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PERSONAL NAMES
IN ANCIENT ANATOLIA

Naming Practices in Second- and First-Millennium Western Anatolia¹

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1. Introduction

THE FOLLOWING PRESENTATION AIMS TO PROVIDE as systematic a treatment of the topic as is feasible, but I must begin with some caveats and disclaimers. First, figures given below regarding the number of personal names in the various language corpora are mere approximations meant to give an *order of magnitude* of the available data. Reasons for this include: (1) reading of a word as a personal name instead of an appellative is not always assured (nor even the segmentation in the case of *scriptio continua*); (2) constant publication of new texts adds new examples not yet in the handbooks.

Second, assignment of indirect attestations to specific Anatolian Indo-European languages varies in degree of assurance: hence designations ‘in Lycia’ or ‘in Isauria’ rather than ‘Lycian’. Such assignment has a considerably

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: Adiego, *Carian* = I.J. Adiego, *The Carian Language* (Leiden, 2007); Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’ = C. Brixhe, ‘La langue des inscriptions épichoriques de Pisidie’, in *Linguistic Happening* (below), 131–55; *Decifrazione* = M.E. Gianotta et al. (eds.), *La decifrazione del cario. Atti del 1° Simposio Internazionale. Roma, 3–4 maggio 1993* (Rome, 1994), 65–86; Gusmani, *LydWb* = R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1964); Hawkins, *CHLI* = J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luvian Inscriptions, I: Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Berlin, 2000); Herbordt, *Siegel* = S. Herbordt, *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Grossreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa* (Mainz, 2005); *HKM* = Sedat Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat Höyük* (Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI/35; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu); Houwink ten Cate, *LPG* = P.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luvian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1965); Laroche, *Noms* and ‘Supplément’ = E. Laroche, *Les Noms des hittites* (Paris, 1966) and ‘Les noms des hittites. Supplément’, *Hethitica* 4 (1981), 3–58; *Linguistic Happening* = Y. Arbeitman (ed.), *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwarz* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988); Melchert, *DLL* = H.C. Melchert, *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language* (Ann Arbor, 2004); Melchert, ‘Reciprocity’ = H.C. Melchert, ‘Reciprocity and Commerce in Bronze and Iron Age Anatolia’ (Handout from the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Rome, July 7, 2011); Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’ = M.-C. Trémouille, ‘Répertoire onomastique’ (2006), online at www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/; Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics* = I. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* (Leiden, 2010); Zehnder, *Frauennamen* = T. Zehnder, *Die hethitischen Frauennamen* (Wiesbaden, 2010).

higher degree of certainty for Lydian and Carian than for the others, due to the *relative* dialectal isolation of Lydian and unique phonological developments in Carian. However, there are some Luvian or Carian names attested in Lydian contexts (see 4.2 (7) and 4.3 (13) below), and there is other limited evidence for the spread of individual names: note the case of Greek-influenced Carian *Músat-* and Pisidian Μουσῆτα- (see 4.5.1.2 (22) below).

Third, some differences cited in the typology and percentages of borrowed names reflect special circumstances of our corpora: (1) the overwhelming majority of Carian texts are from Egypt, not Caria; (2) Hieroglyphic Luvian texts include Southern Anatolia and Syria. Fourth, with a single exception (*Satznamen*), the presentation is confined to (synchronic) typology with no attempt to determine the *origins* of the various types. Finally, I do assume with Goetze, Houwink ten Cate, Adiego, et al. strong continuity from the second millennium to the first.²

2. Morphological Preliminaries

Both forms of Luvian, Lycian, and to a lesser extent Carian and Lydian all show the phenomenon dubbed ‘*i*-mutation’:³ animate stems insert an *-i-* between stem and ending just in the nominative and accusative cases. A stem-final *-a-* is deleted before the inserted *-i-*. This addition does *not* alter the underlying stem. The effect for personal names is the widespread existence of doublets: thus Cuneiform Luvian ^m*Zida-/Ziti-* ‘man’ or *piyam(m)a-* ‘given’ (as first compound member) versus Lycian *-pijemi-* ‘given’ (second compound member).

At least Lycian also attests the PIE ‘individualising’ suffix **-on-* often used in personal names (the type of Latin *Catō* ‘sharp’, Greek Στράβων ‘the squinty-eyed one’), with or without ‘*i*-mutation’: thus *Xudalijē-* ‘the nimble one’ beside *Xudali-* or *Mutlēi-* ‘the mighty one’ (cf. Luvian *Muwattalli-* ‘mighty’).

3. The Database (omitting indirect Hellenistic evidence)

Luvian (the three sources include significant overlap, so the total is not their sum!):

² A. Goetze, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 8 (1954), 74–81; Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*; Adiego, *Carian*.

³ First established by F. Starke, *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschrift-luwischen Nomens* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 54–85. For the correct diachronic account see E. Rieken, *Historische Sprachforschung* 118 (2005), 48–74.

H(ieroglyphic) Luvian texts: ±210⁴

Second-millennium cuneiform texts (Hittite Empire period): ±280⁵

Personal seals: ±200⁶

Lycian: ±340⁷

Carian: ±200 (including ±5 from Greek, ±25 from Egyptian)⁸

Lydian: ±50 (including <5 from Iranian)⁹

Pisidian: ±30¹⁰

Sidetic: ±25 (including ±9 from Greek)¹¹

4. Formal Types of Personal Names

4.1 ‘Elemental’/Unanalysable (including but not restricted to ‘Lallwörter’)

(1) /*Ta-*/: *Da-a-a* (cuneiform, karûm period; Laroche, *Noms*, 169), ^m*Tā-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, ‘Supplément’, no. 119a), *Tā-a-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 272), *Ta-* (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, § 3.9; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 507), *Ta-* (Lycian, *TL* 65,72; 74c,2; Melchert, *DLL*, 104), *Ta-* (Pisidian; Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 149).

(2) /*Titti(ya)-*/: ^m*Tittiya-* (karûm period and Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 186), *Titi-* (Lydian, 30,1; Gusmani, *LydWb*, 213), *Tıttı-* (fem.!) in Isauria, Pisidia-Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 516.

4.2 Appellatives

These are all Luvic¹² in origin. Many occur also in compounds (see 4.5–6 below).

(3) /*mo:wa-*/ ‘might’ (including but not restricted to sexual potency): ^m*Mu-u-wa-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 122), *Mu-wa/i-á-* (Hittite

⁴ Hawkins, *CHLI*.

⁵ Laroche, *Noms* and ‘Supplément’; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’.

⁶ H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, I, II (Berlin, 1940, 1942) and Herbordt, *Siegel*, esp. 359–70.

⁷ Melchert, *DLL*; Colvin, ‘Names in Lycia’; N. Cau, *Studi Ellenistici* 16 (2005), 345–76 and 377–421 (non vidi).

⁸ Adiego, *Carian*, *passim* (but I ignore his idiosyncratic transliteration of signs involving /i/ and /u/).

⁹ Gusmani, *LydWb* and id., ‘Anthroponomie in den lydischen Inschriften’, *Linguistic Happening*, 179–96.

¹⁰ Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’.

¹¹ Nollé, *Side*; but for the readings of the letters see S. Pérez-Orozco, *Kadmos* 42 (2003), 104–8; 44 (2004), 75–7; and 46 (2008), 125–42.

