ON THE CURRENT STATE OF ELAMITE LEXICOGRAPHY

Ran Zadok

A. Elamite words are recorded both in Elamite and non-Elamite sources[1]. Elamite lexical material is documented from the second half of the third millennium through the second third of the first millennium B.C., a period of nearly 2000 years. Thus Elamite is one of the oldest and most continuously used languages of the ancient Near East. It has four chronological phases («dialects»), viz. Old, Middle, Neo and Achaemenid Elamite (OE, ME, NE and AE respectively). The documentation from each phase is very uneven (for a survey and a complete list of the sources see Reiner 1969, 57ff. and Steve 1992, 19-24 respectively, to which add Beckman 1991, Diakonoff and Jankowska 1990, Herrero and Glassner 1991, 1993). OE has only two more or less intelligible texts (a treaty and a royal inscription). Other OE texts (all from Mesopotamia) are largely incomprehensible incantations and related texts; even their linguistic affiliation is obscure in several cases. The rest of the earliest documentation is recorded in hieroglyphic scripts which are not yet deciphered (cf. Damerow and Englund 1989). Hinz's decipherment of several hieroglyphic texts is necessarily tentative. He lists some material from these texts in his dictionary (see Hinz and Koch 1987, *passim*), but this step is premature and the material cannot be seriously evaluated. In addition, there are some OE words in early Akkadian sources from Susa (cf. below, C).

Contrary to the OE scanty material which is almost exclusively from Susa, the richer ME corpus has a wider geographical distribution. In addition to texts from Susa there are documents from several sites in Khuzistan (as well as from Liyan, modern Bandar Bushehr). Noteworthy is a short text with an almost identical Akkadian version, i.e. practically a bilingual inscription (König 1965, 67f.: 13B) from Dur-Untaš (Chogha Zambīl). Other Akkadian texts from the same site contain passages whose topic resembles that of the Elamite ones. As expected of stereotypic royal inscriptions, several such ME texts contain repetitive formulae (cf. König 1965, 46f., 84f.). Some new material is contained in recently published texts from Haft Tepe (ancient Kapnak)[2]. Some Elamite words are paired together with their Akkadian equivalents in

---

[1] Forms quoted without references are listed in Hinz and Koch 1987 (where most of the secondary literature quoted below is also listed), unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations (not listed in the References below) follow CAD.

[2] Note the following anthroponyms in MB texts from Kapnak (Herrero and Glassner 1993, 106:176, 11; 111: 184, 7; 113: 188, 9; 114f.: 190, 3; 122: 199, 1'; 124f.: 204, 6; 205, 11f.; 134: 217) which are (at least partly) explicable in Elamite terms (figures refer to Zadok 1984): *At-ta-pu-up-la* (18), *Ki-de-en-ku-te-er* (108, 110), *Ku-da-ah*(-[...]) (if complete, to *kuti/u-* below, D?), *Ku-ni-in-di* (III

Babylonian lexical lists. These lists are not dated, but generally belong to the Standard Babylonian «dialect» which is post-OB, viz. in this case coeval with ME and early NE (cf. below, C).

The relatively numerous NE material is diverse and has a wide geographical distribution: administrative documents from Anshan (Tall-i Malyān; early NE acc. to Steve 1992) and Susa (late NE), royal inscriptions from Susa and several mountainous sites in western Elam, as well as epistolary documents which were found in Sargonid Nineveh, but might have originated in Susiana. The very few juridical and religious texts are also from Susiana. There are some NE inscribed seals.

AE has not only the richest documentation (statistically outweighing all the earlier material) and the widest geographical distribution (cf. Jones and Stolper 1986, 248; Koch 1993), but is also the most intelligible «dialect». This is largely due to the fact that many of the royal inscriptions have parallel versions in languages which are much better understood than Elamite (Akkadian and Old Persian; to a much limited extent Aramaic). In addition, the abundant administrative documentation from Persepolis contains numerous Iranian (notably Old Persian) loanwords, thereby enhancing their comprehensibility. Regrettably, many AE documents containing Aramaic notes are yet unpublished. The AE corpus also includes inscribed seals and a weight. Vallat (NABU 1987/114) eliminates the pseudo-personal pronoun AE *kaš (merely a graphic variant of *HI*).

B. Since 1987 we have at our disposal an Elamite dictionary which is practically also a thesaurus and a concordance (Hinz and Koch 1987). The merits of these volumes are considerable. The authors register in addition to words and names occurring in the Elamite corpus, every lexical and onomastic item from non-Elamite texts (with various degrees of plausibility). They also supply exhaustive cross-references. It is therefore quite easy to find the pertinent items in the dictionary which is an indispensable tool for everybody working on Elamite texts. It should be remembered that most of the material registered in the 1316 pertinent pages of this dictionary is onomastic (some names are – due to the maximum approach – linguistically irrelevant)[3]. Moreover, Sumerograms, quasi-Sumerograms and (quasi-)Akkadograms are common especially in NE and AE (the distinction between such logograms and genuine Meso-

---

2. common of *kuni-?*), *Ku-uk-in-di-ir-ki* (*kuk-*, 110, is presumably followed by a hitherto unknown theophorous element which is perhaps related to the first component of *Ú-in-di-ri-karak*, 272), *Ku-um-da-da* (cp. N/LB *Ku-um-mu-i-da-a-tu₄*, 82, 114), *Ku-ra-te-er* (apparently ending in *-ratir*, 196b), [d]*Si-mu-ut-un-ta-aš* (222, 236c, 270). *El-la-ku-a* (Herrero and Glassner 1993, 135: 240) may be identical with the divine name *Elagu* (name of Ṣarpānītu in Elam, Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, 452).

