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Word-formation of epithets and names in Indo-Iranian in their relationship with underlying syntax, ritual phraseology and poetical idiomatics

Abstract

L'articolo presenta correlazioni sistematiche tra composti e derivativi nominali (da un lato) e strutture sintattiche e collocazioni fraseologiche (dall'altro) nei Veda e nell'Avesta e argomenta a favore del loro background indoiranico comune. Nella Sezione 1 si dimostra che un nome personale antico-iranico, attestato nella trasmissione elamita da Persepoli, deriva da un composto iir. *Hr̥ta-mi(H)azdʰHa-, e spiega che questo composto è costituito da un membro anteriore iir. *Hr̥ta- 'Rightness/Giustezza' e un termine posteriore *mi(H)azdʰHa- '[offerta di] pasto (solido)', presente anche in formazioni come l'avestico recente (*)Nərə-miiazda- (discusso nella Sezione 3) e l'antico-iran. *Dāma-miiazda- (Sezione 4). Lo stesso termine *mi(H)az-dʰHa- è composto da due membri composizionali e viene interpretato come un *nomen actionis* desintagmatico, che risale in ultima analisi a una frase verbale fattitiva. Di gran pregio per delineare il suo sviluppo sono i sintagmi attestati nell'avestico (antico e recente). Infatti, nella Sezione 2 si identificano importanti collocazioni formulaiche in cui lessemi come iir. *Hr̥ta- e *mi(H)az-dʰHa- ricorrono insieme nella liturgia avestica e in paralleli tratti dal rituale vedico. Elementi di tali collazioni nelle Gāϑā – av. aṣa-, nəmah-, myazda-, ma anche nar- e dāman- / radice DĀ – corrispondono pienamente ai termini antico-indiani r̥tá-, námas-, miyédha-, ma anche nár- e dhā́man- / radice DʰĀ; sono attestati in ulteriori composti, ad es. nell'antico-iran. *(H)r̥ta-dʰāma- (Sezione 5). Il valore aggiunto di queste costellazioni lessicali sta nella loro compresenza, sia in composti nominali, sia in strutture fraseologiche; le cinque sezioni dell'articolo illustrano il ruolo di tali collocazioni formulaiche per la ricostruzione del lessico e della formazione di parola, ma anche della poesia e delle pratiche rituali dell'indoiranico.

Parole chiave: lessico indoiranico; formazione di parola nell'indoeuropeo; composti e derivativi nominali; "light verb constructions"; rituale vedico; liturgia avestica; mazdeismo; brāhmaṇismo

The present article demonstrates systematic correspondences between nominal compounds and derivatives, on the one hand, and syntactic structures and phraseological collocations, on the other, in the Veda and the Avesta and argues in favour of their com-

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mon Indo-Iranian background. Part 1 shows that an Old Iran. personal name attested in Elamite transmission from Persepolis comes from an IIr. *$Hṛta$-$mi(H)azd^hHa$- and points out that this compound consists of an anterior member IIr. *$Hṛta$- 'Rightness' and a posterior term *$mi(H)azd^hHa$- '(solid) meal offering', also occurring in formations like Young Avestan (*)$Nərə$-$miiazda$- (discussed in Part 3) and Old Iran. *$Dāma$-$miiazda$- (Part 4). The term *$mi(H)az$-d^hHa- itself consists of two compositional members and is analyzed as a desyntagmatic *nomen actionis* that ultimately goes back to a factitive verbal phrase. Valuable for its interpretation are syntagmata attested in Old and Young Avestan: Part 2 discovers important formulaic collocations in which lexemes like IIr. *$Hṛta$- 'Rightness' and *$mi(H)az$-d^hHa- occur together in the Avestan liturgy and in parallels from the Vedic ritual. Elements of such collocations in the Gāϑās – Av. *aṣa$-, *nəmah$-, *myazda$- but also *nar*- and *dāman*- / root *DĀ* – fully correspond to the Old Indic terms *ṛtá*-, *námas*-, *miyédha*- but also *nā́r*- and *dhā́man*- / root *D^hĀ*; they are attested in further compounds, e.g. Old Iran. *(H)$ṛta$-$d^hāma$- (Part 5). The added value of these lexical constellations is in their joint occurrence in nominal compounds and in phraseological structures; the five parts of the article display the role of such formulaic collocations for the reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian lexicon, word formation but also ritual poetry and practice.

0.1. A series of studies starting with two papers given at the Conference *Indo-European Word Formation – Inventory of Analysis* at Copenhagen in 2000 and at the Colloquium of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft at Paris in 2003 – published in Sᴀᴅᴏᴠsᴋɪ 2004, developed in Sᴀᴅᴏᴠsᴋɪ 2007, 2012ab, 2013, 2016, 2018ab, 2019 [2020] and 2020 –, have been concerned with displaying systematic correspondences between (compounded) formations (adjectival epithets or nouns, viz. appellatives and proper names) and elements of free syntax and phraseology in Indo-Iranian and in a larger, Indo-European perspective.

0.2. The epithets and proper names attested in the Veda and the Avesta, but also in the Old West Iranian (i.e. Old Persian and Medan) of both direct and indirect ('collateral') transmission exhibit surprisingly numerous systematic formal-and-semantic matches between nominal formations and syntactic units – esp. formulae and collocations from sacred poetry and law: There is hardly a better example of two Indo-European language traditions with so many interconnections between word-formation products and phra-

seological junctures, esp. between (compounded) cultic epithets and epi-cleses referring to language of ritual poetry that virtually concern all spheres of spiritual life: theology, cosmology, 'anthropology'.

0.3. The multilingual corpus of attestations of Old (West) Iranian lexemes in sources from the Old Persian Great Kingdom offers further numerous in-stances of (compounded) proper names and epithets that are interpretable as nominalizations of cultic phraseology attested in the oldest Iranian and Indic sacred texts. The reconstruction of the Old Iranian form of such names and the analysis of their word-formation and semantic context opens new fascinating perspectives to the reconstruction of Indo-Iranian, for what con-cerns the cultural-historical backgrounds of processes of name-giving in their relationship with the sacred poetry of the Veda and Avesta.

Simultaneously, this material is able to enlarge our knowledge about syn-tactic expressions, in particular phraseological formulae which are (sometimes but scarcely) attested in the extant ritual texts and whose stability and role in the daily cultic practice can now be corroborated by their role as syntactic structures underlying such elements of the lexicon as epithets and personal names that more than anything else represent spiritual ideas and systems of values of the respective communities in a crystalized, concentrated form.

1. The multilingual corpus of attestations of Old (West) Iranian lexemes in sources from the Old Persian Great Kingdom offers numerous instances of (compounded) proper names, epithets and epicleses interpretable as nominal-izations of cultic phraseology that we can discover in the oldest Iranian and In-dic sacred texts. The reconstruction of the Old Iranian form of such names and the analysis of their word-formation, semantic context and syntactic combi-natorics of the lexemes that form the terms of the respective compounds open new fascinating perspectives to the reconstruction of Indo-Iranian, for what concerns the cultural-historical backgrounds of processes of name-giving in their relationship with the sacred poetry of the Veda and Avesta.

The repertory of possibly Iranian names in Elamite transmission contains the male name *Irdamiyašda ‹Ir-da-mi-ya-iš-da›*. It is attested as a hapax, on the Persepolis fortification tablet 975:2 (cf. HALLOCK 1969: 703a).

1.0. Following BENVENISTE 1966: 84 ("*$r̥ta$-myazda-* avec av. *myazda-* « banquet rituel »"), MAYRHOFER 1973: 164, #8.590, supports the interpre-

tation of this string as Iran. *Ŗta-mii̯azda- (with refs. to obsolete interpretations); both of them refrain from indicating a reconstructed meaning of the formation. While Tavernier 2007 does not mention compounds with *°mii̯azda-, Zadok 2009: 153, #233, discusses <Ir-da-mi-ya-iš-da> as a possible but not certain reconstruct of the second term in <[D]a-ʾ-ma-⌈mi-as/z-ta⌉>, <[D]a-ʾ-ma-mi˩-as/z-ta> (on which s. § 4.).

