THE $-\mathcal{N}(\mathcal{N})$ - FORMATIONS IN THE HITTITE LANGUAGE ¹

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In the 1950 issue of J(ahrbuch für) k(leinasiatische) F(orschung) (vol. I, p. 125 footnote 106-110) I studied the -l(l)-formations and the suffixes *-talla*- and *-talli*- in Hittite. In this brief communication I shall discuss the -n(n)- formations, the treatment of which has been hitherto neglected in Hittite grammars.

Recently Prof. Friedrich has treated the suffix (a) nni- in A(rchiv) $f(\ddot{u}r)$ O(rientforschung) vol. XV, p. 111 f. (written in 1943, printed in 1946 and issued in 1951). The same note was republished by him with almost the same wording with the exception of slight corrections in Bi(bliotheca) Or(ientalis) vol. V (1948), p. 51, note 18.

Although Friedrich does not explicitly separate the suffix -(a)nni- from the suffix -(a)nna- and the formations with double n from those with one n, he treats only the suffix -(a)n(n)i- and wants to see in it a diminutive function. A diminutive suffix had not as yet been established in Hittite till then.

I hope that Prof. Friedrich, one of the outstanding scholars doing research on Ancient Asia Minor, will welcome more light from another quarter on the -n(n)- suffixes, which play such an important part in the formation of some old Anatolian appelatives and proper names.²

Unfortunately it is not always possible to find exhaustive arguments in order to prove a hypothesis and the same difficulty exists very often in rejecting it. Therefore the rejection of a new idea must be based upon the collection of all available counter arguments.

Although the mere declaration to the effect that a proposition is not convincing may perhaps sometimes be considered sufficient to shelve the investigation of a problem, without taking the pain of presenting detailed counter arguments, it is obvious that such a procedure can not enhance our knowledge.

Belleten C. XVIII. 29

The principle reason why Friedrich wishes to accept a diminutive function for the suffix -(a)nni- lies in K(eilschrift)u(rkunden aus) B(oghazköi) XV 1 II 28 and the following. We read there :

- 28 ma-a-an-na-mu II ^DLUGAL-ma-an-ni-iš I ^DAl-la-an-zu-unni-iš-ša
- 29 A.NA DINGIR^{LIM}-kán ku-i-e-eš gi-nu-ua-az ar-ha ú-ua-at-ten
- 30 nu-mu ma-a-an ku-u-un INIM-an iš-ta-ma-aš-te-ni
- 31 A.NA ^DLUGAL-ma-kán pár-ra-an-da me-ma-at-te-ni
- 32 nu DUTUSI HUL-u-ua-an-za ud-da-na-na-an-za an-da Ú.UL
- 33 ku-iš-ki KAR-zi ku-it-ma-an-za ku-u-uš
- 34 NAM.ERÍM.HI.A ar-ha a-ni-ja-zi
- 35 nu A.NA II DLUGAL-ma-an-ni-ja-aš IEN DAl-la-an-zu-ni-ja
- 36 ku-e-da-ni-ja I GEŠTUG GUŠKIN I GEŠTUG KUBABBAR DÚ-mi
- 28 "When (you) the two Sarrumanni and one Allanzunni,
- 29 who have come from the lap³ of the god,
- 30 and when you hear this word of mine,
- 31 (and if) you convey it to Šarruma,
- 32 and (if) no one meets⁴ my majesty in an unfavorable case
- 33 (and) as long as he (e. g. Sarruma) removes those
- 34 perjuries
- 35 I shall allot⁵ to the two Sarrumanni and one Allanzuni,
- 36 to each one, one car of gold (and) one ear of silver."

It is noteworty that Allanzunni is written here once with double n and once with one n.

Götze thought in Kleinasien, p. 124 footnote 9, that Šarrumanni and Allanzun(n)i were the children of Šarruma. Although Friedrich considers this view point possible, he writes that the sentence which states that they have come from the knee of the god, does not prove that they are offsprings of Šarruma. As an other possibility Friedrich wants to interpret Šarrumanni as little Šarruma and Allanzun(n)i as little Allanzu. Moreover Friedrich also thinks that Šarruma and Allanzu may represent a couple and the two Šarrumanni and one Allazun(n)i may be their children. If Šarrumanni and Allanzun(n)i were gods separate from Šarruma and Allanzu, it would not have been difficult for the Hittites to give them separate names. I know no other examples from Hittite sources where the two children bore the same

name, as has been proposed in connection with the two *Šarrumanni*. That would mean that the Hittites might have used family names.

The promise in our text that to the two $\check{S}arrumanni$ and one Allanzun(n)i, to every one of them, would be given one gold and silver ear, shows that they represent statues of the gods. It is quite possible that the sentence stating that they originated from the knee of the god, was meant to express the near connection of the statues with the gods they stand for.

In the preceding lines (25-27) of the same text the direct address to *Šarruma* making the same promises to him, does not exclude the possibility that the statues of the gods had been also used as intermediaries. I am of the same opinion as Prof. Laroche (*Onomastique Hittite* p. 136) that ^DNinattanniuš in KUB X 63 VI 5 also designated statues of Ninatta.

The relation of $\check{S}arrumanni$ and Allanzun(n)i to $\check{S}arruma$ and Allanzu is the same as the relation of *Ninattanni* to *Ninatta* and the relation of *armanni*- to *Arma* "Moon-god". *armanni*- means nothing but the "representation of the Moon-god". Friedrich interprets *armanni*- as "Möndchen" and uses this word as an argument for his diminutive hypothesis and states the following :

"Das klarste Beispiel eines Appelativums auf -(a)nni- ist das von Sommer ZA 46 (1940) S. 7 ff. behandelte armanni- "Mondsichel, mondförmiges Gebäck (Hörnchen) neben arma- "Mond", das sich gut als "Möndchen" verstehen liesse und so dem lat. lunula nicht nur in der Sache, sondern auch in der grammatischen Bildung entspräche."

