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750. (n''ntyH /Nāndī/ f.: B N, 'yt myδrH cwn 'yntwmyc | p'nβšn n''ntyH: inscr. on two identical gems with double busts, one in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, another in the British Museum, figures in GHIRSHMAN, 1952, fig. 6, pl. XXI, 5a; BIVAR, 1969, p. 55, latest ed. by LIV., *Sānak*, p. 48; LIV., 2009, p. 248. — **P** The owner of a seal, the “Indian lady” (*'yntwmyc p'nβšn*, where *p'nβšn*, *pnnβšn* on another seal, is MP *bāmbušn* “lady”, cf. S *δβ'nprnwH* and *p'mpwšt*), 5th – 6th century. — **D** *Nāndī*, lit. “joy, satisfaction” (fem.), a typical Indian name. A.D.H. BIVAR’s reading was *Indamīč*, queen of *Začanta* and LIV.’s initial one (1969, p. 57-58, n. 52) was *z''ntyh /Ĵandī/*, given as *n'ntyh* in *Sānak*, p. 48 and 2009, p. 248; variant readings *z''ntyn*, *n'cztyh* are given apud ISKHAKOV, 2008, p. 102.)

751. n'pxwesk /Nāfxučisk?/ m.: B N, (n'')p(xwesk)?: UII, No. 79 (31: 50); cf. Fbs. Sh., p. 164. — P A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Reading is unclear, maybe parts of two different inscriptions were written the one on top of another (SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 16). If it is a single inscription, the initial part of the name is *n'(')p* “people, nation”, while the final part is a hypocoristic on *-sk* (cf. *δrxwnysk*, *kr'ysk*● (#441; #546, cf. *UI2*, p. 58). If so, the name contains S *xwc* “pleasant” in the middle.

752. n'βrtnsH /Nāvarattans?/ f.: B N(M), n'βrtnsH: HENN., So., VI, 16 (p. 7). — P A female name in a list. — **D** “Not bearing sorrow, *sans souci*”, as HENN., loc. cit.

The same construction is attested in *n'βrtpcxwnyh*, “who does not tolerate reproaches”, “Tadel nicht ertragend” (*BBB*, 82, 687; *GMS*, §1156), as HENN., *So.*, p. 8; *n' ''yt frn* (M765 k, 4, apud *GMS*, §1156, §1654) “unlucky”; cf. also SUND., *SSeele*, p. 121-2, n. 63, 2, further, cf. the name *tšβrt* (#1247) *m'nβrt* (#630), Elam. *Ba-rat-ka-ma* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.256) = IPth. *brkmk* (? , SCHMITT, 1998, p. 190).

753. (n'cr'yq- /Nāsrāyīk/ m.: B C, '' cn c'f' n'c[r]'yq': (voc.) GP, 249. — P Jesus, the Nazarene. — **D** Syr. *n'šry' /Nāsrāyāl* (more often *dnšr'*), for the formation of the adjective see SIMS-W., *Syro-S III*, p. 146.)

754. n'mδ'r /Nāmδār/ m.: **B** N, n'mδ'r 'xw xwt'wc BRY | sm'rknδc: ΔP, R19-20. — **P** A witness in the contract of 'wp'cH (#195), son of xwt'wc (#1459). — **D** “Renowned”. Since no other clear names in -δ'r “holding” have been attested in S so far, and the adjective *nāmdār* is common in MMP and NP, a borrowing from WMIr. can be assumed.

In Sogdian, the word *n'mδ'rt* “notables” (pl.) is attested in the late N(M) letter BL, B71, and YOSH. (BL, p. 116) compares it to NP *nāmdār* and understands it as a synonym to OTu. *atliγ*. One can assume a borrowing, too.

755. n'mrβ'z /?/ m.: **B** N, ZK | n'mrβ'z ZY p-'rsy-k cp-'yš: Muγ, A-14, 21-22 (SDGM, II, p. 78, cf. SĒSAS, p. 86; *Last Days*, p. 167, BOGOL., SMIR., I.1 & A14, p. 118). — **P** A person who in the company of a Persian general went “down” from Čāč in 722. — **D** Unclear.

We can read *n/z-'n/z-m-r-β-'n/z-z*. The context does not necessarily show that it is a PN, since other high authorities in A-14 are named with titles, not names (but cf. 'ztyryw, #43). Cf. also BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 9 (*z'mβr'z* “shining of the day *zāmyād*”).

756. n'n'kk /Nanak?/ m.: **B** N(A), *cnn* ZK | n'n'kk zyryn (p)r'δ(t): AL4, R2-3. — **P** A trader, owner of a certain amount of gold. — **D** A hypocoristic to a name containing *Nanaia* (cf. *nnk'*, #782, *nny'k*, #786) written with *plene* (cf. *n'nc*, #757). REI. translated *n'z'kk* “zierlich” (as S *n'zwk*); another possible, but less likely reading is *z'n'kk*, participle of the root *z'n-* “to know”, like MP *dānāg* “sage”?

757. n'nc, n'nyc /Nanič/ m.: **B1** N, *ck'wš'k* ZK *n'nc* BRY: Muγ, Nov.4, V13 (SDGM, II, p. 24, cf. SĒSAS, p. 30; YAK., *Marr.*, p. 314-315). — **P1** Father of *ck'wš'k* (#369), witness in the marriage contract. — **B2** N, *'y-kkδ'k* ZK *n'nyc* BRY: Muγ, B4, V5 (SDGM, II, p. 57, cf. SĒSAS, p. 63). — **P2** Father of *'ykkδ'k* (#224), maybe the same person with the previous.— **D** From the goddess-name *nny* with suffix -(y)c, either an adjective or, better, a hypocoristic.

† *n'ntyH* > *n''ntyH* #750

n'nyc > *n'nc* #757: 2

758. n'p /Nāfl/ m.: **B** N, - - - - - | - - - BRY (?) *n'p* (?): UI2, No. 471 (50:14); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P** The grandfather of a visitor to Shatial or

his title, if No. 471 is one inscription. — **D** Probably, to S *n'β*, *n'p* (the latter spelling is more common in epigraphy) “people, nation”. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 4a, has *n'β*•. Cf. *c'c'nnn'pc*, a title of Čač rulers (under *wwn*, #1325); Elam. *Napakka* for **Nāfaka* (MAYRHOFER, *OnP*, 8.1219), *npbrzn* in an Aramaic document from Bactria of Alexander's time (SHAKED, 2003, p. 1527, 5).

759. n'p'ns'k /*Nāf-ansāk*/ m.: **B1** N, *n'p'ns'k* | *ZK šyr'pōnk B(R)[Y]* | *nr(cy••)f*: *UII*, No. 14 (8: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *šyr'pōnk* (#1192). — **B2** N, *wxwšδβ'r* | *ZK wxwšβntk* | *n'p'ns'k*: *UII*, No. 302 (36: 86); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P2** Grandfather (?) of *wxwšδβ'r* (#1367: 4-5), father (?) of *wxwšβntk* (#1364: 3). — **D** “The one who is fitting (OIr. **ham-sāk-*, **ham-sāč-*, S *'ns'k*) the nation” (*UI2*, p. 58). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 63b (= No. 14), reads *n'p'βs'k*, where *βs'k* looks like a nominal formation to S *βs'c-* “to teach”.

760. n'p'xs, n'pxs /*Nāfaxs?*/ m.: **B1** N, *n'p'xs*: *UII*, No. 217 (34: 103); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *swpyn ZK* | *n'pxs*: *UI2*, No. 571 (Thor I, 132); *swpyn* | *ZK n'pxs* | *BRY*: *UI2*, No. 583 (Oshibat 17:32, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 51). — **P2** Father of *swp(')yn* (#1115: 2); reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 132 (= No. 571). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 58; cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*) supposes that it was originally a place-name, namely *Nāfaxs/Nāfaxš* near Samarkand in Early Islamic times, serving as a *nisba* or even PN (cf. *m'ymaryc*, #657; *'štyx'nc*, #184, *pwx'r*, #969 for derivation without suffix). S *n'p* “people, nation” in the first part?

761. n'pt'yr /*Nāpatēr?*/ m.: **B** B, *'xw n'pt'yr BRY*: *TSP*, 8, 168; *'BY' n'pt'yr δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 173. — **P** Father of *cwr'kk* (#392). — **D** Probably “not harming, ἄκακος” (S *pt'yr*, *ptyr* “harm”), as *L'β'r* (*VJ*, 317) “not riding”, cf. *n'βrtnsH* (#752).

HENN., *STP*, reads *Nāftīr*; this transcription seems to imply a derivation from *n'β*, *n'p* “people” and OIr. deity **tīri-*; the sense of the compound remains unclear to me. The MP hypocoristica in *-īr* (cf. *yw'rnyr*, #1527) seem not to be related. BENV. wrongly *†npt'yr*, corrected in *SC*, No. 227.

n'pxs > n'p'xs #760

762. (n'r'y'n /*Nārāyan*/ m.: **B** B, *kyn'k n'r'y'n* [*Ōt.*, 2918, 3, p. 87. — **P** *Nārāyaṇa*, the Indian deity in a Buddhist invocation. — **D** A correct

rendering of *Nārāyaṇa* (lit. patronym from *nāra-*); cf. Pth. *nrg'n* (HENN., 1947, p. 55; SIMS-W., *Indian elements*, p. 134).)

763. (*n'rw'n* /*Nerōn*/ m.: **B** C, *cn n'.*(*r*)[*wn*: C2, *56, V4. — **P** Emperor Nero, 54-68 CE. — **D** Syr. *n'rw'n* /*Nerōn*/, from Latin.)

764. (*n't'y k's'yp'* /*Nadī Kāšēpa*/ m.: **B** B, ZKw *pncw* | *šmnt' mx'k's'yp'* ZY '*wrpyrβ'* *k's'yp'* ZY *n't'y k's'yp'* ZY | *k'y'* *k's'yp'*: Len., 93, 18-20. — **P** A disciple of the Buddha. — **D** *Nadī Kāšyapa* (lit. “descendant of *Kāšyapa* from river”), as already translated by F. ROSENBERG, *Deux fragments*, p. 403, see further under *k's'yp'*, #523.)