3   Most of the toponyms are now listed and discussed in F. Vallat *et al.* 1993, *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites* (Wiesbaden; add, e.g., NE [*Pu-hu-*] *sa-ma-tup*). Does *Hal-is-ra-t[i]* begin with *hal-* «land»?

potamian loanwords is not always clear, cf. Stolper 1984, 20-22). The following re-
marks should not be understood as mere criticisms of this monumental achievement,
but largely as an attempt at a further refinement of the presentation and perspecuity of
the arrangement of the purely lexical material.

The authors list each item (even a mere graphic variant) separately. Their
consistent avoidance of lemmatization is understandable in view of the fact that
Elamite is so far an unaffiliated language (its hypothetical relationship to Proto-
Dravidian acc. to McAlpin 1981 has no practical consequences due to the
considerable chronological gap). Moreover, most of its lexemes resist any analysis,
let alone a smooth translation (cf. Reiner 1969, 65f.). The few instances of such
translations in the dictionary are typically personal renderings due to clear
epistemological reasons known to everybody acquainted with the œuvre of the senior
author. The treatment of the secondary literature is not complete. For instance, there is
no reference to Gershevitch's thought-provoking article (1979) *s.v. kudda* (the
occurrence of NE *ku-da* – if and only if it is a variant of *ku-ud-da* – casts doubt on
Gerhevitch's assumption [1979, 132] that AE *ku-ud-da* is merely a grapheme). In view
of the considerable efforts at clarifying fundamental issues of Elamite grammar it
would have been worthwhile to list together at least the verbal forms (in the broadest
sense) under a common denominator, such as a stem (for AE see, e.g., the list in
Paper 1955, 38ff.; cf. the «Glossary» in Hallock 1969, *pass.*). This would have been
very useful for future work on Elamite grammar, especially the verbal system. Such
lists have to be compiled for each period separately. Compare, for the time being (for
AE only) Hallock 1969, 664-776, Glossary, *s. vv. baki(ra)-, bali-, be-, bela-, bera-,
besa-, beti-, da-, dau-, du-, dukka-, dunu-, ELma-, hadu-, hallu-, halpi-, halsa-, hani-,
hanu-, hapi-, hapu-, hara-, hartu-, haša-, hatarri-, hazza-, huba-, hupa-, huši-, hutta-,
ibba-, iddu-, ima-, ipši-, irra-, izzi-, kani-, kappa-, (kariza-), karsu-, kaše-, katu, kaza-,
kelu-, kera-, keti-, kezza-, ki-, kiti-, kurma-, kurra-, kuši-, kuti-, la-, laki-, lati-, li-, lilu-,
lima-, lipu-, liri-, ma-, maki-, marri-, mati-, mazte-, mazzi-, mika-, mite-, murda-,
muša-, na-, ni-, (nira-), nuške-, nuti-, pari-, parru-, pida-, ?piki-, pirra-, putta-, rabba-,
rati-, rippi-, ruka-, sa-, sapi-, sari-, sati-, si-, sira-, siti-, sitma-, suda-, suku-, sunki-*
(substantive), *šaka-, šalu-* (substantive), *ŠAnu-, šara-, ŠAri-, šarra-, (šasak/ šas/šika*
etc.), *šera-, šeški-, šinnu-, šura-, talli-, tarma-, tarti-, teri-, tinke-, tiri-, tite-, tukki-,
turna-, uki-, ulla-, umbe-, umi-, umma-, unsa-, uri-, zakke-, zami-, zappi-, zati-, zi-,
zibba-, zikka-, zilla-,* and *ziti-* (altogether 131 verbal bases). The OE, ME and NE
texts contain slightly over 110 verbs (many identical with the AE ones). The
arrangement suggested above is a prerequisite for any statistical evaluation of the
chronological and areal distribution of the lexicon. Such an evaluation should be made
along the following lines: general number of lexemes (minus certain derivatives and
compounds) and separation of loanwords (Sumerian, Akkadian, Old Iranian, other).
Principles of calculation must take into account lexemes common to all periods, to
three periods (a. OE, ME, NE; b. ME, NE, AE; c. OE, NE, AE; d. OE, ME, AE), to two
periods (a. OE and ME; b. OE and NE; c. OE and AE; d. ME and NE; e. ME and AE;
f. NE and AE) and to one period only.

C. Regarding degrees of plausibility, basically many items recorded in bilinguals and lexical lists have a transparent meaning. At least the semantic category may be inferred if found in a relatively clear context, notably Elamite loanwords in Akkadian texts (Sumerian texts do not seem to contain any discernible Elamite vocables except for names):

