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

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1 The following abbreviations are used:
Colvin, *Names in Lycia* = S. Colvin, ‘Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia’, in S. Colvin (ed.), *The Greco-Roman East* (Cambridge 2004), 44-84
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
Houwink ten Cate, *LPG* = P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden, 1965)
*HS* = *Historische Sprachforschung*
*IF* = *Indogermanische Forschungen*
*Linguistic Happening* = Y. Arbeitman (ed.), *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwarz* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988)
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: http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetonom/
*ZVS* = *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*
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 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 Μουσητα- (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 mZida-/Ziti- ‘man’ or piyam(m)a- ‘given’ (as first compound member) versus Lycian -pijem- ‘given’ (second compound member).

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, HS 118 (2005), 48-74.
At least Lycian also attests the PIE “individualizing” suffix *-on- often used in personal names (the type of Latin Catō ‘sharpy’, Greek Στράβον ‘the squinty-eyed one’), with or without “i-mutation”: thus Xudalijĕ- ‘the nimble one’ beside Xudali- or Mutlē- ‘the mighty one’ (cp. Luvian Muwattalli- ‘mighty’).

3. The Data Base (omitting indirect Hellenistic evidence)

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

- 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”/Unanalyzable (including but not restricted to “Lallwörter”)

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⁴ Hawkins, CHLI.
⁵ Laroche, ‘Noms’ and Supplément’; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’.
⁶ H. G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy I and II (Berlín, 1940 and 1942) and Herbordt, Siegel, esp. 359-70.
⁷ Melchert, DLL, Colvin, Names in Lycia, and N. Cau, Studi Ellenistici 16 (2005), 345-76 and 377-421 (non uidi).
⁸ Adiego, Carian, passim (but I ignore his idiosyncratic transliteration of signs involving /i/ and /u/).
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.
(1) /Ta-/: Da-a-a (cuneiform, karûm period; Laroche, Noms, 169), mTā- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, ‘Supplément’, no. 119a), Tā-a-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)-/: mTittiya- (karûm period and Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 186), Titi- (Lydian, 30,1; Gusmani, LydWb, 213), Titi- (fem.) in Isauria, Pisidia-Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 516.

4.2 Appellatives

These are all Luvic\(^{12}\) in origin. Many occur also in compounds (see 4.5-6 below).

(3) /mo:wa-/ ‘might’ (including but not restricted to sexual potency): mMu-u-wa- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 122), Mu-wa/i-á- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 265), Mu-wa/i- (HLuvian, KARKAMIŠ A4a, §9; Hawkins, CHLI, 152), = Moας, Moυας, Moς 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’):
\(\text{Muwatti-} \) (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 124), Mu(wa)-ti- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 265-6), (masc.) Mute- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 386), = Mo(υ)τας in Cilicia and Phrygia; Zgusta, KP, 334 and 339.

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

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\(^{12}\) 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.
(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:hamma/i- ‘resplendent; mighty’ (denominative adjective from the preceding): Pi-ha-mi
(Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seal; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 267; also H沪vian, ASSUR
letter e, §1; Hawkins, CHLI, 535), Pixîma- (Lycian, TL 116.1; Melchert, DLL, 101), = Πηγομος
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), Pixer-, Pixra- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 397—one of the two Carian forms may have
the *-on- suffix like Lycian Pigrēi-).
(c) */pi:hramma/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), =
Πηγραμς, Πηγραμος in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 427-8.
(d) /pi:hassa/i- ‘resplendent; mighty’ (also substantivized to ‘lightning’): Pigshe- (Sidetic, S9,5;
Pérez Orozco, Kadmos 46, 127), = Πιγασις in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 427, and Πιγασσως in
Caria.13 See also -p/biks- in Carian compound names.
(5) /hant-/ ‘front’ < *h2ent- with derivatives ‘foremost’, whence ‘first’ and ‘ruling/ruler’ (see
Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 149-50):
(a) /hantil(i)- ‘first’: Ῥαττίλε- (early Hittite king et al.; Laroche, Noms, 58), Xînîla- (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 xîntawa- ‘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 Γδβετι- (Pisidian; Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 150—
an exact word equation with Lycian xîntawa(i)- ‘ruler, king’).

