

INDO-ARYAN NAMES FROM MITANNI, NUZI, AND SYRIAN DOCUMENTS

P.-E. DUMONT

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN 1929, Johannes Friedrich, having collected and sifted all the material accessible at that time, published, in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, under the word 'Arier,' a very good article, in which he explained, by Indic or Iranian etymologies, 17 personal names from the cuneiform documents. This article is still the best that has been published on the subject. In 1933, N. D. Mironov published an article on the same subject in *Acta Orientalia: 'Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B. C.'* But, according to the best experts, his method is very unsatisfactory. Mironov had in his list some 27 names which certainly or very probably are Indo-Aryan; but he had also a great many Egyptian, Semitic, and miscellaneous names, which are certainly non-Aryan. Since that time great progress has been made in the deciphering of the Mitanni, Nuzi and Syrian documents; and as exhaustive as now possible a list of names of kings and nobles suspected to be of Indo-Aryan origin has been prepared by Roger T. O'Callaghan and W. F. Albright.¹

The list contains 81 names (13 from the Mitanni, 23 from the Nuzi, and 45 from the Syrian documents). Among the names of this list, a few have already been explained, and correctly explained, by Mironov or his predecessors; but, in many cases, I do not accept the etymology he has suggested. Many of the etymologies I am proposing, or accepting, are hypothetical; but some of them seem absolutely certain. For instance:

1. Swardāta ($\check{s}/s-u/w-a-r-d/t-\check{a}-t/d-a$) = (Ind.) *Swardāta 'given by Heaven.'
2. Subandu ($s/\check{s}-u/o-p/b-a-n-d/t-u/o$) = (Ind.) Subandhu 'having good relatives or good kinsmen.'
3. Satuara ($s/\check{s}-a-t/d[t/d]-u-a-r-a$) = (Ind.) Satvara 'swift.'
4. Indarota ($e/i-n-d/t-a-r-u/o-t/d-a$) = (Ind.)

¹ The complete list, with detailed references and a full discussion of the material and its historical significance, will be published by Father O'Callaghan in a forthcoming volume of *Analecta Orientalia* (Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome).

Indrota 'upheld by Indra.' (Indrota is attested as a name in the RV and in the Śat. Br.)

5. Urudīti ($u/o-r-u/o-t/d-\check{i}-t/d[t/d]-i$) = (Ind.) *Urudīti 'having wide splendour.'

6. Bīrasēna ($p/b-\check{i}-r-a-s/\check{s}[s/\check{s}]-\check{e}-n-a$) = (Ind.) Vīrasena 'possessing an army of heroes.' (Vīrasena is attested as a name in the Mahābhārata.)

7. Biridāšwa ($p/b-\check{i}-r-\check{i}-d/t-\check{a}-s/\check{s}-w-a$) = (Ind.) *Vṛddhāšva 'possessing great horses.'

8. Bardašwa ($p/b-a-r-t/d-\check{a}-s/s-u/w-a$) = (Ind.) *Vārddhāšva 'the son of Vṛddhāšva.'

9. Bāyawa ($p/b-\check{a}-y-\check{a}-w-a$) = (Ind.) Vāyava 'the son of Vāyu, the god of wind.'

10. Bīryašūra ($p/b-\check{i}-r-y-a-s/\check{s}[s/\check{s}]-u-r-a$) = (Ind.) *Vīryašūra 'the hero of valour.'

11. Bīryawādza ($p/b-\check{i}-r-y-\check{a}-w-\check{a}-z/dz/ts-a$) = (Ind.) *Vīryavāja 'he who owns the prize of valour.'

