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**A. A. K o r o l ě v**  
**(7.7.1944 — 16.7.1999)**

The present Volume is dedicated to the memory of Dr. A. A. Korolëv, an outstanding philologist, an expert in Celtic, Anatolian, and other IE languages, a fine and highly talented man, devoted to his work and loyal to his friends. He passed away July, 16, 1999 in a shabby room in a communal apartment that he leased on the outskirts of Moscow. He did not leave any material inheritance, except

Wilhelm 1995 — G. Wilhelm. Die Tontafelfunde der 2. Ausgrabungskampagne 1994 in Kuşaklı // MDOG. 127. S. 37—42.

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## Labyrinth for Tyrants

This paper is dedicated to the analysis of Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* and its regional and/or genetic connections.<sup>1</sup> I argue that the root of this word does not belong to the part of Anatolian lexicon that was inherited from Indo-Hittite, but is rather to be considered as a Wanderwort pertaining to the sphere of kingly power. It was more productive in the South than in the North of Asia Minor, and its derivatives were also known in the «Minoan» world. The most conspicuous of them is the Labyrinth, the name of the famous palace of Cretan kings.

1. Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* is possibly the single most discussed word of the Hittite lexicon. According to the opinion of most scholars, it can be either a proper name (mostly *Labarna-*, but also *Tabarna-*), which belonged to a very early king mentioned only by his successors, or a royal title carried by Hittite kings down to the fall of the Hittite Empire. Sometimes the title appears together with the word

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to A. Kassian (Moscow), Prof. M. Schwartz (Berkeley) and Prof. R. Stefanini (Berkeley) with whom I discussed the content of this article, to A. Kozak (Berkeley) and M. Janda (Zürich) who corrected my English and saved me from numerous errors and to the lively audience of the 112<sup>th</sup> General Meeting of the American Oriental Society, where this paper was first presented. Specific contributions of various scholars are acknowledged separately.

for 'king' (LUGAL-*uš* = Hitt. *haššuš*), whereas in some other cases it conveys the notion of kingship alone.<sup>2</sup> One can compare the usage of Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* to that of Lat. *Caesar* in the Roman Empire, with the important difference that nobody calls into doubt the existence of the historical Caesar, whereas the historicity of Labarna remains a matter of argument. Besides Hittite, the word also occurs in Hattic, Palaic and Akkadian texts, coming from Boghazköy.

Regarding the origin of this Hittite word, Tischler 1988 pessimistically remarks: «Die etymologischen Versuche... sind schon beinahe unübersehbar geworden, haben aber bisher zu keinem allseits befriedigendem Ergebniss geführt». He further provides the typology of different approaches to explaining this word, which can be summarized as follows:

- I. Onomastic theory: *labarna-* was originally a personal name of unclear origin.
- II. Appellative theory: *tabarna-/labarna-* was originally a title.
  - a) This title can be explained from Hattic.
  - b) This title is an Indo-European word.
  - c) This title is a cultural Wanderwort.

Prof. Tischler rejects the Onomastic theory, mainly on philological grounds, but is unable to make a definite choice between variants of the Appellative theory. He concludes with the same pessimistic note: «*labarna-* kann ... als Musterfall einer etymologischen crux gelten».

2. Now there is another word, which plays only a subsidiary role in the argument of Tischler 1988, but which will be crucial for my account. This is *tapar-* 'to rule-', marked by a «Glossenkeil» and en-

<sup>2</sup> For different opinions about the usage of Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* see the entry *labarna-* in CHD and RIA. My account follows the classification of CHD. Since *labarna-* occasionally appears with a personal determinative, it was perceived, at least in some periods, as a personal name. The historicity of the person that carried this name is, of course, a separate issue.

dowed with Luwian verbal endings, which is also adopted in some Late Hittite texts as *tapar(r)iya-* 'id.'. The derivatives *tap(a)ramman-* 'ruling, governing' and *tap(a)rammahit-* 'the position of ruling, governing' are also attested in Late Hittite texts.<sup>3</sup> If one can show that these words are related to *tabarna-/labarna-*, this would exclude almost automatically the Hattic origin of the latter since there are no traces of linguistic contact between Hattic and Luwian. This would also seriously undermine the «onomastic theory» because the semantic relationship between the notion of ruling and a royal title is rather straightforward and does not require onomastic mediators. On the contrary, if we disconnect the two words, one could argue, as CHD does, that «*tabarna-* or *labarna-* was first a PN. Because it was borne by an early king (and one or two princes) it became a traditional designation for the king, which linked him with an earlier king, whose personal name was Labarna». One could further speculate that the secondary association with *tapar-* 'to rule' is responsible for the variant spelling *tabarna-* (as per Tischler 1988).<sup>4</sup>

To choose between the two alternatives, one should examine more closely the initial consonants of both forms. HEG, which seems to favor the splitting approach, contains the entries for *tabarna-/labarna-* and *tapar-/tapar(r)iya-* under the letters L and T respectively, underlining the anlaut differences of both words. If one considers the data of the Hittite texts only, it appears that *tapar-/tapar(r)iya-* begins with a regular stop that is rendered as TA in cuneiform orthography. To modify this picture, one has to take into consideration the cognates of this word in the other Anatolian languages.

