

Фригийский словарь

Фригийское	ИЕ.
ab- (у-, при-) (в глоссе <i>abberet</i> – он принесет)	<i>*ad-</i> (к, в направлении)
adamna (друг)	
addaket, addaketor (он сделал)	<i>*dhé-k-</i> (класть, устанавливать)
a·io- (неприступный)	
agoraní (они покупают)	< греч. <i>agora</i> (рынок)
akala (вода)	фрак. <i>achel-</i> (вода), лит. <i>Akele.</i> (название реки)
alu- (священник)	хетт. <i>alwu-</i> (магический), лид. <i>alus'</i> (священник)
arg- (серебряный)	<i>*arg'-</i> (блестеть, белый)
arg- (направлять)	греч. <i>arkhó</i> 'правлю'
attagos (козел)	
azéna (борода; вин.мн.)	<i>*genu-</i> 'подбородок'
Bagaios (Зевс)	скр. <i>bhagas-</i> , авест. <i>ba· a-</i> , рус. <i>бог</i>
bago- (хороший)	
balaios (большой, быстрый)	<i>*belo-</i> (сила)
balén (король)	<i>*belo-</i> (сила)
bambalon (пенис)	
bedu (вода, река)	<i>*wed-, *wod-</i> (мокрый, вода)
bekos (хлеб)	<i>*pekʷ-</i> 'печь'
belté (болото)	<i>*bhel-</i> (белый)
ber- (нести) (в <i>eber</i> – он принес)	<i>*bher-</i> (нести)
bonekos (жена)	<i>*gwen-</i> (женщина, жена)
cin (сорт, вид)	<i>*g'en-</i> (род)
dadón (они дали)	<i>*dó-</i> (дать)
dahet (кладет, устанавливает)	<i>*dhé-k-</i> (класть, устанавливать)

daos, davos (волк, букв. "убивающий")	<i>*dhaw-</i> (давить, убивать)
dareios (хранитель)	
dúmos (собрание)	греч. <i>thómos</i> 'куча'
edaes (он установил)	<i>*dhé-</i> (класть, устанавливать)
eistani (они устанавливают)	<i>*stá-</i> (стоять)
eksis (еж)	рус. <i>ёж</i> , греч. <i>ekhinos</i> , арм. <i>ozni</i> , лит. <i>ez'ys</i> (еж)
elik (он оставил)	<i>*leikw-</i> 'оставлять'
en-park (поднимать)	<i>*bhergh-</i> (высокий)
es' (осел)	<i>*ekwo-</i> (конь)
eti (и)	лат. <i>et</i> (и), греч. <i>eti</i> (еще), гот. <i>ip</i> (и, но)
ev- (добрый, хороший)	<i>*wes-</i> (хороший)
gelaros, gallaros (золотка)	<i>*g'al-</i> (золотка)
germe (теплый)	<i>*gwher-</i> , <i>*gwher-m-</i> (жар, жаркий)
glanos (гиена)	
glunea, glúros (золотой)	авест. <i>zaranya-</i> , слав. <i>*zlato</i> , гот. <i>gulþ</i> (золото)
glúron (лужайка)	греч. <i>khlóros</i> 'желтый, зеленый'
gordum, zordum (город)	<i>*gher-</i> (огораживать), <i>*ghro-dh-</i> (изгородь)
garman (битва)	
iman (культовое изображение)	хетт. <i>himma-</i>
ios (который)	<i>*yos</i> (относит. мест.: скр. <i>yas</i> , др-перс. <i>ya-</i> , греч. <i>hos</i>)
kalos (хороший)	греч. <i>kalos</i>
kan (произносить)	<i>*ghan-</i> (открыть рот)
kavar- (священное место)	лид. <i>kave</i> (жрец) < ИЕ. <i>*k'eu-</i> (предвидеть)

keos (живой)	<i>*gwei-</i> 'жить', арм. <i>keal</i> 'жить'
kiklén (колесо)	IE <i>*kwel-</i> 'катиться, колесо'
kimeros (намерение, желание)	
knouman (надпись)	греч. <i>knuta</i> 'нацарапанное'
kunes (собаки; им.мн.)	<i>*kwon-</i> (собака)
lawagtaei (вождь)	<i>*laHwo-</i> (народ, армия), микен. греч. <i>lawagtas</i> 'вождь'
matar (мать)	<i>*mátér-</i> (мать)
мека- (большой)	<i>*megh-</i> (большой)
memevais (советник)	хетт. <i>meta-</i> (говорить)
mosuna (башня)	
orú (вверх)	<i>*or-</i> (вставать, подниматься)
ouit- (гореть)	исл. <i>swiða</i> , двн. <i>swidan</i> 'гореть'
pikerion (мазь)	
proitavos (вождь)	
satine (колесница)	
semou(n) (этому; дат.ед.)	<i>*so-</i> (этот), кельт. <i>*sindos</i>
si·eto (пусть его ждет удача)	<i>*seidh-</i>
tíama, teama (стела)	<i>*dhé-</i> (устанавливать)
tios (боги)	<i>*deiwo-</i> (бог дневного света)
·ri (три)	<i>*treyes</i> , ср.р. <i>*trí</i> (три)
tiveia (богиня)	лув. <i>tiwat-</i> (бог дневного света)
tov- (жертвовать)	<i>*dheu-</i> (жертвовать)
vaso (добрый, хороший)	хетт. <i>wesu-</i> (хороший)

ve, oe (себя)	<i>*swe-</i> (себя)
wit- (знать)	<i>*weid-</i> , <i>*wid-</i> (видеть, знать)
witeto (он видел)	<i>*weid-</i> , <i>*wid-</i> (видеть, знать)
zelkia (овощи)	<i>*g'hel-</i> (зеленый, трава)
zemeló- (раб, земной человек)	<i>*dhghom-</i> (земля), слав. <i>*zemja</i> , лит. <i>zeme.</i> (земля)
zetna (ворота)	
zeuman (поток; вин.ед.)	<i>*gheu-</i> , <i>*gheu-d-</i> (жидкий, лить)

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Фригийцы (гр. phryges или bruges) населяли в [древности](#) северо-западную часть Малой Азии, куда переселились из Европы во II – начале I тыс. до н.э. [Древнефригийский](#) язык составляет отдельную группу в составе семьи [индоевропейских](#) языков. Обнаруживает сходство с [древнегреческим](#) языком. Античные же источники сообщают о родстве фригийцев с [армянами](#).

Здесь приведён краткий список фригийских слов, который будет пополняться из указанных в конце словаря источников.

Фригийско–русский словарь (~80)

Фонетическая статистика по словарю:

- Больше всего слов – на Е, А, К, В, Г.
- Отсутствуют слова на F (как во фракийском), Н. Неизвестны на N (во фракийском тоже мало – и удивительно для такой устойчивой фонемы), R (очень странно).
- Самые частые фонемы в середине – ?.
- Меньше всего – на С (Сi – как во фракийском – нет, наверное, аффрикат), L, I, O (как во фракийском – и вообще отсутствует в этрусском), S, V, W.
- Самые редкие фонемы в середине – ?

А (12 слов)

1. **ab-** (у-, при-) (в глоссе abberet – он принесет): *ad- (к, в направлении)
2. **adamna** (друг)
3. **addaket, addaketor** (он сделал): *dh?-k- (класть, устанавливать)
4. **adio-** (неприступный)
5. **agorani** (они покупают) < греч. agora (рынок)
6. **akala** (вода) фрак. aschel- (вода), лит. Akele. (название реки)
7. **alu-** (священник): хетт. alwu- (магический), лид. alus' (священник) [есть праи.-е.]

8. **arg-** (серебряный): *arg'- (блестеть, белый)
9. **arg-** (направлять): греч. arkh? 'правлю'
10. **[ates (отец)]**
11. **attagos** (козел)
12. **az?na** (борода; вин.мн.): *genu- 'подбородок'

B (11)

1. **[baba (дед?)]**
2. **Bagaios** (Зевс): скр. bhagas-, авест. бага-, рус. бог
3. **bago-** (хороший)
4. **balaios** (большой, быстрый): *belo- (сила)
5. **bal?n** (король): *belo- (сила)
6. **bambalon** (пенис)
7. **bedu** (вода, река): *wed-, *wod- (мокрый, вода)
8. **bekos** (хлеб): *rekw- 'печь'
9. **belt?** (болото): *bhel- (белый) [слав. болто]
10. **ber-** (нести) (в eber – он принес): *bher- (нести)
11. **bonekos** (жена): *gwen- (женщина, жена)

C (1)

1. **cin** (сорт, вид): *g'en- (род)

D (5)

1. **dad?n** (они дали): *d?- (дать)
2. **dahet** (кладет, устанавливает): *dh?-k- (класть, устанавливать)
3. **daos, davos** (волк, букв. "убивающий"): *dhaw- (давить, убивать)
4. **dareios** (хранитель) [приниматель даров ?]
5. **d?mos** (собрание): греч. th?mos 'куча'

E (8)

1. **edaes** (он установил): *dh?- (класть, устанавливать)

2. **eistani** (они устанавливают): *stʔ- (стоять)
3. **eksis** (еж): рус. ёж, греч. ekhinos, арм. ozni, лит. ez'ys (еж)
4. **elik** (он оставил): *leikw- 'оставлять'
5. **en-park** (поднимать): *bhergh- (высокий)
6. **es'** (осел): *ekwo- (конь)
7. **eti** (и): лат. et (и), греч. eti (еще), гот. iʔ (и, но)
8. **ev-** (добрый, хороший): *wes- (хороший)

G (7)

1. **gelaros, gallaros** (золотка): *g'al- (золотка)
2. **germe** (теплый): *gwher-, *gwher-m- (жар, жаркий)
3. **glanos** (гиена)
4. **glunea, glʔros** (золотой): авест. zaranya-, слав. *zlato, гот. gulʔ
(золото)
5. **glʔron** (лужайка): греч. khlʔros 'желтый, зеленый'
6. **gordum, zordum** (город): *gher- (огораживать), *ghro-dh-
(изгородь)
7. **garman** (битва)

I (2)

1. **iman** (культовое изображение): хетт. himma-
2. **ios** (который): *yos (относит. мест.: скр. yas, др-перс. ya-,
греч. hos)

K (8)

1. **kalos** (хороший): греч. kalos
2. **kan** (произносить): *ghan- (открыть рот)
3. **kavar-** (священное место): лид. kave (жрец) < ИЕ. *k'eu-
(предвидеть)
4. **keos** (живой): *gwei- 'жить', арм. keal 'жить'
5. **kiklʔn** (колесо): ИЕ *kwel- 'катиться, колесо'
6. **kimeros** (намерение, желание)
7. **knouman** (надпись): греч. knuma 'нацарапанное'
8. **kunes** (собаки; им.мн.): *kwon- (собака)

L (1)

1. **lawagtaei** (вождь): *laHwo- (народ, армия), микен. греч.
lawagtas 'вождь' [есть в критских]

M (4)

1. **matar** [также materʔ] (мать): *mʔtʔr- (мать)

2. **meka-** (большой): *megh- (большой) [gh > k ? или заимствовано из фрак. или этр. ?]

3. **memevais** (советник): хетт. мета- (говорить)

4. **mosuna** (башня)

O (2)

1. **or?** (вверх): *or- (вставать, подниматься)

2. **ouit-** (гореть): исл. swi?a, двн. swidan 'гореть'

P (3)

1. **pikerion** (мазь)

2. **proitavos** (вождь) [вперед идущий ?]

3. **satine** (колесница)

S (2)

1. **semou(n)** (этому; дат.ед.): *so- (этот), кельт. *sindos

2. **sideto** (пусть его ждет удача): *seidh-

T (5)

1. **tiaма, teaма** (стела): *dh?- (устанавливать) [вроде, встречается в этрусских]

2. **tios** (боги): *deiwo- (бог дневного света)

3. **qri** (три): *treyes, ср.п. *tr? (три)

4. **tiveia** (богиня): лув. tiwat- (бог дневного света) [Дива]

5. **tov-** (жертвовать): *dheu- (жертвовать)

V (2)

1. **vaso** (добрый, хороший): хетт. wesu- (хороший)

2. **ve, oe** (себя): *swe- (себя) [swe > hwe > we ?]

W (2)

1. **wit-** (знать): *weid-, *wid- (видеть, знать)

2. **witeto** (он видел): *weid-, *wid-(видеть, знать)

Z (4)

1. **zelkia** (овощи): *g'hel- (зеленый, трава)

2. **zemel?-** (раб, земной человек): *dhghom- (земля), слав. *zemja, лит. zeme. (земля)

3. **zetna** (ворота)

4. **zeuman** (поток; вин.ед.): *gheu-, *gheu-d- (жидкий, лить)

Phrygian etymological database

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A

Phrygian: abberet(or)

See also: see s.v. [ad](#) and [ber-](#)

Phrygian: ad [предлог “к, до”]

Part of speech: preposition (+ dat.)

Meaning: `to, at'

Attested forms:

at + Ti(e/h) 12 39 45 51 54 56-7 61-2 65 76-7 80 85-6 94 101 106;
[a]t Ti 11; [at] Ti 72; [a]t· [Ti] 108; a + Ti(e/h) 7 67 87 102-3; [a] Tie 102; a
T[ie] 25;

ak ke oi 33 76, a ke oi 7 (?) `and to him' ([Lubotsky 1989b](#): 150);

ak koltah (?) {1} 30;

ad ateama·j 14 (?) {2};

a· I + Kaliyay (PN) Vez 6 ([Neumann 1997](#): 22)

Contexts:

The malediction formula is: tit tetikmenoj at Ti(e) adeitou (with some insignificant variants; cf. especially 62. at Tih ke dewj ke tit tetikmenoj eitou).
... ak ke oi bekoj akkaloj ti dregroun eitou 33, 76

7. [ioj ni semou]n knoumani kaka[-/---a·]en deoj ke zem[eloj/---]a ke oi
eiroi a tie tit t[e/tikmenoi eitt]nou

14. [i]oj ni semoun kno/[u]m·anei kakin ada·/ket ain' ad ateama·j ti
tetikmenoj aj· tian [eit]o·u

Vez 6. *nidu·s-a·kal·iyay karatu panato andop opost·o·i·s· kl·a·n·iv*

Etymological comments: For the analysis of the formulae see [Heubeck 1958](#), [Lubotsky 1989a](#), [Brixhe 1997](#): 42ff. The preverb / preposition corresponds to Lat. *ad*, etc. < PIE **h₂ed*. Note that this preverb is absent in Greek.

Footnotes: {1} The context is unclear. {2} [Lubotsky 1989a](#): 84, cf. further [Brixhe 1997](#): 47. On the other hand, [Brixhe 1978b](#): 4 suggested to consider ad a case of dittography, which seems attractive.

Phrygian: ad [наречие “вблизи, близко” ?]

Part of speech: preverb

Attested forms: NPhr. verbs addaket; abberet; adeitou; atetikmenoj

See also: see s.v. [da-](#), [ber-](#), [i-](#), [tetikmeno-](#)

Phrygian: addaket

See also: see s.v. [ad](#) and [da-](#)

Phrygian: adeitou

See also: see s.v. [ad](#) and [i-](#)

Phrygian: adithrera-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. adiqrerak (+ xeuneoi) 31

Contexts: 31. aj semoun knouman adiqrerak / xeuneoi ddikej eian ...

Etymological comments: Whereas the previous scholarship (including [Haas 1966](#) and [Kowal 1984](#)) took adiqrerak as a part of the grave, [Neumann 1986](#): 82, with good arguments, assumes a PN Adiqreraj, most probably of a Greek origin (Adi- may stay for ýnt...). As far as the final consonant is concerned, Neumann assumes a mistake of the scribe, which is not very likely, since S has a classical shape with four segments, a turned M ([Brixhe 1999](#): 298). I am therefore inclined to follow Orel's view ([Orel 1997](#): 332) that -k is due to sandhi -s k- > -k k- (more examples of this sandhi are found in inscription 116).

Phrygian: adoikavo-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN, title?

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *[a]d·oikavos* {1} G-146; *[a]d·oikav·[os]* {2} G-153 (complete inscr.);

dat.sg. *adoikavoi* G-02A

Contexts: G-02 A. *agart·ioi : iktes : adoikavoi* B. *iosoporokitis-ýC. kakoioitovo : podaska[?]*

Etymological comments: In G-02, *adoikavoi* seems to be the title or a second name of *agartios*. For the suffix see s.v. [proitavo-](#). No etymology known.

Footnotes: {1} [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#) give *]-oikavos*. {2} [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#) give *]d·oika-]*.

Phrygian: ae

Part of speech: particle (?)

Attested forms: *ae* M-01f; *lae* W-09

Contexts:

M-01f [-y-]as : tuavye/niy : ae : esuryoyoy: totin : e·d·ae·[s]

W-09 si/eto lae / alus

Etymological comments: The function of this element is unclear. On the one hand, it is reminiscent of [aey](#) (see s.v.), which is likely to be a form of the verb 'to be', but the position and function seem different ([Lubotsky 1988a: 18](#)). [Orel 1997: 21](#), however, derives *ae* as 2sg. and *aey* as 3sg. aor. of the root *a-*, according to him 'to set, make sit, enthrone' or 'to sit, ascend the throne' (Gr. Omai).

Phrygian: aey

Part of speech: v.

Meaning: 'to be'

Attested forms: aeyW-01a

Contexts: W-01a *materan : areyastin / bonok : akenanogavo·s· / vrekun : tedatoy : yostutut---a·-m-yñoy : akenanogavos / aey*

Spelling variants: For the reading order of the inscription see [Lubotsky 1988a: 11](#).

Etymological comments: As indicated in [Lubotsky 1988a: 17f.](#), the form must functionally belong to the verb 'to be'. In the same publication I tentatively opted for 3sg. pf. Because of the unclear context, it is uncertain that *laey* / in B-01.8 (*kesiti loyvov laey apaktneni*) be the same form.

Phrygian: agomo-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: dat.sg. *lagomoi*W-08

Contexts: W-08. *ates lagomoi / sa-ta ltedaes / alus Isiceto / Bateles IBaB-[?]*

Etymological comments: The origin of the name is unknown, cf. [Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1982: 70f.](#)

Phrygian: aini

Part of speech: conj.

Meaning: 'and/or', Lat. *sive*

Attested forms:

OPhr. *layni·* / B-01.4, *layni* / Vez 11;

NPhr. aini 4 18(2x) 25-6 29 43 73 75 86-7 97 102 112 115 125, [ai]ni 92 100, ai[ni] 13, a[i]ni 91; ain' 14 120

Contexts:

B-01.4 4. *yos Itivo [t]a · spereta · ayni · Ikin Ite[l]e · mi*

Vez 11. *ivimun inmeney asena · n daket torvetun sr · irayayniyo · y ·*

In the NPhr. inscriptions, aini stands in the protasis, cf. the following typical examples: 25. *ioj ni simoun knoumani [k]akoun abbireto aini mmura* 'whoever may afflict harm or damage (out of stupidity) to this grave' or 26. *ioj ni semon knoumane kakon daket aini manka* 'whoever may afflict harm to this grave or to the stele'.

Etymological comments: For the use of aini see [Brixhe 1978b](#): 3ff. This conjunction actually consists of [ai](#) (q.v.), followed by the particle [ni](#) (q.v.).

Phrygian: aipos-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: 'steep hill' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg. aipoj 116

Contexts: 116 o · m · o · usaj aipoj ekanej ...

Etymological comments:

The passage starts the second part of an epitaph, while in the first part the various parts of the grave are enumerated. Although the context is not quite clear, it seems to relate what various people have contributed to the grave. For ekanej (3sg. aor.) 'to dig' see s.v. [ken](#). The editors of the inscription [Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 176 further assumed a preverb poj, but in the context of the epitaph it seems likelier to divide aipoj ekanej and connect Gr. ἀίποι n. 'steepness, steep hill' (no further etymology, presumably a substratum word).

The meaning of the sentence o · m · o · usaj aipoj ekanej would then be:

'Omusas has dug the steep hill...' (see also s.v. [Omusas](#)).

Phrygian: ai

Part of speech: conj.

Meaning: 'if'

Attested forms: ai P-06; ai 31 42 (2x?); ai koj 64

Etymological comments:

For the use of this conjunction see [Brixhe 1978a](#): 18f; [Brixhe 1978b](#): 3ff, 22. Already [Gusmani 1958](#): 880 identified Phr. *ai* with Gr. (Aeol., Dor.) ἴι 'if', which corresponds to e, in Ionic-Attic and Arcadian.

For the apparent a · ika · i 53, aikan 62 see s.v. [taikan](#).

Phrygian: akaragayo-

Part of speech: m./n.

Meaning: 'a part of the monument' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg. *akaragayun* M-02

Contexts: M-02 *bba : memevais : proitavo[s] / k|ianaveyos : akaragayun / edaes*

Etymological comments: Most likely, the object of the verb *edaes*, thus indicating a (part of the) monument. [Orel 1997](#): 23 analyses the word as a compound, comparing the first member with a gloss in the *EM ýkarTj shma...nei tXn* TM*γκλῆφαλον ἡ τὴν κεφαλῆν* and the second with Gr. *-gaioj* (in compounds for *gai~a* 'earth'). The compound would then mean 'earth head' or 'earth mound' and refer to an altar. Very doubtful.

Phrygian: *akenanogavo-*

Part of speech: m., -a- f.

