PERSONAL NAMES
IN ANCIENT ANATOLIA
Naming Practices in Second- and First-Millennium Western Anatolia

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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

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 Luviastic 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 Mūsāt- and Pisidian Μούσητα- (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 Luviastic 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 Luviastic, Lycian, and to a lesser extent Carian and Lydian all show the phenomenon dubbed ‘i-mutation’;² 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 doubles: thus Cuneiform Luviastic =Zida-/Ziti- ‘man’ or pyiam(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 ‘sharpy’, Greek Στράτιον ‘the squint-eyed one’), with or without ‘i-mutation’: thus Xudaliījē- ‘the nimble one’ beside Xudali- or Mutlēi- ‘the mighty one’ (cf. Luviastic Muvatallīti- ‘mighty’).

3. The Database (omitting indirect Hellenistic evidence)

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

H(hieroglyphic) Luviastic 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 ‘Lastwörter’)

(1) /Ta-/: Da-a-a (cuneiform, karum period; Laroche, NomS, 169), “Tā- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, ‘Supplément’, no. 119a), Tā-a- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herford, Siegel, 272), Ta- (H.Luvians, KULULU lead strip 1, § 3.9; Hawkins, CHLI, 507), Ta- (Lycian, TL 65,72, 74c.2; Melchert, DLI, 104), Ta- (Pisidian; Brēshē, ‘Psidie’, 149).

(2) /T(i)tiy(a)-/: “Titiiya- (karum period and Hittite Empire; Laroche, NomS, 186), Titī- (Lycian, 30.1; Gusmani, LydWB, 213), Titti- (fem.) in Isauria, Pisidia-Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 516.

4.2 Appellatives

These are all Luviastic 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-ā- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, NomS, 122)

Hawkins, CHLI
5 Laroche, NomS and ‘Supplément’; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’.
6 H.G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Bogazköy, 1.1. Berlin (Berlin, 1940, 1942) and Herford, Siegel, esp. 359–70.
7 Melchert, DLI; Colvin, ‘Names in Lycia’; N. Cau, Studi Ellenistici 16 (2005), 345–56 and 377–421 (non vidit).
8 Adiego, Carian, passim (but I ignore his idiosyncratic transliteration of signs involving /i/ and /u/).
10 Brēshē, ‘Psidie’.
11 Nollé, Side; but for the readings of the letters see S. Pérez-Orozco, Kadmos 42 (2003), 104–8; 44 (2004), 75–77; 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 ‘Luviastic’ for the entire dialect group that includes at least both forms of Luvian and Lydian 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.

¹ A. Goetze, Journal of Cuneiform Studies 8 (1954), 74–81; Houwink ten Cate, LPG; Adiego, Carian.
² First established by F. Starke, Untersuchung zur Stammbilbung des keilschrift-luvisch-luvisch Nomens (Wiesbaden, 1990), 54–85. For the correct diachronic account see E. Roeten, Historische Sprachforschung 118 (2005), 46–74.
Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herdbert, Siegel, 265), Mu-wa-ti-(HLuvian, KARKAMIS A4a, § 9; Hawkins, CHLI, 152), = Moa, Moua, Moç in Pisidia, Pamphyilia, 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:watali-/ 'might, potency' (via a denominative verb /mo:wa:-/ 'be mighty, potent': *Muwatti-* (Hittite Empire; Larroche, Noms, 124), Mu(wa)-ti- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herdbert, Siegel, 265–6), (masc.) Mute- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 386), = Mo(u)τος in Cilicia and Phrygia; Zgusta, KP, 334 and 339.

(b) /mo:watalli- 'mighty' (adjective from the preceding): *Muwattalli-* (Hittite royal name et al.; Larroche, Noms, 123), Mu-wa-ta-li- (HLuvian, dynasty of Maraš; Hawkins, CHLI, 251), Mutlēi- (Lycian, 'the mighty one' with *-on-*mutation); TL, 150,2 and M210; Melchert, DLL, 100), = Моумос in Caria; Zgusta, KP, 334 (perhaps also Moραμος in Phrygia, per Houkwon ten Cate, LPG, 103, but see Zgusta, KP, 334 n. 300).

