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Κυβερνήτης: a Helmsman from the East

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Λύκιον τοῦτο τὸ δῶρον
τῆ μητρὸς μου μητρὶ
τῆ μὲν Mindl Dreispoon Wolf
ὀνομαζομένη, Grandma δὲ Minnie Wolf
ἀεὶ καλουμένη, μνήμης χάριν
γέγραφα καὶ ἀνατέθηκα
τῆ σκιᾷ αὐτῆς τῆς τῆθης
Λυκαίνης (1891-1982)

[It is proposed (2) that Bronze Age Anatolian /dabar-/ and /dabar-na/, in Luwian and Hittite, resp. “to rule” and “ruler”, (3) continued in Iron Age Anatolian in phonetic development normal for Luwic Lycian, i.e. in the form *kbar, kbar-na and (4) it was in this configuration that the Asia Minor Greeks contiguous to Lycians received the word. With epenthesis it was realized as Gk. *kubernā-*. 2, 3, and 4 are the necessary steps for the etymology. The other proposals, namely (1) that a Bronze Age Semitic of the Aramaic-oid type was the original donor language to Anatolian contends with the competing theories of (a) Hattic origin or (b) Luwian origin. And (5) the further donatings of the word by the Greeks to (a) the Semitic East and (b) the Latin West are self-evident, but (b) is irrelevant to us while (a) would be alluringly ironic: for if our (1) and (5a) are both accepted, then **dabbar*=*ān-ā*, lent by an Aramaic-oid Semitic, returns, as donation to Aramaic by Greek, as *qubernā(a')* in both Jewish Aramaic and Syriac.]

I. Setting: The Lycian Transit-Point together with the history of certain clusters

Near the close of a recently completed large study (1988a: 1-101)¹ on the toponym *Dabīr* in the Hebrew Bible, I “suggested a question”, intentionally less vigorously than I held to it. This “question”

1. The present article, which began life as a “spin-off” to Arbeitman 1988a, was essentially completed in sections I, II, and III, including a rough outline of the fnn. in April, 1987, when the ineluctable necessity of returning my full attention to the completion of Arbeitman 1988a: 1-101 (“the parent” article, as it were) and 1988c: 411-462 required an interruption in finalizing this paper, mostly as to fnn., references, etc. The intervening period between then and now (July, 1988) gave me the opportunity of requesting a most beneficial and much appreciated reading/editing of Section I alone, from my colleague and friend, Allan R. Bomhard. His suggestions, almost all of which were adopted here, covered the concepts themselves, the conceptualization and manner and sequence of presentation of these concepts, and verbal lucidity, for which last named he offered many alterations in phraseology and other such matters. It goes, naturally, without saying that this critical reading by him still leaves me alone with the responsibility for the concepts presented in Section I (as, likewise in the other sections, II and III), and my success or lack thereof in presenting a lucid outline of the development I postulate. This expression of gratitude implies neither any concurrence nor any reservations on the part of Bomhard.

During this period of 15 months that the article had lain dormant, two articles which have some bearing have appeared. Günter Neumann (1987: 64-69) has offered his own proposal for the etymology of the word which is the prime subject of this article and Frank Starke (1987: 243-269), for the representation of the PIE word for “daughter” in the Luwian languages and its stem-formation. In this article he does deal with many of the phonological questions that Section I here is equally concerned with. It seems purposeless to hold any dialogue with Neumann’s proposal inasmuch as his direction is one as totally different from mine as any alternate proposal ever could be. As for Starke’s masterly article, in some matters we arrive at common proposals for development and common conceptualizations, but – on the whole – our intents and purposes in our respective sketchings of the phonological developments in “daughter” (and also in “two”) lead us in alternate directions; in this situation (amidst other ones as well), it seemed best to leave my section I, as I basically wrote it, with the goals that were mine for the paper as a whole, and as it has profitted, whilst staying on my track, only better presented, from the ameliorating clarifications offered to it by Bomhard. Thus, the article remains essentially as originally written and there are no references in it to the work of either Starke or Neumann.

Finally the fnn. and the “References” were created and found their proper fit in June, 1992, at which time the article was, at long last, submitted for publication.

My sincerest gratitude to Colleague Prof. Dr. L. Zgusta for turning my Greek of the dedication into something more like acceptable Greek!

came up there as a result (side benefit) of the subject that was the proper topic in that study, to wit, the derivation of the Biblical toponym *Dəbīr* in question from either (1) W. Semitic \sqrt{dbr} , “to lead, manage, direct” (a root primarily well-attested in Aramaic and Arabic, with reliques elsewhere), which was the conclusion of my study, or (2) from Anatolian *<tapar->*, as maintained by Mendenhall (1973: 163 with fn.60; see p. 76 there also).

The question suggested discretely there was whether a flip-flop of Mendenhall’s coin was not more likely and that it was (1) this W. Semitic verb which, in addition to being the etymon of the Biblical toponym (2), was reasonably to be considered the source (as a loan, Wanderwort) of the Anatolian verb *<tapar->* and the derived noun(s) *t/labar-na*, as common noun, royal title, and proper name (PN). This Anatolian root has, as well-known, received multiple different etymological analyses, from Proto-Hattic to Cappadocian and to inherited Indo-European/Indo-Hittite material. These views are summed up in my 1988a: 76-81 and at the end of that section of summarizing the history of the proposals, I utilized a recent article by F. Starke (1983) together with a very informative expansion which he provided me with in personal correspondence. Here the only relevant and necessary datum for repetition is his constant presentation of verb *tapar-* and noun *t/labar-na* as /dabar-/ and /dabarna-/ respectively.

The present study will follow in the wake of that previous study, although concurrence that Anatolian *tabar-na-* etc., are “donations” from a “generous” W. Semitic, while providing my own starting point, *is not a requirement for the further history of the word in Anatolian*, where – irrespective of ultimate source – it has a long history of its own.

The object of the present study is to offer evidence that this lexical item, irrespective of its ultimate provenience as a verb and noun within Bronze Age Anatolian, has a later career, as indicated by the title here, within Iron Age Greek, where – after undergoing normal phonological changes – it manifests itself first in Homer and initially with the predominant semantic function of naval steering, both as verb and as noun, the latter formed with either of two suffixal allomorphs, each of which carries its own accentual character: $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ and $\kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ (for which cf. Arbeitman 1980: 122 with fn.5).

Although the ultimate phonological appearance of the Greek words is totally *phononomic* (“lautgesetzlich”) within Greek (not so-called “outlaws”), the words in question show changes in the source words, as are postulated here, changes which occur only in one particular sub-branch of the Anatolian languages and which are already attested in the first inscriptions in this particular sub-branch language (“language” here being a more accurate descriptive term than “dialect”).

I refer, self-evidently, to the process that Old Anatolian /dwV-/ undergoes in Lycian A, the more phonologically “evolved” of the two forms of Lycian (in the same sense as we might call French more phonetically evolved than Italian). The parade examples of this development are the words for “daughter” and “two”. Gusmani (1979: 232-233) discusses two sentences which display the forms in question: *ēti kbatra sijēn i teli Ddepnñ w eh* which he translates as “qui dentro è sepolta la figlia di Ddepnnewe” and *Xttbadi ēti prññ ezi tibe kbijehi tike* “(se) fa... a qualcuno domestico o alieno”. In the first sentence the word *kbatra* is “figlia”; in the more archaic Milyan (Lycian B) the corresponding word would be **tbatra*, which is not – to my knowledge – attested in the small corpus we possess. But we have the good fortune in this particular word to have the Hieroglyphic Luwian form, which is likely identical with the Luwian-like preform of this hypothetical Milyan word. Hawkins (1978:113) writes:

The Hittite reading of the Sumerogram DUMU.SAL, “daughter”, is unknown. The general Luwian word for “daughter” has however been reconstructed by Laroche, on the basis of Lyc. *kbatra*, as **twatra-* (BSL 62 [1967], p. 48). It is gratifying therefore to be able to adduce an actual writing of this in Hieroglyphic. ... given Laroche’s reconstruction, one cannot fail to recognize in FILIA (-) *tú-wali-tarali-* the full Hieroglyphic writing of the Luwian word for “daughter”. (p. 114).

The problem of determining the exact phonetic shape of the word *tú-wali-tarali-*, and its relationship to cognate and ancestral forms I gladly resign to more competent authorities.

As a strict philologist, Mr. Hawkins does not indulge in anything that smacks of that which is beyond rock-impressions, the “ultra-petroglyphic, linguistic ‘reconstructions’”, as it were. But it is quite obvious that he has given us /dwatra-/, leaving us with the pair, HL *dwatra-* (in normalized transcrip-

tion), Lycian A *kbatra* [g/kβatra-], and a triad in which Milyan **tbatra* [d/tβatra-] is quite a bit more than “inference”; it is slightly more than next to certain. The HL syllabary readings would also allow a HL normalization *dwatri-*, a form we would almost expect to be what appears in Cuneiform Luwian, when we take into consideration the phenomenon which Kammenhuber (1969: 279) has succinctly remarked on: “... tendiert das Keilschrift-Luwisch, in dem die *i*-Stämme wuchern ..., zu einer Vereinheitlichung der Nominalstämme ...”. At all events, it seems likely that Common Macro-Luwian (a term I use, with all due reservations, for a presumed [convenience-] ancestral-Proto-Language to which those traits common to CL, HL, Milyan (so-called “Lycian ‘B’”), and Lycian Proper [i.e. Lycian A, as it has unfortunately come to be known] can be derived), itself, already had developed the forms **d(u)watra-/d(u)watri-*, corresponding to IE **d^hug^(h)ater-*, which is effectuated thus by two factors: (1) the general elimination of the reflex of earlier **g^h* in Luwian (e. g. CL *iššari-*, Lyc. *izre-*, corresponding to Hittite *Keššara-*, and IE **ǵ^hesr-*, e.g. Greek χείρ; CL *tiyammi-* corresponding to Hittite *tekan*, and Pokorny’s [pp. 414-416] “convenience listing”, *ǵh^hem-*, *ǵh^hom-* [e.g. Gk. χθών], the shape Pokorny gives the head-root, although he does not subscribe to a connection of the Indo-European word with the Hittite and Tocharian items, resp. *tekan* and *tkam* [Tocharian A] which require a metathesis, **ǵ(e)ǵhom-*, **gh(e)ǵhom*;² cf. a third time of such “l’amuusement” in Laroche 1959: 134-135) and (2) the bringing of the *-r*-stem into an *a-* and/or *i-*stem class: thus, **d^hug^hater- > *duwatra-* and/or **duwatri-*.

In the second sentence given by Gusmani, the word *kbijehi* “alieno” formed from the stem for “two” (Lycian A *kbi* = Lycian B/Milyan *tbi-*), as noted by Neumann (1969:378): “Die lyk. Verbindung *kb* entspricht altem *dw* (...)”. The semantic use is based on that aspect of “second” which means “other” (numerous examples in Arbeitman 1981, passim). The word itself is treated by Pedersen (1949: 35): “Ersatz eines Genitivs ist das *-hi*-Adjektiv jedoch (...) etwa bei *atlahi* ‘eigen’ (mil. *atlas*) zum Dat. sg. *atli*, pl. *atla* und *kbijehi* ‘eines Anderen, fremd’ neben *kbi* ‘ein Anderer’”.

Pedersen (1949:44) tells us that the recognition of the relationship between Milyan and Lycian A in this matter was first made by Bugge:

Bei den Dentalen ist zunächst an den von BUGGE I 43 f. nachgewiesenen Übergang eines noch im Milyschen erhaltenen *tb* in *kb* zu erinnern. Da das *b* spirantisch war, handelt es sich dabei um einem ähnlichen Wandel wie in nhd. *quer* aus mhd. *twer* (...).