However, as can be seen in the texts treated by Sommer, in his article cited here which was based on the material collected by Ehelolf, armanni- occurs side by side with *šittar* "sun disk". Since these objects are parallel to each other, it is not probable that a diminutive suffix had been used only for one of them. Moreover since armanni- is related to arma- "Moon-god", *šittar* may also, as its Akkadian equivalent *šamšatu* is a derivative of the Sun-god *Šamaš*-, have been derived from the Sun-god *Šiųat* or more probably from his base word *Šių*- and may go back to a **šiųtar*, which is not yet attested.⁶ If this view point is correct, then we would compare the remaining suffix -tar with the suffix -tal, attested in the appelative *šiųattal* which was also a suffix of appurtenance.⁷

Friedrich further treats a series of personal names containing the suffix -(a)nni, and compares them with those names of the same base words without -(a)nni. As is also admitted by him, one does not win any support from this comparison for the diminutive function of -(a)nni, except that -(a)nni- is identical with -(a)nna- and the formations with double n with those with one $n.^8$ The fluctuation between the double and simple writing is also to be noticed among the other suffixes and especially among the -l- formations.

Friedrich presents also a number of appelatives ending with -(a)nni, but since the base words of many of them are not known, they do not help much to clear up the problem.

Among the material examined by Friedrich there are also some names of professionals. They are aššušanni-, šankunni- and urajanni-/ urijanni-. If the Aryan etymoloy for aššušanni- given by H. Pedersen as *açva-sáni- "horse winning" (Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen, p. 138 f.), is valid then we would have to separate this word from the formations in -(a)nni. But there still remain two professional names ending with -(a)nni. One may ask what kind of a role might have been played by a diminutive suffix in the formation of a professional name. Besides, šanki nni- is a Lehnwort from the Akkadian šangū "priest", which is used in the same sense in the Hittite language, and the base word of urajanni- may be identical with the Luwian ura- "great (?)".

Friedrich's Material contains also a ^{DUG}haššuyanni-, which is an error on the part of Friedrich for ^{DUG}haššuyayanni-. Cf. now the same anthor in his Wb. p. 64. h. is a derivative of the geographical name ^{URU}Haššuya.⁹

Moreover the example arayanni- "free man or free woman" based on araya- "free" excludes the possibility, that -(a)nni- may have a diminutive function. According to Friedrich this example is not clear. Prof. Friedrich concludes his note with the following remark: "Die Basis für Annahme eines Deminutivsuffixes -(a)nni- ist also schmal, doch sehe ich keine Gegenargumente."

In view of this statement I would not have taken up this problem again, but as a diminutive suffix-(a)nni- has begun to enter the dictionnaries I have deemed it necessary to reconsider it. Although Prof. Friedrich in his above mentioned note states that a diminutive

function of -(a)nni- may be guessed, but can not be proven, in his most valuable *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, which fills a considerable gap, he does not hesitate to translate *Šarrumanni* without a question mark as "kleiner, junger *Šarruma*" and *Ninattanni* as "kleine *Ninatta*". We still see him insisting in his view point on this suffix in BiOr X (1953) p. 128. Whether be has new arguments for his view is not known to me. I do not think that "*Ninattanniuš* TUR.TUR^{TIM} (KUB X 63 VI 5) "the small *Ninattanni*-'s" may confirm the diminutive function of -(a)nni- (cf. Laroche in his above mentioned work p. 136), since it would not be necessary to designate them as small, if -(a)nni- was a diminutive suffix. The example *zipiddani* (a small measure) does not prove any thing also, since the base word for it is not yet known to us.

In addition to the doubts already expressed by me on the diminutive meaning of -(a)n(n)i- I will try to show that such a function is impossible for the -n(n)- formations. Many of my examples contain only one -n- and the thematic vowel -a. But since the use of double -n- with one -n- is interchangeable, my examples belong also to the same group. That the suffix -(a)n(n)a- is identical with -(a)n(n)i-¹⁰ is also accepted by Friedrich and a personal name like Zuyanna is registered in his list.¹¹ I include here also neuters in -n without the thematic vowel, which may represent earlier formations.

Without claiming completeness I give the following examples, the base words of which are known or may be suggested:

^{DU} aganni-, possibly based on ak- "die", hence "pithos (?), urn (?)" (or pot given as present to dead ?). But cf. also the Hurrian and Akkadian aganu (Friedrich, Wb. p. 337).

GIşalanzana- (a kind of wood?), identical with the base word alanza-.

alkištana- "fruit(?), branch (?)", identical with the base word alkišta-.

^DAllanzun(n)i- (representation of ^DAllanzu), based on ^DAllanzu. aluanzena- "bewitched", based on *aluanza-, which is the base word of aluanzahh- "bewitch" and aluanzatar "witchcraft".

arahzena- "neighbor, foreign(er)", based on arahza "around, outside".

arayanni- "free man" or "free woman", based on araya- "free". arkammana- "tribute", identical with the base word arkamma-.

armanni- (representation of the Moon-god), based on arma-"Moon".

GIŞejan- (an evergreen tree), identical with the base word GIŞeja-.

hannitaluana- "opponent at law", based on *hannitalua- or *hannitaluāi-.

harana- "eagle", identical with the base word hara-.

DUGharšijallanni- "pithos", identical with the base word DUGharšijalli-.

*haššuizna- "king" (composed of *haššu-+-iz-+-na-), has the same meaning with its base word *haššu-, cf. Götze, MVAeG 38, p. 252 ff.

*hulana- (*hulani-?) "wool", based on *hula- "wool". The base word *hula- may be concluded also from hulali- "band" and ^(GIŞ) hulali- "distaff", cf. Laroche, A(rchiv) Or(ientální) XVII 2 p. 13 footnote 18.

hurpaštana- "leaf", identical with the base word hurpašta-.

^DHuyaššanna- (Goddess of the huyaši- stone ?), based on ^{NA4} huuaši-. See Bossert, Belleten No. 64, 1952, p. 503; cf. also Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux Hittites p. 81.

ilana- "step, staircase, rank grade (?)", based on *ila-, which may be concluded also from ilaššar, ileššar, iliššar "elevation (?)". Cf. Sommer-Falkenstein, (Die) h(ethitisch)-a(kkadische) B(ilingue desHattušili) I. p. 14. footnote 2.

irman(a?-) "illness" identical with the base word irma- "illness". *išhizna- "master" (composed of išha-+-iz-+-na-), has the same meaning with its base word isha-. Cf. Götze, op. cit.