12. Bīrya ($p/b-\check{i}-r-y-a$) = (Ind.) Vīrya 'valour, heroism.'

13. Artadāma ($a-r-t/d-\check{a}-t/d-\check{a}-m-a$) = (Ind.) Ṛtadhāman (nom. Ṛtadhāmā) 'abiding in the divine Law.'

14. Artamna ($a-r-t/d-a-m-n-a$) = (Ind.) *Ṛtamna 'devoted to the divine Law, observing the divine Law.'

15. Auaššūra ($\check{a}-u-a-s/\check{s}[s/\check{s}]-\check{u}-r-a$) = (Ind.) *Avaššūra 'the hero of help.'

16. Bīradzana ($p/b-\check{i}-r-a-z/dz/ts-\check{a}-n-a$) = (Ind.) *Vīrajana 'whose men are heroes.'

17. Sumāla ($s/\check{s}-u/o-m-\check{a}-l-a$) = (Ind.) Sumāla 'having beautiful wreaths. (Sumāla is attested as the name of a people in the Mahābhārata.)

18. Artamanya ($a-r-t/d-a-m-a-n-y-a$) = (Ind.) *Ṛtamanya 'thinking of the divine Law,' 'revering the divine Law.' (Cf. *punarmanya*, which is attested in the RV.)

19. Saumati ($s/\check{s}-\check{a}-\check{u}-m[m]-\check{a}-t/d-\check{i}$) = (Ind.) *Saumati 'the son of Sumati.' (Sumati 'the wise' is a very common name in the Sanskrit literature.)

20. Aitara ($\check{a}-\check{i}-t/d[t/d]-\check{a}-r-a$) = (Ind.) Aitara 'the son of Itarā.' (According to Sāyana, *Aitareya* means 'the son of Itarā,' and *Aitara*, which is attested in Pāṇini, has probably the same meaning.)

Less certain but still very probable are the etymologies of the following names:

21. Tuišrata ($t/d-u-[i]-s/s-r-a-t/d[t/d]-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Tvišratha 'having the chariot of terror or splendour.' (Final *s* of the root has been preserved before *r* as in *ajušran*. Cf. Whitney 181a.) (Tvešaratha 'having rushing or terrible or splendid chariots' is attested in the RV.)

22. Kalmašūra ($k/g-a-l-m-a-s/s[s/s]-ū-r-a$) = (?) (Ind.) Karmašūra 'the hero of action.' (*r* is represented by *l*: common Hurrian dissimilation of liquids.)

23. Šaimašūra ($s/s-ā-i-m-ā-s/s[s/s]-ū/o-r-a$) = (?) (Ind.) Kšemašūra 'the hero of peace or security.'

24. Sattawadza ($s/s-a-t/d[t/d]-ā-w-a-z/dz/ts[z/dz/ts]-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Saptavāja 'who has won seven prizes or spoils' (*sapta* 'seven' appears as *satta* in the Hittite cuneiform transcription); or = (?) (Ind.) *Sāptavāja 'who has won the prizes at the horse races.'

25. Ardzawiya ($a-r-z/dz/ts-ā-w-ī-y-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Ārjaviya 'straight, honest.' (Ārjaviya is not attested, but *ārjava* is attested.)

26. Aitagama ($a-i-t/d[t/d]-ā-k/g[k/g]-ā-m-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Etagama 'having the gait of an antelope,' 'running like an antelope.'

27. Biryasauma ($p/b-ī-r-y-ā-s/s-ā-u-m-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Vīryasoma 'the moon-god of valour.' (Cf. Vīryacandra, which is attested as a name.)

28. Purdāya ($p/b-u/o-r-d/t-ā-y-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Purudāya 'giving much.' (Cf. *śatadāya* 'giving a hundred.')

29. Ručmanya ($r-u/o-s/č/z/dz/ts-m-a-n-y-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Rucimanya 'revering light.'

30. Sauššatti ($š/s-ā-u-s/s-s-ā-t/d[t/d]-i$) = (?) (Ind.) *Saušapti 'the son of Sušapti.' (*Sušapti* = *Svašva* 'having beautiful horses.')

31. Sumīda ($s/s-u/o-m-ī-t/d[t/d]-a$) = (?) (Ind.) Sumīdha 'bountiful, liberal.' (*Sumīdha* is attested as the name of a man in the RV.)

