

GRAMMATICAL STUDIES
IN
THE AKKADIAN DIALECTS
OF BABYLON AND URUK
556–500 B.C.

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Wolfson College

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the Faculty of Oriental Studies

University of Oxford

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Abstract

Neo-Babylonian (NB) was the last surviving dialect of the Semitic language known as Akkadian and it was still being used for the compilation of records at the beginning of our era.

Many thousands of NB economic and legal documents and letters exist, particularly from the sixth century B.C., yet the language is still to be studied, as the various ways in which a word could be spelled suggested it was no longer coherent as a language and therefore that it was not worth studying. Aramaic was presumed to have taken over.

I have attempted to find out if this is the case by making a synchronic grammatical study of the NB dialects of Babylon and Uruk from 556 to 500 B.C. These cities have been chosen because they have produced considerable amounts of material. The period also spans the Persian conquest of 539 B.C.

Part one deals with syntax and morphology. Consistency of syntactical patterns indicates that NB was a living and evolving language and that the influence of Aramaic and Old Persian was minimal.

Part two deals with orthography and suggestions on pronunciation and stress. The main difficulty in establishing how much NB has changed from earlier phases of Akkadian (including earlier NB) lies in understanding how the loss of short final vowels has changed word shape. The extent to which words could end in consonant clusters is not clear as cuneiform is unable to represent consonant clusters in word final position.

I conclude that the lack of difference between the NB dialects of Babylon and Uruk suggests that efforts were being made to preserve the language and that the scribal teaching methods must have been similar in the two cities.

Acknowledgments

Those who indulge in study for a doctoral thesis are on a road to personal discovery. I would not have been able to keep to the road without the help of Jeremy Black, my supervisor, whose knowledge of grammar, Akkadian, Sumerian and English has guided me throughout. His work in correcting the finished piece has also been invaluable.

In choosing a topic for the thesis I have had to change tack twice, and much has been gained in small talk with other Assyriologists. Mark Geller in London told me that the Kuyunjik letters had already been the subject of a thesis after I had spent several months' work on them. Stephanie Dalley in Oxford encouraged me to narrow the focus on the period of NB to draw from for study, at a time when I did not yet realise how vast the amounts of available NB material were. She has also been a great help to me in more general matters Assyriological. Heather Baker's (Oxford) interest in the Egibi family has resulted in valuable additions to the Babylon corpus. Eleanor Robson (Oxford) has helped me sort out computer problems and I thank Christopher Walker of the British Museum for the use of his cuneiform font.

After my British Academy award expired, body and soul have been kept together by my work in the Audiology department in the Radcliffe Infirmary, Oxford. Many times my colleagues have rescued me from the doldrums. They have been as family to me.

Finally, I will be forever grateful to Jill Butler and Colin Kirk who let me use their hotel in Ticheville, Normandy in the closed season at the end of 1993, to carry out my undistracted analysis of the texts.

Contents

Acknowledgments

Introduction	Page 1
Part 1: Syntax and Morphology	16
chapter I: Main clauses	
§1 Verbless clauses	
a) Subject-predicate juxtaposition	
b) Prepositional phrases as predicates	
c) Dative pronouns as predicates	
d) The pronouns <i>šū</i> , <i>iššū</i> etc., as predicate or copula:	
i) <i>šū</i>	
ii) <i>iššū</i>	
e) <i>iānu</i>	
§2 Predicative verbal adjectives (the “stative” or “permansive”)	
a) Nominal predicative forms	
b) Non-active forms, describing a state or attribute	
c) The <i>paris</i> equivalent of active transitive verbs	
Note regarding <i>išû</i>	
§3 <i>lū</i> , the asseverative particle	
i) <i>lū māda</i>	
ii) <i>lū</i> with finite forms	
§4 Commands	
a) Imperatives	
b) The precative <i>lū/lu-</i>	
i) The precative of the verbless clause <i>lū</i> : “may it be...”	
ii) The precative with finite verbs:	
c) Precative forms without a precative particle	
i) The cohortative	
ii) Other forms without a precative particle	
d) <i>ībina(mma)</i> ; <i>binānimma</i> “give me”	
e) Replacement of the imperative by the present-future	

§5 Negation

- a) Negation in nominal phrases and single words
- b) Negation in verbal phrases
- c) Prohibitions
- d) *la* in subordinate clauses
- e) Negation in questions
- f) *mimma* emphasising negation

§6 Speech and questions

- a) Direct speech¹
- b) Questions and indirect questions
 - i) with question words
 - ii) without question words

Chapter II: Conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs and interjections; expressions of time

50

§1 Conjunctions

- a) Uses of coordinating *u* and *ma*:
 - i) “and”
 - ii) “but” (adversative)
 - iii) Purpose clauses
 - iv) Hendiadys
- b) Disjunctive conjunctions *expressing “or”, “either...or”*:
 - i) *ū*
 - ii) *lū, ū lū*
 - iii) *lū...lū*
 - iv) *ū kī*
 - v) *kī...kī, kī...ū kī*
 - vi) *lā...lā* and anomalies: *kī ša*
 - vii) Repetition or non-repetition (asyndetic parataxis) of conjunctions between strings of nouns or verbal clauses

§2 Prepositions

- a) *adi* “until, up to (and including), by (usually with time or a date), for (a time period)”
- b) *akī*, occasionally *kī, kīma* “equivalent to, according to, (functioning) as”
- c) *alla* “apart from, other than”; *alla + etēqu/atāru* “to exceed, be more than”
- d) *ana* “for, to, as etc.”

¹ For indirect speech see III §4 a, below.

- e) *arki* “after”
- f) *ašar* French “chez”, “belongs to”
- g) *aššu* “concerning, because of”
- h) *birīt* “between, within”
- i) *eber* “across”
- j) *elat* “in addition to”
- k) *eli* “on the subject of, over, against”
- l) *eliš* and *šapliš* “above” and “below”
- m) *ina* “on, in, by, with, from, as a result of”
- n) *ittahû* “by the side of”
- o) *itti* “(together) with”
- p) *itû* “adjacent to”
- q) *kīdān* “outside”
- r) *kūm* “in compensation for, in exchange for, (acting) as”
- s) *kutalla* in *ina kutalla* “behind”
- t) *libbu* in *ina libbi* “in; among”
- u) *libbû* “on the basis of, because of”
- v) Compounds involving *mahar* “facing, opposite, in the presence of, before”
- w) *mala* and *ana mala* “as much as; (quantitatively) appropriate to; according to; any”
- x) *mihrat* “opposite”
- y) Compounds involving *muhhu* “up to, regarding, against, from”
- z) *ina pānât* “before” (in a chronological sense)
- aa) *pānî* and compounds “before, at the time of; to have, to belong to”; *lapāni* “away from, against, by”
- bb) *qerbu* “in”
- cc) *ša* “of”: the periphrastic genitive and its use instead of the construct
- dd) *ša la* and other words for “without, without the permission of”: *šalānu* and *bal(û)*
- ee) *ṭāh/ṭēh* “adjoining”
- ff) *ultu* “from, since”

§3 Adverbs and interjections

- a) *ahāmeš* on its own, “mutually, each other, one another”
- b) *ahāmeš* in combination with a preposition
- c) *akanna* “here”
- d) *akannak* “there”
- e) *ana muhhi* (Uruk) and *ina muhhi* (Babylon) “regarding

- (this)”; “therefore”
- f) *anīn* “now” (?)²
- g) *arki, arku* “afterwards”
- h) *elat, ana elat* “in addition; else”
- i) *enna* (usually as interjection) “now (then)”; *adi muhhi enna* “up to now”
- j) *iānū* “if not, otherwise”
- k) *ina libbi* “therein, therefrom, inside”
- l) *inanna, eninni* “now”
- m) *ittī* “in addition”
- n) *kapdu (kabdu?)* “quickly”
- o) *kūm* “in exchange”
- p) *malmališ* “equally”
- q) *pānât* “before”
- r) *šaddagad* “last year”

§4 Expressions of time

- a) *ūm ā*
- b) Ways of saying “daily; monthly” etc.
- c) Expressing a certain date in the past or future
- d) References to a certain part of the day
- e) “per month; per year”
- f) References to the long term future
- g) “x time ago”
- h) *adi tuppi, adi tuppi ana tuppi, ana tuppi ana tuppi*

Chapter III: Subordinate clauses

99

§1 Relative clauses

- a) using *ša* as a relative particle
- b) using *mala*
- c) Some observations
- d) Relative clauses without a relative particle

§2 Subordinating conjunctions

- a) *adi* “until
- b) *adi la (la’i?)* “before”, literally, “until not”
- c) *arku* “after”
- d) *ašar* “where, wherever; whoever”

² See the examples and discussion in §6 b i, above (*êkāni*, questions), suggesting that *anīn* may actually mean “where?”.

- e) *ašša*, *ašša* “as soon as”
- f) *kī* “that; when”
- g) *libbu*, in *ina libbi ša*
- h) *libbû* in *libbû ša*
- i) Compounds involving *muhhu*
- j) *panât* in *ina panât ša* “before”
- k) *ša* “that”
- l) *ûm* and compounds thereof, “when, as soon as”

§3 Conditional sentences

§4 The reporting of speech and oaths, using subordinating conjunctions

- a) Indirect speech³
- b) Assertory oaths
- c) Promissory oaths

Chapter IV: The finite verb

124

§1 The verbal system in the texts under analysis

- a) *iprus*: the preterite
- b) *iparras*: the present-future
- c) *iptaras*
- d) Verbs with the *-t(a)n-* infix (*iptanarras*)

§2 The derived forms of the verb

- a) D form
- b) Š form
- c) N form

§3 Irregular and rare verbs

- a) *ušuzzu*
- b) Other irregular and rare verb forms:
- c) Quadriliteral verbs

§4 The ventive

§5 The subjunctive

Chapter V: Nominal forms⁴

142

§1 Nouns and adjectives

- a) The singular and plural of nominal forms
- b) The construct
- c) Participles and adjectives denoting an activity

³ For direct speech see I §6 a, above.

⁴ For the construct see *ša* in II §2, above.

- d) Infinitives⁵
- e) Abstract nouns
- f) Collectives
- g) Adjectives
- h) *kilallē*
- i) *gabbi* and *kal*

§2 Numbers

- a) Cardinal numbers
- b) Ordinal numbers
- c) Fractions
- d) Approximative numbers
- e) The distributive adverbials *ÀM* and *istēnâ*; “each one, one each”

§3 Pronouns

- a) Independent (subject case)
- b) Predicative suffixes
- c) Suffixed (possessive)
- d) Resumptive and proleptic suffixes
- e) Object (accusative) suffixes
- f) Indirect object (dative) pronouns and suffixes
- g) *mimma*, *ayyû*: the indefinite pronouns “whatever, whichever”
- h) *ram(a)niš*, *ram(a)nišun* etc., “oneself, themselves” etc.
- i) *mam(ma)* “any(one)”, with negative “no one”
- j) Demonstratives: “Dort-Deixis”
- k) “Hier-Deixis”
- l) *ā* (usually a demonstrative adjective)

Chapter VI: Other topics

177

§1 Comparative and intensive forms of nouns and verbs

- a) Nominal forms
- b) Verbal forms

§2 Impersonal subject, i.e. third-person active verbs for a circumlocution of the passive

- §3 a) *ana* and the indirect or non-direct object
- b) *ana* as a *nota accusativi*

⁵ For *ana* + infinitive see *ana* in II §2, above.

§1 Orthography: Patterns of spelling in the corpora

§2 *Excursus*: scribal training and its effect on the spelling. Lexical lists and the Nabû-ša-harê exercises

§3 The spelling of finite verbs, predicative adjectives (“statives”) and imperatives

- a) No final vowel
- b) Short final vowel
- c) Plurals of verbs with a strong final consonant
- d) Plurals of final weak (indicative or subjunctive) and singular final weak subjunctives
- e) Observations on the use of ʾ (𐎠)

§4 Phonology and sound changes

§5 Comments on the pronunciation and stress of the NB of this thesis

- a) CVCV/C̄VCV > CVC (C̄VC?)
- b) (C)VCCV preterites in verbs with a final weak consonant (not plural, subjunctive or verative plural)
- c) (C)VCCV > (C)VCVC
- d) (C)VCCVCV > (C)VCCVC
- e) (VC)VCCVC > (VC)VCC^vC and other more complex patterns
- f) Nouns and verbs with suffixes
- g) Words with suffixes of more than one syllable

Appendix to part 2: spelling patterns of finite predicative and imperative forms 205

Part 3: Conclusions: 217

§1 A summary of the main characteristics of the NB in this thesis

§2 Evidence for influence from other languages

§3 Differences between the NB of Uruk and Babylon

§4 Final remarks and the extent to which NB was still a living language in the latter half of the sixth century B.C.

§1 Aramaic works which are of particular interest for the understanding of the orthography of the NB under discussion:

- a) The Tell Fekheriye bilingual inscription
- b) The Uruk incantation in cuneiform

§2 Graeco-Babyloniaca

Comments on the development of *m* in NB

§3 Lexical items of interest

§4 Corpora of texts

- a) Texts cited and comments on the material available
- b) Dating the letters used
- c) Selected logograms found in the texts

§5 Bibliography

Annotations:

... text omitted in transliteration and its translation⁶

...? meaning unclear

! correction of scribal error

<scribal omission>

<<scribal addition>> (intentional or accidental)

*collated or unattested

/morphophonemic representation/

[roman] phonetic normalisations

[*italic*] (¹*italic*) restorations (partial) of damaged text

CAPITALS logograms, determinatives

dʔt (𐤌 𐤍 𐤏) transliteration of Aramaic characters (from the Hebrew script)

du proposed pronunciation of Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew etc.

₂₀ul-tu line number

⁶ In the line references for given extracts, 1–2 means nothing has been omitted within the extract from lines 1 to 2, 1...2 means something has been omitted.

Abbreviations

1: Journals and literature⁷

- AAL *Journal of Afroasiatic Linguistics*
ABAW *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, I*
ABL Harper (1892–1914)
ADFU *Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk, I*
AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHw *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (von Soden, 1972–1985)
AnOr *Analecta Orientalia*
AOAT *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*
ArOr *Archiv Orientalní*
AS *Assyriological Studies*
AUWE *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte*
Bagh.Mitt. *Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BDB *Brown/Driver/Briggs Hebrew-English Lexicon*
BE *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)*
BIN *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies*
BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*

BR *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden* (San Nicolò 1951, San Nicolò & Petschow, 1960)
BSA *Bulletin on Sumerian agriculture*

CAD *The Assyrian dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago Assyrian Dictionary)*
CAH *Cambridge Ancient History*
CAIran *Cambridge History of Iran*
CCK Wiseman (1956)
CT *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*
CTMMA Moldenke (1893)
Dalley (1979) (T)
Fs “Festschrift” (commemorative publication)
GAG von Soden (1969/1995)
GCCl Dougherty (1933)
GlnBr Ebeling (1953)
GVG Brockelmann (1913)

⁷ Journals are abbreviated in italics. To help the identification of some individual works, e.g. ABL, or isolated tablets from the corpora, author details or date of publication are given. Full details are given in the bibliography. (T) indicates a tablet from the corpora.

HAL Koehler & Baumgartner's *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*⁸

HSS *Harvard Semitic Series*

Iraq 13 Figulla (1951) (T)

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JAOS 36 Vanderburgh (1917) (T)

JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

JEOL *Jaarbericht von het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JNES 1993 Beaulieu (1993) (T)

Joannès Strasbourg Joannès (1980) (T)

JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

JRAS 1926 Pinches (1926) (T)

JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*

LFM Oppenheim (1967)

Liv(erpool) Strassmaier (1885)

MAOG *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*

MSL *Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon*

NBBr Ebeling (1949)

NBU Ebeling (1930–1934)

NRVU San Nicolò and Ungnad (1935–1937)

NRVGl *Glossar zu NRVU*

OECT *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*

OrNS *Orientalia Nova Series*

OrS *Orientalia Suecana*

Palm(eraies) Cocquerillat (1968)

Peek 22 Pinches (1896) (T)

PKB Brinkman (1968)

PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*

RA *Revue d'assyriologie*

RA 11 Scheil (1914) (T)

RA 67 Arnaud (1973) (T)

RGTC *Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes*

Roth (1989a) (T)

Rutten (1947) (T)

SAA *State Archives of Assyria*

Salonen (1967)

⁸ Volume V (1995) is an Aramaic lexicon.

SBAW *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
 Shiff (1987)
 Slavery Dandamaev (1984)
 StOr *Studia Orientalia*
 Streck (1995)
 Strm Strassmaier
 Syllabar von Soden-Röllig (1967)
 TBER Durand (1981)
 TCL *Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre* (Thureau-Dangin; Contenau)
 TEBR Joannès (1982)
 TUM 2/3 Krückmann (1933)
 UET *Ur Excavations. Texts*
 UM *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts. The Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section*
 VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*
 WO *Die Welt des Orients*
 WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
 YNER *Yale Near Eastern Researches*
 YOS *Yale Oriental Series*
 YOSR *Yale Oriental Series Researches*
 ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
 ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

2: Other abbreviations and information

B Babylon

1; 2; 3 1st; 2nd; 3rd person

1 c 1 common

acc accusative; accession year

adj. adjective

conj. conjunction

ex. example

f feminine

impv imperative

indic. indicative

m masculine

nom nominative; nominal

obl oblique

pl plural
 prep preposition
 pret preterite
 s(g) singular
 U Uruk
 yr year

Asb	Aššurbanipal	668–631
AwM	Amēl-Marduk	562–560
(F)DN	(female) God name	
(^f)PN	(female) Personal name	
Camb	Cambyses	530–522
Cyr	Cyrus	539–530
Dar	Darius I	522–486
EA	Amarna letter	
GB	Graeco-Babyloniaca	
GN	Geographical name	
IM	Iddin-Marduk <Iqīšâ (Nūr-Sîn)	
IMB	Itti-Marduk-balāṭu <Nabû-ahhē-iddin (Egibi)	
IOU	<i>u’iltu</i> “promissory note”, i.e., a document recording a loan and exchanged between the creditor and the debtor (hence, “I-owe-you”). See the discussion in the introduction.	
MA	Middle Assyrian	
MB	Middle Babylonian	
MBU	Madānu-Bēl-uṣur (slave)	
MN	Month name	
MNA	Marduk-nāṣir-apli = Širku <Itti-Marduk-balāṭu (Egibi)	
NA	Neo-Assyrian	
NB	Neo-Babylonian	
Nbk	Nebuchadnezzar	605–562
Nbn	Nabonidus	556–539
Npl	Nabopolassar	626–605
Nrgl	Neriglissar	560–556
NWS(em)	North West Semitic	
OAram	Old Aramaic	
OB	Old Babylonian	

PN<PN ₂ (PN ₃)	PN <son of PN ₂ (of the PN ₃ family)	
PSem	Proto-Semitic	
RA	Imperial Aramaic (Reichsaramäisch)	
RN	Royal name	
SE	Seleucid Era	
ŠŠU	Šamaš-šum-ukīn	668–648
WSem	West Semitic	

Dates of the kings whose reigns cover the period from 556 to 500 B.C.⁹

(Lābāši-Marduk	May 556	–	June 556)
Nabonidus	May 556	–	October 539
Cyrus	October 539	–	August 530
Cambyses	August 530	–	April 522
Bardiya	March 522	–	September 522
Nbk III (Nidinti-Bēl)	October 522	–	December 522
Nbk IV (Araka)	August 521	–	November 521
Darius I	December 522	–	November 486

⁹ Using Parker and Dubberstein (1956) and Dandamaev (1989, p92).

Month names

Nisannu	ITI.BÁRA
Ayyaru	ITI.GU ₄
Simānu	ITI.SIG ₄
Dûzu	ITI.ŠU
Abu	ITI.NE
Ulûlu	ITI.KIN
Tašrîtu	ITI.DU ₆
Arahsamna	ITI.APIN
Kislimu	ITI.GAN
Ṭebētu	ITI.AB
Šabattu	ITI.ZÍZ
Addaru	ITI.ŠE

Introduction

Not long ago it was rare for scholars attracted to the study of the Akkadian language to be interested in the Akkadian written after the fall of Assyria (612 B.C.). For them, anything composed afterwards was an exercise in composition in a dead language. This thesis aims to prove that among the copious amounts of Akkadian composed after 612 there is evidence to show that a living and productive dialect of Akkadian continued to exist.¹ It aims to provide a grammatical description of Babylonian dialects restricted to two major cities and their environs, islands in the sphere of the dialect we call Neo- or Late Babylonian (NB; LB) and restricted to a period of just over half a century.² No comprehensive study of NB has ever been made,³ and a complete grammar for the whole of NB would in any case be beyond the scope of any thesis as there is at least 600 years' worth of material written in Babylonian Akkadian from after the fall of Assyria. There are vast numbers of letters, economic and legal documents from before and during Achaemenid times as well as considerable numbers of economic, legal and administrative texts which continue right up until our era.⁴ There are also scientific and literary (including royal) texts, but these were written in a stylised form of Akkadian which for the literary material can best be described as "Late Standard Babylonian". The scientific documents are in an abbreviated Akkadian whose dialectal form is difficult to determine.

Although the NB empire in the mid-sixth century B.C. extended over Mesopotamia, Syria, parts of Arabia and into Egypt, it is not possible to know the area over which NB was used. A look at the locations given in the economic and legal texts indicates that it was used in the major cities of Babylonia, from Ur in the south to Sippar in the north. There is as yet not much evidence for NB records outside of Babylonia, which could give the false impression that NB was limited to Babylonia only.

¹ There is also an increasing amount of interest in the Neo-Babylonian period. In recent years scholars who have published or who are working on Neo-Babylonian material for publication include K. Abraham, H. Baker, P.-A. Beaulieu, H. Bongenaar, M. Dandamaev, G. van Driel, G. Giovinozzo, Fr. Joannès, K. Kessler, J. MacGinnis, L. Shiff, M. Stolper, M. Streck, D. Weisberg and C. Wunsch.

² The terminology will be discussed in the following section.

³ See below for details on the most comprehensive studies so far completed, namely those of Hyatt, Woodington and Streck.

⁴ Dandamaev (1986) is a very useful overview of the available material, its layout and provenance. At the time of his paper, 13,096 economic and business documents and letters from 626 to 331 had been published. There were 861 letters, roughly from 600 to 450 (p274). In (1984) more information is given on the published material. The figures are the same as the above. See my comments in e, below.

However, it must be borne in mind that existing NB tablets have been excavated from well-known sites and that lesser sites await excavation or have been obliterated by the passage of time. Tablets written in NB have been found away from the Babylonian heartland, e.g. the Persepolis tablet which records the sale of a slave, published by Stolper (1984). Stolper also refers to Achaemenid NB records written in Babylonia but found in Tyre and near Aleppo. There is the tablet found at Tell Tawilan (Jordan), of which a new translation has been published by Dalley.⁵ It was drafted at Harran. Dalley also lists Babylonian material found outside Babylonia after the fall of Assyria.⁶ Stolper believes NB was used among enclaves of Babylonians stationed in these places. Four tablets have recently been found at Šeiḥ Ḥamad (Assyrian *Dūr-Katlimmu* on the lower reaches of the river Ḥābūr). They are from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and are written in Neo-Assyrian (NA) script. Two have notes in Aramaic.⁷ The latest cuneiform tablet to be found outside Babylonia is the Seleucid tablet found at Tell Fisna on the upper Tigris valley north of Mosul. It has defied attempts to read it.⁸

Even if NB was restricted to Babylonia and was being replaced by Aramaic as the language of everyday use, one could still expect that there would be regional differences in the language. Likewise, there would probably also be differences in the training scribes received and this could lead to orthographical variations. It therefore seems more sensible to try to restrict the number of places from which material has been drawn (and make a deep study) rather than try to include a cross-section of material from the whole NB-using area (and merely scrape the surface), hence the choice of the Akkadian dialects used in Babylon and Uruk from the reign of Nabonidus to the end of the sixth century B.C. (556–500 B.C.).

This thesis is to be a study of synchronic variations (covering a fairly narrow time span) in two major cities which are a considerable distance apart. Before discussing my reasons for this choice of time and place, the choice of the term “Neo-Babylonian” rather than “Late Babylonian” for the Akkadian of this period needs to be explained.

⁵ (1995).

⁶ (1993), 134–147. The material comes from Tell Halaf and Neirab which is near Aleppo.

⁷ See the SAA bulletin vol 7 issue 2 (1993, 75–150), especially the introduction by Postgate on p109.

⁸ The signs do not resemble known signs. See Black (1997).

Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian? Naming the dialect under scrutiny

The dialects of Akkadian have written records spanning over 2,500 years, and the latest of these dialects is now usually called Neo-Babylonian. There is a general consensus among scholars about the dating of the Old and Middle Babylonian dialects of Akkadian, but the criteria chosen to identify and separate NB and LB are matters of debate. The start of NB is generally accepted as 1000 B.C. (a conveniently round number), with Hyatt as the main exception.⁹ There can be no argument therefore that the Babylonian dialect¹⁰ found in some of the letters from the Assyrian archives in Kuyunjik is NB, as the letters date from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The main problem concerns the nature of LB and whether it is a separate dialect leading on from NB.

There are two main schools of thought on the dating of NB and LB:

- Von Soden, who dates spätbabylonisch (spB, LB) from 625 B.C. onwards, i.e. incorporating the time of the Chaldaean (“Neo-Babylonian” kings). Followers are Borger (1979, p149), Groneberg (1987, vol 1 p1 and n2) and Caplice (1988 p5).
- The “earlier volumes”¹¹ of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD) originally dated LB from 539 onwards, i.e. after the Persian Conquest. Followers are Reiner (1966) and Ungnad and Matouš (1964).¹²

This latter view was held by the editors of the CAD but by the mid-1960s they had revised their stand, according to Brinkman, “Though in earlier volumes¹³ of the CAD the transition from NB to LB was considered to take place with the fall of the

⁹ Hyatt sets it as 1170, which he understood as the beginning of the reign of the first king of the second Isin Dynasty (1941, p1). (All the more recent literature now has Marduk-kabit-ahhēšu, the first king, reigning a little later, with a start date 1157–1146.) Lipin’s *The Akkadian Language* (Moscow, 1973, p17), gives dates for MB and LB. Between these entries he has “Young Babylonian”, which he says is used for literary and school compositions from the end of the second to the first half of the first millennium B.C. This appears to come between MB and NB in time but his description indicates that this is his translation of von Soden’s “Jungbabylonisch”. Lipin dates NB from 1000 to 605 B.C. and LB from Chaldaean rule to the disappearance of Akkadian. Since he has dated MB from the sixteenth to the twelfth centuries, two centuries are unaccounted for.

¹⁰ Comprehensively studied by Woodington (1982, to whose thesis, as the only comprehensive grammar of any form of NB yet compiled, I refer throughout).

¹¹ See the full statement by Brinkman, quoted below.

¹² The English translation by H. A. Hoffner (1992) which does not depart from the German, has: “even after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus (539)...(LB) remained into the first pre-Christian century the literary and scholarly language, although it had long since been displaced as a spoken language by Aramaic”(p6); i.e. the nature of the non-literary material is not discussed.

¹³ Brinkman refers to volume A I (published 1964), but not B (1965). I am assuming that Brinkman means the “earlier volumes” are all those prior to volume B.

Chaldean dynasty in 539 B.C., LB is now being restricted to the royal texts of the Persian and Seleucid periods which are not written in the Standard Babylonian dialect.” (*BiOr* 23, 1966, p294a). This means that the use of the term “Late Babylonian” has moved from being a purely chronological definition to a genre- and chronology-based definition.

This is still the position of the CAD editors, according to Reiner (personal correspondence, 1993) and I accept and follow it as the most up-to-date interpretation. Therefore, although LB is used to describe Akkadian material produced after 539 B.C., it excludes the non-literary material with which this study is concerned. In recognition of this, I call the Akkadian under discussion in this thesis “Neo-Babylonian” and use the term LB (German “spB”) only when it is used in other sources from which I am quoting.