¹² To avoid the pernicious misunderstanding that first-millennium languages such as Lycian and Carian are *derived from* the known Luvian languages of the second millennium, I use ‘Luvic’ for the entire dialect group that includes at least both forms of Luvian and Lycian and probably also Carian, Pisidian and Sidetic. Others use ‘Luvian’ also for the larger group. Note that Lydian does not belong to this subgroup, though it also shares some common innovations with it.

Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 265), *Mu-wa/i-* (HLuvian, KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 9; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 152), = Μωας, Μουας, Μως in Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Isauria; Zgusta, *KP*, 320, 334, 343. Note that in some instances this name *could* represent a *Kurzname* from possessive compounds cited in 4.6.1.1 below. Plus derivatives:

(a) /mo:wata/i-/ ‘might, potency’ (via a denominative verb /mo:wa:-/ ‘be mighty, potent’): *Muwatti-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 124), *Mu(wa)-ti-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 265–6), (masc.) *Mute-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 386), = Μο(υ)τας in Cilicia and Phrygia; Zgusta, *KP*, 334 and 339.

(b) /mo:watalli-/ ‘mighty’ (adjective from the preceding): *Muwattalli-* (Hittite royal name et al.; Laroche, *Noms*, 123), *Mu-wa/i-ta-li-* (HLuvian, dynasty of Maras; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 251), *Mutl̥i-* (Lycian, ‘the mighty one’ with **-on+‘i-mutation’*, *TL* 150,2 and M210; Melchert, *DLL*, 100), = Μότυλος in Caria; Zgusta, *KP*, 334 (perhaps also Μοταλις in Phrygia, per Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 103, but see Zgusta, *KP*, 334 n. 300).

(4) /pi:ha-/ ‘luminescence’ < **bhēh₂-o-*, but by association with the Storm-god (of lightning) > ‘might, power’: *Pi-ha-á-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seal; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 267, refuting other alleged examples in Laroche, *Noms*, 139). Plus derivatives:

(a) /pi:hama/i-/ ‘resplendent; mighty’ (denominative adjective from the preceding): *Pi-ha-mi* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seal; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 267; also HLuvian, ASSUR letter e, § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 535), *Pixm̥ma-* (Lycian, *TL* 116,1; Melchert, *DLL*, 101), = Πιγομος in Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 427.

(b) **pi:hra-/* ‘resplendent; mighty’ from a virtual **bhēh₂-ro-* (contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 157, not directly attested in Luvian): *Pixre-*, *Pigrēi-* (Lycian, *TL* 55,1 and N320,15; Melchert, *DLL*, 101), *Pixre-*, *Pixra-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 397 — one of the two Carian forms may have the **-on-* suffix like Lycian *Pigrēi-*).

(c) **pi:hrama/i-/* ‘resplendent, mighty’ (a blend of the preceding two or a denominative adjective from an intervening noun from **pi:hra-/*): *Pik(a)rm-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 397), = Πιγραμς, Πιγραμος in Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 427–8.

(d) /pi:hassa/i-/ ‘resplendent; mighty’ (also substantivised to ‘lightning’): *Pigše-* (Sidetic, S9,5; Pérez Orozco, *Kadmos* 46, 127), = Π(ε)γιασις in Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 427, and Πιγασσως in Caria.¹³ See also *-p/biks-* in Carian compound names.

¹³ W. Blümel, ‘Einheimische Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien’, *Epigrapht* 20 (1992), 7–33, at 23, and ‘Über die chronologische und geographische Verteilung einheimischer Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien’, in *Decifrazione*, 65–86, at 74.

(5) /hant-/ ‘front’ < **h₂ent-* with derivatives ‘foremost’, whence ‘first’ and ‘ruling/ruler’ (see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 149–50):

(a) /hant(i)-/ ‘first’: *Hantili-* (early Hittite king et al.; Laroche, *Noms*, 58), *Xñtla-* (Lycian, N324,14; Melchert, *DLL*, 109 — with suffix **-ileh₂*).

(b) **hantawa-/* ‘foremost, ruling’ from a virtual **h₂(e)ntowo-* (the assured base of the Lycian denominative verb *xñtawa-* ‘to rule’ etc.): probably directly attested in Γδαβα- (Pisidian; Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 149–50 — with regular voicing of *t > d* after nasal, loss of nasal, shift of *w > v/b*, and assimilation of **Kd- > Gd-*).

(c) /hantawat(i)-/ ‘ruler, ruling’: probably attested in Γδβερι- (Pisidian; Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 150 — an exact word equation with Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* ‘ruler, king’).

(6) /immra-/ ‘open country’ from a virtual **dhghemro-*: probably directly attested in Ιμβρα/ης in Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 199. Or is this a *Kurzname* from compounds? Also in various derivatives:

(a) /immrassa/i-/ ‘of the open country’: *Iβ(a)rsi-/βrsi-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 335, contra D. Schürr, ‘Imbr- in lykischer und karischer Schrift’, *Die Sprache* 35 (1991–93), 163–73, at 171, and ‘Karische und lykische Sibilanten’, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106 (2001), 94–121, at 104–5), = Ιμβρασ(σ)ις/Ιμβρασς in Caria; Zgusta, *KP*, 198–9 and Blümel in *Decifrazione*, *passim*. But Lycian *m̥para-* does not belong here (Schürr, *Die Sprache* 35, 164 et alibi, contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 103).

(b) /immralla/i-/ ‘of the open country’: Ιμβραηλδος in Caria (the rendering with *-λδ-* assures that the name is Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 335).

(7) /huh(h)a-/ ‘grandfather, forefather’ < **h₂éuh₂-o-* (= Latin *avus*): *Quq-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 334), = Γυγος in Caria. As per Adiego, either Carian or Luvian is also the source of ‘Lydian’ Γύγης, since **h₂* is not preserved in native Lydian words. Also a frequent second member of compound names.

(8) /ariyamma/i-/ ‘lifted, exalted’, participle to the verb seen in CLuvian *ariya-* ‘to lift’: **Arimmi-*, i.e. PUGNUS-*ri+i-mi-* (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, §§ 4.15 and 25, § 9.58; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 506 and 508 — for the verb see Hawkins, *CHLI*, 380), probably also attested in *Ariom-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 354, but the analysis is mine — HCM).

(9) /hwiyamma/i-/ ‘running, runner, attendant’: possibly attested in *Kbïom-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 371, but the analysis is mine — HCM), = Κεβτωμος in Caria. See also the Carian compound name *Šar-kbïom-* (Adiego, *Carian*, 416), probably ‘running above, super-attending’, similar but not identical to

Lycian *hri-xuwama-* ‘super-attending’ or ‘super-attendance’ (see Melchert, *DLL*, 86 and in extenso García Ramón).¹⁴

4.3 Theophorics

Here I cite only the direct use of divine names as personal names or those with an appurtenance suffix. Determinative and possessive compounds are treated separately below in 4.5–6, and *Satznamen* in 4.7–8.

(10) /*Iya-*/ (i.e. the Luvo-Hittite form of Mesopotamian *Ea-*): *Iya-* (Hittite Empire, Kuşaklı, *KuT* 49 Ro 3,12; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), *I-ia-* (HLuvian, BEIRUT § 1, prob. masc.; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 559), also in *Ia-* (fem.) in Sidé (text 102; Nollé, *Side*, 392), Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Isauria, Cilicia; Zgusta, *KP*, 188–9.