Meaning: a title

Attested forms:

nom.sg.m. *akenanogavos* M-01a, W-01a(2x), *Ja·ke-ýanoýř* M-09 (?);
acc.sg.f. *a·kinanogavan·* M-04

Etymological comments:

Ates in M-01a (*ates : arkiaevais : akenanogavos : midai : lavagtaei : vanaktei : edaes*) dedicates a Kybele facade to the great king Midas. This becomes comprehensible if we assume that *Ates* had a religious function and not a secular one. From W-01a and M-01a follows that *akenanogavos* is the nom.sg. of an *o*-stem. Therefore, *akinanogavan* of the inscription M-04 (*a·kinanogavan· : tiyes // mod·rov·anak : [?]avara·[?]*) can only be the acc.sg. of an *í*-stem, a feminine variant of the same word (for the variation of *i* and *e* cf. B-01 *kubeleya* vs. W-04 *kubileya*). The inscription M-04 is engraved on Kybele's throne and the title applies most probably to the Goddess herself. This seems quite appropriate since Kybele is often mentioned as a bearer of a religious title (an oracle or a high priestess) in Phrygia (RE XI: 2255).

The suffix of *akenanogavos* / **akenanogava* may be the thematicized variant of the suffix *-av-* < **-Hu-* which in Greek often denotes a profession or a social function: *basileŷj* 'king', *brabeŷj* 'arbiter', *řppeŷj* 'chariot-driver', etc. ([Chantraine 1933](#): 125ff). The same suffix is attested in a title *proitavos* (M-01b; M-02).

The word *akenanogavos* is a compound, as can be seen from *akena·s·ýř* (W-07) and the protasis formula *ios Ini la·k·en lanegeseti* (P-04a). Since we

expect the stem of the word as a first member of a compound, the most probable analysis of *akenanogavos* is *aken-anogavos* or *akena-anogavos* (less likely, *akenan-ogavos* in view of *akena·s·ỹl̄*, if the reading is reliable, of course). For the verb, for which I assume the meaning 'to hold', see s.v. [eg-](#). The compound would then mean *aken(a)-anogavos* 'aken(a)-holder'. [[Lubotsky 1988a](#)]

See also: [aken-](#)

Phrygian: aken-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: '?'

Attested forms:

acc.sg. *la·k·en* / P-04a;

?*akena·s·ỹl̄* / W-07

Contexts:

P-04a.3,4 *ios Ini la·k·en lanegeseti / o·ỹk·ỹrterk·o·[---]tekmor·*
W-07 ... *Je·sagas : aken·s·ỹl̄*

Etymological comments: Since the title *akenanogavos* must be a compound *aken(a)-anogavos* 'aken(a)-holder' (see s.v. [akenanogavo-](#)), which follows from *akena·s·ỹl̄* (W-07) and the protasis formula *ios Ini la·k·en lanegeseti* (P-04a), the stem of the first member is likely to be *aken-*. The meaning and etymology of *aken-* are unknown. [Orel 1997](#): 46 proposes a connection with Lyc. *eca~ne* 'monument'.

Phrygian: akrayo- (?)

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: 'high, elevated'

Attested forms: acc.sg. *akrayun* G-03

Contexts: G-03 ?*]kakrayunni[?*

Etymological comments: [Orel 1997](#): 162 divides ?*]k akrayun ni[?* and assumes an acc.sg. *o*-stem, related to Gr. *ỹkraoj* 'situated on a height or in an acropolis' (specifically of deities), which is conceivable.

See also: s.v. [akrodma-](#)

Phrygian: akrodma-

Part of speech: f. (n.?)

Meaning: a part of the grave = 'the cover, roof (?)'

Attested forms: acc.sg. *akrodman* 116

Contexts: 116. x·e·une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n
saunaman [ke?]/ k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·ŷ[i?]/d·im·on meiomon
riditi tai to a· / m·e· o·n·om·aniaj enarke ermw-ŷ/lŷo·jŷ knaiko eka·thaj

Etymological comments:

[Brixhe – Neumann 1995](#): 172 write about this word: "accusatif d'un
composer AKRO–DMA, comparable au grec mesT–dmh et der'signant une
partie du tombeau: "partie superrieure de..." In a later work, [Neumann 1988](#):
22 renders this compound as `Oben – an der Spitze – Gebautes'. It seems
conceivable that akrodma– is a term for the "roof" of the grave.
It looks like a borrowing from Greek, cf. mesTdmh `tie–beam, a box
amidships', even though Gr. *ŷkrTdmh is not attested. If lo[i]dimon is an
adjective belonging to this word, we must assume a neuter gender for
akrodman.

Phrygian: Alu–

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *alus* W–09, *alus* IW–08, W–10; *alu* G–204

Contexts:

W–09 *si/eto lae / alus* ;

W–08 *ates lagomoi / sa–ta ltedaes / alus Isiceto*;

W–10 *a·tai ledae lle–avo / vi/e latevo latoios / alu·s Isi/eto Idas*;

G–204 *]d·a alu m s [*

Etymological comments: A frequent Anatolian name (Lyd. *Alusr*, Hittite
names in Cappadocia *Alluwa*, *Aluwazi*, *Aluwamna*, etc.), cf. [Zgusta 1964](#): 54f.
and [Innocente 1990](#). As an alternative, [Orel 1997](#): 48 suggests a connection
with a Hesych gloss Γλuj ŷpor...a. plJnoj. blJbh.

Phrygian: ananka–

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `(ill) fate, mischief'

Attested forms: dat.sg. (for acc.sg.?) (aj) *anankai* 35

Contexts: 35. *ioj ni sai kako/un addakem mankai aj anankai oi panta
kena [i]nnou*

Etymological comments:

Most probably, a loan–word from Gr. ŷnjgkh ([Haas 1966](#): 119),
although [Brixhe 1993](#): 341f. does not exclude a common origin, because the
meaning `(ill) fate, mischief', which seems necessary for the context, is not
attested in Greek.

Since the preposition *aj* is used with an acc. elsewhere, the dative here most probably stands for acc.sg. (cf. [Brixhe 1997](#): 51f.).

Phrygian: *anar-*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: `husband'

Attested forms: nom.sg. *anar* 15

Contexts: 15. *xeunh tan eixa · uy · o/dan protuj s[e]stam/e · nan mankan ami · /a · sian ioi anar doruka[noj ---]*

Etymological comments: Etymologically identical with Gr. ἄνϋρ < PIE

**h₂nHbr* (cf. already [Torp 1894](#): 23, [Ramsay 1905](#): 115).

Phrygian: *an*

Part of speech: particle

Attested forms: [i]oj *a · n ·* 44

See also: s.v. [io-](#)

Phrygian: *aŷro-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `untimely'

Attested forms: dat.sg. *awrw* 88

Contexts: 88. *ioj / ni semoun knoumanei kake / addaket awrw ouenaouiaj `whoever brings harm to this premature tomb of Ouenauia...'*

Etymological comments: Identical with Gr. ἄνϋρ].

Phrygian: *areyasti-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: epithet of Mother Goddess

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. *areyastin* W-01a

Contexts: W-01a *materan : areyastin / bonok : akenanogavo · s · / vrekun : tedatoy : yostutut---a · -m-ŷnoy : akenanogavos / aey*

Etymological comments: The etymology of this epithet is unknown.

Possibly, it is based on a toponym (cf. [Brixhe 1979b](#)).

Phrygian: *argmeno-* [[cepe6po?](#)]

Part of speech: part.

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. (?) *argmena-ŷ* 116

Contexts: 116 ... *pinke taj d · -/k · erhj onomaniaij m · i · rou ik · / k · naikan edaej ij argmena-ŷ / o · p · ariko oan oe autai ij ke en · ŷ/ toisŷinioi knouman tian te- / -mard · i idetoi oinij*

Etymological comments: The context and meaning are unclear. It is conceivable, however, that the root is the same as in [argu](#) (see s.v.).

Phrygian: argu

Part of speech: postposition

Meaning: `because of, for the sake of' (?)

Attested forms: argou 30 98

Contexts:

30. ...]d·oudaj akalaj eukin argou sibh/ [;

98. dakaren pa/terhj eukin / argou `the parents have erected because of a vow'

Etymological comments: Both occurrences are in the epitaphs in the expression eukin argou. [Brixhe 1983](#): 129, [Brixhe 1999](#): 298) convincingly analyzed eukin as a loan word from Gr. εϋκ« `vow' (see s.v. [euki-](#)) and argou as a postposition, governing an acc. [Orel 1997](#): 415 takes argou to be an original gen.sg.{1} of the stem *argo-*, related to Gr. ἄρχ« `beginning', ἄρχTj `head, leader'.

Footnotes: {1} A dat.sg. seems more likely to me.

Phrygian: arkiaevais

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: Patronymicon (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *arkiaevais* M-01a

Contexts: M-01a *ates : arkiaevais : akenanogavos : midai : lavagtaei : vanaktei : edaes*

Etymological comments:

Possibly, a patronymic adjective, derived with the suffix *-evais* (cf. also [memevais](#), [kanutievais](#)). On the basis of the gen.sg. *kanutiivanos*· (P-02; cf. s.v. [vasu-](#)), we may conclude that the nom.sg. in *-evais* goes back to **evan-*s.

[Neroznak 1978](#): 71f. suggested to see in *arkia-* a Greek name 'Arc...aj.

Phrygian: arosa-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: dat.sg. *ar·osay* (I†kiztepe)

Contexts: I†kiztepe *mid·as ar·osay* -----

Etymological comments: For the reading of this name see [Brixhe 1989-1990](#): 64f. (see further [Gusmani 1988](#), [Orel 1996](#)). [Orel 1997](#): 414) compares

Carian Aruassij ([Zgusta 1964](#): 103) from Anatolian **arauēassa-*, a derivative of **arauēa-* 'free'.

Phrygian: artimis-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: PN, -Artemij

Attested forms: gen.sg. *ar·timitos* Vez 3

Etymological comments:

See [Neumann 1997](#): 20f.

Gusmani ([Gusmani – G. Polat 1999](#): 156, fn. 59) mentions Myc. *a-ti-mi-te*, Gr. dial. 'Artemit- / 'Artamit-, Lyd. *Artimu-*, and the "Phrygian" form, given by Timotheos as -Artimij (with reference to L. Innocente, *Plurilinguismo* 5, 1998, 161ff.).

Phrygian: ar

Part of speech: particle

Attested forms: *lar-t* Vez 8

Contexts: Vez 8 ... *yos Iniy lart sint im·enan ka·ka os·kavos kakey ...*

Etymological comments: [Neumann 1997](#): 23 compares Gr. ἄρ.

Phrygian: as

Part of speech: prep. (+ acc.)

Meaning: 'to'

Attested forms:

aj + tian 14 53 67 99;

+ batan 33, [a<j>] 36;

+ anankai 35;

+ (semoun) knouman 31;

aasknou[? 20 (see [Brixhe 1997](#): 50f.)

Etymological comments:

Usually explained from **Hs* < **ens* < PIE **h₁ens* (Gr. ε, j, Cret. and Arg. τ^mηj). [Brixhe 1990](#): 75 hesitatingly opts for a gen.sg. of the pronoun **e/o-*, which is hardly feasible because of the vocalism.

For 35. aj anankai with dat. instead of acc. see [Brixhe 1993](#): 341f., [Brixhe 1997](#): 51f.

Phrygian: ataniyen(-)

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *ataniyen* W-01c

Contexts: W-01c *ataniyen* : *kuryaneyon* : *tan legertoy*

Etymological comments: The dedicational character of the inscription makes it probable that *ataniyen* is a personal name in the nominative. Since the ending *-en* can reflect neither PIE **-h₂n*, nor PIE **-ǵn*, we probably have to conclude that the name is non-IE ([Lubotsky 1988a](#): 23). [Orel 1997](#): 40 compares Hitt. *Attaniya*.

Phrygian: atas-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *Ja·t·as* G-119, *latas* Dd-101, *[?]atas* G-221; *ataskek-* [G-128 ?; *ata* G-107; G-118; G-224A; G-234;
dat.sg. *a·tai* /W-10

Etymological comments: A typical Anatolian PN, cf. Hitt. *Atta*, Lyd. *Atasr*, etc. ([Zgusta 1964](#): 105-108).

Phrygian: (a)teamas

Meaning: a part of the grave or monument

Attested forms:

dat.sg. *teamaj* 115, *tiamaj* 87; dat.sg. *atea·maj* 112, *atea·m·[aj]* 102, <ad> *ateama·j* 14;
dat.pl. (?) *ateamaj* 120; *at·i·ama* ? 18

Etymological comments:

This word, which refers to the monument or its part, seems to be uninflected (but cf. *ateamaj* 120, which is a more probable analysis than *ateama ij*, given by the editors [[Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997](#): 86ff.]), which may point to a borrowing. The variants with and without initial *a-* are reminiscent of Gr. *ἄδμα* 'hard, hard metal, stone', MLat. *diamas* 'diamond'. It is conceivable that *atiamaj* / *ateamaj* means 'stone' and is related to these words ([Lubotsky 1998](#), fn. 3)

[Brixhe 1997](#): 48 hesitatingly explains the variants by assuming a compound with *ad-* (+ *teamaj*).

Phrygian: ates [отец?]

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (= Attis?)

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *ates* M-01a, [?]ates IW-08, [?]ates G-123, ?]ates·ý[?]G-124, *Ja·tes* G-148, *ates* Bay?nd?r 1-7;

gen.sg. *latevo* IW-10

Contexts:

M-01a *ates* : *arkiaevais* : *akenanogavos* : *midai* : *lavagtaei* : *vanaktei* : *edaes*

W-08 *atesagomoi* / *sa-tatedaes* / *alussiceto* / *BatelesBaB-*

W-10 *a·taiedaele-avo* / *vi|eatevoatoios* / *alu·ssi|etodas*

Etymological comments: A common Anatolian name, cf. Lyd. *Atesr*, Atthj, Pisid. Atthj ([Zgusta 1964](#): 105ff.). [Varinlioglu 1992](#): 16 argues that the name may refer to Attis, as a symbol of life after death, because the Bay?nd?r inscriptions are all found in a tumulus.

Phrygian: auto- [abto-, camo-, cam]

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `self'

Attested forms:

nom.sg.m. *autoj* 33 36; a[u]toj ? 72;

acc.sg. *avtun* in *venavtun* W-01b;

dat.sg. *avtoi* T-03;

dat.sg.f. *avtay* W-01b; *autai* 116 (oe *autai*).

Also as a part of the collocation *ven avtun* `himself' (acc.sg.m.) and oe *autai* `for herself' (dat.sg.f.).

Etymological comments: Etymologically identical with Gr. αὐτῆς `self'. This word must represent a common innovation of the two languages.

Phrygian: *avara*

Part of speech: v.

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: [?]avara·[?] M-04

Contexts: M-04 *a·kinanogavan·* : *tiyes* / *mod·rov·anak* : [?]avara·[?]

Etymological comments: The OPhr. inscription M-04 is written on a Kybele's throne. *akinanogavan* is acc.sg. fem. of Kybele's title ("high priestess"?), cf. [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 12. In the same article I suggested that *Tiyes* is the nom.sg. of a theonym (=Zeus), which appears in NPhr. inscriptions (acc.sg. *tian*, gen. *tioj*, dat. *ti(e/h)*). It is however more probable that this is the name of the ruler, who bears the title *Modrovanak* "the king of Modra" ([Neumann 1986b](#)). The verbal form *avara·* is likely to mean something like "to seat (on the throne), to elevate" and can be connected with

Gr. ἔθε...ρω `to elevate, raise' < **h₂uēer-iēo-*. The morphological analysis of *avara*· is difficult. A possible interpretation is 1 sg. aorist (**h₂uēhr-*, cf. Gr. Γῆρα (Thera)), if we read the Phrygian form as *avara*·[*n*]. The tentative translation of M-04 is then: "I, Tiyes, the king of Modra, have elevated (seated on the throne) the high priestess (=Kybele)". Cf. for the meaning the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription Karkami« A11 b (A9), 6. 17: *wa/i-ma-tar' r' | za|| -ti-i* ("PODIUM") *hu-ma-ti | (SOLIUM)i-sa°-nur'-wa/i-ha* "and I myself seated them (= Kubaba and Karhuhas) on this podium" ([Hawkins 2000](#): 103), A21 6. 8 *wa/i-ta°-na zi/a-ti LOCUS° -ti SOLIUM-nur'-tar'* "and her (= Kubaba) they (my fathers) seated in this precinct" ([Hawkins 2000](#): 160).

B

Phrygian: Baba- [дед?]

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *Baba* M-01b, *B·a·b·a·* G-121, *Ba·b·a·* G-184, *18a8·[?]* W-08, *Bab[...]* G-253 *IBabas* / G-06, *[B]abas* M-03 (*Jabas-im·an·-akio*)

Spelling variants: Here also *Bba* M-02 with a defective spelling.

Etymological comments: A PN of an Anatolian origin, cf. Bithyn. and Lydian Babaj, Carian Babhj, Pisid. Babij ([Zgusta 1964](#): 113-114). [Orel 1997](#): 12 also points to Thracian Bjbaj.

Phrygian: bago-

Part of speech: mn

Meaning: `deity' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg. *bag·un* G-136

Contexts: G-136 *tadoy : iman / bagyun* `to Tados Iman [dedicates, gives] a *bagos*' ?

Spelling variants: The reading *-g-* is not absolutely certain. [Brixhe - Lejeune 1987](#): 125 write: "Un tre's court retour vertical prolonge le trait horizontal du G. S'il n'ertait accidentel nous aurions (...) un *p* assez semblable a° celui de G-135."

Etymological comments:

The inscription is written on a small alabaster falcon. It was analysed by Lejeune (e.g. [Lejeune 1969b](#): 293, [Lejeune 1979](#)) as dat.sg. of the dedicatee + nom.sg. of the dedicator + acc.sg. of the dedicated object. He further took *bagun* to be "un nom gernerrique du `don' " and reconstructed

**b^hagom*.

This interpretation is formally possible, but not very probable. The original meaning of the IE root **b^hag-* (**b^heh₂g-*) was 'to (give) share', and derivatives of this root hardly ever get the meaning 'gift' (Lejeune further mentions in this connection the Hesych gloss *Baga<oj> Ze&Jj Fr&gioj* and interprets the name as "dothr □Jwn", but this is of course very uncertain). If *bagun* rather means 'idol', then a borrowing from Iranian becomes likely.

Phrygian: Bas

Part of speech: f. (?)

Meaning: 'name of a deity'

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *baj* 48 99 111, *ba[j]* 86;

acc.sg. *batan* 33 36, *batan* T-02b (?), *batant·e·* (Mys.6) (?)

Contexts:

48. ... *Mitrafata / ke maj temroge/ioj ke pountaj / baj ke ...*

86. ... *ba[j] / ioi bekoj mebere[t] / a·t tih ke ti tetikm[e]/noj eitou*

99. ... *me ke oi totosseiti baj bekoj*

111. ... *baj ioi b(e)koj meberet (---)/*

33. ... *autoj ke oua k eroka gegaritmenoj aj batan teutouj*

36. ... *autoj ke ou/a k oroka gegaritmeno/j a<j> batan t/eutouj*

Etymological comments:

We come across *Baj* in malediction formulae with *bekoj* 'bread', cf. 86, 111 *Baj ioi bekoj meberet* 'Bas will take his bread away' {1}, similarly 99 *me ke oi totosseiti Baj bekoj*. The acc.sg. of the same theonym is probably *Batan* (cf. [Lubotsky 1989b](#): 149), found in the curses of 33. *autoj ke oua k eroka gegaritmenoj aj Batan teutouj* and 36. *autoj ke oua k oroka gegaritmenoj a<j> Batan teutouj* 'and may he himself and his progeny (?) become cursed by Bas' (cf. syntactically similar *ti(t) tetikmenoj aj Tian eitou*, attested in 14, 53, 99). We may thus reconstruct the paradigm: nom.sg. *Baj* < **bat-j*, acc.sg. *Batan*. It is remarkable that *Baj* and *Batan* only occur in inscriptions found in the northern part of the New Phrygian area, approximately at the 39th parallel and to the north of it. This fact can be seen as an indication of the northern provenance of this deity.{2}

Baj, *Batan* may reflect PIE **b^heh₂-t-*, if it is identical with *Fatum*, cf. frequent appearance of *mTira* in Greek inscriptions of Phrygia.

Footnotes: {1} This context makes clear that the analysis of [Bajun and Orel 1987](#), who take *baj* as a particle, is unwarranted. They believe that *baj*

cannot be the subject of the sentence because they take *bekoj* as nom.sg. This is unnecessary, however, because *bekoj* is no doubt acc.sg. neuter (*s*-stem): this follows from the formula *ak ke oi bekoi akkaloj ti dregroun eitou* (33, 76), where *bekoj* is coordinated with the neuter adjective *dregroun*, and from passages in Herodot 2,2 and Hipponax frg. 125 ([Masson 1962](#): 89, 167f). {2} This origin was already suggested by [Witczak 1992-3](#): 267f., albeit on rather shaky grounds. He assumes etymological identity between *baj*, *batan* and the Mycenaean deity *Faj, *Fadoj*, found on the Knossos tablets in dat.sg. *pa-de*, *pa-de-i*. Since Witczak posits *Lautverschiebung* for the Bithynian language, he assumes that the Phrygians borrowed this deity from the Bithynian pantheon.

Phrygian: *Bateles*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: *bateles* IW-08

Contexts: W-08 [?] *atesagomoi / sa-tatedaes / alussi/eto / batelesbab-*
[?]

Spelling variants: The inscription uses <8> for *b*.

Etymological comments: Presumably, a PN, but the origin is unknown.

Phrygian: *bekos-*

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `bread'

Attested forms: acc.sg. *bekoj* 33 76 86 99 108 111, *b·e<k>oj* 18,
b·e·koj·(?) 120

Contexts:

33, 76, 108. ... *ak ke oi bekoi akkaloj ti dregroun eitou* ...

86, 111 ... *baj ioi bekoi me beret* ...

99. ... *me ke oi tosseiti baj bekoi* ...

