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PHRYGIAN GLOSSES IN PSEUDO-PLUTARCH'S WORK *DE FLUVIIS*

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The aim of my study is to discuss three Phrygian glosses attested in Pseudo-Plutarch's work *Περὶ ποταμῶν* and explain them from the etymological and historical-comparative point of view. It is concluded finally that all the glosses should be regarded as a real and valuable part of the Phrygian language.

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The work *De fluviorum et montium nominibus et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur* (abbreviated title: *De fluviiis* vel *Περὶ ποταμῶν*), traditionally attributed to Plutarch of Chaeronea (Πλουτάρχου περὶ ποταμῶν καὶ ὄρων ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρισκομένων), contains quite numerous glosses translating the local proper or common names (appellatives) into Greek. In my study, I would like to discuss all the Phrygian glosses, verifying the credibility of the explanations and translations quoted in the referenced work.

I used the latest critical edition of the work (CALDERÓN DORDA et al. 2003). I also consulted the Spanish study published two years later (RODRÍGUEZ MORENO 2005: 171–220).

1. PHRYGIAN *NORIKON* N. (OR *NORIKOS* M.) 'SKIN, SKIN BAG'

Attestation (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 10.2, s.v. ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ): Εὐημερίδας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος ἱστορίας μέμνηται τοιαύτης. ὁ ἀσκὸς Μαρσύου τῷ χρόνῳ δαπανηθεὶς καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν Μίδα κρήνην· καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον καταφερόμενος ἀλειῖ τι τι προσηνέχθη· κατὰ δὲ χρησιμοῦ προσταγὴν Πεισίστρατος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρὰ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ Σατύρου πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος κτίσας, Νόρικον αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσε· νόρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἀσκὸν καλοῦσιν (CALDERÓN DORDA et al. 2003: 156–158).

Translation: "Here is how Euemeridas of Cnidus remembers the story. Marsyas' skin bag, time-worn and thrown away, slipped down to the ground into Midas' Spring. Carried along slowly [by the river Marsyas]¹,

¹ Marsyas is the ancient name of the present river *Dinar Su* (TISCHLER 1977: 96).

it floated up to a fisherman. According to the oracle, Peisistratos of Lacedaemon built a town near the Satyr's (Marsyas') remains, naming it Norikon after the event. In their language, the Phrygians call a skin (skin bag) *norikon*".

Pseudo-Plutarch tells us that the town of Norikon was named after Marsyas' skin bag, supplementing the information with the message that the Phrygians call a skin bag *nórikon* or *nórikos* (acc. sg. *Νόρικον* cod., *Νώρικον* edd.).

The same information is provided by Eustathius of Thessalonica (*Eustath. comm. ad Dionis. Perieget.* 121 = *Geogr. Graec. Min.* II 724): Τινὲς δὲ ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ὅτι νόρικον οἱ Φρύγες τὸν ἄσκὸν καλοῦσιν τῇ σφετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ, καὶ ὅτι, ὀπηνίκα Μαρσύας ἐκεῖνος ὁ Μουσικὸς ἀπεδάρη τὸ σῶμα ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ ἄσκόσ κρεμασθεὶς καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ κατενεχθεὶς ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν Μίδου λεγομένην κρήνην, καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν μετεκλήθη Μαρσύας, ὁ δὲ ἄσκόσ καταφερόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλιεῖ προσηνέχθη καὶ Πεισί-στρατος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος κατὰ χρῆσμον ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος πόλιν κτίσας Νώρικον προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἄσκόν [...].

Independently, the referenced information was given by Hesychios, the lexicographer from Alexandria (the fifth or sixth century AD), who quoted the gloss *ναρκίον · ἄσκόν* (LATTE 1966: 697) without any ethnic designation of the referenced gloss. Although Hesychios' gloss is different than Pseudo-Plutarch's and Eustathius' one (Phrygian *νόρικον* alias *νόρικον*) in the root vocalism (/a/ instead of /o/) and the sound cluster (/ki/ vs. /ik/), both the close form and the identical meaning prove the historical reliability of the gloss. No wonder then that the scholars researching into the remnants of the Phrygian language scrupulously distinguish the gloss *νόρικον* or *νώρικον* from the Phrygian words (GUSMANI 1959: 866; NEROZNAK 1978: 151).

