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## Hieroglyphic Luwian *nini*- and congeners

There are some Hieroglyphic Luwian words which have been identified as having the meaning “child” and/or “son”, such as *nini*-, INFANS-*ni*-, INFANS-*niwi*-, INFANS-*niza*-, INFANS-*niwiza*-, *nimuwiza*- and *niwarani*-.<sup>1</sup> It is the word *nimuwiza*- that has been attested as the word for “son”, which is analyzed into *nimuw*i- “not-strong, not-potent” and the suffix *-iza*-, therefore “not-strong (one)”.<sup>2</sup> J. D. Hawkins has already suggested that the word *niwarani*- has the meaning “child”, which is analyzed into *ni*- “not”, *wara(ia)*- “help” and the

<sup>1</sup> The logogram “INFANS”=HH no. 45 (HH=E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes hittites, Paris 1960), and since this hieroglyphic sign is used as the logogram for “child” and for “son”, we may write the former as “INFANS” and the latter as “FILIUS”, but I use “INFANS” for both forms here.

The Pre-Luwian form *\*ni-yalli-s* reconstructed by N. Oettinger, Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums, Nürnberg 1979, 490 n. 84, is never attested, because the word *\*INFANS-li-sa* in TOPADA cited by him should be read as HEROS-*li-sa* “hero, ruler” (cf. P. Meriggi, Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar, Wiesbaden 1962, 169: INFANS-*li-s(a)* is wrong and further see his collation: P. Meriggi, Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico, Parte II: Testi 1, Roma 1967, 123).

In this paper I transliterate Hieroglyphic Luwian signs according to the revised system of HHL (=J. D. Hawkins – A. Morpurgo-Davies – G. Neumann, Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection, Göttingen 1974 [Nachr. Ak. d. Wiss., Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1973, Nr. 6], 143–197). Note also a series of supplementary tables or indications by J. D. Hawkins. The word division signs (HH no. 386) are not marked here, since they do not affect the study.

<sup>2</sup> On this form see J. D. Hawkins, The “Autobiography of Ariyahinas’s Son”: an Edition of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Stelae TELL AHMAR 1 and ALEPPO 2, in: AnSt 30 [1980], 143, and H. C. Melchert, PIE Velars in Luwian, in: Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill, Berlin 1987, 194. Instead of this form, *nimuw(a)nza*- has so far been assumed (HHL 180 and 195), but *nimuwiza*- is better acknowledged on the basis of the following examples:

TELL AHMAR I 1 and 5: (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*

MARAS IV 1: (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*

The formation of the presumed adjective *\*nimuw*i- “not-strong” (from *ni*- “not” and *muwa/i*- “strengthen”) is parallel to that of Cun. Luw. *niyalli*- “innocent” (from *ni*- and *yalli(ia)*- “exalt”, see E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite, Paris 1959, 75). This word is mostly attested as a nom. sg. form, but we also exemplify a dat. sg. form in KARABURUN 2 and 3: *ni-mu-wa/i-zi* “for son” (<*\*nimuwiza-i(a)*: *\*-za-i* > *-\*ze* > *-zi*).

On the assumed suffix *-iza*- see also Melchert 201: he indicates that the suffix *-iza*- in *nimuwiza*- is derived from PIE. *-\*i(s)ko*-suffix as an adjective of appurtenance or as a diminutive, but I can suggest that at present the evidence for the phonetic correspondence between the suffix *-iza*- and PIE. *-\*i(s)ko*- is still meager for its reconstruction.

suffix *-ni-* as *nomen actionis*, i.e. the base means “the helpless”.<sup>3</sup> These two words may be circumlocution for “child” or “son”. To our present knowledge, however, no convincing analysis has so far been offered to the rest of the words, as E. Laroche once gave the statement that “les faits hiéroglyphiques sont compliqués et obscurs”.<sup>4</sup> The aim of this paper is to clarify the formation of these words for “child” and/or “son”.

First of all, we can see in the following passages the occurrence of the word *nini-* for “child” by full syllabic spellings:<sup>5</sup>

(1) KARKAMIŠ A 6, 9:<sup>6</sup>

- (i) *nī-pa-wa/i-ta á-ma-za á-ta<sub>5</sub>-ma-za-* REL-i-sá *ARHA MALLEUS-la*
- (ii) *nī-pa-wa/i* (INFANS)*nī-na-ti-i zi-i-na nī-pa-wa/i* (“\*474”) *wa/i-si-na-sa-ti zi-na REL-sa CUM-nī ARHA CAPERE-ia*
- (iii) *á-pa-pa-wa/i-* (DEUS)*Ni-ka + ra/i-wa/i-sá CANIS-nī-i-zi á-pa-si-na CAPUT-hi-na ARHA EDERE-tu*
- (i) “or who(ever) shall erase my name,
- (ii) or who(ever) shall take away (a child) from children on the one side, or (an attendant) from attendants on the other side,
- (iii) may the dogs of the god Nikarwa eat his head!”