18. ... *b·e<k>o/j ioi me toss' eugisarnan*

120. ----] *u·o·i·j· g·e·n·t·i·b·e·p·a·i· ke p·arthj b·e·koj· (?)*

Etymological comments:

The Phrygian word is also mentioned by Herodot and Hipponax and is given as a gloss by Hesychius. The only reasonable Indo-European etymology connects Gr. *figw*, ON *baka*, OHG *bahhan*, OE *bacan* `to bake' < PIE **b^h(o)h₁gr-* ([Panagl - Kowal 1983](#): 186f), but it presupposes *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian. As indicated by [Lejeune 1979](#): 223, a word with this semantics can easily be borrowed.

Phrygian: benagono-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *benagonos* G-116

Etymological comments:

[Lejeune 1979](#): 224 proposed to analyse this compound PN as **g^wenr* 'woman' + **gronh₁o-* 'born', which seems rather unlikely ('woman-born' is not very suitable for a name, there is no evidence for the development **g^w > b* in Phrygian, the Phrygian word for 'woman' is now found in 116 *knaik-*). In general, it is useless to speculate about the etymological connections of the names. The second member may as well be compared with Greek compounds in *-cqonoj* (see s.v. [pokgonion](#)).

Phrygian: ber-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to bring', attested only with preverbs *ad-* and *me-*.

Attested forms:

3sg.act. **ad-beret*: *abberet* 6 13; *ab·b·e·ret* 114; *abbe[ret]* 11; *[a]beret* 103;

3sg. med. **ad-beretor*: *abberetor* 73 75; *[abb]eretor?* 79; *[a]bberetoi* (read *-r? {1}*) 91; *abberetoi* (read *-r? {1}*) 113; *abbireto*(*<r>?*) 25;

3sg.act. *meberet* 111, *mebere[t]* 86 'to bring away, deprive of'

Contexts:

6. *[io]j ni semoun knoumane [kakon] / abberet atnou [-]mon[---]n ...*
113. *[ioj] semon ti knoumani k[ak/on a]beret{i·t·e·t·i·k·-}partan*
114. *ioj ni [s]emon knoumanh kakon ab·b·e/ret atnoukton mrossaj ...*
73. *ioj ni semon knoumani kakon abberetor ai·ni·saj mdu·ei ---*
25. *ioj ni simoun / knoumani [k]akoun ab/bireto aini mmura ...*
86. *... ba[j] / ioi bekoj mebere[t] / a·t tih ke ti tetikm[e]/noj eitou*
111. *... baj ioi be·koj meberet (---)*

Spelling variants: For *abberetor* / *abbiretor* see [Brixhe 1983](#): 119.

Etymological comments: A clear cognate of Gr. *βῆρω* < PIE **b^her-*. The grammatical analysis of *-beret*, *-beretor* is unclear (subj.?, impf.?).

Footnotes: {1} Thus [Brixhe 1978a](#): 6.

Phrygian: bevdos

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: 'statue'

Attested forms: *lbevδος* / B-01.1

Contexts: B-01.1. *s[i]bevδος adi[---]* 2. *ka·v·armo·yo imroy edaes etovesniyo*

Spelling variants: For the reading *s[i]bevδος* see [Lubotsky 1993b](#): 96, fn. 4. Brixhe – Lejeune give *s-bev-os*, but they say about the second letter: "un trou rond suivi d'une haste verticale: lequel de ces deux erlerments (*o ? i ?*) est accidentel?" Considering the position of the letters, *i* seems certain (*o* would be too close to the preceding *s*). About the sixth letter they write: "barre transversale non ervidente ni sur l'estampage ni sur les photographies: *a · ou d ?*" Since the combination *ao* is unknown in Old Phrygian inscriptions, we must decide for *d*.

Etymological comments:

[Orel 1997](#): 139f. takes *bevδος* to be a proper name in the nominative. He refers to [Zgusta 1984](#): 121, who mentions several Phrygian place names like PalaiXn Beu~doj, Beudou Oþkoj. Zgusta further connects the gloss found at *EM* 195.52, viz. beu~doj ... Γgalma (at Hermione) 'statue of a god' and writes: "es kann sich um eine phrygische Glosse handeln, und das Γgalma konnte das Bild einer Gottheit sein". I would add that Gr. beu~doj n. 'sumptuous woman's dress' (Sappho, Kall., etc.) presumably is the same word. The Greek may have borrowed this word from Phrygian in the meaning 'statue of a goddess', but since these statues were lavishly adorned and dressed, beu~doj was used in the narrower meaning of a specific sumptuous woman's dress.

It is then much more probable that OPhr. *bevδος* is not a name, but the word for the statue (of a goddess). The Germanos inscription (B-01) is written on a rock immediately beneath a niche which most probably served for a statue of Kybele. The Old Phrygian inscriptions often start with the accusative (e.g. M-04 *a·kinanogavan· : tiyes / mod·rov·anak : avara·*), so that *si bevδος* may mean 'this statue', *bevδος* being acc.sg.n. of an *s*-stem. For *si* acc.sg.n. of a demonstrative pronoun cf. *si keneman* in M-01b.

As already surmised by [Orel 1997](#): 140, this word is derived from IE **b^heud^h-* 'to perceive'. I take it as a regular *s*-stem **b^heud^h-os-* (cf. Gr. ἄ-πευq-→j 'ignorant', Av. *baoaḥ-* n. 'perception'). The original meaning of this formation must have been 'perception, image', which seems to be a suitable term for a god's image.

Phrygian: Bonok

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *bonok* W-01a

Contexts: W-01a materan : areyastin / bonok : akenanogavo·s· /
vrekun : tedatoy : yostutut---a·-m-ÿnoy : akenanogavos / aey

Spelling variants: For the reading see [Lubotsky 1988a](#).

Etymological comments: Presumably, a PN (no parallels are known). [Frei 1986](#) discusses a Greek votive inscription Dadhj Markou Malhnoj Angdissh Bonokiatei eЩc»n. Angdissh must be a name or an epithet of Kybele (the original form of the name is most probably Angdistis). As far as Bonokiatei is concerned, Frei considers two possible explanations: either it is an ethnicon, derived from a place name Bonok(e)ia, or a name of a religious community. Both options are compatible with the assumption that Bonok is the name of an important religious leader (see further s.v. [akenanogavo-](#)).

Phrygian: brater-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: `brother'

Attested forms:

dat.sg. bratere 31;

dat.pl./acc.pl. (?) *braterais* Mys.8

Contexts: 31.3-4 / mankan ian estaej bratere / maimarhan poukroj
manisou eneparkej detoun

Etymological comments: Etymologically identical with Gr. frjthr < PIE
**b^hreh₂-ter-*.

Phrygian: bri-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: `to break' (?)

Attested forms: 3sg. breit 114

Contexts: 114. ... ioj ke breit perbedan tih tit tetikmenoj eitou

Etymological comments: According to [Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997](#): 79, the verb is to be derived from PIE **b^hreiH-* (Skt. *bhr-n·írti*, Lat. *frio*) `to break, to cut to pieces'.

Phrygian: brokeio-

Attested forms: brokeiw / [31

Contexts: 31. ... [---] xeunan ai dmwj brokeiw / [-----

Etymological comments: Because of the broken context, nobody has ventured an analysis of the form. Since the end of the line seems to

correspond with the end of the word in this inscription, the form brokeiw has every chance to be complete. The ending may correspond to that of *-iv* in the Vezirhan inscription.

Phrygian: bugno-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN ?

Attested forms: nom.sg. *lbug · nos* / P-02

Contexts: P-02 *sestbug · nosva / soskanutiiŷevanos · ŷ*

Etymological comments: Usually, considered a name of unknown origin.

Alternatively, we can take *bugnos* as nom./acc.pl. of an appellative and translate 'These (*ses-t*) [are] the *bugnos* of Vasus Kanutievais'.

D

Phrygian: daker

Meaning: 'part of the monument' (?)

Attested forms:

daker Vez 5;

acc.sg. *dakeran* Vez 2;

acc.pl. (?) *dakerais ·* / Vez 7

acc.pl. (?) *d · [a]k · erhj* 116

Contexts:

Vez 5. *va · y niptiyay daker karatu · -enps · atusr' · meka · as · k · y*

2. *iben edatoy dakeran atriya · Ida · v · o · i · v · r · e · k · an ak · i · van*

7. *kelmiske umnis · et · evr · adus dakerais · lkey iverais ·*

116. ... pinke taj *d · [a]k · erhj* onomaniaij *m · i · rou ik · / k · naikan edaej* 'he has made (*edaej*) five (*pinke*) those (*taj*) parts (*d · [a]k · erhj*) mentioned (*onomaniaij*) of the funerary monument (*m · i · rou*) for the sake of (*ik ·*) the wife (*k · naikan*)' (cf. Lubotsky, forthcoming)

Etymological comments: Although the contexts are not sufficiently clear, the meaning 'part' seems indicated by 116. Etymologically, we may compare Gr. *q»kh* 'case; grave, tomb', *qhkJrion* 'little case'. Uncertain.

Phrygian: d[a]kerHs

Attested forms: *d · -k · erhj* 116

See also: [daker](#)

Phrygian: da-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to put, place'

Attested forms:

3sg.act.: daket 26 56 67, spelling variants doket 54, doke[t] 44 {1};
daket Vez 11;
+ ad: 3sg.act. addaket 2 10 12 18 33–4 43 45 57 59 62 69 76 79 82 88 90
101 119–20 124, [a]ddaket 80, a[d]daket 3, ad[d]aket 77–8, add[a]ket 86,
[a·d]daket 39, addak[et] 29 38 55 125, [ad]dake[t] 117; [ad]d·[ak]et 123;
[adda]ket 70; [a]ddaket 53; addake 62 (?); ad[da]ke 60; addakek 32; addakem
35; adaket 4 14 20–1 28 36 61 72 87 93–4 97 99 102 111–2 115 118;
ada[k]et 105, adake[68; ad[a]ke 51; adoket 106 {1}, od[daket]? 27;
3sg. (not in a malediction; pret.?) addaket 48;
3pl. act. adaken 5;
3sg. med. addaketor 40 63; [ad]a·ketor 121; [adda]kkitor? 72;
3pl.pf. dakaren 98, [[dakar 18 ??]];
3sg. s-aor. *edaes* M-01a, M-01b, M-02; *d·a[s]* M-01f (?); *ed·?[a]e·?s* W-02;
[e]daes W-05b; *ledaes* /B-01.2; *e·da·e·[s]* /P-04c; edaej 116 (2x) {2};
+ *t-*: *It-edaes* W-08;
3sg.med. *edatoy* Vez 2,
+ *t-*: *t-edatoy* W-01a,
+ *tit-*: *tit-edat·[oy]* Vez 1 (?)
daYet W-01b, *deYeti* N-101 (?)

Etymological comments:

Evidently, the root goes back to PIE **d^heh₁*. We can reconstruct several stems: pres. **d^heh₁-k-et*, aor. *(*h₁e-*)**d^heb^hh₁-s-es*, 3pl. pf. **d^heh₁-k-^hbr* (+ *-ent*).

For a discussion of (ad)daket see [Brixhe 1979a](#): 180ff, [Lubotsky 1997](#): 127. Since addaket occurs in a preterital context in 48 (doum(e) ke oi ou(e)/ban addaket orou/an 'the "father" has established the monument for his religious community'), it seems attractive to assume that addaket of the malediction formulae is a kind of preterite, too.

The forms *t-edatoy* W-01a, *edatoy* Vez 2 also occur in a preterital context, but their analysis is problematic, since the augment *e-* seems to be incompatible with the primary medial ending *-toy*.

Footnotes: {1} The form (a)doket only occurs in East Phrygia (inscriptions 44, 54, 106) and is always accompanied by at ti adeitou in the apodosis. {2} Probably, the same form is *ledae* /W-10.

Phrygian: dekmuta-/dekmŷta-

Attested forms: nom./acc. pl. dekmoutaij 9;]dekmoutahj 31

Contexts:

9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase / dekmoutaj k·inou· / ma e·ti mnkan
 opestam/e·n·a·n· daditi nenueria / partuj oubra
 31. [-----]dekmoutahj iou / [-----]

Etymological comments:

Tentatively, one may propose to connect the word with Gr. qesmTj
 `law, ordinance', Dor. teqmTj, qeqmTj < **d^hed^hmo-*. For Phr. one has to
 assume dissimilation or rather adaptation of this word to the stem **dek-* <
 **d^hh₁k-*, similar to the Greek adaptation to the stem qes-.

[Neumann 1986](#): 84 proposes to derive dekmoutahj from **dekrm·to-* `the
 tenth', but at least in 9 this meaning is hardly feasible.

Cf. also 116. ie--?/ n·?o·utaj.

Phrygian: deo-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: `god'

Attested forms: dat.pl. dewj 40 62-3 92-3 96-7 112 119, [d]e[w]j 42,
 d·[ewj] 25

Contexts: For the formula see s.v. [zemelo-](#)

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: diwj 4 118 121, diw[j] 5; deoj 6 7;
 d·ioj 39; duwj 113

Etymological comments: Etymologically identical with Gr. qeTj < PIE
 **d^hh₁s-o-* (for the etymology see [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 15).

Phrygian: deto-

Part of speech: m./n.

Meaning: `monument', probably a generic name.

Attested forms: acc.sg. deton· 116; detoun 31

Contexts:

31. ... poukroj manisou eneparkej detoun ...
 116. x·e·une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke?]/
 k·no·uman k akrodman ke ...

Etymological comments: The analysis and the probable etymology (<
 **d^hh₁-to-*) are for the first time proposed by [Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 170.

Phrygian: Diunsi-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (Dionysos ?)

Attested forms: acc.sg. diounsin 88

Contexts: 88. pour ouana/ktan ke ouranion isgeiket diouns in

Etymological comments: Cf. on the analysis of NPhr. inscription 88 and this name [Lubotsky 1989b](#). It is also conceivable, however, that this sequence must be analyzed as dioun (< *de(h)on < *d^hh₁som, Gr. qeTn) sin `this god'.

Phrygian: Dorukano-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. doruka[noj?] 15

Contexts: 15. xeunh tan eixa· uy· o/dan protuj s[e]stam/e· nan mankan ami· /a· sian ioi anar doruka[noj ---]

Etymological comments: The name is attested in Greek inscriptions in Phrygia, see MAMA I 308, [Zgusta 1964](#): 152.

Phrygian: dumasta- (?)

Attested forms:]dumastaeia[G-131, d·umast[a·/e·]v-[G-245

See also: s.v. [dum-](#).

Phrygian: dum-

Part of speech: f. (?)

Meaning: `religious community'

Attested forms:

acc.sg. *Iduman* I B-01.3;

dat.sg. doum(e) 48;

dat.sg.f. of an adjective *dumeyay* G-01A `belonging to the *dum*' (?)

Contexts:

B-01.3 *matar kubeleya ibeya Iduman ektetoy* `Mother Kybele *ibeya* (a title) is the mistress of the religious community' ([Lubotsky 1997](#): 125; for more details see s.v. [kte-](#));

48. ... doum(e) ke oi ou(e)/ban addaket orou/an `and to (the care of) the religious community the "father" has put his (tomb)stone' ([Lubotsky 1997](#)).

Etymological comments:

For the reading doum(e) see [Lubotsky 1997](#): 118f. The inflection of the word is that of athematic stems (cf. acc.sg. *materan*, Xeunan, dat.sg. *materey*, Xeune/h).

OPhr. *dumeyay* in the damaged inscription G-01(A) provides no information. As to two fragmentary Gordion inscriptions G-131]dumastaeia[and G-245 d·umast[a·/e·]v-[, they may contain *dumasta*, a name or a title, derived

from *duma-* (thus [Bajun – Orel 1988](#): 198), but this remains uncertain. [Masson 1987](#) has presented considerable evidence for the Greek word *dou~moj* 'religious association (especially of women)'. As far as the literary sources are concerned, this word is attested in an epigram by Philodemus Gadarensis (1st century B.C.), further probably in a fragment by Hipponax (6th century B.C.) and a gloss by Hesychius (6th century A.D.). Epigraphic attestations include Greek inscriptions from North–East Lydia (2d century A.D.), Pisidia and an inscription from Serdica (Thracia), where we come across (ῥεϛTj) *dou~moj* referring to a religious association of women, often belonging to a cult of a goddess. Two more inscriptions containing *dou~moj* have been discovered in North–East of Greece (cf. [Neumann 1999](#): 348). The same word also occurs in Latin inscriptions. An inscription from Scythia Minor (2d–3d century A.D.), probably dedicated to Kybele, mentions *pater dumi, mater dumi, sacratis dumi*. The altar inscription from Novae (Moesia Inferior) with an image of Mater Magna and the great god of Odessos reads: *L. Oppius Maximus sacerdos M(atris) D(eum) dendroforis et dumopiretis d(edit) d(edicavit)*, the term *dumopiretis* most probably referring to 'the fire-priests of the *dumos*'.

Much less certain are connections of Phr. *duma-* with Mycenaean official titles *du-ma, me-ri-du-ma-te, po-ro-du-ma-te, e-ra-wo du-ma*, proposed by [Fauth 1989](#), who suggested to read these titles as *d̥bmaj, *melid̥bmaj, *sporod̥bmaj, *TMlaiod̥bmaj, respectively, and to consider them cult officials (at least, originally), responsible for sacrifices of honey, seeds, and oil. Fauth further points out (p. 193ff.) that the name of the Phrygian king D̥bmaj (Ilias P 718), father of Hecube and Asios, may go back to a Phrygian title, like Pjlmuj (N 792) reflecting Lyd. *qalmlusr* 'king', Pr̥btanij (E 678) reflecting Etruscan *pur±ne* 'regent', etc. [[Cf. further E. Ramoŕn Lujar̆n, Mycernien *DU-MA* et le nom du peŕre d'Her̆cube, *Minos* 29–30 (1994–5) [1997], 203–207 and Hajnal 1998: 52ff. XXX]]

The origin of the term **dum(o)-* can hardly be determined. It clearly belongs to the Kybele cultus and may well be non-IE. [Neumann 1999](#) (cf. also [Neumann 2002](#)) hypothesized that **dum(o)-* comes from Phrygian and derived it from the Indo-European word for 'house', PIE **dem-/dom-*, under the assumption of the original meaning 'Haus, Geb., ude; Zimmer, Gelass', then 'private Hausgemeinschaft', 'Kollektiv (der Benutzer des Hauses), Verband'. The problem with this etymology is that it presupposes the development **-om-* > *-um-* in Phrygian, for which there is no evidence.

Neumann's only parallel is the PN Noumadoaj, attested in Phrygia, which is presumably connected with Gr. nomJj, nomJdoj. On the other hand, this development is contradicted by OPhr. *onoman* and NPhr. *meiomon*, o·m·o·usaj, onomania.

Since this word already occurs in OPhr. texts, the old etymology connecting Gr. ±wmTj is impossible (PIE *ǵ appears as o in OPhr. and only in NPhr. becomes ou).

E

Phrygian: edaes

See also: see s.v. [da-](#).

Phrygian: eg-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to hold, experience'

Attested forms:

3sg.impv.med. egedou 32–34 36 60 76 105–6, eged[ou] 59, [eged]ou 108;

3sg.conj. *lan-egeseti* P-04a; egesit 58

Contexts:

gegreimenan egedou tioj outan 32–34 36 59 60 76 105 108,

gegreimenon k egedou orouenoj outon 106;

monanmro tihion egesit gegrimenon 58;

P-04a ... *iosnia·k·enanegeseti* ...

Etymological comments:

The verbal form *egeseti* can be compared with *ot[...]seti* (P-04a), *etvotsati* (P-04b), *k·esiti* (B-01.8), NPhr. *egesit* (58). These forms are probably 3 sg. subjunctives in *-ese-ti*. The sentence *ios Ini lakenanegeseti* is not necessarily a protasis of a malediction formula, but can introduce a wish of the type 'whoever may become a king, ... (let him protect this monument)' uel sim. It seems probable that the root of *egeseti* can be found in the element *-og-* of the title *akenanogavos* / *akenanogava* (see s.v. [akenanogavo-](#)), so that we have to do with a verbal root with the ablaut *eg-/og-*. The same verb occurs in a frequent NPhr. apodosis formula *gegreimenan egedou tioj outan* where it stands in the 3 sg. imperative middle (< **sd^hǵ*) and in a variant of this formula *tihion egesit gegrimenon* (58) where the verb stands in the subjunctive.

[Haas 1966](#): 67 considered this verb to correspond to Gr. ἔχω 'to have, hold'

(PIE **segr̥-*), which is semantically very attractive. We can analyse *akenanogavos* as *aken-anogavos* 'aken-holder' and render *ios Ini lakenanegeseti* 'who may hold the *aken* (in the future)...'. Also the malediction formula *gegremenan egedou tioj outan* receives a good explanation: 'let him experience the prescribed punishment of Zeus' (see s.v. [gegremenon](#)). The only problem is the anlaut, because, unlike Haas, I believe that PIE **s* disappears in Phrygian only in intervocalic position (cf. NPhr. *semou(n)* with the preserved initial *s-*, etc.). In order to save this etymology, we have to assume that *eg-* is due to compounds where the initial *s* was regularly lost (e.g. **ana-segr̥-* > **ana-heg-* > *an-eg-*). Other proposed etymologies seem less likely: PIE **h₁egr-* 'to speak', Gr. Γῆνωγα ([Lubotsky 1988a](#): 13); PIE **h₂egr-* 'to lead' ([Orel 1997](#): 426 with impossible vocalism).

Phrygian: *eidu*

Attested forms: *eidu*[u] 108

See also: see s.v. [i-](#)

Phrygian: *Eies*

Part of speech: m

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *eies* G-108

Etymological comments:

The name *Eia* is found in the Greek inscriptions of Phrygia ([Zgusta 1964](#): 157, [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#): 102), cf. further Bythin. *Eia*, *Eiaj*, Cilic. *Eiaj*, Pisid. *Eih* ([Orel 1997](#): 171).

Also *ey·-/[G-230* probably belongs to the same group of names.

