, 2363:8.

4.2.1000 *Kūka-: "small, little" (ASN 153).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.847) and Zadok (1983: 118) wonder whether this name is Elamite, cf. El. *kuk*. Nevertheless the hypocoristics of this name support its Iranian origin.
– Elamite: Ku-ú-ka$_4$: PF 1940:25.

4.2.1001 *Kūkauka-: *Kūk-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Kūka- (ASN 153).
– Elamite: Ku-kam-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1138:4-5; PFNN 1597:2-3 (°-<<ku>>-uk-°).

4.2.1002 *Kūkina-: *Kūk-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of *Kūka- (ASN 153).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.849) reconstructs *Kūka-āna-, a patronymic.
– Elamite: Ku-gi-na: PF 2018:11.

4.2.1003 *Kuraičā- (fem.): *Kur-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a *Kura-name (Gershevitch 1969: 201; OnP 8.865; ASN 154).
– Elamite: Ku-ra-a-za: PF 2038:25.

4.2.1004 *Kuraka-: *Kura-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Kura-name (Gershevitch 1969: 201; OnP 8.863; ASN 154). Cf. 4.3.132.

[123] Hinz & Koch (EIW 446) read Kar-su-ka$_4$, yielding an Elamite name. Yet the spelling is clearly Kar-šu-ka$_4$ (Stolper, pers. comm. 08/04/01).
[124] Hinz & Koch (EIW 534) correctly connect this spelling with *Kṛθuka-.

Benveniste (1966: 86) considers this name as a hypocoristic of Ku-ra-ši-ia-ti-iš.
– Elamite: Ku-rák-ka$_4$: PF 791:1-2; PFNN 1207:2.

4.2.1005 *Kurapāta-: *Kura-pāta-, "protected by the family" (Zadok 1985: 175).
A reconstruction *Kārapati-, "guide, caravan-leader" (cf. 4.4.7.69) is equally possible, but according to Zadok (l.c.) this is more suitable for an appellative than for a personal name. Segal (1983: 71) mentions *Kāra-pati-, "lord of the people".
– Aramaic: Krpt: ATNS 51:10.

4.2.1006 *Kurasāra-: *Kura-sāra-, "head of the family" (Gershevitch 1969b: 188; Mayrhofer 1969: 113; ASN 154).
Benveniste (1966: 86) prefers *Kārasāra-, "head of the people".
– Elamite: Ku-ráš-šá-ra: PF 1613:4.

4.2.1007 *Kurašyātiš: *Kura-šyāti-š, "bringing prosperity for the family" (Gershevitch 1969: 201; Mayrhofer 1969: 113; OnP 8.865; ASN 154).
Benveniste (1966: 86) reconstructs *Kārašyātiš, "prosperity for the people".
– Elamite: Ku-ra-ši-ia-ti-iš: PF 174:3-4; PFNN 1414:3-4.

4.2.1008 *Kuruka-: *Kur-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Kura-name (ASN 154, reconstructing **Kurauka-*; EIW 536).
Gershevitch (1969b: 188) reconstructs *Kuru-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of Cyrus (which is, however, not an Iranian personal name, cf. 5.5.1.34), while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.887) prefers *Kṛka-.
– Elamite: Ku-ru-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1953:31.

4.2.1009 *Kustiya-: *Kust-iya- "belonging to the district, region" (ASN 155).
– Elamite: Ku-iš-ti-ia: PF 286:7.

4.2.1010 *Lānika-: *Lān-ika-, "warrior", name belonging to the so-called. *l*-dialect.
Because of the variety in spellings Hinz (ASN 155) believes in the Iranian character of this name and reconstructs *Lanika-, "delight", to OInd. *ráṇa-*.
– Elamite:
1) La-nu-ka$_4$: PF 132:4; PFNN 1698:5.
2) La-nu-kaš: PF 126:7-8, 127:7 ([La]-°), 828:4; PFNN 1626:3.

4.2.1011 *Laxša-: "red" (OnP 8.895; ASN 155; Boccali 1981: 12), MP Lẖšy (Gignoux 1986: II/153), Parth. Rẖš (Gignoux 1972: 62), NP Raxš (IN 258).
Gershevitch (1969: 202) only mentions that this is most likely Iranian. Zadok (1983: 120) considers it an El. name.
– Elamite: Lak-šá: PF 69:4.

4.2.1012 *Mādafarnā: nom. sg. of *Māda-farnah-, "Media's glory" (Schmitt 1972d: 52; OnP 8.911; ASN 177).
Benveniste (1966: 86) reconstructs *Vāta-farnah-, "glory of the wind".
– Aramaic: Mdprn: Pers 21:2, 118:2 (readings: Degen 1974: 126n.8).

– Elamite: Ma-da-bar-na: PF 1203:2, 1948:46,50,54,58,61; PFNN 574:23, 1377:3, 1413:8, 2494:4.

4.2.1013 *Mādaka-: *Māda-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Māda-, "Median" (ASN 155).

Gershevitch (1969b: 191) prefers *Hvāda-ka-, "desirous" (NP *xwāstan*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.909) emphasizes the high number of possible explanations for this name.

– Elamite:
1) Ma-da-ka$_4$: PFNN 2133:2.
2) Ma-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 834:3-4, 1488:2-3, 1532:4, 1576:3-4, 1595:4, 1671:13-14; PFNN 253:6, 540:2-3, 1322:3, 2190:17.
3) Man-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 26:4, 485:4.

4.2.1014 *Mādakā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Mādaka-.

– Elamite:
1) Ma-da-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:10.
2) Ma-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 2038:26.

4.2.1015 *Mādāspa-: *Māda-aspa-, "having Median horses" (Schmitt 1972d: 51).

Other proposals are (1) *Vātāspa-, "having horses that are swift as the wind" (Benveniste 1966: 86), (2) *Vatāspa-, "having little horses" (Gershevitch 1969: 211) and (3) *Vadāspa-, "leading horses" (NW 111; ASN 248), cf. the Av. PN Važāspa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/93).

– Elamite: Ma-da-áš-ba: PF 163:3, 2032:3-4.

4.2.1016 *Mādika-: *Mād-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Māda- (ElW 901).

– Elamite: Ma-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 802:3, 803:2-3.

4.2.1017 *Maduka-: "the honeyed" (Gershevitch 1969: 210; NW 82-83; ASN 156), OInd. Mádhuka-. Cf. 4.4.19.7.

Gershevitch (1969b: 173) reconstructs *Hwāduš, with reference to Baluči *wād*, "salt".

– Elamite:
1) Ma-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 1482:99.
2) Ma-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1997:23; PT 82:1-2.

4.2.1018 *Magava-: "sacrificing" (OnP 8.916; ASN 156; both authors translate "generous").

Gershevitch (1969: 202) refers to Av. *mayauua-*, "unmarried" and also mentions *Hva-kāma-, "self-willed, self-pleasing".

– Elamite: Ma-ka$_4$-ma: PF 268:6, 269:6-7, 1551:3, 1633:2, 2008:1-2, 2012:28, 2025:4,22, 2076:8; PFNN 467:2, 585:1, 614:1, 768:7, 872:2, 1865:4, 2164:2.

4.2.1019 *Magavuka-: *Magav-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Magava-.

– Elamite: Ma-kam-mu-ka$_4$: PFNN 1019:2, 2043:18,23.

4.2.1020 *Maguka-: *Magu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Maguš (ElW 863).

– Elamite: Ma-ku-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1553:15.

4.2.1021 *Maguvāya-: *Magu-vāya-, "chasing away the magians".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 863) confirm the Iranian character of this name. Another possible reconstruction is *Magumāyā-, "joy of the magians", to Av. *māiiā-*, "joy, pleasure".

– Elamite: Ma-ku-ma-a-ia: PFNN 2192:13.

4.2.1022 *Māhibaujana-: *Māhi-baujana-, "to whom Māhi (the Moon) bestows benefit" (Lemaire 2001: 33; Röllig 2002: 199, translating, however, "who serves the Moongod"[125]; Schmitt 2005: 333), Parth. Mhbwzn (Schmitt 1998: 183), Gr. Μαιβουζάνης.

Gershevitch (1969: 182; also ASN 156) prefers *Māhī-bauja-āna, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Māhī-bauja-, "serving the moon".

– Aramaic: Mhybwzn: DS 16.

4.2.1023 *Māhidāta- / *Māidāta-: *Māhi-dāta-, "given by Māhi" (Mayrhofer 1971c: 14; OnP 8.908; NW 30-31 and 47; ASN 156; Schmitt 2002: 109), MP Māhdād (Gignoux 1986: II/111), Parth. Mhdt (Schmitt 1998: 181), Gk. Μαιδάτας, Lat. Maedates (IN 185-186).

Gershevitch (1969: 211) proposes *Vahyadāta-, but one should rather expect *Vahyazdāta- (ASN 156). Bowman (1970: 78) reconstructs *Māh(a)dāta-.

– Aramaic: Mhdt: Pers 5:3, 13-14:4, 80:4.

– Elamite: Ma-a-da-da: PFNN 149:3, 336:3-4, 771:3.

4.2.1024 *Māidātika-: < *Māhi-dāt-ika-, an *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Māhidāta- (cf. OnP 8.913; ASN 156).

Gershevitch (1969: 211) believes that this name is a *-ka*-extension of an *-i*-patronymic of *Māhi-dāta-.

– Elamite: Ma-a-da-ti-ka$_4$: PF 1425:3.

4.2.1025 *Maišāna- / *Mēšāna-: inhabitant of Maišāna-, MP Mēšān, gentilic used as personal name (Gignoux 1982-83: 248; ElW 854).

Other proposals are (1) *Maišāna- (Gershevitch 1969: 208), to Av. *maēša-*, "sheep" and (2) *Vaisaka- (OnP 8.1010), Av. Vaēsaka- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/89). Hinz (ASN 157) mentions both possibilities without taking a decision.

– Elamite:
1) Ma-a-šá-na: PF 1485:7-8.
2) Me-šá-na: PFNN 2184:17.

4.2.1026 *Maišina-: *Maiš-ina-, *-ina*-extension of *Maiša-, "sheep" (Gershevitch 1969b: 191; OnP 8.1016, also mentioning *Vaisina-; ASN 157).

– Elamite: Ma-a-ši-na: PFNN 453:4.

4.2.1027 *Māivuka-: < *Māhi-v-uka-, two-stem hypocoristic.

– Elamite: Ma-a-mu(?)-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1281:2.

[125] Röllig refers to the name *Māhīfarnah-, "glory of the moongod", attested in the Aramaic-Greek bilingual inscription from Faraşa (KAI 265; dated in the Hellenistic period): Ar. Mhyprn, Gk. Μαιφ[ά/έ]ρνης (cf. Lipiński 1975: 176).

4.2.1028 *Māiyēča-: < *Māhi-y-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Māhi-name.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 847) reconstruct *Vaijah-.
– Elamite: Ma-a-e-ez-za: PFNN 763:3.

4.2.1029 *Māmukā- (fem.): *Mām-ukā-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Māmā-, "mother" (OnP 8.928; ASN 157).
Gershevitch (1969: 203) reconstructs *Hvā-vahu-ka-, but according to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.928) this is farfetched.
– Elamite: Ma-mu-ik-ka$_4$: PF 2038:19.

4.2.1030 *Manaiča- / *Manēča-: *Man-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Manah-name (Gershevitch 1969: 204; OnP 8.937; ASN 158), NP Manēža, Arm. Manēč, Gk. Μοναίσης and Μοννήσης, Lat. Monaeses (IN 190).
– Elamite:
1) Man-e-ez-za: PF 26:4, 1158:2-3, 1201:3, 1953:49; PFNN 503:2-3, 570:1-2, 675:3-4, 784:4, etc. in PFNN.
2) Ma-né-ez-za: PF 43:3-4.
3) Man-n[a]-iz-za: PF 813:2-3.
4) Man-né-ez-za: PF 380:2-3, 486:4-5, 1840:1, 1855:1, 1957:35; PFa 30:26; PFNN 1476:2,14, 1632:4-5, 1650:6, 2253:2-3, 2365:4,27-28, etc. in PFNN; PT 4:15 (reading: Hallock 1960: 96).

4.2.1031 *Manarā- (fem.): *Mana-rā-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Manah-name.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 869) consider *Xvanairā-.
– Elamite: Man-na-a-ra: PFNN 541:50.

4.2.1032 *Mançaka- (OP): *Mança-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Mança-, "holy word, magic word" (Gershevitch 1969: 203; ASN 158) or of a retrenchment of a *Mança-name (OnP 8.949).
– Elamite:
1) Man-sa-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 759:28.
2) Man-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1958:3, 1609:4.
3) Man-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1610:4; PFNN 648:4, 1346:4, 1438:3.

4.2.1033 *Manētaka-: < *Manya-āta-ka-, a *-ka*-hypocoristic of an *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Manya-name (Koch 1977: 46, who proposes *Vanyataka- as alternative possibility).
– Elamite: Man-e-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 742:2; PFNN 2249:1-2.

4.2.1034 *Mangafarnā: *Manga-farnā, "glorifying glory".
– Elamite: Man-ka$_4$-par-na: PFNN 1013:10.

4.2.1035 *Mangiča-: *Mang-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Manga-, "glorifying".
– Elamite: Man-ki-iz-za: PFNN 1918:6.

4.2.1036 *Mangiš: *Mang-i-š, -i-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Mang-name.
– Elamite: Man(?)-gi(?)-iš: PF 54:1-2.

4.2.1037 *Manθāštrā-: *Manθa-aštrā-, "whip-shaker" (Gershevitch 1969: 204).
Benveniste (1966: 86) prefers a name with Av. *stūra-*, "strong, extensive", but according to Hinz TUR does not render /tur/ (ASN 158). Bowman (1970: 120n.244) mentions **vanta-*, "friend" or "praise". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.951) is not sure.
– Elamite: Man-taš-tur-ra: PF 1949:3,11,18, 2002:7-8; PFNN 2281:3.

4.2.1038 *Manθra- (Med.): "holy word" (OnP 8.950; ASN 159).
Benveniste (1966: 86) reconstructs *Vandara-. Gershevitch (1969: 204) prefers *Manθara-, "trouble-maker".
– Elamite:
1) Ma-an-tar-ra: PF 1958:20.
2) Man-sa-ra: PF 1961:8.
3) Man-tur-ra: PFNN 2358:21.

4.2.1039 *Manubara-: *Manu-bara-, "carrying Manuš" or "Manuš, who carries".
– Aramaic: Mnwbr: ATNS 52b:2.

4.2.1040 *Manuča-: *Manu-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Manu-name (ElW 870).
– Elamite:
1) Man-nu-iz-za: PF 1725:2-3, 1726:3, 1960:34, 1985:8, 1986:2; PFNN 759:28, 762:2, 1562:3, 2364:8, 2579:2.
2) Man-nu-za: PFNN 522:17, 759:28.
3) Ma-nu-za: PF 1918:4.

4.2.1041 *Manuš: retrenchment of a name such as Av. Manuš-čiθra- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/61. Benveniste 1966: 86; OnP 8.955; ASN 159). Manuš is an Avestan mythological hero.
Gershevitch (1969: 203) reads *Vaŋhu-, "good".
– Elamite:
1) Man-nu-iš: PFNN 2388:3.
2) Ma-nu-iš: PF 54:5, 1943:20.

4.2.1042 *Manuša-: abbreviation of a *Manuš-name (OnP 8.956; ASN 159).
Gershevitch's (1969b: 189) reconstruction is *Vaŋhu-ušša-, "having good camels".
– Elamite: Ma-nu-šá: PFNN 1483:51, 2202:35, 2288:13.

4.2.1043 *Manuška-: *Manuš-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Manuš (ElW 873).
– Elamite: Man-ú-iš-ka$_4$: PFNN 2299:19.

4.2.1044 *Manuštana-: *Manuš-tana-, "descendant of Manuš" (Schmitt 2006: 171). Gk. Μενοστάνης.

All other scholars reconstruct *Manuš-stāna-, "Manuš-Stand habend" (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 62; ASN 159; Zadok 1977: 109 and n.210; Dandamayev 1992: 98).

– Babylonian:
  1) Man-nu-uš-ta-na-': IMT 53:7; TuM 2/3 180:10.
  2) Ma-nu-uš-tan-ni: IMT 40:Lo.E.
  3) Ma-nu-uš-ta-nu: BE 9 75:7,9, 83:9,14,20,L.E., 84:4,8 (= TuM 2/3 202:4,8); EE 27:14 (°-uš-[ta]-°), 56:5',6' ([Ma-n]u-°), 59:3 (°-u[š-ta-n]u),4 (Ma-[nu-u]š-°),6 (°-uš-[ta]-°),obv. ([M]a-°); IMT 40:5 (Ma-[nu]-uš-°),10 ([Ma]-nu-°).

4.2.1045 *Manuya-: *Manu-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Manu-name (ASN 159). In Koch's view (apud ElW 870) this is the same person as *Manuš. If this is correct, then *Manuya is a hypocoristic of *Manuš. Cf. 4.3.135.

Gershevitch (1969: 204) connects this name with Av. *¹mainiia-*, "capable", but for this to be true one should be certain that this person is not the same as *Manuš. A completely different, but less plausible reconstruction is *Xvaniyāh-, "having a beautiful belt", to Av *x'aini-*, "beautiful" and *yāh-*, "belt" (ASN 139).

– Elamite:
  1) Man-nu-ia: PF 741:2, 794:2, 1342:2-3, 1941:18, 1942:23,25; PFNN 101:4, 760:14.
  2) Ma-nu-ia: Fort. 7862:2.

4.2.1046 *Manuyā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Manuya- (ASN 159).

Gershevitch's (1969: 204) proposal to connect this name with Av. *mainiia-*, "capable" is also possible.

– Elamite: Man-nu-ia: PFNN 225:2.

4.2.1047 *Manyabāduš: *Manya-bādu-š, "having a capable arm" (Benveniste 1966: 86; ASN 157).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.957) describes the name as "vieldeutig".

– Elamite: Man-ia-ba-du-iš: PF 8:2-3.

4.2.1048 *Manyabara-: *Manya-bara-, "the plenipotentiary" (Gershevitch 1969: 204), cf. Sogd. *myn'br* and Oss. *mīnævar*, "ambassador, envoy".

Abayev (1969: 110) reconstructs *Mānyabara-, with reference to OInd. *mā́na-*, "respect, regard". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.960) and Hinz (ASN 159) do not take a decision.

– Elamite: Man-ia-bar-ra: PF 416:3, 1983:5, 1984:3, 2020:2 (°-<ia>-°); PFNN 1288:2 (°-<ia>-°), 1600:2 (°-<ia>-°), 2204:3, 2347:5.

4.2.1049 *Manyaka-: *Manya-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a *Manya-name (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.958; ASN 160).

– Elamite:
  1) Man-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PF 16:5, 363-364:2, 419:2-3, 487:3, 488:2, 990:5; PFNN 654:2-3, 2270:10, 2539:6, etc. in PFNN.

  2) Man-ia-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1062:3-4, 1094:4, 1116-1118:3-4, 1119:4; PFNN 311-312:3-4, 313:2-3, 585:3, 873:2-3.
  3) Man-ia-ka$_4$: PF 2011:16,31; PFNN 806:4-5, 2286:29.

4.2.1050 *Manyakāta-: *Manya-ka-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Manyaka-.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 874) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Man-ia-ka$_4$-da: PFNN 541:7.

4.2.1051 *Manyapā-: *Manya-pā-, "protecting the capable" (ElW 872).

– Elamite: Ma-nu-ak-ba: PFNN 1510:3.

4.2.1052 *Manyaparva-: *Manya-parva-, "the first in capability" (Gershevitch 1969b: 189; OnP 8.959; ASN 160).

– Elamite: Man-ia-bar-ma: PFNN 312:3.

4.2.1053 *Manyuka-: *Manyu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Manyu-, "mind" (Schmitt 1973: 18; OnP 8.954).

Gershevitch (1970: 87) mentions *Mānaya(t)-vahu-ka-. Hinz (ASN 254) identifies this name with *Vanhuka- (cf. 4.2.1798), except spelling no.5, which he considers a rendering of *Manyuka- (ASN 160). The spelling Man-e-u-uk-ka$_4$, reconstructed by Hinz (ASN 160) from Manewukka (Gershevitch 1970: 87), is not attested in the Elamite texts. This spelling was analyzed by Hinz (l.c.) as *Manyauka- and by Hinz & Koch (ElW 867) as an error for *Vanhuka-.

– Elamite:
  1) Man-e-uk-ka$_4$: PF 979:2; PFNN 2249:1-2.
  2) Man-e-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PF 977-978:2; PFNN 1298:2-3, 2129:2.
  3) Man-hi-ú-u[k]-ka$_4$: PFNN 407:2-3.
  4) Man-hu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2373:6.
  5) Ma-nu-ú-ik-ka$_4$: Fort. 7250:3.

4.2.1054 *Marēča-: < *Mary-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Marya-name (Gershevitch 1969: 186; ASN 161).

Gershevitch also mentions Av. *vāra-*, "pleasure" and *Varya-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.986) only lists the various possibilities. Hinz (1972: 308) mentions *Xvarāyača-, which he later (apud Mayrhofer, l.c.) changes into *Xvaraiča-.

– Elamite:
  1) Ma-re-ez-za: PFNN 2196:18.
  2) Mar-re-e-ez-za: PF 177:5-6, 252:5-6, 1103:3, 1945:6, 1986:13; PFNN 419:3, 2356:19; PT 25:3.
  3) Mar-re-ez-za: PFNN 2126:5.

4.2.1055 *Marīš: < *Marya-.

– Elamite: Ma-ri-iš: PFNN 2159:1.

4.2.1056 *Marya-: "young man" (Benveniste 1966: 87; ASN 161).

Gershevitch (1969: 207) prefers *Varya- (Av. *vairiia-*, "desirable"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.987) does not take a decision. With regard to the Aramaic spelling Hoftijzer (1988: 47) reconstructs *Māda-ya-, a *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Māda-.

– Aramaic: Mry: TAD D 2.12:3, 3.39b:4.

– Elamite:

1) Ma-ri-ia: PF 488:3, 2079:5.
2) Mar-ri-ia: PF 737-738:3, 1898:2; PFNN 467:8.

4.2.1057 *Maryaka- / *Marīka-: *Marya-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Marya-name (OnP 8.993; ASN 161; ElW 888). Cf. OP *marīka-* (m-r-i-k-; Bayevskij 1958: 99-101; HdA 132).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.993) also mentions *Variyaka-.
– Elamite:
1) Mar-ri-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1804:1; PFNN 2184:29.
2) Mar-ri-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1803:1.

4.2.1058 *Maryapāna-: *Marya-pāna-, "protection of the young men" (Zadok 1986: 176).
– Aramaic: Mrypn': ATNS 167:1.

4.2.1059 *Maryāta-: *Marya-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Marya-name (ASN 161).
Gershevitch (1969: 207) prefers *Xvarya-dā-, "giver, dispenser of eatables".
– Elamite:
1) Mar-ri-ia-ad-da: PF 44:2-3.
2) Mar-ri-ia-da: PF 756:2-3, 1758:2-3; PFNN 136:2-3, 1662:2-3.

4.2.1060 *Masāna- (Med.): *Masa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Masa-, "great, big".
According to Zadok (1979: 297; also Dandamayev 1992: 99) it is a nominative of Av. *masan-*, "big".
– Babylonian: Ma-sa-an-ni: VS 6 244:6.

4.2.1061 *Masaya- (Med.): *Masa-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Masa- (ElW 893).
– Elamite: Ma-šá-ia: PFNN 2547:11.

4.2.1062 *Masika- (Med.): *Mas-ika-, *-ika*-extension of *Masa- (OnP 8.1015; ASN 161).
– Elamite: Ma-ši-ka$_4$: PF 1982:12, 1983:16, 1984:18-19.

4.2.1063 *Masišta- (Med.): "the greatest", superlative of *Masa- (ElW 983; Zadok & Zadok 1997; Zadok 1997d: no.5). Compare Lat. Maximus.
– Babylonian: Ma-si-iš-tu$_4$: NBC 6157:8 (cf. Zadok & Zadok 1997).
– Elamite: Maš-ši-iš-da: PFa 31:27.

4.2.1064 *Masiya- (Med.): *Mas-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Masa- (ElW 894).
– Elamite: Ma-ši-ia: PFNN 2196:14.

4.2.1065 *Maškāma-: *Maš-kāma-, "very strong desire" (Schmitt, apud Mayrhofer 1971c: 21n.49; OnP 8.1017; ASN 162), Gk. Μασκάμης.
Gershevitch (1970: 87) reconstructs *Mazgavant-, "the brainy" (Av. *mazgauuaṇt-*).
– Elamite: Maš-ka$_4$-ma: PF 303:2-3; PFNN 310:3.

4.2.1066 *Mātṛsa-: "the fearless" (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1027; ASN 162).

– Elamite: Ma-tur-šá: PFNN 32:3-4.

4.2.1067 *Maθika- (OP): *Maθ-ika-, *-ika*-extension of *Maθa- (ASN 162).
Gershevitch (1969b: 190) reconstructs *Mās/θika- < *Māsiyaka-, "fish", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1006) is doubtful of this.
– Elamite: Mas-si-ka$_4$: PF 2077:19.

4.2.1068 *Maθiya- (OP): *Maθ-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Maθa- (ElW 861)[126].
– Elamite: Ma-iš-š[i-ia][127]: PF 2079:4.

4.2.1069 *Māyāta-: *Māyā-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Māyā-, "joy, pleasure".
– Aramaic: Myt: TAD D 22.22:1.

4.2.1070 *Mazā- (fem.): "the big one", retrenchment of a *Mazā-name (OnP 8.1057; ASN 163).
Gershevitch (1969b: 192) reconstructs *Hu-vačā, "having good words", to Av. *huuačah-*.
– Elamite: Ma-za: PFNN 541:63.

4.2.1071 *Mazāmanā: nom. sg. of *Mazā-manah-, "having a great, noble mind" (OnP 8.1059; ASN 163), cf. OInd. *mahā́-manas-*, "high-minded, magnanimous".
Gershevitch (1969: 211) reconstructs *Mazava-āna-, "the vigilant", to Av. *mazauua-*.
– Elamite: Ma-za-man-na: PF 606:6, 743:2, 1007:2, 1092:2, 1720-1721:2, 1869:3-4, 1870:2-3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 735:1-2, 1313:2, 1321:1-2, 1500:2, 1540:2, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1072 *Mazāmiθra- (Med.): *Mazā-miθra-, "great through Mithra" (OnP 8.1060; ASN 163; Schmitt 1978b: 421n.15), although "great treaty" is also possible.
Gershevitch (1969b: 192) has *Hwāza(t)-miθra-, "desiring Mithra".
– Elamite:
1) Ma-za-me-ut-tar-ra: PFNN 2265:31.
2) Ma-za-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 998:4-5.

4.2.1073 *Mazantika-: *Mazant-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Mazanta-, "great".
The spelling also allows a name *Mazanta-ka-.
– Elamite: Ma-za-an-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2209:7-8.

4.2.1074 *Mazantiš: *Mazant-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Mazanta-.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-za-an-ti-iš: PFNN 731:2.
2) Ma-za-en-du-iš: PFNN 2452:2-3. Cf. **āçiyādiš* (2.4.11.1).

[126] Hinz & Koch (ElW 861) express doubts concerning the dialect to which this name belongs: either Old Persian (*Maθiya-) or Median (*Masiya-). Elamite, however, usually renders the OP equivalents.
[127] This restoration is confirmed by the attestation of this name in a Neo-El. text (MDP 9 199:4).

3) Ma-za-en-ti-iš: PF 495:2-3, 966:2, 1593:2-3, 1663:2-3, 1876:2-4; PFNN 513:2, 796:2, 1302:1-2, 1348:3-4, 1642:2-3, 2470:2-3, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1075 *Mazdābigna-: *Mazdā-abigna-, "having the attacking power of Mazda".

For a long time there was no certainty on the precise meaning of this name (cf. Eilers 1940: 122 and 1954-56: 330, with no reconstruction; ASN 163, with a translation "gift of Mazda"; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 102). The translation presented here is based on Humbach (1981: 90).

– Babylonian: Mi-iz-da-bi-gi-in: BE 10 69:14,Lo.E.

4.2.1076 *Mazdāčiθra- (Med.): *Mazdā-čiθra-, "having an appearance like Mazda" (Bowman 1970: 107; ASN 163).

– Aramaic: Mzdštr: Pers 32:2 (reading: Bogoljubov 1973: 177), 36:2.

4.2.1077 *Mazdādāta-: *Mazdā-dāta-, "given by Mazda" (ASN 163).

– Aramaic: Mzddt: Pers 18:3, 26:5, 28:4, 30:4, 35:1, 39:6, 40:4, 72:4, 87:5, 97:4.

4.2.1078 *Mazdāgaya-: *Mazdā-Gaya-, *dvandva*-compound with two names of divinities (Naveh 1985: 120; Zadok 1998: 783).

– Aramaic: Mzdgy: Atiqot 17 114-121 no.10:4.

4.2.1079 *Mazdāka-: *Mazdā-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Mazdā-name (OnP 8.1020; ASN 164), Gk. Μαζάκης (IN 201).

– Aramaic: Mzdk: Alram 1986 376-379.

– Elamite:

1) Ma-áš-da-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 424:2.
2) Ma-áš-da-ik-ka$_4$: PF 110:3.
3) Ma-áš-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1485:2.
4) Maš-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1606:4; PFNN 489:4, 1020:11, 1311:3, 2366:4.

4.2.1080 *Mazdāya-: *Mazdā-ya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Mazdā-name (ASN 164; Briant 2001: 169), Gk. Μαζαῖος (IN 201).

– Aramaic: Mzdy[128]: Alram 1986 350-365, 368-369; Bordreuil 1996 29 fig.1.

4.2.1081 *Mazdayašna- (OP): *Mazda-yašna-, "worshiper of Mazda" (Dion & Garrison 1999: 17).

Benveniste (1958b: 51 and 1970: 5-9) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1004) prefer *Mazdayazna-. Hinz (ASN 164) prefers *Mazdayasna-, attested in Avestan and Middle Persian[129]. The discovery and publication in 1999 of the Aramaic spelling (with

[128] An abbreviated form of this spelling is Mz (Meshor & Qedar 1999 74, 84, 100).

[129] Av. *mazdaiiasna-* and the similar anthroponym (Mayrhofer 1979: I/61); MP *mazdayasna-* (Gignoux 1972: 29; Huyse 1999: 3-4).

š) corroborates *Mazdayašna-, because Aramaic š renders neither Ir. /s/, nor /z/[130]. The development of PIE */ĝn/ and */k̂n/ in Old Iranian has recently been discussed by Tavernier (2003: 254-256).

– Aramaic: Mzdyšn: JNES 58 3 fig.2:4.

– Elamite:

1) Maš-da-a-iš-[n]a: PFNN 2165:7.
2) Maš-da-ia-áš-na: PF 144-145:8-9, 409:2-3, 410:2, 872:2, 959:2, 961:2, 987:2 (°-n[a]), etc. in PFT; PFNN 328:2, 546:31, 547:1,14,17, 597:5-6 (°-áš-[na]), 726:32, etc. in PFNN.
3) Maš-da-ia-iš-na: PF 701:3-4, 960:2-3, 988:2, 1797:4; PFNN 363:1, 1491:2, 2116:2, 2178:2.
4) Maš-te-áš-na: PF 1183:2.

4.2.1082 *Mazdayazna- (East Iranian): East Iranian equivalent of *Mazdayasna- (Cowley 1923: 134, still describing it as common Persian; Hartmann 1937: 156; Duchesne-Guillemin 1958: 56; Widengren 1965: 147-148; Grelot 1972: 478; ASN 164; Kornfeld 1978: 108; Panaino 1993: 135-136). Cf. Sogd. *mzt'yzn*, Parth. *mzdynz* and *mzdyzn*, Arm. *mazdezn*.

– Aramaic: Mzdyzn: TAD A 4.2:6.

– Babylonian: Ma-az-da-iz-na-': VAT 15610:rev.4 (cf. Eilers 1953: 57).

4.2.1083 *Mazdēča-: *Mazd-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Mazdā-name (ASN 163; Dandamayev 1992: 102).

There are two dissenting opinions with regard to the Babylonian writings: Eilers (1953: 13n.3) mentions *Mazdā-īsa-, to OInd. *īše-*, "to own, to be master of", while Zadok (1977: 101) prefers *Mazd-aiša-, "looking for Mazda".
Gershevitch (1969: 186) connects the El. spellings with Av. *masti-*, "knowledge". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1009) considers the spellings with TU$_4$ as renderings of a name ending in *-uzza-*. This is not correct, because TU$_4$ mostly reflects /dai/ (ASN 163; Tavernier, forth.).

– Babylonian: Mi-iz-da-e-šú: BE 9 12:12.

– Elamite:

1) Maš-te-ez-za: PFNN 157:3, 583:3, 745:62,64,66, 1241:2, 1286:3-4, 1723:3, 2499:3, 2544:2.
2) Maš-te-za: PFNN 745:68,70,72, 1563:2.
3) Maš-tu$_4$-ez-za: PF 1486:2.
4) Maš-tu$_4$-za: PF 1187:2.

4.2.1084 *Mazduka-: *Mazd-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Mazdā-name (Schmitt 1994: 86).

[130] Unless one would assume that š appears here under influence of the Elamite orthography.

– Babylonian: Maš-du-ku: RA 85 55:15.

4.2.1085 *Mazika-: *Maz-ika-, *-ika*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Mazā-name. Cf. 4.3.137.
– Elamite: Ma-zik-ka$_4$: PFNN 573:21.

4.2.1086 *Mazuka-: *Maz-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Mazā- (ElW 892).
– Elamite: Ma-su-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1574:2-3.

4.2.1087 *Miçabāduš (OP): *Miça-bādu-š, "Mithra's arm" (Benveniste 1966: 89; OnP 8.1139; Hinz 1970: 434; ASN 164).
According to Schmitt (1968: 68) -ba-du-iš can also render *-pāta-*, but that is not very plausible.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-ba-du-iš: Fort. 1638:4; PF 409-410:3-4, 1150:3, 1151:3-4.

4.2.1088 *Miçabaga- (OP): *Miça-Baga-, *dvandva*-compound. Baga- should be identified with the god Varuna- (Boyce 1981: 72), cf. OInd. Mitrā-Varuṇā- and OP Miθra-Baga (A^{3}Pa 24-25).
Gershevitch (1969: 209) reconstructs *Visa-pā-ka-, "protecting all", while Hinz (ASN 264) gives preference to *Visa-bāga-, "all-share".
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-ba-ka$_4$(-áš/-iš): Fort. 8960:2; PFNN 111:4-5, 2122:2.

4.2.1089 *Miçabara- (OP): *Miça-bara-, "carrying Mithra" (ElW 927) or "Mithra, who carries".
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-ba-ra: PFNN 2441:1.

4.2.1090 *Miçaina- (OP) / *Miçēna-: *Miç-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miça-compound (OnP 8.1147; ASN 165; Zadok 1991: 40).
– Aramaic: Msšyn: ATNS 64b:2; TAD B 8.1:10.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-še-na: PF 1497:2.

4.2.1091 *Miçaka- (OP): *Miça-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miça-compound (OnP 8.1141; ASN 165).
*Visaka- is theoretically possible.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1946:77; PFNN 1418:7-8.

4.2.1092 *Miçāna- (OP): *Miça-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Miça-name.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-na: PFNN 2556:11.

4.2.1093 *Miçanāfa- (OP): *Miça-nāfa-, "of Mithra's family" (OnP 8.1143; ASN 165).
Gershevitch (1969: 209) also reconstructs *Miça-nāfa-, but connects the first element with OInd. *miśrá-*, "mixed" and Av. *misuuan-*. Hinz (NW 113) translates "family-friend".
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-na-pa: PT 1963-8:x+9, 1963-12a:x+5.

4.2.1094 *Miçapāta- (OP): *Miça-pāta-, "protected by Mithra" (OnP 8.1138; ASN 165; Kornfeld 1978: 108; Swiggers 1983: 178-179; Huyse 1992: 291; Vittmann 2004: 167; Schmitt 2006: 165).

At first sight the Aramaic spelling Mšbd (PF 1791) does not seem to render *Miça-pāta-. Therefore Hinz (NW 51; ASN 164) and Schmitt (1978b: 404) consider *Miça-bāda-, "Mithra-hedge" (OInd. *bādh-*, "to oppress, confine"). Yet this proposal is not plausible. Possibly the scribe spelled the name in this way under influence of the Elamite spelling, which makes no distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants.
With regard to Ar. Mspt Grelot (1972: 478) and Hinz (ASN 161 and 165; also TAD D: lxviii) reconstruct *Masapāta-, "protected by the great ones" and refer to Gk. Μασαβάτης. Despite his mentioning of this hypothesis, Kornfeld (l.c.) prefers *Miçapāta-. Swiggers and Huyse offer more arguments in favour of *Miça-pāta-, although not all of them are correct. Huyse's argument — *-pāta-* as the second part of a compound postulates a divine name as first part —, is false, as is proven by the occurrence of the personal names *Garšapāta-, "joyfully protected" (4.2.626) and *Θri-pāta-, "protected three times" (cf. 4.2.1735). Another argument of his (with reference to Werba), however, is interesting. An individual named Gk. Μασαβάτης occurs in the work of Plutarch, but in Ktesias' *Persika* he is called Βαγαπάτης. According to Werba (1982: 266) the Plutarchan form is an Anatolian adaptation (*masa-* means "god" in Anatolian) of the Ktesian form. As a consequence of this Μασαβάτης is not a proper Iranian name anymore and thus cannot be used to support a reconstruction *Masapāta-.
– Aramaic:
1) Mspt: TAD A 6.15:1,4,7,8,11,16; TAD D 6.7 Oc:1, 6.7 Ic:1 (M<s>pt).
2) Mšbd: PF 1791:obv.
3) Msšpt: ATNS 13:2.
– Demotic: Mspt: S.H5-434 rev. ii 7,11 (cf. Smith 1992: 296-298).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-šá-ba-ad-da: PF 51:5, 52:5-6, 1182:6-7, 1281:2-3, 1801:8-9; PFNN 258:11, 573:23, 1602:2-3, 2165:12-13, 2536:6-7,15,16, 2561:4.
2) Mi-iš-šá-ba-da: PF 701:8, 753:2, 1224:10-11, 1495:2, 1791:6; PFNN 446:2, 556:2-3, 637:4-5, 1601:1-2, 2300:15.
3) Mi-iš-šá-ba-ud-da: PF 332:2-3, 1553-54:2-3, 1970:21-22, 1986:32; PFNN 356:2-3, 503:3-4, 1402:3.
4) Mi-šá-ba-ad-da: PFNN 1303:2-3.
5) Mi-šá-ba-da: PF 1269:4; PFNN 2330:2.
6) Mi-šá-ba-ud-da: PFNN 1293:2-3.

4.2.1095 *Miçāta- (OP): *Miça-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Miça-name (ASN 165).
Gershevitch (1969b: 191) has two etymologies: *Miç(a)-rāda-, "having Mithra as Fürsorger" or *Višāta-, "the open-minded".
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-šá-ad-da: PFNN 937:1
2) Mi-šá-ud-da: PFNN 588:3, 1863:3.

4.2.1096 *Miçayāna- (OP): *Miça-yāna-, "favour of Mithra" (Benveniste 1966: 89; Schmitt 1978b: 420 and n.21; ElW 928), Sogd. Mšš'n (Weber 1972: 201; Sims-Williams 1978: 98).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1150; also ASN 267) pleads for an *-āna*-patronymic of the first part of the name *Višyamanā (4.2.1932).

– Elamite: Mi-iš-ši-ia-an-na: PF 192:3.

4.2.1097 *Miçēča- (OP): < *Miç-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miça-name (OnP 8.1148; ASN 164).

Gershevitch (1969: 186) identifies this name with Mi-te-ez-za (*Vīdēča-, 4.2.1875).

– Elamite: Mi-iš-še-ez-za: PFNN 613:3, 679:3, 978:3, 1679:3.

4.2.1098 *Miçuka- (OP): *Miç-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miça-name (OnP 8.1151; Schmitt 1978b: 420).

Other possible etymologies are (1) *Miç-auka- (ASN 265), (2) *Visă-vahuka- (Gershevitch 1969b: 190), (3) *Visauka- (ASN 265) and (4) *Visuka- (ElW 929). It is, however, certain that an *-uka*-hypocoristic of either *Miça- or *Visa- is involved.

– Elamite: Mi-iš-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2335:55,59.

4.2.1099 *Miduš: *Midu-š, "taking care of", derivation from **maiz-* (ASN 165).

Benveniste (1966: 88; also Bogoljubov 1976b: 211) reconstructs *Viduš, "he who knows", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1073) is doubtful of this proposal. A connection with the Phrygian PN Mida- seems improbable, but theoretically possible.

– Aramaic: Md[wš]: PF 1809:L.E.

– Elamite: Mi-du-iš: PF 671:2, 1369:2-3, 1809:1; PFa 11:3; PFNN 671:3, 1235:2-3, 1690:2-3, 2322:2.

4.2.1100 *Mihraya-: younger form of *Miθraya- (Tavernier 2004b).

The solutions of Jursa (1999: 261) and von Dassow (2000b: 183) are not plausible.

– Babylonian: Mi-ḫi-ra-a-a: VS 4 113:3.

4.2.1101 *Mijābṛzakā- (fem.): *Mijā-bṛzakā-, "having long eye-lashes" (Gershevitch 1969: 212; ASN 166).

Benveniste (1966: 89) wants to recognize *-*bṛzaka-* or *-*bṛjaka-* in the second part of the name. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1181) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Mi-za-bìr-za-ka$_4$: PF 1546:2.

4.2.1102 *Minuyara-: *Minu-ya-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of a *-ya*-extension of *Minu-, "necklace" (ASN 166).

– Elamite: Mi-nu-ia-ra: PF 1960:5, 1986:11.

4.2.1103 *Miθrabānuš (Med.): *Miθra-bānu-š, "Mithra-radiance" (Benveniste 1966: 89; Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1177; ASN 166).

– Elamite:

1) Mi-tar-ba-nu-iš: PFNN 894:1-2.
2) Mi-tur-ra-ba-nu-iš: PF 1559:3.

4.2.1104 *Miθrabara- (Med.): *Miθra-bara-, "sustaining Mithra" (Vittmann 2004: 166).

Schmitt (apud Dem. Nb. 611) mentions *Miθra-sarā, "having Mithra as head".

– Demotic: Mytrbr: P. Mainz 17:2 (cf. Vittmann 1989: 224).

4.2.1105 *Miθrabaujana- (Med.): *Miθra-baujana-, "to whom Mithra bestows benefit", Parth. Mtrbwzn (Schmitt 1998: 183), Gk. Μιθροβαυζάνης (Benveniste 1966: 114; also Schmitt 1978b: 403 and n.34 and 2002: 63).

According to Gershevitch (1969: 182; also ASN 167, who, however, does not accept the name being a patronymic) *Miθra-bauja-āna- is an *-āna*-patronymic of *Miθra-bauja-, "serving Mithra".

– Aramaic: Mtrbzn: FuB 14 20 no.9:Lo.E.2.

4.2.1106 *Miθrabṛzana- (Med.): *Miθra-bṛzana-, "exalting Mithra" (Benveniste 1966: 89; OnP 8.1171; ASN 167; Schmitt 2006: 158), Parth. Mtrbrzn (Schmitt 1998: 183), Gk. Μιθροβαρζάνης (IN 208-209).

Gershevitch (1969: 230) believes in an *-āna*-patronymic.

– Elamite: Mi-ut-ra-bar-za-na: PF 1954:21.

4.2.1107 *Miθračinā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Miθra-činah-, "desirous for Mithra" (Benveniste 1966: 89; OnP 8.1174; ASN 168) with /a/ > /i/ before a palatal. All scholars reconstruct *Miθra-čanah-, but *Miθračinah- corresponds better to the Elamite spelling.

– Elamite: Mi-ut-ri-zí-na: PF 1309:2.

4.2.1108 *Miθrada- (Med.): *Miθra-d-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Miθra-dāta- (OnP 8.1158; Schmitt 1978b: 400).

Other proposals are (1) *Vi-d/tarta-, "the distant, aloof", to Oss. *(i)dard*, "distant" (Gershevitch 1969: 211), (2) *Vidṛta-, to Av. *dərəta-*, "harvested" (ASN 261, cf. 4.2.1879) and (3) *Viδarta- (ElW 920).

– Elamite: Mi-tar-da: PF 1362:4.

4.2.1109 *Miθradāta- (Med.): *Miθra-dāta-, "given by Mithra" (Eilers 1940: 111; ASN 167; Kornfeld 1978: 108; Dandamayev 1992: 100; Dem. Nb. I/18; Vittmann 2004: 167), MP Mihrdād (Gignoux 1986: II/128), Parth. Mtrdt (Schmitt 1998: 181), Gk. Μιτραδάτης (IN 209-213) and Μιθραδάτης (Huyse 1990: 49).

– Aramaic: Mtrdt: ATNS 71:3; TAD A 5.5:11, 6.2:2,7; TAD B 3.4:23.

– Babylonian:

1) Mi-it-ra-da-a-tú: BE 9 48:1 (= TuM 2/3 144:1).
2) Mi-tir-ri-a-da-da-': PBS 2/1 159:5.
3) Mit^{it}-ra-da-a-ta: TuM 2/3 147:24.
4) Mit-ra-da-a-ti: BE 9 48:34.
5) Mit-ra-da-a-tú: BE 9 48:14.
6) Mit-ri-da-a-ta: UET 4 1:2,12,seal 18, 2:2,12,37.
7) Mit-ri-da-a-tú: UET 4 2:39.

– Demotic: Mṯrtt: P. Cairo CG 50100:4 (reading: Vittmann 1991-92: 160).

4.2.1110 *Miθrafarnā (Med.): *Miθra-farnā, "knowing splendor through Mithra" (Bowman 1970: 104), Parth. Mtrprn (Schmitt 1998: 180), Gk. Μιθραφέρνης (IN 213; ASN 167).
– Aramaic: Mtrprn: Pers 33:3 ([Mt]rprn), 108:3 (M[t]rprn).

4.2.1111 *Miθraina- (Med.) / *Miθrēna-: *Miθr-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name (ASN 167; Zadok 1976: 68 and 1997: A no.6; Dandamayev 1992: 101). Cf. Parth. Mtryn(y) (Schmitt 1998: 185).

Schmitt (apud OnP 299) is convinced that all spellings render *Miθr-ina-. Zadok rightfully has objections and argues that the writings with E and RE cannot render *Miθr-ina, because in his opinion E normally reflects /ai/ (actually it reflects /ē/). Schmitt (1978b: 401 and 405; also ASN 168) acknowledges this, but nevertheless still believes in the attestation of *Miθrina- in the Babylonian spellings 5 and 7. A simple way to dismiss these assumptions is to read Mi-it-re-(e)-na-'.

– Aramaic: Mtryn: EE 41:rev.
– Babylonian:
1) Mi-it-ra-'-in: BE 9 59:R.
2) Mi-it-ra-a-a-ni: BE 9 59:15.
3) Mi-it-ra-en: BE 9 59:6,8, 60:20,R.
4) Mi-it-ra-ni-': IMT 9:1.
5) Mi-it-re-e-na-': EE 41:12.
6) Mi-it-re-en: IMT 33:21.
7) Mi-it-re-na-': Dar. 301:24.
8) Mi-ti-re-a-ni: BPPE 72:12.

4.2.1112 *Miθraka- (Med.): *Miθra-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name (Bowman 1970: 90; ASN 167), Parth. Mtrk (Schmitt 1998: 185).
– Aramaic: Mtrk: Pers 18:1, 23:2, 28-29:2, 32:2, 37:2, 86:1, 88-89:1, 91:1, 92:2.
– Elamite: Mi-ut-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 1487:1, 2451:3.

4.2.1113 *Miθrāna- (Med.): *Miθra-āna-, patronymic of a compound with *Miθra- (Lipiński 2004: 193), MP Mtr'n, Parth. Mtrn, Gr. Μιτράνης.

Lemaire (1996: 69) connects the name with Hebr. Maṭri and Safaitic and Sabaic Mṭrn.

– Aramaic: Mṭrn: Transeuphratène. Suppl. 3 78:3, Suppl. 9 255:5'.

4.2.1114 *Miθranamā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Miθra-namah-, "worshiping Mithra" (Schmitt 1987: 152).

Segal (1983: 70n.2) reconstructs *Miθra-nāma-, "Mithra-named", which is corrected by Schmitt (l.c.) to *Miθra-nāmā-. Yet Schmitt rejects this proposal.

– Aramaic: Mtr<<tr>>nm: ATNS 50:3.

4.2.1115 *Miθrapāna- (Med.): *Miθra-pāna-, "Mithra protecting" (Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.35).

– Babylonian: Mi-it-ri-pa-a-na: BE (Ber) 55877:2',7'.

4.2.1116 *Miθrapāta- (Med.): *Miθra-pāta-, "protected by Mithra" (Deecke 1887: 133; Imbert 1891: 111; IN 290; Arkwright 1899: 56; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 9; Benveniste 1966: 102; Bowman 1970: 75; OnP 8.1168; ASN 167; Mørkholm & Neumann 1978: 18; Schmitt 1982c: 381-382, 1982d: IV/23-24 and 2002: 64-65), Gk. Μιτροβάτης.
– Aramaic: Mtrpt: Pers. 2:2, 4:2, 5:1, 7:2,3, 13-14:1, 15:2, 16:1, 75:1, 77:3.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-tur-ra-ba-da: PF 1294:3-4.
2) Mi-ut-ra-ba-da: PF 333:2-3, 1295:2, 1961:10.
3) Mi-ut-<ra>-ba-ud-da: PFNN 1564:3.
– Lycian:
1) Miθrapata-[131]: NAWG 1978/1 138a-139a, TL 44b:16.
2) Miθrapati[132]: NAWG 1978/1 138b-c.
3) Mizrppata-: DÖAW 135 315:2 TL 64:2.

4.2.1117 *Miθrasara- (Med.): *Miθra-sara-, "der Gemeinschaft hat mit Mithra, who has a union with Mithra" (Zadok 1991: 39).

Eilers (1954-56: 332) reconstructs *Miθra-srah-, the Median equivalent of *Miθra-θrah-, "fearing Mithra". The element *s/θrah-, however, is not attested in personal names (Schmitt, apud Kornfeld 1978: 109). Grelot (1972: 480) and Kornfeld (1978: 109) translate "having Mithra as chief". Hinz (ASN 167-168) prefers *Miθra-sravah-, "Mithra-fame", but the spelling shows no trace of /v/ (Kornfeld, l.c.). Schmitt (l.c. and 1978b: 402-403) argues that *-srah* cannot render Av. *sarah-*. For this reason he reconstructs *Miθra-sarhā-, with **sarhā* (**sarhan-*, OInd. *śīrṣan-*) as an older form of **sara-*.

– Aramaic: Mtrsrh: TAD B 2.7:18, 3.5:24.

4.2.1118 *Miθrāta- (Med.): *Miθra-āta-, *-āta*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name (Clay 1904: 55; Benveniste 1966: 104; Gusmani 1971: 5 and 1982: 74-75; ASN 168; Schmitt 1982d: IV/32; Dandamayev 1992: 101), Gk. Μιθράτης (Schmitt 1978b: 399).

Other, less plausible, proposals are (1) *Miθra-rāta-, "allowed by Mithra" (Benveniste 1966: 104), (2) *Miθ(ra)-rāda-, "having Mithra as a caretaker" (Gershevitch 1969: 208) and (3) *Miθrada-, an abbreviation of *Miθradāta- (OnP 8.1169).

– Babylonian:
1) Mi-it-ra-a-ta: Dar. 509:22.
2) Mi-it-ra-a-tú: BE 10 114:U.E.

[131] The name is also attested on coins, albeit in abbreviated forms: (1) Mi (NAWG 1978/1 139f), (2) Miθ (NAWG 1978/1 139e), (3) Miθra (NAWG 1978/1 139d), (4) Miθrap (NAWG 1978/1 139c) and (5) Miθrapat (NAWG 1978/1 139b).

[132] This spelling is perhaps a Lycianization of the Iranian name (Schmitt 1982d: IV/23).

3) Mi-it-ra-a-tu$_4$: Dar. 274:4.
4) Mi-it-ra-tú: BE 10 114:16.
5) Mi-ti-ri-a-ta: OLA 65 9:11.

– Elamite:
1) Mi-is-ra-da: PF 1174:2.
2) Mi-iš-rad-du[133]: PFNN 344:2.
3) Mi-iš-ra-ud-da: PFNN 2542:15.
4) Mi-tur-ra-ad-da: PFNN 1269:6.
5) Mi-ut-ra-ad-da: PFNN 2371:3, 2372:33.
6) Mi-ut-ra-da: PFNN 535:14, 704:22, 762:18, 2200:16, 1020:32, 2358:5,8, 2479:12, 2490:11,15.
7) Mi-ut-ra-ud-da: PFNN 1802:2, 2211:25, 2280:2, 2337:22, 2372:26.
8) Mi-ut-tar-ra-ad-da: PFNN 1394:5-6.
9) Mi-ut-tur-ra-da: PFNN 2505:2.

– Lydian: Mitratalis (nom.): G 23:5, 24:1 (°a[ta]lis), 74.

4.2.1119 *Miθrātēna-: < *Miθra-āt-aina-.
– Elamite: Mi-ut-ra-ut-tin: PFNN 1008:10.

4.2.1120 *Miθrātiš (Med.): *Miθra-āt-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Miθrāta- (ASN 168; ElW 943).
– Elamite: Mi-ut-ra-ti-iš: PF 430:3-4.

4.2.1121 *Miθraupastā- (Med.): *Miθra-upastā-, "with the assistance of Mithra", Gk. Μιθροπαύστης and Μιθρωπάστης (IN 216; Benveniste 1966: 105; Schmitt 1971: 20n.130; ASN 168; Harrison 1982: 183).
– Aramaic: Mtrwpst: ANSMN 23 9-11 Pl.2 nos.18 ([M]trwps[t]) and 19.

4.2.1122 *Miθrāvahišta- (Med.): *Miθrā-vahišta-, "the best through Mithra" (Kornfeld 1978: 109; Schmitt 2006: 172), Gk. Μιθραύστης and Μιθρώστης (IN 216-217).
– Aramaic: Mtrwhšt: TAD A 5.3:1,4.

4.2.1123 *Miθravanta- (Med.): *Miθra-vanta-, "wanted by Mithra" (Zadok 1986: 42).
Zadok (l.c.) presents two other possibilities as well: *Miθra-vantar-, "Mithra the winner" (considered impossible by Schmitt 1987: 152) and *Miθra-vanta-, "with the praise, glorification of Mithra". Segal's (1983: 85) etymology *Miθra-vant-, "having friends" is not correct.
– Aramaic: Mtrwnt: ATNS 63:4.

[133] Hinz & Koch (ElW 927) plead for *Vahyas-xratu- (spelled inaccurately). Cf. *Bagaspāda- (4.2.283) and *Kapauta- (4.2.932) for the equation El. DU = Ir. /da/ or /ta/.

4.2.1124 *Miθravasa- (Med.): *Miθra-vasa-, "Mithra willing" (Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.34).
– Babylonian: Mit-ri-a-ma-a-su: VAT 15621:4'.

4.2.1125 *Miθraxa- (Med.): *Miθra-x-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Miθra-xšaθra-, "ruling through Mithra" (Schmitt 1985: 205-207; Huyse 1992: 290; Vittmann 2004: 166).
The possibility of a reading Šytrḫ and hence of a name *Čiθraxa- cannot be completely ruled out (Schmitt, l.c.; Huyse, l.c.; Vittmann 2004, l.c.).
– Demotic: Mytrḫ: S.H5-269+284:1 (cf. Kuhrt & Smith 1982).

4.2.1126 *Miθraya- (Med.): *Miθra-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name (OnP 8.1160; ASN 168; von Dassow 2000b: 183; Schmitt 2002: 111), Gk. Μιτραῖος and Μιθραῖος (IN 213-214).
– Babylonian: Mi-it-ra-a-a: CTMMA 3 89:4.
– Elamite: Mi-tar-ra-ia: PF 95:7.

4.2.1127 *Miθrayazna- (Med.): *Miθra-yazna-, "he who worships Mithra" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Benveniste 1970: 9; Grelot 1972: 480; ASN 168; Kornfeld 1978: 109).
– Aramaic: Mtryzn: TAD B 3.4:23.

4.2.1128 *Miθriča- (Med.): *Miθr-iča-, *-ič̌a*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name (ElW 940, reading *Miθraiča-).
– Elamite: Mi-tur-ri-iz-za: PFNN 2446:3-4.

4.2.1129 *Miθriš (Med.): *Miθr-i-š, "the Mithraic one" adjectival derivation from *Miθra-, similar in construction to *Zarat/θuštriš (cf. 4.2.2046; Grenet, apud Bordreuil 1986: 99; Schmitt 1997b: 923).
According to Hinz (ASN 167) one should read *Miθrača-, a *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Miθra-name.
– Aramaic: Mtrš: Bordreuil 1986 128.

4.2.1130 *Mōdabaga-: < *Mauda-baga-, "rejoicing Baga" (OnP 8.1185; ASN 162).
– Elamite: Mu-da-ba-ka$_4$: PF 639:3-4.

4.2.1131 *Mōdačanā: nom. sg. of *Mōda-čanah-, "desirous for joy".
– Elamite: Mu-da-za-na: PFNN 924:1-2.

4.2.1132 *Mōdina-: < *Maud-ina-, an *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of e.g. *Maudabaga- (OnP 8.1198; ASN 163).
Another possibility is *Mudina- (ASN 163), an *-ina*-extension of **muda-*, "hare", to MP *mōd* and NP *mūy*.
– Elamite: Mu-ti-na: PF 2003:9.

4.2.1133 *Mṛdu-: "soft".
Another mentioned name is *Mṛdu-, the Old Persian equivalent of *Mṛzu-, "short", cf. Av. *mərəzu-* (HdA 132), Gk. Βράχυλλος and Βραχυλλίδης and the Czech family name Krátký.

The scholars do not speak out in favour of one of both names (Eilers 1954-56: 330-331; Grelot 1972: 478; Kornfeld 1978: 123). Aramaic, however, usually renders Median forms, so a name "soft" is preferable. A third possibility is *Mṛda-va- (ASN 169) and this because a name *Mṛdu- should be written Mrdwš in Aramaic, with the ending of the nominative. Since, however, Aramaic displays various names without nominative endings, this argument can easily be dismissed.

– Aramaic: Mrdw: TAD B 3.10:26, 3.11:20, 3.12:19, 3.13:14.

4.2.1134 *Mṛdunika-: *Mṛdu-n-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Mṛdu-, "soft" (OnP 8.977; ASN 169; Schmitt 2006: 106). Cf. Maṛduniya- (1.2.23).

– Elamite: Mar-du-nu-ka$_4$: PF 1898:4.

4.2.1135 *Mṛnča-: "destroyer", retrenchment of Av. *mərənča-* (base *marək-*) (Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 1098; ASN 169).

– Elamite: Mi-ri-in-za: PFNN 512:7-8.

4.2.1136 *Mṛnčalī-: *Mṛnč-alī-, "he who destroys the unfaithful" (Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 8.1099; ASN 169; Boccali 1981: 12).

– Elamite: Mi-ri-in-za-li: PF 273:6, 1653:3, 1889:4-5, 1986:17, 1987:19.

4.2.1137 *Mṛnčamna-: *Mṛnča-mna-, "destroying", middle participle of **mṛnča-* (Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 8.1100; ASN 169).

Gershevitch (1969: 205-206) presents an alternative reconstruction: *Mṛnčāuna- < *Mṛnča-ahuna-, which is either a *-na*-extension of *Mṛnča-ahu-, "life-destroyer" or simply means "he who destroys the Ahuna Vairya-prayer".

– Elamite:
1) Mi-ri-in-za-am-na: PF 1332:3; PFNN 828:3-4.
2) Mi-ri-in-za-man-na: PFa 31:2.
3) Mi-ri-in-za-um-na: PFNN 5:2-3, 1621:2-3.

4.2.1138 *Mṛnčāna-: *Mṛnča-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Mṛnča- (Gershevitch 1969: 206; OnP 8.1101; ASN 169).

– Elamite: Mi-ri-in-za-na: Fort. 1680:5-6, 8865:4; PF 1858:2, 1953:36, 1957:37; PFa 28:1; PFNN 394:1, 2337:28, 2370:26, 2372:30, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1139 *Mṛvijana-: *Mṛvi-jana-, "ant-killer", a typical name for a magian (Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 8.1104; ASN 169).

– Elamite: Mi-ir-mu-za-na: PF 272:9.

4.2.1140 *Mṛzuka-: *Mṛzu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Mṛzu-, "the short one" (OnP 8.999; ASN 169-170).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.899) also mentions *Marzuka-, to be connected with Av. *marəza-*, "borderland".

– Elamite: Mar-su-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1437:3.

4.2.1141 *Mūša-: "the mouse" (ASN 170).

– Elamite: Mu-šá: PFNN 2340:5,13,18.

4.2.1142 *Mūšaka-: *Mūša-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Mūša- (Gershevitch 1969: 208; OnP 8.1192; ASN 170).

– Elamite: Mu-iš-ka$_4$: PF 4:2-3, 47:2-3, 63:6, 97:3, 164:3, 241:6-7, 250:2, 303:2, 617:3, 673:2, 1285:4-5, 1582:4, 1794:20; PFNN 3:2, 379:2, 383:2-3, 559:4-5, etc. in PFNN; PT 13:31.

4.2.1143 *Mūšāta-: *Mūša-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Mūša- (ASN 170).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1195) reconstructs *Vau-šyāta-.

– Elamite: Mu-iš-šá-ud-da: PF 1343:3.

4.2.1144 *Mūšuka-: *Mūš-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Mūša- (OnP 8.1196; ASN 170, with a reconstruction *Mūš-auka-).

Gershevitch (1969b: 190) reconstructs *Vahu-sauka-, "giving good profit", to Av. *saoka-*, "profit".

– Elamite: Mu-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 344:4.

4.2.1145 *Nadabara-: *Nada-bara-, "the reed-bearer" (on the condition of an accurate reading).

– Elamite: Na(?)-ti-ba(?)-ra-iš: PFNN 2148:1-2.

4.2.1146 *Nadāniš: *Nada-āni-š, -āni-patronymic of *Nada- (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; ASN 170; ElW 978).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1207) is doubtful of this analysis. Dandamayev (1975: 235) and Zadok (1977c: 79) believe it is a Sem. name. Yet a place name *Nadāni- (4.3.138) is also attested.

– Elamite: Na-da-nu-iš: PFNN 39:4.

4.2.1147 *Nadika-: *Nadi-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Nadi-.

– Elamite: Na(?)-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 2440:2-3.

4.2.1148 *Nadiš: *Nad-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Nada- (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; ASN 170).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1255) is not certain with regard to this name.

– Elamite: Na-ti-iš: PFNN 1008:15.

4.2.1149 *Nāfabṛdana- (OP): *Nāfa-bṛdana-, "exalting the clan" (OnP 8.1220; ASN 170).

Gershevitch (1969: 230) believes in an *-āna*-patronymic. Benveniste (1966: 89) reconstructs *Nāfa-pṛtana-, "battling for his clan".

– Elamite: Na-pa-bar-tan-na: PF 1941:21, 1981:3, 2075:5,14.

4.2.1150 *Nāfaina- / *Nāfēna-: *Nāf-aina-, "the familial", *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (Benveniste 1958b: 54; ASN 171; Zadok 1977: 115 and 1979: 298; Dandamayev 1992: 105).

Some authors (Grelot 1972: 481, reading *Nāfa-ina-; Kornfeld 1978: 109, reconstructing *Nāf-ina-) plcad for a suffix *-ina-*, attached to *Nāfa-.

– Aramaic: Npyn: TAD A 4.7:7,8, 4.8:7, 5.2:7.

– Babylonian:
1) Na-pe-a-ni-$^{?}$: BE 9 28a:14.
2) Na-pe-en: PBS 2/1 122:8.
3) Na-pe-e-ni: BE 9 18:11 (reading: Zadok 1977: 115n.263).
4) Na-pe-en-na-$^{?}$: BE 9 74:2.
5) Na-pe-nu: VS 6 194:15.

4.2.1151 *Nāfaka-: *Nāfa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (Benveniste 1966: 89, also mentioning *Nabaka-; NW 113; OnP 8.1219; ASN 171).
– Elamite: Na-pa-ak-ka$_4$: PF 634:3-4.

4.2.1152 *Nāfakāna-: *Nāfaka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Nāfaka- (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1218; ASN 171).
– Elamite: Na-pa-ka$_4$-na-iš: PFNN 1020:34.

4.2.1153 *Nāfāta-: *Nāf-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (ElW 985).
– Elamite: Na-pa-da: PFNN 811:3-4.

4.2.1154 *Nāfaugā: nom. sg. of *Nāf-augah-, "the strength of the family".
Zadok (1975: 245-246; also Dandamayev 1992: 104) reconstructs either *Nāba-bauga-, "serving his family" (with haplology) or *Nāba-augah-, "the strength of the family".
– Babylonian:
1) Na-pu-gu: BE 8/1 87:4; Erm. 15439:8,16 (cf. Dandamayev, l.c.); YOS 7 177:7, 192:7,11.
2) Na-pu-ú-gu: YOS 7 137:22.

4.2.1155 *Nāfauka-: *Nāf-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (ElW 985).
– Elamite: Na-pa-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 2536:21.

4.2.1156 *Nāfēča-: < *Nāf-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.1226; ASN 171).
– Elamite:
1) Na-be-ez-za: PFNN 550:2.
2) Na-pe-ez-za: PT 49a-3:8, 53:7.

4.2.1157 *Nāfuka-: *Nāf-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nāfa-name (OnP 8.1235; ElW 990).
Gershevitch (1969b: 192) prefers *Nāfa-vahu-ka-. Hinz (ASN 171) prefers *Nāf-auka-. Possibly this person is identical with *Nāfauka-. In that case one could think that the right reconstruction is *Nāfauka- (ElW 990). This is, however, not necessary. The latter name can be a simple variant of the former name.
– Elamite: Na-pu-uk-ka$_4$: OGWA 321-322:13; PF 1138:5-6, 1635:4, 1636:3-4 (N[a]-°), 1637:3-4; PFNN 416:3-4, 477:3-4, 961:11, 1018:1, 1022:28.

4.2.1158 *Nāfyābiš: *Nāfyā-biš, "healing the clan" (NW 113; ASN 171).
Gershevitch (1969: 212) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1225) also reconstruct *Nāfyabiš, but derive it from Av. *nāfiiō.ṯbiš*, "he who is hostile towards his relatives", with the cluster /ṯb/ having evolved to /b/. Cf. 4.2.8 and 4.2.1258.
– Elamite: Na-pi-ia-pi-iš: PF 1943:17.

4.2.1159 *Naizauka-: *Naiz-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Naiza-, "the top".
– Elamite: Na-iz-za-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 49:2.

4.2.1160 *Naiziš: *Naiz-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Naiza-.
A reading *Naizīš < *Naiz-iya- is equally possible.
– Elamite: Na-a-ši-iš: PF 848:4, 1802:2.

4.2.1161 *Nāmabara-: *Nāma-bara-, "bearing a name" (Zadok 1986: 42).
Shaked (1987: 411) pleads for *Namabara-, "pious", with reference to MP *nmbr*, "to pray".
– Aramaic: Nmbr: ATNS 54 ii 5.

4.2.1162 *Nāmasavă(-): *Nāma-savă(-), "name-benefit" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; ASN 173).
According to Kornfeld (1978: 123) Nmsw is a rendering of Hittite Nammassi.
– Aramaic: Nmsw: TAD B 3.4:2.

4.2.1163 *Napāka-: *Napā-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Napāt-, "grandson" (ASN 173).
Benveniste (1966: 89) proposes *Nabaka- or *Nafaka-. Hinz (NW 113) reconstructs *Nabāka-, while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1203) identifies this name with Na-pa-ak-ka$_4$ (4.2.1151). Nevertheless the spelling postulates *Napāka-.
– Elamite: Na-ab-ba-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1499:2-3.

4.2.1164 *Napātāna-: *Napāt-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Napāt-, "grandson" (Zadok 1976: 69; Dandamayev 1992: 105).
– Babylonian: Na-pa-ta-nu: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:16.

4.2.1165 *Napātauka-: *Napāt-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Napāt- (ASN 173).
Gershevitch (1969: 212) reconstructs *Nāfa-tauka-, "family-offspring".
– Elamite: Nap-pa-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: Fort. 6830:3.

4.2.1166 *Naraka-: *Nara-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Nara-, "man" (ElW 991).
– Elamite: Na-ra-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1951:23.

4.2.1167 *Narātīš: < *Nara-āt-iya-, a *-ya*-hypocoristic of an *-āta*-extension of *Nara-.
– Elamite: Na-ra-t[i]-iš: PFNN 122:10-11.

4.2.1168 *Narava-: cf. the Av. anthroponym Narauua- (OnP 8.1250; ASN 173; Mayrhofer 1979: I/64), the meaning of which is not known.
– Elamite: Na-ru-ma: PF 1988:32-33.

4.2.1169 *Naryābigna-: *Narya-abigna-, "having the attacking power of a hero" (Humbach 1981: 90).
– Babylonian: Ni-ri-a-bi-ig-nu: Camb. 384:17.
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-pi-ik-na: PF 47:5-6, 48:10, 459:3-4, 512:6-7, 555:6-7, 1501-1502:2-3; PFNN 388:7,9, 665:7-9, 705:9,13, 1253:2-3, 2427:2-3.

4.2.1170 *Naryaiča- / *Narēča-: *Nary-aiča-, "manly", *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Narya-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187; ASN 173). Cf. 4.3.140.
Benveniste (1966: 89) refers to the toponym Neirīz, while Gershevitch (1969: 214) reads *Narya-iža-, "of manly striving", to Av. *ižā-* (fem.), "striving". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1242) does not take a decision.

– Elamite:
1) Na-re-e-ez-za: PF 769:2, 1965:29-30; PFNN 848:2-3, 2369:6.
2) Na-re-he-ez-za: Fort. 9407:3.
3) Na-ri-ia-a-za: PFNN 345:3.

4.2.1171 *Naryamada- (OP): *Narya-mada-, "manly and big".
Gershevitch (1969: 214; also ASN 174) connects the second element with Av. *mazah-*, "size". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1245) points to the ambiguity of this spelling.
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-ma-da: PFNN 308:3-4.

4.2.1172 *Naryamanā: nom. sg. of *Narya-manah-, "manly-minded" (Gershevitch 1969: 214; OnP 8.1246; ASN 174), Av. Nərəmanah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/64-65), MP Nērōman (Gignoux 1972: 30 and 1986: II/135), NP Narīmān (IN 225). Cf. also OInd. *nṛ-máṇas-* and Av. *naire-manah-*.
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-ma-na: PF 1358:3, 1359:2 (°-<na>), 1988:17; PFNN 49:12, 561:3-4, 685:3-4, 1911:2-3, 2184:36, 2210:8-9, 2352:21.

4.2.1173 *Naryāsa- (OP): *Narya-asa-, "having manly horses" (ASN 174).
According to Hinz (NW 51) this name is a retrenchment of *Naryasanga-.
– Aramaic: Nrys: Pers 128:2.

4.2.1174 *Naryasanga- / *Narēsanga-: divine name used as anthroponym (Benveniste 1966: 89-90; Gershevitch 1969: 212-214; Schmitt 1970: 23; OnP 8.1243; ASN 174), cf. OInd. Narāśáṃsa- (EWAi II 20-21) and Av. Nairiiō.saŋha- (AiW 1054-1055).
– Elamite:
1) Na-re-šá-an-ka$_4$: PF 773:5-6, 2084:12; PFNN 2362:17, 2478:11,27,36, 2542:9.
2) Na-ri-ia-šá-an-ka$_4$: PFNN 2289:4,19.

4.2.1175 *Naryāspa- (Med.): equivalent of OP *Naryāsa- (ASN 174; Zadok 1977: 102; Dandamayev 1992: 105; Schmitt 1994: 86).
– Babylonian:
1) Na-ar-ia-a-as-pi: EE 107:9,16.
2) Na-ar-<ia>-as-pi: EE 107:15.
3) Na-ar-ia-as-pu: EE 107:13.
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-áš-ba: PFNN 2346:7.

4.2.1176 *Naryavṛta-: *Narya-vṛta-, "the manly hero" (ElW 993).
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-mar-da: PFNN 2193:16,23.

4.2.1177 *Naryavṛtiš: *Narya-vṛt-i-š, -i-patronymic of *Naryavṛta- (ASN 174).
Benveniste (1966: 90; also OnP 8.1247) refers to Av. *nairiia.hąm.varti-*, "possessing manly braveness". Hinz & Koch (ElW 993) identify this name with *Naryavṛta-.
– Elamite: Na-ri-ia-mar-ti-iš: PF 2011:10,26.

4.2.1178 *Nāspanta-: < *Nar-spanta-, "holy man" (Gershevitch 1969: 214; OnP 8.1254; ASN 174), cf. Av. *spəntəm narəm aṣauuanəm yazaite*, "we worship the holy man who possesses *arta*" (Visprat 19,1).
– Elamite: Na-áš-pan-da: PF 469:3.

4.2.1179 *Năum(i)ya-: *Năum-(i)ya-, *-(i)ya*-extension of *Năuma-, "the ninth".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 995) prefer *Nāvya-, to OP *nāv-*, "ship".
– Elamite: Na-u-mi-ia: PFNN 2272:12.

4.2.1180 *Nava-: "new" (OnP 8.1260; ASN 175).
– Elamite: Nu-ma: PF 1943:34.

4.2.1181 *Navagaza-: *Nava-gaza-, "a new-received (gift)" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 106).
– Babylonian: Nu-ma-ga-zu: VS 3 159:3.

4.2.1182 *Navaina-: *Nav-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Nava- (Zadok 1976: 69; Dandamayev 1992: 107).
Another possibility is *Năum-aina-, "the ninth" (Zadok, l.c.).
– Babylonian: Nu-ma-i-na-': EE 44:3.

4.2.1183 *Naxtāna-: *Naxt-āna, patronymic of a name containing **naxta-*, 'night'.
– Elamite: Na-ik(?)-tan-na: PF 2075:8.

4.2.1184 *Naxtiš: *Naxti-š, "the nocturnal" (Gershevitch 1969: 212; ASN 172).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1214) is doubtful concerning this name.
– Elamite: Na-ak-ti-iš: PF 1574:3.

4.2.1185 *Naxvanta-: "the first(born)" (Gershevitch 1969: 212; OnP 8.1212; ASN 172).
– Elamite:
1) Na-ak-ku-un-da: PF 172:4-5, 743:4.
2) Na-ak-man-da: PFa 31:23.

4.2.1186 *Nāzuka-: "delicate" (Benveniste 1966: 90; OnP 8.1251; ASN 175).
– Elamite: Na-su-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1108:2-3 (Na-[su-uk]-ka$_4$), 1109:2; PFNN 187:3-4, 192:2-3, 194:3-4, 238:3-4, 678:2-3, 988:3 (°-uk-<ka$_4$>), 1112:2-3, 1251:3, 1581:13-14, 2354:5.

4.2.1187 *Nēbavarda-: < *Naiba-varda-, "of beautiful growth" (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 105).
Hinz (ASN 172) mentions *Naiba-mṛda-, "beautiful and soft" or *Naiba-vṛda-, "beautiful rose" (Av. *varəδa-* and Arm. *vard*).
– Babylonian: Ne-ba-'-mar-du-': PBS 2/1 20:3,5.

4.2.1188 *Nēzukā- (fem.): < *Naiz-ukā-, the fem. equivalent of *Naiz-uka-, an *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Naiza-, "top" (OnP 8.1258; ASN 172, with a reconstruction *Naiz-aukā-).
– Elamite: Né-su-ka$_4$: PF 2038:14.

4.2.1189 *Nidr(u)va- (OP): *Ni-dr(u)va-, "faithful" (Gershevitch 1969: 214; OnP 8.1257), cf. the OInd. anthroponyms Nidhruva- and Nídhruvi- (SED 549).

Hinz (NW 113; ASN 172) argues that NI always renders /nai/ and that -da-ir-ma- cannot render /drva/. Accordingly he reconstructs *Naiδārma-, "spear-arm", to Av. *naēza-*, "top (of a spear)".

– Elamite: Ni-da-ir-ma: PFNN 101:8,16.

4.2.1190 *Nigauda- (OP): *Ni-gauda-, "concealing" (ASN 175).

– Elamite: Nu-ka$_4$-u-da: PF 1503:2.

4.2.1191 *Ninâka-: *Ni-nā-ka-, "(he who is) beating, striking" (Livšič, apud Dandamayev 1992: 105-106).

Zadok (2004: 113) reads *Nīna-ka-, an onomatopoeic form, to OInd. *nanā*, "(little) mother".

– Babylonian:

1) Ni-in-na-ka-$^{\circ}$: EE 7:9,rev.
2) Ni-na-ak-ka: BM 25708:4,10; EE 12:Lo.E. ([Ni]-na-ak-ka).
3) Ni-na-ak-ka-$^{\circ}$[134]: BE 9 50:13.
4) Ni-na-ak-ku: BM 25656:rev.6; PBS 2/1 30:23,U.E.; VS 4 160:3.
5) Ni-na-a-ku: BE 9 45:30 (= TuM 2/3 143:30).
6) Ni-nak-ku: OECT 12 A160:9'.

– Elamite: Nu-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2344:1.

4.2.1192 *Nitanya-: "he who stretches down" (ASN 176, translating "Viehhof"). Cf. the similar loanword **nitanya-* (4.4.8.16).

Gershevitch (1969: 214; also OnP 8.1264) reconstructs *Nidāniya-, "hoarder", but according to Hinz that would have been written Nu-da-°. Delaunay (1976: 22-23; also Lipiński 1977: 107-108) mentions Hebrew Nətanyah. The main objection against this is that NU never renders /na/ or /nə/ (EIW 1012).
According to Hinz & Koch (EIW 1014) the spelling Nu-ti-nu-ia is a mistake for Nu-tan-nu-ia, but as the equation TI = /ta/ is attested elsewhere, their assumption is wrong.

– Elamite:

1) Nu-tan-nu-ia: PF 1827:13, 1945:16; PFNN 87:11-12; PT 2:23, 9:21, 1963-19:27-28 (°-[ia]).
2) Nu-ti-nu-ia: PFNN 2225:13.

4.2.1193 *Nivita-: *Niv-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Niva-, "shape, figure" (ASN 177), cf. the Av. PN Niuuika-, which should actually be read *Niβika- (Mayrhofer 1977: 19). *-β-* and *-uu-* are sometimes confused in Avestan (Bartholomae 1895-1901: 157 no.37).

Gershevitch (1969b: 192) reconstructs *Niv(a)ida-, "the invited", to Sogd. *nw'yδ*, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1261) is not convinced.

– Elamite: Nu-mi-ud-da: PFNN 154:3, 1155:3.

4.2.1194 *Nmabāma-: *Nma-bāma-, "radiance of the obeisance, deference" (EIW 757).

[134] Zadok (2004: 113) wrongly reads Ni-i-na-ka-$^{\circ}$.

– Elamite: In-ma-ba-ma: PF 147:3-4.

4.2.1195 *Nmaka-: *Nma-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Nma-name (ASN 177).

Gershevitch (1970: 85) claims to have discovered the Iranian equivalent of the OInd. PN Invaka- (SED 168), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.569) does not accept this analysis.

– Elamite: In-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 52:16.

4.2.1196 *Numinga-: "coral" (Oppert & Ménant 1877: 284; Zadok 1977: 107 and n.190; Dandamayev 1992: 107).

– Babylonian: Nu-mi-in-gu: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 31:13.

4.2.1197 *Pāčiça- (OP): *Pā-čiça-, "protector of the lineage" (NW 114).

Gershevitch (1969: 225) reconstructs *Bāh(a)-čiça-, "bright with lustre". Both Hinz's (NW 113-114; ASN 93) reconstruction (*Fa-čiça-, "of good lineage"), as well as Gershevitch's analysis, are rejected by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1303).

– Elamite: Pa-zí-iš-šá: PF 755:2-3.

4.2.1198 *Pačika-: "the cook" (Gershevitch 1969: 224; ASN 177).

Benveniste (1966: 81) reconstructs *Bāji-ka-, "the tax". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.308) has no opinion with regard to this name.

– Elamite:

1) Ba-iz-za-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 651:2-3.
2) Ba-za-ka$_4$: PF 186:3.
3) Ba-zik-ka$_4$: PF 583:2, 1164:2; PFNN 636:2-3, 2146:2.

4.2.1199 *Pačikā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Pačika- (Gershevitch 1969: 225; ASN 177).

– Elamite: Ba-iz-zik-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:30.

4.2.1200 *Pačikāna-: *Pačika-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Pačika- (OnP 8.309; ASN 177).

– Elamite: Ba-zi[k]-ka$_4$-na: PF 1227:2.

4.2.1201 *Pačima-: *Pač-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of a name containing **pač-*, "to cook".

– Elamite: Pa-zí-ma: PFNN 1763:5.

4.2.1202 *Pāçagaya- (OP): *Pāça-gaya-, "protection of life".

Gershevitch (1969: 222) prefers *Pasa-gāya-, "coming behind". Hinz (ASN 184) reconstructs *Passa-gaya-, "after-life". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.269) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ba-šá-ka$_4$-a-ia: PFNN 42:4, 2192:4 (Ba-šá-<<ka$_4$>>-a-ia).

4.2.1203 *Pāda-: "foot" (EIW 114), retrenchment of a *Pāda-name.

According to Abraham (BPPE 207-208) the Bab. spellings render *Pāta-, "protected".

– Babylonian:

1) Pa-da-$^{\circ}$: AION Suppl. 77 1:11.
2) Pa-da-a: AM 115:17; BPPE 2:14.
3) Pa-da-a-$^{\circ}$: AM 87:13.

– Elamite: Ba-da: PFNN 1617:2.

4.2.1204 *Pādaina-: *Pād-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Pāda-name.

Hinz & Koch (EIW 114) consider *Bātaina- or Pātaina-.

– Elamite: Ba-da-a-na: PFNN 2483:2.

4.2.1205 *Pādaka-: *Pāda-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Pāda- (Grantovskij 1970: 175n.128; ASN 177; Zadok 1977: 108 and n.198; Dandamayev 1992: 107), Gk. Παδάγος (Zgusta 1955: 81-82).

Other proposals are (1) *Pāta-ka-, "the protected" (Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.175; EIW 115), (2) *Bātaka- (EIW 115) and *Paθaka- (Koch, apud EIW 115).

– Babylonian: Pa-da-ak-ka: Dar. 397:7.

– Elamite: Ba-da-ka$_4$: PF 805:4, 1273:4.

4.2.1206 *Pādapa-: "the tree" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; ASN 177; EIW 114).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.174) is uncertain about this name.

– Elamite: Ba-da-ba: PFNN 1059:4,9.

4.2.1207 *Padapāta-: *Pada-pāta-, "protected by his origin" (EIW 115).

An alternative possibility is *Pādapa-āta-, "tree".

– Elamite: Bad-[d]a-ba-da: PFNN 2357:9.

4.2.1208 *Pāhrabarāna-: *Pāhra-bara-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Pāhra-bara-, a younger equivalent of *Pāθra-bara-, "he who brings protection" (Bowman 1970: 165; ASN 177).

– Aramaic: Phrbrn: Pers 116:2.

4.2.1209 *Paisāna- (Med.): *Paisa-āna-, "ornament", *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Paisa-name (Grelot 1972: 485; Kornfeld 1978: 110; TAD B: lii).

The authors disagree on the reading in TAD B 8.4:1 (= ATNS 28 b:1). Segal (1983: 45), the first editor of the text, reads Pyskn, which Zadok (1986: 42) analyzes as *Paisa-ka-āna-. Yet Schmitt (1987: 153) argues that Pyskn renders an Egyptian name. The photo of the text (Segal 1983: Pl.6) corroborates the reading Pysn (TAD).

– Aramaic: Pysn: TAD A 3.6:2, 3.8:2, 4.2:9; TAD B 8.4:1.

4.2.1210 *Pānāna-: *Pāna-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Pāna-, "protection".

– Elamite: Pa-in-na-na: PFNN 1051:3.

4.2.1211 *Pānavinda-: *Pāna-vinda-, "finding protection" (on the condition of acceptance of an exceptional rendering of /na/ by El. NI).

Vallat (1999) recognizes the second element as **vinda-*, "finding". Cameron (1948: 104) and Hallock (1969: 741) read Pa-ir-rák-áš-pi-na and connect this with Gk. Πρηξάσπης[135]. Hinz's reading is Pa-ir-rák-áš-pi, but Garrison (1998: 125n.21) refutes this. Mayrhofer too (OnP 8.1288) is doubtful of this.

[135] Various etymologies exist for this name: (1) *Pṛkšāspa-, "having strong horses" (to OInd. *pṛkṣá-*, "strong"; IN 255; ASN 193), (2) *Parušaspa- (Hüsing 1900: 128). Schmitt (1967: 135n.124) does not have a preference.

– Elamite: Pa-ni-mín-taš-na (gen.): PTS 14:3-5 (reading: Vallat 1999).

4.2.1212 *Pāpa-: "the father" (Bowman 1970: 130; ASN 78).

Gershevitch (1969: 218) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.171) plead for *Pāpa-, "the protector", cf. Av. *pāpō.vačah-*, "speaking protective words". Since this name is also attested with Iranian hypocoristic suffixes (cf. infra), Delaunay's (1976: 11) remark that it is a Sem. name may be discarded.

– Aramaic: Pp: Pers 63:2.

– Elamite:

1) Ba-ab-ba: PFNN 2277:1, 2372:40.
2) Ba-ib-ba: PF 238:7, 1952:2,15-16; PFa 10:12-13; PFNN 60:2, 895:16.
3) Bab-ba: PFa 31:34.

4.2.1213 *Pāpainaka-: *Pāp-aina-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pāp-aina- (EIW 113).

– Elamite: Ba-ba-a-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 1305:3-4.

4.2.1214 *Pāpaka-: *Pāpa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pāpa- (Gershevitch 1969: 218; OnP 8.171; ASN 179; Zadok 1977: 121 and n.332; Dandamayev 1992: 107-108).

– Babylonian: Pa-pa-ku: BE 9 11:2,6.

– Elamite:

1) Ba-ab-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 1355:3.
2) Ba-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 74:2, 1987:3.
3) Ba-ba-ik-ka$_4$: PF 73:2.
4) Ba-ba-ka$_4$: PF 377:2, 424:2-3, 2051:8; PFNN 1292:2, 1617:3, 2388:2.
5) Ba-ib-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1957:23.
6) Ba-ib-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 54:2-3, 842:2-3, 2128:2-3, 2277:3.
7) Pap-pá-[k]a$_4$: PFNN 2290:34.

4.2.1215 *Pāpaya-: *Pāpa-ya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Pāpa- (EIW 114).

– Elamite: Ba-be-ia: PFNN 1248:3.

4.2.1216 *Pāpēna-: < *Pāp-aina-, an *-aina*-extension of *Pāpa- (ASN 179).

Gershevitch (1969: 218; also OnP 8.173) prefers an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Pāpa-.

– Elamite: Ba-be-na: PF 35:5-6, 38:2-3, 236:3, 428:2, 565:4, 656:2, 1996:1; PFNN 1501:2, 2486:26.

4.2.1217 *Parabṛzana- (Med.): *Para-bṛzana-, "exalting".

– Elamite: Pa-ra-bar(?)-za(?)-na: PFNN 377:3.

4.2.1218 *Paradāta-: *Para-dāta-, "placed in front" (Benveniste 1966: 90; OnP 8.1273; ASN 179), cf. the Av. honorary title *paraδāta-* (Mayrhofer 1979: I/67).

Hinz (NW 35; ASN 94) considers the first spelling as a rendering of *Far-dāta-, "created by the Sun". According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1274 and apud Skjærvø 1983: 246-247n.14) it is an allegroform of *Paradāta-, "being sold", to Av. *para-dā-*, "to sell". An allegroform of *Farnadāta- is equally possible.

– Elamite:
1) Bar-da-ad-da: PF 513:3-4, 590:4-5.
2) Pa-ra-da-da: PF 748:2-3, 1220:2-3.

4.2.1219 *Pariguš: *Pari-gu-š, "having cattle around" (ElW 157).
– Elamite: Bar-ri-ku-iš: PFNN 2290:27.

4.2.1220 *Parisaka-: "the lasting" (ASN 180; Zadok 1977: 106n.181; Dandamayev 1992: 110).
– Babylonian:
1) Par-ri-sa-ak-': TuM 2/3 186:14.
2) Par-ri-sak-ka-': TuM 2/3 186:L.E.

4.2.1221 *Paritaka-: *Pari-taka-, "wandering, running around" (ASN 180).
Gershevitch (1969: 220) pleads for *Pari-θŭka-, "shining around", but El. TUK does not reflect /θuk/, at least according to Hinz (ASN 180). Hinz (NW 107) reconstructs *Pardaka- or *Pardika-, "farting", to Av. *parəd-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.260) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ir-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1959:11.
2) Ba-ri-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1453:2; PFNN 1565:3.
3) Bar-ri-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1554:3-4, 1956:26; PFNN 2268:11.

4.2.1222 *Pariyauna-: *Pari-yauna-, "being around a place" (ElW 153), cf. Av. *huiiaona-*, "being at a good place" and *huuāiiaona-*, "whose place is good".
– Elamite: Pa-ri-ia-u-na: PFNN 2357:9-10.

4.2.1223 *Parnuš: *Parnu-š, "the old one" (Benveniste 1966: 80; Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.262; ASN 180; Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 110 and n.234; Dandamayev 1992: 110).
Concerning some spellings there is disagreement among the authors. According to Hinz (ASN 94) Aramaic Prnw(š) is a transcription of *Farnahva-, "having splendor". The same author reads the Babylonian spellings Par-ri-ni-iš and Par-ri-nu-uš as Pír-°, in which he sees reflections of *Friniš and *Frinuš, derivations from Av. *frāy-*, "to satisfy".
– Aramaic:
1) Prnw: TAD B 3.12:19.
2) Prnwš: PF 281:rev. (reading: Delaunay 1976: 24-25).
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-ar-mu-uš: PBS 2/1 70:4.
2) Pa-ar-nu-uš: PBS 2/1 70:6,11,L.E.
3) Par-ri-ni-iš: PBS 2/1 102:3,11.
4) Par-ri-nu-ú: PBS 2/1 98:3,7,10,U.E.
5) Par-ri-nu-uš: BE 10 103:4,5,L.E.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ir-nu-iš: PF 1537:2.

2) Bar-nu-iš: PF 2050:2-3; PFNN 726:48.
3) Pír-nu-iš: PF 1857:25; PFNN 2203:9, 2447:3.

4.2.1224 *Pārsaya-: *Pārsa-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Pārsa-, "Persian" (ElW 161).
– Elamite: Bar-šá-ia: PFNN 2559:9-10.

4.2.1225 *Paršava-: *Parša-va-, "specked, spotted" or "spike".
– Babylonian: Par-šú-ú: BM 79541:5' (reference C. Waerzeggers).

4.2.1226 *Paršavarda-: *Parša-varda-, "he who makes the spikes thrive".
Gershevitch (1969: 220) mentions *Fraša-varda- and the Av. PN Fraš.hąm.varəta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/41). Hinz (ASN 193-194) argues, however, that Ir. /fra/ is mostly rendered by Pír-ra- and reconstructs *Pṛsavṛta-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1346) only refers to Gershevitch. Hinz (l.c.) prefers *Pṛsa-vṛta-, "punishment-hero", to Av. *pərəθa-*, "punishment".
– Elamite: Pír-šá-mar-da: PF 769:3; PFNN 1262:3-4.

4.2.1227 *Parθara-: *Parθa-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Parθa-, "Parthian" (OnP 8.1297; ASN 181). Cf. 4.3.153.
– Elamite: Bar-sa-ra: PF 514:2, 1945:1; PFNN 700:4, 2121:2, 2124:8, 2298:32.

4.2.1228 *Parθauka- / *Parθōka-: *Parθ-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Parθa- (Weber, apud OnP 8.1298; ASN 181).
Gershevitch (1969: 220) reconstructs *Fraθauka-. Hinz (ASN 181) considers El. Bar-du-uk-ka$_4$ to be the rendering of *Pṛθuka-, but Hinz & Koch (ElW 148) argue that both spellings reflect one name.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 115:2-3; PFNN 2215:2-3.
2) Bar-sa-uk-ka$_4$: PF 348:2, 1555:2-3, 1556:3; PFNN 282:2, 1497:3-4.

4.2.1229 *Paruča-: *Paru-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Paru- name (ElW 161). Cf. 4.3.154.
– Elamite: Ba-ru-iz-za: PFNN 2277:6.

4.2.1230 *Parudaθa- (OP): *Paru-daθa-, "having many possessions" (Gershevitch 1969: 221; OnP 8.1290; ASN 181).
– Elamite: Bar-ru-da-sa: PF 2011:9,25; PFNN 2211:22 (Bar-<ru>-°),30,37,45-46, 2299:17, 2337:20,21,29,38-39.

4.2.1231 *Parufarnā: nom. sg. of *Paru-farnah-, "with much glory" (ElW 157).
– Elamite: Bar-ru-bar-na: PFNN 2490:25.

4.2.1232 *Parugučīš (fem.): < *Paru-gu-č-iyā-, "possessing much cattle".
Gershevitch (1969: 219) reconstructs *Paru-xauzī-, "having many dresses" and refers to Khotanese *khauysa-*, "dress". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1292) dislikes this reconstruction. Hinz (ASN 181) reads *Paru-gauzī-š, "she who conceals much".
– Elamite: Bar-ru-ku-iz-zí-iš: PF 1226:7; PFNN 358:6.

4.2.1233 *Paruguš: *Paru-gu-š, "possessing much cattle" (Zadok 1990 and 1995: 159).
Zadok (1981-82: 137) pleads for *Bara-gau-, "cattle raiser". Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 108) prefers *Fra-gauša-.
– Babylonian: Pa-ra-gu-šú: EE 35:10.

4.2.1234 *Paruhāta-: *Paru-hāta-, "having much wealth" (ASN 182).
Most authors (Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 111) identify this name with *Pauruhāta- (4.2.1295).
– Babylonian: Par-ru-ḫa-a-tú: BE 10 114:6,9,Lo.E.

4.2.1235 *Paruhvāθra- (Med.): *Paru-hvāθra-, "giving much comfort" (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.265; ASN 182), cf. Av. *pouru.x^{v}āθra-*.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ru-ma-ut-ra: Fort. 1020:3-4; PF 450:1-2, 571:4; PFNN 1287:4, 1454:6, 2386:2-3.
2) Ba-ru-ma-at-ra: PF 991:2.

4.2.1236 *Paruka-: *Paru-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Paru-name (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.264; ASN 182).
– Elamite: Bar-ru-uk-ka$_4$: PF 50:3-4.

4.2.1237 *Parunā: nom. sg. of *Paru-nar-, "having many men" (Schmitt 1973: 19; OnP 8.1293; ASN 182), Av. *pouru.nar-*.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ru-na: Fort. 8626:3; PF 83:1-2, 84:2, 2035:2-3; PFNN 232:2-3, 463:2-3, 1838:3, 1862:2, 2152:1-2.
2) Bar-ru-un-na: PF 2038:5.

4.2.1238 *Parupā-: *Paru-pā-, "protecting much" (ElW 157).
– Elamite: Bar(?)-ru-ib-ba: PFNN 2387:4-5.

4.2.1239 *Paruš: *Paru-š, retrenchment of a *Paru-name (OnP 8.1296; ASN 182).
– Elamite: Ba-ru-iš: PF 27:4.

4.2.1240 *Parušyātiš: *Paru-šyāti-š, "with much prosperity" (Benveniste 1966: 80; OnP 8.266; ASN 182). Cf. 4.2.1296 and Gk. Παρυσάτις, a rendering of *Parušātiš.
– Elamite:
1) [Ba]-ir-ru-ši-ia-t[i]-iš: PFNN 2379:2-3.
2) Bar-ru-ši-ia-ti-iš: PF 11:1-2, 330:2, 1303:2-3, 1704:2, 2050: 1-2; PFNN 828:2-3.
3) Ba-ru-ši-ia-ti-iš: PF 451:3-4, 1290-1294:2-3, 1296-1297:2-3, 1300-1302:2-3, 1304-1305:2-3, 1783:2; PFNN 433:2-3, 517:2-3, 1516:2-3.

4.2.1241 *Paruvasa-: *Paru-vasa-, "desiring much".
– Elamite: Bar-ru-ma-iš-šá: PFNN 1813:2.

4.2.1242 *Par(u)vaxšīš: *Par(u)va-xšī-š < *Par(u)va-xšya-, "ruling first" (ASN 183, reading *Parvaxšyā).
Gershevitch (1969b: 193) reconstructs *Fravaxši-, "stalk, stem, branch", which would, however, have been written Pír-ra-ma-ak-ši-iš (ASN 183). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1317) has doubts concerning Gershevitch's proposal.
– Elamite: Pír-ma-ak-ši-iš: PFNN 1050:3.

4.2.1243 *Par(u)viča-: *Par(u)v-iča-, *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of *Par(u)va-, "first". Cf. 4.3.160.
Gershevitch (1969: 187) doubts between *Par(u)vya- and *Fravya-, but McKenzie (1971: 609) points to a possible connection with Gk. Παρμίσης, hence his reconstruction *Par(u)vya-. Hinz (ASN 183, following Benveniste 1934: 191-192), however, rightfully claims that Παρμίσης renders *Parumisa- and that it cannot belong to the name discussed here. Hinz himself reads *Parvya-ča-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1319) remains undecisive. Schmitt (2006: 266) defends the identification with the Greek name and reconstructs *Pa̯rmiča-, for which he, however, does not have an etymology.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-mi-iz-za: PF 1771:2.
2) Pír-mi-iz-za: PF 194:3-4.

4.2.1244 *Par(u)vita-: *Par(u)v-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Par(u)va- (ASN 183).
Gershevitch's (1969: 219) reconstruction *Parv-ida- (< *Paru-id-, Av. **pouru-iz-*, "wanting much") is questioned by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1277).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-mi-taš: PFNN 946:3.
2) Bar-mi-ud-da: PF 292:5.

4.2.1245 *Par(u)vitāna-: *Par(u)vita-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Par(u)vita- (Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.1276; ASN 183).
– Elamite: Bar-mi-da-na: PF 1986:3.

4.2.1246 *Par(u)vyāna-: *Par(u)v-ya-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Par(u)v-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Par(u)va- (Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.1279; ASN 183).
– Elamite: Bar-mi-ia-na: PF 1986:25-26,28,42; PFNN 2206:1,29.

4.2.1247 *Par(u)vyapāta-: *Par(u)vya-pāta-, "protected by the first ones" (Benveniste 1966: 90) or "firstly protected".
Gershevitch (1969: 219) reconstructs *Fravya-pāda-, "fleet-foot", but that would appear as Pír-ra-° (ASN 184). Hinz (ASN 184) reads *Par(u)vyapada-, "first step", because in his view -bad-da- must render a short vowel. That, however, is not right, cf. 4.2.299.
– Elamite:
1) Pír-ma-ia-ba-da: PF 406:3.
2) Pír-ma-ia-bad-da: PF 1695:3.

4.2.1248 *Par(u)vyuka-: *Par(u)v-y-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Par(u)v-ya- (ASN 184, reading *Parvyauka-).

Another etymology is *Parvyaka- (Gershevitch 1969: 219), to Av. *paouruiia-*, "first", of which Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1275) is very doubtful. Hinz (ASN 184) adds to this that UK always retains its vocalic value and does not participate in "broken writings" (where the second sign frequently loses its vocalic value).

– Elamite: Bar-me-uk-ka$_4$: PF 20:2, 21:2-3.

4.2.1249 *Pasiča-: *Pas-iča-, *-ič̆a-*hypocoristic of *Pasā-, "coming after" (Gershevitch 1969: 187; ASN 186; these authors read *Pasaiča-).

Hinz (ASN 186) also mentions *Pašyaiča-.

– Elamite: Ba-ši-iz-za: PFNN 516:3-4.

4.2.1250 *Pasuka- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Paθuka- (ElW 127). Cf. 4.2.1289.

– Elamite:
  1) Ba-iš-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1322:3-4.
  2) Ba-šu-ka$_4$: PFNN 2289:3,18,24, 2494:3.
  3) Ba-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2270:4.

4.2.1251 *Pāta-: retrenchment of a *Pāta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.176; ASN 184; Bordreuil 1986: 105).

– Aramaic: Pt: Bordreuil 1986 137.
– Elamite:
  1) Ba-ad-da: PF 1800:6, 1941:15, 2084:6; PFNN 2268:11,18,27, 2290:33, 2487:27.
  2) Ba-ud-da: PF 618:6; PFNN 541:12, 1456:12.

4.2.1252 *Pātagasta-: *Pāta-gasta-, "protected against distress" (NW 108; OnP 8.1777; ASN 184).

Gershevitch (1969: 223) reconstructs *Pādagašta-, which Gusmani (1971: 4) connects with the Lydian name Bantakašaš.

– Elamite: Ba-ud-da-kaš-da: PF 1130:4-5.

4.2.1253 *Pātaka-: *Pāta-ka-, *-ka-*extension of a retrenchment of a *Pāta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.175).

Hinz & Koch (ElW 112) also mention *Bātaka-.

– Elamite: Ba-at-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2195:14.

4.2.1254 *Pātardāta-: *Pātar-dāta-, "given by the guardian, protector" (Zadok 1995: 159).

Zadok (l.c.) also mentions *Pāθra-dāta-, "created by protection" (with anaptyxis).

– Babylonian: Pat-i-ri-da-a-ta: ROMCT 2 35:2,5,8.

4.2.1255 *Patibrīra-: *Pati-brīra-, "counter-yielding" (Gershevitch 1969: 224; OnP 8.287; ASN 185).

– Elamite: Bat-ti-pír-ri-ra: PFNN 541:10, 1548:3-4 (Bat-ti-pír-<ri>-ra).

4.2.1256 *Patiča-: *Pati-ča-, *-č̆a-*hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Pati-name (ASN 185).

Gershevitch (apud Zadok 1976b: 77; also Dandamayev 1992: 112) consider *Patizā-, "the desirous".

– Babylonian: Pa-ti-za-': Camb. 384:7.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-iz-za: PFNN 1022:25, 1724:6-7.

4.2.1257 *Patičāta-: *Pati-ča-āta-, *-āta-*extension of *Patiča-.

Zadok (1986: 42) refers to Av. *paitištā-*, "living place", but Schmitt (1987: 153) does not accept this.

– Aramaic: Ptšt: ATNS 66a:5.

4.2.1258 *Patidbēša-: < *Patidbaiša- < *Pati-dvaiša-, "opponent, adversary (of the enemy)" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.295; ASN 189). Cf. Av. *paitibiši-*, a development from **paiti-dviši-*. This lexeme is a transitional form still having the cluster /db/ < */dv/, a cluster which finally evolved to /b/. Cf. 4.2.8 and 4.2.1158.

Despite the general reconstruction *Patitbaiša-, I believe a cluster /db/ (both voiced consonants) is more plausible.

– Elamite:
  1) Bat-ti-ud-be-iš-šá: PF 1952:8.
  2) Bat-ti-ud-be-šá: PFNN 1594:3.

4.2.1259 *Patifrāda-: *Pati-frāda-, "furthering" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.288; ASN 186).

– Elamite:
  1) Bat-ti-ip-ra-da: PF 1918:5-7; PFNN 122:2-3.
  2) Bat-ti-pír-ra-da: PFNN 159:6-7,9-10.

4.2.1260 *Patika-: *Pati-ka-, *-ka-*hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Pati-name (Benveniste 1966: 81; Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.281; ASN 187).

– Elamite:
  1) Bat-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PF 253:6; PFNN 2208:15-16.
  2) Ba-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 2364:16.

4.2.1261 *Patikāma-: *Pati-kāma-, "the wanted" (Benveniste 1966: 81; Gershevitch 1969: 222; OnP 8.279; ASN 187), cf. OInd. *prati-kāmá-*.

Concerning the spellings 1 and 2 Gershevitch (1969: 222) and Hinz (NW 108; ASN 186) have other ideas. Gershevitch proposes *Paθi-gami-, an *-i-*patronymic of *Paθi-gama-, "path-walker". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.271) does not accept this proposal. Hinz reconstructs *Pātigavya-, "cattle-protector".

– Elamite:
  1) Ba-ti-ka$_4$-maš: PF 845:5-6.
  2) Ba-ti-ka$_4$-mi-iš: PF 1916:2-3. Inaccurate spelling or rendering of *Patikamīš.
  3) Bat-ti-ka$_4$-ma: PF 233:8-9, 1958:4; PFNN 2541:13,33.

4.2.1262 *Patikāmaiča-: *Patikām-aiča-, *-aič̆a-*hypocoristic of *Patikāma- (ASN 87).

Gershevitch (1969: 223) prefers *Patikāma-aisa-, "lording it at will", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.280) is not convinced by this proposal.

– Elamite: Bat-ti-ka$_4$-ma-a-šá: PF 49:4-5.

4.2.1263 *Patikṛsa- (Med.): *Pati-kṛsa-, "the meagre".
Benveniste (1966: 81; also ASN 187) reconstructs *Patikṛša-, "Furchenzieher", to Av. *karša-*. Gershevitch (1969: 223) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.282) identify this name with the next one.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ti-kur^{ir}-šá: PFNN 1597:9-10.
2) Ba-ti-kur-šá: PFNN 2370:35-36.
3) Bat-ti-kur-šá: PF 453:3-4.

4.2.1264 *Patikṛza-: *Pati-kṛza-, "archer" (Gershevitch 1969: 223; ASN 187).
Benveniste (1966: 81) mentions *Patigṛza-, "he who complains" or *Pati-kṛša-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.282) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-kur-za: PF 179:3-4, 1831:7-8.

4.2.1265 *Patikuka-: *Pati-k-uka-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Patikāma-.
Gershevitch (1969: 222) mentions *Paθu-gau-ka-, "owner, *or* herder, of sheep and cattle", but this does not correspond with the spelling with TUK. Hinz prefers *Pātigau-ka-, "cattle protector" (NW 108; ASN 186).
– Elamite: Bat-tuk-ku-ka$_4$: PF 1336:4.

4.2.1266 *Pātimāna-: *Pāti-māna-, "protecting the house" (ASN 187), cf. 4.3.162 and the loanword **pātimānīš* (4.4.7.86).
Benveniste (1966: 81) connects the name with NP *paimān*, "relative". Gershevitch (1969: 223) prefers *Paθī-mana-, < *Paθiya-mana-, to Av. *paiθimna-*, "he who is in control". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.272) is doubtful of this meaning.
– Elamite: Ba-ti-ma-na: PF 1623:4.

4.2.1267 *Pātimānava-: *Pātimāna-va-, *-va*-extension of *Pātimāna-.
– Elamite: Bat-ti(?)-man(?)-nu-ma(?): PF 2018:24.

4.2.1268 *Pātimānča-: *Pāti-mān-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Pātimāna-.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-man-za: PFNN 2290:21.

4.2.1269 *Patinaida- (OP): *Pati-naida-, "javelin thrower" (OnP 8.285; ASN 188).
Benveniste (1966: 81) prefers *Pati-nāda-. Gershevitch (1969: 223) connects it with Av. *naēd-*, "to abuse".
– Elamite: Bat-ti-na-a-da: PF 1083:2.

4.2.1270 *Patināša-: *Pati-nāša-, "he who supports" (ASN 188; Zadok 1977: 93 and n.22; Dandamayev 1992: 113). Cf. 4.3.163.
Benveniste (1958b: 55 and 1966: 81) reconstructs *Patināsa-, to Av. *nās-*, "to achieve". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.286) is doubtful of this.
– Babylonian:
1) Pa-at-na-a-šú: CT 4 34d:3.
2) Pa-at-ti-na-a-šú: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:14.
3) Pa-at-ta-na-šú: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:L.E.
– Elamite:
1) Bat-ti-na-iš-šá: PT 69:5, 1963-18:4-5.

2) Bat-ti-na-šá: PF 452:5; PFNN 2200:21, 2363:20; PT 9a:7-8, 51:5-6, 1963-5:7-8.

4.2.1271 *Patināšāna-: *Pati-nāš-āna-, patronymic of *Pati-nāša- (Zadok 1991: 40).
– Aramaic: Ptnšn: TAD B 8.5:16.

4.2.1272 *Patiramfa-: *Pati-ramfa-, "counterattacker" (OnP 8.289; ASN 188), Gk. Πατιράμφης (IN 245).
– Elamite:
1) Bat-ti-ra-am-pa: Fort. 6575:3-4.
2) Bat-ti-ra-um-pa: PFNN 1413:2.

4.2.1273 *Patirapa-: *Pati-rapa-, "supporter" (Benveniste 1966: 81; NW 112; ElW 172).
This name and the preceding one were always considered identical: *Patirapa- (Benveniste 1966: 81; NW 112) or *Pati-ramfa- (OnP 8.289 and 8.290; ASN 188). Hinz & Koch (ElW 172) separate both names.
– Elamite:
1) Bat-ti-ráp-pa: PF 1965:4.
2) Bat-ti-re-eb-ba: PFNN 897:2. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.1274 *Patispāra-: *Pati-spāra-, "bringing extra abundance".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 169) reconstruct *Patišbara-.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-iš-bar-ra: PFNN 2352:19.

4.2.1275 *Patiš: *Pati-š, "the lord" (Gershevitch 1969: 224; ASN 185) or a retrenchment of a name containing **pati-* (OnP 8.676; ASN 185).
– Elamite: Bat-ti-iš: PF 306:3-4, 331:9-10, 1011:5, 1957:34,37, 1978:6-7,8-9; PFNN 258:7.

4.2.1276 *Patištāna-: *Pati-štāna-, "having the position of a lord" (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 68; Eilers 1940: 15n.1; ASN 189; Dandamayev 1992: 112).
Benveniste (1966: 81) reconstructs *Patistāna-, "support", while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.293) prefers Av. *paitištāna-*, "dwelling, living place".
– Babylonian: Pa-ti-iš-ta-na-$^{?}$: BE 9 74:6 (Pa-ti-[iš]-ta-na-$^{?}$),12.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-iš-da-na: PF 515:3, 1946:57,59,61 (°-da-<na>), 2017:3; PFNN 1002:26.

4.2.1277 *Pativaka-: *Pativa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pativa-, a retrenchment of the Av. PN Paiti.vaŋha- (OnP 8.283; Mayrhofer 1979: I/67).
Gershevitch (1969b: 193) reconstructs *Pativaka-, "the responsive", to Av. *paitiuak-*. Hinz (ASN 191) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 1134:2-3.

4.2.1278 *Pativēθa- (OP): < *Pati-vaiθa-, "the knight" (ElW 171).
– Elamite: Bat-ti-me-sa: PFNN 2478:43-44.

4.2.1279 *Pativīda-: *Pati-vīda-, "the participating".

– Babylonian: Pa-at-te-mi-du: PT 85:rev.1.

4.2.1280 *Pativrāda- (OP): *Pati-vrāda-, "over-joyful" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.296; ASN 189).
– Elamite: Bat-ti-ú-ra-da: PF 453:2-3; PFNN 2395:2.

4.2.1281 *Pat(i)yasa- (OP) / *Patīsa-: OP equivalent of *Pat(i)yaspa- (Gershevitch 1969: 224; OnP 8.274; ASN 185).
Gershevitch (l.c) reconstructs the spellings 2 and 3 as *Paθyaiša-, "path-seeker", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.274) rightfully connects them with this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-te-šá: PFNN 1503:3.
2) Bat-te-iš-šá: PF 1356:3.
3) Bat-te-šá: PF 1357:2.
4) Bat-ti-áš-šá: PF 1394:3; PFNN 1656:1-2.
5) Bat-ti-ia-iš-šá: PFNN 1385:2.
6) Bat-ti-iš-šá: PF 1129:2, 1570:2, 1942:19; PFNN 408:2, 726:53, 1241:3, 2172:4.

4.2.1282 *Pat(i)yaspa- (Med.) / *Patīspa-: *Pat(i)y-aspa-, "being equal to a horse" (Benveniste 1966: 81; Gershevitch 1969: 224; OnP 8.276; ASN 185). Median equivalent of *Pat(i)yasa-.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ti-iš-ba: PFNN 2364:14.
2) Bat-ti-áš-ba: PF 1990:11.
3) Bat-ti-ia-áš-ba: PFNN 1015:5.
4) Bat-ti-iš-ba: PF 1961:33; PFa 4:2.

4.2.1283 *Patiyayaka-: *Patiy-aya-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Patiy-aya-, "he who turns against the enemy".
– Elamite: Bat-ti-e-ia-ka$_4$: PFa 29:49.

4.2.1284 *Pāθaiča-: *Pāθ-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Pāθa-, "the arrow" (Mayrhofer, in a letter to D. Weber, 23/3/1975; ASN 190).
Gershevitch (1969: 222) mentions *Paθā-yaza-, "performing the sacrifice later" and *Paθā-aiča-, but the latter is an unlikely reconstruction (cf. *Pāθaka-).
– Elamite: Ba-sa-a-za: PF 658:10.

4.2.1285 *Pāθaka-: *Pāθa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pāθa- (ASN 190).
Gershevitch (1969: 221) wants to recognize an OP equivalent of *Pasā-, "after", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.267) points to the strange character of an OP variant **paθā-* of an already attested OP *pasā-*.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-sa-ak-ka$_4$: Fort. 1021:10-11; PF 26:2, 552:9-10, 553-554:8-9; PFNN 1624:2, 2520:2-3.
2) Ba-sa-ka$_4$: PF 291:9, 435:9-10, 824:2, 1253:2-3, 1254-1255:3; PFNN 754:12-13.

4.2.1286 *Pāθāta-: *Pāθa-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Pāθa- (ElW 162).
– Elamite: Ba-sa-da: PFNN 852:4.

4.2.1287 *Paθēša-: < *Paθ-aiša-, "path-seeker" (Zadok 1977: 101 and n.109; Dandamayev 1992: 112; both authors reconstruct *Paθy-aiša-).
According to Schmitt (2006: 271) it is an Egyptian name, also rendered by Gk. Πετῆσις. Yet one would expect a spelling Pe-te-e-šú in Babylonian.
– Babylonian: Pa-te-e-šú: BE 10 33:4 (°-[e-šú]), 37:3; EE 109:5.

4.2.1288 *Paθnīyēša- (Med.): < *Paθnī-aiša-, "looking for a wife" (Tavernier 2001: no.2).
According to Zadok (1977: 99) the name begins with *Pati-.
– Babylonian: Pa-at-ni-e-ša: TCL 13 186:17.

4.2.1289 *Paθuka- (OP): *Paθu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Paθu-, "sheep or/and goat" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; ASN 191). Cf. 4.2.1250.
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1302; also Schmitt 1998: 188) pleads for *Pātaka or *Pātuka-, which he considers as hypocoristics of a retrenchment e.g. *Baga-pāta-. Hinz (ASN 191) mentions *Faθauka-, "granting beautiful use" (Av. *x^{v}āsaoka-*), but this is improbable.
– Elamite: Pa-tu-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 693:2.

4.2.1290 *Paθurāda-: *Paθu-rāda-, "he who takes care of the sheep and/or goat" (NW 49; ASN 191).
Gershevitch (1969: 224) mentions *Bātu-rāda-, "wine-preparer". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.179) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Bad-du-ra-da: PF 2056:3; PFNN 1539:2-3.

4.2.1291 *Paθuš (OP): *Paθu-š, "sheep and/or goat" (Gershevitch 1969: 224; ASN 191).
According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.297) this etymology is questionable.
– Elamite:
1) Bad-du-iš: PF 1873:3-4; PFNN 1323:3-4, 2429:3-4.
2) Bat-tu$_4$-iš: PF 256:3-4, 1040:2; PFNN 1334:2.

4.2.1292 *Paθvaka-: *Paθva-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Paθva-, a variant of *Paθu- (NW 107; Schmitt 1974: 108; ASN 191).
Gershevitch (1969: 223) reconstructs *Pāda(h)vā-ka- (Av. *pāzahuuaṇt-*).
– Elamite:
1) Bad-du-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1796:6-7; PFNN 2492:21.
2) Bad-du-ma-ka$_4$: PF 26:3; PFNN 1480:3,44-45.

4.2.1293 *Paθvāna-: *Paθva-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Paθva- (ElW 115).
– Elamite: Bad-du-ma-na: OGWA 321-322:11.

4.2.1294 *Paurubāta-: *Pauru-bāta-, "he who has much wine" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 133; NW 49; ASN 191).
– Aramaic: Pwr[b]t: Pers 68:2.

4.2.1295 *Pauruhāta-: *Pauru-hāta-, "having much richness" (ASN 182), same name as *Paruhāta- (4.2.1234), but with epenthesis (Eilers 1971c: 281-282).
– Babylonian:
1) Pu-ru-ḫa-a-tú: PBS 2/1 158:Lo.E.
2) Pu-ur-ḫa-at: BE 10 58:14.
3) Pu-ur-ḫa-a-tú: PBS 2/1 158:24.

4.2.1296 *Paurušātiš: *Pauru-šāti-š, same name as *Parušyātiš (4.2.1240), but with epenthesis (Eilers 1940: 15n.6 and 1971c: 281, reconstructing *Pauru-šyātiš) and *_šāti-_, a variant of *_šyāti-_.
Most authors (Grantovskij 1970: 195-196; ASN 182; Dandamayev 1992: 116) make the mistake not to recognize the epenthesis. Schmitt (2006: 119) prefers a labialization of /a/ after /p/ instead of an epenthesis.
– Babylonian:
1) Pu-ru-'-šá-ti-iš: PBS 2/1 60:2,5,8.
2) Pu-ru-šá-a-tú: PBS 2/1 75:3.
3) Pu-ru-uš-šá-a-tú: BE 10 97:14,Lo.E.; PBS 2/1 50:6.
4) Pu-ru-uš-ti-iš: BE 10 131:27; PBS 2/1 146:27 (°uš-<ti>-iš), 147:27,U.E.
5) Pur-ru-šá-a-ta: VAT 15618:2,13 (reference M.W. Stolper).
6) Pu-ur-šá-a-tú: PBS 2/1 38:Lo.E., 119:12; TuM 2/3 185:2,39,12.

4.2.1297 *Pavā-: "the pure" (Zadok 1976: 69; Dandamayev 1992: 107).
– Babylonian: Pa-mu-ú: VS 6 187:18.

4.2.1298 *Pavasāmaka-: *Pava-sāma-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Pava-sāma-, "protecting the Sāma-family". *Pava- originates from Av. *pauuaṇt-*, "protecting" and *Sāma- is an Avestan family name (Mayrhofer 1979: I/75).
– Aramaic: Pwsmk: TAD D 9.11:5.

4.2.1299 *Pavasta-: "the skin" (ElW 233).
– Elamite: Bu-maš(?)-da(?): PFNN 2475:3.

4.2.1300 *Pavē-: < *Pavā-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Pavā-.
Zadok (1976: 69) and Dandamayev (1992: 107) prefer *Pav-iya-, but Babylonian ME renders /mē/ or /vē/.
– Babylonian: Pa-me-e: EE 7:6',Lo.E.

4.2.1301 *Pāya-: retrenchment of a *Pāya-name (ElW 175).
– Elamite: Ba-ia: PFNN 2277:11.

4.2.1302 *Pāyuka-: *Pāyu-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pāyu-, "protector" (Gershevitch 1969: 215; OnP 8.300; Schmitt 1973b: 145; ASN 192), cf. OInd. Pāyú- (SED 619).
– Elamite:

1) Ba-a-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2079:2.
2) Ba-a-ú-ka$_4$: PF 778:5.
3) Ba-a-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1378:5-6.

4.2.1303 *Pēsakāta-: < *Paisa-ka-āta-, hypocoristic of a name containing *Paisa-, "ornament".
– Elamite: Be-za-ka$_4$-da: PF 1454:2. Slightly inaccurate spelling with ZA.

4.2.1304 *Pēvṛdi-: < of *Pāya-vṛdi-, "protecting the happiness" (Tavernier 2001: no.3).
Hinz (ASN 177) does not comment on this name.
– Babylonian: Pe-e-mar-di-': Dar. 427:20.

4.2.1305 *Pista-: "flour" (ElW 198), cf. 4.4.19.11.
– Elamite: Pi-i[š]-da: PFNN 1536:3-4.

4.2.1306 *Piš(i)ya-: *Piši-ya-, *-ya*-extension of the element *_piši-_ (OnP 8.1358; Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 93; Dandamayev 1992: 114), which also occurs in the Av. anthroponym Piši.šiiaoθna- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/71). The meaning of *_piši-_ is unknown.
Some scholars (Gershevitch 1969: 222; ASN 192; Schmitt 1994: 86) reconstruct *Piçya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Piça-, "father(ly)", and refer to *Piθrya- (4.2.1314). In that case, however, the Babylonian spelling exceptionally renders an Old Persian name. A relation to the Av. anthroponym Pisinah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/71) is also possible, at least for the El. spellings.
– Babylonian:
1) Pi-iš-ši-ia: Dar. 534:7, 542:7.
2) Pí-ši-ia[136]: HSM 1909.6.601:1,5,8.
– Elamite:
1) Pi-šá-a: Fort. 3666:3; PF 1178:2, 1190:3; PFNN 1589:2, 2530:3.
2) Pi-ši-ia: PF 660:10-11, 1375:3; PFNN 398:3, 2341:30, 2346:2, 2352:17-18.

4.2.1307 *Pitabarva-: *Pita-barva-, "cherishing his father" (ASN 192).
Gershevitch (1969: 223-224) prefers *Bīda-barva-, "seed-chewer", with *Bīda- being the OP equivalent of *Bīza-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1307) rejects this because of the Reiner-test.
– Elamite:
1) Pi-da-bar-ma: PT 1963-4:x+14, 1963-8:x+6.
2) Pi-ud-da-bar-ma: PT 15:29-30, 18:27, 22:23-24, 27:24 (Pi-<<pi>>-ud-°).

[136] Collation by Zadok. The former reading was Bi-mi-ia, which Zadok (1997d: no.3) analyzed as a *-ya*-extension of *Bīm-, "frightening".

4.2.1308 *Pitača-: *Pita-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Pitar- (nom. sg. *pitā*; ASN 193).

An alternative possibility is *Bīda-ča- (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1306).

– Elamite: Pi-da(?)-za: PF 1961:30.

4.2.1309 *Pitaka-: *Pita-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pitar- (ASN 193).

Gershevitch (1969: 222) pleads for *Bīdaka-, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1305) has doubts. Hinz (ASN 193) also mentions *Pītaka-, "the yellow one", to OInd. *pītaka-*.

– Elamite:

1) Pi-da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1431:2.
2) Pi-da-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2507:2.
3) Pi-da-ka$_4$: PF 349:2, 350:3; PFNN 893:3, 1696:4.
4) Pi-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1432:2, 2018:11,44, 2076:39.
5) Pi-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 170:4-5, 1430:4-5, 1986:26,28,42, 2018:8; PFNN 762:33, 2206:29, 2490:36.

4.2.1310 *Pitavasa-: *Pita-vasa-, "desiring his father".

– Babylonian: Pi-ta-ma-a-su: YBC 11611:17 (reference M.W. Stolper).

4.2.1311 *Pitēča-: < *Pit-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Pitar- (ASN 193).

Gershevitch (1969: 187) reconstructs *Bīdaiča-, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1359) rightfully points to its disagreement with the Reiner-test.

– Elamite:

1) Pi-te-ez-za: Fort. 8621:1-2, PF 378:2-3, 1708:2-3; PFNN 1435:2-3.
2) Pi-te-za: PFNN 2368:13.
3) Pi-ut-te-ez-za: PF 1368:2; PFNN 1624:1-2.

4.2.1312 *Pitēna-: < *Pit-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Pitar- (EIW 224).

– Elamite: Pi-te-na: PFNN 1388:3.

4.2.1313 *Pitukṛta-: *Pitu-kṛta-, "cutting the food".

Zadok (2004: 113-114) mentions *Patikara-, "image" and *Patikṛta-, "solemn naming" (Av. *kərəta-*).

– Babylonian: Pi-ti-ku-ur-tu$_4$: BM 96217:7.

– Elamite:

1) Pi-du-kar-da: PFNN 1057:23.
2) Pi-du-kur-da: PFNN 2265:10.

4.2.1314 *Piθrya- (Med.): "the paternal", adjectival derivation from **pitar-*, with the development of /tr/ to /θr/ (Zadok 1976d: 215 and 1977: 110 and 229; Dandamayev 1992: 114).

– Babylonian: Pit-ri-ia: EE 19:6.

4.2.1315 *Pṛsanta-: "the asking one".

– Elamite: Pír-šá-an-da: PFNN 1977:4-5.

4.2.1316 *Pṛsuka- (Med.): *Pṛsu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Pṛsu- (Gershevitch 1969: 220; OnP 8.1347; ASN 194).

– Elamite: Pír-šu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1177:2-3.

4.2.1317 *Pṛsuš (Med.): *Pṛsu-š, "flank", retrenched name (Gershevitch 1969: 220; OnP 8.1348).

Gershevitch also mentions *Frašu-, "the mobile", which, however, would rather have been written Pír-ra-°. Hallock's transliteration of PFNN 762:23 is Zab-ba-iš-mar (Zab-ba-iš is an Elamite name) and based on that Hinz & Koch (EIW 221) wonder whether this spelling should not be generalized. The answer is no: in most texts the second sign is doubtlessly šu, which corroborates a reading Pír-šu-iš (Stolper, pers. comm. 17/08/2000).

– Elamite: Pír-šu-iš: PF 1958:14, 1960:2, 1961:26, 2078:4-5 (Pír-šu-ma); PFNN 762:23 (Pír-ba-iš), 2358:13, 2490:24.

4.2.1318 *Pṛtaka-: *Pṛta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Pṛta-, "warrior".

– Elamite: Pír-tan-ka$_4$: PF 1968:14; PFNN 548:12.

4.2.1319 *Pṛtēna-: < *Pṛt-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Pṛta-, "warrior" (EIW 221).

– Elamite:

1) Pír-te-na: PFNN 510:6, 1275:3, 2493:23.
2) Pír-tu$_4$-na: PFNN 1856:2.

4.2.1320 *Pṛθukāna- (OP): *Pṛθu-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Pṛθu-ka-, the OP equivalent of *Pṛsu-ka- (OnP 8.1313; ASN 194).

Gershevitch (1969: 220) mentions *Pṛtu-kana-, "tunnel-digger" and *Pṛtu-ka-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Pṛtu-ka-.

– Elamite: Pír-du-ka$_4$-na: PF 1579:2.

4.2.1321 *Pṛθva-: "broadly-built" (NW 114; Schmitt 1974: 108; ASN 194).

Gershevitch (1969: 221) reconstructs *Fratama-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1314) believes in a hypocoristic of a *Pṛθu-name.

– Elamite: Pír-du-ma: PF 470:3-4; PFNN 314:4-5.

4.2.1322 *Puθra- (Med.): "the son" (Zadok 1986: 42).

– Aramaic: Ptr: ATNS 64b:14.

4.2.1323 *Rādamēθa-: < *Rāda-maiθa-, "readying the home" (ASN 195), Gk. Ῥαδαμασις (Zgusta 1955: 136).

Benveniste (1966: 81) pleads for *Raθavaisa-, "chariot-knight", but that should be written Ra-sa-me-sa (ASN 195). Gershevitch's (1969: 227) reconstruction is *Rāda-vaiθa-, "having willing servants". Based on the Greek attestation (with μ) of this name Hinz proposes *Rādamaiθa-. In Mayrhofer's (OnP 8.1385) view this name is unclear.

– Elamite: Ra-da-me-sa: PF 1945:12.

4.2.1324 *Rādaya-: causative to **rād-*, "to ready" (OnP 8.1386; ASN 195).

A connection with Av. *rādaiia(t)-karša-* is proposed by Gershevitch (1969: 228). Schmitt (1972b: 145 and 1972f: 92) prefers *Raθaya- or *Raθai-a-, a patronymic.

– Elamite: Ra-da-a-ia: PF 1373:2-3.

4.2.1325 *Rafsuka- (Med.): *Rafs-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a PN *Virafsa- (OnP 8.1409; ASN 195, reading *Rafs-auka-). Cf. 4.2.1893.

Based on the OInd. hapax legomenon *rapsúdā-*, the meaning of which is not certain, Gershevitch (1969: 225) reconstructs *Rapšuka-, "the shapely".

– Elamite: Ráp-šu-ka$_4$: PF 1420:3.

4.2.1326 *Rafsya- (Med.): *Rafs-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a personal name *Virafsa- (ElW 1029).

– Elamite: Ráp-ši-ia: PFNN 2273:8.

4.2.1327 *Rafθakā- (OP; fem.): *Rafθa-kā-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a PN *Virafθa- (OnP 8.1408; ASN 196; Tremblay 2004: 135). Cf. 4.2.1893.

Gershevitch (1969: 225) reconstructs *Rafšakā-, "the turgescent", to OInd. *rapšád-ūdhan-*, "having turgescent udders".

– Elamititsch: Ra-ap-sa-ka$_4$: PF 2038:23.

4.2.1328 *Ragvēna-: < *Ragva-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Ragva-, "the swift" (Zadok 1976: 68; Dandamayev 1992: 116).

– Babylonian: Ra-ga-mi-en: UET 4 117:11.

4.2.1329 *Raibaka- / *Rēbaka-: *Raiba-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Raiba-, "cunning" (ASN 196). Cf. NP Rēv (IN 260).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1434) recognizes the Iranian character of this name.

– Aramaic: Ryb[k]: Pers 122:2.

– Elamite: Re-ba-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1626:3; PFNN 1659:4, 2232:4.

4.2.1330 *Raikuš: *Raiku-š, "the abandoned child, foundling" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; ASN 196).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1392) questions this etymology.

– Elamite:

1) Ra-a-ku-iš: PF 351:3
2) Ra-uk-ku-iš: PF 359:3.

4.2.1331 *Raivačiça- (OP) / *Rēvačiça-: *Raiva-čiça-, "of distinguished lineage" (Cameron 1958: 176; OnP 8.1399 and 8.1437; ASN 196).

– Elamite:

1) Ra-a-ma-ti-iš: PFNN 2353:3,16-17.
2) Ra-a-ma-zí-šá: PT 1963-8:5.
3) Re-ma-ti-iš: PF 489:4-5.
4) Re-ma-zí-iš-šá: PT 1957-4:9-10.

4.2.1332 *Raivačiθra- (Med.): *Raiva-čiθra-, "of distinguished lineage" (Cameron 1948: 100; Benveniste 1966: 92; ASN 196), Av. *raēuuas.čiθra-*.

– Elamite: Ra-a-ma-zí-is-ra: PT 10a:5-6.

4.2.1333 *Raivādāta- (OP) / *Rēvādāta-: *Raiva-ādāta-, "rich and distinguished" (OnP 8.1435; Mayrhofer 1975: 415-416; ASN 196), cf. NP Čihr-āzād (IN 163).

– Elamite:

1) Ra-a-ma-da-ud-da: PFNN 2261:10.
2) Re-ma-da-ad-da: PF 1313:3-4.

4.2.1334 *Rajiya-: gentilic of Ragā-, used as personal name (OnP 8.1431; ASN 197), with palatalisation before /i/.

Gershevitch (1969: 228) reconstructs *Rāz-iya-, an *-iya*-hypocoristic of an abbreviation of **rāzakara-*.

– Elamite: Ra-zí-ia: PF 1061:2, 1279:2 ([R]a-°); PFa 29:40; PFNN 2196:15.

4.2.1335 *Rajiyaka-: *Rajiya-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Rajiya- (ElW 1035).

– Elamite: Ra-zí-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 888:3-4.

4.2.1336 *Rāmaçā- (OP): *Rāma-çā-, "protecting peace".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1027) reconstruct *Rāmāsa-.

– Elamite: Ra(?)-ma-šá: PFNN 2337:3.

4.2.1337 *Rāmadahyuš: *Rāma-dahyu-š, "having a peaceful land" (Gershevitch 1969: 225; OnP 8.1393; ASN 197).

– Elamite: Ra-ma-da-a-ú-iš: PF 175:3-4.

4.2.1338 *Rāmaka-: *Rāma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Rāma-name (Gershevitch 1969: 225; OnP 8.1395; ASN 197; Zadok 1998: 814; Lipiński 2004: 193).

– Aramaic: Rmk: AOI 193:2.

– Elamite: Ra-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1587:3.

4.2.1339 *Rāmakara-: *Rāma-kara-, "peace-maker" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1394; ASN 197).

– Elamite:

1) Am-ma-ak-ka$_4$-ra: PF 1534:3 (Error for Ra-ma-°).
2) Ra-ma-ka$_4$-ra: PF 1943:19.
3) Ra-ma-kur-ra: PF 1507:2-3.

4.2.1340 *Rāmaniš: *Rāma-n-i-š, an *-i*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Rāma-name.

Benveniste (1966: 91; also Gershevitch 1969: 225; ElW 1027) identifies this name with *Rāman(i)ya- and prefers **Rāma-ni-* (Av. *nay-*, "to lead"). Gershevitch (l.c.) prefers an *-i*-stem of *Rāman-.

– Elamite: Ra-man-iš: PF 384:2.

4.2.1341 *Rāman(i)ya-: *Rāman-(i)ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Rāma-name (ASN 198).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1398) has no opinion on this name.

– Elamite: Ra-man-nu-ia: PF 1855:3.

4.2.1342 *Rāmaxšara-: *Rāma-xša-ra-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Rāmaxšaça- (OnP 8.1396; ASN 197) or of *Rāmaxšaθra-.
Gershevitch (1969: 225) reconstructs *Rāmaxšāra-, "deriving strength from Rāman", while Hinz (ASN 197) mentions Middle Iranian *Rāma-xšahra-.
– Elamite: Ra-ma-ak-šá-ra: PFNN 547:20.

4.2.1343 *Rāminā- (fem.): < *Rām-inā-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Rāma-name (OnP 8.1400; ASN 197, reconstructing *Rāmēna-; Schmitt 1998: 188), Parth. Rmyn(k) (Schmitt, l.c.).
Gershevitch (1969b: 194) presents two possibilities: *Ramyāna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Ramya- or *Rāma-āyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Rāma-.
– Elamite: Ra-me-na: PFNN 865:15.

4.2.1344 *Ramīçŭtā- (OP; fem.): < *Ramya-çŭtā-, "delightful and famous" (ASN 198-199).
Other proposals are (1) *Ramyašūtā- (Benveniste 1966: 91) and (2) *Ramyasūtā-, "bestowing delightful benefits" (Gershevitch 1969: 225). According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1402) the name is ambiguous.
– Elamite: Ra-mi-iš-ud-da: PF 811:3-4.

4.2.1345 *Rāmisā- (fem.): *Rām-isā-, "desirous for peace" (ASN 198).
Gershevitch (1969b: 194) prefers *Ramya-asā-, "making the home delightful" (Av. *asah-*, "place, home"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1401) prefers a retrenchment of *Ramyaçutā-.
– Elamite: Ra-mi-šá: PFNN 541:18, 865:17, 1003:5-6.

4.2.1346 *Ramna-: retrenchment of e.g. Aryāramna- (1.2.6). Parth. Rmn (Schmitt 1998: 184).
– Aramaic: Rmn: Pers 39-40:3, 113:2; PF Ar. 114:4 (cf. Bowman 1970: 110 n.189).

4.2.1347 *Ramnača-: *Ramna-ča-, *-ča*-equivalent of *Ramna-.
Based on a wrong reading Dmwš Bowman (1970: 149; also ASN 82) reconstructs *Dāmivačah-, "conveying creative utterances", to Av. *dāmi-*, "creation". Livšic (1977: 181) reconstructs *Rāmaniča-.
– Aramaic: Rmnš: Pers 91:2.

4.2.1348 *Ramnadainā-: *Ramna-dainā-, "with a peaceful soul" (Grelot 1972: 488; ASN 198; Kornfeld 1978: 111).
– Aramaic: Rmndyn: TAD B 2.9:4; TAD C 3.13:52.

4.2.1349 *Ramnaka-: *Ramna-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Ramna-name (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1404; ASN 198).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-am-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 577:24.
2) Ra-um-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1958:20,21, 1961:9; PFNN 762:39, 2206:36, 2479:29-30.
3) Ra-um-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 2490:11.
4) Ra-um-nu-ka$_4$[137]: Fort. 706:3.

[137] Either this is a rendering of *Ramn-ika-, (or *Ramnuka-) or it is an inaccurate spelling.

4.2.1350 *Rāmukā- (fem.): *Rām-ukā, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Rāma-name (OnP 8.1405; ASN 198, reading *Rām-auka-).
Gershevitch (1969b: 194) mentions *Rāma-vahu-ka-, "charming and good".
– Elamite: Ra-mu-ka$_4$: PFNN 209:3.

4.2.1351 *Ramya-: "nice, kind, pleasant" (Zadok 1997: A no.7).
– Babylonian: Ra-mi-[']-ia: BM 74551:11.

4.2.1352 *Ramyāna-: *Ramya-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ramya-.
Bowman (1970: 110n.189) connects this name with *Rāmaniš.
– Aramaic: Rmyn: PF Ar. 55:1 (cf. Bowman 1970: 110n.189).

4.2.1353 *Ramyauka-: *Ramya-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Ramya- (OnP 8.1403; ASN 199).
Gershevitch (1969: 225) pleads for *Ramya-vahu-ka-, "peaceful and good".
– Elamite:
1) Ra-me-ia-u-ka$_4$: PF 2013:3-4,14,26-27 (°-[ia]-°),38,51.
2) Ra-mi-ia-u-ka$_4$: PF 1823:8; PFNN 2263:53.

4.2.1354 *Ranaka[rā]- (fem.): *Rana-ka[rā-], "she who refreshes" (ElW 1019).
Gershevitch (1969b: 194) prefers a *Ranga-name (to NP *rang*, "colour").
– Elamite: Ra-an-ka$_4$-[ra]: PFNN 541:44.

4.2.1355 *Rapa-: thematized equivalent of **rap-*, "to support".
– Elamite: Ra(?)-ik(?)-ba: PFNN 2351:17.

4.2.1356 *Rapagṛzīš (fem.): *Rapa-gṛzī-š, "helping those who complain".
Gershevitch's (1970: 87) reconstruction is right, but based on the meaning "to chat", given by SED 867 to OInd. *rap-*, he translates "chatter-moaner". Hinz (ASN 195) proposes *Rābakṛsi-, "meagre like rhubarb". Hinz & Koch (ElW 1021) reconstruct *Rābaxvaršiš, "Rhabarberspeise".
– Elamite: Ra-ba-kur-ši-iš: PFNN 1097:45.

4.2.1357 *Rapēča-: < *Rap-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Rapa-name (ElW 1022).
– Elamite: Ráb-be-ez-za: PFNN 2348:12,15,17,20,21,24.

4.2.1358 *Rapiθfēna-: < *Rapiθfaina-, an adjectival derivation from **rapiθfā-*, "noon" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1407; ASN 199). Cf. 4.3.181.
According to Gershevitch (1969: 226; also NW 33) the name is an *-āyana*-patronymic.
– Elamite: Ra-pi-ut-be-na: PF 1423:7.

4.2.1359 *Rasmāhasta-: *Rasmā-hasta-, "victorious in battle" (Bogoljubov 1966b: 7). Schmidt (1957: 32) considers the text unreadable.
– Aramaic: Rsmhs[t]: OIP 69 32 no.39.

4.2.1360 *Rāsta- (OP): "right" (OnP 8.1415; ASN 199-200).
Since Elamite usually renders the Old Persian equivalent, *Rāsta is preferable to its Median equivalent *Rāšta- (4.2.1369).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-áš-da: PF 848:3-4, 849:4, 860:4, 1003:5, 1004:4, etc. in PFT; PFNN 359:5, 438:3, 1510:5, 1543:10, 1627:3-4, 2506:5.

2) Ra-iš-da: PF 146:10-11, 147:10 (Ra-iš-d[a]), 148:8-9, 800-801:4, 1029-1030:3, 1041:5, 1098:6-7, 1229:6-7, 1944:10,17; PFNN 331:8-9, 350:5, 422:5-6, 713:4-5 etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1361 *Rāsta(h)ma- (OP): < *Rāsta-ta(h)ma-, "right and brave", through haplology (OnP 8.1417; ASN 200). Cf. 4.2.1370.

Benveniste (1966: 91) reconstructs *Rāšta-ama- or *Rāštatama-, a superlative. Gershevitch (1969: 227) prefers *Rāšta-va(h)va-.

– Elamite: Ra-iš-da-ma: PF 1987:33; PFNN 810:7-8.

4.2.1362 *Rāstaka- (OP): *Rāsta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Rāsta- (ElW 1025).

– Elamite:

1) Ra-iš-da-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2297:22.

2) Ra-iš-tuk-ka$_4$: PFa 15:3; PFNN 1788:3, 2195:10.

4.2.1363 *Rāstauka- (OP): *Rāst-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Rāsta- (OnP 8.1418).

Gershevitch (1969: 226) reconstructs *Rāštā-va(h)u-ka-, "right and good". Hinz (NW 114; ASN 269) identifies this name with *Vrāstauka- (4.2.1942).

– Elamite: Ra-iš-da-u-ka$_4$: PF 1508:2.

4.2.1364 *Rāstaumā: nom. sg. of *Rāstauman- < *Rāsta-tauman-, "right and strong".

There are no indications for an identification of this name with *Rāsta(h)ma-, as Hinz & Koch (ElW 1025) believe.

– Elamite: Ra-iš-da-u-ma: PFNN 548:8, 757:21.