As an aside to the issue regarding the terminology of the vernacular Akkadian, there is a need perhaps for another term to indicate that the literary Akkadian after 539 B.C. is a continuation from and a late form of SB. New terms are in order, “Late SB”, or maybe “Late Literary Babylonian”, which is Knudsen’s description of the Akkadian found on the Graeco-Babyloniaca¹⁴ texts.

Presentation of the material in this thesis and understanding the orthography and phonology

It is assumed that those who come to the study of NB grammar will do so from a background of other Akkadian dialects (usually OB and SB). I acknowledge this prior familiarity with Akkadian by dealing with the syntax first, as this provides the most information about NB as a living language. However, in order to understand the language, it is necessary to be able to interpret the idiosyncrasies of the script and the variety of spellings for the same word, with the apparent disregard for inflections, all of which contribute to the conception of NB as a disintegrating language. These issues, along with that of scribal training, are dealt with in part 2.

As far as the evidence provided by the orthography is concerned, Middle Babylonian (MB) spelling still faithfully recorded the inflections.¹⁵ Presumably changes begin sometime towards the end of the second millennium or the beginning of the first. Written Babylonian material is very scarce during this period.

¹⁴ See appendix §2. I shall use “Late Literary Babylonian” for want of a better term, although the texts are actually late copies of SB texts.

¹⁵ See the examples in Aro (1955), for instance.

The use of the cuneiform signs in NB can be somewhat confusing, it being possible to spell the same word in a considerable variety of different ways, using signs that suggest different pronunciations. The general loss of final short vowels sometimes resulted in word final consonant clusters which could not be accurately represented in cuneiform. Contact with Aramaic may have caused this loss and it may also have caused changes in stress. It must be emphasised that the examples given in the discussions in chapter 3 and in the appendix are bound by cuneiform's orthographic limitations, which means that they may not, and probably cannot truly record spoken NB. These issues will be further examined in the chapters on phonology and orthography.

If the NB of this period is moribund or dead as a spoken language, then the training of its scribes would have considerable influence on its presentation. Conservative scribal orthographic habits make the identification of grammatical changes difficult. This occurs not just in vernacular NB but also in Late Literary Babylonian. I have provided some details on scribal training methods by examining the Nabû-ša-harê student texts.¹⁶

Previous major works on the Neo-Babylonian language

[A brief summary of earlier works is given here for the convenience of the reader.]

a) Tallqvist's *Contracte Nabû-nā'id*s (1890) uses the texts published two years earlier by Strassmaier, and includes not only the Nbn texts but also those from Nbk and Cyrus. It is very brief and has obviously been written with scholars of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic in mind. Most of the book consists of a lexicon. Although it has probably outlived its usefulness I mention it here because it was the first grammar of NB to be published.

b) Hyatt's *The treatment of final vowels in early Neo-Babylonian* (1941) covers the period 1170–605, which he calls the Early Neo-Babylonian period.¹⁷ He admits that his division of periods is somewhat arbitrary in order to include all the important texts in a specific period (p2). Although he uses mostly letters, legal and economic documents as his corpus, he also includes kudurru inscriptions, which have literary and archaising tendencies.¹⁸

¹⁶ See part 2 §2.

¹⁷ He does not say what he calls the Babylonian from after this period.

¹⁸ Gelb, in his review, comments that Hyatt's texts do not come from as wide a period as that claimed by him (1942, p240).

As the title says, Hyatt is concerned about the spelling and pronunciation of final vowels. He begins by analysing material from sources from outside NB which provide information both on the pronunciation of NB and on how the cuneiform signs were used to represent sounds, namely the Graeco-Babyloniaca texts and the Aramaic incantation in cuneiform.

The second chapter deals with final short vowels first, including final vowels which are written “without justification” (his term for CV signs being used for expected final -vC), for example in constructs and names (c, p20). Part two of this section deals with final vowels after geminated consonants and part three, dissimilar consonants (including feminine nouns¹⁹). He concludes in both cases that the final vowel was dropped.

Chapter 4 deals with final long vowels. By this he means words ending with a historically long vowel, such as plurals of nouns and verbs including those singular verbs with a root ending in a final weak “consonant”. Judging by the number of examples, there is a predominance of Cu-u, Cu-’ and C-’ spellings among the plurals of verbs ending in a strong consonant (pages 41–42), rather than the historically usual Cu (p38). However, as there are some examples where a final vowel is not written (b, p37), he concludes on page 44 that “final long vowels were dropped unless there was a psychological reason for retaining (or restoring) them”.

Chapter 5 deals with final “circumflected vowels”. As well as the vowel contractions seen in final weak verbs and some nouns, he includes vowels included to indicate questions. In his copious examples of verbs and predicative adjectives (statives, 45–49) and nouns and adjectives (49–52), it can be seen that the endings are predominantly CV-V and occasionally Ca-’.

His discussion on â and tâ (his transcription of ÀM and TA.ÀM, 52–54), the distributives, is interesting in that in the NB of his study, ÀM (a₄) is clearly not being used as the demonstrative (ā) which is so common from the time of Nbk onward.

His work, although now dated, is lucid and has plenty of examples in transliteration. His conclusions, that final short vowels were not pronounced, and that historically long vowels were not pronounced unless there was a psychological reason for it, and that subjunctives and plurals of final weak verbs and statives were clearly written long, holds good for sixth century NB also.

¹⁹ He says their ending is predominantly *ti* (p34).

c) Woodington's *Grammar of the NB letters of the Kuyunjik collection* (1982) deals with those letters²⁰ in the NB dialect found in Nineveh prior to the fall of the Assyrian Empire and is the only really complete grammar of any form of NB. She includes not only letters written to the king by his officials in Babylonia and letters between officials and individuals (from various parts of Babylonia, p2), but also letters written by the king to his officials in Babylonia. She does concede that the letters "are in the standard cultivated language rather than in colloquial or folk speech" (p5). She considers the letters attributed to the kings themselves as worthy of inclusion in her study, although aware that these will not have been written in the author's²¹ native language. The assumed dates of the letters range from not earlier than the reign of Sargon II to not later than 612.

This is a very thorough grammar but its main shortcoming is that the examples are almost always in transcription and amended to follow the case endings, with inflections on verbs and predicatives given as if they were originally SB.²² This makes it impossible to observe which signs are popular among the scribes. Also, her list of comparisons of the characteristics of the NB in her letters with those characteristics given in GAG §192 would have been far more useful if she had concentrated less on von Soden's observations²³ and made her own thorough list of characteristics. Not only could she have included those characteristics attributed to Aramaic influence, but also those resulting from contact with NA.

d) Streck *Zahl und Zeit. Grammatik der Numeralia und des Verbalssystem des Spätbabylonischen* (1995)

As seen from the title, Streck is concerned with the use of numbers (part one) and verbal system (part two)²⁴ of the language he calls "spätbabylonisch", from the period of Npl right down to Seleucid "spB"²⁵.

In his introduction, Streck strives to give credibility to "spB" as a language and makes the important point: why should relatives want to write to each other in

²⁰ Most of which are also in NB script ("ductus"), but some in NA ductus are listed on page 3. Of the latter, I find that only ABL 269 has a typically Babylonian introduction.

²¹ Presumably the scribe not the king.

²² Exceptions are agâ (43–44), numbers (p75) and doubly weak verbs (145–146).

²³ Which were not only very summary, but were first published in 1952 and dealt with NB leading up to 539 B.C.

²⁴ Including the predicative (*paris*) form. See below.

²⁵ I.e. a period of over 300 years. Streck supports von Soden by calling the non-literary dialect of Npl and later "spätbabylonisch" (spB). (He does, however, unexpectedly use a letter from Ashurbanipal, CT 22 1, in his corpus.) In these comments on his work I shall use spB when he uses it.

Akkadian if their everyday language is Aramaic? His example is CT 22 40 (p xxiv) but even more appropriate would be CT 22 6.²⁶ On pages xxviif. Streck lists all the letters published up to 1992, 1006 in total, having already pointed out (p xxvi, top) that preference should be given to the letters, whose language should be studied as much as possible.²⁷

In part one of his work (numbers), items of particular interest are §§17–18, which deal with the polarity of the number one and the fact that some nouns will sometimes be qualified by *īštēn* and sometimes by *īštēt*. This is taken up later in §29ff with copious examples and a discussion on the almost²⁸ complete disappearance of “Genuspolarität” and the appearance of “Genuskongruenz”, i.e. *n* with masculine referents and *n-ta* with feminine referents.

In part two (from page 81 onwards) Streck deals with the forms *iparras*, *iprus*, *iptaras* and *paris*. Each form is separated into the various temporal nuances it can convey, e.g. for *iparras* there are modal nuances with a future meaning, examples of which are given by him (94–98) under the headings “sollen, wollen, müssen, können” and “dürfen”. Of particular interest are his observations that *ul iprus* is the negation of *iptaras*,²⁹ except when *iptaras* is the protasis in a conditional sentence, in which case it is standard to use *la iptaras* (§18a, p120 and §36, p164f). Also, Streck notes that the preterite sometimes replaces the precativ, not just in the 1cpl (§25a–g, 127–134).³⁰

In a work devoted to numbers and the verbal system, it is somewhat surprising for there to be a large section on the predicative (i.e. non-verbal) form *paris*. Although *paris* is much used in NB to describe ongoing situations and states and to replace a verbal predicate in a verbal phrase, it would seem more appropriate to have made this into a “Part III” of the work, rather than include it with the verbal system, since readers may find such titles as “Nichtverbaler Satz” (§38, p173) confusing.

Of all the works which focus on the NB language, Streck’s is the best researched within its field. Since material from the period 556–500 is included I refer to it

²⁶ It is common practice in the letters to address one another as “brother, father, sister” etc. even if the parties are not related, but there is no doubt that the correspondent is writing to relatives in this letter, which IMB sent to his family while he was working abroad. It is of course possible that the sender of the letter dictated its content to a scribe, as no doubt occurred in the majority of cases. However, it is known that in this case the sender was literate and therefore may well have written CT 22 6 himself. See the Note in appendix §4 b i, below.

²⁷ He does not say why, i.e., that the letters are most representative of vernacular Akkadian.

²⁸ See §30, p35.

²⁹ I.e. **ul iptaras* does not occur.

³⁰ I.e. *iprus* = *liprus*.

constantly. What sometimes detracts from its value is that it covers so wide a period within the NB language so that one finds Hellenistic and earlier examples side by side. As noted below in n40, the Hellenistic material is limited in content and its inclusion can be of curiosity value only.³¹ There were some innovations in the Seleucid period, however, in the writing of numerical forms.

e) Other contributions to the study of NB

In the 1930s and 1950s Erich Ebeling published transliterations, translations and comments on over 700 letters.³² The letters are virtually all taken from CT 22, YOS 3, BIN 1, TCL 9, UET 4, TUM 2/3 and GCCI 2. Five letters are presented in the appendix to GINBr (1953), which is a glossary with a comprehensive listing of variant spellings. The letters are largely from the 6th century B.C., although CT 22 1, the Ashurbanipal letter (mentioned above in the comments on Streck) and a letter order dated in the reign of an Artaxerxes (apparently) are included in NBr. In the introduction to NBU, Ebeling states that the letters date from the reigns of Asb to Darius. The almost complete lack of Assyrian names, however, renders it unlikely that any letters come from prior to the reign of Nabopolassar.

Mariano San Nicolò transliterated and translated many NB economic documents, some in collaboration with Arthur Ungnad³³ and others with Herbert Petschow.³⁴ NRVU consists of translations (with notes and the glossary NRVGl) of about 900 texts whose copies are in VS volumes 3 to 5. The tablets are in the Berlin Museum and all but a few date from the reigns of Npl to Artaxerxes II. Although they are from the Babylon excavations, some are from the regions in and around Uruk. BR 6 (1961) contains similar material in date and place, and includes transliterations. BR 8/7 (1951) is unique in that it is a collection of transliterations and translations of NB texts from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

More recently, material has been published by Joannès (129 texts, mostly Npl–Dar III in TEBR, 1982), Shiff (228 texts, 1987) and Wunsch (387 texts in transliteration and translation, 1993, volume 2³⁵). Both Shiff and Wunsch concentrate on the archives of the Nūr-Sîn family, and in particular the transactions of its main representative Iddin-Marduk. The texts, from Babylon, the environs thereof and

³¹ For instance, I am unable to appreciate the value of the point made in §36c, p163, using two examples, one from CT 22 1, the letter from Asb, and the other from a text dated SE year 116.

³² NBU (1931–4) covers Uruk and NBBr(1951) covers Babylon, Sippar and elsewhere.

³³ NRVU (1935).

³⁴ BR 6 (1961). Petschow completed this after San Nicolò's death in 1955.

³⁵ Volume 1 has previously unpublished texts in copy (pp90–140).

Šahrīnu, run from Nbk to Darius I. Further material can also be found in Cocquerillat (1968), Salonen (1976), Giovinazzo (1987) and the recently published MacGinnis (1995)³⁶. Other still useful collections of transliterations and translations are in Dougherty (*Shirkûtu*, 1923) and Moore (1935)³⁷.

Muhammad Dandamaev's *Slavery in Babylonia* (*Slavery*, 1984) has many texts in transliteration and translation. His short "Neo-Babylonian archives" (1983, mentioned above) discusses the distribution and numbers of documents and letters within the NB archives. In *Slavery* (7–18), a full list of published documents from Npl to Dar III is given.³⁸

Reasons for choosing the NB of the period 556–500

It is surprising that the grammar of the NB of this period has not so far been studied, particularly as this might be expected to be a very dynamic stage³⁹ in Akkadian's last outpost. Before I discuss this, it should be noted that there are other convenient concentrations of material within NB which would also seem to be ideal corpora for grammatical studies. The first of these has already been analysed by Woodington:

- a) Hundreds of letters were found in Kuyunjik written in NB during NA times, from Sargon II to the end of the 7th century B.C.
- b) Considerable material becomes available in the 6th century with Nbk, the highest concentration being in Nbn's reign. Sippar, Uruk and Babylon provide the largest amounts of material.
- c) While less is available from the beginning of the 5th century, the latter half of the 5th century is dominated by the (approximately) 730 known texts from the archives of the Murašû family of Nippur. The texts' range of dates falls from 440 to 417 B.C., with their main concentration occurring in the middle half of that period. They were all kept in a single room and their contents are discussed by Stolper (1985, 18–35) who gives copies, transliterations and translations of many texts. As expected from a money-lending and property-leasing concern, they consist mostly of leases and loans.

³⁶ Which contains new material from Sippar.

³⁷ Which consists of transliterations and translations of the texts in TCL 12 and 13.

³⁸ In addition, Dandamaev says there are 250 published texts prior to 626 B.C. and 380 from the post-Achaemenid period (all up to the time of writing, March 1983). He has also written a number of books and papers on the political situation in sixth century and Achaemenid Babylonia and the Near East.

³⁹ The Persian conquest of Babylonia took place in 539 B.C.

d) There is Seleucid and Hellenistic material from Uruk but as this is rather limited in scope it may not provide much of grammatical interest. It is highly unlikely that NB was a living language by this time.⁴⁰

A statement by von Soden may offer an explanation for the lack of interest in NB grammar:

(In spite of the forced archaisms in royal and literary works) “wird es immer mehr zu einer babylonisch-aramäischen Mischsprache, die nur Schrift- und Gelehrtensprache ist, während das Volk aramäisch spricht. Der sprachliche Verfall ist auf allen Gebieten spürbar” (GAG §2 h); i.e., von Soden thinks that the people in general spoke Aramaic, while later Babylonian remained only as a written language used by scribes and specialists. As NB died out, Aramaic continued to influence it more and more. If these were⁴¹ the views of an influential scholar such as von Soden, it is easy to see how grammarians could be discouraged from studying Babylonian in its late stages, especially when its diversity of spellings gave the impression that it no longer cohered as a language and therefore no longer warranted attention as a productive, living language.⁴²

Choice of texts and their date

Texts limited to Uruk and Babylon and their immediate environs have been chosen for the following reasons. Since so many texts from the period in question have been found in these two cities, the main reason for the choice is simply a matter of convenience. This has the added advantage that, with Uruk and Babylon being (roughly)⁴³ at opposite ends of Babylonia, their separate dialects should be discernible and, bearing in mind the distance between them, any features common to both dialects may therefore apply to the whole of the country. A grammar laying out the common features in two such widely separated cities should still be of use to scholars working on material from other sites. Idiosyncratic features from either of the two cities should also be noted since they may not be exclusive to the Babylon or Uruk dialects; they could also help to preclude the incorrect assignment of material

⁴⁰ In the introduction to the large number of texts copied and studied by McEwan in OECT 9, he notes that their content was limited almost exclusively to sales or gifts of slaves, houses and prebend rights. There is also the execution of a will. He assumes that other matters were recorded on parchment or papyrus, for which only the clay bullae used to seal these documents remain. Oelsner states that up to 300 Seleucid non-literary documents have been published and almost as many (including two letters) are known which have not been published (1986, p155 and p162).

⁴¹ Although it is perhaps unfair to hold him to views he expressed in 1969.

⁴² This prejudice against NB, also referred to by Oppenheim (1967, p43) is tackled by Streck in his introduction (1995, pxxiif).

⁴³ About 120 miles apart.

of unknown provenance.⁴⁴ There is always the problem of determining whether rarely occurring features are normal for the dialect of an area or not. As they may be more common in other places, I have included them in the study, in anticipation of more material becoming available.

Secondly, in any grammatical study of vernacular Akkadian, the most useful texts are the letters, since they are most likely to represent the vernacular Akkadian. However, they can only be useful if they can be dated. As far as sixth century NB is concerned, outnumbering the letters by far are the economic documents, of which the longer ones are often useful for the study of the language and nearly always have their date (exact to the day) and location recorded on them. The witnesses and scribe are usually given, who, by the mid-sixth century, are virtually always being identified by father and family.⁴⁵ This means that prosopographical details from these documents have enabled some of the people in the letters to be identified as well, so that many of the letters mentioning them can be roughly dated.⁴⁶ I have therefore been able to include 69 letters from the latter half of the sixth century in this study.

Thirdly, the constraints imposed on doctoral research render it impossible to cover the many thousands of texts from the NB period, even if only the material from Babylon and Uruk is used. The same constraints force me to make a decision (which may prove to be inspirational?): to limit the timespan to 56 years and for the first time make it possible to give a grammatical description of quite a short phase of Akkadian where chronological changes may not weaken the evidence so much as in the cases of the NB of Hyatt, Streck, or even Woodington.

For us, the final half of the sixth century has the added attraction that it witnessed the Achaemenid conquest, when Cyrus took Babylonia in 539 B.C. Judging by the written records of day to day, the Old Persian (OP) language had little impact in Babylonia; it will be seen that OP loan words were limited to terms relating mainly to the administration. Only a few OP names appear in the sixth century texts. However, the language used by the Achaemenids to liaise with their subjects in the Ancient Near East was Aramaic. It is significant that this language was chosen, as it

⁴⁴ The different nature of the Babylon and Uruk texts does make it difficult to determine idiosyncratic features. However, some do exist; see part 3 §3.

⁴⁵ This pattern had become the norm during the reign of Nbk, although it had been sporadically used considerably earlier. See BR 8/7 p2f n1 and part 1 V §3b and the use of the proleptic suffix in recording a person's name.

⁴⁶ Some may even be dated to within a year, exx. CT 22 127, YOS 3 126, TCL 9 98 ^{and} JNES 1993. See the discussions on the dating of the letters in appendix §4a.

indicates that it was the language most accessible to the people in the Near East at that time.⁴⁷

Comments on the historical background: tribal groups of Babylonia in the sixth century B.C.

The texts in question contain no references to tribal matters.⁴⁸ It seems that by this time the tribal factions⁴⁹ which had caused so much trouble against the Assyrians in previous centuries had amalgamated into a general population known as Babylonians,⁵⁰ so that the identification of people in documents by their tribes, whether Aramaean or Chaldean, no longer occurs. As stated above, by the mid-sixth century people are being identified by their father and then a family name, which is often that of an ancestor or a profession, e.g. Egibi, Nūr-Sîn, Nappāhu, Ša-ṭābtīšu, Rabbani, Dābibī, Eppeš-ilī, Ekur-zakir, Sîn-damāqu, etc. This may be due to population increases; the members of the Aramaean tribes had probably also become too numerous for identification by tribe alone⁵¹ and the Chaldean tribes were already large and identification by tribe alone could not have been practical by the sixth century. It should also be noted that most of the names are Babylonian.⁵²

[The texts in my corpora have little reference to ethnic minorities. However, there are many records of Egyptians in Babylonia, usually as free people or as temple slaves.⁵³ Persian and Hebrew names become more common, especially in the fifth century and later.]⁵⁴

⁴⁷ According to Beyer (1987, transl. Healey, 13–14) it was already the lingua franca in the Near East in the eighth century B.C. and certainly by the seventh.

⁴⁸ Tribes are usually referred to as *bīt* PN or *bīt mārē* PN. The fact that they are no longer used in the identification of people and that there are so many different family names suggests that the family names used for identity are subgroups within the original tribes, so that *bīt* PN referred to families rather than tribes; cf. the legal clause exemplified by Dalley 75: 27–29 *ma-ti-ma ina ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ kim-tu, né-su-tu ù IM.RIA šá É DUMU 𐎶ZĀLAG-^{d30} šá i-rag-gu-mu um-ma...* “if (ever there is) one from the siblings, children, distant kith and kin of the Nūr-Sîn family who makes the following claim...” (Dar yr 3, B).

⁴⁹ In (1969 = PKB) and (1977), Brinkman writes about the appearance of Aramaeans in western Babylonia and their skirmishes against the Assyrians from the 12th century B.C. onwards. There were more than 35 tribes in and around Assyria in late Assyrian times (1977, p307f). The Chaldeans, five tribes (1977, 306), came to southern Babylonia in the 9th century B.C. See PKB (260–285).

⁵⁰ *nišē māt Akkadī* in the Babylonian chronicles.

⁵¹ Further details (besides Brinkman 1969 and 1977) on tribal groups in Babylonia prior to the sixth century are in Dietrich (1970), Brinkman (1984) and Frame (1992).

⁵² As opposed to West Semitic or otherwise.

⁵³ Material containing new lists of rations for Egyptian *širkus* in Sippar (Nebuchadnezzar yr 15) has recently been published by Bongenaar and Haring (1994, with a good bibliography). Eph'al has compiled a list of people all with the family name 𐎶Miširayya, from Šamaš-šum-ukīn to Nbk. All have Babylonian names (1978, p77f). The family name continues beyond the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B.C (cf. the scribe of Camb 349). Dandamayev refers to Egyptians with Babylonian names in (1992).

⁵⁴ Notably in the Murašû archive from Nippur. See Zadok (1976, 1988 and 1995). In (1976) Zadok indicates that the family names Kurī and Hunzû are Kassite (p65) and that Ašgandu is

Range of documents included in this study.

The contents of the Babylon and Uruk corpora are quite distinct. Many of the Babylon texts are from the Egibi and Nūr-Sîn family archives and it can be assumed that these wealthy families were important in Babylonian society during the period in question.⁵⁵ The letters involve members of these families and their slaves. As for Uruk, its most powerful body was the Eanna temple administration, so that the Uruk texts and letters largely refer to Eanna affairs, the activities of the temple slaves (*širkus*) and the farmers who work the vast Eanna estates.

Another point to consider in comparing the corpora is that there is a dearth of material from Uruk after year 2 of Darius' reign. Although the early years of his reign are known to have been disrupted, there is no reason to expect that documents recording day to day affairs were no longer being written. Realistically, the reduction in the number of cuneiform records on clay must be due to increasing numbers of records being made in Aramaic on materials other than clay (cf. Oppenheim, 1985, p570f). An observation by both K. Kessler and P-A. Beaulieu (personal communication) is that material almost certainly exists but is as yet either unexcavated or unpublished.⁵⁶

Aside from the letters, the documents on which this study is based fall mainly into the following categories:

- a) Sales. The document records the item(s) and the agreed price and circumstances of the payment. Sometimes, as well as an agreed price, the purchaser pays an *atru*, an extra payment (and sometimes adds a garment "*u lubāru*" for the seller's wife).
- b) Loans, i.e., records of loans with their repayment dates and descriptions of items pledged as collateral. Guarantees are often included to say that items pledged actually do belong to the borrower. The creditor and debtor make out (*e'ēlu*) a document (*u'iltu* which, for convenience, I translate as "IOU") between them, stating the circumstances of the loan.⁵⁷ Parties may also have to swear that they will repay the loan by a certain time.

Iranian (p66), and in (1995) he finds evidence for Phoenicians in Babylon and Elamites in Babylonia (p432 and p436f, respectively).

⁵⁵ Further excavations may reveal further families.

⁵⁶ Kessler has confirmed that he is working on a private archive of the Egibi family (Uruk branch). There are about 220 texts from Cyrus to Darius (yr 33). 80% of the material comes from the reign of Darius. He hopes to publish the material, which includes a letter from a woman, along with about a dozen Eanna texts from the same period, in 1997.

⁵⁷ If both of the two parties have a copy then it should also be a "you-owe-me" as well. Contrast OECT 10 105: 9–13, and Nbn 832: 12–15, where two copies are referred to, with most other documents, where usually only one is mentioned. *u'iltu* is usually translated "pro-

c) Division or letting of property:

i) Exchange (*šupēltu*)⁵⁸ of property. These involve exchanges of housing and land with monetary supplementation if the parts are not equal.

ii) Contracts involving the letting of property. These lay down the terms of the lease and the collateral (*maškanu*), and often the tenant has to give a bonus to the landlord (*nūptu inâp*).

d) Work contracts:

i) Prebends, referring to religious duties undertaken at specific times. The carrying out (*ēpišānūtu*) of some prebends involves ritual shaving (*gullubu*). *pappasu* rations supplied to the incumbents are related to their duty, i.e. flour or dates to bakers, gold to goldsmiths, etc.

ii) Other jobs, such as state duties which the incumbent may pass onto an *urāšu*, a paid stand-in, to do. For building plots the stretch on which the work is to be carried out is often called *mišhu* (AHw p660b).

e) Juridical:

i) Cautions and descriptions of punishments for (future) crimes.

ii) Descriptions of legal cases in which a party has given wrong evidence. The statements are recorded both before and after the party has sworn an oath.

missory note” or “note of obligation”. This acknowledges and adopts a neutral standpoint regarding the debtor and creditor. See the thorough discussion by Shiff (76–77 n63). On page 44 he gives an outline of the typical contents of such a document.

⁵⁸ This spelling, as opposed to *šupēltu* (root, p¹), is chosen on the basis of *bēlu*, *ṭēmu*, *šēdu* etc., as all three had ‘ as the middle radical in P^{Sem}.

Part 1: Syntax and Morphology¹

Chapter I: Main clauses

§1 Verbless clauses

a) Subject-predicate juxtaposition:²

Generally, in the Semitic languages the juxtaposition of two nominal forms AB in a single phrase unit is to be translated as “A is B”. In Akkadian AB may also be “A was B” or “A will be B”:³

KÙ.BABBAR *re-he-et i-di É-šú* “the money is the balance of his house-rent”,
Camb 253: 10–11 (yr 4, B) cf. Dar 494: 18–19

um-ma a-na-ku LÚ.uš-ku-ú-ka “I am your guarantor”, TCL 13 222: 13 (Dar yr 1, U)

The predicate may be pronominal:

UDU.NÍTA *ul at-tu-ú-a* “the sheep was not mine”, CT 22 82: 10 (letter, after Dar yr 14, B)

*a-mur bal-ti-il ina SUM.SAR 10-ú šá DN at-tu-ka ù LÚ.ENGAR.MEŠ-ka a-na MN pa-ni-ia *šu!-di-gil* Difficult. “look, there is a stoppage in the garlic which is the tithe of Nergal, (which is) yours, and your farmers are to belong to me (i.e. be my responsibility) for the month of Šabātu” CT 22 8: 5–11 (letter, 545–527, B)

or separated from the subject by other clauses:

u mim-mu šá URU u EDIN ma-la ba-šu-ú maš-ka-nu šá PN “and whatever there is in the city or outside is PN’s pledge”, Nbn 344: 8–9 (yr 9, B)

or adjectival:

KÙ.BABBAR *qa-al-la-al* “the silver is inferior”, CT 22 182: 6 (letter, pre-526, B)

b) Prepositional phrases as predicate:

LÚ.DUMU *šip-ri šá LUGAL ana UGU dul-lu* “the king’s messenger is in charge of the work”, YOS 3 45: 39–40 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ul-tu UD 21.KÁM šá ITI.ZÍZ É ina pa-ni-šú “from the 21st day of Šabātu the house is at his disposal”, YOS 7 2: 12 (Cyr acc, U)

¹ For the detailed organisation of this principal section, the reader is referred to the table of contents above.