(2) TELL TAYINAT VII, 1:

(INFANS)*nī-na-z[i]-ha-wa/i* [. . .] *za[-. .] à-tá [. . .]* BRACCHIUM-*lá/i-sa*(-). . . . .]

The stem of *nī-na-ti-i* in the citation (1) is *nini-*, to which the abl. plur. ending *-ati* is added.<sup>7</sup> This form is synonymous with *nīwarani-*, because the latter occurs together with (“\*474”) *wasinasi-* in the parallel passage in MARAŞ, IV, 5 (colated by J. D. Hawkins): (INFANS)*nī-wa/i + ra/i-nī-zi-pa-wa/i* (“\*474”) *u-si-na-si-zi-i i-zi-i-ha* “and I made children and attendants”.<sup>8</sup>

The same stem *nini-* is also found in the citation (2). The meaning of the whole passage is difficult to understand, but it is clear that (INFANS)*nī-na-z[i]* is the nom.-acc. plur. form with the ending *-(n)zi*, though this word should have been written as (INFANS)*nī-ni-zi* (\**nininzi*).<sup>9</sup> In view of these examples, *nini-* should be identified as a noun “child” of hypocoristic origin.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Hawkins (s. n. 2): for a similar example refer to TELL AHMAR I 1: (INFANS)*nī-wa/i-ā + ra/i-*\*282 (cf. the value of the sign \*282 may be *nin(a)* or *niz*).

<sup>4</sup> E. Laroche, Comparaison du louvite et du lycien, in: BSL 53 [1958], 188.

<sup>5</sup> For the form *nini-* for “child” see Meriggi, Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar 89.

<sup>6</sup> On the interpretation of these passages see J. D. Hawkins, The Negatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian, in: AnSt 25 [1975], 144f.

<sup>7</sup> For the abl. plur. forms of *-i*-stem nouns see HHL 169: *-ati-* form: CAPUT-*ta<sub>4</sub>-ti* “from heads, DEUS-*na-ti* “from gods”; *-iti-* form: DEUS-*niti* “from gods”.

<sup>8</sup> Hawkins (s. n. 2) 143: cf. Cun. Luw. *yaššinašši-* (Laroche [s. n. 2] 109).

<sup>9</sup> For the nom.-acc. plur. ending *-(n)zi* see HHL 169 and F. Starke, Die Kasusendungen der luwischen Sprachen, in: Festschrift für Günter Neumann, Innsbruck 1982, 421–423.

<sup>10</sup> On a personal name Nini from “Lallwort” see E. Laroche, Les noms des Hittites, Paris 1966, 129 and 240; H. Kronasser, Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache, Bd. 1, Wiesbaden 1966, 117–119.

Further, most of the forms for “child” have been attested as INFANS-*ni*- with a phonetic complement -*ni*-. In particular, it is very important to note that this form is used for “a female child”, though only once in the following example:

(3) BABYLON stele 2:

*wa/i-tu-' mi-i-na-' DO[MINA]-ti-i-na BONUS-mi-i-na INFANS-ni-na*  
*IA-na-si-na pi-ia-ha*

“I gave him Anasi, my lady’s beloved child.”

Since Anasi is a proper name of a girl, INFANS-*ni*- seems to stand for a female child.<sup>11</sup> It is clear thus that the form INFANS-*ni*- in general denotes “child” including male and female, never “son”, as already suggested by E. Laroche and P. Meriggi.<sup>12</sup> At present, we can offer the following case forms for this word:

sing.nom. INFANS-*ni-sa* (\**ninis*)  
 acc. INFANS-*ni-na* (\**ninin*)  
 dat. INFANS-*ni(-i)* (\**nini*)  
 plur.n.-a. INFANS-*ni-zi* (\**nininzi*)  
 dat. INFANS-*ni(-ia)-za* (\**nini(ia)nza*)

It is very probable that this form corresponds to the full syllabic form *nini*- already discussed above, and thus INFANS-*ni*- can be clearly identified as the assumed form \**nini*-. Further, the word DUMU-*ni*- for “child” is well attested in Cuneiform Luwian. The case forms are as follows:<sup>13</sup>

sing.nom. DUMU-*ni-iš*: KUB XXXV 102(+)103 I 2’.  
 acc. DUMU-*ni-in*: KUB XXXV 102(+)103 III 4; IV 4.  
 DUMU-*in*: KUB XXXV 88 III 13.  
 dat. DUMU-*ni*: KUB XXXV 88 II 11.

