

**33) Two Iranian personal names belonging to the *l*-dialect** – It is generally accepted that the phonological system of one or more Old Iranian dialects knew the phoneme /l/ (as representation of PIE \*/l/), a phoneme which is not attested in the two directly attested Old Iranian languages, Old Persian and Avestan<sup>1</sup>. In all likelihood it is a Northwest Iranian dialect.

In my recently published work on Old Iranian proper names and loanwords in non-Iranian texts I have included seven proper names containing this /l/: \*Arvazūlā<sup>2</sup>, \*Bāliča<sup>3</sup>, \*Halēva<sup>4</sup>, \*Lānika<sup>5</sup>, \*Laxša<sup>6</sup> and \*Mṛnčālī<sup>7</sup>. Possibly the Babylonian spellings Lu-da-ka (*IMT* 38: rev.) and Lu-da-ku (*BE* 9 39: 3, 5, E.; *IMT* 38: 3, 6) render \*Laudaka-, the equivalent of \*Raudaka-, a -ka- hypocoristic of \*Rauda-, “he who grows”, but that is far from sure<sup>8</sup>, since

<sup>1</sup> Chr. Bartholomae, “Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprache”, in W. Geiger & E. Kuhn (eds.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* I 1, Strasbourg, 1895-1901, 23; I. Gershevitch, “Amber at Persepolis”, in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, vol. 2, Roma, 1969, 202; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 286)*, Wien, 1973, 301; G. Boccali, “L’Antico Persiano” in E. Campanile (ed.), *Nuovi materiali per la ricerca indoeuropeistica*, Pisa, 1981, 12-14; R. Schmitt, “Zur Ermittlung von Dialekten in altiranischer Zeit”, *Sprachwissenschaft* 9 (1984), 199-200; M. Mayrhofer, “Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen: Uriranisch”, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, 1989, 10; R. Schmitt, “Andere altiranische Dialekten”, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*, Wiesbaden, 1989, 90-91.

<sup>2</sup> J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in non-Iranian Texts (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158)*, Leuven, 2007, 115 no. 4.2.120.

<sup>3</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 146 no. 4.2.317.

<sup>4</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 58 no. 2.2.25.

<sup>5</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 235 no. 4.2.1010.

<sup>6</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 235 no. 4.2.1011.

<sup>7</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 254 no. 4.2.1136.

<sup>8</sup> R. Zadok, review of M. A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6)*, Costa Mesa, 1992, *BSOAS* 58 (1995), 159; Tavernier, *Iranica*, 284-285 no. 4.2.1383.

Akkadian has an occasional *l/r*-alternation<sup>9</sup>, e.g. *maltakal* vs. *martakal* (NA), from *maštakal*, a plant or *napalsuhu* vs. *naparsuhu* (LB), “to fall to the ground”. It is more attested in non-Akkadian words however: *ašlu(k)katu* vs. *ašru(k)katu*, “storeroom”, *laqlaqqu* vs. *raqraqqu*, “stork”. U-la-na- (*PBS* 2/1 128: 16) too may render both \*(H)ulāna- and \*(H)urāna-<sup>10</sup>.

In this note I will discuss two more names which were considered as problematic in my earlier publication, but which can now be analyzed as belonging to this dialect too.

The first one is spelled Li-me-pír-da in Elamite (*PF* 1798: 6-7)<sup>11</sup>. Gershevitch<sup>12</sup> recognized that this name had to be Iranian and that it accordingly belonged to the *l*-dialect. In my opinion this Elamite spelling represents \*Lēvapṛta-, the equivalent of \*Rēvapṛta- < \*Raiva-pṛta-, “the rich warrior”, to \*raiva-, “rich” (Av. *raēuua-*) and \*pṛta-, “warrior” (see Av. *parat-*, “battle” and *pərat-*, “to fight”). The PIE root of Av. *raēuua-* is \*reh<sub>1</sub>-í-*uent*-<sup>13</sup>, which could be a problem for the proposed reconstruction, because the *l*-dialect usually preserves PIE \*/l/, not \*/r/. Nevertheless it is possible that this rule has been extrapolated, as a consequence of which PIE \*/r/ too could be transformed into /l/ (in analogy with PIE \*/l/ > Ir. /l/). Note the inaccurate transposition El. ME = Ir. /va/.

The second name has two spellings in Elamite: Ul-la-ba-iz-zí-iš (*PF* 1592: 3-4) and Ul-la-ba-zí-iš (*Fort.* 8625: 6-7)<sup>14</sup>. Some scholars have assumed that the name must be Iranian<sup>15</sup>. The double spelling of *z* suggests (because of the Reiner-test) that the Iranian consonant reflected by *z* must be voiceless<sup>16</sup>. Most likely it is the voiceless affricate /č/.

Two possible reconstructions are proposed here for these spellings. In both proposals the first component of the name is \*(h)ulā-, the equivalent of \*(h)urā-, “fermented mare’s milk” (OInd. *sūrā-*, Av. and Khot. *hurā-*, MP *hur*). The first reconstruction is \*(H)ulāpačiš, the second part of which is related to Old Ir. \*pač-, “to cook” (OInd. *pac-*, Av. *pačā-* and *pak-*, MP and NP *paz*, Sogd. (?)*pč*, Chor. *pc*), followed by a patronymic suffix *-i-*. The name means “cooking (preparing) the fermented mare’s milk”. The other possibility

<sup>9</sup> W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (*Analecta Orientalia* 33), 3rd ed., Roma, 1995, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Tavernier, *Iranica*, 206 no. 4.2.799.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 483 no. 5.3.2.104.

<sup>12</sup> Gershevitch, “Amber”, 202; Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 8.903; W. Hinz & H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (*AMI. Ergänzungsband* 17), Berlin, 1987, 830.

<sup>13</sup> See M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* (*Indogermanische Bibliothek. II. Reihe: Wörterbücher*), Heidelberg, 1992-2001, 437.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Tavernier, *Iranica*, 492 no. 5.3.2.210.

<sup>15</sup> Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, 301; Hinz & Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 1218.

<sup>16</sup> Which excludes a possible reading of the second component as \*bāji-, “tax”.

is \*(H)ulāpāčīš, an *-i*-patronymic of a *-ča*-hypocoristic of \*(H)urā-pā-, “protecting the fermented mare’s milk”, to \*pā-, “to protect” (OInd., Av., OP and Khot. pā-, MP pādan, Sogd. p’y).

Jan TAVERNIER (11-06-2007)