GIŞiškiššana- (a kind of object used for leaning) is based on iškiša- "back, behind".

istamana- or istamina- "ear" is based on *istama-, which is also the base word of istamas(s)- "hear" and of istamahura- "ear-ring(?)".

ištanzana- "self; desire" is identical with the base word *ištanza-.* GIŞkalmišana- "stick of wood; thunder bolt" is identical with the base word GIŞkalmi-.

kuranna- "section of land (?), field (?)" is based on kuer- "cut" or kuera- (=kura) "field". kuranna- is identical with the personal name Kuranna, Laroche, Onomastique Hittite No. 325. It may perhaps be the Hittite reading of A.ŠA (gen. A.ŠA-naš, dat.-loc. A.ŠA-ni).

^{NA4}ku(u) annana- "copper", identical with the base word ^{NA4}ku(u) anna-.

memijana- "word", speech", identical with the base word memija-.

^DNinattanni- (representation of the goddess Ninatta), based on ^DNinatta.

paršana- "panther" may possibly be considered as an enlargement of *parša-. paršana- is already compared with the Greek $\pi \alpha \beta \alpha \lambda \alpha_{13}$ and Turkish pars. See Friedrich, Wb. p. 163.

^{NA4}peruna-/ piruna- "rock", the base word of which is ^{NA4}peru-(KUB XXXIII 61 I 5, Laroche Revue d'Assyriologie XLVII (1954) p. 47) and pirua- "rock".¹²

šakuni- "spring, source" is probably based on šakuua "eyes". šankunni- "priest", based on the Akkadian šangū "priest".

 $(^{DUG})$ šašanna- "lamp", attested already in the texts of Kültepe in form of šašannum,¹³ is based on šeš- "sleep, repose". Hence šašanna- is to be understood as an implement used in the time of sleep, that is at night. The same word is used as the name of a town: ^{URU} Šašana (KUB XXXI 44, I 3, 11).

šiuna-, šiuni-, šiuana-, šiuanni- "god" is identical with the base word š*iu-, šiu-* or *šiua-.*¹⁴ This word excludes completely the possibility of a diminutive function for -(a)n(n)i-.

šumanzana- "cord", identical with the base word *šummanza-* "cord".

NINDA zappinni- (KUB XXXII 129 I 21),¹⁵ the base word of which is zappi- "looseness". Hence NINDA zappinni- has been a kind of bread, which was possibly made of coarse grained flour. Identical with NINDA zipinni-?.¹⁶

The titles of the Hittite king and queen tabarna and tayan(n)anna may belong also to the group of -n(n)- formations. Although it is not yet certain, the base word of tabarna may be identical with the Glossenkeil word tapar- "rule", as it was suggested by E. H. Sturtevant, and tabarna may mean "ruler".¹⁷ The eminent Hititologist, Professor Sommer, thinks that tabarna is of Protohattian origin, because it occurs in Protohattian texts.¹⁸ But since we must presume that the peoples who had emmigrated into ancient Anatolia lived in close contact with the Protohattians, it is not unreasonable to suppose

that their languages also might have had an influence on the Protohattian. Considering the close relation between *tabarna* and *tauan*-(n)anna, *tauan*(n)anna may be a derivative of *tabarna* and go back to **tauarnanna*¹⁹ or **tabarnanna*, which are not yet attested. In regard to the material presented here it is not advisable to derive the suffix *-na* from the Protohattian, as *tabarna* happens to occur also in Protohattian texts.²⁰

May I also draw attention to *išhamina*- or *išhimana*- "cord", the base word of which is *išhai*- or *išhija*- "bind". The remaining *-mina*or *-mana*- is to be divided into mi/ma and na. The suffix *-ma*- or *-mi*has been treated recently by Goetze in JCS 5 (1951), p. 72 f. and Rosenkranz, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Luvischen*, Wiesbaden 1952, 86 ff., who see, as some other scholars did before, in *-mi/-ma* a suffix of participle. But cf. now the objections of the present writer in BiOr XI p. 209. I expressed there the opinion, that *-ma/-mi* is another suffix of appurtenance. Cf. also footnote 16 in this paper.

The same formation is observable in $\frac{sar\bar{a}m(a)n(n)a}{n}$, which has been translated by Götze in MAeG 38 p. 220 and JCS 1 p. 83 as "receptacle (?), refuge (?)". It is composed of $\frac{sar\bar{a}}{u}$ " "up" +-ma-+-na. It may denote nothing else but a place, which is at the top, hence "up town (?), acropolis (?)". In K(eilschrifttexte aus) Bo(ghazköi) III 4 II 66 ff., which can be restored in combination with KUB XXXIV 38 IV 20 ff. and the fragment of Ankara 10284 IV 1 ff.,²¹ we read the following :

- 66 [(nu-kán ma-aḥ-ḥa-an URU)P]u-ra-an-da-an an-da ḥa-at-kieš-nu-nu-un
- 67 [(nu-kán ^ITa-pa-la-z)u-n]a-ú-liš ku-iš DUMU ^IU-uḥ-ḥa-LÚ I.NA ^{URU}Pu-ra-an-da še-ir e-eš-ta
- 68 [(na-aš na-aḥ-šar-ri)-ia-a]t-ta-at na-aš-kán URUPu-ra-an-da-za MI-az kat-ta ḥu-ua-iš²²
- 69 [DAM.ZU DUMU.MEŠ.ŠU²³ (NA)]M.RA.MEŠ-ja ša-raam-na-az²⁴ pí-ra-an hu-u-i-nu-ut
- 70 [na-(an-kán URU Pu-ra)-an-da-z]a²⁵ kat-ta pí-e-hu-te-et
- 71 [ma-(ah-ha-an-ma D)UTU^{\$1} iš-t]a-ma-aš-šu-un ¹(!)Da-pa-la-zuna-ú-liš-ua-kán
- 72 [MI-az kat-ta hu-ua-iš DAM.(Z)]U-ua-za²⁶ DUMU.MEŠ. ŠU NAM.RA.MEŠ-ja