Mit Recht nimmt Bugge I 48 an, dass das *b* in den Gruppen mil. *tb* lyk. *kb* ein ieur. *w* vertreten kann; denn gegen die Annahme wird man sich nicht sträuben können, dass mil. *tbi-*, lyk. *kbi-* in mil. *tbiple* neben *trpplę* 44 c 53, *kbisñn(i)* neben *trisñni* 26.17, 18 die Zahl ‘2’ ausdrückt.

Quite illustrative of the nature of the problem and indicative of its proper analysis are two facts:

(1) The Hittite items adduced for comparison by each of Pedersen and Neumann as the concluding datum for their respective expositions:

(a) Pedersen (loc. cit., continuing from exactly where we just left off) concludes: “Das ist aber eine Abweichung vom Hittitischen, wo das *w* in */dā-iuga-s/* ‘zwei Jahre alt’, *da-a-an /dān/* ‘zum zweiten Mal’ geschwunden ist”.³

2. Here is certainly no place to harbor any impulses to expatiate on the precise phonological nature of the initial sequence in the IE/IH etymon of these “earthly” items, upon which every Indo-Europeanist, present party included, seems to have his own view. I would here only emphasize that I do accept unreservedly the sisterhood of the Hittite-Luwian/Tocharian dental + velar words with the other-IE velar + dental words and, indeed, the simplification-root derived items such as the *ǵhum-* alone words, e.g. Latin *humus/homo* and the Pan-Germanic word for “man”, from a stem built to this same form of the root (simplified by dental elimination), *guma-* vel sim. (each Germanic language has a different vowel-stem). For those wishing further controversy on the etymon and the sisterhood of the words adduced, see Pokorny s. r. *ǵh^hem-*, pp. 414-416, esp. the end of the entry on top of p. 416. On p. 416, Pokorny cites dissenting articles by Benveniste and Specht, no lightweights to be ignored.

3. And the explanation Pedersen gives here for *dān*, *dā-* “two” is an “Abweichung” from what he gives in his 1938: 51-54: a long and brilliantly convoluted derivation of *damais* “second, other” from the root seen in Greek δῆμιος, Att.-Ion. δῶμιος, with much typological paralleling, but on which one has to concur with Sturtevant (1951: 110): “The one [etymology] suggested by Pedersen (...) is very improbable. Perhaps [the root element, common to both], *dam-* is to be compared with *da-a-an* ‘iterum’”. But, of great import, for the entire concept of the IE/IH sequence **dw-* in the etymon of all these “two” words are Sturtevant’s (op. cit., p. 61) remarks: “*da-a-an ta-a-an* ‘iterum’: Latin *dis-* ‘in two directions, apart, [entzwei, in twain, YLA]’. IH initial *dw* probably would have survived. IH *do-*”. The importance of this remark for the proto-language itself is a matter that we must never leave out of the equation, as we collect and list all the relevant material. Kronasser 1956: 51, in one of his less radical syntheses, informs us well: “Zwischen *u+i* entsteht *-w-* daher *wa-ap-pu-i* und *-pu-ū-i*, beide = *wappuwi*, d. sg. ‘Flußufer’. Auch hier die Möglichkeit doppelter Lautung (vgl. δῶ aus **duuō*, aber δῶ-δεκα aus **duō-*...; vgl. Kh. *tan* und hh. [Hieroglyphic Luwian] *tu-wa-i* § 165”.

(b) Neumann (loc. cit., continuing exactly where we left off): "lyk. A *kbi-* (lyk. B *tbi-*): heth. *dui-* '2' (?) in ^{LU}*duianalli-* 'Offizier zweiten Ranges'; vgl. auch TL 32h: *Ikkwem[i]*: 'Ενδουμις'".

One presumes that his intention is that in the bi-alphabetic rendition of the PN, the Greek letters $-\delta\upsilon-$ represent the Milyan pronunciation, thus = $-tb-$, whilst the epichoric letters $-kw-$ = Lycian A $-kb-$. In any event, Neumann is offering us two cases where the sequence $d + w/u + V$ remains attested, at least in the writings, as we perceive them, resp. in cuneiform and Greek letters. Pedersen, on the other hand, offers the example where, in the cuneiform writing of Hittite, this same sequence loses the middle component.

(2) These two renowned Lycian examples viz., *kbi-* "two" and *kbatra* "daughter" have mates in Armenian, the juxtaposition of which should serve to properly align the workings of the Lautgesetz we see in all the above Anatolian examples.

CHART I

SYLLABIC VOCALIC <i>u</i>		NON-SYLLABIC CONSONANTAL <i>w</i>	
* <i>duC-</i>	<i>duplus</i>	* <i>dwi-</i> Gk. ↓ Fr. (/Eng.) Germanic * <i>twi-</i>	δ(F)ιπλόος <i>biscuit</i> (< ML * <i>biscoctus</i>) ⁴ <i>Zwieback</i> <i>twilight</i> <i>twin</i>
* <i>duwo</i>	Lat. <i>duo</i> , Gr. δύω/ο, Ved. <i>duváu</i> (m.), <i>duvē</i> (f.n.) Gr. δίδυμος Lat. <i>dubium</i> "doubt" (see Solta [1960: 418-419]).	* <i>dwō(u)</i>	OE <i>twā</i> (f.), OHG <i>zwei</i> (n.) Goth. <i>twa</i> (n.), Skt. <i>dvāu</i> , Av. <i>dva</i> (m.), Skt. <i>dvē</i> , Av. <i>baē</i> (f. n.) Gk. δ(F)ώδεκα, δ(F)ίδυμος Arm. <i>erku</i> <i>erkiwž</i> "fear", Gk. δείδω
* <i>eduna</i>	Gk. ὀδύνη, Aeol. ἐδύνα "pain" HL <i>atuna</i> (/aruna) "to eat"	* <i>edwōn/edwēn</i> "eating" (gerundive noun)	<i>erkn, erkan</i> "birthpangs"
(Cf. here Solta [1960: 419], Arbeitman & Ayala [1981:25, fn. 1]).			
* <i>d^hug^hatēr</i>	Proto-Luwian * <i>duwatra-</i> (/i-) > Macro-Luwian <i>dwatra-/i-</i> Arm. <i>dustr</i> Skt. <i>duhitár-</i> Gk. θυγάτηρ, etc.	HL <i>dwatra-/i-</i> Milyan * <i>tbatra</i> Lycian A <i>kbatra</i>	

4. It is generally conceded that there are three common food words for the "twice-cooked" within French, the German calque on the Italian cognate to the French, and a German word assumed to derive from Celtic: French *biscuit*, taken as such into English and there being an everyday word, German *Zwieback*, "zweimal gebackenes Weißbrot": Lehnübersetzung des gleichbed. ital. *biscotto* (s. Biskuit)". (Kluge [-Mitzka] 1967: 896, s.v.), and German *Zieger* with Rhaeto-Romance *tšigrun, sigrum* (in SW German "Quarkmasse" which is called "Schotten" in Bavarian-Austrian German, identified by Hubschmied (1936) as a word of the Gaul [Celtic] Alp economy, Kluge [-Mizka] op. cit., p. 882, s. v.). "Z. ist das Ergebnis einer zweiten Erwärmung der Milch... Für 'erwärmen' has das Kelt. einen Stamm *ger-* aus idg. **g^hher-*..., für 'zweifach' ist gall. **dwi-* vorauszusetzen... Gall. **dwi-gro-s* konnte über Spätgall. **tsigros* den germ. u. roman. Erben der alpinen Milchwirtschaft ihr Wort liefern [substratic word, YLA.]", Kluge -Mitzka, loc. cit.

"Zwieback" and an English corruption of the German compound "Schabzieger" both appear in the *AHD*, though I have never heard them as English words. The English form of the latter is *sap-sa-go*, wherein *sap-* represents *Schab*, while *sa-* represents the *zie-*, and finally *go* represents the *ger-*. It is of some interest that, while the *AHD* (for which Calvert Watkins, the eminent Celticist [amongst other achievements] is yes/no responsible [see my explanation in Arbeitman 1988c: 449-451 = endnote 23]), s.v. referral to the "Appendix", s.r. *gwher* (sic), the *AHDIER*, for which he is yes responsible, only gives (in the "Index" listing) a s.v. referral, to the "Indo-European Roots" body of the book, s.r. *skep-*, i.e. to the etymon of the first element in the German compound, just-noted, "Schabzieger" and, thus, steers clear of any decision on the etymon of the *-ger* root of controversy.

The Armenian mates, resp. *erku* (to *tbi-*) and *dustr* (to *kbatra*), show each one of the two possibilities, whereas the Lycian counterparts show (i.e. in the more phonologically “evolved” Lycian A) unitarily the process of the sequence $/d + w/u + V/ > kbV-$.⁵ The two possible developments of this sequence in the Armenian is automatically generated by the laws of syllabicity, wherein the middle component which, no matter what the writing system employed, is never merely *u* or *w* (*u*), but *u/w*. There is, therefore, nothing mysterious whatsoever in any of the developments listed in the examples on the chart; and, moreover, nothing is contradictory in the items with which Pedersen and Neumann each chose to close his presentation. Those items are easily aligned in a like-formatted chart:

CHART II

Hitt. <i>duyanalli-</i>	<p>With Neumann's <i>Ikkwem[i]</i>: Ἐνδυομις “transliterated” into normalized Milyan and Lycian spelling:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">[īdβumis]</p> <p>Mil. <i>E(n)tbumis</i> [īdβumis] (?; vel Lyc. <i>I(k)kbemi</i> [igβemi] sim.)</p> <p>Hitt. <i>d(w)ān</i> <i>d(w)ā-iuga-s</i></p>
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In Neumann's *dui-* in *dujanalli-*, it is the *u* that is syllabic and the *i* that is here but an intervocalic palatal glide /y/. In Pedersen's Hittite pair, the *w*, which had been part of an original initial cluster, viz., $*dw-ā-$, was eliminated, and the attested form $d-ā-$ was the result. A parallel may be seen in the Greek examples, where $*δ(F)V- > δV-$. The Milyan and Lycian names may derive from an earlier Macro-Luwian $*dwa-mis$, a passive participle with a meaning like “twinned, paired” and, as such, may be semantically similar to the Greek name $Δ(F)ἰδυμις$ ⁶ (on the morpho-semantic usages of the Luwian *-mis* participles see Arbeitman 1980:9-11). The phonetic nature of the PN would thus remain quite intact in Milyan, but “evolved” in Lycian, an “evolution” which, nevertheless, would not obscure its semantic relationship to the word for “two” (if such it be!), inasmuch as we would have the two pairs: Milyan *tbi-* “2”, *E/Itbumi*; Lycian *kbi-* “2”, *E/Ikbemi*. In any event, this postulates for the Macro-Luwian period a toleration for the cluster $/dwV/$, tolerance which we see also in the Germanic words for “2” and derivatives of $*twi-$. We likewise see this cluster in the (Classical) Sanskrit words for “2”, where the facultative alternates, which we have in Vedic, of the syllabic configuration $duvV-$ (i.e. bisyllabic rather than monosyllabic and, hence, no cluster, and broken by a labial glide, more likely [w] than [v]) are determined from the meter only (not noted in the writing). The degree of tolerance of

5. The parallel, but not identical by any means, developments in the initial sequence IE/IE $*dwV-$ in some of the late Anatolian (the so-called “epichoric”, with reference to their indigenous adaptation of the Semitic alphabet[s]) languages and in Armenian, in these two branches of the Great Proto-Language (with further parallels, as part of complex phenomena in other branches as well), present us with an opportunity for comparison which will be explored below, comparisons which may or may not be indicative of a volatility in the sequence which leads or tends to lead to eventual metamorphosis into more “natural” sequences, or may simply be parallel developments which we cannot at this stage of knowledge assign any teleological principle to. In this opportunity we will see the similar (in certain senses) parallels between the various outcomes of the word for “two”, but dissimilar outcomes in the word for “daughter” between Armenian and some of the late (epichoric) Anatolian languages. Both these occurrences will demonstrate the total similarity in the working of the change in both languages (and in various others of the other IE languages), because while the outcome in these two lexemes is different in the extreme, they are both equally valid examples of the basis for the operation of the change: the vocalism and the therewith connected syllabicity in the sequence, as reconstructable in the resp. immediately preceding stages for each branch.