4.2.1365 *Rašnubara-: *Rašnu-bara-, "carried by Rašnu" or "Rašnu, who carries" (ASN 200).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1420) only discusses the first part of the name, *Rašnu-, which he considers a divine name. Hinz (ASN 200) also mentions *Rašnupāra-, "just-guilt" (to Av. *pāra-*, "guilt").

– Elamite: Ra-iš-nu-ba-ir(?): PF 1498:4-5.

4.2.1366 *Rašnuča-: *Rašnu-ča- (ElW 1030). Cf. 4.3.182.

– Elamite: Ra-šá-nu-iz-za: PFNN 1644:10-11.

4.2.1367 *Rašnudāta-: *Rašnu-dāta-, "given by Rašnu" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1421; ASN 200), cf. Parth. Ršnwdtk (Schmitt 1998: 182).

– Elamite:

1) Ráš-nu-da-ad-da: PF 2003:2.

2) Ráš-nu-te-da: PF 335:7.

4.2.1368 *Rašnuka-: *Rašnu-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Rašnu-name (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1421; ASN 200).

– Elamite:

1) Ra-iš-nu-ka$_4$: PF 1509:2.

2) Ráš-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1956:3, 1969:19; PFNN 2256:3, 2299:25, 2337:32.

4.2.1369 *Rāšta- (Med.): Median equivalent of OP *Rāsta- (4.2.1360; Kâmil 1948: 125; Driver 1965: 62; Kornfeld 1978: 111).

– Aramaic: Ršt: TAD A 6.9:6, 6.10:10, 6.11:6, 6.12:3, 6.13:5; TAD D 6.3I:1.

4.2.1370 *Rāštaxma- (Med.): Median equivalent of OP *Rāsta(h)ma- (4.2.1361; OnP 8.1416; ASN 200).

Other proposals are (1) *Rāšta-ama- (Benveniste 1966: 91), (2) *Rāštama- < *Rāštatama- (ibid.) and (3) *Rastutaxma-, "having a strong growth" (Gershevitch 1969: 226-227), to Oss. *rævin*, "to grow".

– Elamite: Ra-iš-da-ak-ma: Fort. 7865:2; PFNN 2282:2.

4.2.1371 *Rātaka-: *Rāta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Rāta-, "granted" (Zadok 1976b: 78).

An alternative possibility is *Raθa-ka- (Zadok, l.c.; Schmitt 1994: 86).

– Babylonian: Ra-ta-ak-ka-[ʾ]: Hebraica 8 134:4.

4.2.1372 *Ratartiya-: *Rat-arti-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Rat-arti-, "judge's reward".

– Elamite: Ra-tar-ti-ia: PFNN 2274:9.

4.2.1373 *Rātāxšahrā- (fem.): *Rātā-xšahra-, "gift of the kingdom", younger form of Old Iranian *Rātā-xsaθra- (Eilers 1936: 175n.; ASN 200-201; Zadok 1977: 111; Dandamayev 1992: 117).

Another possible explanation is *Rāta-xšahrā-, "the granted of the realm", with **rāta-* as the past part. of Av. *rā-*, "to grant".

– Babylonian: Ra[ʾ]-ta-aḫ-šá-aḫ: Xer. 2:2.

4.2.1374 *Rātikā- (fem.): *Rāti-kā-, *-ka*-extension of *Rāti-, "obliging, willing" (ASN 201).

Benveniste (1966: 92) reconstructs *Raθikā-, "charioteer", but that is not a usual women's name (ASN 201). Gershevitch (1969b: 194) reconstructs *Rāda(t)-vahu-kā-, "accomplishing what is good". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1426) prefers *Raθukā-.

– Elamite: Ra-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1136:3-4, 2184:35, 2263:20.

4.2.1375 *Ratuka-: *Ratu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Ratu-name (ASN 201). Cf. 4.3.184.

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1386) reads *Raθ-uka-, but the sequence -ad-du- normally renders /atu-/ (ASN 201).

– Elamite:

1) Ra-ad-du-ka$_4$: Fort. 3568:4; PF 1620:10-11.

2) Ra-ad-du-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 3562:10-11; PFNN 31:9 (°-u[k-ka$_4$]), 494:10-11, 612:3-4.

3) Rad-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2355:3.

4.2.1376 *Ratuštūxta-: *Ratuš-tūxta-, "reimbursing the judge" (ElW 266 and 1023).

– Elamite: Ra-du-iš-du-uk-d[a]: Fort. 1017:3-4.

4.2.1377 *Ratuxšnavyā- (fem.): *Ratu-xšnav-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ratu-xšnav-, "satisfying the judge" (Benveniste 1966: 91; OnP 8.1389; ASN 201).
– Elamite: Ra-du-iš-na-mu-ia: PF 684:4-5.

4.2.1378 *Raθavada- (OP): *Raθa-vada-, "charioteer, driving the chariot" (Benveniste 1958b: 54; OnP 8.1412; ASN 201), cf. Av. *vazō-raθa-*.
– Elamite: Ra-sa-ma-da: PF 403-404:2-3, 1022:2, 1034-1035:2, 1036:3-4, 1066:3, 1120:2, 1212:2; PFNN 384:2-3, 450:2, 464:3, 1582:2, 2555:2-3.

4.2.1379 *Raθēštā-: < *Raθaištā-, "chariot-warrior" (Benveniste 1966: 92; OnP 8.1423; ASN 201).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-te-iš-da: PF 1510:2.
2) Ra-ti-iš-da: PFNN 2487:28-29.

4.2.1380 *Raθyauka-: *Raθ-ya-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Raθa-name.
Benveniste (1966: 92) reconstructs *Raθika-, while Hinz (ASN 202) proposes *Raθya-auka-, "driving a chariot". *Raθyuka- is also possible.
– Elamite: Ra-ti-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2026:4-5; PFNN 2109:3-4.

4.2.1381 *Raučaiča- / *Raučēča-: *Rauč-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of *Raučah-, "light" (Koch 1990: 15).
Gershevitch (1969: 187; also OnP 8.1329 and ASN 202) reconstructs *Rauča-ča-.
– Elamite:
1) R[a]-u-se-ez-za: PF 76:5-6.
2) Ra-u-se-za: PFNN 248:2-3.
3) Ra-u-za-a-za: PFNN 1028:5-6.
4) Ra-u-za-iz-za: PF 7:2-3; PFNN 2577:2.
5) Ra-u-zé-ez-za: PF 803:2; PFNN 657:2-3, 837:2-3.

4.2.1382 *Raučaka- / *Rōčaka-: *Rauča-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Raučah- (Gershevitch 1969: 228; OnP 8.1428; ASN 202), Gk. Ῥοισάκης and Ῥωσάκης (IN 262).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-u-iz-za-ka$_4$: PFNN 473:5-6.
2) Ra-u-za-ka$_4$: PFNN 223:3.
3) Ra-u-zik-ka$_4$: PFNN 1008:22, 2184:19.
4) Ru-iz-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1267:3, 1671:2.
5) Ru-iz-zi[k] -ka$_4$: PF 1266:3-4.
6) Ru-zik-ka$_4$: PT 84:8; PFNN 2274:20-21.

4.2.1383 *Raudaka-: *Rauda-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Rauda-, "he who grows" (Zadok 1995: 159).
It is not sure if the Iranian name is *Laudaka- (belonging to the *l*-dialect) or *Raudaka-, because of the occasional *l/r*-alternation in Akkadian (von Soden 1995: 43), e.g. *napalsuḫu* vs. *naparsuḫu*, "to fall to the ground" or *pīlu* vs. *pīru*, "elephant".
– Babylonian:
1) Lu-da-ka: IMT 38:rev.
2) Lu-da-ku: BE 9 39:3,5,E.; IMT 38:3,6.

4.2.1384 *Raudāta-: *Rauda-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Rauda- (ASN 202; Zadok 1977: 105n.169; Dandamayev 1992: 117).
According to Dandamayev (l.c.) this name is the same as Ú-ru-ud-da-at. That spelling, however, renders *Auradāta- (4.2.211; Zadok 1977: 104). Dandamayev (1992: 117) believes the patronymics of both spellings to be the same, but that is not right (Tavernier 2001: no.5).
– Babylonian: Ru-ud-da-a-tú: PBS 2/1 206:12.

4.2.1385 *Rauka-: "shining" (Grelot 1972: 489; ASN 202; Kornfeld 1978: 111).
– Aramaic: Rwk: TAD B 5.1:3; TAD D 7.24:15.

4.2.1386 *Raukaya-: *Rauka-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Rauka-.
*Raukaya- is a more plausible reading than *Ravaka- or *Rauka-, with omission of the written ʏ (Dem. Nb. 712; Vittmann 2004: 167).
– Demotic: Rwgy: P. Berl. 23584:1, 23594:4.

4.2.1387 *Raupāθa-: "the fox" (Gershevitch 1969b: 194; OnP 8.1427; ASN 203).
– Elamite: Ra-u-ba-sa: PF 2025:3,9,20; PFNN 2302:8-9.

4.2.1388 *Rauraθa-: "driving a quick chariot" (Bowman 1970: 131; ASN 203).
Eilers (apud Bowman, l.c.) reads *Dava(t)-raθa-, "he who has a quick chariot".
– Aramaic: Rwrt: Pers 64:3.

4.2.1389 *Rautā: retrenchment of a name containing the element **rautah-*, "river" (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxxi). Cf. 4.3.186.
– Aramaic: Rwt: TAD D 9.11:1.

4.2.1390 *Rautuka-: *Raut-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Rautah- (ElW 1034, reconstructing *Rautauka-).
– Elamite: R[a]-ud-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2573:5-6.

4.2.1391 *Rauxšna-: "the shining, light" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Grelot 1972: 508; ASN 202; Kornfeld 1978: 111; Schmitt 2006: 185), Gk. Ῥωξάνης and Ῥωξάνη (IN 262).
– Aramaic:
1) Rḥšn[138]: Pers 32:2.

[138] Bowman (1970: 103) reads Mhš[r], whereas Livšic (1977: 181) reads Rmšn, a rendering of *Rāmi-ça-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Rāmiça-. Nevertheless Rḥšn seems preferable (based on the photograph of the text [Bowman 1970: Pl. 9]).

2) Rwḫšn: TAD B 3.9:9.

4.2.1392 *Rauxšnadāta-: *Rauxšna-dāta-, "given by Rauxšna" (ASN 202).
Hinz (ASN 202) suspects a Middle Iranian pronunciation *Rauxšan-.
– Babylonian:
1) Ru-šu-un-da-a-tú: BE 9 48:10 (= TuM 2/3 144:10); BE 10 43:3.
2) Ru-šu-un-da-ti: BE 9 48:3 (= TuM 2/3 144:3).

4.2.1393 *Rauxšnapāta-: *Rauxšna-pāta-, "protected by Rauxšna" (Eilers 1933-34: 332; ASN 202; Zadok 1977: 100; Dandamayev 1992: 118).
– Babylonian:
1) Ru-šu-un-pa-a-ti: BE 9 48:7 (= TuM 2/3 144:7).
2) Ru-uš-na-pa-a-tú: BE 10 7:14 (= TuM 2/3 181:14); PBS 2/1 29:19,Lo.E.
3) Ru-uš-nu-pa-tu$_4$: AION Suppl.77 1:18.

4.2.1394 *Rāza-: "bricklayer" (Zadok 1985: 175). Cf. 4.4.7.98.
Segal (1983: 90) mentions *Raza-, "vineyard" or *Rāza-, "secret" (MP *rāz*, NP *raz*).
– Aramaic: Rz': ATNS 66:7.

4.2.1395 *Răzakānīš: < *Răza-ka-ān-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Răza-ka-āna-, connected with eiter **raz-*, "to point" or **rāz-*, "to go". This name has no connection with the toponym *Razakānīš (4.3.192).
Hinz (ASN 269) prefers *Vrāsakāna-, to Av. *uruuāsnā-*, "sandalwood", whereas Hinz and Koch (ElW 1031) read *Razakāna-, "vineyard".
– Elamite: Ra-šá-ka$_4$-nu-iš: PF 1890:2.

4.2.1396 *Rāzāna-: *Rāza-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Rāza- (Zadok 1985: 176).
– Aramaic: Rzn: ATNS 166:2.

4.2.1397 *Razmā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Razman-, a retrenchment of a *Razman-name (Segal 1983: 56; ElW 1025).
– Aramaic: Rzm: ATNS 39:6.
– Elamite: Ra-iš-ma: PFNN 2349:27, 2364:7, 2539:10.

4.2.1398 *Razmačanā: nom. sg. of *Razma-čanah-, "longing for battle" (Gershevitch 1969: 228; OnP 8.1432; ASN 204)[139].
– Elamite:
1) Ra-iz-mi-iz-za-na: PF 1433:3-4.
2) Ra-iz-mi-za-na: PF 1427:3-4.

4.2.1399 *Razmahuarga-: *Razma-hu-arga-, "well-worthy in battle" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976b: 78; also Dandamayev 1992: 117).

[139] *Razma- is written Ra-iz-mi because of the following palatal /č/ (OnP 8.1432).

MAR does render /u̯ar/, accordingly Tavernier's (2001: no.4) objections are not valid.
– Babylonian: Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga-': Camb. 384:3.

4.2.1400 *Razmārva-: *Razma-arva-, "swift in battle" (Zadok 1976b: 78; Dandamayev 1992: 117).
Other etymologies are (1) *Razmā-arma-, "the arm of the battle" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok, l.c.), (2) *Razmā-arma-, "firm, tranquil in battle" (Zadok, l.c.), to Av. *armōi* and (3) *Razam-barva-, "cherishing the vine" (ASN 203). The latter reconstruction is impossible, because ár-ma never renders /barva/ (Zadok 1976d: 215). Schmitt (1994: 86) argues that Ra-za-am-ár- cannot reflect *Razmār-, but the names beginning with *Rauxšna- prove the opposite (Tavernier 2001: no.4).
– Babylonian: Ra-za-am-ár-ma: Camb. 384:2.

4.2.1401 *Razura-: retrenchment of a name containing **razura-*, "forest" (Benveniste 1966: 91) or **razurā-*, "race course" (OnP 8.1413; ASN 204).
– Elamite: Ra-su-ra: PF 2084:7.

4.2.1402 *Rēvanauva- (OPs): < *Raiva-nauva-, "rich and the first" (NW 78; ASN 196).
– Elamite:
1) Re-ma-na-u-ma: Fort. 1020:5; PF 571:5-6.
2) Re-man-na-u-ma: PF 450:4-5.

4.2.1403 *Rēvāta-: < *Raiva-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Raiva-name (OnP 8.1436; ASN 197).
Gershevitch (1969: 225) pleads for *Rai-vāda-, with reference to the Georgian PN Revaz.
– Elamite: Re-ma-ad-da: PF 208:7-8; PFNN 65:4.

4.2.1404 *Rōčīš: < *Rauč-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Raučah-, "light" (OnP 8.1447; ASN 202; both authors reconstruct *Raučya-).
– Elamite: Ru-iz-zí(-iš): PF 1085:10, 1086-1087:3, 1194:3, 2012:15; PFNN 131:2, 785:3, 1646:10-11, 1695:10, 1979:2-3, 2070:3, 2237:6.

4.2.1405 *Rōkava-: < *Rauka-va-, "the shining" (ASN 202).
– Elamite: Ru-kam-ma: PF 1641:12.

4.2.1406 *Rōkisa-: < *Rauk-isa-, "longing for light, brightness".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1043) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ru-gi-šá: PFNN 2297:17,28.

4.2.1407 *Rōtiya-: < *Raut-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Rautah-, "river".
– Elamite: Ru-ti-ia: PFNN 2097:1-2.

4.2.1408 *Rvani- (East Iranian): *Rvan-i-, *-i*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Rvan-, "soul, spirit".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 777) read Ir-man-nu-na without offering any explanation.
– Elamite: Ir-man-nu: PT 84:21.

4.2.1409 *Rvanta- (East Iranian): "grabbing, grasping".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 1047) read *Vranta-.
– Elamite: Ru-man-da: PFNN 146:12,28, 1962:8-9, 2294:8.

4.2.1410 *Rvantika- (East Iranian): *Rvant-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Rvanta-.
– Elamite: Ru-un-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 929:2.

4.2.1411 *Rvata- (East Iranian): retrenchment of e.g. Av. Uruuatat.nara-, "commanding the men" (OnP 8.1443; Mayrhofer 1979: I/84).
Hinz (NW 62) first preferred a connection with Av. *^{2}uruuata-*, an adjective indicating a good quality of a camel, but later (ASN 269) he read *Vrata- and connected this name with Av. *^{1}uruuata-*, "destiny".
– Elamite:
1) Ru-ma-ad-da: PF 692-693:2; PFNN 599:3-4, 1525:2-3.
2) Ru-ma-da: PF 1290:4, 1370:3, 1952:5.
3) Ru-ma-ud-da: PF 788:3.

4.2.1412 *Rvatēnta- (East Iranian): < *Rvatayanta-, "the religious", a variant of *Vratēnta- (4.2.1944; cf. Hoffmann 1958: 12; OnP 8.1444; ASN 269-270).
– Elamite: Ru-ma-te-[i]n-da: PT 3:2.

4.2.1413 *Ṛdaspāna- (Med.): *Ṛd-aspa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ṛd-aspa-, "he who takes care of horses" (Bogoljubov 1974: 15).
– Aramaic: 'Rdspn: KAI 258:2.

4.2.1414 *Ṛdastiš: *Ṛda-sti-š, "plum", lit. "red food". Cf. 4.4.20.14.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 783) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ir-taš-du-iš: PFNN 732:3-4. Cf. **āçiyādiš* (2.4.11.1).

4.2.1415 *Ṛdastuka-: *Ṛda-st-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Ṛda-sti-.
– Elamite: Ir-taš-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 2364:6.

4.2.1416 *Ṛdata-: "the silvery" (Gershevitch 1969: 195, based on Neo-Elamite attestations of this name[140]; Bogoljubov 1973: 177).
Bowman (1970: 97) reconstructs *Aridāta-. Eilers (apud Bowman, l.c.) reads *Adrāθa-, to Av. Drāθa- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/36). Frye (apud Bowman, l.c.) pleads for a retrenchment of a name containing *Ā-draθa-. Hinz (ASN 88) prefers *Drāθa-.
– Aramaic: 'Rdt: Pers 24:3.

4.2.1417 *Ṛdatīš: < *Ṛdat-iya-, an *-iya*-extension of *Ṛdata-.
Hinz & Koch (EIW 771) reconstruct *Irδati-.
– Elamite: Ir-da-ti-iš: PFNN 705:5.

4.2.1418 *Ṛdēsa-: < *Ṛda-isa-, "seeker of prosperity" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 31).
Stolper (1994b: 626) has doubts on the Iranian origin of this name, which in his view could also be a hybrid name (Semitic – Egyptian).
– Babylonian: Ar-de-e-si: JAOS 114 627:15.

[140] The Neo-Elamite spelling is Ir-da-ad-da (MDP 9 133:rev.3, 246:8; ASN 205; EIW 767).

4.2.1419 *Ṛdifya- (OP): "eagle" (Schmitt 1970b: 77; OnP 8.659; NW 89; Shahbazi 1975: 116-119; ASN 205). Cf. 4.2.1553.
It is usually accepted that this name is the Old Persian equivalent of Median *Ṛzifya- (PIE **ṛĝi-pi̯-o*, Av. *ərəzifiia-*), but a Hurro-Urartian etymology is equally possible: Proto-Eastern-Caucasian **'wārççiw'V* (D'jakonov 1985: 602). It might be a Hurro-Urartian loanword in Indo-Iranian or vice versa. Bogoljubov (1974: 17) prefers *Ṛtīma- < *Ṛti-ama-, "having received strength from Arta".
– Elamite:
1) Ir(?)-du(?)-pi-ia: PFNN 550:8-9.
2) Ir-tap-pi-ia: PF 711:3-4, 1606:3; PFNN 554:2 (Ir-tap-pi-<ia>).
3) Ir-tup-pi-ia: PF 15:3, 45:10-11, 330:7-8, 406:2, 465:3, etc. in PFT; PFa 6:3; PFNN 525:4, 738:2-3, 783:2, 1504:1-2, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1420 *Ṛkaçā- (OP): *Ṛka-çā-, "protecting the hymn".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 779) reconstruct *Ṛkāsa-.
– Elamite: Ir-ka$_4$-šá: PF 1656:3; PFNN 2277:9.

4.2.1421 *Ṛkāma-: *Ṛkā-ama-, "powerful through the hymn".
Hinz (ASN 205) reconstructs *Ṛgava-, "the horrible" (Av. *ərəγaṇt-*), but also mentions *Ṛkava-.
– Elamite: Ir-ka$_4$-ma-iš: PF 1881:2.

4.2.1422 *Ṛkanta-: "singing hymns" (ASN 205).
Gershevitch (1969: 191) mentions *Ṛganta-, to Av. *ərəγant-*, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.629) does not accept this and connects the name rightfully with the other *Ṛk-names.
– Elamite: Ir-kán-da: PF 353:8-9, 497:3, 1851:1; PFNN 1332:2-3, 1538:3.

4.2.1423 *Ṛkauka-: *Ṛk-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Ṛk- (OnP 8.628; ASN 205).
Gershevitch (1969: 191) pleads for *Ṛk-auga-, "verse-speaker".
– Elamite:
1) Ir-kam-ka$_4$: PF 1993:10, 1995:9, 1997:25-26; PFNN 2204:15.
2) Ir-kam-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 617:4.

4.2.1424 *Ṛkiča-: *Ṛk-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Ṛk- (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.632; ASN 205).
– Elamite: Ir-gi-iz-za: PFNN 358:2, 1003:2-3.

4.2.1425 *Ṛkina-: *Ṛk-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of *Ṛk- (OnP 8.631; ASN 205, reconstructing *Ṛk-aina-).
– Elamite: Ir-gi-na: PF 2004:1; PFNN 865:2-3.

4.2.1426 *Ṛmāma-: *Ṛma-ama-, "having strength of arm" (Gershevitch 1969: 191; ASN 205; EIW 777).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.634) does not accept this proposal. Hinz (ASN 205) admits that the name might also be Elamite because of the repeated last syllable, a typical aspect of Elamite hypocoristics (Zadok 1983: 96), but according to Zadok (1983: 107) the name is Iranian.

– Elamite: Ir-ma-ma: PF 1941:11; PFNN 18:2.

4.2.1427 *Ṛmāta-: *Ṛma-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Ṛma-, "arm" (ASN 206).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.633) connects this name with *Ṛmātiš.

– Elamite: Ir-ma-da: Fort. 6352:3; PF 702:3; PFNN 2300:11.

4.2.1428 *Ṛmatīš (fem.): *Ṛmatī-š, "the devotional" (NW 61; ASN 206).

Benveniste (1966: 85) prefers Av. *ārmati-*, which, however, causes some phonological problems (OnP 8.635).

– Elamite: Ir-ma-t[i-i]š: PF 1209:8-9.

4.2.1429 *Ṛmika-: *Ṛm-ika-, *-ika*-extension of *Ṛma- (ElW 778).

– Elamite: Ir-mi-ka$_4$: PFNN 895:12-13.

4.2.1430 *Ṛmuka-: *Ṛm-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Ṛma- (OnP 8.636; ASN 206, reading *Ṛmauka-; ElW 778).

– Elamite:
1) Ir-muk(?)-ka$_4$(?): PFNN 1065:4.
2) Ir-mu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1948:30,34.

4.2.1431 *Ṛšā: nom. sg. of *Ṛšan-, "the hero", Gk. Ἀρσής, Lat. Arses.

– Babylonian: Ár-šú: AD -382:R.E., -381A:obv.1,U.E., -378:L.E., -375B:Lo.E, -373A:L.E., -372A:U.E., -372B:rev.3,U.E., -366A:L.E.,U.E., -366B:Lo.E., -361:obv.1,rev.1; AD 5 11 rev. iii' 10, 60 rev. iv 9', 66 obv. i 1.

4.2.1432 *Ṛšafarnā: nom. sg. of *Ṛša-farnah-, "the glorious hero".

– Elamite: Ir-iš-bar-na: PFNN 2278:32.

4.2.1433 *Ṛšakāna-: *Ṛša-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (ElW 780).

– Elamite: Ir-šá-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 1483:21.

4.2.1434 *Ṛšaya-: *Ṛša-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (ElW 780).

– Elamite: Ir-šá-ia: PFNN 759:6.

4.2.1435 *Ṛšēka-: < *Ṛša-ya-ka-, a *-ka*-hypocoristic of a *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (Dandamayev 1992: 35).

Stolper (1994b: 626) and Schmitt (1994: 84) plead for *Ṛš-ika-, but that does not correspond with the spelling with šE.

– Babylonian: [A]r-še-ek-ka-': JAOS 114 627:15.

4.2.1436 *Ṛšēna-: < *Ṛš-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (Benveniste 1966: 85; OnP 8.639, reading *Ṛš-ina-; ASN 206).

Gershevitch (1969: 191-192) reconstructs *Ṛšāyana-.

– Elamite: Ir-še-na: PF 54:3-4, 239:7, 280:10, 405-406:8, passim in PF; PFNN 1:18, passim in PFNN; PFa 32:5,13.

4.2.1437 *Ṛšina-: *Ṛš-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name.

– Elamite: Ir-ši-na: PFNN 1751:15.

4.2.1438 *Ṛšita-: *Ṛš-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (Grantovskij 1970: 74 and 238; ASN 206-207; Zadok 1977: 109; Dandamayev 1992: 32), Gk. Ἀρσίτης.

– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ri-šit-tú: PBS 2/1 48:L.E, 51:L.E., 52:Lo.E., 191:U.E.
2) Ar-ri-šit-tu$_4$: PBS 2/1 48:15 (Ar-ri-[šit]-tu$_4$), 51:14, 52:16 (Ar-ri-š[it]-tu$_4$), 137:1,4,9; TuM 2/3 190:3,7,U.E.

4.2.1439 *Ṛštahufarnā (OPd): *Ṛšta-hu-farnā, "sincere and very glorious" (ASN 207).

Gershevitch (1969: 192) reconstructs *Ṛštā(t)-(h)ufarna(h), "having the good blessing of Justice", to Av. Arštāt, "Justice". Hinz & Koch (ElW 775) consider NP *rost*, "ground" and reconstruct *Rvštahufarnah-.

– Elamite: Ir-iš-da-ú-pír-na: PFNN 633:2-3.

4.2.1440 *Ṛštimanga-: *Ṛšti-manga-, "glorifying the spear" (OnP 8.684; ASN 207).

Cameron (1948: 66n.31; also Benveniste 1966: 85 and Schmitt 2006: 94), prefers *Ršti-vaiga-. Gershevitch (1969: 196) rejects this and reconstructs *Ṛšti-(h)u-a(n)ha-, "good thrower of spears". Schmitt (1970: 24-25) rejects both proposals.

– Elamite:
1) Ir-iš-ti-man-ka$_4$: PF 180:6-7, 699:4-5, 873:2, 935:2, 1234:2,12-13, 2048:2-3, 2068:1; PFNN 421:2, 496:1-2, 1241:6-7, 1309:2, 1576:7-8, 1587:2, 1999:1, 2033:1-2, 2145:6, 2459:1-2.
2) Iš-ti-man-ka$_4$: PF 405:2, 925-926:2, 927-928:1-2, 1333:3, 1802:1; PFNN 465:1-2, 514:2, 841:2, 1303:1-2, 1473:1-2, 1754:1-2, 1873:1-2.

4.2.1441 *Ṛštinā- (fem.): *Ṛšt-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of an *Ṛšti-name (OnP 8.685).

Hinz (ASN 142) reads *Ištiš, "richness", to Av. *išti-*, "richness". He considers the end-*n*- as an expression of the OP ending *-m* (acc. sg.).

– Elamite: Iš-ti-in: PF 823:2-3.

4.2.1442 *Ṛštivahuš: *Ṛšti-vahu-š, "good with the spear" (Schmitt 1972f: 87; OnP 8.524; ASN 207-208).

– Elamite: Hi-iš-ti-ma-u-ú-iš: PF 209:5-6.

4.2.1443 *Ṛštivēga-: < *Ṛšti-vaiga-, "spear-swinger" (ApI 77; ASN 208), cf. Gk. Ἀστυάγης and Ἀστυϊγας (IN 47).

– Babylonian: Iš-tu-me-gu: ABC 7 ii 2.

4.2.1444 *Ṛštiya-: *Ṛšti-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ṛšti- or of a retrenchment of an *Ṛšti-name (OnP 8.626; ASN 208).

– Elamite: Ir-iš-te-ia: PF 1857:11-12.

4.2.1445 *Ṛšuka-: *Ṛš-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛša-name (OnP 8.640; ASN 206, reconstructing *Ṛš-auka-).

– Elamite: Ir-šu-ka$_4$: PF 1412:3-4; PFNN 1013:13.

4.2.1446 *Ṛšūra- (Med.): < *Ṛš-sūra-, "the strong hero", through assimilation (š-s > š-š > š) (OnP 8.625).
- Elamite: Ir-iš-šu-ur-ra: PF 49:5-6.

4.2.1447 *Ṛta-: retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 50; ASN 208; Zadok 1976b: 67n.65 and 1977: 97; Dandamayev 1992: 35).
- Aramaic: ʾRtʾ: Transeuphratène. Suppl. 9 267:1.
- Babylonian:
  1) Ar-ta: CT 51 69:3.
  2) Ar-ta-a: BE 9 6:4.

4.2.1448 *Ṛtaba-: *Ṛta-b-a, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Ṛtabānuš (Schmitt 1978: 34).

In Zadok's opinion (1975: 245) the name should be read *Ṛta-bā-, "shining through Arta" (Av. *bā-*, "to shine"). Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 35), however, considers it a patronymic of *Ṛtabīn-. Zadok (1995: 158) later argues that TA is not very legible. He proposes to read Ar-ra-bi or Ar-na-bi, two well-attested names. Nevertheless this is not correct: in the copy of the text there are visible traces of two horizontal wedges in the beginning of the sign and of two winkelhaken at the end of the sign. This excludes a reading RA or NA.

- Babylonian: Ar-ta-bi: UET 4 44:24.

4.2.1449 *Ṛtabāduš (OP): *Ṛta-bādu-š, "Arta's arm" (Benveniste 1966: 83; ASN 208). Cf. *Bagabāduš (4.2.234).
- Elamite: Ir-da-ba-du-iš: PF 1250:3, 1251:2; PFNN 1285:2, 1289:4.

4.2.1450 *Ṛtabāma-: *Ṛta-bāma-, "brilliance of Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 83; Gershevitch 1969: 194; OnP 8.574; Hinz 1970: 424; ASN 208).
- Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-ba-ma: JNES 53 272:4-5; PF 735:4, 737-739:4, 849:3-4, 1002:3-4, 1029:3-4, 1098:5-6, 1109:4, 1198:7-8, 1221:11-12, 1232:13 (°-[m]a), 2019:7-8; PFa 27:4; PFNN 422:3, 536:4, 641:6, 855:4-5, 1294:4, 1332:3-4, 1543:7-8, 2442:2-3, 2489:3, etc. in PFNN.
  2) Ir-tab-ba-ma: PF 1005:3, 1028:2-3, 1041:4, 1042:6-7, 1043:5-6; PFNN 350:4, 438:2-3, 534:37, 713:3-4, 832:5, 1627:2-3, 2574:5-6, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1451 *Ṛtabānuš: *Ṛta-bānu-š, "having the splendour of Arta" (Schaeder 1930: 265; Benveniste 1966: 83; Schmitt 1972: 76 and 2006: 136; OnP 8.576; ASN 208; Zadok 1977: 96 and n.49a; Dandamayev 1992: 35), Parth. ʾRtbnw, MP ʾRtwʾn, Arm. Artavan (Schmitt 1980c: 200 and n.6).

An alternative reading for the Babylonian spelling is *Ṛtavana- (Zadok 1977: 96 and n.50).

- Aramaic: ʾRtbnw: TAD B 2.2:3; TAD C 4.7:6; TAD D 2.3:3 (ʾR[tbn]).
- Babylonian: Ar-ta-ba-nu: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:4; BPPE 27:11 (spelled Ar-ta-su-nu).
- Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-ba-nu-iš: PF 1287:9-10, 1991:4; PFNN 464:4, 1059:23,41, 1409:6-7, 1753:2-3, 2040:32,38-39, 2081:4-5, 2341:34-35, 2428:3-4, 2541:6.
  2) Ir-tab-ba-nu-iš: PF 1966:3; PFNN 411:2, 1355:2, 1771:3, 2153:2.
  3) Ir-tub-ba-nu-iš: PF 1555:7.

4.2.1452 *Ṛtabara-: *Ṛta-bara-, "bringing / carrying Arta" (ASN 208; Zadok 1977: 105; Dandamayev 1992: 38) or "Arta, who carries". Cf. 4.2.1485.
- Babylonian:
  1) Ar-ta-bar-ra-ʾ: BE 10 60:3,8,11.
  2) Ar-ta-bar-ri: BE 9 13:4.

4.2.1453 *Ṛtabauxša- / *Ṛtabuxša-: *Ṛta-b(a)uxša-, "whom Arta is releasing", cf. Benveniste (1966: 85; also OnP 8.641), who translates "serving Arta".

Hinz (ASN 209) reconstructs *Ṛta-b(a)uxša-, "serving Arta". Schmitt (2006: 249 and n.83) only accepts the existence of an element **buxša-*. Yet the Elamite orthography with Ca-u certainly points to a pronunciation with a diphthong. Schmitt's reference to a personal identity in PF 1947 is hardly an argument, since one person could have more than one name.

- Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-ba-u-uk-šá: PFNN 878:2-3.
  2) Ir-da-bu-ik-šá: PFNN 2332:2-3.
  3) Ir-da-bu-uk-šá: PF 1947:76; PFNN 1956:2.
  4) Ir-tab-ba-u-uk-šá: PF 1946:25,27,55, 1947:88,90.

4.2.1454 *Ṛtabaya-: *Ṛta-b-aya-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Ṛtabānuš (Schmitt 1972: 76; OnP 8.577; ASN 209).

Benveniste (1966: 84) and Gershevitch (1970: 86) consider *Ṛtapāya-, "protection of Arta", cf. OInd. *pāyya-*, "protection".

- Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-ba-ia: PF 1724:2.
  2) Ir-da-pe-ia: PFNN 40:8.

4.2.1455 *Ṛtabṛta-: *Ṛta-bṛta-, "Arta fulfilled" (EIW 770), cf. 4.2.328.
- Elamite: Ir-da-bìr-da(?): PFNN 1455:6-7.

4.2.1456 *Ṛtabṛzana- (Med.): *Ṛta-bṛzana-, "exalting Arta" (ASN 208; Schmitt 2006: 141).

Gershevitch (1969: 230) pleads for an *-āna*-patronymic. Bowman (1970: 100) erroneously reads ʾRtbrwn, on the basis of which Eilers (apud Bowman, l.c.) derives *Ṛta-bar-vāna-. Frye (ibid.) reconstructs *Ṛta-bauda-vāna-.

– Aramaic: ʾRtbrzn: Pers 29:3 (reading: Bogoljubov 1973: 177); TAD D 2.12:2.
– Elamite: Ir-da-bìr-za-na: PF 1463:9, 2052:7-8; PFNN 2200:32, 2345:1,8.

4.2.1457 *Ṛtabuga-: *Ṛta-buga-, "whom Arta is releasing" (Benveniste 1966: 84 and 113; OnP 8.597).

According to Hinz (ASN 209) the name must be *Ṛta-bauga-, "serving Arta".

– Elamite: Ir-da-bu-ka$_4$: PF 405:3.

4.2.1458 *Ṛtačamana-: *Ṛta-čamana-, "Arta's meadow".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 771) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Ir-da-za-am-na: PFNN 728:33, 2043:27.

4.2.1459 *Ṛtačanā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-čanah-, "he whose longing is for Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 170; OnP 8.611; ASN 209).

– Aramaic: ʾRtšn: Pers 122:3; PF Ar. 65:2 (cf. Bowman 1970: 170n.356).
– Elamite: Ir-da-za-na: PF 1647-1648:2, 1957:1, 2084:8; PFNN 2162:1-2, 2184:1, 2202:23, 2372:32, 2477:13, 2478:43.

4.2.1460 *Ṛtačinā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-činah-, "he whose longing is for Arta".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 772) identify this name with *Ṛtačanah-.

– Elamite: Ir-da-zí-na: PF 1476:2.

4.2.1461 *Ṛtadāta-: *Ṛta-dāta-, "given by Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; Bowman 1970: 77; OnP 8.578; ASN 209), Parth. ʾRtdt (Schmitt 1998: 180).

Driver (1957: 43) translates "given in righteousness, lawfully granted".

– Aramaic: ʾRtdt: CIS 2/1 100:4; Pers 4:3, 6:2, 73:3.
– Elamite: Ir-da-da-ad-da: PF 451:6-7 (Ir-d[a]-°), 512:2-3; PFNN 211:3, 1143:3-4, 2414:3-4, 2420:3.

4.2.1462 *Ṛtafarnā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-farnah-, "glorious through Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; Wüst 1966: 20; Bogoljubov 1973: 177; OnP 8.592; ASN 210; Zadok 1977: 104 and 2004: 111; Dandamayev 1992: 40).

– Aramaic: ʾRtprn: Pers 46:3 (reading: Bogoljubov, l.c.); TAD B 2.1:17 (reading: Cowley 1923: 11 no. 5:17).
– Babylonian:
  1) Ar-ta-pa-ar-na-ʾ: IMT 44:7,12.
  2) Ar-ta-par-na-ʾ: BE 10 89:16; Nemet-Nejat 1982 59.
  3) At-ta-par-nu[141]: BM 25937:5.

[141] With Babylonian assimilation of *r* (Zadok 2004: 111).

– Elamite:
  1) Ir-da-bar-na: PFNN 508:3, 2108:10-11, 2372:40, 2373:5, 2490:35.
  2) Ir-da-pír-na: PF 1404:6-7, 1421:9, 1455:8, 1958:2 (Ir-da-pír-[na]), 2052:2.

4.2.1463 *Ṛtafrāda-: *Ṛta-frāda-, "furthering Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; ASN 210) or "thriving through Arta" (OnP 8.593: *Ṛtā-frāda-; ASN 210).

The Aramaic writing is read [Pr]tprd by some authors, who consider it a rendering of a name *Fratafarnah-, "excellent and glorious" (Cowley 1923: 20; Grelot 1972: 471; ASN 98; Kornfeld 1978: 111).

– Aramaic: [ʾR]tprd: TAD B 7.2:3.
– Elamite: Ir-da-bar-ra-da: PF 1999:15,17.

4.2.1464 *Ṛtafrādīš: < *Ṛta-frād-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Ṛta-frāda-.

– Elamite: Ir-da(?)-pír-ra-ti-iš(?): PFNN 2370:4.

4.2.1465 *Ṛtafravara-: *Ṛta-fravara-, "having chosen Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; OnP 8.595; ASN 210).

– Elamite: Ir-da-pír-ru-ma-ra: PF 1988:11.

4.2.1466 *Ṛtagāθu- (fem.): *Ṛta-gāθu-, "throne of Arta" (ASN 210; Stolper 1987: 393n.19; Dandamayev 1992: 35-36).

Zadok (1977: 95) takes no decision concerning this name.

– Babylonian: Ar-ta-ga-a-tu$_4$: Dar. 476:1.

4.2.1467 *Ṛtāhumanā (OPd): nom. sg. of *Ṛtā-hu-manah-, "having a good mind through Arta" (ASN 210; Zadok 1977: 111; Stolper 1985: 286; Dandamayev 1992: 44 and 45). Cf. 4.2.1511.

– Babylonian: Ar-tu-uḫ-ú-ma-na-ʾ: BE 10 129:18,Lo.E.; IMT 49:5 ([A]r-tu-uḫ-ú-ʳma-naˀ-[ʾ?]); TuM 2/3 148:16,Lo.E.

4.2.1468 *Ṛtāhumanā (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Ṛtā(h)umanā (Dandamayev 1992: 38). Cf. 4.2.1511.

– Babylonian: Ar-ta-ḫu-ma-nu: OECT 10 357:5.

4.2.1469 *Ṛtāhuvama-[142] (OPd): *Ṛtā-huv-ama-, "having good strength through Arta" (Gershevitch 1969b: 189; OnP 8.608; ASN 212, reading *Ṛtāxvama-).

– Elamite: Ir-da-ú-ma-ma: PFNN 505:9-10.

4.2.1470 *Ṛtahvāθra- (Med.): *Ṛta-hvāθra-, "blissfulness, delight of Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 194, translating "he in whom Truth breathes freely, feels comfortable"; ASN 211, reconstructing *Ṛtaxvāθra-), Av. *aṣ́a-x^{v}āθra-*.

Other proposals are (1) *Ṛta-manθra- (Benveniste 1966: 85), (2) *Ṛta-marθra- (Benveniste, l.c.) and (3) *Ṛta-varθra- (Abayev 1969: 110). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.618) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ir-du-ma-ut-ra: PF 694:2.

[142] Cf. OPs *uvārštika-* (u-v-a-r-š-t-i-k) and *uvāsabāra-* (u-v-a-s-b-a-r) for the writing with *-uv-*.

4.2.1471 *Ṛtaiča- / *Ṛtēča-: *Ṛt-aiča-, *-aiča*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.656; ASN 212).

Gershevitch (1969: 186) considers the second spelling as a rendering of *Ṛtu-ča-, to OInd. *ṛtu-*, "fixed time, order, rule". Mayrhofer (OnP 2.407 and 8.660) has shown, however, that TU_4 also represents /dai/, /tai/, /dē/ or /tē/.

– Aramaic: ʾRtyš: PF 704:rev. (reading: ASN 212, against Hallock's [1969: 216] reading Rdtyš).
– Elamite:
1) Ir-te-ez-za: PF 264:3, 574:2-3, 2012:16; PFNN 2467:5, 2501:2.
2) Ir-tu_4-ez-za: PF 704:7, 1110-1111:3-4, 1618:4; PFNN 871:4-5.

4.2.1472 *Ṛtaina- / *Ṛtēna-: *Ṛt-aina-, *-aina*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 123; OnP 8.653, reconstructing *Ṛt-ina-; ASN 212; Schmitt 2006: 226-227), MP Ardēn, Arm. Artēn (Hübschmann 1897: I 30).

Gershevitch (1969: 191-192) reads *Ṛθa-āyana-, to *Ṛθa-, "bear". Eilers (apud Bowman, l.c.) also mentions *Ṛta-yāna-, "he whose grace comes from Arta" or "having the grace of Arta".

– Aramaic: ʾRtyn: Pers 53:3.
– Elamite: Ir-te-na: PF 166:4, 549:4, 668:13, 1145:3-4, 1281:3-4, 1304:4, 1443:3; PFa 29:45; PFNN 484:1-2, 548:28, 596:4-5, 847:12, 1447:6-7, 2320:3-4, 2523:5.

4.2.1473 *Ṛtaiša- / *Ṛtēša-: *Ṛta-iša-, "Arta-seeker" (Gershevitch 1969: 195; OnP 8.601; ASN 212).

– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-a-šá: PF 49:6-7.
2) Ir-te-iš-šá: PFNN 2290:35.

4.2.1474 *Ṛtaka-: *Ṛta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (ElW 784).

– Elamite: Ir-tuk-ka_4: PFNN 2365:7,29-30.

4.2.1475 *Ṛtakača-: *Ṛta-ka-ča-, hypocoristic of *Ṛta-ka-.

Huyse (1992: 292) leaves this spelling unexplained, while Tavernier (2002: 107) proposes *Ṛta-kaiša-, "teaching the doctrine of Arta". Vittmann (2004: 165n.166), however, does not accept this. Hinz & Koch (ElW 769) recognize the Iranian character of the El. spelling.

– Demotic: ɜrṯkš: S.72/-35:7.
– Elamite: Ir-da-ku-za: PFNN 2198:14-15. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.1476 *Ṛtakāma-: *Ṛta-kāma-, "wishing for Arta" (Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.32; Schmitt 2002: 84). Gk. ʾΑρτακάμας.

– Babylonian: Ar-ta-kám-ma: VAT 15615:2'.

4.2.1477 *Ṛtakāntiš: *Ṛta-kānti-š, "consumed by a desire for Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 192).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.580) and Hinz (ASN 212) mention *Ṛta-kanti-š, "finding zestfullness with Arta".

– Elamite: Ir-da-kán-ti-iš: PF 1963:4, 1992:4; PFNN 2540:6.

4.2.1478 *Ṛtakava-: *Ṛta-kava-, "prince of Arta".

– Elamite: Ir-tan-ku-ma: PFNN 992:4-5.

4.2.1479 *Ṛtama-: *Ṛta-m-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Ṛtamanah- or *Ṛtamanyu- (OnP 8.644; Schmitt 1974: 105; id., apud Mathieson, Bettles, Davies & Smith 1995: 37; ElW 769; Dem. Nb. I/18, 125; Vittmann 2004: 165), Gk. ʾΑρτάμης (Huyse 1990: 37).

Hinz (NW 49; ASN 212; also Zadok 1977: 105) reconstructs *Ṛtăma-, i.e. *Ṛtā-ama-, "strong through Arta". The spelling Ir-tam_5, however, is considered a rendering of *Ṛtāvahu- (ASN 212).

– Aramaic: ʾRtm[143]: Pers 43:3 ([ʾr]ʿtʿm); Transeuphratène 23 153-154:4.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-am-ma-ʾ: PBS 2/1 101:20.
– Demotic: ɜrṯm: JEA 81 35:1 (and fig.3).
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-ma: PFNN 2278:33.
2) Ir-tam_5: PF 59:4.
– Hieroglyphic: ɜ-r-ṯ-m: JEA 81 33:2 (and fig.3).

4.2.1480 *Ṛtamaka-: *Ṛta-m-a-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Ṛta-m-a- (Schmitt 1974: 105).

Hinz (NW 49; ASN 213; also Bogoljubov 1973: 173) reconstructs *Ṛtăma-ka-.

– Aramaic: ʾRtmk: Pers 47:5.

4.2.1481 *Ṛtamanā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-manah-, "having the mind of Arta" (OnP 8.585; ASN 213; Schmitt 2004: 480).

– Elamite: Ir-da-ma-na: PF 152:3-4.

4.2.1482 *Ṛtamanθra- (Med.): *Ṛta-manθra-, "knowing the magic word of Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 193; OnP 8.586; ASN 213).

– Elamite: Ir-da-man-tur-ra: PFNN 548:18,28.

4.2.1483 *Ṛtamanyuš: *Ṛta-manyu-š, "with the mentality of Arta" (Schmitt 1970: 21-22; OnP 8.645; ASN 213).

Gershevitch (1969: 213) connects this name with the Av. PN Aŝauuaŋhu- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/24). Hinz also mentions *Rta-manuš (Av. *manu-*, "man, hero").

– Elamite: Ir-tam_5-man-nu-ú-iš: PF 774:3, 1942:1.

4.2.1484 *Ṛtāmazdā-: nom. sg. of *Ṛtā-Mazdah-, a dvandva-compound.

Most researchers prefer *Ṛta-vazdah- (Benveniste 1966: 84; OnP 8.617; ASN 217; Bogoljubov 1976b: 211; Schmitt 2002: 45; but see ibid. n.17), "possessing endurance through Arta", to Av. Aŝauuazdah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/24), MP Ašavazd (EWA III 258), Gk. ʾΑρταβάζης, ʾΑρτάβαζος (IN 38), ʾΑρτάοζος (Ibid. 37) and ʾΑρταουάσδης (Ibid. 38), Lat. Artavasdes (Ibid. 38). This proposal, valid for the Elamite spelling, does not correspond, however, with the Aramaic spelling.

[143] According to Altheim-Stiehl & Cremer (1985: 10) this spelling is also attested in an inscription from Daskyleion (Epigraphica Anatolica 6 7:4). Lemaire (2001: 28 and 29), however, has shown that the correct reading is *ʾntm*.

– Aramaic: ʾRtm<z>[d]ʾ: PF 1801:rev.
– Elamite: Ir-du-maš-da: PF 679:4, 1801:4; PFNN 1074:5, 2135:4, 2358:1.

4.2.1485 *Ṛtambara-: *Ṛtam-bara-, "bringing / carrying Arta" (Imbert 1891: 109; IN 39 and 488; Arkwright 1899: 56; Sundwall 1913: 5; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 10; ASN 213; Zadok 1977: 105; Schmitt 1982c: 378, 1982d: IV/18-19 and 2006: 85; Dandamayev 1992: 38), Gk. ʾΑρτεμβάρης. Cf. 4.2.1452.

Benveniste (1966: 101) reads the Lycian spellings as *Ṛtam-para-, "encouraging Arta", with reference to OInd. *ṛtám piparti*.

– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-am-ba-ra: BE 9 82:16; IMT 54:16.
2) Ar-ta-am-ba-ri: PBS 2/1 133:8,13,14,19.
3) Ar-ta-am-ba-ru: BE 9 14:7, 15:3,11; EE 48:7'.
4) Ar-tam-bar: PBS 2/1 128:3,9.
– Lycian:
1) Arttumpara-: TL 11:3, 29:7, 104b:3.
2) Artumpara-: NAWG 1978/1 231b.
3) Artuñpara: NAWG 1978/1 302.
4) [Artu]ñpari[144]: NAWG 1978/1 231c.

4.2.1486 *Ṛtamiça- (OP): *Ṛta-Miça- (OnP 8.589; ASN 214; Vittmann 2004: 152 and n.103 and 164), a dvandva-compound.

Another possibility is *Rta-misa- (Benveniste 1966: 84; Gershevitch 1969: 194; OnP 8.589; Edel & Mayrhofer 1971: 1-2 for the Egyptian attestations).

– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-mi-iš-šá: PF 470:2-3, 1474:2-3, 1906:5-6; PFNN 1182:2-3, 1950:2, 2372:39-40.
2) Ir-da-mi-šá: PF 701:9, 1473:3.
3) Ir-tam$_5$-mi-iš-šá: PF 1927:2-3; PFNN 241:9, 458:14-15, 1731:10.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) ʒ-r-tʒ-m-ś: BdE 11 34:4.
2) I-r-tʒ-m-ś: BdE 11 29:6, 31:5, 33:7.
3) I-r-ti-m-ś: BdE 11 24:4.

4.2.1487 *Ṛtamisa-: *Ṛta-misa-, "he whose thought dwells in Arta" (Zadok 1976b: 76).

Misled by Gk. ʾΑρτάμης Posener (1936: 119) reconstructed *Ṛtama- < *Ṛta-tama-. Yet this is impossible: the end-*s* appearing in both the Babylonian renderings of this name, belongs to the original form and is not added to it, contrary to the sigma in ʾΑρτάμης (= *Ṛtama- plus Greek nominative ending).
Dandamayev (1992: 40) uses the existing names *Ṛtamiça- and *Ṛtamiθra- to propose *Ṛta-miça-. The main objection against this assumption is that one would expect the Median form *Ṛtamiθra- in Babylonian.

– Babylonian: Ar-ta-mi-is-sa: Giessen 47:11.

4.2.1488 *Ṛtamīš: < *Ṛta-m-iya-, a two-stem hypocoristic of *Ṛta-Miça.
– Elamite: Ir-d[a]-mi-iš: PFNN 1550:7-8.

4.2.1489 *Ṛtanāfa-: *Ṛta-nāfa-, "belonging to Arta's family" (ASN 214; Zadok 1975: 245; Dandamayev 1992: 40).
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-na-pa-ʾ: PBS 2/1 77:4'.

4.2.1490 *Ṛtapā-: *Ṛta-p-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Ṛtapāta- (Schmitt 1987: 151).

Zadok (1986: 42) reconstructs *Ṛta-pā-, "having Arta's protection".

– Aramaic: ʾRtp: ATNS 63:3.

4.2.1491 *Ṛtapāna-: *Ṛta-pāna-, "under Arta's protection" (Brandenstein 1929: 298; Zgusta 1956: 398; Gusmani 1965: 205, 1971: 4 and 1980: 33; OnP 8.575; ASN 214; Schmitt 1980c: 201-202 and 2006: 136). Cf. OInd. Atapāna- (Mukherjee 1984: 10) and Parth. ʾRtpn (Schmitt 1998: 179).

According to some scholars (Brandenstein 1929: 294; Bossert 1944: 111; Zgusta, l.c.; Gusmani 1964: 62 and 1971: 4; Schmitt 1970b: 65n.7, 1972: 76 and 1978: 34; OnP 8.576; ASN 208) the Lydian spelling renders *Ṛtabānuš (4.2.1451), but that is incorrect (Schmitt 1980c: 199-200).

– Elamite: Ir-da-ba-na: PF 565:2; PFNN 1213:3.
– Lydian: Artabãna°: G 41:6.

4.2.1492 *Ṛtāparva-: *Ṛtā-parva-, "first through Arta" (Gershevitch 1969b: 187; ElW 768).

Benveniste (1966: 84) pleads for *Ṛta-barma-, with reference to OInd. *bhárma-*, "support, nourishment, care". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.591) remains undecisive. Hinz (ASN 208) prefers *Ṛta-barva-, "cherishing Arta".

– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-bar-ma: PF 1961:32.
2) Ir-da-pír-[ma]: PF 1958:2 (reading: ElW 768).
3) Ir-tab-bar-ma: PFNN 2490:42.

4.2.1493 *Ṛtāparvya-: *Ṛta-parv-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ṛta-parva- (ElW 768).
– Elamite: Ir-da-bar-mi-ia: PFNN 762:25.

4.2.1494 *Ṛtapāta-: *Ṛta-pāta-, "protected by Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 83; OnP 8.572; ASN 214; Schmitt 2002: 46), Parth. ʾRtpt (Schmitt 1998: 180) Gk. ʾΑρταπάτης (Huyse 1990: 37).
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-pa-ti: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:22.
– Elamite:

[144] This spelling may be a Lycianisation of the Persian name (Mørkholm & Neumann 1978: 27; Schmitt 1982c: 378 and 1982d: IV/19).

1) Ir-da-ba-da: PF 324:2-3, 467:2 (Ir-da-<<da>>-°), 468:2-3, 469:2, 605:2-3, 627:4-5, 1176:2, 1189-1190:2, 1192:2, 1992:6; PFa 19:4 (Ir-da-<ba>-da), 22:2, 23:1; PFNN 635:2, 785:2, 2278:30-31, 2540:5, etc. in PFNN.
2) Ir-da-ba-ud-da: PF 12:5-6.
3) Ir-tab-ba-ad-da: Fort. 3666:2.
4) Ir-tab-ba-da: PF 1188:2; PFNN 1223:2-3.
5) Ir-tub-ba-ad-da: PF 771:2.
6) Ir-tub-ba-da: PFNN 655:2, 683:2.

4.2.1495 *Ṛtapātačā- (fem.): *Ṛta-pāta-čā-, *-ča*-extension of *Ṛta-pāta-.
– Babylonian: A-ra-ti-pa-ta-as-su: YBC 11568:13 (reference: M.W. Stolper).

4.2.1496 *Ṛtarana-: *Ṛta-rana-, "Arta's delight, solace" (Gershevitch 1969b: 187; ASN 214-215).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.598) pleads for *Ṛtarāna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Ṛta-ra-.
– Elamite: Ir-da-ra-na: PFNN 1008:26.

4.2.1497 *Ṛtaraučā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-raučah-, "having the light of Arta" (OnP 8.598; ASN 215; Zadok 1976b: 76; Dandamayev 1992: 44; Schmitt 1994: 84), cf. Av. *aša-raočah-* (Mayrhofer 1979: I/25).
Concerning the second spelling Gershevitch (apud Zadok, l.c.) reconstructs *Ṛta-rausa-, "shining through Arta" (Proto-Iranian **raus-*, "to shine"; cf. Bailey 1967: 307).
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-ru-šú: Camb. 384:11.
2) Ar-ta-ru-us: Hebraica 8 134:8.

4.2.1498 *Ṛtaravā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-ravah-, "Arta's freedom" (Zadok, apud Stolper 1994b: 626).
Stolper himself (l.c.) prefers *Ṛtara-.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-ru-ú: JAOS 114 627:17.

4.2.1499 *Ṛtarēva-: < *Ṛtā-raiva-, "rich through Arta" (Gershevitch 1970: 86; OnP 8.599: ASN 214; Zadok 1977: 109; Dandamayev 1992: 41; Schmitt 2006: 14).
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-re-e-me: BE 9 72:11; IMT 40:5; PBS 2/1 185:15.
2) Ar-ta-re-e-mu: BE 9 39:3, 48:7 (= TuM 2/3 144:7), 82:L.E., 107:16; EE 55:Le.E.
3) Ar-ta-re-ma: IMT 38:4.
4) Ar-ta-re-me: BE 9 72:11, 83:10,15,18, 84:4; TuM 2/3 202:11.
– Elamite: Ir-da-re-ma: PF 1968:13.

4.2.1500 *Ṛtasara-: *Ṛta-sara-, "der Gemeinschaft hat mit Arta, having a union with Arta" (Gershevitch 1969b: 187; OnP 8.602; ASN 215), cf. Av. *aša-sar-*.
A reconstruction *Ṛtaxšara- is also possible.

– Elamite: Ir-da-šá-ra: PFNN 1059:47, 2266:5-6.

4.2.1501 *Ṛtaspāda-: *Ṛta-spāda-, "with Arta's army" (OnP 8.650; ASN 215). Cf. 4.2.283.
Benveniste (1966: 85) reconstructs *Ṛta-zbāta-, "called by Arta", to Av. *zbā-*, while Schmitt (1972c: 342-343) prefers *Ṛta-zbātā-, "invoker of Arta", to Av. *zbātar-*.
– Elamite: Ir-taš-ba-da: PF 1734:3-4.

4.2.1502 *Ṛtastūnā- (masc.): *Ṛta-stūnā-, "having Arta as pillar" (Benveniste 1966: 85; Gershevitch 1969: 195; OnP 8.651; ASN 215).
– Elamite: Ir-taš-du-na: PF 1128:3-4, 1184:4; PFNN 434:3-4, 705:4,12, 1209:4-5, 1337:3-4, 1429:2-3, 1549:3-4.

4.2.1503 *Ṛtastūnā- (fem.): *Ṛta-stūnā- (Benveniste 1966: 85; Gershevitch 1969: 195; OnP 8.651; ASN 215; Schmitt 2006: 224), Gk. Ἀρτυστώνη (IN 40).
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-iš-du-na: PF 1454:4-5.
2) Ir-taš-du-na: PF 164-165:5-6, 166:7-8, 167:8-9 (I[r-t]aš-du-na), 168:7, 730:2-3, 731:3, 732:6, 733-734:4, 1236:14, 1795:6, 1835-1837:2, 1838-1839:2-3, 2035:3-4, 2049:3-4; PFa 14:6-7; PFNN 454:5-6, 568:2, 761:2, 1238:6-7, 1319:3-4, 1523:4-5, 1685:9-10, 2497:12, 2502:9, 2523:2.

4.2.1504 *Ṛtāsūra- (Med.): *Ṛtā-sūra-, "strong through Arta" (Cameron 1948: 183; ASN 215; Zadok 1977: 105; Dandamayev 1992: 44), Gk. Ἀρτασύρας (IN 37-38).
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-sur-ru: BE 10 114:14.

4.2.1505 *Ṛtašātiš: *Ṛta-šāti-š, "prosperity of Arta", variant of *Ṛtašyāti-.
Scheftelowitz (1903: 166; also ASN 215; Zadok 1977: 95 and n.40; Dandamayev 1992: 44) reconstructs *Ṛta-šyāta-, "happy through Arta". According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.603) and Hinz (ASN 215) *Ṛtašātiš is a vulgar equivalent of *Ṛtašyāti-.
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-šá-a-ta: Dar. 476:2,8.
2) Ar-ta-šá-a-tú: AD 5 66 obv. ii 5'.
3) Ar-ta-šá-ta: AD -332A:obv.1.
– Elamite: Ir-da-šá-ti-iš: PF 281:3-4, 691:5-6; PFNN 430:3-4.

4.2.1506 *Ṛtašyātiš: *Ṛta-šyāti-š, "prosperity of Arta" (Cameron 1948: 93; OnP 8.604; ASN 215).
– Elamite: Ir-da-ši-ia-ti-iš: PF 181:4-5, 2021:4-5.

4.2.1507 *Ṛtātaxma- (Med.): *Ṛtā-taxma-, "brave through Arta" (Cameron 1948: 120; Benveniste 1966: 84; OnP 8.606; ASN 215-216). Cf. 4.2.1533.
– Elamite:

1) Ir-da-da-ak-ma: PF 1298:7.
2) Ir-da-^{da}tak-ma: PT 58:2.
3) Ir-da-tak-ma: PFNN 431:14, 1727:4-5; PT 21:2-3, 22:2, 27:3, 37:2, 38:3, 41:2, passim in PT.

4.2.1508 *Ṛtāθūra- (OP): *Ṛtā-θūra-, "strong through Arta", OP equivalent of *Ṛta-sūra- (Cameron 1948: 183; ASN 216).

Benveniste (1966: 84) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.605) reconstruct *Ṛtā-sūra-, the Median equivalent. This is equally possible, but the Old Persian is preferable because El. usually reflects Old Persian names.

– Elamite: Ir-da-šu-ra: PF 1973:3-4; PFNN 2200:20; PT 68:2, 75:3.

4.2.1509 *Ṛtāufrya- (OPs): *Ṛtā-u-frya-, "well dear through Arta" (ASN 210).
– Elamite: Ir-da-u-pír-ri-ia: PFNN 2200:1, 2351:17.

4.2.1510 *Ṛtāuma- (OPs): *Ṛtā-uma-, retrenchment of the following name (ASN 210).

Hinz (ASN 210) also mentions *Ṛtāhumā-, "through Arta a lucky bird".

– Elamite: Ir-da-u-ma: PFNN 2197:13.

4.2.1511 *Ṛtāumanā (OPs): cf. 4.2.1467-68.
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-ma-<nu>: EE 4:5. Inaccurate spelling.
2) Ar-ta-ú-ma-nu: EE 4:2,7 (Ar-ta-ú-ma-<nu>).

4.2.1512 *Ṛtāupā- (OPs): *Ṛtā-u-pā-, "well protecting through Arta".

Hinz (ASN 211) identifies this name with *Ṛtāupāya-.

– Elamite: Ir-da-u-ba-iš (OPs): PFNN 2337:30.

4.2.1513 *Ṛtāupama- / *Ṛtōpama-: *Ṛtā-upama-, "the highest through Arta" (Eilers 1936: 164n.1 and 172n.1 and 1955: 229n.5; NW 109; ASN 216; Zadok 1977: 105; Dandamayev 1992: 45).
– Babylonian: Ar-tu-ú-pa-am: BE 10 129:17,Lo.E.; TuM 2/3 148:16,Lo.E.
– Elamite:
1) Ir-du-ba-ma: PF 249:5-6, 1362:11-12, 1425:5, 1529:12; PFNN 317:9, 707:4-5, 772:12-13, 1264:5-6, 1522:4, 1571:8-9, etc. in PFNN.
2) Ir-du-ip-ma[145]: Fort. 3547:2-3; PF 360:2.
3) Ir-du-uk-ba-ma[146]: PFNN 645:6 (°-<ma>), 1859:5 (°-<ma>), 2189:2.

[145] Gershevitch (1970: 86) mentions *Ṛdufya-, "eagle", but the Iranian word for "eagle" is *Ṛdifya- (OnP 8.622; ASN 216).

[146] Other proposals are (1) *Ṛtam-pāva-, "protecting Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 85) and (2) *Ṛta-hubāma-, "deriving good lustre from Arta" (Gershevitch 1970: 86).

4) Ir-tam$_5$-ba-ma: PF 471:4-5, 1491:10-11, 2051:10.
5) Ir-tam$_5$-uk-ba-ma: PF 1301:9-10; PFNN 2147:10-11.

4.2.1514 *Ṛtāupāya- (OPs): *Ṛtā-u-pāya-, "well protecting through Arta" (Gershevitch 1970: 86; OnP 8.607; ASN 211).
– Elamite: Ir-da-u-ba-ia: PFNN 879:2.

4.2.1515 *Ṛtausā: *Ṛta-usā, nom. sg. of *Ṛta-usan-, "Arta's wish".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 787) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite: Ir-tam$_5$-šá: PFNN 1656:2-3, 1692:3.

4.2.1516 *Ṛtāvahuçŭtīš (OPd): *Ṛta-vahu-çŭt-ī-š, < *Ṛtā-vahu-çŭt-iya-, "good and famous through Arta" (ElW 770, reconstructing *Ṛta-vahu-çŭta-ya-).

Hinz (ASN 217) restores -da-[u]-ú- and reconstructs *Ṛtāvahušūti-, "he who sets in motion the good through Arta".

– Elamite: Ir-da-[ma]-ú-šu-ti-iš: PFNN 688:3-4.

4.2.1517 *Ṛtāvahuš (OPd): *Ṛtā-vahu-š, "good through Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; Gershevitch 1969: 195; OnP 8.609: "rich in Arta"; ASN 216), cf. OInd. *ṛtā-vasu-*.
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-ú-iš: PF 1961:31.
2) Ir-da-u-ú-iš: PF 1958:3.

4.2.1518 *Ṛtāvahyā: nom. sg. of *Ṛtā-vahyah-, "better through Arta" (Schaeder 1930: 266; Kâmil 1948: 124; Eilers 1954-56: 332; Driver 1965: 71; Grelot 1972: 461; ASN 217; Kornfeld 1978: 99).

Driver (1954: 28) gives no meaning to the element *-why*.

– Aramaic: ʾRtwhy: TAD A 6.11:6, 6.12:3, 6.13:5.

4.2.1519 *Ṛtavana-: "dedicated to Arta".

Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 131) reconstructs *Ṛta-vāna-, while Hinz (NW 49; ASN 217) pleads for an *-āna*-patronymic of *Ṛtāva-, "the blissful".

– Aramaic: ʾRtwn: Pers 65:3.

4.2.1520 *Ṛtavanta-: "righteous" (Nyberg, apud Driver 1954: 18 and 1965: 51; Eilers 1954-56: 332; Grelot 1972: 461; ASN 217; Kornfeld 1978: 99-100), Gk. ʾΑρταΰντης (IN 38) and ʾΑρτόντης (Ibid. 40).
– Aramaic:
1) ʾRthnt[147]: TAD A 6.7:1,10; TAD D 6.4f:1 (ʾRth[nt]), 6.4g:1 ([ʾR]thnt).
2) ʾRtwnt: TAD A 6.3:1, 6.4:1, 6.5:1.

4.2.1521 *Ṛtavanuš: *Ṛta-vanu-š, "loving Arta".
– Elamite: Ir-da-ma-nu-i[š]: PFNN 1005:3-4.

[147] This spelling, with H = /v/, is exceptional.

4.2.1522 *Ṛtāvanya-: *Ṛtā-vanya-, "victorious through Arta" (ElW 272).
– Elamite: Ir-du-man-ia: PFNN 2208:3,14.

4.2.1523 *Ṛtavarmā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-varman-, "elite of Arta" (NW 50; ASN 217).
– Aramaic: ʾRtwrm: Pers 77:4.

4.2.1524 *Ṛtavarθa-: *Ṛta-varθa-, "having Arta as his shield" (Gershevitch 1970: 86; OnP 8.615; ASN 217).
– Elamite: Ir-du-mar-sa: PFNN 757:15, 762:8.

4.2.1525 *Ṛtavaθāna- (OP): *Ṛta-vaθa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ṛta-vaθah-, "he who desires Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 194).
Other proposals are (1) *Ṛta-vaθana- (Benveniste 1966: 84) and (2) *Ṛtamaθana-, "greatness of Arta" (ASN 213). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.587 and 8.588) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-mas-na: PF 2076:24.
2) Ir-da-mas-sa-na: PF 767:3.

4.2.1526 *Ṛtāvauš: OPs equivalent of *Ṛtāvahuš.
– Elamite: Ir-da-u-iš: PF 1960:1; PFa 31:21; PFNN 558:21, 762:32, 2200:26, 2206:9,10,28, 2490:35,37.

4.2.1527 *Ṛtavāzā: nom. sg. of *Ṛta-vāzah-, "having respect for Arta" (Zadok 1997: A no.3 and 1999-2000: 211), Av. *aṣ̌a.vāzah-*.
– Babylonian: Ar-tu-ma-az-za: BM 54107:2,3,5,10 (Ar-tu-<ma>-az-za).

4.2.1528 *Ṛtavāzaya-: *Ṛta-vāza-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Ṛta-vāzah- (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxiv).
Aimé-Giron (1939: 355 no.5) reads ʾRtwʿhʾ[y].
– Aramaic: ʾRtwzy: TAD D 22.47:1, 22.49:1.

4.2.1529 *Ṛtavēθa- (OP): < *Ṛta-vaiθa-, "Arta's knight" (ElW 770).
– Elamite: Ir-da-me(?)-sa(?): PFNN 759:26.

4.2.1530 *Ṛtavinda-: *Ṛta-vinda-, "Arta-finder" (Gershevitch 1969: 194; OnP 8.646; ASN 217).
– Elamite: Ir-tam$_5$-mi-in-taš: PFNN 135:2-3.

4.2.1531 *Ṛtaviša-: *Ṛta-viša-, "he who is very occupied with Arta" (Zadok 1977: 94 and n.30; Dandamayev 1992: 40).
Hinz (ASN 214) reconstructs *Ṛtamiça-.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-mi-š[u]: VS 6 323:7.

4.2.1532 *Ṛtaxaya-: *Ṛta-x-aya-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Aṛtaxšaça- or *Ṛtaxraθ/tu- (Schmitt 1972: 74-76; OnP 8.581; ASN 211; Kornfeld 1978: 100), Gk. ʾΑρταχαίης (IN 34).
Gershevitch (1962: 91 and 1969: 192) connects *-xaya-* with Oss. *xai*, "part". His translation is "Arta's partner".

– Aramaic: ʾRtḥy: TAD A 6.10:10 (['R]tḥy), 6.16:1,6.
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-ak-ka$_4$-a-ia: PF 1331:3-4.
2) Ir-da-ge-ia: PFNN 256:3-4, 499:2-3, 2119:2, 2203:12.
3) Ir-da-ka$_4$-a: PFa 11:4.
4) Ir-da-ka$_4$-ia: PT 3a:x+7-8, 9:22, 13:32, 15:28, 16:19-20, 18:25, 1957-1:29, 1963-6:23; PFNN 262:2-3.
5) Ir-tuk-ku-ia: PFNN 987:3-4.

4.2.1533 *Ṛtaxma- (Med.): < *Ṛtā-taxma- (4.2.1507), "brave through Arta" through haplology (ElW 767).
– Elamite: Ir-da-ak-ma: PFNN 2361:11, 2487:39.

4.2.1534 *Ṛtaxraθuš (OP): *Ṛta-xraθu-š, "wisdom of Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; OnP 8.584; ASN 211).
– Elamite: Ir-da-kur-rad-du-iš: PF 758:3-4.

4.2.1535 *Ṛtaxšara-: *Ṛta-xša-ra-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Ṛtaxšaθra- (OnP 8.582; ASN 211; Schmitt 1994: 84 and 2006: 141). Gk. ʾΑρτοξάρης.
Gershevitch (1969: 192) also reads *Ṛtaxšara-, but connects this with Oss. *äxsar*, "strength" and translates "deriving strength from Arta". This proposal is mentioned by Hinz (ASN 211; also Zadok [1977: 109 and n.206] and Dandamayev [1992: 36]). Hinz also mentions a third possibility: Middle Iranian *Ṛta-xšahra-.
– Babylonian:
1) Ar-ta-aḫ-šá-ar: BE 9 4:3.
2) Ar-taḫ-šá-ar: PBS 2/1 84:1,8,L.E.,Lo.E.
3) Ar-taḫ-šá-ri: BE 10 58:13,U.E., 88:9; PBS 2/1 27:20 (Ar-taḫ-[šá]-ʳriʾ), 29:14, 71:11, 95:16, 109:13, 172:12, 193:16,R.E., 205:8.
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-ak-šá-ra: PF 1223:3-4, 1944:32.
2) Ir-taš-ra: PF 1612:4.
3) Ir-tuk-šá-ra: PF 1944:37; PFNN 459:4, 715:4-5, 1201:4.

4.2.1536 *Ṛtaxšayāršā: nom. sg. of *Ṛtaxšayāršan-, a contamination of the royal names Aṛtaxšaça- and Xšayaršā (Gusmani & Akkan 2004: 147). Gk. ʾΑρταξέρξης and ʾΑρτοξέρξης, Lat. Artaxerxes.
– Lydian: Artakśaerśa°: Kadmos 43 143:1.

4.2.1537 *Ṛtāxšēta-: < *Ṛta-xšaita-, "shining through Arta" (ASN 211).
– Elamite: [I]r-da-še-da: PT 84:14.

4.2.1538 *Ṛtaxšī-: < *Ṛta-xš-iya, a two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. Aṛtaxšaça- (Schmitt 1979: 65).
The spelling might be a contamination of Artaxšaça- and Xšayarša- (Stolper 1999: 596n.17). It might also render *Ṛtaxšaçya- (Schmitt 1979: 64). A reading *Ṛtaxšī-, however, fits the spelling very well.

– Babylonian: Ar-tak-a-ḫi-ši: LBAT 1411-1412:rev.1 (cf. Sachs 1977: 133).

4.2.1539 *Ṛtaxširaça- (OP): mixture of *Ạrtaxšaça- and *Ạrtaxšira- (Schmitt 1982c: 375 and 1982d: IV/21-22). Despite the strange name form, Artaxerxes II is meant here (Imbert 1891: 110, etc.).

Most authors (Arkwright 1899: 56; Sundwall 1963: 8; Benveniste 1966: 102; Carruba 1978: 866) agree that the Lycian form cannot be deduced directly from the Old Persian form. Some (Deecke 1887: 128; Heubeck 1965: 75-76n.13; Carruba, l.c.) believe that it is derived from Gk. Ἀρταξέρξης, while Benveniste (l.c.) argues that it is the ancestor of MP Artaxšīr.

– Lycian: Ertaχssiraza-: TL 44b:59-60.

4.2.1540 *Ṛtaya-: *Ṛta-ya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Schmitt 1968: 66 and 2006: 84; OnP 8.610; ASN 217; Huyse 1992: 292; Vittmann 2004: 164), Gk. Ἀρταῖος (IN 33).

Benveniste (1966: 84) connects the name with OInd. *ṛtaya-*, "to observe the sacred law" (Av. *aṣaiia-*). Smith (1992: 297) reconstructs *Ṛtaḫay.

– Aramaic: ʾRty: Transeuphratène. Suppl. 9 50:2.
– Demotic: ɜrty: S.H5-434:obv. i 3,rev. ii 3 (cf. Huyse 1992: 292; Smith 1992: 296-298).
– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-ia: PF 1475:2.
2) Ir-te-ia: PF 373:3-4; PFNN 1613:3.

4.2.1541 *Ṛtazušta-: *Ṛta-zušta-, "loved by Arta" (Benveniste 1966: 84; OnP 8.600; ASN 218), cf. Av. *aṣō-zušta-*.

– Elamite: Ir-da-su-iš-da: PF 1972:5-6; PFNN 2188:9, 2371:34-35.

4.2.1542 *Ṛtēštiya-: < *Ṛta-išti-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Ṛta-išti-, "whose striving is for Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 195; OnP 8.654; ASN 212).

– Elamite: Ir-te-iš-ti-ia: PF 138:3.

4.2.1543 *Ṛtima-: *Ṛt-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Schmitt 1972f: 88, 1982d: 34 and 2002: 87-88; OnP 8.657; ASN 218; Gusmani 1980: 34). Gk. Ἀρτίμας.

Gershevitch (1970: 86) reconstructs *Ṛtivan(t), to Av. *aṣiuuaṇt-*, "providing the rewards". Zgusta (1964: 101 § 108-5) claims an Anatolian origin for the Lydian spelling. Lipiński (1975: 164) believes, with regard to the Aramaic spelling, in an Anatolian name, related to the goddess Artimu (Gusmani 1964: 63-65).

– Aramaic: [ʾ]Rtym: KAI 262:1; NC 7/1 120.
– Babylonian: Ar-ti-im: Xer. 2:1,5.
– Elamite: Ir-ti-ma: PF 59:9, 60:4, 61:6, 62-63:8, 64:6, etc. in PFT; PFNN 653:4-5, 737:4-5, 811:5-6, 887:5, 1231:5-6, 1253:6, 1614:3-4, 2277:4, 2364:14,18, 2413:6, 2514:6.
– Lydian:
1) Artimal[is] (nom.): G 42:3.
2) Artyma: G 104 (cf. Schmitt 1982d: IV/30).

4.2.1544 *Ṛtimaka-: *Ṛt-ima-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Ṛt-ima- (OnP 8.658; ASN 218).

– Elamite:
1) Ir-da-man-ka$_4$: PFNN 2059:1-2.
2) Ir-ti-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1990:11.
3) Ir-ti-man-ka$_4$: PFNN 1872:2.

4.2.1545 *Ṛtimīš (fem.): < *Ṛt-im-iya-, hypocoristic of *Ṛtima-.

Probably Iranian according to Hinz & Koch (EIW 784).

– Elamite: Ir-ti-mi-iš: PFNN 1550:5.

4.2.1546 *Ṛtōča- (OPs): < *Ṛta-u-ča-, a *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-u-name (EIW 772).

– Elamite: Ir-du-iz-za: PFNN 2357:21.

4.2.1547 *Ṛtōnara- (OPs): < *Ṛta-u-nara-, "well versed in Arta" (Gershevitch 1969: 194; OnP 8.619; ASN 210), Av. *aṣahunara-*.

– Elamite: Ir-du-na-ra: PF 766:3, 1966:5,14-15.

4.2.1548 *Ṛtōniyā- (fem.): < *Ṛtauni-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Ṛtauni-, "she who is dedicated to Arta" (OnP 8.621; ASN 216).

Gershevitch (1969: 194) reads *Ṛtu-nayā-, "laywoman", with reference to Av. *ratu-naya-*, "layman".

– Elamite:
1) Ir-du-n[i(?)-<ia>]: PF 1967:1.
2) Ir-du-nu-ia: PF 841:2.

4.2.1549 *Ṛtuka-: *Ṛt-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenchment of an *Ṛta-name (Grantovskij 1970: 252 and 258; OnP 8.613; ASN 216, reconstructing *Ṛtauka-; EIW 773; Schmitt 2006: 143). Gk. Ἀρτύκας.

Zadok (1997: A no.2) reads *Ṛtu-ka-, to OInd. *ṛtu-*, "order, fixed time".

– Babylonian: Ar-tu-ku: BM 87345:4,13 (cf. Zadok, l.c.).
– Elamite:
1) Ir-du-ka$_4$: PF 2075:13.
2) Ir-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2208:5,17-18.

4.2.1550 *Ṛzabara-: *Ṛza-bara-, "honest, he who behaves honestly" (OnP 8.662; NW 110; ASN 219).

Gershevitch (1969b: 187) reconstructs *Hrza(t)-pāra-, "the forgiving".

– Elamite: Ir-zab-ba-ra: Fort. 6031:2-3; PF 280:13, 582:3-4, 1098:3, 1198:4-5, 1221:3, 1232:3, 1234:3, 2032:2, 2048:3; PFNN 1274:2-3, 1543:4-5.

4.2.1551 *Ṛzabarā- (fem.): *Ṛza-barā-, fem. equivalent of *Ṛza-bara- (OnP 8.661; ASN 219).

– Elamite: Ir-za-pír-ra: PF 2038:10.

4.2.1552 *Ṛzāna-: *Ṛza-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of an *Ṛza-name (EIW 784).

– Elamite: Ir-za-ma: PFNN 815:3-4.

4.2.1553 *Ṛzifya- (Med.): "eagle" (Darmesteter 1888: 510; Bivar 1961: 121n.1; Bogoljubov 1974: 16; Shahbazi 1975: 116-119; Schmitt 2002: 87). Cf. 4.2.1419.
– Aramaic: ʾRzpy: KAI 262:1.

4.2.1554 *Ṛžuxda-: "spoken correctly" (Benveniste 1966: 85; OnP 8.637, with small corrections to Benveniste; cf. OnP 10.13 on SU).
– Elamite: Ir-su-uk-da: PF 1961:34.

4.2.1555 *Sačīš (fem.): *Sačī-š, "zealous" (Gershevitch 1969b: 196; OnP 8.1529; ASN 219).
– Elamite: Šá-iz-zí-iš: PF 2038:29.

4.2.1556 *Sakāna-: *Saka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Saka- (2.2.49; OnP 8.1479; ASN 220).
– Elamite: Šá-ak-ka$_4$-na: PF 274-275:2-3, 369-370:2, 810:2; PFNN 236:2.

4.2.1557 *Sakiča-: *Sak-iča-, *-ič́a*-hypocoristic of *Saka-, "Scythian" (OnP 8.1477).
Gershevitch (1969: 187) pleads for *Sak-aiča-, "little dog", which is equally possible (as *Sakēča-). Hinz (ASN 220) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ak-ki-iz-za: PF 1698:3; PFNN 1125:3.
2) Šá-ki-iz-za: PF 796:3; PFNN 2410:4.

4.2.1558 *Sakima-: *Sak-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of *Saka- (OnP 8.1475).
Schmitt (apud ASN 220) has *Sakaiva-, a parallel formation of OP Haraiva-, in mind.
– Elamite: Šá-gi-ma: PF 243:4-5.

4.2.1559 *Sakina-: *Sak-ina-, *-ina*-extension of *Saka- (ElW 1110, reading *Sakaina-).
– Elamite: Šá-ag-gi-na: PFNN 1317:2.

4.2.1560 *Sakiš: *Sak-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Saka- (Gershevitch 1969: 229; OnP 8.1476; ASN 221).
– Elamite: Šá-ki-iš: Fort. 1016:6-7; OGWA 321-322:15.

4.2.1561 *Sakita-: *Sak-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Saka- (Eilers 1940b: 220; Zadok 1977: 123; Dandamayev 1992: 119).
– Babylonian: Sa-ak-kit-ta: Dar. 458:15.

4.2.1562 *Sāmaka- / *Savaka-: *-ka*-hypocoristic (Stolper, apud Spar & von Dassow 2000: 263) of *Sāma-, "black" or *Sava-, "benefit" (Zadok 2002b: no.2). Cf. Zadok 2004: 114.
The similar name Sa-am-ma-ku (Cyr. 379:5), father of Guzanu, is probably Semitic (derived from Sem. *smk*, "to support") and not Iranian (Zadok, l.c.). Jursa (2001-02: 224) suggests a connection with Arabic *samak*, "fish".

– Babylonian: Sa-ma-ak-ku: CTMMA 3 128:4.

4.2.1563 *Sāpāta- (Med.): *Sāpa-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Sāpa-, "charming, friendly". Cf. *Θāpāta- (4.2.1729).
Gershevitch (1969b: 195) reconstructs *Sāp-ata-, a *yaz-ata*-formation. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1469) and Hinz (ASN 221 and 239) merely mention this proposal. According to Lipiński (1977: 110) the Elamite spellings render a Sem. name Šabbatay, "born on the Sabbath", while the Aramaic should be read *s't*.
– Aramaic: Spt: PF 173:rev.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ab-ba-ad-d[a]: PF 2033:3.
2) Šá-ba-ud-da: PF 1113:3.

4.2.1564 *Sāračīš (Med.): < *Sāra-č-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Sāra-ča-, "head" (cf. ElW 1136).
– Elamite: Šá-ra-zí-iš: PFNN 1412:4-5.

4.2.1565 *Sāragōzīš (Med.): < *Sāra-gauz-iya-, "covering the head" (ASN 221), cf. 4.2.1730.
Gershevitch (1969b: 194) reconstructs *Sāra-xauzi-, "wearing a headgear", to Khot. *khauysa-*, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1455) rejects this.
– Elamite: Šá-ra-ku-zí(-iš): PF 861:4-5, 862:4, 1953:7,36,38; PFNN 1239:4-5.

4.2.1566 *Sāraka- (Med.): *Sāra-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Sāra-.
– Aramaic: Srk: TAD A 6.7:3.

4.2.1567 *Sāriča- (Med.): *Sār-iča-, *-ič́a*-extension of *Sāra- (ASN 221). Cf. 4.3.200.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ri-iz-za: PF 1954:1.
2) Šá-ri-za: PFNN 1581:14-15.

4.2.1568 *Sāričaka- (Med.): *Sār-iča-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Sāriča- (cf. ElW 1137).
– Elamite: Šá-ri-iz-za-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2476:24.

4.2.1569 *Sāričīš: < *Sāri-č-iya-.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ri-iz-zí-iš: PF 1955:8.
2) Šá-ri-su-iš: PF 1695:2. Cf. *āçiyādiš (2.4.11.1).

4.2.1570 *Sāristā- (Med.): "the noble" (Benveniste 1966: 92; Gershevitch 1969: 230-231; ASN 222).
– Elamite: Šá-ri-iš-da: PF 835:3, 1688:2.

4.2.1571 *Sāruka-: *Sār-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Sāra- (cf. ElW 1139).
– Elamite: Šá-ru-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1483:16,22,54,57.

4.2.1572 *Sārupā- (OPs): < *Sāra-p-a-, a two-stem hypocoristic (with /u/ < /a/ before a labial).

Gershevitch (1969: 230) reconstructs *Sā-rupa-, "fox-dog", with reference to Av. *spā urupiš*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1506) is not convinced by it. Hinz (ASN 222) also mentions *Sār-upastā-.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-ru-ik-ba: PF 1226:2.
2) Šá-ru-uk-ba: PF 338:2-3; PFNN 114:2-3, 526:3-4, 2300:14,24.

4.2.1573 *Sārya- (Med.): *Sār-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Sāra- (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxix).
– Aramaic: Sry: TAD D 9.11:7.

4.2.1574 *Sāstṛdāta- (OP): *Sāstṛ-dāta-, "born of a ruler" (ASN 222-223), cf. *Sāstṛzāta-.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-iš-šá-ir-da-ad-da[148]: Fort. 7112:3; PFNN 980:3.
2) Šá-iš-tur-da-ud-da: Fort. 7092:4.

4.2.1575 *Sāstṛzāta- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Sāstṛdāta- (ASN 222-223).
Because of the spelling Gershevitch (1969: 232) argues that the name cannot be interpreted as *Sāstṛzāta-. He prefers *Častṛ-zāta-, "born of a teacher", to Av. *kaš-*, "to teach". Nevertheless a reconstruction *Sāstṛzāta- is possible: ZA (four vertical strokes) is similar to ŠA (three vertical strokes) and might be written here under influence of -za-ud-da- (ASN 222-223).
– Elamite: Za-iš-tur-za-ud-da: PF 1046:2.

4.2.1576 *Satamēša- (Med.): < *Sata-maiša-, possessing 100 rams" (Gershevitch 1969b: 196; OnP 8.1471; Schmitt 1990b: 8-10). Cf. its OP equivalent *Θatamēša- (4.2.1731).
Gershevitch (1969: 233) prefers *Sata-visa-, "having hundred houses". Some authors (Benveniste 1966: 92; ASN 223; Mayrhofer 1986: 150; Von Soden 1986: 156) defend a reconstruction *Sata-vaisa-, "having 100 servants", the name of the constellation Antares (Av. *satauuaēsa-*). With regard to the Babylonian attestation Zadok (1990) argues that ZA could only be read as *-sà-* in this period in literary texts, but when this is valid for literary texts, it is also valid for documentary texts[149]. Hinz (ASN 223), who reads Kur-du-mi-iš as Sad-du-mi-iš, believes that *Sata-maiša- is unlikely, because -du-mi- points to /av/. Yet there is no indication of an El. reading *-sad-* for KUR (Schmitt, l.c.). Three other etymologies are (1) *Zantu-vaisa-, "knight of the tribe" (Dandamayev & Livšic 1988: 458-459; Dandamayev 1992: 144), (2) *Zantu-vaiša-, "servant of the tribe" (Zadok 1990), to OInd. *viṣa-*, and (3) *Zantu-maiša-, "sheep of the tribe" (Hinz, apud Dandamayev, l.c.).
– Babylonian: Za-at-tu-me-e-šú: OECT 10 163:3.
– Elamite:
1) Ša-ad-da-mi-iš-šá: PFNN 2045:4-5.
2) Šá-da-mi-šá: PF 1379:3, 1380:2; PFNN 196:3, 1038:20.

[148] With assimilation of /t/, as a result of which the precise reading should be *Sāssṛdāta-.

[149] The administrative and the literary world were not that separate as some believe. A scribe, name Bēl-ittannu, is known as having written both an administrative and a literary text (Stolper 1999: 594-595).

4.2.1577 *Satāspa- (Med.): *Sata-aspa-, "possessing 100 horses" (Benveniste 1966: 92; OnP 8.1472; ASN 223), Gk. Σατάσπης (IN 291).
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ad-da-áš-ba: PF 103:2, 1954:16; PFNN 40:10, 91:1-2, 548:5, 1406:5-6, 2040:12, 2190:18, 2290:12,14, 2299:13, 2337:24.
2) Šá-ad-da-iš-ba: PFNN 622:3-4.
3) Šá-da-áš-ba: PF 1526:3-4; PFNN 2157:4.

4.2.1578 *Saukara-: *Sauka-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Sauka-, "benefit" (cf. ElW 1143).
– Elamite: Šá-u-ka$_4$-ra: PFNN 1013:10, 2371:27.

4.2.1579 *Savanta- (Med.): thematized name, derived from **sav-*, "to yield benefit" (NW 115; ASN 224), cf. 4.2.1732.
– Elamite: Šá-man-da: PF 518:2, 669:11, 689:12, 1692:2, 1799:17, 1800:20, 1801:14, 1804:11, 2000:11, 2081:7; PFNN 161:19, 778:10, 1541:2, 1701:13, 1775:15, 1882:2, 2046:2, 2225:11.

4.2.1580 *Savayaka- (Med.): *Sava-ya-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a *-ya*-extension of *Savah- (cf. Grantovskij 1970: 217).
– Aramaic: Swyk: Alram 1986 371-375.

4.2.1581 *Saxra- (Med.): "the strong" (Gershevitch 1970: 89; OnP 8.1483; ASN 220). Cf. 4.2.1733.
– Elamite: Šá-kur-ra: PF 632:2.

4.2.1582 *Saxva-: retrenchment of *Saxvaraθa- (Zadok 1991: 40).
Segal (1983: 20) prefers a hypocoristic *Săxă-, but Schmitt rejects this (1987: 153).
– Aramaic: Sḫh: TAD B 8.3:3.

4.2.1583 *Saxvaraθa-: *Saxva-raθa-, "whose thoughts are with his chariot" (Bogoljubov 1973: 177; ASN 220).
Based on a wrong reading Swḫrt Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 115) reconstructs *Suxra-raθa-, "having a red chariot".
– Aramaic: Sḫwrt: Pers 44:2 (reading: Bogoljubov, l.c.).

4.2.1584 *Sigrya-: "Sigurian" (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1540; ASN 224).
Bogoljubov (1973: 175n.7) mentions NP *sāġar*, "beaker", which is a development from Old Iranian **sāigrava-*, "beaker made of Sigurian stone".
– Elamite: Ši-kur-ri-ia: PF 1736:2-3.

4.2.1585 *Sixa-: retrenchment of a name containing the element **sixa-*, "tuft of hair" (Gershevitch 1969b: 194; ASN 224).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1539) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Ši-ik-ka$_4$: PF 2066:3.

4.2.1586 *Skambāna-: *Skamb-āna, *-āna*-patronymic of *Skamba-, "he who lifts".

Gershevitch (1969: 195) pleads for *Xšwaiba-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Xšwaiba-, "the darting one" (Av. *xšuuaēβa-*), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.676) is very doubtful of this. Hinz (ASN 121) reconstructs *Hišku-vībaŋha-, "dry and without intoxicating potion" (Av. *hišku-*, "dry" and *vībaŋha-*, "intoxicating potion").

– Elamite: Iš-ku-mi-ban-na: PF 692:7-8 (Iš-ku-<mi>-ban-na), 693:14-15.

4.2.1587 *Skāriča-: *Skār-iča-, *-ičа*-extension of *Skār-, a retrenchment of the Av. PN Skāraiiaṯ.raθa- (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.674; ASN 224, reading *Skāraiča-), the meaning of which is not yet clear (Mayrhofer 1979: I/76).

– Elamite: Iš-ka$_4$-ri-iz-za: PF 1966:6.

4.2.1588 *Skauθika-: *Skauθi-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Skauθi-, "unfree" (Gershevitch 1969: 195; ASN 225; Zadok 1977: 102; Dandamayev 1992: 87).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.673) is doubtful of this explanation.

– Babylonian: Is-ku-ti-ik-ku: TuM 2/3 204 2,8,16,rev.22.

– Elamite: Iš-kam-tak-ka$_4$: PF 772:4.

4.2.1589 *Sōkakara-: < *Sauka-kara-, "he who is of use", lit. "benefit-maker".

Benveniste (1966: 93; also OnP 8.1571 and ASN 229) reconstructs *Sŭkakara-, "making light", to Av. *sŭka-*, "light". Hinz (ASN 229) rejects *Saukakara- because of El. tu-ka$_4$-kar (PF 1594:15), which he reads as *Θŭkakăra-, the OP equivalent of *Sŭkakara-. Unfortunately for Hinz his assumption is wrong. First of all a reading tu-ka$_4$-kar is possible, but not certain: it could as well be El. hi/še-ba-ka$_4$-kar (Stolper, pers. comm. 27/04/00). Secondly both words have very different meanings: tu-ka$_4$-kar indicates a valuable cereal, since it is mentioned together with ^{GIŠ}*za-li*, "linseed" (Koch 1980: 127n.120). *Sŭkakara- is a personal name and certainly not an indication of another cereal.

– Elamite: Šu-ka$_4$-ka$_4$-ra: Fort. 1016:1.

4.2.1590 *Spā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Span-, "dog" (Gershevitch 1969a: 196; OnP 8.663; ASN 225).

– Elamite: Iš-ba: PFNN 430:6.

4.2.1591 *Spaka- (Med.): *Spa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Spā- (ElW 786).

– Elamite: Iš-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 2269:5.

4.2.1592 *Spakača- (Med.): *Spaka-ča-, *-ča*-extension of *Spa-ka- (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.665; ASN 225).

– Elamite: I-iš-ba-ka$_4$-iz-za: PF 784:1-2.

4.2.1593 *Spakataka- (Med.): *Spaka-taka-, "running as (fast as) a dog" (ASN 225).

Other explanations are (1) *Spāka-tauka-, "dog-offspring", (2) *Spakā-tauka-, "son of a bitch" (Gershevitch 1969: 196) and (3) *Spa-kaθya-ka-, "dogboy" (NW 110). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.664) rejects all of them.

– Elamite: Iš-ba-ka$_4$-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1477:2-3, 1539:2.

4.2.1594 *Spanga-: name related to Av. Spəngha- (Gershevitch 1969: 196; OnP 8.666; ASN 225; Mayrhofer 1979: I/76).

– Elamite: Iš-ba-an-ka$_4$: PFNN 376:15-16, 1496:2-3.

4.2.1595 *Spantadāta-: *Spanta-dāta-, "given by the sacred entity" (Naveh & Shaked 1971: 380; ASN 227; Kornfeld 1978: 109), MP Spanddād, Parth. Spndtk (Schmitt 1998: 181), Sogd. ʾSp(ʾ)nδʾt, Spʾnδt and (ʾ)Spnδt, Gk. Σφενδαδάτης (IN 308-309), Arm. Spandarat, Georgian Sṗandaṭ and Arabic Isfandiyār and Isfandiyāδ. Cf. Av. *spəntō.dāta-*.

– Aramaic: Spntdt: TAD A 3.10:1,9.

4.2.1596 *Sparavanya-: *Spara-vanya-, "shield-overcomer" (Benveniste 1966: 85; Gershevitch 1969b: 188; Schmitt 1970: 16; OnP 8.667; ASN 226).

– Elamite: Iš-ba-ra-man-ia: PF 1540:1-2.

4.2.1597 *Sparavistva- / *Sparāstva-: *Spara-vistva-, "piercing shields" (ASN 226; cf. also Hallock 1969: 705).

Gershevitch (1969: 196) prefers *Spara-vistama-, a superlative of *Spara-vid-, "shield-piercer". An objection against this is that a sequence -du-ma- rather reflects /dva/ or /tva/ (ASN 226). Hinz (NW 110) reconstructs *Spara-vistāxva-, "shield-brave".

– Elamite:

1) Iš-ba-ra-áš-du-ma: PFNN 455:2.
2) Iš-ba-ra-mi-iš-du-ma: PF 827:2-3, 1318:12, 1558:3-4; PFNN 1385:5-6.
3) Iš-ba-ra-mi-iš-ti-ma: PF 686-687:2-3, 1316:3, 1317:2-3 (°-mi-<iš>-ti-ma).
4) Iš-ba-ru-u-mu-iš-ti-ma: PF 785:2-3.

4.2.1598 *Spărčē-: < *Spăr-ča-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of a *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Spăra-name.

Zadok (2004: 115), who is doubtful of an Iranian origin of this name, has two objections: *-ča-* "generally follows a vowel" and is never followed by another suffix. The first one is true, but "generally" is not the same as "exclusively" (cf. *Kančaka- [4.2.924], *Xančaka- [4.3.267] and *Xančan(i)ya- [4.3.268]). The second one is incorrect, cf. *Dahačaka- [4.2.468], *Jīčaka- [4.2.896], *Kafačaya- [4.2.909], *Patičāta- [4.2.1257], *Sāračīš [4.2.1564], *Šargučīš [4.2.1625], *Taxmačiya- [4.2.1688], *Tigračiya- [4.2.1696], etc.

– Babylonian: Is-pa-ar-še-e: IMT 44:3.

4.2.1599 *Spărina-: *Spăr-ina-, *-ina*-extension of a retrenchment of a name containing *Spāra-, "prosperity" or *Spara-, "shield" (Schmitt 1972f: 89; OnP 8.670; ASN 226).

One could also read Iš-ba-re-na and reconstruct *Spărēna-.

– Elamite: Iš-ba-ri-na: PF 868:5; PFNN 1380:5.

4.2.1600 *Spihradāta-: < *Spiθra-dāta-, "given by heaven" (Stolper 1994: 620; Zadok 2004: 112, who tries to explain the transposition Bab. *š* = Ir. *s* as an East Iranian element, but iš can simply be read ís [Röllig & von Soden 1991: 26]), Gk. Σπιθραδάτης and Σπιθριδάτης (Schmitt 1993b: 394-396).

Zadok (1977: 98) and Dandamayev (1992: 114) read Pi-ri-da-a-ta.

– Babylonian: Ís-pi-ri-da-a-ta: VAT 15609:3.

4.2.1601 *Spita-: "abundant".

– Aramaic: Spyt: Shaked 2004: 55 (Doc. A4:2).

4.2.1602 *Spitaka-: *Spita-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Spita-, "abundant" (Schmitt 2004: 486 and 2006: 192), Gk. Σπιτάκης (IN 309).

Hinz (ASN 226-227) reads *Spitaka-, "white" (Av. *spita-*), whereas Zadok (1995b: 442) prefers *Spaitaka-, "white", to OInd. *śvetá-*, Av. *spaēta-*, MP *spēd* and NP *sapēd*. Briant & Descat (1998: 65) do not give a translation.

– Aramaic: Spytk: TAD C 3.7 Kv ii 16.

4.2.1603 *Spitāma-: *Spita-ama-, "with abundant force" (Bailey 1979: 437; Schmitt 2004: 486 and 2006: 194), Av. Spitāma-, Gk. Σπιταμᾶς (IN 309) and Σπιθάμης.

Justi (IN 309; also ASN 226-227) prefers a retrenched *Spitamanah- (Gk. Σπιταμένης). Lommel (1935: 169-171; also Eilers 1936: 178n.1 and Mayrhofer 1979: I/77) pleads for *Spita-ama-, "pure and strong", while Bailey (1939: 117) reads *Spĭta-ama-, "having increased strength".

– Babylonian:

1) Is-pi-i-ta-am: PBS 2/1 29:13.
2) Is-pi-i-ta-am-mu: PBS 2/1 27:9,13.
3) Is-pi-ta-ma-': EE 109:5,6.
4) Is-si-pi-ta-am-ma: YBC 11562:4 (cf. Stolper 1987: 395 and Stolper, pers. comm. 23/06/05).

4.2.1604 *Spṛdiya-: *Spṛd-iya-, "zealous" (Zadok 1986: 43).

Segal (1983: 69) and Schmitt (1987: 152) consider *Spard-iya-, "Lydian", a gentilic used as anthroponym.

– Aramaic: Sprdy: ATNS 50:3.

4.2.1605 *Sraumā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Srauman-, "hearing ability" (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 120).

Hamp (1979: 189) prefers a connection with Av. *sraoša-*, "obedient".

– Babylonian: Su-ru-um-mu: TuM 2/3 142:5.

4.2.1606 *Sravanta- (Med.): "the hearing, obedient" (Zadok 1976: 69; Dandamayev 1992: 120).

– Babylonian: Su-ru-un-du: Xer. 2:3.

4.2.1607 *Srubya- (Med.): *Srub-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Srub-, "lead".

Hinz (NW 51; ASN 227) reconstructs *Srβya-.

– Aramaic: Srby: Pers 122:1.

4.2.1608 *Stātaka-: *Stāta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Stāta-, "sturdy, solid" (OnP 8.671; ASN 228; Schmitt 2006: 284).

Gershevitch (1970: 86) connects this name with Oss. *stad*, "stopping, remaining behind" and translates "the weary".

– Elamite:

1) Iš-da-ad-da-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 810:3-4.
2) Iš-da-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 831:9-10, 1114:3.

4.2.1609 *Stātiya-: *Stāt-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Stāta-, "solid, sturdy" (ASN 228; Schmitt 2006: 284).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.672) derives the name from Av. *stāti-*, "standing".

– Elamite: Iš-da-at-ti-ia: PF 722:3.

4.2.1610 *Stauka-: *Sta(v)-uka-, *-uka*-extension of *Stav-, "praising" (Zadok 1976d: 215).

Gershevitch (1970: 86) reconstructs *Spira-hū-ka-, "having fat sows" (based on a spelling Iš-pír-uk-ka$_4$), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.680) is not certain about this. Schmitt (apud OnP 294) proposes *Spar-uka-. Hinz (ASN 228), who reads Iš-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$, reconstructs *St-auka-, an *-auka*-extension of *Stā-, "to stand".

– Elamite: Iš-tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 999:1-2.

4.2.1611 *Stṛma-: retrenchment of a name containing **stṛma-*, "camp, encampment".

– Elamite:

1) Iš-tar-ma: PFNN 2202:10, 2286:20,23,26,39.
2) Iš-tur-ma: PFNN 2202:22,32, 2417:3, 2572:5.

4.2.1612 *Sūbagiya-: *Sū-bag-iya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Sū-baga-, "being prosperous because of Baga" or "bringing prosperity for Baga".

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1173) connect this name with Russian *собака*, "dog".

– Elamite: Šu-ba-gi-ia: PF 981:2.

4.2.1613 *Sūča-: *Sū-ča-, *-ča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Sū-name.

– Elamite: Šu-iz-za: PFNN 1232:2-3.

4.2.1614 *Sūkāmaka-: *Sū-kāma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Sū-kāma-, "desirous for prosperity".

– Elamite: Šu-kam-ka$_4$: PFNN 705:14.

4.2.1615 *Sūkṛna-: *Sū-kṛna-, "making prosperity".

Benveniste (1966: 93, also Gershevitch 1969: 230; OnP 8.1578; ASN 229) prefers *Sukurna-, "porcupine" (Av. *sukurəna-* and NP *sugur(na)*).

– Elamite: Šu-kur-na: PF 306:5.

4.2.1616 *Sūsanda- (Med.): *Sū-sanda-, "accomplishing prosperity".

Gershevitch (1969: 231; also ASN 223) connects this name with Av. *saošiiaṇt-*, "saviour", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1588) is doubtful of this.

– Elamite: Šu-šá-an-da: PF 294:4.

4.2.1617 *Sūvarya-: *Sū-varya-, "desired prosperity".

– Elamite: Šu-mar-ri-ia: PFNN 877:2-3.

4.2.1618 *Syaina-: "eagle" (Gershevitch 1969: 233; OnP 8.1560; ASN 229), Av. Saēna- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/73-74).
– Aramaic: Syn': OIP 117 208:1-2.
– Elamite:
1) Ši-ia-a-e-na: PF 1202:2-3; PFNN 365:2.
2) Ši-ia-a-na: PF 780:7-8, 859:5-6, 878:3, 896:2-3, 897-898:3, 899-902:2-3, 1183:2; PFNN 50:2-3, 1260:2-3 (Ši-<ia>-a-na), 2518:2-3 (Ši-<ia>-a-na).
3) Ši-ia-e-na[150]: PF 612:6-7, 615:6, 620:8, 1801:1; PFNN 300:7-8, 1237:2, 1306:7, 2016:3, 2154:5.

4.2.1619 *Syāmaka- (Med.): *Syāma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Syāma-, "black" (Grelot 1972: 490; ASN 229), Av. Siiāmaka- (name of a mountain, AiW 1631), NP Syāmak (IN 299) and Gk. Σιώμαχος (ibid.).
– Aramaic: Symk: TAD C 3.15:27.

4.2.1620 *Syāva- (Med.): "black" (Eilers 1940: 87; Dandamayev 1992: 119), Gk. Σιαυ(ακ)ος (Zgusta 1955: 144-145). Cf. 4.2.1648 and 4.2.1737.
*Syāma- is also possible (Grelot 1972: 490), but see Zadok (1997d: no.8, s.v. *Syāvāna-).
– Babylonian: Si-ia-a-mu-': PBS 2/1 38:Lo.E.

4.2.1621 *Syāvāna- (Med.): *Syāva-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Syāva- or of a retrenchment of a *Syāva-name (Zadok 1997d: no.8). According to Zadok a reconstruction based on *Syāma- is excluded, because one would expect Si-ia-am-ma-nu.
– Babylonian: Si-ia-ma-nu: BM 92990.

4.2.1622 *Šādaka-: < *Šāta-ka-, a *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Šāta-, "prosperous" (Zadok 1997: A no.8 and 1997c), MP Šādak.
– Babylonian: Šá-^{da}dak-ku: BM 33936:19 (cf. Zadok 1997).

4.2.1623 *Šapatama- (Med.): *Šapat-ama-, a barat̲.zaoθra name meaning "he whom Ama fosters".
Zadok (1985: 175) considers it an Iranian name *Spitāma- (cf. 4.2.1603). Segal (1983: 49) mentions *Šift(t)am < *Xšwifta-tama-, "sweetest", cf. Parth. *šyft*. Schmitt (1987: 153) believes the name to be Egyptian, but that is unlikely, because all other names in this text are Iranian. Porten & Lund (2002: 416) prefer Eg. Šepetum.
– Aramaic: Šptm: TAD B 8.1:13.

4.2.1624 *Šapuka-: *Šap-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenched name with **šap-*, "to foster".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1133) reconstruct *Xšap-uka-, "nightly" (to Av. *xšap-*, "night").
– Elamite: Šá-pu-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 1451:3.

[150] Perhaps a rendering of *Syēna-.

4.2.1625 *Šargučīš: < *Šargu-ča-iya-, an *-iya*-extension of a *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Šargu-name (ElW 1122).
– Elamite: Šá-ir-ku-zí-iš: PFNN 1254:10-11.

4.2.1626 *Šargudāta- (OP): *Šargu-dāta-, "born of a lion" (Gershevitch 1970: 90; ASN 229).
– Elamite: Šá-ir-ku-da-da: PFNN 1159:9-10.

4.2.1627 *Šarguniya-: *Šargu-n-iya-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Šargu-naya-, "leading the lion".
Gershevitch (1970: 90) reads *Šarguvanya-, "lion-conqueror", but that would require a spelling Šá-ir-ku-man-ia (ASN 229). Hinz (ASN 229) reconstructs *Šargu-naya-.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ir-ku-ni-ia: PFNN 1008:5.
2) Šá-ir-ku-nu-ia: PFNN 2198:18-19, 2364:7.

4.2.1628 *Šāta-: "prosperous" (ElW 1119, reconstructing *Šyāta-).
– Elamite: Šá-da: PFNN 660:3-4.

4.2.1629 *Šātaina- / *Šātēna-: *Šāt-aina-, *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Šāta- (ASN 230; Zadok 1979: 299; Dandamayev 1992: 120 and 122).
– Babylonian:
1) Šá-a-te-en-na-': EE 62:3.
2) Šad-da-a-a-nu: TCL 13 183:7.
3) Šá-ta-'-a-ni-': PBS 2/1 116:7.

4.2.1630 *Šātātāna-: *Šāt-āta-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of an *-āta*-extension of *Šāta- (Tavernier 2001: no.6).
– Babylonian: Šá-tat-na-': IMT 44:2.

4.2.1631 *Šātavēnara-: < *Šāta-vaina-ra-, *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Šāta-vaina-, "he who sees the prosperity".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1145) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: Šá-ut-me-na-ra: PFNN 2557:2-3.

4.2.1632 *Šātaxma- (Med.): < *Šāta-taxma-, "prosperous and brave" (ASN 230; Zadok 1977: 105; Dandamayev 1992: 121; Stolper 1994: 620).
The scholars reconstruct names beginning with *Šyāta-° or *Šyāti-°. Hinz (ASN 137) also mentions *Xšayataxmă-, "ruling the brave".
– Babylonian:
1) Šá-ta-aḫ-ma-': PBS 2/1 113:1,7 ([Šá-t]a-°),14.
2) Šá-ta-aḫ-me: PBS 2/1 100:13.
3) Šá-ta-ḫu-me: IMT 46:R.E.
4) Šá-ta-ḫu-um: PBS 2/1 126:16, 128:16 (°-ḫu-<um>); IMT 46:10 ([Šá-ta]-°).

4.2.1633 *Šātēča-: < *Šāt-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Šāta- (ElW 1140: *Šyātaiča-).
– Elamite: Šá-te-ez-za: PFNN 1376:3.

4.2.1634 *Šātibara-: *Šāti-bara-, "bringing prosperity" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Benveniste 1966: 120; Grelot 1972: 492; ASN 231; Zadok 1977: 96 and n.54; Dandamayev 1992: 121; Schmitt 2006: 187).
- Aramaic:
  1) Štbr: TAD B 3.4:28, 3.5:11.
  2) Štybr: TAD B 3.5:3.
- Babylonian: Šá-ta-ba-ri: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:8,10,21.

4.2.1635 *Šātibaxša-: *Šāti-baxša-, "bestowing prosperity" (Tavernier 1999).
Another possibility is *Šāti-vaxša-, "he who makes prosperity grow" (Tavernier, l.c.). Zadok (1977: 95n.39) and Dandamayev (1992: 121) erroneously read *Šyāti-.
- Babylonian: Šá-ta-b/ma-ak-su: VS 3 159:3.

4.2.1636 *Šātibṛdana- (OP): *Šāti-bṛdana-, "exalting prosperity" (OnP 8.1516; ASN 230).
According to Gershevitch (1969: 230) it is an *-āna*-patronymic.
- Elamite: Šá-ti-bar-tan-na: PF 1852:1.

4.2.1637 *Šātibṛzana- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Šyātibṛdana- (Eilers 1940: 34; Benveniste 1966: 120; Grelot 1972: 492; ASN 231; Zadok 1977: 98; Dandamayev 1992: 121; Schmitt 2006: 158 and 186). Gk. Σατιβαρζάνης.
- Aramaic: Štbrzn: TAD B 2.1:16; TAD C 3.8 iii b 30,34 ([Štybr]zn),35 (Šty[b]rzn); TAD D 1.32:14.
- Babylonian:
  1) Šá-<ta>-ba-ar-za-na-': EE 13:25'.
  2) Šá-ta-ba-ar-za-nu: PBS 2/1 84:15.
  3) Šá-ta-bar-za-na: BE 9 83:19,L.E.; IMT 18:26; PBS 2/1 130:18.
  4) Šá-ta-bar-za-nu: FuB 14 17-18 no.7:rev.4.

4.2.1638 *Šātuka-: *Šāt-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Šāta- (ElW 1110).
Other etymologies are (1) *Šāta-ahū-kā-, (2) *Šāta-vahu-kā- (Gershevitch 1969: 233), (3) *Sat-auka- (OnP 8.1473) and (4) *Šyāt-auka- (ASN 230).
- Elamite: Šá-ad-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1790:7-8.

4.2.1639 *Šāvamā- (fem.): *Šāv-amā-, "she who sets herself strongly in motion" (Tavernier 2000: no.5, reconstructing *Šaumā-).
Zadok (1977: 112) believes it is a Semitic name, but Dandamayev (1992: 123) argues that a Median could not have had a Sem. name that early (reign of Cyrus or Cambyses) in the Achaemenid period.
- Babylonian: Šu-um-mu: Mich 89:53.

4.2.1640 *Šēbṛzana- (Med.): < *Šyā-bṛzana-, "exalting the happy ones".
Zadok (1977: 106 and n.188; also Dandamayev 1992: 122) pleads for *Šēbṛzāna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Šyā-bṛza-, "glad and high".
- Babylonian: Še-bar-za-nu: UET 4 66:3.

4.2.1641 *Šēzāta- (Med.): < *Šyā-zāta-, "born cheerfully" (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 123).
- Babylonian:
  1) Še-za-a-tú: PBS 2/1 77:U.E.
  2) Še-za-ta-': PBS 2/1 192:6.

4.2.1642 *Šībava-: *Šība-va-, *-va*-extension of *Šība-, "path".
Eilers (1940: 87; also ASN 230 and Dandamayev 1992: 123) connects the name with MP Šibbūye, a name not yet explained.
- Babylonian: Ši-ib-bu-ú: PBS 2/1 43:3.

4.2.1643 *Šyātibṛdana- (OP): *Šyāti-bṛdana-, "exalting prosperity" (OnP 8.1561; ASN 230).
- Elamite: Ši-ia-ti-bar-^{da}tan-na: PF 1292:4-5.

4.2.1644 *Šyātiča-: *Šyāti-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Šyāti- or of a retrenchment of a *Šyāti-name (Cameron 1948: 93; OnP 8.1564; ASN 231; Schmitt 2006: 190). Gk. Σατιφέρνης.
- Elamite: Ši-ia-ti-iz-za: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:1; Fort. 1566:1; PF 1815-1816:1, 1818-1820:1; PFNN 333:1, 349:1, 495:1, 1280:1, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1645 *Šyātifarnā: *Šyāti-farnā, "knowing prosperity and glory" (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1562; ASN 231; ElW 1170).
- Elamite: Ši-ia-ti-bar-na: PF 1368:3-4; PFa 30:14; PFNN 546:8 (Ši-<ia>-ti-bar-na).

4.2.1646 *Šyātimanta-: *Šyāti-manta-, "having prosperity" (ASN 231).
Bowman (1970: 126) reads Šygmnt.
- Aramaic: Šytmnt: Pers 57:2, 67:2.

4.2.1647 *Šyātiš: *Šyāti-š, retrenchment of a *Šyāti-name (ElW 1172).
- Elamite: Ši-ia-ti-iš: Fort. 706:5.

4.2.1648 *Šyāva- (OP): OP equivalent of *Syāva- (4.2.1620), cf. 4.2.1737.
Most authors (Benveniste 1966: 93; Gershevitch 1969: 233; OnP 8.1559; ASN 229) reconstruct *Syāva-, but Elamite usually renders the Old Persian form.
- Elamite: Ši-ia-ma: PF 1514:1-2; PFNN 2490:18.

4.2.1649 *Šyāvaršā (OP): nom. sg. of *Šyāva-ṛšan-, "having dark-coloured stallions" (ElW 1172), cf. the Av. PN Siiāuuaršan- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/75). Younger form of *Θyāvaršā (4.2.1738).
- Elamite: Ši-ia-mar-šá: PFNN 2344:19.

4.2.1650 *Šyāviča- (OP): *Šyāv-iča-, *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of *Šyāva- or of a retrenchment of a *Šyāva-name (cf. ElW 1172, reading *Syāvaiča-).
- Elamite: Ši-ia-mi-iz-za: PFNN 835:2-3.

4.2.1651 *Tačiš: *Tač-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Taka-, "runner, athlete" (OnP 8.385; ASN 231), with palatalisation before /i/.

Gershevitch (1969: 239) considers *Tačiš as an *-i*-patronymic of *Tača-, "running".

– Elamite: Da-zí-iš: PFNN 340:5-6.

4.2.1652 *Tāfta-: "the hot one" (ElW 246). Cf. 4.3.210.

– Elamite: Da-ab-da: PFNN 2508:2-3.

4.2.1653 *Tāgavanūš (fem.): *Tāga-vanū-š, "loving crowns" (Schmitt 1970: 20).

Eilers (1969: 39n.108) is convinced that *Taka- should be the first part of the name. Other proposals are (1) *Daga-vaŋhu-, "having a good voice" (Gershevitch 1969: 234), (2) *Δakka-vahvi- (NW 108) and (3) *Taka-vāna-, "run-victory" (ASN 234).

– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 541:42.

4.2.1654 *Ta(h)ma- (OP): "brave" (OnP 8.344; ASN 231).

Gershevitch (1969: 235) reconstructs *Taxma-, "brave" or *Dahma-, "knowing", to Av. *dahma-*.

– Elamite: Da-ma: PFNN 377:11.

4.2.1655 *Ta(h)mafarnā (OP): nom. sg. of *Ta(h)ma-farnah-, "brave and glorious" (ElW 251).

– Elamite: Da-am-pír-na: PFNN 1551:3.

4.2.1656 *Ta(h)magēθa- (OP): < *Ta(h)ma-gaiθa-, "whose cattle is courageous" (NW 115; ASN 231).

Gershevitch (1969b: 197) prefers *Tauka-yāθa-, "wanting offspring", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1603) rejects this proposal.

– Elamite: Tam$_5$-ge-sa: PFNN 1183:1.

4.2.1657 *Ta(h)māma- (OP): *Ta(h)ma-ama-, "valiant and strong" (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.351; NW 115).

Hinz (ASN 231) mentions Da-am-ma as only spelling, but such a spelling is nowhere attested in Elamite (Stolper, pers. comm. 03/08/01). Additionally such a spelling would render *Ta(h)ma-. Gershevitch's (1970: 90) reconstruction *Davahva(nt), "the accursed" is not plausible.

– Elamite:

1) Da-um-am-ma: PFNN 198:8-9.
2) Tam$_5$-ma-ma: PFNN 913:2.

4.2.1658 *Ta(h)māna- (OP): *Ta(h)ma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ta(h)ma- (OnP 8.348; ASN 232).

– Elamite:

1) Da-man-na: PF 1968:15.
2) Da-man-nu: PF 2041:4; PFNN 2265:7.
3) Tam$_5$-ma-na: PFNN 957:2.

4.2.1659 *Ta(h)mārba- (OP): *Ta(h)ma-arba-, "valiant young man" (ElW 278).

– Elamite: Tam$_5$-ma-har-ba: PFNN 2226:2-3.

4.2.1660 *Ta(h)mārga- (OP): *Ta(h)ma-arga-, "brave and valuable".

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1604) has no opinion on this name. Hinz (ASN 232) pleads for *Tahma-vṛka-, "brave as a wolf".

– Elamite: Tam$_5$-mar-ka$_4$: PF 117:4, 118:4, 320:4.

4.2.1661 *Ta(h)mārīš (OP): < *Ta(h)ma-arya-, "the brave Iranian" (cf. ElW 278).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1605) has no information. Hinz (ASN 232) pleads for a haplology for *Tahma-marya-.

– Elamite: Tam$_5$-ma-ri-iš: PF 1949:8.

4.2.1662 *Ta(h)māspa- (OP): *Ta(h)ma-aspa-, "having brave horses" (Mayrhofer 1969: 108; OnP 8.1606; ASN 232).

Benveniste (1966: 94) reconstructs *Tumāspa-. Gershevitch (1969: 235) mentions the Median equivalent *Taxmāspa-.

– Elamite:

1) Tam$_5$-ma-áš-ba: PF 1583:3-4; PFNN 1469:3.
2) T[am$_5$]-ma-iš-ba: PF 793:2-3.

4.2.1663 *Taka-: "runner" (Gershevitch 1969: 234; OnP 8.339; ASN 233), NP Tag (IN 318).

Gershevitch (l.c.) also mentions a connection with Av. *dahāka-*, "the huge", or reconstructs *Daga-, "bald" (Av. *daya-*) and *Daga-, "saying, crow".

– Elamite: Da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 454-457:2, 570:5-6, 681:2-3, 913:2 ([D]a-ak-ka$_4$), 914:2, 1163:2-3; PFNN 303:2-3, 700:5, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1664 *Takaka-: *Taka-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Taka- (OnP 8.334; ASN 233).

According to Hinz (NW 108) the name is *Dakkaka-, "crybaby, blubberer" (OInd. *hakk-*, "to cry"). Hinz & Koch (ElW 288) consider the name to be Elamite, without offering further information.

– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-ka$_4$: PF 2028:6-7.

4.2.1665 *Takārina-: *Takār-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of *Takāra-, "jar" (OnP 8.336; ASN 234).

– Elamite:

1) Da-ka$_4$-ri-na: PF 1170:3.
2) Tak-ka$_4$-ri-<na>: PFNN 866:3.
3) Ti-ka$_4$-ri-na: Fort. 1639:3; PFNN 849:2.

4.2.1666 *Takāriya-: *Takār-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Takāra- (OnP 8.337; ASN 234; ElW 288).

Lipiński (1977: 106) pleads for Ar. *Ḏakariya-.

– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-ri-ia: PF 1627:3-4.

4.2.1667 *Takauka-: *Tak-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Taka- (ASN 233).

Other proposals are (1) *Daga(t)-vahu-ka-, "he who says what is good" (Gershevitch 1969: 234), (2) *Dăgă-vahu-ka-, "having a good voice" (ibid.) and *Taka-vahu-ka- (NW 108). Mayrhofer's (OnP 8.1593) reconstruction *Dakauka-, the OP equivalent of Za-ak-kam-ka, is unconvincing because Za-ak-kam-ka$_4$ renders *Čakauka- (4.2.383).

– Elamite: Tak-ka$_4$-u-ka$_4$: PF 611:5-6.

4.2.1668 *Tanūka-: *Tanū-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Tanū-name (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1610; ASN 234).

– Elamite:
1) Da-nu-ka$_4$: PFNN 474:4-5.
2) Da-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2508:3-4.
3) Tan-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1349:4.

4.2.1669 *Tapara-: "axe" (Gershevitch 1969: 236; OnP 8.317; ElW 260).
Hinz (ASN 234) reconstructs *Tapara-, to NP *tabār*, "origin".
– Elamite: Da-ba-ra: PF 1731:3, 1732:2-3, 1743:2-3, 1744:2; PFNN 845:2, 1265:2-3.

4.2.1670 *Tapariča-: *Tapar-iča-, *-ič̌a*-hypocoristic of *Tapara- (ElW 260).
– Elamite: Da-ba-ri-iz-za: PFNN 1413:3.

4.2.1671 *Tapātaka-: *Tap-āta-ka-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Tap-āta-, "warm" (ElW 269).
– Elamite: Tab-ba-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2351:6-7.

4.2.1672 *Tapauka-: *Tap-auka-, "warm" (ElW 260).
– Elamite: Da-ba-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 551:2.

4.2.1673 *Tapauša-: *Tapa-uša-, "horny camel" (ASN 234).
Gershevitch (1969: 236) mentions *Tapa(t)-auša-, "lip-twister" (NP *tābīdan* and *tāftan*, "to twist" and Av. *aoštra-*, "lips"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.318), however, rejects this proposal and connects the name with **uša-*, "camel".
– Elamite: Da-ba-u-šá: PFNN 555:5.

4.2.1674 *Tapōkā- (fem.): < *Tapaukā-, the fem. equivalent of Tapauka- (ElW 287).
– Elamite: Tap-pu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:43,62.

4.2.1675 *Tāta-: "father" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Grantovskij 1970: 217; ASN 235; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 124).
Kornfeld (1978: 120) considers Ar. Tt as a non-Iranian "Lallname".
– Aramaic: Tt: TAD B 3.5:24.
– Babylonian:
1) Ta-a-ta: PBS 2/1 65:20,R; UET 4 2:34.
2) Ta-ta-$^{\text{?}}$: BE 10 86:13,Lo.E.; PBS 2/1 64:10; TuM 2/3 187:12.

4.2.1676 *Tātaka-: *Tāta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Tāta-, "father" (Zadok 1983c: 319; Dandamayev 1992: 124).
– Babylonian: Ta-tak-ka-$^{\text{?}}$: VS 20 49:rev.9.

4.2.1677 *Tātya-: *Tāt-ya-, *-ya*-extension of Tāta- (Zadok 1977: 100 and n.94; Schmitt 1994: 87).
– Babylonian:
1) Ta-ti-ia: TuM 2/3 189:19,U.E.
2) Ta$^{\text{!}}$-ti-iá: BE 8/1 120:2 (collation M.W. Stolper; cf. Zadok, l.c.).

4.2.1678 *Tauka-: "offspring" (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.1602; ASN 235). Cf. 4.3.218.
– Elamite: Tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PF 498:3-4, 2047:3-4; PFNN 1619:3, 2292:3.

4.2.1679 *Taukaya-: *Tauka-ya-, hypocoristic of *Tauka- (Tavernier 2002b: 149).
– Elamite: Da(?)-uk-ka$_4$-ia: PFNN 304:2-3.

4.2.1680 *Taumā(-): either a nom. sg. of *Tauman-, "power", a retrenchment of a *Tauman-name or a retrenchment of a compound with OP *taumā-*, "family" (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.376; ASN 235).
– Elamite: Da-u-ma: PF 1404:2.

4.2.1681 *Tauθika- / *Tōθika- (OP): *Tauθ-ika-, *-ika*-extension of *Tauθ-, "bestowing richly" (Tavernier 2001b). Cf. 4.2.1722.
Hinz (ASN 235) derives this name from **tausa-*, "thigh". According to Gershevitch (1969: 238) Tu-tuk-ka$_4$ renders *Dūta-vahu-ka- (yet the equation TU = Ir. /dū/ is questioned by Mayrhofer [OnP 8.1670]), while Hinz (ASN 241) reconstructs *Θuθika-, "beetle".
– Elamite:
1) Tam$_5$-si-ka$_4$: PF 1141:2 (reading: Hinz, apud OnP 8.1344).
2) Tu-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1957:29.

4.2.1682 *Tavarēvaya-: < *Tava-raiva-ya-, a hypocoristic of *Tava-raiva-, "he who is strong and rich" (Tavernier 2002b: 151).
Hinz (ASN 241) divides this name into two parts, connecting those with Av. *θβāuuaṇt-*, "someone like you" and *raēuua-*, "rich". His translation is "someone who is rich, just like you".
– Elamite: Tu-$^{\text{ma}}$mar-re-me-a: PF 1829:2-3.

4.2.1683 *Tavāta-: *Tav-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Tav-, "he who is strong" (Tavernier 2001: no.7).
– Babylonian: Tu-ú-tu$_4$: PT 85:obv.3.

4.2.1684 *Tavaya-: *Tav-aya-, *-ya*-extension of *Tav- (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 129).
– Babylonian: Tu-me-e-a: UET 4 1:seal 12, 2:36,seal 2.

4.2.1685 *Taxma- (Med.): "brave, valiant", Med. equivalent of *Ta(h)ma- and masc. form of *Taxmā- (ElW 271), Av. Taxma- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/80).
– Elamite: Tak-ma: PFNN 2349:19.

4.2.1686 *Taxmā- (Med.; fem.): "the valiant woman" (Benveniste 1966: 81; OnP 8.340; Mayrhofer 1974-77: 183; ASN 232).
– Elamite: Da-ak-ma: PF 1790:5.

4.2.1687 *Taxmabāra- (Med.): *Taxma-bāra-, "the valiant horseman" (OnP 8.1594, translating "having valiant horsemen"; ASN 232).
Gershevitch (1969: 235) pleads for *Taxma-bāra-, "owner of a valiant mount" (MP *bārag*, "horse, mount", NP *bāre*.).
– Elamite:
1) Da-ak-um-ba-ra: PFNN 1554:3.
2) Da-ik-ma-ba-ra: PFNN 1353:2-3.
3) Tak-ma-ba-ra: PF 80:2.

4.2.1688 *Taxmačiya- (Med.): *Taxma-č-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Taxma-ča-, a *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Taxma- (ASN 232).
Benveniste (1966: 81) reconstructs *Taxma-jya-, "with a valiant bow", but Gershevitch (1969: 235) argues that Av. *jiiā-* means "bow-string". He pleads for *Taxma-ji-, "living valiantly". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1598) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Tak-ma-zí-ia: Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:13; PF 1806:19, 1807:18 (°-z[í-ia]), 1810:17; PFNN 1040:15, 1393:14-15.

4.2.1689 *Taxmāna- (Med.): *Taxma-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Taxma- (OnP 8.341; ASN 232).
– Elamite: Da-ak-ma-na(?): Fort. 8628:4.

4.2.1690 *Taxmapitā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Taxma-pitar-, "having a valiant father" (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.342; ASN 232).
– Elamite: Da-ak-ma-pi-da: PFNN 505:2.

4.2.1691 *Taxmarăziya- (Med.): *Taxma-răz-iya-, *-ya*-extension of *Taxma-raza-, "pointing valiantly" or of *Taxma-rāza-, "walking valiantly" (ElW 271).
– Elamite: Tak-ma-ra-zí-ia: PFNN 2184:16, 2371:34.

4.2.1692 *Taxmarazmā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Taxma-razman-, "having a valiant phalanx" (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1595; ElW 271).
Hinz (ASN 232-233) reconstructs *Taxma-rasmā-.
– Elamite: Tak-ma-ráš-ma: PF 1972:4.

4.2.1693 *Taxmaršā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Taxma-ṛšan-, "the valiant hero" (ElW 271).
– Elamite: Tak-mar-šá: PFNN 2270:17, 2539:18.

4.2.1694 *Tigra-: retrenchment of a *Tigra-name, "slender" (Torrey, apud Clay 1912: 38; Eilers 1940b: 205n.4; ASN 235; Dandamayev 1992: 125). Cf. 4.3.220.
– Babylonian:
1) Ti-gi-ra-': BE 10 67:18, 90:11,Lo.E.
2) Ti-ig-ra-': PBS 2/1 192:20,U.E.
– Elamite: Ti-ik-ra: Fort. 3546:2.

4.2.1695 *Tigrača-: *Tigra-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Tigra-name (ElW 325).
– Elamite: Ti-ik-ri-iz-za: PFNN 2309:2.

4.2.1696 *Tigračiya-: *Tigra-č-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Tigra-ča-, a *-ča*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Tigra-name (OnP 8.1652; ASN 236).
Gershevitch (1969: 235) believes to deal with the gentilic of *Tigraka-. According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1652) the second part of this name corresponds with Av. *jiiā-*, "bow-string". Hinz & Koch (ElW 355) read *Tigričiya-.
– Elamite:
1) Ti(?)-ik-ra-zí(?)-ia(?): PFNN 884:5-6.

2) Tuk-ra-zí-ia: PF 1026:2; PFNN 2415:10.
3) Tuk-ri-iz-ia: PFNN 1547:1-2, 1671:2-3.
4) Tuk-ri-iz-zí-ia: Fort. 9409:2; PF 943:2-3, 944:2.

4.2.1697 *Tigradāta-: *Tigra-dāta-, "given as a slim person" (ElW 355).
– Elamite: Tuk-re-da-ud-da: PFNN 1290:2, 2431:2-3.

4.2.1698 *Tigraka-: *Tigra-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Tigra-name (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1633; NW 116; ASN 236). Cf. 4.3.221.
– Elamite: Ti-ik-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1955:19.

4.2.1699 *Tigrakā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of *Tigraka- (OnP 8.1633; NW 116; ASN 236).
Gershevitch (1969b: 196) reconstructs *T/Θiga-varkā-, "aspen".
– Elamite: Ti-kur-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:50.

4.2.1700 *Tigruka-: *Tigr-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Tigra-name (OnP 8.1634; ASN 236).
– Elamite:
1) Ti-ik-ru-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2082:15; PFNN 1574:15-16.
2) Tuk-ru-ka$_4$: PFNN 2462:3.
3) Tuk-ru-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2490:2.

4.2.1701 *Tīhūpardaisa- (Med.) / *Tīhūpardēsa-: < *Tīhū-paridaisa-, "having an estate for partridges" (ASN 236; Dandamayev 1992: 125).
According to Eilers (1953: 14n.) and Zadok (1976d: 215) this name is possibly Egyptian.
– Babylonian:
1) Ti-ḫu-par^{ar}-de-e-si: BE 9 82:12.
2) Ti-ḫu-par^{ar}-ta-'-is: BE 9 81:12.

4.2.1702 *Tīra-: retrenchment of a compound with the divine name Tir- as one of the components (ASN 237). Cf. Parth. Tyry (Schmitt 1998: 185).
– Babylonian: Ti-ra-a: BE 10 80:7,10,R.

4.2.1703 *Tīradāta-: *Tīra-dāta-, "given by Tir" (Schmitt 2006: 202).
– Elamite:
1) Ti-ra-da-da: PFNN 1197:2.
2) Ti-ra-da-ud-da: PF 1100:2-3.

4.2.1704 *Tīrakāma-: *Tīra-kāma-, "desirous for Tir" (ASN 237).
– Babylonian:
1) Ti-ra-ka-am: BE 9 54:2; PBS 2/1 28:2,7.
2) Tir-ra$^{!}$-a-ka-am: PBS 2/1 159:5,9.
3) Tir-ra-ka-am-ma: BE 10 10:2,6.

4.2.1705 *Tīrāna-: *Tīr-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a *Tīra-name[151].

[151] Six (1895: 171) connects the name with Tīri-.

Zadok (1985: 175) reconstructs *Tīrya-āna-.

– Aramaic: Tyrn: ATNS 65:5; NC 3/15 169 no.5 and Pl.7:14.

4.2.1706 *Tīraya-: *Tīra-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Tīra-name (Grelot 1972: 495; Kornfeld 1978: 112), Gk. Τιραῖος (IN 325).

Hinz (ASN 238) reconstructs *Tīrya- and considers it to be a retrenchment of a *Tīrya-name.

– Aramaic: Tyry: TAD A 4.2:13.

– Elamite: Ti-re-ia: PF 24:5-6 (Ti-[r]e-ia), 113:4, 247:2, 388:6-7, 523-524:2, 780:4, etc. in PFT; PFa 20:2, 29:58; PFNN 124:2, 216:3, 863:9, 1234:2-3, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1707 *Tīrībāzu-: *Tīrī-bāzu-, "arm of Tiriya", with *Tīrī- < *Tīrya- (Eilers 1940b: 201n.3; ASN 237; Zadok 1977: 124 and 2004: 114; Kornfeld 1978: 112; Dandamayev 1992: 127), Gk. Τιρίβαζος (IN 326). Cf. 4.2.564.

With regard to the Aramaic spelling Schmitt (2002: 118) reads *Tīrīvazdā.

– Aramaic: Trybzw: Alram 1986 318-322; Babelon 1893 156.

– Babylonian: Ti-ri-ba-za-': TuM 2/3 189:11,15,L.E.

4.2.1708 *Tīrīdāta-: *Tīrī-dāta-, "given by Tirya" (OnP 8.1641; ASN 237; Zadok 1977: 116 and n.275; Dandamayev 1992: 127), MP Tīrdād (Gignoux 1986: II/167), Parth. Tyrydt (Gignoux 1972: 65), Gk. Τιρίδατης (IN 326-327), Arm. Trdat (Hübschmann 1897: 89).

– Babylonian:

1) Ti-ri-da-a-ta: BE 9 74:4,7,11,12.
2) Ti-ri-da-a-tú: BE 10 86:12,Lo.E.
3) Ti-ri-da-a-tu_4: PBS 2/1 128:16.
4) Ti-ri-da-ta: PBS 2/1 116:5,7.
5) Ti-ri-i-da-a-[tu]: TBER Pl.89 (AO 26782:9).
6) Tir-da-a-ta: BE 9 18:1.

– Elamite: Ti-ri-da-da: Fort. 1706:3; PF 1220:3-4 (°-da-<da>), 1229:3, 1597:4; PFNN 151:3, 451:3-4, 629:3-4, 1094:3, 1267:3-4, 1442:3-4, 1446:3, 1502:3-4, 2186:4-5.

4.2.1709 *Tīrīfarnā: nom. sg. of *Tīrī-farnah-, "glorious through Tirya" (Clay 1904: 65; Eilers 1940b: 201n.3; ASN 237; Zadok 1977: 123 and n.344; Dandamayev 1992: 128). Cf. 4.2.1714.

– Babylonian: Ti-ri-par-na-': BE 10 69:R; TuM 2/3 189:8b,12,16.

4.2.1710 *Tīrīkāma-: *Tīrī-kāma-, "desirous for Tirya" (Torrey, apud Clay 1912: 39; Eilers 1940: 103n.3; ASN 237; Zadok 1977: 102; Dandamayev 1992: 125).

– Babylonian:

1) Te-ri-ka-a-mu: EE 94:2.
2) Ti-ri-[k]a-am: IMT 20:4.

3) Ti-ri-ka-am-ma: BE 10 56:3,6,11 (Ti-ri-<<ra>>-ka-°); PBS 2/1 11:1,5,8,10.
4) Ti-ri-ka-am-mu: IMT 22:2,8,11,12 ([Ti-ri]-°).
5) Ti-ri-ka-a-mu: EE 86:1 ([Ti-ri]-ka-°),7 ([Ti]-ri-°).
6) Ti-ri-ka-mu: BE 9 68:1,5,8.
7) Tir-ri-ka-am-mu: Anatolica 14 127 no.67:2; EE 93:2, 99:2,8.

4.2.1711 *Tīrīspāda-: *Tīrī-spāda-, "with the army of Tirya" (ASN 237).

Hinz (NW 48) erroneously reads Trspt.

– Aramaic: Trspd: Pers 27:4.

4.2.1712 *Tīrīvā- (fem.): *Tīrī-vā-, adjectival derivation from *Tīrī- (ASN 237-238).

Gershevitch (1969: 236) prefers a retrenchment of a name containing Av. *θrima-*, "nourishment". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1742) connects it with *Tīryāma-.

– Elamite: Ti-ri-ma: PFNN 541:48.

4.2.1713 *Tīryadāta-: *Tīrya-dāta-, "given by Tirya" (ASN 238; Zadok 1977: 93).

– Aramaic:

1) Trydt: PF Ar. 112:1 (cf. Bowman 1970: 100).
2) Trydt': PF Ar. 114:2 (cf. Bowman 1970: 100).

– Babylonian: Ti-ri-ia-da-a-[ta]: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:7.

4.2.1714 *Tīryafarnā: nom. sg. of *Tīrya-farnah-, "glorious through Tirya" (Henning, apud Bivar 1961b: 191). Compare Kharosthi Tiravharna- (Henning, apud Bivar 1961b: 191n.2).

Nyberg (1964: 739) does not accept Henning's reading Tryprn. According to him the second and the last letter are both N, while the third one must be G. The result, Tngprn renders *Tangafarnah-, "whose personal destiny is weighty" (NP *sang*, "weigth, dignity" and *saxtan*, 'to weigh"). Nyberg (1964: 737-739) adds that a name *Tīryafarnah- cannot exist within the Iranian onomastic system. Hinz (NW 44; ASN 193) also reads Tngprn, but divides the word into two parts: **θanga-*, 'weight" and **pṛna-*, "full" (Av. *pərəna-*).

Despite these proposals Henning's reading remains plausible: the third letter may be a "lambda-shaped" Y (Lipiński 1975: 166) and the second and last letter are not necessarily the same. The horizontal line of N is much more horizontal than the one of R. With regard to the existence of this name within the Iranian onomastic system it is sufficient to mention the name *Tīrīfarnā (4.2.1709).

– Aramaic: Tryprn: TAD D 15.1.

4.2.1715 *Tīryāma-: *Tīryā-ama-, "powerful through Tirya" (ASN 238; Zadok 1977: 103 and n.137 and 2004: 114-115; Dandamayev 1992: 128).

Zadok (1977: 103n.138) also mentions *Tiryava-, which he connects with Av. ^{1}*yav-*, "to join" or ^{2}*yav-*, "standing near".

– Babylonian:

1) Ti-ri-ia-a-ma: BE 9 30:30, 34:25, 38a:8, 48:33,R.E., 51:11, 59:21, 64:12, 75:11; BE 10 97:12; EE 1:15, 28:21,rev.; IMT 4:14, 7:13, 8:24, 9:16, 10:5'.
2) Ti-ri-'-a-ma: AM 101:23; EE 25:rev.4 (Ti-ri-'-a-[ma]).
3) Tir-ri-ia-a-ma: BE 9 11:12,R.E., 35:30.

4.2.1716 *Tīryapāta-: *Tīrya-pāta-, "protected by Tirya" (Zadok 1991: 40).
– Aramaic: Trypt: TAD B 8.5:13.

4.2.1717 *Tīryāvauš (OPs): *Tīryā-vau-š, "good through Tirya" (Eilers 1976: 47; Zadok 1976d: 215 and 1977: 107; Dandamayev 1992: 126; Schmitt 1994: 87n.6).
– Babylonian: Ti-i-ri-a-^{mu}muš: PBS 2/1 5:11.

4.2.1718 *Tōkava-: < *Tauka-va-, "having offspring".
– Elamite: Du(?)-ka$_4$(?)-ma: PFNN 2207:15.

4.2.1719 *Tōsa- (Med.): < *Tausa-, "bestowing richly". Hinz & Koch (EIW 377) translate "thigh", cf. Av. Hu-taosā- (fem.). Mayrhofer (1977: 39 and 1979: I/52), however, has shown that Hutaosa- means "she who bestows richly" (OInd. *tośá-*).
– Elamite: Du-šá: PFNN 2263:22.