Roberto GUSMANI (1959: 866) maintains with reference to the Phrygian gloss *νόρικον* alias *νώρικον* (= ἄσκόσ) "è senz'altro in rapporto il *ναρκίον* (= ἄσκόν) di Esichio, forse anch'essa parola frigia: presenterebbe una vocale svarabhaktica in prossimità di liquida. Manca una probabile etimologia". Otto HAAS (1966: 154–155) supposes that the Phrygian name for a 'skin, skin bag' is etymologically related to the name of a fur animal whose skin was used to make skin bags, cf. Polish *norka* f. 'an animal species inhabiting wooded marshlands and river and lake banks, *Mustela lutreola* L.' vs. *norki* f. pl. 'mink skin, mink coat' (< Old Slavic **norьka*, cf. Russian *норка* f. 'nutria, *Mustela lutreola* L.', Ukrainian *нірка* f. 'id.'; Czech *norek* m. 'nutria', Russian dial. *норок* m. 'weasel, *Mustela nivalis*.'). The name is confirmed in the Slavic languages with the suffixed forms as well: *-iko- (whence Slavic *-ьсб) and *-ikā (whence Slavic *-ica), cf. Old Czech *nořec* m. 'otter' or 'nutria', Upper Lusatian *nórc* 'nutria' < Proto-Slavic **norьсб* m. '*Mustela lutreola* L.' (sourced from Lusatian German *Nerz*, *Nörz* m. 'nutria'); Ukrainian *норіца* f. 'nutria, *Mustela lutreola* L.', Russian dial. *норіца* 'id.' (< Proto-Slavic **norica* f. 'an animal similar to weasel'); Old Prussian *naricie* (EV 664) 'polecat, gl. tufelskint'. The etymology of the Slavic names remains unclear. They may be the derivatives of the Slavic appellative **nora* 'animal's underground hiding place, burrow, hole', formed on the basis of the various suffixes, or the independent forms derived from the verb **noriti* 'to wallow (in water)', or finally the borrowings from one of the Ugro-Finnish languages (cf. Finnish *nirkka* 'weasel,' Estonian *nirk* 'id.').

The alternative etymology was proposed by Franco CREVATIN (1972), who referred the Phrygian names (*νόρικον* alias *νώρικον*) and the Hesychian gloss (*ναρκίον*) to the Semitic appellatives (confirmed as early as the second millennium BC): Assyrian *naruqu(m)*, Ba-

bylonian *nuruqqum* ‘skin, skin vessel to contain water or wine; bag, sack’. Thus interpreted, the Phrygian word would be an old borrowing from some oriental source (probably a Semitic one).

V. P. NEROZNAK (1978: 151) rejects O. Haas’s etymology, relying on quite an uncertain premise that the Slavic names for a ‘mink’ are the supposed Ugro-Finnish loan-words, and concurring with F. Crevatin’s explanation, which he deems convincing both from a phonetic and semantic standpoint.

The Phrygian gloss in question, given by Euemeridas of Cnidus and repeated by Pseudo-Plutarch, can be securely verified by different literary sources (Hesychios of Alexandria; Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica) and the non-Greek toponomy (note the Phrygian town Norikon), as well as by lexical data taken from the Semitic languages: Assyr. *nuruqqum(m)*, Babil. *nuruqqum* ‘skin, skin vessel to contain water or wine; bag, sack’.

2-3. PHRYGIAN *VALLĒN* ‘KING’, *VALLĒNAION OROS* ‘KING’S MOUNTAIN’

Attestation (Ps.-Plut., *De fluv.* 12.3-4, s.v. ΣΑΓΑΡΙΣ): Παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ ὄρος Βαλληναῖον καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύομενον βασιλικόν, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχον ἀπὸ Βαλληναίου τοῦ Γανυμήδους καὶ Μηδησιγίστης παιδός. οὗτος γάρ, τὸν γεννήσαντα θεασάμενος ἀποτηκόμενον, τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ Βαλληναῖον ἑορτὴν κατέδειξε μέχρι νῦν καλούμενον. Γεννᾶται δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος καλούμενος ἀστήρ. οὗτος εἶσθην νυκτὸς βαθείας πυρὸς δίκην λάμπειν, τοῦ φθινοπώρου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος· προσαγορεύεται δὲ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Βαλλήν· ὅπερ μεθερμηνεύομενόν ἐστι βασιλεύς· καθὼς ἰστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάναξ Κύπριος ἐν β’ Φρυγιακῶν (CALDERÓN DORDA et al. 2003: 164).