6. On the respective Hebrew and Greek words for “Twin” in the PN of Thomas Didymos, see Arbeitman (1981: 1017, fn. 40).

such a cluster is time-and-language- (or dialect)-specific, irrespective of general and universal probabilities (which may have certain predicative capability).⁷ Even here, however, I presume that the Macro-Luwian form, with this cluster is derived from a Proto-Luwian form of the syllabic configuration **duwa-mis*, precisely as indicated on the chart for the Macro- and Proto-Luwian forms of the word for “daughter”. What we have in such a case, either in the Luwian evolution or the Vedic (> Sanskrit, i.e., “Classical” Old Indic) evolution (and other evolutions such as the Archaic > Classical Latin one or what we see in certain Avestan forms, and, finally, the type of evolution seen in Armenian in “2” and similarly syllabified words, vs. the “daughter” type of syllabification there) is the result of processes whereby the earlier forms, which were originally disyllabic, were collapsed into monosyllabic clusters, wherein what was *Du-wV-* (that is, /duwV/) surfaces as a cluster /dwV/.

Against this background, we can trace the development of the Proto-Indo-European (/Proto-Indo-Hittite) word for “daughter”, **d^hug^hater-*, in the Luwic branch of Anatolian. First, their medial *-g^h* was lost, thus **d^hug^hater-> *d^huw^hater-*, with an automatic labial glide between the *u* and the “*e*”. The resulting form then became Proto-Luwic **duwatra-i-*, which is what we find in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Syllabicity laws and associated stress transform this, in other geographical and chronological Luwic languages or the languages ancestral to such, to **/dwatra-/i-/*, which develops into *kbatra-* in Lycian A (“Lycian Proper”, but we often have to repeat the “A” for the sake of non-fusion, with due respect to the traditional terminology) and into **tbatra-* in Milyan (so-called “Lycian ‘B’”).

In phonological systems such as that of non-archaic Latin, the “hardening” of the erstwhile labiodental /dw/ left its mark in a labial obstruent, voiced: *dw > b*. A differing type of outcome occurs in Armenian, where the old initial cluster /dwV/ develops into /erk-/.

Finally, it is to be stressed once more that each spatio-temporal period of a language forms a closed system, frozen at a certain time and place for a “snapshot”. The laws of instability and volatility may be general ones, but – as we see – at the same period that Lycian A has fully undergone the process of changing *dwV-* into *kbV-*, Milyan (Lycian B) still found it perfectly tolerable to remain with that which is written *<tbV->*.

The various treatments of the sequence **dw-* with which we have been dealing here are nicely summed up for us in a chart that Szemerényi (1966: 220), in an article on other matters, supplies us with for the number “2”, after the following words:

In historical Greek [the numeral “two”] has one inflection for all three genders, the nominative varying between δύω and δύο. But in Aryan and Balto-Slav the genders are distinguished. We find:

CHART III

	nom. -acc. masc.	nom. -acc. fem.	nom. -acc. ntr.
Sanskrit	<i>d(u)vā(u)</i>	<i>d(u)ve</i>	<i>d(u)ve</i>
Avestan	<i>dva</i>	<i>baē</i> (from <i>dwai</i>)	<i>baē</i> (< <i>dwai</i>)
Old Church Slav	<i>dъva</i>	<i>dъvě</i>	<i>dъvě</i>
Lithuanian	<i>dù</i> (< <i>dwō</i>)	<i>dvì</i> (< <i>dwai</i>)	—
Latvian	<i>divi</i>	<i>divi</i> (< <i>duwi</i> < <i>duwai</i>)	—

7. Though the outcome is one and the same with the outcome of labio-velars in P-Italic, P-Celtic, or in one of the tripartite outcomes in the various Post-Mycenaean forms of Greek (“epichoric” Greek, as opposed to Linear B Syllabary Greek; in the present context the “nicities” of the outcomes are ridden roughshod over and totally ignored), there can be no opportunity here to compare the phenomena either in a comparative-historical framework or in a typological and/or “inherent volatility” framework, as to whether or not the phenomena in the just mentioned languages are joint products of a single tendency or whether or not one outcome is consequent on the other. I will permit myself to take note of the monitory statement of Dunkel (1981: 564, fn. 19), concerning (a) the non-parallelism between the outcomes **kⁱ > τ* alongside of **gⁱ > β* and (b) the faulty typological conclusions this kind of non-parallelism can lead one to and, consequently, the necessity of including the human mind in any analysis of sets of sound change phenomena.

When we add to the data on this chart, the remarks of Meillet (1936:99), we will have, with the numeral “2”, examples of all the various changes within IE (IH) that we started out seeing in Lycian (“A”, phonologically “evolved”) <*kbi*-> in contrast to Milyan (“Lycian ‘B’”, “conservative”) <*tbi*->:

erku «deux» répond à homér. δῦω, etc.; en sa qualité d’ancien duel, il n’a pas reçu le -*k* du nominatif pluriel; mais il se fléchit d’ailleurs: acc. loc. *erkus*, gén. dat. sbl. *erkuç*; une forme *erko*- qui répond à gr. δῦο est conservée dans *erko-tasan* «12»; *erki*-, au premier terme du composé indo-européen *erke-am* «de deux ans» répond au premier terme skr. *dvi*-, gr. δι-, lat. *bi*- (*bi-pes*, etc.), des composés.⁸

The extra phonological data provided here allows us to add the following information to the examples on the previous chart:

CHART IV

	a	b
Armenian	/dwo/ <i>erku</i> (< * <i>dwō</i>)	/dwi-/ <i>erki</i> - (< * <i>dwi</i> -)
Sanskrit		<i>dvi</i> -
Greek		δ(F)ι-
Latin		<i>bi</i> -
Hittite	<i>dā</i> (< * <i>dwo</i>)	<i>dui</i> -
Macro-Luwian	} Milyan } Lycian A	<i>tbi</i> -
Avestan		<i>kbi</i> -
	<i>dva</i>	<i>bāe</i> ⁹ (< <i>dwai</i>)

8. With forceful argumentation, Szemerényi (1983: 790 ff.) has mounted a vigorous attack against the very entity of the concept of IE **dw*- > Arm. *erk*- and insists on this Armenian initial *er*- (and similar morphs!) being frozen prefixes and, thus, the Arm. -*k*- alone being the representative of the erstwhile **dw*-; the *er*- he has equalling Greek ἐπι- or, sometimes, even ἄπι- (with Anatolian adverb *arḫa* “thrown in for good measure”). The meaning of this/these prefixal particle(s) he offers as “very” or “away” et sim. It cannot be denied, even when one is not ready to discard the long-accepted Lautgesetz, that some of his data is very alluring and, when combined with some of Shevoroshkin’s (infra here!) Lydian etymologies, could one day cause us to reconceptualize. To Szemerényi, Anatolian itself is the place where **dw*- > *tb* (in Mylian/Lycian B) and developed to Lycian (A) *kb*, whence it spread to Arm., Gk., and Iranian.

Shevoroshkin (1978: 247) claims for Lydian (!) PN *Tuios*, and for Cilician *Tbios*, etc. “probably mean ‘Second (Child)’: cf. Lyd. *cfiś* ‘Twice’ (?), Lycian B (Milyan) *tbi*- [t’f’i] ‘Second’; Hittite *Duwisa* means probably ‘Twin’ ~ ‘one of the both twins’”. [more correct Eng., with all due respect!, ‘one of the two, one of both (twins)’. YLA].

Summarizing Shevoroshkin’s sound changes or lack thereof we get, Hittite /D(u)wisa/, Cilician /twios/, Lydian /θfiś/, Milyan /tʃi/.

In the absence here of a Lycian A, the labial(ized) dental is intact everywhere, with various degrees of “glottalization” and of “fricativization”, as far as can be judged.

9. Meillet (1936: 51, § 22), carefully notes the non-parallel development of IE **tw*- in Armenian and Greek, where, e.g. IE **tw*- yields Armenian accus. *k’ez* “toi”, Greek accus. σέ (from **τFÉ*). The numerous conditioned outcomes, together with the conditioning factors, are catalogued here as to sequences, and much material and many invaluable groups of generalized rules are assembled here. This cornucopia of data can only be cited selectively in the present paper: “Dans les groupes composés de consonne plus *w*, le *w* devient aussi guttural; certaines consonnes précédentes perdent leur point d’articulation propre, mais toutes conservent leur caractère de sourde ou de sonore, d’aspirée ou de non aspirée qui est attribué à la gutturale; ainsi **sw*- devenu **hw*-, donne, avec assourdissement du *w* par *h*, arm. *k’oyr* ‘soeur’, cf. skr. *svāsā*, got. *swistar*; [many more examples];... **k’w* donne avec le traitement normal de **k*’ et assourdissement de *w*, arm. *sk*: *skund* ‘petit chien’, de **k’wont*-, cf. skr. *çvā*, accus. *çvānam*, got. *hunds*; ... après *s*, on ne saurait naturellement attendre que *k* et non pas *k’*, cf. arm. *st* et non **st’* de i.-e. **st*, §11. Le groupe **tw* donne *k’*: accus. *k’ez* ‘toi’, cf. skr. *tvām*, gr. σέ (de **τFÉ*); l’aspirée arménienne est ce qu’on doit avoir comme résultat d’une sourde indo-européenne; après *s*, **tw* doit aboutir à *k*, puisque **st* aboutit à arm. *st*, et en effet *oskr* ‘os’ sort sans doute de **ostw*-er, cf. lat. *ossua* et gr. ὄστρε(F) ov... On attend dès lors *k* comme résultat de **dw*, et en effet c’est *melk* ‘mou’ de **meldwi*-, qui répond à skr. *mṛduḥ*, femin. *mṛdvī* et à lat. *mollis* (de **meldwi*-); mais, à l’initiale, c’est *rk* précédé d’une prothèse suivant la règle générale, qui répond à **dw*-: *erkar* ‘long’, gr. δᾶρός, δηρός (**δFᾶρός*), *erku* ‘deux’, cf. skr. *duvā*, *dvā*, gr. δῦω, δῶ- (δεκα), v. sl. *düva*; *erknčim* (de **erki-nčim*) ‘je crains’, cf. gr. δFῆ (y)ος ‘crainte’, δέδFo (y)α, δέδFιμεν; ...; il est certain que

That which here emerges as of determining importance is that, of the forms in column b, the front vowel (either [1] *i* or [2] a diphthong of which *i* – or [3] a nearly alike reflex of such a diphthong – is the second component) in and of itself, has no effect on the surface manifestation of the **dw*- sequence in Armenian or Indic. In Greek the evanescence of the digamma /w/ is not particular to this sequence, but part and parcel of the on-going overall gradual disappearance of consonantal /w/ in the main Greek “dialects”, as well-known. In the Latin and the Avestan forms, however, it seems to be precisely the front nature of the vowel following the **dw*- sequence which does indeed determine the surface manifestation of **dw*- as the voiced labial stop /b/.

