Corpus of the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian Kinship Terms

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Corpus of the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian Kinship Lexicon

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*A la meva mare,
i en memòria de la meva àvia.*

Abstract

This dissertation provides a philological corpus of the kinship lexicon attested in the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian sources with an evaluation of their semantic, morphological and epigraphic aspects. The present study is based on an updated compilation of the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and attempts to describe, synchronically and diachronically, the linguistic nature of the terms under discussion. The analysis resorts to the Comparative Method of Historical Linguistics, as well as to the internal comparison of the different indicators that each type of composition presents. Research on kinship lexicon is especially fruitful in terms of addressing the fragmentary condition of the Lycian and Luwian languages. This is due to the significant volume of attestations that their corpora present concerning the family vocabulary, which turns it into a suitable material for applying combinatory analysis. Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian languages are mostly contained in compositions of funerary and administrative nature, which greatly comprises vocabulary of the family semantic domain. On the one hand, Lycian is attested during the 5th and 4th BC in the south-west Anatolia in funerary epitaphs and some dynastic propaganda texts. On the other, Hieroglyphic Luwian was used during both the second and the first millennium BC, roughly from the 14th to the 7th BC, in a vast part of Anatolia and Syria, and its inscriptions contain decrees and commemorative or funerary compositions. Both the common dialectal identity as Luwic languages and the similarity of the textual genres turn the investigation of the family vocabulary into an insightful material for contributing to the better understanding of these languages. Besides, the investigation contributes to the genealogical information of the rulers that commissioned the inscriptions, useful for the reconstruction of the History of this period, as well as with sociological aspects of the family structure, especially regarding the Lycian sources.

Extracte

La present tesi doctoral té per objectiu oferir un corpus del lèxic de parentiu que es troba atestat a les fonts epigràfiques del lici i del luvi jeroglífic, acompanyat d'un comentari filològic que contempla els aspectes semàntics, morfològics i epigràfics de cada terme. El lici i el luvi jeroglífic són dues llengües anatòliques de la família indoeuroepa i, concretament, del grup dialectal lúvic, les característiques de les quals les converteixen en un material idoni per dur a terme un estudi comparatiu. El lici es troba majoritàriament atestat, en un alfabet derivat del grec, en epitafis funeraris i en algunes inscripcions dinàstiques dels segles V i IV a.C., a la regió sud-oest d'Anatòlia. Per la seva banda el luvi jeroglífic apareix documentat, en una escriptura jeroglífica pròpia, entre els segles XIV i VII a.C. en una àmplia extensió geogràfica que comprèn des del centre i l'oest d'Anatòlia fins el nord de Síria. El seu material es pot dividir en dues fases, les inscripcions d'època hittita, fonamentalment reials, i les inscripcions atestades després de l'anorreament dels grans imperis del mediterrani oriental al Bronze final, que comprèn les gestes, epitafis o dedicatòries de reis i governadors locals. Tant per la seva identitat dialectal, com pel gènere literari que comparteixen les composicions, presentar conjuntament el lèxic d'aquestes dues llengües esdevé idoni per afrontar la seva condició de llengües fragmentàries, especialment en el cas del lici. Així doncs, el present estudi es basa en una compilació exhaustiva i actualitzada del material textual d'aquestes dues llengües, i empra el mètode comparatiu de la lingüística històrica, així com l'anàlisi combinatòria de les dades lingüístiques i de realia, per tal d'obtenir una valoració completa del significat de cada terme. Aquesta metodologia permet, a part de la pròpia descripció lingüística del mot, aportar informació útil pel que fa a aspectes genealògics dels governadors de l'Edat del Ferro de la regió siro-anatòlica i, en relació al lici, comprendre els costums funeraris que es deriven de la distribució dels membres familiars en l'espai de la tomba, la qual cosa condueix a extreure conclusions de caire social vinculades a l'estructura familiar lícia. El corpus de les dues llengües es complementa amb un capítol etimològic final, el qual permet situar la naturalesa lingüística dels termes lúvics de parentiu en relació a la resta de llengües de la família indoeuropea.

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I. Introduction

General lexical studies in the Anatolian family of Indo-European languages have mainly focused on the most extensively documented language of this group, that is, Hittite, e.g. Tischler (1982. *Hethitisch-Deutscches Wörterverzeichnis. Mit einem semasiologischen Index*), Cotticelli-Kurras (1994. "Der hethitische Wortschatz im Lichte onomasiologischer Betractungen: ein Beitrag"), and more recently, from a historical linguistic approach, Kloekhorst (2008. *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*).

With regards to, specifically, the kinship lexicon, this section of the vocabulary has been a sensitive subject for anthropological considerations since Benveniste (1969. *Le Vocabulaire des Institutions Indo-Européennes*) due to its implications in attempting to reconstruct the early Indo-European society, producing numerous studies on the matter. Within this perspective, attention has been paid again to Hittite: Pringle (1993. *Hittite Kinship and Marriage. A study based on the Cuneiform texts from 2nd Millennium Boğazköy*), or Klock-Fontanille (2014. "From Hattians to Hittites: Some Reflections about Traces of Matrilinearity in Hittite Tradition").

The interest in this topic additionally extended to the early investigations on the structure of the Lycian family. The common belief that Lycian society was based on a matrilineal system was prompted by early interpretations of the Greek indirect sources, especially carried out by Bachofen (1861. *Das Mutterrecht*), who was followed by Thomson (1978. *The Prehistoric Aegean*; see state of the art and further considerations in Bryce 1986. *The Lycians*, 143-158). More recently, the sociological work fulfilled by Schweyer (2002. *Les Lyciens et la Mort. Une Étude d'Histoire Sociale*) put an end to the matrilinear theory, establishing that Lycians might be laxer than their Greek neighbours when considering women funerary rights, which in any case implied a matrilineal reminiscence (Schweyer 2002: 188-189).

From a linguistic perspective, Lycian also received early attention in terms of their kinship vocabulary in several individual articles, most notably Gusmani (1962. "Kleinasiatische Verwandtschaftsnamen"), Laroche (1974. "Les épitaphes lyciennes"), or Carruba (1969 [1970]. "Su alcuni nomi di parentela in licio e in nesico"). Furthermore, the Hellenic field of studies has also paid attention to the kinship vocabulary of the Lycian

inscriptions, namely Brixhe (1999. "Du Lycien au grec. Lexique de la familie et de la société") or Jenniges (2001. "ΚΑΛΕΟΥΣΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΩΝ ΕΩΥΤΟΥΣ. Hérodote 1, 173 face aux sources lyciennes").

While, in Lycian, the focus on the family lexicon was to some extent natural in view of the funerary condition of the inscriptions, which mainly attest terms of relationship, the interest on the Luwian sources written in Hieroglyphic, basically of administrative nature, was not exclusively focused on this subject. The main early studies in Luwian had a comparative component, namely Laroche (1958. "Comparaison du louvite et du lycien") and Houwink Ten Cate (1965. *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*), who moreover remarked the peculiar productivity of kinship terms as onomastic elements.

The wide presence of kinship vocabulary that he Lycian and Luwian languages present, together with the evidence brought up by the new inscriptions that have come to light in recent yeas, turns family lexicon into a suitable object of study for both the philological and the comparative linguistic work.

1. Purposes, aims, and overview

This dissertation aims to provide a philological corpus of the kinship terms attested in the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian sources with an evaluation of their semantic, morphological and, when possible, epigraphic aspects.

As it has been referred, the anthropological and sociological view of the kinship lexicon has generally been the main focus of research in previous studies. Even so, it is worth noticing that the philological ground of these considerations is, in Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian, sometimes based on the progressive understanding of these languages, which is still under development.

Promoted by the early studies of Melchert (1989, 2004), Starke (1990) and Hawkins (2000), substantial progress has been made in the knowledge of these languages in the last thirty years, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective, through the individual contribution of several scholars, which are quoted in the course of the present

dissertation. Nevertheless, the lack of lexical studies in the Luwic languages, recently remarked by Zeilfelder (2017, see etymology **3.4§7**), is still a pending subject to be supplied by a comprehensive investigation.

The needed renewal partially depends on the final publications of, on the one hand, the new *Corpus of Lycian Inscriptions* by Birgit Christiansen (München) and, on the other, the *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Bronze Age*, also containing the newly discovered inscriptions of the Iron Age, by David Hawkins (London).

For this reason, the present dissertation provides this lexical study with an updated compilation of the Lycian and the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, completing the standard current corpus, ie. Melchert 2001 (based on Kalinka 1901 and Neumann 1979) and Hawkins (2000), with the new inscriptions that have been published in individual works since these editions (see details in Methodology).

A study devoted to the family lexicon of these two corpora of languages proves valuable not only because of their common dialectal identity as Luwic languages but also because of the shared type of genre that the inscriptions comprise, both funerary and administrative.

Linguistically, such conditions allow us to carry out a synchronic analysis as well as diachronic research, comprising phonetic, morphological and etymological aspects of the terms, which will permit us to provide the scholar community with a more complete philological base work.

On the philological sphere proper, the study is also significant in terms of analyzing filiation structures, which has direct implications in reconstructing the genealogical information of the rulers and dynasts that appear in the inscriptions, or shedding light into the type of family relations that can be perceived in funerary inscriptions. Among other *realia* aspects, literary expressions and their transmission among the two languages will also be analyzed.

Finally, this material turns to be additionally insightful in relation to Comparative Linguistics of the Indo-European family, since kinship terms appear to be one of the most conservative fields of the lexicon of a language, which offers the opportunity to provide future etymological studies with solid philological work on this material.

Concerning the limitations of the study, the Luwian language attested in cuneiform writing during the second millennium BC, the so-called Cuneiform Luwian, has been left aside. The nature of its textual sources, mainly of religious nature, and its large extension of texts and copies, especially interconnected with the Hittite sphere, call for a future separated study. With regards to the glyptic and numismatic material, it will be treated in future studies due to extension limitations, as will also be the other languages of the Luwic group, Carian, Pisidian, and Sidetic.

2. Structure and methodology

The study of fragmentary languages resorts to different disciplines to supply the paucity of textual material. Additionally, *Restsprachen* might be restricted to a concrete type of literary genre, as it is the case of both the Lycian and Hierglyphic Luwian corpus of inscriptions, which almost exclusively comprise funerary and administrative texts. In view of their nature, I do not exclusively restrict the study to the Comparative Method of Historical Linguistics, but I especially use internal comparison between different elements of the textual evidence in order to elucidate with better perspectives the meaning and function of each lexeme.

This dissertation is structured around three chapters and is logically provided with an introduction and a conclusion. The first chapter is devoted to the Lycian language, including as well its close relative Milyan, also known as Lycian B. The second chapter treats the Luwian language that is represented under the hieroglyphic writing, traditionally and currently referred as Hieroglyphic Luwian (on the designations of Luwian, see state of the art below), where each lemma is in turn divided into the attestations of the Empire Period and the attestations of the Post-Empire Period, being the second one composed of the so-called Transitional and Iron Age inscriptions (see Luwian state or the art). The third chapter presents a distribution of the Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian kinship terms according to their inherited or their proper Anatolian nature, duly accompanied by a consideration of the relation with the rest of the Indo-European subgroups of languages. Since the evidence resulting from the individual evaluation of each lexeme is clearly interconnected, I have employed a paragraph numbering, which is intended to facilitate the exact location of the information.

Inside the respective chapters, the lemmata follow the order established, respectively, by Melchert (2004 = *DLL*) concerning Lycian, and by Yakubovich (*ACLT*) with respect to Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Under each lemma, the reader will find a compilation of the attestations and a philological commentary. The first section of the lemma, which presents the attestations, follows a nominal case-ending order (nom.sg., nom.pl., acc.sg., acc.pl., dat.sg., dat.pl. and gen-adj.), whereas the instances whose inflection attribution is doubtful present an initial (?). Differently, the attribution to the 'Doubtful' category means that either cannot be attributed to the lemma with certainty, or their context is too damaged to elucidate its syntactic function and, consequently, the case-ending. In the second place, the philological commentary, which is preceded by a concise *apparatus* of literary references, comprises the relation between the inflectional nominal case and the syntagm that contains it, the verb which governs, and the part of the inscription where it appears, as well as the semantic considerations that can be inferred from this evidence, and also in relation to the bilingual compositions. The organization of the attestations in the philological commentary follows the order that better allows the comparative analysis, for which reason the distribution of the attestations in the commentary might differ from among the lexemes (e.g. filiation, literary topos, etc.). An epigraphic evaluation is also given in this section when the attestation calls for it, as well as a morphological commentary, containing information relative to the stem classification, phonetic variants, as well as a relation with Anatolian and/or Indo-European cognates and its etymological origin.

With regards to the edition of the Lycian attestations, I use the *Lycian Corpus* by Melchert (2001), which is in turn based on the editions by Kalinka (1901), marked with TL+ nº, and Neumann (1979) and Bousquet (1992), marked with N + nº. This edition is, when possible and necessary, corrected with new readings, which are duly noted in the attestation under the abbreviation 'NB' (nota bene). Such improved editions mainly correspond to the publications of Christiansen (2019 and 2020a), Eichner (2006), Neumann (2012) or Tekoğlu (2006, 2017). The inscriptions in Milyan follow the editions of Schürr (2005, 2016 and 2018). In relation to the new inscriptions edited after the publication of the corpus of Melchert, which are marked with NN + nº, the text edition that has been followed is noted in the 5.2. Index of texts.

Concerning the Luwian attestations, I have resorted to the *Corpus of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions of the Iron Age vol.I*, by Hawkins (2000), and *vol.II* by Çambel (1999). The inscriptions that have been edited after Hawkins' major publication have been compiled and included in this work taking the main edition of the text as a reference, which is duly noted in 6.2. Index of texts. The high number of inscriptions that this period offers, and the possibility to address the reader to the text in the Corpus of the Iron Age Inscriptions, has been the reason for maintaining Hawkins' numbering in the present work. For the sake of facility, I have also provisionally numbered the inscriptions published after Hawkins (2000), according to the index of new Iron Age Inscriptions that the author himself provided in the International Conference *Beyond All Boundaries. Anatolia in the First Millennium* that took place in Ascona the in June 2018. With regards to the inscriptions of the Bronze Age Empire Period, whose publication by Hawkins is still in preparation, the attestations have been extracted from its main editions, when possible, or from old copies and drawings. Since they are reduced in number, and are grouped in a concrete section, I have not considered necessary to attribute a specific number to them.

Since different authors have been resorted to in the attestation section, I have taken the liberty to minimally homogenize some edition criteria of their original editions, which affects the notation of line breaks, clitic elements, partial damage of a sign, and scribal errors (see Epigraphic conventions). In the case of the Hieroglyphic Luwian attestations, I have substituted the outdated signs *ta₄* (*319) and *ta₅* (*172) by the new accepted readings *la/i* and *lá/i* (Rieken – Yakubovich 2010). Nevertheless, when a passage of the text has been included in the commentary for clarification purposes, I have only modified the editors' version in case I offer my own broad transliteration. This does not only stand for the mentioned signs, *ta₄* and *ta₅*, but also for the transcription of sign *45 (FILIUS/INFANS). Since this logogram posits methodological problems, I have invariably transliterated it as INFANS in order not to compromise the study of this word (see a complete state of the art and debate in Luw. **§85.ff.**).

In order to reach a better comprehension of the philological commentary by the reader, the number of the inscription is accompanied by the following signs: X* when the attestation is partially broken, X¹ when it contains a scribal error, and X? when it has been completely reconstructed. Moreover, translations of the text are marked with double

quotation marks (" "), while single designations or meanings with simple marks ('').
Personal names are rendered with italics and capital letters when they appear in the commentary.

The principal difference between the section of attestations in Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian is that the Lycian attestations have been included together with the syntagm where are contained, while the Hieroglyphic Luwian is only left with the individual terms. This decision is justified by the existence of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Corpus by Hawkins (2000), which provides a translation and commentary that allows the reader to quickly obtain the context of the attestation. For this reason, Hieroglyphic Luwian passages are only included in the philological commentary when they are required for the comprehension of a complicated argument. The attestations that appear under the stylistic form of a word-pair have been included together in the attestations section. On the contrary, the Lycian Corpus of Melchert (2001) offers the broad transcription of the text, difficulting the identification of complex syntagms in a rapid consultation. The inclusion of the syntagm is intended to facilitate the reader's comprehension of the attestation and the philological commentary.

Concerning the third chapter, devoted to the etymological aspect of the kinship terms, I follow Melchert (2014:2571) in the label Core-Indo-European languages, which refers to "a stage postdating the 'separation' of Anatolian."

In what follows (sections 5 and 6), I will offer a concise state of the art of Lycian and Luwian, stressing the points that are rellevant for the discussion of the main bulk of the study.

3. Abbreviations

3.1. Languages

Alb.	Albanian	PGerm.	Proto-Germanic
Arm.	Classical Armenian	OHG	Old High Germanic
Akk.	Akkadian	Oss.	Ossetian
C.Luw.	Cuneiform Luwian	OSwed.	Old Swedish
Gaul.	Gaulish	OIr.	Old Irish
Goth.	Gothic	ONor.	Old Nordic
Gr.	Greek	OPrus.	Old Prussian
Hitt.	Hittite	Osc.	Oscan
H.Luw.	Hieroglyphic Luwian	PA	Proto-Anatolian
IE	Indo-European	PLuw.	Proto-Luwic
Lat.	Latin	Pal.	Palaic
Latv.	Latvian	Phr.	Phrygian
Lith.	Lithuanian	Pis.	Pisidian
Luw.	Luwian	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
Lyc.	Lycian	Russ.	Russian
Lyd.	Lydian	Skr.	Sanskrit
ModHG	Modern High Germanic	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
ModEng.	Modern English	Sid.	Sidetic
Myc.	Mycenaean	Toch.A	Tocharian A
OCorn.	Old Cornish	Toch.B	Tocharian B
OCS	Old Church Slavic	Ved.	Vedic

3.2. Reconstruction, grammar and text

abl.	ablative	acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective	ins.	instrumental
adv.	adverb	KT	kinship term
BC	before Christ	loc.	locative
C.	any consonant	masc.	masculine
c.	century	neut.	neuter
ca.	*circa*	NB	nota bene
cf.	compare	nom.	nominative
com.	common	nom-acc.	nominative-accusative
conj.	conjunction	obl.	oblique
dat.	dative	pcl.	particle
dat-loc.	dative-locative	pl.	plural
DN	divine name	PN	personal name
e.g.	for example	poss.	possessive
fem.	feminine	prep.	preposition
gen.	genitive	prev.	preverb
gen-adj.	genitive-adjective	pron.	pronoun
H	any PIE laryngeal	ptc.	participle
id.	*idem*	sg.	singular
i.e.	*id est*	V.	any vowel

4. Conventions

4.1. Linguistic conventions

>	developed from
<	developed into
→	derivation into
(?)	uncertain meaning
'X'	general designation
"X"	translation
*X	reconstructed item of a proto-stage
**X	implausible hypothetical reconstruction
†	no longer existent reading of an attestation
/X/	phoneme transcription
=	clitic element
Y-X	morphological segmentation
#	word final

1.4.2. Epigraphical conventions

xxxx   underlined word marks the referred instance if it appears twice in the same syntagm

<X>   wrong omission of a sign by the engraver

{X}   wrong inclusion of a sign by the engraver

X!   wrong sign employed by the engraver

X?   doubtful reading of the sign

˙X˙   partially damaged sign whose reading is visible to the editor

[X]   damaged sign or signs restored by the editor

[...]   damaged sign or signs whose restoration is not possible or not attempted by the editor, where each dot represents the possible space for a sign

[---]   damaged sign or signs whose extent is unknown to the editor

º...º   Incomplete word according to Melchert Corpus of Lycian Language (2001).

/   line break in the text

5. The Lycian language and its textual material

Classical Lycia geographically corresponds to the region attested in the Hittite sources of the second millennium as *Lukka*, nowadays between the Gulf of Fethiye and the Gulf of Antalya. No textual material from the second millennium Lycia has remained, in case it ever existed, and it is not until the end of the 5thc. that we find the first attestations. After the conquest by Alexander the Great 334/333 BC, the Lycian language ceases to be employed, at least, in the written material.

The current number of inscriptions is 205, from which only 9 are Greek bilinguals and 2 pseudo-bilinguals. More exceptionally, some Lycian-Aramean bilinguals are found, from which the Aramean version of the Stele of the Letoon, also called Trilingual of Xanthos (Dupont-Sommer 1979) and the Aramaic-Greek bilingual of Limyra (Vernet 2017) stand out. The content of the vast majority of the inscriptions consists of funerary epitaphs, whose quite formulaic structure leads to our better understanding of the text. On the contrary, the administrative compositions, either decrees or dynastic propaganda, present more interpretation difficulties, namely the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44), in Lycian, Milyan and, partially, Greek, the Xanthos Trilingual (or Stele of the Letoon, N320), in Lycian, Greek and Aramaic, the inscriptions of Erbbina (N324-N325), and the recently discovered N 337, a plausible treaty between Limyra and an unknown city thought to be *Xuxrummi*.

With regards to the structure of the funerary epitaphs, it normally begins with an introductory formula that presents the owner of the inscription and his filiation, normally expressed in a genitive adjective construction, and which can sometimes be accompanied by the mention of his wife. The second part of the inscription usually contains the family members that are to be included in the funerary monument, either through a prepositional syntagm, introduced by *hrppi*, or a direct object clause depending on a transitive verb. At the end, the owner normally includes a mention of a payment fee to the authorities and, optionally, a protective curse against possible malefactors, or simply a dedication to the Lycian god 'the mother of this shrine'.

The prototypical structure that this type of inscription follows constitutes a major factor for carrying out the internal comparison, which combined with the evidence of a bilingual,

the existence of Anatolian cognates, or the identification of its Indo-Europan etymology, allows to establish the meaning of a term.

Some of the internal indicators that permit to identify a potential family term are the presence of a determinative *ehbi* after the term, essentially in the beneficiaries clause, or the modification of a genitive-adjective personal name in the introductory filiation clause. In the cases of administrative inscriptions, the nature of the surrounding vocabulary might be useful for elucidating obscure terms.

The degree of certainty by which the identification and/or meaning of a Lycian family can be established greatly depends on how such indicators can be combined in the investigation.

5.1. Language and scripture

Lycian uses a left-to-right alphabet, probably derived from a Dorian Greek form, according to Neumann (1969), from which 17 characters represent direct adaptations from Greek letters, and 12 have been added to supply the representation of nonexistent sounds in Greek (see Adiego 2015 and 2018: 152-154). It belongs to the 'Luwic' dialectal subgroup of the Anatolian family, which comprises Luwian, both cuneiform and hieroglyphic, Lycian and Milyan, Carian, and probably Sidetic and Pisidic. The outstanding dialectological feature that distinguishes Common Lycian (ie. the reconstruction of the two dialects Lycian and Milyan) from the rest of the Anatolian languages is that the merger between PIE *o and *a does not take place in it (Melchert 1992). Nevertheless, a handful of phonological and morphological isoglosses put it in close connection with Luwian (see Rieken 2017:302-303 for a concise revision with references).

The phonetic inventory of the Lycian language presents a series of voiceless stops /p/ *p*, /t/ *t*, /c/ *k*, /k/ *x*, and /kʷ?/ *q*, which present voiced allophones when in contact with nasals and nasalized vowels. The exact value of the three tectals is disputed, but is taken to approximately represent a palatal (/c/ *k*), a velar (/k/ *x*) and an uvular (/kʷ?/ *q*) (contrary, Melchert 2008 proposes a distribution as front, middle and back velars). The series of

fricatives presents a voiceless series /th/ *θ*, /s/ *s*, /h/ *h* and voiced series /β/ *b*, /ð/ *d*, /ɣ/ *g*, and one voiceless affricate /tˢ/ *z*.

The vocalic system presents four vowels /i/ *i*, /u/ *u*, /e/ *e*, /a/ *a*, two glides /j/ *j* and /w/ *u*, and two nazalised vowels /ã/ *ã* and /ẽ/ *ẽ* and although /i/ and /u/ had probably nasal allophones as well, according to the Greek rendering of some Lycian names. The group of sonants /m/ *m*, /n/ *n*, /l/ *l*, and /r/ *r*, with perhaps present syllabic allophones; the value of the nasals /m̃/ *m̃* and /ñ/ *ñ* is still under discussion (Adiego 2005). The value of the following characters has not been establised with certainty: *τ* /tw/(?), *K* /k/(?), and ◊ /k/ (?).

Lycian phonetics are affected by the *umlaut* rules, which are described as a regressive vocalic assimilation phenomenon that affects the high-back quality of a vowel in the following way: */-e-a-/ > /-a-a-/, */-e-u-/ > /-a-u-/ > */-a-e-/ > /-e-e-/, /-a-i-/ > /-e-i-/ (Hajnal 1995:77-78).

Lycian morphology is still poorly described with regards to its nominal stems, which present a notable range of formations and inflection possibilities. The Lycian noun presents two numbers, singular, and plural, although some attestations seem to present a collectivized formation, and two genders, common and neuter. The inflection of the common gender is affected by the *i-mutation* phenomenon, which is traditionally described as the addition of an *-i*-suffix, between the stem and the case ending, to nouns and adjectives of animate nature in their nominative and accusative cases of the singular and plural number, (Starke 1990:59). The 'animate' distinction is however not a certain value, and several 'animate' nouns "escape" to such rule (see further details in Luwian below). The loss of final endings in Lycian additionally complicates reconstructing the prehistory of its nominal paradigm. Outside the a-stems (common and neuter, Table 1), the vocalic stems of the common gender are divided, according to Melchert (2004, xi) into *e*-stems, with and without *i*-mutation, *ẽ*-stems with and without *i*-mutation, *i*-stems, and *ije*-stems, while consonantal stems are (*n*)*t-stems*, *s*-stems and *h*-stems. Besides the *a*-neuter nouns, *n*-stems also belong to the neuter gender. Finally, an *e*-stem without *i*-mutation seems to inflect as a collective *plurale tantum*.

	sg.	pl.
nom. (com.)	*-a*	*-ãi*
acc. (com.)	*-a*	*-as*
nom-acc. (n.)	*-ã*	*-a*
dat.	*-i*	*-a, -e*
loc.	*-a*	*-a*
abl-ins.	*-adi*	*-adi*
gen.	*-ahe/i-*	*-ahe/i-*

Table 1. Inflection of the *a*-common -and -*a*-neuter stems
(based on Martínez-Rodríguez 2018)

	sg.	pl.
nom. (c.)	*-ø / -i / -s*	*-V̆i*
acc. (c.)	*-Ṽ / -i / -ñ*	*-s*
nom-acc. (n.)	*-ø / -Ṽ*	*-a*
dat.-loc	*-i, -je / -ø*	*-e, -ø*
gen.	*- ø*	*-ẽ*
abl-ins.	*-(e)di*	
gen.-adj.	*-ehe/i-*	*-ehe/i-*

Table 2. Inflection of common and neuter stems of vocalic
and consonantal stems (based on Melchert 2004)

The Lycian verb presents three persons, singular and plural number, indicative and imperative mood, active and mediopassive voice, and present-future and preterit tenses. One basic feature shared with other Anatolian languages is the distribution of two series of inflection endings, namely, the *hi*-conjugation and the *mi*-conjugation (see an overview in Vernet 2018). According to Melchert (*DLL* 2004:xii-xiii), they can be classified in the following classes; *a*-stems, *a*(*i*)-stems, (*e*)*i*-stems and *i*-stems.

	Pres.act.		Pret.act.	
Conj.	*-mi*	*-hi*	*-mi*	*-hi*
1st.pers.sg.	*-u*	*-u*	*-gã, -xã*	*-xã*
2nd.pers.sg.			*-xã*	*-xã*
3rd.pers.sg.	*-ti, -di*	*-e*	*-te, -tẽ, -de, -dẽ*	*-te, -tẽ*
1st.pers.pl.				
2nd.pers.pl.				
3rd.pers.pl.	*-(˜)ti*	*-(˜)ti*		

Table 3. Distribution of the verbal inflection endings of Lycian

(based on Vernet 2018)

5.2. Index of Lycian inscriptions

Text	Copy or Edition
TL 1 - TL 150	Melchert 2001, based on Kalinka (1901), and: - TL 29 Tekoğlu (2006) - TL 44c 32ff. Schürr (2016a) - TL 44d Schürr (2018) - NN 44g Dönmez-Schürr (2015) - NN 46 a-b Christiansen (2019) - TL 54a-b Christiansen (2019) - TL 55 Schürr (2005) - TL 72 Zimmermann (1993) - TL 74 c-d Neumann (1985) - TL 80 Neumann (1993)
N 300 - N 324	Melchert 2001, based on Neumann (1979) and Bousquet (1992) - N 319 Christiansen (2019)
N 324	Melchert 2001, based on Bousquet (1992)
N 325	Melchert 2001, based on Bousquet (1992)
N 326	Melchert 2001, based on Bousquet (1992)
N 327	Melchert 2001, based on Bousquet (1992)
N 328	Melchert 2001, based on Bousquet (1992)
N 328a-b	Melchert 2001, based on Neumann (1995)
NN 331	Neumann (2000)
NN 332	Neumann (2000)
NN 333	Tekoğlu (2002-3)
NN 334	Tekoğlu (2002-3)
NN 335	Christiansen (2019)
NN 336	Kogler – Seyer (2007)
NN 337	Christiansen (2012)
NN 338	Christiansen (2019)
NN 339	Christiansen (2019)
NN 340	Christiansen (2019)
NN 341	Christiansen (2020a)
NN 342	Korkut – Tekoğlu (2019)

NN 343	Christiansen (2020b)
NN 344	Christiansen (2019:117)
NN 345	Christiansen (2019)
NN 346	Christiansen (2019)
NN 347	Christiansen (2019)
NN 348	Tekoğlu (*Gephyra forth*.)
NN 349	Tekoğlu (*Gephyra forth*.)
NN 350	Tekoğlu (*Gephyra forth*.)
NN 351	Seyer – Tekoğlu (2009)
NN 352	Tekoğlu (2017)
NN 353	Korkut – Tekoğlu (2019)
NN 354	Tekoğlu (2017)
NN 355	Tekoğlu (2017)
NN 356*a*/*b*	Tekoğlu (2017)
NN 357	Tekoğlu (2017)

6. The Luwian language of the Hieroglyphic inscriptions and its textual material

The Luwian language has been transmitted by means of two written systems, Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic, whose textual material spreads over Anatolian, mainly central and southern (restrictedly in western) areas, and in northwestern Syria. On the one hand, Cuneiform scripture was employed by the Hittite Empire, nearly from the 17th to 13th c. BC, to inscribe in clay tablets a wide range of textual genres, from diplomacy to literature. Besides many other languages, such as Akkadian, Hurrian or Palaic, the archives of the capital Hattusa (Boğazköy) also preserved religious compositions, especially rituals, which were predominantly written in Luwian language, presumably during the 16th to the 15th c. BC (see Bawanypeck 2013 for a classification Cuneiform Luwian texts). The exact number of texts is difficult to establish due to the numerous copies and variants that each composition presents, whose main edition is still Starke 1985.

Parallelly, the Luwian language was registered under a hieroglyphic scripture since at least the 14th c. BC. in monumental royal inscriptions from both central (e.g. BOĞAZKÖY 3, 5, 18 or 21, or YALBURT) and western Anatolia (e.g. KARABEL), as well as, very marginally, rock epigraphs of, presumably, officials or palace scribes (e.g. MALKAYA or TAŞÇI). Previously, the pictographic signs that culminated in the establishment of the Hieroglyphic Luwian scripture had earlier been employed in seals, a practice that started around the 18th c. BC in Cappadocian seals, which leads to label this early stage as Anatolian Hieroglyphs (see state of the art in Yakubovich 2008c). The Hieroglyphic script endured after the fall of the Hittite Empire in, what is called, the Neo-Hittite states until the 7th c. BC, from which period the greatest part of textual material has endured. The compositions of this period mainly recorded the deeds of kings and local rulers. The current number of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions is 260, according to Zinko (2017:242), from which 220 can be attributed to the period between the fall of the Empire Period (12th c. BC) and the end of the Neo-Hittite states (early 7th c. BC).

The so-called Post-Empire Period can be divided into two subperiods, the period that followed immediately after the vanishing of the Hittite Empire, also called 'Transitional' (12th-11th. BC), and the properly Iron Age period (10th-7th. BC). The main problem of the inscriptions that are attributed to the 'Transitional' Period is the difficulty in distinguishing its features as genuinely archaic or as deliberately archaizing. This issue

mainly affects the archaic inscriptions of the Tabal region (KIZILDAĞ-KARADAĞ-BURUNKAYA) and the Malatya region (KARAHÖUYÜK *et al.*), on which see Hawkins (2000:425 and 282) for historical context and debate.

6.1. Language and scripture

Together with Lycian, Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian, the Luwian language also belongs to the Luwic dialectal group. Concerning the classification of the Luwian language variants, the question has received major debate. According to Yakubovich (2010a), the textual sources attest three dialects of Luwian, labeled, Kizzuwatnean Luwian, Luwian of Istanuwa, and Empire Luwian, from which Iron Age Luwian represents its continuation (see state of the art in Giusfredi 2017:80).

The Hieroglyphic Luwian scripture comprises around 500 signs, which combine themselves in three main values: logograms, determinatives, and syllabograms (Hawkins 2000:23ff.). Logograms represent words or concepts that might ultimately be related to their earlier pictographic character and are conventionally transcribed with the Latin translation of such concept in capital letters. On the methodological problem concerning the logographical representation of grammatical elements (e.g. *ARHA* *216 'away', INFRA *57 'down', or NEG *332 'not'), classified by Hawkins (1995:39[105]) as *rebus*-signs, see details in Luw. **§ 33a.** Determinatives are employed for marking the lexical category of a word), although this view might be challenged by the evidence of INFANS and NEPOS (see **§69c.** with **Tab.24**). They are placed before the word and are transliterated in brackets (e.g. (DEUS) 'god'). As pointed by Payne (2017, see there for updated work on determinatives), the main difference between logograms and determinatives is that only the first ones are intended to be read out, while the seconds function as a reading aid. On the problems of conventionally establishing a determinative value in front of a logographic one, see Luw. **§ 33.** Finally, syllabograms might phonetically represent four different syllabic structures, /V/, /C/, /CV/, and /CVCV/ (see Hawkins *op.cit.*), some of which present the particularity of becoming phonetic indicators of a logogram (Rieken - Yakubovich 2010).

While the Lycian transcription of the inscriptions might reflect fairly well the phonetic realization that the *communis opinio* accept, the complexity of the Hieroglyphic Luwian system needs to resort to an interpretative transcription, based on the constant revision of the phonetics and morphology of the language, together with its diachronic evidence. Major progress on this question has seen the light since the publication of Hawkins' *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, especially promoted by the edition task of the *eDiAna* project (*Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*), which partially resorts to the previous work of the *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* project by Yakubovich. For this reason, in the present work, I am mostly following the most updated conventions on morpho-phonology of the Luwian language, established in Yakubovich 2015.

The phonetic inventory presents the following stops: labial /p/, /b/, coronal /t/, /d/, velars /k/, /g/, and labiovelars /kw/, /gw/; fricatives /s/, /h/, and /hw/; affricate /z/; nasals /n/, /m/; lateral /l/; rhotic /r/ ; glides /w/ and /y/; vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/. All the voiceless phonemes present an opposition *fortis – lenis* that is marked in broad transcription by means of a double or simple phoneme, on which see Yakubovich (2015: 16-17).

Luwian nominal morphology presents two genders (common and neuter), two numbers (singular and plural) and six cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative-locative, ablative-instrumental, and vocative. The main problem on the nature and function of the genitive adjective, a matter in dispute (Melchert 2012a, Bauer 2014), lays on the orthographic impossibility of distinguishing the proper genitive case-ending /-as/ (PIE *-os*), but also /-isi/ and /-asi/, from the widespread genitival-adjective formed with the suffix *-assa/i-* (also *-issa/i-*) (see **§ 73a.**). Additionally, nouns of the neuter gender present an additional mark +*za*/*sa*.

The traditional distribution of the nominal class of the common gender between *-a*-stems with *i*-mutation and *a*-stems without *i*-mutation, has been argued to rather represent a merger among *a*-stems, *i*-stems, and consonantal stems, according to the work of Rieken 2005 (on *i*-mutation see Lycian introduction 6.2), caused by the influence of an earlier ablaut *a*/*ay*-stem (Bauer 2014:29), which resulted in a homogenization of the previously mentioned classes. The spread of this pattern has had as a consequence the identification of a handful of sub-stems that are, in most of the occasions, difficult to assign to a concrete paradigm. As Melchert points (2003:188): "the system [...] is so dominant that nearly all

(perhaps in fact all) original *i*-stems have been altered to follow the pattern." Despite the different sub-stems have been identified in the state of the art by Yakubovich (2015), in the present work I have considered prudent to maintain a labeling based on the advances on nominal morphology offered in Yakubovich (2015) and the traditional nomenclature, pending a full study on the Luwian paradigms which, for limitation reasons, cannot take place in the present work.

Therefore, I quote as *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalic class nouns such as *tad*(*i*)- 'father' (previously *a/i*-stems), while *a*-mutated stems of the consonantal class nouns as *annatt(i)*- (previously *a/i*-stems), and plainly as *a*-stems nouns such as *huha*- (previously *a*-stems).

With regards to the *iya*-stem, which Yakubovich (2015) presents, I follow Bauer in prioritizing an identification as an *iya*-possessive adjective, in light of the difficulties for distinguishing semi-vocalic stems from *iya*-adjectives (Bauer 2014:30), partially difficulted by the common contraction *iya-* > i (see Luw. **§117.**).

	sg.	pl.
nom. (c.)	-*s*	-*nzi*
acc. (c.)	-*n*	-*nz* / -*nzi*
nom-acc. (n.)	-Ø (+*sa*/*za*)	-Ø / -*a*
	-*n* (+*za*)	
dat.-loc	-*i*, -*ya*	-*anz*(*a*)
gen.	-*as*(?)	
abl-ins.	-*adi*	
gen.-adj.	-*assi*, -*assa* (?)	
voc.	-Ø / -*s*	

Table 4. Inflection of common and neuter stems of vocalic
and consonantal stems (based on Yakubovich 2015)

The Luwian verbal system presents three persons, singular and plural number, indicative and imperative mood, active and middle voice, and present-future and preterit tenses. As is characteristic of the Anatolian languages, the distribution of its two series of inflection endings can be classified into the *hi*-conjugation and the *mi*-conjugation, in Luwian respectively labeled as *-ti* and *-i* (see an overview in Vernet 2018).

	Pres.act.		**Pret.act.**	
Conj.	***-mi***	***-hi***	***-mi***	***-hi***
1st.pers.sg.	*-wi*			*-ha*
2nd.pers.sg.		*-si, -tis*		*-ta*
3rd.pers.sg.	*-ti, -ri*	*-i, -ia*	*-ta, -ra, -da*	*-ta*
1st.pers.pl.				*-han*(?)
2nd.pers.pl.		*-tani*		*-tan*
3rd.pers.pl.		*-nti*		*-nta*

Table 5. Distribution of the verbal inflection endings
of Hieroglyphic Luwian (based on Vernet 2018)

6.2. Index of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions

6.2.1. Empire Period Inscriptions

TEXT	COPY OR EDITION
ALEPPO 1	Laroche (1956: 135)
BOĞAZKÖY 3	Meriggi (1975: 289)
BOĞAZKÖY 5 (NIŞANTAŞ)	Hawkins (2019b: 142-145)
BOĞAZKÖY 18	Self-edited from picture by Hittite Monuments webpage
BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG)	Hawkins (1995: 22-23)
ÇALAPVERDI 4[1]	Taş – Weeden (2010: 350-351)
EMIRGAZI 1 (A-D)	Hawkins (1995: 88; 2006:54-56, 72); Masson (1979)
EMIRGAZI 2 A14b	Masson (1979)
FRAKTIN	Kohlmeyer (1983: 70-72)
HANYERI	Kohlmeyer (1983: 86-90)
HATIP	Ehringhaus (2005: 101-7)
HEMITE	Kohlmeyer (1983: 90-95)
IMMANKULU	Kohlmeyer (1983: 80-85)
KARABEL A	Hawkins (1998:4)
KARAKUYU	Bittel (1984); Meriggi, Piero. (1975:315-16)
KOCAOĞUZ	Şahin – Tekoğlu (2003)
KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA	Gelb (1939: Pl.63)
LATMOS	Oreshko (2013: 342, 358, 359, 363, 364, 366)
MALKAYA	Hawkins – Weeden (2008)
YALBURT	Hawkins (1995: 68-70); Karasu – Poetto – Savaş (2000)
SILVER STAG VESSEL	Van den Hout (2018: 114-127)
SIRKELI	Kohlmeyer (1983: 96-98)
SYPILOS	Oreshko (2013: 370)
TAŞÇI A	Kohlmeyer (1983: 74-78); Hawkins (2005: 292–3)
TAÇIN	Meriggi (1975: 314)

6.2.2. Post Empire Inscriptions

TEXT	EDITION
I.1 KARATEPE	*CHLI*: 45
I.3 KARATEPE	*CHLI*: 68; Phoen. Çambel 1999
I.8 ÇINEKÖY	Tekoğlu – İpek – Lemaire – Tosun (2000)
II.1. KARKAMIŠ A4b	*CHLI*: 80
II.4 KARKAMIŠ A14b	*CHLI*: 83
II.5 KARKAMIŠ A14a	*CHLI*: 83
II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a	*CHLI*: 87
II.7 KARKAMIŠ A1b	*CHLI*: 91
II.8 KELEKLI	*CHLI*: 92
II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8)	*CHLI*: 94; Peker – Weeden (2014)
II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c	*CHLI*: 101
II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3	*CHLI*: 108
II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12	*CHLI*: 112; Peker – Weeden (2014)
II.17 KARKAMIŠ A23+	*CHLI*: 116
II.18 KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2+	*CHLI*: 117
II.19 KARKAMIŠ A20a1	*CHLI*: 118
II.20 KARKAMIŠ A25a	*CHLI*: 121
II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6	*CHLI*: 123
II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7	*CHLI*: 128
II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b	*CHLI*: 130
II.26 AFŞIN (KH.15.O.690) (+KARKAMIS A31+fragm. A30b 1-3)	Marchetti – Peker (2018)
II.27 CEKKE	*CHLI*: 143
II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a	*CHLI*: 151
II.29 TÜNP 1	*CHLI*: 154
II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b	*CHLI*: 157
II.33 KARKAMIŠ A22c+A20b 6	*CHLI*: 157-164
II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u	*CHLI*: 165
II.35 KARKAMIŠ A27e frag.1-2	*CHLI*: 165
II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13a-c	*CHLI*: 167
II.37 KARKAMIŠ A26f	*CHLI*: 169
II.40 KÖRKÜN	*CHLI*: 171

II.43 TILSEVET	*CHLI*: 178
II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a	*CHLI*: 181; New collation by Peker (2014:191[5])
II.50 KARKAMIŠ A15a	*CHLI*: 188
II.51 KARKAMIŠ A15c	*CHLI*: 189
II.54 KARKAMIŠ A17c	*CHLI*: 192
II.58 KARKAMIŠ A18j	*CHLI*: 195
II.60 KARKAMIŠ A15d	*CHLI*: 197
II.67 KARKAMIŠ A19	*CHLI*: 201
II.68 KARKAMIŠ A26b-e	*CHLI*: 206
II.69 KARKAMIŠ A27	*CHLI*: 207
II.71 KARKAMIŠ A29	*CHLI*: 217
II.73 KARKAMIŠ SHERD	*CHLI*: 223
II.74 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. a/b	*CHLI*: 590
II.75 KARKAMIŠ N1	Dinçol – Dinçol – Hawkins – Marchetti – Peker (2014)
II.76 YUNUS 1	Peker (2014)
II.78 ADANA 1	Hawkins – Tosun – Akdoğan (2013)
II.80 ŞARAGA	Poetto (2010b); Sasseville – Yakubovich (2016)
II.85 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. a-c	Peker – Weeden (2014)
II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM.	Peker (2016)
III.1 TELL AHMAR 2	*CHLI*: 227
III.2 BOROWSKI 3	*CHLI*: 558
III.3 TELL AHMAR 5	*CHLI*: 231
III.4 TELL AHMAR 4	*CHLI*: 234
III.5 ALEPPO 2	*CHLI*: 562
III.6 TELL AHMAR 1	*CHLI*: 239
III.7 TELL AHMAR 3	*CHLI*: 243
III.8 TELL AHMAR FRAGM. 1-9	*CHLI*: 244
III.11 TELL AHMAR 6	Hawkins (2006a)
IV.1 MARAŞ 8	*CHLI*: 252
IV.2 MARAŞ 4	*CHLI*: 255
IV.4 MARAŞ 1	*CHLI*: 261
IV.5 MARAŞ 14	*CHLI*: 265
IV.8 MARAŞ 11	*CHLI*: 270
IV.9 KÜRTÜL	*CHLI*: 271
IV.10 MARAŞ 2	*CHLI*: 273
IV.16 MARAŞ 6 (LENINGRAD)	*CHLI*: 278
IV.20 MARAŞ 16	Denizhanoğulları – Güriçin – Peker (2018)

IX.11 HAMA 6	*CHLI*: 412
IX.12 HAMA 7	*CHLI*: 412
IX.14 SHEIZAR	*CHLI*: 416
IX.15 TALL ŠTĪB	Gonnet (2010)
X.3 KIZILDAĞ 3	*CHLI*: 433
X.5 KIZILDAĞ 4	*CHLI*: 435
X.8 BURUNKAYA	*CHLI*: 437
X.10 KULULU 4	*CHLI*: 445
X.11 ÇIFTLIK	*CHLI*: 448
X.12 TOPADA	*CHLI*: 451
X.13 SUVASA	*CHLI*: 462
X.14 SULTANHAN	*CHLI*: 463
X.15 KAYSERI	*CHLI*: 472
X.17 BOHÇA	*CHLI*: 478
X.18 KARABURUN	*CHLI*: 480
X.19 HISARCIK 1	*CHLI*: 483
X.21 KULULU 2	*CHLI*: 487
X.22 KULULU 3	*CHLI*: 490
X.23 EĞREK	*CHLI*: 492
X.24 ERKIKET 1	*CHLI*: 493
X.26 EĞRIKOY	*CHLI*: 495
X.33 KULULU 6	*CHLI*: 500
X.34 KULULU 8	*CHLI*: 501
X.36 KULULU lead strips 1	*CHLI*: 503
X.38 KULULU lead strips 2	*CHLI*: 503
X.44 BOR	*CHLI*: 518
X.45 BULGARMADEN	*CHLI*: 521
X.46 İVRIZ 2	Dinçol – Dinçol – Poetto – Röllig (forthcoming)
X.47 NIĞDE 2	*CHLI*: 526
X.48 PORSUK	*CHLI*: 527
X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK	Akdoğan – Hawkins (2007-2008)
X.56 YASSIHÖYÜK 1	Weeden (2013)
X.57 YASSIHÖYÜK 2	Weeden (2017); Simon (2017)
X.60 KUŞÇU-BOYACI	Özcan – Yiğit (2014)
XI.1 ASSUR letter a	*CHLI*: 533
XI.5 ASSUR letter e	*CHLI*: 533
XI.6 ASSUR LETTER f+g	*CHLI*: 533

II. The Kinship terms of Lycian and Hieroglyphic Luwian

1. LYCIAN KINSHIP TERMS

ani[......]- 'kinship term (of the extended family)' (?)

ATTESTATIONS

dat.pl. *hrppi / ani°......°e se tuhe se muneite se* [*x*]*ahbe* (TL 127 2 Limyra)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref.: Not considered by Melchert (2004); Neumann (2007: 15) 'personal name or kinship term'

§ 1. As observed by Neumann (2007: 15), this hapax can be either interpreted as a family term or as a personal name. In favour of the first possibility, one must consider that it appears accompanied by other family terms in the clause of the beneficiaries of the tomb, introduced by *hrppi* (*tuhe(s)*- 'nephew, niece', *muneite/i*- 'descendants' (nephew's sons ?) and *xahba*- 'grandson, granddaughter/ descendant'). Among them, at least *muneite/i*- and *xahba*- belong to the 'offspring' semantic category, while *tuhe(s)*- and *muneite/i* can be regarded as members of the extended family (see **§ 25b.**). In addition, if it were a personal name, it would be expected to take place after the designation of a family member, as it regularly happens in this context (e.g. see *lada*- **§ 22a.**, *tideime/i*- **§ 50b.**, and *xahba*- **§ 62b.**), although not exclusively (e.g. *s=ẽ pijetẽ wazijeje / se*(*j*)=*ẽni*, TL 52 2).

§ 2. The owner of the tomb, *Stemaha* (*st°.°maha=t*[*i prñ*]*nawate: epñxuxa tideimi*, TL 127 1), as well as his filiation, appears to be the same as in NN 351 1-2 Beykonak (*apñxuxah: tideimi / ṣtamaha=ti: prñnawate:*), as stated by Seyer-Tekoğlu (2009: 221).

In case we were dealing with the same person, it is interesting to note that both tombs appear to be complementary in relation to the distribution of their family members. While NN 351 is assigned to the nuclear family (*:hrppi=ladi: se=tideime: se=χ{b}ahba*), TL 127 seems to only mention the members of the extended family or, at least, some imprecise terms corresponding to the subsequent generations. Such a distribution presents parallels in other inscriptions (on the separation between extended and nuclear family see *tuhe*(*s*)- **§ 57b.;** similar examples in *esedẽñnewe*- **§ 11b.**, and *nẽne/i*-). In light of this evidence, it is improbable that *ani*[......]- in TL 127 1 refers to the personal name of the owner's wife or the son, which already appears in N 351. Nevertheless, the *hapax* condition of *ani*[......]-, as well as the lack of possible cognates in other Anatolian languages, precludes from completely excluding the possibility of a personal name.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 3 . Based on Kalinka's drawing (1901: 85), six spots can be inferred between the beginning of the broken part and the final /e/ dative plural case-ending.

MORPHOLOGY

Unknown.

ekebura- 'kinship term' or 'citizens designation' (?)

ATTESTATIONS

(?) nom-acc.pl. [...] *ekebura: se=we: maxã: e*°[.........] / [.]°*e merehi: sunemamadi* [...] (TL 44a 16 Xanthos).

dat-loc.pl. *a*°[................]°*e: s=*[*ek*]*eb*[*u*]/*re: ehb*[*ije* (TL 44a 3-4* Xanthos, NB: Eichner 2006:234) *a*[*tli: se=ladi: se=tideim*]*e*)

gen-adj. dat.sg. *se=*(*e*)*xburahi: teteri: el*[*i*°.........] / *merehi:* (N 324 21 Xanthos, NB: *s=exburahi*)

acc.sg. :*trqqiz: tbisu: seri=j=ekabu/rã: sebe=masa:* (TL 44c 64-65 Xanthos)

dat-loc.pl. *sẽkẽne: mãmre=kebure: m=ed<e?>tu: lusalija: / zẽna n=uniti: xruwasa{z}:*) (TL 44d 58 Xanthos)

(?) nom./dat.sg. *mirẽñne: x<ñ>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:*) (TL 44d 66 Xanthos, NB: *x<i>nasi*).

(?) *eke*: *pleliz: abura: me=(e)bei: tiṛbeti: zirãpla: ne=lelixa nere: km̃masadi: xlusã: qereimedi*) *ẽmu=we=te: qlaxa: zppli=de: kãtdqẽ: ṭṛqqñta* (TL 55 2 Antiphellos)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> ***Ref.*** Melchert (2004) '?'; Eichner (2006:234-35) 'own relatives' ('blood relatives, relatives by marriage or distant relatives too'); Neumann (2007:54) 'Noun, probably a compound'; Schürr (2018:66) 'probably person designation' (on Milyan attestations).

§ 4 . A consensus with regards to the meaning of *ekebura-* has not been reached, and proposals oscillate between an undefined kinship term or a type of person designation. In this sense, the distribution of *ekebura* in the inscriptions is of particular interest for the debate. It is mainly attested in Milyan, while, among the Lycian inscriptions, it only appears in TL 44 and N 324, revealingly, both inscriptions of dynastic-administrative type. This fact, together with the context of the passages, might shed light on the semantics of this lexeme.

§ 4a . Initially, the context of two of its attestations points to a meaning related to the family semantic domain. On the one hand, in TL 44a 3-4*, *ekebura-* appears in the syntagm that contains the beneficiaries of the tomb/monument, according to the reconstruction offered by Eichner (2006: 234 *a*[*tli: se-ladi: se-tideim*]*e* „für sich und für die Gemahlin und für die Kinder"), and is modified by *ehbi* in the manner that most of the family terms display (KT + *ehbi*). On the other, a variant with apheresis is attested in

a Milyan passage (TL 44d 66) that, although not clearly deciphered, contains other kinship terms such as Myl. *xina-* 'grandmother', *ẽni* 'mother', *tedi* 'father' and *xuga* 'grandfather', pointing to the family semantic connotation.

§ 4b . However, a different context is found in the same composition (TL 44c 64-65), where *ekebura-* appears in the same syntagm as Mil. *Trqqiz*, the Storm-god, and *masa-* 'god', which could indicate a religious connotation, although the difficulties in the syntactic interpretation of the passage preclude from assuring it. Similarly, TL 55 2 also attests the Storm-god's name in the same line of a variant with *tmesi* (Schürr 2018:66, (*ek*[*e*] *pleliz abura*, see **§ 7.**).

§ 4c . A third different context where *ekebura* is attested is nearby the personal name of *Merehi* (TL 44a 16 and N 324 21), who is identified as the brother of the Xanthos ruler *Xeriga*. While the passage in TL 44a 16 is too damaged to fully understand its general sense, it is worth noticing that in N 324 21 *ekebura-* is inflected as a genitive adjective, thus clearly modifying *teteri* 'city' ("the *ekebura* of the city"). Both instances seem to be linked to a ruling sphere context.

§ 5 . Beside the obscure passage in TL 44d 58, we are left with three possible contexts: family (TL 44a 3-4*, TL 44d 66), religion (TL 44c 64-65, TL 55 2) and rulership (TL 44a 16, N 324 21). Considering the fact that the inscriptions (except for TL 55) are of dynastic-administrative nature, it is possible that the sense of *ekebura-* is not restricted to the kinship sphere, but that presents a connotation related to citizenship. This would allow connecting the mention of *ekebura* in relation to *teteri* 'city' in N 324 21 ("the dwellers of the city") and to the appearance of the ruler *Merehi*, but would also permit to understand the connection with the religious context as an essential part of the citizenship rights in TL 44c 64-65 and TL 55 2.

With regards to its appearance in the clause of the beneficiaries at the beginning of the Xanthos Stele, the tentative connotation as 'citizens' might fit as well (TL 44a 3-4* "for him[self and the son]s and his [*ek*]*eb*[*u*]*ra*", reconstruction *sec.* Eichner 2006: 234). From the perspective of the dynast *Xeriga*, the mention to the *ekebura-* can be explained as the citizens being a part of his legal responsibility as a ruler, together with his own family. The propagandistic character of the composition could add support to this interpretation.

Nevertheless, the term for 'citizen' is already attested in Lycian, well-known under the lexeme *arus-* (*DLL* 5) in the Xanthos Trilingual (N 324), for which reason we would expect to find *arus-* instead of *ekebura-* when referring to this concept. A possible solution is to consider *ekebura-* as 'family unit', allowing to interpret its reference in administrative inscriptions as a metaphor of 'people' (e.g. *se=(e)xburahi: teteri:* "and the city of the families"(?), N 324 21 Xanthos). All in all, the exact meaning of *ekebura-* remains open.

Note, however, that this is not the only instance where a Lycian lexeme, appearing in dynastic-administrative inscriptions, is both linked to the family vocabulary as well as to a religious context. Lycian *θurtta* also responds to similar indicators (see *θurtta-* **§ 60c.**).

EPIGRAPHY

§ 6 . The inscription N 324 21 presents a variant *exbura-* with a plain velar *x* ([k]). Its use, instead of a palatal *k* ([c]) could be due to a wrong interpretation of the word since N 324 is clearly posterior than the rest of the inscriptions that contain these attestations. While Melchert (*DLL* 13) proposes to explain the plain velar as a product of a syncope (*ekebura- > **ek-bura > exbura-*), it is worth considering that the consonantal group *kb-* ([cb]) is not strange in Lycian (*kbatra-* "daughter", *kbi-* "2"), for which reason the hypothetical epenthesis would not have necessarily produced any further phonetic development.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 7 . With regards to the attestation in Milyan TL 55 2 (*ek*[*e*] .... *abura*), the form with *tmesi* has prompted to consider *ekebura-* as a possible compound in origin (Schürr 2018:66). Its second element is perhaps linked to the personal name *Xñtabura*, although it is tentatively interpreted as *xntab-ura* by Neumann (2007: 127), being the second element a cognate of H.Luw. *ura-* 'great, big'(?).

Etymology unknown.

ATTESTATIONS

    dat.sg. *epñnẽni / ehbi: hm̃prã/ma: se*(*j*)=*atli* (TL 37 4 Xanthos)

DOUBTFUL

    (?) nom./dat.sg. [.]°*dabehẽ : me=i : ẽ°.°ñʔenẽni: ehbi* (TL 74c 1 Hoiran)

ONOMASTICS

    Gr. Επενηνις (2th c. BC. *SEG* 44 1219 a-9, b-37, b-43, et al., see *LGPN* V.B: 138), *Perepñni* (?) (NN 335, Christiansen 2019:96)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

    Ref. Laroche (2016[1958]: 95) 'young brother' (lit. 'after-brother'); Gusmani (1962: 78) 'descendants of the sister's sons'; Carruba (1969: 275) 'cousin'; Melchert (2004:15) 'younger brother'; Neumann (2007:62) 'kinship designation'; Christiansen (2019:96) 'younger brother'.

§ 8 . Despite being a *hapax legomena*, the attestation of *epñnẽne/i-* in TL 37 4 occurs within two of the main indicators for the identification of a kinship term in the Lycian inscriptions: it is contained in the syntagm of the tomb beneficiaries, and it appears accompanied by the demonstrative pronoun *ehbi* and its personal name. The concrete meaning is inferred on the basis of its morphology, through the segmentation as adv. *epñ-* 'after' and *nẽne/i-* 'brother' (see below, **§ 10 .**).

The distribution of the family members in this inscription is quite unusual since the owner's brothers are generally placed in a different tomb (see *tuhe*(*s*)- **§ 57b.**), and the presence of *atli* 'for himself) is expected to happen in the first position of the beneficiaries clause, rather than the second.

§ 9 . A damaged attestation in TL 74c 1 Hoiran followed by *ehbi*, which is a general indicator of family terms, plausibly presents as a second element the word for brother *nẽne/i-*. The first element is, however, partially broken and not apparently identifiable as *epñ-*. The identified letters give a sequence *ẽ°.°ñe* that neither corresponds to any of the Lycian known adverbs that could constitute a similar kinship term (e.g. *perepñ* 'furthermore', *epñte* 'thereafter', *ẽnẽ* 'under').

MORPHOLOGY

§ 10 . As the main element of this compound, *nẽne/i-* 'brother' (**§ 31b .**), it is inflected as an *e*-stem with *i*-mutation. The lexeme is formed by the adverb *epñ-* 'after' (direct cognate with H.Luw. *appar(a/i)-* 'lesser', C.Luw. *āppan*, Hitt. *āppan-* 'after, behind, *EHD* 193) and *nẽne/i-* 'brother', conforming a compound of the *bahuvrihi*-type. Interestingly, in Hieroglyphic Luwian, the construction /*appan* FRATER.*LA-i*/ presents the same morphological components and is directly comparable to it in the semantic ground (see Luw. **§ 10b .**).

Local-temporal adverbs indicating posteriority are productive in terms of specifying a type of family term in some Indo-European languages (e.g. **pró-* 'behind' in Lat. *proavus* 'great-grandfather', *prōgeniēs* 'offspring' *et al.*, Skt. *prajā́-* '*id.*' etc.; **apó-* "behind" in Skt. *ápatya-* 'offspring' or Gr. ἀπόγονος '*id.*' (*LPP* 79, 84). In Anatolian, this kind of composition is only found in relation to Lyc. *epñnẽne/i-* and the Hieroglyphic Luwian construction /*appar(a/i)* FRATER.*LA-i-*/.

§ 10a . In the onomastics ground, Eichner (2012:148) has proposed to identify a similar parallel to Gr. Επενηνις, considered the probable reflex of Lyc. *epñnẽne/i-* by Bousquet-Gauthier (1994: 356) in the personal names *Epñxuxa* (TL 127 1) and its variant *Apñxuxa* (N 351 1) interpreted as "Nachgroβvater", or "Urgroβvater?" (see *xuga-* **§ 71.**). Christiansen also relates the tentative reading *Perepñni* (?) in NN 335 to *epñnẽne/i-* (Christiansen 2019:96; see the syntagm that contains it under *tideime/i-*).

esedẽñnewe- 'descendant' (of the grandmother (?))

ATTESTATIONS

nom.sg. *se=i=ne=(e)pñne: ijetẽ: esedeñnewe: maxa*[*h*] (TL 78 2 Tyssa)

nom.sg. *se=i=ne=(e)pñn=*[*i*]*jetẽ: esedeñnewe: maxah* (TL 78 4 Tyssa)

acc.sg. *me=i ñt/epi tasñti: ẽnehi: hrixm̃ma*[*hi*] *esedẽñnewẽ* (TL 89 2 Myra, NB: *hrixm̃ma*[*hñ*])

acc.sg. [*m*]*e=ñte/pi tãti: hri#xm̃mã: se(j)=ẽn<i>: lusãtrahñ: se(j)=e*[*sedeñnewẽ ẽnehi: lusãt*]*rahñ / se munaiti:* (TL 90 2* Myra, NB: *hri:xm̃mã:*)

(?) nom-acc. *epñ=*[*e*]*pi ppu*[*w*]*ẽti tijẽi/* [*xup*]*a: ebe*[*hi*] *a*[*d*]*ãma: se ladas /* [*eb*]*tte*[*his*] *se laθθi ebttehi /* [*s=es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:* (TL 83 10* Arneai, NB: *alãma;* [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:*)

(?) nom-acc. *se=ije ne=(e)pi: mθ-°.°u hãti: / ebeila: epñ xupa: ppu-°/..°wẽti: tijẽi: ebehi: tibe: ese/deñnewe: ebttehi: tibe laθθi / ebttehi: m=ene: tubidi: trqqa-s: se itlehi: trm̃mili: huwedri* (TL 83 14 Arneai)

dat.sg. *se pijetẽ: hrzzi: ñtatã: ladi: ehbi: se mñneτeidehe / esedẽñnewi)* (TL 36 6 Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi / ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati* (TL 39 3 Xanthos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:197[140]) *ehbiehi*)

dat.sg. *me=ñne: ni(j)=esu / esedeñnewi: epttehi: ñtepi=tan*[*e*] (TL 39 6 Xanthos)

dat.sg. [*hrppi ....*] */ s(e)=esedeñnewi: x*[*ñnahi ehbijehi*] (TL 41 3 Xanthos)

dat.sg. [*h*]*rppi: atli: ehbi: se ladi / se tideime: eh*[*b*]*ije: s*[*e ese*]*deñne*[*wi*] */* [*xñnah*]*i e*[*hb*]*ije*[*h*]*i* (TL 108 3* Limyra, NB: [*ese*]*deñnej*ˈ[*i*])

dat.sg. *:atli / s=esedẽ*[*ñ*]*newi: xñnahi:* (NN 357 2* Tlos)

se=we=ne xttaiti te°[.] / [.....] *ebi=ne esedeñnew*°[.] (TL 45b 6* Xanthos)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> **Ref.** Laroche (2016[1958]:95) 'descendant'; Meriggi (1979:247) 'consanguineal
> relative'; Bryce (1986:149) 'term of relationship embracing *xahba* and used in
> reference to members of a family unit who are related by blood ties' (with a rejection
> of earlier 'descendant-in-the-female-line' from Bryce 1978: 220-221); Schweyer
> (2002:191) 'relative'; Melchert (2004:18) 'consanguineal descendant(s)',
> Christiansen (2020a:196) *id.*; Neumann (2007:76) 'blood relative'.

§ 11 . This lexeme is mainly documented in the syntagm that includes the beneficiaries of the tomb, introduced by *hrppi* and therefore inflected in the dative case (TL 36 6, TL 39 3, TL 41 3, TL 78 2, TL 108 3, NN 357 2). A significant part of the attestations is modified by *xñna-* 'grandmother', inflected as a genitive adjective, that is "the descendants of the grandmother" (NN 357 2*; + *ehbi* TL 39 3, 41 3, and 108 3*). Although the damaged lexeme in TL 41 3 and TL 108 3* permits to reconstruct *xugahi* "of the grandfather" as well (see *xñna* **§ 66.**) the fact that *esedẽñnewe-* is modified in other examples by female members of the family (ie. *lada-* 'wife' in TL 83 10*, and *ẽne/i-* 'mother' in TL 89 2) can be taken as an indicator for the reconstruction as *xñna-* 'grandmother', instead of *xuga-* (Christiansen 2020a: 199[148]: "likely to be restored in accordance with TL 39 3-4"). Broken attestation in TL 45b 6* (Xanthos) complicates a possible classification.

§ 11a . In addition, through this internal comparison, it cannot be discarded that the personal name that modifies *esedẽñnewe-* in TL 36 6 (*Mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi*) is, consequently, the name of a woman, probably the owner's grandmother. Differently, Laroche (1974: 136), considers *Mñneτeide-* to be the owner's wife's name. Thus, we are left with two main possibilities:

- *Mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi* = 'the descendants of the author's grandmother'. In turn, this might either refer to the author's sons, ie. nuclear family (as in TL 90, see below), or to the author's brother's and nephews/nieces, ie. extended family (as in TL 89, see below). The fact that the extended family is generally not included in the same tomb as the author (see **§ 57b.**) might favour the first hypothesis. Additionally, this would also allow understanding NN 357 2* (*:atli /s=esedẽ*[*ñ*]*newi: xñnahi:*) as 'to himself and the grandmother's descendants' (= the author's sons), meaning that the author's wife is absent for some reason. On the contrary, TL 36 5-6 does include the wife in the tomb (*hrzzi: ñtata: ladi: ehbi: se=mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi*), in which case, if the first hypothesis is followed, it is to be interpreted as 'he put in the upper (part) his wife and the grandmother's descendants (=author's sons)'. Considering that second marriages would not be in any case an implausible scenario in the Lycian society, this expression could be used as a legal designation when the author of the inscription and the wife do not have common offspring, particularly in the case of a second marriage of the author of the inscription.

- *Mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi* = 'the descendants of the author's wife'. Regarding the interpretation 'wife's descendants' or more specifically, 'wife's sons', note that this type of designation is only restricted to TL 83 (*laθθi ebttehi / *[*s=es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e*), an inscription where the mention to the descendants does not seem to mean their real inclusion in the tomb (cf. v. *ppuwe-* 'to write, to engrave' see details below **§ 11b .**). On the contrary, the rest of the inscriptions mentioning *esedẽñnewe-* in the beneficiaries clause, which probably refer to a real inclusion (cf. v. *ta-* 'to put', *pije-* 'to give', *prñnawa-* 'to build'), does present, as a genitive-adjective modifier, a female member that is older than the owner.

An additional element against considering *Mñneτeidehe* as the wife's personal name in TL 39 6 is that the structure in which it appears (*hrzzi: ñtata: ladi: ehbi: se=mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi*) is not usual. Generally, when the author's wife is referred twice in the inscription, once through *lada*, and once by means of her personal name, it appears in two different manners:

a) the personal name is an apposition to *lada-* (TL 29 2, TL 113 2, TL 134 1, TL 139 2, TL 143 1, TL 143 5, N 309b 2, see **§ 22a.**)

b) the personal name and *lada-* appear in separated syntagms (N 309b 2, TL 131 1?, see **§ 22a.**)

None of the two options is the case of the inscription TL 39. Nevertheless, the hypothesis of a designation of the wife's son, taking place in the context of a second marriage, where the woman had already her own sons, cannot be completely ruled out.

§ 11b . The beneficiaries of the tomb can also appear expressed in accusative, as direct objects of transitive verbs: v. *ppuwe-* 'to write' (TL 83 10 and 13-14), v. *ñtepi tas-* 'to keep putting inside' (TL 89 2), and v. *ñtepi ta-* 'to put inside' (TL 90 2). As noted, the connection with the female members of the family continues in these examples as well.

In TL 83, the unknown owner gives instructions to engrave the names of his descendants, which are previously mentioned (*mu*[*wẽte*ⁿ] in lines 3-4, see **§ 27b.**), the names of their wives, as well as the descendants of these wives (lines 8-10), similarly repeated at the end of the composition in the curse formula (lines 13-15). The two *esedẽñnewe-* attestations that appear in the inscription have been interpreted by Melchert as nominative singulars (*DLL* 18, also Neumann 2007:76), assigned to the *e*-stems of the common gender without *i*-mutation (*DLL* xi). Nevertheless, note that in TL 83 10 [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e* appears better linked to the preceding direct object syntagm than to the next sentence, which begins with a chain of clitics and verb (line 11-12 *ñte=me*(*j*)=*epi ta/di*). In support of this interpretation, it is worth considering that 'women' are mentioned twice in the direct object syntagm, but that the second reference, inflected as a genitive adjective, can only be taken as the modifier of [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e* from a syntactic perspective. For this reason, it is preferable to assign a nominative-accusative form to TL 83 10* [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e*, leading to the following translation "the ones who write on the tomb their name and their wives (name), and their wives' descendants (name)". In the curse passage (TL 83 13), *esedeñnewe* is repeated but not modified by any feminine term. (On the morphological interpretation of the nom-acc.pl. case-ending see **§ 13b.**).

In relation to TL 89 and TL 90, the two inscriptions appear to belong to the same person (TL 89 1 *xupã: ebẽñnẽ: m=ẽn=adẽ: hri*[*xm̃*]*ma*; TL 90 1 *ebẽñnẽ: xupã: m=ẽne prñnawatẽ: hrixm̃m*[*a*]), and both apparently mention the *esedeñnewe-* of two different female members. In the first mention (TL 89 2), the descendants of the *Hrixm̃ma*'s mother are presented as the beneficiaries of the tomb together with *Hrixm̃ma*'s brothers (lit. "to his brothers and the descendants of *Hrixm̃ma*'s mother", see Fig.1).

TL 89 (NB: line 2 *hrixm̃ma[hñ]*)

1 *xupã: ebẽñnẽ: m=ẽn=adẽ: hri*[*xm̃*]*ma nẽne: ehbije: me=i ñt-*
2 *epi tasñti: ẽnehi: hrixm̃ma*[*hi*] *esedẽñnewẽ adi=me(j)=ẽ:*
3 *tik#e: xttbã: tisñke: m=ẽne: i*[*t*]*lehi: qãti: trm̃mili:*
4 *se=i=pm̃: pablãti: tijãi*

Notably, the fact that the author's brothers have already been mentioned as the beneficiaries of the tomb (line 1), makes the addition of the 'descendants of the author's mother' slightly redundant, since these brothers are already descendants of such mother. This prompts to understand the construction 'descendants of the author's mother' as the 'nephews and nieces', at least in these inscriptions (see Fig. 1). That the owner assigns the tomb to only his brothers and nephews is directly comparable to other instances where a tomb belongs to the extended family, while another to the nuclear family (on this distribution see *ani*[.....]- § **2.**, and *tuhes* § **56b.**).

TL 90 (NB: line 2 *hri:xm̃mã*)

1 *ebẽñnẽ: xupã: m=ẽne prñnawatẽ: hrixm̃m*[*a: lusñtrah: tideimi: m*]*e=ñte-*
2 *pi tãti: hri#xm̃mã: se(j)=ẽn<i>: lusãtrahñ: se(j)=e*[*sedeñnewẽ ẽnehi: lusãt*]*rahñ*
3 *se munaiti: hrppi kduñ tijãi: ñtep*[*i*] *tãn°*[..................] *tãti:*
4 *ladã: aladi ..ezeti: adi: m=ẽ(j)=ẽ tik*[*e x*]*tt*[*bã tisñke*]
5 *m=e*[*n*]*e: itlehi qãñti: trm̃mili: se=i=p*[*m̃: pablãti: tijãi*]

On the contrary, the genealogical relations of the second inscription of *Hrixm̃ma* (TL 90) are more complex to define, since both the filiation and the beneficiaries clauses are damaged. In both broken contexts, Melchert has restored the personal name *Lusãtra*, which only appears intact in line 2 (*ẽn<i>*: *lusãtrahñ:* "the mother of *Lusãtra*"). There are two points that lead to understanding *Lusãtra* as *Hrixm̃ma*'s father, and that permit to assure the reconstruction of *Lusãtra* that Melchert proposes in line 1 and 2. On the one hand, *Lusãtra* is much probably a masculine name, the Lycian adaptation of Gr. Λύσανδρος. Against an adaptation from fem. Λυσάνδρα (*contra* Neumann 2007:188), consider that PN Λυσάνδρα is not attested in the Greek sources of the Lycian region, according to *LPGN* V.B. On the other hand, the owner's parents are never included in his tomb, which is in line with the fact that both *Lusãtra* (TL 90 2) and *Hrixm̃ma*'s mother (TL 89 2) are mentioned in the inscription, but not as the beneficiaries of the tomb. In light of all these elements, the identification of *Lusantra-* as the father of the author gains support and allows to restore it in both the filiation clause (line 1) and the beneficiaries clause (line 2). Finally, bearing in mind that the usual modifier of *esedeñnewe* is *xñna-* 'grandmother', the reconstruction of *ẽne/i-* 'mother' in line 2 ("to the des[cendants of the mother of *Lusã*]*tra*"), appears as an alternative way to refer to the author's grandmother, that is to say, reference 'the mother of *Lusãtra*' is equivalent to 'the grandmother of *Hrixm̃ma*'.
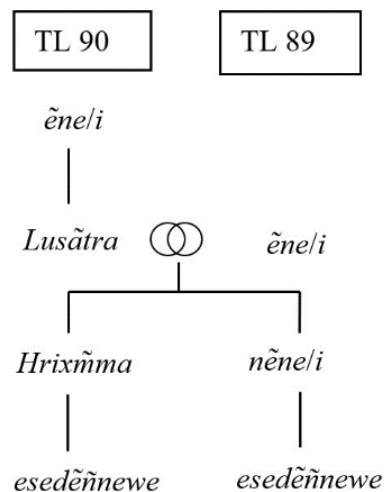
Figure 1. Kinship relationships of TL 89 and TL 90

At least in this set of inscriptions, the mention of the maternal grandmother's descendants (TL 89) refers to the extended family (= brothers and nephews/nieces), which means that the mention to the paternal grandmother's descendants (TL 90) refers to the nuclear

family (= sons). This evidence is consistent with the distribution of the tombs seen in other inscriptions, that is, between nuclear and extended family (see *tuhe*(*s*)- **§ 57b.**).

§ 11c . Lyc. *esedẽñnewe-* is finally attested in nominative singular, as the subject of v. *ije-* 'to buy', in TL 78 2 and 4, where the descendants of a certain *Maxa* appears to have bought the tomb to its previous owner, *Xuprija*. They further relate to having put there *Uwatise*'s brother, *Purihimeiqa*, and to have assigned the tomb to *Maxa*'s grandson *Xili*. Despite the family relations among *Purihimeiqa*, *Maxa* or the previous owner *Xuprija* remain unknown, note that this is not the only example where the legal acquisition of a tomb seems to be linked to the mention of the brothers in the inscription (cf. TL 48, see **§ 57c.**). In line with the evidence shown in TL 39, TL 89 and TL 90, the PN *Maxa*, whose head-noun is *esedẽñnewe-*, should correspond to a female character. Nevertheless, the genealogical lack of information that this inscription presents precludes from being completely sure about this case (see also *nẽne/i-* **§ 40c.**).
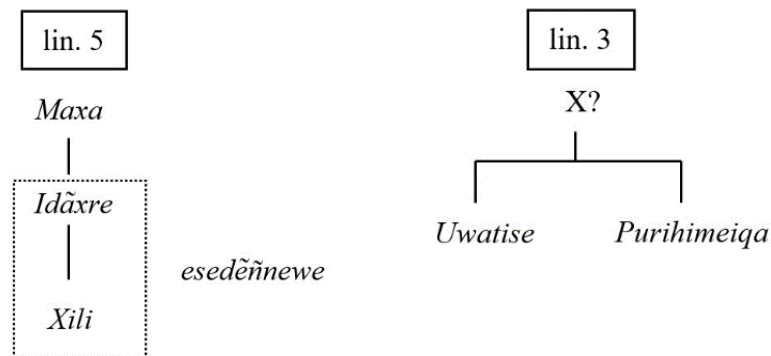
Figure 2. Kinship relationships of TL 78

§ 11d . As happens in the case of *lada-* or *tideime/i-* (**§ 22a.** and **§ 51.**), whenever the family member is mentioned as a beneficiary of the tomb, the same member can appear repeated some lines below, in the clause of the curse that is intended to protect the tomb. The same is observed in *esedẽñnewe-* (TL 39 6 and TL 83 13-14).

§ 12 . According to Kalinka's copy of the inscription TL 108 (1901:77), in line 3 should be read [*ese*]*deñnej*ˈ[*i*]. The lack of a new autopsy of the inscription precludes from being completely sure about this reconstruction, but if accepted, this would be the sole example of misspelling error. The fact that the expected *w* presents formal similarities to *j*, points to regard the error as a graphic confusion rather than an orthographic error or variant.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 13a . There are two variants of this lexeme, with nasalized middle /ẽ/ (*esedẽñnewe*: TL 36 6, TL 83 10, TL 89 2, and NN 357 2) and without nasalization (*esedeñnewe*: TL 39 3 and 6, TL 41 3, TL 45b 6, TL 78 2 and 4, TL 83 14, and TL 108 3*). In addition, both can take place interchangeably in the same inscription (*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e* in TL 83 10, and *esedeñnewe ebttehi* in TL 83 13-14). The assimilation of the nasal phonetic value is a common process in Lycian (Hajnal 1995: 222), e.g.: *nẽni* / *neni* (see **§ 31a**), or *pñtreñne/i-* (TL 102 3, TL 94 3 and TL 109 6) / *pñtrẽñne/i-* (TL 112 6 and N 320 39).

§ 13b. According to Melchert (2004: xi), Lycian *esedẽñnewe-* belongs to the *e*-stems of the common gender that inflect without *i*-mutation (nom.sg. *esedẽñnewe*, acc.sg. *esedẽñnewẽ*), which are restricted to a very few attestations, and which consequently leads him to understand TL 83 10* [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e* and 13-14 *ese*/*deñnewe* as nominative singulars (*DLL* 18). Their syntactic role in the sentence is, however, better understood as a direct object (see analysis in **§ 11b.**). The exceptional cases of accusatives without nasalization might be explained because of an analogical influence of previous *alãma-* 'name', a neuter *a*-stem, to which *esedẽñnewe* is coordinated, and which could have prompted a reanalysis as a neuter collective, which would, therefore, show the same ending in both nominative and accusative.

§ 13c . The etymological nature of *esedẽñnewe* has not been definitively solved. Its first element *esede*º has been traditionally put in connection with the Luwian word for 'blood' (Laroche 1967: 62 hypothesizes a compound */ashanta-nawa/*, cf. H.Luw. *ashanatti*(*ya*)- 'blood offering'; but Hajnal 1995:65 reconstructs */eshe-de-neu̯e/* 'blutfrisch, -jung', where the first element corresponds with heteroclite C.Luw. *ashar/n* 'blood').

Both authors agree on attributing to the second element (°*newe-*) an etymological connection to H.Luw. adv. *nawi-* 'new', which has in turn lexicalized into *nawa-* 'great-grandson', and *nawanawa-* 'great-great-grandson' (see Luw. **§69.** and **§70.**). On the contrary, such lexicalization is absent in the reflexes from PIE *$neu̯ó$- 'new' that some Indo-European languages present (*LPP* 581 Ved. *náva*, Gr. νέος, Lat. *nouus*, OCS. *novŭ*, Toch. B *ñnuwe*, Toch.A *ñu* 'new'). The closest semantic correspondences as 'descendants' are the adjectives Gr. νεογνός 'newborn' and Goth. *niuklahs* 'as a child' (*$neu̯o$-*$ĝn̥h_1$-*ó-*, Beekes 2010:273).

Furthermore, the possible cognate with Gr. νεογνός 'newborn' has also triggered a different etymological explanation with regards to the second element. According to Neumann (2007:77), the segment *-ñne-* in *esedẽñnewe* is a derivative from *$ĝnh_1$-*o*, which finds a direct counterpart in Lycian *nẽne/i-* and its cognates Luwian *nan(i)-* and Hitt. *nekna- sec.* Neumann (1991). Nevertheless, this proposal faces two problems, on the one hand, the connection between the Luwic lexeme *$nani$- and Hittite *nekna-* is not completely reliable (see explanation in etymology **3.2§3b.**), and on the other, the Proto-Indo-European root *$ĝénh_1$- is not attested elsewhere in Anatolian until the moment (contrarily to the root 'to beget', which is widely found under a proper Anatolian formation *h_2ems-, see etymology **3.2§3a.**).

A last proposal by Meriggi (1979:247) is worth of being considered, since he established the segmentation *ese*(-*de*)-*ẽni-*, allowing to identify the last element as the lexeme *ẽne/i-* 'mother'. Note that this interpretation permits to semantically fit the evidence that *esedeñnewe* is linked to a female member in all the attestations where a kinship modifier appears (the assignation of the personal names to women remains an open question).

ẽne/i- 'mother'

ATTESTATIONS

nom.sg. *m=ene qasttu: ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi: se wedri: wehñtezi* (TL 56 4 Antiphellos, Gr. lin. 6 ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικήσηι ἢ ἀγοράσηι τὸ μνῆμα ἡ Λητὼ αὐτὸν ἐπιτ[ρί]ψ[ε]ι)

nom.sg. *me=t=ẽni qanuweti / qla*[h]*i: / eb*[ij]*ehi* (TL 110 3-5 Limyra)

acc.sg. *m]e=ñte/pi tãti: hri#xm̃mã: se*(j)*=ẽn<i>: lusãtrahñ: se*(j)*=e*[*sedeñnewẽ ẽnehi: lusãt*]*rahñ / se=munaiti:* (TL 90 2¹ Myra, NB: *hri:xm̃mã:*)

acc.sg. *m=ene ñtepi=tãt*[i... / *ẽni: ehbi:* (N 317 3 Limyra)

dat.sg. [...................]*qlahi: ebi*[jehi.....] (TL 26 24ˀ Tlos, NB: [*ẽni*])

dat.sg. *s=ẽ pijetẽ wazijeje / se*(j)*=ẽni* (TL 52 2 Sidek-Yayla, NB: Chirstiansen (2020a: 235) *pijẽtẽ:*)

dat.sg. *hrppi: atli: ehbi: se*(j)*=ẽni: ehbi:* (TL 86 2 Myra)

dat.sg. *me ttiti: ah*º[.........] *zata* [....]º*n ẽni: qla*[hi] *ebijehi: pñtreñnehi* (TL 94 3 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrpp*(i)*=ẽni: ehbi: se tuhe ehbije* (TL 95 2 Myra, NB: *hrpp<i>*)

dat.sg. *me ttle/iti puwa: aitãta: am̃mãma: qebelija: ẽni: qlahi: ebij*[e]*hi pñ#treñni: se=we: tubidi: pd/ẽxba* (102 3 Limyra, NB: Christiansen (2020a:231) *pñntreñni:*)

dat.sg. *me ttlidi(j) ẽ*[n]*i q*[lahi eb]*ijehi* (TL 111 5* Limyra)

dat.sg. [*ẽ*]*ni / qlahi: ebijehi: pñtrẽñn*[i .].º*ja: sñta pidenezẽ* (TL 112 5* Limyra)

dat.sg. *me ttlidi: ẽni qlahi: ebijehi nuñtãta: / am̃m*[ã]*ma: uwa* (TL 131 3 Limyra)

dat.sg. *se ttiti ẽni qlahi: ebijehi: rm̃mazata: xθθase: ada: <* (TL 131 4 Limyra)

dat.sg. *me=i=*(a)*lahadi: tike: / a*[m̃]*m*[ãma ....]º*a:* [*ẽ*]*ni ma#hanahi: s=ene perepñ: itlehi: qãñti: trm̃mili:* (TL 134 4* Limyra, NB: Christiansen (2020a:255) *mahanahi:*)

dat.sg. [ẽn]*i: qlahi ebijehi* (TL 145 4 Limyra, NB Christiansen (2020a:214) ΄ẽn`i)

dat.sg. *me=pddẽ: mahãna: sm̃ma-ti: ebette: se(j)=ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi / pñtrẽñni: se=tideime: ehbije se(j)/elijãna* (N 320 38 Xanthos – Letoon, Gr. lin. 34-35 καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμφῶν, Aram. lin. 24 *’L’TW ’RTMWŠ*)

(?) gen-adj. dat.sg./pl *xistte: ẽnehi: se xñnah[i.....mere]/hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig[ah: nẽni(?): ku]/prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 29 Xanthos)

gen-adj. acc.sg. *me=i ñt/epi tasñti: ẽnehi: hrixm̃ma[hi] esedẽñnewẽ* (TL 89 2 Myra, NB: *hrixm̃ma[hñ]*)

gen-adj. acc.sg. *m]e=ñte/pi tãti: hri#xm̃mã: se(j)=ẽn<i>: lusãtrahñ: se(j)=e[sedeñnewẽ <u>ẽnehi</u>: lusãt]rahñ / se munaiti:* (TL 90 2? Myra, NB: *hri:xm̃mã:*)

(?) gen.adj. nom./acc./dat.sg./pl. [---]: *xugahi: se: xñna[hi] / [hi --- te]΄θ`θi: se=j=ẽnehi:* (NN 337 8 Limyra)

MILYAN

gen.adj. n./ac./d.sg./pl. *mirẽñne: x<ñ>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:*) (TL 44 d 66-67 Xanthos, NB: *xinasi*).