- 73 [ša-ra-am-na-az pí-ra-a(n h)]u-i-nu-ut nu-ua-ra-an-kán kat-ta pí-e-hu-te-et
- 74 [nu-uš-ši ^DUTU^{\$1} ERÍN.MEŠ²⁷ (ANŠU.KUR.R)]A.MEŠ EGIR-an-da u-i-ja-nu-un
- 75 [na-at (¹Ta-pa-la-zu-na-ú-li-i)]n KAS-ši EGIR-an-da ta-maaš-šir
- 76 [(nu-uš-ši-kán DAM.ZU) DUMU.MES.ŠU NA]M.RA.MEŠia²⁸ ar-ha da-a-ir na-an EGIR-pa
- 77 [ú-ua-te-er (¹Ta-pa-la-zu-na-ú-li-iš-ma-k)]án I-aš SAG.DU-aš iš(!)-pár-za-aš-ta
- 78 [(NAM.RA-ma-kán ku-in KAS-ši) da-a-iš²⁹] na-an-za-an ERÍN. MEŠ-pát ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ da-a-aš³⁰
- 66 "And as I blockaded Puranda,
- 67 Tapalazunauli, the son of Uhha-LÚ, who was in Puranda above,
- 68 was afraid, and in the night he went from Puranda down.
- 69 [His wife, his children] and the civil captives he caused to march from the acropolis (?)
- 70 and he brought them down from Puranda.
- 71 As I, [my majesty], heard: 'Tapalazunauli
- 72 [went down in the night]. His [wife], his children and the civil captives
- 73 he caused to march [from the acropolis (?)] and he brought them down',
- 74 I, [my majesty], sent after [him the troops] (and) the charioteers,
- 75 [they] pressed Tapalazunauli on the pursuit,
- 76 and they took him his wife, [his children] and the civil captives away. They brought them
- 77 back. Tapalazunauli fled as one person.
- 78 The civil captives, which he [put] on the way, the same troops and charioteers took them."

The same meaning may also come out for *šarāmna*- from the instructions of one of the Hittite kings, adressed to *bēl madgalti* "military governor", where the protection and maintenance of a fortified town play an important part. In KUB XIII 2 II 11 f. (=XXXI 86, 39 f.=87+88 II 12 f.=90+91 II 1 f.) we read the following (In the

preceding paragraph the question of storing of fire wood, straw and other material is treated):

- 11 [(nu an-da ši-ia-a-an)] e-eš-tu na-at-za EGIR-an MU.KAM-ti MU-ti
- 12 k[(ap-pu-iš-ki-id-du n)]u ša-ra-am-ni-it kat-ta zi-ik-ki-id-du
- 11 "And let it be sealed; let him check over it
- 12 every year and let him deliver (them) down from the acropolis (?) (according to the need)".

KUB XXXII 123 II 44 is also in favour of a locality for *šaramma*-: *I.NA* UD II.KAM-*ma ša-ra-am-ma-az da-an-zi* "But in the second day they take (it) from the acropolis (?)"

šarāmana- may also sometimes mean only "above". I think Friedrich is partly right in translating šarāmnaz in his Wb. as "von oben herab". This is valid for KBo V 2 II 18 ff. me-maal-la (19) ša-ra-a-am-na-az ar-ḥa iš-ḥu-ua-a-i ša-ra-a-am-na-az-ma-kán (20) A.NA ^{NINDA}mu-la-a-ti še-ir šu-uḥ-ḥa-a-i (18/20) "And from above he scatters away grist. But from above he pours (it) on the mulati- bread."

NINDA $\underline{s}aram(m)a(na)$ -, which is a kind of bread or pastry, eaten during the religious ceremonies, cannot be separated from the preceding word. It is indeed possible that \underline{s} . was used here as an adjective,³¹ and NINDA $\underline{s}aram(m)a(na)$ - meant a pastry, which came from above, that is from the acropolis (?).^{31 a}

The examples $i\bar{s}himana-/i\bar{s}hamina$ - and $\bar{s}ar\bar{a}m(m)a(na)$ - show clearly that -mana-/-mina- is to be divided into -ma-/-mi-+-na. In fact, we have here the agglomeration of two suffixes. This conclusion is of great importance for the judgment and linguistic assignment of the identical formatives (u/a)man and (u/a)m(n)a- occurring in Cappadocian and Boğazköy texts.

May I be permitted to speak here also about *anninnijami-* "cousin", the meaning of which was established by Friedrich in MVAeG 34/1, p. 98 after a passus in the treaty of Muvatalli, son of Mursili the second, with Alakšandu of Wiluša. We read there the following:

- III 33 nu ¹K[(u-pa-a)]n-ta-^DLAMA-aš MÁŠ LÚ ŠA [(LUG)]AL KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-ua
 - 34 IŠ. TU MÁŠ SAL^{TI}-ma-aš ŠA LUGAL K[(UR ^{URU)}] Ha-at-ti A.NA A.BI.IA-ma-aš

- 35 ¹Mur-ši-DINGIR^{LI(M)} LUGAL GAL LUGAL KUR URUHa-a[(t-t)]i DUMU SAL+KU-ŠU A.NA ^DUTU^{\$I}ma-aš
- 36 a-an-ni-in-ni-ja-mi-iš
- 33 "And Kupanta-^DLAMA-*a* (is descended) on the male line from the king of the land Arzawa;
- 34 but on the female line (he comes) from the king of the land Hatti.
- 35 He is the son of the sister of my father Muršili, the great king, king of the land Hatti.
- 36 He is the cousin of my majesty."

Since the formative -mi- is to be considered as a suffix of appurtenance (cf. the present writer loc. cit.) in the remaining *anninni- or *anninniija- we may suspect the Hittite word for "aunt". If I am right in my suggestion, then we may go a step further and analyse *anninni-, as composed of anni- "mother" and -(i)nni-, the suffix, which is the subject of the present paper. The word *anninni- may furnish a further argument against the diminutive function of -(i)nni-.