² Dealt with by Streck in §38 (173–176).

³ The order BA does occur if A is a pronoun. See d, below.

a-mur PN ina pa-ni-ku-nu “see, PN is with you”, YOS 3 52: 10–11 (letter, 538–532, U)

dul-lu šá ka-a-ri...a-na e-pi-šá-nu-tu ina pa-ni PN “the work on the quay is contracted to be done by PN”, VS 6 84: 1...4 (Nbn yr 12, B)

a-kan-na 2 PI ŠE.BAR ù 2 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR..i-qab-bu-ú “here, they say two *sūtu* of barley or two *sūtu* of dates is one shekel...”, YOS 3 79: 22...27 (letter, 539–526, U)

c) Indirect object pronouns⁴ may function as predicates:

šu-lum ia-a-ši “(all is) well with me”, YOS 3 2: 4; YOS 3 4: 3 (royal letters, Nbn, U). More vernacular NB had begun to use the subject pronoun in conveying the dative:

šu-lum a-na-ku u a-na mam-ma ma-la it-ti-ia “(all is) well with me and everyone with me”, CT 22 6: 5–6 (letter, Cyr, B), cf. CT 22 194: 6 and also *šu-lum a-na-ku u šu-lum a-na PN*, in CT 22 151: 5–7 (letters, both B)

Woodington’s ABL corpus (p191) gives no examples of the nominative pronoun replacing the dative pronoun; however, she indicates that the dative is restricted in use. *šulmu iāši* appears in letters throughout her corpus, mainly in royal correspondence.

Note: it is possible for a predicate to exist without a subject:

ma-ti-ma ma-na-ma šá É PN šá i-rag-gu-mu um-ma “if ever there is anyone from PN’s kin who complains as follows...”, Dar 227: 25...26 (yr 7, B), cf. the following, which is explained in d i, below:

(*umma*) *šu-ú* “‘it’s him!’”, CT 22 127: 15–16 (letter, Dar yr 17? B)

d) The pronouns *šū*, *iššū*, etc., as predicate or copula

In verbless clauses, when the subject is a personal pronoun on its own, the word order is usually inverted to predicate-subject in normative Akkadian dialects, and the subject comes at the end of its clause. It is particularly common in NB, and, as von Soden states, this is most certainly due to the influence of the Aramaic verb *hwā*.⁵ *la* is used for negation.

i) *šū*, etc. as predicate:

nu-du-nu-ú-a šu-ú “he is my dowry”, TCL 13 179: 9 (probably Camb yr 3, U)

šá PN u ^fPN šu-ú “it belongs to PN and ^fPN” Nbn 85: 13 (yr 2, B)

la at-tu-ku-nu šu-ú “it is not yours”, JAOS 36: 26 (letter, 538–532, B)

⁴ V §3f, below.

⁵ ππ. See *Anmerkung* in GAG §126.

a-mat PN *ši-i* “it is the order of Gubarū”, AnOr 8 43: 15–16 (Cyr yr 5, U)

GÉME *ša* PN...*a-na-ku* “I am the slave of PN...”, AnOr 8 56: 5–6 (Cyr yr 7, U)

mi-na-’ *ina* IGI-ka *ši-i-ni* “why do you have them (fpl)?” JRAS 1926: 8 (Nbn yr 10, B)

Note the interesting *ši-i-ti* in:

LÚ.qal-lat-ta-a *ši-i-ti* “she is my slave”, CT 22 183: 5 (letter, pre-526, B) This form was not found by Woodington (1982, p27). It is probably influenced by the Aramaic 3fs of *hwā*, חַוָּה *hwaṭ*, rather than by the NA 3fs. See also *at-ta* in line 24.

and the concise:

(*um-ma*) *šu-ú* “‘it’s him!’”, CT 22 127: 15–16 (letter, Dar yr 17? B)⁶

šū, etc. as copula:

GABA.RI *ú-íl-tì ašar ta-nam-ma-ri ša* PN...*ši-i* “any copy of the IOU wherever it may be noticed, belongs to PN”, OECT 10 105: 11–13 (Nbn yr 9, B), cf. Nbn 832: 12...15: *ú-íl-tì gab-ri ú-íl-tì...ša* PN *ši-i* (B)

DUMU *ša* ^fPN...DUMU.MUNUS-*su ša* ^fPN₂ MUNUS.*šir-ka-tu₄ ša* FDN *at-ta* “you are the son of ^fPN...the daughter of ^fPN₂ a *širkatu* of the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 224: 10...15 (Nbn yr 15, U)

PN *u* PN₂ LÚ.RIG₇.ME [*ša*] FDN *šú-nu* “PN and PN₂ are *širkus* of the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 116: 15–16 (Nbn yr 10, U)

PN...*ù* PN₂ ŠEŠ-*šú ra-bu-ú ša iš-te-et* AMA *šú-nu* “PN...and PN₂, his older brother, (who) are of one mother...”, AnOr 8 48: 27 (Cyr yr 5, U)

^fPN ^fPN₂ ^fPN₃...*a-me-lut-tu₄ la-ta-ni-ia ši-i-ni* “^fPN ^fPN₂ (and) ^fPN₃ are servants of my retinue”, JRAS 1926: 4...5 (Nbn yr 10, B)

The pronominal predicate conveys the past in the following:

ki-ma-’ *šu-ú* “how much was it?”, (referring to past information about the cost of dates and grain), YOS 3 79: 30 (letter, 539–526, U)

and the future in the following:

ša a-na «ina» muh-hi ^fPN PN *i-na-áš-ša-a ša* ^fPN *šu-ú* “whatever PN brings (into court) against ^fPN, belongs to ^fPN”, Rutten: 5–6 (Nbn yr 1, B)

[*u IM?*].DUB.MEŠ *u rik-su.MEŠ a-šar in-nam-ma-ru ša* NÍG.GA *é-an-na šú-nu* “any documents or contracts wherever they may be found, belong to Eanna property”, AnOr 8 70: 23 (Camb yr 3, U)

⁶ The gist of this short letter (of which the recipient is PN₂) is: PN...*iq-ta-ba-’ um-ma* ZÚ.LUM.MA... *um-ma* PN₂ *it-ta-ši en-na ki-i* ^fapl-pí-ti *um-ma šu-ú* EBURU *ša* ZÚ.LUM.MA *taš-šu-ú* ZÚ.LUM.MA *te-ri-ma a-na* PN *i-di-in* “PN...has told me ‘(regarding the) dates...PN₂ has taken them’. So, if (what he said) is true, (i.e.) ‘it’s him’, (regarding?) the date harvest that you took, give the dates back to PN” (lines 5...19).

The idiom *ahā/ahāt šunu* “they are equal partners, they share and share alike” can refer to the future as well as the present:

LÚ-tú ha-liq-tu u mim-ma šá KASKAL.II-šú-nu šá il-la-a...a-ha šú-nu “lost slave(s) or anything (else) in their business venture which may crop up they are to share and share alike”, TCL 13 160: 13...15 Camb yr 3, B)

mim-ma ma-la ina URU u EDIN ina muh-hi ZÚ.LUM.MA a' 1 ME GUR ù ŠE.BAR a₄ 50 GUR ip-pu-uš-šú-⁷ PN u PN₂ a-ha-ta šú-nu “anything that is made either in the city or in the country on those⁷ 100 kur dates or on those 50 kur barley, PN and PN₂ are to share and share alike”, Dar 395/396: 5–8 (yr 3, B)

mim-ma ma-la...ip-pu-uš a-ha-a-ta šú-nu “in whatever...they (!) make they are to share and share alike”, Dar 280: 5...7 (yr 10, B)

In the following the pronoun is the subject of a precative nominal clause:

lu-ú DUMU-u-a šu-ú “let him be my (adoptive) son”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 8; and also in line 11: *lu-ú DUMU ša-bit ŠU.II-i-ni šu-ú* “let him be a son to support us” (literally, “who holds our hands”) (yr 9, B)

ii) *iššū*

The Uruk texts often use a pronoun copula modified by the prefix *iš-*:

um-ma MUNUS.qal-lat-a iš-ši-i “she is my slave”, AnOr 8 56: 10 (Cyr yr 7, U)⁸

ina u₄-mu ina ši-mit it-lal¹-ku-⁹ PN₂ LÚ.<ši>-rik-ki šá FDN iš-šú-ú “when he (PN) dies, PN₂ will become a *širku* of Ištar”, YOS 7 17: 12–14 (Cyr yr 3, U)

šá man-na iš-šú-nu “whose are they?”, TCL 13 181: 8 (Dar yr 2, U)

mim-ma NÍG.GA FDN lib-bi i-ba-áš-ši-i ki-i ú-íl-ti.ME la at-tu-ú-a iš-ši-ni “there is no property of the Lady-of-Uruk among them; the IOUs are mine” (oath in a broken context), *ibid.*: 12–14

In a precative nominal clause:

ki-i pa-ni-ka ma-hir...šu-bi-lu ù ia-a-nu-ú lu-ú ina IGI PN iš-šú-ú “if you want, take him (to work for you). If not, let him be at PN’s disposal”, YOS 7 102: 16–17 (Camb acc, U)

The meaning of the following is unclear:

um-ma a-mur SÍG.HI.A iš-ši-ni ina É an-hi šak-na-⁹ The context suggests the translation “look, there is some wool (assuming *šīpātu* 3fpl) and it is deposited in the dilapidated (?⁹) house”, YOS 7 78: 7 (Cyr yr 7, U)

⁷ See V §3 1, below for the demonstrative *ā* and its variant spellings *a'* and *a₄*.

⁸ Contrast this with CT 22 183: 5 *ši-i-ti* cited in i, above.

⁹ Some kind of abandoned building is implied. *É an-hi* may also be read “house of Aššur”. *abtu* is the usual adjective describing dilapidated houses. It is better to read *e-an-na!*.

The Uruk corpus has 8 examples, of which 3 have a future or consequential meaning. The Babylon corpus has only the following example:¹⁰

um-ma at-tu-ú-a iš-šú-nu “they are mine”, CT22 74: 10–11 (letter, middle Dar, B)

Oppenheim suggests that this form of the pronoun may come from *in*, an abbreviation of *enna* “behold!” and the copula *šū* (1940, p222). Examples of first or second person forms have not been found.

e) *iānu*

iānu, the predication of non-existence, “there is not”, is used interchangeably with the negative stative of the defective verb *išū*.¹¹ There appears to be no obvious difference in meaning apart from a possibly wider scope for expressing time in the case of *iānu*, which is able to say “there never was/is/will be”.

mam-ma it-ti-ia ia-a-nu “there is no one with me”, TCL 9 79: 13 (letter, Nbn? U), cf. lines 29–31.

na-da-a-nu šá TÚG.BAR.DUL₅...ia-a-nu al-la l-šú a-na tar-ši RN “there never was a donation of a *kušitu* garment...except once in the reign of Nbk”, YOS 6 71: 28...29 (Nbn yr 6, U)

EN.ME-e-a lu-ú i-du-²-ú šá ul-tu u₄-mu šá ni-il-lik!...u₄-mu pa-tu-ú ia-a-nu “my lords do know that since we went there has not been a day off”, YOS 3 113: 24...26 (letter, early Cyrus, U)¹²

PN mim-mu šá ik-ka-lu ia-a-nu u pa-ni-šú bi-šu-² “PN has nothing to eat and he looks bad”, TCL 9 129: 15–17 (letter, early Camb? U)

ra-šū-ut-su e-lat an-na UGU PN ia-a-nu “there will be no claim apart from this against PN”, VS 4 114: 8–9 (Dar yr 7, B), cf. VS 6 127: 3–4 (Dar yr 11, B)

The Babylon texts regularly use the following legal phrase:

i-di a-me-lu-tu₄ ia-a-nu u UR₅.RA KÙ.BABBAR ia-a-nu “there is no wage or interest to pay”, VS 4 60: 9–10 (Cyr yr 3, B) Similar examples are in Camb 379: 6–7, Cyr 177: 8–10 and VS 4 66: 7 (all B)

¹⁰Note, though, that it does occur in an earlier text from Babylon: *u LÚ.mu-kin-nu uk-tin-nu-uš LÚ.sa-ar-ri šá PN iš-šū-ú* “and if a witness convicts him he will (then) be a betrayer of PN”, TCL 12 60: 5–6 (AwM yr 1 = 561 B.C.).

¹¹*ul/la išū* occurs only in the texts from the Babylon corpus. See the discussion and examples in Note at the end of §2, below.

¹²Cf. YOS 3 69: 12–14 in III §2 i, below.

§2 Predicative verbal adjectives (the “stative” or “permansive”); i.e. verbless clauses involving *paris/parvs* predicative forms

The terms “verbless clauses” and *paris/parvs* are both taken from the works of J. Huehnergard. His preference for “verbless” as opposed to “nominal” or “non verbal” is explained in (1986) p219, especially n3.¹³ Streck¹⁴ (1995) uses the term “nichtverbaler Satz” (p186). *paris/parvs* forms are what the older grammars called “permansives” and what the newer ones usually call “statives”. The misapprehension that they are verbal forms was laid to rest by the study of Buccellati “An interpretation of the Akkadian Stative as a nominal sentence” (=1968). Since then, works by Kraus,¹⁵ Huehnergard, and a later study by Buccellati have followed suit. However, since a satisfactory replacement for the old terminology has yet to take hold, I shall follow Huehnergard at present, as well as continuing to use the convenient term “stative” when it is appropriate. “Stative” became and continues to be popular as a result of its use in GAG, §77.

paris and *parvs* forms are much used in NB and will be examined in detail. A brief summary of some of the earlier studies on the stative in Akkadian and their findings as regards our understanding of the stative in NB will be useful at this point.¹⁶

1: Rowton (1962)

This is a thorough and lengthy study based on 451 examples, which, in spite of the title, gives material in most dialects including NA and NB [cf. NB no. 147; and NB (ABL) nos. 164, 399]. Although some of Rowton’s observations are now considered out of date, others are helpful in our understanding of statives.

On p234a he describes the stative as a tense (*sic*) “which is used to speak of verbs of state as the outcome of past actions”. Note, though, that on p236b he says, “the permansive as a genuine tense of the verb is not very common.... Thus in adjectival verbs the permansive is not really a tense of the verb, it is a *verbal adjective in predicative form*.” [italics mine]

p235: In discussing the terminology, Rowton says the stative has a tendency to become a perfect when it speaks of an active condition. His examples are on 292b–

¹³ Huehnergard classifies the various types of verbless clause (i.e. prepositional clauses, noun phrases and statives) on p220f.

¹⁴ See his classifications below.

¹⁵ F. R. Kraus, *Nominalsätze in altbabylonischen Briefen und der Stativ*, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, 47/2 (Amsterdam/Oxford/New York, 1984).

¹⁶ My own observations are given in [brackets].

294a. The active permansive, as he calls it, is common only in four verbs, *ṣabātu*, *leqû*, *mahāru* and *našû* (p235b) and largely confined to OB and SB. In discussing the last three verbs (p243b), he says *mahir* “he has received” is normally used as the present perfect instead of *imtahar* in OB and SB. [*mahir* for *imtahar* is particularly common in NB.]

263b–271.: Section III “The descriptive permansive”, part 2, deals with “neuter verbs”, a term he uses instead of the more usual “stative verb” [verb describing a state], and splits into the following groups:

i) verbs of adjectives (p264a) = *damiq*, *arik*, *gašir* (“it is good, it is tall/long, he is powerful”) [i.e. coming from a verb of state or attribute.]

ii) verbs of external state = (w)*ašib*, *mīt*, *ṣalil* (“he sits, he is dead, he sleeps”)

iii) verbs of internal state = *zeni*, *takil*, *palih* (“he is angry, he trusts, he fears/venerates”). Most of these verbs are intransitive [cf. *ap-lah-ma um-ma DUMU ba-ni-i a-na-ku* “I took fright — I am a free man” Nbn 1113: 18 (after yr 7, B)] but their statives may take a direct object, cf. *bēlī palhāku* “I venerate my master”.

278b–285a: Section V deals with the use of the stative as a passive and the criteria for deciding whether to use an N preterite or a stative. Rowton observes that the choice is based on whether the past event which is being recorded still affects the present situation or not, and whether it affects the speaker. The N preterite is used if the past event’s effects do not concern the speaker. *paris* is used when the event continues to have an essential effect on the present (p284b).

2: Buccellati (1968)

The significance of this paper can be seen immediately from the title (“An interpretation of the stative as a nominal sentence”), in that Buccellati is making a radical departure from the earlier view that the stative is a verbal tense. Although most of his observations are based on OB, the following points are significant vis-à-vis NB:

Those third person forms which are derived from verbal adjectives [i.e. not from nouns, as in *šar*, from *šarru*, “he is (a) king”] are able to take the modal endings of the ventive. Those based on nominal forms are not able to take ventive endings in OB because they already have pronominal endings (i.e. *šar* is *šar+ø*; *šarrāku* is *šar+āku*). The third person pronominal ending is -ø. [Plurals are not discussed.] In

later Akkadian (p9) the status absolutus¹⁷ which is used for the predicate is replaced by the status rectus. This had already occurred prior to the time of NB.¹⁸

Earlier Akkadian used *šarrāku/ (šū) šar* in preference to *šarrum anāku/ šū* (p7). The presence of the pronoun copula in the normal state (or status rectus as it is called by von Soden), rather than the noun in the absolute state is probably due to West Semitic influence, e.g. *šihru atta* “you are a child” (p9). [Rather little is made of this by Buccellati. The growth in popularity of the pronoun copula in NB (and in NA)¹⁹ is probably due to the influence of the Aramaic verb, “to be”, *hwh*. See §1d, above. The growth may have coincided with the loss of differentiation between the predicative (absolutus) state and the normal (rectus) state as a result of the loss of the case endings (p9, n4).]

3: Huehnergard

[My observations are made using his two articles (1986, 1987), but mainly the latter.]

At the time of writing of (1986), Huehnergard was still in the process of formulating the terminology which he introduces in (1987). For example, on p221 of (1986) and in n11 he still uses the convenient term “stative” (and later apologises for using it) for want of a better word. Huehnergard attempts to break down the use of the *paris* forms into far fewer and more comprehensive categories than do Rowton or Kraus. Syntactically the noun-based non-transitive (*šar/šarrāku*) constructions are identical to the adjective-based *parvs* and *paris* forms. For this reason, Huehnergard categorises *šunu sarrū* “they are deceitful” (i.e. “liars”), together with *rapaš* “it is wide”, and *bani...*²⁰ “does it seem right...?” (1989, p258).

Brief breakdown of (1987):

Here, Huehnergard introduces the reader to the paradigmatic terms *paris/parsāku* and *parvs/parsāku* [as found in (1986)] and the difficulty surrounding their classification. The implication is that the former group is transitive and the latter is non-transitive — “i.e. all others including nominal forms” (p220).

¹⁷ “Predicative state” was an alternative term used by Buccellati (p5). Earlier versions of this term are given in his table 1 (p4).

¹⁸ The exception is the frozen form *lū šulum ana...* “health be to...”, referred to in Woodington (§82, p194) and a, below. Since it is an exception and would no longer be recognised as such, Woodington does not acknowledge it as a status absolutus.

¹⁹ In the earlier Assyrian dialects, as well as in NA, it regularly takes the subjunctive suffix *-ni*.

²⁰ *bani akanna ana pā<nī>ka kī iānu karānū* “does it seem right to you like this, that there are no vineyards?”.

i) *parvs/parsāku* refers to forms describing a quality or attribute, forms which are in the “predicative state” (p220).²¹ Their equivalent finite verbs have non-active “adjectival stative” roots (p221). Their verbal and adjectival stative roots are semantically identical.

ii) Huehnergard chooses three semantic categories for the non noun-based roots, which he introduces on p225:

1) Stative (non active, adjectival stative). The adjectives are “simply descriptive”.

Examples: *damiq (damāqu)*, “is good”; *rapaš (rapāšu)*, “is wide”; *lemun (lemēnu)*, “is evil”, *maruṣ (marāšu)*, “is ill”.

2) Active intransitive roots, whose adjectives are resultative.

Examples (p221): *ašib (ašābu)*, “is resident”; *haliq (halāqu)*, “is missing”; *tebi (tebû)*, “is standing”; *kašid (kašādu)*, “has arrived”. [It is not clear if this group includes common verbs such as *ašû*, *bašû*, *atāru*, *maṭû*, *mādu*, etc., which are much used in predicative form in NB. Also, *kašādu* can be transitive, “to reach a goal, to conquer an object”, as discussed on p226, and it can have passive meaning, see 3, below. Examples of other verbs which can function either transitively or intransitively would have been very useful here, such as *šebû*, *bakû* and *šasû*. See my observations below.]

3) Huehnergard’s section E (p228f) deals with active transitive verbs whose adjectives are passive, for example *šabit (šabātu)*, “he was caught”. [This is his only example. *kašid*, “he was defeated” and *hepât* “it (f) was broken”, would fit here. This is a common use of the predicative form in NB.]

iii) On p228 he discusses the transitive *paris* [I see no reason to repeat *parsāku* throughout.] which he calls an “innovative contrast”, i.e. passive forms developing the ability to function actively, so that *šabit* can also mean “he takes/has”, *naši*, “he has/holds”, *mahir/leqi*, “he is in receipt of”. These are not used as predicative adjectives because they have an object, what he calls the “nonfientic counterpart of the transitive finite forms” (top, p229). [In spite of Huehnergard’s calling transitive *paris* an “innovative contrast”, these active “statives” were already used in OB. (See Rowton’s examples 429–432 and 438–443 on pages 293f, to which I have referred above). They are also common in NB. See c ii, below.]

²¹ I.e. using the same term as Buccellati did, rather than “status absolutus”.

On page 229 (section F) Huehnergard begins his reappraisal of the terminology of the *parvs* and *paris* forms:

1) “Stative” should be retained as a lexical designation only, i.e. to refer only to those forms denoting a state or condition [or attribute?], what he calls adjectival roots like *d-n-n*, *r-p-š*, *ṭ-y-b*.

2) “Predicative construction” or “predicative form” are the simplest labels for the non-transitive forms. Syntactically, both *šar/šarrāku* and *paris/parsāku* [to be read *parvs/parsāku*, surely (middle, p230)] consist of a nominal or adjectival base (which cannot have any modifier such as a gender or plural marker) immediately followed by a pronominal subject (p230f). [This explains why Huehnergard saw no need to make separate provisions for the purely noun-based roots.]

Morphologically *šar* and *parvs* can be classified under nominal morphology or under personal pronoun morphology. [Streck (§39f 2, p182) is sceptical about Huehnergard’s observation that the enclitic pronoun endings should be accepted as allomorphs of their independent forms because of the lack of resemblance between their respective third person forms. Kraus has already pointed out that the enclitic pronoun endings are demonstrative pronouns in origin anyway (Huehnergard, 1987, p221).²²]

As for those verbal adjectives which function verbally [for example, in NB, having ventive, accusative or dative suffixes] Huehnergard wants to see them categorised as “predicative adjectives in verbless clauses” (p231). This includes those verbal adjectives which are translated as a passive and also the active forms represented by *naši*, *šabit*. For these, he chooses the name “pseudo-verb” because of their “morphosyntactic mimicry of true verbs” (end of main text, p232).

4: Buccellati (1988)

One of the main concerns of this paper is terminology. Buccellati is happy to retain terms such as “nominal sentence” (p154), “permansive” (e.g. p176) and “stative” (e.g. p160) although the boundaries between the last two are initially not very clear. On p160 he says that the term “stative” can continue to be used since “the fientive [his term for the fientic i.e. verbal form] expresses a relationship of the subject to the time sequence while the stative does not”. The picture becomes more clear

²² I do not aim to discuss the origins of the suffixes on the forms in question, or the possibility that independent third person pronouns corresponding to *ʾanāku, *ʾanta etc. existed in Proto-Semitic and were later replaced by *šū*, *šī* etc. (1987, p222, top).

when he says (p180) that the permansive is used for the predicative nominal form bound with suffix pronouns [e.g. *šar(r)+āku*] “which is reserved exclusively for the expression of state, although the reverse does not obtain (i.e. not all expressions of state require a permansive)”. [That is his definition of “permansive”. He uses this definition on p183 when he says that the permansive of the participle is rare in Akkadian but not so in some of the other Semitic languages.²³]

This is only a small part of Buccellati’s paper, other parts of which deal with such features as determination (p173f), subordination (p175) and the individual ways of English and Akkadian in expressing state. On p182 he makes a valid point that “stative” roots do occur in the fientive, generally with ingressive value.²⁴ [It is a little confusing that Buccellati refers to “stative” roots (165–168), referring to state, exx. *damāqu*, *marāšu*, and then refers to “stative sentences” i.e. nominal or verbless clauses (p180).]

5: Streck (1995, II §§37–39, 166–189)

Since Streck is concerned with “Verbalsystem” and, therefore, the expression of “tense” in spB [*sic*], he avoids classifying what he calls “nichtverbale Sätze” in terms of their morphosyntactic functions but instead concentrates on the range of tenses within which they can operate. Note the divisions in his presentation of material:

§37 *paris*. This heading is in keeping with earlier headings in his thesis, *iparras*, *iprus*, and *iptaras*. In §37b (p166) he says that *paris* forms have a static, not a dynamic, “Aktionsart”.²⁵ Sections e–j deal with *paris*’s various representations of tense: present, past, future, continuing process, iterative [he gives two examples, which are indistinguishable from the present] and “Vertauschbarkeit”, referring to verbs such as *bašû* and *edû* whose present forms function to convey state and are therefore interchangeable with their *paris* forms.

paris und nichtverbaler Satz (§39, 177–188) is primarily a review of previous sources.

²³ [By “permansive of the participle”, Buccellati means a participle being used as a predicate.] See for example Kienast’s study on a present day East Aramaic dialect in which the participle and personal pronoun used together have replaced the standard Semitic prefix-conjugation verbal form (1980). The use of a participle as a predicate is also a common feature in Modern Literary Arabic.

²⁴ Exx. *idammiq* “he becomes good”, *imruš* “he became ill”.

²⁵ Not to be confused with English “aspect”, i.e. imperfective aspect (referring to state), as opposed to a perfective aspect. Buccellati (1988, p161) translates Aktionsart as “dimension”, either punctual or durative.

