Studies in Hittite-Luwian Names

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Hittite-Luwian was an archaic branch of the Indo-European language family. Hittite-Luwian languages were spoken in Anatolia in the second and the first millennia B.C. (and in some regions even in the first centuries A.D.). About Hittite-Luwian (HtL)[1] names we know from the cuneiform texts in Hittite, Palaic and Luwian as well as in some other, not HtL, languages; from Hieroglyphic Luwian (HierL); from letter-written texts in Lycian, Lydian and other HtL languages of the first mill. B.C.; from other languages of this period, especially from Greek inscriptions found in Asia Minor. We also have some dictionaries[2] as well as some special collections of Anatolian names.[3]

All HtL languages can be approximately divided in two subgroups: "Hittite" (Hittite and probably Lydian; also Kanesian: a language attested by some names in Assyrian texts of the beginning of the second mill. B.C.) and "Luwian" (most of the HtL languages including those of Isauria, Lycaonia, East Phrygia, Cilicia: languages of these territories are attested only by names and some glosses in Greek and other non-HtL versions); one has to keep in mind, however, that there are isophorms connecting a given language of one subgroup with the languages of the other subgroup. There are also two languages, cuneiform Palaic and letter-written Carian, which seem to be essentially "Luwian" but contain, at the same time, some important "Hittite" features. Palaic and Carian are, so to speak, Luwian and Hittite linguistic regions in the second mill. B.C., and Caria, as we know from historic facts of the first mill B.C., was situated between Lycia and Lydia. Let us take some linguistic examples.

The stem *diw- (< *deiwo-) "God" is found in Hittite, Lydian, Palaic, but also in Lycian. The stem mas(sa)na- "God" is found in Luwian, Hieroglyphic Lywian, Lycian and Carian (mesna-). In the former stem the initial *d- was palatalized and assibilated before *-i- in

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Hittite (*Siw-*), Lycian[4] (*ziw-*) and Lydian (*civ-*) but not in Luwian (*Tiwa-*) and Palaic (*Tija-*). Suffix of descent has in Hittite and Kanesian the form *-umna*; in "Luwian" languages it has the form *-*wa(n)na-*; but in Carian we seem to find both forms: cf. PN *Ekat-ōmnos*[5] (in Carian texts probably *-eketon*, cf. *-pleon*: Hit. *Plaumna*; *plñon*: *Palana-umna, -cf. below, #3), on the one hand, and Car. *ieavña-* (Lyc. A *ijâna-* : B **ijavñna-* < "Luw." **Iyawanna-*). (A strange parallel we find in Hit. *anna-wanna-* "stepmother," Luw. *anna-wanni-*, Luw. *tata-wanni-* "stepfather," Car. *kugvna* < **huhha-wanna-*? But these words are not built from place-names.)

Suffix of relationship (used as a correspondence to Hittite genitive ending) has a form *-assi-* in Luwian,[6] *-si-* in Lycian B and *-hi-* in Lycian A (*h* < *s); another suffix, *-li-* is used in Lydian and Carian (-λ < **-li-* in Carian).[7] But this *-l*-Suffix of Lydian and Carian is of the same origin as Luwian Suffix *-alli-* used, for instance, in *massanalli-* "divine" (cf. Car. PN *mesnaλ* < **Masnalli-*).[8] As for Lycian B, an archaic Lycian dialect, here we also find suffix *-li-* often used as a correspondence of Lyc. A. *-hi-* or *-zi-*, cf. Lyc. B *wesñteli-* : A *wehñtezi* "of Antiphellos." As for this *-zi*, it has an exact correspondence in Hit. *-zzi-* (IE **-tio-*), Lyd. *-τa-* (cf. *arm-τa-* "of Arma," *ak-τa-* "of the deceased"' cf. Lyc. B *eke*

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[4] Actually only archaic Milyan, or Lycian B, has conserved this old IE stem; but the primary formation, **dei-*/**di-* (on which **deiw-*/**diw-* is based) is found in Lycian A (i.e., the standard Lycian) either: *zehi*, an adjective to *zi* "day" (Lyd. *ci-* in 50.2 *cλ tralaλ* "at the third day"); it is important to notice that **di-* underwent assibilation of [d'] in Lycian A as well.

[5] About the citation of names from the first mill. B.C., cf. the section "Principles of citation of linguistic examples" at the end of this article.

[6] Cf. Palaic *-asa-* in some derivatives of DN though usually the relationship is expressed by genitive in *-as* in Palaic. Actually we find *-assa-* also in Hittite: Palaic and Hittite preserved the archaic final *-a-* in the suffix. As for genitive in **-as*, it is found in Hierogl. Luwian and Lycian A as well.

[7] Cf. Car. *tavśeλ*, a "possessive" in a PN-construction, which corresponds to Lyd. *tavśeli, cf. attested .forms *tavśaś* "mighty" (N.Sq.; *ś* = [s] < IE *s) and *tavśev̂* (Acc. Sq.). Carian name constructions of the type *A B-λ C-λ* "A, [son] of B of/from C" (sometimes only *A C-λ*, but sometimes even *A B-λ C-λ D-λ*) correspond etymologically and semantically to the Lydian name constructions of the type *A B-li- C-li-* (or *A B-li-*). When the word "tomb" is present in a Carian construction (Carian words for it: *umù* with synonyms; *λñas*, *λas*, *akseDea*) the pattern changes as follows: *TOMB A-λ B-λ (C-λ)*, or: *A-λ TOMB B-λ (C-λ)* (sometimes with . . . *D-λ*); accordingly, Lydian constructions are: *THIS TOMB A-li-s B-li-s (C-li-s)*. In Lydian, **-s* of the N.Sq. is mostly preserved; in Carian it is mostly lost (especially in PN); it is lost also in Lycian A and B. In older HtL, it is often omitted in PN (cf. the Carian!).

[8] If a "possessive" (cf. note 7) of *m(e)snaλ* is built its form is expected to be **m(e)snaλλ*; in reality we find Sq 50 *msnaλuλ*, with inserted [u], as in Lyd. *buλ* (= *bλ*, D/L.Sg. of *bi-* "he"), showing the phonetic nature of syllabic λ. Both, in Carian and Lydian, λ often originated from a palatalized *l* (i.e., [l']) but showed sometimes kind of labialized pronunciation, cf. Car. PN *λuχze* (in Greek version *Luksē-*) and some other names with λ, and not *l*, before *u*. In Carian script both letters — λ and *l* — seem to be genetically related: they both originated from the Semitic Lamed,

'ancestors'?, Car. *ak-seDea* "tomb"), and probably Car. *-ze*[9] (cf. *tda-ze-* "of the father"?, [*ta*]*daze-*: Lyd. *taada-*, (hier)Luw. *tati-* as opposed to "Hittite" *atta-*, cf. Lyd. *ata-*[10]; in Palaic we find a third stem: *papa-*). But in Lycian B we scarcely find *-zi*: *uplezi-* has a more regular variant *uplesi-* (to *uple-* < **uppa-la-* "higher")[11], and *erbbinezis* seems to be used instead of **erbbinesiz* (N/A Pl. of **erbbinesi*, a possessive to PN *erbbina*).[12] In numerals, to Lyc. A *-(z)zi* (*przzi* "first"), Car. **-zi* (PN *Panuassis* "Quintus") an *l*-suffix in Lyc. B corresponds (cf. Lyd. *trali-* "third", but also Hit. *-ll-*); in nomina agentis: Lyc. A *-za* (*maraza* "commander"; Heth., Pal. *marh-*, Lyc. *mar(a)-*), but **la-* in Car., Lyd. Hit. (cf. **mar-la-* in PN); cf. Lyc. A *zxxaza* "victor," etc. "Hittite" stem *ha/e/ista-* "bone" (IE **H₂*, not **H₃*) has a simplified correspondence in Luwian stem *hassa-*; Carian follows Luwian: PN *Kastōlos*, cf. Hit. *Hasta-li-* *"hero" (PN *Kastolos* was cited by Steph. of Byz. as Lydian, cf. LW 274, but it is surely Carian since it preserved laryngeals; Lydian lost them in all positions, cf. a Lydian gloss *lailas* explained as "túrannos" by Hesych: to Hit. *lahhijala-* "hero of the war": LW 275). In Caria we find the corresponding name *Kostōllis*.[13]

Car. λ having preserved a very archaic form of it close to that of Semitic Lamed of thirteenth/twelfth centuries B.C.

[9] Hittite correspondence of IE **-tio-* is actually *-zzija-*, which is very close to the original form; it seems that both Lyd. *-τa* and Car. *-ze-* are also close enough to it (there was a broad *e* in Carian as shown by *mesna* < **masna-* etc.). In Lycian, along with secondary *-zi*, a form *-za* seems to exist. — Cf., in this connection, the Hittite suffix *-talla-* of nomina agentis to which in Luwian the secondary form *-talli-* makes a pair; in Lycian B we find not a "Luwian," but a "Hittite" variant *-t(a)la: neitala* "leader," *mutala* "mighty."

[10] Lyd. *ata-* is a PN, probably borrowed from a "purely Hittite" language; cf. a broad use of this stem in the "Luwian" onomastics (cf. also Lyd. PN *tivda*: a borrowing of a "purely Luwian" non-palatalized stem *Tiwat-*? — Lydian has *civ-*).

[11] Cf. Hit. adjective *annala/i-* "earlier" to Hit. and Luw. *anna-n* "under" (with exact correspondence in Lyc. *ênê* "under" in spite of Tischler's doubts: HEG 26); Lyc. B *ñtelija* (d/L. Pl.) to Lyc. *ñte* "in" and "down"; also "further" (in time; cf. also *ñte-ñte* "further and further" in the Trilingual); cf. HierL. INFRA-*ta* [anda] "down"; HierL *à-ta* [anda] means both "in" (mostly) and "down" (sometimes); *anda* "down" is "luwian," opposed to Hit. *katta*, Lyd. *kat-* "down" < IE **kat-* (not **kṃt-*): this stem has nothing to do with Hit. *-kan* (IE **kom*; cf. *-san* < **som*): cf. V. Toporov in *Ètimologiia* 1971, M. 1973, 286 sqq.

[12] This is why we cannot accept R. Gusmani's (*Paideia* 20, 1965, 334) and L. Zgusta's (*Neue Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Anthroponymie*, Prag 1970, 27 sq.) interpretation of *Erbbina* (= Αρβιννας) as a place-name and not a PN; we may say that to Lyc. A *-zi* a Lyc. B *-li* corresponds, and to Lyc. A *-ñni* a Lyc. B *-wñni*: derivation from PIN.

[13] It is very probable the Lyc. *xistte* belongs here: 44a29*xistte : ênehi : se xñnah*[*i*] "at/on the *x*. (D/L.) of the mother and the grand-mother" (probably connected with the accusative-object in a28:*przzê : cum*[*ê*] "the first sacrifice"). Lyc. *xistte* may have a good correspondence in Hit. *hesta-* "mausoleum" (or something like this); cf. our *xistte* with Lyc. B 44d17-8 *me*[*pd*]- *urade : erikle-be : trqqñti . . . tiu ñtada xñnije*: "Heracles sacrificed (?) to the Tarhuntas the **tija* at the mausoleum of the Grand-mother (D/L. Pl.) . . . ." Cf. also 44a32 *xistte wawadra* (D/L. Pl.): for this latter word cf. *wedri* 'city' (*wawadra* = "of (various) cities"?).