765. *n'wcyrd* /*Nōčirθ*/ m.: **B**1 N, (*cy*)*tβntk* ZK *n'(w)cyrd*: UII, No. 164 (34: 50); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185. — **P**1 Father (?) of *cytβntk* (#408: 3). — **B**2 N, *n'wcyrd* | ZK (*r'z*)*n'w* (?) BRY: UII, No. 339 (39: 34); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P**2 A visitor to Shatial, son of *r'zn'w* (#1011). — **B**3 N, '*spy'm* ZK | *n'wcyrd* BRY: UII, No. 359 (39: 54); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 230. — **P**3 Father of '*spy'm* (#165: 1). — **B**4 N, *γw'zn* | ZK *n'(wc)yrδ*: UI2, No. 448 (47:11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250; hardly visible on the photo, but fairly clear on the rock, as SIMS-W., UI2, p. 14. — **P**4 Father (?) of *γw'zn* (#493: 2). — **B**5 N, *xsrδr'n* ZK *n'wcyrd* BRY: UI2, No. 608 (Dadam Das, 21:7; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 88). — **P**5 Father of *xsrδr'n* (#1421). — **D** “New family”, “new being”, for S **cyrd* “essence, memorial” see s.v. *cyrdc* (#404); the reading *n'wcyrd* is given by HUMB., *SIF*, for No. 24 (= No. 339) and No. 17a (= No. 359), while *n'w●●●* appears in his No. 33 (= No. 448).

766. *n'wmyw* /*Nōmēw*/ m.: **B** N, *n'wmyw* ZK | *δrw'spβntk*: UI2, No. 497 (53:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *δrw'spβntk* (#438: 3). — **D** “New tiger”? Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 104, cf. '*rtmyw* (#137).

767. *n'ws* /*Nōs-?*/ m.: **B** N, '*stk(yn)* | ZK *n'(ws)*[: UII, No. 155 (34: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 184. — **P** Father (?) of '*stkyn* (#172: 1). — **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., UI2, p. 59, possibly one can reconstruct *n'wsrδyc*, the first month and the New Year festival in Sogdiana. Cf. in this respect *Nawrōz-bāy*, a popular name among the Tajiks, OChor. PN *n'ws'rδyk*, LIV., 1984, p. 269, 14; n. 117 p. 284.

[*n'wz'ntyk* **B** N, *kw n'wz-'nty-k 'skw'm*: Muγ, Nov. 2, R12 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 111). — **P** A locality where *ryw'xšy'n* (#1048) was staying, or his host. — **D** A place-name. In *SDGM*, II LIV. tentatively translated it as a PN; BOGOL., *Otrazhenie*, p. 13, proposed an etymology for it. However, a toponymical interpretation of this word is possible too and, indeed, GRENET and DE LA VAISSIÈRE (*Last Days*, p. 165) identified it with the modern *Nawzandak* on the Dargham canal to the SE of Samarkand (cf. now also LIV., *SÉSAS*, p. 113). Prof. SIMS-W. kindly reminded me of *n'wzntH*, pl. “rivers” in *Dhy.*, 325, cf. SIMS-W., 1978, p. 260.]

768. *n'x* /?/ m.?: **B** N, (*n'x*) (?): *UII*, No. 310 (36: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P** A visitor to Shatial? — **D** Unclear; maybe not Sogdian, possibly unfinished. Cf. *pykn'x* (#978).

n'xyd > *n'xt* #94: 2

n'z'kk > *n'n'kk* #756

769. *n'zwyyzd* /*Nāzuyyazd*/ m.: **B** M, *xwt'w βyyh mry n'zwyyzd*: M118, I, Hdl, apud *BBB*, p. 11; Dr. COLDITZ kindly informed me that the fifth letter of the name is γ, and not g, pace HENN. — **P** The author of an unpublished treatise? Probably the same person as *n'zwgy'zd*, the “teacher” of the Eastern diocese (*BBB*, p. 11; p. 24, line 214-215); MORANO, 2007, p. 242, describes the text as “questions by a pupil to a teacher, Mār Nāzuyyazd”. — **D** WMIr. “Delicate (by) god”, or “Young god”; cf. *comparanda* in TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 430 n. 48.

†*nβrk* > *nrkk* #813: 3

770. (*nβš'* /*Nəfšā*, *Navušā*?/ f.: **B** N(M), *J(y) nβš' xwty*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR1, 441, p. 42; *ZKwy* | *nβš' pt'y-cy*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR5-6, 445-6, p. 42; *ZK nβš' py'mt' ZY'krt'*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR7, 447, p. 42; *nβš' xw'rH*: *MKG*, 3.3 IR11, 451, p. 42; *ZKH nβš'*: *MKG*, 19, 2, 2050, p. 123. — **P** A woman (see SIMS-W. apud *MKG*, p. 42, n. 2), sister of *t'δyyH* (#1212), who was healed by Mār Addā. — **D** She is called *nβš'* in the MP shorter version of the story. SUND. (*MKG*, p. 41-42) understands it as Syr. *nβš'* /*Nəpšā*/ “soul, self”. TUBACH, 1996, p. 205 ff., notes that this would not be a typical Aramaic name and

proposes to derive it from *Nabūšā*, a hypocoristic from *Nabūšūr(ī)* “Nabū ist meine feste Burg”.

He explains the irregular rendering of Aram. /b/ or /β/ through MP <p> in admitting a dialect close to Mandaean (with its mixture of *p* and *b*) as the source of the Iranian form, but does not discuss, however, the suspicious absence of *wāw* for /-ū-/ in Mir. forms.)

771. nβwδ'k /Nəvōδak?/ m.: **B** N, *zyp'k ky ZY ZK pyšn'm'k nβwδ'k ZKw βwrz BRY*: Muγ, Nov.4, V5-6 (*SDGM*, II, p. 22, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 30; *YAK.*, *Marr.*, p. 312). — **P** “After-name” of *zyp'k* (#1574). — **D** Probably, *nβwδ* is related to OInd. *ni-budh-* “to learn, hear”, Pšt *hwastəl*, Pres. *lwal* (< **ni-baud-*) “to read” (*EVP*, p. 41; *ÉSIIJa*, II, p. 140; cf., however, *NEVP*, p. 46, where this etymology is rejected) + present participle suffix *-'k*, see *Pyšn'm'k*, p. 237 n. 35. Cf. also OChor. *prβwδk*, *LIV.*, 1984, p. 268, 11; n. 74 p. 282, from **fra-bauda-ka-*.

772. nβwγycw /Nuvvγič?/ m.: **B** N, *n-βw-γ-y-cw* (?): *Graff.*, No. 13. — **P** A graffito on a *Buxārxudāh* drachm, mid-8th century. — **D** The reading is unsure. Possibly to S *nβγ*, *ηγwβ* “excellent” with a hypocoristic *-yc*, graphical final *-w* and particular metathesis of this multishaped root. Cf. *nβγγβntk* (#774).

773. (nbwkdncr /Nəvuxadnāssar/ m.: **B** C, *mwrty xw nbwkdncr xšywny*: C22, 5, 30 (*STii*, p. 32). — **P** Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylon (605-562 BCE). — **D** Syr. *nbwkdnšr* /Nəβukadnāšsar/.)

774. nβγγβntk /Navγyvande?/ m.: **B** N, *nβγγβntk* | (*ywx*)*twnc* | *ZK nny-p(r)n* | (*nn*)*y●●*: *UII*, No. 106 (31: 77); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, brother (?) of *ywx**twnc* (#1535), son (?) of *nnyprn* (#798: 3). — **D** “Slave of *nβγγ*”. *SIMS-W.* sees in *nβγγ* the name or an epithet of an unknown deity, perhaps a variant of *nβγ-*, *ηγβ-*, *ηγwβ-* “excellent” (*UI2*, p. 59), cf. also *nβwγycw* (#772).

HUMB., *SIF*, p. 203, supposes that *nβγγ* is “book”, a late borrowing from MP, Pth. *nbyg* (alongside older and well attested *npyk*), signifying a proselyte of a “book-religion”, *prima facie*, Manicheism. However, the inscriptions of the *UI* are probably too early for assuming such a derivation. Is *Nabi* (那鼻, EMCh. *na'-bji^h*), the ruler of Kangju according to Jinshu (SHIRATORI, 1928, p. 90) also related here? An ambassador of the Chinese to Tujue in 545, An Nuopantuo (安諾槃陀, EMCh. *nak-ban-da*, see DE LA

VAISSIÈRE, *HMS II*, p. 204-5), may have had the same name, in a metathetic variant **naɣvɣande* (alternatively, cf. under 'n'xtβntk #95).

775. *nɣnp'k* /Naɣnpāk/ m.: **B** N, *rty pr nɣnp'k 'zɣ'nt 'ys*: Muɣ, B-11, 8; *ZNH nɣnp'k*: Muɣ, B-11, 9 (*SDGM*, II, p. 147, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 170; *SDGM*, III, p. 82). — **P** A person who was expected to deliver some goods to the steward 'wt (#204). — **D** LIV. reads *nš'p'k* without an etymology, BOGOL., SMIR. have *nɣnp'k*, from *nɣn* “bread” + OIr. **pāka-* “baker”, as NP *nānwāy*, maybe in the sense of a nickname after the person's profession. Cf. also under *š'n'kk* (#1151)?

776. *nɣnyc* /Naɣnič/ m.: **B** N, *rtšw ZK nɣnyc 'st*: Muɣ, Nov.1 R31 (*SDGM*, III, p. 38). — **P** A recipient of lambskins (? , *w'ry'k*). — **D** Possibly a nickname, a hypocoristic to a name containing *nɣn* “bread” (cf. *nɣnp'k*, #775), as BOGOL., SMIR., p. 96.

777. (*nksyntr* /Naksēndar/ m.: **B** N(M), *rtxw nksyntr | MLK'*: *Magi*, 26-27; (*nksyntr* '(x)[šyδ (?): *Ōt.*, 7266, 5, p. 132. — **P** Alexander (the Great). — **D** A rendering of Gr. *Ἀλέξανδρος*, Syriac 'lksndrws.

For the foreign *l* rendered with *n* cf. S (*δst*) 'ncn “aṅjalī”; Chor. *nšk'r* from NP *laškar* (differently SCHWARTZ, *STSC2*, p. 204-205). The two occurrences of this name in the same spelling with the initial *n-* make HENN.'s (*Magi*, p. 141, n. 2) idea of corruption unlikely. On the other hand, cf. S N(M) 'lxsntH [*knδH?*] (*Ōt.*, 7266, 2, p. 132); *rxsy-nt 'y-kyrδ* (*MKG*, 3.2 R36, 395, p. 39, to be restored as **rxsy-nt 'y-rkyrδ* (?), as SUND., loc. cit.) for Alexandria, CS 'lksndr' (#70); maybe the Early Islamic parallel name of Zāmīn in Ustrušana, namely *Salsanda Bulis*, comes from **ς Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεις* (?; cf. Pāli *Alasanda*), *ILAST*, p. 161-171.)