ONOMASTICS

Ẽnẽhineri (*TL* 137 1, *KPN* 338)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Sturtevant (1928:48) 'mother'; Meriggi (1957:224), Laroche (2016[1958]:94) '*id.*', *ẽni mahanahi* 'Leto'; Melchert (2004:20) 'mother'; Neumann (2007: 84) 'mother'.

§ 14 . The Lycian lexeme for 'mother' appears to either refer to the Lycian goddess 'the mother of this shrine' (ie. Leto) or to a real person, in which case it can represent the owner's mother when occurring in funerary inscriptions, or be used in enumerations of

family terms when taking place in administrative inscriptions, which concerns the meaning 'mother' as a general concept.

§ **14a** . When referring to the occupants of a tomb, *ẽne/i-* appears expressed in the dative case, the indirect object of either the verbs *pije-* 'to give' (TL 52 2) or *prñnawa-* 'to build' (+ *hrppi* TL 86 2, TL 95 2), and in the accusative case, the direct object of the verb *ta-* 'to put' (*ta-*: TL 90 2[!], TL 317 3).

Through the genitive adjective inflection, it can exceptionally modify another family term (+ *esedẽñnewe*, TL 89 2, TL 90 2[?] 'offspring of the mother', the direct object of *ta-*), or a personal name (+PN, TL 89 2, TL 90 2[!]), but note that both features are restricted to only TL 89 and TL 90, two inscriptions that belong to the same author. At least in TL 90 2[?] (reconstructed by means of internal evidence, see **§11b.**), the expression 'the descendants of the mother of PN', where the PN is the owner's father, is the equivalent designation of 'the descendants of the grandmother', which is the most widely found collocation of *esedẽñnewe-* (see **§11.**).

Interestingly, the mention of *ẽne/i-* as a beneficiary of the tomb seems to be linked to the absence of *tideime/i-*, at least in all the occurrences where 'mother' appears in the beneficiaries clause (TL 52 2, TL 86 2, TL 95 2, N 317 3). That the owner's mother is never mentioned in a tomb that includes the owner's sons as beneficiaries might be in connection with the distribution between nuclear and extended family in the Lycian tombs (see *tuhes* **§ 57b-c**), although the paucity of the *ẽne/i-* attestations does not allow to infer further information regarding a possible funerary pattern.

With regards to the common indicators of kinship terms in the funerary inscriptions, *ẽne/i-* appears accompanied by the 3rd singular determinative *ehbi* (TL 86 2, 95 2 and N 317 3; while absent in TL 52 2) but, contrary to other family terms in the Lycian inscriptions (see *lada-* **§22a.**, *xahba-* **§62b.**, *tideime/i-* **§50b.**), her personal name is apparently never given.

§ **14b** . The *ẽne/i-* attestations of the administrative inscriptions are only inflected as genitive adjectives. In the Milyan composition of the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44d 67), *ẽne/i-* appears in an enumeration of family terms together *teθθi* and *xugahi*, which seems to modify *xñtawata* ("the government of the mother(s) and the father(s) and the

grandfather(s)"). A similar formulaic expression takes place in NN 337 7-8, a treaty between Limyra and an unknown city *Xuxrm̃me/i-ˀ (see details in Christiansen 2012), where *ẽni-* is again contained in a chain of family members inflected as genitive adjectives ("of the grandfather(s) and the grandmother(s), [...] of the father(s) and the mother(s)"), whose head-noun is unluckily broken. Both enumerations present literary parallels in Hittite and Luwian sources, which point to regard them as formulaic expressions (on possible metaphorical interpretations, see **§ 46b**).

Furthermore, in the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44a 29), *ẽne/i-* is coordinated with *xñna-* 'grandmother', and modifies a broken head-noun, indirect object of v. *xi-* 'to sacrifice' (literally "for the mother's and the grandmother's [head-noun] sacrificed *Merehi* son of..."). In this example, though, it cannot be ascertained whether the kinship terms are alluding or not to the real family members of the rulers.

§ 15 . Under the formula *ẽni qlahi ebijehi* 'the mother of this shrine', Lyc. *ẽne/i-* finds the highest number of attestations. It appears either in nominative as the agent of a curse against potential malefactors (v. *qã(n)-* 'destroy' TL 56 4; v. *qanuwe-* 'cause to destroy' TL 110 3), or as the beneficiary of an economic penalty, also resulting from intended violations of the tomb (v. *tti-* 'to cause to pay' TL 94 3, TL 131 4; v. *ttl(e)i-* 'to pay' TL 102 3, TL 111 5*, TL 131 3; v. *alaha-* 'arrange' TL 134 4 (broken verbal context TL 112 4, TL 145 4*). In a more elaborated manner, the curse in N 320 38 presents the goddess besides a list of divinities that protect the stele, introduced by the adverb *pddẽ* 'in front of' (for an extensive treatment of legal matters related to curse formulae in the Lycian funerary inscriptions, see Christiansen 2020a).

§ 15a . Through this construction, the Lycians referred to the main goddess of their pantheon, whose identity corresponds with Greek Λητὼ, as can be witnessed by the Greek counterparts in the bilingual inscriptions, TL 56 6 (ἡ Λητὼ), N320-G 34 (Λητοῦς), as well as Aramean N320-A 24 (*L'TW*). The cult of Leto and their sons, Apollo and Artemis, had its religious epicenter in the so-called Letoon sanctuary, about 3km south-west from Xanthos. The cultic site had been active, according to Des Courtils (2015:16, 22), since the beginning of the 6th c. BC, although its culminating importance took place with the rebuilding of the sanctuary by Erbbinas in the 400 BC.

Besides the parallelism with Greek Leto, which is only once referred with the Lycian adaptation of the Greek theonym (acc.sg. *Leθθi-*, TL 44b 61), the goddess appears almost unanimously referred as "the mother of this shrine" (TL 56 4, TL 110 3-5, TL 111 5*, TL 131 3, TL 131 4, TL 145 4) and "the mother of this shrine-*pñtrẽñni*" (TL 94 3, TL 102 3, TL 112 5*, N 320 38; but broken context in TL TL 26 24[?]).

The first element of the epithet does not present problems with regards to its meaning, 'sacred precinct' (*DLL* 55), although its etymology is still debated (*EHD* 343: *$h_2eul\text{-}eh_2$, cognate with Gr. αὐλή 'courtyard', but now considered a derivation from *k^wel- 'to turn' *per* Mouton-Yakubovich 2019:221). It is, however, not clear which function presents *pñtrẽñne/i-* in relation to the first part of the formula, as neither is its meaning ('Pandaros' *per* Bryce 1981:82, 'örtlich' *per* Eichner 1983:63 and Neumann 2012:401, in light of a possible geographical suffix *-ñni-*).

While in one of its attestations, *pñtrẽñne/i-* presents grammatical agreement with gen-adj. *qlahi ebijehi*, thus accompanying *qla-*, rather than *ẽne/i-* (TL 94 3 *ẽni: qla*[*hi*] *ebijehi: pñtreññehi*), it appears without gen.adj. inflection in the rest of the occurrences (TL 102 3, TL 112 5*, N 320 38). A remarkable fact that points to the semantic independence from *ẽne/i* is that *pñtrẽñne/i-* appears exclusively placed after *qlahi ebijehi*. Compare, for instance, the presence of *pñtrẽñne/i-* in TL 109 6, where *qla-* 'the sacred precinct' is the sole recipient of the penalty fee (*me ttlidi qlaj=ebi: pñtreññi*, also in TL 75 4 *tubidi: q*[*l*]*a*[*j*]*=eb*[*i*]), with TL 134 4* *ẽni mahanahi* ([*ẽ*]*ni ma#hanahi: s=ene perepñ: itlehi: qãñti: trm̃mili:*), where not *qla- ebi-*, neither *pñtrẽñne/i-* complement *ẽne/i-*. This evidence leads to avoid the interpretation as "Mère Pandarienne du sanctuaire" (Lebrun - Raimond 2015:92, based on Bryce 1981), and adds support to understand *pñtrẽñne/i-* as a qualificative of *qla- ebi-*, possibly 'local', as stated by Eichner (*op.cit.*; on the different divine agents of penalty curses, see Christiansen 2020a).

§ 15b . The epithet that identifies *ẽne/i-* as 'the mother of the gods' in TL 134 4* ([*ẽ*]*ni ma#hanahi:*) has been put in connection with, what is traditionally called, the pan-Anatolian mother goddess (e.g. Des Courtils 2009:65), whose exact nature is not clearly identified in the sources of the second millennium. Some of the goddesses that are prompt to be attributed a 'mother-goddess' identity are for instance the Syro-Anatolian *Kubaba*, in light of the iconographical assimilation with the first millennium Cybele (Marchetti - Peker 2018: 93-94 with references), to which the existence of an epithet

'maternal' in the Hieroglyphic Luwian sources is worthy of consideration (see Luw. **§ 4b.**); or the Hittite divinity *Wataruwăs Annaš* 'the mother of the spring' (Neumann 2007:85). Additionally, note that also the Luwo-Hittite goddess *Kamrušepa* (*ACLT: Kamrusiba-*) bears as well the accompanying epithet 'mother'.

In the first millennium milieu, the existence of feminine figurines with children has been linked to the reminiscent cult of the Anatolian Mother Goddess, to which Phrygian Matar Kubeleya, Lydian Artemis Ephesia or the Greco-Lycian Leto herself are considered to be her later avatars (on this general question, see Roller 1999 and Şare 2010). Nevertheless, a comprehensive study considering the attributes of each goddess and the possible syncretisms in relation to the so-called mother goddesses is still needed in order to face the religious identity of Lyc. *ẽni-*.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 16 . Lyc. *ẽni* is very regularly rendered. One can only quote one scribal mistake, *ẽn<i>*, found in TL 90 2[!].

MORPHOLOGY

§ 17 . Lyc**.** *ẽne/i* belongs to the *e*-stems with *i*-mutation, as many of the kinship terms of babytalk origin. It is cognate with Hitt. *anna-*, Pal. *anna-*, C.Luw. *ānn(i)-*, H.Luw. **annat(i)-*, Lyd. *ẽna-*, and Car. *en-* (see Indo-European cognates and etymology in **3§6.**).

kbatra- 'daughter'

nom.sg. *me=i=pñ: pudẽ: ti ñte* / *xahba:* [*eh*]*bi: wazzije: kbatra* (TL 87 5 Myra)

nom.sg. *ẽti: kbatra: sijẽn*/[*i:*] *teli: ddepñne*/[*w*]*eh:* (TL N309d 10 Myra)

acc.sg. *atru: ehb*[*i*] / *se ladu: ehbi: tikeukẽprẽ* / *pilleñni: urtaqijahñ: kbatru* / *se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ* (TL 25a 6 Tlos, Gr. lin. 11 ἑαυτὸν κα[ὶ] / τὴγ γυναῖκα Τισευ/σέμβραν ἐκ Πινάρων / Ὀρτακία θυγατέρ<α> Πρι/ανόβα ἀδελφιδῆν)

acc.sg. *prijabuhãmah kbatru n°*[.........] / *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[..............] / *ladu uwitahñ xahb*[*u/ã*.........] / *apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*] .°*n.*[(TL 28 4 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2017:65) *mrbbanada*[*hñ*])

acc.sg. *hrppi* [..... *puwejehñ*] / *ladu u*[*witahñ xahbu*] / *apuwaza*[*hi prñnezijehi*] (NN 356*b* 2 Tlos)

acc.sg. [*prija*]*buhãmah kbatru ehbi* / [.....]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* / [*lad*]*u uwitahñ xahbu* / [*apuwa*]*zahi prñnezijehi* (NN 356*a* 2 Tlos)

dat.sg. *kbatri: ehbi: plezzijeh*/*eje* (TL 138 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. *pttlezeje:* / *se ladi e*[*h*]*bi mãmmahaje: kbatri: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije* (TL 143 5 Limyra)

Pis. Δωταρι (KPN 317; also in Πιγερδοταρις, Adiego 2012:17-26), Gr. Τουατρις (Lycaonia, *LPGN* V.C. 423).

Ref. Pedersen (1898:100) 'daughter'; Laroche (1967:48) '*id*'; Starke (1990:347) '*id.*'; Melchert (2004:30) '*id.*'; Neumann (2007:159) '*id.*'.

§ 18 . The owner's sons are most commonly included in the clause of the beneficiaries of the tomb through the term *tideime/i-* or their personal name (see *tideimi* **§ 50b**). Only in counted occasions is *kbatra-*, the precise term for daughter, employed. Inflected in dative singular and accompanied by the determinative *ehbi*, it is attested in TL 138 2 (v. *prñnawa-* 'to build'), where the daughter *Plezzijehe-* appears to be the only occupant of the tomb.

§ 18a . In TL 143 5 (v. *pije-* 'to give'), however, the unusual syntactic placement of dat.sg. *kbatri* in the syntagm precludes from plainly assuming a common distribution of the family members in the beneficiaries clause (lines 4-5 *pttlezeje: / se ladi e*[*h*]*bi maṁmahaje: kbatri ehbi: se tideime: ehbije*). The first question is whether a coordinative conjunction between *ladi e*[*h*]*bi maṁmahaje:* ("his wife *Maṁmaha*") and *kbatri ehbi:* ("his daughter") was missed by scribal error. Against this possibility, consider that it would be slightly redundant to add the following *se tideime: ehbije* ("and to his sons"), which semantically already includes the possible mention to the daughter (for *tideimi* referring to both male and female sons, cf. TL 27 6-7, see *lada-* **§ 22b.** and *tideime/i-* **§ 52b.**).

The context of the inscription might provide some insight, since lines 1 to 3 mention one family unit, and lines 4 to 5, another one. In the first, the tomb belongs to *Xudara* (Gr. Κοδαρας Οσαιμιος) and is assigned to his wife *M̃mi* (or *M̃mija*) and his sons; while in the second, a certain type of funerary authority, the *mlãñnazi* (*DLL* 40), gives the tomb to *Pttleze* and his wife *Maṁmaha*, to which follows the controversial "his daughter" and a final "his sons". Here it is interesting to note that when a change of tomb ownership happens, the involved verb is *ije-* 'to buy' (cf. TL 78 see **§11c.**, and TL 48 see **§57c.**, and similar TL 143 **§ 18a.**). The lack of economical transaction in TL 143 might be explained because of the existence of a family bound between the first family unity and the second, which is, in my opinion, expressed through the discussed "daughter" mention. Instead of explaining the lack of copulative *se* as a juxtaposition ("and his wife, his daughter, and their sons"), *kbatri ehbi* can be understood as an apposition of preceding *lada ehbi*,

indicating that she is the daughter of the previously mentioned owner of the tomb (see **Fig.8**). If this genealogical distribution is accepted, it means that even if a tomb is inherited by a daughter, the order of the family members to which the tomb is assigned keeps maintaining the name of the husband in the first place.
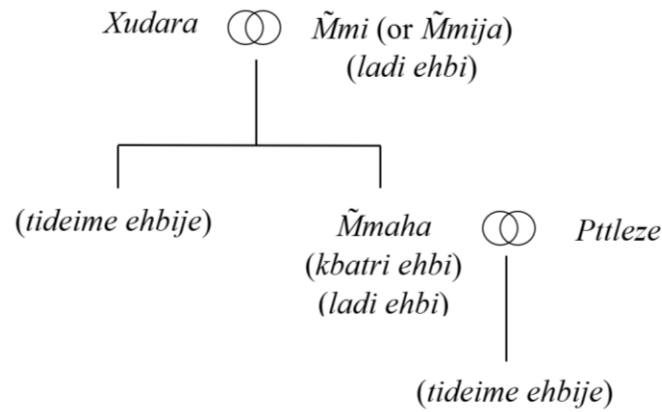
Figure 3. Kinship relationships of TL 143

§ 19a . As a subject, *kbatra-* is found in N 309d 10 with the structure *si- teli* "to lie where". The example in N 309d 10, however, presents a slightly different composition: the owner's name (*Ddepñnewe-*, also in 309*a* and *b*) appears in the adverbial relative clause introduced by *teli* and inflected as a genitive-adjective (*ẽti: kbatra: sijẽni*/[*i:*] *teli: ddepñne*/[*w*]*eh:*). Consequently, it is logical to infer that *Ddepñneweh* is modifying an elided tomb's term, such as *tezi* or *xupa* ("Here lies the daughter, where the *Ddepñnewe'*s (*tezi* is)"), rather than forcing a filiation formula in an anastrophe structure ("Here lies *where*[?] the daughter of *Ddepñnewe*).

§ 19b . Occasionally, *kbatra* can be found in the filiation formula. In TL 25a 6, the usual mention to the wife as a beneficiary of the tomb (v. *tuwe-* 'to put', here in acc.sg. *ladu ehbi*), is followed by her personal name (*Tikeukẽprẽ*), her demonym (*pilleñni* "of Patara"), and the usual complete filiation (*Urtaqijahñ kbatru Prijenubehñ tuhesñ* "daughter of *Urtaqija*, niece of *Prijanuba*").

§ 19c . In TL 87 5, the filiation is expressed through an adesinential genitive *Wazzije kbatra* "the daughter of *Wazzije*" (on adesinential filiation see *tideimi* **§ 49b.**), which is an apposition of *xahba* (see **§ 22**). Again the syntax of the passage that contains this instance is not frequent. The first part of the inscription is fairly prototypical

(lines 1 4: *ebẽ̃nẽ̃: xupa: m=e=ti / pr*[*ñ*]*nawatẽ̃: apñnãtama / hrppi: ladi: e*[*h*]*bi: se tideime:* "This tomb *Apñnãtama* built for his wife and sons"). However, in lines 4-5, the inscription presents a third family member (*me=i=pñ: pudẽ̃: ti ñte / xahba:* [*eh*]*bi: wazzije: kbatra*), where *xahba:* [*eh*]*bi: wazzije: kbatra* ("his granddaughter, the daughter of *Wazzije*"), is the subject of 3rd.sg.Pret. *pudẽ̃* (v. *pu-* 'to inscribe'), therefore "his granddaughter, the daughter of *Wazzije* inscribed them in it." This interpretation implies that *xahba* can semantically refer to either male and female grandsons.
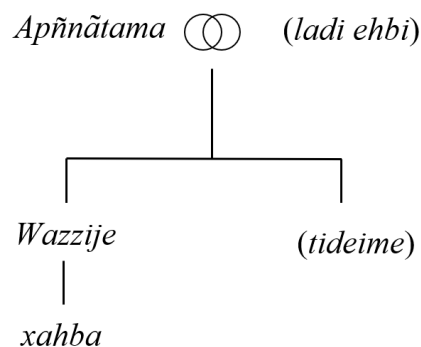
Figure 4. Kinship relationships of TL 87

§ 19d . Finally, TL 28 2 and its partial versions NN 356*a*/*b* present a quite unusual filiation order, since the paternal link is placed before that of the husband. The tombs are devoted to *Putinezi*'s daughters (respectively *Mlttaimi* and *Tiwe* or X-*tiwe*). In them, the term for daughter is inflected in accusative, direct object of v. *tuwe-* 'to put', to which the filiation chain is in apposition, and presents the husband bound (PN-*h lada*), the grandfather's filiation (PN-*h xahba*), and the mention to their household (PN-*h prñnezijehi*). On the syntactic analysis and the genealogical information see *lada-* (**§ 22c.** with **Tab. 7** and **Fig. 5**). Note that we normally expect the husband to erect the wife's tomb rather than to only find him indirectly mentioned.

EPIGRAPHY

There are no remarkable epigraphical aspects involving *kbatra-* 'daughter'.

§ 20 . Lycian *kbatra-* inflects according to the *a*-stems and belongs to the class of old consonant nouns, secondarily reconverted into the -*a*-nominal class. Its identification with the Proto-Indo-European root **dʰugh₂tér-* (*NIL* 126), first established by Pedersen (1898:100), prompted to explain its unusual vocalic stem through a semantic analogical process (Melchert 1992:48 "The inflection of *kbatra-* as *a*-stem may be analogical to the feminine nouns discussed above."), an idea that has remained in later literature (e.g. Kloekhorst 2008: 508 "In Lycian, this word was transferred to the *a*-stem class, which is clearly due to the fact that 'cow' refers to a female animal"). Nevertheless, the morphological distinction between masculine and feminine in Lycian is nonexistent (Melchert 2014: 258), and the reconversion of consonantal nouns into the Lycian *a*-class still needs a reassessment (see an overview in Hajnal 1994:144-151, and recently Martínez-Rodríguez 2018:282-283).

Kloekhorst (2011:235-243) has proposed that Lyc. *kbatra* reflects a full grade of the ablauted pattern PA *duetr-* / *duter-*, where Lyc. kbatra and its cognate H.Luw. *tuwatr(i)-* developed as **du̯etr-* < **du̯egtr-* < **dʰu̯egh₂tr-*; while the zero grade Anatolian cognates Hitt.(/C.Luw?) *duttariya-* and Lyd. *tutr* (identified by Schürr 2006: 1570-1572) developed from PA *duter-* < **dʰugh₂ter*. In my opinion, this Proto-Anatolian reconstruction fits better the distribution of the Anatolian cognates than other traditional explanations such as the emergence of an anaptyctic vowel (*AHP* 321). On Indo-European cognates and an etymological evaluation see **3.3.1.§5b.**

lada- 'wife'

nom.sg. *hrixttbili mahana/hi· uwehi: se lada ehbi* (TL 22 2 Tlos)

nom.sg. [*st*]*tati tdi ẽti sbelimi sijẽni teli se lada* (TL 58 3 Antiphellos)

nom.sg. *tahe: tideimi: / se trbbulehe : tuhẽi: / se lada: se=tideimi: / se xahba: ẽkuwe:* (TL 74c 4 Hoiran)

nom.sg. [*e*]*beli: m=ẽti sijẽni: tele: se lada: se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi: IV* (TL 107a 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ebẽñnẽ: xupã: m=e=ti prñawatẽ / uwẽmi: se lada: ehbi:*
(TL 109 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ebẽñnẽ: xupã: m=ẽ=ti: prñawatẽ: medemudi: / se lada: ehbi*
(TL 110 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ebẽñnẽ xupã m=e=ti prñawatẽ erñmenẽni: se lada ehbi*
(TL 121 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ebei*]*la: isbazi: amu: [si*]*xani teli: se [l*]*ada* (TL 128 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. [...]ºzuwiqeli: se=[... /ºehi lada ehbi: se=hº.......ºe* (N 317 2 Limyra,
NB: Neumann (2000:402) *se:* [.] / *ehi lada ehbi : sehbe : wamã*[.]*e*)

nom.pl. [*e*]*beli: m=ẽti sijẽni: tele: se lada: se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi:IV*
(TL 107a 1 Limyra)

acc.sg. *atru: ehb*[*i*] / *se ladu: ehbi: tikeukẽprẽ / pilleñni: urtaqijahñ: kbatru / se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ* (TL 25a 5 Tlos, Gr. lin.11 ἑαυτὸν κα[ὶ] / τὴγ γυναῖκα Τισευ/σέμβραν ἐκ Πινάρων / Ὀρτακία θυγατέρ<α> Πρι/ανόβα ἀδελφιδῆν)

acc.sg. *prijabuhãmah kbatru n°*[.........] / *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[..............] / *ladu uwitahñ xahb*[*u/ã*.........] / *apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*] *.ºn.*[
(TL 28 4 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2017:65) *mrbbanada*[*hñ*])

acc.sg. *zzalahe : ladã* (TL 32 1 Kadyanda)

acc.sg. *me=i: ñtepi tãti / i[dã m]axzzã: / se l[adã ehbi]* (TL 57 7* Antiphellos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:208) ˊidãmaxzzˋã̄:ˋ se ladˊu eˋ[hbi])

acc.sg. *ni hr[ppi] tãtu: tike: m̃mẽ: ladã ti=(i)je* - (TL 75 3 Tyberisos, NB: Christiansen (2020a: 232²⁶⁷) *tike*ˀ for *ti=(i)je*)

acc.sg. *ladã: se: tideimis: se xah/b[as]* (TL 76 1 Tyberisos)

acc.sg. *me=te: ñta tãti / ebñnẽ: hãtã: se ladã:* (TL 84 3 Sura)

acc.sg. *se ẽke lati ddaqasa / m=ene ñtepi tãti ñtipa tezi se ladã ehbi kbi tike* (TL 88 3 Myra)

acc.sg. [....] *tãti: / ladã:* (TL 90 4 Myra)

acc.sg. *xlppasi se ladu e[h]bi* (TL 91 2 Myra)

acc.sg. *sttati=ti [me]=i [ñ]t[ep]i t[a°.]°i upazi se ladu: ehbi* (TL 93 2 Myra)

acc.sg. *m=e[n]e ñtepi tãti hrzzi: prñnawi: se ladã: / ehbi: se haxãnã:* (TL 94 1 Myra)

acc.sg. *me ñtepi tãti: za[h]ãmã: se: ladã: se: tideimis: ehbi[s]* (TL 101 2 Limyra)

acc.sg. *m=ẽne: ñtepi tẽti: sxxutrazi: se ladu: ehbi / se tideimis: ehbis* (TL 102 1 Limyra)

acc.sg. *se=i zum̃mẽ xbati: zum̃mẽñne=ti: / θurtta: señnaha: epñte: ladã: ẽmi: se tideimis: ẽmis: / se melebi: se tideimi* (TL 106 3 Limyra)

acc.sg. *m=ene: ñtepi: tãti: ebñnẽ: se ladã: ehbi:/ [.....]°eruma.°u se xawarttu:* (TL 131 1 Limyra)

acc.sg. *me=i ñtepi tãti: hlã se lad[ã]* (TL 145 2* Limyra)

acc.sg. *[m]=ene: ñtepi=tãti: hrzzi: prñnawi: piñteusi: se=ladã: ehbi:* (N 306 2 Çagman)

acc.sg. *ladã: eh[bi...*] (N 321 3 Kaş)

acc.sg. *tewiθθeimi / [se l]adu θθbãni* (NN 333 7*ˀ Christiansen (2019:92) [..]*ddu*)

acc.sg. *[prija]buhãmah kbatru ehbi / [.....]tiweh tezi puwejehñ / [lad]u uwitahñ xahbu / [apuwa]zahi prñnezijehi* (NN 356*a* 4* Tlos)

acc.sg. *hrppi* [..... *puwejehñ*] / *ladu u*[*witahñ xahbu*] / *apuwaza*[*hi prñnezijehi*] (NN 356*b* 4 Tlos)

acc.pl. *epñ*=[*e*]*pi ppu*[*w*]*ẽti tijẽi*/ [*xup*]*a: ebe*[*hi*] *a*[*d*]*ãma: se* <u>*ladas*</u> / [*eb*]*tte*[*his*] *se laθθi ebttehi* / [*s*=*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:* (TL 83 8 Arneai, NB: *alãma*; [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:*)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: se*=*tide*[*ime*] (TL 3 3 Telmessos)

dat.sg. *hrpi* / *ladi ehb se*=*tideimi* (TL 4 3 Telmessos)

dat.sg. *ladi: eh*[*b*]*i se*=*tideime* (TL 7 3 Karmylessos)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi se*=*tide*/*ime*# *ehbije* (TL 13 4 Pinara, NB: *tide*/*ime*{*n*})

dat.sg. *hrppi* [*l*]*adi ehbi se*=*tideime* (TL 14 3* Pinara)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi* [*se ti*]*deime:* (TL 15 3 Pinara)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se: tideime:* (TL 16 2 Pinara)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi ehbi:* [*se t*]*id*[*e*]*ime* (TL 17 2 Pinara)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 19 3 Pinara)

dat.sg. *atli: eh*/*bi: sxxulijah: ti*/*deimi: sa*=*ladi:* / *ehbi: merimawaj*[*e*] / *petẽnẽneh: tide*/*imi: se tideimi* / *ehbi: sxxulije* (TL 27 4 Düwer)

dat.sg. :*atli: se ladi: ehbi: tuhesi sm̃me se*=*ñne: θurtta ñx*[*r*]*ahidijẽ* / *axuti: uwehi: se ñtẽmlẽ: qastte teli: erbbe:* (TL 29 2 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2006:1704/1714) his own copy shows *ãxrahadi*, and not †*ãxrahidi*)

dat.sg. *se pijetẽ: hrzzi: ñtatã: ladi: ehbi: se mñneτeidehe* / *esedẽñnewi*) (TL 36 5 Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi:* / *se tideim*e (TL 38 5 Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrppi*=*ladi* / *se*=*t*<*i*>*deime:* (TL 42 3 Xanthos)

dat.sg. [*hrppi ladi se tid*]*eim*[*e se xah*]*ba: ehbi*[*je*] (TL 46 2[?])

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 47 2 Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrp*/*pi ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 53 3 Seyret)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi / se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 56 2 Antiphellos, Gr. lin.5 αὐτῶ[ι] / τε καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 57 4 Antiphellos)

dat.sg. *hrppi lad*[*i*] *ehbi se tideime* (TL 58 2* Antiphellos)

dat.sg. [*hrppi at*]*li se ladi se tid*[*eime*] (TL 60 2 Antiphellos)

dat.sg. *ladi ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 61 1 Phellos)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi se tideime* (TL 62 3 Isinda)

dat.sg. *atli: se ladi: se tideime* (TL 63 2 Isinda)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: / ehbi: se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 66 1 Timiusa)

dat.sg. *:hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime / ehbije:* (TL 67 1 Timiusa)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 68 2 Simena)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi:* (TL 73 Kyana)

(?) dat.sg. [....]°*e ladi* [---] (TL 74b 1 Hoiran)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije* (TL 77 3 Çindam)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi se tide*[*i*]*/me* (TL 80 1 Kaş)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi se tideime* (TL 81 2 Kandyba)

dat.sg. *hrppi atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 84 2 Sura)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije: humelije*: (TL 85 2 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: e*[*h*]*bi: se=tide/ime:* (TL 87 3 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrpi ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 88 2 Myra, NB: *hrp<p>i*)

dat.sg. [*hr*]*ppi ladi e<h>bi* (TL 92 3 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 93 1 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi:* (TL 94 1 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi / ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 98 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. *atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime* (TL 105 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. [*h*]*rppi: atli: ehbi: se ladi / se tideime: eh*[*b*]*ije: s*[*e ese*]*deñne*[*wi*] / [*xñnah*]*i e*[*hb*]*ije*[*h*]*i* (TL 108 2 Limyra, NB: [*ese*]*deñnej*ˈ[*i*])

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: ehbi: tuhese* (TL 113 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. [*h*]*rppi: etli ehbi se / ladi: ehbi: se tideimi: pubie/leje:* (TL 117 4 Limyra, Gr. 7-8 ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυν[α]/ικὶ καὶ υἱῶι Πυβιάλη[ι])

dat.sg. *hrzzi: ñtat*[*ã xu*]*ññijeje*: *s*[*e*] *ladi: /* [*ehb*]*i:* (TL 118 1 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: uwiñte: xumetijeh: zzimazi: se: tideime: ehbije* (TL 120 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi: atli: ehbi: se: ladi: ehbi: se: tideime* (TL 123 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. *itei la/di tide/ime ehb/ije O* (TL 124 10-11 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi:* (TL 131 1 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi* [*e*]*hb*[*i*]: *xuwataje*: (TL 134 1 Limyra)

dat.sg. *ehbi se ladi: se tideime* (TL 136 3 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi* [*ladi*]*i: ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 137 2* Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi: xuxuneje / se tideime ehbij*[*e*] (TL 139 2 Limyra, Gr. lin. 1 ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ τοῖς οἰκέοις)

dat.sg. *hrpp°.°tiqñ*[....]*°e*[*.... tideimi*] */ ladi: ehbi* (TL 140 3 Limyra, NB: [*tideimi*]$^{?}$)

dat.sg. [*hrppi l*]*adi: ehbi: m̃mije: / se tideime: ehbije* (TL 143 1* Limyra)

dat.sg. *pttlezeje: / se ladi e*[*h*]*bi mam̃mahaje: kbatri: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije* (TL 143 5 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: eh*[*bi*] *se tideime* (TL 144 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. [*hrppi ladi ehbi*] *se=tideimi* (TL 145 2$^{?}$)

dat.sg. *me=ije=ne: hrppi tãti / tike: ijamaraje: tibe: ladi: ehbi:* (TL 149 6¹ Rhodiapolis, NB: Christiansen (2019:225^{223}) *e'adi*)

dat.sg. [*hr*]*/ppi: atli: ehbi: se=l*[*adi ehbi: ......: se*] *tideimi: ehbi: tah*[*i se=xahba: ehbije*] (N 302 4* Korydalla)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: / ehbi: se=tideime: ehbije:* (N 306 1 Çagman)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi e*[*h/b*]*i se tideime* (N 308 2 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi / ehbi: xatm̃maje: m=ene=ñtepi=tãti: xatm̃mã: se=sidi: / ehbi:* (N 309b 1 Myra)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: ehbi: se t<i>deimi* (N 316 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. [*h*]*rppi: ladi: se=tideime:* (N 322 3 Pinara)

dat.sg. *hr*[*p/pi*] *ladi ehbi s*[*e*] / *tideime* (NN 334 8 Tlos)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi ehbi* / [------]*..e..e:e.ã.* (NN 338 Limyra)

dat.sg. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime:* (NN 344 2 Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrppi=ladi: se=tideime: se=x{b}ahba* (NN 351 2 Beykonak)

dat.pl. *hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime* (TL 6 2 Karmylessos, Gr. 5-6 ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ταῖς ἑαοτῶν [κα]ὶ τοῖ[ς] ἐγγόνοις)

dat.pl. *hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi* / *ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati* (TL 39 4 Xanthos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:197[140]) *ehbiehi*)

gen-adj. nom-acc. *epñ=*[*e*]*pi ppu*[*w*]*ẽti tijẽi*/ [*xup*]*a: ebe*[*hi*] *a*[*d*]*ãma: se ladas* / [*eb*]*tte*[*his*] *se laθθi ebttehi* / [*s=es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:* (TL 83 9 Arneai, NB: *alãma*; [*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:*)

gen-adj. nom-acc. *se=ije ne=*(*e*)*pi: mθ-°.°u hãti:* / *ebeila: epñ xupa: ppu-°/..°wẽti: tijẽi: ebehi: tibe: ese/deñnewe: ebttehi: tibe laθθi* / *ebttehi: m=ene: tubidi: trqqas: se itlehi: trm̃mili: huwedri* (TL 83 14 Arneai)

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acc.sg. *qrbblali: sebedaxbaladã:* (TL 55 4 Antiphellos)

Ref. Hrozný (1917:49) 'wife'; Kretschmer (1943:91) '*id*.'; Hajnal (1994:149) lit. 'the appropriate one'; Melchert (2004:34) 'wife'; Neumann (2007:180) '*id*.' (or goddess epithet 'Lady').

§ 21 . Lycian *lada-* 'wife' appears to be, among the members of the family unit, the main beneficiary of the tomb together with her husband, ie. the author of the inscription himself. The term is mostly found in dative case contained in the clause of the beneficiaries *hrppi ladi ehbi*, whose preposition *hrppi* 'for' is mostly taken by the verb *prñnawa-* 'to built' (+*hrppi*: TL 3 3, 38 5, 39 4, 42 3, 62 3, 63 2, 84 2, 108 2, 120 2, 140 3, 145 2[?], 308 2, 322 3, NN 351 2; + *hrppi* and *ehbi*: TL 4 3, 6 2, 13 4, 14 3*, 15 3, 16 2, 17 2, 19 3, 47 2, 53 3, 56 2, 57 4, 58 2*, 66 1, 67 1, 68 2, 73, 77 3, 80 1, 81 2, 85 2, 87 3, 88 2, 92 3, 93 1, 94 1, 98 2, 113 2, 117 4, 120 2, 123 2, 131 1, 134 1, 137 2*, 139 2, 143 1*, 144 2, N 302 4*, N 306 1, 309b 1, N 316 2, NN 344 2); with omitted *hrppi* in some occasions (TL 63 2 and 105 2; + *ehbi* 29 2, 61 1, 118 1, 143 1). To a lesser extent, the dative case in the beneficiaries clause is also taken by other verbs such as v. *pije-* 'give' (+*ehbi* TL 7 3, 36 5, 143 5, 144 2), *tuwe-* 'to place' (+*ehbi* TL 27 4, 140 3), v. *ta-* 'to put' (+*ehbi* TL 149 6[!]), and v. *a(i)-* 'to make' (TL 124 10-11), as well as in nominal sentences (NN 334 8). Broken context does not allow to witness the verb in TL 46 2[?], TL 60 2, and TL 136 3, or even if it is a beneficiaries clause in TL 74b 1(?). Nevertheless, in the case of TL 46 2[?], where not only the verb but also the beneficiaries syntagm is broken, I consider that [*tid*]*eim*[*e se xah*]*ba: ehbi*[*je*] can be preceded by [*hrppi ladi se*], as Melchert postulates (2001), since, when the *hrppi*-type of beneficiaries clause presents *ladi* as the first element, the mention to the sons follow (*hrppi ladi* (*ehbi*) *se tideimi ehbi / tideime ehbije*). Noteworthingly, the only knwon exceptions are TL 23 and TL 99 (**§ 52a.**), from which the first one is a Greco-Lycian bilingual.

Still in the beneficiaries clause, Lycian *lada-* is on two occasions exceptionally inflected in dative plural number. The dative plural in TL 6 2 (*hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime*) is in clear correlation with the fact that the ownership of the tomb is shared by a father and his son (*Pulenjda* and *Dapara*, see details below); while in TL 39 4 (*hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi / ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati*), the plurality might be related to the fact that the tomb is not assigned to the usual members of the nuclear family, but to the 'descendants of the grandmother' (see details in *esedeñnewe-*, **§ 11.**)

§ 21a . The wife as occupant of the tomb also appears in accusative as direct object of the following transitive verbs: v. *tuwe-* 'to place' (TL 28 4, NN 356a 4*, NN 356b 4; + *ehbi* TL 25a 5), v. *ta-* 'to put' (TL 90 4; + *ehbi* TL 57 7*, 88 3, perhaps TL 93 2, 94 1, 101 2, 102 1, 131 1, 145 2*, N 306 2), v. *ñta-ta* 'to put inside' (TL 84 3), v. *xba-* 'to inflict (a damage)' (+ *ẽmi* TL 106 3). On TL 83 (lin. 8 acc.pl.; line 9 and 14 gen-adj. nom-acc. of v. *ppuwe-* 'to write'), and TL 75 3 (acc.sg. of v. *prñnawa-*) see below **§ 21f .**

Some accusatives are attested in a broken verbal context (TL 76 1, NN 333 7*? + *ehbi* TL 91 2, and N 321 3), or in a nominal sentence (TL 32 1 "(Monument) of *Zzala*, (given) to the wife").

§ 21b . In four inscriptions from Limyra, the term for 'wife' presents coordination with the owner's personal name (PN *se lada ehbi*), both subjects of the verb *prñnawa-* (TL 109 2, TL 110 2, TL 121 1, and N 317 2), which might reflect a shared ownership of the tomb by the couple. Note, however, that the verb is expressed in singular number (3rd.sg. Pret. *prñnawate/ẽ-*, TL 109 2, TL 110 2, TL 121 1), except in N 317, where the line is partially broken (lin. 1 *prñn*[......]). Syntactically, accumulation of subjects might present a singular verbal agreement with the first element, perhaps attributable to stylistic reasons (e.g. TL 107a 1 [*e*]*beli: m=ẽti sijẽni: tele: se lada: se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi: IV*, "Here 'lays' Tele, and the wife and his sons and their wives", where the verb is a Pres.3rd.Sg. of the middle voice, *DLL* 57). In view of the scarce examples of agreement in these contexts, I do not restore a 3rd plural verb (*prñn*[ ) in N317 2 (*contra* Melchert *DLL* 51), but I take it as a singular as in the mentioned examples.

§ 21c . Interestingly, one can only find two cases in the Lycian corpus where a plural subject presents number agreement with the verb (i.e. *prñnawãte/ẽ-*). In the first one, TL 6 1-2 (*pulenjda mullijeseh se=dapara pulenjdah puri/himetehe pr*[*ñ*]*n*[*e*]*zijehi*), the second onomastic element of the subject, *Dapara*, is the son of the first PN, *Pulenjda.* An ownership shared by a father and his son is, however, not a common situation in Lycian inscriptions (on genitive *-he* see **§ 49b.**). It is possible that the plural verb, as well as the presence of the son in the ownweship clause, are due to a preponderant Greek influence. In this sense, besides the fact that the inscription is a Greco-Lycian bilingual, the phonetic representation of *Pulenjda* supports the Greek influence hypothesis, since Lyc. *j*, phonetically a palatal glide, never takes place between stops, but probably looked as an *iota* under Greek eyes (see **Tab.6**), which probably contributed to the wrong adaptation

of the name (Hajnal 1995:14 considers it to be an adaptation of Gr. ᾿Απολλονίδης). The second example, TL 12 2 (*slm̃mewe: pñnuteh: tideimi: se=huwetẽne*), is the only clear example in the Lycian corpus of plural number agreement between subject and verb without a perceivable Greek influence, where, in light of the previously mentioned structure PN *se ladi ehbi*, *Huwetẽne* can be understood as the wife's personal name.

	[i]	[j]
Lycian	E	I
Greek	I	-

Table 6. Greek and Lycian letters for /i/ and /j/

§ 21d . Lycian *lada* is also contained in the construction "PN-author/husband *se ladi ehbi*", inflected in nominative singular and functioning as the subject of the verb *si-* 'to lie'. Again, the grammatical agreement between the plural subject and the 3rd singular present medial verb (*sijẽni*) does not correspond (TL 107a 1). In this case, the subject follows with the mention of the sons of the couple and their wives, both in nom.pl. (lin. 1 *se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi:*, see **§ 52 .**). Still as subject of the verb *si-*, a slightly different structure can be observed in TL 58 3, where the couple appears in anastrophe position, separated by the structure [*sijẽni*-VERB.PRES.3.PL. *teli*-PRON.ADV *se*-CONJ]. Thus, *lada* appears inside an adverbial relative clause introduced by the adverbial pronoun *teli* ("he-PN lies where also his wife"). Such analysis applies also for TL 128 2, where the figure of the male owner is expressed by the 1sg. personal pronoun (*ẽmi*).

The nominative singular attestation in a long enumeration of family members in TL 74c 4, whose verb (]*dawetẽ*) is not clearly identified, remains obscure.

§ 21e . Still in nominative singular, there is a single example of a nominal sentence containing *lada* (TL 22 2), where it appears together with the personal name of the husband, perhaps indicating here as well a shared ownership.

§ 21f . Lyc. *lada* is also present in a less frequent construction, the warning expression *ni hrppi ta- tike* (*m̃mẽ*) PN-male/*lada*, with the tentative sense "to not include anyone, except for the owners (PN-male + *lada*)", in dative (TL 149 6ᶦ) and accusative (TL 75 3).

Also once documented is the expression with verb *puwe-* 'to write' or 'to engrave' in accusative plural (TL 83 8) and in genitive adjective accusative (TL 83 9 and 83 14): "to write the name/to inscribe family members in this tomb" (see details in *esedeññewe-*, **§ 11b .**)

§ 21g . There is a single attestation in Milyan, inflected in accusative singular (TL 55 4, *sebe=da xba ladã:*), to which Neumann (2007:114) has proposed the tentative interpretation as "lady Hebat". Nevertheless, any further insight can be added and the hypothesis is difficult to prove.

§ 22 . Sense becomes additionally clear thanks to the translation as γυνή in the Greek bilinguals (dat.pl. TL 6 5 ταῖς γυναιξὶν, ac.sg. TL 25a 11 τὴγ γυναῖκα, dat.sg. TL 56 6 γυναικὶ, TL 117 7-8 τῆι γυν[α]/ικὶ, N 139G 1 τῆι γυναικὶ). Note that it might appear modified by other family terms such TL 83 9 and 14 ('the descendant's wives', see analysis in **§ 11b.**) or by the less clear lexeme *θurtta-* (TL TL 39, see **§ 60b.**).

§ 22a . Because Lycian does not distinguish the natural sex of the person by any separate inflection, the internal comparison is needed to perceive possible female personal names. Some inscriptions provide the personal name of the wife by simply adding it after the construction *hrppi ladi ehbi*: TL 29 2 (dat.sg. *tuhesi*), TL 113 2 (dat.sg. *tuhese*), TL 134 1 (dat.sg. *xuwataje*), TL 139 2 (dat.sg. *xuxuneje*), TL 143 1 (dat.sg. *m̃mije*), TL 143 5 (dat.sg. *mam̃mahaje*, note ownership change in the inscription), and N 309b 2 (dat.sg. *xatm̃maje*). In some instances, the inscription mentions the names of the beneficiaries of the tomb in the dative clause and repeats it afterward in an accusative sentence, e.g. N 309b 2 (dat.sg. *xatm̃maje*) and N 309b 2 (acc.sg. *xatm̃mã*). Following this correlation, the personal name of the wife can be inferred in TL 131 1 (acc.sg. *xawarttu*): the occupants of the tomb are mentioned as "he/this and his wife" and are followed by two personal names (*m=ene: ñtepi: tãti: ebñnẽ: se ladã: ehbi: / [....]°eruma.°u se=xawarttu:*). Further possible wife personal names appear in NN 333 7* (*θθbãni*, with Tekoğlu 2002-3, *contra* Christiansen 2019:92) and TL 124 10 (*Itei*). I also take *Huwetẽne* (TL 12 2 *slm̃mewe: pñnuteh: tideimi: se=huwetẽne*) as the wife's name, since it occurs where *lada ehbi* would be expected (PN-male + *lada ehbi*, see **§ 21d.**).

§ 22b . Infrequently, the name of the wife in the beneficiaries clause might be additionally accompanied by her filiation, as in TL 27 4 (*merimawaj[e] / petẽnẽneh: tide/-imi:*), or as

in TL 25a 5-7, which presents the demonym, as well as the paternal and uncle's filiation (*tikeukẽprẽ / pilleñni: urtaqijahñ: kbatru / se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ*). Note that the use of *tideimi* 'son' in the first example indicates that it is equally used for referring to male and female sons.

In TL 120 2, the head-noun (*zzimazi*) to which the genitival relation is expressed, apparently a title, is not entirely understood (*Uwiñte: Xumetijeh: zzimazi*), but is present in other filiation clauses involving male authors (see attestations in **§ 49.**).

§ 22c . The most large filiation clause occurs in TL 28 4 and NN 356*a*/*b*, which is also unique because of the mention to the husband bound by means of the genitive adjective inflection. The disappeared inscription TL 28, known from Kalinka's copy (1901:26) has been reconstructed by Tekoğlu (2017) on the basis of new inscriptions found at Tlos, which appear to be slightly modified copies from one to the other. The particularity that links both compositions is their apparent family bounds. The three inscriptions are repeated here for clarification:

- TL 28: *ñte=ne putinezi tuw*[---] / *prijabuhãmah kbatru n°*[.........] / *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[*hñ*] / *ladu uwitahñ xahb*[*u*] / *apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*]
- NN 356*a*: [....] *putin*[*e*]*zi tuwete* / [*prija*]*buhãmah kbatru ehbi* / [......]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* / [*lad*]*u uwitahñ xahbu* / [*apuwa*]*zahi prñnezijehi*
- NN 356*b*: *ñ*[---] / *prij*[---] / *hrppi*[---] / *ladu u*[---] / *apuwaza*[---]

Nevertheless, the interpretation problems that the third line presents in all three cases obscures the genealogical information, which largely depends on the syntactic analysis.

That all three inscriptions belong to the same author is clear in light of their first line "*Putinezi Prijabuhama*'s (son) put inside" (with Christiansen 2019:129). *Contra* Tekoğlu (2017:65), who considers *putinezi* to mean a part of the tomb, and analyzes *prijabuhãmah* as the modifier of *kbatru* ("to *Prijabuhãma*'s daughter"), note that a genitive adjective ending -*hñ* would be expected to take place (cf. line 4 *uwitahñ xahbu* "to Uwita's granddaughter"). In favour of considering *Putinezi* as the owner's personal name and *Prijabuhãma* as his progenitor's name, dislocated filiation elements (PN VERB PN-*h*) are once attested in TL 51 1-2 (*ñt(e)=ene qarñnaxa tuwe*[*te*] *qñtbeh* "*Qarñnaxa Qñtbe*'s (son)

put inside"), and also in the similar structure with relative pronoun PN=*ti* VERB PN-*h*, on which see *tideimi* (**§ 49c.**). The direct object of v. *tuwe-* 'to put' is in both occasions the acc.sg. *kbatru*, followed by *ehbi* in NN 356a, but by a broken word *nº*[in TL 28. Despite the identification and function of such *nº*[after *kbatru* is unknown, it seems clear that *Putinezi* assigned the tomb to his(/her[?]) daughter.

1	TL 28	*ñte=ne putinezi tuw*[---]
	NN 356*a*	[....] *putin*[*e*]*zi tuwete*
	NN 356*b*	*ñ*[---]
2	TL 28	*prijabuhãmah kbatru nº*[.........]
	NN 356*a*	[*prija*]*buhãmah kbatru ehbi*
	NN 356*b*	*prij*[---]
3	TL 28	*mlttaimi mrbbanada*[*hñ*]
	NN 356*a*	[......]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ*
	NN 356*b*	*hrppi*[---]
4	TL 28	*ladu uwitahñ xahb*[*u*]
	NN 356*a*	[*lad*]*u uwitahñ xahbu*
	NN 356*b*	*ladu u*[---]
5	TL 28	*apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*]
	NN 356*a*	[*apuwa*]*zahi prñnezijehi*
	NN 356*b*	*apuwaza*[---]

Table 7. Comparison of TL 28 and NN 356a and NN 356b

The second shared feature between TL 28 and NN 356*a*/*b* is that both present in lines 4 and 5 the same accusative kinship terms, which are the probable appositions of *kbatru* in line 1: acc.sg. *ladu* 'wife', *xahbu* 'grandson' and *prñnezijehi* 'household'. While "*Uwita*'s granddaughter" (lin.4) and "*Apuwaza*'s household" (lin.5). remain the same in both compositions, the genitive-adjective personal name that modifies 'wife' differs (TL 28 *mrbbanada*[*hñ*] vs. NN 356 *puwejehñ*), which leads to the conclusion that either *Putinezi*'s daughter married in two different occasions, or that the inscriptions belong to two different daughters of *Putinezi*. The decisive factor for establishing one of the two options is to identify the woman's personal name, which in TL 28 is clearly *Mlttaimi*, but which is broken in NN 365*a*/*b*. According to the analysis expressed here, the translation of TL 28 runs as follows: "*Putinezi Prijabuhama*'s (son) put in it (the tomb) (his/her) daughter *n*[..][?] *Mlttaimi*, *Mrbbanada*'s wife, *Uwita*'s granddaughter, from *Apuwaza*'s

household" (*contra* Christiansen 2019:127, who does not consider *mrbbanada* to be a personal name, see below). The implication of considering *Putinezi* as the father means that *Prijabuhama* is to be regarded as the paternal grandfather, but *Uwita* as the maternal grandfather (the name of the grandmother can only be tentatively postulated in TL 36, *esedeññewe*- **§ 11a;** see **Fig.5** below).

The place where the corresponding woman's name would be expected to happen in NN 356 is unluckily broken (NN 356*a* 4 [.....]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* vs. NN 356*a* 4 *hrppi* [---]). In my opinion, both fragments can only conciliate if we interpret *Tiweh* or [X]-*tiweh* as the second woman's personal name, which leads to the following translation of the NN 356*a*/*b* "*Putinezi Prijabuhama*'s (son) put in it (the tomb) his/her daughter, for (X-)*tiwe*'s/ *Tiwe*'s *tezi*, *Puweje*'s wife, *Uwita*'s granddaughter, from *Apuwaza*'s household". On the contrary, Christiansen (2019:129) does not consider the prepositional element *hrppi* in her translation, only based on NN 356*a* ("*Putinezi*, (son) of *Prijabuhãma*, has installed [...] his daughter *teze*(?) of [...]*tiwe Puweje*'s [wi]fe, *Uwita*'s granddaughter, from [*Apuwa*]*za*'s household").

A personal name *Tiwe* is not attested in the Lycian, but could perhaps be a variant of *Tibe* (TL 100, *DLL* 105). Even so, the personal names *Mlttaimi* or *Putinezi* are also restricted to this set of inscriptions.
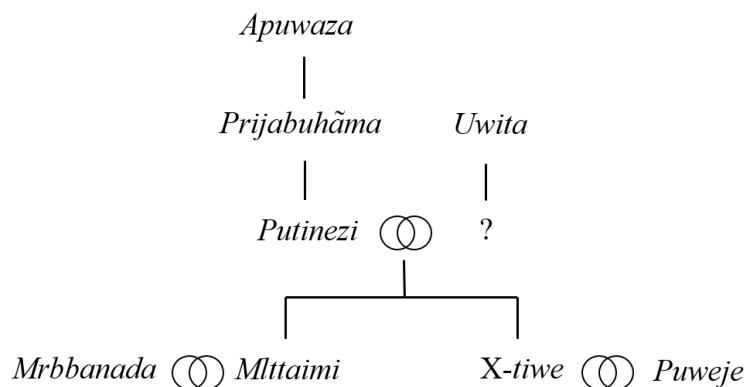
Figure 5. Kinship relationships of TL 28 and NN 356a/b

Nevertheless, the husband's names do not seem casual since both, *Mrbbanada* (TL 28 3) and *Puweje* (TL 28-BIS.A 3), appear precisely in the Xanthos inscription (*Mrbbanada* TL 44a 38, TL 44b 5; *Puweje* TL 44a, 24, 39 and 40). If the family relationship between

the women is that of sisters, then it can be safely concluded that *Mrbbanada* and *Puweje*, which are not attested in the Lycian corpus anywhere else, are to be taken as brothers-in-law. A second question to be addressed is whether such brothers-in-law historically correspond to the characters that appear in the Stele of Xanthos, interestingly followed, on two occasions, by *tupelija-* (?), perhaps indicating a similar military category. The exceptional protagonism of *Putinezi*'s daughters in the inscriptions TL 28 and NN 356*a*/*b* can be perhaps connected to the implication of their husbands, *Mrbbanada* and *Puweje*, in the political issues that took place during the rulership of *Xeriga*, and in the context of a warfare confrontation. In my opinion, the coherence that the occurrences of *mrbbanada* show in relation to the Xanthos stele and in TL 28 speaks in favour of considering it a personal name (*contra* Melchert DLL 41, TL 44a 38 and 44b 5 *Mrbbẽnedi*, to which *Mrbbanada* would be the umlauted form). The exact interpretation of these names in the Xanthos Stele and their implication in the narrative of the composition will be explored in future research.

§ 22d . In conclusion, extended filiation formulae concerning women only take place for a few, perhaps aristocratic, women. Not only the bounds of TL 28 and NN 356*a*/*b* are connected to prominent people, but also TL 25 presents an extended filiation chain that could point to a diplomatic marriage between a Tloan man and a Pinarean women (see **§ 19b.**).

EPIGRAPHY

§ 23 . Close similarity between Lycian letters *e* and *l* (respectively I and Λ) leads to confusion in TL 149 6ˡ (*eˡadi: ehbi*), which is the sole graphic misspelling involving this lexeme.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 24 . Lycian *lada* inflects according to the *-a* common stems. Until the present, no Anatolian counterparts have been identified, since Luwian 'wife' is represented under the lexeme *wanatt*(*i*)-, which also as the general meaning 'woman'. The first attempt to establish an Anatolian connection (Eichner *et al.* 1997–1999 [2000]: 64) with Hitt. *lazzi-* 'good', H.Luw. *arha lada-*/*lara-* 'to prosper', to which Lyc. *lada-* would be a rhotacised form, has been abandoned (Eichner *pers. comm.*).

Despite being isolated among the Anatolian languages, Indo-European cognates have been proposed (TochB. *lāre* 'dear', Russ. *ladyj-* 'dear' and *lada* 'spouse' (m./f.)) since Krestchmer (1943:91) in relation to Russian, followed by Melchert (1994:231). In view of these cognates, I proposed (Martínez-Rodríguez 2018: 281) that a base noun *$*leh_2d-$* 'agreement', seen in Slavic *lad-* 'agreement', could have developed into a meaning 'the agreed matter' via deverbal *$*eh_2$*-suffixation (*$*leh_2d\text{-}eh_2$*).

§ 24a . Nevertheless, a connection to Luwian *wanatt*(*i*)- cannot be completely ruled out, if we consider two phonetic developments, namely the fall of the labial glide before lateral sonorant in Proto Lycian *$*úl$*- > *l*, and the Common Anatolian change *n* > *l*, both of very restricted evidence.

With regards to the first one, the only example is found in Lycian v. *la-* 'to be dead', which is cognate with C.Luw. *ulantalliya-*, *walantiya-* 'of the dead' and H.Luw. *wala-* 'to die' through the phonetic change *$*úla$*- > *$*u̯lá$*- (> *$*bla$*-?) *la-* (see details in Martínez-Rodríguez 2019a:221-22). The instability of this cluster in Lycian (on permitted initial consonant clusters see Adiego 2003:15), might explain the paucity of the consonantal group consisting of a labial glide followed by a vowel and nasal (/*wVN*-/). The fact that cluster is regularly found in Luwian (cf. examples in *ACLT*) makes its total absence in Lycian quite suspicious, considering the close dialectal relation between both languages.

The phonetic change *n* > *l* should have taken place before *$*\#u̯lV$*- (>*$*blV$*-) > *lV*-, and in Lycian it is only attested in *alãman* 'name', cognate with H.Luw. *alaman-* and Hitt. *lāman*. The dissimilation from PIE *$*h_3néh_3mn$*, with the consequent identification of the dissimilation in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian was first established by Kloekhorst 2004:39-49, which were previously regarded as, respectively, H.Luw. *ataman* and Lyc. *adãma-*. The only additional example would be the reconstructed H.Luw. /*lani/ in FRATER.*LA*-(*i*)- 'brother', dissimilated from *nan*(*i*)-, as proposed by Yakubovich (2010b, see debate in Luw. **§ 12.**)

Nevertheless, a dissimilation is not the phenomenon to be attributed to an hypothetic change /*wanat*-/ > /**walat*-/. The possible development runs as follows, from Proto-Luwic *$*u̯ánat$*- > *u̯álat*- > *u̯lát*- > *lat*- > Lyc. *$*lad$*- → *lad-a*.

muneite/i- 'descendants' (of the nephews or the second cousins ?)

(?) nom-acc. *se=ije muneita: pu[dᵒ...a/ruwãt]ijeseh: se tiluma:* (TL 44b 20 Xanthos, NB: Schürr (2007:111): *pud[e- / ar]uw[ã]tijeseh*)

dat.pl. *hrppi / ani°......°e se tuhe se muneite se [x]ahbe* (TL 127 2 Limyra)

DOUBTFUL

(?) acc.sg. *[m]e=ñte/pi tãti: hri#xm̃mã: se(j)=ẽn<i>: lusãtrahñ: se(j)=e[sedeñnewẽ ẽnehi: lusãt]rahñ / se munaiti:* (TL 90 3 Myra, NB: *hri:xm̃mã:*)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. *muneite/i-*: Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'father-in-law (?)'; Shafer (1959:492 n.2) 'aunt', Schweyer (2002:194) 'in-laws(?)' ; Schürr (2007:113) 'descendants from the grandparents: cousins or great cousins'; Christiansen (2019:123[54]) 'relatives'; **munaiti:** Meriggi (1929:445) 'kinship term'; Hajnal (1995:153) 'to forbid'; Melchert (2004:41) '?'; Neumann (2007:226) *muna-* 'verbal stem'.

§ 25 . Lycian *muneite/i-* is restricted to only two attestations, from which the example in TL 127 2 (dat.pl. *muneite*) presents the clearest case-ending, identified due to the context where it appears, the clause of the beneficiaries of the tomb introduced by *hrppi*.

The nature of the doubtful instance in TL 44b 20 (*muneita*) largely depends on the syntactic interpretation of the broken line (*se=ije muneita: pu[dᵒ...a]/ruwãt]ijeseh: se tiluma:*). The first controversial aspect is whether the element *pu[dᵒ...a]*, likely to correspond to verb *pu-* ('to inscribe'), is a 3rd.sg. or 3rd.pl. form. Since the latest edition of the passage (Schürr 2007:111) reads *pud[e-*, a 3rd.sg. form can be safely identified (cf. 3rd.pl. *puñtẽ* in TL 114 2, *DLL* 54). The second problematic issue is to determine to which lexeme is the genitive-adjective personal name (*a]/ruwãt]ijeseh*) modifying. Since it is followed by a coordinative conjunction *se*, it is improbable that the personal name modifies the following word *tiluma*. On the contrary, and as Schürr conveys (2007:112), it much more likely modifies *muneita*. In this sense, note that its anastrophe structure

(Head-noun – Verb – Gen-Adj.Modifier) can be compared to TL 28 1 and TL 51 1-2 (see **§ 22c .**).

Even so, an *a*-case-ending is difficult to explain in view of its thematic *e/i*-stem, which is inferrable in view of the dative plural attestation *muneite* (TL 127 2). One possible explanation is that such *-a* case-ending corresponds to a collective nominative-accusative inflection, which in turn is comparable to the, tentatively proposed, collective formation of *esedeñnewe* in TL 83 10 and 13-14 (see **§ 11b.** and **§ 13b.**).

The final question to address is whether *muneita* would be the subject or the direct object of the verb *pu-* 'to engrave'. In this regard, the genitive-adjective inflection of the personal name in /-*h*/ is indicative of a nominative nature, since an agreement with an accusative form would have shown a /-*hñ*/ inflection (see distribution in Adiego 2010). Consequently, I take the instance of *muneita* in TL 44b 20 as a collective, subject of *pud*[*e-*, a 3rd.sg. of v. *pu-* 'to engrave' (cf. *esedẽñnewe* **§ 11b.** and **§ 13b.**)

§ 25a . In view of its /a/ vocalism, the attestation in TL 90 3 (*munaiti*) is considered to be a 3rd.pl.pres. form of an unattested verb **muna-* by Hajnal (1995:153 'verbieten'). However, it appears coordinated, through the copulative conjunction *se*, to an enumeration of family members included in the tomb (on this inscription, see **§ 11b.**) The fact that *munaiti* is not preceded by any particles chain might preclude from considering it a verbal form (lin. 3 *se munaiti: hrppi kduñ tijãi: ñtep*[*i*] *tan*º[.......]). Still, the preposition *hrppi* that follows *munaiti* could be taken as an indicator of its verbal nature. All in all, the full sense the passage eludes our comprehension.

§ 25b . In terms of its semantics, the clearest insight is offered in TL 127 2: its presence in the beneficiaries clause introduced by *hrppi*, but also its coordination with a preceding *tuhes* 'nephew' and a following *xahba* 'grandson', leaves no doubt of its identification as a family term. Nevertheless, the specific family member that *muneite/i-* designates is difficult to establish, since, from the perspective of the owner of the tomb, *tuhes* 'nephew' and *xahba* 'grandson' correspond to two different generations, namely the second and the third. Consequently, it would not be logical, considering the hierarchical age order that the Lycian inscriptions follow, not only in the filiation but also in the beneficiaries clause, that *muneite/i-* simply refers to a general term for 'descendants' or 'future generations'. Tentatively, it could rather refer to a kind of member not far from the concept of 'nephew',

perhaps the nephew's descendants, or second-nephews (ie. sons of the owner's cousins) (similarly Schürr (2007:113) 'Cousin').

EPIGRAPHY

There are no remarkable epigraphic aspects with regards to the attestations of *muneite/i-*.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 26 . The stem of this lexeme is not easily identifiable, since its inflection as an /-e/ dative plural (TL 127 2) and as an /-i/ accusative singular (TL 90 3) points to a mutated *e/i-*stem, while its identification as an /-a/ collective (TL 44b 20) should correspond to a nominative-accusative plural of an *a*-neuter stem. One possible hypothesis is that words that refer to groups of persons such as 'descendants', are susceptible to be collectivized, prompting to develop a double inflection as animates and as neuters, similarly to the case in *esedeñnewe-* (see **§ 11b. and § 13b.**). In addition, it can be compared to the stem fluctuation that Hieroglyphic Luwian presents in *muwid*(*i*)-/ *muwid*(*a*)- 'progeny' (see Luw. **§ 65 .**). Nevertheless, this hypothesis must remain open until new attestations of this lexeme come to light.

§ 26b . The double vocalism *muneite/i-* /*munaite/i-*, which leads some authors (Hajnal *op.cit*) to regard the attestations as separate lexemes, ie. a nominal and a verbal formation, can be tentatively compared to the vocalic alternation that *tuhes / tuhas* present.

§ 26c . Lycian *muneite/i-* might belong to a group of derivatives from a root **muwa-* whose productivity, both semantically and morphologically, widely extends over all the Anatolian languages (see cognates and etymology in **3.2§4a.**). Despite the scarcity of the sources, it is plausible to link Lyc. *muneite/i-* to the *muwa*-set of lexemes if we consider the effect of the common contraction *-uwa- > -u-* and *-iya- > -i-* (also known as syncope, Rieken 2001, see Luw. **§ 117.**), an extended phenomenon in all the Anatolian languages for which an explanation is still lacking.

The evidence of the *muwa- > mu-* contraction can also be perceived, for instance, in Mil. *mutale/i-* 'mightly' (*DLL* 122) and PN *Mutlẽi* (*DLL* 100), the feasible cognates of H.Luw. adj. *muwatall*(*i*)- 'mighty', CLuw. adj. *mūwattall*(*i*)- 'overpowering', and C.Luw. adj. *mū*(*wa*)*tti*(*ya/i*)- 'having overpowering might' (examples from *ACLT*). If the relation of

Lyc. *muneite/i-* (**mu(*wa*)*neite/i-*) to *muwa-* by means of the *uwa > u* contraction is accepted, it is interesting to note that Car. *mno-* 'son' can be regarded as a possible cognate to the first element (/munei-/) of the Lycian lexeme. Nevertheless, the unknown nature of the diphtong /ei/ with a suffixation /-t-/ obscures our understanding of the derivation process.

muwẽte 'progeny'

ATTESTATIONS

acc.sg. *se=i ñtewẽ / tãti: muwẽtẽ:* (TL 109 3 Limyra)

DOUBTFUL

dat.sg. [*pr*]*ñnaw*/[*atẽ..................°h*]: *xahba* / [*hrppi..........e*]*hbi: se: muᵒ*/ [.............] (TL 83 3 Arneai)

ONOMASTICS

Lyd. Μουσατης, Pis. Μουσητα, Μοσητα, (Adiego 2007:386), Gr. Μουτας (Cilicia *LPGN* V.B 306).

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Pedersen (1904:196) 'kinship term'; Melchert (2004:41) '?'; Neumann (2007:230) 'from *muwa-* "strength" '; Kloekhorst (2008:590) 'descendants (?)'; Schürr (in Dönmez-Schürr 2015: 145) 'personal name'.

§ 27a . There is only one clear attestation of Lyc. *muwẽte-*, which takes place in TL 109 3 as a direct object of v. *ta-* 'to put'. In view of the several instances where v. *ta-* introduces the family members that are to be included in the tomb (cf. *lada-* **§ 21a** and *tideime/i-* **§ 51 .**), it is possible to qualify *muwẽte-* as a kinship term. Nevertheless, its

specific category as a 'descendants' designation is, because of the scarcity of the attestations, only inferred from the etymological information (see below **§ 31.**).

The fact that in TL 109 the tomb is built by *Uwẽmi* and his wife, but that none of them are included in the tomb, neither any sons, might reflect two different situations: either the couple had no sons to whom assign the tomb, so that *muwẽte-* vaguely refers to their indirect descendants, or *muwẽte-* is a synthetic form for referring to their direct descendants, a choice perhaps preferred by the couple in order to leave more space to the curse formula, which runs through three and a half lines of the inscription from a total of six lines. Additionally, both situations can be referring to the future inclusion in the tomb of such *muwẽte*, rather than a real inclusion.

§ 27b . In TL 83 3, I take the partially broken attestation (*mu*º/[---]) as a possible instance of *muwẽte-*. In this inscription, the information regarding the beneficiaries of the tomb appears in two different passages: in line 3, through the prototypical construction with the preposition *hrppi* ([*hrppi..........e*]*hbi: se: mu*º/, and in lines 7-10, in the direct object clause of v. *ppuwe-* 'to write' (*epñ*=[*e*]*pi ppu*[*w*]*ẽti tijẽi*/ [*xup*]*a: ebe*[*hi*] *a*[*l*]*ãma: se ladas* / [*eb*]*tte*[*his*] *se laθθi ebttehi* / [*s*=*es*]*edẽñ*[*new*]*e:*, repeated with some modifications in lines 10-15, see details in **§ 11b .**). Interestingly, the members to be written down in the inscription of the tomb are *ebehi a*[*l*]*ama* "their names", "the wives (name)", and "the wives' descendace (name)". The deictic reference *ebehi a*[*l*]*ama* "their names" could be referring to the broken *mu*[*wẽti*] that I reconstruct in line 3.

Semantically, *muwẽte* should not be far from the connotation that the other elements of the enumeration present, their wives and their descendants, that is to say, that it could refer to the descendants of the extended family, rather than the nuclear. As in TL 109, in this inscription, the lack of a mention to the direct sons (at least in lines 9-15) might be related to the presence of terms for descendants, such as *esedẽñnewe-* or *muwẽte*.

Epigraphy

§ 28 . Unluckily, no new editions of the inscription TL 83 have been published. Kalinka's copy (1901:67) shows that the upper part of the inscription is broken on the left side, preventing from inferring any further insight in the continuation of lin. 3 *mu-*.

§ 29 . As far as the only attestation allows to deduce, Lycian *muwẽte* is inflected according to the thematic *e*-stems without *i*-mutation (cf. *esedeñnewe*, see **§ 13b.**).

From a morphological point of view, *muwẽte* can be compared to the set of *muwa*-derivatives that present a semantic connotation related to fertility in the Luwic languages (see etymology **3.2§4a** and **§5f**), as happens in the case of Lyc. *muneiti-* (see **§ 26c.**).

Concretely, the nasalized vowel in Lyc. *muwẽte-* can be taken as the reflex of a (V)*nt*-derivation (←*muwe-nt-*). A similar formation might correspond in Hieroglyphic Luwian if H.Luw. *nimuwiza-* 'son', is considered to represent a segmentation *ni-muwi-nt-s-* with a comparable derivation (see Luw. **§ 91.**)

nẽne/i- 'brother'

ATTESTATIONS

> nom.sg. *se=i=ti sijeni: purihimeiqa: uwatiseh: / nẽni:* (TL 78 4 Tyssa)
>
> nom.sg. [*mere/*]*hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig*[*ah: nẽni*(?)*: ku/*]*prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 30[?] Xanthos)
>
>
> dat.pl. *s=ene=pijetẽ / nẽne: ehbije: se=tuhe* (TL 8 3 Karmylessos)
>
> (?) dat.pl. [.]°*e*[..] *tideimi ehbi arusñ: nene xla*°[.....] (TL 44c 16 Xanthos)
>
> dat.pl. *xupã: ebẽññẽ: m=ẽn=adẽ: hri*[*xm̃*]*ma nenẽ: ehbije* (TL 89 1 Myra)

ONOMASTICS

> *Petẽnẽne/i-* (TL 27 6 Tlos), *Erm̃menẽne/i-* (TL 121 Limyra); Νενις (Lycia, *LPGN* V.B 312), Νεννις (Cilicia, *LPGN* V.B *op.cit.*), Νενης (Cilicia, *LPGN* V.B *op.cit.*), Νενα (Cilicia, *LPGN* V.B *op.cit.*), Νενας (Pamphylia, *LPGN* V.B *op.cit.*); ᵐΤεδενη[νις] (Lycia, *LPGN* V.B 404), ᵐΤεδινηνις (Cilicia, *LPGN op.cit.*)

Ref. Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'brother'; Houwink ten Cate (1965:142) 'family relationship name'; Carruba (1969 [1970]:270) 'brother'; Gusmani (1962:78-80) 'sister's son'; Bryce (1978:222) 'sibling'; Melchert (2004:44) Neumann (2007:242) 'brother'.

§ 30a . As a beneficiary of the tomb, *nẽne/i-* appears in TL 8 3 (v. *pije*), and TL 89 1 (*a*(*i*)- 'to make') in dative plural and accompanied by the determinative *ehbi*. Note that in TL 8, *nẽne/i-* appears together with *tuhe(s)-* 'nephew' (similarly *nere/i-* in TL 48, see **§ 35.**). From the owner's point of view, this correlation is reasonable: his brother is, logically, the father of his nephew, and consequently, they naturally appear together as the beneficiaries of the tomb. Interestingly, the presence of *nẽne/i-* in TL 8 and TL 89 1 seems to reflect a distribution of the tombs that obeys to a distinction between the nuclear and the extended family (see *tuhe(s)-* **§ 57bc.** on the complementary distribution of *tuhe(s)-nẽne/i-* with respect to the nuclear family).

§ 30b . Only on one occasion is *nẽne/i-* included in the filiation formula of a funerary inscription (TL 78 4). Nevertheless, the context of TL 78 differs from a prototypical funerary composition, since line 1 presents a first owner, *Xuprija* (TL 78 1), whose tomb appears to be bought (v. *ije-*) by the descendants of a certain *Maxa* in lines 2 to 5. We must then infer that both *Purihimeiqa* and his brother *Uwatise* are, probably, the descendants of *Maxa*, although the exact family relationships between them and the rest of the characters that appear in this inscription such as *Idãxre* (*Maxa*'s son) or *Xili* (*Maxa*'s grandson) is unknown (see details and genealogical information in **§ 11c.** and **Fig. 2**).

The second example of filiation expressed through the fraternal bound can be reconstructed in the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44a 30[?]). Despite the fragment is partially broken ([*mere/*]*hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig*[*ah: nẽni*(?)]*: ku/*]*prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:*), the term *nẽne/i-* can be safely reconstructed since *Xeriga* and *Merehi* are well-known to be brothers: both are regarded as sons and grandsons of the same persons (*Merehi* in TL 44a 30 and *Xeriga* in 44a 1-2, see *tuhe(s)-* §57a).
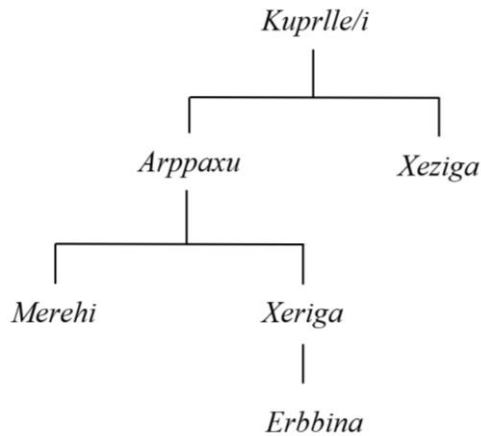
Figure 6. The Xanthos dynasty kinship relationships according to TL 44a

§ 30c . Still in the Xanthos Pillar, but outside the filiation context, a dative plural form (*nene*) is attested in TL 44c 16. The broken context does not allow to infer much information, save for the adjacent presence of acc.sg. *arusñ* (*arus-* 'citizenry', *DLL* 5). Tentatively *arusñ nene* could respectively be the direct and indirect object of the broken verb.

EPIGRAPHY

No remarkable aspects can be commented in relation to the epigraphic evidence.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 31a . Lyc. *nẽne/i-* 'brother' it is inflected as an *e*-stem with *i*-mutation. A variant without nasalization (dat.pl. TL 44a 16 *nene*, cf. TL 8 3 *nẽne*) can be compared to other lexemes that contain a nasalized vowel next to a nasal phoneme (see *esedeññewe*, **§ 13a.**)

§ 31b . Lyc. *nẽne/i-* is the clear cognate of Luwian *nan*(*i*)- (C.Luw. *nanieya-* 'of the brother', but H.Luw. FRATER.*LA-(i)*, see Luwian) and, perhaps, also of Hitt. *nekna-*. The relation among them through the loss of the velar before a nasal (PA *neǵno- > PLuw. *neno-*, *EHD* 601), as well as its reconstruction as *neǵno-* is however not without problems. According to Neumann (1991), *neǵno-* is the reflex of Proto-Indo-European *ņ-ǵņeh₁-ó- 'inborn', reconstructed in light of Goth. (*ga*)*niÞjis* 'kindred' and OIr. *ingen* 'daughter' (see explanation in etymology **3.2§3b.**). Nevertheless, *ņ-/en-* 'in', which in

Anatolian is represented by the particle *h₁ṇdo-* and has in Hittite an outcome /anda?-/, and Lycian *ñte-* (see *AHP* 134 and *EHD* 185). Its connection with Hitt. *nekna-* has precluded from classifying it as a babytalk, although it cannot be discarded that they are just coincidentally similar, since the loss of the velar before a nasal is only postulated in view of the proposed connection between Luwic and Hittite.

nere/i- 'brother' ('sister' ?)

ATTESTATIONS

    acc.sg. *lusãñtrahñ: zeti: neri: se xñtaburahñ* (TL 103 2 Limyra)

    dat.pl. *hrppi=ne/re: se t#uhe* (TL 48 2-3 Xanthos, NB: *t:uhe*)

ONOMASTICS

    Gr. Ναρις (Lycia and Pamphylia, *LPGN* V.B 310), Νεναρις (Cilicia *LPGN* V.B 312), Pis. Νανηρις (*KPN* 1013-31).

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

    Ref. Gusmani (1962:77) 'kind of stepsister', Meriggi (1979:244) 'sister', Carruba (1969 [1970]:271) 'sister'; Melchert (2004:44) 'term of relationship'; Neumann (2007:240) 'sister', Christiansen (2009:127) 'sister'.

§ 32a . In one of the two inscriptions that attests *nere/i-* (TL 48 2-3), the lexeme appears in a similar structure to TL 8 3, that is, in the beneficiaries clause introduced by *hrppi*, and together with *tuhes* (*nẽne: ehbije: se=tuhe* "to his brothers and nephews"), which leads to think of a similar meaning (on TL 48, see **§ 57c .**). The controversial question is

whether to consider it a mere variant of *nẽne/i-* 'brother', or a different lexeme, namely, its gender counterpart, 'sister'.

§ 32b . The analysis in the second attestation (TL 103) is not as straightforward, due to the syntactic problems that the fragment presents. The main difficulty lays on establishing which are the head-nouns of the genitive-adjective personal names in the second line:

TL 103

1 *ebẽñnẽ: xupa: m=ene: prñnawatẽ: tebursseli*
2 *zzajaah: ddedi: lusãñtrahñ: zeti: neri: se xñtaburahñ*
3 *ẽnẽ: periklehe: xñtawata*

Against Christiansen (2019:127), the owner *Tebursseli* cannot be regarded as "the *ddedi* of *Zzajaa* and sister of *Lusñtra* and *Xñtabura*". On the one hand, *Tebursseli* is highly improbable to be a woman, since female tomb owners are not known in Lycian inscriptions unless they appear together with her husband (see *lada*). On the other, the two last personal names are clearly inflected as accusative singulars, as their /-hñ/ genitive-adjective inflection shows, and thus constitute a different syntagm, namely, the beneficiaries clause, clearly separated from the filiation of the owner *Tebursseli*. Consequently, we are left with the owner's filiation clause "*Tebursseli*, the *ddedi* of *Zzajaa*", and a beneficiaries clause where the two personal names are the clearest identifiable elements.

Considering that v. *prñnawa-* 'to built' (line 1) has already a direct object (*ebẽñnẽ: xupa:* 'this tomb'), and that it does not take double accusative, but instead uses *hrppi* (+dat.) for introducing the beneficiaries of the tomb clause, the accusative syntagm in line two can only depend on *zeti*, which I take as a 3rd.sg.pres. of verb *ze-* 'assign a share to'? (*DLL* 88, contrarily, Melchert assumes a plural number). If *nere/i-* is modified by the preceding personal name in genitive-adjective, the syntagm is to be interpreted as: "(he) assigns a share to *Lusañtra's* brother/sister[?] and to *Xñtabura*".

That the second sentence appears without any chain of enclitics is certainly uncommon, and seems to be a feature restricted to this inscription and to TL 104a and TL 104b, which also belong to the same author, *Tebursseli*. The particularity of this set of inscriptions is

that they are notably synthetic and lack of any coordinative particle with topicalized accusative (*m=ene*) preceding the verb. This trait is not accidental since the verbs appear without nasal, a clear indicator that *m=ene* is voluntarily absent (on the distribution of nasalized preterites see Adiego 2015b). Rather than assuming a strange structure, an interesting question to investigate in future studies will be whether this is reflecting or not a more natural use of the Lycian language. Noteworthily, and according to Christiansen (2020a: 173[35]), this set of inscriptions is in close relation to a military context or to some kind of elite persons, which can explain the absence of family designations that characterizes this funerary inscription.

TL 104a

1 *tebursseli:*

2 *prñnawate: lusñ-*

3 *[tr]e: ẽti wazisse*

TL 104b

1 *tebursseli: prñnawate:*

2 *gasabala: ẽke: ese: perikle:*

3 *tebete: arttum̃mparã: se m̃parahe:*

4 *telẽzije*

§ 32c . The meaning as 'sister' that many authors defend (see ***Ref.***) is not evident, at least from the internal comparison of the Lycian inscriptions, but is mainly based on the etymological explanation (see below **§ 33.**) Although this semantic attribution is not impossible, the possibility of a dissimilated variant of *nẽne/i-* 'brother' cannot be discarded either.

EPIGRAPHY

There are no remarkable epigraphic aspects in relation to *nere/i-*.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 33 . The form *nere/i-* 'brother/sister[?]'' inflects according to the *e/i*-mutated stems.

The origin of the lexeme is disputed between two main hypotheses. Laroche (1974: 133) proposed to connect it with the lexeme *nẽne/i-* 'brother' through a dissimilation from *nẽne/i-*, while Carruba (1969 [1970]:271) equated *nere/i-* to C.Luw. *nanašr(i)-* and H.Luw. *nanasr(i)-* 'sister' (see **3.2§3c.**), through a Lycian preform *nenehri, a hypothesis to which some onomastic equations have been proposed (Neumann:2007:240) between

Lycian feminine Gr. Ναρις (Lycia and Pamphylia, *LPGN* V.B 310), Νεναρις (Cilicia *LPGN* V.B 312) or Pis. Νανηρις (*KPN* 1013-31).