OB (all from Susa unless otherwise stated) *ha-am-da-gàr/ga-ar/ri* (mentioned together with *rabânu* «mayor», conceivably a high official), *ha-aš-šà, ku-um-di-il-hi* (functionaries), *te-ep-pe-er, te-per*(*er*) (NB *te-ep-pe-er*, NA *te-ep-per*) «scribe, bureaucrat» (not «Oberrichter», AHw, 1347b); *pu-hu-te-pí* «Schreiberlehrling» (Hinz *ap.* AHw, 878a), *ki-pa-ru/rum* (a high judicial official; *ki-pa-ru* also at NB Susa); *ha-am-du-ú, hu-pir-ri-(ir-)ri-šà, hu-ut-li-iš, li-ri-šà, lu-ur-šu, šà-ab-ba-me-tu* (professions); *ku-du-uh-ta-aš, ku-uš-šu-ki* (craftsmen/officials); *hu-úh-pu-um* «ein Bronzegefäss», *li-ik-ti-ri-ik* «garment», *bar-ku-su* (cf. NE *bar-ku-šu*, presumably a kind of textile), *ba-aš-te-la-ak* (? in a list of textiles; not listed in AHw and CAD), *tu-ul-mi-it-ta* («ein Gartengerät?», AHw, 1369a), *hu-ul-mu-un* (or *-iz-za*?)-*na* (unclear; in an OB text from Susa); *am-ma ha-aš-du-uk* «late (< «regretted» , F. Vallat) mother» and *ha-wi-ir sú-uk-ki-ir* «a later king» are Elamite formulae in OB texts; *sú-uk-ki-sú-uk-ki,* (*hi-ih-*)*sú-uk-ki-e/-im* (to *sunki* «king» acc. to CAD S, 362); *me-ru* «hundred» (CAD M/2, 27); *sú-mi-tu* (~ *asumit(t)u* acc. to AHw, 1057b; CAD S, 378a, *s.v.* sumītu: poss. loan from Elam. *suhmitu* «stella?»); *ul-b/pu-ú* «ein Gegenstand» (AHw, 1408a, Sem.?), *šu-ha-lu-lu* (poss. originally an anthroponym); OB *wa-al-šà* = NE *ma-al-ši-ia* («alabaster», see G. Bianchi, NABU 1987/31); OB and MB Elam *sí-i-a-a-ni* (gen.), *sí-a-na-am/sí-ia-nam* (acc.). It is doubtful whether *hu-ri-ni* (Akkad. gen.; meaning unkn.; with a hypothetical cognate from MB Nuzi) and *gu-(ú-)šum* «ein Schlachtopfer» are Elamite words. MB *ka-ha-ma* is with a doubtful attribution and obscure denotation. NA has (*lú*)*b/pu-uh-la-le-e* (a class of priests). All these words occur in texts from Elam (the last one in a text concerning Elam). SB and N/LB (*lú*)*si-im-ma-gir/gi-ir* (AHw, 1045a), which is recorded only in first-millennium Mesopotamia, may have a forerunner from OB Susa (cf. Zadok 1991, 233, n. 5). *Kidinnu* «divine protection, divinely enforced security» is recorded both in Elam and Mesopotamia after the OB period (only in Elam in the OB period); *na-a-bu/na-a-ab/nab-bu/na-bi* «god» (outside Elam; in Ur III and OB anthroponyms, SB lexical lists and a late-Assyrian royal inscription).

Vocables defined as «Elamite» are listed without context in SB lexical series (notably *malku* = *šarru* cf. Frank 1928, 39ff.). However, as pointed out by Reiner (1969, 66), most of them do not appear in Elamite contexts (exceptions are *ši-il-ha-ak* «strong» and *ki-ri-ir* «goddess»; cf. *u-sa-an*): *mu-úh-te-er-ku-un* «woman, female», *ú-le-er-ku-un* «man, male» (both vocables, which are semantically related, apparently contain the same final syllable, see Frank 1928, 41; both presumably compounds); *pa-ha-nu* «prince» (these three words may have cognates in Elamite texts, cf. Hinz and Koch 1987, *s.vv.*); *a-ri/tal* «upper story», *hu-uk* «wood», *pa-la-ú* = ERÉN «army». Moreover, *šam*š*a-ga-be-gal-zu* (Akkad. *šammu ṣalmu*, a medicinal plant), which is defined as Elamite in the lexical series *Uruanna*, is in all probability Kassite (see Balkan, *Kassit. Stud.*, 140 and cf. CAD Š/1, 61f.). Elam. *ti-in-na-ar* (cf. Frank 1928, 40) and *te-hu-ur* are listed in *malku* = *šarru* without an Akkadian equivalent. *Pa-a-ar*

(= Akkad. *ze-rù*, AHw, 836b: «Erzeugnis») is not explicitly defined as Elamite in the same series, but is presumably such. *Pal-tin-gu* (*pa-al-ti-gu*, in the lexical series *HAR. gud*) «ein Reisesessel» is perhaps Elamite (cf. AHw, 816b).

D. List of OE, ME and NE verbal bases (a sample of almost all the forms beginning with *a*, *b/p*, *d/t*, *g/k/q* and *e* from Hinz and Koch 1987, 1-572, i.e. ca. 40 % of the material; doubtful readings are excluded). I = Hallock's Conjugation I (2.sg. also as imperative); II = Hallock's Conjugation II (Hallock [1965, 121] apparently regards -*Vk* and -*Vka* as free variants; ii 3.sg. = passive participle acc. to Reiner 1969, 84:5.1.2). III = Hallock's conjugation III (active participle acc. to Reiner 1969, 84:5.1.3, but passive participle acc. to Grillot-Susini and Roche 1987, 34, +/- «connective» -*a*). Non-transparent forms are listed at the end. «Iter(ative)» is used here as a purely morphological term and not in any functional sense. The same applies to «final» *t(i)-a*, the function of which is not yet established (cf. Reiner 1969, 81:4.6.3; Grillot-Susini and Roche 1987, 33:13.2.1.1).