From the above discussions it is possible to conclude that the so-called “stative” in Akkadian can be broken down into at least three categories, two of which are amply represented in the NB of this thesis. Indeterminacy of temporal reference applies to all these groups.

a) The purely nominal, predicative forms *šū šar* “he is a liar”; *šarrāku* “I am king”, etc. seen in OB and other early dialects have been replaced in NB by the use of the pronoun copula in all cases except for the construction *lū* + subject case of a noun (or the predicative form of a verbal adjective, see below) in the idiom *ši-pir-ta-a lu-u LÚ.mu-kin-nu* “may my letter be a witness”, YOS 7 102: 24 (Camb acc, U), and as part of the greeting in royal letters in the formula *lū šulum ana...* “health be to...” (GINBr p119f.).²⁶

b) Non-active, i.e. describing a state or an attribute, therefore *parvs*, *stative*, or *predicative adjective*.²⁷ Semantically their equivalent verbs are intransitive, and sometimes with ingressive value, such as *damāqu*, *ašābu*, *atāru*, *ṭābu*, *lemēnu*, *bašû*, *mādu* etc.:

lu-u ti-i-de dul-lu ina UGU-ia da-a-nu “you must know (that) the work is (too) hard for me”, YOS 3 33: 4–5 (letter, early Cyr, U)

LÚ.HUN.GÁ.ME *a-na ŠUK.HI.A sa-an-qu-* “the hired men are in need of rations”, *ibid.*: 34

KÙ.BABBAR *a...šá ina ŠU.II PN ba-ša-* “that silver, which was in PN’s possession” (note the past meaning), TCL 13 132: 14–15 (Cyr yr 4, U)²⁸

(*umma*) ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*ku-nu ù LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-ku-nu šá a-na ma-aš-šar-tu...ṭa-bu-* *ina muh-hi ŠE.BAR pi-iq-da-* “your brothers or your workmen who are fit to do the watch, put them in charge of the barley”, TCL 13 152: 14–16 (Camb yr 2, U)

at-ta ik-ki-ka ku-ri-ka ù a-na-ku ik-ka-a ku-ru ²⁹ “your patience is short (for you?) and me, my patience is short”, YOS 3 69: 21–23 (letter, 539–526, U)

līb-bi šá AMA-ia lu-ú ṭa-ab-šú “may my mother’s heart be pleased”, YOS 3 22: 18–19 (letter, early Nbn, U), cf. the royal letters YOS 3 2: 5–6, and YOS 3 4: 4–5, which have *līb-ba-ku-nu lu-u ṭa-ab-ku-nu-ši* and *līb-ba-ka lu ṭa-ab-ka*, respectively. (letters, end Nbn, U)

²⁶ In fact a frozen status absolutus, as noted in the comments on Buccellati (1968). *lū šulum ana...* is not found in the texts of this thesis. For *lū* as a copula, see §5 b i, below.

²⁷ I.e. not “predicative verbal adjective”. If a predicative adjective describes a state it is not verbal. An example of a predicative adjective for which no verb exists is: KÙ.BABBAR *qa-al-la-al* (*šá a-na ZÚ.LUM.MA in-na-din*) “the silver is (too) inferior (for it to be given for the dates)”, CT 22 182: 6–8 (letter, pre-526, B).

²⁸ Cf. the common *mala bašû*, “whatever there is/was/may be”.

²⁹ An idiom consisting of *ikku*, “mood, irritability”, and *karû* D, “to become short”. *ikku arāku* means the opposite, i.e. “to be patient”, cf. YOS 3 83: 19.

*lu-ú ti-i-de dib-bi lu ma-a-du a-kan-na ina UGU-i-ni bi-šu-*³⁰ “you do know that the rumours against us here are very bad”, YOS 3 19: 20–21 (letter, early Cyrus, U)³⁰

UDU.NÍTA.ME *ina UNUG KI šá al-la šá ina EDIN ma-a-du-*³¹ *u ½-ú ub-ba-lu* “the sheep in Uruk which are not in the open are many and are fetching half (their normal price ?³¹)”, YOS 3 87: 25–27 (letter, 533–526, U). See also 17–18.

u₄-mu ma-la ^fPN *bal-ṭa-at...* “(for) as long as ^fPN lives”, Nbn 65: 16 (yr 2, B)

at-ta ^dEN *i-mu-ru šá lu ma-a-du sa-ma-ak-ka a-di-i UD 20.KÁM šá MN mam-ma* ^ful^l-[*tu*] TIN.TIR KI *la ip-ṭu-ra-a[n-ni]* “you, Sir,³² must see that I am greatly harrassed. By the 20th of Nisannu no one from Babylon will have relieved me”, YOS 3 8: 11–12 (letter, early Dar, U)³³

c) The *paris* equivalent of active transitive verbs can function in two ways. Since they function verbally on a syntactic level, clauses in which they occur observe the same rules as those clauses governed by verbs:

- The ability to govern an object, direct or indirect.
- The ability to take ventive and subjunctive endings.
- Negatives use *ul* in main, and *la* in subordinate, clauses.

i) They can have a passive meaning in their adjectival form: therefore *passive stative*, or *passive predicative adjective*:

PN *šá-a-il-ma iq-bi um-ma* “PN was questioned and answered as follows”, YOS 6 235: 13 (Nbn yr 12, U)

mu-šu-ú šá GN eṭ-ra “the exit dues for Borsippa are paid”, Nbn 280: 7 (Nbn yr 8, B)

ú-il-tì...IGI-^{*}tu₄^{*} he-pat “the earlier IOU is invalidated”, Camb 379: 16–17 (Camb yr 7, B)

1 AB.GAL *šá...ab-ka-ta-am-ma ina é-an-na še-en₆-de-ti ù a-na PN paq-ad-da-ti* “one cow which was led away, marked in Eanna and (then) entrusted to PN”, YOS 7 7: 43–46 (Cyr yr 1, U) (first verb is ventive)

^fPN *šá ina ri(!)-it-ta-šú GAD šaṭ-ra-ti* “^fPN, whose hand was inscribed with (the sign) ‘GAD’”, YOS 6 163: 6 (Nbn yr 11, U)

šá-ṭa-ru la-bi-ri...a-na FDN rit-ta-šú šaṭ-ra-at ù šá-ṭa-ru šá-na-a ina šá-pal šá-ṭa-ri mah-ra-a a-na FDN₂ šá-ṭir “her hand is inscribed with an old inscription... to

³⁰ The odd word order is discussed in II §3 c ii, below. The final word is unlikely to be from *bašû* as this would usually be in the singular, *ba-šu-ú*, or finite, *i-ba-áš-šu-ú* (usual spellings).

³¹ My interpretation of *ma-a-du-*³¹ *ù ub-ba-lu* in the copy. *x n kaspā ubbal* means “x is worth n silver” in NB (CAD *abālu* A 5b d’, p20).

³² In letters, subordinates addressing superiors usually use the term “EN” and the third person rather than 2sg. I translate EN as “Sir” for convenience. However, as EN is used to address a woman in CT 22 200 it may be a polite neutral third person pronoun, cf. Spanish “usted”. (Women superiors are normally addressed “AMA”).

³³ See also 30–31 (*pāni...banû*). This letter contains several further examples of *parvs* and *paris* forms; see lines 8, 10, 26, 28 (*šá-an-nu-ú* “is repeated”, D passive?), and 36.

Nanâ and a second inscription below the first inscription is written to Innin of Uruk”, RA 67: 22...25 (Nbn yr 17, B)³⁴

ri-ka-su šá ÌR-ú-tu šá PN šá ul-tu MU 35.KÁM RN...a-di MU 7.KÁM RN₂...a-na KÙ.BABBAR na-ad-nu a-na maš-ka-nu šak-nu a-na nu-dun-né-e a-na ¹PN...na-ad-nu ... iš-tas-su-ú-ma “the contract covering the slave status of PN, (showing that) from year 35 of Nbk to year 7 of Nbn he had been sold for silver (then) given as a pledge (and then) given as a dowry to ¹PN...was read out”.... (literally “they read out” — impersonal subject) Nbn 1113: 7...14 (Nbn, after yr 7, B)

(women slaves and their children) ¹šá a-na KÙ.BABBAR¹ ab-ka-an “who were led away for money”, Dar 379: 24 (yr 14, B) (ventive)

2 še-e-nu...šá ul-tu É PN ab-ka-na “two sheep/goats which were led from the house of PN”, TCL 13 132: 1...3 (Cyr yr 4, U) (ventive)

(isqu) šá a-na NÍG.GA LUGAL ma-nu-ú “(a prebend) which is assigned to the royal treasury”, YOS 7 79: 2 (Cyr yr 8, U)

hu-uš-su šá it-ti É ka-a-ri te-pu-ú “a reed hut that is built onto the ^{quay}house”, Nbn 499: 18–19 (yr 11, B)

$\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ba-ab-tu₄ 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR PN <a-na> PN₂ *i-nam-din-ma nu-dun-na-šú a-pil* “PN is to give the remaining balance of one third of a mina of silver out of the one mina to PN₂ and (then) he will have been paid her dowry”, Nbn 243: 15–17 (yr 6, B)

D and Š forms:

D É.MEŠ-šú-nu ul zu-’-zu “their estates were not divided” YOS 6 143: 14 (Nbn yr 10, U)

DÙ-uš NÍG.ŠID-šú-nu ma-la ba-šu-ú it-ti a-ha-meš qa-tu-ú ú-ìl-tì.MEŠ-šú-nu e-eṭ-ra-’ GIŠ.LE.U₅.UM.MEŠ-šú-nu pu-uš-šu-tu giṭ-ṭa-ni-šú-nu hu-up-pu-ú “any business accounts remaining have been resolved between them; their IOUs have been paid, their ledgers erased and their receipts cancelled” TCL 13 160: 11–13 (Camb yr 3, B)

ZÚ.LUM.MA ki-i ú-kal-lim-an-ni a-hi nu-ku-su-nu “when he showed me the dates some had been cut”, CT 22 78: 8–10 (letter B) (ventive)

³⁴ This clearly indicates that the predicative adjectival form of šaṭāru may be used in two ways:

1) x ša y šaṭir “x which has y inscribed on it” (agreement between x and šaṭāru, e.g. rittu...šaṭrat). The examples involving šamātu also fall into this category.

2) x ša y šaṭir “x, on which y is inscribed” (agreement between y and šaṭāru, cf. šaṭāru...šaṭir, above). exx.: GIŠ.DA šá LÚ.PAN.M[ÉŠ]...ina muh-hi šaṭ-ra-tu PN u PN₂...ina lib-bi la šá-a[t]-ru “(regarding the) ledger with the bow fief men inscribed (assuming a fsg collective, i.e. LÚ.qaštu) on it, PN and PN₂ were not inscribed on it”, YOS 6 116: 8–12 (Nbn yr 10, U) and: ú-ìl-tì...u ina lib-bi šaṭ-ru “an IOU, and on it there was written...”, YOS 7 7: 71...73 (Cyr yr 1, U).

Another D example is *gu-ul-lu-ub* “shaved”, in AnOr 8 48: 28 (U) and in the following *maš-šir* may possibly be written for *muššur*.³⁵

a-na UGU ZÚ.LUM.MA šá aq-qab-ba-’ mi-nam-ma të-mu ul maš-šir “regarding the dates I’ve been talking about, why is there no information released?” CT 22 193: 25–28 (letter, end Nbn? B)³⁶

Š *i-na-an-na PN...a-na UGU É ù mim-ma šá kan-ku-ma pa-ni-ia šu-ud-gu-lu u e-li PN₂...pa-qa-ri ú-šab-ši* “now PN has made a claim for the house and everything signed and transferred to me and (also) for PN₂ (our slave)”, Nbn 356: 23–27 (yr 9, B)

ii) Their *paris* forms can be active: therefore *paris*, *active stative* or *active predicative verbal adjective*. Examples of this are regularly seen in the use of the legal idiom *pūt...našû*. It should be noted that, since this active form is limited to just a few verbs, usually *našû* and *mahāru*, it may not be fully productive:

pu-us-su-nu a-na la ha-la-qu na-šá-a-ka “I take responsibility for their not going missing”, YOS 7 70: 17 (Cyr yr 8, U)

PN...pu-ut GÌR.II šá PN₂ na-ši PN₃...pu-ut GÌR.II šá PN₄ na-ši “PN is responsible for the availability (literally, “the feet”) of PN₂; PN₃ is responsible for the availability of PN₄”, Dar 296: 16–18 (yr 11, B)

mim-ma e-lat ina ŠU.II-šû ul mah-rak “I (have) received nothing else from him”, YOS 6 193: 5–6 (Nbn yr 13, U)

GÍD.DA ma-hir ul-tu é-an-na na-ad-na-áš-šû “he received a docket. It was issued (literally, “given to him”) from Eanna”, AnOr 8 63: 5 (Cyr yr 9, U) (ventive + suffix)

ina lib-bi 1½ MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR [ina] SAG.DU ú-ìl-tì šá 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR u UR₅.RA ú-ìl-tì ...^fPN...ina ŠU.II PN...a-na muh-hi-šû-nu mah-rat “out of that, ^fPN has received from PN, on their behalf from PN, one and a half minas and one shekel from the capital of the IOU for four minas, plus the interest on the IOU”, YOS 7 150: 9...15 (Camb yr 3, B)

ŠE.NUMUN-u-a šá ina ŠU.II PN maš-ka-nu ša-ab-ta-ta... “my land, which you (ms) took from PN as a pledge...”, Cyr 337: 9–10 (yr 9, B)

^fPN...te-e-mu šá ^fPN₂ AMA-ia ù ^fPN₃ AMA.AMA-ia har-šat “^fPN has found out information on ^fPN₂ my mother and ^fPN₃ my grandmother”, YOS 6 224: 16–18 (Nbn yr 15, U)

ki-i ŠE.BAR EN še-bu-ú EN [x?] li-iš-pu-ru x “if Sir wants the barley may Sir write (?)”, CT 22 200: 22–23 (letter, Nbn? B)

³⁵ On the basis that *muššuru* is the post-OB form of this verb and that CVC signs are sometimes written for their consonantal rather than vocalic value.

³⁶ Note regarding line 6 in this letter: *a-di UGU en ul qa-ba-’*. If *en* is a shortened form of *enna*, *qa-ba-’* is a passive “up to now it has not been said to me” (i.e. “I have not been told”). If *en* is EN, i.e. “Sir has not told me”, then it is active cf. ii, below.

Note regarding *išû*

išû is used in the texts from Babylon as a defective “stative”, referring to a state of not (using *la*) being or not having. In a finite form *išû* is also used in prohibitions (using *ul*):

u₄-mu.MEŠ ma-du-ti la an-na-mir...DUMU-ba-nu-ta-a la i-ši “for many days I was not seen...I do not have the status of a free man”, Nbn 1113: 18–19 (after yr 7, B)

KÙ.BABBAR šá e-ṭe-ru la i-ši PN a-na PN₂ iq-bi um-ma KÙ.BABBAR a-na e-ṭe-ri-ka la i-ši “there was no silver to pay back. PN said to PN₂ ‘there is no money to pay you back’”, CTMMA 2 53: 7–10 (Nbn yr 9, B)

ru-gum-ma-a ul i-ši “there is to be no legal complaint”, Nbn 668: 16 (Nbn yr 12, B), cf. Nbn 293: 31–32 and VS 5 38: 33–34 (Cyr yr 6, B)

ta-a-r[i] ù ru-gum-ma-a [ul] i-šu-ú “there shall be no comeback or complaints”, Dar 551: 13–14 (yr 22, B), cf. Camb 349: 29–30 and Dar 26: 24

§3 *lū*, the asseverative morpheme.

In earlier phases of Akkadian emphasis could be placed on a verb by the preposing of *lū*. It is rare at this stage of NB and there are difficulties in that, out of the few examples that do exist, many may be precatives. Streck has already observed the complications in the use of the precative (§25b, p129). He makes two important points:

- The preterite is sometimes used instead of the precative. This is due to the influence of the Aramaic imperfect.³⁷
- In function the precative and the asseverative are very similar in that they function as polite commands. The present is not used for the precative. Streck has no examples of “Affirmatives *lū*” (i.e. the asseverative) in *iparras* but then he does not seem to find a distinction between that and the precative, cf. YOS 3 17/TCL 9 129: 38–43, below.

The situation is not helped by the fact that most of the examples involve the difficult verb *idû*, to which *lū* in the precative does not seem to attach itself when *idû* is in the third person. Alternatively, it is possible that none of these examples is a precative,

³⁷ Of course this is noticeable only in 3ms and 3cpl verbs, cf. YOS 3 8: 11–12 in i, below (*lū māda*).

and that *idû* is being used with the asseverative as a polite command, for which a better translation may be “...must know”:³⁸

i) *lū māda* is the asseverative with the adverbial *māda*³⁹ “a lot, very greatly”. This meaning is unique to NB:⁴⁰

ši-pir-tu, šá PN...šá iš-pur-rak-ka lu ma-a-da ma-na-a-ta mim-ma ma-la iš-pur-rak-ka šu-bil-la-áš “the letter PN sent to you means⁴¹ a lot. Whatever he wrote to you about send to him”, YOS 3 79: 13–16 (letter, 539–526, U)

lu-ú ti-i-de dib-bi lu ma-a-du a-kan-na ina UGU-i-ni bi-šu-’ “you do know that the talk against us here is very bad”,⁴² YOS 3 19: 20–21 (letter, early Cyrus, U) cf. *lu ma-a-da da-a-nu* “it is too hard”, *ibid.*: 12

at-ta EN i-mu-ru šá lu ma-a-du sa-ma-ak-ka “you, Sir, must see that I am greatly harrassed”, YOS 3 8: 11–12 (letter, early Dar, U)

Another example is in YOS 3 22: 10–11, given below.

ii) *lū* with finite forms:

DN *lu i-de ki-i ul-tu muh-hi šá tal-li-ka lu-ú ma-da la as-mu-ú* “Since you went, if I have not had the greatest trouble Šamaš knows (I’m a dead man)”, YOS 3 22: 8–11 (letter, early Nbn, U) ⁴³ cf.

EN *lu-ú i-de...ina muh-hi i-ni-ia na-as-ka-ak* “Sir must know I am bedridden!”, CT 22 83: 5...8 (letter, middle Dar, B)

EN *lu-ú i-du-ú ki-i 2 GUR 2 PI BANLIMMU nu-ku-su* “Bēl and Nabû must know that if 2 kur 2 pi 4 sūtu were cut (I’m a dead man)”, CT 22 78: 11–12 (letter, 545–526, B)

lu-u ti-i-de dul-lu ina UGU-ia da-a-nu “you do know the workload on me is (too) much”, YOS 3 33: 4–5 (letter, early Cyrus, U)

*lu-ú ti-i-du MN a-ga-a šá MU 15.KÁM ITI!*⁴⁴ *di-ir-ri* “(this letter is) so that you know that this Addaru, year 15, is a month with an intercalation”, YOS 3 115: 6–9 (royal letter, Nbn yr 15, U)

*a-hi šá miš-’hu LÚ.RIG₇.ME lu-ú i-her-ru-ú u a-hi KÙ.BABBAR a-na LÚ.HUN-GÁ.ME lu ta-ad-din-na-’ GIS.DA šá LÚ.RIG₇.ME a-mur-ma mam-ma ina lib-bi la ta-se-li*⁴⁵ “the širkus are definitely digging part of the stretch and (but?) you

³⁸ The few examples of precativ *līde* (CAD *idû* 2 2’ b and 1 6’ b, p28a and p24b) are from the Amarna letters.

³⁹ *ma’da* in CAD 4b–5a. Attested in MB, EA, NA, NB. See following footnote.

⁴⁰ See CAD *mādu* (the verb) 1 4’, p25a. Evidently it started as a predicative adjective in MB: *lū mādu* “may they be available in quantities”, then later took on adverbial force as *lū māda*.

⁴¹ *manû* seems to fit better than *banû*, posited by AHW and CAD. The letter seems important rather than simply pleasant.

⁴² The odd word order is discussed in II §3 c ii, below.

⁴³ A difficult text which is discussed in speech and oaths, III §4, below. Other examples of DN *lū īde kī*/DN *u DN₂ lū īdû kī*, etc. are given there also.

⁴⁴ The scribe has written UD.

⁴⁵ *tu-maš-šar* in YOS 3 17: 43.

gave part of the silver to the hired labourers'. Look⁴⁶ at the *širku*-ledger and do not leave anyone out", YOS 3 17/TCL 9 129: 38–43 (letters, early Camb, U)

The unclear boundary between the precative and asseverative is exemplified in:

ia-a-nu-ú a-na PN a-na muh-hi lu-uq-bi-ma “if not, I will definitely⁴⁷ tell PN...”, RA 11: 32–33 (letter, 533–532, U)

§4 Commands

a) Imperatives

i) Standard forms. The forms of imperatives, their place in the sentence and their ability to take ventives and suffixes are the same as for imperatives in earlier phases of Akkadian. G, D and Š forms are represented.

	singular		plural
2m	-∅ (CVCVC)	2c	-ā (CVCCā)
2fs	-∅? ⁴⁸		
final weak			
2m	-∅(?), -i (?), ī (?)	2c	-ā
2fs	-ī(?)		

For examples (without suffixes) see the tables at the end of chapter 3. Further examples (with suffixes) are in IV §4, below (ventives) and V §3e, below (personal pronouns).⁴⁹ There are more examples in the Uruk corpus than that from Babylon, especially for 2pl forms.⁵⁰

Other examples of interest (G forms):

kap-du KASKAL.II a-na GÌR.II-šú-nu šu-kun “quickly send (2ms) them on their way”,⁵¹ YOS 3 45: 37–38 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

⁴⁶ 2ms, change of subject.

⁴⁷ “let me tell” does not fit well, here.

⁴⁸ Apart from the one unsuffixed example of a 2fs impv, *šu-pur*, given below, *a-mur* in CT 22 200: 9 can not be considered as significant, since *amur* functions as a sort of interjection in letters. Woodington unfortunately finds no 2fs imperatives in her corpus (p99f).

⁴⁹ Many useful examples are given in Woodington (p99f). Her findings for Kuyunjik NB are the same as the above.

⁵⁰ There is no explanation for this. It may simply be caused by the different natures of the two corpora.

⁵¹ Literally, “put the road to their feet”, a common idiom (discussed by Kienast, 1988), cf. with plural impv: *kap-du KASKAL.II a-na GÌR.II-šú šu-ḫun-na-* in YOS 3 52: 19–20 (letter, 538–532, U). See also JAOS 36: 35–36 (letter, 538–532, U)

PN *a-na bur-ki šá* FDN *ʾi?l-te₉-li-ʾ šu-pur* “has PN gone up to the lap of Tašmētu?⁵² Write”, (2fs) CT 22 6: 33–34 (letter, Cyr, B)

[š]*e-e-nu a-bu-ku-ma KÙ.BABBAR-ši-na i-ša-ʾ i-[b]i-ʾ* “take (i.e. “sell”, 2ms) the sheep and bring their silver and count it”, YOS 7 7: 68–69 (Cyr yr 1, U)

bu-qul us-ha-nu “pull up the hops”, CT 22 79: 22 (letter, 551–527, B) (2pl, ventive)

D forms:

mim-ma šá ina ŠU.II-šú ta-mur i-šam-ma kul-lim-an-na-a-šú “bring and show us whatever you saw in his possession”, TCL 13 170: 10–11 (Camb yr 5, U)

PN *šá áš-pur-ak-ki(sic)-nu-šú su-di-da-áš ù ú-du-ra-áš* “PN, whom I sent to you, look after him and respect (?⁵³) him”, CT 22 9: 21 (letter, 551–527, B)

2fs *kul-lim-in-ni-ma* “show to me...”, TCL 13 179: 14 (U)

DINGIR.MEŠ *a-na muh-hi-ia šu-ul-li-ʾ* “pray to the gods for me”, CT 22 151: 14–15 (letter, early Nbn, B), cf. *šu-ul-li-ia* in CT 22 6: 11 (B)

Š forms:

nu-ud-de-e-ma šu-bi-lu “add and send”, YOS 3 79: 31–32 (letter, 539–526, U)

(livestock and birds) *a-lik-ma e-si-ir-am-ma a-na é-an-na šu-ri-bi* “go and round up (the livestock and birds) and drive them into Eanna”, YOS 7 198: 15–16 (Camb yr 6, U)

šú-ud-gil-ma “transfer”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 10 (B)⁵⁴

šu-bi-lu “bring”, YOS 3 106: 14 (U)

with ventive and suffix:

šu-bil-la-áš “send to him”, YOS 3 79: 16 (U)

2mpl with ventives:

šu-bi-la-a-ni “bring (to me)”, YOS 3 145: 16 (U)

šu-bil-la-a-nu “bring (to me)”, YOS 3 33: 15 (U)⁵⁵

šu-bil-an-na “bring (to me)”, *ibid.*: 33

šul-bi-la-nim-ma “bring (to us)”, JAOS 36: 21

šu-ša-a-nu-uš-šú-nu-tu “make them come out”, TCL 9 111:10 (U)

⁵² I assume this is a euphemism for dying. This interesting letter is discussed in appendix §4 b n71.

⁵³ I assume *adāru* “to fear”, G.

⁵⁴ A larger extract is given in d, below.

⁵⁵ This and the following example should actually be 2ms forms, but the writer slips into the 2mpl throughout, cf. *innāššunūtu* in line 24 (*nadānu* impvs, below).

ii) Unusual spellings for standard forms:

Several examples (all from Uruk) of what appears to be anaptyxis (CVCVCā or CVCVCCā spellings for CVCCā) are noted for the plural impvs:

pi-qi-da-a, “entrust”, JAOS 36: 10 (*piqdā*)

šu-lkun¹-na- “set”, YOS 3 52: 20 (*šuknā*)⁵⁶

a-mu-ra- “see”, YOS 3 29: 22 (*amrā*) cf.

a-mur- “see”, YOS 3 81: 32, cf. *a-mur* in line 30

šu-di-gi-il “transfer” (2ms), CT 22 8: 11.⁵⁷

Note also:

šu-kun-ši-né-e-tu “put them (3fpl)” in YOS 3 4: 11 (royal letter, 543–539, U), is presumably a very proper spelling for *šukuššinēt*. See also personal pronouns, V §3 e, below.

The imperatives of *nadānu* are formed as follows:

2ms	<i>idin</i>	2mpl	<i>innā</i>
ventive	<i>inna</i>		<i>innān(iš/ik)</i>

Examples:

i-din “give”, TCL 13 134: 6 (U)

id-din “give”, Stigers 36: 5 (U); Nbn 243: 5 (B)

i-di-in “give”, Dar 385: 7 (B)

in-na-áš-šú-nu-tú “give to them”, YOS 3 33: 24 (U), cf. TCL 9 111: 12 (U)

in-na-áš-šú “give to him”, CT 22 74: 24 (B)

2mpl *in-na-* “give!”, YOS 3 113: 15,17 (U); TCL 13 182: 9 (U)

in-na-niš-šú “give to him”, YOS 3 113: 15 (U)

b) The precative *lū/lu-*

The function of *lū/lu-* is the same as for the other Akkadian dialects.

i) The precative of the verbless clause is *lū*: “may it be...”:

ši-pir-ta-a lu-u LÚ.mu-kin-nu ina muh-hi-ka “may my letter be a witness against you”, YOS 7 102: 24 (Camb acc, U)⁵⁸

lib-bi šá AMA-ia lu-ú ta-ab-šú “may my mother’s heart be pleased”, YOS 3 22: 18–19 (letter, early Nbn, U) cf. *lib-ba-ka lu-u ta-ab-ka* (2ms) in YOS 3 4: 4–5

⁵⁶ By analogy with *kunnā*?

⁵⁷ LÚ.EN.GAR.MEŠ-ka a-na MN pa-ni-ia *šu-di-gi-il “transfer your farmers to me for Šabātu” (letter, 545–527, B).

⁵⁸ Line 17 also has an example of *lū* and the pronoun copula *iššū*. See §2 a ii, above.

and YOS 3 115: 4–5, *līb-ba-ku-nu lu-u ṭa-ab-ku-nu-ši* in YOS 3 2: 5–6 (royal letters, Nbn, U)

(PN) *a-na DUMU-u-tu lu-ul-qé-e-ma lu-ú DUMU-u-a šu-ú* “let me take (PN) for adoption and let him be my son”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 7–8 (yr 9, B)

ii) The precative with finite verbs

The precative is formed from the preterite prefixed with *lu-* for 1cs for all verb forms and *li-* for third person forms in G and N verbs. *lu-* is the prefix for those D and Š forms attested. The existence of the 3rd person prefix *li-* in D and Š verbs (*liparris*, *lišapris*)⁵⁹ noted in the older Babylonian dialects cannot be ascertained for the NB studied here, but the evidence provided by the few Š forms indicates that it may have been completely replaced by the *lu-* prefix.