This Cun.Luw. word will be assumed to correspond to Hier.Luw. *nini*-/INFANS-*ni*-. Accordingly, the word for “child” common to Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian may be assumed to be \**nini*-.<sup>14</sup>

We can also indicate a variant form INFANS-*niwi*- with phonetic complements -*ni-wi*- occurring twice in the CEKKE inscription:<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Laroche (s. n. 10) 31 no. 67; Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* 88 and id., *Manuale* II 1, 38f. “figlia”. On the Hier. Luw. word for “daughter”, however, see J. D. Hawkins, *The Luwian Word for “Daughter”*, in: KZ 92 [1978], 112–116: (FILIA) *tú-wa/i-tara/i*; F. Starke, *Das luwische Wort für “Frau”*, in: KZ 94 [1980], 77, and id., *Die Vertretungen von uridg. \*d<sup>h</sup>ugh<sub>2</sub>tér- „Tochter“ in den luwischen Sprachen und ihre Stammbildung*, in: KZ 100 [1987], 245 (\**tuwatri*:- cf. Cun. Luw. *SALdu<sup>1</sup>triyatti*-); F. O. Lindeman, *Introduction to the “Laryngeal Theory”*, Oslo 1987, 99f. (\**twatra*).

<sup>12</sup> See HH 30–32; Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar* 88f.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Laroche (s. n. 2) 119 and F. Starke, *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*, Wiesbaden 1985 (StBoT 30), 221–223.

<sup>14</sup> Note that Lycian, one of the Luwian languages, has the word *tideimi* for “child, son”, which is analyzed into \**dhidhē*- “suckle” and -*mi*- (passive participle).

<sup>15</sup> On the interpretation of these examples see J. D. Hawkins – A. Morpurgo-Davies, *Buying and Selling in Hieroglyphic Luwian*, in: *Festschrift für Günter Neumann*, Innsbruck 1982, 96f.

- (4) CEKKE B 2f.:  
*za-CRUS+RA/I-pa-wa/i INFRA-ní I “\*257”-ri+i 3 SCALPRUM(-)ma-na-zi \*257-za wa/i+ra/i-pa-tá-sa-za INFANS-ní-wa/i-za DARE-mi-na*  
 “We give . . . . . 3 minas(?) (of) silver(?) to the children of Warpata.”
- (5) CEKKE B 5:  
*wa/i-ta tá-à+ra/i-za INFANS-ni-wa/i-za-ha ki-tara/i-sa (VINCERE)hi-sà-hi-mi-na*  
 “We bind a KITAR(?) to the fathers and children.”

Although it is still difficult to understand these passages completely, the form *INFANS-niwiza* in both (4) and (5) should clearly be understood as the dat. plur. form with an ending *-(n)za* of the word *INFANS-niwi*.<sup>16</sup> This word is analyzed into the basic stem *INFANS-ni-* and an element *-wi*.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the variant form *INFANS-niwi-* is identified as *\*niniwi-* for “child”.

Next, we can observe the forms with the suffix *-iza-* which are presumably derived from the basic stem *\*nini-*.

We note that the form *INFANS-niza-* with phonetic complements is attested in the following:

- (6) HAMA III B+IV A.B., 1:  
*EGO-mi MAGNUS+RA/I-tà-mi-sa U+ra/i-hi-li-na-sa INFANS-ni-za-sa*  
*[I-ma-tu-wa/i-ni (REGIO) REX]*  
 “I am Uratami, son of Urhilina, the king of Hamath.”
- (7) HAMA VI, 1:  
*EGO-mi U+ra/i-hi-li-na(-sa) PRAE-tá-sa (INFANS)ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa I-ma-tu-wa/i-ni (REGIO) REX*  
 “I am Urhilina, son of Parta, the king of Hamath.”

In view of these two examples, the word *INFANS-niza-* in the citation (6) is properly explained as a synonym for the word *(INFANS)nimuwiza-* for “son” in the citation (7). Thus the word *INFANS-niza-* also has the meaning “son”, which is possibly analyzed into the above-mentioned form *INFANS-ni* (*\*nini-*) and the suffix *-iza*.<sup>18</sup>

For the similar examples of the word *INFANS-niza-*, see also KARKAMIŠ A 11 b 1; A 27 e 2; CEKKE B, 6 (4×: refer to the citation (9), (ii)–(v) below), 7 (4×), 8 (3×) and 9 (3×)

<sup>16</sup> For the dat. plur. forms of *-i-* stem nouns refer to HHL 169: *-a(n)za*: *REX-tá-za* “for kings”; *-i(n)za*: *tá-ti-za* “for fathers”.

<sup>17</sup> The evidence of this element is meager, but note the suffix *-wi-* in (“*MALUS<sub>2</sub>*”) *ha-ha-ní-wa/i-za* “evil” (nom.-acc. sing. n.) in TELL AHMAR I 6 (cf. KARATEPE XII: “*MALUS<sub>2</sub>*”(-)*hanija-*). For the form (“*MALUS<sub>2</sub>*”) *ha-ha-ní-wa/i-za* collated see Hawkins (s. n. 2) 150.