3. To start with, one cannot bypass the Lycian personal name *Dapara*, which is rendered as ΔΑΠΑΡΑΣ in the Greek version of

<sup>3</sup> Melchert 1993b: 207; Tischler 1991—1995: 116 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I must say that this hypothesis strikes me as counterintuitive. I am not aware of a royal title in any language of the world that was changed under the influence of a folk etymology. I suspect that most rulers regarded even the most well-meant attempts to corrupt their titles as *laesio majestatis*.

the inscription<sup>5</sup>. This name is apparently etymologically related to Hellenistic Cilician names TBEPHMΩΣΙΣ (< \**tabara-muwa-zi-*) and TBEPΑΣHTAΣ (< \**tabara-zitti-*), to Hittite/Luwian names *Pitta/ipara-* (< \**pitta-tapara-*) and *Tiḡatapara-* (< \**tiwatta-tapara*)<sup>6</sup> and, ultimately, to *tapar-/tapar(r)iya-* 'to rule' (Houwink ten Cate 1965: 159).<sup>7</sup> The direct lexical comparison of the Lycian name with Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* is impossible since the clusters of resonants are not simplified in Lycian (cf. Lyc. *arñma* 'moon' < \**arma-*, Lyc. *ipre /ipre/* < \**im(ma)ra-* 'field'<sup>8</sup>, possibly also Lyc. *arñna-* 'Xanthos' < \**arna-* < \**arinna-* 'spring, source').

If we make a probable assumption that Lycian did not have later-alized stops, then the most plausible phonetic reconstruction of the Lycian *Dapara* / ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ is [δapara]. One, however, must keep in mind that none of the Indo-Hittite dental stops regularly develops into /δ-/ in Lycian; all of them merge into /t/ in initial position.<sup>9</sup> This does not automatically preclude the Indo-Hittite origin of the Lycian name in question: a short list of Anatolian words that show graphic T-D alternating with L is given in Hawkins 1995: 116, and some of them, like Luw. *da-* and *la-* 'take' have undisputed Indo-European cognates. Yet it is beyond argument that such words constitute only a tiny group of Anatolian lexemes, especially in comparison with those that show stable dental stops. This makes the parallel between Lyc. *Dapara* / ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ and Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* very significant.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Melchert 1993a: 100.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Laroche 1966: 148, 186.

<sup>7</sup> The connection between the Carian toponyme Λάβαρα (Zgusta 1986: 319) and this family of words is likely, but unprovable.

<sup>8</sup> Melchert 1994: 315. I am grateful to Prof. Shevoroshkin (Ann-Arbor) for the useful discussion.

<sup>9</sup> Melchert 1994: 301.

<sup>10</sup> Although I do not have a good explanation for the origin of the voiceless stop /p/ in *Dapara*, this irregularity is, in my opinion, not sufficient to undermine the connection of *dapara-* with other South Anatolian names adduced in Houwink ten Cate

4. It is mildly uncomfortable that, while *tapar-* 'to rule-' is an undisputed Luwoid verb in Hittite, not a single occurrence of this verb is attested in Cuneiform Luwian texts. We are, however, abundantly recompensed by numerous occurrences of the cognate words in Hieroglyphic Luwian. In the absence of an updated Hieroglyphic Luwian dictionary, the following examples in context will suffice as an illustration<sup>11</sup>:

MARAS I # 1b	<sup>1</sup> <i>la + ra/i + a-ma-si-i-sa</i> <b>LEPUS + ra/i-ia-li-i-sa</b>   <i>INFANS-mu-wa/i-za-sa</i>	(I am Halparuntiyas...) the <b>governor</b> Larama's son';
MARAS I # 5	(DEUS)TONITRUS- <i>hu-ta-sá-ti-i</i> (DEUS) <i>i-ia-sa-ti-ha</i> <b>LEPUS + ra/i-ia-ti</b>	(I settled those lands...) by Tarhunzas's and Ea's <b>authority</b>
MARAS IV # 8	<i>mi-pa-wa/i-tà</i>   <i>tá-ti-i</i> AVUS- <i>ha-ha</i>   <b>LEPUS-</b> <b>pa+ ra/i-hi</b>   <i>sa-ta</i>	To my father and grand- father there was <b>authority</b> .
SULTANHAN # 43	REX- <i>ti-ia-ri+i</i> <b>LEPUS + ra/i-ia-ti-i</b>	[We shall requite them] by royal <b>authority</b> '
SULTANHAN # 48	<i>ni-pa-wa/i-sa-</i> LEPUS + <i>ra/i-ia-li-sa</i>   <i>ni-</i> <i>pa-wa/i</i> REX[...]	(even) if he is a governor, or a king, (if he (?), then [...] will punish him)

Both **LEPUS + ra/i-i(a)-** 'authority' and **LEPUS + ra/i-ia-li-** 'governor' can be derived of a verbal stem \***LEPUS + ra/i-i-** 'to rule'. Since the ideogram LEPUS also occurs in front of the word *ta-pa-sà-la-ia-* of unknown meaning (ASSUR a 10 etc.), the equation between Luw. \***LEPUS + ra/i-i-** 'to rule' and Hitt. (< \*Luw.) *tapar(r)iya-* 'id.' (with <sup>10</sup>*taparriyalli-* 'a kind of dignitary') appears to be reasonably well

1965. Most likely, this is an approximation of a non-familiar stop in a borrowed word (cf. §§ 5, 9).

<sup>11</sup> I follow the transliteration and translation of Hawkins 2000.

founded. LEPUS-*pa+ra/i-hi* probably renders a Luwian abstract noun *\*taparāhit-* 'authority'.<sup>12</sup>

It remains to be explained why the ideogram depicting a hare has a syllabic value *TA-PA-*. The most natural solution, suggested, among others, by Katz (forthcoming) is the reconstruction of Luw. *ta(p)pa-* 'hare' (vel sim.), which Prof. Katz plausibly compares with Lat. *lepus* and, possibly, with Arm. *napastak* (dial. *lapustrak*, *labəstag* etc.). Regarding the initial consonant of the Luwian word for 'hare', different interpretations are possible. If one maintains that the Indo-European cognates of this word allow one to reconstruct its pronunciation /δap/ba-/ (vel sim.), then one has even more right to suggest the pronunciation /δaBar-/ (vel sim.) for the Luwian verb meaning 'to rule'. If, on the contrary, one prefers to transcribe the Luwian cognate of Lat. *lepus* and Arm. *napastak* as /taBa-/ (vel sim.), one has to posit a special sound change to account for the initial non-stop becoming stop in Luwian. Whatever the exact phonological conditioning of this change might be, it is clear that it will also justify *\*/δaBar-/ > /taBar/* 'to rule'.<sup>13</sup> I must confess that I favor the second hypothesis since it provides an explanation for the consistent spelling of Hitt. < *\*Luw. tapar-/tapar(r)iya-* 'to rule' (never *\*\*lapar-/\*\*lapar(r)iya-*). In addition, the sound change *\*/δaBa-/ > /taBa-/* will allow us to presume a uniform phonetic anlaut /taBa-/ for all the words written with the ideogram LEPUS.