From these examples we may learn about the existence of various possibilities: for instance, two inherited forms can be divided between two subgroups (but sometimes could be traced in all or almost all languages); the use of a given inherited form can be limited to one subgroup (and in the other subgroup we may find an innovation); we may deal with innovations only; a given subgroup or a single language, conserving an archaism, may as well acquire an innovation, and so on.

There are many cases when an archaism is preserved in Hittite (and Kanesian: the "purely Hittite" languages) and innovations appeared in all (or most of) the other languages; sometimes the innovation had appeared already in Hittite but remained undeveloped there.

As. A. Lehrman has shown (cf. his article, *supra*), Hit. *Walkuwa-* belongs not to *welku-* "grass" (erroneously Laroche in NH 339) but to IE *$*w\underline{l}k^wo-$* "wolf"; in other languages we find -*w*- instead -*k(u)w*-: PN *Walwa/i-* (*Walwi-* to Hit. *Walkui-*), -*walwa/i-* in "Luwian" regions; Lyd. *valvel*, probably Car. PN *mké-veλvu* (cf. also names cited by Sundwall ENL 59, s.v. **balba*: Is. *Balbioas*, ON *Balboura*), cf. HierL *Ura-walw-*.

Here we have a weakening of intervocalic labiovelar: cf. Hit. **pankuazzi-* IE *$*p\underline{n}k^wo-tio-$* : Car. *Panuassis* lit. "Quintus" (-*ss*- alternates with "Sampi"; cf. Car. -*ze*- < **-tio-* above?), Lyc. PN *pñnute-* "Quintus" < *$*p\underline{n}k^wtó-$* (with another suff.).

Cf. also Lyd. *śrfa-śti-* "upper": Hit. *sarku-* "lofty" (assimilation like in Lyd., Car. [sfe/a-] **swe/o-* (cf. #8).

The process of weakening was probably *$*k^w > xw > w$*, same with group *kw* instead of a labiovelar. A weakening of *k^w* or/and *k* before *u* is known in Palaic. In HierL the IE *$*k^w$* turned *hw* both in an- and inlaut; the same happened here with a sequence [kw], e.g., in *hwa/iza-* "incise" (Luw. *kwi-*, Hit. *kuwa[n]sk-*, Lyd. -*qê-*, Car. -*kù*).[14] In Carian, the relative pronoun had the forms *ku*, *ùu*, *-o* (cf. Engl. *whu*, Germ. *wer*, Arm. -*o*),[15] and what was written as *ku* was pronounced as [xu]

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[14] J. Hawkins compares the HierL and the Hittite form also with Hit. *kwen-* (*The negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, Anatolian Studies* 25, 1975, 119, note 9). In this case *kwen-* can not be derived from IE *$*g^when-$*. The mentioned forms originate from IE **kaw-* "to beat" (Germ. *hauen*); Lydian shows that a sequence [kw] (< *k^Vw*-) can be treated as a labiovelar (both represented by *q*). Carian *nDa-kù, nda-kù* always means "incised, wrote" (cf. the following note). It is not quite clear under which circumstances Carian lost the ending **-s* or **-t* of the past tense (preserved in *nuDod, slmod, sos, los, dans, sad, lλt*; lost in *sava*); Lycian changed **-t* to -*t/de* (Luw. -*ta*).

[15] In archaic constructions which were also represented in Lycian: "A who V" (for instance "A who built"; we should say: "A built"); cf. also constructions in old HtL languages with *ku, kuwa* without the ending -*s* of nominative. Some Carian examples are: Lion-inscription (after *s*-datives) *ovra ku nDakù* "dedications (Acc.pl.) who incised" (PN follows: *ovra* is neutr. pl. to **ov-ri*, cf.

(cf. HierL *hw-i-* "who," Pal. *ku* [xu]?) since in Carian *k (also k in *k^w) was represented by the same letter (Khi) as the laryngeal (HtL *h, hh*); there was no kappa in Carian. Probably Lyd. *q* was not [k^w] but [xw].[16]

IE *g, *gh were preserved in Hittite but they seem to be lost in most other HtL languages.[17] In Lydian, *g* is extremely rare and alternates with *k*; IE *g, *gh*, becoming fricatives, were lost in Lydian along with HtL *h(h)*. In Lycian and Carian, *g* represents HtL *h(h)* (IE *H_2), not *g.[18] In Palaic, -*g*- could alternate with zero representing a weakened laryngeal (so, *g* had here a fricative pronunciation). As for IE *g^w, *g^wh, they have lost their guttural components in all HtL languages except Hittite:

IE *g^wou- "cow" became *waw*- in Luwian, HierL and Lycian;

IE *$H'eug^wh-/H'weg^wh$- "proclaim" (etc.) gave following results: Luw. *uwai*-, Lyc. B. *uwe*-, Lyd. *u(ve)*-, *o*-, Car. *ov*-; HierL *uwami*-; Lyc. PN *uwêmi*.

So we see that the IE voiced stops underwent even stronger weakening compared with voiceless counterparts. IE laryngeals were

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Lyd. *o*- etc.); 2 (after PN) *iks-n-o nDa-kù* "inscription (?) who incised" (-*n* is the usual accusative ending; -*o* corresponds to *ku* 'who'); 56 *pλ-o ndakù* (usually *pλ* is an adverb "here," *p*- to Lyd. *bi*-, Lyc. *ebe*-, HtL *apa*- < IE *e-bho*-); 59 [. . .] *plñòt$^?$ ùû ndakù* (cf. PN 60 *gleps plñonλ*; *t$^?$* in 59 is either possessive suffix like in 60 or the indication of the subject: -*t ùû* "that who"; cf. 4 *slra-t los*, 14 *λuχze-t sava*: cf. postpositional article of this kind in Slavic; cf. Lyd. -*t(-)* alternating with -*s(-)* in the chains of introducing particles; Lyd. *t*; Lyc. B *te* as subject: "he"); 56 *uû-n* (in construction similar to 59; -*n* corresponds to Lyc. *ne*, indication of accusative); Sq. 50, 51 and 55 *ùu-n* (. . .) *sad* "who-this wrote" (a PN follows: *û* does not appear in Bouhen where these latter inscriptions were found); 5 *mavèuén slmod-o* "M. who dedicated" (or the like: to Lyc. B *slama*-); this archaic type of construction seldom appears in Caria (here the inscriptions are much younger), — we may mention 99 *t$^?$évl nuDod-o nakok* (*nuDod* seems to be 3rd Sg. past).

[16] It seems that Lyd. *q* (letter+) corresponds to Car. *h* (letter+, x), cf.: Lyd. *Laqrisa* "stone" (with inscription): Car. 108.5 (D/L. Pl.) *lahr-ns* (after the verb *liles*): Lyc. B *laKra*; cf. also Car. -*he* (a connecting particle used after the second and/or third word but not after the first): Lyc. -*ke*: Lyd. -*k* < *-*k^we*. Carian *h*, like Lyc. B *K*, was used after *a* and before *a* (also before *e*: a broad vowel in Carian). Before *u* Carian, Lydian and Lycian used *k*, not *h/q/K*. In Lycian *k^wi*- became *ti*, in Lyc. A *k^we*- became *te/τe*- (in Lyc. B *ke*-??). So we have, at least for the beginning of the word, a different distribution of gutturals before neutral, palatalized and rounded vowels: cf. the distribution of sounds representing laryngeals in Lycian and Carian (Lyc. B *x* before *a/u, q* before *e/i, g* before *a*; Car. *k* before *a/u*, but originally before *u*, cf. *ku* "who," with the same letter; *g* before *i*? and+/x before *a*?). Cf. dentals: Lyc. B *d*-, A *dd*- before *a/e, z*- before *i, t*- before *u*: all from IE *d, and so on; consonants were sensitive to the following vowels.

[17] Cf. Hit. *tegan* "earth" (IE *dheghōm*), *Dag(a)n*- in PN, Luw. *tijammi*-, Lyd. *cam-, Lyc. *zâ* (object to *qñta*- "cultivate" in the Trilingual), *tamas* (acc. Pl.), *zêm̂*- (in adjective *zêm̂tija*, neutr. Pl.) *$zêmi$- (as we see, Lydian goes with "Luwian").

[18] Car. *g* originates from *h in *sfae-gzo*- (cf. #1) *kug-vna* (*$Huhha$-wanna*-). In one word it alternates with *i*, so we may say that *g* was pronounced like a fricative in Carian, exactly like Greek Gamma which could represent a sound [i̯] in the glosses (cf. for instance Gr. *tegoun* [teiun] as a transcription of a Lydian word, meaning "thief," derived from HtL *taja*- "to steal": LW 277).

weakened in HtL languages in such a way that only $*H_2$ can be established for sure (as *h, hh*): but even this fricative underwent further weakening so that to Hit. *parh-* "to chase" in Luw. corresponds *para-, papra-* and in Lycian B *pre-, pabra-*; cf. Hit. *eshar/nnas* "blood," Luw. *ashan-*, Lyc. *esêne-* (B), *señne* (A), Lyd. *sanê-*, Car. *San-* (# 7); Hit. *ishama-* "bind" (IE *seH-), Lyc. *sm̂ma-, sâma-, sm̂me(-)*. As we mentioned already, HtL *h* disappeared in Lydian, cf. *iśa-* : Hit. *isha-* "master," but also: *ânтē-*: Hit. *handai-* "to regulate," *eśa-*: Hit. *hassa-* "offspring."

We may also notice that not only weakening was involved in the processes described above but also, on the first stages, a strengthening caused by the tendency to a consonant shift (of German or Armenian type): a strong *k* or *kᵂ* is pronounced like *kh, kᵂh*, and then it becomes a fricative *x* or *xw*, for that matter. This *xw* may become *w* in weak (intervocalic) position.

By this tendency to sound shift the following facts can be explained: use of *dd-* for **d-* in Lycian A (where the more archaic Lycian B contains *d-*: #12); use of "double Delta"⟨ in Carian for **d* (cf. Lyc. A *dd-*); Carian letters in the shape of Theta and Khi for **t* and **k* respectively; Car. and Lyd. Beth both for **bh* and **p*; absence of *b-* in Lycian A (i.e., *p-* both for **p* and **b(h)*; same in B where only *busa-* is used with *b-*; it corresponds to Car. *buvse-* IE **bheu-*; so we have here a special fricative for **bh* before *u*); use of *f* in Lydian for **p* (not before *i*: before *i* the letter *b* was used for **p*); disappearance of Pi in Lyd. and Carian and appearance of Phi (Pi was used only in oldest inscriptions; Phi with the sound meaning *f* was used only in the newest inscriptions); use of *t* for **d* in Lycian stem for "two" (IE **dw-*), — only in Lyc. B; in Lyc. A it became *k*; use of *t/z* for IE **dh* in Lycian (which probably changed to a voiceless fricative; cf. Lyc. *p-* both for **p* and **bh*; Car. and Lyd. Beth both for **p* and **bh*; use of Gamma for voiceless laryngeals in Lycian and Carian as well as for *k* [> x?] in Lydian).