First person forms:

lu-uz-qu-up “let me plant”, YOS 6 67: 8 (Nbn yr 4, U)

lu-uš-pu-ur “let me write”, YOS 6 71: 25 (Nbn yr 6, U)

lud-din, *lu-ud-din*, etc., “let me give”, TCL 12 90: 7, TCL 9 79: 29, TCL 13 182: 8,13

1 GIŠ.MÁ...*lu-up-he-e-ma lud-daš-šú* “let me caulk a boat to give⁶⁰ to him”, YOS 3 45: 33...35 (letter, Cyr–Camb,U)

lu-pu-uš “let me do”, *passim*.

ŠUK.HI.A *a-na ku-šu lu-hi-ir* “let me keep rations back⁶¹ for the cold weather”, YOS 3 45: 24–25 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

Note the unusual:

šu-pur-am-ma lu lil-lik “write to me to go”, (for *lullik*) YOS 3 69: 30 (letter, 539–526, U)

Third person forms:

(ZÚ.LUM.MA)...*a-na PN EN.MEŠ lid-din-nu-’ kap-du lik-šu-du* “may Sirs give...(dates) to PN. May he arrive quickly”, *ibid.*: 37...41

li-ih-tu “let him make mistakes”, YOS 3 17/ TCL 9 129: 35, 34 (letters, early Camb? U)

li-i-ru-ur “may he curse”, Cyr 277: 18 (yr 7, B)

⁵⁹ See GAG §81c and Woodington (p102), who observes that the *li-* prefix is not common and is primarily limited to elaborate greetings.

⁶⁰ That *nadānu* exhibits a sound change when suffixed is seen in *lud-da-áš-šú-nu-tu* in YOS 3 79, given above in the purpose clauses, and *lu-ud-dak-kam-ma* in Cyr 337: 11, also given in V §3 f, below, *note* 2.

⁶¹ *ahāru* D is the assumed verb (AHw p 18).

LÚ.A.KIN-*ku-nu lil-li-kám-ma ŠE.BAR...šá ina NÍG.GA šá-ak-nu li-mu-ur ù šá a-na la gi-né-e it-tir liš-ši* “your messenger may come and he may look at the barley...that is deposited in the store and whatever is in excess of the *ginû* offering he may take”, YOS 3 126: 34–38 (letter, 525–524, U)

li-mu-ur...li-pu-uš “may he see...may he do”, YOS 3 45: 12...19 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

liš-pur-ú-nu “may they write”, YOS 3 21: 17 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

Š forms:

*lu-še-bi-la*⁶²/*lu-še-bi-lu* “may he bring”, passim in letters.

lu-še-šu-ú-šú-nu-tu “may they let them out”, YOS 3 21: 15 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA *lu-še-lu-ni-im-mu* (sic) *a-na ŠE.BAR ina GN lid-din-’* “let them bring dates up so that they can sell them for barley in Nippur”, YOS 3 81: 21–22 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

Š forms (first person):

ši-kat...šá KÁ...ina mu-ši lu-up-te-ma lu-še-ši-ka “let me undo the bolt of the gate...in the night for me to let you out”, YOS 7 78: 10..11 (Cyr yr 7, U)

PN...*iz-qa-a-ta AN.BAR i-di-ma...a-na IGI-ia šu-pur-áš-ši-im-ma a-kan-na ina qaq-qar lu-ul-ti-il-šú* “throw PN...into irons and...send him to me for me to make him grovel in the dirt, here”, YOS 3 19: 24...29 (letter, early Cyr, U)

There is one clear example of an N form in the texts:⁶³

li-in-na-din “let it be given”, YOS 3 81: 11 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

c) Precative forms without a precative particle

i) The cohortative

This functions for the first person plural as the precative does for the second and third persons and 1cs. It had already lost the preformative *i* in Kuyunjik NB (Woodington p100f) and therefore appears identical to the preterite:

qí-ban-na-an-na-ši-ma ni-pu-uš “tell (sg) us so we can do it”, YOS 7 70: 10 (Cyr yr 8, U)

dib-bi-šú-nu ni-iš-me-ma EŠ.BAR-šú-nu ni-ip-ru-us “let us hear their case and make a decision about them”, YOS 3 96 (letter, 533–526, U)

⁶² See Note in IV §4, below (ventives).

⁶³ There is also the uncertain reading *lim-ma-ši-hi* “may it be measured”, CT 22 200: 18 cited in *masāhu* N in AHW p623b.

These last two examples are also purpose clauses. Further examples are in II §1a iii, below.

ii) Other forms without a precative particle

The preterite sometimes replaced the precative owing to influence from the Aramaic imperfect. Streck lists earlier references (including those references to the disappearance of the *i* in the cohortative) to the subject in §25 (p127f). The difficulty in identifying precatives in *iprus* is not helped by the difficulties in understanding the contexts in which they occur, as they seem to occur only in letters. The examples below are also given by Streck:

PN *al-tap-par-ka* u PN₂...*it-ti-šú a-di muh-hi* n KÙ.BABBAR EN *lid-da-šú*
KÙ.BABBAR *a-na šá-a-šú* u PN₂ *id-din-nu* “I have sent PN to you and PN₂ is with him. May Sir give up to n silver to him. May he give it to him or to PN₂. CT 22 148: 6...13 (letter, 545–527, B)

i-na lib-bi šá AD-u-nu *at-ta a-na* EN-*ía áš-pur-ru* “because you are our father, may I write to my lord”, CT 22 183: 19...25 (letter, IMB, B)⁶⁴

at-ta ⁴EN *i-de šá* MU.AN.NA *a, ŠE.BAR ina é-an-na ia-a-nu ŠE.BAR a-na*
GIŠ.BÁN-*ia gab-ba la en-de-e-tu, al-la-’* n GUR *šá a-na gi-né-e šá e-an-na*
na-šá-a-ta at-ta ⁴EN *i-mu-ru šá lu ma-a-du sa-ma-ak-ka* “you, Sir, must know that this year there is no barley in Eanna. The barley(-yield) on my farm-lease has not been estimated apart from n kur which was taken for the regular offering for Eanna. You, Sir, must see that I am greatly harrassed”, YOS 3 8: 6–12 (letter, early Dar, U)

The extract from YOS 3 21, given by Streck on page 134, is too broken to be convincing. No 3fs precatives (with or without *lū*) are identifiable in my corpora. Already in Kuyunjik NB the preterite alone is being used; Woodington (not cited by Streck) gives the examples *tatūr* “let it turn”, and *tēlâ* “let it come up” (p99).

d) *ībina(mma)*, *binna(nimma)*⁶⁵ A defective compound verb, understood by von Soden to be a combination of the imperative of the the Aramaic root (w/y)hb, “to give” and the NB ventive imperatives of *nadānu*, *inna*, *innān* “give”. It appears only in the imperative. The Babylon corpus provides no examples, although the examples in GINBr p76 show that it was used in other places besides Uruk. Those Uruk examples from my corpus are given below. Their indirect objects are always 1c.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ What appears to be a precative in question form is in lines 14–18. See §6 b ii, below.

⁶⁵ (*bīn* in GAG Erg. §107w and AHw p126b; *bī* in CAD A/II p216f; *bānu* in GINBr p76.) Not noted in Kuyunjik NB by Woodington. However, there are two examples in the Nippur NB letters, *i-bi-ni* “give (2ms) me”, and *bi-na-a-nu* “give (2mpl) me” (Cole, 1996, p298). The Dialogue of Pessimism, a poem in SB with copies dating from the reign of Asb, twice uses the singular *bi-nam-ma* (Lambert, 1960; p144, line 11 and p146, line 54). Examples are also in Gilgamesh tablet 6 (SB, Assyrian version) and in VS 1 70, a NB *kudurru* dated from the reign of Sargon II. (See the entry in CAD.)

⁶⁶ *nadānu* is used alone, if the indirect object is not 1c.

2sg *i-bi-nam-ma* “give to me”, YOS 3 17: 11, TCL 9 129: 11

i-ša-am-ma i-bi-in-nu “bring to me”, YOS 7 102: 9

2pl *bi-in-na-nim-ma* “give to me”, YOS 6 33: 7 (Nbn yr 3),⁶⁷ YOS 6 67: 7, TCL 12 90: 6, TCL 13 182: 8, 12

bi-in-na,-an-ši-ma “give to us”, YOS 7 156: 6⁶⁸

In GAG §107w von Soden says *ib-inna* was the earlier form, which was then reduced to *binna*. The above examples suggest that by the time of Nabonidus year 3 (at least in Uruk) the plural form had lost the /i/ initial. Segert gives the Aramaic 2ms impv of (w/y)hb as *hab* and the 2pl as *h^abū* (p277).

e) *Replacement of the imperative by a present-future* is common in the third person, e.g. *inamdin* “he is to give”, passim, but also occurs in the second person:

at-tu-nu PAP LÚ.NA.GAD.ME...*it-ti-ku-nu ta-ab-ba-ku a-na pa-ni* PN *it-ti-i-ni tal-la-ku* “you (mpl), take all the herdsmen...with you. You are to come with us to Gobryas”, AnOr 8 43: 16–19 (Cyr yr 4, U)

te-li a-na LUGAL *ina muh-hi qí-bi* “go up⁶⁹ and tell the king about it...”, YOS 3 200: 40 (letter, early Camb, U).

§5 Negation

la and *ul*. Although earlier Babylonian dialects may keep the distinction in usage between the two quite clear (GAG §127), this is not the case here. *la* and *ul* will therefore be dealt with together and comments about their differences are given at the end of c.

a) Negations in nominal phrases and single words:

la is consistently used throughout:

ina la qa-re-bi šá PN “in the absence of PN”, YOS 6 78: 9, 17 (Nbn yr 4, U)

ka-a-ri ina la LÚ.man-di-di ú-šu-uz “the quay/customs remains without a measurer”, YOS 3 113: 21–22 (letter, early Cyr, U)

il-la GUB-zu šá PN “in⁷⁰ the absence of PN”, YOS 7 7: 52 (Cyr yr 1, U)

⁶⁷ Earliest attestation in the corpus.

⁶⁸ For a possible contraction of *-nāši* to *-nši* see V §3 f note i, below. A fuller extract from YOS 7 156 and the example from YOS 6 67 are given in II §1 a iii, below (purpose clauses).

⁶⁹ Assuming *telli*.

⁷⁰ The assimilation of *ina + la* to *il-la* is a hapax in the two corpora.

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *ina la* ŠUK.HI.A *i-sam-mu-ú* “the workers are suffering from lack of rations”, YOS 3 52: 17–18 (letter, 538–532, U)

7 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...šá *la gi-in-nu* “seven minas of silver, not of the ordinary kind”, Dar 494: 1 (yr 19, B)

tah-sis-ti la ma-še-e “a memorandum not to be forgotten”, Nbn 68: 14–15 (yr 2, B), cf. CTMMA 1 18: 13

b) Negation in verbal phrases:

i) *ul* is used for the simple negation of a verbal phrase in both Babylon and Uruk. The verb cannot be infixed with a *-t-*:⁷¹

ú-ba-³-e-ma ul am-mar “I looked but I cannot see (it)”, YOS 3 79: 28 (letter, 539–526, U)

la-pa-ni mam-ma šá-nam-ma ul a-li-du “he was not born by anyone else”, AnOr 8 47: 16 (Cyr yr 5, U)

mam-ma ul id-din-nu “no one gave (them, i.e. the dates), CT 22 73: 31 (letter, middle Dar? B)

Since they have verbal function, predicative verbal adjectives are negated using *ul*:⁷²

É.MEŠ-šú-*nu ul zu-³-zu* “their estates were not divided”, YOS 6 143: 14 (Nbn, yr 10, U)

A.ŠÀ.MEŠ *ul na-di-in-ma* KÙ.BABBAR *ul ma-hi-ir* “the fields were not sold and the silver not received”, Dar 26: 27–28 (yr 1, B)

ii) *la* also appears with both finite and predicative forms, perhaps more so in the Babylon texts:

^fPN *áš-šá-ti a-hu-uz-ma* DUMU *u* DUMU.MUNUS *la tul-du* “I took ^fPN as a wife but she did not bear a son or daughter”, Nbn 380: 3–4 (yr 9, B)

KÙ.BABBAR *ši-i-mi* A.ŠÀ-šú *i-ṭi-ru-uš ù* ŠE.NUMUN *it-ti a-ha-meš la im-šu-hu* “he paid him the price of his field but they did not measure (it) together”, Nbn 293: 8–9 (yr 8, B)

u₄-mu.MEŠ ma-du-ti la an-na-mir...DUMU-ba-nu-ta-a la i-ši “for many days I was not seen...I do not have the status of a free man”, Nbn 1113: 18–19 (after yr 7, B)⁷³

However, *la* negating a main verb can be noted in Uruk:

ba-lu-uk-ku-nu la nu-gal-li-ib-šú “we did not shave him without your permission”, AnOr 8 48: 21 (Cyr yr 5, U)

IM.DUB *za-ku-tu šá* PN *la i-nu-ú er-ret* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *la ú-šá-an-nu-ú* “they did not change the document of dedication of PN; they did not change the curse of the great gods”, Roth: 43–44 (Cyr yr 9, U)

⁷¹ See d, below.

⁷² Further examples are given in §2, above.

⁷³ *išû* is actually a defective stative (*paris*). See the Note at the end of §2, above.

c) Prohibitions

i) *la* is usually used. The word order is:

[subject +] object phrase + *la* + verb (present tense):

kap-du kap-du nu-bat-tu₄ la ta-ba-ta “quickly, quickly, don’t stop overnight”, CT 22 83: 9–11 (letter, middle Dar? B)

na-qut-ta-a⁷⁴ la ta-re-ša-’ šá tē-ma-a la ta-ša-ma-’ “don’t have (2fs) any fears about me that you haven’t⁷⁵ heard any news about me”, CT 22 6: 7–8 (letter, Cyr, B)

it-ti LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šá É GIŠ.GIGIR-ia...la ta-dab-bu-ub “do not conspire with the men from my chariot house”, CT 22 74: 31–32 (letter, middle Dar? B), cf. 21–22

mim-ma a-na muh-hi la ta-qab-bi “do not say anything about it”, YOS 6 235: 8–9 (Nbn yr 12, U)

mam-ma ina lib-bi a-na mam-ma la ta-nam-din-’ “do not give (2mpl) anyone from among them to anybody”, RA 11 26–27 (letter, 533–532, U)

LÚ.A.KIN-ia ina IGI-ka la iz-za-zu dul-lu ina UGU-ia da-a-nu “my messenger is not to stay with you; work is hard for me”, YOS 3 79: 33–34 (letter, 539–526, U)

PN u PN₂ ina IGI-ku-nu la i-ku-šu-’...nu-bat-ti ina IGI-ku-nu la i-bit-tu-’ “PN and PN₂ are not to tarry in your presence; they are not to stay⁷⁶ the night”, TCL 9 111: 5–9 (letter, 533–532, U)

Prohibitions involving *šelû*. The usual idiom is *ina/ana muhhi ...la + šelû* “regarding ..., do not be lax”):⁷⁷

ša ši-ib-ti šá bir-ri I, MEŠ šá mam-ma it-ti-ka la i-dab-bu-ub-’ a-na muh-hi⁷⁸ EN la i-šel-li “regarding the *šibtu*-tax from the land between the canals, which no one’s discussed with you, may⁷⁹ Sir not be lax about it”, CT 22 80: 19–23 (letter, Nbn, after 545, B)

ina muh-hi i-mit-ti la ta-šel-li “regarding the *imittu*-tax do not be lax”, TCL 9 76: 10 (letter, 533–524, U)⁸⁰

⁷⁴ From *naqādu* or *nakādu*.

⁷⁵ Both AHW (*nakuttu* p745) and CAD (*nakuttu* N/I pp198bf) give this verb as a 2fpl (*tareššā’*) even though at this point in the letter the writer is addressing his mother only. (He later addresses the other members of his family, both male and female, so it could conceivably be 2mpl in anticipation.) It is also possible that the writer is asking a question (“are you not having worries that you haven’t heard...”) but the use of *la* rather than *ul* in *la ta-re-ša-’* makes this unlikely. (See §6b ii, below.)

⁷⁶ See GINBr p79 for *ibâtû* or *ibittû* as variants of the 3mpl present-future of *bātu*.

⁷⁷ *sa1û* in GINBr (p202).

⁷⁸ *a-na muh-hi* acts as a resumptive of the *ša* in line 19.

⁷⁹ See discussion below about *la* and the vetitive.

⁸⁰ Also has the prohibition *nu-bat-ti la ta-[ba]-a-tú* (lines 25–26).

ina UGU...(items)...a-na šu-lu-ú ^mEN *la i-šel-li* “as regards (the items) for loading up, may Sir not be lax”, YOS 3 19: 29...31 (letter, early Cyr, U)

ina UGU šu-uš-bu-ut-tu, ta-bi-la-a-nu ù hi-ših-he-e-ti EN *la i-šel-li* “as regards the stocks, assignments (?) and requisites, may Sir not be lax”, YOS 3 79: 17–20 (letter, 539–526, U)

ii) *ul* in prohibitions:

1) Babylon:

LÚ.TUK-ú *šá-nam-ma ina muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ* “no other creditor⁸² has right of disposal”, Nbn 314: 9-10 (yr 17, B), cf. Nbn 1047: 13–14 and elsewhere.

mim-ma ina lib-bi ^fPN *a-na re-e-mu-ú-tu ul ta-a-re-me ù ni-is-hi a-na muh-hi ul ta-na-as-sa-hi* “^fPN is not to give anything of it away as a present or make any withdrawals with regard to it”, Nbn 65: 18–19 (yr 2, B)

^fPN DUMU.MUNUS-*su šá PN ul tu-maš-šar...[a-na a-ša]r-šá-nam-ma ul tal-lak* “she is not to desert PN’s (baby) girl...she is not to go anywhere else”, BE 8 47: 6...8 (Nbn yr 5, B)

Note that the defective stative of *išû* is commonly negated using *ul*:

ru-gum-ma-a ul i-ši “there is to be no legal complaint”, Nbn 668: 16 (Nbn yr 12, B)

ru-gum-ma-a ul i-ši ul i-tur-ru-ma a-ha-meš ul i-rag-<gu>-mu...um-ma É šu-a-ti ul ^lna^l-[d]in-ma KÛ.BABBAR *ul ma-hi-ir* “there is to be no legal complaint. They are not to make another claim, saying, ‘that house was not sold and the silver not given’”, VS 5 38: 33–34 (Cyr yr 6, B)

ta-a-ri ù ru-gum-ma-a ul i-šu-ú “there shall be no comeback or complaint”, Camb 349: 29–30 (yr 6, B), cf. Dar 26: 24

2) Uruk:

LÚ.GÁL-ú *šá-nam-ma a-na muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ* “no other creditor has right of disposal”, referring to assets pledged to a certain creditor, which cannot be accessed by any other creditor, YOS 6 90: 16–17 (Nbn yr 7, U). This phrase is not so common in Uruk.

li-gi-in-ni a-na LÚ.RIG₇.MEŠ ul tu-šá-aq-bi ⁸³ “you are not to make the *širkus* recite⁸⁴ the extract tablets”, YOS 19 110: 5–6 (Nbn yr 15, U)

a-na muh-hi šá LÚ.ma-gu-šu il-la-kám-ma É ZÌ.DA i-her-ri mam-ma ZÌ.DA a-na lib-bi ul i-de-ek-ki “until the magus comes and digs/examines (?⁸⁵) the flour house no one is to remove the flour in it”, YOS 3 66: 8–9 (letter, Camb pre-526? U)

⁸² Both GÁL-ú and TUK-ú are to be read *rāšû*.

⁸³ For *tušaqba*.

⁸⁴ Or, “teach the *širkus* to read”, cf. Cole (1996), p334.

⁸⁵ Discussed in VI §2, below.

a-na muh-hi sah-le-e šá a-na PN ak-lu-ú um-ma ul ta-na-áš... “regarding the cress that I have retained for PN, having said, ‘don’t take (it)’...”, YOS 3 12: 9–12 (letter, early Nbn, U)

Comments on b and c, above.

The loss of distinction between *ul* and *la* in main clauses is already noted by Woodington (324–327). The Aramaic negative particle is *la*’ and this would certainly explain the increasing use of *la* in NB. Unfortunately, as far as these corpora are concerned, there are not enough examples to indicate whether *la* is used more than *ul* to negate main clauses at this later stage of NB, except that there is a tendency for Babylon to use *ul* more than Uruk in prohibitions. 12 Babylon texts use *ul* at least once, 5 use *la* at least once. Uruk continues to prefer *la*, with 17 texts using *la* at least once, the four examples above being the only ones with *ul*.

The prohibitions in the Kuyunjik NB letters have only *la* + present (Woodington, p102 and p323). On page 323 Woodington also notes that the *ai/ē* vetitive particle has been absorbed by *la*. This is the case in this later NB, as is the same pattern of using *la* + present if one is politely addressing a superior (cf. *bēl la išelli*, above). Otherwise, straightforward prohibitions now use *ul*, but not with the variations in word order noted by Woodington (325–327).

d) *la* is used in subordinate clauses without exception:

(land) šá PN *la iṣ-ba-tú* “(land) which PN did not take”, TCL 12 90: 5 (Nbn yr 7, U)

(items which) PN...*ina ŠU.II PN₂...iš-šu-[i]a-ma*⁸⁶ *a-na é-an-na la id-di-ni* “(items which) PN took from the possession of PN₂...but did not give to Eanna”, YOS 7 7: 3...4 (Cyr yr 1, U)

PN...šá PN₂...*a-na 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...a-na PN₃...id-di-in-nu-ma PN₂ a-na É PN₃ la i-ru-bu* “(regarding the case of) PN, who sold PN₂ to PN₃ for one mina of silver but PN₂ did not go to the house of PN₃”, YOS 7 114: 1...3 (Camb yr 1, U)

DUMU-šú šá *ina lîb-bi la i-pal-láh-šú* HALA *ina lîb-bi ul i-leq-qu* “any son of hers who does not respect her will not receive a share”, Rutten: 8–9 (Nbn yr 1, B)

In the case of negation in the future, conditional sentences with *kī* can have *la* + verb with infixed *-t-*:⁸⁷

ki-i ŠE.NUMUN pa-ni PN la in-da-har... “if the arable land does not please PN...”, VS 5 20: 16–17 (Nbn yr 1, B)

⁸⁶ Unusual spelling, cf. YOS 7 42: 16.

⁸⁷ See III §3a, below and Streck §36f (p164). In §18a (p129) he observes that **ul iptaras* does not occur.

ki-i la uk-tin-nu 1+en 30 a-na FDN i-nam-di-in “if he does not give evidence...he is to give thirtyfold to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 175: 6 (Nbn yr 12, U)

Contrast these two examples with AnOr 8 79: 9...13, where the condition and penalty are given as two paratactic statements:⁸⁸

ina MN...PN PN₂ ul i-bu-kám-ma a-na PN₃ ul id-din 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-na FDN i-nam-din “(if,) in Tašritu... PN has not brought PN₂ and given him to PN₃, he is to give one mina of silver to the Lady-of-Uruk” (Camb yr 7, U)

e) Negation in questions:⁸⁹

i) *la*⁹⁰

mi-nam-ma LÚ.A.KIN.GI₄.A-ma la ta!-áš-pur? “why did you not send a messenger?”, Peek 22: 28–29 (letter, middle Dar? B)

ii) *ul* is preferred after *minâ* or *minâmma*:

mi-na-a LÚ.A.KIN-ku-nu ul a-mur “why haven’t I seen your (mpl) messenger?”, CT 22 9: 8–9 (letter, 554–527, B).

mi-nam-ma a-na LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM u LÚ.šak-na šá ina pa-na-tu-ú-a paq-du ul taq-ba u ul-tu UGU šá a-na-ku paq-da-ak-ka ul taq-ba-’ “why didn’t you speak to the šatammu or the official who was posted before me and why didn’t you speak to me after I was posted?”, TCL 13 170: 8–10 (Camb yr 5, U)

ú-il-ti.ME...mi-nam-ma ul ta-di-in-né-ši-ma ZÚ.LUM.MA ul ni-si(=ti?)-ir “why didn’t you give the IOUs...to us and why didn’t we collect(?)⁹¹ the dates?”, TCL 13 181: 15...17 (Dar yr 2, U)

KÙ.BABBAR šá áš-pur-rak-ka mi-nam-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul tu-še-bi-lu “(regarding) the silver that I wrote to you about, why didn’t you send the silver?”, CT 22 83: 22–23 (letter, middle Dar? B)

Further examples are in CT 22 6: 32, 41; CT 22 193: 27 (both B) and YOS 3 64: 10 (U).

f) *mimma* is sometimes inserted in order to emphasise negatives without otherwise changing the meaning:

mim-ma [erasure?] *te-e-me PN a-na muh-hi-šú-nu ul iš-ku-na-an-na* “PN gave me no information whatsoever regarding them”, YOS 7 70: 10–11 (Cyr yr 8, U)

mim-ma HA.LA šá PN...i-na LÚ-tú šu-a-ti ia-a-nu “PN has no share whatsoever in that servant”, Dar 551: 12...13 (yr 22, B)

⁸⁸ Discussed in III §3d, below.

⁸⁹ I have no clear example of a negative question without an interrogative particle but see the comments to CT 22 183: 14–18 in §7b ii, below.

⁹⁰ *la* was the norm for earlier Babylonian dialects (GAG §122a, § 153c), including Kuyunjik NB (Woodington p322). However, ABL 1380: 18 (p298) should be added to the exception on p322. (Both examples use *ul*.)

⁹¹ Verb unclear. Perhaps the meaning is “why were the dates not collected?” but the N of *esēru* A (CAD 332a–334a) “to press for payment due, to collect”, is not attested and the N of *esēru* B (CAD p334a) “to be collected” is a hapax in MB. Since a G stative (*paris*) would suffice to convey a passive meaning, I therefore wonder if *eṭēru* was meant.

The following letter has two examples of emphatic *mimma* separated from its governing negative by a subordinate clause:

mim-ma a-ki-i pi-i šá LÚ.UN.MEŠ EN la il-lak “in spite of what people say, Sir definitely is not to go”, YOS 3 22: 13–14 (letter, early Nbn, U)

mim-ma a-ki-i pi-i šá mam-ma la tal-la-ki “in no way, in spite of what anyone says, do you have to go”, *ibid.*: 19–21

In the following, *mimma* and the negative in an oath combine to produce an emphatic positive:

DN *ki-i mim-mu gab-bi la ú-qat-tu-ú* “by Šamaš, (woe betide me) if they definitely haven’t completely finished,” (i.e. he is swearing that they *have* finished) YOS 3 21: 31–32 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U). For TCL 13 181: 12–14 see the section on oaths, III §4 b, below.

§6 Speech and questions

a) The reporting of direct speech

Speech, whether direct or reported, is usually introduced with a verb of speaking (or swearing an oath, q.v. III §4 b and c, below) followed by *umma* and then the statement in “vivid” representation, i.e. the statement is recorded word for word. An attempt to reproduce this in translation gives:

PN u PN₂ *iq-ta-bu-nu um-ma ŠE.BAR a-na PN₃ la ta-nam-din* “PN and PN₂ have told me ‘you are not to give the grain to PN₃’”, YOS 3 169: 12–15 (letter, middle Nbn, U)

a-na PN iq-bu-ú um-ma tar-gu-mu um-ma DUMU ba-ni-i a-na-ku “...(that) he said to PN ‘you claimed “I am a free man”’”, Nbn 1113: 15–16 (after yr 7, B)

PN...*a-na PN₂...ki-a-am iq-bi um-ma* [†]PN...*a-na áš-šu-tú a-na PN₃ ma-ri-ia id-din* “PN...spoke to PN₂ thus:⁹² “give [†]PN in matrimony to PN₃ my son”, Nbn 243: 1...5 (yr 6, B)

⁹² Marriage contracts regularly employ this formula. For further examples from NB (Npl to Seleucid times) see Roth (1989b).

