

The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Thracian

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The basic features of the Thracian comparative-historical phonology are well established by Georgiev; as it is known, one of his great achievements in the field of the Palaeo-Balkan linguistics is the identification of Thracian and Daco-Moesian as different and specific Indo-European languages¹. Although Georgiev sporadically applied the laryngeal theory to Thracian, many of the Thracian reflexes of the PIE laryngeals can be outlined on the basis of his investigations; there are also a few controversial problems which call for explanation. In any case, it seems that a systematic survey of the laryngeal developments in Thracian would be useful.

1. There are no 'prothetic vowels' in Thracian².

Thus, Thrac. *'Pḡσος* (name of a Thracian king, Il. etc.) should be derived, together with Skt. *rāj-* 'king', Lat. *rēx* 'id.', OIr. *rī* 'id.'³, from PIE **h₃rēg-* which is formed with lengthened grade of the root. The reconstruction of PIE **h₃-* is guaranteed by the initial *o-* of the related Gk. *ὀρέγω* 'I reach, stretch out' (< PIE **h₃reg-*) as well as by the *h-* of Hitt. *harganau-* 'palm, sole' (< PIE **h₃rg-*, see Weitenberg 1984: 223).

If the river name *'Pḡσος* (Il. etc.) is Thracian, it can be connected with ON *rās* 'rush', OE *rās* 'rush, leap; onrush, storm', etc. (see Detschew 1957: 393, Georgiev 1977: 92); then, PIE **h₁reh₁s-* should be reconstructed. The initial non-colouring laryngeal can be identified on the basis of the related Gk. *ἐρῶ* 'quick, violent motion' which is formed with *o*-grade of the root and comes from PIE **h₁roh₁s-eh₂*.

These two instances suggest that the PIE initial laryngeals are lost before consonants (and consonantal *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*) in Thracian; it is worth mentioning that counter-examples to this rule are lacking⁴.

True, the *e-* in the river names *'Eπρίον*, *'Eπίγων* and *Erginos* continues PIE **h₁-*, cf. the related Gk. *ἐρεβος* 'darkness of the underworld' and Arm. *erek* 'evening' which point to PIE **h₁reg^w-*. However, these river names are Proto-Phrygian, see Georgiev (1981: 119) and Duridanov (1993: 67).

There is also no reason for assuming a reflex of PIE **h₁C-* in the Thracian river names *'Αχελῶος*, *'Αχελῶν* which are possibly cognate of Goth. *ahva* 'river' and Lat. *aqua* 'water'⁵. In fact, since the initial laryngeals before consonants are lost in Latin (cf. Lat. *gerō* < PIE **h₂g-es-*, etc.) and the Germanic languages (cf. Goth.

riqis 'darkness' beside Gk. *ἔρεβος*; OHG *māen* 'to mow' beside Gk. *ἀμάω* 'I mow', etc.), the derivation of Lat. *aqua* and Goth. *ahva* from PIE **akʷā* (beside **ēkʷā*, see for instance Pokorny 1959: 23) is wrong. It is clear that Lat. *aqua* and Goth. *ahva*, together with Thrac. *Ἀχελῷος*, *Ἀχελῶν*, can continue PIE **h₂ekʷ-*, whereas Oīcel. *ǣgir* 'sea, see-god' is a *vrddhi*-derivative which is formed with lengthened grade of the root and goes back, according to Eichner's law, to **h₂ēkʷ-yo-* (see Darms 1978: 29-33)⁷.

Then, Thrac. *Ἀχελῷος*, *Ἀχελῶν* represent the regular development of PIE **h₂e-* into Thrac. *a-* which is well attested by cases such as Thrac. *Αἰζικῆ* (toponym; cf. Gk. *αἴξ* 'goat', Arm. *aic* 'id.'), *-ἄπιον*, *-ἄρα* (toponyms *Μεσσο-ἄπιον*, *Burd-ἄρα*; cf. OPruss. *apc* 'river', etc.), etc.