778. *nm'δkyncH* /Namāθkēnj/ f.: **B** N(M), *nm'δkyncH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 20 (p. 7 + errata). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** HENN., *So.*, p. 8 gives a long argument in favour of deriving this name from OIr. **nalimaθka-* “salt” (with a fem. suffix).

The name meaning “salty” should be compared with “defensive” names used today among Tajiks, like *Xokiroh* “road-dirt” etc. (cf. RÁSONYI, 1953, p. 325-6). The “antonymic” PN *škry*, S “sugar” is attested in an Uyghur text, HENN. apud HAMILTON, 1986, p. 89.

†*nmyδkyncH* > *nm'δkyncH* #778

779. nn- /*Nan?*/ f.?: **B** N, *pncy nnδβ'm(-)pnH*; *pncy nn(δ)-βnpnwH*: coin, SMIR., *Sv. Kat.*, No. 758-996, p. 233-255, Table XXV-XXVIII. — **P** The legend on numerous coins from Panjakent (three types), from the time of Δēwāštīč's rule (#471; before 722). It is unambiguously translated as “Nanaia, the lady of Panch”, but further interpretation remains unclear. — **D** A short form of S *nny* “Nanaia”, even if not as a PN here.

Many details on this coin-type still represent an unsolved problem in the field of Sogdian numismatics. HENN., *S God*, p. 252, n. 67, 68, compared the legend with *nnδβ'mbn* “Nana the Lady” in *Magi*, p. 143, 20, and considered that Δēwāštīč issued his coins in the name of the most popular divinity. O.I. SMIRNOVA in various publications considered different explanations of the coin, such as monetary issues of Panjakent Nanaia temple (1967, p. 34-36) or the name of a queen (even two queens!) of Panjakent (*Sv. Kat.*, p. 48 ff.). LIV., *Praviteli Pancha*, p. 64-65, thinks that these coins were issued by Δēwāštīč (stratigraphically, these coins belong to his time, early 8th century), but in the name of his (chief) wife, whose name was *Nana*; so he translates the legend as “Nana, the Ruler of Panch”. Note that *nnδβ'mbn* in the MS text can also be a term used for a kind of priest(ess).

780. nn'rt'r, nn'rs'r /*Nan-artār?*/ m.: **B** N, *nn'rs(')r*: *UII*, No. 21 (17: 16); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137; *nn'rs'r* | *kyrcp'y BRY*: *UII*, No. 114 (31: 85); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 169; *nn'rt'r*: *UII*, No. 134 (32: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 175; *nn'rt'r* | *ZK* | *kyrcp'y* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 249 (36: 33) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 207. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *kyrcp'y* (#616). — **D** Unclear. *nn* is a short form of *nny* “Nanaia”, *'rs'r*/*'rt'r* is unclear. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 59, takes the second form as correct. However, a shift of *t* and *s* is unknown in S, but we may suppose a limited scope of literacy of the visitor. *-rt'r* is proposed to be equated (*UI2*, p. 59) with Oss. *ældar*, *ærdar* “chief”, Pont. Ir. PNs *Ἀρδαρος*, *Ἀρδάρακος*, *Ἀρδαρίσκος* and to be derived from OIr. **artar-*, OInd. *aritar-* “helmsman”, see also *Step. Ir.*, No. 4 (for different explanations of the Oss. word see *IÉSOJa*, I, p. 126-128; BOGOL., SMIR., *SDGM*, III, p. 110; TOKHTASJEV, 1995). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 75, has *x'rs'r*.

†nncw 'yrtkyn > yncw 'yrtkyn #1511

nnδβ'mpnH, nnδβnpnwH > nn- #779

781. nnyny /*Nanyani?*/ m.: **B** N, (*t- - - -*) | (*kt - - - -*) | (*nn*)*yny*: *UII*, No. 285 (36: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 212. — **P** A visitor to Shatial (if the third line belongs to a separate inscription), or some relative or attribute of the visitor *t*

- - - (#1301: 2). — **D** SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 59) understands it as “power of Nanaia”, where *-ɣny* belongs to S *ɣn* (light stem) “power, skill, bravery”.

Cf. *pwnyɣny* in an Uygh. text, lit. “full of power” (HENN. apud HAMILTON, 1986, p. 89); *nnk'* (#782), *nn'rt'r* (#780) for a short form /*Nan*/ of usual *nnny* /*Nanē*, *Nanai*).

782. *nnk'* /*Nanak, Nang, Nanka?*/ m.: **B1** N, *wn'nt ZK nnk' BRY: UII*, No. 346 (39: 41); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P1** Father of *wn'nt* (#1314). — **B2** N, *nnk'* (?) *ZK: UI2*, No. 418 (41:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243; one can read 'k' as well. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic to *nn*, the short form of *nnny*, Nanaia.

A similarly sounding name we meet in the Chinese rendering *Nengjia* (能迦, EMCh. *nəŋ-kia*.; see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64). Reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 91b (= No. 346); No. 32 (= No. 418).

†*nnpkkn* > *znprkz* #1559

783. *nnny* /*Nanē*/ m.?: **B1** N, *nn(y): UII*, No. 22 (17: 17); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137; *nnny: UII*, No. 56 (30: 7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 153-4; *n(n)y: UII*, No. 279 (36: 63); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *xsr(δ)my(w) | nn(y): UII*, No. 176 (34: 62); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 187. — **P2** Father (?) of *xsrδmyw* (#1420), if it is not a separate inscription. — **B3** N, *rwδ'k | šyrwz'(n) | BRY nny: UII*, No. 311 (36: 95); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 215. — **P3** A name somehow related to *rwδ'k* (#1030), if this word, written in larger letters, belongs to the same inscription. If not, a separate visitor. — **D** An abbreviated name, beginning with Nanaia? The same for Chinese rendering *Nini* (尼尼, EMCh. *nri-nri*, KARLGREN's *ni'-ni'*, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64), *Erer* (兒兒, EMCh. *niā-ni*, IKEDA, 1965, p. 67). In *UI* No. 22 the name is possibly incomplete.

784. *nnny'βy'rt* /*Nanē-əvyart*/ m.: **B** N, *nnny'βy'rt: UII*, No. 51(27: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 150. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Received (through, by) Nanaia”, cf. *βy'βy'rt* (#276), *krzβy'rt* (#558) etc., *nnny'βy't* (#785).

785. *nnny'βy't* /*Nanē-əvyart?*/ m.: **B** N, *nnny'βy't smyδnc*: coin, SMIR., 1967, p. 36-39, cf. also *www.zeno.ru*, No. 36094; No. 59153. — **P** The person who issued copper coins of Chinese type, native of *Səmēθan* (?), see *smyδnc*, #1078). — **D** SMIR. transliterated *nnny/β'βy't* or *nnny/ββ'y't* with Nanaia as the first element. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 198, No. 14 with n. 27,

compares the second element with OIr. **abi-yāta* “erinnert”. Maybe, a weakly written *nyy'βy'rt* (#784)?

786. *nyy'kk, nny'k* /Nanē'ak/ m.: **B1** N, *nyy'kk* ZK | *sw'βr* | BRY: *UII*, 24 (17: 19); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *sw'βr* (#1107). — **B2** N, *βyrywβntk* | ZK *nyy'kk* BRY: *UII*, No. 55 (30: 6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 153; *βyrywβntk* | ZK *nyy'kk* BRY: *UII*, No. 210 (34: 96); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191; *βyrywβntk* | ZK *nyy'kk*: *UI2*, No. 450 (47:13); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250. — **P2** Father of *βyrywβntk* (#281). — **B3** N, *prnmyδn nny'k*: *UII*, No. 74 (31: 45); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164. — **P3** Father (?) of *prnmyδn* (#908: 1). — **B4** N, *nyy'k*: *UII*, No. 84 (31: 55); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165; *n(n)y(')kk*: *UII*, No. 318 (36: 102) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 216; *nyy'kk*: *UII*, No. 376 (39: 71); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *nyy'k*: *UII*, No. 383 (39: 78); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 234; poorly written in Nos. 318, 376. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial. — **B5** N, *'βy'ryk* | *nyy'kk* | ZK *'r'●* (?) | BRY: *UII*, No. 238 (35: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 202. — **P5** A visitor to Shatial, son of *'r'●* (#124), companion (?) of *'βy'ryk* (#54). — **D** The *-kk* hypocoristic to a name containing Nanaia. This reading was proposed by HUMB., *SIF*, for No. 112a (=24), 60 (=55), 113 (=210), 36b (=450), No. 17h (= 383). See also *nyw'kk* (#856).

787. *nyyβntk* /Nanēvandel/ m.: **B1** N(A), *]p(yšt M)N* | *[xypδ] (βntk nnyβntk): AL2 (2)*, Envelope, 6-7; *pyšt [MN] | xypδ βn(t)[k] | (nny)βntk: V1-3-5; pyšt MN xypδ βntk | nnyβntk: AL2 (2), R2-3.* — **P1** The sender of *AL2*, the Sogdian merchant in Gansu, possibly son of *tkwt* (#1226). — **B2** N, *nyyβntk[| - - - - - - - : UII*, No. 33 (20: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 142; *nyyβntk: UII*, No. 48 (26: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148; No. 54 (29: 3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 152; *nyyβnt(k): UII*, No. 74 (31: 45); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 164; *(nny)β(nt)k: UII*, No. 195 (34: 81); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 189; *nn(yβ){ntk}: UII*, No. 351 (39: 46); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229; *nyyβntk: UII*, No. 373 (39: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, maybe several namesakes; No. 195 may belong to No. 194 (*y(st)'tm* | (*y)yt*), reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9d (= No. 373). — **B3** N, *xwn ZK | nnyβntk | B{RY}: UII*, No. 44 (25: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 148. — **P3** Father of *xwn* (#1442: 2); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 118. — **B4** N, *xš'yt ZK | nnyβntk BRY: UII*, No. 91 (31: 62); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 166. — **P4** Father of *xš'yt* (#1424: 1); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 65b. — **B5** N, *δ(s) (?) nnyβntk: UII*, No. 99 (31: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P5** Either the father of *δs* (#445) or the name of a visitor to Shatial, *δs* being “ten”. — **B6** N, *nyy(βnt)k | (ZK) (?) β(rz)k: UII*, No. 167A (No. 34: 53A in *UII*, and 34:172 in *Fbs. Sh.*, p.