The almost identical Uruk letters TCL 9 127 and YOS 3 17 contain a large proportion of reported statements.⁹³ In these letters, the writer Nabû-ah-iddin records speech in which his own name is used and this is also written as said:

ki-i ta-qab-ba-a₄ um-ma ^{md}NÀ.ŠEŠ.MU *hi-tu ina lîb-bi li-ih-tu* “how⁹⁴ can you say, ‘Nabû-ah-iddin may make mistakes there?’”, YOS 3 17: 34–35, TCL 9 129: 33–34 (letters, 533–526, U)

umma is also used when quoting from a written source:

ina IM.DUB šu-du-ú um-ma ŠE.NUMUN *a-tar [u ma-tu] ki-i IM.DUB-šú-nu a-ha-meš ip-pa-lu* “on the tablet it was made known, ‘they are mutually responsible for the arable land profit [or loss] according to their tablet’”, Camb 286: 7–8 (yr 5, B)

ši-pir-ti il-tap-ra um-ma TUG.BAR.DUL₅.MEŠ *ši-na...šá ul-tu UGU FDN...ur-ra-da-nim-ma a-na UGU FDN₂ u FDN₃ il-la-ka ki-i iq-bu-^lnu^l áš-šá it-tar-da-a-nu* 1+et *ina lîb-bi-ši-na a-na FDN₂...ta-an-na-an-din* “he sent a message saying, (regarding) those...*kusītu* garments which are coming down from Nanâ of Ezida for the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanâ; when they said ‘as soon as they come down one of them is to be given to the Lady-of-Uruk...’”, YOS 6 71: 22...23 (Nbn yr 6, U)

b) Questions and indirect questions⁹⁵

i) With question words:

*akkā’i, akkā’i kī, kī*⁹⁶, *kimā*⁹⁷ “how, how much” All the examples are from Uruk and all are indirect questions:

a-mur ak-ka-’-i qí-me ù gi-mir KUŠ.nu-u-tu...*tad-din* “see how much flour and all the leather...you gave”, YOS 3 106: 21–22 cf. the similar YOS 3 45: 12–14 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ù en-na ka-la-a-ta ak-ka-a-’-i^l ki-i ka-la-a-ta hur-ša-am-ma šup-ra “and now it (the *kusītu* garment, 3fs) has been detained. Determine⁹⁸ how it has been detained and write”, YOS 6 71: 24–25 (Nbn yr 6, U)

LUGAL *il-ta-la-an-ni ki-ma-a* NÍG.GA *šá FDN a-na GN i-la-a* “the king has asked me how much of the Lady-of-Uruk’s property came up to Babylon”, JNES 1993: 30 (Nbn yr 17? U)

êkāni in ana êkāni kī “where to?”,

ul-tu šá GN a-na e-ka-a-ni ki-i al-la-ka “after Šahrīnu where do I go to?”, YOS 3 106: 32–33 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

⁹³ Another extract is given in b, below (*êkāni*).

⁹⁴ See below for *kī* as a question word.

⁹⁵ Negation in questions is in §5e, above.

⁹⁶ See a, above, for the example from YOS 3 17: 34–35 and the near duplicate TCL 9 129: 33–34.

⁹⁷ Since there is no convincing evidence for the pronunciation of word final glottal stops in the NB of this period, I transcribe it thus, rather than as the *kima’/kīma’* of the dictionaries.

⁹⁸ *harāṣu* + *šapāru* may also mean “to write exactly”. See the entry on *harāṣu* in hendiadys (II §1a iv, below).

This is the only unambiguous example of “where?”. However, there may be a case for proposing that *anīn* (or *anin*?)⁹⁹ also means “where?” in verbless clauses. The two examples in the corpora are:

(one person speaking) *um-ma* ZAG.LU *šá* PN...*šá e-me-e-ka a-ni-ni* PN *iq-bu-ú um-ma a-na* PN₃...*at-ta-din* “the *imittu*-tax of PN...your uncle, where is it?” PN said (subjunctive) ‘I have given it to PN₃...’, Camb 329: 6...11 (Camb yr 6, B)¹⁰⁰

PN...*i-qab-ba-³* *um-ma* I, *šá* GN *ah-her-ri* ù ŠE.NUMUN *ma-du ina* UGU LÚ. *ú-ra-šú* ù *ki-i* KÙ.BABBAR *i-bi-nam-ma* ¹*lu¹-he-ri-iš* *a-qab-ba-áš-šú um-ma re-e-hu šá ina* UGU-*ka a-ni-in* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ina re-e-hi-šú ina* UGU-*šú al-ta-kan um-ma a-lik-ma* ¹*I¹* GN *hir-ri* “PN says (historic present) to me ‘I am digging¹⁰¹ the GN canal but the land is too much (for me), therefore give me either a conscripted labourer or silver so that I can dig it¹⁰²’. I say to him (difficult) ‘the remaining balance that you owe, where is it?’ I have put another mina of silver onto his owed balance (saying), ‘go and dig the GN canal’”, YOS 3 17: 8...15 (letter, 533–526, U)¹⁰³

minâ, minâmma “why?”:

mi-na-³ *ina* IGI-*ka ši-i-ni* “why are they (fpl) with you?”, JRAS 1926: 8 (Nbn yr 10, B)

mi-na-a 13 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* PN EN *id-din* “why did Sir give 13 shekels of silver to PN?”, CT 22 78: 28–30 (letter, B)

mi-nam-ma *ṭè-mu ul maš-šir* “why isn’t (my) information released?”, CT 22 193: 27–27 (letter, end Nbn? B)

mi-na-a₄ *šá piš-ki a-na-ku* ù LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-*ia ni-ma-a-ta* ù *ni-hi-il-liq* “why should I or my men die or perish because of unfairness?”, YOS 3 106: 16–17 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

In the following two examples not only is there a question word but the final vowel of the verb is also lengthened.¹⁰⁴ As vowel lengthening can only occur if the verb ends in a vowel, it suggests that in the first example the 2fs ending of the strong verb was still used in the interrogative form, and in the case of the second example, that the ventive singular ending survived on a verb with a strong final consonant:

mi-nam-ma kal-bi ¹*ta¹-mah-haṣ-ši-³* “why are you (2fs) hitting the dog?”, YOS 7 107: 9–10 (Camb yr 1, U)

⁹⁹ *anīna*, “where”, is attested in OB, Boghazköy and Nuzi (CAD *A/II* p122b, *anīna*; AHw p51b, *anīn*).

¹⁰⁰ *a-ni-ni* in this example has usually been translated “is for us”, by others such as Ebeling and CAD. The “us” could then be the speaker (the slave MBU) and his owner.

¹⁰¹ This seems more appropriate to the context than the *ih-her-ri* “is being dug”, of Streck (§8d, p97) and Palm (p101).

¹⁰² Or, “so that I can choose one (i.e. a labourer)”.

¹⁰³ Given in AHw p51b as *anin*, as an untranslated single entry. In CAD, this is given as the only NB attestation of *anīna* B, “now” (*A/II* p221b).

¹⁰⁴ Contrast this with *áš-me* in CT 22 6: 32 (in *minû kī*, below).

mi-na-a tē-en-ka la-pa-ni-ía i-re-eq-qá-a “why do you not keep me informed?” (literally, “why is your advice a long way from me?”), CT 22 6: 18 (letter, Cyr, B). See also lines 26,¹⁰⁵ 41 and below for lines 31–32.

Further examples are in CT 22 9: 8–9 (B) and YOS 3 64: 10 (U) (*minâ*), Peek 22: 28–29 and TCL 13 170: 8–10 (U) (*minâmma*).

ana muhhi minî kî “because of what?” i.e. “why?”

ù SUM.SAR *a-ga-a a-na muh-hi mi-ni-i ki-i la aš-*bu!*¹⁰⁶ “and this garlic, why is it that it is not included”, CT 22 78: 20–22 (letter, 545–527, B)

minû “what?; whatever”:

ši-pir-ti ši-i šá...taš-pu-ru mi-nu-ú ši-i “that letter that you sent...what is it?”¹⁰⁷ CT 22 48: 9...11 (letter, pre-527, B)

mi-nu-ú PN te-e-me a-na muh-hi-šú-nu iš-kun-ka qí-ban-na-an-na-ši “whatever advice PN gave to you about them, tell us”, YOS 7 70: 9–10 (Cyr yr 8, U)

minû kî “whatever”:

mi-nu-ú ki-i ina UGU-šú-nu EN i-šak-ka-na mu-hur-šú-nu-tu “whatever Sir imposes on them get from them”, YOS 3 17: 5–6 (letter, 533–526, U), cf. TCL 9 129: 6

ul-tu u₄-mu šá al-li-ku mi-nu-ú ki-i ina É ép-šú šu-pu-ú mi-na-a tē-en-ka ul áš-me “since I went, why haven’t I heard news from you about whatever is happening with the ~~building~~ plot?”, CT 22 6: 30–32 (letter, Cyr, B)

mi-nu-ú ki-i PN i-qa-ba-ki-nu-šú...ep-šá-’ “whatever PN says to you, do!”, CT 22 9: 14...18 (letter, 551–527, B)

Observations

- Direct questions have the question word followed by a verbal or nominal predicate.¹⁰⁸ The exception is *anîn* (if it really does mean “where?”), which comes at the end.
- In the case of indirect questions, if the question word refers to a noun the noun comes straight after it.¹⁰⁹
- An indirect question word may be used pronominally, in which case it has to be distinguished from its direct equivalent by a predicate subordinated using *kî*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Which is a repetition of the above but without the lengthened vowel in the verb, *i-re-eq*.

¹⁰⁶ The sign BU is not clear. Ebeling (GINBr p162), Shiff (p518) and Wunsch (II p320f) think it is meant to read *la-as-uh!* i.e. “why should I take the garlic out (of the ground?)”. They interpret this as a precative *lassuh* which would mean this is an exceptional (for NB) spelling for *lussuh* and also an exceptional use of the precative. Since the sign looks like  without the final wedge I suggest the word may be *aš-bu* from *ašābu*, “to add”.

¹⁰⁷ Presumably, “what does it mean?” See also line 20 for an example of *minû kî*.

¹⁰⁸ *minû šî, kimā n ana GN illâ; minâ kal(a)b tamahhaš; minâ n kas(a)p ana PN iddin* etc.

¹⁰⁹ *amur akkā’i qēme...taddin*; etc.

¹¹⁰ *akkā’i kî kalât huršamma šupra; minû kî...iqabbâkkunūš epšā* etc.

minû occurs in all three categories. Direct questions appear to be emphasised by the circumlocution *ana (muhhi)...kî*.¹¹⁰ Further examples would need to be found in order to indicate whether *anîn* is the direct equivalent of *ana êkâni kî*.

ii) Questions without question words

Often, as in the other dialects, the only way of detecting that a question is implied is the context, or, either by a lengthening of the final vowel of the final word in the sentence, or, apparently the addition of a long vowel onto the final word of the sentence:

lî?l-te₉-li- “has he gone up?”, CT 22 6: 34 (letter, B)¹¹¹

um-ma PN EN GIŠ.ŠUB.BA šu-ú AMA-šú el-le-e-ti a-na gul-lu?-bu? ta-bi-i “may PN have a prebend? Is his mother pure? Is he fit for the (ritual) shaving?”,¹¹² YOS 7 167: 9 (Camb yr 4, U)

a-na-ku₁₅na-áš-par-tu₄ina URU₁₇al-lik-ku-ú₁₈ul al-lik-ku “must I run an errand in the city? I won’t”,¹¹³ CT 22 183: 14–18 (letter, 551–522, B)

Sometimes the verb is moved to the beginning of the clause:

*PN...iq-ba-áš-šú-nu-tu um-ma i-ba-áš-ši-i lîmim¹ma šá piš-ki¹*¹¹⁴ “PN...said to them “is there something underhand happening?”, YOS 6 78: 14 (Nbn yr 4, U)

um-ma i-ba-áš-ši-i ú-îl-tî.ME šá ZÚ.LUM.MA ù hi-pi ZAG A.ŠÀ.ME...ina pa-ni-ka i-ba-áš-ši lu-ú a-šar šak-kan te-de-e “are there IOUs for dates...break¹¹⁵...do you have the *imittu*-estimates for the fields or do you know where they are?”¹¹⁵ TCL 13 181: 4–6 (Dar yr 2, U)

a-kan-na ta-ta-mar-šá ŠUK.HI.A ina pa-ni LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ia-a-nu “have you (pl) seen that there are no rations for the workers here?”, YOS 3 52: 5–8 (letter, 538–532, U)

tal-te-ma-š um-ma ta-mer-tu₄ ta-lîmer?¹¹⁶ mi-na-a LÚ.DUMU A.KIN-ku-nu ul a-mur “have you heard that the wetland ...? Why haven’t I seen your messenger?”, CT 22 9: 6–9 (letter, 551–527, B)

¹¹⁰ As in *ana êkâni kî* and *ana muhhi minî kî*, which are presumably circumlocutions for *êkâni* and *minâmma*.

¹¹¹ The full phrase is given in §4a i, above.

¹¹² To which the reply is: *PN...EN GIŠ.ŠUB.BA iš-šú-ú ù AMA-šú el-lét* “PN...may have a prebend and his mother is pure”, 13...14.

¹¹³ *al-lik-ku-ú ul al-lik-ku* could possibly mean “am I to do it? (or) am I not?” (the signs KU and Ú do not touch) and could therefore be the only example of a negated question which does not have a question word. For negated questions (without question words) in Kuyunjik NB *ul* is used and comes at the beginning of the sentence in order to emphasise the negative aspect (Woodington p325). However, the context implies that the writer is trying to get the addressee to do the errand, which means that the errand is not yet run. Therefore I assume *alliku* and *allik* are precatives. See §4 c ii above.

¹¹⁴ See AHW *perku*, “trickery” (p855a).

¹¹⁵ The scribe who copied this text has indicated a break (*hi-pi*) in the original here.

¹¹⁶ Reading also checked by Heather Baker.

Chapter II: Conjunctions, prepositions, adverbs and interjections; expressions of time

§1 Conjunctions

a) Uses of coordinating *u* and *-ma*:

i) The simplest way of linking strings of nouns or verbal clauses paratactically is with *u* “and”, usually written *u* or *ù*:¹

a-gur-ru ku-pu-ur a-bat-tu, u tu-um-bé...i-nam-di-nu-niš-ši a-ki-i EŠ.BAR šá
LÚ.GAR.UMUŠ...*ku-pur a-bat-tu, u tu-um-bé-e i-nam-di-nu* [?] “they are to give him bricks, bitumen, lime(?) and beams(?). They are to give bitumen, lime(?) and beams(?) according to the decision of the *šākin* *ṭēmi* of Babylon”, VS 6 84: 5...9 (Nbn yr 12, B)

-ma is used to connect verbal clauses passim as in other Akkadian dialects:

ú-íl-tì it-ti PN EN *li-’-il u ši-pir-tu, EN liš-pur-ra-am-ma ú-de-e-šú lu-še-šu* “may Sir contract an IOU with PN and send a message to issue his items”, CT 22 48: 15–19 (letter, pre-526, B)

Few examples of *-ma* for emphasis exist:

al-la mi-ši ina lîb-bi ṭe-er-ra-ku-ma ù šá EN *iq-bu-ú um-ma mi-nam-ma* LÚ.KIN. GI.A-*ma la ta!-áš-pur...* “I was indeed beaten more than a little on account of this, and regarding what Sir said, ‘why did you not send a messenger...?’”, Peek 22: 26–29 (letter, Dar? B)

It is also unusual to find both *-ma* and *u* together:

[LÚ].NAM LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *ma-du-tu ib-ba-ku miš-š-hu i-gam-mar-ma u a-na-ku am-me-rik-ki*² “the mayor is taking many workers. He is finishing the work stretch while I am behind”, YOS 3 17: 25 (letter, early Camb? U)

ii) *-ma* is used with negatives as an adversative “but”:

ul-tu É PN *’l-bu-kan-ni-ma a-na* FDN *la id-di-na-an-ni* “he took me from PN’s house but did not give me to Innin-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 66: 6–7 (Cyr yr 8, U)

PN...šá PN₂ LÚ.*qal-la-šú a-na* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...*a-na* PN₃...*id-di-in-nu-ma* PN₂ *a-na É* PN₃ *la i-ru-bu...* “(regarding) PN..., who sold his slave PN₂ for one mina of silver...to PN₃...but PN₂ did not enter PN₃’s house”, YOS 7 114: 1...4 (Camb yr 1, U)

¹ *ú* appears to be a hapax in: 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN...šá *i-na* GN *a-na* ÚS.SA.DU DA *lu* [x...] šá ^fPN *ú* DA ^fPN₂ [x...] “one kur arable land...in GN, at the side next to ...[x? of?] ^fPN and next to ^fPN₂...”, Camb 349: 19...21 (yr 6, B).

² From *namarkû*. See chapter IV §3c.

ú-ba-³-e-ma ul am-mar “I looked but I can’t see (it)”, YOS 3 79: 28 letter, 539–526, U).

For further examples see CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 3–4 (see Note in vi, below), Dalley 76: 10 and YOS 7 7: 4.

iii) Purpose clauses

The juxtaposition of an imperative or precative (usually with *-ma* or the ventive+*-ma*, *-amma*) and a precative is used in these texts to convey an order from one party to another (in English, “purpose clause” or “resultant clause”):³

ši-kat...šá KÁ...ina mu-ši lu-up-te-ma lu-še-ši-ka “let me undo the bolt...in the night so that I can let you out”, YOS 7 78: 10..11 (Cyr yr 7, U)

šu-pur-am-ma lu lil-lik “write to tell me to go”, (for *lullik*) YOS 3 69: 30 (letter, 539–526, U)

PN...iz-qa-a-ta AN.BAR i-di-ma...a-na IGI-ia šu-pur-áš-ši-im-ma a-kan-na ina qaq-qar lu-ul-ti-il-šú “throw PN...into irons and...send him to me so that I can make him grovel here in the dirt”, YOS 3 19: 24...29 (letter, early Cyr, U)

qaq-qar...a-na za-qí-pu-tu bi-in-na-nim-ma GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR lu-uz-qu-up u dul-lu ina lib-bi lu-pu-uš “give (pl) me land...for planting, so that I can plant palm trees and do the work involved (literally, “therein”)", YOS 6 67: 6...8 (Nbn yr 4, U) cf. the similar YOS 6 33: 7

ZÚ.LUM.MA lu-še-lu-ni-im-mu (sic) *a-na ŠE.BAR ina GN lid-din-³* “let them bring dates up so that they can sell them for barley in Nippur”, YOS 3 81: 21–22 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

For further examples see *ibid.*: 39–40 and YOS 3 200: 42–44. There is one example which uses a negative verb in the resultant clause:

en-na n KÙ.BABBAR...šu!-bi-la-nim-ma LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ina bu-ba-a-ta la i-mu-tu-³ “now send me n silver so that the workers do not die of starvation”, JAOS 36: 20...23 (letter, 538–532, U)

The 1cpl forms use what looks like the preterite, but is in reality the cohortative (see I §4 c i, above):

mi-nu-ú PN ʔe-e-mu a-na muh-hi-šú-nu iš-kun-ka qí-ban-na-an-na-ši-ma ni-pu-uš “whatever proposal Gobryas set you regarding them, tell (ventive sg!) us so we can implement it”, YOS 7 70: 9–10 (Cyr yr 8, U)

a-ni-ni ŠUK.HI.A ù NÍG.BA bi-in-na,-an (sic)-*ši-ma ma-aš-šar-tu...ni-iš-šur* “give us rations and supplies for us to do the watch”, YOS 7 156: 6...10 (Camb yr 3, U)

Other examples using the 1cpl are YOS 3 96: 16–19 and the similar but broken TCL 9 100: 18–20 (both Uruk letters).

³ For comments on the precative forms see I §4 b, above.

There are two examples which have the same subject in both the command and the purpose:

ni-ik-su ni-ik-ki-si-ma ul-tu É ki-li nu-uš-’ ù LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šá ina lîb-bi it-ti-i-ni nu-še-ši “let us make a break to get out of the prison and let the workers who are in there with us, out”, YOS 7 97: 8–9 (Camb acc, U)

a-bu-uk a-na PN i-din-šú a <<-na>>-di UGU šá a-ha-meš nim-ma-ru-ma EŠ.BAR-šú it-ti PN ni-šak-ka-nu “take her and give her to PN until we see one another in order to make a decision with PN regarding her”, AnOr 8 56: 15–16 (Cyr yr 7, U). The use of the present *nišakkanu* rather than *niškunu* may be as a result of its following the present *nimmaru*. Alternatively, it may just be a statement of fact, “until we see...and make”.

Purpose clauses are more common in the Uruk texts.⁴ Three of the letters do not use a connecting *-ma*; YOS 3 79 uses *ù*.⁵ YOS 3 17: 6–7 and YOS 3 52 (which has two examples) have asyndetic links:

ŠE.BAR ina muh-hi 1+en I, in-na-niš-šu lu-še-la-’ LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ina la ŠUK.HI.A i-sa-am-mu-ú kap-du KASKAL.II a-na ḪIR.II-šú šu-kun-na-’ lik-šu-du “give him the barley by river transport⁶ for him to bring up. The workmen are suffering from lack of rations. Quickly send him on his way so that he may arrive”, YOS 3 52: 13–20 (letter, 538–532, U)

The only examples in the Babylon corpus are:

a-na PN EN li-iš-pu-ru...PN₂ EN li-iš-pu-ru-am-ma (sic) *a-kan-nu it-ti-šú li-id-bu-ub* “may Sir (a woman!) write to PN... May Sir (!) send PN₂ for him (?⁷) to deal with him here”, CT 22 200: 15–18 (letter, Nbn? B)

and the following, where a woman clears a debt she is unable to pay by relinquishing the land she gave as a pledge:

ŠE.NUMUN-ú-a šá...maš-ka-nu sa-ab-ta-ta NÍG.BA qí-šá-an-ni-ma DAGAL A.ŠÀ.MEŠ lu-ud-dak-kam-ma ŠE.NUMUN šu-a-ti pa-ni-ka li-id-gu-ul “(regarding) my arable land that you have taken as a pledge, give me a gift so I can give you the extent of the fields and that arable land can belong to you”, Cyr 337: 9...13 (yr 9, B)

⁴ Other examples from the Uruk corpus are: YOS 3 19: 27–29 and 39–40, YOS 3 200: 42–44.

⁵ *um-ma 1 SĪLA.ĀM ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na su-mu-ut-tu, lud-da-áš-šú-nu-tu ù dul-lu li-pu-šu-’* “(I said) ‘let me give them one sila of dates each as a *sumuttu*-ration in order for them to do the work’”: 9–11 (letter, 539–526, U). (See V §3 f for *nadānu* sound changes with personal pronoun suffixes.)

⁶ Literally, “by a river”. Here, *1+en* is an Aramaism, meaning “a, a certain”.

⁷ The writer of this letter has made a few spelling errors and although the introduction is rather broken he appears to be writing to a woman, addressed as EN throughout. Although one would expect *ludbub* for the 1cs, the context suggests “I” could also be meant.

iv) Hendiadys

This is a term now applied by Assyriologists to the coupling of two verbs (usually with *-ma*) to express a single compound idea which in English, French or German, for example, could be conveyed otherwise by means of a single verb with the addition of an adverb or a present participle used as an adverb. The term hendiadys has its origins in Classical Greek and Latin philology where it was used in reference to the practice in rhetoric of replacing a noun and adjective in combination by two nouns linked paratactically by a conjunction.⁸ According to Kraus⁹ it was first applied to Akkadian (and thus for the first time to a Semitic language) by San Nicolò who recalled the observations earlier scholars had made on the *târu + ragāmu* or *târu + paqāru* coupling and applied his own description ‘als ἔν δὲ δὐοῖν im Sinne von “wieder klagen”’.¹⁰ This then found its way into common usage among Assyriologists. The most detailed study on the subject is that made by Kraus (op. cit.) who prefers to use “Koppelung” instead.

In the texts under analysis here, hendiadys most often refers to a process of completing or repeating an action, and its two verbs are usually connected in paratactic coordination by *-ma* or the ventive+*-ma*, i.e. *-amma*. The first verb fulfils the function of the adverb, with the main verb coming at the end of the phrase. Both verbs must be either past (i.e. pret+pret) or present-future (present+present). The second verb is not infixed with a *-t-*, as would otherwise be expected if it were speaking of an action happening in consequence to the action of the first.¹¹ Pairs of imperatives or infinitives may also be used, with the main component again following the “adverbial” component. (See appendix 1 below for an exception, maybe unique in Akkadian, to the paratactic rule.) Appendix 2 to this section provides information on some of the other Semitic languages to indicate that these features are not limited to Akkadian. In some cases the first verb is separated from the second by another clause.

⁸ E.g. Latin *vulgus et multitudo* “the common herd”.

⁹ *Sonderformen Akkadischer Parataxe: die Koppelungen* (1987) §2 3–4.

¹⁰ *Schlussklauseln der altbabylonische Kauf- und Tauschverträge. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, 4 (1922) p52 n25.

¹¹ See *kī* in III §2, below.

gamāru, quttû, šullumu “(to do) in full, completely”:

50 GUR ŠE.BAR MU 8.KÁM ù 50 GUR MU 9.KÁM...*ina muh-hi me-e GAL.MEŠ i-gam-mar-ú-ma...i-nam-di-nu* “in year 8 they are to give 50 kur barley in full at high water, and 50 kur in year 9”, YOS 6 90: 9...12 (Nbn yr 7, U)

a-di tup-pi a-na tup-pi i-gam-ma-ru-ma iṭ-te-ru-³ “they will pay completely within the prearranged time”, Cyr 322: 5–6 (yr 8, B)

[*tap*]-*tu-ú a-di qí-it MN ú-qa-at-tú-ma i-he-ri* “he is to dig the newly opened land completely by the end of Addaru”, VS 5 49: 21–22 (Camb yr 4, B)

re-eh-tu, ŠE.NUMUN-šú u-šal-lim-ma id-di-nu “he gave the rest of his arable land in full”, Joannès Strasbourg 1: 8 (Nbn yr 8, B)

harāšu “to do exactly”:¹²

ù en-na ka-la-a-ta ak-ka-a-³l¹ ki-i ka-la-a-ta hur-ša-am-ma šup-ra “and now it (the *kusītu* garment, 3fs) has been detained. Write exactly how it has been detained”, YOS 6 71: 24–25 (Nbn yr 6, U)

penû “to receive in advance”:¹³

2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...*i-pe-en-ni-ma i-šal-lim...* “he is to receive 2½ minas of silver fully in advance”, Nbn 356: 36...37 (yr 9, B)

šebû “to want, to be tempted to”:

ár-ki PN iṣ-be-e-ma 1 KUR ŠE.NUMUN ina lîb-bi a-na ^fPN...a-na nu-dûn-ni id-din-nu “afterwards, PN wanted to give one kur of arable land from out of that to ^fPN as a dowry”, Joannès Strasbourg 1: 5...6 (Nbn yr 8, B)

ul i-šab-bi-ma PN a-na KÙ.BABBAR ul i-nam-din ù a-na ÌR ul i-her-ri “PN is not to be tempted to sell her off or marry her to a slave”, YOS 7 66: 18–19 (Cyr yr 7, U)

sahāru, šanû “(to do) again”:

ù áš-šú ma-ti-ma la sa-ha-ri-im-ma a-na UGU LÚ-tú šu-a-tú la ra-ga-mu...tup-pi iṣ-tu-ru-ma “so that there would never be another claim made regarding those servants...they wrote a tablet”, Nbn 668: 17...20 (yr 12, B). Note that these two infinitives function verbally in this subordinate clause.

i-ši-ni-ma iq-bi um-ma... “he spoke again, thus...”, YOS 7 42: 5 (Cyr yr 5, U)

turru “(to give) back, (to put) back”:

(3 animals) *PN ú-tir-ma a-na PN₂...id-din* “PN gave (the 3 animals) back to PN₂”, YOS 6 137: 22...23 (Nbn yr 7, U)

¹² CAD *harāšu* A, 4 a, p94a. *harāšu* means “to search out, to make clear, determine etc.” in the NB of my corpora.