The development of PIE **h₂je-* into Thrac. *e-* is also well attested, cf. the personal names *Εσβενειος*, *Esbenus*, *Εζβενις* (:Lat. *equītnus* 'belonging to a horse'), etc.⁸

PIE **h_xi-* and **h_xu-* yield Thrac. *i-* and *u-* respectively, cf. Thrac. *Ἰστρος* (§2.2) which represents *h₂i-*⁹.

2. The PIE laryngeals between consonants yield Thrac. *a* in the first syllable of the word. In non-initial syllables, however, the interconsonantal laryngeals are lost in Thracian.

2.1. PIE *Ch_xC* > Thrac. *CaC* in the first syllable of the word.

According to Georgiev (1977: 67), the Thracian personal name *Βαιστας* corresponds to Gk. *Φαῖστος* which represents the superlative **φαF-ιστο-ς* of *φάος* 'light'; then, we have Thrac. *Βαιστας*, Gk. *Φαῖστος* < **b^hh₂w-isto-s*, Gk. *φάος* < **b^hh₂wo-s*.

Thrac. *Δαλα-*, *Δαλη-* (in personal names, cf. *Δαλη-ζαλις*, *Δαλα-ζελμις*, *Δαλη-πορις*, etc.) can be connected with Gk. *Θάλεια* (also *Θαλια*, *Θαλεία*) 'one of the Muses', *θάλλω* 'to spring forth or emerge with or from moisture'¹⁰, *θαλερός* 'moist', Arm. *dalar* 'green', etc. (see Detschew 1957: 113, 114, Georgiev 1975: 29, 1977: 60). Then, Thrac. *Δαλα-*, *Δαλη-* should be formed with zero grade of the root, as Gk. *θάλλω*, *θαλερός*, Arm. *dalar*, etc. which, as Hamp (1984: 156-158) points out, represent PIE **d^hh₂l-*.

Thrac. *-παιβης*, *-παιβες*, *-παιβις* (in personal names, cf. *Αλιου-παιβες*, *Διτου-παιβις*, *Μουκα-παιβης*, etc.) and *Παιβιλας*, *Παιβινη* can be connected with Gk. *παῖς* 'child (a son or a daughter)', see Georgiev (1977: 88-89; 1983: 1157); then, the Thracian forms can be derived from **ph₂w-i-b^heh₂*, whereas Gk. *παῖς* continues **ph₂w-i-d-*¹¹.

2.2. PIE *Ch_xC* > Thrac. *CC* in non-initial syllables of the word.

Thrac. *Ἰστρος* (Hes. etc.) corresponds to Skt. *īśirá-* 'refreshing, fresh, flourishing, vigorous', Gk. *ἱερός*, Doric *ἰαρός*¹² which go back to PIE **h₂īsh₂ro-*¹³.

Then, Thrac. represents a loss of the interconsonantal $*h_1$ and a subsequent epenthesis of t between s and r .

Georgiev (1975: 40; 1977: 84-85) connected the Thracian personal names *Κερσης*, *Κερσος*, *Κερσουλας*, etc. with Lith. *kéršis*, *kéršas* 'weiß und schwarz gefleckt', Bulg. *čer* 'black' and reconstructed PIE $*k^{(w)}erh_2s-$. According to Georgiev (1958: 25-26), Slav. $*čersja$ ($>$ Bulg. *čereša*, dial. *čreša*), $*čersnja$ ($>$ Russ. *čerešnja*, etc.) 'cherry (-tree)' and Gk. *κέρασος*, *κερασός* 'cherry-tree' (which can be borrowed either from Thracian or Phrygian¹⁴) are also related to Lith. *kéršis*, *kéršas* and Bulg. *čer*; see also Hamp. (1963: 298-300). In view of Thrac. *Ἰστρος* which represents the change of PIE Ch_xC into Thrac. CC in non-initial syllables, Gk. *κέρασος*, *κερασός* cannot be a loan-word from Thracian. If Gk. *κέρασος*, *κερασός* is borrowed from Phrygian, it clearly points to PIE $*k^{(w)}erh_2s-yo-$ and confirms Georgiev's identification of the laryngeal, lost in Thrac. *Κερσης*, *Κερσος*, *Κερσουλας*, as the a -colouring one. However, this analysis is hardly compatible with Skt. *ḷṛṣṇa*- 'black-dark' which is clearly an *ani*t form.