Resuming, we may notice that HtL languages stood close to each other linguistically. Take Lydian, for instance: it shows close relationship both to "Hittite" and "Luwian". Like in Hit., **kᵂ* (Lyd. *q*) is found in all positions, but it was weakened to [hw] like in HierL (cf. Lyd. *fisfid, visvid* <**kᵂiskᵂid*; Car. *ku* [xu] : *úu* [wu], *-o* "who"), and in inlaut it lost often the guttural element of *kᵂ*, like "Luwian" languages; but this phenomenon is noticed in Hittite itself which was just a more archaic and steadier language in this connection. An inherited but considerably strengthened tendency to change consonants according to the following vowel worked in all HtL languages, in

Lydian too (cf. also a variety of labiovelar reflexes in Lycian and Carian). As for the vowels, they themselves could become influenced by a "vowel-harmony" (Lycian).

1. HtL names including stem *has- "to give birth."

This stem is represented in many names and words. The IE etymology is not clear yet. In HEG 142 the existence of two IE stems are postulated: Arian *asu-, Hit. has- "give birth," on the one hand, and Germanic *ansu-, Anat. ham(a)sa- (in Luw. hamsa-, HierL hamasa- "Grand-son"), on the other hand. With this latter the Hit. hanza- is compared but it had not the meaning "Grand-son," but, instead, the meaning "descendant(s)." Phonetically the identification of ham(a)sa- with hanza- is not good, though hanza- : *ansu- is quite possible. Hit. hanza- is of course comparable with Lyc. B qñza(D.Pl.) "descendants." In Lycian B and in Carian, to the stem has- (cf. Hit. hassa- "descendant")[19] stems with -z- belong (Lyc. B qzze, qezm̃mi; Car. -kzo-; see below) which makes the reconstruction *hns- possible also here: cf. Lyc. B. ending -(i)z < *-en(t)s; z = voiced s. But the problem is far from being settled.

IE *-o-stem (HtL *-a-) is represented in the above mentioned hassa-, HierL hasa-, Lyd. eśa-, Lyc. PN dda-qasa (dda- to HtL *da- IE *do- "to"). This latter form shows Lycian A shape (dda- and not da-; s and not z in *hns-) though the *s has not become h yet. To this type (-a-stem) probably belong also Lyc. B epe-qzzi "descendant" (lit. "after-born"; cf. dda-qasa, Hit. *appezziya-hsu) with a new -i (transfer to -i-stems), qzze (D.Pl. of qzzi), Lyc. A qehñ "kin" (Acc. Sg.) and Car. compounds PN ms-kzo (but cf. Innara-hsu below) and PN or a term of relationship sfae-gzo (cf. # 8). In Hittite, we find compounds PN Hasa-iskuwama, Hasa-(a)rti, Hasa-mili (cf. Lyc. mla "kin," and Hit. -pili : Lyc. -pla "kin"? cf. # 3).

HtL -i-stem is represented by PlN Hassi; this stem is also found in PN Hasi-uman lit. "man of (the city) Hassi."

It is difficult to determine the type of stem in Pn and PlN preserved in Greek version but mostly it seems to be either the -a-stem or the new "Luwian -i-stem" of the type Lyc. B qzzi:

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[19] Hit. hassa- means "offspring of the first generation," hanzassa- "offspring of the second generation"; those identification were made by H. Craig Melchert independently of Lycian facts (cf. his article Hittite hassa hanzassa in *IE studies II*, Harvard Univ. [Cambridge] 1975, 298 ff); on the other hand, the identification of Lyc. *hassa, qñza as "descendants" was made independently of these results of study of Hittite texts: the Lycian gives sufficient data itself.

Pis PN *Kasias*, Cap. PN f *Kason*, Pis.-Lycaon. PN f *Kasi-liggē* (cf. Is. PN *Nini-liggēs*, Lyc. *Parpo-lingis*, to IE **prep-*, cf. IEW 845) with the second component probably connected with Hit. *lingai-* "oath." Cf. also place-names Car. *Kasa, Kasolaba* etc. (**laba* is often used in PN and PlN; cf. Lyc. B *lebi, lelebe-*).

Has- as second component of PN: *Torlon-gasos* ("South-Phr."-Lycaon.; to Lyc. PN *turl(l)a-*; so *Torlon-gasos* means simply "descendant of T.") and Pis.-Lycaon. *Morlō-gasis* (to "South-Phr."-Lycaon. *Merlatēs*, Pis. *Merlatēs, Merlas* < **mar-la-*; cf. Lyc. *mar(a)-* "command," "Luw." *marh-* "succeed," etc.). Zgusta erroneously connected *Morlō-gasis* with Pamph. *Lōgasis* (KPN 557); in reality *Lōgasis* and *Lōgbasis* belong to **laha-* and **laha-ba-* accordingly (cf. Lyc. B *laxa-* "struggle") meaning probably "warrior" (cf. also Lyc. *xtta/xttba-* "beat" ~ "battle").

There are some suffixed forms built from **has-*:

Suff. **-tio-* > **-zzi-*: Car. PN *Kasēsi, Kasēsus* (probably to Car. -*ze-*).[20]

Suff. **-bho-* > *-ba-*: Lyc. *xahba* "descendant" (sic), cf. Lyc. B *pasba* (# 2).

Suff. *-n-* (probably originally *-nn-* of the *-r/n-* stem *hassatar/-nnas*, cf. Hit. *hassanna-* "kin(sman)" though PN *Hassana* is ritten with *-a-na-*): Hit. *Hasa-na*, Lyc. *xϑϑâna* (D.Pl. "to the relatives/descendants"), *qehn̂nedi* Instr. of the same word, probably Pis.-Is. demoticon *Kasōniatēs*.

Suff. *-nd-* of the participles Lyc. B *xzzât-* "son" or "kin" ' Hit. *hassant-* "son," lit. "born"; Lyc. A (Tril.) *xesn̂tedi* < **xesn̂teli*.[21]

Suff. *-mi-* of the passive participles ("Luwian"): HierL *hasmi-* "descendant"; Lyc. B *qezm̂mi* "man" (?), "descendant/kin"; Lyc. *Kasemios*, Pis. *Kosamas, Kismis*; cf. also *Kasmos* (KPN 686).

Only in Cappadocia the Hittite-Kanesian stem **hsu* "descendant" as second component of compound names was found (cf. Hit. *hassu-* "king," HierL *hasu-* "descendant"); *Niwa-hsu* (to IE **neu-* "new," lit. "new-born"), *Wala-hsu, Ata-hsu, Nakia-hsu, Apizia-hsu* (cf. above **appezzija-hsu*), *Udnia-hsu, Inara-hsu, Taru-hsu* (for details cf. NH 299 sqq.). It seems that Car. *-k/gzo* may belong here (cf. *ms-kzo*, with *ms-* to *mesna-* "God" and Hit. *Innara-hsu* with DN *Innara-*) but it is

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20 Cf. *tda-ze-*, [*ta*]*da-ze-* (**tada* "father"); PN λ*ux-ze-* (probably lit. — "the Lucian," from Lukka etc.); cf. Lyd. *arm-τa* "of Arma," Lyc. *atanâzi* "the Athenian."

21 Cf. preliminary publication of the text in transliteration: *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et des belles-lettres* (Paris, 1964), 85 (the Greek version), 115 sqq. (the Lycian version), 135 sq. (the Aramaic version).

more likely that -*k/gzo* corresponds to Hit. *hassa-*, Lyc. -*qasa*, Lyd. *eśa-* etc. since it is a much more frequent and versatile stem (cf. above). Hit. *hassu-* is the base for an -*a*-derivative *hassuwa-*: cf. PN *Hassuwa*; *hassu-* or *hassuwa-* is present in compound names *Hassu-ili, Hasuara, Hassuw-assu* (lit. "agreeable to the kin").

Cited names in Greek version always give initial Kappa, never Gamma. It means that the stem **has-* was always pronounced with the voiceless fricative (when this stem was not used as a second element of compounds: here some sporadical voicing could appear). In Car. *sfae-gzo-* g probably indicates a palatalized pronunciation (after *e*) and not voicing; in Lycian, *g* corresponded to a voiceless laryngeal as well (though it was lax, not tense, probably half-voiced phonetically). Cf. also Lyc. B *K* in *laKra* "stone" which in its shape corresponds to Sid. *g* in *iśtratag* (a borrowing from Greek).[22] In Lycian *x* in *xah-/xzz-* is used when an *a* followed this fricative (even when this *a* disappeared later as in *xzzât-* < **xazât-*); *q* is used before *e*; *qeh-, qezmmi, qzzi* < **qezi*. Nevertheless, in an archaic form *(dda)qasa* we find *q*, and not *x*. It must be mentioned that the above described distribution of *x* and *q* is much clearer in Lycian B than in Lycian A. The third Lycian laryngeal, *g*, is not used in this stem (*g* is a rare letter).

2. IE **pe/os-* "kin," etc. in HtL names

Pokorny (IEW 789) reconstructs a IE **pāsó-s* "relative" (?) in Gr. *pēós, paós*; cf. also **pāso-* in Lat. *pāri-cīda* "Mörder an nahen Verwandten"; on the other hand, we have IE **pes-/pos-* in OI *pásas-*, Gr. *péos* "penis," Hit. *pes-na-* "man," Gr. *pósthe* etc. Probably these two stems are connected (cf. also "active" movement designations in Slav. **pas-* and **pes-*). Nonetheless, in HtL it is possible to identify a stem **pas-* or, better, **pes-* meaning both "to give birth" (here better: "to impregnate" ~ "conceive") and "kin/descendant," etc., exactly

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[22] Lyc. B *K*, Sid. *g* are letters obviously derived from the sign represented by "angular" Gamma. As Lycian *g*, Sid. *g* could be used to transcribe Gr. *g* in indigenous texts (probably Gr. *g* was pronounced as [γ]. So phonetically Lyc. B *K*, Lyc. *g*, Sid. *g* (and probably Car. *g*; cf. also Lyd. *g* which interchanged with *k*) was close enough to Gr. *g*. This status of the corresponding late HtL sounds is revealed also by the fact that Lyc. *g* (being used to represent HtL **h*) usually appears between vowels (-*age*, etc.); that Lyc. B *K* appears either between two *a* or in the neighborhood of *r* (and *a*). Exactly in these positions (between vowels and next to *r*) the stops become voiced (or etymologically voiced stops became fricative) in Lycian, Lydian and other late HtL languages: the above mentioned labiovelar in Lyc. B *laKra*, Car. *lahra*, Lyd. *laq(i)ri-* has probably lost entirely the guttural component in Lyd. (in Gr. Version) *labrus* "axe" (*"(cutting) stone"), Greek borrowing *laura* ("narrow path in stone"), luw. *lawar-* "to break."

what we have in *has-* (cf. # 1). Here are some parallels:

Lyc. PN *ddapssṁma* **da-psa-ma/i-*, *Dapasa* = **dda-psse*, with prefix like in *dda-qasa* (cf. *qezṁmi*) and *(ese-)de-plêmi-* (to IE **pel(H)-* "fill/impregnate," cf. # 3); cf. also *(ese-)de-ñnewe* "descendants/kin" (IE **neu-* "new") and *dde-newe-le/dde-(e)pñ-newe-*, # 9. Prefixes *d(d)a-* "to," *ese-* "after," *epñ-/epe-* (cf. *epe-qzzi*, # 1) are often used in words with general meaning "after(born)," cf. also prefix *ñte-* "down" ("after" in time: like Hit. *katta*) in Lyc. *ddé-ñt-i-mi, apñn-ât-a-ma, ñte-mle*, # 4.