We need also at this point to take note of the syllabification in the development of the Armenian word for “2”, as explicated by Meillet (1936: 51, which he gave a cross reference to in a fn. to his words on his p. 99, which I did not include, in citing those words of his, above):

il est certain que *erku* «deux» est un ancien monosyllable, et que, comme dans l'accusatif *eris* «trois» en regard de got. *þrins*, l'*e* y est une prothèse arménienne (voir §20), car autrement le *u* (ancien **ō*) de la syllabe finale serait tombé. Ce traitement est instructif; en effet, l'occlusive *k* est la sourde arménienne attendue en regard d'une de sonore indo-européenne; mais *r* est un reste de l'articulation sonore *d*: l'altération du groupe *dw* est donc antérieure à la mutation consonantique arménienne.¹⁰

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The analogical situation between the appearance of reconstructed **tw*- and **dw*- in Hittite is explained and exemplified by Georgiev (1978: 93-97), where he notes that this IE/IH 2nd pers. sg. pronominal root **tw*-/*tu*- develops as follows, depending on the consonantal or vocalic realization of the *w* following the initial dental in a **twV*- sequence:

sg. nom.	<i>zek/zega</i>
accus./dat./loc.	<i>tuk</i>
gen.	<i>tuel</i> .

He proclaims this nom. *zek/zega* to be the precise etymological equivalent of Greek “σέγε aus **twe-ge* Akk. sg. von σύγε ‘tu quidem’”, with the Latin acc./abl. *te* aligning here against nom. *tu*, gen. *tui*, with the former < **twe-*, the two latter represent the “*w*” vocally and, thus, have no consonantal sequence **twV*- that would make it a possible candidate for undergoing change. Similarly Hittite “*tuk* neben *tugga* ‘te, tibi, in te’”.

“In diesem Fall ist anzunehmen, daß ide. *tw* im Hethitischen zu *z* geworden ist ... In der Tat wurden die ide. Lautverbindungen *ti* und *tw* im Hethitischen zu *zi* und *z*, genauso wie im Griechischen, wo dieselben zu -σι [Doric λέγοντι vs. Attic-Ionic λέγουσι; Hittite *daskanzi* / *tskantsi* / < **dh₃-sko/-e-nt-i*, Luwian *la-la-nt-i* resp. iterative and reduplicated of “they give”) und σ [medial σσ] (att. ττ) assimiliert wurden. ...”.

On the Iranian situation, see Reichlet (1909: 84-85): “[Iranisch] *du* (aus ar[ischem] *du*, *dhū*) wird im Satzanlaut zu *b*: j. *baē*.⁹... ‘zwei’, *biš* Adv. ‘zweimal’, g[aθisch-awestisch] *abifrā* ... Adj. ‘unvergeblich’ (aus idg. **dūiplo*), vgl. lat. *bi*⁹, *bis* neben j[ung] *dvaē-ča* ‘und zwei’; j. *patī.bišiš* ... Adj. ‘den Feinden entgegenwirkend’ neben g. *dvaēšā*, j. *þaēšā*... APn. ‘Feindseligkeiten’. Durch das Nebeneinander der Anlautsformen *b* und *dv* kamen Mischbildungen zustande: g. *d^hbišim*... Adj. ‘zweit’ neben j. *bitim*; g. *d^hbišnī* ‘sie sind feind’ neben j. *didvaēša*...; g. *d^hbazāfi* Ko[njunktiv] ‘er wird unterstützen’ neben j. *dqzāti*.

Reichelt continues (p. 87, §177.a.3); “gAw, *db-* wird im jAw. zu *þb-* (für *db-*): j. *þbištō* PPIP. ‘gekränkt’, *a = þbištō* ‘ungekränkt’ neben j. *a = δbištō*, g. *d^hbišnī*, ai. *dvištāh*”.

Examples of hypercorrection (*þk* for etymological *k* and *δb* for expected *b*) are ascribed to scribal reconceptualizations of *lautgesetzlich* variation by Reichelt in a note that has just been cited. The results of the phonomic “decay” as it appears in the ordinal numeral “second” is given on p. 216.

10. On this phenomenon of rhotacism see Arbeitman & Ayala (1981: 25-28). The oft-cited later conceptualization by Morpurgo-Davies (1982/83: 245ff.) of this Hieroglyphic Luwian happening simply does not work inasmuch, most specifically, that it does account for the identical words in the two different *Fassungen* of the identical time and place, of Azatiwatas’ Inscription, having now the one a voiced dental stop, now other the <ɾ> (see Arbeitman & Ayala for a suggestion for the sound as a flap of specific nature). Our explanation of two inadequate attempts to render this phone is adequate alone! The accentual suggestion of Morpurgo-Davies should work across the board in each word in each *Fassung*. Nor can we at all agree with Bomhard (1981: 29), in his speculations.

The well-taken point in establishing this chronology of sound changes is that it is a cluster /dg^w-/ which has to be postulated as the first step in the series of sound changes, which leads to the historically attested cluster, that is to say */dwV-/ > */dg^w-/ > */(e)rg^wV-/ > */(e)rk^wV-/ > /(e)rku-/ , this last being the form of the historically attested lexeme.¹¹

Both the problems of sound change chronology and of syllabicity are connected with the Hittite “Abweichung” in Pedersen’s *dā-iugas* when compared with the Milyan and Lycian A items he discussed. On pp. 7-8 above, I explained the Hittite outcome as a regular development of the cluster **dwō-* > **dwā-* > *dā-*. Huld (1986:194) discusses a proposal of Puhvel’s which will offer a confirmation of my view on Pedersen’s item and, additionally, offer a different development of the cluster in Luwian, in terms of syllabicity and vocalicity. And, for our purposes, this result will obtain either in Puhvel’s own scheme or in Huld’s modification of the scheme. Huld’s own discussion which is relevant here is contained in his fn. 2, which I give in parentheses following his opening sentence there:

The remaining major groups [of IE languages] have a variety of forms [for the word for “sun”] that have suggested to some a morphological sui generis, an *l/n* heteroclite ... A number of factors militate against this view. No other *l/n* heteroclite is securely attested in Proto-Indo-European (Hitt *idal-u-* ‘evil’ < PAT **edwal-u-* has been related to Gk ὀδύνοι ‘pains’, Arm *erkn*, OIr *idain* ‘[labor]pains’ by Puhvel [1984:493]. The semantic relationship is cogent: however. I do not believe that this word offers corroboration of lopment, either progressive dissimilation of *n* in *edwanu*, a *u*-stem [see Puhvel 1982] built on a leveled **edwan* [cf. Luw *aduna-*] which may be compared with German *Himmel* beside Icelandic *himinn*, or dissimilation of **r* to *l* as in Lat *arbor* ‘tree’ to Span *árbol*. Perhaps *d* influenced the change of *r* to *l*).¹²

In other words, Huld believes that the Hittite adjective is formed with a *u*-suffix either (A) to the noun **edwan*, thus **edwanu* > **edwalu* by one kind of phonological dissimilation, or (B) to the noun **edwar*, thus **edwaru* > **edwalu* by another kind of dissimilation. His point is that in either case no **edwan/edwal-/edul-* is to be conceived. My point of interest is, however, other: in either case which he proposes, the cluster **dwV-* here behaves exactly like this same cluster in Pedersen’s *dā-(iugas)* < **dwā-* (*iugas*).

But, besides the confirmation of the development of this cluster in Hittite, we have to look at the cognate Cuneiform Luwian word, of totally different syllabicity:

adduwal (noun) “mal”, *adduwali-* (adjective) “mauvais”, and *adduwalahit-* (abstract) “méchan-cété) = Hittite *idalu-* (adjective) and *idalawatar* (abstract) (Laroche 1959:35). Let us ignore the different initial vocalism of the respective Luwian and Hittite sets; let us also ignore the double writing of the dental stop intervocalically in Luwian. Let us instead concentrate on the different underlying medial syllabicity patterning – we will thus be concentrating on the middle syllable, Hittite *-dā-* (< **-dwā-*) vs. Luwian *-duwā-*. What we see is that Luwian is disyllabic at this stage, whereas in the Hittite we find a corresponding monosyllabic sequence resulting from a collapse of the two syllables into one, thus, **-duwō-* > **-dwō-* > **-dō-* > *-dā-*, in accordance with the principles discussed above.

11. In absolutely more precise terms, we might give the following steps: 1) ***dwo* > 2) **d'o* > 3) **rwolrg'o* > 4) **rk'o* (with devoicing of the still labio-velar) > 5) **rko* (with delabialization of the erstwhile labio-velar) resulting in 6) **rku* > 7) <*erku*> / <*erku*> ??/.

12. I see precious little reason for the /d/ to have influenced the “change of *r* to *l*”, as Huld would have it. We have either 1) side by side alternate forms of Early Pre-Anatolian, such as nom.-acc. sg. **ed=war*, **ed=wal* with an other-cases/numbers stem **ed=wān-*, where the middle named also has a syncopated stem-form **edwl-* /*e/īdul-* and the same with **edwn-* /*e/īdun-* where further suffixes are added. Etymological semantics are fine, as the parallel with English e.g. *bitter*: (vb.: to) *bite* readily exemplifies. The original nominal *-r* (allomorph *-l*): *-n* in the compound suffix **-wer* (*-wel*), *wen* with either realized, *p.r.n.*, as *-ur-* (*-ul-*): *-un-*, added to the *√ed-*, perhaps produced a phonetic realization as [ed*er, ed*el, ed*en] in their unsyncopated, integral forms. It is understood, in and of itself, that, for **ed-* et sim., we just as well, in some morphological forms in some dialects have **od-* et sim. The verb ὀδύρωμαι (as Chantraine [1974: 775, s.v.], notes although meaning “to bemoan et sim.”, lacks no reason not to be related to the noun for “pain” ὀδύνη, with Armenian *erkn*, gen. *erkan* < **ed=won* or **ed=wēn*).

We can conclude the discussion of this history of the developments of the cluster **dwV-*, as it occurs in the various IE and Anatolian languages, with a chart including items from chart I above, with the addition of Huld's hypothesis and Schindler's analysis.

CHART V

SYLLABIC VOCALIC <i>u</i>		NON-SYLLABIC CONSONANTAL <i>w</i>
<i>*eduna</i>	Gk. ὀδύνη, Aeol. ἔδύνα HL <i>atuna</i> (<i>laruna</i>)	<p><i>*edwoñ/edwēn</i></p> <p>Arm. <i>erkn, erkan</i></p> <p>Hitt.-Luw. <i>*edwan</i> (< <i>*edwar/edwanas</i> ?) noun, "pain, evil"</p> <p><i>*edwanu</i> adj., "painful, hurting, bad";</p> <p>Hitt. <i>idalu</i> adj., <i>u</i>-stem from <i>*idal</i> (< <i>*idwal</i>) = Luw. <i>adduwal</i> noun (root stem); <i>adduw wali-</i> adj. (<i>i</i> stem).</p> <p>with the relationship Hitt.: Luw. "collapsed bisyllabicity": extended or uncollapsed ("preserved") bisyllabicity.</p>
<i>*h₁edun-</i>	OIr. stem <i>idan-</i> (< Pre-historic Irish <i>*iδun-</i>)	<i>*h₁edwō</i> (nom. sg.), yielding OIr. <i>*iud</i> , analogically replaced by <i>Idu</i> .

In Schindler's analysis (1975: 261-262), this is the structure of the Old Irish forms with respect to their "Prehistoric Irish" and IE paradigms and levelling. On p. 264, he notes: "From the equation of the Armenian, Greek, and Irish forms the following IE stem forms can be reconstructed:

<i>*h₁edwon-</i>	: <i>*h₁edwη-</i>	(Armenian)
<i>h₁edun-</i>		(Irish, perhaps Greek)
<i>h₁dun-</i>		(perhaps Greek)".