13 W. Blümel, ‘Einheimische Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien’,
Epigraphica Anatolica 16 (1992), 29-4, at 23, and ‘Über die chronologische und geographische
Verteilung einheimischer Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien’, in
(6) /immra-/ ‘open country’ from a virtual *dhg̃hemro-: probably directly attested in Ιμβρα/ης in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 199. Or is this a “Kurzname” from compounds? Also in various derivatives:
(b) /immralla/i-/ ‘of the open country’: Ιμβαρηλδος in Caria (the rendering with -λδ- assures that the name is Carian; Adiego, Carian, 335).

(7) /huh(h)a-/ ‘grandfather, forefather’ < *h₂éuh₂o- (= Latin auus): 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 Kbiom- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 371, but the analysis is mine—HCM), = Κεβιωμος in Caria. See also the Carian compound name Šar-kbiom- (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-): iiya- (Hittite Empire, Kuşaklı, KT 49 Ro 3,12; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), I-ia- (HLuvian, BEIRUT §1, prob. masc.; Hawkins, CHLI, 559), also in ìa- (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): mò-LAMMA-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-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 Poνdας in Cilicia and Po(τ)ξς in Pisidia (the latter from assimilated *Runza-); Zgusta, KP, 446-7. Note also the double theophoric name Αρωνς (Moon- and Stag-god) in Cilicia; Zgusta, KP, 93.

(12) /Sanda-/ (Sanda and Sun-god) and tutelary deity (see Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 136-7); mòŠanta (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 156), also in Σανδας (ς), Σανδης, Σανδος in Lycaonia, Pisidia, Caria, Cilicia; Zgusta, KP, 454. Note also the double theophoric names ¹Sà-ta-ri- /Sanda-tiwara- (Sanda and Sun-god) and ¹Sà-ta-SARMA-max-/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 rhotacized 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 Tiwd- in late Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, or Caria, not even in compounds.

(14) /Yarra/i-/, a southern Anatolian war-god: mòYarri- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 77), ¹I-arai-ri+i- (HLuvian, KARKAMIŞ 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(e)μας, Αρτεμις, Αρτ(ε)μης in Lycia, Pisidia, Caria, Lydia; Zgusta, KP, 99-101. Note also the derived Erthimeli- = Αρτεμηλίν (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 mAlauwanni- and mUrawanni- (Laroche, Noms, 27 and 198) and mLuggawanni- (Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’).

(17) In HLuvian the only assured example is 1La-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 Pttarazi/- ‘the one of Pttara’ in TL 113,1. Also probable are Xa/eriga- and Xerêi-, 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 -wašḫa/i- and -wašṭi- ‘pledge/gift to X’ (X = deity, toponym, or person): ʾAla-wašḫi- ‘a pledge to Ala (city-name)’, ʾĂššu-iwašḫa- ‘a pledge to the a-stone’, ʾTăšti-wašṭi ‘a pledge/gift to the father’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 27, 47, 182), ʾTarhunti-wasti/ ‘a pledge/gift to Tarhunt’ (HLuvian, MARAŠ 2, §1; Hawkins, CHLI, 273), perhaps also in Κρεσσαοوسής in Isauria-Cilicia and Πεσσαοςίς ‘pledge to the father’(?) in Phrygia-Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 257 and 416. See for further second millennium examples Zehnder, Frauennamen,
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-' (EĞREK §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 Ubat-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), mMLŠEŠ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 39), LUNA.FRATER2 (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 249-50), also HLuvian, KARAHÖYÜK §1; Hawkins, CHLI, 289, Erño-nene/i-/ (Lycian, TL 121; Melchert, DLL, 93), = Ερμενηνις in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 172 (see Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 133 for likely further reflexes), *Tarhu(n)ta-nana/i-, i.e. TONITRUS-FRATER2- ‘brother of Tarhunt-’ (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 272-3); mHila-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 mTati-ŠEŠ- ‘brother of the (same) father’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 182), = Τεδε-ι-ηνις in Lycia and Cilicia (Zgusta, KP, 508), contra Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 144-5—see on this type Watkins15 and cp. Ėnē-hi-neri under 4.5.3 (28) below.

