

The emblem is a circular red seal. It features a thick, braided border. Inside the border, two winged, human-like figures stand facing each other, holding hands. The background of the seal is a solid red color. The entire seal is centered on the cover, which has a light blue background with a faint, repeating pattern of the same emblem.

Elam and Persia

edited by
Javier Álvarez-Mon
and Mark B. Garrison

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Edited by

JAVIER ÁLVAREZ-MON and MARK B. GARRISON

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Iranians in Neo-Elamite Texts

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1. Introduction

For many years before the appearance of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, there were contacts between the Iranian and Elamite populations settled in Elam. One of the visible aspects of these contacts is the appearance of several Iranian personal names (and some toponyms and loanwords) in late Neo-Elamite administrative texts. By contrast, Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions do not contain any Iranian personal names. Nevertheless, Iranians may very well have held high administration positions within local political systems.

The texts in which the Iranian names and words are attested can be divided into five groups.¹ Most of the names occur in the so-called Acropole texts from Susa, an archive of 299 administrative and economic texts (ca. 590–555) published by Scheil.² The second group of texts, seven legal documents, also comes from Susa: the so-called Apadana texts.³ The third group is the so-called “Neo-Elamite letters.” This group consists of 24 texts discovered in Nineveh and published by Weissbach;⁴ two letters found in Susa have also been assigned to this group, which dates from ca. 590–555.⁵ The fourth group consists of late Neo-Elamite seals carrying inscriptions that have Iranian personal names. The fifth group consists of various inscriptions, dating from ca. 590–555, on objects allegedly originating from the Kalmākarra Cave in Lorestān (hereafter Kal.).⁶ Of the 24 personal names attested in these inscriptions, 3 are Iranian.⁷

Contrary to the many publications dealing with the Iranian theonyms, anthroponyms, toponyms, hydronyms, oronyms, and loanwords attested in Achaemenid Elamite texts, there has not been much work done on the Iranian linguistic elements in Neo-Elamite documents. Only Mayrhofer (1971), Hinz (1967), Zadok (1984a), and Tavernier (2002) have published some notes on them. This study attempts for the first time to collect and analyze all Iranian proper names and loanwords attested in Neo-Elamite texts.

I employ in this article the system and methodology used in my recently published lexicon (Tavernier 2007a). Iranian names and loanwords in Elamite are divided into four categories. The first category is composed of names and words that are also attested in their Iranian form. As there are, however, no Old Persian texts extant from the Neo-Elamite period, it is impossible to find Iranian proper names and loanwords belonging to this category.⁸ The second category encompasses those Iranica that are closely related to the Iranica of the first category. This relationship may be expressed in two ways: (1) the Old Persian name is attested in another text

1. Abbreviations are cited according to the system used in *Northern Akkad Project Reports* 8 (1993): 49–77. It should be emphasized that the PF-NN citations are drawn from copies of Hallock’s working transliterations and not from the original documents. Any Elamite name not written syllabically indicates that the spelling of the name could not be checked because copies or photographs of the text were not available.

2. Cf. Tavernier 2004: 30–32 for the date of the Acropole texts. The texts are MDP 9 1–298 and MDP 11 309. About ten percent of the personal names occurring in this archive is Iranian (Hinz 1987: 128; Henkelman 2003a: 212).

3. MDP 11 301–7.

4. Weissbach 1902.

5. MDP 9 88 and MDP 36 79. Cf. Tavernier 2004: 39.

6. Cf. Vallat 2000 and Henkelman 2003a: 222.

7. Cf. Henkelman 2003a: 222–24, who also provides more general information on what is called the “Kalmākarra Hoard” (2003a: 214–27). The numbering of the inscriptions adopted here follows Henkelman.

8. Only when the Achaemenid kings produced Old Persian inscriptions is it possible for such Iranica to be identified.



or (2) a closely variant form is attested (e.g., Median vs. Old Persian; contracted forms, etc.). This category is called “semi-directly transmitted Iranica.” The third category consists of Iranica that are originally non-Iranian but that are transmitted to the source language through Old Persian. Again, as with the first category, since there are no Old Persian texts from the Neo-Elamite period, this category is not relevant to the present study. Finally the fourth category, called “indirectly transmitted Iranica,” is the largest and contains the Iranian proper names and loanwords that are reconstructed on the basis of their Elamite transcription.

Inevitably, there are also names and words that appear to be Iranian but have many uncertainties. They are brought together in a group called “Incerta,” which is divided in three subgroups: (1) “problematic names and words,” (2) “dubia,” and (3) “pseudo-Iranica.” The first subgroup is made up of Iranian names and words whose etymology is not (yet) known. The subgroup called “dubia” contains proper names and words that could be Iranian but that could belong to another language as well. Finally the “pseudo-Iranica” are names and words that were once believed to be Iranian but whose Iranian character has now been abandoned.

The personal names that are possibly Iranian (thus including “problematic Iranica” and “dubia”) are accompanied by some prosopographical information.

Whenever a proper name or a loanword is also attested in Achaemenid Elamite texts, the spellings and occurrences of these names and words are listed in footnotes.

Following the discussion of the separate proper names and words, a linguistic study and some historical notes will be presented. The linguistic study contains transposition tables (in which the various transpositions of Iranian phonemes and phoneme sequences to Elamite graphemes are brought together), a general discussion of the Irano-Elamite transpositions, and a study of the importance of Neo-Elamite Iranica for Old Iranian itself. Some appendixes and indexes complete the study.

2. *Lexicon of Neo-Elamite Iranica*

2.1. *Semi-directly Transmitted Iranica*

2.1.1. *Personal Names*

2.1.1.1. *Māda-:⁹ ‘Median’. According to Hinz and Koch (ElW: 857), this is an ethnic indication used as anthroponym. Nevertheless, it could also be an abbreviated form of a name containing Māda- (Henkelman 2003a: 205).

- Prosopography: *Māda- is one of twelve Samatians receiving *kuktu*-garments. The *people from Samati¹⁰ are a population group, already mentioned in an Old Babylonian administrative text from Susa (*Sa-ma-ti-ip*; MDP 10, 104:rev.1) dated to the reign of Atta-hušu, a contemporary of Gungunum of Larsa (1932–1906 B.C.).

9. OP M-a-d-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as the toponym ^{AS}*Ma-ad-da* (PFa 28:9–10; PFNN 1517:10; PT 1963–4:x+17), ^{AS}*Ma-da-* (A³Pb 2; DB passim; DNa 17; DSf 47; DSz 47, 52; PF 1262:14; PFa 28:9; XPh 15) and ^{AS}*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). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 27 (1.3.22).

10. Recently, some inscriptions of the kings of Samati have been discovered. They allegedly originate from the Kalmākara Cave in Lorestān (cf. above, p. 192).



- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ma-da*: MDP 9 94:rev.2.
- 2.1.1.2. *Miθra- (Med.):¹¹ retrenchment of a compound with *Miθra- ‘treaty’ (Scheil 1907: 122; Mayrhofer 1971: 16; EIW: 943).
- Prosopography: one of six individuals receiving *tukli*-garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Mi-ut-ra*: MDP 9 135:4.
- 2.1.1.3. *Mṛduniš: < *Mṛdu-n-ya-,¹² ‘the mild one’ (cf. Scheil 1911: 99; Mayrhofer 1971: 16; EIW: 880).
- Prosopography: father of *Arina- (2.2.1.5), a witness in a legal text.
 - Attestation: *Mar-du-nu-iš*: MDP 11 306:11.
- 2.1.1.4. *Pārsa-:¹³ ‘Persian’, ethnic name used as anthroponym (EIW: 159). Cf. 2.1.2.1.
- Prosopography: (1) son of *Kur-lu-iš*, owner of a seal (Delaporte 1923).
 - (2) son of ^{BE}*Bar-ru*, mentioned with regard to *kuktu*-garments (MDP 9 47).
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Bar-šir₈-ra*: Delaporte 1923: 182 no.A.836; MDP 9 47:12, 233:3.
- 2.1.1.5. *Sugda-:¹⁴ ‘Sogdian’, ethnic name used as anthroponym (EIW: 1188).
- Prosopography: person receiving a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Šu-ug-da*: MDP 9 134:11.
- 2.1.1.6. *Uvaxštra-:¹⁵ *Uv-axštra- ‘having good oversight’ (EIW: 849).
- Prosopography: person receiving various garments.
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Ma-ak-iš-tur-ri*: MDP 9 95:9 (spelled *Ma-ak-tur-tur-ri*),¹⁶ 132:7.

2.1.2. Geographical Names

2.1.2.1. *Pārsa-:¹⁷ ‘Persian’ (EIW: 159). Cf. 2.1.1.4.

11. OP Mi-i-t-r-, M-i-t-r- and M-i-θ-r-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Mi-ut-ra(-iš)* (PF 775:3–4, 1956:20, 1960:26). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 61 (2.2.44).

12. OP M-r-du-u-n-i-y-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Mar-du-nu-ia* (DB iii 91; PF 60:2–3, 348:3, 1818:5; PFa 5:1–2; PFNN 61:16, 1345:1–2, 2529:26–27). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 61 (2.2.42).

13. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ba-ir-iš-šá* (PT 25:1, 35:5, 78:7–8). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 62 (2.2.47).

14. OP S-u-g-d-, S-u-g-u-d- and S-u-gu-u-d-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Šu-ug-da* (PF 1659:3–4, 1660:4; PFNN 160:5, 553:3–4, 2066:2–3). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 63 (2.2.52).

15. OP U-v-x-š-t-r-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-[iš]* (DB ii 10, 60, iii 54, 55; DBe 3–4; DBg 3–4; PFNN 2541:5) and ^{HAL}*Ma-ik-iš-tar-ri-iš* (PFNN 2541:30). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 21 (1.2.30) and 63 (2.2.58).

16. Henkelman (2003a: 200 n. 65) mentions the possibility of a mistake for ^{BE}*Ma-ak-tur šak-ri* in MDP 9 95:9 and a mistake for ^{BE}*Ma-ak-iš šak-ri* in MDP 9 132:7. In this case an Iranian name is not involved. Nevertheless *iš* (Steve 1992: no.212), *šak* (Steve 1992: no.366) and *tur* (Steve 1992: no.144) are signs relatively distinctive in shape. Accordingly, it is appropriate to accept the spellings as they are attested and to believe that an Iranian private person is meant here.

17. OP P-a-r-s-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{AS}*Ba-ir-da* (PFNN 1657:3, 6), an inaccurate spelling, ^{AS}*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), ^{AS}*Ba-ir-sa-an* (PF 701:6), another inaccurate spelling, ^{AS}*Ba-ir-šá* (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; XPa 13; XPh 13), ^{AS}*Ba-ir-za* (Fort. 2029:9; PF 1546:5; PFNN 1492:9–10, 1566:9), ^{AS}*Ba-ra-iš-šá-an* (PF 658:4–5), ^{AS}*Bar(?)-šá-an* (PFNN 2196:23), ^{AS}*Bar-šip* (DB passim; DBa 2; DNa 14, 37–38; DSe 13; 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) and ^{AS}*Bar-šir₈(-ra)* (A³Pb 1; DB passim; DNa 10–11, 11, 35–36; DNe 1; DSab 2; DSe 10; PF 695:7; XPh 10). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 73–74 (2.3.33).



- Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Bar-šib^{ib}-be* (pl.): MDP 9 166:4, 25.
- (2) ^{BE}*Bar-šip* (pl.): MDP 9 11:rev.1, 49:1, 51:rev.5 ([^{BE}*Bar-š*]*ip*), 94:rev.13, 187:rev.2, 246:rev.7 (^{BE}*Bar-š*[*ip*]), 281:20, 29.
- (3) (^{BE})*Bar-šir₈(-ib-bal-ra)*: BA 4 177 no.2:13; MDP 9 97:6, 117:5, 121:4, 185:13; MDP 11 307:9.

2.1.2.2. *Raxā-:¹⁸ city in Persia (ElW: 1029; Henkelman 2003a: 212n.110).

Not the Median town Ragā, as Scheil (1907: iii–iv; cf. Jusifov 1963: 221) believes.

- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ra-ka₄(-be-ib-ba, -be-ra)*: MDP 9 61:3, 93:rev.6, 101:4, 134:rev.5, 147:9 (*-[be]-ib-ba*), 295:15 (^{BE}*Ra-k*[*a₄-be-ib-ba*]).

2.1.3. Loanwords

2.1.3.1. *Pīru-:¹⁹ ‘ivory’ (Bork 1941: 15; Jusifov 1963: 250–51; ElW: 210), cf. MP and NP *pīl*, Parth. *pyl*, Sogd. *pyδ(h)*. The spelling, rendering /pīrim/, indicates that in all probability the direct source form is Akkadian *pīru*, itself a loanword from Indo-European (EWA II 296).

- Attestations: *pi-ri-um-na*: MDP 9 154:21, 166:28 (*-na-* is an Elamite ending).

2.1.3.2. *Xšaça- (OP):²⁰ ‘reign, kingdom’ (Vallat 1998: 98). Vallat points to the interchanges between *-š-* and *-h-* in examples such as *muhš-* / *mušš-* and *šahš-* / *šaš-*. His opinion gains credibility since the versions with *-h-* are clearly older (Middle and Neo-Elamite) than the ones without *-h-* (only Achaemenid Elamite). Moreover the Achaemenid equivalent of *xšaça-* is *šá-iš-šá*.

- Attestation: *šá-ah-šá*: BA 4 181 no.5:2.

2.2. Indirectly Transmitted Iranica

2.2.1. Personal Names

2.2.1.1. *Aina-: retrenchment of a name containing *Ainah- ‘crime, violence’.

Hinz and Koch (ElW: 14) recognize the Iranian character of this name.

- Prosopography: according to Hinz and Koch, it is an anthroponym used to indicate a tribe (ElW: 14), but more likely *Aina- is an individual who has some subordinates called “the people of *Aina-.”
- Attestation: ^{BE}*A-a-na-ib-be* (pl.): MDP 9 133:rev.7.

2.2.1.2. *Ainaka-: *Aina-ka-, *-ka-* hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Ainah- (Hinz 1975: 26). Cf. 2.2.2.1.

- Prosopography: owner of a seal.
- Attestation: ^m*A-a-na-ak-ka₄*: Ward 1910: 331, no. 1076.

18. OP R-x-a-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{AS}*Ra-ak-ka₄-an* (PF 64:9–10), ^{AS}*Ra-ka₄(-an/-mal-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) and ^{AS}*Rák-ka₄-an* (DB iii 8; 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). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 75 (2.3.38)

19. OP p-i-r-u-. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as *pi-hi-ra-um* (DSz 40). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 35 (1.4.4.5).

20. OP x-š-ç-m. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as *šá-iš-šá-[um]* (XV 26–27). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 33 (1.4.1.7)



- 2.2.1.3. *Ainar-: < *Aina-ra-, a -ra-extension of a retrenchment of a name containing *Ainah-.

The Iranian character of this name is made clear by Hinz and Koch (EIW: 14).

- Prosopography: father of *Katān- (2.2.1.42).
- Attestation: *A-a-na-ir*: MDP 9 133:rev.6.

- 2.2.1.4. *Ama-: ‘strong’ (EIW: 611). Retrenched name.

- Prosopography: *Ama- is one of twelve Samatians, receiving *kuktu*-garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ha-ma*: MDP 9 94:rev.4.

- 2.2.1.5. *Arina-:²¹ *Ar-ina-, -ina-extension of *Ara- ‘wild’. Cf. the Av. PN Ara- (Mayrhofer 1979: I/19–20 no. 18).

The Iranian character of this name was recognized by Mayrhofer (1971: 16). Hinz (1975: 40) reconstructs *Aryaina-.

- Prosopography: called *rab ekalli* in MDP 9 145. Witness in a legal contract and son of *Mrdunīš (MDP 11 306; see 2.1.1.3). In another text (MDP 9 61) his subordinates receive something. In MDP 9 63 he himself gets a *kuktu*-garment, in MDP 9 71 a pair of shoes, in MDP 9 83 a bag of linen, in MDP 9 145 two recipients of tin and in MDP 9 175 a bar of iron.
- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ha-ri-na*: MDP 9 61:9, 63:3, 71:6, 83:4, 145:8, 174:rev.3; MDP 11 306:11.

- 2.2.1.6. *Aspavika- (Med.): *Aspa-v-ika-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g., *Aspa-vanta- ‘equipped with horses’.

That this name is certainly Iranian was made clear by Mayrhofer (1971: 15), who recognized *aspa- in the first part of the compound. Hinz (1975: 46) pleads for Med. *Aspavaiga- ‘horse-crash’ (Av. *vaēγa-* ‘crash’), but that does not sound like a plausible anthroponym.

- Prosopography: person receiving various garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*As̄-pu-mi-ik-ka*₄: MDP 9 132:10.

- 2.2.1.7. *Augafarnā: nom. sg. of *Auga-farnah- ‘announcing the glorious ones’.

The Iranian character of this name is defended by Mayrhofer (1971: 16), but Hinz and Koch (EIW: 56) express their doubts about it.

- Prosopography: person who, together with others, receives two *maktinas*.
- Attestation: *Am-ka*₄-*bar-na*: MDP 9 97:1.

- 2.2.1.8. *Bagbādu- (OP):²² < *Baga-bādu- ‘arm of God’ (EIW: 105).

Mayrhofer (1971: 15) recognizes the Iranian character of this name.

- Prosopography: individual receiving one *tukli*-garment, one *kuktu*-garment and one bow (MDP 9 187). In MDP 9 246 he receives one *tukli*-garment and one *kuktu*-garment and in MDP 9 264 at least one *tukli*-garment.

21. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as a toponym: ^{AS}*Ha-ri-na* (PF 2084:13), ^{AS}*Har-ri-na* (PF 2084:18) and ^{AS}*Har-ri-nu* (PF 1562:6–7). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 373 (4.3.11)

22. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAI}*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). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 131 (4.2.234)



- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ag-ba-du*: MDP 9 187:4, 246:5 (*Ba-ag-ba-[du]*), 264:2.
- 2.2.1.9. *Bagbāzu- (Med.):²³ < *Baga-bāzu-, the Median equivalent of *Bagbādu- (EIW: 105).
Scheil (1907: 17; also Mayrhofer 1971: 15) recognizes the Iranian character of this name.
- Prosopography: subordinate of *Kṛpānmā (2.2.1.45). He receives two garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ag-ba-šū*: MDP 9 133:10.
- 2.2.1.10. *Bagrapa-: < *Baga-rapa- ‘supporting God’.
Scheil (1907: 17 and 92) mentions both *Ba-ag-gal-ba* and *Ba-ag-ráb-ba* and recognizes the Iranian character of this name (also Mayrhofer 1971: 15). Hinz (1975: 57) wants to identify this spelling with Achaemenid ^{HAL}*Ba-ge-ráb-ba*, a rendering of Ir. *Bagē-rapa- < *Bagairapa- ‘whose support is in God’ (Tavernier 2007a: 141 [4.2.311]), but it seems very unlikely that the scribe would have chosen not to denote the diphthong or its monophthongization.
- Prosopography: probably a subordinate of *Kṛpānmā (MDP 9 251; see 2.2.1.45). In MDP 9 11 he (if the same person) receives a *kuktu*-garment.
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Ba-ag-ráb-ba*: MDP 9 11:1, 251:7 (*Ba-ag-rá[b-ba]*).
- 2.2.1.11. *Bāma-: ‘light, splendor’ (Zadok 1984a: 388; EIW: 133).
Zadok mentions *Pāva- as alternative possibility.
- Prosopography: person mentioned in an unclear context; possibly subordinate of ^{BE}*Ak-ki-ra-ra*.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ma*: MDP 9 160:3.
- 2.2.1.12. *Bāmkaca-: < *Bāma-ka-ca-, a hypocoristic of a name containing *Bāma-.
Hinz and Koch (EIW: 107) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
- Prosopography: subordinate of *Ṫrābuka-, receiving a *likkina*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-am-ka₄-za*: MDP 9 148:10.
- 2.2.1.13. *Baxti-:²⁴ *Baxt-i-, -i-patronymic of *Baxta-, a retrenchment of a name containing *Baxta- ‘fate, destiny’.
Some authors think this is an Elamite anthroponym.
- Prosopography: mentioned in a letter in an unclear context.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ak-ti*: MDP 36 79 no.1:4.
- 2.2.1.14. *Bṛga-: ‘who welcomes’ (Tavernier 2002).
Hinz and Koch (EIW: 213) propose an Iranian name *Pṛga-, which does not contradict the Elamite spelling, but which is no plausible name either.
- Prosopography: individual mentioned in an unclear context.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Pṛ-ka₄*: MDP 9 229:3.

23. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ba-ka₄-ba-su* (PFNN 1592:7–8, 1733:8, 2149:4, 2580:3–4). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 131 (4.2.240).

24. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as a toponym: ^{AS}*Ba-ak-ti-iš* (PF 169:8, 170:7, 171:6–7, 172:7, 173:6, 174:6, 175:6, 176:5–6, 177:9–10, 199:4–5, 850:6, 852:6, 1129:5, 1664:6; PFNN 368:5, 888:5–6, 896:6, etc. in PFNN) and ^{AS}*Ba-gi-ti-iš* (PFNN 1234:7–8). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 375–76 (4.3.31).