An obvious draw-back of the posited sound change is the necessity to explain several Hieroglyphic Luwian names beginning with the sign LA.<sup>14</sup> The dative PN <sup>1</sup>*La-pa+ra/i-na-ia* 'to Labar-

<sup>12</sup> An earlier piece of hieroglyphic evidence is supplied by a seal from Ugarit, inscribed with a name LEPUS + ra/i-mi = Akk. <sup>1</sup>*Tab-ra-am-mi* (Laroche 1966: 175).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cun. Luw. *tappaš-* < *nébes-* (Melchert 1994: 259). Luwian has certain propensity for the distant assimilation of consonants by the feature [+stop]. Cf. a typologically similar process in the same root in Lithuanian *debesis* 'cloud' < *\*nebes-*.

<sup>14</sup> The sign L 277, containing a subscript LA and convincingly explained as LA+BARNA in Hawkins 1995: 108 ff. (contra Carruba & Mora 1990) need not concern us

na' (Cekke # 9) can be possibly explained as a Hittite borrowing,<sup>15</sup> but such an explanation would be much less likely in the case of PN *la-PRAE-VIR<sup>2</sup>-sa* 'Labaraziti (??)' (Babylon 1, # 1). This name is very obscure, but if its interpretation in Hawkins 2000 (1—2: 392—393) is correct, one has no choice but to admit the irregular (phonetic or graphic?) preservation of the initial *labar-* *\*/δaBar-/* in some Luwian personal names. Luwians, apparently, had their own Worcesterers.

5. So far we have seen that the Lycian data explicitly suggest the reconstruction of South Anatolian *\*/δaBar-/* (vel sim.) 'to rule', whereas the Luwian data seem to bear witness to the secondary development *\*/δaBar-/ > \*/taBar-/*. There are, therefore, no phonetic obstacles to considering Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* 'ruler' as a derivative of the same root. It is intrinsically very improbable that two disyllabic morphemes related to the neighboring languages and showing an exact phonetic and semantic match are altogether not related. It is even more unlikely that Luwoid *tapar-* was secondarily «extracted» from *tabarna-*,<sup>16</sup> among other reasons, since simple athematic verbal stems are not synchronically productive in Luwian. The morphological ideas outlined in the following paragraph are not to be taken as something more than a working hypothesis, due to the scarcity of data, but I regard them as free of internal contradictions and counterintuitive postulates.

The direct derivation of Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* from *√δaBar-* is not very likely, since the deverbative suffix *-na-* is not productive

here. It occurs only in Hittite Empirical inscriptions and in all likelihood represents Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-*, rather than a Luwian word.

<sup>15</sup> Hawkins 2000 (1—2: 414) brilliantly identifies the toponyme («MONS») *la-pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ni-sa* in the Hama district of Syria (HAMA 7, # 3) with Mount Lebanon (Hitt. *Lablana-*). Pace Starke 1983, this place-name cannot be relevant to our problem.

<sup>16</sup> As per Oettinger 1986: 384 fn. 255.

either in Hittite or in Luwian.<sup>17</sup> The missing link in the chain of derivation is, however, provided by the Luwian noun *\*ḡaBara-* attested only in personal names, like *Tiyatapara-* discussed above. The original meaning of this noun was probably 'power', but the secondary semantic shift to the personified power, that is 'ruler', cannot be excluded.<sup>18</sup> Morphologically speaking, we are dealing with one of the thematic *nomina actionis* in Luwian, which are introduced as a class in Starke 1990: 584. If this reasoning is correct, more credence accrues to the suggestion of Starke 1983, who regards Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* as a Luwoid word. According to Prof. Starke, *tabar-na-/labar-na-* is derived from *\*ḡaBara-* with the help of a denominative suffix *-na-*, on which see Starke 1990: 410 with fn. 1477. Luw. *\*ḡaBarna-* could mean 'pertaining to power' > 'ruler'. The relationship between Luw. *\*ḡaBara-* and *\*ḡaBarna-* was probably the same as between Luw. *immara-* 'field' and *ḡimmarni-* '(god) of the fields (?)'.

Regarding the personal name *Labarna-*, Tischler 1988 mentions German family names *Kaiser*, *König*, *Herzog*, *Fürst* and *Graf* which can illustrate the development of a title into a proper name. I do not feel prepared to enter into a learned discussion about the historicity of the king *Labarna*,<sup>19</sup> but it is *a priori* not unlikely that an early Hittite prince was given an auspicious name meaning 'ruler', which was later «actualized», as he became a king. It is also not impossible that in a later period the sense of the word *tabarna-/labarna-* implied a reference to this earlier ruler (or a group of rulers).

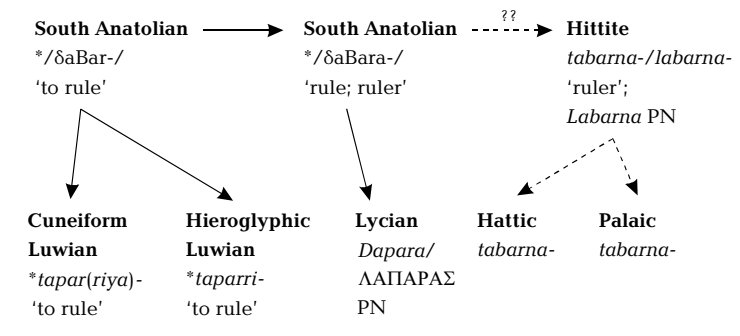
<sup>17</sup> It is, however, possible that the derivative lexeme *√ḡaBar- + -na-* existed already in a non-Indo-Hittite substrate/adstrate language of Anatolia. Since we do not know anything about the grammar of this language, such a hypothesis cannot be either proved or disproved.