1.1. On formal grounds, OIran. *(H)ŗta-mii̯azda- < IIr. *Hŗta-mi(H)azdʰHa- appears to be the most economic analysis of the attested formation (in accord with the phonological correspondences between Elamite and Old Iranian established in Mayrhofer 1973: 15ff.). Still, this reconstruction is to be tested on criteria such as (A.) presumable meaning of the entire formation, (B.) independent occurrence of the first and of the second term of this compound as anterior/posterior members of other compounded formations, and (C.) possible combinations of the presumed compositional terms as free lexemes in syntactic and phraseological contexts external to the compound itself:

1.2. A compound proper name *Hŗta-mi(H)azdʰHa- is interpretable, for both onomastic and compound-typological reasons,[1] as '(one) who has/makes (solid) meal offerings to Rightness', a stative/factitive *bahuvrīhi* (and not a tatpuruṣa 'meal of Rightness'), with first term IIr. *Hŗtá- 'rightness', Ved. ŗtá- 'id.'. In (Y)Av. the (non-stressed) zero-grade form °ərəta- is attested as second term in compounded personal names such as uxšiiaṱ.ərəta- 'the one who lets R. grow', astuuaṱ.ərəta- 'may Rightness be osseous/material[ized]' etc.; in both Avestan dialects we have "guṇa" formations such as (not root-stressed) dōjīṱ.arəta- 'oppressor of Rightness', YAv. (Y. 12,4), an-arəta- 'having no Rightness, adversary of R.', °arəta- < *(H)arta- in GAv. (Y. 53,6; 53,9) and, otherwise, (root-stressed) G/YAv. aṣa-, n. 'r/Rightness' < *(H)árta-. The meaning 'rightness' includes both 'rightness, regularity, (cosmic) order' and 'rightness, correctness, truth' (recently cf. Sadovski 2017, with refs.).

1.3. While the anterior member of the compound seems clear, the second term **°mii̯azda-** '(solid) ritual meal, sacrificial repast' is relatively rarely attested in compounds. OIran. *mi(H)azda-, Ved. miyédha- go back to an IIr. *mi(H)

as-*dʰHa*-, a compound of the type IIr. **X-dʰH-a-* < IE **X-dʰh₁-o-* 'characterized by setting/doing X', most recently presented in SADOVSKI 2018b, with refs.[2]

1.3.1. There are several possible scenarios regarding the etymology of the first element, **miịas°*. (a.) One of them operates with YAv. *maiiah-* in a presumed meaning 'lust, (physical) enjoyment' and reconstructs an IIr. **máiHas-* (LUBOTSKY forthc., s.v.) < **méiHes-*, connecting it to Lat. *mī-tis* 'mellow, soft', OIran. *mín* 'smooth, soft', Lith. *míe-las* 'dear, lovely, tender' etc., with additional suffixal elements. In this version, **mi-ị-as-* would go back to a R(z) ablaut variant **mi(H)as-*. (b.) A sub-variant of this approach takes **méị(H)es-* to be the basis of the super-zero-grade compound **mi(H)s-dʰh₁-ó-* 'reward', interpreting it as an orig. 'setting/making a joy for sb.' (so HINTZE 2000: 67; LUBOTSKY, *ib.*, s.v. **miždʰ(H)a-*, prefers etymologizing IE **mis-* from "**mei-* 'to exchange' [...], if the root does not contain an initial **h₂*, rather than **mei(H)-es-*"); I briefly discuss pros and contras of a "veṭ" reconstruct IIr. **máị(H)as-* in SADOVSKI forthc. and will skip this argument here. A further reconstruction approach may start from an *-s-*stem IIr. **máịas-* < an IE transponate **méị-es-* going back to an aniṭ root, **meị*. Traditionally, we distinguish two such roots in IIr.: **¹maị/mi* 'to strengthen/support/fortify' (SADOVSKI 2016: 731f.; STEER, *HS* 120, 144: **(H)meị-*), Ved. *mi-*, *minoti*, and **²maị/mi* 'to exchange; to alter(nate)'. The second meaning could connect IIr. **miịas-dʰHa-* '(ritual) meal [offering]' and **mis-dʰH-á-* 'reward' by a common meaning of **'giving in exchange': problematic remains, however, that the reconstruction of **²maị/mi* mostly operates with an initial laryngeal, as IIr. **Hmaị* < IE **h₂meị*, because of Gr. ἀμείβω (< **h₂mei-gʷ°*); but **h₂-* is absent in Gk. μισθός. If IIr. **mi(ị)as-dʰHa-* '(ritual) meal [offering]' (theoretically even **mis-dʰH-á-* 'reward' but cf. SCHUTZEICHEL 2013: 130, SADOVSKI forthc., with refs.) could be connected with Ved. *máyas-*, n. 'strengthening, support(ing), refreshment, meal; (physical) enjoyment', these meanings are also presumable for YAv. *maiiah-* (orig. from **¹maị/mi* 'to strengthen, to fortify'?). If we part from the premise that various roots IIr. **maị*, **[H]maị* and **maị(H)* could have become object of contamination

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[2] A *n. actionis/abstr.* in IIr. **-dʰH-i-* 'setting/doing X' has been presumed in the YAv. hapax (N. 28) *miiazdi-*; however, this v.l. is now considered inferior and the form not *sprachwirklich*.

in IIr., in the present case we shall speak of "IIr. *$máị(H)$-as- < IE *$méị(H)$-es-" as a derivational basis, with no prejudices about the original meaning/root (and without positing an initial laryngeal, suggested neither by *°$miịas$- nor by *°$maịa$- compounds [$sūmaya$- being read $su°$ by Pp.!], the issue thus being largely irrelevant for the reconstruction of Iran. *$miịas$-).

1.3.2. This allows to reconstruct following collocations with IIr. *$máị(H)$-as- < IE *$méị(H)$-es- (the issue whether from an old Seṭ basis *$máịH$-as- < *$méịH$-es- (← *$méịH$) or (be it only *argumenti causa*) from an old Aniṭ basis *$máị$-as- < *$méị$-es- (← *$méị$ 'to strengthen' remaining difficult, as per 1.3.1., s. also below):

A. A (factitive) verbal phrase IIr. *$máị(H)$-as + *$dʰaH$ 'to set/make a meal' < (transponate) *$méị(H)$-os + *$dʰeh_1$ 'to set/make a strengthening/refreshment', in Ved. *máyas* + DHĀ (middle diathesis in RV. 3,1,3; 8,39,4) 'to set a refreshment/ meal for oneself', 'to make oneself / get a refreshment'; active: *máyas* + KAR/$kr̥$, RV. 1,31,7 *yás* [...] *máyaḥ kr̥ṇóṣi* 'thou [...] who makest refreshment', with the productive Ved. verb (HINTZE 2000: 67) for 'to make' (cf. RV. 8,20,24 *máyo na bhūta, mayobhuvaḥ* 'be refreshment for us, o you whose essence is refreshment'); this VP is nominalizable in (B.):

(B.) A nominal phrase/juxtaposition based on (A.) is *$mi(H)$-ás(-s) + root-noun *$dʰaH$- (*n. actionis*) 'refreshment-setting, meal-offering' > *$miịás$ + $dʰā$- > *$miịáz$ + $dʰā$-. Its first element can be posited, in accord with the reconstruction of the prevailing original paradigm of neutral *s*-stems as proterokinetic – strong stem nom./acc. R(é)-S(z)-D(z), weak stem obl. R(z)-S(é)-D(z) (SCHINDLER 1975) – as the original oblique stem *$mi(H)$-és-, or directly as the orig. gen. sg. nt. *$mi(H)$-és-s. The nominal phrase can continue (B$_{seṭ}$) *$mi(H)$-ás(-s) + root-noun *$dʰaH$- (with the old proterokinetic gen. sg. *$mi(H)$-ás-s < *$mi(H)$-és-s in its first element) [or (B$_{aniṭ}$) *$m(i)ị$-ás(-s) + root-noun $dʰaH$- 'setting/making of meal' (with a LINDEMAN variant of the old proterokinetic gen. sg. *$m(i)ị$-ás-s < *$m(i)ị$-és-s in its first element)], functioning as derivational/compositional base of (C.):

(C.) A desyntagmatic formation *$mi(H)ás$-$dʰH$-a-, adj., based on (A.)/ (B.), is a compound / external derivative with suffix *-o- (> IIr. *a) > *$miịás$-$dʰa$- > *$miịáz$-$dʰa$-, meaning 'related to the setting/making of (ritual) meal'. This adj. can continue (C$_{seṭ}$) *$miHás$-$dʰH$-a- [or (C$_{aniṭ}$) *$miịás$-$dʰH$-a-, cf. (B.)], functioning as the base of (D.). If substantivized, such an adj. (C.) develops to:

(D) **mii̯ás/z-dʰHa-*, m. 'the activity/situation related to setting/making of (ritual) meal', i.e. simply '(ritual) meal-making', in Ved. *miyédha-*, Av. *miiazda-*, m.:

(E.) In a kind of *figura etymologica*, **mii̯ás/z-dʰHa-* occurs together with Iran. **dā < IIr. *dʰaH* in collocations like **miias/z-dʰH-a-m + dʰaH* meaning 'to sacrifice solid (ritual) meal' < 'to make (ritual) meal-making' (see Sadovski 2018b: 179f. on *rā́dhas- DHĀ*, cf. *rā́dhas-KAR* in RV. 1,10,7, 8,64,1 *kr̥ṇuṣvá rā́dhaḥ* 'leiste deine Sachleistung'; Narten 1986: 270f., and Sadovski forthc. on Y. 40,1 *mazdā … mazdą̄m kərəšuuā* 'o Mind-Setter, do/make (perform) [your (characteristic)] Mind-Setting!'), a periphrastic collocation with IIr. **kar* 'to make' + *n. act.* [etymologizing the name of *maz-dā* as *n. agentis*!]). This speaks for reconstructing Iran. *DĀ* in such collocations as IIr. **dʰaH* 'to set/make' (and not **daH* 'give'). — S. also Sadovski forthc., for a similar derivational chain [Aʹ] VP → [Bʹ] NP → [Cʹ] desyntagmatic formation in **-dʰH-a- < *-dʰh₁-o-*, adj. → [Dʹ] noun, in Ved. *médha-*, m. 'meal offering', perhaps also in [Eʹ] *figurae (par)etymologicae* with MAY/*mi* [→ Ved. *mitá-medha-* 'whose offering is supported/established'].

1.4. There are two further compounds attested in Iranian that probably contain **°mii̯azda-* as a second term, both being personal names:

1.4.1. YAv. (*)*Nərə-miiazda-* (s. § 3) is inferred by the (patronymic) personal name *Nərə-miiazdana-* (belonging to [> son of] *Nərə-miiazda-*'; the meaning of the derivational base of this patronymicon is to posit as 'the one who has/makes/accomplishes the (solid) ritual meal [offering] of / proper to men/heroes'.

1.4.2. On the reconstructed OIran. **Dāma-mii̯azda-* see § 4 below.

1.4.3. Within this semantic field, we should also refer to **Hr̥ta-dʰāma-* (§ 5).

1.5. As we have seen above, standard handbooks on Iranian onomastics deliver no further interpretation of the meaning or of the cultural context of this reconstruct; the only exception being the succinct reference in Mayrhofer 1973: "vgl. Yasna 34,3 *myazdəm …. ašāicā* [sic] ~ RV. 10, 70, 2 *r̥tásya …. miyédaḥ*". Yet, a closer look into the texts shows that this is only the peak of the iceberg of a series of correspondences of formulae with the participation of these lexemes:

2. Of particular value are external phraseological contexts attested in the ritual poetry of the Younger Avesta and the *Gāθās*. The overt syntactical relations in such constructions are relevant for clarifying the internal syntax of the compound.

2.1. Thus, we find a series of collocations in which *aṣ̌a-* and *miiazda-* occur together in constructions in the Young Avestan liturgy, formulaically repeated in texts of high ritual significance:

2.1.0. The *nivid-*/catalogues at the start of the (Long) liturgy (Vr. 1,3f–h) contain the genitival syntagma *aṣ̌ahe* **miiazda-** '(solid) meal (offering) of <u>Rightness</u>':

niuuaēδaiiemi haṇkāraiiemi
staotanąm yesniianąm haṇdātanąm hufrāiiaštanąm,
<u>aṣ̌aonąm</u> <u>aṣ̌aoninąmca</u> <u>aṣ̌ahe</u> **miiazdanąm**

I announce (the sacrifice / the *nivid-*catalogue of the invited deities)[3], I organize/arrange/convene ([the accomplishment of] the ritual) of the Staota yesniia put together and well-offered (in a solemn manner [Kellens 2006-11: 1,26]) as of **(solid) ritual meals** of <u>Rightness</u> of/for the (male [deities]) <u>full of Rigthness</u>, of/for the (female [deities]) <u>full of Rightness</u>.

This YAv. liturgical passage confirms the existence of the genitival phrase <u>aṣ̌ahe</u> **miiazda-** '(solid) ritual meal of Rightness'. The skilfully arranged sequence of genitives with different syntactic function <u>aṣ̌aonąm</u> <u>aṣ̌aoninąmca</u> <u>aṣ̌ahe</u> **miiazda-** also suggests that another genitival phrase, <u>aṣ̌aonąm</u> **miiazda-** 'the (solid) meal (offering) of/for the righteous ones', at least theoretically can be considered as an additional candidate for the interpretation of the compound. In both cases, we can start from a bahuvrīhi compound:

– If the underlying syntagma is <u>aṣ̌ahe</u> **miiazda-**, such a bahuvrīhi would mean 'whose **mii̯azda-** is the one of/to <u>aṣ̌a-/Ṛta-</u>': the relationship between the terms is either stative, 'having/possessing the (solid) meal (offering) of/to R.', or (rather) factitive, 'making/accomplishing the (solid) meal (offering) of/to R.'

– In the case of an underlying syntagma <u>aṣ̌aonąm</u> **miiazda-** we could operate with a bahuvrīhi compound of the "double possessive" type described by Schindler 1986: 394ff.: Here, instead of the possessive derivative *aṣ̌auuan-* 'characterized with rightness', the derivational basis *aṣ̌a-* stays in its first term, in accord with the rule discovered by Wilhelm Schulze (1892: 39). The meaning of such a Schulze/Schindler "double

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[3] Lit. "I invite down" resp. "I cata-logue"; cf. Kellens 2017, on the IIr. backgrounds Swennen 2015, with refs., and my paper at the *Max Planck* symposium in Berlin 2011 (Sadovski, forthc.).

possessive" would be, again, either stative, 'having the (solid) meal (offering) of/for the righteous ones', or (rather) factitive, 'making/accomplishing the (solid) meal (offering) of/for the righteous ones'.

2.1.1. Important textual evidence that can influence the decision between these possibilities is contained in Y. 7,1a, in which the *offering of* (*solid*) *ritual meal* is mentioned at the very opening of the first stanza of the final Hāiti of the introductory lists located at the beginning of the Yasna liturgy:

※ *aṣ̌aiia daδąmi* x^varəϑəm *miiazdəm*	(*In accord*) *with Rightness*, I *place/set* (i.e. I sacrifice) the **(solid) meal** [*offering*] as food.

In this last series of catalogic lists at the start of the Avestan liturgy, introduced by the "*aṣ̌aiia daδąmi*" sequence, the expression 'I offer *miiazda-* [as solid food] (in accord) with / by (means of) *aṣa-*' (*aṣ̌aiia daδąmi* x^varəϑəm *miiazdəm*) is a constant formula in Y. 7,1 (cf. also Y. 7,20, 21, and – in the same prominent position at the start of the series – of Y. 8,1; on its continuation in Y. 8,2a s. below).

2.1.2. Another large textual series[4] includes the sequence [x^varəϑəm **miiazdəm**] within the formula *āiiese yešti* + dat./gen.obj.ind. 'in a sacrificial manner / by (means of the) ritual I draw near / bring hither **the (solid) meal** [*offering*] as (solid) food, for satisfaction [xšnūmaine] of [+ list of gods]'. This group of formulae is characteristic of the litanies in Hāiti 3 of the Yasna, occuring in the Y. 3,1, 3,20; syntactically it is close to the scheme of Y. 7,1, too (cf. KELLENS 2015: 125): In both cases x^varəϑəm and **miiazdəm** function as *acc. praedicati* and *acc. obiecti*, respectively, the corresponding predicates being *daδąmi* 'I place/set' in Y. 7,1 and *āiiese* (*yešti*) in Y. 3.