Phrygian: *ekataia-*

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: gen.sg. *eka·thaj* 116

Contexts: 116. *x·e·une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke?]/ k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·ŷ[i?]/d·im·on meiomon riditi tai to a·/ m·e· o·n·om·aniaj enarke ermw-ŷ/lŷo·jŷ knaiko eka·thaj (vac.) / ...*

Etymological comments: Most probably, a woman's name, identical with Gr. Ἐkata...a ([Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 175), but the context is not quite clear.

Phrygian: ekei

Part of speech: adv.

Meaning: `there (?)'

Attested forms: *lekey* / B-01.5

Contexts: B-01.5. [---]toyo[-]jis[-]jer kte · voys ekey da · [-]ati

Etymological comments: Possibly, identical to Gr. TMkei~ `there, then'

([Bajun – Orel 1988a](#): 188, [Orel 1997](#): 427), but the context is unclear.

Phrygian: ektetoy

See also: see s.v. [kte-](#)

Phrygian:]emerh

Attested forms:]emerh 79

Contexts: 79. ... addaket / [---]eretur [-----]emerh / [---]u · orboun / [---]toj tu[-] [---]geg]aritm/[enoj]

Etymological comments: Unidentifiable fragment.

Phrygian: enstarna

Attested forms: enstarna 48

See also: see s.v. [sta-](#)

Phrygian: en

Part of speech: preverb, preposition (+ dat.)

Meaning: in

Attested forms:

e · n · (+ dat.) Dok.

3sg. s-aor. OPhr. *eneparkes* / G-125, *leneparkes* / M-01d, *[e]n · [e]parkes* / G-01C; NPhr. *eneparkej* 31, see s.v. [perk-](#).

Contexts: Dok. e · n · [s]a · soroi ([Brixhe 1997](#): 49, fn. 25)

Etymological comments: Corresponds to Gr. ἔν < PIE **h₁en*. Cf. [Brixhe 1997](#): 49, who includes in his dossier of this preposition / preverb also *enstarna* 48 (see s.v. [sta-](#)) and *enarke* 116 (with a query).

Phrygian: era

Part of speech: adv. / particle (?)

Meaning: `then'

Attested forms: era 36

Contexts: 36. ioj ke semoun knoumani kakoun adaket era gegreimenan egedou tioj outan ...

Etymological comments: [Brixhe 1997](#): 62, following [Haas 1966](#): 86, 95, 119, connects Gr. ἔρα, Cyrp. ἔρα(a) `then, also, indeed'.

Phrygian: Ermolao-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. ermw·[l]a·o·j? 116

Contexts: 116. x·e·une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n
saunaman [ke?]/ k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·ǎ[i?]/d·im·on meiomon
riditi tai to a· / m·e· o·n·om·aniaj enarke ermw-ǎ/lǎo·jǎ knaiko eka·thaj
(vac.) / ...

Etymological comments: The editors ([Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 174) give ermw·-ǎ/lǎo·jǎ and refrain from restitution, only mentioning that this is probably "un nom de personne d'origine grecque". [Orel 1997](#): 130 provides a list of possible Greek names, of which the most probable seems to be `ErmTlaoj, because instead of lǎ of the editors, the drawing rather shows a·. The restitution would then be ermw·[l]a·o·j.

Phrygian: esait

See also: s.v. [e-](#)

Phrygian: estaes

Attested forms: estaej 31

See also: see s.v. [sta-](#)

Phrygian: est[-]

Contexts: Dask2. 1. [-]t·at : sm·anes iyungidas manitos apelev
porniyoy· est[-ǎ]

Etymological comments: According to [Gusmani 1999](#): 156, a verbal form = *estat* (cf. *esrtat* Vez. 4, *estatoiavun* G-144 ?).

See also: [sta-](#)

Phrygian: eti

Part of speech: conjunction

Meaning: `and'

Attested forms: eti 9 18

Contexts:

9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase / dekmoutaj k·inou· /ma e·ti mnkan
opestam/e·na·n· daditi nenueria / partuj oubra
18. ---oi knouman eti dea·d·a· manka/n· m·imoga dij ...

Etymological comments: Unfortunately, both inscriptions are rather worn, and the reading is uncertain. I give the text more or less according to

Haas. If correctly identified, this word is etymologically identical with Gr. ἤτι < PIE *h₁eti.

Phrygian: euki-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `vow'

Attested forms: acc.sg. eukin 30 98

Contexts:

30. ...]d·oudaj akalaj eukin argou sibh/ [...

98. dakaren paterhj eukin argou

Etymological comments: Most probably, a loan-word from Gr. εἴς» `vow' with the typical substitution of Gr. c by Phr. k ([Brixhe 1983](#): 129, [Brixhe 1999](#): 298, cf. further s.v. [koro-](#) and [argu](#)).

Phrygian: e-

Part of speech: demonstrative / anaphoric pronoun

Meaning: `this'

Attested forms: dat.sg.f. *lesai-t* W-01b

Contexts: W-01b *yosesait : materey : eveteksete ·y : ovevin : onoman : daYet : lakedokey : venavtun : avtay : materey* 'whoever may put his own name on this (...) Mother, let he himself be cursed by the Mother herself', *vel sim.*

Etymological comments: For the analysis of *esait* as *esai* dat.sg.f. of the demonstrative pronoun *e-* (< **esyri*, cf. Skt. *asyari*) plus a particle *-t* (cf. NPhr. *semin t knoumanei* 76), see [Neumann 1986a](#): 81, [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 18f.

G

Phrygian: gegaritmeno-

Part of speech: part.pf.med.

Meaning: `cursed, devoted to'

Attested forms: nom.sg. *gegaritmenoj* 33 36, *tig-gegaritmeno*<j> 88, *[geg]aritm[enoi]* 79, *geg[aritmenoj]* (?) 64.

Contexts: Formulae: *autoj ke oua k e(/o)roka gegaritmenoj aj Batan teutouj* (33, 36), *tig-gegaritmeno*<j> *eitou* (88)

Etymological comments: Gr. ἡκερισμῆνοj {1} `devoted (to), at the mercy of' in the inscriptions from Asia Minor (cf. [Calder 1933](#): 184) is a calque of the Phr. word and is etymologically connected with it. The root of the Phr. verb, viz. -garit-, is then identical with Gr. κριτ- and goes back to PIE **gr^hrH-i-t-* ([Lubotsky 1989b](#): 147ff).

Footnotes: {1} In the inscription *MAMA VII 402* (cf. also L. Robert, *CRAI* 1978: 262, fn. 113): Ἰνκεκαρισμῆνοϊ Στω ε,ϰ αϰτῆ τῆ vekḗsia `let him wil be devoted to the Festival of the Dead' (for vekḗsia, read by the editors as vekḗeia, see [Brixhe 1990](#): 87).

Phrygian: gegreimeno–

Part of speech: part.pf.med.

Meaning: `written'

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. gegreimenan 34 36 59 76 105; gegreim[e]nan 32; geg<r>eimenan 33; geg·[re]imenan 60; gegreime[nan] 108

Contexts: Malediction formula: gegreimenan egedou Tioj outan `let him experience the prescribed punishment of T.' {1}

Spelling variants: Spelling variant: gegreimenon 106; acc.sg.n. gegrimenon 58. The variant 106 gegreimenon k egedou orouenoj outon: –o– instead of –a– in gegreimenon and outon is a dialectal feature, cf. also adoket in the same inscription, instead of the usual a(d)daket. The form (a)doket only occurs in East Phrygia (inscriptions 44, 54, 106) and is always accompanied by at ti adeitou in the apodosis. [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 127, fn. 29]

Etymological comments:

For the meaning and analysis of the formula cf. [Haas 1966](#): 86f, who compares the name of a tribe Grimenoquritai (Ptolemy Grumenodouritai) probably called after the door–stones with inscriptions on them.

Haas (1966: 86) further points to a Greek inscription ... [Ἰ]εῖϰουοῖ ἕσται τοῖ~ϰ διῆ τω~ν γε...ων δια[τα]γω~ν [δι~]κρισμενοῖϰ CIG 4300 (Antiphellos, Lycia), which is very similar in meaning. XXX

The verb can be etymologically connected with Gr. cr...w < PIE *g^hrei(H)–.

Footnotes: {1} The analysis by [Haas 1966](#): 67f, 86f. A different, but less probable analysis of this formula is given by [Bayun – Orel 1990](#).

Phrygian: ger–

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: `to take, bring'

Attested forms: 3pl. gere[n] 71; 3sg.impf.med. *egertoy* W–01c

Contexts: W–01c. *ataniyen : kuryaneyon : tanegertoy*,

71. tij ke gere[n] tit tetikm[e]noi innou

Etymological comments:

Most probably, egeret in 30 (as it is read by Haas) does not exist. Calder reads ekret(oi).

In view of the fact that OPhr. forms in –toy are always preceded by an

augment (whatever the explanation for this phenomenon), it is likely that the root is *ger-*. This provides confirmation for the segmentation *tij ke gere[-]*, suggested by [Brixhe 1999](#): 313. I prefer to restore *tij ke gere[n]* in view of the plural in the apodosis, although the singular in the protasis is not impossible. See further s.v. [tis](#). The general meaning of 71 seems to be: 'Those who will bring in (i.e. will bury here other dead), let them be cursed' (alternatively, *gere[n]* may mean 'to remove (the monument)').

The OPhr. inscription W-01c. *ataniyen : kuryaneyon : tanegertoy* may be rendered as follows: 'Ataniyen, the commander, brought her (Mother Kybele)'.

We may propose an etymological connection with Skt. *harrati* of the same meaning ('to take, bear, carry in, bring in', later also 'to remove, rob'), but this verb has no clear cognates (a possible IE reconstruction would be **gr^her-*). Pokorny (442-443) connects Osc. *heriad* 'velit', *[h]errirns* 'caperent' and the IE words for 'enclosed place, court, garden' (Gr. *cTrtoj*, Lat. *hortus*, etc.), but Mayrhofer (EWAia s.v.) considers the proposed etymologies uncertain.

[Janda 1997](#): 276f. suggests a connection with the PIE root **h₁ger-* (Gr. *™ge...rw*) 'to become awake'. He tries to account for the obvious semantic problems by pointing to Albanian *ngre*, which means 'hebe auf, stelle auf, wecke auf'. It is by no means certain that this Albanian verb is cognate with *™ge...rw*, however (cf. [Demiraj 1997](#): 296, who prefers a connection with Lat. *cr̥b̥sc̥ŷ* 'to grow').

Phrygian: Guwati-

See also: s.v. [Tuwati-](#)

I

Phrygian: *ibeya*

Part of speech: adj. nom.sg.f.

Meaning: epithet of Mother Kybele

Attested forms: *libeya* / B-01.3

Contexts: B-01.3. *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy* 'Mother Kybele *ibeya* has established the religious community'

Etymological comments: An epithet of Kybele of unknown origin. Here also Vez 2 *iben* and Vez 10 *ibeyn* ([Neumann 1997](#): 20) ?

Phrygian: *iktes*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *iktes* G-02A

Contexts: G-02A. *agart·ioi : iktes : adoikavoi*

Etymological comments: A name of Anatolian origin, cf. Lyc. *Iktaĵ*, *Ikttā* ([Orel 1997](#): 159, [Zgusta 1964](#): 194).

Phrygian: (i)oi

Part of speech: encl. dat.sg. 3sg. pronoun

Attested forms:

lyo·γ·Vez 11

ioi 15 18 86 111 116 (ioi knouman ?)

oi 4 7 12 33 35 48 76 99; see uke ?

oi (?) 30 35 55 91

Contexts: see below

Etymological comments:

The distribution among the two forms is determined by the phonological context. In clear cases, oi always appears after a vowel: after ke, cf.:

7 ...]a ke oi eiroi a Tie tit t[etikmenoi eitt]nou `and let his children (?) become cursed by T.';

12 ... zeira ke oi peiej ke tit tetikmena at Ti[e] adeittnou `and let zeira and his peiej become cursed by T.' (OR: his zeira and peiej);

33, 76 ... ak ke oi bekoj akkaloj ti dretroun eitou `and may bread become ... for him';

48 ... doum(e) ke oi ou(e)ban addaket orouan `and to (the care of) the religious community the "father" has put his (tomb)stone' (OR: `and to (the care of) his religious community the "father" has put the (tomb)stone');

99 ... me ke oi tosseiti Baj bekoj `and Bas will deprive him of his bread'; after aini, cf.:

4 ioj ni semon [knoumani] kakoun adaket aini oi qalamei `whoever will bring harm to the grave or to its sepulchral chamber'; after anankai, cf.

35 ... aj anankai oi panta kena [i]nnou `let all his kena be in mischief'

ioi is found after consonants, cf.

15 ... a·j ian ioi anar doruka[noj...] `in which her husband D.';

86 ... Ba[j] ioi bekoj mebere[t] = 111. ... Baj ioi be·koj meberet `Bas will take his bread away'

18 ... b·e<k>oj ioi me totoss' eugisarnan `E. will deprive him of his

bread'.

unclear is 30. egeret oi (read with Calder ...ekretoiakkolta...!)

The position of (i)oi in respect to its head noun is not always clear, but it seems that in combination with ke (cf. 12, 48), we find the order Noun + ke + oi.

The original form is ioi, whereas the initial i- was lost in post-vocalic position (especially after front vowels). ioi is presumably an enclitic dative of the type Skt. *me, te* < **h₁moi, toi*, which can also be used in the function of the genitive. The stem *i-* may belong to a pronoun *e-/i-*, cognate with Lat. *ea id.* [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 126.]

Phrygian: iosais

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: *iosais* G-117

Etymological comments:

The inscription on a pithos is complete, which makes probable that *iosais* is a name. [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#): 110 compare *mekai·s·*[?G-239. Theoretically speaking, the name can also be *iosan-* (for the development **-ans* > *-ais* see s.v. [kanutievais](#)).

[Orel 1997](#): 176 analyses this inscription as the beginning of a protection formula *ios ais* 'whoever set...', which is improbable.

Phrygian: io-

Part of speech: relative pronoun

Attested forms:

ios / P-04a; P-04b; G-02B; *i?os* / P-06

yos / W-01a; W-01b; B-01.4; *yos* / Vez 8, Vez 13; *yos* / Dask 3

ioj in apodosis: ioj 2 19 21 29 45 65 67 69 75 78 81 84 95 100 107 110 117 124-5, [i]oj 56 79 [io]j 122; ioj ni 3 4 10 18 20 25-6 28 32-3 35 39 40 42 47 53 57 60-3 68 73 76 82 86-9 92-3 97 99 105-6 109 115 118-120 123; [i]oj ni 14 43 102 112; ioj n[i] 108; [io]j ni 6; ioj [ni] 70 72; io[j ni] 55

Spelling variants: io ni 4b; eioj ni 12

ioj ke 27 34 36 114 (second apodosis); i[[s]]oj ke 37, ij ke 5
oj ke 54

[i]oj a·n· 44

ioj in protasis: 28 114

lyosyos / B-03

Etymological comments: Relative pronoun, reflecting PIE **(h₁)io-*, usually in the function of an indefinite pronoun, which is often accentuated by the particle *ni* / *ni* (sometimes also by *ke* and once by *an*, borrowed from Greek{1}). The reduplicated form *lyosyos* / B-03 has presumably the function of an indefinite pronoun 'whoever', too. See for this pronoun and for Phrygian correlation in general [Brixhe 1978a](#): 15ff.

See also: Cf. [iu](#).

Footnotes: {1} [Brixhe 1978a](#): 16 pleads for the reading *oj a·n*, so that also the pronoun is borrowed.

Phrygian: *is-*

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to be' (?)

Attested forms: 3pl.impv. *innou* 71, [i]nnou 35

Contexts:

35. *ioj ni sai kako/un addakem mankai aj anankai oi panta kena*
[i]nnou;

71 *tij k egere[n] / tit tetikm[e]noi innou*

Etymological comments: The form *innou* is usually identified with *isnio[u]* 42, *isnou* 87 (e.g. [Haas 1966](#): 90), but the contexts of those forms are clearly different: 42. ... [ze]/*melwj ke [d]e[w]j me konnou ke isnio[u] / ai parthj*; 87. ... *o·ue·laj ke / tou ke isnou astoi parthj*. Further, in both these contexts the verbal form is preceded by *ke*, which is difficult to account for. I therefore tentatively suggest to take *keisn(i)ou* together (see further s.v. [keis-](#)).

See also: Cf. also [aey](#).

Phrygian: *is*

Part of speech: preposition

Meaning: 'for'

Attested forms: *ij* 116 (2x)

ik· (+ k)116

Contexts: 116. ... *pinke taj d·[a]k·erhj onomaniaij m·i·rou ik· / k·naikan edaej ij argmena-?/ o·p·ariko oan oe autai ij ke en·?/ tois?inioi knouman tian te- / -mard·i idetoi oinij*

Etymological comments: For the analysis of the passage see [Orel 1997](#): 133f. On p. 433 he writes: "Borrowed from Gk *e,j* or influenced by it". I would rather suggest a connection with Gr. TMx. See further s.v. [pinke](#).

Phrygian: iu

Attested forms: iou / [31

Contexts: 31. ... -----]dekmoutahj iou /

Etymological comments: Since the end of the line seems to correspond with the end of the word in this inscription, the word may be complete. The context is fragmentary, and neither the meaning nor function is clear. Theoretically speaking, iou could be gen.sg. of the relative or anaphoric pronoun.

Phrygian: i-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: `to go, become'

Attested forms:

3sg. impv.act. *ituv* Vez 13,

eitou 2-4 8 10 17 21 25-6 28 33 37-8 40 48 53 56 62 69 72 75-6 82 86 88
93-4 96 104 112 114-5 118-9 122 124, [e·]itou 99, eito[u] 19 39 90-1,
e[it]ou 6, ei[t]o[u] 78, eit[ou] 102 123, [eit]ou 14 103;

3pl. impv.act. eitt·n·o·u· 30?, [eitt]nou 7?

3sg. impv.med. eido[u] 108

+ ad-: 3sg. impv.act. adeitou 13 39 44-5 57 61 67 72 76-7 80 85 87 101
106 108, ade[i]tou 11 100, adei[tou] 51 54, [ad]eitou 65;

3pl. impv.act. adeitnou 12

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: hton (=eitou) 5, eitu 120

Etymological comments: Likely to be derived from the IE root **h₁ei-* `to go' in the meaning `to become'.

Phrygian: iyungid-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: gen.sg. (?) *iyungidas* Dask2

Contexts: Dask2 1. [-]t·at : sm·anes *iyungidas manitos apelev
porniyoy· est[-y]*

Etymological comments: According to Gusmani, gen.sg. of a patronymicon ([Gusmani – G. Polat 1999](#): 137-162).

K

Phrygian: Kaliya-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *kaliya* Vez 1;

dat.sg. *Ikal·iyay* Vez 6

Contexts:

Vez 1. *sint imenan kaliya titedat·[oy]*

Vez 6. *nidu·s-a·kal·iyay karatu panato andop opost·o·i·s·kl·a·n·iv*

Etymological comments: This PN corresponds to the name mentioned in the Greek inscription, which was added later: Kall...aj 'Abiktou pai~j hi mhghmaj ŷnłqeken ([Neumann 1997](#): 20).

Phrygian: *kanutievais* / *kanutievan-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: patronymic, title (?)

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *k·anutieiva·i·s* P-03, *Ikanutie·[* P-05;

gen.sg. *Ikanutiiŷevanos·ŷ* (or *-tieŷe·va-*) P-02

Contexts:

P-03. *vasous liman Imekas* / *k·anutieiva·i·s* / *dev·o·s Ike Imek·a·s*

P-05. *vasus Ikanutie·[*

P-02. *sest Ibug·nos Iva/sos Ikanutiiŷevanos·ŷ*

Spelling variants: In view of formations like [arkiaevais](#), [memevais](#) and *Ikanutiiŷevanos·ŷ* (or *-tieŷe·va-*) in P-02, we have to assume that *k·anutieiva·i·s* in P-03 stands for **k·anuti(i)evais*.

Etymological comments:

kanutievais belongs to a group of words in *-evais* ([arkiaevais](#), [memevais](#)) which follow the name in the nom.sg. and thus are either a patronymic or a title.

According to an attractive suggestion by [Brixhe 1983](#): 4.1, XXX, *Ivasos Ikanutiiŷevanos·ŷ* in P-02 is likely to be gen.sg. of *vas(o)us kanutievais*, which would mean that the stem is *kanutievan-* and that **-ans* > *-ais* (for the phonetic development cf. Lesb. *taij* < **tanj*).

Phrygian: *keis-*

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: 3pl. impv. *keisnio[u]* 42, *keisnou* 87

Contexts:

42. ... [ze]/melwj ke [d]e[w]j me konnou keisnio[u] / ai parthj;

87. ... o·ue·laj ke / tou keisnou astoi parthj.

Etymological comments:

The forms keisnio[u] 42, keisnou 87 are usually analysed ke isn(i)ou and connected or even identified with innou (e.g. [Haas 1966](#): 90), presumably 3pl. impv. of the root `to be', but the contexts of innou are clearly different: 35. ioj ni sai kako/un addakem mankai aj anankai oi panta kena [i]nnou; 71 tij ke gere[n] tit tetikm[e]noi innou. Further, ke in 87 and especially in 42 (cf. [Brixhe 1978b](#): 2) is difficult to account for. I therefore propose to take keisn(i)ou together.

The meaning of the imprecation keisn(i)ou ai/astoi parthj is unknown.

Phrygian: kei

Part of speech: (modal) particle

Attested forms: after impv.: *lakedo-key* W-01b, possibly also *opito-[k]ey* B-01.6;

function? *key* Vezirhan ([Brixhe 1990](#)): *Ikey* Vez 9, *Ikey* Vez 4, *Ikey* Vez 7

Etymological comments: For the analysis of this particle see [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 21f.

