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A NOTE ON THE LYCIAN *TABAHAZA*

Abstract

In this short text, I examine the usage of the Lycian word *tabahaza*, highlight its possible Anatolian cognates, such as the Hittite *nēpiš-* 'heaven' and the Cuneiform Luwian *tappaš-* 'id.', analyze and address the problems arising from this connection, while also reconstructing the intermediate phases between Proto-Indo-European, as well as other proto- and attested languages, in relation to the development of the form in question.

Tabahaza, a Lycian *hapax*, is found on the Xanthos stele (Melchert 2004: 60; 2007):

TL 44b

51   *se dde tuwetē: kumezija: τere τere*
trққñti: pddātahi: qññākba: xrssēni: eh-
bi: **tabahaza***: kumezija: padritahi: arñ-*
na tuminehija: kumezija: xākbija: kume-
55   *zi[j]a:*

'(…) And he set up altars all over for the local *Trqqas* (Storm-god), [and he set up] twelve[1] altars for **the *tabahaza*** in his raging storm [and he set up] in Aphrodision in Xanthos altars for Tymnessos [and] altars for Kandyba (…)'[2]

The first discussion concerning the meaning of *tabahaza*, as well as an analysis was undertaken by Deecke (1887: 329; 1889: 187), who considered it was a feminine ethnonym from *tabaha, corresponding to Τάβαι, a city in Caria. This interpretation

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1   It is unclear whether *qññākba* should be connected to *tabahaza* or *kumezija* 'altars'.
2   The translation is mine.

was also followed by Bugge (1898: 232), who translates *tabahaza: kumezija: padritahi:* as '*des Pedaritos Mannschaft aus Tabaï*'. More recently, this ethnonymic reading was also adopted by Neumann (2007: 336–337),[3] who considers *tabahaza* to be an adjectival attribute to *kumezija*, the word following it in the text cited above, which is paralleled by *tuminehija kumezija* and *χākbija kumezija* in the subsequent two lines. He additionally introduced a hypothetical *tebehezi 'Einwohner von **Tebehos, Tebeha, Tabahos*' (2007: 337), a form perhaps connected with the Hitt. *Tapasanta*; Neumann, nevertheless, does not explain how the two forms, i.e. *tabahaza* and *tebehezi are related on the vocalic or morphological level. The link to the Hitt. *Tapasanta* is difficult to endorse in view of the fact that other place-name reflexes end with -*nta*/-*nda*, cf. the following examples: the Lyc. *χadawāti* – Καδυανδα (Melchert 2004: 80; Neumann 2007: 108), the Lyc. *wehñti* – Ουασαδα (with nasal reduction, etymologically *weso + *e*/*ont*-, cf. Melchert 2004: 79; Neumann 2007: 423), or the Lyc. *isñt[a]* – Ισινδα (Melchert 2004: 29; Neumann 2007: 155). This ethnonym-denoting suffix is also adopted by Shevoroshkin (1979: 193; 1982: 213), who believes *tabahaza* is a dative plural, with the meaning 'to the *Himmelbewohner*', which is derived from *tabaha- '*himmlisch*', with the *eze*/*i* or -*aze*/*i* suffix, cf. e.g., *Ikeze*/*i* 'of Ikos', *Aprllaze*/*i*- 'of Aperlai' (Melchert 2004: 28, 4). A similar translation 'den *Himmelsherren*' is favored by Schürr (2003: 110 n. 7), who also traces *tabahaza* back to *tébes- (cf. below).

Before suggesting an ethnonymic interpretation, Neumann (1983: 148) examined whether -*aza* was typical for terms signifying occupations, cf. *zxxaza* 'warrior' from *zxxa*- 'to fight' (Melchert 2004: 89), although Starke (1990: 99 n. 246) doubts the connection between *tabahaza* and its other Anatolian cognates, such as the CLuw. *tappaš*-.

It would be difficult to derive the final -*aza* from -*eze*/*i* or -*aze*/*i*, as the *e*/*i*-stems do not exhibit this ending in any cases[4] (the usual forms for the dative plural are -*e* or -*ije*, cf. Kloekhorst 2013: 142), so the first "ethnonymic" proposal fails to withstand serious scrutiny. The second suggestion is more plausible, since the -*aza* suffix forms an *a*-stem, meaning it can appear as a dative-locative plural in the form *tabahaza*. The semantic connection, in my opinion, is quite strong – the context describes the building of altars to the main Storm-God, as well as to (maybe twelve) other gods (i.e. those, whose 'occupation' is connected to the heavens).