Lyc. *psse, psseje, eri-psse, zi-psse* are designations of people surely "positively" used (*psse* "kin"; *eri-psse, zi-psse* "king," cf. *eri-j-upama* "very lofty"; *ziu pasbu* Acc.Sg. "mighty? people/army"; *zi-* to IE **d(e)i-*, like in *zi-* "day" or *zirei-* ~ German *zieren*; cf. also positive designation *zirêple/(med)erêple*) Lyc. B *pasb(b)a* corresponds to Lyc. A *xahba*; originally both words meant probably "birth/born," *pasb(b)a* means "kin/army?," *xahba-* "descendant" in texts (for original meaning cf. Slav. *sem'a* "sperm; descendant/kin," etc.).

Cf. further, Hit. *Sunu-passi*, PlN *Sulu-passi, Hara-pasa/* f *Hara-pseli*, PlN *Pisa* and PN *Pesa-hsu* and *Anu-pisa*.

A parallel to the type *-hsu* (# 1) is probably *-psu* in Hit. *Arana-psu*.

A parallel to *Hassana* is PlN *Salli-passana* (lit. "Great Kin") and *Taru-psanija* (cf. *Taru-hsu*).

In Lyc. we find a PN *pssura* (in possessive *pssureh*), to **Ura* "Great"; *-ps* as a second component of PN (type *zi-psse*) is found in Carian: *gle-ps, ϑeg-ps, sùzrme-ps* (the first component here is probably also a compound, **suwa-Zarma* or **Swa-zarma*, but last line makes it possible to reconstruct [*ù*]*sù-zrme-* < **Wasu-zarma* (?)).

Forms like Hit. (-)*pisa, Pesa-* show the original **e* in the stem **pes-*; Ø in *-psi*; forms with *a*(Hit. *-passi* etc.) show the reduced grade **pᵉs-* (this reduction is also seen at the doubling of *s*; cf. also Lyc. *pss-* [pᵉš] < **pes-/pos-*); theoretically we may limit our reconstruction to the stem **pe/os-*, omitting **pas-*. Lyc. B *(trṁmile) pise* (D/L.Pl.) belongs probably to the grade **pēs-*, cf. A *xistt-* to Hit. *hest-* ([hēst-]), *-time* to **dhēm-*; cf. also Hit. *-pila/i-* : Car. *Peld-* (below). Cf. the difference between the **e-* fullgrade and reduced stem in (*qētri*)*here:hri* (**ser-*); cf. : *hri* (**ser-Sara*); cf. also *qêtri-* : *qñtr-*.

3. IE **pelH-* "fill; impregnate" in HtL names

About this IE stem cf. my paper in *MSS* 36, 1977: *Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Lykischen und Milyischen*. Here we

find again the pair *p(al)la-* : *plemi-* of the type *hassa-* : *hasmi-, psse-* : *pssmma-*, PN "Luw." *Titai* : *Titaimi* (cf. Luw. *titaimmi-*, Lyc. A *tideimi* "son" < IE *dhei̯-*). Again we find prefixes meaning "after" which are to be understood, together with following stems as "after-born" though sometimes a different interpretation is possible, cf. Russ. *na-* in *narodit'* "give birth to many" / *narod* "people" (cf. simplexes *rodit'* "give birth" / *rod* "kin"; cf. Lyc. B *mla* and *ñte-mle* "offspring" / "descendant" and "kin" accordingly); cf. also with double prefix *po-na-rodit'* and *po-rodit'* / *poroda* "race, breed" (cf. *po-m'ot* "brood," *metat'* "to throw"). Slav. *po-* means both "after" or "on," it is related to Hit. *pe-*, Lyd. *fa-* etc. Still another interpretation of HtL adverbs could be found in *epñ-xuxa* (Lyc. PN) lit. "after Grandfather"; probably the internal sense of the combination here is the wish to follow the Grandfather: cf. *ap(i)-waxssa* in PN, something like "after glory."

The prefix *-mi* is found in late HtL names built from the stem *pel-*: Lyc. *ep-plemi* (cf. *plm̃ma-*), *ese-de-plêmi* and, without prefix, also Car. *Peldemos* (suff. *-k-* in *Peldekos*, cf. Lyc. *udre-ki*, Lyd. *aśtur-ko-*), cf. compounds in Car. *Pana-blēmi-* and Lyd. *istu-beλm(i)-* (cf. *Astu-pala-* without *-mi-*, — or, if interpreted in another way, *ištubeλmli-* may reveal *-mli-*: a correspondence to Lyc. *mla/e* "descendant," Hit. *-mili* in PN?).

The above mentioned *Astu-pala(ia)* is a place-name and does not correspond well to Lyd. *istu-* phonetically (*istu-* > *stu-*, cf. *-hsu,.* *-psu?*). Probably we have to compare this compound with PIN Cil. *Kasta-bal(l)a* (*hasta-* "bone," "strong"; *h* lost in Lydian region; cf. also PIN Car. *Stro-belos* (< IE *ster-* "strong," also in Lyc. B *sttrm̃mi*[23]), *Kōsto-balon* (name, or probably a nickname of a Carian general, lit. "Strongman").

Pel- as second component appears also in HtL *Saha-ppala, Parsi-pala*, Lyc. *huni-pla* (cf. *-pra* from *per-* in HtL PN)::*Wada-pra, Kikki-pra*; *ser* in: *Wali-sra*, cf. *Wala-pra* etc), probably also in HtL *Pija-pili, Aranha-pila(nni), Aranha-pili-zzi*. As first component this stem is present in *Palla-tati, Pala-tuwa, Palla-(a)rija*, cf. also *Palla-wanda* "rich on people" in PIN *Palunda*, Lyd. PIN *Blaundos*)"plentiness" is shown by reduplication in *Pala-ppala-*: cf. PN *Palappalassa*).

Simple stems in *-a, -i, -u* (and *-u-* + *-a-*) are also present (cf. *Hassa, Hassi, Hassu, Hassuwa*): name of the country *Palla* (i.e., "people"),

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23 Cf. also Lyc. PN *zima-sttra*. These forms seem to be connected with IE *(s)ter(H)-*, IEW 1022: a stem designating firmness. Lyc. B *sttrm̃mi* is a synonym to *pasba* "army"; cf. *stro-* in Slavic words meaning hard work, etc.; there is also a *-mo-* derivation in Slavic (a close parallel to Lyc. B *sttrm̃mi*).

PN *Pala* (with redupl.: *Papala*), Cil. *Blas*; PN *Pali* (and enlarged by -*a*-: *Pa/illija*); *Pallu*, *Palluwa* (and Lyc. B *plluwi*, attr. to *mlu*, Acc.Sg., "kin," Lyc. PN *Plua*, Car. *Plous*, Cil. *Plōs*, Car. *Plōteas*, Is. *Plou-simnes?*); cf. also *Pallu-wara* (**wara* "help"), *Palu-luwa* (and Is. PN *Lou-palleis* < **Luwa-palla?*). — Or partly to **pleu-*?

Suffixed forms: *Palla/u-nza*, Cil. *Ble-nd-ios*, Lyc. B *ple-li-* (a designation of people, not a name), Lyc. A PN *ple-zzi-*[24] Lyc. B *plejere*[25], HtL *Pal(l)ana* (cf. *Hassana*, # 1) : Car. *pl-ñ-on* < **Pallana-umna* or -*wana* (cf. Car. PN *rav-pleon* < **Arawa-Palla-umna?*), cf. *Palan-aswe* (Lyd. *aśfa-* "good"), Lyc. B. *palara?* (not a name, but *palaraima* means probably "in the shape of people"); Lyc. PN *ploasas* (*plluwa-za?*); about -*k*- and -*mi*- cf. above.

Probably to our stem belong PN Pis. *plo-sena*, Pis.-Lycaon. *Pol-oksos* (**Pala-waxssa* "Glory of the kin"?), Lyc. *Pla-darma*.

Hit. -*ll*- indicates the origin from IE **lH*-; forms of the type HtL *pil*-, Lyd. *beλ*-, Car. *Peld*- signal an *e*-vocalism (Car. -λ-, represented by -*ld*- in Greek versions, originates from a palatalized *l'*; cf. also the Lydian).

4. *"Luw" aja-, "Hit." ija- "make; create; give birth"*

A "South-Phryg."-Lyc. name *Ap-eimis* can be interpreted as "after-born" (i.e., "descendant": cf. *ep-plemi*, *epe-qzzi* etc.: # 1, 2, 3), cf. one of the meanings of Hit. *ija-*: "(Kinder) zeugen" (HW 80). Another adverb, *ese* "after" is used in PN which we find in the form *eseimija* in in the Trilingual : **es(e)-eimi*; cf. *ep-plemi*, *ese-de-plemi* (# 3) etc.

This combination may be compared etymologically with Lyc. A *ese a-* "nach-machen" ("to make a monument after/ in the image of smth.") and Lyc. B *ese ei-* (same): 44a33-4 *mê zbetê ; me . . ese . . axâ : ara : nelede arñna*: "So I made the *zbete* in Xanthos to the companions in arms/battles." Cf. *nele*[26]); 44d55-6 *êmu : me uwe : âzi : sse* [<*ese*; *VC*- to *CC*- regularly after a nasal vowel] *xuzruwâta : eiñ* [**ei-mi*] : *waxssa*: "And I made the *âzi* (phonetically [âzî], Acc.Sg.) to the . . . glory (D.Pl.)" (same acton is described in both texts). This text clearly shows that Lyc. B *eiñ* is a verbal form of the 1st person Sg. pres.

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[24] In Lyc. B *ple-li-*, Lyc. A *ple-zzi-* we have again various means of expression of a relation in two dialects: Lyc. B -*li-* : Lyc. A -*zi-* (here -*zzi-*).

[25] Cf. 44d37 *plejerê*, object to *pijeti* "(he) gives"; adjective in -*si* in *plejerese* : [. . .]*pe*, D/L. Pl. (cf. *têpe* "people"?), — so far pretty unclear.

[26] For instance in 44a46 *nele nele* "in (many/intensive) battles": about the battles against Tlos. Cf. PN Pis.-Oycaon. *Nala-gloas* to Hit. *halluwai-* "Streit, Zank" (in PN Lyc. *xluwâ-nimi* etc.: HEG 137).

(isogloss to Hit. -*mi*). We have to mention here also that *ese/asa* has never the meaning "with," but always is an adverb (preverb) probably comparable etymologically with Hit. -*asta* (a particle whose meaning exactly corresponds, for instance, to Russ. *za*: so does the meaning of Lyc. *ese/asa* < **asta*). In the Trilingual, in spite of Laroche's translation, *ese* means "after(wards)" and not "with"; the translation "with" is excluded by the use of "and" (*se*) in the corresponding sentence where it is said that the soil/earth *(zâ,* Acc.Sg.) is irrigated and has to be cultivated by Xessñtedi and Pigre; the expression *zâ . . . qñta*- "cultivate the soil" (cf. Hit. *handai*-) corresponds to the known expression *tamas xñtatas* (Acc.Pl.) "cultivated soil" or "prepared place."