2.1.3. The third group of instances contains the formulaic expression 'we both dedicate and assign these Haoma[-offering]s and **(solid) meal**[*-offering*]**s** and libations to + Dat.'. The construction sounds: [...] *imą haomąsca* **miiazdąsca** *zaoϑrā̊sca* (all in the pl.) + *pairi-ca dadəmahī ā-ca vaēδaiiamahi*, attested in Y. 4,1 and 4,3. It is resumed in Y. 24,1, after a topicalization of the verbal phrase *āuuaēδaiiamahī* + Dat. + Acc. in formulae of the structure: [a] *ahurāi mazdāi haomą āuuaēδaiiamahī* '[it is] to A. M. [that] we assign these Haoma[-offerings]', + posticipated acc. object including the commata [b] and [c] in the acc.: *imą haomąsca,* **miiazdąs***ca zaoϑrā̊sca* 'these Haoma[-offerings] and **(solid) meal**[*-offering*]**s** and libations' (Y. 24,1bc is also repeated in Y. 24,6).

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[4] See KELLENS 2015: 125f. (: Y. 3,1) and 2017: 67ff. on the varying structures in Y. 3, 4, 6, 7, with refs.

2.1.4. In Vr. 4,2, by this very formula a libator is assigned/consecrated (*ā̆ vaēδaiiamahi*) to *miiazda-* itself, as a Ratu. In Yt. 8,1, the Ratu *miiazda-* is an object of solemn worshipping, introduced with the verb form [*frā.*]*yazamaide.*

2.1.5. Further combinations of **miiazda-** + verbs, esp. *DĀ*, follow up in § 2.4.3.

2.2. Of great value is the context of Y. 34,3, which offers the only *Gāθic* attestation of *miiazda-*:

at tōi **miiazdəm** ahurā **nəmaŋhā** **aṣ̌āic̆ā** **dāmā** gaēθå vīspå ā̆ ⁺xšaθrōi yå vohū θraoštā manaŋhā […]	Now [it is] to/for you, oh Ahura, **with reverence**, (and) to/for *Rightness*, [that] we **place/set** all the material/living beings, as the **(solid) meal [offering]**, in your power; (the beings) which you have 'fattened'/nourished with Good Thinking […][5]

Here, we have the *dat. obi. indir.* of *aṣ̌a-* within a factitive construction gaēθå vīspå **miiazdəm** dāmā 'we set *all material* (scil. *dāmā/-anī* 'creation(s)', *acc. obi.*) as **miiazda-** (*acc. praed.*) for R.'. Such a syntactic collocation implies a possible interpretation of the compound *(H)r̥ta-mii̯azda-* as 'who makes *mii̯azda-* to R.'. Phrasemes like aṣ̌aii̯a dadąmi xʷarəθəm **miiazdəm** (2.1.) suggest an analyis of *(H)r̥ta-mii̯azda-* as 'who makes *mii̯azda-* in accord with / by means of *aṣ̌a-*'

2.3. Vedic parallels of such collocations exist already in the RV. (cf. § 3.2.2.1):

RV. 10,70,2: á devā́nām agrayā́vehá yātu, **nárā**śáṃso viśvárūpebhir áśvaiḥ | r̥tásya pathā́ námasā miyédho, devébhyo devátamaḥ suṣūdat ||	As the top/lead driver of the gods, let **Narā́**śaṃsa drive here with horses of every form(s);[6] **along the path of *Rightness*, with reverence**, he will sweeten the **(solid) meal [offering]** for the gods, (being himself) the most divine of the gods.

2.3.1. Such Old Indic instances demonstrate that not only the joint appearance of Av. *miiazda-* and *aṣ̌a-* but the entire collocation consisting of the ele-

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[5] Cf. also HUMBACH – FAISS 2010: 100 and KELLENS 2013: 53–84, here 60.

[6] Phrase division in accord with the hemistichion/pāda structure; diff. JAMISON / BRERETON 2014, but cf. Geldner 1951, ad locum: "Als der Götter Anführer soll Narāśāṃsa […] kommen. *Auf dem rechten Wege* unter Verbeugung soll der Göttlichste das Opfermahl für die Götter zubereiten."

ments [SETTING] + [(SOLID) RITUAL MEAL] + [WITH REVERENCE] + [TO / (ON
THE PATH OF) / WITH RIGHTNESS] has formulaic character and a good chance
to have been inherited from IIr. ritual rhetorics (cf. 2.2., 3.2., 4.2., 5[1.3.]).

2.3.2. All three components that we saw in the Gāθic quotation Y. 34,3 in
§ 2.2. – <u>Aṣa-</u>, <u>nəmah-</u>, and **myazda-** – fully correspond to the Vedic terms from
§ 2.3. – <u>R̥tá-</u>, <u>námas-</u>, and **miyédha-**. The added value is their *joint occurrence*!

2.4. By this testimony, the initially hypothetical interpretation of IIr. **H̥r-
ta-mi(H)azda-* as a factitive bahuvrīhi compound with **miiazda-** '(solid) meal
[offering]' as second term becomes more probable, being now based on lexical
combinatorics proven not only within Avestan but also in the Vedic context:

2.4.1. The meaning of the compound suggested by the combinatorics of its
terms as lexemes in free syntactic contexts ranges from 'having/accomplishing
miiazda- of/to Rightness' – cf. § 2.1.0. *aṣāonąm aṣāoninąmca aṣahe* **miiazdanąm**
'of **(solid) meal[-offering]s** *of/to Rightness of/for the righteous* ones (m./f.)' – via
'accomplishing *miiazda-* to Rightness' (§ 2.2.) up to 'having/accomplishing *mii-
azda-* (in accord) with / by (means of) Rightness', as per § 2.1, 2.3.

Typically, a bahuvrīhi compound nominalizes these variant ranges into a uni-
tary formation that allows for a plurality of interpretations, faithfully preserv-
ing, however, the religious constants contained in the corresponding formulae.

2.4.2. The factitive interpretation is suggested by the fact that in the prom-
inent contexts of its attestation, *miiazda-* appears as effected object of the verb
DĀ 'to set/accomplish/make'. – In spite of the limited character of its attesta-
tions (RV. only 7×), Ved. *miyédha-*, too, the etymological and ritual counterpart
of *miiazda-*, shows similar usage: with *āsāna-*, the regularly formed med. part.
of *ĀS* (Werba 1997: 449f.; < transponate **h₁eh₁s-m̥h₁no-*) attested only twice in
the RV., both in Maṇḍala VI (here and 6,106b). (The expression 'with the [solid]
meal[-offering]s *set* [*here*]', indirectly, also speaks in favour of the interpreta-
tion of the Iranian root *DĀ* in *miiazdam + DĀ* not as 'to give' but as 'to set'):

RV. 6,51,12:
nū́ sadmā́naṃ div̯yáṃ náṃśi
devāḥ-,
bhā́radvājaḥ sumatíṃ yāti hótā |
<u>āsānébhir</u> yájamāno **miyédhair**,
devā́nāṃ jánma vasūyúr vavanda
||

JAMISON / BRERETON 2011: 2,847:
To attain the one whose seat is in heaven,
o gods,
the Hotar of the Bhāradvājas now begs for favor.
Sacrificing with the **(solid) meals** <u>set</u> here,
desiring goods, he has extolled the breeds
of the gods.

2.4.3. The Avestan formulae of 2.4.2. appear, for instance, in a series of repeated ritual invocations contained in the Young Avestan Āfrīnagān-i Gāhānbār. The cycles of hymns belonging to the liturgical genre of Āfrīnagān are known to contain archaic ritual phraseology:[7] starting already with the concept of Av. *ā-frī-* that goes back to the cultic technical sense of IIr. *PRĪ (± *ā́*) 'to satisfy by cultic activity', and the corrsponding Ved. genre of liturgical hymns *ā-prī́-*. Notably, the archaic term Av. *miiazda-*, later substituted, e.g., by the concept of *draona-/drōn* in Iranian,[8] (just as Ved. *miyédha-* '[solid] ritual meal [offering]', attested only 7× in RV., is increasingly recessive after the RV. period), is most frequently used in the Young Avestan *Āfrīnagān*, cf. the following selection:

gen. sg. *miiazdahe*	8× of 11× in A.	A. 3,7.8.9.10.11.12; A. 8,12; N. 72.81.83
Derivatives:		
nom. sg. *miiazdauuā̊*	6×, only in A.	A. 3,8.9.10.11.12; A. 8,12
gen. pl. *miiazdauuanąm*	3	N. 61–63
neg. *a-miiazda-uuan-*	7×, only in A.	A. 3,7.8.9.10.11.12; A. 8,12