<sup>18</sup> Although *INFANS-ni-za-sa* may be assumed as a reduced form by the omission of medial signs *\*mu-wa/i-* in *\*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, we have generally confirmed a higher degree of consistency in writing Hieroglyphic Luwian words, and thus *INFANS-niza-* should surely be understood as an independent word for “son”.

Further, we can also indicate the form INFANS-*niwiza*- in the following examples:<sup>19</sup>

(8) KIRÇOĞLU 1:

EGO-*wa/i-mi-i* [. . . . .] INFANS-*ni-wa/i-za-sa* [. . . . .]  
 "I am [. . . . .], son of [. . . . .]"

(9) CEKKE B 5–6:

- (i) *Zi-ha + ra/i-la-pa + ra/i* (URBS) TONITRUS-*hu-ti-wa/i + ra/i-sá*  
<sup>1</sup>*Ha + ra/i-na-mu-sa-ha* INFANS-*ni-wa/i-za-sa á-pa-sá*
- (ii) <sup>1</sup>*Ha + ra/i-li-sa* TONITRUS-*hu-tá-wa/i-sa-ha*  
 INFANS-*ni-za-sa á-pa-sá*
- (iii) <sup>1</sup>*Ha + ra/i-ni-sa-ha-wa/i + ra/i-zá-sa*  
<sup>1</sup>*Sá-tá-FRATER-la-sa-ha* INFANS-*ni-za-sa á-pa-sá*
- (iv) *Na-ni-sa* FRATER-*la-wa/i + ra/i-sa-ha*  
 INFANS-*ni-za-sa á-pa-sá*
- (v) *Lá/i-tà-pa-ti* (URBS) <sup>1</sup>*Ka-pá + ra/i-sa*  
<sup>1</sup>*REL-za-ia + ra/i-sa-ha* INFANS-*ni-zá-sá á-pa-sá*
- (i) "Tarhuntiwara of Ziharlapa, and his son Harnamu,
- (ii) Harli, and his son Tarhuntawa,
- (iii) Harnisahawarza, and his son Sara[. .]la,
- (iv) Nani, and his son [. .]lawara,
- (v) Kapara of Latapa, and his son Hwa(n)zayara."

In the CEKKE inscription, INFANS-*niwiza*- is attestable only once in the passage (i), whereas in other passages INFANS-*niza*- for "son" is acknowledged.<sup>20</sup> In view of these examples, INFANS-*niwiza*- should be explained as a synonym for INFANS-*niza*- for "son" already mentioned. The word INFANS-*niwiza*- is possibly analyzed into the above-mentioned INFANS-*niwi*- (*\*niniwi*-) and the suffix *-iza*-.

Accordingly, the forms with *-iza*- suffix like INFANS-*niza*- and INFANS-*niwiza*- contextually denote "son", not "child", and these are synonymous with *nimuwiza*- for "son". We can probably reconstruct INFANS-*niza*- as *\*niniza*- and INFANS-*niwiza*- as *\*niniwiza*-. The clear function of the suffix *-iza*- in these words still remains obscure, but this suffix may be considered as a diminutive for intimacy or endearment. The words for "son" like *\*niniza*- and *\*niniwiza*- will possibly suggest a semantic specialization of "child" as "son" by the addition of the suffix *-iza*-, i.e. as a semantic development from "more intimate child" or "dearest child" to "son".

To sum up, INFANS-*ni*-/*nini*- and INFANS-*niwi*- denote "child" as synonymous with the word *niwarani*-. Notably the word INFANS-*ni*- clearly corresponds to DUMU-*ni*- (*\*nini*-) in Cuneiform Luwian. Further, INFANS-*niza*- (*\*niniza*-) and INFANS-*niwiza*- (*\*niniwiza*-) explicitly have the meaning "son" as synonymous with the word *nimuwiza*-. Thus the suffix *-iza*- is virtually at-

<sup>19</sup> For analysis of these texts I follow the edition by P. Meriggi, *Manuale II 1* und id., *Manuale di Eteo-Geroglifico II 2–3*, Roma 1975.

<sup>20</sup> For similar examples see also CEKKE B 7–9 (10 ×).

tested in these words for “son”. At present we can offer the form *nini-* and its congeners in Hieroglyphic Luwian as follows:

“child”	“son” (with -iza-)
INFANS- <i>ni-/nini-</i>	INFANS- <i>niza-</i> (* <i>niniza-</i> )
INFANS- <i>niwi-</i> (* <i>niniwi-</i> )	INFANS- <i>niwiza-</i> (* <i>niniwiza-</i> )
(cf. <i>niwarani-</i> )	(cf. <i>nimuwiza-</i> )