4.2.1720 *Tōsaya- (Med.): < *Tausa-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Tōsa-. Cf. 4.3.223.
– Elamite: Du-šá-ia: PF 1353:3.

4.2.1721 *Tōsēča- (Med.): < *Taus-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Tōsa-.
– Elamite: Du-še-ez-za: PFNN 2493:55.

4.2.1722 *Tōθikā- (OP; fem.): < *Tauθikā-, the fem. equivalent of *Tauθika- (4.2.1681; OnP 8.393; Tavernier 2001b).
Gershevitch (1969b: 197) and Hinz (ASN 241) consider this name to be the fem. equivalent of *Θuθika-, "beetle".
– Elamite: Du-si-ka$_4$: PFNN 1097:49.

4.2.1723 *Tṛpiš: *Tṛpi-š, "he who enjoys" (Gershevitch 1969: 237; OnP 8.1665; ASN 238).
– Elamite:
1) Tar-pi-iš: PFNN 1084:1-2, 1189:2.
2) Ti-ir-pi-iš: PF 1341:3.
3) Tur-pi-iš: PF 72:2, 146:4, 246:2-3, 257:3, 380:3-4, etc. in PFT; PFNN 741:2, 780:2, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1724 *Tuvāna-: "able, strong" (Zadok 1983c: 319; Dandamayev 1992: 130).
– Babylonian: Tu-mu-nu: CT 55 93:10.

4.2.1725 *Tuvāniya- / *Tuvānī-: *Tuvān-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Tuvāna- (Zadok 1975: 246; Dandamayev 1992: 129-130).
– Babylonian:
1) Tu-mu-ni-': PBS 2/1 97:U.E.

2) Tu-ú-ma-ni-ia: BE 10 67:16.

4.2.1726 *Θaičāna- (OP): *Θai-ča-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Θai-ča-, a *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Θai-, "orphan" (Tavernier 2002b: 150).
Hinz & Koch (EIW 1060) recognize the Persian character of this name.
– Elamite: Sa-iz-za-na: PFNN 1534:3.

4.2.1727 *Θaivaiča- (OP): *Θaiv-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Θaiva-, "orphan" (Gershevitch 1969: 187; ASN 239).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1454) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Sa-a-ma-e-iz-za: PF 1354:2.

4.2.1728 *Θanjaka-: *Θanja-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Θanja-, "he who pulls" (Benveniste 1966: 94; Gershevitch 1969b: 197; OnP 8.1611; ASN 239), cf. the English family name Pullman.
– Elamite: Tan-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1666:3-4.

4.2.1729 *Θāpāta- (OP): *Θāpa-āta-, "charming", *-āta*-extension of *Θāpa-. Cf. 4.2.1563.
Gershevitch (1969b: 195) prefers for *Θāp-ata- (a *yaz-ata*-formation), a name also mentioned by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1469) and Hinz (ASN 221 and 239).
– Elamite:
1) Sa-ab-ba-ad-da: PF 173:4.
2) Sa-ba-da: PF 1090:3.

4.2.1730 *Θāragōzīš (OP-Med.): < *Θāra-gauz-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Θāra-gauza-, "covering the head" (ASN 239), cf. 4.2.1565.
– Elamite:
1) Sa-ra-ku-iz-zí-iš: PF 244:6-7, 871:2, 879:2, 903-904:2-3, 957:2-3, 958:2, 1137:2-3; PFa 1:11-12,14-15 (°-ra-[k]u-iz-°); PFNN 675:5, 1485:2-3, 1588:12.
2) Sa-ra-ku-zí: PFNN 576:7 (Sa-ra-<ku>-zí), 1301:5.

4.2.1731 *Θatamēša- (OP): < *Θatamaiša-, the Old Persian equivalent of *Satamēša- (OnP 8.1471; Schmitt 1990b: 9). Cf. 4.2.1576.
Hinz (ASN 240) reconstructs *Θatavaisa-.
– Elamite: Sa-ad-da-mi-iš-šá: PF 1976:3-4.

4.2.1732 *Θavanta- (OP): thematized form, derived from **θav-*, "to yield benefit" (EIW 1061; cf. 4.2.1579).
– Elamite: Sa-man-da: PFNN 1053:2, 1639:3, 1796:3, 2211:38, 2337:33.

4.2.1733 *Θaxra- (OP): "the strong one", cf. 4.2.1581 (Tavernier 2002b: 150).
Hinz & Koch (EIW 1061) consider a retrenchment of *Θāigra-.
– Elamite: Sa-kur-ra: PFNN 2280:34, 2366:6-7.

4.2.1734 *Θaxtiča- (OP): *Θaxta-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Θaxta-, "strong" or of a retrenchment of a *Θaxta-name (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1453; ASN 239).

– Elamite: Sa-ak-ti-iz-za: PFNN 624:3-4.

4.2.1735 *Θripāta- (Med.): *Θri-pāta-, "protected three times" (OnP 8.1667; ASN 240).

Gershevitch (1969: 237) prefers *Θri-pāda-, "three-legged".

– Elamite:
1) Tur-ri-ba-ad-da: PF 477:3-4, 628:3-4.
2) Tur-ri-ba-da: PFNN 2193:7,10.
3) Tur-ri-ba-ud-da: PF 478:2, 770:3-4, 1098:2, 1221:2-3, 1232:2; PFNN 269:3, 2482:3-4.

4.2.1736 *Θūraka- (OP): *Θūra-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Θūra-name, "the strong" (OnP 8.392; ASN 241).

– Elamite: Du-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1955:34; PFNN 2196:23, 2201:10, 2299:26, 2341:15.

4.2.1737 *Θyāva-: "black", archaic equivalent of *Syāva- (4.2.1648; OnP 8.1648; Mayrhofer 1979c: 115-116). Cf. also 4.2.1620.

Gershevitch (1964: 18 and 1969: 233) considers both *Syāva- and *Θyāva- as Old Persian. Others (Henning 1933-34: 207; Hoffmann 1958: 4; McKenzie 1974: 701; ASN 241) prefer an OP equivalent of *Syāva-.

– Elamite: Ti-ia-ma: PF 377:2-3, 526:3, 527-528:2-3, 529:2-3 (Ti-[ia]-ma), 530:3, 630-631:2, 1008:3, 1097:3, 1112:3, 1840:4-5; PFNN 54:4, 522:14, 1106:3, 2050:2-3, 2128:4, 2488:3.

4.2.1738 *Θyāvaršā: nom. sg. of *Θyāva-ṛšan-, "having dark-coloured stallions" (OnP 8.1649; ASN 241), an archaic form of *Syāvaršā- (4.2.1649).

– Elamite: Ti-ia-mar-šá: PF 2076:29.

4.2.1739 *Ugrakā- (fem.): *Ugra-kā-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Ugra-, "the strong" (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1704; ASN 242), Sogd. 'Wγrk (Weber 1972: 194n.14).

– Elamite: Uk-rák-ka$_4$: PF 842:2.

4.2.1740 *Upadaya- / *Upadē-: *Upa-daya-, "supervisor" (Gershevitch 1969: 243 and 1969b: 198; OnP 8.1679; ASN 243).

– Elamite:
1) Ú-ba-te: PFNN 1009:16.
2) Ú-ba-ti-ia: PF 1365:2-3; PFa 18:2.
3) Ú-bat-ti-ia: PF 1366:2.
4) Uk-ba-te-ia: PF 1363:3-4, 1364:2, 1947:64, 1993:4, 2000:13.
5) Uk-ba-ti-ia: PF 2055:2.

4.2.1741 *Upadēna-: < *Upa-daina-, "(standing) close to faith" (ElW 1208).

– Elamite: Uk-ba-te-na: PFNN 2273:13,18.

4.2.1742 *Upakāma-: *Upa-kāma-, "desire" (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1674; ASN 243).

– Elamite:
1) Ib-ba-ka$_4$-ma: PF 17:2-3.
2) Ú-ba-ka$_4$-ma: PF 308:2-3.
3) Uk-ba-ka$_4$-ma: PF 115:3, 525:2; PFNN 354:2, 710:2, 2031:2-3.

4.2.1743 *Upakṛna-: title of the person who makes a list of materials (**upakṛta-* cf. 4.4.8.23; ASN 243).

Gershevitch (1969: 240) prefers *Upakarna-, "one who is close to the ear, informer", to OInd. *upakarṇam*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1691) is not convinced by this proposal.

– Elamite:
1) Uk-ba-kar-na: PF 1080:3.
2) Uk-ba-kur-na: PF 46:2, 533:3-4, 1175:3; PFa 29:14.

4.2.1744 *Upama-: "the uppermost, superior" (Gershevitch 1969: 242; OnP 8.1681; ASN 244).

An alternative, but less probable reconstruction is *Hu-bāma-, "of beautiful lustre" (Gershevitch, l.c.).

– Elamite:
1) Ú-ib-ba-ma: PF 1948:70.
2) Uk-ba-ma: PFNN 1460:3.

4.2.1745 *Upapāna-: *Upa-pāna-, "protection" (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1673; ASN 244; ElW 1196).

Gershevitch (1969: 242) mentions *Upāpāna-, "living in the water", to Av. *upā-apəm*.

– Elamite: Ú-ba-ba-na: PF 298:17-18, 1170:2.

4.2.1746 *Uparauda- / *Uparōda-: *Upa-rauda-, "the tall" (Gershevitch 1969b: 198; ASN 244), cf. Av. *uparaoδišta-*.

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1676), who at that time did not know the syllabic writing, is doubtful of this proposal.

– Elamite:
1) Ú-ba-ra-u-da: PFNN 1647:2-3.
2) Ú-ba-ru-da: PFNN 2328:2-3.
3) Uk-ba-ru-da: PFNN 2344:3.

4.2.1747 *Uparavauš (OPs): *Upara-vau-š, "the higher good" (OnP 8.1694; ASN 244).

Gershevitch (1969b: 197) connects this name with *(H)upāruš (4.2.818).

– Elamite: Uk-ba-ra-u-iš: PFNN 904:3.

4.2.1748 *Upastābara-: *Upastā-bara-, "helper" (Driver 1965: 57; ASN 245; Kornfeld 1978: 98).

– Aramaic: 'Pstbr: TAD A 6.9:1.

4.2.1749 *Upatigra-: *Upa-tigra-, "the almost slim one" (Benveniste 1966: 94; OnP 8.1698; NW 116; ASN 245).

Gershevitch (1969b: 198) reconstructs *Hu-paθixra-.

– Elamite: Uk-ba-ti-ik-ra: PF 2073:18,25.

4.2.1750 *Upavanta-: < *Upa-vanta-, "also loved" (ASN 245).
Gershevitch (1969: 240) reconstructs *Hu-pāvant-, "protecting well". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1703) is doubtful of it.
– Elamite: Uk-pu-un-da: PF 378:3-4, 655:10.

4.2.1751 *Upayauna-: *Upa-yauna-, "traveller", lit. "one who is en route" (Gershevitch 1969: 240 and 1969b: 198; OnP 8.1699; ASN 246).
– Elamite:
1) Ú-ba-a-ú-na: PFNN 709:2.
2) Uk-ba-ia-u-na: PFNN 704:3.

4.2.1752 *Ušbānuš: *Uš-banu-š, "dawn, red sky", lit. "lustre of the morning" (OnP 8.1770; ASN 246).
Gershevitch (1969: 244) reconstructs *Huspāniš, an *-āni*-patronymic of *Huspā (4.2.826).
– Elamite:
1) Hu-iš-ba-nu-iš: Fort. 3562:3.
2) Ú-iš-ba-nu-iš: PF 779:3, 1245:2-3.

4.2.1753 *Ušš̌apā-: *Ušša-pā-, "protector of camels" (NW 116; ASN 247).
Another proposal is *Hu-šaba-, "belonging to good society" (Gershevitch 1969: 243), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1778) rejects this.
– Elamite: Ú-iš-šá-ba: PF 1077:3.

4.2.1754 *Ušš̌ēna-: masc. equivalent of *Ušš̌ēnā- (ElW 1251).
– Elamite: U-še-na: PFNN 2364:13.

4.2.1755 *Ušš̌ēnā- (fem.): < *Ušš-ainā-, an *-ainā*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of an *Ušša-name (ASN 246; ElW 1251).
Gershevitch (1969b: 198) proposes *Hu-sainā-, "having a beautiful breast", to Av. *saēni.kaofa-*, NP *sīna* and Baluči *sēnay*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1774) connects the name with Mišbašena- (= *Visapāçēna-, cf. 4.2.1914).
– Elamite: Ú-še-na: PFNN 1456:4-5.

4.2.1756 *Uštaka-: *Ušta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Ušta-, "the desired one" (Gershevitch 1969: 244; ASN 247) or of a retrenchment of an *Ušta-name, e.g. Av. Uštā.zaṇta- (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1771; Mayrhofer 1979: I/86).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-da-ik-ka$_4$: PF 196:3.

4.2.1757 *Uštāma-: *Ušta-ama-, "having the desired strength" or theophoric "desired by Ama" (Tavernier 2002b: 151).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-da-ma: PFNN 2211:4.

4.2.1758 *Uštamagāna-: *Ušta-maga-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Ušta-maga-, "with the desired gifts" (Benveniste 1966: 95; Gershevitch 1969: 244; OnP 8.1772; ASN 247).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-da-ma-ka$_4$-na: PF 1983:6, 1984:4; PFNN 2347:6.

4.2.1759 *Uštapāna-: *Ušta-pāna-, "protecting happiness" (Tavernier 2001: no.10).

Donbaz & Stolper (1993 and 1997: 4) translate "protecting what is desired".
– Babylonian: Uš-ta-pa-nu: IMT 53:7.

4.2.1760 *Uθikā- (OP; fem.): *Uθ-ikā-, *-ika*-extension of *Uθa-, "source, spring" (ASN 248).
Gershevitch (1969b: 198) presents two reconstructions: (1) *Hu-θigā-, to Oss. *sidzä* and (2) *Hu-θixā-, to OInd. *śikhā-*, "tuft of hair". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.548), however, rightfully recognizes an *-ika*-suffix.
– Elamite: Hu-si-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:23.

4.2.1761 *Uxdafarnā: nom. sg. of *Uxda-farnah-, "word of Farnah".
Zadok (1981-82: 137 and n.37) reconstructs *Uxδafarnah- < *Uxθafarnah- and gives two translations: "proclaimed by Farnah" (also Dandamayev 1992: 131) or "word of Farnah". Yet only one translation (the second one) fits the Bab. spelling (with /d/). The other translation would require a name *Uxtafarnah- and a spelling *Uḫ-ta-par-na.
– Babylonian: Uḫ-da-par-na: BE 9 86a:1.

4.2.1762 *Uxšapā-: *Uxša-pā-, "protector of bulls".
– Aramaic: Whšp: Dalton 1964 105. Vattioni (1971: no.119) reads Whšp.

4.2.1763 *Uxšinaka-: *Uxš-ina-ka-, hypocoristic of a name with **uxša-*, "bull".
– Elamite: Uk-ši-in-ka$_4$: OGWA 321-322:5.

4.2.1764 *Uxšiya-: "he who makes grow", retrenchment of a name such as Av. Uxšiiaṯ.ərəta- or Uxšiiaṯ.nəmah- (Benveniste 1966: 95; ASN 242; OnP 8.1705; Mayrhofer 1979: I/87).
– Elamite: Uk-ši-ia: PF 1984:10; PFNN 2268:7.

4.2.1765 *Uxti-: *Uxti-, "promise" (Benveniste 1966: 95; OnP 8.1708).
Hinz (ASN 242) prefers an *-i*-patronymic of *Uxta-, "proclaimed", but also mentions *Uxti-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Uxt-i-.
– Elamite: Uk-ti: PF 622:2.

4.2.1766 *Vačadāta-: *Vača-dāta-, "given by the Word" (Shaked 2004: 48 and n.53).
– Aramaic: Wšdt: Shaked 2004: 48.

4.2.1767 *Vačaxaya-: *Vača-x-aya-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Vača-xratu-, "word-wisdom" (ASN 248).
Bogoljubov (1976: 5) mentions *Vaça-x-aya- or *Vaçāxaya- < *Vaça-haxa-ya-.
– Aramaic: Wšḥy: TAD C 3.15:136,137.

4.2.1768 *Vačayaza-: *Vača-yaza-, "he who worships the Word".
– Babylonian: Ú-še-ia-a-zu: AM 71:11.

4.2.1769 *Vadarjana-: *Vadar-jana-, "striking with his weapon" (OnP 8.1028; ASN 248).
Gershevitch (1969: 211) prefers *Mātr-čanah-, "wanting his mother".
– Elamite: Ma-tur-za-na: PF 1980:2-3,8.

4.2.1770 *Vadavisa- (OP): *Vada-visa-, "leading all" (ElW 858).
– Elamite: Ma-da-mi-iš-šá: PFNN 1799:3-4, 2217:3.

4.2.1771 *Vahēbara- / *Vēbara-: < *Vahya-bara-, "he who brings what is better" (Zadok 1975: 247 and 1981-82: 137; Dandamayev 1992: 131-132 and 136).
- Babylonian:
  1) Ú-ḫe-e-bar-ra-': PBS 2/1 173:18,L.E.
  2) Ú-me-'-bar-ra: PBS 2/1 159:2.

4.2.1772 *Va(h)ma-: retrenchment of a name with *Va(h)ma-, "praise".
Gershevitch (1969b: 189; also ASN 130) pleads for *Hu-ama-, "having good strength" or *Hu-ava-, "helpful" (cf. OInd. *sv-áva-*). Yet this does not correspond entirely with the spelling.
- Elamite: Ma-ma-iš: PFNN 626:2.

4.2.1773 *Va(h)magara-: *Va(h)ma-gara-, "Preislober" (Gershevitch 1969: 203; OnP 8.924; ASN 249).
- Elamite: Ma-ma-kur-ra: PF 88:5.

4.2.1774 *Va(h)maka-: *Va(h)ma-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Va(h)ma-name, like Av. Vahmaēδāta- (OnP 8. 923; ASN 249).
Other proposals are (1) *Xva-vaka-, "the helpful" (Gershevitch 1969: 203, cf. *Vahma-), (2) *Xvanva-ka-, "sunny", (Id. 1970: 87, referring to the Av. PN X^{v}anuuaṇt- [Mayrhofer 1979: I/102]) and (3) *Māmaka- (OnP 8.923; ASN 249; cf. NP Mamak [IN 189]).
- Elamite:
  1) Ma-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1344:3.
  2) Ma-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1950:7.
  3) Man-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 6:5, 54:6,12, 1940:26, 1941:18.

4.2.1775 *Vahufarnā (OPd): nom. sg. of *Vahu-farnah-, "having good glory" (Benveniste 1966: 87; Bowman 1970: 83; OnP 8.1040; ASN 250). Cf. 4.2.1837.
- Aramaic:
  1) Whprn: Pers 10:3.
  2) Whwprn: Pers 119:1.

4.2.1776 *Vahumanā (OPd): nom. sg. of *Vahu-manah-, "having a good mind" (Clay 1904: 66; Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1035; NW 117; ASN 250; Zadok 1977: 103; Dandamayev 1992: 132; Schmitt 1994: 87), MP Vahman (Gignoux 1986: II/170), Parth. Whwmny (Schmitt 1998: 180), NP Bahman (IN 374), Gk. Ὠμάνης (Schmitt, l.c.). Cf. 4.2.1840.
- Babylonian: Ú-ḫu-ma-na-': BE 10 9:12,L.E.

4.2.1777 *Vahuš (OPd): *Vahu-š, "good", retrenchment of a *Vahu-name (Cameron 1948: 102; OnP 8.1053; ASN 251)[152]. Cf. 4.2.1847.

[152] With regard to the Babylonian spelling Schmitt (1982: 88nn.13 and 15) reads Ú-ma-kuš, in which he sees a reflection of *Vauka-. Two objections may be uttered against this assumption (Tavernier 1999): first of all a reading Ú-ma-su is to be expected according to the standards of Late Babylonian orthography (Stolper 1985: 115n.21) and secondly an equation Ú-ma-kuš = *Vauka- is not very probable. *Vauka- would never be rendered ending in -š in Babylonian. Schmitt makes the mistake to generalize the use of end-sibilants in Elamite renderings of Iranian forms.

- Aramaic: Wḥwš: Ward 1910 1140.
- Babylonian: Ú-ma-su: ABC 9:1; AD -418A:obv.1,rev.15', -418B: obv.1, -346:obv.1,Lo.E., -343:L.E., -342A:R.E., -342B:L.E., -338:rev.4; AD 5 9:rev. ii' 6', 11:ii' obv.5' and iii' rev.9, 60:rev. iv 9', 61:obv. v 11', 64:obv. ii 18' (Ú-ᵀma-su¹), 66:obv. i 19; JAOS 121 646:obv. 13'; LBAT 163:obv.1,rev.15.
- Elamite: Ma-u-ú-iš: PT 31:1,37-38:1, 41:1, etc. in PT.

4.2.1778 *Vahyā (fem.): "the better" (Dandamayev 1992: 132).
Zadok (1995: 159) prefers *Vahehī-, the fem. Av. form of *vahyah-*, but this does not correspond with the spelling. Hinz (ASN 242) reads *Uxiyā-, without further explanation.
- Babylonian: Ú-ḫe-ia: Dar. 57:2.

4.2.1779 *Vahyāgāma-: *Vahya-agāma-, "a better festival".
Hinz (ASN 242) prefers *Uxiyagāma-, without explanation. Zadok (1977: 105n.194; also Dandamayev 1992: 96 and 132) reads *Vahya-gāma-, "(having born at) a prayer time".
- Babylonian:
  1) Ma-ḫi-a-ga-am-mu[153]: PBS 2/1 30:22.
  2) Ú-ḫe-e-ia-a-ga-am: PBS 2/1 5:1,6,L.E.

4.2.1780 *Vahyagauša- (or *Vēgauša-): *Vahya-gauša-, "having a better ear" (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxv).
Based on a false reading W'hwš (Aimé-Giron 1931: 64) Kornfeld (1978: 104) reconstructs *Vahuš, "good".
- Aramaic: Wygwš: TAD D 3.45:1,5.

4.2.1781 *Vahyarašnu- (or *Vērašnu-): *Vahya-rašnu-, "better and just" (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxv).
- Aramaic: Wyršn: TAD D 9.11:4.

4.2.1782 *Vahyaskara- / *Vēskara-: *Vahyas-kara-, "he who does what is better" (Gershevitch 1969: 208; OnP 8.961 and 8.1128; NW 32; ASN 252), OInd. Vásu-kṛt- (SED 931), NP Wahkert (IN 340) and cf. also Av. *vaŋhō kərənaoiti* (Yašt 17,20).
Benveniste (1966: 87) considers the first spelling to be a rendering of *M/Vanyas-kara-. Schmitt (1970: 17) mentions *Vanya-xša-ra, a two-stem hypocoristic of *Vanya-xšaça-, "acquiring the rule, coming to power".
- Elamite:
  1) Man-ia-iš-kur-ra: PF 473:9-10.

[153] This is not necessarily a defective spelling, as Zadok (1977: 105n.194) and Dandamayev (1992: 96 and 132) believe.

2) Mi-iš-kar-ra: PF 1757:4; PFNN 1561:2.
3) Mi-iš-kur-ra: PFa 30:27.

4.2.1783 *Vahyātṛva-: *Vahya-Ātṛ-va-, *-va*-extension of *Vahya-Ātṛ-, "better through the fire".
Shaked (2004: 36) reads *Vahya-Āθru-.
– Aramaic: Why'trw: Shaked 2004: 56 (Doc. A6:1,5).

4.2.1784 *Vahyaz(a)ka-: *Vahyaz(a)-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vahyaz-name.
Galling (1941: 197 no.166) reads Pgzk, while Lipiński (1975-76: 385-386 n.37) reads Ryzk. Nevertheless the correct reading is Wyzk (Wiseman s.d. no.111).
– Aramaic: Wyzk: CIS 2/1 98.

4.2.1785 *Vaiga-: "he who slings", retrenchment of a *Vaiga-name (Gershevitch 1969: 202; OnP 8.915; ASN 253).
– Elamite: Ma-a-ka$_4$: PF 2057:2.

4.2.1786 *Vaiθa- (OP): "knight" (ElW 854, also mentioning *Maiθa-).
– Elamite: Ma-a-sa: PFNN 2506:6-7.

4.2.1787 *Vaiθaka- (OP) / *Vēθaka-: *Vaiθa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Vaiθa- (Gershevitch 1969: 208; ASN 254).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1065) reconstructs *Maiθaka-, "sending out" (Av. *maēθ-*), MP Mesak (Schmit, apud OnP 8.1065), Gk. Μήσακος (IN 204).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-a-sa-ak-ka$_4$: PFa 32:12.
2) Me-sa-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1942:38, 1943:39,41-42; PFNN 2267:5-6.

4.2.1788 *Vana-: "victorious", retrenchment of Vananta- (Kornfeld 1978: 105) or simply *Vana-, from **van-*, "to overcome".
– Aramaic: Wnh: TAD C 3.15:43.

4.2.1789 *Vanaka-: *Vana-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Vana-, MP Vanak (IN 347).
An equally possible reconstruction is *Manah-ka- or *Māna-ka- (OnP 8.930; ASN 158; ElW 865), cf. MP Manak (IN 189).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 14:5-6, 78:6-7, 79:5-6, 327:3, 1683:2; PFNN 600:5, 643:3, 1592:2.
2) Ma-na-ka$_4$: PF 80-81:5, 82:4-5, 134:5, 1682:2, 2016:8.
3) Man-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2487:17,18.
4) Man-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 327:2, 843:1-2.

4.2.1790 *Vananta-: thematic extension of *Vanant-, "victorious" (Gershevitch 1969: 203; OnP 8.942; ASN 254). Cf. 4.3.232.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-na-an-da: PF 1084:2; PFNN 2251:2, 2522:2-3; PT 33:6-7.
2) Ma-na-in-da: PFa 25:3.
3) Man-na-an-da: PF 138:8, 139:10, 1942:32, 1956:3, 1963:27; PFNN 351:5, 597:4, 726:50, 776:19, 2193:28, 2263:19, 2493:42,46,49, 2581:8-9, etc. in PFNN; PT 30-31:5-6, 34:5, 35:6.

4.2.1791 *Vanāta-: *Van-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Van-, "to prevail, overcome" (ASN 254; Zadok 1976d: 215; Dandamayev 1992: 103 and 137).
Another proposal is *Vanata- (Eilers 1962: 58), a derivation from *Vanant- or from a retrenchment of e.g. Av. *vanati-*, "victory" or an expression with Av. *vanaṯ-*, e.g. *vanaṯ-pašana-*, "winning the battle". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.929) explains *Vanata- as a retrenchment of *Vanataspa- (Gk. Βανάδασπος). According to Zadok (1989-90: 274) Ú-na-at is Egyptian, while Eilers (1940: 222) believes that Ú-nu-at-ta is an Anatolian name.
– Babylonian:
1) Mun-na-tú: EE 35:4,7,L.E.,Lo.E.
2) Mu-un-na-tú: TuM 2/3 187:6,9,L.E.
3) Ú-na-at: BE 10 15:20; EE 19:5,34.
4) Un-na-tú: BE 9 7:5, 83:8,R.E.; EE 10:5; PBS 2/1 226:13.
5) Ú-nu-at-ta: TuM 2/3 201:12.
– Elamite: Ma-na-da: PF 1018:2-3.

4.2.1792 *Vandaraspa- (Med.): *Vandar-aspa-, "with praised horses" (Benveniste 1966: 86; Mayrhofer 1969: 109; OnP 8.934; ASN 254).
– Elamite: Man-da-ráš-ba: PF 231:5.

4.2.1793 *Vankāma-: *Van-kāma-, "with a desire to win" (Tavernier 2002b: 150).
– Elamite: Man-kam: PFNN 644:13.

4.2.1794 *Vantačaka-: *Vanta-ča-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Vantača- (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 120; ASN 255).
– Aramaic: Wntšk: Pers 49:3.

4.2.1795 *Vantaka-: *Vanta-ka-, hypocoristic of a name containing **vanta-*, "praise". Cf. 4.3.236.
– Elamite: Un-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1548:2-3.

4.2.1796 *Vantāna-: *-āna*-patronymic of a name containing *Vanta, "praising".
– Elamite: Man-tam$_5$-na: PFa 29:52.

4.2.1797 *Vantāsa-: *Vanta-asa-, "possessing a dear horse" (ElW 866).
– Elamite: Man-da-iš-šá: PFNN 2272:13.

4.2.1798 *Vanuka-: *Vanu-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Vanu-name (Schmitt 1973: 18-19; OnP 8.954). Cf. the Av. PN Ātərə.uuanu-, "loving the fire" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/ 29).
Gershevitch (1969b: 189) and Hinz (NW 70 and ASN 254) reconstruct *Vanhuka-, a nasalized form of *Vahuka-.
– Elamite:
1) Man-nu-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2477:21.
2) Man-nu-ka$_4$: PF 789:3, 800-802:3; PFNN 574:4, 1717:10, 2436:4.
3) Man-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PF 849:1, 1106:3.

4) Man-ú-ka$_4$: PF 980:2; PFNN 1805:2.
5) Ma-nu-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1481:47.
6) Man-ú-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 5626:2-3; PF 111:3-4, 381:2, 382:2-3, 383:2, 494:2-3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 302:2, 338:1-2, 370:1-2, 1265:1-2, 1498:2, 2566:5, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1799 *Vanya-: "victorious" (Shaked, apud TAD D: lxvi).
Kornfeld (1978: 105) identifies this name with El. Man-nu-ia, which is, however, a rendering of *Manuya- (4.2.1045).
– Aramaic:
1) Wny: TAD D 9.10:3.
2) Wnyh: TAD C 4.2b:2.

4.2.1800 *Varāda- (OP): "boar", OP equivalent of *Varāza- (EIW 876).
– Elamite: Ma-ra-da: PFNN 229:2, 1231:3-4.

4.2.1801 *Vāravahyā: nom. sg. of *Vāra-vahyah-, "better at will" (Kornfeld 1978: 106).
Others (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Grelot 1972: 496; ASN 257) reconstruct *Varu-vahyah-, "far better".
– Aramaic: Wrwhy: TAD A 6.13:1,4, 6.14:1,6.

4.2.1802 *Varāza- (Med.): "boar", Median equivalent of *Varāda- (Benveniste 1958b: 54 and 1966: 87; OnP 8.967; ASN 255; Zadok 1977: 103 and n.140; Segal 1983: 49; Dandamayev 1992: 138), Av. Varāza- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/91), MP Varāz (Gignoux 1986: II/173), Parth. Wr'z (Gignoux 1972: 66), NP Barāz (IN 348-349), Arm. Varaz (Hübschmann 1897: 81).
– Aramaic: Wrz: TAD B 8.1:12.
– Babylonian:
1) Ur-ra-za-': EE 62:4'.
2) Ú-ra-zu: PBS 2/1 13:3, 51:3.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ra-za: JNES 53 264:15; PF 760:3, 905-906:2, 907:2-3, 1112:2-3, 1790:27, etc. in PFT; PFa 30:31; PFNN 504:5, 842:4-5, 1509:19, 1511:1, etc. in PFNN.
2) Mar-ra-za: PF 1814:1; PFNN 541:15, 574:5.

4.2.1803 *Varāzāna- (Med.): *Varāza-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Varāza- (Benveniste 1966: 87; Gershevitch 1969: 209; OnP 8.968; ASN 255).
– Elamite: Ma-ra-za-na: PF 723:2-3, 1949:1, 1967:5; PFNN 344:5, 521:2,13-14,40-41, 1031:85, 2213:2-3.

4.2.1804 *Varāzika- (Med.): *Varāz-ika-, *-ika*-extension of *Varāza- (OnP 8.969; ASN 256).
Gershevitch (1969b: 190) reconstructs *Varāziya-ka-.

– Elamite:
1) Ma-ra-zí-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1155:4-5.
2) Ma-ra-zí-ka$_4$: PF 1154:5-6.

4.2.1805 *Varāziš (Med.): *Varāz-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Varāza- (Gershevitch 1969b: 190; OnP 8. 970; ASN 256).
– Elamite:
1) [M]a-ra-iz(?)-zí-iš: PFNN 753:3-4.
2) Ma-ra-zí-iš: PF 1175:2.

4.2.1806 *Varda-: "he who makes thrive, flourish".
Hinz (ASN 270) prefers *Vṛda-, "rose" (Av. *varəδa-*, Arm. *vard*). Grelot (1972: 496, *Vorōd) and Kornfeld (1978: 106, *Hu-rauda-, "having a good appearance") connect the name with Orodes.
– Aramaic: Wrd: TAD C 3.14:15.

4.2.1807 *Vardāspa- (Med.): *Varda-aspa-, "he who makes the horses thrive".
– Elamite: Mar-da-áš-ba: Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:11.

4.2.1808 *Varmaka-: *Varma-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Varma-, "first choice, elite" (ASN 256).
Gershevitch (1969: 205) pleads for *Hu-arma-ka-, "having fine arms". Hinz (ASN 256) also mentions *Vārma-ka-, "as one would wish" (to Av. *vārəma-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.982) points to the spelling's ambiguity and to the incorrectness of Gershevitch's analysis.
– Elamite: Ma-ir-ma-ka$_4$: PF 342:4.

4.2.1809 *Varmāta-: *Varma-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Varma- (ASN 256).
Gershevitch (1969: 205) reconstructs *Vārmadā-, "memorizer" (with reference to Av. *vārəma-*, MP *wārom* and NP *barm*), but according to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.981) this is questionable.
– Elamite: Mar-ma-da-iš: PF 1891:2.

4.2.1810 *Varmita-: *Varm-ita-, *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Varma- (ASN 256).
– Elamite: Mar-mi-ud-da: PFNN 762:10, 2206:11.

4.2.1811 *Varmuka-: *Varm-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Varma- (ASN 256, reconstructing *Varmauka-).
Gershevitch (1969b: 190) reconstructs *Marvaka-, "ant".
– Elamite: Mar-mu-ka$_4$: PFNN 1421:3.

4.2.1812 *Vartāspa-: *Varta-aspa-, "he who turns horses" (Zadok 1975: 247) or "horse exerciser, horse trainer" (Hamp 1979: 189-190). The latter meaning is derived from the use of OInd. *-vartana-* in Hett. °-wa-ar-ta-an-na, "exercise circuit" (cf. EWAi II 518-519).
Hinz (ASN 129) pleads for *Hu-varta-aspa-. Dandamayev (1992: 135) remains undecisive.
– Babylonian: Ú-mar-ta-as-pa-': PBS 2/1 70:17 (Ú-mar-t[a-as-pa-']),Lo.E.

4.2.1813 *Varyabāga-: *Varya-bāga-, "having desirable happiness" (OnP 8.1002; ASN 257), cf. Yasna 51:1: *xšaθrəm vairīm bāgəm.*

Gershevitch (1969b: 190) reconstructs *Varyapāka-, "protecting what is desirable".

– Elamite: Mar-ia-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 1050:2.

4.2.1814 *Varyadāta- (OP): *Varya-dāta-, "born as a desired child" (Benveniste 1958b: 53-54; Gershevitch 1969: 207; OnP 8.990; NW 32; ASN 257).

– Elamite:
1) Mar-ia-ad-da-da: PFNN 2383:3.
2) Mar-ri-ia-da-ad-da: PF 689:2-3, 815-816:2-3, 822:2-3, 1195:2-4, 1213:4-5, 1614:2-3, 1763:2-3, 1776:2-3; PFNN 1436:2-3, 1573:2, 2103:2-3, etc. in PFNN.
3) Mar-ri-ia-da-da: PF 280:8-9, 1123:2-3, 1612-1613:3, 1777:3-4; PFNN 389:2-3, 715:3-4, 725:3-4, 732:2-3, etc. in PFNN.
4) Mar-ri-ia-da-ud-da: PF 690:2, 1180:2-3.

4.2.1815 *Varyakarša-: *Varya-karša-, "he who ploughs well" (ASN 257).

Concerning the second part Benveniste (1958b: 50) doubts between "furrow" and "district". Gershevitch (1969: 207) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.991) prefer *Varya-karša-, "having a desirable shape", to Sogd. *čk(')št*, "ugly".

– Elamite:
1) Mar-ia-kar-šá: PF 751:5; PT 4:5.
2) Mar-ri-ia-kar-šá: Fort. 6782:5-6; PF 662:9-10.

4.2.1816 *Varyakasa-: *Varya-kasa-, "observing the excellent" (EIW 889).

– Elamite: Mar-ri-ia-ka$_4$-iš-šá: PF 819:5-6.

4.2.1817 *Varyapadāna-: *Varya-pada-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Varya-pada-, "belonging to a desirable family" (Gershevitch 1969: 207; OnP 8.988; ASN 258).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.988) also mentions *Varya-pāta-āna- as one of the many possibilities.

– Elamite: Mar-ri-ia-bad(?)-da-na: PF 191:3.

4.2.1818 *Varyazāta- (Med.): *Varya-zāta-, Med. equivalent of *Varyadāta- (ASN 258).

– Aramaic: Wryzt: TAD B 2.1:2,3, 2.2:4, 2.6:3, 2.7:2, 2.8:3, 2.11:2 (Wr[yz]t), 3.3:3, 3.9:11.

4.2.1819 *Varzyauka-: *Varz-ya-auka-, hypocoristic of (a retrenchment of) a *Varz-name.

– Elamite: Mar-zí-ia-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 2371:23.

4.2.1820 *Vasaka- (Med.): *Vasa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Vasa-, "longing for, desiring" or of a retrenchment of a *Vasa-name (Zadok 1986: 43).

– Aramaic: Wsk: ATNS 41:6.

4.2.1821 *Vasaraza- (Med.): *Vasa-raza-, "commanding according to his wish" (Grelot 1972: 496; ASN 258; Kornfeld 1978: 105).

– Aramaic: Wsrz: TAD A 2.7:3.

4.2.1822 *Vasdāta-: *Vas-dāta-, "given as one would wish".

Other proposals are (1) *Mazda-dāta- (with haplology, Gershevitch 1969: 209; OnP 8.1011. Hinz [ASN 162] rejects this because of the low number of haplologies in Iranian names and because Mazda- is never written *Ma-iš-da) and (2) *Mast-āta-, "drunk" (Hinz, l.c.), to MP and NP *mast*. Hinz & Koch (EIW 861) consider a reading Ma-ú-da-ad-da (= *Vahudāta-), but collation has corroborated the reading Ma-iš-° (Stolper, pers. comm. 07/03/2000).

– Elamite: Ma-iš(?)-da-ad-da: PF 1047:2-3.

4.2.1823 *Vātafradāta-: *Vāta-fradāta-, "furthered by the wind(-god)" (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 9; Benveniste 1966: 102; ASN 258; Schmitt 1982c: 382, 1982d: IV/26-27 and 2002: 95-96), MP Wtprdt (Alram 1986 168, 170, 172 and 180), Gk. Αὐτοφραδάτης.

Arkwright (1899: 56) mentions *(H)uvatafradata-.

– Lycian: Wataprddata: TL 40d:1 (Wat[aprdd]ata), 61:2.

4.2.1824 *Vātapāna-: *Vāta-pāna-, "having the protection of the wind(-god)" (ASN 258).

Another reconstruction is *Vāθa-pāna- (ASN 258).

– Aramaic: Wtpn: Pers 161:1.

4.2.1825 *Vatiša-: *Vat-iša-, "looking for insight".

– Elamite:
1) Ma-ti-iš-šá: PF 685:4-5, 825:2, 826:4; PFNN 1389:3-4, 1622:3.
2) Ma-ti-šá: PF 1249:3, 1487:2, 1902:1-2; PFNN 427:1-2, 433:4, 1107:3.

4.2.1826 *Vaθāna- (OP): *Vaθ-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Vaθa-, "desiring" (Gershevitch 1969b: 190; OnP 8.1003; ASN 259).

– Elamite: Ma-sa-na: PF 1943:9, 1946:35,38,52; PFNN 2335:65, 2487:1.

4.2.1827 *Vaubara- (OPs): *Vau-bara-, "bringing what is good" (NW 56; ASN 249), Gk. Οἰβαρης (Marquart 1891-93: 638; IN 232) and Ὠβαρις (Huyse 1990: 63).

– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-bar-ra: PF 838:3, 1597:8-9, 1665:4; PFNN 760:15,26, 1497:4-5.
2) Ma-u-pe-ra: PF 839:3.
3) Ma-u-pír-<<ri>>-ra: PFNN 1665:4.

4.2.1828 *Vaučiça- (OPs): *Vau-čiça-, "of good lineage" (Benveniste 1966: 88; OnP 8.1052; ASN 250).

– Elamite: Ma-u-zí-iš-šá: Fort. 7110:2; PF 754:2, 992:2, 1551-1552:2; PFNN 305:2, 660:1-2, 1535:2-3, 1784:2-3, 1797:2, 2265:16 (°-iš-<šá>).

4.2.1829 *Vaučir(a)ka- (OPs): *Vau-čir(a)-ka-, "good and capable".
Hinz & Koch (EIW 905) reconstruct *Vazṛka-, "big" (to OP *vazṛka-*), but a sequence *-ma-u-* always renders /vau/.
– Elamite: Ma-u-zir-ka$_4$: PFNN 2200:15.

4.2.1830 *Vaučiθra- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Vaučiça- (Benveniste 1966: 88; Gershevitch 1969: 249; OnP 8.1053; ASN 250).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-zí-ut-ra: PF 242:5-6.
2) Ma-u-zí-ut-tar-ra: PF 491:2-3, 1645:2.

4.2.1831 *Vauçavā (OPs): nom. sg. of *Vau-çavah-, "of good fame" (Gershevitch 1969: 208; OnP 8.1048; ASN 251), cf. OInd. *vásu-śravas-*.
– Elamite: Ma-u-šu-ma: Fort. 8960:21,23; PF 1955:14, 2004:4; PFNN 548:5, 1804:3, 2364:9.

4.2.1832 *Vauçŭta- (OPs): *Vau-çŭta-, "famous through what is good" (OnP 8.1047; ASN 250), OInd. Vásu-śruta-.
– Elamite:
1) [M]a-u-iš-šu-ud-da: PFNN 2211:1.
2) Ma-u-šu-da: Fort. 226-1:3.
3) Ma-u-šu-ud-da: PF 608:5-6, 614:7, 1622:5-6, 2012:12; PFNN 69:3, 862:3, 915:3, 1163:4-5, 2211:32, 2299:10, 2337:39.

4.2.1833 *Vaudana- (OPs): *Vau-dana-, "of good kind" (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1030; ASN 249), cf. the Indo-Ir. PN *Vasu-zana- (Wa-šu-za-na), which, however, could also be read *Vasu-jana-, "having good warriors" (Mayrhofer 1960b: 141).
Another possibility is *Vau-dāna-, "good gift" (ASN 249).
– Elamite: Ma-u-da-na: PFNN 1137:6.

4.2.1834 *Vaudarda- (OPs): *Vau-darda-, "seizing goods" (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1031; ASN 249).
– Elamite: Ma-u-da-ir-da: PFNN 1008:21.

4.2.1835 *Vaudāta- (OPs): *Vau-dāta-, "given by what is good" or "well given" (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1029; ASN 249), cf. the Av. PN Vohu-dāta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/99).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-da-ad-da: PF 772:5, 1429:3, 1833:4-5, 1957:28, 2073:19; PFNN 2305:5, 2344:26.
2) Ma-u-da-da: PF 836:3, 1107:4-5, 1834:6; PFNN 361:3, 825:2-3, 859:3, 1357:3-4, 1936:3, 2131:4, 2247:3, 2411:3, 2412:2, 2481:2-3.
3) Ma-u-da-ud-da: PF 1573:3; PFNN 859:3.

4.2.1836 *Vaudauça- (OPs): *Vau-dauça-, "good sacrificial gift" (EIW 905).
– Elamite: Ma-u-tam$_5$-šá: PFNN 2342:1.

4.2.1837 *Vaufarnā: OPs equivalent of *Vahufarnā (4.2.1775).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-bar-na: PF 384:3, 490:2, 494:3-4, 986:2, 1396:8-9, 1572:3, 1974:3,8, 2005:5-6; PFNN 759:33, 776:4,7, 2263:18,25, 2272:3.
2) Ma-u-pír-na: PF 1469:10; PFNN 2520:2.

4.2.1838 *Vaufrāda- (OPs): *Vau-frāda-, "furthering what is good" (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1042; ASN 250), Av. Frādaṯ-vaŋhu- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/42).
– Elamite: Ma-u-pír-ra-da: PF 454:3-4, 1265:2, 1575:5.

4.2.1839 *Vaufrya- (OPs): *Vau-frya-, "good and sweet" (EIW 904).
– Elamite: Ma-u-pír-ia: PFNN 2193:28.

4.2.1840 *Vaumanā: OPs equivalent of *Vahumanā (4.2.1776).
– Elamite: Ma-u-man-na: PF 1988:15; PFNN 2340:11,17, 2577:3.

4.2.1841 *Vaurāda- / *Vōrāda- (OPs): *Vau-rāda-, "he who does his best for what is good, who dedicates to what is good" (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1043; ASN 251).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-ra-da: PF 1428:3-4.
2) Mu-ra-da: PFNN 936:2.

4.2.1842 *Vaurazmā (OPs): nom. sg. of *Vau-razman-, "having a good falanx" (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1044).
Hinz (ASN 251) mentions *-*rasmā*-.
– Elamite: Ma-u-ráš-ma: PF 1260:4.

4.2.1843 *Vaurōčā (OPs): < *Vau-raučā, nom. sg. of *Vau-raučah-, "good light" (Mayrhofer 1972b: 201n.37; OnP 8.1045; ASN 251), OInd. Vásu-roci- (SED 931), Av. Vohu-raočah- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/99), NP Behrōz (IN 375).
– Elamite: Ma-u-ru-za: PF 2070:23.

4.2.1844 *Vausāra- (OPs): *Vau-sāra-, "having a good head" (EIW 905).
– Elamite: Ma-u-šá-ra: PFNN 1640:2.

4.2.1845 *Vāusma- (OPs) / *Vōsma-: *Vau-usma-, "good and reverent".
Concerning the analysis and translation of this name the scholars (Gershevitch 1969b: 190; OnP 8.1187; ASN 251; Zadok 1977b: 57) are right. Only their reading *Vahūsma- is — based on the Elamite spelling — unacceptable: MU normally does not render /va/. It rather renders /vō/, with HU as indicator of vowel length.
– Babylonian: Us-ma-a: TuM 2/3 171:2.
– Elamite: Mu-hu-iš-maš: PFNN 547:3.

4.2.1846 *Vaustūnā- (OPs): *Vau-stūnā-, "good column" (EIW 903).
– Elamite: Ma-u-iš-du-na: PFNN 718:2 (collation M.W. Stolper, 07/03/2000).

4.2.1847 *Vauš (OPs): *Vau-š, OPs equivalent of *Vahuš (4.2.1777).
– Elamite: Ma-u-iš: PT 12:5, 13-14:6, 27:1, etc. in PTT.

4.2.1848 *Vāušša- (OPs): *Vau-ušša-, "having good camels" (Gershevitch 1970: 87; OnP 8.1055; ASN 251), cf. the Av. PN Vohuštra- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/99).
– Elamite: Ma-u-iš-šá: PFNN 789:1-2.

4.2.1849 *Vāuššafarnā (OPs): *Vau-ušša-farnā, "glorious through good camels" (OnP 8.1046; ASN 252).
– Elamite: Ma-u-šá-pír-na: PF 1528:3.

4.2.1850 *Vauθriya- (OPs-Med.): *Vau-θr-iya-, "protecting the good".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 905) recognize its Iranian character.
– Elamite: Ma-u-tar-ri-ia: PFNN 2196:20.

4.2.1851 *Vauθuna- (OPs): *Vau-θuna-, "he who makes flourish what is good" (OnP 8.1032; ASN 251). Cf. 4.3.245.
– Elamite: Ma-u-du-na: PF 1159:2-3.

4.2.1852 *Vauvasa- (Med.): *Vau-vasa-, "wanting what is good" (ASN 252).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1036) has no information on this name. The first spelling is connected by Hallock (1969: 728) with Ma-u-maš-šá. Hinz & Koch (ElW 905) recognize the first part *Vau- and add that it is possibly a mistake for Ma-u-maš-šá.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-^{ma}maš-šá: PF 1944:58, 1994:7-8.
2) Ma-u-maš-šá: PF 1676:2.

4.2.1853 *Vauvastiš (OPs): *Vau-v-asti-š, "having what is good as a guest" (Mayrhofer 1971: 63; OnP 8.1037; ASN 252), Av. Vohuuasti- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/100).
Gershevitch (1970: 87) prefers *Vahu-masti-, "having good knowledge".
– Elamite: Ma-u-maš-ti-iš(?): PFNN 1143:5.

4.2.1854 *Vauvēθa- (OPs): < *Vau-vaiθa-, "having good servants" (Gershevitch 1969b: 189; OnP 8.1038; ASN 252).
– Elamite: Ma-u-me-sa: PF 65:2, 1144:2, 1674:3; PFNN 2292:4,8.

4.2.1855 *Vauvīda- (OPs): *Vau-vīda-,"taking care of what is good" (ElW 903).
– Elamite: Ma-u-mi-da: PFNN 2201:12.

4.2.1856 *Vauxšāyaθāta- (OPs): *Vau-xšāyaθ-āta-, *-āta*-hypocoristic of *Vau-xšāyaθ(iya)-, "good king" (ElW 905).
– Elamite: Ma-u-šá-ia-sa-da: PFNN 1283:6-7.

4.2.1857 *Vauyauga- (OPs): *Vau-yauga-, "joining well".
Hinz (ASN 252) translates "good for the yoke".
– Elamite: Ma-u(?)-ia(?)-uk-ka$_4$: Fort. 6831:2.

4.2.1858 *Vauyauna- (OPs): *Vau-yauna-, "he who lives in what is good" (Benveniste 1966: 87; OnP 8.1050; ASN 252).

– Elamite: Ma-u-ia-u-na: PF 1411:3-4.

4.2.1859 *Vauzṛvā (OPs-Med.): nom. sg. of *Vau-zṛvan-, "he who will live a nice old age" (Gershevitch 1969: 212; OnP 8.1051; ASN 252).
Gershevitch (1970: 88) prefers *Vahu-zaurva- (same meaning), but that does not correspond with the spelling (ASN 252).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-u-zir-ma: PF 1489:2; PFNN 2364:10.
2) Ma-u-zir-ru-ma: PFNN 2478:10,35-36.

4.2.1860 *Vāzāna-: *Vāz-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of either *Vāza-, "having respect" or of a retrenchment of a *Vāza-name.
Segal (1983: 92; also Schmitt 1987: 152) connects this name with Av. *vāza-*, "flying". Zadok (1985: 175-176) refers to the OInd. PN Vī-jāna-, "familiar with".
– Aramaic: Wzn: ATNS 68:5.

4.2.1861 *Vēničaya-: < *Vaini-ča-ya-, from *Vaina-, "seeing".
– Elamite: Me-nu-iz-za-ia: PFNN 2370:6.

4.2.1862 *Vēsiča- (Med.): < *Vais-iča-, an *-ič̆a*-extension of *Vaisa-, "knight".
Gershevitch (1969: 186) derives the name from Av. *maēšī-*, "ewe", but this is not a logical man's name (ASN 157). Hinz (ASN 157) pleads for *Maišaiča- or *Maišiyača-. Hinz & Koch (ElW 917) mention *Maisaiča- and *Vaisaiča-.
– Elamite: Me-ši-iz-za: PF 1730:3, 1742:3.

4.2.1863 *Vēspāna-: < *Vahyas-pāna-, "better protection" (Benveniste 1966: 88; OnP 8.1131; NW 35; ASN 252).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-pa-na: PF 51:7.

4.2.1864 *Vēzbara-: < *Vahyaz-bara-, "bringing what is better" (Mayrhofer 1971c: 16, reading *Vahyasbara-; NW 56; ASN 253, reading *Vahyazbara-).
Benveniste (1966: 88) reconstructs *Vayaspāra-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1134) has no opinion.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-ba-ra: PF 1949:17.
2) Mi-iš-bar-ra: PF 1638:3.

4.2.1865 *Vēzdaya-: < *Vahyaz-d-aya-, a two-stem hypocoristic of Vahyazdāta- (1.2.32; Schmitt 1972f: 91-92; OnP 8.1124; ASN 253; ElW 925).
Elsewhere in his book on the Nebenüberlieferung Hinz (ASN 267) explains the same name (same attestation) as *Vištaya-.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-da-a-ia: PF 1263:2.

4.2.1866 *Vibanda-: "the ensnaring, the beguiling" (Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 8.1083; ASN 259).
– Elamite: Mi-ban-da: PF 703:2-3, 715-716:3, 721:2-3, 727:2, 1999:16,17-18; PFNN 609:55, 757:64, 766:3, 1383:2-3, etc. in PFNN.

4.2.1867 *Vibōjana-: < *Vi-baujana-, "benefit, profit" (cf. Gershevitch 1969: 205; OnP 8.1086; ASN 259).
– Elamite: Mi-bu-za-na: Fort. 6575:4.

4.2.1868 *Vibuga-: *Vi-buga-, "releasing" (OnP 8.1084; ASN 259, reconstructing *Vi-bauga-).
– Elamite: Mi-bu-ka$_4$: PF 63:8-9, 606:2-3; PFNN 376:3-4, 758:12, 993:4, 1258:2, 1476:4-5, 1593:3, 1620:5, 1650:3, 1977:8, 2181:23.

4.2.1869 *Vibusta-: *Vi-busta-, "wide awake, clever" (Gershevitch 1969: 205).
Benveniste (1966: 87) mentions Av. *baod-*, "to smell" and *hupō.busta-*, "perfumed" (cf. also ASN 259).
– Elamite: Mi-bu-iš-da: PF 1491:2, 1529:3-4, 1749:2; PFNN 1760:2-3, 2323:7.

4.2.1870 *Vičašma-: *Vi-čašma-, "the blind" (OnP 8.1184; ASN 259), OInd. Vicakṣus- (SED 950).
Gershevitch (1969: 212) translates "whose eyes are wide apart" (to Av. *čašman-*).
– Elamite: Mi-iz-za-iš-ma: PF 791:5,14.

4.2.1871 *Vīdaka-: *Vīda-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Vīda-, "taking care of" (ASN 260).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1175) reconstructs *Vīd-uka-, an *-uka*-extension of *Vīda-, but El. TUK cannot render /duk/ in Hinz's view (ASN 260). Katpatuka- (Cappadocia), however, is written Ka$_4$-at-pu-tuk-kaš in Elamite and if TUK can render /tuk/ it can also reflect /duk/ and /θuk/. Nevertheless a reconstruction *Vīdaka- is more plausible.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-da-kaš: PF 2087:11.
2) Mi-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1951:1.

4.2.1872 *Vīdamānya-: *Vīda-mānya-, "knowing the domestic staff" (ASN 260).
Alternative proposals are *Vaida(h)-vaŋhyah-, "having good possessions" (Gershevitch 1969: 210) and *Vaida^h-vanya-, "overcoming the possessions" (Schmitt 1970: 16).
– Elamite: Mi-da-man-ia: PFNN 305:3.

4.2.1873 *Vīdāta-: *Vīd(a)-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Vīda-name (ASN 260).
Gershevitch (1969: 211) mentions *Vi-dada(h), "broad bottomed". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1068) prefers *Vi-dāta-, "apportioned".
– Elamite:
1) Mi-da-ad-da: Fort. 2509:3-4; PF 1158:5-6; PFNN 2371:26.
2) Mi-da-da: PT 84:20.
3) Mi-da-ud-<<ud>>-da: PFNN 1215:3-4.

4.2.1874 *Vidāθa-: *Vi-dāθa-, "through and through clever" (NW 112; ASN 260).
– Elamite: Mi-da-sa: PF 702:7, 1059:2, 1202:3; PFNN 365:3.

4.2.1875 *Vīdēča-: < *Vīd-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vīd(a)-name (OnP 8.1162; ASN 260).
Gershevitch (1969: 186) pleads for a dialect-variant of Mi-iš-še-ez-za, which, however, renders *Miçēča- (4.2.1097).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-te-ez-za: Fort. 1711:2-3; PF 920:2; PFNN 2359:56.
2) Mi-ut-te-ez-za: PFNN 1586:2.

4.2.1876 *Vīdiça- (OP): *Vīdi-ç-a-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. Av. Vīδisrauuah- (OnP 8.1163; ASN 260; Mayrhofer 1979: I/94).
Gershevitch (1969: 211) reconstructs *Vidiša-, "the liberal" (Av. *vīdišā-*, "liberality").
– Elamite:
1) Mi-ti-iš-šá: PFNN 2419:2.
2) Mi-ti-šá: PF 1697:1-2, 1961:27, 2060:1-2, 2078:7.

4.2.1877 *Vidranga- (OP): *Vi-dranga-, "through and through audacious, bold" (Benveniste 1954: 306-307; Hinz 1970: 437; ASN 261), cf. 4.2.1937.
Augapfel (1917: 34) identifies this name with Vidarna-. Other proposals are (1) *Vaida-dranga- (Henning 1968: 138n.1; Mayrhofer 1971: 63; Grelot 1972: 508) and (2) Vi-θranga-, "at ease, free from pressure" (Gershevitch 1969: 210-211). Eilers (1954-56: 332) and Grelot (1972: 496) translate "strong for a long time". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1170) and Kornfeld (1978: 105) only list the various possibilities.
– Aramaic:
1) Wdrng: TAD B 2.10:4.
2) Wydrng: TAD A 3.9:7, 4.3:3, 4.5:4, 4.7:5,6,16, 4.8:5,6,15; TAD B 2.9:4, 2.10:2, 3.9:2,3.
– Elamite: Mi-ud-ra-an-ka$_4$: PF 43:4-5, 141:4-5, 1839:5-6; PFa 17:2-3, 29:54; PFNN 2340:19, 2365:5,28, 2542:11; PT 4:10 (reading: Hallock 1960: 96).

4.2.1878 *Vidrangāna-: *Vidranga-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Vidranga- (ElW 940).
– Elamite: Mi-tur-ra-an-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 2492:17,18-19.

4.2.1879 *Vidṛta-: *Vi-dṛta-, "harvested".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 920) identify this name with *Miθrada- (4.2.1108).
– Elamite: Mi-da-ir-da: PFNN 1264:3.

4.2.1880 *Vīdvāniš: *Vīdva-āni-š, *-āni*-patronymic of *Vīdvah-, "knowing" (Gershevitch 1969b: 191; OnP 8.1164; ElW 943).
– Elamite: Mi-ud-ma-nu-iš: PF 1091:4; PFNN 137:2-3, 400:2, 802-803:2.

4.2.1881 *Vīdyavauš (OPs): *Vīdya-vau-š, "rich in knowledge" (Gershevitch 1969b: 192; OnP 8.1165; ASN 261), cf. OInd. *dhiyā-vasu-*, "rich in wisdom".

– Elamite: Mi-ti-ia-u-iš: PFNN 2318:2-3.

4.2.1882 *Vigrāspa-: *Vigra-aspa-, "having lively horses" (Benveniste 1966: 88; Abayev 1969: 110; Mayrhofer 1969: 111; OnP 8.1074; ASN 261).

– Elamite:
1) Mi-ik-ra-áš-ba: Fort. 8960:20; PF 1650:2-3, 1767:2, 1768: 2-3; PFNN 1527:2-3, 2110:2-3, 2512:1-2.
2) Mi-ik-ra-iš-ba: PF 25:2-3, 296:2-3; PFNN 2229:2-3.
3) Mi-ik-ráš-ba: PF 361:2, 1569:2, 2063:2-3; PFNN 96:2, 470: 2-3, 892:8, 1672:2-3, 2454:2, 2538:7-8.
4) Mi-kur-ra-áš-ba: PF 1941:1.

4.2.1883 *Vijaka-: *Vi-ja-ka, "-ka-hypocoristic of *Vi-ja, "striking".

– Elamite: Mi(?)-za-ka$_4$: PFNN 1362:2-3.

4.2.1884 *Vijǐra-: *Vi-jǐra-, "thoroughly smart" (Tavernier 2002b: 150).

– Elamite: Mi-zí-ra: PFNN 2276:10.

4.2.1885 *Vikāma-: "free from desire" (Zadok 1985: 176).

– Aramaic: Wkm: ATNS 93:3.

4.2.1886 *Vinda-: "finding", retrenched name (Gershevitch 1969: 203; OnP 8.1077; ASN 261).

– Elamite: Mín-da: PF 168:3.

4.2.1887 *Vindēča-: < *Vind-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of *Vinda- (Gershevitch 1969: 203; OnP 8.1081; ASN 262).

Koch (apud ElW 922) believes that Mi-te-te (PF 915:2; PFNN 1277:2) belongs here. In her view it is either an Elamite name with an Old Persian suffix or an Elamized Old Persian name. According to Zadok (1983: 103) Mi-te-te is an El. name.

– Elamite: Mi-in-te-ez-za: PF 412:3-4.

4.2.1888 *Vinduka-: *Vind-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Vinda- (OnP 8.1079; ASN 262, reconstructing *Vind-auka-).

Gershevitch (1969: 203) mentions *Vinda(t)-vahu-ka-. Hinz (ASN 262) reads Mi-in-tuk-ka$_4$ as *Vindaka, because in his view TUK Ir. cannot render /duk/ (see, however, 4.2.1871). *Vindaka- (as well as *Vindika-) is possible, but less plausible in view of the spelling Mín-du-ka$_4$.

– Elamite:
1) Mi-in-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1490:2, 1969:18; PFNN 2374:14.
2) Mín-du-ka$_4$: PF 1370-1373:2.

4.2.1889 *Vipāθra- (Med.): *Vi-pāθra-, "protection" (ASN 262).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1067) merely mentions the El. spelling.

– Elamite: Mi-ba-iš-ra: PF 2003:4.

4.2.1890 *Vīradāna-: *Vīra-dāna-, "man's gift" (Benveniste 1966: 88; ASN 262).

Gershevitch (1969: 207) reconstructs *Vīrāz-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of Av. *vīrāz-*, "ruler". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1088) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Mi-ra-da-na: PF 2054:3.

4.2.1891 *Vīradāta- (OP): *Vīra-dāta-, "born of a warrior" (Gershevitch 1969: 207; OnP 8.1087; ASN 262) or "born as a man".

– Elamite: Mi-ra-da-ud-da: PF 1857:31-32.

4.2.1892 *Vīrafarnā: nom. sg. of *Vīra-farnah-, "man's glory" (Gershevitch 1969: 206; OnP 8.1094; ASN 262).

– Elamite: Mi-ra-bar-na: PF 2076:42; PFNN 664:3.

4.2.1893 *Virafša- (Med.): "abundance" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; OnP 8.1408; ASN 262; Kornfeld 1978: 106). Cf. 4.2.1325-27.

Driver (1965: 80-81) pleads for *Varṛiča-, which he considers to be the Old Iranian equivalent of the Middle Iranian name Vahrīz. Segal (1983: 25) reads Wrkby and reconstructs *Vṛkabaya-, "fearing (or: frightening) wolves". Schmitt (1987: 152) sees in this reading a two-stem hypocoristic *Vṛka-b-aya-. Nevertheless the correct reading of the name in TAD B 8.6:4 is Wrpš (based on Segal 1983: Pl.2).

– Aramaic: Wrpš: TAD A 6.15:1,3,13; TAD B 8.6:4; TAD D 6.7Ic:2, 6.7Oc:1.

4.2.1894 *Vīraka-: *Vīra-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (OnP 8.1091) or of *Vīra- (ASN 263).

– Elamite:
1) Mi-ra-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 548:6.
2) Mi-ra-ka$_4$: PFNN 1924:2.
3) Mi-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 558:32.

4.2.1895 *Vīrakāma-: *Vīra-kāma-, "desire of a man" (Benveniste 1966: 88; OnP 8.1090; ASN 263).

OInd. *vīrakāma-*, "longing for sons" cannot be related to this name (OnP 8.1090).

– Elamite:
1) Mi-ra-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1289:3, 1694:1-2.
2) Mi-rák-ka$_4$-ma: PF 1530:2-3, 1649:2, 1995:4-5, 2070:26; PFNN 2217:2.

4.2.1896 *Vīrāma-: *Vīra-ama-, "having the strength of a man" (ElW 934). Cf. Parth. Wyrmk (Schmitt 1998: 180).

– Elamite: Mi-ra-um-ma: PFNN 1617:3-4.

4.2.1897 *Vīramanā: nom. sg. of *Vīra-manah-, "having the mind of a man" (Benveniste 1958b: 53; OnP 8.1092; ASN 263).

*Vīra-am-āna-, a patronymic, is equally possible.

– Elamite:
1) Mi-ra-ma-na: Fort. 3543:2; PF 1785:2.
2) Mi-ra-man-na: Fort. 7098:2, 7109:2; PF 1548:4, 1704:3, 2043:2, 2075:12-13; PFNN 1188:2-3, 1431-32:2, 1800:3-4, 2160:2, 2032:3-4, 2240:6-7.

4.2.1998 *Vīramfa-: *Vi-ramfa-, "he who drives apart, disperses (the enemy)" (Cameron 1958: 174; OnP 8.1093; ASN 263).

Gershevitch (1970: 87) mentions *Vi-raupa-, "the destructive", whereas Hinz (NW 112) connects this name with Av. *rap-*, "to support".

– Elamite: Mi-ra-um-pa: PT 1957-2:6.

4.2.1899 *Vīrapā-: *Vīra-pā-, "protecting the man" (ElW 933).

– Elamite: Mi-ra-ba: PFNN 2457:2.

4.2.1900 *Vīrapatiš: *Vīra-pati-š, "lord over men" (ElW 935).

– Elamite: Mi-ra-bat-[ti-iš]: PFNN 2343:17.

4.2.1901 *Vīrara-: *Vīra-ra-, *-ra*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (ASN 263).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1095) does not offer a reconstruction.

– Elamite: Mi-ra-ra: PF 1492:2.

4.2.1902 *Vīrāta-: *Vīra-āta-, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (ASN 263).

Gershevitch (1969: 206) mentions *Virāda-, the OP equivalent of the Av. PN Virāza- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/95), but this etymology does not comply with the rules of the Reiner-test (OnP 8.1089; ASN 263).

– Elamite:

1) Mi-ra-ad-da: PF 411:3.
2) Mi-ra-da: PFNN 748:4.
3) Mi-ra-ud-da: PFNN 854:2.

4.2.1903 *Vīratavaya-: *Vīra-tava-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Vīra-tava-, "having the force of a warrior" (Segal 1983: 62; Zadok 1986: 43).

Zadok also mentions *Vṛta-tava-ya (with haplology), "having the force of a hero".

– Aramaic: Wrtwy: ATNS 43b:6.

4.2.1904 *Virauda- / *Virōda-: *Vi-rauda-, "thoroughly growing".

Gershevitch (1969: 206-207) prefers *Vaya(h)-rauda-, "growing into the ether (= exceedingly tall)", to Av. *vaiia-*, "ether". According to Hallock (1969: 731) and Hinz (ASN 264) the second spelling renders *Vīrayauda-.

– Elamite:

1) Mi-ra-u-da: PT 49a-1:6, 68:5-6, 68a:7.
2) Mi-ru-da: PF 1904:2.

4.2.1905 *Vīravēθa- (OP): < *Vīra-vaiθa-, "knight of a man" (ElW 935).

– Elamite: Mi-ra-me-sa: PFNN 1390:3.

4.2.1906 *Vīraya-: *Vīra-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Vīra- (Gershevitch 1969: 207; ASN 264) or of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (OnP 8.1102).

– Elamite: Mi-re-ia: PF 2071:4,10,26.

4.2.1907 *Vīrayauda-: *Vīra-yauda-, "he who fights warriors" (Benveniste 1958b: 53; Gershevitch 1969: 207; OnP 8.1096; ASN 264).

Hallock (1969: 731; also ASN 264) erroneously believes Mi-ru-da (= *Virauda-) to be a rendering of this name.

– Elamite:

1) Mi-ra-ia-u-da: PF 350:2, 408:2, 709:9-10, 787-788:2, 829:2-3; PFNN 613:2, 663:2, 667:2-3, 792:2, etc. in PFT and PFNN.

2) Mi-re-ia-u-da: PFNN 1503:2, 1689:1-2.

4.2.1908 *Vīriča-: *Vīr-iča-, *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.1103; ASN 263).

– Elamite: Mi-ri-iz-za: PF 1397:2; PFNN 690:1-2, 1472:10-11, 1657:1-2, 2271:8.

4.2.1909 *Vīrina-: *Vīr-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (OnP 8.1097; Hinz 1974: 259; ASN 263 and 264).

– Elamite: Mi-ri-na: PF 1417:3, 1853:18; PFNN 1649:2-3, 2372:3.

4.2.1910 *Vīruka-: *Vīr-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vīra-name (OnP 8.1106; ASN 264).

– Elamite: Mi-ru-ka$_4$: PFNN 362:2.

4.2.1911 *Visādrūš- (Med.): *Visā-drū-š, < *Visā-dr(u)va-, "steady through the royal house" (ASN 264).

A spelling Mi-sa-ut-ru-iš was analyzed by Gershevitch (1970: 87) as *Mitadru-, "runner" (OInd. *mitádru-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1108) only mentions the spelling, while Hinz (ASN 268) reconstructs *Viθā-dru-, "steady through the royal house", the OP equivalent of *Visādruš. Yet this spelling is nowhere attested and should thus be removed from the corpus. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1113) gives no opinion on the name behind Mi-šá-ud-ru-iš.

– Elamite: Mi-šá-ud-ru-iš: PF 1209:3-4.

4.2.1912 *Visafarnā (OP): nom. sg. of *Visa-farnah-, "having all glory" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 172 and n.361; OnP 8.1133; ASN 264).

Other explanations of the El. spelling are (1) *Vahyas-farnah-, "better glory" (OnP 8.1133, where it is, however, admitted that the cluster /sf/ causes phonological difficulties) and (2) *Vis-farnah- (OnP 8.1133; ASN 265, referring to OP *Viθa-farnā [4.2.1933]).

– Aramaic: Wsprn: Pers 125:2.

– Elamite: Mi-iš-bar-na: PF 498:2-3, 1970:18, 2084:9; PFNN 1348:4-5, 1404:2.

4.2.1913 *Visāmiça- (OP): *Visā-miça- (Gershevitch 1969b: 190; OnP 8.1142; ASN 264-265), cf. OInd. Viśvāmitra- (SED 993).

– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-mi-iš-šá: PFNN 1472:7-8.

4.2.1914 *Visapāçēna- (OP): < *Visa-pāç-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Visa-pāça-, "full protection" (ASN 265-266).

Gershevitch (1969b: 191) reconstructs *Vi-špas-āyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of *Vi-špasa-, "scout", to OInd. *vi-paś-*, "to observe" and Av. *spas-*, "to wait". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1118) prefers *Vispa-šena-.

– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-še-na: PFNN 1025:2.

4.2.1915 *Visapuθra- (Med.): *Visa-puθra-, "prince" (Gershevitch 1969: 209 and 1969b: 191; OnP 8.1137 and 8.1145; ASN 265).

– Elamite:

1) Mi-iš-šá-pu-iš-ra: PFNN 931:2-3.
2) Mi-iš-šá-pu-ut-ra: PFNN 669:2-3.

3) Mi-iš-pu-ut-<ra>[154]: PFa 33:10.

4.2.1916 *Visavanīš (OP): < *Visa-vanya-, "vanquishing all".
– Elamite: Mi-šu-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 574:25.

4.2.1917 *Visavanka- (OP): *Visa-van-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Visa-van-, "he who vanquishes all".
– Elamite: Mi-šá-man-ka$_4$: PFNN 1643:2-3.

4.2.1918 *Vis(a)vanta- (OP): *Visa-vanta-, "having all eulogies" (OnP 8.1152). Cf. 4.2.1926.
Benveniste (1966: 88) translates "desired by all". Hinz (ASN 265) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-šu-man-da: Fort. 8866:2-3, 9408:2.
2) Mi-iš-un-da: Fort. 6578:2.

4.2.1919 *Visavanya- (OP): *Visa-vanya-, "vanquishing all", Av. *vīspa-vanya-* (Benveniste 1966: 88; OnP 8.1153; ASN 265).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-šu-man-ia: PF 267:7, 2012:19, 2070:9; PFNN 1226:12-13, 1575:3-4, 2302:7-8.
2) Mi-šu-man-ia: PF 2025:12; PFNN 2159:3.

4.2.1920 *Visnaya-: *Vis-na-ya-, hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Visa-name.
– Elamite: Muš-nu-ia: PFNN 2492:3-4.

4.2.1921 *Vispafryā- (Med.; fem.): *Vispa-fryā-, "dear to all" (Gershevitch 1969: 209; OnP 8.1116; ASN 266), MP Vispān-fryā (IN 371).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-pír-ri-ia: PFNN 541:34.

4.2.1922 *Vispaiθa- (OP) / *Vispēθa-: *Vis-paiθa-, "with all adornment" (OnP 8.1120; ASN 266), cf. OInd. *viśvá-peśa-* and Av. *vispō-paēsa-*.
Gershevitch (1969: 209) prefers *Vispa-paiθa-, with haplology.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-be-a-sa: PF 160:5-6.
2) Mi-iš-be-sa: Fort. 6580:2; PF 151:9 (Mi-iš-be-s[a]), 385-386:2, 2018:15; PFNN 1278:6-7, 1425:1-2, 1499:1-2.

4.2.1923 *Vispaka- (Med.): *Vispa-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Vispa-name (OnP 8.1114; ASN 266), OInd. Viśvaka- (SED 994).
Mayrhofer (1979c: 114-115; also EIW 924) prefers Middle Iranian *Vispak.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-ik: Fort. 6411:2; PFa 2:2.

[154] Hallock (Nachlass) originally read this name as Mi-iš-pu-ka$_4$, but later crossed out the final *-ka* and corrected it to -ut-<ra>. The original spelling, however, was analyzed by Gershevitch (1970: 88; reading *Vispavahuka-), Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1136; *Vispuka-) and Hinz (ASN 266; *Vispauka-). These proposals should be dismissed.

4.2.1924 *Vispatarva- (Med.): *Vispa-tarva-, "vanquishing all" (Benveniste 1966: 88; OnP 8.1119; ASN 266; Zadok 1977: 115; Dandamayev 1992: 87), cf. OInd. *viśvatúr-* and *viśvatūrti-*, Av. *vispatauruuā-* and the personal names Vispatauruuarī- and Vispataurušī- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/95-96).
Hinz (ASN 266) believes that Bab. Ú-zu-pa-'-tu-ra-' too renders this name, but Zadok (1977: 95 and n.138) rejects this.
– Babylonian:
1) I-si-pa-ta-ra-'-ú: BE 9 28a:4,7.
2) I-si-pa-ta-ru-'-ú: BE 9 28a:Lo.E.
3) Is-pa-ta-ru-': PBS 2/1 116:12, 122:7, 139:8.
4) Us-pa-ta-ru-': BE 9 74:4,11.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-tur-ma: PF 1077:2; PFNN 2500:1-2.

4.2.1925 *Vispavada- (Med.-OP): *Vispa-vada-, "leader of all" (Zadok 1995: 158, reconstructing *Vispa-vāda-).
Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 87) prefers Spa-uda-, "he who raises streams".
– Babylonian: Is-pa-ú-du: FuB 14 15 no.4:Lo.E.; Mich 46:1,4,9.

4.2.1926 *Vispavanta- (Med.): *Vispa-vanta-, "having all eulogies" (OnP 8.1115), cf. 4.2.1918.
Benveniste's (1966: 88) translation is "wanted by all". Hinz (ASN 266-267) remains undecisive.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-ba-man-da: PF 1143:2; PFNN 1249:2, 1343:2-3.
2) Mi-iš-ba-un-da: PF 1142:2, 1198:3-4, 1964:12; PFNN 1543:2-3.

4.2.1927 *Vispēša- (Med.): < *Vispa-iša-, "seeking everything" (Zadok 1975: 245 and 1977: 102-103; Dandamayev 1992: 88).
Zadok (l.c.) also mentions *Vispa-hiša-, "observing all", to Av. *vispa-hišaṭ*.
– Babylonian: Is-pe-e-šú: TuM 2/3 184:17.

4.2.1928 *Vispiča- (Med.): *Visp-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of a *Vispa-name (cf. Gershevitch 1969: 186; OnP 8.1135; ASN 266).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-pi-za: PF 1564:3-4.

4.2.1929 *Višmina-: "the ever-smiling, pleased" (Gershevitch 1970: 87; OnP 8.1130; ASN 267).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-mi-na: Fort. 7107:4; PF 1315:6, 1319:7, 1322:7-8.

4.2.1930 *Vištabaujana-: *Višta-baujana-, "to whom the free bestow benefit".
All authors read *Višta-bauja-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Višta-bauja-, "serving the free" (Eilers 1940: 106n.4; ASN 267; Zadok 1977: 101; Dandamayev 1992: 88).
– Babylonian:
1) Iš-ta-bu-za-na: BE 10 36-37:U.E.; PBS 2/1 6:13, 185:U.E.
2) Iš-ta-bu-za-na-': BE 10 50:R.E. ('Iš-ta'-bu-[za]-'na'-'); PBS 2/1 9:U.E., 116:6; TuM 2/3 185:13.

3) Iš-ta-bu-za-ni: PBS 2/1 176:U.E. (Iš-ta-bu-<za>-ni).
4) Iš-ta-bu-za-nu: BE 10 8:8,Lo.E., 18:U.E., 20:12,Lo.E., 22:U.E., 24:11, 26:R.E., 32:U.E., 34:15,U.E., 35:15,R.E., 36:14, 37:11, 41:12,L.E., 42:11,L.E., 45:13,Lo.E., 46:17,U.E.; CTMMA 3 126:11; EE 81:9'; PBS 2/1 6:U.E., 7:10,U.E., 8:7,Lo.E., 14:8,Lo.E., 31:15,Lo.E., 42:9, 151-152:U.E., 153:8,Lo.E., 156:13, 176:13, 179:12,Lo.E., 180:13,U.E., 185:13.
5) Iš-tu-bu-za-na-': IMT 2:7.
6) Uš-ta-bu-za-na: BE 10 50:13; TuM 2/3 185:L.E.
7) Uš-ta-bu-za-na-': BE 9 74:5.

4.2.1931 *Vištāna-: *Višta-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Višta-name (Eilers 1940: 100n.3; NW 47; ASN 267; Dandamayev 1992: 139; Vittmann 2004: 165).

Koch's (EIW 929) identification of this name with *(H)ustāna- (4.2.831) is problematic, since u (in the Elamite representations of the latter name) only renders /v/ before /ṛ/ or /r/. Huyse (1992: 292) reconstructs *(H)u-štāna-.

– Aramaic: Wštn: Pers 17:3 ([W]štn, restauration ASN 267); TAD B 2.8:13.
– Babylonian:
1) Uš-ta-an: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:2.
2) Uš-ta-na-': IMT 32:2; PBS 2/1 105:8,11,Lo.E.
3) Uš-ta-ni: BRM 1 101:4.
4) Uš-ta-an-ni: Dar. 82:2.
5) Uš-ta-nu: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:3,8,9,10,15; AM 119a:6 (= 119b:6); BE 9 65:8; Dar. 27:3; UET 4 44:4; VAT 15617:3 (cf. Eilers 1940: 35); VS 6 307:14 (°-[ta]-°).
6) Uš-tan-nu: AM 20:11.
– Demotic: Wšṯn: S.H5-450 obv. ii 1,4 (cf. Smith 1992: 295-296).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-da-na: PF 1544:2-3; PFNN 1398:3.
2) Mi-iš-tan-na: PF 256:8-9, 553:4-5, 726:3-4, 1019:4-5, 1671:4-5; PFNN 623:3-4.

4.2.1932 *Višyamanā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Višya-manah-, "having the mind of the members of the royal court".

Gershevitch (1969b: 191) mentions *Viš(a)ya(t)-manah-, "opening his mind, confident", to MP and Parth. *wšyd'x(w)*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1149 and 8.1150) prefers *Mišširya-manah-. Hinz (ASN 268) pleads for *Vīšyamanah-.

– Elamite: Mi-iš-ši-ia-ma-na: PF 1987:28,31,54,70.

4.2.1933 *Viθafarnā (OP): nom. sg. of *Viθa-farnah-, "favoured by the clan's glory" (Gershevitch 1969: 210; OnP 8.1166; ASN 268).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1166) also mentions an alternative etymology, *Miθra-farnah-, which developed through haplology from *Miθfarnah. Yet one would rather expect such a name to appear in Elamite as *Miç(a)-farnah, the Old Persian variant. Schmitt (2006: 172) changes the spelling into Mi-ut-<ra>-pír-na in order to have a name *Miθrafarnā.

– Elamite: Mi-ut-pír-na: PFNN 618:1-2.

4.2.1934 *Viθapuça- (OP): "prince" (Hinz 1968: 435; Gershevitch 1969: 208; Mayrhofer 1969: 110; OnP 8.1107; ASN 268).

– Elamite: Mi-sa-pu-iš-šá: PF 1197:3.

4.2.1935 *Viyāra-: Viyā-ra-, "traveller", *-ra*-hypocoristic of a name containing *Viyā-, "to travel".

– Elamite: Mi-ia-ra: PF 1293:3; PFa 24:4, 29:10.

4.2.1936 *Viyuka-: *Viy-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a name containing *Viyā-. Cf. 4.3.259.

– Elamite: Mi-hi-ú-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1610:2-3.

4.2.1937 *Vizranga- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Vidranga- (4.2.1877; ASN 268).

– Elamite:
1) Mi-iz-ra-an-ka$_4$: PF 1493:2-3.
2) Mi-iz-ra-ka$_4$: PF 1494:2.

4.2.1938 *Vōdṛvaniča- (OPs): < *Vau-dṛvan-iča-, an *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of *Vau-dṛvana-, "due to enjoy a good old age" (Gershevitch 1970: 88; ASN 250) or *Vau-dṛva-n-iča-, an *-ič̆a*-hypocoristic of *Vau-dṛva-.

Gershevitch (1969: 186) reconstructs *Hu-taurvan-, "prevailing", to Av. *tauruuan-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1197) is cautious and only mentions that it is a hypocoristic of a name ending in *-*van-* or *-*man-*.

– Elamite: Mu(?)-tar-ma-ni-iz-za: PFNN 181:3.

4.2.1939 *Vōna- (OPs): < *Vau-n-a, a two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. Av. Vohu-nəmah-, "having a good veneration" (OnP 8.1189; Mayrhofer 1979: I/99; ASN 251).

– Elamite:
1) Mu-in-na: PF 321:3-4, 1287:4-5.
2) Mu-un-na: PF 1555:3-4.

4.2.1940 *Vōpar(u)va- (OPs): < *Vau-par(u)va-, "good and first".

– Elamite: Mu-bar-ma: PFNN 2374:13.

4.2.1941 *Vraganta-: "he who walks" (NW 114; ASN 269).

Gershevitch (1969: 225) identifies this name with *Ṛkanta- (4.2.1422), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1390) rejects this.

– Elamite: Ra-ka$_4$-an-da: PF 1764:4.

4.2.1942 *Vrāstauka-: *Vrāsta-auka-, "the lovely" (NW 114; ASN 269).

Gershevitch (1969: 184) reads Har-ra-° and reconstructs *Ārāsta-tauka-, "Ārāsta's offspring". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.467) thinks of this as a very risky proposal.

– Elamite: Mur-ra-iš-tam$_5$-ka$_4$: PF 1464:2-3; PFNN 1343:3-4.

4.2.1943 *Vratēča-: < *Vrat-aiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of *Vrata- or of a retrenchment of a *Vrata-name (OnP 8.1758; ASN 269).

– Elamite: Ú-ra-te-ez-za: PF 1583:10, 1945:20-21.

4.2.1944 *Vratēnta-: < *Vratayanta-, "religious" (Hinz 1972: 263 and n.13; NW 62; OnP 8.1425; ASN 269-270), cf. 4.2.1412.

Henning (apud Hinz 1958: 128-129) reads *Urvatayant-. Gershevitch (1969: 227-228) reconstructs *Vrādi-nihinda-, "dwelling in joy", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1425) rejects this. Concerning the third spelling Hinz (ASN 269-270) argues that TIN was pronounced /ten/ and that, since the Elamites talked very nasally, -ten-in-da- may render /tayanta/. This seems very unlikely and it is much better to believe that IN is a phonetic complement (Vallat 1989: 222).

– Elamite:
1) Ra-te-in-da: PT 75:1.
2) Ra-tin-da: PT 59:1.
3) Ra-tin^{in}-da: PT 49:1, 49a-1:1, 52-58:1, 63:1, 68:1.
4) Ú-ra-te-en-da: PT 15:27, 16:18, 18:23-24, 19:17-18.
5) Ú-ra-tin-da: PT 3a:2, 45:4, 50:5, 51:6-7, 61:4, 64:5, 71:7, 76:6-7, 80:6-7.

4.2.1945 *Vṛdaka-: *Vṛda-ka-, "rose" (Zadok 2004: 112).

Von Dassow (apud Spar & von Dassow 2000: 164) connects the name with *Arjaka- (4.2.104), spelled Har-za-ak-ka$_4$ in Elamite.

– Babylonian: Mur-da-ak-ka: CTMMA 3 83:14.

4.2.1946 *Vṛdvanta- (OP): *Vṛd-vanta-, "efficient, extraordinary" (Gershevitch 1969b: 190; OnP 8.976; ASN 270). Cf. 4.2.1957.

– Elamite: Mar-du-un-da: PF 1352:8-9, 1400:8-9, 1402:7-8; PFNN 2045:6-7, 2077:8.

4.2.1947 *Vṛdaya- / *Vṛdē-: *Vṛda-ya-, *-ya*-extension of *Vṛda-, "thriving, increasing" (Zadok 1975: 247; Dandamayev 1992: 138).

– Babylonian:
1) Úr-de-e: PBS 2/1 105:Lo.E.
2) Ur-de-ia: VS 6 187:17.

4.2.1948 *Vṛka-: "the wolf" (OnP 8.979; ASN 271), MP Gurg (Gignoux 1986: II/91).

Gershevitch (1969: 205) prefers *Hvarga-, "the heavenly, celestial", to OInd. *svargá-*. According to Dandamayev (1975: 235-236) this spelling renders the Bab. name Mar-ka.

– Elamite:
1) Mar^{ir}-ka$_4$: PFNN 1872:11.
2) Mar-ka$_4$: PF 1945:4; PFNN 2142:2-3.

4.2.1949 *Vṛkača-: *Vṛka-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Vṛka- (ElW 884).

– Elamite:
1) Mar-ka$_4$-šá: PFNN 2487:28. Error for Mar-ka$_4$-za.
2) Mar-ka$_4$-za: PFNN 2293:28.

4.2.1950 *Vṛkapi-: *Vṛka-p-i-, *-i*-patronymic of a two-stem hypocoristic *Vṛka-p-a- or of *Vṛka-pāta-a- (Tavernier, forth.).

– Elamite: Mur-ka$_4$-pi: PF 1461:2; PFNN 525:8.

4.2.1951 *Vṛkauka-: *Vṛk-auka-, *-auka*-extension of *Vṛka-, "wolf".

– Elamite: Mar-ka$_4$-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1961:2.

4.2.1952 *Vṛkavukāna-: *Vṛka-v-uka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of an *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Vṛka-va-, "the wolf-like".

– Elamite: Mur-ka$_4$-mu-uk-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 311:7-8.

4.2.1953 *Vṛkēna-: < *Vṛk-aina-, "wolf-like", an *-aina*-extension of *Vṛka- (OnP 8.980; ASN 271), MP and NP Gurgēn (Gignoux 1986: II/91; IN 355-356), Arm. Vrkēn (Hübschmann 1897: 86).

– Elamite: Mar-ge-na: PF 2079:4.

4.2.1954 *Vṛšuka-: *Vṛš-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Vṛša-, attested in the Avestan name Varəšauua-, the meaning of which is not known (Mayrhofer 1979: I/92).

Hinz & Koch (ElW 923) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

– Elamite [M]i-ir-šu-ka$_4$: PT 84:11.

4.2.1955 *Vṛtaka-: *Vṛta-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Vṛta-, "hero" (ASN 271). Cf. 4.3.264.

– Elamite: Mar-tuk-ka$_4$: PT 84:18.

4.2.1956 *Vṛtāta-: *Vṛta-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Vṛta- (ASN 271-272).

Other etymologies are (1) *Ahuradāta- (Benveniste 1966: 95; Gershevitch 1969: 210), (2) *(H)uvardāta- (OnP 8.1760; Zadok 1983: 107n.367), (3) *Vṛda-dāta-, "aus der Fülle geschaffen" (NW 116, referring to Av. *varəd-*, "augmentation").

– Elamite:
1) Mur-da-ud-da: PF 390:2-3.
2) Ú-ir-da-ad-da: PF 1761:2-3.

4.2.1957 *Vṛzvanta- (Med.): "efficient", Median equivalent of OP *Vṛdvanta- (4.2.1946; ASN 272).

– Elamite: Mar-su-un-da: PF 1401:9-10 (°-[u]n-ʳdaˀ), 1528:7; PFNN 127:9-10.

4.2.1958 *Vyāduka-: *Vyād-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Vyādā-, "having a reward" (ElW 944).

– Elamite: Mi-ia-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2270:5, 2539:11.

4.2.1959 *Vyamāna-: *Vyam-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Vyam-, "reward".

*Vyāv-āna- (to Av. *viiāuuaṇt-*), "shining" is also possible.

– Elamite: Mi-ia-ma-na: PFNN 2281:21.

4.2.1960 *Vyuštiš: *Vyušti-š, "(born at) dawn" (Gershevitch 1969: 209; ASN 272).

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1179) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Mi-ú-iš-ti-iš: PFNN 113:3-4.

4.2.1961 *Xaraina-: *Xar-aina-, *-aina*-extension of *Xara- "ass" (Zadok 1999-2000: 211); no patronymic, as Zadok used to think (1997d: no.4).

– Babylonian: Ḫa-ra-i-na: IMT 42:3,6,Lo.E.

4.2.1962 *Xratuš (Med.): *Xratu-š, "provided with insight" (Gershevitch 1969b: 185; OnP 8.30; ASN 25; Zadok 1977: 115 and n.267; Dandamayev 1992: 27).

Another possibility is *Ā-xratuš, with the same meaning.

– Babylonian:
1) Aḫ-ra-tu-uš: BE 9 74:3.
2) Aḫ-ru-tu-uš: PBS 2/1 122:9.
3) Aḫ-ru-tu-uš-šú: PBS 2/1 116:4.

4.2.1963 *Xraθuvanya- (OP): *Xraθu-vanya-, "victorious through his wisdom" (Schmitt 1970: 16n.14; NW 111; ASN 133).

Benveniste (1966: 86) reconstructs *Xratu-manya-, "having authority through his wisdom". Schmitt (1970: 16; also OnP 8.80) also mentions the Median equivalent *Xratu-vanya-. Hinz (ASN 133) rejects the latter, because in his view TU must render /θu/. This is not true in all cases, so the only valid argument against the Median equivalent is the fact that the Elamite writings mostly reflect Old Persian variants.

– Elamite: Kur-ra-tu-man-ia: PF 1802:5-6.

4.2.1964 *Xrutēča-: < *Xrut-aiča-, an *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Xruta-, "miscreant" (NW 111; ASN 134).

Gershevitch (1969b: 189) connects this name with MP *grwdy*, "lamentation". Hinz (ASN 134) also mentions *Xrauθaiča-, "cry baby, blubberer" (Av. *xraos*-, "to cry, weep").

– Elamite: Kur-ru-te-ez-za: PF 2012:14.

4.2.1965 *Xšaçabānuš (OP): *Xšaça-bānu-š, "radiance of the empire" (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1480; ASN 134). Cf. 4.2.1972.

– Elamite: Šá-ak-šá-ba-nu-iš: PF 657:10, 1791:28, 1796:14, 1797:11-12, 2025:24-25, 2067:15; PFa 28:2; PFNN 709:8-9, 1078:14, 1847:15, 2156:10-11.

4.2.1966 *Xšaçaka- (OP): *Xšaça-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Xšaça-name (Benveniste 1966: 93; Gershevitch 1969: 231; OnP 8.561 and 8.1481; ASN 134).

– Elamite:
1) Ik-šá-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 805:9.
2) Šá-ak-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1511:2, 1781:3.
3) Šá-iš-šá-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 481:2.

4.2.1967 *Xšaçōpā- (OPs): < *Xšaça-u-pā-, "well protecting the empire".

Other proposals are (1) *Čaçupā-, "quadruped" (Gershevitch 1970: 90), (2) *Xšaçu-pā-, "protecting the empire", with *-a-* > *-u-* before a labial (OnP 8.1510) and (3) *Xšaça-upa-, an abbreviation of *Xšaça-upastā-, "assistance for the empire" (ASN 134).

– Elamite: Šá-iš-šu-uk-ba: PF 244:4; PFNN 576:21.

4.2.1968 *Xšaçaya- (OP): *Xšaça-ya-, *-ya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Xšaça-name (OnP 1482).

Benveniste (1966: 93) reconstructs *Xšaçya-, "governing", to OInd. *kṣatríya*- and Av. *xšaθriia*-. Hinz (ASN 134) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Šá-ak-ši-ia: PF 249:7-8.

4.2.1969 *Xšāfraštāna-: *Xšā-frašt-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Xšā-frašti-, "learning the jurisdiction".

Gershevitch (1969b: 195) pleads for *Čapa-rāšta-āna-, "one who uses his left (hand) as a right (hand)", to NP *čap*, "left" and *rāst*, "right". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1495), however, is not convinced by this etymology. Hinz (ASN 135) prefers *Xšapa-rāsta-, "going right during the night", to Av. *xšap*-, "night", or *Xšap-parastāna- (also ElW 1118), "Nacht-Vorderort".

– Elamite: Šá-bar-ráš-da-na: PFNN 757:55.

4.2.1970 *Xšaita- / *Xšēta-: "the shining, brilliant" (Eilers 1940b: 202n.4; Gershevitch 1969: 232; OnP 8.1530; ASN 134-135). Cf. Parth. Ḥšyt(k) (Schmitt 1998: 184).

– Elamite:
1) Hi-še-ud-da: Fort. 6770:2-3; PFNN 392:4.
2) Iš(?)-še-ud-da: PFNN 628:2.
3) Šá-a-da: PF 223:3, 1011:3, 1044:3, 1079:2, 1780:3; PFa 29:20.
4) Šá-a-taš: PFNN 2495:12,27.
5) Šá-a-ud-da: PFNN 2341:22.
6) Še-ud-da: PF 148:3, 149:4, 221:3, 250:7, 376:2, 573-574:8, 587:2 (Še-<<še>>-ud-da), 635:7, 786:4, 1215:6, 1224:3, 1968:13,20; PFNN 435:2-3, 591:2-3, 662:3-4, 728:10,34, 1455:2-3, 2238:9; PT 38:9.
7) Še-ú-da: PF 732:3. Scribal error for Še-ud-da.

4.2.1971 *Xšaθra- (Med.): retrenchment of a *Xšaθra-name (Bowman 1970: 147; ASN 135).

– Aramaic: Ḥštr: Pers 89:2.

4.2.1972 *Xšaθrabānuš (Med.): *Xšaθra-bānu-š, Median equivalent of *Xšaçabānuš (4.2.1965; Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1522; ASN 135).

– Elamite: Šá-ut-ra-ba-nu-iš: PF 1998:13.

4.2.1973 *Xšaθrapāvā (Med.): nom. sg. of **xšaθrapāvan*-, "satrap" (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1521; ASN 138). Cf. 1.4.3.6 and 4.4.7.132.

– Elamite: Šá-at-ra-ba-ma: PF 1376:3; PFNN 2487:9 (°-ra-ma-ba).

4.2.1974 *Xšaθrauka- (Med.): *Xšaθr-auka-, *-auka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Xšaθra-name (ElW 1145).

– Elamite: Šá-ut-ra-u-ka$_4$: PFNN 2279:10.

4.2.1975 *Xšaθrava- (Med.): *Xšaθra-va-, extension of *Xšaθra- (ElW 1140).

– Elamite: Šá-tar-ma: PFNN 739:3.

4.2.1976 *Xšaθrēzāta- (Med.): < *Xšaθrai-zāta-, "born in the kingdom", with **xšaθrai* as the loc. of **xšaθra*-.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1145) reconstruct *Xšaθrazāta-.

– Elamite: Šá-ut-re-za-da: OGWA 321-322:7.

4.2.1977 *Xšaθrina- (Med.): *Xšaθr-ina-, *-ina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Xšaθra-name (Benveniste 1966: 93; OnP 8.1526; ASN 136).
– Elamite: Šá-tur-ri-na: PF 1062:2-3.

4.2.1978 *Xšaθrīš (Med.): < *Xšaθr-in-, "he who has power, ruler", with *-in-* as a suffix indicating possession (Schmitt 1988: 86-87).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1117 and 1145) reconstruct *Xšaθri-, an *-i*-patronymic.
– Elamite:
1) Šá-at-ri-iš: PFNN 548:3, 2370:2.
2) Šá-ut-ri-iš: PFNN 2363:18.

4.2.1979 *Xšaθriya- (Med.): Median equivalent of *Xšaç-iya- (ElW 1145).
– Elamite: Šá-ut(?)-ri-ia: PFNN 2477:15.

4.2.1980 *Xšayadr(u)va-: *Xšaya-dr(u)va-, "ruling over steady people" (ASN 137).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1525) reconstructs *Xšaita-arvā-, "having shining steeds", but that would be written -da-ir-ma- (ASN 137).
– Elamite: Šá-a-tur-ma[155]: PF 1157:2.

4.2.1981 *Xšayakata- (OP): *Xšaya-kata-, "ruling the house".
Hinz (ASN 137) reads *Xšayagada-, "ruling over robbers", to Av. *gaδa-*, "robber". This is, however, a strange name.
– Elamite: Šá-a-ka$_4$-da[156]: PF 58:12, 59:8-9, 60:5, 61:7, 62:6-7, 63:7, 65:6, 66:8, 67:5-6, 70:5, 71:4, 1010:3; PFNN 79:3, 507:2-3, 653:3-4, 884:2-3, 886:11, 1231:6-7, 1614:5-6, 2401:13, 2514:5-6.

4.2.1982 *Xšē-: < *Xšaya-, "ruler" (Zadok 1976b: 77; Dandamayev 1992: 86).
– Babylonian: Iḫ-še-e: YOS 7 149:13,14.

4.2.1983 *Xšētaka-: < *Xšaita-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of *Xšaita- (OnP 8.1536; NW 115; Schmitt 1974: 108; ASN 135), Parth. Ḥšytk (Gignoux 1972: 53).
Gershevitch (1969b: 196) reconstructs *Šyāta-vahuka-, "happy and good".
– Elamite: Še-ut-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1988:9; PFNN 2265:26.

4.2.1984 *Xšētāna-: < *Xšaita-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Xšaita-.
– Elamite: Še-ud-du-na: PFNN 2272:1-2. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.1985 *Xšētāta-: < *Xšaita-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of *Xšaita- (ElW 1147).
– Elamite: Še-da-da: PFNN 867:6.

4.2.1986 *Xšēti-: <*Xšait-i, an *-i*-patronymic of *Xšaita-, "the shining, sparkling" (Zadok 1977: 94n.33 and 99; Dandamayev 1992: 27). Cf. 4.2.219.

[155] The El. spelling renders /Xšaidrva/.
[156] The El. spelling renders /Xšaikata/.

– Babylonian:
1) Aḫ-še-e-tu$_4$: VS 6 185:23.
2) Áḫ-še-ti-': VS 6 171:23.

4.2.1987 *Xšōstra-: < *Xšauštra-, "he who flows forwards" (ASN 136-137).
Benveniste (1966: 95) believes that the second part is **uštra-*, "camel". Gershevitch (1969: 232) reads the second spelling (Uk-šu-°) as *Hu-xšaustra- and consequently has two different names. Nonetheless this is not true: UK was used to render Iranian /x/. The use of UK instead of the usual IK can be explained by means of vocalic harmony with the following ŠU (ASN 136-137). Concerning the second spelling Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1707) mentions *Uxša-stūra-, "as strong as an ass".
– Elamite:
1) Šu-iš-tur-ra: PF 1980:12.
2) Uk-šu-iš-tur-ra: PF 1979:3,9.

4.2.1988 *Xšōstraka-: < *Xšaustra-ka-, a *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Xšaustra- (Gershevitch 1969: 232; OnP 8.1589; ASN 137).
– Elamite: Šu-iš-tur-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1967:4.

4.2.1989 *Xvagāma- (East Ir.): *Xva-gāma-, "striding beautifully" (Zadok 1976: 77; Dandamayev 1992: 83).
– Babylonian: Ḫu-ma-ga-am-mu: Hebraica 8 134:12.

4.2.1990 *Xvaidāmā (East Ir.): nom. sg. of *Xvai-dāman-, "belonging to my own house", an appropriate name for a slave (Shaked 1987: 409)[157].
– Aramaic: Ḥydnm: TAD B 5.6:3.

4.2.1991 *Xvamnaka- (East Ir.): *Xvamna-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Xvamna-, "the sleepy" (Gershevitch 1969: 203; ASN 139; Bogoljubov 1976b: 211), cf. 4.2.846.
– Aramaic: Ḥwmnk: PF 1825:R.E.

4.2.1992 *Xvanbānuš (East Ir.): *Xvan-bānu-š, "having the splendour of the sun god" (Zadok 1991: 40).
– Aramaic: Ḥnbnš: TAD B 8.2:28.

4.2.1993 *Xvandāta- (East Ir.): *Xvan-dāta-, "given by the sun god".
This name is clear, but Naveh & Shaked (1986: 22) are misled by the double N, when they connect Ḥnn- with Av. *x^{v}anuuaṇt-*. Bogoljubov (1970: 89-90) considers the sequence Ḥn° (in Ḥnbndk, attested in a Hellenistic inscription) as a reflection of Ir. **xvanh-*, the genitive of **xvan-*.
– Aramaic: Ḥnndt: JRAS 1986 21 and Pl.1 no.1:1.

4.2.1994 *Xvanpaiθa- (East Ir.): *Xvan-paiθa-, "the sun god's ornament" (Zadok 1986: 41).
– Aramaic: Ḥnpyt: ATNS 161:3.

[157] The problems with N, noticed by Shaked, are non-existing: Aramaic has more examples of superfluous *n* in its renderings of Iranian names, cf. e.g. *Ārmatidāta- (4.2.107).

4.2.1995 *Xvarapāta- (East Ir.): *Xvara-pāta-, "protected by the sun god" (Stolper 1999b: 375 and n.33; Schmitt 2006: 288).
– Babylonian: Ḫu-ru-pa-a-ta: BE (Ber) 58242:4.

4.2.1996 *Xvarašīka- (East Ir. — OP): < *Xvarašya-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of *Xvarašya-, "serving the good cause" (NW 48). Since Av. *-θiia-* remained unchanged in Median but became *-šya-* in Old Persian (OPG 8 §8, 32 §80; NW 43), this name can be considered an East Iranian — Old Persian hybrid name.
Gershevitch (1969b: 188) proposes *Grās-i-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of an *-i*-patronymic of *Grās-, "the watchful" (Av. *gar-*; MP *wigrās-*, Parth. *wiγrās-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.879) does not accept this and argues that only the last part, *-ika-*, is certain. Hinz (ASN 133) pleads for *Xrāšika-, to NP *xarāš*, "scratching". According to him kur-ra- cannot render /xvara/ (ASN 140). Yet this is not right, cf. **xvarθa-* (4.4.19.17), written kur-ru-°, or **xvarīškara-* (4.4.7.133), El. kur-ri-°.
– Elamite: Kur-ra-ši-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1946:29,31,33.

4.2.1997 *Xvarašyapātā (East Ir. — OP): nom. sg. of *Xvarašyapātar-, "protector of the one who serves the good cause" (NW 48; ASN 48).
According to Bowman (1970: 108) the name should be read *Hu-aršya-pāta-, "well-protected by the heroes".
– Aramaic: Ḥwršypt: Pers 37:3.

4.2.1998 *Xvaraθīka- (East Ir. — Median): < *Xvaraθya-ka-, a *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Xvaraθya-, "serving the good cause" (ASN 140).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-ra-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 1030:67-68.
2) Kur-ra-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 343:7.

4.2.1999 *Xvarēva- (East Ir.): < *Xva-raiva-, "good and rich" (ASN 140).
Gershevitch (1969b: 188) reconstructs **grīva-* (Av. *grīvā-*), "neck", but that would be wrtten Kur-ri-ma (NW 111; ASN 140).
– Elamite: Ku-re-ma: PF 1980:6-7.

4.2.2000 *Xvarfarnā (East Ir.): nom. sg. of *Xvar-farnah-, "sun-glory".
Zadok (1995b: 442) prefers *Xvanfarnah-, while elsewhere (TAD C: lx) the possibility that it is Egyptian is mentioned.
– Aramaic: Ḥrprn: TAD C 3.26:32.

4.2.2001 *Xvarmaka-: *-ka*-extension of *Xva-ṛma-, "having a good arm".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 504) recognize the Iranian character of this name, but do not exclude an Elamite origin.
– Elamite: Ku-ir-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 541:38.

4.2.2002 *Xvaršadāta- (East Ir.): *Xva-ṛš-dāta-, "given by the good hero" (ASN 140; Zadok 1977: 118 and n.307; Dandamayev 1992: 84).
– Babylonian:
1) Ḫur-uš-šá-da-a-tú: BE 10 100:3.
2) Ḫu-ur-šá-da-a-tú: BE 10 86:3.

3) Ḫu-ur$^{!}$-ši-da-a-tú: TuM 2/3 186:4 (collation: Oelsner, apud Zadok 1976d: 214).
4) Ḫur-ta-šá-da-a-tú: TuM 2/3 191:4. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.2003 *Xvaršaina- (East Ir.): *Xv-ṛš-aina-, *-aina*-extension of *Xva-ṛša-, "the heroic" (Bogoljubov 1967: 22n.7; ASN 140), cf. 4.2.863.
Hinz (NW 43) reconstructs *Xvarašyāna-. Kornfeld (1978: 107) derives the name from *Xvar-, "sun".
– Aramaic: Ḥršyn: TAD B 2.2:2, 2.3:5,23.

4.2.2004 *Xvarzušta- (East Ir.): *Xvar-zušta-, "loved by the sun god" (Eilers 1954-56: 332; Zadok 1977: 96; Dandamayev 1992: 84).
– Babylonian: Ḫu-ru-zu-uš-tu$_4$: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:5; BE 8/1 121:2 (<Ḫu>-ru-zu-uš-tu$_4$, cf. Zadok 1977: 99 and n.79)[158].

4.2.2005 *Xvayāra- (East Ir.): *Xva-yāra-, "(born in a good year)". Cf. 4.2.879.
According to Jones & Stolper (1986: 251-252) it is an Iranian anthroponym.
– Elamite: Ku-ia-ráš: Fs Steve 249:10.

4.2.2006 *Yadaušiya-: *Yad-auš-iya-, *-iya*-extension of *Yad-auša-, "worshiping him who is burning something".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1262) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ia-da-u-ši-ia: PFa 30:11.

4.2.2007 *Yaka-: masc. equivalent of OP *yakā-*, "*yaka*-tree" (Gershevitch 1969: 244; OnP 8.534: ASN 273).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2300:22.
2) Hi-ia-ik-ka$_4$: PF 1203:3.

4.2.2008 *Yakauka-: *Yak-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Yaka- (ElW 1264).
– Elamite: Ia(?)-ka$_4$-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2370:28.

4.2.2009 *Yama-: this name has to be connected with OInd. Yamá- (SED 846) and Av. Yima-, the name of a mythological king (Gershevitch 1969: 245; OnP 8.1792; ASN 273; Zadok 1976: 67; Mayrhofer 1979: I/102-103; Dandamayev 1992: 85).
– Babylonian:
1) Ia-a-am-ma-$^{?}$: BE 10 76:2.
2) Ia-am-ma-$^{?}$: BE 10 72:3,5 ([Ia-a]m-ma-$^{?}$),8,9 ([Ia]-am-ma-$^{?}$).
– Elamite: Ia-ma: PFNN 379:3.

4.2.2010 *Yamaka-: *Yama-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Yama- (Benveniste 1966: 96; Gershevitch 1969: 245; OnP 8.1793; ASN 273).

[158] Zadok (1976d: 217n.10) reads *Rvāzista-, a superlative of **rvāz-* (Av. *uruuāz-*).

– Elamite: Ia-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1025:2, 1943:31, 1961:28; PFNN 1396:2, 1431:4.

4.2.2011 *Yamašāta-: *Yama-šāta-, "prosperity of Yama".

Gershevitch (1969: 245-246; also ASN 273) believes that one cannot identify this name with *Yamaxšaita-, because the diphthong /ai/ is not expressed in the Elamite spelling. He reconstructs *Yama-ašāta-, "unhappy Yama", with reference to yašt 19,34. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1795), however, sticks to *Yamaxšaita-.

– Elamite: Ia-ma-šá-ud-da: PFNN 474:3.

4.2.2012 *Yamaxšēta-: < *Yama-xšaita-, "Yama, the shining" (Benveniste 1966: 96; Gershevitch 1969: 245; OnP 8.1794; ASN 273), Av. Yima-xšaēta- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/103), NP Jamšēd (IN 144-145).

– Elamite:
1) Am-ma-ak-še-da: PFNN 2301:5-6.
2) Am-ma-ak-še-ud-da: PF 403:3-4, 809:2-3, 1795:1, 1997:6; PFNN 13:1, 1584:3-4 (Am-ma-a[k-š]e-ud-da), 2090:3-4.
3) Am-ma-ik-še-da: PF 1834:1; PFNN 415:5-6.
4) Am-ma-ik-še-ud-da: PF 1833:1.
5) Ia-am-ma-ak-še-ud-da: PFNN 2519:16; PT Teh. 1957-1:8-9.
6) Ia-ma-ak-še-da: PFNN 1530:3-4.
7) Ia-ma-ak-še-ud-da: PF 808:3-4, 890-893:2-3, 894-895:3, 1774:3-4; PFNN 1920:2-3, 1951:3-4; PT Teh. 1968-2:3-4, 1968-3:2-3.

4.2.2013 *Yašnaka- (OP): *Yašna-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Yašna- (Benveniste 1966: 96; OnP 8.1719; ASN 273; all scholars reconstruct *Yasnaka, but it is much more likely that Old Persian *Yašnaka- is meant).

– Elamite:
1) Ia-áš-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 2012:4.
2) Ia-áš-na-ik-ka$_4$: Fort. 6765:4-5.
3) Ia-áš-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 2203:3.
4) Ia-iš-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 490:3-4; PFNN 62:2-3 ([Ia-i]š-na-ak-[ka$_4$]), 243:3-4, 986:3, 1114:4 (°-na-ak[ka$_4$]).
5) I-ia-iš-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 959:2.

4.2.2014 *Yašnamanga- (OP): *Yašna-manga-, "glorifying the worship" (Schmitt 1970: 25; ASN 273; both authors read *Yasna°).

Gershevitch (1969: 246) reconstructs *Yasna-vaŋha-, "he who prays the yasna". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1798) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ia-iš-na-man-ka$_4$: Fort. 3671:4-5.

4.2.2015 *Yašta-: "the consecrated" (Benveniste 1966: 96; OnP 8.1796; ASN 273-274).

Schmitt (apud OnP 8.1796) also mentions *Yāšta-, "girdled", the past part. of Av. *yāh-*. Cameron's (1948: 7n.41) idea that the name may be connected with Av. *yazata-* is not plausible.

– Elamite:
1) Hi-a-iš-da: PF 1964:13.
2) Ia-áš-da: PF 761:3; PFNN 1140:2-3, 1601:3.
3) Ia-áš-ud-da[159]: Fort. 3126:2-3; PF 762:2-3; PFNN 1138:2-3.
4) Ia-iš-da: PF 760:4.
5) Ia-šá-da: PFNN 1141:3.
6) Ia-za-ud-da[160]: PFNN 1602:3-4. Inaccurate spelling.

4.2.2016 *Yaštāta-: *Yašta-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Yašta-.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 1262) reconstruct *Yazdāta-.

– Elamite: Ia-iš-da-da: PFNN 2306:7.

4.2.2017 *Yauda-: "the warrior", retrenchment of *Yauda- (Benveniste 1966: 96) or of a *Yauda-name (OnP 8.1800; ASN 275).

– Elamite: Ia-u-da: PF 286:3.

4.2.2018 *Yaudaka-: *Yauda-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Yauda-name (OnP 8.1801; ASN 274).

– Elamite:
1) Ia-u-da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1943:21.
2) Ia-u-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 2006:15; PFNN 1372:2, 2352:7, 2369:4.

4.2.2019 *Yāudāra-: *Yāu-dāra-, "holder, possessor, of movable property" (Gershevitch 1969: 246).

Hinz (NW 109; ASN 274) mentions *Yauxdra-, "attack", to Av. *yaoxəδra-*. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.536) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Hi-ia-u-tar-ra: PF 1468:2.

4.2.2020 *Yaudavīra-: *Yauda-vīra-, "warrior" (Benveniste 1958b: 53; OnP 8.1802; ASN 274).

– Elamite: Ia-u-da-mi-ra: PT 84:16.

4.2.2021 *Yaudēna-: < *Yauda-aina-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Yauda-name (OnP 8.1806; ASN 274).

– Elamite: Ia-u-te-na: PFNN 731:3.

4.2.2022 *Yauna-: retrenchment of a *Yauna-name.

All authors (Gershevitch 1969: 246; OnP 8.1804; ASN 275) believe that this name is actually non-existing and that Ia-u-na, as well as Ia-u-na-a and Ia-u-na-ia, renders *Yaunaya-. This does not seem to be the case, however. With regard to the meaning of this name Hinz is right when he translates "home, homestead" (and not "Ionian", as Mayrhofer [OnP 8.1804] does).

– Elamite: Ia-u-na: PF 1810:18-19, 1942:27, 1965:29; PFNN 1511:18, 2529:28, 2566:14.

[159] Hinz (ASN 273) reads *Yā-çŭta-, "o famous one".

[160] Hinz & Koch (ElW 655) believe that the spelling Ya-za-ud-da causes problems for this analysis, since El. *-z-* normally does not render Ir. /š/. In my view it is an inaccurate spelling, as it is only attested once.

4.2.2023 *Yaunabṛza-: *Yauna-bṛza-, "exalting the homestead" (ElW 1265).
Benveniste (1966: 96) reads *Yauna-, "Ionian" or "housing", followed by **barz-* of **barj-*. Gershevitch (1969: 246) pleads for *Yauna-bṛja-, "he who welcomes Greeks", to Av. *barəg-*, "to welcome". Hinz (ASN 274) mentions Av. *barəjaya-*, a present tense of the same *barəg-* and prefers *Yauna-βarja-, "praising the homestead".
– Elamite:
1) Ia-u-na-bar-za: PF 1549:2.
2) Ia-u-na-bìr-za: PFNN 2504:1-2.

4.2.2024 *Yaunaya-: *Yauna-ya-, *-ya*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Yauna-name (Gershevitch 1969: 246; OnP 8.1804; ASN 275).
– Elamite:
1) Ia-u-na-a: PF 1799:18-19, 1800:21-22, 1806:21; PFNN 363: 24-25, 858:3, 1255:18, 2165:18-19, 2536:23-24, etc. in PFNN; PT 21:20-21.
2) Ia-u-na-ia: PF 1808:16.

4.2.2025 *Yazaka-: *Yaza-ka-, *-ka*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Yaza-name, e.g. *Vačayaza- (cf. 4.2.1768; Zadok 1986: 43).
Segal (1983: 98) mentions a variant of Av. *yazat(a)-*, "praiseworthy".
– Aramaic: Yzk: ATNS 79:1.

4.2.2026 *Yudra-: "fighter" (Gershevitch 1969b: 198).
Hinz (NW 1109; ASN 274) identifies this name with *Yāudāra- (4.2.2019).
– Elamite: Hi-hu-ut-ra: PF 1467:2.

4.2.2027 *Yugara-: *Yuga-ra-, "bracing, tensing" (ASN 275).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ú-ka$_4$-la: PF 219:2-3; PFNN 1608:3-4:5.
2) Hi-ú-ka$_4$-ra: PFNN 1743:5.

4.2.2028 *Yuta-: retrenchment of a *Yuta-name, e.g. *Yuta-manah- (Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8.7.10; ASN 275).
Gershevitch (1969: 245) prefers a retrenchment of a compound with **yauda-*, "fighting".
– Elamite: Hi-ú-da: PF 2031:7-8.

4.2.2029 *Yutamanā: nom. sg. of *Yuta-manah-, "with a bound mind" (OnP 8.556; ASN 275; Schmitt 2002: 138).
Gershevitch (1969: 186) reconstructs *Yauda-manah-, "combat-minded". Schmitt (l.c.) considers the second spelling as a rendering of Ir. *Hita-manah-, "having a bound mind".
– Elamite:
1) Hi-hu-ud-da-ma-[na]: PFa 31:13.
2) I-ud-da-ma-na: PF 1389:3.

4.2.2030 *Yuvaiča-: *Yuv-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of *Yuvan-, "young man" (Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.531; ASN 275). Although the person bearing this name is the same individual as *Yuviča-, the three spellings clearly reflect a reading *Yuvaiča-. This indicates that both names were two hypocoristics of his real name (Tavernier 2006).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ú-ma-iz-za: PF 1834:2.
2) Ia-u-man-iz-za[161]: PF 1943:12.
3) I-ma-a-za: PFNN 1327:2-3.

4.2.2031 *Yuvaka-: *Yuva-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Yuvan- (ElW 752).
Hinz (1972: 288 and apud OnP 8.564) prefers an Elamite name (I-ma-ka$_4$, "he revolted", ElW 752).
– Elamite: I-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1945:13.

4.2.2032 *Yuvēčā- (fem.): < *Yuvaičā-, the fem. equivalent of *Yuvaiča- (ElW 674).
Gershevitch (1969: 186) prefers an *-aiča*-extension of *Hīman-, "parting of the hair", to OInd. *sīmán-*.
– Elamite: Hi-um-me-ez-za: PFNN 541:41.

4.2.2033 *Yuviča-: *Yuv-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Yuvan- (Tavernier 2006).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-hu-mi-iz-za: PF 1833:2.
2) Hi-ú-mi-iz-za: PF 1687-1688:5; PFNN 8:4, 1482:12, 2328:5-6, 2411:8.
3) Hi-ú-mi-za: PF 1691:4.
4) Ia-mi-iz-za: PF 1689:5, 1690:3,5.
5) I-hu-mi-iz-za: PFNN 1352:3-4.
6) I-ú-mi-za: PF 2064:4-5.

4.2.2034 *Zabarna-: "superior" (ASN 276).
Gershevitch (1969: 248) doubts between *Jafrāna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Jafra- (Av. *jafra-*, "deep") or *Zafrāna-, a patronymic of *Zafra-, a thematic extension of the weak stem of Av. *zafar-*, "mouth". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1830; also Koch, apud ElW 1283) prefers to identify this name with El. Zab-ba-ra.
– Elamite: Zap-pír-na: PF 475:3.

4.2.2035 *Zabrakāna-: *Zabra-ka-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Zabra-ka-, "the excellent" (Zadok 1976b: 72n.124; Dandamayev 1992: 142), MP Zplk'n (Gignoux 1986: II/193), Parth. Zbrkn (Gignoux 1972: 68),

[161] According to Benveniste (1966: 96; also Gershevitch 1969: 187; OnP 8.1803) this spelling renders *Yāumani-ča-, a *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Yāumani-, "physical prowess". Hinz (NW 118; ASN 274) wrongly reads OP *yāumani-* as *yāuxmani-* and thus reconstructs *Yāuxmaniča-. Koch's (apud ElW 1264) assumption that this person is the same individual as *Yuvaiča- and *Yuviča- is correct, although the name looks different. Nevertheless Ia-u-man-iz-za perfectly renders *Yuvaiča-, when ones takes into account the value /ma/ for MAN (Tavernier 2006).

Gk. Ζαβεργάν(ης) and Ζαβρικαν (IN 377; Maenchen-Helfen 1970: 274; Back 1978: 276).

The spelling with a Bab. *g*-sign for Ir. /k/ is rare (but see Gab/m-bu-zi-ia for Kambūjiya- and Za-ra-an-ga for Zranka-). Perhaps a scribal inaccuracy is the cause or one should read GA as *-kà-*. A problem connected with the latter solution is that the value *-kà-* is not attested for GA in the Late Babylonian period (Röllig & von Soden 1991: 4).

– Babylonian: Za-ab-ra-ga-nu: TCL 13 223:1.

4.2.2036 *Zāgavarsīš (fem.): *Zāga-varsī-š, "crow-haired" (Gershevitch 1969b: 199; ASN 276).

According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1811) this is an unlikely etymology.

– Elamite: Za-ka$_4$-mar-ši-iš: PFNN 1097:7.

4.2.2037 *Zaina-: retrenchment of a *Zaina-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 199; OnP 8.1824; ASN 276; Zadok 1994: no.11).

Zadok (1977d: 296 no.14) believes in a connection with Arab. *zayn*, "beauty". Possibly the Babylonian spelling might be related to Av. *zaēni-*, "zealous".

– Babylonian: Za-$^{?}$-i-ni: UET 4 12:14,18.

– Elamite: Za-a-na: PFNN 1019:1.

4.2.2038 *Zangāna-: *Zang-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of *Zang-, "ankle, shank" (Scheftelowitz 1903: 167; Zadok 1977: 103 and n.142; Dandamayev 1992: 143).

– Babylonian: Za-an-ga-nu: BE 9 8:8.

4.2.2039 *Zaniš: retrenchment of a *Zani-compound, e.g. Av. Zaini-gu- (ASN 276; Mayrhofer 1979: I/103-104).

Gershevitch (1969: 248) reconstructs *Čani-, an *-i*-patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Čanah-name. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1828) is doubtful of this etymology. Hinz (ASN 276) also mentions *Zan-ya-, to *Zana-, "tribe".

– Elamite: Za-nu-iš: PF 706:3.

4.2.2040 *Zantubṛzana- (Med.): *Zantu-bṛzana-, "he who exalts the tribe" (Benveniste 1966: 92; OnP 8.1494; Dresden 1977: 53). Cf. OP *Dantubṛdana- (4.2.486).

Gershevitch (1969: 229-230) believes in an *-āna*-patronymic.

– Elamite: Šá-an-du-bìr-za-na: PF 77:6, 323:3-4, 1110:8, 1409:12-13; PFNN 880:6-7.

4.2.2041 *Zantuka- (Med.): *Zantu-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Zantu-name (Gershevitch 1969: 235; OnP 8.1827; ASN 277). Cf. OP *Dantuka- (4.2.488).

– Elamite:
1) Šá-an-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 2203:4.
2) Za-an-du-ik-ka$_4$: PF 128:2-3.

4.2.2042 *Zantupē- (Med.): < *Zantu-pāi-, "protecting the tribe".

– Elamite: Šá-an-du-uk-pe: PFNN 378:2.

4.2.2043 *Zānuka-: *Zān-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Zānū-, "knee" (Zadok 1975: 247; Dandamayev 1992: 143).

– Babylonian: Za-nu-uk-ku: EE 119:5.

4.2.2044 *Zara(h)māra- (Med.): *Zara-(h)māra-, "determined, resolute" (ASN 277; Kornfeld 1978: 107).

Grelot (1972: 500) translates "known by his effort".

– Aramaic: Zrmr: TAD C 3.15:137.

4.2.2045 *Zaratiya- (Med.): *Zarat-iya-, *-iya*-extension of a retrenchment of a *Zarat-name, e.g. Zaraθuštra-, Median *Zarat-uštra-, OP *Zara-uštra-, perhaps "camel-driver" (Hübschmann 1883: 604; Bailey 1953b: 40-41; Gershevitch 1964b: 38), "possessing old camels" (Schlerath 1971: 135-136) or "striving for camels" (OnP 8.1831; ASN 277). Cf. also Mayrhofer (1970b: 370n.6).

Hinz (ASN 277) also mentions *Zar-āta-iya-, "extremely determined".

– Elamite: Za-ra-ti-ia: PF 140:6-7, 141-42:5-6.

4.2.2046 *Zarat/θuštriš: *Zarat/θuštri-š, "Zarathustrian", adjectival derivation from *Zarat/θuštra-, cf. Av. Zaraθuštri- (Grenet, apud Bordreuil 1986: 104; Schmitt 1997b: 921) and 4.2.1129.

– Aramaic: Zrtštrš: Bordreuil 1986 136.

4.2.2047 *Zarmayauka-: *Zarmay-auka-, *-auka*-hypocoristic of *Zarmaya-, "spring" (ASN 277).

Gershevitch (1969: 128) reconstructs *Zarmaya-ka-, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1834) is doubtful of this.

– Elamite: Za-ir-me-uk-ka$_4$: PF 2011:2,18,35.

4.2.2048 *Zarnaka- (Med.): *Zarna-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Zarna- (ElW 1277).

– Elamite: Za-ir-na-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 2539:10.

4.2.2049 *Zarnamaniya- (Med.): *Zarna-mani-ya-, "having a golden necklace" (Benveniste 1966: 96; OnP 8.1835; ASN 277), cf. Av. *zarənu-ma(i)ni-*.

– Elamite: Za-ir-na-ma-nu-ia: PF 1314:3-4.

4.2.2050 *Zarnam(i)ya- (Med.): *Zarna-m-(i)ya-, two-stem hypocoristic of *Zarnaman(i)ya- (Schmitt, apud OnP 8.1836; ASN 277). Cf. the similar toponym (4.3.274).

Gershevitch (1970: 91) prefers *Zārnavya-, a patronymic of *Zārnava-, "the golden".

– Elamite:
1) Šá-ir-na-mi-ia[162]: PF 1116:8.

[162] Hinz (ASN 91) believes that this spelling is a rendering of *Δarnamiya-.

2) Za-ir-na-mi-ia: PF 1117:7-8, 1941:7,12, 1959:1, 1986:8, 1987:10,12,14, 2058:2-3, 2077:18, 2084:11; PFNN 728:26, 2192:36-37, 2282:3, 2290:4, 2293:13, 2370:8, 2539:19.

4.2.2051 *Zarnava- (Med.): *Zarna-va-, *-va*-extension of *Zarna- (ASN 278).
According to Gershevitch (1970: 91) it is a patronymic *Zārnava-.
– Elamite: Za-ir-na-ma: Fort. 3542:2-3, 7251:2-3; PF 1619:2-3, 1634:3; PFNN 406:3, 2455:3-4.

4.2.2052 *Zarniya- (Med.): *Zarn-iya-, "gold-coloured, yellow", *-iya*-extension of *Zarna- (Gershevitch 1970: 90; OnP 8.1505; Zadok 1981-82: 138; ElW 1123 and 1277).
– Elamite:
1) Šá-ir-nu-ia[163]: PF 1707:3.
2) Za-ir-nu-ia: PFa 33:37.

4.2.2053 *Zarnuš (Med.): *Zarnu-š, "gold", retrenchment of a *Zarnu-name (OnP 8.1837; ASN 278).
An alternative possibility is *Zarnīš < *Zarniya-.
– Elamite: Za-ir-nu-iš: PF 1975:6.

4.2.2054 *Zaryāspa- (Med.): *Zarya-aspa-, "having gold-coloured horses" (Benveniste 1966: 96; OnP 8.1833; ASN 278; Schmitt 1985b: 103), NP Zarāsp (IN 381-382), Gk. Ζαριάσπης (Pape & Benseler 1911: 439), Arm. Zarasp (Hübschmann 1897: 40), Lat. Zariaspes (IN 381-382). Cf. OInd. *háryaśva-* and the Gk. toponym Ζαριάσπα (Pape & Benseler, l.c.).
– Elamite: Za-re-áš-ba: PF 1719:4-5; PFNN 1635:2-3.

4.2.2055 *Zātaiča- (Med.): *Zāt-aiča-, *-aiča*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Zāta-name (Zadok 1990, reconstructing *Zāt-iča-).
Zadok also mentions *Zāt-iša-, with reference to OInd. *iśa-*, "lord".
– Babylonian: Za-ta-e-š[ú]: OECT 10 181:23.

4.2.2056 *Zātavahyačāna- (Med.): *Zāta-vahya-ča-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Zāta-vahyah-, "born better".
Lemaire & Lozachmeur (1996: 107) reconstruct *Zātuvahyašna-.
– Aramaic: Ztwhyšn: Parrot 1961 fig. 256.

4.2.2057 *Zātuka- (Med.): *Zāt-uka-, *-uka*-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Zāta-name (ElW 1274).
– Elamite: Za-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1246:2.

4.2.2058 *Zāvarxumba-: *Zāvar-xumba-, "having the force of Xumba". The meaning of **xumba-* is not yet known, but it is related to the Av. anthroponym Xuṇbiia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/101).

[163] Hinz (ASN 91) reconstructs *Δarniya-.

Gershevitch (1969b: 194) pleads for a compound of Av. *zāuuar-*, "force" and Yaghni *xumbak*, "to kick"; Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1465), however, is not convinced by this. Hinz (NW 115; ASN 279) mentions OP *zūrah-*, "deceit, wrong" and Av. *xumba-*, "pot; somewhone who is the victim (pathicus) of paederasty". He reconstructs *Zūraxumba-.
– Elamite: Su-ur-ku-um-ba: PFNN 995:2.

4.2.2059 *Zayana-: "born in winter" (Gershevitch 1969: 251; NW 118).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1891) is doubtful of Gershevitch's analysis. Hinz (NW 118) also mentions *Zyānā-, "damage" (to Av. *ziiānā-*), because *Zayana- should be written Za-ia-na. Nevertheless he supports Gershevitch's etymology, for the simple reason that ZI often renders /ča/. Later (ASN 279) he rejects it, however. In my view there are two supportive arguments in favour of Gershevitch's proposal: (1) before /y/ there is often vowel colouring (/a/ > /i/) and (2) a name "born in winter" is onomastically more plausible.
– Elamite: Zí-ia-na: PF 1233:2, 1628-1629:2; PFNN 590:3-4, 714:4.

4.2.2060 *Zayuka- (Med.): *Zay-uka-, *-uka*-extension of a retrenched name with **zaya-*, "weapon". Cf. Neo-El. Ti-ia-ad-da (= Ir. *Dayāta-; ASN 92).
Gershevitch (1969: 246) prefers *Jahuka-, "the weakling", to OInd. *jásu-*, "exhaustion, weakness". According to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1842), however, this is unlikely. Hinz (ASN 71) reconstructs *Čauka-, "owl".
– Elamite: Za-ú-ka$_4$: PF 197:3-4.

4.2.2061 *Zazvā: nom. sg. of *Zazvah-, "victorious" (Gershevitch 1969: 248; OnP 8.1838; ASN 279).
– Elamite: Za-su-ma: PF 1986:5,25,28,42.

4.2.2062 *Zīpaka-: *Zīpa-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Zīpa-, "beautiful" (Gershevitch 1970: 91; OnP 8.1845; ASN 279).
– Elamite: Zí-ba-ak-ka$_4$: PF 239:6.

4.2.2063 *Zīpēnā- (fem.): < *Zīp-ainā-, an *-aina*-hypocoristic of *Zīpa-, "beautiful" (OnP 8.1846; ASN 279).
Gershevitch (1970: 91) prefers an *-āyana*-patronymic.
– Elamite: Zí-be-na: PFNN 865:16.

4.2.2064 *Zrūtōxmā (Med.): < *Zrū-tauxmā, nom. sg. of *Zrū-tauxman-, "(born) of Zrvan's seed" (Gershevitch 1969: 197; ASN 279).
Mayrhofer (OnP 8.690) is doubtful of this etymology.
– Elamite: Iz-ru-du-uk-ma: PF 2084:4.

4.2.2065 *Zṛdiyavauš (Med.): *Zṛd-iya-vau-š, "with a good heart".
– Babylonian: Si-ri-di-a-muš: YBC 11562:2 (reference M.W. Stolper).

4.3. Geographical names

In the Iranian languages it is a common phenomenon that some place names are identical with personal names. It is, however, not

always possible to determine which form was the original one: the personal name or the place name. Some other place names are not identical to a personal name, but are based on it, the only difference being e.g. the suffix. This feature is widespread in the Iranian world and in the Ancient Near East (Eilers 1971b: 26n.30; Tavernier 2006c: 380-383).

4.3.1 *Abistāna-: < **abistāvana-*, "estate" (Zadok 1976: 65 and 1976b: 72; cf. 4.4.12.1).
- Babylonian:
  1) A-ba-as-ta-nu: BE 10 64:5; IMT 73:6; PBS 2/1 7:4, 8:2,4, 20:1, 120:6, 151:5,7, 193:5, 207:6.
  2) Ab-ba-eš-ta-nu: PBS 2/1 87:6.

4.3.2 *Abiš(h)uvanta- (OP): *Abiš-(h)uvanta-, "he who is called", cf. the equivalent personal name (4.2.11). Hitherto this spelling was considered to reflect a personal name, but Hallock (apud Koch 1990: 228n.629) has convincingly shown that the determinative preceding the word should be AŠ, which proves that a place name should be looked for in this particular text (cf. also Tavernier 2006c: 384 no.1.3).
- Elamite: Ap-pi-iš-man-da: PF 672:3.

4.3.3 *Abištāfta-: "suppressed" (ASN 19; ElW 74; Vallat 1993: 78).
- Elamite:
  1) Ap-pi-iš-da-ap-da: PFNN 923:5.
  2) Ap-pi-iš-tap-da(-an): PF 672:3, 1941:10, 1947:21; PFa 33:47 (°-[da-an-ma]); PFNN 49:9-10 (°-[iš]-tap-[da-a]n), 682:4-5, 1468:4 (°-i[š-tap-da]),9-10 ([Ap-pi]-°), 1482:101 (°-i[š-tap-da]), 1581:9-10, 2225:5-6, 2486:48, 2493:55-56,58-59.
  3) Ha-pi-iš-da-ap-da: PF 698:9-10; PFNN 71:6.

4.3.4 *Abravā: nom. sg. of *Abra-vant-, "having many clouds" (NW 80; ASN 20).
- Elamite: Ha-ib-ru-ma: PF 155:3.

4.3.5 *Ādāmaka-: *Ā-dāma-ka-, "abode" (ASN 22).
Koch (1990: 38) mentions *Aθvaka-.
- Elamite:
  1) Ha-ad-ma-kaš: PFNN 836:4.
  2) Ha-da-ma-kaš: PF 522:6, 634:6; PFNN 2583:4.

4.3.6 *Āfkāna-: *Āf-kāna-, "waterpit", lit. "water-digging" (NW 78; ASN 23).
- Elamite: Ap-ka$_4$-na: PF 2077:19.

4.3.7 *Āgṛdīš: < *Ā-gṛd-iya-, "house" (ElW 593, reconstructing *Āgṛδya-).
Another possibility is *Ākṛtiš, "Wohlbeschaffenheit" (Hinz 1961: 195; ASN 27).

- Elamite:
  1) Ha-kar-ti-iš: PF 461:5, 636:4-5.
  2) Ha-kur-ti-iš: PF 245:4, 635:4; PFNN 2019:4 (°-ˈkur-tiˈ-i[š]), 2084:8, 2240:9-10.

4.3.8 *Antarantiš: *Antar-anti-š, "in breathing" (ASN 29).
- Elamite:
  1) An-da-ra-an-ti(-iš): PF 697:9-10; PFNN 71:9 (ˈAn-da-ra-anˈ-t[i-iš]), 760:26 (An -da-[r]a-an-ti-iš), 1359:8-9, 2353:17-18.
  2) An-da-ra-ti-iš: PFa 30:26; PFNN 2353:6-7.
  3) An-tar-at-ti-iš: PFNN 2566:8.
  4) An-tar-na-ti-iš: PF 1157:3-4.
  5) An-tar-ra-an-ti(-iš): PF 1023:2-3, 1971:3; PFNN 760:3 (°-a[n-ti-iš], cf. Vallat 1993: 77),15 (°-r[a]-an-°), 1007:3, 1330:6-7, 2294:14.
  6) An-ti-ra-ti-iš: PF 547:5.
  7) An-tur-ra-an-t[i-iš]: PF 1945:15.
  8) Ha-an-da-ˈra-tiˈ-i[š]: PFNN 299:8.
  9) Ha-in-da-ra-ti-iš: PF 1844:8.

4.3.9 *Antarāpiyā: *Antar-āpiyā-, "between the two waters", cf. NP Andarab (NW 79; ASN 29; ElW 65; Vallat 1993: 11).
- Elamite: An-tar-ha-pi-ia-iš: PF 517:4-5.

4.3.10 *Arbačiya-: *Arba-č(a)-iya-, "the little (place)" (ASN 34).
- Elamite: Har-ba-zí-ia-an (loc.): PF 608:3-4; PFNN 758:12, 1615:4-5.

4.3.11 *Arina-: *Ar-ina-, *-ina*-extension (ASN 36) of the Av. PN Ara-, "the wild one" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/19-20).
- Elamite:
  1) Ha-ri-na: PF 2084:13.
  2) Har-ri-na: PF 2084:18.
  3) Har-ri-nu: PF 1562:6-7.

4.3.12 *Arvaya-: "the brave ones", name of an Iranian tribe (Zadok 1977: 115).
This name is certainly not an indication of immigrants from Haraiva- (Eilers 1933-34: 333; Cardascia 1951: 7; Dandamayev 1968: 88-93 and 1992: 162-163), because Haraiva appears in Bab. as Ar-re-e-mu (Zadok, l.c.). Inhabitants of Arvastan are not meant either (Eilers 1953: 46 and n.2).
- Babylonian:
  1) Ar-ú-a-a: IMT 46:5; PBS 2/1 122:10 (cf. Donbaz 1989; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: 115).
  2) Ar-ú-ma-a-a: BE 9 74:8; BE 10 86:4, 100:4, 113:7, 128:5; EE 37:5; PBS 2/1 51:6; TuM 2/3 186:5, 191:4.

4.3.13 *Astaniča-: *Asta-n-iča-, "homestead" (ASN 47).
Another theory of Hinz (NW 79), i.e. that the place was called *Asta-ni-jana-, "place of the breaking of the bones", was given up by him (ASN 47) for the simple reason that AN (-n-) is an El. locative suffix is and does not belong to the stem.
– Elamite: Áš-da-nu-iz-za-an (loc.): PF 2076:39.

4.3.14 *Astavīš: < Asta-v-iya-, an *-iya*-extension of *Asta-va-, "provided with bones" (Av. *astauua-*).
Hinz (ASN 47) reads *Astaviš, an adjectival derivation from *Astava-.
– Elamite: Áš-da-mi-iš: PF 2076:47.

4.3.15 *Astēnuka-: < *Ast-ain-uka-, "bony" (ASN 47, reading *Astainauka-).
– Elamite: Áš-tin-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1947:76.

4.3.16 *Asurōkana-: < *Asura-rauka-na-, "tusk-whitish" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976b: 72 and n.123).
– Babylonian: A-su-ur-uk-ka-nu: Cyr. 58:7.

4.3.17 *Āṭṛika-: *Āṭṛ-ika-, "fire" (Koch 1977: 50).
– Elamite:
1) Ha-tar-ri-kaš: PF 754:5; PFNN 587:6-7, 1474:3-4.
2) Ha-tur-ri-ik-kaš: PF 1144:5-6.
3) Ha-tur-ri-kaš: PFNN 1535:15, 1797:14-15.

4.3.18 *Āθravā (Med.): nom. sg. of *Āθravan-, "priest" (ElW 66), cf. 4.2.206.
– Elamite: An-tur-ma: PF 1603:4-5; PFNN 1495:27, 2364:15.

4.3.19 *Āθuxranθāna- (OP): *Ā-θuxra-n-θāna-, "resisting the red" (ASN 50-51; Koch 1990: 38; Vallat 1993: 94).
– Elamite: Ha-tu-kur-ra-an-sa-na(-an): PF 1946:28,67,69.

4.3.20 *Autini-: *Aut-ini-, "cold (place)" (ASN 51).
– Elamite: U-ti-nu-iš: PF 1907:2; PFNN 2364:7.

4.3.21 *Ayană-: "(place of the) travel route" (Tavernier 2006c: 375 no.10).
An alternative *Ayana, derived from Av. *aiian-*, "day", is also possible. According to Koch (1990: 120) a place name *Yana- is intended. This is, however, very unlikely, since both spellings seem to indicate an initial vowel or /h/. Of all Iranian proper names and loanwords beginning with /y/ and attested in Elamite, not a single one begins with V-ia-° or hV-ia-°.
– Elamite:
1) E-ia-na(-iš/-um): PF 1958:13-14, 1960:2, 1961:8,25, 2078:3; PFNN 762:23, 2358:11,13,26.
2) He-ia-na: PFNN 2490:24.

4.3.22 *Bādavaka- (OP): *Bāda-va-ka-, "strong, firm".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 114) recognize the Old Persian character of this name.
– Elamite: Ba-da-ma-ka$_4$: PFa 31:25.

4.3.23 *Bagičīš: < *Bag-iča-ya-, "divine (place)" (ASN 56, reconstructing *Bagaičya-). Cf. 4.2.313.

– Elamite: Ba-gi-zí-iš: PF 986:4; PFNN 963:4, 1813:4 ([B]a-gi-zí-iš), 2122:4.

4.3.24 *Bandava- (OP): *Banda-va-, "support" (ASN 63; ElW 135).
Hinz (ASN 63) also mentions *Bandavant- as a possible etymology.
– Elamite: Ban-da-maš: PF 492-493:3, 566:3; PFNN 510:3, 787:3, 2166:3 (Ban-d[a-maš]).