2.4.3.1. With the formula *miiazdəm DĀ*, A. 3,3 asks: <u>dātā</u>ca aēte mazdaiiasna ... ***miiazdəm*** 'And <u>set</u>/make, o Mazdaiiasnians (present) here ... (the) ***miiazda***', Vd. 8,22 prescribes: ***miiazdəm*** <u>daiϑiiārəš</u> 'they might <u>set</u>/make the ***miiazda-***', FrK 72[f.] describes: ***miiazdəm*** <u>daδaiti</u> 'one <u>sets</u>/makes the ***miiazda-***' (both times: ⁺*gaomaṇtəm maδumaṇtəm* 'which contains "cow products" and wine');

    [7] On the interconnections between the Avestan *ratu-* catalogues, esp. *Visprad* lists from the Long Liturgy but also from *ā-frī-* rituals, on the one hand, and the Vedic *ṛtviya-* catalogues, esp. in *lists* from the *ṛtu-yāja-* liturgy but also from *ā-prī́-* rituals, cf. SADOVSKI 2018a, with numerous details: the parallel structures in the Veda range from RV(Kh) traditions of archaic liturgy up to popular rites. Thus, invocations of the *ṛtu-*s in the ritual of the *pitar-*s (KRICK 1982: 40 with n. 88 and lit.) show parallels with the Avestan idea of *ratu-frī-* 'the satisfaction of the *ratu-*s' esp. in the cult of the Avestan *frauuaṣi-*s. See also SADOVSKI 2018c: 312–314 on the Vedic *vaiśvadeva-* ritual (BaudhGS 2,8) with its 25 oblations offered in the middle of the house (cf. GONDA 1983: 29) with invocation formulae addressed to the 33 [!] Vāstoṣpati, protectors of this demiurgic act, as a parallel to the Avestan list of [33!] divine entities, protectors of creation, within the litanies of Yasna 71.
    [8] Here we should not forget, too, that the ritual Y 60–61, being the Second Drōn after Y. 59, is explicitly dedicated to Dahma- *Ā-frĭ-ti-*.

2.4.3.2. and A. 3,6 affirms: "⁺xšaϑrəm [...] <u>aibī</u> <u>dadəmahi</u> [...] mazdāi ahurāi <u>*ašā*i</u>cā vahištāi: <u>dātō</u> hē **miiazdō** <u>ratufrīš</u>" 'we "<u>set</u>"/<u>assign</u> Power to Ahura Mazdā and <u>*Aša*</u> Vahišta. <u>Accomplished</u> by him is the **miiazda-** that <u>satisfies the Ratus</u>'. – The technical term *<u>ratu-frī̆(ti)-</u>* contains the same second term of cultic satisfaction of (divine/ritual) authorities as in Av. *ā-<u>frī</u>-* Ved. *ā-<u>prī̆-</u>*; see n. 7, 8.

2.4.3.3. One of the most frequently occurring versions of the *miiazdəm DĀ* formula occurs in *<u>Āfrīnagān-i Gāhānbār</u>*, too: in the long sequence in A. 3,7–12 describing rituals and prescribing punishments for not fulfilling them properly:

A. 3,7:
paṇcāca caϑβarəsatəmca maiδiiōi. zarəmaiiehe
<u>ašahe</u> vahištahe <u>daϑušō</u>:
<u>disiiāt̰</u> hē aŋhe auuat̰ *mīždəm* parō. asnāi aŋuhe
yaϑa aētahmi aŋhuuō yat̰ astuuaiṇti hazaŋrəm ⁺maēšiṇąm daēnunąm paiti.puϑranąm
<u>narąm</u> <u>ašaonąm</u> <u>ašaiia</u> vaŋhuiia urune <u>para.daiϑiiāt̰</u>
aēuuahe hātąm cinmānahe
yat̰ *<u>ašahe</u>* vahištahe.:
paoiriieheca nā **miiazdahe** <u>aδāiti</u>
spitama zaraϑuštra
yat̰ maiδiiōi.zarəmaiiehe
miiazdauuå ratuš **amiiazdauuanəm** ratunaēm
aiiasnīm daste aṇtarə mazdaiiasnāiš

[There are] fourty-five [days up to the (main) day] of Maiδiiōi.zarəmaiia, [in the month of the Best <u>*Rightness*</u>, [on the day] of <u>Him-who-has-set-up</u> (=Creator): Such a *reward* for it will be assigned to him (= sacrificer) for the future live, as (if) he would have given over / donated in this life, the material one, thousand sheep-mothers together with the[ir] young (calves), for the *uruuan*-soul – *<u>in accord with good Rightness – of righteous men,</u>* of (some)one of the being ones wh[o] "<u>sets/puts on</u>" / <u>cares of</u> the Best <u>*Rightness*</u>. And for *not-<u>accomplishing</u>* the first **miiazda**, o Sp.Z., the one of Maiδiiōi.zarəmaiia, the Ratu who [accomplishes] the **miiazda** declares the [layman] under (this) Ratu's guidance who has no[t accomplished the] **miiazda**, unable (to participate) in the Yasna among the Mazdaiiasnians (cf. Wolff 1910: 310, Hintze 2000: 316f. vs. Mills 1886: 369).

The formula in A. 3,7 is repeated with variations of the ritual situation in st. 8–12, but always in this constant shape. It contains a series of interesting enlargements of the conceptual sphere characterizing the *miiazda-* offering 'in accord with Rightness': For accomplishing a *miiazda-*, a reward is foreseen, designated as *mīžda-*; this shows a conscious (par)etymological word-play of *mīžda-*, Ved. *mīḍhá-/mīḷhá-,* with *miiazda-*, Ved. *miyédha-*, both sharing at least

their second term and formation typology (s. § 1.3.; on the first term Sa-
dovski forthc.).

2.4.4.1. In both the Avestan and the Vedic liturgy, we find the most im-
portant technical terms of IIr. in clusters which often offer amazing phrase-
by-phrase correspondences. – For the Avesta, cf. Vr. 11,2:

imą haomą ima haomiia	Here (are) the Haoma[-offering]s and the (instruments
*ima starǝta **ima miiazda***	for [preparing]) Haoma
ima asma paoiriia dāmą̄n	*here the spread* [*mats*], ***here the* [*two*] (*solid*) *meal*[*-offer-**
[...]	***ing*]*s*,
imaṯ barǝsma ašaiia fra-	here the stone[-sky], the first (in the²) creation [...]
starǝtəm	*here the ritual grass* (barǝsman-) *strewn* (*in accord*) *with*
	Rightness.

Its excellent Vedic counterpart (not really studied so far) is RV. 1,177,4:

ayáṃ **yajñó** devayā́ *ayám miyédhaḥ*-,	Here is the **sacrifice**, proceeding to the
imā́ bráhmāṇy ayám indra sómaḥ |	gods; ***here the* (*solid*) *meal* [*offering*]**, here
| stīrṇám barhír ā́ tú śakra prá yāhi,	the soma, Indra, here the sacred formu-
píbā niṣádya ví mucā hárī ihá ||	lations.
	The ritual grass [*is*] *strewn*; drive forth to-
	ward it here, able one;
	drink, having sat down on it, unharness
	your two fallow bays here (after Jamison /
	Brereton 1,377).

Cf. RV. 3,32,12, where we observe the same pairwise appearance of *yajñá-* and
miyédha-:

yajñó hí ta indₐra várdhano	Because the sacrifice has become your strength-
bhū́d,	ener, Indra, and the ***dear* (*solid*) *meal* [*offering*]** of
utá *priyáḥ* sutásomo ***miyédhaḥ*** |	pressed soma also [...]

2.4.4.2. It is the libator priest, Ved. *hótar-*, Av. *zaotar-,* to organize the *miiazda-.*
Thus, N. 54 (72) attests: ⁺*ciš zaotarš kairim aŋhaṯ ****miiazdahe** **aiiąn? **g[āθ]ā̊sca
frasrāuuaiiāiti* 'What is the *zaotar*'s duty on the days of the [solid] offering? [...]
He shall recite the Gāthās'. And in RV. 3,19, the cyclic composition (1a) agníṃ
hótāram *prá vr̥ṇe* **miyédhe** ... (5a) yát tvā hótāram anájan **miyédhe** '*I choose* Agni
as the Hotar ***at the* (*solid*) *meal* [*offering*]' ...When the gods will anoint you as the
Hotar ***at the* (*solid*) *meal* [*offering*]** emulates a ritual of priest election of IIr. age!