In view of the evidence that the Lycian inscriptions present, which do not apparently support a meaning 'sister', the proposal that explains *nere/i-* as a dissimilated variant of *nẽne/i-* seems the most coherent.

prñneze/i- 'household'

ATTESTATIONS

    dat.sg. *hrppi prñnezi: ehbi: urebillaha* (TL 11 2 Pinara)

    dat.sg. *upazi(j)=ẽne: prñnawate / hrppi: prñnezi: ehbi* (TL 31 2 Kadyanda)

    dat.sg. *se pijetẽ: hrzzi: ñtatã: ladi: ehbi: se mñneτeidehe / esedẽñnewi) se pijetẽ: ẽtri: ñtatã: prñnezi: / atlahi* (TL 36 6 Xanthos)

    dat.sg. *hrppi: prñnezi* (TL 43 2 Xanthos)

    dat.sg. *se tukedri: kerθθi: ade: urublijẽ / hãtahe: tubehi: prñnezi: se lihbeze: eh*[*b*]*ije* (TL 44b 56 Xanthos)

    dat.sg. *hrppi atla eptte se prñnezi epttehi* (TL 121 Limyra)

    dat.sg. *me=pibijeti / prñnezi: se=tteri:adaijẽ* (TL 149 4 Rhodiapolis)

    (?) dat.sg. *me=ije=ne: hrppi tãti / tike: ijamaraje: tibe: ladi: ehbi: hrpp*[*i=ije me=i*] */ tadi tike: kbi: tike xttbadi: ẽti: prñn*[*ezi tibe*] */ kbijehi: tike* (TL 149 7* Rhodiapolis)

    (?) dat.sg. *se kumezeiti:* [*prñnezi*] */ se teteri: uhazata mali: wedrẽñni* (TL 149 12[?] Rhodiapolis)

    (?) dat.sg. [...]°*be* [..........]*: prñnezi:* [...]°*i:* [...]°*ttẽti* [.]°*ẽti* (N325 8 Xanthos)

    dat.sg. *h˙r˙p˙i˙ atli eh˙bi˙: se p˙r˙ñna*[*z*]*/i ehbi* (NN 341 3-4 Xanthos)

> ***Ref.*** Laroche (1974:135) 'household'; Meriggi (1979: 253) 'family'; Bryce (1979:297) 'the domestic members of the family'; Melchert (2004:53) 'household'; Neumann (2007:285) 'id'.

§ 34 . The main difference between *prñneze/i-* 'household' (*DLL* 53) and *prñnezijehe/i-* 'household member' (*op.cit.*, see **§ 41.**) is, besides the morphological aspect, mainly functional. That is to say, *prñneze/i-* is mainly found in the beneficiaries clause, while *prñnezijehe/i-* 'household member' appears without exception in the filiation syntagm.

§ 34a . In the beneficiaries clause, it is taken by the verb *prñnawa-* 'to build', introduced by *hrppi* and inflected as dative (TL 43 2; *+ehbi* TL 31 2, TL 121 and NN 341 3-4; *+ ehbi* + PN TL 11 2), and by the verb *pije-* 'to give', also in dative (TL 36 6).

Among them, in TL 11 2, TL 31 2, TL 43 2, the *prñneze/i-* is the only member to which the tomb is assigned. In NN 341 3-4, the owner itself and the *prñneze/i-* are the beneficiaries of the tomb, while in TL 121, the couple of owners (*erm̃menẽni: se lada ehbi*) and their *prñneze/i-* are the ones to which the tomb is assigned. The only case where the *prñneze/i-* is included in the tomb together with other family members that are not the owners is TL 36 6 (*lada* and the *esedẽñnewe* of *Mñneτeidehe*, see **§11b**). Interestingly, the presence of *atlahi* after *prñneze/i-* in this instance is unique. Since *atla-* 'person, self' (*DLL* 6) is generally used for referring to the owner itself (*atli ehbi* "for himself"), perhaps, in this case, the owner of the inscription (lin. 2 *Ahqqadi*) is indirectly referred through the mention to the expression *prñnezi atlahi* (line 6-7).

The striking point is that the presence of *prñneze/i-* as a beneficiary coincides with the absence of *tideime/i-* 'son', *kbatra-* 'daughter' or *xahba* 'grandson/daughter' in the beneficiaries clause. Although its exact designation is difficult to establish, this fact could mean that *prñneze/i-* describes the family in a broad sense, including the sons of the owner or owners. Nevertheless, it cannot be discarded that *prñneze/i-* is used here to mean one single person, as indicates the presence of a personal name in TL 11 2 (*hrppi prñnezi: ehbi: urebillaha*). The presence of the personal name probably triggered the classification of this instance as *prñnezijehe/i-* 'household member' by Melchert (*DLL* 52). In my opinion, the parallels that present *prñneze/i-* in the beneficiaries clause call for

understanding here that *Urebilla-* is the *prñneze/i-*, and not a contracted variant of *prñnezijehe/i-*.

§ 34b . The lexeme *prñneze/i-* also takes place in inscriptions that are of administrative nature, or, at least, related to a certain sphere of power (TL 44b, TL 149 and N325). The most clear passages where the attestations take place are in TL 149 4, 7* and 12[?], where the owner (lin. 2-3 "*Ijamara*, son of *Terssixle*, priest of the *Malija* of *Wedrẽñnehi*") gives (3rd.sg.pres. *pibijeti*) a payment (acc.sg. *adaijẽ*) to the *prñneze/i-* 'household' and to the *tetere/i-* 'city'. Contrarily, Christiansen (2020a:226), takes "the household and the city" (*prñnezi: se=tteri*) as the subject of *pibijeti*, and therefore as the *donors* of the payment, in view of the cases where a singular verb can appear with a plural subject (see §21b). In the same composition, *prñneze/i-* appears in the curse formula against foreign appropriations of the tomb, as one of the persons to be included in the tomb, perhaps the indirect object of an unusual form verbal form with preposition *hrppi tãti* (line 6 "he put for" ?). Finally, and because of the presence of *tedere/i-* 'city', it is also reconstructed in line 11 by Christiansen (*op.cit.*) and taken as the subject of 3rd.sg.pres. *kumezeiti* ("the *prñneze/i-* and the city (will) sacrifice"). The syntactic role of pair in both passages (line 4 and 11) is difficult to establish as the subject or the indirect object of the respective verbs.

In the Xanthos Pillar, *prñneze/i-* (TL 44b 56) appears to be the indirect object of verb *a(i)-* 'to make' (line 55). Here again, the mention *prñnezi* is taken by Melchert (*DLL* 52) to belong to the lemma *prñnezije-* in view of the possible personal name that precedes it (*tubehi*), and that leads to interpret "the household of *Tube*". The analysis of the different elements that constitute the passage is however not easily elucidated, nor a personal name *Tube-* (see discussion in Schürr 2012:130), and therefore, I leave the attestation *prñnezi* as belonging to the lemma *prñneze/i-*, instead of to *prñnezi(je)-*.

The interpretation of the attestation in N325 8 is obscured by the broken context. Note, however, that it does not appear in the filiation clause, neither in the beneficiaries, so that its function could perhaps be similar to the attestations in inscriptions TL 149 and 44b.

§ 35 . In the inscription NN 341 3-4, the attestation is partially broken, but the autopsy by Christiansen 2019:113 leaves no doubt that the reading with <a> in *pˊrˋ ñna*[*z*]/*i*, so that it must be regarded either as a scribal error *pˊrˋñneˊ*[*z*]/*i* or as a variant with *a*-vocalism.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 36 . Lyc. *prñneze/i-* inflects according to the *e/i*-stems with *i*-mutation, and has derived by means of *-ze/i-* suffix (**tịo-*, Hajnal, 1994:151-152), from an unattested lexeme **prñna-* 'house', which is widely present in the rest of the Anatolian languages (Hitt. *per/parn-* 'house, household', C.Luw. *parna-* 'house', H.Luw. *parna-* '*id.*', Lyd. *bira-* '*id.*', *EHD* 666). In Lycian, though, a *-wa*-derivation (*prñnawa-*) is attested to refer to the tombs.

The suffix *-ze/i* suffix (**-tịo-*), normally creates adjective formations (*hrzze/i-* 'upper', *przze/i-* 'front'), and also ethnicon (e.g. *Sureze/i-* 'of *Sura*'), according to Hajnal (*op.cit.*). Notably, the fact that kinship terms do not show *-ze/i* might be an indicator that *prñneze/i-* is to be considered as a designation of high rank inside the family, based on the *potestas*, rather than a specific member of the family, defined by either blood or political relations. This creation seems analog, at least in its function, to the *nomina agentis* in *-aza* that forms titles such as *kumaza-* 'priest' or *maraza-* 'judge' (Hajnal, *op.cit.*).

prñnezijehe/i- 'household member'

ATTESTATIONS

> nom.sg. *ebẽññẽ xupã m=ene=prñna<wa>tẽ / xudali zuhrijah / tideimi# / xezrimeh / prñnezijehi* (TL 1 5 Telmessos NB: *tideimi{h}*)
>
> nom.sg. [.....]°*zixle=ti prñnawate pixm̃mah / tideimi xelijãnaxssah prñnezij*[*ehi*] (TL 116 2* Limyra)
>
> nom.sg. *ebeli: me sijẽni: xssẽñzija: / xñtlapah: tideimi: mutleh: prñnezijehi* (TL 150 3 Rhodiapolis)

nom.sg. *ipre*[*s*]*id͏ͨaˋ / ajẽta*[..]*d*[.]/*h a͏ͨrˋmana/zah: tidei/mi: ik͏ͨuˋweh / ˊtˋedi:*
ˊsˋe= p͏ͨrˋñ/[*n*]*ͨe ʾzijeh<i>:* (NN 334 6-7*[!] Tlos, NB: Christiansen (2019:93)
ajẽta..d͏ͨẽˋ/*h*)

nom.pl. *pulenjda mullijeseh se=dapara pulenjdah puri/himetehe pr*[*ñ*]*n*[*e*]*zijehi*
(TL 6 2* Karmylessos, Gr. lin. 5 Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδης Μολλίσιος καὶ Λαπάρας
Ἀπολωνίδου Πυριμάτιος οἰκεῖοι. NB: Christiansen (2020a:180) *pr͏ͨñˋnezijehi*)

acc.sg. *prijabuhãmah kbatru n°*[.........] / *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[..............] / *ladu*
uwitahñ xahb[*u/ã*.........] / *apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*] .°*n.*[(TL 28 5* Tlos, NB:
Tekoğlu (2017:65) *mrbbanada*[*hñ*])

acc.sg. [*prija*]*buhãmah kbatru ehbi* / [.....]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* / [*lad*]*u uwitahñ*
xahbu / [*apuwa*]*zahi prñnezijehi* (NN 356*a* 2 Tlos)

acc.sg. *hrppi* [..... *puwejehñ*] / *ladu u*[*witahñ xahbu*] / *apuwaza*[*hi prñnezijehi*]
(NN 356*b*[?] 2 Tlos)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Jenniges (2001:89) 'son-in-law'; Melchert (2004:52) 'household member';
Christiansen (2020a:181) '*id.*'.

§ 37 . The attestations that are included under this section are regarded as 'substantivized
adjectives' by Melchert (*DLL* 52) and classified to belong to the lemma *prñnezi*(*je*)-.
Nevertheless, the attestations of *prñnezi* in TL 11 2 and TL 44b 56 that Melchert assumes
as forms of *prñnezi*(*je*)-, in fact are much more coherent, both morphologically and
functionally, if they are described to belong to the lexeme *prñneze*/*i*- (**§ 34.**). For this
reason, I reconstruct the present lemma as *prñnezijehe*/*i*-, a substantivized adjective, as
Melchert states, of the previous form *prñneze*/*i*-, without the intermediate reconstruction
of †*prñnezi*(*je*)-.

§ 37a . Lyc. *prñnezijehe/i-* is unanimously found in filiation chains, either of the owner of the inscription (TL 1 5, TL 6 2*, TL 116 2*, TL 150 3 and NN 334 6-7*[1]), or the beneficiaries of the tomb (TL 28 5*, NN 356a*,* and NN 356b[?]).

Among the inscriptions where *prñnezijehe/i-* is an element of the owner's filiation chain, at least in TL 1, TL 116 and TL 150, the owner leaves the tomb to no one but to himself, while in TL 6 (cf. Gr. οἰκεῖος 'of the house') and NN 334, the tomb is also assigned to the owner's wife and sons.

With regards to the presence of *prñnezijehe/i-* as filiation element in the beneficiaries clause, TL 28 5 and its partial copies NN 356a/b (see details in *lada-* **§ 22c .**) represent the only examples. Note that the only example where a woman is mentioned in a beneficiary clause with her filiation, that is TL 25, does not include the reference to the household, but is only mentioned as a daughter and niece (*urtaqijahñ: kbatru / se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ*).

Initially, one may deduce that the figure of the *prñnezijehe/i-* stands for a person of an older generation than the owner, since in the filiation clauses, the enumeration tend to follow a hierarchical order established by age, where *prñnezijehe/i-* is always the last element (*tideimi* 'son' – *tuhes* 'nephew/niece', *xahba* 'grandson/granddaughter' - *prñnezijehe/i-* 'household member'). This could mean that *prñnezijehe/i-* refers to a great-grandfather or similar. Nevertheless, the evidence in NN 334 contradicts this statement. Note that the owner in NN 334, *Ipresida*, mentions himself as the father of *Ikuwe*, but also as belonging to the household of *Ikuwe*, which means that the position of *prñneze/i-* is held by his son, and therefore a younger generation from the perspective of the owner. In this regard, note that *Ikuwe* appears to be the owner of a relevant tomb, whose inscription (TL 29) reveals the high prominence of this character. We can infer that the reference as "of Ikuwe, the father and the household member" (*ikˈuˋweh / ˈtˋedi: ˈsˋe= pˈrˈñ/[n]ˈeˋzijeh<i>*) might refer to the fact that *Ipresida* left in *Ikuwe*'s home, or that *Ikuwe* was the person in charge of the whole family (see further details in **§ 57b.**).
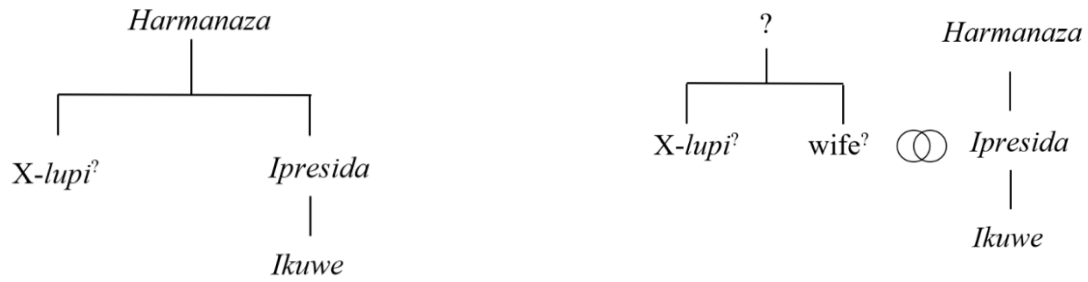
Figure 7. Possible reconstructions of *Ikuwe* and *Ipresida* kinship relationships, according to NN 334 and TL 29.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 38 . In NN 334 6-7*ⁱ, the rendering of *prñnezijehe/i-* presents a scribal error, the omission of final <i> (*pˊrˋñ/[n]ˊeˋzijeh<i>꞉*).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 39 . As it is stated by Melchert (2004:52), *prñnezijehe/i-* is the substantivized lexeme resulting from the *-ahe/i-* genitive adjective inflection. The intermediate stage of the derivation between *prñneze/i-* and *prñnezijehe/i-* is unattested (***prñnezije-*). Despite ***prñnezije-* is considered to be the lemma of *prñnezijehe/i-* by Melchert (*op.cit.*), it cannot be discarded that we are dealing here with a diphthongized form, similar to the common development of a medial glide in the copulative conjunction *se*(*j*) that occurs when the following word starts with a vowel.

***sede/i-* / *side/i-** 'adopted son'

ATTESTATIONS

nom.sg. *qñturahi=ti: prñnawate: terssipuleh / sedi:* (NN 342a 2 Tlos)

nom.sg. *qñturahi=ti: prñnawate se terssipulih / sedi se tuhes* (NN 342b 2 Tlos)

acc.sg. *hrppi: ladi / ehbi: xatm̃maje: m=ene=ñtepi=tãti: xatm̃mã: se=sidi: / ehbi:* (N 309*b* 2 Myra)

dat.sg. *uwe se kbi parttalã xzuna si/di* (TL 35 14-15 Kadyanda)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

***Ref*.** Eichner (1993:239) 'offspring'; Carruba (1980:275) 'son, husband, second man'; Laroche (1987:238) 'man, husband; Melchert (2004:57) 'son-in-law'; Schürr (2017:13), '*id*.'; Christiansen (2019:115) '*id*.'; Korkut-Tekoğlu (2019:173) 'heir'.

§ 40 . Because of its presence in the filiation syntagm (NN 342a 2 and 342b 2), as well as its inclusion in the clause of the beneficiaries of the tomb (N 309b 2), where it appears accompanied by an adjoining *ehbi*, it is clear that *sede/i-/side/i-* is a family term, despite its very few attestations.

§ 40a . The inscription that contains the attestation *sede/i-/side/i-* in the filiation (NN 342) is subdivided in two sections, NN 342a and 342b, that appear to be close variants one to the other. While in NN 342a 2 the sole filiation element is *sedi* ("the *Terssipule*'s *sedi*"), in NN 342b 2, *sedi* appears in coordination with *tuhes* through the copulative conjunction *se* ("*Terssipule*'s *sedi* and nephew"). That a personal name inflected in genitive adjective modifies two different kinship terms (PN-*h* kinship term + kinship term) is, until the moment, only found in NN 334 6-7 (*Ipresida* [...], of *Ikuwe* the father and member of his household). While in NN 334 such feature can be explained because of the particularities of the character (on *Ikuwe*, see **§ 37a.** and **§ 46a.**), in NN 342a/b the two inscriptions are contiguous and almost identical, which calls for a different explanation.

A plausible hypothesis is that the second inscription NN 342b is an emendation of the preceding NN 342a. The motivation for such a correction could be that the filiation through *sedi* was perhaps not sufficient to guarantee the legal rights of the owner (*Qñturahi*) over the tomb, and that, perhaps, a blood family link was furthermore needed for supporting his ownership of the tomb.

§ 40b . The attestation in N 309b 2 presents *sede/i-/side/i-* as the beneficiary of the tomb, accompanied by the determinative pronoun *ehbi*, and direct object of v. *ta-* 'to put inside', preceded by the personal name *Xatm̃ma-*. Thanks to the first part of the inscription, it is possible to know that acc.sg. PN *Xatm̃mã* is the owner's wife's name. From a comparative point of view, it is worth mentioning that *lada* 'wife' is always attested in the beneficiaries clause, whether being it through *hrppi* (+dat.) or by means of a transitive verb (+acc.), alone or together with the owner's name or *tideimi* 'son', but rarely with other family terms (with the scarce exception of *esedẽñnewe-* TL 83, **§ 11b.**). The fact that in N 309*b* 2 *sidi* takes place where we would expect the presence of *tideimi* 'son' can be taken as an indicator that *sidi* describes a member of the nuclear family, very close to the figure of the son. The identification of *Xatm̃ma-* in this inscription as the owner's wife is conclusive against the classification of *sede/i-/side/i-* as 'son-in-law' by several scholars (see ***Ref.***).

§ 40c . Finally, in TL 35 14-15 (*sidi*) the attestation is considered as a dative singular by Melchert (*DLL* 57), perhaps the beneficiary of a payment (*ʼkʼbi parttalã*). The difficulties in the interpretation of the line preclude from inferring more information about the context of the passage.

§ 41 . Having these facts in mind, the only term that semantically could relate to *tideimi* 'son' is an adopted-son, which partially agrees with the proposal by Korkut-Tekoğlu (2019:173), who considers *sede/i-/side/i-* as 'heir'. The definition as 'son-in-law' proposed by Melchert (*DLL* 57) and followed by several scholars (see ***Ref.***) does not seem plausible considering the regularity of the Lycian funerary inscriptions in including in the tomb the consanguineal relatives, mainly of the nuclear family. Even in the case where a tomb is inherited by the daughter (TL 143, see **§ 18a.** and **Fig.3**), her husband heads the clause of the beneficiaries (lines 4-5 *pttlezeje: / se ladi e*[*h*]*bi mam̃mahaje:*). In N 309b, if *sede/i-/side/i-* was meant to refer to *Xatm̃ma-*'s husband, it would have probably appeared in the first position, considering the evidence that the Lycian inscriptions

present. As an instance of the political family to be included in the tomb, one can only found the mention in TL 83 to the wives of the owner's descendants.

A possible interpretation of the family situation reflected in NN 342a and 342b is that the beneficiary of the tomb (*Qñturahi*) is the owner's natural nephew, which, after becoming orphaned, was under his uncle responsibility. For some unknown reason, further clarification of the adopted son's bound with *Terssipule* would have been needed to permit his access to the legal rights of the tomb in the future.

EPIGRAPHY

No remarkable aspects on the epigraphic level can be commented with regards to *sidi*/*sedi-*.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 42 . Lyc. *sede*/*i*-/*side*/*i*- inflects according to the *e*/*i*-stems with *i*-mutation. The variant *e*/*i* that this lexeme presents (*sidi* in N309b 2 and 35 14-15 besides *sedi* in NN 342a and 342b) is comparable to the situation in Lyc. *tideri*/*tederi*(?) (**§ 56.**) and in some personal names such as *Terssipuleh*/*Terssipulih* (NN 342a and 342b), which does not apparently respond to morphological criteria.

Its most approximate cognate is Luwian *zid(i)-* (see Luw. **§143.**) whose meaning is established as 'man' by Yakubovich (2013: 87), and as 'husband' by Hawkins (2000:92), and from which the meaning 'son-in-law' has been inferred for Lycian by Schürr (2017:13).

tede/i- 'father'

ATTESTATIONS

nom.sg. º*imeh: tedi: ese / ijeri: tlawa dde/wite:* (TL 21 2 Tlos)

nom.sg. *ebẽñne: xupa: m=ene: prñnawatẽ: tebursseli / zzajaah: ddedi:* (TL 103 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ipre*[*s*]*idˊaˋ / ajẽta*[..]*d*[.]*/h aˊrˋmana/zah: tidei/mi: ikˊuˋweh / ˊtˋedi: ˊsˋe= pˊrˋñ/*[*n*]*ˊeˋzijeh<i>:* (NN 334 6 Tlos, NB: Christiansen (2019:93) *ajẽta..dˊẽˋ/h*)

gen-adj. dat.sg *ñtewẽ: erbbinahe: tezi: xu*[*gahi: ehbije*]*/hi: se ñtewẽ: teθθi: ehbij*[*ehi.......*] (TL 44a 26 Xanthos)

(?) gen.adj. nom./acc./dat.sg./pl. [---]: *xugahi: se: xñna*[*hi*] */ *[*hi --- te*]ˊθˋθi: se=j=ẽnehi:* (NN 337 8 Limyra)

MILYAN

gen.adj. n./ac./d.sg./pl. *mirẽñne: x<ñ>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:*) (TL 44d 66 Xanthos, NB: *xinasi*)

ONOMASTICS

ᵐΤεδενη[νις] (Lycia, *LPGN* V.B 404), ᵐΤεδινηνις (Cilicia, *LPGN op.cit.*) ᵐΤεδιαρις (Cilicia, *LPGN op.cit.*) ᶠΤεδιαρσασις (Lycia, *LPGN op.cit.*).

> **Ref.** Laroche (2016[1958]:92) 'father'; Gusmani (1962:81) '*id.*'; Schweyer (2002:187) '*id.*'; Melchert (2004:62); Neumann (2007:343) '*id.*'; **ddedi** Neumann (2000:396) 'female personal name'; Melchert (2004:93) 'personal name'.

§ 46a . Filiation bounds expressed through the owner's son (PN-*h tedi*), and not by means of the paternal filiation (PN-*h tideimi*, see **§ 49.**) are quite exceptional in Lycian funerary inscriptions. The hypothetical situations that might account for the presence of this kind of filiation can be explained either because the owner's son was a renowned person, or because the son died prematurely. The first situation is plausible at least for the attestation in NN 334, since its owner *Ipresida* is already known to be the father of *Ikuwe* from the inscription TL 29, whose tomb features and inscription length are a probable indicator of *Ikuwe*'s high status (**§ 37a.** and **§40a.**).

Nevertheless, none of the two explanations is evident for the rest of the inscriptions where the filiation is expressed through the son (PN-*h tedi*, TL 21 2 and TL 103 2). Even so, it is perhaps significant that both are not prototypical funerary inscriptions. On the one hand, TL 21 is partially broken and unusually presents the verb *prñnawa-* 'to build', which normally appears at the *incipit*, at the end of the inscription. On the other, TL 103 presents a variant of *tede/i-* written an initial double consonant (*ddedi*), among other particularities such as the rare mention to *neri* 'brother/sister'[?] (see *nere/i-*, **§ 32a.**). The inscription is not easily analyzable, especially with regards to the second syntagm (see syntactic discussion in **§ 32b.**). Nevertheless, the position of *ddedi* in relation to the owner's personal name is undoubtedly that of a filiation element ("this tomb *Tebursseli* the father[?] of *Zzajaa* built", although it cannot be discarded to be a title, in view of the alleged military or political context of the monument (Keen 1998:139, Christiansen 2020a:173[35]).

Inflected as a genitive adjective, it is present in the Xanthos inscription (TL 44a 26) in a passage that refers to the distribution of the tombs of the dynast's family. The head-noun that modifies is likely to be a broken *tezi* ("in front of [the *tezi*]of *Puweje*, the *θurtta*'s (*tezi*)" (?), reconstructed in view of the parallels of the precedent line (25-26: *ñtewe: Erbbinahe: tezi: xu*[*gahi ehbije*]-*hi: se ñtewe: teθθi: ehbij*[*ehi tezi*[?]] "in front of *Erbbina*'s *tezi*, the one[?] of [his grand]father, and in front of his [fahter's *tezi*...]"), see *θurtta-*, **§ 60b.**).

§ 46b . The lexeme for father is finally found in an enumeration of family members in two administrative inscriptions, that is, in the Milyan counterpart of the Xanthos Inscription (TL 44d 66) and in the "*Xuxrum̃me/i* Treaty" NN 337 (edited by Christiansen 2012). Noteworthily, rhetoric enumerations with kinship motives are widely present in the Luwo-Hittite milieu of the second millennium and appear to have a continuation in the first millennium, at least in Lycian (Martínez-Rodríguez 2019b). At least in these instances, the enumeration of family terms seems to be an allegorical formula to refer to the citizens of a place. On the one hand, the sequence 'mother – father – grandfather' (TL 44d 67) can be compared to Hittite KUB 33 106 iii 50-52 (NH): EGIR-*pa=at hešten an-na-al-la at-ta-al-la hu-u-ha-da-al-la* [É] ^{NA4}KISIB^{HI.A} *nu karuilii̯aš ad-da-aš* ^{NA4}KISIB *udandu* (52) [*n=a*]*t apez EGIR-pa šiyandu* "Open the granaries of the mother, the father and the grandfather. They must bring the granary of the former fathers" (HW I:A (1984):74, 562). On the other hand, the enumeration 'grandfather – grandmother – father – mother' (NN 337 7-8) to Hittite KUB 17, 29 ii 6-8 (NH): *karu=ma šumenzan hu uh-ha hanniš attieš anniš irhašš=a* KASKAL-*ašš=a uddani nahhanteš ešir* "Formerly your grandfathers (and) grandmothers, fathers (and) mothers were cautious in the question of the frontiers and the paths." (HW III/2:H/19 (2010): 636; but differently *annalla-* 'old', *per* García-Trabazo 2002:242).

EPIGRAPHY

§ 47 . The nature of the variant *ddedi* is difficult to explain, since in initial position double consonants with the same phoneme are unfrequent. Because of the rendering of the personal name *Zzajaa* with two consecutive *a* signs in the same inscription is also uncommon, the spelling *ddedi* could be regarded as a scribal mistake (see Adiego 2003:15 on the attested consonant clusters in initial position).

Noteworthily, it could be possible that some doubts in the writing of initial dental stops might exist in Lycian, especially in view of the variant *tdi* found in TL 58 3 for expressing the relative pronoun *ti-*. Although the evidence is scarce, it is possible that the variant *ddedi* could respond to a similar orthographic confusion.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 48 . Lyc. *tede/i-* inflects according to the *e/i*-mutated stems. It has its origin in the babytalk speech, and presents solid cognates in the Luwic family, Luwian *tad(i)-* (Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic), and Carian *ted-*, as well as in Lydian *taada-*, which in turn present parallels in some Indo-European languages (see etymology **3.3.2§6**). On the contrary, it differs in Hittite *atta-* and Palaic *papa-*.

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tideime/i- 'son'

ATTESTATIONS

nom.sg. *xudali zuhrijah* / *tideimi#* / *xezrimeh* / *prñnezijehi* (TL 1 3 Telmessos, NB: *tideimi{h}*)

nom.sg. *uhakᵒ.ᵒe: murazahe*: *tideimi* (TL 2 2 Telmessos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:174) ´*uhakẽe:*`)

nom.sg. *te/winezẽi :* [*s*]*ppñtazah asawãzala* / *tideimi:* (TL 3 2 Telmessos)

nom.sg. *q/ñtbẽddi: ssm̃ma* / *tideimi kete* / *erehi* (TL 5 4 Telmessos)

nom.sg. *pttlezẽi: sb*[*i*]*kazah*: *tideimi* (TL 10 Pinara)

nom.sg. *ddapssm̃ma: padrm̃mah: tid*[*eimi*] (TL 11 1* Pinara)

nom.sg. *slm̃mewe: pñnuteh: tideimi: se huwetẽne* (TL 12 2 Pinara)

nom.sg. *pddãxñta* / *xzzubezeh*: *tideimi* (TL 13 3 Pinara)

nom.sg. *ahamãsi huniplah:* / *tideimi* (TL 14 3 Pinara)

nom.sg. ´*p*`*ddaxñta xebe*ᵒ[...]ᵒ*h tideimi:* (TL 15 2 Pinara)

nom.sg. *wazala*: *eppleme ti*[*deimi*] (TL 16 1* Pinara, NB: Christiansen (2020a:185) *eppleme*[*h*?/:?])

nom.sg. *xisterija xzzbãseh tideimi* (TL 19 2 Pinara)

nom.sg. *xssbezẽ: krup*[*sseh*] / *tideimi*: *se purihime*[*teh*] / *tuhes: tlãñna* (TL 25 3 Tlos, Gr. lin. 9 Πόρπαξ Θρύπψιος Πυριβάτους ἀδελφιδῦς Τλωεὺς)

nom.sg. *ebeija: erublija: m=e ñt*[*e tuwetẽ:.....°h: tide*]/*imi:* (TL 26 2* Tlos)

nom.sg. *ikuwe=ti: prñnawate: ipresidah: tideimi:* [...]°*pe*[*h*] / *tuhes:* (TL 29 1 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2006:1704) [...]*lupe*[*h*])

nom.sg. .°*e..°z.°la: sseweh* / *tideimi* (TL 34 3 Kadyanda)

nom.sg. *ahqqadi :pizibideh: tideimi: se:* / *hm̃prãmeh: tuhes:* (TL 36 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *mẽmruwi: xñtenubeh: tideimi* (TL 39 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *pajawa: ed°..... / tideimi: a°.... / °rah: telẽzi°....* (TL 40c 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *turlleh: tidei*[*mi*] (TL 41 2* Xanthos)

nom.sg. *merehi: kudalah: xñtlah tideimi:* (TL 43 1 Xanthos)

nom.sg. [*x*]*er*[*iga ar*]*ppa*/*xuh: tid*[*eimi:*] *xe*[*zi*]*gah:* [*tuhes*(?): *k*]*u*[*pr*]*lle*[*h*] / *xahba:* (TL 44a 2* Xanthos)

nom.sg. [*mere/*]*hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig*[*ah: nẽni*(?)*: ku/*]*prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 30 Xanthos, NB: *xãhb<a>ˀ:*)

nom.sg. *q*[*a*]*rñnaxa: pssureh:* tidei/*mi: se tideimi: padrm̃mahe* (TL 48 5-6 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *qarñnaxa tuwe*[*tẽ*] / *qñtbeh tideimi ehbi* / *wezzeimi tehluse* (TL 51 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *ẽ..a=j=adẽ: xuˈdˋalijẽ: ˈaburˋuwˈẽˋteh◊: zzim*[*a*]*zˈaˋ: muˈrãzaˋ*[*h◊:*] *tideimi* (TL 54a Phellos)

nom.sg. *abu°*[*.... *] / °*w*[*ẽte*]*h◊: zzimaza: murãzah◊ tide*[*imi*] (TL 54 2b* Phellos, NB: Christiansen (2019:81) *abuˈrˋ*[*u/*]*wẽtˈeˈh◊:*)

nom.sg. *ixtta: hlah: tideimi:* (TL 56 2 Antiphellos, Gr. lin. 5 Ἴκτας Λα Ἀντιφελλίτης)

nom.sg. *ida maxzza: uherijeh* / *tideimi:* (TL 57 4 Antiphellos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:228) *idamaxzza:*)

nom.sg. *sbelimi sñnete*[*h*] *tideimi:* / [...........]°*ahi* (TL 58 1 Antiphellos)

nom.sg. *qñturahi: hrppidubeh: / tideimi zimasttrah: tuhes:* (TL 59 2 Antiphellos)

nom.sg. [..........................]°*uwezeh tidei*[*mi*] (TL 60 1* Antiphellos)

nom.sg. *sbikezijẽi: mrexisa: tideimi:* (TL 61 1 Phellos)

nom.sg. *unuwẽmi ti prñnawate / purihimrbbeseh tideimi* (TL 62 2 Isinda)

nom.sg. *:arm̃palitxa ..°xuh / tide<i>mi:* (TL 68 2ꞌ Simena)

nom.sg. *ipresida◊: arm̃pa◊ / tideimi : tubure◊* (TL 69 2 Kyana)

nom.sg. *sbikaza xñtanubeh tideimi / temusemutah tuhes* (TL 70 2 Kyana)

nom.sg. *xudali*[*j*]*ẽ: murãzah* [:] *tideimi:* (TL 72 Kyana, Gr. Μορωζα υἱὸς)

nom.sg. *tideim*[*i* ---------] (TL 74a 2* Hoiran)

nom.sg. *:tahe:* <u>*tideimi:*</u> */ se trbbulehe : tuhẽi :/ se lada : se=tideimi : / se xahba: ẽkuwe:* (74c 4 Hoiran)

nom.sg. *tettm̃pe: / hñtihãmah: tid*[*ei*]*mi* (TL 75 2* Tyberisos)

nom.sg. *ñturigaxã: θãi tideimi* (TL 77 2 Çindam, NB: *ñturpigaxã*)

nom.sg. [.............*m*]*uhube kerθθis*! *habudah tideimi pertinah tuhes* (TL 82 Kandyba)

nom.sg. *erimñnuha: / semuteh: tideimi:* (TL 86 2 Myra)

nom.sg. *ddaqasa sttuleh: / tideimi* (TL 88 2 Myra)

nom.sg. *hrixm̃m*[*a: lusñtrah: tideimi:*] (TL 90 1ˀ Myra)

nom.sg. *xlppasi xssẽñzijah ti*[*deimi*] (TL 91 1* Myra)

nom.sg. *upazi musxxah tideimi* (TL 93 1 Myra)

nom.sg. *..°i..°l.°*[*h tide*]*imi .....°addeh tuhes* (TL 95 1*ꞌ Myra, NB: °]*ini* [....])

nom.sg. *pizzi=ti: prñnawate: ddepñneweh: tideimi:* (TL 98 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *purihimeti=ti: prñnawate: masasah: tideimi* (TL 99 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *za*[*h*]*ama: ddawãpartah / tideimi:* (TL 101 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *mñnuhe: tm̃peimeh tideimi* (TL 112 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. [....]°*zixle=ti prñnawate pixm̃mah / tideimi xelijãnaxssah prñnezij*[*ehi*] (TL 116 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *siderija: pa*[*r*]*m*[*n*]/*ah: tideimi* (TL 117 3 Limyra, Gr. lin. 7 Σιδάριος Παρμένο/ντος υἰὸς. NB: Neumann (2012:399) *pa*[*r*]*m/ne:*)

(?) nom.sg. *hura: nuba* / [*ti*]*deri: ñteriwaº...: tid<e>imi* (TL 119 3! Limyra, NB: *iuba*)

nom.sg. *xuññijẽi: masasahe: tideimi:* (TL 118 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *:pumaza: ertelijeseh: tideimi* (TL 120 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *mlẽteder*[*i*] *tutinimeh: tideimi* (TL 122 Limyra, NB: *tutini:meh:*)

nom.sg. *st°.°maha=t*[*i prñ*]*nawate: epñxuxa tideimi* (TL 127 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *xudrehila: kiruh: tideimi:* (TL 132 1 Limyra)

nom.sg. *xñtlapãne: prñnawate: perikleh: mahinaza: epñtibazah* / *tideimi* (TL 133 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. [.................] / *tideimi: murñnah: tuhas:* (TL 136 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ẽnẽhineri xulidah:* / *tideimi:* (TL 137 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *tilume: zizahã/mah tideimi* (TL 139 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *ijamara: terssixleh◊: tideimi mali/jahi: wedrẽñnehi: ax#ãtaza:* (TL 149 2 Rhodiapolis, NB: Christiansen (2020a:224) *axãtaza:*)

nom.sg. *xssẽñzija:* / *xñtlapah: tideimi: mutleh:* / *prñnezijehi* (TL 150 2 Rhodiapolis)

nom.sg. *ssepije: ma*[*h*]*anepiº*[*....: tideimi*] (N 302 2? Korydalla)

nom.sg. *piñteusi: tewinaza: idazzalah: tideimi:* (N 306 1 Çagman)

nom.sg. *xlasitini: magabatah: tideimi* (N 310 2 Phellos)

nom.sg. [*xer*]*igah tideimi se*(*j*)=*upẽneh* (N 311 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *masauwẽti* / *mejereh* / [*t*]*ideimi* (N 314a 6* Kızılca)

nom.sg. *añpuº.°eu: prñnawate: aº*[*...*]*ºuimeu* / *tideimi:* (N 315 2)

nom.sg. *arssãma* / [*....*]*ºemleh tideimi trm̃mili* (N 318 2 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *pig/esere: katamlah: tideimi:* (N 320 2 Xanthos, Gr. lin.2 Πιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω υός)

nom.sg. [.]*ºazz*[.] / *pẽmudijah: tideimi: qelehi: kumaza* (N 322 2 Pinara)

nom.sg. *ipre*[*s*]*id˚a˘* / *ajẽta*[..]*dẽ*[. .]/*h a˚r˘mana*/*zah tidei*/*mi: ik˚u˘weh* / *˚t˘edi: se=p˚r˘*[*ñ/n*]*˚e˘zijeh<i>:* (NN 334 4-5 Tlos, NB: Christiansen (2019:93) *ajẽta..dẽ*/*h*)

nom.sg. [*ebẽñne*]: *xupã: m=e=ti: prñnawat˚ẽ˘ ˚pere*[sup]?[/sup]*˘pñni* (vacat?) / - - -*hanah tideimi* (NN 335 2 Tlos)

nom.sg. *ebẽñ*[*ne*]: *xupu m=e=ti prñnawatẽ: zzidubi:* / *e*[....]*ei*[..]. *tideimi:* (NN 338 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *apñxuxah: tideimi* / *stamaha=ti prñnawate:* (N 351 1 Beykonak)

nom.sg. *sixeriwale: ddew*[*ele*]*deh: tideimi:* (NN 357 1 Tlos)

nom.pl. *q*[*a*]*rñnaxa: pssureh: tidei*/*mi: se tideimi: padrm̃mahe* (TL 48 5-6 Xanthos)

nom.pl. *:tahe: tideimi:* / *se trbbulehe : tuhẽi :*/ *se lada : se=tideimi :* / *se xahba: ẽkuwe:* (74c 2 Hoiran)

nom.pl. [*e*]*beli: m=ẽti sijẽni: tele: se lada: se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi: IV* (TL 107a 1 Limyra)

acc.sg.]/°*ehñ*: <u>*tideimi:*</u> *se=tideim*[*i*] (TL 26 4 Tlos)

acc.sg.]/°*ehñ*: *tideimi: se=*<u>*tideim*[*i*</u>] (TL 26 4* Tlos)

acc.sg.] *tideimi ehbi arusñ: nene xla*°[.....] (TL 44c 16 Xanthos)

acc.sg. *se=i zum̃mẽ xbati: zum̃mẽñne=ti:* / *θurtta: señnaha: epñte: ladã: ẽmi: se tideimis: ẽmis:* / *se melebi: se* <u>*tideimi*</u> (TL 106 4 Limyra)

acc.sg. *me=i ñtepi tãti: hlã se lad*[*ã*] / [*se tideimi*] (TL 145 3[sup]?[/sup] Limyra)

acc.sg. *s=ẽ=ñn=aitẽ: kumazu: mahãna: eb*/*ette: eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tidei*/*mi:* (N 320 10-11 Xanthos, Gr. lin.8 καὶ εἵλοντο ἱερέα Σιμί/αν Κονδαρασιος ὑὸν; Aram. 9-10 *W'BDW KMR' LSYMYN / BR KDWRS W'YTY BY*/*G*[*T*?])

acc.pl. *ladã: se: tideimis: se xah/b*[*as*] (TL 76 1 Tyberisos)

acc.pl. *me ñtepi tãti: za*[*h*]*ãmã: se: ladã: se: tideimis: ehbi*[*s*] (TL 101 2 Limyra)

acc.pl. *m=ẽne: ñtepi tẽti: sxxutrazi: se ladu: ehbi / se tideimis: ehbis* (TL 102 2 Limyra)

acc.pl. *se=i zum̃mẽ xbati: zum̃mẽñne=ti: / θurtta: señnaha: epñte: ladã: ẽmi: se tideimis: ẽmis: / se melebi: se tideimi* (TL 106 3 Limyra)

(?) gen.pl. *tid*]/*eimẽ: kumazadi: mahãna:* (TL 26 10-11 Tlos)

dat.sg. *hrpi / ladi ehb se=tideimi* (TL 4 3 Telmessos, NB: *hr<p>pi, ehb<i>:*)

dat.sg. *atli: eh/bi: sxxulijah: ti/deimi: sa=ladi: / ehbi: merimawaj*[*e*] */ petẽnẽneh: tide/imi: se tideimi / ehbi: sxxulije* (TL 27 3-4 Düwer)

dat.sg. *atli: eh/bi: sxxulijah: ti/deimi: sa=ladi: / ehbi: merimawaj*[*e*] */ petẽnẽneh: tide/imi: se tideimi / ehbi: sxxulije* (TL 27 6-7 Düwer)

dat.sg. *atli: eh/bi: sxxulijah: ti/deimi: sa=ladi: / ehbi: merimawaj*[*e*] */ petẽnẽneh: tide/imi: se tideimi / ehbi: sxxulije* (TL 27 7 Düwer)

dat.sg. *zisaprñna*[--] *widrñna*]*he: tideimi:* (TL 44c 2 Xanthos)

 (?) dat.sg. *m˙e˙=uwa: xudalijeh◊: e˙pd˙*[...] */ ˙wuqqm˙eñn*[*e*]*˙h˙*[◊?] *tideimi* (TL 54 4b Phellos, NB: Ed. by Christiansen 2019:81)

dat.sg. *hrppi: at*[*li*] */ ehbi: se tideimi: hbi ada*[*m̃*]*mñnaje:* (TL 112 2 Limyra, NB: *eh<b>i, <e>hbi:*)

dat.sg. [*h*]*rppi: etli ehbi se / ladi: ehbi: se tideimi: pubie/leje:* (TL 117 4 Limyra, Gr. 7-8 ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ καὶ υἱῶι Πυβιάληι)

dat.sg. [*hrppi ladi ehbi*] *se=tideimi* (TL 145 2 Limyra)

dat.sg. [*hr*]/*ppi: atli: ehbi: se=l*[*adi ehbi: ......: se*] *tideimi: ehbi: tah*[*i se=xahba: ehbije*] (N 302 5 Korydalla)

dat.sg. *hrppi: ladi: ehbi: se t<i>deimi* (N 316 2 Limyra)

(?) dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi: se=tide*[*ime*] (TL 3 4* Telmessos)

dat.pl. *hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime* (TL 6 2 Karmylessos, Gr. 5-6 ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ταῖς ἑαοτῶν / [κα]ὶ τοῖ[ς] ἐγγόνοις)

dat.pl. *ladi: eh*[*b*]*i se=tideime* (TL 7 3 Karmylessos)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi se=tide*/*ime# ehbije* (TL 13 4-5 Pinara, NB: *tide*/*ime*{*n*})

dat.pl. *hrppi* [*l*]*adi ehbi se=tideime* (TL 14 3 Pinara)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi ehbi* [*se ti*]*deime:* (TL 15 3* Pinara)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se: tideime:* (TL 16 2 Pinara)

dat. pl. *hrppi: ladi ehbi:* [*se t*]*id*[*e*]*ime* (TL 17 2* Pinara)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 19 3 Pinara)

(?) dat.pl. *a*[*tl*]*i eh*[*b*]*i s*[*e .....*] (TL 23 3[?] Tlos, NB: [*tideime*], lin. 5 Gr. ἐ[α]υτῶι κατεσκευ[άσα]το καὶ τοῖς τέκν[οις] αὐτοῦ).

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: / se tideim*e (TL 38 6 Xanthos)

dat.pl. *hrppi=ladi / se=t<i>deime:* (TL 42 4[!] Xanthos)

dat.pl. *a°*[................]*°e: s=*[*ek*]*eb*[*u*]/*re: ehb*[*ije* (TL 44a 3* Xanthos, NB: Eichner 2006:234) *a*[*tli: se=ladi: se=tideim*]*e*).

dat.pl. [*hrppi ladi se tid*]*eim*[*e se xah*]*ba: ehbi*[*je*] (TL 46 2* Xanthos)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 47 2 Xanthos)

dat.pl. *hrp*/*pi ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 53 3 Seyret)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi / se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 56 3 Antiphellos, Gr. 6 αὐτῶι τε καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 57 4 Antiphellos)

dat.pl. *hrppi lad*[*i*] *ehbi se tideime* (TL 58 2 Antiphellos)

(?) dat.pl. [*hrppi atl*]*i se ladi se tid*[*eime*] (TL 60 2* Antiphellos)

dat.pl. *ladi ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 61 1 Phellos)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi se tideime* (TL 62 3 Isinda)

dat.pl. *atli: se ladi: se tideime* (TL 63 2 Isinda)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: / ehbi: se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 66 2 Timiusa)

dat.pl. *:hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime / ehbije:* (TL 67 1 Timiusa)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 68 2 Simena)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije* (TL 77 3 Çindam)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi ehbi se tide[i]/me* (TL 80 1* Kaş)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi se tideime* (TL 81 2 Kandyba)

dat.pl. *hrppi atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime: ehbije:* (TL 84 2 Sura)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije: humelije*: (TL 85 2 Myra)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi: e[h]bi: se=tide/ime:* (TL 87 3-4 Myra)

dat.pl. *hrpi ladi ehbi se tideime* (TL 88 2 Myra, NB: *hrp<p>i*)

dat.pl. *hrppi / ladi: ehbi: se tideime* (TL 98 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi: atli: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije·:* (TL 99 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *atli: ehbi: se ladi: se tideime* (TL 105 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *h]rppi: atli: ehbi: se ladi / se tideime: eh[b]ije: s[e ese]deñne[wi] / [xñnah]i e[hb]ije[h]i* (TL 108 3 Limyra, NB: *[ese]deñnej![i]*)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: uwiñte: xumetijeh: zzimazi: se: tideime: ehbije* (TL 120 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi: atli: ehbi: se: ladi: ehbi: se: tideime* (TL 123 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *itei la/di tide/ime ehb/ije O* (TL 124 11-12 Limyra)

dat.pl. *ehbi se ladi: se tideime* (TL 136 3 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi [ladi]i: ehbi: se tideime:* (TL 137 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi ehbi: xuxuneje / se tideime ehbij[e]* (TL 139 3 Limyra, Gr. lin. 1 ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ τοῖς οἰκέοις)

dat.pl. *[hrppi l]adi: ehbi: m̃mije: / se tideime: ehbije* (TL 143 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *pttlezeje: / se ladi e[h]bi mam̃mahaje: kbatri: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije* (TL 143 5 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi: eh[bi] se tideime* (TL 144 2 Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrpp[i................/se tid]eime* (TL 146 3* Limyra)

dat.pl. *hrppi: ladi: / ehbi: se=tideime: ehbije:* (N 306 2 Çagman)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi e[h/b]i se tideime* (N 308 3 Myra)

dat.pl. *me=pddẽ: mahãna: sm̃ma-ti: ebette: se(j)=ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi / pñtrẽñni: se=tideime: ehbije se(j)/elijãna* (N 320 39 Xanthos – Letoon, Gr. lin. 34-35 καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμφῶν, Aram. lin. 24 *'L'TW 'RTMWŠ*)

dat.pl. *[h]rppi: ladi: se=tideime:* (N 322 3 Pinara)

dat.pl. *hr[p/pi] ladi ehbi s[e] / tideime* (NN 334 9 Tlos)

dat.pl. *hrppi ladi: ehbi: se tideime:* (NN 344 2 Xanthos)

dat.pl. *hrppi=ladi: se=tideime: se=x{b}ahba* (N 351 2 Beykonak)

Doubtful and/or descontextualized

(?) *[........]°ati: tide[i]m°[....]°ada* (TL 76 2* Tyberisos)

(?) *[erbbi]nahe: [se=t]idei[mẽ] erb[bina.....] θurtᵗ°[......]°xẽne* (N 325 11[*] Xanthos)

(?) *[...] tideimi ẽmi* (N 327 3 Xanthos, NB: *tideiei*)

Philological Commentary

Ref. Kronasser (1956:§199) 'participle form'; Laroche (1979:110) 'child, suckled'; Starke (1990:99[242]) 'son, suckled'; Schweyer (2002:174) 'male son[?], Gr. υἱός'; *Melchert* (2004:66) 'son, child'; Neumann (2007:359) 'Kind, Gr. ἔγγονος.'

§ 49 . Filiation in Lycian is mostly expressed by means of the genitive adjectival inflection of a proper noun followed by the Lycian word 'son' (PN-*h tideimi*: TL 2 2, 3 3, 5 4, 10, 11 1*, 12 2, 13 3, 14 3, 15 2, 16 1*, 19 2, 26 2*, 34 3, 39 2, 40c 2, 41 2*, 48 5-6, 48 6, 51 2, 56 2, 58 1, 60 1*, 61 1, 62 2, 68 2[!], 69 2, 72 1, 74a 2*[?], 75 2*, 77 2, 86 2, 88 2, 90 1[?] 91 1*, 93 1, 95[*!] 98 1, 99 1, 101 2, 112 1, 117 3, 118 1, 119 3[!](?), 120 1, 122, 127 1, 132, 133 2, 136 2, 137 2, 139 2, 149 2, N 306 1, 310 2, 314a 6*, 315 2, 318 2, 320 2, 322 2,

NN, NN 335 2, 351 1, and 357 1). This basic formula is extended in several occasions with different family bounds such as the uncle's relationship (PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tuhes*: TL 25a 3, 29 1, 36 2, 59 2, 70 2, and 82), or the grandfather's filiation (PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tuhes* PN-*h xahba*: TL 44a 2*; note different order in TL 44a 30). In the case of TL 43 1, where the filiation is apparently expressed through two consecutive genitive-adjectives (PN-*h* PN-*h tideimi*, *merehi: kudalah: xñtlah tideimi:*), it cannot be discarded that the second genitive-adjective element is, in fact, a title (with Sasseville 2014/2015:114 in view of the agentive function of -*ala*/*i*-suffix), since in N 324 14 it presents the same element (*mereheje: xñtla*ᵒ[......]). Also with regards to NN 334 (*ipre*[*s*]*id*ˈ*a*ˋ / *ajẽta*[..]*d*[.]/*h a*ˈ*r*ˋ*mana*/*zah: tidei*/*mi: ik*ˈ*u*ˋ*weh* / ˈ*t*ˋ*edi:* ˈ*s*ˋ*e= p*ˈ*r*ˈ*ñ*/[*n*]ˈ*e*ˋ*zijeh*<*i*>*:*), and TL 3 (*te*/*winezẽi :* [*s*]*ppñtazah asawãzala* / *tideimi:*), it is difficult to state whether we are dealing with a filiation of the type (PN-*h* PN-*h tidemi*) or with a title designation, respectively *armanaza-* and *asawãzala* (see analysis of the terms in Sasseville *op.cit.*)

Likewise, *tideime*/*i-* can appear combined with the mention to the householder of the family (PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h prñnezijehi*: in TL 1 3ᴵ, 116 2, and NN 334 4-5; also in relative clause TL 150 2), and, rarely with the filiation through the mention of the son (PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tedi se prñnezijehi*) in NN 334 3-7. The relationship expressed by means of *zzimaza-* (PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h zzimaza-*), whose meaning is still debated (*DLL* 89 'title'), is found in TL 54*a*/*b** 2 and TL 120 2. Interestingly, note that the designation as *zzimaza-* is used for both male (TL 54*a*/*b*, *Xudalijẽ*) and female (TL 120, *Uwiñte*, see **§ 22b.**). Further elements such as demonyms (N 318 2), or titles (TL 3 2 *asawãzala-*, TL 5 4 *kete*ˀ, TL 40a and 40b 1* *manaxine*ˀ, TL 40c 2 *telẽzi*ˀ, TL 133 2 *mahinaza-*, TL 149 2 *axãtaza-*, N 306 1 *tewinaza-*, N 322 2 *kumaza-*) complement the filiation formula.

The assignation of a type of filiation clause in TL 57 1 depends on how the owner's name is to be interpreted, either as a double name (lin. 3, nom.sg. *Ida Maxzza*; lin. 7 acc.sg. *Idã Maxzzã*, *sec. DLL* 95), or, in all likelihood, a single personal name (lin. 3, nom.sg. *Idamaxzza*; lin.7 acc.sg. *Idãmaxzzã*, *sec.* Neumann 2007:146 and Christiansen 2020a:208; cf. similar problem with *Hura: Iuba* in TL 119 2, **§ 55a.**).

§ 49a . It is generally understood that the filiation system of the inscriptions is based on a paternal linearity, but, in fact, the natural gender of the proper names of the Lycian inscriptions is impossible to distinguish only by means of their nominal inflection (on internal comparison for inferring female names see **§40.**). The only case where the

filiation clause can be taken to include not only the paternal bound, but also the maternal, is in TL 311 ([*erb*]*bina*(*j*)=*ẽne ubete xruwata ertẽmi / xer*[*igah*] *tideimi se*(*j*)=*upẽneh* "And *Erbbina* offered gifts to Artemis, the son of *Xeriga* and *Upẽne*"). Bousquet (1992:173-174) already identified *Upẽne* as the probable name of *Erbbina*'s mother, since *Erbbina*'s uncle and grandfather are already know to be, respectively, *Merehi*, and *Arppaxu* (see **§ 30b.** with **Fig. 6** and **§ 57a.**). Note that this type of anastrophe structure is regularly found in Lycian when it comes to referring to the owners of a tomb as a couple (see **§ 49c.**).

§ 49b . The filiation formula is alternatively expressed through adesinential genitives (TL 5 4, 61 1, 77 2, 117 3, 127 1, N 315 2 but with ◊ in TL 69 2), where, interestingly, they do not present any further mention to a family bound. Cases of -*he* genitive-adjective in the filiation formula are reduced to five (TL 2 2, 44c 2, 48 6, 74c 2-3, and 118 1; see Adiego 2010:2-4 on -*he* attestations that occur outside the filiation formula). While TL 44c 2 seems to stand for a dative singular (**§ 49e.**), in TL 48 6 and TL 74c 2-3, it can be stated that -*he* agrees with a nominative plural *tideimi*, in turn, comparable to TL 6 1-2 *puri*/*himetehe pr*[*ñ*]*n*[*e*]*zijehi* (lin. 5 Gr. Πυριμάτιος οἰκεῖοι), whose plural can be explained as an agreement with the two owners of the inscription (lin. 1 *pulenjda mullijeseh se*=*dapara pulenjdah* (see context in **§ 21c.**). The -*he* genitive-adjective in the filiation clause of TL 118 1 has already been identified by Adiego (2010:2) as the single example of nominative singular head-noun. On the contrary, TL 2 2 is still too unclear to elucidate the reasons for the use of gen-adj. -*he* (see new edition in Christiansen 2020a:174).

§ 49c . The syntax of the filiation formula is fairly regular. Only in a certain group of inscriptions of the east-central and east region of Lycia (Isinda, Limyra, and Beykonak) a formula through a relative clause is found (PN=*ti* VERB PN-*h*: TL 62 2, 98 1, 99 1, 116 2, with adesinential genitive in TL 127 1); note that NN 351 1-2, whose owner is the same as in TL 127, presents an inverted order (PN-*h* VERB PN=*ti*). Out of the relative clause examples, some anastrophe constructions exist as well in TL 51 2 (*ñt*(*e*)=*ene qarñnaxa tuwetẽ / qñtbeh tideimi* "This *Qarñnaxa* erected, *Qñtbe*'s son"), and N 315 1-2 (*xupu: am̃puº.ºeu: prñnawate: a*º[...]º*uimeu / tideimi* "This tomb *Am̃pu*[--]*eu* built, *A*[...]*uimeu*'s son").

§ 49d . Inscriptions where the filiation is expressed without *tideime/i-* mostly occur with *-h* genitive-adjective ending (TL 6 1-2, TL 35 2[?], TL 45 1-2, TL 63 1, TL 105 2, TL 113 2(?), TL 126 1[*], TL 141 1, TL 147 1[?], N 312 4, NN 341 2-3, 343 2*; TL 78 5 in anastrophe structure), and possibly with adesinential genitive in TL 145 1[?] (lin. 1 [*ebẽne: xupã m*]=*e=ti* [*p*]*rñnawatẽ hla: ñterubila* "This tomb built *Hla Ñterubila*'s (son)"). On *Idamaxzza* as one single name in TL 57 1, see **§ 49**).

Note that TL 40a ([*p*]*ajawa manax*[*in*]*e*) and 40b 1* (lin. 1 *pajawa m*[*a*]*n*[*ax*]*ine*[?]) cannot be interpreted as an adesinential genitive, since the filiation through *tideimi* is already expressed in TL 40c 1 -2, where, despite partially broken, the remains do not correspond to *manaxine* (*pajawa*: *ed°.....* / *tideimi: a°..../°rah: telẽzi°...*).

§ 49e . Occasionally, the filiation is expressed in other contexts outside the owner's introductory clause. In the first place, it appears inside the syntagm of the beneficiaries of the tomb, that is, inflected in dative case, in TL 27, referred to the owner itself (lines 3-4) and to his wife (lines 6-7), in TL 44c 2, as indirect object of a broken verb, showing *-he* genitive-adjective filiation, and perhaps in TL 54 4b (ˊ*wuqqm* ˋ*eñn*[*e*]ˊ*h*ˋ[◊?] *tideimi*). Secondly, the filiation can be contained in accusative case in N 320 10-11 (see analysis below, **§ 51 .**), and, perhaps, in broken TL 26 4 ([--]°*ehñ*: *tideimi:*).

§ 50a . The lexeme *tideime/i-* 'son' is, after *lada-* 'wife', the most referenced character among the beneficiaries of the tomb. The clause that contains it is generally expressed through the syntagm *hrppi ladi ehbi se tideimi* (sg.)/ *tideime* (pl.), which is optionally accompanied by the determinative *ehbi* (sg.) / *ehbije* (pl.). Similarly to the examples seen in *lada-*, when introduced by the preposition *hrppi*, the sentence that presents the beneficiaries of the tomb is mainly governed by v. *prñnawa-* 'to build' (dat.pl.: TL 3 4*[?] 6 2, 14 3, 15 3*, 16 2, 17 2*, 19 3, 23 3[?], 38 6, 42 4[!], 47 2, 53 3, 57 4, 58 2, 62 2, 68 2[!], 80 1*, 81 2, 87 3-4, 88 2, 98 2, 123 2, 137 2; +*ehbije*: 13 4-5[!], 56 3, 66 2, 67 1, 77 3, 84 3, 85 2, 99 2, 108 3, 120 2, N 306 2), although also without *hrppi* (dat. pl. TL 61 1, 63 2, 105 2, 144 2, N 308 3, 322 3 NN 344 2, 351 2; +*ehbije* TL 139 3). In some instances the presence of *hrppi* cannot be confirmed because of broken context (dat.pl. TL 60 2*[?], TL 136 3; +*ehbije* TL 143 3; dat.sg.: TL 4 3, 117 4, 145 2, N 316 2; +*ehbi* TL 112 2, N 302 5), while in NN 334 9 (dat.pl.), the *hrppi* clause appears in a nominal sentence.

When not introduced by *hrppi*, the beneficiaries syntagm that includes *tideime/i-* is also found with v. *pije-* 'to give' (dat.pl. TL 7 3; +*ehbije*: TL 143 5), v. *a(i)-* 'to make' (dat.pl. 44a 3*, + *ehbije*: TL 124 11-12), and v. *tuwe-* 'to place' (dat.sg. TL 27 3-4, 27 6-7; +*ehbi*: 27 7). The nature of some instances cannot be established because of broken verbal context (TL 26 4 and 26 4*, TL 74c 4 and 146 3*).

§ 50b . In the beneficiaries clause, *tideime/i-* is almost never found without the mention of the wife (with the exception of TL 99 2 and, perhaps, TL 23 3[?], on which see **§ 52a.**), while, on the contrary, the later does appear alone. The sole difference between the dative singular and the dative plural inflection *tideime/i-* is that, logically, only the singular is sometimes accompanied by the sons' personal name (TL 27 7 *Sxxulije*, TL 112 2 *Ada*[*m̃*]*mñnaje*, TL 117 4 *Pubie/leje*, N 302 5 *Tah*[). In view of the regularity of the structure *lada-* se *tideime/i-* (whether in a dative clause or in an accusative one), I take *Haxãna* in TL 94 2, as the possible son's personal name (*m=e*[*n*]*e ñtepi tãti hrzzi: prñnawi : se ladã: / ehbi: se Haxãnã:*, "and he put inside it, in the upper tomb, his wife and *Haxana*").

The personal name never takes place in plural, and, therefore, the mention in TL 85 2 of *humelije* after *tideime*, according to Melchert (*DLL* 26) 'legitime', leads to thinking of a qualificative adjective of some legal connotation, linked to the owner's sons, rather than a personal name. It is possible that the mention of *tideimi* in singular refers to a real inclusion of a son in the tomb, while the use of the plural might express a future wish to leave the tomb to the sons for their own use or even represent a mere formulaic expression.

§ 51 . Attestations of *tideime/i-* in accusative singular are found in curses, which generally take place in the middle or the end of the inscription, as direct objects of *xba-* 'to harm' (TL 106 3 in plural, and 4 in singular), and also in two administrative inscriptions: object of a broken verb (TL 44c 16), and as the predicative of the object (*kumazu*) of v. *a(i)-* 'to make' (N 320 10-11).

Accusative plural is likewise attested as object of v. *ta-* 'to put' (+*ehbis* in TL 101 2, TL 102 2), and probably in TL 76 1, despite the broken verbal context. In addition, through the -*hñ*-genitive-adjective inflection, it is possible to infer that *tideimi* is an acc.sg. attestation in TL 26 4*.

§ 52 . The owner's sons as the subjects of a verb are only found once, in TL 107a (*[e]beli: m=ẽti sijẽni: tele: se lada: se tideimi: ehbi: <: s=ladãi: ebttehi: IV*), inflected in nominative and subject of v. *si-* 'lie', together with the owner of the tomb, his wife, and their daughters-in-law (on the verbal structure see *lada*, **§ 21d.**).

The morphological classification of some attestations remains doubtful due to their broken context (TL 76 2*, N 325 11*, and N 327 3).

§ 52a . Semantics is clear thanks to the Greco-Lycian bilinguals. Nevertheless, some differences can be perceived in the Greek version of the inscriptions (on Greek patterns and the Lycian filiation formulae see Rutherford 2002: 210-212). When occurring in the filiation formula, Greek presents the lexeme υἰὸς (nom.sg. TL 117 7 and TL 72 υἰὸς, N 320G 2 ὑός; acc.sg. N 320 10-11 ὑὸν). While in the Trilingual Stele (N 320) and TL 72, the Greek strictly corresponds to the Lycian counterpart, while in TL 117, the Lycian patronymic is left adesinential, according to Neumann's reading of the inscription (2012:399).

N 320G 2 nom.sg.	*pig/esere: katamlah: tideimi:*
N 320G 2 nom.sg.	Πιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμνω ὑός
N 320 10-11 acc.sg.	*: eseimiju: qñturahahñ: tidei/mi:*
N 320G 7-8 acc.sg.	Σιμί/αν Κονδαρασιος ὑὸν
TL 72 nom.sg.	*xudali[j]ẽ: murãzah [:] tideimi:*
TL 72G nom.sg.	Μορωζα υἰὸς
TL 117 3 nom.sg.	*siderija: pa[r]m/ne:: tideimi*
TL 117 7 nom.sg.	Σιδάριος Παρμένο/ντος υἰὸς

Table 8. Correspondence of filiation syntagms
in Greco-Lycian Bilinguals TL 117, TL 72 and N320.

On the contrary, in two instances the Lyc. *tideime/i-* is left untranslated (TL 25 8-9, TL 56 5), as already established by Rutherford (2002:211), who also notices that in TL 6 and TL 45 the Lycian versions of the texts are the ones that seem to have adapted to the Greek composition, since *tideime/i-* is absent in the filiation clause (there is a total of 13 cases where filiation appears without *tideime/i-*, see **§ 49d.**).

TL 25 3 nom.sg.	*xssbezẽ: krup[sseh]* / *tideimi*: *se purihime[teh]* / *tuhes: tlãñna*	
TL 25 8-9 nom.sg.	Πόρπαξ Θρύπψιος Πυριβάτους ἀδελφιδῦς Τλωεὺς	
TL 56 2 nom.sg.	*ixtta: hlah: tideimi:*	
TL 56 5 nom.sg.	Ἴκτας Λα Ἀντιφελλίτης	
TL 6 1 nom.sg.	*pulenjda mullijeseh se=dapara pulenjdah puri/himetehe pr[ñ]n[e]zijehi*	
TL 6 5 nom.sg.	Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδης Μολλίσιος καὶ Λαπάρας Ἀπολωνίδου Πυριμάτιος οἰκεῖοι	
TL 45 1-2 nom.sg.	*pixe[s]ere kat/[amla]h*	
TL 45G 1	Πιξώδαρος Ἑκατόμ[νου]	

Table 9. Correspondence of filiation syntagms
in Greco-Lycian Bilinguals TL 25, TL 56, TL 6 and TL 45.

In the clause of the beneficiaries of the tomb, the range of Greek lexemes used for 'son' is more variable: dat.sg. υἱῶι (TL 117 8), but dat.pl. τοῖ[ς] ἐγγόνοις (TL 6 6), and dat.pl. τέκνοις (TL 56 6 and TL 23 5). Interestingly, the term υἱὸς is probably reflecting in TL 117 8 the fact that there is one single son to which the tomb is assigned. In contrast, Gr. ἔγγονος 'grandson, descendant', used in TL 6 6, could indicate that the presence of *tideime* is much more formulaic, and that is meant to refer in a vague way to all the descendants, including the sons and the grandsons. In N 320G 34, the use of ἔγγονος 'grandson, descendant' is unexpected, since it clearly refers to the sons of the goddess Leto, Artemis and Apollo. The adaptation that Lycian presents convey the idea of a syncretism, since the Lycian goddess *ẽni qlahi ebijehi* (*pñtrẽñni*) 'the mother of this shrine (*pñtrẽñni*) is never found with the appendix 'his sons' *tideimi ehbi* (*sic.* nom.pl. reconstruction), although is clearly identified as Leto (on this divinity, see *ẽni* **§ 15a.**). The attestation of TL 23 3[?] is reconstructed in view of the Greek parallel, although, normally, when *tideime/i-* is found in the filiation clause, it appears preceded by *lada-* (*hrppi ladi ehbi se tideimi / tideime*). The sole exception to this tendency appears in TL 99 2 (*hrppi: atli: ehbi: se tideime: ehbije·:*).

TL 117 4	*[h]rppi: etli ehbi se / ladi: ehbi: se tideimi: pubie/leje:*
TL 117 8	ἑαυτῶι καὶ τῆι γυναικὶ καὶ υἱῶι Πυβιάληι
TL 6 2	*hrppi lada epttehe se=tideime*
TL 6 6	ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ταῖς ἑαοτῶν / [κα]ὶ τοῖ[ς] ἐγγόνοις
TL 56 3	*hrppi ladi: ehbi / se tideime: ehbije:*
TL 56 6	αὑτῶι τε καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις
N 320 39	*se(j)=ẽni: qlahi: ebijehi / pñtrẽñni: se=tideime: ehbije se(j)/elijãna*
N 320G 34	καὶ Λητοῦς καὶ ἐγγόνων καὶ Νυμφῶν
TL 23 3[?]	*a[tl]i eh[b]i s[e .....]*
TL 23 5	ἐ[α]υτῶι κατεσκευ[άσα]το καὶ τοῖς τέκν[οις] αὑτοῦ

Table 10. Correspondence of beneficiaries syntagms

in Greco-Lycian Bilinguals TL 117, TL 6, TL 56 and N 320.

§ 52b . Additionally, through internal analysis, it is found that *tideime/i-* is not restricted to the meaning 'male sons', but that it can refer to daughters in very few occasions. The most clear example is the filiation of the owner's wife in TL 27 6-7 (*sa=ladi:* / *ehbi: merimawaj[e] / petẽnẽneh: tide/imi:*). Schweyer (2002:179) already noted this case, but regarded it as a possible "phénomène de contamination par le système de désignation du mari".

EPIGRAPHY

§ 53 . The nature of the errors in the rendering of *tideime/i-* are either grammatical, such as the confusion in the use of the gen-adj. in the filiation system (TL 1 3[!] *tideimi{h}*), or orthographic (TL 13 4-5 *tideime{n}* TL 68 2[!] *tide<i>mi:*, TL 42 4[!] *t<i>deime:* TL 119 3[!] *tid<e>imi*). The broken passage in TL 95 1*[!] ( ]*ini* [....]), where Melchert (2001) reconstructs *tide]imi*[!] is regarded as a scribal error by him in *DLL* 66.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 54 . Lyc. *tideime/i-* belongs to the *e/i*-mutated stem, and it is cognate with C.Luw. *tidaimm(i)-* 'son, suckling[?]' It is the lexicalized participle of an unattested Lycian verb **tida(i)-*, which is, however, widely present in other Indo-European languages (PIE **dʰeh₁i-* 'to suck', *EHD* 875, see etymological analysis in **3.3.1§5e.**).

tidere/i- 'title'(?)

ATTESTATIONS

(?) nom.sg. *hura: nuba* / [*ti*]*deri: ñteriwaº...: tid<e>imi* (TL 119 3* Limyra, NB: *iuba*)

nom.sg. *krussti: t*[*r*]*bb#ẽnemeh: tideri: przzidi: axãti: esbe*[*h*]*i:* (TL 128 1 Limyra, NB: *t*[*r*]*bb:ẽnemeh:*)

nom.sg. [.]º*uwata: trbbẽnimeh: tideri:* (TL 135 1 Limyra, NB: Christiansen (2020a:233) [*x*ˀ]ˊ*u*ˋ*wata:*)

DOUBTFUL

(?) [----]*tederi: sej=epñne:*[/ (TL 29 15 Tlos, NB: Reading by Tekoğlu (2006:1704)

ONOMASTICS

Mlẽtederi (TL 122)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Shafer (1959:495) 'son-in-law'; Gusmani (1962:81) 'stepson'; Carruba (1969 [1970]:272) 'stepdaughter, midwife, wet nurse'; Meriggi (1979:244) 'stepson, adopted son'; Schweyer (2002:177) 'late variant of *tideimi*'; Melchert (2004:66) '*collacteus*, *collactea*'; Neumann (2007:360) 'milk-brother/sister, foster brother/sister'.

§ 55a . Lycian *tidere/i-* is in two occasions attested in the filiation formula (TL 128 1 and TL 135 1), both depending on the same personal name inflected in genitive adjective, *Trbbẽnime/i-*, with any further elements that point to any family bound. With regards to a possible filiation syntagm by means of an adesinential genitive in TL 119 3*, it is worth noticing that the first syllable is broken and that it could also be read as *tederi*, a possible variant of *tidere/i-*. Such tentative variant can be put in connection with the attestation in TL 29 15 and with the second element of a personal name *Mlẽtederi* in TL 122.

§ 55b . This word has been traditionally interpreted as literally 'teat companion' ('*collacteus*' *DLL* 66) in view of its etymology (**§ 56**), from which the sense 'twin' or 'adopted son' can be consequently inferred. Nevertheless, the evidence in the inscriptions calls to question this statement. On the one hand, there is a low probability that *Trbbẽnime/i-* had two different twins, *Krussti* (128 1) and *[.]uwata* (135 1). Although there could have existed two *Trbbẽnime/i-* in Limyra using the term *tidere/i-* in their inscriptions, it is much more probable that this character is the same that appears attested in coins (M 141a,c-i, 142a-b, and 143, and also in TL 44a 44 and 44b 11), and that *tidere/i-* designates a kind of religious or administrative person linked to the rulership of *Trbbẽnime/i-*. In favour of this hypothesis, it is worth considering that at least in TL 128 the owner of the inscription holds a notable position linked to the religious sphere (*przzidi: axãti: esbehi:* 'the first priest of the horses', cf. with *θurtta* **§ 60a**). Moreover, both inscriptions present an unfrequent term linked to social conditions, that is, *arawa-* 'freedom' (*DLL* 4), which does not appear attested in any other Lycian inscriptions except for, precisely, two administrative inscriptions, N 320 21 and N 324 23. It is probable that TL 128 and TL 135 were somehow linked to each other through the political character of *Trbbẽnime/i-*, since they are the only Lycian inscriptions that present the final formula *me=i=te na=lau tike arawã* (Christiansen 2009:49 "dem will ich nicht irgendeine Strafheit gewahren"). Secondly, the instances of *tidere/i-* only appear in a Limyra type of tombs with a certain kind of Hellenistic influence that cannot be situated earlier than the 4th century, according to Schweyer (2002:177), which leads to taking *tidere/i-* as a possible later designation of rulership, rather than a family term.

§ 55c . Finally, if *tederi* (TL 29 15) is an orthographic variant of *tideri*, it is remarkable that its onomastic reflection, *Mlẽtederi* consists of a first element related to the religious sphere, *mle-* 'sacrificial offering' (*DLL* 40).

EPIGRAPHY

There are no epigraphical remarks regarding *tidere/i-*

§ 56 . Lyc. *tidere/i-* is inflected as an *e/i*-mutated stem. With regards to a possible *e/i*-vocalic variation (*tidere/i-* in TL 119 3*, TL 128 1, TL 135 1, besides *tederi*? in TL 29 15, it can be compared to other lexemes, such as *sedi/sidi-* (**§ 42.**) or the personal name *Terssipuleh/Terssipulih* (NN 342a and 342b), that present a similar vocalic alternation.

The term *tidere/i-* is generally explained as a compound of **tide-* 'teat' (cf. C.Luw. neut. *tītan-* 'breast, teat' and Hitt. neut. *tēta*(*n*)- 'id.') and **are/i-* 'companion' (Hitt. *ara-* 'friend'), thus with the meaning 'breastfeeding companion' (Melchert *DLL* 66 with references) that has already been discussed in **§ 55b.** Although a kinship lexical meaning does not fit with the evidence on the inscriptions, note that the sense 'brother' has in different languages a connotation related to politics (see Luw. *nan*(*i*)- **§ 12c.**). In this sense, Neumann (2007:361) proposes to relate the literal sense 'milk brother' to Gr. ὁμογάλακτες 'clansmen'.

tuhe(*s*)**-** 'nephew, niece'

nom.sg. *xssbezẽ: krup*[*sseh*] / *tideimi*: *se purihime*[*teh*] / *tuhes: tlãñna* (TL 25a 4 Tlos, Gr. lin. 9 Πόρπαξ Θρύπψιος Πυριβάτους ἀδελφιδῦς Τλωεὺς)

nom.sg. *ikuwe=ti: prñnawate: ipresidah*: *tideimi:* [...]°*pe*[*h*] / *tuhes:* (TL 29 2 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2006:Pag.) [...]*lupe*[*h*])

nom.sg. *ahqqadi :pizibideh: tideimi: se:* / *hm̃prãmeh: tuhes:* (TL 36 3 Tlos)

(?) nom.sg. [*x*]*er*[*iga ar*]*ppa/xuh: tid*[*eimi:*] *xe*[*zi*]*gah:* [*tuhes*(?): *k*]*u*[*pr*]*lle*[*h*] / *xahba:* (TL 44a 2? Xanthos)

nom.sg. [*mere/*]*hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig*[*ah: nẽni*(?)*: ku/*]*prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 31 Xanthos)

nom.sg. *qñturahi: hrppidubeh:* / *tideimi zimasttrah: tuhes:* (TL 59 2 Antiphellos)

nom.sg. *sbikaza xñtanubeh tideimi / temusemutah tuhes* (TL 70 3 Kyana)

nom.sg. [............*m*]*uhube kerθθis*! *habudah tideimi pertinah tuhes* TL 82 Kandyba

nom.sg. *mizretije: murãzah: tuhes: mluhidaza: surezi* (TL 84 1 Sura)

nom.sg. ..°*i*..°*l*.°[*h tide*]*imi* .....°*addeh tuhes* (TL 95 1 Myra, NB: °]*ini* [....])

nom.sg. *pttar*[*a*]*zi urssm̃*[*mah*] *ikezi / ddawahãmah tuhes* (TL 113 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. [.................] / *tideimi: murñnah: tuhas:* (TL 136 2 Limyra)

nom.sg. *qñturahi=ti: prñnawate se terssipulih / sedi se tuhes* (NN 342b 2 Tlos)

nom.pl. *:tahe: tideimi: / se trbbulehe : tuhẽi :/ se lada : se=tideimi : / se xahba: ẽkuwe:* (TL 74c 3 Hoiran)

acc.sg. *atru: ehb*[*i*] */ se ladu: ehbi: tikeukẽprẽ / pilleñni: urtaqijahñ: kbatru / se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ* (TL 25a 5 Tlos, Gr. lin. 14 ἑαυτὸν κα[ὶ] / τὴγ γυναῖκα Τισευ/σέμβραν ἐκ Πινάρων / Ὀρτακία θυγατέρ<α> Πρι/ανόβα ἀδελφιδῆν)

dat.pl. *s=ene=pijetẽ / nẽne: ehbije: se=tuhe* (TL 8 3 Karmylessos)

dat.pl. *hrppi=ne/re: se t#uhe* (TL 48 3 Xanthos, NB: *t:uhe*)

dat.pl. *hrpp(i)=ẽni: ehbi: se tuhe ehbije* (TL 95 2 Myra, NB: *hrpp<i>*)

dat.pl. *hrppi / ani*°......°*e se tuhe se muneite se* [*x*]*ahbe* (127 2 Limyra)

(?) dat.pl. [..]*xˊaˋqnah* / [*tu*]ˊ*heˋ adai* ǒIII (NN 333 2* Tlos, NB: Christiansen (2019:91) [..]ˊ*hˋe*)

(?) abl.sg. [......]°*ã: θurttã: señnahijẽ: se tuhedi* / [....]°*adi: señnahijedi* (TL 44b 28 Xanthos, NB: [*θurtt*]*adi* ?)

ONOMASTICS

TL 29 2 *Tuhesi* (dat.sg.), and variant TL 113 2 *Tuhese* (dat.sg.?)

Ref. Shafer (1959: 491) 'nephew, niece'; Schweyer (2002:192-194) 'id'; *DLL* 72 'id.'; Neumann (2007:385) '*id*., and sister's son'

§ 57a . In the Lycian filiation system, *tuhe(s)-* is the second most referred family link, most commonly expressed in the syntagm PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tuhes* (TL 25a 4 followed by the demonym; TL 29 2; TL 36 3 unusually coordinated by *se*; TL 59 2; TL 70 3; TL 82; TL 136 2; also feminine counterpart in acc.sg. PN-*h kbatru* PN-*h tuhesñ* in TL 25a 5 followed by the demonym), and rarely found alone, PN-*h tuhes* (TL 84 1; TL 113 2 followed by the demonym; TL 74c 3 in nom.pl., determined by a genitive-adjective PN in *-he*). The broken context in TL 95 1 does not allow to infer whether the filiation is expressed only through *tuhe(s)-* or if other kinship elements precede it in the sentence. The filiation of *Xeriga* (TL 44a 2[?]) presents the sequence PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tuhes* and PN-*h xahba*, mantaining the traditional order of the Lycian compositions, which places the uncle-nephew relation in the second place, after the paternal filiation; in the same inscription and with regards to *Xeriga*'s brother, *Merihi* (TL 44a 31[!]), the expected second position of *tuhe(s)-* is relegated to the last place of the enumeration, substituted by *nẽne/i-* (note that TL 44a 2[?] is reconstructed in view of TL 44a 31, see **§ 30b.** with **Fig.6.**). Finally, an uncommon filiation expression is found in NN 342b 2, where *tuhe(s)-* follows a kinship term of doubtful meaning, PN-*h sedi se tuhes* (see *sedi* **§ 40.**).

§ 57b . When included among the beneficiaries of the tomb, *tuhe(s)-* is unanimously found as dative plural (*tuhe*), with v. *pije-* 'to give' (TL 8 3), and with v. *prñnawa-* 'to build' (TL 48 2-3, TL 95 2 followed by *ehbije*, and TL 127 2). Noteworthily, Lycian *tuhe(s)-* always appears in this clause in combination with secondary family members, like brothers (*nene*, TL 8 3), sisters(?) (*nere* ?, TL 48 2-3), and descendants (*muneite* and *xahbe* TL 127 2), and, unusually, also with the owner's mother (*ẽni*, TL 95 2). This fact seems to be directly linked to the absence of *tideime/i-* 'son' as a beneficiary of the tomb, at least in the present inscriptions, a fact that could respond to two different situations. On the one hand, that the owner's extended family, that is, the owner's brothers or sisters (*neni/neri*) and nephews (*tuhes*), where allocated in another tomb, separated from the nuclear family, that is, the owner's wife (*lada*) and son(s) (*tideimi/tideime*). This is the case of TL 7 and TL 8, whose owner, *Trijẽtezi*, assigned the first tomb to his wife and children, but the second one to his brothers and nephews. A similar situation seems to

take place in TL 127 and NN 351. While in TL 127, *Stamaha* devoted the tomb to his extended family (*tuhe*, *muneite* and *xahbe*), in NN 351 he destined the tomb to his nuclear family (*ladi*, *tideimi,* and *xahba*). The repetition of *xahba* might be understood as a general designation of the descendants when plural, and a concrete meaning as grandsons in singular, which agrees with the proposed distribution of spaces between nuclear and extended family. On the other hand, one can hypothesize that the owner of the tomb perhaps died without direct descendants, which could be the reason why in TL 95 2 the tomb is destined to his nephews, and, exceptionally rare, to his mother.

However, it is difficult to state if the mention to the owner's sons as beneficiaries in the formula *hrppi ladi se tideime* (and variants) meant a *de facto* future inclusion in the tomb, or was just a mere formulaic expression of the funerary inscriptions. In this sense, note, for example, the situation of the two tombs of Tlos TL 29 and NN 334, whose owners are respectively son (*Ikuwe*) and father (*Ipresida*). Despite *Ipresida* devotes his tomb to his wife and children in NN 334 9), the actual son, *Ikuwe* appears to have his own tomb for himself (TL 29), which leads us to think that the formula *hrppi ladi se tideime* (and variants) must not be taken as a literal inclusion of the mentioned family members inside the tomb, but as a legal permission, if needed, to use it by the owner's sons in the future (see genealogical information in **Fig.7**, **§37a.**).

§ 57c . The case in TL 48 is difficult to establish. Since the tomb is first assigned to the owner's extended family (lin. 3 "to brothers and nephews"), we might think that the owner, *Padrãma*, died without descendants, as possibly in TL 95, or that a separated tomb for his nuclear family existed, as it happens in TL 8 and TL 127. Interestingly, the inscription TL 48 presents a second part, clearly written afterward, as both the space interval and the change of writing style allows to infer, which tells that a certain *Qarñnaxa* and also *Padrãma*'s sons bought the tomb. A plausible hypothesis to explain this economical transaction could be that a separated tomb assigned to *Padrãma*'s sons was, for unknown reasons, not available for them in the future, which prompted to buy the one that was left to the extended family. Similar restructuration of the legal rights over the tombs take place in NN 342a/b (see *sede/i-/side/i-* **§ 40a.**) and TL 78 (see *esedeñnewe-*, **§11c.**).

§ 57d . Finally, a possible reconstruction as a dative plural in NN 333 2* presents the nephews of a broken personal name as the recipients of a payment ("To []*xaqna*'s nephews, *ŏIII adai*"). The content of the rest of the inscription is, however, not easy to elucidate, and it cannot be ascertained whether it was a case of tomb acquisition like TL 95 or TL 78, or a different situation.