<sup>18</sup> For this semantic development cf. the case of Luw. *tarwani-* (§ 11 below).

<sup>19</sup> The cultural and historical problems connected with the Hittite title *tabarna-/labarna-* will be discussed at length by Prof. R. Stefanini in a forthcoming article that will be published in the *Gedenkschrift* of Prof. F. Imparati.

What one can affirm on linguistic grounds, is that the Hattic provenance of the root *tapar-* is highly improbable. Besides the arguments presented above, one has to notice that the only variant of the title that occurs in Hattic and Palaic texts from Boghazköy is *tabarna-*. The example of the Hattic and Hittite bilingual (CTH 725) is especially instructive: Hittite *nu-za La-ba-ar-na-aš* LUGAL-u[š *e-eš-zi* (KUB II 2 II 44) corresponds to Hattic *Ta-ba-ar-na ka-a-at-ti ta-ni-wa-aš* (KUB II 2 II 42). It is clear from this example that Hattic and Hittite forms were phonetically different. The last thing one would expect is an unknown Hattic sounds being approximated by an extremely rare Hittite phoneme *T~L* (/δ/?). It is much more natural to presume that when *tabarna-/labarna-* was borrowed into Hattic and Palaic, the initial consonant was approximated by a stop. A similar situation can be observed in the bilingual Testament of Hattusilis I (CTH 6), where *labarna-* of the Hittite version is usually rendered in Akkadian as *tabarna*.<sup>20</sup>

The suggested relationship between the reflexes of our root in various languages can be illustrated by the following scheme<sup>21</sup>:



<sup>20</sup> The fact that the Akkadian text does not mechanically reproduce the Hittite word, but modifies it in a certain way, supports the hypothesis that some of the Hittite scribes were trained to pronounce the Akkadian texts correctly and, consequently, had some knowledge of Akkadian phonology. Cf. the discussion in Kimball 1999: 49.

<sup>21</sup> For an alternative scenario see fn. 17.

6. Thus we are left with two options, out of four suggested in Tischler 1988: either *tabarna-/labarna-* is an inherited Indo-Hittite word, or it is a Wanderwort, coming from the South, rather than from the North of Anatolia. To make a primary choice between these two alternatives, one has to consider the titles of the Hittite queen (*tawa-nanna-*) and of the Hittite crown prince (*tuhkanti-*). While Hitt. *tawa-nanna-* can be regarded as another puzzle for etymologists, the origin of Hitt. *tuhkanti-* is demonstrably non-Indo-Hittite.<sup>22</sup> It is now a matter of general agreement that the combination «laryngeal + stop» in inherited Hittite words is impossible.<sup>23</sup> The spelling variants *tuhukanti-* (Bronze Tablet II 80) and *tahukanti-* (KBo XIX 163 II 47' etc.) suggest that this word was regarded as foreign by Hittites themselves. Yet it was not an exotic outlandish term; its oldest occurrence is Middle Hittite (KBo V, 7) and in this text it occurs next to the royal title *tabarna-*.

Another noteworthy fact is the peculiar orthography of Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-*. This is the only Hittite word that is consistently written with the syllabographeme *BA*, this sign being normally reserved for Sumerograms (*BA*) and Akkadograms (*PÁ*).<sup>24</sup> A possible phonetic interpretation of this fact will be offered below, but for our present purposes it is enough to note that the usage of rear graphemes is cross-linguistically typical of borrowed words. French *Y*, Italian *K*, Old Persian *LA*, Tocharian *PHA* and Ge'ez *P* will suffice as typological parallels. One could argue that, if Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* is a Luwian borrowing, *BA* could be used to render a Luwian sound that was alien to the system of Hittite. Yet the number of Luwian borrowings in Hittite is so big, and the number of Hittite words written with the syllabographeme *BA* is so small, that I suspect that the underlying phoneme was exotic in Luwian, as well as in Hittite.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Tischler 1991—1995: 410.

<sup>23</sup> Melchert 1994: 68—69; Kimball 1999: 403.

<sup>24</sup> Kimball 1999: 82 bottom.

<sup>25</sup> It is interesting that Luw. *upatit-* 'territory', borrowed into Hittite as *upati-* is several times written *ubati-* i.e. with the sign *BA* in Old Hittite (Starke 1983: 406a;

Under such circumstances, *ceteris paribus*, one should expect *tabarna-/labarna-* (and, less certainly, also *tawanana-*) to be loanwords in Hittite. These are not absolutely compelling arguments and they could in principle be overruled by a good Indo-Hittite etymology. Such etymologies, however, are lacking. The suggestion of Eichner 1973: 81 fn. 5, endorsed subsequently by many other scholars, was to reconstruct IE. *\*dhab(h)ro-no-* «Herr über die Tüchtigen / Mannen» (cf. OCS. дѡбръ 'good'; Lat. *faber* 'skilful'; NHG. *tapfer* 'valiant' etc.).<sup>26</sup> In my opinion, this is a semantically *ad hoc* assumption, since the underlying meaning of the (Indo)-European adjective was simply 'good', with either moral or professional connotations. It is even more difficult for the followers of Prof. Eichner to account for Luw. *tapar-* and the related verbal forms discussed above, since IE. *\*dhab(h)ro-* is morphologically a derived adjective, whereas Luw. *tapar-* does not show any traces of deadjectival derivation.<sup>27</sup>

The etymological connection with Messapic *taparas* 'priest', prophylactically rejected in Tischler 1988, has been recently brought into play in Dunkel 1998. Prof. Dunkel, correctly connecting *tabarna-/labarna-* with *tapar-* 'to rule', analyzes the latter as *\*tō-bhēr-* 'to bring, give'. He cites Ved. *prabhartar-* 'a kind of priest' and Umbr.