201). — **P6** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *brzk* (#313: 3). — **B7** N, *nnyβntk* | *ZK pysk BRY: UII*, No. 181 (34: 67); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P7** A visitor to Shatial, son of *pysk* (#987: 6); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 50. — **B8** N, [*']pzymyδ '(')yt* | (*nny*)*βntk ZK* | *γwšprn BRY: UII*, No. 229 (34: 115); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 194; *'pzymyδ ''yt* | *nnyβntk ZK* | *γwšprn BRY: UI2*, No. 542 (105:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275. — **P8** A visitor to Shatial, son of *γwšprn* (#500), probably identical with #787: 12; cf. under *γwšprn*. — **B9** N, *δwrk ZK nnyβnt(k)* | *B(R)Y: UII*, No. 245 (36: 29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 206; *δwrk* | *nnyβntk: UII*, No. 280 (36: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211; *δ(wrk)* | (*ZK*) (?) | *nnyβntk* | *BRY: UII*, No. 330 (39: 25); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 226; *δwrk ZK nny(βn)tk: UI2*, No. 499 (53:5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 259; *nnyβntk* | *δwrk ZK: UI2*, No. 645 (Dadam Das 48:78, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 123). — **P9** Father of *δwrk* (#452: 2). Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 43b (=No. 280); for “inverted” word order in No. 645 cf. s.v. *pysk* (#987: 2). — **B10** N, *nnyβntk* | *ZK nrsβ* | *''ytkym...: UII*, No. 254 (36: 38) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P10** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *nrsβ* (#815: 1), the author of the longest inscription in the Upper Indus corpus, who was going towards Tāšquryān (see YOSH., *Misc. III*, p. 237-238). Reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 126. — **B11** N, *nnyβntk* | *ZK šyrprn* | *xrnm'rn: UII*, No. 268 (36: 52) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209; *nnyβntk ZK šy(r)p(rn)* | *BRY: UII*, No. 374 (39: 69); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P11** A visitor to Shatial, son of *šyrprn* (#1198); reading given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 48 (= No. 268) and No. 9f (= No. 374). — **B12** N, *nnyprn ZK* | *nnyβntk BRY* | *yry'mc: UII*, No. 347 (39: 42); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229; *nn(y)prn ZK nnyβn(tk)* *B(R)Y: UI2*, No. 536 (55:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 269; *nnyprn ZK* | *nnyβntk BRY: UI2*, 544 (105:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275; *nnypr(n)* | (*ZK*) *nny(β)ntk: UI2*, No. 547 (106:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 276. — **P12** Father of *nnyprn* (#798: 6), probably the same person as #787: 8; the reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 88 (= No. 347) and No. 84 (= No. 544). See also under *γwšprn* (#500). — **B13** N, *nnyβntk ZK* | *txs'ycβntk BRY: UII*, No. 369 (39: 64); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 232. — **P13** A visitor to Shatial, son of *txs'ycβntk* (#1274: 3); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9e. — **B14** N, *nnyβntk ZK* | *wxwprn''n* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 439 (44:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 247. — **P14** A visitor to Shatial, son of *wxwprn''n* (#1361); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 121. — **B15** N, (*š*)'n'kk *ZK* | *nnyβntk BRY: UI2*, No. 505 (53:11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P15** Father of *š'n'kk* (#1151: 2). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 86b, reads *'rwtk*. — **B16** N, *nnyβntk ZK* | *δrymtβntk: UI2*, No. 609 (Dadam Das, 21:8; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 93); *nnyβntk ZK* | (*δ*)*rym(tβn)tk (BRY)* (*š*)*y(rw'β)k* (?) : *UI2*, No. 615 (Dadam Das, 22:5; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). — **P16** A visitor to Dadam Das, son of *δrymtβntk* (#443: 1); note partial identity of

the father's and the son's names. — **B17** N, *rntc* | *nnyβn(t)[k]* | *BRY: UII*, No. 15 (9: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — **P17** Father of *rntc* (#1016). — **B18** N, *ZKw nym'k* | *nnyβnt'k δβr't*: *Panj.-2001*, 1, R2-3, p. 84-85. — **P18** A supplier of some goods (?) in Panjakent. — **D** “Slave of Nanaia”, as first suggested by SCHAEDEER, 1942, p. 10-11, n. 1 (discussing *AL*). This Sogdian name, one of the most popular ones, is also rendered in other Central Asian languages: Niya Khar. *Nani-vadhagā* (WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 198 n. 28, DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *HMS II*, p. 58), Chinese *Naningpantuo* (那寧畔陀, YOSH., KAGEYAMA, 2005), Bct. *Navnβανδο*. See also under ●w(●●skk) (#1663).

788. nnyc /*Nanič*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyc* (??): *UI2*, No. 640 (Dadam Das, 47:5, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 112). — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic to a name with *nny-*, cf. *n'n(y)c* (#757). However, the reading is unsure, maybe not Sogdian at all.

789. nnyδ't, nnyδt /*Nanēdat*/ m.: **B** N(A), 'nyw *ZY nny(δt) pntrw* | *nyst: AL1* (2), R4-5; 'st *kδ* | *nnyδt tys't: AL1* (2), R8-9; 'D *βγw* | *xwt'w* | *nnyδ('t): AL3*, Vb1-3; 'D *βγw xwt'w βγ'ny BRY nnyδ't: AL3*, R1; *L'ZY nnyδt βntk* [']ym: *AL3* R10; '(D) *βγw xwt'w nnyδ't: AL3*, R27. — **P** A merchant, husband of *mywn'yH* (#741), father of *š'ynH* (#1162), addressee of the Ancient Letter 3. — **D** “Given by Nanaia”.

For the shortening of the last syllable cf. 'spndt (#160); *GMS*, §122. The name was for the first time interpreted by SCHAEDEER, 1942, p. 10, n. 1; his reasoning for regarding this name as a WMIr. loan was probably based on the observation that in S one expects *δβ'r* rather than *δ('t)* “gift, given”. However, such names as 'spnd('t), 'xwrmzt't (#217) etc. demonstrate some exclusively S features which can hardly be explained as borrowings; however these names seem to have preserved an archaic model which was not used in the appellative lexicon (as it was kindly suggested by Prof. SCHMITT).

790. nny δ'yH /*Nanēdāy*/ f.: **B** N(M), *nny δ'yH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 14 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in the list. — **D** “Maid-servant of Nanaia” (HENN., *So.*, p. 7), the female counterpart of *nnyβntk* (#787).

791. nnyδβ'r, nnyδβ'r /*Nanēθvār*/ m.: **B1** N(A), 'D *βγ(w)* | *xwt'(w)* | *βr(z)kkw* | *nn(yδβ)'r(w)* | *k'n'(kkw): AL2* (2), V1-5 (graph. acc.); 'D *βγw xwt'w βrz'kkw nnyδβ'r'rw k'n'kk: AL2* (2), R1 (graph. acc.); [*xwt']y (nnyδβ'r): AL2* (2), R44; 'HRZY *nnyδβ'r: AL2* (2), R52. — **P1** Father (?) of *βrz'kk* (#313: 1), a merchant in Samarkand of the family *k'n'kk* (#516: 1). — **B2** N, *nnyδβ'r* | *ZK 'spcwβync: UII*, No. 17 (15: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 134;

nnyδβ'(r) ZK | *'spcwβγ(n)c: UI2*, No. 585 (Oshibat, 17:34, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 52). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, Oshibat, son (?) of *'spcwβync* (#163); reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 128 (= No. 17); see also *wysrn* (#1384). — **B3** N, *nnyxs'y* | *ZK (nn)yδβ'r: UII*, No. 392 (39: 87); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P3** Father of *nnyxs'y* (#806). — **B4** N, *nnyδβ'r* | *kwnt BRY: UII*, No. 349 (39: 44); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229. — **P4** A visitor to Shatial, son of *kwnt* (#587: 5). — **D** “Gift of Nanaia”, as already suggested by SCHAEEDER, 1942, p. 10-11, n. 1, discussing *AL*.

nnyδt > nnyδ't #789

792. nnykk' /*Nanēk'?*/ m.: **B** N, *(nn)y(kk')(?)*: *UII*, No. 28 (18: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 141. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** A hypocoristic based on *nny*, cf. *nny'kk* (#786). For the final (silent) *aleph* see *UI2*, p. 38; cf. also s.v. *šykk* (#1186). The reading is, however, uncertain.

793. nnykwc /*Nanēkawič'?*/ m.: **B** N, *nyz't 'xw nnykwc* | *BRY 'kwš'nyk: ΔP*, R20-21. — **P** Father of *nyz't* (#860). — **D** YOSH. (*ΔP*, p. 28) understands this name as “mouth (*kwc'*) of *nny*”. Alternatively, a hypocoristic or an adjective to *nny-k(')w* “hero of Nanaia”, cf. *kw'*, *kwcy* (#570, 574), etc. (although hypocoristic in *-c* is rarely attached to compound PNs).

794. nny m'ncH /*Nanēmānj'*/ f.: **B** N(M), *nny m'ncH*: *HENN., So.*, VI, 12 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** Probably “resembling Nanaia” (*HENN., So.*, p. 7, *m'ncH* is fem. for *m'n'kw* “look, alike”), or maybe “thought of Nanaia” (fem. for *m'n'k*, *m'n'y* “thought, opinion”)?

It is also indirectly attested in Toch. A *Nanemāñc* (apud TREMBLAY, 2005, p. 430 n. 44; cf. also *Širmāñca*, op. cit., p. 439); cf. *βym'ncH* (#279), *xwšm'ncH* (#1456).

795. nnymwš' /*Nanēmūša'?*/ m.?: **B** N, *nnymwš'*: *UII*, No. 25 (17: 21); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 137. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Nanaia + *mwš'*”, cf. *mwš'* (#711). On the photo one can see *nnymwšc* as well. Could *mwš'* be “mouse” (as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 57)?

796. nnynzδ, nnynzt /*Nanēnazd'?*/ m.: **B1** N, *nnynzt ZK* | *(k)wnt'kk BRY* | *δ'nδ't (?) npyšn (?)*: *UII*, No. 271 (36: 55) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 210; *nnynzt: UI2*, No. 420 (40:12); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 243. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of

kwnt'kk (#588: 1), grandson (?) of $\delta'n\delta't$ (#415). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 42b (=271) and 31a (=420) has *nnyr't*. — **B2** N, *nny-nzδ pr'p*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 10, p. 137-138. — **P2** A name (?) inscribed on a bone fragment. — **D** “(The one who is) close to Nanaia”. Equally, one can read *nnyznt* “Song of Nanaia”, cf. *nnyznc* (#807; both variants proposed by SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 60).

As for the inscription from Panjakent, the editors read *nyr-nyδ* or *zyr-nyδ* as a compound name (without giving any etymology). However, it is more likely that this is a pendant to *nnyznt* in an irregular orthography (cf. names on *-yzt*, *-yzδ*). Prof. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly suggested an alternative explanation: to see at the end **znδ*, from OIr. **zantu-/zanθv-* “clan”.