§ 58 . In relation to its exact meaning, the Lycian-Greco bilingual TL 25 allows confirming that Lyc. *tuhe(s)-* refers to both nephews (25a 9 ἀδελφιδοῦς) and nieces (25a 14 ἀδελφιδῆν). The sense is furthermore verified by the understanding of the family tree of the Xanthos dynasty, that is to say, that both *Merehi* (44a 31) and *Xeriga* (44a 2?) are known to be the nephews of *Xeziga*, their father's (*Arppaxu*) brother (see genealogical information in **§ 30b.** with **Fig.6**).

This lexeme has been one of the triggering arguments in favour of the existence of a matrilinear system in the Lycian society (e.g. Bachofen 1861 and Thomson 1961). The main claim was based on the fact that a kind of family model, known under the anthropological designation of '*Omaha*-type', which presents a specific terminology to the maternal uncle and his descendants, took place among several Indo-European peoples (Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1995: 7.7.8. and Adams – Mallory 2006: 214). Nevertheless, Lycian internal evidence does not support a matrilinear view, as already stated by Schweyer (2002: 188-189).

EPIGRAPHY

No epigraphical aspects need to be commented.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 59 . The nominal inflection of this lexeme is not regular. On the one hand, the form nom.sg. *tuhes* seems to present an -*s* case-ending mark. Nevertheless, the accusative singular form /-*sñ*/ indicates that the stem is to be taken as *tuhes*-, pointing that nom.sg. *tuhes* is a zero-case ending form. On the contrary, the plural attestations as well as the ablative take as a stem base *tuhe*-, without -*s* (nom.pl. *tuhẽi*, dat-loc. *tuhe*, and abl. *tuhedi*). The evidence of some toponyms classified as *s*-stems, such as *Trm̃mis*- 'Lycia' (nom.sg. *Trm̃mis*, acc.sg. *Trm̃misñ*, *DLL* 71) or *Trus*- 'Tyrsa' (acc.sg. *Trusñ*, *DLL op.cit.*) offer a parallel to the distribution nom.sg. *tuhes* / acc.sg. *tuhesñ*, and point to the *s*-stem nature

of the non-oblique case endings. Nevertheless, the inflection of such *s*-stems leaves unexplained the absence of -*s*- in the oblique cases, e.g. dat.pl. **tuhese in front of *tuhe* (cf. *wazzis*- 'ship': acc. *wazisñ* and loc *wazisse*, *DLL* 78).

Strikingly coincidental are two female personal names, TL 29 2 *Tuhesi* (dat.sg.) and TL 113 2 *Tuhese* (dat.sg.), both inflected as datives singulars (see *lada* **§ 22a.**). One possible explanation is that the oblique cases of *tuhe*(*s*)- lost its final -*s* to avoid homophony with these two personal names, since calling someone *hrppi ladi ehbi tuhesi*/*tuhese* ("for his wife the *nephewly*") might cast doubts on the exact family link of the wife. Nevertheless, we would expect a personal name to modify its inflection rather than a common noun to change its oblique case-endings.

§ 59a . Lyc. *tuhe*(*s*)- presents a variant in /*a*/ (TL 136 2), which finds a parallel in the vocalic alternation of *muneiti*-/ *munaiti*-, in case they belong to the same *lemma* (see **§ 26b.**)

§ 59b . Its etymology is unknown, but it could be tentatively related to the proposed reading of H.Luw. *tu(wa)sa*- in some of the attestations attributed to H.Luw. *hara*/*itu*- (see Luw. **§ 38a.**)

θurtta- 'title (linked to wives ?)'

ATTESTATIONS

> nom.sg. *atli: se ladi: ehbi: tuhesi: sm̃me se=ñne: θurtta ñx*[*r*]*ahidijẽ* / *axuti: uwehi: se ñtẽmlẽ: qastte teli: erbbe:* (TL 29 2 Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2006:1704/1714) his own copy shows *ãxrahadi*, and not †*ãxrahidi*)

> (?) nom.sg. *esejẽ θ*[*u*]*rtta: ebẽhẽ xer*[*igah....*] (TL 44a 18 Xanthos)

> nom.sg. *ebehi xupa: me=i=ti sijẽni: sbi)◊(aza: θurtta: miñtehi: pddẽneh# m̃mi:* (TL 106 1 Limyra NB: *sbi:◊:aza*, *pddẽneh:m̃mi:*)

> nom.sg. *se=i zum̃mẽ xbati: zum̃mẽñne=ti:* / *θurtta: señnaha: epñte: ladã: ẽmi: se tideimis: ẽmis:* / *se melebi: se tideimi* (TL 106 3 Limyra)

acc.sg. *:se=ñne mlẽ: θurttu: telixa:* (TL 29 6 Tlos)

acc.sg. [......]°*ã: θurttã: señnahijẽ: se tuhedi* / [....]°*adi: señnahijedi* (TL 44b 28 Xanthos)

gen.pl. *hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi* / *ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati* (TL 39 4 Xanthos)

(?) dat.sg. gen-adj. *ñtepi: puwej*[*e*]*he: θurt*[*t*°........] (TL 44a 24 Xanthos)

DOUBTFUL

(?) abl.sg. [......]°*ã: θurttã: señnahijẽ: se tuhedi* / [....]°*adi: señnahijedi* (TL 44b 28 Xanthos, NB: [*θurtt*]*adi* ?)

(?) [*erbbi*]*nahe:* [*se=t*]*idei*[*mẽ.*] *erb*[*bina.....*] *θurtt*°[*....*]°*xẽne* (N 325 11 Xanthos)

ONOMASTICS

Ermasortas (Schürr 2016b)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Laroche (1974:131) 'term of relationship'; Meriggi (1929:436) 'brother, family member', Melchert (2004:75) 'title'; Neumann (2007:397) '*id.*', Schürr (2008:180) 'uncle'; Christiansen (2020a:235) 'authority outside the domestic circle'.

§ 60 . Lycian *θurtta-* is interpreted as a title or a high-rank designation by Melchert (*DLL* 75) and Neumann (2007: 397), but considered a family term likely to be 'uncle' by Schürr (2008:180).

None of the two meanings is easily elucidated in the inscriptions. A first glance at the distribution of this term shows that it is hardly found in prototypical funerary inscriptions. On the contrary, it appears widely repeated in TL 29 (lines 2, 6 and 13*), known as the *Ikuwe*'s Sarcophag, and in the dynastic-administrative composition of the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44a, lines 18 and 24, and 44b, lines 28 and 29[?]), two texts particularly long in comparison to the common length of the Lycian inscriptions.

§ 60a . Apart from its absence in any bilingual text, a further complication for the understanding of *θurtta* is that the syntax and sense of most of the sentences where it appears are far from clear. For this reason, a possible semantic indicator is to consider the lexical context of the sentence where it appears. In the *Ikuwe*'s Sarcophag, *θurtta* is surrounded by lexemes of religious connotation: in its first occurrence (TL 29 2), *θurtta* is accompanied by *ãxrahadi(jẽ)-*, a possible religious epithet, according to Hajnal (1995:116 in view of the possible connection with *axa-* 'animal sacrifice', *axãt(i)-* 'priest of animal sacrifice'), and functions as subject of *qas-* ('to punish'), a verb generally used in curses, whose direct objects are, interestingly, *axuti uwehi* "the priest of the cows" and *ñtẽmle* "sacrificial installation (?)", thus: "and (for them⁷) the *θurtta ãxrahadi* (or 'of the *ãxrahadi*') kept punishing the priest of the cows and the sacrificial place where the strife (was)". Some lines below, in TL 29 6 a possible gen.pl. *mlẽ* seems to modify *θurttu*, the object of an unknown verb ("and for them VERB-*teli*-ed[1] the *θurtta* of the sacrifices").

The lexicon in TL 106 1, where *θurtta* appears as an apposition of the owner's name, seems to denote a kind of authority linked to the figure of the *miñti*. It appears under the construction *miñtehi pddẽneh:m̃mi*, which can be interpreted as an enumeration of titles ("PN, the *θurtta*, the *pddẽneh:m̃mi* of the *miñtehi*). In the same inscription, *θurtta* appears as the agent of a curse, subject of *xba-* 'to inflict'. Although the syntactic interpretation of the relative clause is not clear, I consider that =*ti* refers to *θurtta* and that the verb is elided, but understood to be *xba-*, with the same sense as in the main sentence ("And to them, he the *θurtta señnaha* (will inflict) harm, except to my wife, and my sons and to *Melebi* and the son").

§ 60b . Only three examples seem to be linked to a family lexical context. The clearest one is in TL 39 4 where, in the syntagm of the beneficiaries of the tomb, *θurtta-* modifies *lada* ("for the descendants of this grandmother and the wives of the *θurtta*-s"). In the Xanthos Pillar (TL 44a 24*), *θurtta* appears in a passage ("in front of [the *tezi*]of *Puweje*, the *θurtta*'s (*tezi*)" (?)), whose relation with the family sphere is inferred in view of the parallel sentences that follow this line (25-26: *ñtewe: Erbbinahe: tezi: xu*[*gahi ehbije*]-*hi: se ñtewe: teθθi: ehbij*[*ehi tezi⁷*] "in front of *Erbbina*'s *tezi*, the one⁷ of [his grand]father, and in front of his [fahter's *tezi*...]"). This fragment probably explains the distribution of the tombs of the dynast's main family members, in which the *θurtta* is also included,

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[1] Melchert (*DLL* 62) assumes a 1ªsg.Pret. of unasttested v. **teli-*).

either because it is a family term or because it holds a remarkable authority. It is in view of this fragment that Schürr (2009:172) mainly supports his assumption of a meaning 'uncle'. Still in the Xanthos Pillar (44b 28 and 29[?]), *θurtta* is directly followed by *tuhes* 'nephew'. The fact that both of them are accompanied by the adjective *señnahije-* (see below) is, probably, and indicator of a similar status between them. Despite this parallelism might point to an equation nephew-uncle, it is worth noticing that *θurtta* does not appear in any of the last contexts in the manner that the Lycian family terms are identifiable, that is, not in the filiation chain, not accompanied by *ehbi*, and not included in the beneficiaries clause.

The additional controverted question is how to interpret the qualificative of the wives in TL 39 4 as 'of the *θurtta*-s', which clearly indicates a bound to them, but not necessarily a family one (*hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi / ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati*). The fragment is followed by the syntagm *se=ñne: sm̃mati* ("and to them bound"), perhaps indicating that further people could be under the responsibility of such *θurtta-*. On the contrary, in her new edition of the text, Christiansen (2020a:197-198) translates "and for the consanguineal descendant(s) of his grandmother and the *θurtta*-s' wives. And the prayers shall/may bind(?)/enjoin(?) those of others to/on them", considering *se=ñne:* to begins a new syntagm. The problematic point is that such construction appears very frequently rather linked to *θurtta-* (see below **§ 60d.**), although its exact interpretation is still not solved.

§ 60c . There is only another lexeme that seems to be contextually linked to a religious sphere, to the family semantic domain, and to a kind of authority at the same time, and that is Lyc. *ekebura-*, which has been argued to have also connotated 'citizens' (see *ekebura-*, **§ 5.**). This sense is in accordance with the fact that most of the *θurtta-* attestations are concentrated in inscriptions that either belong to the dynastic type (TL 44 and N 325) or to inscriptions with features that allow inferring the high rank of the owner (*Ikuwe*'s Sarcophag, TL 29), which can be an indicator of a high-rank type of citizen in the Lycian society. Similar meanings have been proposed (a title *per DLL* 75, an important person *per* Neumann 2007: 397), except for Schürr (2008), who takes *θurtta* as the designation for 'uncle' in view the inscription TL 39, arguing that the grandmother's descendants are, from the owner's perspective, their uncles or cousins. Although this fact cannot be refuted, note that, if it was a family designation, the *θurtta*-s themselves should

have been first mentioned before their wives, just as it happens in TL 83 10 (see *esedẽñnewe* **§ 11b**).

§ 60d . The main feature of *θurtta* is that it appears mainly linked to a lexeme of unknown meaning **señna-*: in gen-adj. nom-acc.pl. *señnaha* (TL 106 3), and as an adjectival formation *señnahije* (TL 44b 28 and 29). A further question is whether it is related to *señne* (TL 29 lines 2, 6, and 13[?], and TL 39 4), which is generally explained as *se=ñne* 'and to them', although the homophonic coincidence with the unattested *lemma *señna-* is striking.

EPIGRAPHY

There are no epigraphical remarks regarding this lexeme.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 61 . Lycian *θurtta* inflects according to the *a*-stem nouns. The initial cluster probably reflects /thur-/ or /dhur-/, whose connection to possible cognates or further details remain completely unknown.

xahba- 'grandson, descendants'

ATTESTATIONS

> nom.sg. [*x*]*er*[*iga ar*]*ppa*/*xuh: tid*[*eimi:*] *xe*[*zi*]*gah:* [*tuhes*(?): *k*]*u*[*pr*]*lle*[*h*] / *xahba:* (TL 44a 3 Xanthos)

> nom.sg. [*mere/*]*hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig*[*ah: nẽni*(?)*: ku/*]*prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 31[!] Xanthos)

> nom.sg. *:tahe: tideimi: / se trbbulehe : tuhẽi :/ se lada : se=tideimi : / se xahba: ẽkuwe:* (TL 74c 5 Hoiran)

> nom.sg. [...................°*h*]: *xahba* [*hrppi ....e*]*hbi se mu*° / [...] (TL 83 3 Arneai)

> nom.sg. *me=i=pñ: pudẽ: ti ñte / xahba:* [*eh*]*bi: wazzije: kbatra* (TL 87 5 Myra)

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acc.sg. *prijabuhãmah kbatru n°*[.........] / *mlttaimi mrbbanada*[..............] / *ladu uwitahñ xahb*[*u/ã*.........] / *apuwazahi p*[*r*]*ñnezijeh*[*i*] .*°n.*[(TL 28 4* Tlos, NB: Tekoğlu (2017:65) *mrbbanada*[*hñ*])

acc.sg. [*prija*]*buhãmah kbatru ehbi* / [.....]*tiweh tezi puwejehñ* / [*lad*]*u uwitahñ xahbu* / [*apuwa*]*zahi prñnezijehi* (NN 356a 2 Tlos)

acc.sg. *hrppi* [..... *puwejehñ*] / *ladu u*[*witahñ xahbu*] / *apuwaza*[*hi prñnezijehi*] (NN 356b 2? Tlos)

acc.sg. *se=i=pñ=pudẽ: idãxre: maxah: xahbu: xili* (TL 78 4 Tyssa)

acc.pl. *ladã: se: tideimis: se xah/b*[*as*] (TL 76 1* Tyberisos)

dat.sg. *se=i epñ lẽ*[*t*]*ẽ i?hix*[.]*i xahb#a? ehbi* (TL 18 2! Pinara, NB: Schürr (2001:131) *xahbea*)

(?) dat.sg. [*hrppi ladi se tid*]*eim*[*e se xah*]*ba: ehbi*[*je*] (TL 46 2* Xanthos)

dat.sg. *hrppi=ladi: se=tideime: se=x{b}ahba* (NN 351 2! Beykonak)

dat.sg. [*hr*]/*ppi: atli: ehbi: se=l*[*adi: ehbi: .....: se*]/ *tideimi: ehbi: tah*[*i: se=xahba: ehbije*] (N 302 5? Korydalla)

dat.pl. *hrppi* / *ani°......°e se tuhe se muneite se* [*x*]*ahbe* (TL 127 2 Limyra)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Shafer (1959:492) 'cousin'; Gusmani (1962:77) 'daughter-in-law'; Carruba (1969[1970]:272) 'relative'; Bryce (1978:217) 'grandson, descendant'; Melchert (2004:80) 'grandchild'; Neumann (2007:109) 'grandson, granddaughter, descendant'.

§ 62 . In comparison to the widespread use of *tideime/i-* 'son' or *tuhe(s)-* 'nephew', *xahba-* is very occasionally included in the filiation syntagm (PN-*h xahba*), although, at least in TL 43 1, its sense can be inferred through the apposition of two personal names in genitive adjective (PN-*h* PN-*h*, that is "son of X, the son of X"). As part of extended

filiation chains it is relegated to the last positions of the enumeration. The filiation of *Xeriga* (TL 44a 3) presents the sequence PN-*h tideimi* PN-*h tuhes* and PN-*h xahba*, maintaining the traditional order of the Lycian compositions; in the same inscription, though, and with regards to *Xeriga*'s brother, *Merehi* (TL 44a 31[!]), the position of *xahba*- is unexpectedly placed before *tuhe(s)*- (see **§30b.** with **Fig.6**, and **§57a.**). In the case of TL 28 4* and its partial copies NN 356a 2 and NN 356b 2[?], the filiation through *xahba*- appears between the marital bound and the household mention (in acc. PN-*h ladu* PN-*h xahbu* PN-*prñnezijehi*). In contrast, it appears as the sole filiation element in TL 83 3 in nominative. Note that, in this line, there are approximately 19 spots between the verb and the genitive adjective case mark, which only permits to infer two personal names, one for the owner of the tomb and one for the grandfather's name). The filiation appears as well in TL 78 4, in accusative, in reference to the owner's grandson, to whom the tomb is assigned (*se=i=pñ=pudẽ: idãxre: maxah: xahbu: xili* "and there *Idãxre* engraved *Maxa*'s grandson, *Xili*", see details in **§ 11c.** with **Fig.2**).

§ 62a . Outside the filiation context, *xahba*- functions as a subject in TL 87 5 (v. *pu*- 'to inscribe', see details in **§ 19c.**), and in TL 74c 5 (v.?), presenting the occupants of the tomb in an enumeration, where *xahba Ẽkuwe* is to be understood as the owner's grandson.

Referring to the beneficiaries of the tomb, *xahba*- is mentioned as a direct object in TL 78 4 (v. *pu*- 'to inscribe'), where additionally presents a filiation clause, and in TL 76 1* (v. ?). It is expressed as an indirect object, in TL 18 2[!] (v. *lau*- 'to release', *sec. DLL* 34), also introduced by *hrppi* (v. *prñnawa*- 'to build') in TL 46 2*, N 302 5[?], NN 351 2[!] (sg.?) and TL 127 2 (pl.).[2] In TL 46 2*, a dative singular could be assumed in view of the distinction dat.sg. -*a* and dat.pl. -*e* that this lexeme apparently presents. On the contrary, Melchert (*DLL* 80) assumes a dative plural case-ending in view of a reconstructed determinative dat.pl. *ehbi*[*je*]. In this regard, the new edition by Christiansen (2020a:201) is clear about the hypothetical plural reconstruction *ehbi*[*je*]. As Christiansen states, the high number of plural *tideme* in the beneficiaries clause should speak in favour of this reconstruction, and consequently, also of *xahba* as a dative plural. Nevertheless, the inscription is too damaged to even know the nature of the beneficiaries' clause.

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[2] Despite the verb in TL 46 2 is not attested, the presence of *hrppi* can be linked to a verb *prñnawa*- 'to build' as shown by a wide range of examples of beneficiary clause, specially including *lada*-, **§ 21.** and *tideime/i*-, **§ 50a.**).

§ 62b . The personal name of the owner's grandson is sometimes added in apposition after *xahba*: TL 74c 5 (*Ẽkuwe*), TL 78 4 (*Xili*), and perhaps in TL 18 2 (*Xãñ* [?]), although the broken context does not allow to assure it.

§ 63 . Unluckily, there are not Greco-Lycian inscriptions that contain a mention to *xahba* which could provide a direct translation of the lexeme. Nevertheless, different indicators point to an identification as a member of the third generation, from the owner's perspective. On the one hand, its hierarchical disposition in the filiation system (TL 44a 3 and 31[!]) and in the beneficiaries syntagm (TL 46 2* and NN 351 2[!]), on the other hand, the identification of *Kuprlle/i-* as the grandfather of the ruler of the Xanthos' dynasty *Xeriga*, and of his brother *Merehi* (see genealogical information in **§30b**. with **Fig.6** and **§57a.**). Note, however, that it could more generally refer to descendants, in view of the evidence offered by NN 351 2[!] and TL 127 2. In the first one, *xahba-* is mentioned together with the owner's wife sons and grandson, that is to say, the nuclear family, while in TL 127 it appears with members of the extended family (*hrppi / ani°......°e se tuhe se muneite se* [*x*]*ahbe* "to the *a---e?* and the nephews and the descendants(?) and the grandsons"). One possible interpretation is that the plural form, in this case, is used to refer to the descendants of the extended family (on the distribution of the tomb, see **§57a-c**).

Note that other lexemes in Lycian seem to refer to the third generation as well. The main difference between *xahba-* and *esedeññewe-* or *muneite/i-*, is that only *xahba-* appears to refer to a concrete person by means of the addition of a personal name in some occasions (TL 74c 5, TL 78 4, and perhaps TL 18 2), which leads to conclude that *xahba* is used in relation to one specific member of the nuclear family, rather than a descendant of the extended family. Note that *xahba* refers either to male and female, as the apposition *Wazzije: kbatra* in TL 87 5 allows to infer ("and besides her granddaughter, the daughter of *Wazzije*, inscribed him inside" (see *kbatra* **§ 19c.** with **Fig. 4**), and the filiation in TL 28 4* and NN 356a 2 and NN 356b 2[?] (*Uwitahñ xahbu*), where the buried persons, *Mlttaimi* and X-*tiwe*, are known to be women (see details in *lada*, **§ 22c.** with **Fig. 5**).

§ 64 . Lycian *xahba* presents a high number of spelling mistakes, in relation to the few attestations that has in the Lycian corpus: TL 18 2 *xahbea*, according to Schürr's reading (2001:131), might point to a hesitance between the dative form of this stem (cf. dat.sg. or pl. *xahba* in TL 46 2* besides dat.pl. *xahbe* in TL 127 2, see **§ 62a**). The attestation in TL 44a 31[!] presents a nasalized /ã/ in the first syllable and lacks the final letter (*xãhb<a>:*), both features might be linked to its etymological aspects (see **§ 65 a.**). On the contrary, *x{b}ahba* in NN 351 2[!] seems a mere misspelling mistake (or perhaps a metathesis).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 65 . Lycian *xahba* is an old *u*-stem, as the presence of *b* (Lyc. *b* < PA **Cw*) and its cognates allow to deduce (cf. Luw. *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandchild' and Hitt. *haššu-* 'king', which also preserve the /u/-vocalism of the old *u*-stem,). Secondarily, it has been reconverted into the *a*-stem class in a process comparable to other old consonantal stems that inflect according to the Lyc. *a*-class of nouns. It is also cognate with Hitt. *hāšša-*, Luw. *hams(i)-*, Lyd. *eśa-* 'grandson', and, probably, Car. PN *ksbo*, all of them probably derived from a root 'to be born', reconstructed as *$*h_2éNs$* (*EHD* 323), and only attested in Hittite (*haš-[i] / hašš-* "to give birth").

§ 65 a. Note that the nasalization in TL 44a 31[!] *xãhb<a>* could be reflecting the nasal of the root *$*h_2éNs$,* which also prevails in *hams(i)-* 'grandson' and *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson'. In this sense, the loss of the nasalization finds a counterpart in the lexeme *maha(na)-* 'god' (cf. nom. pl. *mahãi* besides gen-adj. nom.sg. *mahanahi*, *DLL* 36).

ATTESTATIONS

> gen-adj. acc.pl. *:se ñtuweriha :ade: se / xθθãna: xugaha: se xñnaha:* (TL 44b 58 Xanthos)

> gen-adj. dat.sg. *hrppi esedeñnewi: xñnahi / ehbijehi: se θurttãi: lada se=ñne: sm̃mati* (TL 39 3 Xanthos, NB: Christiansen (2020a:197[140]) *ehbiehi*)

> gen-adj. dat.sg. *[hrppi......../] s=esedeñnewi: x[ñnahi ehbijehi]* TL 41 3* Xanthos

> (?) gen-adj. dat.sg./pl *xistte: ẽnehi: se xñnah[i.....mere]/hi: arppaxuh: tideimi: xerig[ah: nẽni*(?)*: ku]/prlleh: xãhb: xezigah: tuhes:* (TL 44a 29* Xanthos)

> gen-adj. dat.sg. *[h]rppi: atli: ehbi: se ladi / se tideime: eh[b]ije: s[e ese]deñne[wi] / [xñnah]i e[hb]ije[h]i* (TL 108 3[?] Limyra, NB: *[ese]deñnej'[i]*)

> gen-adj. dat.sg. dat.sg. *:atli / s=esedẽ[ñ]newi: xñnahi:* (NN 357 2 Tlos)

> (?) gen.adj. nom./acc./dat.sg./pl. *[---]: xugahi: se: xñna[hi] / [hi --- te]'θ'θi: se=j=ẽnehi:* (NN 337 8* Limyra)

MILYAN

> (?) gen-adj. nom./dat.sg. *mirẽñne: x<ñ>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:*) (TL 44d 66 Xanthos, NB: *x<i>nasi*).

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> **Ref.** Sturtevant (1928:52) 'grandmother'; Meriggi (1929:443) 'mother'; Laroche (2016[1958]: 94) 'grandmother'; Shafer (1959:499) 'kin, family'; Melchert (2004:83) 'grandmother'; Neumann (2007:125) 'grandmother'.

§ 66 . In the funerary inscriptions, *xñna-* is invariably attested as a dative singular genitive-adjective modifying *esedeñnewe-* 'descendants' (TL 39 3, TL 41 3*, TL 108 3[?], and NN 357 2), which leads to thinking that grandmothers themselves were not meant to be included in the tomb (they probably already had a space in the tomb assigned in her

role as wives), but were specifically referred when speaking of their descendants. Note, however, that at least in TL 41 3* and TL 108 3[?] a dat.sg.-gen.adj. *xugahi* 'of the grandfather' can be reconstructed. Nevertheless, the female association that *esedẽñnewe-* normally presents calls for considering *xñnahi* (see *esedẽñnewe-* **§ 11.**) The personal name of the grandmother is never expressed after the designation *xñna-*, contrary to what happens in other kinship terms, but note that it is possible to infer such name in TL 36 6 (*Mñneτeidehe esedẽñnewi*) because of the regular use of *xñnahi* before *esedẽñnewi* (see details in *esedẽñnewe*, **§ 11a**).

§ 67 . The rest of the inscriptions that attest *xñna-*, which are also inflected as genitive adjectives, are of administrative nature (TL 44b 58, TL 44a 29*, NN 337 8*, and TL 44d 66). Unfortunately, the word that is modified by *xñnahi* in these inscriptions is only attested in 44b 58 (*:se ñtuweriha :ade: se / xθθãna: xugaha: se xñnaha:* "and to the *ñtuweriha*[?] he made a memorial for the grandfathers and grandmothers (or ancestors?)"). Still in the Xanthos Pillar, in TL 44a 29 it appears paired with *ẽni-* 'mother' (*xistte: ẽnehi: se xñnah*[*i.....* "(he) made sacrifices for the [X?] of the mother and grandmother", whose subject could be the following mention of *Merehi*), and in the Milyan version, TL 44d 66 (*mirẽñne: x<ñ'>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:* "*mirẽñne*[?] the grandmother's and *se*'s *mrqi kebura*[?] or the mother's and father's and grandfather's rulership"). Inscription NN 337 is, according to Christiansen (2012: 141-154), a decree between Limyra and an unknown city **Xuxrm̃me/i-*. The mention in line 8 to *xñna-*, together with other family members (*xugahi: se: xñna*[*hi*] / [*hi --- te*]ʹθʹθi: se=j=ẽnehi: "of the grandfather(s) and grandmother(s) [...] of the father(s) and the mother(s)"), whose isolated context does not allow to infer the head-noun of the genitive adjective construction. Such enumeration of family members in administrative inscriptions can be taken as an allegorical reference to the inhabitants of a city (see details in *tede/i-* **§46b**. and Luw. **§107a**).

EPIGRAPHY

§ 68 . Note that in the Milyan version of the Xanthos Pillar TL 44d 66, Schürr (2018:91) restores *x<ñ>nasi*, in view of the Lyc. *xñna-*. Nevertheless, the excellent pictures that he provides in the article (*op.cit.* 58) clearly show *i* rather than *ñ*, so that, at least the reconstruction should be *xʹiʹnasi*, or, if preferred, marked as a scribal error *xʹiʹnasi*.

Nevertheless, on the basis of the Milyan phonetics I consider the Milyan attestation to be *xˈiˈnasi* without any spelling mistake (see below **§ 69.**)

MORPHOLOGY

§ 69 . Lycian *xñna-* 'grandmother' is only attested as genitive adjective *xñnahi*, but according to the *a*-stem nature of its solid cognates (Hitt. *hanna-* and H.Luw. **hana-*), which go back to PIE **h₂en-H-* (see etymology **3.3.1§5a.**), it is highly probable that it inflects as a noun of the *a*-class. Furthermore, the regularity in the distribution of the genitive adjectival suffix between thematic stems (gen.adj. *-ehe/i*) and *a*-stems (gen.adj. *-aha/i*), as postulated by Hajnal (2000:170) and Yakubovich (2008a:195) supports the classification of *xñna-* as an *a*-stem.

§ 69a . Despite Milyan only offers one single attestation, its reading as *xinasi* in TL 44d 66, instead of *xñnasi* (Schürr 2018:91), might be supported in light of its phonetic origin. Notestandingly, there are two Milyan lexemes that show /i/ in contact with a nasal or a nasalized vowel. The most reliable example, because of its wide presence in the Anatolian languages, is the theonym *Trqqñt-*, which in Milyan presents a nom.sg. form *Trqqiz* (dat.sg. *Trqqñti*), besides the Lyc. nom.sg. *Trqqas* (dat.sg. *Trqqñti*). In view of its Luwic cognates (C.Luw. *Tarhunt-* H.Luw. *Tarhunza*), its nature as an *nt*-stem is assured. Although the unexplained /i/ vocalism in Milyan might be directly explained because of the *i*-mutation phenomenon, its absence in the Lycian counterpart *Trqqas* calls for considering other hypotheses as well, such as the development into /i/ when a nasal context is involved, similar to the Lycian change *ã > u*.

Besides the *Trqqiz* (**terh₂-u-nt-*) and the *xina-* (**h₂en-H*) examples, one might also consider the set of lexemes related to Lyc. *axa-* 'animal sacrifice (*DLL* 7), whose derivatives are regarded to present *-nt*-suffixation: *axãt(i)-* 'priest of animal sacrifice' and *axãtaza-* 'id.', derived from a stem base **axa-nt-*. Through the semantics of Lyc. *uwadraxi* 'bovine sacrifice (?)' (*DLL* 77), Mil. *xi-* 'sacrifice' (*DLL* 125) with the previous *axa-* derivatives (Lyc. *xi-* 'to make an animal sacrifice?' *DLL* 83, is taken by Serangeli 2015 to be a denominative verb of Mil. *xi-*).

The etymological background of this set of derivatives is difficult to elucidate. A derivation from **h₁eǵ-* was proposed by Melchert (*DLL* 7), although the sense assumed

with Latin (Lat. *agō* 'priest who sacrifices animals' and *agōnia* 'animal sacrifice') clearly fits the semantics of the root **h₂eǵ-*, which would have produced the initial syllable ***xa-* in Lycian. The nature of the first laringal is difficult to establish, but if the *axa-* derivatives and the *xi-* lexemes are connected, it could be either reconstructed as an *n*-stem **(a)xan-* rather than an *-nt*-stem ***(a)xa-nt-*, which could offer a plausible explanation explaining both sets of lexemes in Lycian and Milyan.

xuga- 'grandfather'

ATTESTATIONS

> gen-adj. acc.pl. *:se ñtuweriha :ade: se / xθθãna: xugaha: se xñnaha:* (TL 44b 58 Xanthos)

> gen-adj. dat.sg. *ñtewe: Erbbinahe: tezi: xu*[*gahi ehbije*]*-hi: se ñtewe: teθθi: ehbij*[*ehi tezi*ˀ] (TL 44a 25* Xanthos)

> (?) gen.adj. nom./acc./dat.sg./pl. [---]: *xugahi: se: xñna*[*hi*] / [*hi --- te*]´*θ*`*θi: se=j=ẽnehi:* (NN 337 8 Limyra)

MILYAN

> gen-adj. nom./dat.sg. *mirẽñne: x<ñ>nasi=ke: sesi: m̃qri kebura seb=ẽ/nesi=ke tedesi=ke: xugasi: xñtawa<t>a:*) (TL 44d 66 Xanthos, NB: *x<i>nasi*).

ONOMASTICS

> *Epñxuxa* (TL 127 1, and its variant *Apñxuxa* N 351 1, see *epñneni*, **§ 10a.**), whose second element has been tentatively related to Lyc. *xuga-* 'grandfather' (Eichner 2012: 146, Neumann 2012:401).

> **_Ref._** Laroche (1953:95) 'grandfather'; Melchert (2004:86) '*id.*'; Neumann
> (2007:137) '*id*'.

§ 70 . Lycian *xuga-* appears only inflected in genitive adjective and its attestations are
restricted to administrative inscriptions. Interestingly, it takes place in the same contexts
as *xñna-* does (TL 44b 58, TL 44d 66, NN 337 8, see *xñna-* **§ 67.**), with the exception of
TL 44a 25*, where the spatial distribution of the dynastic tombs is described (25-26:
ñtewe: Erbbinahe: tezi: xu[*gahi ehbije*]*-hi: se ñtewe: teθθi: ehbij*[*ehi tezi*[?]] "in front of
Erbbina's *tezi*, the one[?] of [his grand]father, and in front of his [fahter's *tezi*...]"). Its
complete absence in the strictly sepulchral inscriptions is explainable, since the owner's
grandfather is already indirectly referred through the construction PN-*h xahba* or PN-*h*
PN-*h* (see *xahba*, **§ 62.**). This allows to provide the personal names of the grandfather's
owner in a number of inscriptions: *Uwita-* (TL 28 4 and TL N356a/b 4), *Xñtla-* (TL 43 1),
Kuprlle/i- (TL 44a 3 and 31[!]), and *Maxa* (TL 78 4).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 71 . Lyc. *xuga-* is inflected according to the *a*-stem nouns, although it is solely attested
as an genitive adjectival formation (*xugahe/i*). As in the case of *xñna-*, the distribution of
the *-ahe/i* and *-ehe/i* genitive adjectives according to the stem of the lexeme allows to
account for the nature of *xuga-* as an *a*-stem noun (contra Kloekhorst 2008:353 **xuge*).
It presents solid the Anatolian cognates (Hitt. *huhha-*, Luw. *huha*), perhaps present as
well in the Carian personal name component *quq* (Adiego 2007: 361, 419) (see etymology
3.3.1§5a.). The Lycian personal names *Epñxuxa* (TL 127 1) and *Apñxuxa* (NN 351 1),
have been also put in connection with Lyc. *xuga-* 'grandfather' by Eichner (2012: 146)
and Neumann (2012:401), since the formation recalls Lyc. *epññene/i-* 'younger brother',
which also presents an onomastic reflection in Gr. Επενηνις (see **§ 10a.**).

2. Hieroglyphic Luwian Kinship Terms

***annatt*(*i*)-** 'mother'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Empire Period

nom.sg. PATER.MATER (MALKAYA §5)

DOUBTFUL

Á.FEMINA?.DEUS.*461 (EMIRGAZI 1 B§26, D§29, and D§37, NB: Hawkins (2006b:55) *á*(FEMINA.DEUS)*461)

II. Post-Empire Period

nom.sg. [*a-na-ti*]-*sá* (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 IVC.1§1*)

nom.sg. [MATER-*na-ti-sa*] (I.8. ÇINEKÖY §6?)

acc.sg. MATER-*na-tí-na* (I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 Hu.)

(?) gen-adj. *á-na-ti-sá* (X.38 KULULU LEAD STRIPS ii §3.8)

DOUBTFUL

(?) dat.sg. *á-na-ia* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS §9.60)

DERIVATIVES

***annatinn*(*i*)-**

nom.sg. MATER-*na-tí-ni-sa* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 §24*a* A1)

nom.sg. MATER-*na-tí-ni-i-sa* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 §24*a* A2)

FEMINA-*ala/i* (?)

    FEMINA-*á-lá/í-na* (VI.2 Boybeypinari 2 2§10)

    FEMINA-*á-lá/í* (VI.5 Ancoz 1 1§2)

    FEMINA-*á-lá/í-sa*$^?$ (VI.9 Ancoz 5 lin.1)

(“INFANS^2.*NI*”)*á-lá/í-la/i-*

    (“INFANS^2.*NI*”)*á-lá/í-la-za* (II.24. Karkamiš A15b 3§15)

Onomastics

    ^{I}*á-na-sa* (XII.5 Istanbul)

Philological Commentary

    Ref.; Laroche (2016[1958]:92) ‘mother’; Houwink ten Cate (1965:141) *anni-* ‘mother’; Hawkins (2000:625) **ana(ti)-* ‘mother’; Payne (2014:143) **anat(i)-* ‘*id.*’; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *annatt(i)-*) ‘mother’, *annattinn(i)-* ‘mummy’.

§ 1 . The main problem concerning the identification of the lexeme for ‘mother’ in the Hieroglyphic sources is the shared use of the logogram FEMINA (*79) by *annatt*(*i*)- ‘mother’ and *wanatt*(*i*)- ‘woman, wife’, whose final suffix *-att(i)*, present in both lexemes, furthermore complicates the identification in case of partial syllabic renderings of the term. For this reason, the meaning as ‘mother’ must be inferred, in most of the cases, through the semantic contrast produced by its use with other elements of the inscription such as word-pairs. Since PATER *tad*(*i*)- unequivocally means ‘father’, the word-pair PATER.MATER /tadis annattis/ (‘father-mother’) permits the identification of *79 as *annatt*(*i*)-. On the contrary, the more extended word-pair, FEMINA.INFANS (or MATER.FILIUS), cannot be disambiguated (see **Tab.11**). Even so, the number of attestations of MATER is very reduced in both the Empire and the Post-Empire Period.

*79 *29		PATER.MATER /tadis annattis/
*79 *45		a) FEMINA.INFANS /wanattis niwarannis/ b) MATER.FILIUS /annattis nimuwinzas/

Table 11. Distribution and interpretation of the word-pair *79.29 (PATER.MATER) and *79.45 (FEMINA.INFANS / MATER.FILIUS)

§ 2 . In the Empire Period sources, the only unequivocal attestation of the lexeme for 'mother' is found in the MALKAYA group of rock epigraphs, where it forms a word-pair together with PATER /tadis/ ('father'). Since in the attestations of *79.*45 in EMIRGAZI 2 5§13, YALBURT 6§1 and YALBURT 15§1 no combinatory evidence allows us to decide in favour of a reading FEMINA.INFANS or MATER.FILIUS, they are considered under the lexeme *wanatt*(*i*)- (see **§ 124a.**), following the general tradition of transcribing them as FEMINA.INFANS.

§ 2a . The MALKAYA group of rock epigraphs, reedited by Hawkins and Weeden (2008), is one of the few non-royal compositions that exist in the Empire Period. Since Malkaya is located notably far from any of the known urban centers of this time span, the inscription is thought to be a consequence of a hunting expedition (*op.cit.* 241). The main problem that MALKAYA presents is how the family bounds among the different characters of the inscription are to be established, on which question see debate in *nimuwiza-* (**§ 75e.**). The structure of the epigraphs consists of nominal sentences containing a personal name and title, with occasional filiation. This is the case of inscription §5, which contains the attestation of *annatt(i)-* under discussion:

MALKAYA §5 (Hawkins-Weeden 2018:243):

*324-VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS URBS.PATER.MATER MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá* INFANS

The recognizable elements of the epigraph are the personal name of the character (*VIR.*zi*), the title as 'prince' (REX.FILIUS), and the filiation as *Ura-Tarhunda*'s son (MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá* INFANS). Here, the sign *79 forms a word-pair with the preceding PATER /tadis/ ('father'), which solves the ambiguity of *79 in favour of MATER /annattis/ ('mother'). The doublet PATER.MATER is modified by URBS, under whose logographic reading we should interpret a genitival-adjective inflection. The construction is likely to be interpreted as a title: URBS PATER.MATER (/URBS-s(a) tadis annatis/) 'the father and mother of the city'. As Hawkins and Weeden (2008:244) point, the phrase 'father and mothers of the city' finds similar expressions in Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luwian compositions that contain historical deeds ('to make someone / to be fathers and mothers'). The metaphorical sense of these expressions is plausible to refer to the protective figure of the ruler over a city (see discussion in *tad*(*i*)- **§107a.**), and such connotation could be in close relation with the meaning or function of the title URBS PATER.MATER. Its appearance as an apposition to a personal name X-*ziti*, and after the title 'prince' (REX.FILIUS), which was employed by palace officials, might support this view.

Figure 8. Inscription nº5 of the rock inscription of MALKAYA
(Hawkins – Weeden 2018: 248)

§ 2b . A theonym *Á*.FEMINA[?].DEUS.*461, whose identity has not been identified yet, appears in the Emırgazı group of altars (EMIRGAZI 1). Strikingly, the determinative FEMINA (*79) is not employed for specifying the female sex of goddesses in the Hieroglyphic Luwian sources, with the sole exception of a very particular designation of Kubaba in the Iron Age inscriptions of Commagene (on FEMINA-*ala/i-*, see **§ 4b.**). In his first edition of EMIRGAZI 1, Hawkins (1995:88) offered the reading

Á.FEMINA[?].DEUS.*461, while later (Hawkins 2006b:55) he changed his interpretation of the signs to the reading *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).*461, which permitted a better comparison with the theonym ^{D.SAL}*a-la-a-as*, the Goddess Ala, attested in the *Prayers of Muwatalli* (KUB 6.45 ii 5, Singer 1996:14). Nevertheless, the possible correspondence with the Goddess Ala is mainly based on the evidence provided by the attestations of the Iron Age Commagene (FEMINA-*ala/i-*, where it precedes the theonym Kubaba), rather than the Empire Period attestation *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).*461. Besides the fact that FEMINA.DEUS as a determinative should take place before *á*, we also face the unidentified significance of the sign *461, which is restricted to this attestation (Marazzi 1990:275). Considering the position of FEMINA in the Iron Age sources, Simon (2014: 248 and, independently, Hutter 2016) proposes that the reading of FEMINA-*ala/i* must correspond to a title or epithet of Kubaba, to be identified as a loanword from Hurrian *allai-* 'queen, lady'. Whether or not this epithet is related to the Bronze Age attestation is not solved. For a discussion of the epithet FEMINA-*ala/i-*, see below **§ 4b.**

§ 3. In the attestations of the Post-Empire sources, the ambiguity on the reading of the logogram *79 as *annatt(i)-* 'mother' or *wanatt(i)-* 'woman, wife' remains mainly unsolved. There are only two unequivocal attestations, one identified through the semantic contrast offered by the word-pair 'father-mother' (see **Tab. 11**) in I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 Hu. (reconstructed in ÇINEKÖY §6[?]), and the second by means of the inferred family relationships in VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§1*.

§ 3a . In the word-pair 'father-mother', *annatt(i)-* takes place in accusative, as object of verb *izziya-* 'to make' in I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 Hu. (H.Luw. *wa/i-mu-u* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa á-TANA-wa/i-ia*(URBS) MATER-*na-tí-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tà* "And Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa"). In I.8. ÇINEKÖY §6* (H.Luw. *kwa/i-p[a]-wa/i-mu-u su+ra/i-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) REX-*ti-sa su+ra/i-wa/i-za-ha* (URBS) DOMUS-*na-za ta-ni-ma-za tá-*[*ti-sa* MATER-*ni-sa-ha*] *i-zi-ia-si* "Furthermore, the Assyrian king and all the Assyrian house became (lit. *were made*) father and mother to me."), the attestation is reconstructed, on the one hand, in view of the Phoenician version of the bilingual (lin. 7-9: *wmlk* [*'sr*] [*w*]*kl bt 'sr kn ly l'b* [*wl*]*'m* "And the king [of Assyria and] all the house of Assyria became father [and] mother to me", Tekoğlu *et. al.* 2000:968, transl. Yakubovich 2015:41); on the other hand, because the strong parallels shown with KARATEPE. Contrary to the parallel of Karatepe, in Çineköy, it appears in

nominative singular as the subject of the same verb expressed in medial voice. The change of verbal diathesis in the same expression, as well as its metaphorical connotation as citizens is analyzed in *tad*(*i*)- (**§107a**).

As well as in the Empire Period, ambiguous attestations of the character *79 that appear together with sign *45, can stand either for logographic FEMINA.INFANS 'woman and child' or MATER.FILIUS 'mother and son' (see **§ 1.** and **Tab. 11**). Consequently, the attestation of X.12 TOPADA 4§15 and 6§25 is treated under the lemma **wannatt*(*i*)-, in accordance with the traditional bias.

§ 3b . The ambivalence FEMINA/MATER of *79 is solved in *VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§1 by means of the identification of family relationships in the composition. The kinship expressed through the mother bound [*a-na-ti*]-*sá*, modified by [1]*HÁ-LI-sa*, the personal name of the son inflected in genitive-adjective (/Hattusilisa annattis/ "of *Hattusili*, the mother"), is unparallelled until the moment in the Luwian corpus. The reconstruction as /annattis/ is possible thanks to the explicit reference to the son that the author, the woman *Panamuwatis*, includes at the end of the inscription (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 2§17c acc.sg. /amanza niwaranniyanza Hattusilisa alamanza/ "my son *Hattusili*'s name").

§ 3c . The appurtenance to the lexeme *annatt*(*i*)- or to a simple form *ann(i)*-, typical of the Cuneiform Luwian sources, is difficult to elucidate in two attestations. On the one hand, in X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIP §9.60, a dative singular *á-na-ia* is modified by a genitival adjective toponym (/Tunasana annaya/). If /annaya/ is taken as a dative singular personal name ("of Tunasa, Anna"), then we must regard the lack of the determinative of persons (*380) as a scribal error (cf. XII.5 ISTANBUL [1]*á-na-sa*); but the existence of short variant of *annatt*(*i*)- ("of Tunasa, the mother"), or even a topographical designation (cf. TELL-AHMAR 1 4§10 *á-na*(REGIO)) are not entirely discardable possibilities.

On the other hand, the broken context of the attestation *á-na-ti-sá* in X.38 KULULU LEAD STRIP ii§3.8 obscures the classification as a personal name or as the designation 'mother'. Its genitive-adjective form is inferred because of the parallels in the previous lines.

§ 4. There are three lexemes that deserve consideration as derivatives of *annatt(i)*- or, perhaps, the short form **ann(i)*-: *annattin(i)*-, FEMINA-*á-lá/í*- and ("INFANS[2].*NI*")*á-lá/í-la-za*, from which only the first one can be assured.

§ 4a . The derivative *annattinn(i)-* seems to be an affective designation (translated as a diminutive 'mummy' in Dinçol *et al.* 2015:66). It is only found in VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 §24a, where it is attested as the epithet of the Grain-God(dess?) (MATER-*na-tí-ni-sa* (§24a, (DEUS)BONUS-*ma-sa* /annattinnis Kumarmas/), also 'Good God' *per* Weeden (2018:330, 349). The semantic contrast formed by the pair that follows (§24b, *tá-ti-sa-*(*pa-wa/i-tú-tá*) (DEUS)VITIS-*pa+ra/i-ia-sa* /tadis Tipariyas/ "father Tipariya"), identified as the God of the Wine, leaves no doubt of the label as mother, although the counterpart does not show any diminutive derivation (ie. ***tadinn(i)-*).

In order to understand the presence of a no corresponded gender epithet *annattinn(i)-*, it is first necessary to address some aspects of the elusive divinity Kumarmas. The reading of the logographic rendering (DEUS)BONUS as /Kumarmas/ is confirmed by the syllabic attestation in TELL AHMAR 1 §2 (DEUS.BONUS)*ku-mara/i+ra/i-ma-sa₅*. Strikingly, Kumarma is not apparently a female god, but, according to Hawkins (2006a:19), a "late reflex of Kumarbi", from which the association with the grain attribute has been proposed (Hawkins 1981:166). The interesting point is that Weeden (2018) maintains the *interpretatio luvica* of the theonym as "the Good God", and connects it with the widely extended 'prosperity motive', consisting on establishing ideal prices of products as a metaphor of abundance in the Iron Age sources of both Luwian, Neo-Assyrian, and Babylonian. Concretely, the presence of the Good God and the Wine-God is linked to the use of the prosperity theme in inscriptions of the South Taurus mountains, from Sultanhan, Karatepe, Karkamiš or Arsuz (see details in Weeden 2018:349-352).

Without excluding an origin from Hurrian Kumarbi, Weeden tentatively suggests that the use of *annattinn*(i)- and *tad*(*i*)- as epithets of such gods might reflect theogonological conceptions of Hurrian transmission as well, although he himself is aware of the limitations of such proposal (on Kumarbi being the "mother" of Tešub and Mittanian literary traditions, see *op.cit.* 352-354). In my opinion, a third explanation is conceivable on rhetorical grounds, that is, the logical consideration of the pair the Good God (DEUS.BONUS) and the Wine-God (DEUS.VITIS) as a merism for indicating a concept of abundance. Such a figure of speech is widely attested in the Anatolian milieu under several forms, as Mouton and Yakubovich have demonstrated in relation to the Cuneiform Luwian sources (Mouton – Yakubovich 2019). This rhetorical device might have triggered the use of another common merism, the pair 'father' and 'mother' (see

Martínez-Rodríguez 2019b for a compilation of the word-pair 'father-mother' in the Anatolian languages), thus explaining the presence of *annattinn(i)-* 'mummy' only because of the mechanism of creating merisms, that is, through the semantic contrast with *tad(i)-* 'father'.

§ 4b . With regards to further possible derivatives of *annatt(i)-* (or **ann(i)-*), the epithet FEMINA-*á-lá/í* that is occasionally assigned to the goddess Kubaba deserves particular attention because of the different explanations that has received. Such epithet is found in the following attestations of the region of Commagene:

- FEMINA-*á-lá/í-na* DEUS.AVIS (VI.2 Boybeypinari 2 2§10)
- FEMINA-*á-lá/í* (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-*pa-pa* (VI.5 Ancoz 1 1§2)
- FEMINA-*á-lá/í-sa?* (DEUS)AVIS-*sa?* (VI.9 Ancoz 5 lin.1)

However, the epithet is most of the times attested without the logogram FEMINA/MATER (*79):

- *á-lá/í* [(DEUS)]AVIS (VI.1 Boybeypinari 1 §10)
- *á-lá/í-na* DEUS.AVIS (VI.2 Boybeypinari 2 1§1)
- *á-lá/í* (DEUS)AVIS (VI.16 Ancoz 7 B§4)
- *á-lá/í* (DEUS)AVIS (VI.16 Ancoz 7 C§9)
- *á-lá/i* ([D]EUS.AVIS)*ku-pa-pa* (VI.22 Katha 1§1)

In their identification of the sign *ta5* as *lá/í*, Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:203) changed the unsolved transcription of ATA Kubaba in favour of the reading Ala Kubaba, and stated that: "The determinative FEMINA sometimes appearing in front of *á-lá/i(-)* implies that we are dealing here not with an adjectival epithet but rather with a different local name of Kubaba. We suggest that the mysterious *á-172-* can be identified with the name of the Anatolian goddess Ala [...]." The connection to the already commented Bronze Age divinity of Emirgazi 1, *á*(FEMINA.DEUS).*461. (see **§ 2b.**), was later contested by Simon (2004:248) and Hutter (2006), in establishing that /ala-/ in the Iron Age Ala-Kubaba should be connected to Hurrian *allai-* 'lady', rather than explained through syncretism between the two divinities.

Even so, the presence of the logogram FEMINA (*79) before the designation *á-lá/í* might not be that trivial, since a determinative FEMINA as a semantic indicator for the sex of

the goddess does not take place alone, not only in the attestations of Kubaba, but in any goddess in the hieroglyphic sources. Such particularity might point to an intrinsic morphological relation between both elements, FEMINA and *á-lá/í*.

In my opinion, bearing in mind that sign *79 can either stand for FEMINA (*wanatt(i)*-) and MATER (*annatt(i)*-), if the written representation of the epithet FEMINA-*á-lá/í* is understood as partially logographic (FEMINA/MATER) and partially syllabic (*á-lá/í*), then the reading corresponds to /wanalla/ or /annalla/. While the first one has no parallels in the Anatolian languages, the second is documented by Hittite, which accounts for the adjective *annalla*- 'motherly' in KUB 33 106 iii 50-52 (HW I:A (1984):74, 562, see commentary in Lyc. *tede/i*- **§46b.**). The designation of Kubaba with the epithet *annalla*- ('motherly Kubaba') would not be nonsense in view of a syncretism of with the pan-Anatolian figure of the Mother-Goddess, which finds multiple avatars along with the sources of different languages (cf. *ann(i)*- as an epithet of the goddess [D]*Kamrušepa* in KUB 103 ii 3.15 and KBo 2.1 i 33.40; on the Anatolian Mother Goddess see Lyc. *ẽne/i*- **§15b**).

An interpretation of the form under discussion as MATER-*á-lá/í*-, still faces the problem of explaining the cases where *á-lá/í* appears without the logogram MATER. One hypothesis is to consider the first sign of *á-lá/í*- as a rebus of *annatt(i)* or *ann(i)*-, therefore *Á-lá/í* would stand for /annattalla/ or /annalla/, and would still accomplish the function as an epithet to Kubaba, 'motherly'. Whether or not the first sign <á> as a rebus might be distantly related to the reading of the unknown god(dess) of the Empire Period *Á*.FEMINA[?].DEUS.*461 attested in the Emırgazı Altars (EMIRGAZI 1 B§26, D§29 and D§37) cannot be proven only with the available data of the Bronze Age Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Note that the epithet /ala/ that accompanies Tarhunza in X.12 TOPADA 7§33 (*á-la/i* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-na*) is not rendered with *lá/í* (*172) but with *la/i* (*319), which has been interpreted by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:204) as the adjective *ala/i*- 'high'.

§ 4c . A final implication of the tentative reading of sign *á* as a rebus for *ann(i)*- or *annatt(i)*- is to propose an alternative interpretation of the controversial dative plural ("INFANS[2].*NI*")*á-lá/í-la-za* in II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§16. This attestation was earlier read as ("INFANS[2].*NI*")*á-ta5-la-za*, tentatively interpreted by Hawkins (2000:131) to

represent the word for 'brother' *adala. The new phonetic value of the sign *ta*₅ (*172) as *lá/í* (Rieken-Yakubovich 2010) prompted the new lecture /alala-/, who interpreted as *aralla/i-* 'companion' (*op.cit*. 214), although it is still maintained as a variant of the unattested *adala 'brother' by Oreshko (2014, see **§ 12a.**).

The new lecture as *á-lá/í-la-za* leads to other plausible interpretations, which agree with the context of the inscription.

Since the text deals with the early years of the future ruler *Kamani* and his brothers, who were brought up by the regent *Yariris*, this instance (II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15-17) is to be considered in the context of the care and the tutelage of the children, an aspect emphasized in several of *Yariri*'s inscriptions (II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6, II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7, and II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b.). If ("INFANS²*.NI*")*á-lá/í-la-za* is read as ("INFANS²*.NI*")*Á-lá-la-za*, understanding *Á-lá* as /annalla-/ 'motherly' and as the beginning of mother-related designation, the term could hold the meaning 'nursemaid' or similar, which would fit the context of the passage. The verb *anta sasa-*, meaning 'to release in' according to the *eDiAna*, might be understood as "'to assign' the kids to someone". Nevertheless, the second part of the term /annalla-la/ strongly difficulties this speculation, and cannot be solved without the present evidence. Consequently, this must remain as an alternative explanation, still to be proven or discussed by the appearance of new material. The passage with my tentative proposal is offered below for clarification:

> II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15-17 (ed. based on Hawkins 2000:131)
>
> §15 POST+*ra/i-zi-pa-wa/i-tú* FRATER-*la-zi-i* MAGNUS+*ra/i-nu-ha*
> "and I brought up his younger brothers,"
>
> §16 *wa/i-ta* ("INFANS²*.NI*")*Á.LÁ-la-za a-ta sa-sa-ha*
> "And I assign² them to the *nurses²*,"
>
> §17 ("CUBITUM")*ka+ra/i-pá²+ra/i-ta-hi-sà-pa-wa/i-ma-za-ta á-mi-ia-za-´*
> (DOMINUS)*na-ni-ia-za* ¹*á-sa-ti-ru-wa/i-sá* INFANS-*ni-ia-za* ARHA
> ("LONGUS")*ia+ra/i-i-ha*)
> "and to them, to my lord Astiruwas's children, I extended protection."

§ 5 . The only assured reading of sign *79 as *annatt*(*i*)- (MATER) in the Empire Period, ie. MALKAYA §5, presents a 'tear' shape. On the contrary, the same sign (*79) appears inverted in the attestations of YALBURT 6§1 and YALBURT 15§1, although we cannot know if these signs represent FEMINA or MATER, and if such distinction would be significant in the graphic representation of the sign. In the Post-Empire Period, the sign is regularly represented as an oval form.

Empire Period 1	**Empire Period 2**	**Post-Empire Period**
⬯	⬯	◯
MALKAYA §5	YALBURT 15§1	KARATEPE III§12-17

Table 12. Variants of sign *79 (FEMINA/MATER)

MORPHOLOGY

§ 6 . The lexeme *annatt(i)*- belongs to the *a*-mutated stems of the consonantal class. A full syllabic representation of 'mother' is only found once (X.38 KULULU LEAD STRIPS ii §3.8 *á-na-ti-sá*), for which reason most of the attestations are distinguished from a reading **wanatt*(*i*)- 'woman' by means of combinatory evidence (see **§ 1.** and **Tab.11**). Unlike Cuneiform Luwian *ann*(*i*)-, the Hieroglyphic term for 'mother' shows an extended lexeme with primary *-aT(i)*-suffixation. Nevertheless, the existence of a short form *ann(i)*- in Hieroglyphic Luwian cannot be completely ruled out. One the one hand, it must be considered that, since the Hieroglyphic Luwian attestations of the Empire Period are contemporary to the Cuneiform Luwian sources, the attestation in MALKAYA §5 (see **§2a.**) might perfectly represent short *ann*(*i*)- as well as extended *annatt*(*i*)-. On the other hand, the onomastic material shows the continuity of the **anna-* / *anni-* element in some personal names of the Iron Age sources (**§ 3c.**). In conclusion, because of the scarcity of

syllabic attestations showing the ending /-*aT*(*i*)-/ (restricted to I.1 Karatepe III§12-17 Hu., X.38 Kululu lead strips ii §3.8, VII.13 Arsuz 1-2 §24*a*), the existence of a short *ann(*i*)- in the Hieroglyphic attestations of both the second and the first millennium cannot be completely discarded.

§ 6a . The nature of the suffix in H.Luw. *annatt*(*i*)- can only be postulated because of the comparative evidence provided by the Cuneiform Luwian *wannatt*(*i*)-, whose geminate /-tt-/ (*ACLT*: *u-na-at-ti-iš* in KBo 8 130 Rs.iii 4, *wa-na-at-ti-iš*[?] in KUB 35 68) accounts for the interpretation as *aT(i)-*. A possible hypothesis to explain this analogical development might be the use of a shared logogram by both lexemes (*79, FEMINA/MATER). On the contrary, in Cuneiform Luwian, the logograms for rendering *ann*(*i*)- 'mother' and *wannatt*(*i*)- 'woman' remain different, respectively AMA (*57, *HZ* 119) and MUNUS (*297, *HZ* 238).

Even so, since the existence of the short form *ann(i)-* cannot be discarded, we cannot be sure if the suffix represents in H.Luw. *annatt*(*i*)- a suffixation *-aT(i)-* analogical to *wanatt*(*i*), or a suffixation ***annad(i)-*, comparable to the formations *huha-* and *huhad*(*i*)- (**§ 59.**).

§ 7a . The derivative *annattinn*(*i*)- (see **§ 4a**), is a diminutive formation with *-nn*(*i*)- secondary suffixation, comparable to the onomastic equation [f]*Anna* (NH58) – [f]*Annanna* (NH62) (Zehnder 2010:115).

§ 7b . Derivations with the *-all*(*a/i*)-suffix are productive in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and form adjectives and nouns of appurtenance (Yakubovich 2015:26). Its existence in the, tentatively proposed, reading of FEMINA.*Á-lá/í* as /annalla/ 'motherly' (see **§ 4b**), finds support in parallel formations of kinship terms, ie. *tadall*(*a/i*)- 'fatherly' and *huhadall*(*a/i*)- 'grandfatherly' (**§ 114b.** and **§ 57c.**). Furthermore, the *-all*(*a/i*) suffix presents a direct cognate in Hittite *annalla-* 'motherly' (*an-na-al-la* KUB 33 106 iii 50, see **§ 4b.**).

FRATER.*LA*-(*i*-) 'brother'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Post-Empire Period

nom.sg. FRATER.*LA-sa* (III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 8§18)
nom.sg. FRATER.*LA-i-sa* (III.5 ALEPPO 2 2§3)

nom.pl. FRATER.*LA-zi-i* (II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7 1§2)
nom.pl. FRATER.*LA-i-zi* (VII.5 JISR EL HADID Fragm. 1 l.2)

acc.sg. FRATER.*LA-na* (III.5 ALEPPO 2 3§9)
acc.sg. FRATER.*LA-i-na* (VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2)

acc.pl. FRATER.*LA-zi-i* (II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6 4§13)
acc.pl. FRATER.*LA-zi-i* (II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15)

dat.sg. FRATER.*LA*-ˊ*ni*⁈ˋ (II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§3)
dat.sg. FRATER(-)x (III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§17)
dat.sg. FRATER.*LA-i* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 7.38)
dat.sg. FRATER.*LA-i* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 7.44)

dat.pl. FRATER.*LA-za* (III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 5§16)
dat.pl. FRATER.*LA-za* (VII.8 KIRÇOĞLU 3§4)
dat.pl. FRATER.*LA-za* (IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin.1)

gen-adj. nom.sg. FRATER.*LA-sa* (III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 8§18)
gen-adj. nom.sg. FRATER.*LA-sa*₈ (X.10 KULULU 4 top.§15)
gen.-adj. dat.sg. FRATER.*LA-sa-na* (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2)

DOUBTFUL

† ("INFANS².*NI*")*á-lá/í-la-za* (II.24. KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15, see *annatt*(*i*)- **§ 9.**)

(?)FRA[TER].*LA* (II.33 KARKAMIŠ A22c lin.4)

ONOMASTICS

[I](*m*)*u-ka*-FRATER.*LA-sa* (I.3 KARATEPE §1), [I]*sà-tá*-FRATER.*LA-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 6§17c), OMNIS-*mi*-FRATER.*LA-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 9§17*m*), *ara/i*-FRATER.*LA-ia* (II.29 TÜNP 1 1§1), [I]*á-lá/í*-FRATER.*LA-sá* (II.58 KARKAMIŠ A18j), LUNA.FRATER₂ (V.1 KARAHÖYÜK 1§1), [F]RATER˹.*LA*˺-*sa* (X.26 EĞRIKOY 2§3), ˹REL[?]˺-*za-na-ni-na*, TONITRUS-[*h*]*u-ti-na-ni* (X.33 KULULU 6 A1§1), [I]*Mu-sa*-FRATER.*LA-sá-na* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIP §3.13), [I]*Na-na-ia* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIP §4.16), [I]REL-*za*-FRATER.*LA-ia-ha* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIP §4.17), [I]*Na-ni-mu-ta-sa-na* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIP §7.42), *<la[?]>-na-na-sa* (X.60 KUŞÇU-BOYACI 2).

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> ***Ref.*** Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'brother, uncle'; Houwink ten Cate (1965:143) *nani-* 'brother(?)'; Hawkins (2000:237) FRATER-*la-i-sa* 'brother'; Payne (2014:155) FRATER-*la-* 'brother'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: FRATER.*LA-n(i)-*) 'brother'.

§ 8 . The lexeme that underlies the form FRATER.*LA-(i)-*, composed of the logogram INFANS / FRATER (*45) and the phonetic indicator *LA* (*175), is still very disputed. However, its meaning as 'brother' is undoubted according to the evidence provided by the inscriptions, and also in light of the equation with C.Luw. *nani-* in the onomastic material (see debate in **§ 12b.**).

The contexts where the word for brother takes place are more heterogeneous than the ones that contain other family terms. Since little is known about the family relationships of rulers or common people with their brothers, the positive or negative connotation that the passages offer might shed some light on the nature of the fraternal bounds. The two main genres that contain the instances of FRATER.*LA-(i)-* are commemorative compositions (**§ 8a.**) and historical narratives (**§ 8b.**). among which, only residually, appears in passages

containing filiations (**§ 9a.**), and curses (**§ 9b.**). Interestingly, the construction 'brother's son' indicates that a specific word for 'nephew' is probably absent from the Luwian vocabulary (**§10.a-b**).

§ 8a . In the following commemorative inscriptions, a positive, even affective, verbal expressions regarding the relationship with the author's brothers are employed. In II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§3, a private funerary inscription where the author mentions his father and elder brother, we find dat.pl. /*hantili* FRATER.*LA-ni*/ "to the elder brothers" (indirect object of the verbal expression *na zanta ahha parira-* 'not to become irrelevant (to)'). In III.5 ALEPPO 2 the author devotes a dedicatory text to his "brother" and lord: III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§17 dat.sg. /ami FRATER-[x]/ "to my brother" (indirect object of the verbal expression *wassaradi pibassa-* 'to grant with goodness'); still in the same inscription, III.5 ALEPPO 2 2§3, the author, *Arpas*, refers to *Hamiyata* as /(a)mis nanis FRATER.*LA*-isa=ha/ "my lord and brother", subject of a non preserved verb, which could perhaps be *wass-* 'to be dear to', deduced because of the enclitic dative pronoun /=mu/ "to me"; and in III.5 ALEPPO 2 3§9 /min FRATER.*LA*-in Hamiyatan/ "my brother *Hamiyata*", the direct object of a broken verb, which only preserves the negative particle. The lack of filiation and the connotation of respect and reverence that this dedicatory demonstrates might be an indicator that the appellative "brother" is not used here with a family sense, but with a political intention (**§ 12b.**). The inscription IV.16 MARAŞ 6 only preserves two lines of difficult comprehension. In the first line, the possible beneficiaries of the stele are mentioned in dative plural /abassanza FRATER.*LA*-anza nanasranza=ha/ 'to these brothers and sisters', whose verb *lara-* (LOQUI+*ra/i+a-ta*) is stated as 'to bless' by Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *lara-(i)-*).

Out of the strictly affective or blessing verbal expressions, but still in a commemorative inscription, in this case, to the father's author (VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2), we find a verb that relates to the upbringing of the children: *ariya-* 'to raise', whose direct object is /ammin=ha=wa FRATER.*LA*-in nanatri(n)=ha/ "my brother and sister".

§ 8b . The upbringing notion is also present in a group of inscriptions from Karkamiš, containing the historical narratives of *Yariri*, namely, II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6, II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7, and II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b. These compositions are authored by the regent king of Karkamiš who took care of the progeny of *Astiruwa* (c. 810 BC), that is, the future king *Kamanis* and his brothers. Although the content is related to the upbringing

of the children, the scarce presence of this topic in the Hieroglyphic Luwian texts complicates the precise interpretation of the verbs. On the one hand, in II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6 4§13, it appears as direct object of the verb *izzi(ya)*- 'to make' /abasa FRATER.*LA*-inzi/ "(and with him) I made his brothers", referring to the brothers of *Kamanis.* In other contexts where v. *izzi(ya)*- is attested in relation to family terms, it holds a political connotation rather than a sense related to the upbringing of the progeny (see *tad(i)* **§ 107a.).** On the other hand, in II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15, /apparinzi FRATER.*LA*-inzi/ "his younger brothers" is the direct object of v. *urannu(wa)*- 'to magnify' (*sec.* *ACLT*; lit. 'to make great, old'). The last attestation of the *Yariri*'s group of inscriptions is II.23. KARKAMIŠ A7 1§2, where a list of epigraphs over the sculpture introduces the names of "the younger brothers" (/apparinzi FRATER.*LA*-inzi/) of Kamanis in a nominal sentence.

A last attestation in historical deeds appears in VII.5 JISR EL HADID Fragm. 1 lin. 2, in coordination with 'father', and subject of verb v. *muwa*- 'to conquer' /mu(wa)tta tadis amis FRATER.*LA*-inzi=ha amminzi/ "my father and my brothers conquered" (with Yakubovich *ACLT*: *muwa-(i)*; on the contrary, Hawkins 2000:379 interprets a nominal sentence: "strong (were) my father and my brothers"). However, the inscription posits interpretation problems. On the one hand, the elements of the sentence seem syntactically dislocated: the verb introduces the sentence and the possessives follow the modified noun. On the other hand, past deeds are generally featured by 'fathers and grandfathers' in literary expressions (see *tad(i)*- **§ 107a.**). The fragmentary condition of the text and its broken context precludes from inferring further details.

Other examples might show a meaning related to the preeminence of one of the sons among the rest of the brothers, such as the verbal expression v. *urazzan izzi(ya)*- 'to make greater' in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 5§16, which, according to *eDiAna* (H.Luw. Text Corpus: TELL AHMAR 1 §16), presents a comparative clause /abassanza FRATER.*LA*-anza/ "than his brothers". The use of the comparative here could indicate a certain notion of rivalry in the dynastic line. This is in accordance with the historical narrative of the inscription, where the author reveals that he was treated with a certain degree of distinction by the usurper's grandfather (§15-§17). Similarly, in the dedicatory to the Divine Queen of the Land (VII.8 KIRÇOĞLU 3§4), the author asks the goddess to be favoured over the rest of the brothers (/aminza=pa=wa=mu FRATER.*LA*-nza sarladi/ "and to me above my

brothers"). Such connotation is inferred by the use of the adverbial element SUPER+*ra/i-la-ti*, which precedes an unfortunately not preserved verb.

§ 9a . The term appears twice in the Kululu documents indicating a fraternal filiation in the usual genitival construction (PN PN-GEN. FRATER.*LA*-(*i*)-, "PN, of PN the brother"). Both attestations are inflected in dative, and indicate that they are the recipients of a quantity: X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 7.38 /Muwaya Kiyakisana FRATER.*LA*-i/ "to Muwas, of Kiyakis the brother", and X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 7.44 /Huliyaya Tarhunazasana FRATER.*LA*-i/ "to Huliya, of Tarhunaza the brother". In X.10 KULULU 4 top §15, the fraternal filiation is used for referring to the condition of the author as 'nephew' (see **§ 10a.**), /Hulis [verb] Ruwassa FRATER.*LA*-issa nimuwizas/ "Hulis, of Ruwas, the brother's son".

§ 9b . In passages that include curses, FRATER.*LA-(i)-* only takes place once (III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 8§18), although the broken context does not permit to know if the connotation is positive or negative: /FRATER.*LA*-is naba FRATER.*LA*-assa nimuwizas/ "a brother or a brother's son". Since the attestation is inflected in nominative, the syntagm is likely to be the apposition of the pronoun /kwis/ 'who', which begins the curse formula in line 6§12, and is the subject of two typical verbal expressions in curses: *alamanza ahha walla-* 'to erase the name' (6§12) and *attuwanza anni zarti-* 'to wish evil to' (7§13). This would mean that in this case brothers and nephews are considered as possible threatens to the preservation of the stele. An outstanding parallel in III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§19 (**§ 109b.**) presents as the possible malefactors *tad(i)-* 'father' and an unknown lexeme started with sign *274, which is strikingly resembling to sign *276. Noteworthily, *276 (FRATER$_2$) is employed in onomastics for representing the element *nan(i)-*, which stands for the Luwic word for 'brother' (see onomastics in the attestations section). In my opinion, the fact that in III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§19 sign *274 much probably refers to a kinship term can be taken as tentative evidence for the existence of *nan(i)-* in Hieroglyphic Luwian with the meaning 'brother' (**§ 12b.**).

> III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 (Hawkins 2000:228)
>
> 6§12 *á*[*ma-za*]-*pa*-[*wa/i*]-*ta*ʔ *á-ta₅-ma-za* REL-*sa ARHA* "MALLEUS"(-)*71-*la-i* [...]
> 8§18 [......]-*na á-ma-wa/i-sa* FRATER-*la-sa* NEG₂-*a-pa* FRATER-*la-sa* INFANS-*ni-sá*
> 9§19 *wa/i-tá* "CAELUM"-*ti ARHA* (DEUS)TONITRUS-*za-sa* (LOQUI)*tá-tara/i-ia-tú*
> "But (he) who shall erase my name, [...]

[.......]... brother or the brother's son,

from the sky may Tarhunzas curse (them)!"

III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§19 (Hawkins 2000:236)

5§18 *ARHA-pa-wa/i-tú-wa/i-tà-ta* REL-*sa tà-i*

5§19 *ma-wa/i-tú-wa/i-sa tá-ti-sa*

5§20 *ma-pa-wa/i-sa* *274[...]

5§21 *pa-ti-pa-wa/i-ta-´ za-a-zi* DEUS-*ni-zi* LIS-*la/i/u-sa-tú*

"Whoever shall take it away from him,

whether he (be) a father to him,

or whether he (be) *274[...],

against him may these gods litigate"

§ 10a . The construction where 'brother' is inflected in genitive and modifies 'son' is used to mean 'nephew', a concept for which a specific lexeme does not exist in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Inflected in genitive-adjective nominative singular, it is found in III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 8§18 /FRATER.*LA*-issa nimuwizas/ "of the brother, the son", in coordination with previous FRATER.*LA-sa*, in the context of a curse (see **§ 9b.**), and also in X.10 KULULU 4 top §15, where FRATER.*LA-sa*₈ is furthermore accompanied by a personal name, thus /Hulis [verb] Ruwassa FRATER.*LA*-issa nimuwizas/ "*Hulis*, of *Ruwas*, the brother's son". As a genitive-adjective in dative singular /-assan/ (see **§ 13.**), it appears in II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2 FRATER.*LA-sa-na* /FRATER.*LA*-assan nimuwiza/ "to the brother's son", coordinated with *hams(i)-* 'grandson'. This filiation through the mention of the brothers and the grandfathers bound is unique (see *hams(i)-* **§ 19b.**).

§ 10b . From the semantic point of view, it is worth noticing that the Hieroglyphic Luwian designation for older and younger brothers is formed by the addition of an adjectival element of prepositional origin preceding the term for 'brother': *appar(a/i)-* FRATER.*LA-(i)-* 'younger brother' in II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7 1§2 POST+*ra/i-i-zi* FRATER.*LA-zi-i* and II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15 POST+*ra/i-i-zi* FRATER.*LA-zi-i*, *hantil(i)-* FRATER.*LA-(i)-* 'older brother' in II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§3 FRONS-´*la/i/u`-li*ˀ FRATER.*LA-´ni*ˀ´. This construction is directly comparable to Lycian *epñnẽne/i-* (see Lyc. **§10**), where, on the contrary, it appears fully lexicalized.

§ 11 . The main distinction of the logogram *45 between a logographical interpretation as INFANS or as FRATER is the presence of a phonetic indicator, respectively, *NI* or *LA*. While *nimuwiza-* and *niwarann(i)-* may be represented by INFANS without any phonetic indicator distinction, and still clearly indicate the underlying word, either because of phonetic complements or because of contextual evidence, the lexeme for brother always presents its logogram (*45) complemented with the phonetic indicator *LA*, allowing to transcribe FRATER instead of INFANS (Rieken – Yakubovich 2010:211[14]). With regards to the type of INFANS graphic variant that the attestations of 'brother' present, that is, the relation of *45 to VIR_2 (*386) (see debate and classification in *nimuwiza-* **§ 87.**), all the instances present *45 with double crampon (here transcribed as $INFANS^2$). Since there is not variability in the rendering of *45, no nomenclature is needed for indicating the presence of simple or double crampons in the transcription of FRATER. The case of †("$INFANS^2$.*NI*")*á-lá/í-la-za* in II.24. KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§15 is not considered to belong to the lexeme 'brother', see discussion in **§ 12a .** and in *annatt(i)-* **§ 9.**)

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§ 12 . The complexity of this lexical item lies in the presumable existence of two different lexemes for the meaning brother. While the transcription of the sign *45 as FRATER responds to two potential forms, **lani-* and **adala-*, whose meaning is assumed on the basis of the contextual elements of the inscriptions, the transcription of the sign *276 as $FRATER_2$ stands for the proper Luwic word for 'brother', ie. ***nani-*, supported on the one hand by the Anatolian comparative evidence (C.Luw. *nani(ya)-* and Lycian *nẽne/i-*), and, on the other, by the correspondence that onomastics presents, first noticed by Houwink ten Cate (1965:142-144). In what follows, a revision of the main arguments will be provided and, when possible, supplied or refuted with further evidence.

§ 12a . On the possible forms that underlie FRATER.*LA* / FRATER-*la-* (*45), two hypotheses have been proposed, based on the interpretation of the sign *la* (*175) that invariably appears after FRATER (*45). The continuist interpretation is defended by Oreshko (2014), who supports the nature of *la* as a phonetic complement (FRATER-*la-*)

and restores a form /*adala(i)-/. This hypothesis is based on the tentative assumption that the attestation in II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§16 ("INFANS.*NI*")*á-ta₅-la-za* represents /adala-/, the syllabic rendering of 'brother' (first suggested by Hawkins 2000:132). Nevertheless, the new phonetic value of *ta₅* as /*la/i*/ proposed by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010) corrects the reading as /alala-/, which is still taken as a variant of *adala* by Oreshko (2014:626[15]). Nevertheless, other plausible analyses that are in better accordance with the context of the inscription can be considered (see *annatt*(*i*)- **§ 9.**).

The proposal by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:211[14]) was to consider *la* as a phonetic indicator (FRATER.*LA*), which means that it functions as a reading help, indicating the starting syllable of the word. In light of the -*ni*-ending in II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§3 FRATER.*LA*-˹*ni*?˺, Yakubovich (2010b:387) proposes to take the word under FRATER as /*lan*(*i*)-/, a dissimilated form of Anatolian **nani-*.

§ 12b . With regards to the sign *276 and its conventional transcription as FRATER₂, Oreshko denies any relation with the onomastic element /-nani-/, widely and solidly attested in Anatolian (Houwink ten Cate 1965:142-144, Melchert 2013:38), but proposes that *276 is to be read as /adala(i)-/, the Hieroglyphic Luwian word for 'brother'. In turn, /adala(i)-/ would have been used in onomastics because of a readaptation from the Hurrian suffix -*adal*(*i*) 'strong', which is very productive in this language.

The proposal of reading FRATER.*LA* (*45+*175) and FRATER₂ (*276) as **adal(i)-* by Oreshko is, however, based on a series of ambiguous premises. First, the misconception that a language should not present two terms for 'brother' (*op.cit.* 615) is based on the idea that FRATER.*LA* and FRATER₂ have the same literal meaning. However, there are clear examples of Indo-European languages with two words for 'brother', where one of them presents a slight meaning transfer from a lexeme that originally meant 'brother' (e.g. Gr. ἀδελφός 'brother', versus φράτηρ 'member of a φράτρα', that is, of a brotherhood; Lat. *germānus* 'brothers from the same parents' versus *frāter* 'brotherhood, or affective appellative to friends'). Secondly, the assumption that "*nani-* represents quite obviously an onomatopoeic word and could exist in the language alongside with the 'official' word for 'brother'" (*op.cit.* 629), only reflects the evidence of the Core-Indo-European languages, and hardly takes into account the nature of the kinship terms of the Anatolian branch (see etymology **3.1§1-2,** on Core-Indo-European, see Introduction 2). Finally, the rejection of the reading *nani-* 'brother' is founded on the assumption that the group of

logograms *273-275, to which *276 (FRATER₂) resembles, is associated with words denoting violence or oppression (examples in *op.cit.* 617). Such a semantic connotation is, according to Oreshko, irreconcilable with a kinship term, for which reason he forces to link *276 with Hurrian /adala/i-/ 'strong'. This statement does not consider the semantic relation to *muwa-* with both the military sphere (e.g. v. *muwa-* 'to conquer') and the fertility or sexual power semantic field (e.g. *muwida-* / *muwid*(*i*)- 'seed, progeny' or *nimuwiza-* 'son', see etymoloy **3.2§4a-b.**). Furthermore, as revealed by the parallels between III.5 Aleppo 2 5§19 (**§ 109b.**) and III.1 TellAhmar 2 8§18 (**§ 9b.**), the sign *274, which strongly resembles *276 (FRATER₂), possibly underlies the Luwic word for 'brother' **nan(i)-*. Note, however, that as a determinative, *274 is found in relation to *ubahid-* 'demesne' (Payne 2018:118), whose semantic sphere does not easily agrees with that of a kinship term.

Certainly, the proposal of reading FRATER.*LA* (*45+*175) as **lan(i)-* by Yakubovich (2010:387) can only find definitive corroboration with the appearance of new material. All in all, it is the most sensible proposal considering the evidence that is available at the present moment.

§ 12c . Independently of how the word under the logogram FRATER.*LA* (*45+*175) is to be reconstructed, another problem is posited by Oreshko (2014), that is, the phonetic coincidence between Luwic **nani-* 'brother' (*276 / FRATER₂) and *nan(i)-* 'lord' (*390 / DOMINUS), which seems to be one of the triggering causes for denying any presence of *nan(i)-* 'brother' in the Hieroglyphic Luwian sources. In this respect, it is worth noticing the close association with the power sphere that this word presents in the Hittite political sphere, if not in all the Ancient Near East, where sovereigns equal in rank call each others as 'brothers' (akkadogram ŠEŠ). This practice could also have a continuation in Hieroglyphic Luwian sources, at least in the inscription of III.5 Aleppo 2, where the author calls the recipient of the dedicatory his "brother and lord" (see details in **§ 8a.**).

A meaning transfer from Luwian *nan(i)-* 'brother' into 'lord or *sim.*' finds parallel developments in other Indo-European languages, where we can find words that have turned its original meaning as 'brother' into 'fellow, partner or clansmen' (e.g. Gr. ὁμογάλακτες 'foster-brother or sister, clansmen'; Lat. *germānus* 'partner, clansmen'). The homophony of *nani-* 'lord' and **nani-* 'brother' in Hieroglyphic Luwian, is therefore not necessarily to be seen as problematic when reconstructing the Luwic word for

'brother' in Hieroglyphic Luwian. Such an explanation is not incompatible with the fact that the phonetic confluence triggered the relegation of FRATER$_2$ /nani/ to the onomastic material, causing the development of a parallel rendering FRATER.*LA*. (see also the gen-adj.dat. inflection of 'brother' in **§ 13.**)

§ 13 . Despite the unknown lexeme, FRATER.*LA* is clearly a semi-vocalic *i*-stem, as the final endings allow us to infer (nom.sg. III.5 ALEPPO 2 2§3 FRATER.*LA-i-sa* and acc.sg. VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2 FRATER.*LA-i-na*), probably with *i*-mutation, if the association with **nan(i)-* is maintained. One particularity of this lexical item is that when functioning as a modifier of a PN head-noun, it does not present a genitive adjectival derivation in *-iya* as happens with *tad*(*i*) (see **§ 117.**), but in *-ass*(*a/i*)- or *-iss*(*a/i*)-, which is normally restricted to personal names. As noted by Morpurgo-Davies (1980:125), 'brother' is found among the nouns that accept the genitive adjective in its inflection, together with *tipas* 'sky' and **utni* 'country', specially identified thanks to the gen-adj. dat.sg. /-assan/.