Starke 1990: 197 ff.). One, however, must keep in mind that Luw. *upatit-* does not have an Indo-Hittite etymology, but is connected with Boghazköy Akkadian *upatinnu* (written with *PÁ*!) and Ugaritic *'ubdj*. Thus we are probably dealing with another areal Wanderwort. I am grateful to A. Kassian (Moscow) who turned my attention to this lexeme.

<sup>26</sup> Arm. *darbin* 'blacksmith' is not likely to be related to this family of words. Given the fact that Caucasus was one of the cradles of metal production, one would fare better accepting its connection with Hurr. *tabrinni-* 'the blacksmith' (derived with the *-inni-* suffix from *tabiri-* 'der, der gießt → Gießer → Schmied', which was in its turn borrowed into Sum. as *ta/ibira* 'metalworker'), as A. Kassian suggested to me (see Wegner 2000: 194, 197; Neu 1996: 154).

<sup>27</sup> See Tischler 1991—1995: 118 for the similar suggestions of earlier scholars. The attempts to connect Hitt.-Luw. *tapar-* with IE. *dhab(h)ro-* were aptly labeled by Prof. Tischler as «morphologische Gewaltakte».



*arsfertur* 'id.' and alludes to the fact that «the Hittite king is, after all, the highest priest in the land.» I would object to this etymology on the grounds that, first, the prefix *\*ta-* is not otherwise attested in Hittite, second, *tapar-* means 'to rule' and not 'to bring, give', while the semantic change in the verb under the influence of that in the derivative *tabarna-* can hardly be a good explanation, and, third, the semantic change underlying this etymology is almost as arbitrary as that of Eichner's suggestion. It is a great relief for me to know that Prof. Dunkel, if I understand him correctly, has lately become much less passionate about his idea.<sup>28</sup>

Out of charity and a sense of economy, I do not draw back from deserved oblivion other Indo-European etymologies of *tabarna-/labarna-*. All of them can be explained only by the obsessive desire on the part of some Indo-Europeanists to etymologize from the Indo-European all the items of the Hittite lexicon. If we distance ourselves from this approach, we shall see that there is no positive evidence for considering the root *tapar-* as a part of the Indo-Hittite lexical heritage, whereas system considerations provide some evidence against it.

7. Now that we have excluded (or, at least, called into a strong doubt) all the theories about the origin of the title *tabarna-/labarna-* and the root *tapar-* 'to rule,' except that of cultural Wanderwörter, we can turn to the regional connections of these forms. First of all, one should mention ΛΑΒΠΑΝΙΟΣ, an epithete of Zeus in Cyprus.<sup>29</sup> It is only natural that πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε is provided with a title pertaining to the sphere of kingship, and the historical ties of Cyprus with Asia Minor in the second millenium BC are well recorded, although we do not have the slightest evidence that an Anatolian language was ever spoken in Cyprus. The connection between ΛΑΒ-

<sup>28</sup> Personal communication at the 12<sup>th</sup> UCLA IE conference, May 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Lidell & Scott 1996: 1021. The book by J. L. Myres «Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus,» New York, 1914 is not available to me at the present time.

ΠΑΝΙΟΣ and *tabarna-/labarna-* is as good as a regional connection can be; presumably the original meaning of the title was something like «Zeus the Kingly» or «Zeus the Powerful.»

Another interesting epithet of the local «Zeus» comes from Western Anatolia. The word is attested in different spellings (Λάβραυνδος; ΛΑΒΡΑΥΥΝΔΟΣ; ΛΑΒΡΑΙΥΝΔΟΣ; ΛΑΒΡΑΑΥΝΔΟΣ; ΛΑΒΡΑΙΝΔΟΣ; ΛΑΒΡΑΕΝΔΟΣ; Λάβρανδος; ΛΑΒΡΕΝΔΟΣ, later Λαβρα[ν]δέως)<sup>30</sup>, but all of them refer to one and the same deity that was worshiped in Caria, in the area of Mylasa. The recent discovery of the Greek and Carian bilingual text has confirmed the old suspicion that Carian was a South Anatolian language, so in this case the direct comparison with Luw. *\*/daBar-/* is possible. The temple of *Zeus Labraundos* was located in a small town, also called Labraunda (Λάβραυνδα).<sup>31</sup> It is not *a priori* clear whether the city was named after the god or vice versa, but the folk wisdom of Greeks favored the first scenario.<sup>32</sup> Another reason to prefer it is the tempting comparison between ΛΑΒΠΑΝΙΟΣ and Λάβραυνδος.<sup>33</sup>

The comparison between *tabarna-/labarna-* and Gk. λαβύρινθος, the name of the legendary Cretan palace, the house of the Minotaur, was offered as early as 1927.<sup>34</sup> The usually adduced *tertium compa-*

<sup>30</sup> Zgusta 1984: 319.

<sup>31</sup> Neumann 1994, justly rejecting the connection between Λάβραυνδα and λάβρυ- 'axe' (cf. § 8), cautiously derives the former from Hitt. *laparsa-* 'a kind of plant'. This is an improbable suggestion, not to mention other reasons, since G. Neumann ignores the whole problem of the relationship between the title of Zeus and the city name.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the account of Plutarch below, § 8.