In connection with the -n(n)- formations I would like also to speak about the suffixes -*yanna*- and -*yanni*-, which may be of the same origin with -(a)nna- and -(a)nni-. The relations of the suffixes -*yanna*- and -*yanni*- to -(a)nna- and -(a)nni- is the same as the relation of the suffixes -*yala*- to -*ala*, -*yant*- to -*ant*- and -*yātar* to -*ātar*. I present the following examples :

annayanna- "step-mother" is based on anna- "mother".

DUGhaššuuauanni- (a kind of vessel for wine made in Haššuua or of the type of Haššuua).

kuiryana- "independent" is based on kuer- "cut"; kuiryana- means literally "separated."

gurtauanni- "person of the citadel" is based on gurta- "citadel".³² The suffix -uana- is most likely to be identical with the gentilic -uana- of the Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscriptions.³³

As the preceding examples show, the -n(n)- formations in Hittite either have the same sense with their base words,^{34,35} or they express their near relation to them. Cf. also Goetze, Mélanges Pedersen p. 490 ff., and Albright, American Journal of Archaeology vol. LIV (1950) p. 172.³⁶ In this communication I have intentionally put the Hurrian suffix -ni or (-ne) aside³⁷ and I have taken as the base of my investigations to a great extent the Hittite words. It is most likely that the ending -n(n)-had the same function in other related languages of Ancient Anatolia as in Hittite.³⁸

A comparison of the personal name ^DU-naradu with Tarhundaradu leads me to think that the -n(n)- and -nt- suffixes may go back to the the same origin. Since the second part -radu is common in both names they must belong to the same ethnic level. Therefore the ideogram of the Storm-god in the first mentioned name may be read as Tarhu.39 If I am right in my opinion, then we would have to read ^DU-naradu as ^DTarhunaradu, which is identical with Tarhundaradu. with the difference that the suffix -na- in Tarhuna- corresponds to -nda in Tarhunda-. The possibility of the identity of the -n(n)- formations with -nt- formations⁴⁰ was already expressed by me in my study Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf den hieroglylphenheth. Siegeln und Inschriften, Ankara 1950, p. 16 f. in connection with the explanation of the close relationship of the elements *isputa- and *ispun(a)- occurring in the personal names of Capand Boğazköy. I suggested there the identity of both padocia and thought that they may go back to *ispunta-, which elements⁴¹ may be identical with the Hittite word ispanza "night". As confirmation of this view I compared "siyana- "god" and siyat- "day; Sungod", both of which may go back to siyant-, and I analysed siyanzanni-, the designation of a priestess of high rank. The ideographic correspondence of siyanzanni- is, as we know, SALAMA DINGIRLIM "mother of god". Since anni- stands here for "mother", siyanz would correspond to the genitive form of the word for "god",42 I think in *Siyant- we have another spelling of the word for "god". The identity of Tarhuna- with Tarhunda- and of * siyant- with siuna-, siuni-, siyana- and siyanni- etc. may confirm the view that the -n(n)- formations go back to the same origin as the -nt- formations,43,44 although it is possible that the difference between both suffixes might have been felt in a very early phase of the history of the Hittite language. The fact that the -nt- suffix too is used either as a suffix of appurtenance or for the enlargement of the stem,45 may be considered as a further argument in favour of the original identity of both elements.

¹ The contents of this article have been read before the XXIIIrd International Congress of Orientalists, held between the 21st and 28th of August, in Cambridge (England) under the title "A Note On The Word Formation in Hittite Language".

² For the appelatives, for which no quotations are given here see Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Heidelberg 1952/54. For the personal names see Laroche, Receuil d'Onomastique Hittite, Paris 1952, and for the geographical names of the Hittite period, refer to Mayer- Garstang, l(ndex of) H(ittite) N(ames), which has been for a long time out of date. For the proper names of the Cappadocian documents ending with the formative -n- cf. E. Bilgiç, Die Ortsnamen der "kappadokischen" Urkunden im Rahmen der alten Sprachen Anatoliens (AfO XV, 1 ff.) and see furthermore Gelb, JKF vol. II p. 32.

³ Literally: knee.

⁴ Literally: finds.

⁵ Literally: make.

⁶ Cf. for example example ^DŠišummi- (KUB XII 63 Rs. 13) which is a later form of ^DŠiušummi-.

⁷ Cf. Alp, JKF I p. 134 footnote 110. For the meaning of *šijattal* as the Hittite reading of GI\$ŠU.I "razor (?), blade (?)" see Güterbock, *Kumarbi* p. 67; Laroche, R(evue) H(ittite et) A(sianique) fasc. 47 p. 22; Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi*, p. 13 footnote 4; Güterbock, J(ournal of) C(uneiform) S(tudies) vol. 5 p. 36.

⁸ Cf. the personal names Zida, Zitana (Knudzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln 170, 20), Zidanni and Zuya, Zuyanna, Zuyanni.

⁹ Mayer-Garstang, IHN p. 19.

¹⁰ A comparison of *ekuna*- "cold" and *ekunima*- "coolness" is also in favour of the identity of the elements -na- and -ni-.

¹¹ In the formative -nu-, which may be observed in the personal names *Tarhunu* (Stephens, *Personal names of Cappadocia* p. 68), *Tuarhunu* (Eisser - Lewy, MVAeG 33 p. 31 No. 38, 3) and *Pihanu* (Laroche, *Onomastique Hittite* No. 531) I see the same suffix with the thematic vowel - u. Cf. also Bossert, *Asia*, p. 88.

¹² For the deity Pirua cf. Otten, Pirva- Der Gott auf dem Pferde (JKF II p. 62 ff.).

¹³ See Bilgiç, Die einheimischen Appelativa der kappadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen, Ankara 1954 p. 58.

¹⁴ For the formation of *siuna*- etc. see also Bossert, Asia p. 85 ff.

¹⁵ Delete DUG Zappinni- apud Friedrich, AfO XV 111 f. footnote 10.

¹⁶ Among the examples presented by Friedrich which are not treated above there are also the following appelatives :

huluganni- or hulukanna- (a kind of wagon). This meaning was already recognised in present writer's *Beamtennamen* p. 7 ff. but it has been overlooked by Friedrich in AfO XV p. 111 footnote 10. huluganni- occurs as early as in Kültepe texts. See Landsberger, AOr vol. XVIII No. 1-2 p. 341 footnote 67 and Bilgiç, op. cit. p. 49 f. Its base word *huluga- may perhaps be compared with haluka- "message". huluganni- perhaps might originally have meant "message wagon".