Thrac. *Πείροος*, *Πείρωος* are derived by Georgiev (1981a: 15) from $*perh_2w-ow-os$. If so, the related Skt. *pūrva-* 'the first, prior', *pūrvyā-* 'former, ancient, first', etc. clearly confirm the reconstruction of the laryngeal; yet the colour of this laryngeal remains unknown. Then, we have Skt. *pūrva-*, OBulg. *prъvъ* $<$ PIE $*pṛh_xwo-$, Thrac. *Πείροος*, *Πείρωος* $<$ PIE $*perh_xw-ow-os$ ¹⁵. Yet this etymology is uncertain.

3. PIE CRh_xC ($R = r, l, m, n$) yield Thrac. $CoRC$ ($CuRC$).

Thrac. *Corsulae* (later *Maximianopolis*) is explained by Georgiev (1977: 85) as $*k^{(w)}ṛh_2s-ulo-$ which is formed with zero grade of the root and appears beside the full-grade Thrac. *Κερσης*, *Κερσος*, *Κερσουλας* which are discussed above (§2.2).

Thrac. *πόλυν* *ἑυλόκαστρον* (Etym. M.), which is also attested as the first member of the compound *Πολτυμβρία*¹⁶, is related to Skt. *pūh* (acc. sg. *pūram*, loc. sg. *purī*, instr. pl. *pūrbhiḥ*), Gk. *πόλις*, Ep. Arc. Cypr. Cret. *πτόλις* 'city' (Att. *πόλις* signifies 'fortress of the city, citadel', whereas the rest of the city is called *ἄστυ*), Lith. *pilis* 'castle', Latv. *pils* 'id.', cf. Tomaschek (1893/4 II 1: 18), Detschew (1976: 374). The Sanskrit forms point to a disyllabic root and the $-e-$ of Gk. *πόλεμος*, Epic *πτόλεμος* 'battle, fight; war' indicates that the laryngeal of this disyllabic root can be identified as the non-colouring one, see Hamp (1985: 52). If the alternating $pt-$ and $p-$ (in Gk. *πτόλις* and *πόλις*, Skt. *pūh*, Lith. *pilis*) point to an initial PIE cluster $*tp-$ (see Hamp, loc. cit.), these words should be separated from the Indo-European forms, signifying 'to fill' and 'full' (cf. Skt. *pṛṇāti* 'fills', *pūrṇa-* 'full', Lith. *pilnas* 'id.', etc.). Then, Thrac. *πόλυν* can be derived rather from PIE $*tpḷh_1wōn$ than from $*pḷh_1wōn$ ¹⁷.

4. PIE *Cih_xC* and *Cuh_xC* yield Thrac. *CiC* and *CuC* respectively, but there is no evidence for the quantity of Thrac. *i* and *u*; cf. Georgiev (1977: 165; 1983: 1166).

Thrac. *Τιτίς* (cf. also the personal names *Τιθα*, *Θιθα*, *Θιθιθη*, *Tithi*) probably corresponds to Skt. *dīti-* 'brightness, splendour' which reflects **dih₂-ti-*; on the identification of the laryngeal as **h₂* see Beekes (1969: 262).

Thrac. *Syra-* (in toponyms, cf. *Syracella*, *Syrascel(I)e*, *Syrasele*) comes from PIE **suh_x-ro-*, to which Oicel. *sūr* 'sour', Lith. *sūras* 'saline, salty' and OBg. *syra* 'moist' are also traced back.

5. PIE *CVh_xC* yields Thrac. *CV̄C*, cf. Georgiev (1977: 164-165; 1983: 1165-1166).

Thrac. *-ζητα*, *-ζητης*, *-ζετα* (cf. the personal names *Βενδι-ζητα*, *Δινι-ζητης*, *Ετα-ζετα*) comes from **seh₁-to-*, which is also continued by Goth. *sēþs* (cf. *mana-sēþs* 'world, mankind', lit. 'seed of man'), OHG *sāt* 'seed'; the zero-grade verbal adjective **sh₁-to-* is attested by Lat. *satus* 'sown'.