<sup>33</sup> A typological parallel for the semantic development from a divine title to a toponym may be offered by the Anatolian city (<sup>URU</sup>)*pihaššašši-*, probably named so after the Luwian title (<sup>DU</sup>) *pihaššašši-* '(Teshub) of the thunderbolt' (or '(Teshub) of splendor'). It is more likely, however, that <sup>DU</sup> <sup>URU</sup>*pihaššašši* instead of <sup>DU</sup> *pihaššašši-* is a simple scribal error. Cf. the discussion in CHD under *pihaššašši*.

<sup>34</sup> See Tischler 1988: 40 for a bibliographic survey.

*rationis* is the above mentioned city name Labraunda. Although this etymology is either disregarded or rejected by most Hittitologists, it is well known among Hellenists (Furnée 1975 regards it as one of the two possible, while Brown 1985 gives preference to it). Its virtue lies in the fact that it allows us to interpret λαβύρινθος simply as «royal (palace)», with such transparent analogies as Fr. *Palais Royal* or Lat. *rēgia* 'the palace of Numa Pompilius on the Via Sacra in Rome'.<sup>35</sup> The geographic proximity between Caria and Crete lends some more credence to the lexical comparison between λαβύρινθος and Λάβραυνδος.

8. Before we proceed to refining the phonetic and morphological details of the suggested comparisons, it is necessary to dispense of the alternative etymology of Ζεὺς Λαβρα[ν]δέως, offered by Plutarch. In the section of the *Moralia*, devoted to «Greek Questions» he connects it with the Lydian word λάβρυ-, allegedly meaning 'axe'. It is worthwhile to quote him at some length:

Why is it that the statue of the Labrandean Zeus in Caria is fashioned holding an axe, but not a scepter or a thunderbolt?

Because when Heracles had slain Hippolytē, together with her other arms he took the axe and gave it as a present to Omphale. The Lydian kings who succeeded Omphalē used to carry it as a part of the sacred regalia, handing it down one to another until it came to Candaules. He deemed it of little worth and gave it to one of his companions to carry. But when Gyges revolted and was at war with Candaules, Arselis came from Mylasa with an army as an ally to Gyges and slew both Candaules and his companion and brought the axe to Caria together with other spoils. He therefore constructed the statue of Zeus and placed the axe in its head, and called the God Labrandeus; for the Lydians call the axe *labrys*

The image of *Zeus Labraundos* is preserved on the Achaemenian coins from Caria, and thus we know that the god was actually hold-

<sup>35</sup> I thank Prof. R. Stefanini (Berkeley) for this parallel.

ing a double axe.<sup>36</sup> The pictures of a double axe were also found on the walls of the ruins of the Palace of Cnossos that is usually identified with the legendary λαβύρινθος. The Double Axe being probably the most popular symbol of the Minoan kingdom, and the Labyrinth being its most well known attribute, German archeologists hastened to connect λαβύρινθος with λάβρυ- and explained the former as «the house of the Double Axe (i. e. the royal insignia)». <sup>37</sup> I am not amazed that such a theory was promulgated in a 19<sup>th</sup> century archeological journal, but I consider it slightly peculiar that it was endorsed by several 20<sup>th</sup> century philologists. For I do not see any reason to explain a Carian god from a Lydian word for 'axe' unless we believe the whole story of Plutarch with its implications, including the Amazon Ippolytē and the exhibitionist Candaules. Nor is it more likely for the palace of Cnossos to have been called «The palace of the Double Axe» than for the White House to be called «The Palace of the Bald Eagle». Finally, I am inclined to question the authority of Plutarch as a lexicographer, and until λάβρυ- 'axe' is found in a more reliable source, preferably in some documents from Asia Minor, one has a legitimate right to doubt that it existed in any language of the area.<sup>38</sup>

The iconographic parallel between the Cretan Double Axe and the double axe of *Zeus Labraundos* is also questionable. The Cretan symbol appears mainly in the hands of women or goddesses, which

<sup>36</sup> See the illustrations of these coins in Göbl 1978, II, # # 1907—1909.

<sup>37</sup> See Frisk 1970: 67 for the bibliography.

<sup>38</sup> An attempt was made to corroborate the evidence for the Lydian λάβρυ- 'axe' by declaring it an areal Wanderwort, connected with Pers. *tabar*; Arm. *tapar*, Russ. *monop* 'id.' etc. The simplest reason to reject this theory is that all the adduced *comparanda* show the initial *t-*, which must be reflected as *t-* also in Lydian. Those who need additional reasons are referred to Abaev 1958 p. 451, where \**tapar* 'axe' is plausibly explained as a result of metathesis in Scythian (?) \**parat* 'id' (Oss. *fārāt*). The Scythian word would hardly be expected in Lydian and even less so in Minoan Cretan.

has even prompted Prof. Gimbutas to regard it as a butterfly.<sup>39</sup> Such an interpretation is, of course, highly uncertain, but it is certain that no scholar in his right mind will regard the Labrandean «Zeus» as an entomologist. The axe in his hands looks clearly like a weapon, and, as such, it finds excellent parallels in the Hieroglyphic Luwian syllabary, where the sign *L 281* (ASCIA), iconographically a double axe, accompanies the verbs of destruction.<sup>40</sup> Gods portrayed with an axe are not uncommon in Anatolia; one of them can be seen on the relief of the «King's Gate» in Hattusa.<sup>41</sup> The theory linking the Labyrinth with the Double Axe has nothing to recommend itself either to a linguist or to an art historian.

9. The theory linking the Labyrinth with the notion of royalty has received a sudden confirmation upon the decipherment of the Linear B. One of the Mycenaean tablets found in Cnossos (*Gg. 702*) revealed the following text<sup>42</sup>:

<i>pa-si-te-oi / me-ri</i> AMPHORA I	To all the gods, honey: one amphora.
<i>da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo / po-ti-ni-ja 'me-ri'</i> AMPHORA I	To the Lady of the <b>Labyrinth</b> , honey: one amphora

It is not the place to discuss Labyrinth's being held sacred already in the II millenium BC, or the identity of the Lady of the Labyrinth.<sup>43</sup> It is the spelling *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo* (gen.) that is of primary interest for us. Myc. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-* is related to Gk. *λαβύρινθος* just the same way as Lyc. *Dapara* to its Greek transliteration *ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ*, or Hitt. *tabarna-* to its variant *labarna-*. To be sure, there was no special sign to render Gk. /l/ in the Mycenaean syllabary, but the *R-*, not the

<sup>39</sup> Gimbutas 1982: 182 (illustration 139).