DUGhutanni- (cf. huda- "speed" (?)).

kušazianni- (with the base word kuššazza).

NINDAsiyantannanni- (composed of *siyantanna-<*siyantatar+-anni-) (bread in form of the representation of the Sun-god ?).

NINDAualpailanni- or NINDAualpaimanni-. The interchange of -la- and -mais important for the judgment of the formative -ma-.

Cf. furthermore :

TULaldanni- "well, spring".

NINDAarmantalanni- (composed of arma-+-nt-+-ala-+-anni- (bread in form of the representation of the Moon-god ?).

É arzana- "inn(?)".

DUGhakkunai- (a vessel for oil).

LUhamina- "treasurer".

GI\$hanza(n)- (an instrument).

hanzana- "black".

harganau- (a part of the body).

harnai-= harnau- "birth-chair".

NINDAharpan(a?)- (a kind of bread).

harrani- (a kind of oracle bird).

haršan(a)- "head".

haršumana- "source (??)" (composed of haršu-+-ma-+-na-?).

hattalkešna- "hawthorn(?)".

NINDAhayattani- (a kind of bread).

inan- (a disease).

ishijani- (isheni-) "beard hair, body hair (?)".

UZUishuna-= ishunau- (a part of the body).

išna-= iššana- "dough".

ištanana- "stand (?)", based on the same word as ištantāi- "stay (?)"?

kaena- "affinis, relative through marriage".

kalmanna- "fire wood (?)", based on *kalma-, which may be identical with kalmi- "stick of wood etc.". Cf. Götze, MVAeG 38, p. 213.

genu- "knee".

kunna- "right".

kurupšini(-) Ehelolf, ZA NF XI p. 72, (a lower gold quality), identical with the Cappadocian kupuršinnum. See, Bilgiç, Appelativa p. 40 f. kurupšini(-) must be kept apart from the following word.

L^Úkurupzina- "butcher (?)" (composed of kurupzi-=kuruzzi- (cutting instrument)?+-na-). KUB XII 8 IV 6 f. L^Ú.MEsku-ru-up-zi-na-ma KUŠ GUD da-ga-a-an šal-la-an-na-a-i "The butchers (?) pull (?) the skin of the ox down".Cf. Friedrich, AOr vol. XVII 1 p. 250.

laḥanni- "bottle (?)", identical with the Akkadian laḥannu- "bottle (?)" or based on Hittite laḥḥa- "campaign".

The Glossenkeil word lapana(nna) and its derivatives.

TÚGlupanni- (a kind of dress) and its derivative the Glossenkeil word lupanayant- "dressed with lupanni-".

lustani- "side door (?)".

mani- (light coloured blood).

man(n)inni- (a jewel). Hurrian? mene- (meni-) "face". meiani- (mijani-), uitti- meiani- "new year (?)". minu- "alone (?)". paltana- "shoulder". perhuena- (parhuina-) (a kind of drink (??) or a sweet product?). paršina- "haunch, thigh".

parzahanna- (=pirešhanna-): It is probably based on *parzaha-, which may be identical with palzahha- or palza(š)ha- "socle, basis". According to the text mentioned in the following parzahanna- (=pirešhanna-) may denote a kind of socle, on which the folder of the animals was placed. If its base word is not identical with palzahha- "socle", then it may represent a kind of fodder. The mutilated passage KUB XIII I IV 16 (=2 IV 28 f.) can be restored in combination with the parallel line KUB XIII 24, 17: A.NA GUD.HI.A pár-za-ha-an-na-aš HA.LA III Š[U? (nu a-pu-u-un HA.LA az-zi-ik-kán-du)] (The unimportant variants of the duplicates are disregarded). "The p. -ration of the oxen (is) three ti[mes?]. And let them eat that ration."

šaluina- (according to Güterbock apud Friedrich Wb. p. 180 "unbaked mud brick (Turkish kerpiç) (?)").

šaluini- (an oracle bird). šamana- "foundation". šanna- "one (??)". sena- "figure, model, substitute". GISsesan(n)a- "almond tree (?)". taggani- "breast". DUGtapišana-, tapišani- (a vessel, "bowl (?)"). tarna- (a small dry measure) IMtarašmeni- (wind and quarter of heavens). taršna- "throat (?)". tāyana- "truly (?)". dauani- "stem (???)". tekan- "earth". URUDUtekan- "hoe". tetana- "hair". NINDAduni- (a kind of bread). udne- "country". The Glossenkeil word uaryalan(a?)- "seed, descendant". uašanna- "stadion (?), running field (?)". uetn(?)- "wolf (?)". uijana- "wine". uilan(a?)- "clay". zena- "autumn".

NINDAzippulani- (a kind of bread), based on *zippula-, which is also the baseword of NINDA zippulašši-. They may be very probably identical. ¹⁷ A Hittite Chrestomathy p. 194 f. and A Hittite Glossary 2. Edition p. 151. Cf. also Götze, MVAeG 32/I p. 138 footnote 3.

¹⁸ Sommer- Falkenstein, HAB p. 25; Sommer, Hethiter und Hethitisch, Stuttgart 1947, p. 92.

¹⁹ Cf. ta-yaa - ar-na in a Hurrian text (Bo 4790 9, 13) cited by Forrer in Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift 2 p. 28* and Sommer, HAB p. 25 footnote 3.

²⁰ The occurrence of the deity *Leluani* in a Protohattian text (cf. Otten, JCS vol. 4 p. 128 f.) does not prove either the Protohattian origin of this deity.

²¹ The new fragments have shown that Götze's restoration of the text was to a great extent correct.

22 Ankara 10284 IV 2: hu-u-ua-a-iš.

²³ Cf. line 72 and 76.

24 Ankara 10284 IV 3: ša-ra-a-am-na-za.

²⁵ In the fragment of Ankara in line 4 URUPurandaza is omitted.