(4) /pi:ha:/ 'illuminescence' < *bhē-, *b-, but by association with the Storm-god (of lightning) > 'might, power': Pi-ha-ā- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seal; Hawkins apud Herdbert, Siegel, 267, refuting other alleged examples in Larroche, Noms, 139). Plus derivatives:

(a) /pi:hamma-/ 'resplendent; mighty' (denominative adjective from the preceding): Pi-ha-mi (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seal; Hawkins apud Herdbert, Siegel, 267; also HLuvian, ASSUR letter c, § 1; Hawkins, CHLI, 535), Pιξημαι- (Lycian, TL 116,1; Melchert, DLL, 101), = Πηρομος in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 427.

(b) *pi:hra:- 'resplendent; mighty' from a virtual *bhēh-, *bh-, (contra Houkwon ten Cate, LPG, 157, not directly attested in Luvo)-, Pιξηρ-, Pιξηρι (Lycian, TL 55,1 and N320,15; Melchert, DLL, 101), Pιξηρ-, Pιξηρα- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 397 — one of the two Carian forms may have the *-on-* suffix like Lycian Pιξηρι-).

(c) *pi:hamma-/ 'resplendent, mighty' (a blend of the preceding two or a denominative adjective from an intervening noun from *pi:hra:-): Pιξημαρμένοι (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 397), = Πηρομαρμένοι in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 427–8.

(d) /pi:hassai-/ 'resplendent; mighty' (also substantivised to 'illumination'): Pιξηρ.manual (Sidetic, S9,5; Pérez Orozco, Kadmos 46, 127), = Πηρομαρμένοι in Lycia; Zgusta, KP, 427, and Πηρομαρμένοι in Caria, see also -πηρ- in Carian compound names.

Lycian hri-xawama- ‘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) /Aya-/ (i.e. the Luvo-Hittite form of Mesopotamian Ea-): /'iya- (Hittite Empire, Kuşakli, KuT 49 No 3,12; Trémoille, ‘Répertoire’), /I-iya/ (HLuvian, BEIRUT § 1, prob. masc.; Hawkins, CHLI, 559), also in /I- (fem.) in Sidé (text 102; Nollé, Side, 392), Bithynia, Phrygia, Pisidia, Isauria, Cilicia; Zgusta, KP, 188–9.

(11) /Kruniyya/- /Rutniyya/-, the Luvian stag-god and tutelary deity (see Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 129–31): "LAMMA-a- (Hittite Empire, King of Tarhuntassa, Laroche, Noms, 223—on the reading /Kruniyya- for the first see Hawkins apud Herford, Siegel, 290 on the spellings CERVUS, t-i on Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals), /Rutniyya-, i.e. CERVUS and CERVUS-ti-a- (HLuvian, GÜRÜN § 1b and BABYLON 3, Hawkins, CHLI, 297 and 397), in Povoaç in Cilicia and Povijos in Pisidia (the latter from assimilated /Runza/); Zgusta, KP, 446–7. Note also the double theophoric name Aρμα-

Povoiç (Moon- and stag-god) in Cilicia; Zgusta, KP, 93.

(12) /Sanda/-, an Anatolian war-god (see Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 136–7): "Santa (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 156), in Σανδος, Σανδης, Σανδος in Lycaonia, Pisidia, Caria, Cilicia; Zgusta, KP, 454. Note also the double theophoric names /Sà-ta-i-wa/i-ra-i- /Sanda-tiwa-ra-i (Sanda and Sun-god) and /Sà-ta-SARMA-ma- /Sanda-sarma- (Sanda and Sarruma) (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 /Tiwara-ma/- (HLuvian, CEKKE § 171; Hawkins, CHLI, 146—a rotachised variant of the appurtenance adjective /Tiwad-am-i/- ‘of the Sun-god’). Note also the double theophoric name /Sanda-tiwa-ra/- in (12). But significantly there are no traces whatsoever of Tiwad- in late Cilicia, Pisidia, Lycia, or Caria, not even in compounds.


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

(15) Artemis (attributed 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 Ritmi- (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 356–7 with refs. and 410), also in Αρτ(μ)ις, Αρτεμις, Αρτ(μ)ις in Lycia, Pisidia, Caria, Lydia; Zgusta, KP, 99–101. Note also the derived Erttimeli- = Αρτημηλις (Lycian, N320,5; Melchert, DLL, 94). All examples are masculin.