¹³ AHw p822b.

ZÚ.LUM.MA *te-ri-ma a-na PN i-di-in* “give the dates back to PN”, CT 22 127: 17–19 (letter, Dar yr 17? B)

PN *i-qab-ba-a um-ma KÙ.BABBAR te-ri-ma a-na qu-up-pu ú-su-uk* “PN said (historic present) to me ‘put the silver back in the box’”, YOS 6 235: 9–11 (Nbn yr 12, U)

Some further examples using other verbs can be seen in the following: YOS 3 69: 18–19, YOS 3 79: 31–32, YOS 7 98: 15–16 (all U), Nbn 356: 37 (B).

1: “*Hypotactic*¹⁴ *hendiadys*” with subordinated clauses: the use of clauses subordinated by *kī*

A comparable construction appears in the NB of these texts where the two verbs, instead of being paratactically linked, are expressed as a subordinated verb with *kī* followed by a main verb. As with standard clauses involving *kī* “when” (see subordinating conjunctions, III §2f below), the main verb is infixed with *-t-*. The word order is the same as for paratactic hendiadys:

(PN *i-qab-ba-a um-ma KÙ.BABBAR te-ri-ma a-na qu-up-pu ú-su-uk*)
KÙ.BABBAR *ki-i ú-tir-ru a-na qu-up-pu at-ta-su-uk* “(PN said to me ‘put the silver back in the box’.)¹⁵ I put the silver back in the box”, YOS 6 235: 9–12 (Nbn yr 12, U)

KÙ.BABBAR *a’ 3 MA.NA ina a-dan-ni-šú PN a-na PN₂ it-ta-din ú-il-tì lu LÚ¹-tú PN₂ ki-i u-tir-ri a-na PN it-ta-din* “PN has given the (aforementioned) three minas of silver to PN₂ within the deadline¹⁶ and PN₂ has given the IOU and the slave back to PN”, Dar 319: 9–13 (yr 12, B) cf. OECT 10 105: 10–11 (Nbn yr 9, B) and the broken but probably identical VS 4 87/88: 12–13 (Dar yr 1, B). See also Nbn 832: 10–11 (yr 15, B), Liv 19: 18–19 (Camb yr 3, B) and Dar 447: 10 (with plural verbs. Yr 17, B)

KÙ.BABBAR *ki-i a-hi-i-tu a-na PN...at-ta-din* “I checked and gave the silver to PN...”, JRAS 1926: 6...8 (Nbn yr 10, B)¹⁷

¹⁴ As opposed to “paratactic”. “Subordinating” would be another description.

¹⁵ Cited above.

¹⁶ Which occurred two days before this was written.

¹⁷ See CAD *hātu* (p161b) for hendiadys with *nadānu* “to pay the full price”. The Uruk letter (not in my corpus) cited by CAD as not being a hendiadys may perhaps read: KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina pa-ni-ia a-na PN ki-i a-hi-tu at-ta-di-is-su* (reading *at!* for *la*) “the silver that I had I checked and gave in full to PN”, BIN 1 94: 36–37. The proposed reading *la ta-di-is-su* “you did not give to him”, would be an exception to the third person by which the writer addresses the receiver.

The examples can be translated in the same way as paratactic hendiadys. This feature appears to be unique to later NB. It is not found by Woodington or by Kraus.

2: *Hendiadys in other Semitic languages: Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac*¹⁸

Examples of hendiadys in the main Semitic languages may be found in GVG II §§292–301, 471–484. §296 (p478) deals with Akkadian. For clarity of comprehension the main verb is underlined.

a) Arabic

See Wright (1898, §140, p287f) in “verbal appositives”. Two types of hendiadys are found:

i) The commonest use of hendiadys is with *‘āda* “to return”, i.e. “continue”, cf. *tāru*. Also used in modern literary Arabic (see Wehr, 1976, p653b), the verbs are usually linked with *w-*. The main verb comes at the end:

wa ‘ādat il-fitānu waqa‘at “and disturbances broke out again”.

In older classical Arabic the link between the verbs may be *fa-*:

‘āda fasa’ala “he asked again”.

ii) Wright notes also that a verb + *’ahsana* or verb + *’aṭāla* means respectively, “to do something well” or “for a long time”. Note that in these cases the modifying verb comes after the main verb, a pattern which reflects the VSO order in Arabic:

yanna ’ahsana “he sang well”.

saḡada fa’ aṭāla “he sat for a long time”.

b) Biblical Hebrew

Hendiadys is most common with the verb “to go back” *šāb* (שׁוּב). The examples referred to in BDB (p998, entry 8) are mostly in the historic present and the main verb is the second element. It is interesting to note that when the verbs are linked syndetically, *w-* precedes both verbs:

¹⁸ Better qualified scholars will no doubt recognise it in other Semitic languages, e.g. Ge‘ez *aḥāzkū etnāgar* “I began to speak” (Bergsträsser, §5/1.3, p127). In fact the same hendiadys is also used in modern literary Arabic (*’aḥada* + imperfect, Wehr p7a).

ʾāšūbāh ʾer^{eh} šʾōnkā ʾešmōr אֲשׁוּבָה אֶרְעָה צֹאֲקֵי אֶשְׁמֹר “I shall continue
shepherding (and) caring for your flocks” Gen 30: 31

wayyāšāb wayyālen šām וַיָּשָׁב וַיֵּלֶן שָׁם “and he lodged there again”, Ju 19: 7

wayyāšāb PN wayyahpōr ʾet-beʾrōt וַיָּשָׁב פְּנִי וַיַּחְפֹּר אֶת־בְּאֵרֹת וַיִּשְׁבּוּ פְּנִי “and PN dug
the wells again”, Gen 26: 18

wayyašūbū wayyibkū וַיָּשׁוּבוּ וַיִּבְכוּ “and they kept complaining”, Nu 11: 4

c) Aramaic and Syriac

Hendiadys is not attested in Old Aramaic apart from the perfect ʾny ʾmar “he
answered, saying”:¹⁹

ʾnh nmr ʾmr lʾnz “the leopard answered, saying to the goat”, Aḥiqar: 118.
See also lines 119, 121.

Many examples for Syriac are found in Phillips (1866, p174f), where verbs are
used for “Adverbs with or without a conjugation” (*sic*). Some examples are given
below. Note the similarity to Arabic in the use of ʾasgā²⁰+verb and ʾawsep +verb
“to do much” and “to do again”, respectively:

dʾasgā šqal “who has taken much”, 2 Cor 8: 15, cf. Phil 2: 9

ʾawsep wsaddar “he sent again”, Luke 20: 11, 12

lā nettawsap netmallal ʾamhūn “it is not to be spoken to them any more”²¹,
Hebr 12: 19

ʾštn ʾwšhlph lʾgrt “he changed²² the letter carefully²³”, Bar Heb.: 100

Observations on hendiadys in the above languages

Apart from Arabic, which has developed a secondary pattern with the “adverbial”
verb after the main verb, the other main Semitic languages exhibit the order:
“adverbial” verb followed by “main” verb. It must not be forgotten that in Arabic,

¹⁹ See Segert (7.4.6.3, p427).

²⁰ Cf. Akkadian šūturu in hendiadys “to make...more than, to make surpass”. See Kraus (1987)
p20.

²¹ Both verbs are passive.

²² With proleptic suffix -h, a common feature in Syriac.

²³ Probably ethpaʿal of šnʿ. See HAL 972–973.

the verb comes at the beginning of the sentence, which could explain the appearance of ii, above. This leads to an interesting observation. Arabic keeps its verb at the beginning of the sentence, the positioning of the verb is more fluid in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, and the NB under scrutiny here keeps it at the end. Thus, the retention of the “adverbial” verb followed by “main” verb order throughout these Semitic languages and in the Arabic in i, above²⁴ would indicate that hendiadys, with its consistency in verb order, must have been a part of Proto-Semitic itself and that this verb order offers support to those who believe the order in PSem was SOV, as in Akkadian.

b) Disjunctive conjunctions expressing “or”, “either...or”

i) *ū*:

a-na UGU ši-pir-tu₄ ù mar šip-ri EN lid-din “may Sir provide a message or messenger regarding this”, CT 22 73: 25–27 (letter, early Dar, B). See below for a similar phrase using *kī...kī*.

KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI u mim-ma PN a-na PN₂ id-di-nu “silver, gold, or whatever PN gave to PN₂”, YOS 6 175: 6–7 (Nbn, yr 12, U)

ii) *lū, ū lū*:

IM.DUB nu-du-nu-ú lu-ú IM.DUB KILAM šá PN kul-lim-lin-ni-ma¹ ina pa-ni-ka lu-maš-šar-uš “show me (2fs) either the dowry document or the purchase document for PN so that I can leave him to you”, TCL 13 179: 12–13 (Camb yr 3? U)

ina u₄-mu ú-du-ú lu-ú mim-ma šá ár-ki ú-de-e šá is-si-ni-qu-ma...ul-tu lib-bi iš-šu-ú lu-ú ŠU.II ša!-bit-ti ina ŠU.II-šú it-ta-aš-ba-tu “if ever any item, or anything else coming after the time the items that were checked and (after the time) he took them from there, or if any stolen material is seized in his possession (he will bear the penalty), TCL 13 142: 7...12 (Cyr yr 7, U)

ZAG A.ŠÀ.ME...i-na pa-ni-ka i-ba-áš-ši lu-ú a-šar šak-kan te-de-e “do you have the *imittu*-estimate for the fields or do you know where it is?” TCL 13 181: 5...6 (Dar yr 2, U)

a-di UD 5.KÁM šá MN PN...KÙ.BABBAR i-na-áš-šá-² ù lu-ú LÚ-tú ib-ba-kám-ma a-na PN₂ i-nam-din “by x date PN is to fetch the silver or bring the servant and give (either) to PN₂”, Camb 165: 2...5 (yr 5, B)

iii) *lū...lū*:

ina u₄-mu lu-ú LÚ.mu-kin-nu lu-ú LÚ.ba-ti-qu a-na PN u PN₂ uk-tin-nu “on the day that either a witness or an informer convicts PN and PN₂...”, YOS 6 203: 1–2

²⁴ And Ge‘ez, according to the example given above.

(Nbn yr 12, U) Similar examples are in TCL 12 106: 1–4 ²⁵ YOS 6 122: 1–4 (both Nbn, U) cf.

ina u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu lu-u LÚ.ba-ti-iq PN...uk-tin-nu lu-ú KÙ.BABBAR lu-ú KÙ.GI ina ŠU.II PN₂ ù PN₃...im-hu-ru... “on the day that either a witness or an informer accuses PN of receiving either silver or gold from either PN₂ or PN₃...”, YOS 6 191: 1...5 (Nbn yr 12, U)

GIŠ.ŠUB.BA šu-a-tu₄ a-šar PN lu-ú a-na KÙ.BABBAR lu-ú a-na GIŠ.BÁN a-na mam-ma i-nam-di-nu PN₂...a-na LÚ.mu-kin-nu-ú-tu ina lîb-bi a-šib “(regarding) that prebend, in the event that (literally, “wherever”) PN gives it to someone ^{for} either/silver or as a farm-lease, PN₂...is to sit as a witness in that case”, VS 5 57/58:11–12 (Barziya, B)

lu-ú ú-îl-tî lu-ú ri-ik-[sa^l-(ti?)] lu-ú IM.DUB.MEŠ a-šar šá i-ba-áš-šu-ú a-na-áš-šá-am-ma a-nam-dak-ka “either an IOU or a contract or records, wherever they are, I shall bring and give to you”, JRAS 1926: 13–15 (Nbn yr 10, B)

iv) *ū kī*:

ba-ab-tu...ina IM.DUB-i-ni šu-ṭur u ki-i KILAM ina ŠU.II-i-ni e-pu-uš “either write the balance down on our tablet (as owed) or buy it from us”, VS 5 20: 7...9 (Nbn yr 1, B)

ina UGU LÚ.u-ra-šú ù ki-i KÙ.BABBAR i-bi-nam-ma lu-he-ri-iš “therefore, give me a stand-in or silver so that I can dig it”, YOS 3 17: 11–12 (letter, early Camb? U) ²⁶

v) *kī...kī, kī...ū kī*:

Separating nouns:

kap-du ki-i ŠE.BAR u [ki^l-i KÙ.BABBAR šu-bi-la-a-ni “quickly send me either the barley or the silver”, YOS 3 64: 14–16 (letter, 538–534, U)

ki-i ŠE.BAR u ki-i mim-mu ma-la pa-ni-ka ma-hír a-na AD-ia a-nam-din “I shall give to my ‘father’ barley or whatever pleases you”, CT 22 182: 20–22 (letter, pre-526, B)

Separating clauses:

ki-i at-ta ta-at-tal-ku ina [tèl-me-ka a₄ ki-i dul-lu te-ép-pu-uš ki-i pa-ni-ka mah-hir šu-pur-am-ma lu lil-lik u at-ta al-kám-ma dul-lu e-pu-uš Unclear. May mean “if you come that is up to you, or you can do the work. If you want, write to me to go²⁷ and you yourself come and do the work”, YOS 3 69: 26–31 (letter, 539–526, U)

²⁵ Which continues: *šá ŠE.BAR ina ŠU.II LÚ.APIN lu-u ina ŠU.II LÚ.EN pi-qit-tu₄ šá FDN im-hu-ru*. “...of receiving barley from either the farmer or from the *bēl piqitti* of the Lady-of-Uruk”.

²⁶ cf. the same phrase in the near duplicate TCL 9 129: 11–12: *ina UGU LÚ.u-ra-šú ù KÙ.BABBAR i-bi-nam-ma l₇...lu-her-ri*.

²⁷ *lullik* is expected in this dialect. See a iii, above.

vi) Anomalies. The following two examples are possibly a result of Aramaic influence. *kī ša* may be a calque on Aramaic *k-dy* כִּדְי “that”

ki-i šá PN ù ki-i šá LÚ.SUKAL EN liš-šá-am-ma... literally, “either (that) PN or that Sir’s court minister bring it...” CT 22 73: 20–21 (letter, early Dar, B)

According to GAG §122a *la...la* means “neither...nor”:

pu-ut la ÌR LUGAL-ú-tu la DUMU ba-nu-tu mu-ru-qa u la pa-qa-a-ru šá ^fPN PN... na-ši “PN...is responsible for there not (being any complaint about the) slave-status or freeperson-status nor any annulment or claim regarding ^fPN (a sold slave)”, VS 5 73: 7 (Dar yr 10, B).

Note

It must be borne in mind that when a clause with (English) “or” is negated (i.e. meaning “neither...nor”) both alternatives are precluded and therefore negated “or” cannot be treated as a disjunction:

zi-it-ti šá PN ina É ù KÙ.BABBAR ia-a-nu “there is no share for PN in the house or the silver”, Nbn 85: 8–9 (yr 2, B)

^fPN áš-šá-ti a-hu-uz-ma DUMU α DUMU.MUNUS la tul-du “I took ^fPN as a wife but²⁸ she did not bear a son or daughter”, CTMMA II 54+Nbn 380: 3–4 (yr 9, B)

vii) Repetition or non-repetition (asyndetic parataxis) of conjunctions

Usually *u* comes between the last two elements in a string of nouns or verbal clauses²⁹ but it is sometimes omitted i.e. there is asyndetic parataxis:

in strings of nouns or nominal phrases:

PN PN₂ PN₃ ú-ba-mu-ú “PN (and) PN₂ will look for PN₃”, YOS 7 1: 14–15 (Cyr acc, U)

2 ITI ù 20 UD PN 2 ITI ù 20 UD PN₂ 2 ITI ù 20 UD .MEŠ PN₃ ina ITI.MEŠ a₄ 8 šul-lul-ta-a-ta ši-zib i-šab-ba-tu “two months and 20 days (for) PN, two months and 20 days (for) PN₂ two months and 20 days (for) PN₃; in those aforementioned 8 months, each will deliver one third share of milk”, YOS 7 79: 13–15 (Cyr yr 8, U)

²⁸ Adversative *-ma*. See a ii, above.

²⁹ Cf. VS 6 104: 7–10 (Cyr yr 7, B).

In the following standard legal phrase the disjunctive conjunctions are often omitted:³⁰

pu-ut si-hi-i pa-qí-ra-nu ÌR LUGAL-tú DUMU DÙ-tú PN na-ši “PN is responsible for any objection or claim regarding the state of royal slave or of free man”, CTMMA 1 11: 9–11 (Nbn yr 2, B)

They are also omitted between single pairs of numbers:

1-šú 2-šú a-na muh-hi a-na EN-ía áš-pu-ru “I have (already) written once or twice to Sir about it”, TCL 9 132: 12–14 (letter, Nbn yr 1–12, U). See V §2 d, below.

Verbal phrases:

a-bat-tu, ina lîb-bi i-na-as-suk GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR TILMUN i-zaq-qap ši-kit-tu, i-šak-ka-an “he is to clear out the stones, plant Dilmun datepalms (and) lay (garlic?) beds”, YOS 6 33: 9–10 (Nbn yr 3, U)

PN....si-mir-re-e-šú AN.BAR ip-ta-ṭar il-ta-su-um “PN...undid his (own) iron handcuffs (and) ran away”, YOS 7 88: 17 (Cyr yr 2, U)

paṭ-ri AN.BAR iš-ku-su ik-nu-ku ù ina é-an-na ip-qí-du “they bound (and) sealed the iron dagger up and deposited (literally, “entrusted”) it in Eanna”, *ibid.*: 22 (cf. YOS 7 102: 27)

There is also no repetition in the following much used legal phrase, with the meaning (or similar) “he is to keep the roof sound and do the repairs to the foundations”:³¹

ú-ri i-ša-ni bit-qa šá a-sur-re-e i-ṣab-bat Cyr 177: 16 (yr 4, B)

bat-qa šá a-sur-ru-u ta-ṣab-bat ú-ru ta-šá-an-nu (with a woman as subject) VS 4 66: 10–11 (Cyr yr 8, B)

ú-ru i-šá-an-na bat-qu šá a-sur-ru-ú i-ṣab-bat YOS 7 2: 8–9 (Cyr acc, U)

³⁰ An exception is VS 5 35: 8, where *u* separates the last two elements (Cyr yr 1, B).

³¹ For further examples of this, including slight variations on the theme, see Camb 117: 6–7, Camb 97: 8–10, VS 5 82: 7–8, Dar 378: 6 (all Babylon).

§2 Prepositions, phrases and adverbial phrases functioning as prepositions

Most prepositions are nominal in origin.³² These are the ones which can take suffixes. Those prepositions which cannot take suffixes form compounds with other nouns on which the suffixes are then hung. This is particularly notable in NB, which uses many compounds involving *libbu*, *muhhu* and *pānu*, for example. The increase in the number of such compounds may be due to an increasing demand for a preciseness of reference.³³ As in the earlier Akkadian dialects, the nominal elements are in construct. It will also be seen that many of the prepositions function also as conjunctions or adverbs, etc. Adverbial phrases used as prepositions are included below.³⁴

a) *adi*.³⁵

i) “until, up to (and including), by (usually with time or a date), for (a time period)”:

a-di u₄-mu a₄ ul iq-it (or, *iq-tu!*) “up to (and including) today it is still not finished”, YOS 3 19: 6–7 (letter, early Cyrus, U)

ù at-tu-nu a-di UD 25.KÁM šá MN a-na GN al-ka-’ “and you, go to Babylon by the 25th of Nisannu”, TCL 13 152: 16–17 (Camb yr 2, U)

a-di UD 5.KÁM šá MN...KÙ.BABBAR i-na-áš-šá-’ “he is to bring the silver by the fifth of Abu”, Camb 165: 1...5 (yr 3, B)

a-di qí-it MU.AN.NA...a-na NÍG.GA é-an-na iṭ-ṭi-ir “by the end of the year he is to pay (it) to the Eanna property”, TCL 13 182: 24 (Dar yr 2, U)

na-bal-kat-ta-nu a-di-i 2-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina-an-din “(any) defaulter must pay ten shekels of silver within two³⁶ years”, TCL 13 187: 9–11 (Dar yr 16, B)

a-di 3-ta MU.MEŠ i-di É PN a-na PN₂ u PN₃ ul i-mah-ni “for three years PN is not to receive house-rent from PN₂ or PN₃”, Dar 395/396: 16–17, see also line 9 (Dar yr 3, B)

³² See in particular GAG §114f. The exceptions are *adi* (see the following note and the section on oaths), *ana*, *ina*, (*a*)*kī*, *kīma*.

³³ Cf. Woodington, p169. San Nicolò implies that this was happening by the end of the seventh century in his discussion about improving the identification of people in economic texts as more legal activities were recorded (BR 8/7, p2f. n1).

³⁴ For prepositions functioning as conjunctions or adverbs, q.v.

³⁵ Usually spelled *a-di*. In the Uruk corpus there are 19 instances of *adi* used as a preposition. The ratio of *a-di* to *a-di-i* is 15:4. In the Babylon corpus the ratio in 22 examples is 17:5. In promissory oaths Babylon sometimes use the formula *ki-i a-di-i(a)* (III §4c, below), which Uruk spells *ki-i a-di*. See the discussion at the end of III §4c for the derivation of *ad(i)/ad(ī a)*. *adi* the preposition does not appear to be the source.

³⁶ See V §2a, below, and Streck (1995) §28 23–26 for the reading *n-ta* and not *n.TA*.

a-di qí-ti šá MN “until the end of Ulūlu”, BE 8 47: 7 (Nbn yr 5, B). Note the use of *adi* +infinitive in lines 3-4: *a-di-i pa-ra-su tu-šak-ka-al-la* “she is to nourish (the baby) until weaning time (literally, “separation”)”.

ii) The sense “which includes, in addition to” is rare in these texts. Both examples come from the reign of Nbn:

9½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-di* 2½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR... “9½ minas of silver, which includes 2½ minas of silver...”, Nbn 356: 7–8 (yr 9, B)

(arable land which was leased to them) PN *u* PN₂ *a-di-i ú-íl-tì.MEŠ-šú-nu i-na é-an-na i-nam-di-nu* “PN and PN₂ will bring (the arable land³⁷ leased to them by Eanna) along to Eanna along with their IOU’s”, TCL 12 90: 13–14 (Nbn yr 7, U)

iii) *adi* in 1+*en a-di* n “n-fold”: The expression of “n-fold” is usually “1+*en* n” (see V §2, below). Streck (§68b, p72) cites YOS 7 196: 5–8 (Camb yr 8) as the only example of 1+*en adi* but there is another example in the Uruk corpus :

KI UZ.TUR.MUŠEN 1+*en a-di* 30 *ku-um* UZ.TUR.MUŠEN.ME *a*, 2 *e-li* PN₁₋₅ ...*e-li-šú-nu ip-ru-su* “with³⁸ (each) duck they decided on a 30-fold charge for the aforementioned two ducks, against PN₁₋₅”, Iraq 13: 22...26 (Camb yr 2, U)

The only Babylon examples use the logogram TA.ÀM:

a-di 12 TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap-pal*³⁹ “he will repay twelve-fold”, VS 5 38: 38 (Cyr yr 6, B) cf. *a-di* 12 TA.ÀM *i-ta-na-ap-pa-al* Dar 26: 28 (yr 1, B)

For *adi muhhi* see *muhhi*.

b) *akī*, occasionally *kī*, *kīma* “equivalent to, according to, (functioning) as”, is not very common.⁴⁰ See also *minû kī* sub questions and indirect questions:

a-ki-i pi-i-šú-nu “according to what they said”,⁴¹ YOS 6 78: 18–19 (Nbn yr 4, U)

mu-šah-hi-nu...ù ki-šuk-ku...šá PN...*šá a-ki-i* 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá ina pa-ni*
^fPN *iš-ku-nu... PAP* 17 MA.NA KI.LAL *mu-šah-hi-nu* UD.KA.BAR *ù ki-šuk-ku*
 UD.KA.BAR *ina* IGI ^fPN₂ *a-ki-i KÙ.BABBAR-šú šak-nu-’* “a boiler and a ...? of
 PN’s, worth seven shekels of silver, which he put at the disposal of ^fPN...
 altogether a total weight of 17 minas for the bronze boiler and the bronze ...?”

³⁷ Meaning, presumably, the pertinent documents.

³⁸ The meaning of KI here is unclear. I have interpreted it as *itti* but it is possibly an erroneous KI of place after the preceding gentilic, LÚ.UNUG KI-a-a or even a haplography of *akī*. However, KI is at the beginning of its line.

³⁹ Frozen legal expression. See V §2e, below.

⁴⁰ Usual spellings are *a-ki-i*, *ki-i*, *ki-ma* or GIM.

⁴¹ Two rather difficult examples of this idiom are seen in YOS 3 22: 13–14 and 20–21: *mim-ma a-ki-i pi-i šá* LÚ.UN.MEŠ EN *la il-lak...mim-ma a-ki-i pi-i šá mam-ma la tal-la-ki* “in spite of what people say, Sir in no way is to go...in no way, whatever anyone says, are you (2fs) to go” (letter, early Nbn, U). (The changes of person in this letter are discussed in appendix §4 b.)

were put into the possession of ^fPN₂ as (being) equivalent to her payment (literally, silver)", Nbn 310: 1...14 ((yr 8, B)

a-ki e-te-qu šá GN "according to the rate in Šahrīnu", Nbn 344: 3 (yr 9, B)⁴²

8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-ki-i at-ri* "eight shekels of silver as an additional settlement",⁴³ VS 5 38: 28-29 (Cyr yr 6, B) cf. TCL 13 190: 14, ù ²MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ¹*ki-l-i at-ri id-din-šú* (Dar yr 12, B)

a-ki da-a-ta šá LUGAL *ú-šal-lam* "he will refund according to the (pertinent) royal decree", Dar 53: 15 (yr 2, B)

a-ki tup-pi.MEŠ šá ni-iš-tu-ru-ma ni-id-daš-šú-nu-tu ZÚ.LUM.MA lu-še-lu-nu "according to the tablets we wrote and gave to them, they are to load up the dates", YOS 3 29: 14-17 (letter, early Camb? U)

ki-i EŠ.BAR KÙ.BABBAR i-di GIŠ.MÁ i-nam-di-nu "he will pay the rent for the boat according to the decision", AnOr 8 40: 11 (Cyr yr 3, U)

ki-i pi-i LÚ.mu-kin-nu-tu šá PN ina ŠÀ šá-tir um-ma... "according to PN's testimony there is written in it (i.e. in the letter)..." YOS 7 102: 21 (Camb acc, U)

PN ^fPN *ki-ma rik-sa-tu₄ AD-šú ta-šal-lim* "^fPN will receive PN according to the contracts of her father", Nbn 356: 39-40 (yr 9, B)

UMBIN PN *na-di-in A.ŠÀ ki-ma NA₄.KIŠIB-šú* "the nail(-mark) of PN, the seller of the field, as his seal",⁴⁴ Dar 26: 41-2 (yr 1, B)

c) *alla* (usually spelled *al-la*)

i) "apart from, other than":

PN *it-ti* PN₂ *ul a-mur...al-la 1+en u₄-m[u]...* "I did not see PN with PN₂...apart from one day...", YOS 6 235: 13...14 (Nbn yr 12, U)

mim-ma al-la n qaq-qar ina lib-bi ul her-ru "only (literally, "nothing apart from") n area is dug there", YOS 3 33: 6-8 (letter, early Cyr? U)

(*umma*) *al-la 1 UDU ina ŠU.II-šú ul a-bu-uk* "I took no more than one sheep from him", YOS 7 7: 127 (Cyr yr 1, U)

EN *lu-ú i-de UDU.NÌTA.ME ina GN šá al-la šá ina EDIN ma-a-du-³* "Sir must know that the sheep in Uruk apart from those in the open are many", YOS 3 87: 24-27 (letter, 533-526, U)

⁴² I understand *etēqu* as an infinitive here, cf. the similar *a-ki-i ma-ha-ri šá* GN "according to the "buying", i.e. "market value" in Babylon", Dar 309: 14 (yr 11, B). *etēqu* could also be a noun of the *parās* form, cf. GAG §55h and Aro, "Kaufpreis", or something similar (1961, p290).