797. nnyprn'n /*Nanēframān*/ m.: **B** N, (')*βy'mnyw'k* | *nnypr(r)m'n*: *UI2*, No. 523 (53:29); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — **P** Father (?) of *'βy'mnyw'k* (#53). — **D** “Command of Nanaia”, cf. *šyrprn'n* (#1196), *wxwprn'n* (#1361).

798. nnyprn /*Nanēfarn*/ m.: **B1** B, *nnyprn dšt'*: *TSP*, 8, 181. — **P1** A person mentioned in the colophon. — **B2** N, *nnyprn*: *UII*, No. 1 (1: 6), cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 119; *n(ny)p(r)[n* (?): *UII*, No. 212 (34: 98); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 192; *nnyprn ZK*: *UII*, No. 375 (39: 70); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 233; *nnyprn*: *UI2*, No. 658 (Thalpan III, 85). — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, Thalpan; in No. 212 rather uncertain; reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 9f (= No. 375). — **B3** N, *nβyγβntk* | (*ywx*)*twnc* | *ZK nny-p(r)n* | (*nn*)*y●●*: *UII*, No. 106 (31: 77); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P3** Father (or grandfather) of *nβyγβntk* (#774; and *ywxtwnc*, #1535?). — **B4** N, *ZY nny-prn ZK βyγw'rz* | *BRY*: Муγ, B-8, V1-2 (*SDGM*, II, p. 47, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 52; SMIR., *Ocherki*, p. 108, GRENET, *Pratiques*, p. 314). — **P4** A witness in the deed of selling *nā'ūs*, son of *βyγw'rz* (#284: 1). — **B5** N, *nnyprn* | *ZK xm'c*: *UII*, No. 182 (34: 68); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 188. — **P5** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *xm'c* (#1405); reading by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 50c. — **B6** N, *nnyprn ZK* | *nnyβntk BRY* | *yry'mc*: *UII*, No. 347 (39: 42); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 229; *nn(y)prn ZK nnyβn(tk) B(R)Y*: *UI2*, No. 536 (55:3); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 269; *nnyprn ZK* | *nnyβntk BRY*: *UI2*, 544 (105:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 275; *nnypr(n)* | (*ZK*) *nny(β)ntk*: *UI2*, No. 547 (106:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 276. — **P6** A visitor to Shatial, son of *nnyβntk* (#787: 12); reading already given by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 88 (= No. 347) and No. 83 (= No. 544); note parallelism between the names of father and son, further s.v. *γwšprn* (#500). — **D** “Glory of Nanaia” (firstly, HENN., *STP*, p. 737).

It is rendered as *Naningpan* (那寧潘, *nā-nieng-p'uân*, YOSH., *PNSChS*), *Ningningfen* (寧寧忿, EMCh. *nejj-nejj-p^hun^h*, see IKEDA, 1965, p. 64, with etymology; WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 198-9, No. 14) in the Chinese texts; *nenephara* in Brāhmī (O. von HINÜBER apud *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 269); cf. also IPth. *nnypr(nk)* (SCHMITT, 1998, p. 180).

799. nnyr't /*Nanērāt*/ m.: **B1** N, *nnyr't* | *ZK kwnt* | *BRY: UI2*, No. 467 (50:10); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 254. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial, son of *kwnt* (#587: 8). — **B2** *ʔnnyr't* > *nnynzt* (#796: 1). — **D** “Gift of Nanaia”, cf. *tyšr't* (#1293), *nwy r't* (#844). Reading already by HUMB., *SIF*, No. 5.

800. nny(r●●●) /*Nanē-ʔ*/ m.: **B** N, *nny(r●●●)*: *UII*, No. 121 (31: 92); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 170. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** “Nanaia+?”, poorly written, the unclear letters do not fit any known name (SIMS-W., *UII*, p. 18). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 80, has *nny●●●●*.

801. nny šyrH /*Nanēšir*/ f.: **B** N(M), *nny šyrH*: *HENN., So.*, VI, 13 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** “Good (for, through) Nanaia”; *HENN., So.*, p. 7: “Having N. as her friend”, cf. *δ'p'tšyrH* (#417), *m'xšyrH* (#649), *δywtyšyrH* (#424).

802. nnyw /*Nanēyōčʔ*/ m.: **B** N, *nn(yw)* (?): *UI2*, No. 620 (Dadam Das, No. 23:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 96). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** Unfinished, cf. *nnywc* (#803)?

803. nnywc /*Nanēyōčʔ*/ m.: **B** N, *nny(wc ZK)* (?) | - - - - : *UI2*, No. 612 (Dadam Das, 22:2; cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 94). — **P** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** “Teaching of Nanaia”, cf. *βxtywc* (#341)?

804. nnywnwn /*Nanēwanwan*/ m.: **B** N, *nn(y)wn(wn) ZK* | *δrym't BR[Y]*: *UII*, No. 208 (34: 94); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 191. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *δrym't* (#442: 2?). SIMS-W. (*Fbs. DD*, p. 93) takes into account the possibility of reading this inscription as Dadam-das 21: 8 (*nnyβntk ZK δrymβntk*), but considers such a reading as palaeographically difficult. — **D** “Victory (of) Nanaia”, cf. *rzmwnwn* (#1056), *wnwn* (#1325), *wnwnδ* (#1326). HUMB., *SIF*, No. 95b, has *twxc* (?), and SIMS-W. does not exclude *nnyβnt*, for which cf. Bct. PN *vanηβαvδο*.

805. nnyH-βntk /*Nanēvandel*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyH-βntk* | 'wxsrδ: SIMS-W., *Seals and Sealings*, p. 313, pl. 61. — **P** The owner of a seal (or the owner's

father), not later than the 4th century. — **D** See *nnyβntk* (#787); the final *-H* in *nnyH* is the feminine gender-marker, cf. *xšwrδH-βntk* (#1426) on a roughly contemporary seal; *δrw'spH m'xw* (#439).

806. nnyxs'y /*Nanēxsāy*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyxs'y* | *ZK (nn)yδβ'r*: *UII*, No. 392 (39: 87); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235; *nnyxs'y ZK ptrwδ(n)*: *UII*, No. 393 (39: 88); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 235. — **P** A visitor to Shatial; the location of the two inscriptions next to each other and similarities in the handwriting suggest that we have one and the same person, *nnyδβ'r* (#791: 3) being patronymic and *ptrwδn* (#943) a clan-name or *nisba*. Alternatively, grandfather and nephew were namesakes (as SIMS-W., *Ir. Inscr. Shatial*, p. 530). — **D** “Nanaia the ruler”, if *xs'y* here renders OIr. **xšāya-*, with **xš>xs*, as in *xsyn'kk* (#1422), *xsrδ'k* (#1419), as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 61, cf. *Step. Ir.*, No. 37. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 16b, has in both cases *nntxs'y*, corrected by LIV. to *nnyxs'y* (apud *SIF*, p. 227).

807. nnyznc /*Nanēzanj*/ m.: **B** N, *nnyznc (ZK) δ(y)βδ's* | - - - *c*: *UII*, No. 100 (31: 71); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 167. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *δyβδ's* (#461). The third or the fourth word (or both) may not belong to the same inscription. — **D** “Song of Nanaia”? SIMS-W. (*UI2*, p. 61) supposes that in the second part we have a variant **znc* to *S znt* “song” < **zanti-*, less likely a hypocoristic *nny-znt-c* (cf. #796), since *-c* is not usually attached to a compound name.

808. nny●●, nny- - - /*Nanē-*/ m.?: **B1** N, *nβyyβntk* | (*ywx*)*twnc* | *ZK nny-p(r)n* | (*nn*)*y●●*: *UII*, No. 106 (31: 77); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 168. — **P1** A pro-patronymic of *nβyyβntk* (#774; and *ywx**twnc*, #1535)? Maybe a separate inscription. **B2** N, *nny- - -*: *UI2*, No. 626 (Dadam Das, 25:3, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 97). — **P2** A visitor to Dadam Das. — **D** “Nanaia + ?”.

809. np''k /?/ m.: **B** N, *np''k* (?): *UI2*, No. 481 (50:24); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 255. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; cf. *S np'k* “hostage” (to the references in *SD* add *ΔP*, R10); see also under *zyp'k* (#1574), maybe *'np●●k* (#104)? Other possibilities include *npy'k*, *wp''k* and *my'k* (which is analysed under *'my'rcw*, #92); cf. also Bct. PN *Naβαγο*.

810. nrck /*Naričk?*/ m.: **B** N, (*w*)*nwnxsrδ* | *ZK nrck BRY*: *UI2*, No. 465 (50:8); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 253. — **P** Father of *wnwnxsrδ* (#1327). — **D** *S nr*

“male” + suffixes *-c-* and *-’kk*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 61. Cf. *nrkc* (#814) for a different order of suffixes; *nrcy*[-.

811. *nrcy* /*Narči-’?*/ m.?: **B N**, *n’p’ns’k* | *ZK šyr’pōnk B(R)[Y]* | *nr(cy●●)*[-: *UII*, No. 14 (8: 2); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — **P A** *nisba* or propatronym of *n’p’ns’k* (#759; or a separate visitor). — **D S** *nr* “man, manly, male” + ?

If it is a *nisba*, then possibly to *Naršax*, *Narjaq* (underlying S form **Narčax*), a village near Buxārā, the birthplace of NARŠAXI. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 63b, reads *nr’y●*.

812. *nrδys* /*Narδēs*/ m.: **B N**, *nrδy(s)*: *UII*, No. 157 (34: 43); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 185. — **P A** visitor to Shatial. — **D** “(The one who has a) male appearance”, cf. *ršndys* (#1018). Alternatively, one can read it as *nrδym* (“with male face, eyes”) or *nrδ’s*, as SIMS-W., *UII*, No. 157.

813. *nrk*, *nrk’*, *nrkk* /*Narak*/ m.: **B1 N**, *nrk*: *UI2*, No. 490 (52:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 257; above it one can see possibly an unfinished *n(r)*, as SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 16; *nrk’*: *UI2*, No. 655 (Thalpan III, 83); alternatively, read *nrkc* (as #814). — **P1 A** visitor to Shatial and Thalpan (cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 38 for *k’* rendering /-ak/). — **B2 N**, *’rwp(rm)yn* (?) | (*n*)*rk*: *UII*, No. 282 (36: 66); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 211. — **P2** Father (?) of *’rwp(rm)yn* (#144). — **B3 N**, *ZNH ZY pty-’δ* | *cn nr-kk* | *xwn* | *B-RY*: *SSNSS*, No. 20, p. 172 (VS, XXXVIII, 67). — **P3** The owner of a silver bowl. — **D S** *nr* “man” + hypocoristic; in No. 282 (= 87a of *SIF*) HUMB. read *’rk*.