The criterion for which 'brother' is included in this group is difficult to establish, since any other family terms represent adjectival possession through the genitive-adjective inflection in *-assa/i-* (also *-issa/i-*, see *nimuwiza-* **§ 73a.**), which is a particular trait of personal names. Nevertheless, it can be possible that a resemblance, being it a direct or an old reminiscence, of FRATER.*LA* with the onomastic element /nani/ (maintained in FRATER$_2$) would have triggered the acquisition of the genitive-adjective inflection by 'brother'. That is to say, that FRATER.*LA* might still preserve a connection with the Luwic form **nani* 'brother'.

hams(i)- 'grandson'

I. Empire Period

nom.sg. NEPOS[1] (YALBURT 1(+16a)§1)

nom.sg. NEPOS[1] (BOĞAZKÖY 3 3-4§1)

nom.sg. NEPOS[1] (KARABEL 3)

nom.sg. NEPOS[1] (BOĞAZKÖY 5 1§1)

† (?) NEPOS[?]-*sa* (KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2 §4a)

gen-adj.nom.sg. NEP[OS][1]-*sa* (EMIRGAZI 1 A§4*)

II. Post Empire Period

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-sà* (I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-i-sa* (II.11 KARKAMIŠ A11b 1§1)

nom.sg. NEPOS[1(?)] (II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u lin. 2)

nom.sg. NEP[OS][1] (II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13a-c 2§1)

nom.sg. (NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-si-sá* (II.40 KÖRKÜN 3§6)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3] (IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2].NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-si-sá* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 2§1c)

nom.sg. ("INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")*ha-ma-si-sa* (IV.5 MARAŞ 14 3§5)

nom.sg. ([INF]ANS[?]).NEPOS[(?)] (IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[?])NEPOS[(?)]-*si-i-sa* (IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2].*NI*)NEPOS[3] (V.2 GÜRÜN 2§1b)

nom.sg. NEPO[S][1] (V.3. KÖTÜKALE 3§1b)

nom.sg. (INFANS[1?])*ha-ma-si-sa5* (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B FRAG.C 2§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[1?])*ha-ma-si-sa* (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR C FRAG.C+D)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].*MI-sa* (V.5 DARENDE 2§1)

nom.sg. DOMUS-*ni*(-[?])NEPOS[3].*MI-i*(-*ni*[?]-)*sá*) (VI.1 BOYBEYPINARI 1 I.A §11)

(?) nom.sg ...NE]POS[3?...]-*sa* (VI.13 SAMSAT 2 lin.1)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-sa* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 4§5)

nom.sg. (INFANS[2].NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-si-sa* (X.48 PORSUK 1§1)

nom.pl. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*zi* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 3§4)

dat.sg. (INFANS[[2?]])NEPOS[4] (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2)

dat.sg. (INFANS[2!])NEPOS[3]-*si* (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 2§12)

dat.sg. (NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-si* (II.40 KÖRKÜN Obv§11)

dat.sg. *ha-ma-si* (X.18 KARABURUN 2§7)

dat.sg. *ha-ma-si* (X.18 KARABURUN 3§9)

dat.pl. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za* (II.11 KARKAMIŠ A11b 2§4)

dat.pl. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za* (II.12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 5§30)

abl. (X?)NEPOS[3?]-*ia-ti* (XII.19 PANCARLI 1-2 §2)

iya-ADJECTIVE

nom.sg. (INFANS[1])NEPOS[3]-*ia* (V.16 MALATYA 1)

DERIVATIVES

NEPOS-*sa-ta-ni*- (?)

dat.sg. NEPOS[3]-*sa-ta-ní-i* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 8§30)

NEPOS-*ta*- (?)

(?) nom.sg./acc.sg. NEPOS[3]-*ta*- (X.10 KULULU 4 1§2)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> *Ref.* Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'grandson'; Starke (1990:483) 'grandson'; Hawkins
> (1995:83) *hamsi*- 'grandson'; Payne (2014:144) *hamsa/i*- 'grandson', (156)
> NEPOS-*ta* 'posterity (?)': Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *hams(i)*-) 'grandson', NEPOS-*stan*-
> 'progeny'.

§ 14 . Luw. *hams(i)*- is the second most referred relationship item in filiation clauses.
Despite it generally appears as the second element of the chain, both in the Empire Period
(**§ 15a.**), and the Post Empire Period (**§ 16a.**), there are some specific groups of
inscriptions where *hams*(*i*)- is the first filiation element (**§ 16b.**). Furthermore, it can

appear in fossilized expressions, either in curses or requirements for the maintenance of the monument by future generations (**§ 15b., § 20**). The study of **hams(i)-* from the epigraphic perspective is particularly significant in view of the evolution in the signs that compound the logogram NEPOS (**§ 22.**).

§ 15a . In the Empire Period, Luwian *hams(i)-* is mainly attested in filiation clauses of inscriptions belonging to the royal house of Hatti (YALBURT, BOĞAZKÖY 3, and BOĞAZKÖY 5), and to the elusive kings of western Anatolia (KARABEL). In EMIRGAZI 1 A§4, the expression 'he who (is) my grandson's son' seems to refer to the author's future generations, which seems to been asked to keep the monument (emended in KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4*a*, see discussion **§ 15b.**)

Luwian *hams(i)-* is always displayed in the Empire Period inscriptions in the second position and after INFANS. In YALBURT and in BOĞAZKÖY 3, the compositions belonging to king Tudhaliya IV (second half of the 13th c.), *hams(i)-* is contained in a three-generation filiation clause (*nimuwiza-* 'son', *hams(i)-* 'grandson', *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson'). In the case of the YALBURT inscription, the reconstruction of this sequence was possible thanks to the joint of a new fragment between blocks 1 and 16 (Fragm. n°2, Karasu *et al.* 2000), which permitted to restore the three generations of kings. Thus, in YALBURT 1+16a §1, *hams(i)-* is modified by the personal name of king Mursili and its titles (URBS+*RA/I-li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS).

> YALBURT 1+16a §1 (Hawkins 1995 + Karasu *et al.* 2000)
>
> SOL$_2$ MAGNUS.REX MONS+*tu* IUDEX+*la* MAGNUS.REX HEROS *HATTI*+*li*
> MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS URBS+*RA*/*I-li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS NEPOS[1]
> [PURUS.FONS+*mi* MAGNUS.REX HEROS] NEPOS[1]-*ka-la*

Contrarily, Mursili's name is not preserved in BOĞAZKÖY 3 3-4§1 ([URBS+*RA/I-li* MAGNUS].REX HEROS NEPOS[1]), and must be inferred in view of Tudhaliya's well-known genealogy, as well as by the traces on the inscription (on the text restoration, see **§28b.**).

With regards to Suppiluliuma II's inscriptions, BOĞAZKÖY 5 is the only composition that includes a filiation chain, which presents a twofold generation sequence (*nimuwiza-* 'son',

hams(*i*)- 'grandson'). However, in the filiation clause that takes place again in the second line of the same composition (Boğazköy 5 2§d), *hams(i)-* is not to be reconstructed, since only the father, Tudhaliya, is mentioned. The consistency in mentioning the three-generation linage seems a restricted feature of Tudhaliya's inscriptions. Other royal compositions that do not include the papponym are Sirkeli, where Muwatalli is solely referred to as the son of Mursili, or Fraktin, where Hattusili stands alone without any filiation.

Boğazköy 5 §1 (Hawkins 2019b:142)

EGO-*wa*/*u-mi-*a* SOL$_2$ MAGNUS.REX *LABARNA*+*la* PURUS.FONS+*mi*
LABARNA+*la* MAGNUS.REX *HATTI*(REGIO) REX HEROS (MONS)*tu*
MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS[1] *HATTI*(REGIO) REX-*sa HATTI*+*li*
MAGNUS.REX HEROS.NEPOS[1]

Outside the Hatti sphere, occurrences of *hams*(*i*)- take place only in Karabel 3, where the westerner king Tarkasnawa refers to his grandfather with a double generation filiation clause ([...]x REX *mi*+*ra*/*i-a* REGIO NEPOS). The papponym is unluckily not preserved, but the title "king of the Myra Lands" accounts for its presence.

§ 15b . A genitive construction is identified in one occasion (Emirgazi 1 A§4*), where NEPOS-*sa* modifies INFANS: *wa*/*i-tá-´* REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa mi-sa-´* NEP[OS]-*sa* INFA[NS...] "He who (is) my grandson's son" (Hawkins 1995:88-80). Despite interpretation difficulties, this expression seems to present a continuation in attestations of the Iron Age inscriptions for referring to the author's future generations (see **§ 20.**).

The case in Köylütolu Yayla 2§4*a* runs identical to Emirgazi 1 A§4* (Hawkins 2006b:62: "also the same clause appears on l. 2 as on Emirgazi altars, "(he) who (is) my grandson's son"), Nevertheless, note that the alleged *300 (NEPOS) presents a shape that strongly resembles the sign *45 (INFANS), so that it should be read as: REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa* *a-mi-sa* INFANS-*sa* INFANS "he who (is) my son's son" (see **Fig. 9**)

Fig. 9. Shape of the alleged NEPOS in KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA (Gelb 1939: Pl.63)´

The idiom seems to occur in monuments that are intended to be kept or honoured in time, possibly, in the case of the Empire Period examples, because of their religious function (EMIRGAZI 1 consists of a group of altars devoted to a divinity of the mountain, while KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA is a water sanctuary). In the Post-Empire Period, such a function is extended to commemorative steles (see **§ 15b.** and **§ 20a.**).

§ 16 . In the Post-Empire Period, Luwian *hams*(*i*)- 'grandson' is abundantly present in the filiation clauses, almost invariably displayed after 'son' (**§ 16a.**). Exceptionally, a group mainly composed of the archaic Malatya inscriptions presents *hams*(*i*)- as the first element of the filiation clause (**§ 16b.**), a fact that deserves close attention due to dating controversy that surrounds this group of inscriptions. Furthermore, such considerations can help to reconstruct broken filiation clauses and their genealogy (**§ 18.**). Less frequently, *hams*(*i*)- appears in enumerations, together with other designations of descendants, either in protective curses for the author's family or as warnings for them to take care of the monument (**§ 20.**). Finally, some lexemes seem to be related to *hams*(*i*)- because of the shared use of the logogram (*300), but neither their lexeme nor their meaning is clear (**§ 21.**).

§ 16a . The attestations of Luw. *hams*(*i*)- are significant in relation to prosopographical questions, inasmuch as the vast majority of its occurrences take place in the introductory filiation clause (**§ 16a.- § 19d.**). In nominal sentences, and placed after the mention of the author's father (PN PN-GEN. *nimuwiza* PN-GEN. *hams(i)-*), they occur in the following inscriptions: I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1, II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1, II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§1, II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13a-c* 1§, *IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1, and X.48 PORSUK 1§1. The relation of the personal names with the patronymic and the papponym is given below in normalized transcription (**Tab.13**.):

Text	Author	PN	Kinship term
I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1	*Warika*	broken	[*ni*]*muwiza-*
		[*Muk*]*sa*	*hams(i)-*
II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1	*Katuwa*	[*Suhi*](?)	*nimuwiza-*
		Astuwalamaza	*hams(i)-*
II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§1	*Katuwa*	*Suhi*	*nimuwiza-*
		Astuwalamaza	*hams(i)-*
II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13 a-c*	*broken*	broken	broken
		[(?)]-*sa*	*ham*[*s(i)-*]
IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1	*Larama*	*Humamitas*	*nimuwiza-*
		Laramas	[*ham*]*s(i)-*
X.48 PORSUK 1§1	*Parhwira*	*Atis*	*nimuwiza-*
	Parhwira	*Nuna*	*hams(i)-*

Tab.13. Prosopographical relation
of the filiation clauses of the type *nimuwiza – hams*(*i*)-.

Some of them are contained in an extended filiation chain, such as IV.4 MARAŞ 1 2§1c, where *hams*(*i*)- appears in a six-generation filiation clause (*nimuwiza-*, *hams(i)-*, *hamsukkala-*, *nawa-*, *nawanawa-*, *hara/itu-*), the longest known in the corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian until the moment (see *nawa-* **§ 69.** and *nawanawa-* **§ 70.**); the attestation in IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1 appears in a three-generation sequence (*nimuwiza-*, *hams(i)*, *hamsukkala-*).

Text	Author	PN-GEN	Kinship term
IV.4 MARAŞ 1 1-3 §1b-g	*Halparuntiya*	*Larama*	*nimuwiza-*
		Halparuntiya	*hams(i)-*
		mu-wa/i-ta-li-si-sà	*hamsukkala-*
		Halparuntiya	*nawa-*
		^I*mu-wa/i-zi-si*	*nawanawa-*
		Larama	*hara/itu-*
IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1-2§1	*Muwizi*	*Larama*	*nimuwiza-*
		Muwatali	*hams(i)-*
		Astuwalamanza	*hamsukkala-*

Tab.14. Prosopographical relation of the filiation clauses
of the type *nimuwiza-*, *hams*(*i*)-, *hamsukkala-* (*nawa-*, *nawanawa-*)

§ 16b . Alternatively, the bound with the grandfather is mentioned in the first position of the filiation clause (PN PN-GEN. *hams(i)-* PN-GEN. *nimuwiza*) in some inscriptions of the Malatya group and in one inscription from Maraş: IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1; V.2 GÜRÜN 2§1b, V.3. KÖTÜKALE 3§1b*, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B frag. c 2§1, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR C frag. c+d, and V.5 DARENDE 2§1. The unusual inverted order that these inscriptions present in the filiation clause, together with the particularities of the archaic group of the Malatya inscriptions, whose dating is not without controversy, call for a detailed revision of the attestations. The archaic Malatya group consists of one inscription (KARAHÖYÜK), whose stylistic features either connect it with the Hittite Empire Period, or forces us to regard it as conservative, and five inscriptions (GÜRUN, KOTÜKALE, İSPEKÇÜR, and DARENDE) where the authors regard themselves as the grandsons of *Kuzi-Tešub*, a character parallelly known to be the descendant of Talmi-Tešub, king of Karkamiš in the 12th c. BC. Such genealogical connection has added further support to the immediately post-Empire date (late 12th or early 11th BC, see state of the art in Hawkins 2000:283). The commentary of this set of inscriptions is divided in further uncommon linguistic features in the inscriptions of the archaic Malatya group (**§ 17a.**), epigraphic elements that question previous assumptions on the dating (**§ 17b.**), and prosopographical aspects (**§ 17c.**).

§ 17a . As Hawkins notes (2000:302), the genealogy of *Runtiyas* as the grandson of Kuzi-Tešub (*ku-zi*-TONITRUS) in V.4 İSPEKÇÜR (Side B) 2§1 situates the composition in an early chronology that does not easily meet with the late stylistic and paleographic features of the inscription. Further chronological contradictions of this group of inscriptions containing inverted filiation order can be identified. On the one hand, the titles of the personal names that determine *hams*(*i*)- and *nimuwiza*- in V.2 GÜRÜN 2-3§1b appear dislocated, falling on both sides of the kinship term, which contrasts with the usual distribution (PN PN-GEN titles KT). Unexpectedly, another inscription authored by the same ruler (V.3. KÖTÜKALE) places the titles in the usual order (see texts below). Such dislocation in the filiation finds only one parallel in IX.14 SHEIZAR 1§1 (**§ 126.**)

V.2 Gürün 2§1b (Hawkins 2000:296)

CERVUS *ku-zi*-TONITRUS-*sa5* MAGNUS.REX INFANS.(*NI*).NEPOS HEROS *kar-ka-mi-i-si-sa5*(URBS) PUGNUS-*mi-li* (INFANS)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za MA_x.LI_x-zi*(URBS) REGIO DOMINUS
"*Runtiyas*, grandson of *Kuzi-Tešub*, the Great King, the Hero of Karkamiš, son of PUGNUS-*mili*, Country-Lord of the city Malizi"

*V.3. Kötükale 2-3§1b (Hawkins 2000:300)

CERVUS ˹*ku-zi*-TONITRUS-*sa5*˺(?) MAGNUS.REX INF[ANS].NE[POS ....]
PUGNUS-*mi-li* (INFANS)*NI MA_x.LI_x-zi*(URBS) REGIO DOMINUS
"Runtiyas, grandson of *Kuzi-Tešub*, the Great King, the Hero of Karkamiš, son of PUGNUS-*mili*, Country-Lord of the city Malizi"

On the other hand, an unexpected rendering of *hams(i)*- (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].*MI-sa* occurs in V.5 Darende 2§1. Despite one might expect it to be a type of phonetic indicator of *hams(i)-*, comparable to the function of *NI* in INFANS.*NI* (see **§72.**), the also unexplained presence of *MI* in other lexemes (Hawkins 2000: 305: SOLIUM+*MI* and PONERE+*MI*, but also VI.1 Boybeypinari 1 I.A §11, see **§ 19d.** with **Fig.11**).

§ 17b . In view of these particularities, it is appropriate to ask whether the irregularities of this group of inscriptions together with the uncommon inverted filiation order is in accordance with the immediately Post-Empire date attributed to these inscriptions. One aspect to consider, in this sense, is the rendering of INFANS with a *NI* phonetic indicator that appears, on the one hand, in V.3. Kötükale 3§1b INFANS.*NI*, and on the other, in V.2 Gürün 2§1b (INFANS[2].*NI*.)NEPOS[3]. Noteworthily, the development of the phonetic indicator *NI* does not begin to expand to the rest of the corpus as a reading help of INFANS until the 10th c. (II.1 Karkamiš A4b 2§1 and 8§6). One might consequently deduce that INFANS.*NI* in V.3. Kötükale 3§1b is the actual first attestation with a phonetic indicator, dating back to the 12th c. BC. Although such innovation is plausible to happen as earlier, it is difficult to conceive that it has consolidated enough to be used as a determinative to another logogram as in this case (INFANS[2].*NI*)NEPOS[3] (V.2 Gürün 2§1b). On the contrary, it seems logical to assume that a period of consolidation between both usages, which faces the problem that both V.3. Kötükale and V.2 Gürün

are contemporary inscriptions. Although it is not a definitory prove, this fact contributes to weakening the assumption of an early date for this group of inscriptions.

§ 17c . A further question to posit is whether the mention of the grandfather in the first place might be somehow responding to a propagandistic purpose since the name *Kuzi-Tešub* corresponds with that of the descendant of *Talmi-Tešub*, king of Karkamiš in the 12th c., who belonged to the royal house of Hatti. This name could have held a lasting fame from the Empire Period, and thus be the reason why *Runtiyas*, the author in V.2 GÜRÜN and V.3. KÖTÜKALE, claims to be, first, the grandson of *Kuzi-Tešub* and, secondly, the son of PUGNUS-mili, and not reversed.

Additionally, the author of V.4 İSPEKÇÜR and V.5 DARENDE, *Arnuwantis*, turns to be the brother of *Runtiyas*, as he also regards himself as grandson of *Kuzi-Tešub* and son of PUGNUS-mili (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B frag. c 1§1). Nevertheless, he also claims to be the grandson of a homonymous *Arnuwantis* (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR C frag. c+d and V.5 DARENDE 1-4§1):

> V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B frag. c 1§1 (Hawkins 2000:302)
>
> (EGO?) *a+ra/i-nú-wa/i-ti-sa$_5$* REX ˹*ku-zi*˺-TONITRUS HEROS (INFANS)*ha-ma-si-sa$_5$* PUGNUS-*mi-li* INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za$^?$* ˹*MA$_x$.LI$_x$-zi*(URBS)˺ ˹REGIO DOMINUS˺
> "(I am?) *Arnuwantis* the King, grandson of *Kuzi-Tešub* the Hero, son of PUGNUS-mili, the Country-Lord of the city Malizi."
>
> V.4 İSPEKÇÜR C frag. c+d (Hawkins 2000:302)
>
> *a+ra/i-nú-[wa/i]-ti-sa$_5$* REX[...] (INFANS)*ha-ma-si-sa*
> "*Arnuwantis*, the Ki[ng, the] grandson / *Arnuwantis*, the Ki[ng's] grandson"
>
> V.5 DARENDE 1-4§1 (Hawkins 2000: 305)
>
> EGO(?) AVIS$_2$ (rev.) AVIS$_2$-*wa/i-tá-sa$_5$* REX INFANS.NEPOS-*MI-sa* PUGNUS-*mi-li* (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za* MA$_x$.LI$_x$-*zi*(URBS) REGIO DOMINUS-*sa$_5$*
> "(I am?) Arnuwantis, King *Arnuwantis*'s grandson, PUGNUS-mili's son, Country-Lord of the city Malizi."

The two references to a different grandfather by the same author leaves us with two interpretation hypothesis concerning the family bounds of these characters: 1) *Runtiyas*

and *Arnuwantis* are grandsons of both *Kuzi-Tešub* and *Arnuwantis*, one being the paternal grandfather, which is probable in view of the patrilinear system of succession, the other the maternal (cf. **§ 19b.**); or 2) Luw. *hams(i)-* is to be understood in a broader sense, being *Runtiyas* and *Arnuwantis* the descendants of the renowned ancestor *Kuzi-Tešub*, while Arnuwantis, the real grandfather would only be mentioned by *Arnuwantis* for unknown reasons. It cannot be discarded, though, that the inscriptions (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B/C and V.5 DARENDE) belong to separate characters since the rendering of the personal names are not the same (*a+ra/i-nú-wa/i-ti-sa₅* vs. AVIS₂-*wa/i-tá-sa₅*).

Kuzi-TONITRUS	AVIS₂-*wa/i-ta-sa₅*
Paternal-grandfather or ancestor in:	Paternal or maternal grandfather in:
- V.2 GÜRÜN,	- V.5 DARENDE)
-V.3. KÖTÜKALE	
-V.4 İSPEKÇÜR frag. c	

PUGNUS-*mili*	
Father in:	
- V.2 GÜRÜN	
- V.3. KÖTÜKALE	
- V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B frag. c	
- V.5 DARENDE)	

Runtiyas	*Arnuwantis* / AVIS₂
Author in:	Author in:
- V.2 GÜRÜN	- V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B frag. c
- *V.3. KÖTÜKALE)	- V.5 DARENDE
	Grandfather (?) in:
	- V.4 İSPEKÇÜR C frag. c+d

Table 15. Distribution of kinship designations in the archaic group of Malatya

§ 18 . Outside the archaic group of Malatya, two attestations of *hams(i)-* take place in partially broken filiation clauses, II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u lin.2 and VI.13 SAMSAT 2 lin.1. While in VI.13 SAMSAT 2 l.1 (...NE]POS[...]-*sa* [...]*ha*[...]x[...]) the line is not sufficiently preserved to attempt any filiation hypothesis, in II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u lin.2, the genealogy can be reconstructed through combinatory analysis.

In II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u lin.2, the attestation of *hams(i)-* (NEPOS[1(?)]) is preceded by a broken genitive personal name (PN-*si-sa*), therefore "X-*si*'s grandson", and is followed by another genitive personal name ⌐*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*⌐-*ma-za-sa*, thus "*Astuwalamanza*'s X". The second filiation element of the clause can be reconstructed as *nimuwiza-* 'son'

(Option A in **Tab.16**), standing for the common filiation syntagm (*nimuwiza-*, *hams*(*i*)-), or for *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson' (Option B in **Tab.16**), in the MARAŞ-MALATYA inverted order type of filiation (*hams*(*i*)-, *nimuwiza-*).

Text	PN-]*si-sa*	**INFANS.NEPOS**	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**Broken KT**
Option A)	*su-hi-*]*si-sa*	NEPOS[(1?)]	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**nimuwiza-*
Option B)	*su-hi-*]*si-sa*	NEPOS[(1?)]	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**hamsukkala-*

Tab.16. Reconstruction possibilities of the filiation clause in II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u

Despite inverted order is not attested in the Karkamiš group, to which this fragment apparently belongs, note that the name in question (*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*) appears to be the same that is attested in IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1 (*á-sa-tu-*ˊ*wa/i*ˋ+*ra/i-ma-za-si*). Noteworthingly IV.1 MARAŞ 8 is precisely the inscription of the Maraş group that presents the inverted filiation order (*hams*(*i*)-, *nimuwiza-*).

If we reconstruct *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson' (Option B), we are forced to add to the genealogical line of Karkamiš an unattested *Suhi* III, as Peker does (2016:49): *Suhi* I (1000) – *Astuwalamanza* (975) – *Suhi* II (950) – *Katuwa* (925) – **Suhi* III (900), see genealogy in **Tab.17**). This assumption implies to low down the chronology of the inscription to the early 9th c, a datation that is in better accordance with the epigraphic style of the fragment, as Hawkins postulates (2000:165) in relation to the cursive form of *ma* in the rendering of *Astuwalamanza*'s name.

Maraş	Karkamiš	
Astuwaramanza (c. 1010)	Sapaziti (c. 1025)	Ura-Tarhunza
Muwattalli I (c. 985)	Suhi I (c. 1000)	
	Astuwalamanza (c. 975)	
Larama I (c. 960)	Suhi II (950)	Tudhaliya II
Muwizi (c. 935)	Katuwa (c. 925)	
Halparuntiya (c. 910)	(?) Suhi III (c. 900)	
Muwattalli II (c. 885)	Sangara (c. 875-848)	
Halparuntiya II (c. 860)	Isarwila-muwa	
	Kuwalana-muwa	
Halparuntiya III (c. 810)	Astiru(wa) I (c. 810)	Yariri (c. 810-785)
Humamita (c. 785)	Kamani (c.790-760)	Sastura (c. 785-755)
Larama III (c. 765)	Astiru II (c. 755)	
	Pisiri? (c. 738-717)	

Table 17 Genealogical lines of Maraş and Karkamiš

(after Denizhanoğulları - Güriçin - Peker 2018:61 + Peker 2016:49)

Nevertheless, some elements call for being cautious in assuming Option B. If the inverted filiation is considered for II.34 Karkamiš A27u lin.2 (Option A.), then a higher chronology is to be assumed for the fragment, which means that the author of the inscription is *Suhi* II, grandson of *Suhi* I and son of *Astuwalamanza*. Being the author *Suhi* II (c. 950), he could have been influenced by the contemporary ruler of Maraş, *Larama* I (c. 960), the author of IV.1 Maraş 8, whose grandfather was also named *Astuwaramanza*, and where the inverted filiation order takes place. Therefore, the problematic cursive style of *ma* that implies that II.34 Karkamiš A27u lin.2 cannot be dated in the 10th c. might be explained because of the influence of IV.1 Maraş 8, which also displays cursive *ma* forms.
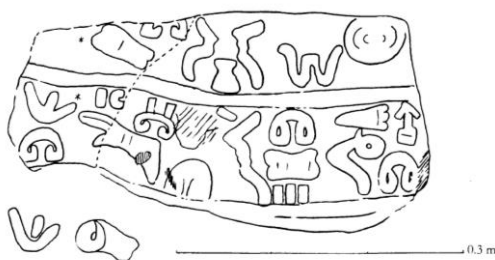

Figure 10. II.34 Karkamiš A27u (Hawkins 2000: Pl.52)

A final revealing aspect regarding II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u is that the genitive rendering of the personal name of *Laramas* also presents an *-isa* ending form that perfectly fits the remaining part of the broken PN-]*si-sa*. In light of these facts, a reevaluation of the fragment, whose findspot is unknown (Hawkins 2000: 165), as belonging to the Maraş group cannot be discarded.

	Author	PN-]*si-sa*	NEPOS	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	broken KT
A)	**Suhi* III (c. 900)	*su-hi-*]*si-sa*	NEPOS[1?]	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**nimuwiza-*
B)	*Suhi* II (c. 950)	*su-hi-*]*si-sa*	NEPOS[1?]	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**hamsukkala-*
C)	*Larama* I (c. 960)	*la+ra/i+a-ma-*]*si-sa*	NEPOS[1?]	¹*á-sa-tu-wa/i-la*ˈ*-ma-za-sa*	**hamsukkala-*

Table 18. Interpretation options of filiation clause in II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u

To sum up, the inverted filiation order, together with the cursive form of the *ma* sign and the unknown provenance of the fragment, call for reconsidering II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u l.2 as either a MARAŞ fragment of the reign of *Laramas* I (Option C) or as a fragment strongly influenced by MARAŞ, belonging to *Suhi* II (Option B). These two options seem compelling enough to avoid adding a new generation in the Karkamiš genealogical line (Option A, *contra* Peker 2016:49).

§ 19. Filiation clauses including the papponym also take place in genitive (V.16 MALATYA 1) and dative inflection (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2).

§ 19a . In V.16 MALATYA 1 (INFANS.NEPOS-*ia*), a single instance of genitive-adjective derivation with a suffix *-iya* is attested /hamsiya/. Furthermore, it presents the inverted order typical of the archaic Malatya group (*hams(i)-*, *nimuwiza-*). The filiation term is in apposition to the author's personal name /Halpasulubassa Arassa [titles] hamsiya Wassuruntiyassa nimuwiyaya/ 'of Halpasuluba, of Arassa [titles] the grandson, of Wassuruntiya the son', and in turn agrees with the nom.pl.neut. /zaya sasalliya/ 'hunts', the head-noun to which the whole genitive clause is the modifier (see syntactic details and complete text in *nimuwiza-* **§ 80.**).

§ 19b . In II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2 ((INFANS[2?])NEPOS[4]), the filiation clause expressed in dative is the indirect object of verbal expression *ahha piya-* 'to give away, sell'. There, the attestation of *hams(i)-* is modified by personal name, in the usual

inflection of the adjectival-genitive of dative personal names /-assan/ (*pa-pi-[tà]-ti-sà-na-´*).

> II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2 (Hawkins 2000:153)

> *ka-ma-ni-sa-pa-wa/i*[+*ra/i*] PRAE-*ri*+*i* [*SARMA*]-*ma-ia-´* FRATER.*LA-sa-na*
> (INFANS)-*ni-za-´ pa-pi-*[*tà*]-*sà-na-´* (INFANS)NEPOS CUM-*ni ARHA*
> (CONTRACTUS)DARE-*ta*
> "and Kamanis sold them to *Parisarmas*, the brother's son, *Papitatis*'s grandson"

It is not clear whether the filiation clause of the grandfather (*pa-pi-*[*tà*]-*ti-sà-na-´* (INFANS[2?])NEPOS[4] "the grandson of *Papitatis*") is an apposition of the previous filiation clause (PRAE-*ra/i*+*i*-SARMA-*ma-ia-´* FRATER.*LA-sa-na* INFANS.*NI-za* "*Parisarma*, the brother's son"). Since the subject of this clause, *Kamanis*, is the well-known son of *Astiruwa*, it is unexpected that he refers to his nephew *Parisarma* (FRATER.*LA-sa-na* INFANS[2].*NI-za* lit. 'brother's son'), as the grandson of *Papitatis* (*pa-pi-*[*tà*]-*ti-sà-na-´* (INFANS[2?])NEPOS[4]), and not of *Astiruwa*. If the two dative filiation clauses are to be understood as appositions of *Parisarma*, then we must assume that *Papitatis* stands for the maternal grandfather, as stated by Hawkins (2000:153). If accepted, this is the second example of a brother's linage named by the maternal grandfather, directly comparable to one of the possible interpretations of V.5 DARENDE (see **§ 17c.**).

§ 19c . In the deeds of *Katuwa*, one finds the enemy's descendants referred by means of a filiation structure in dative plural, thus II.11 KARKAMIŠ A11b 2§4 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za*, modified by the genitive plural personal name -*assanza* ([I]MAGUNS+*ra/i*-TONITRUS-*tá-sa-za*), the indirect object of *pittahaliya-* 'to purchase', repeated in II.12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 5§30 ((INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za*, v. *ahha la-* 'take away').

§ 19d . One particular case of household filiation is found in VI.1 BOYBEYPINARI 1 I.A §11 NEPOS[3].*MI-i*(-*ni*[?]-)*sá*, modified by the personal name /Suppiluliumassa/ (PURUS.FONS.*MI-sa*). It is not clear whether it forms a compound with precedent DOMUS-*ni*, such as in DOMUS-*ni*(-)DOMINUS 'lord of the house' or REGIO-*ni*(-)DOMINUS 'the lord of the country', as Hawkins states (2000:338), or just

modifies *hams*(*i*)-. In any case, DOMUS-*ni*(-$^?$)NEPOS[3].*MI-i*(-*ni*$^?$-)*sá* is an apposition of the material authors of the stele, ie. *Pedantimuwas* the Scribe and *Asatarhunzas* the KWANANALAS, subjects of v. *kwanza*- 'to carve'. The expression with DOMUS points for consider the use of *hams(i)*- in a metaphorical sense, and to interpret it in a broader sense as 'descendant', thus "household descendant".

The writing rendering of the term posits two interpretation problems. On the one hand, because of the presence of a final *MI* (NEPOS.*MI*), whose classification as a phonetic indicator is not clear (see **§ 17a.**). On the other, because the presence of *ni* between the lemma and the nominative case-ending mark is morphologically unexplainable. In this sense, although the extent of stylistic motivations in Hierglyphic Luwian inscriptions is still far from being fully understood, it is worthy of attention that *mi* and *ni* in *hams(i)*-appear in the same graphic level as *mi* of previous word PURUS.FONS.*MI-sa*, and *ni* of previous DOMUS-*ni* (see **Fig. 11**). It is possible that this fact triggered a copy confusion by the scribes, or that the scribes were doubtful of whether to use the phonetic indicator *MI* (as in (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].*MI-sa* in V.5 DARENDE 2§, see **§ 17a.**), or *NI* (cf. INFANS.*NI*, see *nimuwiza*- **§ 72a.**).

I A
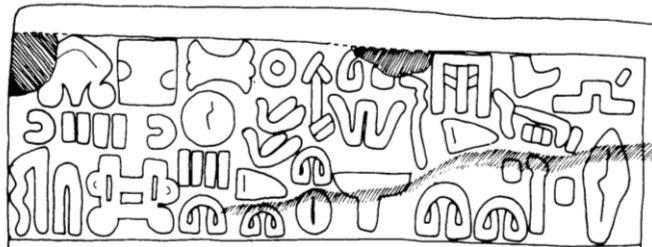
Figure 11. NEPOS.*MI-i*(-*ni*$^?$-)*sá.* VI.1 BOYBEYPINARI 1 I.A §11

§ 20 . Outside the filiation function, *hams(i)*- is found in predicative sentences, always accompanied by other kinship terms that refer to offspring such as *nimuwiza-/niwarann*(*i*)- 'son/child', *hamsukkala*- 'great-grandson', *nawa*- 'great-great-grandson' or *nawanawa*- 'descendant'. In all of them, the first term of the enumeration is preceded by a 1st person singular possessive pronoun, which agrees in grammatical number with the

first lexeme (note that the modifier does not change the number to plural in enumerations, see Bauer 2014:211).

§ **20a .** In II.40 Körkün 3§6 ((NEPOS³)*ha-ma-si-sá*), the enumeration *hams(i)-hamsukkala-* is the subject of v. *ahha awi-* 'to come forth'. Although the full sense of the sentence is not straightforward, it seems to be related to the honouring and future care of the stele, which is devoted to the god Tarhunza of Aleppo, on behalf of the author's descendants. This seems to be the intention and meaning in the idiom 'he who shall become my KT or KT' in IV.5 Maraş 14 3§5 (("INFANS².NEPOS³")*ha-ma-si-sa*), where the sequence *niwarann(i)- hams(i)- hamsukkala-*, introduced by a relative pronoun, is the subject of *izzi(ya)-* 'to make' (on *niwarann(i)-* see § **97b.**), equally in plural in IX.14 Sheizar 3§4 ((INFANS²)NEPOS³-*zi*, modified thus by plural poss. *mi-i-zi-´*) in the sequence *hams(i)-*, *hamsukkala-* and *nawa-*. Despite its broken verb, the accusative singular /ammanza waniza/ 'my stele' indicates that the monument is the receptor of the verbal action, which is very likely to point to a similar sense, that is, the descendants must keep the stele in the future. Slightly different, the enumeration *hams(i)- hamsukkalla-*, *nawa-* and *nawanawa* in IX.14 Sheizar 4§5 ((INFANS²)NEPOS³-*si-sa*) occurs in the apodosis of a curse, whose general intention is to advertise the descendants about the dangers of not taking care of the inscription (subject of unknown verb x-x-*zawa*/*inuwa-*). A similar expression containing the reference to the author's descendants, in enumerations introduced by a relative pronoun, is attested in the Empire Period (see § **15b.**).

§ **20b .** As part of the protective clause in the prothesis of the curse, also displayed in an enumeration of kinship terms, we found X.18 Karaburun 2§7 and 2-3§9 *ha-ma-si* (PN, *nimuwiza-* / *niwarann(i)-*, *hams(i)-*); and similarly, II.40 Körkün Obv§11 (NEPOS³)*ha-ma-si* (PN-wife, *nimuwiza-*/*niwarann(i)-*, *hams(i)-*, *hamsukkala-*).

§ **20c .** The form in XII.19 Pancarli 1-2§2 (NEPOS³-*ia-ti*), likely to be an ablative, is preceded by a broken sign. As the editors of the inscription point out (Herrmann et *al.* 2016:61), the ovoid sign cannot stand for INFANS, but could be a type of variant for referring to the descendants, similar to the already seen DOMUS-*ni*(-)NEPOS (see § **19d.**). Even though there are no parallels, the rounded sign can also correspond to FEMINA (*79), in a possible variant of FEMINA.INFANS ('mothers/women and sons'), that is, FEMINA.NEPOS ('mothers/women and descendants'). Nevertheless, the lack of

parallels and the incongruity with the context of the passage forces to leave this possibility as an hypothesis.

Regarding its syntactic function, although the sense of the sentence is not fully clear, the ablative might be a directional complement from v. *niyazza- pariyan* 'to pass down below', while abl. /huhadi/ a complement of origin, as the translation offered by the editors of the inscription, seems to point (Herrmann et *al*. 2016:61: "When (it?) [pas]ses(?) down from the grandfather to [o]ne of the [desc]endants").

§ 21 . Two unknown lexemes are rendered with the logogram NEPOS, whose partial syllabic form does not correspond with any case-ending of *hams*(*i*)-: III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 8§30 NEPOS[3]-*sa-ta-ní-i* and X.10 KULULU 4 1§2 NEPOS[3]-*ta-*, both interpreted by Hawkins as 'posterity' (2006a:17 and 2000:446). The use of the logogram NEPOS here must account for a close morphological relation with *hams*(*i*)-, since other terms referring to direct descendants such as *nawa-* 'great-great-grandons', *nawanawa-* 'great-great-great-grandson' use the determinative INFANS (see § and §), thus pointing that semantic affinity is not necessarily their common denominator. On the contrary, *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson', a derivative from the same root (see **§ 34.**), does present the logogram and/or determinative NEPOS, indicating a certain phonetic coincidence in the initial syllable (see *nawa-* **§69c.** with **Tab.24**).

Nevertheless, the two forms are not easily reconciled from the morphological point of view. If the **hams-* derivation is accepted, the first would stand for dat.sg. /**hamsadanni/ while the second for nom.sg. /**hamsada(s)/ or /hamsida(s)/ or acc.sg. /**hamsada(n)/ or /hamsida(n)/ (note that following enclitic *=ha* would have caused the previous consonant to fall down, see **§ 115 .**). In my opinion, the context of the first form points to a filiation clause, since a genitive-adjective personal name in dative /-*assan*/ ([I]*ha-mi-ia-ta-sa-na*) precedes. Furthermore, it appears in the prothesis of a curse (v. *attuwanza zartti-* 'to desire evil'), which in other attestations with the same verbal expression is filled with the designation to concrete descendants (see **§ 20b**). One possibility is to interpret /**hamsadanni/ as a derivative with -*ad*(*i*)-suffix (cf. *wanattiyad*(*i*)-, *zidiyad*(*i*)-, see **§ 132a.** and **§ 140.**) and -*nn*(*i*)- diminutive suffix (cf. *annattinn*(*i*)-, see **§4a.** and **§7a.**), providing the meaning 'little grand-child'. Again, this must remain as a hypothesis, since, if related, the close variant NEPOS-*ta-* in

X.10 KULULU 4 1§2, does not fit with the meaning as 'descendant' in the context where it appears (see Hawkins 2000: 446).

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§ 22 . The logogram that represents *hams(i)-* is the one that presents more graphic variations among the logograms that render kinship terms. Besides the Empire Period form, consisting of INFANS[1]+*300 (ie. NEPOS[1], see below **§ 23.**), the Post-Empire Period NEPOS presents at least three different variants, whose main innovation is the addition of a rhomboid sign (*488) after *300 (NEPOS[2]), which implies the relegation of INFANS to the determinative function (see **§ 24a.**). The following combinations, to which a number in superindex has been assigned for clarification purposes, are attested:

	NEPOS[1]	'clamp hand' (INFANS without crampons) + cradle (*300)
	NEPOS[2]	'clamp hand' (INFANS without crampons) + craddle (*300) + rhombus (*488)
	NEPOS[3]	cradle (*300) + rhombus (*488)
	NEPOS[4]	cradle (*300)

Table 19. Types of graphic representation of the logogram NEPOS

§ 23 . The logographical representation of *hams(i)-* in the Empire Period consists of two signs: INFANS without crampons and proper NEPOS (*300). On the different variants of INFANS (*45), see *nimuwiza-* **§86-88** with **Tab.26-28**, and **33**.

The logogram INFANS (*45) of the Empire Period is formed by a 'clamp hand' (not to be confused with MANUS *59), with a lower crampon behind (VIR$_2$ *386). For rendering *hams(i)-*, Empire Period INFANS replaces its lower crampon (VIR$_2$ *386) with the sign *300 proper, a squared shaped sign with a volute form at the end of each leg (resembling a kind of furniture, perhaps a cradle). To avoid confusion with the use of INFANS as a

determinative that takes place in the Post-Empire inscriptions, that is, (INFANS)NEPOS, I use here the rendering NEPOS[1] for referring to the Empire form, the 'clamp hand' and the cradle (*300).

Empire INFANS	Empire NEPOS	Post-Empire NEPOS with INFANS as determinative

Table 20. Evolution from 'clamp hand' into INFANS determinative in NEPOS

§ 23a . All the Empire Period attestations respond to this description, ie. NEPOS[1] (EMIRGAZI 1 A§4, YALBURT 1§1, BOĞAZKÖY 3 3-4§1, KARABEL 3, BOĞAZKÖY 5 1§1), except for the already mentioned case in KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4a, which has been argued to be the logogram INFANS, rather than NEPOS, according to the copy of Gelb (**§ 15b.** and **Fig.9**). In favour of considering this instance as INFANS, note that other examples of INFANS in the Empire Period present the lower crampon (VIR$_2$ *386) in a similar shape as KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4a, that is, with one of its strokes in a diagonal line (see above **§15b** with **Fig.9**; see *nimuwiza-* §86b with Tab.27).

§ 24. As it has been stated (**§ 23.**), the Empire Period inscriptions attest NEPOS[1], but it does not seem to be restricted to solely this period. At least two instances of NEPOS[1] are identified in the Post Empire Period, namely, II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13a-c 2§1 and V.3. KÖTÜKALE 3§1b (and perhaps II.34 KARKAMIŠ A27u, see below **§24a.**). The variant NEPOS[2] is only found once, although not employed for rendering *hams(i)-*, but its close relative lexeme *hamsukkala-* in II.26 AFŞIN (see **§ 32a.**). The most extended form is NEPOS[3], while NEPOS[4] (see **Tab.19**) is only used in II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2 (and also in *hamsukkala-* in IX.14 SHEIZAR 5§5, see **§ 32a.**).

One of the main problems that the transcription conventions face, especially in NEPOS[3] and NEPOS[4], is establishing when the logogram INFANS (*45), which in the Empire Period is part of the rendering of *hams(i)-*, becomes a determinative (see **Tab.20**).

Since INFANS as an element of NEPOS in the Empire Period, is rendered without crampons (INFANS), if it were a constituent part of the logogram in the Post-Empire Period, the absence of crampons would also be expected. This is not the case, although an analogical restitution of the crampons in view of the Post-Empire form is possible as well INFANS (see **Tab.20**). Nevertheless, it is worth considering that the form NEPOS[3] is distinguished by the absence of INFANS, which logically implies that NEPOS[3] (*300+488) has consolidated as the logogram for rendering *hams(i)-*, with the consequent recategorization of INFANS as a determinative.

§ 24a. For this reason, all the INFANS signs with double crampon are taken as determinatives of *hams(i)-* / NEPOS: I.8 Çıneköy §1 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-sà* II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 1§1 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa*, II.11 Karkamiš A11b 1§1 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-i-sa*, II.11 Karkamiš A11b 2§4 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za*, II.12 Karkamiš A11c 5§30 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*sa-za*, II.28 Karkamiš A4a 1§2 (INFANS[[2?]])NEPOS[4], II.28 Karkamiš A4a 2§12 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si*, II.34 Karkamiš A27u (INFANS[2!])NEPOS[(?)] or NEPOS[1](?), IV.1 Maraş 8 1§1 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3], V.16 Malatya 1 (INFANS[1])NEPOS[3]-*ia*, IX.14 Sheizar 3§4 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*zi*, and IX.14 Sheizar 4§5 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*si-sa*. Unluckily, the identification of the variant cannot be provided in cases where the drawing of the inscription is not available in the edition (IV.20 Maraş 16 1§1 ([INF]ANS[?])NEPOS[?], IV.21 Maraş 17 1§1 (INFANS[?])NEPOS[?]-*si-i-sa*).

As an exception, there are two cases, II.34 Karkamiš A27u and II.28 Karkamiš A4a 2§12, where determinative INFANS is not consistent in presenting the double crampon, for which it may be argued that they are part of NEPOS, as in the case of NEPOS[1] of the Empire Period. Of them, the lack of lower crampon in at least in II.28 Karkamiš A4a 2§12 can be regarded as a confusion, since the lexeme *hamsukkala-* that follows is formed with the double crampon, indicating that the use of INFANS as a determinative is well established (see below). Also as an exception, there is a unique case where the determinative INFANS is accompanied by the phonetic indicator *NI*, V.2 Gürün 2§1b (INFANS.*NI*)NEPOS[3] (see details in **§ 17b.**).

Cases where INFANS is completely absent, either as a determinative or as a constituent of the logogram, are restricted to II.36 Karkamiš A13a-c 2§1, II.40 Körkün 3§6, II.40 Körkün Obv§11, V.3. Kötükale 3§1b, VI.1 Boybeypınarı 1 I.A §11,

XII.19 Pᴀɴᴄᴀʀʟɪ 1-2§2 (NEPOS^3-*ia-ti*), III.11 Tᴇʟʟ Aʜᴍᴀʀ 6 8§30 (NEPOS^3-*sa-ta-ní-i*) and X.10 Kᴜʟᴜʟᴜ 4 1§2 NEPOS^3-*ta-* (NEPOS-*ta-*).

§ 24b. At some point, NEPOS is recategorized as a determinative, either standing alone as (NEPOS^3)*hams(i)-* (II.40 Kᴏ̈ʀᴋᴜ̈ɴ 3§6 and II.40 Kᴏ̈ʀᴋᴜ̈ɴ Obv§11), or together with INFANS, displaying a complex determinative as (INFANS.NEPOS)*hams(i)-* (IV.4 Mᴀʀᴀş 1 2§1c, IV.5 Mᴀʀᴀş 14 3§5, X.48 Pᴏʀsᴜᴋ). There are only two instances where *hams(i)-* only presents the determinative INFANS alone, (INFANS)*hams(i)-* both in the same inscription: V.4 İsᴘᴇᴋᴄ̧ᴜ̈ʀ B ꜰʀᴀɢ.ᴄ 2§1 (INFANS$^{1?}$)*ha-ma-si-sa$_5$*, V.4 İsᴘᴇᴋᴄ̧ᴜ̈ʀ C ꜰʀᴀɢ. ᴄ+ᴅ (INFANS$^{1?}$)*ha-ma-si-sa*.

§ 24c . There are only two *hams(i)-* instances without any determinative or logographical representations, both taking place in the same inscription: X.18 Kᴀʀᴀʙᴜʀᴜɴ 2§7 (*ha-ma-si*) and X.18 Kᴀʀᴀʙᴜʀᴜɴ 3§9 (*ha-ma-si*).

§ 25a . The phonetic indicator *MI* that is placed after NEPOS seems restricted to two attestations: V.5 Dᴀʀᴇɴᴅᴇ 2§1 ((INFANS^2)NEPOS^3.*MI-sa*) and VI.1 Bᴏʏʙᴇʏᴘɪɴᴀʀɪ 1§11 NEPOS^3.*MI-i*(*-ni$^?$-*)*sá*, on which see **§ 19d.** with **Fig. 11** (cf. the use of *SI* in *hamsukkala-*, **§ 33b.**).

§ 25b. Plene spelling appears in two examples, (INFANS^2)NEPOS^3-*si-i-sa* in II.11 Kᴀʀᴋᴀᴍɪš A11b 1§1, and (INFANS$^?$)NEPOS$^{(?)}$-*si-i-sa* in IV.21 Mᴀʀᴀş 17 1§1.

Mᴏʀᴘʜᴏʟᴏɢʏ

§ 26. H.Luw. *hams(i)-* belongs to the *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalic class. Its inflection shows a high degree of regularity among its attestations, with the exception of nom.sg. NEPOS.*MI-i*(*-ni$^?$-*)*sá* in VI.1 Bᴏʏʙᴇʏᴘɪɴᴀʀɪ 1 I.A §11, whose unexplained *ni* might be understood as a scribal error (see **§ 19d.**).

If the relation is accepted, the two derivative forms in III.11 Tᴇʟʟ Aʜᴍᴀʀ 6 8§30 NEPOS-*sa-ta-ní-i* and X.10 Kᴜʟᴜʟᴜ 4 1§2 NEPOS-*ta-* might tentatively stand for derivations with *-ad(i)*-suffix, ***hamsad(i)-* (on the problems of this interpretation see **§ 21.**).

Luw. *hams*(*i*)- belongs to an extended group of Anatolian cognates, together with Hitt. *hāšša-* 'grandson', *hanzassa-* 'offspring', Lyd. *esa-* 'grandson', and, probably, Car. PN *ksbo*, all of them probably derived from a root 'to be born', reconstructed as *h₂éNs (*EDH* 323), and only attested in Hittite (*haš-ⁱ* / *hašš-* "to give birth") (see etymology **3.2§3a**).

hamsukkala- 'great-grandson'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Empire Period

   nom.sg. NEPOS[1]-*ka-li* (YALBURT 16§1*a*)
   nom.sg. [NEPOS[1?]-*ka-li*] (BOĞAZKÖY 3 4§1[?])

II. Post-Empire Period:

ATTESTATIONS

   nom.sg. NEPOS[2]-*siⁱ-ka+ra/i-sa* / NEPOS[2].*SI-ka+ra/i-sa* (II.26 AFŞIN 1§1)
   nom.sg. NEPOS[3]-*ka-la-sá* (II.40 KÖRKÜN 3§6)
   nom.sg. (INFANS[2].NEP[OS[3?]]*ha-ma-su-k*]*a*-[*l*]*a*-[*sa*] (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1)
   nom.sg. (<">INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")REL-*la-sá* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10)
   nom.sg. (INFANS[2].NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 2§1d)
   nom.sg. ("INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")REL-*la-sá* (IV.5 MARAŞ 14 4§5)
   nom.sg. (INFANS[?])NEPOS.[?]REL-*la-sa* (IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1)
   nom.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[4]-*ka-la*-[*sa*] (IX.14 SHEIZAR 5§5)

   nom.pl. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*ka-la-zi* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 3§4)

   dat.sg. (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].REL-*la* (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 2§12)
   dat.sg. (NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la* (II.40 KÖRKÜN Obv§11)
   dat.sg. (INF[ANS[2?].NEPOS[3?]])*ha-ma-siⁱ*-REL-*la* /*HAMSI.*REL-*la* (IV.8 MARAŞ 11 2§2)

> ***Ref.*** Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'descendants'; Hawkins (2000:626) *hamsukala-* 'great-grandson'; Payne (2014:144) *hamsukala-* 'great-grandson'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *hamsukkala-*) 'great-grandson'.

§ 27 . H.Luw. *hamsukkala-* is mainly used as the third element in filiation clauses, both in the Empire (**§ 28a-b.**) and in the Post Empire Period (**§ 29b.**). Exceptionally, some inscriptions of the Iron Age display it in the second position of the filiation chain (**§ 29a.**). Like other lexemes of the semantic category of 'descendants', Luw. *hamsukkala-* is also contained in curses and petitions, intended to secure the future care of the tomb on behalf of the author's descendants (**§ 30.**). On the epigraphic level, the rendering of *hamsukkala-* brings to light methodological problems related to the nature and function of untypical logograms such as REL, and the transcription conventions assumed for it (**§ 31.**)

§ 28 . The contexts where *hamsukkala-* appears in the Empire Period attestations are restricted to filiation clauses of those inscriptions authored by Tudhaliya IV, the only king that incorporated the threefold filiation chain in his compositions (*nimuwiza-* 'son, *hams*(*i*)- 'grandson', *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson'), that is, in YALBURT 16§1*a* (**§ 28a.**) and BOĞAZKÖY 3 4§1 (**§ 28b.**).

§ 28a . Concerning the attestation of YALBURT, the recovery of fragment nº2, containing the sign NEPOS, by Karasu, Poetto and Savaş (2000: 101) permitted to join block 1, which contains the aedicula of *Tudhaliya* IV and the beginning of his filiation, with block 16, which presents an isolated NEPOS-*ka-la* before the beginning of a new paragraph. The addition of the fragment allows us to reconstruct the filiation clause as (1§1) *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS INFANS URBS+*RA/I-li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS (16a§1– frag.2) NEPOS [PURUS.FONS+*MI* MAGNUS.REX HEROS] (16§1) NEPOS-*ka-li* ("of *Hattusili*, Great King, Hero, the son; of *Mursili* Great King, Hero, the grandson, [of *Suppiluliuma*, Great King, Hero], the great-grandson").

§ 28b . The very damaged stele containing *Tudhaliya*'s aedicula (BOĞAZKÖY 3) seems to present the same filiation sequence that appears in YALBURT 1§1. Despite the surface is heavily worned out, one can identify the main elements to reconstruct the genealogy and titles:

lin.1 [MAGNUS].REX IUD[EX.*L*]*A* [MO]NS.*TU* IUD[EX.*L*]*A* MA[GNUS R]EX

"[Great] King Lab[arna] [*Tud*]*haliya* Lab[arn]a Gre[at K]ing,

lin. 2 *HATTI*+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS IN[FANS]

"of *Hattusili* Great King Hero, the s[on],

lin. 3 [URBS+*RA/I-li* MAGNUS].REX HEROS NEPOS

[of *Mursili* Great] King Hero, the grandson"".

The stele is broken in the fourth line, and only the upper parts of its signs remain. Among them, the sign MAGNUS is partially visible. Since filiation is expressed, with very few exceptions (cf. V.2 GÜRUN see **§ 17a.**) as PN PN-GEN titles KT, and a low degree of variability is expected for the Hittite royal inscriptions of the Empire Period, it is highly possible that lin. 4 continues with the third member of Tudhaliya's genealogy as in YALBURT, therefore:

lin. 4 [PURUS.FONS.*MI*] MAGNUS[.REX HEROS NEPOS[1?]-*ka-li*]

"[of *Suppiluliuma*] Great [King, Hero, the great-grandson]."

§ 29. In the attestations from the Post-Empire Period, Luw. *hamsukkala-* is the second relationship element in two of the three inscriptions that present *hamsukkala-* in the filiation clause. The usual filiation order is only found once (IV.4 MARAŞ 1, see **§ 29b.**). As other kinship terms that refer to descendants, they appear in curses and warnings concerning the future care of the tomb (**§ 30.**).

§ 29a . Filiation expressed through the family bound of the great-grandson (*hamsukkala-*) offers a new variant in the types of kinship relationship clauses, that is, the one that eludes the mention to the grandfather: PN PN-GEN *nimuwiza-* PN PN-GEN *hamsukkala-*. In II.26 AFŞIN 1§1 (NEPOS[2]-*si-ka+ra/i-sa*), *Kamani*, the well-known ruler of Karkamiš in the 8th c., regards himself as the son of *Astiruwa*, but as the great-grandson of BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-mu-sa* (to be probably interpreted as *Isarwilamu*(*wa*), according to Marchetti – Peker 2018:96)[3], and as the great-great-grandson of *Sangara* (see *nawa-*

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[3] The editors of the inscription wrongly transcribe BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u*-BOS-*sa* (Marchetti-Peker 2018:95), which stands for a **/Isarwilu-/. The copy (*op.cit.* 94) clearly shows BRACCHIUM-*la/i/u-*

§ 69a.). Note that the omission of the grandfather in the filiation clause correlates with the lack of grandfather in the formulaic expressions 'father – great-grandfather (see **§ 56a.**).

In IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10 (<"">INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")REL-*la-sá*, the author *Halparuntiyas* presents the same type of filiation clause (*nimuwiza-*, *hamsukkala-*), subject of v. *sa-* 'to release'. The inclusion of the filiation in the middle of the inscription is *per se* surprising, but, a further uncommon feature is that in the filiation clause that appears in the introduction, only mentions *Halparuntiyas*' father (*Muwattalli* II), but not the great-grandfather (*Muwizi*). Such a mention of *hamsukkala-* in the unusual *nimuwiza-*, *hamsukkala-* filiation, cannot merely correspond to a broad meaning as 'descendant', since the genealogy of the author is well-known and clearly corresponds with the information in the filiation clause (*Halparuntiya* II, c. 860 – *Muwattalli* II, c. 885 – *Halparuntiya* I c. 910 – *Muwizi* c. 935). One possible explanation is that the mention of the grandfather is avoided because he bears the same name as the author. The omission of the grandfather is found as well in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1 ((INFANS[2].NEPO[S[3?]]*ha-ma-su-k*]*a-*[*l*]*a-*[*sa*]), where, in addition, the order is inverted, thus *hamsukkala-*, *nimuwiza-*, similarly to the archaic Malatya group that presents the filiation order *hams(i)- nimuwiza-* (see **§ 16b.**).

§ 29b . A chain of six generations clause takes place in the usual filiation order in IV.4 MARAŞ 1 2§1d (INFANS[2].NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá*, while in a threefold filiation clause in IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1 (INFANS[?])NEPOS.[?]REL-*la-sa.*

§ 30 . Outside the filiation context, the mention to the great-grandson(s) is usually found in enumerations with other kinship terms, always displayed in a hierarchical descending order. As already seen in *hams(i)-* (see **§ 20a.**), they are quoted in the context of the future concerns of the stele, in II.40 KÖRKÜN 3§6 NEPOS[3]-*ka-la-sá* (subjects of v. *ahha awi-* 'come away'), IX.14 SHEIZAR 3§4 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*ka-la-zi* (v. *x-x-zawa/inuwa-*), or in relation to a protective curse in II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 2§12 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].REL-*la*, and II.40 KÖRKÜN Obv§11 (NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la* (indirect objects of v. *ahha la-* 'take away'). This could also be the context in IV.8 MARAŞ

11 2§2 (INF[ANS.NEPOS$^{3?}$)]*ha-ma-si$^!$*-REL-*la*, which is contained in a doubtful passage involving an action from Tarhunza.

Finally, *hamsukkala-* is contained in enumerations that are preceded by a relative pronoun, which bear the sense 'he who (is) my grandson or great-grandson or...': IV.5 Maraş 14 3§5, ("INFANS^2.NEPOS^3")REL-*la-sá*, and in IX.14 Sheizar 5§5 (INFANS^2)NEPOS^4-*ka-la-*[*sa*]. This expression is already known from the Empire Period (see **§ 15b.**).

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§ 31. In both the Empire Period and the Post-Empire Period, the logographic rendering of *hamsukkala-* follows the same pattern as in *hams*(*i*)-, represented under the logogram NEPOS (*300). This logogram presents a strong variation along the chronology of the Hieroglyphic sources (see *hams(i)-* **§ 22.** with **Tab.19** and **20**). To sum up, in the Empire Period, NEPOS consists of a hand without crampons accompanied by a sign that resembles a cradle, here transcribed as NEPOS^1, while in the Post-Empire Period, the 'clamp hand' is substituted by INFANS, that is, sign *45 with upper and lower crampon (*386), which becomes a determinative, while NEPOS adds to the 'cradle' sign, a second character of rhomboid form (*488), here transcribed as NEPOS^3. What distinguishes *hams(i)-* from *hamsukkala-* is, therefore, the presence of syllabic complements, and particularly, the special use of REL (*329), whose function and problems related to its conventional transcription are addressed below (**§ 33.**).

§ 32a . With regards to the graphic variants of NEPOS that *hamsukkala-* displays, all the instances present the form NEPOS^3 ('cradle' *300 + 'rhombus' *488, see **Tab.19**), with the exception of II.26 Afşin (NEPOS^2-*si$^!$-ka+ra/i-sa*). This attestation presents the logogram INFANS (*45) without any upper or lower crampon, plus the innovated rhomboid sign of the Post-Empire Period (*488), and is therefore transcribed as NEPOS^2 (see **Tab.19**).

A second exception to the general use of NEPOS^3 is found in IX.14 Sheizar 5§5 (INFANS^2)NEPOS^4-*ka-la-*[*sa*], which omits the rhomboid sign, and thus only presents the 'cradle' (*300).

§ 32b . Since attestations of the logogram NEPOS[3] without INFANS exist (see **§ 24a.**), one must assume that NEPOS has consolidated itself as *300+*488, and therefore regard the presence of INFANS to a determinative function, and not as a relic of the Empire Period NEPOS[1]. Among them, the following attestations present INFANS as a determinative: IV.21 Maraş 17 1§1 (INFANS[?])NEPOS[?].REL-*la-sa*, IX.14 Sheizar 5§5 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[4]-*ka-la*-[*sa*], IX.14 Sheizar 3§4 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3]-*ka-la-zi*, and II.28 Karkamiš A4a 2§12 (INFANS[2])NEPOS[3].REL-*la*.

§ 33 . As happens in the case of *hams(i)-*, when there is a complete syllabic spelling of the word, logograms become phonetically superfluous and must be regarded as determinatives (e.g. (NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la*, II.40 Körkün Obv§11). In the cases of full syllabic spellings where, besides NEPOS, also INFANS is present, they conform a complex determinative, that is, INFANS.NEPOS. This is the case of two attestations: III.6 Tell-Ahmar 1 1§1 (INFANS[2].NEP[OS[3?]])*ha-ma-su-k*]*a*-[*l*]*a*-[*sa*], and IV.4 Maraş 1 2§1d (INFANS[2].NEPOS[3])*ha-ma-su-ka-la-sá*). The nature of these complex determinatives is still a topic to be addressed and investigated.

In addition, some of them furthermore present a determinative marker (*410): IV.2 Maraş 4 3§10 (<">INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")REL-*la-sá*, IV.5 Maraş 14 4§5 ("INFANS[2].NEPOS[3]")REL-*la-sá*, indicating that REL (*329) is relegated to a logographical function.

§ 33a . This assumption posits some problems on the conventions assumed for the transcription of words that are written partially logographically and partially syllabic. By definition, a logogram designates the semantic concept of the lexeme that underlies, but in Hieroglyphic Luwian they are occasionally used for other grammatical categories as well, namely *ARHA* (*216, 'away'), INFRA (*57, 'down') or NEG (*332 'not') among others. These are classified by Hawkins (1995:39[105]) as *rebus*-signs, which stand for the phonetic realization that the word represents (also PRAE /pari/, LEPUS /tapa/ or REL /kwi/a/).

In this sense, the conventional transcription of sign *329 as REL is based on its common usage for rendering the relative pronoun *kwi-* or *kwa-* 'who'. Nevertheless, this sign must have represented other phonetic realities out of /kwi/a-/, since *hamsukkala-* is rendered with *ka* (*434) when the complete syllabic spelling is given. Therefore, the conventional

transcription of *329 as REL *kwi/a* is misleading, since it only preserves a partial phonetic reality of *hamsukkala*. Alternatively, Sasseville (2014/15:117) considers REL to have a phonetic realization as /kwa/, and regards the instances of **hamsukkwala-* as phonetic variants with a labialized velar. Nevertheless, note that both Cuneiform Luwian and the early attestations in Hieroglyphic Luwian render the word as *hamsukkala-*, and that a late development of a labialized appendix /ku/ in Luwian lacks of parallel examples until the present moment.

One tentative explanation for accounting for the presence of REL in *hamsukkala-* is that the use of *ka* (*434) could create a graphic confusion with the closely similar sign *la* (*175), which is already used as a phonetic indicator in FRATER.*LA* (=*45.*LA*). It is difficult to state, though, to what extent orthographic questions like this were due to a premeditated decision or to chance, especially taking into account that phonetic indicators, which are intended to provide a reading help, can be equally ambiguous, e.g. *NI* is used for rendering both *niwarann(i)-* 'child' and *nimuwiza-* 'son' (see state of the art in **§72.**).

In light of these cases where the determinative marker (*410) specifies the determinative function of INFANS.NEPOS (IV.2 Maraş 4 3§10 (⟨"⟩INFANS^2.NEPOS^3")REL-*la-sá*, IV.5 Maraş 14 4§5 ("INFANS^2.NEPOS^3")REL-*la-sá*)), it is pertinent to ask whether the same equation is to be established in those cases where the determinative marker (*410) is absent. Therefore one can transcribe IV.21 Maraş 17 1§1 as (INFANS$^?$.NEPOS$^?$)REL-*la-sa* or (INFANS$^?$)NEPOS$^?$.REL-*la-sa*, and II.28 Karkamiš A4a 2§12 as (INFANS^2.NEPOS^3)REL-*la* or (INFANS^2)NEPOS^3.REL-*la.* Such logographic usage of REL in *hamsukkala-* seems restricted to the Maraş group of inscriptions, and to one Karkamiš inscription.

§ 33b . The recategorization of a syllabic middle sign into a kind of phonetic indicator, or logographical syllabogram, seems a feature restricted to *hams(i)-* and *hamsukkala-*. Compare for instance the rendering of *hams(i)-* with a similar type of "middle phonetic indicator" (see **§ 25a.**): (INFANS^2)NEPOS^3.*MI-sa* (V.5 Darende 2§1) and NEPOS^3.*MI-i(-ni$^?$-)sá* (VI.1 Boybeypinari 1§11).

Also *hamsukkala-* is prompt to present uncommon syllabographic developments. See, for instance, two attestations with an unexpected middle syllabogram *si* (*174):

IV.8 Maraş 11 1 2§2 (INF[ANS.NEPOS³?])]*ha-ma-si!-REL-la* and II.26 Afşin 1§1 NEPOS²-*si!-ka+ra/i-sa*. Although it cannot be completely ruled out, two mere scribal confusions between <su> and <si> seem, in my opinion, slightly suspicious. On the contrary, one can interpret them to have a logographical value, respectively, as (INF[ANS.NEPOS³?])]*HAMSI*.REL-*la* and NEPOS².*SI-ka+ra/i-sa*. At least II.26 Afşin 1§1 (NEPOS².*SI-ka+ra/i-sa*) is comparable to the phenomenon seen in *hams(i)*-NEPOS.*MI*-, where a middle word syllabogram seems to be used as a kind of phonetic indicator.

In conclusion, besides the problematic transcription of *329 as REL for both /kwi/a/ and /ka/, a further methodological problem is how a middle syllabogram such as *329 REL in *hamsukkala*-, and also the instances of *SI* (*174) and *MI* (*391) that have been examined, must be considered when it stands to represent a significant phonetic part of the lexeme.

The process might respond to two phases, the development of an acrophonic use of the syllabograms *329 (REL /kwi/a/ and /ka/), *174 (*SI*) and *391 (*MI*), on the one hand, and their recategorization as a logogram of phonetic basis on the other. Such developments could have been triggered by the similar nature of the phonetic indicators in INFANS.*NI* and FRATER.*LA* (see **§ 72a.**).

Even so, the nature and development of these middle syllabograms with secondary functions, which oscillate between the acrophonical and the logographically value, needs future investigation and systematization, together with a revision of the transcription conventions, in order to provide further insight on this phenomenon.

§ 33c . Finally, there is one attestation where NEPOS stands for the sole determinative (II.40 Körkün obv.§11 (NEPOS³)*ha-ma-su-ka-la*).

Morphology

§ 34a . H.Luw. *hamsukkala*- inflects according to the declension of the *a*-stems of the common gender (non-mutated stem). However, note that in the Empire Period attestation NEPOS¹-*ka-li* (Yalburt 16§1*a*), it is rendered with a final *i*-ending, indicating that it could have belonged to the *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalicalic class. The lack of

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inflectional case ending is regarded by Hawkins, in relation to *tad(i)-*, as a common feature of the Empire Period inscriptions (see *tad(i)-* **§ 115.**).

The only irregularity that can be perceived in *hamsukkala-* is the alternation between /l/ and /r/ in the suffix /-kkala/ - /-kkara/ in II.26 Aғşın 1§1 NEPOS[2].*SI-ka+ra/i-sa*. This sound change finds parallels in other Luwian lexemes, e.g. *kaluna-/ karuna-* 'granary' or *wala-* / *wara-* 'to die' (examples from *ACLT*), and has been described by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:217) as 'flapping', since the phonetic articulation of /l/ (but also /d/ and /n/) and /r/ is the flap [ɾ].

§ 34b . From the etymological perspective, Luw. *hamsukkala-* preserves the old *u*-stem that can also be identified in H.Luw. *hassu-* (see **§50.**) and in the Anatolian cognates Hitt. *haššu-* 'king' and also Lyc. *xahba-* 'grandson' before being secondarily reconverted into an *a*-stem (cf. Lyc. *b* < PA **Cw*, see Lyc. **§65.**). Both Luw. *hams(i)-* and *hamsukkala-* preserve the etymological nasal that other Anatolian cognates have lost: Hitt. *hāšša-*, Luw. *hams(i)-*, Lyd. *esa-* 'grandson', and Car. PN *ksbo*. All of them probably derived from a root 'to be born', reconstructed as **h₂éNs-* (*EDH* 323), and which is only attested in Hittite (*haš-ⁱ* / *hašš-* 'to give birth').

It remains doubtful whether *hamsukkala-* is a derivative from *hams(i)-* 'grandson', or if they constitute separate derivations. This question cannot be easily answered without the identification of the suffix *-kalla.* Although Sasseville (2014/15:117) proposes an origin from PIE **ke-lo* (cf. Lat. *-culus*), which creates diminutives in Latin, this cognate is comparatively too distant to be regarded as a solid evidence for the Luwian suffix *-kalla.*

*hana- 'grandmother'

I. Empire Period

(?) nom./acc.sg./pl. AVUS.*HANA* (BOǦAZKÖY 21 VI§13)

ONOMASTICS

(?) dat.sg. ¹*ha-ni-sa-na* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 4.21), ¹*ha-ni-sa-na* (X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 9.59)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Houwink ten Cate (1965:142) *hanna-* 'grandmother'; Hawkins (1995:41) *506-*na* 'grandmother'; Payne (2014:199) *HANA*.

§ 35 . The corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian attests one single instance of the lexeme for 'grandmother', a fact that contrasts with its regular presence in other Anatolian languages, such as Hittite (*hanna-* 'grandmother') and Lycian (*xñna-* 'grandmother', on Mil. *xinasi*, see Lyc. **§ 69a**).

The attestation appears in the composition known as Südburg (BOǦAZKÖY 21), which was commissioned by king *Suppiluliuma* II and narrates the military expedition towards some southern territories, among which Lukka and Tarhuntassa can be recognized. In his edition, Hawkins gives the following transcription of passage §13:

BOǦAZKÖY 21 5§13 (Hawkins 1995:23):

pu-wa/i-ti AVUS.*506-*na* NEG-*wa/i-tá* REL-*ti-ha* *507
"Formerly, the ancestors ('grandfathers and grandmothers') to no one had ..."

§ 35a . Because of its hapax condition, the lexeme for 'grandmother' is reconstructed by combinatory evidence. On the one hand, the logogram behind the sign *506 has been

proposed to have a *rebus*-value *HANA* (Hawkins 1995:41), that is to say, the sign stands for the phonetic realization that the word represents (the author also attributes a *rebus* value to PRAE /pari/, LEPUS /tapa/ or REL /kwi/a/, see Hawkins 1995:39[105]). Such phonetic value for *506 is further supported by the possible identification of the toponym *Tarahna* in 3§7 *tara/i-*506-na*(URBS) (Hawkins 1995:41).

On the other hand, as Hawkins states (1995:41), the precedent AVUS 'grandfather' seems to point to the presence of a word-pair 'grandfather-grandmother', comparable to FEMINA.INFANS (see **§ 77b.** and **§ 124a.**) or PATER.AVUS (see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 104a.**). Although the word-pair 'grandfather-grandmother' lacks of parallels in Hieroglyphic Luwian, it is present in the Hittite cuneiform sources (see below).

§ 35b . Since the verb generally appears at the end of the sentence in Hieroglyphic Luwian, it could be identified under the unknown sign *507. Although the sense of this phrase is obscure, judging by the precedent line, where the subjection of Tarhuntassa is referred, and also in view of the sentence structure with the negative particle *nawa*, one might think of a sense similar to the common expression 'my ancestors to these lands they had no run', where the author expresses that he has accomplished what his ancestors could not. Nevertheless, note that military actions regularly present expressions where males are involved, normally with the word-pair 'father-grandfather' (see *tad*(*i*)**- § 106b.**). On the contrary, literary expressions where FEMINA occurs as part of a word-pair present, when in a warfare narrative, a connotation of defeat (see **§ 77b.**). Nevertheless, if we consider that the royal Hieroglyphic Luwian texts of the Empire Period were executed by the kings of Hatti, where both Luwian and Hittite were spoken (see Yakubovich 2010a on the linguistic situation of central Anatolia), the literary expressions of the Hittite texts can also be taken into account for comparative purposes. In this sense, note that the word-pair containing 'grandfather(s)-grandmother(s)' appears related to a context of honouring:

> Late NH KUB 30, 24+ ii 23 (ed. and transl. Kassian et al. 2002: 289)
>
> [EGIR-]*an-da-ma hu-uh-hi-iš ha-an-ni-iš e-ku-ˈziˋ*
> "Then he drinks grandfathers (and) grandmothers."

A very tentative interpretation is to provide the possible verbal form under *507 with a meaning related to the honouring of the ancestors, an to analyze the sentence as "before

(ADV.-*puwadi*), the grandfahter and grandmother (NOUN.ACC.SG.-AVUS.*HANA*) no one (NEG.-*nawa* INDEF.PRON.-*kwadis-ha*) honoured (VERB-*507*).", therefore, attributing to the word-pair a syntactic function as direct objects, and consequently, regarded as accusatives.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 36 . Sign *506 has been proposed to stand for the *rebus*-value *HANA* in view of a possible identification of the sign *506 with the city of *Tarahna* (3§7, *tara*/*i*-*506-*na*(URBS), Hawkins 1995: 41). Note, however, that since both *tara*/*i*-*506-*na*(URBS) and *506-*na* already present final *na* sign, one can also assume a syllabic phonetic value /ha/ for *506, which would equally produce the expected phonetic result: *tara*/*i*-*506-*na*(URBS) as /tarahana/, instead of /tarahanana/, and *506-*na* as /hana/, instead /hanana/. Thus, the redundant final -*na* of both attestations can only correspond to the marks of an accusative case-ending (see **§ 37.**).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 37 . The syntactic case of the attestation is difficult to establish in view of the obscure interpretation of the passage. On the one hand, if the form AVUS.*506-*na* is to be understood as plainly logographical, then both singular and plural, nominative or accusative inflections are possible. On the contrary, if *na* is not taken to represent a the last syllable of **hana-*, but as an inflectional mark, then accusative singular /hannan/, or dative singular /hanna/ are options to consider. The syntactic interpretation of the passage strongly depends on the identification of the verbal form, which at the present moment can only be hypothesized (**§ 35b.**).

§ 37a . Despite the single attestation that the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus presents, its nominal class can be assumed to be an *a*-stem if we take into consideration its Anatolian cognates, Lycian *xñna-* and Hitt. *hanna-* (on Milyan *xina-* see Lyc. **§ 69a**). It is probable that Luw. **hana-* did not merge with the semi-vocalic class (i.e. *a*-stem without *i*-mutation), since also *huha-* stands as an *a*-stem. The main argument is, however, based on the comparison with Lycian. According to the the regularity in the distribution of the genitive adjectival suffix between thematic stems (gen.adj. -*ehe*/*i*) and *a*-stems (gen.adj. -*aha*/*i*) (Hajnal 2000:170 and Yakubovich 2008a:195), Lyc. *xñna-* stands for an *a*-stem,

that is, without *i*-mutation (see Lyc. **§ 69.**). For this reason, the previous assumption of a thematic stem for both Luw. **hana* and *huha-* (*EHD* 285, 353), can no longer be maintained, and it seems more prudent to reconstruct for *hana-* a Proto-Indo-European root **h₂en-H-* (see Indo-European cognates in etymology **3.3.1§5a.**).

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hara/itu- 'seventh generation descendant (?)'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Post-Empire Period

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ha+ra/i-tu-sá* (IV.4 MARAȘ 1 3§1g)

DOUBTFUL

*187-*sa* (III.2 BOROWSKI 3 2§4)

["*187]"-*tú-sa* (III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 3§6)

(*187-*wa/i-sa-*) (III.11 TELL-AHMAR 6 5§15)

*187-*tu-wa/i-i-za* (XI. ASSUR LETTERS C 2§7)

*187 (XI. ASSUR LETTERS E 3§20)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Ref. Starke (1990:115) 'progeny'; Hawkins (2000:262) 'descendant'; Payne (2014:145) *hartu-* 'descendant'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *hartu-*) 'clan', adj. *hartuwi(ya)-* 'dear, beloved', noun *hartuwi(ya)-* 'relatives'.

§ 38 . This hapax (INFANS²)*ha+ra/i-tu-sá* has a clear connotation as 'descendant', since it appears as the seventh generation in the long filiation chain of IV.4 MARAȘ 1 3§1g, where it is modified by a personal name inflected in genitive-adjective (/Laramassis tabariyallis hartus[?]/ "of *Laramas* the governor, the descendant"). The evidence on the inscriptions of the Maraș rulers (see **§ 18.** and **Tab.17**) corresponds with the designation of Halparuntiya III as the seventh descendant of Larama, which is the reason why the

attestation in IV.4 MARAŞ 1 3§1g does not as vaguely mean 'descendant', but seems to be the specific term for the seventh generation of descendants.

§ 38a . A group of attestations that present a partial syllabic correspondence with *hartu-* have been taken by Yakubovich to belong to the same lexeme. Yakubovich (*ACLT: hartu*) proposes to interpret the logogram *187 (XI. ASSUR LETTERS E 3§20) as the lexeme *hartu-*, meaning 'clan', and *187-*tu-wa/i-i-za* (XI. ASSUR LETTERS C 2§7) as its derivative *hartuwiya-*, meaning 'relatives'. These forms seem to be related to Cuneiform Luwian *harduwa-* 'descendants' and *harduwatt(i)-* '?' (Cun.Lex. 61). While the morphological connection is possible, the fact that here *hartu-* uses the determinative INFANS, which accompanies lexemes of the semantic category of 'descendants', and which is absent in the forms rendered with *187 sign, precludes from considering it a plausible comparative example.

Further attestations of *187 as *hartu-* 'clan', according to *ACLT*, might take place in III.2 BOROWSKI 3 2§4 (*187-*sa*), III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 3§6 ["*187]"-*tú-sa*, III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 5§15 (*187-*wa/i-sa-*). All three attestations are contained in the same expression 1-(*ta*)-*ti* (PES₂)*tara/i-zi-ha*, consisting of the numeral '1' inflected in dative and verb *tarzi-* 'to turn(?)' (see commentary in Hawkins 2006a:25 with references), therefore "I turned to the first place". If the verb is considered as transitive, then the lexeme under *187 is to be taken as the object "I turned *187 to the first place" (note that the accusative mark /n/ might have fallen before the enclitic =*ba*, at least in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 3§6 and III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 5§15 (but it is difficult to prove in III.2 BOROWSKI 3 2§4, where the syllabic value of the following sign *l* is unknown).

Revealingly, the determinative marker (*410 " ") in III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 3§6 (["*187]"-*tú-sa*) should indicate that the next sign represents the beginning of a word syllabically rendered, (*187)*tusa-*. The only evidence for assuming that *187-*tu*(*wa*)*s-* begins with initial /har-/ and represents the lexeme *hartu-* is the potential relation with (INFANS)*ha+ra/i-tu-sá*, but, as it has been argued, their connection is not as evident.

Under the possibility that *187-*tu*(*wa*)*sa-* is to be read as (*187)*tu*(*wa*)*sa-*, they could stand for separate lexemes. Although this speculation is based on assumptions that are difficult to prove with the present evidence, if accepted, this lexical item could find etymological support in Lycian *tuhes-* 'nephew' (see Lyc. **§ 57a.**), which would go back

to a Luwic stem *tu(wa)sa-. The fact, however, that Hieroglyphic Luwian 'nephew' is already attested through the construction 'the brother's son' (see **§ 9b.**), together with the scarce evidence of *187 meaining 'nephew', forces us to leave it as a tentative hypothesis.

EPIGRAPHY

§46 . The hapax *hartu-*, attested in IV.4 MARAŞ 1 3§1g as (INFANS[2])*ha+ra/i-tu-sá*, which I consider to be a different lexeme from *187-*tuwas*, is preceded by the determinative INFANS. Its presence seems to point to the appurtenance of *hartu-* to the lexical category 'descendants', since it is also used to determine *nawa-* 'great-great-grandson' and *nawanawa-* 'great-great-great-grandson' (see Lyc. **§69.** and **§70.**).

MORPHOLOGY

§47 . The hapax condition of *hartu-* does not allow to draw solid conclusions with regards to its morphology, saving the fact that it is apparently an *u*-stem. It might be connected with C.Luw *harduwa-* 'descendants' and *harduwatt(i)-* '?', but both are also restricted to one single attestation (Cun.Lex. 61). Its etymology is unknown.

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hassu- 'family'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Post-Empire Period
dat.sg. (NEPOS[3])*ha-su-´* (I.1. KARATEPE XV§74-80 Hu.)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> **Ref.** Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'descendant'; Hawkins (2000:626) *hasu-* 'family';
> Payne (2014:145) *hasu-* 'family'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *hassu-*) 'family'.

§48 . This word is only attested once in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The hapax appears modified by dat.sg. /nanniyi/ DOMINUS-*ní-i*, indirect object of v. *izziya-* 'to

make' (/ami=ha=wa nanniyi hassu tanima sanawiya anna izziha/ "and I made all the good things to my lord's family").

Its meaning as 'family' is inferred by the Phoenician XV§74-80 Hu. *l-šrš ʼdny* 'to the root of my lord' that takes place in the Phoenician counterpart of the Bilingual of Karatepe (see edition by Röllig in Çambel 1999:50-57).

The meaning is also in line with its etymological connection to the Anatolian verbal root **hass-* 'to be born' (see below, **§50.**). The use of the determinative NEPOS would call for classifying the term as belonging to the lexical category of 'descendants', since it is consistently used in relation to the different types progeny (cf. *hams*(i)-, *hamsukkalla-*). Nevertheless, the Phoenician counterpart clearly points to a meaning as 'family', which leads to the hypothesis that NEPOS was established because of the resemblance between *hams*(*i*)- and *hassu-*, or also because of the awareness of the same lexical origin, ie. from **hass-* 'to be born'.

EPIGRAPHY

§49 . The only epigraphical remark of this lexeme is the presence of the determinative NEPOS in its variant NEPOS[3], consisting of the sign *300 proper ('cradle') and the *488 (rhombus) (see explanation and distribution in **§ 22.** and **Tab.19**).

MORPHOLOGY

§50 . H.Luw. *hassu-* is an *u*-stem, originated from the very productive Anatolian verbal root **h₂éNs-* (*EDH* 323), which is only attested as a verb in Hitt. *haš-[i]* / *hašš-* 'to give birth'. It presents an -*u*-stem formation that can be compared to H.Luw. *hamsukkalla* 'great-grandson and Hitt. *haššu-* 'king', while the Lyc. *xahba-* 'grandson' has been secondarily reconverted into the *a*-stems (see Lyc. **§65.**). It presents as further Anatolian cognates: Hitt. *hā̆šša-* 'grandson', Luw. *hams(i)-* 'grandson', Lyd. *eśa-* 'grandson', and Car. PN *ksbo* (see etymology in **3.2§3a**)

Both Luw. *hams(i)-* and *hamsukkala-* preserve the etymological nasal that other Anatolian cognates have lost: All of them probably derived from a root 'to be born', reconstructed as **h₂éNs-* and which is only attested in Hittite

The meaning as 'family', which is accounted for by the Phoenician version of the bilingual, leads to understanding the semantics as a meaning transfer from 'the ones that are born in the same place' to 'family'.

huha- 'grandfather'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Empire Period

    (?) nom./acc.sg AVUS.*506-*na* (BOĞAZKÖY 21 5§13)

    nom.pl. PATER.AVUS-*zi/a* (YALBURT 4§2)

II. Post-Empire Period

    nom.sg. AVUS-*ha-sa* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§9)

    nom.pl. (AVUS)*hu-ha-zi* (II.18 KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2+ 4§d)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1 and 2 5§16)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (X.11 ÇIFTLIK 2§3-4)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (X.17 BOHÇA 3§6)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (X.17 BOHÇA 4§10)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (X.18 KARABURUN 1§1)

    acc.sg. AVUS-*ha-na* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11)

    acc.pl. AVUS-*ha-zi* (II.5 KARKAMIŠ A14a 4§5)

    dat.sg. AVUS-*ha* (II. 13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 2§3-4)

    dat.sg. AVUS-*ha* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§8)

    abl. AVUS-*ha-ti* (II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a 2§14)

    abl. [(AVUS[?])]*hu-ha-ti* (XII.19 PANCARLI 1-2 §2)

AVUS-*ha-wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-sa* /Huhawaris/ (II.27 CEKKE 8§17j), AVUS-*ha-wa*/*i*+*ra*/*i-*273-*sá* /Huhawarpis/ (II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAG. 21), [I]AVUS-*ha-SARMA-ma-sa* /Huhasarmas/ (X.24 ERKILET 1 1§1)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> *Ref.* Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'grandfather'; Houwink ten Cate (1965:142) *huh*(*h*)*a-* 'grandfather'; Hawkins (1995:74) *huhha-* 'grandfather'; Payne (2014:145) *huha-* 'grandfather'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *huha-*) 'grandfather'.