(22) Second member is /tsida/i-/ ‘man’ (usually written LÚ in cuneiform and VIR in hieroglyphs), first is a deity, toponym, or other (not always identifiable)—rampantly productive

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in the second millennium (40+ examples): deities include \textsuperscript{m}Arma-LÚ-i-, \textsuperscript{m}Šanta-ziti-, \textsuperscript{m}Tarḫunda-ziti-, \textsuperscript{m}Tiwada-ziti-(\textsuperscript{md}UTU.LÚ-i-), \textsuperscript{m}Yarra-LÚ-i-; city names \textsuperscript{m}Ankuwa-LÚ-, \textsuperscript{m}Ḫalpa-ziti- (also TONITRUS.HALPA-VIR.zi/a-), \textsuperscript{m}Ninuwa-LÚ-; various appellatives \textsuperscript{m}Ḫarwa-LÚ-ti- ‘man of the road’, \textsuperscript{m}Imm(a)ra-ziti- ‘man of the open country’ (see below!), \textsuperscript{m}Kuwalana-LÚ- (also EXERCITUS.VIR.zi/a-) ‘man of the army’, \textsuperscript{m}Muwa-LÚ-i- (also Mu(wa)-VIR.(zi/a)-) ‘man of might/potency’ (see below!), \textsuperscript{m}Piḫa-ziti- (also Pi-ha-VIR.zi/a-) ‘man of resplendence; might’, \textsuperscript{m}Ḫattaga-LÚ- probably ‘bear-man’ (all Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, passim and Hawkins apud Herboldt, Siegel, 254, 261, 266, 268, 278); \textsuperscript{m}Ipre-side/a- (Lycian; Melchert, DLL, 96—following Carruba, = \textsuperscript{m}Imm(a)ra-ziti-, also = Ἰμβρασιδῆς in Lycia, as per Schürr, \textit{Die Sprache} 35, 165, but with a false historical analysis); */Mo:wa-zida/i-/ ‘man of might’ attested in modified form in Carian \textit{Músat}- (Adiego, \textit{Carian}, 386), Pisidian Mo(\upsilon)sῆτα- (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 143), = Μωσητας in Cilicia (Zgusta, \textit{KP}, 343).\textsuperscript{16} The attested forms cannot show the regular reflex of the Luvian name (compare the real Lycian -sida- in \textit{Ipre-sida}-). Neither the voiceless stop nor the low vowel are explicable (contra Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 139, eta cannot represent [i]). Rather, with loss of the sense that the name was a compound, it was remodeled after Greek masc. names in -\textit{ατη}/\textit{ας}, for which see Leukart.\textsuperscript{17} Note that the simplex Mo(\upsilon)ας, Μως is attested in the first millennium, but crucially no simplex *Σίδα/ης. Colvin, \textit{Names in Lycia} 66-67, cites the similar remodeling of Lycian \textit{Purihmeti} as Greek *Πυρίβατης (gen. Πυρίβατος) beside the direct rendering as Πυριματής.

(23) Parallel examples in feminine names are rare: \textsuperscript{f}Ali-wanatti- ‘woman of Ali’ (Hittite Empire, Mašat, \textit{HKM} 113 Ro 11; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), \textsuperscript{f}Ḫurma-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!), \textsuperscript{f}d\textsuperscript{d}SIN.IR-i- (Arma-) ‘servant of the Moon(-god)’, \textsuperscript{f}DINGIR.MEŠ.IR-i- (Maššana-) ‘servant of the gods’ (Laroche, Noms, 39 and 115). Note that both examples with ‘servant’ are feminine names.