etV «to insert»(?)
NE I 1.sg. *e-te-eh*; II 3.sg. *e-te-qa*.
halpu- «to hammer» or sim.
NE I 3.pl. (+ «final» -*t(i)-a*) *al-pu-uh-šu-ta*.
kal(V)- (iter. *kakl-*) «to embroider»(?)
NE II 3.sg. *kak-la-qa*; *kak-la-qa-qa* (dittography of the preceding?).
kap(p)a- «to assemble» or sim. (lit. «to bag»?)
NE I 3.sg. *kap-pa-iš* (*qa-ap-pa-áš*), I. 1.pl. *qa-ap-pa-hu* (< «enclitic» -*i* ?); I 3.sg. (+ «connective» -*a*) *qa-ap-pa-šá*; II 3.sg. *qa-ap-pa-ak*; III 3.sg. *qa-ap-pa-an-ra*; *kap-pa-mi-in-ki-šá* «er hatte zu verschliessen begonnen(?)».
kakp- (iter.) ME I 1.sg. *ka-ak-pa-ah*.
kar(r)a- «to adorn»
ME I 1.sg. (+/- «connective» -*a*) *kar-ra-ah* (*qa-ar-ra-ah*), *qa-ar-ra-ha*; II 3.sg. *qa-ar-ra-ak*.
kaz(z)a «to hammer, forge, frame, notch»
ME I 1.sg. *ga-za-ah*. *Qa-az-za-ah-pi* (apparently same as the preceding + -*pi*) is rendered by Hinz and Koch 1987, 411 as «ich schmiedete für sie (pl.)»; II 3.sg. (+/- precative -*na*) *qa-az-za-ak*, *qa-az-za-ak-na*; NE II 3.sg. *kás-zak/za-ak*, *kás-za-qa/qa-iz-za-qa*; IIm 3.sg. *qa-za-ma-ik*.
kakz- (iter.) NE II 3.sg. *kak-za-ak*, *kak-za-ka*; IIm 3.sg. *kak-za-ma-ak*. *Qa-qa-ah-za-ki* apparently has the same ending as II 3.sg., but its base seems to be misspelled (cf. Hinz and Koch 1987, 437: «es ist geschmiedet worden»). Cf. NE (*AN.BAR*.lg)-*kás-zí-ra* «ironsmith».
kilV- «to order»
ME I 1.pl. (+ precative -*na*) *gi-el-hu-na*; III 2.sg. *gi-el-at-ti* (with -*tt-<-nt-*; alternatively I 2.sg.?).
kVnV- «to happen»(?)

ME active participle (+/- precative -na/ni) ku-ni-en (also NE), ku-ni-en-na/ni. NE
active participle ki-ni-en; ki-ni-na (active participle + precative -na? cf. Hinz and
Koch 1987, 478: «geschehen seiend(?)»); Im 1. sg. (+ «connective» -a) ki-ni-ma-ha
«ich habe verwirklicht».

kirpV- «to strengthen»
ME I 2 .sg. (+ precative -na) ki-ir-pu-ut-na.

kiti- «to cleanse, purify»
ME I 2.sg. (+ precative -na) gi-ti-it-na; gi-ti-iš-pi-na (Grillot, DAFI 3, 1973, 161: «afin
que le ... les établisse de façon stable»; Hinz and Koch 1987, 490: «sie sollen solche
sein, denen (etwas) gereinigt wird», cf. pa-ha-áš-pi-na «es soll sie (pl.) schützen»
acc. to Hinz and Koch 1987, 120); III 3.sg. gi-ti-in-ri; ? ki-ti-ir-ma-ah (-r-ma-h, cf.
Reiner 1969, 79, differently Hinz and Koch 1987, 471: «ich dichtete ab(?)»). NE I 2.
sg. gi-ti-it; active participle gi-tin. Ki-te-nu-uh is analyzed as kiti-nu-h by E. Reiner
(1969, 79), but Hinz and Koch (1987, 488) are of the opinion that the base is kitin and
translate «ich bannte».

kikt- (iter.?): ME I 1.sg. ki-ik-ki-ti-ih (ki-ik-ki-te-eh) (the attempt of Hinz and Koch
1987, 466 to differentiate it from kiti seems less likely as it would result in several
homophonic roots with entirely different denotations).

kitin- cf. kiti- above.

kuki- «to guard»
ME I 2.sg. ku-ki-it-na, I 3.sg. ku-ki-iš-na (both + precative -na).

kul(1)a «to pray, offer»
OE I 1.sg. ku-ul-la-ah; II 3.sg. ku-ul-la-ak (both also ME). ME I 1.pl. ku-ul-la-hu; I
3.sg. (+ precative -ni) ku-ul-la-áš-ni; active participle ku-ul-la-an (Hinz and Koch
1987, 561: «er rufe an», but on 510, s.v. NE ku-la-an: «er wird, soll anrufen, bitt-
flehen»); III 1.sg. ku-ul-la-an-ka, III 3.sg. ku-ul-la-an-ri. NE I 1.sg. ku-la-ah (ku-ul-li(-
ih)), I 3.sg. (+ precative -na) ku-ul-la-áš-na; I 3.sg. (+ «final» -t(i)-a) ku-ul-la-áš-da;
active participle ku-la-an (cf. just above); II 3.sg. (+/- precative -na) ku-ul-lak, ku-ul-
lak-na.

kupa- «to raise, set up»
ME I 1.pl. (+ precative -na) ku-ba-hu-na. NE I 1.sg. ku-ba-ah (ku-pu-uh), I 3.sg. (+
precative -ni) ku-ba-áš-ni; II 3.sg. (+/- precative -ni) ku-ba-ak, ku-ba-ak-ni.

kura «to singe, scorch»
OE II 3.sg. ku-ra-ak (also ME; Scheil: «fut ruiné»). ME I 2.sg. (+/- precative -ni) ku-
ra-at, ku-ra-at-ni.

kurma- «to entrust»
NE II 3.sg. kur-ma-ak.

kurra «to arrange»
NE II 3.sg. kur-ra-ak.

kurV- «to bestow care» (same as the preceding?)
OE II 3.sg. (+ precative -li) ku-ru-uk-li. ME II 3.sg. (+ precative -na) ku-ru-uk-na.