4.4 Ethnica

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

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

(17) In HLuvian the only assured example is /U-la-a-wa/i- /Lakawanni/i/- the ‘Lakean’ in ADIYAMAN 2, § 3 (Hawkins, CHLI, 351–2). Also possible is /447-nu-wa/i- /Ninuwlya/- ‘the one of Nineveh’ in KARKAMIŠ 11b/c, § 2 (Hawkins, CHLI, 103–4).

(18) The only assured Lycian name is Pttara/ze/- ‘the one of Pttara’ in TL 131.3. Also probable are Xaleariga- and Xerēl-, 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: N1 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-wašhî/- ‘a pledge to Ala (city-name)’,

...
(22) Second member is /tsida/i- ‘man’ (usually written LÜ in cuneiform and VIR in hieroglyphs), first is a deity, toponym, or other (not always identifiable) — rampant productive in the second millennium (40 examples): deities include *Armá-LÜ-i-, *Šanta-ziti-, *Ţărjuna-ziti-, *Tiwa-ta-ziti- (="UTU-LÜ-i-), *Yarrá-LÜ-i- city names *Ankuwa-LÜ-, *Ŭala-ziti- (also TONITRUS.HALPA-VIR.zi/-a), *Ninuwa-LÜ- various appellatives *Ŭarwa-LÜ-i- ‘man of the road’, *Inn(a)ra-ziti- ‘man of the open country’ (see below), *Kuwalana-LÜ- (also EXERCITUS.VIR.zi/-a) ‘man of the army’, *Mwuwa-LÜ-i- (also Mu(wa)-VIR.zi/-a) ‘man of might/potency’ (see below), *Piḫa-ziti- (also Pi-ḫa-VIR.zi/-a) ‘man of resplendence; might’, *Ŭēḫa-LÜ-i- ‘man of the grandfather’ (probably thus with Yaḵubovich, Sociolinguistics, 91), *Ŭba-LÜ-i- ‘man of the dedication’, *Walwa-LÜ-i- (also LEO-VIR.zi/-a) ‘lion-man’, *Ḫattagga-LÜ- probably ‘bear-man’ (all Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, passim and Hawkins apud Herford, Siegel, 254, 261, 266, 268, 278; Ipre-sida/-a (Lycian; Melchert, DIL, 96 — following Carruba, = Inn(a)ra-ziti-, also = Imdřašoššaš in Lycia, as per Schütt, Die Sprache 35, 165, but with a false historical analysis); /Mo:waza-xidâ/-i ‘man of might’ attested in modified form in Carian Misaš (Adiego, Carian, 386), Pisdian Mo(u)nušta- (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 143), = Mošušuš in Cilicia (Zgusta, KP, 343). The attested forms cannot show the regular reflex of the Luvian name (compare the real Lycian -sida- in Ipre-sida-). Neither the voiceless stop nor the low vowel is explicable (contra Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 139, etc cannot represent [i]). Rather, with loss of the sense that the name was a compound, it was remodelled after Greek masc. names in -arri/aς for which see Leukart. Note that the simplex Mo(u)nuš Moς is attested in the first millennium, but crucially no simplex *Σuδi/aς. Colvin, ‘Names in Lycia’, 66–7, cites the similar remodelling of Lycian Purhimeši as Greek *Πορβιάτης (gen. Πορβιατοῦ) beside the direct rendering as Πορβιάτης.

(23) Parallel examples in feminine names are rare: *Ali-wanattī- ‘woman of Ali’ (Hittite Empire, Maṣat, HKM 113 Ro 11; Trémouille, ‘Répertoire’), *Ḫuroma-wanattī- ‘woman of Hurma’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 73 — thus far these are the unique examples with ‘woman’ parallel to ‘man’ in the preceding type). *Sin.IR-i- (Arma-) ‘servant of the Moon(-god)’, DINGIR.MES.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, Mωσοποτας in Lydia does not exist. As D. Schütt kindly reminds me, the text reads rather Mωσοεκού (see Schütt, Indogermanische Forschungen 106 (2001), 101 n. 7, citing O. Masson).


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(24) Second member is /walwa-/l- ‘lion’ (usually written URMAHA in cuneiform and LEO in hieroglyphs): *Arma-walwi- (LUNA-LEO, 2) ‘Lion of the Moon-(god)’ (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herboldt, Siegel, 250), *Mīwa-URMAH- ‘lion of might’, *Pīwa-walwi- ‘lion of resplendence; might’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 124 and 141), also attested as PI-ha-LEO- and variant PI-ha-ša-LEO- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herboldt, Siegel, 257–8).