§51 . The Hieroglyphic Luwian lexeme for 'grandfather', *huha-*, is barely found outside literary expressions in both the Empire and the Post-Empire inscriptions. The vast majority of the attestations are contained in the stylistic form of word-pairs, namely 'father(s)-grandfather(s)' or 'grandfather(s)-grandmother(s), which in the first case is used to refer to the previous generations of the author when narrating historical deeds, or, perhaps, in a broader sense to refer to the ancestors in the second. This is not to say that the figure of the proper grandfather was not present in the Hieroglyphic sources. On the contrary, the author's grandfather is widely attested, though indirectly expressed through the construction PN PN-GEN *hams*(*i*)- ("X, of X the grandson") in filiation clauses (see *hams*(*i*)- **§ 16a.**).

§52 . In the Empire Period, the lexeme *huha-* 'grandfather' is restricted to two literary expressions, in YALBURT under the word-pair 'father(s)-grandfather(s)' and in BOĞAZKÖY 21 under 'grandfather-grandmother'. The first one, in YALBURT 4§2, forms a word-pair with *tad*(*i*)-, earlier identified as Hawkins as the 'typical Hittite-Luwian doublet' (1995:74), and creates the well-known expression 'my father(s) and grandfather(s) to these lands did not march' (v. (*na*) *hwiya-* '(not) to run'), which is widely extended in the Post-Empire inscriptions (see **§ 106b.**).

YALBURT 4§2 (Hawkins 1995:68; *TÁ* = PATER, see *tad*(*i*)- **§114a.**)

zi/*a-tá-zi*/*a-pa-wa*/*i* REGIO-*ní-zi*/*a* MAGNUS.REX-*zi*/*a HATTI*(REGIO)
a-mi-zi/*a TÁ*.AVUS-*zi*/*a* NEG-*a* REL-*i*(*a*)-*sa-ha hwi*/*a-i*(*a*)-*tá*
"And to these countries the Great Kings of Hatti,
my fathers (and) grandfathers, no one had run"

The second expression, consists of the pair "grandfather(s)-grandmother(s)", which is until the moment unique in the Luwian corpus. The comprehension of the passage that contains the attestation is obscured by the unidentified verb, probably to be hidden under the unknown logogram *507 (see text in **§ 35.**). The sense might be similar to the expression 'they had no run' since both previous YALBURT and BOĞAZKÖY 21 deal with similar topics, the military campaign towards the southern territories, respectively launched by Tudhaliya and Suppiluliuma. Nevertheless, other meanings such as the honouring of the ancestors could be equally possible (see the commentary of the passage in *hana-* **§ 35b.**).

§ 53 . In the Post-Empire Period inscriptions, *huha-* is also found under the form of the word-pair 'father-grandfather', either as a subject of predicative sentences (**§ 53a.**) or as direct and indirect objects (**§ 53b.**). Two attestations take place outside this word-pair, both inflected in ablative case (**§ 53c.**).

§ 53a . As a subject of predicative sentences, it appears together with *tad*(*i*)- displaying the word-pair 'father-grandfather' in X.18 KARABURUN 1§1 AVUS-*ha-zi* (v. *ahha hatta-* 'to demolish'); in a temporal sentence in X.17 BOHÇA 4§10 AVUS-*ha-zi* (v. *azzussattalla-* PES₂.PES₂-*da* 'to ride', lit. 'to go on horse'); while in a relative sentence in X.17 BOHÇA 3§6 AVUS-*ha-zi* (v. *as-* 'to be', on sense and analysis see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 106c.**).

The same word-pair is used in negative predicative sentences as well, some of which convey the idea that the author of the inscription achieves in the bellic and political sphere what the ancestors could not: IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§9 AVUS-*ha-sa* (v. *na sa-* 'not to release'), VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 5§16 AVUS-*ha-zi* (in correlative sentences, v. *na- izziya-* 'not to make'), X.11 ÇIFTLIK 2§3-4 AVUS-*ha-zi* (in correlative sentences, v. *na tama-* 'not to built'). The verb is unknown in II.18 KARKAMIŠ A26a1+2 4§d (AVUS)*hu-ha-zi*.

§ 53b . Still, in the word-pair father-grandfather, it appears as an indirect object in II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 2§3-4 AVUS-*ha* (v. *appan anta waliya-* 'to favour'/exalt towards') and IV.2 Maraş 4 3§8 AVUS-*ha* (v, *tabarihid- as-* 'to be power to'). As a direct object, it appears in a four generations chain of ancestors in IV.2 Maraş 4 4§11 AVUS-*ha-na* (v. *waliyanuwa-* 'to exalt) (on *waliya* and *waliyanuwa-* see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 107b.**).

§ 53c . There are only two attestations where *huha* is found outside the word-pair 'father-grandfather', both inflected as ablatives: II.6 Karkamiš A1a 2§14 AVUS-*ha-ti*, quoted in a bellic context of military campain, and whose verb is unluckily broken, and XII.19 Pancarli 1-2§2 [(AVUS?)]*hu-ha-ti* (v. *niyazza- pariyan* 'to pass down below'). The function of the ablative in Pancarli could be analyzed as an ablative of origin, 'from the grandfather', which correlates with the preceding ˹X˺(.)NEPOS-*ia-ti* /hamsiyati/, as a directional ablative, as it is interpreted by the editors of the inscription (Herrmann et *al.* 2016:61): "When (it?) [pas]ses(?) down from the grandfather to [o]ne of the [desc]endants" (on this attestation of NEPOS, see **§ 20c.**)

Epigraphy

§54 . Only the circular shape of the logogram AVUS (*331) is visible in Boğazköy 21 5§13, while Yalburt 4§2 does preserve the vertical arrow (*268 SCALPRUM), despite its frames are rhomboid rather than circular. An alternation between a circular and a semicircular shape is perceived in the Post-Empire Period attestations, although it can be attributed to the stylistic reasons rather than to different variants (see **Tab.21**).

In two occasions, the lexeme is rendered with a full syllabic spelling, and preceded by the determinative AVUS (*331), in Karkamiš A26a1+2+ 4§d (AVUS)*hu-ha-zi*, and in the broken XII.19 Pancarli 1-2 §2 [(AVUS?)]*hu-ha-ti*.

Empire Period	Post-Empire Period		
	Variant 1	Variant 2	Variant 3

Table 21. Variants of sign *331

§ 55 . H.Luw. *huha-* inflects according to the common *a*-stem nouns (ie. without *i*-mutation). As stated for Luw. **hana-* 'grandmother' (**§ 37a.**), the fact that it has not merged with the *i*-stems of the semi-vocalic class is in accordance its Lycian cognate *xuga-* 'grandfather', which did not undergo *i*-mutation, *contra* Kloekhorst (2008:353), who established a thematic **xuge*, see Lyc. **§ 71.**). Besides Lycian, it is cognate Hitt. *huhha-*, and perhaps, with the Carian personal name component *quq* (Adiego 2007: 361, 419), which, according to Kloekhorst, goes back to a h_2-root noun **h₂éu-h₂-*.

§ 55a . On a synchronic level, the most remarkable trait of *huha-* is the complete absence of *iya*-adjectival derivatives that presents. The mechanism that creates possessive adjectives by means of the suffix *-iya-* is a productive derivation process in the Hieroglyphic Luwian nouns (in kinship terms present in *hamsi(ya)- nimuwi(ya)-*, *tadi(ya)-*, *huhadi(ya)-*, *wanattiyadi(ya)-*, *zidiyadi(ya)-*). This fact contrasts with the existence of *iya*-adjectives for *huhad(i)-* 'great-grandfather' in the same contexts where *huha-* would be expected (see *huhad(i)-* **§ 56.**). This particularity can be explained if the derivation *huhad(i)-* is understood as an intermediate development towards the *iya*-adjectival formation *huhadiya-*, which could be linked with a restriction of *a*-common nouns to undergone *iya*-derivations (see further details in **§ 59.**). This tentative statement needs further corroboration from the derivational nature of other nouns that inflect according to the *a*-class.

huhad(*i*)- 'great-grandfather'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Post-Empire Period

    nom.sg. [(AVUS)]*hu-ha*-[*ti*]-*sa* (III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 3§7)

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ha-ti-zi* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8)

    nom.pl. [*hu-ha*]-*ti*-[*zi*] (II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12 2§2)

    acc.sg. AVUS-*ha-ti-na* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11)

-*all(a/i)*-DERIVATIVE

    nom.sg. AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2)

-*iya*-DERIVATIVE

    nom.pl. AVUS-*ti-ia* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 4§13)

    acc.pl. AVUS-*ha-ti-ia* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 3§8)

    dat.sg. AVUS-*ha-ti* (II.26 AFŞIN 2§4)

    dat.sg. (AVUS)*hu-ha-ti* (III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 4§14)

    dat.pl. AVUS-*ha-tà-za* (IX.1 HAMA 4 B.2§10)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

    Ref. Laroche (2016[1958]:93) 'ancestor'; Payne (2014:145) *huhat(i)*- 'great-grandfather', *huhatala/i*- 'ancestral'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *huhad*(*i*)-) 'great-grandfather, *huhadall*(*a/i*)- 'ancestral'.

§ 56 . Judging by its broad distribution along the Post-Empire Luwian corpus, the family role of the great-grandfather might had held a certain significance, although the possibility that, in some occurrences, *huhad(i)-* behaves as a synonym of *huha-* 'grandfather', or perhaps as a general term for ancestor cannot be discarded. The determination of its

meaning, between 'grandfather' or 'great-grandfather', cannot be disassociated from its formation as a derivative in *-adi* (see morphology **§ 59.**).

In fact, the second explanation as a general term for ancestor might account for its profusion in literary expressions under the form of a word-pair *tad(i)- huhad(i)-* 'father and (great-)grandfather' in II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 3§8, II.15 Karkamiš A12 2§2*, and IV.2 Maraş 4 4§11 (see **§ 56b.**), which overlaps with the already existing pair *tad(i)-huha-* 'father-grandfather' (see **§ 53.**). Noteworthily, it is in adjective formations where *huhad(i)-* does not overlap with the pair 'father-grandfather', since *huha-* does not attest any adjectival formation (see **§ 55a.**): *-ala(a/i)-*derivative *tadall(a/i)- huhadall(a/i)-* 'of the father (and) (great-)grandfather' in II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 1§2 (**§ 57c.**), and *iya*-derivative *tadiya- huhadiya-* 'of the father, of the (great-)grandfatherly' in II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 3§8, II.26 Afşin 2§4 AVUS-*ha-ti* and IX.1 Hama 4 B.2§10 (**§ 57a.**).

§ 56a . Some inscriptions are, however, not ambiguous in showing the distinction between the meanings 'grandfather' and 'great-grandfather'. Note, on the one hand, the fact that the enumeration of ancestors that takes place in IV. Maraş 4 4§11 shows a clear hierarchical order *tad(i)- huha- huhad(i)* and *huhadul(i)-* ('father – grandfather – great-grandfather – forefather'). On the other hand, the missing *huha-* 'grandfather' in the word-pair *tad(i)- huhad(i)-* 'father – great-grandfather' finds a counterpart in the filiation clauses where the papponym is omitted in favour of the mention of the great-grandfather (PN PN-GEN *nimuwiza-*, PN PN-GEN *hamsukkala-* "X, of X the son; X of X the great-grandson) (see *hamsukkala-* **§ 29a.**). In conclusion, the evidence from Maraş speaks against assuming it as a mere synonym of grandfather or as a general term for ancestor.

§ 56b . In the word-pair *tad(i)- huhad(i)-*, it appears in the common topos 'my father(s) and great-grandfather(s) to those fields did not march', in the place where grandfather is usually found. They syntactically function as subjects of the verbal expression v. *na hwihwassa-* 'not to march' in II.15 A12 Karkamiš 2§2* [*hu-ha*]-*ti*-[*zi*]-, and in II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 3§8 AVUS-*ha-ti-zi*. Note that II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c presents a third element in the enumeration of ascendants, *348-*la/i/u-tà-li-zi*, whose identification with adj. *huhadall(a/i)-* 'of the great-grandfather' or *huhadul(i)-* 'forefather' is not clear (on *huhadul(i)-*, see **§ 60.**).

As direct object *huhad(i)-* takes place in the long enumeration of ascendants of IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11 AVUS-*ha-ti-na* (v. *waliyanuwa-* 'to redeem'); while only once alone, in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 3§7 [(AVUS)]*hu-ha-[ti]-sa*, in a temporal sentence too broken to infer further elements of the context.

§ 57a . Noteworthily, *iya*-adjectival derivatives occur in *huhad(i)-*, a fact that contrasts with their complete absence in *huha-*. Three attestations that present this derivation appear in the word-pair 'father – great-grandfather'. As direct object of v. *izziya-* 'to make', in II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 3§8 AVUS-*ha-ti-ia*, modifying /wattaniya/, 'to the father's (and) great-grandfather's territories'; as indirect object of an unknown verb, in II.26 AFŞIN 2§4 AVUS-*ha-ti*, modifying /wattani/, 'to the father's (and) great-grandfather's territories', and of verbal expression *tarpari- anta* (*aradi-*) 'to occur a disaster(?)' (according to Yakubovich *ACLT*) in IX.1 HAMA 4 B.2§10, AVUS-*ha-tà-za-*, modifying /aranza/, 'in my father's (and) great-grandfather's times'.

§ 57b . Out of the word-pair 'father – great-grandfather', there are two instances where *huhadiya-* is the only modifier of the head noun. It appears in the expression 'the doors of the great-grandfathers', in II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 4§13 (AVUS-*ti-ia*), modifying /hilana/, direct object of v. *niyazza-* 'to pass down' (cf. in IX.1 HAMA 4 A.1§3, see *wanatt(i)-* **§ 128.**); and in the expression 'the great-grandfather's succession/power', in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 4§14 (AVUS)*hu-ha-ti*, modifying /salhanti/, as indirect object of an unknown verb.

A feature that points out that the use of *huhad(i)-* might not arbitrary in literary expressions, is supported by the fact that III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 presents the author's great-grandfather as having an important role in all the historical sequence of events. This fact is in accordance with an apparent loss of power between the great-grandfather times and the narration of the author.

§ 57c . An *-all(a/i)* derivative *huhadall(a/i)-* takes place in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 1§2 in coordination with *tadall(a/i)-*. In my opinion, the substitution of the expected *iya*-adjectival derivation by an *-all(a/i)* formation might have been triggered by the existence of two head-nouns in the same sentence, /URBS+*MI*-nis/ and /Ninuwiyassi/ (see text below). If the word-pair 'father – great-grandfather' would have undergone an *iya*-derivation, it would have created the confusion of modifying the personal name, since

many parallels follow this structure with an *iya*-formation (see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 117.**). On the contrary, the sentence is more comprehensible if we take /URBS+*MI*-nis/ as the head-noun of this word-pair, as Hawkins implicitly proposes with his translation.

> II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 1§2 (Hawkins 2000:103)
>
> *a-wa/i za-a-sa* URBS+*MI-ni-i-sa mi-sá-´ tá-tà-li-sa* AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa* [1]*477-*nu-wa/i-ia-sa sa-tá-´*
>
> /zas URBS+*MI*-nis (a)mis tadalis huhadalis Ninuwiyassi asta/
>
> 'This city of my father and great-grandfather was Ninuwis(?)'s'

EPIGRAPHY

§ 58 . The sign AVUS (*331) appears mostly with a logographic function, except in two cases, where it behaves as a determinative: III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 3§7 ([(AVUS)]*hu-ha-*[*ti*]-*sa* and III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 4§14 (AVUS)*hu-ha-ti*.

On the value of sign *tà* (*41) in AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2) and AVUS-*ha-tà-za* (IX.1 HAMA 4 B.2§10), see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 114b.**

MORPHOLOGY

§ 59 . Luw. *huhad*(*i*)- inflects according to the *a*-mutated stems of the consonantal class, and is clearly derived from *huha-* by means of -*ad*(*i*)- secondary suffixation. The ambivalence of its meaning, in some cases clearly 'great-grandfather', but sometimes appearing where we would expect 'grandfather', and therefore overlapping with *huha-*, together with the complete absence of *iya*-derivatives in *huha-*, in my opinion, calls for seeking a joint solution.

Note that the absence of -*iya*-derivatives in the lexeme *huha-* can be linked to the -*a*-stem nature of the lexeme, which would virtually have created **huhayi*/*a-* or **huhiyi*. One hypothesis is that the derivation in -*ad*(*i*)- was first developed to enable the adjectival formation in -*iya-* for the lexeme *huha-*. This allows us to explain why only *huhadiya-* appears in the word-pair *tadiya- huhadiya-* 'of the father and of the grandfather'. The

meaning as 'great-grandfather' would have consolidated secondarily. *huha-* 'grandfather' → *huhadiya-* 'of the grandfather' → *huhad(i)-* 'great-grandfather'.

Although the derivational process does not exactly correspond, that adjectival suffix *-iya-* and nominal *-ad(i)-* combined themselves for creating new lexemes, can be compared to *wanatt(i)-* (*wanattiyadi(ya)-* and *zidiyadi(ya)-*). Further investigation is needed to corroborate if the *iya*-adjectival derivation is restricted to i-stems, in order to corroborate the present proposal.

huhadul(i)- 'forefather'

I. Post-Empire Period

ATTESTATIONS

 (?) nom.pl. *348.*LA/I/U-tà-li-zi* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8)
 acc.sg. AVUS-*ha-tu-ˊli*ˋ (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

 Ref. Hawkins 2000:103 *348.LA/I/U-*tà-li-zi* 'ancestors' Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *huhadul(i)-*) 'forefather'

§ 60 . The lexeme *huhadul(i)-* is only clearly attested in IV.2. MARAŞ 4 4§11 AVUS-*ha-tu-ˊli*ˋ, in the literary expression 'to exalt the ancestors', and contained in a four-generation chain 'father, grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather', direct object of v. *waliyanuwa-* 'to redeem'. The position of *huhadul(i)-* after *huhad(i)-* 'great-grandfather' leads to establish a meaning 'great-great-grandfather', but a more general connotation as 'forefather', as Hawkins (2000:256) and Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *huhadul(i)-*) propose, is possible as well. In favour of considering a exact meaning 'great-great-grandfather', note that this inscription is quite precise in employing family terms, as can be observed by the presence of a long filiation clause, where the relation of the family terms is consistent with the genealogical information of these rulers (see *hara/itu-* **§ 38.**).

On the contrary, the attribution of the elusive *348.*LA/I/U-tà-li-zi* to *huhadul*(*i*)- in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8 (see **Ref.**, and **§ 61.**), can only be assumed in view of the presence in the same chain 'father, great-grandfather, great-grandfather' that IV.2. MARAŞ 4 4§11 presents. It appears in the common topos 'my ancestors to these countries did not march', subject of verbal expression *na hwihwassa-* 'not to march'.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 61 . The appearance of sign *348 is restricted to the attestation in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8 and does not present any similitude with the logogram AVUS (*331). In addition, the interpretation of the syllabograms can hardly correspond with the form *huhadul*(*i*)- without forcing the reading of the signs, which mainly depends on the interpretation of sign *445 *la/i/u*, either as a phonetic indicator *348.*LA/I/U-tà-li-* (Yakubovich *ACLT*: *huhadul*(*i*)-) or as a plain syllabic reading *348.*la/i/u-tà-li-* (Hawkins 2000:103 '?'). On the contrary, the second part of the lexeme corresponds with a reading /-*tal*(*i*)-/ or /*dal*(*i*)-/, perhaps comparable to the adjectival formation *huhadall*(*a/i*)- (see **§ 57c.**), rather than *huhadul*(*i*)-.

*348	*331

Table 22. Signs *348 and *331

MORPHOLOGY

§ 62 . According to the only certain attestation, in IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11 AVUS-*ha-tu-ˈliˋ*, which is inflected in accusative (note that the lack of case ending mark might be due to the presence of enclitic -*ha*, see *tad*(*i*)- **§ 115 .**).

The suffix -*uli*- has a very limited presence in Hieroglyphic Luwian.

muwida- / muwid(i)- 'seed, progeny'

I. Post-Empire Period

<small>ATTESTATIONS</small>

> acc.sg. (*462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 4§28)
>
> acc.sg. (FEMINA)*462.*4*ᵗ*-tà-na* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 4§29)
>
> acc.sg. *462 (II.43 TILSEVET 1§3)
>
> acc.sg. FEMINA.*462-*ti-* (II.43 TILSEVET 2§4)

<small>PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY</small>

> ***Ref.*** Hawkins (2000:104, 179) 'seed; male/female issue'; Payne (2014:148) *muwita-*
> 'seed'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *muwid(i)-*) 'seed, progeny'.

§ 63 . H.Luw. *muwida-/muwid(i)-* seems to stand for the meaning 'descendant' in a broad sense. Nevertheless, the context of the passages where it appears, as well as the semantic aspects that are provided by the etymological data (see etymology **3.2§5f**), suggests that it can be further concretized as related to a fertility connotation.

The two inscriptions where *muwida-/muwid(i)-* is attested present an accusative singular inflection, functioning as direct objects of transitive verbs. In both inscriptions, although expressed by different means, the term is repeated in a masculine and in a feminine variant. The contexts of the the inscriptions are, however, different:

§ 63a . In II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 4§28, (*462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na* /muwidan/ and 4§29 (FEMINA)*462.*4*ᵗ*-tà-na* /muwidan/ are the direct objects of v. *nis la-* 'not to take', and both are modified by, respectively, /zidiyadin/ 'of the male' and /wanattiyadi(n)/ 'of the female. They take place as part of the apodosis of a curse, which seems to cast a threaten of infertily over the possible future malefactors of the stele.

II.11+12 Karkamiš A11c 4. Hawkins (2000:104)

§28 *wa/i/tú-´* VIR-*ti-ia-ti-i-na* (*462)*mu-wa/i-tà-na* NEG₃-*sa tà-ti-i*
"to him may they not allot(?) (male) seed,"

§29 FEMINA-*ti-i*[*a*]-*ti-pa-wa/i-tú* (FEMINA.*462)4-*tà ni-i tà-ti-i*
"(or) to her may they not allot(?) female seed"

§ 63b. In II.43 Tilsevet, the two attestations are contrasted by the change of the verb, while II.43 Tilsevet 1§3 *462 /muwidin/, is the direct object of v. *77 'to pledge', II.43 Tilsevet 2§4 FEMINA.*462-*ti* /wanatta-muwidin/ is the direct object of v. *piya-* 'to give'. These occurrences take place in a funerary inscription where the deceased woman accounts for she having daughters, despite wishing male sons. This significantly provides a unique instance of the procreation preferences of families, that is to say, of their will to have male-descendants over female, a reality in any case unexpected in the Ancient Near East context. Contrarily to II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c, here *muwid*(*i*)- is not modified by any adjectival derivative from *zid*(*i*)- 'man' or *wanatt*(*i*)- 'woman', which implies that in II.43 Tilsevet 2§4 FEMINA.*462-*ti* functions as a logogram, not a determinative (see below **§ 64a.**).

II.43 Tilsevet 1-2 (Hawkins 2000:179)

§3 *a-wa/i* *462 *77-*ha*
"and I pledged (male) issue,"
§4 FEMINA.*462-*ti-pa-wa/i* DARE-*ha*
"but I gave female issue."

Epigraphy

§ 64a. The orthographic rendering of the four attestations of this lexemes is different. In what follows I will offer a systematization attempt of the forms:

	Male	Female
II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11c 4§28-29	(*462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na*	(FEMINA)*462.4$^?$-tà-na*
II.43 TILSEVET 1§3; 2§4	*462	FEMINA.*462-*ti*-

Table 23. Orthographic renderings of *muwida-/muwid(i)-*.

On the basis of the gender opposition that the parallel lines offer in both inscriptions, it is possible to isolate *462 as 'male progeny', a fact supported by the use of the modifier /zidiyadin/ lit. 'of the male' in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§28 (*462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na.*

Therefore, *462 presents a logographical value in II.43 TILSEVET 1§3, but, because of the full syllabic rendering, it is to be interpreted as a determinative in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§28 (*462)*mu-wa/i-i-tà-na*. In comparison, the category of FEMINA as a determinative or as a logogram is not as evident. In II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§29, the use of the modifier /wanattiyadin/ 'of the female' relegates FEMINA to the determinative category, since a logographical lecture would produce a redundant 'the female progeny of the female'. On the contrary, in II.43 TILSEVET 2§4, FEMINA.*462-*ti* should stand for a logogram, since, from the viewpoint of an oral reader, repeating the same term *muwida-/muwid(i)-* in two consecutive lines without providing the contrastive meaning of the gender, would fail to convey the message. Therefore, FEMINA in II.43 TILSEVET 2§4 FEMINA.*462-*ti* is taken as a logogram, phonetically executed as (/wanatta-muwidin/).

§ 64b . The use of the numeral *4, which phonetically stands for /mawa/, in the syllabic rendering (FEMINA).*462.4$^?$-tà-na* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§29) implies that, either the word is to be read as /mawadan/, or that the use of *4 represents an illustrative phonetic complement, similar to the use of <REL> /kwa/i/ for *hamsukkala-* (see **§ 33a.**).

§ 64c . Note that the absence of INFANS or NEPOS as determinatives of *muwid*(*a*)- / *muwid(i)-*, could be in relation with the intrinsic connotation that *muwa-*, the base of the derivation, presents in relation with the concepts of sexual force and fertility (see etymology **3.2§5f**).

§ 65 . The stem class of this lexical item seems to show two variants. The /-an/ accusative case-ending in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§28 and 4§29 can only belong to an *a*-stem, while II.43 TILSEVET 2§4 (FEMINA)*462-*ti*- /muwidi(n)/ clearly shows an -*i*-stem (note the fall of the nasal of the accusative case-ending when in contact with the following enclitic =*ba* (cf. fall before enclitic /=ha/ in *tad*(*i*)-, **§ 115.**). It is not clear if these lexeme shows an incomplete process of merger between *a*-stems and semi-vocalic stems, or if it belongs to two separated words.

The word presents a derivation in -*id*- from a base lexeme n. *muwa*- 'power, fertility', which presents cognates related to progeny in both Luwian (*nimuwiza*- 'son') and Lycian (*muneite*/*i*- 'descendants', *muwẽte*- 'progeny', and perhaps Carian *mno*- 'son' see Lyc. **§ 26c.**). On the semantic aspects of *muwa*- as sexual or procreation force, see etymology in **3.2§4**.

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nanasr(i)- 'sister'

I. Post-Empire Period

acc.sg. (FILIA)*na-na-tara*/*i*ꞌ (VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2)
dat.pl. (FEMINA)*na-na-sa₅+ra*/*i-za* (IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin.1)

Ref. Hawkins (2000:628) *nanasari*- 'sister'; Payne (2014:148) *nanasra*/*i*- 'sister'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *nanasr*(*i*)-) 'sister'

§ 66 . Only two attestations of the Hieroglyphic Luwian lexeme for 'sister' have endured, both of them in coordination with FRATER.*LA/I*-(*i*) 'brother'. In VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4

A§2, a composition of apparent funerary character, the author refers to the upbringing of his brother and sister by his father /ammin=ha=wa FRATER.*LA*-in nanatri(n)ˡ=ha/ 'my broher and sister', direct objects of v. *ariya*- 'to raise'. The context in the second attestation, IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin.1 is too fragmentary to infer further details besides that /abassanza FRATER.*LA*-anza nanasranza=ha/ 'to these/his brothers and sisters' is the indirect objects of an unknown verb LOQUI+*ra/i*+*a-ta*, corresponding to v. *lara*- 'to bless', according to Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *lara*-).

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§ 67 . The restricted number of attestations posits difficulties in establishing which is the prevailing determinative of *nanasr(i)*-, since FILIA (*45) is employed in VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2, but FEMINA (*79) in IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin. 1.

The choice might be triggered by the context of the inscription, since VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2 mentions the 'brothers and sisters' from the viewpoint of the father, to whom the funerary inscription belongs, while IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin. 1 could be referring to the 'brothers and sisters' from a fraternal perspective. Unfortunately, the broken context of IV.16 MARAŞ 6 lin. 1 precludes form corroborating this hypothesis.

One aspect in favour of considering FEMINA as the usual determinative, and FILIA as a confusion is the fact that VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2 presents an error in the writing of word itself, ie. (FILIA)*na-na-tara/i*ˡ, where <tara/i> does not account for suffix -*sr(i)*- (see **§ 68b.**).

The transcription of the editors of VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 (Dinçol et al. 2014:63) of the inscription as (FEMINA.MANUS.FEMINA) is unnecessary, taking into account that *45-FILIA already exists in the Empire Period as 'clamp hand'+ FEMINA (on the transcription of INFANS and related problems see **§86.**).

MORPHOLOGY

§ 68a . The notation of the final syllable *ra/i* (*383) in H.Luw. *nanasr(i)*- fails to to account with certainty for its nature as an *i*-stem of the semi-vocalic class, which must be inferred through the comparison with the C.Luw. *nanašriya*- 'of the sister' (Yakubovich *ACLT: nanasriya-*). Note that the falling of the accusative case-ending is attested in

VII.14 Jɪsʀ Eʟ Hᴀᴅɪᴅ 4 A§2 both for *nanatr(i)'-* and *am(i)-*, is due to the attached copulative enclitic *=ha* (see **§ 115.**).

§ 68b . The most outstanding point is how the suffix difference in the two attestations is to be explained: *-tara/i, /-tr(i)/* in VII.14 Jɪsʀ Eʟ Hᴀᴅɪᴅ 4 A§2, and *-sara/i /-sr(i)/)* in IV.16 Mᴀʀᴀş 6 l.1, as already asked by the editors of the inscription (2014:64), either as a scribal error or as morphologically explainable. The Cuneiform Luwian form *nanašriya-* assures the original suffix /-sr(i)/, but since a phonetic change *-sr- > -st-* is not attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian, and neither any geographical or chronological particularity can account for such suffix alternation, one might seek for an alternative explanation. In my opinion, the alternation of the suffix is to be explained in terms of an analogy with *tuwatr(i)-*, a confusion that could have been triggered by the use of the logogram FILIA, representing *tuwatr(i)-* see **§ 122.**).

§ 68c . The Luwian word for 'sister' is synchronically derived from the term for 'brother' *nan(i)-*, attested in Cuneiform Luwian, by means of the feminine suffix relic *–šara* (see *GHL*, 2.39). This mechanism of creating feminine doublets recalls the process seen in onomastic pairs *-hšu/-hšušar* in Cappadocian personal names (see etymology **3.2§3c.**). Therefore, the Anatolian words for 'sister' appear to be independent creations (Hitt. *neka-*, Luw. *nanašr(i)-*).

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nawa- 'great-great-grandson'

I. Post-Empire Period

Aᴛᴛᴇsᴛᴀᴛɪᴏɴs

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*na-wa/i-sa* (IV.4 Mᴀʀᴀş 1 3§1e)
nom.sg. (INFANS²)NEG₂-*wa/i-sa* (IX.14 Sʜᴇɪᴢᴀʀ 5§5)
nom.sg. II.26 Aғşɪɴ 1§1[?] [(INFANS)*nawa-*]

nom.pl. (INFANS²)NEG₂-*wa/i-zi* (IX.14 Sʜᴇɪᴢᴀʀ 3§4)

> ***Ref.*** Laroche (2016[1958]:95) 'fourth descendant'; Hawkins (2000:262) 'great-great-grandson'; Payne (2014:148) *nawa-* 'id. Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *nawa-*) 'id.'

§ 69a . Hieroglyphic Luwian *nawa-* is employed for referring to the fifth generation of descendants, as can be inferred from the long filiation sequence in IV.4 MARAŞ 1 (3§1e (INFANS²)*na-wa/i-sa*), and as the genealogical information of the Maraş dynasts allows us to infer (see **Tab.17** in *hams(i)-* **§ 18.**). As expected for a filiation clause, it is modified by a personal name inflected in genitive (/Halparuntiyassi/).

In the case of II.26 AFŞIN 1§1, it can be reconstructed thanks to the partially broken attestation *sa₅-[k]a+ra/i-s[a]*, which according to Marchetti and Peker (2018:96, see **Tab.17** in *hams(i)-* **§ 18.**) is to be considered great-great-grandfather of the inscription's author, *Kamani*, the ruler of Karkamiš.

§69b . Outside the filiation context, an attestation is found in a long enumeration of descendants in IX.14 SHEIZAR 5§5 (INFANS²)NEG₂-*wa/i-sa*. The fact that it appears in a descending hierarchical order, that is, preceded by *hams(i)-* 'grandson' and *hamsukkalla-* 'great-grandson', and followed by *nawanawa-* 'great-great-grandson', can be taken as a further indication of the designation of *nawa-* as the fifth generation of descendants. In this passage, the sequence of descendants is introduced by a relative pronoun in a formulaic expression, already attested in the Empire Period (see *hams(i)-* **§ 20a.**, *nimuwiza-* **§ 77a.**), that warns the progeny about the future maintenance of the tomb. The same enumeration is found, inflected in plural number, in the precedent line, IX.14 SHEIZAR 3§4 (INFANS²)NEG₂-*wa/i-zi*, although the broken context does not allow us to understand the intention of the passage.

EPIGRAPHY

§ 69c . Instead of the determinative NEPOS, all the instances of *nawa-* 'fifth-generation descendant' appear with the determinative INFANS. Since INFANS renders *niwarann(i)-* and *nimuwiza-*, both initial /*n*-/ nouns, the preference for INFANS instead of NEPOS can be explained, in my opinion, because of a phonetic implication of the determinative. On the contrary, NEPOS, which renders *hams(i)-* 'grandson' is used for words that present initial /h-/, such as *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson' or *hassu-* 'family'. Consequently, the

phonetics of the determinative prevail over the semantics, since *nawa-* and *nawanawa* are better classified into a 'descendants' category, to which NEPOS would be more appropriate (see **Tab.24**). In my opinion, this might be taken as a further evidence that the underlying lexeme in FRATER.*LA(i)-* bears a reminiscence with **nan(i)-* (see FRATER.*LA(i)-* 'brother'). As a contra example, note that *hara/itu-* does not present initial /n-/ but presents the determinative INFANS (on *hara/itu-* see **§ 38.).**

INFANS	NEPOS
nimuwiza- 'son'	*hams*(*i*)*-* 'grandson'
niwarann(*i*)*-* 'child'	*hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson'
nawa- 'great-great-grandson'	*hassu-* 'family, descendant (?)'
nawanawa- 'great-great-great-grandson'	
FRATER.*LA(i)-* 'brother'	
ha+ra/i-tu-sá / X-*ha+ra/i-tu-sá* '?'	

Table 24. Distribution of determinatives INFANS or NEPOS

MORPHOLOGY

§69d . Although it is taken as an *a*-stem by Yakubovich (*ACLT: nawa-*), the phonetic ambivalence of sign *wa/i* (*439) that renders the last syllable of the lexeme, together with the lack of cognates, precludes from establishing an *a*-stem *nawa-* instead of a semivocalic stem *naw*(*i*)*-*.

It seems to be the lexicalization of the H.Luw. adv. *nawi-* "new", literally "the new one" although there are not Indo-European examples showing such meaning from PIE **neu̯ó-* 'new' that some Indo-European languages present (*LPP* 581: Ved. *náva*, Gr. νέος, Llat. *nouus*, OCS. *novŭ*, Toch.B *ñnuwe*, Toch.A *ñu* 'new'). The closest semantic correspondences as 'descendants' are the adjectives Gr. νεογνός 'newborn' and Goth. *niuklahs* 'as a child' (**neu̯o-*ĝn̥h₁-ó-*, Beekes 2010:273), which are however derivated from the root *ĝénh₁-* 'to be born', which is unattested in Anatolian. On the possible connection with the second element in Lyc. *esedẽñnewe*, see Lyc. **§13 c.**).

***nawanawa*-** 'great-great-great-grandson'

I. Post-Empire Period

    nom.sg. (INFANS^2)*na-wa-/i-na-wa/i-sá* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 3§1f)

    nom.sg. (INFANS^2)NEG$_2$ˊ*wa/i*ˋ-[NEG$_2$-]*wa/i-sa* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 5§5)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY:

    Ref. Laroche (2016[1958]:95) 'fifth descendant'; Hawkins (2000:262) 'great-great-great-grandson'; Payne (2014:148) *nawanawa-* 'id.'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *nawanawa-*) 'id.'

§ 70a . The designation of the sixth generation of descendants is represented under the lexeme *nawanawa-* 'great-great-great-grandson', which is only found in two attestations, both in enumerations. On the one hand, it appears in the longest filiation sequence of IV.4 MARAŞ 3§1f (INFANS)*na-wa-/i-na-wa/i-sá*, modified by a personal name inflected in genitive (/Muwizissi/) (see genealogy in **Tab.17.** in *hams(i)-* **§ 18.**).

§ 70b . On the other hand, it takes place in IX.14 SHEIZAR 5§5 (INFANS)NEG$_2$ˊ*wa/i*ˋ-[NEG$_2$-]*wa/i-sa,* contained in the enumeration of descendants that are intended to take future care of the tomb (see *hamsi* **§ 30.**).

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§ 70c . Both instances of *nawanawa-* are preceded by the determinative INFANS instead of NEPOS, as the case of *nawa-*, which could be explained because of the initial /n-/ of the lexeme (see details in **§66 .**)

MORPHOLOGY

§ 70d . H.Luw. *nawanawa-* presents the same problems for identifying its stem as *nawa-*, that is, the impossibility of distinguishing an *a*-stem from an *i*-stem under the rendering with sign *wa/i* (*439) (see **§67.**). Its origin is with all likelihood to be explained as aa

reduplicated compound of *nawa-* 'fifth descendant', lit. 'the new one'. (see **§67.**). Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that derivation by reduplication is not apparently found in Indo-European languages for forming kinship terms. One possibility to account for this formation in Luw. *nawanawa-* is that it has been developed in analogy to the very extended forms of babytalk origin, which consist on the reduplication of one of the syllables (e.g. 'father' Luw. *tad(i)-*, Lyc. *tede/i-*, Car. *ted*, Hitt. *atta-*, Pal. *papa*; 'mother' (Hitt. *anna-*, Pal. *anna-*, Lyc. *ẽne/i-*, Car. *en*).

nimuwiza- 'son'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Empire Period

    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (SIKERLI)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (ALEPPO 1 2§1)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (EMIRGAZI 1 A§4)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (YALBURT 1§1)
    nom.sg. IN[FANS[1]] (BOĞAZKÖY 3 §2)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (BOĞAZKÖY 18 §2)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (HATIP)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (BOĞAZKÖY 5 1§1)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (BOĞAZKÖY 5 2§d)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4a)
    nom.sg. INFANS (TAŞÇI A §3b)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (HEMITE 2)
    nom.sg. INFANS[1] (MALKAYA §4)
    nom.sg. INFANS (MALKAYA §5)
    nom.sg. [I]NFAN[S][1] (TAÇIN)
    (?) nom.sg. [INFANS[1]] (KARABEL 2)
    (?) nom.sg. [INFANS[1]] (KARAKUYU 2)

nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS^1-*zi/a* (YALBURT 6§1

nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS^1-*zi/a* (YALBURT 15§1)

nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS^1 (EMIRGAZI 2 5§13)

acc.pl. INFANS^1 (BOĞAZKÖY 5 4§c)

acc.pl. INFANS^1 (BOĞAZKÖY 5 6§c)

(?) gen-adj.nom.sg. NEPOS$^?$-*sa* (KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2 §4a)

II. Post Empire Period

nom.sg. (INFANS^2)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (I.3 KARATEPE §1)

nom.sg. [(INFANS^2)*ni-*]*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NÍ-*mu-za* (II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 2§1)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*mu-za* (II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 8§6)

nom.sg. (INFANS^2)*ní-mu-wa/i-zi+a-sa* (II.4 KARKAMIŠ A14b 3§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS^2)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1+Cat.10)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS^2)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 1§1)

(?) nom.sg. [INFANS^2] (II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12 1§1$^?$)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.26 AFŞIN 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*wa/i-za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 5§14)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*wa/i-za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 5§17*a*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NÍ-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 5§17*b*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 6§17*c*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NÍ-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 6§17*d*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*zá-sá* (II.27 CEKKE 6§17*e*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 7§17*f*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 7§17*g*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 7§17*h*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 7§17*i*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NÍ-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 8§17*j*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NÍ-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 8§17*l*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 9§17*m*)

nom.sg. INFANS^2.NI-*za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 9§17*n*)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NÍ-za-sa* (II.27 CEKKE 9§17*o*)

nom.sg. INFANS²].*NÍ-za-a-sa* (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4*a* 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS²-[x²] (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21 8§11)

nom.sg. INFANS² (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. 5)

nom.sg. INFANS² (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. 11)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (II.35 KARKAMIŠ A27e FRAGM. 1 1§1)

nom.sg. INF[ANS²] (II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13 a-c §1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (II.40 KÖRKÜN 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-*[*za*] (II.50 KARKAMIŠ A15*a* 5§7)

nom.sg. INFANS¹* (II.54 KARKAMIŠ A17*c* 3§5)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-z*[*a* (II.68 KARKAMIŠ A26*e*)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-w*[*a/i*]-*z*[*a-sa²*] (II.71 KARKAMIŠ A29*a* FRAG.3)

 (?) nom.sg. [...]*x-wa/i-z*[*a/i*...] (II.73 KARKAMIŠ SHERD)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NÍ-mu-zi/a* (II.75 KARKAMIŠ N1 1§3)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (II.78 ADANA 1 1§1*a*)

nom.sg. "INFANS²"*NI-za-ˊsa/sá`* (II.80 ŞARAGA §2)

nom.sg. "INFANS²"ˊ*NI*`*-za-sá* (II.80 ŞARAGA §4)

nom.sg. INFANS²-[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGMENTS CAT.3)

nom.sg. "INFANS²".*N*[*Í-w*]*a/i-z*[*a*]-*sá* (II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGMENTS CAT.20)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-m*[*u*]-*wa/i-*[*za-sa²*] (II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGMENTS CAT.21)

(?) nom.sg. [INFANS²] (III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 1§1²)

(?) nom.sg. [INFANS²] (III.2 BOROWSKI 3 1§1²)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 4§13)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 5§19)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za*[...] (III.8 TELL AHMAR FRAGM. 3)

nom.sg. [INF]ANS²-ˊ*mu*`*-wa/i-za-sa* (IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ní-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10)

nom.sg. INFANS²-*mu-wa/i-za-sà* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 1§1b)

nom.sg. INFANS²-*mu-wa/i-za-sá* (IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS²-*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za* (V.2 GÜRÜN 3§1b)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI* (V.3 KÖTÜKALE 3§1b)

nom.sg. INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za*[?] (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B 2§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za* (V.5 DARENDE 2§1)

nom.sg. [(INFANS²)*ni*[?]]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (V.19 ŞIRZI 2§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-sa* (VI.9+17 ANCOZ 5+8 2§3)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-wa/i-za-sá* (VII.8 KIRÇOĞLU 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za* (VII.13 ARSUZ A1 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za* (VII.13 ARSUZ A2 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za* (VII.13 ARSUZ A1 6§18)

(?) nom.sg. [INFANS²] (VII.13 ARSUZ A2 6§18)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-ˊmuˋ-wa/i-za-sa* (IX.1 HAMA 4 A 1§1)

nom.sg. ([INF]ANS²)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (IX.3 RESTAN 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (IX.4 QALʿAT EL MUDIQ 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (IX.5 HINES 1-2§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (IX.6 HAMA 8 1-2§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (IX.8 HAMA 1 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (IX.9 HAMA 2 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (IX.10 HAMA 3 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (IX.11 HAMA 6 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-za-sa* (IX.12 HAMA 7 1§1)

nom.sg. [(INFANS²)*ni*]-*mu*-[*wa/i*]-*za-sa* (IX.15 TALL ŠTĪB B §1)

nom.sg. INFANS¹ (X.3 KIZILDAG 3)

nom.sg. INFANS¹ (X.5 KIZILDAG 4 §1)

(?) nom.sg. [INFANS²] (X.8 BURUNKAYA §1)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-sa*₈ (X.10 KULULU 4 top §15)

nom.sg. INFANS[²] (X.12 TOPADA 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS¹-*sa* (X.13 SUVASA C)

nom.sg. INFANS².*NI-sa* (X.14 SULTANHAN 1§1)

(?) nom.sg. [-]*x-x-sa*₄ (X.15 KAYSERI 1§1)

nom.sg. ("INFANS²")*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (X.17 BOHÇA 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (X.23 EĞREK 1§1)

nom.sg. INFANS¹ (X.34 KULULU 8)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (X.44 BOR 2§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá* (X.45 BULGARMADEN 1§1)

nom.sg. (INFANS²)*ní-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (X.47 NIĞDE 2 4)

nom.sg. INFANS^2-*mu-wa/i-za-sá* (X.48 Porsuk 1§1)

nom.sg. [INFANS$^?$]⌈*ní$^?$*⌉-[*mu*]-*wa/i-i-*[*z*]*a-sa* (XII. 19 Pancarli 1§1)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*mu-wa/i-zi* (II.76 Yunus 1 2§3)

(?) acc.sg. INFANS^2-[x] (II.31-32 Karkamiš A21 8§11)

acc.sg. INFANS^2.*NI*-[*na*] (III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 10§23)

(?) acc.sg. INFANS-*ni-na* / INFANS.*NI-na* (III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 8§32)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*mu$^?$*-[...]-*za$^?$* (IV.1 Maraş 8 7§17)

acc.pl. INFANS^2-*ní-zi-i* / INFANS.*NÍ-zi-i* (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 7§23)

acc.pl. INFANS^2 (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 8§28)

acc.pl. FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (X.12 Topada 4§15)

acc.pl. FEMINA.INFANS (X.12 Topada 6§25)

dat.sg. INFANS^2.*NÍ* (II.22 Karkamiš A6 3§8)

dat.sg. INFANS^2.*NI-za* (II.28 Karkamiš A4a 1§2)

(?) dat.sg. INFANS^2.*NI* / INFANS^2-*ni-´* (III.1 Tell-Ahmar 2 7§14)

dat.sg. *ni-mu-wa/i-zi* (X.18 Karaburun 2§7)

dat.sg. *ni-mu-wa/i-zi* (X.18 Karaburun 3§9)

dat.pl. INFANS^2.*NÍ-wa/i-za* (II.27 Cekke 2§8)

dat.pl. INFANS^2.*NÍ* (II.27 Cekke 4§13)

dat.pl. INFANS^2.*NI-wa/i-za* (II.27 Cekke 5§16)

(?) dat.sg/pl.(?) INFANS^2-*n*[*i*]-*na-z*[*a*] / INFANS.*N*[*I*]-*na-z*[*a*]

(VII.2 Tell Tayinat 2 frag. 2*a* iii)

iya-Derivative

acc.sg. INFANS^2.*NI-ia-za* (VI.2 Boybeypinari 2§17)

acc.sg. INFANS^2.*NI-za* (VI.16 Ancoz 7 D§13)

acc.pl. INFANS^2-*mu-wa/i-ia-ia* (V.16 Malatya 1)

acc.pl. INFANS^2-*mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia* (V.18 Malatya 3)

dat.pl. INFANS^2.*NI-ia-za* (II.24 Karkamiš A15b 3§16)

(?) INFANS^2-*mu-wa/i-ia*⌐-*ia-sá* (II.45 Karkamiš A5a 1§1, Peker 2014:191[5])

(?) INFANS² (II.31-32 Karkamiš Fragm. 5)

(?) INFANS² (II.31-32 Karkamiš Fragm. 11)

(?) (INFANS²)*ni-m*[*u*]-*w*[*a/i-za*] (X.53 Yassıhöyük 3§18)

Onomastics

mu-wa/i-zi-sa /Muwizis/ (IV.21 Maraş 17 1§1)

Philological Commentary

> ***Ref.*** Starke (1990:452) *nimuwiza-* ''child, son' (lit. 'without force'); Melchert (1990:204) 'lack of virility'; Hawkins (2000:628) nimuwiza- 'child' (632) 'son'; Payne (2014:148) *nimuwiza-* 'son'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *nimuwizza-*) 'son'.

§ 71 . The lexeme *nimuwiza-* is the most widely attested word in the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, since the inscriptions almost invariably present the author's filiation (Empire Period **§§75-76**; Post-Empire Period **§§78-81.**), and to a lesser extent in formulaic expressions or curse passages, generally under the form of a word-pair (Empire Period **§ 77**; Post-Empire Period **§§82-84.**). Both filiation and literary expressions face a methodological problem of transcription, namely, the transcription of sign *45 as INFANS when it is believed to underlie the lexeme *niwarann*(*i*)- 'child' and FILIUS when *nimuwiza-* 'son' every time the word is not rendered syllabically, and which lies on subjective evaluations (**§ 72.**). Other previous considerations such as the structure of the filiation clause and the nature of the genitive adjective are also referred before the commentary of the attestations (**§ 73.**). On the epigraphic level, it is significant to note the wide range of variants that the logogram INFANS, which implies to revisit some methodological assumptions, on the one hand, concerning an alleged archaic form (**§ 86.**), and, on the other, its relation to one of its components, ie. VIR₂ *386 (**§§ 87-89.**).

§ 72 . The main problem in the identification and analysis of the word for 'son' in Hieroglyphic Luwian essentially lies on the difficulty of distinguishing two different lexemes, *nimuwiza-* and *niwarann*(*i*)-, that are represented under the same logogram (*45). While *nimuwiza-* is generally taken to strictly designate 'son', *niwarann(i)-* is

related to a *lato sensu* meaning 'child'. Because of the strong synonymy that present, semantics inferred from the context of the inscription are not a definitive criterion to establish one reading over the other. In what follows, a state of the art and a justification of the classification assumed in the present work will be outlined.

§ 72a . Among the different attempts towards establishing a solid distinction between the two terms, the contribution by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:214[15] with ref.) is especially noteworthy. In their study, they coined the term 'phonetic indicator' (in opposition to 'phonetic complement'), which permitted to solve the wide presence of *nimuwiza-*variants. These variants were earlier thought to be abbreviations, and therefore instances such as INFANS-*ni-mu-za* in (II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 2§1), and INFANS-*ni-za* (II.27 CEKKE 5§17*b*), taken as, respectively, /nimuza/ and /niza/ (Hawkins 2000:148), were interpreted as INFANS.*NI-mu-za* and INFANS.*NI-za*, where *NI* phonetically renders the first syllable of the word. This writing mechanism helps, in principle, to identify other lexemes that use the logogram *45 such as 'brother', which presents *45-*la* (thus transcribed as FRATER.*LA*, see **§ 8.** and **§ 12b.**). Nevertheless, it fails to solve the ambiguity that still remains in the reading *nimuwiza-* or *niwarann*(*i*)-, since both present the same initial syllable.

§ 72b . Since *nimuwiza-* stands for an *a*-stem, and *niwarann*(*i*)- for an *i*-stem, in the renderings where the word is written partially logographically and partially syllabically, the marking of the case ending should be a sufficient indicator for the identification of the lexeme. Even in this case, a further difficulty towards such identification is posited by the confluence of case-endings, which leaves the transliteration and transcription options with a handful of possible interpretations. In the following table, all the attestations that present an ambiguous writing rendering are annotated with, on the one hand, their potential lexeme and, on the other, their possible syntactic case.

	Writing rendering	*nimuwiza-*	*niwaranni*
A.1	INFANS.*NI-sa*	/nimuwizas/ (n.sg.)	/niwarannis/ (n.sg.)
A.2	INFANS-*ni-sa*	-	/niwarannis/ (n.sg.)
A.3	INFANS.*NI-i-sa*	-	/niwarannis/ (n.sg.)
A.4	INFANS-*ni-i-sa*	-	/niwarannis/ (n.sg.)
B.1	INFANS.*NI-na*	/nimuwizan/ (ac.sg.)	/niwarannin/ (ac.sg.)
B.2	INFANS-*ni-na*	-	/niwarannin/ (ac.sg.)
B.3	INFANS.*NI-i-na*	-	/niwarannin/ (ac.sg.)
B.4	INFANS-*ni-i-na*	-	/niwarannin/ (ac.sg.)
C.1	INFANS.*NI*	/nimuwiza/ (dat.sg.)	/niwaranni/ (dat.sg.)
C.2	INFANS-*ni*	-	/niwaranni/ (dat.sg.)
C.3	INFANS.*NI-i*	-	/niwaranni/ (dat.sg.)
C.4	INFANS-*ni-i*	-	/niwaranni/ (dat.sg.)
D.1	INFANS.*NI-zi*	/nimuwinzi/ (n.pl./ac.pl.)	/niwaranninzi/ (n.pl./ac.pl.)
D.2	INFANS-*ni-zi*	/nimuwinzi/ (n.pl./ac.pl.)	/niwaranninzi/ (n.pl./ac.pl.)
D.3	INFANS.*NI-za*	/nimuwinza/ (dat.pl.)	/niwaranza/ (dat.pl.)
D.4	INFANS-*ni-za*	/nimuwinza/ (dat.pl.)	/niwaranza/ (dat.pl.)

Table 25. Interpretation possibilities of ambiguous writing in *nimuwiza-* and *niwarann*(*i*)-.

§ 72c . Despite the mentioned case-ending confluence, the plene spelling might help disambiguating cases such as nominative (A.3-4), accusative (B.3-4) or dative (C.3-4) singulars. Although it is still a long-debated question, the aesthetic motivation of superfluos vowels cannot be dismissed. According to Vertegaal (2017), additional vocalic signs might prove to fill a blank space in some contexts, concretely, those placed at the end of the lexeme. For this reason, additional *i* placed between signs is taken as proper plene spelling in the ambiguous examples.

§ 72d . While it is statistically true that *nimuwiza-* is most commonly used in the introductory filiation clause of the inscription, note that *niwarann(i)-* 'child' might also

be appear in the same context (e.g. X.14 SULTANHAN 1§1, both INFANS.*NI-sa* /nimuwizas/ or INFANS-*ni-sa* /niwarannis/ are possible to be read, same as X.10 KULULU 4 top§15 INFANS.*NI-sa$_8$* / INFANS-*ni-sa$_8$*). The conventional use of the transcription FILIUS, representing *nimuwiza-* 'son', in every filiation context where the logographical or ambiguous attestation fails to account for the underlying word, as Dillo proposed (2013:343), forces us to interpret sign *45 as INFANS *niwarann(i)-* 'child' in the rest of the occurrences, such as historical narrations or curses. The reality is that a preference of *niwarann(i)-* over *nimuwiza-*, or vice versa, outside filiation, is not possible to demonstrate on semantic grounds.

§ 72e . In order not to compromise the objectivity in the interpretation of these lexemes, all the instances of sign *45 are transliterated as INFANS in the present work. The interpretation of the underlying lexeme is found in its classification of the term in the corresponding section or properly commented when necessary. The decision between *nimuwiza-* or *niwarann*(*i*)- when ambiguous renderings are given is based on the possible contextual parallels. Nevertheless, the degree of variation that can be naturally expected for such a geographic and chronological extension of the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, calls for caution in being definitive in this distribution (e.g. unexpected *niwarann*(*i*)-, see **§ 97b., § 97e.**).

The context where the attestations of *nimuwiza* occur with a clear syllabic rendering is filiation clauses. While the ones of *niwarann*(*i*)- mainly occurred in temporal clauses that refer to a childhood period of the author. Some attestations are however found in both contexts so that only a quantitative argument can be tentatively adopted. Because the quantity is not, however, a strictly reliable feature, ambiguous writings are noted with an initial (?) and their rendering as *nimuwiza-* or *niwarann*(*i*)- are duly commented in the pertinent section.

§ 73a . The most common context where *nimuwiza-* takes place is in the filiation clause. Filiation in Hieroglyphic Luwian is expressed through the construction PN-[author] PN-GEN *nimuwiza-* ('X, of X the son'), where the kinship term, which stands in apposition to the author's name, is modified by the personal name of the father, inflected in genitive-case. Since Hieroglyphic Luwian orthography is ambiguous concerning the graphic representation of the phonetic realization of a word, it is almost impossible to know whether the case ending of the father's name corresponds to the proper genitive case /-as/

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(PIE *-os), but also /-isi/ and /-asi/, or to the widespread genitival-adjective formed with the suffix -assa/i- (also -issa/i-), and whose origin is highly debated. This topic has been extensively addressed by several scholars, although a consensus has not been reached (e.g. Yakubovich 2008a; Melchert 2012a, Bauer 2014). In the present work, a distinction based on the graphic notation and the origin of the suffix that takes place in personal names is not attempted due to the high complexity of this topic, which needs to address many aspects of the Luwian language that are beyond the limits of the present work. For the sake of clarification, they are referred to as genitive adjectives (see Bauer 2014:142-151 for an overview of this debate).

§ 73b . In the case of filiation clauses expressed in dative, the personal name that modifies the kinship term undergoes the mentioned –*assa/i*- or *issa/i*- genitival-adjective inflection and adds a case ending /-an/, ie. /-assan/ (Morpurgo-Davies 1980:125, on FRATER.*LA-assan*, see **§ 13.**). For the sake of clarification, when a personal name functions as the modifier of a kinship term in the filiation clause, it is referred to as genitive-adjective regardless of the exact etymological nature of the case ending (-*as*/-*is* or -(*a/i*)*ssa/i*).

§ 74 . The context where the word for 'son' takes place in the Empire Period Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions is mostly restricted to filiation, happening in the beginning of the inscription or as epigraphs in rock relieves, and in nominal sentences (**§ 75.**). On the contrary, filiation in predicative sentences is very reduced in number in the Empire Period (**§ 76**). Outside the filiation context, *nimuwiza-* appears in the literary expressions (**§ 77.**), such as 'he who is my son's son' (**§ 77a.**), or more commonly under the stylistic form of word pairs in military accounts. With the probable connotation of subjected people, FEMINA.INFANS (**§77b.**), but URBS INFANS (see **§ 77c.**)

§ 75a . The Hieroglyphic Luwian word for 'son' is most commonly attested in the Empire Period as nominative singular in, particularly, nominal sentences that include the author's filiation. This type of filiation takes place in SIKERLI, BOĞAZKÖY 18 §2, HATIP, BOĞAZKÖY 3§2, BOĞAZKÖY 5 1§1 and 2§d, MALKAYA 4, HEMITE 2. Additionally, there are two inscriptions, KARABEL and KARAKUYU, where this type of filiation can be reconstructed (see **§75b.**), and three inscriptions, TAŞÇI A (**§75d**) MALKAYA (see **§75e**), and TAÇIN (**§75f**), whose particularities call for a detailed examination.

§ 75b . Two further INFANS attestations in nominative singular are possible to be reconstructed. Despite the damaged surface of KARABEL 2, the logogram INFANS is restored by Hawkins (1998:7-8) in view of one upper stroke. An argument supporting this reconstruction is the continuation in line 3 of a filiation with NEPOS 'grandson', which speaks in favour of considering the logical filiation sequence INFANS – NEPOS (see *hams(i)-* **§ 16a.**).
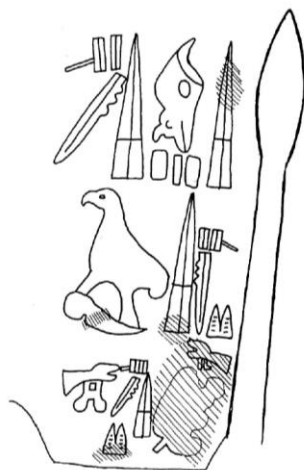

Figure 12. Copy of KARABEL (Hawkins 1998:7)

The case in KARAKUYU §2 deserves particular attention since the filiation clause is not completed with the word INFANS. Despite its predictible presence in line 2, after the name of *Hattusili* (lin. 1), the rock surface shows no signs of having been worked. Here, two considerations must be taken. On the one hand, there are no examples of royal filiation where the father's titles (MAGNUS.REX HEROS) or the relationship term (INFANS) are lacking, contrary to what happens in the case of officials and scribes (cf. TAŞÇI A, HEMITE and MALKAYA, **§75d-e**). On the other, the space left where the missing sequence would be expected to happen creates an uncommon asymmetry in respect to the upper line, which leads to thinking of an extra linguistic explanation of this anomaly. A possible hypothesis is to consider that the scribe was not following a dictation copy, but that he was only engraving the previous drawing from right to left in both lines, ignoring thus the *boustrophedon* direction of reading. The reasons for the unfinished line could be just accidental. If it was the case that the commissioner of the inscription decided not to conclude the filiation clause because of the change from one line to the other, nothing precludes him from starting the second sentence at the margin of the rock,

avoiding the asymmetry. These facts might indicate that the titles REX.MAGNUS HEROS and the logogram INFANS were meant to be there.
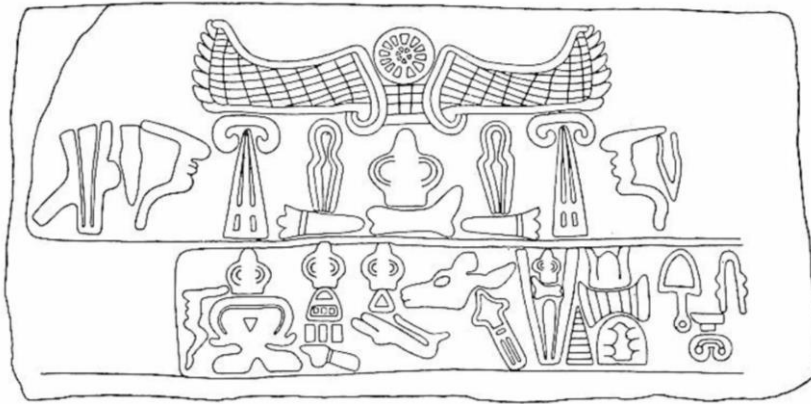

Figure 13. Copy of KARAKUYU (Bittel 1984)

§ 75c. Other inscriptions such as TAŞÇI A and MALKAYA §5 that might include a filiation clause that presents some interpretation problems. First, both instances present a sign INFANS without the lower crampon (see discussion below, and epigraphic section **§ 86.** with **Tab.26**). The fact that in the same inscriptions other instances with the lower crampon occur (MALKAYA §4, and FILIA with lower stroke in TAŞÇI A.3a) points to adducing either erosion or a scribal error as the probable causes of this absence. Despite at first sight the omission of the lower crampon (*386/VIR₂) does not seem a deliberate choice, the common features that TAŞÇI A and MALKAYA share call for considering that the logogram was intentionally written without the lower crampon. In this sense, and without discarding a mere coincidence, it is striking that both instances belong to officials or scribes, and that the filiation among the quoted characters is not straightforward understood in neither of them. This fact leads to seeking for alternative explanations on the use of INFANS without lower crampon.

§ 75d . In TAŞÇI A three figures in apparent procession are observable, being the last of them identified as a woman. The interpretation by Hawkins (2005: 292-3) runs as follows: *ma-na-a-zi/a* FILIA *lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA FILIUS(?) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS "*Manazi*, daughter of *Lupaki* the Army-Scribe (son of(?) *Zida* the *MEŠEDI*-man), servant of *Hattusili*".

Figure 14. Copy of Taşçı A (Gelb 1939, extracted from Kohlmeyer 1983:76)

Hawkins' view bears the implication of changing the common order of the filiation structure, which is invariably PN PN-GEN INFANS, for an unusual PN INFANS PN-GEN in two occasions (*Manazi* FILIA *Lupaki* '*Manazi*, daughter of *Lupaki*' and *Lupaki* FILIUS *Zida* '*Lupaki*, son of *Zida*'). The first contradiction is that the genitival construction is correctly written at the end of the inscription, *Zida* [+title] *Hattusili* [+titles] SERVUS ("*Zida*, of *Hattusili* the servant"). The second thing to note is that Hawkins does not take into account the first epigraph (*x-x-li-zi/a*) in the relief, which, although broken, might as well display a syntactic function in relation to the rest of the characters in the inscription. This fact, together with the uncommon dislocation of INFANS in the filiation, calls for contemplating other interpretation hypothesis:

a) (1) X-x-*li-zi* (2) *Ma-na-zi* FILIA (3) *Lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA INFANS (4) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

a.1. "X-x-*li-zi*, (of) *Manazi* the daughter. *Lupaki*, (of) the Army-Scribe the son. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, (of) *Hattusili* great king, the servant".

a.2. "X-x-*li-zi*. *Manazi*, the daughter. *Lupaki*, the Army-Scribe, the son. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, (of) *Hattusili* great king, the servant"

In the first interpretation (a.1), the logical distribution of the genitive construction is respected, and implies that *Manazi* is not a female name. On the contrary, the interpretation as a female name can still be maintained (a.2) if we consider the indicative character of the epigraphs, that is to say, epigraphs might appear syntactically unrelated among them, and just labeling the relief that accompanies.

Albeit there is a graphic distinction between the sign MANUS (*59) and the sign INFANS (*45) without crampon (**see §86** with **Tab.26**), if the lower crampon of INFANS is elided, the similarity between signs *45 and *59 could lead to confusion. The interpretation as MANUS allows a direct comparison with the common scribal signature 'The hand of X' that commonly takes place in the colophons of cuneiform tablets (e.g. "Hand of *Hannikuili*" KBo 31.5 (+) KUB 30.65 (+) KUB 30.67 +KBo 14.69 II 11; Bawanypeck 2013:163). This possibility offers the following interpretation:

b) X-x-*li-zi* (2) *Ma-na-zi* FILIA (3) *Lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA MANUS (4) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

b.1. "X-x-*li-zi*. *Manazi*, the daughter. *Lupaki*, the Army-Scribe, the hand. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, (of) *Hattusili* great king, the servant."

b.2. "X-x-*li-zi*, (of) *Manazi* the daughter. *Lupaki*, (of) the Army-Scribe, the hand. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, (of) *Hattusili* great king, the servant."

Furthermore, it cannot be discarded that we are dealing with a different sign, as, in fact, Kohlmeyer (1982:78) already proposed (*41 *tà*/CAPERE or *66 *pi*/DARE). Although a form of *piya-* 'to give' fairy fits the syntactic distribution of the elements, it is worth noticing that DARE (*66) is generally displayed in a more vertical manner than what we can see in this inscription. With regards to a possible verb *la-* 'to take' (CAPERE, *41), which is, in my view, the most compelling option, it not only finds parallels in the Post-Empire inscription of in II.8 KELEKLI 3§2 (see *tuwatr(i)-* **§ 121a.**), where v. *la-* is used with the meaning 'to take in marriage', but also in Hittite context (v. *da-* 'to take', e.g. Hittite Law §33, Hoffner 1997). Therefore:

c) (1) X-x-*li-zi* (2) *Ma-na-zi* FILIA (3) *Lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA CAPERE (4) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

c. "X-x-*li-zi* took *Manazi*, the daughter, (from) *Lupaki*, the Army-Scribe. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, of *Hattusili* great king, the servant".

d) (1) X-x-*li-zi* (2) *Ma-na-zi* FILIA (3) *Lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA DARE (4) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI*+*li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

d. "X-x-*li-zi* gave *Manazi*, the daughter, to *Lupaki*, the Army-Scribe. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, (of) *Hattusili* great king, the servant".

§ 75e . The main problem in MALKAYA is how the couple with the rank of officials, X-*ziti* (REX.FILIUS) and *Parinaia*- (REX.FILIA), is to be related to the other characters that appear in the inscription. While Inscription §4 presents X-*ziti* as the son of X-*miti*, with a clear filiation structure (*324(?)-VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS INFANS, Hawkins-Weeden 2008:242), in Inscription §5, the filiation is repeated again, presenting X-*ziti* as the son of *Ura-Tarhunda* (*324(?)-VIR.*zi* REX.FILIUS URBS PATER.MATER MAGNUS.TONITRUS-*tá* INFANS ("X-*ziti*, prince, (of the) city (the) father (and) mother, son of *Ura-Tarhunda*", Hawkins-Weeden 2008:243). As stated by Hawkins-Weeden (*op.cit.*), it is uncommon that the family bound with the mother is mentioned in Inscription §4, just before the one of the father in Inscription §5, since paternal filiation is always stated in the first place, while maternal filiation is utterly nonexistent until the present moment. The editors of the inscription (*op.cit.*) find the alternative solution of interpreting Inscription §5 as an attributive sentence, "*Ura-Tarhunda* is (his) child". If we consider again the fact that Inscription §5 does not show the lower crampon in the logogram INFANS (see **Fig. 8.** in **§ 2a.**), a feature shared with TAŞÇI A (**§ 75d.**), as a possibility of considering it a version of MANUS (*59), the reading "the hand of *Ura-Tarhunda*", meaning that he is a scribe, can be considered. This fact can be in correlation with the lack of familiar bounds that Inscription §6 shows (x-*ziti*, prince (and) *Ura-Tarhunda*), which might thus be explained as a kind of signature because of the preeminence of the official and the scribe. Consequently, X-*ziti* would be the son of X-*miti*, as seen in Inscription §4, with the regular filiation genitive construction.

§ 75f. Besides its broken context, the case of TAÇIN is furthermore complicated by the impossibility of contrasting Meriggi's copy (1975: vol.2, XIII) with the original monument, destroyed in 1980s. The presence of INFANS in the filiation clause is clear, but the unknown king X-*suti* posits doubts about its attribute to the Empire period.

Figure 15. Copy of Taçın (Meriggi 1979:314)

§ 76 . A lesser number of examples presents the filiation clause with INFANS in predicative sentences, functioning as an apposition to the subject: ALEPPO 1 (v. *tami-* 'to build') and YALBURT 1§1+16§1 (v. *muwa-* 'to conquer', see reconstruction of the filiation chain in *hams(i)-* **§ 15a.**).

§ 77a . Outside the filiation context, but still, in nominative singular, the expression *kwis amis* NEPOS-*sa* INFANS ("he who (is) my grandson's son") is found in EMIRGAZI 1 A§4, while *kwis amis* INFANS-*sa* INFANS ("he who (is) my son's son) in KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4a. As it has been argued in *hams(i)-* (**§ 15b.** with **Fig. 9**), in KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 2§4a is better read as INFANS-*sa* INFANS rather than NEPOS-*sa* INFANS (*contra* Hawkins 2006b:62). This expression allegorically refers to the future descendants of the author, which are intended to keep the monument in the case of the Empire Period attestations, or the tomb in the parallels found in the Post-Empire inscriptions (see *hams(i)-* **§ 20a.**).

§ 77b . In coordination with FEMINA, and functioning as a subject, INFANS appears in YALBURT 6§1 and 15§1, and EMIRGAZI 2 5§13, as a nominative with subject function. From a formal point of view, it is not possible to distinguish the grammatical number of the INFANS attestations that display final *-zi/a*, since *376 has not divided yet into *zi* and *za* in the Empire period. Thus a reading INFANS-*za* would lead to interpreting a nom.sg. *nimuwiza-*, while INFANS-*zi* a nom.pl. *nimuwinzi* at least in these cases where they function as a subject (YALBURT 6§1, 15§1 and EMIRGAZI 2 5§13). If we are dealing here with the lexeme *niwarann(i)-*, also hidden under the logogram INFANS/*45 (see **§ 72.**), then a plural /niwaranninzi/ must be inferred. Both instances appear attested in the idiom GENU-*za* INFRA *kwaza* 'to fall down to the knees' (GENU-*za* is only attested in EMIRGAZI 2 5§13, but the expression is partially parallel to X.12 TOPADA in the Iron-Age

Period, see **§ 88d.** with **Tab.32**). The composition displayed with FEMINA, as well as the bellic context of the inscriptions, conveys with the figurative meaning of the subjugated citizens of the conquered cities, as already noted by Hawkins (1995:77).

§ 77c . As an object of v. (*apan*) *tuwa-* 'to put (behind)', an accusative plural must be interpreted under the logogram INFANS in Boğazköy 5 4§c, which is modified by URBS, thus 'city's sons', also a probable allegory of the citizens. The idiom appears repeated in the same inscription, Boğazköy 5 6§c, apparently the object of v. *niya-* 'to lead' (cf. 'child of the country', see **§ 97e.**).

> Boğazköy 5 4§b-c (Hawkins 2019b:144)
> (4§b) REL-*ti-pa-wa/i-tà* DEUS-*ní-tí* FINES-*zi/a* PRAE-*na a+ra/i-ha* (4§c) *wa/iˀ-tà-*a*
> TONITRUS.GENUFLECTERE (URBS) FILIUS PRAE-*na-pa-tá*a* PONERE
>
> "But when with the gods I arrived in front of the frontiers,
> the son(s) of the city Halpa (?) afterwards put in front"
>
> Boğazköy 5 6§c (Hawkins 2019b:145)
> VITIS?(URBS) *lu-ka*(URBS) *kà-zu-wa-na*(REGIO) ... URBS? FILIUS? REL-*ti* [...] *ni-i(a)-ha*
> "...the city Wiyanawanda (??), the city Lukka, the land Kizzuwatna, ... city son(s), when ... I led."

The main semantic difference between both attestations is the positive or negative connotation that each city or region bears, taking into account the historical and political context. The first one refers to the son's of the city of Halpa (4§c), which is at peace and well established under Hittite control in Suppiluliuma II's times, while the second URBS FILIUS (6§c) seems to be related to the precedent enumerated cities, which are not clearly linked to the Hittite sphere of power, or even more, clearly enemies (at least concerning Lukka, which is destroyed two lines below 5§e (*ARHA* DELERE *lu-ka*(REGIO) "... destroy(ed) ... Lukka-land", Hawkins *op.cit.*).

Even if Halpa is not against Hatti, it is worth considering that it is mentioned in relation to the frontiers (4§b) an area that is to be defended. Therefore, the expression URBS INFANS might qualify 'people in arms' rather than 'citizens', whether as allies (the city of Halpa, 4§c) or as enemies (the Lukka Lands, 6§c).

§ 78 . In the Post-Empire Period, the vast majority of the attestations also take place in filiation, which is essentially expressed by means of two systems: (1) a genitive construction PN PN-GEN *nimuwiza-*(/*niwarann*(*i*)-?), where the word 'son' is the apposition of the first personal name (**§§78-80.**), or (2) a possessive pronoun construction PN PN Poss.Pron (**§81.**). Among the first type, most of the attestations take place in nominative (**§78a-e.**), but also dative (**§79.**), and *iya*-derivatives (**§81.**) appear to be used in filiation. To a lesser extent, it is also attested outside the filiation context, where the distinction between *nimuwiza-* and *niwarann(i)-* is more complicated to establish, when ambiguous writing is given (**§§82- 84.**).

§ 78a . The genitive adjective construction represents the most extended way of expressing filiation, and it is mainly located in the incipit of the inscription, in nominal sentences (**§ 78a-c**), except for IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá*, which appears in the middle of the inscription (see context in *hamsukkala-* **§ 29a.**), and X.47 NIĞDE 2 §4 (INFANS)*ní-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, which appears at the end of the inscription. To a lesser extent, *nimuwiza-* is also attested as the apposition of the subject in predicative sentences (**§ 78d.**), and, exceptionally, elided in some filiation genitive constructions (**§ 78e.**)

Nominative singular is largely used in filiation clauses of nominal sentences that take place in the introductory syntagm. It is attested in this manner in I.3 KARATEPE §1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1* [(INFANS)*ni-*]*mu-wa/i-za-sa* II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 2§1 INFANS.*NÍ-mu-za*, II.4 KARKAMIŠ A14b 3§1 (INFANS)*ní-mu-wa/i-zi+a-sa*, II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, II.26 AFŞIN 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, II.27 CEKKE 2 5§14 INFANS.*NI-wa/i-za-sa*, II.35 KARKAMIŠ A27e Fragm. 1.1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, *II.36 KARKAMIŠ A13 a-c §1 INF[ANS], II.40 KÖRKÜN 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, *II.68 KARKAMIŠ A26 e l.2 (INFANS)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-z*[*a*, *II.71 KARKAMIŠ A29 a frag.3 (INFANS)*ni*[*mu*]-*w*[*a/i*]-*z*[*a-sa*, II.75 KARKAMIŠ N1 1§3 (INFANS)*ní-mu-zi/a*, II.78 ADANA 1 1§1a INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, *II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. CAT.3 INFANS-[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa*, *II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. CAT.20 "INFANS".*N*[*Í-w*]*a/i-z*[*a*]-*sá*, *II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. CAT.21 (INFANS)*ni-m*[*u*]-*wa/i-*[*za-sa*, III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1* [INF]ANS-ˊ*mu*ˋ-*wa/i-za-sa*, IV.2 MARAŞ 4 1§1

(INFANS)*ní-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, IV.4 MARAŞ 1 1§1b INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za-sà*, IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za-sá*, IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za-sa*, *V.2 GÜRÜN 3§1b (INFANS)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za*, V.3. KÖTÜKALE 3§1b INFANS.*NI*, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B 2§1 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za*[?], V.5 DARENDE 2§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za*, VII.8 KIRÇOĞLU 1§1 (INFANS)*NI-wa/i-za-sá*, VII.13 ARSUZ A1 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za*, VII.13 ARSUZ A2 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za*, IX.1 HAMA 4 A 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-ˊmuˋ-wa/i-za-sa*, *IX.3 RESTAN 1§1 ([INF]ANS)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa*, IX.4 QALʿAT EL MUDIQ 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, IX.5 HINES 1-2§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, IX.6 HAMA 8 1-2§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, IX.8 HAMA 1 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, IX.9 HAMA 2 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, IX.10 HAMA 3 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, IX.11 HAMA 6 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, IX.12 HAMA 7 1§1 INFANS.*NI-za-sa*, *IX.15 TALL ŠTĪB B 1§ [(INFANS)*ni*]-*mu*-[*wa/i*]-*za-sa*, X.5 KIZILDAG 4 §1 INFANS[1], X.12 TOPADA 1§1 INFANS[1], X.13 SUVASA C INFANS[1]-*sa*, X.14 SULTANHAN 1§1 INFANS.*NI-sa*, X.17 BOHÇA 1§1 ("INFANS")*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, X.23 EĞREK 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, X.34 KULULU 8 INFANS[1], X.44 BOR 2§1(INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa*, X.45 BULGARMADEN 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sá*, , X.48 PORSUK 1§1 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za-sá*, and *XII.19 PANCARLI 1§1 [INFANS[?]]ˋní[?]ˋ-[*mu*]-*wa/i-i*-[*z*]*a-sa*. The case of the ambiguous writing of X.14 SULTANHAN 1§1 (INFANS.*NI-sa* / INFANS-*ni-sa*) is taken as (/nimuwizas/) in view of the high probability of *nimuwiza-* taking place in the filiation formula at the incipit of the inscription.

§ 78b . When other family bounds besides the paternal are included in the filiation clause, they commonly appear enumerated in ascending oder, that is, *nimuwiza-*, *hams(i)-*, *hamsukkala-* ('son (of X), grandson (of X), great-grandson (of X)'), as it happens in I.8 ÇINEKÖY §1, II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 1§1, II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§1, II.26 AFŞIN 1§1, IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10, IV.4 MARAŞ 1 1§1b-g, IV.20 MARAŞ 16 1§1, IV.21 MARAŞ 17 1§1, and X.48 PORSUK 1§1 (see prosopographical details in *hams(i)-* § 16a.)

The order, though, appears inverted in the following examples: III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1 [INF]ANS-ˊmuˋ-*wa/i-za-sa*, V.2 GÜRÜN 3§1b (INFANS)[*ni*]-*mu-wa/i-za*, V.3. KÖTÜKALE 3§1b INFANS.*NI*, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B 2§1 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-za*[?], V.5 DARENDE 2§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za*, and V.16 MALATYA 1 (*iya*-derivation, see §80). At least in the archaic group of the Malatya inscriptions, the descending order (*hams(i)-*, *nimuwiza-*) is a completely regular

trait. The filiation order in IV.1 MARAŞ 8 1§1, appears as an exception among the Maraş inscriptions, so it is the case of III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*. On inverted filiation order see *hams(i)-* **§§16-17.**).

§ 78c . Whether it be because the precedent personal name genitive construction permits it, or in view of a parallel structure in the same inscription, the word for son, whatever its scriptural form is, might be reconstructed with a certain degree of security at least in II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12 1§1, III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 1§1, III.2 BOROWSKI 3 1§1, and X.8 BURUNKAYA §1. Some instances such as II.41 KARKAMIŠ A17b 1§1, where only the genitive PN appears, can also be taken to have as a head-noun SERVUS /hudarl(i)/ 'servant', instead of INFANS. Others are, however, difficult to establish in relation to a filiation clause either because their broken context (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. 5 INFANS, II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. 11 INFANS, III.8 TELL AHMAR FRAGM. 3 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za*[...), or because they are just too broken to be surely reconstructed as even *nimuwiza* (II.73 KARKAMIŠ SHERD [...]*x-wa/i-z*[*a/i*...]*x-sa*, II.74 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. A/B, and X.15 KAYSERI 1§1 -]*x-x-sa₄*).

§ 78d . In some scarce attestations, the filiation formula expressed with a genitive construction in nominative appears in predicative sentences, where it functions as the apposition to the subject: II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 8§6 INFANS.*NI-mu-za* (v. *tuwa-* 'to set'), II.80 ŞARAGA §2 "INFANS".*NI-za-ˊsa/sáˋ* (v. *tama-* 'to build'), *V.19 ŞIRZI 2§1 [(INFANS)*ni*[?]-*mu-wa/i-za-sa* (v. *izziya-* 'to make'), VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2: A1 (reconstructed in A2) 6§18 (v. *tanu(wa)-* 'to set up'), X.3 KIZILDAG 3 INFANS[1] (v. *tama-* 'to build'), and X.10 KULULU 4 top §15 INFANS.*NI-sa₈* (v. *tuwa-* 'to set'). The semantic domain of the verbs revolves around the construction of the object that contains the inscription, either a monument or a stele. Other contexts, such as the verb in the partially broken II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§1 [INFANS]*NÍ-za-a-sa**, implies an economical transaction (*ahha piya-* 'to give away'). Besides the syntactic stability in filiation of nominal sentences, a higher degree of variability in the syntax order is expected for filiation clauses that take place in predicative sentences: O-S-(C)-V in II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 8§6, V.19 ŞIRZI 2§1, and *II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§1, O-V-S in II.80 ŞARAGA §2, and S-O-V in X.3 KIZILDAĞ 3.

§ 78e . Some instances elide the word for son, which is understood by the genitival relation expressed by the patronymic: IV.9 KÜRTÜL 1§1, X.18 KARABURUN 1§3,

X.18 KARABURUN 2§9 (in a predicative sentence, v. *zarti-* 'to desire'), and X.19 HISARCIK 1 1.§1. Elision is however more frequent in other morphological cases such as dative (see below **§ 79a.**).

§ 79 . Filiation is found as well in dative clauses (**§ 79a.-b.**) and also with *iya*-derivation (**§ 79c.**).

§ 79a . In the filiation expressed in dative, the modifier of *nimuwiza-* can take to forms The genitive construction of the lexeme determining *nimuwiza-* in dative shows a special ending /-assan/ (Morpurgo-Davies 1980:125), which is restricted to personal names and certain nouns, among which the lexeme for 'brother'. This is the case of II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 1§2 INFANS.*NI-za* (v. *piya- ahha* 'give away'), which is modified by the word for brother /FRATER.*LA*-assan nimuwiza / 'to my brother's son' (see FRATER.*LA*-(*i*)- **§ 10a.**). The rest of the lexemes that syntactically function as genitival-adjectives, are inflected with an *iya*-adjectival derivative, as in II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6 3§8 INFANS.*NÍ*, where the modifier of *nimuwiza-* is inflected as an *iya*-derivative /Kamaniya am(iy)i nan(iy)i nimuwiza/ "to Kamani, the son of my lord" (v. *tama-*'to build').

In comparison to the nominative examples, the filiation in the dative case is more prone to elide the word for 'son'. In light of the genitival-dative mark that features the personal names inflected in dative (/-assan/), the elided word for 'son' is easily inferrable: II.27 CEKKE 2 4§12 (v. *piya-* 'to give') and X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS 3§11, 3§13, 4§16, 4§21, 5§30, 5§31, 5§32, 7§40, 7§41, 7§42, 7§44, 8§46, 9§57, 9§58, 9§59, and 9§62. Both inscriptions, II.27 CEKKE 2 and X.36 KULULU LEAD STRIPS, are economical documents, where a transaction is reflected. In X.18 KARABURUN 2§7 and 3§10, another instance of an elided word for 'son' in a dative filiation clause takes place in the context of a curse, respectively, /Sipiya Niyassan/ "to Sipiya, (son) of Niyas" (verbal expression *zarti-attuwal* "to wish (evil)", and /Sipiya=ba=wa=ta Niyassan/ "but to Sipiya, (son) of Niyas" (verbal expression *tawa zanta ad-* 'to swallow the eyes').