kuši «to build; bear children»
OE I 3.sg. (+ precative -li) gú-si-iš-li. ME I 1.sg. (+/- precative -ni) ku-ši-ih, ku-ši-ih-
ni, I 3.sg. ku-si/ši-iš, I 3.pl. (+/- «connective» -a) ku-ši-ih-ši, ku-ši-ih-ša; I 1.sg. (+
«connective» -a) ku-ši-ha; I 3.sg. (+ «final» t(i)-a) ku-ši-iš-da/ta, I 3.pl. (+ «final» t(i)-

a) *ku-ši-ih-iš/ši-ta*; II 3.sg. (+/- precative *-ni*) *ku-ši-ik, ku-ši-ik-ni*; cf. *ku-ši-ik-ú-be*; III m active participle *ku-uš-ma-ni*; *ku-ši-ih-ši-ma* (the function of *-ma* here is not clear; Hinz and Koch 1987, 540: «sie haben sich ans bauen gemacht»; III 1.sg. (+ *mar* «sagte er sich» or «dachte er bei sich» acc. to Hinz and Koch 1987, 876, but *-ma-r* conj. IV acc. to Grillot-Susini and Roche 1987, 35; cf. *tunV-* below) *ku-ši-in-ki-mar* «ich bin ein Bauender (sagte er sich)». NE   II 3.sg. *ku-ši-qa*; IIIm 2.common (+ precative *-na*) *ku-ši-man-da-na* «nachdem du wiederaufgebaut hattest».
kukš- (iter.): ME I 3.pl. *ku-uk-ši-ih-ši*; I 3.sg. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *ku-uk-ši-iš-ta* (Hallock: «he had built»).
kutu/i- «to carry (away), bear, uphold; guard»
OE I 2.sg. *ku-te-et*. ME I 1.sg. (+/- «connective» *-a/i*) *ku-tu-uh, ku-ut-ha/hi*, I 1.pl. *ku-ut-hu* (hardly to be differentiated, pace Hinz and Koch 1987, 568f.: «mitgeführt»); I 3.sg. (+ precative *-na?*) *ku-tu-uš-[na]*; I 3.sg. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *ku-tu-uš-ta*; active participle? *ku-tu/tu₄-un* (also NE), ku-du-ni (+ precative *-ni* ? cf. Hinz and Koch 1987, 499 with lit.: «er soll hegen»); III 1.sg. *ku-tu-un-ki*. NE (partly with omission of *-ti-*) I 3.sg. *ku-tu-iš, ku-iz, ku-iz-za* (*ku-iz-zí*) (with «connective» *-a/i*); I 3.sg. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *ku-tu-iš-da, ku-iz-zi-da*; III 1.sg. *ku-ti-in-ki*, III 2.common *kut-tin-ti*.
paha- «to guard»
OE I 1.sg. *pa-a-ah*; I 3.sg. (+ precative *-li*) *ba-ah-si-li*. ME II 3.sg. (+ precative *-li*) *ba-ak-li*; *pa-ha-áš-pi-na* «es soll sie (pl.) schützen» (cf. *kiti-* above). NE I 1.sg. *pa-ha-ah*, I 3.sg. *pa-hi-iš*; II 3.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *ba-ak-ni* (*pak-ni*); *ba-ak-ra* «einer, der bewahrt».
pahti- «to gladden»
ME I 3.pl. *pa-ah-ti-ih-iš*. NE I 3.sg./pl. *pa-ah-ti-iš*; active participle *pa-ah-ti-in*.
pali- «make an effort»(?)
NE (*-k-* + *-ma-n-ki*) *ba-(al-)li-ik-ma-an-ki* «ich als einer, der sich abmüht».
pari- «to go to, arrive, issue»
ME I 1.sg. *pa-ri-ih*. NE I 1.pl. *pa-ri-ut*; II 3.sg. *pa-ri-ik*. Cf. *pa-ri-ra* «ein vorübergehender»[4].
parti- «to squander» (? Hallock); «to spoil» (? Hinz and Koch 1987)
OE II 3.sg. (+ precative *-na*) *bar-ti-ik-na*. ME III 3.sg. *ba-ar-ti-in-ra*.
patV- «to show plainly»
ME I 2.sg. (+ precative *-na*) *pa-ta-at-na* «que tu manifestes». NE active participle *ba-te-en, ba-te-na*; II 3.sg. *bat-te-qa*.
pera- «to read»
NE III 3.sg. *be-ra-an-ra*; IIIm 1.sg. *be-ra-an-man-qa*, IIIm 3.sg. *be-ra-man-ra*.
pili- «to put in place, restore; shape, create»
ME I 3.sg. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *be-el-ši-ta*; III 3.sg. *be-li-in-ri* (Grillot: «qui préserve»); active participle *pi-li-in*. NE I 1.sg. (+ «connective» *-a*) *be-el-ha*; II 3.sg. *be-el-ik, be-el/ul-qa*; active participle *be-li-en*.
pipl- (iter.): ME I 1.sg. *pi-ip-li-ih*, active participle *be-ip-li-en*.