2.4.5. The sequence A. 3,7–12 also contains two derivatives of *miiazda-*:

2.4.5.1. the possessive/factitive *-ṷen-* derivative *miiazda-uuan-* 'the one who has/accomplishes *miiazda-*' and a further derivative of this *-ṷen-*-possessive:

2.4.5.2. the negative *amiiazdauuan-*. The 6 attestations of the latter exlusively appear in A. 3,7–12; the same is valid of the 6 occurrences of the nom. sg. of *miiazdauuan{t}-*, while we find the acc. sg. *miiazdauuanąm* in N. 61–63.

2.4.5.3. Yt. 13,64 contains another YAv. derivative, *miiezdin-* 'one who has/accomplishes *miiazda-*': here, the a̰šāuną̇m frauuašaiiō 'Frauuašis of the righteous ones' ride by ten thousands among those offering (solid) meals (*miiezdinąm*).

2.4.5.4. To finish the survey of derivatives, Ved. *miyedʰya-* 'related to / participating in the (solid) meal[-offerings]' is attested only in voc. and only with the voc. *agne*, in RV. 1,36,9, RV. 1,44,5, and RV. 1,26,1.

2.4.5.5. Notably, Y. 8,2 states that men have 'won' the **miiazda-** with Rightness:

xᵛarata narō aētəm **miiazdəm**	Swallow/eat, men, this **(solid) meal[-offering]s**
yōi dim haŋhāna a̰šāca	which you have won [both] with Rightness and
frərətica ※	with 'propagation of Dawn'[9]

This passage not only confirms the factitive reading of *Hr̥ta-mi(H)azdʰHa-* but explicitly presents men/heroes (nar-as) as those who fulfil/consume *miiazda-*. At this point, having examined the contexts of Av. *miiazda-* with its derivatives, let us turn to the other compounds related to this phraseological domain: the two names with *mi(H)azda-* as second term and one with *(H)r̥ta-* as first term:

3. Compounds with *miiazda-* as *Hinterglied* in Avestan might be rare but they do exist: Thus, a formation *Nərə-miiazdana-* is attested in Yt. 13,110, in the commemorative list of the first members of the Zoroastrian community:

3.1. YAv. *Nərə-miiazdana-* (IPNB 1,65 #233; Schmitt 2003: 367ff.) is analyzable as a patronymic formation in *-ana-* ← a PN *Nərə-miiazda-* with the meaning 'the one who has/makes the (solid) meal [offering] "of" / proper to men'.

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[9] On possible allusions to the context of ritual pragmatics, cf. Kellens 2006–2011: 2,12. For the ritual context of the Srōš Drōn (as compared with the Drōn Yašt / Bāj Dharnā) s. Redard 2015: 199f.

3.2. The analysis of the compound gives us the occasion to explore the phraseological combinatorics of the lexemes that form its terms:

3.2.1. Av. *miiazda*- [+ *aṣ̌a*-] + *nar*-: a phraseme apt for comparison is again Y. 8,2:

x^varata narō aētəm **miiazdəm**	Swallow/eat, <u>men</u>, this **(solid) meal [offering]**
yōi dim haŋhāna aṣ̌āca frārətica ※	that you have won [both] <u>with Rightness</u> and with 'propagation of Dawn'

3.2.2. Ved. *miyédha*- [+ *r̥tá*-] + *nar*-: Mayrhofer 1979: 65 #233, builds a bridge between 3.2.1 and the word-family of Ved. *médha*- 'offering (of solid and liquid meal)' and the PN Ved. <u>N̥r-**médha**-</u>, admitting, however: "[V]ed. N[r̥-médha-] wird von [Rüdiger] Schm[itt] bei Schle[rath 1966: 2,]164 allerdings in einen anderen Zusammenhang gestellt (: V[d.] 18,51 *narəm ... mązdrəm*)".

3.2.2.1. In the RV. stanza already quoted above, the **miyédhas**- [n.!] is offered by <u>Nárāśáṃsa</u>-, the deified performer of the 'praise-songs of men', incorporating the heroic poetry and protecting male elites: both of the IIr. establishment (kings, warriors) and of the ephebic age-groups (*Männerbund*);[10] RV. 10,70,2:

á devā́nām agrayā́v_{ā i}há yātu,	As the lead driver of the gods, let <u>Narā́ṣaṃsa</u>
<u>nárāśáṃso</u> viśvárūpebhir áśvaiḥ |	drive here with horses of every form(s);
<u>r̥tásya</u> <u>pathā́</u> <u>námasā</u> **miyédho**,	along the path <u>of Rightness</u>, <u>with reverence</u>,
devébh_yo devátamaḥ suṣūdat ||	for the gods, the most divine of the gods will sweeten the **(solid) meal [offering]**.

3.2.2.2. Cf. RV. 7,36,5, where the notion of 'fortifying nourishments' is close to the idea of *miiazda*-/*miyédha*-; the rites are said to be performed by men/heroes, in a hymn dedicated to Rudra, the main deity of the OInd. *vrātya*s (*Männerbund*):

yájante asya sakh_yyáṃ váyaś ca,	The <u>reverent</u> ones worship his fellowship and
<u>namasvínaḥ</u> s_uvá <u>r̥tásya</u> <u>dhā́man</u> |	vitality on the <u>domain</u> <u>of Rightness</u> itself;
ví pŕ̥kṣo bābadhe <u>nŕ̥bhi</u> stávāna_h-,	he has thrust outward the fortifying nourishments when being praised by <u>men</u>. This <u>reverence</u> is
idáṃ <u>námo</u> rudrā́ya pr_{áyi}ṣṭham ||	dearest to Rudra (cf. Jamison / Brereton).

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[10] E.g. Oldenberg 1967: 210–224; Oberlies 2012: 74, 155; Sadovski 2018a: 92f., 125; 2018c: 321f.

WEISS 2009 links IIr. "*(mi̯az-)dʰa-*" to Umbrian **eru-fo-s* 'part of sacrifice partaken of by <u>men</u>'! — What is of high relevance, is the localization of this veneration 'in the <u>setting</u> <u>of Rightness</u> itself', also with regard to the next two compounds:

4. In the corpus of (possibly) Iranian names in New/Late Babylonian transmission, the excellent dictionary of Ran ZADOK (2009: 153, #233) lists the male name **<[D]a-ˀ-ma-⌜mi-as/z-ta>**, <[D]a-ˀ-ma-mi̯-as/z-ta>, m., with a detailed dossier of its attestation and prosopography. The name origins from Nippur, the Muraššû- archive, the source is dated 16.VII.41. Art. I. = 30.10.424 BC.

4.1. As IPNB 7/1B, 153 (with refs.) underlines, earlier interpretations do not convince for phonological or for morphological and semantical reasons: this concerns Eilers' **Dāmi-Mazdā* 'Schöpfer Mazda' and Hinz's **Dāma-myasta-* „Paradies-vereint" (reading: *-mi-as-ta*), respectively. ZADOK himself hesitates in assessing the name: "Unsicher. ... Eine Verbindung des Namens mit **m(i)i̯azda-* (av. *miiazda*) „Opfergabe" ist erwägenswert; aber da der Name sich vielleicht auf einen Mannäer bezieht, könnte er auch nicht-iranisch sein."

4.1.3. If the formation is Iranian, its reconstruction will be as a compound OIran. **dāma-mii̯azda-* < IIr. **dʰaHma-mi(H)azdʰa-*, with a first term IIr. **dʰáH-man-* 'seat, location, setting (esp. of a supernatural phenomenon)' > Iran. **dāman-*, GAv. 'id.' but YAv. also 'creation [*n. actionis* or *n. concretum*,] creature', and a second term Iran. **mii̯azda-* < IIr. **mi(H)azdʰa-* '(solid) ritual meal [offering]'.

4.2. Possible meanings of this [reconstructed] Iranian compound are:

4.2.1. as a bahuvrīhi 'whose (solid) meal offerings are (for/to/of/in/by) **dʰáH-man*', for word-formation and onomastic reasons much more probable than

4.2.2. as a tatpuruṣa: 'meal (offering) of (for/to/of/in/by) **dʰáHman*'.