(25) Second member is a deity: *Kuwažana-4-LAMMA- ‘tutelary deity of the army’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 102), /Halpa-tiwa-ra-/i.e. TONTRUS. HAlPA-pa-SOL-wa-i-ra/i- ‘Sun-god of Aleppo’, /Wasu-sar-ma-/i.e. wa/i-su-SARMA- ma- ‘Sarruma of good/favour’, and /Uluha-sar-ma-/i.e. AVUSHA-SARMA- ma- ‘Sarruma of the grandfather’ (HLuvian, respectively CEKKE, § 170, TOPADA, § 1–2, ERKILET 1, § 1; Hawkins, CHLI, 144, 452, 494).

(26) Second member is an abstract/result noun: Wašš-a-uba- ‘pledge-donation’ (kārum period; Laroche, Noms, 206), surely = Was-u-še- ‘idem’ (Lycian, TL 32u, 1; Melchert, DLL, 107 — identification by Laroche); Hišš%-duwe- ‘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)-l-Sar-ma-/ i.e. PRAE-ri-ti-SARMA-ma- ‘forward (= most prominent) Sarruma’ (HLuvian, KARKAMIŠ 4a, § 2; Hawkins, CHLI, 152); Epš-šuwa- ‘behind-grandfather = great-grandfather’(?) (Lycian, TL 127, 1; Melchert, DLL, 93), Š-guq- ‘super-/hyper-grandfather (idem)’ (Carian; Adiego, Carian, 419). See also the complex Dd-epš-šweve- ‘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) *Kummaya-LU- (*Kummaya-chi-)* ‘sacrament man’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 97, and also on Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herboldt, Siegel, 259 and 299), *Piyama-(a)-ra-du- ‘given devotee’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 141 — for the analysis see Melchert apud Yakubovich, Sociolinguistics, 93 and compare with a gentilical first member

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+mow: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: 'Išepa-muwa- 'having the might of Hepat', aštAR-miwa- 'having the might of Ġass̄a' (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 68 and 171), = ša-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 /Sandomu-/, i.e. Ṣa-ša-μu- (HLuvian, CEKKE § 171; 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-μοςς in Lycia (Zgusta, KP, 220).

(33) Topyonyms: 'Halpa-muwa- 'having the might of Aleppo', 'Mizra-A.A- 'having the might of Egypt', etc. (Laroche, Noms, 55 and 119 and passim), = mti-zi/a-rai/mu(wa)- (Hittite Empire hieroglyphic seals; Hawkins apud Herbordt, Siegel, 264–5), */Halpa-mo:wa/- also in the Kurzname /Halpanu-/, i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-mu- beside */Harrana-mo:wa/- in the Kurzname /Harrana-mu-, i.e. harra-i-na-mu- 'having the might of Harran' (HLuvian, CEKKE § 17K and § 17A; Hawkins, CHLI, 145–6), Kβd-mu- 'having the might of Kaunos' (Carian; analysis with Adiego, Carian, 370).

20 I. Yakubovich, 'The Luwian Names in -nuwa' (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.

4.6.1.3 X+/wasu- ‘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) *Ali-wasu- ‘having the favour of A.’, *Anni-wasu- ‘having the favour of the mother’(?) (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 33); Halpa-wasu-/*, i.e. TONITRUS.HALPA-pa-wa-t-su- ‘having the favour of Aleppo’ and /Tarhu-wasu(wa)-/*, i.e. TONITRUS-hu-wa-ti-su-wa-ti- ‘having the favour of Tarhunt-’ (HLuvian, respectively MARAŠ 11, § 7 and CEKKE § 171; Hawkins, CHLI, 271 and 146); the latter is attested also in *Tarhu-wasu- (Hittite Empire; Trémoouille, ‘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 was(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- = Owa(ɔ)-waksa-/*mu- ‘having the might of waksa-’. I interpret names from Caria with a second member -waksa, -wa-kas, -wa-t as containing the same element: Ποώ-ωσας, -ωας, -ωατ as containing the same element: Ποώ-ωσας, -ωας, -ωατ as containing the same element: Ποώ-ωσας, -ωας, -ωατ as containing the same element: Ποώ-ωσας, -ωας, -ωατ as containing the same element: Ποώ-ωσας, -ωας, -ωατ. For G. Neumann, ‘Spätliuwische Namen’, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 92 (1978), 127.