4.3.25 *Bandavana- (OP): *Bandava-na-, extension of *Bandava- (ElW 135).
– Elamite:
1) Ban-da-ma-na: PFNN 506:8.
2) Ban-du-ma-na: PFNN 1013:12, 1019:1, 2487:17,18,26-27,33,36,38-39,40.

4.3.26 *Banzava- (Med.): *Banza-va-, Median equivalent of *Banda-va- (ElW 137, reconstructing *Banδava-).
– Elamite: Ban-za-maš: PFNN 1360:3.

4.3.27 *Bāraka-: *Bāra-ka-. This name is very ambiguous.
– Elamite: Ba-rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 1254:9-10.

4.3.28 *Bārāsa- (OP): *Bāra-asa-, "packhorse" (ElW 145), OP equivalent of *Bārāspa-.
Vallat (1993: 210) identifies this name with *Pārsa-.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ra-áš-šá-an (loc.): PFa 30:27.
2) Ba-ra-šá: PFNN 1526:7.

4.3.29 *Bārāspa- (Med.): "packhorse" (NW 78; ASN 63). Cf. OP *Bārāsa- and Gk. Φαράσπα (Metzler 1977: 1057).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ra-áš-ba: PF 659:10.
2) Ba-ra-iš-ba: PF 145:5-6.
3) Ba-ra-iš-ib-ba: PFNN 1439:6.

4.3.30 *Bāxdiš: *Bāxdi-š, the city of Bactra[164] (Hallock 1969: 29n.26), cf. Av. Bāxδī- (AiW 953).
– Elamite: Ba-ak-ti-iš: PF 1287:6.

4.3.31 *Baxtiš: *Baxt-i-š, "(place of) fate, destiny" (ASN 62).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ak-ti-iš: PF 169:8, 170:7, 171:6-7, 172:7, 173-174:6, 175:6 (°-t[i-iš]), 176:5-6 (Ba-[a]k-°), 177:9-10 ([Ba]-ˈak-tiˈ-[iš]), 199:4-5, 850:6, 852:6, 1129:5, 1664:6; PFNN 368:5, 888:5-6, 896:6, etc. in PFNN.

[164] Cf. Sims-Williams (1978: 97) for the spelling without *-r-*.

2) Ba-gi-ti-iš: PFNN 1234:7-8.

4.3.32 *Baxtiya-: inhabitant of *Baxtiš (ElW 107).
– Elamite: Ba-ak-ti-ia: PF 1592:7.

4.3.33 *Bōrāsē- (OP): < *Baura-asa-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Baur-asa-, "having brown horses", cf. the Median personal name *Baurāspa-, represented by Gk. Βόρασπος (IN 70; Zgusta 1955: 86; ASN 66).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 236) recognize the Old Persian character of this Elamite spelling, but give no explanation.
– Elamite: Bu-ráš(?)-še(?): PFNN 2191:7.

4.3.34 *Bṛzina-: *Bṛz-ina- or *Bṛzi-na-, "high (place)" (ElW 160).
Hinz (ASN 161) reads Maš-ši-na and reconstructs *Mas-ina- (Av. *mas-*, "long").
– Elamite: Bar-ši-na: PF 2084:7; PFNN 2278:11,24,29.

4.3.35 *Bujantīš: < *Bujant-iya-, "releasing" (Tavernier 2006c: 374 no.5).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 243) recognize the Iranian character of this place name.
– Elamite: Bu-za-an(?)-ti-iš: PFNN 645:7.

4.3.36 *Bunasti-: *Bun-asti-, "soil — food" (NW 80; ASN 69).
– Elamite: Bu-na-áš-ti-iš: PF 1963:12,25-26.

4.3.37 *Čarbaspa- (Med.): *Čarb-aspa-, "fat horse" (NW 78; ASN 71).
– Elamite: Za-ir-ba-áš-ba: PF 1886:1-2; PFNN 2539:11.

4.3.38 *Čiraviča-: *Čira-v-iča-, "capable (place)" (Tavernier 2006c: 380 no.33).
According to Hinz & Koch (ElW 1091) it is a Median word.
– Elamite: Zir-ra-mi-iz-za: Fort. 8960:24-25.

4.3.39 *Çaunāmā: nom. sg. of *Çau-nāman-, "having a beautiful name", if indeed *-na* indicates the locative[165].
– Elamite: Šá-u-na-ma-na: Fort. 6578:8.

4.3.40 *Çauša-: "obedient".
– Elamite: Šá-u-na-ma-na: PFNN 1761:11.

4.3.41 *Çaušaka- (OP): *Çauša-ka-, "obedient", OP equivalent of *Sraoša-ka-. Cf. 4.3.204.
– Elamite: Šá-u-šá-ka$_4$: PFNN 2364:14.

4.3.42 *Çīra- (OP): "beautiful (place)" (ASN 77).
– Elamite: Ši-ra(-an/-um): PF 2018:43,45; PFNN 890:4.

4.3.43 *Çīrapā- (OP): *Çīra-pā-, "protecting the beautiful".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1169) recognize the Iranian character of this place name.
– Elamite: Ši-ra-ba-an (loc.): PFNN 1286:6-7.

4.3.44 *Çīravanta- (OP): *Çīra-vanta-, "beautiful (mountain)", oronym (ASN 77).
– Elamite: Ši-ru-man-da: PF 1960:4.

[165] If not, then a name *Çau-nāma-āna- is rendered.

4.3.45 *Çŭtamāna- (OP): *Çŭta-māna-, "the famous house" (ElW 1174).
Hinz (ASN 78) reconstructs *Çŭta-vā-, "famous".
– Elamite: Šu-da-ma-na: PF 1598:4-5.

4.3.46 *Çŭtuka- (OP): "famous (place)" (ASN 78). Cf. 4.2.465.
– Elamite:
1) Šu-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 642:4-5.
2) Šu-du-uk-kaš: PF 574:5.

4.3.47 *Dadātiča-: *Dadā-ti-ča-, "bestowing, granting", *dadā-* (present stem of *dā-*), followed by two suffixes (ASN 79).
– Elamite: Da-da-ti-za-an (loc.): PF 1122:7.

4.3.48 *Dahyufraθa-: *Dahyu-fraθa-, "expansion of the land" (Tavernier 2006c: 374 no.6).
Hinz (ASN 87-88; also Koch 1990: 84) reads Da-hu-ut-ra-sa and reconstructs *Dāvayatraθa-, "(place) which makes the chariot ride". PIR, however, is very clear (Stolper, pers. comm. 20/06/2000).
– Elamite: Da-hu-pír-ra-sa: PF 158:5-6.

4.3.49 *Darga-: "long", cf. 4.2.495.
– Elamite: Tur-ka$_4$(-an): PF 1973:2; PFNN 573:21, 2200:6, 2351:4,6,8-9.

4.3.50 *Dasakanta-: *Dasa-kanta-, "ten-village" (NW 78; ASN 84).
– Elamite: Da-iš-šá-kán-da-an (loc.): PF 549:5-6; PFNN 1933:5.

4.3.51 *Dautiya-: *Daut-iya-, extension of *Dautā, "priest" (Tavernier 2006c: 375 no.8).
Only the Ir. character of this name has hitherto been pointed out (ElW 302; Koch 1990: 104).
– Elamite:
1) Da-u-ti-ia(-iš): PF 244:2; PFNN 576:6-7 (ʳDaˀ-[u]-ti-ia-ʳišˀ),20, 1006:7.
2) Da-ú-ti-ia(-iš): Fort. 9042:5; PFa 1:5.

4.3.52 *Dēnuka- (OP): < *Dainu-ka-, "(place of the) saddle" (ASN 90).
– Elamite:
1) Te-in-uk-ku: Fort. 1638:9-10; PF 658:5-6 (°-in-<<MEŠ>>-°), 880:5, 940:3-4, 1135:4, 1150-1151:7; PFNN 562:4-5.
2) Te-nu-uk-kaš-be[166]: PF 1202:8.

4.3.53 *Dīrāčiš (OP): OP name of present Šīrāz (Cameron 1948: 151; ASN 92; Vallat 1993: 283). Cf. 4.3.275.
– Elamite:
1) Ti-ra-iz-zí-iš: PF 128:5, 230:4, 669:3, 690:13, 865:4, 883-886:4-5, 887:5, etc. in PFT and PFNN.

[166] The plural form (ending in *-be*) is used to indicate the inhabitants.

2) Ti-ra-zí-iš: PF 18:2, 59:7-8, 60:9-10, 61:11-12, 159:3, 160:3, etc. in PFT; PFNN 142:2-3, 260:2, 350:3-4, 713:6-7:4; PT 42:6, 42a:6, 60:6.

4.3.54 *Dīrāčiya- (OP): gentilic of *Dīrāčiš.
- Elamite:
  1) Ti-ra-iz-zí-ia(-ra): PF 1811:1-2; PFNN 37:1-2 ([Ti-ra-iz]-), 543:1-2, 1202:1-2.
  2) Ti-ra-zí-ia(-ip/-ra): PFNN 359:2-3, 425-426:1-2, 838:4-5, 842:4, 1100:1 ('Ti-ra'-[zí]-'ia'), 1105:3 ('Ti-ra-zí'-i[a]), 2566:1-2.

4.3.55 *Dṛθika- (OP): *Dṛθ-ika-, "looking at" (ASN 88).
- Elamite:
  1) Tur-ši-ik-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 208:10-11.
  2) Tur-ši-ka$_4$(-an): PF 2022:10-11 (T[ur]-ši-ka$_4$-an); PFNN 2200:14, 2364:16.
  3) [Tur?]-šu-uk-ka$_4$-an (loc.)[167]: PFNN 1517:6-7.
  4) Tur-tuk-ka$_4$(-an): PF 1221:11, 1232:12, 1964:8,17; PFNN 2297:21,27,29.
  5) Tur-tuk-kaš: PF 1964:11.

4.3.56 *Dūtina-: "(place of the) messenger". Cf. 4.2.558.
- Elamite: Du-ti-na: PFNN 830:9.

4.3.57 *Dūtinīš: < *Dūtin-iya-.
- Elamite: Du-ti-nu-iš: PF 1883:1-2.

4.3.58 *Ēzaska-: < *Aizas-ka-, "wish, desire" (ASN 27).
- Elamite:
  1) A-za-iš-kaš: PF 516:4. Inaccurate spelling.
  2) E-za-iš-kaš: PF 1908:3.

4.3.59 *Farnaguš: *Farna-gu-š, "with glorious cattle" (Tavernier 2006c: 373 no.2).
- Elamite:
  1) Bar-na-ku-iš: PFNN 1805:4.
  2) Pír-na-ku(-iš): PF 2018:34; PFNN 1697:4, 1902:5-6.

4.3.60 *Farnaguya-: *Farna-gu-ya, *-ya*-extension of *Farnaguš (Tavernier 2006c: 373 no.2).
- Elamite: Pír-na-ku-ia: PFNN 1498:3.

4.3.61 *Farnavatīš: *Farna-vatī-š, "glorious", nom. fem. sg. of **farnavant-* (NW 78; ASN 94).

[167] Inaccurate spelling (if, at least, the restoration is correct). Alternatively the spelling might also render *Dṛθuka-.

- Elamite:
  1) Bar-na-ma-ti-iš: PF 46:3-4, 47:7-8; PFNN 272:4, 383:5-6, 688:5-6, 1373:6-7 (Bar-[na-ma]-ti-iš).
  2) Bar-nu-ma-ti-iš: Fort. 3544:7-8; PF 48:5, 49:9-10; PFNN 489:6-7, 1009:8.
  3) Bar-nu-ti-iš: PFNN 2265:6, 2366:5.
  4) Bar-nu-ut-ti-iš: PFNN 1008:25, 2371:27.

4.3.62 *Farnavatīka-: *Farna-vatī-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Farnavatī- (ElW 154).
- Elamite:
  1) Bar-nu-ma-ti-[i]k-ka$_4$: PFNN 2208:2.
  2) Bar-nu-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PF 253:4-5.

4.3.63 *Fasāta-: *Fas-āta-, present Fasā (NW 80; ASN 95).
- Elamite: Pa-iš-šá-taš: Fort. 6413:4; PF 913:4, 914:4-5; PFNN 164:4-5, 2308:4.

4.3.64 *Fraitašē- (East Iranian): < *Frait-aša-ya-, "walking the path of Arta" (Tavernier 2006c: 378 no.27).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 213) read Pír-ra-da-a-meš, but ŠE is clear (Stolper, pers. comm. 13/04/2000).
- Elamite: Pír-ra-a-da-še: PF 673:7.

4.3.65 *Framāna-: "standard, scale, measure" (ASN 96).
- Elamite: Pír-ra-ma-na-um: Fort. 3668:4-5.

4.3.66 *Framātā: nom. sg. of *Framātar-, "commander, master, lord" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1979: 299 and n.102).
- Babylonian: Ap-ra-ma-tú: TCL 13 230:7.

4.3.67 *Fraxšēta-: < *Fra-xšaita-, "superb, glorious" (ASN 96).
Hinz (NW 79) reconstructs *fra-saita-, "white", whereas Hinz & Koch (ElW 126) identify this name with *Fasāta-. The latter, however, is rather improbable.
- Elamite:
  1) Pír-ra-áš-še-taš: PF 454:6-7 (Pír-ra-áš-'še]-taš), 570:3; PFNN 874:2-3.
  2) Pír-ra-iš-še-taš: PF 455:6-7 (Pír-ra-i[š]-š[e-ta]š), 485:6-7; PFNN 2579:11-12.
  3) Pír-ra-še-taš: PFNN 1418:3-4, 2431:6 (Pír-ra-š[e-t]aš).
  4) Pír-ráš-še-taš: PF 1163:5; PFNN 45:5, 960:5-6, 1291:6.

4.3.68 *Fritika-: *Friti-ka-, "(place of) prayer" (ASN 100).
Hinz & Koch (ElW 156) consider Bar-ri-tuk-kaš as a rendering of *Pari-taka-, "running around".
- Elamite:
  1) Bar-ri-tuk-kaš: PFNN 757:61, 2539:19.
  2) Pír-ri-tuk-kaš: PF 269:12, 270:11, 271:11-12; PFNN 2071: 34,36, 2291:12,21, 2356:1-2,4,20,23-24,26.

4.3.69 *Fritivatīš: *Friti-vatī-š, "rich in prayers" (NW 78; ASN 100), nom. fem. sg. of *Friti-vant-.
– Elamite: Pír-ri-ti-ma-ti-iš: PF 2084:4; PFNN 998:6-7.

4.3.70 *Friθuš: *Friθu-š, "joyful". Cf. 4.2.609.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 218) recognize its Iranian character.
– Elamite: Pír-ri-du-iš: PFNN 802:4.

4.3.71 *Gandabara- (OP): "(place of the) treasurer" (ElW 430). Cf. 4.4.7.48.
– Elamite: Kán-da-bar-ra: PFNN 544:3.

4.3.72 *Garmīš: *Garmī-š, < *Garm-iya-, "hot place" (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.17).
Another, less probable possibility is *Karvya-, "short, dwarfish" (Koch 1990: 253n.89), to Av. *kauruua-*.
– Elamite:
1) Kar-maš: PF 1942:32,33; PFNN 546:35, 597:5.
2) Kar-mi-iš: PFNN 2196:18.

4.3.73 *Gaufrya- / *Gaufrīš: *Gau-frya-, "good to cattle" (Hinz 1971: 265; NW 78; ASN 104). There is no distinction between the place itself and its inhabitants. The last spelling refers to the latter (ElW 516).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-bar-ri-ia-iš: PFNN 2405:7-8.
2) Kam-bar-ri-iš: PF 445:3, 446:6, 563:6-7, 1007:2-36-7, 1016: 4-5; PFNN 321:5, 1341:2-3,5, 1786:12-13.
3) Kam-pír-ri-ia-iš: PF 927:3.
4) Kam-pír-ri-iš: PF 405:6; PFNN 235:7-8.
5) Kam-u-pír-ri-ia-iš: PFNN 1473:3-4.
6) Kam-u-pír-ri-iš: PFNN 2459:3.
7) Ka_4-u-bar-ri-iš: PF 178:6-7, 782:7, 993:4-5, 1092:2-3; PFNN 295:5, 372:4-5, 439:4, 1313:3-4,6-7, 2102:2-3,6-7.
8) Ka_4-u-pír-ri-ia-iš: PF 925:3-4, 928:3 (°-ia[-iš]); PFNN 2059:5-6.
9) Ka_4-u-pír-ri-iš: PF 743:3,6, 926:3, 1657:7, 1658:6-7, 1720-1721:3,14-15, 1802:6-7, etc. in PFT; PFNN 315:2-3, 1500:2-3,5-6, 1540:5-6, etc. in PFNN.

4.3.74 *Gaumiča-: *Gaum-iča-, "provided with cattle", cf. 4.2.639.
– Elamite: Kam-mi-za: PFNN 609:54, 754:7.

4.3.75 *Gaumisa- (OP) / *Gōmisa-: *Gau-misa-, "having cattle in mind".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 427) identify this name with *Gōmēša- (Ku-me-iš-šá; 4.2.660).
– Elamite:
1) Kam-mi-šá: PF 1952:6; PFNN 762:22.
2) Ku-mi-iš-šá(-iš): PFNN 2184:16, 2188:8, 2269:5, 2364:10, 2371:33-34, 2495:11,25.

4.3.76 *Gauzaraθa- (Med.): *Gauza-raθa-, "hiding a chariot" (ElW 429).

Hinz (ASN 103) reconstructs *Gau-ča-raθa-.
– Elamite: Kam-za-ra-sa-iš: PF 2070:12.

4.3.77 *Gāvainiš / Gavēniš: most likely this is Guwaim, attested in the works of Arabic geographers, possibly the present Gūyom near Šīrāz (Cameron 1948: 148; ASN 106).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ma-a-nu-iš: PT 64:4.
2) Ka_4-me-nu-iš: PF 1228:6, 1941:11,20, 1997:26, 2001:4,8; PFNN 412:5, 2352:24, 2357:25; PT 40:4.
3) Ka_4-mu-nu-iš: PF 1959:1, 2003:3; PFNN 2201:10. Less precise spelling.

4.3.78 *Gāvarziya-: mountain name; *Gāvarz-iya-, "sorghum" (ElW 518).
– Elamite: Ka_4-mar-zí-ia: PFNN 2265:3.

4.3.79 *Gōrista-: < *Gau-rista-, "connected with cattle" (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.18).
An alternative reconstruction is *Xrūstiš, to MP *xrōstan*, "to call" (ElW 522).
– Elamite: Ku-ri-iš-taš: PF 1857:15.

4.3.80 *Gōristīš: < *Gaurist-iya- (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.18).
– Elamite: Ku-ri-iš-ti-iš: PF 495:3-4, 850:2-3, 851-853:3, 966:3, 1663:3-4; PFNN 368:2-3, 513:3-4, 780:2-3, 823:2-3, 2452:3-4, 2470:3-4.

4.3.81 *Gṛdabāga-: *Gṛda-bāga-, "house garden" (ElW 520).
Hinz (ASN 107) prefers *Gṛdapāka-, "protector of the house".
– Elamite: Kur-da-ba-kaš: PF 937:4.

4.3.82 *Hadahra- (OP): "thousand" (ASN 110). Cf. 4.3.91.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-da-ra(-an): PF 1943:passim, 1944:3; PFNN 726:37 (°-[ra-an]), 2493:15.
2) Ha-da-ráš: PF 1942:passim; PFa 30:9, 32:4-5,12-13 ([Ha]-da-ráš); PFNN 546:34, 760:25, 2180:29, 2267:5.

4.3.83 *Hambānuš: *Ham-bānu-š, "co-light" (ASN 112).
– Elamite: Am-ba-nu-iš: PF 633:3, 1103:7.

4.3.84 *Hambṛta-: *Ham-bṛta-, "carried together" (ASN 113).
– Elamite:
1) Am-bìr-da: PF 98:5, 99:5-6.
2) Ha-um-bìr-da: PFNN 166:1-2.

4.3.85 *Hangatiča-: *Han-gati-ča-, "gathering place" (ASN 116).
– Elamite: An-ka_4-ti-iz-za(-an): PF 711:6, 1602:6-7; PFNN 2030:4-5.

4.3.86 *Hanjamanaka-: *Hanjamana-ka-, "gathering place" (ASN 117).
– Elamite:

1) An-za-am-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 692:5.
2) An-za-man-kaš: PFNN 2275:17.
3) An-za-man-na-ak-ka$_4$: PF 702:4-5; PFNN 2041:1,27-28, 2269:6, 2371:2.
4) An-za-man-na-ak-kaš: PF 1896:2-3; PFNN 1022:24, 2269:16-17.
5) An-za-man-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 1008:33 ([A]n-za-°), 2273:16 (An-[za-man]-°).
6) An-za-man-na-kaš: PF 1976:2.

4.3.87 *Hankṛka-: "wine press" (Cameron 1948: 191; NW 77; ASN 117).

Gershevitch (1951-52: 134) wrongly reads *Hankūraka- (NP *angūr*, "grapes"). Hinz (1965: 396) rejects this and simultaneously refers to a new proposal from Gershevitch: *Han-grā-ka-, to OInd. *grā́van-*, "stone for pressing out the *hauma*".

– Elamite:
1) An-ka$_4$-rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 264:7, 647:8-9, 649-650:3, 759:8-9, 863:4, 941:4-5, 942:4, 1966:3; PFNN 365:5-6, 411:4, 915:3-4, 1660:4-5, 2075:3-4, 2153:4.
2) An-kur-rák-kaš: PT 36:7.
3) [Ha-an]-ka$_4$-ra-ka$_4$: PT 1963-14:6-7.
4) Ha-an-kur-ra-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PT 52:6.

4.3.88 *Hasta-: "seated, settled" (Cameron, apud Bowman 1970: 21; Bogoljubov 1973: 173-174; Naveh & Shaked 1973: 447).

Two other proposals are (1) *Has-ça-, the name of a *hauma*-feast (Harmatta, apud Bowman 1970: 24; Mayrhofer 1971b: 69) and (2) *Husta-, "place where something is beaten", the past participle of *huuah-*, "to beat" (Emmerick, apud Bowman 1970: 24n.42).

– Aramaic: Hst: Pers 36:1, 119:1, 120:1, etc. in Pers.

4.3.89 *Haθya-: "the true place" (ASN 119), cf. 4.2.724.

– Elamite:
1) At-ia: PF 243:4.
2) At-ti-ia: PF 2084:9.
3) Ha-ti-ia: PF 1970:17-18,23.

4.3.90 *Haxāyānām: "(place) of the friends, companions", gen. masc. pl. of **haxāya-* (ElW 41). Cf. 4.2.742 and 4.4.7.64.

– Elamite: Ak-ka$_4$-a-ia-na-um: PFNN 42:15-16, 2192:30-31.

4.3.91 *Hazahra- (Med.): "thousand", cf. OP *Hadahra- (4.3.82).

– Elamite: Ha-šá-ra: PF 814:5, 1943:1.

4.3.92 *Hiθiška-: *Hiθ-i-š-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Hiθiš, "ally", cf. 4.2.764.

Hinz (ASN 121) connects this name with Av. *hita-*.

– Elamite: Hi-ti-iš-ka$_4$: PF 1622:3.

4.3.93 *(H)ubōdiš: < *(H)u-baudi-š, "well-smelling (river)" (ASN 122), a hydronym. Cf. the similar personal name (4.2.773).

– Elamite:
1) Hu-bu-ti-iš: PF 339:6.
2) Ú-b[u-ti-iš]: OGWA 321-322:4 (cf. ElW 1198 and Vallat 1993: 330).

4.3.94 *(H)učamana-: *(H)u-čamana-, "good meadow" (NW 78; ASN 122).

– Elamite: Ú-za-man-na(-áš): Fort. 6031:4-5; PF 870:3,6, 2032:11, 2046:2-3,4-5.

4.3.95 *(H)ufrēča-: < *(H)u-frya-aiča-, "good and sweet" (ElW 1241).

– Elamite:
1) Ú-pír-ez-za: PFNN 813:5-6.
2) Ú-pír-re-ez-za(-an): PFNN 810:6-7, 831:7-8, 1114:2.

4.3.96 *(H)ujīka-: *(H)u-jī-ka-, "well alive" (ASN 123).

– Elamite: Hu-zí-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 203:8.

4.3.97 *(H)ujīkara-: *(H)ujīka-ra- (ElW 1258).

Hinz (ASN 130) pleads for *Huzigra- and prefers a connection with the Av. PN Ziγri- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/107), the meaning of which is not yet certain.

– Elamite:
1) Ú-zí-ik-ráš: Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:5; PF 51-52:3-4, 1813: 5-6; PFNN 779:6 ([Ú-zí]-°), 1870:5-6.
2) Ú-zí-ik-ri: PF 699:7-8.
3) Ú-zí-kur-ra-iš: PFNN 1576:6-7.
4) Ú-zí-kur-ráš: PF 744:3-4,6-7, 963:5, 964:3,4-5, 965:3,5-6, 1104:4-5, 1147:4-5, 1235:5, etc. in PFT; PFNN 1305:15, 1307:12-13, etc. in PFNN.

4.3.98 *(H)ukantava-: *(H)u-kanta-va-, "good village" (ElW 1206).

– Elamite: Ú-kán-du-ma: PFNN 31:2 (°-d[u-ma]),10, 494:2-3.

4.3.99 *Humāyāsa- (OPd): *Humāya-asa-, "having beneficial horses".

Hinz (ASN 125) reconstructs *(H)umyāsa-, "good mixture", to Av. **miiās-*, "to mix", but such a verb does not exist in Avestan (Klingenschmitt 1972: 91n.3; Kellens 1984: 166).

– Elamite: Ú-mi-ia-áš-šá: PF 1972:2-3.

4.3.100 *(H)unidāta-: *(H)u-ni-dāta-, "given downwards in a good way" (ASN 126).

Hinz also mentions *Huni-dāta-, "given by a son", to Av. *hunu-*, "son of a daiva".

– Elamite:
1) Ú-nu-da-ad-da: PF 209:7-8, 2074:10; PFNN 2334:4-5, 2362:16,24.
2) Ú-nu-da-da-an (loc.): PFNN 1009:13.

4.3.101 *(H)usāra-: *(H)u-sāra-, "good head" (EIW 689).
– Elamite:
1) Hu-iš-šá-ra: PFNN 2476:20.
2) Hu-iš-šá-ráš: PFNN 1483:22.
3) Ú-iš-šá-ir-ra: PFNN 1651:2-3.
4) Ú-iš-šá-ráš[168]: PF 1857:25; PFNN 1048:15.

4.3.102 *(H)usvaraka-: *(H)u-svara-ka-, "(enjoying a) good morning" (ASN 128).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-ma-rák-kaš-be (pl.): PF 1445:4; PFNN 193:4-5 (°-<kaš>-°), 1575:4.

4.3.103 *(H)ušyāna-: *(H)u-šyā-na-, extension of an personal name *Hu-šyā-, "enjoying well".
– Elamite: Ú-iš-ši-ia-na: PFNN 2364:13.

4.3.104 *(H)utāraka-: *(H)u-tāra-ka-, "good transition" (ASN 128).
The spellings with Ha-° and U-ma-° are considered by Hinz (ASN 132) as renderings of *Hvataraka-. HA, however, never renders /hva/ and as the spelling with u-ma-° is attested only once, it is a rather inaccurate spelling.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-da-rák-kaš: PF 665:6; PT 1963-20:x+6/7 (Ha-[da]-rák-kaš).
2) Ha-da-ri-kaš: PFNN 2532:8-9.
3) Hu-da-rák-kaš: PFNN 2373:2,4,8.
4) Ú-da-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1957:5,12,34,39,42, 1978:2; PFNN 2265:26, 2274:25.
5) Ud-da-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 880:5-6.
6) U-<<ma>>-da-rák-kaš: PF 306:4-5.

4.3.105 *(H)uvādēčīka-: < *(H)uvādaičī-ka-.
– Elamite:
1) Ma-te-ez-zí-kaš: PF 54:2.
2) Ma-te-zí-kaš: PF 1945:19,20.

4.3.106 *(H)uvančanā (OP): nom. sg. of *(H)uvan-čanah-, "desiring the sun". Cf. 4.2.847.
– Elamite: Ma-an-za-na: PFNN 2365:24.

4.3.107 *(H)uvankata- (OP): *(H)uvan-kata-, "sun-house" (ASN 139).
– Elamite: Man-ka$_4$-da: PF 1956:3,28.

4.3.108 *(H)uvarčinā (OP): nom. sg. of *(H)uvar-činah-, "desiring the sun" (ASN 130).
Hinz (ASN 130) also mentions *Vṛz-ina-, "working".
– Elamite: Mar-zí-na: PF 1952:8; PFNN 506:7, 609:5, 754:34 (Mar-zí-[na]), 2043:18,23, 2150:1, 2349:26, 2363:16.

[168] Hinz (ASN 247) reconstructs *Uśša-ra-, "camel".

4.3.109 *(H)uvavauna- (OPs): *(H)uva-vauna-, "his own blood" (EIW 864).
– Elamite: Ma-ma-u-na: PFNN 393:1-2.

4.3.110 *(H)uvṛzana- (Med.): *(H)u-vṛzana-, "good town" (Tavernier 2006c: 380 no.31).
Hinz (ASN 130) prefers *(H)uvarčanā, also attested as personal name (4.2.856).
– Elamite: Ú-mar-za-na: PF 1885:1-2, 1952:4.

4.3.111 *Hvaihva- (OPd) / *Hvēhva-: "own operation, service" (NW 80; ASN 138, reconstructing *Xvaiahva-).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-a-ia-mi-iš: PF 1816:1-2, Inacccurate spelling.
2) Me-maš: PF 854:4, 857:4-5, 1140:5; PFNN 486:5 ([Me]-[maš]), 743:3, 1042:6 (Me-[maš]), 1228:4, 1610:4, 2167:3-4, 2239:4.

4.3.112 *Ibāta-: *Iba-āta-, *-āta*-extension of *Iba-, "house personnel" (ASN 141).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ba-at: PF 996:13, 1707:13.
2) Hi-ba-tin-na[169]: PF 459:6-7, 460:7; PFNN 288:7-8, 2422:7.
3) Hi-ba-ut: PFNN 2177:6-7.
4) I-ba-ad-da(?): PF 1670:7.
5) I-ba-at: PF 558:6, 559:6-7, 972:5-6; PFNN 388:4-5, 689:6-7, 694:5, 1035:6, 1422:8.

4.3.113 *Indraka-: *Indra-ka-, "Indra's (place)" (ASN 142).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-in-tur-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1901:2-3.
2) Hi-tur-rák-ka$_4$: PFNN 981:2-3.

4.3.114 *Ištiyāna-: cf. *Ištiyānīš (Vallat 1993: 99).
– Elamite: Hi-iš-ti-ia-na: PFNN 1008:26.

4.3.115 *Ištiyānīš / *Ištīnīš: < *Ištiyāniya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Išti-yāna-, "(place) granting the favour of the capability".
Hinz (ASN 142) connects the first part with **išti*-, "seal" (MP *hišt*). *Yānī-, however, remains unexplained.
– Elamite:
1) Hi-iš-ti-ia-nu-iš: PF 1980:2, 2074:11 (Hi-iš-ti-i[a-nu-iš]); PFNN 1009:9.
2) Hi-iš-ti-nu-iš: PF 1990:17, 1993:4.
3) Iš-ti-ia-nu-iš: PF 1979:2; PFNN 2344:25,30.

4.3.116 *Jīkara-: *Jī-kara-, "making alive" (Tavernier 2006c: 380 no.32).
Hinz (ASN 143) reconstructs *Jigara-, "liver".

[169] Adjectival derivation from *Ibāta-.

– Elamite: Zí-ka$_4$-ra-an: PF 946:4, 1796:5-6; PFNN 848:6, 2248:3-4, 2456:4.

4.3.117 *Kagauça- (OP): *Ka-gauça-, "what a jewel" (ASN 145).
A less probable possibility is Kākaušša, "uncle-camel" (ASN 145).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ka$_4$-ú-iš-šá: PF 1520:9.

4.3.118 *Kantava-: *Kanta-va-, adjectival derivation from **kanta-* (ASN 146).
– Elamite:
1) Kán-da-ma: PF 740:6-7.
2) Kán-du-ma: PF 249:3-4; PFNN 1496:4 ([K]án-du-ma).

4.3.119 *Kantavīš: < *Kantav-iya-.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-an-da-mi-iš: PF 265:5-6, 610:4-5; PFNN 134:3-4, 509:4-5.

4.3.120 *Kantuka-: *Kant-uka-, "village" (ElW 430).
– Elamite: Kán-du-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 619:5-6.

4.3.121 *Kapa-: "fish" (ElW 412), cf. 4.2.928.
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-ab-ba-iš: PF 1993:10 (<Ka$_4$>-ab-ba-iš); PFNN 208:2-3, 436:2-3, 533:6-7, 819:3-4.
2) Ka$_4$-ba-iš: PF 157:5, 1894:2; PFNN 757:15, 778:5-6 (Ka$_4$-ba-[i]š), 994:1-2, 2052:2 (Ka$_4$-ba-i[š]), 2261:41-42, 2265:12, 2280:12-13, 2364:26.

4.3.122 *Kāradānuš: *Kāra-dānu-š, "grain for the people" (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.15).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$(?)-ra(?)-da-nu-iš: PFNN 2540:19.

4.3.123 *Karadāruš: *Kara-dāru-š, "wood-making, wood-processing" (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.13).
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-ir-da-ru-iš: PFNN 1526:5, 1899:4.
2) Kar-da-ru-iš: PFNN 2339:12, 2357:8,21.

4.3.124 *Kāramiča-: *Kāra-am-iča-, "army-strength".
– Elamite:
1) Kar-ra-mi-iz-za-an (loc.): PFNN 1406:1-2.
2) Kar-ra-mi-za: PFNN 2293:7,18 (K[ar-ra-mi-za]),25.

4.3.125 *Kāramīš: < *Kār-am-iya-, "having the power of an army" (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.16). Cf. 4.2.942.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ra-mi-iš: PFNN 534:37, 1294:3, 2369:4,8.

4.3.126 *Kārinīš: < *Kārin-iya-, a *-ya*-hypocoristic of the personal name *Kārina- (4.2.949).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ri-nu-iš: PFNN 1836:7, 2135:8-9, 2243:7.

4.3.127 *Kāsiya-: *-iya*-extension of **kāsa-*, "shining".
– Elamite: Kaš-ši-ia: PF 1961:30.

4.3.128 *Kāspiya-: *Kāsp-iya-, "Caspian" (Lagrange 1907: 263; Herzfeld 1968: 199), Gk. Κάσπιοι.
– Aramaic: Kspy: TAD B 2.7:18,19, 3.4:2,23,24, 3.5:4,11, 3.12:4,12; TAD C 3.8 iii a 6.

4.3.129 *Kṛka-: "cock", situated in Persia (Koch 1990: 122).
Not Elamite as indicated in ElW 529 (Tavernier 2006c: 388 no.1.21). Cf. also 4.2.983.
– Elamite: Kur-ka$_4$: PF 1926:2-3, 1957:30, 1975:2; PFNN 728:27, 2274:22, 2371:1.

4.3.130 *Kṛkaraka-: *-ka*-extension of a *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Kṛka- (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.19).
– Elamite:
1) Kur-ka$_4$-ra-[ka$_4$]: PFNN 2257:18.
2) Kur-ka$_4$-rák-ka$_4$(-an): PF 1968:12, 1990:16, 2074:12 (Kur-ka$_4$-ʳrákˡ-[ka$_4$-an]); PFNN 2184:5,35,39, 2371:28.
3) Kur-ka$_4$-rák-kaš: PF 1968:15; PFNN 2263:20.

4.3.131 *Kunduruka-: *Kunduru-ka- (ElW 503). Cf. Kunduruš (1.3.20).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-in-tur-ru-ka$_4$-an (loc.): Fort. 8625:3-4.
2) Ku-un-tar-ru-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 1474:2-3.
3) Ku-un-tur-ru-uk-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1719:3-4; PFNN 12:3-4,7-8, 524:3-4 (°-tu[r-r]u-°), 579:3-4, 1749:3-4,11-12 (°-ur-r[u]-u[k-k]a$_4$-an).

4.3.132 *Kuraka-: "family", cf. 4.2.1004.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-rák-ka$_4$: PF 514:5; PFNN 2121:11-12.
2) Ku-ʳᵃrák-ka$_4$: PF 1969:18,22, 2084:14; PFNN 2372:34.

4.3.133 *Kurāntīš: < *Kuravant-iya-.
– Elamite: Ku-ra-an-du-iš: PF 2077:17. Cf. **āçiyādiš* (2.4.11.1).

4.3.134 *Kuravanta-: *Kura-vanta-, "having a family" (ASN 154, reading *Kurvanta-). Ku-ra-an-du-iš and Ku-ru-un-da indicate the same place (Hallock 1969: 718).
An alternative, but less probable possiblity is *Kurvanta-, "having a neck" (ASN 154).
– Elamite: Ku-ru-un-da: PF 2084:11.

4.3.135 *Manuya-: cf. the similar personal name (4.2.1045).
– Elamite: Man-nu-ia: PFNN 509:2.

4.3.136 *Mazdāguš: *Mazdā-gu-, "cattle of Mazda" (ASN 163).

– Elamite: Maš-da-ku-iš: PF 1958:3, 1960:1, 1961:31, 1986: 7,9, 25,42, 2005:8; PFNN 762:32, 2200:25, 2206:26,28, 2490:11,34.

4.3.137 *Mazika-: *Maz-ika-, "the big". Cf. 4.2.1085.
Hinz (ASN 259) reconstructs *Vazika-, "driving".
– Elamite:
1) Ma-zí-ik-ka$_4$: PF 252:4.
2) Ma-zí-ka$_4$: PFNN 477:2-3, 762:26, 2490:20.

4.3.138 *Nadāniš: *Nada-āni-š, "reed", cf. 4.2.1146.
– Elamite:
1) Na-da-an: PFNN 1187:6.
2) Na-da-nu-i[š]: PFNN 2256:12.
3) Na-ti-nu-iš: PF 616:1-2, 1988:21,31-32.

4.3.139 *Nāmakara-: *Nāma-kara-, "name-making" (ElW 983).
– Elamite: Na-ma-ka$_4$-ra-iš: PF 1913:3-4.

4.3.140 *Narēča-: < *Naryaiča-, present Neirīz (Cameron 1948: 166). Cf. 4.2.1170.
– Elamite:
1) Na-re-e-ez-za(-an/-iš): PF 878:5, 890:5, 1059:5, 1202:5-6, 1203:5, 1825:6; PFNN 50:5-6 ([Na]-ʳre-ezˡ-za-i[š]), 727:5-6,10 (ʳNaˡ-r[e-e-ez-za]), 843:3, 1262:6-7, 2176:3-4.
2) Na-re-e-za(-iš/ši): Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:7-8; PF 302:8, 769:7, 2018:26 (ʳNa-reˡ-[e]-ʳzaˡ-an); PFNN 1262:7-8, 1306:4-5, 2386:3-4.

4.3.141 *Narēčīš: < *Naryaič-iya- (ASN 174, reconstructing the latter).
– Elamite:
1) Na-re-e-ez-zí-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:10; PF 962:4-5, 1825:1-2; PFNN 843:3.
2) Na-re-e-zí-iš: PT 52:7, 1963-14:8.

4.3.142 *Navakānīš: < *Nava-kān-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Nava-kāna-, "new mine, pit" (Tavernier 2006c: 378 no.26).
Hinz (ASN 175) reconstructs *Nava-kāna-, "nine-pit". Hinz & Koch (ElW 983) read *Nāmā-kāna-, "name-pit", because **nava-* would appear as nu-ma-. Nevertheless there are other examples of /năva/ written na-ma, e.g. El. Bar-na-ma-ti-iš for Ir. *Farnavatīš (4.3.61) and El. na-mar-ka$_4$-ra for Ir. **nāvarakara-* (4.4.7.77).
– Elamite:
1) Na-ma-ka$_4$-nu-iš: PF 1975:4-5 (°-nu-[i]š); PFNN 2265:24, 2276:10.
2) Na-u-ka$_4$-nu-iš: PFNN 2373:1.

4.3.143 *Navāsīš (OP): < *Nava-as-iya-, "having new horses".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 983) recognize the Old Persian character of this name.
– Elamite: Na-ma-ši-iš: PFNN 2193:12,27.

4.3.144 *Naxva-: "first place, most important place" (Tavernier 2006c: 378 no.25).
– Elamite: Na-ku-iš: PF 2077:22.

4.3.145 *Nēma-: < *Naima-, "half" (ASN 172).
– Elamite: Ni-ma: PF 294:5.

4.3.146 *Nipišta-: "writings" (Schmitt 1991b: 243), probably the place where all kinds of writings are kept. Gk. Νήπιστα and Νιπίστα. Cf. OP *nipišta-*, "written down" (HdA 135; NW 145).
Not to be translated "(place of the) inscriptions" and to be identified with Naqš-i Rustam, as some scholars do (Gershevitch 1969b: 177-179; Hinz 1970: 425-426; ASN 176). The Old Persian word for "inscription" is not *nipišta-*, but *dipi-* (Schmitt, l.c.).
– Elamite:
1) Nu-ip-iš-taš: PF 148:5-6.
2) Nu-ip-pi-iš-da: PFNN 331:6-7, 2114:5-6 (Nu-ʳipˡ-pi-[iš-da]).
3) Nu-ip-pi-iš-taš: PF 146-147:6-7; PFNN 85:6-7, 800:6-7 (°-p[i]-°), 817:5-6, 989:5-6, 1156:6-7 (ʳNu-ipˡ-pi-i[š-taš]), 1505:6-7 (°-[iš-taš]), 2141:5-6 (Nu-[ip]-pi-ʳiš-taš'), 2445:5-6 (ʳNuˡ-ip-ʳpiˡ-iš-t[aš]).
4) Nu-pi-iš-da: PFNN 1735:5-6, 2506:3; PT 9:9 (Nu-pi-i[š-da]).
5) Nu-pi-iš-taš: PF 28:3-4, 29:2, 781:8, 973:4, 1009:5, 1124:3; PFNN 29:5, 43:4, 66:7-8 ([N]u-pi-iš-[taš]), 673:3-4, 1217:6, 2377:4.

4.3.147 *Nipištiya-: gentilic of *Nipišta- (cf. Vallat 1993: 200).
– Elamite: Nu-pi-iš-ti-ia-ip (pl.): PFNN 838:5-6, 1029:3-4 (Nu-pi-[iš-ti-i]a-ip).

4.3.148 *Pāçamzūrā (OP): nom. sg. of *Pāçam-zūrah-, "protection against injustice" (ElW 127).
– Elamite: Ba-iš-šá-um-su-ra: PFa 25:18.

4.3.149 *Paišiyā-: "before", retrenched name (ASN 178).
Cameron (1948: 168) identifies this name with present Fasā.
– Elamite: Ba-a-ši-ia-an (loc.): PT 49a-3:7, 53:6.

4.3.150 *Pānīya-: "drinking place", cf. 4.4.6.6 (Tavernier 2006c: 372 no.1).
– Elamite: Ba-nu-ia-iš: PFNN 2272:1.

4.3.151 *Parikāna-: "wall" (Naveh & Shaked 1973: 447 and n.11; NW 78; ASN 179), NP Pargān and Gk. Παρίκανοι. Cf. 4.4.8.19.
Cameron (apud Bowman 1970: 21) and Bernard (1972: 172) consider it to be an Iranian place name, without further explanation. Bogoljubov (1973: 173) reconstructs *Pairikā-, "sorceress". Naveh & Shaked (l.c.) also mention *Fra-kāna-, to MP *fragān*, "basis, foundation".
– Aramaic: Prkn: Pers 4:1, 14:1, 24:1, 42:1, 50:1, 78:1, 105:1, 134:1, 141:1, 149:1.

– Elamite:
1) Ba-ri-ka$_4$-na: PF 1495:6-7; PFNN 645:3-4.
2) Bar-ri-ka$_4$-na: PF 1392:11, 1393:8-9, 1573:10 (written Bar-ri-ba-na)[170]; PFNN 643:6-7, 859:8.

4.3.152 *Parn(i)ya- / *Parnīš: *Parn-(i)ya-, "old place" (Koch 1983: 25n.50; ElW 124).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ir-ni-iš: PF 1212:5, 1821:6, 1822-1823:7, 1824:6-7, 2013:4; PFNN 2262:2,52, 2287:1,26-27,51.
2) Ba-ir-nu-ia-iš: PF 1811:6.
3) Ba-ir-nu(-iš): PF 1830:5; PFNN 2486:34; PT 54:6 (reading: Hallock 1960: 99).

4.3.153 *Parθara-: (ElW 158). Cf. the similar personal name (4.2.1227).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-sa-ra(-an/-iš): PF 285:15; PFNN 260:5, 1483:20, 2298:32.
2) Bar-sa-ráš: PF 1815:7; PFNN 1280:6, 1368:7.

4.3.154 *Paruča-: *Paru-ča-, retrenchment of a place name beginning with *Paru-. Cf. 4.2.1229.
Since *Kāraka- (4.2.941) is mentioned in both Bar-ru-sa and Bar-ru-rat-sa Koch (apud ElW 158) identifies this place with Bar-ru-rad-sa. Yet the spellings of both names do not correspond. In order to solve this problem Koch (1990: 399) assumes a scribal error for Bar-ru-rad-sa, but the number of occurrences of Bar-ru-sa (four times) makes this unlikely.
– Elamite: Bar-ru-sa(-an,-na): PF 238:13, 1888:2, 1952:10; PFNN 2043:26 ('Bar'-ru-sa-[an]).

4.3.155 *Paruhvāθriš (Med.): *Paru-hvaθr-i-š, *i*-patronymic of *Paru-hvāθra-, "giving much comfort". For a long time the modern authors were convinced that Bar-ru-ma-tur-ri-iš was a personal name (Gershevitch 1969: 219; OnP 8.1293; ASN 182). Nonetheless Koch offered some good reasons to believe it is a place name (apud ElW 157; Tavernier 2006c: 392-393 no.2.3). Cf. Av. *pouru.xvāθra-*.
– Elamite: Bar-ru-ma-tur-ri-iš: PF 129:3-4.

4.3.156 *Paruraθa-: *Paru-raθa-, "having many chariots" (Tavernier 2006c: 373-374 no.3).
The interdental /θ/ is expressed here by a combination of two common ways to render /θ/, so there is no reason to use this spelling for proving the existence of /δ/, as Hinz & Koch do (ElW 158: *Parurāδa-).
– Elamite: Bar-ru-rat-sa(-an): PFNN 754:5, 2270:14, 2363:8, 2370:9,34,39, 2539:15.

[170] PF 1573, PFNN 645 and PFNN 859 are closely related. One does not need to reconstruct a place name *Paripāna-, "having all-round protection", as Hinz & Koch (ElW 155) do (Hallock 1969: 741; Vallat 1993: 203).

4.3.157 *Parutačara-: *Paru-tačara-, "having many palaces" (Eilers 1955: 231n.2; Benveniste 1958b: 57; ASN 182).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ru-da-za-ra-an (loc.): PF 2027:6; PFNN 968:2-3.
2) Bar-ru-za-za-ráš: PFNN 830:4. Error for Bar-ru-da-za-ráš.

4.3.158 *Par(u)vadāna-: *Par(u)va-dāna-, "front-reservoir, Vorderbehälter" (NW 79-80).
Not *Par(u)va-dana-, "front-kind, Vorder-Art" (to OP *zana-*; NW 79-80) or *Bar-vadāna-, "Hegestätte" (ASN 183).
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ma-da-an (loc.): PF 11:3, 671:4, 674:9,13; PFNN 268:3, 436:3-4, 870:5-6, 1453:3.
2) Bar-ma-da-na(-an/-iš): PF 330:6-7, 673:6, 675:8, 1114:6 (B[ar]-ma-da-na-iš), 1606:6-7; PFNN 306:3-4, 1844:9.

4.3.159 *Par(u)vaspa- (Med.): *Par(u)v-aspa-, "rich in horses" (Mayrhofer, apud NW 78; ASN 183), cf. Av. *pouru.aspa-*.
– Elamite:
1) Bar-ma-áš-ba: PFNN 1008:17.
2) Bar-maš-ba: PF 1957:22, 1977:2; PFNN 2364:17.
3) Pi-ru-maš-ba: PFNN 113:1-2. Unusual spelling.

4.3.160 *Par(u)viča-: *Par(u)v-iča-, "first". Cf. 4.2.1243.
– Elamite: Bar-mi-iz-za(-an): PF 492:9, 566:7, 891-892:4-5, 896:5, 1107:8-9, 1133:4-5, 1834:5; PFNN 107:4, 510:10, 1352:10, 1506:5, 1530:4-5, 1584:4-5, etc. in PFNN; PT 5:4.

4.3.161 *Par(u)viya- / *Par(u)vīš: *Par(u)v-iya-, "first".
– Elamite:
1) Pír-mi-ia: PF 1796:2.
2) Pír-mi-iš: PF 1889:1, 1955:11; PFNN 548:20, 2196:13 (Pír-mi-i[š]), 2270:12,15, 2290:18, 2299:9, 2341:16, 2539:4,6.

4.3.162 *Pātimāna- (Med.): *Pati-māna-, "protecting the house" (ASN 190). Cf. the similar personal name (4.2.1266) and the loanword **pātimānīš* (4.4.7.86).
Hinz (ASN 190) prefers to read Ba-at-[ra]-ma-na, which he reconstructs as *Pāθra-māna-, "house of protection".
– Elamite:
1) Ba-at-ma-an: PFNN 698:8.
2) Ba-at-[ti]-ma-na: PF 693:7-8.

4.3.163 *Patināša-: cf. 4.2.1270.
– Elamite: Bat-ti-na-šá: PFNN 2265:3, 2362:4.

4.3.164 *Patiraxā-: *Pati-Raxā-, "opposite Raxā" (ASN 188).
– Elamite: Bat-ti-rák-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 676:6, 1097:5-6, 1942:27, 1965:6,28; PFa 30:25; PFNN 34:7-8, 547:5, 1074:3, 2433:3.

4.3.165 *Paθīka-: *Paθī-ka-, "path" (Tavernier 2006c: 374 no.4).
– Elamite: Ba-ti-ik-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 2348:2,5 (Ba-[t]i-°),9.

4.3.166 *Pāθragadā- (Med.): *Pāθra-gadā-, "protective mace" (ASN 190; ElW 168), Gk. Πασαργάδαι.

Various alternative possibilities have been brought forward. Some scholars (Gershevitch 1969b: 168; Stronach 1978: 280-281 and nn.15 en17) believe to be dealing with a place name, of which both the Old Persian and the Median equivalent are attested. They read OP *Padragadā- / Med. *Pazragadā-, meaning "those who wield solid clubs" (as a tribal name), to OInd. *pajrá-*, "solid, strong, stout" and Av. *gaδā-*, "club, mace". Gignoux (1976: 306) rejects this proposal.
Hinz (1970: 425 and 1970b: 376; also Lecoq 1997: 78 and n.3)[171] proposes **pāθra-*, "protection", followed by **kata-*, "room, house", but later (ASN 190) criticizes his own proposal, when he argues that /kata/ should be written -ka$_4$-ad-da- in Elamite. Stronach too (1978: 381n.17) has problems with this proposal: he believes that /kata/ would appear in Greek as -κατα- and not as -γαδα-.
A third possibility is found in the work of Bailey (1975: 311-312), who reconstructs *Parθargada- and *Parsargada-, "Persian settlement", with reference to OInd. **argada-*, "enclosing thing, bar, lock" and NP *arg/k*, "citadel, fortress". The disappearance of /r/ in the Greek and Elamite equivalents remains, however, a problem to this theory (Gignoux 1976: 306).
Hinz (ASN 190) presents a fourth possibility: *Pāθragada, "protection against robbers", to Av. *gaδa-*, "robber".

– Elamite:
1) Ba-iš-ra-ka$_4$-da[172]: PF 43:6.
2) Ba-iš-šir-ka$_4$-da: PF 42:5-6.
3) Bat-ra-ka$_4$-da: PF 63:11-12.
4) Bat-ra-ka$_4$-taš: Fort. 1016:5-6, 6575:7-8, 7090:4-5; OGWA 321-322:2,8; PF 44:4-5, 62:12, 774:4-5, 908:4-5, 1134:4-5; PFNN 313:5, 387:4-5 (Bat-ra-ka$_4$-<<ka$_4$>>-taš), 774:4-5 (Bat-ra-<<ra>>-ka$_4$-taš), 1289:17, 1828:3-4, 1941:4, 2035:5-6, 2133:9, 2143:4-5, 2279:8, etc. in PFNN.
5) Bat-ra-kat-taš: PFNN 522:8,13,16.
6) Bat-rák-ka$_4$-taš: PFNN 2210:7-8,10-11.
7) Ba-tur-ra-ka$_4$-taš: PFNN 312:6-7.

4.3.167 *Pāθragadāka- (Med.): *Pāθragadā-ka- (ElW 168).
– Elamite: Bat-ra-ka$_4$-tuk-kaš: PFNN 1624:4-5.

4.3.168 *Pīruka-: *Pīru-ka-, "ivory" (ASN 192). Cf. *pīru-* (1.4.4.5).
– Elamite: Pi-ru-kaš: PF 492-493:1, 566:1, 645:4; PFNN 510:1, 787:1, 1360:1, 2166:1.

4.3.169 *Pitava-: *Pita-va-, "fatherly" (ASN 193).

[171] Lecoq denies the identification of *Pāθrakata- and Πασαργάδαι, which was accepted by Hinz. According to Lecoq Πασαργάδαι is a rendering of Old Ir. *Pārsa-gṛda-, "house of the Persians".

[172] According to Lecoq (1997: 78n.3) this spelling is a rendering of OP *Pāçakata-, "house of protection".

– Elamite:
1) Pi-da-ma: PFNN 642:10-11.
2) Pi(?)-ti(?)-man (loc.): PF 1859:7-8.
3) Pi-ud-da-ma(-an): PF 567:3, 568:11, 569:4-5.

4.3.170 *Pōrudāna-: < *Pauru-dāna-, "containing many things", Gk. Παρόδανα (Metzler 1977: 1058; cf. ElW 235).

Hinz (ASN 66; also Koch 1990: 400) mentions *Bauradāna-, "fox-stable, fox-house", to MP *bōr*, "red-brown, fox".

– Elamite: Pu-ra-da-na: PF 732:4-5.

4.3.171 *Pōruš: < *Pauru-š (Tavernier 2006c: 379 no.28).

Hinz (ASN 194) reads *Pūruš and thus implicitly connects it with OInd. *pūrú-*, "human being". Mayrhofer (EWAi II 156), however, explicitly rejects this possibility. Hallock (1969: 746) identifies the place with Gk. Πούρα, the capital of Gedrosia. Hinz & Koch, however, (1987: 236) situate Puruš in Persia. Koch (1993: 16-20) argues that Puruš is the name of the land, of which Karmana was the capital. If Hallock's assumption is right, then the Greek form corroborates the reading *Pōruš < *Pauruš.

– Elamite: Pu-ru-iš: PF 681:4,12.

4.3.172 *Pṛtaspa-: *Pṛt-aspa-, "battle-horse" (ElW 208).
– Elamite: Pír-da-áš-be: Fort. 8623:5-6.

4.3.173 *Pṛtausana-: *Pṛta-usana-, "desire for battle" (cf. ElW 221).
– Elamite: Pír-tam$_5$-šá-na: PFNN 2346:13-14.

4.3.174 *Pṛθupatiš (OP): *Pṛθu-pati-š, "lord of the flank" (ElW 209).
– Elamite: Pír-du-bat-ti(-iš): PFa 33:10,16,19 (Pír-[du]-bat-ti).

4.3.175 *Pūtivanta-: *Pūti-vanta-, "rotten" (NW 79; ASN 194, reading *Pūtimanta-).
– Elamite: Pu-ut-ti-man-da: PF 1957:21.

4.3.176 *Rāmakāna-: *Rāma-kāna-, "peace-pit, mine" (ASN 197).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-ma-ak-ka$_4$-na: PFNN 2566:5-6.
2) Ra-ma-ka$_4$-na-um: PF 1831:8.

4.3.177 *Ramīkara-: < *Ramya-kara-, "Fein-Arbeiter". Cf. 4.4.7.94.
– Elamite: Ra-mi-kur-ra: PFNN 2197:15.

4.3.178 *Ranakara-: *Rana-kara-, "creating solace", lit. "joy-maker" (ASN 199), name of a river.
– Elamite: Ra-an-na-kar-ra: PF 339:7; PFNN 379:8.

4.3.179 *Ranaθŭka- (OP): *Rana-θŭka-, "delightful light" (ASN 199).
– Elamite: Ra-an-tu-kaš: PF 2076:35.

4.3.180 *Ranavēθa-: < *Rana-vaiθa-, "servant's joy" (ASN 199).

Not *Rana-maiθa-, "servant's uncertainty" (Av. *maēθa-*, "hesitating").

– Elamite: Ra-an-me-sa: PF 1790:28.

4.3.181 *Rapiθfēna-: < *Rapiθfina-, "noonish" (ASN 199), cf. 4.2.1358.

– Elamite:
1) Ra-pi-iš-be-na: PFNN 1502:7-8 (Ra-pi-[iš-be-na]), 1868:3-4 (R[a]-p]i-°).
2) Ra-pi-iš-be-nu: PFNN 198:4-5.
3) Ráp-pi-iš-be-na: PF 55:2, 713:6, 724:5-6, 1950:15 (Ráp-pi-iš-b[e-na]); PFNN 525:10-11.
4) Ráp-pi-iš-be-nu: PF 1950:22; PFNN 2006:5, 2254:9-10.

4.3.182 *Rašnuča-: *Rašnu-ča-, "the rightful (place)" (ASN 200). Cf. 4.2.1366.
– Elamite:
1) Ra-šá-nu-iz-za: PF 42:4; PFNN 1644:10-11.
2) Ra-ši-nu-iz-za(-an): PF 292:6, 1884:1-2, 1989:7, 2004:5, 2084:6; PFNN 631:1-2, 2104:5, 2372:27 (°-iz-[za]).

4.3.183 *Rašnuvatīš: *Rašnu-vatī-š, "rich in the just, fair things" (ASN 200).
Koch (1990: 113) reconstructs *Raznavatīš, which is theoretically possible. Nonetheless the El. spelling Ráš-nu-° speaks in favour of *Rašnuvatīš.
– Elamite:
1) Ráš-nu-ma-ut-ti-iš: PF 1956:25.
2) Ráš-nu-ut-ti-iš: PF 1956:34; PFNN 2268:17.

4.3.184 *Ratuka-: *Ratu-ka-, "judge" (ElW 1018). Cf. 4.2.1375.
– Elamite:
1) Ra-ad-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 293:7-8.
2) Ra-a-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 1094:3,6-7, 1116:7.
3) Ra-du-uk-kaš-be (pl.): PF 1827:5.

4.3.185 *Ratuvā: nom. sg. of *Ratu-vant-, "provided with judges" (ASN 201).
– Elamite: Ra-du-ma(-an/-iš): PF 1796:7, 2076:29, 2079:8; PFNN 813:9, 1480:4,45-46 ([R]a-du-ma), 2492:20.

4.3.186 *Rautā: nom. sg. of *Rautah-*, "river" (ElW 1035). Cf. 4.2.1389.
– Elamite: Ra-u-taš: PF 2070:11-12.

4.3.187 *Rautaniča- / *Rōtāniča-: *Rautā-n-iča-, *-iča*-hypocoristic of *Rautana-, a *-na*-extension of **Rautah-* (ASN 203: ElW 1034, reading *Rautanayača).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-u-da-nu-iz-za: PF 1997:6,21-22.
2) Ru-tan-nu-iz-za-an (loc.): PF 990:4,14-15 (Ru-[t]an-ˈnuˀ-°); PFNN 2074:4-5.
3) Ru-ti-nu-iz-za-an (loc.): PF 317:9-10, 1122:8-9; PFNN 264:4-5, 1940:3-4 (Ru-ti-nu-[iz-z]a-an), 1957:4-5 (°-[n]u-°), 2501:4-5.

4.3.188 *Rautanīš: < *Rautā-n-iya-.

– Elamite: Ra-u-tan-nu-iš: PF 2070:11.

4.3.189 *Rautavatīš: *Rauta-vatī-š, "having a river" (Benveniste 1958b: 55-56; NW 74; ASN 203).
Not *Rautamatiš, "rich in wild sows" (Eilers 1954: 276 and 323-324).
– Elamite: Ra-u-da-ma-ti-iš: PT 72:6.

4.3.190 *Ravaya-: *Rava-ya-, "freedom".
Hinz & Koch (ElW 1047) recognize the Ir. character of this name.
– Elamite: Ru-me-ia: PFNN 522:15.

4.3.191 *Razagāθuš: *Raza-gāθu-š, "wine-throne" (ElW 1035).
– Elamite: Ra-za-ka$_4$-tu-iš: PFNN 2490:22.

4.3.192 *Razakānīš < *Raza-kān-iya, "vineyard" (ASN 203). This place name has no connection with the personal name *Răzakānīš (4.2.1395).
– Elamite: Ra-za-ka$_4$-nu-iš: PF 1914:3-4; PFNN 2097:2-3, 2299:2, 2337:32.

4.3.193 *Razavanta-: *Raza-vanta-, "provided with vineyards", a place in Media, Gk. Ῥαζοῦνδα (Zadok 1997: B no.1).
– Babylonian: Ra-za-un-da: AD -369:rev.8'.

4.3.194 *Raznavatīš: *Razna-vatī-š, "order" (NW 78; ASN 204).
– Elamite:
1) Ra-zí-na-ma-ut-ti(-iš): PF 618:3, 2084:18.
2) Ra-zí-nu-ma-ti-iš: PFNN 1456:11.
3) Ra-zí-nu-ut-ti-iš: PF 2084:12; PFNN 573:34.

4.3.195 *Ṛšakaufa-: *Ṛša-kaufa-, "mountain of heroes" (Koch 1990: 78 and 244; Tavernier 2006c: 379-380 no.30).
This name is not unproblematic. Some scholars (Cameron 1948: 51n.39; NW 79; ASN 84) read Taš-šá-° instead of Ur-šá-° and reconstruct *Dasa-kaufa-, "ten-mountain" or *Taša-kaufa-, "axe-mountain". The other writing, Ú-iš-šá-° is analyzed by Hinz (ASN 84) as *Ušša-kaufa-, "camel-mountain".
Nevertheless it is more justified to read Ur-šá-° (Hallock 1969: 771) and to identify this spelling with Ú-iš-šá-kam-pa-°. Both spellings can render an Ir. /ṛ/.
– Elamite:
1) Ú-iš-šá-kam-pa(-an/-iš): PF 254:6, 646:8-9, 989:3-4; PFNN 1432:3-4 (°-[p]a-an), 1520-1521:4-5 (°-[k]am-pa-°), 1560:7, 1776:5-6, 2342:11-12.
2) Ur-šá-kam-pa(-an/-iš): Fort. 7109:4; PF 2043:3-4; PFNN 1737:4-5, 1748:6-7 (Ur-[šá-k]am-pa-an), 2160:4.

4.3.196 *Ṛšapāta-: *Ṛša-pāta-, "protected by the hero" (Tavernier 2006c: 375 no.11).
– Elamite: Ir-iš-ba-da: PFNN 2364:6.

4.3.197 *Ṛštivaka-: *Ṛšti-va-ka-, "lance, javelin", adjectival derivation from *Ṛšti-ka- (ASN 208).

– Elamite:
1) Ir-iš-du-ma-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 319:9-10, 320:6-7.
2) Ir-iš-du-ma-ka$_4$: PF 241:3-4.

4.3.198 *Sāraguš: *Sāra-gu-š, "cattle-head" (ASN 221).
– Elamite: Šá-ra-ku-iš: PF 1911:2-3, 1952:7; PFNN 754:4, 1098: 2-3, 2363:13 (Šá-ra-k[u-i]š).

4.3.199 *Sāravanta-: *Sāra-vanta-, "capital", lit. "head-place".
Hinz (ASN 221) doubts between *Sāramanta- and *Sāravanta-.
– Elamite: Šá-ra-man-da: PF 1954:14-15; PFNN 2196:52-53 (Šá-ra-[man-da]).

4.3.200 *Sāriča-: *Sār-iča-, "head" (EIW 1137), cf. 4.2.1567.
– Elamite: Šá-ri-iz-za: PFNN 2117:3.

4.3.201 *Sārūka-: "castle" (Gershevitch 1974: 53; ASN 222; Shahbazi 1977: 198-199), cf. Arabo-Persian *sārūq*, a labyrinthine castle. Gershevitch also believes that this was the name of the Treasury in Persepolis, but that is denied by Shahbazi.
Most scholars are convinced that it is a place name (Cameron, apud Schmidt 1957: 55; Bernard 1972: 169-170; Kamioka 1975: 60-61). Some reconstruct *Sāra-ka-, "principal" (Bogoljubov 1973: 173; Naveh & Shaked 1973: 447). An exception is Levine's opinion (1972: 72), acccording to which it is a Semitic word meaning "administration".
– Aramaic:
1) Srk: Pers 6:1, 10-11:1, 18:1, 21:1, 27:1, 29:1, 31:1, 32:1, 140:1, etc. in Pers.
2) Srwk: Pers 54:1, 92:1 (cf. Naveh & Shaked 1973: 447n.8).

4.3.202 *Sāsukāna-: *Sāsu-kāna-, "bedbug-hole, Wanzengrube" (ASN 223), cf. German Wanzenau (near Strasbourg).
– Elamite: Šá-šu-ka$_4$-na(-iš): PF 231:4, 1887:2-3, 1952:9, 1955:20; PFNN 609:53, 880:8-9, 2211:25, 2299:11, 2337:22,31, 2341:22.

4.3.203 *Sauraka-: *Saura-ka-, "salted" (ASN 223).
– Elamite: Šá-u-rák-kaš: PF 150:2-3, 154:3, 641:5; PFNN 534:43.

4.3.204 *Srauša- (Med.): "obedient" (NW 79; ASN 227). cf. 4.3.41.
– Elamite: Šu-ra-u-šá: Fort. 8863:7-8; PF 682:7-8 (Su-r[a]-ru-šá, error for Šu-ra-u-šá), 1541:2-3,5; PFNN 868:8.

4.3.205 *Stātiča-: *Stāt-iča-, "stable, solid" (Tavernier 2006c: 375-376 no.12).
– Elamite: Iš-da-ti-iz-za-um: PF 2006:14; PT 1963-3:7.

4.3.206 *Šanaka-: *Šana-ka-, "seed of hemp" (EIW 1131). Cf. 4.4.20.16.
– Elamite: Šá-na-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 515:4.

4.3.207 *Šātēnīš: < *Šāt-ain-iya-, "prosperous" (ASN 230, reconstructing *Šyātaina-).
– Elamite: Šá-ut-te-nu-iš: PF 721:5; PFNN 766:6.

4.3.208 *Šyāka-: *Šyā-ka-, "joyful".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 1172) reconstruct *Syāka-.
– Elamite: Ši-ia-kaš: PF 257:4, 742:3,6, 1584:3, 1611:3-4; PFNN 90:5-6, 128:3, 616:3-4,6-7, etc. in PFNN.

4.3.209 *Tačaraka-: *Tačara-ka-, "palace" (NW 80; ASN 231).
– Elamite:
1) Da-iz-za-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1987:5,7,12,27,60,69-70; PFNN 776:2 (°-z[a-rák-ka$_4$]), 1057:17,20,71.
2) Da-iz-za-rák-kaš: PF 1974:4, 1987:51; PFNN 2263:18,19.

4.3.210 *Tāfta-: "hot (place)" (EIW 268), cf. 4.2.1652.
Hinz (ASN 231) erroneously reads Da-ip-da-mar-ri (= *Tăftavarya-).
– Elamite:
1) Da-ab-da-um: PFNN 1318:8-9.
2) Da-ip-da(-an): PF 301:2; PFNN 2348:3,6,8.

4.3.211 *Ta(h)maršā (OP): nom. sg. of *Ta(h)ma-ṛšan-, "strong hero" (ASN 232).
– Elamite: Tam$_5$-mar-šá(-an): PF 251:4-5, 472:5-6, 473:6-7, 1130:6, 1131:13; PFNN 1013:14, 1783:4-5.

4.3.212 *Takamāna-: *Taka-māna-, "house of the shields" (Tavernier 2006c: 374 no.7).
Hinz (ASN 233) translates "run-house".
– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-ma-na: PF 2003:1; PFNN 609:52 (°-n[a]), 2539:9.

4.3.213 *Takamānīš: < *Taka-mān-ya-, "house of the shields" (Tavernier 2006c: 374 no.7).
– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 548:16 ([Da-k]a$_4$-°),27, 2211:2.

4.3.214 *Takāna-: *Tak-āna-, "runner" (ASN 233) or "shield".
– Elamite: Da-ka$_4$-na: Fort. 8960:17; PF 607:4, 2004:4; PFNN 602:2, 2350:22.

4.3.215 *Tapa-: "warm (place)" (Tavernier 2006c: 379 no.29).
– Elamite: Tab-ba-an (loc.): PF 679:9.

4.3.216 *Tapušna-: *Tapuš-na-, "warm (place)" (ASN 235).
– Elamite: Tap-pu-iš-na: PFNN 762:24, 2479:22.

4.3.217 *Tapušnīš: < *Tapuš-n-(i)ya-, an *-aya*-extension of *Tapušna-.
The spelling does not allow to reconstruct *Tapušna- (ASN 235).
– Elamite:
1) Da-ap-pu-iš-nu-iš: PF 1961:34.
2) Da-pu-iš-nu-iš: PFNN 2490:21.
3) Tap-pu-iš-nu-iš: PF 1958:9,22, 1961:13.

4.3.218 *Tauka-: "offspring" (ASN 235), Gk. Ταύκη (Hallock 1969: 760). Cf. 4.2.1678.

– Elamite:
1) Da-u-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1452:9; PFNN 424:8-9, 879:8-9, 1398:7.
2) Da-u-ma-ka$_4$: PFNN 171:13. Inaccurate spelling.
3) Tam$_5$-ka$_4$(-an): PF 157:5 ([Ta]m$_5$-ka$_4$-an), 427:7, 444:6, 481:6, 679:8, 984:3, 1098:6, 1138:4, 1992:1; PFa 18:7-8; PFNN 534:46, 1753:6, 1771:6, 1810:4, etc. in PFNN.
4) Tam$_5$-uk-ka$_4$(-an): PF 1363:7, 1368:10, 1557:9, 1790:28, 1992:8, 2055:15, 2076:53; PFa 30:11,14; PFNN 111:6, 480:17 (Tam$_5$-uk-<ka$_4$>), 521:1,13,40, 862:6, 1177:13-14, 2283:8-9.

4.3.219 *Taxmaka- (Med.): *Taxma-ka-, "brave" (Zadok 1976b: 72n.120).
– Babylonian:
1) Taḫ-ma-ak-ka: Cyr. 29:12.
2) Ta-ḫu-ma-ak-ka: Cyr. 131:4.

4.3.220 *Tigra-: "sharp" (EIW 325), cf. 4.2.1694.
– Elamite:
1) Ti-ik-ra(-iš): Fort. 9042:10; PFa 1:10, 33:30.
2) Ti-ik-ráš: PF 581:3, 2073:18,25; PFNN 462:7 (Ti-ik-rá[š]).
3) Tuk-ráš: PF 492-493:2, 566:2, 582:3, 583:6, etc. in PFT; PFNN 187:5, 192:4, 238:5, 360:4, 635:6, 678:4, 787:2, etc. in PFNN; PT 83:7.

4.3.221 *Tigraka-: *Tigra-ka- (OnP 8.1633; ASN 236), cf. 4.2.1698.
– Elamite:
1) Ti-ak-ra-kaš: PFa 2:10.
2) Ti-ik-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1226:16, 2004:1; PFNN 358:15 (Ti-ik-r[ák-ka$_4$]), 2300:14,24.
3) Ti-ik-rák-kaš: PF 352:10, 2084:2; PFa 3:7 ([T]i-ik-rák-kaš).
4) Tuk-rák-kaš: PF 2080:10 (Tuk-rák-[ka]š),22 (Tuk-r[á]k-kaš); PFNN 1526:4.

4.3.222 *Tigrānīš: < *Tigra-n-iya-, an *-iya*-extension of *Tigrāna- (cf. EIW 325).
– Elamite: Ti-ik-ra-nu-iš: PFa 33:25 (T[i-ik-r]a-°); PFNN 71:7, 2515:3-4 ([T]i-°).

4.3.223 *Tōsiya- (Med.): < *Taus-iya-, "bestowing richly" (Tavernier 2006c: 375 no.9), cf. *Tōsaya- (4.2.1720).
– Elamite: Du-ši-ia: PFNN 2369:7.

4.3.224 *Θāravina- (OP): *Θāra-v-ina-, "principal place", *-ina*-hypocoristicon of a *-va*-extension of *Θāra-, "head" (ASN 239).
– Elamite: Sa-ra-mi-na: PF 513:7.

4.3.225 *Θrūkṛtiš: *Θrū-kṛti-š, "horn-maker" (ASN 240).
– Elamite:
1) Ši-ru-kur-ti-iš: PF 2077:21.
2) Tur-ru-kur-ti-iš: PF 584:2-3, 1956:30, 1970:17,21, 1982:8, 2084:10; PFNN 573:23, 651:15-16, 2117:2, 2539:8, etc. in PFNN.

4.3.226 *Upagōmā: < *Upa-gaumā, nom. sg. of *Upa-gaumant-, "provided with cattle" (ASN 243).
A reading *Upagava- is equally possible (ASN 243). Koch (apud EIW 1207) identifies the place with Upakauf(i)ya-.
– Elamite: Uk-ba-ku-maš: PF 1941:2,8,15; PFNN 760:6 (°-b[a-ku-maš]),16.

4.3.227 *Upakaufiya- / *Upakōfiya-: *Upa-kauf-iya-, "near the mountain" (EIW 1207).
– Elamite:
1) Uk-ba-kam-pi-ia: Fort. 6575:2; PF 1952:2,14-15, 1956:14, 2084:13,18-19; PFNN 548:2, 2341:30.
2) Uk-ba-ku-pi-<ia>: PFNN 506:5-6, 1525:6.

4.3.228 *Uparaxā-: *Upa-Raxā-, "near Raxā" (ASN 244).
– Elamite: Uk-ba-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1992:4,6; PFNN 2198:14, 2540:18.

4.3.229 *Uparikaufīš: < *Upari-kauf-iya-, "situated at the other side of the mountains" (ASN 245).
– Elamite: Uk-pír-ri-kam-pi-iš: PF 317:3-4.

4.3.230 *Upayānīš: < *Upa-yān-iya-, "near favour" (EIW 1209).
– Elamite: Uk-be-ia-nu-iš: PFNN 2364:20.

4.3.231 *Usxana-: *Us-xana-, "excavation" (NW 78; ASN 246).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-kán-na(-iš): PF 983:4-5; PFNN 437:3-4, 1590:6, 1628:8, etc. in PFNN.

4.3.232 *Vanantāna-: *Vananta-āna-, "victorious" (EIW 869). Cf. 4.2.1790.
– Elamite: Man-na-an-da-na: PFNN 2206:10,23 (Man-[na-an-da-na]), 2364:13.

4.3.233 *Vanantānīš: < *Vanantān-iya-.
Hinz (NW 79; ASN 254) reconstructs *Vanant-āni-š.
– Elamite: Man-na-an-da-nu-iš: PF 328:4; PFNN 1310:3-4.

4.3.234 *Vanta-: "praise, homage" (ASN 255).
– Elamite: Man-da: PF 1961:28, 2005:4; PFNN 2206:9, 2275:18.

4.3.235 *Vantagṛda-: *Vanta-gṛda-, "house of praise" (NW 79; ASN 255).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-in-da-kur-da: PF 1999:14.
2) Man-da-kur-da: PFNN 746:2-3, 2026:1-2 ([Man-d]a-°), 2269:3.

4.3.236 *Vantaka-: *Vanta-ka- (ASN 255). Cf. 4.2.1795.
– Elamite: Man-da-kaš: PF 1857:30; PFNN 128:7, 2024:4, 2066:4-5.

4.3.237 *Vantavatīča-: *Vanta-vatī-ča-, "rich in praise", *-ča*-extension of *Vantavatīš (ASN 255).
– Elamite: Man-du-ma-ut-ti-iz-za: PF 2080:14.

4.3.238 *Vantavatīš: *Vanta-vatī-š, nom. fem. sg. of *Vantavant- (NW 78; ASN 255).
– Elamite:
1) Man-du-man-ti-iš: PFNN 105:3 (°-man-t[i-iš]), 1007:7 (-t[i-iš]), 2492:3.
2) Man-du-ma-ti-iš: PF 2069:19; PFNN 760:7 (°-[ma-ti-i]š), 1157:6-7 (°-[ma-ti]-iš).
3) Man-du-ma-ut-ti-iš: PF 905:4-5.

4.3.239 *Varādōka- (OP): < *Varad-auka-, "boar" (ElW 876).
– Elamite: Ma-ra-du-ka$_4$: PFNN 324:6.

4.3.240 *Varātauka-: *Vara-āta-auka-, "sheep" (ASN 255).
– Elamite: Ma-ra-tam$_5$-kaš: PF 25:7-8; PFa 4:3.

4.3.241 *Varaxvatīš (East Iranian): equivalent of *Varah-vatīš, meaning "rich in breasts" (Av. ^{1}*varah-*, "breast") or "rich in ordeals" (Av. ^{2}*varah-*, "ordeal").
– Elamite:
1) Ma-rák-ku-ti-iš: PF 1955:18.
2) Ma-rák-ku-ut-ti-iš: PF 1955:14.

4.3.242 *Varāzamēθana- (Med.): < *Varāza-maiθana-, "abode of boars" (Zadok 1976b: 72).
– Babylonian: Ú-ra-zu-me-ta-nu: Cyr. 37:12.

4.3.243 *Varmā: nom. sg. of *Varman-, "first choice" (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.20).
– Elamite:
1) Ma-ir-ma-iš: PFNN 2510:7-8.
2) Mar-maš: PF 2032:13; PFNN 662:3,6, 1166:3 (Mar-[maš]).

4.3.244 *Varθapā-: *Varθa-pā-, "protecting the defense" (ASN 256).
– Elamite: Mar-sa-ab-ba: Fort. 8862:4-5.

4.3.245 *Vauθunīš (OPs): < *Vau-θun-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Vau-θuna- (4.2.1851).
– Elamite: Ma-u-du-nu-iš: PFNN 2213:5.

4.3.246 *Vējava-: < *Vaija-va-, "native" (ASN 253).
– Elamite: Me-za-ma(-an): PF 1955:25,29; PFNN 548:14 ([Me-z]a-ma), 1097:51, 2270:13, 2341:20, 2363:7, 2539:13.

4.3.247 *Vēstigra-: *Vahyas-tigra-, "better and sharp" (ASN 253).

– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-ti-ik-ra(-an): PFa 14:14-15; PFNN 1010:36, 1939:14-15, 2139:10-11.
2) Mi-iš-tuk-ráš: Fort. 8621:2-3; PF 1658:3, 1864:4; PFNN 913:4-5.

4.3.248 *Vēstigrīš: < *Vēstigriya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Vahyastigra-.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ti-kur-ri-iš: PFNN 559:2-3.

4.3.249 *Vīdačanā: nom. sg. of *Vīda-čanah-, "providing desire" (NW 80; ASN 260).
– Elamite: Mi-da-za-na-iš: PF 1947:64.

4.3.250 *Vifraka-: *Vifra-ka-, "experienced" (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.21).
– Elamite: Mi-ip-ra-ka$_4$: PFNN 718:4-5.

4.3.251 *Visabara- (OP): *Visa-bara-, "bearing all" (Tavernier 2006c: 378 no.23).
Hinz (ASN 264) prefers *Visa-farrah-, the Middle Iranian equivalent of *Visa-farnah-, "all glory".
– Elamite: Mi-šá-bar: Fort. 6179:4.

4.3.252 *Visaka- (OP): *Visa-ka-, "all, everything" (ASN 264).
– Elamite: Mi-šá-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 1227:4-5.

4.3.253 *Visara- (OP): *Visa-ra-.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 937) reconstruct *Visāra-.
– Elamite:
1) Mi-šá-ra: PFNN 189:6.
2) Mi-šá-ráš: PF 615:4; PFNN 91:6, 2290:39, 2364:15,19.
3) Mi-za-ráš: PFNN 416:4-5. Error for Mi-šá-ráš.

4.3.254 *Visaraka- (OP): *Visara-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Visara-.
Hinz (ASN 265) reconstructs *Visa-rāga-, which is either an Old Persian name, meaning "all-plain" or a Median name, meaning "plain of the royal palace" (cf. Sogd. *r'γ*, "plain" and NP *rāq*). Another proposal is *Visāraka- (ElW 936).
– Elamite: Mi-šá-ra-kaš: PF 727:4-5.

4.3.255 *Vispamiθrānīš (Med.): < *Vispa-miθra-ān-iya-, "treaty of all" (ElW 925, reading *Vispamiθrāna-).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-mi-ut-ra-nu-iš: PFNN 2272:1.

4.3.256 *Vispašyātiš (Med.): *Vispa-šyāti-š, "complete prosperity" (Cameron 1948: 207; Benveniste 1958b: 58; NW 73; ASN 266).
– Elamite: Mi-iš-ba-ši-ia-ti-iš: PT 49:7, 59:7.

4.3.257 *Viθana- (OP):*Viθ-ana-, "royal palace" (Tavernier 2006c: 377 no.22).
– Elamite: Mi-sa-an-na: PFNN 2333:1-2.

4.3.258 *Viθika- (OP): *Viθ-ika-, "royal palace" (ElW 937).
– Elamite: Mi-ši-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2273:12.

4.3.259 *Viyuka-: name derived from the personal name *Viyuka-, "traveller" (4.2.1936; Tavernier 2006c: 378 no.24).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-ú-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1582:2-3.
2) Mi-ú-uk-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1144:4-5.

4.3.260 *Vrantuš: *Vrantu-š, "streaming" (ASN 269).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-ra-an-du: PF 1835:4.
2) Ra-an-du(-iš): PF 859:5; PFNN 191:1 (R[a-an-du-iš]),7, 1137:8-9, 2523:3.
3) Ú-ra-an-du-iš: PF 893-895:5-6, 897:4-5, 949:4, 2031:4-5, etc. in PFT; PFNN 756:2, 2310:5-6, 2311:5, etc. in PFNN.
4) Ú-ra-du-iš: PF 864:3-4; PFNN 2519:5; PT Teh. 1957-1:5-6.

4.3.261 *Vrataka-: *Vrata-ka-, "oath" (EIW 1245).
– Elamite: Ú-ra-tuk-kaš: PF 348:6-7.

4.3.262 *Vṛdanaka- (OP): *Vṛdana-ka-, "city" (NW 80; ASN 270).
Hinz (ASN 256) reconstructs *Varta-na-ka-, "turning point", to Av. *varət-*, "to turn".
– Elamite: Mar-tan-na-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 452:8, 991:4-5; PFNN 57:4-5, 2091:4-5.

4.3.263 *Vṛkačiya- / *Vṛkačīš: *Vṛka-č-iya-, "wolf-(place)".
Not *Vṛkačaya-, as Hinz & Koch (EIW 953) believe.
– Elamite:
1) Mur-ka$_4$-zí-ia: PFNN 222:5-6, 260:3, 1011:23, 2290:34, 2487:27-28.
2) Mur-ka$_4$-zí-iš: PF 246:10; PFNN 453:5, 520:6,9-10,12, 575:2, 875:3,5-6.

4.3.264 *Vṛtaka-: "hero", cf. the similar personal name (4.2.1955).
– Elamite: Mar-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2395:3-4.

4.3.265 *Vṛtariča-: *Vṛta-ra-iča- (ASN 271).
Hinz (NW 72) reconstructs Vṛda-ra-aiča-, "rose".
– Elamite: Mur-da-ri-iz-za-an (loc.): PT 48:8-9, 1963-9:8.

4.3.266 *Xanča-: *Xan-ča-, "source, spring" (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.14).
– Elamite: Kán-sa-an (loc.): PF 851:6, 1637:2-3,5-6, 1857:12, 1964:14; PFNN 266:3-4, 376:14, 741:2-3,5-6, 940:2-3,13-14, 966:15, 1010:27,32, 1084:4-5 (°-[an]), 2209:4, 2369:3 (°-a[n]).

4.3.267 *Xančaka-: *Xan-ča-ka- (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.14).
Hinz (ASN 144) reconstructs *G/Kanθaka-.
– Elamite: Kán-sa-ka$_4$(-an/-um): PF 1179:4, 1942:25,26.

4.3.268 *Xančan(i)ya-: *Xan-ča-n-(i)ya- (Tavernier 2006c: 376 no.14).
– Elamite: Kán-sa-nu-ia: PF 1948:64.

4.3.269 *Xaragōša-: < *Xara-gauša-, "rabbit", lit. "donkey's ear" (ASN 132), MP *xargōš*, "rabbit, hare" and NP *xargoš*, "hare".
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-ra-an-ku-šá(-an): PF 1826:5-6; PFNN 1269:5-6.
2) Ka$_4$-ra-ku-šá(-an): PF 1793:9, 1946:63,65,79; PFa 30:24; PFNN 1062:7 (Ka$_4$-ra-[ku-šá-an]).
3) Kar-ra-an-ku-šá: PFNN 522:17.

4.3.270 *Xšāna-:< *Xšāvana-, "estate" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976: 65).
– Babylonian: Aḫ-šá-a-nu: BE 10 54:3.

4.3.271 *Xvarθiš: *Xvarθi-š, "enjoying".
– Elamite: Ku-ur-ti-iš: PFNN 2209:2-3,5,7.

4.3.272 *Yamabāga-: *Yama-bāga-, "garden of Yama" (EIW 1263).
– Elamite: Ia-ma-ba-kaš: PFNN 1371:5-6.

4.3.273 *Yutava-: *Yuta-va-, *-va*-extension of *Yuta- (cf. ASN 275).
Hinz (ASN 275) connects it with *Yutiya-.
– Elamite: Hi-ú-ud-da-ma: PF 1899:2-3; PFNN 2190:16-17.

4.3.274 *Zarnamiya- (Med.): *Zarna-m-iya-, "having a golden necklace", cf. 4.2.2050.
– Elamite: Za-ir-na-mi-ia(-ra): PFNN 699:16, 1670:8, 2274:24, 2435:1-2.

4.3.275 *Zīrāčiš (Med.): Median equivalent of *Dīrāčiš, cf. 4.3.53.
– Elamite:
1) Ši-ra-iz-zí-iš: Fort. 5234:4-5; PF 290:6-7.
2) Zir-zí-iš: PFNN 2030.

4.4. Loanwords

4.4.1. Abstract expressions

4.4.1.1 *Druvata-: "blessing, peace" (Andreas, apud Lidzbarski 1908: 223n.2; Grelot 1972: 334n.j), MP *drōt* and Parth. *drwd*, NP *durūd*.
– Aramaic: drwt: TAD D 17.1:5.

4.4.1.2 *Dušvan-: "of evil desire, ill-willed" (Shaked 1987: 412), from *duš-van-*, cf. Av. *dužda-*.
– Aramaic: dwšwn: TAD B 8.4:2.

4.4.1.3 *Frampram: "agitation, chaos" (Cameron 1948: 43; ASN 97). Cf. MP *fram kar-*, "to cause agitation".
Harmatta (1955: 290) reconstructs **frahampāram*.
– Elamite: pír-ra-um-pi-ram: DNa 27.

4.4.1.4 *Jauka-: "heap, group" (Shaked 1987: 410), Arm. *jok*.

– Aramaic: zwk: ATNS 52a:59, 52b:10.

4.4.1.5 *Māva-: "happiness", morphological variant of Av. *māyā-*, "joy, happiness" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 281; ASN 28, reconstructing **amavā-*).

Not to be connected with *maguš*, "magian" (despite Hoffmann, apud Lidzbarski 1902: 73 and Marquart, apud RÉS 1785). Bogoljubov (l.c.) presents the alternative reading **māva-*, a derivation in *-va(nt)-* from *mā-*, "to measure".

– Aramaic: mw: ESE 1 71 no.2:3 (= RÉS 1785I).

4.4.1.6 *Paristāvana-: **pari-stāvana-*, "company, care", abstractum of **paristāva-* (4.4.7.81) in the same way as **xšaçapāvana-* is an abstractum of *xšaçapāvā-* (NW 95; ASN 180).

– Elamite:

1) bar-ri-iš-da-ma-na: Fort. 6181:11-12; PF 1421:9-10, 1424:11-12.
2) bar-ri-iš-da-u-na: PF 1409:3-4, 1444:5.
3) bar-ri-iš-tam$_5$-na: PF 2051:9.

4.4.1.7 *Upastā-: "support", OP *upastā-* (OPG 176).

Schmitt (1987: 149) does not believe that it can mean "help, support", because of the context. In his view two cereal rations are intended, but that is not compatible with the other attestation of the word in TAD C 3.21.

– Aramaic:

1) 'wpst': TAD C 3.18: 13.
2) 'wpst-h (suffix 3 masc. sg.): TAD C 3.21:4,9.

4.4.1.8 *Zana-: "tribe" (ASN 276).

– Aramaic: zn: TAD A 6.1:3.

4.4.1.9 *Zraza-: "faith" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 278-279; ASN 279), cf. Av. *zraz-dā-*, "to give faith".

– Aramaic: zrz: ESE 1 71 no.2:3 (= RÉS 1785G).

4.4.2. Adjectives indicating a certain quality

4.4.2.1 *Āfrītara-: < **āfrīta-tara-*, comparative of **āfrīta-*, "praised, blessed" (Segal 1983: 43; Schmitt 1987: 149), MP *āfrīd*.

A reconstruction **uparitara-*, "one who overcomes from above" or "one who vanquishes supreme beings; hero" (to **tar-*, "to overcome" [Shaked 1987: 411]) is less plausible, as well as the hypothesis according to which *'prytr* renders a Greek word (Teixidor 1985: 733).

– Aramaic: 'prytr: ATNS 26:15.

4.4.2.2 *Āzāta-: "free" (Benveniste 1954: 299; De Menasce 1954: 126; Gershevitch 1954: 126; ASN 52).

– Aramaic: 'zt: TAD B 3.6:4.

4.4.2.3 *Bārīš: **bāriya-*, "of noble, high quality" (De Menasce 1954: 162; Gershevitch 1969b: 167; NW 41; ASN 64)[173], MP and NP *bārīk*.

[173] All scholars reconstruct **barya-*.

– Elamite: ba-ri(-iš): PF 999:7,8,10,11.

4.4.2.4 *Dāmya-: "of the house; common" (Shaked 2004: 41 and n.39, reading **damya-*).

Driver (1954: 22) mentions Targum-Aramaic *rāmyā-*, "rejected". Hinz (NW 40 and ASN 198; also Schmitt 1974: 104) connects the reading *rmy* with OInd. *ramyá-*, "delicate, fine". Whitehead (1978: 133n.90) considers *rmy* as a type of wheat.

– Aramaic: dmy: Shaked 2004: 41; TAD A 6.9:3.

4.4.2.5 *Fratama- (f-r-t-m-): **fra-tama-*, "foremost, noble" (Eilers 1955: 232-236), superlative of *fra-*, "before, forward". It is an appellative, meaning "director" (Tuplin 2005: 6). Cf. 4.2.597.

Cameron (1948: 69, 86, 141 and 209) reconstructs Ar. *byrt'*, with postpositive *ma*, meaning "in the fortress". Hinz (NW 134; ASN 98) pleads for a substantive, meaning "general". Nevertheless it is rather a courtesy expression than an appellative (Eilers 1985: 29).

– Elamite: pír-ra-tam$_6$-ma: PT 36:2, 44-44a:2.

4.4.2.6 *Fratamya-: **fratam-ya-*, "of the best quality" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 63; ASN 98).

– Elamite: pír-ra-tam$_5$-mi-ia-iš: PF 1978:9-10,10-11; PFNN 2355:12.

4.4.2.7 *Gasta-: "bad, evil (word)" (Driver 1954: 17; ASN 103).

– Aramaic: gst: TAD A 6.8:3, 6.10:9.

4.4.2.8 *Gnādra-: "odoriferous" (Gershevitch, apud ElW 749), OInd. *gandhá-*.

– Elamite: ik-na-tur-ráš: PFNN 1319:2.

4.4.2.9 *Madama-: "medium size" (Bowman 1970: 75; ASN 155), Av. *madəma-*.

– Aramaic: mdm: Pers 2:4, 17:5, 21:4, 23:5, 41:3, 56:3, 57:4, 80:3, 97:3, 124:3.

4.4.2.10 *Manaubara- (OPs): **mana-u-bara-*, "respectful" (Zadok 1985: 175).

– Aramaic: mnwbr: ATNS 52b:11.

4.4.2.11 *Mazdā-: "wise, intelligent" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 277-279; ASN 163).

Donner & Röllig (1968: 311) consider the word not as an adjective, but as the second part of the divine name Auramazdā-.

– Aramaic: mzd': KAI 264:1[174].

4.4.2.12 *Nišakavaka-: **niša-kava-ka-*, "low-humped" (Gershevitch 1969b: 179; ASN 176), cf. Av. *apakava-*, "having a hump on the back" and *saēni.kaofa-*, "having a stiff hump". **Niša-* is related to *niiānk-*, "low" in the same way as *paitiša-* to *paitiiank-*.

[174] It is not clear whether ' expresses here a st. det. or rather /ā/.

– Elamite: nu-šá-ka$_4$-ma-ka$_4$: PF 1957:7.

4.4.2.13 *Nitama-: "of low quality, *infimus*" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 63), Av. *nitəma-*.
– Elamite:
1) nu-tam$_5$-maš: PF 1977:7; PFNN 2284:7, 2289:9.
2) nu-ut-tam$_5$-ma: PF 1980:25; PFNN 1487:3.

4.4.2.14 *Patistāva-: **pati-stāva-*, "praiseworthy, praised" (Driver 1965: 87; ASN 188), cf. Av. *stav-*.
Another reconstruction is **patyastō*, "obedient", lit. "someone standing nearby" (Altheim & Stiehl 1963: 22-23), with reference to Av. *paiti.a-stay-*. The Aramaic spelling, however, contains no *-y-*.
– Aramaic: ptstw: TAD A 6.16:4.

4.4.2.15 *Pativanya-: **pati-vanya-*, "exceeding, eminent", said of flour. Cf. 4.4.2.23.
Hinz (NW 81 and ASN 189) erroneously reconstructs **pati-vahyah-*, "foremost, very good".
– Elamite: bat-ti-ma-nu-ia(-áš): PF 97:2-3, 699:3-4, 700:3-4; PFNN 174:3-4.

4.4.2.16 *Pūta-: "rotten" (ASN 194), Av. *pūti-*, "rotting proces, putrefaction".
– Elamite: pu-ud-da: PF 1986:6.

4.4.2.17 *Ramya-: "fine, refined, delicate" (NW 40; Schmitt 1974: 104; ASN 198). Cf. OInd. *ramyá-*.
– Elamite: ra-mi-ia(-um): PF 93:2, 326:2, 726:2 (°-<ia>), 835-836:2, 838-839:2, 999:14-16,18,19,21; PFNN 1395:2, 1426:2, 1637:5, 2381:2, 2495:24-25.

4.4.2.18 *Rēba-: < **raiba-*, "tricky", metaphorical "too little" (ElW 1036).
– Elamite: re-ba-iš: PFNN 2211:13.

4.4.2.19 *Tēžavant-: < **taiža-vant-*, "short-tempered, irascible", lit. "provided with sharpness" (Weber, apud Hinz 1969: 61; Schmitt 1969-71: 57; ASN 233, reconstructing **taižaxvant-*). Cf. Av. *taēža-*, "scherp", MP *tēz* and NP *tez*, "sharp, cutting".
– Elamite: te-ez-za-ma-in-da: DNb 8-9.

4.4.2.20 *Upaiti-: **upa-iti-*, "necessary" (Shaked, apud Porten 1996: 117n.25), MP *abēdag*, Parth. *'b'yd*.
– Aramaic: 'pyty: TAD A 6.2:9.

4.4.2.21 *Uspṛna-: "in full, entire".
Most scholars agree concerning the translation[175], but disagree as to the correct reconstruction. One group (Schaeder 1930: 273; Benveniste 1954: 304) reads **aspṛna-* because of Av. *aspərənah-*, "completeness" and MP *spurrīk*. Another group (Berger, apud ASN 246; ElW 1204) has **uspṛna-* because of MP *uspurrīk*, Parth. *'spwr*, Sogd. *'spwrn*, *'spwrn* and *spwrn* and Khot. *uspurra*. According to Henning (apud Driver 1965: 76) the expression consists of *us-*, "out" and **pṛna-*, "full", which leads to a Proto-Iranian form **uspṛna-* > OP **aspṛna-*. Yet the rarity of Av. *aspərənah-* and MP *spurrīk* speaks in favour of a reconstruction **uspṛna-*. Cf. *Aspṛna- and *Aspṛnika- (4.2.172 and 4.2.173).
– Aramaic:
1) 'sprn: KAI 263; TAD A 6.13:4.
2) 'šprn': RA 1 67.
– Elamite:
1) ú-iš-bar-na-iš-be (pl.): PT 13:7-8, 15:8, 18:9-10, 1957-1:11-12.
2) ú-iš-pír-na-iš-be (pl.): PT 12:6.

[175] De Vogüé (1862: 32 and 1868: 183; also Ledrain 1886: 67) believes that it represents a verbal form of the stem *spr*, "to write". His translation is "controlled". Geiger (1867: 467) translates "entire".

4.4.2.22 *Va(h)uš: **vahu-š*, "good" (Cameron 1948: 102; ASN 251).
– Elamite: ma-hu-iš: PF 2006:14.

4.4.2.23 *Vanya-: **van-ya-*, "exceeding, eminent", adjective indicating the quality of flour. Cf. Av. *van-*, "to exceed, surpass", and 4.4.2.15.
Hinz (NW 81 and ASN 252) reads **vaŋhyah-*, "better", with reference to El. Da-ad-du-man-ia, the denotation of OP D-a-t-v-h-y-. Yet this proposal is not tenable. MAN may have a value *ma'* and *man-ia* may render Ir. /vahyah/, but this is not valid for *ma-nu*. *Vaŋhyah- would appear as man-nu-ia. In the same way *bat-ti-ma-nu-ia* cannot render **pativaŋhyah-*.
– Elamite: ma-nu-ia: PF 699-700:3; PFNN 612:2.

4.4.2.24 *Varya-: "very good, excellent" (NW 81; ASN 257).
– Elamite: ma-ri-ia(-um): PF 45:4, 96:2, 293:3, 294:2, 699-700:2, 1997:2; PFa 12:3 (°-<ia>-°), 31:18; PFNN 423:1-2, 1328:10, 2495: 10.

4.4.2.25 *Vēskṛta-: < **vahyas-kṛta-*, "made better" (Hinz 1969: 61).
– Elamite: mi-iš-[k]a$_4$-ir-taš: DNb 37.

4.4.3. Administrative and political expressions

4.4.3.1 *Dāšna- (OP): **dā-šna-*, "gift, grant", *dā-* followed by the suffix *-šna-* (Benveniste 1954: 300-301; Cross 1964: 186; ASN 84), MP *dāšn*, Parth. *d'šn*, NP *dāšan*.
– Aramaic: dšn: ATNS 41:8; IEJ 14 186:2; TAD A 6.4:3,4.
– Elamite: daš-na: PF 337:8; PFNN 366:7.

4.4.3.2 *Hadajana-: **hada-jana-*, "extra ration, extra-portion" (ASN 109-110), only for animals.
Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 49) reconstructs **hada-čāna-*, "supplementary road provisions", lit. "(what goes) with the journey". The element **čāna-* is then related to **čana-*, "journey", postulated by Bailey (1956: 104-107).
– Elamite:
1) ha-da-iz-za-na: PFNN 2290:17.

2) ha-da-za-na(-iš/-um): PF 1638:12-13, 1641:11, 1645:9-10, 1656:13, 1666:14-15, 1697:8, 1705:17, 1765:4-5, 1777:8-9, 1833:5-6, 2060:11-12, etc. in PFT; PFNN 380:11 (ha-da-za-<na>-um), 732:7-8, 795:6-7, 1508:8-9, 1535:11, 1692:14, 2337:26, 2454:4.
3) ha-da-zí-na: PF 1845:9; PFNN 1207:3, 2332:6-7.
4) ha-ud-da-iz-za-na: PF 1770:8-9.

4.4.3.3 *Hamyati-: **ham-yati-*, "government, rule" (Schmitt 1987: 149). Cf. OInd. *yáti-*, "control, guidance" and Av. *yati-*.

Other proposals are (1) **hamiti-*, "collection", to OInd. *samiti-* (Segal 1983: 43), (2) **ham-mita-*, "measured together", with *-mita-* as the past part. of Av. *mā-*, and (3) *ham-yāta-*, "full portion", to Av. *yāta-* (Segal, l.c.).

– Aramaic: hmyt: ATNS 26:10,16.

4.4.3.4 *Handarza-: "instruction, order" (Driver 1954: 30; ASN 115), MP *handarz*, NP *andarz*.

– Aramaic: hndrz: TAD A 6.13:3-4, 6.14:3.

4.4.3.5 *Kāmaka-: **kāma-ka-*, "reward, bonus", lit. "wish, desire", special rations of provisions because of special prestations (Gershevitch 1969b: 172; Hinz 1970: 436; ASN 145; Koch 1983: 31-34).

– Elamite:
1) ka_4-ma-ak-ka_4: PFNN 2516:3.
2) ka_4-ma-ak-kaš: PF 1160:8-9, 1986:15.
3) ka_4-ma-ak-ku: PF 1533:8.
4) ka_4-ma-ik-ka_4: PF 1167:8-9.
5) ka_4-ma-ka_4(-iš/-um): Fort. 7095:5-6; PF 1153:5,11, 1174:5, 1176:5-6, 1949:12, 2047:5-6; PFNN 590:7, 1484:29,33, 1605:6-7, 1622:5-6, 2316:7, 2393:8, 2458:3.
6) ka_4-ma-kaš: AMI 19 149:9-10; PF 1154:12, 1155:10, 1156:5, 1157:5-6, 1158:11, 1159:9, etc. in PFT; PFNN 329:7, 347:6-7, 745:4-5, etc. in PFNN.
7) ka_4-ma-ku: PFNN 866:7.
8) ka_4-man-kaš: PF 1164:7.

4.4.3.6 *Kāra(h)māra-: **kāra-(h)māra-*, "register, registration, registration official", lit. "people-counting" (Stolper 1977: 260 and 262).

Gershevitch (1969b: 163) and Hinz (NW 91; ASN 147) consider **kāra(h)māra-*, "census; inspector", a military word. Dandamayev (1984-85: 39-40) reads *am-ba-ri/ru*, separates this from the preceding signs and reconstructs **hambāra-*.

– Babylonian:
1) ka-al-am-ma-ri: EE 106:10.
2) ka-ra-am-ma-ri: BE 9 55:4.
3) kar-ri-am-ma-ru: Dar. 551:11.

– Elamite:
1) ka_4-ra-am-ma-ráš: PFNN 2101:5-6.
2) ka_4-ra-ma-ra: PF 1537:8; PFa 29:47; PFNN 493:6-7, 2558:3.
3) ka_4-ra-ma-ráš: PF 1245:6, 1256:4-5, 1277:8, 2050:3; PFNN 308:4-5, 1370:4, 1377:4-5, 1552:3, 1620:3-4, 2261:24, 2319:4-5, 2556:5.

4.4.3.7 *Nāmikara-: **nāmi-kara-*, "exceptional prestation", lit. "making name, glory" (ElW 984).

– Elamite: na-mi-ka_4(?)-ra(?)-an-na (El. suffix): PFNN 659:8-9.

4.4.3.8 *Ništāvana-: **ni-štā-vana-*: "instruction, command, rescript" (Altheim 1925: 37; NW 43-44; ASN 176), Av. *ništā-*, "instituere".

Bailey (1933-35: 76) reconstructs **ništavāna-* "recommendation", with reference to Oss. *nistáuän-* and *nystuán-*.

– Aramaic: nštwn: TAD A 6.1:3.

4.4.3.9 *Pasābara- (OP): < **paščā-ābara-*, "provisions, supplies", lit. "that what is carried behind someone" (Weber 1975: 93-94 and apud ElW 126), Sogd. *pš'βr*, Gāndhārī *pacēvara-*.

Three older theories concerning *pš'βr* are not accepted anymore. Henning (1937: 63) connected the first part of it with Av. *piθβă-*, "food, meal", but recognized later (1965: 246n.32) that Arm. *pašar* (< **pašār* < **pašāvar*) is an indication for a vocalization *pašāβar* and not *pišaβar*. According to the second theory the word is composed of **paθya-* and *bara-*, whereby **paθya-* is an adjectival derivation from Old Iranian **panθā-*, "path, road" (Bailey 1943-46: 795, who refers to OInd. *pātheya-*, "provisions for a journey"; Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 47; ASN 184). **Paθyābara-* became **pašyābara-* in Old Persian, and finally **pašābara-*. Yet there are several semantic and grammatical problems with this theory (Szemerényi 1970: 419; Weber 1975: 92). Szmerényi (l.c.) has presented the third theory, according to which Sogd. *pš'βr* should be derived from OP **pašyābara-* < **paθy-ā-bara-*, on itself an evolution from **pati-ā-bara-*, "supplies".

– Elamite:
1) ba-iš-šá-ba-ra: PF 1011:12, 1080:14, 1703:8-9.
2) ba-iš-šá-ba-ráš: PF 1061:11; PFNN 1388:13.
3) ba-šá-ba-ra: PF 1082:10; PFa 9:14, 29:11.
4) ba-šá-ba-ráš: PFa 29:4,9.

4.4.3.10 *Pasčadāta-: "after-gift", > Parth. **pašdātakān* > Arm. *paštatakan* (Périkhanian 1986-87: 51).

Hinz (ASN 184) believes that the second component must be read *-rt-*, which he connects with Av. *rāti-*, "gift".

– Aramaic: pssdt: TAD B 3.11:7.

4.4.3.11 *Pasēta-: < **pasā-yāta-*, "after-share" (cf. Zadok 1984c: 36). Cf. Av. *yāta-*, "share" and Parth. *y't*.

– Babylonian: pa-se-et: AM 83:13.

4.4.3.12 *Patičagniš: **pati-čagni-š*, "copy" (Benveniste 1934: 180-181 on the Biblical Aramaic equivalent; ASN 186), Av. *čag-*, "to grant, allow", MP *pačēn*, Arm. *patčēn* (Hübschmann 1897: 224).
- Elamite:
  1) ba-iz-[zí?]-ik-nu-iš: PFNN 394:5. Inaccurate spelling.
  2) bat-ti-zí-ik-nu-še (ŠE = OP *-šē* < *-šai*): PF 231:8-9.

4.4.3.13 *Patigāma-: "message, report" (Henning, apud Gershevitch 1951-52: 142n.1; ASN 186), MP *patigām*, Parth. *ptgm*, Sogd. *ptγ'm*, Arm. *patgam*.
- Aramaic: ptgm: TAD A 6.8:3, 6.10:9; TAD B 8.8:2,3; TAD D 1.28:5 (*pt*[*g*]*m*), 1.32:15, 7.39:8.
- Elamite:
  1) bat-ti-ka$_4$-ma: PF 659:8-9.
  2) bat-ti-ka$_4$-maš: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:19, 107-108:22; PF 654:10-11, 672:13, 1795:13, etc. in PFT and PFNN.

4.4.3.14 *Paθāčīš (OP): **paθā-čī-š*, "what is collected afterwards, extra food" (cf. ElW 162). *Paθā- is an "exaggerated" Old Persian equivalent of OP *pasā-*, "after".

Hallock's (apud ASN 162, where the reading is *Paθāčya-) translation is "young (horse)" or "yearling".

- Elamite: ba-sa-zí-iš: PFNN 584:4-5.

4.4.3.15 *Piθfa-: "ration" (Eilers 1940: 71, 74-75; ASN 193, reconstructing **piθβa-*), Av. *piθβă-*, "food, meal". Cf. 4.4.7.91-92.
- Aramaic: ptp: AOI 201:5; PF 858:rev.2, 1587:rev.2, 2059:rev.2; TAD A 6.9:2,4,6, 6.12:1; TAD B 3.13:4,5, 5.5:8,10; TAD C 3.14:38,41; TAD D 3.12:1.

4.4.3.16 *Raifiš: *Raifi-š, "support", an extra supplement to a special grain ration (Hallock 1969: 747; ASN 196; Koch 1983: 29), cf. Av. *rap-*, "to support".
- Elamite: ra-a-pi-iš: PF 1103:13-14.

4.4.3.17 *Vimāna-: "balance, inventory control" (Hallock 1969: 666; NW 91; ASN 261). Cf. OInd. *vimāna-*, "measuring out, traversing".

According to Hinz (NW 91; ASN 261) this expression is the same as the following: **vimanya-*. Yet this is impossible, because neither NA, nor NU render Iranian /ya/.

- Elamite: mi-ma-na-um: PF 2032:4-5; PFNN 754:41.

4.4.3.18 *Vimanī-: < **viman-iya-*.
- Elamite: a-ma-nu-iš: PF 1857:6. Inaccurate spelling.

4.4.3.19 *Viyātika-: **vi-yā-ti-ka-*, "travel autorisation" (NW 40; Schmitt 1974: 104; ASN 268).

- Elamite:
  1) mi-ia-tuk-ka$_4$(-um): PF 1306:5-6, 1329:6-7 (mi-<ia>-tuk-ka$_4$-um), 1346:7-8, 1412:7, 1424:8, 1444:8-9, 1554:6, etc. in PFT; PFNN 305:5-6, 447:9-10, 686:5-6, etc. in PFNN.
  2) mi-ia-tuk-kaš: PF 1307:12-13, 1308:4-5, 1451:4-5, 1453:6-7, 1474:9, 1499:7, 1512:7-8, 1518:9, 1519:8, 1520:7, 1538:9; PFNN 1424:4, 1519:10, 2396:14, 2403:6, 2582:6.

4.4.3.20 *Zaina-: "bonus, reward" (NW 89-90; ASN 276), Av. *zaēni-*, "zealous".
- Elamite: za-a-na-um: PF 1184:8.

4.4.4. Adverbs and prepositions

4.4.4.1 *Apam: "from now on, henceforth" (Rundgren 1958: 212n.12; ASN 30-31), Av. *apąm*.

Joüon (1934: 29-30) believes in an *-m*-extension of the Aramaic adverb *'p*.

- Aramaic: 'pm: TAD B 2.1:8,11, 2.2:15, 2.3:15,22, 2.9:15, 2.10:16, 3.5:16,22, 3.9:8, 3.13:2.

4.4.4.2 *Azdā: "known", adverbial use of an instr. sg. of the adjective **azda-* (Bartholomae 1895: 215n.3 and 1898: 281; OPG 173; HdA 109; NW 128; Huyse 1998: 32-37), Indo-Ir. **adh-tā-*, OInd. *addhā-*, Av. *azdā*, OP *azdā*, MP *azd*, Sogd. *'yzt(')* and *'zt'*, "news, announcement".

Some authors (Kern 1869: 220; Szemerényi 1966: 203-205; ASN 52) argue that **azdā* is a substantive meaning "announcement, news".

- Aramaic: 'zd: TAD A 4.5:8; TAD B 8.11:4.

4.4.4.3 *Hamaunitā: **ham-au-nitā-*, "in agreement with" (Bogoljubov 1969: 73; Muraoka & Porten 1998: 371), Iranian abstract substantive **hamauni-*, followed by the suffix *-tā-*. This substantive consists of *ham-*, "equal", *-au-* (Av. *av-*, "to help") and a suffix *-ni-*. With regard to the formation Bogoljubov refers to Av. *hubaodi-*, "odoriferous scent" and *hubaoditā-*, "odoriferity".

According to Andreas (apud Lidzbarski 1908: 213n.1) it is a hybrid (Ir. *hamūn-* + the Aramaic adverbial ending *-ājaθ*, *-ājiθ*). Schaeder (1930: 256) considers the expression as Av. *hamō.manah-*, "thinking the same", followed by adverbial *-īt*.

- Aramaic: hmwnyt: TAD A 4.5:4.

4.4.4.4 *Javyam: "fast, quick" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 280), adverbial accusative of Av. *java-*, the present stem of *gav-*, "to hurry".

Bogoljubov (l.c.) also mentions **zauyam-*, "who has called himself", to Av. *zaoiia-*.

- Aramaic: zwym: ESE 1 71 no.2:2 (= RÉS 1785H; reading: Bogoljubov, l.c.).

4.4.4.5 *Jīvī-: < **jīviya-* (cf. ElW 1304).
- Elamite: zí-mi: PF 1583:15-16.

4.4.4.6 *Jīvaya-: **jīva-ya-*, "personally", lit. "vivid" (ASN 143; ElW 1301), Av. *jīuuiia-*.
– Elamite: zí-ma-ia: PF 6:7.

4.4.4.7 *Paratar: "aloud, openly" (Sims-Williams 1981: 5; Tavernier 2001c: 167), a *-tar*-suffixed adj. **para-*, cf. Av. *pauruuatarə-* of Av. *pauruua-*.
Muraoka & Porten (1998: 372) read **fratara-*.
– Aramaic: prtr: DB 67.

4.4.4.8 *Yāvītam: "constant, continual" (ASN 275), adverbial accusative, to MP *yāwēd(ān)*.
Mayrhofer (1974-77: 183) prefers a derivation from Av. *yauua-*, "grain".
– Elamite: ia-mi-da-um: PFNN 1301:1-2.

4.4.5. Agricultural expressions

4.4.5.1 *Abišavana-: **abi-šavana-*, "pestle" (Weber, apud Hinz 1970c: 15; Mayrhofer 1971b: 69; ASN 19). The form is the development of **abi-havana-*, which became **abi-savana-*, due to a shift /s/ > /š/ under influence of the preceding *i* (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 63).
– Aramaic: 'bšwn: Pers 2:3, 3:4, 9:3, 15:4, 21:3, 28:3, 29:4, 37:4, 40:3, 46:4.

4.4.5.2 *Aspamanga-: **aspa-manga-*, "ropes, cords of horses" (Shaked 2004: 42).
– Aramaic: 'spmng: Shaked 2004: 42.

4.4.5.3 *Baramaniš: **bara-mani-š*, "wearing a collar, neckband", said of horses not pulling chariots (Mayrhofer 1974: 289-291; ASN 63).
Gershevitch (1969b: 167) reconstructs *bara(t)-vaŋhu-, "carrying goods" = "pack-horses".
– Elamite: ba-ra-man-nu-iš: PF 1673:5.

4.4.5.4 *Bārīš: < **bāriya-*.
– Elamite: ba-ri(-iš): PF 1764:7; PFNN 1275:5, 2332:6.

4.4.5.5 *Bāriya-: **bār-iya-*, "pack-", said of horses (ElW 149).
– Elamite: ba-ri-ia(-iš): PF 1394:12-13, 1946:74; PFNN 1535:8.

4.4.5.6 *Čaraka-: **čara-ka-*, "grazing" (ASN 71; Shaked 2004: 41). Cf. 4.2.389.
– Aramaic: šrk: Shaked 2004: 41 and n.40.
– Elamite:
1) za-ra-kaš: PFNN 2185:4-5.
2) za-rák-ka$_4$: PF 1940:14; PFNN 641:2.
3) za-rák-kaš: PFNN 2372:25.

4.4.5.7 *Gaiθastāna- / *gēθastāna-: **gaiθa-stāna-*, "place for flocks" = "cattle-farm" (Gershevitch 1969b: 173; NW 87; ASN 102).

– Elamite:
1) ge-a-sa-iš-da-na: PF 2078:3-4.
2) ge-hi-sa-iš-[da-na]: PFNN 172:3.

4.4.5.8 *Haθrava- (Med.): **haθra-va-*, "mating", said of animals (NW 87; ASN 119), Av. *haθra-*, "together, united".
– Elamite: ha-ut-re-maš: PF 2009:36,37,48,51,57,59, 2012:2, 2083:64,75,77; PFNN 701:23,31.

4.4.5.9 *Havana-: "mortar" (Bowman 1970: 73; ASN 120), MP *havan*.
– Aramaic: hwn: Pers 1:2, 9:2, 13:2, 16:2, 24:4, 32:3, 34:3, 36:1, 38:3, 39:4.

4.4.5.10 *Kafya-: "seeds", derivation from MP *kaf-*, "to fall" (NW 85; ASN 144).
– Elamite: ka$_4$-pi-ia-iš: PF 444:4.

4.4.5.11 *Varda-: "seeds" (NW 85; ASN 256), cf. Av *varəd-*, "to increase, make grow".
– Elamite: mar-da: PF 242:3, 243:2, 1955:23, 1959:8; PFNN 2207:14.

4.4.5.12 *V(i)yāduš: **v(i)y-ādu-š*, "seed, Aussaat" (ASN 272), cf. Av. *āδu-* (cf. Emmerick 1966: 4) and Sogd. **'δwk* and **'δwkh*, "grain".
– Elamite: mi-ia-du-iš: PF 1956:39, 1957:43; PFNN 2206:39, 2358:23, 2478:20,46, 2479:33.

4.4.5.13 *Zamba-: "silt, loam" (Zadok 1976c: 6 and 2002: 887; Van Driel 1992: 171), MP *dnby*, "bank, shore", Parth. *znb*, Sogd. *zmb*, Baškardi *zamb/p*, "silt, loam", Šuγni *zimb*, "bank, shore". A writing Ci-iC for Ir. /CaC/ is also attested in Ú-ri-mi-iz-da, rendering OP Auramazdā-.
– Babylonian:
1) zi-im-ba(-ni/-nu, pl.): AOAT 281 885-886:12; BE 9 30:4; EE 17:4.
2) zim-ba-nu-ú (pl.): CT 44 78:1,21,22.

4.4.6. Animals

4.4.6.1 *Ātika-: "duck" (Emmerick, apud Gershevitch 1969b: 170; ASN 48), OInd. *āṭí-*, Khot. *āce-*.
– Elamite: ha-ti-ka$_4$: PF 1940:20, 1943:26-27.

4.4.6.2 *Çīrataka-: **çīra-taka-*, "nice runner", said of horses (Gershevitch 1969b: 183; ASN 77).
– Elamite: ši-ra-da-ak-ka$_4$: PF 1946:61.

4.4.6.3 *Dabraka-: **dabra-ka-*, "black poultry" (ASN 78), MP *dabr*, "dark-coloured". Cf. the Av. PN Daβrā.maēši-, "having dark-coloured sheep" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/33-34).

The connection with OInd. *dabhrá-*, "small, little" (Mayrhofer, apud Hinz 1971: 297) is not correct.

– Elamite: da-ab-rák-kaš: PF 1943:27.

4.4.6.4 *(H)uvagṛdya- (OP): **(h)uva-gṛd-ya-*, "(animal raised) in the own house" (NW 103; ASN 138; in both books Hinz reads *Xvaigrδya-).

– Elamite: ma-a-kur-ti-ia: PF 1976:10; PFNN 704:9.

4.4.6.5 *(H)uvagṛdyani- (OP): *-ni*-extension of **(h)uvagṛdya-* (ElW 850)

– Elamite: ma-a-kur-ti-ia-nu-iš: PFNN 2284:6-7,8,10.

4.4.6.6 *Pānīya-: "young animal", lit. "drinking (animal)" (ASN 178), cf. OInd. *pā́na-*, "drinking", *pānī́ya-*, "drinkable, potable" and 4.3.150.

– Elamite: ba-nu-ia-še (= OP *šē- < šai-*, "his"): PFNN 185:6.

4.4.6.7 *Sausuka-: a kind of fowl, perhaps quails or small partridges (Gershevitch 1969b: 182-183; ASN 223), NP *sūsak*, a kind of bird, resembling a partridge, but smaller.

– Elamite: šá-u-šu-ka$_4$: PF 1943:28-29.

4.4.6.8 *Važaka-: "draft-animal" (Stolper 1977b: 549), OInd. *vā́há-*, and *vahyaka-*, Av. *vaz-*, to drive" and *vāza-*, "draft-animal". Cf. also the Av. PN Važāspa-, "possessing draft-animals" (Mayrhofer 1979: I/93).

Zadok (1989-90: 275) does not accept this reconstruction, because in his eyes MA cannot render initial /va/. Yet the name *Vahyāgāma- (4.2.1781), spelled Ma-ḫi-a-ga-am-mu in Babylonian, provides proof of the opposite.

– Babylonian:
1) ma-šá-a-ka: BE 9 107:9.
2) ma(?)-šá(?)-ka: IMT 2:3.
3) ma-šá-ku: PBS 2/1 88:9.

4.4.6.9 *Visyadāta-: **visya-dāta-*, "born in the house", said of animals. Hinz (ASN 265) translates "born in the royal palace", but Mayrhofer (1974-77: 183) does not believe this translation.

– Elamite: mi-iš-ši-ia-da-ud-da: PFNN 185:4-5.

4.4.6.10 *Zarniča- (Med.): **zarni-ča-*, kind of fowl, very small, perhaps "chick", lit. "little golden (bird)" (Hinz 1971: 297; ASN 278), compound of **zarni-*, "golden" (cf. Av. *zarəniia-*) and the diminutive suffix *-ča-*.

– Elamite:
1) šá-ir-nu-iz-za: PF 1943:29.
2) zir-un-nu-iz-za: PF 1743:9-10.

4.4.7. Appellatives

4.4.7.1 *Ābaugā- (fem.): **ā-baugā-*, "who releases, midwife".

Koch (1983: 33) also reads **ābaugā-*, but translates "female servant". Hallock (1969: 664) and Hinz (ASN 31-32) give the right meaning "midwife", but Hinz analyzes the form as **apakā-*, a retrenchment of **apa-kan-*, "to throw away" (MP *abgandan*, Parth. *'bgn* and NP *afgandan*).

– Elamite: ab-ba-uk-ka$_4$-iš: PF 1223:11.

4.4.7.2 *Abēčiya- / *abēčīš: **abi-haič-iya-*, "irrigator, irrigation device" (ASN 18), with /č/ < /k/ because of /i/ (OP Maka- / Mačiya-). Cf. Av. *haēk-*, "to pour".

– Elamite:
1) ha-be-ez-zí-ia: Fort. 6575:5-6.
2) ha-be-zí-ia: PFNN 522:13.
3) ha-be-ez-zí-iš: PF 1256:6-7.

4.4.7.3 *Abišavaka-: *abiš-(h)avaka-*, "presser" (S. Shaked, pers. comm. 25/4/2000). Cf. Av. *aiβi-hu-/hav-*, "to press".

Other proposals are (1) **abišvāka-*, "mentioned before" (Eilers 1954-56: 332), (2) **abišavaka-*, "deserter" (Henning and Nyberg, apud Driver 1965: 53), a derivation from OP *šyav-*, "to go" and Av. *auuiš(ii)av-*, "to go somewhere" and (3) **abišyavaka-*, "who is coming back home" (ASN 18), to Av. *aiβišūiti-*.

– Aramaic: 'bšwk: TAD A 6.7:5.

4.4.7.4 *Āčarnakara-: **āčarna-kara-*, "carpenter" (NW 41; ASN 21).

– Elamite: ha-za-ir-na-ka$_4$-ra: PF 866:12.

4.4.7.5 *Āhvarnapatiš (OPd): **āhvarna-pati-š*: "court equerry" (Gershevitch 1969b: 170; ASN 26), Parth. *'xwrpty*, "equerry", Arm. *axorapet*.

– Elamite:
1) ha-an-ma-ir-na-bat-ti-iš: PFNN 1284:3-4.
2) ha-ma-ir-na-bat-ti-iš: PF 1943:9.

4.4.7.6 *Āpidānabara-: **āpidāna-bara-*, "who is in charge of, responsible for the water-reservoir" (ASN 32).

– Elamite: ap-pi-da-na-bar-ra: PFa 9:3-4, 29:17 (ap-pi-da-[na-b]ar-ra).

4.4.7.7 *Apiyāxšapā-: **apiyāxša-pā-*, "protector of the supervisors" (Mayrhofer 1974-77: 182).

Not **apiyaxšapā-*, "protector of those who groom horses" (to NP *yaxšūdan*, "to groom, curry"), as Hinz (ASN 33) postulates.

– Elamite: ap-pi-ia-ik-šá-ba: PFNN 732:4-5.

4.4.7.8 *Āpṛnabara-: **ā-pṛna-bara-*, "head of the wine cellar", lit. "barrel-carrier" (NW 94; ASN 33), cf. OInd. *pūrṇá-*, Av. *pərəna-*, MP and NP *purr*, Sogd. *pwrn* and Khot. *purra-*.

– Elamite:
1) ab-bar-na-ba-ráš: PFNN 709:2-3.
2) ab-bar-na-bar-ra: PF 1983:13, 1984:16, 2004:10-11; PFNN 548:1.

3) ab-bar-na-bar-ráš: PF 1998:12-13.
4) ab-bar-nu-ba-ra: PF 2003:9. Inaccurate spelling.
5) ap-pír-na-bar-ra: PF 2001:10.

4.4.7.9 *Ārdakana-: **ārda-kana-*, "miller", lit. "flour-weeder" (Hinz 1971: 282; ASN 38), cf. MP and NP *ārd*.
– Elamite: ha-ir-da-ka$_4$-na: PF 1943:19.

4.4.7.10 *Asapatiš: **asa-pati-š*, "horse master" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 670; NW 93; ASN 43).
– Elamite:
1) áš-šá-ba-ti-iš: PFNN 2335:59.
2) áš-šá-bat-ti-iš: PF 1978:15; PFNN 1352:4-5, 2206:4, 2335:57.

4.4.7.11 *Aspasθva-: **aspa-st-θva-*, "horse-feeder, who is responsible for the horse fodder" (Eilers 1940: 77 and n.1; AHw 75; ASN 45; Dandamayev 1992: 80).
– Babylonian: as-pa-as-tu-ú-a: BE 10 80:7,12; PBS 2/1 95:7[176],9, 189:6,8,12.

4.4.7.12 *Āṭṛvaxša-: **āṭṛ-vaxša-*, "he who pokes the fire", title of the second priest in the fire temple (Cameron 1948: 42; NW 109; ASN 49; Koch 1977: 159-164), Av. *ātrəuuaxš-*, *ātrauuaxš-*, "second priest of Ātar, responsible for the maintenance of the fire". This priest also was active in the administration (Hinz 1970: 429). Cf. the similar personal name (4.2.195).
Not **āṭṛ-vazah-*, "fire fan" (Benveniste 1966: 83; with reference to Av. *ātrəuuazana-*) or **āṭṛ-vasa-*, "wanting fire" (Gershevitch 1969: 189).
– Elamite:
1) an-tar-ma-šá: PF 1957:34; PFNN 2184:36, 2478:11,36.
2) ha-tar-ma-ak-šá: PF 1970:19, 1972:6-7, 1979:4-5,12-13, 1980:4,13,22, 1986:26, 2078:6; PFNN 704:4-5, 762:33, 2208:17, 2358:14, etc. in PFNN.
3) ha-tar-mak-šá: PF 1955-1956:26, 1960:26, 1969:19, 1986:42, 1988:32; PFNN 548:28-29, 573:36, 2276:11, 2300:22, etc. in PFNN.
4) ha-tur-ma-ak-šá: PF 741:4, 761-762:4-5, 1961:26-27, 1987:28,70, 1990:11, 1998:13-14, 1999:15-16, 2005:6; PFNN 544:1, 1601:5-6, 2201:8-9, 2273:13-14, etc. in PFNN.
5) ha-tur-ma-ik-šá: PF 1953:1.
6) ha-tur-mak-šá: PF 1852:16, 1959:12.

[176] Written as-pa-as-tu-ú-tú (pl.).

4.4.7.13 *Āθravapatiš: **āθrava-pati-š*, "high priest" (Hinz 1970: 429; ASN 50; Koch 1977: 165-170). As RA can render /rva/, RU can represent /rava/.
Gershevitch (1969b: 170) reconstructs **āθarvapatiš*, with reference to OInd. *átharvan-*. The spellings, however, point to a reading **āθrava-*.
– Elamite:
1) at-ru-bat-ti(-iš): PF 1171:4, 1172:3, 1219:2-3; PFNN 340:4, 2391:3-4.
2) ha-tar-ma-bat-ti-iš: PF 1949:8-9 (ha-tar-[m]a-°).
3) ha-tar-ru-bat-ti-iš: PF 1986:13-14.
4) ha-tar-ru-ma-bat-ti-iš: PF 1211:4.
5) ha-tur-ma-bat-ti(-iš): PF 1224:4, 1940:1, 1953:31 (°t[i-iš]); PFNN 2486:19,21, 40,42.
6) ha-tur-ru-bat-ti(-iš): PF 1154:6-7, 1155:5-6.

4.4.7.14 *Azdakara-: **azda-kara-*, "herald" (Schaeder 1930: 264; Szemerényi 1966: 204; ASN 52), Sogd. *'zd'qry'*.
The context does not allow a meaning "secret agent" (Berger, apud ASN 52), postulated by Grelot (1972: 282).
– Aramaic: 'zdkr: TAD A 6.1:5,7.
– Babylonian: az-da-kar-ri: AION Suppl. 77 A2-7:5.

4.4.7.15 *Bājikara-: **bāji-kara-*, "tax official, tax handler" (Cameron 1948: 148; ASN 66-67; ElW 176). Composed of **bāji-*, "tax" (OP *bāji-*, MP *bāj*, NP *bāz*) and **kara-*, "maker".
With regard to the attestation in PT 54 Gershevitch (1951-52: 139) wrongly prefers **bajikara-*, "maker of *baṣi*-barrels". He refers to Av. *raēθβiš.bajina-*, "mixing vessel" (Arm. *bažak*, "goblet").
– Elamite: ba-zí-ka$_4$-ra: PF 443:9-10, 451:8-9, 1965:7, 2075:3-4; PFa 32:4; PFNN 784:5, 2356:23; PT 41:5, 54:6.

4.4.7.16 *Bānūkā-: "lady, queen" (Hinz 1970: 423; ASN 63), MP *bānūg*, NP *bānū*.
– Elamite: ba-nu-ka$_4$: PF 1078:3.

4.4.7.17 *Bārabara-: **bāra-bara-*, "he who carries a burden, a load" (ASN 63), NP *bārbar*, "carrier, porter".
– Elamite: ba-ra-bar-ráš: PFNN 704:23,26.

4.4.7.18 *Bārēkarā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of **bāryakara-* / **bārēkara-* (ASN 64).
– Elamite: ba-re-kur-ráš: PF 865:24, 866:20.

4.4.7.19 *Bārēkarīš: < **bārēkar-iya-*.
– Elamite: ba-re-kur-ri-iš: PFNN 1524:18.

4.4.7.20 *Bāryakara- / *bārēkara-: **bārya-kara-*, "artisan, artist" (Henning, apud Driver 1965: 72; NW 41; ASN 64).

Another etymology, based on false readings, is **bitya-kara-*, "second worker" (Nyberg, apud Driver 1954: 29, connecting it with El. ba-zí-ka$_4$-ra. Cf. also Benveniste 1954: 308).

– Aramaic: brykr: TAD A 6.12:2.
– Elamite: ba-re-kur-ráš: PF 865:13, 866:10.

4.4.7.21 *Čaθrupatiš: **čaθru-pati-š*, "chief of a group of four workmen" (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 177; ASN 71).
– Elamite: za-ut-tur-ru-ba-ti-iš: PT 1963-10:5.

4.4.7.22 *Čaθruvarda-: **čaθru-varda-*, "group of four workmen" (ASN 71).
– Elamite: za-ut-tur-ra-mar-taš: PT 1963-10:6.

4.4.7.23 *Dahyupatiš: **dahyu-pati-š*, "governor, viceroy" (Mayrhofer 1971: 56; NW 92; ASN 80), Av. *daiŋhupati-*, Arm. *dehpet*. Cf. Parth. Dhypt (Schmitt 1998: 181).

Gershevitch (1969b: 169) reconstructs **tāyu-pāti-*, "he who is concerned with the watching of thieves".

– Elamite:
1) da-a-ú-bat-ti-iš: PF 1902:2; PFNN 433:4-5, 1285:2-3.
2) da-i-bat-ti-iš: PF 1250:4.
3) da-ú-bat-ti-iš: PF 1487:2-3.

4.4.7.24 *Dahyutūxtiš: **dahyu-tūxti-š*, "compensator, reimbursor of land" (ElW 267).

Although they mention this possibility, Hinz & Koch (ElW 267) do not agree with it. The reason for it is that in their eyes TUK renders only once a value with /u/, more precisely in *Katpatuka-. Consequently /ū/ cannot be rendered either by TUK. This is not correct. First of all TUK is used three times to render /tuk/, albeit it three times in the name of *Katpatuka- (among which one time in the Elamite version of an Achaemenid inscription, A^{3}Pb). Secondly El. cuneiform does not have a distinction between short and long vowels. Accordingly TUK can render /ū/. Hinz's & Koch's reconstruction **dahyu-taxti-š*, "land-throne", is not plausible.

– Elamite: da-hi-ut-tuk-ti-iš: PFNN 1557:3.

4.4.7.25 *Dasapatiš (Med.): **dasa-pati-š*, "decurion" (ASN 84). Cf. 4.4.7.30.
– Elamite: da-šá-bat-ti-iš: PT 12:13-14 (da-šá-bat-[ti-iš]),14.

4.4.7.26 *Dašiya-: "expert" (Zadok 1976c: 5), OInd. *dákṣa-*.
– Babylonian:
1) da-áš-ši-ia: BE 10 91:19,U.E.; ROMCT 2 48:2.
2) da-ši-ia: BE 9 6:4.

4.4.7.27 *Dātabara-: **dāta-bara-*, "he who carries the law, judge" (Eilers 1940: 94; ASN 85), MP *dātawar*, Parth. *d'db'r*, *d'dbr* and *d'tbr*.
– Aramaic: dtbr: ATNS 13:3, 14:5; TAD D 3.45:6.
– Babylonian:
1) da-a-ta-ba-ra: BE 9 82:L.E.; EE 55:L.E.; IMT 54:L.E.
2) da-a-ta-ba-ri: BE 9 107:15.

3) da-ta-ba-ra: PBS 2/1 34:13.
4) da-ta-ba-ri: EE 110:7'; PBS 2/1 1:14, 185:15.
5) da-ta-bar-ra: BE 9 84:11,Lo.E. (= TuM 2/3 202:11,Lo.E.); BM 30136:Lo.E. (cf. Zadok 1976d: 214); ZA 5 279:19.
6) da-ta-bar-ri: BE 9 83:18,R.E.

– Elamite: da-ud-da-bar-ra: PF 1272:3-4.

4.4.7.28 *Dāti(h)māra-: **dāti-(h)māra-*, "road counter" (Mayrhofer 1974-77: 183; ASN 86; Hallock 1978: 114-115). Cf. 4.4.12.5.
– Elamite:
1) da-at-ti-ma-ra: Fort. 6749:5-6.
2) da-at-ti-ma-ráš: PFNN 621:7-8.
3) da-at-ti-mar-ra: PFa 21:6-8.
4) da-ti-ma-ra: PF 1567:2-3 (da-[ti]-ma-ra, cf. Hallock 1978: 114n.4); PFNN 481:3, 588:4-5, 1647:4.
5) da-ti-ma-ráš: PF 1284:2-4.
6) da-ut-ti-ma-ra: PF 1307:5 (reading: Hallock 1978: 112); PFa 15:5-6; PFNN 844: 2-3.
7) da-ut-ti-[ma]-ráš: PFa 31:24.

4.4.7.29 *Dātiš(h)māra-: **dātiš-(h)māra-* (ASN 86). Cf. 4.4.12.5.
– Elamite: da-at-ti-iš-ma-ráš: PFa 30:8.

4.4.7.30 *Daθapatiš: **daθa-pati-š*, "decurion" (Cameron 1948: 111; Hallock 1969: 680; ASN 87). OP equivalent of **dasapatiš* (4.4.7.25). Cf. MP *dah*, "ten".
– Elamite: da-sa-bat-ti-iš: PF 207:3-4, 1791:15-16, 2017:4-5 (da-sa-bat-[t]i-[i]š); PFNN 2261:15; PT 15:16,17, 84:2,6.

4.4.7.31 *Davaka-: **dava-ka-*, "cleaner" (Hoffmann 1965: 248n.1; ASN 87), cf. OInd. *dhav-*, "to cleanse, wash" and Av. *dav-*.

Hinz (ASN 87) also mentions **dūmaka-*, "smoker", with reference to OInd. *dhūmá-*, "smoke", but later he rejects this. Gershevitch's (1951-52: 136) proposal **damaka-*, "builder, carpenter", should be discarded because DU points to a reading with /v/ (Hinz, l.c.).

– Elamite:
1) du-ma-ka$_4$-ip (pl.): PT 1963-6:5.
2) du-ma-kaš: PT 13:5.

4.4.7.32 *Didāpatiš: **didā-pati-š*, "commander of the fortress" (ElW 322). Cf. OP *didā-*, MP and NP *diz*.
– Elamite:
1) ti-da-bat-ti-iš(-be): PFNN 458:6-7, 2071:2,11,21, 2356:6,9.
2) ti-ud-da-bat-ti-iš-be (pl.): PFNN 425:5-6, 1100:6, 1202:6-7.

4.4.7.33 *Did(i)yaka- / *didīka-: **didī-ka-*, "supervisor" (Mayrhofer, apud NW 99). Cf. 4.2.536. *Didi-* is a reduplication of OP *dī-*, "to see" (OPG 191; HdA 116).

Having the present stem *diδa-* of OP *dī-* in his mind, Eilers first (1940: 119) believed that the Bab. spelling di-dak-ku rendered **didaka-*, but later (apud NW 99) he read **didā-ka-*, "commander of the fortress". Hinz (NW 99) objected that one would expect a Median form **dizāka-* in that case. Clearly Bab. di-dak-ku expresses Ir. **didīka-*. This is enhanced by the uncertain vocalic character of CVC-signs (Gelb 1955: 98b; Zadok 1976d: 213): DAK may represent /dīk/.

– Babylonian: di-dak-ku: BE 10 118:U.E.9.
– Elamite:
  1) ti-te-ka$_4$-be (pl.): PFNN 419:5.
  2) ti-te-kaš-be (pl.): PFNN 2372:21.
  3) ti-ti-ia-kaš-be (pl.): PF 1089:5; PFNN 1410:3-4.
  4) ti-ti-ka$_4$: PF 1344:10.
  5) ti-ti-kaš(-be): Fort. 3563:4-5, 8623:3-4; PF 1088:4-5, 1091:5, 1125-1126:3, 1193:3, 1215-1216:3-4, 1222:2-3, 1953:22,25; PFNN 573:16, 574:13, 867:3, 2573:3.

4.4.7.34 *Duxçīš (OP): **duxçī-š*, "princess", < **duxθrī-*, "daughter" (Emmerick 1968: 344; ASN 89). Cf. MP *duxš*, "princess" and Arm. *dšxoy*.

The question on the existence of a distinction between this word and **duxθrī-* leads to disagreement: some scholars plead for such a distinction (Benveniste 1966: 42-50; Schmidt 1973: 38; Szemerényi 1977: 20n.67), others reject it (Benveniste 1951: 22; Harmatta 1971b: 129n.14; Back 1978: 211).

– Elamite:
  1) du-ik-ši-iš: PFNN 812:4-5.
  2) du-uk-ši-iš: Fort. 6764:7-8; PF 823:3-4, 1795:7; PFa 31:13-14.

4.4.7.35 *Faθānapatiš: **fa-θāna-pati-š*, "chief of the good groomers" (NW 35; ASN 95). **θāna-* is a verbal root, out of which OInd. *śāṇa-*, "whetstone" developed.
– Elamite: pa-sa-na-bat-ti-iš: PF 1942:11,15, 1947:78,81,83,86.

4.4.7.36 *Framānakara-: **framāna-kara-*, "foreman", lit. "maker of commands" (Meillet & Benveniste 1931: 166-167; Cameron 1948: 43; ASN 96-97).
– Aramaic: prmnkr: TAD A 6.2:4,8.
– Elamite:
  1) pír-ra-ma-na-kar-ra: PT 75:7-8.
  2) pír-ra-ma-na-kur-ráš: PT 44:7-8, 78:4-5.

4.4.7.37 *Framazdā-: **fra-maz-dā-*, "outstanding memorizer" (Av. *maz-dā-*, "to memorize"), title of priests who had learned to recite a large number of hymns (Gershevitch 1969b: 181; ASN 97).
– Elamite: pír-ra-ma-iz-da: PF 773:6-7, 1957:1; PFNN 2184:1 (°-<iz>-°).

4.4.7.38 *Frasaka-: **frasa-ka-*, "investigator", abbreviation of **frasakara-* (Schmid, apud Hinz 1970: 434; Eilers 1940: 5, 10, 17 and 21-22; NW 93; ASN 97; Stolper 1977: 263-264 and n.49; Eilers 1985: 29; Dandamayev 1992: 9).
– Babylonian:
  1) ip-ra-sa-k[a-nu] (pl.): PBS 2/1 189:16.
  2) ip-ra-sak-ku: TuM 2/3 147:21.
– Elamite: pír-ra-iš-šá-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 540:3-4.

4.4.7.39 *Frasakara-: **frasa-kara-*, "investigator" (Schmid, apud Hinz 1970: 434; NW 93; ASN 97; Stolper 1977: 263-264 and n.49).
– Elamite: pír-ra-šá-kur-ra: Fort. 3568:6.