Translation: “Near the river there is a mountain called Ballenaion (or Vallengaion), whose translated name means the king’s mountain; it was named so after Ballenaios (or Vallengaios), the son of Ganymedes and Medesigiste, who, when he saw his pater dying from love, established a holiday for the locals, known as Ballenaion to this day. A stone called ‘star’ (*astér*) is formed in it [i.e. the river Sagaris]. It has a habit of shining in the likeness of fire deep in the night at the beginning of the autumn. The natives call it *ballén* (*vallén*) in their dialect, which means “king” in translation, as told by Hermesíanax of Cyprus in the second book of *Phrygian Tales*”.

The quoted excerpt contains the two cognate Phrygian glosses: 1. Phrygian appellative βαλλήν synonymous with the Greek word βασιλεύς ‘king’; 2. Phrygian oronym (ὄρος) βαλληναῖον translated into Greek as (ὄρος) βασιλικόν ‘king’s / royal mountain’ (RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS 1991: 676). The form of the adjective, fixed in the oronym, is secondary to the Phrygian name for a king βαλλήν, which served to denote a kind of stone to be found in the river Sagaris.

The Phrygian word βαλλήν or βαλήν m. ‘king’ is richly attested in a dozen or so other classical sources, from the great Greek tragedians (Aeschylus and Sophocles) to Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica during the 10th century, the author of the commentaries on Homer’s works:

1. XO. βαλλήν, ἀρχαῖος / βαλλήν, ἴθι, ἰκοῦ (Aeschylus, *Persae* 657–658): “O king, ancient king, come, arrive”.

2a. βαλλήνα τὸν βασιλέα. Εὐφορίων δὲ Θουρίων φησὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. – βαλλήν: βασιλεὺς κατὰ Θουρίους (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera e codice Mediceo], v. 660): “*ballén* denotes a king. Euphorion says that it is in the Thurian dialect – *ballén* means king in the Thurians’ vernacular”.

2b. βαλήν] βαλήνα τὸν βασιλέα. Εὐφορίων δὲ Θουρίων φησὶ τὴν διάλεκτον. βαλήν] βασιλεὺς κατὰ Θουρίους. (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera], v. 657): “*balén* : *ballén* denotes a king. Euphorion says that it is in the Turian dialect – *balén* means king in the Thurian idiom”.

2c. βαλήν] “ὦ βασιλεῦ” κατὰ Θουρίων γλώσσαν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia vetera ... Demetrii Triclinii], v. 657b): “*balén* means “o king!” in the Thurian language, as Euphorion says.”

3. βαλλήν βαρβαρικῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δὲ φησι Θουρίων εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον. φησὶν οὖν· ὦ ἀρχαίε βασιλεῦ, ἰκοῦ (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia recentiora], v. 660): “The barbarians call their king *ballén*. And Euphorion says it is in the Thurian dialect. So he says, ‘O ancient king, arrive!’”

3a. βαλήν ἀρχαίος] βαλήν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δὲ φησι Θουρίων εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον. φησὶν οὖν, ὦ ἀρχαίε βασιλεῦ, ἰκοῦ καὶ παραγενοῦ καὶ ἐλθέ ἐπ’ ἄκρον κόρυμβον, ἦγουν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν ἐξοχὴν καὶ περιωπὴν τοῦ τάφου, αἰρίων καὶ ἐπαίρων καὶ κινῶν τὴν εὐμαριν καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα τοῦ ποδός, κροκόβαπτον καὶ ἐρυθρὸν καὶ βασιλικόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο περίφρασις, πιφάυσκων καὶ δεικνύων καὶ ἀναφαίνων τὸν φάλαρον καὶ τὸν λόφον τῆς βασιλικῆς τιάρας καὶ περικεφαλαίας. περιφραστικῶς δὲ τὸ βασιλικόν στέμμα φησὶ. cod. A. βαλήν] βασιλεὺς κατὰ Θουρίων γλώσσαν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων. cod. B (Scholia in Aeschylum: scholia in Persas, [scholia recentiora], v. 657).

4. Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὀβρίκαλά φησι τοὺς λεοντιδεῖς καὶ βαλήνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ «βαλήν ἀρχαίος βαλήν». γλώσσης δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὄρος Βαλιναῖον, ὃ ἐστὶ βασιλικὸν παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ Περὶ ποταμῶν (Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, pag. 602): “Aeschylus calls lion’s cubs *obrikala*, and a king – *balén* in the phrase ‘king, ancient king’. This word comes from the [Phrygian] language, from which Mount Ballenaion, that is the king’s mountain, in Plutarch’s work “On Rivers” stems, too.”

4a. λέγει δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐθνικώτερον καὶ οὐ κατὰ Ἀττικοὺς, βαλήνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ, βαλήν ἀρχαίος βαλήν. ὅθεν καὶ βαληνναῖον ὄρος παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποταμῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικόν. (Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 2, pag. 189): “Aeschylus uses a foreign word and does not say in the Attic dialect. He calls *balén* ‘king’ in the phrase ‘king, ancient king’. And Mount Ballenaion in Plutarch’s work “On Rivers” means ‘royal mountain’ as well”.

5. XO. ἰὼ βαλλήν (Soph., *Pastores* / Ποιμένες, fr. 515): “HERDSMEN’S CHORUS: O king!”

6. οἱ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ποιμένες “ἰὼ βαλλήν” λέγοντες “ἰὼ βασιλεῦ” λέγουσι φρυγιστὶ (Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos et gramaticos* / Πρὸς μαθηματικούς, I 313): “The herdsmen in Sophocles say ‘*ió ballén*’, which means ‘O king!’ in Phrygian”.

7. βαλῆν· βασιλεύς. Φρυγιστί [Soph. fr. 472] (Hesychius, HAL, I β-154): “*balén* – king, in Phrygian”.

8. Τὰ εἰς λην λήγοντα ὀξύνεται βαλλήν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, Τελλήν, Ὀλήν, Ὡλήν, σωλήν, κωλήν, στελήν. σεσημείωται τὸ Ἑλλην βαρυνόμενον. Τὰ εἰς ην ἀπλᾶ ἔχοντα δεδιπλασιασμένον σύμφωνον ὀξύνεται ἐσσήν, ὄσσην, Τελλήν, βαλλήν πλὴν τοῦ Ἑλλην καὶ ὁ ἥρως καὶ τὸ ἔθνος. τὸ δὲ ἄρρην Ἀττικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρσην γέγονε (Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica* 3.1, pag. 15): “The words ending in *-lén* have oxytonic stress: *ballén* meaning ‘king’, *Tellén*, *Ōlén*, *sōlén*, *kōlén*, *stelén*. The word *Héllén* is distinguished as barytonic. Simple words with *-ēn*, having a double consonant, are oxytonic: *essén*, *ossén*, *Tellén*, *ballén*, except the name *Héllén*, denoting both a hero and a people. And the word *arrén*, sounding Attic, stems from the form *ársén*”.

8a. Δοθιήν. οὐδὲν εἰς ην λήγον ὄνομα ὀξυνόμενον καθαρεῦει κατὰ χρῆσιν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ πρὸ τοῦ η σύμφωνον ἔχει ἢ σύμφωνα· οἶον σωλήν, λειχήν, κηφήν, αὐχήν, Πειρήν καθ’ Ἡσίοδον πατήρ Ἰοῦς, Αἰζήν Ταντάλου παῖς. στελήν, σειρήν, βαλλήν, οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐσσήν ὁ οἰκιστής, “Μυρμιδόνων ἐσσήνα” Καλλίμαχος, πυθμήν, λιμήν, ἀτμήν, καμασῆν ἰχθύς τις λέγεται, Ἀραφήν εἰς τῶν ἑκατὸν ἡρώων, ἡλακατήν, καὶ τοῦτο ὄνομα ἰχθύος κητώδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κύριον. δῆλον ὅτι σημειώδης ὁ δοθιήν παρ’ Ἀττικοῖς λεγόμενος καὶ μὴ ἔχων πρὸ τοῦ η σύμφωνον (Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica* 3.2, pag. 923): “*Dothièn*. No noun stressed oxytonically and ending in *-ēn* is in concord with the use of the name *Héllènes*, but it always has a consonant or consonants before the vowel *η*; similarly, *solén*, *leikhén*, *kephén*, *aukhén*, *Peirén* – father Io according to Hesiod, *Aizén* – son of Tantalus; *stelén*, *seirén*, *ballén* meaning ‘king’, *essén* – ‘settler’ (Callimachus mentions a “Myrmidon settler”), *pythmén*, *limén*, *atmén*, *kamasén* – the name of some fish, *Araphén* – one of the hundred Heroes, *elakatén* – it is the name of a giant but at the same time important fish. Clearly, the word *dothièn*, used in the Attic dialect and having no consonants before the vowel *η*, is worth attention”.