Furthermore, *tabaha- ('*himmlisch*', according to Shevoroshkin 1982) consonantally corresponds appropriately to the CLuw. *tappaš*- /tapːas/, wherein the CLuw. *pp* /pː/ and the Lyc. *b* /β/ both come from the PA */b/ (Melchert 1994: 230, 288),[5] as do the CLuw. *š* /s/ and the Lyc. *h* /h/ from the PA */s/ (Melchert 1994: 234, 288, cf. also Kloekhorst 2008b: 124). The commonly reconstructed PA form is *nébos (> Hitt. *nēpiš*), from the PIE *nébʰos (cf. e.g. Kloekhorst 2008a: 697; Beekes 2010: 1012), with the only potential problem regarding *tappaš*- and *tabaha- being the initial *t*.

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3   Cf. below for Neumann's earlier view on the topic.
4   As opposed to e.g. -*ija a*-stem place-name adjective, similar to those adduced by Neumann (2007: 337), i.e. *tuminehija* and *χākbija*.
5   For the correspondence between the Hitt. *ēp* and the CLuw. *app* cf. Čop (1970: 90) (Čop's Law).

A similar process has occurred in the countries close to the Baltic Sea, cf. the Lith. *debesìs* 'cloud, the Latv. *debess* 'sky', but the Pol. *niebo* 'id.', all of which come from the same PIE *$néb^hos$ (Smoczyński 2007: 96; Derksen 2015: 118). Another possible alternative would be an analogy with the words for 'earth', i.e. the CLuw. *tiyamm(i)-* and the HLuw. *taskwar(i)-*, with which 'sky' is very often contrasted (found eight and thirteen times in their respective corpora, cf. Nowakowski forthcoming). A similar development can be located in the East Baltic, where the PIE *h_1neun 'nine' > the PBS *newin- ≫ the Lith. *devynì*, although the OPr. *newīnts* 'ninth' maintains the *n* intact. The *d* could have arisen by analogy to the word for 'ten': the Lith. *dešimt* (Smoczyński 2007: 107; Derksen 2015: 126).

Whether we attribute the Luwian and Lycian *n > t* change to an arbitrary shared innovation (dissimilation caused by the proximity of *b*)[6] or to leveling by analogy (as described above), it has to be reconstructed for the Proto-Luwic phase (tentatively, however, as there are no attestations of a cognate in Milyan, Carian, Sidetic or Pisidian), from which both Luwian languages, as well as Lycian, emerged (Melchert 2003: 177; Rieken 2017: 302–303). The development could be represented as follows:

PIE *$néb^hos$ > PA *nébos > PLuwic *tébes > PLuwian *tábas > CLuw. *tappaš-* /tap:as/
> Lyc. *tabah-aza* /taβahatˢa/
PIE *$neb^hésos$ > PA *nebésos > PLuwic *tebés- > PLuwian *tabás- > HLuw. *tipas-*[7] /tibas/

The problem appears on the vocalic level: the PIE */e/ should produce the Lyc. /e/ (Melchert 1994: 293). The solution resides in the complicated regressive vowel assimilation phenomenon present in the Lycian language[8] – *tabahaza* must have come from a hypothetical, unattested *tebeh, wherein both *e* vowels assimilated to *a* because of the *a*-vocalism in the suffix *-aza*. While generally only a single vowel undergoes this process, an iterative application is also attested (Melchert 1994: 296): Armañene/i-/ > Erm̃menēne/i- 'brother of the Moon'.

Therefore, the complete development of the Lycian word for 'heaven' and 'gods' should be reconstructed as follows:

PIE *$néb^hos$ > PA *nébos > PLuwic *tébes > Lyc. *tebeh + -aza > *tabahaza*.

Abbreviations

CLuw. = Cuneiform Luwian	Lith. = Lithuanian
HLuw. = Hieroglyphic Luwian	Lyc. = Lycian
Latv. = Latvian	OPr. = Old Prussian

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6 Cf. above for the *n-b ≫ d-b dissimilation, found in the Lith. *debesìs*, as well as, conversely, a *d-m ≫ n-m assimilation, as exemplified by the Lith. *nãmas* ≪ the PBS. *damús* < the PIE. *domos* < *dōm (Smoczyński 2007: 416; Derksen 2015: 328).

7 Cf. Hajnal (1995: 63) for /i/ < */e/ (pretonic).

8 V[–high] > [α back] /_CₒV[α back], cf. (Melchert 1993: 296).

PA = Proto-Anatolian   PLuwian = Proto-Luwian
PBS = Proto-Balto-Slavic   PLuwic = Proto-Luwic
PIE = Proto-Indo-European   Pol. = Polish

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