4.4.7.40 *Fratačiš: *Fra-tači-š, "express-runner" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 42; ElW 208, reconstructing **fratačya-*), cf. Av. *afrakatak-*, "running forward" and *afrakatačim* (Yašt 19,42). It should be noted that **fratačiš* is not always an appellative (Hallock 1969: 42; Lewis 1980: 194-195). Sometimes it appears without determinative, sometimes it is used for horses, sometimes the context requires such a use. Cf. for instance PFNN 1809: h.Iš-par-da-mar pír-ra-da-iz-zí-iš iz-zí-iš h.Ba-ir-[šá] m.sunki-ik-na pa-ráš, "he left from Sardes by the express-service and went to the king in Persepolis". In this case it probably denotes the "express-service", which provided horses for important missions.
– Elamite:
  1) pi-ra-da-iz-zí-iš: PF 1672:5-6.
  2) pír-ra-da-iz-zí-iš: PF 1315:12, 1319:5-6, 1329:9-10; PFNN 1271:3-4.
  3) pír-ra-da-su(-iš): PF 2062:5, 2065:4-5; PFNN 1232:6, 1325:4-5, 2424:3.
  4) pír-ra-da-zí(-iš): Fort. 2051:4-5; PF 300:4-5, 1285:6-7, 1320-1321:6-7, 1334:10-11, 1335:4-5, 1700:3-4, 2052:5-6, 2061:4; PFNN 570:3, 1809:6, 2261:10.

4.4.7.41 *Frataka-: **frata-ka-*, "foremost" (ASN 98).
– Aramaic: prtk: TAD A 5.2:7.

4.4.7.42 *Frataraka-: **fratara-ka-*, "governor", lit. "superior" (Andreas, apud Lidzbarski 1908: 213n.2; ASN 98; cf. Frye 1962: 282n.91). Comparative of *fra-*, cf. Av. and OP *fratara-*.
– Aramaic: prtrk: ATNS 27:5; TAD A 4.5:4, 4.7:5, 4.8:5; TAD B 2.9:4.

4.4.7.43 *Fraθaka- (OP): OP equivalent of **frasaka-* (ElW 216).
– Elamite: pír-ra-sa-ka$_4$: PFNN 2265:10.

4.4.7.44 *Fraθāna-: **fra-θāna-*, "stone cutter, burnisher" (Benveniste 1958b: 60; ASN 99). Cf. OInd. *śāṇa-* and NP *afsān*, *sān* and *šān*, "whetstone".
– Elamite: pír-ra-sa-na-iš: PF 854:3, 855:3-4, 1946:1,4,7,10; PFNN 520:7, 717:3-4, 1396:3; PT 76:4-5.

4.4.7.45 *Frāya-: "superior", Av. *frāiiah-*.
Hinz & Koch (ElW 217) reconstruct **frāya-*, "he who sews".
– Elamite: pír-ra-ia-áš: PFNN 1303:4.

4.4.7.46 *Fryapati-: **frya-pati-*, "chief of the beloved" (Benveniste 1966: 91; ASN 100; Shaked, apud Porten 1996: 248n.23), Parth. *prypt*.
– Aramaic: prypt: ATNS 85:4; TAD B 3.12:11.

4.4.7.47 *Gaiθapatiš / *gēθapatiš: **gaiθa-pati-š*, "overseer of livestock" (Hinz 1952: 237n.2; ASN 102). According to Torrey (1943: 299, referring to Arabic *jihbidh*) and Dandamayev (1992: 7-8) the word, at least in its Babylonian context, has lost its original meaning and came to mean "assayer".
– Babylonian: ge-te-pa-tu$_4$: BE 10 101:26,U.E.
– Elamite:
1) ge-sa-bat-ti-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:2; PFNN 727:1, 1101:1, 1776:1-2.
2) ge-šu-bat-ti-iš: PF 2025:4-5. Inaccurate spelling.
3) ka$_4$-a-sa-bat-ta[š]: PF 1791:1.
4) ka$_4$-a-sa-bat-ti-iš: Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:1; PF 1793:1, 1794:1-2; PFNN 1289:1, 1665:1, 2515:1.

4.4.7.48 *Gandabara- (OP): **ganda-bara-*, "treasurer", Biblical Aramaic *gdbr* (Dan. 3,2 and 3), OP equivalent of Median **ganzabara-* (Gershevitch 1964: 10-11; Mayrhofer 1968: 14; ASN 102). Cf. 4.3.71.
– Elamite: kán-da-bar-ra: PF 1947:19; PFNN 544:3, 2356:12.

4.4.7.49 *Ganzabara- (Med.): **ganza-bara-* (Eilers 1940: 123-124; Cameron 1948: 42; ASN 102; Dresden 1977: 52; Dandamayev 1992: 61), MP *ganjwar* and *gnzwbr*, Parth. *gnzbr*.
– Aramaic: gnzbr': Pers 1:4, 12:3, 14:3, 15:5, 18:3, 19:4, 20-21:5, 32:4, 39:5.
– Babylonian: gan-za-ba-ru: Dar. 296:2 (gan-za-[ba-ru]), 527:5.
– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-an-za-ba-ra: PT 33:1.
2) ka$_4$-in-za-ba-ra: PFNN 1564:4.
3) kán-za-ba-ra: Fort. 680:6[177]; PT 49a-2:1.
4) kán-za-bar-ra: PT 10a:1, 22:1, 31:1, 37-38:1, 59:1, etc. in PTT.
5) ka$_4$-za-ba-ra: PF 1342:3.

[177] Rather ˹kán-za˺-ba-ra than ˹ir-šá˺-ba-ra, as proposed by Hinz & Koch (ElW 779).

4.4.7.50 *Ganzapā- (Med.): **ganza-pā-*, "treasury-protector" (Gershevitch 1969b: 172; Hinz 1971: 266n.23; ASN 102), Arm. *ganjapah*.
– Elamite: kán-za-ba: PF 1358:4.

4.4.7.51 *Gāθukabara-: **gāθu-ka-bara-*, "he who carries the chair, throne; Stuhlträger" (NW 95; ASN 103).
– Elamite: ka$_4$-du-ka$_4$-bar-ra: PF 830:6-7.

4.4.7.52 *Gaukaθyā (OP): nom. sg. of **gau-kaθyah-*, "cowboy" (NW 75; ASN 104). Cf. Av. *kasiiah-*, "little, smaller".
– Elamite: kam-ka$_4$-ti-ia-iš: PT 5:3-4 (reading: Hallock 1960: 97).

4.4.7.53 *Gaušaka-: **gauša-ka-*, "informer, spy" (Euting 1901-04: 307-308; Scheftelowitz 1923: 12; Schaeder 1930: 264 and 1934: 5; Eilers 1940: 22-23; Lommel 1953: 324; Benveniste 1964: 9; Perikhanian 1968: 29; Grelot 1972: 101n.j; NW 98; ASN 105; Shaked 2004: 35n.28), Av. *gaoša-*, "ear", OP *gauša-*, MP *gōšag*, "spy", Arm. *gušak*, "informer".
– Aramaic: gwšk: TAD A 4.5:9.

4.4.7.54 *Gṛda-: "domestic staff, workman", OInd. *gṛhá-*, "house, Av. *gərəda-*, "hole".
Hinz (NW 53-54) pleads for **gṛdya-* (OInd. *gṛhya-*), but the various spellings make clear that a word **gṛda-* should be read (Schmitt 1974: 106). Finally Eilers (1985: 30) reads the Babylonian writings as **garda-*, a *vriddhi* of **gṛda-*.
– Aramaic: grd: TAD A 6.10:1,2,4,5,6,8, 6.12:2, 6.15:8,9,10.
– Babylonian:
1) ga-ar-da: BE 9 15:5.
2) ga-ar-du: BE 9 101:3; BE 10 32:10, 92:4,7, 95:6,7, 127:4; CT 22 74:26; IMT 32:4; PBS 2/1 2:1,7,13, 91:U.E., 202:6, 204:8; VS 3 138:2.
– Elamite[178]:
1) ki-ir-za-ip (pl.): PF 1338:9.
2) kur-taš: Ach. Hist. 13 103-104:18; DB I 49; PF 1157:3, passim in PFT and PFNN.
3) ku-ir-za-ap (pl.): PF 1595:7; PFa 10:2-3; PFNN 434:8, 681:4-5.
4) kur-za(-ap, -ip): PF 1059:3-4, 1328:12-13, 1382:3-4, 1489:5-6, 1918:2, 1987:8, 2073:5,9; PFa 10:12; PFNN 852:3, 839:4, 1321:4-5, 2148:3, 2300:19, 2372:24.

[178] The spellings 1 and 3-5 do not express a Median equivalent **gṛza-*, because in that case Babylonian would also express something Median. ZA and ZAP appear as a result of the El. orthography and phonology: *kurzap* is related to *kurtaš* as *kuiz* to *kutiš*.

5) kur-zap (pl.): PF 995:2,17, 1034:3,12, 1035:3,13, 1053:3-4,14, 1054:3,14, 1067:4,14, etc. in PFT; PFNN 409:3,10, 450:2-3, 1501:4,13, etc. in PFNN.

4.4.7.55 *Gṛdakara-: **gṛda-kara-*, "master builder", lit. "house-maker" (ASN 107), cf. OInd. *gṛhá-*, "house".

Gershevitch (1969b: 173) reconstructs **kṛta-kara-*, "coat-maker, tailor" (Av. *kərəti-*, a garment).

– Elamite: kur-da-ka$_4$-ra: PF 778:3.

4.4.7.56 *Gṛdapatiš: **gṛda-pati-š*, "majordomus, steward, house-holder" (Hinz 1971: 280; NW 54; ASN 107), OInd. *gṛhapati-*.

Another, quite logical, translation is "chief of the *gardu*-workers" (Eilers 1936: 194 and 1940: 67; Gershevitch 1951-52: 142; Hallock 1969: 715). Herzfeld (1938b: 166n.4) reconstructs **krθu-pati-*, "substitute".

– Babylonian:
1) ga-ar-da-pa-ta: PBS 2/1 91:4.
2) ga-ar-da-pa-tu$_4$: BE 10 118:34.
3) ga-ar-du-pa-tu$_4$: BE 10 95:11; PBS 2/1 160:5; TuM 2/3 184:19,Lo.E.

– Elamite: kur-da-bat-ti-iš: PF 158:9, 159:6-7, 160:7-8, 1368:5-6, 1797:1, etc. in PFT; PFNN 87:1-2, 141-142:6-7, 143:7-8, 1088:6-7, 1101:8, 1418:5-6, 1509:11-12, 1847:7-8, 2217:7, 2529:1, 2536:1-2; PT 42-42a:5, 49:3, 53:7.

4.4.7.57 *Hamārakara-: **hamāra-kara-*, "accountant" (Nöldeke, apud Perles 1911: 499; Schaeder 1930: 264; Eilers 1940: 55; Driver 1954: 30; HdA 123; Greenfield 1970: 180-181; EWA III 549; Segal 1983: 43; Eilers 1985: 30-31. Driver [1965: 75] and Hinz [ASN 121] reconstruct **hmārakara-*), MP *'m'lkl*, Parth. *'ḥmrkr*, Arm. *hamarakar*.

Despite Eilers's (1940: 44 and 56) hypothesis that Bab. *ammariakal* does not indicate **hamāra-kara-*, but an Akkadian word (*ammari akal*, "supervisor of the dishes"), both Babylonian spellings render the same word (Perles 1911: 499; CAD Ḫ 59-60). Cf. 4.4.10.12.

– Aramaic: hmrkr: PF 281:rev.; TAD A 6.2:4,23, 6.13:3; TAD D 3.28:2.

– Babylonian:
1) am-ma[r-]: IMT 110:5.
2) am-ma-ri-a-kal: BE 10 59:13 (am-ma-ri-a-ka-la-nu, pl.), 80:15, 82:14; EE 108:13' (am-ma-ri-a-k[al-la]-nu).
3) am-ma-ri-a-ka-ri: ROMCT 2 35:21 (am-[ma-ri]-a-ka-ri),22.
4) am-mar-kar-ra: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:4.
5) am-ma-ru-a-kal: BE 10 130:R.
6) [ḫ]a-am-ma-ra-ka-[ra]: PBS 2/1 84:16,U.E.

4.4.7.58 *Hambārabara-: **hambāra-bara-*, "warehouse manager" (ASN 113). Cf. MP *hambār* and NP *aṃbār*, "store". Cf. 4.4.8.9.

– Elamite:
1) am-ba-ra-ba-ráš: PFNN 2263:22.
2) am-ba-ra-bar-ra: PF 238:6-7, 2084:2,14.
3) am-ba-ra-bar-ráš: PF 1973:4, 1974:3-4,11-12, 1975:7, 1976:4-5, 1977:4, 1978:4,7, 2084:22,26.

4.4.7.59 *Hanbaga-: **han-baga-*, "partner in realty" (Eilers 1936: 164-165n.3; ASN 115; Greenfield 1977: 116-117), MP *hambāy*, "companion, partner".

– Aramaic: hnbg: TAD B 3.6:5, 3.10:18, 3.11:12, 3.12:27, 5.5:9.

4.4.7.60 *Hangaiθa-: **han-gaiθa-*, "partner in chattel" (Henning 1951: 44; ASN 116; Greenfield 1977: 116), Choresmian *angēθ-*, "partner".

Scheftelowitz (1923: 13; also Schaeder 1930: 266) translates "belonging to the family" (Av. *haδogaēθa-*).

– Aramaic: hngyt: TAD B 3.6:5, 3.10:18, 3.11:12, 3.12:27, 5.5:9.

4.4.7.61 *Haptaxvapātā (East Iranian): nom. sg. of **haptaxva-pātar-*, "guardian of the seventh (part of the world / kingdom)" (Bogoljubov 1967; Henning 1968; both scholars reconstruct **haftaxva-*).

Geiger (apud Kraeling 1953: 228) and Eilers (1954-56: 333) deny any link with **hapta-* of **haptaxva-*.

– Aramaic: hpṯḥpt: TAD B 3.9:2,3.

4.4.7.62 *Harzapanta-: **harza-panta-*, "messenger", lit. "sent on the road" (Dandamayev 1990: 60 and 1992: 7). Cf. Av. *harəz-*, "to send" and *panti-*, "street".

Another, less probable, possibility is **raza-pān-āta-ča-*, "vineyard-keeper" (CAD A/2, 239; Mayrhofer 1962: 121n.1; ASN 204), to NP *razbān*.

– Babylonian: a-ra-za-pa-na-ta-šú (pron. suff.): TCL 13 218:4,22.

4.4.7.63 *Haθramanī-: **haθra-manī-* < **haθra-maniya-*, "follower, adherent", lit. "having a united mind" (NW 55; ASN 119).

Not an Elamite word ("going first" > "foremost"), as Hallock believes (1969: 694). Cameron (1948: 42) mentions **ādarimani-*.

– Elamite: ha-tar-re-man-nu: DB i 44, ii 57, iii 17,18,33,44,45-46.

4.4.7.64 *Haxāya-: **haxā-ya-*, "helper, companion, friend", *-ya*-extension of **haxā-*, "friend" (Cameron 1948: 204; Harmatta 1955b: 199-206; ASN 111). Cf. 4.2.742 and 4.3.90.

– Elamite:
1) ag-ge-ia: PFNN 2405:12.
2) ak-ka$_4$-a: PF 1366:3, 1449:3, 1462:3, 1485:3; PFNN 633:3-4, 1204:3, 1644:7, 2511:10, 2516:5.
3) ak-ka$_4$-a-ia: PFNN 803:3.

4) ak-ka$_4$-e(-iš): PF 1099:4, 1365:4.
5) ak-ka$_4$-hi-a: PF 1566:3.
6) ak-ka$_4$-ia(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 113-114:6; PF 6:6, 59:10, 1152:5, 1430:6, 1858:6, passim in PFT; PFa 10:13, 12:2, 19:6 (ak-ka$_4$-<ia>-iš), 23:2, 30:8; PFNN 2493:46,49, etc. in PFNN; PT 15:30, 18:27, etc. in PTT.

4.4.7.65 *Hēzapāna-: < **haiza-pāna-*, "protector, supporter of barrels" (ElW 458). Cf. MP *hēzag*, "pail".
– Elamite: e-ez-za-ba-na: PFNN 2265:7 (in GIŠ.GEŠTIN-e-ez-za-ba-na).

4.4.7.66 *Hūtibānuš: *Hūti-bānu-š, "lustre of the craftsmen".
Hinz (ASN 129) reconstructs **hūti-pāna-*, "protector of the craftsmen" (Av. *hūti-*), but according to Zadok (1976d: 214) BA cannot be read *-pa-* before the Seleucid period.
– Babylonian:
1) ḫu-te-ba-nu: TuM 2/3 204:21,L.E.
2) ḫu-ti-ba-nu: PBS 2/1 27:18, 29:17, 207:R.E.

4.4.7.67 *(H)uvaršabara- (OP): "quartermaster", lit. "he who is responsible for the food", OP equivalent of Av. **xvaršabara-*.
Hinz (NW 42; ASN 140) reconstructs **xvaršabara-*, but that is not possible, since *-m-* cannot render /xv/- (Schmitt 1974: 101n.15; Hoffmann 1976b: 641). Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 39) mentions **varšabara-*, "forester" (Av. *varəša-*, "tree, forest"), but Hinz (NW 42) has shown that contextually a meaning "quartermaster" is better.
– Elamite:
1) mar-šá-ba-ra: PFa 29:20.
2) mar-šá-bar-ra: PF 475:6, 565:6, 1011:3-4, 1044:3-4 (m[ar]-šá-bar-ra), 1262:14 (mar-šá-ba[r-r]a).

4.4.7.68 *Īrakara-: **īra-kara-*, "commissioner", lit. "energy-maker" (NW 94; ASN 142).
– Elamite:
1) hi-ra-ku-ráš-šá: PF 1835:7. Inaccurate spelling.
2) hi-ra-kur-ra: PF 1836-1837:9, 1838:8, 1839:9-10; PFNN 761:7-8, 2523:8-9.

4.4.7.69 *Kārapatiš: **kāra-pati-š*, "guide" (Gershevitch 1951-52: 144; NW 74; ASN 148), Arm. *karapet*.
Cameron (1948: 42) connects the first part with **xara-*, "ass, donkey".
– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-ra-ba-ti-iš: PF 1340:4-5.
2) ka$_4$-ra-bat-ti-iš: PF 1341:4-5, 1375:4; PFNN 398:4, 580:4-5, 1268:6-7, 2560:9-10; PT 47:6, 58:5-6.

4.4.7.70 *Kāratāka-: "traveller" (Zadok 1985: 174), MP *kārdāg*.

– Aramaic: krtk: TAD B 8.3:1.

4.4.7.71 *Kṛnūka-: < Old Persian *kṛnuvaka-* (k-r-nu-u-v-k-), "stonemason" (Cameron 1958: 165n.9; Schmitt 2001: 73n.23).
– Elamite:
1) kur-nu-ik-kaš-be (pl.): PT 14:5 (reading: Cameron 1958: 165n.9).
2) kur-nu-ka$_4$: PFNN 1216:3.
3) kur-nu-kaš-be (pl.): PF 1611:8; PFNN 435:4; PT 31:5, 1963-1:5.

4.4.7.72 *Mandrapatiš: **mandra-pati-š*, "equerry", title of an official occupied with rations for horses (Hallock 1969: 724; Mayrhofer, apud ASN 158). Cf. OInd. *mandurā-*, "stable for horses" and Gk. *μάνδρα*.
– Elamite: man-tur-ra-bat-ti-iš: PF 1942:4,7, 1947:90.

4.4.7.73 *Maribara-: **mari-bara-*, "cellarer, cellar-master", lit. "jar-carrier", title of a person receiving wine for royal stores (Hallock, apud ASN 161).
– Elamite: ma-ri-pír-ráš: PFNN 17:4-5.

4.4.7.74 *Maθištaka- (OP): **maθišta-ka-*, "chief, director" (Hallock 1969: 35; ASN 162).
Gershevitch (1969b: 174) mentions **maθišta-vahuka-*, meaning "the greatest good one" or "he who can be entrusted with the greatest goods". Nonetheless a transposition TUK = Ir. /tavahuk/ is highly implausible.
– Elamite: ma-ti-iš-tuk-kaš: PF 1063-1064:6-7; PFNN 2418:5-6.

4.4.7.75 *Nāfa-: "family" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 736; NW 34-35; ASN 171).
– Elamite: na-pa-še: PF 729:7 (ŠE = OP *-šē* < *-šai*, "his").

4.4.7.76 *Nāupati-: **nāu-pati-*, "shipmaster" (Eilers 1961-62: 214; ASN 174).
– Aramaic:
1) npt: ATNS 64b:11.
2) nwpt: TAD A 6.2:2,7,8. Maybe also ATNS 15:4 (*nwpy* for *nwpty*?).

4.4.7.77 *Nāvarakara-: **nāvara-kara-*, "rope-maker" (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 174-175; ASN 175). Cf. Av. *snāuuar-*, "snare".
– Elamite:
1) na-mar-ka$_4$-ra: PT 1963-6:4.
2) na-um-mar-ra-kur-ráš-be (pl.): PT 18:4.

4.4.7.78 *Nōvaka-: < **nauvaka-*, "yarn-spinner" (NW 92; ASN 172). Cf. NP *nax*, "yarn".
– Elamite:
1) nu-ma-ka$_4$-ip (pl.): PF 1842:5-6, 1843:5, 1844:5-6; PFNN 502:5, 1356:3-4, 1382:5-6.

2) nu-ma-kaš(-be): PF 1224:9, 1946:13, 1947:59,62,72.

4.4.7.79 *Paiθīškara- (OP) / *pēθīškara-: **paiθīš-kara-*, "maker of jewels, ornaments", with **paiθīš-* < **paisiya-* (Mayrhofer 1971: 57).

Cameron (1948: 135) and Hinz (NW 73; ASN 178) read **paisas-kara-*, but the spelling with *-ši-iš-* contradicts this reading. Hinz adds to it that **paiθīškara-* should appear in Elamite as be-(a)-si, which is, however, not necessary.

– Elamite:
1) be-a-ši-iš-kur-ra-ip (pl.): PT 30:4-5.
2) be-ši-iš-kur-ráš-be (pl.): PT 62:4-5.

4.4.7.80 *Parastama-: "foremost, first-ranked", superlative of Av. *parō-* (Eilers 1940: 23n.2; ASN 179).

Zadok (1977: 98) and Dandamayev (1992: 114) reconstruct *frastavana-, "foreman". There is, however, more to this expression than simple "foreman" (Stolper 1993: 10).

– Babylonian:
1) pa-ra-as-ta-a-mu: VAT 15609:3 (cf. Eilers 1940: 23n.2).
2) pa-ra-as-ta-mu: AION Suppl. 77 1:19; VAT 15610:rev.3' (cf. Eilers, l.c.).
3) par-ra-as-ta-mu: VAT 15610:rev.4'.

4.4.7.81 *Paristāva-: "travelling companion, chaperon", lit. "he who stands about" (NW 94-95; ASN 180), cf. MP *paristag*, "servant" and 4.4.1.6.

Another possibility is **barišta-tama-* (with haplology), "very best safe-keeper", to Av. *bairišta-* (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 42; Hinz 1970: 430).

– Elamite:
1) ba-ri-iš-da-ma(-be): PF 1317:7-8, 1338:3, 2057:2-3; PFa 18:11-12; PFNN 1458:11-12.
2) bar-ri-iš-da-ma(-ip): PF 1363:5,10-11, 1557:4-5, 1558:4, 1572:4-5, 1577:4, 2056:4; PFNN 596:6-7, 881:7-8, 2323:8.

4.4.7.82 *Paščadaθapatiš (Med.-OP): **pašča-daθapati-š*, "vice-decurion" (Lecoq 1974: 58).

Most scholars (Cameron 1948: 111; Benveniste 1966: 65; ASN 184) connect this word with Av. *pasča-* and consequently reconstruct **pasča-daθapatiš*. Nevertheless it is better to read **pašča-daθapatiš*, on the basis of OP *kaščiy*.

– Elamite: ba-iš-za-da-sa-bat-ti-iš: PT 15:17.

4.4.7.83 *Patifrāsa-: **pati-frāsa-*, "investigator, interrogator" (ASN 186), cf. MP *pādifrāh*, "punishment".

– Aramaic:
1) ptprs: TAD A 4.2:12.
2) ptyprs: TAD A 4.2:3.

4.4.7.84 *Patijnanta-: **pati-jnanta-*, "he who strikes back, repulses (the enemy)", present part. of **pati-jan-* (Schmitt 1974: 107).

Hinz (NW 63-64; ASN 187) reconstructs **pati-jananta-* and rejects Schmitt's idea that a reading **patijnanta-* is better because of OInd. *ghnant-*. As Hinz's reason to assume this (a spelling *-za-na-* cannot render *-/jn/-*) is extremely weak, Schmitt's theory is preferred here.

– Elamite: bat-ti-za-na-in-da: DNa 38.

4.4.7.85 *Patikarakara-: **patikara-kara-*, "sculptor", lit. "maker of statues" (Benveniste 1954: 307; Driver 1965: 72; ASN 187).

– Aramaic: ptkrkr: TAD A 6.12:1.

4.4.7.86 *Pātimānīš: < **pāti-mānya-*, "guard", lit. "protector of the house" (NW 72; ASN 187). Cf. 4.2.1266 and 4.3.162.

Other proposals are (1) **patimāniya-*, "attached to the royal house" (Cameron 1948: 158), (2) **patimāna-*, "relative, kinsman" (Benveniste 1966: 81), to NP *paimān*, "measure", MP *pym'n* and *ptm'n*, Parth. *pdm'n*; (3) **patimāni-*, "cup, goblet, bowl" (MP *ptm'n*), in this case the cupbearer (Gershevitch 1951-52: 135) and (4) **pāθmanya-*, "one who takes care of (travel-) rations", to Av. *pāθmaniia-* (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 176).

– Elamite: ba-ti-ma-nu(-iš): PT 47:6, 48:5-6, 58:5, 63:6-7, 72:4, 1963-9:67, 1963-15:5-6.

4.4.7.87 *Patinazdišta-: **pati-nazdišta-*, "the very next" (ASN 188). Cf. Av. *nazdišta-*.

– Elamite: bat-ti-na-áš-ti-iš-tam$_6$: PFNN 2279:5-6.

4.4.7.88 *Patišuvarnabara- (OP): **patišuvarna-bara-*, "drinking cup" (Sims-Williams 1990: 241-242 and 2001: 188-189). Cf. Av. *paitiš.xvarəna-*, "upper part of the face" (cf. Sundermann 1991: 311), MP *ptšwl*, *ptšhwl* and *ptšhw'l* for **patišuvarna-*.

Hinz (NW 96; ASN 189) reads **patišxvarnabara-*, "eunuch", lit. "Mundtuch-Träger", to Av. *paitišx"arəna-*.

– Elamite: bat-ti-iš-mar-na-bar-ra-is: PF 1011:5-6.

4.4.7.89 *Pistakara-: **pista-kara-*, "miller", lit. "flour maker" (Gershevitch 1969b: 181).

Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 737) and Hinz (NW 95; ASN 173; EIW 986) erroneously include the preceding *-na-* (a genitive suffix) of Ia-u-na-bar-za in this expression. The first author reads **nipištakara-*, "miller" and is still close the the correct explanation, but Hinz reconstructs **napištakara-*, "maker of inscriptions". The text, however, goes as follows (1) 12 ^{m}ruh^{MEŠ} (2) ^{m}Ia-u-na-bar-za-(3)na pi-iš-da-kur-(4)ra 6 QA ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} (5) gal-ma du-iš, "twelve men of Yaunabṛza the miller received 6 qa of wine as their ration".

– Elamite: pi-iš-da-kur-ra: PF 1549:3-4.

4.4.7.90 *Pistya-: *pist-ya-, "he who prepares the flour" (EIW 198). Cf. 4.2.1305 and 4.4.19.11.

Hinz (ASN 912) reconstructs **pištiya-* (OInd. *piṣṭá-* and Av. *pištra-*).

– Elamite: pi-iš-ti-ia: PFNN 1528:6-7.

4.4.7.91 *Piθfabaga-: **piθfa-baga-*, "distributor of provisions" (ASN 193; Dandamayev 1992: 38). Cf. **piθfa-* (4.4.3.15).

Eilers (1940: 73-75) erroneously translates "he who participates at the meal".

– Babylonian:

1) pi-it-pi-[ba]-ga: BE 10 95:7.
2) pi-ti-pa-ba-ga: BE 9 15:4,8,16.

4.4.7.92 *Piθfakāna-: person responsible for the delivery of rations (Shaked 2004: 38). Cf. 4.4.3.15.
– Aramaic ptpkn: Shaked 2004: 38.

4.4.7.93 *Raitaka-: "young servant", cf. MP rēdak, "lad, page" (Shaked 2004: 39).
– Aramaic: rytky' (pl.): Shaked 2004: 39.

4.4.7.94 *Ramīkara-: < **ramiya-kara-*, "worker who has to do delicate, refined work" (NW 41; ASN 199). Cf. 4.3.177.
– Elamite: ra-mi-kur-ráš: PF 865:15.

4.4.7.95 *Ramīkarā- (fem.): fem. equivalent of **ramīkara-*.
– Elamite: ra-mi-kur-ráš: PF 865:25.

4.4.7.96 *Ramīkarīš: < **ramiya-kar-iyā-*.
– Elamite: ra-mi-kur-ri-iš: PFNN 1524:19.

4.4.7.97 *Ratiš: *Rati-š, "willing to serve, servant" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 748; ElW 1033), Av. *rāiti-*.
– Elamite: ra-ti-iš-be (pl.): PF 2071:3,6,16 (ra-t[i-iš]-⌜be⌝).

4.4.7.98 *Rāza-: "bricklayer, mason" (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 175), MP *rāz-kirrōg*, 'architect", NP *rāz*,"bricklayer, mason". Cf. 4.2.1394.
– Elamite: ra-za-be (pl.): PT 49a-1:5, 68:5, 68a:6, 76:5, 1957-3:5.

4.4.7.99 *Razaka-: **raza-ka-*, "painter" (ElW 1035), NP *raz-*, "to paint".
– Elamite: ra-za-ak-ka$_4$: PF 999:23.

4.4.7.100 *Razakara-: **raza-kara-*, "vineyard-keeper", lit. "vine-maker" (Gershevitch 1951-52: 137; Benveniste 1958b: 58; ASN 203).
– Elamite: ra-za-ka$_4$-ra: PT 52:5, 1963-14:6, 1963-15:4-5.

4.4.7.101 *Ṛstabājiš: **ṛsta-bāji-š*, "official of the tax administration, Grundsteuerbeamte" (ASN 219). Cf. NP *rost*, "ground, soil" and OP *bāji-*, MP *bāj* and NP *bāz*, "tax".
Gershevitch (1969b: 181) reads **ruzda-pačiš*, "he who cooks fluids" (Av. *uruzdi-pāka-*).
– Elamite:
1) ir-iš-da-ba-zí-iš-be (pl.): PFNN 2192:35.
2) ru-iš-da-ba-zí-iš-be: PF 1968:2.

4.4.7.102 *Ṛštibara-: **ṛšti-bara-*, "lance-bearer" (Eilers 1940: 106n.3; Gershevitch 1969: 197; ASN 207; Hallock 1978: 114n.15; Schmitt 2006: 146).
Not **ištibara-*, "bringing prosperity" (Benveniste 1966: 85).
– Babylonian:

1) áš-ta-bar-ri: VS 5 128:20,32.
2) áš-te-ba-ri-an-na (pl.): BE 10 76:5.
– Elamite:
1) ir-iš-ti-bar-ra: PFa 31:23.
2) ir-ti-bar-ra: PFNN 588:4, 1647:3-4, 1863:4.
3) iš-ti-ba-ra: PF 1537:7.
4) iš-ti-bar-ra: PFa 15:4-5; PFNN 2522:3-4.

4.4.7.103 *Sārakāra-: **sāra-kāra-*, "chief", lit. "head of the people" or "head of work" (Shaked 2004: 38 and n.31, reading **sarakāra-*).
– Aramaic: srkrn (pl.): Shaked 2004: 38.

4.4.7.104 *Sāyačapā-: **sāya-ča-pā-*, "shepherd" (Hinz 1971: 283; NW 168; ASN 224), derivation from Av. *sāy-*, "to lie", followed by *-ča-* and **pā-*, "to protect".
– Elamite: še-ia-zí-ba: PF 1943:34.

4.4.7.105 *Spitakana-: "white washer, whitener" (Porten 1996: 117n.24), derivation from Av. *spita-*, "white".
Most alternative solutions are based on a reading *spytkn*. Epstein (1912: 129) mentions the Eg. nome Sape[179]. Herzfeld (1968: 281 and n.3) considers *sptkn* as indication of the inhabitants of Hispania. According to Grelot (1972: 288) it renders Eg. *spȝt*, "nome, district".
Sachau (1911: 47) refers to Ar. *spynh*, "ship", which Epstein (1913: 142) elaborates: *spytkn* is a form of *spynh*, to which is attached a poss. pron. suffix of the 2nd person pl.
– Aramaic: sptkn: TAD A 6.2:9,22.

4.4.7.106 *Tīpati-: **tī-pati-*, "supervisor, chief of the guards" (ASN 236), cf. the Proto-Iranian root **tai-* or **tī-*, "to look, see" (Bailey 1959b: 115-116).
Other proposals are (1) **θayapati-*, "camp commander" (Scheftelowitz 1923: 45), to Av. *sāy-* (OP **θāy-*), "to lie" and OInd. *śaya-*, "sleeping, sleep, bed"; (2) **θahyapati-*, "maître de la proclamation" (Benveniste 1934: 185-186); (3) **tipi-pati-*, "chief of the servants", < *dipipati-* (Bogoljubov 1969: 74, who refers to the variation of OP *dačara- / tačara-*).
These three alternatives have a common problem: they do not suit the context, which postulates that it is a title of a police official (Schaeder 1930: 263n.1). Two more proposals do correspond with the context: **tayupāta-*, "guarding the thieves" (Henning 1937: 58; with reference to Sogd. *'yp'y*, "to guard") and **tāyupati-*, "police chief" (Harmatta 1965: 163).
– Aramaic: typt: TAD A 4.5:9.

4.4.7.107 *Θatapatiš: **θata-pati-š*, "centurion" (Cameron 1948: 40; Hallock 1969: 749; Hinz 1971: 281n.50; ASN 240).
– Elamite:

[179] Such a nome is, however, not attested in Egyptian texts. Possibly Epstein confuses it with *spȝt*, "nome".

1) sa-ad-da-bat-ti-iš: PT 1:7-8.
2) sa-da-bat-ti-iš: PF 1791:13; 1842:9, 1843:8-9; PFNN 502:8; PT 24:4.

4.4.7.108 *Upabandaka-: **upa-bandaka-*, "supervisor of the servants" (ElW 1206).
– Elamite: uk-ba-ban-tuk-kaš: PFNN 2263:22.

4.4.7.109 *Upadaiti- / *Upadēti-: **upa-daiti-*, "supervisor, inspector, governor(?)" (Mayrhofer, apud AHw 1424; Dandamayev 1992: 134; Zadok 1999-2000: 212; Shaked 2004: 38), derivation from **upa-dī-*. Cf. OP *dī-*, "to see" and Parth. *'wpdyt*.
Not related to Av. *dāitiia-*, "loyal to the law" (Eilers 1940: 41-42n.2). Hinz (ASN 243) connects it with Av. *daitika-*, "wild animal" and translates "vice-responsible for the animals".
– Aramaic: 'pdyt': Shaked 2004: 38.
– Babylonian:
1) ap-pa-de-tu$_4$: VS 6 128:11.
2) up-pa-de-e-ti: AfO 42-43 61 no.11:21, 62 no.12:21; BM 31355 (°-[(e)-ti], cf. Zadok, l.c.); BV 116:3, rev.2.
3) up-pa-de-tu$_4$: Hebraica 8 134:14.

4.4.7.110 *Upaganzabara- (Med.): "assistant treasurer" (Berger, apud ASN 243) or "vice-treasurer" (Cameron 1948: 10 and n.64; Bowman 1970: 30), depending on the preferred meaning of *upa-*.
– Aramaic: 'pgnzbr'[180]: Pers 14:4, 18:4, 26:5, 28:5, 31-33:5, 64:5, 119:4, 138:5.

4.4.7.111 *Upajan(i)ya-: **upa-jan-(i)ya-*, "police officer", lit. "he who strikes, beats" (NW 93-94; ASN 243).
Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 39) reconstructs **upāzaniya-*, "one who strokes (with a whip)".
– Elamite:
1) hu-ba-za-nu-ia-iš: PF 1061:7-8.
2) ib-ba-za-nu-ia-ip (pl.): PF 1079:2-3 (ib-ba-za-nu-<ia>), 1279:3-4.
3) uk-ba-za-nu-ia-ip (pl.): PF 1348:10.

4.4.7.112 *Upānjakara-: **upānja-kara-*, "maker of ointments" (NW 97; ASN 244), OInd. *upāñjana-*, "act of anointing".
Another, less probable possibility (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 53) is **upa-hinča-kara-*, lit. "irrigation-maker" (to OInd. *upa-sic-*, "to pour upon, sprinkle" and the present stem *hinča-* of Av. *haēk-*, "to pour").
– Elamite: uk-ba-a-in-za-kar-ráš: PF 1853:4-5.

[180] Aleph indicates the ending of the st. det.

4.4.7.113 *Upāsa-: **upa-asa-*, "groom", lit. "he who is close to horses" (Gershevitch 1969b: 183; NW 93; ASN 245).
– Elamite:
1) uk-ba-[ha]-iš(?)-šá[181]: PFNN 1289:4-5.
2) uk-ba-áš-šá: PF 1834:7.

4.4.7.114 *Upāvatguš (Med.): **upāvat-gu-š*, "cattle-assistant" (Gershevitch 1969b: 183; ASN 245), cf. OInd. *upāva-* (< *upa-av-*) and Av. *av-*, "to assist".
– Elamite:
1) ib-ba-ma-ut-ku-iš: PFNN 2183:25.
2) uk-ba-ha-hu-ut-ku-iš: PFNN 2200:32-33, 2206:37, 2479:31.
3) uk-ba-ma-ut-ku-iš: PF 1955:33; PFNN 573:35, 754:39, 2196:17, 2197:5, 2198:19-20, 2211:42,47, 2478:43.
4) uk-ba-u-ut-ku-iš: PF 1961:8, 1962:3; PFNN 2274:5, 2293:7, 2341:11.

4.4.7.115 *Uštabāra-: **ušta-bāra-*, "driver of oxen" (Livšic, apud Dandamayev 1992: 60). Cf. OInd. *uṣṭā-*, "bull drawing a plough".
Hüsing (1933: 42) and Hinz (ASN 247) read **uštrabāra-*, "camel rider", which, however, does not correpond with the spelling (Eilers 1940: 105-106). Also the translations "driving at will" (Hinz: l.c.; Dandamayev 1992: 60) and "longing for instructions" (Mayrhofer, apud AHw 1442) are unlikely.
– Babylonian: uš-ta-ba-ri: BE 10 15:20.

4.4.7.116 *Uštayama- / *uštēma-: **ušta-yama-*, "scribe", lit. "holding at will" (Cardascia 1951: 15 and n.10; ASN 247; Zadok 1982: 116; Stolper 1985: 22).
– Babylonian:
1) uš-ta-'-ma-[nu].MEŠ (pl.): EE 59:14.
2) uš-te-'-ma-nu (pl.): PBS 2/1 209:7; VS 3 191:10.
3) uš-te-ia-a-am-ma-nu (pl.): PBS 2/1 32:7.
4) [uš]-te-ia-a-ma-nu (pl.): EE 41:10.

4.4.7.117 *Varčabara-: **varča-bara-*, "worker", perhaps "supervisor of the work", lit. "carrying work" (Kâmil 1948: 119 and apud Driver 1954: 26 and 1965: 67). Cf. OInd. *varča-*, "energy, vital power" and Av. *varəčah-*, "work".
Driver (1954: 26) formulates two alternative etymologies: **varšabāra-*, "mounted officer" (OInd. *vṛṣan-*, "male animal", Av. *varəšnali-*) and **varšabara-*, "forester" (Av. *varəša-*, "tree, forest"; supported also by Henning [apud Altheim & Stiehl, l.c.] and Gershevitch [apud Hallock 1969: 39]). Hoffmann (apud Altheim & Stiehl 1965: 566) mentions **varça-bara-*, "shieldbearer" (Av. *vərəθra-*, "shield"). He forgets, however, that Old Persian already has a "shieldbearer", i.e.

[181] Hinz & Koch (ElW 1206) doubt between -[a]- and -[ha]-, but a spelling *uk-ba-a-iš-šá* would render **upāisa-*, not **upāsa-*.

takabara- (Altheim & Stiehl, l.c.[182]). Finally Hinz (NW 42-43; ASN 140) believes that this Aramaic spelling denotes the same word as Elamite mar-šá-ba(r)-ra (= Ir. **xvaršabara-*, at least in his eyes). A problem with this is that Iranian /x/ is normally rendered by Ḥ in Aramaic and that, consequently, *wršbr* would be a defective spelling. Hinz cites some examples of dropped Ḥ before W to solve this problem. First of all there is the expression *šsḥmr*, considered by Goetze (1943-44: 99) to be the rendering of Ir. **xšaçahmāra-*. The second example is the name Štrbwzny (in Ezra), the first part of which would be *xšaça-*. The third one is *[pyšy]ḥ[wd']*, Ir. *Paišiyāxvādā-.

Hinz seems to be right at first sight, but with regarding to his first example it should be noted that only šsḥ[] is preserved and that Aramaic Ḥ normally does not render Ir. /h/. The third example is nothing more than an East Iranian expression. Only his second example remains relatively certain, but dates to a later period.

– Aramaic: wršbr: TAD A 6.5:2, 6.11:1.

4.4.7.118 *Varda- (OP): "workman" (NW 85-86; ASN 256), Av. *varəz-*, "to work".

– Elamite: mar-da(-um): Fort. 3544:5; PF 48:9, 94:9.

4.4.7.119 *Vardavarda-: **varda-varda-*, "sower", lit. "workman with seeds" (NW 86; ASN 256). Cf. Av. *varəd-*, "to make grow, augment".

– Elamite: mar-da-mar-da-um: PF 47:4-5.

4.4.7.120 *Vāsapuθrava-: adjectival derivation from **vās(a)puθra-*, "crown prince" (Butz 1976: 200; Stolper 1985: 60). Cf. also 4.4.7.127.

Some scholars (Eilers 1954-56: 334 and 1962: 55-63; Vittmann 1991-92: 159) prefer **vās(a)puθra-*, while Hinz (ASN 132) erroneously pleads for **(h)uvas-paidrva-*, "firm on a good horse".

– Babylonian:

1) ú-ma-as-pi-it-ru-ú: BE 9 101:2.
2) ú-ma-su-pi-it-ru-ú: BE 10 15:4,6.

4.4.7.121 *Vastrabara-: **vastra-bara-*, "chamberlain", lit. "garment-bearer" (NW 57-58; ASN 258), Med. equivalent (**vastra°* > **vasça°* > *vaça°*) of OP *vaça-bara-*. The meaning of the latter expression is "garment-bearer" (Norris 1855: 432; Borger 1972: 391; cf. Av. *vastra-*, "dress") and not "weapon-bearer" (Weissbach 1911: 42; Hinz 1942: 144; Olmstead 1948: 218; OPG 140; Gershevitch 1962b: 78n.8; HdA 150). The word refers to the person responsible for the king's wardrobe and is not a "Regimentskammerverwälter", as Hüsing (1918: 129) believes

Not **uštrabāri-*, "camel rider" (AiW 421; Meillet & Benveniste 1931: 109; ApI 95) or **vistrabara-*, "carpet-bearer", the title of the members of the security police (Eilers 1940: 96-104; AHw 1438; Dandamayev 1992: 52), cf. Gebr *vistara-*, "bedding" and NP *gustar*. Augapfel (1917: 102) translates "Abgabe-Inspektor".

– Babylonian:

[182] Altheim & Stiehl (1965: 566-567) translate "collector of wood".

1) ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-': RA 90 48 no.6:2.
2) us-ta-ar-ba-ri: BE 9 102:7-8.
3) us-ta-ar-pa-ri: BE 9 102:16.
4) us-ta-ra-ba-ri: Eilers 1940 Pl.3:3,8.
5) us-tar-ba-ar: IMT 3:3.
6) us-tar-bar: BE 10 15:U.E.; PBS 2/1 126:18; RA 86 75:U.E. ([u]s-tar-bar).
7) us-tar-ba-ra-u (pl.): TuM 2/3 204:18.
8) us-tar-ba-ri: BE 9 1:29,30, 50:11; BE 10 15:15,16, 80:14,Lo.E., 89:15,Lo.E., 91:18,U.E., 102:21, 103:11, 114:5, 129:6; EE 52:10'; PBS 2/1 30:U.E., 38:Lo.E., 43:3, 48:Lo.E., 63:23, 65:1,6,Lo.E., 70:4, 76:25, 96:19, 102:3, 207:Lo.E., 224:13,Lo.E.; TuM 2/3 148:2, 204:L.E.,R.E.
9) us-tar-bar-ra: Fs Perrot 173-174 no.1:2,3 (us-ta[r]-bar-ra); HSM 8414:4,6-7; PBS 2/1 128:14; VAT 15608:R.E. (reference M.W. Stolper).
10) us-tar-bar-ri: AION Suppl. 77 1:2,9.
11) us-tar-ba-ru: BE 9 28:4.
12) us-ta-ri-ba-ri: BE 10 9:1; EE 109:9 (us-ta-r[i-ba-ri]).
13) us-ta-ri-bar-ra: BE 10 32:4.
14) us-tar-ri-ba-ri: EE 109:rev. (us-tar-ri-[ba-ri]); PBS 2/1 48:13.

4.4.7.122 *Vīdabāga-: **vīda-bāga-*, "gardener", lit. "expert in the garden" (McKenzie 1971: 609; ASN 259-260).

Unlikely etymologies are those formulated by Gershevitch (1969b: 174: **vaidā-pāka-*, "cooking carrots") and Hinz (NW 169: "receiver of rations").

– Elamite: mi-da-ba-kaš: PF 789:3-4.

4.4.7.123 *Vīdabara-: **vīda-bara-*, "he who brings knowledge, advisor".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 920) recognize the Iranian character of this appellative.

– Elamite: mi-da-bar-ra: PFNN 322:5.

4.4.7.124 *Vīdafrāsa-: **vīda-frāsa-*, "interrogation expert" (Zadok 1983b: 218).

BE has various values, among which *mid* (or *mit*) and *pad* (or *pat*). As long as ROMCT 2 36 was not published and the Babylonian attestations with BE were consequently ambiguous in their readings, the scholars preferred a reading *pat/pit-pa-ra-su* and a reconstruction **patifrāsa-* (Augapfel 1917: 55; Eilers 1940: 10; ASN 186). The publication of ROMCT 2 36 (with a spelling *mi-id-°*) made it clear that a reading /mid/ is preferable. Based on this two new reconstructions were presented: (1) **vīda-frāsa-* and (2) **viθfrāsa-*, "court interrogator" (Hinz, apud ROMCT 2: 49).

– Babylonian:

1) mid-ip-ra-a-su: BE 10 97:17.
2) mid-pa-ra-su: PBS 2/1 63:21, 76:23.
3) mi-id-ip-ra-zu: ROMCT 2 36:17.

4.4.7.125 *Vīra(h)māra-: **vīra-(h)māra-*, "army inspector", lit. "man-counter" (ASN 263).
– Elamite: [m]i-ra-ma-ra: PFa 11:4-5.

4.4.7.126 *Visaka- (Med.): **visa-ka-*, "(servant) attached to the royal palace" (Hallock 1978: 112).
Hinz (ASN 268) reconstructs **višyaka-*, "belonging to the court".
– Elamite: mi-šá-kaš-be (pl.): PF 1596:6.

4.4.7.127 *Vis(a)puθra- (Med.): **vis(a)-puθra-*, "crown prince" (Vittmann 1991-92: 159 and 2004: 131 and 168). Cf. 4.4.7.120.
– Demotic: wyspwṯr: P. Caïro CG 31174:4,5.

4.4.7.128 *Visūtabara-: **vi-sūta-bara-*, "interest collector" (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1977: 96 and n.60; Dandamayev 1992: 64). Cf. NP *sūd*.
Mayrhofer (apud AHw 1448) reconstructs **uzūtu-bara-*, "cherishing the protected".
– Babylonian: ú-zu-ut-ta-bar-ra: UET 4 99:2.

4.4.7.129 *Viθapuça- (OP): **viθa-puça-*, OP equivalent of **visapuθra-*.
– Elamite: mi-sa-pu-šá-iš-be (pl.): PF 1793:7-8.

4.4.7.130 *Vṛzanapati- (Med.): **vṛzana-pati-*, "city governor", lit. "chief of the city" (AHw 1447; Dandamayev 1992: 6).
– Babylonian: ú-mar-za-na-pa-ta: CT 22 73:23.

4.4.7.131 *Xšaθrapā-: **xšaθra-pā-*, "satrap" (Deecke 1887: 134; Imbert 1891: 112 and 1916: 341; Sittig 1924: 200n.1; Houwink ten Cate 1961: 11; Benveniste 1966: 103; Neumann 1969: 367; Schmitt 1976: 378-379 and 1982c: 380). On the morphological aspects of this and the other forms of the Iranian word for "satrap" cf. Schmitt (1976: 388-389).
Arkwright (1899: 56) argued that the Lycian form is dependent on the Greek forms ξατράπης and σατράπης. He was followed by Shahbazi (1975: 65), but his proposal has to be discarded (Laroche 1979: 83; Schmitt, l.c.).
– Lycian:
1) χssadrapa-: TL 40d:1-2, 44b:26 ([χss]ad[rapa]).
2) χssaθrapa-: DÖAW 135 320:1-2.

4.4.7.132 *Xšaθrapāna- (Med.): **xšaθra-pāna-*, "satrap" (Augapfel 1917: 15; ASN 136; Schmitt 1976: 375 and 389; Vittmann 2004: 133 and 168). Cf. the personal name *Xšaθrapāvā (4.2.1973).
– Aramaic: ḫštrpn': FX 136:4.
– Babylonian:
1) aḫ-šá-ad-ra-pa-nu: PBS 2/1 21:7-8; ROMCT 2 48:3-4.
2) aḫ-šá-da-ra-pa-nu: PBS 2/1 2:6.
3) [aḫ-šad?]-ra-pa-nu: EE 109:5.
– Demotic:
1) ḫštrpn: S.H5-450 obv. i 2 (cf. Smith 1992: 295-296).

2) iḫštrpny: S.75/6-7:2 (cf. Smith 1988: 184-186).

4.4.7.133 *Xvarīškara-: **xvarīš-kara-* < **xvar(i)ya-kara-*, "quartermaster", lit. "food-maker".
Hinz (NW 73; ASN 141) pleads for **xvaryaskara-* on the basis of the first iš, but in all likelihood this sign has the same function as the /š/ often attached to Iranian loans by the Elamites. Here it closes a lexical unit.
– Elamite: kur-ri-iš-kar-ra-iš: PT 59:6.

4.4.7.134 *Yātakara-: **yāta-kara-*, "assigner of rations" (McKenzie 1971: 610; Zadok 1985: 176).
– Aramaic: ytkr': ATNS 69:4,5. Aleph indicates the st. det.

4.4.7.135 *Zarnīpaθa- (Med.): **zarnī-paθa-*, "gold depositor", (Gershevitch 1970: 91n.93; ASN 278). Cf. Av. *pas-*, "to join together".
Cameron (1948: 178) was close to the correct form with his reconstruction **zarani-piθa-*, "gold ornamenters" (Av. *zaraniiō.paēsa-*, "decorated with gold"). Tjurin (1951: 28) reads **darnipasā-*, "custodian of gold".
– Elamite: za-ir-nu-pa-sa-iš: PT 63:9-10.

4.4.8. Architectural and technical expressions

4.4.8.1 *Āčarna-: "furniture, equipment", cf. Arm. *ačaṙ*, "furniture" (NW 41; ASN 21).
Bogoljubov (1971: 16) prefers **ačarana-*, "building materials".
– Aramaic: 'šrn: TAD A 4.5:18, 4.7:11, 6.2:5,9,21; TAD B 3.4:23; TAD D 3.21:1.
– Elamite:
1) ha-za-ir-na(-um): PF 821:4-5, 864:14-15, 865:16; PFNN 1524:9, 2184:2.
2) ha-za-ra-an-na: PF 821:5-6.

4.4.8.2 *Ādēna-: < **ādaina-*, "decoration, ornament" (Cameron 1948: 194, reading **ādaina-*), MP *ādwēn*, Baluči *ādēnk*, "mirror", NP *āḏīn*, "ornament" and *āyīna*, "ornament, mirror".
The Baluči example leads Benveniste (1954: 309n.4) to the postulation of a meaning "mirror", but the Old Iranian expression for "mirror" was in all likelihood **ādainaka-*, Sogd. *'d'yn'k* (Hinz 1972b: 295-296).
– Elamite: ha-te-na: PT 78:3.

4.4.8.3 *Āpidānīš-: < **āpi-dān-(i)ya-*, a *-ya*-extension of **āpi-dāna-*, "water container, reservoir" (ASN 32, reconstructing **āpidāna-*).
– Elamite:
1) ha-pi-da-nu-iš: OGWA 321-322:12; PF 352:11; PFa 3:8-9.
2) ha-pi-in-da-nu-iš: PF 1593:9-10, 1831:3, 1948:1, 1989:11, 2084:19,26; PFNN 579:7-8.
3) ha-pi-tam$_5$-nu-iš: PF 2009:22, 2085:13; PFNN 2546:43.

4.4.8.4 *Astaudāna-: **astau-dāna-*, "tomb, grave", lit. "bone container" (Darmesteter 1888: 509; Shaked, apud Hanson 1968: 7n.9; ASN 47; Lipiński 1975: 164 and n.1), MP *astōdān*.
– Aramaic: [']stwdnh: KAI 262:1.

4.4.8.5 *Brazmadāna-: **brazma-dāna-*, "temple, shrine" (TAD D: 234).

Bogoljubov (1966: 42-44, cited by Mayrhofer [1970: 289] and followed by ASN 67) assumes that the literal translation is "house of rites" (OP *brazman-*, "rite" and **dāna-*, a derivation from **dam-*, "to build"). His analysis, however, proves to be wrong. OP *brazman-* may mean "devotion" (Skalmowski 1990: 83-84), but its precise meaning is still an issue of debate. Additionally it is not necessary to look for a connection between **dāna-* and "house". The element *-dāna-*, "holder, container", also appears in expressions indicating an architectural construction, e.g. Old Persian *apa-dāna-*, "column hall" and *daiva-dāna-*, "daiva-sanctuary". The literal translation of **brazmadāna-* must be "holder of devotion".
According to another theory it is better to reconstruct **barzmadāna-* (Andreas, apud Lidzbarski 1908: 222n.1; Schaeder 1930: 260n.1; Henning 1944: 117; Altheim & Stiehl 1963: 14), to MP *bursmadān*. The first part of the expression is **barzma-*, "holy twig" (Av. *barəsman*, MP *barsom*). The entire expression means "holder of the holy twig". This hypothesis, however, is unlikely, as the text, in which the expression appears, is a building inscription with *brzmdn* indicating a kind of building.

– Aramaic: brzmdn: TAD D 17.1:1.

4.4.8.6 *Çubva- (OP): "lead", Av. *sruua-*, MP *srub*. **Çubva-* is is an *a*-extension of an *u*-stem **çubu-* (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 178-179).

Hinz (NW 51; ASN 76) reconstructs **çβa-*.

– Elamite: šu-ib-maš: PT 1957-2:5, 1963-12:5.

4.4.8.7 *Didā-: "fortress" (Hallock 1969: 761; NW 82; ASN 88; EIW 340), OP *didā-*, MP and NP *diz*.
– Elamite: ti-ud-da: PF 1857:5.

4.4.8.8 *Ganzamnidānīš (Med.): < **ganzam-nidāniya-*, "treasure-storeroom" (Gershevitch 1951-52: 143; Cameron 1965: 177; NW 86; ASN 102). Cf. OInd. *nidhāna-*, "store".
– Elamite: kán-za-um-nu-da-nu-iš: PT 56:7 (reading: Cameron 1965: 189), 1963-11:7.

4.4.8.9 *Hambāra-: "warehouse", derivation from **ham-*, "together" and *bar-*, "to carry, bring" (Cameron 1948: 42). Cf. MP *hambār* and NP *aṃbār*, "store" and also 4.4.7.58 and 5.4.3.2.

Henning (1933-34: 193; also Gershevitch 1951-52: 143n.1 and Harmatta 1955: 289) derives the second part from Av. *par-*, "to fill". Hinz (ASN 113), however, points to the Babylonian spelling (with BA) to establish a reconstruction **bara-*. Although Stolper (1977: 253) has the same view, he remarks that the Bab. writing is not an absolute corroboration. It may also prove that the shift /mp/ > /nb/ already took place during the Achaemenid period and not afterwards, as most scholars assume (e.g. Telegdi 1935: 207).

– Babylonian: ḫa-an-ba-ra: BE 9 19:7.
– Elamite:
1) am-ba-ráš: PF 238:6, 1955:14,18, 1956:19, 1957:28, 1969:17, 1970:16-17, 2077:17, 2084:1,15; PFNN 2344:19, 2370:29, etc. in PFNN.
2) ha-ba-ráš: PF 1861:2, 1952:14; PFa 31:33.

4.4.8.10 *Hambāriya-: *-iya*-extension of **hambāra-* (NW 86; ASN 113).
– Elamite: Am-ba-ri-ia-iš: PF 1968:12; PFNN 2263:12.

4.4.8.11 *Handaunā- / *handōna-: "varnish" (Horn 1898-1901: 130; Sachau 1911: 46; Schaeder 1930; 267; Bogoljubov 1971: 17; ASN 115-116), cf. OInd. *dhav-*, "to clean" and NP *andūdan*, "to plaster, smear".

Hoffmann (1965: 248n.1) reconstructs **handāvana-*, but this does not correspond with the Elamite spelling.

– Aramaic: hndwn: TAD A 6.2:5,17.
– Elamite: an-du-na-iš: PFNN 1434:4.

4.4.8.12 *Hanpāna-: **han-pāna-*, "roofed passage" (Geiger, apud Kraeling 1953: 241; ASN 117), cf. Av. *pāna-*, "protection".

Couroyer's hypothesis (1954: 558-559) that this expression is the equivalent of Ar. *tmw'nty* is unlikely. This word means "way of god", cf. Eg. *ntr*, "god" and Coptic *nouteli*.

– Aramaic: hnpn: TAD B 3.10:9, 3.11:4.

4.4.8.13 *Nāugrabata-: **nāu-graba-ta-*, derivation from **nāu-graba-*, "boat-catcher" (Shaked 1987: 412). Probably a part of a boat (DNWSI 715).
– Aramaic: ngrbt: ATNS 26:6.

4.4.8.14 *Nāuvaza- (Med.): **nāu-vaza-*, "sail", lit. "that which leads the ship" (Shaked 1987: 412). Cf. OInd. *náu-* and *nā́va-*, Sogd *nw*, Khot. *no-*, Oss. *naw* on the one hand and Av. *vaz-*, "to lead" on the other hand.

Aimé-Giron (1931: 27) and Bowman (1941: 305) consider a derivation from a Sem. root *nwz*, "to weave" and translate "cordage" or "sail".

– Aramaic: nwz[yn] (pl.): TAD C 3.8 iii b 30.

4.4.8.15 *Nidāniya- / *nidānīš: "warehouse, storeroom" (Gershevitch 1951-52: 143; Harmatta 1954: 296-297; NW 86-87; ASN 175), OInd. *nidhāna-*. Because of its contextual position and of its consequent writing with DA this expression is separated from **nitanya-*, "Viehhof, cattle-place".
– Elamite:
1) nu-da-nu-ia-iš: PFNN 1622:4-5.
2) nu-da-nu-iš: PT 19:6, 21:6-7, 56:7, 1963-11:7.

4.4.8.16 *Nitanya- / *nitanīš: *ni-tan-ya-, "Viehhof, cattle-place", (Weber, apud Hinz 1971: 288n.61; ASN 176). Cf. Av. *tan-*, "to stretch". Cf. 4.2.1192.

Giovinazzo (1989: 203-206; also Briant 1996: 966-967) believes that El. nu-tan-nu-ia renders Bab. *nadānu*, "to give" and that here it means "gift". Nevertheless a meaning "Viehhof" is more suitable.

– Elamite:
  1) nu-tan-nu-áš: Fort. 3125:11; PF 1721:13-14; PFNN 2288:11.
  2) nu-tan-ia-áš: PFNN 571:8, 2194:24, 2281:2.
  3) nu-tan-nu-ia(-áš/-iš/-ip): Fort. 8621:9, 10470:1; PF 58:6-7, 73:3-4, 74:10, 848:3, 1008:2-3, 1142:5, 2009:1,14, 2012:1, 2013:1-2,12-13,24-25,36-37,49-50, 2014:16, 2085:1; PFNN 521:35, 706:1-2, 719:6, 886:5-6, 1480:13, 1603:10-11, 2128:3-4, 2295:2, 2406:10-11, 2514:3.
  4) nu-tan-nu-iš: PFNN 2262:51, 2287:1,26,51, 2298:1-2.

4.4.8.17 *Paribāda-: **pari-bāda-*, "protective enclosure" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 675; ASN 179), cf. OInd. *pari-bādh-*, "to keep away".
– Elamite:
  1) ba-ri-ba-taš: PF 2025:8-9,15 (b[a-r]i-ba-taš).
  2) bar-ri-ba-taš: PF 2070:4,11,13; PFNN 2465:14.

4.4.8.18 *Paribāra-: **pari-bāra-*, "roofed place" (cf. Schaeder 1930: 97; Hinz 1970: 436; Lipiński 1975: 156-157; ASN 179). This expression has a general meaning, dependent of the context. Related words are OInd. *pravāra-*, "roof, covering", Av. *frauuāra-*, "bastion" and *pairivāra-*, "enclosure", MP *parwār*, "citadel, circumvallation" and NP *farvār*, "summer house".
– Aramaic: prbr: KAI 260:3,5.
– Elamite:
  1) ba-ri-ba-ra(-um): PF 161:7-8, 586:3-4; PFNN 440:4, 442:4, 494:12-13.
  2) ba-ri-ba-ráš: PF 107:7; PFNN 479:5-6.
  3) ba-ri-pa-ráš: PFNN 1536:5-6.
  4) bar-ri-ba-ráš: PF 995:3-4.

4.4.8.19 *Parikāna-: "wall". Cf. 4.3.151.
– Aramaic: prkn': Shaked 2004: 55 (Doc. A4:1).

4.4.8.20 *Tapuška-: **tapuš-ka-*, "brick" (Mayrhofer 1972c: 54; ASN 235), cf. OInd. *tápu-*, "burning, hot".
– Elamite: da-pu-iš-ka$_4$-um: DSz 50.

4.4.8.21 *Taxtaka-: **taxta-ka-*, "throne" (ElW 250), MP *taxt*.
– Elamite: da-ak-tuk-kaš: PT 83:3-4.

4.4.8.22 *Upačāra-: **upa-čāra-*, "needs, means to accomplish something" (Henning 1958: 39n.4; NW 52; Berger, apud ASN 242-43), MP *abzār*, "means, instrument", NP *afzār*, Arm. *pačar*.
Schaeder's (1930: 263n.1; also Bogoljubov 1971: 16) proposal "the bringing about", is contextually impossible. Benveniste (1954: 303) mentions **upašara-*.

– Aramaic: 'wpšr: TAD A 6.2:3,6,9,22.

4.4.8.23 *Upakṛta-: **upa-kṛta-*, "list of materials, reckoning" (Berger, apud ASN 244). *Upa-* is a directional prefix, while *-kṛta-* is the part. of *kar-*, "to make". Cf. 4.2.1743.
Bowman (1941: 311) translates "substructure", but this does not correspond with the context (Grelot 1972: 287n.i). Bogoljubov (1971: 17) has "cost estimate", referring to Av. *²kar-*, "remember, commemorate".
– Aramaic: 'wpkrt: TAD A 6.2:5; TAD C 3.8 iii b 24.

4.4.8.24 *Yaudāna- or *yavadāna-: "grain-house", lit. "grain container" (Bogoljubov 1969: 72). Cf. Av. *yauua-*, "grain".
Already Sachau (1911: 27) presented the unanimously accepted translation. Only the etymology causes disagreement. According to Shaked (apud Porten 1978: 172) the second part is related to Av. *dāman-*, "house".
– Aramaic: ywdn: TAD A 4.5:5.

4.4.8.25 *Zarn(i)yaka- (Med.): **zarn(i)ya-ka-*, "arsenic" (Berger, apud ASN 278), *-ka*-extension of Av. *zarəniia-*, "golden".
– Aramaic: zrnyk: TAD A 6.2:17,21.

4.4.9. Colours

4.4.9.1 *Axšainafaina-: "blue-green, turquoise" (Bowman 1970: 84; NW 34; ASN 25).
Bowman believes that the first component is the same as OP *axšaina-*, "dark coloured"[183], while *pyn-* indicates the basic colour. According to Hinz (ASN 25) the Median equivalent of **axšainaxvaina-* is represented here.
– Aramaic:
  1) 'ḫšynpyn: Pers 11:3, 75:2, 76:3.
  2) 'ḫšynpn: Pers 101:2.

4.4.9.2 *Axšainaxvaina- (East Iranian): "turquoise" (Bowman 1970: 84; NW 34; ASN 25).
– Aramaic: ['ḫš]nḫwyn: Pers 74:3 (restoration based on the context).

4.4.9.3 *Upasaita- / *upasēta-: **upa-saita-*, "almost white" (NW 80-81; ASN 245), cf. Av. *spaēta-*, "white".
Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 698) reads *upa-šaita-, "upon money", with reference to Av. *šaēta-*.
– Elamite:
  1) hu-ba-šá-a-taš: PF 1254:11.
  2) u-ba-šá-a-taš: PFNN 1110:13.
  3) uk-ba-še-taš: PFNN 1024:10, 1108:15.

[183] Actually its meaning is "blue-green, turquoise".

4.4.10. Economical, financial and fiscal expressions

4.4.10.1 *Abigarana-: **abi-garana-*, "penalty" (Benveniste 1934: 180; ASN 18; Azzoni & Lippert 2000: 22-30; Vittmann 2004: 136 and 168), Av. *aibi-gar-*, "to take".

Mattha (1975: 71) prefers a connection with Gk. *ἐπικρεμὴς*. Hughes (apud Mattha, l.c.), who also believes in a Greek origin of the word, does not accept Matha's etymology.

– Aramaic:
1) ʾbygrn: TAD B 2.9:14, 2.10:15, 2.11:10, 3.8:31, 3.9:7, 5.5:6.
2) ʾbgrn: TAD B 3.13:7; TAD D 2.25:5 (ʾbg[r]n).

– Demotic: ȝbykrm[184]: BdE 45/1 2 ii 2.

4.4.10.2 *Ādbaza-: "shortage, deficit" (Gershevitch 1969b: 167; ASN 22), cf. Parth. *ʾdbz*, "hunger, starvation" and Sogd. *δβz*. Cf. 4.2.8, 4.2.1158 and 4.2.1258.

– Elamite: ad-ba-zi-iš: PT 1963-20:17-18,23-24.

4.4.10.3 *Ādranga-: "guarantor" (Greenfield & Porten 1969: 154; Yaron 1971: 244; Berger, apud ASN 23). Cf. Av. *ā-drang-*, "to attach, to fix" and NP *ādrang*, "exigency".

Geiger (apud Kraeling 1953: 243; also Gershevitch 1959: 266-267) reconstructs **adranga-*, "with firm association", a derivation from **drang-*, "to make firm". De Menasce (1954: 161; also Grelot 1972: 245 n.p) and Yaron (1971: 244) also offer other opinions. The former discerns a relation between **ādrang-* and MP *handraxtagīh*, "oppression" and MP *ērangīh*, "condemnation". This leads to a meaning "creditor". Yaron mentions "family member" as a possible translation.

– Aramaic: ʾdrng: TAD B 3.10:18, 3.11:12, 3.12:27, 3.13:9.

4.4.10.4 *Apārga-: "road — value", a kind of tax.

Hinz & Koch (ElW 19) read **apabargašai*, without further explanation.

– Elamite: ab-^{ba}bar-ka$_4$-še: PFNN 2264:5.

4.4.10.5 *Bājika-: **bāji-ka-*, "belonging to the (cattle)-taxation, tax-" (ASN 66). Cf. OP *bāji-*, MP *bāj* and NP *bāz*.

– Elamite: ba-zí-ka$_4$: PFNN 2039:3,7,16.

4.4.10.6 *Bāra-: "tax", derivation from *bar-* (Meyer, apud Jensen 1898: 334-335; Cardascia 1951: 99; ASN 63), OInd. *bhārá-*, "burden, load", MP *bār-*, NP *bār*, Gk. *φόρος*, "tax".

Hallock (1969: 675; also Emmerick, apud Gershevitch 1969b: 167) translates the Elamite occurrences as "shipment", but here too it may simply mean "tax".

– Babylonian:
1) ba-a-ri: BE 9 13:1, 23:1, 44:2, 70:1; BE 10 58:2, 64:2; IMT 51:1, 52:2; PBS 2/1 47:1, 117:2; UET 4 48:7, 49:2,4,7.

[184] Cf. Azzoni & Lippert (2000: 30) for more information on the writing with *-k-* and *-m-*.

2) ba-ar-ra: BE 9 82:1; EE 55:1.
3) ba-ar-ri: EE 82:5'; PBS 2/1 34:5.
4) ba-ar-ru: PBS 2/1 34:7.
5) ba-ra: BE 9 94a:10, 95:11; EE 66:12; IMT 79:8 (ba-r[a]), 80:12; PBS 2/1 92:1, 128:1,10, 203:1.
6) bar-ra: BE 9 83:1,13; BE 10 65:1,12, 67:2, 69:3, 70:1, 75:2, 80:1,11, 88:1, 91:1, 93:1, 101:1,18, 102:1, 115:2; IMT 47:1, 56:1, 57:2; PBS 2/1 3:1, 27:6,13, 29:1,6,12, 38:2, 52:2, 63:2, 101:2, 120:2, 125:2, 132:1, 133:2,11, 136:2, 141:1, 142:5, 188:1, 191:3, 195:1, 196:3, 207:1, 217:2; TuM 2/3 184:2, 187-189:1.
7) bar-ri: PBS 2/1 76:17.
8) ba-ru: BE 9 5:1.

– Elamite:
1) ba-ra(-áš): PF 1947:2; PFNN 861:9.
2) ba-ráš: PF 292:7.

4.4.10.7 *Bātabājiš: **bāta-bāji-š*, "wine-tax" (ElW 166). Cf. Gk. *ποτίβαζης*.

Not **patibāji-š*, "feast, banquet", lit. "Hinzu-Krug" (ASN 185).

– Elamite: ba-ti-ba-zí-iš: PFNN 2268:29.

4.4.10.8 *Ganza- (Med.): "treasure" (Andreas, apud Marti 1896: 65; Scheftelowitz 1923: 12; Schaeder 1930: 245n.3 and 264; Cameron 1948: 42; ASN 102), OInd. *gañja-* (Ir. loan), MP *ganj*, Parth. *gnz* and *gzn*, Sogd. *γzn*, NP *ganj* and *gašn*, Arm. *ganj*.

– Aramaic: gnz: TAD A 6.2:4,13, 6.13:5; TAD B 8.5:3.

– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-an-za: PF 1442:7-8.
2) ka$_4$-in-za-um: PFNN 1564:17.
3) kán-za-um: Fort. 7862:5.

4.4.10.9 *Hadābigāva-: **hada abigāva-*, "interest included, with interest, accrued increment" (Benveniste 1954: 304; Driver 1954: 31; ASN 109; Tavernier 2001c: 170), Parth. *ʾbgʾw*, "increase, growth".

– Aramaic: hdʾbgw: TAD A 6.13:5.

4.4.10.10 *Hamakāryagraba-: **hama-kārya-graba-*, "joint holding" (Shaked 1987: 412).

Segal (1983: 16) argues that one is dealing here with a "pledge of collaboration", i.e. **hamkār-graba-*, consisting of **hamkār-*, "collaborator" (MP and NP *hamkār*) and **graba-*, an Old Iranian expression meaning "oath".

– Aramaic: hmkrygrb: TAD B 8.10:5.

4.4.10.11 *Hamāra-: "reckoning, accounting" (Segal 1983: 43). Cf. NP *hamār*, "number".

– Aramaic: hmr: ATNS 26:13; Epigraphica Anatolica 1 11:3.

4.4.10.12 *Hamārakarnaya-: adjectival derivation from **hamārakara-* (4.4.7.57). The suffix *-naya-* is not yet fully explained (Segal 1983: 69; Schmitt 1987: 149).
– Aramaic: hmrkrny: ATNS 49:4.

4.4.10.13 *Kasunaθva-: **kasuna-θva-*, "loss, decrease", *-θva*-extension of Ir. **kasant-*, a derivation from of Av. *kasu-*, "small" (Driver 1954: 24; Nyberg, apud de Menasce 1954: 162; Eilers 1954-56: 333; Driver 1965: 64; ASN 150).
– Aramaic: ksntw: TAD A 6.10:2,6,8.

4.4.10.14 *Parisēka-: < **parisaika-*, "value, salary", cf. Parth. *sygpr(y)*. This expression, which occurs in the Nisa Ostraca and indicates a kind of tax (Gignoux 1972: 64), is an inversion of **parsēg* (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 16).

Weber (apud NW 90; ASN 180) reconstructs **pariθaika-*, "provisions". Two objections can be made: (1) El. *-š-* rather renders Old Ir. /s/ and (2) all but one spellings of this and other, related expressions (**patisēka-*, **patisēčana-*) are written with a *š*-sign and never with a *t*-sign. The combination of both objections make Weber's etymology unlikely, but nor impossible.

– Elamite: bar-ri-še-kaš-še (šE = OP *-šē-* < *-šai-*, "his"): PF 1831:4-5.

4.4.10.15 *Patisaika- / *patisēka-: kind of payment, a fractional charge or deduction applied to large quantities of wine (Hallock 1969: 135 and 676; NW 90; ASN 189, reconstructing **patiθaika-*). Cf. Parth. *ptsyk*, "compensation" (Gignoux 1972: 62).
– Elamite:
1) [bat-ti]-šá-a-ka$_4$-še (šE = OP *-šē* < *-šai-*, "his"): PFa 30:17.
2) bat-ti-še-ka$_4$: PFNN 2196:48.
3) bat-ti-še-kaš(-še): PF 1953:40, 2006:1; PFNN 2291:16, 2374:23.
4) bat-ti-zé-kaš[185]: PF 259:6-7; PFNN 1583:5.

4.4.10.16 *Patisēčana-: < *patisaičana-, a synonym of **patisaika-* (NW 90; ASN 189, reading **patiθaičana-*). Possibly this is an abstractum with palatalization.
– Elamite: bat-ti-še-za-na: PF 1954:4; PFNN 1019:3, 2196:32.

4.4.10.17 *Pṛθuka-: **pṛθu-ka-*, "remainder, what remains besides" (ElW 222).
– Elamite: pír-tu-ka$_4$: PF 1980:17; PFNN 2355:4,10.

4.4.10.18 *Upayāta-: **upa-yāta-*, "bye-portion" (McKenzie 1971: 610), a "royal impost paid in commoditites and/or the stores of such commodities collected for the use of the crown" (Stolper 1977: 257 and 259).

[185] El. *-z-* rather renders Ir. /s/ than /θ/, despite its exceptional character.

Hinz (NW 88; ASN 245-246) translates "hospitable welcome, feast", with reference to OInd. *úpayāti-*, "to visit".
– Babylonian:
1) up-pa-a-ia-ta: Dar. 244:4.
2) ú-pi-a-tu$_4$: VS 6 160:2.
– Elamite:
1) uk-ba-a-<<pír>>-tam$_6$: PF 423:4. Inaccurate spelling.
2) uk-ba-pe-taš: PF 428:4. Inaccurate spelling.
3) uk-be-ia-taš: Fort. 3544:10; PF 48:7, 49:12; PFNN 489:8-9.
4) uk-pe-ia-at-taš: PF 388:8.
5) uk-pe-ia-tam$_6$: PF 395:7.
6) uk-pe-ia-taš: PF 116:9-10, 124:7-8, 392-393:5-6, 396:5-6, 2016:6-7; PFNN 1351:4-5, 1667:8-9, 2565:4-5.
7) ú-pe-ia-taš: PF 389:5, 390:7, 391:3-4.

4.4.10.19 *Vardaka-: **varda-ka-*, "growth, increase" (ElW 890), *-ka*-extension of **varda-*. Cf. Av. *varəd-*, "to make grow".
– Elamite: mar-tuk-kaš: PF 2009:25,33,43, 2010:17,20,23, 2083:59; PFNN 701:13,25, 1481:19,41, 2181:16, 2281:9, 2546:10.

4.4.10.20 *Zyāni-: "loss, damage" (Eilers 1954-56: 334; ASN 279), Av. *ziiāni*, NP *ziyān*.
– Aramaic: zyny: TAD A 6.15:8.

4.4.11. Garments

4.4.11.1 *Kančuka-: "cloak, coat" (Henning 1937-39: 84; Gershevitch 1969b: 172; NW 93; ASN 144), OInd. *kañcuka-*, "jacket", Parth. *qnjwg*, Choresmian *knc(y)k*.
– Elamite:
1) kán-su-ka$_4$: PF 999:19-20,22.
2) kán-su-uk-ka$_4$: PF 999:15.

4.4.11.2 *Varna-: "wool; garment made of wool" (ElW 883), MP *warr* (< **varna-*, cf. Nyberg 1974: 204).

Henkelman (2005: 147n.18) is more cautious and simply mentions that mar-na designates a kind of garment.

– Elamite: mar-na: PFNN 2252:4.

4.4.12. Geographical expressions

4.4.12.1 *Abistāvana-: "estate" (Gershevitch 1969b: 166; ASN 18), MP *awestān*, NP *ustān*. Cfr. 4.3.1.
– Elamite:
1) ap-pi-iš-da-man-na: PF 733:8-9, 734:9-10, 2035:8-9.
2) ha-pi-iš-da-u-na-um: PF 1527:10-11; PFNN 2556:10-11.

3) [h]a-pi-iš-tam$_5$-na: PFNN 2157:11.

4.4.12.2 *Advan-: "path, travel route" (Driver 1954: 22; ASN 23), OInd. *ádhvan-*, Av. *advan-* and *aδβan-*.
– Aramaic: ʾdwn: TAD A 6.9:5.

4.4.12.3 *Bāga-: "estate, domain" (Eilers 1936: 164-165n.3; Kâmil 1948: 121; Driver 1954: 11; ASN 53).
– Aramaic: bg[186]: ATNS 41:6, 46:5; FX 136:10; TAD A 6.4:2, 6.5:2, 6.7:5, 6.11:5, 6.13:1,3; TAD C 3.6:passim; TAD D 3.39b:2, 6.12e:1.

4.4.12.4 *Dāmā: "estate" (Mayrhofer 1979b: 184), nom. sg. of **dāman-*, Av. *dāman-*.
– Aramaic: dmʾ: FX 136:17.

4.4.12.5 *Dātiš: *Dāti-š, "street" (ASN 86). No Ir. equivalents are known for this word, but it is the equivalent of Sum. *KASKAL* (Hallock, apud ASN 86). Cf. 4.4.7.28-29.
– Elamite: da-ti-iš: PFa 19:8-9, 30:9.

4.4.12.6 *(H)umāna-: **(h)u-māna-*, "village", lit. "good house" (NW 55; ASN 124), Av. *nmāna-*, "house".
– Elamite: ú-ma-na(-am/-um): DSz 44; Fort. 7865:4-5; PF 694:4-5.

4.4.12.7 *(H)umanīš: < **(h)uman-iya-*.
– Elamite:
1) hu-ma-nu-iš: DB i 44, ii 25; Fort. 3668:4; PF 695:5-6, 1573:6, 1600:7, 1857:12,17,21,30; PFNN 1301:4-5, 1318:7, 1475:8-9, 2220:9-10.
2) ma-nu-iš[187]: PF 54:5, 1943:20. Inaccurate spelling.
3) ú-ma-nu-iš: DSf 40; PF 665:5, 1999:9-10; PFNN 509:5-6, 704:2, 2265:5, 2271:6, 2355:2, 2486:57.

4.4.12.8 *Pardēda- (OP) (p-r-d-y-d-[188]: < **paridaida-*, "estate" (ASN 179), with an elided vowel. *Paridaida-, represented in Old Iranian by OP *paridaida-*, is an equivalent of **paridaisa-*.
– Elamite:
1) bar-te-da: PF 158:2-3.
2) bar-te-taš: OGWA 321-322:8; PF 144-145:6, 146-147:8, 148:6-7, 149:2, etc. in PFT; PFa 33:47; PFNN 619:6, 813:6-7, 817:7, etc. in PFNN; PT 49:6, 59:8, 1963-9:7.

[186] Sometimes an Aramaic declensional element is added, e.g. -ʾ-, a pron. suffix or the st. det. pl. ending -yʾ-.

[187] Hinz (ASN 157) reconstructs **māna-*, "house", to Av. *nmāna-*.

[188] On the spelling cf. inter alia Klíma (1977: 181), Steve (1987: 98), Lecoq (1990b, who considers it a verbal form) and Schmitt (1999: 84).

4.4.12.9 *Pardēsa-: equivalent of **paridēda-* with elision of the unstressed epenthetic vowel (Zadok 1976d: 215), cf. Sogd. *prδʾys*, "enclosure".
– Babylonian:
1) pa-ar-^{d}e-su[189]: PSBA 18 Pl.3 v 15-16.
2) pa-ar-de-e-su: EE 120:9.
3) par-de-e-su: PSBA 18 Pl.3 v 17; YOS 3 133:11.
4) par-de-su: Cyr. 212:3.

4.4.12.10 *Ṛmāta-: "estate" (König 1938: 75; ApI 53 and 125; Herzfeld 1968: 334; Cameron 1948: 42; Hallock 1969: 704; NW 61-62; Schmitt 1974: 106; ASN 206), cf. Av. *ārmaiti-*, "agriculture".
Weissbach's (1911: 53) translation is "residence".
– Elamite:
1) ir-ma-at-tam$_6$: PF 1857:8.
2) ir-ma-tam$_6$: DB iii 31; PF 150:10-11, 151:11, 152:10-11, 153:10, 154:9-10, 155:11-12, 331:13, passim in PF; PFNN 522:18, 2271:1, 2369:11.
3) ir-ma-ut-tam$_6$: PF 330:8-9, 2027:8; PFNN 1254:11-12.

4.4.12.11 *Uzbara-: "land belonging to the king, crown land" (Ebeling 1957-71: 78; Dandamayev 1969: 306; Oelsner 1976: 146-147; Zadok 1978: 277; Stolper 1985: 42), Parth. *ʾwzbry*. Most likely the literal meaning is "producing" (ASN 248), cf. Av. *uz-bar-*, "to get out".
– Babylonian:
1) uz-ba-ra: JCS 40 144:1.
2) uz-ba-ri: BE 9 67:4,8,10,12, 73:1; EE 1:3, 11:4, 14:4, 29:4 (uz-ba-r[i]), 118:4 ([u]z-ba-ri); IMT 2:8.
3) uz-bar-ra: BE 9 28:1 (= TuM 2/3 179:1); BE 10 31:9, 32:11; EE 2:4, 23:6, 25:8'; IMT 27:2; PBS 2/1 124:2, 150:7; TuM 2/3 147:5,11,12.
4) [u]z-bar-ri: EE 115:1'.

4.4.13. Juridical expressions

4.4.13.1 *Avadaisa-: **ava-daisa-*, "statement, investigation report" (Schaeder 1930: 266; ASN 51).
– Aramaic: ʾwdys: TAD A 4.10:12.

4.4.13.2 *Dafnya-: **daf-n-ya-*, "one who is to be mistreated; tortured", pass. part. in *-na-* (Shaked 1987: 411) of Av. *dab-*, "to cheat" (OInd. *dabh-*).

[189] This spelling is probably the result of confusion with the goddess Isis, who appears in this way in other proper names (Pinches 1896: 255).

– Aramaic: dpny: TAD B 8.4:4.

4.4.13.3 *Duškṛta-: **duš-kṛta-*, "crime". Originally this was an adjective (OP **duškṛta-*, "ill-done"), but later on it appeared in the juridical language as a substantive (Berger, apud ASN 90).

– Aramaic: dwškrt: TAD A 4.5:3.

4.4.13.4 *Niparta-: **ni-parta-*, "litigation, legal proceedings" (Shaked 1987: 412). Cf. Av. *parət-*, "to fight, argue".

This expression is certainly Iranian, despite Grelot's argument (1970: 130) that it is a derivation from Arabic *nāfara-*, "to litigate". Segal (1983: 15) reconstructs **nifrīti-*, "curse".

– Aramaic: nprt: TAD B 2.8:3, 8.9:5.

4.4.13.5 *Sraušyatā- (fem.): **sraušya-tā-*, "corporal punishment, chastisement" (Benveniste 1954: 304; ASN 227). Cf. Av. *sraošiiā-*.

Driver (1954: 15; also Bogoljubov 1971: 18) the expression consists of Av. *sraošiiā-* and the Aramaic suffix *-ītā-*.

– Aramaic: srwšyt: TAD A 6.3:6.

4.4.13.6 *Vibuxtā: **vi-buxtā*, "released" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 38; ASN 259), with *-buxtā* as pass. part. nom. fem. sg. of Av. *baog-*, "to release".

– Elamite:
1) mi-bu-uk-da: PFNN 2112:7-8.
2) mi-bu-uk-taš: PF 1223:5,8.

4.4.14. Metrological expressions

4.4.14.1 *Daθv(i)ya-: **daθ-v-(i)ya-*, "1/10 of a BÁN (= 0, 97 litres)", a measure of capacity (NW 101; ASN 87). Cf. MP *dah*, "ten".

– Elamite: da-du-ia: PF 1696:1; PFNN 664:1, 666:4,6.

4.4.14.2 *Grīva-: "bushel", a capacity measure (= 9,7 litres) (Harmatta 1959: 345-346; Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 72-73; NW 101; ASN 108, reconstructing **grīβa-*), OInd. *gṛbhi-*, "holding, containing", MP and Parth. *gryw*.

Hinz cites Ar. *grb* and Parth. *grbn* as proof for the existence of a phoneme /β/ in Old Persian. Nevertheless it should be noted that these expressions (written with B) are only attested in texts from the Hellenistic period and that the writings could be the result of phonological developments.

– Elamite:
1) ik-ri-ma: PF 91-92:2; PFNN 2218:1.
2) ik-ri-maš: PF 89:1.
3) ki-ri-ma: PF 90:2, 98-99:2, 1369:1; PFa 11:1; PFNN 348:1, 819:1, 1461:1, 1501:3 (k[i]-ri-ma), 1611:2, 1690:1, 2169:1-2,11-12.
4) kur-ri-ma: PF 88:2, 503:1-2, 625:1, 643:1-2, 740:2, 845:1, 1148:1, 1185:1-2, 2028:4; PFa 27:7; PFNN 508:1, 805:6.

5) kur-ri-maš: PFNN 798:3-4.
6) kur-ri-mi(-iš): PF 730:1, 1574:1; PFNN 855:1-2, 1651:1.

4.4.14.3 *Kapiča-: **kap-ič̌a-*, "holder, something containing" (Hübschmann 1897: 167; Krauss 1937: 370-371; Bailey 1954: 149; Eilers 1983: 503; Vittmann 2004: 136-137 and 168), derivation from PIE **kap-*, "to hold, contain", cf. MP *kapīč*, NP *kavīz*, Gk. *καπίθη*, Georgian *k'abic'i*, Coptic *kpḍ* and Arab. *qafīz*.

Although the word is most likely Iranian, an Indian origin (*kapaṭī*) cannot be completely ruled out (Chantraine 1968: 494; Vittmann 2004: 136-137).

– Demotic: kpḏ: Scott 1986: 145 no.79 (reading: Ritner 1996: 685).

4.4.14.4 *Mari-: "jar, pitcher" (ASN 160-161), Parth. *mry*, Arm. *mar*, Gk. *μάρις* (e.g. in Fort. 1771:3, cf. Hallock 1969: 2). Schmitt (1989: 312) argues that a certain etymology of this word is not yet found. The hitherto most probable one is a derivation from **mā-*, "to measure", followed by a suffix *-ri-*.

Hinz (NW 101) and Segal (1983: 59) suspect a non-Iranian (resp. Elamite and Greek) origin.

– Aramaic: mry: ATNS 42a:3,4, 91:1,2,3; Vestnik Karakalpakskogo filiala Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoj SSR 1979/1: 47.

– Elamite: mar-ri(-iš): AMI 19 149:1; PF 41:1, 341:1, 344:1, 1839:4, 2029:1, passim in PFT; PT 1:13, 12:8, 13:12, etc. in PTT; passim in PFNN.

4.4.14.5 *Ṛdba-: "artabe", North Iranian equivalent of **ṛdva-*. This reconstruction is based on Schmitt (1971b: 102), the only difference being that Schmitt reconstructs a vowel between /d/ and /b/. Gk. *ἀρτάβη*.

This word is most likely Iranian in origin (Sethe 1916: 113; Schmitt 1971b: 101-102; Černý & Parker 1971: 128; Vleeming 1981: 543; Dandamayev 1987), despite the doubts of scholars like Hemmerdinger (1969: 18-19, who opts for an Aramaic origin) and Peust (1999: 185, who does not offer an alternative solution). According to Vitmann (2004: 137) the word may have an unknown origin. Eilers (1983: 503 and 1985: 24) reconstructs **artă-pă-*, "meal chest, container of flour". Hinz (NW 33; ASN 204) reconstructs **ṛdβa-*, with /β/ as a new Old Persian phoneme. The basis for this hypothesis are the Elamite co-existent forms ir-du-ma and ir-du-ba, ir-ti-ba. Hinz explains the different spellings as the attempt by Elamite scribes to render this phoneme, a spirantized /b/. By reconstructing **ṛtaβam*, Gershevitch (1979: 148n.37 and 177) supports the existence of /β/. Nevertheless this phoneme is in all likelihood unknown in Old Persian (Schmitt 1974: 103).

– Aramaic: 'rdb: TAD A 4.10:14; TAD B 4.3:5,8, 4.4:4,5,7,8; TAD D 1.34b:2 (['']rdbn).

– Babylonian: ar-da-bi: Camb. 316:1,6,9,13,14,18; JCS 53 113 no.12:7.

– Elamite:
1) ir-du-ba(-am/-um): PF 323:1, 483:1-2, 586:1, 703-705:1; PFNN 440:1-2, 442:1-2.

2) ir-ti-ba: PF 1955-1956:5-6, 1957:6,15,16,20, 1960:7,7-8; PFNN 535:7,9, 573:4,4-5,8,11, 728:16, 762:11, 2104:3-4, 2184:10, 2192:1, 2206:11-12, 2211:13-15, 2290:6, 2299:3,4, 2344:8,9, 2371:8,14-15,15, 2337:13, 2372:5,6,13.

4.4.14.6 *Ṛdva- (OP): "artabe".

Cameron (apud NW 33) connects "artabe" with Av. *ərəduua-* and *ərəδβa-*, but this is not accepted by Schmitt (apud Vittmann 2004: 137n.28). The etymology thus remains uncertain.

– Elamite: ir-du-ma(-am/-um): Fs Steve 249:1; PF 238:1,5,9, 306:1, 328:1-2, 701:1-2, 715-716:1, 791:1,12, 807:1-2, 1603:1-2, 1980:15; PFNN 541:1, 766:1, 1354:1-2, 2208:7,10, 2266:9-10, 2300:19, 2355:5.

4.4.15. Metrological expressions, rendered by (fractional) numbers

Most authors, cited below, believe that the items below are indications of coins. This is, however, by no means certain. Consequently these items are not listed in a category called "coins" or something similar.

4.4.15.1 *Čaç(uš)vaka- (OP): ¼ of a shekel (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 184; NW 71; ASN 69).

– Elamite: za-iš-ma-kaš: PT 1963-20:18,24.

4.4.15.2 *Dānakă-: ⅛ of a shekel (Cameron 1948: 132; Schmitt 1991c: 160). The word comes from **dānā-*, "grain", cf. OInd. *dhānā-*, MP *dān(ag)*, NP *dāna* (Cameron 1948: 42; Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 184n.12; ASN 82; Schmitt 1991c: 161, with more literature).

Eilers (1954-59: 332-333) wants to relate the word to OInd. *dānā-*, to which he, however, assigns the non-existing meaning "distribution, part" (Schmitt, l.c.). Bailey (1958b: 41 and 1960b: 21) postulates **danakā-*, but that is not certain.

– Elamite:

1) da-na-ka$_4$(-um): PT 1963-4:x+8, x+10.
2) da-na-kaš: PT 28:22.

4.4.15.3 *Daθauvaka- (OPs): 1/10 of a *kaṛša-* (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 184; NW 71; ASN 87). Cf. MP *dah*, "ten".

– Elamite: da-sa-u-ma-kaš: PT 1963-20:3,15,18-19,22,24.

4.4.15.4 *Pančuka-: "5 units", indication of one shekel (Bernhard, apud Cameron 1965: 176; Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 183; NW 71; ASN 178). Cf. OInd. *páñca-*, Av. *paṇča-*, MP and NP *panj*, Sogd. *pnc* and also 4.4.18.7.

One would rather expect **panča-ka-*, "five", but **pančuka-* is probably the result of analogy with *čaθru-* (Gershevitch, l.c.).

Some scholars (Harmatta 1954: 301-308; HdA 136; Dandamayev & Lukonin 1989: 202) derive the expression from **paθu-*, "small live stock" and refer to the circumstance that — in their view — /č/ cannot be rendered by a *s*-sign and that other languages too have a connection between "money" and "small live stock", e.g. Lat. *pecus*, "small live stock" / *pecunia*, "money". Although their second argument is correct, it cannot be used to corroborate their etymology. Their first argument can easily be denied: as Achaemenid Elamite has no sign ZU, other ways had to be invented to write /ču/.

– Elamite:

1) ba-su-ka$_4$: PT 10a:3.
2) pan-su-kaš: PT 11:1,9, 12:3,8,9,16-18,20,22, passim in PTT.
3) pan-su-uk-kaš: PT 1:3,4,12,19-20,20-21, 3:3, 3a:3, 9:13.
4) pan-šu-kaš: PT 12:19. Inaccurate spelling.
5) ^{ba}pan-su-kaš: PT 17:1.

4.4.15.5 *Vīstōvaka- (OPs): < **vīstauvaka-*, 1/20 of a *kaṛša-* (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 183-184; Dresden 1977: 52), cf. MP *wīst*, "twenty".

– Elamite: mi-iš-du-ma-kaš: PT 1963-20:15-16,20.

4.4.16. Military expressions

4.4.16.1 *Daθapa-: **daθa-pa-*, "decury" (Hallock 1969: 680; ElW 294). Cf. MP *dah*, "ten".

– Elamite: da-sa-ba(-um): PF 138:7, 139:9, 140:7-8; PFNN 2581:7-8.

4.4.16.2 *Handēsa-: < **han-daisa-*, "muster, mobilization", lit. "showing together" (Schaeder 1930: 257; von Soden, apud San Nicoló 1950: 232; ASN 115; Dandamayev 1992: 18), Arm. *handēs*.

– Babylonian: an-de-e-su: UET 4 109:4,15.

4.4.16.3 *Handaiza- (Med.): **han-daiza-*, "garrisoned" (Henning, apud Driver 1965: 54; ASN 116; Muraoka & Porten 1998: 371). A reading **han-dizā-* cannot be excluded.

Andreas (apud Schulthess 1907: 187n.3) has the right analysis, but limits himself to the literal translation "co-inhabitant of the fortress". Elsewhere (apud Lidzbarski 1908: 214n.1; also Benveniste 1954: 302-303) he rejects this analysis, because in his view **daiz-* is only used in the sense of "heaping up earth". Its meaning is then "massing (of men), concentration (of troops), mobilization". Schaeder (1930: 257-258) reconstructs **han-daisa-*, "mobilization", but an Ir. /s/ is never expressed by an Aramaic *z*. Driver's (1965: 54) translation is "confining wall".

– Aramaic:

1) hndyz: TAD A 4.5:7, 6.7:6.
2) hndz: TAD B 2.7:4.

4.4.16.4 *Passāda-: "military equipment" (Dandamayev 1989: 563-565 and 1992: 16; Bongenaar 1997: 38n.65; Jursa 1999: 99-100 and 106), Iranian equivalent of Bab. *ṛikis qabli*. The word evolved from **pat-sāda-* (through assimilation), cf. Sogd *pts'δ*, "military equipment".

Joannès (1982: 22-23) wrongly reads OP *pastiš* "infanterist". Zadok (1984c: 36) pleads for **pasali/uyāta-*, but later (1998b: 272 n.7) he derives it from NP *pasayde*, "prepared" (Henning 1939-42: 104, relating this expression to Sogd. *pts'yt*, "to adorn").

– Babylonian: pa-sa-ʾ-du: VS 4 126:4.

4.4.16.5 *Θatapa- (OP): "group of hundred, century" (ASN 240).
– Elamite:
1) sa-da-ba(-an/-um): Fort. 8625:5-6; PF 141:6, 142:5-6, 143:4-5.
2) sa-tuk-ba(-um): PF 138:5, 139:7, 140:5; PFNN 2581:5.

4.4.16.6 *Yauza- (Med.): "revolt, turmoil, rebellion" (Kâmil 1948: 120; Driver 1954: 26-27; Eilers 1954-56: 334; Driver 1965: 68; ASN 275), cf. OP *yaud-*, "to be in turmoil" and Av. *yaoza-*, "excitement".
– Aramaic: ywz: TAD A 6.11:2,4; TAD D 6.12g:1 (*[y]wzʾ*, st.det.).

4.4.17. Month names

4.4.17.1 *Dṛnabājiš: 5th month. **Dṛna-bāji-š*, "harvest-tax month" (Schmitt 2003: 48-49, with literature).
– Elamite:
1) tar-na-ba-kaš: Fort. 3127:5. Inaccurate writing (ElW 292; Schmitt 2003: 21n.32).
2) tar-na-ba-zí(-iš): Fort. 2569:8-9; PF 855:6, 1002:9, 1014:6, 1426:10-11, 1612:9, 1619:5-6, 1656:10-11, 1746:7, 1957:13-14; PFNN 1510:9-10, 2531:14.
3) tur-na-ba-iz-zí(-iš): PF 790:15-16, 944:8-9, 959:7, 987:8-9, 1134:9-10, 1183:7-8, 1352:12-13, 1353:10-11, 1790:17; PFNN 365:11-12, 778:7-8, 1377:16-17, 1427:10-11, 2311:10, 2439:1, 2529:7-8.
4) tur-na-ba-ši-na-ma: PF 866:5 (*na-ma* is Elamite).
5) tur-na-ba-za-iš: PF 1830:8. Inaccurate spelling.
6) tur-na-ba-zí(-iš): JNES 53 264:8; PF 6:11-12, 63:14, 238:14, 811:7-8, 1405:10, 1470:9-10, etc. in PFT; PFa 20:12-13; PFNN 804:16, 1223:13-14, 1428:8-9, 2390:19, passim in PFNN; PT 13:15-16, 31:8-9, 74:10-11.
7) tu-ur-na-ba-zí-iš: PF 1647:6-7.

4.4.17.2 *Dṛnabājiya-: **dṛnabāji-ya-*, *-ya*-extension of **dṛnabāji-* (NW 66; Schmitt 2003: 49).
– Elamite:
1) tar-na-ba-[zí]-ia-iš: Fort. 3127:10-11.
2) tur-na-ba-iz-zí-ia-iš: PF 1026:7-8.
3) tur-na-ba-zí-ia-iš: PF 400:12-13, 1638:9-10 (°-[na-ba-zí]-°), 1948:10,35,40,59.

4.4.17.3 *Θavayahvā (OPd) / *Θavēhvā: nom. sg. of **θavayahvanta-* / **θavēhvanta-*, the 11th month, "the perilous (month)" (Cameron 1948: 45; NW 69; ASN 241), cf. Av. *θvaiiahvant-*, "perilous".

Because of the beginnnings with sa-m° and šá-m° Schmitt (2003: 52-55) does not believe in a reconstruction *θ(a)vayahvā. One would expect El. tu-ma. Yet this is not necessary. The Elamite sequence Ca-ma may also render Ir. /Cava/ (Tavernier, in print c).
– Elamite:
1) ha-mi-ia-maš[190]: PFNN 563:11.
2) ha-mi-ma[191]: PF 2062:14.
3) sa-me-ia-ma-iš: Fort. 5904:13.
4) sa-me-ia-maš: PF 802:6, 875:10, 2074:18; PFNN 678:12-13, 2478:12-13.
5) sa-me-maš: PF 1731:8.
6) sa-mi-ia[192]: PF 1526:8; PFNN 505:11-12, 2157:8-9; PT 40:7, 44:13a.
7) sa-mi-ia-ma(-iš): Fort. 2564:5, PF 298:16, 862:12; PFNN 361:14, 512:14-15, 832:8-9, 1203:10-11, 1239:7-8, 1366:14, 2393:10; PT 12:11.
8) sa-mi-ia-maš: Ach. Hist. 13 107-108:17, Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:11; PF 398:10, 760:9, passim in PFT; PFNN 528:13, passim in PFNN; PT 45:7,19.
9) sa-mi-ia-maš[iš]: PF 1032:9-10; PFNN 437:9.
10) sa-mi-ma: PF 1051:11, 1071:15, 1116:15, 1117:15-16, 1172:15, 1188:10, 1699:11; PFNN 312:12-13, 457:14, 544:2, 745:9, 2251:10 (sa-mi-<ma>), etc. in PFNN.
11) sa-mi-maš: PF 244:9-10 (°-<<da>>), 989:8, 1006:11, 1024:7, 1666:10, 1741:5-6, 1762:9; PFNN 311:13-14, 338:8, 438:6, 1333:9, 1482:98.
12) sa-mi-maš[iš]: PF 1741:5-6, 1762:9-10.
13) sa-mi-ú-maš[193]: PF 1676:7.
14) šá-mi-ia[194]: PFNN 1617:6.
15) šá-mi-ma(-áš): PF 1259:8, 1276:9, 1447:8, 1468:9-10, 1543:10; PFNN 2123:10-11.
16) šá-mi-u-[maš]: PF 1189:19.

4.4.17.4 *Θavayahvanta- (OPd) / *Θavēhvanta-.
– Elamite:
1) sa-me-man-taš: PF 1976:15-16, 1977:13; PFNN 704:16-17, 1546:8-9, 2284:19.

[190] Error for sa-mi-ia-maš (ElW 615; Schmitt 2003: 23n.51).
[191] Error for sa-mi-ma (Cameron 1948: 45n.15; ElW 614; Schmitt 2003: 23n.56).
[192] Abbreviated form of sa-mi-ia-ma(-iš) or sa-mi-ia-maš.
[193] Error for sa-mi-ia-maš (Schmitt 2003: 23n.55).
[194] Abbreviated form of *šá-mi-ia-ma(-iš) or *šá-mi-ia-maš.

2) sa-mi-ia-man-da: Fort. 7249:6-7.
3) sa-mi-ia-man-taš: PF 677:9-10, 678:6-7, 804:10, 910:6, 1356:12, 1726:9-10, 1818:9-10, 1822:10, 1825:13, 1828:11, 1944:44, 2056:15; PFNN 385:9-10, 730:5-6, 1237:11-12, 1424:7-8, 1463:6-7; PT 1:16, 2:x+4, 37:18-19, 41:8,14-15, 42:6-7,23.
4) sa-mi-ia-man-ti: PT 12b:10.
5) sa-mi-ia-un-da: PFNN 491:10-11.
6) sa-mi-man-da: PF 1039:10; PFNN 2564:7-8; PT 21:11.
7) sa-mi-man-na[195]: PFNN 2411:12-13.
8) sa-mi-man-taš: PF 289:9-10, 290:10-11, 814:6-7, 941:9, 1306:5, 1691:7, 1843:11, 1940:17, 1946:2,56, 1951:16, 2072:87; PFNN 1648:14-15, 2486:35,54, 2493:21,47; PT 32:9.
9) šá-am-man-ti-iš[196]: PFNN 1553:1.
10) šá-mi-ma-da: PF 1077:12; PFNN 1572:12.
11) šá-mi-man-da: PT 27:11-12.
12) šá-mi-man-taš: PF 1511:8, 1570:14; PFNN 2372:43.

4.4.17.5 *Vṛkažana-: 8th month. **Vṛka-žana-*, "month of the wolf hunt" (NW 68), with a secondary development /j/ > /ž/, which is possibly Northern Iranian (Tedesco 1921: 190-191). Cf. 4.1.8.

Based on the equation Ir/ /za/ = El. ŠA (cf. mi-iš-ba-šá-na for Ir. **vispazana-*, cf. 1.4.2.5) Schmitt (2003: 45-47, with literature) believes that a reading **vṛkāzana-* is preferable, "month of the chasing away of wolves". The numerous spellings with ŠA, however, do not support this theory.

– Elamite:
1) ma-ir-ka$_4$-šá-na-iš: PFNN 2489:5.
2) mar^{ir}-ka$_4$-šá-na-iš: PFNN 646:6.
3) mar-ka$_4$-iš-šá-na-iš: PF 671:8.
4) mar-ka$_4$-šá-na-áš/(-iš): Ach. Hist. 13 110-111:9-10; PF 7:7, 299:3, 306:10-11, 672:6, 923:6, 995:6, 1098:12, 1251:7, 1288:8-9 (cf. Schmitt 2003: 22n.43), 1289:12-13, passim in PFT; PFNN 450:13, 524:11-12, 687:6-7, 713:10-11, 726:38, 2486:31,43, 2545:8-9,18, passim in PFNN.
5) mar-kaš-šá-na: PFNN 1274:14.
6) mar-ka$_4$-za-na(-iš): DB iii 43; Fort. 3126:9-10, 3569:4; PF 1692:6; PFNN 459:9-10, 1292:13-14, 1388:5-6, 1506:10-11, 2130:8-9.
7) mi-ir-ka$_4$-šá-na: Fort. 7093:8-9.

[195] Error for sa-mi-man-da/-taš.
[196] Constructed analogically with e.g. *bāgayati-* (Schmitt 2003: 23-24n.60).

4.4.18. Numerals

All numerals listed below are fractions. They are derived from the other numerals by means of the suffix *-uva-* (OPs) or *-hva-* (OPd and Av.). Cf. Hoffmann 1965.

4.4.18.1 *Aštōva- (OPs): < **aštauva-*, "$^1/_8$" (Cameron 1948: 42; NW 41; ASN 48), Av. *aštahuua-*.
– Elamite: áš-du-maš: PT 15:19,21,25, 39:16,20,27, 1957-1:4,22,25,28.

4.4.18.2 *Čaçu(š)va- (OP): "$^1/_4$" (Cameron 1948: 38 and 42; NW 71; ASN 69), Av. *čaθrušuua-*.
– Elamite:
1) za-áš-maš[197]: PT 11:1,14, 17:14, 20:15, 40:1,10,14,16,18,21, 22, etc. in PTT.
2) za-iš-šu-iš-ma: PT 14:14.
3) za-iš-šu-iš-maš: PT 13:4,19.
4) za-iš-šu-maš: PT 15:19, 18:20, 22:18.
5) za-šu-iš-ma: PT 12:19,21.

4.4.18.3 *Çistōya- (OP): < **çistauvya-*, "$^1/_{30}$", a *-ya*-extension of **çistauva-*, "1/3" (Gershevitch 1969b: 175).
Hinz (NW 72; ASN 77) wrongly reconstructs **çistaxvya-*.
– Elamite: ši-iš-du-ia-iš: PFNN 1301:11.

4.4.18.4 *Çišva-: "$^1/_3$" (Cameron 1948: 42; NW 71; ASN 77), Av. *θrišuua-*.
– Elamite:
1) ši-iš-ma: PFNN 2211:13.
2) ši-iš-maš: PT 22:3, 25:5,12,18,21, 33:8,16, etc. in PTT.
3) ši-šu-maš: PT 28:18-19,21, 29:22,25.

4.4.18.5 *Daθahva- (OPd): **daθa-hva-*, "$^1/_{10}$" (NW 71; ASN 87, reading **daθaxva-*). Cf. MP *dah*, "ten".
A less probable etymology is preferred by Cameron (1958: 175: **dasama-*).
– Elamite: da-sa-maš: PT 1957-4:6.

4.4.18.6 *Navauva- (OPs): **nava-uva-*, "$^1/_9$" (Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 183-184; NW 71; ASN 175), OInd. *návan-*, Av. *nauua-*, MP *nō*, Sogd. *nw'*, Khot. *nai-*, "nine".
Cameron (1948: 43) reconstructs **navama-*.
– Elamite: nu-ma-u-maš: PT 22:4.

4.4.18.7 *Pančōva- (OPs): < **pança-uva-*, "$^1/_5$" (HdA 136; Gershevitch, apud Cameron 1965: 183; NW 71; ASN 178). Cf. **pančuka-* (4.4.15.4).
– Elamite: pan-su-ma-iš: PT 1957-4:5.

[197] This spelling most likely renders an abbreviation **čaçva-*. When the Elamite scribe did hear **čaçušva-*, he used a spelling containing šU (nos.2-5). Hinz's (NW 71) explanation (the Elamite scribas were loose in expressing Iranian words) is not correct.

4.4.18.8 *Vīstōya-: < **vistauya-*, "$^1/_{20}$" (Gershevitch 1969b: 174-175), < Proto-Iranian **vīsta(h)uia-*, a *-ya*-extension of **vīsta(h)va-*, "$^1/_{20}$".
Hinz (NW 72; ASN 267) reconstructs **vīstaxva-*, which, however, does not comply with the Elamite spelling.
– Elamite: mi-iš-du-ia: PF 1260:10-11; PFNN 664:5-6 (mi-<iš>-du-ia), 666:5.

4.4.19. Nutritional expressions

4.4.19.1 *Bāta-: "wine" (Eilers, apud Bowman 1970: 101), MP *bādag*.
– Aramaic: b't: Pers 29:4.

4.4.19.2 *Dūga-: "yoghurt", NP *dūya* (Shaked 2004: 41).
– Aramaic: dwg: Shaked 2004: 41.

4.4.19.3 *Gōdakēna-: < **gaudakaina-*, something sweet made from walnuts (ElW 497), MP *gōzēnag*.
Other proposals are (1) a kind of bread (Hallock 1969: 714) and (2) "baby" (ASN 152), to MP *kōdak*, "baby".
– Elamite: ku-da-ge-na: PF 298:3; PFNN 2108:2-3.

4.4.19.4 *(H)uvarya- (OP): OP equivalent[198] of **xvarya-*.
– Elamite: ma-ri-ia-um: PF 414:4-5, 417:5-6, 418:7-8, 419:6, 420:5-6, 634:6-7.

4.4.19.5 *Hvara- (OPd): **hvara-*, a kind of grain product, from the root *hvar-*, cf. Osset. *xor* and *xuār* "grain".
The reconstruction **āhvara-* (Gershevitch 1969b: 170; NW 82; ASN 25-26) does not correspond with the spelling.
– Elamite:
1) ha-mar(-am/-áš): PF 136:1, 1199:1; PFNN 1386:1-2.
2) ha-ma-ra(-um): PF 298:2, 1170:1; PFNN 659:1.
3) ha-mar-ra(-iš/-um): PF 1198:2, 1575:2-3; PFNN 1645:1-2 (°-<<ra>>-um).
4) ha-mu-ra: PF 1765:1.
5) ha-um-ra: PFNN 2458:1.

4.4.19.6 *Kāra-: "grain" (NW 85; ASN 147), cf. the Persian present stem *kār-* of *kāštan*, "to cultivate, grow".
– Elamite: ka_4-ir: PF 155:10, 157:11.

4.4.19.7 *Maduka-: "honey". Cf. 4.2.1017.
– Elamite:
1) ma-du-ka_4: PF 298:12, 720:1; PFNN 1407:1-2.
2) ma-du-kaš: Fort. 6767:1.

[198] Because of the fact that MA cannot render /xva/.

3) ma-du-uk-ka_4: PF 719:1-2, 721:1, 722:1-2; PFNN 676:1-2, PFNN 1383:1.

4.4.19.8 *Migdauvarya- (OPs): **migda-uvarya-*, "fruit porridge", lit. "fruit-food" (ElW 922).
– Elamite: mi-ig-tam_6-ma-ri-ia-um: PF 414:4-5.

4.4.19.9 *Panīra-: "cheese" (NW 82; Korbel, apud ASN 178), NP *panīr*, Arm. *panir*.
– Elamite: ba-nu-ra: PF 725:1.

4.4.19.10 *Paxsēmna-: **paxs-ē-mna-*, "cooked" or "ripened" (Testen 1999), with *-ē-* (< *-aya-*) as the causative verbal suffix and *-mna-* as the ending of the medial participle. Cf. Av. *pak-* and NP *puxtan*.
Testen (l.c.) also mentions **paxç-ē-mna-*, with the same meaning. Yet this is not likely for two reasons: (1) Babylonian normally does not express -/ç/- by means of a single /s/, but rather by means of a geminated /ss/ or a single /š/. (2) Babylonian has only one explicitly Old Persian expressions.
– Babylonian: pa-ḫa-se-e-mu-nu: Dar. 388:2.

4.4.19.11 *Pista-: "flour" (ElW 198). Cf. 4.4.7.90 and 4.2.1305.
– Elamite: pi-i[š]-da: PFNN 1536:3-4.

4.4.19.12 *Θavar-: "sour" (Hinz 1970: 424; McKenzie 1971: 610; ASN 240), cf. NP *sirka*, "vinegar" (< **θavuri-ka-*).
This meaning is much more probable than the meaning "salty", proposed by Hinz (1971: 293 and 1971b: 22-23; NW 83), referring to MP *sōr*.
– Elamite:
1) sa-mar: PF 274:1-2, 275:1-2; PFNN 699:9,13, 2104:2, 2268:6.
2) sa-u-ir: PF 279:1, 294:1, 407:2, 813:2, 1845:4-5; PFNN 669:6-7, 762:28, 1670:2, 2374:19.
3) sa-u-mar: PF 822:2, 1137:1-2.
4) sa-u-ri: PF 295:1, 775:2.
5) sa-u-ur: PF 300:1, 821:1, 1138:1-2, 1957:29, 1998:16; PFNN 1644:2,9, 2362:8.

4.4.19.13 *Vrīziš: **vrīzi-š*, "rice" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 731; Mayrhofer 1971: 58; ASN 270), OInd. *vrīhí-*, Sogd. *rysk* and *ryz'kh*, Khot. *rrīysua-*, Yaghni *rijan*, Pašto *vrīži*, Czech *rýže*.
– Elamite:
1) mi-ri-zí-iš: PF 544:1.
2) ru-mi-zí-iš: PFNN 587:1.

4.4.19.14 *Xvara-: "bread" (Gershevitch 1969b: 164; ElW 504). Cf. Av. *x"ar-*, "to eat".
– Elamite: ku-ir-ra-um: PF 408:4-5.

4.4.19.15 *Xvarakara-: **xvara-kara-*, "the baking of the bread" (NW 82; ASN 140).

– Elamite:
1) ku-ir-ka$_4$-ráš: PF 404:6.
2) ku-ir-ra-ka$_4$-ráš: PFNN 1277:4-5.
3) ku-ra-ka$_4$-ráš: PF 403:5-6, 405-406:4.
4) ku-ur-ra-ka$_4$-ráš: PFNN 1680:5.

4.4.19.16 *Xvarī-: < **xvariya-*, "hot food" (NW 81; ASN 141). Cf. Av. *x^{v}ar-*, "to eat".
– Elamite:
1) ku-ir-ri-um: PF 828:6; PFNN 1626:4.
2) ku-ri-um: PF 412:6; PFNN 508:5-6.
3) kur-ri-um: PF 409:5-6, 410:5, 411:4; PFNN 747:4-5, 1464:4.

4.4.19.17 *Xvarθa-: "food, barley(?)" (NW 82; ASN 141), cf. Av. *x^{v}arəθa-*, "food".

Hinz & Koch (EIW 532 and 533) consider the writings with SA as renderings of Med. **xvarθa-* and the writings with ŠA as renderings of OP **xvarša-*. One cannot, however, agree with this, since it would be the only attestation of the distinction Med. /θ/ — OP /š/. Secondly the major part of the attestations would render the Median equivalent, something which is unusual in Elamite.
Aramaic *ḥrš* (ATNS 50:9; TAD C 3.28:111,112) has — despite Zadok's (1985: 175) hypothesis that this word also renders **xvarša-* — nothing to do with the expression under discussion.

– Elamite:
1) kur-ru-sa(-am/-an/-um): Fort. 7860:2; PF 141-143:2, 164:2, 170-171:3, 176:2, 424:1-2, passim in PFT; PFNN 332:1-2, 752:2 (kur-ru-<sa>-um), 1534:2, 2238:2, etc. in PFNN.
2) kur-ru-šá(-am): Fort. 8629:2; PF 40:2, 425:6.

4.4.19.18 *Yavya-: "barley" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 697; ASN 275).
– Elamite: Hi-ia-mi-ia-iš: PF 1223:1.

4.4.20. Plants, including fruit and vegetables

4.4.20.1 *Ādātiš (OP): *Ādāti-š, OP equivalent of **āzātiš*.
– Elamite:
1) ha-da-at-ti-iš: Fort. 7860:1, 8625:1-2; PFNN 1261:1, 1669:2-3, 1685:1-2, 2450:1-2, 2485:1-2.
2) ha-da-ti-iš: PF 151:2-3, 153:2, 154:1-2, 156:2, 157:1-2, 163:1, 166:3, 167:2-3, 203:2; PFNN 842:1-2.

4.4.20.2 *Aspasti-: **aspa-sti-*, "Medicago sativa", lit. "horse-fodder" (Zimmern 1914: 56; Mayrhofer 1985: 165-166; Postgate 1987: 96-97; Jursa 1993: 13-14). Cf. 4.2.144 and 4.2.162.

The CAD (A/2 338-339) argues that this word is attested too early (CT 14 50:62, from the period 721-710) to be Iranian. Nevertheless it might be possible that the Assyrians or the Medes brought it into Babylonia (Dandamayev 1992: 16-17).

– Babylonian:
1) as-pa-as-ti: IMT 18:6.
2) as-pa-as-tu$_4$: EE 19:6; VS 5 55:2 (as-pa-<as>-tu$_4$)[199].
3) as-pa-sa-tu$_4$: AION Suppl. 67 14:3 (reading: Jursa 1993: 13).

4.4.20.3 *Āzātiš (Med.): *Āzāti-š, "very good grain, wheat" (Hinz 1970: 436), cf. Av. *āzāta-*, "noble".
– Elamite: ha-za-ti(-iš): Fort. 6765:2, 8629:3; PF 40:1, 161:1; PFNN 754:2.

4.4.20.4 *Bahya-: "quince" (Arfa'ī, apud ASN 62), MP *bēh*, NP *beh*.
– Elamite: ba-a-ia(-um): Fort. 9042:3; PFa 1:3, 33:6,22,34; PFNN 2188:6, 2423:1-2, 2576:1-2.

4.4.20.5 *Draxta-: "tree" (Hinz 1972: 246; ASN 88; Lipiński 1975: 156), OP *draxt-*, MP *draxt*, NP *diraxt*.
– Aramaic: drḫt: KAI 260:2,5.

4.4.20.6 *Gazara-: "carrot" (Segal 1983: 62), NP *gazar* and the Arabic loan *gizar*.
– Aramaic: gzr: ATNS 43b ii 3.

4.4.20.7 *Gōdiča-: < **gaudača-*, "prune" (EIW 547, reading **gaudača-*), NP *gowje*.
– Elamite: ku-ti-iz-za-(-an, -um): PF 644:9; PFNN 2141:1-2.

4.4.20.8 *Kutakāra-: < **kutaka-kāra-*, "grain of minor quality" (EIW 552). Cf. Av. *kutaka-*, "little, less".
– Elamite: ku-ud-da-ka$_4$-har: PF 794:3 (in ku-ud-du-ka$_4$-har.máš-zí-ra, "mower of **kutakāra*-grain").

4.4.20.9 *Migda-: "fruit" (Gershevitch, apud Hallock 1969: 730 and 1969b: 174; ASN 165-166; Hallock 1978: 116). Cf. Parth. *mygdg*, MP *mēw*, Sogd. *myδ'k*, NP *maiwa* and *miwa*. The MP and NP forms developed from *$mēγ$ < **maδg-* (Henning 1947-48: 56).
– Elamite:
1) me-ig-da-um: PFa 1:11.
2) mi-ig-da-um: PF 1154:1-2, 1305:5-6.
3) mi-ig-tam$_5$: PF 208:6-7, 209:4, 253:3, 413:8, 1890:1, etc. in PFT; PFNN 746:1-2, 2351:3.
4) mi-ig-tam$_6$: PF 205:4-5, 224:3, 225:5, 645:3, 2018:46, etc. in PFT; PFNN 522:7, 2345:3, etc. in PFNN.
5) mi-ig-taš: PF 415:5-6, 416:4-5; PFNN 1523:1-2.
6) mi-ka$_4$-tam$_6$: PF 1146:3.

[199] Dandamayev (1992: 16) believes with regard to this spelling that it is Iranian *aspa-*, followed by *-ātu-*, an Akk. plural ending. Yet this is not right: it is a mere scribal error for *aspastu* (Stolper 1994: 621).

4.4.20.10 *Naučiš: *Nauči-š, "cedar wood" (EIW 995), cf. OP *nauč-aina-*, "of cedar wood", NP *nož(an)*, "cedar".
– Elamite: na-u-zí-iš: DSz 26-27; PF 1799:7.

4.4.20.11 *Pistaka-: **pista-ka-*, "pistachio" (Hinz 1971: 295; NW 84; ASN 192), MP *pistag*, NP *pistā*.
Gershevitch (1969b: 181) reconstructs **pistu-ka-*.
– Elamite: pi-iš-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1988:27.

4.4.20.12 *Rābaka-: "rhubarb" (Gershevitch 1969b: 181), NP *riwand*, Yidga *rīv* (< **rāba-*, Morgenstierne 1938: 244).
– Elamite: ra-ab-ba-kaš: PF 1182:1.

4.4.20.13 *Razya-: **raz-ya-*, "grape" (ASN 204).
– Elamite: ra-zí-ia(-ra/-um): PF 52:9; PFNN 1523:2-3.

4.4.20.14 *Ṛdastiš: **ṛda-sti-š*, "prune", lit. "red food" (NW 84-85; ASN 205). Cf. 4.2.1414.
– Elamite: ir-taš-ti(-iš): PF 209:3, 252:2, 1986:4,22,39, 1987:24, 42, 49,66, 1990:6; PFNN 2180:9, 2269:2, 2378:5, 2542:10,15, 24.

4.4.20.15 *Sinjitiš: *Sinjiti-š, "jujube" (Arfaʾî, apud ASN 224), NP *sinjid*.
– Elamite: ši-in-ši-it-ti-iš: PFNN 1074:1,10.

4.4.20.16 *Šanaka-: **šana-ka-*, *-ka*-extension of **šana-*, "hemp cookie" (ASN 229) or "hemp seed" (EIW 1131). Cf. 4.3.206.
– Elamite: šá-na-kaš: PFNN 521:11.

4.4.20.17 *Tūta-: "mulberry" (ASN 239), NP *tūt*.
It is not entirely sure if this is an Iranian loan into Semitic or the reverse.
– Aramaic: twt: PF 215:U.E.
– Elamite:
1) du-da(-um): PF 1990:7,20, 2018:10,20,38,44; PFNN 417: 2.
2) du-ud-da(-an/-um): PF 137:1, 208:4, 215:1, 216:1-2, 225:2 (du-[d]a-[u]m), 644:3, 647:4, 1981:17; PFNN 439:1-2, 559:10, etc. in PFNN.

4.4.20.18 *Umrūta-: "pear" (Arfaʾî, apud Hallock 1969: v; NW 84; ASN 242), MP *urmōd*, NP *armūd* and *amrūd*.
– Elamite:
1) hu-ma-ru-ud-da: PFa 33:8,21,28.
2) ú-ma-ru-ud-da: PFa 33:14.
3) u-mi-ru-ud-da: PFNN 2224:1-2.
4) ú-um-ru-ud-da: PF 146:2-3; PFNN 1439:1-2.

4.4.20.19 *Zaita-: "olive (tree)" (ASN 276), MP *zayt*, "olive".
– Elamite: za-a-da-um: PFa 33:1 ([za-a]-d[a-um]),41.

4.4.21. Pronominal expressions

4.4.21.1 *-Šē-: < OP *-šai-*, "his".
– Elamite: še: attached to various loanwords, e.g. **nāfašē*, **pānīyašē*, **patisēkašē*, etc.

4.4.22. Religious expressions

4.4.22.1 *Āgriš: *Ā-gri-š, "hymn of praise" (ASN 24), cf. Av. *gar-*, "to praise".
– Elamite: ak-ri-iš: PF 774:6, 1942:1.

4.4.22.2 *Āṭr-: "fire" (Hoffmann, apud Lidzbarski 1902: 73; Bogoljubov 1971b: 281).
– Aramaic: ʾtr: ESE 1 71 no.2:3 (= RÉS 1785I).

4.4.22.3 *Āṭrvadana- (OP): "brazier, fan to fan the fire" (Benveniste 1954: 304; ASN 49), Old Persian equivalent of Av. *ātrə.vazana-*.
Two other, unlikely, readings are (1) *ʾtdwrn*, an *ʾitpaʿʿal* of *dwr*, "to walk about" (Bogoljubov 1969: 71) and (2) **āṭṛdāna-*, "fire-holder" (Grelot 1972: 404n.o).
– Aramaic: ʾtrwdn: TAD A 4.5:17.

4.4.22.4 *Bagadauçiya- / *bagadauçīš: **baga-dauç-iya-*, "sacrificial feast to honour Baga" (NW 84; ASN 55).
– Elamite:
1) ba-ka$_4$-da-u-ši-ia: PF 336:4, 337:5-6, 348-349:4-5; PFNN 613:5, 679:4-5, 893:4, 1679:4.
2) ba-ka$_4$-da-u-ši(-iš): PFNN 318:4-5, 366:4-5 (ba-ka$_4$-da[-u]-ši), 650:5, 791:6-7.

4.4.22.5 *Bāgaya-: **bāga-ya-*, "offering", lit. "assigned share" (Shaked 2004: 45).
– Aramaic: bgy: Shaked 2004: 45.

4.4.22.6 *Dainā-: "religion" (Shaked 2004: 43-44), Av. *daēnā-*, MP *dēn*, NP *dīn*.
– Aramaic: dyn: Shaked 2004: 43 (Doc. C3:2,18).

4.4.22.7 *Dauça- / *dōça-: "sacrifice" (Cameron 1948: 7 and 42; NW 83-84; ASN 91; Koch 1977: 127; OGWA 144).
Gershevitch (apud Hallock 1969: 19) connects the word with Av. *zaoša-*, "delight".
– Elamite:
1) da-u-iš-šá-um: PF 756:6.
2) da-u-šá(-am/-an/-um): PF 757:7-8, 758:6, 759:4-5, 760:5-6, 763:5-6, 764:4-5, 768:6-7, 769:5-6, 771:3, 1802:8-9, 1951:1, 2036:7, 2067-2068:6; PFNN 498:4, 544:1, 561:5-6, 683:3-4, 1262:5-6, 2486:25,26,45, etc. in PFNN.
3) du-iš-šá-um: PFNN 595:6-7.
4) du-u-šá-um: PF 1953:4.

5) tam_5-šá(-am/-an): PF 354:4, 767:4.
6) tam_5^u-šá-um: PF 770:8-9.

4.4.22.8 *Dauçaka-: **dauça-ka-*, "sacrifice" (NW 108-109; ASN 91; Koch 1977: 127), *-ka*-extension of **dauça-*.

Gershevitch (1969b: 169) reconstructs **dauθalika-* and refers to Sogd. *dwsy*, "executor of religious rites". Da-u-si-ka_4 is attested in relation to the *lan*-ceremony. In most cases this ceremony has a direct relation to **dauça-* (cf. Hallock 1969: 25), which could be an argument in favour of Hinz's reconstruction (NW 108-109; ASN 91). In this case the spelling da-u-si-ka_4, with the only example of El. SA/SI/SU rendering OP /ça/, is inaccurate, because it would be the only attestation of a *s*-sign (SA, SI, SU) rendering Ir. /ç/.

– Elamite: da-u-si-ka_4: PF 772:10.

4.4.22.9 *Dauçanyašna- (OP): **dauça-n-yašna-*, "sacrificial feast" (ASN 92).
– Elamite: da-u-šá-an-nu-áš-na: PF 766:4-5.

4.4.22.10 *Dauçiya-: **dauç-iya-*, "sacrifice, sacrificial gift" (NW 84; ASN 92; Koch 1977: 127-128, assuming an adjectival derivation in *-ya-*; OGWA 144).

Gershevitch (apud PFT 19; also Schwartz 1985: 688) proposes "what serves for satisfaction, propitiatory offering", but that is unlikely (OGWA 144n.308).

– Elamite:
1) da-u-ši-ia(-um): OGWA 321-322:3,5,7,9,11,13,15,17-18,19.
2) tam_5-ši-ia-um: Fort. 3126:6; PF 366:4-5, 367:6-7, 761-762:6, 765:4, 2030:5; PFNN 1601:6-7.
3) tam_5^u-ši-ia-um: PFNN 598:6-7.

4.4.22.11 *Visaibagā / *visēbagā: **visai bagā-*, "all gods" (Hinz 1970: 428; ASN 53 and 264; Koch 1977: 87-90), nom. pl. of OP *visa-baga-*.
– Elamite:
1) mi-iš-šá-a-ba-ka_4: PFNN 2211:5.
2) mi-iš-še-ba-ka_4: PF 338:6.
3) mi-šá-a-ba-ka_4: PF 1956:2.
4) mi-še-ba-ka_4: PF 1955:2; PFNN 2265:2, 2362:4-5.

4.4.22.12 *Visēbagāya-: < **visai bagā-ya-*, "all gods" (ElW 928).
– Elamite: mi-iš-še-ba-ke-ia: PFNN 2206:2.

4.4.22.13 *Yašta-: "dedication" (Shaked 2004: 46 and n.48), cf. Av. *yaz-*, "to worship".
– Aramaic: yšt': Shaked 2004: 46.

4.4.23. Verbal expressions

4.4.23.1 *Astu: "be", imper. 3 sg. of OP *ah-*, "to be" (NW 159; ASN 47).

Some scholars (ApI 64; König 1938: 76; Cameron 1948: 42) reconstruct **astiy*, "it is".

– Elamite: áš-du: DB iii 65; PF 1859:13.

4.4.23.2 *Bara: "bring", imper. 2 sg. of *bar-*, "to bring" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 279; ASN 63).
– Aramaic: br: ESE 1 71 no.2:2 (= RÉS 1785H).

4.4.23.3 *Dādi: "give", imper. 2 sg. of *dā-*, "to give" (Bogoljubov 1971b: 281).

Marquart (apud RÉS 1785 I) reconstructs **dārē-*, "protector" and Bogoljubov (l.c.; also ASN 195) also mentions **rādaya-*, "to accomplish", from *rād-*.

– Aramaic: ddy: ESE 1 71 no.2:3 (= RÉS 1785I).

5 INCERTA

This category is divided into five groups, which for various reasons cannot be included in the source material for the linguistic study of Iranian proper names and loanwords in non-Iranian texts. The five groups are:

(1) Fragmentary Iranica: Iranica that are either not completely preserved due to a broken text or that are uncertain because of uncertain readings. Some names or words are restored.

(2) Problematic Iranica: names and words which are almost certainly Iranian, but without a plausible Iranian etymology.

(3) Hybrid Iranica: names and words that are partly Iranian, but partly belong to a non-Iranian language, e.g. Babylonian.

(4) Dubia: names and words whose Iranian character is doubtful, since non-Iranian etymologies are equally possible.

(5) Pseudo-Iranica: names and words formerly considered Iranian, but later shown to be non-Iranian.

5.1. Fragmentary Iranica

5.1.1. Personal names

5.1.1.1 *Abdax[]: *Abda-x[], "eminent-???" (Shaked, apud TAD C: lvii).
– Aramaic: ʾBdḥ[]: TAD C 4.7:3.

5.1.1.2 *Apinašē[]: probably Iranian (ElW 75).
– Elamite: [A]p-pi(?)-na-še(?)-[]: PFNN 705:10.

5.1.1.3 *Āṭṛb[]: *Āṭṛ-b[], "fire-??" Hinz (ASN 48) reads ʾTrb[rzn] and reconstructs *Āṭṛbṛzana-, "exalting the fire". Bowman (1970: 126-127) mentions both *Ātar-[] and *Ṛta-[].
– Aramaic: ʾTrb[]: Pers 58:3.

5.1.1.4 *B[]tapāta-: *B[]ta-pāta- (Bowman 1970: 155). A possible restoration is *Bādišta-pāta-, "protected in the most secure manner", to Av. *baiδištəm*, "very certain" (NW 50 and ASN 52). Another proposal is *Bātapātā, the nom. sg. of *Bātapātar-, "protector of the wine".
– Aramaic: B[]tpt: Pers 100:3.

5.1.1.5 *Ba[]ta-: most likely an Iranian name (ElW 175).
– Elamite: Ba-[x-y]-da: PF 270:6-7.

5.1.1.6 *Baga[]: *Baga-[] (Bowman 1970: 162; Dandamayev 1992: 63).
– Aramaic: Bg[]: Pers 111:3.
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-[]: Studia Pohl. Series Major 11 6.

5.1.1.7 Bgpy: Segal (1983: 45) has proposed this reading, which subsequently has led to two reconstructions: (1) *Baga-pāyu-, "having Baga as protector" (Zadok 1986: 41), to OInd. *pāyu-* and Av. *pāiiu-*; (2) *Baga-p-aya-, a two-stem hypocoristic of e.g. *Baga-pāta- (Schmitt 1987: 151), with reference to Gk. Βαγαπαῖος (IN 57). Unfortunately for both authors the reading is far from certain. The photograph of the text (Segal 1983: Pl.6) proves this. Nowadays all signs are considered unclear.
– Aramaic: [xxxx]: ATNS 28b:2.

5.1.1.8 *Bagatar[]xušu-: *Baga-tar[]xušu- (Dandamayev 1992: 62).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-tar-[]-ḫu-šú: UET 4 67:12 (there is room for one sign).

5.1.1.9 *Bagaz[]: *Baga-z[], perhaps *Baga-zušta- (Naveh 1985: 117).
– Aramaic: Bgz[]: Atiqot 17 116 no.5:1.

5.1.1.10 *[Bar]našbahuraba: probably Iranian. The restoration is quite uncertain (ElW 154).
– Elamite: [Bar]-na-iš-ba-hu-ra-ba: PFNN 309:3.

5.1.1.11 *Buxta[]: *Buxta-[], "released-???" (Zadok 1990).
– Babylonian: Bu-uḫ-t[a-]: BE 8/1 120:4.

5.1.1.12 *Gausuka[]: probably Iranian (ElW 456).
– Elamite: Ka_4-u-šu-ka_4-[]: PFNN 2426:4.

5.1.1.13 *Hamiki[]pāta-: "protected by???".
– Elamite: Ha-mi-ki-[]-bad-da: PFNN 121:3-4.

5.1.1.14 Ḥw[xxx]št: Segal's (1983: 45) reading Ḥrnpt is considered by Zadok (1986: 42) as a rendering of *Xvarnah-pāta-, "protected by the glory". Nevertheless the photograph of the text (Segal 1983: Pl.6) shows that this reading is false.
– Aramaic: Ḥw[xxx]št[200]: TAD B 8.4:1.

5.1.1.15 Khuvaksaros: most likely a rendering of Ir. *(H)uvaxšara-, but the reading of the name is not certain. Young (1969: 271; also Haas 1976: 80-82) reads Khuvakharos, which Haas identified with OP Uvaxštra-. Lejeune (1978: 787; also Schmitt 1982d: IV/35) reads Ksuvaksaros and reconstructs *Huvaxšara-, arguing that Phrygian does not have the phoneme /h/ and that another sign had to be used

[200] In line 11 of the same text Segal (l.c.) also reads Ḥrnpt, but again the text is too damaged to be certain.

to render Ir. /h/. D'jakonov & Neroznak (1985: 40) read Khuvaksaros, arguing that the first (KH) and the fifth sign (K) are not completely identical.
– Phrygian: Khuvaksaros: A 40.

5.1.1.16 *Mauda-[]: *Mauda-[], "joy". The proposed restorations (Zadok 1986: 42) are *Maudabaga-, "providing joy to Baga" and *Mauda-ka-, Gk. Μαυδάκα (IN 200).
– Aramaic: Mwd[]: ATNS 59:2.

5.1.1.17 *Miθra[] (Med.): part of a *Mithra-name (Zadok 1990).
– Babylonian:
1) Mi-ti-ri-[]: OECT 10 358:4'.
2) Mi-ti-ru-a-[]: Anatolica 14 124 no.38:4'.

5.1.1.18 *Pančapu[ça]-: *Panča-puça-, "having five sons" (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; ASN 178).
– Elamite: Ban-za-ap-pu-[iš-šá]: PFNN 1052:2.

5.1.1.19 *Pašiya[t/θ]ra[xa]-(?): Benveniste (apud Posener 1936: 132) identifies this name with Gk. Πισσουθνής, which is a representation of *Pišiyauθna- (Oppert 1851: 380; Pott 1859: 383; Justi 1864: 190; Benveniste 1966: 123-125; Schmitt 2006: 120-121)[201]. Hinz (ASN 192; also Kuhrt & Smith 1982: 205), however, argues that in that case the R is not explained. Kuhrt & Smith read P3-š3-3-y-[t]-r-[ḫ3]. Moreover the Egyptian article *p3* normally does not occur with non-Egyptian names, unless an ethnic group is indicated. This poses a problem for an Iranian analysis.
– Hieroglyphic: P3-š3-3-y-[t]-r-[ḫ3]: BdE 11 36.

5.1.1.20 *Pati-: possibly "lord", but the inscription is too damaged to allow a certain reading (Röllig 2002: 200-201). Lemaire (apud Röllig 2002: 201) proposes to read Whwš, a rendering of Ir. *Vahuš, "good".
– Aramaic: Pty: DS 19.

5.1.1.21 *Patir[]: *Pati-r[] or Eg. P3-ṯ3i-r[wd]. If the latter were right, the Aramaic spelling should be restored Ptyr[wt] (Segal 1983: 96).
– Aramaic: Ptyr[]: ATNS 74:4.

5.1.1.22 *[Ram]īkara-: < *Ramiya-kara-, "maker of refined stuff" (ElW 1027, reconstructing *Ramyakara-).
– Elamite: [Ra-m]i-kar-ráš: PFNN 1524:10.

5.1.1.23 *Ṛta[]: *Ṛta-[] (Zadok 1981-82: 137; Dandamayev 1992: 44; Huyse 1992: 292 and n.50). Segal (1983: 94) adds that the Aramaic

[201] This name is the Old Persian equivalent of Av. *Pišiiaoθna-, an abbreviated form of Av. Piši.šiiaoθna-.

spelling can also be read ʾDt, i.e. *Ādāta-, the OP equivalent of Av. *āzāta-*, "free, noble".
– Aramaic: ʾRt[]: ATNS 71:2; TAD A 4.6:3.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-[]: PBS 2/1 64:2.
– Demotic: ɜrt[]: S.H5-450 obv. ii 1,4.

5.1.1.24 *Ṛta[]ša[]: name beginning with *Ṛta-. Jursa (2003: 68) mentions a restoration Ar-ta-[aḫ]-šá-ʿriʾ.
– Babylonian: Ar-ta-[]-šá-[]: RA 97 67-68 (BM 54064:30).

5.1.1.25 *Ṛtam[]: *Ṛta-m[]- (Bowman 1970: 127). Possibly *Ṛtam[iθra]-.
– Aramaic: ʾRtm[]: Pers 58:2.

5.1.1.26 *Ṛ[tamiθra]-: *Ṛ[ta-miθra]- (Bowman 1970: 104).
– Aramaic: ʾR[tmtr]: Pers 33:3.

5.1.1.27 *Ṛtap[]: *Ṛta-p[]-. Segal (1983: 85) is doubtful of the Egyptian character of this name.
– Aramaic: ʾRtp[]: ATNS 63:3.

5.1.1.28 *Ṛtapa[]: *Ṛta-pa[]-.
– Elamite: Ir-tab-b[a-]: PFNN 545:2.

5.1.1.29 *Ṛtau[]: *Ṛta-u[]-.
– Elamite: Ir-tam$_5$-[]: PFNN 346:3.

5.1.1.30 *Ṛtu[]: *Ṛtu-[]-.
– Elamite: Ir-t[u-]: PFNN 22:2.

5.1.1.31 Šataršika: probably an Iranian name (ElW 1140), if read correctly by Hallock (1960: 100). Cameron (1948: 197) reads 2 ME 1 IGI ka$_4$.
– Elamite: Šá-tar-ši-ka$_4$: PT 81:7.

5.1.1.32 *Taxmipar[] (Med.; fem.): *Taxm-ipar[] (?) (ElW 271).
– Elamite: Tak-mi-bar-[]: PF 2038:11.

5.1.1.33 *Upari[]iya- (fem.): certainly Iranian (ElW 1209).
– Elamite: Uk-be-ri-[]-ri-ia: PFNN 541:17.