26 Cf. line 68 and 76. KUB XXXIV 38 IV 29: [DAM.] ZU-ja-ua.

27 Cf. line 78.

²⁸ Cf. line line 69 and 72.

²⁹ Restoration suggested by the context.

³⁰ Ankara 10284 IV 11: da-a-ir.

³¹ For the use of adjectives in Hittite see Wolfgang Drohla, Die Kongruenz zwischen Nomen und Attribut sowie zwischen Subjekt und Prädikat im Hethitischen (Am 18.1.1934 gekrönte Preisarbeit der Philosophischen Fakultät der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg f.d. Jahr 1933, Phil. Diss. Marburg, Als Manuskript vervielfältigt. Circulated among the Hittitologists in 1953).

^{31a} While this article was in the press Goetze's paper Some groups of Ancient Anatolian proper names (Language vol. 30, 1954, 349 ff.) reached me. According to Goetze, p. 351 footnote 13, the formative uma- is due to the assimilation of mn to mm. However the form *šarammana* does not seem to be in favour of this opinion.

32 Cf. also :

NINDA haršupanni-, composed of haršu (= harši- "thick"?) + -panni- (= yanni-?). L^Úkallištaryana-, based possibly on kallištar (Zuntz, Un testo ittita di scongiuri, p. 540) or on Ékalištarya-? (KUB XXXIII 114 I 25).

(GI\$)marijayanna- (KUB XXXI 84, 2 f.=86 II 2 f.), based on GI\$mari-?

The Glossenkeil word mutayannes.

šak(k)uµani-, identical with šakuni- "spring, source" based on šakuµa "eyes". NINDAziggaµanni- (a kind of bread) IBoT I 10 II 5.

³³ The same opinion about -*yanna*- is expressed by Laroche, BiOr XI, 1954, p. 123. He has established this suffix also in Luwian in URUNinuyayannaššati. Laroche gives a further example for the words ending with -*yanni*-, e.g. hamrayanni-(KUB XXXV 92 IV 32). Cf. also his earlier opinion in Onomastique Hittite p. 104, where he suggested the identity of -*yana*- of the Hierogylyphic Inscriptions with -*uman* or -*umna*- of the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

³⁴ According to the complementations of the ideogram LÚ, as sg. nom. LÚ-aš, gen. LÚ-naš, dat.-loc. LÚ-ni, one cannot deny the possibility that one of the readings of LÚ may be *zitana-, which is known only as the name of a Hittite general in a letter of El-Amarna, cf. footnote 8. In regard to the complementation LÚ-iš as sg. nom. in good Hittite texts it is not yet certain that ziti-"man" is only Luwian. Zida, which has been attested up to now also only as a personal name and ziti- may as well be Hittite. Another candidate for the phonetical reading of LÚ-i- may also be *zidanni-. Cf. footnote 8. The relation of *zida- to *zidana- and *zidanni- may be the same as the relation of šiu- to šiunaand šiuni-. However the phonetical reading *zitana- or *zidana- for LÚ-na- for the time being may be guessed but can not be proven.

³⁵ The adverb apēniššan "thus" contains also the formative -ni-. If one compares apēniššan with kiššan "this way, as follows" one may analyse it as composed of $ap\bar{a}$ -+-ni-+- $s\bar{s}$ -+-an. -ni- must have been used here as a suffix of stem enlargement of $ap\bar{a}$ - "is". Analogous to $ap\bar{e}nis\bar{s}an$ is formed the rare form of kiššan, kinisšan (Laroche, JKF I p. 176, 181 footnote 10). The same formative occurs also in the adjective $ap\bar{e}nis\bar{s}uyant$ - "such", composed of $ap\bar{a}$ -+-ni-+- $s\bar{s}$ -+-yant-, and most probably in the dat.-loc. forms of the pronouns $k\bar{a}/k\bar{i}$ -, $ap\bar{a}$ -, kui-, a-, of the adjective damai- and of the numeral for "one," e.g. $k\bar{e}dani$ (cf. $k\bar{e}ti$), $ap\bar{e}dani$ (cf. $ap\bar{e}ti$), kwedani (cf. kueti), edani (cf. edi), damedani and I-edani.

Cf. also the formations :

haluganili (haluga-+-ni-+-ili) "as a message" or "as a messenger".

tarpanalli- "rebel (??)" with tarpalli- "representation, substitute".

zarijanalli- (a bird?) with (GIS) zerijalli- (an instrument used in cult).

The formative *-ni*- is also seen in the gentilic $P\acute{a}$ -*la*-*ni*- \acute{u} -*tim* (plur.) perhaps as a stem enlargement of the country name Pala (Hrozný, l(nscriptions) C(unéiformes du) K(ultépé) I 1952, 92, 3; cf. Alp, Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi vol. X, 1952, p. 255.

³⁸ Albright writes the following: "The gentilic ending -na is well attested in Hittite cuneiform sources; it appears especially in Syria and southern Asia Minor (e.g., Hatti-Hattina, Api-Apina [the Damascene], etc.). The same ethnic ending appears probably in Lycian Tlānna, "person from Tlōs", and in the familiar Greek - āvóç, -ŋvóç, which is most frequent in connection with the Asiatic side of the Aegean". The same suffix is also noted by Bossert, Asia p. 88, among the Anatolian names of the Greek period.

³⁷ Cf. Thureau-Dangin, Syria XII 254 ff. and Speiser, Introduction To Hurrian p. 98 ff.

³⁸ It may be assumed that the suffix of the stem enlargement -n(n)- existed also in Luwian. See Luwian mam(m)an(n)a- "speak" (Laroche, Onomastique Hittite p. 117 fn. 15; Otten, Zur grammatikalischen und lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luwischen p. 87 f.), which may have been based on *mam(m)a- (cf. Hittite mema-). I am inclined to see also in Hittite in the suffix -(a)n(n)a- or -(a)n(n)i- forming verbs on the base of verbal or nominal stems the same suffix of stem enlargement. The verbs ending with this suffix might have had no difference, in meaning from their base verbs. Cf. already H. Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen §82. The opinion that they had durative meaning (Götze, MVAèG 32/I p. 129 f.) does not seem well founded to me. Cf. for example šunna- "fill" (composed of šuya->šu-+nna-), which has the same meaning with šuya- "fill". Although H. Pedersen in his

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just mentioned study was not in favour of Götze's view, Friedrich in his Grammar Heth. Elementarbuch I §150 and in his Wb. accepts it as a well established fact. The *-nt*- suffix also, the identity of which with the *-n(n)*- suffix will be discussed in the following, serves as formative for the stem enlargement of the verbs. Cf. for example *handandāi*-, based on *handāi*- "establish; set in order" and *hanā handandāta* "divine justice", identical in meaning with *harā handātar*.