Now we may return to the stem **eimi/*ami* "born" (***"made"): PN Lyc. *dde-ñt-i-mi, dde-ñt-ṁmi* and *apñn-ât-a-ma* are easily interpreted as having this stem with two preceding prefixes of the general meaning "after." The problem consists in the precise interpretations of both derivatives: they could designate a second child ("after-after-born"), or a descendant; a name **ñte-a-mi/*ñte-ei-mi* > **ñtami/ñtimi* (***"descendant" < "after-born") might exist so that another name with *apn*- and *dde*- could come in existence later; as I tried to show at the beginning of section 3, the meaning of such derivatives does not always have to be limited to "descendant." As far as the internal form is concerned, the interpretation "offspring" seems often to be the best when compared with other English terms.

5. IE **ers*- "sperm," HtL. *ars*- "flow," "give birth" in PN

The Lycian name *Ap-arsamēs* (**appa-arsami*- not **appar-sami-!*)[27] presupposes the existence of a word/name **arsami*- which we really find in Lyc. *Arsamēs* (so there is no reason to consider this Lycian name as an Iranian (KPN 99). We may suggest that this name, like the names discussed in # 1-4, had the original meaning "descendant" ***"born/conceived" (IE **ers*- means "sperm" and is broadly used in designation of males: "man" etc.). Cf. also use of the prefix **anda*- (like in *ñte-mle* "descendants/kin," *apñn-ât-a-ma*) in PN Car. *And-arsōdos* (probably **anda-arsand*-, cf. Lyc. *xzzât*-, Hit. *hassant*- "son," originally a participle: cf. # 1). Double prefix is used in *Epi-d-arsa-sis* (name of a Lycian woman, cf. *epe-de-newe*); cf. also *Arsada-peimis* (**Arsanda*-

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[27] Zgusta compares "S.-Phryg." -Lycaon. *Apartatis* (KPN 557, note 144), *Apartatis*, after him, but it belongs to **arta* (*Ap-arta-t*-). There is no **epr*- in compounds, only *ep(ñ)*.

pijami-, "Given by A.": usually in this type of compounds the first element is a divine name).

This kind of interpretation seems to be correct; on the other hand we have a HtL stem *arza-* used also in names; is it the same stem? Otherwise we have to separate from our names such forms like Lyc. *erzesi-* which seems to be an artificial procedure. But we still have to determine circumstances under which **s* turns *z*.

6. Lyc. PN (sic) tuhes

Tuhes is a Lycian term of relationship (nephew? grand-son?) used in 113 also as a name: *ladi ehbi tuhese* "to his wife Tuhes"; I do not understand why Zgusta objects to my remarks (in *Voprosy Yazykozn*, 1967, 4, 108) and denies the existence of this PN (*Neue Beiträge . . . 98*). It is clear that *tuhes*, since it is a *feminine* name in 113, can, as a term, mean not only "nephew" (or "grand-son"?) but also "niece" (or "grand-daughter"?), at some places.

7. Car. PN San-ortes : Lyc. señne ϑurtta

As I have tried to show in the above mentioned paper *Zu einigen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen . . .* (in *MSS* 36, 1977) Lyc. A *señnêmle* (D/L. Pl.) corresponds to Lyc. B *asânâmla* "blood" (to Luw. *ashan-*, Hit. *eshar*); this word is also used in the expression *señne trepe* (44b14) "in bloody coups/treasons" (to Lyc. B *trppali* "change/substitution," Lyc. A *trbbi* "enemy": cf. German *Gegner*, Russ. *protivnik*). The corresponding word in Lydian has a shape *śâne-*; Lyd. *śañêv ina-* corresponds both etymologically and semantically to Hit. *eshar ija-*, lit. "make blood."

In Lycian, the mentioned word *señnêmle* is used, alongside with *señne*, as an attribute to a term of relationship *ϑurtta* (Lyc. B *urttu*): *señnêmle ϑurtta* or *señne ϑurtta* "to the blood (related) *ϑurttas*" (also with *señnahi-*, lit. "of the [same] blood"; always written with non-nasalized E: *señn-*, not **sêñn-*: a stressed vowel). One time (29.2) two attributes, *sm̂me* and *señne*, have been applied to *ϑurtta*; the first is connected with Hit. *ishama-*, 'bond,' *ishai-* 'bind,' and means "related," "connected" (but not "blood-related").

To Lyc. A *señne urtta* exactly corresponds the name *San-ortos*, cf. PN Lyk. *urttaqija Ortakias*, Car. *Ortassis* (Car. suff. *-ze-?* cf. above), *Orteumos* (**-umna*? *Orta-* — a tribe?), Lyk. *Ermadortas, Erma-ortas, Kill-ortas*, etc. As for *San-*, we find a Carian PN *Sanus* probably

corresponding to *asân-/señn-*. To this stem might as well belong Lyc. *Plo-senos* (*Pla-asâna* or *Pluwa-asâna*? — cf. #3) and Pis. *Ouenesanē* (f), *Ounesen* (for the 1st component cf. Pis. *Oevounaos*, Pis. Lycaon. *Sl-ounis*).

8. IE *swe/o- "own" in late HtL names

This stem is present, for instance, in IE *swe-sor* "sister" (*"own woman," "woman of the same blood/kin"). The stem is widespread in Balto-Slavic as a term of relationship and there are many parallels with late HtL languages (one of many archaic Baltoslavic-HtL isoforms). Lydian term of relationship *śfêni-s* precisely corresponds to Lith. *sváini-s* "husband of wife's sister" (cf. Russ. *svoi-ak* and Car. *svi-ok*? suff. like in Lyc. *udre-ki*, Lyd. *ast(u)r-ko-*!); Lyd. *śfa-to-* corresponds probably to Russ. *svat* etc.; Lyd. *fa-sfên-* "to award" is constructed on an adjective which corresponds to Car. *sfe-* "own" (cf. Slav. *svoǐi*, Old Prussian *swais*). Car. *sfae-gzo* < *swoio-hsu* is another term of relationship (probably used as PN), lit. "own son." If. in Car. *mesfoenDa* (102.2) *me-* is an introductory particle the word *sfoe-nDa* could be compared to Lyd. *śfênda-*.

Cilician names *Suis* and *Suennesis* may contain the stem *swe-, swoi-* : cf. Car. *svi-* (and Lyc. *sbi-* in PN?), *sfa(i)-*, Lyd. *śfêni-* etc. But in many cases a comparison with *suwa-* is possible as well: Car. *sù-zrme-, Sues-kurebos* (cf. Car. *Suskōs*) etc.

Usually with our stem the Lydian designation of a person (?) *sfa-tr-τa-* (12.8) is compared but it seems to correspond exactly to PN Lyc. *sxxu-tra-zi* (*sahhuwa-tra-zzija-*); it is also possible to derive Lyd. *sfatr-τa-* as a nomen agentis from Hit. *ispatar* "lance" (Lyd. *f* both to unvoiced *w* and *p*).

9. IE *neu- "new" in HtL PN

We mentioned already Lyc. PN *dde-newe-le, dde-(e)pñ-newe-* built on terms of relationship (cf. *dda-qasa, Da-pasas* etc.). These words originally meant "descendant" (cf. # 1-4) so it is easy to identify here Hittite stem *newa-* "new," "young"; cf. also PN f *Niwa, Niwasu, Niwalka* (NH 299 and 336-7); cf. also f *Nawinija*.

We may identify this HtL (IE) stem also in PN Pis. *Nauēs* and probably in Car. PN *nava(vęso)* and *névù-* (Sq 25a, b). The further research is hampered by possible coincidence of *neu-* "new" with a

homonymic *neu-* present for instance in PN with the second element
-*nuba* (*neu-bho-*?).

10. IE*dhē- (≤ *dheH'-) "set, put" in HtL PN and PlN

The HtL stem *tuwa-* coming from this IE (and HtL) stem is easy to
recognize in names especially because a Lydian variant *cuve-* (with
initial affricate or fricative) also appears in the onomastics. The stem
tuwa- had, beside the original meaning, also that of "sanctify": this
latter is probably present in PN: *Duwa, Duwattannani, Tuwattaziti,
Tuwati,* Cappad. *Atē-zoas,*[28] Cil. *Thoa-kmis, Doueimis* (cf. Lyc. B
tuwemi "consecration"?), Is. *Toua, Touatris* etc. (cf. KPN 553 #165),
Thouas. There is a variety of representation of IE *dh* in HtL
languages, cf. also in the indigenous inscriptions: *t/z* (and -*d-*) in
Lycian, *c* (and -*d-*) in Lydian, *t/d* (i.e. [th], [ə]?) in Carian etc. The
general tendency seemed to be unvoicing in the initial position.

A IE *dhē-mo-* (originally "thing set or put down, creation;
creature": OI *dhāman-* "Law, home, crowd," Av. *dāmi-* "creature,
creator" etc.) seems to be present in many Late HtL PlN and PN: Cil.
Dāmes, Pis. *Dēmēs* (cf. Lyc. B *tm̃me*), *Tamōn,* Cil. *Tamōs* etc. (KPN
546 #70b), Lyd. *Damonno,* a queen (cf. Cil. *Tamannis*), Lyc.
Themisōn, Car. *Damaithos,* Pis. *Theme-sallos,* PlN Pis. *Themi-sonion,*
Car. *Themissos,* Lyd. *Aka-damis,* PN Car. *Akta-dēmos, Ia-zemis,* Lyc.
ehe-têmi, es-ϑem̃i, Cil. *Tarkon-dēmos,* Lycaon. *Ouangda-zēmis,* Lyc.
tiwi-ϑϑeimi-, Car. *Teu-tamos,*[29] PlN Car. *Dedmasa* (< *dhe-dhe-m-*).

Probably also a Lycian word *tâmade* (D/L. Pl. with attrib. *zxxazije*
"victorious" belongs here and not to *tama-/zêm(i)-* "earth"; in any
case, -*d-* is suffix of a collective, cf. *hr̃m̃mada* "fields," *nelede* to *nele*
"battle"?).

It is also possible that HierL *tama-* "to build" belongs here (there are
no traces of IE *dem-/dom-* in HtL): cf. Lyc. B *sla-* (verb) : *slama-* (an
abstract: Lyc. A *hlm̃mi*) : *slama-/slâma-* (a verb) or Hit. *isha-* "to

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[28] Though it is a name of the eastmost region (but a "Hittite" region some 1,500 years ago), it
has a "Lydian" shape: *ata-* (in "Luw.-Lyc." form in -*i*) and *cuve-*. As for the first element, it was
spread through "Luwian" onomastical regions as well.