<sup>40</sup> Laroche 1960: 148.

<sup>41</sup> Akurgal 1961, plate 64—65.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted from Chadwick et al. 1971: 203.

<sup>43</sup> According to Puhvel 1964: 165, this is Ariadne.

*D-* series of syllabograms was used for this purpose in the overwhelming majority of cases. The correspondence Myc. *D-* ~ Gk. *λ* indicates a special sound, for which, again, the transcription /δ/ would be a plausible guess. Greek alphabet apparently had the propensity for rendering the reflexes of this phoneme as *λ* (*ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ*, *ΛΑΒΡΑΝΙΟΣ*, *Λάβραυνδος*, *λαβύρινθος*), although it is impossible in this case to distinguish between the phonetic change and the graphic adaptation.

The significance of the vacillation between *d-* and *l-* in the word for «labyrinth» has been already underlined in Furnée 1972, but the importance of the consonant alternation within the second syllable of this word seems to have been overlooked by previous scholars. The Mycenaean syllabeme *pu<sub>2</sub>* normally corresponds to the alphabetic *φν*, while Palmer 1963 speculated that its original value might have been /pju/.<sup>44</sup> Its alternation with the alphabetic *βν* of *λαβύρινθος* probably indicates that we are dealing with a special sound, peculiar to a pre-Greek substrate. At this point it is proper to remember the unique usage of the *BA* sign in Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-*; it is but natural to presume that we are dealing with a similar phenomenon in both Greek and Hittite. Naturally, I cannot posit any pronunciation for the underlying sound, but a bilabial spirant [β] would be one of the options.

Finally, I should like to stress the fact that the comparison between *λαβύρινθος* and *Zeus Labraundos* (and the town Labraunda) was made quite independently of their connection with Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* and even prior to the decipherment of Hittite. On the other hand, Hitt. *tabarna-/labarna-* has indisputable comparanda of its own (e. g. Hatt. *tabarna-*). Thus we have independent reasons to regard the Anatolian title and the Cretan-Carian toponym as Wanderwörter.

The similarities noted above are summarized in the following table:

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Morpurgo-Davies (Oxford) who turned my attention to this fact.

Hitt. <i>tabarna-</i> ~ <i>labarna-</i> Lyc. <i>Dapara</i> ~ ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ	Gk. λαβύρινθος vs. Myc. <i>da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo</i>
Unique usage of the BA sign	Gk. βύ vs. Myc. <i>pu<sub>2</sub></i>
<i>tabarna-</i> in Hittite and Hattic	λαβύρινθος vs Λάβραυνδα in Caria

**10.** So far we have not discussed the suffix of λαβύρινθος and Λάβραυνδος / Λάβραυνδα. The most natural suggestion is that we are dealing with an old suffix *\*-want(a)-*. The connection between the suffix -ινθο-ς, so frequent in Greek place-names, and the Anatolian toponymic suffix *-anda-* (e. g. in *Purušhanda* or *Zippalanda*) is now universally acknowledged, even though one can hold different opinions about the language underlying both suffixes.<sup>45</sup> It is somewhat less well-known, but easily provable, that the suffix *-wanda-* (such as in *Makarwanda* or *Wiyawawanda*) occurs in Anatolian place-names almost as frequently, as the suffix *-anda-*.<sup>46</sup> One would expect that, after the fall of the «digamma», the Greek counterpart of the suffix *-wanda-* would be also -ινθο-ς. This old connection must be, of course, distinguished from the Greek transliteration of Anatolian place-names, where the usual way to render the Anatolian suffix is -ανδα- or something similar. In this sense, Λάβρα(υ)νδα is to be compared e. g. with the South Anatolian town Οινόανδα, mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy and other Greek geographers, which one can identify with one of the *Wiyawawandas* of cuneiform sources.<sup>47</sup>

If we recognize that Λάβραυνδος/ λαβύρινθος was originally an adjective meaning 'belonging to a ruler' (vel sim.), the next natural step is to suppose that we are dealing with the Anatolian adjectival

<sup>45</sup> For the «minimalist» approach to the problem on ancient toponyms in Greece and Asia Minor see Laroche 1977. A survey of somewhat more far-reaching hypotheses can be found in Wilhelm 2000: 178.

<sup>46</sup> Jie 1994 contains 66 place-names ending in *-anTa* and 51 place-names ending in *-wanTa*.

<sup>47</sup> Zgusta 1984: 432.

suffix *-want-*, which could be attached both to verbal roots and to nominal stems in Anatolian. *-want-* deverbatives, however, are largely limited to Hittite, where, as Oettinger 1988 has shown, they are tightly associated with the infinitives in *-war-*. In addition, if one presumes that the suffix was attached directly to the root-stem *\*/daBar-/* 'to rule', then one would expect *\*\*ΛABPYANΔOΣ* or *\*\*ΛABPYNΔOΣ*, but not Λάβραυνδος in Caria. On the other hand, if one starts with a South Anatolian denominative formation *\*/daBara-want-/*, one can explain the variants *\*/daBraw(u)nt-/* and *\*/daBar(u)want-/* by an early dialectal syncope. Typologically, one can compare a Hittite-Luwian toponym *Arnuwanta* (probably related to *\*ar(in)na-* 'spring') with its more archaic Carian counterpart *Αρναυανδα/ Αρναβανδα*.<sup>48</sup> Thus I conclude that the adjective Λάβραυνδος/ λαβύρινθος was probably formed from a Luwian noun *\*/daBara-/* 'power; ruler', which also underlies the Lycian PN *Dapara* / ΛΑΠΑΡΑΣ and possibly the Carian place-name ΛΑΒΑΡΑ.