5.1.1.34 *Vazaxvaza-: According to Segal (1983: 74) this Iranian name means "wanting to fly", but Schmitt (1987: 152) rejects this. In any case the name should be read D/r[]ḥ[] (cf. Segal 1983: Pl.52).
– Aramaic: D/r[]ḥ[]: ATNS 52b:2.

5.1.1.35 *Xšaθra[]: either *Xša0ra-ka- (-[ka$_4$]) or *Xšaθra-pā- (-[ba]), according to Hinz (ASN 136).
– Elamite: Šá-ut-ra-[]: PF 200:8-9.

5.1.1.36 *[Xu]mbyaka-: *[Xu]mbya-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of a *Xumbya-name, cf. the Av. PN Xuṇbiia- (NW 50; ASN 137; Mayrhofer 1979: I/101-102).
– Aramaic: [Ḥw]mbyk: Pers 81:2.

5.1.1.37 *Xvarzušta-/Ḥr-pɜšd: Segal (1983: 84) reads Ḥrpšt and connects it with Egyptian Ḥr-pɜšd. Zadok (1985: 175) reads Ḥrzšt, Ir. Xvarzušta-, "beloved by the sun(-god)". Unfortunately the Aramaic text is too heavily damaged.
– Aramaic: Ḥrp/zšt: TAD B 8.4:9.

5.1.1.38 *Yat[]na-: according to Lemaire (1975: 90; also Klingbeil 1992: 80), who reads ʾGy[z]n, the first part of this name (ʾGy-) is identical with El. Ak-ki-ia, while the second part (*-zn*) is a rendering of **zana-*. Yet El. Ak-ki-ia reflects *Haxiya-, which cannot be rendered by Ar. ʾGyzn. Teixidor (1976: 332) reads Yt[r]n, a Biblical name.
– Aramaic: Yt[]n: Semitica 25 93:6.

5.1.1.39 *[]aspa-: "horse", part of an *Aspa-name (Dandamayev 1992: 145; Stolper 1993: 10).
– Babylonian: []-as-pi: AION Suppl. 77 1:18.

5.1.1.40 *[]bara-: "bearer" (Eilers 1940b: 202n.4; Dandamayev 1992: 145).
– Babylonian: []-bar-ri: VAT 15626 (cf. Eilers, l.c.).

5.1.1.41 *[]barmēzanta-: Zadok (1981-82: 137-138) presents three possibilities: *[]-maizanta-, "nursing carefully, cherishing", *[]-vaijanta-, "swinging" (Av. *vaēg-*) or *[]-vaijanta-, "extending" (cf. *Airiiana vaējah-*, "extension of the Iranians").
– Babylonian: []-bar-me-za-an-ta-ʾ: PBS 2/1 200:9.

5.1.1.42 *[]baθrā- or []pāθra-: the spelling ba-tur-ra is probably part of an Iranian name.
– Elamite: []-ba-tur-ra: Helms 1997 101:1; PF 1947:21.

5.1.1.43 *[]mazda-: part of a *Mazda-name (Bowman 1970: 147).
– Aramaic: []mzd: Pers 88:2.

5.1.1.44 *[]mudapa-(?): since the bearer of this name is explicitly called "Chorasmian" (^{lú}Ḫur-zi-ma-a-a), his name must be Iranian (Dandamayev 1992: 145).
– Babylonian: []-mu-da-pi: YOS 7 154:11.

5.1.1.45 *[]npāka-: *[]n-pā-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic. Bowman (1970: 75) reads [S]npk, whereas Hinz (NW 47 and ASN 126) mentions *Hunāfaka-.
– Aramaic: []npk: Pers 2:3.

5.1.1.46 *[]θradaya-: possibly *[Mi]θra-d-aya-, a two-stem hypocoristic of *Miθradāta-. Zadok (1985: 176) reconstructs *[Ā]tṛ-daya-, "fire as observator", but it is better to consider the name as a two-stem hypocoristic. With regard to the first part of the name both *[Mi]θra- and *[Ā]tṛ- are possible. Segal (1983: 121) prefers a Semitic name [ʾ]Trdy.
– Aramaic: []trdy: ATNS 139:1.

5.1.1.47 *[]xakaya-: probably Iranian (Dandamayev 1992: 145).
– Babylonian: []-ḫa-ka-ʾ: JAOS 114 627:16.

5.1.1.48 *[]zahyabara-: Segal (1983: 94) reconstructs *[Ā]zahyabara-, "bearer of the needs".
– Aramaic: []zhybr: ATNS 71:2.

5.1.1.49 *[]zaunta- or *[]zavanta-: most likely the ending of an Iranian name.
– Babylonian: []-zu-un-tu$_4$: YBC 11611:12.

5.1.2. Geographical names

5.1.2.1 *Kabarapiš- / Kabarduš(?): Cameron (1948: 167) identifies this name with present Ḫafr, but Hinz & Koch (ElW 412) deny this. The sign DU may possibly be read AP (Hallock 1969: 709). Koch (1990: 245) reconstructs *Kafrapya-.
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-bar-ap/du(-iš): PF 2079:6,7; PT 49a-3:6, 53:5-6, 80:4-5.
2) Ka$_4$-bar-ap/du-iš-be (gentilic): PT 80:4-5.

5.1.2.2 *Kabarapya-/Kabarduya-(?): derivation from the preceding name (ElW 412).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-bar-ap/du-ia-iš: PT 49a-3:9, 53:8.

5.1.2.3 *Parsamn[āka-](?): probably Iranian (ElW 159; Vallat 1993: 212).
– Elamite: Bar-šá-am-n[a-ak-ka$_4$]: PF 693:10 (reading: Hallock 1969: 214).

5.1.2.4 *[Va]hištaka-(?): *[Va]hišta-ka-, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *[Va]hišta- (NW 47; ASN 249). Bowman (1970: 86) reads [G]hštk.
– Aramaic: [W]hštk: Pers 14:4 (reading: NW 47).

5.1.2.5 *Vahuna[]š: *Vahu-na[]š, certainly Iranian (ElW 905).
– Elamitisch: Ma-u-na-[]-iš: PFNN 2345:19.

5.1.3. Loanwords

5.1.3.1 *Ab[yava]ram: according to Bogoljubov (1971b: 279) this expression is a development from **abi-āvaram* (acc.), to Av. *aiβiiāvah-*, "support, assistance" and *auuar-*, "help".
– Aramaic: ʾb[yw]rm: ESE 1 71 no.2:2 (= RÉS 1785H).

5.1.3.2 *Ganzabara- / *ṛšabara- (?): both readings are possible (Hallock, Nachlaß, cited in ElW 779).
– Elamite: ir/kán-šá-ba-ra: PFNN 680:6.

5.1.3.3 *I[štiš]: "sun-dried brick" (Cameron 1948: 42; ElW 746).
– Elamite: i-[iš-ti-iš]: DSf 25.

5.1.3.4 ^{d}Mabarma: the reading of this form is not certain, since a reading an-ma-bar-ma is equally possible. Even its Iranian character cannot be proven (ElW 857).
– Elamite: ^{d}ma-bar-ma: PFNN 639:9.

5.1.3.5 *Patiš[]: possible restorations and etymologies are (1) **patištā(na)-* (Segal 1983: 20), to Av. *paitištā(na)-*, "living place" and Parth. *pdyšt*, (2) **patiškamba-*, "room", to Sogd. *ptšknp* and Arm. *patškamb* and (3) **patyasti-*, "obedient" (Zadok 1985: 174), to Av. *paitiiāsti-* and *paitiiesti-*.
– Aramaic: ptyš[]: ATNS 5:5.

5.1.3.6 *Šev[]istama-: probably the name of a feast (ElW 1154). It looks as if this expression is a superlative in *-tama-*.
– Elamite: še-ú-[]-iš-da-ma: PFNN 498:4-5.

5.1.3.7 *Θūkakāra- (OP): *Θūka-kāra-, "beard grain, Grannengetreide" (NW 85 and ASN 240), cf. OInd. *śūka-*, "awn of grain". This reading is, however, not at all certain: it could also be hi-/še-ba-ka$_4$-ra (Stolper, pers. comm. 27/04/2000). The context reveals that it must indicate an expensive kind of grain, as it is mentioned together with ^{GIŠ}za-li, "linseed" (Koch 1980: 127n.120).
– Elamite: tu(?)-ka$_4$-kar: PF 1594:15.

5.1.3.8 *Viθam(?): Hallock (1969: 771) reads [ú]-da-um and reconstructs *viθam*. Yet according to Hinz & Koch (ElW 1198) Ir. /θa/ must be rendered by SA.
– Elamite: [ú(?)]-da-um: PF 2071:5.

5.2. Hybrid Iranica

5.2.1. Personal names

5.2.1.1 *ʿAbdsāsān: *ʿAbd-Sāsān, "servant of Sāsān", hybrid West Semitic — Iranian name.
Several readings have been brought forward: (1) ʿBd-Snb (ʿAbd-Sinob; de Luynes 1846: 65); (2) ʿBdmn (Waddington 1861: 85 and 1861b: 4; Six 1885: 28); (3) ʿBkmmw (Anonymus 1967: Pl.235 no.6855); (4) ʿBrkmw, which was identified with Gk. ʾΑβροκόμας[202] (Babelon 1892: 178-179, 1892b: 459 and 1910: 427-

[202] Schmitt (2002: 41) points to the difficulties in analyzing this name and rejects the former etymologies (e.g. *A(h)ura-kāma- [Pott 1859: 440], a connection with El. Ú-ra-ka$_4$-ma [Benveniste 1966: 95], or *Abra-kāma-, "Wolkenwunsch" [ASN 20]).

432; Anonymus 1967: Pl.235 no.6855; Delaunay 1974: Pl.4 fig.11; Schmitt 1975b: 212n.17); (5) ʿBrmnw (Lenormant 1897: 14 n.i). Reinach (1891: 362-364) mentions the various possibilities and explicitly rejects the present reading, which was first proposed by Six (1894: 302-303) and accepted by various authors (Marquart 1895: 494; Lidzbarski 1902: 106; Robinson 1920: 11; Babelon & Waddington 1925: 33; Harrison 1982: 284-86; Alram 1986: 111; Schmitt 2002: 41). The identification of ʿBdssn and Στσίνης (Six, l.c.), however, is not right (Robinson 1920: 12).

– Aramaic: ʿBdssn: Alram 1986 345.

5.2.1.2 *Abṛta-: *Ab-ṛta-, "having Arta as father", hybrid form of Bab. *abu*, "father" and Ir. **ṛta-*.

– Babylonian: AD-ar-ta-ʾ: IMT 44:Le.E.

5.2.1.3 *Ātṛilī-: *Ātṛ-ili, "Atar is my god", Ir. *Ātṛ- and Bab. *ilī*, "my god" (Swiggers 1981: 349-350).

Grelot (1972: 501) connects the first part of this name with Hurrian *att-*, "father".

– Aramaic: ʾTrly: TAD B 2.1:16, 2.7:18, 3.4:23.

5.2.1.4 *Dātanana(ya)-: *Dāta-Nana(ya)-, "given by Nanaya" (Naveh & Shaked 1986: 22). Nanaya is a Babylonian goddess, who also occurs in the Sogdian anthroponym Nnyβntk.

– Aramaic: Dtnnʾ: JRAS 1986 21 no.1:2.

5.2.1.5 *Ildāta-: *Il-dāta-, "given by God". DINGIR.MEŠ is one of the usual renderings of Sem. Il. Here it could be a rendering of *Bagadāta- (Zadok 1979c: 152-153; Dandamayev 1992: 50).

– Babylonian: DINGIR.MEŠ-da-a-ta: JCS 28 40 no.28:5.

5.2.1.6 *Miθrabua-: *Miθra-abua-, "Mithra is my father" (Michaelides 1943: 99).

Zadok (2004: 116) believes that the inscription is a forgery, because in his view hybrid Irano-Akkadian names do not occur in Akkadian sources. This is incorrect, as is proven by the names listed here.

– Babylonian: Mi-it-ri-AD-u-a: ASAE 43 Pl.6.

5.2.1.7 *Yahubaga-: *Yahu-baga-, "Jahwe, the god" (Gropp 2001: 82).

– Aramaic: [Y]hwbg[h]: WDSP 7:7.

5.2.2. Loanwords

5.2.2.1 *Girisuakara-: *Girisua-kara-, "maker of grits, groats" (Zadok 1982: 115-116), Aramaic **gərīs* of *girśā-*, "grits" and Ir. **kara-*, "maker".

Herzfeld (1938b: 166n.4) reconstructs *kṛšva-kara-, "peasant, farmer". Eilers (1962: 55) remains undecisive.

– Babylonian: gi-ri-su-a-kar-ra-nu (pl.): BE 10 15:3.

5.2.2.2 *Hašya- (OP): this Iranian expression, meaning "true, real" is remodeled in Elamite to a verb stem *haš-*, meaning "to check, control" (NW 92; ASN 118).

– Elamite:

1) ha-áš-šá-iš-da: PF 252:9-10; PFNN 2206:31, 2358:16, 2479:26.
2) ha-áš-šá-ka$_4$: PF 1986:35, 1987:20,62,72; PFNN 577:19, 762:34, 2206:26, 2211:41, 2290:31, 2358:11, 2371:37, 2337:41, 2487:31.
3) ha-šá-iš: PFNN 521:4.
4) ha-šá-iš-da: PF 1956:33, 1988:34; PFa 22:6-7; PFNN 1263:6-7.
5) ha-šá-iš-šá: PFNN 521:42-43.
6) ha-šá-ka$_4$: PF 298:14, 1955:28, 1986:18, 1989:9-10; PFNN 521:13, 720:9, 1263:3, 2351:10.

5.2.2.3 *Hašīra-: *Hašī-ra-, "he who checks, controller", with **hašī-* < **hašya-* (ASN 118, reading **hašya-ra-*).

– Elamite: ha-ši-ra: PFNN 2492:16.

5.2.2.4 *Haθīka- (Med.): Median equivalent of **hašīka-* (NW 92; ASN 118).

– Elamite: ha-si-ka$_4$: PF 234:8, 237:7, 238:13, 1960:28-29, 1981:10 ([ha]-si-ka$_4$); PFa 31:36-37; PFNN 2344:29, 2433:8.

5.2.2.5 *Magallatakara-: **magallata-kara-*, "maker of leather scrolls", Ar. **magallāt*, "leather scrolls" and Ir. **kara-* (Eilers 1940: 49n.1; Zadok 1982: 115).

– Babylonian:
1) Ma-gal-la-a-ta-kar-ra-nu: BE 10 93:5.
2) Ma-gal-la-a-tú-a-kar-ra-nu: BE 10 93:6,Lo.E.; PBS 2/1 136:10.
3) Ma-gal-la-a-tú-kar-ra-nu: PBS 2/1 136:U.E.

5.2.2.6 *Samīdakara- (Med.): **samīda-kara-*, "maker of flour", cf. Akk. *samīdu* and Ar. *səmīdā*. **Samīda-* is originally a Semitic word which was picked up by Indo-European languages (ASN 221; Livšic 1977: 172n.26; Zadok 1982: 115): OInd. *samitā-*, NP *samīd*, "white bread".

Hinz (1970: 437) reconstructs **samītākara-*. Gershevitch (1969b: 181-182) connects **samida-* with Sogd. *smʾtyh*, *smʾytyh*, *symtyh*, "conciliation" and translates "conciliation-maker".

– Elamite: šá-mi-da-kur-ra: Fort. 6579:4; PF 1311:3, 1461:9.

5.2.2.7 *Θamīdabara- (OP): **θamīda-bara-*, "he who is responsible for the flour", with **θamīda-* as the OP equivalent of Med. **samīda-* (EIW 278).

– Elamite: tam$_5$-mi-da-bar-ra: PFNN 322:5, 325:4.

5.3. PROBLEMATIC IRANICA

5.3.1. Names of deities

5.3.1.1 Irdanapirurtiš: *Ṛdanafravartiš(?), most likely Iranian (EIW 770).

– Elamite:

1) Ir-da-na-pír-ru-ir-ti-iš: PFNN 2362:3-4.
2) Ir-da-na-pír-ru-ru-ti-iš: PFNN 2200:4-5.

5.3.1.2 Karapašiya: month name used as a name of a deity (ElW 416). Cf. 5.3.4.29.
– Elamite: Ka_4-ir-ba-ši-ia: OGWA 321-322:12.

5.3.1.3 Minam: obviously Iranian deity, appearing with an epitheton "of the vine cellar". Hinz & Koch propose a reading *Vinam, because he may be a kind of Persian Bacchus (ElW 932). This *Vinam may be related to OInd. *vī́ná-*, MP *win*, Sogd. *wyn'*, Khot. *bīna-* and Arm. *vin*, "lute". Although possible, it is far from sure that this is the right analysis (OGWA 328-29).
– Elamite: mi-na-um: OGWA 321-322:10.

5.3.2. Personal names

5.3.2.1 Abbamuš (fem.): despite the proposal to read Ab-ba-ak/-uk-iš and reconstruct a loanword (ASN 31-32) or an anthroponym (ElW 18, 20 and 22) *Apaukā-, "midwife", all attestations of this name must be read Ab-ba-mu-iš (Hallock 1978: 111; Stolper, pers. comm. 08/04/01). Most likely an Iranian name. Perhaps it is a rendering of *Apama-, "later" (cf. 4.2.60), which is transferred to the *u*-stems.
– Elamite: Ab-ba-mu-iš: PF 397-398:5, 399:6 (°-m[u-i]š), 400-402:7-8, 1944:10, 17; PFa 14:5; PFNN 401:6-7, 402:8-9, 410:4-5, 638:6-7, 640:6, 1205:5-6, 1421:9-10; PT 6:4-5.

5.3.2.2 Abbamuš: masculine equivalent of Abbamuš.
– Elamite: Ab-ba-mu-iš: Fort. 6662:4-5.

5.3.2.3 Abrna: most likely Iranian (Gusmani 1980: 29; Schmitt 1982d: IV/29), but its reading is not certain. Possible names are *Apara-, "later" (Gusmani 1971: 8), *Āpṛna-, "cask" (ASN 33), *Ā-farnah- (Schmitt 1981: 352) and *Āparna- (ibid.).
– Lydian: Abrnalis (nom.): G 41:6.

5.3.2.4 Akkamuya: probably Old Persian (ElW 38).
– Elamite: Ak-kam-ú-ia: PF 1446:2.

5.3.2.5 Akkumapiš: probably Old Persian (ElW 39).
– Elamite: Ak-ku-ma-pi-iš: PF 1718:3-4; PFNN 487:2-3, 891:3-4.

5.3.2.6 Aktamma: probably Old Persian (ElW 44).
– Elamite: Ak-tam_5-ma: PFNN 716:3-4.

5.3.2.7 Ammarna: Gershevitch (1969: 176; also OnP 8.48) mentions an abbreviation of Av. *āuuarəna-*, "profession of faith", whereas Hinz (ASN 114) reconstructs *Hamvṛna-, with reference to Av. *vərəna-*, "Leibesfrucht". Almost certainly Iranian (ElW 53).

– Elamite: Am-mar-na: PF 25:5-6, 296:6-7 ([Am]-°); PFNN 470:3-4, 2110:3.

5.3.2.8 Ammasuzauš: Gershevitch (1969: 176) reconstructs *Ama-aθču-, "having strong shins", to Av. *asču-*, "shin". Hinz (NW 106) reads Am-ma-su-za-ku-iš and reconstructs *Ama-čū-čakuš, "as strong as a hammer", to Av. *čū-*, "as" and *čakuš-*, "hammer". Stolper (pers. comm. 08/04/01), however, confirms the reading Am-ma-su-za-ú-iš.
– Elamite: Am-ma-su-za-ú-iš: PF 1393:3.

5.3.2.9 Ammutiš (fem.): probably Iranian (ElW 54).
– Elamite: Am-mu-ti-iš: PFNN 2179:2-3.

5.3.2.10 Amnara: possibly *Ham-nara-, "fellow man".
– Elamite: Am-na-ra: PFNN 2040:2.

5.3.2.11 Andabara (fem.): possibly *Anθabarā-, "carrying her share".
– Elamite: An-da-ba-ra: PFNN 1097:5.

5.3.2.12 Ankumaša: probably Old Persian (ElW 59).
– Elamite: An-ku-ma-šá: PFNN 2192:7.

5.3.2.13 Antarsa: *Antṛθa-, probably Old Persian (ElW 65).
– Elamite: An-tar-sa: PFNN 1493:3-4.

5.3.2.14 Appirša: probably Iranian (ElW 76).
– Elamite: Ap-pír-šá: PFNN 2261:4.

5.3.2.15 Apkatukka: probably Iranian, ending in *-āt-ika-*.
– Elamite: Ap-ka_4-tuk-ka_4: PFNN 925:2.

5.3.2.16 Appiyuduš: probably Old Persian (ElW 77).
– Elamite: Ap-pi-ud(?)-du-iš: PFNN 351:15-16.

5.3.2.17 Appupitarra: probably Old Persian (ElW 78).
– Elamite: Ap-pu-pi-tar-ra: PFNN 2196:16.

5.3.2.18 Aprašda: *Afrasta-(?).
– Elamite: Ap-ra-iš-da: PFNN 1017:11-12.

5.3.2.19 Arbarta: most likely an Iranian name (Zadok 1977: 107). The ambiguity of the sign BAR makes several readings possible: Arbarta-, *Ṛmasta-, etc. None of these readings, however, yields a suitable anthroponym.
– Babylonian: Ar-bar-ta: Strassmaier 8e Congrès 31:7.

5.3.2.20 Ašbarmeš: likely to be a derivation from *Aspa-.
– Elamite: Áš-bar-me-iš: PFNN 2211:3.

5.3.2.21 Ašbartu: probably Iranian (ElW 86).
– Elamite: Áš-bar-tu(?): PF 1057:3-4.

5.3.2.22 Ašdunuš: possibly Old Iranian (ElW 87).
– Elamite: Áš-du-nu-iš: PFNN 729:5.

5.3.2.23 Ašpirka: probably Iranian (ElW 88), possibly, but not convincingly *Aspa-ṛka-, "horse-hymn".

– Elamite: Áš-pír-ka$_4$: PFNN 1107:2, 1516:2.

5.3.2.24 Baddušakka: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Bad-du-šá-ak-ka$_4$: OGWA 321-322:9.

5.3.2.25 Baduzarma: Hinz (NW 49; ASN 53) reconstructs *Bādu-čarma-, "arm-leather", Av. *čarəman-*, "leather, skin". Gershevitch (1969: 224) pleads for *Bātu-čarma-, "(looking like a) wine-skin", but **bātu-* means "citrus fruit", not "wine" (NW 49; ASN 53).
– Elamite:
1) Ba-du-za-ir-ma: PF 404:4-5; PFNN 738:3-4.
2) Ba-du-zir-ma: PF 408:3.

5.3.2.26 Bagabinašī (fem.): *Baga-binašī-, "God-???" (Dandamayev 1992: 50).
– Babylonian: Ba-ga-bi-i-na-ši: Dar. 473:1.

5.3.2.27 Bakašdu: *Baga-stu-(?).
– Elamite: Ba-ka$_4$-iš-du: PFNN 1056:8-9,17, 1839:8 (Ba-k[a$_4$]-ʳiš-duʾ).

5.3.2.28 Bamušekša: probably Iranian (ElW 134).
– Elamite: Ba-mu-še-ik-šá: PFNN 1557:2,8.

5.3.2.29 Banadeʾu: (Zadok 1976: 67). Zadok regards *Bāna- as a causative of Av. *ban-*, "to be ill" and translates "hurting daiva's". He refers to *xᵛāra-* (from *xᵛar-*) to prove the existence of this type of causatives. Nevertheless such a type is nowhere attested (Kellens 1984: 119), as a result of which Zadok's proposal is untenable.
– Babylonian: Ba-na-de-ʾ-ú: BE 10 72:5.

5.3.2.30 Bapda: probably Iranian (ElW 122).
– Elamite: Ba-ip-da: PF 369:3.

5.3.2.31 Baradakdatiš: probably Iranian (ElW 145).
– Elamite: Ba-ra-da-ak-da-ti-iš: PFNN 2351:18.

5.3.2.32 Barruštika: probably Iranian (ElW 157).
– Elamite: Bar-ru-iš(?)-ti-ka$_4$(?): PFNN 2370:1.

5.3.2.33 Bašbakka: probably Iranian (ElW 126).
– Elamite: Ba-iš-ba-uk-ka$_4$: PFNN 2539:9.

5.3.2.34 Baturmana: Median name (ElW 174).
– Elamite: Ba-tur-ma-na: PFNN 2123:3.

5.3.2.35 Bgz: certainly a *Baga-name. If one assumes an error for Bgbz, a Median name *Bagabāzu-, "arm of Baga" would be a plausible reconstruction.
– Aramaic: Bgz: P. Sam. 30 fr.3 (reference E. Hanan; cf. also Eshel 1997: כז).

5.3.2.36 Birakka: Zadok (1983c: 319; also Dandamayev 1992: 67) reconstructs *Bṛyaka-, "having a dress", a retrenched name originating from *Bṛya-, the Old Iranian equivalent of Khot. *bira-*. Yet the spelling contains no trace of a semi-vowel /y/. Other possibilities are *Pīraka-, "old" (MP *pīr*; reading Pí-ra-ak-ka-ʾ) or even an Akkadian name with *gašru-*, "strong" (reading Gaš-ra-ak-ka-ʾ).
– Babylonian: Bi-ra-ak-ka-ʾ: CT 55 93:2.

5.3.2.37 Bt: this is undoubtedly an abbreviation of the name behind Gk. ΒΑΓΑΒΑΤΑΣ. Either Ir.-Sem. *Baga-baita-, "house of God" (Meshorer and Qedar 1991: 15 and 1999: 29), cf. Sem. Byt'l, or Ir. *Bagapāta- (Briant 2001: 169), which, however, does not correspond with Gk. *β*.
– Aramaic: Bt: Meshorer & Qedar 1999 3, 4, 6.

5.3.2.38 Bumasa (OP): perhaps *Būm-asa-, "earth-horse" (Dandamayev 1992: 67), cf. OP *būmi-*, "earth, world".
– Babylonian: Bu-ú-ma-sa: CT 55 43:5.

5.3.2.39 Buyaka: probably Iranian (ElW 243). Perhaps related with Av. *buye* (infinitive of *bav-*, "to become").
– Elamite: Bu-ia-ak-ka$_4$: PFNN 1478:2.

5.3.2.40 Dabdamaʾ: Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 67) refers to Sogd. *dbʾn*, "flame". The name could also end in *ama-*, "strength".
– Babylonian: Da-ab-da-ma-ʾ: EE 91:12.

5.3.2.41 Damakdatiš: probably Iranian (ElW 276), beginning with *Ta(h)ma-.
– Elamite: Da(?)-ma-ak(?)-da(?)-ti-iš: Fort. 6181:10-11.

5.3.2.42 Dapiruš: possibly an Iranian name.
– Elamite: Da-pi-ru-iš: PFNN 924:3.

5.3.2.43 Darbarat: certainly not Elamite, possibly Iranian (cf. ElW 268).
– Elamite: Da-ir-ba-ra-ut: PFNN 2432:3.

5.3.2.44 Drzbr: Eilers (apud Bowman 1970: 106) reconstructs *Drāz-bara-, "bringing along faith and confidence". Bowman himself refers to Av. *dərəz-*, "fetters" and translates "he who bears the fetters". Hinz (ASN 89) refers to Av. *dərəzi-taka-*, "running strenuously" and presents two reconstructions: *Dṛzi-bara-, "bearing competently" or *Dṛzi-bāra-, "riding competently". None of these possibilities, however, is convincing.
– Aramaic: Drzbr: Pers 34:2.

5.3.2.45 Duḫumišda: name ending in **-mižda-*, "reward" (Zadok 1990; Dandamayev 1992: 70).
– Babylonian: Du-ḫu-mi-iš-da: OECT 10 171:7,8.

5.3.2.46 Dušbaka: probably Old Persian (ElW 350), perhaps *Duš-bāga-, "having a bad part".
– Elamite: Du(?)-iš-ba-ka$_4$: PFNN 1419:12-13.

5.3.2.47 Dušmurda: the reading of the Elamite spelling is not sure. Hallock (1969: 190) reads °-mur-da. Hinz (NW 109 and ASN 89) argues that MUR is always read *har*. This is, however, not right: both readings are possible (Steve 1992: 158). Proposed reconstructions are (1) *Duš-mṛta- (Benveniste 1966: 82), (2) *Duš-vṛta- (Benveniste, l.c.; Gershevitch 1969: 238), to OInd. *durvártu-*, "irresistible" and (3) *Duš-harta-, "disregarded" (Hinz, l.c.), to Av. *har-*, "to pay attention to". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.396) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Du-iš-mur-da: PF 564:4-5.

5.3.2.48 Giadaša: perhaps *Gaya-daisa-.
– Elamite: Gi-ia-da-a-šá: PFNN 1097:46.

5.3.2.49 Hanapiš: according to Hinz & Koch (ElW 616) this is an Iranian name.
– Elamite: Ha-na-pi-iš: PFNN 2490:9.

5.3.2.50 Hanazara: probably Iranian (ElW 616).
– Elamite: Ha-na-za-ra: PFNN 2575:1-2.

5.3.2.51 Hapizida: possibly *Āpijita-, an *-ita*-extension of *Āpiji-, a compound of *Āpi-, "water" and **ji-*, "to live".
– Elamite: Ha-pi-zí-da: PFNN 2339:44.

5.3.2.52 Haribaru: possibly Iranian (ElW 628).
– Elamite: Ha-ri-ba(?)-ru(?): PFNN 323:2-3.

5.3.2.53 Harišnuya: Mayrhofer (OnP 8.457) has doubts concerning the reconstruction *Aršnya- (Benveniste 1966: 82). Hinz (ASN 37-38) reconstructs *Āršnya-, with reference to **ara-*, "wild". Cf. 5.3.3.31.
– Elamite: Ha-ir-iš-nu-ia: PF 1990:10; PFNN 1015:3-4.

5.3.2.54 Harrabuš: cf. the similar place name (5.3.3.32).
– Elamite: Har-ra-bu-iš: PFNN 2270:9,14, 2539:15.

5.3.2.55 Harzimusa: Iranian personal name. Hinz & Koch (ElW 639) erroneously believe it is a place name.
– Elamite: Har-zí-mu-sa: PFNN 573:2 (°-[mu-sa]), 2490:21.

5.3.2.56 Hasabarka: probably Iranian (ElW 639), perhaps with **bṛg-*, "to welcome", Av. *barəg-*.
– Elamite: Ha-sa-bar-ka$_4$: PFNN 737:2-3.

5.3.2.57 Hašarkanda: probably Iranian (ElW 641).
– Elamite: Ha-šá-ir-kán-da: PFNN 2335:57.

5.3.2.58 Hauba: probably Iranian (ElW 651).
– Elamite: Ha-u-ba: PFNN 2542:5,30.

5.3.2.59 Hiaba: Gershevitch (1969: 237) connects this name with Av. *ǎiiapta-*, "boon". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.533) refers to *Dāraya-yapa-, which should, however, be read *Dārayapā- (4.2.494).

– Elamite: Hi-ia-ba: PF 2005:9; PFNN 2273:15.

5.3.2.60 Hiaukapirša: Median equivalent of Hiukkabarda (ElW 676).
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ia-u-ka$_4$-pír-šá: PF 1283:2-3; PFa 31:17.
2) Hi-ia-u-ka$_4$-pír-za: PFNN 1276:2-3.

5.3.2.61 Hiukkabarda: perhaps *Yauga-bṛda-, "yoke-high" (ASN 274). Gershevitch (1969: 245) reconstructs *Yauka-bṛza-, "science-exalter", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.535) rejects this reconstruction.
– Elamite:
1) Hi-ú-uk-ka$_4$-bar-da: PFa 12:1.
2) Ia-u-ka$_4$-bar-da[203]: PFNN 2490:2.

5.3.2.62 Hiušmarka: Hinz (ASN 275-276) pleads for *Yužβarga-, a compound of Av. **yaož-*, "healthy", to *yaoždā-*, "to make healthy" and **barga-*, "he who welcomes".
– Elamite: Hi-ú-iš(?)-mar-ka$_4$: PFNN 27:2.

5.3.2.63 Hizikara: the second part is most probably **-kara-*, "maker" (ElW 676). Gershevitch (1969: 197; also ASN 120) mentions *Hičči-kara-, "hiccupper", whereas Mayrhofer (OnP 8.537) is doubtful of this.
– Elamite: Hi-zí-ka$_4$-ra: PFNN 341:2.

5.3.2.64 Irbama: probably Old Persian (ElW 767).
– Elamite: Ir-ba-ma: PFNN 497:6-7.

5.3.2.65 Irdamiašda: Benveniste (1966: 83) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.590) read *Ṛta-myazda-, to Av. *miiazda-*, "ritual banquet". Gershevitch's (1969: 194) proposal is *Ṛta-vyāzda-, "observing Truth". Hinz (ASN 214) prefers *Ṛta-myasta-, "united with Arta", to Av. **miias-*, "to mix", but such a verb does not exist in Avestan (Klingenschmitt 1972: 91n.3; Kellens 1984: 166).
– Elamite: Ir-da-mi-ia-iš-da: PF 975:2.

5.3.2.66 Irdapiuša: probably Iranian with *Ṛta- as first component. Hinz (ASN 210) reads Ir-[d]a-da-u-šá because Hallock (apud ASN 210) is not sure of his reading with PI. Hinz's reconstruction is *Ṛtadauša-, "delight of Arta". Mayrhofer (1974-77: 182) accepts this. Collation of the text clearly confirms, however, the reading Ir-da-pi-u-šá.
– Elamite: Ir-da-pi-u-šá: PFNN 1732:3-4.

5.3.2.67 Irdutia: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ir-du-ti-ia: PFNN 1789:2.

5.3.2.68 Irmašša: perhaps *Ṛma-asa-, "arm-horse" (ElW 777).
– Elamite: Ir-maš-šá: PFNN 795:3.

[203] According to Hinz & Koch (ElW 1265) this is a separate name.

5.3.2.69 Irsapirda (fem.): surely Iranian. The reading with SA is better than the one with RAK (Hallock, Nachlaβ; ElW 779).
– Elamite: Ir-sa-pír-da: PFNN 812:3-4.

5.3.2.70 Irśss: perhaps *Ṛšā, "hero". This reconstruction is, however, very doubtful. Petrie (1917: Pl.57 no.31.2. Cf. also Kienitz 1953: 231) believes it renders Arses, a king of the Achaemenid Empire (338-336/5), but this is not without problems. First of all there is the wrong representation of Iranian /š/ by s. Secondly there is an epigraphical problem: under the s there are traces of two horizontal lines, which are read *ss* by Petrie. Von Beckerath (pers. comm. 01/12/99) prefers *nn* and reconstructs *Ṛšan-, the actual stem of *Ṛšā. It is, however, equally possible that these two lines belong to the damaged cartouche. Thirdly Arses is the king's real name and not his throne name. One would expect the throne name (Ạrtaxšaça-) to be written here (Devauchelle 1995: 40). As a result of this one must conclude that, if the name of Arses is involved here, it had to be engraved before Arses became king and assumed a throne name. Possibly an unsuccesful attempt to render *Ṛšan- is involved (Von Beckerath, l.c.), but in that case an explanation of the errors should be looked for. Perhaps it is written by an Iranian who wanted to practice his Egyptian writing system. This, however, is unlikely.
Alternatively it could be a private person, which could be enhanced by the attestation of a similar name, I-r-ś-ś-s (clearly legible and without cartouche). Bresciani (1958: 273) considers this name also to be a rendering of Arses. A final solution of this problem cannot yet be offered. If the connection with Arses is to be maintained, it must rather be assumed that these spellings are renderings of the Greek form of the name Ṛšan- (Arses).
Possible reconstructions of other names are *Arzaçā-, "protecting the battle" or *Ṛzaçā-, "protecting the honest", a Medo-Persian hybrid name.
– Hieroglyphic:
1) I-r-ś-s-s: BSAE 29 Pl.57 no.31.2.
2) I-r-ś-ś-s: ASAE 55 272.

5.3.2.71 Irtinapuš: probably Iranian (ElW 784).
– Elamite: Ir-ti-na-pu-iš: PFNN 2370:10,18.

5.3.2.72 Išbankauma: Hinz (ASN 225) reconstructs *Spanga-umā-, "Spanga, the lucky bird", but that is very unlikely.
– Elamite: Iš-ban-[k]a_4-u-ma: PFNN 711:4-5.

5.3.2.73 Iškuhiddu: Hinz & Koch (ElW 788) wonder if this name is Scythian. Gershevitch (1970: 86) reads *Hišku-hidū-, "the dry-tongued" (Av. *hišku-*, "dry" and *hizuuah-*, "tongue"), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.675) is doubtful of this. Hinz (ASN 121) reads *Hišku-hitu-.
– Elamite: Iš-ku-hi-ud-du: PFNN 571:2.

5.3.2.74 Iškusuama: Gershevitch (1970: 86) reconstructs *Hišku-θwa(x)ma-, "the dry-skinned" (OInd. *tvák-*, "skin"), an awkward name according to Mayrhofer (OnP 8.678). Hinz (NW 110 and ASN 121) reconstructs *Hišku-čū-aiva-, "dry like one person", to Av. *čū-*, "like".
– Elamite: Iš-ku-su-a-ma: PF 792:2-3.

5.3.2.75 Kabardaba: probably Iranian (ElW 412).
– Elamite: Ka_4-bar-da-ba: PFNN 2266:4.

5.3.2.76 Kadudda: Hinz (ASN 150) reconstructs *Ka-tūta-, "what a mulberry".
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-du-ud-da: PF 300:3, 796:2; PFNN 1125:2.
2) Ka_4-ud-du-ud-da: PF 1698:2; PFNN 865:6 (denoting a female person).

5.3.2.77 Kakuna: Hinz (ASN 145) proposes *Ka-kūn-, "what a backside", to MP and NP *kūn*. Another possibility is *Ka-gauna-, "what a profit".
– Babylonian:
1) Ka-ka-un: BE 9 18:2.
2) Ka-ku-nu: BE 9 28a:14[204]; PBS 2/1 122:4, 139:9.
3) Ka-ku-na: PBS 2/1 116:8 (possibly °-na-tu_4).

5.3.2.78 Kamkadu: probably an Old-Persian name (ElW 428).
– Elamite: Kam-ka_4-du: PFNN 2101:7.

5.3.2.79 Kammargena: probably Iranian (ElW 427).
– Elamite: Kam-mar(?)-ge(?)-na: PFNN 2265:1.

5.3.2.80 Kammazikara: perhaps *Kāma-jī-kara-, "making the desire alive". Gershevitch (1969: 199) reconstructs *Kāma-jagāra- or *Kāma-jigāra-, "stimulating the desire" (OInd. *jāgaraṇá-*, "awake"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.722) is doubtful and Hinz (ASN 104) reads *Gaumajigara-.
– Elamite: Kam-ma-zí-ka_4-ra: PF 1409:2-3.

5.3.2.81 Kamrasir: probably Old Persian (ElW 428).
– Elamite: Kam-ra-zir(?): PFNN 314:2-3.

5.3.2.82 Kamtinnumi: probably Old Persian (ElW 429).
– Elamite: Kam(?)-tin(?)-nu-mi(?): PFNN 2367:1.

5.3.2.83 Kapruba: Hinz & Koch (ElW 408) wonder if Ka_4-at-ru-ba is a better reading. Such a spelling could render Kaθrupā-, "amber".
– Elamite: Ka_4-ap-ru-ba: PFa 14:2-3; PFNN 2139:2.

[204] Written Ka-di-nu, a scribal error for for Ka-ku-nu (Zadok 2004: 115n.8). Cf. *Skudra- (2.2.50).

5.3.2.84 Karbattia: month name used as an anthroponym (Benveniste 1966: 86; ASN 133). Gershevitch (1969: 200) reads *Garbaθya-, "one who habitually grabs", while Hinz (NW 67) prefers *Kārapaθya-, "volkhaft" (Av. *paiθiia-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.768) remains undecisive. Cf. 5.3.4.29.
– Elamite: Kar-bat-ti-ia: PF 1591:3.

5.3.2.85 Karkutiya: Old Persian name (ElW 442).
– Elamite: Kar-ku-ti-ia: PF 180:3-4, 207:2-3.

5.3.2.86 Katmartia: certainly a compound with **martiya-*. Gershevitch (1969b: 189; also OnP 8.202) reconstructs *Kaθu-(h)wartiya, "drinking little". Hinz (ASN 151) pleads for *Kāθ-martiya-, "stooge".
– Elamite: Ka_4-at-mar-ti-ia: PF 1983:9, 1984:7; PFNN 2347:9.

5.3.2.87 Kizzipubarra: probably Iranian (ElW 472).
– Elamite: Ki(?)-iz(?)-zí-pu(?)-bar-ra: PF 317:11.

5.3.2.88 Kubadra: according to Gershevitch (1969b: 188; also ASN 144) this spelling represents *Kă̆-hu-badrā-, "what a lucky one", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.343) is doubtful with regard to this etymology, which indeed is not convincing.
– Elamite: Ku-bad-ra: PFNN 1097:43.

5.3.2.89 Kudamarka: possibly *Gōda-vṛka-, "hidden for the wolf(?)" (ElW 498).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-da-mar-ka_4: PFNN 726:36.
2) Ku-ti-mar-ka_4: PF 1942:11,15; PFNN 726:39.

5.3.2.90 Kuhuddanuš: Gershevitch (1969b: 189) reads *Gau-tanū-, "whose body is (like that) of an ox". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.846) is doubtful of this etymology. Hinz (ASN 144) pleads for *Ka-hu-tanū-, "what a beautiful body". Hinz & Koch (ElW 552) read *Kūtanūš.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-hu-ud-da-nu-iš: PF 483:8-9.
2) Ku-ud-da-nu-iš: PFNN 573:22, 840:8-9.

5.3.2.91 Kumabapa: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ku-ma-ba-pa: PFNN 1906:3.

5.3.2.92 Kumina: perhaps *Gōv-ina-, an *-ina*-hypocoristic (ElW 513).
– Elamite: Ku-mín-na: PF 1966:14.

5.3.2.93 Kunsuka (fem.): Mayrhofer (OnP 8.857) has no information on this name. Hinz (ASN 153-154) reads *Kunčukā-, which is either related to NP *kūn*, "backside" or is a *-ka*-extension of *Kunčuš.
– Elamite:
1) Ku-in-su-ik-ka_4: PF 2038:24.
2) Ku-in-su-ka_4: PF 2038:13.
3) Ku-un-su-ik-ka_4: PFNN 865:14.
4) Ku-un-su-uk(?)-ka_4(?): PFNN 541:36.

5.3.2.94 Kunsuš: Iranian (ElW 564). Possibly *Kunčuš.
– Elamite: Ku-un-su-iš: PF 1943:12; PFNN 2576:6-7.

5.3.2.95 Kupirna: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ku-pír-na: PFNN 1845:6.

5.3.2.96 Kurrada: probably Iranian (ElW 530).
– Elamite: Kur(?)-ra-da: PFNN 1424:2.

5.3.2.97 Kurradaiauš: probably Iranian (ElW 530).
– Elamite: Kur(?)-ra-da-ia-[u(?)]-iš(?): PFNN 1472:8-9.

5.3.2.98 Kurrausa: perhaps Iranian.
– Elamite: Kur-ra-u-sa-z[í-iš]: PFNN 1716:4.

5.3.2.99 Kursanuia: probably Iranian (ElW 566).
– Elamite: Ku-ur-sa-nu-ia: PFNN 2261:4.

5.3.2.100 Kursirukka: probably Median (ElW 533).
– Elamite: Kur-sir-ru-uk-ka_4: PFNN 91:7, 2250:1,34-35.

5.3.2.101 Kuršipda: probably Iranian (ElW 533).
– Elamite: Kur-ši-ip-da: PFNN 2273:13.

5.3.2.102 Kusizza: probably Old Persian (ElW 505), perhaps *Kuθ-iča-(?), an *-ič̌a*-extension of *Kuθa-, the OP equivalent of a further unknown *Kusa-. A name *Xvaθiča- is also possible.
– Elamite: Ku-is-si-iz-za: PFNN 2261:35,40.

5.3.2.103 Kutarnuka: probably Iranian (ElW 544), perhaps *Kutarn-uka-, an *-uka*-hypocoristic of *Kutarna-.
– Elamite: Ku-tar-nu-ka_4: PF 1962:3.

5.3.2.104 Limepirda: this name belongs to the Old Iranian *l*-dialect (Gershevitch 1969: 202; OnP 8.903; ElW 830).
– Elamite: Li-me-pír-da: PF 1798:6-7.

5.3.2.105 Mahitika: *Māhi-θikā-, "moonpebble" (ASN 157). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.914) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Ma-hi-ti-ka_4: PF 1777:5-6.

5.3.2.106 Makaširiya: probably Iranian (ElW 875).
– Elamite: Ma-ka_4-ši-ri-ia: PFNN 880:4-5.

5.3.2.107 Makrušba: Gershevitch (1969: 202) prefers *Vaxra-huzbā-, "having a crooked tongue" (OInd. *vaxra-*, "twisted"). Later (1970: 87) he connects it with Oss. *xurxur* and reconstructs *Xvaxruvaspa-, "having snorting horses". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.919; also ASN 138) only mentions that it is a compound with *-aspa-*.
– Elamite: Ma-ak-ru-iš-ba: PFNN 443:3.

5.3.2.108 Makurriš: *Māi-xriš(?).
– Elamite: Ma-a-kur-ri-iš: PFNN 246:3.
5.3.2.109 Manapuruš: possibly *Māna-pōru-š, "having many houses" (ASN 158). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.931) has no opinion on this name. Hinz & Koch (EIW 865) only emphasize the Iranian character of it.
– Elamite: Ma-na-pu-ru-iš: PF 2038:28.
5.3.2.110 Maniškamka: probably Iranian (EIW 868).
– Elamite: Man(?)-iš-kam-ka$_4$: PFNN 421:3.
5.3.2.111 Maniašna: possibly Iranian (EIW 874).
– Elamite: Man-ia-iš-na: PFNN 2202:7.
5.3.2.112 Markanuna: probably Iranian (EIW 883).
– Elamite: Mar-ka$_4$-nu-na: PFNN 1477:3.
5.3.2.113 Marnuašba: probably a Median name with **aspa-*, "horse" (EIW 883). Perhaps *Varniyaspa-, in connection with Av. *varənah-*, "colour".
– Elamite: Mar-nu-áš-ba: PFNN 1423:3.
5.3.2.114 Marrakuš: probably Iranian (EIW 884).
– Elamite: Mar-ra-ku-iš: PFNN 2495:25.
5.3.2.115 Maršaktiš: Mayrhofer (OnP 8.997) presents two possibilities: either *Marša-axti-, "reconciling — sorrow" (cf. Av. *marša-* in *maršō.kara-*, "propitiating" and Av. *axti-*, "sorrow"), or *-Marša(?)-çaxti-, "??-corner" (Av. *sraxti-*). Hinz (ASN 131) reads *(H)uvṛšāx-tiš, "hero's sorrow".
– Elamite: Mar-šá-ak-ti-iš: PF 2018:39.
5.3.2.116 Mašdumatu: possibly Iranian.
– Elamite: Maš-du-ma-tu: PFNN 958:11.
5.3.2.117 Matarrapišša: possibly Iranian.
– Elamite: Ma-tar-ra-ip-iš-šá: PFNN 912:2.
5.3.2.118 Matemesa: none of the following reconstructions is convincing: (1) *Vati-hammyāθa-, "the wonderful", lit. "he who mixes up, confounds, the understanding" (Gershevitch 1969b: 191), to Av. *vat-*, "to understand" and *ham-miiāsa-*, "to mix"; (2) *Xvādaivaiθa- (NW 112); (3) *Xvataivaiθa- (ASN 258); (4) *Vātaimaiθa-, "wavering in the wind" (ibid.). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1021) remains undecisive.
– Elamite: Ma-te-me-sa: PFNN 169:5.
5.3.2.119 Matiyama: probably Old Persian (EIW 901).
– Elamite: Ma(?)-ti-ia-ma: PFNN 1546:2-3.
5.3.2.120 Matizamitra: Ir. name, ending in *-miθra-* (EIW 901).
– Elamite: Ma-ti-za-mi-ut-ra: PFNN 1694:12-13.

5.3.2.121 Matmabba (fem.): Gershevitch's proposal (1969: 210; also NW 83), *Madu-vābā-, "honey comb" is rejected by Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1025). Hinz (ASN 156) mentions *Madvapā- without giving a meaning.
– Elamite: Ma-at-ma-ab-ba: PF 1790:8.
5.3.2.122 Mauanna: perhaps an error for Ma-u-ma-an-na or a rendering of *Vau-āna-, an *-āna-*patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Vau-name.
– Elamite: Ma-u-an-na: PFNN 1918:5.
5.3.2.123 Midduranziš: probably Iranian (EIW 940).
– Elamite: Mi-ud-du-ra-an-zí(?)-iš(?): PFNN 1686:4-5.
5.3.2.124 Midduziya: possibly Iranian (EIW 940), perhaps *Midučiya-.
– Elamite: Mi-ud-du-zí-ia: PF 1987:4,38.
5.3.2.125 Minmira: Hinz (ASN 166) proposes *Minu-vīra-, "necklace-man", which is, however, rather unlikely.
– Elamite: Mín-mi-ra: PF 1368:9.
5.3.2.126 Mipunda: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Mi-pu-un-da: PFNN 297:3.
5.3.2.127 Miššasuzana: Iranian name (EIW 928) beginning with *Visa-.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šá-su-u-za-na: PF 1496:2-3.
5.3.2.128 Mittakra: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Mi-ut-tak-ra: PFNN 2266:7.
5.3.2.129 Mišuradaša: probably Iranian (EIW 938).
– Elamite: Mi-šu-ra-da-šá: PF 323:6-7.
5.3.2.130 Mitimanuš: probably Iranian (EIW 939).
– Elamite: Mi-ti-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 881:2-3.
5.3.2.131 Mitridasta: three reconstructions have been brought forward. Schmitt (1978b: 409 and 1982d: IV/32) remains undecisive.
(1) *Miθridasta-, "Mithra-hand" (Andreas, apud Littmann 1916: 5; Gusmani 1964: 150; Benveniste 1966: 104; ASN 168). Schmitt (1978b: 409), however, argues that hybrid Medo-Persian names are relatively awkward.
(2) *Miθridāšta-, "he who has been granted by Mithra" (Klingenschmitt, apud Heubeck 1965: 76n.16), with reference to OInd. *dāś-*, "to grant". An objection is that Ir. /š/ is normally rendered in Lydian by *-ś-* (Schmitt 1978b: 409).
(3) *Miθridasta-, "given by Mithra", with **dasta-* being another form of **dāta-*, based on OInd. *dattá-* (Morgenstierne 1927: 36; Bogoljubov 1978: 40 and n.15).
– Lydian: Mitridasta°: G 23:5,18, 24:1,17,20,22,23.
5.3.2.132 Mizirma: the two proposed etymologies are (1) *Vizarma-, "free of distress", (Gershevitch 1969: 212), to Sogd. *zrm*, "distress" and (2)

*Vizṛva-, "without old age" (ASN 268). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1182; also ElW 935) is doubtful of this name. Perhaps the second part is **čarma-*, "skin" (Av. *čarəman-*).
– Elamite: Mi-zir-ma: Fort. 226-2:4; PF 95:5, 96:6-7, 840:4.

5.3.2.133 Mizzamida: Gershevitch (1969: 211) and Hinz (ASN 166) reconstruct *Mijamita-, "the blinking". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1183) has doubts on this etymology. Hinz also mentions *Vi-žāma-, but without much belief in this reconstruction. Alternatively one may read *Vi-zav-ita-, an *-ita*-hypocoristic of *Vi-zav-, "calling" (to Av. *zav-*). Such a name can also mean "having much power" (to Av. *zauuah-*, "strength"). Hinz & Koch (ElW 930) rightfully conclude that the name has not yet been convincingly explained.
– Elamite: Mi-iz-za-mi-da: PF 1498:2.

5.3.2.134 Muddauš: probably Old Persian (ElW 962).
– Elamite: Mu-ud-da-u-iš: PFNN 761:5-6.

5.3.2.135 Mukašpirriš: probably Iranian (ElW 951).
– Elamite: Mu-ka$_4$-iš-pír-ri-iš: PFNN 2209:1.

5.3.2.136 Muštimarda: the first part of this name is probably Av. *mušti-*, "fist". The second part, **varda-*, may have various meanings, so the etymology of this name remains unknown (Tavernier 2002b: 150).
– Elamite: Mu-iš-ti-m[a]r(?)-da: PFNN 2201:8.

5.3.2.137 Nadabada: probably Iranian (ElW 977).
– Elamite: Na-da-ba-da: PFNN 1645:3.

5.3.2.138 Nakašša: probably Iranian (ElW 982), ending in OP *asa-*, "horse".
– Elamite: Na-kaš(?)-šá-a: PFNN 1609:3.

5.3.2.139 Naknapda: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Na-ak-nap(?)-da: PFNN 1187:2.

5.3.2.140 Nakšapiš: Naxšapiš(?).
– Elamite: Na-ak-šá-pi-iš: PFNN 84:3.

5.3.2.141 Napapirruna: *Nafa-fruna-(?), certainly Iranian (ElW 985). Possibly PA is only a phonetic complement, indicating that the sign PÍR stands for /par/, which yields a reconstruction *Naparuna- or *Nafruna-.
– Elamite: Na-pa-pír-ru-na: PFa 33:48-49.

5.3.2.142 Nisuziruš: probably Median (ElW 1003).
– Elamite: Ni(?)-su(?)-zí-ru(?)-iš(?): PFNN 2495:11-12.

5.3.2.143 Nusika: Old Persian, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Niθi- or *-ika*-hypocoristic of *Niθ- (ElW 1012).
– Elamite: Nu-si-ka$_4$: PFNN 2290:18, 2341:31, 2350:22.

5.3.2.144 Nutidda: Hinz (ASN 176) presents two possibilities: *Nid-ita- or *Nit-ita-. Both are *-ita*-hypocoristics, of either *Ni-dā-, "to lay down", or of *Nitama-, "deepest". Hinz & Koch (ElW 1015) translate "little scapegrace".
– Elamite: Nu-ti-ud-da: PFNN 2335:38,40,42; PT 71:6.

5.3.2.145 Nuttima: possibly *Niθ-ima-, *-ima*-hypocoristic of *Niθ(i)-. Gershevitch (1969: 214) reads *Niδma-, "the subterranean" (to Av. *nisma-*, "depth"), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1267) rejects this. Hinz (ASN 176) reconstructs *Nitama- (Av. *nitəma-*, "deepest").
– Elamite: Nu-ut-ti-ma: PF 1974:10.

5.3.2.146 Pakarša: probably Median (ElW 127).
– Elamite: Pa(?)-kar-šá: PFNN 2487:19.

5.3.2.147 Panduba: possibly Median anthroponym (ElW 174).
– Elamite: Pa-un-du-ba: PFNN 2542:27.

5.3.2.148 Partara: this name certainly is Iranian, but it may render various possibile Iranian names: *Fratara- (Gusmani 1971: 8), *Partara-, "warrior" (Av. *parət-*; ASN 181) or *Parθa-ra-, "Parthian" (a name rendered by El. Bar-sa-ra). Schmitt (1981: 352 and 1982d: IV/31) remains sceptical. Zgusta (1964: 418 § 1209) believes the name to be Anatolian.
– Lydian: Bartaraś (nom.): G 40:2.

5.3.2.149 Patarna: possibly a compound of Av. *patar-*, "protector" and a *-na*-suffix. Certainly Median (ElW 165).
– Elamite: Pa-tar-na: PFNN 875:4.

5.3.2.150 Pattazu: possibly *Pāt-āžu-, "protected by his zeal" (Av. *āžu-*). Zadok (1977: 94) recognizes the Iranian character of this name.
– Babylonian: Pa-at-ta-zu: BE 8/1 112:3,7.

5.3.2.151 Piakarašše: *Piya-kāra-šai-, probably Iranian (ElW 227).
– Elamite: Pi(?)-ia-ka$_4$-ráš-še: PFNN 1462:10.

5.3.2.152 Pidaturra: possibly Median *Pitāθrā- (ElW 190).
– Elamite: Pi-da-tur-ra: PFNN 1209:9-10.

5.3.2.153 Pirmabaduš: possibly Old Persian *Pṛva-bādu-š (ElW 210).
– Elamite: Pír-ma-ba(?)-[du]-iš: PFNN 1373:4-5.

5.3.2.154 Pirmakša: certainly Iranian, perhaps *Pṛva-xša- (ElW 210).
– Elamite: Pír-ma-[a]k-šá: PFa 27:5-6.

5.3.2.155 Pirrakapirda: in all likelihood an Iranian name (ElW 215).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-ka$_4$-pír-da: PFNN 2349:27-28.

5.3.2.156 Pirrakmaša: possibly *Fraxvāša-, to Av. *x^{v}āša-*, "food".
– Elamite: Pír-ra-ak-ma-šá: PFNN 2278:24.

5.3.2.157 Pirriauša: perhaps *Frya-uša-, "dear ear, having sweet ears".
– Elamite: Pír-ri-ia-u-šá: PFNN 992:2-3.

5.3.2.158 Pirriazipa: probably Iranian, possibly *Fryazīpā- (ElW 218).

– Elamite: Pír(?)-ri(?)-ia-zí-ba: PFNN 1347:2. Hallock (Nachlaβ) reads Pír-ru-ia-°.

5.3.2.159 Pirrištam: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Pír-ri-iš-tam$_5$: PFNN 126:6-7.

5.3.2.160 Pirruiasuba: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Pír-ru-ia-su-ba: PFNN 1347:2.

5.3.2.161 Pirrutika: probably Iranian (ElW 220).
– Elamite: Pír-ru-ti-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2370:35.

5.3.2.162 Rakurduš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1026).
– Elamite: Ra-kur-du-iš: PF 728:6-7.

5.3.2.163 Rakuš: probably Iranian. Not to be identified with *Raiku-.
– Elamite: Ra(?)-ku-iš: PFNN 150:2.

5.3.2.164 Rapkeiaša: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ráp-ke-ia-šá: PFNN 227:3.

5.3.2.165 Raradakma (Med.): *???-taxma- (ElW 1030).
– Elamite: Ra-ra-da-ak-ma: PFNN 1623:2-3.

5.3.2.166 Rasakurda: by proposing *Raθai-gṛda-, "servant in the chariot" Hinz (ASN 201) rejects the proposal of Gershevitch (1969: 226), i.e. *Raθai-gṛda-, "chariot-bestrider" (Av. *garəd-*). Both explanations, however, seem incredible. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1411) remains cautious and leaves the second part of this name untouched.
– Elamite: Ra-sa-a-kur-da: PFNN 183:3.

5.3.2.167 Raumara: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ra-u-ma-ra: PFNN 1170:1.

5.3.2.168 Rukada: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ru-ka$_4$-da: PFNN 166:3-4.

5.3.2.169 Rukurrakka: probably Iranian (ElW 1047).
– Elamite: Ru-kur-rák-ka$_4$: Fort. 8960:6.

5.3.2.170 Ruša: probably Iranian (ElW 1048).
– Elamite: Ru-šá: PFNN 2291:13,19, 2356:27.

5.3.2.171 Saupirra: probably Old Persian (ElW 1067).
– Elamite: Sa-u-pír-r[a]: PFNN 2465:3.

5.3.2.172 Stbr: according to Spiegelberg (1928: 610 and nn.1-2) the correct spelling is Yiwbr, rendering an Iranian name ending in *-bara-*. Spiegelberg also mentions a reading Ytbr, but immediately rejects it. Others, however, accept the latter reading (Lüddeckens & Zauzich 1971: 9nn.1 and 3, with reference to a name Yt'(?)-b'r [Ranke 1935: 416 no.19]; Vleeming 1981b: 88 and n.22) and argue that it could be a rendering of Itobaal. Both readings are included in Dem. Nb. 94. Hughes (1984: 83; also Cruz-Uribe 1981-82: 123) proposes to read Stbr and identifies this name with Štbr (= *Šāti-bara-, "bringing prosperity"), a name occurring in the Aramaic texts from Egypt. While the reading may be correct, the identification certainly is not. Dem. s only renders Ir. /s/ (Schmitt 1995: 171), as a result of which the name should be *Satibara-.

It is certain that we are dealing with an Iranian name (Tavernier 2002: 110-111). The context makes this clear: "S/Ytbr knows this order. Peftu'uneith is the scribe". This sentence is a translation of the Aramaic formula PN$_1$ *yd' t'm' znh.* PN$_2$ *spr'*, "PN$_1$ knows this order. PN$_2$ is the scribe" (Vleeming 1981: 88-89; Hughes 1984: 83), a formula occurring six times in the Arsames correspondence. The three persons, who in this correspondence have the equivalent function as S/Ytbr here (knowing an order), all have Iranian names. Consequently S/Ytbr must be an Iranian name.

Various possibilities exist with regard to the reconstruction of the Iranian name behind S/Ytbr:

1) *Sadābara-, "bringing satisfaction", to Av. *saδā-*, "satisfaction". In this case one must accept that dem. ṯ can render Ir. /d/, which hitherto is only attested in the transcriptions of Darius' name.
2) *Sātabara-, "carrying rulers, leaders", to Av. *sātar-*, "ruler, leader".
3) *Šāti-bara-, "bringing prosperity", if one believes in a scribal error.
4) *Yāta-bara-, "bringing possession", to Av. *yāta-*, "share, possession".

– Demotic: Stbr: P. Berl. 13540:8; Zaghloul 1985: 56 no.5:2 (<S>tibr, cf. Pezin 1996: 181).

5.3.2.173 Sukurtiš: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Su-kur-ti-iš: PFNN 1874:6-7.

5.3.2.174 Šakašbakna: *Saka-spaxna-, certainly Iranian (ElW 1124).
– Elamite: Šá-kaš-ba-ak-na: PFNN 2192:8.

5.3.2.175 Šapmizza: probably Iranian (ElW 1132), possibly a two-stem hypocoristic *Šapa-v-iča-.
– Elamite: Šap$_6$-mi-iz-za: PFNN 2492:4.

5.3.2.176 Šaputtamka: probably Iranian (ElW 1133).
– Elamite: Šá-pu(?)-ut(?)-tam$_5$(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 2306:2-3.

5.3.2.177 Šarba: probably Iranian (ElW 1122).
– Elamite: Šá-ir-ba: PFNN 2341:18.

5.3.2.178 Šarbaladda: Hinz (ASN 222) recognizes an *-āta*-extension of *Šarbāla-, "trousers", attested in Aramaic *sarbālēhon*. According to Henning (apud Rosenthal 1995: 63) this is an Iranian loanword, the predecessor of NP *šalvār*, "trousers".

– Elamite: Šá-ir-ba-la-ad-da: PF 1947:19; PFNN 2356:12.

5.3.2.179 Šatkakana: probably an *-āna*-patronymic.
– Elamite: Šá-ut-ka$_4$-k[a$_4$-n]a: PFNN 1013:13.

5.3.2.180 Šatmabarša: Iranian name (ElW 1145).
– Elamite: Šá-ut-ma-bar-šá: PFNN 718:3.

5.3.2.181 Šatramaba: possibly an error for Šatrabama (ElW 1117).
– Elamite: Šá-at-ra-ma-ba: PFNN 2481:9.

5.3.2.182 Šebadu: *Sē-bādu- < *Sai-bādu-, "??-arm" (cf. ElW 1146).
– Elamite: Še-ba-du: PFNN 668:11-12, 2181:1.

5.3.2.183 Šešteka: probably Iranian (ElW 1151).
– Elamite: Še-iš-te(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 2354:4.

5.3.2.184 Šeukarpirza: probably an Iranian name ending in -**bṛza-*.
– Elamite: Še-u-kar-pír-za: PFNN 2200:28.

5.3.2.185 Šimauda: probably Iranian (ElW 1165).
– Elamite:
1) Ši-ma-u-da: PFNN 1279:3.
2) Ši-um-u-da: PFNN 704:4.

5.3.2.186 Šintukka: Gershevitch (1969: 229) reconstructs *Sintă-vahu-ka-, "good dancer" (Oss. *simd*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1548) disagrees. Hinz (ASN 224) wonders whether it would not be better to reconstruct an *-ika*-hypocoristic or a gentilic.
– Elamite: Ši-in-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1437:2-3.

5.3.2.187 Šipunda: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ši-pu-un-da: PFNN 907:3.

5.3.2.188 Širamipna: Ir. name beginning with *Çīra-.
– Elamite: Ši-ra-mi-ip-na: PFNN 2001:4-5.

5.3.2.189 Šišudanuš: probably Iranian (ElW 1170).
– Elamite: Ši-šu-da-nu-iš: PF 1980:16.

5.3.2.190 Šizikka: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ši-i-zik-ka$_4$: PFNN 2359:59.

5.3.2.191 Šurapika: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Šu-ra-pi-ka$_4$: PFNN 1076:3.

5.3.2.192 Šurauba: perhaps *Çō-raupa-.
– Elamite: Šu-ra-u-ba: PFNN 958:7-8.

5.3.2.193 Takmaturriš: possibly *Taxma-θri-š, "three times strong" (NW 115 and ASN 233). Gershevitch (1969b: 196) reconstructs *Taxma-tura-, but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1597) has doubts concerning the second part of this name.
– Elamite: Tak(?)-ma(?)-tur(?)ri-iš(?): PFNN 629:2-3, 1187:4-5.

5.3.2.194 Takšuma: certainly Iranian. Gershevitch (1970: 90) reconstructs *Taxša(t)-hauma-, "haoma-pourer". Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1601) rejects this reconstruction. Hinz (ASN 233) prefers *Taxšahumā-.
– Elamite: Tak-šu-ma: PFNN 1059:14,40.

5.3.2.195 Taktabbarna: *Taxta-farnah-, "run and glorious" (ElW 272), with *Taxta- as past part. of **tak-*, "to run" (ASN 176). This is, however, very uncertain.
– Elamite: Tak-tab-bar-na: PFNN 2274:21.

5.3.2.196 Tamaddama: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Tam$_5$-ad-da-ma: PFNN 2088:4-5.

5.3.2.197 Tanbara: Gershevitch (1970: 90) reconstructs *Dambara-, "wasp", < *Zamba-bara- (NP *zaṃbūr*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1608) is doubtful of this. Hinz (ASN 90) mentions OInd. *jámbha-*, "tooth", followed by *-ra-*.
– Elamite: Tan-ba-ra: PFNN 984:2-3.

5.3.2.198 Tardušša: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Tar-du-iš-šá: PFNN 295:3-4.

5.3.2.199 Tarkikaza: probably Iranian (ElW 291).
– Elamite: Tar-ki-ka$_4$-za: PFNN 965:2, 1242:2.

5.3.2.200 Tibarakša: probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ti-ba-ra-ak-šá: PFNN 11:3-4.

5.3.2.201 Tindabadda: possibly *Dindā-pāta-, "protected by the fortress", a nasalized equivalent of *Didā-pāta-. Gershevitch (1969: 236) pleads for *Θind/ta-pāda-, "dance-foot", but Hinz & Koch (ElW 326) rightfully plead for **pāta-* as the second part of this name.
– Elamite:
1) Ti-in-da-ba-ad-da: PFNN 383:3-4.
2) Ti-in-da-ba-da: Fort. 2510:3-4.

5.3.2.202 Twgnʾ: possibly *Tava-g(a)na-, "striking firmly", to Av. *gan-* and *γn-*, "striking". Another possiblity is *Tauga-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Tauga-, "reimbursing". Segal (1983: 64) pleads for *Tāvāgna-, "killing the powerful", but Schmitt (1987: 153) considers this onomastically unlikely. Moreover the name or expression might not be complete, since its first part may be lost ([]twgnʾ).
– Aramaic: Twgnʾ: ATNS 44:8.

5.3.2.203 Uberuduya: probably an Iranian name (ElW 1197), beginning with (H)u-.
– Elamite: Ú(?)-be(?)-ru(?)-du-ia(?): PFNN 1687:3-4.

5.3.2.204 Ukbanuna: probably Iranian (ElW 1207), beginning with **upa-*.
– Elamite: Uk-ba(?)-nu-na: Fort. 2566:2-3.

5.3.2.205 Ukbapda: probably Iranian (ElW 1208), beginning with **upa-*.
– Elamite: Uk-ba-ip-da: PFNN 2372:41.

5.3.2.206 Ukbeza: *Aup-aiča-, *-aiča-*hypocoristicon (OnP 8.1700 and 8.1752), probably of Ukpiš (ASN 51).
– Elamite:
1) Uk-be-za: PF 328:3.
2) U-pe-ez-za: PF 1957:41, 1987:2, 2004:11; PFNN 2192:9.

5.3.2.207 Ukiadaštiš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1209).
– Elamite: U-ki-ia-da-iš-ti-iš: PFNN 2371:29.

5.3.2.208 Ukpiš: Hinz (ASN 51) pleads for *Aupiš. Gershevitch (1969: 243) reconstructs *Hubiš, "having good drugs". Cf. also Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1702 and 1751).
– Elamite:
1) Uk-pi-iš: PF 1955:1,26.
2) U-pi-iš: PF 1960:3,35.

5.3.2.209 Ukšumaturra: Hinz (ASN 242) reads *Uxšiya-xvāθra-, "who increases the delight". Yet this does not correspond with the El. spelling. Benveniste (1966: 95) prefers *(H)uš-(h)vāθra- and Gershevitch (1969: 240) reconstructs *Huxšvāθra-. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1706) rejects both proposals.
– Elamite: Uk-šu-ma-tur-ra: Fort. 3678:3.

5.3.2.210 Ullabaziš: probably Iranian (OnP 301; ElW 1218). Perhaps the second part denotes *bāji-*, "tax".
– Elamite:
1) Ul-la-ba-iz-zí-iš: PF 1592:3-4.
2) Ul-la-ba-zí-iš: Fort. 8625:6-7.

5.3.2.211 Umamuši: Iranian name according to Zadok (1977: 105; also Dandamayev 1992: 133).
– Babylonian: U-ma-mu-ši: BE 9 83:19,L.E.
– Elamite: U-ma-mu-iš-šá: PFNN 456:2.

5.3.2.212 Uškama: probably Old Persian (ElW 1205), possibly *Hušhaxāva-, a *-va-*extension of *Huš-haxā-, "good friend", cf. Av. *huš.haxi-*.
– Elamite: Ú-iš-ka$_4$-ma: PFNN 1515:3.

5.3.2.213 Uškamanza: Gershevitch (1969: 243) reconstructs *Uskā-mančah-, "whose rank is (on) high" (Av. *uskaṯ-*, "high" and OInd. *mañca-*, "platform, stage"). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1776) rejects this reconstruction. Hinz (ASN 128) reads *Huš-haxman-ča-, a *-ča-*hypocoristic of Av. *huš.haxman-*, "having good societies", but he also mentions Av. *hušk-a-*, "dry" and OP *uška-*.
– Elamite: Ú-iš-ka$_4$-man-za: PF 2012:10.

5.3.2.214 Ušpirša: probably Iranian (ElW 1205).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-pír-šá: PFNN 2261:26-27.

5.3.2.215 Uššušnaka: probably Old Persian (ElW 1205).
– Elamite: Ú-iš-šu-iš-na-ka$_4$: PFNN 2268:3, 2300:29, 2346:16-17, 2350:19.

5.3.2.216 Ušuka: Zadok (1983c: 319) reconstructs *Hu-asču-ka-, a *-ka-*extension of *Hu-asču-, "having beautiful shins", but this can hardly be reconciled with the spelling. An alternative possibility is *Uš-uka-, an *-uka-*extension of a retrenchment of a name with the element **uš-*, "morning".
– Babylonian: Ú-šu-ka-': VS 20 49:rev.9.

5.3.2.217 Utaptuš: Old Persian name (ElW 1253).
– Elamite: Ut-tap-tu-iš: PFNN 2337:31.

5.3.2.218 Utišeza: possibly *Hu-tiž-aiča-, an *-aiča-*hypocoristic of *Hu-tiži-, "well sharp" (Av. *tiži-*). An objection may be that U normally renders /au/.
– Elamite: U-ti-še-za: PFNN 548:19.

5.3.2.219 Uzirdaramašda: probably Iranian (ElW 1250), perhaps ending in *-mazdā-*.
– Elamite: Ú-zir-da-ra(?)-maš-da: PFNN 535:21.

5.3.2.220 Uzupa'tura': Iranian, but not *Vispatarva- (Zadok 1977: 95n.38), as Hinz (ASN 266) and Dandamayev (1992: 87) believe.
– Babylonian: Ú-zu-pa-'-tu-ra-': Dar. 375:23.

5.3.2.221 Zakušina: possibly related to Av. *čakuš-*, "hammer" (ASN 70).
– Elamite: Za-ku-ši-na-be: PT 1963-17:6-7.

5.3.2.222 Zarpubaštiš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1277).
– Elamite: Za-ir-pu-ba-iš-ti-iš: PFNN 2277:14.

5.3.2.223 Zirrusika: *Zrūθ-ika-, *-ika-*extension (OnP 8.1861; ASN 279; ElW 1091).
– Elamite: Zir-ru-si-ka$_4$: PF 1980:4,8-9; PFNN 2290:28, 2487:21.

5.3.3. Geographical names

5.3.3.1 Abbakamsaš: probably Iranian (ElW 19, reading *Apakauθa-).
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-kam-sa-iš: PFNN 1527:5-6.
2) Ab-ba-ku-sa: PFNN 2492:12.

5.3.3.2 Akkurbana: possibly Old Persian (ElW 39).
– Elamite: Ak-kur-ba-na-be (pl.): PFNN 454:4.

5.3.3.3 Akkurna: probably Old Persian (ElW 39).
– Elamite: Ak-kur-na: PF 1936:1, 1990:12, 2074:9; PFNN 573:3, 2184:31, 2198:9, 2265:6, 2344:20, 2542:1,20.

5.3.3.4 Amdamartukka: Old Persian toponym (ElW 50).
– Elamite: Am-da-mar-tuk-ka$_4$: PFNN 1225:3.

5.3.3.5 Andabaš: probably Old Persian (ElW 57).
– Elamite: An-da-ba-iš: OGWA 321-322:6.

5.3.3.6 Anindaziš: probably Old Persian (ElW 58).
– Elamite: An-in-da-zí-iš: PF 490:9-10; PFNN 2025:6-7.

5.3.3.7 Anzakurda: probably Old Persian (ElW 68).
– Elamite: An-za-kur-da: PF 705:5.

5.3.3.8 Aptudaraš: probably Iranian (ASN 24; ElW 80; Koch 1990: 244).
– Elamite: Ap-tu-da-ráš: PF 149:3.

5.3.3.9 Ašbapirrasana: oronym. Hinz & Koch (ElW 517) read Median *Aspa-fraθăna-, "horse-curry".
– Elamite: Áš-ba-pír-ra-sa-na: PFNN 2290:3.

5.3.3.10 Aškamanda: probably Old Persian (ElW 88).
– Elamite: Áš-ka$_4$-man-da: PF 1897:3-4, 1987:14; PFa 31:28; PFNN 2397:8.

5.3.3.11 Aškamantiš: perhaps *Aškavantīš < *Askavant-iya-.
– Elamite: Áš-ka$_4$-man-ti-iš: PF 1974:2.

5.3.3.12 Ašmaduššina: probably Old Persian (ElW 88).
– Elamite: Áš-ma-du-iš-ši-na: PFNN 816:5-6.

5.3.3.13 Aššakadum: probably Iranian (ElW 90).
– Elamite: Áš-šá-ka$_4$-d[u]-um: PFNN 2219:5-6.

5.3.3.14 Baduziratiš: Hinz (ASN 53) reconstructs *Bādujīratiya-, "having a very vivid arm", but Av. *jīra-* actually means "intelligent, spirtually vivid".
– Elamite: Ba-du-zí-ra-ti-iš: PF 1966:8.

5.3.3.15 Bamašdumana: Hinz (ASN 191) mentions *Pavasta-vāna- (NP *pust*, "skin").
– Elamite:
1) Ba-maš-du-ma-na(-iš): PF 2003:4; PFNN 2299:10.
2) Ba-u-iš-du-ma-na(-iš): PFNN 2211:1,32, 2337:13,38,43.

5.3.3.16 Baprakša: probably Iranian (ElW 108).
– Elamite: Ba-ap-rák-šá: PFNN 2494:8.

5.3.3.17 Baprukaš: probably Old Persian (ElW 109).
– Elamite: Ba-ap-ru-kaš: PFNN 2486:22.

5.3.3.18 Barauparaezana: Marquart (1907: 73) prefers *Para-uparisaina-, "the land that is situated before the Uparisaina". Av. Upairisaēna- is the name of a mountain range and means "higher than the eagle" (Eilers 1987: 26. Av. *saēna-*, "eagle"). Vogelsang (1999-2001: 270) translates "(the land) beyond (the land) above the eagle". Yet the various spellings do not allow such a reconstruction, the correct form of which must rather be *Parahuparaičana-.
– Babylonian: Pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na: DB 6.
– Elamite:
1) Ba-ra-ú-ba-ra-e-za-na: PFNN 944:10-11.
2) [Bar-ru-bar-ra-e]-sa-na: DB I 13.

5.3.3.19 Bardubara: Hinz (ASN 181) prefers **partu-*, "debts" (Arm. *partk'*) or **pṛθu-*, "flank". This is followed by **bāra-*, "burden, load". Hinz & Koch (ElW 123) only confirm the Old Persian character of this toponym.
– Elamite: Ba-ir-du-ba-ra: PF 2038:33-34.

5.3.3.20 Bariškanam: Old Persian name (ElW 150). Vallat (1993: 155) reads La-ri-iš-ka$_4$-na-um.
– Elamite: Ba-ri-iš-ka$_4$-na-um: PFNN 2192:30.

5.3.3.21 Baršeda: probably Iranian (ElW 125).
– Elamite: Ba-ir-še-da: PF 2034:8.

5.3.3.22 Dandakra: Old Persian toponym (ElW 252).
– Elamite: Da-an-da-ak-ra(-an): PF 666:7, 700:7.

5.3.3.23 Dapitinaka: probably Iranian (ElW 286).
– Elamite:
1) Da-pi-ti-na-ka$_4$: PF 1963:26.
2) Da-pi-ti-na-kaš: PF 1963:12.

5.3.3.24 Dapura: possibly to be compared with present Tabarestān, a region at the south coast of the Caspian Sea (ASN 235, reading *Tapura-).
– Elamite: Da-pu-ra-ip (pl.; gentilic): PF 856:4; PFNN 2458:2.

5.3.3.25 Dasapariš: probably Iranian (ElW 259), beginning with *Dasa-, "ten".
– Elamite: Da-šá-[ap]-pa(?)-r[i]-iš(?): PFNN 2387:9-10.

5.3.3.26 Gemarukka: Hinz (ASN 102) reconstructs *Gaivarauka-.
– Elamite:
1) Ge-ma-ru-uk-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PFNN 2437:6-7.
2) Ge-ma-ru-uk-kaš: PF 1659:2-3, 1866:6-7, 1867-1868:4-5, 2032:8-9; PFNN 160:4, etc. in PFNN.
3) Ka$_4$-a-ma-ru-kaš: PF 2067:7-8, 2068:5,8.
4) Ka$_4$-a-ma-ru-uk-kaš: PF 2067:5.

5.3.3.27 Hamadudam: probably Old Persian (ElW 612).
– Elamite: Ha-ma-du(?)-da-um: PFNN 574:20.

5.3.3.28 Hanamasa: probably Old Persian (ElW 616).
– Elamite: Ha-na-ma-sa-an: PFNN 544:1,14, 653:8-9, 737:7-8, 2486:26.

5.3.3.29 Harbuš: probably Iranian. Metzler (1977: 1057) identifies it with Gk. Ἀρβουα, but this is not sure (ElW 627).
– Elamite: Har-bu-iš: PF 753:4-5, 968:2-3,4-5, 1717:3,12-13; PFa 8:3 (H[a]r-bu-[iš]),5 (Har-[bu-iš]); PFNN 391:3, 556:5, 632:3,5, 2193:4 (Har-bu-<<bu>>-iš), 2545:3.

5.3.3.30 Harišna: probably Iranian (ElW 591; Koch 1990: 12).
– Elamite:
1) ^{ha}Har-iš-na: PFNN 709:3-4.
2) Ha-ir-iš-na[205]: Fort. 6352:5; PF 1861:2-3, 1900:1-2, 2005:9; PFNN 178:2-3, 577:3, 630:2-3, 704:2, 762:27, etc. in PFNN.
3) Ha-ir-šá-na: PF 693:12; PFNN 704:2.

5.3.3.31 Harišnu: probably Iranian (ElW 591). It may render the same name as Harišna. Cf. 5.3.2.53.
– Elamite:
1) Ha-ir-iš-nu: PF 704:5.
2) Ha-ir-ši-ni: PF 703:5.

5.3.3.32 Harrabuš: Iranian place name, not to be identified with Har-bu-iš (ElW 634). Cf. also the similar personal name (5.3.2.54).
– Elamite: Har-ra-bu-iš: PFNN 2476:4,10,16,40,41.

5.3.3.33 Harrakkaš: not clear whether it is a place name or an appellative (Hallock 1969: 692). Hinz (1970: 439) translates "enforcer", but later (apud ElW 634) gives this up.
– Elamite: Har-rák-kaš-be (pl.): PF 2031:8-9.

5.3.3.34 Harrutiš: probably Iranian (ElW 637). Perhaps related to **arva-*.
– Elamite:
1) Har-ru-ti-iš: PFNN 895:13-14.
2) Har-ru-ut-ti-iš: PF 1961:15; PFNN 2274:19.
3) Ha-ru-ut-ti-iš: PFNN 2373:3.

5.3.3.35 Hatumasa: Hinz (ASN 50 and 51) presents two readings: (1) *Āθavaθa-, with reference to **θav-*, "to burn" (see, however, 4.2.197), or (2) *Āθumaθā-, the OP equivalent of *Asumasa-, "swift and big". Hinz & Koch (ElW 649) do not discuss this name.
– Elamite: Ha-tu-ma-sa-an (loc.): PF 54:14-15.

5.3.3.36 Ianapidda: probably Iranian (ElW 1263).
– Elamite: Ia-na-pi-ud-da-be (pl.): PFNN 629:9-10.

5.3.3.37 Iaturšikaš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1264).
– Elamite: Ia-tur-ši-kaš: PFNN 52:7, 2494:4.

[205] Hinz (ASN 37), with reference to Hallock (1969: 692), reads ha-ir-iš and reconstructs *Ārš.

5.3.3.38 Irdunuttiš: by reading *Vṛdu-n-vati-š Hinz & Koch (ElW 773 and 1043) relate the Elamite spellings to Av. *varədu-*, "soft".
– Elamite:
1) Ir-du-nu-ut-ti-iš: PF 706:5-6.
2) Ru-du-in-ma-ut-ti: PFNN 174:6-7, 797:5.

5.3.3.39 Irkabbama: maybe *Ṛkā-upama-, "superior through a hymn" (ElW 779).
– Elamite: Ir-ka$_4$-ib-ba-ma(-an): PFNN 1227:8-9, 2527:5-6.

5.3.3.40 Irkamaš: possibly *Ṛkā-ama-, "strong through the hymn". Koch (1990: 404) reconstructs *Ṛgavaš.
– Elamite: Ir-ka$_4$-ma-iš: PF 1881:2-3.

5.3.3.41 Irmuš: probably Iranian (ElW 778).
– Elamite: Ir-mu-iš: PF 1685:3-4; PFNN 876:6.

5.3.3.42 Irmuza: Hinz & Koch (ElW 778; also Koch 1990: 45 and n.214) reconstruct *Ṛmauča-[206].
– Elamite: Ir-mu-za-an (loc.): PF 560:3.

5.3.3.43 Irmuzia: gentilic of the preceding toponym (ElW 778).
– Elamite: Ir-mu-zí-ia-ip (pl.): PF 849:3, 1923:4-5.

5.3.3.44 Iturnazza: probably Iranian (ElW 795).
– Elamite: I-tur-na-iz-za-an (loc.): PF 562:2-3.

5.3.3.45 Kababukaš: possibly *Kapa-bōga-, "fish-releaser" (ASN 146, reconstructing *Kapa-bauga-).
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-ba-bu-kaš: Fort. 1016:6.

5.3.3.46 Kabarduma: place in Persia, probably Iranian.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-bar-du-ma: PF 2079:6 (°-bar-[ma]),7.

5.3.3.47 Kabrana: possibly present Ḫafr (ElW 436).
– Elamite: Kab-ra-na-an (loc.): PFNN 1547:3-4.

5.3.3.48 Kadana: probably Iranian (ElW 414). *Gădăna- and *Kătăna- are both plausible reconstructions, but it is not possible to determine which is the right one.
– Elamite: Ka$_4$-da-na: PF 2077:20.

5.3.3.49 Kamartutiš: probably Iranian (ElW 425; Koch 1990: 90).
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-mar-tu-ti-iš: PFa 31:26; PFNN 1314:2-3, 2364:2 (°-tu-t[i-iš]).
2) Ka$_4$-mar-tu-ut-ti-iš: PFNN 1637:3-4.

5.3.3.50 Kannaruš: probably Iranian (ElW 431).
– Elamite: Kán-na-ru-iš: PF 611:6-7.

[206] Koch assumes that both spellings (Ir-mu-iš and Ir-mu-za) denote the same place. This is possible, because *Ṛmu-ča- is a hypocoristic of *Ṛmuš.

5.3.3.51 Kaptarraš: probably Old Persian (ElW 408).
– Elamite: Ka_4-ap-tar-ráš: PFNN 2477:5.

5.3.3.52 Kaptarriš: < *Kaptar-iya-.
– Elamite: Ka_4-ap-tar-ri-iš: PFNN 2477:20-21.

5.3.3.53 Karikmašda: probably Iranian (ElW 441).
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ri-ik-maš-da-an (loc.): PF 1123:4-5; PFNN 1364:12 (°-<ik>-°), 1822:5-6.
2) Kar-ri-ik-ma-iš-da-an (loc.): PFNN 698:7.

5.3.3.54 Karkašuš: Hinz (ASN 152) reconstructs *Kṛka-θuš, "lungs of a cock" (Av. *suš*, "lungs"), but this is hardly acceptable. Hinz & Koch (ElW 530) consider the fourth spelling as a name transferred from the *u*-declension to the *a*-declension. It is, however, equally possible that it is a inaccurate spelling.
– Elamite:
1) Ka_4-ir-ka_4-šu-iš: PFNN 2220:5.
2) Kur-ka_4-šu-iš: PF 712:6; PFNN 1738:3-4.
3) Kur-ka_4-tu-iš: PF 1170:8.
4) Kur-ka_4-tu-iš-<<šá>>: PF 298:16-17.

5.3.3.55 Karkutia: Old Persian toponym (ElW 442).
– Elamite: Kar-ku-ti-ia(-iš): PF 1092:4-5,8.

5.3.3.56 Kurradaiauš: *Xra-dahyau-š, probably Iranian (ElW 530).
– Elamite: Kur(?)-ra-da-ia-[u]-iš(?): PFNN 1472:8-9.

5.3.3.57 Kurrimišda: probably Old Persian (ElW 505).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-ir-ri-mi-iš-da: PF 323:9-10.
2) Kur-r[i-mi]-iš-da: PFNN 2555:7-8.

5.3.3.58 Kursamuš: Hinz (ASN 153) mentions Av. *kərəsa-*, "vagabond, robber" and reconstructs *Kṛθaviš.
– Elamite:
1) Kur-áš-mu-iš: PF 564:8. Inaccurate spelling.
2) Kur-da-mu-iš: PFNN 186:4-5.
3) Kur-sa-mi-iš: PFNN 1847:18.
4) Kur-sa-mu-iš: PF 317:8-9, 612:5, 1122:6, 1910:2; PFNN 264:3, 775:5-6, 1162:3-4, etc. in PFNN.
5) Kur-ti-mi-iš: PF 1951:8,14.
6) Kur-ti-pi-iš[207]: PF 1995:4; PFNN 1829:8-9.

[207] At first sight this spelling does not belong here. Nevertheless it denotes the same place as the other spellings (Koch 1990: 82n.361). An explanation might be that a learned scriba still knew the various values of PI: *-pi-* as well as *-wi-* (ElW 535). In that case the Iranian sound represented must be /v/.

5.3.3.59 Kuruttiš: probably Old Persian (ElW 537).
– Elamite: Ku-ru-ut-ti-iš: PFNN 567:2.

5.3.3.60 Kutima: probably an Old Persian toponym (ElW 547).
– Elamite: Ku-ti-ma(-iš): PF 233:8, 693:11 (Ku-ti-m[a]), 1958:4, 1961:33, 1987:58-59, 1990:10, 2074:5; PFNN 1008:24, 2184:17, 2261:6, 2273:17, 2364:3,14,18.

5.3.3.61 Kutkuš: Old Persian toponym (ElW 550).
– Elamite:
1) Ku-tu-kaš: PF 156:3; PFNN 2084:4-5.
2) Ku-ut-ku-iš: Fort. 6351:3; PF 153:3, 520-521:5-6, 637:3, 638:5, 985:4; PFNN 1244:5, 1905:4-5, etc. in PFNN.

5.3.3.62 Mabankurda: probably Iranian (ElW 857), ending in *-kṛta-*.
– Elamite: Ma-ba-un-kur-da: Fort. 7864:6.

5.3.3.63 Mardaška: most likely Iranian. Hinz (ASN 256) reads *Varθaska-.
– Elamite:
1) Mar-da-iš-ka_4: PFNN 467:3-4.
2) Mar-sa-iš-ka_4: PFNN 2204:5,14.
3) Mar-sa-iš-kaš: Fort. 5466:4; PF 757:6-7, 1127:4-5, 2036:6; PFNN 2067:6; PT 5:7, 81:5.

5.3.3.64 Markadara: Iranian gentilic (ElW 883).
– Elamite: Mar-ka_4-da-ra-ip (pl.): PFNN 2265:10-11.

5.3.3.65 Masakša: again an Iranian gentilic is meant here (ElW 891).
– Elamite: Ma-sa-ak-šá-be (pl.): PFNN 393:2-3.

5.3.3.66 Memanakaš: probably Iranian (ElW 913).
– Elamite: Me-ma-na-kaš: PFNN 2211:6,37,42, 2337:21,33.

5.3.3.67 Midakantiš: probably Old Persian (ElW 920).
– Elamite: Mi-da-ka_4-an-ti-iš: PFNN 2320:11-12.

5.3.3.68 Miruzzana: probably Iranian (ElW 935).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-ru-iz-za-na: PFNN 1059:46.
2) Mi-ru-za-na-iš: PFNN 2266:3.

5.3.3.69 Mišduba:???-tau/ōpa- (ElW 925, mentioning *-taupa-*).
– Elamite:
1) Mi-iš-du-ba(-iš): PF 971:10-11 ([Mi-iš-du]-°), 1947:69 (M[i-i]š-°), 2042:3-4; PFNN 56:10-11 (°-[iš]-°), 644:16, 730:3, 1007:8, 2492:22.
2) Mi-iš-du-uk-ba: PF 158:3-4.
3) Mi-iš-tam_5-ba-iš: PFNN 475:4, 2576:3-4.

5.3.3.70 Mutrezza (Med.): possibly *Muθrēča- < *Muθraiča-, an *-aiča*-extension of *Muθra-, "liquid manure, urine" (ASN 170), cf. OInd. *mū́tra-* and Av. *mū́θra-*.

– Elamite:
1) Mu-ut-re-ez-za-an (loc.): PF 152:2.
2) Mu-ut-re-za-iš: PF 640:4-5.

5.3.3.71 Nukšama: probably Old Persian (ElW 1006).
– Elamite: Nu-ik-šá-ma(-an): PF 1906:2-3, 2084:8; PFNN 2372:39,45 ([Nu-ik]-°).

5.3.3.72 Nukusanti(a): perhaps *Niku-θand-iya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Niku-θand-, "??-appear" (ASN 175-176), to Av. *sand-*, "to appear" and OP *θand-*. The first part of the name has nothing to do with NP *nekū*, "good, beautiful", for the latter is a development from MP *nēwkōk* and OP **naibakauka-*.
– Elamite:
1) Nu-ku-sa-an-ti-ia: PFNN 1849:4-5, 2442:4-5 (°-an-[ti]-ia).
2) Nu-ku-sa-an-ti-iš: PF 1002:4-5 (*Nikuθandīš < *Nikuθandiya-).

5.3.3.73 Partukki: Hinz (ASN 95; also Koch 1990: 187 n.773) mentions **far-* (an equivalent of **hvar-*, "sun") and **tak-*, "to run".
– Elamite: Pa-ir-tuk-ki: PF 371:7-8.

5.3.3.74 Pikatma: probably Old Persian (ElW 207).
– Elamite: Pi-ka$_4$-ut-ma-an (loc.): PFNN 2196:14,17.

5.3.3.75 Pimaškanuš: probably Old Persian (ElW 206).
– Elamite: Pi-maš-ka$_4$-nu-iš: PF 1958:2, 1961:32; PFNN 762:25, 2490:37,42.

5.3.3.76 Pirdatka: probably Old Persian (ElW 208).
– Elamite:
1) Pír-da-ut-kaš: PF 545:4, 1211:7; PFa 10:10-11; PFNN 942:10-11, 1119:7.
2) Pír-ti-ut-kaš: PF 936:3; PFNN 26:3.

5.3.3.77 Pirrabartamda: probably Iranian (ElW 213).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-bar-tam$_5$-da: PFNN 535:14.

5.3.3.78 Pirradame: probably Iranian (ElW 213).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-a-da-me-iš: PFNN 549:21.

5.3.3.79 Pirrakuma: Iranian toponym (ElW 215).
– Elamite: Pír-ra(?)-ku-maš: PFNN 389:4-5.

5.3.3.80 Pirrandumanuš: probably Old Persian (ElW 213).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-an-du-ma-nu-iš: PFNN 2460:2-4.

5.3.3.81 Pirratinuš: probably Iranian (ElW 213).
– Elamite: Pír-ra-a-ti-nu-iš: PFNN 863:6-7.

5.3.3.82 Purkada: probably Iranian (ElW 233, where AN is considered a locative ending. In that case the original name is *Burakadā-). Koch (1990: 139) reconstructs *Baura-ka-dāna-, with reference to El. Pu-ra-da-na (= *Bauradāna-).

– Elamite: Pu-ir-ka$_4$-da(-an): PF 1487:8.

5.3.3.83 Putinamanda: Hinz & Koch (ElW 237) refer to *Pūtivanta-, "stinking".
– Elamite:
1) Pu-ti-na-man-da: PFNN 577:1, 2184:19.
2) Pu-ti-nu-man-da: PFNN 2355:2.

5.3.3.84 Rapittanna: probably Old Persian (ElW 1029).
– Elamite: Ráp-pi-ut-tan-na: PFNN 2421:3-4, 2423:3-4 ([Ráp]-pi-°).

5.3.3.85 Ratkuš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1035).
– Elamite:
1) Rat-ku-iš: PFNN 585:5, 1770:7, 2286:12.
2) Ra-ut-ku-iš: Fort. 7090:5-6; PF 908:5, 1134:5-6; PFNN 312:7-8, etc. in PFNN (cf. Vallat 1993: 231).

5.3.3.86 Rušda: according to Hinz (ASN 219) this is the past part. of **raod-*, "to grow", but Hinz & Koch (ElW 1046) are cautious and merely believe in the Old Persian character of the name.
– Elamite:
1) Ru-iš-da: PF 1344:12.
2) Ru-iš-da-a: PFNN 494:5-6.

5.3.3.87 Šaušanuš: both hydronym and toponym, probably Iranian (ElW 1144).
– Elamite:
1) Šá-u-šá-nu-iš: PF 339:8.
2) Šá-ú-ši-nu-iš: PFNN 379:9 (Šá-ú-ši-nu-i[š]), 2372:33.

5.3.3.88 Šimbarra: probably an Iranian place name. Hinz & Koch (ElW 1171; also Koch 1990: 120) read *Θimbara-, but no meaning is known for such a name.
– Elamite:
1) Ši-um-ba-ra: PFNN 2273:18, 2490:39; PT 1963-12:6.
2) Ši-um-bar-ra: PF 1960:24,31, 1961:29.
3) Ti-um-bar-ra: PF 1986:11, 1987:10; PFNN 2478:1.

5.3.3.89 Širubba: probably Iranian (ElW 1170).
– Elamite: Ši-ru-ib(?)-ba(?): PFNN 1383:5.

5.3.3.90 Širuš: probably Iranian (ElW 1170).
– Elamite: Ši-ru-iš: PF 1924:1-2.

5.3.3.91 Šuraturiš: Iranian (ElW 1181), with Šu-ra- as possible rendering of Med. **sūra-*, "strong".
– Elamite: ⌜Šu⌝-ra-tur-ri-[i]š: PFNN 572:23.

5.3.3.92 Tamnuya: possibly Iranian (ElW 279), perhaps related to **dāman-*, "dwelling" (Av. *dāman-*).
– Elamite:
1) Da-man-nu-i[a-ma(?)]: PFNN 1321:6.

2) Tam_5-nu-ia: PFNN 735:7.

5.3.3.93 Tirušbaka: probably Old Persian (ElW 338). Hallock (1969: 214; also ElW 338) reads the first sign as TI. Another possibility is BAR, which may lead to a reconstruction *Parvaspaka-.
– Elamite: Ti(?)-ru-iš-ba-ak-k[a_4]: PF 693:8-9.

5.3.3.94 Tumaruia: probably Old Persian (ElW 359).
– Elamite: Tu-ma-ru(?)-ia-iš: PF 620:6-7.

5.3.3.95 Turtuba: probably Iranian (ElW 373).
– Elamite: Tur-tu-ba: PFNN 897:4-5.

5.3.3.96 Ubateianiš: Hinz (ASN 243) prefers *Upa-dyāni-, "bye-damage", to **zyāni-* (4.4.10.20). Hinz & Koch (ElW 1197) consider the name to be Old Persian.
– Elamite:
1) Ú-ba-te-ia-nu-iš: PFNN 1057:22.
2) Ú-ba-ti-ia-nu-iš: PF 2074:1,3,15-16 ([Ú]-ba-ti-ia-nu-iš).

5.3.3.97 Ubattikpa: most likely an Iranian toponym (ElW 1197).
– Elamite:
1) Ú-bat-ti-ik-pa-an (loc.): PFNN 2200:15.
2) Uk-ba-ut-ti-ik-pa: PFNN 2351:5.

5.3.3.98 Ukbariandaba: most likely an Iranian toponym, beginning with **upari-* (ElW 1207). Hinz (ASN 244) restores [zí] and reconstructs *Uparihandāziya-, "exceeding the measure". Koch (1990: 413) reads *Uparihandabaya-.
– Elamite: Uk-ˈbarˈ-ri-an-da-[ba]-iš: PF 237:8-9.

5.3.3.99 Ukbariyanzaba: Median equivalent of Ukbariandaba.
– Elamite: Uk-ba-ri-an-za-ba: PFNN 2211:3, 2337:23.

5.3.3.100 Umpuranuš: probably Iranian.
– Elamite:
1) Am-pu-ra-nu-iš: PFNN 1130:4.
2) Um-pu-ra-an: PFNN 2533:10.
3) Um-pu-ra-nu-iš: PFNN 429:3-4, 649:3-4 ([U]m-pu-°), 738:7-8 (°-ra-[nu-i]š), 1568:3 ([Um]-ˈpuˈ-[ra-nu-iš]).

5.3.3.101 Uratma: probably Iranian (ElW 1245, reconstructing *Huraθva-).
– Elamite: Ú-ra-ut-ma: PFNN 1594:4-5.

5.3.3.102 Uyaka: probably Iranian (ElW 1257).
– Elamite: Ú-ia-ka_4-an (loc.): PFNN 2275:11-12.

5.3.3.103 Zakurrašanuš: probably Old Persian (ElW 1279).
– Elamite: Za-kur-ra-šá-nu-i[š]: PFNN 1283:2-3.

5.3.3.104 Zirša/ima: probably Old Persian (ElW 1292; Vallat 1993: 313).
– Elamite:

1) Zí-ir-šá-ma(-iš): PFNN 1525:4-5, 2510:12.
2) Zí-ir-ši-ma: PFNN 506:4-5.
3) Zir-šá-ma: PFNN 548:1.

5.3.3.105 Ziršamattiš: Hinz (ASN 279) refers to Av. *zarštuua-*, "stone" and reconstructs *Zarštva-vatiš, "provided with stones". This does, however, not correspond with the spelling.
– Elamite: Zir-šá-ma-ut-ti-is: PF 2003:8.

5.3.4. Loanwords

5.3.4.1 [1]Abbakanaš: "female cutter" (ElW 18). Hinz (NW 91; ASN 30) reads *Apakāna-, "decrease, loss (of wine)", with reference to MP *abgandan*, "to throw away".
1) ab-ba-ak-ka_4-na-iš: PFNN 359:3-4, 2574:4-5.
2) ab-ba-ka_4-na(-iš/-ip): PF 849:2, 1923:9-10, 1944:29 (°-i[p]); PFNN 832:4-5, 1510:4.

5.3.4.2 [2]Abbakanaš: a special tax (Koch 1980: 125-126, 136). Possibly to be reconstructed **apa-kana-*, "throwing away".
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-ka_4-na(-iš/-še): PF 1950:28,29, 1961:18, 1963:18, 1966:11, 1993:8, etc. in PF; PFa 32:10; PFNN 549:1, 758:4, 759:22,28, 2197:10, 2352:2,5.
2) Ap-pi-ka_4-na-še: PF 54:8 (ŠE = *-*šē* < -*šai*, "his").
3) Ha-pi-ka_4-nu-iš: PFNN 575:9, 2189:49,50, 2288:14, 2361:18.

5.3.4.3 Abbakannuš: Hinz (NW 91; ASN 30) pleads for **apakānya-*, "he who throws away". Koch (apud ElW 19) translates "maintenance".
– Elamite:
1) Ab-ba-kán-nu-iš: PF 397-398:4, 399:5, 400:5-6, 402:5-6; PFNN 401:5-6, 402:6-7, 638:5-6, 640:7, 845:4-5, 1205:4-5.
2) Ab-ba-ka_4-nu-iš: PFNN 2487:37.
3) Ab-ba-kin-nu-iš: PF 401:6-7.

5.3.4.4 ʾMtr: according to Bogoljubov (1971b: 280) the Iranian equivalent of OInd. *asmatrā́-*, "to us", i.e. **ahmaθrā-* is meant here.
– Aramaic: ʾmtr: ESE 1 71 no.2:2 (=RÉS 1785H).

5.3.4.5 Anmanta: possibly **anvanta-*, "stable master, equerry" (ElW 59 and 62).
– Elamite:
1) an-man-taš: PF 1955:34, 1956:38, 1959:19-20, 1960:34; PFNN 573:49, 577:24, 754:39-40, 762:39, 2197:6, 2211:38, 2350:16, 2370:43, 2487:39.
2) an-nu-man-da: PFNN 2490:11-12.

5.3.4.6 Anmidda: Hinz & Koch (ElW 60) reconstruct **anvita-*, which they consider to be a synonym of **anvanta-*.
– Elamite:
1) an-mi-ud-da: PF 1957:41, 1958:21, 1961:9; PFNN 2184:41-42 ([an]-mi-ud-da), 2200:31-32, 2206:37, 2341:11, 2358:21, 2479:30.
2) an-nu-mi-ud-da: PFNN 2478:18,44 (an-n[u]-m[i]-[d]a).

5.3.4.7 Annuman: according to Hallock (1969: 667) this word denotes a place, likely a stable, a shed (ElW 61, reading **anvan*). The etymology, however, is not known.
– Elamite: an-nu-man: PF 729:5-6,9.

5.3.4.8 Antepania: probably Iranian (ElW 66).
– Elamite: an-te(?)-pa-an-ia(?): PFNN 1573:6.

5.3.4.9 Aššabarnaš: *Asa-???, indication of a kind of horses. The second part of the expression is not clear (ASN 42; Mayrhofer 1974-77: 183). A reconstruction could be *Asa-farnah-, "glorious horse", a kind of honorary name for the best horses (ElW 89).
– Elamite: áš-šá-bar-na-iš: PFNN 541:16.

5.3.4.10 ʾWptštw: because of the damaged state of the text it is not sure whether this is a loanword or a proper name. Possibly **ava-patistāva-* (with, erroneously, *š* for /s/), "praiseworthy". Segal (1983: 13-14) refers to Eg. *wpwty*, "messenger", but declines a reading *wpwty št3(.w)*, "messenger of secret affairs".
– Aramaic: ʾwptštw: TAD B 8.8:3,9.

5.3.4.11 Badušikiyaš: indication of animals, probably Old Persian (ElW 117).
– Elamite: ba-du-ši(?)-ki(?)-ia-áš: PF 1998:15.

5.3.4.12 Bamaš: measure indicating $^{1}/_{10}$ of an *artabe*. Hinz (NW 101 and ASN 191) mentions **pǎvya-* or **pǎxvya-*, but the various spellings reveal that this expression cannot end in *-ya-*.
– Elamite:
1) ba-maš: PF 1956:7,8, 1960:8,9; PFNN 535:8, 2344:10-11,11,12,13.
2) ba-u-iš: PF 975:14, 1955:7, 1956:6, 1957:4,16-17,17,18,19,20; PFNN 541:1, 573:5,6,8, etc. in PFNN.
3) ba-u-maš: PFNN 2372:7.

5.3.4.13 Battika(na): the content of this word is relatively clear: a kind of relation is expressed (x times) (Hallock, apud NW 102 and ASN 186). Its etymology, however, is unknown.
– Elamite:
1) bat-ti-ik-ka$_4$-na-iš: PFNN 2211:43.

2) bat-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 754:36.
3) bat-ti-ka$_4$-na(-áš/-iš): PF 1832:10, 1857:passim, 1955:30, 1956:35, 1957:39-40, 1959:17-18, 1960:32, 2032:7,9,11,13; PFNN 393:5, 573:46, 577:21-22, 754:35, 762:37, 2206:35,41, 2344:31, 2487:34.
4) bat-ti-kaš: PF 1965:4; PFNN 2487:37.

5.3.4.14 Bumaziš: possibly Iranian (ElW 233). The word has a religious connotation and is probably related to the *šip*-feast (OGWA 340).
– Elamite: pu-ma-zí-iš: OGWA 321-322:25.

5.3.4.15 Daiašizza: a kind of special ration payment (Hallock 1969: 682), Old Persian word (ElW 303), possibly **dayasaiča-*.
– Elamite:
1) da-ia-iš-ši-iz-za: Fort. 5466:6.
2) da-ia-iš-ši-za: PFNN 281:6.

5.3.4.16 Datmakaš: **dāθva-ka-*, *-ka*-extension of **dāθva-* (ASN 87). Gershevitch (1969b: 169) reconstructs *Dādmaka-, "puffed up" (Av. *dāδmainiia-*).
– Elamite: da-at-ma-kaš: PF 1728:5-6, 1729-1730:8-9, 1731:6.

5.3.4.17 Datmaš: possibly **daθva-*, "young animals" (NW 87; ASN 87). Emmerick (apud Gershevitch 1969b: 169) refers to Av. *dasma-*, "gift".
– Elamite:
1) da-at-maš(-e/-še): Fort. 8947:41,67; PF 2008:24, 2083:3; PFNN 701:41, 2262:23,42,60; 2359:38, 2546:29.
2) da-ut-maš(-e/-še): PF 2009:65, 2087:28; PFNN 557:24, 2189:37, 2491:33.

5.3.4.18 Hadaziš: "bye-ration" (ASN 109), perhaps **hadā*, "with" (OP *hadā*) and **či-*, "to collect".
– Elamite: ha-da-zí-iš: PF 1046:9-10.

5.3.4.19 Hamaziš: < **hamačiya-*, "a handful" (ElW 613). Hinz (NW 88 and ASN 112) reconstructs **hamači-*, "the same".
– Elamite: ha-ma-zí(-iš): PF 1696:5-6; PFNN 1232:4.

5.3.4.20 Hamiakšiš: possibly **ham-yaxši-š*, "currier of horses" (ASN 114), to NP *yaxšūdan*, "to curry". Gershevitch (apud Hallock, Nachlass) reconstructs **abya-seši-*, with reference to Av. *aiβi.āxštar-*, "guard, supervisor" and to **ṛdva-* for *-m-* as rendering of /b/. Unfortunately for Gershevitch *-m-* never renders /b/[208]. Mayrhofer (1974-77: 183) too mentions "supervisor", but considers the first part as problematic.

[208] The example Gershevitch cites, "artabe", is attested in two forms: **ṛdba-* (ir-ti-ba) and **ṛdva-* (ir-du-ma).

– Elamite: ha-mi-ia-ak(?)-ši-iš: PFNN 1097:51.

5.3.4.21 Hamišia: Hinz (1971: 294 and ASN 28) reconstructs the Median equivalent of **āmigdya-*, i.e. **ā-migz-ya-*. Szemerényi (apud Mayrhofer 1971: 57n.62a) rejects this analysis and reads **āmišiya-*, "meat handler" (MP *xāmīz*, "pickled meat", NP *xāmīz* and Arm. *amič*). This expression is derived from **āma-*, "raw" (Henning 1965: 245 and n.28; MP *xām*, Sogd. *γ'm*, Chor. *x'm* and Khot. *hāma-*) and could be right, but it should also be noted that the context postulates a person dealing with fruit. A relation to OP *hamiçiya-*, "enemy" is excluded because of El. uk-ba-ha-mi-ši-ia (5.3.4.58). See, however, the following entry on the difficulties with regard to Hinz's reconstruction.
– Elamite: ha-mi-ši-ia: PF 1982:9-10, 1990:10-11; PFNN 2269:17.

5.3.4.22 Hamitia: Hinz (1971: 294 and ASN 28-29) prefers **ā-migd-ya-*, "fruit manager of the court". Yet the /g/ is not tracable in the spelling and there is no reason to assume an assimilation /gz/ > /z/ in Iranian. Hallock (1969: 689) translates "fruit handler". Cf. 5.3.4.59.
– Elamite: ha-mi-ti-ia: PFNN 2276:10.

5.3.4.23 Hapiršimaš: Hinz (1971: 292 and ASN 33) reads **āpṛsva-*, "fruit tax", but Hinz & Koch (ElW 621) believe this meaning to be too narrow.
– Elamite: ha-pír-ši-maš: PF 1990:1-2, 2003:7-8; PFNN 2269:7,10, 2271:4-5, 2291:5.

5.3.4.24 Harika: Iranian loanword with a meaning "provisions" (ElW 628). Its El. equivalent is za-li.
– Elamite:
1) ha-ri-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 870:4-5.
2) ha-ri-ka$_4$(-iš): PFNN 559:2, 1263:4.
3) ha-ri-kaš: PF 1965:10; PFNN 521:1.

5.3.4.25 Harrinuraše: most likely Iranian (ElW 636). The sign ŠE may represent OP *šē* < **šai*, "his".
– Elamite: har-ri(?)-nu(?)-ra-še(?): PFNN 1643:4-5.

5.3.4.26 Išbamia: probably Iranian, a liquid measure (NW 101; ASN 226).
– Elamite: iš-ba-mi-ia: PF 1209:1-2.

5.3.4.27 Išraka: Iranian appellative (ElW 791).
– Elamite: iš-ra-ka$_4$-be (pl.): PF 1174:4.

5.3.4.28 Kakataš: indication of poultry (Hinz 1971: 297 and ASN 145; ElW 437).
– Elamite: ka$_4$-ka$_4$-taš: PF 1943:28.

5.3.4.29 Karapašiya: 6th month, whose Old Iranian form is not known yet (Schmitt 2003: 50-52, with literature). Hinz's (1950: 351; NW 67; ASN 133) proposal **xāra-paši-*, "binding together thorn bushes" as well as the proposals of Frejman (1946: 24-25; **garmabaxši-*, "bringing heat") and Sims-Willliams (1991: 181; **kāra-paθi-*, "caravan road") are not acceptable. Cf. 5.3.1.2 and 5.3.2.84.

– Elamite:
1) ka$_4$-har-ba-ši-ia(-iš): PF 1790:17-18; PT 27:27 (°-[ba]-ši-ia).
2) ka$_4$-ir-ba-iš-ši-ia-iš: PF 882:9, 906:7-8.
3) ka$_4$-ir-ba-iš-ši-iš: JNES 53 264:9; PT 13:16.
4) ka$_4$-ir-ba-ši-ia(-áš/-iš): PF 6:12-13, 412:8-9, 757:10-11, 774:9, 859:9-10, 860:7, 1757:8, 2036:10-11, passim in PFT; PFNN 365:12-13, 1529:6-7, 2331:8-9, 2545:6-7,15-16, etc. in PFNN; PT 10:rev.1-2,2-3, 11:10, 18:14.
5) ka$_4$-ir-ba-ši-(iš): PF 222:8-9, 271:10-11, 299:1, 877:8-9, 1009:8, 1015:5-6, 1028:5, 1059:8-9, 1183:8-9, 1197:10, 1612:10-11, 1799:12-13, 1800:11-12, 1801:19, 1805:12, 1808:11-12; PFa 30:15; PFNN 1344:7-8, 1627:5, 2258:6, 2390:20; PT 72:12.
6) ka$_4$-ir-pi-iš-ia: PFNN 485:10-11.
7) ka$_4$-ir-pi-iš-ši: PF 937:6.
8) ka$_4$-ir-pi-ši(-iš): Fort. 1708:6; PF 1354:12-13, 1853:13; PT 22:14.
9) ka$_4$-ir-pi-ši-ia(-iš): Fort. 6365:5; PF 969:5-6, 1247:14-15; PFNN 1331:7-8; PT 31:9-10.
10) ka$_4$-ra-ba-ši: PF 1051:7-8, 1189:14; PFNN 1428:10.
11) ka$_4$-ra-ba-ši-ia: PF 1050:5, 1054:17, 1745:16-17; PFNN 783:8, 1223:14-15, 2537:12.
12) ka$_4$-ra-ba-zí-iš: PF 1174:7-8, 1716:9; PFNN 2457:9.
13) ka$_4$-ra-pi-iš-ši-iš: PF 1245:16.
14) kar-ba-iz-zí-iš: PF 1092:11-12.
15) kar-ba-ši-ia(-iš): PF 269:10-11, 270:9-10, 403:10, 929:6, 1944:11-12; PFNN 486:12, 616:9, 1371:11, 1553:8.
16) kar-ba-ši(-iš): PF 1177:11-12, 1458:9-10, 1489:14; PFNN 731:13.
17) kar^{ir}-ba-ši-ia-iš: PF 905:8-9 (against Schmitt 2003: 21n.33).
18) kar-pi-ši-ia: PFNN 483:6-7.

5.3.4.30 Karašnuia: "Korn-Schlichter" (ElW 418).
– Elamite: ka$_4$-ir-ráš-nu-ia: PFNN 2196:14.

5.3.4.31 Karmazziš: a kind of special flour (Koch 1983: 28), perhaps related to **garma-*, "warm".
– Elamite:

1) kar-ma-iz-zí-iš: PF 1089:2,15-16 (°-i[z-zí]-iš), 1099:13.
2) kar-ma-zí-iš: Fort. 3563:2,13-14; PF 1088:2,15, 1091:2,17; PFNN 871:2,15.

5.3.4.32 Karpatiyaš: variant of the name of the sixth month, probably Median (*/θy/; Schmitt 2003: 51).
– Elamite: ka_4-ir-ba-ti-ia-iš: PFNN 2348:12-13,15,17-18.

5.3.4.33 Karšipia: **kāra-šip-iya-*, "grain-???" (EIW 418).
– Elamite: ka_4-ir-ši-pi-ia-ip (pl.): PFNN 2369:5.

5.3.4.34 Ka[š]piakara: **kaspiya-kara-*, "*kaspiya*-maker" (EIW 452).
– Elamite: ka[š]-'pi'-ia-ka_4-ra: PFNN 2458:5-6.

5.3.4.35 Kurdasikara: this expression denotes a group of five people who travel with an elite guide (Hallock, apud ASN 108). Hinz derives from this a noun **gṛdašikara-*, "slave hunter" (NP *šekardan*, "to hunt"). Mayrhofer (1974-77: 183) believes this is too hypothetical. Only **gṛda-* is certain in his opinion.
– Elamite: kur-da-ši-ka_4-ra(-ap): PFNN 596:10-11.

5.3.4.36 Maiki: probably Old Iranian (EIW 860).
– Elamite: ma-i-ki: PFNN 1319:2-3.

5.3.4.37 Marduš: "juice-maker, wine-maker", as deduced from the context. Hinz (ASN 169) reconstructs **mṛdu-* (NP *mul*, "wine"), but Mayrhofer (1974-77: 183) has shown that *mul* cannot derive from **mṛdu-*.
– Elamite: mar-du-iš(-be): PF 1280:12, 2079:4; PFNN 522:8,10,14,18, 701:10, 2365:4-5,7,30, 2492:16.

5.3.4.38 Masašiš: indication of a profession, certainly Iranian (EIW 891).
– Elamite: ma-sa-ši-iš: PF 473:4.

5.3.4.39 Medasunaše: possibly **vaidasuna-šai-*, "his confirmation". The first part is **vaid-*, "to know" (Av. ^{1}*vaēd-*), the second part is unclear (ASN 253; EIW 907).
– Elamite: me-da-šu-na-še: PF 2011:38.

5.3.4.40 Nuktuš: certainly Iranian because of *-du-iš* (EIW 1006).
– Elamite: nu-ik-du(-iš): PF 1034:14; PFNN 2126:1-2.

5.3.4.41 Nušdupiš: Old Persian appellative (EIW 1007).
– Elamite: nu-iš-du(?)-pi-iš: PFNN 735:6-7, 1321:5-6.

5.3.4.42 Padarakka: Hinz (NW 35 and ASN 95) reconstructs **fāθraka-*, "cup-bearer", an equivalent of East Iranian **xvāθra-ka-* (to Av. *x^{v}āθra-*, "delight"). Skjærvø (1983: 247n.14) wonders whether this expression may have something to do with **pā-*, "to drink" (OInd. *pā-*, cf. Av. *vīspō.pīti-*, "having drinks for anyone", MP *a-pōišn*, "not thirsting for", NP *nabīd*, "date wine" [< **ni-pīta-*, Nöldeke, apud Horn 1898-1901: 26], Sangleči *pöv*, "to drink", Waxi *pōv*) or with Av. *pā-*, "to protect".
– Elamite:
1) pa-da-rák: PFNN 522:15.
2) pa-da-rák-kaš: PFNN 522:9.
3) pa-ud-da-rák-ka_4: PFNN 2261:26.
4) pa-ud-da-rák-kaš: PFNN 2371:3.
5) pa-ut-tar-rák: PF 1831:9; PFNN 2367:5-6.

5.3.4.43 Pamanuiakara: military expression (EIW 133), possibly *-ya-*extension of **pavan(t)-*, "protecting", followed by **kara-*, "maker".
– Elamite: pa-ma-nu-ia-ka_4(?)-ra(?): PF 1017:3-4.

5.3.4.44 Pamiraš: a kind of warehouse (ASN 93; EIW 134), certainly Iranian (Hallock 1969: 58). Hinz (NW 35 and ASN 93) reconstructs **faβ-rīra-*, with reference to Av. *x^{v}aβrīra-*, but the Elamite spelling does not allow this (Skjærvø 1983: 246n.14).
– Elamite:
1) pa-mi-ráš: PF 238:10, 1955:19, 1956:23, etc. in PF and PFNN.
2) pa-u-mi-ráš: Fort. 8948:7,11,14,31; PFNN 754:6.

5.3.4.45 Pamirabatiš: **pamira-pati-š*, "chief of the *pamira*-storehouse".
– Elamite: pa-mi-ra-ba-ti-iš: PF 238:10-11; PFNN 1378:4-5.

5.3.4.46 Pirdubakaš: Old Persian loanword related to flour and transports of flour (EIW 209).
– Elamite: pír-du-ba-kaš: PFNN 2369:11.

5.3.4.47 Pirra[k]urrusaka[š]: "planter" (Koch, apud EIW 215).
– Elamite: pír-ra-[k]ur-ru-sa-ka[š]: PFNN 1574:4-5.

5.3.4.48 Piza: an alcoholic drink (EIW 228).
– Elamite: pi-za(-um): PF 334:3, PFNN 2265:38, 2362:25.

5.3.4.49 Purkurza: Hinz & Koch (EIW 242) reconstruct **pur-gṛzya-*, "front-worker".
– Elamite: pu-ur-kur-za-ip (pl.): PF 1489:3.

5.3.4.50 Qppš: probably related with Gk. κόμβαβος and κόμβαφις (Posener 1986: 94; Vittmann 2004: 131-132 and 168).
– Demotic: qppš: RT 21 67-68 no.27:5.

5.3.4.51 Rabarabara: Hinz (ASN 195) reads Ra-ba-a-ba-ra-nu and reconstructs *Rabābara-, "responsible for the rhubarb". Zadok (1976d: 215) points to the fact that the text has ra-bar-a-°, a not easily explainable spelling (Eilers 1940: 94n.2; Stolper 1985: 76; Dandamayev 1992: 143).
– Babylonian: ra-bar-a-ba-ra-nu (pl.): BE 10 75:8.

5.3.4.52 Raduššara: hitherto not explained appellative (EIW 1023; Koch 1990: 145 and n.635), perhaps beginning with **ratu-*, "judge".

– Elamite: Ra-du(?)-iš(?)-šá-ra: PF 1964:9.

5.3.4.53 Rakša: probably Iranian (ElW 1026).
– Elamite: rák(?)-šá: PFNN 558:18.

5.3.4.54 Siyapa: Iranian loanword, perhaps meaning "cattle" (ElW 1096).
– Elamite: Si-ia(?)-pa: PFNN 2292:1,10.

5.3.4.55 Šešaia: probably an Iranian loanword, meaning "diligent" (ElW 1153).
– Elamite: še(?)-šá(?)-ia: PFNN 614:8-9.

5.3.4.56 Turratannuš: "thunderstorm" (ElW 372).
– Elamite: tur-ra-tan-nu-iš: PF 1857:13-14.

5.3.4.57 Uišnurimaš: Iranian appellative (ElW 1204).
– Elamite: ú-iš-nu-ri-maš(-be): PF 1551:6, 2049:6-7; PFa 13:4; PFNN 362:3-4.

5.3.4.58 Ukbahamišia (Med.): "vice-fruit manager", cf. 5.3.4.21.
– Elamite: uk-ba-ha-mi-ši-ia: PF 1980:22; PFNN 2208:16 (°-<mi>-°), 2266:4-5.

5.3.4.59 Ukbahamitia (OP): "vice-fruit manager" (ASN 242, erroneously reconstructing **upāmigδya-*). Cf. 5.3.4.22.
– Elamite: uk-ba-ha-mi-ti-ia: PF 1979:11-12; PFNN 2289:23-24.

5.3.4.60 Ukbasirma: Iranian appellative (ElW 1208; the reconstruction **upa-srβyā* is not plausible).
– Elamite: uk-ba-sir-ma: PF 1946:19,21.

5.3.4.61 Zakarraš: possibly Iranian (ElW 1278).
– Elamite: za-kar-ráš: PFNN 2272:51.

5.3.4.62 Zapišbadu: according to Hallock (1969: 773) this is an appellative. Hinz (ASN 70) does not venture a reconstruction.
– Elamite: Za-a-pi-iš-ba-du: Fort. 7250:4-5.

5.3.4.63 Zardara: possibly Old Persian (ElW 1276).
– Elamite: za-ir(?)-da-ra: PT 57:7-8.

5.3.4.64 Zarnupirra: Hallock (Nachlaβ) reads Za-ir-nu-pír-ra, but Hinz (apud ElW 1277) has °-kar-ra. The reading with PIR has, however, been confirmed by Stolper (pers. comm. 20/06/00). Probably the first part is **zarnu-*, "gold".
– Elamite: za-ir-nu-pír-ra: PFNN 1361:5, 2515:3.

5.3.4.65 Zašizzam: "gratification", probably Iranian (ElW 1285). According to Hallock (1969: 773) it is kind of special ration. Hinz & Koch (ElW 1285 and 1308) reconstruct **čiyāšiča-*, but this is not in agreement with the spellings, which require **č/zas/ši/za-*.
– Elamite:
1) za-ši-iz-za-um: PFNN 1237:7-8.

2) za-ši-za-am: PF 1183:6.
3) zí-ia-iš-ši-za-um: PFNN 1543:12.

5.3.4.66 Zišna: "poultry", as is clear from the context it indicates a very small kind of fowl (Hallock 1969: 775; ASN 74).
– Elamite: zí-iš-na(-iš): PF 1743:7-8, 1744:10-11, 1745:12.

5.4. Dubia

5.4.1. Names of deities

5.4.1.1 *Anturza: most scholars consider Anturza as a rendering of **Āṭṛčā*, nom. sg. of **Āṭṛčar-*, "ignem effundens", to Av. *ātərəčar-* (Gershevitch 1969b: 166; ASN 48; Koch 1977: 95-96). Yet Koch (1991: 97) points out that the name could very well be Elamite, because of the purely Elamite context.
– Elamite: An-tur-za: PF 770:9.

5.4.2. Personal names

5.4.2.1 Adadda: possibly **Hāt-āta-*, *-āta*-extension of **Hāta-*, "opulence" (ASN 118). Gershevitch (1969: 190) and Mayrhofer (OnP 8.13) consider Av. *āzāta-*. Another possibility is **Ā-dāta-*, "the acquired", the past part. of **ādā-*, "to acquire". It is, however, equally possible that the name is an Elamite hypocoristic of *atta-*, "father" (ElW 26).
– Elamite: Ad-da-ud-da: PFNN 185:2.

5.4.2.2 Aḫimasu: either **Haxi-vāsa-*, "wanting friends" (Zadok, apud Stolper 1984: 303) or Eg. ȝIʿḥ-mś (Zadok 1992: 146).
– Babylonian: A-ḫi-ma-a-su: JNES 43 300:4.

5.4.2.3 Amšuba: either Iranian or Elamite (ElW 56).
– Elamite: Am-šu-ba: PFNN 2276:10.

5.4.2.4 Ankala: Gershevitch (1969b: 185) connects this name with OInd. *áṅgāra-*, "charcoal", but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.62) rejects this and mentions Gk. Ἀγγάρης, which he and Schmitt (1971b: 99-100) regard as a denotation of Ir. **Han-kara-*, "messenger". Sims-Williams (1978: 98) agrees with Gershevitch and refers to Sogd. *ʾnkʾyr*, "hearth, fireplace". Hinz (ASN 29) remains undecisive. In any case the proposed meanings do not sound very convincing and consequently there is a reasonable doubt as to the Iranian character of this name.
– Elamite: An-ka$_4$-la: PF 840:2.

5.4.2.5 Apñnātama-: possibly **Āpānatama-*, "who has reached his goal in the best way", cf. Av. *apanō.təma* (Kellens 1980: 264). This etymology is, however, not convincing (Schmitt 1982d: IV/17).

– Lycian: Apῑnātama-: DÖAW 135 301; TL 87:2.

5.4.2.6 Aśbluvas: Gusmani (1971: 8) suspects a connection with a name containing **aspa-*, "horse". According to Brandenstein (1932: 68) it is a gentilic (on *-va-*) of Lyd. Aśblu- (Gk. Ἀσβολος), but that is untrue (Heubeck 1965b: 85; Masson 1965: 75). Gusmani (1980: 36; also Schmitt 1982d: IV/30) is much more sceptical.
– Lydian: Aśbluvaś (nom.): G 26:4.

5.4.2.7 Ašaridari: according to Dandamayev (1992: 28) this is an Iranian name, but Zadok (1995: 158) is doubtful of this.
– Babylonian: A-a-šá-ri-da-ri: AfO 19 79 Amherst 258:19.

5.4.2.8 Ašbalika: *-ika*-extension of *Aspala-, cf. OInd. Aśvalá-, possibly belonging to the Iranian *l*-dialect (Gershevitch 1970: 85; OnP 301). Consequently it is an Indian or Iranian name.
– Elamite: Áš(?)-ba(?)-li-ka$_4$: PF 88:2-3.

5.4.2.9 Ašgandu: perhaps Ir. *Žganda-, "messenger" (Happ 1962: 198-199; Powell 1972: 124-126; Zadok 1976: 67 and 1976b: 66), to Sogd. *zγ'nt* and Parth. *'jgnd*. Another possible reading of Aš-gan-du$_7$ is Amēl-^{d}Papsukkal (CAD A/2: 427), based on 5R 44 ii 11. Possibly this reading has developed through folk etymology.
– Babylonian:
1) Aš-gan-du$_7$: Cyr. 274:5; Dar. 437:14.
2) Áš-gan-na: Camb. 351:10.
3) Aš-gan-nu: ZA 3 225 no.2:30.
4) Aš-gan-t[a]: Dar. 551:25.
5) Šu-gan-du: Camb. 233:41.

5.4.2.10 Ate-En: Zadok (2004: 115-116) presents some Semitic etymologies, but also believes that a hybrid Semitic-Iranian origin (with **haθya-*, "true") cannot be excluded, since Bēl is attested in a Middle Persian name (Bldwš, "Bēl is friend").
– Babylonian:
1) A-te-'-^{d}En: CT 49 111:3,4, 173:Lo.E.
2) A-ti-'-^{d}En: AION Suppl. 77 A.2-1:4.
3) Ḫa-ti-^{d}En: AION Suppl. 77 A.2-6:14,Lo.E.

5.4.2.11 Bamuška: Old Iranian or Elamite (ElW 134).
– Elamite: Ba-muš(?)-ka$_4$: PFNN 2580:15.

5.4.2.12 Bantakaśas: perhaps a rendering of *Bandaka-, "servant" (Gusmani 1971: 6 and 1980: 40; ASN 63). This Iranian etymology, however, is far from certain (Schmitt 1981: 352 and 1982d: IV/31).
– Lydian: Bantakaśa[s] (nom.): G 41:5.

5.4.2.13 Bayau: Gershevitch (1969: 215; also Schmitt 1973b: 147n.54) reconstructs *Pāyu-, "protector", but Ba-ia-u points to a name ending in /au/. Hinz (ASN 192) reads *Pāya-vau-, "protecting the good". Zadok (1977c: 79) connects it with the El. anthroponym Pa-a-a-ù (cf. Zadok 1983: 117; ElW 104).
– Elamite: Ba-ia-u: PF 1845:1; PFNN 2115:2.

5.4.2.14 Betovlis: according to Gusmani (1980: 41) the Lydian spelling reflects an Iranian name. It could also be related with the Av. anthroponym Bənduua-. Yet this name is extremely rare in Iranian (Schmitt 1982d: IV/31). Accordingly an Iranian origin of this name cannot be fully accepted (Schmitt 1981: 352). According to Zgusta (1964: 123 § 167) the name is Anatolian.
– Lydian: Betovlis (nom.): G 43:4.

5.4.2.15 Bhpth: based on a reading Ptnq Zadok (1985: 23) reads *Patinaka- (Av. *paitina-*, "separate"). Segal (1983: 23) refers to Eg. *Pȝ-tnr-kȝ, "the strong man of Kȝ". Both proposals, however, are worthless because the reading Ptnq is not correct (TAD B).
– Aramaic: Bhpṯḥ: TAD B 5.6:1.

5.4.2.16 Brdunlis: Gusmani (1971: 5-6) believes that the Lydian spelling reflects an Iranian name beginning with *Brd-. Zgusta (1964: 127 § 187) considers it an Anatolian name. Schmitt (1981: 352 and 1982d: IV/31) remains undecisive.
– Lydian: Brdunlis (nom.): G 50:4.

5.4.2.17 Daddana: either Ir. *Dāta-āna-, a patronymic (*-āna-*) of a name composed with **dāta-* (Gershevitch 1969: 239; OnP 8.370; ASN 86; cf. Arm. Datan) or a rendering of the Babylonian name Tattannu. One of the persons bearing this name (PFNN 1888) was possibly satrap of Syria (Koch 1993: 39)[209].
– Elamite:
1) Da-ad-da-na: PF 776:3, 1274:2-3, 2037:3; PFNN 343:11 (Da-ad-d[a]-na); PT 1963-20:7 (Da-ad-da-na-<<na>>).
2) Da-at-tan-na: PF 1238-1239:2-3, 1240-1241:2-3,5, 1527:9.
3) Da-ut-tan-na: PFNN 1888:9.

[209] This satrap appears in Ezra as Tattenai and as Ta-at-t[an-ni] in a Babylonian text (VS 4 152:25; Schwenzner 1922-1923: 246; Leuze 1935: 72-73; Ungnad 1940-1941: 241-242; Olmstead 1944; Stolper 1989b: 289). The same name is also frequently attested in the Babylonian Murašû Archive (Clay & Hilprecht 1898: 72; Clay 1904: 64 and 1912: 38; Stolper 1985: 300; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: 179-180).

5.4.2.18 Damamiasta: Eilers (1940: 85 and n.3; also Zadok 1977: 102 and Dandamayev 1992: 68) reads *Dāmi-mazda-, "creating wisdom", but that does not correspond with the spelling. Hinz (ASN 81) reconstructs *Dāma-myasta-, "united with his dwelling (eschatological: paradise)", to Av. *dāman-*, "living place" and *miiasta-*, "united" (from *miias-*). A verb *miias-*, however, does not exist in Avestan (Kellens 1984: 166; Kellens & Pirart 1990: 288 and 291). According to Zadok (2004: 115) the second element could also be **myazda-*, "offering" (Av. *miiazda-*) or the name could be non-Iranian, because Damamiasta is a Mannaean.
– Babylonian: Da-'-ma-mi-as-ta: BE 9 102:8.

5.4.2.19 Dry: either a retrenchment of a *Dāraya- or a *Radāya-name on the one hand or a Semitic name ['']Edri- on the other hand (Segal 1983: 96).
– Aramaic: Dry: ATNS 74:2. A reading Rdy is also possible.

5.4.2.20 Gilizza: according to Mayrhofer (OnP 301) this is an Old Iranian name. Alternatively El. *kil-*, "to govern" could be part of it (Zadok 1984: 20). Nevertheless the ending iz-za may point to an Iranian name in *-ča-*.
– Elamite: Gi-li-iz-za: PF 514:2-3.

5.4.2.21 Gindaruš: Hinz & Koch (ElW 468) doubt between an Iranian or Elamite origin of this name.
– Elamite: Gi-in-da-ru-iš: PF 2012:3.

5.4.2.22 Halbaka-: *-ka*-extension of the following name (OnP 8.426). Hinz & Koch (ElW 605) derive it from El. *halp-* and translate "the dead one".
– Elamite: Hal-ba-ka$_4$: PF 90:2-3, 770:2-3; PFNN 2482:2-3.

5.4.2.23 Halpa: this name is certainly Indian or Iranian and is related to OInd. *álpa-*, "small" (OnP 8.426). It is, however, not sure whether it is Indian or whether it belongs to the Iranian *l*-dialect. It could be the name of an Indian from the satrapy Hinduš (Schmitt 1971: 24). Hinz & Koch (ElW 605) consider it an Elamite name.
– Elamite: Hal-pa: PF 2070:6.

5.4.2.24 Ḫarrimaṣ: *Arya-vaza-, "leading the Iranian" (ASN 41; Dandamayev 1992: 82). Schmitt (1994: 85) reconstructs *Arya-mazah-, "Iranian greatness", Gk. Ἀριαμάζης, Lat. Arimazes). On the other hand Stolper (1994: 622) argues that the name must be Eg. Ḥr-wdȝw, appearing in Babylonian also as Ḫarrimaṣu (cf. Zadok 1992: 141).
– Babylonian:
1) Ḫar-ri-ma-aṣ: BE 10 86:14.
2) Ḫar-ri-ú-ma-aṣ: PBS 2/1 122:5.

5.4.2.25 Hartukka: not less than five possible explanations exist concerning this name (Tavernier, forth.). It can be either Elamite (Mur-tu[k-k]a$_4$, Murtuk, "settled, resident") or Iranian, in which case four hypotheses exist, with the only certainty being that it is an *-ika*-hypocoristic: (1) Har-ti-ik-ka$_4$ is *Arθika- (Av. *arəθa-*, "duty"; Gershevitch 1969: 184); (2) Har-ti-ik-ka$_4$ is *Ṛtika- (Av. *aṣi-*, "reward"; OnP 8.484); (3) Mur-ti-ik-ka$_4$ is *Vṛtika- (Ir. *Vṛta-, "hero"; ASN 272); (4) Har-ti-ik-ka$_4$ is *Hartika- (Av. *harəta-*, "well-nourished"; mentioned by Tavernier, l.c.).
– Elamite: Har/Mur-tu[k-k]a$_4$: PFNN 2196:23.

5.4.2.26 Ḫumata (fem.): Hinz (ASN 124; also Dandamayev 1992: 83) reconstructs *(H)umatā-, "well thought" (Av. *humata-*). If the name were Iranian, it would be better to read *Huma-ya-āta-, an *-āta*-extension of a *-ya*-hypocoristic of *Huma-. Zadok (1976d: 214) believes it is a Bab. gentilic, "women from Ḫuma".
– Babylonian: Ḫu-ma-a-a-tu$_4$: Dar. 379:47.

5.4.2.27 Huzakka: either El. or Ir., e.g. *Hū-ča-ka-, "good pig" or *Hu-čakā-, "good lark". Hinz & Koch (ElW 735) mention *Hužyaka-.
– Elamite: Hu-za-ik-ka$_4$: PFNN 1552:5.

5.4.2.28 Indapiza: possibly *Inda(t)-bīza-, "he who lights, sets on fire, seeds" (Gershevitch 1969: 191; ASN 141), to OInd. *indh-*, "to light". According to Cameron (1948: 133) it is an Elamite name. Zadok (1984: 59) prefers a hybrid name, composed of El. *inda-* and Ir. *-piza-*.
– Elamite: In-da-pi-za: PT 28:24-25.

5.4.2.29 Isparda: *Spṛda-, "zealous" or Lydian Śfardaya-, "Sardian" (Zadok 1976d: 214). Dandamayev (1992: 87) has Ir. *Sparda-, "shield" in mind, but this word is non-existing in Iranian (Schmitt 1994: 86 and n.4).
– Babylonian: Is-pa-ar-da-': PBS 2/1 70:5.

5.4.2.30 Kanzaza: possibly *Ganza-ča-, *-ča*-hypocoristic of *Ganza-, "treasure" (Gershevitch 1969: 186; ASN 102). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.748) has doubts on a possible Elamite origin, because of *za-za*. Zadok (1977c: 77 and 1983: 102) connects it with Elamite Qanzipe, "the people of Qanzi".
– Elamite: Kán-za-za: PF 1849:4, 1850:3.

5.4.2.31 Kapruš: possibly *Gafruš, "deep" (Gershevitch 1969: 199), a contamination of Av. *gufra-*, "deep", *jafra-*, "deep" and *jafnu-*, "store, floor". Hinz & Koch (ElW 408) consider the name to be Old Iranian, but Delaunay (1976: 17) mentions a connection with Bab. Gabru.
– Elamite:
1) Ka$_4$-ap-pír-ru-iš: PF 456-457:3.
2) Ka$_4$-ap-ru-iš: Fort. 7252:3; PF 1949:16, 1950:18,32, 1988:7 ([K]a$_4$-°), 2002:6.

3) Ka_4-pi-ru-iš: PFNN 800:3-4.

5.4.2.32 Kbrrmštr: the last part might be **čiθra-* (Bowman 1970: 146). Hinz (ASN 143-144) reconstructs *Ka-bara-rāma-čiθra-, but is doubtful because of the unusual length of the name.
– Aramaic: Kbrrmštr(?): Pers 87:3.

5.4.2.33 Labba: perhaps an equivalent of *Rapa-, "supporting". Mayrhofer (1973: 301) connects it with **ra(m)f-*, "attack". Gershevitch (1969: 202) hesitates to consider it as non-Iranian. Delaunay (1976: 17) pleads for Aramaic *Lāpā-, "young lion".
– Elamite: La-ab-ba: PF 297:1-2.

5.4.2.34 Manzaturruš: either Iranian *(H)uvan-čatru-š, "sunshade" (ElW 875) or El. Manzaturruš (Zadok 1984: 27).
– Elamite: Man-za-tur-ru-iš: PF 1226:12; PFNN 358:11, 865:3-4, 1003:3-4.

5.4.2.35 Marappiya: this gentilic is still unexplained. Some authors (ASN 160; Schmitt 1978: 39-40) believe it is Iranian and refer to Gk. Μάραφις (IN 194), while others regard it as Elamite. Cf. 5.4.3.4.
– Elamite: Ma-ráp-pi-ia: PF 1797:4-5.

5.4.2.36 Mišišmarduka: according to Gershevitch (1969: 209) this name is Iranian. Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1127) prefers Bab. Mušibši-Marduk. Hinz (ElW 938) pleads for a hybrid Babylonian-Elamite name.
– Elamite: Mi-ši-iš-mar-du-ka_4: PFNN 512:4-6.

5.4.2.37 Miššuna: Zadok (1983: 115) recognizes a hypocoristic of El. Miš. Hinz & Koch (ElW 928) believe in an Iranian name.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šu-na: PFNN 265:4-5, 305:2-3, 311:2-3, 2242: 2-3, 2578:1.

5.4.2.38 Mnpt: either this is a name *Māna-pati-, "the lord of the house", Gk. Μαναπατὴς (Newell 1938: 53-54n.109; Meshorer & Qedar 1999: 26; Briant 2001: 169) or it is the Aramaic form of Memphis, followed by an adjectival *-t-* (Lipiński 1982: 30; Lemaire 1989: 146). Other proposed readings are (1) Mnrt, a rendering of Mentor, with metathesis of the last two letters (Lambert 1933: 5) and (2) Mnwt (Knauf 1985: 19-21).
– Aramaic: Mnpt: Meshorer & Qedar 1999 48.