³⁹ Tarhu, Tarhuna and Tarhunda may be besides Datta another word for Stormgod in Luwian, since Tarhunda-radu was a king of Arzawa. But see the remarks of Sommer in Ahhijavā-Urkunden p. 76, where he doubts the Luwian character of -radu-, the second element in the name Tarhunda-radu. About Tarhu-, Tarhuna and Tarhunda see also Laroche, Onomastique Hittite p. 60 f. I share the opinion of Güterbock, Hittite Religion p. 105 footnote 10, that the proposition for the Hittite reading of the ideogram of Storm-god (complementations: sg. nom. DIŠKUR-na-aš, gen. DIŠKUR un-na-aš, dat.-loc. DIŠKUR-un-ni) made by von Brandenstein in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 91 p. 566 ff. as Hamanna, Hamani or Humunni, which is the name of a Syrian Weather-god, is not probable. Since Tarhu is a very ancient Anatolian Storm-god occurring as early as in Kültepe texts in the personal names Tarhuala, Tarhuan and Tarhunu, the Hittite name of Storm-god also may be Tarhuna. The relation of Tarhu with the Protohattian Storm-god Taru must be also investigated.

⁴⁰ Besides, the identity of -nt- and -(t)t- formatives is well established.

⁴¹ Cf. Hittite ekuna- "cold" with the Glossenkeil word ikunta and Hittite NA4peruna- "rock" with the Oldindian parvata, compared by Sommer apud Friedrich, Wb. p. 167f. *perut- as designation of stone may be also assumed for the early phase of Hittite language from the Kültepe name Perutahšu. The etymological combination of peruna/*perut- with the Oldindian parvata leaves no room for doubt that the formatives -n(n)-, nt- and -(t)t- were of Indoeuropean origin. This also is a further indication for the linguistic assignment of the personal names in -ahšu.

A comparison of the denominative verbs in -ahh-, $i\bar{s}kattahh$ - $'i\bar{s}kidahh$ - "make a sign" (based on * $i\bar{s}ka$ - + -tta- or * $i\bar{s}ki$ - + da-) and $i\bar{s}kunahh$ - "make a sign, designate" (based on * $i\bar{s}ku$ - +-na-) recommends also the acceptance of the original identity of -n- and (t)l- suffixes.

⁴² Cf. nekuz, the genitive form of nekutt- "evening" in nekuz mehur "time of evening."

⁴³ For the close relationship between -n(n)- and -nt- suffixes cf.:

a) -an and -ant-, formatives of the participle in Hittite of neuter and common gender.

b) The adjectives:

human (neuter) and humant- (gen. comm.), based on *huma-, cf. the Glossenkeil word huma-.

maninkuyan (neuter) and maninkuyant- (gen. comm.) "near", based on maninku- "near".

arahzena- "neighbor" with the adverb arahzanda "around".

With the neuters of a and b following nouns are comparable: hinkan "fate, death", hunhuyan- "flood (?)", kuššan "price", laman "name", nahhan

"fear", šahhan "fief", takšan "middle; together", šekan "span", tekan "earth". Cf. also p. 453 ff.

Cf. also:

The ordinals ending with -an as dan "second", composed of da-"two" + an.

The personal names of the Cappodocian documents in -an as As(s)u(u)an, Istalkian, Tarhuan etc.

c) The adverbs and postpositions :

andan "in, into"

appan "behind, after" and appanda "behind, after, afterwards".

kattan "down" and kattanda "down".

mašijan=mašijan (neuter) "quantus" and mašijant=mašijant- (gen. comm.) "quantus".

parijan "beyond, across; besides" and parijanda "beyond, across; besides". parranda "beyond, across; besides".

The same formation as in andan etc. is observable in the adverbs:

annišan "previously", composed of anni- $+-\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ -+-an. *anni- is identical with the base word of annaz "previously".

apēniššan "thus". Cf. footnote 34.

appizzian "afterward", composed of appa- "back"+-izzi-+-an.

enissan "ita; as just stated", composed of eni-"is, the above mentioned"+

-šš- +-an.

kinun "now". kiššan (=kiniššan) "in this way, as follows", cf. footnote 35. kuyattan "where". nuyān=numān "never, no longer (?)", based on nuya "still, yet"?

piran "before", based on *pira-, which may be identical with para?

duyan "apart", based on trya- "far; distance (?)"?

zilan=zilayan "toward this side (??)", based on zila-, which might be identical with the base word of zilatija=ziladuya "in future, for the future".

d) The supines in -uan and -uanzi may also go back to the same origin as it was suggested by Ohse, MVAeG 47/1 p. 11.

⁴⁴ The occurrence of -n(n)- and -nt- suffixes in one and the same word side by side as for example in *arahzenant*- "foreign", *aršanant*- "jealous", *hahharšanant*- "ridiculous(?)", *happinant*- "rich", *irmanant*- "ill", *išhunayant*- (a part of the body), *kaninant*- "bent down", *perunant*- "rocky", *šakuyanant*- "hesitating (?), slow (?)", *šankunijant*- "priest", *šiyannant*- "god" does not prove that they are not identical. Cf. for example the Kültepe names *Šaluyata* and *Šaluyatat* in Hrozný, ICK I 35 A, 10 and 35 B, 1.

⁴⁵ The view expressed by Friedrich, MVAeG 31/1, 85 f. and *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* I § 53 a, that the *-nt-* suffix forms also words of collective meaning, does not seem convincing to me. Friedrich has not proven that the formations given by him as examples modify the meanings of their base words. In reality their base words also have collective meanings.