- 2.2.1.15. *Cīrvanta-: < *Cīra-vanta- ‘capable’ (and not ‘having courage’, as Tavernier [2002] believes).
- Prosopography: individual receiving bows as wage.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Si-ir-un-da*: MDP 9 156:9.
- 2.2.1.16. *Dargiš: *Darg-i-š, -i-patronymic of a name containing *Darga- ‘long’.
- Hinz and Koch (ElW: 368) prefer an Elamite name.
- Prosopography: mentioned in a broken context.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Tur-ki-iš*: MDP 9 220:rev.5.
- 2.2.1.17. *Dātāyana-:²⁵ *Dāta-āyana-, -āyana-patronymic of *Dāta- ‘created’.
- Scheil (1907: 121 and 164) recognized the Iranian character of this name. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 257) read *Dātīyāna-.
- Prosopography: most likely an anthroponym which has given its name to a Persian tribe.
 - Attestations: (1) *Da-at-ia-na-ip*: MDP 9 51:rev.5, 281:29.
 - (2) ^{AS/BE}*Da-at-ti-ia-na(-ip/ra)*: MDP 9 187:rev.2, 272:2.
- 2.2.1.18. *Dāθayak-: *Dāθa-ya-ka, hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Dāθa- ‘clever’.
- Vallat (1995, with reference to Hinz 1975: 81; also Henkelman 2003a: 212) prefers Median *Daisa-ka- ‘he who shows’, but the Elamite spelling does not allow such a reconstruction.²⁶
- Prosopography: father of *Da-da*, the owner of a seal.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Taš-šē-ak*: Vallat 1995.
- 2.2.1.19. *Dayāta- (OP): *Day-āta-, -āta-extension of a retrenched name with *Daya- ‘weapon’ (Hinz 1975: 92).
- Scheil (1907: 17; also Mayrhofer 1971: 16) points to the Iranian character of the name and compares it with the Neo-Assyrian geographical indication ^{KUR}*Tu-a-ia-a-di*.
- Prosopography: person receiving a *kuktu*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ti-ia-ad-da*: MDP 9 11:2.
- 2.2.1.20. *Gaudamanā: nom. sg. of *Gauda-manah- ‘with a hidden mind’ (ElW: 426).
- Prosopography: person who two times receives a *kuktu*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Kam-da-man-na*: MDP 9 42:5–6, 204:2 (*Kam-da-man-[na]*).
- 2.2.1.21. *Gauhuvara- (OPd): *Gau-huvara- ‘eating cattle’ (ElW: 426, where Hinz and Koch reconstruct *Gauxvara-).
- Scheil (1907: 55) recognized the Iranian character of this anthroponym.
- Prosopography: individual mentioned in connection with 180 arrows.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Kam-hu-ma-ra*: MDP 9 57:4.

25. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Da-ut-ti-ia-na* (PF 1987:31–32). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 171 (4.2.520).

26. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Da-a-šá-ak-ka₄* (PFNN 2523:1). Its contracted equivalent *Dē-saka- is rendered by Ach. El. ^{HAL}*Tē-šá-ak-ka₄* (PFNN 2347:8) and ^{HAL}*Tē-šá-ka₄* (PF 1983:8, 1984:6, 11). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 164–65 (4.2.479–80).



- 2.2.1.22. *Gaurēvika-: < *Gau-raiv-ika- ‘rich through cattle’.
 Hinz and Koch (EIW: 428) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
- Prosopography: father of an unknown person, attested in an unclear context.
 - Attestation: *Kam-re-mi-ka*₄: MDP 9 294:6.
- 2.2.1.23. *Gītika-:²⁷ *Gīti-ka-, -ka-hypocoristic of *Gīti- ‘singer’ (Zadok 1984a: 388; EIW: 489).
- Prosopography: witness in a legal text.
 - Attestation: ^m*Ki-ti-ik-ka*₄: MDP 11 307:12.
- 2.2.1.24. *Gītiya-: *Gīti-ya-, -ya-hypocoristic of *Gīti- ‘singer’ (Henkelman 2003a: 224 n. 152, reading *Gitiya-).
- Prosopography: father of ^m*Un-sa-ak*, a king of the Samatians.
 - Attestation: *Gi-ut-ti-ia-āš*: Kal. 6.
- 2.2.1.25. *Gōmāya-: < *Gaumā-ya-, a -ya-extension of *Gaumā ‘having cattle’ (EIW: 512).
- Prosopography: person receiving a *likkina*-garment (MDP 9 157) or mentioned in an unclear context (MDP 9 229).
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Ku-ma-a-a*: MDP 9 157:rev.4, 229:2 (*Ku-ma-[a-a]*).
- 2.2.1.26. *Gōšāya-: < *Gauša-ya-, a -ya-extension of a retrenchment with *Gauša- ‘ear’ (EIW: 505).
- Prosopography: person receiving a *likkina*-garment (MDP 9 157) or mentioned in an unclear context (MDP 9 229).
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ku-iš-šā-a-a*: MDP 9 157:rev.3, 229:1 (*Ku-[iš-šā-a-a]*).
- 2.2.1.27. *Hadāspa- (Med.): *Hada-aspa- ‘equipped with horses’ (Mayrhofer 1971: 16).
 Since the determinative (^{BE}) of this name is restored and there seems to be some more space for a sign, Hinz and Koch (EIW: 26) point to the possibility of reconstructions such as [^{BE}*Ha*]-*ad-āš-ba* or even [^{BE}*Ma*]-*ad-āš-ba*.
- Prosopography: individual probably receiving *tukli*-garments.
 - Attestation: [^{BE}]*Ad-āš-ba*: MDP 9 110:rev.8.
- 2.2.1.28. *Hamfriš-: < *Ham-frya- ‘mutually dear’ (Henkelman 2003a: 224 n. 152). ^{AM} and ^{UM} are interchangeable in both Elamite and Iranian names (Vallat 1996), cf. El. ^m*Am-ba-hab-u-a* / ^m*Um-ba-hab-u-a* on the one hand and Ir. *Hambāduš (^{HAL}*Am-ba-du-iš* and ^{HAL}*Um-ba-du-iš*) on the other hand (Tavernier 2007a: 193–94 [4.2.687]).
- Prosopography: a king of the Samatians, son of *Tapala- (2.2.1.67). The persons attested in the Acropole texts are possibly, but not necessarily, the same as the king of Samati, contrary to what Vallat (1996) assumes. Cf. *infra*.
 - Attestation: (1) *Am-pi-ri-iš*: Kal. 1, 4, 5, 15.
 - (2) ^{BE}*Um-be-ri-iš*:²⁸ MDP 9 112:7.
 - (3) *Um-pu-ri-iš*:²⁹ MDP 9 123:rev.2.

27. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ki-ti-ik-ka*₄ (PFNN 339:4). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 190 (4.2.657).

28. According to Hinz and Koch (EIW: 1226), this spelling denotes an Elamite name.

29. According to Hinz and Koch (EIW: 1234), this spelling denotes an Elamite name.



2.2.1.29. *Haxāvada- (OP): *Haxā-vada- ‘leading the friends’.

Hinz and Koch (EIW: 41) propose *Haxāmāda- ‘leading the Medes’.

- Prosopography: he receives a *tukli*-garment.
- Attestation: ^{BE}A]k-ka₄-ma-da: MDP 9 203:2.

2.2.1.30. *Haxidāta-: *Haxi-dāta- ‘given as a friend’ (Tavernier 2002), with *haxi- being the weak stem of Old Persian *haxā-* ‘friend, companion’ (cf. Zadok 1976: 66).

According to EIW: 38, Akkidada is an Elamite name.

- Prosopography: son of Hutma[]. He probably receives a *tukli*- and a *likkina*-garment.
- Attestation: ^{BE}Ak-ki-da-da: MDP 9 37:rev.7.

2.2.1.31. *Hiθavanta-: *Hiθa-vanta- ‘having allies’.

Hinz and Koch (EIW: 656) prefer *Hitavanta- ‘having a team’ (Av. *hita-*).

- Prosopography: person receiving one *tukli*-garment and one belt.
- Attestation: ^{BE}Hi-da-un-da: MDP 9 98:3.

2.2.1.32. *Hiθika-:³⁰ *Hiθ-ika-, *-ika*-hypocoristic of a patronymic of *Hiθa- ‘ally’.

An alternative possibility is *Hit-ika-, a hypocoristic of a patronymic of a retrenchment of a name containing *hita- ‘team’ (EIW: 674; cf. the Av. PN *Hitaspa-*).

- Prosopography: a statue of a god is assigned to this person by ^{BE}Al-tan.
- Attestation: ^{BE}Hi-tú-ka₄: MDP 9 118:rev.6.

2.2.1.33. *(H)ubīza-: *(H)u-bīza- ‘having good seed’ (Tavernier 2002).

Scheil (1907: 156) refers to Neo-Assyrian ^mUp-pi-is. Elsewhere ^{BE/m}Ú-pi-iz-za is described as being Elamite (EIW: 1241), but the ending *-iz-za* rather points to an Iranian anthroponym. Tavernier mentions two other possibilities, *Hup-(a)ica- or *Huf-(a)ica-, but these proposals do not yield plausible meanings.

- Prosopography: person receiving one *tukli*- and one *likkina*-garment (MDP 9 172).
- Attestations: ^{BE/m}Ú-pi-iz-za: BA 4 181 no.5:1, 21 ([^mÚ]-pi-iz-za); MDP 9 172:rev.5.

2.2.1.34. *(H)ubṛga-: *(H)u-bṛga- ‘who welcomes well’ (Tavernier 2002).

- Prosopography: individual mentioned with others in an unclear context, but probably receiving something.
- Attestation: ^{BE}Ú(?)-pír(?)-ka₄(?): MDP 9 259:rev.1.

2.2.1.35. *(H)uvataxša-: *(H)uva-taxša- ‘striving well’ (Hinz 1975: 141).

Scheil (1907: 122) and Mayrhofer (1971: 16) describe the name as Iranian. The emendation ^{BE}Ma-kaš-šá by Jusifov (1963: 213) is not plausible (Hinz 1975: 141).

- Prosopography: one of six individuals receiving *tukli*-garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}Ma-tak-šá: MDP 9 135:5.

2.2.1.36. *Hvāθriš (Med.): *Hvāθr-i-š, *-i-*patronymic of *Hvāθra- ‘pleasure’.

Scheil (1907: 17) and Mayrhofer (1971: 16) recognized the Iranian character of this

30. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}Hi-ti-ik-ka₄ (PF 463:2, 973:2, 1009:2; PFNN 43:2, 1217:2), ^{HAL}Hi-ti-ka₄ (PFNN 2185:2, 2377:2), ^{HAL}Hi-ut-tak-ka₄ (PFNN 2364:8), ^{HAL}Hi-ut-ti-ka₄ (PF 464:2, 1248:3) and ^{HAL}Hi-ut-tuk-ka₄ (PFNN 2276:11). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 202–3 (4.2.763).



name, which Hinz (1975: 141) reads as *Xvāθriš (same meaning). Yet El. *-m-* normally does not render Ir. /xv/.

- Prosopography: person receiving a *kuktu*-garment (MDP 9 11). Elsewhere (MDP 9 93) he receives some garments together with two other persons.
 - Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Ma-at-ri-iš*: MDP 9 11:3.
 - (2) ^{BE}*Mat-ri-iš*: MDP 9 93:5.
- 2.2.1.37. *Īramanā: nom. sg. of *Īra-manah- ‘having a mind full of energy’ (EIW: 767).
- Prosopography: person receiving a *tamšium* (cf. 2.3.2.3.3).
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*I-ra-man-na*: MDP 9 150:rev.2.
- 2.2.1.38. *Kamna-: ‘small, little’.
- Not a toponym, as Tavernier (2002) believes.
- Prosopography: the people of *Kamna- receive a staff or stick.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-am-na-ib-be* (pl.): MDP 9 150:rev.5.
- 2.2.1.39. *Kāra-: retrenchment of a name containing OP *kāra*- ‘people, army’ (EIW: 437).
- Prosopography: person mentioned with two other Iranians in a broken text.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-ra*: MDP 9 199:2.
- 2.2.1.40. *Kārāsa- (OP): *Kāra-asa- ‘army-horse’ (EIW: 440).
- Prosopography: person receiving six *tukli*-garments for horses.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-ra-šá*: MDP 9 34:5.
- 2.2.1.41. *Karki-:³¹ *Kark-i-, patronymic of *Karkāθa- or *Karkāsa- ‘vulture’ (EIW: 417).
- Prosopography: person receiving a bow.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-ir-ki*: MDP 9 106:rev.4.
- 2.2.1.42. *Katān-: < *Kata-āna-, an *-āna*-patronymic of the Av. anthroponym *Kāta-* (EIW: 456) ‘wanted’ (Mayrhofer 1979: I/58–59).
- Prosopography: son of *Ainar- (2.2.1.3). He receives a bow.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-ut-tan*: MDP 9 133:rev.5.
- 2.2.1.43. *Kōfāyana-: < *Kaufa-āyana-, an *-āyana*-patronymic of a retrenched name with *Kaufa- ‘mountain’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 502) reconstruct *Kaufaina-, but more likely a spelling *Ca-a-* renders Ir. /Cāya/.
- Prosopography: individual receiving a *tukli*-garment, a *kuktu*-garment and a wooden recipient.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ku-ib-ba-a-a-na*: MDP 9 68:4.
- 2.2.1.44. *K̄rmi-: ‘worm’ (EIW: 527).
- Prosopography: attested in connection with perhaps cotton.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Kur-mi*: MDP 9 63:7.

31. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ka₄-ir-ki-iš* (PF 1930:1) and ^{HAL}*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). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 228 (4.2.954).



2.2.1.45. *Kṛpānmā: nom. sg. of *Kṛpa-anman- ‘whose external appearance is in continuity’ (ElW: 532).

- Prosopography: in some texts he is mentioned as an individual (MDP 9 148, 157) receiving *kuktu*-garments (MDP 9 25, 139) or a *mešrati*-garment (MDP 9 93). In other texts he is mentioned as superior of a group of people (MDP 9 92, 101, 126, 133, 174, 186, 191, 251, 255). MDP 9 151 mentions a “messenger of *Kṛpānmā.” MDP 9 139 and 184 mention the “messenger of the people of *Kṛpānmā.” Messengers of Kṛpānmā or his people (the text is damaged) occur in MDP 162.
- Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Kur-ru-ip-pan-ma(-)*: MDP 9 25:2, 34:1–2, 49:4, 92:11 ([^{BE}*Kur*]-*ru-ip-pan-[ma-be-ib-ba]*), rev.9, 93:16, 101:6–7, 126:2, 133:10–rev.1, 139:8, 10, 148:7 (*-pan-ma-[]*), 157:4, 162:rev.11 (*-pan-[ma-]*), 174:7 (*-pan-[ma-]*), 184:7–8, 186:6–7 ([^{BE}*Kur-ru*]-*ip-pan-ma-[be-ib-ba]*), 191:6 ([^{BE}*Kur-ru*]-*ip-*), 251:rev.1 (*-ip-[pan-ma-]*), 255:10, rev.1 (^{BE}*Kur-ru-[ip-pan-ma-be-ib-ba]*).
- (2) ^{BE}*Kur-ru-ip-pan-um-ma*: MDP 9 151:9–rev.1.

2.2.1.46. *Mādāspa- (Med.):³² *Māda-*aspa*- ‘having Median horses’ (Mayrhofer 1971: 15).

The name was read ^{BE}*Kur-áš-ba* by Scheil (1907: 135), but this reading was corrected by Mayrhofer. Hinz (1975: 248) suggests a reading **Vaḏāspa*- ‘der Zugrosse hat’. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 858) suggest that ^{BE}*Sat-áš-ba* is the best reading, yielding a name **Satāspa*- ‘possessing hundred horses’, a name also attested in Achaemenid Persepolis (^{HAL}*Šá-ad-da-áš-ba*, ^{HAL}*Šá-ad-da-iš-ba* and ^{HAL}*Šá-da-áš-ba*). This is, however, very unlikely, since KUR has no attested value /sat/ in Neo-Elamite (Steve 1992: 156).

- Prosopography: person receiving a *kuktu*-garment (MDP 9 150) and a *tamšium* (MDP 9 295; cf. 2.3.2.3.3).
- Attestations: ^{BE}*Mad-áš-ba*: MDP 9 150:rev.4, 295:6.

2.2.1.47. *Manušā-:³³ abbreviation of a name with *Manuš* (Scheil 1907: 44; Mayrhofer 1971: 16; Hinz 1975: 159).

- Prosopography: individual receiving a belt (MDP 9 43), a skirt (MDP 9 63), and three *tamšium* (MDP 9 237). The “people of *Manušā*” are mentioned in MDP 9 147 and 179.
- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ma-nu-šá*: MDP 9 43:4, 63:5 (*Ma-nu-[šá]*), 147:17 (*-šá-be-ib-[ba]*), rev.14 (*Ma-[nu-šá]-be-ra*), 179:4 (*-be-ra*), 237:3.

2.2.1.48. *Maθāna- (OP): *Maθa-āna-, *-āna*-patronymic of a retrenched name with *Maθa- ‘large’.

ElW: (855) considers the name to be Elamite. The Elamite spelling can also render the Median form **Masāna*-, but as Elamite usually reflects Old Persian forms, it is better to prefer the OP form **Maθāna*-.

32. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-da-áš-ba* (PF 163:3, 2032:3–4). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 236 (4.2.1015).

33. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-nu-šá* (PFNN 1483:51, 2202:35, 2288:13). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 239 (4.2.1042).



- Prosopography: person receiving a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ma-áš-šá-na*: MDP 9 289:4.
- 2.2.1.49. *Maθiya- (OP):³⁴ *Maθ-*iya-*, *-iya*-extension of a retrenched name with *Maθa- ‘large’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 861) wonder if this spelling is a rendering of OP Maθiya- or Med. *Masiya-. Yet Elamite normally renders the Old Persian equivalent.
- Prosopography: person mentioned with two other Iranians in a broken text.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ma-iš-ši-ia*: MDP 9 199:4.
- 2.2.1.50. *Mazdara-: *Mazda-*ra-*, *-ra*-extension of a retrenched name with *Mazdā- ‘wisdom’ (Hinz 1975: 164), Gk. Μαζάρης.
- Mayrhofer (1971: 16; following Schmitt [1967: 134] on the Greek name) derives the name from the Zarathustrian theonym *Mazdā-.
- Prosopography: individual mentioned with others in an unclear context, but probably receiving something.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Maš-da-ra*: MDP 9 259:10.
- 2.2.1.51. *Nāfēca-:³⁵ < *Nāf-aica-, hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Nāfa- ‘family’ (Hinz 1975: 171, reconstructing *Nāfaica-).
- Prosopography: person receiving garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Na-be-ez-za*: MDP 9 51:4.
- 2.2.1.52. *Nāmāta-: *Nāma-*āta-*, *-āta*-extension of a retrenchment of a name containing *Nāman- ‘name, fame’ (Hinz 1975: 173).
- Scheil (1907: 164) considers the name to be either Babylonian or Iranian. Mayrhofer (1971: 16) pleads for an Iranian character.
- Prosopography: person receiving or supplying garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Na-ma-ad-da*: MDP 9 187:12.
- 2.2.1.53. *Naptaka-: *Napta-*ka-*, *-ka*-hypocoristic of *Napta- ‘wet’.
- By reconstructing *Naftika- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 989) want to connect this name with NP *naft* ‘naphtha’.
- Prosopography: the people of *Naptaka- receive three garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Nap-tuk-ip* (pl.): MDP 9 133:rev.2.
- 2.2.1.54. *Nariš: *Nar-i-š, *-i*-patronymic of *Nar-, a retrenchment of a name containing *Nar- ‘man’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 992) reconstruct *Narya-.
- Prosopography: mentioned in a broken context.
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Na-ri-iš*: MDP 9 169:7, rev.24 (Na-ri-[iš]).
- 2.2.1.55. *Nixšaya-: *Ni-xšaya- ‘ruling’.
- Prosopography: person who, together with others, receives two *maktinas*.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Nu-uk-šá-a-a*: MDP 9 97:2.

34. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-iš-š[i-ia]* (PF 2079:4). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 243 (4.2.1068).

35. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Na-be-ez-za* (PFNN 550:2) and ^{HAL}*Na-pe-ez-za* (PT 49a-3:8, 53:7). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 256 (4.2.1156).



2.2.1.56. *Pāka-: *Pā-ka-, -ka-hypocoristic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Pā- ‘to protect’.

Hinz and Koch (ElW: 106) argue that one cannot determine whether the Elamite spelling *Ba-ak-ka₄* renders an Iranian or an Elamite name.

- Prosopography: mentioned in a broken context. His patronymic is lost.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Pa-ak-ka₄*: MDP 9 208:2.

2.2.1.57. *Patirapa-:³⁶ *Pati-rapa- ‘supporting’ (ElW: 112).

Scheil (1907: 50) connects the name with Greek Πατιράμφοις. Mayrhofer (1971: 16; also Hinz 1975: 188) correctly identifies this name with Ach. ^{HAL}*Bat-ti-ráp-pa*, but in following Benveniste’s (1966: 81) analysis of the latter (= *Patiramfa-) he makes a mistake.

- Prosopography: person receiving garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-at-ti-ráb-ba*: MDP 9 51:rev.2.

2.2.1.58. *Pāθrān- (Med.): *Pāθra-āna-, patronymic of a retrenchment of a name containing *Pāθra- ‘protection’.

Scheil (1907: 92) recognized the Iranian character of this name. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 110) reconstruct *Pāθram.

- Prosopography: his people are mentioned in MDP 9 110 (^{BE}*Ad-da-te-en*) and 179. The messenger of his people occurs in MDP 9 133 and in MDP 9 110, 133 and 148 he himself receives various garments.
- Attestations: ^{BE}*Pa-áš-ra-an(-be-na/ra, -ir-ra)*: MDP 9 110:rev.1, 4 (*-an-[ir-ra]*), 133:3, 6–7, 148:6, 179:9.

2.2.1.59. *Pāyuna-: *Pāyu-na- ‘protector’.

- Prosopography: person mentioned with two other Iranians in a broken text.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ha-ú-na*: MDP 9 199:3.