---

4   AE *pa-rás^iš-da* contains the phonetic complement *iš* (AE and NE CVC-signs are indifferent to vowel quality). Another, just possible, such complement may be exemplified by NE *kur-^ba bal-la-at*.

piši- «to create»

ME II 3.sg. *pi/piš-ši-ik.*

pipš- (iter.): ME I 1.sg. *pi-ip-ši-ih* (*be-ip-si/ši-ih*) (Vallat: «je (l')ai remis en état»), I 3.sg. *pi-ip-ši-iš* (Scheil: «il fonda, construisit»); 1.sg. (+ «connective» -*a*) *pi-ip-ši-ya* (*be-ip-ši-ya*) (~*be-ip-ši-ha*, Grillot/Vallat: «j'ai restauré»); cf. *pi-ip-ši-ya-ma*; *pi-ip-sir-ma-an-ra* «einer, der sich an erneuern macht»; *be-ip-ši-ir-ma-ah*, *pi-ip-sir-mah* (-*r-ma-h*; see Reiner 1969, 79), is rendered by Grillot as «J'ai établi», by Stolper as «I restored it» and by Hinz and Koch (1987, 194f.) as «ich machte mich ans Erneuern, ich erneuerte allmählich».

pitu/i- «to lose»

NE II 3.sg. *pi-tu₄-uk-qa.*

pipt- (iter.): NE I 3.sg. (with «connective» -*a*) *pi-ip-tu₄-šá* (Grillot/Vallat: «ayant effacé»); active participle *be-ip-te-na.*

pirra- «to destroy»

OE I 1.sg. *pi-ir-ra-ah.* NE II 3.sg. *pi-ir-rák.*

pitte- «to secure»

OE I 3.sg. *pi-te-eš.* ME I 1.sg. *pi-it-te-eh*, I 3.sg. *pi-it-te-iš*; II 3.sg. *pi-it-te-ga/qa*; active participle *pi-te-en* (also NE); *pi-it-te-im-ma* (+ -*ma*, cf. Reiner 1969, 79:4.5.2.1). NE II 3.sg. *pi-it-te-qa*; III 3.sg. *pi-it-tin-ra*; IIIm 3.sg. *pi-it-te-ma-an-ra.*

putta- «to flee»

ME I 1.sg. *pu-ut-táh.* NE II 3.sg. *pu-ud-[d]a-qa.*

ta- «to set, deposit; send»

OE I 3.pl. *da-ah-ši* (also NE). ME I 1.sg. (+/- precative -*ni*) *ta-ah* (*da-ah*), *táh-(ha-)ah* (this form is unexpected for this base like *táh-ha-áš* and *ta-ha-qa* below), *ta-ah-ni*, I 2.sg. (+/- precative -*ni*) *ta-at*, *ta-at-ni*, I 3.sg. (+ precative -*ni*) *ta-áš-ni*, I 1.sg. (+ «connective» -*a*) *da-ha*, I 3.sg. (+ «final» -*ti* or *t(i)-a*) *ta-áš-ti* (*da-aš-da*); II 3.sg. (+/- precative -*na/ni*) *ta-ak-ni*, *ta-ak-na*, *ta-ha-qa*; III 3.sg. *ta-an-ra/ri.* NE I 1.sg. *da-ah*, I 3.sg. (+/- precative -*ni*) *ta-iš*, *da-áš-ni* (*ta-iš-ni*), *táh-ha-áš*, I 3.pl. (+ precative -*ni*) *da-ah-iš-ni*; I 1.sg. (+ «connective» -*a*) *da-ha*; I 3.pl. (+ «final» -*t(i)-a*) *ta-ah-iš-da.*

tatta (with reduplication): OE I 1.sg. *ta-at-ta-ah* (also ME). ME I 1.sg. (+/- precative -*ni*) *ta-at-táh/ta-ah*, *ta-at-táh-ni*; I 1.pl. (+ precative -*na*) *ta-at-ta-hu-na*; I 1.pl. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *ta-at-ta-hu-ta*; II 3.sg. *da-at-ta-qa.* NE I 1.sg. *da-ad-da-ah*; active participle *da-ad-a-an.*

tahha- «to help» (Hinz and Koch), Grillot «to make a common case, agree».

ME I 2.sg. (+/- precative -*na*) *táh-ha-at*, *táh-ha-at-na* (or to *ta-*?); cf. I.3.sg. *táh-ha-áš-pi* «er stand ihnen bei»; II 3.sg. *táh-ah-ak-ni*; III 2.common *táh-ha-an-ta*, *tah-ha-an-te*, III 3.sg. *táh-ha-an-ra*; III 3.pl. *táh-ha-an-pi.* NE I 3.pl. *da-ah-ha-ah-ši* (Stolper: «commission; order» or «assist»); II 3.sg. *táh-ah-ak-ni*, III 3.sg. *táh-ha-an-ra* (*táh-ha-am-ri* seems to be the same form with *n > m*), III 3.pl. *táh-ha-am-ba* (with *n > m*); active participle *táh-ha-na.* Cf. *táh-hi-ri* «helper».

tallu/i- «to write»

ME I 1.sg. *ta-al-lu-uh*, I 3.pl. *ta-al-lu-uh-šu*; I 1.sg. (+ «connective» -*a*) *da-al-lu-ha*; I 3.pl. (+ «final» -*t(i)-a*) *ta-al-lu-uh-ši-ta* (*ta-al-lu-<<ši>>ih-ši-ta*); II 3.sg. *da/ta-al-lu-qa.* NE I 3.sg. (+/- «connective» -*a*) *tal-li-iš*, *tal-li-ša*; I 3.sg.(+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *tal-li-iš-da.*