4.2.3. Another theoretical interpretation would be as a ritualistic sentence-name based on a Gāϑic phrase. Parallels of this not unusual Avestan name type can be:

(A.) the YAv. Saošiiaṇt- names Yt. 13,129: *Astuuaṱ.ərəta-* (Malandra 1971: 145 + comm. 215, IPNB 1,22f. #36, MAYRHOFER 1977: 13 + n. 27), derived ← Gāϑic liturgical text *astuuaṱ aṣ̌əm x̌iiaṱ* 'may Rightness be osseous/material[ized]'; on names **(B–D)** as derivatives from mere Av. text *strings* see MAYRHOFER 1977: 12f., SCHMITT 2003: 365, all three in Yt. 13,120:

(B.) *Ašəm.yeńhe.raocā̊* m. (IPNB 1,25 #49) ← linear string Y. 12,1 *yeńhe ašəm yeńhe raocā̊*;

(C.) *Ašəm.yeńhe.varəza* m. (IPNB 1,25 #50) ← a string not transmitted so far.

(D.) *Ašəm.yahmāi.ušta* m. (IPNB 1,25 #49) ← [*ašəm +*] *yahmāi.ušta* in Y. 43,1.

If *Dāma-**myazda**-* would belong to the same type, it could be analyzed as a *reprise* of the formula "We set/deposit a **(solid) meal [offering]**" and traced back to the *Ahunauuaitī Gāθā*, as a quotation name with a clear interpretation in a Zoroastrian context, in particular within the (meta-)ritualist system of the *Gāθās*.

4.3. The first term, IIr. **dʰáH-man-* is a fundamental religious notion in IIr.:

4.3.1. Usages of Ved. *dhā́man-* suggest interpretations like *nomen actionis/abstractum/concretum* 'setting' (*Setzung*, OLDENBERG 1967: 352–362, esp. 353ff.), i.e. both factitive 'setting, establishing, arranging/-ment', as 'creating/-tion, instituting/tion', and stative 'setting, *Einstellung*; set-up, *Satzung*, constitution; (divine) disposition', as concr. 'establishment, institution, creation, *domain*' (GONDA 1967:) 'location of divine presence, emanation of a supernatural force, numen', even (invisible but perceivable) 'form/manifestation of divine setting/disposition'.

4.3.2. Iran. **dāman-*: GAv. *dāman-* shows a similarly complex semantic range, while YAv. *dāman-* prevailingly means 'creation/creature(s)' (*AiW* 734–736).

4.4. Again, phraseology and contextual knowledge of sacred texts are of decisive value for the choice between these interpretative options:

4.4.1. YAv. *dāman-* mostly combines with *vīspa-* or is substituted by it (s. 2.2):

– Y. 71,10, Vr. 12,4: *vīspe ... vaŋuhīš dāmąn ašaonīš ... yāiš dadāθa* 'all these good creatures ... full of Rightness, {by} which you have created [...]; – Y. 71,6 *vīspāča dąmą mazdaδāta ašaonīš* 'and all creatures, mazdā-given, full of R.' – Y. 1,16, Y. 3,18, Y. 4,21 etc. *vīspanąmca spəṇtahe mainiiə̄uš dāmanąm, ašaonąm ašaoninąmca, ašahe raθβąm* 'and of all creatures of Spəṇta Mainiiu, the (male) ones full of R. and the (female) ones full of R., Ratus of R.; – Y. 16,1: *ahurəm mazdąm ... dātārəm vohunąm dāmanąm* 'A.M., the creator of good creatures'; – Yt. 8,48: *vīspāiš ... yāiš spəṇtahe mainiiə̄uš dāmąn* 'by all the ... creatures of Sp.M.'; cf. Yt. 10,142, Yt. 12,3, Vyt. 51 (without *vīspāiš*), V. 5,33, V. 13,28, etc. (*dāmanąm*, without *vīspāiš*); – Yt. 13,93: *vīspå spəṇtō.dātā̊ dāmąn* 'all Sp.M.-created creatures'.

4.4.2. All 'ingredients' of our compound and its contexts are contained in Y. 34,3:

Y. 34,3:	Now [it is] to/for you, oh Ahura, <u>with reverence</u>, (and)
aṱ tōi **miiazdəm** ahurā	to/for *Rightness*, [that] we <u>place/set/deposit</u>
<u>nəmaŋhā</u> <u>aṣāi</u>cā <u>dāmā</u>	<u>all the material/living</u> (<u>creation[s]</u> [<u>dāmā̆/dāmąn</u>]), as the
<u>gaēϑå vīspå</u> ā ⁺xšaϑrōi	**(solid) meal [offering]**, in your power; (the beings)
yå vohū ϑraoštā	which you have 'fattened'/nourished with Good Think-
manaŋhā [...]	ing [...][11]

4.5. Since GAv. <u>dāmā</u>, YAv. <u>dāma</u> formally coincides with the acc. sg. of <u>dāman-</u>, n. 'creation, being' (pl. °ąn, GAv. °anī), in the same formula <u>dāmā</u> (verb, 1. pl.) might also have secondarily been brought into connection with the homonymous GAv. <u>dāmā</u> – as if the whole were a nominal sentence: 'To you, oh Ahura, (and) to *Rightness*, <u>with reverence</u>, [we bring] the creation [*quasi acc. obi.*], all the material beings [*apposition*], as **(solid) meal [offering]** [*acc. praed.*] in your power, etc.'. <u>dāmā</u> + <u>gaēϑå vīspā̆</u>, being in immediate contact position beyond the hemistichion caesura, form a string stimulating the contextual creation of such associative chains.

4.5.1. We should not forget that if strings of word-forms only losely or not at all connected with each other can reach the status of intellectually/religiously conditioned names [s. 4.2.3., *Aṣ̌əm.yeńhe.raocå̄*], just because these strings make part of the sacred texts of the Avestan liturgy, the chance to allude to Zaraϑuštra's *verba ipsissima* from the Gāϑās in a name could have been even more appreciated by later Zoroastrians.

4.5.2. Such an association additionally facilitates the spread of a primarily *sprachwirkliche* bahuvrīhi formation *<u>Dāma</u>-**mii̯azda**- 'whose (solid) meal [offerings] are (the) beings', 'who has/brings meal[-offering]s (consisting of all) the beings' (rather than [similarly possible!] 'whose (solid) meal[-offering]s are *for* the creation' [phraseology unattested] and instead of *<u>Vīspa</u>-miiazda-/*Gāeϑa-miiazda-*).

5. At any rate, the compound *<u>Dāma</u>-**mii̯azda**- is clearly based on linguistic reality, as shown by the phrasemes in 4.3.2 and by the usage of IIr. *<u>dʰaH-man-</u>* as compositional term in other lexemes that nominalize phrases with lexemes of the ritual/religious sphere, one of which I would briefly cite here:

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[11] Cf. also Humbach / Faiss 2010: 100 and Kellens 2013: 53–84, here 60.

5.0. In the corpus of Old(est) Indic, probably already IIr., names of Mitanni rulers, there is the well-known name *Ar-ta-ta-ma*, m., interpretable as *(*H*)*r̥ta-dāman-* < IIr. **Hr̥ta-dʰaHman-*. Its attestation and the respective prosopography have belonged to the objects of most active research in the second half of the 20th c.: see Mayrhofer 1987 (with refs.), more recently e.g. Raulwing 2013.

5.1. Possible interpretations of the compound are:

5.1.1. as a substantival tatpuruṣa-: '<u>setting</u>/domain/creation(s) of Rightness'.

5.1.2. as a (substantivized) bahuvrīhi-: '(one) whose <u>setting</u>/domain/creation is (in/by/ for/[in accord] with...) Rightness', 'who "has" the <u>setting</u>/domain of R.'.

5.1.3. Another theoretically possible underlying structure works with a *n. actionis* 'who accomplishes <u>setting</u>/creation (in accord) with / by means of R.'; for the corresponding VP, cf. the juncture 'I set X as Y (in accord) with R.' (2.1.1.).

5.1.4. Since the spelling of the Mitanni name does not allow for any conclusions regarding its accentuation, we have to look for appellative correspondences:

5.2. In Vedic, *r̥tá-dʰāman-* is attested twice, both times in the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā, namely at VS. 5,32 (identificational epiclesis) and 18,38 (cultic epithet).