\textsuperscript{16} But contra Zgusta, \textit{KP} 337, Μοσατης in Lydia does not exist. As D. Schürr kindly reminds me, the text reads rather Μοσατιου (see Schürr, \textit{IF} 106, 101, note 7, citing O. Masson).

\textsuperscript{17} A. Leukart, \textit{Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Herkunft und Ausbreitung} (Vienna, 1994), 173ff.
(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), *Mūwa-URMAḪ- ‘lion of might’, *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: *Kuwalana-Ḫ-LAMMA- ‘tutelary deity of the army’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 102), /Halpa-tiwara-/, i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-qa-SOL-wa/i-ra/i- ‘Sun-god of Aleppo’, /Wasu-sarma-/, i.e. wa/i-su-SARMA-ma- ‘Šarruma of good/favor’, and /Huhha-sarma-/, i.e. AVUS-ha-SARMA-ma- ‘Šarruma of the grandfather’ (HLuvian, respectively CEKKE, §17o, TOPADA, §1-2, ERKİLET 1, §1; Hawkins, CHLI, 146, 452, 494).

(26) Second member is an abstract/result noun: Wašḫ-uba- ‘pledge-donation’ (karûm period; Laroche, Noms, 206), surely = Was-ube- ‘idem’ (Lycian, TL 32u,1; Melchert, DLL, 107—identification by Laroche); Hlûmi-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); Epû-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-epû-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-\(\text{LÚ-} (*\text{Kummaya-ziti-})\) ‘sanctified man’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 97, and}
\) also on Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, \(\text{Siegel, 259 and 299)}),
\(^{m}\)Piyama-(a)radu- ‘given devotee’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 141—for the analysis see}
\) Melchert apud Yakubovich, \(\text{Sociolinguistics, 93 and compare with a genitival first member}^{m}\text{dU-na-ra-du- = *Tarḫunna-aradu-}
\) and \(^{m}\text{Tarḫunda-(a)radu- ‘devotee of Tarhunt-’; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 176-7), /Tiyamma-aradu-/, i.e. Ti-ia-ma+ra/i-tu- ‘attendant(?) (i.e. standing) devotee’ (HLuvian, \(\text{ÍVRÍZ 1, §4; Hawkins, \(\text{CHLI, 516)}), also}^{m}\text{SUM-}\text{dLAMMA- ‘the given tutelary deity’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 141—for this interpretation see}
\) Melchert, ‘Reciprocity’), }^{m}\text{Ura-}}^{\text{Hattuša-‘Great Hattusha’ and also the hybrid Luvo-Hittite}^{m}\text{Ura}}^{\text{walkui- ‘great lion’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 197) beside the purely Luvian} *\text{Ura-walwi-}, i.e. MAGNUS-LEO- (Hawkins apud Herbordt, \(\text{Siegel, 277)},^{m}\text{Ura-}\text{U- ‘great Storm-god’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, \(\text{Noms, 198) and}
\) and }^{m}\text{GAL.}^{d}\text{ISTAR-a- ‘great Šaušga’ (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, \‘Répertoire’); (masc.) }^{*}\text{Ênehi-nere/i- ‘(of) sister of the same mother’ (Lycian, }^{\text{TL 137,1, thus per Oettinger}}^{19} \text{with nasal perseveration for} *\text{ẽnehi-}, \text{effectively equivalent to a Noun+Noun compound} *\text{Êne-nere/i- and the type cited in 4.5.1.2} [21] \text{end).}
\)