2.2.1.60. *Rōpāθa- (OP):³⁷ < *Raupāθa- ‘fox’.

Hinz and Koch (ElW: 1044) plead for a name *Raupāθa- or *Raupāsa-, since it is not possible to determine with certainty whether the name is OP *Rōpāθa- or Med. *Rōpāsa-. Yet Elamite spellings of Iranian expressions usually render the Old Persian forms.

- Prosopography: person attested as superior of ^{BE}*Lu-da-da* (MDP 9 95) or as superior of various people (MDP 9 132).
- Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Ru-hu-ba-[áš-be-ra]*: MDP 9 95:10.
- (2) ^{BE}*Ru-uh-ba-iš-šá-ir-[ra-be-ib]-ba*: MDP 9 132:rev.3–4.

2.2.1.61. *Rōpāθka- (OP): < *Raupāθ-ka-, a -ka-extension of *Rōpāθa- (cf. ElW: 1044).

- Prosopography: individual receiving various garments.
- Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Ru-hu-ba-áš-[ka₄]*: MDP 9 289:5.
- (2) ^{BE}*Ru-uh-[ba]-áš-ka₄*: MDP 9 147:8.

36. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Bat-ti-ráp-pa* (PF 1965:4) and ^{HAL}*Bat-ti-re-eb-ba* (PFNN 897:2; inaccurate spelling). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 271 (4.2.1273).

37. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ra-u-ba-sa* (PF 2025:3, 9, 20; PFNN 2302:8–9). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 285 (4.2.1387).



- 2.2.1.62. *Ṛdata-: ‘the silvery’ (Gershevitch 1969: 195; Hinz 1975: 205).
Hinz (1974: 260) proposes a reading *Ṛta-āta-, an -āta-extension of *Ṛta-.
- Prosopography: the people of *Ṛdata- receive three garments (MDP 9 133).
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Ir-da-ad-da-ip* (pl.): MDP 9 133:rev.3, 246:8 (Ir-da-[ad-da]).
- 2.2.1.63. *Ṛmaka-: *Ṛma-ka-, -ka-extension of *ṛma- ‘arm’ (Zadok 1984a: 388; EIW: 776).
- Prosopography: father of ^{BE}*Pīr-an-za-an* (2.3.1.1.6).
 - Attestations: *Ir-ma-ak-ka*₄: MDP 9 99:7, 101:rev.6.
- 2.2.1.64. *Sakidēva-: < *Sakidaiva- ‘memorizing daivas’ (EIW: 1111).
- Prosopography: person receiving a bow.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Šā-ak-ki-te-ma*: MDP 9 71:3–4.
- 2.2.1.65. *Spākṛta-: *Spā-kṛta- ‘happily made’.
- Mayrhofer (1971: 16; also EIW: 791) recognizes the Iranian character of this name. Steve (1992: 147) wants to read ^{BE}*Iṣ-pu-kūr-da*, because he considers the second element as a rendering of *kṛta- ‘made’. Yet *gur* and *kūr* both may render /gr/ and /kr/.
- Prosopography: Persian receiving a garment and belonging to the Zambegirians.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Iṣ-pu-gur-da*: MDP 9 238:2. Inaccurate spelling.
- 2.2.1.66. *Spāvāma-: *Spāva-ama- ‘blissfully happy and strong’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 791) recognize the Iranian character of this name.
- Prosopography: person receiving a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Iṣ-pu-un-ma*: MDP 9 81:8.
- 2.2.1.67. *Tapala-:³⁸ *l*-equivalent of *Tapara- ‘axe’ (Henkelman 2003a: 224n.152).
Hinz (1975: 234) reconstructs *Tapara-, to NP *tabār* ‘origin’.
- Prosopography: father of *Hamfriš (2.2.1.28), a king of the Samatians.
 - Attestation: *Da-ba-la*: Kal. 1–2.
- 2.2.1.68. *Tēža-: < *Taiža- ‘the sharp one’.
- Scheil (1907: 50) recognized the Iranian character of this name. Hinz and Koch (EIW: 317) reconstruct *Taižah-.
- Prosopography: person receiving garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Tē-ez-za*: MDP 9 51:rev.4.
- 2.2.1.69. *Ṫrābuka- (Med.): < *Ṫrā-b-uka-, two-stem hypocoristic of e.g., *Ṫrā-bauga- ‘to whom the protector bestows benefit’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 794) read *IṪraya-, but do not explain this reading.
- Prosopography: his people occur in MDP 9 148 (*Bāmkaca-) and 179 (unnamed).
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*It-ra-bu-uk-ku*: MDP 9 148:rev.1, 179:13.
- 2.2.1.70. *Ṫrāya- (Med.): ‘protecting’, either to be linked with Av. *θrāyō.driγu-* ‘protecting the poor’ or to be read *Ṫrā-ya-, a -ya-extension of a retrenched name with *Ṫrā-.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 794) read *IṪraya-, again without any explanation.
- Prosopography: one of his subordinates is mentioned.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*It-ra-a-a-be-ra*: MDP 9 97:4.

38. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAI}*Da-ba-ra* (PF 1731:3, 1732:2–3, 1743:2–3, 1744:2; PFNN 845:2, 1265:2–3). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 322 (4.2.1669).



- 2.2.1.71. *Vaigāna-: *Vaiga-āna-, -āna-patronymic of *Vaiga-³⁹ ‘slinging, swinging, brandishing’ (EIW: 854).
- Prosopography: ^{BE}*Ha-mi-ti-ra*, one of his subordinates, receives a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Ma-a-ka₄-na-āš-be-ra*: MDP 9 160:rev.8.
- 2.2.1.72. *Vananta-:⁴⁰ thematic extension of *Vanant- ‘victorious’ (Cameron 1948: 135; Gershevitch 1969: 203; Mayrhofer 1971: 16 and 1973: 8.942; Hinz 1975: 254). Scheil (1907: 92) recognized the Iranian character of this anthroponym.
- Prosopography: subordinate of *Kṛpānmā (MDP 9 101; see 2.2.1.45). In another text (MDP 9 142) he receives a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Ma-na-an-da*: MDP 9 101:6, 142:2.
- 2.2.1.73. *Vantuka-: *Vant-uka-, -uka-hypocoristic of *Vanta- (EIW: 866) ‘honour, homage’ or ‘loved’.
- Scheil (1907: 164) compares the name with Gk. Μανδαύκης.
- Prosopography: a Persian, probably belonging to the *Dātāyana-tribe.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Man-du-uk-ku*: MDP 9 187:rev.1.
- 2.2.1.74. *Vēškāma-: < *Vahyas-kāma- ‘longing for the better’ (Cameron 1948: 108; Mayrhofer 1971: 16; Hinz 1975: 252).
- Prosopography: person receiving *kuktu*-, *likkina*-, and *tukli*-garments (MDP 9 55, 61, 83, 145, 155) and other things (MDP 9 19 and 190). Once he is mentioned in connection with a spear (MDP 9 160).
 - Attestations: ^{BE}*Mi-iš-ka₄-ma*: MDP 9 19:4, 55:4, 61:5, 83:rev.4 (^{BE}*Mi-[iš]-ka₄-ma*), 145:rev. 8, 155:6, 160:10 (^{BE}*Mi-iš-[ka₄-ma]*), rev.5, 169:23 (^{BE}*Mi-iš-[ka₄-ma]*), 190:5.
- 2.2.1.75. *Vēzbara-:⁴¹ < *Vahyaz-bara- ‘bringing the better’ (Mayrhofer 1971: 16, reading *Vahyas-bara; Hinz 1975: 253). Benveniste (1966: 88) reconstructs *Vayaspāra-, while Mayrhofer (OnP 8.1134) has doubts on the real meaning of the name.
- Prosopography: person receiving a *kuktu*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Mi-iš-bar-ra*: MDP 9 54:8.
- 2.2.1.76. *Vīdamanā: nom. sg. of *Vīdamanah- ‘having the mind of an expert’ (EIW: 920).
- Prosopography: individual receiving one *tukli*- and two *likkina*-garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Mi-[d]a-man-na*: MDP 9 145:6.
- 2.2.1.77. *Vṛzvanta- (Med.):⁴² *Vṛz-vanta- ‘energetic, efficient’ (EIW: 889).
- Prosopography: mentioned in connection with cotton (MDP 9 110) and as receiver of a *kuktu*-garment (MDP 9 187).

39. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-a-ka₄* (PF 2057:2). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 336 (4.2.1785).

40. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Ma-na-an-da* (PF 1084:2; PFNN 2251:2, 2522:2–3; PT 33:6–7), ^{HAL}*Ma-na-in-da* (PFa 25:3) and ^{HAL}*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). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 336–37 (4.2.1790).

41. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Mi-iš-ba-ra* (PF 1949:17) and ^{HAL}*Mi-iš-bar-ra* (PF 1638:3). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 345 (4.2.1864).

42. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAL}*Mar-su-un-da* (PF 1401:9–10, 1528:7; PFNN 127:9–10). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 357 (4.2.1957).



- Attestations: ^{BE}*Mar-su-un-da*: MDP 9 110:3, 187:7.
- 2.2.1.78. *Xšaparap-: < *Xšapa-rapa- ‘supporting the night’ (EIW: 1109).
- Prosopography: individual, subordinate of ^{BE}*Ap-pa-la-a-a*, receiving quivers.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Šá-ab-ba-ráb*: MDP 9 132:rev.11.
- 2.2.1.79. *Xvarθiš (East Iranian):⁴³ *Xvarθi-š ‘enjoyment, delight’.
- Prosopography: individual probably receiving a *tukli*-garment.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Kur-ti-iš*: MDP 9 51:2.
- 2.2.1.80. *Yuvātaka-: *Yuva-āta-ka-, hypocoristic of a name containing *Yuvan- ‘young’.
- Prosopography: person receiving garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*I-ma-tak-ka₄*: MDP 9 51:rev.3.
- 2.2.1.81. *Zāta- (Med.): ‘born’.
- Hinz and Koch (EIW: 1274) have doubts concerning the linguistic affiliation of the name: Elamite or Median.
- Prosopography: person receiving various garments.
 - Attestation: ^{BE}*Za-da*: MDP 9 147:5.
- 2.2.2. *Geographical Names*
- 2.2.2.1. *Ainaka-: anthroponym, used as place name; cf. 2.2.1.2.
- Attestation: ^{AŠ}*A-a-na-ak-ka₄*: MDP 9 80:10–rev.1 (^{BE}*A-a-[na-ak]-ka₄-be-ra*), 93:10 (-*be-na*), 100:9–10, 133:rev.8 (^o*[ka₄-be-ra]*), 151:7 (-*be-ra*), 179:rev.8 (^{AŠ}*A-na-[ak]-ka₄-be-ra*).
- 2.2.2.2. *Gauciraka-: *Gau-cira-ka- ‘having capable cattle’.
- Attestation: ^{AŠ}*Kam-uz-zí-ra-ka₄*: MDP 9 25:11.
- 2.2.2.3. *Maθāsa- (OP): *Maθa-asa ‘big horse’ (Tavernier 2002).
- According to Hinz and Koch (EIW: 901) *Mattaššan* is a Neo-Elamite toponym, but they offer no explanation of their Elamite name.
- Attestation: ^{AŠ}*Mat-taš-šá-an*: MDP 9 1:8. *An* is an El. suffix.
- 2.2.3. *Loanwords*
- 2.2.3.1. *Architectural and Technical Expressions*
- 2.2.3.1.1. *Mānpān-: < *māna-pāna- ‘bolt, bar, door handle’, lit., ‘protection of the house’ (Scheil 1907: 26; Jusifov 1963: 248–49; Hinz 1973: 75 and 1975: 158).
- Attestations: *ma-an-pan*: MDP 9 22:4, 74:5.
- 2.2.3.2. *Geographical Expressions*
- 2.2.3.2.1. *Rmātam:⁴⁴ ‘dwelling, estate’ (EIW: 777).
- Attestation: *ir-mat-tam₆*: MDP 9 109:13.

43. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as a toponym: ^{AŠ}*Ku-ur-ti-iš* (PFNN 2209:2–3, 5, 7). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 403 (4.3.271).

44. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as *ir-ma-at-tam₆* (PF 1857:8), *ir-ma-tam₆* (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) and *ir-ma-ut-tam₆* (PF 330:8–9, 2027:8; PFNN 1254:11–12). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 447 (4.4.12.10).



2.3. *Incerta*

2.3.1. *Problematic Names and Words*

2.3.1.1. *Personal Names*

2.3.1.1.1. Amippišturra: probably Iranian. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 50) reconstruct Med. *Ham-pištra-, without offering any explanation.

- Prosopography: individual receiving various garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Am-ip-p[i]-iš-tur-ra*: MDP 9 179:rev.4.

2.3.1.1.2. Baksienda: Scheil (1907: 164) erroneously read *Ba-ak-si-hub-da*, but rightfully concluded that the name was Iranian. Jusifov (1963: 225) corrects the reading by Scheil into *Ba-ak-si-en-da*, which finally has led to Hinz's analysis (1975: 62) *Baxšyanta- 'bestowing'. The main problem with this analysis is that *si* cannot render /š/. Unless the spelling is inaccurate, the name remains unclear.

- Prosopography: person receiving a bow.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ba-ak-si-en-da*: MDP 9 187:rev.3.

2.3.1.1.3. Haduš: probably Iranian. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 586) reconstruct *Āδuš, whose Median equivalent would be *Āzuš. Possibly the latter should be connected with Av. *āžu-* 'zeal, ambition'. Other possible related words are **ādu-* 'grain, cereals' (Av. *ādu-*; Sogd. *ʾdwk*) and **adu-* 'canal' (Av. *aδu-*).

- Prosopography: explicitly called "Persian" and receiving at least three garments.
- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ha-du-iš*: MDP 9 121:4, 290:4.

2.3.1.1.4. Kagišba (Med.): Mayrhofer (1971: 16) recognizes the last part as a denotation of Med. **aspa-*. Hinz (1975: 132) connects the first part with NP *xākī* 'terrestrial' and reconstructs **Xākiyāspa-*, which is, however, not convincing.

- Prosopography: a subordinate of his receives three garments.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Ka₄-gi-áš-ba*: MDP 9 101:4.

2.3.1.1.5. Mitilakšar: Scheil (1907: 164) recognized the Iranian character of this name. Mayrhofer considers a dissimilation of Mitirakšar, which would yield an Iranian name **Miθraxšara-*, but gives up this idea (Mayrhofer 1971: 16).

- Prosopography: person receiving a *tukli*-garment.
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Mi-ti(?) -lak-šar*: MDP 9 187:9.

2.3.1.1.6. Pīranzan: certainly Iranian. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 208) reconstruct **Franjam*, but it is more likely that the name ends in *-āna*. Possibly it should be read **Fra-jana-*, with *fra-* as prefix to the stem *jan-* 'to strike, to smite'. The Elamite spelling then reflects a nasal pronunciation.

- Prosopography: son of **Rmaka-* (2.2.1.63) and father of ^t*U'-pu-nu-kaš*. He is said to come from **Ainaka-* (MDP 9 133; see 2.2.1.2).
- Attestation: ^{BE}*Pīr-an-za-an*: MDP 9 99:6, 100:9, 101:rev.6, 133:rev.8, 140:3 (^{BE}*Pīr-an-[za-an]*), 171:rev.3 (^{BE}*Pīr-an-[za-an]*), 206:1, 279:rev.4 (^{BE}*Pīr-a[n-za-an]*).



2.3.2. *Dubia*

2.3.2.1. *Personal Names*

2.3.2.1.1. Kuddakaka: Zadok (1983: 117–18, 1991: 236–37 and 2002: 128 n. 23) believes in a name *Kautaka-ka- (to MP *kōdak* ‘young, small baby’ and NP *kōdak* ‘child’). Hinz (1987: 127–28), however, pleads for an Elamite name (because of the reduplicated last syllable).

- Prosopography: holder of a high position (*a-ráš.hu-ut-lak*), very frequently attested.⁴⁵
- Attestations: (1) ^{BE}*Ku-id-da-ka₄-ka₄*: MDP 9 85:4.
- (2) ^{BE}*Ku-ud-da-ka₄-ka₄*: MDP 9 2:2, 4:9, 6:3, 7:10–11, 10:rev.3–4, 11:5–6, passim in MDP 9.

2.3.2.1.2. Kunaramika: the second part of this name, *ramika*, looks Iranian at first sight and is possibly a rendering of **ramī-ka-* < **ramya-ka-* ‘beautiful’. Alternatively, it could be an *-ika-* extension of **rāman-* ‘peace’. This would be, however, the only name with **ramya-* as its second part. Possible Ir. equivalents for *ku-na* are **gōna* ‘hair’ (Av. *ga-ona-*) or **kūna-* ‘buttocks, backside’, to NP *kūn* (Zadok 1984a: 388). The latter, however, most likely comes from an older **kauna-*, so the right reconstruction should be **kōna-*. A name **Kōnaramika-* ‘having beautiful buttocks’ has a nice parallel in Greek *καλλίπυγος*, an expression used as an epitheton for Aphrodite. According to Hinz and Koch (EIW: 513), it is a Neo-Elamite name, meaning ‘haar-gelockt’. They connect this name with ^f*Ra-mi-ra* (PFNN 541:16).

- Prosopography: mentioned in a legal text concerning a payment.
- Attestation: ^m*Ku-na-ra-mi-ka₄*: MDP 11 306:1, 7.

2.3.2.1.3. Pirna: Zadok (1984a: 388) believes that the spelling *Pír-na* is a representation of **Farna-*, a thematization of **farnah-* ‘glorious’, while others (EIW: 211) argue that it is an Elamite name because of the fact that the person(s) behind this name is (are) the father(s) of men with Elamite names.

- Prosopography: father of ^{BE}*Si-mi*, *Si-mi-mi*, and ^{BE}*Ú-pu-hu*.
- Attestations: *Pír-na*: MDP 9 125:5, 132:rev.8, 169:rev.27.

2.3.2.2. *Geographical Names*

2.3.2.2.1. Zambegir: denotation of Persians; possibly Iranian, according to Henkelman (2003a: 211 n.105), but a plausible Iranian etymology is not available.

- Attestation: ^(Aš)*Za-am-be-gir-(ip/ra)*: MDP 9 11:rev.2, 94:rev.13, 238:3.

2.3.2.3. *Loanwords*

2.3.2.3.1. Katium: Henkelman (2003a: 212 n.6) connects this expression with OP *gāθu-*, (1) ‘place’, (2) ‘throne’. This connection was implicitly accepted by Hinz and Koch (EIW: 454) by their translation ‘Stühler’. Yet the origin of *gāθu-* is a bit complicated (Blois 1994: 16): in its meaning ‘place’ it is certainly derived from the Iranian root *gā-* ‘to stride, walk’, but in its meaning ‘throne’ it is rather derived from El. *kat-*

45. Other *araš hutlak* are ^{BE}*Ad-da-bar-ru* (MDP 9 159:5–6), ^{BE}*Ba-ki-iš* (MDP 9 191:7–8. Cf. 2.3.3.1.1), ^{BE}*Ba-nu-mi* (MDP 9 119:9), ^{BE}*Bar-ri-man* (MDP 9 281:12, rev.15, 295:4, 10), ^{BE}*Ha-ra-ak* (MDP 9 46:5), ^{BE}*Hu-ban-am-nu* (MDP 9 25:8–9), ^{BE}*Su-pi-pi* (MDP 9 281:21) and ^{BE}*Un-ban(?) -me(?) -iš* (MDP 9 81:4–5).



‘throne’. When borrowing the Elamite word, the Persians simply identified it with the already existing OP *gāθu-*, hence the two meanings of the word. Nevertheless, the connection with *gāθu-* is far from sure. The Elamite form expresses /katim/, which does not correspond with an Old Iranian ending. The possibility of an Akkadian loanword can neither be excluded nor confirmed. Cf. *pi-ri-um-na* (2.1.3.1), which is directly derived from Akkadian and not from Iranian, and *tam₆-ši-um* (2.3.2.3.3), which is a possible Akkadian loanword.

- Attestations: *ka₄-ti-um*: MDP 9 92:rev.8.

2.3.2.3.2. Sarapiš:⁴⁶ some kind of garment, either Iranian or Elamite. Scheil (1907: 21) connected this word with Gk. *σάραπις* and Hinz (1967: 92; 1969: 72–73; 1970: 434–35; 1975: 239; and 1987: 129), who accepts this suggestion, reconstructs Old Persian **θārapiš*. For this formally plausible reconstruction, however, an etymological basis is lacking (Schmitt apud Bittner 1987: 181 n.2), since the connection with NP *sarāpā*, an honorary dress (cf. Knauer 1954: 114), is not certain.

The word may, however, also be Elamite (Schmitt apud Bittner 1987: 181 n. 2; Henkelman 2003a: 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.⁴⁷ 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 2003a: 228–31). Bork (1941: 15) connected the word with Bab. *šarpu*, (1) ‘tanned and dyed (leather)’, (2) ‘colored, red’, (3) ‘silver’.

- Attestations: (1) *sa-ar-pi*: MDP 9 38:rev.3, 91:2, 218:4 (*sa-a[r-pi]*), 258:1 (*sa-ar-[pi]*).
- (2) *sa-har-pi*: MDP 9 14:1, 23:17, 34:6, 92:rev.4 (*[sa]-har-pi*), 100:rev.2, 105:5, 111:1, 134:6, 147:15, 151:4, 163:3, 176:1, 177:6, 179:3, 13, rev.3 (*sa-h[ar]-pi*), 181:8 (*[sa]-har-pi*), 184:2 (*[sa]-har-pi*), 227:1, 251:5 (*sa-har-p[i]*), 281:rev.16.
- (3) *sa-ri-pi*: MDP 9 91:6.