(11) /*Kruntiya-*/ ~ /*Runtiya-*/, the Luvian Stag-god and tutelary deity (see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 129–31): ^mLAMMA-*a-* (Hittite Empire, King of Tarhuntassa, Laroche, *Noms*, 223—on the reading /*Kruntiya-*/ for the first see Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 290 on the spellings CERVUS₁₋₃-*ti-* on Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals), **Runtiya-*, i.e. CERVUS and CERVUS₂-*ti-ia-* (HLuvian, GÜRÜN § 1b and BABYLON 3, Hawkins, *CHLI*, 297 and 397), in Πωνδας in Cilicia and Πω(ι)ζις in Pisidia (the latter from assibilated **Runza-*); Zgusta, *KP*, 446–7. Note also the double theophoric name Αρμα-ρωνζας (Moon- and Stag-god) in Cilicia; Zgusta, *KP*, 93.

(12) /*Sanda-*/, an Anatolian war-god (see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 136–7): ^m*Šanta* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 156), in Σανδα(ς), Σανδης, Σανδος in Lycaonia, Pisidia, Caria, Cilicia; Zgusta, *KP*, 454. Note also the double theophoric names *Ša-ta-ti-wa/i-ra/i-* /*Sanda-tiwara-*/ (Sanda and Sun-god) and *Ša-ta-SARMA-ma-* /*Sanda-sarma-*/ (Sanda and Šarruma) (HLuvian, TÜNP 1, § 1 and NIMRUD; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 155 and 570).

(13) /*Tiwad(a)-*/, the Luvian Sun-god: *Tivda-* (in Lydian context but definitely a Luvian name; Gusmani, *LydWb*, 213), also in **Tiwarama/i-* (HLuvian, CEKKE § 17i; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 146—a rhotacised variant of the appurtenance adjective /*Tiwad-ama/i-*/ ‘of the Sun-god’). Note also the double theophoric name /*Sanda-tiwara-*/ in (12). But significantly there are no traces whatsoever of *Tiwad-* in late Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, or Caria, not even in compounds.

¹⁴ J.-L. García Ramón, ‘Anatolian, Greek, Indo-European: From “run” to “assist, help”. Phraseology and syntax in the reconstruction of the Indo-European lexicon’ (Handout from Thirtieth East Coast Indo-European Conference, Harvard University, 9 June 2011). To appear in *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*.

(14) /*Yarra/i-*/, a southern Anatolian war-god: ^m*Yarri-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 77), ¹*I-a-ra/i-ri+i-i-* (HLuvian, KARKAMIŠ A6, A7, A15b, a regent—read /*Yarri-*/ contra Hawkins, *CHLI*, 124 and *passim*, who assumes an otherwise unattested †/*Yariri-*/). Note also as a personal name the likely appurtenance adjective /*Yarrissa-*/, i.e. *i-ia-ra/i-sà-*, ‘of Yarri’ in KULULU lead strip 1, § 5.31. There are no clear traces of *Yarra/i-* in the late first millennium.

(15) *Artemis* (attested only in the first millennium!): *Artimu-* (Lydian; Gusmani, *LydWb*, 64–5 and 192), probably also *Artima-* (Lydian, thus with Zgusta, *KP*, 101 contra Gusmani in *Linguistic Happening*, 192), *Artmi-* and *Rtim-* (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 356–7 with refs. and 410), also in Αρτ(ε)μιας, Αρτεμιος, Αρτ(ε)μης in Lycia, Pisidia, Caria, Lydia; Zgusta, *KP*, 99–101. Note also the derived *Erttimeli-* = Αρτεμηλιν (Lycian, N320,5; Melchert, *DLL*, 94). All examples are masculine.

4.4 Ethnica

In striking contrast with the many Hittite names in *-uman-* from the karûm period, ethnica as personal names are a very rare type in western and southern Anatolia.

(16) Hittite Empire Luvian ethnica are limited to ^m*Alauwanni-* and ^m*Urawanni-* (Laroche, *Noms*, 27 and 198) and ^m*Luggawanni-* (Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’).

(17) In HLuvian the only assured example is ¹*La-ka-wa/i-ni-* /*Lakawann(i)-*/ ‘the Lakean’ in ADIYAMAN 2, § 3 (Hawkins, *CHLI*, 351–2). Also possible is ¹*447-*nu-wa/i-ia-* /*Ninuwiya-*/ ‘the one of Nineveh’ in KARKAMIŠ 11b+c, § 2 (Hawkins, *CHLI*, 103–4).

(18) The only assured Lycian name is *Pttaraze/i-* ‘the one of Pttara’ in *TL* 113,1. Also probable are *Xa/eriga-* and *Xerēi-*, which cannot reflect an appellative ‘eagle’ (note the variant *Xariga-* M129), but more likely represent ethnica ‘(the) Carian’ (thus Melchert, *DLL*, 108).

4.5 Determinative Compounds (including with divine names as first or second members)

4.5.1 Noun+Noun

4.5.1.1 First member stands in a dative function: N₂ for N₁

The function is assured by some examples with an inflected first member, which are underscored below.

(19) Exclusively female names in *-wašha/i-* and *-wašti-* ‘pledge/gift to X’ (X = deity, toponym, or person): *Ala-wašhi-* ‘a pledge to Ala (city-name)’,

^f*Āššui-wašḫa-* ‘a pledge to the *a*-stone’, ^f*Tāti-wašti* ‘a pledge/gift to the father’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 27, 47, 182), ^f*Tarhunti-wasti/* ‘a pledge/gift to Tarhunt’ (HLuvian, MARAŠ 2, § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 273), perhaps also in Κρησαουεστις in Isauria-Cilicia and Παπουστις ‘pledge to the father’(?) in Phrygia-Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 257 and 416. See for further second-millennium examples Zehnder, *Frauenamen*, 97–8, but with a false analysis. For the sense ‘pledge, gift’ for the second element see Melchert, ‘Reciprocity’.

(20) Names with second member *-warra/i-* ‘help, aid to X’ (X = deity, person, entity): */Parni-warra/i-*, i.e. *DOMUS-ni-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘help to the house(hold), */Parna-warra/i-*, i.e. (**69)*pa+ra/i-na-wa/i-ri+i-* ‘idem’ (HLuvian, ASSUR letter b, § 1 and f+g, § 33; KARKAMIŠ 17a, § 6; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 534, 537, 192), */Tarhu-warra/i-*, i.e. TONITRUS-*hu-wa/i+ra/i-i-* ‘help to Tarhunt’ (EGREK § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 492—note the abbreviated first member!), *FRATER-la-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘help to the brother’ and */Huhha-warra/i-*, i.e. *AVUS-ha-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘help to the grandfather’ (CEKKE § 17d and § 17j; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 145–6), */Kumma-warra/i-*, i.e. *ku-ma-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘help to the sacred’ (KARKAMIŠ A4a, § 10; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 152), probably also *Ubaḫ-woro-* ‘help to the demesne’ (Sidetic S5,1–2; Nollé, *Side*, 639—reading with Pérez Orozco, *Kadmos* 46, 128–9, but the analysis is mine—HCM).