5.2.1. In both attestations, the first-term accent of *r̥tá-dʰāman-*, nom. sing. *r̥tá-dʰāmā*, clearly suggests an interpretation of the compound as a bahuvrīhi:

VS. 5,32h–i (ed. Weber 1849: 151):
mr̥ṣṭò ʾₐsi havyasū́danaḥ |
r̥tádʰāmā̯ₐsi sᵤvàrjyotiḥ ||

Griffith 1899: 41:
[...] Swept clean art thou, preparer of oblations.
Thou art <u>the seat</u> of Law, heaven's light and lustre.

VS. 18,38 (ed. Weber 1849: 577):
r̥tāṣáᵈ **r̥tádʰām**ā̯ₐgnír
gandʰarvás tásyáuṣadʰayo
ʾₐpsaráso múdo náma |
sá na idáṃ bráhma kṣatráṃ pātu
tásmai sᵤváhā vā́ṭ tábʰyaḥ sᵤváhā ||

Griffith 1899: 166:
<u>Maintainer</u> of Law, true by nature, Agni is the Gandharva. The plants are his Apsarases, namely Delights.
May he protect this our Priesthood and Nobility. To him All-hail! Ave! To those All-hail!

5.2.2. Consequently, against the classical translation delivered by Griffith, Pada *i* of VS. 5,32 has to be interpreted as 'Thou art the one *whose setting/domain is* (*in/by/with* etc.) *Rightness*, the one who has the light of sunshine'. The suggested translation for 18,38a is, correspondingly: "Being one who sits/dwells in Rightness, one *whose setting/domain is* (*in/by/with* etc.) *Rightness*, Agni [...]".

5.3. The phraseology of *dʰáH-man-* in IIr. sacred poetry shows relevant contextual combintorics with semantic consequences for the analysis of the compound:

5.3.1. Iranian displays evidence for syntagmata containing both lexemes:

5.3.1.1. There is the theoretical possibility to interpret *Hr̥tá-dʰaHman-* as a double possessive compound according to SCHULZE/SCHINDLER's rule (above, 2.1.0.), of the meaning 'whose setting/establishment/domain is righteous', in YAv. esp. 'whose creation(s) are righteous': Such a compound would nominalize syntagmata of *dʰaH-man-* + possessive adj.s like *dāman- aṣ̌auuan-* 'righteous creation, creature(s) full of Rightness', syntagmata well-atested in YAv. texts:

– Vr. 19,1f. *... dāmą̄n aṣ̌auuanō yazamaide* '... we worship the creations, the ones full of R.';

– Vr. 7,4abc auuā̊ *dāmą̄n aṣ̌auuanō* yazamaide yā̊ hᵊn̥ti paoiriiō.*dāta* paoiriiō.fraϑβaršta aṣ̌nāaṯca apāaṯca *...* 'we worship those creations which are first/primordially created, primordially shaped, before both heaven and water'; cf. also Vr. 19,2, Yt. 6,2 (*buuaṯ dąma aṣ̌auua yaoždā̊ϑrᵊm*); Y. 19,19.

– Y. 16,3, Vr. 11,2, Vyt. 43: *pauruuā̊ dātā̊ dāmą̄n aṣ̌aonīš ᵓ daϑuš̄ō* ahurahe mazdā̊ [...] *yazamaide* 'we worship the first/primordial creations of A.M., Him-Who-has-created(-all)'.;

5.3.1.2. In GAv., Y. 48,7 states: *aṣ̌ā ... aṯ* hōi *dāmą̄m* ϑβahmī ā dąm ahurā '[protected/covered] *by/with Rightness* ...; its/his settings/domains [are] in thy house, o Ahura'. If *hōi* refers not to the man protected or the thought covered by/with Rightness but to Aša it-/himself (topicalized at the beginning of 7c), this locus will speak in favour of an underlying *Hr̥tásịa dʰáH-man-*. The corresponding bahuvrīhi will mean 'having/making creations (full) of R̥ta'.

5.3.2. Ved. *r̥tásya dhā́man-* '<u>setting</u>/domain of Rightness'; concr.: 'creation(s) of Rightness', occurs in artfully shaped stanzas such as:

RV. 1,43,9
yā́s te prajā́ amŕ̥tasya
parasmin *dhā́mann* *r̥tasya* |
mūrdhā́ nābhā́ **soma ve**na
ābhū́ṣantīḥ **soma ve**daḥ ||

The creatures [=gods] that belong to you, the immortal one—as their head you seek them <u>*in the highest domain* *of Rightness*</u> [=heaven] and in the navel (of the earth?) [=ritual ground], Soma. You will know them as the ones who attend upon (you), Soma. (modif. after Jamison / Brereton 1,153)

RV. 7,36,5:
yájante asya sakhyáṁ váyaś ca,
<u>namasvínaḥ</u> s_uvá **<u>r̥tásya</u> <u>dhā́man</u>** |
ví pŕ̥kṣo bābadhe nŕ̥bhi stávānaḥ,
idáṁ <u>*námo*</u> rudrā́ya pr_{ávi}ṣṭham ||

The <u>*reverent*</u> ones worship his fellowship and vitality <u>*on the domain* **of Rightness***</u> itself. He has thrust outward the fortifying nourishments when being praised by <u>men</u>. This <u>*reverence*</u> is <u>dearest</u> to Rudra (Jamison / Brereton 2,930, with modif.)

Cf. RV. 4,7,7:
sasásya yád víyutā sásminn
ū́dhann
<u>r̥tásya</u> <u>dhā́man</u> raṇáyanta
devā́ḥ |
mahā́ṁ agnír <u>*námasā*</u>
rātáhavyo
vér adhvarā́ya sádam íd
<u>r̥tā́vā</u> ||

When, at the separation of the grain, at the same udder [=the sacrifice[7]], <u>*on the domain* **of Rightness***</u>, the gods take pleasure, great Agni, on whom the oblation is bestowed <u>*with reverence*</u>, **the righteous one**, is always pursuing (his missions) for the ceremony (cf. Jamison / Brereton 1,570, with modif.).

as well as the collocations in RV. 10,124,3b <u>*r̥tásya*</u> <u>*dhā́ma*</u> *ví mime purū́ṇi* 'I measure out the many <u>domains</u> <u>*of Rightness*</u>' and, discontinuous, RV. 1,123,9: *r̥tásya yóṣā ná mināti* <u>*dhā́m*</u>_a 'she does not violate the domain of R.'. These formulaic attestations of *r̥tásya* <u>*dhā́man-*</u> favour an interpretation of the compound *(*H*)*r̥tá-dā́man-* < IIr. **Hr̥tá-dʰaHman-* as 'whose <u>*setting/domain*</u> is (the one) of *R.*.'.

Phraseological comparison as in § 1–5 demonstrates how the study of the syntactic structures and poetic collocations in the hymns of the Avesta and Veda turns out to be seminal for our understanding of archaic *compounds* – epithets and names – which occur not only in sacred texts but also in frameworks of everyday life such as the voluminous catalogues of personal names in the multilingual lists attested in the Persepolis archives and all over the Great Kingdom of Achaemenid Persia.

Abbreviations

(I.) (P)IE = (Proto-)Indo-European.
– (P)IIr. = (Proto-)Indo-Iranian.
– (Hom) Gk. = (Homeric) Greek.
(II.) Ved. = Vedic:
(a.) RV. = Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā.
(b.) AV. = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, esp.:
– AVŚ = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā, Śaunaka branch.
– AVP = Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā,
Paippalāda branch.
– Kauś = Kauśika-Sūtra.
(c) YV = Yajurveda, esp.:
(cα.) Black YV:
– TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
(cβ.) White YV:
– VS. = Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā.
– ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

(III.) Avestan:
(a.) GAv. = Gāthic Avestan, esp.:
– Y. = Yasna.
– YH. = Yasna Haptaŋhāiti.
(b.) YAv = 'Young(er)' Avestan, esp.:
– Y. = (Younger Avestan) Yasna.
– Yt. = Yašt.
– Vd. = Vidēvdād.
– Vr. = Vīsprad.
(IV.) Bibliographical abbreviations:
– EWAia. = MAYRHOFER 1992–2001.
– IPNB = *Iranisches Personennamenbuch.*
– IPNB 1 = MAYRHOFER 1979.
– IPNB 7/1B = ZADOK 2009.
– JBr. = JAMISON and BRERETON 2014.

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