tanu/i «to listen attentively, obey»
ME I 1. pl. (+ precative *-na*) *ta-nu-hu-na*; active participle *da-ni-en.*
tarma- «to complete»
NE active participle *tar-ma-na.*
tela- «to present, offer; direct»
ME II 3.sg. (+/- precative *-ni(-e)*, *-na*, *- li*) *te-la-ak*, *te-la-ak-ni(-e)*; *te-la-ak-na*, *te-la-ak-li*; *te-la-ak-ti-ni* (as for *-ti*, it is an isolated form, perhaps for *-ta* in which case it would be II 2.common, or – with Hinz and Koch 1987, 316 – a scribal error for *te-la-ak-ni*). NE *te-la-ak-ni.*
tepu- «to shape, fashion»
ME I 1.sg. *te/ti-pu-uh.* NE I 1.sg. (+/- «connective» *-a*) *ti-pu-uh* (*ti-pi-ih*), *ti-pi-ha* (Hallock: «I fashioned»).
tik(k)a- Grillot: «form, conceive, project»
OE II 3.sg. *ti-ka-ak*; *ti-ga-in* (form not clear, perhaps active participle; Hinz and Koch 1987, 323: «es werde [nicht] gewollt!»). NE I 3.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *ti-ik-ga-áš-ni*; active participle *ti-ik-qa-an*; III 3.sg. *tuk-kán-ra*; IIIm 3.sg. *tuk-qa-man-ra.*
tinki- «to send, bring back»
ME I 1.sg. *te-en-gi-ih* «ich sandte»; I 3.pl. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *te-en-gi-ih-ši-ta.*
NE I 3.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *tin-gi-iš-ni*; IIIm 3.sg. *tin-gi-man-ra.* **tintk-* (iter.): I 1.sg. *te-it-gi-ih.*
tipi- «to write»
ME II 3.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *ti-pi-ik-ni.* NE active participle (+ precative *-na*) *ti-ip-pan-na*; II 3.sg. *ti-pi-qa.*
tiri/turu- «to speak, say, tell»
ME I 3.sg. (+/- precative *-ni-e*) *tu₄-ru-uš*, *tu₄-ru-uš-ni-e*; active participle *tu₄-ru-un*; III 1.sg. *tu₄-ru-un-ka*, III 3.sg. *tu₄-ru-un-ra/ri*, *ti-ri-in-ri*; (*-nu-n-k*, see Reiner 1969, 79f.) *tu₄-ru-nu-un-ki.* NE I 1.sg. *tu-ru-uh*, I 3.sg. (+/- precative *-ni*) *tu₄-ru-iš/uš* (also ME), *ti-ri-iš-ni*; I 1.sg. (+ «connective» *-a*) *tu₄-r[i]/ru-ha*, *ti-ri-ya*; II 3.sg. (+/- precative *-na/ni*) *tur-uk* (*tu₄-ru-uk*), *tu₄-ru-uk-ni*, *tu₄-ru-qa*, *tu₄-ru-qa-na*; III 3.sg. *tu₄-ru-un-ra*, *ti-ri-in-ra.* Cf. *ti-ri-ip-pi.*
tu- «to receive, take»
OE I 3.sg. *du-uš*; II 3.sg. *duk.* ME II 3.sg. *tu₄-uk*; III 3.sg. *du-un-ra.* NE I 1.sg. *du-uh*, I 3.sg. (+/- precative *-ni*) *du-uš*, *du-iš*, *du-iš-ni*, I 3.pl. *du/tu-uh-iš*; I 3.sg. (+ «connective» *-a*) *du-šá*; I 3.sg. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *du-iš/uš-da*, I 3.pl. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *du-uh-šu/uš-da* (*du-uh-iš-da*); II 3.sg. *du-(ú)-qa*, *tu₄-qa*; III 2.common *du-un-ti*, III 3.sg. *du-man-ra*, III 3.pl. *du-ma-am-ba.*
tuka- «to feed»(?)
NE II 3.sg. *du-uk-kak*, *du-uk-qa-ak*, *du-uk-qa-qa* (Stolper: «fashioned(?)»).
tuki- «to choose»(?)
ME II 3.sg. *tú-ki-ik.* Cf. *tú-ki-ra/ri* «der/die auserwählende».
tumpa- «to open»(?); Grillot: «installer»
ME I 1.sg. *tu-um-ba-ah* (also NE), I 2.sg. *tu-u[m]-ba-a[t]*; III 3.sg. *tu₄-um-pa-an-ra.* NE I 3.pl. (+ «final» *t(i)-a*) *tu-um-ba-áš-da*; II 3.sg. *ti/tu-um-ba-qa* (*tu-ba-qa*); active participle *ti/tu-im-ba-an*; III 3.sg. *tu-um-ba-an-ra.* Cf. *ti-um-pi-ir*?

tunV- «to give»

ME I 1.sg. *du-ú-ni-ih* (*tu₄-ni/ni₄-ih*), I 2.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *du-ni-it-ni*, I 3.sg. (+/-
precative *-ni*) *du-ni-iš, du-ni-iš-ni*; I 3.pl. + precative *-ni(-e) du-ni-ih-ši-ni(-e)*; I 1.sg.
(+«connective» *-a*) *du-ni-ha*. NE I 1.sg. *du-ni-ih* (*du-nu-uh*), I 3.sg. *du-nu-iš/uš*; I 1.sg.
(+ «connective» *-a*) *du-nu-ha*, I 3.sg. (+ «connective» *-a*) *du-nu-ša*; I 3.sg. (+ «final»
t(i)-a) du-nu-iš-da; II 3.sg. *du-nu-qa*. III 1.sg. (+/- *mar*, cf. *ad kuši-* above) *du-nu-un-
ku-mar* «ich will beschenken – denkt er bei sich».

turna- «to know»

ME I 1.sg. *du-ur-nah/na-ah*, I 3.sg. *du-ur-na-áš*. NE I 1.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *tur-nah-
ni*.

VIma «to consider, think, plan»

NE I 3.pl. *el-ma-ah-ši*.

DOUBTFUL AND/OR HAPAX VERBAL FORMS (base not always known; renderings
taken from Hinz and Koch 1987)

ahpi-

NE I 3.sg. *a-ah-pi-iš-ni* (with precative *-ni*) «er möge zeugen!(?)».

antu-

ME II 3.sg. *an-du-uk-ni* «wie geplant wurde(?)»; Vallat: «été pris»; Grillot: «en-
levée».

er(V-)

NE II 3.sg. *e-ri-iš*.

kar(V-?)