Nominal systems with such Ablaut permit phonologically strange forms to appear in the various IE/Anatolian individual languages, as certain forms become the bases for a morphological and concomitant phonological reformation to a paradigmatically uniform (and, thus, synchronically recognizable as related) stem: this is generated by the presence of a volatile cluster as one of the outcomes in any of the morphologically produced Ablaut variants in the original declensional system. Such a volatile component, however produced, can wreak havoc in later states; our case here is obviously the cluster *dw-/du-*. In the item he considers, Schindler (1975:256) deems the Armenian and Greek forms, *erkn* and ἔδύνᾱ respectively, to be products of an IE *n*-stem *H₁edwon-*, from which the Greek form (Aeolic, and with other changes, the Attic form as well) differs only in its being "an extended vowel" thematization, created originally for the nominative by addition of (fem. *ā*-class marker) *-ā* to the stem form **edun-* (1975:257).

This series of Greek, Armenian, OIr., and HL forms, has been a near ideal display item for the summary of many of the possibilities, within the various stages of the sundry IE/Anatolian languages, of what can and does occur with the cluster **dwV-*, whether this is an inheritance from IE/(IH) directly (in a particular word or root) or indirectly (as developing automatically in certain case forms and such, i.e. Ablaut-generated), or whether it has come about within a single language or macro-language, as the result of phonological consonantal "decay" with attendant syllabic collapse (of the sort well-known from French: Latin *pater* > French *père* and so forth) such as we saw in Macro-Luwian in its word for "daughter".

II. *Arrival: The Greek Port*

It is along such lines of phonological development that I trace the route taken by Anatolian *taparna* “the King/Monarch/the one who governs” in its journey to the West, which in my view begins in Syria, in the Semitic languages of that area, and traverses Anatolia, whence it proceeds to Greece (and ultimately to Rome, from which it comes into most modern Western European languages).¹³ Though I see Anatolia (somewhat oxymoronically) as the first Western stop on this route, others see this root and its nominal derivative as native “IE, inherited material”, others still as borrowed from various substrata (discussed at length in Arbeitman [1988a: 76-81]).¹⁴ At all events, it is attested very early in Anatolian. I see it as entering Cappadocia and Cilicia at the contact points of the West Semitic and Anatolian worlds, at an early date, as far as concerns Anatolian literacy, and thriving long and well in Hittite and in the Southern languages of the Macro-Luwian family. That which enters various divisions of Anatolia, at this early period, is both the verbal root (W. Semitic \sqrt{dbr}_2 , most likely in the second form, something like *dabbār*) and a nomen actoris, already provided with the suffix *-ān(ā)-* (resp. in the absolute and emphatic states) **dabbārān/dabrān* and *dabbārānā/dabrānā*, or the like, “leader”, in Aramaic a word of a wide gamut of “leading”, from the agricultural to the political.

In the present discussion, it is only this noun, specifically as mediated through Late, Iron Age, Anatolian, Macro-Luwian, languages, to the West, which concerns us. This noun, in its Anatolian borrowed form, is attested at various periods, in various forms, in the inscriptions of various Anatolian languages, all along both as common noun (title) and as Proper Name at certain periods. Its path from South East Luwian, in an early period, and its attestations both as noun and in the verb *tapar-* in Cuneiform Luwian, must have taken it, reasonably early, also to the other extreme edge of the Anatolian linguistic family world, that is to the Later Western Macro-Luwian family and its developing dialects, which are much later attested in their epichoric alphabets.

How very late, this root (in various Anatolian forms, i.e. with/without indigenous suffixes, etc.) continues as a word and/or title of meaning even when it continues to manifest itself in the autochthonous anthroponymy, is not certain. We are entitled to somewhat extend “autochthonous” here, for by the later periods, as an item present in Anatolian languages from time immemorial, its ultimate origin would be irrelevant and of no distinguishing import. Neumann (1980:173) offers us this information:

Die epichorischen Namen Zähl bewahrt wird in vielen Teilen Kleinasiens der Namenschatz (Orts- und Personennamen). ... Ein wichtiges Ergebnis bildet der Nachweis einer weithin einheitlichen Onymie: d. h. dieselben Namenstämme und -suffixe und dieselben morphologischen Kompositionsregeln herrschen im ganzen Süden, umfassen also die Namenschatze der Landschaften Kappadokien, Kilikien, Lykaonien, Isaurien, Pamphylien, Pisidien, Lykien samt der Kybaritis und Milyas, aber auch im Westen Karien und Lydien. Das legt einen vorsichtigen Schluß auf die Verwandtschaft all dieser Sprachen nahe. Speziell beim Lykischen im Südwesten und beim Hieroglyphen-Luwischen in Kilikien wissen wir ja durch reichlichere Textzeugnisse, daß diese beiden Sprachen nahe mit dem Keilschrift-Luwischen verwandt sind. Die gleichartigkeit vieler Namenstämme führt dazu, auch für die dazwischenliegenden Sprachen, Pisidisch, Isaurisch usw., Zugehörigkeit zum Spät-Luwischen anzunehmen. Zum Teil können wir die Namen deuten. Nur zwei Beispiele: die pisidische Mannesname Δαβρελος entspricht dem luwischen nomen actoris *tapariyalli-* ‘Befehlshaber’, oder der lykische Personennamen Κβαμοος ist identisch mit dem luwischen Personennamen *Hepamuwa*, der etwa als ‘die Kraft der (Göttin) Hepa’ oder auch als ‘Hepa (gibt) Kraft’ zu interpretieren ist. Aber wir dürfen nicht ohne

13. And, most intriguing of all, in its Greek metamorphosis, comes (back!) to both “Post-Biblical Hebrew” and both Jewish and Christian “Palestinian” Aramaic as well as Syriac. See the main references, svv. in Jastrow (1903:1313) *qəḥarnīṭ* and *qəḥarnīṭā*, resp. Hebrew and Aramaic and for Jewish Land-of-Israel Aramaic; see now Sokoloff (1990:474) where cognates in other Aramaic languages are provided as well.

14. To the views of others cited there, now add Puhvel (1989) and Tischler (1988)!

weiteres voraussetzen, daß solche Namen den Pisidern oder Lykiern der Kaiserzeit noch etymologisch durchsichtig waren. Die Lage wird ähnlich gewesen sein wie heute bei uns gegenüber den germanischen Vornamen, wo dem Nicht-Philologen verschlossen bleibt, aus welchen Elementen 'Raimund', 'Ruprecht', oder 'Leopold' zusammengesetzt sind oder was sie einmal bedeutet haben. –Appelativa der epichorischen Sprachen sind nur vereinzelt in griechische literarische Texte gelangt.

“The situation must have been similar as today with us in reference to Germanic first names”, the “uns”, of course, means “20th cent. German speakers”. But, inasmuch as my one and only concern in this paper is a common noun in Anatolian (probably from Semitic much before the period I deal with in the present suggestion) which remains as a common noun, after this Anatolian mediation farther to the West, the question is justified as to why even bring in Neumann’s excerpt on the “Kaiserzeit” which refers to the Roman Empire! There are two cogent motivations: (1) the more important of the two, namely that in tracing the continuity of these PNN, irrespective of whether the native speaker understood them (semantically or etymologically), Neumann has expressed well the linguistic situation as concerns sub-family filiations in Southern Anatolia, in his speaking of Hieroglyphic Luwian in Cilicia and Lycian in the South-West and the languages of the Cappadocian, Cilician, Lycaonian, Isaurian, Pamphylian, Pisidian, and Lycian provinces together with that of Cybaritis and Milyas, all of which provinces’ “indigenous” tongues are quite likely, more or less, varieties of branches of Macro-Luwian – he adds “but also in the West, that of Caria and Lydia”, which he somewhat distinguishes from the just-mentioned languages; (2) in his cited PN examples, he deals with a Pisidian PN of the late period, and its derivation from a Cuneiform Luwian common noun (“Appelativum”), an example, which like the other PN, one from Lycian, the phonological derivation of which he traces, with its syncope in the first syllable, and the resulting contact, in immediate position with one another, of what had been the prevocalic consonant ([h], [x] or similar) and what had been the postvocalic consonant, provides us with excellent typological information for processes in Lycian and the languages of the epichoric alphabets, as far as concerns their syllable structure.

A name which is syrrhizoid with the cited Pisidian name (Δαβρελας), but not derived from a form with earlier suffix, such as the Cun. Luw. *tapariy-alli-*, appears, derived from a root noun (**tapara-* or such), also in the Lycian-Greek Bilingual (Friedrich [1932:54-55]):

<i>ebēññē ñtatā me ne prñnawātē</i>	Τοῦτο τὸ μνημα ἐργάσαντο	This memorial-chamber,
<i>pulenjda mullijeseh se dapara</i>	Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσιος	there built it Apollonides
	καὶ Λαπάρας	Mollisios and D/Lapara-

There is every earthly reason here to concur with Pedersen (1949:42) that the renderings of the name with a *d* in the epichoric alphabet, but with a *λ* in the Greek alphabet, represent, both of them, alternate, non-too-successful attempts, to denote graphically a consonant that was not exactly either [d] or [l].¹⁵ Such concurrence with Pedersen’s understanding of the alternate writings does not necessitate or imply agreement with the specific phone he reconstructs as spoken.

As Neumann tells us, “common nouns of the epichoric languages passed into Greek literary texts only sporadically”. Yet, and we must not lose sight of this: a large amount of the Greek vocabulary is non-Indo-European and indeed, etymology-less; amongst this large group, it is not a totally easy matter to associate given words with items from the poorly understood minor (quantitatively as surviving

15. Obviously phones akin to the type so-much discussed for Semitic, the unvoiced and the voiced consonantal “lateral fricatives”, as mostly demonstrated by e.g. Hebrew *bošem* graphically realized in Greek by βαλσαμ and Arabic (*al*)-*qadī*, graphically realized in Spain –at first– as *alcalde*, in The Old Worlds of Arabia, Asia, and Spain, Europe “a judge”, in Hispanic New York City “The Mayor”! Obviously, this is but one explanation of the phenomenon in the Anatolian languages! The material is detailed in Steiner 1977 & 1982; cf. also Faber 1981.

today) various epichoric Anatolian languages. On occasions, such a connexion, with a high degree of probability, appears, only when we add to the vocabulary that we find in Anatolian epichoric (or earlier Cuneiform or Hieroglyphic) texts, the knowledge we have about (1) general phonological and (2) morphological occurrences in the various Anatolian languages. It is towards this goal that section I of this paper was devoted to the processes undergone by the labialized cluster /dwV-/ in the period between earlier Luwian languages and attested Lycian A (the more “evolved” or “broken-down” of the two Lycians), processes that the items undergo by the time of Lycian A, irrespective of the source of this cluster. We have seen what happened to Macro-Luwian *duatra-/i- [dwatra-/i-] by the time it turned up in Milyan (as reconstructed by Hawkins with 100% probability) and in Lycian A. We have also just seen what happened to the theophoric PN *Hepamuwa*, let us say [xebamuwa] (Neumann neglects the diacritic under the initial *H-*). Let me diagram the analysis of the word which is the proper subject of this paper, with juxtapositions of the two items just mentioned. Only after the diagramming will a few expository words be worthwhile:

CHART VI

Pre-Macro-/(and/or Pre-Proto-) Luwian:	*d ^h ug ^h ater-	*dabrānā (borrowed from Semitic)	
Earliest attested Luwian-Family item:	duatra-/i-	(tapar-), taparna-	<i>Hepamuwa</i>
Milyan (with syncope and collapse of bisyllabicity into single syllable):	*tbatra-	*tbarna-	↓
Lycian A:	kbatra-	*kbarna-	*[xbamaos]
As borrowed into Greek, after taking on a labial anaptyctic vowel to break up the initial cluster:		↓	Κβαμαος
After redetermination of the noun with a native Greek nom. actoris suffix:		*κυβερνᾶ-	
Attic-Ionian vowel change: (suffix in either of two allomorphs) ¹⁶		κυβερνᾶτήρ, κυβερνητήρ/ κυβερνήτης	