4.6.2 Adjective/Adverb+Noun
(38) *Pariya-mūwa- ‘having might beyond’, i.e. ‘having surpassing might’ and surely also *Pariya-watra- ‘having surpassing w.’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 137), *Uppara-mūwa- ‘having superior might’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 197—*uppara- ‘superior’ < PIE *upero- = Avestan upara- and German ober ‘upper, situated above’), = Οπρα-μος in Lycia and Οπρα-μος in Cilicia-Pamphylia. See Houwink ten Cate, LPG, 162–3, but with confusion of Οπρα- ‘superior’ with the distinct ὶβρα- (see correctly Schürr, Historische Sprachforschung 122, 127). Note also Pissian Ossop-δοςโ ‘having superior X’ (Brixhe, ‘Pisidie’, 146–7); /Ura-mo:wa-/*, i.e. MAGNUS+RAI-mu-wa-ti- ‘having great might’ (HLuvian, KULULU lead strip 1, § 2.3; Hawkins, CHLI, 506), Σαμασας ‘having super-*hyper-waksa-’ (cf. Adiego, Carian, 340).

4.7 Satznamen
While these are not unheard of elsewhere in Indo-Germania, 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 (SOV) 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(i)-esi- ‘he shall be high/exalted’ (Lycian, TL 44b, 18 ctc.; Melchert, DUL, 92—analysis with Neumann).23

4.7.1.2 Possessive (‘X shall be (to him)’ = ‘he shall have X’)
(40) /Asu-stalamantsa-/*, i.e. *d-sa-ti-wa-la-ma-za- ‘let name/renewed be (to him)’ and variants, /A:sti-wa-su-/*, i.e. *d-sa-ti-wa-su- ‘good/favour shall be (to him)’, /Asu-Tarhuntu-/*, i.e. *d-sa-ti-TONITRUS-hu-zə- ‘Tarhuntu- shall be (to him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARKAMIŠ A27u, l. 2, MARAŠ 11, § 7, KARKAMIŠ A7, § 8; Hawkins, CHLI, 165, 266, 129), Esi-tḫmta- ‘renewed shall be (to him)’ (Lycian, TL 35, 18; Melchert, DUL, 94—reading as a personal name and analysis with Neumann).24

4.7.2 Examples with Other Verbs
(41) /Manaha-Tarhuntu-/*, i.e. LITUUS+na-ha-TONITRUS-hu-zə- ‘I have seen Tarhuntu-’ (HLuvian; İVRİzł frag. 2; Hawkins, CHLI, 530);25 *Anza-paḫḫadu- ‘let him protect us’ and *mU-manaddu- ‘let Tarhunt- see (him)’ (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 34 and ‘Supplément’ no. 179a respectively—analysis with Yakubovich, Sociolingüística, 92–3, but for the second more likely ‘let him see Tarhunt-’ in view of the preceding HLuvian example); far more speculatively perhaps (HCM) *Mana-pa-/*U- = *Mana-pa-tərhu- ‘Just see (him), Tarhunt!’ and *Mušši-pa-/*U- ‘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) /Atša-tiwada-/*, i.e. (LITUUS) d-i-wa-ta- ‘the Sun-god’s favours’ and /Piya-tarhuntu-/*, i.e. p-i-ya-TONITRUS-hu-zə- ‘Tarhunt- gave/has given (him)’ (HLuvian, respectively KARATEPE passim and CEKKE § 17h; 23 G. Neumann, ‘Spätliuwische Namen’, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung 92 (1978), 127.
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.
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-/ /Tisna-ma- in CEKKE § 17 (Hawkins, CHLI, 146 and 150). Here syncope is unlikely in view of contemporaneous 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 -asidi-/ as second member (see above 4.5.1.2 (22)): *Tarhunazi- < *Tarhunda-zit- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 176—note also the abbreviated form of the first member, but the attestation is indirect, in an Assyrian source), /Mo:wasiti- /i.e. 1Mu-wa:zi- < *Muwa-ziti-, i.e. *Muwa-LU- /HLuvian, MARAŠ 1, § 1f etc.; Hawkins, CHLI, 262–3—his own reading Muwizi- is very unlikely, since the suffix -izza- never shows *-mutation*).