The initial reading of the silver bowl by LIV. and LUKONIN was *cn nβrk*, but *cn zβrk*, *cz-nrkk*, *’z-nrkk* and *cn nrkk* are given as variants. YOSH. (apud AMAN UR RAHMAN, GRENET, SIMS-W., 2006, p. 129 n. 32; cf. YOSH., 2009b, p. 352 n. 9) proposes to read *Denak* (i.e., (*δ*)*y-n’kk*, but the upper tail of *δ* is not visible on the images I could use); in this case the name obviously derives from S *dyn* “religion” with a hypocoristic suffix, like the name of the Sassanian queen *Dēnag*. The writing is extremely ambiguous in this line (and in the final *BRY* as well).

814. *nrkc* /*Narakič’?*/ m.: **B N**, *nrkc* (?): *UII*, No. 329 (38: 1) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 222. — **P A** visitor to Shatial. — **D** To S *nr* “man”; for the sequence of the two hypocoristic suffixes, *-kk* + *-c* cf. *prn’kc* (#899), *kwrδkc* (#592), *’pγwškc* (#114; cf. the opposite sequence *-c-k*, in *nrck*, #810). A reading *nrk’* (with the graphical *aleph*, cf. #813) is possible, but unlikely.

***nrkk* > *nrk* #813: 3**

815. nrsβ /Narisaf/ m.: **B1** N, *nnyβntk* | *ZK nrsβ* | 'γtkym...: *UII*, No. 254 (36: 38) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P1** Father (?) of *nnyβntk* (#787: 10). — **B2** N, *nrsβ*: *UII*, No. 301 (36: 85); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 214. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** *Narses*, Av. theonym *nairiia-sanha-* lit. “manly-speaking” Pth. *nr(y)sf*, MP PN *Narseh*, Bct. theonym *vapaσao* (*Rab*, 10), OChor. *nrsw* (?), *LIV.*, 1984, p. 256, 17. The original S form, *nryšnx*, is attested in Manichean texts in the meaning of the “third messenger” (see *SUND.*, *Namen v. Göttern*, p. 101), *nrsβ* here (as well as M *nr'γ-sβ yzδ* “the third messenger”) comes from Pth. Reading already given by *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 126.

816. nrsy /Narsē/ m.: **B** C, 'tpr (–) | *xwd'w nrsy xwšt'* | *nm'c pyd'r'wnd'*: *Liber Vitæ*, R4-6. — **P** Narsai of Nisibis, the Nestorian teacher (after 410 – 503 CE). — **D** Syr. *nrsy* /Narse(h)/ (cf. *GIGNOUX*, *JULLIEN*, *JULLIEN*, 2009, No. 318a), ultimately from MP *Narseh*, cf. *nrsβ* (#815); S late and/or dialectal *xwd'w* “lord” is used here to translate Syr. *mry* /mār/.

817. (nry /Nili?/ m.: **B** N, *mwx'n x'γ'n npyšn βγγ ... p'y nry x'γ'n*: *Mongolküre*, 6; *nry x'γ'n*: *Mongolküre*, 20 (context so far unpublished). — **P** Kaghan Nili, the ruler of the Western Turks (587-599 CE), the dedicatee of the Mongolküre funerary site. — **D** In the Chinese sources, *Nili kehan* (泥利, EMCh. *nej-li^h*); this reading and interpretation was reached by *YOSH.* and *SIMS-W.* independently (as *SIMS-W.*, 1999).

The preceding *p'y* (OTu. *bay* “rich”?) is possibly an epithet of *nry x'γ'n*. From the etymological viewpoint, this name (as well as all the others which were applied to the earliest Turks) is obscure, an inherited Turkic word basically cannot start with *n-*. One cannot exclude its derivation from the Old Iranian **nara-* “man, male”.)

818. nrymn myrpδδ /Narēman Mīrbad?/ m.: **B** N(M), *nr(y)mn myr)pδδ*: *MIK* III, 6918, II, 2, apud *BeDUHN*, 2001, No. 91, p. 244. — **P** A name written on the figure of an Elect on a wall painting. — **D** The name starts with *MWMIr*. *nrym'n*, Av. *nərə-manah-*, MP *nrymn* “(he who possesses) manly spirit” (also a name of the giant, S *p'ts'xm*, #878); I cannot interpret the second part (*BeDUHN* and *DMMPP* transliterate it as *myrbd* which is impossible in S script; I see the final *-pδδ*); OIr. **Miθra-pāta-* “preserved by Mithra?”; cf. MP *Mihr-bādag*, *GIGNOUX*, *IPNB*, II/2, No. 634); *SUND.* (*Pn. Man.*, p. 263) refrains from transliterating the second part of the name. The language of the inscription (*WMIr?* *OTu.?* *S?*) is unidentifiable.

nryst > **bby** #272

819. nsy'ʼn /Nasyān?/ m.: **B** N(A), (')[HRZYm](p)ryšt Z(K) nsy'(')n 't δrw'ʼn: *AL2* (2), R38. — **P** A trader, who was sent to Dunhuang. — **D** Unclear, “boon of ns”?; “Native of Nisāya-”?

†nš'p'k > **nynp'k** #775

820. (nw''r /Niwär?/ m.: **B** N, y'rwk' 'HY nw''r x'γ'n: *Bug.*, I-2. — **P** Niwar Kaghan, the ruler of the First Turkish Empire (572-587 CE). — **D** Unclear.

The Chinese rendering of his name is *Erfu*, better *Erba* (? 爾拔, EMCh. *niā'jni'-bait/be:t*, as amended by JAKHONTOV apud *Bug. L-K*, p. 74 n. 6; cf. also RYBATZKI, 2000, p. 216 ff.). An etymology is lacking, unless RYBATZKI's (p. 220 ff.) suggestion of an Iranian provenance, from S *nw-* “9” and hypocoristic *-r*. In any case, it is hardly an inherited Turkic form in view of the initial *n-*, cf. also GOLDEN, 1992, p. 121-122.)

821. nw'k /Nawak?/ m.: **B** N, nw'k (?) ZK | ('rw'- -c- -) (?): *UII*, No. 409 (39: 104); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of 'rw'- -c- - (#140). — **D** Very weak handwriting. This transcription implies derivation from S *nw'k* “new” (cf. *nwcH*, #824); alternatively one can read *nwβk*. *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 13, has *βrw'kk*.

822. nwβk /Nōve?/ m.: **B1** N, nwβ(k) | ZK: *UII*, No. 64 (30: 15); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 154; *nwβk* | ZK: *UII*, No. 65 (30: 16); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 155. — **P1** A visitor to Shatial. — **B2** N, *nwβk* | ZK *krnt'y(k)*: *UI2*, No. 558 (Thor I, 22). — **P2** A visitor to Thor, son (?) of *krnt'yk* (#548: 2), maybe the same person as #822: 1; *HUMB.*, *SIF*, No. 133 reads *zwβk*. — **D** Unclear. *SIMS-W.* (*UI2*, p. 62) compares it to CS *nwb* “noise” (*SIMS-W.*, *Nachl. HANS. II*, p. 301, 6b2, 5) or to *zwβ* “jaws”.

†nwc > **zwc** #1567

823. nwcknd'k /Nōčka'θe/ m.: **B** N, pys'k 'xw krz BRY nwcknd'k: *ΔP*, R20. — **P** *Nisba* of *pys'k* (#987: 18). — **D** An adjective from **nwckndH*, lit. “new town”.

Towns with this name are attested in Čáč, in Ustrušana (see LURJE, 2003, p. 196) and in the Chu valley (*nwškθ* for **nwčkθ* in Arabic by Muqaddasī, De GOEJE, 1887, p. 263; a Sogdian settlement in the Lobnor region, called Xincheng “New town” (新城) or Nuzhi-

town (弩之城, EMCh. *nc'-tei/tei*, see DE LA VAISSIÈRE, *HMS II*, p. 123-4) might render the identical S place-name. Note that *nwc* in the Uyghur *Pfahlnschrift*, II, 3 is now read as 'wc, i.e. Uč-Turfan in the Tarim Bassin, see MORIYASU, 2003, p. 96), cf. also s.v. *cyr*.

824. *nwcH* /Nōč/ f.: B N, 'yw wšwy-'nk | ZKH *nwcH* δ'βr: Muγ, B-4, 4-5 (*SDGM*, II, 183, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 218; *SDGM*, III, p. 65). — P A supplier of cotton-cloth (wšwyn'k, see *DTS*, p. 56-57). — D The spelling of the article and the name with the final -H shows that *nwcH* was female. From S *nw'k*, *nw'y* (m.), *nwc* (f.) “new” (BOGOL., SMIR., 96), maybe “new (moon)”, cf. names containing *nwy* (#840 – 846).

nwcy > *kwcy* #574

825. *nwyt'ncH* /Nəwaydānj/ f.: B N(M), *nwy(t)'ncH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 19 (p. 7). — P A female name in a list. — D HENN., *So.*, p. 7-8 proposed in the commentary the reading *nwyw'nc* and understood it as “free from failing” (simplification of **nw-γw'n-ncH?*). Alternatively this name may come from the PPP of an unattested verb /nə-wāv/ (cf. w'β, PPP *wyt*), akin to Pth. *nw'c* “speak kindly to, treat kindly, honour”, MMP *nw'z*, NP *navāxtan*, *navāz* “to soothe, caress”, with a fem. suffix.

826. *nwk*●● /?/ m.: B N, *xwsw* (?) ZK | *xwswc* (?) (B)RY | (n)*wk*●●: UI2, No. 550 (108:6); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 277. — P A *nisba*, title, grandfather or nickname (?) of *xwsw* (#1450: 1-2). — D Probably to S *nw*, *n'w* “new” while the second element remains unidentifiable.

827. *nwm-* /?/ m.: B N, (*ypc* - - -) | *nw(m)*/ | ●/: UII, No. 16 (10: 1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 131. — P Father of *ypc* - - - (#1512)? — D Unclear; SIMS-W. (UI2, p. 62) links it to *nw*, *n'w* “new”. Maybe, to *nwmH* “νόμος, law” (although unknown outside C or M context); the final part has been lost.

828. *nwn* /Nun?/ m.: B1 N, *m'xβn(t)k* ZK *nwn* BRY: UI2, No. 426 (40:18); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 244. — P1 Father of *m'xβntk* (#643: 3); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 39b, has *kwn*. — B2 N, *m'y(mr)yc* | ZK *nwn* BRY: UI2, No. 525 (53:31); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 262. — P2 Father of *m'y(mr)yc* (#657: 5); HUMB., *SIF*, No. 46a, has *nwz*. — D Unclear; maybe read *zwn* to S *zwn*, *δrwn* “bow”, OIr. **drūna-*, if OIr. **dr* could have already given /ž/ in Sogdian when the UI inscriptions were composed (cf. *tyδrβntk*, #1277)? In Bct. we meet a family-name *Novokavo* (< **Novayo-γavo?*).