§ 79b . There is one single example of a plural filiation, which is inflected in dative in II.27 CEKKE 2§8 INFANS.*NÍ-wa*/*i-za* /Warpantassanza nimuwanza/ 'to the sons of Warpantassa' (v. *piya-* 'to give').

§ 80 . Derivation with -*iya*-suffix is used in the noun phrase for creating the so-called genitival or relational adjectives (see state of the art in Bauer 2014:154ff.). When the whole filiation clause is inflected in genitive, then *nimuwiza*- undergoes an *iya*-genitival derivation in order to agree with the main personal name to which it is in apposition (PN-GEN PN-GEN KT-*iya*), as happens in a nominative (PN-NOM PN-GEN KT-NOM) or a dative filiation clause (PN-DAT PN-GEN+*an* KT-DAT). In addition, it also agrees with the head-noun of the whole filiation clause, as seen in the following examples, which is in both the object where the inscription is written:

> V.16 MALATYA 1 (Hawkins 2000:319)
>
> *za-ia-wa/i* (*262)*sa-sa-li-ia* TONITRUS.*HALPA-pa-AVIS₃-sa* ˡCRUS+*RA/I-sa* HEROS *MAx.LIx-i*(URBS) DOMINUS-*ia-ia* INFANS.NEPOS-*ia* MONS.CORNU$^?$.CERVUS₂ INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia-ia* REX$^?$
>
> "These *shootings* (are) of *Halpasulupis*, grandson of *Taras*(?) the Hero, the lord of the city Malizi, son of *Wasu*(?)-*runtiyas*(?), the King(?)."

> V.18 MALATYA 3 (Hawkins 2000:321)
>
> *za-ia-wa/i* (*262)*sa-sa-li-ia* ˡ*ma-ri+ti$^?$-sa* ˡ*sù-wa/i-ri+i-mi-sa* INFANS-*mu-wa/i-i-ia-ia* REGIO$^?$ [...?]-*sa*
>
> "These *shootings* (are) of *Maritis*, *Suwarimis*'s son, ... (?)"

§ 80a. In both V.16 MALATYA 1 and V.18 MALATYA 3, INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia-ia* /nimuwiyaya/ is modified by the father's personal name, and in turn functions as the apposition of the author's personal name: V.16 MALATYA 1 /Halpasulubassa Arassa [titles] hamsiya Wassuruntiyassa nimuwiyaya/ 'of Halpasuluba, of Arassa [titles] the grandson, of Wassuruntiya the son'; V.18 MALATYA 3 /Maritissa Zuwarimissa nimuwiyaya/ 'of Mariti, of Zuwarimi the son'. The inflection /nimuwiyaya-/ in turns agrees with nominative neuter plural /zaya sasalliya/ 'these hunts', the head-noun to which the whole genitive clause is the modifier (see **§90c.**).

§ 80b . The case in II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§1 posits interpretation problems, since the inflection of *nimuwiza*- does not completely agree with the head-noun, *za-wa/i* STELE-*ni-zi*ˡ, whose final sign is taken as a scribal error for *za*. Traditionally, the word for 'son' has been wrongly read as INFANS-*mu-wa/i-ia*ʲ-*ia-za*, considering the repeated *ia* sign an

error, an the /-za/ ending to agree with the head-noun /za waniza/ (Melchert 1990:203). Nevertheless, the new collation by Peker (2014:191[5] and 192, see **Fig. 16**) offers the reading INFANS-*mu-wa*/*i-zí-ia-sá* /nimuwiziyas/, thus /Zahanissa Zidissa nimuwiziyas/ 'of Zahanis, of Zidis, the son'. Although the *iya*-derivative in /nimuwiziyas/ does not inflect according to the neuter gender of *waniza-* 'stele', it agrees in nominative syntactic case and in singular number, if final /-s/ is taken as that, and not as a genitive (/-assa/) in a possible recharacterization of the genitival construction (/iya-(a)ssa/).

II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§1 (Hawkins 2000:182)

za-wa/*i* STELE-*ni-zi*[ǃ] *za-ha-na-ni-sa* VIR-*ti-sá* INFANS-*mu-wa*/*i-ia-ia-za*
(DEUS)SOL-*wa*/*i+ra*/*i-ma-sa* CAPUT[...]

"This stele (is) of *Zahananis*, *Zitis*'s son, the Sun-blessed person."

Figure 16. Collation II.26 KARKAMIŠ A5a §1 by Peker (2014:192)

§ 80c . In filiation clauses that depend on an accusative head-noun, as in VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2§17 INFANS.*NI-ia-za* (/ammanza nimuwiyanza Hattusilissa alamanza/ "of my son *Hattusili*, the name") and VI.16 ANCOZ 7 D§13 INFANS.*NI-za*, *nimuwiza-* (VI.16 ANCOZ 7 D§13 /Suppululiumassa Hattusilissa=ha tadiyanza nimuwiyanza=ha alamanza/ "of Suppululiuma and Hattusili, of the father the son, the name"), the agreement with the head-noun of the clause is maintained, in both cases the accusative singular neuter /alamanza/. Both clauses take place in the curse passage of the inscription, and are the direct objects of v. *ahha walla-* 'to smash away'. Note that the interpretation in VI.16 ANCOZ 7 D§13 of the logographical rendering responds to the coordination with preceding /tadiyanza/.

§ 80d. Depending on a dative plural head noun, in II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 3§16 INFANS.*NI-ia-za*, /nimuwiyanza/ agrees with the head-noun, the enclitic 3rd person plural pronoun /=manza/ 'to them', /ammiyanza nanniyanza Astiruwassa nimuwiyanza/ 'to my master's Astiruwa's sons' (on the context of the passage, see FRATER.*LA-(i)-* **§ 8b.**). Note that a reading as /niwaranniyanza/ 'to the children' would be equally possible, although filiation contexts are prone to use *nimuwiza-*.

§ 81 . The second system of expressing filiation is compounded of two personal names, correspondingly father and son, which are coordinated by an enclitic copulative particle, and followed by *nimuwiza-* and a determinative or possessive pronoun, PN PN=*ha* INFANS *apas*. The particularity of this mechanism of filiation is that, on the one hand, it is not found in the incipit of the inscription, and, on the other, that titles or epithets do not take place. This system is restricted to only one inscription, II.27 CEKKE, where a contractual link between the ruler that set the inscription and an enumeration of fathers and sons is displayed: II.27 CEKKE 2 5§17a INFANS.*NI-wa/i-za-sa*, 5§17b, 6§17c, 6§17d, 6§17e, 7§17f, 7§17g, 7§17h, 7§17i, 8§17j, 8§17k (INFANS omitted by scribal error), 8§17l, 9§17m (possessive omitted by scribal error), 9§17n, and 9§17o.

§ 82 . Outside filiation, *nimuwiza-* is found in predicative sentences, syntactically functioning as a subject, in II.80 ŞARAGA §4 "INFANS".ˊ*NIˋ-za-sá* (v. *zappa-* ?), III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 4§13 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa* (modified by demonstrative (*a*)*pas-*, v. *ari*(*ya*)- 'to raise'), III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 5§19 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa* (modified by demonstrative (*a*)*pas-*, verbal expression *tabari*(*ya*)- *attuwal-* 'to rule evil'). According to the new lecture of Poetto (2010) VI.9 ANCOZ 5 lin. 2 (now VI.9+17 ANCOZ 5+8 2§3), the attestation can be read as INFANS.*NI-sa-ha*, thus showing clear coordination with precedent *tá-ti-sa*, both of them the apposition of Hattusili and Suppiluliuma, the subjects of an unknown verb *sà-ka-ta-li-sà-*[*táˀ*]. Only one example is preserved as unequivocally nominative plural, that is, II.76 YUNUS 1 2§3 INFANS-*mu-wa/i-zi*, coordinated with *tara/i-ku-ma-mi-zi* 'interpreters', and subject of v. *ahha suni*(*ya*)- 'to libate'. According to the morphological interpretation expressed here (**§ 93.**), the restoration of *<-za->* by Peker (2014:190, INFANS-*mu-wa/i<-za>-zi*) is unnecessary.

§ 82a. Ambiguous attestations of INFANS that present an adverbial particle are better interpreted as *niwarann*(*i*)- 'child' since, on the one hand, they much more probably refer

to the author's childhood period, and, on the other, filiation elements to presuppose *nimuwiza-* are not present (see *niwarann(i)-* **§ 97.**). Nevertheless, one example of this type of context is unequivocally attested as *nimuwiza-*, II.50 KARKAMIŠ A15a 5§7 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-*[*za*]. The entire meaning of the line is unknown because of the broken context, but in light of the conditional value of the preceding REL (*kwari-*) and its location at the end of the sentence, it could belong to the final curse of the inscription.

II.50 KARKAMIŠ A15a 5§7 (Hawkins 2000:188)

5§7 ... *pa+ra/i-li-i-sa* REL+*ra/i* (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-*(obv.) ...

". . . if (?) . . . child . . ."

§ 82b . Two more ambiguous examples can tentatively be considered as *nimuwiza-* 'son' because of the context. On the one hand, II.54 KARKAMIŠ A17c 3§5 seems parallel to the previous example, since also presents a conditional *kwari*. On the other, in II.31-32-KARKAMIŠ A21 8§11*, INFANS functions as a predicative to the accusative personal pronoun *mu*, direct object of v. *tiyari*(*ya*)- 'to guard', introduced by a temporal particle (*kwadi-*). The context of the previous sentence (7§10 /*wa=mu=as tadi*[?] *izi*(*yada*)/ "he/she made me father" or "the father made me"), favours the interpretation of INFANS as 'son', through the meaning contrast that word-pairs present 'father-son' (similarly FEMINA, see **§ 1.** with **Tab. 11**).

§ 82c . The rest of the attestations that present INFANS-*ni-zi* / INFANS.*NI*-zi (II.43 TILSEVET 2§5 INFANS-*ni-zi*, II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGMENTS Cat.23 [INFANS]-*ni-zi*, IX.14 SHEIZAR 2§3 INFANS-*ni-zi*, X.21 KULULU 2 A 2§3 INFANS-*ni-zi-i*, X.22 KULULU 3 A 3§4 INFANS-*ni-zi*, X.22 KULULU 3 B 2§6 INFANS-*ni-zi*, XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 2§10 INFANS-*ni-zi*), are treated as *niwarann*(*i*)- (/niwaranzi/) (see **§ 97.**), although an interpretation with a phonetic indicator as INFANS.*NI*-zi (/*nimuwinzi*/) cannot be completely discarded either.

§ 83. Regarding the accusative singular attestations, only one example can be potentially considered as such, since the ending is not preserved: IV.1 MARAŞ 8 7§17* INFANS-*mu*[?]-[...]-*za*[..]. The accusative inflection is inferred in view of the preceding lexeme in accusative CAPUT-ˊ*ti-na*ˋ 'head/person', direct object of a broken verb. It is in light of this context that it is possible to interpret INFANS-*ni-*[*na*] in III.1 TELL AHMAR

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2 10§23, also preceeded by "CAPUT"(-)*h*[*a*...] and FEMINA-*ti*-ˈ*i*ˈ-[*na*], as an accusative INFANS.*NI-na* /nimuwizan/, direct object of v. *iyati*- 'to delete' (*ACLT: i(ya)Ti*-). Both instances take place in the context of the protective curse of the inscription but note that this context might also present *niwarann*(*i*)- (**§ 97f.**)

Concerning the rest of the accusative case-endings, two interpretations are possible: INFANS.*NI-na* /nimuwizan/ or INFANS-*ni-na* /niwarannin/. Only the ones that show *scriptio plena* clearly point to the reading *niwarannin* (see **§ 72b.** and **Tab. 25**), while the remaining attestations can represent both lexemes, since context does not provide either any parallel: II. 24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 4§21, II.40 KÖRKÜN 4§10, III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 8§32, XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 4§28, XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 4§30, XI.6 ASSUR LETTER G §52.

§ 83a . The ambiguity in the interpretation of *ni*/*NI* as a phonetic complement or as a plain syllable offers two possibilities in the interpretation of the accusative plural attestations, INFANS.*NI-zi* or INFANS-*ni-zi*, /niwaranninzi/ or /nimuwinzi/ (on **/nimuwinzazi/, see the morphological comment **§ 92b.**). In the case of III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 7§23 (INFANS-*ní-zi-i* / INFANS.*NÍ-zi-i*), and *III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 8§28 (INFANS), where the broken context of both inscriptions adds further difficulties in the elucidation of the lexeme, one can assume *nimuwiza*-, as the counterpart of *tuwatr*(*i*)-, since both attestations are followed by the mention to the daughter's enemy, in a sequence of threatens the enemy's family (see *tuwatr*(*i*)- **§ 121b.**).

§ 84 . Dative attestations that take place outside the filiation clauses, can be found in the following inscriptions. In X.18 KARABURUN 3§9 and 2§7 (*ni-mu-wa*/*i-zi*), the dative clause /nimuwizi niba hamsi/ "to the son or the grandson" appears twice as indirect object of the cursing verbal expression v. *zarti- attuwal* 'to wish evil'. The fact that we find /nimuwizi/ with -*i* case-ending, instead of the expected /nimuwiza/, can be explained because of the analogical influence of the dative -*i* case-ending of *hams*(*i*)- (*ha-ma-si*) 'grandson'. Since it takes place with the same cursing verbal expression *zarti- attuwal* 'to wish (evil)' as in X.18 KARABURUN 3§9 and 2§7, ambiguous III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 7§14 INFANS.*NI* / INFANS-*ni* can be taken to represent 'son' as well, thus dative /nimuwiza/.

§ 84a . Two further dative plural attestations, also in the same inscription, appear in coordination with another kinship term, /tadanza nimuwanza/ 'to fathers and sons' in II.27 CEKKE 4§13, and with *TAMI* in II.27 CEKKE 5§16, both indirect objects of

v. *hishi(ya)-* 'to bind' (*sec. ACLT: hishi(ya)-*). The structure is parallel to II.27 Cekke 5§16 INFANS.*NÍ*, which leads to thinking that II.27 Cekke 4§13 INFANS.*NI-wa/i-za* is to be understood as /nimuwanza/ as well, rather than /niwarannanza/. On the transcription of the dative plural as /nimuwanza/, rather than **/nimuwinzanzi/ (*eDiAna:* Cekke) see **§ 92b.**

§ 84b . With regards to the possible readings of the word-pair FEMINA.INFANS in X.12 Topada 4§15 and 6§25 (FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a-*, direct object of v. *upa-* 'to send'), as well as see *wanatt(i)-* **§ 129.** On avoiding the transcription MANUS in X.12 Topada 4§15 and 6§25 see the epigraphy section (**§ 88d.** with **Fig. 32**).

§ 85a . The inflection of the following attestations cannot be completely identified, due to interpretation problems. If correctly read, INFANS-*N*[*I*]-*na-z*[*a*] in VII.2 Tell Tayinat 2 frag.2a iii presents an unexplained medial -*na-*. One possible explanation is that *na* is marking a nasal before *za* /-nza/, which is not written in the Hieroglyphic Luwian script. Nevertheless, the fragmentary nature of the text does not permit to assure it.

§ 85b . With regards to problematic attestation in X.53 Yassıhöyük 3§18 (INFANS)*ni-m*[*u*]-*w*[*a/i-za*], which could correspond to a dative plural inflection or an ablative, see analysis of the passage in *wanatt(i)* (§ 133a **.**)

Epigraphy

§86 . The logographical representation of the Luwian word for 'son' faces problems on two levels. On the graphic level, sign *45 is used in Hieroglyphic Luwian for representing both *nimuwiza-* 'son' or *niwarann(i)-* 'child'. Therefore, when logographically rendered, it turns virtually impossible to distinguish the underlying lexeme. The conventional use of the transcription FILIUS when the meaning 'son' is inferred, and INFANS when the meaning 'child' is understood, is only based in the modern reader interpretation, and openly ignores the fact that *nimuwiza-* and *niwarann(i)-* are sometimes interchangeable, as the evidence of the Post-Empire Inscriptions suggests (see **§ 72d., § 86a,** and **§ 87a.** for the problematic of FILIUS/INFANS – *nimuwiza/niwarann(i)-*). For this reason, in the present investigation, attestations of sign *45 are transcribed as INFANS, regardingless of their nature as *nimuwiza-* 'son' or *niwarann(i)-* 'child'.

§ 86a . In the Empire Period, two features regarding the epigraphy of INFANS are worth of examination. One the one hand, the general belief that the archaic form of INFANS (*45) is MANUS (*59), on which see **§ 86b .** On the other, the shape variability that the lower crampon of INFANS present (see **§ 86c.**).

§ 86b . On the level of transliteration conventions, a further ambiguity arises from the use of the logogram MANUS for transliterating 'son' in the cases where INFANS occasionally appears without any crampon (*386/VIR$_2$). The generalization of this use was probably triggered by the first mention by Hawkins 2000:456 who employed it for rendering FEMINA.INFANS (as FEMINA.MANUS (X.12 TOPADA 4§15), which has prevailed in the literature (e.g. Dillo 2013:344).[4]

Despite both being shaped as a hand, the logograms MANUS (*59) and INFANS (*45) are clearly distinguishable. The sign MANUS (*59) presents the shape of the hand showing the palm, while the thumb is in the upper side (cf. MANUS in BOĞAZKÖY 15 and HANYERI, see **Tab. 26**). On the contrary, the sign INFANS (*45) presents the hand shaped as a 'clamp', and thus the thumb is placed in the lower side. In my opinion, the use of MANUS for transcribing the sign *45 without crampons should be avoided, since there is not any attestation where the sign MANUS (*59) proper is employed for referring to son. For this reason, I use the transcription INFANS for referring to the sign *45 without any crampon, while INFANS[1] will be used for referring to the representation of the sign *45 with lower crampon (*386/VIR$_2$). On the transcription of INFANS with double crampon as INFANS[2] in the Post-Empire inscriptions sources, and the relation with sign (*386/VIR$_2$), see state of the art in **§ 87.**

INFANS	INFANS[1]	MANUS

Table 26. 'Clamp' hand (INFANS / INFANS[1]) *vs.* MANUS

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[4] Dillo (2013:344): "This could indeed be an archaism for TOPADA, since the same topos is found in YALBURT as well, and MANUS, i.e. FILIUS wihtout the 'male determiner' is also found in other inscriptions from the Empire Period."

§ **86c .** The shape of the lower crampon of INFANS[1] (*386/VIR[2]) is another variable element in the Empire Period inscriptions, where it presents a very angular shape, which contrasts with the curved form of the Iron Age Period (see **Tab. 27**). Between these two forms, the Empire Period attestations also show a in between diagonal stroke of the lower crampon. However, the angular and the diagonal variants are not exclusive one to the other, and occasionally take place together in the same inscription (e.g YALBURT), which makes their appearance quite arbitrary. Despite the variants of the Empire Period, angular and diagonal, have not any implication with regards to chronology, it is outstanding that the ALEPPO 1 attestation appears a completely curved lower crampon, according to Laroche's copy (Laroche 1956), which is typical of the Post-Empire Period shape.

Angular shape	Angular shape with diagonal descending stroke	Curved

Table 27. The shape of the lower crampon of INFANS[1] (*386/VIR[2])

A classification of the shapes is offered below, also considering the logogram *46 (REX.FILIUS):

- Angular shape:
  > INFANS: EMIRGAZI 1 A§4, BOĞAZKÖY 18, BOĞAZKÖY 5 1§1 and 2§d, KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA §2, and YALBURT 6§1 i 15§1,
  > REX.FILIUS: KOCAOĞUZ §2 and §5, HANYERI, and HEMITE §2.
- Angular shape with diagonal stroke:
  > INFANS: YALBURT 1§1, EMIRGAZI 2 5§13, and HATIP.
  > REX.FILIUS: IMMANKULU (right) and KÖYLÜTOLU YAYLA 3
- Curved: ALEPPO 1
- Damaged:
  > INFANS: SIKERLI, and HEMITE.
  > REX.FILIUS: HEMITE §1, BOĞAZKÖY 5 4§c and 6§c, TELL AÇANA 1, ÇALAPVERDI 4, and IMMANKULU (left).

- Broken:

> INFANS: Boğazköy 3, and Taçın
>
> REX.FILIUS: Sypilos, Latmos §2 and §3.

§ 87 . As it has been stated, the sign INFANS (*45) presents two diachronic variants in the corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. During the Empire Period, INFANS (*45) is consistent in being represented by a 'clamp' hand with the sign VIR$_2$ (*386) under it, also called 'crampon' by Hawkins (2010). The form of the hand resembles the shape of a clamp, which is not to be confused with MANUS (*59), traditionally, and in my opinion erroneously, regarded as the archaic form of INFANS (see **§ 86b.**). In the Iron Age inscriptions, all the attestations of INFANS, with the particular exception of X.12 Topada (see **§ 88d.** with **Fig.32**) and V.4 İspekçür, present an innovated double crampon, that is, the previous lower VIR$_2$ (*386) and a new upper VIR$_2$ (*386). In parallel, the appearance of this new upper crampon (VIR$_2$ *386) coincides with the progressive development of further functions of VIR$_2$ (*386) itself, as it was first stated by Hawkins (2010) in his article about the development of VIR$_2$ (*386). According to Payne (2017), VIR$_2$ (*386) appears first in Yalburt as a determinative of lexemes that denote persons, such as the word-pair *tadinzi huhanzi* 'fathers and grandfathers', as well as *aliwann*(*i*)- 'enemy' (Yakubovich 2008b), extending its early use of male personal names determinative that is attested in seals. After the fall of the Hittite Empire, in the period commonly known as 'Transitional' (s. 12th-10th), VIR$_2$ (*386) broadens its use to abstract concepts that involve persons. Three phases can be distinguished along this period. In the 12th c., it appears as a determinative of CAPUT-*tti*(*i*)- 'noble person' and URBS+*MI-n*(*i*)- 'city', which is justified by Hawkins (2010) because of its connotation as a collective of persons. This is also the moment when VIR$_2$ (*386) starts to appear in the upper part of INFANS. In the 11th c., VIR$_2$ (*386) generalizes its use to a wider range of person-related concepts, including epithets (*hastall*(*i*)- 'hero'), ethnics (*palistinizza*- 'Palestinian'), or professions (*tuppala*- 'scribe'), while in the 10th c. the function as a word divider arises. According to Payne (2017:230), between the early and the middle 10th c., VIR$_2$ (*386) begins to be employed as a determinative of the family lexical field to mark the sphere of the descendants 'of the male succession line' (*sic.*), such as *nawa*- or *nawanawa-*.

To sum up, we are left with three basic, or at least clearly identifiable, stages in the development of the logogram INFANS in relation to the presence and functions of the determinative VIR$_2$ (*386):

1. In the Empire Period, INFANS (*45) presents a lower crampon VIR$_2$ (*386) at the same time that VIR$_2$ (*386) begins to appear as a determinative of some lexemes semantically related to persons.

2. In the 'Transitional' Period, INFANS (*45) presents a double crampon (lower and upper) VIR$_2$ (*386), while VIR$_2$ (*386) as a determinative extends its semantic field to more abstract concepts involving persons, parts of the body, or actions executed by persons.

3. In the Iron-Age Period, INFANS with lower and upper crampon VIR$_2$ (*386) coexists with the conversion of determinative VIR$_2$ (*386) into word-divider mark.

§ 87a . It is common opinion (e.g. Payne 2017) that at certain moment between stage two and stage three, INFANS acquires the upper crampon as part of its logogram and consolidates its typical Iron Age form with double crampon. However, the problem that the second stage presents lies on the confluence between, on the one hand, the use of VIR$_2$ (*386) as a determinative (in the lexemes already outlined) and, on the other hand, the consolidation of the upper crampon VIR$_2$ (*386) by INFANS. The exact function of VIR$_2$ (*386) in these two contexts is almost impossible to distinguish and generally relies on the attribution of the inscription to a concrete date. Nevertheless, equating the upper VIR$_2$ of INFANS to a determinative nature because of the early date of the inscription, while dating the inscription because of the presence of upper VIR$_2$ in INFANS creates a circular argument.

These problematic linked to the versatility of VIR$_2$ (*386) has direct implications in the transliteration conventions adopted by modern scholars. For instance, Dillo (2013:345) proposes to transliterate (VIR$_2$)FILIUS when VIR$_2$ (*386) is a determinative, and |FILIUS when it is a word-divider (on the methodological problem of employing FILIUS see **§ 72d.**). None of the two options seems to consider the possibility that INFANS consolidates the upper crampon as part of the sign. Note in this regard that while transitional inscriptions can be inconsistent in using VIR$_2$ (*386) as a determinative, and Iron Age ones in using VIR$_2$ (*386) as a word-divider, the double crampon in the sign

INFANS prevails. Consequently, one may ask how pertinent is to keep a convention that is based in, on the one hand, on a variable distribution of determinative marking, and on the other, on the not without controversy dating of the 'Transitional' Period inscriptions (see state of the art in Hawkins 2000:282-288).

§ 87b . Since INFANS with double crampon is far more regular than the use of word dividers in the Iron Age or the use of person determinatives in the 'Transitional' Period, I think that the transcription of INFANS should be always taken as doubled crampon for the Post-Empire Inscriptions, which is the reason why I use the transcription INFANS[2] in the present work (see **Tab.28**). The exceptional absence of crampons in X.12 TOPADA, thus transcribed as INFANS, and the single lower crampon in V.4 İSPEKÇÜR, transcribed as INFANS[1], are to be regarded as exceptions. Note that V.5 GÜRUN, which is one of the inscriptions attributed to the 'Transitional Period', closely associated to V.4 İSPEKÇÜR 1§1, presents an INFANS[2] determinative of *hams(i)*- with double crampon, but 2§1 with, oddly, only the upper crampon (*see hams(i)-* **§ 16b.**).

Empire INFANS[1]	Post-Empire INFANS[2]

Table 28. Variants INFANS[1] and INFANS[2]

§ 87c . It seems clear that, while the presence of VIR$_2$ (*386) as a determinative is at best irregular, INFANS appears after the fall of the Empire almost unanimously rendered with both lower and upper crampon, which seems a sufficient argument to consider the double crampon as an integrated part of the logogram for 'son'. That the upper crampon is integrated in the logogram in earlier times is confirmed, in my opinion, by the equalization of FILIA with upper FEMINA, which is first attested in the 10th c., in II.8 KELEKLI, an inscription authored by the ruler Suhi II. If the upper crampon (*386) in INFANS were meant to be functioning as a determinative of person, FILIA would not be in the need of equating its logogram with upper FEMINA. In my opinion, the presence of double FEMINA (*45) in FILIA can be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for the

incorporation of upper VIR$_2$ in INFANS. This is not to say that VIR$_2$ is not functioning as a determinative in other contexts, but that in the case of INFANS it becomes fully integrated in the logogram.

§ 88 . As expected for the wide geographical and chronological span time over which the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions extend, there are some instances that do not respond to any of the most attested variants, namely INFANS (without any crampon), INFANS^1 (with lower crampon), INFANS^2 (upper and lower crampon, see **Tab.26** and **Tab.28**). They are, however, restricted to a very specific context.

§ 88a . The attestations in III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 7§14, III.11 TELL-AHMAR 6 4§11 and 7§23 present the double crampon (INFANS^2), and are additionally marked with a VIR$_2$ (*386) determinative of person, thus indicating that, at least in III.6 TELL-AHMAR 1 and III.11 TELL-AHMAR 6 4§11, both belonging to the late 10th – early 9th, the upper crampon of INFANS is fully integrated in the logogram.

TELL-AHMAR 1 7§14	TELL-AHMAR 6 5§14	TELL-AHMAR 6 8§32

Table 29. Examples of VIR$_2$ + INFANS^2

§ 88b . The attestation in II.54 KARKAMIŠ A17c 3§5 only presents the lower crampon. Nevertheless, it is possible that it was engraved at the bottom, just as II.27 CEKKE 9§17*m* (in FRATER.*LA*-(*i*)- 'brother') (see **Tab.30**).
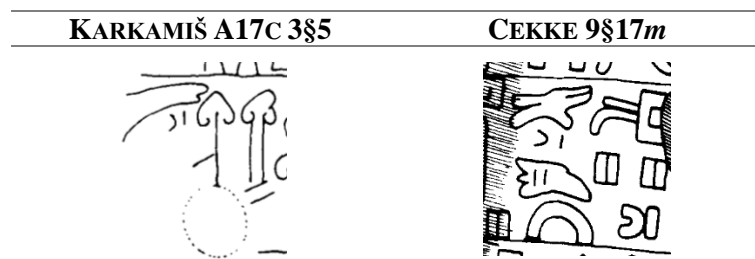
KARKAMIŠ A17C 3§5	CEKKE 9§17*m*

Table 30. Examples of INFANS^2 with dislocated upper crampon.

§ 88c . On the contrary, a group of inscriptions belonging to the Tabal region presents the Empire Period form, that is, INFANS[1], only with the lower crampon. Among them, at least X.3 KIZILDAĞ 3 and X.5 KIZILDAĞ 4 §1 might respond to the archaic nature of the inscriptions, or perhaps archaizing, as in the case of X.12 TOPADA 1§1, while the contexts of X.13 SUVASA C and X.34 KULULU 8 which also present the lower crampon do not correspond to any of the other explanations.

KIZILDAĞ 3	KIZILDAĞ 4 §1	TOPADA 1§1	SUVASA C	KULULU 8

Table 31. Attestations of INFANS[1] (only lower crampon) in the Post-Empire Period

§ 88d . With regards to the unique use of INFANS (ie. *45 without crampons in X.12 TOPADA 4§15 and 6§25), it cannot be discarded that the double crampon (VIR$_2$.VIR$_2$ / *387) that appears at the right of the sign, which stands for the logogram SERVUS (*hudarl*(*i*)-), is functioning as a kind of graphic ligature between both logograms, INFANS and SERVUS.
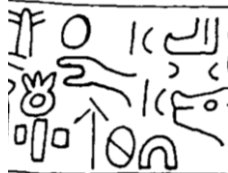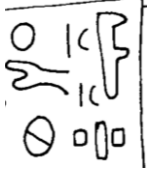
TOPADA 4§15	TOPADA 6§25

Table 32. Possible graphic ligature in TOPADA 4§15 and 6§25

It is fair to state that the descriptive attempt that is offered in the present work concerning the relation between VIR$_2$ and INFANS needs to find further corroboration on the chronological and geographical distribution of word-dividers and VIR$_2$ determinatives in

the Hieroglyphic Luwian corpus, an investigation that exceeds the limits of the present investigation.

§ 89 . Besides the composition of *45 as INFANS (without VIR[2]), INFANS[1] (with lower VIR[2]) or INFANS[2] (with upper and lower VIR[2]), one can also find another graphic distinction, although its nature is merely stylistic since variants freely combine in the same inscription in several occasions. Three basic forms can be distinguished, (1) the simple 'clamp' hand (Num.1 in Tab. 33), the 'clamp' hand with fingers (Num. 2), and the fist (Num. 3). Among the second, the hand can appear with (2.1) two, (2.2) three, (2.3) and four fingers over the thumb, while regarding the fist (3), two more variants are found: (3.1) a schematic fist, and (3.2) a schematic fist with a thumb. The distribution of the variants does not seem to be regular, since most of the forms mix in the same inscription without being conditioned by the lexeme they are representing or determining (*nimuwiza-*, *niwarann*(*i*)-, *hams*(*i*)-, FRATER.*LA*, etc). Note that there is not any attestation of INFANS (*45), with or without crampon, that appears to be really interchangeable with MANUS (*59). This is significant in the case of the variant 2.3 in V.16 MALATYA 1, where the hand shows all the fingers and the palm, in the same manner as MANUS (*59). Revealingly, even in this case they remain distinguishable, since the 'clamp' hand of INFANS presents the thumb in the lower part of the logogram, while MANUS in the upper part.
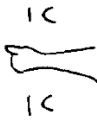
INFANS (1)	INFANS (2)			INFANS (3)		MANUS (*59)
	(2.1)	(2.2)	(2.3)	(3.1)	(3.2)	

Table 33. Shape types of INFANS vs. MANUS with determinative VIR[2]

MORPHOLOGY

§ 90 . H.Luw. *nimuwiza-* is an old consonantal *nt*-stem reconverted into the declension of the *a*-common nouns, which still preserves some of its archaic features (*contra* the general restitution of /zz/, perhaps in light of a hapax of unknown meaning, ie. C.Luw. *muwizza*,

with -*izza*-suffix formation from *-*skó*-, cognate). In my opinion, the statement of an *nt*-stem is based on the etymological evidence, on the one hand (cf. Lyc. *muwẽte* in **§29.**, and see etymological section in **3.2§4a.),** and, on the other, on the comparison with the inflection of another -*nt*-stem, *Tarhunza*- (**§ 90a.**). Although it is difficult to prove because of the defective orthographic notation of Hieroglyphic Luwian, attestations that are occasionally considered as an irregularity can find an explanation under the proposed stem nature of the lexeme, which adds support to the old *nt*-stem proposal.

§ 90a . Although it is quantitatively scarce, the presence of an unmarked nominative singular /nimuwiza/ (II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 2§1 and 8§6, II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b 8§6, II.75 KARKAMIŠ N1 1§3, IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§10, V.2 GÜRÜN 3§1b, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B 2§1, V.5 DARENDE 2§1, VII.13 ARSUZ A1-A2 1§1, VII.13 ARSUZ A1 6§18, on contracted /nimuza/ see **§ 93.**), in front of /nimuwizas/, can be explained as an archaic retention of the original nominative inflection of the old -*nt*-stems /-z/. The /-za/ ending can be understood as the development of the original consonantal stem in contact with the nominative case-ending (*-*nt*-+*s* > *za*). This statement finds a direct counterpart in the etymology of *Tarhunza* as an old -*nt*-stem (ptc. *tṛh₂u-ént- from the verbal stem *téṛh₂u-, attested in Hitt. *tarhu*- 'to conquer', *sec.* Starke 1990:142; cf. Lyc. *Trqqñt*-, see Lyc. **§69a.**), whose nominative inflection is /Tarhunza/ (or /Tarhunz/, cf. Mil. nom.sg. *Trqqiz*). Whether the final /-a/ had or not a phonetic realization is difficult to state in view of the orthographical ambiguity of Hieroglyphic Luwian writing. Revealingly, also *Tarhunza* presents a recharacterization of the nominative case ending, e.g. XII.19 PANCARLI 2§3 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa* (/*a=wa=mu Tarhu(n)zas istri arita/ "The Storm-God raised the hand for me"), besides conservative X.45 BULGARMADEN 2§4 (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za* /Tarhu(n)za/. This might indicate that at some point in the development of the inflection, the notion of nominative as /*nt-s > z(a)/ was lost or, at least, raised confusion, triggering the recharacterization of the lexemes with a nominative ending /-s/.

This idea is consistent with the diversity of nominative singular forms that *Tarhunza* presents (besides the ones already mentioned, also the variant DEUS.TONITRUS-*hu-sa* /Tarhus/ is found in III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 2§2). The retention of the -*t* in the oblique cases (dat.sg. /Tarhu(n^?)ti/), besides the homogenization of /-za/ ending in *nimuwiza*-, is not unusual for a theonym as *Tarhunza*, since this category of names is prompt to better retain

archaic features (cf. Gr. nom.sg. Ζεύς with gen.sg. Διός, or. Mil. nom.sg. *Trqqiz* with dat.sg. *Trqqñti*, see Lyc. **§69.**).

§ 90b . The dating of the inscriptions that contain nom.sg. /nimuwiza/ is, in most of the cases, in line with the idea that it represents the archaic form. Belonging to the 11-10th: II.1 KARKAMIŠ A4b (x2) II.75 KARKAMIŠ N1; while late 10th: VII.13 ARSUZ A1-A2; but 9th: IV.2 MARAŞ 4; and doubtful whether archaic or archaizing, the Malatya group (V.2 GÜRÜN 3§1b, V.4 İSPEKÇÜR B 2§1, and V.5 DARENDE 2§1).

§ 90c . Another possible indicator of archaic stem retention is found in the *iya*-derivatives, since, instead of being attached to the /-za/ or /-z/ ending, the suffix appears after /nimuwa-/ in V.16 MALATYA 1 (acc.pl. /nimuwiyaya/), V.18 MALATYA 3 (acc.pl. /nimuwiyaya/) (see **§80a.**), and VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 (dat.pl. /nimuwiyanza/) (see **§80c.**). An exception to this derivation is found in II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 1§1 INFANS-*mu-wa*/*i-zí-ia-sá*, where the *iya*-suffix is placed after /nimuwiz-/ (/nimuwaz-iya-s/, see details in **§ 80b.** with **Fig.16**). In the case of VI.16 ANCOZ 7 (**§ 80c.**) and II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b (**§ 80d.**), the logographic rendering does not allow to postulate the placement of the *iya*-suffix.

§ 91 . As happens in other occasions, the phonetic interpretation of a lexeme cannot be unlinked to the established conventions of the Hieroglyphic Luwian orthography. In this line, the nature of 'son' is intrinsically related to the unstable behaviour of nasals. It is almost impossible to know if the not notation of the nasals before occlusives responds to an orthographic or a phonetic reason. In this sense, it is worthy of consideration that a nasal phoneme is not found in the attestations of *Tarhunza*, which is therefore only restored on etymological grounds. In view of the parallel with this theonym, I think that the prehistoric form of *nimuwiza-* might respond to a reconstruction as **nimuwint-*, which, morphematically segmented as **ni-muwi-nt-s-*, finds a counterpart in Lyc. *muwẽte-* 'progeny' (**muwe-nt-*, see Lyc. **§ 29.**).

§ 92a . An analogical -*i*-dative singular case-ending takes place in X.18 KARABURUN 2§7 and 3§9 *ni-mu-wa*/*i-zi*, explainable in view of the following dat.sg. /hamsi/ (see **§ 84.**).

§ 92b . On the dative plural forms (see **§ 84a.**), the main argument for not assuming **/nimuwinzanza/ (as interpreted by *eDiAna:* Cekke) in II.27 CEKKE 4§13

(INFANS.*NI wa/i-za*) is that the syllabic nominative plural attestation in II.76 Yunus 1 2§3 INFANS²-*mu-wa/i-zi* stands for /nimuwinzi/ and not **/nimuwinzizi/ or /nimuwinzazi/. We must assume that the dat.pl. ending /-anza/ is simplified in view of the -*za* ending of *nimuwiza*-.

§ 93 . An *uwa > u* contraction /nimuza/ takes place in II.1 Karkamiš A4b 2§1 INFANS.*NÍ-mu-za*, II.1 Karkamiš A4b 8§6 INFANS.*NI-mu-za* and II.75 Karkamiš N1 1§3 (INFANS)*ní-mu-zi/a*. Since this phenomenon is widely present in Anatolian (see Lyc. **§26c.**), it is not necessary to transcribe it as a scribal error (*contra* Peker 2014:190, see **§ 82.**). Nevertheless, it is pertinent to ask whether such contraction is somehow related in a morphological ground with the fact that these examples show, in the view here contained, an archaic nominative (see **§ 90a.**).

§ 94 . Only two examples present *scriptio plena*: II.4 Karkamiš A14b 3§1 (INFANS)*ní-mu-wa/i-zi+a-sa*, II.28 Karkamiš A4a 1§1 INFANS]*NÍ-za-a-sa*. On the contrary, the plene spelling in III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 1§1 (INFANS)*ni-mu-wa/i-i-za-sa*, can respond to an aesthetical will to fill an empty space in the lower margin of the line between *wa/i* and *za*, which is in accordance with the suggestion expressed by Vertegaal in relation to this matter (2017). Also according to his view, the additional final *i* in III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 7§23 INFANS-*ní-zi-i* / INFANS.*NÍ-zi-i* is to be taken as superfluous writing.

§ 95. H.Luw. *nimuwiza*- is etymologically related to the semantic connotation related to fertility that *muwa*- presents in several cognates of the Luwic languages (Lyc. *muneite/i-* **§ 26c.**, *muwẽte-* **§ 29.**, or H.Luw. *muwid(i)*-). As it has been stated (**§ 91.**), the segmentation /ni-muwi-nt/ can be put in connection with the nasal that the Lycian cognates present. Its formation was already described by Melchert (1990:204) as *nimuwa- 'lack of virility'. Noteworthingly, this type of *bahuvrihi* compound finds parallel formations in other Indo-European languages (see etymology see **3.2§4a.**)

niwarann(i)- 'child'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Post-Empire Period

nom.sg. INFANS^2-*ní-i-sa* (II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6 4§12)

nom.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-sa* / INFANS^2.*NI-sa* (II.23 KARKAMIŠ A7 3§5)

nom.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-i-sa* (IV.5 MARAŞ 14 3§5)

nom.sg. INFANS-*ní-sa* / INFANS.*NI-sa* (VIII.6 ALEPPO 6 7§7)

nom.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-sa* / INFANS^2.*NI-sa* (X.44 BOR 2§2)

nom.sg. INF[ANS]-*ni* [...   ] (XII.17 POTOROO 7§b)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ní-zi* / INFANS^2.*NÍ-zi* (II.67 KARKAMIŠ A19*m*)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi*/ INFANS^2.*NI-zi* (II.43 TILSEVET 2§5)

nom.pl. [INFANS]-*ni-zi* / [INFANS].*NI-zi* (II.86 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. CAT.23)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi* / INFANS^2.*NI-zi* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 2§3)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi-i* / INFANS^2.*NI-zi-i* (X.21 KULULU 2 A 2§3)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi* / INFANS^2.*NI-zi* (X.22 KULULU 3 A 3§4)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi* / INFANS^2.*NI-zi* (X.22 KULULU 3 B 1§6)

nom.pl. INFANS^2-*ni-zi* / INFANS^2.*NI-zi* (XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 2§10)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ní-i-na* (II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a 4§23)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-na* / INFANS^2.*NI-na* (II.24 KARKAMIŠ A15b 4§21)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-na* / INFANS^2.*NI-na* (II.40 KÖRKÜN Obv§10)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-i-na* (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 4§11)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ní-i-na* (VIII.1 BABYLON 1 2§3)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-na* (XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 4§28)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni* / INFANS^2.*NI* (XI.5 ASSUR LETTER E 4§30)

acc.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-na* / INFANS^2.*NI-na* (XI.6 ASSUR LETTER G 4.2§52)

acc.pl. (INFANS^2)*ni-wa/i+ra/i-ni-zi* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 5§14)

dat.sg. INFANS^2-*ni-i* / INFANS^2.*NI-i* (II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 2§12)

dat.sg. INFANS^2-*ni* / INFANS^2.*NI* (II.40 KÖRKÜN 4§8)

dat.sg. INFANS^2.$NA^!$-ni / INFANS^2.NI-na (?) (II.40 Körkün Obv§11)

dat.sg. INFANS^2-ni-´ (III.1 Tell-Ahmar 2 7§14)

dat.sg. INFANS^2-ni-i / INFANS^2.NI-i (III.2 Borowski 3 4§9)

dat.sg. INFANS-$ní$- / INFANS.$NÍ$ (III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 5§14)

dat.sg. INFANS^2-ni-i / INFANS^2.NI-i (XI.6 Assur letter f 3§16)

abl.pl. INFANS^2.NI-na-ti-i (II.22 Karkamiš A6 9§30)

Doubtful

[...]-i_x-sa (II.8 Kelekli 2§1)

INFANS^2-ni- / INFANS.NI (II.51 Karkamiš A15c 2§2a)

INFANS^2-$ní$-zi-i / INFANS^2.$NÍ$-zi-i (III.6 Tell-Ahmar 1 7§23)

INFANS[$^{2?}$...] (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 8§28)

INFANS.NI (VIII.7 Aleppo 7 11§18)

Variant

*282-$wara$- (?)

nom.sg. [(INFANS$^{2?}$.$NÍ$)*282-wa/i-ra+a] (III.1 Tell-Ahmar 2 2§2)

nom.sg. (INFANS^2.NI)*282-wa-/i-ra+a (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 1§2)

nom.sg. (INFANS.$NÍ$)*282-wa/i-ra+a (III.11 Tell-Ahmar 6 1§2)

Philological Commentary

Ref. Starke (1990:452) 'child (lit. helpless)' ; Hawkins (2000:628) '(helpless) child'; Payne (2014:148) *niwarana/i*- 'helpless, child'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *niwarann(i)*-) 'child'

§ 96 . According to the general opinion regarding the distribution of *nimuwiza*- 'son' and *niwarann*(*i*)- 'child' based on semantics, only the first takes place in filiation clauses while the second is likely to appear in the rest of the contexts. This conventional classification responds to the necessity of disambiguating logographic renderings of the words (INFANS.NI) whose identification as *nimuwiza*- 'son' or *niwarann*(*i*)- 'child' is uncertain. Due to strong synonymy between them, this cannot be established as a solid

criterion (see details in *nimuwiza-* **§72.**), and in most of the cases both interpretations are valid. On the interpretation of doubtful *282-wara-* (?), see **§ 98.**

Therefore, the attestations with an ambiguous notation that are included in this section as *niwarann(i)-* basically respond to the absence of a filiation context. Sometimes, parallel contexts are possible to be established, when a syllabic rendering of *niwarann(i)-* is given, namely, the temporal clauses referring to the childhood of the author in historical narratives (**§ 97a.**), the relative clauses in a curse passage (**§ 97b., § 97d., § 97f .**), the expression 'my children' in commemorative or funerary monuments (**§ 97c.**), or the perhaps poetic use when modified by another term, such as 'the child of the house', the child of the country' or 'the child of a king'. Even in light of this possible association, a regular distribution of the lexemes that are ambiguously written is not possible to be attempted.

Furthermore, plene spelling is taken to generally stand for *niwarann(i)-* (see **§ 72b.** with **Tab. 25**), but its absence does not deny either the identification as *niwarann(i)-* in some contexts. As earlier stated, the attribution as son or child in view of the modern reader's view is totally subjective given the strong synonymy (**§ 85.**).

§ 97a . Inflected in nominative, it takes place in temporal-adverbial sentences introduced by a relative pronoun (REL-*za*) and subject of a copulative verb (v. *as-* 'to be'): II.22 Karkamiš A6 4§12 INFANS-*ní-i-sa*, II.23 Karkamiš A7 3§5 INFANS-*ni-sa* / INFANS.*NI-sa*, and, perhaps, X.44 Bor 2§2 INFANS-*ni-sa* / INFANS.*NI-sa*, which is modified by DOMUS-*na-sa* /wa=mu kuman parnassa niwarannis asha/ "while I was the child of the house". The attestation in X.44 Bor 2§2 represents an illustrative example of ambiguity, since according to the parallels, the temporal sentence is likely to present *niwarann(i)-*, but the figurative meaning 'son of the house' with *nimuwiza-* seems logical. Also introduced by a temporal particle, but in a broken context is XII. 17 Potoroo 7§b INF[ANS]-*ni*.

§ 97b . In relative sentences, IV.5 Maraş 14 3§5 INFANS-*ni-i-sa* functions as predicative of the v. *izzi(ya)-* /a=wa (a)mmis niwarannis kwis izziyari naba hamsis naba=wa=as hamsukkalas/ 'he who is made (=becomes) my child or grandson or great-grandson' (on this expression see **§ 15b.** and **§ 20a.**) Explanatory as an ambiguous context, note that here the plene-spelling accounts for interpreting *niwarann(i)-*, although

the mention to the grandson and the great-grandson, would have better supported an interpretation as *nimuwiza-* in case the transcription was ambiguous. Also in a similar relative sentence, VIII.6 Aleppo 6 7§7, modified by REX /hantawattis niwarannis/ "the king's son".

§ 97c . Nominative plural attestations seem to refer to the actions taken by the author's sons in relation to the monument or stele that contains the inscription: II.43 Tilsevet 2§5 (v. *tanu(wa)-* 'to set up'), II.86 Karkamiš Frag. Cat. 23 (v. *tama-*), IX.14 Sheizar 2§3 (v. *tuwa-* 'to put'), all of them modified by the 1st person possessive pronoun, as also in Kululu and Assur, whose context is rather economical: X.21 Kululu 2 A 2§3 v. *izzi(ya)-* 'to make', X.22 Kululu 3 A 3§4 without possessive pronoun (v. *piya* 'to give), X.22 Kululu 3 B 2§6 (v. *tanu(wa)-* 'to put'), and XI.5 Assur letter e 2§10, which is modified by an unknown term (VAS)*na-hu-ti-zi* (see commentary in Hawkins 2000:547). Without possessive pronoun, and in an unknown context, II.67 Karkamiš A19*m* INFANS-*ní-zi* / INFANS.*NÍ-zi*.

§ 97d . The accusative forms are found in very diverse and variable contexts. Some of them are followed by the personal name of the child: II.6 Karkamiš A1a 4§23 /[amm]in niwarannin Halpasulupin/ (direct object of *tanu(wa)-* 'to set up'), XI.5 Assur letter e 4§28 /niwarannin Hiparawani/ (direct. object of *harwanni-* 'to dispatch'); while in coordination with other family terms, it appears in the apodosis of the curse in III.11 Tell-Ahmar 6 8§32, a context that is, however, widely attested in dative inflection. In the Assur letter it appears twice as direct object of *77-ti* 'to pledge', both modified by 2nd person possessive pronoun, XI.6 Assur letter g 4.2§52 and XI.5 Assur letter e 4§30, being the second one probably referring to the already mentioned 'Hiparawani child'. Worth of mention is the expression /zartassin niwarannin/ 'child of the heart' (direct object of *piya-* 'to give') in II.40 Körkün 4§10, known from Hittite parallels to mean legitim child (cf. KBo III 34 iii 17; KUB 14 1, obv. 80, VboT 58 i 13, as stated by Hawkins 2000:175). On III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 4§11 INFANS-*ni-i-na*, see *tad(i)-* **§ 106c.)**. The interpretation of VIII. Babylon 2§3 INFANS-*ní-i-na* remains doubtful.

§ 97e . Finally, in Maraş 4 5§14, a full syllabic accusative plural form appears in the context of a warfare reprisal /niwaraninzi=ba=wa=anza ussinassinzi izziha/ "and I made the children eunuchs to us". In II.24 Karkamiš A15b 4§21, one example of accusative

functions as the head-noun of a genitival-adjective, /tanimassin *udnissin niwarannin/ "the child of every country" (direct object of v. *ahha satta-* 'to gather'). Note that in this case, *niwarann*(*i*)- is very likely to be interpreted as 'son', which provides the figurative sense as 'dweller' of a place (cf. 'sons of Halpa' in **§ 77c.**), since the author tells that his master provided of inhabitants of other countries so they could interpret other idioms for him while travelling.

§ 97f . With regards to the dative inflected forms, they mainly appear in coordination with other family members and in the context of protecting curses, such as II.28 KARKAMIŠ A4a 2§12 /ammi nirawanni hamsi hamsukkala/ "from my child, grandson or great-grandson" (v. *ahha la-* 'take away from'), II.40 KÖRKÜN 4§8 /Nanasi=pa=wa=ta niwaranni/ "from Nanas or the child" (in coordination with the wife's personal name, v. *idem*), 4§11 /Nanasi niwaranni hamsi hamsukala/ "from Nanasi, the child, the grandson or the great-grandson" (v. *idem*); some of which are also modified by the 1st person possessive pronoun /(a)mmi niwaranni/ "to my child" in III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 7§14 (verbal expression *attuwanza anni zarti-* 'to desire evil against'), and III.2 BOROWSKI 3 4§9 (v. *ahha la-* 'take away from'). Other contexts are, again, the Assur letter XI.6 ASSUR LETTER F 3§16 (modified by 3rd singular determinative *aba-*, indirect object v. *77- 'to pledge'), or the difficult to interpret III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 5§14, where it appears in coordination with CAPUT-*tt*(*i*)- 'man / noble' (indirect object of *waliyanuwa-* 'to redeem').

Still, in the context of the final curse of an inscription, a single ablative form is attested in II.22 KARKAMIŠ A6 9§30 (v. *anni ahha la-* 'to take away from').

§ 98 . The particular variant (INFANS.*NI*)*282-*wa-*/*i-ra+a* posits complex problems on its interpretation. In light of the reading of III.11 TELL-AHMAR 6 1§2 INFANS( )*ní* *282-*wa*/*i-ra+a* by Hawkins (2006a:17), the doubtful order in the parallel passage of III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 1§2, whose reading direction was unclear, was correctly stated as INFANS(-)*ni-*282-*wa-*/*i-ra+a*. The almost identic passage allowed Hawkins (*op.cit.*) to reconstruct the same form for III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 2§2. All of them are preceded by *á-ia-lá*/*í-na*, which is interpreted by Rieken - Yakubovich (2010:212) as the adjective *ayall*(*a*/*i*)- 'first-born'. The transcription of the signs also raises problems, since the phonetic value of *282 is currently unknown known. Payne (2017:105) proposes to read it as /LA/I/U/ and to identify it as the indicator of FRATER, therefore as

(FRATER.*LA*)*niwara-*. Nevertheless, the signs *ni* and *ní* in their respective attestations seems to immediately follow the term INFANS, which favours the reading INFANS.*NI*. One possibility is to regard INFANS.*NI* as a determinative and *282 as the initial syllable of the unknown lexeme. Certainly, the element logogram INFANS.*NI* in connection to the following /-war-/ phonetically recalls *niwarann*(i)-, so that a value /ni/ for *282 could be plausible restoration. Nevertheless, the fact that the final part of the lemma /-nni/ is lacking, and that both variants are consistent in showing a final /-a/ still makes the identification as *niwarann*(i)- 'child' controversial. Payne (2018:105) regards this word as an "imitation of earlier truncated writing practices", comparable, according to her, to the lack of case-ending on several attestations of *nimuwiza-*. Nevertheless, it has been argued in this work that nom.sg. /nimuwiza/ might respond to a retention of archaic nominal inflection, comparable to the declension of Tarhunza (see debate in **§ 90a.**)

With regards to the context, the only clear sense of the passage is that 'the gods love (/azzanta/) the author (/=mu/)', and since the inscriptions convey the chronicles of the author, it is logical that this first part of the inscription is referring to his childhood period (in accordance with the sense proposed by Hawkins *op.cit*. 'me from my childhood').

EPIGRAPHY

§ 99 . All the attestations classified, conventionally or not, under *niwarann*(i)- present the variant INFANS[2] (see **§ 87a.** with **Tab.28**), that is to say, the 'clamp' hand with two crampons, upper and lower (VIR$_2$ / *386) (see general explanation in *nimuwiza-* **§85.**)

§ 99a . Note that in VIII.7 ALEPPO 7 11§18, the *ni* sign is visible, and even drawn in Hawkins' copy (2011:47, see **Fig.17**), despite being at the edge of the inscription, for which reason it must be transliterated as INFANS.*NI*, and not INFANS.
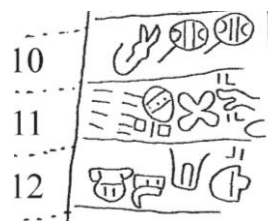
Figure 17. Copy VIII.7 ALEPPO 7 11§18 by Hawkins (2011:47)

§ 100 . H.Luw. *niwarann*(*i*)- inflects according to the *i*-stems of the semi-vocalic class. As stated by Starke (1990:452), it is to be analyzed as a compound of the negative particle *ni-*, noun *warra-* 'help' and derivational suffix *-ann*, literally 'the helpless one'. As in the case of *nimuwiza-*, this structure is a synchronic creation of Luwian, although this type of bahuvrihi compound finds parallels in other Indo-European languages (see etymology in **3.2§4.**). Although it is hidden under the logogram form, Starke (1990:452) proposes to connect C.Luw. DUMU-*iš* with the H.Luw. *niwarann(i)-*, in view of the identification of a possible *-ann*-suffix in the gen-adj.acc.sg. DUMU-*an-na-aš-ši-in* (KUB 103 ii 13, Melchert 1993:187).

tad(*i*)- 'father'

ATTESTATIONS

I. Empire Period

nom.sg. *tá-ti* (BOĞAZKÖY 5 AI§2)
nom.sg. *tá-ti* (BOĞAZKÖY 5 AII§e)
nom.sg. PATER.MATER (MALATYA §5)

nom.pl. PATER.AVUS- *zi/a* (YALBURT 4§2)

(?) dat.sg. *tá-ti* (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.IV§a)
(?) dat.sg. *tá-ti* (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§d)

iya-DERIVATIVE

dat.sg. *tá-ti* (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§c)

II. Post-Empire Period

nom.sg. *tá-*[*ti-sa*] (I.8. ÇINEKÖY §6)

(?) nom.sg. *tá-ti* (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 7§10)

nom.sg. *tá-ri+i-sa* (II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 2§5)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-i-sa* (III.3 TELL AHMAR 5 1§2)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-i-sa* (III.3 TELL AHMAR 5 3§8)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§19)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 3§4)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 4§8)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-i-sa* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§9)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 IIIB.1§5)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (VII.5 JISR EL HADID 1 fragm. 1-3)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 8§24b A1-A2)

nom.sg. *tá-ti-sa₄* (X.10 KULULU 4 3§10)

nom.pl. 20-*tá-ti-zi* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 2§5)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-i-zi* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8)

nom.pl. [*tá-ti-zi*] (II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12 2§2)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (II.18 KARKAMIŠ A26a 1+2 4§d)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (II.20 KARKAMIŠ A25a 1-2§2)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 6§7)

nom.pl. *tá-*[*t*]*i-z*[*i/a*] (III.7 TELL AHMAR 3 2§2)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 5§15 A1-A2)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-i-zi* (X.11 ÇIFTLIK 2§3-4)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi-i* (X.17 BOHÇA 3§6)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (X.17 BOHÇA 4§10)

nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (X.18 KARABURUN 1§1)

acc.sg. *tá-ti* (I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na* (I.1 KARATEPE XVIII§85-94 Ho.)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na*[-?] (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 4§11)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na* (X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK 2§7)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na* (X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK 2§11)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-na* (X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK 3§12)

acc.pl. [*tá-ti*]-*zi* (II.5 KARKAMIŠ A14a 4§5)
acc.pl. *tá-ti- zi* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 7§12)

dat.sg. *tá-ti-i* (II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 2§3-4)
dat.sg. *tá-ra+a-za* (II.27 CEKKE 5§16)
dat.sg. *tá-ti* (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 2§2)
dat.sg. *tá-ti* (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 8§13)
dat.sg. *tá-ti-i* (IV.2 MARAŞ 4 3§8)
dat.sg. *tá-ti-i-´* (X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK 2§9)

iya-DERIVATIVE
nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 4§2)
nom.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (VI.17 ANCOZ 8 2§6)

acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (II.5 KARKAMIŠ A14a 3§3)
acc.sg. [*t*]*á-ti-ia-za* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 2§3)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia<-za>* (II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 2§2)
(?) acc.sg. *tá*-[*ti-ia-za*] (II.85 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. b KH.11.O.232)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 4§3)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (III.2 BOROWSKI 3 2§3)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (III.6 TELL AHMAR 1 3§4)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 3§3)
acc.sg. *ta-ti-ia-za* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 4§10)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 3§18)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-ia-za* (VI.16 ANCOZ 7 D§13)
acc.sg. *tá-ti-za* (VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 2§2-3 A1-A2)
acc.sg. [*t*]*a*-[*ti-ia*]-*za* (XII.12 GELB A 2§2)

acc.pl. *tá-ti-ia* (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 3§8)
acc.pl. *tá-ti-zi* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 3§5)

dat.sg. *tá-ti* (II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 4§4)

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dat.sg. *tá-ti-ia* (II.17 Karkamiš A23+ 5§11)

dat.sg. *tá-ti* (II.26 Afşın 2§4)

dat.sg. *tá-ti-i* (IV.4 Maraş 1 4§3)

dat.sg. *tá-ti* (V.15 Izgin 1-2 2§2)

dat.sg. *tá-ti-i* (VII.5 Jisr el Hadid 1 fragm. 2 lin. 2)

dat.sg. *tá-ti* (VII.14 Jisr El Hadid 4 D.2§7)

dat.pl. *tá-ti-ia-za* (II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 6§15)

dat.pl. *tá ˋ-[ti-ia?-za]* (V.15 Izgin 1 4§4)

dat.pl. *tá-ti-za* (VII.14 Jisr El Hadid 4 D.1§3)

dat.pl. *tá-ti-za* (IX.1 Hama 4 B.2§10)

abl.-instr. *tá-ti-ia-ti* (I.8. Çineköy §3)

-all(a/i)-Derivative

nom.sg. *tá-tà-li-sa* (II. 11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 1§2)

Onomastics

 dat.sg. [I]*ta-ta-sa-na* /Tata/ (X.36 Kululu 9§62)

Philological Commentary

> ***Ref.*** Laroche (2016[1958]:92) 'father', *tatali-* (*sic*.) 'paternal'; Houwink ten Cate (1965:144) *tati* 'cf. Lyc. *tedi*'; Hawkins (1995:74) *tadi-* 'father'; Payne (2014:150) *tata/i-* 'father', *tatala/i-* 'paternal'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *tad(i)-*) 'father', *tadall(i)-* 'paternal'.

§ 101 . The attestations of *tad(i)-* 'father' are overwhelmingly used in expressions of formulaic nature. Only in the Empire Period sources (**§§102-104.**) one can find a concrete reference to the real figure of the author's father, in this case, Suppiluliuma's father (**§102.**). In the Post-Empire attestations (**§§105-114.**), *tad(i)-* is almost unanimously employed in literary expressions, some of which intend to show that the author accomplishes, politically and military, what his predecessors could not. The only

exceptions to this tendency, is one attestation as an epithet of a god (**§109a.**), and one reference to the concrete author's father (**§109b.**).

§ 102 . In the Empire Period sources, the presence of the lexeme *tad*(*i*)- is restricted to, on the one hand, two long compositions, the ones of Tudhaliya IV (YALBURT) and Suppiluliuma II (BOĞAZKÖY 5), and, on the other, one rock inscription (MALATYA). Most of the attestations appear, however, in lines too fragmentarily preserved to infer its context. Even so, one can divide the attestations contained in these texts in two groups, the ones referring in a concrete manner to the father of the author (**§ 103.**), and the ones that represent formulaic expression (**§ 104.**). Despite in some occasions both types are inextricably linked, the second group continues in the Post-Empire Period.

§ 103 . Regarding the first type of attestations, two direct references to Suppiluliuma's father, Tudhaliya, are found in BOĞAZKÖY 5. The first one appears in the author's aedicula, in the formulaic expression 'my father was loved by the gods' (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A1§2, cf. Iron Age **§109b.**). Although the second mention is partially broken (BOĞAZKÖY 5 AII§e), since it appears after a repetition of Suppiluliuma's aedicula as in the first attestation, it can be hypothesized that an expression containing the name of Tudhaliya took place.

> BOĞAZKÖY 5 A1§2 (Hawkins 2019b:144)
>
> *mi-sa-wa/i-*a tá-ti* (MONS)*tu* MAGNUS.REX DEUS-*ni-ti á-zi/a-mi ...* [*sa*]-*tá-**
> "My father Tudhaliya, Great King, was loved by the gods"

> BOĞAZKÖY 5 AII§d-e (Hawkins 2019b:144)
>
> EGO-*mi-**a MAGNUS.REX PURUS.FONS-*MI* MAGNUS.REX HEROS (MONS)*tu*
> MAGNUS.REX HEROS FILIUS ...
> *a-wa/i ... a-mi*�órd *tá-ti* x x x x x *mu-*a*
> "I (am) Great King Suppiluliuma, Hero, son of Tudhaliya, Great King, Hero ..."
> ...and... father ... me ..."

Note that, although both attestations lack of a nominative case-ending mark /-s/, at least the first attestation of the composition (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A1§2 **a-mi-sa tá-ti* MONS.*TU*) preserves this grammatical information in the 1st person possessive pronoun /amis/,

which dismisses other inflection possibilities out of nominative singular. (On case-ending omission, see the morphological comment **§ 115.**).

On the contrary, an isolated *tad(i)-* in the middle of the warfare narration (BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.IV§a *tá-ti*) appears to be modified by 1st possessive pronoun *a-mi in dative singular, which excludes the possibility of an unmarked nominative. Since surrounding lines are referring to concrete warfare actions, it might be understood here too that a concrete action of his father Tudhaliya was referred.

> BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.IV§a (Hawkins 2019b:144)
>
> ... *mi*!-*a (VIR₂?) *tá-ti* ...
> "... my father ..."

§ 104a . The most abundant literary expressions in the Empire Period attestations are the ones formed with the pair 'father-grandfather'. In YALBURT 4§2, a text commissioned by Tudhaliya IV, the doublet PATER.AVUS-*zi/a* is the subject of verb (*na*) *hwiya-* '(not) to run', forming the common formula 'to those lands my fathers and grandfathers did not run' (see text in **§52.**); in BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§c a dat. *iya*-derivative /tad(iy)i/ modifies *istratta-* 'throne', in the expression 'to sit on the father's throne', both of which firmly persist over time (see Post-Empire Period **§111h.**).

> BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§c (Hawkins 2019b:145)
>
> *wa/i-mi-tá.***a mi-i(a)-*ˊ*a?ˋ (VIR₂?) *tá-ti* ˊTHRONUS?ˋ
> "I seated myself on my father('s) throne."

§ 104b . The rest of the attestations of BOĞAZKÖY 5 are impossible to determine as formulaic or not due to their bad conditions of preservation. In BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§d, the passage that contains the attestation (*tá-ti*) begins with an adverbial conjunction (REL-*ti*), which can be compared to parallels in historical narratives of the Iron Age inscriptions that involve the life, dead or actions of the author (see **§ 106c.**). In this line, though, it must refer to an action by Suppiluliuma towards his father, since the verb attested is /izziyaha/ "I made"). In comparison to the Post-Empire expressions that involve *izzi(ya)-* 'to make' and *tad(i)-* 'father', the attestation in BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§d might correspond to

the formula 'I made someone my father' (**§ 107a.**). As a hypothesis, it is worth noticing that this is the last mention to the author's father, and since the Suppiluliuma himself refers to the access to the royal power in the precedent line (cf. A.V§c. above), it is likely that this line could somehow refer to the death of Tudhaliya, for instance, with Suppiluliuma making an honorific building or the like to him (similar sense in **§ 107b.**).

BOĞAZKÖY 5 A.V§d (Hawkins 2019b:145)

REL-*ti-pa-wa*/*i*(-x) ... *tá-ti* ... *i*(*a*)*-zi*/*a-ha*
"But when ... father ... I made"

The high number of references to Suppiluliuma's father, Tudhaliya, in BOĞAZKÖY 5 contrasts with the complete absence in his other main composition, BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), especially considering that they treat the same subject, that is, the submission of the southern territories. One might hypothesize that Suppiluliuma was perhaps in need to reaffirm its linage power through the mention of his father's actions in BOĞAZKÖY 5, which for some unknown reason was unnecessary when he commissioned BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG). Even though, note that the authorship of BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG) is still a matter of discussion (see Hawkins 1995:21), and Suppiluliuma could not be the author of this composition.

§ 104c . Besides the already seen pair 'father - grandfather', *tad*(*i*)- is also found together with 'mother' as a fossilized title in MALATYA §5 (PATER.MATER URBS), that is, 'the father and mother of the city' (on the transcription of *TÁ* as PATER, see **§ 114a.**). The fact that it appears as an apposition to the *name Ura-Tarhunzas* and his title as an official (REX.FILIUS) might speak in favour of considering PATER.MATER URBS as the designation of an administrative position of some kind (see details on the inscription in *annatt(i)-* **§ 2a.**, and connection with the Post-Empire expressions in **§ 107.**).

§ 105 . With regards to the Post-Empire Period attestations, it is mainly found in literary expressions where the father, commonly under the stylistic form of a word-pair, is either the subject (**§ 106.**), or the recipient of the action, in accusative (**§ 107.**) or in dative (**§ 108.**), but also as an *iya*-determinative expressing the possession towards the head-noun (e.g. throne, time, power, etc., **§ 111.**), while residually as in *-alli*-derivative (**§ 113.**).

§ 106 . Literary expressions where *tad(i)-* is the subject of the action are attested in nominal sentences (**§ 106a.**), predicative sentences, either affirmative or negative (**§ 106b.**) and relative sentences (**§ 106c.**).

§ 106a . In nominal sentences, the following expressions contain *tad(i)-*: 'my fathers (were) servants (of a god)' in II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 6§7 (attribute to *hudarl(i)-* 'servant')'; 'to be everyone's father' in X.10 KULULU 4 3§10 (modified by the genitive-adjective OMNIS-*ma-si-sa₄* /tanimassis/, v. *as-* 'to be'); 'they were strong, my father and brothers' in VII.5 JISR EL HADID 1 fragm. 1-3 (apposition of broken subject, attribute to FORTIS(-)[*m*]*u*?-*ta* /muwatta/ 'strong'); and, tentatively, 'he/she (was) fathers (ie. parents)' in II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 7§10, on which two possible interpretations need to be referred (as stated by Hawkins 2000:161).

A. To consider the omitted case-ending in both *tad(i)* and *izziya*, as well as the *iya > i* contraction in the verb, as archaic features, and to take *tá-ti* as the predicate of v. *izzi*(*ya*)- 'to make', as proposed by Hawkins (2000:161).

    II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 7§10 (Hawkins 2000:160)

    wa/i-ma-sa tá-ti i-zi
    /wa=mu=asa tadi(n) izi(yada)/
    "she made me father'

B. To consider /tá-ti-i-zi/ as one single word, and therefore interpreting a nominal sentence ('to me she is fathers'). *Contra* Hawkins (*op.cit.*), nominative plural /tadinzi/ presents plene spelling in two instances (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8 and X.11 ÇIFTLIK 2§3-4). This allows to consider a different segmentation of the transliteration:

    II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 7§10 without segmentation:

    wa/i-ma-sa tá-ti-i-zi
    /wa=mu=asa tadīnzi/
    'to me she is fathers'

Both options posit problems: on the one hand, the expression 'to make someone father' (**§ 107a.**) necessarily implies an accusative form. Such a form is doubtful to take place in interpretation (A), since the phonetic context, where /tadi-/ is followed by /i-/, is not likely to propitiate the omission of the accusative-ending nasal mark (see **§115.**). With regards to option (B), note that 'to be parents' is normally rendered as 'father and mother' (**§ 107a.**), rather than a plural /tadinzi/, Nevertheless, it seems to me that the interpretation as a nominal sentence runs parallel to the previous line "my fathers (were) servants" (contextually 'to Kubaba' 6§7 *tá-ti-zi mi-zi* SERVUS.*LA/I*, /tadinzi minzi hudarlinzi/), and is, therefore, more appropriate.

§ 106b . With regards to role of *tad(i)-* as a subject in predicative sentences, one may find the following phrases: 'my father filled the granaries' in III.3 TELL AHMAR 5 1§2 (v. *suwa-* 'to fill'); 'my father furnished/founded this throne and table' in VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§5 (v. *uppa-* 'to furnish, to found'); and 'my fathers litigated' in III.7 TELL AHMAR 3 2§2 (v. *salizza-* 'to litigate'). Expressed under the form of word-pairs, it is also the subject in: 'fathers (and) grandfathers' in X.18 KARABURUN 1§1 (v. *ahha hatta-* 'to demolish'); and 'father(-mother?)' in II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 2§5 *tá-ri+i sa* (v. *tarpunallahid- ta-* 'to stand for vengeance').

Nevertheless, this syntactic role is slightly more abundant in negative predicative sentences, which are generally intended to remark the unachieved actions of the author's ancestors, in order to emphasize the author's accomplished deeds. The most common expression of this type is 'to these lands my fathers and grandfathers did not march' (v. (*na*) *hwihwassa-* '(not) to march'), also known from the Empire Period sources (**§ 104a.**). It is found in II.15 KARKAMIŠ A12 2§2* [*tá-ti-zi hu-ha-*]*ti-*[*zi*], reconstructed by Hawkins (2000:113) in view of the spots left and of the continuation /*na hwihwassantassi*/ 'did not march'; and partially broken, it takes place in II.20 KARKAMIŠ A25a 1-2§2, which is reconstructed in view of the remaining elements and the spots left (*pa-tá-za-pa-wa/i-´* TERRA+*LA*+*LA-tà-za mi-zi-´ tá-ti-zi* [ ). A variant is found in the threefold chain 'father, great-grandfather, forefather' in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 3§8 (on the form *348-*la/i/u-tà-li-zi*, see **§ 56b.**).

Similar expressions that present the author performing the unaccomplished deeds of the ancestors are 'my fathers did not make, nor my grandfather' in VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 5§15 (A1-A2) (in correlative sentences, v. *na- izziya-* 'not to make'); 'my father and

grandfather did not release (him$^?$)' in IV.2 Maraş 4 3§9 (coord. with *huha-*, v. *na sa-* 'not to release'); and 'my fathers did not built, nor my grandfathers' in X.11 Çiftlik 2§3-4 (v. *na tama-* 'not to built', also displayed in correlative sentences).

§ 106c . It is also common to find *tad(i)-* as a subject in temporal sentences formed by the adverb *kuman*/ *kwi*, which intend to situate the narration in the author's life (comparable to the expression 'in my father's times', see **§ 111.**): '(when) my father died' in III.3 Tell Ahmar 5 3§8 and III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 4§8 (v. *ahha wala-* 'to die'), '(when) my father was alive' in III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 3§4 (v. *hadari- as-* 'to be alive'), and, perhaps, 'my father as a child'(?) in III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 4§11 (/niwarannin/ 'child' as apposition of /tadin/).

Other temporal expressions containing *tad(i)-* are displayed in the word-pair 'father-grandfather': '(when) my fathers and grandfathers went to ride', referring to military campaigns, in X.17 Bohça 4§10 *tá-ti-zi* (v. *azzussattalla-* PES$_2$.PES$_2$-*da* 'to ride', lit. 'to go on horse'). The apodosis of this temporal sentence is completed as 4§11 /kwippa=wa Runtiyas na kwihhan warriyatta/ ("indeed Runtiyas did not help at all", Hawkins 2000:479). The expression where a god denies help to the author's antecessors runs parallel to the relative sentence of the same inscription in X.17 Bohça 3§6 'those who were my fathers and grandfathers' (v. *as-* 'to be'), whose apodosis /kwippa=wa Tarhunzas na kwihhan warriyaya/ ("indeed Tarhunzas does not help at all" Hawkins, *op.cit.*) is directly comparable.

§ 107a . With regards to literary formulae where *tad(i)-* is the direct object, the most remarkable expression, for it persistance from the second to the first millennium, is 'to make someone father and mother', which is attested in the Luwo-Phoenician bilingual of Karatepe (I.1 Karatepe III§12-17 Hu.), and also in the variant 'to make someone father' (I.1 Karatepe XVIII§85-94 Ho.), in both occasions, the direct object of 3ª sg. person of the active voice of the verb *izziya-* 'to make'. The attestations of Karatepe contrast with the medial voice that is used in I.8. Çineköy §6 (*i-zi-ia-si*) with the same expression.

I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 Hu. (Hawkins 2000:49)

wa/i-mu-u (DEUS)TONITRUS-*hu-za-sa á-TANA-wa/i-ia*(URBS) MATER-*na-tí-na tá-ti-ha i-zi-i-tà*

"And Tarhunzas made me mother and father to Adanawa"

I.1 KARATEPE XVIII§85-94 Ho. (Hawkins 2000:51)

OMNIS-*MI-sa-ha-wa/i-mu-ti-i* REX-*ti-sa tá-ti-na i-zi-tà*

"And every king made me father to himself"

I.8. ÇINEKÖY §6 (Yakubovich 2015:40-41)

kwa/i-p[*a*]-*wa/i-mu-u su+ra/i-wa/i-ni-sa*(URBS) REX-*ti-sa su+ra/i-wa/i-za-ha* (URBS) DOMUS-*na-za ta-ni-ma-za tá-*[*ti-sa* MATER-*ni-sa-ha*] *i-zi-ia-si*

"Furthermore, the Assyrian king and all the Assyrian house became (were made) father and mother to me."

The change to the medial voice accounts for the reconstruction as nominative of the broken attestation. This expression can be compared to a Hittite passage of the *Anitta Proclamation*, where Pithana claims to capture the king of Neša but to 'make the citizens his fathers and mothers', which means, according to Hoffner (2003:182), that they were treated with mercy despite being defeated.

In spite of the change of diathesis, the same sense is valid for the passage in I.8. ÇINEKÖY §6, where it is to be understood that *Warika* defeats the Assyrian house, and afterwards 'makes them fathers and mothers', that is, he treats them mercifully. The same connotation cannot be established for the passage in I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 Hu., where the ruler *Azatiwadas* himself, who appears as a benefactor of Adana, is "the father and mother to the citizens of Adana". As stated in Martínez-Rodríguez 2019b:194 (with Tab.1), Karatepe presents an interference in the expression 'to make someone father and mother', perhaps caused by the also common literary topos 'the God-X is father and mother to me', meaning that the divinity is protective to the ruler, and which is found in a Palaic invocation (KUB 35.165 Vs 21-22; see Martínez-Rodríguez 2019b:185)

The sense of the word-pair 'father-mother' as a collective associated to a place or region, namely, the citizens, seems to be in line with the the title PATER.MATER URBS 'the father and mother of the city' that bears one of the characters in MALKAYA §5 (see

annatt(i)- **§ 2a.**). Similar connotations with regards to the word-pair 'father and mother' might take place in Lycian (see Lyc. **§ 46b.**).

§ 107b . Also in accusative, 'to exalt your father, grandfather, great-grandfather and forefather' in IV.2 Maraş 4 4§11 *tá-ti-na* (v. caus. *waliyanuwa-* 'to make to exalt'), but '(not) to exalt the father and grandfather' in II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 2§3-4 *tá-ti-i* (v. *appan anta waliya-* 'to favour'/exalt towards') is inflected in dative, perhaps because the directionality sense expressed by the prepositions, rather than conditioned by the non-causative aspect of the verb in this attestation.

§ 107c . All the attestations of *tad(i)-* that occurr in X.53 Yassihöyük present interpretation difficulties due to the unknown verbs of the syntagms: 2§7 *tá-ti-na* (v. PUGNUS.PUGNUS, perhaps *hishiya-* 'to bind', according to *ACLT*), 2§11 *tá-ti-na* (v. LAILAYASA '?'), 3§12 *tá-ti-na* (v. WATIYA '?'), and dat. 2§9 *tá-ti-i-´* (v. *id.*).

§ 108 . Concerning expressions governed by dative, the attested phrases are 'to my father and grandfather there was authority' in IV.2 Maraş 4 3§8 *tá-ti-i* (v, *tabarihid- as-* 'to be power'), and 'to bind something for the fathers and sons' in II.27 Cekke 5§16 dat.pl. *tá-ra+a-za*, (beneficiaries of v. *hishiya-* 'to bind'). With regards to the expression 'to be magnified/raised by the father' that appears in II.31-32 Karkamiš A21-A20b 2§2 *tá-ti* (non-personal form of v. *urannu(wa)-* 'to magnify'?), its interpretation needs a closer look. The sentence is translated by Hawkins (2000:160) as "To make me great my father Sastu(ras) the sun-blessed prince [broken verb?]", where he interprets the unmarked nominatives (*mi-i tá-ti Sa-sa-tù* (DEUS)SOL-*mi* CAPUT-*ti*) as the subject of an unattested verbal form at the end of the line, and the accusative pronoun *mu* and the infinitive MAGNUS-*nu-na*, as its objects.

> II.31-32 Karkamiš A21-A20b 2§2 (Hawkins 2000:160)
>
> *wa/i-mu mi-i tá-ti sa-sa-tù* (DEUS)SOL-*mi* CAPUT-*ti* MAGNUS-*nu-na* [...]
> "To make me great my father Sastu(ras) the sun-blessed prince [...]"

This interpretation is consistent with the general argument of case-ending omission that occasionally takes place in *tad(i)-*, according to Hawkins (*op.cit.*). Nevertheless, it has been argued here that other examples where the nominative case-ending mark is lacking

(see Empire Period **§ 103.**) present inflectional mark in the possessive pronoun (thus nom.sg. /amis/). Nevertheless, the omission does not take place in the possessive pronoun of II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 2§2, but it stands as *mi-i* (/ami/), as also do the rest of elements that accompany *tad*(*i*)-, namely the personal names and epithets (*mi-i tá-ti Sa-sa-tù* (DEUS)SOL-*mi* CAPUT-*ti*). Noteworthily, personal names without a nominative mark are unattested. In my opinion, these facts point to interpret *mi-i tá-ti*, as well as the personal name and epithets of the clause, as singular datives. The remaining question of how this fits with the syntaxis of the sentence is difficult to answer, since the end of the line is broken. A possible interpretation is to understand the dative clause (/mi tadi Sastu tiwadammi CAPUT-tti/) as the agent of the non-personal verbal form, possibly an infinitive (/urannuna/, according to *ACLT:urannuwa-*), and the whole infinitive clause as the apposition of to the enclitic accusative personal pronoun -*mu*. Thus "(He) [...-ed] me, made great by my father *Sasturas*, the sun-blessed prince." This interpretation finds support in light of the evidence seen about omission case ending, but the lack of syntactic parallels calls for being prudent in assuming this syntactic analysis.

§ 109a . Out of formulaic expressions, *tad*(*i*)- appears as a god epithet of the Wine-god (DEUS)VITIS) in VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 8§24b (A1-A2) *tá-ti-sa* (v. *tarza-* 'to turn', on which see details in *annatt(i)-* **§ 4a.**),

§ 109b . In VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§5, *tadis* is accompanied by the name of the author's father (^I*á-za-mi-sá*), as well as the epithet 'loved by the gods', similar to the expression found in the Empire Period (**§ 103.**). In the prothesis of a curse in III.5 ALEPPO 2 5§19, /tadis/ is the apposition of the subject *kwis* (v. *ahha la-* 'take away), coordinated with an unknown lexeme (*274[...]). In this passage, both the father and the unknown *274 are considered as a possible threat to the preservation of the monument. Revealingly, this expression runs parallel to III.1 TELL-AHMAR 2 8§18 (**§ 9b.**), which implies that here *274, graphically similar to *276 (FRATER₂), can be consequently linked to the unattested Luwic lexeme for brother **nan(i)-* (see **§ 12b.**).

§ 110 . Some attestations are broken and/or uncontextualized, so that one can only hypothesize through resorting to outer linguistic aspects, such as in IV.4 MARAŞ 1 7§12 *tá-ti-zi*, where only /aminzi tadinzi/ "my fathers" remains in the line. In light of the precedent line "But Runyiyas of the IPA what wild beasts he gave to me" (Hawkins 2000:263) and the general idiom 'what the gods did not concede to my ancestors, they do

to me', which presents several variants (**§109**.), it is plausible that the attestation in question is to be reconstructed as /wa=tta aminzi tadinzi Runtiyas na pibassatta/ 'to my fathers Runtiya did not give'.

IV.4 Maraş 1 (Hawkins 2000:263)

6§11 *i-pá?-si-pa-wa/i-mu⁻ⁱ* (DEUS)CERVUS₂*-ti-ia-sá* REL-za <*-wa*/i>
(BESTIA)*HWI-tara/i pi-pa-sa-ta*
7§12 *wa/i-ta á-mi-zi tá-ti-zi* [. . .
"But Runyiyas of the IPA what wild beasts he gave to me,
my fathers [. . ."

Further details are not possible to be inferred in both II.18 Karkamiš A26a 1+2 4§d *tá-ti-zi* and *II.5 Karkamiš A14a 4§5 [*tá-ti*]*-zi* besides the fact that they are coordinated with /huhanzi/ 'grandfathers'. Concerning II.31-32 Karkamiš A21-A20b 8§13 *tá-ti*, followed by *mi-i*, is interpreted as a dative singular, or an *iya*-derivative, possibly determining 'throne' or the like. Since previous lines relate the younger times of the ruler, it is likely that it continues with a 'I settled on my father's throne' (see parallels in **§111.**).

§ 111 . The greatest part of fossilized expressions involving *tad*(*i*)- take place as *-iya*-adjectival derivatives, a type of derivation extremely productive with this lexeme (see details in the morphological commentary **§117.**).

§ 111a . 'paternal gods': IV.4 Maraş 1 4§2 *tá-ti-zi* (nom.pl. modifying /massaninzi/, v. *azza-* 'to love'), VII.14 Jisr El Hadid 4 D.1§3 *tá-ti-za* (dat.pl. modifying /massananza/, v. *waliyanu*(*wa*)- 'to exalt'), I.8. Çineköy §3 *tá-ti-ia-ti* (abl. modifying /massanadi/, v. *latra-?* 'to make prosper').

§ 111b . 'paternal servants': VI.17 Ancoz 8 2§6 *tá-ti-zi* (nom.pl. modifying /hudarlinzi/, nominal sentence).