2.3.2.3.3. Tamšium: various possibilities have been brought forward concerning the origin of this word. Jusifov (1963: 253) considers it as a rendering of Akk. *tumšu*, a ceremonial garment. Hinz (1967: 92), who does not accept Jusifov’s theory, translates ‘sheet, cloth’. Henkelman (2003a: 212 n.106) cautiously connects it with Ir. **dauça-/*dauçiya-* ‘sacrifice’, but the contexts in which this word appears do not make this very likely.

This lexeme is possibly the same as Middle Elamite *du-šū-um* and Neo-El. *du-ši-um*. Scheil (1907: 74) thought of Akk. *dušū* ‘rock-crystal’, but Stolper (1984: 117) rightfully argues that it must rather be a product than a raw material. Hinz and Koch (ElW: 377) translate ‘knife’, but that is made difficult by the context (textiles) in which the word appears. Akk. *dušū*, however, has also the meaning ‘leather dyed and tanned the color of a *dušū*-stone’, so the Akkadian word could still be the source word for the Elamite lexeme. *Tam₆-ši-um* could render *dušū*, but this is not certain.

- Attestations: *tam₆-ši-um*: MDP 9 91:5, 92:12, 95:20, 105:4, 132:rev.5, 134:rev.4, 139:11, rev.2, 150:rev.1, 3, 154:28, 162:6.

46. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as *sa-ra-pi-iš* (PF 1150:5, 1947:46). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 522–23 (5.4.4.11).

47. The appearance of *-h-* may, however, also indicate the length of the Iranian vowel.



2.3.3. Pseudo-Iranica

2.3.3.1. Personal Names

2.3.3.1.1. Bakiš:⁴⁸ Elamite name ‘he blew’ or ‘may he blow’ (EIW: 128), cf. ^{BE}*Sunki-bakiš* (MDP 9 10:8–rev.1, 94:11,⁴⁹ 170:rev.5).

Scheil (1907: 17) considers this name as being Iranian. Mayrhofer (1971: 16) believes it is a Baga-name.

- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ba-ki-iš*: MDP 9 191:7; MDP 11 307:13–14.

2.3.3.1.2. Hubanrašma: Elamite name, perhaps meaning ‘Huban is heavy, important’ (EIW: 680).

Zadok (1984b: 50 and 59) prefers a hybrid name: El. Huban, followed by Ir. **ras-man-*, (1) ‘phalanx’, (2) ‘battle’ (Av. *rasman-*).

- Attestation: ^{BE}*Hu-ban-ráš-ma*: MDP 9 109:9, 13, 123:rev.1, 141:3, 243:4.

2.3.3.1.3. Kuraš:⁵⁰ Elamite name (Andreas 1904: 93–94), meaning ‘to bestow care’ (Stronach 1997: 38, based on Zadok 1995: 246; Henkelman 2003a: 193–95; Tavernier 2007a: 528–30).

Various Iranian etymologies have been proposed. Hoffmann (apud EWA III 677; also Mayrhofer 1979: II/24; Schmitt 1993: 515; Werba 1982: 223–31 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. *Kópoç* and *Kŭpoç*) as an Iranian name meaning ‘the young one, child’ (Abayev 1965: 286–91 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 *kr-* ‘to do, accomplish’.

Recent research, however, has revealed some indications supporting an Elamite name. 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/*, bv. *Hutelutuš-Inšušinak*, it would be awkward if the Elamite scribes would change an original *Kuruš* into *Kuraš*.⁵¹ It is much more to be expected that the Persians remodeled a form that was strange in their eyes, *Kuraš* (Iranian has no nominatives in */aš/*), to *Kuruš*.

The name is already attested in texts dating from the pre-Achaemenid period: *Kūr-áš* (NCT 72:3; Ur III, cf. Zadok 1994: 33); ^m*Ku-ur-ra-šú* (VS 3 55:14; Neo-Babylonian).

48. Attested in Achaemenid Elamite as ^{HAI}*Ba-ki-iš* (PF 45:7, 1952:7; PFNN 754:4). Cf. Tavernier 2007a: 524 (5.5.1.10).

49. Spelled ^{BE}*Su-un-ki-ba-ku-iš*, which is an error for ^{BE}*Su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš*.

50. Also attested in Achaemenid Elamite (CMa; DB i 40, ii 3, 50, 58, 93; DBb 2; DBh 4; DMb).

51. 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*. The theory is hardly tenable. Since the Persians and the Elamites had lived for a long time in mutual contact, the Elamites most likely would not have considered Cyrus as a foreign ruler.



Cyrus never used the title “king of Persia.” His usual title was “king of Anšan,” which suits very well the Neo-Elamite royal titles (Miroshedji 1985: 296–99; Vallat 1997: 426–27).

Kuraš is thus 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 (EIW: 531; Zadok 1991: 237).

- Attestations: (1) [ᵐK]u-ráš: PFS 93*:1.
- (2) ^{BE}Kur-ráš: MDP 9 98:rev.1.

2.3.3.1.4. Lašimarti: Scheil (1907: 28) assumes that this is an Iranian name, but this is not probable (EIW: 817). *Mar-ti* also occurs in the surely Elamite names Akšimarti (Kal. 10) and ^{BE}*Kam-me-mar-ti* (MDP 9 169:rev.11).

- Attestations: ^{BE}*La-ši-mar-ti*: MDP 9 24:rev.1, 153:rev.2.

2.3.3.1.5. Mankanunu: Elamite name (EIW: 871) because of the repetition of the last syllable. Zadok (1983: 118) connects this Elamite spelling with MP *vāng* ‘voice’.

- Attestation: *Man-ka₄-nu-nu*: MDP 11 301:7.

2.3.3.1.6. Mardudu: Elamite hypocoristic from *mardu* ‘star’ (Zadok 1977: 77; EIW: 879). Cf. the anthroponym ^{BE}*Mar-du-nu-kaš* (MDP 9 145:10).

Elsewhere, Zadok (1983: 103) considers it to be a derivation of OIr. *mṛta-* ‘dead’.

- Attestation: ^{BE}*Mar-du-du*: MDP 9 80:10.

2.3.3.1.7. Unukaka: Elamite name ‘I was treated with care’ (EIW: 1239).

According to Zadok (1984a: 388) Unukaka stands for *Hunu-ka-ka-, a hypocoristic of *Hunu- ‘little son’, with an Elamite reduplication of the last syllable. It is, however, unlikely that Persians would use such Elamite features to make their own names (EIW: 1239).

- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ú-nu-ka₄-ka₄*: MDP 9 37:5 ([Ú]-), 38:2, 103:6, 120:9, 123:10.

2.3.3.2. Loanwords

2.3.3.2.1. Matak: certainly an Elamite passive participle of a verb *mat-* (Jusifov 1963: 248; Vallat 1993: 161; Henkelman 2003a: 202–5).

Hinz (1987: 129) believes to have found an Iranian word *Māda-ka-, a *-ka*-extension of *Māda- ‘Median’ (EIW: 857).

- Attestations: (1) *Ma-da-ad-da-ak*: MDP 9 142:7–8 ([Ma]-da-).
- (2) *Ma-da-ak*: MDP 9 108:rev.2, 139:rev.4, 160:10, rev.2 ([Ma]-da-a[k]), 281:23.
- (3) *Ma-da-ak-ka₄*: MDP 9 139:rev.5–6.

2.3.3.2.2. Maktap: The context and orthography make it very probable that one is dealing with a genuine Elamite word (Henkelman 2003a: 201–2).⁵²

Scheil (1907: 21) and Hinz (1987: 129) believe that this word denotes Māda- ‘Median’, followed by an Elamite plural ending.

- Attestations: ^{BE}*Ma-ak-tap* (pl.): MDP 9 14:1, 111:2, 176:2, 227:2 ([^{BE}M]a-ak-tap-pè-na).

52. All other Elamite (as well as Mesopotamian) occurrences of “Media” are spelled without *-k-*.

3. Linguistic Study of Neo-Elamite Iranica

3.1. Elamite

3.1.1. Phonology of Elamite

Elamite phonology is still not very well known, and more studies on it are highly desirable. It is not the intention of this article to present a study on the phonology of the Elamite language but to offer a useful framework for studying the Elamo-Iranian transpositions.

Below is a table of the Elamite phonemes, as they are generally believed to have existed. Other tables are to be found in the studies by Paper (1955: 36, whose approach is minimalistic), Steve (1992: 14, also postulating /ǰ/ and /ž/), Khačikyan (1995: 108), and Stolper (2004: 14, wondering about the existence of /ə/).

Vowels

	open	closed
front	e	i
back	a	u

Consonants and sonants

	plosives		fricatives		affr.	sonants		
	fortis	lenis	fortis	lenis		lat.	vibr.	nasal
labial	p	p' (b)	f or v					m, m'(?)
dental	t	t' (d)	s	s' (z)	c		r	n, n'(?)
velar	k	k' (g)						
alveo-palatal			š		c			
alveolar						l		
laryngal			(h)					
lateral								
retroflex						ll	rr	

3.1.2. The Neo-Elamite Renderings of Iranian Names

3.1.2.1. Semi-Directly Transmitted Iranica

Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
ag/k	-/x/-	*Uvaxštra-
ah	∅	*xšaça-
bar	/pār/-	*Pārsa-
da	-/da/	*Māda-, *Sugda-
du	-/du/-	*Mṛduniš
iš	-/š/-	*Uvaxštra-
iš	-/š/	*Mṛduniš
ka ₄	-/xā/	*Raxā-
ma	/mā/-	*Māda-
ma	/uva/-	*Uvaxštra-
mar	/mṛ/-	*Mṛduniš

Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
mi	/mi/-	*Miθra-
nu	-/ni/-	*Mṛduniš
pe/pi	/pī/-	*pīru-
ra	/ra/-	*Raxā-
ra	-/ra/	*Miθra-, *Uvaxštra-
šá	-/ça/	*xšaça-
šá	/xša/-	*xšaça-
šu	/su/-	*Sugda-
tur	-/tr/-	*Uvaxštra-
ud/ut	-/θ/-	*Miθra-
ug/uk	-/g/-	*Sugda-



3.1.2.2. Indirectly Transmitted Iranica

Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
a-a	/ai/-	*Aina-, *Ainaka-, *Ainar-
a-a	-/ya/-	*Kōfāyana-
a-a	-/ya/	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-, *Nixšaya-, *Ōrāya-
ab/ap	∅	*Xšaparap-
ad/at	∅	*Dātāyana-, *Dayāta-, *Nāmāta-, *Patirapa-, *Ṛdata-
ad/at	/had/-	*Hadāspa-
ad/at	-/t/-	*Dātāyana-
ad/at	-/θ/-	*Hvāθriš
ag/ak	∅	*Ainaka-, *Pāka-, *Ṛmaka-, *Sakidēva-
ag/ak	-/g/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-
ag/ak	/hax/-	*Haxāvada-, *Haxidāta-
ag/ak	-/k/	*Dāθayak-
am	/au/-	*Augafarnā
am	/ham/-	*Hamfriš
am	-/m/-	*Bāmkaca-, *Kamna-
an	-/n/-	*mānpān-, *Vananta-
an	-/n/	*Pāθrān-
áš	∅	*Maθāna-
áš	/as/-	*Aspavika-
áš	-/ās/-	*Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-
áš	-/θ/-	*Pāθrān-, *Rōpāθka-
ba	/ba/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-, *Baxti-
ba	/bā/-	*Bāma-, *Bāmkaca-
ba	-/bā/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-
ba	-/fā/-	*Kōfāyana-
ba	/pa/-	*Patirapa-
ba	-/pa/-	*Xšaparap-
ba	-/pa/	*Bagrapa-, *Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-, *Patirapa-
ba	/pā/-	*Pāyuna-
ba	-/pā/-	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
ban/pan	-/pān/-	*Ṛpānmā
ban/pan	-/pān/	*mānpān-
bar	-/bar/-	*Vēzbara-
bar	-/fār/-	*Augafarnā
be	-/f/-	*Hamfriš
be	-/fē/-	*Nāfēca-
bu/pu	-/bu/-	*Ōrābuka-
bu/pu	-/f/-	*Hamfriš
bu/pu	-/pa/- (before /v/)	*Aspavika-
bu/pu	-/pā/- (before /v/)	*Spāvāma-
da	-/da/-	*Gaudamanā, *Mazdara-, *Ṛdata-, *Vīdamanā



Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
da	/dā/-	*Dātāyana-
da	-/dā/-	*Haxidāta-
da	-/ta/-	*Hiθavanta-
da	-/ta/	*Cīrvanta-, *Dayāta-, *Haxidāta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Nāmāta-, *Ṛdata-, *Spākṛta-, *Vananta-, *Vr̥zvanta-, *Zāta-
du	-/du/	*Bagbādu-
du	-/tu/-	*Vantuka-
ge/gi	/gī/-	*Gītiya-
gur	-/kṛ/-	*Spākṛta-
ha	∅	*Pāyuna-
ha	/a/-	*Ama-, *Arina-
he/hi	/hi/-	*Hiθavanta-, *Hiθika-
hu	∅	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
hu	-/hu/-	*Gauhuvara-
i	/ī/-	*Īramanā
i	/yu/-	*Yuvātaka-
ia	-/ya/-	*Dātāyana-
ia	-/ya/	*Gītiya-, *Maθiya-
ia	-/yā/-	*Dayāta-
ib/ip	∅	*Kōfāyana-, *Kṛpānmā
id/it	/θ/-	*Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-
ig/ik	∅	*Aspavika-, *Gītika-
ir	-/r/-	*Cīrvanta-, *Karki-
ir	-/r/	*Ainar-
ir	/ṛ/-	*Ṛdata-, *Ṛmaka-, *ṛmātām
is/iz	∅	*(H)ubiza-, *Nāfēca-, *Tēža-
iš	∅	*Gōšaya-, *Maθiya-, Rōpāθa-
iš	/s/-	*Spākṛta-, *Spāvāma-
iš	-/s/-	*Vēškāma-
iš	-/z/-	*Vēzbara-
ka ₄	-/ga/-	*Augafarnā
ka ₄	-/ga/	*Brga-, *(H)ubr̥ga-
ka ₄	-/gā/-	*Vaigāna-
ka ₄	/ka/-	*Karki-, *Katān-, *Kamna-
ka ₄	-/ka/-	*Bāmkaca-
ka ₄	-/ka/	*Ainaka-, *Aspavika-, *Gauciraka-, *Gaurēvika-, *Gītika-, *Hiθika-, *Pāka-, *Rōpāθka-, *Ṛmaka-, *Yuvātaka-
ka ₄	/kā/-	*Kāra-, *Kārāsa-
ka ₄	-/kā/-	*Vēškāma-
ka ₄	-/xā/-	*Haxāvada-
kam	/gau/-	*Gauciraka-, *Gaudamanā, *Gauhuvara-, *Gaurēvika-
ke/ki	/gī/-	*Gītika-
ke/ki	-/gi/-	*Dargiš



Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
ke/ki	-/ki/-	*Sakidēva-
ke/ki	-/ki/	*Karki-
ke/ki	-/xi/-	*Haxidāta-
ku	/gō/-	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-
ku	-/ka/	*Ōrābuka-, *Vantuka-
ku	/kō/-	*Kōfāyana-
kur	/kṛ/-	*Kṛmi-, *Kṛpānmā
kur	/xvar/-	*Xvarθiš
ma	/(h)uva/-	*(H)uvataxša-
ma	/hv/-	*Hvāθriš
ma	/ma/-	*Manuša-, *Maθāna-, *Maθiya-
ma	-/ma/-	*Ṛmaka-
ma	-/ma/	*Ama-, *Bāma-, *Spāvāma-, *Vēškāma-
ma	-/mā/-	*Gōmāya-
ma	-/mā/	*Kṛpānmā
ma	/va/-	*Vananta-
ma	-/va/-	*Gauhuvara-, *Haxāvada-
ma	-/va/	*Sakidēva-
ma	-/vā/-	*Yuvātaka-
ma-a	/vai/-	*Vaigāna-
mad/mat	/hvāθ/-	*Hvāθriš
mad/mat	/mād/-	*Mādāspa-
mad/mat	-/māt/-	*ṛmātam
mad/mat	/maθ/-	*Maθāsa-
man	-/man/-	*Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vidamanā
man	/van/-	*Vantuka-
mar	/vṛ/-	*Vṛzvanta-
maš	/maz/-	*Mazdara-
mi	-/mi/	*Kṛmi-
mi	/vē/-	*Vēškāma-, *Vēzbara-
mi	-/vi/-	*Aspavika-, *Gaurēvika-
mi	/vi/-	*Vidamanā
na	/na/-	*Nariš
na	-/na/-	*Ainaka-, *Ainar-, *Vananta-
na	-/na/	*Aina-, *Arina-, *Dātāyana-, *Kamna-, *Kōfāyana-, *Maθāna-, *Pāyuna-, *Vaigāna-
na	/nā/-	*Nāfēca-, *Nāmāta-
na	-/nā/	*Augafarnā, *Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vidamanā
nab/nap	/nap/-	*Naptaka-
nu	/ni/-	*Nixšaya-
nu	-/nu/-	*Manuša-
pa	/pā/-	*Pāka-, *Pāθrān-
pe/pi	-/bī/-	*(H)ubīza-



Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
pe/pi	-/f/-	*Hamfriš
pír	/br/-	*Brga-
pír	-/br/-	*(H)ubrğa-
ra	-/ra/-	*Gauciraka-, *Īramanā
ra	-/rā/-	*Kārāsa-, *Pāθrān-, *Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-
ráb	-/rap/-	*Bagrapa-, *Patirapa-
ráb	-/rap/	*Xšaparap-
re/ri	-/rē/-	*Gaurēvika-
re/ri	-/ri/-	*Arina-, *Hvāθriš, *Nariš
re/ri	-/rī/-	*Hamfriš
ru	∅	*Krpānmā
ru	-/rō/-	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
sí	/ci/-	*Civanta-
su	-/za/-	*Vřzvanta-
šá	/sa/-	*Sakidēva-
šá	-/sa/	*Kārāsa-, *Maθāsa-
šá	-/ša/-	*Gōšaya-, *Nixšaya-
šá	-/ša/	*(H)uvataxša-, *Manuša-
šá	-/θa/	*Rōpāθa-
šá	-/θā/-	*Maθāna-
še-ak	-/θayak/	*Dāθayak-
ši	-/θi/-	*Maθiya-
šu	-/zu/	*Bagbāzu-
tak	-/tak/-	*Yuvātaka-
tak	-/tax/-	*(H)uvataxša-
tam ₆	-/tam/	*řmātam
tan	-/tāna/	*Katān-
taš	/dāθ/-	*Dāθayak-
taš	-/θās/-	*Maθāsa-
te	-/dē/-	*Sakidēva-
te	/tē/-	*Tēža-
tí	/da/- (before /y/)	*Dayāta-
tí	-/ti/-	*Gītika-, *Gītiya-, *Patirapa-
tí	-/ti/	*Baxti-
tí	-/θi/-	*Xvarθiš
tú	-/θi/-	*Hiθika-
tuk	-/tak/-	*Naptaka-
tur	/dar/-	*Dargiš
ú	/ (h)u/-	*(H)ubīza-, *(H)ubrğa-
ú	-/yu/-	*Pāyuna-
ud/ut	∅	*Gītiya-, *Katān-
ug/uk	∅	*Θrābuka-, *Vantuka-
ug/uk	-/x/-	*Nixšaya-



Elamite sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
uh	∅	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
um	∅	*Krpānmā
um	/ham/-	*Hamfrīš
un	-/vā(m)/-	*Spāvāma-
un	-/van/-	*Cīrvanta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Vr̥zvanta-
us/uz	∅	*Gauciraka-
za	-/ca/-	*Bāmkaca-, *Nāfēca-
za	/zā/-	*Zāta-
za	-/za/	*(H)ubīza-
za	-/ža/	*Tēža-
zī	-/ci/-	*Gauciraka-

3.1.2.3. Commentary

3.1.2.3.1. VC-signs

VC-signs are often used to geminate a consonant in order to make a spelling comply with the Reiner-test (cf. 3.4.3.6). Sometimes, they merely indicate a consonant, mostly in final position: AD/AT for /t/ (*Dātāyana-), AG/AK for /k/ (*Dāθayak-), AN for /n/ (*Pāθrān-), IR for /r/ (*Ainar-), iš for /š/ (as ending of the nom. sg.; *Hamfrīš, *Hvāθriš, *Mṛduniš, *Nariš, *Xvar-θiš).

In other cases, this consonant is part of a cluster: AD/AT for /θ/ (*Hvāθriš, *Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-), AG/AK for /g/ (*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-), and for /x/ (*Baxti-, *Uvaxštra-), AN for /n/ (*mānpān), Áš for /θ/ (*Pāθrān-, *Rōpāθka-), IR for /r/ (*Karki-), iš for /s/ (*Spāvāma-, *Vēskāma-), /š/ (*Uvaxštra-) and /z/ (*Vēzbara-), UD/UT for /θ/ (*Miθra-), UG/UK for /g/ (*Sugda-) and /x/ (*Nixšaya-).

They only rarely serve to render a VC-sequence, and in these cases always appear in initial position: AD/AT for /had/ (*Hadāspa-), AG/AK for /hax/ (*Haxāvada- and *Haxidāta-), Áš for /as/ (*Aspavika-) and /ās/ (*Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-).

3.1.2.3.2. am

In the name *Augafarnā AM renders /au/-, a transposition not known in Achaemenid Elamite, where /au/- is represented by ha-u or u.