32. Swaditi ($s/s-[u]w-ā-t/d-ī-t/d-i$) = (?) (Ind.) Svadhiti 'the axe, the thunderbolt.' (*Svadhiti* is attested in the RV.)

33. Tsirtamyāšta ($z/dz/ts-ī-r-d/t-ā-m-y-ā-s/s-t/d-ā$) = (?) (Ind.) *Citramyāṣṭr (nomin.: Citramyāṣṭā) 'making brilliant offering.'

34. Wāsasatta ($w-ā-š/s-a-s/s-ā-t/d[t/d]-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Vāsasāpta 'possessing seven dwellings, possessing a heptad of dwellings.'

35. Wadzi ($w-a-z/dz/ts[z/dz/ts]-i$) = (?) (Ind.) Vājīn (nomin.: Vājī) 'victorious.'

36. Warasama ($w-a-r-a-s/s-ā-m-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Varasama 'equal to the best.'

37. Yamibanda ($y-ā-m-i-b/p-ā-n-d/t-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Yamibandha 'connected with Yamin, bound with Yamin'; or = (?) (Ind.) *Yamibandhu 'the kinsman of Yamin.' (*yami* = *yamin*, in composition; Yamin 'the restraining, controlling, ruling [god].') (Cf. Vasubandhu and Devabandhu.)

38. Yamiuta ($y-ā-m-i-u/o-t/d-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Yamyūta 'upheld, favored, protected by Yamin.' (Cf. Indrota.)

39. Wasdāta ($w/y-a-s/s-d/t-ā-t/d-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Vasudāta 'given by the Vasus.' (Cf. Devadatta.)

40. Matiwādza ($m-a-t/d[t/d]-i-w-ā-z/dz/ts-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Mativāja 'whose victorious power or wealth is prayer.' (Cf. the name Matidhvaja.)

41. Sauššatar ($s/s-ā-u-š/s-s/s-ā-t-a-r$) = (?) (Ind.) *Saukšatra 'the son of Sukšatra.' (Sukšatra 'ruling well' is attested in the RV.)

42. Abirata ($a-p/b-ī-r-a-t/d[t/d]-a$) = (?) (Ind.) Abhirata 'pleased, contented.'

43. Šunašūra ($s/s-u/o-n-ā-s/s[s/s]-ū-r-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Šunašūra 'the hero of prosperity.'

44. Sudarna ($s/s-u/o-t/d-a-r-n-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Sudharaṇa 'supporting well.'

45. Tsitriyara ($z/dz/ts-i-t/d-r-ī-y-ā-r-a$) = (?) (Ind.) *Citrya-rai (nomin.: Citrya-rās) 'having brilliant property.' (Cf. RV: *brhad-rayi*.) (Cf. RV 10.3.7: *citrām rām*.)

If we carefully examine this list of names, we may make the following inferences:

1. The names of the list belong to a language that seems to be much more like Old Indic than Old Iranian. For instance, initial *s* is maintained, and not represented by *h*; the group *śv* is represented by *šw* and not by *sp* as in Avestan *aspō* corresponding to Sanskrit *aśva*. On the other hand Indic *j* is represented by *z* as in Avestan; and Indic initial *r* is represented by *ar* as in Avestan *arštīš* corresponding to Sanskrit *ṛṣṭīh*. Both of these equivalences, however, are almost certainly graphic.

2. Most of the names of the list are Bahuvrīhi or Tatpuruṣa compounds.

3. There is good evidence that in the Old Indic or Indo-Aryan dialect to which the names belong,

already at the time of the documents, initial *v*, represented by *b*, was pronounced like *v*, while medial *v* kept its value of a semivowel and was pronounced like *w*. For instance, *Bīrasena* (= *Vīrasena*), *Bīrya* (= *Vīrya*), *Bīryašura* (= *Vīryašūra*), *Bīryawadza* (= *Vīryavāja*), *Biridāšwa* (= *Vṛddhāšva*), and *Bāyawa* (= *Vāyava*), beside *Swardāta* (= *Svardāta*), *Satuara* (= *Satvara*), *Arđawiya* (= *Ārjaviya*), and *Swaditi* (= *Swadhiti*). We find, however, initial *w* in a few names, e. g., *Wāsasatta* (= *Vāsasāpta*), *Wadzi* (= *Vājin*), and *Warasama* (= *Varasama*).