5.4.2.39 Mtr': Shaked (apud Stern & Magen 1982: 183-185) does not accept that this expression, incised on a jar, renders *Miθra-, since in his view final ' does not occur in Aramaic names. Nevertheless some names do end in '. Secondly he wonders what a divine name is doing in a place where Mithra was not venerated. As a solution he proposes to read *mtr'*, a hap'el of *tr'*, "to wet, to moisten". Nevertheless it may also be an Iranian personal name, i.e. a retrenchment of a name containing *Miθra-.

– Aramaic: Mtr': Eretz Israel 16 184.

5.4.2.40 Mušgena: perhaps *Mūškēna *Mūš-ka-aina-, hypocoristic of *Mūša- (OnP 8.1193; ASN 170). It is, however, also possible that the name is related to Bab. *muškēnu* (Delaunay 1976: 20).
– Elamite: Mu-iš-ge-na: PF 2076:46.

5.4.2.41 Napariš: perhaps a *Nāfa-name (ElW 985). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1221) prefers a derivation from El. *nap*, "god". Delaunay (1976: 21) reads Bab. Nabû-ēreš.
– Elamite: Na-pa-ri-iš: PF 213:3-4, 214:3; PFNN 2261:9.

5.4.2.42 Nappunda: either *Nafa-vanta-, "rich in family" (OnP 8.1229; ASN 171) or *Nabuntu < *Nabutu (= Hebr. Nābot) (Zadok 1977c: 79).
– Elamite:
1) Na-ap-pu-un-da: PF 844:4-5, 1169:2-3.
2) Na-pu-un-da: PF 268:6-7, 2004:3; PFNN 39:2, 1021:4-5, 2345:19-20, 2369:7.

5.4.2.43 P'w': either *Pavā-, "pure" (Zadok 1985: 175) or demotic Pa-(n)wȝ, "belonging to" (Segal 1983: 84; Dem. Nb. I 357), Gk. Παυῆς.
– Aramaic:
1) P'w': ATNS 89:1.
2) Pw': ATNS 11b:1 (TAD B 8.4:19 has Pp').

5.4.2.44 Plnyh: cf. Av. Frāniia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/43; Segal 1983: 58). Segal (l.c.) also mentions some unconvincing Egyptian etymologies.
– Aramaic: Plnyh: ATNS 41:8.

5.4.2.45 Prw: possibly *Parva-, "first". Also possible is *Frava-, a retrenchment of a *Frava-name (Zadok 1986: 42). Segal (1983: 71) prefers Eg. Pȝ-rwy, "runner", or Pȝ(-n)-rw, "he who belongs to the lion".
– Aramaic: Prw: ATNS 51:7, 105:5,6.

5.4.2.46 Ptmrw: *Patimrāva-, "answer" or Eg. Pȝ(-n)tȝ-mrw.t (Segal 1983: 85).
– Aramaic: Ptmrw: ATNS 63:2.

5.4.2.47 Rbbine-: Gusmani (1964b: 49n.37 and 1968: 7) connects this name with Erbbina- (*Arbaka-), but this is not completely certain (Schmitt 1982d: IV/24).
– Lycian: Rbbine-: TL 44d:53.

5.4.2.48 Sakardal: Gusmani (1971: 7) connects this name with *Saka-, "Scyth", while Zgusta (1964: 451 § 1357a) believes in an Anatolian origin. Schmitt (1982c: IV/33) denies an Iranian origin.
– Lydian: Sakardal: G 54:2.

5.4.2.49 Sppñtaza: two Iranian etymologies are proposed. Either it reflects Ir. *Spanta-dāta-, attested in Av. Spəṇtōdāta- and Gk. Σφενδαδάτης (Deecke 1888: 134; Imbert 1891: 113; Shahbazi 1975: 43 and 151) or it renders *Spādāza-, army commander" (Schmitt 1971c: 47-48;

3) Ka_4-pi-ru-iš: PFNN 800:3-4.

5.4.2.32 Kbrrmštr: the last part might be **čiθra-* (Bowman 1970: 146). Hinz (ASN 143-144) reconstructs *Ka-bara-rāma-čiθra-, but is doubtful because of the unusual length of the name.
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– Elamite: La-ab-ba: PF 297:1-2.

5.4.2.34 Manzaturruš: either Iranian *(H)uvan-čatru-š, "sunshade" (ElW 875) or El. Manzaturruš (Zadok 1984: 27).
– Elamite: Man-za-tur-ru-iš: PF 1226:12; PFNN 358:11, 865:3-4, 1003:3-4.

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– Elamite: Ma-ráp-pi-ia: PF 1797:4-5.

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– Elamite: Mi-ši-iš-mar-du-ka_4: PFNN 512:4-6.

5.4.2.37 Miššuna: Zadok (1983: 115) recognizes a hypocoristic of El. Miš. Hinz & Koch (ElW 928) believe in an Iranian name.
– Elamite: Mi-iš-šu-na: PFNN 265:4-5, 305:2-3, 311:2-3, 2242: 2-3, 2578:1.

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– Aramaic: Mnpt: Meshorer & Qedar 1999 48.

5.4.2.39 Mtr': Shaked (apud Stern & Magen 1982: 183-185) does not accept that this expression, incised on a jar, renders *Miθra-, since in his view final ' does not occur in Aramaic names. Nevertheless some names do end in '. Secondly he wonders what a divine name is doing in a place where Mithra was not venerated. As a solution he proposes to read *mtr'*, a hap'el of *tr'*, "to wet, to moisten". Nevertheless it may also be an Iranian personal name, i.e. a retrenchment of a name containing *Miθra-.

– Aramaic: Mtr': Eretz Israel 16 184.

5.4.2.40 Mušgena: perhaps *Mūškēna *Mūš-ka-aina-, hypocoristic of *Mūša- (OnP 8.1193; ASN 170). It is, however, also possible that the name is related to Bab. *muškēnu* (Delaunay 1976: 20).
– Elamite: Mu-iš-ge-na: PF 2076:46.

5.4.2.41 Napariš: perhaps a *Nāfa-name (ElW 985). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1221) prefers a derivation from El. *nap*, "god". Delaunay (1976: 21) reads Bab. Nabû-ēreš.
– Elamite: Na-pa-ri-iš: PF 213:3-4, 214:3; PFNN 2261:9.

5.4.2.42 Nappunda: either *Nafa-vanta-, "rich in family" (OnP 8.1229; ASN 171) or *Nabuntu < *Nabutu (= Hebr. Nābot) (Zadok 1977c: 79).
– Elamite:
1) Na-ap-pu-un-da: PF 844:4-5, 1169:2-3.
2) Na-pu-un-da: PF 268:6-7, 2004:3; PFNN 39:2, 1021:4-5, 2345:19-20, 2369:7.

5.4.2.43 P'w': either *Pavā-, "pure" (Zadok 1985: 175) or demotic Pa-(n)wȝ, "belonging to" (Segal 1983: 84; Dem. Nb. I 357), Gk. Παυῆς.
– Aramaic:
1) P'w': ATNS 89:1.
2) Pw': ATNS 11b:1 (TAD B 8.4:19 has Pp').

5.4.2.44 Plnyh: cf. Av. Frāniia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/43; Segal 1983: 58). Segal (l.c.) also mentions some unconvincing Egyptian etymologies.
– Aramaic: Plnyh: ATNS 41:8.

5.4.2.45 Prw: possibly *Parva-, "first". Also possible is *Frava-, a retrenchment of a *Frava-name (Zadok 1986: 42). Segal (1983: 71) prefers Eg. Pȝ-rwy, "runner", or Pȝ(-n)-rw, "he who belongs to the lion".
– Aramaic: Prw: ATNS 51:7, 105:5,6.

5.4.2.46 Ptmrw: *Patimrāva-, "answer" or Eg. Pȝ(-n)tȝ-mrw.t (Segal 1983: 85).
– Aramaic: Ptmrw: ATNS 63:2.

5.4.2.47 Rbbine-: Gusmani (1964b: 49n.37 and 1968: 7) connects this name with Erbbina- (*Arbaka-), but this is not completely certain (Schmitt 1982d: IV/24).
– Lycian: Rbbine-: TL 44d:53.

5.4.2.48 Sakardal: Gusmani (1971: 7) connects this name with *Saka-, "Scyth", while Zgusta (1964: 451 § 1357a) believes in an Anatolian origin. Schmitt (1982c: IV/33) denies an Iranian origin.
– Lydian: Sakardal: G 54:2.

5.4.2.49 Sppñtaza: two Iranian etymologies are proposed. Either it reflects Ir. *Spanta-dāta-, attested in Av. Spəṇtōδāta- and Gk. Σφενδαδάτης (Deecke 1888: 134; Imbert 1891: 113; Shahbazi 1975: 43 and 151) or it renders *Spādāza-, army commander" (Schmitt 1971c: 47-48;

Zwanziger 1976: 478). The latter has parallels in **hainãza-* (Khot. *hīnāysa-* and Gāndhāri *hinajha*) and in **spādapati-* (MP *sp'hpt*; Parth. *sp'dpty*, NP *sipahbaδ*; also as personal name, cf. IN 306). Yet Carruba (1977: 286 and n.23) has offered an equally plausible Lycian etymology: *Spand-aza-, "sacrificer", with reference to Hitt. *išpand-* and Gk. *σπένδω*. None of the three etymologies is convincing, so the real character of this name remains unknown (Schmitt 1982c: 387 and 1982d: IV/25).

– Lycian: Sppñtaza-: NAWG 1978/1 128a, 214; TL 3:2.

5.4.2.50 Sykn: According to Zadok (1985: 174 and 1986: 43) this is an extension of *Sāy-, an element occurring in the Av. anthroponyms Sāiiuždri- and Sāimuži- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/74). Alternatively Zadok mentions a derivation from Av. *saē-*, "orphan". Nonetheless a gentilic, i.e. "Saite", is also possible (TAD B: xxxvi). According to Segal (1983: 25) the attestation in TAD B 8.6:1 should be read Ḥrkn, a rendering of Eg. Ḥr-kn, "Horus the brave". Zadok (1986: 42), however, reconstructs *Xvar-ka-āna-, an *-āna-*patronymic of a *-ka-*hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a *Xvar-name.

– Aramaic: Sykn: TAD B 8.6:1,5.

5.4.2.51 Tuna: this family name is attested in the period 608/607-494/493. Either it is Iranian *T(a)una- (Zadok 1976b: 67n.64) or it is Kassite Tuni- (Zadok, l.c.), cf. the Kassite anthroponym Duni-mašḫu-, analyzed by Balkan (1954: 52) as Tuni-mašḫu-.

– Babylonian: Tu-na-a: BV 51:2, 60:10, 107:26, 143:13; Camb. 182:12, 373:13; Dar. 206:14, 334:8, 339:9, 462:16; Nbk. 194:8, 346:13, etc. in LB documents.

5.4.2.52 Upare: possibly *(H)upārē- < *(H)u-pāra-ya-, a *-ya-*extension of *Hu-pāra-, "leading to a prosperous issue" (Zadok 1981-82: 138), to OInd. *su-pārá-*. Another possibility is Eg. W3ḥ-ib-r^{c}, (cf. 5.5.1.63), if it is accepted that the spelling lacks a MAḪ (Zadok 1989-90: 274) or that it is a corrupt form of the Eg. name.

– Babylonian: Ú-pa-re-e: VS 6 309:2.

5.4.2.53 Zaišpišiya: possibly *Čaispiš-iya-, probably related to *Čišpiš (cf. Schmitt 1976b: 28). Hinz (NW 25; ASN 70) believes in an adjectival derivation (*Čaišpišya-) from Čišpiš. Schmitt (1974: 110) argues that in a broken writing the vowel of the second sign is of no importance, which leads to a reading *Čašpišya-. Hinz (ASN 70) does not agree and refers to *kapautaka-*, El. ka$_4$-ba-ut-tuk-ka$_4$.

– Elamite: Za-iš-pi-iš-ši-ia: PF 1801:5.

5.4.2.54 Zatika: Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1841; also ASN 278) prefers a retrenchment of *Zāta-, followed by a suffix. It may also be an *-ika-*hypocoristic of *Zāta-. According to Hinz & Koch (ElW 1272) it is an El. name Zattika-, "expected".

– Elamite:
  1) Za-at-ti-ka$_4$: PFNN 2327:2.
  2) Za-at-tuk-ka$_4$: PF 1957:22.

5.4.2.55 Zišpiš: rendering of OP Č-i-š-p-i-š. The name of the ancestor of Cyrus is either Old Iranian or Elamite. In both cases Hinz's (1971: 300) reading Čaišpiš is wrong (Schmitt 1974: 110; Mayrhofer 1979: II/17). This reading is based on the spelling Še-iš-be-iš, attested on a seal of ca. 640 B.C. (Hinz 1971: 300). Abayev (1965: 293-294 and 1975: 7; also ASN 7 and Werba 1979: 15-16n.15) considers Čišpiš as an onomastical variant of OInd. *sú-śiśvi-*, "growing well". Harmatta (1971: 8) mentions Sogd. *čp'yš*, "leader". Both etymologies are not convincing (Stronach 1997: 38). Skalmowski (2000-2005: 71-72n.10) considers Čišpiš to be a compound of OInd. *cit-*, "thought, intelligence" and OInd. *pi-*, "to swell, overflow".
Based on the Elamite character of the name of Cyrus (5.5.1.34) one could assume that Čišpiš (El. Z/Šišpiš) too is an an Elamite name. Yet good Elamite etymologies are non-existing. The verbal stem *piš-*, "to renew, restore" (Grillot & Vallat 1978: 83) is attested in El. anthroponyms (Zadok 1984: 35), but the first part, Z/Šiš, is hard to explain. Perhaps it should be connected with *šišna/i*, "beautiful", occurring as *šišna* only in non-compounds, but as *šiš* in compounds, e.g. Am-ma-ši-iš[210], "having a beautiful mother". A name Šišpiš could mean, "renewing the beautiful". An objection is that during the Achaemenid period *šišn-* is always written with ŠI and not with ZI. Nevertheless *z-* and *š-*signs may alternate in Elamite.

– Babylonian: Ši-iš-pi-iš: DB 2; VAB 3 4:21.

– Elamite: Zí-iš-pi-iš: DB I 4; DBa 5; PF 388:3-4, 524:3.

5.4.2.56 Zrḥr: either *Zara-xvara-, "striving for the sun" (Zadok 1985: 175) or Egyptian Ḏr-ḫr, "Horus is strong" (Segal 1983: 90).

– Aramaic: Zrḥr: ATNS 66b:8.

5.4.3. Geographical names

5.4.3.1 Abmanu: Ir. *Āvahana-, "settlement" (Zadok 1976b: 72) or Sem. Abanu- (Zadok, l.c.).

– Babylonian: A-b/ma-nu: AnOr 8 67:8-9,11-12; GCCI 2 120:8; Mich 89:33; YOS 7 86:3, 123:17, 129:7, 358:18.

[210] Hinz & Koch (ElW 54) read Am-ma-ši-iš-na, which is, however, a genitive of Am-ma-ši-iš.

5.4.3.2 Ḫambari: Zadok (1976d: 214) has doubts concerning Hinz's Iranian analysis (ASN 113: *Hambāri-, "storehouse", cf. 4.4.8.9). In Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian fragments of the "dream-book" (Oppenheim 1956: 260 and 268) the toponyms Ḫa-ba-á[r] and Ḫa-am-ba-ri are attested, which leads to the conclusion that this spelling may as well be West Semitic.
- Babylonian: Ḫa-am-ba-ri: BE 9 7a:3, 8:12, 44:11; BE 10 61:7,9; PBS 2/1 48:5, 63:11.

5.4.3.3 Hunuriš: either Iranian or related to El. Hunar (ElW 698).
- Elamite: Hu-nu-ri-iš: PFNN 1216:2.

5.4.3.4 Marappiaš: Benveniste (1958b: 56-57) and Hinz (ASN 160) refer to the Greek tribal names Μάραφις (IN 194) and Μαράφιοι. Unfortunately the etymology of these names is not known yet. Other scholars (Nyberg 1938: 343; von Gall 1972: 263; Briant 1984: 106; Henkelman 2003: 213 and n.115) mention the possibility of an Elamite name. Cf. 5.4.2.35.
- Elamite:
  1) Ma-ráb-ba-iš: PFNN 546:32, 2065:9-10.
  2) Ma-ra-pi-ia(-iš): PFNN 862:4, 1211:4, 2165:7-8.
  3) Ma-ráp-pi-ia(-iš/-ip): PF 447:1, 909-910:3-4, 911:4, 1797:4-5; PFNN 203:1-2, 363:1-2, 777:4-5 ([Ma]-ráp-°).

5.4.3.5 Napiša: either toponym or loanword; either Iranian or Elamite (ElW 988).
- Elamite: Na-pi-šá: PF 1589:4-5.

5.4.3.6 Pitana: either Iranian or Elamite, "fig-eye" (ElW 227).
- Elamite:
  1) Pi-tan-na-an (loc.): PFNN 399:5-6, 856:3-4, etc. in PFNN.
  2) Pi-ut-tan-na-an (loc.): PF 677:6-7, 871:6, 903:5, 957:4-5, 958:4, 1137:7-8, 1161:4, 1206:7-8; PFNN 1099:4-5, 1485:7, 1588:5-6, 1835:6-7.

5.4.3.7 Saḫtimanu: Zadok (1976: 66) reconstructs *Saxtivana-, with reference to OInd. *śaktivant-*, "powerful". Yet a reading Kit-ti-ma-nu is also plausible (Cardascia 1951: 90).
- Babylonian:
  1) Saḫ-ti-ma-nu: BE 10 129:3; TuM 2/3 148:3.
  2) Saḫ-tu-ma-nu: EE 19:U.E.

5.4.3.8 Zakzakumaš: according to Hinz & Koch (ElW 1268) this is an OP place name, but El. Za-ak-za-ku could point to an Elamite place name (cf. Vallat 1993: 306).
- Elamite: Za-ak-za-ku-ma-iš: PFa 6:5; PFNN 1224:5, 1901:4.

5.4.4. Loanwords

5.4.4.1 Amtarša[]: appellative. It cannot be determined whether this form is Iranian or Elamite (ElW 56).
- Elamite: am-tar(?)-šá(?)-[]: PFNN 781:56.

5.4.4.2 Antebaše: either Elamite or Iranian. The ending *-še* probably represents OP *-šē* < *-šai*, "his, its" (ElW 66).
- Elamite: an-te-ba-še: PFa 31:39.

5.4.4.3 Bzy: according to Degen (1974: 126-127) *bzy* denotes an adjective with an unclear meaning (cf. also DNWSI 148-149). Some authors plead for a connection with Ir. *bāji-*, "tax" and refer to Parth. *ptbzyk* (Levine 1972: 79n.71; Naveh & Shaked 1973: 456; Degen 1974: 127n.15). According to Bowman (1970: 149) it is an Iranian qualitative adjective defining stones.
- Aramaic:
  1) bz: Pers 91:3, 116:3.
  2) bzy: Pers 5:3, 48:5, 52:4 (readings: Naveh & Shaked, l.c.), 92:5, 112:5, 116:3, 163:3.

5.4.4.4 Dargiš: "couch". According to Hübschmann (1897: 137) and Zadok (1984c: 33-34) this is an Iranian loanword, because the earliest Akkadian attestation dates from the Achaemenid period and the Aramaic attestations of this word are younger than the Akkadian. Von Soden (1966: 7), however, connects it with Ar. *dargəšā-*, *dargēš*. Perhaps connected with **darga-*, "long".
- Babylonian:
  1) da-ar-gi-iš: BE 8/1 123:9.
  2) dar-gi-iš: TBER Pl.94:18.

5.4.4.5 Gasabala: Imbert (1916: 341; also Benveniste 1966: 103 and Neumann 1969: 367, with doubts) pleads for an identification with **ganzabara-*. Therefore he assumes the existence of an *l/r*-alternation in Lycian (Imbert 1916: 341n.3), but the only certain example possibly supporting such a shift is Pinale/Πιναρα (Schmitt 1982c: 386n.75). Also *s* for Ir. /z/ remains problematic and for this reason one cannot yet determine whether *gasabala-* is Lycian or Iranian (Neumann, l.c.; Schmitt 1982c: 386).
- Lycian: gasabala: TL 104b:2.

5.4.4.6 Haduš, Haduya: Hinz & Koch (ElW 586) consider this to be renderings of OP **ādu-*, "seed". Giovinazzo (1989b: 23n.3), however, argues that *haduš* is probably an Elamite word meaning, "cow" (synonym of *tila*) or "young and small animals".
- Elamite:

1) ha-du-iš: PF 2009:66,69, 2010:35, 2073:16, 2083:84,87.
2) ha-du-mi-ia: PF 695:2; PFNN 184:2-3, 2261:37.
3) ha-du-ia(-iš): PF 233:5, 272:16-17, 2033:2; PFNN 1525:1.

5.4.4.7 Halmarriš: according to Herzfeld (ApI 122; also Hallock 1969: 688) this word is a rendering of Ir. **ārvari-* < **urvarā-*, "fertile soil" (OInd. *urvárā-*). Hinz (ElW 603) considers it an Elamite expression (composed of *halma* and *riša-*).
– Elamite:
1) hal-mar-ráš: DPf 8,9,11,21-22; DSz 39,51; PF 1972-1973:3, 1974:2, etc. in PFT; PFNN 2208:2-3,15, 2266:2, 2284:3, 2289:2,17,23; PT 3:x+ 6, 1963-19:28.
2) hal-mar-ri-iš: DB ii 29,33,57-58, iii 24,31; PF 159-160:4-5, 539:2-3, 976:4, 1105:6-7, 1591:7-8, 1593:7-8; PFNN 1278:3-4, 1335:4-5, 1364:11, 1425:4-5, 1499:3-4, 1531:4-5, 1688:4.

5.4.4.8 Krp': Mayrhofer (1979b: 183-184) proposed to read **karapā-*, "*karapan*-priest", to Av. *karapan-*, but this has been denied by Lemaire (1995: 425) and Kottsieper (2002: 214-215). According to Kottsieper it is an Akkadian loanword (< *parakku*, "cult dais, sanctuary", with metathesis). Another "Iranian" proposal is **karpa-*, "cult" (Mayrhofer 1975b: 278).
– Aramaic: krp': FX 136:7.

5.4.4.9 Pati-: Zadok (1984c: 35) and Dandamayev (1992: 7) mention Ir. **pati-*, "lord, master". It is exceptional, however, that this title has no specification. As a result Zadok's proposal is not certain.
– Babylonian: pa-di-i: VS 5 118:21.

5.4.4.10 Šaumarraš: perhaps Ir. **sa(h)uvara- / *saxvara-*. According to Hinz (NW 46 and 102-104; ASN 220) the original meaning of this expression is "wooden dish or bowl". Only later the meaning became "0,2 shekel". Bogoljubov (1973: 175) connects it with Bab. *saḫḫaru*, a small sacrificial dish.
– Aramaic: ṣḥr: Pers 18:2, 43-44:3, 49:4, 72:3, 92:4, 112:4, 154:2, 156:1, etc. in Pers.
– Elamite: šá-u-mar-ráš: PF 1972:12-13, 1980:7,10,11,20,30-31, 1986:30,31, 1987:2,3,4,38,41,47, 2078:13,13-14; PFNN 704:13,25, 28, 2206:33, 2208:12-13,21,22, 2266:13, 2289:13, 2355:7, 2358:18.

5.4.4.11 Sarapiš: kind of textile, either Iranian or Elamite. Scheil (1907: 21) connected this word with Gk. *σάραπις* and Hinz (1967: 92; 1969: 72-73; 1970: 434-435 and 1987: 129; ASN 239), who followed this suggestion, reconstructed an Old Persian form **θārapiš*.
For this formally plausible reconstruction, however, an etymological basis is lacking (Schmitt, apud Bittner 1987: 181n.2), since the connection with NP *sarāpā*, an honorary dress (cf. Knauer 1954: 114), is not certain.
The word, also occurring in the Neo-Elamite administrative texts from Susa (sa-ar-pi, sa-har-pi and sa-ri-pi), may also be Elamite (Schmitt, l.c.; Henkelman 2003: 207). The ending in *-p-* may indicate the Elamite plural and the loss of *h* is a normal evolution in the later development of the Elamite language[211]. Moreover, the information provided by the Greek sources on *σάραπις* is rather slim and therefore the relation between the Greek and Elamite evidence is not clear (Henkelman 2003: 228-231).
– Elamite: sa-ra-pi-iš: PF 1150:5, 1947:46.

5.5. Pseudo-Iranica

5.5.1. Personal names

5.5.1.1 Abdia-: Semitic name (Zadok 1976d: 213).
Hinz (ASN 17) reconstructs *Abdya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Abda-, "excellent".
– Babylonian:
1) Ab-di-ia: Camb. 351:14; Dar. 474:18; Nbn. 828:8.
2) Ab-di-iá: Dar. 337:14.

5.5.1.2 Abīya-: West Semitic Abī-ya-, "my father" (Lipiński 1977: 101-102).
Gershevitch (1969: 181; also OnP 8.97 and ASN 33) mentions *Api-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Api-, "water". Another possibility could be El. *appi*, "oil" (ElW 77).
– Elamite: Ap-pi-ia: PF 2075:3.

5.5.1.3 Abīyāv-: ʾAbī-Yāv-, "my father is Jahwe", Semitic name (Lipiński 1977: 102; ElW 77). Cf. Babylonian AD-ia-a-ma (PBS 2/1 185:2, 218:3,12,R.E.).
Some scholars plead for an Iranian name *Abi-ama-, "very strong" (Benveniste 1966: 77; Gershevitch 1969: 181; ASN 20). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.98) is doubtful.
– Elamite: Ap-pi-ia-ma: PF 700:9; PFNN 354:3-4.

5.5.1.4 Akudanu-: Semitic name (Zadok 1985: 175).
Iranian etymologies are proposed by Segal (1983: 56: *Akarana-, "endless") and Zadok (1986: 42: *Ā-kara-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Ā-kara-). Schmitt (1987: 152), however, rejects these proposals.
– Aramaic: ʾKdn: ATNS 38:9.

5.5.1.5 Arejasti-: probably Anatolian, certainly not Iranian (Schmitt 1973c: 50-52 and 1982d: IV/34).

[211] The appearance of *-h-* may, however, also indicate the length of the Iranian vowel (Tavernier, apud Henkelman 2003: 207 n.88).

Pauli (1894: 62; also Haas 1951: 22 and 1966: 193) read Arezasti and reconstructed *Arzāsti-, "battle — body" (Av. *arəza-*, "battle" and *asti-*, "body"). Haas (1961: 55n.2) also mentions *Arjāsti-, "having worthy friends" (Av. *arəja-*, "worthy" and *asti-*, "friend, guest"). Yet the reading Arejasti makes an Iranian origin unlikely (Schmitt, l.c.).

– Phrygian: Arejastin (acc.): A 7a.

5.5.1.6 Aruwãtijesi: probably Hittite or Luwian, perhaps *Aruwati-esi, "he will be illustrious" (Neumann 1978: 127; Schmitt 1982d: IV/19).

Justi (IN 40) believed in a connection with *Arvanta, (Gk. Ἀρυάνδης), but the element *-jesi* as well as the broken context of the occurrences of this name make an Iranian origin rather implausible (Schmitt 1982c: 385 and 1982d: IV/19).

– Lycian: Aruwãtijesi-[212]: NAWG 1978/1 137a-c, 239; TL 44b:18.

5.5.1.7 Arza-: "cedar". Semitic name (Zadok 1995: 158).

Zadok (1976b: 72n.126; also Dandamayev 1992: 45) mention the tribal name A-ra-zu from Media, attested in Neo-Assyrian texts.

– Babylonian: Ar-za-': BE 10 46:7,10; JCS 53 87 no.1:18.

5.5.1.8 Attaluš: Elamite name, Attahaluš or Attaluš (Zadok 1984: 7, 9 and 26 and 1995: 158).

Without offering an etymology, Zadok (1977: 99; also Dandamayev 1992: 49) consider this name to be Iranian.

– Babylonian: At-ta-lu-uš: CT 44 81:4.

5.5.1.9 Attarsūrī-: Ar. Attar-sūriš[213] (Delaunay 1976: 11; Lipiński 1977: 109), "Attar is my stronghold".

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.166) and Hinz (ASN 49) read *Ātṛ-sūri-š, "strong through the fire(-god)". Delaunay (l.c.) also mentions *Aššur-sūrī, but this is not plausible.

– Elamite: At-tur-r[u-i]š-šu-ri-iš: PF 139:3-4.

5.5.1.10 Bakiš: according to Hinz & Koch (ElW 128) this is an Elamite name meaning "he blew", cf. the Elamite name Sunki-bakiš (ElW 1106).

Some authors have *Bag-i-š in mind, an *-i-*patronymic of a retrenchment of a *Baga-name (Gershevitch 1969b: 193; OnP 8.230; ASN 61).

– Elamite: Ba-ki-iš: PF 45:7, 1952:7; PFNN 754:4.

5.5.1.11 Barīk: "blessed". Semitic name (Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977d: 122).

Hinz reconstructs *Bāryaka- (ASN 64), with reference to NP *bārīk*, "fine, soft".

– Babylonian:
1) Ba-ri-ki: BE 9 82:24,U.E.; BE 10 86:3,7,L.E.; EE 55:25; IMT 48:17,Lo.E.
2) Ba-rik-ki: BE 9 31:20, 83:20; BE 10 7:14; EE 56:18'.

5.5.1.12 Dakizidda: *Daki-zidda-, "alive and healthy", Elamite name (ElW 271).

Hinz (ASN 233) pleads for *Taka-č-ita-, a hypocoristic of *Taka-, "runner".

[212] An abbreviated form of this spelling is Aru (NAWG 1978/1 137d).
[213] Cf. NA mA-tar-su-ri (PNA 236).

– Elamite: Da-ki-zí-ud-da: PF 1711:3.

5.5.1.13 Danabu: not Iranian, since the text dates from the end of the 7th century (TAD C: 74). Kornfeld (1978: 46) pleads for Sem. Dannu-Bir, "Bir is strong".

Zadok (1991: 39) reads Dnbr, Ir. *Dainabara-, "bearer of the religion" or *Daina-ā-bara-, "possessor of faith" (NP *dīn-āwar*).

– Aramaic: Dnbw: TAD C 3.1:1,2,3,4,5.

5.5.1.14 Ḏȝḏ̲ȝ.jj: Egyptian name (Ranke 1935: 405 no.21; Zadok 1976d: 215).

Hinz (ASN 230) reconstructs *Šīšuya-, the predecessor of NP Šīšoye, cf. *šīšōi*.

– Babylonian: Ši-'-šu-ú-a: PBS 2/1 65:3,9.

5.5.1.15 Ddenewele-: probably Anatolian (Sundwall 1913: 6, 67 and 242; Zwanziger 1976: 178; Schmitt 1982c: 386 and 1982d: IV/20).

Shahbazi (1975: 151) reconstructs Ir. *Daina-vara-, "guardian of faith", with reference to MP *dyn'wr*, Parth. *dyn'br* and NP *dīnāvar*. Yet the latter words are evolutions from a form with *-bara-* and not *-vara-* (Schmitt 1982c: 385-386). Justi's proposal (**ula-*, "desiring"; IN 487) too is not tenable.

– Lycian:
1) Ddenewele-[214]: Hunter 1979: 101 no.7, 102 no.12; NAWG 1978/1 232a.
2) Ddẽnewele-[215]: Hunter 1979: 103 nos.17, 20, 21; NAWG 1978/1 232d.

5.5.1.16 Elnap: the majority of the authors (Dupont-Sommer 1966: 53; Cross 1966: 8n.17; Delcor 1967: 306; Gibson 1975: 157; Lemaire 2001: 25) believes in a South Arabian name 'Lnp, "El is exalted".

Teixidor (1968: 376) reads *Arna-pā-, "protector of battle".

– Aramaic: 'Lnp: CRAIBL 1966 48:1; DS 76.

5.5.1.17 Gabia- (fem.): daughter of *Farnaka- (4.2.567). Livšic (apud Dandamayev 1992: 71) assumes it is an Iranian name, because an Iranian would never give his daughter a Semitic name in that period (494). He reconstructs *Gambiya-, of *Gamb-, "to exert oneself" (Sogd. *γmb-*). As *Farnaka- has another daughter with a doubtlessly Semitic name (Re'indu, YBC 11611:2, reference M.W. Stolper), this name is not necessarily Iranian. Zadok (1977: 94n.26) refers to the Semitic name Ga-bi-ia.

– Babylonian: Ga-am-bi-ia: VS 5 101:4.

[214] Abbreviated forms of this spelling are (1) Dde (NAWG 1978/1 232c); (2) Ddene (Hunter 1979: 102 nos.9, 13; NAWG 1978/1 232b); (3) Ddenewel (Hunter 1979: 101 no.8, 103 no.16).
[215] Abbreviated forms of this spelling are (1) Ddẽne (Hunter 1979: 102 no.10); (2) Ddẽnewel (Hunter 1979: 102 no.11, 103 nos.15,18-19).

5.5.1.18 Gabrīya-: hypocoristic of the West Semitic name Gabri-El (Lipiński 1977: 106).

Hinz (NW 114 and ASN 144) reconstructs *Ka-frya-, "how dear". Gershevitch (1969: 199) pleads for *Kafrya-, "child" (NP *kahra*, "a kid six months old").

– Elamite: Ka_4-ap-ri-ia: PF 1667:2-3.

5.5.1.19 Guzanu-: the name ^{d}Nabû-gu-za-nu clearly shows the Babylonian origin of this name (Eilers 1936: 187-188n.1).

Hinz (ASN 103) prefers *Gau-čanah-, "longing for cattle".

– Babylonian: Gu-za-nu: passim in Late Babylonian texts.

5.5.1.20 Ḥarbatanu-: West Semitic name (Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 113 and 169).

Hinz (ASN 132) reconstructs *Xara-bătana-, "donkey-herd".

– Babylonian:
1) Ḫar-bat-a-an: PBS 2/1 186:Lo.E.
2) Ḫar-ba-ta-nu: BE 10 2:14, 21:U.E., 79:14, 94:21, 125:18; EE 34:14; PBS 2/1 88:19, 187:12.
3) Ḫar-bat-a-nu: BE 9 86a:32; BE 10 28:Lo.E., 30:Lo.E, 38:R; PBS 2/1 161:R, 177:R.E., 187:11.
4) Ḫar-bat-ta-nu: BE 10 12:Lo.E., 127:U.E.; IMT 25:13 (Ḫar-bat-ta-n[u]).
5) Ḫar-ri-ba-ta-nu: PBS 2/1 94:14.

5.5.1.21 Ḥarišanu-: West-Semitic name (Zadok 1976d: 213).

Gray (apud Clay 1912: 23; also ASN 42 and Dandamayev 1992: 81) reconstructs *Arya-zana-, "belonging to the Iranian race".

– Babylonian: Ḫa-ri-ṣa-nu: PBS 2/1 12:5, 76:5, 157:1.

5.5.1.22 Ḥisdanu-: Semitic name (Zadok 1976d: 214 and 1977: 116).

Hinz (ASN 121) pleads for *Histāna-, an *-ana*-patronymic of *Histā-, the pres. part. of Av. *stā-*, "to stand".

– Babylonian: Ḫi-is-da-nu: BE 10 39:15; EE 36:5; PBS 2/1 13:5, 51:5, 194:2, 209:14.

5.5.1.23 Hišnapuš: Elamite name, likely to begin with *hiš*, "name" (OnP 8.521 and 11.3.2.5).

Gershevitch (1969b: 187-188) reconstructs *Hišnāfu-, "swimmer", with reference to OInd. *siṣṇāsu-*, "wishing to bathe" and NP *šināh* and *šināv*, "swimming".

– Elamite: Hi-iš-na-pu-iš: PF 1418:4.

5.5.1.24 Ḥmn: Hebrew name, attested on a seal from the eigth century B.C. (Lemaire 2001b: 668).

Shaked (apud TAD D: lxvi) reconstructs *Xvamanā, the nom. sg. of *Xva-manah-, "with a good mind".

– Aramaic: Ḥmn: TAD D 2.25:9, 5.32:1.

5.5.1.25 Ḥr-m-ȝḫ.t: Egyptian name (Ranke 1935: 247 no.17; Zadok 1976d: 213).

Hinz (ASN 40 and 131) mentions both *Aryamāhī-, "Iranian moon" and *Hvar-māhī-, "sun-moon".

– Babylonian:
1) Ḫa-ar-ma-ḫi-ʾ: IMT 40:Lo.E.; PBS 2/1 13:5.
2) Ḫar-ma-ḫi-ʾ: BE 10 1:2,9, 123:4,L.E.; EE 27:14; IMT 48:6, 100:2,3; PBS 2/1 84:13,R.E., 104:9, 143:3.
3) Ḫar-ra-ma-ḫi-ʾ: PBS 2/1 198:2.
4) Ḫar-ri-ma-aḫ-ḫi-ʾ: BE 10 66:5.
5) Ḫar-ri-ma-ḫi-ʾ: PBS 2/1 51:6, 192:R.E., 130:L.E.

5.5.1.26 Ḥr-tȝ-bȝ(.t): Egyptian name (Zadok 1979b: 173).

Dandamayev (1992: 81) argues that the name is possibly Iranian.

– Babylonian: Ḫa-ri-da-bu-ú: FuB 14 21:4.

5.5.1.27 Ḥrw-Mntw: two authors plead in favour of the Eg. character of this name: Edel (1980: 41-43) proposes to read TU instead of PAR with Ḥrw-Mntw as result. Zadok (1989-90: 273) reconstructs Ḥr-Wn-nfr.

Zadok (1976d: 215; also Dandamayev 1992: 83) reconstructs *Xvar-vanaθa-, "deriving victory from the Sun-god".

– Babylonian:
1) Ḫur-ri-mun-na-tú: BE 10 123:4.
2) Ḫu-ru-mu-un-na-tú: IMT 48:10; PBS 2/1 143:7.
3) Ḫu-ru-un-na-tú: IMT 48:3.
4) Ḫu-ur-un-na-tú: PBS 2/1 130:15,L.E.

5.5.1.28 Ir.ty-r-w: the reading is problematic. Mostly it is read ʾTrš, with *Āṯr-ča- as Iranian explanation (Degen 1974: 68; Kornfeld 1978: 101). Yet the attestation of this name dates from the 7th century (Degen 1974: 70), which makes an Iranian name rather problematic. Lipiński (1980: 6) reads ʾTr š(eqel), a more likely solution. ʾTr is the rendering of Eg. Ir.t=w-r.r=w, Gk. ʾΙθορώς (Dem. Nb. 70).

– Aramaic: ʾTr š: TAD C 3.2:4.

5.5.1.29 Kabbūra: "the brave", Aramaic name (Lipiński 1977: 107).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) reconstructs *Kafra-, "child", but that would be written ka_4-ap-ra. Hinz (ASN 144) reads *Ka-baura-, "what a brown one".

– Elamite: Ka_4-bu-ra: PF 1929:1.

5.5.1.30 Kanzasirma: Anatolian name (Grelot 1972: 476).

Kâmil (1948: 118; also Driver 1954: 26) mentions **ganza-sāra-*, "head of the treasure", an Iranian appellative. Eilers (1954-56: 326) and Henning (apud Driver 1965: 67), however, emphasize the non-Iranian character of this word, which they consider to be an anthroponym.

– Aramaic: Knzsrm: TAD A 6.11:1.

5.5.1.31 Kbš: it is tempting to read Krš (Cyrus), but the second letter is clearly B (Cooke 1922: 271). The name itself is Semitic, cf. Hebr. *kebeš*, "lamb".

– Aramaic: Kbš: JRAS 1922: 271 no.1.

5.5.1.32 *Kintapata: Elamite name (OnP 8.830; Zadok 1984: 20), unfortunately inaccurately spelled (ElW 468).

Gershevitch (1969: 199) reconstructs *Xindapāda-, "weary-footed" (OInd. *khindati*, "he presses"), but Mayrhofer (OnP 8.828) rejects this. Hinz (ASN 133) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ki-in-da-ba-da(?): PF 1038:3.

5.5.1.33 Kryzt: Nabataean name (Zadok 1985: 174).

*Karya-zāta-, "born from Karya" is a possible name (Segal 1983: 33), but Schmitt (1987: 153) rejects this.

– Aramaic: Kryzt: ATNS 17:2.

5.5.1.34 Kuraš: Elamite name (Andreas 1904: 93-94), "to bestow care" (Stronach 1997: 38, based on Zadok 1995c: 246; Henkelman 2003: 193-195).

Various Iranian etymologies have been proposed. Hoffmann (apud EWA III 677; also Mayrhofer 1979: II/24; Schmitt 1993: 515; Werba 1982: 223-231 and 1997: 168) prefers a *-ru*-derivation from the Indo-Aryan root **(s)kau-*, "to humiliate" and translates "humiliator of the enemy in verbal contest".

Other scholars analyzed OP Ku-u-r(u)-u-š, Kuruš (Gk. Κόρος and Κῦρος) as an Iranian name meaning "the young one, child" (Abayev 1965: 286-291 and 1975: 7; Szemerényi 1977: 13-15; Cheung 2004: 133 and n.4; cf. also Mayrhofer 1979: II/24). Reference was made to Oss. *i-gur-un*, "to be born", and *kur*, "young bull" on the one hand and Kurdish *kur*, "son, little boy" on the other hand.

Finally Skalmowski (2000-2005: 70-72) proposes that Kuruš is a borrowing from OInd Kúru-, which in his eyes is related to the root *kṛ*-, "to do, accomplish".

Recent research, however, has revealed some indications pointing towards an Elamite name.

(1) The Babylonian and Elamite transcriptions of OP Ku-u-r(u)-u-š all end in /aš/. A spelling Ku-ru-uš is nowhere attested. This indicates that Kuraš is in all likelihood the original form. As El. names may end in /uš/ (Hutelutuš-Inšušinak), it would be awkward that the Elamite scribes would change an original Kuruš into Kuraš[216]. It is much more to be expected that the Persians remodeled an in their eyes strange form Kuraš (Iranian has no nominatives in /aš/) to Kuruš.

(2) The name is already attested in texts dating from the pre-Achaemenid period: Kùr-áš (NCT 72:3; Ur III, cf. Zadok 1994b: 33); Ku-ur-ra-šú (VS 3 55:14; Neo-Babylonian), Kur-ráš (MDP 9 98:rev.1; Neo-Elamite, cf. Zadok 1976b: 63n.12).

(3) Cyrus never used the title "king of Persia". His usual title was "king of Anšan", which suits very well the Neo-Elamite royal titles (de Miroschedji 1985: 296-299; Vallat 1997: 426-427).

[216] Hinz (1976: 52-53) explains this by assuming that Elamite scribes regarded Cyrus as a foreign ruler. El. Kuruš would mean "he cherished", while Kuraš would mean "he burned". Because of this the Elamite scribes changed Kuruš into Kuraš. Doubtlessly this theory is easily dismissable. The Persians and the Elamites already lived for a long time in mutual contact, so the Elamites probably did not regard Cyrus as a foreign ruler.

Kuraš is probably an Elamite name, although it is still possible that originally there were two names, OP Kuruš and El. Kuraš, which the Elamite scribes confused due to folk etymology, as a result of which they maintained Kuraš (ElW 531; Zadok 1991b: 237; cf. also Schmitt 2006:104).

– Aramaic: Krš: DB 3, 37.

– Babylonian:

1) ^{Ku}kur-ra-áš: CT 57 150:10, 401:7.
2) ^{Ku}kur-ra-áš-šú: BSCAS 32 70 SC.134:16.
3) Ku-ra-áš: AoF 26 10 no.3:23; CMa; CT 22 233:9; CT 55 39:8, 41:8, 73:14; CTMMA 3 36:rev.7', 87:16; Cyr. 1:15, 2:7, 4:10, 8:18; DB 12,16,21,72,91,94; DBh 3; DMb; IOS 18 284-285 no.3:14; TuM 2/3 56:11; UET 1 194:1; VAB 3 2:12, 4:27; VS 4 64:22, etc. in LB documents.
4) Ku-ra-áš-šú: AfO Beih. 25 67:13; CT 57 369:12 ([Ku]-ra-áš-šú).
5) Ku-raš: Camb. 425:3; CT 55 211:5, 271:8, 802:4; CTMMA 3 33:14, 35:15; Cyr. 16:5, 18:2, 19:6, 25:13; DBb 3; IOS 18 290 no.5:18; JAOS 121 646 3'; TCL 13 130:rev.2, etc. in LB documents.
6) Ku-ra-šu: AJSL 27 214:rev.6.
7) Ku-ra-šú: Cyr. 52:7, 60:18, 117:3; GCCI 2 97:16; IOS 18 287 no.7:15.
8) Ku-raš-šú: Cyr. 165:5; TuM 2/3 282:rev.3; UCP 9/1 ii 38:18.
9) Kur-aš: AOAT 330 251 no.1:16, 253 no.3:21, 254 no.11:13, 257 no.20:13, 264 no.30:21.
10) Kur-áš: AnOr 8 39:25; Cyr. 239:17; GCCI 2 99:17, 100:15; JCS 28 29 no.11:20, 30 no.12:18; Mich 41:16; TCL 13 134:17, 135:16, 138:23.
11) Ku-reš: BM 62644:3; BM 83526:rev.4' (cf. Zawadzki 1995).
12) Kur-ra-aš: AOAT 330 261 no.26:12; Cyr. 194:13.
13) Kur-ra-áš: BRM 1 62:18; Camb. 421:4; CTMMA 3 82:1; Cyr. 12:15, 44-45:15; ROMCT 2 28:16; TCL 13 127:14, 128:21, 129:17; TuM 2/3 89:14; VS 4 66:18, etc. in LB documents.
14) Kur-raš: AM 188:rev.6'; CT 55 97:18, 121:16, 147:14; CTMMA 3 82:15, 88:11, 108:5'; Cyr. 49:13, 119:19, 127:13; ROMCT 2 30:17; TuM 2/3 55:16; VS 3 61:22.
15) Kur-ráš: Cyr. 306:6, 318:17; Iraq 60 212 no.5:21.
16) Kur-ra-šú: AOAT 330 259 no.24:rev.2.
17) Kur-reš: AOAT 330 263 no.29:15.
18) Ku-ur-ra-áš: Cyr. 10:19, etc. in LB documents.

19) Ku-ur-ra-šú: Cyr. 3:29, 223:14.
20) Ku-ur-šú: Cyr. 222:13, 290:4, 299:4, etc. in LB documents.

– Elamite: Ku-ráš: CMa; DB i 40, ii 3,50,58,93; DBb 2; DBh 4; DMb; PFS 93:1 ([K]u-ráš).
– Hieroglyphic: Kꜣ-wꜣ-rw-šꜣ: BdE 11 8 iii 7,9.

5.5.1.35 *Maḥat: Hebrew name (Teixidor 1976: 332).

Lemaire (1975: 90; also Klingbeil 1992: 81) reads Mrg and presents three possible explanations of this reading: (1) Iranian *Vṛka-, "wolf", (2) a name related to El. Mi-ru-ka$_4$ (= *Vīruka-) and (3) a name related to the Safaitic anthroponym Mrj (Harding 1971: 539; Harding & Winnett 1978: 610).

– Aramaic: Mḥt: Semitica 25 93:5.

5.5.1.36 Mardanunu: Elamite hypocoristic meaning "little star" (Zadok 1977c: 77; ElW 878).

Zadok (1983: 103) derives this name from Av. *marətan-*, "mortal, human being", but in that case it would be a very rare example of an Elamite hypocoristic of an Iranian name.

– Elamite: Mar-da-nu-nu: PF 1998:15.

5.5.1.37 Mardudu: Elamite name, hypocoristic of Mardu, "star" (Zadok 1977c: 77; ElW 879). Cf. Mar-du-nu-kaš (MDP 9 145:10).

Zadok (1983: 103) believes in an Elamite derivation from Iranian **mṛta-*, "dead".

– Elamite: Mar-du-du: PF 370:3, 2084:2; PFNN 2234:2-3.

5.5.1.38 Marduka: Babylonian name (OnP 8.974; Delaunay 1976: 17-18).

Hinz (ASN 169) reconstructs *Mṛdu-ka-, "mild".

– Babylonian:
1) Mar-duk-a: passim in NB and LB documents.
2) Mar-duk-u: passim in NB and LB documents.
3) Mar-du-ku: passim in NB and LB documents.
4) Mar-duk-ú: passim in NB and LB documents.

– Elamite:
1) Mar-du-ka$_4$: PF 81:2; PFNN 74:2-3, passim in PF and PFNN.
2) Mar-du-uk-ka$_4$: PF 489:2, 1581:1-2; PFNN 1339:3, 1372:3, 2261:22, 2317:8; PT 1:22-23.

5.5.1.39 Mattēna: Lipiński (1977: 107) recognizes a Phoenician name.

Hinz (ASN 156) mentions *Mady-aina-, "the middle" (Av. *maiδiia-*). Gershevitch (1969: 210) reconstructs *Madyāyana-.

– Elamite: Ma-ti-e-na: PF 1105:3, 1140:3; PFNN 486:2, 1371:2-3, 1411:2-3.

5.5.1.40 Mida-: Phrygian name (Eilers 1940b: 223; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: 80).

According to Hinz & Koch (ElW 919) this is a retrenchment of an Iranian name. Dandamayev (1992: 100) mentions *Vīda-.

– Babylonian:
1) Mi-ʾ-da-ʾ: OECT 10 171:7.
2) Mi-da-ʾ: IMT 3:3; TuM 2/3 142:4,8.
3) Mi-da-aḫ?: BM 30136:2',5' (reference M.W. Stolper).

– Elamite: Mi-da: PFNN 1483:15,53, 1946:5.

5.5.1.41 Nabûšara: the reading Nbwšrh is attested in TAD. Formerly the usual reading was Segal's one (1983: 45), i.e. Šyhwr. Segal (1983: 47) argues that this name has no Semitic or Egyptian equivalents. Zadok (1986: 43) reconstructs *Šyā-hvar-, "happy Sun-(god)". Another possibility, also proposed by Zadok, is *Šyā-ahura-, "happy lord".

– Aramaic: Nbwšrh: TAD B 8.4:1.

5.5.1.42 Nanāšta-: Lydian name (Dönner & Röllig 1968: 304). Nana is a well-known Anatolian goddess and *-št-* is a Lydian suffix.

Bogoljubov (1974: 16) prefers *Nan-āšta-, "bringing the news at various places".

– Aramaic: Nnšt: KAI 258:1.

5.5.1.43 Napapa: "little god". Elamite hypocoristic (ElW 966).

Hinz (ASN 173) reconstructs *Napā-pā-, "protector of the grandson" and thereby disagrees with Mayrhofer's (OnP 8.1201) proposal to connect this name with Napapartanna- (= *Nāfabṛdana-, 4.2.1149).

– Elamite:
1) Na-ab-ba-ba: PF 499:2, 501-502:2, 557:2, 626:2; PFNN 1445:1-2, 2384:3-4.
2) Na-ba-ba: PF 53:6, 1921:6.
3) Na-ib-ba-ba: PF 1256:2.

5.5.1.44 Naptaš: El. Nap-taš, "God helps" (Koch, apud ElW 974).

Gershevitch (1969: 212) reconstructs *Napta-, "wet" (Av. *napta-*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1234) has no opinion, while Hinz (ASN 171) pleads for a precursor of NP *naft*, "naphtha".

– Elamite:
1) Na-ap-taš: PF 506:3, 558:4, 575:3-4, 972:3-4, 1181:3-4; PFNN 694:3, 1698:2.
2) Na-ip-taš: PF 1193:6.

5.5.1.45 Pꜣ-dj-ꜣś.t: based on a false reading Mas-de-e-su Zadok (1979: 297) reconstructs *Mazda-isa-, "looking for Mazda". Stolper (1989: 154n.1), however, collated the spelling and came to a result Pa-de-e-su, the Babylonian rendering of Eg. Pꜣ-dj-ꜣś.t (Zadok 1977e: 65).

– Babylonian: Pa-de-e-su: Camb. 85:4.

5.5.1.46 Pꜣ-(n)-tꜣ.wy: "he of the two lands", Eg. name (Ranke 1935: 112a no.4). The sentence *[B]rznrw br ʾRtbrzn hw Ptw Bḥtry*, "Bṛznarava, the son of Ṛtabṛzana-, i.e. Patu, the Bactrian" supports the suspicion

that one is dealing here with one of the rare examples of double names in Achaemenid Aramaic texts. This Eg. name also occurs elsewhere[217] (Grelot 1972: 485; Kornfeld 1978: 93).

Hoftijzer (1988: 47 and n.22) mentiones *Pati-va-, a hypocoristic of *Pati-. His reason to prefer an Iranian name is the position of Ptw before "Bactrian", but "Bactrian" refers to the entire phrase.

– Aramaic: Ptw: TAD D 2.12:2.

5.5.1.47 Pȝ-šr-(n)-tȝ-isw: Zauzich (apud TAD B: lii) prefers an Egyptian name Pšentasu, rendering Pȝ-šr-(n)-tȝ-isw, "son of the sheep", Gk. Ψιντεσωυτος (Dem. Nb. 263).

Zadok (1985: 174) reads Pšntsp and reconstructs *Pišant-aspa-, "with bruising horses", to Av. *pišaṇt-*.

– Aramaic: Pšntsw: TAD B 5.6:15.

5.5.1.48 Piyala: certainly Elamite, cf. the Old Elamite place name Bi-a-la^{ki} (Hinz 1971: 292; Zadok 1977c: 79).

Mayrhofer prefers an Iranian name (OnP 301).

– Elamite: Pi-ia-la: Fort. 8623:2-3; PF 1132:2, 1215-1216:2-3; PFNN 2231:2-3.

5.5.1.49 Prara: Elamite name (OnP 8.110 Zadok 1983: 104; EIW 79).

According to Hinz (ASN 20) it is a *-ra-*hypocoristic of *Aβra-.

– Elamite: Ap-ra-ra: PF 1684:4-5.

5.5.1.50 Psmṯk: this name was originally read Pi-ir-mi-iz-di. Dandamayev (1992: 114) considers it to be an Iranian name, because Psmṯk has a son named *Bagapāta-. Also Eilers (1940: 15n.6) and Hinz (ASN 177-178) mention an Ir. name. Hinz's reconstruction is *Pairimižda-, "over-wage". A collation has, however, made clear that the correct reading is Pi-sa-mi-is-ki, the expression of Eg. Psmṯk, Gk. Ψαμμήτιχος (Zadok 1976d: 215 and 1977: 94).

– Babylonian: Pi-sa-mi-is-ki: Dar. 301:17.

5.5.1.51 Ribaya / *Ribīš: Akkadian name (Delaunay 1976: 25; Lipiński 1977: 109; Stolper 1984: 305n.20). Cf. the Neo-Assyrian personal name Ri-ba-a-a (Tallqvist 1914: 186). *Ribīš is a contraction of Ribaya-.

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1434) prefers this name to be Iranian. Hinz (ASN 196) reconstructs *Raiba-ya-, a *-ya-*extension of *Raiba-, "cunning".

– Elamite:
1) Ri-ba-a: PF 673:16, 1796:16; PFNN 698: 14, 947:13, 1730:15, 1775:16-17, 1999:28, 2004:9.
2) Ri-ba-ia: Fort. 3678:13-14; PF 670:11-12, 671:12-13, 1828:22.

[217] TAD B 3.12:3,33; TAD C 3.28:41,44,51.

3) Ri-be-a: PF 1801:17.
4) Ri-pi-iš: PF 678:14; PFNN 49:13-14.

5.5.1.52 *Rzk: underneath the visible signs Pḫ' *br* in an inscription from Edfu there are some more signs discernable. Kornfeld (1973: 133) sees an aleph. Lipiński (1975-76: 385) proposes Rzk = *Raučāka-. Yet Kornfeld (1978: 111) correctly remarks that /č/ is usually rendered by š, which excludes *Raučāka-. Degen (1978: 63-64) does not take a decision regarding this problem. In any case the photograph of the text does not support Lipiński's hypothesis.

5.5.1.53 *Sinqatēni: "Sin, (grab) our hands", Babylonian name (Delaunay 1976: 28). Hinz & Koch (EIW 1158) consider an Elamite name.

Some scholars (Gershevitch 1969: 229; ASN 224) mention Ir. *Sinkata-āna-, an *-āna-*patronymic of *Sinkata-, "jujube" (Sogd. *synkt*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1547) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ši-in-ka$_4$-tan-na: PF 995:4.

5.5.1.54 Sunāmā: OInd. name, meaning "well-named". An Ir. alternative could be *Çava-nāma-, "having a beautiful name", but that would be written Šu-ma-na-ma.

– Elamite: Šu-na-ma: PFNN 98:2.

5.5.1.55 Šālamana: there is disagreement among the authors as to the origin of this name. This has led to various proposals: the name may be Elamite (Hinz 1971: 298), Babylonian (Dandamayev 1975: 236), West Semitic / Arabic (Delaunay 1976: 25-26), or Moabite (Lipiński 1977: 111).

Mayrhofer (OnP 301) mentions a connection with the Av. gentilic Sairima-. According to Hinz (ASN 221) these spellings render *Sāramanah-, which is, however, unlikely.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-la-ma-an-na: PF 718:3.
2) Šá-la-ma-na: PF 168:8, 1836-1839:1; PFNN 761:1.

5.5.1.56 Šamašgirra: "Šamaš is my way" (Delaunay 1976: 26, EIW 1129).

Gershevitch (1969b: 195) and Hinz (ASN 76) mention *Çava-skra-, "having shapely shanks", but this is not plausible.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-ma-iš-ki-la: PFNN 1993:2-3.
2) Šá-ma-iš-ki-ra: PFNN 1458:2-3.

5.5.1.57 *Tȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ: Zadok (1986: 43) mentions *Taxma-pitā-, "having a valiant father", but an Egyptian name, being *Tȝ-ḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ, "servant (f.) of the land" (Segal 1983: 20) or *Tȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ, "the female falcon of the land" (Zauzich 1985: 115[218]) is more likely. The argu-

[218] Zauzich adds that the male equivalent of this name, Pȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ is attested (cf. Dem. Nb. 170).

that one is dealing here with one of the rare examples of double names in Achaemenid Aramaic texts. This Eg. name also occurs elsewhere[217] (Grelot 1972: 485; Kornfeld 1978: 93).

Hoftijzer (1988: 47 and n.22) mentiones *Pati-va-, a hypocoristic of *Pati-. His reason to prefer an Iranian name is the position of Ptw before "Bactrian", but "Bactrian" refers to the entire phrase.

– Aramaic: Ptw: TAD D 2.12:2.

5.5.1.47 Pȝ-šr-(n)-tȝ-isw: Zauzich (apud TAD B: lii) prefers an Egyptian name Pšentasu, rendering Pȝ-šr-(n)-tȝ-isw, "son of the sheep", Gk. Ψιντεσωυτος (Dem. Nb. 263).

Zadok (1985: 174) reads Pšntsp and reconstructs *Pišant-aspa-, "with bruising horses", to Av. *pišaṇt-*.

– Aramaic: Pšntsw: TAD B 5.6:15.

5.5.1.48 Piyala: certainly Elamite, cf. the Old Elamite place name Bi-a-la^{ki} (Hinz 1971: 292; Zadok 1977c: 79).

Mayrhofer prefers an Iranian name (OnP 301).

– Elamite: Pi-ia-la: Fort. 8623:2-3; PF 1132:2, 1215-1216:2-3; PFNN 2231:2-3.

5.5.1.49 Prara: Elamite name (OnP 8.110 Zadok 1983: 104; ElW 79).

According to Hinz (ASN 20) it is a *-ra*-hypocoristic of *Aβra-.

– Elamite: Ap-ra-ra: PF 1684:4-5.

5.5.1.50 Psmṯk: this name was originally read Pi-ir-mi-iz-di. Dandamayev (1992: 114) considers it to be an Iranian name, because Psmṯk has a son named *Bagapāta-. Also Eilers (1940: 15n.6) and Hinz (ASN 177-178) mention an Ir. name. Hinz's reconstruction is *Pairimižda-, "over-wage". A collation has, however, made clear that the correct reading is Pi-sa-mi-is-ki, the expression of Eg. Psmṯk, Gk. Ψαμμήτιχος (Zadok 1976d: 215 and 1977: 94).

– Babylonian: Pi-sa-mi-is-ki: Dar. 301:17.

5.5.1.51 Ribaya / *Ribīš: Akkadian name (Delaunay 1976: 25; Lipiński 1977: 109; Stolper 1984: 305n.20). Cf. the Neo-Assyrian personal name Ri-ba-a-a (Tallqvist 1914: 186). *Ribīš is a contraction of Ribaya-.

Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1434) prefers this name to be Iranian. Hinz (ASN 196) reconstructs *Raiba-ya-, a *-ya*-extension of *Raiba-, "cunning".

– Elamite:
1) Ri-ba-a: PF 673:16, 1796:16; PFNN 698: 14, 947:13, 1730:15, 1775:16-17, 1999:28, 2004:9.
2) Ri-ba-ia: Fort. 3678:13-14; PF 670:11-12, 671:12-13, 1828:22.

[217] TAD B 3.12:3,33; TAD C 3.28:41,44,51.

3) Ri-be-a: PF 1801:17.
4) Ri-pi-iš: PF 678:14; PFNN 49:13-14.

5.5.1.52 *Rzk: underneath the visible signs Pḫ' *br* in an inscription from Edfu there are some more signs discernable. Kornfeld (1973: 133) sees an aleph. Lipiński (1975-76: 385) proposes Rzk = *Raučāka-. Yet Kornfeld (1978: 111) correctly remarks that /č/ is usually rendered by š, which excludes *Raučāka-. Degen (1978: 63-64) does not take a decision regarding this problem. In any case the photograph of the text does not support Lipiński's hypothesis.

5.5.1.53 *Sinqatēni: "Sin, (grab) our hands", Babylonian name (Delaunay 1976: 28). Hinz & Koch (ElW 1158) consider an Elamite name.

Some scholars (Gershevitch 1969: 229; ASN 224) mention Ir. *Sinkata-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of *Sinkata-, "jujube" (Sogd. *synkt*). Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1547) remains undecisive.

– Elamite: Ši-in-ka$_4$-tan-na: PF 995:4.

5.5.1.54 Sunāmā: OInd. name, meaning "well-named". An Ir. alternative could be *Çava-nāma-, "having a beautiful name", but that would be written Šu-ma-na-ma.

– Elamite: Šu-na-ma: PFNN 98:2.

5.5.1.55 Šālamana: there is disagreement among the authors as to the origin of this name. This has led to various proposals: the name may be Elamite (Hinz 1971: 298), Babylonian (Dandamayev 1975: 236), West Semitic / Arabic (Delaunay 1976: 25-26), or Moabite (Lipiński 1977: 111).

Mayrhofer (OnP 301) mentions a connection with the Av. gentilic Sairima-. According to Hinz (ASN 221) these spellings render *Sāramanah-, which is, however, unlikely.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-la-ma-an-na: PF 718:3.
2) Šá-la-ma-na: PF 168:8, 1836-1839:1; PFNN 761:1.

5.5.1.56 Šamašgirra: "Šamaš is my way" (Delaunay 1976: 26, ElW 1129).

Gershevitch (1969b: 195) and Hinz (ASN 76) mention *Çava-skra-, "having shapely shanks", but this is not plausible.

– Elamite:
1) Šá-ma-iš-ki-la: PFNN 1993:2-3.
2) Šá-ma-iš-ki-ra: PFNN 1458:2-3.

5.5.1.57 *Tȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ: Zadok (1986: 43) mentions *Taxma-pitā-, "having a valiant father", but an Egyptian name, being *Tȝ-ḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ, "servant (f.) of the land" (Segal 1983: 20) or *Tȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ, "the female falcon of the land" (Zauzich 1985: 115[218]) is more likely. The argu-

[218] Zauzich adds that the male equivalent of this name, Pȝ-ʿḥm.t-pȝ-tȝ is attested (cf. Dem. Nb. 170).

ments in favour of this hypothesis are twofold (Schmitt 1987: 153 and n.32): first of all the person bearing this name is a daughter of someone from Crete and secondly *Taxma-pitā is a male name. The fem. equivalent would be *Taxma-fθrī-, cf. Av. Ǝrədaṯ.fəδrī- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/37), Srūtaṯ.fəδrī- (ibid. I/79) and Vaŋhu.fəδrī- (ibid. I/91).

– Aramaic: Tḥmpt: TAD B 8.3:2.

5.5.1.58 *Tarḫumuwa-: Luwian name "Tarḫu is strong" (Lemaire 1989: 146-149; Moysey 1989: 109n.3; Le Rider 1997: 153 and 157-158). Probably the native name of *Dātama- (4.2.512).

Lemaire actually repeats an earlier proposal of Nöldeke (1884: 298; also Six 1884: 115-116), who had argued that the only two possible readings were Trkmw or Tdkmw. Other readings are (1) Tknmw (Fabricy 1803: 620-623), (2) Tknmg (Gesenius 1837: 281 Pl.36), (3) Trnšw (De Luynes 1846: 15-21), (4) Trdmw = Tiridames (Lenormant 1857: 157-159; Cunningham 1881: 170-171), (5) Tdnmw = Datames (Waddington 1856: 12-13) and (6) Trdmw = Tddmw = Datames (Judas 1863: 114). Babelon (1893: xxxviii-xli) believed that the Aramaic form had to be identified with *Dātama-. Harrison (1982: 182) has doubts on this theory.

– Aramaic: Trkmw: Alram 1986 335-337, 338 (Trmw), 339-343.

5.5.1.59 Teriḫiliya: Dandamayev (1992: 125) prefers a name beginning with *Tīr-. Yet the name does not look Iranian.

– Babylonian:
1) Te-ri-ḫi-li-ia: BE 10 80:7,10.
2) Te-ri-ḫi-li-iá: BE 10 80:Lo.E.

5.5.1.60 Tuzaza: probably Elamite, because of the repeated ZA (OnP 8.1671). Hinz (NW 116 and ASN 240) argues that TU nearly never appears in Achaemenid Elamite words. Nevertheless the Elamite anthroponym Te-ma-du-ú-za-za (ElW 389) enhances the possibility of an Elamite name.

Hinz (l.c.) reconstructs *Θūča-ča-, "light" (Av. *sūča-*). Gershevitch (1969: 187) reconstructs *Tūja-, with reference to Sogd. *twz*, "to pay".

– Elamite: Tu-za-za: PF 1519:2.

5.5.1.61 Ṯ3j-im-w: Egyptian name (Zadok 1979b: 173, 1985: 174 and 1992: 142).

Dandamayev (1992: 120) mentions Av. *šam-*, "to swallow", but it is highly unlikely that an Iranian name is involved. Apparently Dandamayev oversaw the occurrences of this name in the Murašû Archive (e.g. Šá-am-mu-ú in PBS 2/1 54:2), where it is clearly analyzed as an Egyptian name. Cf. also É Šá-mu-ú in TCL 12 85:3 (551 BC).

– Babylonian: Šá-am-mu-ú: OECT 10 192:14, 285:4'.

5.5.1.62 Urssme-: this name has nothing to do with Arssãma-, Ir. *Aršāma- (Schmitt 1982c: 375 and 1982d: IV/25), as Imbert (1891: 113) believed.

– Lycian: Urssme-: TL 113:1.

5.5.1.63 W3ḥ-ib-rᶜ: Egyptian name (Zadok 1989-90: 274). Cf. 5.4.2.52.

Zadok (1976d: 214 and 1977: 111) reconstructs *(H)uvā-frya-, "very dear".

– Babylonian:
1) Ú-ma-'-pi-ri-ia: EE 35:4.
2) Ú-ma-aḫ-pa-re-e: BE 10 81:6.
3) Ú-ma-aḫ-par-re-e: VS 3 190:11.
4) Ú-maḫ-pa-re-e: TCL 13 187:14.

5.5.1.64 Zabbara: Elamite name (ElW 1274).

Based on Av. *zafar-*, "mouth" Gershevitch (1969: 248) reconstructs *Zafara-. Later (1969b: 199; also OnP 8.1808) he identifies it with *Zabarna- (cf. 4.2.2034). Hinz (ASN 71) prefers *Čapa-ra-, to NP *čap*, "left".

– Elamite: Zab-ba-ra: PF 17:4.

5.5.1.65 Zaχabaha: not Iranian, as Gusmani argued (1971: 7), but genitive of Zaχaba- (Schmitt 1982c: 387 and 1982d: IV/28).

– Lycian: Zaχabaha: NAWG 1978/1 134a-b.

5.5.2. Geographical names

5.5.2.1 Kupirka: perhaps *Kufr-ka-, *-ka*-extension of *Kufr-, "pitch, bitumen" (Koch 1977: 70; ElW 517), Hinz (NW 152; ASN 153) prefers *Kufrkāna-, "pitch mine". Cf. 5.5.3.10-11.

– Elamite: Ku-pír-ka$_4$-an (loc.): PF 1949:2,10-11,16, 2002:6,12.

5.5.2.2 Kupriya: perhaps **kufri-ya-*, "pitch-worker" (ASN 153). Another possibility, however, is Ir. **Kupriya-* or **Kufriya-*, "Cyprus, Cypriote" (Koch 1993: 39).

– Elamite: Ku-pír-ri-ia-iš/ip: PT 54:5, 55:5-6; PFNN 1612:4-5, 1888:6-7, 2409:4.

5.5.2.3 *Kuf/prīš: < *Kuf/priya-: probably "Cypriote" (Koch 1993: 39), but possibly connected with **kufru-*, "pitch" (ASN 153).

– Elamite: Ku-pír-ri-iš: PT 49:5-6.

5.5.2.4 Siluka-: Lydian toponym (Silverman 1974: 271; Lipiński 1975: 158-159).

Levine (1972: 73n.29) wants to recognize Ir. *Sāra-ka-.

– Aramaic: Srwk: KAI 260:4.

5.5.2.5 Wedewi-: most likely Lycian, possibly a scribal error (Mørkholm & Neumann 1979: 20), but rather a gentilic (Schmitt 1982c: 387 and 1982d: IV/27).

Shahbazi's (1975: 151) Iranian etymology (*dewi* = *daiva-*) is unrealistic.

– Lycian: Wedewi: NAWG 1978/1 148.

5.5.3. Loanwords

5.5.3.1 'Dyn: "afterwards, then", Aramaic word (TAD B: 151).

Earlier on this expression was read ʾRyn, a rendering of *Arya-āna-, an *-āna-* patronymic of a retrenchment of an *Arya-name (Segal 1983: 49; Zadok 1987: 151). Other proposals are *Aryaina and *Aryāyana-.

– Aramaic: ʾdyn: TAD B 8.1:8.

5.5.3.2 Apša: Elamite word meaning "$^1/_5$" (ElW 79).

Hinz (ASN 24) relates it to Av. *afša-*, "loss".

– Elamite: ap-šá: PFNN 2261:7,10,14,15.

5.5.3.3 ʾŠrh: "sanctuary" (Lipiński 1975: 155; also DNWSI 129).

Bogoljubov (1973: 107-108) reads *ʾtdt* and reconstructs **antā-dāta-* or **ăta-dāta-*, with reference to OInd. *ắta-*, "frame of a door" and Av. *qiθiia-* < **anθiia-*. He also mentions Sogd. *pδynd*, "threshold", < **pati-anta-*.

– Aramaic: ʾšrh: KAI 260:3.

5.5.3.4 Basram: "hammer", Elamite word (ElW 125-126).

Gershevitch (1969b: 167) reconstructs **baθra-*, "shovel, spade", to Baluči *bard*. This is, however, not likely, because in the same text El. at-ti, which also means "shovel", appears.

– Elamite: ba-is-ra-um: PF 335:1.

5.5.3.5 Duka: Elamite expression meaning "wall coverer" (ElW 366), cf. Middle Elamite du-ka$_4$-ka$_4$.

Gershevitch (apud Cameron 1965: 175) believes in a derivation from Av. *tūtuk-*, "clay". Hinz (ASN 238) remains undecisive.

– Elamite:

1) du-ka$_4$-be (pl.): PT 68:5, 68a:6, 76:5, 1957-3:5.
2) du-uk-kaš-be (pl.): PT 1957-4:8.

5.5.3.6 Haduš: most likely an Elamite construction ha du-š (always in combination with *ha duka*), with *ha* being an adverb meaning "here" and *du-š* a conjugated form of the verb *du-*, "to receive" (Giovinazzo 1989b: 12-15). It should be stressed that the spelling ha-du-iš covers more expressions. Except for the one discussed here there is also ha-du-iš, which is related to small cattle.

According to Koch (apud ElW 586) ha-du-iš, as well as its related spellings ha-du-ia(-iš) and ha-du-mi-ia, must be Old Persian, perhaps **ādu-š*, "seed" (ElW 586). Its real meaning is "harvest".

– Elamite: ha-du-iš: PF 410:10-11, 546:6, 547-548:2 and in all so-called G-texts, 1953:41, 1955:17, 1956:18, 1957:27, 1958:8, 1959:5, 1960:17, 1961:12,21, 1962:5, 1963:15,21, 1964:10, 1965:11,17,23, 1987:19, 1988:22, 1989-1990:1, 1991:6, 1992:1, 1994:2, 1998:1, 2000-2002:1.

5.5.3.7 Harrinu: Elamite noun, meaning "peasant labourer" (ElW 635).

Hinz (ASN 36) thought he was dealing with the gentilic *Arinyā (from *Arina-), but this hypothesis is wrong.

– Elamite:

1) hal-li-nu-ib-ba: PFa 31:2-3.

2) hal-li-nu-ip: PF 1603:9; PFNN 2261:17,19-20,27, 2344:5.
3) ha-ri-nu-ip: Fort. 1639:9; PF 1052:3, 1053-1054:4, 1153:9-10; PFNN 1223:4-5, 1431:3.
4) har-ri-nu-ha-ip: PF 1531:6-7.
5) har-ri-nu-ib-ba: PFNN 2145:5.
6) har-ri-nu-ip: PF 870:5, 996-997:3, 998:2-3, 1051:3, 1055:4, 1086-1087:5, 1088:6, 1091:7, 1125:6, 1165:8, 1171:9, 1172:7-8, 1193-1194:5; PFNN 408:5-6, 529:4-5, 610:2-3, 1434:3, 1500:4-5, 1540:5, 2249:4, etc. in PFNN.

5.5.3.8 Ḫaṭru: von Soden (AHw 337 and 1966: 10-11) believed it was an Aramaic loanword and this seems to be corroborated by Beaulieu (1988) who shows that the word is already attested in 544 BC., i.e. before the Persian conquest. In all likelihood it is a Semitic word.

Livšic (1979: 98-99) argues that Ir. *hāθra-*, an abstractum of Av. *hā-*, "to connect" is involved.

– Babylonian:

1) ḫa-aṭ-ri: BE 9 60:8, 94:3; BE 10 17:9, 26:4, 45:3, etc. in BE 10; EE 68:5; IMT 33:9, 54:10; Mich 43:3; PBS 2/1 33:6, 51:6, 101:9, etc. in PBS 2/1; TuM 2/3 124:3, 183:5, 184:10, 187:6, 188:5.
2) ḫa-aṭ-ru: PBS 2/1 220:4.
3) ḫa-tár: PBS 2/1 128:2.
4) ḫa-ṭa-at-ri: PBS 2/1 198:4. Inaccurate spelling.
5) ḫa-ṭa-ri: BE 10 5:4, 14:4, 90:3; PBS 2/1 3:8,18, 185:4, 189:6; TuM 2/3 181:3.

5.5.3.9 Kašbah: Elamite word meaning "parrot" (ElW 418).

Hinz (ASN 151) believes the expression to be related to NP *kāh*, "straw".

– Elamite: ka$_4$-iš-ba-h: PF 1197:4-5.

5.5.3.10 Kupripatiš: possibly **kufri-pati-š*, "chief of the pitch-workers" (ASN 153), but again "chief of the Cypriotes" is a more acceptable alternative (Koch 1993: 39n.138). Cf. 5.5.2.1.

– Elamite: ku-pi-ri-bat-ti-iš: PFNN 851:4-5.

5.5.3.11 Kupru: "bitumen, pitch", Akkadian word.

According to Gershevitch (1951-52: 139) and Hinz (ASN 153) **kufru-* is an Iranian word (NP *kurf*, "liquid pitch"), also attested in Semitic languages. Nonetheless the Akkadian lexeme occurs from the Old Babylonian period onwards, as a consequence of which it seems to be the original form, borrowed by the Iranian-speaking people. Cf. 5.5.2.1.

– Elamite: ku-pi-ri-um(-hu-ut-ti-ra): PT 11:3-4.

5.5.3.12 Nikutna: "together" (Elamite; ElW 1000).

Hinz (ASN 172) reads ni-tar-na and reconstructs **naiδarna-* (Av. *naēza-*, "a heap").

– Elamite: ni-kut-na: PF 161:4.

5.5.3.13 Ñtipa: Neumann (1969: 377; also Schmitt 1982c: 386) has serious doubts on an Iranian origin of this expression. In all likelihood the word is not Iranian.

According to Thomsen (1899: 13) this is a rendering of Ir. *dipi-*, "inscription".

– Lycian: ñtipa: TL 88:3, 124:3-4.

5.5.3.14 Pty: Bowman (1970: 63 and 113) assigns to *pty* a meaning "value" (Av. *paiti-* and OP *patiy*). Yet this is untrue: not the value is indicated, but the width, the cross-cut. Accordingly it is an Aramaic expression (Bogoljubov 1973: 174; Naveh & Shaked 1973: 455-456; Degen 1974: 126; DNWSI 951).

– Aramaic: pty: Pers 43:4, 114:3.

5.5.3.15 Qīpu: Stolper (pers. comm. 3/5/2000) points out that this expression should be read TIL.GÍD.DA, the Sumerogram for *qīpu*, "official". Accordingly it cannot render Ir. **piθfa-dā-*, "ration-giver", as Zadok assumes (1976c: 215, reading *pít-pu-da*).

– Babylonian: TIL.GÍD.DA: CT 4 27c:3,5,8.

5.5.3.16 Śfarva-: "monument", Lydian word (Gusmani 1964: 203; Lipiński 1975: 157-158; DNWSI 801).

Bogoljubov (1974b: 108) reads *spbr* and believes to recognize here the Old Iranian equivalent of OInd. *śvábhra-*, "pit, hole", assuming, however, that the scribe made a slight mistake. Nevertheless it is always better to accept the expression as it appears in the text and to prefer here a reading *sprb*.

– Aramaic: sprb: KAI 260:3.

5.5.3.17 Tȝ dry.t rsy.t: According to Yaron (1957: 49) it renders Gk. *δώρημα*. In all likelihood, however, one should read *dryrsy*, a denotation of Eg. *tȝ ry.t rsy.t* (TAD B: xxiii; Porten 1996: 238n.8), "southern room". This explanation corresponds with the context in a better way.

Kraeling (1953: 240) reads *ddymy*, adding that this is not a Semitic word. Bogoljubov (1967b: 8) wants to reconstruct an Iranian expression **dadāyam-ayahyā-*, with **dadāyam* as an impf. without augment (from **dadā-*, "to give" and *ayahyā* as the genitive of *aya-*, "this"). The same author later (1971b: 283-284) reads **dadāyam-ahyāi*, with **ahyāi-* as the gen.-dat. of a demonstrative pronoun *a-* (cf. HdA 67). Hinz (ASN 22 and 25) corrects this word into **adadāyam-ahyāi*.

– Aramaic: dryrsy: TAD B 3.10:3.

5.5.3.18 Tidda: "report", Elamite word (Koch 1983: 31n.77). Hinz (ASN 88) believed it to be **didā-*, "fortress" in the combination with El. *hutt-*, "to do", as a consequence of which he translates "mason" (lit. "fortress-builder"), but that has been proven wrong.

– Elamite: ti-ud-da: PF 1092:5-6, 1110-1111:4-5, 1530:5-6, 1552:3-4, 1794:6, 1944:24,28; PFNN 497:5-6, 727:4-5, 871:5-6, 1441:3, 2210:4-5, 2523:6-7, 2527:3-4, 2577:3-4 ([ti]-ud-da).

6 LIST OF GODS AND (SEMI-)MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES ATTESTED IN PROPER NAMES

Āçi-, Fire god: OP equivalent of Āθr-	*Āçiča-, *Āçidāta-, *Āçika-, *Āçima-, *Āçina-, *Āçipāta-, *Āçuka-
Ahura- / Aura-, "lord": OInd. *ásura-*, "divine, powerful", Av. *ahura-*, OPs *aura-*	*Aura-, *Auradāta-, *Haxāuriš, *Aurikāma-
Ama-, "strong": name of a goddess	*Amadasma-, *Amadāta-, *Amāvanya-
Ārmati-, "proper thinking": Av. *ārmati-*	*Ārmati-, *Ārmatidāta-
Aša-, "Truth, Arta": Av. *aša-*	*Ašasaraya-
Ātṛ-, Fire god: Av. *ātar-*, *ātərə-*, *ātr-*	*Ātṛbānuš, *Ātṛbāzu-, *Ātṛbṛzana-, *Ātṛčiça-, *Ātṛčiθra-, *Ātṛdāta-, *Ātṛfarnā, *Ātṛka-, *Ātṛpāna-, *Ātṛpāta-, *Ātṛrāta-, *Ātṛvaxša-, *Vahyātṛva-
Āθr-, Fire god	Āθrina-
Baga-, "god, Baga": OInd. *bhága-*, "lord, master (said of gods)", Av. *bayа-*, OP *baga-*, MP *bay*, Parth. *bg*, Sogd. *βγ*	*Baga-, *Bagabāduš, *Bagabāma-, *Bagabanda-, *Bagabanza-, *Bagabasta-, *Bagabauga-, *Bagabāzu-, Bagābigna-, *Bagabṛdiš, *Bagabṛta-, Bagabuxša-, *Bagačiθra-, *Bagadāna-, *Bagadantuš, *Bagadātă-, *Bagadauça-, *Bagadautā, *Bagadāyuš, *Bagadušta-, *Bagafarnā, *Bagafarnaya-, *Bagafradāta-, *Bagafravartiš, *Bagagaya-, *Baga(h)uvīra-, *Bagaiča-, *Bagaina-, *Bagaka-,

	*Bagakāma-, *Bagakāna-, *Bagama-, *Bagamihra-, *Bagamiša-, *Bagamkāma-, *Bagamṛždya-, *Bagamsaka-, *Bagāna-, *Bagānika-, *Bagapā-, *Bagapāça-, *Bagapāka-, *Bagapāna-, *Bagapāta, *Bagapātāta-, *Bagārāsta-, *Bagaratuš, *Bagaraučā, *Bagarēvastă-, *Bagasaka-, *Bagaspāda-, *Bagasravā, *Bagāšta-, *Bagāta-, *Bagātaumāna-, *Bagātvana-, *Bagauka-, *Bagāupama-, *Bagāuparša-, *Bagāvahišta-, *Bagāvahuš, *Bagāvahyā, *Bagavanra-, *Bagavara-, *Bagavarda-, *Bagavardāna-, *Bagavarniš, *Bagavarθa-, *Bagavauš, *Bagavīra-, *Bagavrāda-, *Bagaxaya-, *Bagaya-, *Bagayāsa-, *Bagayāza-, *Bagazauša-, *Bagazušta-, *Bageča-, *Bagēna-, *Bagērapa-, *Bagēsa-, *Bagiča-, *Bagičīš (GN), *Bagōka-, *Bagōpama-, *Bagōrvāθā-, *Bagupaisa-, *Haθēbaga-, *Haθyabaga-, *Hidabaga-, *Miçabaga-, *Mōdabaga-, *Sūbagiya-
Dṛvan-: OP equivalent of *Zṛvan-	*Dṛvapāta-
Fan-, "sun": cf. (H)uvan-	*Fanuka-
Fravartiš, "guardian angel": Av. Frauuaši-	*Fravartipāta-, Fravartiš
Gaya-: the first man on earth	*Bagāgaya-, *Mazdāgaya-
Gayadā-, "Life-Bestower", epithet of the god Mitra, cf. Av. Gaiio-dā-	*Gēdāstiš, *Gēdāta-

Hauma-, "haoma-plant": OInd. *sóma-*, Av. *haoma-*, MP and NP *hōm*	*Haumadāna-, *Haumadāta-, *Haumakă-, *Haumataxma-, *Haumavarga-, *Haumayāsa-
(H)uvan- (OP), sun god: Old Persian equivalent of **xvan-*	*(H)uvančanā (PN and GN), *(H)uvandāta-, *(H)uvankata- (GN), *(H)uvanpāka-
(H)uvar- (OP), sun god: Av. *huuar-*	*(H)uvarasa-, *(H)uvarbānu-, *(H)uvarčanā, *(H)uvarčinā (GN), *(H)uvardāta-, *(H)uvarīra- (DN), *(H)uvarvēsa-
Indra-: OInd. Índra-, Av. Indra-[219]	*Indraka- (GN)
Māhi-, "moon": OInd. *mắs-*, Av., OP, MP and NP *māh-*, Sogd. *m'γ* and *m'x*, Bactrian *μαο*	*Māhībaujana-, *Māhīdāta-, *Māidāta-, *Māidātika-, *Māivuka-, *Māiyēča-
Manuš: Avestan hero, cf. OInd. *manu-*, "humanity"	*Manubara-, *Manuča-, *Manuš, *Manuša-, *Manuška-, *Manuštana-, *Manuyă- (PN and GN)
Mazdā-, "wisdom": OInd. *medhā-*, OP *mazdā-*	*Mazdābigna-, *Mazdāčiθra-, Mazdādāta-, *Mazdāgaya-, *Mazdāguš (GN), *Mazdāiča-, *Mazdāka-, *Mazdāya-, *Mazdayašna-, *Mazdayazna-, *Mazdēča-, *Mazduka-, *Ṛtamazdā-
Miça-, "treaty": OP equivalent of *Miθra-*, Sogd. *myš*	*Arbamiça-, *Dātamiça-, *Miça-, *Miçabāduš, *Miçabaga-, *Miçabara-, *Miçaina-, *Miçaka-, *Miçāna-, *Miçanāfa-, *Miçapāta-, *Miçāta-, *Miçayāna-, *Miçēča-, *Miçēna-, *Miçuka-
Miθra-, "treaty": OInd. *mitrá-*, Av. *miθra-*, MP and NP *mihr*, Parth. *myhr*, Sogd. *myδr*	*Arbamihra-, *Arbamiθra-, *Bagamihra-, *Dātamiθra-, *Mazāmiθra-, *Mihraya-, *Miθra-, *Miθrabānuš, *Miθrabara-, *Miθrabaujana-, *Miθrabṛzana-, *Miθračinā, *Miθrada-, *Miθradāta-, *Miθrafarnā, *Miθraina-,

[219] Cf. Malandra (2004) for more information on this god.

	*Miθraka-, *Miθrāna-, *Miθranamā, *Miθrapāna-, *Miθrapāta-, *Miθrasara-, *Miθrāta-, *Miθrātēna-, *Miθrātiš, *Miθraupastā-, *Miθrāvahišta-, *Miθravanta-, *Miθravasa-, *Miθraxa-, *Miθraya-, *Miθrayazna-, *Miθrēna-, *Miθriča-, *Miθriš, *Ṛtamiça-, *Ṛtamīš
Naryasanga-: OInd. Narāśáṃsa-, Av. Nairiiō.saŋha-	*Naryasanga-, *Narēsanga-
Rašnu-, "just, rightful": Av. *rašnu-*	*Rašnubara-, *Rašnuča-, *Rašnudāta-, *Rašnuka-
Rauxšna-, "light, shining": Av. *raoxšna-*, MP *rōšn*, NP *rošan*	*Rauxšna-, *Rauxšnadāta-, *Rauxšnapāta-
Ṛta-, "Arta, Justice, Truth, Right Order": OInd. *ṛta-*, Av *arəta-* and *aša-*, OP *arta-*	Ạrtavardiya-, *Ạrtavarziya-, Ạrtaxšaça-, *Fraitašē- (GN), *Ṛta-, *Ṛtaba-, *Ṛtabāduš, *Ṛtabāma-, *Ṛtabānuš, *Ṛtabara-, *Ṛtabauxša-, *Ṛtabaya-, *Ṛtabṛta-, *Ṛtabṛzana-, *Ṛtabuga-, *Ṛtabuxša-, *Ṛtačanā, *Ṛtačinā, *Ṛtadāta-, *Ṛtafarnā, *Ṛtafrāda-, *Ṛtafrādīš, *Ṛtafravara-, *Ṛtagāθu-, *Ṛtāhumanā, *Ṛtahvāθra-, *Ṛtaiča-, *Ṛtaina-, *Ṛtaiša-, *Ṛtaka-, *Ṛtakača-, *Ṛtakāma-, *Ṛtakāntiš, *Ṛtakava- *Ṛtama-, *Ṛtamaka-, *Ṛtamanā, *Ṛtamanθra-, *Ṛtamanyuš, *Ṛtāmazdā-, *Ṛtambara-, *Ṛtamiça-, *Ṛtamisa-, *Ṛtamīš, *Ṛtanāfa-, *Ṛtapā-, *Ṛtapāna-, *Ṛtāparva-, *Ṛtāparvya-, *Ṛtapāta-, *Ṛtarana-, *Ṛtaraučā, *Ṛtaravā, *Ṛtarēva-, *Ṛtasara-, *Ṛtaspāda-, *Ṛtastūnā-, *Ṛtasūra-, *Ṛtašātiš, *Ṛtašyātiš, *Ṛtātaxma-, *Ṛtāθūra-, *Ṛtāufrya-, *Ṛtāuma-,

	*Ṛtāumanā, *Ṛtāupā-, *Ṛtāupama-, *Ṛtāupāya-, *Ṛtausā, *Ṛtāvahuçūtīš, *Ṛtāvahuš, *Ṛtāvahyā, *Ṛtavana-, *Ṛtavanta-, *Ṛtavanuš, *Ṛtāvanya-, *Ṛtavarmā, *Ṛtavarθa-, *Ṛtavaθāna-, *Ṛtavauš, *Ṛtavāzā, *Ṛtavāzaya-, *Ṛtavēθa-, *Ṛtavinda-, *Ṛtaviša-, *Ṛtaxaya-, *Ṛtaxma-, *Ṛtaxraθuš, *Ṛtaxšara-, *Ṛtaxšayāršā, *Ṛtāxšēta-, *Ṛtaxšī-, *Ṛtaxširaça-, *Ṛtaya-, *Ṛtazušta-, *Ṛtēča-, *Ṛtēna-, *Ṛtēša-, *Ṛtēštiya-, *Ṛtima-, *Ṛtimaka-, *Ṛtimīš, *Ṛtōča-, *Ṛtōnara-, *Ṛtōniyā-, *Ṛtōpama-, *Ṛtuka-
Tīra-, *Tīrī-, *Tīrya-: god of writing	*Tīra-, *Tīradāta-, *Tīrakāma-, *Tīrāna-, *Tīraya-, *Tīrībāzu-, *Tīrīdāta-, *Tīrīfarnā, *Tīrīkāma-, *Tīrīspāda-, *Tīrīvā-, *Tīryadāta-, *Tīryafarnā, *Tīryāma-, *Tīryapāta-, *Tīryāvauš
Vāta-, god of the wind: OInd. *vā́ta-*, Av. *vāta-*	*Vātafradāta-, *Vātapāna-
Xumba-: cf. the Av. PN Xuṇbiia- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/101)	*Zāvarxumba-
Xvan- (East Ir.), "sun": Av. *x"an-*. East Ir. equivalent of (H)uvan-	*Xvanbānuš, *Xvandāta-, *Xvanpaiθa-
Xvar-, sun god: East Iranian equivalent of (H)uvar-	*Xvarapāta-, *Xvarfarnā, *Xvarzušta-
Vačah-, "word": Av. *vačah-*	*Vačadāta-, *Vačaxaya-, *Vačayaza-
Yama-, mythological king: cf. OInd. Yamá- and Av. Yima-	*Yama-, *Yamabāga- (GN), *Yamaka-, *Yamašāta-, *Yamaxšēta-
Zarat/θuštra-: Av. Zaraθuštra- cf. Mayrhofer (1979: I/105-106)	*Zarat/θuštriš
Zṛvan-, "Time", cf. glossary	*Zrūtōxmā

7 LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES ATTESTED IN PROPER NAMES

Arya-, "Iranian": OInd. *arya-*, "noble person, master", Av. Airiia-, OP Arya-	*Arēbṛdana-, *Arēča-, *Arēkāma-, *Arēna-, *Arēvada-, *Arēvauna-, *Arēzantu-, *Arī- (GN), *Arīčiθra- (GN), Arya- (GN), *Aryačiça- (GN), (*)Aryāramna- (PN and GN), *Aryabāma-, *Aryaiča-, *Aryaina-, *Aryamanā, *Aryāna-, *Aryāpāna-, *Aryarā-, *Aryastāna-, *Aryāstu-, *Aryāujaka-, *Aryaupama-, *Aryaušta-, *Aryavrata-, *Aryavṛta-, *Aryuka-, *Ta(h)mārīš
Daha-: OInd. *dāsá-*, "enemy, servant", Khot. *daha-*, "man", NP *dāh*, Waxi *dāi*	*Dā- (GN), *Daha- (PN and GN), *Dahačaka-
Haraiva-, "Aria"	*Halēva-, *Harēva-, *Haraya-
Haraxvatī-, "Arachosia"	*Haraxūtīš
Hindu-, "India": OInd. Sindhu-	*Hindaukă̆-, *Hindukă̆-, *Hinduš
Māda-, "Media": OP Māda-	*Mādă̆-, *Mādafarnā, *Mādakă̆-, *Mādāspa-, *Mādika-
Maišāna-: MP Mēšān	*Maišāna-, *Mēšāna-
Maka-	*Makă̆-
Nisāya-	*Naisāya-
Pārsa-, "Persia(n)"	*Badrapārsa-, *Pārsa-, *Pārsaya-
Parθa-, "Parthian"	*Parθara-, *Parθauka-, *Parθōka-
Pātišuvariš	*Pātišuvariš
Ragā-	*Rajiya-, *Rajiyaka-
Saka-, "Scythia(n)"	*Saka-, *Sakāna-, *Sakiča-, *Sakima-, *Sakina-, *Sakiš, *Sakita-
Sigrya-, "Sigurian": cf. Av. *sīγūriia-* in *sīγūire.čiθra-*, "of Sigurian origin"	*Sigrya-

Skudra-	*Skudra-
Sug(u)da- (Sogdia), "burnt": Sogd. *swγt*, "burnt", Oss. *sugdæg*	*Sug(u)da-, *Sug(u)diya-
Θataguš, "Sattagydia"	*Θataguš

8 GLOSSARY

8.1 Lexical Elements

A

Abda-, "excellent": Av. *abda-*, MP *abd.*
Abigna-, "attacking power": cf. Av. *auui-gan-*, "to cut down".
Abistāvana-, "estate": MP *awestān*, NP *ustān.*
Abištāfta-: past part. of MP *awištāftan*, "to suppress".
[1]Abra-, "cloud": OInd. *abhrá-*, Av. *aβra-.*
[2]Abra-, "dark-coloured": cf. *[1]abra-* (Gershevitch 1969: 179).
Ābṛta-, "bringer of water": Av. *ābərət-* < **āp-bərət-.*
Ābū-, "assistant, helper": OInd. *ābhū-.*
Ādā-, "reward": Av. *ādā-.*
Ādāta- (OP), "noble": OP equivalent of Av. *āzāta-.*
Adri-, "rock": OInd. *ádri-*, cf. OP Arakadriš.
Afuv-, (1) "belly" (Bailey 1960: 14), (2) "fear" (Hoffmann 1955: 82-84): OP *afuvā-.*
Agāma-, "festival": Sogd. *'γ'm, 'γm.*
Āgriya-, "loyal": OP *āgriya-.*
Āhitā, "defiled": OInd. *ásita-*, Av. *āhita-.*
A(h)ura-, "lord": OInd. *ásura-*, "divine, powerful", Av. *ahura-*, OPs *aura-.*
Aisma-, "(holy) firewood": OInd. *idhmá-*, Av. *aēsma-*, NP *hēzum.*
Aiš-, "to look for": OInd. *[1]eṣ-*, Av. *aēš-.*
Aiθ- (OP), "to be lord": OP equivalent of **ais-* (Av. *aēs-*).
Aiza-, "wish, desire": OInd. *eh-*, "to desire", Av. *aēzah-.*
Alī-, "unfaithful": *l*-equivalent of **arīka-* (OInd. *alīka-*, OP *arīka-*, Sogd. *ryk*).
Ama-, "strength, power": OInd. *áma-*, "impetuosity, strength", Av. *ama-.*
Anda-, "blind": OInd. *andhá-*, Av. *anda-.*
Angma-, "bracelet": cf. Av. *qγmō.paiδī-*, "wearing bracelets on her feet" (Gershevitch 1969: 177).
Anti-, "breathing": Av. *anti-.*
Anθa-, "share": OInd. *áṁsa-.*
Anzū-, "narrow": OInd. *aṁhu-*, Av. *qzah-*, "narrowing", MP *hanzūg* (cf. Henning 1963: 196), Parth. *'njwg*, Arm. *anjuk.*
Āp-, "water": OInd. *áp-*, Av. *ap̆-*, OP *āpi-*, MP and NP *āb*, Sogd. *''p.*
Apakava-, "having a bump": Av. *apakauua-.*
Apama-, "the last": OInd. *apamá-*, Av. *apama-* and *apəma-.*
Apara-, "later": OInd. *ápara-*, Av. and OP *apara-.*
Āpāta-, "cultivated": MP *ābādān*, "prosperous, cultivated", NP *ābād*, Arm. *apat.*
Ar-, "to set oneself in motion": Av. *ar-.*
Ara-, "wild, mad": derivation from Proto-Ir. **ar-*, "to be wild" (Bailey 1961: 474-477).
Aram-, "in the right way": OInd. *áram*, Av. *ar̆ǝm.*

Arba-, "juvenile, child, young": OInd. *arbha-* and *arbhaka-*, "child, young".
Ardra-, "loyal": Av. *arədra-*.
Arg-, "to be valuable, worthy": OInd. *árh-*, "to be worthy of", Av. *arəg-*, "to be valuable", NP *arzīdan*, "to be worth".
Arja-, "valuable": Av. *arəjah-*.
Arna-, "battle, fight": OInd. *árṇa-*, Av. *arəna-*.
Arti-, "reward": Av. *arəti-*.
Aruna-, "reddish brown": OInd. *aruṇá-*, "reddish brown, tawny", Av. *auruna-*, "brown".
Aruša-, "white": OInd. *aruṣá-*, Av. *auruša-*.
Ar(u)vasta-, "physical prowess": OP *ar(u)vasta-*.
Arva(nta)-, "swift, fast": OInd. *árvant-*, Av. *auruua-* and *auruuaṇt-*, MP *arwand*.
Arza-, "battle": Av. *arəza-*.
Asa- (OP), "horse": OInd. *áśva-*, OP *asa-*.
Asa(n)- (Med.), "stone": OInd. *áśan-*, Av. and OP *asan-*, MP and NP *sang*.
Asanga- (Med.), "stone": Av. *asənga-*.
Asman-, "stone": OInd. *áśman-*, Av. *asman-*.
Aspa- (Med.), "horse": Median equivalent of OP *asa-*; Av. *aspa-*, Sogd. *'sp*.
Aspṛna-, "entire, whole": Av. *aspərənah-*, "completeness".
Ast-, "bone(s)": OInd. *ásthi-*, Av. *ast(i)-*, MP and NP *ast*, Sogd. *'stk*.
Asta-, "homestead": Av. *asta-*.
Asti-, "guest": OInd. *átithi-*, Av. *asti-*.
Astu, "may he be": imper. 3 sg. of *ah-*, "to be"; OInd. *ástu*, Av. *astū*.
Āsu-, "swift, quick": OInd. *āśú-*, Av. *āsu-*, Sogd. *''s'wk*, Khot. *āskä-*, NP *āhu*.
Asura-, "tusk": Av. *asura-* (Gershevitch, apud Zadok 1976b: 76n23).
Āšta-, "messenger": Av. *āšta-*.
Aštrā-, "whip": OInd. *áṣṭrā-*, Av. *aštrā-*.
Āṭr-, "fire": Av. *ātar-*, *ātərə-* (most frequent), *ātr-*. Cf. *āç-* and *āθr-*.
Aθarvan-, "priest": OInd. *átharvan-*. Cf. **aθravan-*.
Āθi-, "fear, distress": Av. *āθi-*.
Āθiya-/āθī-, "fear, distress": *-ya*-extension of *āθi-* (Gershevitch 1969: 190).
Āθravan-, "priest": Av. *āθrauuan-*. Cf. **aθarvan-*.
Augah-, "power, strength": OInd. *ójas-*, Av. *aogah-*.
Aujah-, "power, strength": OInd. *ójas-*, Av. *aojah-*.
Auš-, "to burn": Proto-Ir. **auš-*, cf. Zāzā *vəš-* and Arm. *atrowšan*, "fire temple".
Auta-, "cold": Av. *aota-*.
Avah-, "water": Av. *auuah-*.
Avārya-, "irresistible": OInd. *avārya-* (e.g. *avārya-kratu-*, "of irresisitible power").
Axšaina-, "blue-green": Av. *axšaēna-* (Morgenstierne 1927: 74; Bailey 1951: 194; Duchesne-Guillemin 1960: 96-97), OP *axšaina-*, Pašto *šīn* (Morgenstierne, l.c.).
Axšiya-, "to hurl": cf. Oss. *æxsin*.
Āxšti-, "peace": Av. *āxšti-*.
Axštra-, "oversight": cf. Av. *aiβi-āxš-*, "to supervise" and *aiβi-āxštar-*, "supervisor".
Ay-, "to go": OInd., Av. and OP *ay-*.
Ayah-, "metal": OInd. *áyas-*, Av. *aiiah-*.
Ayană-, "travel route": OInd. *áyana-*, Av. *aiiană-*.
Ayaska-, "without disease": Av. *aiiaska-*.
Āyu-, "long time, long life": OInd. *āyuṣ-*, "life, vital power, vigour" and *āyú-*, "a living being", Av. *āiiu-*, "life, (old) age".
Āza-, "pointing": Av. *āza-*.
Āzāta-, "noble, free": Av. *āzāta-*, "noble", MP *āzād*, "free", NP *āzād*, Arm. *azat*.

B

Bāda-, "strong, firm": OInd. *bāḍhá-*, Av. *bązah-*, "strength, firmness".
Badra-, "happy": OInd. *bhadrá-*, Av. *hubaδra-*.
Bādu- (OP), "arm": OP equivalent of **bāzu-*; MP *b'dwky*.
Bāga-, "share, allotted plot of land, garden": OInd. *bhāga-*, "part, portion, allotment", Av. *bag-*, "to divide" and *baga-*, "share, part", MP *bāγ*, "garden", Sogd. *b'γ*, "garden, plot of land", NP *bāġ*.
Bagavanta-, "happy": OInd. *bhágavat-*, "fortunate, prosperous".
Bahya-, "quince": cf. MP *bēh*, NP *beh*.
Bāma-, "light, lustre, splendour": OInd. *bhā́ma-*, Av. *bāma-*, MP *b'm*.
Bāmya-, "shining": Av. *bāmiia-*.
[1]Band-, "to bind": PIE **b^{h}end^{h}-*, OInd. *bandh-*, Av., OP, MP and NP *band*, Parth. *bnd*, Sogd. *βynd*, Khot. *bāñ-*, Chor. *βncȳ*.
[2]Band- (OP), "to support, strengthen": OP equivalent of **banz-*.
Banda-, "connection": OInd. *bandhá-*, "bond", Av. *banda-*, MP and NP *band*.
Bandaka-, "servant": OP *bandaka-*, MP *bandag*.
Bandu-, "relatives, kin": cf. OInd. *bándhu-*, "kinship".
Banga-, "hemp": OInd. *bhaṅgă-*, "hemp, cannabis sativa", Av. *baṇgha-*.
Bānu-, "beam, lustre, light": OInd. *bhānú-*, Av. *bānu-*.
Banz-, "to support, strengthen": Median equivalent of **[2]band-*. Cf. Proto-Iranian **dvanz-*, Av. *(də)bąz-*, Parth. *bz*, Oss. *bæzzun*.
Bara-, "bearing, carrying, esteeming": OInd. *bhára-*, Av. and OP *bara-*.
Bāra-, "rider": derivation from OP *bar-*, "to carry".
[1]Barva-, "to devour, chew": OInd. *bhárv-*, Av. *aš.baoruua-*, "where there is much to eat".
[2]Barva-, "to cherish": derivation from *bar-*, "to carry", cf. *tarva-*, "prevailing" (of *tar-*).
Basta-, "supported": past participle of **band-*, Av. *bąz-*, "to support".
Bāta-, "wine": MP *bādag*.
Bauda-, "fragrant, odoriferous": cf. Av. *baod-*, "to smell".
Baug-, "to release": Av. *baog-*.
Bauj-, "to release". OInd. *bhuj-*.
Baujana-, "benefit, profit": OInd. *bhójana-*, "benefit, profit".
Baura-, "red-brown": MP *bōr*.
Bauša-, "release": Av. *baoša-*.
Bauxša-, "releasing": derivation from **baug-*.
Baxš-, "to bestow, dispense": Av. *baxš-*.
Baxta-, "fate, destiny": NP *baxt*.
Baya-, "fear": OInd. *bhay-*, Av. *bay-*, "to fear".
Bāzu- (Med.), "arm": OInd. *bāhú-*, Av. *bāzu-*, Khot. *bāysua-*, NP *bāzū*, Oss. *bazug*.
Bīm-, "frightening": OInd. *bhīma-*, "fearful", MP and NP *bīm*.
Biš-, "healing": cf. Av. *ahūm-biš*, "healing the world".
Bīza-, "seed, semen": OInd. *bī́ja-*, Sogd. *βyz'k*.

Brād- (OP), "to shine": OInd. *bhrāj-*, Av. *brāz-*, MP *brāzīdan*, NP *barazīdan*.
Brīra-, "yielding": cf. Av. *x^{v}aβrīra-*, "bearing fruits".
Bṛd-, "to exalt": OInd. *barh-*, Av. *barəz-*, OP *bṛd-*.
Bṛdant- (OP), "high": OInd. *bṛhant-*, Av. *bərəzaṇt-*, MP and NP *buland*, Oss. *bærzond*.
Bṛdi- (OP), "high": OP equivalent of **bṛzi-*.
Bṛju-, "bringing": Av. *bərəj-*.
Bṛta-, "carried": past part. of **bar-*.
Bṛz- (Med.), "to exalt": Av. *barəz-*.
Bṛza- (Med.), "high": Av. *barəz-*.
Bṛzaka-, "long": Sogd. *βrz* and *βrz'k*.
Bṛzi- (Med.), "high": Av. *bərəzī-*.
Budra-, "vigilant": Av. *zaēni-*, "eager, zealous".
Buga-, "releasing": cf. **baug-*.
Buja-, "releasing": cf. **baug-*.
Būmi-, "earth, soil, world": OInd. *bhū́mi-*, Av. *būmī-*, OP *būmi-*, MP and NP *būm*, Sogd. *βwmh*, Chor. *βwm*.
Buna-, "soil, earth": OInd. *budhná-*, Av. *buna-*, MP and NP *bun*, Khot. *buna-*.
Busta-, "clever, attentive": OInd. *bódh-*, "to be awake, observe" and *vibuddha-*, "awakened, attentive", Av. *baoδah-*, "perception, insight".
[1]Buxša-, "releasing": derivation from [1]**baug-*.
[2]Buxša-, "bestowing benefit": OInd. *bhuj-*[220].
Buxta-: past part. of **baug-*.
Buxθa-: past part. (in *-θa-*) of **baug-*.

Č

Čagman-, "present, gift": Av. *čagəman-*.
Čagni-, "forthcoming, out to please": derivation from **čag-*, "to allow, grant", cf. Av. *čaguuah-*, "granting, allowing".
Čaita-, "insight": OInd. *cétas-*, "consciousness, intelligence".
Čakā-, "lark": MP *čakōk*, NP *čakā*, *čagūk* and *čakok*.
Čaman-, "meadow": NP *čaman*.
Čanah-, "desire": OInd. *cánas-*, "delight, satisfaction", Av. *čanah-*.
Čar-, "to pasture": NP *čarīdan*.
Čāra-, "help": Av. *čārā-*, OP *učāra-*, NP *čār*, "help, remedy, cure".
Čarb-, "fat, greasy": NP *čarb*.
Čartu-, "race course": Av. *čarətu-*.
Čaša-, "teacher": Av. *čašan-*.
Čašman-, "eye": Av. *čašman-*, MP and NP *čašm*.
Čaθru- (Med.), "four": OInd. *catvar-*, Av. *čaθru-*, MP and NP *čahār*, Sogd. *čtβ'r* and *čtf'r*.
Čauba-, "wood, log": MP *čōb*, "wood, stick".
Čauka-, "owl": NP *čōk*.
Čaxra-, "wheel": OInd. *cakrá-*, Av. *čaxra-*, MP *čahr*, Parth. *čxr*, NP *čarx*.
Čaxri-, "effectuating": OInd. *cákri-*, Av. *čaxri-*.

[220] Cf. on this stem and its derivatives Benveniste (1966: 108-115), Schmitt (2002: 63) and Tremblay (2004: 135n.78).

Čī-, "to collect": OInd. *ci-*, MP and NP *čīdan*.
[1]Čiça- (OP), "lineage, origin": Av. *čiθra-*, OP *čiça-*.
[2]Čiça- (OP), "splendid, brilliant": OP equivalent of Med. **čiθra-*.
Činah-: synonym of **čanah-*.
Čira-, "capable": Av. *čiriia-*, NP *čīra*.
Čitaya-, "intent upon": causative of **čit-*; OInd. *cit-*, "to fix the mind upon".
[1]Čiθra- (Med.), "lineage, origin": Median equivalent of OP *čiça-*.
[2]Čiθra- (Med.), (1) "splendid, brilliant", (2) "external appearance": OInd. *citrá-*, Av. *čiθra-*, MP and NP *čihr*, Parth. *čyhrg*, "form".
Čusta-, "elegant": NP *čust*, "elegant, beautiful".

Ç

Çā- (OP), "to protect": OP equivalent of Med. **θrā-* (Av. *θrā-*).
Çaima- (OP), "superiority": OInd. *śremán-*.
Çaišta- (OP), "most beautiful": OInd. *śréṣṭha-*, Av. *sraēšta-*.
Çau- (OP), "beautiful; capable": Av. *srao-*.
Çauša- (OP), "obedient": OP equivalent of **srauša-*.
Çava- (OP), "beautiful; capable": Av. *srauua-*.
Çavah- (OP), "glory, fame": OInd. *śrava-*, Av. *srauuah-*.
Çayan- (OP), "beauty": Av. *sraiian-*.
Çi- (OP), "three": Av. *θri-*, MP *sē*, NP *si*, Baluči *sai*.
Çī- (OP), "beauty": Av. *srī-*.
Çima- (OP), "strength": Av. *θrima-*.
Çīra- (OP), "beautiful": OInd. *a-śrīrá-*, Av. *srīra-*.
Çŭta- (OP), "famous, well-known": Av. *srŭta-*.

D

Dā-, "to give": OInd. *dhā-*, Av. and OP *dā-*.
Dahyāu-, dahyu-, "land": OInd. *daśyu-*, "member of a barbaric tribe", Av. *daŋhu-*, *daŋhu-* and *daxiiu-*, OP *dahyāu- / dahyu-*, MP *deh*, Sogd. *dyx'w*, "village", NP *dih*.
Dainā-, "religion; soul": Av. *daēnā-*, MP *dēn*, NP *dīn*.
Dainu- (OP), "saddle": Av. *zaēnu-*, "(sword)-belt", MP *zēn*, NP *zīn*.
Daisa- (Med.), "showing, information": OInd. *deś-*, Av. *daēs-*, "to show, inform", MP *desag*, "form, appearance".
Daiθa- (OP): OP equivalent of **daisa-*.
Daiva-, "idol, demon": Av. *daēuua-*, OP *daiva-*.
Daiza- (Med.), "fortress": Av. *daēza-*, "pile" and *uz-daēza-*, "wall", OP *didā-*, "wall; fortress", NP *dēz*, "fortress".
Dāman-, "living place, dwelling" (*dāma-* in compounds): Av. *dāman-*.
Dāmi-, "creating": Av. *dāmi-*.
Dana- (OP), "kind, art": OP equivalent of Med. *zana-*, cf. OInd. *jána-* and Av. *zana-*.
[1]Dāna-, (1) "holder, reservoir, container", (2) "place"[221]: OP and MP *dāna-*.

[221] Cf. Eilers (1954: 334n.130).

[2]Dāna-, "gift, present": OInd. *dāná-*, Lat. *donum*.
Dantu- (OP), "tribe, clan": OP equivalent of **zantu-*.
Dānu-, "grain": Av. *dānu-*.
Dar-, "to hold (firmly)": OInd. *dhar-*, Av. and OP *dar-*, MP and NP *dāštan*, Parth. *d'r*, Sogd. *δ'r*, Khot. *dār-*, Chor. *d'rȳ*, Oss. *daryn* and *darun*.
Dara- (OP), "goal": OP equivalent of **zara-*.
Dard- (OP), "to seize": Av. *darəz-*.
Darga-, "long": OInd. *dīrghá-*, Av. and OP *darga-*, MP *darg*, Khot. *dāra-*, NP *dēr*, Oss. *dary*.
Darma-, "right conduct, law": OInd. *dharma-*.
Darmāka-, "bearer, supporter": OInd. *dharmāka-*.
Darš-, "to dare": Av. and OP *darš-*, Av. *darši-*, "courageous".
Dāru-, "wood": OInd., Av. and OP *dāru-*.
Dasa-, "ten": Med. equivalent of OP **daθa-*; OInd. *daśa-*, Av. *dasa-*, MP and NP *dah*, Parth. *das*, Sogd. *ds(')*.
Dasma-, "gift, present": Av. *dasma-*.
Dasta-, "trained": past part. of Av. *dąh-*, "to teach, train".
[1]Dāta-, "created, given": past part. of *dā-*, "to give, create".
[2]Dāta- (OP), "born": OP equivalent of Med. *zāta-*.
[3]Dāta-, "law": Av., OP and Khot. *dāta-*, MP and NP *dād*.
Dātu-, "naturally": cf. OInd. *jātu-*, "naturally" (EWA I 428).
Daθa- (OP), "possession": Av. *dasa-*.
Dāθa-, "clever": Av. *dāθa-*.
Dauça- (OP), "sacrifice": OInd. *hotrá-*, Av. *zaoθra-*, "libation".
Dauša- (OP), "zestfulness": OP equivalent of *zauša-*.
Dautar- (OP), "he who sacrifices, priest": OP equivalent of **zautar-*, Av. *zaotar-*.
Davant-, "he who impels, urges; ruler": present part. of **dav-*, "to impel" (Av. *dav-*).
Daxš-, "to teach": OInd. *dakṣ-*, Av. *daxš-*.
Daya-, "to see": cf. Av. *paiti-daiia-*.
Dāyu-, "cherishing": cf. Av. *gao-dāiiu-*, "cherishing the cattle".
Dī-, "to see": OInd. *dhī-*, Av. and OP *dī-*, MP and NP *dīdan*, Khot. *dai-*.
Dišt-, "kettle": Av. *dišta-*.
Dranga- (OP), "audacious, cunning": OP equivalent of **zranga-*.
Draxta-, "tree": OP *draxt-*, MP *draxt*, NP *diraxt*.
Drazdā-, "loyal, faithful": OP equivalent of **zrazdā-*, cf. Av. *zraz-dā-*, "to believe".
Dri-, "carrying": Av. *dri-*.
Dr(u)va-, "stable, firm, immovable": OInd. *dhruvá-*, Av. *druua-*, OP *dur(u)va-*.
Dṛda- (OP), "heart": OInd. *hṛd-*, Av. *zərəd-*.
Dṛna-, "harvest": cf. NP *durīdan*, "to reap, mow" and *dirav-*, "harvest".
Dṛta-, "harvested": Av. *dərəta-*.
Dṛθ- (OP), "to look at": Av. *dərəs-*.
Dṛva- (OP), "time": OP equivalent of **zṛvan-*.
Dūra-, "far, distant": OInd. *dūrá-*, Av. and OP *dūra-*.
Duš-, "bad": Av. and OP *duš-*.
Dušta- (OP), "loved": OP equivalent of **zušta-*.
Dūta-, "messenger": OInd. *dūtá-*, Av. *dūta-*.
Dvi-, "two" (in compounds): OInd. *dvi-*, Av. *bi-*, Sogd. *δyβ-*, Khot. *śi-*.

F

Fan-, "sun": equivalent of Av. *x"an-*.
Farnah-, "glory, splendour": Av. *x"arənah-*, MP *xwarrah*, Sogd. *prn*, Parth. *frh* or *prh*, NP *farr* and *xur(r)a*.
Frād-, "to further": Av *frād-*.
Fradāta-, "furthered": past part. of **fra-dā-* (Av. *fra-dā-*, "to further").
Fragau-, "treasure": Parth. *frg'w*, Sogd. *βrγ'w*.
Fraišta-, "messenger": Av. *fraēšta-*, MP *frestag*, "apostle, angel".
Fraita-, "walking on": Av. *fraēta-*.
Framāna-, (1) "command, order", (2) "standard, scale, measure": OInd. *pramāṇa-*, OP *framānā-*, MP *framān*, Sogd. *frm'n*, *prm'n* and *prm'nh*, NP *farmān*.
Framātar-, "commander, ruler, chief": Av. and OP *framātar-*, MP *framādār*.
Frāpari-, "leading forward": Av. *frāpar-*.
Fras-, "to ask": Av. *fras-*, OP *fraθ-*.
Frasrŭta- (Med.), "famous": Av. *frasrŭta-*.
Frasta-, "asked": past part. of **fras-*, "to ask".
Fraša-, "excellent": OP *fraša-*.
Frašti-, "jurisdiction": Av. *fərašti-*.
Frata- (Med.), "excellent": cf. OInd. *pratád-vasu-* and Gk. *πρῶτος* (Naster 1968: 75; Gershevitch 1969: 243).
Fratama-, "noble": Av. *fratəma-*, MP *fratom*, Sogd. *'prtm*. superlative of **fra-*.
Fratara-, "superior": Av. and OP *fratara-*, comparative of *fra-*.
[1]Fraθ- (OP): Old Persian equivalent of *fras-*, "to ask".
[2]Fraθ-, "to spread, extend, expand": OInd. *prath-*. Cf. Av. *fraθah-*.
Fravān-, "amply": NP *faravān*.
Fravar-, "to chose": Av. *frauuar-*.
Fravarti-, "chosen": past part. of **fravar-*, "to choose".
Frāza-, "forward, forth": MP *frāz*.
Frazu-, "valuable": Av. *frazu-*, "to please".
Frīna-, "darling": present stem of **frī-*; OInd. *prī-*, "to please", Av. *frī-*.
Friti-, "prayer": Av. *friti-*.
Friθu-, "joyful": cf. OInd. *pray-*, "to enjoy" and Av. *friθa-*.
Frya-, "kind, sweet, dear": OInd. *priyá-*, Av. *friia-*, Sogd. *pry*, Khot. *bria-*.
Fšu-, "cattle": Av. *fšu- / pasu-*.

G

Gadā-, "mace": Av. *gaδā-*.
Gaiθa-, "household": Av. *gaēθa-*, "household", OP *gaiθa-*, "(living) property, cattle".
Gaiθu- (OP), "curly": OInd. *keśa-*, "head-hair", Av. *gaēsu-*, MP *gēs*, NP *gēsū*, "locks of hair".
Gam, "to come": OInd. and Av. *gam-*, MP and NP *āmadan*.
Gāma-, "stride step": OInd. *ví-gāman-*, Av. *gāman-*, MP and NP *gām*.
Gana-, "compact, solid": OInd. *ghaná-*.
Ganda- (OP), "treasure": OP equivalent of **ganza-*.
Gandabara- (OP), "treasurer": MP *ganjwar* and *gnzwbr*, Parth. *gnzbr*; OP equivalent of **ganzabara-*.

Ganja- (Med.), "treasure": allegroform of **ganza-*.
Gar-, "praise, hymn": OInd. *gīr-*, Av. *gar-*.
Garma-, "hot, warm": OInd. *gharmá-*, "heat, warmth", Av. *garəma-*, "warm" and Av. *garəmu-*, "heat".
Garša-, "joyful": OInd. *ghṛṣu-*, "lively, mirthful", Parth. *gš*, "to enjoy, look forward".
Garta-, "hole, cave": OInd. *²gárta-*.
Gasta-, "evil, distress": Av., OP and NP *gasta-*.
Gati-, "coming": Av. *gati-*.
Gāθu-, "throne": Av. and OP *gāθu-*.
Gau- / gu-, "cattle": OInd. *gáv-*, Av. and OP *gav-*, MP and NP *gāw*, Pašto *γwā*.
Gauça- (OP), "jewel: NP *jauhar* and *gowhar*.
Gaud- (OP), "to conceal": OP *gaud-*.
Gaumaiša-, "buffle": MP and NP *gāw-mēš*, Arm. *gomēš*.
Gauman-, "having cattle": Av. *gaomaṇt-*.
Gauna-, "hair": Av. *gaona-*.
Gaura-, "inspiring fear, terrible": OInd. *ghorá-*.
Gauša-, "ear": Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gauša-*, MP and NP *gōš*, Sogd. *γwš*.
Gauθra- (Med.), "jewel": Median equivalent of **gauça-*.
Gauz- (Med.), "to conceal": Av. *gaoz-*.
Gāvṛθa-, "sorghum": Sogd. *γwrst'ny*, Khot. *gausa-*, Pašto *γōšt*.
Gāvarz-, "sorghum": MP and NP *gāwars*.
Gaya-, "life": Av. *gaiia-*.
Gaza-, "to receive": cf. Sogd. *pčγ'z*.
Gīr-, "to grab, seize": MP *gīr*.
Gīti-, "singer": OInd. *gīti-*, "song, singing".
Gna-, "vulnerability": derivation from Av. *gan-*, "to strike, hurt", cf. Av. *γna-*, "a strike" and *vərəθraγna-*, "ability to defend oneself" (Gershevitch 1969: 175).
Grab-, "to grab, seize": OInd. *grabh-*, Av. and OP *grab-*.
Gṛda-, "house": OInd. *gṛhá-*[222], Av. *gərəda-*, "hole".
Gṛdya-: equivalent of **gṛda-*, "house personnel".
Gṛz-, "to complain": Av. *garəz-*.
Gṛzi-, "complaining": Av. *jarəzī-*.
Gunda-, "thick": Av. *gunda-*, a kind of dough ball.

H

Habā-, "community": OInd. *sabhā́-*, "meeting, assembly, congregation".
Hada, "always": OInd. *sádā*, Av. *haδa-*.
Hadahra- (OP), "thousand": OP equivalent of *hazahra-*.
Hafni, "to take care": connected with **hap-*.
Hafti-, "horse, steed": OInd. *sápti-*, Proto-Iranian **hafti-*.
Hainā-, "(hostile) army": Av. *haēnā-*, OP *hainā-*.
Hakṛta-, "sudden": Av. *hakərət-*.
Hama-, "alike, co-": Av. *hama-*.
Hambauja-, "partaker": OInd. *sambhuj-*, "to partake of".

[222] A meaning "servant" too is postulated for *gṛhá-* (SED 361), but such a meaning does not exist (Hauschild 1954: 276).

Hamid-, "fellowship": cf. Av. *hamiδ-pati-*, "lord of the fellowship".
Hamkār-, "collaborator": MP and NP *hamkār*.
Hana-, "old": OInd. *sána-*, Av. *hana-*.
Hangām-, "to assemble": MP *'ng'm*, "collection".
Hankṛka-, "wine press": cf. Sogd. *'nkr'nt*, "to trample down".
Hap-, "to keep": Av. *hap-*.
Hapṛθa- (OP), "juniper": Av. *hapərəsi-*.
Hapta-, "seventh": cf. OInd. *saptá-*, Av. *hapta-*, MP and NP *haft*, Parth. *hft*, Sogd. *'βt(')*, Chor. *'βd*, Khot. *hauda-*, Oss. *avd*.
Haptaxva- (East Iranian), "1/7": Av. *haptahuua-*.
Hart-, "well-nourished": Av. *harəta-*.
Harz-, "to send away": Av. *harəz-*.
[1]Hasta-, "victorious": derivation from Av. *haz-*.
[2]Hasta-, "seated, settled": past part. of Av. *had-*.
Hāta-, (1) "earned, acquired", (2) "wealth": past part. of **han-*, "to earn" (Av. *han-*). Cf. OInd. *sātá-*, "wealth".
Haθya-, "real, true" (Med.): OInd. *satyá-*, Av. *haiθiia-*, OP *hašiya-*.
Hav-, "to impel, instigate": OInd. *savá-*, Av. *²hav-*.
Haxā-, "someone allegiant, friend, companion": OInd. *sakhā-*, Av. *haxi-* (weak stem of *haxā-* [Zadok 1976: 66-67]).
Haxiya-, "friendship": OInd. *sakhyá-*, Av. *haxaiia-*, "fellowship".
Haxma-, "fellowship": Av. *haxman-*.
Haxti-, "womb": dual of **haxta-*, "thigh" (Av. *haxta-*).
Hazahra- (Med.), "thousand": OInd. *sahásra-*, Av. *hazaŋra-*, Sogd. *z'r*, MP and NP *hazār*, Khot. *ysāra-*, Pašto *zər*.
Hid-, "to succeed": OInd. *sidh-*.
Hiku-, "dry": Av. *hiku-*.
Hiθa-, "ally": Av. *hiθa-*.
Hiθu-, "fellowship, alliance": Av. *hiθu-*.
(H)mār- (OP), (1) "to remember", (2) "to count, rely on": OInd. *smár-*, Proto-Iranian **hmar-*, Av. *mar-*, "to observe, notice, remember", MP *āmār*, "reckoning, consideration" and *ōšmār* and *ōšmurdan*, "to count, reckon", Khot. *ṣumār-*, "to count", NP *šumurdan*.
(H)ubṛta-, "respected": OInd. *súbhṛta-*, "well-borne, cherished": OPs *ubarta-*.
(H)udāna-, "right understanding": Av. *hudānu-*, "who possesses the right understanding".
(H)ufti-, "sleep": OInd. *supti-*.
(H)ūka-, "pig": Av. *hū-*, MP *hūk*.
Humata-, "good thoughts": OInd. *sumata-*, Av. *humata-*.
Humāya- (OPd), "wholesome, beneficial": Av. *humāiia-*.
(H)uparva-, "pre-eminent": Av. *hu-pauruua-*.
(H)urā-, a magic potion: Av. *hurā-*.
Hušhaxā-, "good friend": cf. OInd. *susakhi-* and Av. *huš.haxi-*.
Hūti-, "craftsman": Av. *hūti-*.
(H)uva-, "own" (OP): OInd. *svá-*, Av. *h(a)uua-*.
(H)uvādā-, "residence": OInd. *svadhā-*, OP *uvādā-*.
(H)uvadāta- (OP), "he who determines his destiny": Av. *xᵛaδāta-*.
(H)uvaitu- (OP), "family-" (adjective): Av. *xᵛaētu-*.

(H)uvamna- (OP), "sleep": OP equivalent of **xvamna-*.
(H)uvanta- (OP), "called": past part. of OInd. *svan-*, "to sound, roar, be noisy", Av. *xᵛan-*, "to sound, roar", Khot. *hvaña-*, "to be spoken", MP *xwandan* and NP *xwāndan*, "to call".
(H)uvanvanta- (OP), "sunny": Av. *xᵛanuuaṇt-*.
(H)uvapati- (OP), "sovereign": OInd. *svapati-*, Av. *xᵛaēpaiθiia-*, "own lord".
(H)uvar- (OP), "sun": Av. *huuar-*.
(H)uvāra- (OP), "dark": derivation from PIE **su̯er-*, "to colour with a dark colour" (Bailey 1976: 30).
(H)uvyāra- (OP), "easy": Sogd. *xwyʾr*.
Hvāθra- (Med.), "comfort": Av. *xᵛāθra-*.

I

Iba-, "house personnel, household": OInd. *íbha-*.
Ibya-, "wealthy": OInd. *íbhya-*.
Īra-, "energy": Av. *īra-*.
Is- (Med.), "to be lord": present stem of **ais*.
Isa-, "desirous": Av. *isa-*.
Isvā-, "quiver": OP *isvā-*.
Iša-, "looking for": present stem of **aiš-*.
Išti-, (1) "striving, capability", (2) "wealth": Av. *ištiš-*.
Iθ- (OP), "to be lord": present stem of **aiθ-*, the OP equivalent of Med. **ais-*.
Iza-, (1) "zealous", (2) "prosperous": Av. *ižā-*.

J

Jāgarna-, "watchful, awake": OInd. *jāgaraṇá-*.
Jai-, "people": Av. *jaē-*.
Jāma-, "leading": Parth. *zʾm*, "to lead".
Jan-, "to kill, strike": Av. *gan-* (with present stem *jan-*), OP *jan-*.
Jī-, "vivid": Av. *jī-*.
Jīra-, "intelligent, mentally lively": Av. *jīra-*.
Jišna-, "victorious, triumphant": OInd. *jiṣṇú-*.
Jīva-, "alive, living": Av. *juua-*, OP *jīva-*.
Jufra-, "mysterious": Av. *gufra-*, MP *zufr*, "deep".
Jūja-, "chicken": NP *jūja*.

K

Ka-, "what a..." (exclamation): Av. *ka-*.
Kač-, "crooked, curved": NP *kağ*.
Kafa-, "slobber": Av. *kafa-*.
Kaika-, "flea": NP *kaik*.
Kaina-, "revenge, retaliation": Av. *kaēna-*.
Kāka-, "uncle": NP *kākā*.
Kāma-, "desire, wish": OInd., Av. and OP *kāma-*, MP *kām*, Parth. and Sogd. *kʾm*.
[1]Kan-, "to long for": OInd. and Av. *kan-*.

[2]Kan-, "to dig": OInd. *khan-*, Av. and OP *kan-*.
Kān-, "mine, pit": NP *kān*, "mine".
Kanta-, "village": derived meaning of the past part. of *kan-*, "to dig".
Kānti-, "desire": OInd. *kānti-*, cf. Av. *kan-*, "to desire".
Kapa-, "fish": Sogd. *kp*.
Kapauta-, (1) "pigeon", (2) "pigeon-coloured": OInd. *kapóta-*, OP *kapautaka-*, "blue", MP and NP *kabōd*, "gray-blue", Khot. *kavuta-*.
Kāpiša-, "safflower": NP *kābīša*.
Kar-, "to do, make": OInd., Av., OP and Khot. *kar-*, MP and NP *kardan*.
[1]Kāra-, "people, army": OP *kāra-*.
[2]Kāra-, "work": NP *kār*.
Kāravant-, "active": Av. *kāravaṇt-*.
Karkāsa- (Med.), "vulture": Av. *kahrkāsa-*, MP *kargās*.
Karkāθa- (OP): OP equivalent of **karkāsa-*.
Karpuna-, "lizard": Av. *kahrpuna-*, MP *karbunag*.
Karsna-, "complete, entire": OInd. *kṛtsná-*.
Karš-, "to plough": cf. Av. *karšiuuaṇt-*.
Karša-, "furrow": Av. *karša-*.
Karšna-, "black": Skt *kṛṣṇá-*.
Karva-, "short, dwarfish": OInd. *kharvá-*, Av. *kauruua-*, NP *karv*, "decayed teeth".
Kas- (Med.), "to observe": Av. *kas-*.
Kās-, "to shine": OInd. *kāś-*, Khot. *kas-*, "to be visible, appear".
Kata-, "house": Av. *kata-*, "room", NP *kad*, "house".
Kāta-, "wanted": past part. of **kā-*, "to wish, desire" (Av. *kā-*).
Kati-, "willing": Av. *kati-*.
Kaθ- (OP), "to observe": OP equivalent of **kas-*.
Kāθaka-, "semi-precious stone": OP *kāsaka-*.
Kāθrupā-, "amber-coloured": NP *kāhrubā*.
Kaufa-, "mountain": OP *kaufa-*.
Kauna-, "buttocks": NP *kūn*.
Kava-, "prince": OInd. *kaví-*, "seer, wise man", Av. *kauui-*.
Kṛ-: present stem of **kar-*.
Kṛga-, "cock": equivalent of **kṛka-*; Pašto *čirg*, Ormuri *kirži*. Cf. NP *kurg*, "hen which has done laying and is inclined for the cock".
Kṛka-, "cock": OInd. *kṛkaváku-*, Av. *kahrka-*.
Krṃi-, "worm": OInd. *kṛ́mi-*, MP and NP *kirm*, Sogd. *kyrm*, "snake".
Kṛpa-, "external appearance": Av. *kəhrp-*, MP *kirb*, "body, form".
Kṛs- (Med.), "skinny, meagre": OInd. *kṛśá-*, "thin, weak", Av. *kərəsa-*.
Kṛša-, "weight": Av. *karš-*, "to pull", OP *kaṛša-*, NP *kašīdan*, "to weigh", Gk. *κέρσα*.
Kṛša-, "district": Av. *karša-*.
Kṛšna-, "black": OInd. *kṛṣṇá-*.
Kṛt-, "to cut": Av. *kərət-*.
Kṛta-, "done, made": past part. of **kar-*.
Kṛti-, "producing": Av. *kərəti-*.
Kṛθ- (OP): OP equivalent of **kṛs-*.
Kṛza-, "archer": cf. Baluči *peikal*, "bow" < **karda-*, Somγūn *karz*, "to shoot".
Kūka-, "small, little": MP *kūk*.
Kūna-, "thigh": NP *kūn*.

Kunduru-, "Boswellia Thurifera": OInd. *kunda-* and *kunduru-*,
Kura-, "family": OInd. *kúla-*.
Kusti-, "region, district": MP *kust*.

L

Lāna-, "warrior": equivalent of **rāna-*.
Laxša-, "red": equivalent of **raxš-*; Khot. *rrāṣa-* and NP *raxš*, "red".

M

Mada- (OP), "great, big": OP equivalent of **maza-*.
Māda-, "Median": OP Māda- (cf. Schmitt 1977: 97).
Madu-, "honey: OInd. *mádhu-*, Av. *maδu-*, "Beerenwein", Sogd. *mδw*, "wine", Oss. *mud*.
Maga-, "gift, present": OInd. *maghá-*.
Magava-, "sacrificing": Av. *magauua-*.
Magu-, "magian": OP *magu-*.
Maiša-, "ram, sheep": OInd. *meṣá-*, Av. *maēša-*, MP and NP *mēš*, Šuγni *maγ̌*, Pašto *maž* and *mež*.
Maiθa-, "house, home": cf. **maiθana-*.
Maiθana-, "dwelling": Av. *maēθana-*.
Maiz- (Med.), "to cherish, take care of": Av. *maēz-*.
Maka-, "strong, vehement": cf. OInd. *mákaka-*.
Māmā-, "mother": NP *māmā*.
Māna- / mān(y)a-, "house", "domestic staff": Av. *nmāna-*, OP *mānya-*.
Manah-, "mind, mentality": OInd. *mánas-*, Av. *manah-*.
Mança- (OP): OP equivalent of **manθra-*.
Mang-, "to glorify": Av. *mang-*.
[1]Mani-, "mind, mentality": synonym of Av. *manah-*.
[2]Mani-, "necklace": cf. OInd. *maṇi-grīvá-*, "wearing a necklace" and Av. *minu-*, "necklace".
Manθ-, "to shake, agitate" (cf. Benveniste 1959: 87-88): Av. *mant-*, Sogd. *mnδ*, Khot. *maṃth-*, Oss. *(æ)z-mæntun*.
Ma(n)θra- (Med.), "the word of God": OInd. *mántra-*, Av. *mąθra-*, Waxi *mutr*.
[1]Manya-, "capable": Av. [1]*mainiia-*.
[2]Manya-, "to rule", "authority": Av. [2]*mainiia-*.
Manyu-, "mentality, mind": Av. *mainiiu-*.
Marga-, "meadow, pasture": Av. *marəγa-*.
Marta-, "mortal man": OInd. *márta-*, Av. *marəta-*.
Marya-, "young man": OInd. *márya-*, Av. *mairiia-*, OP *marīka-* < **mariya-ka-*.
Masa- (Med.), "great, big": Av. *masan-*.
Masišta- (Med.), "greatest, biggest": Median equivalent of **maθišta-*; Av. *masišta-*.
Masti-, "knowledge": Av. *masti-*.
Maš-, "very": Av. *maš-*.
Mātṛsa-, "fearless": cf. OP *mā tarsam*, "may I not fear" (DPe 21).
Maθa- (OP), "great, big": OP equivalent of **masa-*.
Maθišta- (OP), "greatest, biggest": superlative of **maθa-*; OP *maθišta-*.

Maud-, "to rejoice": OInd. *mud-*, "to rejoice" and *móda-*, "joy, delight", Av. *maoδanō-kara-*, "having fun".
Māyā-, "joy, pleasure": Av. *māiiā-*.
Maz- (Med.), "big, great": Av. *maz-*.
Mazant-, "great": OInd. *mahánt-*, Av. *mazaṇt-*.
Miça-, "treaty" (OP): OP equivalent of *miθra-*, Sogd. *myš*.
Midu-: derivation of **maid-*, the OP equivalent of **maiz-*.
Mijā-, "eye-lash": Sogd. *mz'*.
Minu-, "necklace": Av. *minu-*.
Misa-, "to think off, remember": cf. Oss. *imis*, "to invent, devise, work with the creative energy of the mind" (Gershevitch 1952: 485-486 and 1969: 239).
Miθra- (Med.), "treaty": OInd. *mitrá-*, Av. *miθra-*, MP and NP *mihr*, Parth. *myhr*, Sogd. *myδr*.
Mižda-, "wage, reward": OInd. *mīḍha-*, Av. *mīžda-*, MP *mizd*, Sogd. *myzd*, NP *muzd*.
Mṛd-, "to crush": Av. *mərəd-*.
Mṛdu-, "mild, soft": OInd. *mṛdú-*, Parāčī *maṛṓ*.
Mṛnča-, "to destroy": present stem of **mṛk-* (Av. *marək-*).
Mṛvi-, "ant": Av. *mauruui-*.
Mṛzu-, "short": Sogd. *mwrzk*.
Mṛžd-, "forgiving": OInd. *mṛḍ-*, Av. *mərəžda-*, NP *āmurzīdan*.
Mūša-, "mouse": OInd. *mūṣa-*, MP *mušk*, NP *mūš*.
Mušti-, "fist": cf. OInd. *muṣṭáy-*, "fist" and Av. *mušti-masah-*, "as big as a fist".

N

Nā-: present stem of **nam-*, "to bow down", OInd. and Av. *nam-*. Cf. also MP *frānām*, "to lead" and Khot. *ha-nam-*, "to bow down".
Nabanū-, "well, source": OInd. *nabhanú-*.
Nada-, "reed": Hett. *nata-* and *nati-*, OInd. *naḍá-* and *nadá-*, Av. *nada-*, MP *nay*, "reed, cane", Parth. *nd*, "flute".
Nāfa-, "family, clan": Av. *nāfa-*, MP and NP *nāf*, Parth. *n'p*.
Nāfyā-, derivation from **nāfa-*, only used in compounds, Av. *nāfiiō*.
Naiba-, "beautiful, good": OP *naiba-*, NP *nēv*.
Naida- (OP), "javelin": MP *nēzag*, NP *nēza*, Arm. *nizak*. Cf. MP and NP Nēzak.
Naima-, "half": OInd. *néma-*, Av. *naēma-*, MP and NP *nēm*, Parth. *nym*.
Naiza-, "the top (of a spear)": Av. *naēza-*, MP *nēzag*, "lance", NP *nēza*, "spear", Arm. *nizak*.
Namah-, "worship": OInd. *námas-*, Av. *nəmah-*, MP and NP *namāz*, Parth. and Sogd. *nm'č*.
Nāman-, "name, fame" (*nāma-* in compounds): OInd. *nā́man-*, Av. and OP *nāman-*, MP and NP *nām*, Sogd. *n'm*, Khot. *nāma-*, Oss. *nom*.
Napāt-, "grandson": OInd. *nápāt-*, Av. and OP *napāt-*, MP *nab*, NP *nawa*.
Nar-, "man": OInd. *nár-*, Av. *nar-*, OP, MP, NP and Baluči *nar-*, Parth. *nr*.
Narya-, "manly", derivation from **nar-*: OInd. *nárya-*, Av. *nairiia-*.
Nāša-, "support": Av. *nāš-*, "to support".
Nă̄uma-, "ninth": Av. *naoma-* and *nāuma-*.
Nauva- (OPs): OPs equivalent of East Iranian **naxva-*, "first".
Nava-, "new": OInd. *náva-*, Av. *nauua-*, MP *nōg*, Parth. *nw'g*, NP *naw*.

Naxti-, "nocturnal": OInd. *nákta-*, "night", Av. *naxta-*, "night", Waxi *nayd*, "night", Gk. *νύξ* (*νύκτ-*), Lat. *nox* (*noct-*), German *Nacht*, Dutch *nacht*.
Naxva- (East Iranian), "first": MP *naxust*, "first", Parth. *nxwšt*, NP *naxost*.
Naxvaka-, "yarnspinner": NP *nax*, "yarn".
Nay-, "to lead": Av. *nay-*.
Nāzuka-, "delicate, soft": MP *nāzuk*, Parth. *n'zwg*, "friendly, nice", Sogd. *n'zwk*, NP *nāzuk*.
Nigāma-, "time, moment": Sogd. *ny'm*.
Nipišta-, "writings": OP *nipišta-*, "written down" (EWA II 40; NW 145).
Niša-, "sign": cf. Arm. *niš* and Syriac *nyš'*.
Niva-, "shape, figure": OInd. *nibha-*, Oss. *niv*.
N(i)yāka-, "grandfather": Av. *niiāka-*, OP *niyāka-*.
Nma-, "obeisance, deference": Av. *nəmah-*.
Numinga-, "coral": NP *numunk*.