Phrygian: keneman-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `a niche (?)'

Attested forms: acc.sg. *Ikeneman* M-01b

Contexts: M-01b *baba : memevais : proitavos : kFijanaveyos : si Ikeneman : edaes*

Etymological comments: [Beekes 1969](#): 20 proposed to reconstruct PIE **kenh₁-mn-* and connect Skt. *khanī-* `to dig'. If this etymology is correct, the meaning of *keneman-* is either `a hole, niche' or may be, `an inscription' (`scratching?').

Phrygian: kenos-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `generation' (?)

Attested forms: nom.pl.n. kena 35

Contexts: 35. ioj ni sai kakoun addakem mankai aj anankai oi panta kena [i]nnou

Etymological comments:

In the apodosis, panta kena must be nom.pl.n., correlated with 3pl. impv. [i]nnou, presumably a form of the verb `to be'. Since anankai is likely

to correspond to Gr. ἄνηγκη, the apodosis can be rendered: 'let all his kena be [delivered] to mischief'. The ending of kena must be nom.pl.n., which leads to the suggestion that kena is due to contraction from **keneha* < **gʷenhes-h₂* (Gr. γῆνεα, Lat. *genera*). This etymology presupposes that Phrygian had *Lautverschiebung*, however.

The current explanation ([Haas 1966](#): 119, [Brixhe 1993](#): 341, [Orel 1997](#): 255) operates with a borrowing from Gr. κεντῆ 'empty, idle' in view of common imprecations in Greek inscriptions, where Φικον ἤρημον or εβρον b...on are mentioned. The syntax is then rather strained.

Phrygian: ken-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to dig (?)'

Attested forms: 3sg.aor. ekanej 116

Contexts: 116 ο·m·o·usaj aipoj ekanej, aka--ǃ/ d·eo pokgonion teutwsi ie--ǃ/ n·ǃo·utaij edaej, pinke taj d·-/k·erhj onomaniaij m·i·rou ik· / k·naikan edaej ...

Etymological comments: The passage starts the second part of an epitaph, while in the first part the various parts of the grave are enumerated. Although the context is not quite clear, it seems to relate what various people have contributed to the grave. ekanej is likely to be a verb, which can be analysed as augment e- + the root in lengthened grade kan-+ 3sg. ending -ej, parallel to NPhr. edaej 'placed' (also twice in the same inscription later on) and en-eparkej 'wrote' (thus already [Brixhe - Neumann 1985](#): 176). The editors of the inscription have connected ekanej with PIE root **ken-* 'to rub, scrape off' (Pokorny [559 - 563](#)), to which probably also belongs Skt. *kharnati* 'to dig' (see further s.v. [keneman-](#)). They further assumed a preverb poj, but in the context of the epitaph it seems likelier to divide aipoj ekanej and connect Gr. ἀίποιος n. 'steepness, steep hill' (see s.v. [aipos-](#)).

Phrygian: ke

Part of speech: word and sentence conjunction

Meaning: 'and'

Attested forms:

Old Phrygian: *Ike* / P-03, *Ike* Vez 7, 12, Dask2;

New Phrygian:

word conjunction:

AB ke: 30(?) 40 [69] 87 118; k' 18(?) (+a), 33 (+e), 36 (+o);

Ake Bke: 3 6 7 12 39 42(?) 48 62 69 92 96-7 113 116 (1x k' a) 119; Dok

(Brixhe 1999: 303)

sentence conjunction: 2 33(2x) 36 39 76 86–8 99 114 116(?) 118; k' 76 (+e) 106 (+e) 120 (+h?); kh Dok ([Brixhe 1999](#): 303)

after rel. pronoun, gives the pron. an indefinite meaning 'whoever', similar to the particle ni, cf. i(o)j ke 27 34 36 48 72(?); ij ke 37; i(s)oj ke 37; oj ke 54, see also s.v. [io-](#); for tij ke see s.v. [tis](#);

function unknown: 72 92 116 (k' a)

Etymological comments:

The syntax of Phrygian ke has been discussed by [Brixhe 1978b](#): 1ff., and his conclusions can be summarized as follows:

1. When used as a word conjunction, ke appears either after each member (Xke Yke: dewj ke zemelwj ke), or after the second word only (XY ke: dewj zemelwj ke).

2. When used as a sentence conjunction, ke appears after the first word of the second clause. The clear cases are:

2 ... eitou u ke akala oouitetou oua (where u may stand for ti, [Brixhe 1979](#): 192);

33 ... eitou autoj ke oua k eroka gegaritmenoj aj Batan teutouj;

36 ... egedou... autoj ke oua k oroka gegaritmenoj a<j> Batan teutouj;

76 ... eitou gegreimenan k' egedou Tioj outan;

87 ... adeitou o · ue · laj ke tou ke isnou autoi parthj;

114 ... ioj ke breit perbedan.

In [Lubotsky 1989b](#): 150, I further discussed those cases where the second clause starts with a preposition. Here we must distinguish between combinations of a preposition + a clitic and combinations of a preposition + a noun. In the former case, ke appears after the first word, too, cf.: 99 ... [e·]itou me ke oi totosseiti Baj bekoj, so that akkeoi, attested in 33 ... egedou akkeoi bekoj akkaloj tidregroun eitou and 76 ... adeitou akkeoi bekoj akkaloj tidregroun eitou, must similarly be analysed as the preposition ad + ke + pron. oi (contra [Haas 1966](#): 84 and [Brixhe 1978b](#): 2, according to whom akke is of the same origin and function as Lat. *atque*).

On the other hand, in the case of combinations of a preposition + a noun ke appears after the noun: 39 ... eito[u] at Tih ke adeitou; 86 ... me bere[t] a · t Tih ke ti tetikm[e]eoj eitou.

Etymologically, OPhr. *ke*, NPhr. *ke* go back to PIE **k^we* (Gr. *-te*).

Phrygian: kin

Part of speech: pron.interrog.

Attested forms: acc.sg.n. *Ikin* / B-01.4, kin 100

Contexts:

B-01.4 4. *yos Itivo [t]a · spereta · ayni · Ikin Ite[l]e · mi*

100. ioj semin knoumane mourou[n da/ket ai]ni kakoun kin ti tetikmen[oj / at t]ie ade · [i]tou

Etymological comments: In both contexts, this interrogative pronoun is used in the function of an indefinite. Etymologically identical with Skt. *kirm* (PIE **kwim*).

Phrygian: kleumak^ho-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: dat.sg. Kleumacoi Dok ([Brixhe 1999](#): 306)

Etymological comments: No doubt, a Greek PN.

Phrygian: knaik-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `woman, wife'

Attested forms: acc.sg. k · naikan 116; gen. knaiko 116

Contexts: 116. ... tai to a · / m · e · o · n · om · aniaj enarke ermw-ÿ/lÿo · jÿ
knaiko eka · thaj (vac.) ... pinke taj d · - / k · erhj onomaniaij m · i · rou ik · /
k · naikan edaej ...

Etymological comments: Identified with Gr. gunaik- already by the editors of the inscription ([Brixhe -Neumann 1985](#): 174). Since they are not prepared to assume *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian, they assume that k- is due to graphemic neutralization of *k/g* in the position before *n*.

Phrygian: knouman-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `grave'

Attested forms:

knouma 18, k · inou · ma 9 ?

acc.sg. knouman 31, [69,] 116(2x)

knoumen ? 18

dat.sg. knoumanei 3 10 18 19 32-4 57 61-2 75-6 87-8 99 106 112 115

118; [k]noumanei 45 108; [k]n · ouman · ei 122; kno[u]manei 14 54;

knou[m]anei 43; knoum[a]nei 47; knouman[ei] 65; [kno]u · manei 79;

kno[u]m · [an]e · i · 110; [knou]manei 20 117 123; knou[mane]i 11;

[k]n[o]uman[ei] 42; k[nouma]nei 55; knou[manei] 80 84; [knouman]ei 64; kn[oumanei] 70 81;

gen.sg. pro dat. k<n>ouminoj 5

Contexts:

The normal malediction formula is *ioj ni semoun knoumanei kakoun addaket*. Other contexts are:

9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase dekmoutaij k·inou·ma e·ti mnkan opestame·na·n·daditi nenueria partuj oubra;

18. ---oi knouman eti dea·d·a·manka/n·m·imoga dij ...;

31. aj semoun knouman adiqrerak xeuneoi ddikey eian ...;

116. x·e·une iosoj ke deton·[(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke?]/

k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·ŷ[i?]/d·im·on meiomon riditi ij argmena-ŷ

/o·p·ariko oan oe autai ij ke en·ŷ/ toisŷinioi knouman tian te-/ -mard·i

idetoj oinij

Spelling variants:

Spelling variants: k·n·ou·m·manei 44; kn[ou]mmanei 53;

knounmanei 105; [kno]unmanei 101;

knoumane 6 26 28 29 37 40 63 93 95 97 100 102 119 125; [k]noumane 78;

knouman[e] 39; [knou]mane 92; [knoum]ane 90; [knouma]n·e 120;

knoumani 7 12 25 36 73 103; k[nou]mani 86;

[knou]manh 114

kno[4b 107

Etymological comments: [Meister 1909](#): 317, fn. 2 connected Gr. gnw~ma. [Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 172 write: "croisement entre le phrygien *keneman* et le grec κλνωμα?" Since the meaning of knouman- is the grave proper ([Lubotsky 1993](#): 129f), both of these etymologies are unconvincing. Maybe, from **knu-* 'to scratch' (Gr. κνῶω). Cf. for the semantic development Germanic **greb-* 'to scratch, dig' (e.g. OE *grafan* 'to dig, grave, engrave, carve, chisel' and *gr?f* 'cave, grave, trench'). [[Lubotsky 1998](#), fn. 4]

Phrygian: koro-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: 'piece of ground (for the grave)'

Attested forms: dat.sg. korou 92; koro 126 (2x)

Contexts:

92 *ioj ni s[emoun knou]/mane kakoun [addaket ai]/ni korou ...*

126 (Dok.) (por) koro

Etymological comments: A borrowing from Gr. *kw̄-roj* ([Brixhe 1983: 127](#)).

Phrygian: Kseuna-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms:

acc.sg. Xeunan 31;

dat.sg. Xeune [69] 116, Xeunh 15

Contexts:

15. xeunh tan eixa· uy· o/dan protuj s[e]stam/e· nan mankan
ami· /a· sian ioi anar doruka[noj ---]

31. aj semoun knouman adiqrerak / xeuneoi ddikej eian (vac.) [---]
xeunan ai dmwj brokeiw / [-----]

116. x· e· une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod· an ke ta· n saunaman [ke?]/
k· no· uman k akrodman ke lo· ?[i]/d· im· on meiomon riditi ...

Etymological comments:

The fem. PN is attested in numerous Greek inscriptions of Phrygia ([Zgusta 1964: 368](#)) and in Galatian (Xeuna). [Orel 1997: 77](#) proposes to link the name to Gr. *χῆνοj*, f. *χῆnh* 'host, stranger' < **xen* oj, *xen* aĩ in view of various Greek proper names like *Χηνῶaj*, *Χῆνειoj*, *Χῆνωn* (thus presupposing the development **-nuë-* > *-uën-* in Phrygian). The inflection speaks against this etymological proposal, however. If this name were identical to the fem. noun **ksenuëř*, we would expect a regular *ř*-stem with -ai in the dative (cf. *mankai*, etc.) and not the athematic ending **-ei*.

The analysis of Xeuneoi in 31 is uncertain, cf. [Neumann 1986a](#), [Kowal 1984](#). The beginning of inscription 69 is a Greek epitaph, according to [Laminger-Pascher 1991](#) [XXX].

Phrygian: ksuvaksaro- (?)

Part of speech: m

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *YuvaYaros* G-115, *Yuv* G-224

Spelling variants: According to Lejeune (1970: 63), Y must be a sibilant (or at least contain a sibilant), because in G-145, Y is corrected into a sigma. The exact value of Y remains uncertain ([Orel 1997: 175](#) reads »).

Etymological comments: [Lejeune 1978](#) suggested to see in the name an adaptation of the Persian name **huëax* «*a±ra-* (OPers. *huvax* «*a±ra*, Gr. *KuaxJrhj*, Lyc. *We»ssere*, *Wa»ssere*).

Phrygian: ktevo-

Part of speech: m./n.

Meaning: `property' (?)

Attested forms: dat.pl. *Ikte · voys* / B-01.5

Contexts: B-01.5 *[- -]toyo[-]is [-]er Ikte · voys ekey Ida · [-]ati*

Etymological comments: The context is not quite clear, but a connection with dat.pl. ktejtessi (Hom.+), sg. κτῶρ `possessions' seems likely. Possibly, a thematized noun, corresponding to Gr. κτῶρ < **tkrʰ₁-uër*·.

Phrygian: kte-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: `to possess' (?)

Attested forms: 3sg. aor. *lektetoy* B-01.3

Contexts: B-01.3 *matar kubeleya ibeya Iduman ektetoy*

Etymological comments: Probably, 3sg. root-aor. middle < **h₁e-tkrʰ₁-toi*, Gr. κτῶμαι. The often suggested comparison with Gr. kt...zw (e.g. [Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985](#): 31) is unlikely because OPhr. *e* can hardly represent **i* or **e_i*. It seems more reasonable to connect Gr. κτῶμαι, Ion. κτῶμαι, if from **tkrʰ₁-*, which in the perfect means `to possess, be master of' (also mentioned as an alternative by [Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985](#): 119). As the augment of *ektetoy* points to a preterite tense (most probably, aorist **h₁e-tkrʰ₁-to + i*), the line *matar kubeleya ibeya duman ektetoy* may thus be translated `Mother Kybele *ibeya* (a title) is the mistress of the religious community'. [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 125, fn. 19]

Phrygian: kubeleya-

Part of speech: ·adj.

Meaning: epithet of the Mother Goddess

Attested forms: nom.sg.f. *Ikubeleya* / B-01.3, *Ikubileya* / W-04

Contexts:

W-04 *matar Ikubileya*;

B-01.3 *matar kubeleya ibeya Iduman ektetoy*

Spelling variants: Variation *e/i*, presumably in an unaccented position.

Etymological comments: An epithet of the Mother Goddess, who is an equivalent of the Anatolian Kubaba. As argued by [Brixhe 1979b](#), the word is probably derived from a mountain name (attested in Greek glosses as Κῶβηλα or Κῶβηλον).

Phrygian: kuliya-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *kuliya*·[G-101, *k·u·liyas* G-127

Etymological comments: Most probably, a PN ([Orel 1997](#): 439), cf. Hitt. *Kulia* ([Laroche 1966](#): 97), Isaur. Koula(j), Koullij ([Zgusta 1964](#): 253), Thracian Koulia ([Detschew 1957](#): 263). Here also *ku* G-241 ?

Phrygian: *kuryaneyont-*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: 'commandor (?)'

Attested forms: nom.sg. *kuryaneyon* W-01c

Contexts: W-01c *ataniyen : kuryaneyon : ta/negertoy*

Etymological comments: Possibly, corresponds to Gr. κοίρανόων 'giving orders; ruling' ([Lubotsky 1988a](#): 23f.), either etymologically or as a borrowing of Mycenaean times.

Phrygian: *k|i(y)anaveyo-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: an ethnicon (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *k/ianaveyos* M-02, *kFianaveyos* M-01b

Contexts:

M-02 *bba : memevais : proitavo[s] / k/ianaveyos : akaragayun / edaes*
M-01b *baba : memevais : proitavos : kFianaveyos : sikeneman : edaes*

Spelling variants: Note the variation between *k/-* and *kF-* and between *-ia-* and *-iya-*, for which see [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#).

Etymological comments: An epithet of Baba, who is the dedicator. Possibly, an ethnicon with the suffix *-eya-*. The suggestion that the adj. means 'from Tyana' (Luw. *Tuwanuwa*, Gr. Τῶνα, Assyrian *Tuh?ana*), expressed several times in the literature, is tempting, but probably wrong for phonetic and historical reasons (see [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#): 57).

L

Phrygian: *lak-*

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: ' ?'

Attested forms: 3sg.impv.med. *lakedo* IW-01b, *llakeao*·[? B-03

Contexts:

W-01b *yosesait : materey : eveteksete · y : ovevin : onoman : daYet : la/ kedokey : venavtun : avtay : materey*

B-03 *etitevtevey Ime-oun Ilakeao · /*

Etymological comments:

In B-03, *Ilakeao* ·[?] is likely to be read *lakedo* ·, since the combination of three vowels is improbable in Phrygian ([Lubotsky 1988a](#): 21). In W-01b, *lakedo* starts the apodosis of the malediction formula (*lakedo Ikey : venavtun : avtay : materey* 'let he ... himself to the Mother herself'). The same function is possible in B-03, but the further text has disappeared. As to the meaning, we expect something like 'to devote, place oneself at the mercy of (+ dat.)'. The etymological connection of the root is unclear. If we assume *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian, we may connect Gr. *labe*<n (middle with the passive meaning 'to be grasped, taken') or Gr. *l»gw* (connection with *ljskw*, tentatively proposed in [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 21, is improbable).

[Janda 1997](#): 273ff. offers a different analysis of the syntagm, viz. *la-ke-dokey*, where *la* is compared with Hitt. prohibitive *la*, *ke* is a particle or a preverb, and *dokey* is a verbal form, derived from the root **deh₃-* 'to give' (**d(o)h₃kei*). He compares Gr. (Herodot) *d...dwmi* □ *wutTn* 'sich übergeben an' and renders the sentence as 'der soll sich nicht besagter Mutter hingeben'. The major flaw in this analysis is the meaning of the apodosis. From the Luvian imprecations, after which the Phrygian rulers coined their inscriptions (cf. [Lubotsky 1998c](#)), we know that the usual curse for the next king, who puts his own name on the monument, is that he himself will deal with the deity. For a typological parallel see, for instance, Karkami« A11a, where we read 'If in future they [the gates] shall pass down to (one) who shall ..., and shall *overturn* these orthostats from (their) place(s), or shall *overturn* this god from (his) place, or shall erase my name, against him may Tarhunzas, Karhuhas and Kubaba litigate!' (translation [Hawkins 2000](#): 96).

Phrygian: latomeio-

Part of speech: adj. n.

Meaning: 'made of stone', n. 'stone-slab'

Attested forms: acc.sg.n. *latomeio · n* 18

Contexts: 18. *ioj ni oukraon latomeio · n eg · d · aej moursa ·*

Etymological comments: As suggested by [Haas 1966](#): 101f., possibly a loan-word from Greek, cf. *laĩ-tTmoj* 'stone-cutter' (Gr. *latome*<on means 'stone-quarry', however), but the reading of the whole inscription is very uncertain.

Phrygian: lavagta-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: a title ('army leader'?)

Attested forms: dat.sg. *lavagtaei* M-01a

Contexts: M-01a *ates : arkievais : akenanogavos : midai : lavagtaei : vanaktei : edaes*

Etymological comments:

No doubt, a loan word from (Mycenaean) Greek: $\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\lambda\tau\alpha\iota\gamma$ m. (Pindar) < $\lambda\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tilde{F}-\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tilde{g}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\gamma$ = Myc. *ra-wa-ke-ta* ([Lejeune 1969a](#)). A common heritage of Greek and Phrygian, advocated by [Brixhe 1990](#): 73–75, is less probable. The peculiar form *lavagtaei* (with strange dat.sg. ending *-aei* next to *midai* and unexpected syncope resulting in the unique sequence *-gt-*) might be explained by a lapsus of the engraver, who put *-e-* on the wrong place (instead of *lavagetai*), but a mistake of this kind is difficult to reconcile with the official status of the inscription (thus [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#): 8). On the other hand, this is the only explanation which simultaneously accounts for both peculiarities. Especially the sequence *-gt-* is difficult to explain otherwise.

For other suggestions see [Brixhe 1983](#): 117 and [Brixhe 1990](#): 73–75, who assumes syncope, and [Lubotsky 1988a](#) (*lavagetas* is borrowed as an *s*-stem, *-aei* standing for *-ahei*).

Phrygian: loidimo-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: 'made of beams' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg.n. $lo \cdot ?[i]d \cdot im \cdot on$ 116

Contexts: 116. $x \cdot e \cdot une \cdot iosoj \cdot ke \cdot deton \cdot [(o)u]/yod \cdot an \cdot ke \cdot ta \cdot n$
 $saunaman [ke?]/ k \cdot no \cdot uman \cdot k \cdot akrodman \cdot ke \cdot lo \cdot ?[i]/d \cdot im \cdot on \cdot meiomon \cdot riditi$

Etymological comments:

In [Lubotsky 1993a](#): 130, fn. 3, I proposed to connect this word with Gr. *loi~sqoj* 'beam'. At the end of the third line of the inscription there is enough place for an *i*, so that the Phrygian word may be $lo \cdot [i]d \cdot im \cdot on$ 'made of beams' vel sim., derived from **loido-* with a suffix *-imo-*. For **-sd^h-* > Phr. *-d-* cf. the Phrygian ending of 3sg. middle imperative *-do*, *-dou* (*lakedo*, *egedou*) < **-sd^hǃ*, Gr. *-sqw* (cf. [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 21). The only problem is that *akrodman* must then be a neuter, which is difficult to explain if we assume a similar formation to Gr. *mesTdmh*.

Alternatively, and maybe better, we can take $lo \cdot [i]d \cdot im \cdot on$ as an adv.

`finally, lastly' (← Gr. *lo...sqion* `lastly'), which corresponds with the final position of *akrodman* in the list of the parts of the grave.

M

Phrygian: *mag[-*

Contexts: Dask. gr. 8 *saragisr' : mag[-[*

Etymological comments: An unidentified fragment, cf. [Gusmani – Y. Polat 1999](#): 59–64. According to [Brixhe – Sivas 2003](#): 70, the graffito is to be read *saragis : mago · [?(sr"n'est en fait qu'une variante regionale du s normal")*.