NE *kar-ut* «wehre ab!(?)».

kat(V?)-

ME I 1.sg. *ka-tuh* «ich bekrönte(?)». NE *qa-tu-uh* «id.».

kirV- «to weave»

NE II 3.sg. *ki-ra-ak*.

kiri-

NE I 1.sg. *gi-ri-ih* «ich verbürgte(?)»; Grillot: «to favour, confer, honour».

kuni-

OE I 1.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *ku-ni-ih-ni* «ich möchte umschmeicheln». Cf. *ku-ni-ir-ri*
«einer, der umschmeichelt».

kuntik-

ME I 1.sg. *ku-un-ti-ig-gi-e/-ih* «ich hielt in Ehren(?)».

kup(V)-

ME I 2.pl. *ku-up-pu-uh-ti* «ihr habt verpfändet(?)».

kurz-

NE II 3.sg. *kur-za-ak* «es wurde gewoben(?)», *kur-za-qa* «es ist g ewoben worden
(?)».

kusa-

ME II 3.sg. (+ precative *-ni*) *ku-sa-ak-ni* «es soll versagt sein».

pat- (verb?)

NE *be/bad-da-iš* «er nahm, packte, griff» (Jusifov); «schusterte» (Hinz).

pu(?)-
ME I 3.pl. (+ precative -*ni*) *pu-uh-ši-ni* «sie sollen zerreissen».
pul-
ME III 3.sg. *pu-lu-un-ri* «einer, der zerschlägt».
pur(V-?)
ME I 1.sg. *pu-ra-ah* «ich verwünschte».
telp-
ME, NE II 3.sg. *te-el-be-qa* «es ist umhüllt».
telt(V-?)
NE active participle (+ precative -*ni*) *te-el-te-en-ni* «es möge gelingen».
tet(V-?)
NE active participle *te-te-en* «er schone(?)».
tišh-
NE active participle *tiš-ha-an* «er wird überschwemmen».
tup(V-?)
ME I 2.sg. *du-ub-ba-at*; I 3.sg. (+ precative -*na*) *du-ub-ba-áš-na* «er soll treten».
tur(V-?)
NE active participle *tu-ri-en* «er wird verwirklichen».
ME active participle *tu-ur-ri-na* «sich unterworfen habend».
base unknown
NE II 3.sg. *a-lik* «es wurde gesäubert(?)».
NE II 3.sg. *e-qa* «es ist geprüft worden».
ME II 3.sg. *pu-pi-na-qa* «es ist verarbeitet worden».
NE II 3.sg. *pu-un-qa-qa, pu-un-qa-ak* «es ist (bzw. wurde) eingefüllt».
ME II 3.sg.(?) *tu-tu-uš-šik* «es war entwendet worden».

REFERENCES

G.M. Beckman 1991: *A Stray Tablet from Haft-Tépé*, IrAnt 26, 81-83.
P. Damerow and R.K. Englund 1989: *The Proto-Elamite Texts from Tepe Yahya*, Cambridge (Mass.).
I.M. Diakonoff and N.B. Jankowska 1990: *An Elamite Gilgameš Text from Argištihenele, Urartu (Armair-blur, 8th century B.C.)*, ZA 80, 102-23.
C. Frank 1928: *Fremdsprachliche Glossen in assyrischen Listen und Vokabularen*, MAOG 4, 36-45.
I. Gershevitch 1979. *The Alloglottography of Old Persian*, TPS 1979, 114-90.
F. Grillot-Susini 1994: *Une nouvelle approche de la morphologie élamite: racines, bases et familles de mots*, JA 282, 1-18.
F. Grillot-Susini and C. Roche 1987: *Éléments de grammaire élamite*, Paris.
R.T. Hallock 1965: *The Verbal Nouns in Achaemenid Elamite*, in *Studies B. Landsberger* (AS 16), Chicago, 121-25.
R.T. Hallock 1969: *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Chicago.
P. Herrero and J.J. Glassner 1990: *Haft-Tépé: choix de textes I*, IrAnt 25, 1-45.

P. Herrero and J.J. Glassner 1991: *Haft-Tépé: choix de textes II*, IrAnt 26, 39-80.

P. Herrero and J.J. Glassner 1993: *Haft-Tépé: choix de textes III*, IrAnt 28, 97-135.

W. Hinz and H. Koch 1987: *Elamisches Wörterbuch* 1, 2., Berlin.

C.E. Jones and M.W. Stolper 1986: *Two Late Elamite Tablets at Yale*, in L. De Meyer *et al.* (eds.), *Fragmenta historiae elamicae. Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve*, Paris, 243-54.

H. Koch 1993: *Elamisches Gilgameš-Epos oder doch Verwaltungstäfelchen?*, ZA 83, 219-36.

D.W. McAlpin 1981: *Proto-Elamo-Dravidian: The Evidence and the Implications*, Philadelphia.

H. Paper 1955: *The Phonology and Morphology of Royal Achaemenid Elamite*, Ann Arbor.

E. Reiner 1969: *The Elamite Language*, in A. Kammenhuber (ed.), *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen* (HdO 1/2/2),Leiden.

M.-J. Steve 1992: *Syllabaire élamite. Histoire et paléographie*, Neuchâtel.

M.W. Stolper 1984. *Texts from Tall-i Malyan 1: Elamite Administrative Texts (1972-1974)*, Philadelphia.

R. Zadok 1984: *The Elamite Onomasticon*, Naples.

R. Zadok 1991: *Elamite Onomastics*, SEL 8, 225-37.