P

Pā-, "to protect": OInd., Av., OP and Khot. *pā-*, MP *pādan*, Sogd. *'p'y*.
Pač-, "to cook": OInd. *pac-*, Av. *pača-* and *pak-*, MP and NP *paz*, Sogd. *('')pč*, Chor. *pc*.
Pačika-, "the cook": cf. Av. *pačika-*, "cooking".
Pāça- (OP), "protection": OP equivalent of Medisch **pāθra-*.
Pada-, "origin, roots": Av. *paδa-*, (1) "foot", (2) "footmark", (3) "place".
Pāda-, "foot, step": Av. *pāδa-*, OP *pāda-*.
Pādapa-, "tree": OInd. *pādapa-*.
Pai-, "protecting": cf. Av. *pōi-*.
Paisa- (Med.), "ornament": Av. *paēsa-*.
Paiθa- (OP), "ornament": OP *paiθ-*, "to engrave".
Pāna-, (1) "protection", (2) "protector": Av. *pāna-*.
Pāniyā-, "drinking": OInd. *pā́na-* and *pānī́ya-*, "drinkable".
Pāpa-, "father": NP *bābā*, Arm. *bābā*.
Paridaisa-: equivalent of **paridaida-*, cf. Av. *pairidaēza-*, "fence".
Parikāna-, "wall": OInd. *parikhā-*, "ditch; wall", MP *pargān*.
Parisaka-, "lasting": Av. *pairisak-*.
Parnu-, "old": Parth. *prnwš*.
[1]Parša-, "spotted, speckled": MP *parš*.
[2]Parša-, "spike, ear": OInd. *parṣá-*, Av. *parša-*.
Paru-, "many": cf. **pauru-*.
Pāru-, "shoulder": NP *pāru*, "shovel, paddle".
Paruša-, "grey": Av. *pouruša-*.
Par(u)va-, "first; eminent": OInd. *pūrva-*, "first, in front", Av. *pauruua-*.
Pasu-, "cattle": PIE **peḱú-*, OInd. *paśú-*, Av. *pasu-*, MP *pah*, Khot. *pasa-*, Pašto *psə*, Oss. *fys/fus*. Med. equivalent of **paθu-*.
Pāta-, "protected": past part. of **pā-*.
Pātar-, "protector": OInd. *pātár-*, Av. *pātar-*.
Pati-, "lord, master": Av. *pati-*.
Pati-ay-, "to turn against (the enemy)": Av. *paiti-ay-*.
Pāθa-, "arrow": Sogd. *p'δδ*, Chor. *p'θ*, Oss. *fat*, Rošnani *pāθ*, Šuγni *pāθ*, Yaghnobi *păt*

(cf. Bailey & Ross 1961: 137 and Burrow 1973: 97).
Paθī-, "path, road": OInd. *path-*, Av. *paθā-*, OP *paθī-*.
Paθnī- (Med.), "lady": OInd. *pátnī-*, Av. **paθnī-* in *dəmąnō.paθnī-*, *nmānō.paθnī-*, "female possessor, mistress", *ha-paθnī-*, "concubine".
Pāθra- (Med.), "protection": cf. Av. *pāθrauuaṇt-*, "offering protection".
Paθu- (OP), "sheep and/or goats": equivalent of **pasu-*.
Pauru-, "much, many": Av. *paru-*, *pauru-* and *pouru-*, OP *paru-*, Gk. *πολύς*.
Pavā-, "pure": OInd. *pavāka-*, MP and NP *pāk*, Parth. *pw'g*.
Pavant-, "protecting": Av. *pauuaṇt-*.
Pavasta-, "skin": OInd. *pavásta-*, OP *pavastā-*, MP and NP *pōst*.
Pāya-: present stem of **pā-*, "to protect".
Pāyu-, "protector": OInd. *pāyu-*, Av. *pāiiu-*.
Pīru-, (1) "ivory", (2) "elephant": OP *pīru-*, MP *pīl*, NP *pīl*.
Pista-, "flour": OInd. *piṣṭá-*, Av. *pištra-*, MP and NP *pist*, "browned flour".
Pitar-, "father": OInd. *pitár-*, Av. and OP *pitar-*, MP and NP *pidar*, Khot. *patär-*, Sogd. *'ptr*.
Pitu-, "food": OInd. *pitú-*, Av. *pitu-*, MP *pid*, Parth. *pyd*, Oss. *fid*, "meat".
Pṛsant-, "asking": Av. *pərəsant-*.
Pṛsu- (Med.), "flank, side": Med. equivalent of OP **pṛθu-*. OInd. *párśu-*, Av *pərəsu-*, MP *pahlūg*, NP *pahlū*, Oss. *fars*.
Pṛt-, (1), "warrior", (2) "battle", (3) "to fight": Av. *parət-*, "battle" and *pərət-*, "to fight".
Pṛθu-: OP equivalent of Med. **pṛsu-*.
Pṛθva-, "broad(ly built)": Av. *pərəθu-*.
Puça- (OP), "son": OP equivalent of **puθra-*. OP *puça-*, MP and NP *pus*, Šuγni *puč*.
Puθra- (Med.), "son": Med. equivalent of **puča-*. OInd. *putrá-*, Av. *puθra-*, Parth. *pwhr*.
Pūti-, "rotting": Av. *pūiti-*, "putrefaction", MP *pūdag*, NP *pūda*.

R

Rād-, "to do one's best for, to dedicate for": OInd. *rādh-*, Av. *rād-*, MP and NP *ārāstan*, Khot. *ttrāy-*.
Rāda-, "fostering": Av. *rāda-*.
Ragva-, "quick, swift": Av. *rayu-*.
Raiba-, "cunning": NP *rēv*.
Raiku-, "foundling": cf. Av. *raēk-*, "to leave behind".
Raiva-, "rich": Av. *raēuua-*.
Raivastă-, "opulence": derivation from **raivant-*, "rich"; OInd. *revánt-*, Av. *raeuuaṇt-*.
Rāman-, "peace": Av. *rāman-*.
Ramf-, "to attack": Parth. *rf*, Sogd. *rnβ*, Khot. *raph-*.
Ramya-, "nice, kind, pleasant, delicate": OInd. *ramyá-*.
Ramna-, "peace": derivation from OInd. and Av. *ram-*, "to calm down, settle down, become quiet".
Rana-, "solace, delight": OInd. *ráṇa-*, MP *rn*.
Rāna-, "warrior": Av. *rāna-*, MP and Parth. *rān-*, "to fight".
Rap-, "to support": OInd. and Av. *rap-*.
Rapiθfaina-, "noonish": Av. *rapiθβina-*, adjectival derivation of **rapiθfā-*, "noon"

(Av. *rapiθβā-*, MP *rabih*, Sogd. *rypδβh*, Oss. *ræftæ*).
Rasman-, (1) "phalanx", (2) "battle": Av. *rasman-*.
Rāsta- (OP), "true, sincere": OP *rāsta-*.
Rašnu-, "just, rightful": Av. *rašnu-*.
Rāšta- (Med.): equivalent of **rāsta-* (Av. *rāšta-*).
Rāta-, "granted": past part. of Av. *rā-*.
Rātā-, "gift, present": Av. *rātā-*.
Rāti-, "obliging, willing": OInd. *rātí-*, Av. *rāiti-*.
Ratu-, (1) "judge", (2) "assistant priest": Av. *ratu-*.
Raθa-, "chariot": OInd. *rátha-*, Av. *raθa-*, MP *rah*, Khot. *rraha-*.
Raθaištā-, "warrior fighting from a chariot": OInd. *ratheṣṭhā́*, Av. *raθaēštā-*.
Raučah-, "light": OInd. *rócas*, Av. *raočah-*, OP *raučah-*, MP and NP *rōz*, Parth. *rwčyn*, Khot. *rrus-*, "to lighten", Oss. *roxs* / *ruxs*.
Raud-, "to grow": Av. *raod-*.
Rauk-, "to shine": Av. *raok-*.
Rauka-, "whitish": OInd. *roka-*, "light, brightness".
Raup-, "to break": cf. OInd. *rúp-*, "to tear" (Geiger 1916: 96), MP *rup*.
Raupāθa- (OP), "fox": OInd. *lopāśá-*, MP *rōbāh*, Sogd. *rwps*, Parth. *rwb's*, Khot. *rrūvāsa-*, "jackal", NP *rūbāh*, Oss. *robas* / *rūvas*.
Rauraθa-, "driving a quick chariot": Av. *raoraθa-*.
Rautah-, "river": OP *rautah-*, MP and NP *rōd*, Parth. *rwd*.
Ravah-, "freedom": Av. *rauuah-*.
Raz- (Med.), "to point": Av. *raz-*, OP *rad-*.
Raza-, "wine": MP *raz*.
Rāz-, "to go, walk": Av. *rāz-*.
Rāza-, "master builder": MP *rāz-kirrōg*, "architect, builder", NP *rāz*, "plasterer".
Razman-, (1) "battle", (2) "phalanx": allegroform of **rasman-*.
Razna-, "order, command": Av. *razan-*.
Razurə̆-, (1) "forest", (2) "race course"[223]: Av. *razurə̆-*, MP *razūr*, "forest".
Rista-, "connected": Av. *irista-*, the past part. of *rāθ-*, "to be connected with".
Rvan- (East Ir.), "soul, spirit": Av. *uruuan-*.
Rvanta- (East Ir.), "grabbling, grasping": Av. *uruuant-*.
Rvata- (East Ir.), "commanding": cf. Av. Uruuatat.nara-, "commanding the men".
Rvatayanta- (East Ir.), "religious, pious": variant of **vratayanta-*.

Ṛ

Ṛd-, "to make prosper, take care of": OInd. *ṛdha-*, "to prosper", Av. *arəd-*, "to make thrive".
[1]Ṛda-, "prosperity": cf. **ard-*.
[2]Ṛda-, "red": OP equivalent of MP *āl*, "red" (Benveniste 1960: 71).
Ṛdata-, "silvery": OInd. *rajatá-*, Av. *ərəzata-*, OP *ṛdata-*.
Ṛdifya- (OP), "eagle": OInd. *ṛjipyá-*, Av. *ərəzifiia-*.
Ṛk-, "hymn": OInd. *ṛ́k-*.

[223] According to Bartholomae (1904: 1515) and Humbach & Ipachoria (1998: 151) the meaning of Av. *razura-* can only be "forest". Hauschild (1959: 48-60) argues that *razura-* means "forest", while *razurā-* has the meaning "race course".

Ṛma-, "arm": OInd. *īrmá-*, Av. *ar(ə)ma-*, MP and NP *arm*.
Ṛmati-, "devotional": OInd. *arámati-*, "readiness, proper thinking".
Ṛna-, "guilty": OInd. *ṛná-*, Av. *arənaṯ.čaēša-*, "punishing injustice", Sogd. *'rn*, "injustice", Khot. *ārra-*, "guilt".
Ṛšan-, "hero": Av. *aršan-*.
Ṛšta-, "sincere": Av. *aršta-*.
Ṛšti-, "javelin, spear": OP *aršti-*.
Ṛtauni-, "dedicated to Arta": Av. *aṣ̌aonī-*, fem. equivalent of *aṣ̌ă̆uuan-*.
Ṛtavan-, "dedicated to Arta": Av. *aṣ̌ă̆uuan-*.
Ṛtavant-, "righteous": Av. *aṣ̌ă̆uuaṇt-*.
Ṛza-, "honest": OInd. *ṛju-*, Av. *ərəzu-*, *ərəzuuan-*, "straight, decent", *ərəzuuaṇt-*, "solid" and the Av. personal names Ɜrəzauuaṇt-, Ɜrəzrāspa- and Ɜrəzu- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/38-39).
Ṛžuxda-, "spoken correctly": Av. *ərəž.uxδa-*.

S

Sačī-, "zealous": cf. OInd. *śácī-*, "energy, help".
Sak-, "to think of": Av. *sak-*.
Sa(ka)- (OP), "dog": OP equivalent of **spā-*, MP and NP *sag*.
Sāma-, "black": Av. *sāma-*, MP *sām*.
Sand-, "to accomplish": Av. *sand-*.
Sāpa- (Med.), "charming, friendly": cf. Sogd. *s'pt*, "left", a derivation from *pts'p*, "to like". Cf. Gershevitch (1969b: 195).
Sar-, "to have a relation with": Av. *sar-*.
Sāra- (Med.), "head": Av. *sāra-*.
Sāristā-, "noble": Old Iranian predecessor of Sogd. *s'rst*.
Sāstṛ-, "ruler": Av. *sāstar-*.
Sāsu-, "bedbug": NP *sās*.
Sata- (Med.), "hundred": OInd. *śatá-*, Av. *sata-*, Sogd. *st-*, Parth. *sd*, Khot. *sata-*, MP and NP *sad*, Oss. *sædæ*.
[1]Sauka-, "shining": OInd. *śocá-*, Av. *saok-*, "to burn softly".
[2]Sauka-, "profit": Av. *saoka-*.
Saura-, "salt": MP *sōr*, "salty" and *sōrag*, "salt (land)".
Sav-, "to yield benefit": OInd. *śav-*, "to swell, grow, increase", Av. *sav-*.
Sava- / savah-, "benefit, profit": OInd. *śávas-*, "power, might", Av. *sauua-* and *sauuah-*.
Saxra- (Med.), "strong": OInd. *śakrá-*.
Saxta- (Med.), "strong": Av. *saxta-* (Gershevitch 1959: 256), MP and NP *saxt*.
Saxva-: derivation from the Av. root *sak-*.
Sāy-, "to lie down": Av. *sāy-*, Waxi *nesīm*.
Sixa-, "tuft, lock of hair": OInd. *śíkhā-*.
Skamb-, "to lift": Av. *skamb-*.
Skauθi-, "unfree": OP *skauθi-*.
Skunxa-, "excellent": Oss. *sk'uänxun*, "to distinguish oneself" and *sk'unxt*, "excellent".
Spā-, "happy": Av. *spā-*, "happiness".
Spaka-, "dog": cf. Av. *spaka-*.

Span- (Med.), "dog": Av. *span-*.
Spāda-, "army": Av. and OP *spāda-*, NP *sipah*.
Spanta-, "sacred, holy": Av. *spənta-*.
Spara-, "shield": OInd. *sphara-*, MP *spar*, NP *sipar*.
Spāra-, "abundance, prosperity": OInd. *sphāra-*; cf. Av. *spārō.dāšta-*, "endowed with prosperity" (Humbach & Ichaporia 1998: 133).
Spita-, "abundant": OInd. *sphīta-* (cf. Bailey 1979: 437).
Spiθra-, "heaven": OInd. *śvitrá-*, "white", MP *spihr*, NP *sipihr*, "heaven".
Spṛda-, "zealous": Av. *spərəd-*.
Srauman- (Med.), "hearing ability": Av. *sraoman-*.
Srauša- (Med.), "obedient": Av. *sraoša-*.
Sravah- (Med.), "glory, fame": OInd. *śravas-*, Av. *srauuah-*, MP *sraw*.
Sravanta- (Med.), "obedient": derivation from **srav-*, "to hear, listen" (OInd. *śrav-*, Av. *srav-*, MP *srūdan*, NP *surūdan*).
Srī- (Med.), "beauty": OInd. *śrī-*, Av. *srī-*, Sogd. *šyr*, Khot. *śśära-*, Ormuri *šir*.
Srub- (Med.), "lead": Av. *sruua-*, MP *srub*.
Stā-, "to stand": OInd. *sthā-*, Av., OP and Khot. *stā-*, MP and NP *ēstādan*, Oss. *styn/istun*.
Stāna-, "place, position": OInd. *sthā́na-*, Av. °*stāna-*, OP *stāna-*, NP °*stān*.
Stāta-, "sturdy, solid, stable": derivation from Av. *stā-*, "to stand".
Stav-, "to praise": Av. *stav-*.
Stāva-, "praiseworthy": cf. Av. *stav-*.
Sti-, "food": derivation from OInd. *ad-*, "to eat", PIE **h₁ed-* (Bailey 1949-51: 121; Mayrhofer 1985: 165-166).
Stṛma-, "camp, encampment": Av. *stərəma-*.
Stūnā-, "column, pillar": OInd. *sthū́ṇá-*, Av. *stūna-*, OP *stūnā-*, NP *sutūn*.
Sū-, "prosperity": Av. *sū-* (cf. Kellens 1974: 100-101).
Supti-, "shoulder": Av. *supti-*.
[1]Sūra-, "morning": Av. *sūr-*.
[2]Sūra- (Med.), "strong": Av. *sūra-*, MP *sūr*.
Suxra-, "red" (Med.): Med. equivalent of OP *θuxra-*; OInd. *śukra-*, Av. *suxra-*, NP *surx*.
Svara-, "morning": OInd. *śvás-*, Av. *suuar-*, Khot. *svī-*.
Syaina-, "eagle": cf. Av. *saēna-*.
Syāma-, "black": OInd. *śyāmá(ka)-*, Av. *sāma-* (also a PN), MP *sām*.
Syāva-, "black": OInd. *śyāvá-*, Av. *šiiāva-*, MP *siyā*, Parth. *sy'w*, Khot. *śāva-*, "copper-coloured", NP *siyāh*, Oss. *sau*.

Š

Šafti-, "horse, steed": OInd. *sápti-*, Proto-Iranian **hafti-*.
Šaiθra-, "dwelling": OInd. *kṣétra-*, Av. *šōiθra-*, Khot. *ksīra-*, Tumšuq *xšera-*.
[1]Šana-, "merit": cf. Av. *han-*, "to merit".
[2]Šana-, "hemp": OInd. *śaṇá-*, MP *šan*.
Šap-, "to foster": OInd. *sap-*, Av. *hap-*.
Šargu-, "lion": MP *šagr*, Parth. *šrg*, Sogd. *šrγw* and *šrwγ*, Chor. *sarγ*, Khot. *sarau-*, NP *šer*.
Šāta-, "prosperous": variant of **šyāta-*, "prosperous", OP *šyāta-*. Cf. Av. *šāta-* and *šāti-*, MP *šād*, Parth. *š'd*.

Šāti-, "prosperity": variant of **šyāti-*.
Šav-, "to go, proceed": Av. *šav-*, OP *šyav-*.
Šība-, "path": Parth. *šībah*.
Štāna-, "place": cf. Av. *paiti-štāna-*, "living place"[224].
Šuna-, "whip": MP *'spšwn*, "whip" (cf. Henning 1940: 23).
Šyā-, "to enjoy, rejoice": Av. *šiiā-*.
Šyāti-, "prosperity": OP *šyāti-*.
Šyāva- (OP), "black": OP equivalent of **syāva-*.

T

Tačara-, "palace": OP *tačara-*, NP *tazar*, "summer-house".
Tāfta-, "hot, warm": MP *tāftan*, "to heat, burn".
Tāga-, "crown": NP *tāj*, Arm. *t'ag*.
Ta(h)ma- (OP), "brave, valiant": Old Persian equivalent of Median *taxma-*.
[1]Taka-, "wandering, running": cf. Av. *tak-*, "to run".
[2]Taka-, "shield": OP *taka-*. Perhaps related to OInd. *tvác-* and Gr. *σάκος* (EWAi I 684).
Takāra-, "jar": NP *tagār*, an earthen dish or bowl, Arm. *takaṙpeta*, "cupbearer".
Tan-, "to stretch": OInd. and Av. *tan-*, "to stretch", MP and NP *tan*, "to turn", Khot. *ttanv-*, "to stretch".
Tăna-, "offspring": cf. OInd. *tána-*.
Tanū-, "body": Av. and OP *tanū-*.
Tapa-, "warm, hot": Av. *tap-*, "to be hot".
Tapara-, "axe": NP *tabar*, Arm. *tapar*.
Tapu-, "hot, warm": OInd. *tápu-*. Cf. **tap-*.
Tāra-, "ford, transition": OInd. *tārá-*, "ford", Av. *tār-*, "to get over, reach".
Tarva-, "victorious": Av. *tauruuan-* and *tauruuayaṇt-*.
Tāta-, "father": OInd. *tāta-*.
Tati-, "crowd": OInd. *tati-*.
Tauka-, "offspring": OInd. *toká-*.
Taumā- (OP), "family": OP *taumā-*.
Tauman-, "strong": OP *tauman-*, "power, strength".
Tausa- (Med.), "bestowing richly": OInd. *tośá-*.
Tauθa- (OP): OP equivalent of **tausa-*.
Tauxman- (Med.), "seed": OInd. *tókman-*, "young blade of corn", Av. *taoxman-*, MP *tōhm*, Parth. *twxm*, NP *tuxm*, Pašto *tōma*.
Tav-, "to be strong": Av. and OP *tav-*.
Tavaka-, "strong, mighty, powerful": Sogd. *twk*.
Taxma- (Med.), "brave, valiant": Av. *taxma-*, Med. equivalent of OP *tahma-*.
Tigra-, "sharp, pointed; slender, slim": Av. *tiγra-*, OP *tigra-*.
Tīhū-, "partridge": MP *tīhōg*, "small grey partridge", NP *tīhū*, "partridge, quail".
Tṛp-, "to enjoy, become satiated": OInd. *tṛp-*.
Tu(h)ma-: derivation from **tuh-*, "to strive for; to exert oneself", itself developed from **tux-* (Av. *θβaxš-*, Sogd. *'ndwxš*).

[224] According to Hinz (ASN 189) **štāna-* is the Median equivalent of Old Persian *stāna-*. Nevertheless the PIE and OInd. equivalents (**steh₂-nó-* and *sthā́na-*) of both forms contradict this hypothesis. In order to comply with Hinz's dialectical division they should be **k̂teh₂-nó-* and *sṭā́na-*.

Tuvāna-, "strength": NP *tuvān*.
Tūxta-, "to reimburse": derivation from OIr. **taug-*, "to pay, reimburse", Sogd. *twz*, NP *toxtan*, "to pay a debt", Gk. *τύκτα*, Arm. *tužem*, "to penalize" and *tužim*, "to pay a penalty".
Tvan-, "capable": Av. *tuuan-*.

Θ

Θaigra- (OP), "garlic": OInd. *śigru-*, "horse radish tree", MP and NP *sīr*.
Θai(va)- (OP), "orphan": Av. *saē-*, Parth. *sywg*.
Θāna- (OP), "to resist": Av. **sāna-*, from *sā-*, "to resist".
Θandu-, "charming, pleasing": OInd. *chándu-*, OP *uθandu-*.
Θanj-, "to pull": Av. *θanj-*.
Θāpa- (OP), "charming": OP equivalent of **sāpa-*.
Θāra- (OP), "head": OP equivalent of **sāra-*.
Θata- (OP), "hundred": OP equivalent of **sata-*.
[1]Θav- (OP), "to yield benefit". OP equivalent of **sav-*.
Θaxra- (OP), "strong": OP equivalent of **saxra-*.
Θaxta- (OP), "strong": OP equivalent of **saxta-*.
Θifra- (OP), "lip": OInd. *śíprā-*, "lip".
Θrā- (Med.), "to protect": OInd. *trā-*, Av. *θrā-*.
Θri- (Med.), "three (times)": OInd. *trí-*, Av. *θray-/θri-*, Parth. *hry*, Khot. *drai-*, Pašto *dre*, Waxi *trūi*, Oss. *(æ)rtæ*.
Θrū-, "horn": Av. *θrū-*.
Θŭka- (OP), "light": Av. *sŭka-*, OP equivalent of **sŭka-*.
Θuna- (OP), "prosperity, thriving": OInd. *śuná-*.
Θūra- (OP), "strong": OP equivalent of *sūra-*.
Θuxra- (OP), "red": OP equivalent of **suxra-*.
Θyāva- (OP), "black": archaic equivalent of **syāva-*.

U

Ugra-, "strong": Av. *ugra-*.
Upadaya-, "supervisor": cf. Av. *dā-*, "to see" and *paiti.daiia-*, "supervisor".
Upama-, "superior": Av. *upama-*.
Upara-, "higher, superior": OInd. *úpara-*, Av. *upara-*.
Upastā-, "assistance, help": OP *upastā-*.
Urvāθā-, "friendship": Av. *uruuāθā-* (ApI 295; Gershevitch 1959b: 198-199).
Usana-, "wish": Av. *usan-*.
Usma-, "respectful": Av. *usma-*.
Uš-, "morning": Av. *ušah-*.
Ušša- (OP), "camel": OInd. *uṣtra-*, Av. *uštra-*, MP *uštar*, NP *uštur*. The historical development of the OP form is as follows: Av. *uštra-* > **ušça-* > **ušša-*.
[1]Ušta-, (1) "well-being, happiness", (2) "at wish": Av. *ušta-*.
[2]Ušta-, "wanted, desired": past part. of Av. *vas-*.
Uštā-, "os": cf. OInd. *uṣṭā-*, "bull drawing a plough".
Utā, "and": OInd. *utá*, Av. *uta*, OP *utā*, Parth. *'wd*.
[1]Uθa- (OP), "source, spring": Av. *usa-*.

[2]Uθa- (OP), "desirous": Av. *usant-*.
Uxda-, "word, proverb": Av. *uxδa-*.
Uxša-, "bull": Av. *uxšan-*.
Uxšiya-, "who makes grow": present stem of Av. *vaxš-*, "to make grow".
Uxti-, "obligation, promise": Av. *ŭxti-* (Benveniste 1964: 30; Livšic 1979b: 163).

V

Vad- (OP), "to lead, drive": OP equivalent of **vaz-* (OInd. *vah-*, Av. *vaz-*, MP and NP *wazīdan*, Khot. *bays-*, Chor. *wz*).
Vadar-, "weapon": Av. *vadar-*.
Vadī- (OP), "milch cow": OP equivalent of Av. *vazī-*.
Vahišta-, "best": Av. *vahišta-*, superlative of **vahu-*.
Va(h)ma-, "praising": Av. *vahma-*.
Vahu- (OPd), "good"[225]: OInd. *vásu-*, Av. *vaŋhu-*, OPs *vau-*.
Vahyah-, vahyas/z-, "better": OInd. *vásyas-*, Av. *vaxiiah-*, *vahiiah-*, *vaŋhah-* and *vaŋhiiah-*.
Vaiga-, "swinger, slinger": cf. Av. *vaēg-*, "to sling".
Vaijava-, "native": adjectival derivation from Av. *vaējah-*, "origin".
Vaina-: present stem of **vain-*, "to see" (OInd. *ven-*, Av. *vaēna-*, OP *vaina-*, MP *wēn*, Sogd. *wyn*, NP *bīm*, Oss. *wynyn*).
Vaisa- (Med.), "knight": Av. *vaēsa-*, Median equivalent of **vaiθa-*.
Vaiθ-, "to know": Av. *vaēθ-*.
Vaiθa-, "knight" (OP): OP equivalent of **vaisa-*.
Van-, "to overcome, prevail": Av. *van-*.
Vanant-, "victorious": Av. *vanaṇt-*.
Vandar-, "praised": cf. Av. *aš.vandara-*, "much praised" and the Av. PN Vaṇdarə-mainiš (Mayrhofer 1979: I/90).
Vanta-, (1) "loved", (2) "praise, honouring": Av. [2]*vanta-* and [3]*vanta-*.
Vanu-, "loving": cf. Av. *van-*, "to love".
Vanya-, "victorious": Av. *vaniia-*, derivation from *van-*.
Var-, "to choose": OInd., Av. and OP *var-*, MP *wurrōyistan*, Chor. *bw'rȳ*, NP *girawīdan*, Oss. *wyrnyn*.
Vāra-, "will, wish": Av. *vāra-*.
Varāda- (OP), "boar": OP equivalent of **varāza-*.
[1]Varah-, "breast": OInd. *úras-*, Av. [1]*varah-*, MP *var*, NP *bar*.
[2]Varah-, "ordeal": Av. [2]*varah-*, MP *var*.
Varan-, "sheep": cf. Av. **varan-*, attested in Av. *varakasāna-*, "herding the sheep".
Varāza- (Med.): Av. *varāza-*, Median equivalent of **varāda-*.
[1]Vard-, (1) "to make thrive, flourish", (2) "to grow": Av. *varəd-*.
[2]Vard- (OP), "to work, do": OP equivalent of **varz-*.
Varman-, "first choice, elite": Av. *varəman-*.
Varn-, "to believe": cf. Av. *varəna-*, "belief".
Varsa-, "hair": Av. *varəsa-*.
Vart-, "to turn": OInd. *vart-*, Av. *varət-*, MP *ward*, Parth. *wrd*, Chor. *'wrd*, NP *gardan*, Khot. *baḍ-*, "to move".

[225] Both substantive and adjective.

Vartana-, "chariot": Sogd. *wrtn*.
Varθa-, "defense, shield": Av. *varəθa-*.
Varya-, "desired; excellent": OInd. *várya-*, Av. *vairiia-*.
Varz-, "to work": Av *varəz-*.
[1]Vas- (Med.): "to want, wish": Av. *vas-*.
[2]Vas- (Med.), "as one would wish": Av. *vasə-*.
[1]Vasta-, "praised, honoured": past part. of Av. *vand-*, "to praise".
[2]Vasta-, "dressed": past part. of **vas-*, "to be dressed", OInd. *vas-*. Cf. Khot. *vāsta-*, "clothes" and Šuγni *–wůn*, "wearing a... dress".
Vat-, "insight": cf. Av. *vat-*, "to understand".
Vaθ- (OP): OP equivalent of **vas-*.
Vaθah- (OP), "eager for": Av. *vasah-*.
Vau (OPs), "good": cf. *vahu-*.
Vauna- (OPs), "blood": OPs equivalent of **vahuna-*, Av. *vohuna-*.
Vaxš-, "to (make) grow": Av. *vaxš-*, "to poke up (fire)".
Vāya-: present stem of **vā-*, "to chase away" (OInd. *vay-* Av. *vā(y)-*).
Vāzah-, "respect": cf. Av. *aṣa.vāzah-*, "bringing or having respect for Arta".
Vazra-, "mace": Av. *vazra-*.
Vibanda-, "beguiling, ensnaring": Parth. *wbndg*, Sogd. *wβ'ntk*.
Vid-, "to pierce": OInd. *vídh-*, "to pierce", Av. *ašəmnō.vīδ-*, "not piercing with the blade" (cf. Kellens 1974: 69), MP *vistan*, "to shoot", Pašto *wištəl*, "to shoot".
Vīd-, (1) "to participate", (2) "to take care of": Av. [2]*vaēd-* and *vīd-*. Cf. AiW 1442 (s.v. Vīdaṯ.gu-), Kellens (1974: 405n.3) and Mayrhofer (1979: I/93).
[1]Vīda-, "expert, specialist": OInd. *vid-*, "to know", Av. [1]*vaēd-*.
[2]Vīda-, "providing": present stem of **vind-*.
Vīdvah-, "knowing": Av. *vīduuah-*.
Vīdya-, "knowledge": < **vaidya-*, cf. Av. *vaēdiia-* and *vaēδiia-*.
Vifra-, "experienced": Av. *vifra-*.
Vigra-, "lively": OInd. *vigrá-*, "strong, vigorous".
Vind-, (1) "to find", (2) "to provide": OInd. *vi(n)d-*, Av. [2]*vaēd-*, OP *vind-*, MP *wind*, Parth. *wynd*.
Vīra-, "man": Av. *vīra-*.
Virafsa- (Med.), "abundance": OInd. *virapśá-*.
Virafθa- (OP): OP equivalent of **virafsa-*.
Vis-, "royal house": OInd. *víś-*, "village, settlement", Av. *vīš-*, "village, community", OP *viθ-*, MP *wis*, "village", Khot. *bisā-*, "house", Parāčī *γus*, "house".
Visa- (OP), "all": OP *visa-*.
Vis(a)puθra- (Med.), "prince": Av. *vīsō.puθra-*, MP *wispuhr*, Parth. *wyspwhr*.
Vispa- (Med.), "all, every": OInd. *víśva-*, Av. *vīspa-*.
Vistva-, "shooter, piercer": derivation from **vid-*.
Viš-, "to be active, act, work": OInd. *viṣ-*
Višmina-, "to enjoy, to be pleased": Parth. *wšmyn* and *wyšmn*.
[1]Višta-, "free, unbridled": past part. of **vi-šā-*, "to release, free", cf. OInd. *ví-ṣita-*, "released".
[2]Višta-, "trained": past part. of **viš-* (Bailey 1953: 95-103).
Višya- (OP), "belonging to the royal court": cf. OInd. *viśyà-* and Av. *vīsiia-*, "belonging to the community".
Viθ- (OP), "royal house": OP equivalent of **vis-*.

Viθapuça- (OP), "prince": OP equivalent of **visapuθra-*.
Viyā-, "to pass through, to travel": OInd. *vi-yā-* (with *yā-*, "to go").
Vrād- (OP), "to enjoy, rejoice": Av. *uruuāz-*.
Vrag-, "to walk": OInd. *vraj-*, Av. *uruuag-*.
Vrais- (Med.), "to wander around": Av. *uruuaes-*.
Vraiθ- (OP): OP equivalent of **vrais-*.
Vrantu- "streaming": Av. *uruuant-*.
Vrāsta-, "lovely": past part. of Av. *uruuāz-*, "to rejoice".
Vrata-, (1) "ruling", (2) "vow, pledge": OInd. *vratá-*, "will, command; law, ordinance", Av. *uruuāta-*.
Vratayanta-, "religious, pious": adjectival derivation from **vrata-*.
Vrāza- (Med.), "joyful": cf. Av. *uruuāz-*. Equivalent of OP *vrad-*.
Vṛd-, "to thrive, increase": OInd. *vardh-*, Av. *varəd-*, MP *wālīdan*, NP *bālīdan*.
Vṛdvant- (OP): OP equivalent of **vṛzvant-*.
Vṛdana- (OP): OP equivalent of **vṛzana-*, OP *vṛdana-*.
Vṛdi-, "happiness": Av. *vərədi-*.
Vṛka-, "wolf": OInd. *vṛ́ka-*, Av. *vəhrka-*, Sogd. *wyrk*, Khot. *birgga-*, NP *gurg*, Kurdish *varg*, Baluči *gvark*, Šuγni *wurj*.
Vṛta-, "hero": cf. NP *gord*, "hero".
Vṛzana- (Med.), "city, town": Av. *varəzāna-*, *vərəzāna-*.
Vṛzvant-, "efficient" (Med.): Av. *vərəzuuaṇt-*.
Vyādā-, "reward": Av. *viiādā-*.
Vyam-, "reward": Av. *viiam-*.
Vyušti-, "dawn": OInd. *vyùṣṭi-*, Av. *vii-usą* (infinitive), Sogd. *wyws*, Khot. *byūs-* and *byūṣta-*.

X

[1]Xan-, "well, source, spring": Av. *xan-*.
[2]Xan-, "to dig": cf. OInd. *khan-*.
Xara-, "ass": Av. *xara-*, NP *xar*.
Xauda-, "temper": NP *xōy*, "temper, habit, disposition".
Xratu- (Med.): Median equivalent of *xraθu-*, cf. Av. *xratu-*.
Xraθu- (OP), "insight, wisdom": OP *xraθu-*.
Xruta-, "miscreant": Av. *xruta-*.
Xšā-, "to learn": Av. *xšā-*.
Xšaça- (OP), "reign, kingdom": OP *xšaça-*.
Xšaita-, "brilliant, shining, illustrious": Av. *xšaēta-*.
Xšāvana-, "estate": Sogd. *xš'wn*.
Xšaθra- (Med.), "reign, kingdom": Med. equivalent of *xšaça-*, Av. *xšaθra-*.
Xšaustra-, "to flow": Av. *fəra-xšaostra-*, "to flow forward".
Xšay-, "to rule": OInd. *kṣay-*, Av. and OP *xšay-*.
Xšāyaθiya-, "king": OP *xšāyaθiya-*, NP *šāh*.
Xšnav-, "to satisfy": Av. *xšnav-*.
Xva- (East Ir.), "own": Av. *x^{v}a-*, East Iranian equivalent of **(h)uva-*.
Xvamna- (East Ir.), "sleep": Av. *x^{v}afna-*, MP *xwamn*.
Xvar-, "sun": East Iranian equivalent of (H)uvar-.
Xvarašya- (East Ir. — OP): equivalent of **xvaraθya-*.

Xvaraθya- (East Ir.), "serving the good cause": Av. *x"araiθiia-*.
Xvarθi-, "enjoying": Av. *x"arəθi-*.

Y

Yad- (OP), "to worship": OP *yad-* (OPG 1274-1279), OP equivalent of **yaz-*.
Yakā-, "Dalbergia Sassoo, the present jaγ-tree": OP *yakā-* (Gershevitch 1957: 317-320; Mayrhofer 1972c: 53).
Yāna-, "favour": Av. *yāna-*.
Yāra-, "year": Av. *yāra-*.
Yās-, "to desire": Av. *yās-*.
Yašna- (OP), "worship, worshiper": cf. Av. *yasna-*.
Yašta-, "dedicated": past part. of **yaz-*, "to worship".
Yāu-, "movable property": Av. *yāŋhuiia-*.
Yaud- (OP), "to agitate, fight": OP *yaud-*, OP equivalent of *yauz-*.
Yauda-, "fighter": cf. OInd. *yodhá-*.
Yaug-, (1) "to tense, fasten", (2) "to join": OInd. *yoj-*, Av. *yaog-*, MP *āyōxtan*, Šuγni *firůγn*, "willow band fastening yoke to plough-beam".
Yāuma(i)ni-, "physically apt": OP *yāumaini-* (cf. OPG 204; Duchesne-Guillemin 1970 and 1975).
[1]Yauna-, "homestead, place": Av. *yaona-*.
[2]Yauna-, "road, way": Khot. *gyūna-*, *jūna* (Bailey 1954: 138), Pašto *yūn* (Gershevitch 1959: 207-208).
Yauz- (Med.): Av. *yaoz-*, Median equivalent of **yaud-*.
Yaz- (Med.), "to worship": Av. *yaz-*, Median equivalent of **yad-*.
Yudra-, "warrior": cf. Av. *yūiδišta-*, "best warrior".
Yuga-: present stem of **yaug-*.
Yuta-, "bound": OInd. *yutá-*, the past part. of *yáu-*.
Yuvan, "young (man)": OInd. *yúvan-*, Av. *y(a)uuan-*, MP *juwān*, Parth. *yw'n*, Khot. *jvaa-*, NP *jaluvān*, Lat. *iuvenis*.

Z

Zabarna-, "superior": NP *zabar*.
Zabra-, "excellent": Baluči *zabr*.
Zāga-, "crow": NP *zāğ*.
Zaina-, "weapon": Av. *zaēna-*, MP *zēn*, Parth. *zyn*.
Zana- (Med.), "tribe": OInd. *jána-*, Av and OP *zana-*. Med. equivalent of **dana-*.
Zanga-, "ankle, shank": MP *zang*.
Zani-, "skilled, trained": cf. Av. *zaini-paršta-*, "questioned by the experienced one" and the Av. PN *Zaini-gu-* (Mayrhofer 1979: I/103-104).
Zanta-, "recognized": Av. *zan-*.
Zantu-, "tribe": Av. *zantu-*.
Zānū-, "knee": Sogd. *z'n(')wk*, NP *zānū*.
Zara-, "goal, striving": Av. *zara-*.
Zarmaya-, "spring": Av. *zarmaiia-*.
Zarna-, "gold": OInd. *híranya-*, Av. *zaraniia-*, OP *daraniya-*, Sogd. *zyrn*, Khot. *ysīrra-*, Oss. *zærīn(e)*.
Zarnu-, "gold": Av. *zarənu-*.

Zarya-, "gold-coloured, yellow": cf. OInd. *hári-*, Av. *zairi-*, MP and NP *zard* and Khot. *ysarūna-*.
Zāta- (Med.), "born": Av. *zāta-*.
Zauša- (Med.), "satisfaction", derivation from Av. *zaoš-*, "to care".
Zāvar-, "power, strength": Av. *zāuuar-*.
Zaya- (Med.), "weapon": Av. *zaya-*, MP *zay*.
Zayana-, "winter": Av. *zaiiana-*.
Zazvah-, "victorious": Av. *zazuuah-*.
Zīpa-, "beautiful": Sogd. *zyp'k*, NP *zībā*.
Zmī-, "land": cf. Av. *zam-*, "land".
Zranga- (Med.), "audacious, cunning": NP *zerang*, Median equivalent of OP **dranga-*.
Zranka-, "sea": cf. NP *zarāh*.
Zṛvan-, zrūn- (Med.), "time": Av. *zruuan-*, Parth. *zrw'n*, "old age", Sogd. *zrw*. Related to OInd. *jar-*.
Zūlah-, "injustice, evil" (l-dialect): equivalent of **zūrah-* (Av. *zǔrah-*, OP *zūrah-*, NP *zūr*, "lie").
Zušta- (Med.), "loved": past part. of **zauš-*, Av. *zaoš-*.

8.2 Prefixes, suffixes, conjunctions and prepositions

A

A(n)-: privative particle: OInd. *a-*, Av. *a(n)-*, OP *a(n)-*.
Ā-, "to": OInd., Av., OP, Khot. and NP *ā-*, Parth. '-, Sogd. ''-.
Abi-, "against, to", preposition and prefix: OInd. *abhí-*, Av. *aibī-* and *aiβi-*, OP *abi-*.
-aiča-: hypocoristic suffix (Hinz 1974: 259-260).
-aina-: hypocoristic suffix (Hinz 1974: 258-259).
-āna-: suffix indicating a patronymic (OnP 11.1.6.1.1).
Antar-, "in": OInd. *antár*, Av. *antarə*, OP *antar*.
Apa-, "away from": OInd. *ápa-*, Av. *apă-*, OP *apa-*, Khot. *pa-*.
Api-: emphatic prefix (and adverb): OInd. *ápi-*, Av. *aipǐ-*, OP *api-*.
-āta-: suffix reinforcing the meaning of the word it determines (Hinz 1974: 260).
Ati-, "beyond": OInd. *áti*, Av. *aiti*, OP *ati*, Khot *ata* and *atä*, "excessively".
-auka-: suffix *-uka-* with guna (OnP 11.1.7.3.6; Hinz 1974: 259).
Ava-, "to" (directional): OInd. *áva*, Av. *auuă*, OP *ava*.

Č

-ča-: hypocoristic suffix (IN 524; OnP 11.1.7.3.8; Hinz 1974: 259).
-čā-, "and": OInd. *-ca-*, Av. *-čă-*, OP *-čā-*.

F

Fa-, "good": dialectvariant of Av. *huua-*, OPs *uva-* and East Iranian *xva-*.
Fra-, "forward, forth": OInd. *pra-*, Av. *fră-*, OP and MP *fra-*, Sogd. *f-*, Khot. *ha-*, NP *far-*, Oss. *læ* and *ræ*, Waxi *ra-* and *re-*.

H

Hačā, "away from": OInd *sácā*, Av. and OP *hačā*, MP and NP *az*, Sogd. *č'mk*, Chor. *cm(y)k*, Khot. *jsa-*.
Hadā, "together with": OInd. *sahá*, Av. *hadā* and *haδa*, OP *hadā*, Oss. *æd-*, Pašto *la-*.
Hu- (OPd), "good": OInd. *su-*, Av. *hu-*, OPs *u-*, MP and Khot. *hu-*, *NP xu-*.
(H)uvă-, "good" (OP): Av. *huuă-*. Cf. **hu-*.

I

-i-: suffix indicating a patronymic.
-iča-: hypocoristic suffix (IN 524; OnP 11.1.7.3.8; Hinz 1974: 259).
-ika-: hypocoristic suffix (OnP 11.1.7.3.14; Hinz 1974: 259).
-ima-: hypocoristic suffix (OnP 11.1.7.3.11).
-ina-: hypocoristic suffix (Schmitt 1972f: 90).
-ita-: hypocoristic suffix (IN 525).
-(i)ya-: suffix constructing adjectives (IN 521; OPG 50-51; OnP 11.1.7.3.7; Schmitt 1989: 81-82).

K

-ka-: hypocoristic suffix (IN 521, 524 and 526; OnP 11.1.7.3.14).
(-)ku-: pejorative prefix or suffix (Duchesne-Guillemin 1936: 145-146).

N

-na-: nominal suffix (OPG 51).
Ni-, "downwards, down": OInd. *ní-*, Av., OP, MP, Khot. and NP *ni-*, Sogd. and Chor. *n-*, Bactrian *vo-*.
-ni-: nominalizing suffix (Bogoljubov 1969: 73).

P

Paišiyā, "before": cf. OP *paišiyā*.
Para-, "forward, forth": OInd. *purás* and *purā-*, Av. *pară-* and *parō-*, OP *para-*.
Pari-, "around": OInd. *pári-*, Av. *pairi-*, OP *pari-*, MP, Khot. and NP *par-*, Sogd. *p(y)r-*, Oss. *fæl-*.
Pasā (OP), "after": OInd. *paścá*, Av. *pasča*, OP *pasā*, MP and NP *pas*, Parth. *paš*, Khot. *patcu*, Oss. *fæl-*.
Pati-, "thereto, again": OInd. *práti-*, Av. *paiti*, OP *patiy*, MP *pad*.
Patiš, "against, anti-": OP *patiš*.

R

-ra-: hypocoristic suffix (IN 523; OnP 11.1.7.3.5).

Š

-šna- (OP): nominalizing suffix, OInd. *-tna-*, Av. *-θna-* (Benveniste 1954: 300-301).

T

-tā- (fem.): suffix used to create abstract forms (Benveniste 1954: 304; Gershevitch 1959: 286).
-ti-: suffix used to create abstract forms.

Θ

-θva-: suffix used to create abstract forms (Henning, apud Driver 1965: 64).

U

-uka-: hypocoristic suffix (Schmitt, apud OnP 11.1.8).
Upa-: "by, with, under": OInd. *úpa*, Av *upā*, OP *upa*, Khot. *bā*, NP *(a)bā*.
Us-, "out": Av. *us-*, Khot. *uys-*.

V

-va-: suffix constructing adjectives (OPG 51).
-vant-, -vatī- (fem.), "provided with, rich in": adjectival suffix; OInd., Av. and OP *-vant-*.
Vĭ-, (1) "apart from", (2) "through and through": OInd. *ví-*, Av. *vī-* and *vii-*, OP *vi(y)-*, MP *wi-*, Parth. and Sogd. *wy-*, Khot. *vi-*, NP *gu-*.

X

Xva- (East Ir.), "good": Av. *xᵛa-*, East Iranian equivalent of **(h)uvă-*.

9 LIST OF ONOMASTIC ELEMENTS AND THE NAMES IN WHICH THEY OCCUR

9.1 Anthroponyms and theonyms

A

Lexeme	Names
Abda-, "excellent"	*Abdāta-, *Abdava-
Abigna-, "attacking power"	*Abigna-, Bagābigna-, *Mazdābigna-, *Naryābigna-
[1]Abra-, "cloud"	*Abrača-, *Abraka-, *Abravadīš, *Abravarsa-
[2]Abra-, "dark-coloured"	*Abragauš
Ābṛta-, "bringer of water"	*Ābṛtiya-
Ābū-, "assistant, helper"	*Ābūya-
[1]Ādā-, "reward"	*Ādāka-
Ādāta-, "noble"	*Raivādāta-, *Rēvādāta-
Afuv-, (1) "belly", (2) "fear"	*Afuviča-
Agāma-, "festival"	*Vahyāgāma-
Āgriya-, "loyal"	*Āgriya-
Āhitā, "defiled"	Anāhitā- (DN)
Aisma-, "(holy) firewood"	*Ēsmabṛju-, *Ēsmačiriš, *Ēsmapāna-
Aiš-, "to look for"	*Patēša-, *Paθnīyēša-
Aiθ-, "to be lord"	*Būmēθa-
Alī-, "unfaithful"	*Mṛnčalī-
Ama-, "strength, power"	*Amadahyuš, *Amadara-, *Amasrī-, *Amātā-, *Amavṛta-, *Amazāta-, *Amēča-, *Amuka-, Aršāma-, *Bagāma-, *Kārāmīš, *Ṛkāma-, *Ṛmāma-, *Ṛtahuvama-, *Spitāma-, *Šāvamā-, *Ta(h)māma-, *Tiryāma-, *Uštāma-, *Vīrāma-

Anda-, "blind"	*Andaka-
Angma-, "bracelet"	*Angmāna-, *Angmăŕma-
Anθa-, "share"	*Anθa-
Anzū-, "narrow"	*Anzātika-, *Anzūka-
Āp-, "water"	*Āpātaya-, *Āpayauka-, *Āpbōjana-, *Āpbuja-, *Āpēča-, *Āpičīš
Apakava-, "having a bump"	*Apaka-, *Apakava-
Apama-, "the last"	*Apamā-
Apara-, "later"	*Apara-
Āpāta-, "cultivated"	*Āpātaya-
Ar-, "to set oneself in motion"	*Ārayavahuš
Ara-, "wild"	*Arabāzuka-
Aram-, "in the right way"	*Aramdāta-
Arba-, "juvenile, child"	*Arbaiča-, *Arbakă-, *Arbakāna-, *Arbakaya-, *Arbamiça-, *Arbamihra-, *Arbamiθra-, *Arbāna-, *Arbarēva-, *Arbaθēva-, *Arbauka-, *Arbaupama-, *Arbēna-, *Arbina-, *Arbuka-, Čiçārba-, *Ta(h)mārba-
Ardra-, "loyal"	*Kantardra-
Arg-, "to be valuable"	*Argaiča-, *Razmahuarga-, *Ta(h)mārga-
Arja-, "valuable"	*Arjaka-, *Arjukā-
Arna-, "battle, fight"	*Arnapā-
Arti-, "reward"	*Ratartiya-
Aruna-, "reddish brown"	*Aruna-
Aruša-, "white"	*Aruša-
Ar(u)vasta-, "physical prowess"	*Ar(u)vastă(h)mara-
Arva(nta)-, "swift, fast"	*Arvaiča-, *Arvaina-, *Arvă niča-, *Arvantapāta-, *Arvaraθa-, *Arvasaxta-, *Arvāspa-, *Arvātiya-, *Arvazūla-, *Arvēča-, *Arvišta-, *Razmārva-

Arza-, "battle"	*Arzaraθaina-
Asa-, "horse"	*Asabanda-, *Asaçŭtaka-, *Asaka-, *Asapāna-, *Asara-, *Asastiya-, *Asāštrāna-, *Asavanta-, *Hangāmāsīš, *Humāyāsa- (GN), *(H)uvarasa-, *(H)uvasafarnā, *(H)uvasāvanya-, *(H)uvasēna-, *Naryāsa-, *Pat(i)yasa-, *Patīsa-, *Vantāsa-
Asanga-, "stone"	*Asanga-
Asman-, "stone"	*Asmaraupa-
Aspa-, "horse"	*Arvāspa-, *Aspa-, *Aspabāra-, *Aspača-, Aspačanā, *Aspačinā, *Aspadasta-, *Aspadṛda-, *Aspaguš, *Aspaka-, *Aspamiša-, *Aspanaxva-, *Aspanjĭra-, *Aspasrī-, *Aspasta-, *Aspastāna-, *Aspastiya-, *Aspasuptiš, *Aspašuna-, *Aspatatika-, *Aspavatīš, *Aspavēθāna-, *Aspayauda-, *Aspazanta-, *Aspēča-, *Aspēna-, *Aspuka-, *Aspušta-, *Bōdaspa-, *Bṛdiaspa-, *Hapataspa-, *(H)uvaspa-, *Jāmāspa-, *Naryāspa-, *Pat(i)yaspa-, *Patīspa-, *Ṛdaspāna-, *Satāspa-, *Ta(h)māspa-, *Vandaraspa-, *Vardāspa-, *Vartāspa-, *Vigrāspa-, Vištāspa-, *Zaryāspa-
Aspṛna-, "entire, whole"	*Aspṛna-, *Aspṛnika-
Ast-, "bone(s)"	*Aspasta-, *Astauka-(?), *Çōastiya-(?), *(H)uspāsta-
Asta-, "homestead"	*Astašēbarva-, *Astauka-(?)
Asti-, "guest"	*Astauka-(?), *Astiya-, *Astīš, *Çōastiya-(?), *Gēdāstiš, *Vauvastiš
Astu, "may he be"	*Aryāstu-
Āsu, "swift"	*Āsušava-

Āšta-, "messenger"	*Bagāšta-
Aštrā-, "whip"	*Asāštrāna-, *Manθāštrā-
Aθarvan-, "priest"	*Aθarvā
Āθi-, "fear, distress"	*Āθi-
Āθiya-, "fear, distress"	*Āθībuga-, *Āθīmušti, *Āθīvahyā, *Āθīpāta-, *Āθiyabuga-, *Āθiyavahyā
Āθravan-, "priest"	*Āθravā
Augah-, "power, strength"	*Augā, *Nāfaugā,
Aujah-, "power, strength"	*Aryāujaka-, *Aujā, *Aujaka-
Auš-, "to burn"	*Yadaušiya-
Auta-, "cold"	*Autaya-
Avah-, "water"	*Avuθa-
Avārya-, "irresistible"	*Avāryamanā
Axšaina-, "blue-green"	*Axšēna- (DN and PN)
Axšiya-, "to hurl"	*Axšīvazra-
Āxšti-, "peace"	*Āxštibara-, *Āxštifarnā
Axštra-, "oversight"	*Uvaxštra-
Ay-, "to go"	*Patiyayaka-
Ayah-, "metal"	*Ayaka-
Ayaska-, "without disease"	*Ayaska-
Āyu-, "long time, long life"	*Āyuka-, *Āyurēva-, *Āyuš, *Dargāyuš
Āza-, "pointing"	*Āzaka-
Āzāta-, "noble, free"	*Huvāzāta-

B

Badra-, "happy"	*Badrapārsa-
Bādu-, "arm"	*Bādura-, *Bāduvasta-, *Bagabāduš, *Hambāduš, *Haθēbāduš, *(H)ubāduš, *Manyabāduš, *Miçabāduš, *Ṛtabāduš

Bāga-, "share"	*Hadābāga-, *Varyabāga-
Bagavanta-, "happy"	*Bagavanta-
Bahya-, "quince"	*Bahyaina-
Bāma-, "light, lustre"	*Aryabāma-, *Bagabāma-, *Bāma-, *Bāmaka-, *Bāmuš, *Bāmya-(?), *[Hu]bāma-, *Nmabāma-, *Ṛtabāma-
Bāmya-, "shining"	*Bāmya-(?), *Hambāmya-
[1]Band-, "to bind"	*Asabanda-
[2]Band-, "to support"	*Bagabanda-
Bandaka-, "servant"	*Bandaka-
Bandu-, "relatives, kin"	*Banduxšaça-, *(H)ubanduš
Banga-, "hemp"	*Bangavā
Bānu-, "beam, lustre, light"	*Āṭṛbānuš, *Bānuya-, *Čiçabānuš, *Čiθrabānuš, *Hadābānuš, *Haxībānuš, *Haxiyabānuš, *(H)ubānāma-, *(H)uvarbānu-, *Hūtibānu-, *Miθrabānuš, *Ṛtabānuš, *Ušbānuš, *Xšaçabānuš, *Xšaθrabānuš, *Xvanbānuš
Banz-, "to support"	*Bagabanza-
Bara-, "bearing, carrying, esteeming"	*Āxštibara-, *Barātauka-, *Baratkāma-, *Baratavahuš, *Barēna-, *Çībara-, *Hambarača-, *Hubara-, *Kārabara-, *Manubara-, *Manyabara-, *Miçabara-, *Miθrabara-, *Nadabara-, *Nāmabara-, *Pāhrabarāna-, *Rašnubara-, *Ṛta(m)bara-, *Ṛzabarǎ, *Šātibara-, *Upastābara-, *Vahēbara-, *Vaubara-, *Vēbara-, *Vēzbara-
Bāra-, "rider"	*Aspabāra-, *Gaubāra-, *Taxmabāra-
[1]Barva-, "to devour"	Gaubar(u)va-
[2]Barva-, "to cherish"	*Astašēbarva-, *Pitabarva-

Basta-, "supported"	*Bagabasta-
Bāta-, "wine"	*Bāta-, *Bātadāta-, *Paurubāta-
Bauda-, "fragrant, odoriferous"	*Baudā-, *Baudēna-, *Bōda-, *Bōdakă̆-, *Bōdāna-, *Bōdaspa-, *Bōdiča-, *Bōdēna-, *(H)ubōdā-, *(H)ubōdiš
Baug-, "to release"	*Bagabauga-, *Bauga-, *(H)ubaugā-
Bauj-, "to release"	*Baujaya-, *Hambauja-
Baujana-, "benefit, profit"	*Āpbōjana-, *Baujana-, *Māhībaujana-, *Miθrabaujana-, *Vibōjana-, *Vištabaujana-
Baura-, "red-brown"	*Bauraka-, *Bōraka-, *Baurĭš
Bauša-, "release"	*Baušaka-
Bauxša-, "releasing"	*Bauxšavīra-, *Bōxšavīra-, *Ṛtabauxša-
Baxš-, "to bestow, dispense"	*Baxša-, *Šatibaxša-
Baxta-, "fate, destiny"	*Baxta-
Baya-, "fear"	*Bayaçā-
Bāzu-, "arm"	*Arabāzuka-, *Āṭṛbāzu-, *Bagabāzu-, *Bāzu-, *Bāzubaga-, *Farnabāzu-, *Hambāzu-, *Tīrībāzu-
Bīm-, "frightening"	*Bīmēna-, *Bīmiya-
Biš-, "healing"	*Nāfyābiš
Bīza-, "seed, semen"	*Bīza-, *Bīzuka-
Brād-, "to shine"	*Brāduš, *(H)ubrāduš
Brīra-, "yielding"	*(H)ubrīra-, *Patibrīra-
Bṛd-, "to exalt"	*Arēbṛdana-, *Dahyubṛdana-, *Dantubṛdana-, *Nāfabṛdana-, *Šātibṛdana-, *Šyātibṛdana-
Bṛda-, "high"	*Bṛdanta-, *Bṛdava-
Bṛdi-, "high"	*Bagabṛdiš, *Bạrdiya-, *Bṛdiaspa-, *Bṛdisāra-, *Bṛdiš
Bṛju-, "bringing"	*Ēsmabṛju-
Bṛta-, "carried"	*Bagabṛta-, *Hambṛtavahuš, *Hambṛtavauš

Bṛz-, "to exalt"	*Čiθrabṛzana-, *Çīrabṛzana-, *Dantubṛzana-, *Miθrabṛzana-, *Parabṛzana-, *Ṛtabṛzana-, *Šātibṛzana-, *Šēbṛzana-, *Yaunabṛzana-, *Zantubṛzana-
Bṛza-, "high"	*Bṛza-, *Bṛzaka-, *Bṛzanarava-, *Bṛzēna-, *Hambṛza-, *Jĭrabṛzaka-
Bṛzaka-, "long"	*Mijābṛzakā-
Bṛzi-, "high"	*Bạrziya-, *Bṛzimanā
Budra-, "vigilant"	*Budra-
Buga-, "releasing"	*Āθibuga-, *Āθiyabuga-, *Buga-, *Ṛtabuga-, *Vibuga-
Buja-, "releasing"	*Āpbuja-, *Buja-, *Bujina-
Būmi-, "earth, soil, world"	*Būmēθa-
Busta-, "clever, attentive"	*Vibusta-
[1]Buxša-, "releasing"	*Ṛtabuxša-
[2]Buxša-, "bestowing benefit"	Bagābuxša-, *Buxša-
Buxta-, "saved, released"	*Buxtaka-, *Buxtavīra-, *Buxtēča-, *Buxtēna-
Buxθa-, "saved"	*Buxθika-

Č

Čagman-, "present, gift"	*Čagmana-
Čagni-, "forthcoming"	*Abičagniš
Čaita-, "insight"	*Čaita-, *Čaitakā-, *Čaitāta-, *Čēta-
Čakā-, "lark"	*Čakauka-, *Čakōka-
Čaman-, "meadow"	*Čamanpā-, *Čamanva-, *Ṛtačamana-
Čanah-, "desire"	Aspačanā, *Čanadāta-, *Čanagōθra-, *Čanakā-, *(H)uvaičanā, *(H)uvančanā, *Ibēčanā, *Razmačanā, *Ṛtačanā
Čar-, "to pasture"	*Čaraka-
Čāra-, "help"	*Čāravana-

Čartu-, "race course"	*Čartukāna-, *Čartuš
Čaša-, "teacher"	*Čašēna-
Čašman-, "eye"	*Vičašma-
Čaθru-, "four"	*Čaθriya-
Čauba-, "wood, log"	*Čōbaka-
Čauka-, "owl"	*Čaukiča-, *Čōkiča-
Čaxra-, "wheel"	*Čaxra-
Čaxri-, "effectuating"	*Činčaxriš(?)
Čī-, "to collect"	*Āpičīš, *Θāigračīš (DN)
[1]Čiça-, "lineage, origin"	*Ātṛčiça-(?), *Čiça-(?), *Čiçaka-(?), *Čiçakarāna-, *Čiçanta(h)ma-, *Čiçantaxma-, *Čiçauka-(?), *Čiçava-, *Čiçavahuš, *Čiçavaka-, *Čiçavauš, *Čiçavṛka-, *Čiçēča(?), *Čiççanduš, *Čiçōpama-, *Čiçuka-(?), *Pāčiça-, *Raivačiça-, *Vaučiça-
[2]Čiça-, "shining, splendid"	*Ātrčiça-(?), *Čiça-(?), *Čiçabānuš, *Čiçafarnā, *Čiçaka-(?), *Čiçārba-, *Čiçauka-(?), *Čiçēča-(?), *Čiçuka-(?), *Dahyučiça-
Činah-, "desire, wish"	*Aspačinā, *Činiča-, *Činika-, *Miθračinā, *Ṛtačinā
Čira-, "capable"	*Čiratakā-, *Ēsmačirīš, *Vaučir(a)ka-
Čitaya-, "intent upon"	*Čitēgōθra-
[1]Čiθra-, "lineage, origin"	*Ātṛčiθra-(?), *Bagačiθra-, *Čiθrabṛzana-, *Čiθraka-(?), *Čiθrakiš(?), *Čiθramiθra-, *Čiθrantaxma-, *Čiθraspauka-, *Čiθrava-, *Čiθravanya-(?), *Čiθrēna-(?), *Čiθrina-(?), *Čihramēθana-, *Raivačiθra-, *Vaučiθra-
[2]Čiθra-, (1) "shining, splendid", (2) "external appearance"	*Ātṛčiθra-(?), *Čihramēθana-, *Čiθrabānuš, *Čiθradauçaka-, *Čiθrafarnā, *Čiθraka-(?),

	*Čiθrakiš(?), *Čiθramēθana-, *Čiθraspāda-, *Čiθravanya-(?), *Čiθrazṛva-, *Čiθrēna-(?), *Čiθrina-(?), *Mazdāčiθra-
Čusta-, "elegant"	*Čusta-

Ç

Çā-, "to protect"	*Bayaçā-, *Çāzanā-, *Dātuçika-, *Rāmaçā-, *Ṛkaçā-
Çaima-, "superiority"	*(H)uçēma-
Çaišta-, "most beautiful"	*Çēšta-
Çau-, "beautiful, capable"	*Çauraθya-, *Çōastiya-, *Çōčika-, *Çōmēzaka-
Çauša-, "obedient"	*Çaušaya-
Çava-, "beautiful, capable"	*Çavahaxtiš, *Çavasixa-
Çavah-, "glory, fame"	*Dargaçavā, *(H)uçavā, *(H)uçavya-, *Vauçavā
Çayan-, "beauty"	*(H)uçayā
Çi-, "three (times)"	*Çipuka-
Çī-, "beauty"	*Çībara-
Çima-, "strength"	*Çimaka-, *Çimavīra-
Çīra-, "beautiful"	*Çīrabṛzana-, *Çīrafarnā, *Çīrakā-, *Çīratama-, *Çīrauka-, *Çīrayauda-, *Çīruka-, *(H)uçīra-
Çŭta-, "famous, well-known"	*Asaçŭtaka-, *Çŭta-, *Çŭtaka-, *Çŭtakāra-, *Çŭtavāta-, *Çŭtayauda-, *Çŭtēča-, *Çŭtēna-, *Çŭtuka-, *Fraçŭta-, *Ramīçŭtā-, *Ṛtāvahuçŭtīš, *Vauçŭta-

D

Dā-, "to give"	*Dadātika-

Dahyāu- / dahyu-, "land"	*Amadahyuš, *Apadahyuš, *Dahyubṛdana-, *Dahyučiça-, *Dahyufarnā, *Dahyufraša-, *Dahyuka-, *Dahyuvrēsa-, *Dahyuvrēθa-, *Dēfrāda-, *Rāmadahyuš
Dainā-, "religion"	*Dainaka-, *Dainamazdāyasnīš, *Dēnāva-, *(H)udēna-, *Ramnadainā-, *Upadēna-
Daisa-, "information"	*Daisaka-, *Dēsaka-
Daiθa-, "information"	*Daiθaka-, *Daiθauka-, *Dēθa-, *Dēθaka-
Daiva-, "idol, demon"	*Apadaiva-, *Daivuka-, *Dēviča-, *Dēvuka-
Daiza-, "fortress"	*Daizaka-, *Dēzaka-
Dāman-, "living place"	*Xvaidāmā
Dāmi-, "creating"	*Dāmidāta-, *Dāmika-, *(H)uvadāmiš
Dana-, "kind, art"	*Vaudana-
[2]Dāna-, "gift, present"	*Bagadāna-, *Haumadāna-, *Vīradāna-
Dantu-, "tribe, clan"	*Bagadantuš, *Dantubṛdana-, *Dantubṛzana-, *Dantuka-, *Dantūšta-, *Dantuvanta-, *(H)udantuš
Dar-, "to hold (firmly)"	*Amadara-, *Dāraya-, *Dārayafarnā, *Dārayapā-, Dārayavauš, *Dārēfarnā, *Kāradārā-, *Yaudāra-
Dara-, "goal"	*Daraiča-
Dard-, "to seize"	*Vaudarda-
Darga-, "long"	*Darga-, *Dargaçavā, *Dargaka-, *Dargam/va-, *Dargamanā, *Dargaya-, *Dargāyuš, *Dargazṛva-, *Dargina-
Darma-, "right conduct, law"	Upadarma-

Darmāka-, "supporter"	*Darmāka-
Dāru-, "wood"	*Dāruka-
Darš-, "to dare"	*Dādaršiš, *Dādṛša-
Dasa-, "ten"	*Dasapāθrauka-
Dasma-, "gift, present"	*Amadasma-
Dasta-, "trained"	*Aspadasta-, *Dasta-
[1]Dāta-, "created, given"	*Āṭṛdāta-, *Auradāta-, *Bagadāta-, *Bātadāta-, *Dāmidāta-, *Dāta-, *Dātafarnā, *Dātahukṛta-(?), *Dātaka-, *Dātama-, *Dātamanθra-, *Dātamiça-, *Dātamiθra-, *Dātapar(u)va-, *Dātauka-, *Dātaupama-, *Dātauvēθa-, *Dātavēθa-, *Dātāyana-, *Dātēča-, *Dātēna-, *Dātiya-, *Farnadāta-, *Faršandāta-, *Gēdāta-, *Haumadāta-, *Haxādātiča-, *(H)udātāna-, *(H)uvandāta-, *(H)uvardāta-, *Māhīdāta-, *Māidātika-, *Mazdādāta-, *Miθradāta-, *Paradāta-, *Rašnudāta-, *Rašnudāta-, *Rauxšnadāta-, *Ṛtadāta-, *Spantadāta-, *Spihradāta-, *Šargudāta-, *Tigradāta-, *Tīradāta-, *Tīrīdāta-, *Tīryadāta-, *Vačadāta-, *Vasdāta-, *Vaudāta-, *Vīradāta-, *Xvandāta-, *Xvaršadāta-
[2]Dāta-, "born"	*Čanadāta-, *Dātahukṛta-(?), Dātavahyā, *Sāstṛdāta-, *Varyadāta-
[3]Dāta-, "law"	Vahyazdāta-, *Vēzdāta-
Dātu-, "naturally"	*Dātuçika-, *Dātuka-, *Dātuya-
Daθa-, "possession"	*Parudaθa-
Dāθa-, "clever"	*Vidāθa-
Dauça-, "sacrifice"	*Bagadauça-, *Čiθradauçaka-, *Dauçakāma-, *Vaudauça-

Dauša-, "zestfulness"	*Dauša-, *Daušaka-, *Daušava-
Dautar-, "priest"	*Bagadautā
Davant-, "he who impels"	*Davantāna-
Daxš-, "to teach"	*Daxšēna-
Daya-, "to see"	*Upadaya-, *Upadē-
Dāyu-, "cherishing"	*Bagadāyuš
Dī-, "to see"	*Dīd(i)yaka-
Dišt-, "kettle"	*Dištiya-
Dranga-, "audacious"	*Abidranga-, *Vidranga-, *Vidrangāna-
Draxta-, "tree"	*Draxtāma-
Drazdā-, "faithful"	*Ādrazdā-
Dri-, "carrying"	*Jaidriš
Dr(u)va-, "stable, firm"	*Dr(u)va-, *Dr(u)vagēθa-, *Dr(u)vāna-, *Dr(u)vaspāda-, *Dr(u)vāta-, *Dr(u)vavistva-, *Dr(u)viča-, *Dr(u)viya-, *Nidr(u)va-, *Visādrūš, *Xšayadr(u)va-
Dṛda-, "heart"	*Aspadṛda-, *Dṛdavanuš
Dṛna-, "harvest"	*Dṛnaka-
Dṛta-, "harvested"	*Vidṛta-
Dṛθ-, "to look at"	*Dṛθiš, *Dṛθiya-
Dṛva-, "time"	*Dṛva- (DN), *Vōdṛvaniča-
Dūra-, "far, distant"	*Dūramižda-
Duš-, "bad"	*Dušxaudā
Dušta-, "loved"	*Bagadušta-
Dūta-, "messenger"	*Dūta-, *Dūtaka-, *Dūtaxšaya-, *Dūtēna-, *Dūtina-
Dvi-, "two"	*Dvitauka-

F

Farnah-, "glory, splendour"	*Āṭṛfarnā, *Āxštifarnā, *Bagafarnā,

	*Bagafarnaya-, *Čiçafarnā, *Čiθrafarnā, *Dahyufarnā, *Dārayafarnā, *Dātafarnā, *Farnabāzu-, *Farnadāta-, *Farnainiš, *Farnaka-, *Farnauxti-, *Farnavā, *Farnaya-, *Farnazāta-, *Farniča-, *Farnima-, *Farnuka-, *Frādafarnā, *Gīrafarnā, *Hātafarnā, *(H)ufarnakā-, *(H)umāyafarnā, *(H)uvasafarnā, *Mādafarnā, *Mangafarnā, *Miθrafarnā, *Parufarnā, *Ṛšafarnā, *Ṛštahufarnā, *Ṛtafarnā, *Šyātifarnā, *Ta(h)mafarnā, *Tīrīfarnā, *Tīryafarnā, *Uxdafarnā, *Vahufarnā, *Vaufarnā, *Vāuššafarnā, Vindafarnā, *Vīrafarnā, *Visafarnā, *Viθafarnā, *Xvarfarnā
Frād-, "to further"	*Dēfrāda-, Frāda-, *Frādafarnā, *Frādauka-, *Frādavauš, *Frādōka-, *Gaufrāda-, *Patifrāda-, *Ṛtafrāda-, *Ṛtafrādīš, *Vaufrāda-
Fradāta-, "furthered"	*Bagafradāta-, *Fradāta-, *Vātafradāta-
Fragau-, "treasure"	*Fragauka-
Fraišta-, "messenger"	*Fraištāna-
Fraita-, "walking on"	*Fraitīš
Framāna-, (1) "command", (2) "standard"	*Framā-
Framātar-, "commander"	*(H)uvaframātiya-
Frāpari-, "leading forward"	*Frāpariš
Fras-, "to ask"	*Frasuka-
Frasrŭta- (Med.), "famous"	*Frasrŭta-
Frasta-, "asked"	*Frasta-, *Frastauka-
Fraša-, "excellent"	*Dahyufraša-, *Frašagu-, *Frašāma-, *Frašiš
Frašti-, "jurisdiction"	*Xšāfraštāna-

Frata-, "excellent"	*Frataka-, *(H)ufrata-, *Kāmafrata-
Fratama-, "noble"	*Fratama-
[1]Fraθ-, "to ask"	*Fraθauka-(?)
[2]Fraθ-, "to spread, extend"	*Fraθasavā, *Fraθauka-(?)
Fravān-, "amply"	*Fravānpā-
Fravarti-, "chosen"	*Bagafravartiš
Frāza-, "forward"	*Frāza-
Frazu-, "valuable"	*Frazuš
Friθu-, "joyful"	*Friθuš
Frya-, "dear, kind"	*Frēna-, *Frya-, *Fryamanā, *Fryāna-, *Fryapatiš, *Fryāspa-, *Hamfrya-, *(H)uvăfrya-, *(H)uvaspādafrīš, *Ṛtāufrya-, *Vaufrya-, *Vispafryā-
Fšu-, "cattle"	*Fšuvīra-

G

Gadā-, "mace"	*Gadaka-, *Gadakara-, *Gadāta-, *Gadauka-, *Gadōka-, *Gadavara-, *Gadēča-, *(H)ugadaya-
Gaiθa-, "household"	*Dr(u)vagēθa-, *Gēθĭš, *Ta(h)magēθa-
Gaiθu-, "curly"	*Gaiθu-, *Gēθu-
Gam-, "to come"	*Gmata-
Gāma-, "stride, step"	*Xvagāma-
Ganja-, "treasure"	*Ganjavā-
Gar-, "praise"	*Va(h)magara-
Garša-, "joyful"	*Garšapāta-
Gasta-, "evil, distress"	*Pātagasta-
Gāθu-, "throne"	*Ṛtagāθu-
Gau- / gu-, "cattle"	*Abragauš, *Aspaguš, *Frašagu-, *Gaubāna-, *Gaubāra-,

	*Gaubar(u)va-, *Gaubiya-, *Gaudēna-, *Gaudika-, *Gaufrāda-, *Gauka-, *Gaukava-, *Gaupatiš, *Gaupavanta-, *Gaustāna-, *Gausūri-, *Gaušapāna-, *Gautama-, *Gōpāna-, *Gōpāruš, *(H)ugōpāna-, *(H)uvagauka-, *Pariguš, *Parugučīš, *Paruguš, *Patigōka-
Gaud-, "to conceal"	*Gaudēna-, *Gaudika-, *Gōduka-, *Hangōdā-, *Nigauda-
Gaumaiša-, "buffalo"	*Gaumēšā-, *Gōmaiša-, *Gōmēša-
Gauman-, "having cattle"	*Gaumā, *Gaumaka-, *Gaumāta-, *Gaumata(h)ma-, *Gaumiča-, *Gōmanta-
Gauna-, "hair"	*Gaunaka-, *Gauniya-, *Gōnika-
Gaura-, "inspiring fear"	*Gauraka-, *Gaurēča-, *Gōrēča-
Gauša-, "ear"	*Vahyagauša-
Gauθra-, "jewel"	*Čanagōθra-, *Čitēgōθra-, *Hangōθrā-
Gauz-, "to conceal"	*Gauzaina-, *Gauzēna-, *Sāragōzīš, *Θāragōzīš
Gavṛθa-, "sorghum"	*Gavṛθa-
Gaya-, "life"	*Gēdāstiš, *Gēdāta-, *Pāçagaya-
Gaza-, "to receive"	*Navagaza-
Gīr-, "to grab"	*Gīrafarnā
Gīti-, "singer"	*Gītika-
Gna-, "vulnerability"	*Agnāta-
Grab-, "to seize"	*Grabāta-
Gṛda-, "house"	*Gṛdavā, *Gṛdavīš, *Gṛdōššapāna-
Gṛdya-, variant of *gṛda-	*Gṛdyabṛza-, *Gṛdyavā
Gṛzi-, "complaining"	*Gṛziyuka-, *Hiθagṛzi-, *Rapagṛzīš
Gu-, "cattle"	cf. *gau-*
Gunda-, "thick"	*Gunda-, *Gundaini-, *Gundaka-

H

Habā-, "community"	*Habārda-
Hafni-, "to take care"	*Hafniaspa-
Hafti-, "horse, steed"	*Haftiš
Hainā-, "(hostile) army"	*Haină-, *Hainapāθra-, *Hēnaka-
Hakṛta-, "sudden"	*Hakṛta-
Hama-, "alike, co-"	*Hamarāziš, *Hambāduš, *Hambāmya-, *Hambarača-, *Hambāzu-, *Hambṛtavahuš, *Hambṛtavauš, *Hambṛza-, *Hammanya-, *Hammanyuš, *Hampāna-
Hambauja-, "partaker"	*Hambauja-
Hana-, "old"	*Hanaka-
Hangām-, "to assemble"	*Hangāma-, *Hangāmāsīš, *Hanjāmāna-
Hap-, "to keep"	*Hapa-
Hapṛθa-, "juniper"	*Hapṛθa-
Haptaxva-, "1/7"	*Haptaxva-
Hart-, "well-nourished"	*Hartika-
1Hasta-, "victorious"	*Rasmāhasta-
Hāta-, (1) "earned", (2) "wealth"	*Hāta-, *Hātafarnā, *Hātaka-, *Hātamarga-, *Hātarāda-, *Paruhāta-, *Pauruhāta-
Haθya-, "real, true"	*Haθēbāduš, *Haθebaga- *Haθēkāma-, *Haθēna-, *Haθēvanya-, *Haθēvīra-, *Haθya-, *Haθyabaga-, *Haθyaka-, *Haθyāna-, *Haθyauka-, *Haθyavišta
Haxā-, "someone allegiant"	*Haxā-, *Haxādātiča-, Haxāmaniš, *Haxauka-, *Haxāuriš, *Haxāya-, *Haxāyaka-, *Haxāyāna-, *Haxāzušta-, *Haxina-

Haxiya-, "friendship"	*Haxiyabānuš, *Haxībānuš
Haxma-, "fellowship"	*Haxmaina-, *Haxmaka-, *Haxmastāna-
Haxti-, "womb"	*Çavahaxtiš
Hid-, "to succeed"	*Hidabaga-, *Hidarāsta-, *Hidāta-, *Hidātiya-
Hiku-, "dry"	*Hikita-
Hiθa-, "ally"	*Hiθagṛzi-, *Hiθika-, *Hiθiš
Hiθu-, "fellowship, alliance"	*Hiθyauna-
(H)mār-, (1) "to remember", (2) "to count"	*Ar(u)vastă(h)mara-, *Zara(h)māra-
(H)ubṛta-, "respected"	*(H)ubṛtă-, *(H)ubṛtāna-
(H)udāna-, "right understanding"	*(H)udānāta-
(H)ufti-, "sleep"	*(H)uftikāma-
(H)ūka-, "pig"	*(H)ūka-
Humata-, "good thoughts"	*Humata-, *Humēča-(?)
Humāya-, "wholesome"	*Humāya-, *Humāyafarnā, *Humēča-(?)
Huparva-, "pre-eminent"	*(H)uparviyă-
(H)urā-, a magic potion	*(H)urākāma-
Hušhaxā-, "good friend"	*Hušhaxāya-
Hūti-, "craftsman"	*Hūtibānu-
(H)uva-, "own"	*(H)uvadāmiš, *(H)uvaframātiya-, *(H)uvagauka-, *(H)uvaičanā, *(H)uvaspādafrīš, *(H)uvaxšara-
(H)uvadāta-, "determining his destiny"	*(H)uvadāta-
(H)uvaitu-, "family"	*(H)uvētumaniš
(H)uvamna-, "sleep"	*(H)uvamnaka-
(H)uvanta-, "called"	*Abiš(h)uvanta-
(H)uvanvanta-, "sunny"	*(H)uvanvanta-
(H)uvar-, "sun".	*Pātišuvariš
(H)uvyāra-, "easy"	*(H)uvyārakā-
Hvāθra-, "comfort"	*Paruhvāθra-, *Ṛtahvāθra-

I

Iba-, "house personnel"	*Ibastāna-, *Ibaθrā-
Ibya-, "wealthy"	*Ibēčanā
Ĭra-, "energy"	*(H)uvarīra- (DN)
Is-, "to be lord"	*Isantē-
Isa-, "desirous"	*Bagēsa-, *Rāmisā-, *Rōkisa-, *Ṛdēsa-, *Vahumisa-, *Vaumisa-
Isvā-, "quiver"	*Isvōka-
Iša-, "looking for"	*Aspamiša-, *Bagamiša-, *Ṛtaiša-, *Ṛtēša-, *Vatiša-, *Vispēša-
Išti-, "striving, capability"	*Ṛtēštiya-
Iθ-, "to be lord"	*Iθātiya-
Iza-, (1) "zealous", (2) "prosperous"	*Izāta-

J

Jāgarna-, "watchful"	*Jāgarna-
Jai-, "people"	*Jaidriš
Jāma-, "leading"	*Jāma-, *Jāmaka-, *Jāmāspa-, *Jāmukā-
Jan, "to kill, strike"	*Jannara-, *Mṛvijana-, *Vadarjana-, *Vijaka-
Jī-, "vivid"	*Jīča-, *Jīčaka-, *Jīčuka-, *Jīyuka-
Jĭra-, "intelligent"	*(H)ujĭra-, *Jĭrabṛzaka-, *Jĭryāna-, *Vijĭra-
Jišna-, "victorious"	*Jišna-, *Jišnika-
Jīva-, "alive"	*Jīvaka-
Jufra-, "mysterious"	*Jufra-
Jūja-, "chicken"	*Jūjā-

K

Kač-, "crooked"	*Kača-, *Kačaka-, *Kačauka-, *Kačōka-
Kafa-, "slobber"	*Kafačaya-, *Kafya-
Kaika-, "flea"	*Kaika-, *Kēka-
Kaina-, "revenge"	*Kēnaka-
Kāka-, "uncle"	*Kākă-, *Kākiya-
Kāma-, "desire, wish"	*Arēkāma-, *Atikāma-, *Aurikāma-, *Bagakāma-, *Bagamkāma-, *Baratkāma-, *Bṛtakāmya-, *Dauçakāma-, *Haθēkāma-, *(H)uftikāma-, *(H)ukāma-, *(H)urākāma-, *Kāma-, *Kāmafrata-, *Kāmaiča-, *Kāmaina-, *Kāmaka-, *Kāmāna-, *Kāmavanya-, *Kāmayaza-, *Kāmēča-, *Kāmēna-, *Kāmiya-, *Maškāma-, *Patikāma-, *Patikāmaiča-, *Ṛtakāma-, *Sūkāmaka-, *Tirakāma-, *Tīrīkāma-, *Upakāma-, *Vankāma-, *Vikāma-, *Vīrākāma-
[1]Kan-, "to long for"	*Kančaka-
Kanta-, "village"	*Kantakāna-, *Kantardra-, *Kantiya-
Kānti-, "desire"	*Ṛtakāntiš
Kapa-, "fish"	*Kapa-, *Kapaka-, *Kaparšā, *Kapasaka-, *Kapaya-
Kapauta-, "pigeon-coloured"	*Kapauta-, *Kapautāna-, *Kapōta-, *Kapōtīš
Kāpiša-, "safflower"	*Kāpiša-
Kar-, "to do"	*Čiçakarāna-, *Gadakara-, *(H)uk(i)rya-, *Rāmakara-,

	*Ranakarā-, *Sōkakara-, *Sūkṛna-, *Upakṛna-, *Vahyaskara-, *Vēskara-
[1]Kāra-, "people, army"	*Çutakāra-, *(H)ukārakāṇa-, *Kārabara-, *Kāraiča-, *Kāraina-, *Kāraka-, *Kārāmīš, *Kārapā-, *Kāravana-, *Kāravaθā, *Kārayauda-, *Kārayauza-, *Kārēča-, *Kārină-, *Kāruka-
[2]Kāra-, "work"	*Kāradāra-
Kāravant-, "active"	*Kāravanta-
Karkāsa-, "vulture"	*Karkāsa-, *Karkira-(?), *Karkiš(?)
Karkāθa-, "vulture"	*Karkāθa-, *Karkira-(?), *Karkiš(?)
Karpuna-, "lizard"	*Karpuna-
Karsna-, "complete"	*Karsna-
Karš-, "to plough"	*Varyakarša-
Karva-, "short"	*Karva-, *Karvaka-, *Karvāna-, *Karvuka-
Kas-, "to observe"	*Varyakasa-
Kās-, "to shine"	*Kāsă-, *Kāsaka-, *Kāsara-, *Kāsavanta-, *Kāsēna-
Kata-, "house"	*Xšayakata-
Kāta-, "wanted"	*Kātavīra-
Kati-, "willing"	*Katiča-
Kaθ-, "to observe"	*Kaθāna-
Kāθaka-, "semi-precious stone"	*Kāθaka-
Kāθrupā-, "amber-coloured"	*Kāθrupā-
Kaufa-, "mountain"	*(H)ukaufī-, *Kaufaiča-, *Kaufaka-, *Kaufakāna-, *Kauf(i)ya-
Kava-, "prince"	*Gaukava-, *Kavusadāna-, *Ṛtakava-
Kṛga-, "cock"	*Kṛgaya-, *Kṛgē-, *Kṛgina-, *Kṛguš
Kṛka-, "cock"	*Kṛka-, *Kṛkiča-
Kṛmi-, "worm"	*Kṛmiča-

Kṛpa-, "external appearance"	*Kṛpa-, *Kṛpaiča-, *Kṛpēna-, *Kṛpuka-
Kṛs-, "skinny"	*Kṛsaka-, *Kṛsēna-, *Patikṛsa-
Kṛša-, "district"	*Kṛšapāna-
Kṛšna-, "black"	*Kṛšna-
Kṛt-, "to cut"	*Pitukṛta-
Kṛta-, "done, made"	*Dātahukṛta-, *(H)uvăkṛta-, *Kṛta-, *Kṛtaka-, *Kṛtama-, *Kṛtayara-, *Kṛtīš
Kṛθ-, "skinny"	*Krθuka-
Kṛza-, "archer"	*Patikṛza-
Kūka-, "small"	*Kūka-, *Kūkauka-, *Kūkina-
Kura-, "family"	*Kuraiča-, *Kuraka-, *Kurapāta-, *Kurasāra-, *Kurašyātiš, *Kuruka-
Kusti-, "region"	*Kustiya-

L

Lāna-, "warrior"	*(H)ulāna-, *Lānika-
Laxša-, "red"	*Laxša-

M

Mada-, "big"	*Naryamada-
Madu-, "honey"	*Maduka-
Maga-, "gift, present"	*Uštamagāna-
Magava-, "sacrificing"	*Magava-, *Magavuka-
Magu-, "magian"	*Maguka-, *Maguš, *Maguvāya-
Maiša-, "ram, sheep"	*Maišina-, *Satamēša-, *Θatamēša-
Maiθa-, "house"	*Rādamēθa-
Maiθana-, "dwelling"	*Čihramēθana-, *Čiθramēθana-, *(H)umēθana-

Maiz-, "to cherish"	*Çōmēzaka-, *Miduš
Māmā-, "mother"	*Māmukā-
Manah-, "mind"	*Aryamanā, *Avāryamanā, *Bṛzimanā, *Dargamanā, *Fryamanā, *Haumanā, *Manaiča-, *Manēča-, *Mazāmanā, *Naryamanā, *Ṛtahumanā, *Ṛtamanā, *Ṛtāumanā, *Vahumanā, *Vantamanā, *Vaumanā, *Vīramanā, *Višyamanā, *Yutamanā
Mança-, "the word of God"	*Mançaka-
Mang-, "to glorify"	*Mangafarnā, *Mangiča-, *Mangiš, *Ṛštimanga-, *Yašnamanga-
[1]Mani-, "mind"	Ardumaniš, Haxāmaniš, *(H)uvētumaniš
[2]Mani-, "necklace"	*Zarnamaniya-
Manθ-, "to shake"	*Manθāštrā-
Manθra-, "the word of God"	*Dātamanθra-, *Manθra-, *Ṛtamanθra-
[1]Manya-, "capable"	*Manētaka-, *Manyabāduš, *Manyaka-(?), *Manyakāta-(?), *Manyapā-, *Manyaparva-
[2]Manya-, "to rule"	*Hamidmanya-, *Hammanya-, *Manyabara-, *Manyaka-(?), *Manyakāta-(?)
Mān(y)a-, "house"	*Pātimāna-, *Pātimānava-, *Pātimānča-, *Vīdamānya-
Manyu-, "mentality"	*Hammanyuš, *(H)uvămanyuš, *Manyuka-, *Ṛtamanyuš
Marga-, "meadow"	*Hātamarga-, *(H)umarga-
Marta-, "mortal man"	Martiya-
Marya-, "young man"	*Marēča-, *Marīka-, *Marīš, *Marya-, *Maryaka-, *Maryapāna-, *Maryāta-
Masa-, "big"	*Masāna-, *Masaya-, *Masika-, *Masiya-

Masišta-, "greatest"	*Masišta-
Masti-, "knowledge"	*Āmastivanya-
Maš, "very"	*Maškāma-
Mātṛsa-, "fearless"	*Mātṛsa-
Maθa-, "big"	*Maθika-, *Maθiya-
Maud-, "to rejoice"	*Mōdabaga-, *Mōdačanā, *Mōdina-
Māyā-, "joy"	*Māyāta-
Maz-, "big"	*Mazā-, *Mazāmanā, *Mazāmiθra-, *Mazika-, *Mazuka-
Mazant-, "great"	*Mazantika-, *Mazantiš
Mazdāyasna-, "adherent of Mazdeism"	*Dainamazdāyasniš
Miça-, "treaty"	*(H)umiça-
Midu-, "to cherish"	*Miduš
Mijā-, "eye-lash"	*Mijābṛzakā-
Minu-, "necklace"	*Minuyara-
Misa-, "to remember"	*Ṛtamisa-
Miθra-, "treaty"	*Āmiθra-, *(H)umiθra-
Mižda-, "reward, wage"	*Dūramiždva-, *(H)umižda-
Mṛdu-, "soft"	*Mṛdu-, Maṛduniya-, *Mṛdunika-
Mṛnča-, "to destroy"	*Mṛnčalī-, *Mṛnčamna-, *Mṛnčāna-
Mṛvi-, "ant"	*Mṛvijana-
Mṛzu-, "short"	*Mṛzuka-
Mṛžd-, "forgiving"	*Bagamṛždya-
Mūša-, "mouse"	*Mūša-, *Mūšaka-, *Mūšāta-, *Mūšuka-
Mušti-, "fist"	*Āθimušti-

N

Nā-, "to bow down"	*Nināka-
Nabanū-, "source"	*(H)unabanūš

Nada-, "reed"	*Nadabara-, *Nadāniš, *Nadiš, *Nadika-
Nāfa-, "family"	*(H)unāfa-, *Miçanāfa-, *Nāfabṛdana-, *Nāfaina-, *Nāfaka-, *Nāfakāna-, *Nāfāta-, *Nāfaugā, *Nāfauka-, *Nāfēča-, *Nāfēna-, *Nāfuka-, *Ṛtanāfa-
Nāfyā-, "clan"	*Nāfyābiš
Naiba-, "beautiful"	*Nēbavarda-
Naida-, "javelin"	*Patinaida-
Naiza-, "top"	*Naizauka-, *Naiziš, *Nēzuka-
Nāmah-, "worship"	*Miθranamā
Nāman-, "name"	*Ānāmača-, *(H)unāmā, *Nāmabara-, *Nāmasavă(-)
Napāt-, "grandson"	*Apinapā, *Napāka-, *Napātāna-, *Napātauka-
Nar-, "man"	*Apinara-, *Jannara-, *Naraka-, *Narātīš, *Narava-, *Nāspanta-, *Parunā
Narya-, "manly"	*Narēča-, *Naryābigna-, *Naryaiča-, *Naryamada-, *Naryamanā, *Naryāsa-, *Naryāspa-, *Naryavṛta-, *Naryavṛtiš
Nāša-, "support"	*Patināša-, *Patināšāna-
Năuma-, "ninth"	*Năumiya-
Nauva-, "first"	*Rēvanauva-
Nava-, "new"	*Nava-, *Navagaza-, *Navaina-
Naxti-, "nocturnal"	*Naxtāna-, *Naxtiš
Naxva-, "first"	*Aspanaxva-, *Naxvanta-
Nazuka-, "delicate"	*Nāzuka-
Nigāma-, "moment"	*(H)unigāma-
Niša-, "sign"	*(H)uniša-
Niva-, "shape"	*Nivita-
N(i)yāka-, "grandfather"	*(H)un(i)yāka-, *N(i)yāka-

Nma-, "obeisance"	*Nmabāma-, *Nmaka-
Numinga-, "coral"	*Numinga-

P

Pā-, "to protect"	*Arnapā-, *Bagapā-, *Bagapāka-, *Čamanpā-, *Çipuka-, *Fravanpā-, *(H)upākă-, *(H)uvanpāka-, *Kārapā-, *Manyapā-, *Pāčiça-, *Parupā-, *Ṛtāupā-, *Uxšapā-, *Vīrapā-, *Xšaçōpā-
Pač-, "to cook"	*Pačima-
Pačika-, "cook"	*Pačikă-, *Pačikāna-
Pāça-, "protection"	*Pāçagaya-, *Vispāçēna-
Pada-, "origin"	*Padapāta-, *Varyapadāna-
Pāda-, "foot, step"	*Pāda-, *Pādaina-, *Pādaka-
Pādapa-, "tree"	*Pādapa-
Pai-, "protecting"	*Zantupē-
Paisa-, "ornament"	*Bagupaisa-, *Bagupēsa-, *Paisāna-, *Pēsakāta-
Paiθa-, "ornament"	*Vispaiθa-, Xvanpaiθa-
Pāna-, (1) "protection", (2) "protector"	*Aryāpāna-, *Asapāna-, *Ātṛpāna-, *Bagapāna-, *Dārayapāna-, *Ēsmapāna-, *Gōpāna-, *Gṛdōššapāna-, *Hampāna-, *(H)ugōpāna-, *Kṛšapāna-, *Maryapāna-, *Miθrapāna-, *Pānāna-, *Pānavinda-, *Ṛtapāna-, *Upapāna-, *Uštapāna-, *Vātapāna-, *Vēspāna-
Pāpa-, "father"	*Pāpa-, *Pāpainaka-, *Pāpaka-, *Pāpaya-, *Pāpēna-
Paridaisa-, "estate"	*Tīhūpardaisa-, *Tīhūpardēsa-
Parisaka-, "lasting"	*Parisaka-
Parnu-, "old"	*Parnuš

[1]Parša-, "spotted"	*Paršava-(?)
[2]Parša-, "spike, ear"	*Paršava(?), *Paršavarda-
Paru-, "many"	*Paruča-, *Parudaθa-, *Parufarnā, *Parugučīš, *Paruguš, *Paruhāta-, *Paruhvāθra-, *Paruka-, *Parunā, *Parupā-, *Paruš, *Parušyātiš, *Paruvasa-
Pāru-, "shoulder"	*Gōpāruš, *(H)upāruš
Paruša-, "grey"	*Āparuša-
Par(u)va-, "first; eminent"	*Dātapar(u)va-, *Manyaparva-, *Par(u)vaxšīš, *Par(u)viča-, *Par(u)vita-, *Par(u)vitāna-, *Par(u)vyāna-, *Par(u)vyapāta-, *Par(u)vyuka-, *Ṛtāparva-, *Ṛtāparvya-, *Vēspar(u)va-, *Vōpar(u)va-
Pasu-, "cattle"	*Pasuka-
Pāta-, "protected"	*Āçipāta-, *Arvantapāta-, *Āθipāta-, *Bagapāta-, *Bagapātāta-, Fravartipāta-, Garšapāta-, *(H)upātāniš, *Kurapāta-, *Miçapāta-, *Miθrapāta-, *Padapāta-, *Par(u)vyapāta-, *Pāta-, *Pātagastā-, *Pātaka-, *Pātigōka-, *Pātimāna-, *Pātimānča-, *Rauxšnapāta-, *Ṛtapāta-, *Ṛtapātačā-, *Tīryapāta-, *Θripāta-, *Xvarapāta-
Pātar-, "protector"	*Pātardāta-, *Xvarašyapātā
Pati-, "lord, master"	*Fryapatiš, *Gaupatiš, *Patiš, *Patištāna-, *Šēθrapatiš (DN), *Vīrapātiš, *Xšaθrapatiš (DN)
Pati-ay-, "to turn against"	*Patiyayaka-
Paθā-, "path"	*Paθēša-
Pāθa-, "arrow"	*Pāθaiča-, *Pāθaka-, *Pāθāta-
Paθnī-, "lady"	*Paθnīyēša-

Pāθra-, "protection"	*Āpāθra-, *Dasapāθrauka-, *Hainapāθra-, *Pāhrabārana-, *Vipāθra-
Paθu-, "cattle"	*Paθuka-, *Paθurāda-, *Paθuš, *Paθvaka-, *Paθvāna-
Pauru-, "much"	*Paurubāta-, *Pauruhāta-, *Paurušātiš
Pavā-, "pure"	*Pavā-, *Pavē-
Pavant-, "protecting"	*Gaupavanta-, *Pavasāmaka-
Pavasta-, "skin"	*Pavasta-
Pāya-, present stem of *pā-	*Pāya-, *Pēvṛdi-, *Ṛtāupāya-
Pāyu-, "protector"	*Pāyuka-
Pista-, "flour"	*Pista-
Pitar-, "father"	*Pitabarva-, *Pitača-, *Pitaka-, *Pitavasa-, *Pitēča-, *Pitēna-
Pitu-, "food"	*Pitukṛta-
Pṛsant-, "asking"	*Pṛsanta-
Pṛsu-, "side"	*Pṛsuka-, *Pṛsuš
Pṛt-, "warrior; battle"	*Pṛtaka-, *Pṛtēna-
Pṛθu-, "side"	*Pṛθukāna-
Pṛθva-, "broad(ly built)"	*Pṛθva-
Puθra-, "son"	*Puθra-

R

Rād-, "to do one's best"	*Rādamēθa-, *Rādaya-, *Vaurāda-, *Vōrāda-
Rāda-, "fostering"	*Hātarāda-, *Paθurāda-
Ragva-, "quick"	*Ragvēna-
Raiba-, "cunning"	*Raibaka-, *Rēbaka-, *Rēbaya-, *Rēbīš
Raiku-, "foundling"	*Raikuš

Raiva-, "rich"	*Arbarēva-, *Raivačiça-, *Raivačiθra-, *Raivadāta-, *Rēvadāta-, *Rēvanauva-, *Rēvāta-, *Ṛtarēva-, *Tavarēvaya-, *Xvarēva-
Raivastă̆-, "opulence"	*Bagarēvastă̆-
Rāman-, "peace"	*Rāmaçā-, *Rāmadahyuš, *Rāmaka-, *Rāmakara-, *Rāmaniš, *Rāman(i)ya-, *Rāmaxšara-, *Rāminā-, *Rāmīsa-, *Rāmukā-
Ramf-, "to attack"	*Patiramfa-, *Viramfa-
Ramna-, "peace"	Aryāramna-, *Ramna-, *Ramnača-, *Ramnadainā-, *Ramnaka-
Ramya-, "delightful"	*Ramīçŭtā-, *Ramya-, *Rāmyāna-, *Ramyauka-
Rana-, "solace, delight"	*Ranakarā-
Rāna-, "warrior'	*(H)urāna-
Rap-, "to support"	*Bagērapa-, *Patirapa-, *Rapa-, *Rapagṛzīš, *Rapēča-
Rapiθfaina-, "noonish"	*Rapiθfēna-
Rasman, (1) "phalanx", (2) "battle"	*Rasmāhasta-
Rāsta-, "true, sincere"	*Ārāšta-, *Bagārāsta-, *Hadārāsta-, *Hidarāsta-, *(H)urāstaka-, *Rāsta-, *Rāsta(h)ma-, *Rāstaka-, *Rāstauka-
Rāšta-, "true, sincere"	*Rāšta-, *Rāštaxma-
Rāta-, "granted"	*Rātaka-
Rātā-, "gift, present"	*Rātāxšahrā-
Rāti-, "obliging, willing"	*Rātika-
Ratu-, (1) "judge", (2) "assistant priest"	*Bagaratuš, *Ratariya-, *Ratuka-, *Ratuštūxta-, *Ratuxšnavyā-
Raθa-, "chariot"	*Arvaraθa-, Arzaraθaina-, *Çauraθya-, *Havaraθa-, *Raθavada-, *Raθyauka-, *Saxvaraθa-
Raθaištā-, "chariot-fighter"	*Raθēštā-

Raučah-, "light"	*Bagaraučā, *Raučaiča-, *Raučaka-, *Raučēča-, *Rōčaka-, *Rōčīš, *Ṛtaraučā, *Vaurōčā
Raud-, "to grow"	*Raudaka-, *Raudāta-, *Uparauda-, *Uparōda-, *Virauda-, *Virōda-
Rauk-, "to shine"	*Rauka-, *Raukaya-, *Rōkava-, *Rōkisa-
Raup-, "to break"	*Asmaraupa-
Raupāθa-, "fox"	*Raupāθa-
Rauraθa-, "driving a quick chariot"	*Rauraθa-
Rautah-, "river"	*Rautā, *Rautuka-, *Rōtiya-
Ravah-, "freedom"	*Ṛtaravā
Raz-, "to point"	*Ră̆zakānīš, *Taxmară̆ziya-(?), *Vasaraza-
Rāz-, "to go, walk"	*Hamarāziš, *Ră̆zakānīš, *Taxmară̆ ziya-(?)
Rāza-, "master builder"	*Rāza-, *Rāzāna-
Razman-, (1) "battle", (2) "phalanx"	*Razmā, *Razmačanā, *Razmahuarga-, *Razmārva-, *Taxmarazmā, *Vaurazmā
Razura-, (1) "race course", (2) "forest"	*Razura-
Rvan-, "soul, spirit"	*Rvani-
Rvanta-, "grabbling"	*Rvanta-, *Rvantika-
Rvata-, "commanding"	*Rvata-
Rvatayanta-, "religious, pious"	*Rvatēnta-

Ṛ

Ṛd-, "to make prosper"	*Habārda-, *Ṛdaspāna-
[1]Ṛda-, "prosperity"	*Ṛdēsa-
[2]Ṛda-, "red"	*Ṛdastiš, *Ṛdastuka-
Ṛdata-, "silvery"	*Ṛdata-, *Ṛdatīš

Ṛdifya-, "eagle"	*Ṛdifya-
Ṛk-, "hymn"	*Ṛkaçā-, *Ṛkāma-, *Ṛkanta-, *Ṛkauka-, *Ṛkiča-, *Ṛkina-
Ṛma-, "arm"	*Ṛmāma-, *Ṛmāta-, *Ṛmika-, *Ṛmuka-, *Xvarmaka-
Ṛmati-, "devotional"	*Ṛmatiš
Ṛna-, "guilty"	Vidarna-
Ṛšan-, "hero"	Aṛšāma-, *Bagāuparšā, *Faršandāta-, *Faršēna-, Kaparšā, *Ṛšā, *Ṛšafarnā, *Ṛšakāna-, *Ṛšaya-, *Ṛšēka-, *Ṛšēna-, *Ṛšina-, *Ṛšita-, *Ṛšuka-, *Ṛšūra-, *Ṛtaxšayāršā, *Šyāvaršā, *Taxmaršā, *Θyāvaršā, Xšayāršā, *Xvaršadāta-, *Xvaršaina-
Ršta-, "sincere"	*Ṛštahufarnā
Ṛšti-, "javelin"	*Ṛštimanga-, *Ṛštinā-, *Ṛštivahuš, *Ṛštivēga-, *Ṛštiya-
Ṛtauni-, "dedicated to Arta"	*Ṛtōniya-
Ṛtavan-, "dedicated to Arta"	*Ṛtavana-
Ṛtavant-, "righteous"	*Ṛtavanta-
Ṛza-, "honest"	*Ṛzabarǎ-, *Ṛzāna-, *Ṛžuxda-

S

Sačī-, "zealous"	*Sačīš
Sak-, "to think off"	*Bagamsaka-, *Bagasaka-
Saka-, "dog"	*Kapasaka-
Sāma-, "black"	*Sāmaka-(?)
Sand-, "to accomplish"	*Sūsanda-
Sāpa-, "charming, friendly"	*Sāpāta-
Sar-, "to have a relation with"	*Ašasaraya-, *Miθrasara-, *Ṛtasara-

Sāra-, "head"	*Bṛdisāra-, *Husāraka-, *Kurasāra-, *Sāračīš, *Sāragōzīš, *Sāraka-, *Sāriča-, *Sāričaka-, *Sāričīš, *Sāruka-, *Sārupā, *Sārya-, *Vausāra-
Sāristā-, "noble"	*Sāristā-
Sāstṛ-, "ruler"	*Sāstṛdāta-, *Sāstṛzāta-
Sata-, "hundred"	*Satamēša-, *Satāspa-
[1]Sauka-, "shining"	*Abisauka-
[2]Sauka-, "profit"	*Saukara-, *Sōkakara-
Sav-, "to yield benefit"	*Savanta-
Sava- / savah-, "benefit"	*Fraθasavǎ, *Nāmasavǎ, *Savaka-(?), *Savayaka-
Saxra-, "strong"	*Saxra-
Saxta-, "strong"	*Avasaxta-
Saxva-, derivation from **sak-*	*Saxva-, *Saxvaraθa-
Sixa-, "tuft, lock of hair"	*Çavasixa-, *Sixa-
Skamb-, "to lift"	*Skambāna-
Skauθi-, "unfree"	*Skauθika-
Skunxa-, "excellent"	Skunxa-
Spā-, "happy"	*Čiθraspauka-
Spāda-, "army"	*Bagaspāda-, *Čiθraspāda-, *Dr(u)vaspāda-, *(H)uvaspādafrīš, *Ṛtaspāda-, Taxamspāda-, *Tīrīspāda-
Spaka-, "dog"	*Huspāka-, *Spaka-, *Spakača-, *Spakataka-
Span-, "dog"	*Huspā, *(H)uspāsta-, *Spā
Spanta-, "holy"	*Nāspanta-, *Spantadāta-
Spara-, "shield"	*Sparavanya-, *Sparavistva-, *Spǎrčē-(?), *Spǎrina-(?)
Spāra-, "prosperity"	*(H)uspāra-, *Patispāra-, *Spǎrčē-(?), *Spǎrina-(?)

Spihra-, "heaven"	*Spihradāta-
Spita-, "abundant"	*Spita-, *Spitaka-, *Spitāma-
Spṛda-, "zealous"	*(H)uspṛda-, *Spṛdiya-
Srauman, "hearing ability"	*Sraumā
Sravah-, "glory, fame"	*Bagasravā
Sravanta-, "obedient"	*Sravanta-
Srī-, "beauty"	*Amasrī-, *Aspasrī-
Srub-, "lead"	*Srubya-
Stā-, "to stand"	*Abističa-
Stāna-, "place, position"	*Aryastāna-, *Aspastāna-, *Avastāna-, *Gaustāna-, *(H)ustāna-, *Ibastāna-
Stāta-, "sturdy, solid"	*Stātaka-, *Stātiya-
Stav-, "to praise"	*Stauka-
Sti-, "food"	*Asastiya-, *Aspastiya-, *Ṛdastiš, *Ṛdastuka-
Stṛma-, "camp"	*Stṛma-
Stūnā-, "column"	*Ṛtastūnā-, *Stūnā-, *Vaustūnā-
Sū-, "use, benefit"	*Sūbagiya-, *Sūča-, *Sūkāmaka-, *Sūkṛna-, *Sūsanda-, *Sūvarya-
Supti-, "shoulder"	*Aspasuptiš
[1]Sūra-, "morning"	*Ṛšūra-, *Ṛtasūra-
[2]Sūra-, "strong"	*Gausūri-
Suxra-, "red"	*Suxra-
Syaina-, "eagle"	*Syaina-
Syāma-, "black"	*Syāmaka-
Syāva-, "black"	*Syāva-, *Syāvāna-

Š

Šafti-, "horse, steed"	*(H)ušaftiš
Šaiθra-, "dwelling"	*Šēθrapatiš

[1]Šana-, "merit"	*Abišana-
Šap-, "to hold"	*Gaušapāna-, *Šapuka-
Šargu-, "lion"	*Šargučīš, *Šargudāta-, *Šarguniya-
Šāta-, "prosperous"	*Šādaka-, *Šāta-, *Šātaina-, *Šātātāna-, *Šātavēnara-, *Šātaxma-, *Šātēča-, *Šātēna-, *Šātuka-, *Yamašāta-
Šāti-, "prosperity"	*Paurušātiš, *Ṛtašātiš, *Šātibara-, *Šātibaxša-, *Šātibṛdana-, *Šātibṛzana-
Šav-, "to go, proceed"	*Āsušava-, *Šāvamā-
Šība-, "path"	*Šībava-
Štāna-, "place"	*Patištāna-
Šuna-, "whip"	*Aspašuna-
Šyā-, "to rejoice"	*Šēbṛzana-, *Šēzāta-
Šyāti-, "prosperity"	*Apišyātiš, *Kurašyātiš, *Parušyātiš, *Rtašyātiš, *Šyātibṛdana-, *Šyātiča-, *Šyātifarnā, *Šyātimanta-, *Šyātiš
Šyāva-, "black"	*Šyāva-, *Šyāvaršā, *Šyāviča-

T

Tāfta-, "hot"	*Tāfta-
Tāga-, "crown"	*Tāgavanūš
Ta(h)ma-, "valiant"	*Čiçanta(h)ma-, *Gaumata(h)ma-, *Rāstata(h)ma-, *Ta(h)ma-, *Ta(h)mafarnā, *Ta(h)magēθa-, *Ta(h)māma-, *Ta(h)māna-, *Ta(h)mārba-, *Ta(h)mārga-, *Ta(h)mārīš, *Ta(h)māspa-
[1]Taka-, "running"	*Čiratakā-, *Paritaka-, *Spakataka-, *Taka-, *Takaka-, *Takauka-
Takāra-, "jar"	*Takārina-, *Takāriya-
Tan-, "to stretch"	*Nitanya-

Tă̆na-, "offspring"	*(H)utāna-, *Manuštana-, Utāna-
Tānu-, "body"	*Tānuka-
Tapa-, "hot"	*Tapātaka-, *Tapauka-, *Tapauššа-, *Tapōka-
Tapara-, "axe"	*Tapara-, *Tapariča-
Tapu-, "hot"	*(H)utapuka-
Tarva-, "victorious"	*Ātarva-, *Vispatarva-
Tāta-, "father"	*Tāta-, *Tātaka-, *Tātiya-
Tati-, "crowd"	*Aspatatika-
Tauka-, "offspring"	*Dvitauka-, *Tauka-, *Taukaya-, *Tōkava-
Taumā-, "family"	*Taumā-(?)
Tauman-, strong"	*Bagātaumāna-, *Taumā(?)
Tausa-, "bestowing richly"	*Tōsa-, *Tōsaya-, *Tōsēča-
Tauθa-, "bestowing richly"	*(H)utōθānā-, *Tauθika-, *Tōθikă̆-
Tauxman-, "seed"	*Zrūtōxma-
Tav-, "to be strong"	*Tavarēvaya-, *Tavāta-, *Tavaya-, *Vīratavaya-
Taxma-, "valiant"	Čiçantaxma-, *Čiθrantaxma-, *Haumataxma-, *Rāštaxma-, *Ṛtātaxma-, *Ṛtaxma-, *Šātaxma-, *Taxmă̆-, *Taxmabāra-, *Taxmačiya-, *Taxmāna-, *Taxmapitā, *Taxmarăziya-, *Taxmarazmā, *Taxmaršā, *Taxmaspāda-
Tigra-, (1) "sharp", (2) "slender"	*Fatigra-, *Tigra-, *Tigračiya-, *Tigradāta-, *Tigrakă̆-, *Tigriča-, *Tigričiya-, *Tigruka-, *Upatigra-
Tīhū-, "partridge"	*Tīhūpardaisa-, *Tīhūpardēsa-
Tṛp-, "to enjoy"	*Tṛpiš
Tu(h)ma-, from *tuh-, "to strive for"	*Hantu(h)ma-
Tuvāna-, "strength"	*Tuvāna-, *Tuvānī-, *Tuvāniya-
Tūxta-, "to reimburse"	*Ratuštūxta-
Tvan-, "capable"	*Bagātvana-

Θ

Θaigra-, "garlic"	*Θāigračīš
Θai(va)-, "orphan"	*Arbaθeva-, *Θaičāna-, *Θaivaiča-
Θandu-, "charming, pleasing"	*Čiççanduš
Θanj-, "to pull"	*Fraθanja-, *Fraθanjāna-, *Θanjaka-
Θāpa-, "charming"	*Θāpāta-
Θāra-, "head"	*Θāragōzīš
Θata-, "hundred"	*Θatamēša-
[1]Θav-, "to yield benefit"	*Āθavāna-, *Āθavaya-, *Θavanta-
Θaxra-, "strong"	*Θaxra-
Θaxta-, "strong"	*Θaxtiča-
Θifra-, "lip"	*(H)uθifrā-
Θrā-, "to protect"	*(H)uθrāya-, *Ibaθrā-, *Vauθriya-
Θri-, "three (times)"	*Θripāta-
Θuna-, "prosperity"	*Vauθuna-
Θūra-, "strong"	*Ṛtāθūra-, *Θūraka-
Θuxra-, "red"	*Θuxra-
Θyāva-, "black"	*Θyāva-, *Θyāvaršā

U

Ugra-, "strong"	*Ugraka-
Upama-, "superior"	*Arbaupama-, *Aryaupama-, Bagāupama-, *Bagōpama-, *Čiçōpama-, *Dātaupama-, *Ṛtāupama-, *Ṛtōpama-, *Upama-
Upara-, "higher"	*Uparavauš
Upastā-, "assistance, help"	*Miθraupastā-, *Upastābara-
Urvāθā-, "friendship"	*Bagōrvāθā-
Usan-, "wish"	*Ṛtausā
Usma-, "respectful"	*Vāusma-, *Vōsma-
Uš-, "morning"	*Ušbānuš

Varman-, "first choice, elite"	*Ṛtavarmā, *Varmaka-, *Varmāta-, *Varmita-, *Varmuka-
Varn-, "to believe"	*Bagavarniš
Varsa-, "hair"	*Abravarsa-, *Apivarsa-, *Āvarsa-, *Zāgavarsīš
Vart-, "to turn"	*Vartāspa-
Vartana-, "chariot"	*(H)uvartana-
Varθa-, "defense, shield"	*Bagavarθa-, *Ṛtavarθa-
Varya-, "desired"	*Sūvarya-, *Varyabāga-, *Varyadāta-, *Varyakasa-, *Varyakarša-, *Varyapadāna-, *Varyazāta-
Varz-, "to work"	*Aṛtavarziya-, *Varzyauka-
[1]Vas-, "to want"	*Miθravasa-, *Paruvasa-, *Pitavasa-, *Vasaka-, *Vauvasa-
[2]Vas-, "as one would wish"	*Vasaraza-, *Vasdāta-
[1]Vasta-, "praised"	*Bāduvasta-
[2]Vasta-, "dressed"	*Huvastāna-
Vat-, "insight"	*Vatiša-
Vaθ-, "to want"	*Vaθāna-
Vaθah-, "eager for"	*Kāravaθā, *Ṛtavaθāna-
Vau-, "good"	*Bagavauš, *Čiçavauš, *Čiçava-(?), *Čiçavaka-(?), Dārayavauš, *Frādavauš, *Hambṛtavauš, *Ṛtāvauš, *Tīryāvauš, *Uparavauš, *Vaubara-, *Vaučiça-, *Vaučir(a)ka-, *Vaučiθra-, *Vauçavā, *Vauçŭta-, *Vaudana-, *Vaudarda-, *Vaudāta-, *Vaudauça-, *Vaufarnā, *Vaufrāda-, *Vaufrya-, *Vaumanā, Vaumisa-, *Vaurāda-, *Vaurazmā, *Vaurōčā, *Vausāra-, *Vāusma, *Vauzṛva-, *Vīdyavauš, *Vōdṛvaniča-, *Vōna-, *Vōpar(u)va-, *Vōrāda-, *Vōsma-

Vauna-, "blood"	*Arēvauna-
Vaxš-, "to grow"	*Āṭṛvaxša-
Vāya-, "to chase away"	*Maguvāya-
Vāzah-, "respect"	*Ṛtavāzā, *Ṛtavāzaya-, *Vāzāna-
Vazra-, "mace"	*Axšīvazra-
Vibanda-, "beguiling"	*Vibanda-
Vid-, "to pierce"	Vidarna-
Vīd-, (1) to participate", (2) "to take care of"	*Pativīda-, *Vauvīda-, *Vīdaka-(?), *Vīdāta-(?), *Vīdēča-(?)
[1]Vīda-, "expert"	*Vīdamanya-, *Vīdaka-(?), *Vīdāta-(?), *Vīdēča-(?)
Vīdvah-, "knowing"	*Vīdvāniš
Vīdya-, "knowledge"	*Vīdyavauš
Vigra-, "lively"	*Vigrāspa-
Vind-, (1) "to find", (2), "to provide"	*Pānavinda-, *Ṛtavinda-, *Vinda-, Vindafarnā, *Vindēča-, *Vinduka-
Vīra-, "man"	*Bagā(h)uvīra-, *Bagavīra-, *Buxtavīra-, *Çimavīra-, *Fšuvīra-, *Haθēvīra-, *(H)uvāravīra-, *Kātavīra-, *Yaudavīra-, *Vīradāna-, *Vīradāta-, *Vīrafarnā, *Vīraka-, *Vīrakāma-, *Vīrāma-, *Vīramanā, *Vīrapā-, *Vīrapātiš, *Vīrara-, *Vīrāta-, *Vīratavaya-, *Vīravēθa-, *Vīraya-, *Vīrayauda-, *Vīriča-, *Vīrina-, *Vīruka-
Virafsa-, "abundance"	*Rafsuka-, *Rafsya-, *Virafša-
Virafθa-, "abundance"	*Rafθakā-, *Virafθa-
Vis-, "royal house"	*Visādrūš
Visa-, "all"	*Visafarnā, *Visapāçēna-, *Visavanīš, *Visavanka-, *Visavanta-, *Visavanya-, *Visnaya-, *Vispaiθa-
Visapuθra-, "prince"	*Visapuθra-

Vispa-, "all"	*Vispafryā-, *Vispaiθa-, *Vispēθa-, *Vispaka-, *Vispatarva-, *Vispavada-, *Vispavanta-, *Vispēša-, *Vispiča-
Vistva-, "shooter"	*Dr(u)vavistva-, *(H)uvistva-, *Sparavistva-
Viš-, "to be active"	*Ṛtaviša-
Višmina-, "to enjoy"	*Višmina-
[1]Višta-, "unbridled"	*Vištabaujana-, *Vištāna-(?), Vištāspa-(?)
[2]Višta-, "trained"	*Haθyavišta-, *Vištāna-(?), Vištāspa-(?)
Višya-, "of the royal court"	*Višyamanā
Viθ-, "royal house"	*Viθafarnā
Viθapuça-, "prince"	*Viθapuça-
Viyā-, "to pass through"	*Viyāra-, *Viyuka-
Vrād-, "to enjoy"	*Bagavrāda-, *Pativrāda-
Vrag-, "to walk"	*Vraganta-
Vrais-, "to wander around"	*Dahyuvrēsa-
Vraiθ-, "to wander around"	*Dahyuvrēθa-
Vrāsta-, "lovely"	*Vrāstauka-
Vrata-, (1) "ruling", (2) "pledge"	*Aryavrata-, *Vratēča-
Vratayanta-, "religious, pious"	*Vratēnta-
Vrāza-, "joyful"	*Fravrāza-
Vṛd-, "to thrive"	*Vṛdaya-, *Vṛdē-
Vṛda-, "rose"	*Vṛdaka-
Vṛdi-, "happiness"	*Pēvṛdi-
Vṛdvant-, efficient"	*Vṛdvanta-
Vṛka-, "wolf"	*Vṛka-, *Vṛkača-, *Vṛkapi-, *Vṛkakauka-, *Vṛkavukāna-, *Vṛkažana- (DN), *Vṛkēna-
Vṛta-, "hero"	*Amavṛta-, *Aryavṛta-, *Naryavṛta-, *Naryavṛtiš, *Vṛtaka-, *Vṛtāta-

Vṛzvant-, "efficient"	*Vṛzvanta-
Vyādā-, "reward"	*Vyāduka-
Vyam-, "reward"	*Vyamāna-
Vyušti-, "dawn"	*Vyuštiš

X

Xara-, "ass"	*Xaraina-
Xauda-, "temper"	*Dušxauda-
Xratu-, "wisdom"	*Xratuš
Xraθu-, "wisdom"	*Āxraθuš, *(H)uxraθuš, *Ṛtaxraθuš, *Xraθuvanya-
Xruta-, "miscreant"	*Xrutēča-
Xšā-, "to learn"	*Xšafraštāna-
Xšaça-, "reign, kingdom"	Ạrtaxšaça-, *Banduxšaça-, *Xšaçabānuš, *Xšaçaka-, *Xšaçōpā-, *Xšaçya-
Xšaita-, "brilliant"	*Āxšētē-, *Ṛtaxšēta-, *Xšaita-, *Xšēta-, *Xšētaka-, *Xšētāna-, *Xšētāta-, *Xšēti-, *Yamaxšēta-
Xšaθra-, "reign, kingdom"	*Miθraxa-, *Rātāxšahrā-, *Xšaθra-, *Xšaθrabānuš, *Xšaθrapatiš (DN), *Xšaθrapāvā-, *Xšaθrauka-, *Xšaθrava-, *Xšaθrēzāta-, *Xšaθrina-, *Xšaθrīš-, *Xšaθriya-, *Xšaθrapati-, Xšaθrita-
Xšaustra-, "to flow"	*Xšōstra-, *Xšōstraka-
Xšay-, "to rule"	*Dūtaxšaya-, *Par(u)vaxšīš, *Ṛtaxšayāršā, Xšayāršā, *Xšayadr(u)va-, *Xšayakata-, *Xšē-
Xšāyaθiya-, "king"	*Vauxšāyaθāta-
Xšnav-, "to satisfy"	*Ratuxšnavyā-
Xva- (East Ir.), "own"	*Xvaidāmā
Xvamna-, "sleep"	*Xvamnaka-

Xvarašya-, "serving the good cause"	*Xvarašīka-, *Xvarašyapāta-
Xvaraθya-	*Xvaraθīka-, *Xvaraθyapāta-

Y

Yad-, "to worship"	*Yadaušiya-
Yakā-, "Yakā-tree"	*Yakā-, *Yakauka-
Yāna-, "favour"	*Miçayāna-
Yāra-, "year"	*(H)uyāra-, *(H)uyāraka-, *Xvayāra-
Yās-, "to desire"	*Abiyāsāna-, *Bagayāsa-, *Haumayāsa-
Yašna-, "worship"	*Mazdāyašna-, *Yašnaka-, *Yašnamanga-
Yašta-, "dedicated"	*Yašta-, *Yaštāta-
Yāu-, "movable property"	*Yāudāra-
Yaud-, "to agitate, fight"	*(H)uvăršauyauda-, *(H)uvă-ršayauda-, *Kārayauda-
Yauda-, "fighter"	*Aspāyauda-, *Çīrayauda-, *Çŭtayauda-, *Vīrayauda-, *Yauda-, *Yaudaka-, *Yaudavīra-, *Yaudēna-
Yaug-, (1) "to tense", (2) "to join"	*Abiyauga-, *Vauyauga-
Yāuma(i)ni-, "physical prowess"	*Yāumaniča-
[1]Yauna-, "homestead, place"	*Hiθyauna-, *Pariyauna-, *Vauyauna-, *Yauna-, *Yaunabṛza-, *Yaunaya-
[2]Yauna-, "road, way"	*Upayauna-
Yauz-, "to agitate, fight"	*Kārayauza-
Yaz-, "to worship"	*Āyaza-, *Bagayāza-, *Kāmayaza-, *Vačayaza-, *Yazaka-
Yazna-, cf. *yašna-	*Mazdāyazna-, *Miθrayazna-
Yudra-, "warrior"	*Yudra-
Yuga-, cf. *yaug-	*Yugara-
Yuta-, "bound"	*Yuta-, *Yutamanā

Yuvan-, "young"	*Yuvaiča-, *Yuvaka-, *Yuvēčā-, *Yuviča-

Z

Zabarna-, "superior"	*Zabarna-
Zabra-, "excellent"	*Zabrakāna-
Zāga-, "crow"	*Zāgavarsīš
Zaina-, "weapon"	*Zaina-
Zana-, "tribe"	*Çāzanā-
Zanga-, "ankle, shank"	*Zangāna-
Zani-, "skilled"	*Zaniš
Zanta-, "recognized"	*Aspazanta-
Zantu-, "tribe"	*Arēzantu-, *Hanzantuš, *Zantubṛzana-, *Zantuka-, *Zantupē-
Zānū, "knee"	*Zānuka-
Zara-, "goal, striving"	*Zara(h)māra-
Zarmaya-, "spring"	*Zarmayauka-
Zarna-, "gold"	*Zarnaka-, *Zarnamaniya-, *Zarnam(i)ya-, *Zarnava-, *Zarniya-
Zarnu-, "gold"	*Zarnuš
Zarya-, "gold-coloured"	*Zaryāspa-
Zāta-, "born"	*Amazāta-, *Farnazāta-, *Gafēzāta-, *Sāstṛzāta-, *Šēzāta-, *Varyazāta-, *Xšaθrēzāta-, *Zātaiča-, *Zātavahyačāna-, *Zātuka-
Zauša-, "satisfaction"	*Bagazauša-
Zāvar-, "power, strength"	*Apizāvā, *Zāvarxumba-
Zaya- (Med.), "weapon"	*Zayuka-
Zayana-, "winter"	*Zayana-
Zazvah-, "victorious"	*Zazvā
Zīpa-, "beautiful"	*Zīpaka-, *Zīpēna-

Zranga-, "audacious"	*Vizranga-
Zṛvan- (Med.)	*Čiθrazṛvā, *Dargazṛvā, *Vauzṛvā
Zūlah-, "evil"	*Arvazūlā
Zušta-, "loved"	*Bagazušta-, *Haxāzušta-, *Ṛtazušta-, *Xvarzušta-

9.2 Toponyms, oronyms and hydronyms

A

Lexeme	Names
Abigna-, "attacking power"	*Abigna-, Bagābigna-, *Mazdābigna-, *Naryābigna-
Abistāvana-, "estate"	*Abistāna-
Abištāfta-, "suppressed"	*Abištāfta-
[1]Abra-, "cloud"	*Abravā
Adri-, "rock"	Arakadriš
Aiza-, "wish, desire"	*Ēzaska-
Ama-, "strength"	*Kāramiča-, *Kāramīš
Anti-, "breathing"	*Antarantiš
Āp-, "water"	*Āfkāna-, *Antarāpiyā
Ara-, "wild"	*Arina-
Arba-, "child"	*Arbačiya-
Arva(nta)-, "swift, fast"	*Arvaya-
Asa-, "horse"	*Bārāsa-, *Humāyāsa-, *Navāsīš
Asa(n)-, "stone"	Asagarta-, Asagartiya-, *Sagarta-
Aspa-, "horse"	*Bārāspa-, *Čarbaspa-, *Par(u)vaspa-, *Pṛtaspa-
Asta-, "homestead"	*Astaniča-, *Astava-, *Astēnuka-
Asti-, "guest"	*Vauvastiš
Asura-, "tusk"	*Asurōkana-

Āṭṛ-, "fire"	*Āṭṛika-
Āθravan-, "priest"	*Āθravā
Auta-, "cold"	*Autini-
Ayană-, "travel route"	*Ayană-

B

Bāda-, "strong, firm"	*Bādavaka-
Bāga-, "garden"	*Gṛdabāga-, *Yamabāga-
Band-, "to strengthen, support"	*Bandava-, *Bandavana-
Bānu-, "lustre, light"	*Hambānuš
Banz-, "to strengthen, support"	*Banzava-
Bara-, "carrying"	*Bārāsa-, *Bārāspa-, *Visabara-
Bauda-, "odoriferous"	*(H)ubōdiš
Baur-, "red-brown"	*Bōrāsē-
Baxta-, "fate, destiny"	*Baxtiš, *Baxtiya-
Bṛta-, "carried"	*Hambṛta-
Bṛza-, "high"	*Bṛzina- (?)
Bṛzi-, "high"	*Bṛzina- (?)
Buja-, "releasing"	*Bujantīš
Buna-, "soil, earth"	*Bunasti-

Č

Čaman-, "meadow"	*(H)učamana-
Čanah-, "desire"	*(H)uvančanā, *Vīdačanā
Čarb-, "fat"	*Čarbaspa-
Čiça-, "origin"	*Aryačica-
Činah-, "desire"	*(H)uvarčinā
Čira-, "capable"	*Čiraviča-
Čiθra-, "origin"	*Arīčiθra-

Ç

Çau-, "beautiful, capable"	*Çaunāmā
Çauša-, "obedient"	*Çauša-, *Çaušaka-
Çīra-, "beautiful"	*Çīra-, *Çīravanta-
Çŭta-, "famous"	*Çŭtamāna-, *Çŭtuka-

D

Dā-, "to give"	*Dadātiča-
Dahyāu- / dahyu-, "land"	*Dahyufraθa-
Dainu-, "saddle"	*Dēnuka-
Dāman-, "dwelling"	*Ādāmaka-
[1]Dāna-, (1) "holder, (2) "place"	*Par(u)vadāna-, *Pōrudāna-
Dānu-, "grain"	*Kāradānuš
Darga-, "long"	*Darga-
Dāru-, "wood"	*Karadāruš
Dasa-, "ten"	*Dasakanta-
Dāta-, "given"	*(H)unidāta-
Dautar-, "priest"	*Dautiya-
Dṛθ-, "to look at"	*Dṛθika-
Dūta-, "messenger"	*Dūtina-, *Dūtinīš

F

Farnah-, "glory"	*Farnaguš, *Farnaguya-, *Farnavatīka-, *Farnavatīš
Fraita-, "walking on"	*Fraitašē-
Framāna-	*Framāna-
Framātar-, "commander"	*Framātā
Fraθ-, "to expand"	*Dahyufraθa-

Friti-, "prayer"	*Fritika-, *Frītivatīš
Frya-, "dear, kind"	*Gaufrīš, *Gaufrya-, *(H)ufrēča-

G

Gadā-, "mace"	*Pāθragadā-, *Pāθragadaka-
Gam-, "to come"	Hagmatāna-
Gana-, "compact"	Kuganakā-
Gandabara-, "treasurer"	*Gandabara-
Garma-, "hot, warm"	*Garmīš
Garta-, "hole, cave"	Asagarta-, Asagartiya-, *Sagarta-
Gati-, "coming"	*Hangatiča-
Gāθu-, "throne"	*Razagāθuš
Gau- / gu-, "cattle"	*Farnaguš, *Farnaguya-, *Gaufrīš, *Gaufrya-, *Gaumisa-, *Gōmisa-, *Gōrista-, *Gōristīš, *Mazdāguš, *Sāraguš, *Sataguš, *Θataguš
Gauça-, "jewel"	*Kagauça-
Gauman-, "having cattle"	*Upagōma-
Gauša-, "ear"	*Xaragōša-
Gauz-, "to conceal"	*Gauzaraθa-
Gāvarz-, "sorghum"	*Gāvarziya-
Gṛda-, "house"	*Āgṛdiya-, *Gṛdabāga-, *Vantagṛda-

H

Hadahra-, "1000"	*Hadahra-
Hangāma-, "to assemble"	*Hanjamanaka-
Hankṛka-, "wine press"	*Hankṛka-
[2]Hasta-, "settled"	*Hasta-
Haθya-, "real, true"	*Haθya-
Hav-, "to instigate"	*Hvaihva-, *Hvēhva-

Haxā-, "friend"	Haxāmaniš, *Haxāyānām
Hazahra-, "1000"	*Hazahra-
Hiθa-, "ally"	*Hiθiška-
Humāya-, "wholesome"	*Humāyāsa-
(H)uvādā-, "residence"	*Huvadēča-, *(H)uvādēčika-, Uvādaičaya-, *Uvādēča-, *Uvādēčiš
(H)uvanta-, "called"	*Abiš(h)uvanta-
(H)uvar-, "sun"	*Pātišuvariš
(H)uvāra-, "dark"	*Huvārazmīš, *Uvārazmīš, *[Uvāraz]miya-, *Xvārazmī-, *Xvārazmiya-
Hvāθra-, "comfort"	*Paruhvāθriš

I

Iba-, "house personnel"	*Ibāta-
Išti-, (1) "striving", (2) "wealth"	*Ištīniš, *Ištiyāna-, *Ištiyānīš

J

Jī-, "vivid"	*(H)ujīka-, *(H)ujīkara-, *Jīkara-

K

Ka-, "what a"	*Kagauça-
Kāna-, "mine, pit"	*Āfkāna-, *Navakānīš, *Rāmakāna-, *Sāsukāna-
Kanta-, "village"	*Dasakanta-, *(H)ukantava-, *Kantava-, *Kantavīš, *Kantuka-
Kapa-, "fish"	*Kapa-
Kāpiša-, "safflower"	Kāpišakāni-

Kar-, "to make, do"	*Jīkara-, *Karadāruš, *Nāmakara-, *Ramīkara-, *Ranakara-
[1]Kāra-, "people, army"	*Kāradānuš, *Kāramiča-, *Kāramīš, *Kārinīš
Kās-, "to shine"	*Kāsiya-
Kaufa-, "mountain"	Ākaufačiya-, *Ākōfačiya-, *Ṛšakaufa-, *Upakaufiya-, *Upakōfiya, *Uparikaufīš
Kṛka-, "cock"	*Kṛka-, *Kṛkaraka-
Kṛti-, "producing"	*Θrūkṛtiš
Kunduru-, "Boswellia Thurifera"	*Kunduruka-, Kunduruš
Kura-, "family"	*Kuraka-, *Kuravanta-

M

Maiθana-, "dwelling"	*Varāzamēθana-
Maka-, "strong"	Mačiya-, Maka-
Māna-, "house"	*Çŭtamāna-, *Patimāna-, *Takamāna-, *Takamānīš
Maz-, "big"	*Mazika-
Misa-, "to have in mind"	*Gaumisa-
Miθra-, "treaty"	*Vispamiθrānīš

N

Nada-, "reed"	*Nadāniš
Naima-, "half"	*Nēma-
Nāman-, "name"	*Çaunāmā, *Nāmakara-
Nāša-, "support"	*Patināša-
Nava-, "new"	*Navakānīš, *Navāsīš
Naxva-, "first"	*Naxva-
Nipišta-, "writings"	*Nipišta-, *Nipištiya-

P

Pā-, "to protect"	*Varθapā-
Pāça-, "protection"	*Pāçamzūrā
Pāniyā-, "drinking"	*Pāniyā-
Parikāna-, "wall"	*Parikāna-
Parnu-, "old"	*Parn(i)ya-
Paru-, "many"	*Paruča-, *Paruhvāθriš, *Paruraθa-, *Parutačara-, *Par(u)vaspa-
Par(u)va-, "eminent, first"	*Par(u)vadāna-, *Par(u)viča-, *Par(u)viya-
Pāta-, "protected"	*Ṛšapāta-
Pati-, "lord"	*Patimāna-, *Pṛθupatiš
Paθī-, "path"	*Paθīka-
Pāθra-, "protection"	*Pāθragadā-, *Pāθragadāka-
Pauru-, "much, many"	*Pōrudāna-, *Pōruš
Pīru-, (1) "ivory, (2) "elephant"	*Pīruka-
Pitar-, "father"	*Pitava-, *Taxmapitā
Pṛt-, "battle"	*Pṛtaspa-, *Pṛtausana-
Pṛθu-, "flank, side"	*Pṛθupatiš
Pūti-, "rotting"	*Pūtivanta-

R

Rāman-, "peace"	*Rāmakāna-
Ramna-, "peace"	Aryāramna-
Ramya-, "nice, delicate"	*Ramīkara-
Rana-, "solace, delight"	*Ranakara-, *Ranaθŭka-, *Ranavēθa-
Rapiθfaina-, "noonish"	*Rapiθfēna-
Rašnu-, "just, rightful"	*Rašnuča-, *Rašnuvatīš

Ratu-, (1) "judge", (2) "assistant priest"	*Ratuka-, *Ratuvā
Raθa-, "chariot"	*Gauzaraθa-, *Paruraθa-
Rauka-, "whitish"	*Asurōkana-
Rautah-, "river"	*Rautā, *Rautaniča-, *Rautanīš, *Rautavatīš, *Rōtaniča-
Ravah-, "freedom"	*Ravaya-
Raz-, "to command"	*Vasaraza-
Raza-, "wine"	*Razagāθuš, *Razakānīš, *Razavanta-
Razna-, "command"	*Raznavatīš
Rista-, "connected"	*Gōrista-, *Gōristīš

Ṛ

Ṛšan-, "hero"	Aṛšādā-, *Ṛšakaufa-, *Ṛšapāta-, *Tahmaršā
Ṛšti-, "javelin"	*Ṛštivaka-

S

Sāra-, "head"	*(H)usāra-, *Sāraguš, *Sāravanta-, *Sāriča-
Sāsu-, "bedbug"	*Sāsukāna-
Sata-, "100"	*Sataguš
Saura-, "salt"	*Sauraka-
Sāy-, "to lie down"	Nisāya-
Srauša-, "obedient"	*Srauša-
Stāna-, "place"	*Stāna-
Stāta-, "stable, solid"	*Stātiča-
Sti-, "food"	*Bunasti-
Svara-, "morning"	*(H)usvaraka-

Š

[2]Šana-, "hemp"	*Šanaka-
Šāta-, "prosperous"	*Šātēnīš, *Šātuka-
Šyā-, "to rejoice"	*(H)ušyāna-, *Šyāka-
Šyāti-, "prosperity"	*Vispašyātiš

T

Tačara-, "palace"	*Tačaraka-
Tāfta-, "hot"	*Tāfta-
Ta(h)ma-, "brave"	*Ta(h)maršā
[1]Taka-, "wandering"	*Takāna-(?)
[2]Taka-, "shield"	*Takamāna-, *Takamānīš, *Takāna-(?)
Tapa-, "hot"	*Tapa-
Tapu-, "warm"	*Tapušna-, *Tapušnīš
Tāra-, "ford"	*(H)utāraka-, Tāravā
Tauka-, "offspring"	*Tauka-
Tausa-, "bestowing richly"	*Tōsiya-
Taxma-, "brave"	*Taxmaka-
Tigra-, "sharp; slim"	*Tigra-, *Tigraka-, *Tigrānīš, *Vēstigra-, *Vēstigrīš

Θ

Θāna-, "to resist"	*Āθuxranθāna-
Θāra-, "head"	*Θāravina-
Θata-, "100"	Θataguš
Θrū-, "horn"	*Θrūkṛtiš
Θŭka-, "light"	*Ranaθŭka-
Θuna-, "prosperity"	*Vauθunīš
Θuxra-, "red"	*Āθuxranθāna-

U

Ugra-, "strong"	*Ugraka-
Usan-, "wish"	*Pṛtausana-

V

Vahyas-, "better"	*Vēstigra-, *Vēstigrīš
Vaijava-, "native"	*Vējava-
Vaiθa-, "knight"	*Ranavēθa-
Vanant-, "victorious"	*Vanantāna-, *Vanantānīš
Vanta-, "praise"	*Vanta-, *Vantagṛda-, *Vantaka-, *Vantavatīča-, *Vantavatīš
Varāda-, "boar"	*Varadōka-
[1]Varah-, "breast"	*Varaxvatīš(?)
[2]Varah-, "ordeal"	*Varaxvatīš(?)
Varan-, "sheep"	*Varātauka-
Varāza-, "boar"	*Varāzamēθana-
Varman-, "first choice"	*Varmā
Varθa-, "shield"	*Varθapā-
Vau-, "good"	*Vauθunīš
Vauna-, "blood"	*(H)uvavauna-
[2]Vīda-, "providing"	*Vīdačanā
Vifra-, "experienced"	*Vifraka-
Visa-, "all"	*Visabara-, *Visaka-, *Visara
Vispa-, "all"	*Vispamiθrānīš, *Vispašyātiš
Viθ-, "royal house"	*Viθana-, *Viθika-
Viyā-, "to travel"	*Viyuka-
Vrantu-, "streaming"	*Vrantuš
Vrata-, (1) "ruling", (2) "vow"	*Vrataka-
Vṛdana-, "town"	*Vṛdanaka-
Vṛka-, "wolf"	*Vṛkana-, *Vṛkaniya-, *Vṛkačiya-, *Vṛkačīš

Vṛta-, "hero"	*Vṛtaka-, *Vṛtarika-
Vṛzana-, "town"	*(H)uvṛzana-

X

[1]Xan-, "well, source"	*Xanča-, *Xančaka-, *Xančan(i)ya-
[2]Xan-, "to dig"	*Usxana-
Xara-, "donkey"	*Xaragōša-
Xšaita-, "brilliant"	*Fraxšēta-
Xšāvana-, "estate"	*Xšāna-
Xvar-, "sun"	*Pātišxvariš
Xvarθi-, "enjoying"	*Xvarθiš

Y

Yāna-, "favour"	*Ištīnīš, *Ištiyāna-, *Ištiyānīš, *Upayānīš
Yuta-, "bound"	*Yutava-

Z

Zarna-, "gold"	*Zarnamiya-
Zmī-, "land"	*Uvārazmīš, [*Uvāraz]miya-
Zranka-, "sea"	*Zrankă

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