Thrac. *-deva* (cf. *Pulpu-deva*) comes from **d^heh₁-weh₁*.

Thrac. *Λα-*, *λη-*, *-λας* (cf. the personal names *Λα-ζενος*, *Λα-ζερης*, *Λη-ζελμις*, *Ταρου-λας*, *Taru-la*) correspond to Gk. *Λᾱ-*, *Λεω-* (in personal names, cf. *Λα-γένης*, *Λαρχος*, *Λεω-κήδης*, *Δορύ-λας*, *λαός*, Ion. *ληός* 'men' (i.e., 'soldiers'), 'a land army', 'people', see Detschew (1957: 273), Georgiev (1977: 86; 1983: 1157); then, we must reconstruct PIE **leh₂wo-*.

The Thracian suffix *-ηνος* (also *-ανος*) comes from **-eh₂-no-s*.

6. PIE *CVh_xiC* and *CVh_xuC* are continued by Thrac. *CViC* and *CVuC* respectively.

Thrac. *Γαιδρ(α)-* (personal name *Γαιδρεους* gen. sg.) is compared by Georgiev (1977: 71; 1983: 1156) with the Greek names *Φαῖδρος*, *Φαῖδρίας*, *Φαῖδρέας*, cf. *φαιδρός* 'beaming, radiant'. Then, Thrac. *Γαιδρ(α)-* and Gk. *Φαῖδρος* = *φαιδρος* continue PIE **g^{wh}eh₂idro-*.

According to Georgiev (1977: 89; 1983: 1157), Thrac. *-paus* (in the personal name *Vitu-paus*) corresponds to Gk. Attic. *παῦς* 'child', *παῖς*; we have also the Cypriote gen. sg. *Φιλό-παφος*. Then, Attic. *παῦς* goes back to PIE nom. sg. **peh₂u-s* which is continued also by Thrac. *-paus*, whereas Cyp. *-παφος* can be traced back to the genitive singular **ph₂w-os*.

The explanations of forms such as Thrac. *Γαιδρ(α)* and *-paus* as **g^{wh}hidro-* and **pous* respectively are wrong, since PIE *Ch_xiC* and *Ch_xuC* are continued by Thrac. *CiC* and *CuC* respectively, cf. Thrac. *Μηδιστα* (§7).

7. The laryngeals are lost after consonants (also consonantal *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*) and before vowels (also vocalic *i* and *u*) in Thracian.

Georgiev (1974: 20) compared the Thracian personal name *Μηδιστα* (dat. sg.) with the Greek personal names *Μερίστας*, *Μερίστης* which can be derived from the superlative *μέγιστος* (= Skt. *mahiṣṭhá-*, Av. *mazišta-* < **meǵh₂-isto-*) of Gk. *μέγας* 'great' (cf. Skt. *máhi* 'great', Hitt. *mekki-* 'much, many' < PIE **meǵh₂-i-*). If so, Thrac. *Μηδιστα* can represent the development of the sequence *Ch_xV* into Thrac. *CV*.

Similarly, this development is presented by Thrac. *-ζανος*, *-zanus* (cf. the personal names *Αυλου-ζανος*, *Aulu-zanus*, *Bri-zanus*, *Muca-zanus*) which corresponds to Gk. *-γονος* in *Θεό-γονος*, *Λαό-γονος*, etc.; see Georgiev (1977: 78) and cf. also Gk. *ἐκ-γονος* 'descendant of'. Then, Thrac. *-ζανος*, *-zanus* and Gk. *-γονος*, Skt. *jána-* 'creature, race', Av. *zana-* 'people' continue PIE **ǵonh₁o-*; forms such as Gk. 3rd sg. aor. middle *ἐγένετο* 'he arose' (< **é-ǵenhi₁-to*), etc. indicate that the laryngeal is the non-colouring one¹⁸.