4.5.4 Noun+Adjective

4.5.4.1 With an ordinary adjective

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

\(^{19} \text{N. Oettinger, ‘Etymologisch unerwarteter Nasal im Hethitischen’, in J. E. Rasmussen (ed.),} \text{In}
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’, Natrbbijê̄me/i- ‘given by Natr’, “translated” by Ἀπόλλωνας (Lycian, respectively N302,2 and N320,4; Melchert, DLL, 98 and 100); the latter = Νετρδῖμος in Caria. Note also *Wese-pijeme/i- ‘given by/with W.’ = Ὀσκάρμος 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 -p(e)μις (see Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 177); Masa-uwē̄ti- ‘favored/regarded by the gods’ (in Lycian context N314a,4 with a Milyan shape; see D. Schürr, ‘Lykisch und karisch un-’, HS 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, HS 122, esp. 104); Šar-ušol- ‘super-/hyper-blessed’ (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 418). Possible also is Σροημις in Cibyratis, a virtual *Ser-uwammi- ‘highly regarded’ (tentatively thus Schürr, HS 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.dIŠTAR-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. 1Sà-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 Kβα-μοας in Lycia (Zgusta, KP, 220).

(33) Toponyms: \textsuperscript{m}Halpa-muwa- ‘having the might of Aleppo’, \textsuperscript{m}Mizra-A.A- ‘having the might of Egypt’, etc. (Laroche, Noms, 55 and 119 and passim), = \textit{mi-zi/a+ra/i-mu(wa)}- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 264-5), /*Halpa-mo:wa-/ also in the Kurzname /Halpamu-/, i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-mu- beside */Harrana-mo:wa-/ in the Kurzname /Harrana-mu-/, i.e. \textit{hara/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).\textsuperscript{20}

(34) Various appellatives: \textsuperscript{m}Pūna-A.A- ‘having all might/potency’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 150), = Puna-muwe- (Lycian, TL 35,12 etc.; Melchert, DLL, 102), \textsuperscript{m}Piṭa-A.A- and \textsuperscript{m}Piṭaša-A.A- ‘having the might of resplendence’ [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-sa-mu(wa)- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 267), \textsuperscript{m}Uḥša-miwa- ‘having the might of the grandfather’ (probably thus with Yakubovich, Sociolinguistics, 191—cp. Nani-muta- below), \textsuperscript{m}Irša-A.A.- ‘having the might of the border territory’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 80), /Pidanti-mo:wa/-, i.e. ¹LOCUS-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 w/iiksma- ‘having the might of waksa-’ (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 427) = Ouαξα-μοας/-μως 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’ (karûm period; Laroche, Noms, 150), (fem.) /Pana-mo:wa/i-/ (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. ¹na-ni-mu-ta- ‘having the might/potency of the brother’ (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, §7.41; Hawkins, CHLI, 508).

\textsuperscript{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, June 10, 2011), has suggested that, in the possessive compounds with a toponym or an appellative for a place as first member (see examples below in [34]), the true reference is to the (chief) deity of the place. I find this proposal very persuasive.
4.6.1.2 X+/tsalma-/ (with a rhotacized variant /tsarma-/) ‘having the protection of X’
I analyze thus with Zehnder, *Frauennamen*, 52, not as a Satzname as per Neumann.

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

(36) */Tarhu(n)ta-tsalma-/, i.e. ^dU-zalma- ‘having the protection of Tarhunt-’, ^mYarra-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-tarma-/ (HLuvian, EĞREK, §1; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 493); also as per Neumann, *ZVS* 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 *Ρωνζα-ζαρμας ‘having the protection of Runza-’ (contra Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 136, who wrongly takes the second member as the divine name Σαρρμα-).

4.6.1.3 X+/wa:su-/ ‘having the good (i.e., favor) 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 note 20 above).

(37) ^mAli-wašu- ‘having the favor of A.’, ^fAnni-wašu- ‘having the favor of the mother’(?) (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 33), /Halpa-wasu/-, i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa/wa/i-su- ‘having the favor of Aleppo’ and /Tarhu-wasu(wa)-, i.e. TONITRUS-hu-wa/i-su-wa/i- ‘having the favor of Tarhunt-’ (HLuvian, respectively MARAŞ 11, §7 and CEKKE §17l; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 271 and 146); the latter is attested also in ^mTarḫu-wašu- (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’).