[29] Lyc. *tiwi-/tewi-* (in PN *tewi-nezi* "Strong warrior"?), Lyc. B. *tewe* (?) and Car. *tav-* (cf. PN
tavse) to Lyd. *tavśaś* "mighty" (IE *teu-,* with an enlarger *-s-* like in *treu-s-, *bheu-s-*?). In the
newly found Carian inscription a name *tavmse-* appears, probably with *mse-* "God" as second
component, though a "parasitic" -*m-* is possible: exactly in this inscription an enclitic -*hñ* appears
instead of -*he* (Car. *h*; Lyd. *q*; -*he* to IE -*kʷe*? — cf. above). So we may think that in both cases
(tavmse and hñ) the nasalization was something purely individual.

bind": *ishama-* "bond": Lyc. *sâma-/sm̂ma-* "to obligate," etc.; the process is : verb → an abstract in *-mo-* → a new verb in *-mo-*. So probably from this new verbal stem *tam-* the Lycian designation of people was built, with the suffix *-bho-*: Lyc. B *têpe, tm̂pewêti* (*trm̂milijêti t.* "the Lycian people"; *arppaxusêti t.* "the kin of A."), Lyc. A. *têpina* (cf. suffix of some terms of relationship in Slavic: *-ina*), *tm̂peri, tetm̂pe* (redupl.), PN *tm̂peimi* (originally a participle of the type *tideimi* 'son', *plêmi* "descendant" etc.). With *tm̂peri* Lyc. B *zm̂pra* is comparable (cf. in the onomastics: Lyc. *Sumbras, Sounbras,* Lycaon *Sembri-dasē, Semri-darma*), and in *zm̂pde* it is possible to find suff *-d-* (cf. *tâma-de*): so we compare *zm̂p-* with *têp-/tm̂p-* (z/t in Lycian for IE *dh*, as usual.); cf. the passage with *zm̂pde: 44d45-7 xzzâtâ-pe : trqqiz : trm̂mile : zm̂pde eseti xerigazn̂ : epeqzzi trppalau : (e)ripssedi : (a)prlleli : kedi-pe : n̂tê-nê : epri-ke: ziti : kalu:* "Tarhuntas gave to the Lycian people (*trm̂mile zm̂pde*: D.Pl.) the son of Xeriga (or: the kin of X.); he shall increase?, with these mighty kin(smen), the children/descendants of Kuprlle and in the future time (*epri ziti*) — the army [or: "the (adult) people"] (*kalu* is Acc.Sq. of *kala*, to IE *kal-* "healthy, mighty" etc?).

11. Numerals used as HtL names

For details cf. my article *On the Hittite-Luwian numerals* (to appear in JIES). Names with the internal meaning "first" ~ "best" are built from the stems *hant-* "front," *par-* "front," *sar-* "upper," *up-* "up" etc.; these stems are also used in compounds. PN Lyd. *Tuios,* Cil. *Tbios* etc. probably mean "second (child)": cf. Lyd. *cfiś* "twice" (?), Lyc. B *tbi-* [t'f'i-] "second." Hit. *Duwisa* means probably "twin" ~ "one of the both twins," and *Tarisa* means "one of the triples." Cf. also Lyd. *trali-* '3rd' and Lyc. PlN *trali-* (*trlluba : A trzzuba*). The meaning "3rd" can be identified in Lyc. Pn *trijêtezi* (cf. *kbijêtezi* "2nd"), Cil. *Troionos* (Ht [trijana] "3rd"), *Tarianos,* Car. *Territos,* cf. OI PN *Tritáh,* Lat. *Tertius,* Car. *Moênnos,* Pis. *Mauenna* probably means "4th": cf. Hit. [miwana] "4th," Lyd. *mivad* ("[consisting of] four [ingredients]?"), Luw. *mauwani-* "four." Lyc. *Pn̂nuta* (a PN represented in poss. *pn̂nuteh*) means surely "Quintus": in a dating construction we read *trijatrbbahi pn̂nutahi uhahi* "of the 3rd day/term of the fifth year" (and the word *ziti* "at the time" is probably missing). The Lycian *pn̂nuta-* comes from IE *pnkʷ-tó-* (sf. Lyc. *pr-zzi-* "first," Hit. *sara-zzi-,* Lyc. *hrzzi:* IE suff. *-tio-*). Hit. PN *Saptama-niga* means "Seventh Sister" (G. Neumann). Probably Is. PN *Kamata* means "decima" (??); cf. Lyc. A *km̂ma* < *dᵉk'mmo-* "ten" (Lyc. B *km̂masa* — an institution: *"a

group of ten"? corresponds then to Hit. *Taris*, cf. Lyd. *tris* "thrice"?). Archaic is the use of many suffixes for the derivation of ordinals in HtL but even more archaic (and comparable with the situation in Balto-Slavic) is the use of various suffixes for construction of multiplicatives and collectives of the type "double," "doubled," "a pair," "twin," "thrice," "a triplet" etc. On these stems both the ordinals and the cardinals are constructed: this explains the variety of the suffixes of numerals both in HtL and Balto-Slavic.

12. IE *deu- "durable, steady" in HtL PN

In Lyc. B *dewi-* "constant, steady" is written with one *d-* but in less archaic Lycian B the tendency to shift [d] to [t] is more clear: *dd* could replace *t* (cf. *ddedi* = *tedi* "father") and was used for **d: ddaw-ahâma* PN is to be interpreted as "steady/constantly beloved" (**deu-* + HtL *asa/i-* "to love"); PN Lyc. *Deu-ktubelis* meant "constantly formidable" (cf. PN *hri-xttbili* "very formidable");[30] PN *Daōn, Dauna* correspond to Hit. *tawanna* "exact" ("unchainged"), Russ. *davno* "long ago"; cf. also PN of the type Lyc. *hlm̃mi-dewe* (probably: "constant in worshipping"). It is important to notice that Greek versions (at least those mentioned above) contain *D-*, not *T-*; *T-* was used for IE **t* > Lyc. *t*. The Lycian had three dentals corresponding to IE triad **dh/d/t*: Lyc. *z*(or *t*)*dd/t*; in Carian, a triade *d/D* (double delta, cf. Lyc. *dd*)/*t* (tense *t*) was used. Both in Lycian and Carian *-d-* was used to represent a lax dental (a fricative [đ]?) in the intervocalic position (same with **-bh-*). So there were no [d] except after *n* (but here in Lycian: *t* and in Carian: mostly *D* — the double delta — was used to underline that the dental was a stop, and not a fricative [đ]).[31] Since it was no [d], foreign names with *D-* were written with *ñt-* in Lycian: but this did not mean that *ñt-* corresponded to *dd-*; *ñd* is [d] after a nasalized vowel, but *dd-* is a "link" connecting *d* and *t*: a lax *t*, or a strong *d*. So we have to separate *ñte(we)* and *dde(we)* (we have not to mix the adverb *dde, dde-we* with Lyc. *ddaw-, ddew-* "constant"). We also have to keep in mind that *dd* is

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[30] Cf. also Lyc. PN *ddawâparta* ("Constant adherent"? cr. Luw. *parta-* "part"; there is also a word *parta-* in Lycian A: 44b33; cf. in 35; *parttalâ, parttulajmi*). According to Hawkins (*Anatolian Studies* 1975, 156), HierL *partuni-* means "to sever(?)," cf. Lyc. *parttu-*? — Cf. also Hit. *Parta-hulla, Partanta*, PlN *Partija, Partahuina*?

[31] Car. *D* (earlier transliterated by me by an underlined *t*, just to show that it is a dental), alternates with *d* in the prefix *nDa-/nda-* (the inscriptions of Thebes have no *D*, so there is *nda-* in use there). It seems to correspond to IE **t* after *s* in *sDesas* "stele" (on a grave); on the other hand, in an intervocalic position, it seems to originate from **d: ak-seDea* "grave" in Caria (**ak-* "dead," cf. Hit. *ak-*, a verb "to die," Lyd. *akτa* "belonging to the dead," and IE **sed-* "to sit"?).

different from *t* (though close to it: remember *ddedi*), so we cannot identify, for instance, *dde* with Lyc. *te* (an attentive analysis can easily show the difference: *dde* means "after, further," but *te* is a pronoun meaning "he").[32] The contemporary HtL research must be much more precise about Lyc. *d, dd, t.*

13. IE *ịa/o- "to be aroused," *ịar- "fierce" in HtL PN

A fine HtL-Slavic isogloss we find in the names HtL *Ijarra-ziti* "Man of (the God) Ijarra" (*Ijarra/i* was a HtL God of war: cf. NH 291), *Suhhi-(i)jara, Siliara,* f *Histajara/i* (Lyc. *xistteri-*), *Ijaritalla, Ijara-nija* ("Led by I."), Car. *ms-ira-eketon* (*Masa-Ijara-Ekatumna*), on the one hand, and Slavic PN of the type Russ. *Iaro-slav, Iaro-mir* on the other hand (Slav. *ịār-* means "fierce"). With Slav. *ịār-* the Greek word *zōros* "fiery" (about wine) is compared, and now A. Lehrman identifies a HierL verb *jariti* in the context about wine.

Laroche thinks that the DN *Ijarra/i* is connected with names of the type *Ija* (cf. a variety of names with this stem in the late HtL onomastics); it is also possible etymologically since IE *iar- is a derivation from *ịa-.

14. IE *bheu-s- "grow, flourish" in Late HtL names

In his article "Iz indoevropeiskoị ètimologii" ("Some IE etymologies"; cf. *Strukturno-tipologičeskie issledovaniia v oblasti grammatiki slav'anskix ịazykov,* M. 1973, 153sq), V. Toporov reconstructs a IE stem *pro-bhu-s- "grow, flourish"; in Lycian and Carian texts we find names both from *bheu- and *bheus- both with prefixes and without them: Lyc. *prija-bu-((a)hâma),* cf. *prije(li)* "first, former"; Car. *ups-bu* (and *upse*: to IE *ups- "high," cf. Russ. *vys-ok* etc.); Car. *buvse* (this PN corresponds to Lyc. B *busa-wñna-* "originating from Busa"; Car. -*vs-* : Lyc. -*s-* also in Car. *ijavse-* in Lyc. version *ijaeusas : ijasa,* etc.). A Carian word *sav-bv(o)-* has a prefix corresponding to Lyd. *sav-* (cf. LW 191sqq, a preverb; *savên-* "gedeihen"; *sav(v)*: a verb?- cf. Car. verb *sav-* "sanctify"?). — Cf. Pis. *Eksa-boas, Aksa-bōs.*

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32 The only meaning which can be attributed to Lyc. B *te* is "he" (*tas*). In the meaning "this" another pronoun is used: *ki* (correspondences in Hittite and Carian). The stem *ebe-* (demonstrative pronoun in Lyc. A) is used only in adverbial meaning (cf. *ebei* "here"). One time, at the very beginning of 55, an archaic form *abañnâ* "this" (acc.sg.) is used: cf. Lyc. *ebêñnê* (*ebe* + *ne*), Luw. *apa-*.

It is important to notice that Lycian and Carian used special letters
(i.e., special sounds) for the initial *bh before u; in other cases Lycian
and Carian used p in anlaut: cf. Lyc. pixṁma, pigre: names built from
IE *bh(e)iH- "fear, awe" (shown by A. Lehrman: to OI Bhīmá- etc.).
Carian uses b also in PN bskove : Hit. Waskuwa-. Often for *bh Carian
uses p which originated from Beṭh: same in Lydian, where Beth was
used both for *bh and *p (for *p also f was very often used in Lydian,
and probably in Carian).