4.5.1.2 First member in a genitival function: N₂ belongs to N₁ or N₂ has the quality of N₁

(21) Second member is a term of relationship, first is a deity or other: */Arma-nana/i-* ‘brother of the Moon(-god), ^mMI.ŠEŠ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 39), LUNA.FRATER₂ (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 249–50), also HLuvian, KARAHÖYÜK § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 289, *Errīme-nēne/i-* (Lycian, *TL* 121; Melchert, *DLL*, 93), = Ερμενηννις in Lycia; Zgusta, *KP*, 172 (see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 133 for likely further reflexes), ^{*}*Tarhu(nta)-nana/i-*, i.e. TONITRUS-FRATER₂- ‘brother of Tarhunt-’ (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 272–3); ^m*Hīla-nani-* ‘brother of the courtyard’ (Hittite Empire, Mašat, *HKM* 113 Vo 16; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), *Dquq-* (Carian) ‘grandfather of Ida’, also in Ιδαγυγος in Caria (thus with Adiego, *Carian*, 362—a further equation with Lycian *Ddxug[a]-* is possible, but not assured).

Note the special subtype of ^m*Tati-ŠEŠ-* ‘brother of the (same) father’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 182), = Τεδε/ι-νηνις in Lycia and Cilicia (Zgusta, *KP*, 508), contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 144–5—see on this type Watkins¹⁵ and cf. *Ēnēhi-nere/i* under 4.5.3 (28) below.

(22) Second member is */sida/i-* ‘man’ (usually written LÚ in cuneiform and VIR in hieroglyphs), first is a deity, toponym, or other (not always identifiable)—rampantly productive in the second millennium (40+ examples): deities include ^m*Arma-LÚ-i-*, ^m*Šanta-ziti-*, ^m*Tarḫunda-ziti-*, ^{*}*Tiwada-ziti-* (^mUTU.LÚ-*i-*), ^m*Yarra-LÚ-i-*; city names ^m*Ankuwa-LÚ-*, ^m*Halpa-ziti-* (also TONITRUS.HALPA-VIR.*zi/a-*), ^m*Ninuwa-LÚ-*; various appellatives ^m*Harwa-LÚ-ti-* ‘man of the road’, *Imm(a)ra-ziti-* ‘man of the open country’ (see below!), ^m*Kuwalana-LÚ-* (also EXERCITUS.VIR.*zi/a-*) ‘man of the army’, ^m*Muwa-LÚ-i-* (also *Mu(wa)-VIR.(zi/a)-*) ‘man of might/potency’ (see below!), ^m*Piḫa-ziti-* (also *Pi-ha-VIR.(zi/a)-*) ‘man of splendence; might’, ^m*Ūḫḫa-LÚ-i-* ‘man of the grandfather’ (probably thus with Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 91), ^m*Uba-LÚ-i-* ‘man of the dedication’, ^m*Walwa-LÚ-i-* (also LEO-VIR.*zi/a-*) ‘lion-man’, ^m*Hattagga-LÚ-* probably ‘bear-man’ (all Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, *passim* and Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 254, 261, 266, 268, 278); *Ipre-side/a-* (Lycian; Melchert, *DLL*, 96—following Carruba, = *Imm(a)ra-ziti-*, also = Ιμβρασιδης in Lycia, as per Schürr, *Die Sprache* 35, 165, but with a false historical analysis); ^{*}*/Mo:wa-zida/i-* ‘man of might’ attested in modified form in Carian *Musat-* (Adiego, *Carian*, 386), Pisidian *Mo(v)σητα-* (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 143), = Μωσητας in Cilicia (Zgusta, *KP*, 343).¹⁶ The attested forms cannot show the regular reflex of the Luvic name (compare the real Lycian *-sida-* in *Ipre-sida-*). Neither the voiceless stop nor the low vowel is explicable (contra Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 139, eta cannot represent [i]). Rather, with loss of the sense that the name was a compound, it was remodelled after Greek masc. names in *-ατη/ας*, for which see Leukart.¹⁷ Note that the simplex *Mo(v)ας*, *Μως* is attested in the first millennium, but crucially no simplex ^{*}*Σιδα/ης*. Colvin, ‘Names in Lycia’, 66–7, cites the similar remodelling of Lycian *Purihimeti* as Greek ^{*}*Πυριβατης* (gen. *Πυριβατου*) beside the direct rendering as *Πυριματις*.

(23) Parallel examples in feminine names are rare: ^f*Ali-wanatti-* ‘woman of Ali’ (Hittite Empire, Mašat, *HKM* 113 Ro 11; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), ^f*Hurma-wanatti-* ‘woman of Hurma’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 73—thus far these are the unique examples with ‘woman’ parallel to ‘man’ in the preceding type!), ^f*SIN.IR-i-* (*Arma-*) ‘servant of the Moon(-god)’, ^f*DINGIR.MEŠ.IR-i-* (*Maššana-*) ‘servant of the gods’ (Laroche, *Noms*, 39 and 115). Note that both examples with ‘servant’ are feminine names.

¹⁶ But contra Zgusta, *KP* 337, Μουσατης in Lydia does not exist. As D. Schürr kindly reminds me, the text reads rather Μουσαιου (see Schürr, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 106 (2001), 101 n. 7, citing O. Masson).

¹⁷ A. Leukart, *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Herkunft und Ausbreitung* (Vienna, 1994), 173 ff.

¹⁵ C. Watkins, ‘Some Anatolian Words and Forms: Hittite *nega-*, *negna-*, Luvian ^{*}*niya-*, *nani-*’, in Heinrich Hettrich et al. (eds.), *Verba et Structurae. Festschrift für Klaus Strunk* (Innsbruck, 1995), 360–1.

(24) Second member is /walwa/i-/ ‘lion’ (usually written URMAḪ in cuneiform and LEO in hieroglyphs): **Arma-walwi-* i.e. LUNA-LEO₁₋₂- ‘Lion of the Moon(-god)’ (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 250), ^m*Mūwa-URMAḪ-* ‘lion of might’, ^m*Piḫa-walwi-* ‘lion of resplendence; might’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 124 and 141), also attested as *Pi-ha-LEO-* and variant *Pi-ha-sà-LEO-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 267–8).

(25) Second member is a deity: ^m*Kuwalana-^dLAMMA-* ‘tutelary deity of the army’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 102), /Halpa-tiwara-/ i.e. TONITRUS. HALPA-*pa-SOL-wa/i+ra/i-* ‘Sun-god of Aleppo’, /Wasu-sarma-/ i.e. *wal₄-su-SARMA-ma-* ‘Šarruma of good/favour’, and /Huhha-sarma-/ i.e. AVUS-*ha-SARMA-ma-* ‘Šarruma of the grandfather’ (HLuvian, respectively CEKKE, § 170, TOPADA, § 1–2, ERKİLET 1, § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 146, 452, 494).

(26) Second member is an abstract/result noun: *Wašḫ-uba-* ‘pledge-donation’ (karūm period; Laroche, *Noms*, 206), surely = *Was-ube-* ‘idem’ (Lycian, *TL* 32u,1; Melchert, *DLL*, 107—identification by Laroche); *Hlñmi-dewe-* ‘extra gift’ or similar (Lycian, *TL* 139,5; Melchert, *DLL*, 95).