Phrygian: *maimareia-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `marble'

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. *maimarhan* 31

Contexts: 31. ... *mankan ian estaej bratere / maimarhan poukroj manisou eneparkej detoun / [---*

Etymological comments: An adaptation of Gr. *marmjreoj* ([Haas 1966](#): 104, etc.). Less probable, from *memTrion*, a conflation of Lat. *memoria* and Gr. *mnhnei~on* ([Neumann 1986a](#): 81), cf. the discussion by [Brixhe 1999](#): 301, fn. 36.

Phrygian: *mamutas*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *mamutas* / G-229 (2x)

Contexts: G-229 *mamutassokposa / mamutasitoiesgloka*

Etymological comments: Most probably, a PN of Anatolian origin, cf. Hitt. *Mamuti* and Cilic. *Mamousij*, Pisid. *Mamwtasij* ([Brixhe 1983](#): 127, [Brixhe – Lejeune 1984](#): 184, [Orel 1997](#): 226). [Neumann 1988](#): 17 suggests that the name contains Anat. *muta-* < *muwatta-* `Kraft'.

Phrygian: *mas-*

Meaning: a theonym, Gr. *m»n* (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *Maj* (Temrogeioj) 48

Contexts: 48. *e[(-)-]t · ent · oumenoj / nioisioj nadrotoj / eitou Mitrafata / ke maj temroge/ioj ke pountaj / baj ke enstarna · ...*

Etymological comments: As was already surmised by [Haas 1966](#): 167, Hesych's gloss *mazeḃj · Zeḃj parḃ* Frux€ can be analysed as Phr. **Mas-deos* `god Mas' (cf. NPhr. *dewj* ← Gr. *qeoi~j*). *Maj* Temrogeioj is then `Temrogioc

Mas', `god Mas of the Temrog region'. Phr. Maj may be a functional and etymological equivalent of the Greek Moon-god M \gg n < **meh₁ns*, which was popular in Asia Minor (M. Janda apud [Lubotsky 1997](#): 122, fn. 10). For the development of the final cluster cf. NPhr. aj < **h₁ens*.

Phrygian: mater-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `mother (Goddess)'

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *matar* / W-04; B-01.3; *Imatar* / B-01.7, ?] *mata · r ·* [? W-06; *matar* 18;

acc.sg. *materan* W-01a; *matera* [M-01d; {*s*}*materan* M-01d;

dat.sg. *materey* W-01b (2x);]*ma · ter · ey* [M-01e;

acc./dat. *Ima · te ·* [W-05b; *mate · r ·* [--] M-01c

Etymological comments: The Indo-European word for `mother', PIE **meh₂ter-* (Gr. m \gg thr). Cf. also s.v. [kubeleya-](#).

Phrygian: mdu- (mru-?)

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `kind of a monument', stele?

Attested forms:

dat.sg. *mdu · ei* [73;
mro 58 [?]; mroj 114 [?]

Etymological comments: From the context (73. ioj ni semon knoumani kakon abberetor ai · ni · saj mdu · ei [`whoever brings harm to this grave or to this m.') it is clear that mdu- is a part of the grave. [Haas 1966](#): 80, 107 proposed to see in mdu- a borrowing from Lyd. *mruwaa-* / *murwaa-* `stele', cf. also Lyd. *mlola-*, *mluwe~nda-*, *mluwe~si-*, Hieroglyphic Luvian *malwa-* `votive (stele)'.

Phrygian: meberet

Attested forms: meberet 111, mebere[t] 86

See also: see s.v. [ber-](#)

Phrygian: memevais / memevan-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: patronymic, title (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. m. *memevais* M-01b, M-02; *memeuis* T-02b

Contexts:

M-01b *baba* : *memevais* : *proitavos* : *kFijanaveyos* : *sikeneman* :
edaes

M-02 *bba* : *memevais* : *proitavo[s]* / *kcianaveyos* : *akaragayun* / *edaes*

T-02b 2. *Jt·umida* : *memeuis* : [

Etymological comments:

In M-01b, M-02, *memevais* is a title or a patronymic of Baba. For the words in *-evais* see s.v. [kanutievais](#).

The etymology is unknown. [Orel 1997](#): 444 hesitatingly connects Hitt. *mema-* 'to speak' and assumes that *mamevais* may mean 'counselor'.

Phrygian: mero-

Part of speech: m./n.

Meaning: '?'

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *meros* / Dask2.

acc.sg. (?) *Ime-oun* / B-03

Contexts:

Dask2. 2. [--] *es va[-ǃ]k·nais manuka odeketoy meroske manes isyos tiv[-ǃ]*

B-03 ... *etitevtevey Ime-oun llaked·o· /*

Etymological comments: B-03 *-ou-* in *me-oun* (*meroun* or *meloun*) cannot reflect old *ou*, since **-oun* would have yielded **-oun·* > ***ouëan*. We may assume that *-oun* is a spelling for [-o·n] < **-on*, cf. fluctuating spellings for original **-on* in OPhr. T-02 *a/ion*, W-05 *natimeyon* / vs. M-02 *akaragayun*, W-01b *avtun*, etc. and in NPhr. *kakon* vs. *kakoun*. Is likely to be related / identical with *mireyun·* (Vezirhan), *m·i·rou* (116), *miroj* (126), *mro* (58), *mroj* (114), etc.?

See also: see s.v. [mdu-](#)

Phrygian: me

Part of speech: preposition (+ dat.)

Meaning: 'among'

Attested forms:

me (in the formula *me dewj zemelwj*) 3 5 6 21 96-7 112-3;

me 25 ??

me *konnou* 42

m·e·o·n·om·aniaj 116 [?]

Etymological comments: Seems to be functionally equivalent to Gr. *metj* (which has the same enlargement as *katj*).

Phrygian: me

Part of speech: preverb

Meaning: `away'

Attested forms: meberet 86 111; me totoss' 18, me totosseiti 99

Etymological comments: Seems to be functionally equivalent to Gr. metj (which has the same enlargement as katj). [Gr. meta-φέρω means `to transfer, to change'.]

Phrygian: mida-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN, name of the second king of Phrygia

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *midas* M-01d; *midas*[? G-137; *mid·as* (I†kiztepe)

dat.sg. *midai* M-01a; *mi·d·a·*[- T-02b (?)

Etymological comments: The name is known from Greek sources (M...daj, Ion. M...dhj). Presumably, identical with Hitt. *Mita-*.

Phrygian: Mitrafata-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: Name of a deity

Attested forms: nom.sg. Mitrafata 48

Contexts: 48. e[(-)-]t·ent·oumenoj / nioisioj nadrotoj / eitou Mitrafata / ke maj temroge/ioj ke pountaj / baj ke enstarna· / [vac.]

Etymological comments: While the first part of mitrafata is no doubt identical with the Iranian god Mithra, the second part is obscure. The position of ke shows that this name refers to one deity, so that Haas' interpretation "Mitra und Phata" ([Haas 1961](#): 77) or "Mitra und Ahura (*χ^αατ^ρύ*)" ([Haas 1966](#): 98, [Haas 1976](#): 61ff.) is impossible (the same objection applies to Witczak's derivation ([Witczak 1992-3](#): 271) of Fata from Indo-Iranian **Vrta-* `Wind-God'). More likely is Kretschmer's suggestion ([Mittheilungen 1898](#): 363, cf. also [Diakonoff - Neroznak 1985](#): 124) to consider the form as the Iranian personal name **Mi±ra-přta-* (cf. also Gr. mitrobjthj, Lyc. *Miqrapata*, *Mizrppata*). The f remains strange, however, as this is the only instance of this letter in NPhr. inscriptions. Since the other two theonyms of the list represent a name of the deity plus his provenance, it is possible to analyse mitrafata as Mitra Fata `Mitra of the Fata-region', `Fatic Mitra'. Unfortunately, I was unable to identify the second part of the name. [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 122]

Phrygian: modro-

Part of speech: first part of a compound

Meaning: Modra

Attested forms: nom.sg. *mod·rov·anak* M-04

Contexts: M-04 *a·kinanogavan· : tiyes / mod·rov·anak : [?]avara·[?]*

Etymological comments: As explained by [Neumann 1986b](#), the compound *mod·rov·anak* must mean 'Herr über Modra/Modroi'. The place-name is attested in Strabo XII 543 C (Ἡρῶν ΜΤδρῶν) and in Constantinos Porphyrogennetos, De themat. IV 28 τῆς κωμοπόλεως Μοδρῆνης. The compound type is represented by the Greek names *Lesbinax* and *Kupro Jnax*. See also s.v. [vanakt-](#).

Phrygian: mro(s)

Attested forms: mro 58 [?]; mroj 114 [?]

See also: see s.v. [mdu-](#)

Phrygian: muro-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: 'stupidity'

Attested forms:

acc.sg. *mourou[n]* 100;

acc.pl. *mmura* 25

Contexts:

100. *ioj semin knoumane mourou[n daket ai]ni kakoun kin ti tetikmen[oj at t]ie ade·[i]tou*

25. *ioj ni simoun knoumani [k]akoun abbireto aini mmura toj ni d·[ewj z]imelwj ti me k a/t[--] tit tetikmenoj eitou*

Etymological comments: Identified with Gr. *mw~ron* 'absurdity, madness' by Neroznak (cf. [Neroznak 1978](#): 122; [Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985](#): 83; 125). Since the noun is unattested in Greek, it is better to explain the Phrygian noun as a substantivized adjective, related to Gr. *mwrTj* adj. 'stupid'. Connection with *mmura* is suggested for the first time by [Brixhe 1983](#): 128, who compares Phr. *kakoun aini mmura* with the formula found in a Greek inscription of Galatian Phrygia (MAMA VII 279a) *h ti kakon h ti ponhron*. The Phrygian word is glossed "versehentliche, aus Unaufmerksamkeit begangene Fehlhandlung" by [Neumann 1988](#): 12.

N

Phrygian: nenveria-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: dat.sg. nenueria 9

Contexts: 9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase dekmoutajj k·inou·ma e·ti mnkan opestame·n·a·n·daditi nenueria partuj oubra

Etymological comments: The same name is found in the Greek epitaph below the Phrygian inscription (the reading according to [Haas 1966](#): 105): Ko...(n)toj `Roḅfou tV~ „d...·v gunaik[€] Nenuer...v mn[e...]aj ŷ[---]Ttaton [†]neka. The name is probably of Anatolian origin. [Orel 1997](#): 75 posits Anatolian **nanawa-ri-* (Hitt. *nana/i-* `brother') as a source and compares Pisid. Nanhrij, Cilic. Nenarij ([Zgusta 1964](#): 352, 357).

Phrygian: nioisio-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: nioisioj 48

Contexts: 48. e[(-)-]t·ent·oumenoj nioisioj nadrotoj eitou

Etymological comments: Haas' suggestion ([Haas 1961](#): 79; [Haas 1966](#): 97) to read this word as /*niuēisios*/ is improbable: in the same inscription, /*uē*/ is spelled ou (oueban, orouan). The adjective is likely to express a negative notion ("may [the offender] become n."), but the etymology is unknown. For the inscription in general see [Lubotsky 1997](#).

Phrygian: ni

Part of speech: a particle, used after a relative pronoun and adducing an indefinite meaning to it.

Attested forms:

OPhr. *ios ni* P-04a; *yos-niy-art* Vez 8;

NPhr. *ioj ni* (passim) and *toj ni* (cf. s.v. [io-](#) and [to-](#))

Etymological comments: For the use of this particle see [Brixhe 1978a](#): 15ff. Already [Meister 1909](#) connected Aeolic demonstratives ϕne , ϕni , ϕnu .

See also: Cf. also [aini](#).

Phrygian: noievos

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *noievos* G-140

Etymological comments: Probably a name of unknown provenance.

O

Phrygian: oivo-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `only, one' (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *oyvos* / B-01.8

Contexts: B-01.8. *kesiti oyvosaey apaktneni*

Etymological comments: It may be tempting to assume with [Orel 1997: 449](#) that the word is identical with Gr. *oKoj* (< **oiuēos*), but the context remains as yet unclear.

Phrygian: oi

Attested forms: oi (passim)

See also: see s.v. [\(i\)oi](#)

Phrygian: Omusas

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN(?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. o·m·o·usaj 116

Contexts: 116. (vac.) o·m·o·usaj ai poj ekanej aka--?/ d·eopokgonion teutwsi ie--?/ n·?o·utaj edaej

Etymological comments:

For the analysis of the sentence see s.v. [aipos](#) and [ken-](#). Theoretically, the division o·m·o·uj aj aipoj ekanej `Omus has dug in the hill' is also possible, which would mean that the name is Omus. No parallels are known.

Phrygian: onoman-

Part of speech: n.

Meaning: `name'

Attested forms: *onoman* W-01b

Contexts: W-01b *yosesait : materey : eveteksete·y : ovevin : onoman : daYet : la/kedokey : venavtun : avtay : materey*

Etymological comments: An Indo-European word for `name', etymologically identical with Greek *Φνομα* < PIE **h₃nh₃mn·*.

See also: [onomania-](#)

Phrygian: opestameno-

Part of speech: ptc.

Meaning: `erected'

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. opestame·na·n· 9

Contexts: 9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase / dekmoutaij k·inou· / ma e·ti mnkan opeštam/e·n·a·n· daditi nenueria / partuj oubra

Etymological comments: All Phrygian middle participles in -menoj show reduplication, cf. tetikmenoj, gegaritmenoj, gegreimenan, probably OPhr. B-01.6 (eve)me·mesmeneya (cf. [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 15, fn. 6). Also a- in artmena[.] (116) may reflect reduplication. The formation of t·(e)nt·oumenoj (48) is unclear. Also protuss[.]stamenan must be analysed as protuj s[e]stamenan, the second word being a reduplicated middle participle perfect of the root sta- 'to stand, erect'. We may suggest the following development: *opisestamenan > *opihestamenan > opeštamenan with the regular loss of intervocalic -s- (cf. [Lubotsky 1988a](#): 19). This scenario seems very likely, the more so as the combination of opi- with str'- probably was a standing expression. The inscription is badly written and pretty worn, however, so that a mistake cannot be excluded.

Phrygian: orven-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: 'father, warden'

Attested forms: nom.sg. orouan 48; gen.sg. orouenoj 106

Contexts:

48. ... doum(e) ke oi ou(e)/ban addaket orou/an

106. ... gegreimenon k egedou orouenoj outon

Etymological comments: orouan must represent the nom.sg. of an *n*-stem. Because of the quasi-bilingual character of inscription 48, it seems likely that orouan corresponds to P pat»r of the Greek text. The gen.sg. of the same noun occurs in the curse of 106 ... gegreimenon k' egedou orouenoj outon. This is a variant of the common formula gegreimenan egedou tioj outan (found in 32-6, 59, 60, 76, 105, 108), where instead of orouenoj we find tioj, gen.sg. of the name of a god, which is most probably analogous to Zeḅj. It follows that orouenoj is interchangeable with tioj, and since the latter stands for Zeḅj, one of the reasonable options is that orouenoj is the gen.sg. of the word for 'father' (cf. Zeḅj pat»r, etc.). Etymologically, orouan can be compared to Gr. οβροj 'watcher, guardian', cf. especially the frequent Homeric formula Νῆστωρ ... οβροj 'Acaiw~n 'Nestor, Warden of the Achaeans'. The Greek word reflects *worwo- (Frisk s.v.), and since it is likely that *w disappears before *o in New Phrygian (there is not a single instance of (o)uo- in NPhr. inscriptions whereas we find oe autai < *(s)wei-, oua < *(s)weH₂; ouuitetou), we may reconstruct orouan, orouenoj as

**worwĥn*, *worwenos* ([Lubotsky 1997](#): 127f). The analysis of *orouan* (nom.sg.) as an *n*-stem and its relationship to gen.sg. *orouenoj* (parallel to *iman* / *imenoj*) was already proposed by [Brixhe 1983](#): 127.

Phrygian: *os ke*

Attested forms: *oj ke* 54

See also: see s.v. [io-](#).

Phrygian: *ovevin*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: 'own' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg.n. *ovevin* W-01b

Contexts: W-01b *yosesait : materey : eveteksete · y : ovevin : onoman : daYet : la/kedokey : venavtun : avtay : materey*

Etymological comments:

From the context we may conclude that *ovevin onoman* means 'his own name', the sentence expressing a malediction, which is common in the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts: 'who puts his own name onto the Evetekset mother, let him ...' ([Lubotsky 1988a](#)). No etymological connections are known. It is conceivable that *-vin* reflects **suëin*, but what about the first part?

The ending *-n* for a neuter is peculiar. Possibly, Phrygian has generalized the acc.sg.n. ending of the *o*-stems or some pronouns (cf. also *tan saunaman* in 116 and Skt. *kirm*, nom.acc.sg.n. of the interrogative pronoun = OPhr. *kin*, NPhr. *kin*).

P

Phrygian: *pant-*

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: all, every

Attested forms:

nom.pl.n. *panta* Vez 4; *panta* 35;
nom.pl.m. *panthj* 126 ([Brixhe 1999](#): 302)

Contexts:

Vez 4. *panta vebras ad · unpos · key esrtat patorp ike-----a · n · dati*
35. ... *aj anankai oi panta kena [i]nnou*

Etymological comments: Most likely, identical with Gr. *pant-* 'all, every', although only the context of NPhr. inscription 35 is fairly clear: 'let all his

kena {1} be [delivered] to mischief'. If this analysis is correct, it shows a remarkable isogloss between Greek and Phrygian.

Footnotes: {1} Probably, 'generations', see s.v. [kenos-](#).

Phrygian: partus

Part of speech: preposition (?)

Meaning: 'for the sake of' (?)

Attested forms: partuj oubra 9, [p]artuj ouebra 120

Contexts: 9. [usdoune]t[u]oupase / dekmoutaij k·inou· / ma e·ti mnkan opestam/e·n·a·n· daditi nenueria / partuj oubra

120. [-----p]artuj ouebra (ioj n·i semon to ...)

Etymological comments:

Considering the rather poor quality of inscription 9 (an omitted letter in mnkan, etc.), it seems probable that the original expression is preserved in 120. In both inscriptions, the expression stands at the end of an epitaph. It is therefore conceivable that partuj ouebra means something like Gr. mn»mhj cJrin.

In partuj, u stands for ou, which is the usual spelling of inscription 120 (cf. also eitu there). It is more unexpected in 9, but again, this inscriptions is badly written and poorly preserved.

The meaning and function of both parts remains unknown. In view of a possible etymological relationship of ouebra with oueban 'mnhmei~on' (see s.v. [veba-](#)), it is likely that ouebra means 'memory' (in dat.sg., cf. sa = sai, etc.). Then, partuj will be a preposition meaning 'for the sake of'.

Phrygian: pater-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: 'father, (pl.) parents'

Attested forms:

nom.pl. paterhj 98

dat.pl. (?) *patorp* Vez 4

Contexts:

98. dakaren pa/terhj eukin / argou 'the parents have made because of a vow'.

Vez 4. *panta vebras ad·unpos·key esrtat patorp ike-----a·n· dati*

Etymological comments: No doubt, the same word as Gr. pat»r 'father' < PIE **ph₂ter-*. The nom.pl. ending -hj (< **-eies*?) is probably taken from the *i*-stems, like in Latin *-hs*.

Phrygian: perbastidages

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: CṡamJnμ whorl *perbastidages* :

Etymological comments:

See [Dinṡ – Innocente 1999](#), 65–72. According to Innocente, it should be read in one word, presumably a name. She also considers a possible reading *Idales*. Cf. s.v. [perbeda-](#).

Phrygian: perbeda- (?)

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: 'surrounding of the tomb' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg. perbedan 114

Contexts: 114 ... ioj ke breit perbedan tih tit tetikmenoj eitou

Etymological comments: [Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997](#): 79 analyse the word as a compound *per* + *beda-* (derived from PIE **b^hed^h-* 'to dig', Lat. *fodio*) = +_ 'entourage de la tombe' (Gr. *per...boloj*). Cf. also [perbastidages](#) on a CṡamJnμ whorl ([Dinṡ – Innocente 1999](#)).

Phrygian: perk-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to inscribe', always with the preverb *en-*

Attested forms: 3sg. *s*-aor. OPhr. *eneparkes* / G-125, *leneparkes*ŷ M-01d, *[e]n·[e]parkes* / G-01C; NPhr. *eneparkej* 31

Contexts:

G-125 *Jrono-oy* : *eneparkes l-eiṡes*

M-01d *midas* / *smateran* / *tvemes leneparkes*ŷ ...

G-01C *e]n·[e]/p/arkes lV[*

31. ... mankan ian estaej bratere / maimarhan poukroj manisou eneparkej detoun / [

Etymological comments: Since [Lejeune 1969b](#), connected with the PIE root **perkr-* 'to scratch, to dig' (Pok. 821, Lat. *porca* 'furrow', etc.). The root has most probably the lengthened grade (to be expected in *s*-aorist) **p^hrkr'* > Phr. *park-*.

Phrygian: pinke

Part of speech: numeral

Meaning: 'five'

Attested forms: pinke 116

Contexts: 116. ... pinke taj d·[a]/k·erhj onomaniaij m·i·rou ik· / k·naikan edaej

Etymological comments: It seems possible that the sentence refers to the five parts of the grave, mentioned before, viz. iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke] k·no·uman k akrodman ke (note five times ke). We can render the sentence as follows: 'he has made (edaej) five (pinke) those (taj) parts (d·[a]k·erhj) mentioned (onomaniaij) of the monument (m·i·rou) for (the sake of) (ik·) the wife (k·naikan)'. [See Lubotsky, *Kadmos*, forthcoming.]

Phrygian: pokgonion

Part of speech: prep. + acc. `?