4.8.3 *Tarhu(n)miya- (Maşat, HKM passim; Hittite Empire), can hardly be explained with a suffix -mi- or by progressive assimilation of -piya-.* It is rather a Kurzname with the productive appurtenance suffix -iya- < *-iyo- from *Tarhu-minma- 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. múwa- ‘might, potency’, pihya- ‘resplendence, might’). Likewise Lycian Uwémeli- ‘regarded, favoured’ (TL 109,2; Neumann28 and Schürr, Historische Sprachforschung 122, 102) and

HLuvian /atsamami-/ ‘favoured’ (la-za-mi- in İZĠN 2, § 9 etc.; Hawkins, CHLI, 316). If Seditic Zem- is equivalent, in the absence of evidence for aphaeresis in native Seditic, it could be extracted from compounds like Ubazem- ‘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 there ‘X gave/have given’ or ‘given by/to X’?

43) *Iyara-SUM-ya- ‘Yarri-’, *Mašna-piya- ‘god(s)’, *U-SUM- *Tarhunt- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, passim), last example also in /Tarhu(n)tiya- /i.e. TONTRUS-hu-pi-ya- (HLuvian, MARAŠ 9; Hawkins, CHLI, 275), also Wese-piye- ‘W-’ (Lycian, TL 9,2 = Ososiaç (see Schürr apud Melchert, DLI, 107), and numerous indirect first-millennium examples in -nis, -nas, -nas etc. (Houwink ten Cate, LPG 176–7; Zugsta, KP, passim). Note that *Wuša-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) *Tarhu-minma- ‘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- (12SIN/MI-wiya-) ‘the Moon-god (has) sent’ or ‘sent by the Moon-god’, /Halpa-wiya- ‘sent to/by Aleppo’, /Parsına-wiya- ‘sent to/by the panther’, /Turguta-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-piye- = Ososiaç and *Wese-piye-me- = Ososiaç. This likewise is possible for *Tarhu-minna-

28 M. Giorgieri, ‘Schizzo grammaticale della lingua lirica’, in La civiltà dei lirici (＝ PP 55), 283 ff. The Luvian verb a(e)t- ‘to favour’ is used exclusively of deities, thus excluding a reading of /Asta-tiwada-/ as an imperative ‘Love Tiwad’!
28 G. Neumann, Glosario del Lykinsch. Überarbeitet und zum Druck gebracht von Johann Tischler (Wiesbaden, 2007), 413.
< *Tarhuventing*-mimmamma/i-< *Tunna-wiyamma/i- 'sent by/to Tunna'. However, there are no attested examples with a second member *-mimmama/i- or *-wiymama/i- and no second-millennium examples for those in *-piymama/i-. The second alternative is to assume Satznamen with a descriptively bare verbal stem 'derived' as per above 4.7.2 (42) by haplogy or more likely formed as in 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 "SUM-U- in Maṣat (HKM 63 Ro 1 and 64 Ro 3) is also far more likely to be *Piya-Tarhunza- 'Tarhunts (has) given', matching the attested Luvian, than *Piya-Demama- (thus Alp, Briefe, 88 followed by Trémaouëlle, 'Répertoire'). As discussed in Melchert, 'Reciprocity', only a tutelary deity is ever said to be given or dedicated to a person, as a part of his or her role. I therefore conclude that names with second members -piya-, -mimmma-, 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.39 One should therefore take seriously the possibility that Tarhi-bijêmi is a translation of Greek Ἀναλοῦστος, 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 Ἄρνητος, a Lycian who is the son of Meýstodôtòs (Colvin, 'Names in Lycia', 69). As seen by Schürer,39 Lycian *Urna-piḫûu- 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 *-mali- that probably contain a variant of the Luvian diminutive suffix *(a)mnali-i- (e.g. armnani-i- 'lunula' < arma- 'moon'). The most suggestive examples include:

(46) *Tarḫuni-, i.e. *U-ni- (Hittite Empire; Laroche, Noms, 176—this is unlikely to be a simple theophoric *Tarḫuni- because this form of the Storm-god's name is always *Tarḫnna-), also = first-millennium Ταρκωνις in Cilicia (Zgusta, KB, 488); *Zidanna/i- 'Manny' = *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' *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- (Staggod), Sanda- (war-god), and Tarhunza-Tarhunza- (Storm-god), but a striking disappearance of the Luvian Sun-god *Thwad(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.

39 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, Nominalkomposition und kompositionssähnliche Strukturen im appellativen Wortschatz des Hethitischen (Berlin, 2008).