4.5.2 Adverb+Noun

I interpret as determinative compounds only those with a deity or term of relationship as second member. Those with an abstract second member are probably instead possessive compounds, listed below under 4.6.2.

(27) /P(a)ri-Sarma-/ i.e. PRAE-*ri+i-SARMA-ma-* ‘forward (= most prominent) Šarruma’ (HLuvian, KARKAMIŠ 4a, § 2; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 152); *Epñ-xuxa-* ‘behind-grandfather = great-grandfather’(?) (Lycian, *TL* 127,1; Melchert, *DLL*, 93), *Šr-quq-* ‘super-/hyper-grandfather (idem)’ (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 419). See also the complex *Dd-epñ-newe-* ‘After-descendant of Ida’ (Lycian, *TL* 98,1 et alibi; Melchert, *DLL*, 93—analysis of the last two elements follows Carruba.¹⁸

4.5.3 Adjective+Noun

These are relatively rare and of varied types.

(28) ^m*Kummaya-LÚ-* (**Kummaya-ziti-*) ‘sanctified man’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 97, and also on Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 259 and 299), ^m*Piyama-(a)radu-* ‘given devotee’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 141—for the analysis see Melchert apud Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 93 and compare with a genitival first member

¹⁸ O. Carruba, ‘Su alcuni nomi di parentela in licio e in nesico’, *PP* 24 (1969), 275.

^m*U-na-ra-du-* = **Tarḫunna-aradu-* and ^m*Tarḫunda-(a)radu-* ‘devotee of Tarhunt-’; Laroche, *Noms*, 176–7), /Tiyamma-aradu-/ i.e. *Ti-ia-ma+ra/i-tu-* ‘attendant(?) (i.e. standing) devotee’ (HLuvian, İVRİZ 1, § 4; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 516); also ^m*SUM-ma-^dLAMMA-* ‘the given tutelary deity’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 141—for this interpretation see Melchert, ‘Reciprocity’), ^m*Ura-ḫattuša-* ‘Great Hattusha’ and also the hybrid Luvo-Hittite ^m*Ura-walkui-* ‘great lion’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 197) beside the purely Luvian **Ura-walwi-*, i.e. MAGNUS-LEO- (Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 277), ^m*Ura-^dU-* ‘great Storm-god’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 198) and ^m*GAL-^dIŠTAR-a-* ‘great Šaušga’ (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’); (masc.) *Ēnēhi-nere/i-* ‘(of) sister of the same mother’ (Lycian, *TL* 137,1, thus per Oettinger¹⁹ with nasal perseveration for **ēnēhi-*, effectively equivalent to a Noun+Noun compound **Ēne-nere/i-* and the type cited in 4.5.1.2 (21) end).

4.5.4 Noun+Adjective

4.5.4.1 With an ordinary adjective

(29) ^m*Maššana-ura-* ‘great (one) of the gods’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 115—cf. titles like *tuppa(la)n-uri-* ‘chief of the *t.*’); *D-b(i)krm-* ‘Ida-mighty’ (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 361—see *Pik(a)rm-* above under 4.2 (4c)); *X-ušol-* ‘X-blessed’ or similar, including *Idušol-IDušol-* = Ἰδουσσῶλλος ‘Ida-blessed’, *Pnušol* and variants = Πονουσσῶλλος ‘All-blessed’, *Maussῶλλος* likely ‘Much-blessed’ (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, *passim*, but analysis of the last with *ma-* = HLuvian nom.-acc. sg. neuter *ma* ‘much’ < **mēgh₂*, is mine—HCM; for *ušol-* see 4.6.1.4 below).

4.5.4.2 With a past participle

These probably have the sense ‘—ed by X’, where the first member functions as the agent of the underlying verb, but compare the discussion in 4.8.5.3 below.

(30) *Mahane-pijeme/i-* ‘given by the gods’, *Natrbbijēme/i-* ‘given by Natr’, ‘translated’ by Ἀπολλόδοτος (Lycian, respectively N302,2 and N320,4; Melchert, *DLL*, 98 and 100); the latter = Νετερβίμος in Caria. Note also **Wese-pijeme/i-* ‘given by/with W.’ = Οσαβαίμης in Lycia—for the last example see the references in Melchert, *DLL*, 107 and the discussion in 4.8.5.3 below—and examples in first-millennium Lycia and Pisidia in -π(ε)μης (see Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 177); *Masa-uwēt(i)-* ‘favoured/ regarded by the gods’ (in Lycian context N314a,4 with a Milyan shape; see

¹⁹ N. Oettinger, ‘Etymologisch unerwarteter Nasal im Hethitischen’, in J.E. Rasmussen (ed.), *In honorem Holger Pedersen. Kolloquium der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 26. bis 28. März 1993 in Kopenhagen* (Copenhagen, 1994), 318.

D. Schürr, 'Lykisch und karisch *un-*', *Historische Sprachforschung* 122 (2009), 102, and compare *Unuwēme/i-* below in 4.5.5 (31).

4.5.5 Adverb+Adjective (usually a past participle)

(31) *Un-uwēme/i-* 'well regarded' (Lycian, *TL* 62,1; Schürr, *Historische Sprachforschung* 122, esp. 104); *Šar-ušol-* 'super-/hyper-blessed' (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 418). Possible also is Σρονμυς in Cibratis, a virtual **Ser-uwammi-* 'highly regarded' (tentatively thus Schürr, *Historische Sprachforschung* 122, 100).

4.6 Possessive Compounds ('Bahuvrihis')

4.6.1 Noun+Noun

All clear examples show a genitival relationship 'having the N₂ of N₁'.

4.6.1.1 There is a *massively productive and persisting* type /X+mo:wa-/ 'having the might/potency of X' with a deity, toponym, person, or other noun as first member, as already demonstrated by Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 166–9 (see also below those with an adjective or adverb as first member).

(32) Deities: *Ḫepa-muwa-* 'having the might of Hebat', ^{m,d}*IŠTAR-mūwa-* 'having the might of *Šauška*' (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 68 and 171), = *sà-US-ka-mu(wa)-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 270), */*Sanda-mo:wa-* 'having the might of Sanda' attested in the *Kurzname* /*Sandamu-*, i.e. *Ḫsà-ta-mu-* (HLuvian, CEKKE § 17i; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 146—for my claim of a *Kurzname* see below in 4.8.1); the first example is probably also attested in first-millennium Κβα-μοας in Lycia (Zgusta, *KP*, 220).

(33) Toponyms: ^m*Halpa-muwa-* 'having the might of Aleppo', ^m*Mizra-A.A-a-* 'having the might of Egypt', etc. (Laroche, *Noms*, 55 and 119 and *passim*), = *mi-zi/a+ra/i-mu(wa)-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 264–5), ^l*/*Halpa-mo:wa-* also in the *Kurzname* /*Halpamu-*, i.e. TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-mu-* beside ^l*/*Harrana-mo:wa-* in the *Kurzname* /*Harrana-mu-*, i.e. *Ḫara/i-na-mu-* 'having the might of Harran' (HLuvian, CEKKE § 17k and § 17a; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 145–6), *Kbd-mu-* 'having the might of Kaunos' (Carian; analysis with Adiego, *Carian*, 370).²⁰

²⁰ I. Yakubovich, 'The Luwian Names in *-wiya*' (paper presented at the conference 'Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean', University of Reading, 10 June 2011), has suggested that, in the possessive compounds with a toponym or an appellative for a place as first member (see examples below, no. 34), the true reference is to the (chief) deity of the place. I find this proposal very persuasive.