Conclusion

1. There are no "prothetic vowels" in Thracian. This is assured by Thrac. *Ῥῆσος* name of a Thracian king (< PIE **h₃reg-*, cf. the related Gk. *ὀρέγω* < PIE **h₃reg-*), probably by the river name *Ῥῆσος* (if it comes from PIE **h₁reh₁s-*, cf. Gk. *ἔρωή* < PIE **h₁roh₁s-eh₂*), etc. PIE *h_xC-* cannot yield Thrac. *VC*; for instance, Thrac. *Ἀχελῶος*, *Ἀχελῶν* and Goth. *ahva*, Lat. *aqua* continue PIE **h₂ekʷ-*, whereas Oícel. *ágir* goes back, according to Eichner's law, to **h₂ēkʷ-*. Similarly, Thrac. *Αἰζική*, *-απιον*, *-απα*, etc. represent the development of PIE **h₂e-* into Thrac. *a-*; Thrac. *Εσβενειος*, etc. represent the development of PIE **h₁e-* into Thrac. *e-*. The river names *Ἐριγών*, *Ἐρίγων* (< PIE **h₁regʷ-*, cf. Gk. *ἔρεβος*, Arm. *erek*) are Proto-Phrygian.

2. Thrac. *Βαιστας*, *Δαλα-*, *Δαλη-*, *-Παιβης*, *Σκαπτη-*, etc. indicate that the PIE interconsonantal laryngeals yield Thrac. *a* in the first syllable of the word. In non-initial syllables, however, the interconsonantal laryngeals are lost in Thracian, cf. *Ἰστρος* (< PIE **h₁ish₁ro-s*, to which Skt. *isirá-* and Gk. *ἱερός* also go back). Parallel developments of the interconsonantal laryngeals are attested only in the Germanic languages, cf. Goth. *fadar*, English *father* (< PIE **ph₂ter-*, cf. Skt. *pitá*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*) beside Goth. *dauhtar*, English *daughter* (< PIE **dʰugh₂ter-*, cf. Skt. *duhitá*, Gk. *θυγάτηρ*, etc.).

3. The reflexes of PIE *R* and *Rh_x* merged in Thracian, cf. Thrac. *Δορζας*, *Dorses* (< **dʰrs-*, cf. Gk. *Θάρους*, *Θράους*, *Θρασέας*) beside *Corsulae* (if from **kʷrh₂s-ulo-*, cf. Lith. *kéršas*); Thrac. *Ζολτης*, *Σολδηνος* (cf. Goth. *gulþ*, English *gold* < **ǵʰl-to-*) beside Thrac. *πόλτυν* (< PIE **plh₁tōn* or **tplh₁tōn* cf. Skt. *pūh*,

púram, Gk. *πόλις, πτόλις*). This development is similar either to that in Germanic, where the reflexes of PIE *R* and *Rh_x* merged, or to that in Balto-Slavic, where the reflexes of PIE *R* and *Rh_x* are distinguished by the intonations: cf. either Goth. *gulf* (< **ǵʰl-to-*) beside *fulls*, English *full* (< **pʰlh₁-no-*) or Lith. *vilkas* (< **wlkʷo-*, cf. Skt. *vṛka-*, Goth. *wulfs*, English *wolf*) beside Lith. *pilnas* 'full' (< **pʰlh₁-no-*). However, there is no evidence for the intonations (and the quantity of *oR/uR*) in Thracian.

These developments of the PIE laryngeals in Thracian are similar to the developments in the so-called 'Northern group' (Balto-Slavic and Germanic) of the Indo-European language family. From the point of view of the Indo-European dialectology, the other laryngeal developments in Thracian are less important, since *h_xV- > V-*, *CVh_xC > CVC*, *CVh_xC/CVh_xuC > CViC/CVvuc* and *Ch_xV > CV* are changes, shared by most of the Indo-European languages.