4.6.1.4 X+/waksi-/ ‘having the waksa- of X’ with “i-mutation” (probable!)
In the absence of a clear second-millennium Luvian source, the meaning of the word remains unclear, but wax(s)a- is well-attested as an appellative in Milyan (see Melchert, *DLL*, 134 with refs.), where the sense is likely positive. As per (34) above, it appears as the first member of Carian uksmu- = Ουαξα-μος-μως ‘having the might of waksa-’. I interpret names from Caria with a second member -υαςςις, -υαξις, -υαΤις as containing the same element: Παν-υαςςις/-υαςςις ‘having all w.’, Ακτα-υαςςις ‘having the w. of a.’ (note also Βρ-υαξις/-υαςςις; Blümel, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16, 12). It is the likely source of the further derived adjective u(sol-) ‘waksa-ed’ (‘blessed’ or similar) from a virtual *waksy-alla-: see the Carian determinative

21 G. Neumann, ‘Zu einigen hethitisch-luwischen Personennamen’, *ZVS* 90 (1976), 139-144, at 141.
compounds in 4.5.4.1 (29) above. See also 4.6.2 (38) immediately below regarding Σαρυασσις. Compare the discussion by Adiego, *Carian*, 344 with note.

4.6.2 Adjective/Adverb+Noun

(38) m³Pariya-mūwa- ‘having might beyond’, i.e. ‘having surpassing might’ and surely also m³Pariya-watra- ‘having surpassing w.’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 137), m³Uppara-mūwa- ‘having superior might’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, *Noms*, 197 — *uppara- ‘superior’ < PIE *upero- = Avestan upara- and German ober ‘upper, situated above’), = Ὀπρα-μοας in Lycia and Ὀπρα-μοως in Cilicia-Pamphylia. See Houwink ten Cate, *LPG*, 162-3, but with confusion of Ὀπρα- ‘superior’ with the distinct Ὀβρα- (see correctly Scürr, *HS* 122, 107). Note also Pisidian Ουπερ-δοτα ‘having superior X’ (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 146-7); /Ura-mo:wa-/i-, i.e. ¹MAGNUS+RA/I-mu-wa/i- ‘having great might’ (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, §2.3; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 506), Σαρυασσις ‘having super-/hyper-waksa-’ (cp. 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, i.e. /á-sa-ti-wa/i-la-ma-za-/ ‘let name/renown be (to him)’ and variants, /A:sti-wa:su/-i, i.e. /á-sa-ti-wa/i-su- ‘good/favor shall be (to him)’, /A:sti-Tarhunza/-i, i.e. /á-sa-ti-

TONITRUS-hu-za- ‘Tarhunza- shall be (to him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARKAMİŞ A27u, l. 2, MARAŞ 11, §7, KARKAMİŞ A7, §8; Hawkins, CHLI, 165, 266, 129), Ėsi-tiťmata- ‘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. ¹LITUUS+na-ha-TONITRUS-hu-za- ‘I have seen Tarhunza-’ (HLuvian; İVRİZ frag. 2; Hawkins, CHLI, 530);25 ṁAnza-paḫḫadu- ‘let him protect us’ and ṁdU-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) ṁMana-pa-²U- = *Mana-pa-tarḫunta- ‘Just see (him), Tarhunt!’ and ṁMušši-pa-²U- ‘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. ¹(LITUUS)á-za-ti-i-wa/i-tà- ‘the Sun-god favors’ and /Piya-tarhuntsa-/, i.e. pi-ya-TONITRUS-hu-zá- ‘Tarhunt- gave/has given (him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARATEPE passim and CEKKE §17h; Hawkins, CHLI, 48ff. 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 ḫTatu-ḫepe- (tād=o=Ḫeba(t)) ‘Heba(t) loved’ with the transitive-ergative stem marker -o- but no personal ending. An imperative reading ‘Favor (him), Sun-god!’ is also possible for the first, but seems less likely for the second (on Hurrian Satznamen see Giorgieri).26