Thus, an ancient Anatolian word, used at various times and various places as verb, as adjective base (see examples in Arbeitman [1988a:80]), as common noun, and as title, passes into the Greek language, in the area of South-Western Anatolia, where the Late Anatolian states (where languages such as Lycian and Milyan, “niece-like” languages of the earlier Luwians which we know, were spoken) were for long periods of time, in quite close proximity to the Coastal and nearby Insular groups of Greeks of various dialects. The word, early on in Greek, in Homer, himself, indeed, has usage as the navigator of the ship, the one who drives/steers the ship. As its forebear had agricultural meanings, as the one who drives/herds the flock (in Semitic; see Arbeitman [1988a:51 & 57 et passim] for examples and for a total discussion of the semantic gradations in Aramaic and Arabic), a meaning not absent in the Luwian (and borrowed Hittite, themselves; Arbeitman [op. cit.: 80], citing personal communication from F. Starke), so the early predominating meaning in Greek (Homer) is one of nautical-guiding/leading, for both the verb κυβερνώω and for the noun, in both allomorphic suffixal varieties, κυβερνητήρ, κυβερνήτης (resp. pls. κυβερνητήρες, κυβερνήται, that is to say that the two allo-

16. Cf. to this occurrence Arbeitman, 1980a: 122 with fn. 5. On the matter of the alternacy with which these Greek nomen actoris nouns can be taken into Aramaic, see *ibid.* 122 *in toto*; see for a present likely addition *qāḥarnīṭā'*, and suggested emendation in Jastrow, s.v. *qāḥarnīṭā'*, *qāḥwarnīṭēys* (Jastrow, p. 1313). Further discussion ad fn. 18 and body of text thereunto.

morphic suffixes are $-\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho-$ [+ \emptyset nom. desinence but for vocalic lengthening] and $-\acute{\iota}\tau\eta-$ [+ $-\zeta$ nom. desinence]).¹⁷ The wide-spread later attested usage as “steer, direct, guide, govern, etc.”, so prevalent in Classical Greek, is by no means a later secondary, metaphoric extension. Rather, the early usage we see in Homer represents a concrete “shrinkage”, a specialization to the nautical realm, grounded in the fact that Homer had an inherited stock of words for “governors and rulers” in the Mycenaean world with which to work, and did not go beyond those. The entire history of this international Wanderwort, in Semitic, in Anatolian, and in Post-Homeric Greek, is one of double usage, both (1) specialized concrete for prime, society-specific, important types of “steering, governing”, e.g. flocks and then ships, and (2) more generalized, abstract for “steering, directing, driving, guiding” the government, itself, i.e. “governing”. The double usage of a word for guiding the state, a flock (as shepherd), or a conveyance, whether carriage, motor car, or ship, is so obvious a universal semantic commonplace, that it requires no special pleading such as appeal to Alcaeus 326 or Horace, Carmina I.14. Modern words of these spheres demonstrate the total non-requirement for any profound metaphoric analysis. In our own times, the “steering” of prime practical and (therefore) linguistic importance, is not that of ships, nor is it the guiding of flocks, whether as shepherd to sheep or “pastor” to a religious community; it is far rather that of the automobile, the terms for which I will supply here in a few common modern languages of Europe:

CHART VII

	“to drive”	“driver”	“to lead/leader”
It.	<i>guidare</i>	<i>guidatore</i> <i>conducente/conduttore</i> (bus, etc.)	Eng. <i>guide</i> Eng. <i>duke</i> (< Lat. <i>duc-</i>) Ven. <i>doge</i> , It. <i>duce</i>
Sp.	<i>manejar</i>	<i>conductor</i>	Eng. <i>to manage, manager,</i>
Germ.	<i>lenken, fahren</i>	<i>Führer</i>	Ger. <i>führen, Führer</i>
Fr.	<i>diriger</i> <i>gouverner/conduire</i> <i>un vaisseau</i> (literal) <i>une barque</i> (metaphoric)	<i>roue directrice</i> “steering wheel”	Eng. <i>to direct, director, rector,</i> Fr. <i>conduire</i> “to guide, direct, govern” ¹⁸

On Jehu’s “driving” his chariot (II Kings 9:20), see Arbeitman (1988a: 54ff.) where Heb. *nhg*, Aram. *dbr*, Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$, Germ. (Luther) *treiben*, Yiddish *traybn* and *oyffirn* in two alternate versions, and Arabic (p. 62) *swq* are the respective words employed for this activity. The last named is also a generalized word for “to drive, to herd (flocks, prisoners-of-war, etc.), “conduct (business, whence the noun, Arab. *sūq*, Heb. *šūq* “market[-place]”), “conduct (conversation, etc.)”, on all of which see Arbeitman (op. cit.: 62, and 61 for last idiom). To these ranges of meaning and the near universal of such connections, many examples could be added, but are not required.

Thus does the noun we are dealing with in this paper become specialized for nautical guidance, in the texts that we have as earliest attestation for the item in the Greek language. A fitting conclusion

17. See details in fn. 16. above and in its references.

18. The Latin usage of *rector* (m.), *rectrix* (f.) derived as nomina actoris from the verb *rego, regere, rexi, rectus* “to control, rule, to guide, conduct, direct-straight”, functions as a Latin synonym to Gk. κυβερνήτης and, thus to the borrowed Latin *gubernator*: Vergil, *Aeneid* 5: 176: *Ipsē gubernaculo rector subit, ipse magister, hortatur viros (...)* “He, Himself, the helmsman, drew nigh to the rudder, Himself, the master, he urges on the men (...)”.

Obviously, take cognizance also of the derivative *direct, director*.

to the case for this item as Semitic > Anatolian > Greek is offered by a parallel, the word *pilot*, used in many modern European languages, although just cited only in English. This word's pedigree I will offer from Andriotes (1967) (the etymological dictionary of Modern Greek), whither this item, having made a 360° circuit of the world, has returned, having begun life in Mediaeval Greek, as follows:

πιλότος ὁ, ιταλ. *pilota* < παλαιότ. **pedotta* < ἔλλ. *πηδότης (= τιμονιέρης) < πηδόν (= τιμόνι), ἢ μεσν. ποδότας < ἀποδότης (I. Βογιατζίδ. στήν Ἀθηνᾶ 27 ΛΑ 115 κέξ.). (p. 281, s. v.).¹⁹

Thus, according to the first of the two possibilities, the Modern Greek (and identical words in Modern English, etc.) word is (re-)taken into the language from Italian, which originally borrowed it from a Mediaeval Greek word (unattested there), built with the word “rudder” to which is affixed the nomen actoris suffix -της; the middle dental underwent lambdacism within Italian, it is assumed, and so-lambdacized, was taken back whence it came, to wit, Modern Greek (some centuries after it was borrowed). Its meaning, furnished with the n. actoris suffix, is “rudder-er, steer-er”, in simpler English, “he who steers, directs the rudder or helm (without being here too technical in distinctions), helmsman”. Although this item, as furnished with the n. actoris suffix, is Mediaeval, not Classical, Greek, the latter did have several words derived from the item πηδόν “oar”, in its extended form, πηδάλιον “steeringpaddle, rudder”, both of these words being Homeric nautical terms already. The most interesting of these derivatives and, for present purposes, almost too good to be true, is the verb πηδαλιουχέω “to steer”, for it occurs together with the noun descriptive of him who does the act expressed by the verb, to wit κυβερνήτης in IV Macc 7:1 (generally considered Pseudepigrapha²⁰ and, as such, not included with the Apocrypha except in the LXX):

“Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ελεαζαρου λογισμὸς πηδαλιουχῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβιαῖς ναῦν ἐν τῷ τῶν παθῶν πελόγει...”

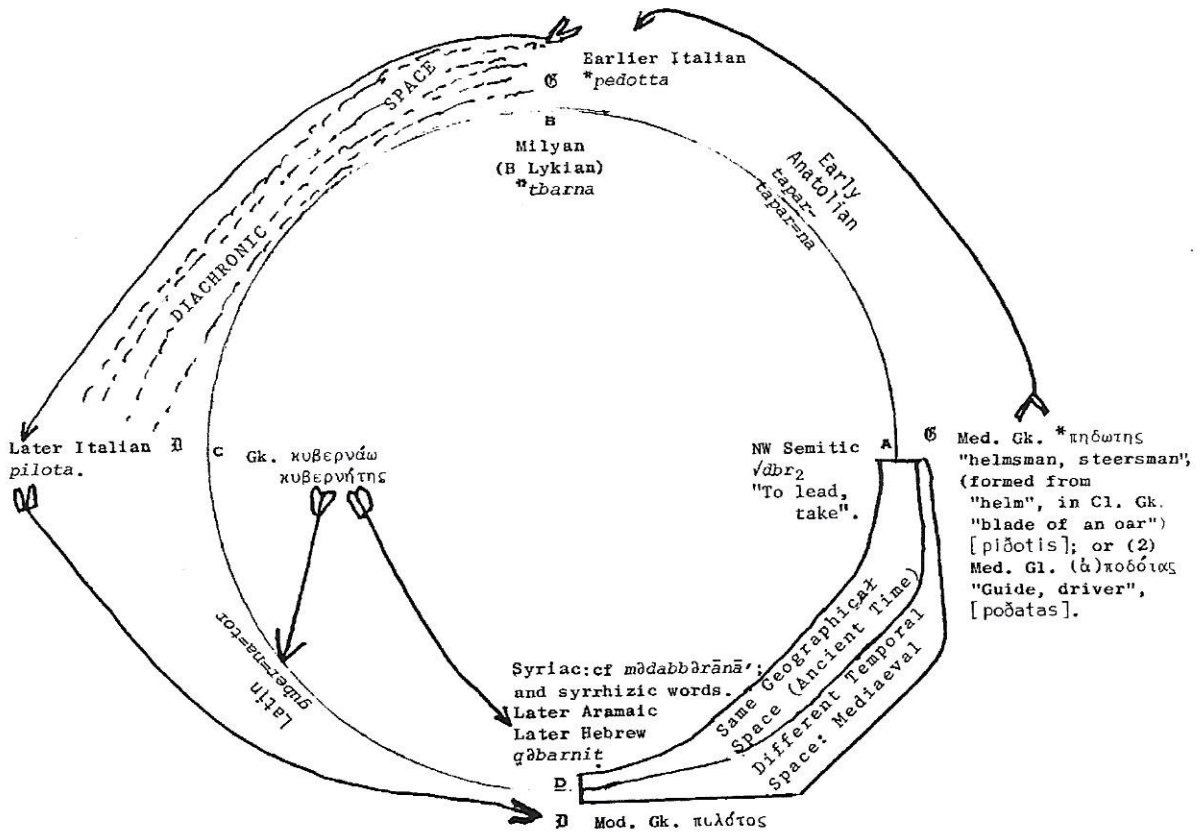
For the Reason of our father Eleazar, like an excellent captain, steering the ship of piety on the sea of the passions,...²¹

The second of the two possibilities quoted by Andriotes above is, itself, in the form ποδότης, defined by Andriotes (s. v.) as “ὄδηγός” (= “guide, driver, conductor”), and traced to Mediaeval Gk. (ἀ) ποδό-της < ἀπο-δίδομι (with a reference to the same article, but on pp. 123ff.; I have not seen this article and must admit that I don't, from the information I have, grasp the semantic development “render-er” et sim. > “driver”, although for the item (ἀ) ποδότης Med. Gk. ποδότας, there is no reason to doubt Andriotes' etymology). The route followed by this analogue to κυβερνήτης, westward and back-circular, as it were, spatially-geographically, combined with chronologically-temporally, needs to be reduced to the limited dimensions of a paper chart, which lacks adequate means of dynamic expression. So, we will settle for the following circle with A, B, C, and D expressing a qualitatively different area of “space” from that of G and D:

19. Cf. Arbeitman (1974: 73 et passim) for this frequent type of aphaeresis in Modern Greek. Andriotes' gloss τιμόνι = ἔρης is precisely “helm(s)=man”, which derives from It. *timon=iere*, itself ultimately from Lat. *tēmo, tēmōnis* “wagon” (Andriotes, p. 368).