(34) Various appellatives: ^m*Pūna-A.A-* 'having all might/potency' (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 150), = *Puna-muwe-* (Lycian, *TL* 35,12 etc.; Melchert, *DLL*, 102), ^m*Piḫa-A.A-* and ^m*Piḫašša-A.A-* 'having the might of splendence' [but probably actually 'having the might of the luminous Storm-god of lightning'] (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 139–40), = *pi-ha-mu(wa)-* and *pi-ha-sà-mu(wa)-* (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, *Siegel*, 267), ^m*Uḫḫa-mūwa-* 'having the might of the grandfather' (probably thus with Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 191—cf. *Nani-muta-* below), ^m*Irḫa-A.A-* 'having the might of the border territory' (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 80), /*Pidanti-mo:wa-*, i.e. *ḪLOCUS-ta/i-ti-mu-wa/i-* 'having the might of the place' (HLuvian, BOYBEYPINARI 1 § 11; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 336—note here the full form of the second member); first-millennium examples with an unclear first member include those with *u/ūksmu-* 'having the might of *waksa-*' (Carian; Adiego, *Carian*, 427) = Ουαξα-μοας/-μοας in Isauria and Cilicia. See further 4.6.1.4 below.

(35) Also with a second member /mo:wata/i-/ (see above 4.2 (3a)): *Puna-muwati-* 'having all might/potency' (karūm period; Laroche, *Noms*, 150), (fem.) /*Pana-mo:wati-* (HLuvian, BOYBEYPINARI 1, § 1 etc.; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 336—note the first vowel and full form of the second member!), /*Nani-mo:(wa)ta-*, i.e. *Ḫna-ni-mu-ta-* 'having the might/potency of the brother' (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, § 7.41; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 508).

4.6.1.2 X+/tsalma-/ (with a rhotacised variant /tsarma-/) 'having the protection of X'

I analyse thus with Zehnder, *Frauenamen*, 52, not as a *Satzname* as per Neumann.²¹ For the historical analysis see Melchert contra Lipp.²²

(36) ^l*/*Tarhu(nta)-tsalma-*, i.e. ^l*U-zalma-* 'having the protection of Tarhunt', ^m*Yarra-PAP-/zalma-* 'having the protection of Yarri' (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 177 and 76), the first also in TONITRUS-*hu-za+ra/i-ma-/Tarhu-tsarma-* (HLuvian, EĞREK, § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 493); also as per Neumann, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 90, 140–1, seen in the first millennium Τροκο-ζαρμας in Cilicia, to which we may add Ια-ζαρμας 'having the protection of Ea' and Ρω-ζαρμας (for *Ρωνζ-ζαρμας) 'having the protection of Runza-' (contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 136, who wrongly takes the second member as the divine name *Šarruma-*).

²¹ G. Neumann, 'Zu einigen hethitisch-luwischen Personennamen', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 90 (1976), 139–44, at 141.

²² H.C. Melchert, 'Luvian Lexical Notes', *Historische Sprachforschung* 101 (1988), 241–3 and R. Lipp, *Die indogermanischen und einzelsprachlichen Palatale im Indoarischen* (Heidelberg, 2009), 1.275 n. 33.

4.6.1.3 X+/wa:su-/ ‘having the good (i.e. favour) of X’

These occur with a deity, toponym, or other less certain first member (on the real sense of those with toponyms see Yakubovich as per n. 20 above).

(37) ^mAli-wašu- ‘having the favour of A.’, ^fAnni-wašu- ‘having the favour of the mother’(?) (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 33), /Halpa-wasu-/ , i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wa/i-su- ‘having the favour of Aleppo’ and /Tarhu-wasu(wa)-/, i.e. TONITRUS-hu-wa/i-su-wa/i- ‘having the favour of Tarhunt-’ (HLuvian, respectively MARAŞ 11, § 7 and CEKKE § 171; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 271 and 146); the latter is attested also in ^mTarhu-wašu- (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’).

4.6.1.4 X+/waksi-/ ‘having the waks- of X’ with ‘i-mutation’ (probable!)

In the absence of a clear second-millennium Luvian source, the meaning of the word remains unclear, but *waxs(s)a-* is well attested as an appellative in Milyan (see Melchert, *DLL*, 134 with refs.), where the sense is probably positive. As per (34) above, it appears as the first member of Carian *uksmu-* = Ουαξα-μοαϛ/-μοϛ ‘having the might of *waks-*’. I interpret names from Caria with a second member -υασσιϛ, -υαξιϛ, -υατιϛ as containing the same element: Παν-υασσιϛ/ -υατιϛ ‘having all *w.*’, Ακτα-υασσιϛ ‘having the *w.* of *a.*’ (note also Βρ-υαξιϛ/-υασσιϛ; Blümel, *EpigAnat* 16, 12). It is the likely source of the further derived adjective *úsol-* ‘*waksa-*ed’ (‘blessed’ or similar) from a virtual **waksy-alla-*: see the Carian determinative compounds in 4.5.4.1 (29) above. See also 4.6.2 (38) immediately below regarding Σαρυασσιϛ. Compare the discussion by Adiego, *Carian*, 344 with note.

4.6.2 Adjective/Adverb+Noun

(38) ^mPariya-mūwa- ‘having might beyond’, i.e. ‘having surpassing might’ and surely also ^mPariya-watra- ‘having surpassing *w.*’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 137), ^mUppara-mūwa- ‘having superior might’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 197—**uppara-* ‘superior’ < PIE **upero-* = Avestan *upara-* and German *ober* ‘upper, situated above’), = Οπρα-μοαϛ in Lycia and Οπρα-μοϛ in Cilicia-Pamphylia. See Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 162–3, but with confusion of Οπρα- ‘superior’ with the distinct Οβρα- (see correctly Schürr, *Historische Sprachforschung* 122, 107). Note also Pisidian Ουπερ-δοτα- ‘having superior X’ (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 146–7); /Ura-mo:wa-/ , i.e. ^mMAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i- ‘having great might’ (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, § 2.3; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 506), Σαρυασσιϛ ‘having super-/hyper-*waksa-*’ (cf. Adiego, *Carian*, 340).

4.7 Satznamen

While these are not unheard of elsewhere in Indogermania, they are not a typical Indo-European type, and in Anatolia they were almost certainly created

in imitation of Hurrian and Akkadian models. This source is betrayed by the unexpected verb-initial order in some examples, but they were eventually adapted further to the (S)OV word order of Anatolian Indo-European languages. Some putative examples necessarily remain speculative!