Attested forms: prep. + acc. pokgonion 116 (?)

Contexts: 116 o·m·o·usaj aipoj ekanej aka--ǃ/ d·eo pokgonion teutwsi ie--ǃ/ n·ǃo·utaij edaej

Etymological comments: In view of the sandhi *-s k- > -k k-*, occasionally found in the NPhr. inscriptions (cf. 31. adiqrerak / xeuneoi; possibly ik· / k·naikan in this very inscription 116), it seems attractive to analyse the sequence pokgonion as poj gonion 'towards g.'. For the preverb poj see s.v. [pos](#). As to gonion, it is conceivably related to Gr. cqTnioj 'pertaining to the earth'. The context is not clear, but it represents a part of an epitaph, where it seems to be related what various people have contributed to the grave.

Phrygian: polodrates

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *polodra·tes* T-03

Contexts: T-03a. *a/iiai : polodra·/tes : poreti· : otu*

Spelling variants: Brixhe (1991: 38) reads *polodre·tes*.

Etymological comments: Usually assumed to be a compound, containing a Phrygian equivalent of Gr. polu- or, rather, pollo- ([Brixhe 1991](#): 42). As indicated by Brixhe (ibid.), the name, which seems to be in the nom.sg., cannot contain the suffix **-tħs*, since this would have developed into Phr. *-tas*. Maybe, we have to assume the influence of names like *Voines*, *Ates*, etc.

Phrygian: por/pur

Part of speech: preposition (+ acc./dat.)

Meaning: 'for'

Contexts:

W-05b [e]daes lpor Imater[an] or mater[ey];

88. ... pour ke ouanaktan ouranion diounsini;

Dok. (126) por koro (dat.)

Etymological comments:

< **pr*· (cf. Gr. *p*Jr, Goth. *faur*, etc.), [Lejeune 1972](#): 340, fn. 57, [Lubotsky 1989b](#): 151f. Cf. further [Brixhe 1993](#): 333, 1997: 55.

Also *porniyoy*· (Dask2) may contain this preposition.

Phrygian: *proitavo-*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: a title

Attested forms: nom.sg. *proitavos* M-01b; *proitavo[s]* M-02

Etymological comments: Presumably, something like 'going in front, foreman' = *pro* + a derivative of the root *i-* 'to go' (thus already Kretschmer). The suffix *-avo-* is attested in other titles as well, cf. [akenanogavos](#).

Phrygian: *protus*

Part of speech: adv.

Meaning: '?'

Attested forms: *protuj* 15, (|*protosou*[31 ?])

Etymological comments:

For *protuj* two explanations have been proposed. One takes *protuj* as the predicate of the sentence with the meaning 'made, erected', cf. [Meister 1909](#): 319, fn. 4 (3sg. sigm. aorist 'er gab hin, er weihte'), [Haas 1966](#): 106 ('erbaute'). The obvious flaw of this analysis is the absence of the augment and the ending *-ej*, which are characteristic for the Phrygian aorist forms. According to the others, *protuj* is an adverb or a preverb. [Ramsay 1905](#): 115 assumed an adverb 'in front', probably having Gr. *pr*T in mind; [Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985](#): 131 saw in *protuj* a preverb 'against', derived from **proti*, whereas [Bajun – Orel 1988](#): 140 considered it identical to Gr. Hom. *prot...*, Skt. *prarti*. Connection with *prot...* is improbable because in the Greek inscriptions of Phrygia we find *pos-/poj* instead of *proj-/prTj*, which is to be explained by the fact that in Phrygian this adverb had the form *poj* (cf. [Brixhe – Neumann 1985](#): 176, who point at *pos-ekanej* in the inscription No. 116, but see s.v. [aipos-](#)). Moreover, the proposed meaning of this adverb does not suit the context: a monument does not stand in front or against something. Therefore it seems more plausible to take *protuj* as an adverb of time,

meaning something like 'before, in advance', Gr. *prw~ton*. It was not unusual to prepare a grave and erect a monument before the death of the person to whom the grave was dedicated (XXX). As far as the formation of the adverb is concerned, we may compare Gr. *prw~twj* and other adverbs in *-wj* (cf. [Lubotsky 1993a](#): 130, fn. 3).

The same word may be attested in]protosou[31, but the context of the broken part is unclear.

Phrygian: Pukros

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. poukroj 31

Contexts: 31. ... poukroj manisou eneparkej detoun / [---

Etymological comments: Usually, the group poukroj manisou is analysed as a PN + a patronymicon ([Kowal 1984](#), [Neumann 1986a](#)), although the name is further unknown.

Phrygian: Puntas

Meaning: 'Pontic' (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. pountaj (Baj) 48

Etymological comments: Considering the Northern provenance of Bas, it is tempting to assume with [Bajun – Orel 1988](#): 148 that pountaj refers to the Pontic region (Gr. *pTntoj*). Note that word-final **-on* regularly yields Phr. *-un*, and it is quite reasonable to assume that the same development occurred in the position before a stop in the middle of a word. If baj is a female deity, we can take pountaj as nom.sg. fem., pountaj baj meaning 'Pontic Bas', parallel to maj temrogeioj 'Temrogic Mas'. Alternatively, pountaj, which contains no derivative suffix, may represent gen.sg. of pounta- 'Pontic region'. [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 123]

See also: Cf. further s.v. [Bas](#).

R (1)

Phrygian: rekteo-

Meaning: 'a part of the grave or monument'

Attested forms: re·k·teon· 51 (or re·k·teoi, cf. Brixhe–Neumann 1985: 172)

Contexts: 51. [ioj sem]on re·k·teoi [kakou]n ad[a]ke

Etymological comments: [Calder 1911](#): 195 proposed connection with Lat. *HrbctiŸ* (as a loan-word), albeit very hesitatingly (taken over by [Neroznak 1978](#): 114; [Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985](#): 131 reconstruct *rekteo[ni]*). Cf., however, *vrekan* *Vež* 2,3 (see s.v. [vreka-](#)).

See also: [vrekan-](#)

S

Phrygian: sa, sai, san, saj

See also: see s.v. [so-](#)

Phrygian: saragi-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *saragisr'* *Dask.gr.* 8; *s·arag·is·* M-gr. ([Brixhe – Sivas 2003](#): 69f.)

Contexts: *Dask. gr.* 8 *saragisr' : mag-[*

Spelling variants: According to [Brixhe – Sivas 2003](#): 70, *Dask. gr.* 8 is to be read *saragis : mago·[?]*, (*sr*"n'est en fait qu'une variante régionale du *s* normal").

Etymological comments: Presumably, a PN. Parallels are unknown. For *Dask.gr.* 8 see [Gusmani – Y. Polat 1999](#).

Phrygian: saunama(n)-

Part of speech: f./n.

Meaning: `foundation of the grave'

Attested forms: acc.sg. saunaman 116

Contexts: 116. *x·e·une iosoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke?]/ k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·?[i]/d·im·on meiomon riditi tai to a· / m·e·o·n·om·aniaj enarke ermw-?/l?o·j? knaiko eka·thaj (vac.)*

Etymological comments: Probably, a borrowing from an Anatolian source, although the connection with Hitt. «*am(a)na-* c. `foundation, foundation-stone', «*am(a)natar-* n. `foundation, supporting wall', suggested in [Lubotsky 1993](#): 131, is beset with phonetic difficulties.

Phrygian: soro-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `tomb, coffin, sarcophagus'

Attested forms: dat.sg. sorou 21 124; soroi *Dok.* ([Brixhe 1999](#): 306)

Contexts: 21. *ioj sa sorou kake / adaket me zemelwj tit tetikmenoj eitou*

124. ioj sa tou sorou kake / addaket me zemelwj ot tit tetikme/noj
eitou

Dok. ... e · n · / [s]a soroi ... ([Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997](#))

Etymological comments: Identical with Gr. sorTj. If the latter reflects PIE **tuëoro-*, the Phrygian word must be a borrowing from Greek ([Brixhe 1990](#): 94f.).

Phrygian: so-

Part of speech: demonstrative pronoun

Attested forms:

acc.pl. (?) *ses-t* / P-02;

acc.sg.n. *si* / M-01b, *s[ij]* / B-01.1 (for the passage see s.v. [bevdos-](#));

acc.sg.m. *sin-t* Vez 1, Vez 8;

acc.sg.n. *semoun* 31;

dat.sg.n. *semoun* 6 10 12 14 18 28-9 32-3 36-7 40 43 53-4 57 61 63 78-9
86-8 95 105-6 110 125; [se]m · ou · n 122; *semo[un]* 117; [sem]oun 55;

sem[oun] 84 119 123; [s]em · oun 72;

gen.sg.f. (pro dat.) *saj* 56 73 114 Dok (manka mekaj *saj*, [Brixhe – Drew-Bear 1997](#): 78);

dat.sg.f. *sai* 35 69; *sa* 21 67 82 115 124, ? 91, [s]a 94 126(?);

acc.sg.f. (pro dat.) *san* 60

Contexts:

P-02. *sestbug · nosva/soskanutiiŷevanos · ŷ*

56. [i]oj *saj* tou skered · /riaj kakoun daket ...

73. ioj ni *semon* knoumani kakon abberetor ai · ni · *saj* mdu · ei---

60. ioj ni *san* / kakoun ad[da]ke mankai geg · [re]ime/nan egedou tioj /outan

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: *semon* 3 4 26-7 42 73 93 97 102-3
112 115 118 120; [s ·]emon 99; [se]mon 11 91; *sem[on]* 20; s[em]on 39;
<s>em[on] 68; *semoum* 5; *simoun* 25; *semou* 19 45 65; (s)emou 4b (better:
(s)emon, cf. Ramsay 1886: 388); *semn* 34; *semun* 62; *sem[un]* 47; *semin* 76
100 107

Etymological comments:

The relationship between the pronouns *so-* and *to-*, which must go back to a single IE pronoun **so-/to-* (Gr. P), is not quite clear. It seems that Phrygian has built two full paradigms out of one.

It is conceivable that the forms with *-i-* (*si*, *sin*) belong to a different pronoun, which goes back to PIE **h₁e-/i-*.

See also: [to-](#)

Phrygian: sta-

Part of speech: verb

Meaning: 'to stand, erect'

Attested forms:

3sg.aor. *esrtat* Vez 4; *est[-ǰ]* Dask2 (?);

3sg.aor. middle *estatoi* /G-144;

3sg. s-aor. *estaej* 31; *s·e·s·ta·e·s·* Midas-city ([Brixhe – Sivas 2003](#): 70ff.)

part.pf.med. acc.sg.f. *s[e]stame·nan* (mankan) 15, *opestame·na·n·* 9 (see s.v. [opestameno-](#));

3pl. pf. med. (?) *enstarna* 48

Etymological comments: Evidently cognate with the root of Gr. †*sthmi*, but the identification of many forms is uncertain. For *enstarna*· cf. Gr.

TMn...*sthmi* 'to be in, to stand in, to be appointed' ([Lubotsky 1997](#): 123f.)

Phrygian: surgasto-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: a theonym

Attested forms: dat.sg. *surgastoy* Dd-102

Etymological comments:

A name of Anatolian origin, most probably related to Lyd. PN *Srkastusr*, possessive *srkastulis* 'son of S.' and Gr. *SurgJsthj*, *SurgJsteioj*, epitheton of Zeus attested on the coins from Tieion (in Bithynia), Lat. *Surgasteo* ([Gusmani 1980/81](#): 21ff, [Gusmani 1985](#): 107f; [Detschew 1957](#): 472, cf. [Bajun – Orel 1988b](#): 137). Cf. also Hes. *SurgJstwr* Φνομα barbarikTn. According to [Neumann 1988](#): 14, an original Phrygian word derived from PIE root **suërg-* 'sorgen für jdn., jdn. betreuen', present **surgadiëo-*. The name would then be derived from the present with the development **surgad-to-* > *surgasto-*. Neumann's explanation is fairly improbable, cf. [Beekes 2002](#): 214, fn. 15. The origin of the name cannot be ascertained.

T

Phrygian: Tado-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: dat.sg. *tadoy* G-136

Contexts: G-136 *tadoy* : *iman* / *bag·un*

Etymological comments: [Orel 1997](#): 186 compares the Bithynian name Tadouj ([Zgusta 1964](#): 482) with possible Thracian parallels ([Detschew 1957](#): 487f).

Phrygian: ta(i), tan

See also: see s.v. [to-](#)

Phrygian: taikan

Part of speech: adv. (?)

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: t·aika·n· 3, taikan· 53, taikan 62

Contexts:

3. ioj ni semon knoumanei kakon ad·daket / t·aika·n· t·o·j· n·i·
m·e· [z]e·[melwj ke dewj k]e tie / tit tetikm/enoj eitou

53. ioj ni semoun kn[ou]/mmanei kakoun [a]/ddaket taikan· / tit
tetikmen[o]j/ aj tian eitou

62. ioj ni semun knou/manei kakoun adda/ke taikan at tih ke / dewj ke tit
tetikme/noj eitou

Spelling variants: For the reading with -n· in 3 and 53, cf. Brixhe (1979b: 180, FeF: 60f.).

Etymological comments:

Brixhe ([Brixhe 1979b](#): 180, [Brixhe 1997](#): 60f.) opts for addaket(t) aikan, but I prefer the segmentation addake(t) taikan ([Lubotsky 1998](#), fn. 19) because gemination of the final stop is not attested in NPhr. inscriptions, whereas a(d)dake is found at 60 (ad[da]ke mankai) and 51 (ad[a]ke ate[tikmeno]j).

The position of taikan between the protasis and the apodosis is reminiscent of [era](#), q.v. The word may thus belong both to the protasis and apodosis. I favor the former solution because the final position of the verb in the protasis is not absolute, cf. 35. ioj ni sai kakoun addakem mankai, 60. ioj ni san kakoun ad[da]ke mankai, 69. ioj sai kakon addaket mankan, 75. ioj kakon abberetor· knoumanei, etc.

A conglomerate of particles (cf. Gr. tV~ `here, there' + ?) or an adverb? Theoretically speaking, also an (athematic) adjective qualifying kakoun is conceivable.

Phrygian: Tatas

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *tatas-*[G-04

Contexts: G-04]*evi-* / *tatas-*[/]-*m*·-[-

Etymological comments: Presumably, a PN, as follows from the name Tataj, attested in Greek inscriptions of Phrygia, cf. also Bithyn., Carian, Pisid. Tataj, Hitt. *Tatta-* ([Laroche 1966](#): 181; [Zgusta 1964](#): 503; [Orel 1997](#): 163).

See also: [Tates](#)

Phrygian: Tates

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *tates* G-122

Etymological comments: Presumably, a name of the same group as [Tatas](#), q.v.

Phrygian: Temrog(e)io-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: 'river Tembrogios'

Attested forms: nom.sg. (Maj) Temrogeioj 48

Etymological comments: maj temrogeioj is a deity connected with the river Tembris / Tembrogios (nowadays Porsuk IrmagN?), on which Dorylaion, the find-place of the inscription, is situated (thus already von Prott, [Mittheilungen 1898](#)). The name of the river appears in many variants (cf. RE V1: 433, [Haas 1976](#): 68), but we can distinguish two major groups: the short form Tembris, Tembros (coins from Midaion), Thymbris (Livius), Thybris (Cinnam.), Tembrios (Orph.Arg.), and the long form Tembrogios (Pliny), tenbrogioj ([Petrie 1906](#): 127). The suffix -(e)io- often occurs in Phrygian geographical names (cf. [Haas 1966](#): 14). The same suffix is also found in *Kubeleya*, the epitheton of the Mother Goddess Kybele ([Brixhe 1979b](#)). It seems likely that the original name was *temro(g)j, whence Tembris, Thymbris, whereas the term temrogeioj was probably used for the land around the river and later again for the river itself. maj temrogeioj is then 'Temrogic Mas', 'god Mas of the Temrog region'. [[Lubotsky 1997](#): 122]

See also: Cf. further s.v. [Mas](#).

Phrygian: tentumenos

Part of speech: ptc. pf. (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. t·ent·oumenoj 48

Spelling variants: For the reading and function see [Lubotsky 1997](#): 118ff.

Etymological comments:

Meaning and etymology unknown. Similar in form are OPhr. *evteveyay* / B-03, *etitevtevey* / B-03, *anevt·evey* Mys.5 and NPhr. *teutwsi* 116, *teutouj* 33 36.

Phrygian: tetikmeno-

Part of speech: part. pf. med.

Meaning: `cursed'

Attested forms:

nom.sg. tetikmenoj 3 5 6 14 20-1 25-6 38 40 45 56-7 61-2 67 69 72 75-7 82 91 93-4 96 99 102-3 106 112 114-5 119 121 123-4;
 [t]etikmenoj 2 10; tetikm[e]noj 86, tetikmen[oj] 53 100; [tet]ikmenoj 4;
 [t]e[t]ikmeno[j] 65; [t]etikme[no]j 78, tetikme[noj] 108; tetik[m]e[noj] 11;
 [tet]ikmeno[j] 80; [teti]kmenoj 104; tetikm[enoj] 92 97; [t]e[t]ikmen·[oj] 39;
 [tetik]m·e·n·oj 120; teti[kmenoj] 63; tetik[menoj] 68; [tetikme]noj 17 101;
 te[tikmeno]j 51; [tetik]me[noj] 70;
 gen.pl. (?) tetoukmenoun 28;
 nom.pl.m. tetikm[e]noi 71;
 nom.pl.n. tetikmena 12

Spelling variants: variants: teteikmenoj 19; e·t·tetikmenoj ? 90, atitikmenoj 103, teti<o>kmenoj 118

Etymological comments: This participle is almost always preceded by ti(t), except in 118 (without a preverb) and 51 *ate[tikmeno]j*, 103 *atitikmenoj* (presumably influenced by ad- of the formula a(t) ti adeitou). Assuming Phrygian *Lautverschiebung*, we may compare ti(t) tetikmenoj with Greek *diakjzw* `judge', *kata-dikjzw* `to condemn', PIE **deikr-* ([Lubotsky 1998](#): 420, fn. 22).

Phrygian: thalamid-

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: `sepulchral chamber'

Attested forms: dat.sg. qalameidh 4

Contexts: 4. *ioj ni semon [knoumani] kakoun adaket aini oi qalameidh ...*

Etymological comments: A Greek loan-word, cf. [Haas 1966](#): 114, [Brixhe 1978b](#): 5. The same word occurs in a Greek inscription (given as No. 1 in the compendia of New Phrygian inscriptions): *t...j de taβtV qalamein kakXn pospoi»sei...* It was usually assumed that the source was Gr. *qalJmh* `id.', but, as indicated by [West 2003](#): 82, it is more probable that the source was Gr. *qalam...j -...doj*, attested in the Greek inscription that accompanies 115 (SEG

31.1126, accusative spelt qalameida). West's analysis immediately accounts for the peculiar dh, which I, for the lack of a better solution, took as being identical with the Greek particle δῆ ([Lubotsky 1989](#): 83, accepted by [Brixhe 1999](#): 303).

Phrygian: tidregro-

Part of speech: adj.

Attested forms: nom.sg.n. tidregroun 33, [tidr]e·groun 108, tidre<g>roun 76

Contexts: 33, 76, 108 ak ke oi bekoj akkaloj tidregroun eitou

Etymological comments:

Up till now, the most attractive etymology was proposed by [Haas 1966](#): 69, 84, who interprets this adjective as 'unenjoyable, *innutribile*' and reconstructs PIE **d(uë)is-d^hreg^{wh}-ro-* with the same root as in Gr. τῆϝ and ti- with *Lautverschiebung* (for more details of the formation see [Panagl - Kowal 1983](#): 187f., who also point to the Mycenaean adj. *to-ro-qa*, which modifies a word for 'oil' and may point to a labiovelar in the Greek verb).

Phrygian: tieio-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: 'belonging to Zeus'

Attested forms: acc.sg.n. tihion 58

Contexts: 58. monan mro tihion egesi/t ge/gri/me/no/n

Etymological comments: Cf. a Bythinian town T...eion. In view of Dok. mrotij ([Brixhe - Neumann 1985](#): 173, [Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1997](#): 79), we must perhaps analyse monan mrotih ion egesit gegrimenon, however.

See also: s.v. [Ti-](#)

Phrygian: tis

Part of speech: pron.

Attested forms: nom.pl. tij ke 71

Contexts: 71. tij ke gere[n] / tit tetikm[e]noi innou

Etymological comments:

Since the apodosis is in the plural, tij ke is likely to be nom.pl. of a pronoun. The meaning seems to be 'those who will bring in (i.e. will bury here other dead), let them be cursed'. The pronoun is of course reminiscent of Gr. τ...j (< **k^wis*), but this similarity must be incidental (see s.v. [kin](#)). The particle ke may have the relativizing function (cf. s.v. [ke](#)), but the position of tij within the Phrygian pronominal system remains unclear to me.

Phrygian: ti(t)

Part of speech: preverb

Meaning: `Gr. dia- (?)'

Attested forms:

tit-tetikmenoj 2 3 6 7 12 21 25-6 39 40 45 53 56-7 62 71 75-7 80
108 112-3 115 121 123-4; [ti]t 91; ti[t] 68 120 (see s.v. [tetikmeno-](#));
ti-dregroun 33 76; [ti-dr]e · groun 108 (see s.v. [tidregro-](#));
tig-gegaritmenoj 88 (see s.v. [gegaritmeno-](#));
tit-edat · [oy] Vez 1 (?)

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: q · it 65; ti tetikmenoj 5 14 19 20 28
61 69 72 82 86 92-4 96-7 99 100 102 106 114 119; [t]i 72

Etymological comments:

Descriptively, this preverb can be defined as ti + (optional) gemination of the next stop. In previous scholarship, ti was usually analysed as a particle of pronominal origin, belonging to the apodosis (e.g. [Lubotsky 1989a](#) with an analysis of the formulae). Its position in front of the verbal forms (ti(t) tetikmenoj, ti dregroun, tig gegaritmenoj, possibly also *tit-edat · [oy]* in Vez 1) rather suggests that it functions like a preverb.