20. The texts are from Bensley (edited Barnes), 1895.

21. See *infra* for the inherent polysemy, but the metaphoric usage, with the word ναῦν in tropic function here, in no wise demands any reconstruction for the Greek itself!



DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH OF Govern(or) AND Pilot.

CHART VIII

Ⓒ and Ⓓ represent temporal/chronological space, resp. "Mediaeval" and "Modern", whilst A, B, C, and D represent the four "stages" of the etymology as though they were continuous as chronological space or, just as well, as geographical space. But since, our word comes from Greece, takes a sound-change path within Italy, and returns to Greece of centuries later, we will pretend that what we have in A, B, C, and D is continuous chronological space, completing a full 360° circle, in the pattern of geographical space, i.e. for purposes of this diagram, space and time, each represents (with the single variable, a particular stage of the development) like entities of one nature.

The distance Ⓓ D to Ⓒ A is, in two words, homotopicus, yet heterochronicus.

III. Loan and Translation with Syriac Representation of "Steersman" || "Piloting" of the Grek Vorlage

The concluding exhibit in our survey of the "steering" back East by κυβερνήτης, now firmly anchored in Greek, is one which (1) manifests both (a) loan and (b) repayment (by a "re-lending" of the now transformed Greek word to the original donor's "heir") and (2) translation back into the lineal progeny of the original source for the first borrowing (into Anatolian) and ultimate landing (in Greek, actually penultimate, given eventual westward, further, lending into Latin).

The picture here is best – and, perhaps, only – representable by juxtaposition of our text in its Greek (immediate) Vorlage and in its Syriac representation:²²

“Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἄριστος κυβερνήτης	'yk qwbrnt' gyr mhyr'
ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἐλεάζαρου λογισμὸς	hkn' r'ynh d' bwn sb' 'ly'zr
<u>πηδαλιουχῶν τὴν τῆς εὐσεβίας ναῦν</u>	<u>byd lyq' ddhlt 'lh' mhšbth mabr hw'</u>
ἐν τῷ τῶν παθῶν πελάγει....	bgw ym' rb' dšnd' whs'

I will now offer diagrammed translations of each, beginning with the method of underscoring comparable items in each translation with like markings:

For as a master steersman,
our Father Eleazar's Reasoning,
piloting the ship of reverence

in the sea of the Passions,...

For as a skilled steerman,
so the hoary Reasoning of our Father Eleazar
by-means-of a-rudder of God-Awe, was guiding
its mind/thought

in-the-midst of the great sea of torment-and-passion.

The obvious, that the Syriac has two extra adjectives (“hoary” and “great”), we may safely ignore. What we cannot ignore are (1) that the Greek word for “steersman” is rendered by the loan of this very word into Syriac (a loan we saw above for Syriac, Jewish Aramaic, and Rabbinic Hebrew) – thus, a one-to-one relationship exists here between the-to-be-translated and the-translation –; (2) the verbal lexeme in Greek, the participle πηδαλιουχῶν, “piloting” (so I render, in respect of not only its meaning, but also of its being syrrhizoid with the Mediaeval Greek etymon of our “pilot”), is rendered in the Syriac by the lineal descendant of the Ancient loan-source of κυβερνήτης, i.e. verb *√dbr*, in combination with the instrumental phrase: “by-(means-of-a-)rudder... was guiding”, and here is how it works:

Gk. κυβερνήτης πηδαλιουχῶν (denominative to: πηδαλιοῦχος “steersman, ruler” <
πηδάλιο– “rudder” + ὀχέω, for whose
meaning see my fn.²³)

Syr. qwbrnta' byd lyq' ... mabr hw'

As will be seen, the ~ underscoring of the translation above has here been subdivided into ~ and ~, where in each case, the latter indicates that part of the compound or of the prepositional phrase which is in instrumentality relationship to the second element (verbal) of the compound or prepositional phrase resp., this second element being marked by the former of the two underscorings just mentioned.

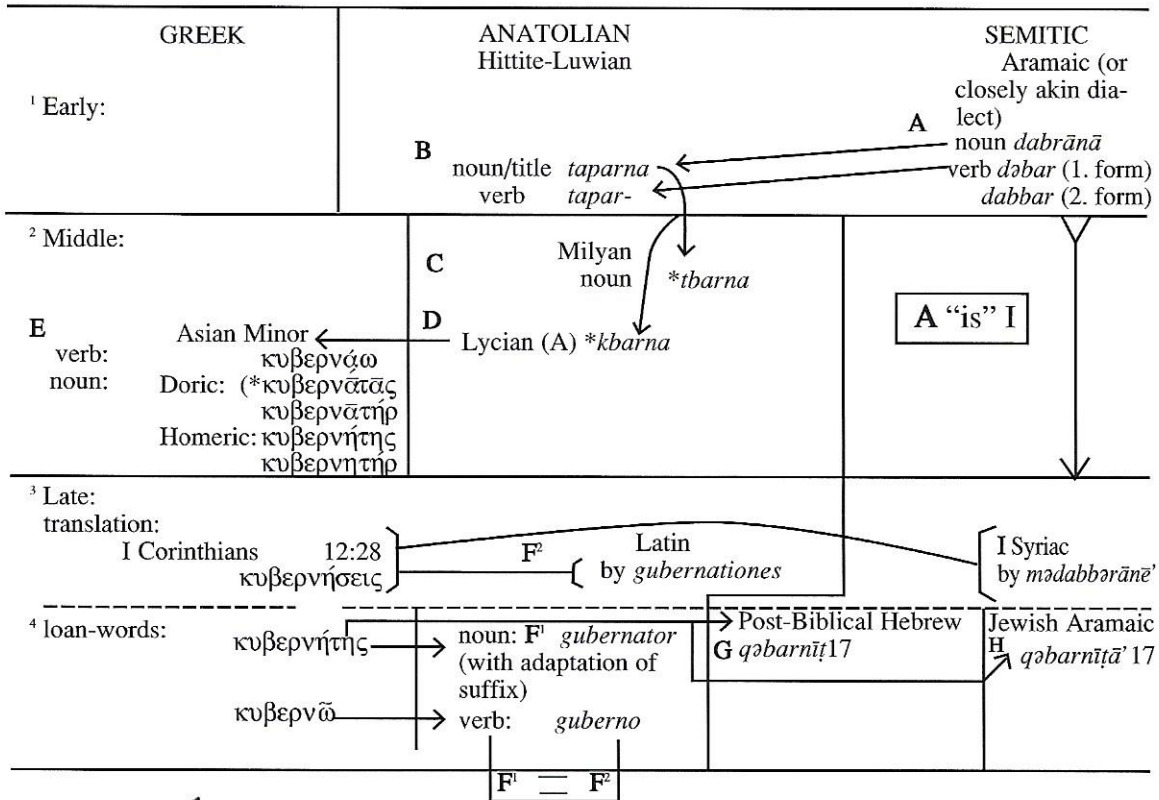
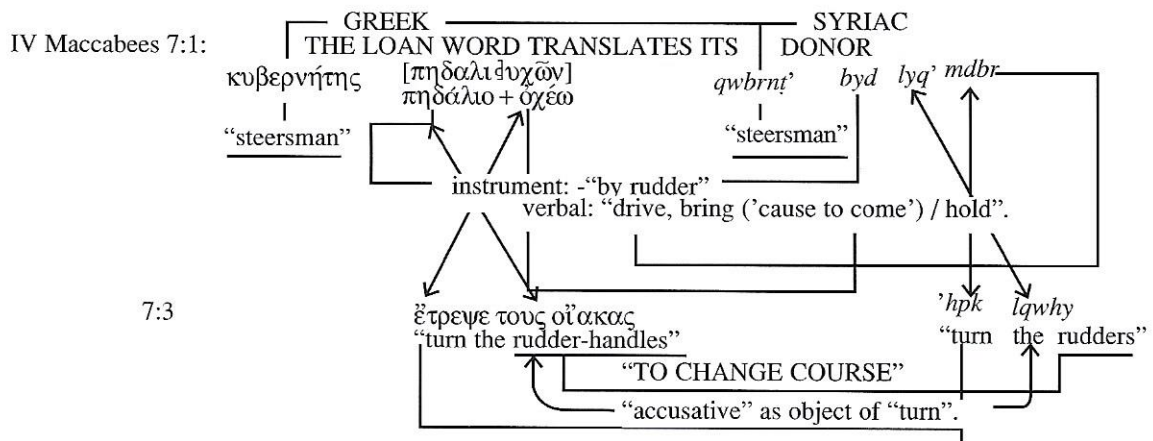
22. A Semite (native speaker or scholar?!) might feel the presence of a lurking Janus Parallelism here, as:

For just as an excellent helmsman
The Reasoning (a) of our Father Eleazar
steering the mind/ship (b1/b2) of Reverance
in the sea of passions (non-mind) (3).

The Syriac self-evidently demands a Vorlage νοῦν which proves nothing about the “original” Greek reading(s) and/or understandings.

23. The -οχέω (ultimately an o-grade, via a noun ὄχος, masc. and nt. forms “wagon”, our English and German glosses from the same root too) which forms the second of the two constituent components of πηδαλι-οχέω is of that Greek verbal family of the two ἔχω’s which < IE *weǵh-, and not which < IE *seǵh-. In this Greek nautical compound the intention is “by (means of) rudder drives”. The verb, in its o-grade form is a denominative from ὄχος, m. thematic “Wagen” (Pokorny, p. 1119) and ὄχος, n. -s-stem (with ὀ- instead of ἐ effectuated by the m. thematic).

The most significant cognates are Old Indic *vahitra-* nt., “Fahrzeug, Schiff”, Lat. *vehiculum* (each with its own verb, resp. *vāhati* and *veho*), Old Bulgarian *veslo* “Ruder”, Lith. *vežimas* “Wagen” (each with its own verb, resp. Lith. *vežù, vežti* “fahren”, Old Bulgarian *vezp, vesti* “vehere”), *vozь* “Wagen”, *vožp, voziti* “fahren, führen”. The Old Bulgarian *veslo* < *weǵh-slo-. The Greek denominative verb to “wagon” is ὀχέω “führe” and, of great interest, the epithet of Poseidon, in its many dialectal variations of which the Laconian is most conservative of old language matter, *γαῖα-Φοχος* “der die Erde heiratet” (lit. “Earth-Carrying/Leading”). As shown by Palmer (1965: 138) the theonym Πῶσει=δά=ων “Husband/Lord=of=the=Earth”, where δᾶ (Δᾶ) is “(the) Earth”. Palmer accredits this analysis to Paul Kretschmer and a refinement to Fritz Schachermeyr.