4.7.1 Type with the verb ‘to be’ in ‘Wunschnamen’ either with imperative or indicative

4.7.1.1 Copulative (‘shall be X’)

(39) *Aruwāti(j)-esi-* ‘he shall be high/exalted’ (Lycian, *TL* 44b,18 etc.; Melchert, *DLL*, 92—analysis with Neumann).²³

4.7.1.2 Possessive (‘X shall be (to him)’ = ‘he shall have X’)

(40) /A:stu-alamantsa-/ , i.e. ^lá-sa-tú-wa/i-la-ma-za- ‘let name/renown be (to him)’ and variants, /A:sti-wa:su-/ , i.e. ^lá-sa-ti-wa/i-su- ‘good/favour shall be (to him)’, /A:sti-Tarhunza-/ , i.e. ^lá-sa-ti-TONITRUS-hu-za- ‘Tarhunza- shall be (to him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARKAMIŞ A27u, l. 2, MARAŞ 11, § 7, KARKAMIŞ A7, § 8; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 165, 266, 129), *Esi-tīmāta-* ‘renown shall be (to him)’ (Lycian, *TL* 35,18; Melchert, *DLL*, 94—reading as a personal name and analysis with Neumann).²⁴

4.7.2 Examples with Other Verbs

(41) /Manaha-Tarhunza-/ , i.e. ^lLITUUS+na-ha-TONITRUS-hu-za- ‘I have seen Tarhunza-’ (HLuvian; İVRİZ frag. 2; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 530);²⁵ ^mAnza-paḥḥadu- ‘let him protect us’ and ^mU-manaddu ‘let Tarhunt- see (him)’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 34 and ‘Supplément’ no. 1279a respectively—analysis with Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 92–3, but for the second more likely is ‘let him see Tarhunt-’ in view of the preceding HLuvian example); far more speculatively *perhaps* (HCM) ^mMana-pa-^dU- = **Mana-pa-tarḥunta-* ‘Just see (him), Tarhunt!’ and ^mMušiši-pa-^dU- ‘You shall be satiated, Tarhunt!’ (for the names see Laroche, *Noms*, 112 and 121)—but the presumed inflection of the verb *muš-* ‘be satiated’ is far from assured!

(42) /Atsa-tiwada-/ , i.e. ^l(LITUUS)á-za-ti-i-wa/i-tà- ‘the Sun-god favours’ and /Piya-tarhunsa-/ , i.e. *pi-ya-*TONITRUS-hu-zá- ‘Tarhunt- gave/has given (him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARATEPE *passim* and CEKKE § 17h;

²³ G. Neumann, ‘Spätluwische Namen’, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 92 (1978), 127.

²⁴ G. Neumann, ‘Zur Erschließung des Lykischen’, in E. Vineis (ed.), *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione* (Pisa, 1983), 147.

²⁵ I am deeply indebted to J.D. Hawkins for bringing to my attention this crucial example that I had overlooked in my own survey of the HLuvian corpus.

Hawkins, *CHLI*, 48 ff. and 146) *perhaps* by haplology from **Azati-tiwada-* and **Piyata-tarhunza-* (for a genuine example of haplology see *Kupa-piya-* for **Kupapa-piya-* ‘Kubaba gave/given by Kubaba’ (HLuvian, SHEIZAR § 1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 417), but more likely with an uninflected stem based on Hurrian models. Compare the type of **Tatu-ḥepa-* (*tād=0=Ḥeba(t)*) ‘Heba(t) loved’ with the transitive-ergative stem marker *-o-* but no personal ending. An imperative reading ‘Favour (him), Sun-god!’ is also possible for the first, but seems less likely for the second (on Hurrian *Satznamen* see Giorgieri).²⁶

On putative examples with a *second* member *-piya-* see immediately below in the discussion of *Kurznamen*.

4.8 *Kurznamen*

4.8.1 There are reasonably certain examples in HLuvian for abbreviated forms of possessive compounds in */-mo:wa-/*: */Halpa-mu-/*, */Harrana-mu-/*, */Sanda-mu-/*, */Tsunu-mu-/* in CEKKE § 17 (Hawkins, *CHLI*, 146 and 150). Mere syncope is unlikely in view of contemporary examples with a full form of the second member: */Ura-mo:wa-/* (see (38) above), */Pidanti-mo:wa-/* (see (34) above), and others.

4.8.2 Also very likely are Luvian names in */-atsi-/* abbreviated from compounds with */tsidi-/* as second member (see above 4.5.1.2 (22)): ^m*Tarḥunazi-* < ^m*Tarḥunda-ziti-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 176—note also the abbreviated form of the first member, *but* the attestation is indirect, in an Assyrian source), */Mo:watsi-/*, i.e. ^l*Mu-wa/i-zi-* < **Muwa-ziti-*, i.e. ^m*Muwa-LÚ-i-* (HLuvian, MARAŞ 1, § 1f etc.; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 262–3—his own reading *Muwizi-* is very unlikely, since the suffix *-izza-* never shows ‘*i*-mutation’).

4.8.3 ^m*Tarḥu(n)miya-* (Maşat, *HKM passim*; Hittite Empire), can hardly be explained with a suffix *-mi-* or by progressive assimilation of *-piya-*.²⁷ It is rather a *Kurzname* with the productive appurtenance suffix *-iya-* < **-iyo-* from ^m*Tarḥu-mimma-* cited in 4.8.5.2 below.

4.8.4 Some examples listed above under 4.2 as simple appellatives *could* (but need not!) be extracted from compounds (e.g. *mūwa-* ‘might, potency’, *pīḥa-* ‘resplendence; might’). Likewise Lycian *Uwēme/i-* ‘regarded, favoured’ (*TL* 109,2; Neumann²⁸ and Schürr, *Historische Sprachforschung* 122, 102) and

²⁶ M. Giorgieri, ‘Schizzo grammaticale della lingua hurrita’, in *La civiltà dei hurriti* (= *PP* 55), 283 ff. The Luvian verb *az(z)a-* ‘to favour’ is used exclusively of deities, thus excluding a reading of */Atsa-tiwada-/* as an imperative ‘Love Tiwad!’

²⁷ Contra S. Alp, *Heititische Briefe aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara, 1988), 98.

²⁸ G. Neumann, *Glossar des Lykischen*. Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler (Wiesbaden, 2007), 413.

HLuvian */atsamma/i-/* ‘favoured’ (*‘á-za-mi-* in İZĞİN 2, § 9 etc.; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 316). If Sidetic *Zem-* is equivalent, in the absence of evidence for aphaeresis in native Sidetic, it could be extracted from compounds like *Ubat-zem-* ‘favoured by/favourite of the demesne’ (cf. Pérez Orozco, *Kadmos* 46, 128–9).

4.8.5 Most problematic are those examples with descriptively bare verbal stems as *second* member (see the acknowledgement regarding *-piya-* by Laroche, *Noms*, 318–19). One must first insist with Laroche that there is no evidence whatsoever for nouns *piya-*, *mimma-*, or *wiya-* (the claim of Neumann, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 92, 126, for the first was based on false older readings of the HLuvian signs).

4.8.5.1 *X-piya-*

These are very numerous and persist into the first millennium. Are these ‘X gave/has given’ or ‘given by/to X’?