3.1.2.3.3. H-signs

The Old and Middle Elamite phoneme /h/ lost its phonemic value during the Neo-Elamite period, independently from its position in the word (Reiner 1969: 72; Grillot-Susini and Roche 1987: 10; Stolper 2004: 71), e.g., *hiyan* > *iyān* (initial position), *dahip* > *daip* (middle position), *huttah* > *hutta* (final position). Nevertheless the *h*-signs remained in use during the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods and were also used in Elamite renderings of Old Iranian proper names. They could be used for various purposes.

First of all, they render the Iranian phoneme /h/, e.g., ^{BE}*Kam-hu-ma-ra* for *Gauhuvara-. Second, they may denote the initial vowel: ^{BE}*Ha-ma* for *Ama- and ^{BE}*Ha-ri-na* for *Arina-. Finally they are used to indicate the lengthening of the vowels. Examples are *Pāyuna- (^{BE}*Ba-ha-ú-na*), *Rōpāθa- (^{BE}*Ru-hu-ba-[áš-be-ra]*) and ^{BE}*Ru-uh-ba-iš-šá-ir-[ra-be-ib]-ba*) and *Rōpāθka- (^{BE}*Ru-hu-ba-áš-[ka₄]*) and ^{BE}*Ru-uh-[ba]-áš-ka₄*).



These purposes are the same as the purposes for which they are used in Achaemenid Elamite transcriptions of Iranian names and words. Examples of the first category are Anāhitā- (^dAn-na-hi-ud-da), Daha- (^{AS}Da-ha), *Dahima- (^{HAL}Da-hi-ma), hačā (ha-iz-za), Harauvatiš (^{AS}Har-ra-u-ma-ti-iš), Haxāmanišiya (^mHa-ak-ka₄-man-nu-ši-ia), *Hēnāka- (^{HAL}He-na-ak-ka₄), etc.

To the second category belong Abirāduš (^{AS}Ha-pi-ra-du-iš), Āčina- (^mHa-ši-na), *Ākō-faciya- (^{AS}Ha-ku-pi-zí-ia), anāmaka- (^dha-na-ma-ak-kaš), apadāna- (^{AS}ha-ba-da-na), āranjanam (ha-ra-an-za-na-um), Arakadriš (^{AS}Ha-rák-ka₄-tar-ri-iš), etc.

Vowel lengthening is indicated by *h*-signs (cf. Hinz, apud Mayrhofer 1972: 53 n.4) in, inter alia, *Ābūya- (^{HAL}Ab-bu-hi-ia-iš), *artācā* (ir-da-ha-zí), *Cičārba- (^{HAL}Zi-iš-šá-har-ba), *Dātīš (^{HAL}Da-ti(?) -hu-iš), *Narēca- (^{HAL}Na-re-he-ez-za), *pīru-* (pi-hi-ra-um), *Ta(h)mārba- (^{HAL}Tam₅-ma-har-ba) and *upāvatgu- (uk-ba-ha-hu-ut-ku-iš).

In Achaemenid Elamite *h*-signs are also used to denote /*yu*/, a sequence that cuneiform could not easily render. This use of *h*-signs is not attested in the Neo-Elamite texts, but with only two examples of Ir. /*yu*/ in Neo-Elamite, it is impossible to draw general conclusions from this. Achaemenid Elamite examples of this kind of spellings are *dahyu-* (da-a-hu-), *Hammanyu- (El. -nu-hu), etc.

3.1.2.3.4. *I*

Once *I* stands for Ir. /*yu*/: *Yuvātaka- = ^{BE}I-ma-tak-ka₄. Achaemenid Elamite examples of this transposition are ^{HAL}I-ma-a-za (*Yuvaica-) and ^{HAL}I-ma-ak-ka₄ (*Yuvaka-).

3.1.2.3.5. *Mad/mat*

This value of *KUR* is only attested in the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods. It was confirmed by Jusifov (1963: 204, 224, and 242; also Harmatta apud Mayrhofer 1973a: 114), who connected the Neo-Elamite spelling *ir-KUR-tam*₆ with Achaemenid Elamite *ir-ma-tam*₆, resulting in a reading *ir-mat-tam*₆ ‘estate’. This form renders Ir. **ṛmātam*, the nom. sg. of **ṛmāta* ‘estate’ (König 1938: 75; Herzfeld 1938: 53, 125 and 1968: 334; Cameron 1948: 42; Hallock 1969: 704; Hinz 1973: 61–62 and 1975: 206; Schmitt 1974: 106; Tavernier 2007a: 447 [4.4.12.10]).

In the Achaemenid period it is attested once in the rendering of an Iranian theonym: *Span-tārmatīš (Razmjou 1997–98: 6–9 and 2001: 8–10; Tavernier 2007a: 98 [4.1.6]; cf. Av. Spəntā Ārmaitī-, MP Spandarmad and NP Isfandārmad) is spelled ^{AS/d}Iš-ban-da-ra-mat-ti-iš.⁵³ It is noteworthy and surprising that Steve (1992: 106) does not mention this value in his syllabary.

3.1.2.3.6. *Šu*

ŠU one time renders /*zu*/ (*Bagbāzu- = ^{BE}Ba-ag-ba-šū), a transposition not attested in Achaemenid Elamite renderings of Old Iranian names and words, where *SU* is used to denote /*zu*/ . The transposition is, however, acceptable, because of the various Achaemenid examples of šA rendering /*za*/ and šI rendering /*zi*/.

3.1.2.3.7. *Tú*

Once this sign renders /*θi*/: *Hiθika- (^{BE}Hi-tú-ka₄). In this case *TÚ* was most likely pronounced /*ti*/.

53. Attested in PFNN 2200:3–4, 2206:2–3, 2211:5, 2290:2, 2337:1–2, 2370:1. Hinz and Koch (EIW: 786) propose *Spantara-grdya- ‘chapel’.



3.2. General Tables of the Neo-Elamite – Iranian Transpositions

3.2.1. Based on the Elamite Cuneiform Signs

El. sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
a-a	/ai/-	*Aina-, *Ainaka-, *Ainar-
a-a	-/ya/-	*Kōfāyana-
a-a	-/ya/	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-, *Ōrāya-, *Nixšaya-
ab/ap	∅	*Xšaparap-
ad/at	∅	*Dātāyana-, *Dayāta-, *Nāmāta-, *Patirapa-, *Rdata-
ad/at	/had/-	*Hadāspa-
ad/at	-/t/-	*Dātāyana-
ad/at	-/θ/-	*Hvāθriš
ag/ak	∅	*Ainaka-, *Pāka-, *Rmaka-, *Sakidēva-
ag/ak	-/g/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-
ag/ak	/hax/-	*Haxāvada-, *Haxidāta-
ag/ak	-/k/	*Dāθayak-
ag/ak	-/x/-	*Baxti-, *Uvaxštra-
ah	∅	*xšaça-
am	/au/-	*Augafarnā
am	/ham/-	*Hamfriš
am	-/m/-	*Bāmkaca-, *Kamna-
an	-/n/-	*mānpān-, *Vananta-
an	-/n/	*Pāθrān-
áš	∅	*Maθāna-
áš	/as/-	*Aspavika-
áš	-/ās/-	*Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-
áš	-/θ/-	*Pāθrān-, *Rōpāθka-
ba	/ba/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-, *Baxti-
ba	/bā/-	*Bāma-, *Bāmkaca-
ba	-/bā/-	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-
ba	-/fā/-	*Kōfāyana-
ba	/pa/-	*Patirapa-
ba	-/pa/-	*Xšaparap-
ba	-/pa/	*Bagrapa-, *Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-, *Patirapa-
ba	/pā/-	*Pāyuna-
ba	-/pā/-	*Rōpāθka-, *Rōpāθka-
ban/pan	-/pān/-	*Kṛpānmā
ban/pan	-/pān/	*mānpān-
bar	-/bar/-	*Vēzbara-
bar	-/far/-	*Augafarnā
bar	/pār/-	*Pārsa-
be	-/f/-	*Hamfriš
be	-/fē/-	*Nāfēca-
bu/pu	-/bu/-	*Ōrābuka-
bu/pu	-/f/-	*Hamfriš



El. sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
bu/pu	-/pa/- (before /v/)	*Aspavika-
bu/pu	-/pā/- (before /v/)	*Spāvāma-
da	-/da/-	*Gaudamanā, *Mazdara-, *Ṛdata-, *Vidamanā
da	-/da/	*Māda-, *Sugda-
da	/dā/-	*Dātāyana-
da	-/dā/-	*Haxidāta-
da	-/ta/-	*Hiθavanta-
da	-/ta/	*Cīrvanta-, *Dayāta-, *Haxidāta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Nāmāta-, *Ṛdata-, *Spākṛta-, *Vananta-, *Vṛzavanta-, *Zāta-
du	-/du/-	*Mṛduniš
du	-/du/	*Bagbādu-
du	-/tu/-	*Vantuka-
ge/gi	/gī/-	*Gītiya-
gur	-/kṛ/-	*Spākṛta-
ha	∅	*Pāyuna-
ha	/a/-	*Ama-, *Arina-
he/hi	/hi/-	*Hiθavanta-, *Hiθika-
hu	∅	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
hu	-/hu/-	*Gauhuvara-
i	/ī/-	*Īramanā
i	/yu/-	*Yuvātaka-
ia	-/ya/-	*Dātāyana-
ia	-/ya/	*Maθiya-, *Gītiya-
ia	-/yā/-	*Dayāta-
ib/ip	∅	*Kōfāyana-, *Kṛpānmā
id/it	/θ/-	*Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-
ig/ik	∅	*Aspavika-, *Gītika-
ir	-/r/-	*Cīrvanta-, *Karki-
ir	-/r/	*Ainar-
ir	/ṛ/-	*Ṛdata-, *Ṛmaka-, *ṛmātam
is/iz	∅	*(H)ubiza-, *Nāfēca-, *Tēža-
iš	∅	*Gōšaya-, *Maθiya-, Rōpāθa-
iš	/s/-	*Spākṛta-, *Spāvāma-
iš	-/s/-	*Vēškāma-
iš	-/š/-	*Uvaxštra-
iš	-/š/	*Dargiš, *Hamfriš, *Hvāθriš, *Mṛduniš, *Nariš, *Xvarθiš
iš	-/z/-	*Vēzbara-
ka ₄	-/ga/-	*Augafarnā
ka ₄	-/ga/	*Brga-, *(H)ubrga-
ka ₄	-/gā/-	*Vaigāna-
ka ₄	/ka/-	*Karki-, *Katān-, *Kamna-
ka ₄	-/ka/-	*Bāmkaca-
ka ₄	-/ka/	*Ainaka-, *Aspavika-, *Gauciraka-, *Gaurēvika-, *Gītika-, *Hiθika-, Rōpāθaka-, *Pāka-, *Ṛmaka-, *Yuvātaka-
ka ₄	/kā/-	*Kāra-, *Kārāsa-



El. sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
ka ₄	-/kā/-	*Vēskāma-
ka ₄	-/xā/-	*Haxāvada-
ka ₄	-/xā/	*Raxā-
kam	/gau/-	*Gauciraka-, *Gaudamanā, *Gauhuvara-, *Gaurēvika-
ke/ki	/gī/-	*Gītika-
ke/ki	-/gi/-	*Dargiš
ke/ki	-/ki/-	*Sakidēva-
ke/ki	-/ki/	*Karki-
ke/ki	-/xi/-	*Haxidāta-
ku	/gō/-	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-
ku	-/ka/	*Vantuka-
ku	/kō/-	*Kōfāyana-
kur	/kɾ/-	*Kɾmi-, *Kɾpānmā
kur	/xvar/-	*Xvarθiš
ma	/(h)uva/-	*(H)uvataxša-
ma	/hva/-	*Hvāθriš
ma	/ma/-	*Manuša-, *Maθāna-, *Maθiya-
ma	-/ma/-	*Ṛmaka-
ma	-/ma/	*Ama-, *Bāma-, *Spāvāma-, *Vēskāma-
ma	/mā/-	*Māda-, *mānpān-
ma	-/mā/-	*Gōmāya-
ma	-/mā/	*Kɾpānmā
ma	/uva/-	*Uvaxštra-
ma	/va/-	*Vananta-
ma	-/va/-	*Gauhuvara-, *Haxāvada-
ma	-/va/	*Sakidēva-
ma	-/vā/-	*Yuvātaka-
ma-a	/vai/-	*Vaigāna-
mad/mat	/hvāθ/-	*Hvāθriš
mad/mat	/mād/-	*Mādāspa-
mad/mat	-/māt/-	*ṛmātam
mad/mat	/maθ/-	*Maθāsa-
man	-/man/-	*Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vidamanā
man	/van/-	*Vantuka-
mar	/mɾ/-	*Mɾduniš
mar	/vɾ/-	*Vɾzvanta-
maš	/maz/-	*Mazdara-
mi	/mi/-	*Miθra-
mi	-/mi/	*Kɾmi-
mi	/vē/-	*Vēskāma-, *Vēzbara-
mi	-/vi/-	*Aspavika-, *Gaurēvika-
mi	/vī/-	*Vidamanā
na	/na/-	*Nariš
na	-/na/-	*Ainaka-, *Ainar-, *Vananta-



El. sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
na	-/na/	*Aina-, *Arina-, *Dātāyana-, *Kamna-, *Kōfāyana-, *Maθāna-, *Pāyuna-, *Vaigāna-
na	/nā-/	*Nāfēca-, *Nāmāta-
na	-/nā/	*Augafarnā, *Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vīdamanā
nab/nap	/nap/-	*Naptaka-
nu	/ni/-	*Nixšaya-
nu	-/nī/-	*Mṛduniš
nu	-/nu/-	*Manuša-
pa	/pā-/	*Pāka-, *Pāθrān-
pe/pi	-/bī/-	*(H)ubīza-
pe/pi	-/f/-	*Hamfīš
pe/pi	/pī/-	*pīru-
pír	/bṛ/-	*Bṛga-
pír	-/bṛ/-	*(H)ubrḡa-
ra	/ra/-	*Raxā-
ra	-/ra/-	*Gauciraka-, *Īramanā
ra	-/ra/	*Gauhuvara-, *Kāra-, *Mazdara-, *Miθra-, *Uvaxštra-, *Vēzbara-
ra	-/rā/-	*Kārāsa-, *Pāθrān-, *Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-
ráb	-/rap/-	*Bagrapa-, *Patirapa-
ráb	-/rap/	*Xšaparap-
re/ri	-/rē/-	*Gaurēvika-
re/ri	-/ri/-	*Arina-, *Hvāθriš, *Nariš
re/ri	-/rī/-	*Hamfīš
ru	∅	*Kṛpānmā
ru	-/rō/-	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
si	/ci/-	*Cīrvanta-
su	-/za/-	*Vṛzvanta-
šá	-/ça/	*xšaça-
šá	/sa/-	*Sakidēva-
šá	-/sa/	*Kārāsa-, *Maθāsa-
šá	-/ša/-	*Gōšaya-, *Nixšaya-
šá	-/ša/	*(H)uvataxša-, *Manuša-
šá	-/θa/	*Rōpāθa-
šá	-/θā/-	*Maθāna-
šá	/xša/-	*xšaça-, *Xšaparap-
še-ak	-/θayak/	*Dāθayak-
ši	-/θi/-	*Maθiya-
šu	/su/-	*Sugda-
šu	-/zu/	*Bagbāzu-
tak	-/tak/-	*Yuvātaka-
tak	-/tax/-	*(H)uvataxša-
tam ₆	-/tam/	*rmātam
tan	-/tāna/	*Katān-
taš	/dāθ/-	*Dāθayak-



El. sign	Old Ir. phoneme(s)	Examples
taš	-/θās/-	*Maθāsa-
te	-/dē/-	*Sakidēva-
te	/tē/-	*Tēža-
tī	/da/- (before /y/)	*Dayāta-
tī	-/ti/-	*Gitika-, *Gitiya-, *Patirapa-
tī	-/ti/	*Baxti-
tī	-/θi/-	*Xvarθiš
tú	-/θi/-	*Hiθika-
tuk	-/tak/-	*Naptaka-
tur	/dar/-	*Dargiš
tur	-/tr/-	*Uvaxštra-
ú	/(h)u/-	*(H)ubīza-, *(H)ubrga-
ú	-/yu/-	*Pāyuna-
ud/ut	∅	*Gitiya-, *Katān-
ud/ut	-/θ/-	*Miθra-
ug/uk	∅	*Θrābuka-, *Vantuka-
ug/uk	-/g/-	*Sugda-
ug/uk	-/x/-	*Nixšaya-
uh	∅	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
um	∅	*Krpānmā
um	/ham/-	*Hamfrīš
un	-/vā(m)/-	*Spāvāma-
un	-/van/-	*Cīrvanta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Vrzvanta-
us/uz	∅	*Gauciraka-
za	-/ca/	*Bāmkaca-, *Nāfēca-
za	-/za/	*(H)ubīza-
za	/zā/-	*Zāta-
za	-/ža/	*Tēža-
zí	-/ci/-	*Gauciraka-

3.2.2. Based on the Old Iranian Phonemes

Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
∅	ab/ap	*Xšaparap-
∅	ad/at	*Dātāyana-, *Dayāta-, *Nāmāta-, *Patirapa-, *Rdata-
∅	ag/ak	*Ainaka-, *Pāka-, *Rmaka-, *Sakidēva-
∅	ah	*xšāça-
∅	áš	*Maθāna-
∅	ha	*Pāyuna-
∅	hu	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
∅	ib/īp	*Kōfāyana-, *Krpānmā
∅	ig/īk	*Aspavika-, *Gitika-
∅	is/iz	*(H)ubīza-, *Nāfēca-, *Tēža-
∅	iš	*Gōšaya-, *Maθiya-, Rōpāθa-



Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
∅	ru	*Kṛpānmā
∅	ud/ut	*Gitiya-, *Katān-
∅	ug/uk	*Ōrābuka-, *Vantuka-
∅	uh	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
∅	um	*Kṛpānmā
∅	us/uz	*Gauciraka-
/a/-	ha	*Ama-, *Arina-
/ai/-	a-a	*Aina-, *Ainaka-, *Ainar-
/as/-	áš	*Aspavika-
/ās/-	áš	*Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-
/au/-	am	*Augafarnā
/ba/-	ba	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-, *Baxti-
/bā/-	ba	*Bāma-, *Bāmkaca-
/bā/-	ba	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-
/bar/-	bar	*Vēzbara-
/bī/-	pe/pi	*(H)ubīza-
/br/-	pír	*Bṛga-
/br/-	pír	*(H)ubrṛga-
/bu/-	bu/pu	*Ōrābuka-
/ca/	za	*Bāmkaca-, *Nāfēca-
/ci/-	si	*Cīrvanta-
/ci/-	zí	*Gauciraka-
/ça/	šá	*xšaça-
/da/	da	*Haxāvada-, *Māda-, *Sugda-
/da/-	da	*Gaudamanā, *Mazdara-, *Ṛdata-, *Vīdamanā
/dā/-	da	*Dātāyana-
/dā/- (before /y/)	ti	*Dātāyana-
/dā/-	da	*Haxidāta-
/dar/-	tur	*Dargiš
/dāθ/-	taš	*Dāθayak-
/dē/-	te	*Sakidēva-
/du/-	du	*Mṛduniš
/du/	du	*Bagbādu-
/f/-	be	*Hamfrīš
/f/-	pe/pi	*Hamfrīš
/f/-	bu/pu	*Hamfrīš
/fā/-	ba	*Kōfāyana-
/far/-	bar	*Augafarnā
/fē/-	be	*Nāfēca-
/g/-	ag/ak	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-
/g/-	ug/uk	*Sugda-
/ga/-	ka ₄	*Augafarnā
/ga/	ka ₄	*Bṛga-, *(H)ubrṛga-



Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
-/gā/-	ka ₄	*Vaigāna-
/gau/-	kam	*Gauciraka-, *Gaudamanā, *Gauhuvara-, *Gaurēvika-
/gī/-	ge/gi	*Gitiya-
/gī/-	ke/ki	*Gitika-
-/gi/-	ke/ki	*Dargiš
/gō/-	ku	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-
/had/-	ad/at	*Hadāspa-
/ham/-	am	*Hamfīš
/ham/-	um	*Hamfīš
/hax/-	ag/ak	*Haxāvada-, *Haxidāta-
/hi/-	he/hi	*Hiθavanta-, *Hiθika-
/(h)u/-	ú	*(H)ubīza-, *(H)ubr̥ga-
-/hu/-	hu	*Gauhuvara-
/(h)uva/-	ma	*(H)uvataxša-
/hva/-	ma	*Hvāθriš
/hvāθ/-	mad/mat	*Hvāθriš
/ī/-	i	*Īramanā
-/k/-	ag/ak	*Dāāyak-
/ka/-	ka ₄	*Karki-, *Katān-, *Kamna-
-/ka/-	ka ₄	*Bāmkaca-
-/ka/	ka ₄	*Ainaka-, *Aspavika-, *Gauciraka-, *Gaurēvika-, *Gitika-, *Hiθika-, *Pāka-, Rōpāθaka-, *Ṛmaka-, *Yuvātaka-
-/ka/	ku	*Vantuka-
/kā/-	ka ₄	*Kāra-, *Kārāsa-
-/kā/-	ka ₄	*Vēškāma-
-/ki/-	ke/ki	*Sakidēva-
-/ki/	ke/ki	*Karki-
/kō/-	ku	*Kōfāyana-
/kṛ/-	kur	*Kṛmi-, *Kṛpānmā
-/kṛ/-	gur	*Spākṛta-
-/m/-	am	*Bāmkaca-, *Kamna-
/ma/-	ma	*Manušā-, *Maθāna-, *Maθiya-
-/ma/-	ma	*Ṛmaka-
-/ma/	ma	*Ama-, *Bāma-, *Spāvāma-, *Vēškāma-
/mā/-	ma	*Māda-, *mānpān-
-/mā/-	ma	*Gōmāya-
-/mā/	ma	*Kṛpānmā
/mād/-	mad/mat	*Mādāspa-
-/man/-	man	*Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vidamanā
-/māt/-	mad/mat	*mātam
/maθ/-	mad/mat	*Maθāsa-
/maz/-	maš	*Mazdara-
/mi/-	mi	*Miθra-



Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
/mi/	mi	*K̄rmi-
/m̄r/-	mar	*M̄rduniš
/n/-	an	*mānpān-, *Vananta-
/n/	an	*Pāθrān-
/na/-	na	*Nariš
/na/-	na	*Ainaka-, *Ainar-, *Vananta-
/na/	na	*Aina-, *Arina-, *Dātāyana-, *Kamna-, *Kōfāyana-, *Maθāna-, *Pāyuna-, *Vaigāna-
/nā/-	na	*Nāfēca-, *Nāmāta-
/nā/	na	*Augafarnā, *Gaudamanā, *Īramanā, *Vidamanā
/nap/-	nab/nap	*Naptaka-
/ni/-	nu	*Nixšaya-
/nī/-	nu	*M̄rduniš
/nu/-	nu	*Manušā-
/pa/-	ba	*Patirapa-
/pa/-	ba	*Xšaparap-
/pa/- (before /v/)	bu/pu	*Aspavika-
/pā/- (before /v/)	bu/pu	*Spāvāma-
/pa/	ba	*Bagrapa-, *Hadāspa-, *Mādāspa-, *Patirapa-
/pā/-	ba	*Pāka-, *Pāyuna-
/pā/-	pa	*Pāθrān-
/pā/-	ba	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
/pān/-	ban/pan	*K̄rpānmā
/pān/	ban/pan	*mānpān-
/pār/-	bar	*Pārsa-
/pī/-	pe/pi	*pīru-
/r/-	ir	*Cirvanta-, *Karki-
/r/	ir	*Ainar-
/ra/-	ra	*Raxā-
/ra/-	ra	*Gauciraka-, *Īramanā
/ra/	ra	*Gauhuvara-, *Kāra-, *Mazdara-, *Miθra-, *Uvaxštra-, *Vēzbara-
/rā/-	ra	*Kārāsa-, *Pāθrān-, *Oṛābuka-, *Oṛāya-
/rap/-	rāb	*Bagrapa-, *Patirapa-
/rap/	rāb	*Xšaparap-
/rē/-	re/ri	*Gaurēvika-
/ri/-	re/ri	*Arina-, *Hvāθriš, *Nariš
/rī/-	re/ri	*Hamfīš
/rō/-	ru	*Rōpāθa-, *Rōpāθka-
/r̄/	ir	*R̄data-, *R̄maka-, *r̄mātam
/s/-	iš	*Spāk̄rta-, *Spāvāma-
/s/-	iš	*Vēškāma-
/sa/-	šá	*Sakidēva-



Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
-/sa/	šá	*Kārāsa-, *Maθāsa-
/su/-	šu	*Sugda-
-/š/-	iš	*Uvaxštra-
-/š/	iš	*Dargiš, *Hamfriš, *Hvāθriš, *Mṛduniš, *Nariš, *Xvarθiš
-/ša/-	šá	*Gōšaya-, *Nixšaya-
-/ša/	šá	*(H)uvataxša-, *Manuša-
-/t/-	ad/at	*Dātāyana-
-/ta/-	da	*Hiθavanta-
-/ta/	da	*Cīrvanta-, *Dayāta-, *Haxidāta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Nāmāta-, *R̥data-, *Spākṛta-, *Vananta-, *Vṛzvanta-, *Zāta-
-/tak/-	tak	*Yuvātaka-
-/tak/	tuk	*Naptaka-
-/tam/	tam ₆	*R̥mātam
-/tāna/	tan	*Katān-
-/tax/-	tak	*(H)uvataxša-
/tē/-	te	*Tēža-
-/ti/-	tī	*Gitika-, *Gitiya-, *Patirapa-
-/ti/	tī	*Baxti-
-/tr/-	tur	*Uvaxštra-
-/tu/-	du	*Vantuka-
/θ/-	id/it	*Θrābuka-, *Θrāya-
-/θ/-	ad/at	*Hvāθriš
-/θ/-	áš	*Pāθrān-, *R̥ōpāθka-
-/θ/-	ud/ut	*Miθra-
-/θa/	šá	*R̥ōpāθa-
-/θā/-	šá	*Maθāna-
-/θās/-	taš	*Maθāsa-
-/θayak/	še-ak	*Dāθayak-
-/θi/-	ši	*Maθiya-
-/θi/-	tī	*Xvarθiš
-/θi/-	tú	*Hiθika-
/uva/-	ma	*Uvaxštra-
/va/-	ma	*Vananta-
-/va/-	ma	*Gauhuvara-, *Haxāvada-
-/va/	ma	*Sakidēva-
-/vā/-	ma	*Yuvātaka-
/vai/-	ma-a	*Vaigāna-
-/vā(m)/-	un	*Spāvāma-
/van/-	man	*Vantuka-
-/van/-	un	*Cīrvanta-, *Hiθavanta-, *Vṛzvanta-
/vē/-	mī	*Vēškāma-, *Vēzbara-
-/vi/-	mī	*Aspavika-, *Gaurēvika-
/vī/-	mī	*Vīdamanā



Old Ir. phoneme(s)	El. sign	Examples
/vɾ/-	mar	*Vɾzvanta-
-/x/-	ag/ak	*Baxti-, *Uvaxštra-
-/x/-	ug/uk	*Nixšaya-
-/xā/-	ka ₄	*Haxāvada-
-/xā/	ka ₄	*Raxā-
-/xi/-	ke/ki	*Haxidāta-
/xša/-	šá	*xšaça-, *Xšaparap-
/xvar/-	kur	*Xvarθiš
-/ya/-	a-a	*Kōfāyana-
-/ya/-	ia	*Dātāyana-
-/ya/	a-a	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-, *Θrāya-, *Nixšaya-
-/ya/	ia	*Gitiya-, *Maθiya-
-/yā/-	ia	*Dayāta-
/yu/-	í	*Yuvātaka-
-/yu/-	ú	*Pāyuna-
-/z/-	iš	*Vēzbara-
-/za/-	su	*Vɾzvanta-
-/za/	za	*(H)ubīza-
/zā/-	za	*Zāta-
-/zu/	šu	*Bagbāzu-
-/ža/	za	*Tēža-

3.3. Graphic Aspects of Neo-Elamite Iranica: Broken Writings

Both in Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite broken writings—i.e., writings of the type CV₁-V₂C (e.g., *ba-iš*)—are attested.⁵⁴ The function of these writings is most likely the rendering of closed syllables (e.g., *du-uš* = /tuš/), which, however, does not automatically presuppose a tendency toward alphabetization of the Elamite cuneiform script. The direct cause of the emergence of this type of writing is the loss of various VC-signs (e.g., AL, AR, IL, IM, UB/P, US/Z, UŠ), as a result of which it became impossible to write certain CVC sequences with the combination CV₁-V₁C.

Broken writings can be divided into two types: forced and optional. Belonging to the first type are the spellings required by the inventory of syllabic signs. The second type consists of spellings that were not required by the inventory of syllabic signs.

Below are the spellings attested in Neo-Elamite renderings of Iranian names and words. Broken writings are less frequent than in Achaemenid Elamite and belong mostly to the first type. In the Achaemenid Elamite texts, there are more unforced broken writings than forced.

54. Cf. Weissbach (1890: 30 and 1911: xlii), Hallock (1950: 252), Paper (1955: 9–10), Reiner (1969: 70), Justeson and Stephens (1994: 169), Stolper (2004: 67), and Tavernier (2004: 32–33) for more detailed descriptions of this graphic aspect of Elamite cuneiform. The role of broken writings in the Achaemenid Elamite renderings of Iranian proper names and loanwords will be discussed in Tavernier forthcoming.



Spelling	Type	Spelling	Type
gi-ut	forced	mi-ut	forced
ka ₄ -ir	forced	na-ib	unforced
ka ₄ -ut	forced	ri-um	forced
ku-ib	forced	ru-ip	forced
ku-iš	forced	šá-ir	forced
ma-iš	unforced		

3.4. Overview of the Rendering of Iranian Sounds in Neo-Elamite

In this section, Iranian phonemes are linked with Elamite minimal graphemes. Compare this information to Mayrhofer's similar list concerning the Achaemenid Elamite Iranica (Mayrhofer 1973a: 95–106 [= OnP]; added in the third column). Broken writings as well as CVC-signs are not taken into account. The sign NU, which was also pronounced /ni/, is accordingly considered both an *u*- and *i*-sign.

3.4.1. Vowels

Ir.	El.	Comments	Ir.	El.	Comments
/a/-	a(C)	5.2.1	-/ē/-	(C)e-e(C)	5.2.95
/a/-	HA	5.2.2	-/ē/-	(C)i-i(C)	
-/a/-	a(C)		-/i/-	(C)i	cf. 5.2.37–38
-/a/-	(C)a	5.2.5	-/i/-	(C)i-i(C)	5.2.36–37
-/a/-	(C)a-a(C)	5.2.5	-/i/-	(C)u	*Hiθika-
-/a/-	(C)e	before /y/; cf. 5.2.14–15	-/i/	(C)i	
-/a/-	(C)i	before /y/; 5.2.14–15	/i/-	ı	
-/a/-	(C)u	before /v/; 5.2.13	-/i/-	(C)i	
-/a/	(C)a	5.2.16	-/i/-	(C)i-i(C)	5.2.44–45
-/a/	(C)i		-/i/-	(C)u	*Mṛduniš
-/a/	(C)u		-/ō/-	(C)u	cf. 5.2.87
-/ā/-	(C)a	5.2.19–23, 26–27	-/ō/-	(C)u-u(C)	
-/ā/-	(C)a-a(C)	5.2.20	/u/-	ú	5.2.48
-/ā/-	(C)i	before /y/	-/u/-	(C)u	5.2.52
-/ā/-	(C)u	before /v/	-/u/-	(C)u-u(C)	5.2.52
-/ā/	(C)a	5.2.28	-/u/-	ú	5.2.51, 53
-/ē/-	(C)e	cf. 5.2.95	-/u/	(C)u	5.2.56

3.4.1.1. Commentary: /ā/, /θ/, and /ū/

These vowels are rendered in a regular way. Before /y/, vowel coloring is probably the explanation for the presence of (C)e- and (C)i-signs representing /((C)ā/ (*Dātāyana-, *Dāθayak-, *Dayāta-), while the same aspect is also responsible for (C)u-signs rendering -/ā/- before /v/ (*Aspavika-, *Spāvāma-). These types of vowel coloring are also attested in Achaemenid Elam-

ite renderings of Old Iranian names and words.⁵⁵ Final /a/ is once (*Uvaxštra-) indicated by a (C)i- and twice (*Ōrābuka-, *Vantuka-) by a (C)u-sign. This may point to a weakened final vowel or to another pronunciation of -/a/, e.g., /ə/. Final /ā/ is always written with a (C)a-sign.

3.4.1.2. Commentary: /ē/ and /ī/

Elamite sometimes confuses these two vowels (Khačikyan 1998: 5; Stolper 2004: 72). This is reflected by the use of the combination (C)i-i(C) to write -/ē/- in *Vēškāma- and *Vēz-bara-. It also happens in Achaemenid Elamite.

Proof of a possible pronunciation /i(C)i/ for NU and TÚ is given by *Mṛduniš and *Hiθika- (cf. Tavernier 2007b: 286–89).

3.4.2. Diphthongs

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/ai/-	a-a	
-/ai/-	(C)a-a	5.2.67
/au/-	AM	
-/au/-	(C)am	5.2.85

3.4.2.1 Commentary

The Iranian diphthongs are rendered in the same way by the Neo-Elamite scribes as by the scribes of the Achaemenid period.

3.4.3. Consonants

3.4.3.1. Plosives

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/b/-	b	5.2.116
/b/-	p	5.2.117
-/b/-	b	5.2.118
-/b/-	p	5.2.119
-/d/-	d	5.2.122–24
-/d/-	t	5.2.125–26
/g/-	g	
/g/-	k	5.2.128
-/g/-	k	5.2.130
/k/-	k	5.2.110

Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/k/-	k	5.2.111–12
-/k/	k	
/p/-	b	5.2.97
/p/-	p	5.2.98
-/p/-	b	5.2.99–100
-/p/-	p	5.2.102–3
/t/-	d	5.2.104
/t/-	t	5.2.105
-/t/-	d	5.2.106–107
-/t/-	t	

55. Examples: (1) /a/ > /e/ before /y/: Putāya- (^mPu-ú-ti-ia-ip), *Āpātaya- (^{HAL}Ab-ba-ti-ia), *Miçayāna- (^{HAL}Mi-iš-ši-ia-an-na), *θavayahvā (^dsa-mi-ia-maš), *θavayahvanta- (^dsa-mi-ia-man-da, among others), *Upa-daya- (^{HAL}Ū-ba-ti-ia and ^{HAL}Ū-bat-ti-ia), etc. (2) /a/ > /u/ before /v/: Artavardiya- (^mIr-du-mar-ti-ia), *Baga-varθa- (^{HAL}Ba-ku-ur-sa), Fravartiš (^mPir-ru-mar-ti-iš), haumavarga- (^mu-mu-mar-ka₄), etc. (3) /i/ > /u/ before /v/: *Abivanya- (^{HAL}Ab-bu-man-ia and ^{HAL}Ha-bu-man-ia), *Apivarsa- (^{HAL}Ap-pu-mar-šá) and *Rštivaka- (^šIr-iš-du-ma-ak-ka₄ and ^šIr-iš-du-ma-ka₄).



3.4.3.1.1. *Commentary*

As Iranian, just like other Indo-European languages, has a clear distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, whereas Elamite does not have this distinction, it should not be surprising to see that, for instance, Ir. /b/ can be rendered by both El. *b* and *p*. Consequently, the Elamite renderings of the Ir. labial, dental, and velar plosives are accurate.

3.4.3.2. *Fricatives*3.4.3.2.1. *Labiodental, Interdental and Velar Fricatives*

Ir.	El.	Remarks	Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/f/-	b		-/θ/-	t	5.2.141
-/f/-	p	5.2.133	/x/-	∅	in /xš/
/θ/-	t	5.2.137	/x/-	k	5.2.142
-/θ/-	d	5.2.138	-/x/-	k	5.2.143
-/θ/-	š	5.2.140			

3.4.3.2.1.1. *Commentary*

The fricatives discussed here are mostly rendered by their corresponding plosives: /f/ by *b* or *p*, /θ/ by *t* or *d* (only once) and /x/ by *k*. The interdental fricative, which is close to the dental and alveo-palatal fricatives (the sibilants) is sometimes rendered by *š*.

3.4.3.2.2. *Laryngals*

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/h/-	∅	5.2.156
/h/-	h	5.2.155
-/h/-	h	5.2.157

3.4.3.2.2.1. *Commentary*

The table above clearly shows the hesitation of the Elamite scribes when they had to write a phoneme that no longer had phonemic value in their own language.

3.4.3.2.3. *Dental and Alveo-Palatal Fricatives*

Ir.	El.	Remarks	Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/ç/-	š	5.2.154	/z/-	z	5.2.159, 161
/s/-	š	5.2.145	-/z/-	s	
-/s/-	š	5.2.146	-/z/-	š	5.2.162
-/š/-	š	5.2.149	-[ž]-	z	
-/š/	š	5.2.151			

3.4.3.3. *Affricates*

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/c/-	s	
-/c/-	z	5.2.115



3.4.3.4. Sonants

3.4.3.4.1. Semi-vowels

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/v/-	m	5.2.185
-/v/-	m	5.2.187
-/v/-	u(C)	only UN
/y/-	i	

Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/y/-	a-a	
-/y/-	(C)e-a(C)	
-/y/-	i(a)	5.2.189
-/y/-	ú	in /yu/

3.4.3.4.2. Liquids

Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/l/-	l	5.2.184
/r/-	r	5.2.172
-/r/-	r	5.2.173

Ir.	El.	Remarks
-/r/	r	
[r]-	IR	5.2.171
-[r]-	r	5.2.181

3.4.3.4.3. Nasals

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/m/-	m	5.2.165
-/m/-	m	5.2.166
-/m/	m	5.2.167

Ir.	El.	Remarks
/n/-	n	5.2.168
-/n/-	n	5.2.169
-/n/	n	

3.4.3.5. Consonant Clusters

Iranian	Elamite	Examples
-/gb/-	Vg/k-bV	*Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-
-/gd/-	Vg/k-dV	*Sugda-
-/gr/-	Vg/k-rVC	*Bagrapa-
-/mfr/-	Vm-pV-rV	*Hamfriš
-/mk/-	Vm-kV	*Bāmkaca-
-/mn/-	Vm-nV	*Kamna-
-/nm/-	CVn-mV	*Krpānmā
-/np/-	Vn-pV	*mānpān-
-/nt/-	Vn-dV	*Hiθavanta-
-/pt/-	CVp-tVC	*Naptaka-
-/rg/-	CVr-kV	*Dargiš
-/rk/-	Vr-kV	*Karki-
-/rs/-	CVr-sV	*Pārsa-
-/rθ/-	CVr-tV	*Xvarθiš

Iranian	Elamite	Examples
-/sk/-	Vš-kV	*Vēškāma-
/sp/-	Vš-b/pV	*Spāvāma-
-/sp/-	Vš-b/pV	*Aspavika-
-/θk/-	Vš-kV	*Rōpāθka-
/θr/-	Vt-rV	*Orābuka-, *Orāya-
-/θr/-	Vš-rV	*Pāθrān-
-/θr/-	Vt-rV	*Miθra-
/xš/-	šV	*Xšaça-, *Xšaparap-
-/xš/-	CVk-šV	*(H)uvataxša-
-/xštr/-	Vk-Vš-tVr-rV	*Uvaxštra-
-/xt/-	Vk-tV	*Baxti-
-/zb/-	Vš-bVC	*Vēzbara-
-/zd/-	CVš-dV	*Mazdara-



3.4.3.5.1. *Commentary*

Most Old Iranian clusters consist of two consonants: C_1C_2 . The position of the cluster within the word (initial or middle) is not relevant as to the representation of these clusters in Neo-Elamite cuneiform: they are all rendered by $(C)VC_1-C_2V(C)$.

There is one cluster of three consonants: $/mfr/$ is rendered by $VC_1-C_2V-C_3V$. The only four-consonant cluster ($-/xštr/-$) appears as $VC_1-VC_2-C_3VC_4-(C_4V)$.

3.4.3.6. *Consonant Gemination: The Reiner-Test*

With regard to the Achaemenid Elamite transcriptions of Old Iranian linguistic elements, it is generally accepted that a $VC-CV$ sequence always renders an Old Iranian voiceless consonant, at least when this consonant is intervocalic. This phenomenon is called the Reiner-test (after Erica Reiner, who first described it [Reiner 1969: 111–14]). She assumed that the Old Iranian voiced plosives (she only studied this category of consonants) were accordingly denoted by a non-geminated consonant (e.g., $(C)V-CV$), but there are too many exceptions to this principle to accept it as a general rule.

In various cases, an Old Iranian voiceless plosive is not geminated in Elamite, which would be expected according to the Reiner-test. This may at first sight indicate the inaccuracy of the Elamite scribes, but Mayrhofer (1973b: 196) rightfully claimed that these spellings were a result of scribal economy, the “kürzeren, kräftesparenden Weg der Einfachschreibung.” Some of the many Neo-Elamite examples of this aspect are *Dātāyana- (*Da-at-ia-na-ip*), *Haxidāta- (^{BE}*Ak-ki-da-da*), *Hiθavanta- (^{BE}*Hi-da-un-da*), *Kārāsa- (^{BE}*Ka₄-ra-šá*), and *Nāfēca- (^{BE}*Na-be-ez-za*).

It is interesting to notice that the Reiner-test is not only valid for the Achaemenid period but also for the Neo-Elamite period and does not only affect the plosives but all voiceless consonants: *p, t, k, s, š, c, f*, and *θ*. The following examples corroborate this.

Iranian	Elamite
*Ainaka-	^m <i>A-a-na-ak-ka₄</i>
*Aspavika-	^{BE} <i>Aš-pu-mi-ik-ka₄</i>
*Bagrapa-	^{BE} <i>Ba-ag-ráb-ba</i>
*Dātāyana-	^{AS/BE} <i>Da-at-ti-ia-na(-ip/ra)</i>
*Dayāta-	^{BE} <i>Ti-ia-ad-da</i>
*Gauciraka-	^{AS} <i>Kam-uz-zí-ra-ka₄</i>
*Gītika-	^m <i>Ki-ti-ik-ka₄</i>
*Gōšaya-	^{BE} <i>Ku-iš-šá-a-a</i>
*Haxāvada-	[^{BE} <i>A</i>] <i>k-ka₄-ma-da</i>
*Haxidāta-	^{BE} <i>Ak-ki-da-da</i>
*Katān-	^{BE} <i>Ka₄-ut-tan</i>
*Kōfāyana-	^{BE} <i>Ku-ib-ba-a-a-na</i>
*Maθāna-	^{BE} <i>Ma-áš-šá-na</i>
*Maθāsa-	^{AS} <i>Mat-taš-šá-an</i>

Iranian	Elamite
*Maθiya-	^{BE} <i>Ma-iš-ší-ia</i>
*Nāfēca-	^{BE} <i>Na-be-ez-za</i>
*Nāmāta-	^{BE} <i>Na-ma-ad-da</i>
*Pāka-	^{BE} <i>Pa-ak-ka₄</i>
*Patirapa-	^{BE} <i>Ba-at-ti-ráb-ba</i>
*Rōpāθa-	^{BE} <i>Ru-uh-ba-iš-šá-ir-[ra-be-ib]-ba</i>
*R̥data-	^{BE} <i>Ir-da-ad-da-ip</i>
*R̥maka-	<i>Ir-ma-ak-ka₄</i>
*r̥mātam	<i>ir-mat-tam₆</i>
*Sakidēva-	^{BE} <i>Šá-ak-ki-te-ma</i>
*Θrābuka-	^{BE} <i>It-ra-bu-uk-ku</i>
*Vantuka-	^{BE} <i>Man-du-uk-ku</i>
*Xšaparap-	^{BE} <i>Šá-ab-ba-ráb</i>
*Yuvātaka-	^{BE} <i>I-ma-tak-ka₄</i>

Within the Neo-Elamite renderings of Iranian proper names and loanwords, there are only two real exceptions to the Reiner-test: *(H)ubīza- (^{BE/m}*Ū-pi-iz-za*) and *Tēža- (^{BE}*Te-ez-za*).