**11.** The only fact that remains to be explained is the irregular metathesis in λαβύρινθος presumably going back to *\*/daBar(u)want(V)-/*. The Gk. group *\*/-rw-/* was normally preserved in Mycenaean, as well as in the archaic Greek dialects of the early alphabetic period.<sup>49</sup> Those dialects that suffered the fall of the «digamma» after */-Vr-/* can be divided into two groups, depending on whether the vowel of the preceding syllable was lengthened or not; Arcadian κορῆ *'girl'* corresponds to Attic κόρη, Ionic κούρη and Doric κόρα. λαβύρινθος, with its Mycenaean ancestor *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-*, represents a peculiar development that must be accounted for.

The word that is to be considered here together with λαβύρινθος is τύραννος 'tyrant'. The number of explanations suggested for this word rivals that offered for Hitt. *tabarna-*, but the most promising hypotheses connect it, on the one hand with Hier. Luw. *tarwani-*

<sup>48</sup> Zgusta 1984: 99.

<sup>49</sup> Lejeune 1972: 159.

(written *ta+ra/i-wa/i-ni-*) 'justice; judge, ruler' and, on the other hand, with Ugaritic *srn* 'prince; PN'; Akkadian *suranu* (transliteration of Ugar. PN *srn*)<sup>50</sup> and Hebrew *sārān* 'prince of the Philistines'.<sup>51</sup> While both Greek and Semitic words can be safely regarded as borrowings, the Anatolian title is very likely to be their ultimate source. The semantic shift from 'justice' to 'judge' can be explained as an extended metaphor *abstractum pro concreto* and is paralleled by such cases as Hitt. *kurur* 'enmity > enemy' and Hitt. *taksul* 'treaty > ally'<sup>52</sup>; the opposite semantic shift would be quite unusual. The semantic shift from 'judge' to 'prince' (or 'tyrant') can be best exemplified by the function of Biblical Judges (*šōfētim*); the opposite change would be, again, unprecedented.<sup>53</sup> In spite of the fact that the Ugaritic word is attested some three centuries earlier than its Anatolian counterpart, it appears that Semites, as well as Greeks, have borrowed the secondary, even the tertiary meaning of the lexeme in question.

It is hardly possible to exactly determine the mediators that spread the word *\*tarwanV-* 'judge > ruler' throughout the Eastern Mediterranean area in the late second — early first millenium BC.

<sup>50</sup> According to Tropper 1994: 31—33 the Ugaritic phoneme *S* was pronounced as an affricate /ts/ (vel sim). Thus the pronunciation of the Ugaritic word for 'prince' was, probably, /tsuranu/. I do not have a clear picture of what caused the palatalisation *\*/turanu/ > /tsuranu/*, I can only say that it is a frequent phenomenon cross-linguistically (cf. e.g. the situation in Japanese). Cf. also Gk. πρύτανις 'president' vs. Ugar. PN *prsn*, transliterated in Akkadian as *pur-sā-nu* (Furnée 1972: 63).

<sup>51</sup> See Chantraine 1968—1980 for the survey of etymologies. The decision of Furnée 1972: 64, who connects Greek and Semitic words, leaving the Anatolian word aside, is unfounded since *tarwani-* is no more deviant phonetically in comparison with other forms, than τύραννος and *suranu* with respect to one another, and Anatolia, after all, is situated between Greek and Semitic world.

<sup>52</sup> Neu 1979 *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> See Pintore 1979 for the careful treatment of the semantics of *tarwanis* in Hieroglyphic Luwian.

The Hebrew word, however, makes it reasonable to think that the «Sea Peoples»-Philistines played some part in this process. Biblical tradition (Amos 9: 7) places the Philistine homeland in «Kaftor», which is usually identified with Crete, the island of the λαβύρινθος < *\*/δaBar(u)want(V)-/*. Can it be that the metathesis *\*tarwanV- > \*turanV-* also occurred in this area? Whatever the answer is, the parallel between the two metatheses in Wanderworts, both of which are pertaining to the sphere of rulership and come from Asia Minor, remains very significant. The following scheme illustrates this parallelism:

	Syncope	Metathesis	Special developments
<i>*/δaBaru-want-/</i>	<i>*/δaBar(u)want(V)-/</i> (cf. Λάβραυνδος)	Sea people (?) <i>*/δaBurant(V)-/</i>	Gk. λαβύρινθος
Luw. <i>*tarwanV-</i> (cf. Hier. <i>tarwani-</i> )		Sea people (?) <i>*turanV-</i>	Ugar. / <i>tsuranu</i> /, Gk. τύραννος

\* \* \*

The ongoing study of the South Anatolian languages will, no doubt, shed more light on the roots and forms discussed in this article. The very nature of the study of linguistic contacts frequently obliges us to change our views, as soon as the new materials become available. The data being as they are, I consider my suggestions as the best available solution.

In § 5 I subscribed to the opinion of Prof. Starke who maintains that Hittite title *tabarna-/labarna-*, as well as the PN *Labarna-*, is likely to be a Luwoid form. As a typological parallel to this situation I should like to mention the name of my late teacher of Hittite, Prof. Korolëv (Russ. король 'foreign king'), to whom this article is dedicated. The root король, going back to the name of Carolus (Mag-nus) > Charlemagne, was coincidentally reiterated in the name of a Moscow scholar. Not so coincidental was his alias «King» (Кинг)

given to him by his university friends. To be sure, the pun on his family name was important, but it was also the sign of recognition of his present merits and future achievements. Forty years later, we, the students of Prof. Korolëv, aspire to become the heirs to his throne.

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