15. IE *treu(s)- "flourish" in HtL and other names

IE *treu- is present in Luw. tarawi- "bring to maturity" etc. In Lycian
B a word trujeli is used at the very beginning of the Milyan part of the
Xanthos inscription; if it is not the designation of language ("in
Milyan") so it is the subject of the corresponding sentence and has a
meaning "the Milyan" (he who writes in the Milyan language: laKra
zazti "bemeisselt die Steine"). This word has its parallel in PN Trōilos,
in PlN Troja (etr. Truia, Ethnicon truials: cf. A. Pfiffig, Die etruskische
Sprache, Graz 1969, 305). The HtL Taruissa "Troy" exactly corres-
ponds to Lyc. PlN trus (Trusa in Greek version; of course it is another
town, but the name is the same. In Carian we find a PN Truōles, cf. also
Lyc. truwe-peja-). Important are also following "Luwian" names:
Tarwissija (exactly to Taruissa), DN D/Tarawa, PN Kammalia-Tarawa
Pijama-Tarawa. Now we can identify a name of a God Tarawa
([tṛwa]?) in Lyc. theophoric name truwe-peja-; the "Luwian" character
of older Anatolian names and words and the existence of the stem
*treu(s)- in Carian, Lycian and especially archaic Milyan (Lyc. B)
makes it possible to identify Troy as a city with "Luwian" population
next to which stayed probably the Milyans (the *trujeliz: cf. D/L.Pl.
truijele).

16. IE *teutā "tribe" in HtL names

There is no reason why Hit. tuzzi- can not be compared with Latvian
tauta "people" (Pl. tauti), Osc. touto, etc. In Lycian B tuta seems to
designate "army" and tuta-si-z (Pl.) "warriors/soldiers." Probably HtL
*tuta meant also "warrior, man" (cf. often one word for community
and individual in Lycian etc., though in IE languages *teutā was used as
a collective but cf. Russ. PN Iaro-polk, etc.): cf. PN Lycaon. Totis,
Pis.-Lycaon. Toutas (etc.: KPN 557 #210), Lyc. tuti-nima-, Car. tut-

(cf. poss. *tut-*λ: Sq. 9), *av-tut-* (of poss. in -λ: Sq. 35 and 36; there are many Car. PN in *av-*), *tuDse* (~ Lyc. *tutasi?*).

17. IE *selH- "favor" in HtL names

This stem is present in Hit. *salli-* "great" (*ll* marks **lH*), PlN *Sali-passana*[33] (cf. #2), DN *Ija-salla* (semantically compare *Mas(n)a-ura* "Great M."), *Tahi-salli* (cf. PN *Taha*), *Pija-ssili* (cf. *Pija-pili, Pija-muwa*), Pis. *Theme-sallos* (for *Theme-*, cf. #10), Pis. *Sl-pouroksa* (**Sl-gpouroksa*, cf. #23), Pis. Lycaon. *Sl-ounis* (cf. *O(u)en-*, Hit. *wen-* and IE **wen-* "desire"), probably Hit. f *Sallapa-wija* (**wija* means "woman," cf. Lyc. B *wijedri* "women" as opposed to *pas(s)ba* "men, army"). In Car. *sl-nko-* (an attrib. used in PN-constructions) we may single out our **selH-, salli-* because of existence of a separate attribute *nko-* (cf. Hit. — better "Luw." PN *Nahhuwa*, to which Car. *nko-* corresponds: like Lyd. *o*, Car. *o* could originate from **(u)wa*; cf. also a Luwian verb in Hittite *nahhuwai-* "cause anxiety").

Our stem is also present in PN Lyc. *hla* (*La(s)* in Greek version; in spite of Laroche (NH 240), this *La(s)* has nothing to do with the "senseless" names of the type "Consonant plus *a*"; by the way, there are no senseless names. This name is connected with the verb Lyc. B. *sla-* "glorify" (at the beginning of the Milyan part of 44 the God Apollo — *natri*, cf. #19, — glorifies the Lycian army/people and the "leadership": *sebe pasbbâ . . . sebe xñtabu*). With suff. *-r-* Carian names *slra, slara* are constructed. On an *-m*-abstract from *sla-* a verb *slama-* is built in Lycian (Car. *slmo-*). This abstract is presented in Lyc. A *hlm̂mi* (not a name) and Lyc. B *slm̂mewe* (PN?); cf. also PN Lyc. A *hlm̂mi-dewe*. It is to notice that names of the type *Zzala* and words of the type **zalma* 'help' (used in PN as well) seem not to contain the IE **s* which is present in names and words discussed above.

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33 Cf. Hit. compound *salla-kartatar* (actually a Luwian word) "arrogance" etc. (to Hit. *kard-* "heart"; for "Luwian" correspondences, cf. Lyc. B *kridesi*, Lyc. A *kerϑϑi*, both to **krd-a-si-*; it is a designation of a ruler — a "Central" person?). In an archaic Car. inscription (60) a figura etymologica *sllλ lλт* is found (without any use of vowels; cf. PN *msnr = mesnar, msnar* etc.: an archaic semitic habit of writing) where verb *lλт* (**leliti*) means "speaks/writes," and noun *sl-lλ* means ". . . speach/inscription" (cf. Lyc. A *leli* "inscription"). It easy to suggest that *sl-* is here a prefix with a "positive" meaning, like Hitl. *salli-* (cf. Car. *sl-nko-*). As for figurae etymologicae in Carian, cf. another one in 63: *stdun(e) . . . stda* (something like "(he) sets (for) sitting," if we try to interpret literally: "writes forever").

18. Hit. wahessar and HtL names

Hit. *wahesnas watar* seems to correspond semantically to the expression *živaia voda* of Russian fairy tales (*živoi̯-* "living; energetic"); Hit. *wahessar* (Nom. Sg. neutr.) comes from *wah-*, IE **weh-*, a verb designating swinging — some energetic movement. In Lycian onomastics an exact correspondence to Hit. *wahessar* is *wexssere* (not to **wahs-/wash-*: *hs, sh* turned *s* in Lycian).[34] There is another name, *waxssebe*, built with suff. *-b-* (IE **-bh-*) like in *xtt-ba-*, and there is a word *waxssa* frequently used in Lyc. B: probably it designated kind of military glory (on fights "with *waxssa*," etc.). From this word many names were built (cf. *Ouaks-, Oks-, -oueks-, -uaks-, -oks-* etc. in Greek versions). To *wexssere* a name *pigesere* is corresponding: to Luw. *Piha(ssa)-*, IE **bh(e)iH-* according to Lehrman (cf. *-r-* suffix in PN *pigre*: like Car. *sla-r-a*). We may assume that **-sar-*abstracts were constructed on the basis of the *-s(s)a-*abstracts. "Luw." **Pihassa-* is represented by Lyc. B *pigasa* [35] (probably a synonym for *trqqiz*).

19. OI netar "leader," Lyc. B natri and Pis. PN Netros

This correspondence is supported by many facts. *Natri*, a DN, is found in Lyc. *natr-bbijemi* (***"given by N."), and this name corresponds to *Apollo-dōtos* in Greek version. *Netr* "leader" is an epithet of Indra, and Indra in many ways corresponds to Apollo; both functioned as military *leaders*. Lyc. *na-tri* has built like OI *ne-tar* (**nei-* "to lead" and suff. of the nomina agentis **-tor*). In Lycian it not a living suffix (cf. *-tara* in Hit *westara* "shepherd"); it is "replaced" in the word formation by *-tala* (cf. *nei-tala* "leader," etc.; cf. Hit.-Luw. *-talla/i-* and Slavic *-teli*: again a HtL-Slavic isoform). The stem **nei-* is broadly used in late HtL names (especially in those represented in Greek versions); cf. participle in *-ma/mi-* used in HtL *Tawa-niama*, Lyc. *Tuti-nimi* (cf. **teuta*, #16), *Trbbe-nimi*; this type of participle is used in Lyc. attr. *qetbe-leimi* (Car. *Kutbe-lēmis*), *Tarhu-mi(m)ma* ("brought up by T.," cf. *Mia-, Meis* in Gr. vers.: verb *mai-* < **mei-* "grow, ripen").

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[34] If "Luw." *Wahs-* in the onomastics belongs here so it is a form shortened from original *wahes-* (*Wahsu-* : *-hsu = wahes-* : *has-*). So, indirectly, Lyc. *waxss-* can correspond to *Wahs-* (cf. *qzzi, xϑϑa-, xzza-*, Car. *-k/gzo*: originally from *hᵃs-*).

[35] Examples with *Pihassa-, pigasa* and their OI correspondence show the way of developing of the category of Hit.-Luw. *-sar/n-* heteroclitica: IE **-e/os* (neutral stem in *-s*) (→abstract in *-assa-* (Hit.Luw.)) → forms in *-sar/-san-*. A striking parallel is represented in following development: Hit.-Luw. abstracts in *-tt-* (IE **t*) → heteroclitica in *-tar/nnas* (Luw. *-tar/tnas*).

20. Hit. hattarai- "to beat" in HtL PN

This verb and not *hatrai-* "to write (incise)" is present also in Lycian B where *qidridi laxadi* means "beats by the attack/war" or the like' *qidrala* is then corresponding nomen agentis: "warrior" (as PN presented in "S.-Phryg."-Lycaon. *Kidrollas*, cf. *Kidra-moas* etc.). The abstract in *-r-* is present in many others deverbatives: Car. *ov-ra* (*ov-ri-* in N.Sq.) "dedication/inscription" (cf. Lyc. *uwe-*, Lyd. *uve-,u-*, *o-*), *sla-ra*, Lyc. *zm̃p-ra*, cf. above; Car. in Lyc. *m̃pa-ra-* (*-n*-stem in Car. PN *ûp-ña-*, *-l*-stem in Lyc. B *êp-le*: to Hit. *impai-* or/and Car. PN *mep-?*) etc.: the clearest connection is with the type Hit. *es-ri* "image," *et-ri* "food" etc., cf. Lyc. *wed-ri* "town" (IE *wedh-* "to build"), *pune-ri* "sacrifice," *pibe-ri* "donation"; *tuweri* "building," *ñt-uweri-* (to Car. *ov-ri*, Lyc. *o-/uve-*, Lyc. *uwe-* "proclaim"), etc. Originally: *-r/n-;-r-i* for abstracts, *-r-o-* for beings; cf. *-e/os*, neutr., *-s-o-* for beings.

As for our stem *hattarai-*, its simplex *xtta-* is presented both as a verb and a noun (and the verb *qtti-*, — cf. Hit. *hazzi-*, — is used not to designate "beating" but to describe the process of "incising" — writing or sculpturing). This stem (as well as its variant in *-b-*) is also used in the onomastics (cf. above).

21. Hit. PN Dagn-abura

The first element of this name (cf. also *Dagana, Dagania, Dagnis*) corresponds to Hit. *tegan, dagan* "earth" (IE *dheghōm*), cf. Hit. *dagan-zipa* — a ghost of the earth. The second element corresponds to Lyc. *abura*, probably "warrior(s)" (cf. verbs: Hit. *epurije-* "attack," Lyc. B *abu-*; again we have to deal with an *-r*-abstract of a verb; on this *-r*-stem another verb is built. The word *abura* is opposed (or is it a synonym?) to words designating ancestors: *eke* (cf. Lyd., Car. *ak-* "dead," Hit. *ak-* "to die"), *mâm̃re* (*mer-), *mqre* or *tm̃qri-*. *Abura* is often present in PN in Greek version though it is not easy to identify this stem because Sundwall and Zgusta had identified *-bura* instead of *-abura*: cf. for instance KPN 549 #101b *Kinda-bura* instead of *Kind-abura* (*xñt-abura*); on the other hand, PN *Ermatoboris, Ksanduberis* mentioned here by Zgusta contain neither *bura* nor *abura* but *tuberi* (Lyc. *tuburiz*, a tribe mentioned in texts together with *trm̃miliz-* the Lycians). — As for *dheghōm*, its "Luwian" correspondence *tijammi-* is present in a Lycian PN: *Dēmandis* (*tijammant-*); cf. words Lyc. *tama-, zâ, zem(i)-*, Lyd. *cam-*.