(43) ^m*Iyara-SUM-ya-* ‘Yarri-’, ^m*Maşna-piya-* ‘god(s)-’, ^m*U-SUM-* ‘Tarhunt-’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms, passim*), last example also in */Tarhu(nta)-piya-/*, i.e. TONITRUS-*hu-pi-ya-* (HLuvian, MARAŞ 9; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 275), also *Wese-pije-* ‘W.-’ (Lycian, *TL* 9,2) = Οσσαπιας (see Schürr apud Melchert, *DLL*, 107), and numerous indirect first-millennium examples in *-πας, -πιας, -πιας* etc. (Houwink ten Cate, *LPG* 176–7; Zgusta, *KP, passim*). Note that ^m*Waşu-piya-* (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’) tends to favour ‘S/he (the deity) has given favour’, but an adverbial first member ‘well-given’ is not impossible.

4.8.5.2 *X-mimma-*

(44) ^m*Tarḥu-mimma-* ‘Tarhunt- (has) favoured’ or ‘favoured by Tarhunt-’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 176—for *mimma-* as ‘regard, favour’ see Melchert, *Historische Sprachforschung* 101, 218–20).

4.8.5.3 *X-wiya-*

As per Yakubovich (see n. 20), feminine names in *X-wiya-* with deities, toponyms and other first members, are either ‘X (has) sent’ or ‘sent by X’, or ‘sent to X’ (or both of the latter).

(45) **Arma-wiya-* (^l*d*SIN/MI-*wiya-*) ‘the Moon-god (has) sent’ or ‘sent by/to the Moon-god’, ^l*Halpa-wiya-* ‘sent to/by Aleppo’, ^l*Paršana-wiya-* ‘sent to/by the panther’, ^l*Tirguta-wiya-* ‘sent to/by T.’, and nearly twenty more (for attestations see Laroche, *Noms*, and Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’).

There are two viable alternative accounts. First, these can all be *Kurznamen* from determinative compounds with participles as second members. Note the co-existence of Lycian *Wese-pije-* = Οσσαπιας and **Wese-pijeme/i-* = Οσαβαπις. This likewise is possible for ^m*Tarḥu-mimma-*

< **Tarḫu(nta)-mimmamma/i-*, and *Tunna-wiya-* < **Tunna-wiyamma/i-* ‘sent by/to Tunna’. However, there are no attested examples with a second member **-mimmamma/i-* or **-wiyamma/i-* and no second-millennium examples for those in **-piyamma/i-*. The second alternative is to assume *Satznamen* with a descriptively bare verbal stem ‘derived’ as per above 4.7.2 (42) by haplology or more likely formed after Hurrian models. This alternative is favoured by the likely example with *piya-* as *first* member in HLuvian /*Piya-tarhuntsa-* with the verb initial as in Hurrian (4.7.1.2 (42) above). The logographic cuneiform writing ^mSUM.ᵀU- in Maşat (HKM 63 Ro 1 and 64 Ro 3) is also far more likely to be **Piya-Tarḫunza-* ‘Tarhunts (has) given’, matching the attested Luvian, than **Piyamma-tarḫu-* (thus Alp, *Briefe*, 88 followed by Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’). As discussed in Melchert, ‘Reciprocity’, only a tutelary deity is ever said to be given or dedicated to a person, as befits his or her role. I therefore conclude that names with second members *-piya-*, *-mimma-*, and *-wiya-* are *Satznamen* without a personal ending (à la Hurrian), not *Kurznamen* from compounds with participles as second members.

Note that by this account the absence in the second millennium of determinative compounds with a participle as second member and a noun functioning as the agent as first member (4.5.4.2) is not accidental.²⁹ One should therefore take seriously the possibility that *Natrbijēmi* is a translation of Greek Ἀπολλόδοτος, not vice versa, and that this entire type, attested in first-millennium Lycia, Pisidia and Caria, is a borrowing from Greek, not a native type of the Anatolian Indo-European languages. This analysis is supported by the example of Ὀρνπειμῖς, a Lycian who is the *son* of Μεγιστόδοτος (Colvin, ‘Names in Lycia’, 69). As seen by Schürr,³⁰ Lycian **Urne-pijēmi* is a calque on the Greek of the father’s name, with an **urne-* cognate with Luvian *ura-* ‘great’ (more directly with *uranna/i-*, a variant of the title *urayanna/i-*).

4.9 Hypocoristica

As per Zehnder, *Frauennamen*, 42–5, the only likely candidates for hypocoristica are *some* of the names in *-nna/i-* that probably contain a variant of the Luvian diminutive suffix *-(a)nna/i-* (e.g. *armanna/i-* ‘lunula’ < *arma-* ‘moon’). The most suggestive examples include:

²⁹ It is worth noting that no attested Hittite compounds with a participle as second member show a nominal first member functioning as an agent, despite the existence of syntagms consisting of a noun in the instrumental or ablative plus participle. For the most recent comprehensive survey of compounds in Hittite see C. Brosch, *Nominalkomposita und kompositionsähnliche Strukturen im appellativen Wortschatz des Hethitischen* (Berlin, 2008).

³⁰ D. Schürr, ‘Formen der Akkulturation in Lykien: Eine Zwischenbilanz’, in C. Schuler (ed.), *Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums München, 24.–26. 2. 2005* (Vienna, 2007), 36–7.

(46) **Tarḫunni-*, i.e. ᵀU-*ni-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 176—this is unlikely to be a simple theophoric **Tarḫunni-* because this form of the Storm-god’s name is always *Tarḫunna-*), also = first-millennium Ταρκουννῖς in Cilicia (Zgusta, *KP*, 488); ^m*Zidanna/i-* ‘Manny’ < ^m*Zida/i-* (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 211).

5. Tentative Summary by Language (based only on direct attestations!)

Luvian shows the entire range of types discussed in section 4, and Lycian likewise except for assured *Kurznamen*—an absence that may easily be due to chance. Carian further lacks (native) *Satznamen*, but phonological truncation may have obscured examples to the extent that we cannot recognise them. Many Carian names borrowed from Egyptian are *Satznamen*. Lydian thus far lacks any (native) compounds or *Satznamen*. The sparsely attested Pisidian and Sidetic attest at least the use of appellatives and compounds.

6. Broader Summary

The use of determinative and possessive compounds is robust in the second and first millennia in southern and south-western Anatolia (Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, Caria). I note again that the absence in Luvian of the specific type of determinative compound Noun(agent)+Participle ‘X-ed by Y’ may be systematic, and there is a strong chance that this type in first-millennium south-western Anatolia is due to influence from Greek (4.8.5, end). The absence of compounds in Lydian names is probably significant, but caution is in order. ‘Arzawan’ ^m*Anza-paḫḫadu-* ‘Let him protect us!’ may or may not attest the penetration of *Satznamen* further north than Cilicia and Lycia (cf. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 92). Their absence in Pisidian and Sidetic texts is probably due to the extremely limited corpora.

There is a strong continuity in the first millennium in theophorics and theophoric compounds with *Arma-* (Moon-god), *Ea-*, *Runtiya-/Runtsa-* (Stag-god), *Sanda-* (war-god), and *Tarhunt-/Tarhunza-* (Storm-god), but a striking disappearance of the Luvian Sun-god *Tiwad(a)-* (only once in a Lydian context) and the war-god *Yarri-*. Contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 136, there is also no assured trace of *Šarruma-* (see (36) above), but at least one example for Hebat (see (32) above). I leave to others the task of drawing any implications from these patterns for the epichoric religions of first-millennium western and south-western Anatolia.