4. It seems that in the language to which the names belong, just as in Middle Indic, the group *pt* had become *tt*, as for instance, in *Wāsasatta* (= *Vāsasāpta*), *Sattawadza* (= *Saptavāja* or *Sāptavāja*) and *Sauššatti* (= *Sauṣṣapti* 'the son of *Suṣapti*').

5. It seems that, in this language, just as in Sanskrit, there were already the characteristic patronymic names with the *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word. For example: *Bardašwa* (= *Vārddhāšva* 'the son of *Vṛddhāšva*'), *Sauššatti* (= *Sauṣṣapti* 'the son of *Suṣapti*'), *Saumati* (= *Saumati* 'the son of *Sumati*'), *Bāyawa* (= *Vāyava* 'the son of *Vāyu*'), *Aitara* (= *Aitara* 'the son of *Itarā*').

6. There is strong evidence that the people who spoke that language worshipped Indra, *Vāyu* (the god of wind), *Svar* (Heaven), *Soma*, the *Devas* (the gods, the shining ones), and *Ṛta* (the divine Law). It seems that they also worshipped a god called *Yamin* 'the Tamer, the restraining, controlling, ruling god,' for we have the names *Yamibanda* (= **Yamibandha* 'connected with *Yamin*,' or **Yamibandhu* 'the kinsman of *Yamin*'), and *Yamiuta* (= **Yamyūta* 'upheld, favored by *Yamin*'). If we accept the reading *Wasdāta* and the equivalence *Wasdāta* = *Vasudāta*, we may assume that they also worshipped the Vedic gods called *Vasus*.

7. It seems that the people who spoke that language, were especially interested in horses and horse races. This assumption is based on such names as *Biridašwa* 'possessing great horses,' *Bardašwa* 'the son of *Biridašwa*,' *Tuišrata* 'having the chariot of terror' or 'having rushing or splendid chariots,' *Sauššatti* 'the son of *Suṣapti* (the man who possesses beautiful horses),' and *Sattawadza* 'he who has won seven prizes' or 'he who has won the prizes at the horse races.' And this agrees with the evidence of the Boğazköy documents and the Veda.

PEIPING PHONOLOGY¹

CHARLES F. HOCKETT

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

The phonetics and phonology of Peiping Chinese have been extensively studied.² The justification

for yet another discussion is the approach, which is in some respects new. A detailed presentation

¹ Study of Chinese was begun in connection with the preparation of teaching materials for members of the Armed Forces, as part of the Program of the Language Section, Education Branch, Information and Education Division, ASF. The present paper was drafted during the tenure of a Grant-in-Aid from the Intensive Language Program, ACLS, Spring-Summer 1946. Of the dozen or more Chinese with whom the writer has worked, special mention is due Mr. Chaoying Fang, his collaborator, transcribing informant, and (save in the technical phases of phonology) co-analyst for several years. A number of colleagues read an earlier version of this paper, and many constructive criticisms were received (not always acted on), especially from Yuenren Chao, Robert A. Hall, Jr., Zellig S. Harris, George L. Trager,

and W. Freeman Twaddell. To all the individuals and agencies just mentioned, and to numerous others, the writer is deeply indebted.

² Each of the alphabeticizations of Chinese (Wade, Wade-Giles, Latinxua, Chinese National Romanization, Yale, and the usual Cyrillization) reflects a more or less sophisticated phonological analysis. The following is a partial list of discussions not ancillary to the devising of an alphabetization (those the writer was not able to consult in preparing this report are in brackets):

[Y. R. Chao, *Singing in Chinese*, *Le Maître Phonétique*, 3.39.9-10 (1924).]

Lawton M. Hartman 3rd, *The segmental phonemes of the Peiping dialect*, *Language* 20.28-42 (1944).