829. (*nwn* /Nun/ m.: **B** C, ●● *y]šwγ br nwn*: *Schüler*, IIR14. — **P** Nun, father of Joshua (*yšwγ*, #1522: 3). — **D** Syr. *nwn* /Nun/, from Old Hebrew; Syr. *br* “son” is left untranslated in S.)

830. *nwnc* /Nunič?/ m.: **B**1 N, *nwnc* ZK | *p’c* | *BRY*: *UII*, No. 265 (36: 49) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 209. — **P**1 A visitor to Shatial, son of *p’c* (#864). — **B**2 N, *J(III?) pr (n)wnc nynt pr II (s) [*: Afr. ostracon, R2, *Dok. Sam.*, p. 58; *Jpr nwnc nynt*]: R5; *pr II nwnc n[nynt]*: V2. — **P**2 A person in an economic record; the word *nwnc* (or *zwnc*, *nwn’* etc.) however is not necessarily a PN in this context. — **D** A hypocoristic on *-c* to *nwn* (#828); or read *zwnc*?

831. *nwprnk* /?/ m.: **B** N, *(n)wprnk*: *UI2*, No. 598 (Oshibat, 19:8, cf. *Fbs. Oshibat*, p. 83). — **P** A visitor to Oshibat. — **D** Unclear, to *nw/n’w* “new” +?; or *zwprnk*?

832. *nwprn* > *nwy prn* #843: 4

833. (*nwš’n* /Nōšān?/ m.: **B** N(B), *nyw ’dry rγzy nwš’n (s’)*: *DTS*, E19. — **P** A person (?) who received three pieces of fabric (*rγzy*). — **D** Unclear, maybe *nws’n*, *rws’n* etc. Most probably a (non identified) Chinese bisyllabic name; if Sogdian, to *nwš* “ambrosia”, or *nwš’k* “immortal” (cf. #834 – 837; *š’βnwšk*, #1142) + patronymic *-’n*; if MP or Pth., read *rws’n*, to *rōšan* “light, brilliant” (all the above possibilities are discussed in *DTS*, p. 49).

YOSH., *Rev. DTS*, p. 369, understands it as the name of a commodity to be bartered for *rγzy* and so reads *rwγ’n* “oil”, S *rwγn*, with *plene* writing typical for this kind of texts (YOSH., op. cit., p. 368).)

834. *nwš’ncH* /Nōšānj/ f.: **B** N(M), *nwš’ncH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 13, p. 7. — **P** A female name in the list. — **D** “The ambrosial one”, as HENN., *So.*, p. 8, *GMS*, §1045. Alternatively, a fem. of S *nwš’k*- “immortal”.

835. *nwšβ’mH* /Nōšvām/ f.: **B** N(M), *nwšβ’mH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 18 (7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** Acc. to HENN., *So.*, 8, “sweet coloured” rather than “possessing immortal lustre” (Arm. *anoyš* etc.). Cf. *m’xβ’mH* (#642), *nwy β’mH* (#841), etc.

836. *nwšprn* /Nōšfarn/ m.: **B** N(B?), *šmny nwšprn* | ‘s’t: *Ladakh*, 7, 5-6. — **P** A companion of *c’ytr’* (#369), an envoy to the Kaghan of Tibet,

probably a Buddhist monk. — **D** “Immortal” or “ambrosial glory”, as already BENV., *Ét.*, p. 172. Cf. PN *nwšbyr* (for *nwšpyr* “immortal belief”), in the Arabic rendering, TAFAZZOLI, *KQ I*, p. 9.

837. *nwšy'n* /*Nōšyān*/ m.: **B** B, *cnn nwšy'n* | *dst'*: TSP, 8, 173-4. — **P** A person in the colophon. — **D** “Immortal” (so WEBER, ZSP, p. 201, No. 28) or “ambrosial boon”.

838. (*nwh* /*Nōh*/ m.: **B** C, 't *nwh qty'qy wy:t*: C2, *57 V17; *nwh y tpn'*: (obl.) *Schüler*, IR10. — **P** Noah. — **D** Syriac *nwh* /*Nōh*/, from Old Hebrew.)

839. *nwxš*• /?/ m.: **B** N, *m'xβntk* | *ZK nwxš*•: UII, No. 140 (33: 11); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 177. — **P** Father (?) of *m'xβntk* (#643: 1). — **D** Unclear; *n'w- /nw-* “new” in the first part? The last letter is probably unfinished. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 94, reads *nwxšk* or *cwxšk*.

840. *nwy'n*, *nwy y'n* /*Nawiyān*/ m.: **B1**N, (*rty δ'rt MN mrtškt 'zyrt*) *nwy'n* ('yw 'z)yrw: Muγ, Б-1, L1 (*SDGM*, III, p. 43). — **P1** The recipient of a chain-mail. — **B2** N(M), *nwy y'n*: HENN., *So.*, V, 2 (p. 6). — **P2** A name in the list. — **D** “New boon”, cf. *nwy'y'n* in *MN*, 114; WEBER, ZSP, p. 201, No. 29.

841. *nwy β'mH* /*Nawiyām*/ f.: **B** N(M), *nwy β'mH*: HENN., *So.*, VI, 15 (p. 7). — **P** A female name in a list. — **D** “New lustre”, i.e. “Having the lustre (or colour) of the New Moon” (HENN., *So.*, p. 7), cf. *m'xβ'mH*, *nwšβ'mH*.

nwykte > *cyr* #403

842. *nwy m'x* /*Nawimāx*/ m.: **B1** N(M?), *xcy nwy m'x ky Lf' pyr't* (?): SI K/16, 2 (*Len.*, 2, 2). — **P1** A name in unclear context (a fragment of a Manichean colophon, see under 'yprn, #8; *nwy prn*, #843: 3?). — **B2** N(M), 'yn'kw 'z-'ntn'my *nwy-m'x np-'xštδ'r'm* (•••): *PB*, c10, p. 34. — **P2** The author (or scribe) of the *Book of Parables*. SUND. (*PB*, p. 34-35, n. 156) cautiously compares this *nwym'x* with that of *MN*, 84 and *nwym'xw* in an Uyghur colophon. All of them were active in the beginning of the 9th century in the M community of Turfan, and so they may plausibly refer to one and the same person. Note that *nwy m'x* #842: 1 was probably a Manichean,

too. — **D** “New moon”, possibly denoting the birthday of the person, cf. *nwy prn*.

Prof. Desmond DURKIN-MEISTERERNST kindly suggested that it could be a Manichean name given to a person on some occasion – e.g., when he reached the rank of elect.

†*nwynt* > *nwyzt* #846

843. *nwy prn*, *nwprn* /*Nawifarn*/ m.: **B1** N(M), *nwy prn*: HENN., *So.*, V, 3 (p. 6). — **P1** A name in a list. — **B2** N(M?), *nwy prn xypδ (x)[cy*: SI K/16, 1 (*Len.*, 2, 1). — **P2** Unclear, the context is broken, but probably a kind of Manichean colophon. Owner of a book (cf. ’γtprn, #8; *nwy m’x*, #841)? — **B3** N(M), *ky L(’)* | *pyr’t nwy-prn* | *s’r pst’*: Ch/So 15530, Chinese side, 4-6, apud YOSH., *First Fruits*, p. 85. — **P** A name in a colophon fragment; . — **B4** N, *nwprn*: *Panj.-1978*, No. 2, p. 135. — **P4** A name inscribed on a rib. — **D** “New glory”, cf. WEBER, *ZSP*, p. 199, No. 15, *nwy* | *f’rn* in *MN*, 115-16; HENN., *So.*, p. 6, considers *nwy* in this and similar names to be a shortening for *nwy-m’x* or *βy-nwy* “New Moon” (also WEBER, loc. cit.). Alternatively, could a “new”-name be understood as given to a boy born within a short period of time after his elder brother? Prof. SCHMITT kindly suggests that this name could also reflect a “compensation” for a dead infant. Cf. *tymsyr* (#1280) for semantics; Bct. *Nawoφapavavo*. See LIV., *Panj.-1978*, p. 135 for the loss of the compound vowel -y- in the spelling *nwprn*.

844. *nwy r’t* /*Nawirāt*/ m.: **B** N(M), [*nw*]y (r’)[tj]: HENN., *So.*, V, 2 (p. 6). — **P** A name in a list. — **D** “Gift of the new moon”, or “new gift”, cf. *tyšr’t* (#1293), *nnyr’t* (#799).

845. *nwy šyr* /*Nawišir*/ m.: **B** N(M), [*n*]wy š(y)[rj]: HENN., *So.*, V, 2 (p. 6). — **P** A name in a list. — **D** “Good (for, through) a new moon”, “friend of the new moon”, or, finally, “new (and?) good”, a *dvandva*-type compound?

nwy y’n > *nwy’n* #840: 2

846. *nwyzt* /*Nawiyazd?*/ m.: **B** N, (*n*)wyzt: *UII*, No. 342 (39: 37); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 228. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** If initial *n* belongs here (and is not an extraneous mark), the name means “new deity” > “new moon”, cf. *βyy nwy*. HUMB., *SIF*, No. 26a, has *wyš* (to Av. *Vaiiu*-?). SIMS-W. initially proposed *nwynt* or *wynt*, see *UI2*, p. 62.

847. *nx'rš* /Nəxars/ m.: **B** N, *nx'rš* | *ZK rwδ BRY: UII*, No. 408 (39: 103); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 237. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son of *rwδ* (#1028). — **D** Acc. to SIMS-W., this name is related to S *nx'rš* “to occur”; HUMB., *SIF*, No. 116, has *J'r*.

848. *nxwnk* /Naxune?/ m.: **B** N, 't *nxwnk*: *Panj.-2001*, 1, R1, p. 84. — **P** A recipient of an order written on a rib. — **D** Various possibilities: to OIr. **naxva-* “first” + suff. *-n'k*, *-ny*; we can also read *nxwyk* with suff. *-'yk* from the same root (cf. *nxwrygrwšn*, *MN*, 196, 217, 225); or *nxpδk* “(one who belongs) to the first kin”; or *nywnk* from OIr. **gau-* “to create, increase”, all discussed in op. cit., p. 84-85. Cf. *šytywkn* (#1206)?