Assuming *Lautverschiebung* for Phrygian, we may connect Phr. ti(t) with Gr. dia-, which goes back to **d(uë)im-*. Especially tempting is the comparison of ti(t) tetikmenoj with Greek dia-dikJzw `to judge', kata-dikJzw `to condemn' ([Lubotsky 1998](#): 420, fn. 22).

Phrygian: tiveya-

Part of speech: f

Meaning: `goddess' (?)

Attested forms: nom.sg. *tiveia* G-183A

Contexts: G-183 A. *tiveia* B. *imeneia*

Etymological comments: Possibly goes back to **diuë-ih₂* (with the generalised suffix *-eio-/-eia-*, which is productive in Phrygian) and is thus an analogue of Gr. d<a.

See also: s.v. [Ti-](#)

Phrygian: tivo

Attested forms: *tivo* B-01.4

Contexts: B-01.4. *yos Itivo [t]a · spereta · ayni · Ikin Ite[l]e · mi*

See also: s.v. [Ti-](#)

Phrygian: tiv[-]

Attested forms: *tiv[-ǃ]* Dask2

Contexts: Dask2 2. *[-ǃ]es va[-ǃ]k · nais manuka odeketoy meroske manes isyos tiv[-ǃ]*

See also: s.v. [Ti-](#)

Phrygian: ti

Attested forms: ti passim

See also: see s.v. [tit](#), [tu/to/ti/t](#)

Phrygian: Ti-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: a theonym = Zeḅj

Attested forms:

gen.sg. *tioj* 32–6 60 76 105 108, [t]ioj 59;

dat.sg. *tie* (a(t) +) 2 3 7 26 45 56 61 94 97 102 112 115 123, [t]ie 100, ti[e] 12;

acc.sg. *tian* (aj +) 14 53 67 99; (otherwise) 116

gen.sg. (?) *Itivo* B-01.4 (*yos Itivo [t]a · spereta · ayni · Ikin Ite[l]e · mi*); *Itiv[-ǃ]* Dask2 (*[-ǃ]es va[-ǃ]k · nais manuka odeketoy meroske manes isyos tiv[-ǃ]*)

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: *ti* 11 25(?) 54 57 72 76–7 80 85 87 101 103 106; *t[i]* 51; *ti{te}*? 63; *ite* = *tie* 75; *tih* 6 39 62 65 86 114

Etymological comments:

For the analysis of the formulae see [Heubeck 1987](#), [Lubotsky 1989a](#), [Lubotsky 1998c](#), [Brixhe 1997](#): 42ff.

Stephanus Byzantius identifies the Phrygian deity with Zeḅj: Dhmosqḅnhj d'™n bi±uniakoϙ fhs€ ktisthn tḅj pTlewj genḅsqai Pjtaron □ITnta Paflagon...an, ka€™k toa tim©n tXn D...a T...on prosagoreasai (see on this passage [Haas 1966](#): 67, [Lubotsky 1989a](#): 85). According to [Witczak 1992–3](#): 265ff., the two are also etymologically identical. The obvious difficulty is that Phrygian does not seem to have undergone the *Lautverschiebung*. Therefore, Witczak assumes a Bithynian origin for the Phrygian god, which is of course possible, but unverifiable. Moreover, the inflection of this word is difficult to reconcile with this explanation. In dat.sg. we expect *-w- to be preserved in Phrygian, but we find ti(e/h). Witczak tries to resolve this difficulty by assuming loss of intervocalic -w- in "Bithynian", but this rule is *ad hoc* and, further, it does not often happen that words are borrowed together with their inflection (for instance, the inflection of Modern German *Christus*, *Christi*, etc. is clearly artificial). [cf. [Lubotsky 1997](#): 127–8, fn. 30]

In order to etymologically identify the Phrygian deity with Zeḅj (which seems

very probable to me), we have to assume *Lautverschiebung* in Phrygian and analogical loss of *-w-*. Since *-w-* would have regularly disappeared in accusative and genitive (in front of *o*), it was then analogically removed from the dative. The developments can be represented as follows: acc.sg. **diHm* > **tian* = tian; gen.sg. **diuëos* > **tiuos* > tioj; dat.sg. **diuëei* > **tiuëei* >> tih.

It is possible that

See also: s.v. [tieio-](#), [tiveya-](#)

Phrygian: tiyes

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *tiyes* M-04

Contexts: M-04 *a·kinanogavan· : tiyes / mod·rov·anak : [?]avara·[?]*

Etymological comments: The name of a king of Modra. [Lubotsky 1988a](#) (where it was assumed that *tiyes* forms one paradigm with tioj, tian, being the name of Zeus) is wrong, see [Neumann 1986b](#). The name is probably of Anatolian origin, cf. Hitt. *Tiiëa-*, Pisid. *Tihoj*, *Tioj*, Phryg. *Tihoj*, etc. ([Zgusta 1964](#): 513f., [Orel 1997](#): 26).

Phrygian: toti-

Part of speech: m/f

Meaning: ?

Attested forms: acc.sg. *totin* M-01f

Contexts: M-01f. *[-ÿ-]as : tuavÿe/niy : ae : esuryoyoy : totin : e·d·ae·[s]*

Etymological comments:

Most probably, an object of the verb *e·d·ae·[s]* ([Brixhe - Lejeune 1984](#): 17). [Orel 1997](#): 22 suggests an etymological connection with Skt. *tarti*, Gr. *tTs(s)oj* 'that much', which seems hardly credible.

Cf. also NW-101 *deYeti / toTiatiei*, which has been analysed by [Brixhe 2002](#): 6ff. as *deYeti* (3sg. verb) *toTi* (nom.sg. dedicator) *a tiei* (dat.sg. = NPhr. a(t) tih). If, however, T is not a variant of the Phrygian arrow, but a variant of *t*, a connection with *totin* can be envisaged.

Phrygian: to-

Part of speech: dem.pronoun

Attested forms:

nom.sg.m. (in the apodosis of malediction formulae): *toj ni 6 25*, *t·[oj] ni 69*, *to[j ni] 103* (for the syntax see [Brixhe 1978a](#): 15ff.);

gen.sg.m. OPhr. *Itovo* G-02C (*kakoioitovo* : *podaska*[?]), *Itlovo* /P-01 (?)[e---
Ju[---]*Jovoiman*[?], NPhr. tou 87 (o·ue·laj ke tou ke){1};

dat.sg.f. tai to a·m·e·o·n·om·aniaj 116, tai 18 in an unclear context; ta
mankai 2 instead of more usual sa(i);

acc.sg.f. tan ...mankan 15, tan saunaman 116 (or acc.sg.n. ?), context in 30
is unclear; *tan-egertoy* W-01c;

acc.pl.f. taj 116 (?);

acc.pl.n. *ta* B-01.4 (*yos Itivo* [*t*]a·*spereta*·*ayni*·*Ikin* *Ite*[*l*]e·*mi*) (?)

Etymological comments: The relationship between the pronouns *so-* and *to-*, which must go back to the IE pronoun **so-/to-* (Gr. P), is not quite clear. It seems that the IE heteroclytic pronoun has been split into two in Phrygian.

See also: [so-](#)

Footnotes: {1} The first ke is a sentence connector, which means that we seem to have a construction AB ke, and ouelaj and tou are congruous (unless we read o·ue·laj ke tou keisnou, see s.v. [keis-](#)).

Phrygian: to

Attested forms: sem·[oun] t·o 119, semon to 27 120, tai to 116

See also: see s.v. [tu/to/ti/t](#)

Phrygian: tou, *Itovo*

See also: see also s.v. [to-](#)

Phrygian: tu/to/ti/t

Part of speech: an emphatic particle used after demonstrative pronouns

Attested forms:

tou: semoun tou 10 61, s[em]on t[ou] 39, sa(j) tou 56 82 115;

to: sem·[oun] t·o 119, semon to 27 120, tai to 116;

ti: semon ti 103, sa ti 67, possibly also in kakoun ti 39 (ioj ni s[em]on t[ou]
knouman[e] kakoun ti [a·d]da/ket);

t: semin t 76;

OPhr.: *lesai-t* /W-01b; *ses-t* /P-02; *sin-t* Vez 1,8; *lar-t* Vez 8

Etymological comments: An emphatic particle of pronominal origin ([Lejeune 1969](#): 296, [Brixhe 1978a](#): 21, [Brixhe 1997](#): 63), cf. Skt. *tur*, *tir* `id.!'.

Phrygian: Tuvati-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *t·uvatis* (or, less probably, *guvatis*) G-133

Etymological comments: Cf. Hittite *Tuuëatis* ([Neumann 1988](#): 17, [Brixhe 1989-90](#): 65).

Phrygian: Tuwati-

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: *t·uvatis* G-133

Spelling variants: The reading *guvatis* is also possible.

Etymological comments: An Anatolian name, cf. Hitt. *Tuwati-*, Lycaon Totij, Isuar. Toatrij ([Orel 1997](#): 465, [Laroche 1966](#): 194, 292). For the reading *guvatis* cf. Hitt. names *Kuwa-*, *Kuwatalla-*, etc. ([Laroche 1966](#): 101f.).

Phrygian: t-

Part of speech: prefix

Attested forms: + the root da-: *It-edaes* W-08; *t-edatoy* W-01a

Etymological comments: For the first time identified by Brixhe ([Brixhe - Drew-Bear 1982](#): 72), who regarded *t-edaes* (in W-08 *ates agomoi sa.ta t-edaes*) as a compound with a preverb corresponding to OIr. *to-* (*do-*). The same preverb is likely to be present in *t-edatoy*, which is derived from the same root as *t-edaes* ([Lubotsky 1988a](#)) {1}.

Footnotes: {1} In this article, I suggested to analyse *mekastevano·s·* (M-05) as *mekas t-evano·s·* with the prefix *t-*, but the analysis of M-05 *apelan mekastevano·s·*... is too uncertain.

U

Phrygian: uposa-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: dat.sg. *uposo·y* G-189

Etymological comments: Presumably, a PN. Orel: XXX reads *Jkposoy* (although there are no further traces of letters) and connects *sokposa*.

Phrygian: upsodan

Part of speech: adv.

Meaning: 'above; on the top'

Attested forms: *uy·odan* 15; [u]yodan or [ou]yodan 116

Contexts:

15. *xeunh tan eixa· uy·o/dan protuj s[e]stam/e·nan mankan ami· / a·j ian ioi anar doruka[noj ---]*

116. *x·e·unei osoj ke deton· [(o)u]/yod·an ke ta·n saunaman [ke?]/*

k·no·uman k akrodman ke lo·?[i]/d·im·on meiomon riditi tai to a·/m·e·o·n·om·aniaj enarke ermw-?/l?o·j? knaiko eka·thaj ...

Etymological comments: This adverb is related to Gr. ΨυTqe(n) `('from) above' or, rather, *ΨυTqa. Although this adverb is unattested in Greek, this may be a matter of chance, since adverbs in -qa (like prTsqa, Φpisqa) are found in Arcadian, Thessalian, Asiatic Aeolian and the western dialects and are often known only from inscriptions and grammatical treatises (cf. [Lejeune 1939](#): 357). On the other hand, the opposition between ъnqen `thence' and ъnqa `ther, thither' shows that the Greek adverbs in -qev have an ablative meaning, whereas those in -qa have a general locative meaning (ibid.: 368), a meaning which better suits the function of Phr. uyodan. The most likely reconstruction of the form is **upsod^hn*· or < **-d^hh₂ + -n* (for the analysis of the inscriptions and the etymology see [Lubotsky 1993a](#)).

Phrygian: uranio-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `heavenly'

Attested forms: acc.sg. ouranion 88

Contexts: 88. ... pour ouana/ktan ke ouranion isgeiket diounsин

Etymological comments: This adjective is probably borrowed from Greek οΨrJnioj, cf. most recently [Lubotsky 1989b](#) with reff.

V

Phrygian: vanakt-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: `king'

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *mod·rov·anak* M-04 `king of Modra/Modroi' (Neumann 1986b);

acc.sg. ouanaktan 88;

dat.sg. *vanaktei* M-01a

Contexts:

M-01a *ates : arkievais : akenanogavos : midai : lavagtaei : vanaktei : edaes*

M-04 *a·kinanogavan· : tiyes / mod·rov·anak : [?]avara·[?]*

88. ... tig / gegaritmeno<j> eitou pour ouana/ktan ke ouranion isgeiket diounsин

Etymological comments:

No doubt, connected with Gr. Γῆναξ, -ktoj `lord, ruler'. As argued by [Lejeune 1969a](#), the Phrygian term is likely to be borrowed from pre-Homeric Greek in view of the clearly "Mycenaean" titels of Midas in M-01a (*lavagtaei* is also most probably borrowed from Greek, cf. s.v. [lavagta-](#)). The word *vanakt-* formed the basis for several personal names, attested in Greek inscriptions of Phrygia, viz. Ouanaxoj, Ouanax(i)wn ([Zgusta 1964](#): 391).

See also: [vana\[](#)

Phrygian: vana[

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: nom.sg. *vana[* Dask.gr. 2

Etymological comments: See [vanakt-](#).

Phrygian: vasu-

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms:

nom.sg. *vasus* / P-05; *vasous* / P-03;

gen.sg. *ivasos* / P-02

Etymological comments:

Both P-03 *vasous* (... *k·anutieiva·i·s*) and P-05 *vasus* (*kanutie·[*) are most probably a name in the nom.sg., which may indicate that *u* and *ou* are different spellings for a closed vowel [ŷ·] ([Brixhe 1990](#): 70f.). If Brixhe (ibid.: 65) is right that P-02 *vasos kanutiievanos* represents gen.sg. of the same name (< **uëasuëos*), this name is an *u*-stem, and its nom.sg. is then likely to reflect **uëasŷus*.

Maybe here also G-134 *va[s·...]*, cf. [Orel 1997](#): 466, who takes *vasu-* as an appellative and connects it with Anatolian **uëas(s)u-* `good'.

Phrygian: veba-

Part of speech: f. (?)

Meaning: `(tomb)stone, monument, Gr. *mnhmei~on*'

Attested forms: acc.sg. *ou(e)ban* 48, *]oueban* 30; *veban* Vez 13

Contexts: 48. *doum(e) ke oi ou(e)/ban addaket orou/an;*

30. ---]oueban ekr·etoi akkoltah ke tan eitt·n·o·u·;

Vez 13. *yosisekosr·os srëmeney p·upratoy veban ituv*

PmTgambroi h s̄bggambroi h ma~llon sugkhdesta€ ka€ par| toi~j poihtai~j e„l...onej), which may represent metrical lengthening of *™l...onej or *□l...onej. Cf. also ON *svilar* `id.' and Gr. Olix (Dor. Elix) `friend, associate', [Brixhe – Drew–Bear 1997](#): 90. Less probable is Orel's ([Orel 1997](#): 108) rendering of ouelaj as `heat of the sun' (Gr. e†lh).

Phrygian: venavia–

Part of speech: f.

Meaning: PN

Attested forms: gen.sg. ouenaouiaj 88

Contexts: 88. ioj / ni semoun knoumanei kake / addaket awrw ouenaouiaj ... `whoever brings harm to this premature grave of Venavia, ...'

Etymological comments: A woman's PN, also attested in the Greek part of this inscription and more often in the Greek inscriptions of Phrygia ([Zgusta 1964](#): 396). [Orel 1997](#): 110 etymologizes this name as an Anatolian *uēana–uēiiēa–.

Phrygian: vetei

Meaning: `?'

Attested forms: *lvetei* / P–04a

Contexts: P–04a *otuvoiveteietlnaie*

Etymological comments: Traditionally explained as a loc./dat.sg. of the word for `year', *otuvoi vetei* meaning then `in the eighth year', but this etymology is very doubtful.

Phrygian: ve–

Part of speech: pron. refl.

Meaning: 3 sg. refl. pronoun

Attested forms:

acc.sg.m. *ven* in *venavtun* W–01b;
dat.sg.f. *oe* in *oeautai* 116

Contexts:

W–01b *yosesait : materey : eveteksete ·y : ovevin : onoman : daYet : la/kedokey : venavtun : avtay : materey*

116. ... ij argmena–ÿ / o · p · ariko oan oe autai ij ke en · ÿ / toisÿinioi knouman tian te– / –mard · i idetoi oinij

Etymological comments: Etymologically identical with Gr. > (Lesb. e, Pamph. Fhe) < PIE *suēe.

See also: s.v. [vo–](#) (poss. pronoun).

Phrygian: vitaro-

Part of speech: adj.

Meaning: `second' (?)

Attested forms: acc.sg.f. *vitaran* · Vez 3

Contexts:

Vez 2. *iben edatoy dakeran atriyas · da · v · o · i · v · r · e · k · an ak · i · van*

3. *vrekan vitaran · ar · timitos kraniyap* ----

Etymological comments: In line 3 of the Vezirhan inscription, *vrekan* and *vitaran* · are clearly coordinated. Since in the preceding line, *v · r · e · k · an ak · i · van* is mentioned, it is tempting to consider *vitaran* as an adjective meaning `the second' (cf. Skt. *vitararm* `further', OCS *вѣторъ* `second', etc.). This remains, of course, very speculative.

Phrygian: vo-

Part of speech: poss. pronoun

Meaning: `own'

Attested forms:

nom.pl.n. *oua* 2 33 36;

acc.sg.f. *oan* 116 (?);

dat.sg.f. (?) *va · y* Vez 5

Contexts:

2. ... *ti/e tit* [t]etikmenoj eitou/ *uke akala ouitetou oua*

33. ... *autoj ke oua k eroka gegaritmenoj aj batan teutouj*

36. ... *autoj ke ou/a k oroka gegaritmeno/j a<j> batan t/eutouj*

Vez 5 5. *va · y niptiyay daker karatu · -enps · atusr · meka · as · k · y*

116. ... *ij argmena-ÿ / o · p · ariko oan oe autai ij ke en · ÿ / toisÿinioi knouman tian te- / -mard · i idetoi oinij*

Etymological comments: Corresponds to Gr. *Υj*, (Dor. etc. *Tj*) `suus' < PIE **suēos*.

See also: s.v. [ve-](#) (refl. pron.).

Z

Phrygian: zeira-

Attested forms: nom.pl.n. *zeira* 12,

zeirai 106,

s · riray / Vez 11 ?

Contexts: 12. ... *zeira ke oi pei{e}j ke tit / tetikmena at tie adeittnou*

106. ... *zeirai ti / tetikmenoj at / ti adeitou* ...

Vež 11. *ivimun inmeney asena · n daket torvetun sr · irayayniyo · y ·*

Etymological comments:

Syntactically, the malediction in 12 must be analysed as follows: "The zeira (nom.pl.n.) and his pei(e)j may become cursed (tit tetikmena, nom.pl.n.) by T." (or: "his zeira and peiej"). In Phrygian, if several members are conjoined by ke, the number and gender of the first member determine the rection, cf. further 33,36 *autoj ke oua k e/oroka gegaritmenoj aj batan teutouj` and let him (nom.sg.m.) and his progeny (? nom.pl.n./nom.sg.f.) become cursed (nom.sg.m.)'*. Heubeck's analysis ([Heubeck 1987](#): 84, also followed by [Orel 1997](#): 324) of the malediction of 12 as `bei zeira (und peiej) verflucht, sollen sie dem *atti-* verfallen sein' is not "syntaktisch ohne Bedenken", as the author thought, simply because the nom.pl.n. of tetikmena is then totally unexplained.

The ... ke ... ke in 12 is a coordinating conjunction. The only syntactic problem is whether oi `his' must belong with pei{e}j, or it may also belong to zeira. The latter would be smoother.

Possible meanings are `the children and his relatives' or `his children and relatives'. Cf. also the conceivable reconstruction of the malediction in 7. ... *zeir]a ke oi eiroi a tie tit t[e/tikmena eitt]nou* (which, by the way, has never been proposed, as far as I know). On the other hand, it is very difficult to reconcile the meaning `children' for zeira with 106.

The meaning `hand', often suggested in the literature because of the association with Gr. *ce...r*, is hardly possible.

Phrygian: *zemelo-*

Part of speech: m.

Meaning: `man'

Attested forms:

dat.pl. *zemelwj* 21 40 63 75 93 96 118–9 124; [z]emelwj 5 {1};
zemelw[j] 4; [ze]melwj 42, *zem · [el]w(j)* 121
dat.pl. ? [zem]elwsi 92

Contexts: Only attested as part of the formula *dewj zemelwj, me zemelwj ke dewj ke* and other variants, for which see [Lubotsky 1998c](#): 417f.

Spelling variants: Spelling variants: *zemelw* 6 (= *zemeloj?*, [Lubotsky 1998c](#): 418, fn.18); *zem[elwj]* 7; [z]imelwj 25; *z · [emelw]* 103; *szemelwj* 39 113; *z <emel>w · j* 69, *ze <me>lwj* 97

Etymological comments:

The Phrygian word goes back to PIE **d^hgr^hemelo-* (cf. Gr. *qamaltj* 'near the ground, on the ground, low', Lat. *humilis* 'low'), dat.pl. *zemelwj* < **-ŷis*. For the formula *dewj zemelwj* 'among gods and men', see [Ramsay 1905](#): 107f., [Haas 1966](#): 92ff., [Lubotsky 1998c](#): 419f., [West 2003](#). [Calder 1911](#): 206ff., [Heubeck 1987](#): 74ff. prefer the interpretation 'by heavenly and chthonian (scil. gods)'.

Cf. also the Hesych's gloss *zemelen bjrbaron ŷndrjpodon Fr̄gej*.

Footnotes: {1} Presumably, wrongly read as [z]omolwj by Hamilton, cf. [Brixhe 1999](#): 294.