1. Journey to the West.

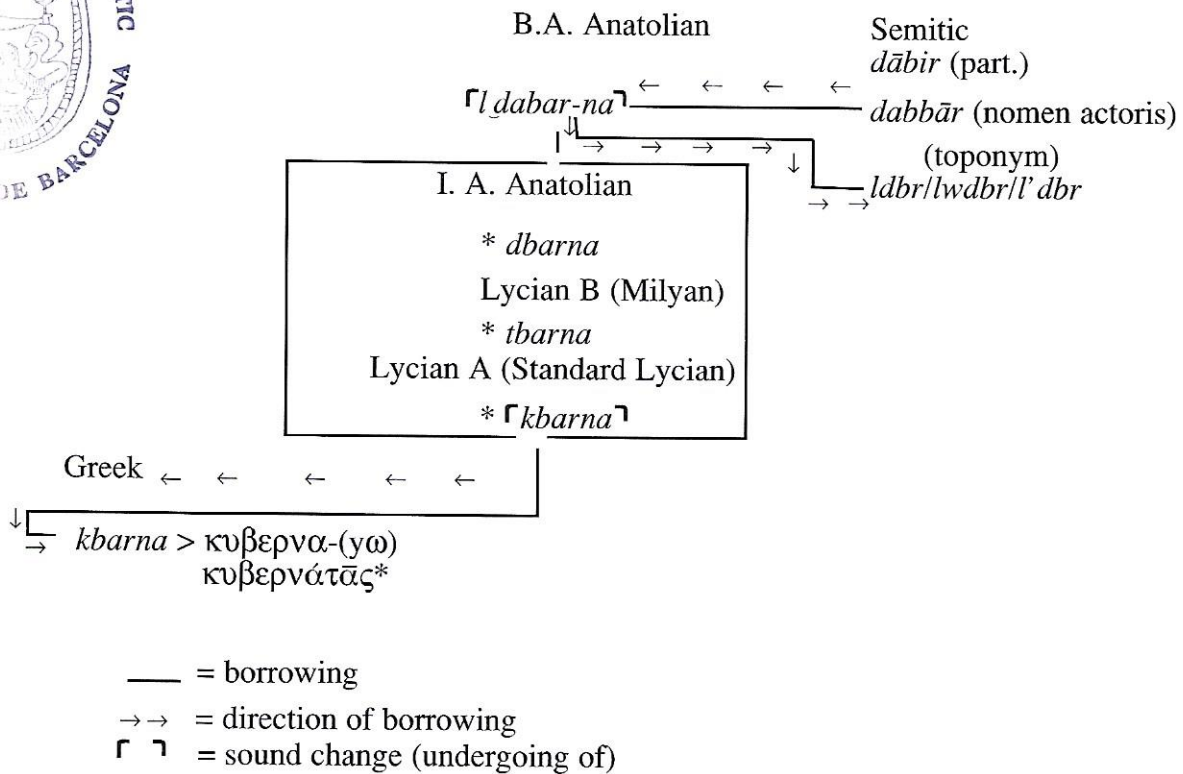
2. Journey across the Centuries within Anatolian, Followed by a Continuation to the West.

3 & 4. Further to the Latin West, and back to the Semitic East: by loan and translation into that loan/by translation into the lineal progeny of its etymic source, whilst new loan into both Post-Biblical Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic of Early Rabbinic literature also takes place.

The Greek (B) can be rewritten in terms of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with the first element (nominal) in the relationship of instrumentality to the second element (verbal): “(by-) rudder-holding/conveying” (act. part.). Likewise, for the Syriac (B) equivalent, the entire prepositional phrase, must also be analyzed as an instrumental-verbal “item”, that is, a pair of two parts which form a unity, more than and different from the sum of the parts: [{by-rudder} + {was-guiding}]. In this bipartite “item”, the facts that the [prep. + noun] and the [participle + aux. (*mδbr hw'*)] parts, consist each of two lexemes, is [-all relevance] from the point of view of formal semantic analysis. These facts are generated by accidents, resp. that the Semitic preposition here used is a complex one rather than the normal simple ones which fuse with following noun in proclisis, and that the participle-and-aux. “tense/aspect, vel sim.” also is still, from a formal prespective, non-fused, as opposed to the kind of situation present e.g. in the Romance future having “future endings” which were, at one time, the persons of a fully conjugated verb *habeo*, added to the infinitive of the actual verb (and numerous typologically similar situations). Thus seen, the Syriac “item” is identical in function and semantics to the Greek “item”, its Vorlage, with the meaning “by-rudder-guiding”. The consequence of this formal analysis permits the conclusion that the lexeme $\pi\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron-$ = the morphologically “dilexic phrase” *byd lyq'*, whilst the lexeme $-\omicron\chi\tilde{\omega}\nu$ = the second “dilexic phrase” *mδbr hw'*.

There is only one remaining phrase which the Syriac renders: (a) the object of the verb as a totally different meaning from what we have in the Greek text, and (b) attaches, what in the Greek is adjectival to this object, as adjectival to another lexical concept in the sentence. This second variance (b) is automatically generated for the translator once he has taken (a), as he has: the second editor of the Syriac, i.e. the editor of the book (W.E. Barnes) as opposed to the editor of the text (R. B. Bensely), writes in his “Introduction” (p. xvii) that the reading $\nu\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}$ of the Greek mss. $\times A$, is hardly what underlies the Syriac, text; it is rather a reading $*\nu\acute{\omega}\tilde{\nu}$ that underlies *mḥšbth* of the Syriac, where “Reason guides the Mind/Thought-Processes” (in the sea of....), as opposed to the Greek text where “Reason pilots the Ship” (in the sea of....)”. Now, of course, no single word in such a text can be taken in isolation as I have just done intentionally. What we have, all-in-all, is, in the Greek, a metaphor wherein “Reason pilots the ship of Reverence/Piety”. Once the Syriac dispensed with this nautical metaphor, it could no longer maintain the attached adjectival specification of the ship in the Greek metaphor as “...the mind of Piety/Reverence”. Instead, it now attached this specification to the only remaining nautical noun to be described, viz., the “rudder” which becomes “...the rudder-of-God-Awe” as part of the phrase “Reason (subj.) guides-with-a-rudder-of-God-Awe (verb in combination with instrumentality, together as an “item” = Greek verb $\pi\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\chi\tilde{\omega}\nu$) its Mind/Thought-Processes (obj.)”.

Allow the linguist to anthropomorphize his friend of a word and I shall proceed to diagram the *Wanderlust nach das Abendland* which impelled this word on its career (an *Abendlandfahrt* with an occasional *Heimkehr* back to the *Morgenland*, “enriched” with phonetic baggage it has acquired [like any sagacious tourist who has returned home after a stay abroad]):



In this matter of “the Rudder of Reverence”, the Syriac and Greek texts agree more in the nautical imagery of v.3, where the Greek actually seems to go for a real “cruise”:

3 κατ' οὐδέν α τροπον ἔτρεψε τοὺς
 τῆς εὐσεβείας οἴακας ἕως οὐδέπλευσεν
 ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ἀθανάτου νίκης λίμενα.

4 οὐχ οὕτως πόλις πολλοῖς καὶ ποικίλοις
 μηχανήμασιν ἀντέσχε ποτὲ πολιορκουμένη,
 ὡς ὁ πανάγιος ἐκεῖνος. τὴν ἱερὰν ψυχὴν
 αἰκισμοῖς τε καὶ στρέβλαις πυρπολούμενος
 ἐνίκησεν τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας διὰ τὸν²⁴
 ὑπερασπίζοντα τῆς εὐσεβείας λογισμόν.

3 *wl' bhd 'skym 'hpk(w) lqwby mn*
dhlt 'lh' 'dm' drd' wmt'

²⁵ *llm' n' dzkwt' dl' myt'.*

4 *l' hkn' mtwm mdynt' bhbs' 'nyt*
lwqbl m' ny qrb' šgy' wms'hlp'
'yk hn' mnyn bklh tlbšt'
kd gyr hš' hwt npšh mhsnt' bšnd' wb' wlsn'
wbyqdn' zk' l' wlsn' dhdyryn hww lh mtl
r'ynh dmtktš hw' 'l 'ipy šrr'

24. The underscored Greek words are a mighty field of alliteration.

25. The Syriac *lm' n'* is patently a borrowing from the Greek λίμην.

no way did-he-change-the-way of the rudder-handles of Reverence, until he sailed into the harbour of immortal Victory.

Not so has any city, besieged by so many and varied engines (-of-war), ever withstood, as this “omnisant” man. Yet while he was aflamed in his sacred soul with tortures and rope-twistings, he conquered the besiegers through his Reasoning, the protector of Reverence.

and in no wise did he turn the rudders (away) from God-Awe, until headed-home, arriving to the harbour of Victory of-the-Deathless One.

Not so ever has a city under siege, responded against war-instruments (so) many and varied

as this number (was) with its panoply. For when Passion was overpowering his soul with tortures and pangs and fires, he conquered the tortures which had encircled him, by his Reasoning which was struggling for Freedom.

Before even troubling ourselves about the different understanding by the Syriac of the first nautical metaphor, we must note that whilst the Greek here has a totally different word for “rudder”, viz. the pl. of ὀϊαξ, the Syriac uses the same word it had in v.l., where the Greek had only the compound *πηδαλιό-εχῶν* (if we allow my arbitrary, but unavoidable, slicing of the compound). Here the Greek has, “he did not change the rudder-handles of Reverence”, whereas there it had “piloting the ship of Reverence”. There the Greek found its rendering in “by-a-rudder of God-Awe guiding” of the Syriac. Here the Greek “alter the rudder-handles of Reverence” finds its rendering in “turn the rudders from God-Awe”, where both languages – more or less – have the image of “alter/change/turn the rudder/helm”, in Greek it forms part of the metaphor of the “ship/rudder-handles (ship part as *pars pro toto*) of Reverence”, whilst in Syriac the “rudders” are not further specified with any metaphor (or any adjectival lexeme), but “God-Awe” defines the unalterable path they follow. At the end of v.4, personified Reason/Reasoning/Faculty thereof is specified as “the protector of Reverence” in the Greek, whilst the Syriac has it “struggling for Freedom”. Finally, the verb(s) of “coming-back to the harbour”, whilst specifically nautical in the Greek, is (/are) unspecific in the Syriac hendiadys “head=home-and-arrive”.²⁶

Appendices

1. With reference to my observation (in Arbeitman, 1988a: 48 & 93 as an addendum, subsection[5]) that the late Governor of the female gender, Ella Grasso of Connecticut, stated: “I think he [the opponent] says: ‘we can’t afford a governess’; but what I say is ‘we can afford a governor who does the job’”, we can now shed some radiance on the Governor’s retort, from the erudition of Levin (1982:3); he points out that there is “a gramatical error in the noble words [motto of the organization in whose organ he is writing this!] φιλοσοφία βίου κυβερνήτης “the impulse towards Wisdom/Wisdom is Life’s Helmsman” (Levin: “Love of Wisdom is the Helmsman of Life”). He draws attention to the obtruding fact that Φιλοσοφία is feminine and, “hence, the personification ought to be κυβερβνήτης, -τις being the regular feminine counterpart to masc. nouns in -της”.

In papyri κυβερνήτης is an epithet of Isis and “there is an instance of τύχη personified as κυβερνήτειρα”, where -τειρα is the normal fem. counterpart to masc. suffix -τής.

26. Compare the Greek ἐπλευσεν, yet another -pl- alliteration, with the Syriac rd. *w=mi*’.

2. We can close with Plato's words in Socrates' mouth in *The Republic*, Book 1 (Loeb Library text and translation).

Τί δὲ κυβερνήτης; ὁ ὀρθῶς κυβερνήτης ναυτῶν ἄρχων ἐστὶν ἢ ναύτης; Ναυτῶν ἄρχων.

"And what of the pilot – the pilot rightly so-called – is he a ruler of sailors or a sailor?". "A ruler of sailors".

Here κυβερνήτης is defined as ἄρχων. In the Targum to Joshua 15:15 and Judges 1:1, the Semitic toponym (*dabir*) is rendered by the Greek word (*'arki*, from Greek ἄρχη!). This is discussed in lengthy detail in Arbeitman, 1988a: 67-72.

3. Simultaneous with the present article's conclusion, both (1) (a) "AHD" was totally replaced with (b) "AHD" (1992). This was an unqualified necessity and AHD's "IE Appendix" is – for all intents and purposes – identical with AHDIER.

A small time previously, (2) (a) *Kluge-Mitzka* was replaced (b) (1989) *Kluge-Seebold*, likewise a desideratum, but one where one would be less inclined to "dispose of" the predecessor volume.

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