3.5. The Ending -Ci-um in Neo-Elamite

Various Neo-Elamite lexemes, some of which have been included in the lexicon because some scholars consider them to be Iranian, have the ending -Ci-um. In my opinion this ending rather points to an Akkadian loanword. Some examples:

1. *da-bar-ri-um*: Akk. *tabarru* ‘red wool’.
2. *du-ši-um*: Akk. *dušû* ‘leather dyed and tanned the color of a *dušû*-stone’.
3. *ka₄-ti-um*: uncertain connection.
4. *pi-ri-um*: Akk. *pîru* ‘ivory’.
5. *tam₆-ši-um*: probably Akk. *tunšû*, a ceremonial garment.

It may be assumed that lexemes ending in -Ci-um are not at all Iranian. Admittedly, the Akkadian origin is not always known, but orthographically such an origin is more plausible than a connection with any Iranian word.

4. Old Iranian

This part of the article concentrates on the importance of the Elamite renderings of Iranian proper names and words for Old Iranian itself, as it was spoken in the first half of the 6th century B.C. First, a short section on Old Persian phonology will be presented. Following this, there is a discussion of how the Old Iranian dialects are reflected in the Neo-Elamite Iranica. Finally, the historical aspects of the Iranian language that are attested in the Neo-Elamite Iranica will be investigated.

4.1. Phonology of Old Persian

It is not the intention of this study to present a detailed discussion of Old Persian phonology. Below are the phonemes and allophones of Old Persian, listed in a table indicating the precise category of each phoneme.

Vowels

Short				Long			
open	front		back	open	front		back
↓		a		↓		ā	
↓				↓	ē		ō
closed	i		u	closed	ī		ū

Diphthongs

There are four attested diphthongs: /ai/, /au/, /āi/, and /āu/.

Consonants and sonants

In the following table, the abbreviations Vd and Vl mean, respectively, “voiced” and “voiceless.”



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	plosives		fricatives		affricates		sonants			
	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	lat.	vibr.	nas.	semi-vowel
labial	b	p	[β]						m	w
dental	d	t	z	ç, s				r	n	
velar	g	k	[ɣ]	x						
interdental			[ð]	θ						
labiodental				f						
alveopalatal			[ʃ]	š	j	c				
palatal										y
alveolar							l			
laryngal				h						

4.2. Old Iranian Dialects

Here the various Old Iranian dialects, which are attested in the Old Iranian names in Neo-Elamite texts, will be presented.

4.2.1. Dialects within Old Persian

Herodotus' (I 125.3–4) observation on the existence of ten Persian tribes suggests that Old Persian had some dialects. Unfortunately, the low number of Old Persian texts and the fact that Old Persian is used almost exclusively in royal inscriptions make it very difficult to distinguish these dialects. A few dialects can now be identified, thanks to Manichaean Middle Persian, which is not a precise continuation of inscriptional Old Persian (Tedesco 1921: 215, 248; Klingenschmitt 1972: 93; Hoffmann 1976: 639–40; Schmitt 1984: 197–99; Sundermann 1989: 139). In this article, inscriptional Old Persian is dubbed “Old Persian – standard,” whereas the precursor of Manichaean Middle Persian is considered a dialect (OPd; cf. Schmitt 1989b: 87).

One of the main differences between standard and dialect Old Persian is the realization of Old Iranian */hu/. In OPs, this becomes /u/, while OPd retains /h/, resulting in /hu/ (Hoffmann 1976: 639; Schmitt 1984: 198–99). Examples are OPs *ūnara-* ‘talent, ability’ (u-v-n-r-) vs. OPd **hūnara-*, MP *hunar* (*hwnr*), Av. *hunara-*; OPs *uška-* ‘dry’ (u-š-k-) vs. OPd **huška-*, MP *hušk* (*hwšk*), Av. *huška-*. The Old Persian inscriptions contain one OPd form: *Vahuka-* (V-h-u-k-, Schmitt 1984: 197–98). This name is mostly read **Vahauka-* (e.g., Bartholomae 1904: 1394–95; Kent 1953: 207; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 151), but it is better to consider it as belonging to OPd.

The only clear example of this distinction in the Neo-Elamite texts is **Gauhuvara-*, belonging to the Old Persian dialect (OPd).

4.2.2. Proto-Ir. */dz/ > Av. /z/, Med. /z/, OP /d/

Examples:

1. PIE **ǵʰés-to-* ‘hand’, OInd. *hásta-*, Proto-Ir. **dzhasta-*, Av. *zasta-*, Med. **zasta-*, OP *dasta-*, Sogd. *dst.*
2. PIE **ǵʰh₃-en-ǵo-* ‘gold’, OInd. *híranya-*, Proto-Ir. **dzharanya-*, Av. *zaraniia-*, OP *daraniya-*.



3. PIE *ǵónh₁-o- ‘kind’, OInd. *jána-*, Proto-Ir. **dzana-*, Av. *zana-*, Med. *zana-*, OP **dana-* (e.g., in **visa-dana-*).
4. PIE **h₂ag-* ‘to worship’, OInd. *yaj-*, Proto-Ir. **iadz-*, Av. *yaž-*, OP *yad-*.

Most scholars agree that PIE *ǵ^(h) became OInd. /h/ or /j/, Proto-Iranian */dz/, Av. /z/, Median /z/, Old Persian /d/ (Geiger 1898–1901: 414; Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 8; Kent 1953: 33–34; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 38; Mayrhofer 1968: 10, 19 and 1973a: 299; Hinz 1973: 38; Oranskij 1979: 99–100; Sokolov 1979: 243; Schmitt 1989b: 89). The distinction discussed here is also present in Middle Iranian (Mann 1909: xvi; Tedesco 1921: 189). Some authors do not accept, however, that these features reflect Iranian dialects (Lommel 1934: 181; Gershevitch 1964).

The Neo-Elamite texts contain three Median (**Bagbāzu-*, **Vṛzvanta-*, and **Zāta-*) and three Old Persian examples (**Bagbādu-*, **Dayāta-* and **Haxāvada-*).

4.2.3. Proto-Ir. */h₂/ > Av., OPd and Med. /h₂/, OP /(*h*)w/, East Iranian /xv/, f-dialect /f/

Old Persian has only one example of this development: *farnah-* (in the personal name *Vindafarnā*), a variant of Av. *x^varənah-*. Some modern Iranian dialects (e.g., Sīvandi [Geiger 1898–1901: 387] and Xūri [Ivanov 1926: 424]) also have this feature.

It was common belief that the development of Proto-Ir. */h₂/ to /f/ was Median (Hüsing 1897: 24; Geiger 1898–1901: 423; Foy 1899: 4–5; Morgenstierne 1924: 249–50; Lentz 1926: 288; Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 9–10; Kent 1953: 41; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 13 and 43; Gershevitch 1964: 28; Mayrhofer 1968: 5 and 1973a: 300; Hinz 1973: 34–36; Sokolov 1979: 243), but later research has pointed out the incorrectness of this assumption (Lecoq 1983: 142–43; Skjærvø 1983: 242–57; Gnoli 1990). In all likelihood the lexeme *farnah-* belongs to a dialect, but it cannot be said which one. Consequently, the name “f-dialect” is used here.

According to some scholars (Kellens 1989: 35; Forssman and Hoffmann 1996: 107–8), the development of Proto Iranian */h₂/ to /xv/ (Av. *x^v*) is Arachosian. The validity of this hypothesis has, however, been weakened by Skjærvø (1991: 108).

The only “Neo-Elamite” Iranian name containing *farnah-* is **Augafarnā*.

4.2.4. Proto-Ir. */θr/ > Av., Med. /θr/—OP /ç/

Examples:

1. PIE **ke₂-tro-* ‘origin’, Proto-Ir. **ciθra-*, Av. *ciθra-*, Med. **ciθra-* (e.g., in ^m*Ši-it-ra-an-ta₂-ma*, the Bab. rendering of OP *Ciçantaxma-*), OP *ciça-*.
2. Indo Iranian **kšatrá-* ‘reign, power, empire’, OInd. *kṣatrá-*, Av. *xšaθra-*, Med. **xšaθra-* (e.g., in the anthroponym *Xšaθrita-*), OP *xšaça-*.
3. PIE **putló-* ‘son’, OInd. *putrá-*, Proto Ir. **puθra-*, Av. *puθra-*, Med. **puθra-*, Parth. *puhr*, OP *puça-*, MP and NP *pus*.

All scholars but one accept this feature: /ç/ is the Old Persian equivalent of Med. /θr/ (Hüsing 1900: 562; Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 64; Kent 1953: 31; Hinz 1973: 38; Mayrhofer 1973a: 299; Oranskij 1979: 101–102; Schmitt 1984: 188–91 and 1989b: 89). The feature is also attested in the later West Iranian languages (Mann 1909: xiii–xv; Gauthiot 1911–12: 146; Tedesco 1921: 198–99; Lentz 1926: 258–59): OP /ç/ became MP /s/, while Med. /θr/ became MP /hr/.



Only Gershevitch (1964: 13–14) does not believe this. According to him, both /θr/ and /ç/ are genuine Old Persian phonemes.

In the Neo-Elamite texts, there are more Median examples (*Hvāθriš, *Miθra-, *Pāθrān-, *Θrābuka-, and *Θrāya-) of this feature than Old Persian examples (*xšāça-).

4.2.5. Proto-Ir. */ts/ > Av., Med. /s/—OP /θ/

Examples:

1. PIE **keuk-ro-*, OInd. *śukrá-* ‘light’, Proto Ir. **tsuxra-*, Av. *suxra-* ‘red’, Med. **Suxra-* (e.g., in ^m*Su-uh-ra-*², the Bab. rendering of Θuxra-), OP Θuxra-.
2. PIE **skend-* ‘to shine, seem’, OInd. *chand-*, Proto-Ir. **tsand-*, Av. *sand-*, OP *θand-*.
3. PIE **uik-* ‘settlement; house, palace’, OInd. *viś-*, Proto Ir. **vits-*, Av. *vīś-*, OP *viθ-*.

Again, all scholars, except Gershevitch (1964: 12–13), believe in a distinction between Median and Old Persian (Geiger 1898–1901: 414; Kent 1953: 33; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 38; Hinz 1973: 38; Mayrhofer 1968: 8–9 and 1973a: 300; Oranskij 1979: 100–101; Sokolov 1979: 244; Schmitt 1989a: 27 and 1989b: 89). This variation is also attested in Middle West Iranian (Mann 1909: xvi; Tedesco 1921: 189–90).

There is only one sure example in the Neo-Elamite texts, because both /θ/ and /s/ can be rendered by *š*-signs: *Maθāsa- is spelled ^{As}*Mat-taš-šá-an*. In the other cases, the Old Persian form is preferred in this article: *Maθāna-, *Maθiya-, *Rōpāθa-, and *Rōpāθka-.

4.2.6. Proto-Ir. */tsu/ > Av., Med. /sp/—OP /s/

Examples:

1. PIE *(h₁)*ekwo-* ‘horse’, OInd. *ásva-*, Proto Ir. **atsva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Med. *aspa-*, OP *asa-*.
2. PIE **uikwo-*, ‘all, everything’, OInd. *viśva-*, Proto Ir. **vitsva-*, Av. *vīspa-*, Med. *vispa-*, OP *visa-*.

This aspect is one of the most clear distinctions between Old Persian and Median (Geiger 1898–1901: 413; Hüsing 1900: 562; Meillet and Benveniste 1931: 9; Kent 1953: 34; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964: 39; Gershevitch 1964: 14, 28; Mayrhofer 1968: 3–5 and 1973a: 299; Hinz 1973: 38; Oranskij 1979: 102; Sokolov 1979: 244; Schmitt 1989a: 27–28 and 1989b: 89). This is proven by Herodotus (I 110), who writes that the Median word for ‘dog’ is σπάκα, an equivalent of OInd. *śvan-*, *śvā-* and Av. *span-*. Middle Iranian too reflects this distinction (Lentz 1926: 263–64): modern equivalents of **spa(ka)-* are Parth. *špg*, the present Northwestern dialects⁵⁶ and Pašto *spay*. OP **sa(ka)-* can be seen in MP *sag* and NP *sag*.

The Neo-Elamite examples are all names containing the lexeme *asa-/aspa-* ‘horse’: three Median (**Aspavika-*, **Hadāspa-*, and **Mādāspa-*) and two Old Persian examples (**Kārāsa-* and **Maθāsa-*).

4.2.7. The So-Called l-Dialect

Neither Avestan nor Old Persian have a phoneme /l/. The Old Persian grapheme denoting /l/ is only used in non-Iranian proper names (Dubāla-, Haldita-, Izalā-, and Lab(a)nāna-; cf. Kent 1953: 38).

56. Northwestern dialect: Māsāl *asba*, Māsule *aspa*, North Tāleši *sapa*; Eštehardi *esbi*, Harzan(d)i *isbā*, Hazār-rudi *seba*, Kajali *esbe*, Keringāni *pā*, Semnāni *esbā*, Šāli *seba*.



This does not necessarily mean that Old Iranian did not have such a phoneme. In the Achaemenid Elamite renderings of Iranian names and words, there are some names that are undoubtedly Iranian but that seem to have had /l/, e.g., *Laxša-, *Mṛncali-, etc. Moreover, some New Persian and Ossetic words also have preserved the original PIE */l/:

1. NP *lab* ‘lip’. Cf. Lat. *labia*.
2. NP *lištan* ‘to lick’. PIE **leǵʰ-*, OInd. *leh-* and *reh-*, Gk. *λείχω*, Lat. *lingō*.
3. Ossetic *læsæg* ‘salmon’. Cf. PIE **lokso-ko-*, Russ. *лосось* and Lithuanian *lašiša*.

This information has led scholars (Bartholomae 1895–1901: 23; Gershevitch 1969: 202; Mayrhofer 1973a: 301 and 1989: 10; Schmitt 1984: 199–200 and 1989b: 90–91) to accept a dialect that preserved PIE */l/ within Old Iranian. Boccali (1981: 12–14) uses Ossetic, a language which mostly has a secondary /l/, but in a few cases retains the original PIE */l/ to identify the dialect. The source language of these words is in all probability Scythic or, more precisely, Western Scythic, which borders the “European” languages. The only example of this dialect in the Neo-Elamite texts is *Tapala-.

4.3. The Importance of Neo-Elamite Iranica for the History of Old Iranian

The various Iranian proper names and loanwords found in Neo-Elamite texts represent a specific stage in the history of the Old Iranian language. Below, I discuss two aspects of that history.

4.3.1. Contractions and Monophthongizations in Old Iranian

Contractions and monophthongizations point to a certain evolution within a language, since contracted and monophthongized forms are younger than their non-contracted and non-monophthongized equivalents. The oldest contractions in Iranian texts are attested in Old Persian. In Old Persian, there are two types: /aha/ > /ā/ and /iya/ > /i/. Examples are *abijāvayam* (XPf 40) < *abiyajāvayam* (XPg 9); *āhiy* < **ahahiy*; *marika-* (< **mariyaka-*); *nīšādāyam* (XPh 34–35) < *niyašādāyam* (DNa 36); *nīštāya-* (XPh 52–53) < *niyaštāya-* (XPh 50); *θāhiy* < **θahahiy* and *θātiy* < **θahatiy*; *Vivāna-* < **Vivahana-*. In the Achaemenid Elamite renderings of Iranian names and words, there are many such expressions clearly indicating that the spoken Iranian language was younger than the language reflected in the royal Achaemenid inscriptions.

The Neo-Elamite texts, too, have some contracted Iranica, but the low number (four on a total of 107 expressions) shows that contractions were only starting to emerge in Old Iranian. Twice, the contraction (/iya/ > /i/) is situated at the end of the name (**Mṛduniš* and **Hamfrīš*) and twice (/ahya/ > /ē/) it is situated in the first syllable (**Vēškāma-* and **Vēzbara-*).

Monophthongizations are more frequent than contractions (nine examples). Two types are attested in the Neo-Elamite texts: /ai/ > /ē/ and /au/ > /ō/. They never occur at the end of an expression. The examples are (1) /ai/ > /ē/: **Gaurēvika-*, **Nāfēca-*, **Sakidēva-*, and **Tēža-*; (2) /au/ > /ō/: **Gōmāya-*, **Gōšaya-*, **Kōfāyana-*, **Rōpāθa-*, and **Rōpāθka-*.

4.3.2. Vowel Elision

It is well-known that in Iranian younger forms are inclined to drop the final vowel (Mayrhofer 1973a: 314 and 1974: 44). It is possible that non-final unstressed vowels are dropped (Schmitt 1989c: 98 n. 8), but with regard to the Elamite renderings of Iranian names and words it is equally possible that the latter is due to Elamite phonetics. In Elamite, the vowel in the second syllable may sometimes be dropped when unstressed (Grillot-Susini and Roche 1987: 11).



Hitherto, the loss of the final vowel was ascribed to Middle Iranian (cf. Salemann 1895–1901: 255; Schmitt 1989c: 98 and n. 8), but the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid Elamite examples may change this conclusion. It appears that the evolution toward a younger language already began in the 6th century B.C.

The Neo-Elamite Iranica contain six examples of loss of the final vowel, six examples of loss of the vowel in the second syllable, and one example of loss of the vowel in the third syllable:

1. final vowel: *Ainar-, *Dāθayak-, *Katān-, *mānpān-, *Pāθrān-, and *Xšaparap-.
2. second syllable: *Bagbādu-, *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-, *Bāmkaça-, *Civanta-, and *mānpān-.
3. third syllable: *Rōpāθka-.

5. Historical Considerations Regarding Neo-Elamite Iranica

Here the individuals bearing Iranian names will be briefly discussed. It should be emphasized that it is difficult to connect anthroponyms with ethnicity. Elamites may well have Iranian names and vice versa. Therefore this section will only discuss individuals who have Iranian/Elamite names.

The Neo-Elamite texts, in casu the Susa Acropole texts, mention two Persian population groups: *Dātāyana- (*Patirapa-, *Tēža-, *Vantuka-, *Yuvātaka-) and ^(Aš)Za-am-be-gir-(ip/ra) (*Spākṛta-). Both groups are explicitly called “Persian,” which is also the distinguishing feature between these groups and the small groups discussed below.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Susa were probably organized in small population groups around one central figure. The dependents of these groups are indicated by adding an Elamite suffix to the name of the central figure, e.g., *-r* (sg.) or *-p* (pl.). The attested central figures with Iranian names and their subordinates (if their name is known) are *Aina-, ^{BE}Ka₄-gi-áš-ba, *Kamna-, *Kṛpānmā (subordinates: *Bagbāzu-, *Bagrapa-, *Vananta-), *Manušā-, *Naptaka-, *Pāθrān- (subordinate: ^{BE}Ad-da-te-en), *Rōpāθa- (subordinate: ^{BE}Lu-da-da), *Rdata-, *Θrābuka- (subordinate: *Bāmkaça-), *Θrāya-, *Vaigāna- (subordinate: ^{BE}Ha-mi-ti-ra).

Individuals bearing non-Iranian names could also be figures central to various population groups. Examples of such are ^{BE}A-a-zip-pi, ^{BE}Ak-ki-ra-ra (subordinates: *Bāma-), ^{BE}Ap-pa-la-a-a (subordinate: *Xšaparap-), ^{BE}Hu-ban-ki-tin, ^{BE}Hu-ban-hal-taš, ^{BE}La-li-in-taš, ^{BE}Su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš, ^{BE}Um-be-nu-iš, ^mUn-sa-ak (mentioned frequently; subordinate: ^{BE}Kur-lu-iš).

We might be inclined to think that these small groups are also ethnic categories and that we are dealing here with tribes. This is, however, not very likely. The main argument against this conclusion is the fact that some of the central figures are also mentioned in the Acropole texts as individuals (i.e., tribes or ethnic groups would more likely be named after eponyms, not after still living individuals). If they were merely eponyms, their appearance in the texts is relatively unusual. There may rather be a hierarchic system at work; e.g., Aplaya- is called “king of the Zarians” (MDP 9 71:2).⁵⁷

57. In MDP 9 80:3 the king of the Zarians is ^{BE}Mar-tuk. Both names are Akkadian—Aplaya- and Mar-duk—which supports Henkelman’s (2003b: 257) thesis that the Zarians might have been an “Aramaic or Chaldaean tribe on the south-western fringe of Khūzestān.”



The socioeconomic behavior of the people bearing Iranian names is not different from that of the people bearing Elamite names. They all receive various garments and other objects, such as bows, bars, spears, etc. They appear as witness (*Arina-, *Gitika-) or as one of the parties in legal texts (^m*Ku-na-ra-mi-ka*₄). Some of the men bearing Iranian names certainly had, however, high socioeconomic positions, as may be deduced from the existence of the central figures described above and from their ownership of seals.