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.
26 M. Giorgieri, ‘Schizzo grammaticale della lingua hurrica’, in La civiltà dei hurriti (= La Parola del Passato 55), 283ff. The Luvian verb az(z)a- ‘to favor’ is used exclusively of deities, thus excluding a reading of /Atsa-tiwada-/ as an imperative ‘Love Tiwad!’.
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-/ /Tsuna-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: /Úra-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\(\text{T}ar\hbar\)undi- < m\(\text{T}ar\hbar\)unda-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. \(1\text{M}u\)-wa/i-zi- < *Muwa-ziti-*, i.e. \(m\text{M}u\)-wa-LÚ-i- (HLuvian, MARA\(\text{Ş}\) 1, § etc; Hawkins, *CHLI*, 262-3—his own reading Muwizi- is very unlikely, since the suffix -izza- never shows “i-mutation”).

4.8.3 \(m\text{T}ar\hbar\)u(n)miya- (Ma\(\text{ş}\)at, 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 \(m\text{T}ar\hbar\)u-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. m\(\text{á}\)wa- ‘might, potency’, p\(\text{í}\)ha- ‘resplendence; might’). Likewise Lycian Uw\(\text{é}\)me/i- ‘regarded, favored’ (TL 109,2; Neumann\(^{28}\) and Schürr, *HS* 122, 102) and HLuvian /atsamma/i-/ ‘favored’ (\(1\)áz-a-mi- in ÎZĠN 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 Uba\(\text{t}\)-zem- ‘favored by/favorite of the demesne’ (cp. 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*, 318-9). One must first insist with Laroche that there is no evidence whatsoever for nouns piya-, mimma-, or wiya- (the


claim of Neumann, ZIFS 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) "Iyara-SUM-ya- ‘Yarri-’, "Masha-piya- ‘god(s)-’, "dU-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 -πις, -πιας, -πιας etc. (Houwink ten Cate, LPG 176-7; Zgusta, KP, passim). Note that "Wašu-piya- (Hittite Empire; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’) tends to favor ‘S/he (the deity) has given favor’, but an adverbial first member ‘well-given’ is not impossible.

4.8.5.2 X-mimma-
(44) "Tarḫumimma- ‘Tarhunt- (has) favored’ or ‘favored by Tarhunt-’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 176—for mimma- as ‘regard, favor’ see Melchert, HS 101, 218-20).

4.8.5.3 X-wiya-
As per Yakubovich (see note 25), 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- (f.dSIN/MI-wiya-) ‘the Moon-god (has) sent’ or ‘sent by/to the Moon-god’, fHalpa-wiya- ‘sent to/by Aleppo’, fParšana-wiya- ‘sent to/by the panther’, fTirguta-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- = Οσσαμις. This likewise is possible for "Tarḫumimma- < *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 favored 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. dementia in Maṣat (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, ‘Répertore’). 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 Natrbbijêmi 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 Ὀρνεπιμίς, a Lycian who is the son of Μεγιστόδοτος (Colvin, Names in Lycia 69). As seen by Schürr,30 Lycian *Urne-pijêmi 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 likely contain a variant of the Luvian diminutive suffix -(a)nna/i- (e.g. armanna/i- ‘lunula’ < arma- ‘moon’). The most suggestive examples include:

(46) *Tarḫunni-, i.e. dU-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 =

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).

first-millennium Ταρκυννίς in Cilicia (Zgusta, *KP*, 488); \(^\text{m}Zidanna/i\)- ‘Manny’ < \(^\text{m}Zida/i\)- (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 recognize 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 southwestern 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 southwestern 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” \(^\text{m}Anza-paḫḫadu\)- ‘Let him protect us!’ may or may not attest the penetration of Satznamen further north than Cilicia and Lycia (cp. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics*, 92). Their absence in Pisidian and Sidetic texts is likely 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-*, *Runiya/-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 southwestern Anatolia.