22. *Hit.-Luw. hapa- "river" in late HtL names*[36]

Lyc. A,B *xbide* corresponds to Car. *xbade* (M. Meier) — name of Caunos. Lyc. B. *xbadiz* seems to designate "the Caunians" (Tissaphernes and Hieramenes and their people: both had their headquarters in strategically important Caunos: cf. my article *Zu einigen karischen Wörtern*: in *MSS* 36, 1977). Adjective *xbadasa* corresponds exactly to HierL *hapatasa* "of the river valley"; cf. also heth. *hapadi*. So we may assume that *xbadiz* etc. originally designated any "people of the river valley" and that the name of Caunos itself (*xbide, xbade*) was a word with an original meaning "River valley"; it corresponds to what we know about Caunos' location. The names Car. *Kbōdes* etc. correspond to Car. *xbade*, Lyc. *xbada-*, Hit. *hapadi-*, HierL *hapata-* and indicate that the original stem had the form *$H^ab(h)a$-; another variant, *$Hab(h)$-, in "Mediterranean" *abdi-* "sea" (*"water"): [*$x(a)bad-$: (*$x)a\beta d-$].

The Lyc. B verb *xba-, xixba-* (the subject is sometimes the God Tarhuntas) means probably "(ritually) besprinkle"; cf. PN of the type Pis. *Gbaimos* (< participle *$xbaima/i$-), lit. "besprinkled." Lyc. A *xbai-* "to irrigate" (*zâ* "the earth/soil"). Probably Lycian had also names of rivers (or words for "river") *xba and *xbi: we find names *xba-h-* (surely PlN) and *xbi-h-* in the forms of accusative in *-ññ*; both *-a*- and *-i*-stems are represented in elder HtL (cf. HEG 159); cf. Russ. *Ob'* < *Obi, a river in Siberia (??). — An *-n*-stem is preserved in Pal. *hapnas*; cf. Luw. *hapinni-*; in Lycian (44a44) it is said that Melesandros' army was forced into *xbane* (*hapana*): "water" or "sea." After that it is said that Tlos' army was chased into "watery places" (cf. the location of Tlos): *pddêne . . . xbânije* (cf. adjectives *zxxazija, xññija* etc.). Here we find the suffix *-n-* both in *xban-* "water/river" and *pddên-* "place" (*pdde*, Hit. *pedan*).

23. *IE *Hep-/*Hop- "abundance" in HtL names*

Though mentioned in HEG (p. 162), Laroche's interpretation of Lyc. *epirije-* as "to sail" (to Hit. *happirija-*) is wrong both semantically and etymologically (Lycian does not lose the initial Anatolian *h-*). But we really have a parallel to Hit. *happa/ira-* "sell, give away": Lyc. PN *xpparama* (originally an abstract in *-mo-* or a participle in *-mo/i-*

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36 For lexical correspondences in older HtL languages cf.: C. Watkins, *"River" in Celtic and Indo-European*, ÉRIU, 24, 1973, 80 sqq. (cf. E. Hamp in *MSS* 30, 35 sqq.).

which actually is the same). In Hittite, we have an -*r*/*n*- stem constructed on IE **He/op-* "(to be in) abundance" etc. An -*n*-stem is represented also in PN Car. f *Kaphenē* (cf. Hit. *happin-* "rich"). To the same IE stem the Hit. *hapuwai-* "to add" belongs alongside with its basic stem *happu-* "sheltering" (cf. HEG 167sqq.): stem of the type *hassu-*. Cf. PN Hit. *Happuwassu, Hapu-wahsu-* etc.; in the late onomastics cf. Car. *Gepous* and Pis. *Gpurōksa* (*Happ-ura-* + -*waxssa?*) and *Sl-pouroksa*, probably **Sl-gpourōksa*: to divide from Hit. *Haparijata*, name of a source, to *hapa-* "water, river" (#22): with **b(h)*.

24. HierL ari(ja)tala-: Car. PN Aridōlis, Lyc. erteli-

HierL *ara*/*italasa* is an attrib. to *Tarhu(n)zas*; the source of this adjective seems to be a nomen agentis (!) Luw. **arijattali-* (to Hit. *arija-* "durch Orakel feststellen, predict"). V. Ivanov (*Ètimologiia* 1971, M. 1973, 302 sqq.) in his different explanation proceeds from a less probable interpretation of Luw. *kasi* (IE **ghes-*, Lat. *hostis* etc.): in reality, IE **gh, g'h* (as well as **g*, it seems) was lost in all HtL languages except Hittite.

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The research of HtL onomastics is revealing a system close to that in other, better known, IE languages; there are stems which show existence of many etymological elements common for Hittite-Luwian and other IE languages (cf. Lyc. *natri-Apollo* and OI *netar-Indra*, Lyc. *pixṁma* and OI *Bhīma-*, HtL *Ijara-* and Slavic *Iaro-*; cf. also Lyc. *mire* "ruler of a community" and Slav. *mir-* "community"[37]). Many

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[37] Lyc B. *mire* is a designation of a ruler (main person acting in Milyan part of 44): cf. Hit.-Luw. *mai-* "grow up," Luc. A *miñti* (an **-nt*-participle originally) a regulating community (cf. PN Is. *Mindēs*). Cf. V. Ivanov's and V. Toporov's recent works about **mi-r-, *pir-r-, *dā-r-* in Slavic and elsewhere (**dā-r-* "gift" seems to be represented in many late HtL names (cf. Lyd. *dâ-* "to give" < IE **dō-* ≤ **deH3*). A striking parallelism is found between HtL and Balto-Slavic syntactic elements: cf. Hit., Lyd. introductory *a-, -a-* and Slavic *a* (with this conjunction Russian sentences began many centuries ago, and they often begin in this way now, especially in colloquial and uneducated speech; cf. alsu *nu-* in Hittite and introductory *nu* in Russian). In Russian colloquial speech the sentence may often have a structure very close to a structure found in Hittite, Lydian and other HtL languages: cf. Russ. *Nu-vot-on ix-tut po-na-švry' al ètix soldatikov . . .* (Mother about her little son who scattered everywhere his toy soldiers): *vot* corresponds in the meaning to Hit.-*ma-*, Lyc. *me*: on "he" is introducing the subject and in principle could be repeated in the main part (for instance in the form: *Ivan-to*; cf. Car. *Slra-t* or Λ*uxze-t*); *ix* "them" is introducing the object and is repeated in the main part: *ètix soldatikov* "those soldiers"; *tut* means "here" (though it could be a more abstract component; the order of introductory elements resembles Hittite, Luwian

isomorphs show a deep parallelism between archaic Balto-Slavic and HtL languages (cf. the parallelism between HtL and Celtic, HtL and Tocharian, Tocharian and Balto-Slavic). The isolation of items in onomastics creates considerable obstacles to investigation but the deepening knowledge of phonetic peculiarities of various HtL languages, their word formation, their etymology, their connection with each other and other IE languages, gives to the researchers some promising perspectives.

PRINCIPLES OF CITATION OF LINGUISTIC EXAMPLES

Hittite and Luwian names are cited with accordance to NH: HierL names — in accordance with NH and HLG but with consideration of new transliteration of Hieroglyphic Luwian (work by Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies and Neumann). Lycian names are cited after J. Friedrich's *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin 1932) but instead of Friedrich's (i.e., Kalinka's) *c* the letter *k* is used; instead of *k* the letter *x* is used; instead of *β* the capital *K* is used. Lydian names are according to LW. Carian names are cited after my book *Issledovaniia po dešifrovke kariiskix nadpisei* (M. 1965) with some corrections due to later collations. Some new materials sent to me by O. Masson and M. Meier are also gratefully used. Only those names of the late period begin with capital letters which come to us in Greek version (they are cited after ENL and KPN). With capital letters begin Hittite, Luw., HierL and Palaic names. Words and morphemes are cited after HW, HEG, DLL, LW, IEW as well as C. Watkins' appendix to *Amer. Herit. Dict. of the American Language* (*"Indo-European Roots"*).

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or Lydian). The verb begins with one or two, or even three adverbs (as in Lydian; *po-* corresponds for instance to Lyd. *fa-*; cf. Russ. *do-* : Lyd. *da-*, and so on); these adverbs may be repeated in the main part as prepositions (e.g., *po-na-švyr'al po vsei komnate* ". . . about the whole room"). It is easy to translate HtL syntactic particles, especially the introductory conjunctions, by Russian etymological or typological correspondences (like Lyc. *me*: we always may use the Russian *vot*, it always fits, but has no correspondence in English; or HierL *hwati*, Lyc. B *kudi*: Russ. *gde* would fit everywhere, but into English it has to be translated by five or more different words, according to situation). Even more striking parallel can be revealed between HtL and the extremely archaic Lithuanian. Not only in syntax do those parallels exist: cf. the numerals in HtL and Balto-Slavic (see #11), the word formation, the correspondences between meaning of given words (even if this or that word is found not only in HtL and Balto-Slavic, the closest correspondences in meaning are found often exactly in HtL and Balto-Slavic), and so on.

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE ARTICLE

1. Literature

DLL — E. Laroche. *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite.* Paris 1959.

EHS — H. Kronasser. *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache, I.* Wiesbaden 1966.

ENL — J. Sundwall. Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier. *Klio*, Beiheft 11, 1913.

HEG — J. Tischler. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Lieferung 1. Innsbruck 1977.

HLG — P. Meriggi. *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar.* Wiesbaden 1962.

HW — J. Friedrich. *Hethitisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg 1954 (Ergänzungen: 1957, 1961, 1966).

IEW — J. Pokorny. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1. Bern 1959.

JIES — *Journal of the Indo-European Studies*, USA.

KPN — L. Zgusta. *Kleinasiatische Personennamen.* Prag 1964.

LPG — Ph. Houwink ten Cate. *The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic period.* Leiden 1961.

LW — R. Gusmani. *Lydisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg 1964.

MSS — *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft.* West Germany.

NH — E. Laroche. *Les noms des hittites.* Paris 1966.

2. Other

Av. — Avestan

Cappad. — Cappadocian

Car. — Carian

Cil. — Cilician

DN — Divine name

f — Feminine name

Gr. — Old Greek

HierL — Hieroglyphic Luw.

Hit. — Hittite

HtL — Hittite-Luwian

IE — Indo-European

Is. — Isaurian

Lat. — Latin

lit. — literally

Lith. — Lithuanian

Luw. — Luwian

Lyc. A — Lycian A

Lyc. B — Lycian B

Lycaon. — Lycaonian

Lyd. — Lydian

OI — Old Indian

Osc. — Oscan

Pal. — Palaic

Pamph. — Pamphylian
(Greek versions of Sidetic PN)

Phryg. — Phrygian
(Late HtL names in Greek versions on Phrygian territory; especially in South Phrygia)

Pis. — Pisidian

PlN — Place-name

PN — Personal name

Poss. — Possessive
(an adjective designating relation(ship))

Russ. — Russian

Sid. — Sidetic

Slav. — Slavic

Tril. — Trilingual
(an inscription found in 1973 and containing a text in Lycian, Greek & Aramaic)

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