§ 111c . 'to give paternal succession/power' (acc.sg. modifying /salhanza/, v. *piya-* 'to give'): II.5 A14a Karkamiš 3§3 *tá-ti-ia-za*, II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 2§3 [*t*]*á-ti-ia-za*, II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 2§2 *tá-ti-ia-<za>*, III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 4§3 *tá-ti-ia-za*,

III.2 Borowski 3 2§3 *tá-ti-ia-za*, III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 3§3 *tá-ti-ia-za*, III.6 Tell-Ahmar 1 3§4 *tá-ti-ia-za*, XII.12 Gelb A 2§2 [*t*]*a-*[*ti-ia*]*-za.*

§ 111d . 'to raise the father's power (?)': VII.13 Arsuz 1-2 2§2-3 (A1-A2) *tá-ti-za* (acc. modifying /salhanza/, v. *ariya-* 'to raise').

§ 111e . '(not) to look? down at the father's name': III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 4§10 *tá-ti-ia-za* (acc. modifying /alamanza/, v. (*na*) *zanta* X 'not down X?').

§ 111f . 'to erase the father's name' (acc. modifying /alamanza/, v. *ahha walla-* 'to smash away'): VI.2 Boybeypinari 2 IVB.3§18 *tá-ti-ia-za*, VI.16 Ancoz 7 D§13 *tá-ti-ia-za.*

§ 111g . 'to destroy the father's enemies': III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 3§5 *tá-ti-zi* (acc. modifying /alunninzi/, v. *ahha marnussa-* 'to destroy').

§ 111h . 'to settle in the father's throne' (dat. modifying /istratti/, v. *isnu*(*wa*)*-* 'to settle'): II.31-32 Karkamiš A21-A20b 4§4 *tá-ti*, IV.4 Maraş 1 4§3 *tá-ti-i*, V.15 Izgin 1-2 2§2 *tá-ti.*

§ 111i . 'in front of my father's statue' (dat. modifying /tarudi/, v. broken): VII.14 Jisr El Hadid 4 D.2§7 *tá-ti.*

§ 111j . 'the father and grandfather's territories': V.15 Izgin 1 4§4 *tá*ˋ-[*ti-ia*?*-za*] (dat.pl. modifying /wattaninza/ v. *izzi*(*ya*)*-* 'to make').

§ 111k . 'the father and great-grandfather's territories': II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 3§8 *tá-ti-ia* (acc.pl. modifying /wattaniya/, v. *izziya- anta* 'to make into?'), II.26 Afşin 2§4 *tá-ti* (dat.sg. modifying /wattani/, v. unknown).

§ 111l . 'to favour the father's house': II.17 Karkamiš A23+ 5§11 *tá-ti-ia* (dat. modifying /parni/, v. *waliya-* 'to favour').

§ 111m . 'to attack the paternal houses' II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 6§15 *tá-ti-ia-za* (dat.pl. modifying /parninza/, v. (*anta*) *tarp*(*a*)*i-* 'to attack into?').

§ 111n . 'in my father's and grandfather's times': IX.1 Hama 4B 2§10 *tá-ti-za.* (dat.pl. modifying /aranza/, v. *tarpari- anta* (*aradi-*) 'to ocurre a disaster?/to lack income').

§ 112 . Expressions with broken forms, or in descontextualized passages such as the following can only be hypothesized: II.85 KARKAMIŠ FRAGM. b (KH.11.O.232) *tá-*[*ti-ia-za á-m*]*a-*[*za*], tentatively restored according to the authors of the edition (Peker – Weeden 2014: 135-136), and VII.5 JISR EL HADID 1 FRAGM. 2, lin. 2, where the form *a-mi-i tá-ti-i* is likely to modify dative singulars /parni/ 'to the house', /tarudi/ 'to the statue', /istratti/ 'to the throne', the lexemes that are normally attested with this construction.

§ 113 . The word-pair 'father – grandfather' in II. 11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2 (*tá-tà-li-sa* AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa*) is taken to modify *za-a-sa* URBS+*MI-ni-i-sa* 'this city'. The reason for a derivation with *all(a/i)*-suffix, instead of the expectable *iya*-derivation, might respond to a will to avoid confusion with the following adjectival possessive structure (see details in *huhad(i)*- **§ 57c.**).

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§ 114a . All the attestations of *tad*(*i*)- are invariably rendered with initial *tá* (*29). In the Empire Period, it presents a logographical value in two attestations, YALBURT 4§2 (previous transliteration as *TÁ*.AVUS-*zi*/*a*, Hawkins 1995: 68) and MALKAYA §5 (PATER.MATER), which is transliterated with the Latin word PATER.

§ 114b . In the Post-Empire Period all the attestations are syllabically rendered. While the initial syllable *tá* phonetically stands for a voiceless dental stop /t/, the second syllable in the *all(a/i)*-derivative *tá-tà-li-sa* (II. 11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2), rendered with *tà* (*41), must correspond to a voiced /d/, according to the presence of *tà* of in the rendering of the 3rd person enclitic personal pronoun */=ada/ (Rieken 2008). Therefore *tá-tà-li-sa* phonetically stands for /tadallis/.

Recently, Simon (2019) has proposed that the sign *41 might be better substituted by a transcription *tì*, with an /i/ vocalic phonetic value, rather than *tà*. Nevertheless, in his study he does not take into account the evidence provided by *tad(i)-* 'father' and *huhad(i)-* 'great-grandfather'. In these attestations, all the inflectional instances that present a phonetic syllable /di/, being nominative /-dis/ or accusative singular /-din/ case endings in the case of *tad(i)-*, or a dative singular /-di/ in both *tad*(*i*)- and *huhad*(*i*), are invariably rendered with sign *90 (*ti*).

One can only name three instances where the sign *tà* is employed. On the one hand, the *all(a/i)*- derivatives *tá-tà-li-sa* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2) and AVUS-*ha-tà-li-sa* (II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§2). Assuming **/tadillis/ and **/huhadillis/ is hardly consistent with our evidence on the behaviour of the *-all(a/i)*-suffix (see Sasseville 2014/15), but, furthermore the dative plural case ending /-anza/ that takes place in AVUS-*ha-tà-za* (IX.1 HAMA 4 B.2§10) simply does not correspond with the reading of this instance as **/huhadinzi/. Although the data provided by the kinship terms that are discussed in the present work is scarce, the mentioned evidence calls for at least questioning a phonetic value /di/ for sign *41.

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§ 115 . As it has been already mentioned along the *tad(i)*- chapter, the Empire Period attestations present some instances of nominative case-ending omission, which are restricted, nonetheless, to BOĞAZKÖY 5. It has been argued, though, that all of them present the nominative mark in its modifiers, and that cases where the lexeme or the modifier, lack of case-ending, they are likely to be syntactically analyzed as datives (**§ 103.**).

In the Post-Empire Period, only two instances are potentially case-omission examples. On the one hand, II. 31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A 20b 2§2 *tá-ti*, earlier justified because of its archaic features (Hawkins 2000:160), but whose syntactic interpretation allows the analysis as datives (see **§ 108.**), and on the other hand, an accusative case-ending omission, which may be explained because of the phonetic contact with the following enclitic =*ha* in I.1 KARATEPE III§12-17 *tá-ti-ha*. Despite the unstable nature of /n/ before occlusives is well-known (Melchert 2003:182), it has not yet described taking place before enclitic /=ha/. Note, however, that the fall of the nasal of the accusative case-ending before aspirate is attested as well in IV.2 MARAŞ 4 4§11 AVUS-*ha-tu-ˈliˋ-ha* (/huhaduli(n)=ha/), or VII.14 JISR EL HADID 4 A§2 (/nanatri(n)=ha/).

§ 116 . There are two cases of alternation between /l/ and /r/, a phonetic change described by Rieken and Yakubovich (2010:217) as 'flapping', which also takes place in *hamsukkala-* (see details in **§ 34a**.)**.** In both II.27 CEKKE 5§16 *tá-ra+a-za* and II.45 KARKAMIŠ A5a 2§5*tá-ri+i-sa* the phonetic change is in accordance with the chronological attribution to the late period (8th c.).

§ 117 . The fundamental problem within the *iya*-derivatives group of attestations lies on the difficulties of identifying the shortened variants of the *-iya-* (*-i-*) forms, which might be in relation to the widely attested contraction that takes place in Anatolian (/uwa/ > /u/; /iya/ > /i/).

Commonly rendered as 'contraction', this phenomenon, is also known as 'sporadic' syncope (Rieken 2001: 369-380, Melchert 2003:183, *GHL* 1.76, Yakubovich 2015:5.2.1), and is attested independently in almost all the Anatolian languages (e.g. Lyd. *mruwaa-* ~ *mru-* 'tomb' *LW* 168; Lyc. *wawa* ~ *uwa* 'cow', *DLL* 78; CLuw. 3.sg.pres. *a-ri-it-ti* ~ 3.sg.imp. *a-ri-ya-ad-du* (v. *ari*(*ya*) 'to raise') Yakubovich *op.cit.*; Hitt. *šu-wa-an-ta-an* ~ *šu-u-un-ta-an* 'full', *GHL op.cit.*). The distribution and the nature of this phonetic change is still a matter for debate.

§ 117a . At least in Hieroglyphic Luwian, a further complication is due to the evasive writing system. Thus, a nominative plural *á-mi-i-zi tá-ti-zi* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 4§2) might stand for /amiyinzi tadinzi/ or as a mere plene spelling form /amīnzi tadinzi/, or, for instance, a dative singular *a-mi tá-ti-i* (IV.4 MARAŞ 1 4§3) could be interpreted as /ami tadiyi/ or as a superfluous syllabogram of aesthetical motivation (as shown by Vertegaal 2017). Most of its ambivalence might be due to the *-i*-stem of *tad*(*i*)-, which favours the confluence between the stem vowel and the derivative suffix, in addition to the *-i*-dative singular case-ending. For this reason, sentence word-order is the determinant factor in terms of inferring an *iya*-derivative, since the sequence 'determiner – modifier – head-noun' (e.g. dat.sg. /ami(yi) – tadi(yi) – istratti/ "to my paternal throne") is most of the times respected (with the exception of unusual II.31-32 KARKAMIŠ A21-A20b 4§4 *109.THRONUS *tá-ti mi-i*).

§ 117b . On the contrary, the unshortened form appears consistently rendered with *ia-za* /-yanza/ signs providing that the head noun is an accusative singular of the neuter gender (II.5 KARKAMIŠ A14a 3§3 *á-ma-za tá-ti-ia-za sà-la-ha-za* /amanza tadiyanza salahanza/), with the exception of II.13+14 KARKAMIŠ A2+3 2§2 *tá-ti-ia<-za>*, a possible scribal error, and of *tá-ti-za* in VII.13 ARSUZ 1-2 2§2-3 (A1-A2), which is, nevertheless, duly marked in the modifier in A2 (**a-mi-ia-za*).

§ 117c . The modifier of accusative plural neuter is ambiguous in showing contraction (II.9 KARKAMIŠ A11a (A8) 3§8 *á-ma tá-ti-ia* REGIO-*ní-ia*). Here the transcription as

/tadiya/ can be either described as the neuter accusative plural *iya*-suffix, or the phonetic development of the -*i* of the stem in contact with the -*a* of the plain neuter inflection (*tadi-a → /tadiya/). In fact, both are the same phenomenon, described from different perspectives, which only adds another example to the methodological problems that current scholarship have when dealing with Luwian orthography. Compare similar /i-a/ → /iya/ in the derivation processes that *wannatt(i)-* and *zid(i)-* undergo (**§132.** and **§137.**). This phonetic process is also observable in Lycian, where the copulative conjunction se develops a glide of support when the following word starts with a vowel /sej=V/.

§ 117d . Lastly, an additional confusion takes place because of the homophony of the case-endings in /-anza/, which equally represents the neuter accusative singular and the neuter dative plural inflections. Thus V.15 Izgin 1 4§4 *táˀ-[ti-iaˀ-za hu-ha-ti-iaˀ]-za* REGIO-*za* is inferred as an accusative by the syntax of the sentence (v. *izziya-* 'to make'). But the case in II.13+14 Karkamiš A2+3 6§15 *tá-ti-ia-za* DOMINUS-*niᴵ-za* /tadiyanza parninza/, where *ni* is interpreted as a scribal error, can be perfectly interpreted as a dative plural whose -*i*-vocalism is in analogy with the dative singular inflection (cf. same expression dat.sg. *tá-ti-ia* DOMUS-*ni* /tadiya parni/ in II.17 Karkamiš A23+ 5§11).

The high productivity of *tad(i)-* as an *iya*-derivative allows us to shed some light on the behaviour of the *iya*-suffix and the syntactic construction that it forms. Nevertheless, a plene study on the distribution of this suffix according to the stem of the word to which is attached, and to the syntactic role that displays, is still awaiting.

§ 118 . H.Luw. *tad(i)-* is inflected according to the *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalic class (ie. *a*-stems with *i*-mutation). It is generally regarded as a lexeme of babytalk origin, as also are the solid cognates that presents in the Luwic family: Lyc. *tede/i-*, and Carian *ted-*, but also Lydian *taada-*, which in turn present parallels in some Indo-European languages (see etymology **3.3.2§6**). On the contrary, it differs in Hittite *atta-* and Palaic *papa-*.

tuwatr(i)- 'daughter'

I. Empire Period

    nom.sg. FILIA (Fraktin §4)

    nom.sg. FILIA (Silver Stag Vessel)

    (?) nom./acc.sg. FILIA (Taşçı A §2)

II. Post-Empire Period

    acc.sg. FILIA-*tara/i-na* (II.8 Kelekli 3§2)

    acc.sg. (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 7§24)

    acc.sg. (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-ta*[*ra/i-na*] (III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 8§29*)

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

> ***Ref.*** Starke (1990:347) *tuu̯at(a)ri-* 'daughter'; Hawkins (2000:93) 'daughter'; Payne
> (2014:151) *tuwat(a)ri-* 'daughter'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *tuwaTarr(i)-*) 'daughter'

§ 119 . Inscriptions authored by women are the ones where a filiation clause, and
consequently, the lexeme for daughter, would be expected to take place (on filiation see
nimuwiza- **§ 73a.**). Nevertheless, this can only be assumed for one inscription, namely,
the rock epigraphs of Taşçı A in the Empire Period, whose interpretation is not without
problems (**§ 120c.**). In the two other Empire inscriptions, both women express the filiation
through the connection to a territory (**§ 120a-b.**), while in the case of the inscription
authored by the woman *Panamuwatis* in VI.1 Boybeypinari 1 in the Iron Age, the initial
relationship clause introduces her through the marital bound (see *wanatt(i)-* **§ 127a.**). The
scarce presence of *tuwatr(i)-* in the Post-Empire Period is restricted to other contexts
(**§ 121.**).

§ 120 . The lexeme for 'daughter' in the Empire Period sources is restricted to three
attestations, two of which are royal (**§ 120a-b.**) and are, in addition, featured by women.

§ 120a . In FRAKTIN §4, the logogram FILIA appears modified by *ká-zu*(*wa*)*-na*(REGIO), and followed by the epithet DEUS *á-zi*/*a-mi* (/Kazzu(wad)na tuwatris massanadi azzamis/ "daughter of Kizzuwatna, loved by the gods"). The whole clause stands in apposition to the name of *Puduhepa* and her epithets (*pu-tu-ha-pa* MAGNUS.DOMINA /Puduhapa hassussaris/ "Puduhepa, Great Queen"). The epithet 'daughter of Kizzuwatna' is representative of *Puduhepa*, since it also appears in the Tarsus seal, as discovered by Güterbock 1997. Noteworthily, the filiation that *Puduhepa* presents in the FRAKTIN relief contrasts with the total absence of any filiation in *Hatusili*'s name, who only stands with the title MAGNUS.REX.
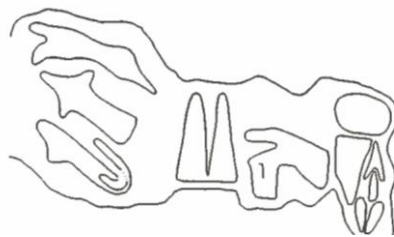
Figure 18. Copy of the epithet of *Puduhepa* in FRAKTIN by Kohlmeyer (1983: 72)

§ 120b . The logogram FILIA in the left epigraph of the STAG SILVER VESSEL presents a similar structure to the epithet of Puduhepa in the FRAKIN relief, as pointed out by Van den Hout (2018), who also states, in his edition, that the toponym *á-x*(REGIO) that modifies FILIA does not, however, correspond to Kizzuwatna, and therefore the identity of the woman remains unidentified.

Figure 19. Copy of the left epigraph of the Silver Stag Vessel,
extracted from Van den Hout (2018: 120, from Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2010)

§ 120c . The only case where the filiation of a woman could be identified is in the group of rock epigraphs TAŞÇI A, in accordance with the standard interpretation, proposed by Hawkins (2005: 292-3): *ma-na-a-zi*/*a* FILIA *lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA FILIUS(?) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

"*Manazi*, daughter of *Lupaki* the Army-Scribe (son of(?) *Zida* the *MEŠEDI*-man), servant of *Hattusili*"

There are two main controversial aspects in this interpretation. On the one hand, it implies assuming an uncommon filiation structure, where the modifier (the father's personal name) follows the head-noun (FILIA) instead of preceding it (on the filiation clause structure, see *nimuwiza-* **§ 73a.**). On the other, the existence of the first epigraph, which takes place before *Manazi* is not taken into account. This is particularly significant, since the inclusion of this first unconsidered epigraph might change the syntactic interpretation. The different possibilities have been outlined in paragraph **§ 75d.**, among which I consider option C to be more appropriate:

> c. (1) X-x-*li-zi* (2) *Ma-na-zi* FILIA (3) *Lu-pa-ki* EXERCITUS.SCRIBA CAPERE (4) VIR-*á* HASTARIUS MAGNUS.REX *HATTI+li* MAGNUS.REX HEROS SERVUS

> c. "X-x-*li-zi* took *Manazi*, the daughter, (from) *Lupaki*, the Army-Scribe. *Zida*, the *MEŠEDI*-man, of *Hattusili* great king, the servant".

In this option, the lexeme for 'daughter' is the apposition *Manazi*, the direct object of verb *la-* 'to take' (CAPERE, *41). In favour of considering this tentative interpretation, note that the use of v. *la-* 'to take' runs parallel to the attestation in II.8 KELEKLI 3§2, in the Post-Empire Period, which presents the meaning 'to take into marriage' (see **§ 121a.**).

§ 121a . The three preserved attestations of *tuwatr(i)-* of the Post-Empire Period are all in accusative. The clearest one takes place in II.8 KELEKLI 3§2, where it appears as the object of v. *la-* 'to take', meaning 'to take in marriage', whose subject is the future husband Tudhaliya ((MONS)*TÚ-sa*). The same idiom is found in Hittite with v. *da-* 'to take (Hittite Law §33 in Hoffner 1997), and, tentatively, in the Empire Period Hieroglyphic Luwian TAŞÇI A 2 (see **§ 121a.**). The lexeme is modified by a possessive pronoun and an adjective /ammin wassammin tuwatrin/ "my dear daughter".

> II.8 KELEKLI 3§2 (Hawkins 2000:93)

> *wa/i-ti-´ ku-ma-na* (MONS)*TÚ-sa-´* ´REX`-*ti-sa* x x x x-´*na*?`
> *á-mi-na* BONUS-*mi-na* FILIA-*tara/i-na* CAPERE-*í*
> "And when king Tudhaliyas shall take to himself (in marriage) ... my dear daughter"

§ 121b . The two left attestations belong to the same inscription, III.6 Tell Ahmar 1, and run almost parallel. The inscription belongs to the son of Ariyahinas, who narrates the power usurpation that his ancestors suffered, and later his recovery of the throne. The setbacks that these deeds tell might account for the bitterness of the final cursing passage, one of the more explicit in relation to the punishment of the author's enemies. In it is contained the mention to *tuwatr(i)-* (7§24) which is modified by ("*314")*ka-pi-la-li-na* /ammin kapillaliyin tuwatrin/ "my enemy's daughter", direct object of v. *izzi(ya)-* 'to make'. The sense of the passage depends on the interpretation of the predicative complement of /tuwatrin/, that is, (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti-na* /taniTin/, which Hawkins considers as 'hierodule' in view of the possible correspondence with Hittite ^MUNUS*daniti-* (Hawkins 2000:243, on Hittite attestations, see HEG T/1:106 'Hohepriesterin[?]'). While the first part of the curse expresses the author's will, the second part tells the concession of the demand by repeating the elements that appeared in the first part. In view of this structure, the second attestation (8§29) can be safely reconstructed with the same sense. The only divergence is the substitution of /kapillaliyin/ "enemy's" by the 3.sg.pron.poss. /abasin/ 'to his' in reference to previous, therefore "I [will make] his daughter [*tanitin*]". (cf. similar threatens to women in In III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 7§16, see **§ 128a .**)

III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 7§24-29 (Hawkins 2000:241)

(§24) [á-mi-pa-wa/i] mi-i-tu-´ ("*314") *ka-pi-la-li-na* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-tara/i-na* (FEMINA.PURUS.INFRA)*ta-ni-ti-na i-zi-i-wa/i-i*
(§25) *wa/i-mu-´* "AUDIRE+*MI*"-*ti-i-tá za-a-sa* "CAELUM-si"-*i-sa* (DEUS)TONITRUS[...]
(§26) *wa/i-mu*[-´] DARE.CR[US[?]] *mi-i-n*[*a*]-´ ("*314") *k[a]-pi-la-li-i-na*
(§27) *wa/i-tá-´* ARHA CAPUT *69(-)*i-ti-*[*x*]
(§28) *pa-si-pa-*[*wa/i*]-´ INFANS[...
(§29) *pa-si-pa-wa/i-´* (FILIA)*tú-wa/i-ta*[*r/i-na*] FE[MINA]

"(§24) [and] I myself shall make [my] *enemy*('s) daughter a hierodule for him. (§25) This celestial Tarhunzas hear me, (§26) to me [he] ga[ve(?)] my enemy, (§27) (his) head [I] destroy[ed], (§28) and his son[s . . .] (§29) and his daughter a hi[erodule I made . . .]

§ 122 . The logogram FILIA that represents the lexeme *tuwatr(i)-* is the same as INFANS (*45), with a substitution of the lower crampon (*386/VIR$_2$) by (*79/FEMINA) in the Empire Period. The first appearance of upper FEMINA in the logogram *45 (ie. II.8 KELEKLI 3§2) is significant in order to establish a relative chronology of the consolidation of INFANS with the double crampon (see debate in *nimuwiza-* **§ 86-87.** and, concretely on the role of FILIA, **§ 87c.**).

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§ 123 . H.Luw. *tuwatr(i)-* inflects according to the *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalic class. In accordance with its well-known etymology, it has an old consonantal stem nature *$d^hugh_2tér$-* (*NIL* 126), comparable to its Lycian cognate *kbatra-*, secondarily reconverted into the *a*-stems (**§ 20.**)

Kloekhorst (2011:235-243) has proposed that H.Luw. *tuwatra-*, and its cognate Lyc. *kbatra-* reflects a full grade of the ablauted pattern PA *duetr-* / *duter-*, developed as *$\underset{.}{d}uetr$- < *$\underset{.}{d}uegtr$- < *$d^h\underset{.}{u}egh_2tr$-; while the other Anatolian cognates reflect a zero grade Hitt.(/C.Luw?) duttariya- and Lyd. *tutr* (identified by Schürr 2006: 1570-1572), which have developed from PA *duter-* < *d^hugh_2ter*. In my opinion, this Proto-Anatolian reconstruction fits better the distribution of the Anatolian cognates than other traditional explanations such as the emergence of an anaptyctic vowel (*AHP* 321), later described by Melchert (2012b:214) as syncope, followed by loss of prevocalic *g, and glide insertion (*d^hugh_2tr- > *$d^hug_ah_2tr$ > *du-gah-tr- > *du-ga-tr > *du-a-tr- > du-wa-tr*).

On Indo-European cognates, see **3.3.1§5b.**, on the suffix *-ter*, **§6**).

*wanatt(i)- 'woman, wife'

I. Empire Period

    nom.sg. *pari* x FEMINA (MALKAYA §2)

    nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS-*ha* (EMIRGAZI 2 5§13)

    nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (YALBURT 6§1)

    nom.pl. FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (YALBURT 15§1)

II. Post-Empire Period

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*ti-sa* (II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a 3§22)

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i-sa* (II.7 KARKAMIŠ A1b 1-2§1)

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*ti-ˊi˴-sá* (IV.10 MARAŞ 2 §1)

    nom.sg. [FEMINA-*na-ti-sa*] (V.4 İSPEKÇÜR A FRAG. c+d)

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* (VI.1 BOYBEYPINARI 1 IB.1§1)

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*na-ti-sa* (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 IVB.1§1)

    nom.sg. FEMINA-*ná-ti-sa* (IX.14 SHEIZAR 1§1)

    nom.sg. "FEMINA"-*na-ti-i-sa* (X.14 SULTANHAN F.3§47)

    nom.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (IX.1 HAMA 4 A.1§3)

    nom.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (X.14 SULTANHAN D§33b)

    (?) acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-na* (II.69 KARKAMIŠ A27 fragment? oo 9)

    acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i-na* (III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 7§16)

    acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-ˊi˴-[na]* (III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 10§23)

    acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i-na* (III.11 TELL AHMAR 6 8§32)

    acc.sg. FEMINA[?]-ti-[...] (IV.1 MARAŞ 8 7§17)

    acc.sg. FEMINA-*ti-na*[i] (XI.5 ASSUR letter e 3§18)

    acc.pl. FEMINA.INFANS-*zi/a* (X.12 TOPADA 4§15)

    acc.pl. FEMINA.INFANS (X.12 TOPADA 6§25)

dat.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i* (II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 5§19)

dat.sg. FEMINA-*ti-i* (II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 6§34)

dat.sg. [FEM]INA-*ti-ˈiˈ* (II.19 Karkamiš A20a1 1§1)

Doubtful

FEMINA-*ti* (II.4 Tell Ahmar 4 lin. 2)

FEMINA-*ti-ia+ra/i*(-) (X.53 Yassıhöyük 3§18)

("FEMINA")*sà-nu-ta-sa-ha-wa/i* (XI.1 Assur letter a 4§11)

iya-Derivatives

acc.sg. ˈFEMINAˈ-*ti-na* (IV.10 Maraş 2 §2)

acc.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi* (II.43 Tilsevet 1§2)

ad(*i*)-Derivatives

[FEMINA-*ti*]-*ia*-[*tà*]-*za* (II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 1§18f)

FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti-ia-za* (II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 4§27)

Philological Commentary

> **Ref.** Hawkins (2000:631) *wanati*- 'woman', Payne (2014:152) **wanat(i)*- 'woman', **wanatiyantiyant(i)*- 'female', *wanatiyantiya*- 'feminity'; Yakubovich (*ACLT*: *wanatt(i)*-) 'woman, wife', *wanattiyad(i)*- 'female', *wanattiyadiya*- 'female genitales'.

§ 124 . As it has been stated for *annatt*(*i*)-, the problem of homographic logogram FEMINA for both *annatt*(*i*) 'mother' and *wanatt*(*i*)- 'woman, wife' posits difficulties for distinguishing both lexemes (see *annatt(i)*- **§ 1.** with **Tab.11**). In addition, *wanatt(i)*- is furthermore complicated by its double synonymic nature as 'woman' and as 'wife'. Contrary to *annatt(i)*-, where the word-pair formation with *tad*(*i*)- (see PATER.MATER **§ 2.**) allows to postulate the meaning through antithesis, such a contrast remains ambivalent in the word-pairs with 'son'. Therefore, the doublet FEMINA.INFANS in Emirgazi 2 5§13, Yalburt 6§1 and 15§1 offers different interpretation possibilities: from the point of view of the maternal family bound, /wannattinzi-nimuwinzi/ 'mothers and sons', from the point of view of the man /wannattinzi-nimuwinzi/ as 'wives and sons', and from the mere biological perspective /wannattinzi-niwaranninzi/ 'women and

children'. Without any other evidence from the inscription, it turns almost impossible to support one option in from of another.

§ 124a . In view of the impossibility of favouring one reading over the other (FEMINA or MATER) just by means of combinatory evidence, they are conventionally analyzed as 'women and children' (FEMINA.INFANS), following the general scholarship tendency. All the three royal attestations, EMIRGAZI 2 5§13, YALBURT 6§1 and YALBURT 15§1, present the doublet FEMINA.INFANS in the same expression, as subject of the idiom GENU-*nza zanta kwanza-* 'to fall to the knees', which is used in historical narratives to refer to the caption of a city (see analysis of the passages in *nimuwiza-* **§ 77b.**).

§124b . In the MALKAYA group of epigraphs, the attestation of sign *79 in epigraph §2 most likely represents the logogram FEMINA, according to the family relations that can be inferred among the different epigraphs (see analysis in *nimuwiza-* **§ 75e.**) The most likely possibility is that the woman *Parinaia* is to be interpreted as the wife of the character mentioned in epigraph §1 *X-ziti* (*324-VIR.*zi*), in accordance with the view expressed by the editors (Hawkins – Weeden 2008). Noteworthingly, this female character appears accompanied by the title REX.FILIA, commonly assigned to to palace officials, in both epigraphs §3 and §4.

§ 125 . Due to the more elaborated character of the compositions, the Post-Empire inscriptions offer more possibilities to distinguish, on the one hand between *annatt*(*i*)- and *wanatt*(*i*)- under the sign *79 (MATER/FEMINA), and on the other, between 'woman' and 'wife' under the lexeme *wanatt*(*i*)-. Among the attestations, some refer to specific women, concretely, to the ruler's wives, but it is in literary expressions where the lexeme *wanatt*(*i*)- mostly appears, either being part of a curse, or belonging to historical narration.

§ 126 . Most of the compositions that clearly refer to concrete women are attested in a small number of funerary inscriptions, all of which nominal sentences, featured by the woman that has passed away. The structure in which *wanatt*(*i*)- is found is the same as that of the filiation clauses (see *nimuwiza-* **§ 73a.**), that is, an apposition to the personal name of the woman, modified by the husband's name, which is inflected as a genitive-adjective: PN-NOM.SG. PN-GEN. (+titles) *wanattis*-NOM.SG.: II.7 KARKAMIŠ A1b 1-2§1 (/Wastis Suhisi (husband epithets) wassammis wanattis/ "Wasati, Suhi's dear wife"),

IV.10 MARAŞ 2 §1 (/Tarhuntiwasatis Azinisi wanattis/ "Tarhuntiwasati, Azini's wife"), and IX.14 SHEIZAR 1§1 (/Kupapiyas Taitasi wanattis (husband epithets)/ "Kupapiya, Taita's wife"). In light of the feminine figure shown in the stele in V.4 İSPEKÇÜR (Side A frag. c+d), the personal name /Arnu[wa]nti[s's]/ might be modifying a broken /wanattis/. The use of the qualificative BONUS-*mi-sa* /wassammis/, a participle form of the verb *wass-* 'to be dear', is restricted to the inscriptions of *Suhi* II in relation to his wife *Wasti*, both in the mentioned funerary stele II.7 KARKAMIŠ A1b 1-2§1, and in his historical narration in II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a 3§22 (see **§ 127b.**). Noteworthy, his son *Katuwas* also used this qualificative in his deeds (see **§ 127c.**). Outside this context, it is only applied to *tuwatr(i)-* 'daughter', in an inscription by the same author (II.8 KELEKLI 3§2, see **§ 121a.**). Note that the dislocation between the husband's name and his titles in IX.14 SHEIZAR 1§1 is comparable to V.2 GÜRÜN 2-3§1b (see **§ 17a.**).

§ 127a . As subject in predicative sentences, specific women are only found in two inscriptions. In VI.1 BOYBEYPINARI 1 1§1, *Panamuwati* appears as a dedicator of cultic objects to goddess Kubaba (v. *tuwa-* 'to put'), and is referred through the husband's bound (/Panamuwatis Suppiluliumasa (husband's epithet) wanattis/ "Panamuwati, Suppiluliuma's wife"). The family relationship is complemented in the second inscription of the same woman (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§1) with the mention to his son (/Hattusilisi annattis/ "*Hattusili*'s mother", v. *isnu(wa)-* 'to settle'). The particularity of this composition, besides the fact that *Panamuwati* is its main character, is that she mentions herself as the daughter of *Azamis*, who is also a comissioner of the inscription. Nevertheless, he is not included in the introductory clause, where filiation is expected, but rather in the middle of the composition. This fact does not seem to minimize the father's importance, since proper emphasis is made on his epithets and titles: /amis tadis Azamis massanadi azzammis tiwadamis Sarlizzas Zurkittizzas=ha haba-niyas/ "my father Azamis, loved by the gods, son-blessed, Sarliza's and Zurkitiza's river-lord" (VI.2 BOYBEYPINARI 2 1§5), which somehow contrasts with the quite simple aedicula of the husband Suppiluliuma as /tarwannis/ 'ruler'.

§ 127b . Still as the subject of a predicative sentence, *Wasti*, the wife of *Suhi* II, which was mentioned before in the funerary text II.7 KARKAMIŠ A1b, appears in the deeds of the same ruler in II.6 KARKAMIŠ A1a 3§22 /(a)mis wassamis wanattis Wastis/ "my dear wife Wasti". The verbal action is unfortunately not preserved, but it is still noteworthy

that this is the only occasion in the whole Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian that a woman appears as an agent in a composition of historical accounts genre.

§ 127c . As the beneficiaries of an action, inflected in dative singular /wanatti/, specific women are also referred precisely in the compositions by *Katuwa*, the son of *Suhi*'s II. In II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 5§19, *Katuwa* builds 'upper floors as apartments' (DOMUS)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ní-zi* // DOMUS+SCALA(-)*tá-wa/i-ni-zi*, see Hawkins 2000:99) for his wife /Anaya wassammi wanatti/ "or *Anaia*, my dear wife" (v. *izziya-* 'to make'), as well as the 'upper floors of the gates' (*za-a-zi* "PORTA"-*la/i/u-ni-si-i-zi* (DOMUS.SUPER)*ha+ra/i-sà-tá-ní-zi*) in II.11+12 Karkamis A11b+c 6§34 /Anaya (a)mi wassammi wanatti/ "for Anaia my dear wife" (v. *tama-* 'to build'). Finally, a last inscription of Katuwa presents again /[...](a)mi wassammi wanatti [...]/ in II.19 Karkamiš A20a1 1§1*. Although the context of the line is broken, it is feasible that the wife's name /Anaya/ was there before the possessive pronoun, in light of her presence in his other inscriptions.

§ 128 . As it has been already mentioned, the polysemy in *wanatt(i)-* as 'woman' and 'wife' can only be contextually untangled. Likely to refer to 'woman' in a general manner are nominative singular X.14 Sultanhan F.3§47 "FEMINA"-*na-ti-i-sa* as part of the prothesis of a curse against a vine robbery or expropriation (v. *uppa- pals(i)-* 'to bring away'?); and nominative plural in coordination with *zid(i)-* 'man' in IX.1 Hama 4 A.1§3 /zidinzi wanattinzi=ha/ (v. PES$_2$-*da- zilatta* 'to walk thereupon'). This building inscription by Urhilina, the ruler of Hama in the 9th c., is found in the orthostat of a portal, so that the expression 'men and women walk thereupon' could be referring to the object that contains the inscription. The line is unfortunately broken, so that it cannot be fully corroborated, but consider parallel expression with 'to pass down the door of the father and the grandfather' in II.9 Karkamiš A11a (A8) 4§13 (see **§ 57b.**).

§ 128a. Women appear furthermore mentioned in curses, either in the prothesis (III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 7§16), in reference to the protection of the author's wife, and/or in the apodosis (III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 10§23, III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 8§32, and IV.1 Maraş 8 7§17), if it is the malefactor's wife, together with his family, the one to be cursed.

In III.1 Tell Ahmar 2 7§16, /wanattin/, object of v. *zallaniya-* 'to turn' presents predicative complement (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa$_5$+ra/i-i-na* /amanasri-/, which

is tentatively defined as 'concubine' by (Hawkins 2000: 229). Though we cannot be sure of the exact meaning, the general intention might be similar to the threat to the enemy's daughter seen in III.6 Tell Ahmar 1 (**§ 121b.**)

§ 128b . In the apodosis of the curse, acc.sg. /wanattin/ is included together with the potential malefactor, referred as 'his head' (/abassin harmahin/), and with his child (/niwaranin/) in III.11 Tell Ahmar 6 8§32 (v. *zanta pas*(*s*)- 'to swallow down'). This idea constitutes a kind of fossilized expression to refer to the basic family unit, which presents some slight variants, such as the inclusion of '(his) place' (/allanza/) in III.1 Tell-Ahmar 2 10§23* (v. *iyaT*(*i*)- 'to destroy'); or /parnanza/ 'his houses' in IV.1 Maraş 8 7§17.

§ 129 . Other fossilized expressions in accusative include 'women and children knelt down' already known from the Empire Period attestations (see analysis of the passages in *nimuwiza-* **§ 77b**) in the variant *hudarlahid- uppa-* 'to be brought into slavery' (X.12 Topada 4§15 and 6§25). The two instances of this idiom in X.12 Topada have been considered to present an archaic variant of the logogram INFANS, that is, without crampons. Nevertheless, in the epigraphic commentary of *nimuwiza-*, it has been proposed that INFANS conforms a ligature with the logogram SERVUS (see **§ 88d.** with **Tab.32**). The problems of reading the doublet FEMINA.INFANS as /wanatinza niwaranninza/ 'wives and children /wanatinza nimuwinza/ 'wives and sons or /annatinza nimuwinza/ 'mothers and sons' has been referred to in **§ 124.**

§ 130 . The word-pair 'man and woman' appear ins the apodosis of a curse in X.14 Sultanhan D.§33b /zidinzi wanattinzi=ha/ (v. *ad-* 'to eat'). It is not clear, though, if it is an apposition of preceding 'the gods of the sky and the earth', indicating the male and the female gods, or if it refers to women and men properly, creating a merism to indicate totality, ie. gods and humans (on this stylistic device see Mouton – Yakubovich 2019).

§ 131 . Correspondence texts dealing with economic matters constitute a very rare section of the corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian texts, for which reason the sense in XI.5 Assur letter e 3§18 of /wanattin/, direct object of v. *harwanni-* 'to dispatch' cannot be furthermore specified beyond the literal meaning. Descontextualized attestations of *wanatt*(*i*)- include the fragment II.69 Karkamiš A27 oo 9 /wanattin min/ "to my woman",

although lecture as MATER cannot be excluded, and II.4 TELL AHMAR 4 lin 2 with broken context.

§ 132. The main difficulty of the *iya*-derivative forms of *wanatt(i)*- is how two different suffixations are to be conciliated, *ad(i)*-derivative (*wanattiyad(i)*-), and the proper *iya*-suffixation (*wanattiyadiy(a/i)*-). This cannot be disassociated from the phonotactics of the *i*-stems in relation to the *iya*-suffixation (see *tad(i)*- **§117.**)

With regards to the second form, the one that is regularly used for expressing adjectival relation in the *tad(i)*- and *huhad(i)*-, it has already been stated that, because of the common phenomenon of *iya > i* contraction (also *uwa > u*), which confluences with the vowel of -*i*-stems, syntactic position in the sentence is indicative for distinguishing the nominal form of an adjective *iya*-derivation (**§117.**). Responding to this situation are II.43 TILSEVET 1§2 acc.pl. FEMINA-*ti-zi*, modifying *ar(i)*- 'time' /wanatti(iyi)nzi (=wa=mu=tta) amminzi arinzi/ 'my wifely times' (v. *hasi*- 'to end') and IV.10 MARAŞ 2 2§ acc.sg. ´FEMINA`-*ti-na*, modifying *atr(i)*- 'image' /amm(iy)in wanatt(iy)in atrin/ 'my wifely/womanly image' (broken verb).

§ 132a . The -*ad(i)*-suffixed form *wanattiyad(i)*- is found in two attestations of the same inscription. In II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§18f [FEMINA-*ti*]-*ia*-[*tà*]-*za*, restored by the parallel VIR-*ti-ia-tà-za*, modifies 'the gods' /wanattiyadanza massaninza/ 'to the female gods (lit. the gods of female quality)', while in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 5§29 FEMINA-*ti-i*[*a*]-*ti*-[-*na*] /wanattiyadin muwidan/ 'the female progeny' (lit. 'progeny of female quality') (on *ad(i)*-suffix as a qualifying derivative, rather than relational, see *zid(i)*- **§137.**). Its morphematic segmentation follows as *wanatt(i)*-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*anza*-DAT.PL., in the case of /wanattiyadanza/, while *wanatt(i)*-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*in*-ACC.SG. in the case of /zidiyadin/, being the glide between the stem and the *ad*-suffix due to the phonetic contact /i-a/ → /iya/ (see **§117.**).

In II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§27 FEMINA-*ti-ia-ti-ia-za* no elements in the sentence appear to be the possible head-noun of this attestation, which points to the lexicalization of this derivative /wanattiyadiyanza/, direct object of v. *parittunni*- 'to sever', meaning 'female genitals' as interpreted by *eDiAna* (on the lexicalization of neuter adjectives see *zid(i)*- **§137.**) The word is to be morphologically segmented as *wannatti*-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*iy(a)*-SUFF.+*anza*-ACC.SG.NT., being the glides between the *i*-stem of the stem and

the suffix *-ad(i)-* (*wannatti-adi*) a development caused by phonetic contact, directly comparable to already mentioned. The masculine parallel appears in the preceding line (4§26 /zidiyadiyanza/) and it occurs in the apodosis of a curse, related to a fertility threat. Both interpretations respond to the concept 'a quality of the woman' (or the man, in *zid(i)-*), through the abstract suffix *-ad(i)-*.

§ 132b . The only explanation why the suffix *-ad(i)-* would seem necessary in this contexts is to avoid a semantic confusion with the human connotation that *wanatt(i)-* and *zid(i)* logically bear, and that would be incongruent in association, for instance, with the gods (e.g. II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 1§18f, **§ 132a.**). Therefore modifying 'gods' as /wanattiyadanza massananza/ 'gods of feminine quality', is much more appropriate than /*wanattiyanza massananza/ gods of a woman. The fact that the use of *-ad(i)-* suffix is restricted to *wanatt(i)-* and *zid(i)-* among the kinship terms supports this hypothesis.

§ 133a . The case in X.53 YASSIHÖYÜK 3§18 FEMINA-*ti-ia+ra/i*(-) constitutes a particular one. Being it analyzed as an ablative case that has undertaken rotacism /wanattiyari/ "for the women/woman" implies interpreting the following *nana-* as a dative singular (/wanattiyari nana nimuw[inza]/ 'for the woman, the brother and the son'), whose inflection is unclear, besides the problems of identifying the word for brother (see **§ 12.**). As deduced from Weeden's translation of the clause as "the wife's brothers and sons" (2013:16), it can be understood as an *iya*-derivative, indicating the possession with the head-noun. Nevertheless, this *iya*-suffix should take place after /-ar-/, which corresponds to the rhotacized *-ad*-suffix, and not before. Nevertheless, an *-ad(i)*-suffixation does not make much sense according to the semantic connotation explained. On the contrary, a rhotacized ablative form (/wanattiyari/), would be more pertinent, whose glide would be explained as the phonetic development between *wanatt(i)*-STEM and *-adi*-ABL, just as seen in the previous examples. All in all, this inscription posits several interpretation problems still to be solved.

§ 133b . A doubtful attestation takes place in coordination with VIR-*tà*[...]-*tá* in VII.1 TELL TAYINAT 1 FRAG. 1 as FEMINA-*la-*, whose *-la-* ending does not apparently correspond to the derivatives attested in *wanatt(i)-*, but is proposed to be identified as *asrul(i)-* 'female' by Hawkins (2000:367).

§ 134a . As it has been stated in relation to MATER, the sign *79 presents different shapes, which, however, might respond to stylistic fluctuations, rather than proper variants (see **§ 5.** with **Tab.12**). In instances where *79 is to be interpreted as the logogram FEMINA, it presents a rectangular form with rounded corners in the EMIRGAZI 2 attestation, while in the two YALBURT attestations it is engraved with the form of an inverted 'tear'. Unluckily, the drawing or image of MALKAYA §2 is not provided in the edition by Hawkins and Weeden (2008). Judging by other renderings containing sign *79 in the rock epigraphs, it could either be similar to the form in REX.FILIA (=REX+FEMINA) in epigraphs §3 and §4, ie. a straight oval form, or similar to MATER in epigraphs §5, ie. a tear shape. Despite FEMINA and MATER seem to be distinctly rendered, according to MALKAYA, more evidence is to assure that they are not different by chance.

§ 134b . As a determinative, FEMINA is only found in two accompanying two lexemes, whose meaning is beyond our reach, but which surely might be qualified under a 'category' of woman: XI.1 ASSUR LETTER A 4§11 ("FEMINA"?)*sà-nu-ta-sa* 'the SANUTA woman'), as well as in III.1 TELL AHMAR 2 7§16 (FEMINA.FEMINA)*á-ma-na-sa5+ra/i-i-na* ac.sg. /'the *amanasri* women'/.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 135 . H.Luw. *wanatt*(*i*)- is a *a*-muntated stem of the semi-vocalic class. Like the Hieroglyphic term for 'mother', it shows an extended lexeme with primary *-aT(i)-* (see *annatt*(*i*)- **§ 6.**). The base stem *wana-* is however only attested in Cuneiform Luwian (together with *wanatt(i)-*, *ACLT*). Such evidence undoubtfully permits to identify the underlying form of FEMINA-*nati* as *wanatt(i)-*.

Etymologically, it belongs to the widely spread Proto-Indo-European root *$g^w en-h_2$- (see cognates in etymology **3.3.1§ 5c.**), also present in Lyd. *kãna-*, and, perhaps under the logographic rendering of Hitt. MUNUS-*an* (**kuwan-* according to *EHD* 501). On Lyc. *lada* 'wife' and its proposed etymologies, see Lyc. **§24.**)

zid(_i_)- 'man'

I. Post-Empire Period

Attestations

nom.sg. VIR-_ti-i-sa_ (II.7 Karkamiš A1b 2 §2)

nom.pl. VIR-_ti-zi_ (IX.1 Hama 4 A 1§3)
nom.pl. VIR-_ti-zi_ (X.14 Sultanhan D§33b)

Doubtful
acc./dat.pl. VIR (VIII.7 Aleppo 7 11§18)

_ad(i)_-derivative
acc.sg VIR-_ti-ia-ti-i-na_ (II. 11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 4§28)
acc.sg. VIR-_ti-ia-ti-ia-za-ha_ (II.11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 4§26)

(?) dat.sg. ...]-_ia-ti_ (III.5 Aleppo 2 6§23)
dat.pl. VIR-_ti-ia-tà-za_ (II. 11+12 Karkamiš A11b+c 6§2.18e)

(?) VIR-_tà_[...]-_tá_ (VII.1 Tell Tayinat 1 frag. 1)

Philological Commentary

Ref. Laroche (2016[1957]:219) 'Luwian onomastic element'; Houwink ten Cate
(1965:171) _zita_/_i_- 'man';   Hawkins (2000:82) 'man'; Payne (2014:153) _zita_/_i_-
'male', _zitiyant_(_i_)- 'male', _zitiyantiya_- 'masculinity'; Yakubovich (_ACLT_: _zid(i)-_)
'man', zidiyad(i)- 'male', zidiyadiya- 'male genitals'

§ 136 . Most of the attestations take place in coordination with the sex-gender opposite
wanatt(_i_)-, in the word-pair 'man and woman': IX.1 Hama 4 A 1§33 /zidinzi
wanattinzi=ha/ (v. PES$_2$-_da_- _zilatta_ 'to walk thereupon') and X.14 Sultanhan D§33b
/zidinzi wanattinzi=ha/ (v. _ad_- 'to eat') (see context of both in _wanatt_(_i_)- **§ 128.** and
§ 130.). One single attestation presents the word-pair 'children and men' INFANS

(VIR₂)VIR /niwaranninzi zidinzi/ (VIII.7 ALEPPO 7 11§18), apparently the beneficiaries of a quantity of some type (90(-)*ru-wa*/*i*(-)x ?). The context of the passage is unfortunately too damaged to know if the word-pair is modified by the following toponym TONITRUS-*HALPA-pa*. If it was the case, we would expect it to take place before the head-nouns, as in 'the sons of Halpa' (see **§ 77c.**). Unlinked to other kinship terms, in the funerary stele of a woman (II.7 KARKAMIS A1b 2 §2), subj. of v. *izzista-* 'to honour', in the expression 'to honour the name'.

§ 137a . H.Luw. *zid*(*i*)- is slightly more productive, though, as a creation from secondary derivation through *-ad(i)* suffixation (*zidiyad*(*i*)-, directly comparable to *wanattiyad*(*i*)- see **§132.**). As happens in the case of *wanattiyad*(*i*)- the phonetic context of *-i*-stems merges with derivation through the suffix *-iya-* making difficult our understanding of the morphological segmentation (see *tad*(*i*)- **§117**).

In two attestations, it appears to modify another lexeme, thus pointing to its adjectival nature. In II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 6§18, the form VIR-*ti-ia-tà-za* is a modifier of the gods /zidiyadanza massaninza/ 'to the male gods (lit. the gods of male quality'), while in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§28 VIR-*ti-ia-ti-i-na* it mofidies 'seed/progeny' /zidiyadin muwidan/ 'the male progeny' (lit. 'progeny of male quality'). Note that, if it was meant to express 'the gods of the men' or the 'progeny of the men' in a *stricto sensu* possessive adjective meaning, perhaps the derivation would have been as that of *tadiya-*, without *-ad*(*i*)-suffixation. Since these examples are restricted to one inscription (besides broken III.5 ALEPPO 2 6§23 and VII.1 TELL TAYINAT 1 FRAG. 1), this statement cannot be completely assured. Its morphematic segmentation is therefore *zid*(*i*)-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*anza*-DAT.PL., in the case of /zidiyadanza/, while *zid*(*i*)-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*in*-ACC.SG. in the case of /zidiyadin/, being the glide between the stem and the *ad*-suffix due to phonetic contact.

§ 137b . On the other hand, it has lexicalized in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 4§26 VIR-*ti-ia-ti-ia-za* /zidi(y)adi(y)anza/ interpreted as 'male genitals' by *eDiAna* (direct object of v. *parittunni-* 'sever'). Its morphematic segmentation is *zid*(*i*)-STEM+*ad*-SUFF.+*iy*(*a*)-SUFF.+*anza*-ACC.SG.NT. Therefore, this represents an *iya*-adjectival derivation from an *ad(i)*-qualifying derivation. In addition, the *iya*-adjectival derivation inflected as neuter singular has produced the lexicalization.

§ 138 . Two attestations appear broken and in damaged context: in the context of a curse (v. *ahha kinussa-* 'to burn up'), in III.5 ALEPPO 2 6§23* [VIR-*ti*]-*ia-ti* might stand for -*ad*(*i*)-derivative dat.sg. /zidiyadi/ or noun *zid*(*i*) abl. /zidiyadi/. Since the previous context is also broken, it is not clear whether it modifies the previous gods (as in II.11+12 KARKAMIŠ A11b+c 6§18), or if it represents properly 'men and woman (as in X.14 SULTANHAN D.§33b). Also broken, context and attestation, in VII.1 TELL TAYINAT 1 FRAG. 1, VIR-*tà*[...]-*tá* appears in coordination with FEMINA-*la-* (see *wanatt*(*i*)- **§133b.**).

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§ 139 . As Payne remarks in her article on determination in Hieroglyphic Luwian (2017:225), in the Empire Period the determinative VIR$_2$ (*386) was first employed as an onomastic 'male' marker, equivalent to Hitt. LÚ, before it expanded its usage, in the late Empire Period as a general determinative of person, and later as a word-divider in the Iron Age. Consequently, it might be deduced that VIR (*312) was created when VIR$_2$ (*386) ceased being used as a designation for 'man'.

On the contrary VIR (*312), properly representing the logogram for 'man' /zid(i)/, is not attested until X.5 KIZILDAG 4 §3, whose datating is questionable (see Hawkins 2000:439 on the immediately Post-Empire features or archaizing style of the inscription, a debate that will probably receive new input in the future, after the discovery of a closely related inscription, likely dated to the late Iron-Age, with a very similar stylistic features, TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1, which was discovered by the archaeological project of the University of Chicago in the south-central region of Anatolia).

In favour of considering the presence of VIR in X.5 KIZILDAǦ 4 §3, as an archaizing linguistic attempt, note that it is placed before *416-*wa/i-ni-* 'enemy' *aluwann*(*i*)- (*ACLT*), a word that is generally preceded by the determinative VIR$_2$ in the Empire Period inscriptions, as Yakubovich stated (2008b). This fact could point to a bad understanding of the use of VIR in this inscription. On the evolution of VIR$_2$, see Hawkins 2010 (also debate in *nimuwiza-* **§ 87.**).

§ 140 . H.Luw. *zid(i)-* is inflected according to the *a*-mutated stems of the semi-vocalic class. As *wanatt*(*i*)- with whom it mostly appear together, it presents a derivative with -*ad*(*i*)-suffixation, which, secondarily appears creates *iya*-derivatives (see analysis in **§ 137**).

It is already attested in the Luwian cuneiform sources (C.Luw., *zid*(*i*)- 'man', *zidahid*-'virility, manhood', *ACLT*). Although it appears to be very productive as an onomastic element in Hittite (Yakubovich 2013:90), its etymology, as well as the possible cognate relation with Lyc. *sede/i-* / *side/i-* 'adopted-son' (see Lycian **§60.**), remains unknown.

3.1. Previous considerations

§ 1 . From the linguistic perspective, the kinship lexicon, not only of the Luwic languages but of all Anatolian, has not received significant consideration in comparison to the rest of the Indo-European languages. Save from the initial comparative studies by Laroche, (e.g. *Comparaison du louvite et du lycien I*, 1957), linguistic studies on family terms have rather focused on individual lexemes, such as 'daughter' (e.g. Kloekhorst 2011), because of its significance for the Indo-European root reconstruction, or 'brother' (e.g. Neumann 1991), whose etymology and relation among the Anatolian cognates is puzzling.

The brief mentions that one can find regarding the Anatolian kinship group are contained in general works, and all convey the idea that the Anatolian languages are particular in comparison to the rest of the Indo-European languages, mainly because their terms are of babytalk origin:

> "Terms originating from baby and nursery talk have been left aside, too. These are less appropriate for diachronic investigations because elementary parallels for the most part cannot be excluded." Hettrich (1985: 472)

> "The Anatolian languages replace the ancient IE word with words from the babytalk. […]" (Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1995: 167[44])

> "In general, [Indo-European] kinship terms are well preserved, except in Anatolian, where the terms found elsewhere for 'father', 'mother', 'brother' and 'sister' do not occur. […] the extent of the apparent restructuring of the system in Anatolian is striking." (Clackson 2007:200)

> "[…]it is probable that **nana* supplanted the outcomes of IE **bhrāter-* and *swesor-* alike and at large, and that Hitt. *nikna-* and *nika-* were further alternative and specific surrogates." (Puhvel 2007:108:)

§ 2 . As it can be observed, the quoted references share the common idea that this section of the Anatolian vocabulary underwent a replacement of the inherited terms and innovated with onomatopoeic forms. This general statement can, however, be questioned on two grounds:

The first aspect to take into account is that the nature as original babytalk words is, strictly speaking, only restricted to two terms, ie. 'father' (Lyc. *tede/i*, Luw. *tad*(*i*), Car. *ted*, Hitt. *atta-*, Pal. *papa-* , Lyd. *taada-*) and 'mother' (Lyc. *ẽne/i-*, Luw. *ann*(*i*)-, Car. *en*, Hitt. *anna-*, Pal. *anna-*, Lyd. *ẽna-*). The morphological nature of 'brother' is difficult to be classified. On the one hand, both Luw. **nan(i)-* and Lyc. *nẽne/i-* show a strong onomatopoeic appearance but in view of the phonetic change PA **g* > PLuw. *ø/_N* (Melchert 2012b:214), they might be etymologically connected to Hitt. *nekna-*, whose middle velar prevents from classifying it as babytalk. Nevertheless, it is not possible to ensure whether they are just coincidentally similar, as stated by Puhvel (2007:108, see below **§ 3b.**). Secondly, a section of this vocabulary, namely 'daughter' (Lyc. *kbatra-*, Hitt/C.Luw. *dutar-*, H.Luw. *tuwatr*(*i*)-, Lyd. *tutr-*), 'grandmother' (Lyc. *xñna-*, Luw. **hana-*, Hitt. *hanna-*), and 'grandfather' (Lyc. *xuga*, Luw. *huha*, Hitt. *huhha*) does present a clear and direct Indo-European inheritance (see **§ 5.**).

In light of this evidence, the natural question that arises is which theoretical frame is appropriate for the comparative study of the Anatolian kinship material. As Hettrich indirectly stated (1985), the similarities in terms of babytalk origin cannot be discarded as produced by universal linguistics. Nevertheless, it must be considered that, if it were a completely irregular material, a certain variety would be expected, perhaps even a similarity to the Semitic material (cf. also babytalk origin Akk. *abu* 'father' or *umma* 'mother'), to which we are aware that strong contacts existed. They, however, remain clearly distinguishable. In addition, note that the lenited middle stop in the Luwic forms (Lyc. *tede/i*, Luw. *tad*(*i*), Car. *ted*) and Lydian *taada-*, can be taken as a piece of further evidence on their complete lexicalization as formal kinship terms.[5]

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[5] I am grateful to Prof. Ignasi Adiego for sharing this significant remark with me.

For this reason, I follow the methodological framework of the sociolinguist Fergusson (1996), and include the Anatolian terms of babytalk origin as a suitable material for the Indo-European linguistic comparison:

> "Here it is assumed that baby talk is a relatively stable, conventionalized part of a language, transmitted by 'natural' means of language transmission much like the rest of the language; it is, in general, not a universal, instinctive creation of children everywhere, nor an ephemeral form of speech arising out of adults' imitation of child speech." (Ferguson 1996: 104)

3.2. Anatolian

§ 3 . There are three kinship terms of the Luwic branch that only present an exclusive Anatolian background, namely 'brother', 'sister' and 'grandson':

§ 3a . The Anatolian lexemes for 'grandson' (Hitt. *hāšša-*, Lyc. *xahba*, Luw. *hams(i)-*, Lyd. *esa-*, and Car. *ksbo-*) derive from a verbal root **h₂eNs-* 'to give birth' (as reconstructed by *EHD* 324), whose only reflex is attested in Hitt. v. *hašš-* 'to beget, to procreate' (Puhvel 1991:221, *HEG*/A-H:191 'zeugen'). Among them, Lycian *xahba* and the Carian PN *ksbo-* are old -*u*-stems, that have been secondarily reconverted into the *a*-class (on Lyc. *b* < PA **Cw*, and further details see Lyc. **§ 65.**). Their *u*-stem nature presents reflexes in the cognates H.Luw. *hamsukkala-* 'great-grandson' (see Luw. **§ 34b.**), but also the elusive *hassu-* (see Luw. **§50.**) as well as in Hitt. *haššu-* 'king'. Noteworthily, Luwian *hams(i)-* and *hamsukkala-* have preserved the etymological nasal (**h₂éNs-*), as also the Hittite derivative *hanzašša-* 'offspring' (Puhvel 1991:227), and, perhaps, one nasalized variant of Lycian (TL 44a 31 *xãhb<a>*, see **§ 65a.**).

Although the root **h₂eNs-* is only attested in Anatolian, in the Core-Indo-European[6] languages we find parallel semantic transfers from a meaning 'to be born' into 'descendant': **seuH-* 'give birth' (cf. Ved. *sū́te* 'id.', *LIV* 538) > **suH-nu-* 'son' (Ved. *sūnú-*, Goth. *sunu-*, OCS. *synъ*, *IEED* 913-914) and **suH-i̯u-* (Gr. υἱός, Toch.A. *se*, *IEED*

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[6] On the definition of Core-Indo-European languges, see Introduction 2

op.cit.), *$\acute{g}enh_1$-* 'be born' (*LIV* 163) > *$\acute{g}enh_1$-tó-* (Skr. *jātá-*, Gr. γνητός, Lat. *nātus,* Goth. **knoÞs,* ONor. *kundr*, etc. *IEED* 373-375).

§ 3b . The origin of the Anatolian words for 'brother' (Hitt. *nekna*, Luw.**nan(i)-*, Lyc. *nẽne/i-*) and 'sister' (Hitt. *neka-*, Luw. *nanasr(i)-*) has independently received many explanations on each synchronic case, but when considering the nexus among the different languages the issue becomes more problematic.

On the one hand, Neumann (1991: 63-66) proposed a derivation from the PIE verbal root *$\acute{g}enh_1$-* 'to engender', in light of Goth. (*ga*)*niÞjis* 'kindred' and O.Ir. *ingen* 'daughter', derived from *$*n̥$-$\acute{g}énh_1$-ó-* 'inborn'. Such derivation presents problems especially with the alleged prefix *$*n̥$-* 'in', which in Anatolian is represented by the particle *$*h_1ndo$-* (*EHD* 185) and has in Hittite an outcome /anda-/ (see *AHP* 134). On the other hand, it has been proposed that Hitt. *neka-* (< **nego-*) 'sister', would have originally been a sibling term without sex specification (*CHD* L-N: 431). Afterward, the term would have received a nasal mark to polarize its meaning as 'brother' (Hitt. *nekna-* 'brother' <**negno-* < ***neg-n-o-* < PA ***nego-* 'sibling'), with the consequent result of a final transfer of *neka-* to the meaning 'sister' (*CHD op.cit.*). The main problem of this too complex set of changes is, however, that a 'sibling' word PA **nego-* would have had a hypothetical Luwian result ***naka-*, which is not directly attested in any other Anatolian language.

All in all, the relation of Luw. *nan(i)-* and Lyc. *nẽn(i)-* with Hittite *nekna-*, proposed because of the fall of the velar before the nasal (*EHD* 601), faces the additional problem of creating a circular argument. That is to say, the etymological connection is assumed in view of the phonetic change PA **g* > PLuw. ø/_N, cautiously, Melchert 2012b:214), whose most assured example is the assumption that Hitt. *nekna-* and Luwic **nan(i)-* are cognates. Consequently, the fact that they formally resemble by chance cannot be discarded, as suggested by Puhvel (2007:108) and Melchert (2012b:214).

§ 3c . The Luwian word for 'sister' *nanasr(i)-* is independently derived from the term for 'brother' *nan(i)-* by means of the feminine suffix relic *–šara* (see *GHL*, 2.39), in a way that recalls the onomastic elements masc. *-hšu* and fem. *-hšušar* (see Kloekhorst 2019: 63)*.* In this sense, the words for 'sister' appear to be separated synchronic creations (Hitt. *neka-* and Luw. *nanašri-*). With regards to the Lycian lexeme for 'sister', Carruba (1970:271ff, *apud* Neumann 2007:240-1.) equated *nere/i-* to CLuw. *nanašri*, through a

syncope from Lyc. *nenehri, in light also of possible correspondence between Lycian feminine PN Ναρις and a Lycian pre-form *nenehri- (see details in Lyc. **§33.**). Nevertheless, such family term has not been identified with unanimity in Lycian, and the proposal of a dissimilation from *nẽne/i-* (Laroche 1974: 133) still prevails in light of the lack of further evidence.

§ 4 . Luwian *nimuwiza-* 'son' and its synonym *niwarann*(*i*)- 'child' also appear as inner Anatolian creations. From a descriptive point of view, they are formed by an initial prohibitive particle (PIE *ne-*) and an adjectival element denoting capacity or ability, understanding *muwint-* as a derivative from *muwa-* 'power, fertility', in the case of *nimuwiza-* (lit. 'lack of virility' as *per* Melchert 1990:204), and *wara-n-* as the probable base noun of H.Luw. *wariya-* (n. 'help, assistance' and v. 'to help'), in the case of *niwarann*(*i*)- (lit. 'helpless') (on IE phraseological parallels see below **§ 5f .**)

§ 4a . Despite their lack of Indo-European cognates, both are directly comparable to the Indo-European compounds of the *bahuvrihi*-type *ne-pot-*, lit. 'powerless', which consists of a privative particle followed by an element that semantically denotes a capacity or an ability.

This second element that *nimuwiza* presents is a derivative of *muwa-* ('power, fertility'), which has a rich presence in the different grammatical and lexical categories of Anatolian, with the exception of Lydian.

With regards to the semantic domain of *muwa-*, a polysemic nature can be perceived from its derivatives. On the one hand, we can infer that a meaning related to 'force' or 'power' has prevailed across Hittite, Luwian and Lycian: Hitt. noun com. *mūwa-* 'an awe-inspiring quality, noun neut. *mūwat*(*t*)*allahit-* 'the king's or Storm-god's ability to inspire awe(?)', noun neut. *mūwatallatar* 'ability to inspire awe (?)', adj. *mūwanu-* 'terrifying'; C.Luw. adj. *mū*(*wa*)*tti*(*ya/i*)- 'mighty', adj. *mūwattall*(*i*)- 'overpowering, mighty', noun neut. *mūwattalahit-* 'overpowering might (?)', V. *mūwa-* 'to overpower', H.Luw. noun com. *muwatta-* 'conquest', adj. *muwatall*(*i*)- 'mighty, potent', V. (*273)*muwa-* 'to conquer', Lyc. *muwa-* 'might, power', Mil. adj. *mutale/i-* 'mighty', V *muwa-* 'to overpower' (examples extracted from *EHD* 589, Lycian from *DLL*).

On the other, a semantic connotation linked to the general semantic field of 'fertility' is essentially attested in Hieroglyphic Luwian (noun com. *nimuwiza* 'son', noun com. *muwida-/muwid(i)-* 'seed, progeny'), and in Lycian (noun com. *muwẽte-*'descendant' and *muneite/i-* 'descendant'). On the tendency to undertake contraction *uwa > u* see Lyc. **§ 26c.**, and on the description of the phenomenon, **§ 117.**

Therefore, the literal sense of *ni-muwiza-* as 'without sexual power', as proposed Melchert (1990:204), finds support in the evidence of the polysemic nature of *muwa-* (on the stem formation of *nimuwiza-*, see Luw. **§ 90 .**). With regards to Carian *mno-* (nom.sg. *mnos* and gen.sg. *mnoś,* Adiego 2007:383), it remains doubtful whether or not it is related to element *muwa-* through the contraction *uwa- > u*, becoming thus direct cognate with Lyc. *muneita-* 'descendant'. All in all, the transfer to the fertility connotation of *muwa-* seems a lexical isogloss of the Luwic languages

§ 4b . As it can be observed, Hittite seems to exclude the meanings related to seed and progeny that appear in Hieroglyphic Luwian and Lycian. Nevertheless, both meanings, the warfare and the fertility connotation, are conceptually well interconnected in the Luwic sphere, as the existence of a Cuneiform Luwian ritual (*CTH* 393, VboT 24), addressed to high ranking officer and authored by *Anniwiyani*, for both the recovery of the sexual and military power potency accounts for.

This set of lexemes goes back to a Proto-Luwic root **muu̯é-*, as stated *per* Frotscher (2012:167). Despite attempts to connect it with Gr. μυρίος 'countless, ten thousand' and Lat. *mūtō* 'penis' (Weiss 1996:161) through a PIE root*meuh$_{1/3}$, its etymology remains elusive, and the possibility of an inner Luwic creation cannot be discarded.

3.3. Indo-European

3.3.1. Inherited

§ 5 . The lexemes that etymologically present clear Indo-European connections are 'grandmother' (Lyc. *xñna*-, Luw. **hana*-, Hitt. *hanna*-), 'grandfather' (Lyc. *xuga* , Luw. *huha*, Hitt. *huhha*), 'daughter' (Lyc. *kbatra*, H.Luw. *tuwatr*(*i*)- Hitt/C.Luw. *dutarri(ya)*-), 'woman/wife' (C.Luw. *wana*-, C/H.Luw. *wanatt*(*i*)-), and 'son' (Lyc. *tideime/i*-, C.Luw. *titaimm*(*i*)-). Additionally, some terms might present partial cognates with one branch of Indo-European languages (e.g. Lyc. *lada*-), or can be related with Indo-European through phraseology (H.Luw. *nimuwiza*- and *niwarann*(*i*)-).

§ 5a . Remarkably, the Anatolian outcomes of 'grandfather' (*$h_2éu$-h_2-, *EHD* 353) and 'grandmother' (*h_2en-H-, *contra EHD* 285 ***h_2enHo*) remain as *a*-stems, without merging with the *i*-stems class (ie. not taking *i*-mutation, see Luw. § 55.).

Their stem in the Indo-European cognates is variable. As thematic stems, 'grandmother' presents has the following Indo-European cognates: Lat. *anus*, Arm. *han*, Oprus. *ane*, OHG *ana*, but 'grandfather' *ano*; as *i*-stem in Lith. *anýta* 'mother's husband' (perhaps, Gr. ἀννίς) (*IEED* 36-37); while 'grandfather', as a thematic stem is found in Lat. *avus*, Arm. *haw*, Oic. *áe* 'great-grandfather', Goth. *awo* 'grandmother' (*IEED* 89); but *i*-stem in Lith. *avýnas* 'uncle on mother's side', Oprus. *awis* 'uncle', Russ. *uj* 'id.', SCr. *ȕjāk* 'grandfather', for which Derksen (2008:507) reconstructs a stem h_2euh_2-i-o; note meaning transfer from 'grandfather' into 'grandson' in Oir. *aue* (< **auio sec*. Matasovič 2009:50).

§ 5b . The case of 'daughter' is of special significance since it represents the unique Anatolian example of a family term that displays the widespread Indo-European *-ter* suffixation. Noteworthily, the root *$d^h\underline{u}egh_2tr$* (*EHD* 902) presents outcomes in all the Indo-European branches: Skr. *duhitár*-, Gr. θυγάτηρ, Mic. *tu-ka-te˚* (in compounds), Toch.B. *tkācer*, Toch.A. *ckācar*, Arm. *dowstr*, Osc. *futír*, ModHG *Tochter*, Gaul. *duχtir*, OCS. *dъšti*, Lith. *duktē̃* (*EHD op.cit*, but *NIL* 126 and *IEED* 277 **d^hugh_2tér*).

The reconstruction of this root has been particularly debated, since the evidence provided by Lyc. *kbatra*- and H.Luw. *tuwatra*- can hardly correspond with the zero grade that is generally assumed for this noun (*NIL* 126 and *IEED* 277 **d^hugh_2tér*). In order to account

for the Anatolian attestations, Melchert (2012b:214) assumes the following chain of developments: a syncope, followed by loss of prevocalic *g, and glide insertion (*$d^h ugh_2 tr$- > *$d^h ug_a h_2 tr$ > *du-gah-tr- > *du-ga-tr > *du-a-tr- > du-wa-tr).

A different proposal is offered by Kloekhorst (2011: 235-243), who Lyc. *kbatra* and H.Luw. *tuwatr(i)*- as the result of a a full grade variant *$d\underset{.}{u}étr$- (developed from *$d\underset{.}{u}egtr$- < *$d^h\underset{.}{u}egh_2 tr$), in opposition to the zero grade of the Hitt./Cun.Luw. *duttariya*- and Lyd. *tutr*- (identified by Schürr 2006: 1570-1572) presents. In my opinion, Kloekhorst reconstruction of Proto-Anatolian PA *duetr*- / *duter*- is the most compelling proposal until the present moment.

§ 5c . In Luwian the word for 'woman (wife)', C.Luw. *wan*(*i*)- and C/H.Luw. *wanatt*(*i*)- (Hieroglyphic under the logogram FEMINA-*na-ti*), is cognate with Lydian *kãna*-, and, perhaps, with the Hittite lexeme under the logogram MUNUS-*an* (*$kuwan$*- according to *EHD* 501). This set of lexemes go back to a PIE root *$g^w én$-h_2, *$g^w n$-$éh_2$-s (*EHD op.cit.*), which is widely present in the Core-Indo-European languages: Gr. γυνή, Skr. *jánis*/*gnā́s* Oir. *ben*/*mná*, OCS *žena*, or ModEng. *queen* (*IEED* 473-474) Phr. *knais* (Obrador-Cursach 2020:273).

§ 5d . In the case of Lycian *lada*- 'wife', although it represents an isolated lexeme regarding its Anatolian counterparts (cf. Luw. *wanatt*(*i*)- 'woman/wife'), it might be linked to Toch.B. *lāre* 'dear', Russ. *ladyj*- 'dear' and *lada* 'spouse' (m./f.). In my opinion (Martínez-Rodríguez 2018:281), a base noun *$leh_2 d$- 'agreement', seen in Slavic *lad*- 'agreement', could have developed into a meaning 'the agreed matter' via deverbal *eh_2-suffixation (*$leh_2 d$-eh_2) (see details in **Lyc. §24.,** with also an alternative proposal).

§ 5e . Both Lycian *tideime*/*i*- 'son' (see Lyc. **§ 49.**) and C.Luw. *tidaimm*(*i*)- 'id.' (*HEG* T/3:344, attested in KBo 2.1 i 33 and 40, in Hittite context with *Glossenkeil*) appear clearly connected to C.Luw. neut. *tīdan*- 'breast, teat' (cf. Hitt. neut. *tēta*(*n*)- 'id.'). They most probably derive from the PIE verb *$d^h eh_1(\underset{.}{i})$- 'to suck milk' (*LIV* 138), until the moment unattested in Anatolian, and to which Lyc. *tideime*/*i*- and C.Luw. *tidaimm*(*i*)- are lexicalized participle forms. Its appearance as reduplicated form might be explained in view of the affective connotation that this word bears, comparable, for instance to expressive such as Gr. τιθήνη 'nurse'. However, Kloekhorst (*EHD* 876-7) has argued that initial Hitt. *tē*- cannot correspond to a reduplicate formation, reconstructed as

*$d^h i$-$d^h h_1$-$i̯e/o$- by Tischler (*HEG* T/3:343). Instead, he reconstructs a Luwian denominal verb *$tidai$- ($<$ *$d^h éh_1 i̯$-to-$i̯e/o$-), which is in turn derived from the Luwian noun *tida*(*n*)- (*$d^h éh_1 i̯$-to).

The PIE root *$d^h eh_1$($i̯$)- is very productive and presents the following Indo-European cognates: (1) as a verbal form: Ved. *dhinoti* 'feed', *dháyati* 'sucks', Oss. *dæj-* 'suck', Oir. *denait* 'they suck', Gr. θέσατο 'sucked', θῆσαι 'to milk', Arm. *diem* 'suck (milk)', Goth. *daddjan* 'suck', Oswed. *dæggia* 'suck', OHG. *taen*, OCS. *dojǫ* '(I) breastfeed', Latv. *dêju*, *dêt* 'suck' (*LIV* 138); or (2) as the patient of the action: OCS. *děti* 'children' (Derksen 2008:104), Arm. *didik* 'child' (Martirosyan 2009:238), and Lat. *fīlius* 'son' and *fīlia* 'daughter'; or (3) as the agent of the action: Lat. *fēmina* 'woman', Lith. *dienì* 'pregnant' (Walde-Hoffmann 2008: I.476). On the other hand, expressive formations have developed in several languages by means of a reduplication such as: Gr. τιθήνη [f.] 'wet nurse' (Beekes 2010:1483) and τίτθη 'mummy', τιτθός 'mother's breast' (Walde-Hoffman 2008:II 685).

§ 5f . Regarding the *bahuvrihi*-compound seen in *nimuwiza-* 'son' 'without reproductive power' and *niwarann*(i)- 'child' 'without help ability', both convey the concept that a child lacks a certain ability or capacity, and are, from the semantic and phraseological viewpoint, directly comparable to *ne-pot-: Lat. *nepōs*, Ved. *nápāt-* 'grandson', Oir. *nïa* 'nephew', Alb. *nip*, Phr. *nevos* 'male descendant', *niptiyan* 'female descendant', Gr. ἀνεψιός 'cousin', where the *alpha*-privative presents a recharacterization of the negative particle, or Pger. *$nefṓ$- among others (examples from *NIL* 520 ff.).

3.3.2. Babytalk

§ 6 . In relation to the well-known *Lallwort* group, it is necessary to be remarked that the nursery words seen in the Anatolian kinship vocabulary, a category restricted to 'father' and 'mother', are present in almost all the Indo-European languages:

The following Indo-European cognates of the Anatolian words for 'father' exist: Hittite *atta* (Lat. *atta*, Goth. *atta,* Gr. ἄττα, Alb. *átë*, OCS. *otъcъ*, Oir. *aite* 'father' *IEED* 71); Luwic-Lydian *$tata$ (Gr. τάτα, Lat. *tata*, Russ. *tata*, SCr. *tȁd*, Skr. *tatá-*, Lith. *tĕtis*, Opruss. *tāws*, OCorn. *tat* 'father', *IEED* 1056), Palaic-Hittite *papa* (Gr. πάππα 'daddy', Lat. *papas* 'tutor' *IEED* 789). Contrarily, Anatolian *$anna$ 'mother' (Hitt.-Pal. *anna-*,

Luw. *ānna/i-*, Lyc. *ẽne/i-*, Lyd. *ẽna-*, Car. *en*) does not apparently present Indo-European cognates with the strictly meaning 'mother'. Despite the resemblance to Indo-European forms such as Gr. ἀννίς 'grandmother', Lat. *anna* 'foster mother', OHG. *ana*, Oprus. *ane* 'grandmother', Lith. *anýta* 'husband's mother' and Arm. *han* (*IEED* 36-37), they belong to the proto-form *$h_2$en-H-* which in the Anatolian languages, it corresponds to the meaning as 'grandmother' (Hitt. *hanna-*, Luw. **hana-*, Lyc. *xñna-*, see above **§ 5a.**). In my opinion, the polysemy of this root might be due to the fact that in Core-Indo-European there is not a consonantal outcome of the initial *h_2-*, which could have produced the confluence of these two words, thus explaining why both meanings 'grandmother' and 'mother' coexist in some of the Indo-European daughter languages.

Notably, these nursery words arise, in some cases, as the formal or official designation of a family member despite being of babytalk origin and despite their lack of a *ter*-suffixation (i.e. OCS. *otъcъ* 'father', from **atV-* with suff. **-ikos*).

3.4. Further future perspectives

§ 7 . In my opinion, the presented evidence leads to conclude that there is not a replacement of the formal kinship terms in *-ter* neither in Anatolian nor in Slavic, but that it probably existed a wide range of babytalk words referring to family members that were on a lexicalization process at the moment that the split of the Anatolian branch took place. Such lexicalization by means of a *-ter*-suffixation had a very poor impact in the Anatolian languages, that is, the implementation of the *-ter* suffix in kinship Anatolian terms was only acquired for the word 'daughter'.

Concerning the perplexity of not finding the *-ter* suffixation in the kinship Anatolian lexicon, which is perceived in the mentioned literature (see above 3.1.§1), I think that these references respond to a biased idea, supported by the traditional academic predominance of Greek, Latin and Sanscrit in reconstructing Indo-European.

III. Conclusions

The conclusions of this dissertation are necessarily concise, since the methodology employed in the present lexical study provides the results in the concrete evaluation of each lexeme.

Nonetheless, the transversality that the lexical corpus methodology offers allows us to point out the implications that the present research has on different grounds. Besides the proper investigation on each individual kinship terms, the results of this dissertation are meaningful on the textual, methodological, linguistical and historical levels.

First, the exhaustive compilation of the textual material is intended to provide an updated corpus with the new inscriptions that have seen the light after the publication of the reference corpus of each language, respectively, Melchert 2001 (based on Kalinka 1901 and Neumann 1979) with regards to the Lycian language, and Hawkins (2000), concerning the Hieroglyphic Luwian material. This aspect has permitted to offer the base for a reliable philological work, founded on the direct study of the main editions of each single composition that contains a kinship term. For instance, in the case of Luwian, it has allowed us to offer each particular attestation in the transliteration form that contains the most updated views on the language (e.g. the function of the phonetic complements, or the nature of some signs as determinatives, rather than logograms).

Secondly, the detailed examination of the existing corpora has revealed some methodological incongruities on the transcription of these languages, which, without having been challenged, would have ultimately led to biased conclusions concerning the individual lexical items under study. The most relevant is the need of avoiding a double transcription of sign *45 (INFANS/FILIUS) in favour of INFANS, or to question the use of the transcription MANUS for instances of sign *45 that do not present a prototypical form, for which a reassessment of all the variants has been carried out (see Luwian §72 and §86).

On the linguistic ground, I remarked the political connotation that some alleged kinship terms present in these languages, namely Lyc. *ekebura-* or *tider(i)-*, whose meaning is still elusive, but whose relation to a politic sphere cannot be denied (see Lycian §5 and §55); as well as the term for 'brother' in Hieroglyphic Luwian, which cannot be dissociated from the word for 'lord', a fact supported by some cognates in the Indo-European languages (see Luwian §12).

Precisely in relation to Indo-European Linguistics, I have tried to highlight the suitability of the Anatolian kinship terms, regardless of their origin as babytalk word, for the comparative analysis, contrary to the general academic view that has been referred in this study (see etymological section).

With regards to the general semantics of the kinship terms, I have noted two particularities. On the one hand, the ability, in both languages, of conveying an allegorical sense as citizens when stylistically displayed in enumerations or word-pairs (see Lycian §46b and Luwian §107a). On the other, the existence of a semantic isogloss of the Luwic languages concerning the fertility connotation of the lexeme *muwa-* in its derivatives (e.g. Lyc. *muwẽte-* 'progeny', *muneita/i-* 'descendants', Luw. *muwid(i)-* 'seed, offspring', *nimuwiza-* 'child', and, perhaps, Car. *mno-* 'son', see etymological section 2§4 and §5f).

Finally, the elaboration of this corpus has permitted to reveal some noteworthy aspects on the historical ground. For instance, the reevaluation of the filiation typology, together with epigraphical aspects, of a Hieroglyphic Luwian fragment, whose findspot is unknown, has permitted to reassess the dynastic genealogy of the kingdom of Maraş (see Luwian §18). Concerning Lycian, it has been of major importance to elucidate a pattern of funerary distribution in the tombs, that is, the tendency of providing a separate space for the owner's brothers and nephews, which has led to establishing a distinction between nuclear and extended family in the Lycian society (see Lycian § 57).

In conclusion, contra the biased idea, still perpetuated, that kinship lexicon and/or Luwic languages are valueless (Zeilfelder 2017:292-3: "And with regard to the scanty attestation of Luwian it is indeed highly questionable if such a survey [lexical], apart from collecting material, would show any relevant results in respect to semantic or lexicographical questions"), I hope to have challenged this view, and to have presented evidence for the significance of lexical studies on the Luwic languages on which I have undertaken the present dissertation.

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Abbreviations

ACLT = Yakubovich, Ilya. *Annotated Corpus of the Luwian Texts*. URL: http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/.

AHP = Melchert, H. Craig (1994). *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. (Leiden Studies in Indo-European, 3). Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi.

CTH = Košak, Silvin – Müller – Görke, Suzanne – Steitler, Charles. http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/ (2020-01-27). (1971-) *Catalog der Texte der Hethiter in Fortführung der Arbeit von E. Laroche* (*Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris).

DLL = Melchert, H. Craig (2004). *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave.

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EHD = Kloekhorst, Alwin (2008). *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

GHL = Hoffner, Harry Angier – Melchert, H. Craig (2008). *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Languages of the Ancient Near East 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbraus.

HEG = Tischler, Johannes (1983) *Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar. Teil I, A-K.* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20). Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

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KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. (1916+) Berlin.

KPN = Zgusta, Ladislav (1964). *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague: Tschechoslowakische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi. Heft 1 (Berlin 1921) bis 60 (Ostberlin 1990).

LEW = Walde, A. & Hofmann, J.B. (2008). *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (6th Ed.). Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter Heidelberg.

LIV² = Rix, Helmut (2001). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primär stamm bildungen. Unter der Leitung von Helmut Rix und der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearbeitet von Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp, Brigitte Schirmer.* Zweite. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

LPGN V.B. = Balzat, J.S. – Catling, R.W.V. – Chiricat, É – Marchand, F. (2013). *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume V.B Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LPP = Dunkel, George E. (2014). *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme. Band 1: Einleitung, Terminologie, Lautgesetze, Adverbialendungen, Nominalsuffixe, Anhänge und Indices, Band 2: Lexikon.* Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

LW = Gusmani, Roberto (1964). *Lydisches Wörterbuch (mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung).* Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

NH = Laroche, Emmanuel (1966). *Les Noms des Hittites.* Paris: Libraire C. Klincksiek.

NIL = Wodtko, Dagmar S. – Irslinger, Britta – Schneider, Carolin (2008). *Nomina im indogermanischen Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

TL = Kalinka, Ernst (1901). *Tituli Lyciae Lingua Lycia conscripti (Tituli Asiae Minoris I*). Wien: Verlag der ÖAW.