849. (*ny''ncynt* /Nyāncint/ m.: **B** B, 'wyn *ny''ncynt ''c'ry s'r*: *Intox.*, 36; *ZK ny''ncynt pykšw*: *Intox.*, 37. — **P** The ācārya, bhikṣu, who translated the “Sutra of the condemnation of intoxicating drinks” into Sogdian. — **D** Skt. *Jñānacinta* (“care of knowledge”; already *STii*, 45, No. 3). A dot above *p* in *pykšw* probably indicates the pronunciation /b/ (SIMS-W. apud *BSTBL*, ii, 9, No. 37). S *ny* for Skt. *jñ* is not regular and was probably influenced by some Prakrit form.)

850. *ny'kwtm* /?/ m.: **B** N, *ny'kwtm* (?): *UI2*, No. 503 (53:9); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 260. — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Unclear; *nny'kwtm* is also a possible reading.

Maybe, related to S *ny'k* “grandfather, ancestor”; one can see in *-tm* the superlative suffix (cf. *prmy'n*, #118; *yst'm*, #1520)? HUMB., *SIF*, No. 86c, has *nny'šwt*●●.

851. *ny'zkyn* /Nyāzkēn/ m.: **B** N(A), (*pyš*)t *MN* | *xypδβntk* (sic!) | | *ny'zkyn*: *AL4*, V1-4; *pyšt* (M)N *xypδ β[nt]*(k) *ny'zk(y)n*: R1. — **P** The author of the letter. — **D** REI. read *zy'nkyn*, corrected into *ny'zkyn* by SIMS-W., *SC*, No. 368. Equal to S *ny'zk(')yn* “needy”. A nickname? Or a self-deprecatory epithet of the author?

nyδnH > *zyδ'nH* #1572

852. *nym'nH* /Nimān/ f.: **B** B, *nym'nH δst'*: *TSP*, 8, 178. — **P** A lady in the colophon. — **D** Unclear. To S *nm'ny* “penitence, repentance”, rather than S *nym'n* “haughty, contemptuous”.

In the latter case this female name has a semantic similarity to such girls' names as, e.g., Oss. *cæmænqwyd* "what were you needed for" (cf. FRITZ, 2006, No. 359, p. 54-55, with discussion, cf. RÁSONYI, 1962, p. 228ff.).

***nyr'k* > *zyp'k* #1574**

***nyr-nyδ* > *nnynzδ* #796: 2**

***†nyrt* > *zyrt* #1575**

853. *nytc* /?/ m.: **B** N, *nytc* | *wxwšwβntk*: *Tri nadpisi*, 1, p. 101. — **P** A name (?) in the inscription from Panjakent temple. — **D** Unclear; LIV. (op. cit.) considers *nytc* as a noun from the unattested root **nyt* "to contain"; alternatively it may be a PN, from *zyt-* "to play"; or, if read *z'tc*, a variant hypocoristic to *z'tk* "son" (#1553; cf. *zwc*, #1567); the last form is preferred by YOSH., *First Fruits* 78, n. 20 p. 84; cf. in the latter case *Za-ta-e-šá* in Babylonian rendering (ZADOK, *IPNB VII/1b*, No. 636).

854. *nyw'β's* /Nēw-?/ m.: **B** N, *nyw('β's)* (?) | *w(yšx'n)* (?): *UII*, No. 295 (36: 79); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 213. — **P** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *wyšx'n* (#1388). — **D** WMIr. *nēw* "good, brave"; *β's* is unclear.

The first part is an old loan from WMIr. *nēw*, OIr. **naiba-*, cf. SIMS-W., *UI2*, p. 62; also under *kyncny* (#613), (*'*)*sp'ncnyw* (#159), *γnyw-k* (#1506) and the following names (#855 – 59).

855. *nyw'βyrt-* /Nēwəvyart/ m.: **B** N(A), *'D βγw* | *xwt'w* | *nyw'βyrtw* | *ywδrzmk*: (graph. acc.) *AL4*, V1-4; *'D βγw xwt'w* [*]nyw'βyrtw ywδrzmk*: (graph. acc.) *AL4*, R1. — **P** The addressee of a letter, son (?) of *ywδrzmk* (#1531). — **D** "(He who is) obtained (in a) nice (way)".

856. *nyw'kk* /Nēwak/ m.: **B1** N, (*x*)*wn* (*Z*)*K* | *nyw('kk)* *BRY*: *UII*, No. 87 (31: 58); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 165. — **P1** Father of *xwn* (#1442: 4). — **B2** N, *nyw(')kk* [*ZK* (?)] | *pry'n'k*: *UII*, No. 259 (36: 43) cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 208. — **P2** A visitor to Shatial, son (?) of *pry'n'k* (#927). The end of the name is obscured by lichen. — **B3** N, *nyw'kk*: *UI2*, No. 432 (42:1); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 246; *nyw'kk*: *UI2*, No. 445 (47:7); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 250; *nyw'kk*: *UI2*, No. 625 (Dadam Das, 25:2, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 97). — **P3** A visitor to Shatial and Dadam Das; one can read *n'w'kk* as well in the inscriptions No. 432 and 445. HUMB.,

SIF, No. 38a (= 445), hesitated between *nyw'kk* and *nny'kk* (cf. #786). — **D** An -'kk hypocoristic to *nyw* “good, brave”.

857. nyw'nz'dg /*Nēwānzādag*/ m.: **B** M, 'ty p(r)w *nyw'nz'dg mwj'kyy s(ryy) gbryhb* ('ft'δ'n)[s]tty [: *SUND.*, *Briefe*, II, 19, p. 310, as corrected by GERSH., op. cit., p. 316; *Briefe II*, p. 413, 416. — **P** A Patriarch (“Teacher”) of the Manichean Church, succeeded by *gbryhb* (#534: 2). — **D** WMIr. “Son of *Nēwān*”; *Nēwān* is derived from *nēw* “good, brave”, or “son of good ones”; cf. *Nēwānduxt* in Ṭabarī's History (*INB*, 228-9); *Jn z'δ'k* (#1623).

858. nyw 'whrmyzd, nyxwrmzt /*Nēw Ohrmezd, Nēxormezd?*/ m.: **B1** C, 'w *nyxwrm[zi] rt.* : C2, 22, R11; *xw nyxwrmzt*: C2, 22, R12; *y](ty xw nyxwr)mzt*: C2, 24 R12; *ny](xwrmz)t nγwš*: C2, 24 R15. — **P1** The *Rad* (MP “spiritual chief, master”), governor of Nisibin, executor of Pethion. — **B2** M, *nyw 'whrmyzd m*[: *MIK* 6918, IV, 3 apud *BeDUHN*, 2001, p. 244, No. 91; acc. to *BEDUHN*, loc. cit., this inscription was once written in the M script and red ink; having been lost, it is recognizable only on old photos; it is impossible to determine the language of the inscription (WMIr?, Uygh.?, S?). — **P2** A name inscribed on the image of Electus on a wall painting. — **D** WMIr. “Good Ohrmezd (i.e., First Man in the Manichean usage)”, cf. *wzmzt* (#1340), 'xwrmzt't (#217). Cf. under *wxwr'n* (#1362) for particularities of the rendering of MP names in the C2.

859. nywc /*Nēwič*/ m.: **B** N, *nywc UII*, No. 43 (24: 5); cf. *Fbs. Sh.*, p. 147. — **P** A visitor to Shatīal. — **D** A -c hypocoristic of a name containing *ny(w)* “good, brave”, a Western Iranian loan.

nyxwrmzt > *nyw 'whrmyzd* #858

860. nyz't /*Nizāt*/ m.: **B** N, *nyz't 'xw nnykwc* | *BRY 'kwš'nyk*: *ΔP*, R20-21. — **P** A witness in the contract of 'wp'cH (#195), son of *nnykwc* (#793), native of 'kwš'n- (under #601). — **D** YOSH. (*ΔP*, p. 28) links this name to *nyz'tcwH*, which appears in the same document (R12), as an adjective characterizing the particularity of a slave-girl; probably “born at home”, as *Av. nizənta-* (*ΔP*, p. 23), *Bct. vičadayo*. Alternatively, cf. *nyz(y)tk* (#861).

861. nyztk, nyztyk /*Nižite?*/ m.: **B** N, *ZK (n)y-(z)-tk 'ys ZY ZK* | *kwrcy βynptw*: *Muγ*, 1.I, 3-4; *pr ny-z-ytkw δstw ZY pr kwrcy βynptw δstw*: (graph.

acc.) Muγ, 1.I, 13; *ZNH ny-z-tk ZY ZNH kwrcy βynptw*: Muγ, 1.I, 15; *ZK nyztk ZY ZK kwrcy βynptw*: Muγ, 1.I, 18 (*SDGM*, II, p. 111, cf. *SÉSAS*, p. 111; *BOGOL.*, *SMIR.*, *I.1 & A14*, p. 114; *SMIR.*, *Ocherki*, p. 222, *YAK.*, *I.1 Rev.*, p. 234). — **P** A messenger of Abd al-Raḥmān b. Šubḥ to Δēwāšīč (cf. *kwrcy*, #592). — **D** Unclear.

BOGOL., *SMIR.*, *I.1 & A14*, p. 122 (and *SMIR.*, *Ocherki*, p. 225) translate it as “cruel, fierce, ferocious” (“жестокий, свирепый, люгый”), but *ʔnyzt'k* of *TSP* should probably be corrected into *zynt'k*, NP *žanda*, see *МАСК.*, *SCE*, p. 38, n. 232; on the contrary, the third letter in the name does not join the one to the left in three occurrences, and such a spelling is more common for *S z* rather than for *n* (which is homographic in other instances); this consideration prevents us also from transliteration **nyntk* which would agree with *Bct*. PN *Nivdoko*. Rather, to *BS nzyty (VJ)* for *nyzt'k*, *CS nyžty* “gone out”? The surprising appearance of *yod* in line 13, in this case, at least, finds a parallel.

862. nztr• /Nazd-?/ m.: **B** N, *nztr•* (??): *UI2*, No. 650 (Dadam Das, 56:1, cf. *Fbs. DD*, p. 134). — **P** A visitor to Shatial. — **D** Maybe not Sogdian writing and probably unfinished (as *SIMS-W.*, *UI2*, p. 23). If *S*, to *nzt* “near” +?

nyzytk > nyztk #861

863. (n••••δ t••(w)•(n)y /?/ m.: **B** N(M), *s'rβ'γty 'r•rk•r 'lpw ••cw pylk' ypyw n••••δ t••(w)•(n)y n'm δ'βr*: *KB-H*, 1-6, 20(1). — **P** A title or honorary name given to the yabghu *'r•rk•r 'lpw ••cw pylk'* (#151) after his victory over Qarluqs? — **D** Unclear.)