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NOTES

1. See Georgiev (1957; 1977: 7-192; 1981: 111-132; 1983).

2. True, according to Kortlandt (1988: 73-74), "the close relationship between Thracian and Armenian should lead us to expect non-zero reflex of PIE laryngeals in Thracian" and "prothetic vowels should be demonstrable". However, the available data do not support this hypothesis.

3. On the etymologies of Thrac. *Ῥῆσος* (a Thracian king) and the river name *Ῥῆσος* see Detschew (1957: 393), Georgiev (1977: 92), etc.

4. Georgiev's comparison of Thrac. *Ῥοδόπη* (also *Ῥοδόπα*, *Rhodope*, *Rhodopa*) with the Lithuanian river name *Rud-upė* (Georgiev 1977: 92) implies that Thrac. *Ῥοδ-* reflects PIE **h₁rudʰ-*, cf. the related Gk. *ἐρυθρός* 'red' < PIE **h₁rudʰro-s*. The connection of Thrac. *Ῥομφαία* (also *rumpia*, *romphea*, *romphaea*, *romfea*) 'sword' with Lat. *rumpō* 'I break', etc. (Georgiev 1958: 37) also suggests that an initial laryngeal is lost in this Thracian word; cf. Schrijver (1991: 236) on Lat. *rumpō* (< **h_xr-*). In fact, there are no Indo-European words beginning with **r-*.

5. On the etymology of Thrac. *Ἀχελῷος*, *Ἀχελῶν* see Georgiev (1977: 160-161).

6. In fact, the reconstructed **ǵkʷ-ā* (beside **ǵkʷ-*) presupposes PIE **h₁kʷ-*.

7. Hitt. *eku-* 'to drink' and Toch. AB *yok-* 'id.' are related to Lat. *ēbrius* 'drunk' and must be separated from Lat. *aqua* and its cognates, see Puhvel (1984: 267-268).

8. PIE **h₂e-*, **h₃e-* and **h_xo-* would fall together into Thrac. *a-*, but I do not know convincing instances of **h₃e-* and **h_xo-* in Thracian.

9. There are no convincing representatives of PIE $*h_xRC-$ ($R = f, l, m, n$) in Thracian; then, it is not clear whether Rix' law operates in Thracian.
10. On the meaning of Gk. $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ see Hamp (1984: 156) with references.
11. Cf. Georgiev (1977: 88), who explained Thrac. $-\pi\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\varsigma$, $-\pi\alpha\iota\beta\eta\varsigma$ and Gk. $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ as $*paw-ibh\acute{a}$ and $*paw-id-$ respectively.
12. On Doric $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, Aeolic $\dot{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ and the loss of the laryngeal in Thrac. $\dot{\iota}\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma$ see Beekes (1969: 184-185).
13. Cf. also the Celtic river name *Isara*, etc. (Pokorny 1959: 300).
14. According to Frisk (1960-1972 I: 828), however, the origin of Gk. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$ remains unknown.
15. According to Georgiev (1981a: 27 fn.30), Thrac. $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$ can be alternatively explained as $*pirw- < *prh_2w-$. Then, besides Thrac. $CoRC$ ($CuRC$), we can assume also Thrac. $CiRC$ as a regular reflex of PIE CRh_xC (cf. §3).
16. See Georgiev (1978: 9).
17. On Thrac. u (v, ou) from $*\bar{o}$ see Georgiev (1977: 164; 1983: 1166).
18. I do not know convincing instances of PIE CRh_xV in Thracian. For instance, Thrac. $\Sigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha-$ (cf. the personal name $\Sigma\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, Thuc., syncopated $\Sigma\pi\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, *Spartacus*, etc.) can be derived from $*sp_rh_xo-$ which is attested by Lat. *sparus* 'spear'; this implies PIE $CRh_xV >$ Thrac. $CaRV$. However, the related Germanic forms Oicel. *spart* 'spear', OHG *sper* 'id.' point to $*sporh_xo-$, to which Thrac. $\Sigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha-$ can be also traced back; then, we are dealing with the development of PIE Ch_xV into Thrac. CV (cf. §7).

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