The individuals with Iranian names apparently had no political power in the kingdom of Susa. Nevertheless, they could have had important administrative roles. *Arina- had the title *rab ekalli*, a chief palace official; if ^{BE}*Ku-ud-da-ka*₄*ka*₄ is an Iranian name, then another high official (*araš hutlak*) could have been an Iranian. *Hiθika- also may have been quite important, since a statue of a god was assigned to him. On the other hand, people bearing Iranian names could also be subordinates of people with non-Iranian names. Nevertheless, it is conspicuous that, despite the rather low number of Iranian personal names (10%), there are more central figures with an Iranian name than central figures with a non-Iranian name.

Despite the close contacts between Elamites and Iranians, the individuals with Iranian names attested in the Acropole texts are often mentioned together; a few texts have (almost) only Iranian names. It is rare for a text to have only one Iranian name.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Names</i>
MDP 9 11	*Bagrapa-, *Dayāta-, *Hvāθriš
MDP 9 51	*Nāfēca-, *Patirapa-, *Tēža-, *Xvarθiš, *Yuvātaka-
MDP 9 63	*Arina-, *Kṛmi-, *Manuša-
MDP 9 71	*Arina-, *Sakidēva-
MDP 9 94	*Ama-, *Māda-
MDP 9 101	^{BE} <i>Ka</i> ₄ <i>-gi-āš-ba</i> , ^{BE} <i>Pīr-an-za-an</i> , *Vananta-
MDP 9 110	*Hadāspa-, *Pāθrān-, *Vṛzventa-
MDP 9 132	*Aspavika-, *Uvaxštra-, *Xšaparap-
MDP 9 133	*Bagbāzu-, *Katān-, *Pāθrān-, ^{BE} <i>Pīr-an-za-an</i> , *Ṛdata-
MDP 9 135	*(H)uvataxša-, *Miθra-
MDP 9 145	*Arina-, *Vēškāma-, *Vidamanā
MDP 9 147	*Rōpāθka-, *Zāta-
MDP 9 148	*Bāmkaca-, *Kṛpānmā, *Pāθrān-
MDP 9 157	*Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-, *Kṛpānmā
MDP 9 160	*Bāma-, *Vēškāma-
MDP 9 187	^{BE} <i>Ba-ak-si-en-da</i> , *Bagbādu-, ^{BE} <i>Mi-ti(?)lak-šar</i> , *Vantuka-, *Vṛzventa-
MDP 9 199	*Kāra-, *Maθiya-, *Pāyuna-
MDP 9 229	*Bṛga-, *Gōmāya-, *Gōšaya-
MDP 9 259	*(H)ubrğa-, *Mazdara-
MDP 9 289	*Maθāna-, *Rōpāθka-

Susa was not the only kingdom that had an ethnically mixed population. The population of the more rural kingdom of Samati is also ethnically mixed. This is clear both from the inscriptions from the Kalmākara Cave and the Acropole texts.



The Kalmākarra inscriptions offer a mixed onomasticon. First of all there is *Hamfrīš, a king of Samati. He has an Iranian name and an Iranian patronymic (*Tapala-), but a brother with an Elamite name (^m*An-ni-šil-ha-ak*). Moreover, two of his sons have Elamite names: Ahtir and ^m*Un-zí-ki-lik*.⁵⁸ ^m*Un-sa-ak*, another king of the Samatians, has an Iranian patronymic (*Gītiya-). Other non-Iranian names occurring in these texts are Akšimarti, Apuliti, Ašpe, At-tasapir, Huban, Hunzak, ^d*Ib-ú-nu-kaš*, Indapipi, ^m*La-li-in-taš*, ^m*Ma-na-ka*₄-[]-*un-taš*, Pirri, Sapparak, Simima, Turhakra, and Umbadudu.

It is highly interesting to see both Elamite and Iranian names within the same ruling dynasty (Henkelman 2003a: 224). Apuliti is also attested in EKI 74:8, 11, 14 (^m*A-bu-li-ti*) and perhaps in BM 136845:rev.2 (*A-bu-[li-ti]*; cf. Walker 1980: 77). Hinz and Koch (ElW: 24) mention the possibility of a Lullubian name, while Briant (1996: 745; also Henkelman 2003a: 224 n. 152) considers it an Akkadian name. The latter is more probable, if one takes into account the names Abu-liti ‘the father is my power/victory’ and Aḫu-liti.⁵⁹

The Acropole texts mention Samatians only once. Twelve Samatians are listed, but not all names are preserved. Two names are Iranian: *Ama- and *Māda-. The other names are Elamite: ^{BE}*Ad-da-[]*, ^{BE}*Ad-da-ki-tin*, ^{BE}*Ak-ši-in-ki-li-ik*, ^{BE}*An-ni-šil-ha*, ^{BE}*It-na-ak*, ^{BE}*Kas-la*, ^{BE}*Su-un-ki-ba-ki-iš* and ^{BE}*Un-zí-[]*. Again, this is a linguistically mixed onomastic corpus.

The personal names that occur in both the Kalmākarra inscriptions and the Neo-Elamite texts from Susa are *Hamfrīš, Annišilha(k), Lalintaš, Pirri, Umbadudu, Unsak, and Untaš. In all probability Unzi[] should be restored to ^{BE}*Un-zí-[ki-li-ik]* (Vallat 1996), because the element *unzi* only occurs in this name. Vallat (1996; also Henkelman 2003a: 222 n. 149) strongly believes in prosopographical identifications of these names, but this is not so easily accepted. The strongest case is Annišilhak, the brother of *Hamfrīš and king of Samati, called “Samatian” in an Acropole text. If one individual is involved here, this would mean that the kingdoms of Susa and Samati had well-established contacts. This would be corroborated if *Hamfrīš the king of Samati is the same as *Hamfrīš who is mentioned in the Acropole texts. The latter is the father of ^{BE}*Hu-ban-ráš-ma*.

An important question is why neither Annišilhak nor *Hamfrīš is called “king of Samati” in the Acropole texts, while Aplaya- is explicitly called “king of the Zarians.” Several possibilities suggest themselves:

1. Neither Annišilhak nor *Hamfrīš are the same persons as the kings of Samati.
2. They are the same persons as the kings of Samati, but the omission of their title says something about the status of Samati—namely, it was a vassal state of Susa.
3. They are the same persons as the kings of Samati but, owing to the fact that relations between the two political entities were so good, it was not deemed necessary to identify them formally.

None of these solutions, however, provides much insight into the prosopographical issues. The question remains open.

58. The spelling of Ahtir could not be checked because copies or photographs of the text are not available (Henkelman 2003a: 221).

59. Abu-liti is attested in the Babylonian Murašu archive (5th century B.C.): BE 10 39:16; 40:11, 15; 108:13; IMT 87:3. It is also attested in Greek (Ἀβουλίτης). Aḫu-liti occurs in the same archive: BE 9 55:8, 11, 21; 63:5; BE 10 20:4; 51:5; EE 14:5; 15:5]; 108:5', 8', 11', 14', 15'; PBS 2/1 76:13.



The style of the objects belonging to the “Kalmākara Hoard” has many parallels in Achaemenid art. This, combined with the onomastic evidence, may point to a high degree of acculturation between Elamites and Iranians in Samati (Boucharlat 1998: 149–50; Henkelman 2003a: 222).

6. Conclusion

This article has concentrated on the Neo-Elamite renderings of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords. It has collected and analyzed all of them and included some names and words whose linguistic affiliation are more problematic. In total, 93 Iranian personal names, 10 toponyms, and 4 loanwords are attested in the Neo-Elamite texts.

It may be that the Achaemenid Irano-Elamite transpositions are the basis for the Neo-Elamite Irano-Elamite transpositions. This does not, however, pose problems for the analysis of the Neo-Elamite transcriptions of Iranian linguistic elements.

The Elamite scribes quite accurately wrote down Iranian names and words, despite the difficulties caused by the specific character of the Elamite cuneiform script. The transpositions used here are chiefly the same as the transpositions seen in the Achaemenid period. Only a few differences can be noted—e.g., AM for /au/- and šU for /zu/. Features such as broken writings and the Reiner-test, previously known from attestations in the Achaemenid period, are already apparent in the Neo-Elamite period. It should be noted, however, that the Neo-Elamite Iranica date from the first half of the 6th century B.C.—i.e., not long before the beginnings of the Achaemenid empire.

The Old Iranian dialects are reflected in the Neo-Elamite texts. Median is the most frequent dialect but the so-called *f*-dialect and *l*-dialect are also attested. Only one East Iranian form occurs.

It has also been noted that the Iranian language, as it was spoken at that time, begins to show two features that may indicate a historical development within the language (both of these features would eventually lead to Middle Iranian): contractions and monophthongizations on the one hand, and vowel elision on the other. These features are still few in number, something that changes in the Achaemenid period. This also clearly indicates that the language attested in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions is quite archaic.

Historically, the Iranian names also reflect intense contact between the Elamite and Iranian population groups, a theme that has been noticed in other areas of study, especially visual imagery. Elamite-Iranian acculturation may have been more developed in the kingdom of Samati (where even the ruling dynasty had a mixed onomasticon) than in the kingdom of Susa.

People bearing Iranian names are attested in both the higher and lower echelons of society. They might be high officials or subordinates of someone with a non-Iranian name. Nevertheless, their socioeconomic behavior is the same as that of the people having non-Iranian names.

Much work remains to be done. It is hoped that this study will serve as basis for new studies, both linguistic and historical.



7. Appendixes

7.1. Glossary

7.1.1. Theonyms and Mythological Figures

Baga- ‘god, Baga’: OInd. *bhága-* ‘lord, master (said of gods)’, Av. *baya-*, OP *baga-*, MP *bay*, Parth. *bg*, Sogd. *βγ*.

Manuš: Avestan hero, cf. OInd. *manu-* ‘humanity’.

7.1.2. Geographical Names

Māda- ‘Median’: OP *Māda-*.

Pārsa- ‘Persian’: OP *Pārsa-*.

Sugda- (Sogdia) ‘burnt’: Sogd. *swγt*, ‘burnt’, Oss. *suǰdæg*.

7.1.3. Lexical Elements

Ainah- ‘crime, violence’: OInd. *éna-*, Av. *aēnah-*.

Ama- ‘strength, power’: OInd. *áma-* ‘impetuosity, strength’, Av. *ama-*.

Anman- ‘continuity’: Av. *anman-*.

Ara- ‘wild, mad’: derivation from Proto-Ir. **ar-* ‘to be wild’ (Bailey 1961: 474–77).

Aspa- (Med.) ‘horse’: Median equivalent of OP *asa-*; OInd. *ásva-*, Av. *aspa-*, Sogd. *ʔsp*.

Auga- ‘to announce’: OInd. *oh-*, Av. *aog-*.

Axštra- ‘oversight’: cf. Av. *aiβi-āxš-* ‘to supervise’ and *aiβi-āxštar-* ‘supervisor’.

Bādu- (OP) ‘arm’: OP equivalent of **bāzu-*; MP *bʔdwky*.

Bāma- ‘light, lustre, splendour’: OInd. *bhāma-*, Av. *bāma-*, MP *bʔm*.

Bara- ‘bearing, carrying, esteeming’: OInd. *bhára-*, Av. and OP *bara-*.

Baug- ‘bestowing benefit’: cf. OInd. *bhuj-*.⁶⁰

Baxta- ‘fate, destiny’: NP *baxt*.

Bāzu- (Med.) ‘arm’: OInd. *bāhú-*, Av. *bāzu-*, Khot. *bāysua-*, NP *bāzū*, Oss. *bazug*.

Bīza- ‘seed, semen’: OInd. *béja-*, Sogd. *βγzʔk*.

Brg- ‘to welcome’: Av. *barəg-*.

Cira- ‘capable’: Av. *ciriia-*, NP *cira*.

Daiva- ‘idol, demon’: Av. *daēuua-*, OP *daiva-*.

Dāta- ‘created, given’: past part. of *dā-* ‘to give, create’.

Dāθa- ‘clever’: Av. *dāθa-*.

Daya- (OP) ‘weapon’: PIE **ǵʰeǵ-*, Av. *zaiia-*.

Farnah- ‘glory, splendour’: Av. *xʰarənah-*, MP *xwarrah*, Sogd. *prn*, Parth. *frh* or *prh*, NP *farr*.

Frya- ‘kind, sweet, dear’: OInd. *priyá-*, Av. *frīia-*, Sogd. *pry*, Khot. *bria-*.

Gau- ‘cattle’: OInd. *gáv-*, Av. and OP *gav-*, MP and NP *gāw*, Pašto *γwā*.

Gaud- (OP) ‘to conceal’: OP *gaud-*.

Gauman- ‘having cattle’: Av. *gaoman̄t-*.

Gauša- ‘ear’: Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gauša-*, MP and NP *gōš*, Sogd. *γwš*.

Gīti- ‘singer’: OInd. *gīti-* ‘song, singing’.

60. Cf. on this stem and its derivatives, Benveniste (1966: 108–115), Schmitt (2002: 63), and Tremblay (2004: 135 n. 78).



- Haxā- ‘someone allegiant, friend, companion’: OInd. *sakhā-*.
 Haxi-: weak stem of *haxā-* ‘someone allegiant, friend, companion’ (Zadok 1976: 66–67):
 OInd. *sakhā-*, Av. *haxi-*.
 Hiθa- ‘ally’: Av. *hiθa-*.
 Huvar- ‘to eat’ (OPd): Av. *x^var-*, NP *x^vardan*.
 Hvāθra- (Med.) ‘comfort’: cf. Av. *x^vāθra-*.
 Īra- ‘energy’: Av. *ira-*.
 Jīra- ‘intelligent, mentally lively’: Av. *jīra-*.
 Kāma- ‘desire, wish’: OInd., Av. and OP *kāma-*, MP *kām*, Parth. *k[’]m*.
 Kamna- ‘small, little’: Av. and OP *kamna-*, MP and NP *kam*.
 Kāra- ‘people, army’: OP *kāra-*.
 Karkāsa- (Med.) ‘vulture’: Av. *kahrkāsa-*, MP *kargās*.
 Karkāθa- (OP): OP equivalent of **karkāsa-*.
 Kāta- ‘wanted’: past part. of **kā-* ‘to wish, desire’ (Av. *kā-*). Cf. Av. *kāta-* ‘wanted’.
 Kaufa- ‘mountain’: OP *kaufa-*.
 Kṛmi- ‘worm’: OInd. *kṛmi-*, MP and NP *kirm*, Sogd. *kyrm* ‘snake’.
 Kṛpa- ‘external appearance’: Av. *kəhrp-*, MP *kirb* ‘body, form’.
 Manah- ‘mind, mentality’: OInd. *mānas-*, Av. *manah-*.
 Maθa- (OP) ‘great, big’: OP equivalent of **masa-* (Av. *masan-*).
 Mazdā- ‘wisdom’: OInd. *medhā-*, OP *mazdā-*.
 Miθra- (Med.) ‘treaty’: OInd. *mitrá-*, Av. *miθra-*, MP and NP *mihr*, Parth. *myhr*, Sogd. *myδr*.
 Mṛdu- ‘mild, soft’: OInd. *mṛdú-*, Parāčī *maṛō*.
 Nāfa- ‘family, clan’: Av. *nāfa-*, MP and NP *nāf*, Parth. *n[’]p*.
 Nāman ‘name, fame’ (*nāma-* in compounds): OInd. *nāman-*, Av. and OP *nāman-*, MP and NP
nām, Sogd. *n[’]m*, Khot. *nāma-*, Oss. *nom*.
 Napta- ‘wet’: Av. *napta-*.
 Nar- ‘man’: OInd. *nár-*, Av. *nar-*, OP, MP, NP and Baluči *nar-*, Parth. *nr*.
 Pā- ‘to protect’: OInd., Av., OP, and Khot. *pā-*, MP *pādan*, Sogd. *’p[’]y*.
 Pāθra- (Med.) ‘protection’: cf. Av. *pāθrauuant-* ‘offering protection’.
 Pāyu- ‘protector’: OInd. *pāyu-*, Av. *pāiiu-*.
 Raiva- ‘rich’: Av. *raēuuu-*, *raēuuuuant-*.
 Rap- ‘to support’: OInd. and Av. *rap-*.
 Raupāθa- (OP) ‘fox’: OInd. *lopāśá-*, MP *rōbāh*, Sogd. *rwps*, Parth. *rwb^s*, Khot. *rrūvāsa-* ‘jackal’,
 NP *rūbāh*, Oss. *robās / rūvas*.
 R̥data- ‘silvery’: OInd. *rajatá-*, Av. *ṛəzata-*, OP *ṛdata-*.
 R̥ma- ‘arm’: OInd. *īrmá-*, Av. *ar(ə)ma-*, MP and NP *arm*.
 Sak- ‘to think of’: Av. *sak-*.
 Spavan- ‘blissfully happy’: Av. *spāuuu-*.
 Taiža- ‘sharp’: Av. *taēžā-*, MP *tēz*, NP *tez*.
 Tapara- ‘axe’: NP *tabar*, Arm. *tapar*.
 Taxš- ‘to strive for’: cf. *taxš-* in OP *ham-taxš-*.
 Θrā- (Med.) ‘to protect’: OInd. *trā-*, Av. *θrā-*.
 Vad- (OP) ‘to lead, drive’: OP equivalent of **vaz-* (OInd. *vah-*, Av. *vaz-*, MP and NP *wazīdan*,
 Khot. *bays-*, Chor. *wz*).



Vahyah-, vahyas/z- ‘better’: OInd. *vásyas-*, Av. *vašiih-*, *vahiih-*, *vayhah-* and *vajhiiah-*.
 Vaiga- ‘swinger, slinger’: cf. Av. *vaēg-* ‘to sling’.
 Vanant- ‘victorious’: Av. *vanant-*.
 Vanta-, (1) ‘loved’, (2) ‘praise, honouring’: Av. ²*vanta-* and ³*vanta-*.
 Vīda- ‘expert, specialist’: OInd. *vid-* ‘to know’, Av. ¹*vaēd-*.
 Vṛzvant- ‘efficient’ (Med.): Av. *varəzuuant-*.
 Xšapa- ‘night’: OInd. *kṣap-*, Av. and OP *xšap-*, Sogd. (?)*xšp*, NP *šab*.
 Xšay- ‘to rule’: OInd. *kṣay-*, Av. and OP *xšay-*.
 Xvarθi- ‘enjoyment, delight’: Av. *xʷarəθi-*.
 Yuvan ‘young (man)’: OInd. *yúvan-*, Av. *γ(a)uuan-*, MP *juvān*, NP *ja/uwān*, Lat. *iuvenis*.
 Zāta- (Med.) ‘born’: OInd. *jāta-*, Av. *zāta-*, MP *zādag*, NP *zāda*.

7.1.4. Prefixes, Suffixes, Conjunctions, and Prepositions

-aica-: hypocoristic suffix (Hinz 1974: 259–60).
 -āna-: suffix indicating a patronymic (Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.6.1.1).
 -āta-: suffix reinforcing the meaning of the word it determines (Hinz 1974: 260).
 -āyana-: suffix indicating a patronymic (Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.6.1.2).
 -ca-: hypocoristic suffix (Justi 1895: 524; Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.7.3.8; Hinz 1974: 259).
 Hadā ‘together with’: OInd. *sahá*, Av. *hadā* and *hadā*, OP *hadā*, Oss. *æd-*, Pašto *la-*.
 Hu- (OPd) ‘good’: OInd. *su-*, Av. *hu-*, OPs *u-*, MP and Khot. *hu-*, NP *xu-*.
 -i-: suffix indicating a patronymic.
 -ika-: hypocoristic suffix (Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.7.3.14; Hinz 1974: 259).
 -ina-: hypocoristic suffix (Schmitt 1972: 90).
 -(i)ya-: suffix constructing adjectives (Justi 1895: 521; Kent 1953: 50–51; Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.7.3.7; Schmitt 1989a: 81–82).
 -ka-: hypocoristic suffix (Justi 1895: 521, 524 and 526; Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.7.3.14).
 -na-: nominal suffix (Kent 1953: 51).
 Ni- ‘downwards, down’: OInd. *ní-*, Av., OP, MP, Khot. and NP *ni-*, Sogd. and Chor. *n-*, Bactrian *vo-*.
 Pati- ‘thereto, again’: OInd. *práti-*, Av. *paiti*, OP *patiy*, MP *pad*.
 -ra-: hypocoristic suffix (Justi 1895: 523; Mayrhofer 1973a: 11.1.7.3.5).

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Abbreviations

Akk.	Akkadian
Av.	Avestan
Chor.	Chorasmian
EE	Late Babylonian texts from the Murašu archive, published in Stolper 1985
El.	Elamite
ElW	Hinz and Koch 1987
EWA	Mayrhofer 1956–80
Gk.	Greek
IMT	Late Babylonian texts from the Murašu archive, published in Donbaz and Stolper 1997
Khot.	Khotanian
MDP 9	298 tablets from the Acropolis of Susa published in Scheil 1907 and Jusifov 1963 (correspondences in Jusifov 1963: 261)
MDP 11	Texts published in Scheil 1911
Med.	Median
MP	Middle Persian
nom.	nominative
NP	New Persian
OInd.	Old Indic
OP	Old Persian
OPd	Dialect Old Persian
OPs	Standard Old Persian
Oss.	Ossetic
Part.	Parthian
PF	2,087 tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive published in Hallock 1969
PFa	33 tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive published in Hallock 1978
PFNN	Unpublished tablets from the Persepolis Fortification archive edited by Hallock (see Hallock 1978: 109)
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal numbers (cf. Garrison and Root 1996/1998)
PFS*	Inscribed seal from the PFS corpus
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Proto-Ir.	Proto-Iranian
PT	Persepolis Treasury tablet published in Cameron 1948
sg.	singular
Sogd	Sogdian
TTM I	114 tablets from Tall-e Malyān published in Stolper 1984

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