Roberto GUSMANI (1959: 853) has no doubts that the word βαλλήν ‘king’ is derived from Phrygian, because the Asian Minor provenance is fully confirmed by Pseudo-Plutarch (*De fluviis* 12, 3-4), pointing at the mountain Ballenaion in the Sagaris river basin. The Italian scholar (GUSMANI 1959: 854) quotes several old etymologies of the Phrygian word βαλ(λ)ήν, however not accepting any of those proposed hitherto.

W. P. NEROZNAK (1978: 139) hesitates whether the word under examination is Phrygian or Sicilian („Фригийское или сикульское слово?”). He only states that the word βαλλήν, which was assimilated into Greek no later than in the fifth century BC, has no credible etymology. Furthermore, he points out that the form in the vocative case used by Aeschylus, identical to the nominative (βαλλήν ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν), can be essential for the reconstruction of the Phrygian vocative.

The Phrygian βαλλήν [pronunciation: *vallén*] ‘king’ represents an Indo-European archetype **wald(h)ēn* m. ‘king, ruler, ruling person,’ derived from the Indo-European root **wal- / wald(h)-* ‘to rule, govern, manage’ (POKORNY 1959: 1111–1112; RIX 2001: 676–677), cf. Gothic *valdan* ‘to rule’, Old Icelandic *valda*, Old Church Slavic *vlad*, *vlasti* ‘rule’, Lithuanian *vėldu*, *veldėti* ‘to possess, rule, take possession of, come into an inheritance, inherit’. The closest form is perhaps the Proto-Slavic **voldy-ka* m. ‘ruler’, which represents some

innovative form compared to the older archetype **voldy* (stemming from the Indo-European noun **waldhōn*, which belongs to the nasal *-ōn/-en*-stems). The Anatolian root **hwald-* (= Indo-European **waldh-*) is confirmed in the Lydian language: κοαλδδεῖν · Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα (Hesychios of Alexandria, 6th century AD) “*koalddeîn* – the Lydians king [so call]” (LATTE 1966: 495). The original nasal *n*-stem is acceptable in case of the Lydian name for a ‘king’ as well.

The term cognate with the Phrygian name for a ‘king’ also appears in the Tocharian languages: Toch. A *wäl* (obl. *lānt*), Toch. B *walo* (obl. *lānte*) ‘king’ (< Common Tocharian **wālā-nt-*). The foregoing names seem to represent the original participial forms derived by means of the suffix **-nt-* from the Indo-European root **waldh-* ‘to rule, govern, manage’ or Indo-European **wal-* ‘to be strong’ (cf. Lat. *valeo* ‘be strong, powerful; have strength, advantage; dominate, surpass, prevail, win; be important’, whence secondarily ‘be healthy, be well’, and also ‘be able, capable, can’, *val(i)du*s adj. ‘powerful, strong, spry, healthy’).

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the Phrygian glosses quoted in Pseudo-Plutarch’s work *De fluviis* shows that the anonymous author succeeded in correctly conveying the meanings of the Phrygian proper names and appellatives. The Phrygian gloss *nórikon* ‘skin, skin bag’ (νόρικον δὲ οἱ Φρύγες τῆ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ τὸν ἄσκὸν καλοῦσιν) is confirmed by the glosses of the later authors (Hesychios of Alexandria, Eustathius of Thessalonica), as well as by the onomastics and etymology. The next two glosses, βαλλήν ‘king’ and βαλληναῖον ‘king’s mountain’, must be regarded as forming part of the Phrygian vernacular. The former word appears in the Greek literature from the classical period onwards (Aeschylus, Sophocles), its meaning being indisputable. The meaning of the other gloss is analogous and unquestionable. The etymology of the aforementioned Phrygian words was determined beyond all doubt (cf. IE. **waldh-* ‘rule, govern, manage’, **wal-* ‘be strong’). So, the three Phrygian glosses quoted in the work *De fluviis* are entirely correct.

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