⁴³ *akī atri* is a legal term for an extra payment on top of a price that has already been named. This is sometimes written *akī pī atri*.

⁴⁴ *kīma* is often written GIM in this regularly used phrase.

ŠE.BAR *gab-ba...la en₆-de-e-tu₄ al-la-³ n GUR šá a-na gi-né-e šá é-an-na na-šá-a-ta* “none of the barley yield has been estimated apart from n *kur* which has been taken to Eanna as a regular offering”, YOS 3 8: 7...10 (letter, early Dar, U)

al-la a-ga-³-i ki-i MUN.HI.A-ka ina UGU-ia ia-a-nu “apart from this, there is no (other) favour for which I want to indebt myself to you”, CT 22 182: 11–13 (letter, pre-527, B)

u al-la mi-ši ina lib-bi te-er-ra-ku-ma “I was beaten more than a little on account of it”, Peek 22: 26–27 (letter, middle Dar? B)

ii) *alla* in *alla* + *etēqu/atāru* “to exceed, be more than”, appears to have taken over the function of *eli* in comparative clauses in both Uruk and Babylon:

šá al-la ITI it-ti-qu ki-i EŠ.BAR KÙ.BABBAR i-di GIŠ.MÁ i-nam-di-nu “in accordance with the agreement (literally, “decision”), whoever overruns a month (of the lease on the boat) is to give silver for the rent of the boat ” AnOr 8 40: 11 (Cyr yr 3, U)

GI.MEŠ *šá ina mi-iš-ha-tu₄ al-la 5 GI.MEŠ i-ti-ru-nu...* “in the measuring, the number of reed (-area units) which exceed the five reed (-area units of the plot) (being exchanged for them)...” VS 5 113: 1–2 (Dar yr+3, B)

For further examples and for *alla* + *maṭû* “be less than”, see VI §1b, below. Earlier Akkadian uses *ina* + *maṭû*. Von Soden gives the origin of *alla* as *ana* + *la* (AHw p36b, nB/spB). The following provides evidence of this derivation:

LÚ.A.KIN-*ku-nu lil-li-kám-ma ŠE.BAR...šá ina NÍG.GA šá-ak-nu li-mu-ur ù šá a-na la gi-né-e it-tir liš-ši* “your messenger may come and he may look at the barley...that is deposited in the store and whatever is in excess of the *ginû* offering he may take”, YOS 3 126: 34–38 (letter, 525–524, U)

d) *ana*

i) “for, to, as etc.”:

PN ÁB.GAL *šu-a-ti...a-na ši-gi-il-tu₄...i-ta-bak* “PN confiscated that cow” (literally, “led away for confiscation”), AnOr 8 38: 14...16 (Cyr yr 2, U)

a-na 1+en LÚ “per man” (literally, “for each man”), AnOr 8 52: 8 (Cyr yr 6, U)

ŠUK.HI.A *a-na ku-šu lu-hi-ir* “let me hold rations back for the winter”, YOS 3 45: 24–25 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

PN ù PN₂ *a-na DUB ŠÁM gam-ru-tú a-bu-uk* “take PN and PN₂ as receipt for the full sale price”, CTMMA 2 53 (Nbn yr 9, B)

a-na KÙ.BABBAR na-ad-nu a-na maš-ka-nu šak-nu a-na nu-dun-né-e a-na ^fPN...na-ad-nu “he was sold (literally, “given for silver”), he was pawned (then) he was given to ^fPN as a dowry”, Nbn 1113: 10...12 (around yr 7, B)

1 GUR 1 PI BANLIMMU ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na* 1 GUR ŠE.BAR 40 GUR ŠE.BAR
a-na 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pe-šu-ú* “(you get) 39 *ṣūtu* of dates for one *kur* of
 barley (and) 40 kur barley for one mina of white silver”, YOS 3 81: 17–20
 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

a-na šu-mu-šú (sic) “in his name”, Dar 379: 53 (yr 14, B)

a-na šu-mu šá ^fPN *ù a-na šu-mu šá ma-am-ma šá-nam-ma* “in ^fPN’s name or in
 anyone else’s name”, *ibid.*: 56

ii) In expressions of purpose, *ana* + infinitive expresses the purpose construction
 “in order to + infinitive”, or “for + gerund”:

PN *a-na gu-ul-lu-bu i-na ma-har* DN *ta-a-bi* “PN is fit for ordaining for DN”,
 AnOr 8 48: 28 (Cyr yr 5, U)

pu-us-su-nu a-na la ha-la-qu na-šá-a-ka “I have taken responsibility for their not
 escaping”, YOS 7 70: 17 (Cyr yr 8, U)

PN...*šá...a-na ha-ba-šú šá ti-ib-nu a-na É GU₄.ME šá LUGAL a-na PN₂...na-ad-na*
 “PN, who was given to PN₂ to chop straw for the king’s cowsheds”, YOS 7 77:
 1...5 (Cyr yr 8, U)

^la^l-*na šá-ka-nu tē-e-mu a-na muh-hi tup-pi šá re-ha-nu [šá] ^lše^l-e-nu ÁB.GU₄.HI.A*
ù MUŠEN.HI.A <šá?> ul-tu é-an-na na-ad-na-áš^l-šú [a]-na šá-pa-ru a-na EDIN...
 “in order to give advice regarding the tablet with the (record of the) rest of the
 sheep/goats, cattle and fowl given to him by the Eanna temple to send out into
 the country...”, YOS 7 198: 12–14 (Camb yr 6, U)

i-<na> MU.AN.NA y ŠE.BAR z ZÚ.LUM.MA...a-na na-da-a-ni a-na NÍG.GA
é-an-na UGU-šú iš-ku-nu “they made it obligatory for him to give y barley and z
 dates per year to the property of Eanna”, TCL 13 182: 17–18 (Dar yr 2, U)

šá-ta-ri šá a-dan-nu a-na e-te-ri it-ti-šú iš-tù-ru “he made with him a record of the
 deadline for repaying”, Dar 486: 4–5 (yr 19, B)

Babylon has a regular legal phrase which uses *ana* + infinitive:⁴⁶

a-na la e-né-e l+en-a.TA.ÀM šá-ta-ri il-qu-ú “so that there is no alteration (i.e.
 comeback on a legal case), they each took a written copy”, VS 5 38: 40 (Cyr yr
 6, B)⁴⁷

iii) “to” a place. This includes the verb *erēbu*, where *ana* precedes the “goal of
 movement”:

u₄-mu PN a-na šim-tu₄ it-tal-ku-ma... “when PN dies...” (literally, “when PN
 goes to fate”), CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 16 (yr 9, B)

⁴⁶ The Babylon corpus does not use *ana* + infinitive in expressions of purpose as often as Uruk
 does. (It is curious also that in expressions of purpose where the precativ is used, Uruk once
 again has more examples.)

⁴⁷ Further examples of the phrase *ana la enē* are to be seen for example in: Cyr 337: 17; Camb
 349: 30; Camb 375: 25 (yr 7, B) ^{and} Dar 551: 17 (*a-na la e-né-nu*, unexplained spelling).

ia-a-^ftú^l a-na É PN tu-šá-ah-hi-sa-³-in-ni “you (mpl) made me go back to PN’s house”, TCL 12 122: 12–13 (Nbn yr 12? B)

ina u₄-mu PN a-na a-šar-šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku “if (ever) PN goes somewhere else”, Camb 379: 12–13 (yr 7, B) cf. *ki-i a-na-šar šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku* “if he goes somewhere else” (*ana* as sandhi with *ašar*), VS 4 60: 11–12 (Cyr yr 3, B)

a-na GN ki-i ir-ru-bu “when he went (or possibly, “goes”) to Uruk”, YOS 3 83: 10 (letter, end Cyr? U)

a-na É LÚ.RIG, te-te-ru-^fub^l “she has entered (into) the house of the *širku*”, i.e. “she has become a *širkatu*”, YOS 6 186: 6 (Nbn yr 7, U)

The use of *ana* as the “goal of movement” may explain the unusual:

a-na UD 6.KÁM šá e-ru-bu per-ta-a liš-ši “when he comes on⁴⁸ the sixth let him take up my post”, CT 22 200: 13–15 (letter, Nbn? B)⁴⁹

ana tarši “at the time of”:

a-na tar-ši RN “at the time of Nbk”, YOS 6 71: 29 (Nbn yr 6, U)

For *ana* as the marker of the direct object (*nota accusativi*) and the indirect and non-direct objects, see VI §3, below.

e) *arki* (usually spelled *ár-ki* or EGIR)

i) “after” (in a spatial sense) occurs once in the Uruk corpus:

ù ár-ki-šú ki-i ni-il-su-mu paṭ-ri AN.BAR a-na muh-hi-i-ni it-ta-as-sah “and when we ran after him he drew an iron dagger against us”, YOS 7 88: 18–19 (Cyr yr 2, U)

ii) “after” (in reference to time):

ár-ki PN “after PN’s death”, YOS 6 143: 1 (Nbn yr 10, U)

ár-ki mi-tu-tu šá PN “after the death of PN”, Nbn 1048: 4–5 (yr 17, B), TCL 13 160: 3 (Camb yr 3, B)

EGIR *a-mir-tu₄* “after the inspection”, YOS 7 70: 4 (Cyr yr 8, U)

f) *ašar* French “chez”, “belongs to”:

^fPN ^fPN₂ u ^fPN₃ *la-ta-ni-ka ab-ba-kám-ma a-šar LÚ.DUMU LUGAL a-nam-dak-ka* “I shall bring ^fPN, ^fPN₂ and ^fPN₃, your retinue, and give them to you at the crown prince’s place”, JRAS 1926: 11–13 (Nbn yr 10, B). See also line 22.

⁴⁸ Preposition is usually not used. See §4, below.

⁴⁹ Translation based on Ebeling’s (NBr, p109). *pertu* appears to refer to a hairstyle associated with a particular office, cf. ABL 43 rev 24–26. ABL 43 (NB letter) also has references to shaving while in office.

GIŠ.ŠUB.BA šu-a-tu₄ a-šar PN “that prebend belongs to PN”, VS 5 57/58: 10
(Barziya yr 1, B)

The uses of *ašar* both as a preposition and as a subordinating conjunction (III §2 c) in NB are in no way different from its uses in the earlier dialects as given in CAD, thereby indicating that there has been no Aramaic influence. (GlnBr p63 has only the noun “Ort”, and the conjunction “wo”, marking place.)

g) *aššu* “concerning, because of” is attested only once in these texts as a preposition: ⁵⁰

ina MU 4.KÁM RN áš-šú nu-dun-né-e-a it-ti PN mu-ti-ia a-ar-gum-ma “in year 4 of Nbn I had a dispute with PN my husband because of my dowry...”, Nbn 356: 10–12 (yr 9, B)

bal(û) “without”. See *ša la*.

h) *birīt* “between, within”. This is a construct form of *birītu* “the space between”, derived from *biri-* (AHw p128 and GAG §115q):

28 GI.MEŠ ul-tu UGU pi-it-ri šá bi-rit É IM.U₁₈.LÛ šá É GAL-ú ù bi-rit É IM.SI. SÁ “28 reeds (of property) from the unbuilt (?) land between the southern building of the big house and the northern house”, YOS 6 114: 8–9 (Nbn yr 5, U)⁵¹

LÚ.ŠU.HA.MEŠ šá bi-rit URU “the fishermen from the land between the city (canals)”, TCL 13 163: 5–6, repeated line 11 (Camb yr 3, U)

i) *eber* “across”⁵²

20 [DUG] [kan-du?] šá GEŠTIN.HI.A šá e-ber I, “20 jars of various wines from across the river”, JNES 1993: 12–13 (letter, end Nbn? U)

j) *elat* (or, *elât* ⁵³), *ana elat* “in addition to”:

u₄-mu.MEŠ e-lat a-dan-ni-šú ma-aš-šar-ti ina ka-a-ri i-nam-šar “for (however many) days past its (the rent’s) deadline, he is to do a watch at the quay”, YOS 17 302: 5–6 (Nbk IV yr 1, U)

⁵⁰ In Kuyunjik NB *aššu* seems to mean “because of” only (Woodington, p165). In the dialects under analysis here *aššu* is also a subordinating conjunction (see III §2d, below).

⁵¹ For comments on the repetition of prepositions see Note at the end of this section.

⁵² See AHw *ebertu* “opposite bank”. *ebertu* 2, the preposition, includes the entry on *eber*.

⁵³ This second transcription, preferred by both Ebeling and von Soden, is based on their derivation of *elat* from **eliātu(m)* “extras”, a fpl noun from *elû(m)* (GAG §114 o, “Oberer”). Note also that in the third example here, *elat* has a suffix, which supports the idea of a nominal origin, as does *elat*’s use with another preposition in the fifth example. Whether **eliātu(m)* is the original form or not, in NB *elat* is virtually always spelled *e-lat*, suggesting a shortened vowel, and I use *elat*, following CAD. *ela*, which means the same as *elat* and is not found in NB, appears to be derived from *eli* (AHw, p196b).

1 ME 70 KUŠ.ME *it-ti i-nam-di-nu e-lat re-ha-a-nu mah-ru-tu šá ina muh-hi-šú-nu* “they will give 170 skins in addition on top of earlier remaining debts against them”, TCL 13 165: 12–13 (Camb yr 4, U)

ŠE.BAR *pe-še-ti e-lat-ti-šú a-kan-na ia-a-nu* “there is no white barley here apart from that”, YOS 3 113: 11–12 (letter, early Cyr, U)

e-lat ú-íl-tì.MEŠ mah-re-e-tú šá KÙ.BABBAR ŠE.BAR ZÚ.LUM.MA u SUM.SAR “this is on top of (or, supersedes?) earlier IOU’s of silver, barley, dates and garlic”, Nbn 344: 9 (yr 9, B), cf. AnOr 8 68: 13 (Camb yr 3, B) and elsewhere.

a-na e-lat-šú “In addition to that”, Dar 296: 5 (yr 11, B)

k) *eli* “on the subject of, over, against” (usually spelled *e-li* or UGU):⁵⁴

e-li šá DUB PN u ^fPN DAM-šú ù e-li LÚ-tú É maš-ka-ni-šú PN₂ [...]ù PN₃ ia-a-ri-<<tu>>-tu šá PN iq-bu-ú um-ma “regarding what was on (literally, “that of”) the tablet of PN and ^fPN his wife, and regarding his pledged household servants, PN₂ [...] and PN₃ the heir⁵⁵ of PN, spoke as follows”, Nbn 668: 4...6 (yr 12, B)

ú-íl-tì šá PN...šá ŠE.BAR šá FDN šá e-li PN₂ “the IOU of PN... for barley from the Lady-of-Uruk, owing from (literally, “against”) PN”, BIN 2 130: 14, (Camb acc, U) cf. *ú-íl-tì šá KÙ.BABBAR a₄ 6 MA.NA a-di hu-bul-lu₄ šá PN šá e-li PN₂* “the IOU of PN for the (aforementioned) six minas of silver plus interest, owing from PN₂”, *ibid.*: 20–21.⁵⁶

PN a-na UGU É ù mim-ma šá kan-ku-ma pa-ni-ia šu-ud-gu-lu u e-li PN₂...pa-qa-ri ú-šab-ši “PN has made a claim regarding the house and everything signed and transferred to me, and (also) regarding PN₂ (our slave)”, Nbn 356: 24...27 (yr 9, B)

UGU 1 GUR 5 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA sis-sin-na-šú i-na-áš-ši “per kur (of land) he may take five kur of dates as his bonus”, Dar 35: 10–11 (yr 2, B)

eli forms the following idiomatic constructions:

i) *eli* PN + *parāsu* “to charge (as penalty) against PN”:

(accusations) *e-li* PN *ip-ru-su* “they made charges (accusations) against PN”, YOS 7 7: 42, 50, 59, 76 (Cyr yr 1, U)

U₈ a₄ 1+et 1+en 30 PN PN₂...e-li-nu-šú ip-ru-su “for that one sheep, they made a thirty-fold (replacement) charge against PN and PN₂” (reading *e-li-šú-nu*), TCL 13 147: 8...13 (Camb yr 1, U)

⁵⁴ Although UGU is used for both *eli* and *muhhi*, *eli* is never preceded by a preposition whereas *muhhi* usually is. The use of *eli* is restricted to more figurative instances whereas *muhhi* has a more physical sense. For this reason I have interpreted the UGU in Dar 35: 10 as *eli*.

⁵⁵ Cf. the related document TCL 122: 15 PN, *ia-a-ri-tú šá PN* (referring to Nbn yr 8, when PN was still alive).

⁵⁶ Note how *muhhi* functions in exactly the same way in YOS 6 161: 3...4: *ú-íl-tì šá PN...šá muh-hi PN₂* (Nbn yr 8, U).

Note the resumptive *eli* and suffix in:

...*e-li* PN₁₋₅...*e-li-šú-nu ip-ru-su* “they made charges against PN₁₋₅ Iraq 13: 23... 26 (Camb yr 2, U)

ii) PN *eli ram(a)nišu + kunnu* “PN confesses” (i.e. “gives evidence against himself”). Note in the second example *eli* is written UGU and could therefore be construed as *muhhi*:

PN *iš-šá-al-ú-ma iq-bi e-li ram-ni-šú ú-kin um-ma* “PN was questioned⁵⁷ and he spoke, confessing...” AnOr 8 47: 18–19 (Cyr yr 5, U)

(šá) PN...UGU *ram-ni-šú u-kin-nu* “(about what) PN...confessed”, TCL 13 142: 2...3 (Cyr yr 7, U)

PN u PN₂ *e-li ram-ni-šú-nu u-kin-nu-’ um-ma...ù PN₂ e-li ram-ni-šú ú-kin um-ma* “PN and PN₂ confessed as follows...and PN₂ confessed as follows”, Dar 296: 7...10 (yr 11, B)

iii) PN *eli* PN₂ + *rašû* “PN has a claim against PN₂” (i.e. PN₂ is in debt to PN to the sum of, cf. *rašûtu*):⁵⁸

2 $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *e-li* [P]N...*ir-še-e-ma ú-íl-tì [xx...]* ^fPN DAM-šú *i-’-il-ma* “he had a claim (i.e. a *rašûtu*) of 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ minas of silver against PN and he made out an IOU [xx...] with ^fPN his (i.e. PN’s) wife”, TCL 12 122: 4...6 (Nbn, yr 12? B), cf. PN speaking later on:

2 $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA *e-li-ia tu-šá-ar-šá-a-šu-ma* (literally) “you (pl) are making him have a (*rašûtu*) claim of 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ minas against me”, i.e. “you are making me owe 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ minas to him”, *ibid.*: 11–12

PN *e-li É GN...e-li* PN₂ *šá ši-i u mu-ti-šú a-na kas-pi i-šá-mu ù e-li mim-ma šá PN₃ la ú-šar-šu-ú* “they made PN have no claim to the house in Borsippa or to PN₂ (a slave) whom she and her (deceased) husband had bought for silver, nor to anything of PN₃ (the deceased husband)”, Nbn 356: 31...34 (yr 9, B)

PN u ^fPN AMA-šú *a-na UGU ra-šu-tú ma-la ba-šu-ú šá UGU PN₂ it-ti PN₃₋₅ ul i-dab-bu-bu-’* “regarding any credit that may be owed by (i.e. reading *eli* “against”) PN₂ (the deceased), PN and ^fPN, his mother, are not to raise an objection with PN₃₋₅ (PN₂’s sons)”, Camb 110: 8–11 (yr 2, B)

1) *eliš* and *šapliš* “above and below”:

ŠE.NUMUN ù *me-re-šú šá e-liš ù šap-liš šá I, eš-šú GAB KÁ.GAL DN* “crop and arable land which is upstream and downstream from the New Canal, opposite the Enlil Gate”, Dar 80: 1–2 (yr 3, B)

⁵⁷ This appears to be a confusion of a 3ms passive to which a 3mpl impersonal subject ending has been added. CAD gives no citations of *šálu* N in NB. See impersonal subject, VI §2c.

⁵⁸ *rašûtu* also works with *eli*: (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR) *ina ra-šu-tu šá PN...šá e-li-šú a-na PN i-nam-din* “he is to give 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ minas silver from the debt against him to PN”, Dar 446: 3...5 (yr 17, B).

m) *ina*: (usually spelled *i-na*, occasionally AŠ)

i) “on, in”:

ina ku-ru-up-pi šá PN a-ši-ib “he was sitting on PN’s basket/chest”, cf. *ina muh-hi ku-ru-up-pi šá PN at-ta-šab* “I sat (down) on top of PN’s basket”, YOS 7 78: 5–6, 12–13 (Cyr yr 7, U)

10 GUR ŠE.BAR *i-na* ŠE.BAR-*ia* šá *ina* IGI-*ka a-na* PN *i-di-in* “give PN ten kur from (literally “in”) the barley of mine that you have (at your disposal)”, Dar 385: 5–7 (yr 14, B)

ii) “by, in (the name/order of)”:

ina DN₁₋₄...it-te-mu-ú “he swore by the gods₁₋₄...”, AnOr 8 30: 13 (Nbn yr 13, U). Also in YOS 6 232: 16

i-na qí-ba-a-ta PN “by the order of PN”, YOS 7 70: 5 (Cyr yr 8, U)

iii) as the marker of instrument:

LÚ.DI.KU₅.MEŠ *ṭup-pi iš-ṭu-ru-ma ina* NA₄.MEŠ-šú-*nu ib-ru-mu-ma a-na* PN *id-din-nu* “the judges wrote a tablet, signed it with their seals and gave it to PN”, Nbn 668: 19–21 (yr 12, B)

ŠE.NUMUN *gab-bi ina mar-ri* AN.BAR *i-he-ri* ŠE.NUMUN *ina* GIŠ [APIN?] *ul ip-pu-uš* “he is to dig the whole field with an iron shovel; he is not to work the field with a [plough?]”, VS 5 49: 17–18 (Camb yr 4, B)

u₄-mu šá uš-šu-nu ina ši-pir-tu₄ EN.MEŠ *liš-pur-ú-nu* “the day they⁵⁹ come out, may Sirs contact me by means of a message”, YOS 3 21: 16–17 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

iv) as a result of:

ṽkalṽbi šá tam-mah-ha-aš ina mi-ih-ši-šú mi-i-ti “the dog she hit (=historic present in reported speech) is dead from its beating”, YOS 7: 107: 12–13 (Camb yr 1, U)

v) “at, during” in expressions of time (Babylon texts only), *ina* + infinitive.⁶⁰

i-na a-šá-ba šá ṽPN “at the sitting (i.e. presence) of ṽPN”, Camb 349: 38 (yr 6, B)⁶¹

i-na šá-ṭa-ri šá ṭup-pi MU.MEŠ “at the writing of that tablet”, Camb 349: 32 (yr 6, B) cf. RA 67: 42 (B)

i-na ka-na-ku IM.DUB *šu-a-ti* “at the sealing of that tablet”, TCL 13 190: 30 (Dar yr 12, B) cf. Nbn 293: 37 (*i-na ka-na-ku-ka*), VS 5 38: 41.

⁵⁹ “they” refers to some aforementioned people, not to the “Sirs”.

⁶⁰ For further expressions of time using *ina*, see §4, below.

⁶¹ A standard legal expression, used to refer to a female witness being present in court.

n) *ittahû* “by the side of” is derived by von Soden from *ina* and *tahê*. See AHW *tahû* “Seite”? p1303a.⁶²

šá *it-ta-hu-ú-a* **íz-zi-zu* “(someone) who can stand by my side (i.e. to help me)”, CT 22 73: 5 (letter, Dar? B):

um-ma it-ta-hu PN *íz-zi-za-ma* “saying, ‘stand by PN!’” *ibid.*: 12

o) *itti* “(together) with” (usually spelled *it-ti*, sometimes KI or *it-ti-i*):

PN *it-ti-ku-nu id-dab-bu-ub* “PN is to discuss with you”, YOS 6 78: 15 (Nbn yr 4, U) cf. also Nbn 65: 12 and CT 22 74: 4

it-ti LÚ.RIG₇.MEŠ šá FDN šat-ru “they are recorded along with the širkus of the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 116 13–14 (Nbn yr 10, U)

3 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *it-ti-i-ni* PAP 6 “there are three workmen with us, (making) a total of six”, YOS 7 156: 5–6 (Camb yr 3, U)

it-ti a-ha-meš nim-hur “we bought between⁶³ us”, Nbn 356: 10 (yr 9, B)

n ZÚ.LUM.MA PN *u* PN₂ KI PN₃...*u-šá-az-za-zu-ma a-na* PN₄ *ina-ad-din-nu-*’ “PN and PN₂ are to register n dates with PN₃...and give them to PN₄”, Dar 384: 2...4 (yr 14, B)

itti + *ṭepû* “to be built onto/into”:

hu-uš-šu šá it-ti É ka-a-ri ṭe-pu-ú “a reed hut that is built onto the quay house”, Nbn 499: 18–19 (yr 11, B) cf.:

É šá PN...*a-di ṭi-pa-nu šá it-ti-i* PN₂ “(regarding) PN’s house including an annexe which is connected to PN₂’s (house)”, Dar 499: 1...3 (yr 20, B)

itti + *mātu* in *it-ti-šú lu-mu-tu* “I want to kill it (i.e. the dog)”, YOS 7 107: 11–12 (Camb yr 1, U), is a hapax legomenon which may also be an idiom.⁶⁴

p) *itû* “adjacent to”, of which most attestations are in the Babylon property texts (often referring to real estate which has been given as a pledge), is always written ÚS.SA.DU.⁶⁵ The reading *itû* is assumed from lexical lists such as *ana ittišu*.⁶⁶

ŠE.NUMUN-šú *ina pa-ni* GN šá ÚS.SA.DU PN...É *maš-ka-ni-šú mah-ru-ú šá* MN *maš-ka-nu šá* PN₂ “his land in front of the Giššu Gate, which is adjacent to PN(’s

⁶² However, in AHW none of the *tahû* references is “spB”. “spB” references are confined to *ittahû*.

⁶³ For *itti ahāmeš* “mutually, with each other/one another” see *ahāmeš* in §3b i, below.

⁶⁴ Although the literal translation may be “let me die with it”, this makes no sense in the context.

⁶⁵ When DA is used instead of ÚS.SA.DU, the reading *ṭāhu* (meaning virtually the same, q.v. ee, below) is assumed. DA is also used to describe pledged real estate, as in Dar 378: 2 and VS 4 152: 4, 5).

⁶⁶ ÚS.SA.DU *i-tu-ú* (MSL I, p89): 45, and Hh II (MSL V, p69): 247.

property), his earlier pledge from Simānu is pledged to PN₂”, Nbn 605: 5–8 (yr 12, B)

Further examples are in Camb 349: 20; TCL 13 190: 3, 5, 8; TCL 13 193: 11, 12 (both B), and in YOS 6 33: 6 (U).

kī, kīma see *akī*

q) *kīdān* “outside”:

1 PI ŠE.NUMUN-šú-nu zaq-pi šá ki-da-nu KÁ.GAL DN “one *šū* of their planted arable land which is outside the Zababa Gate”, Dar 379: 66 (yr 14, B)

r) *kūm*. In these texts *kūm*, probably pronounced [ku:] functions as a preposition only, “in compensation for, in exchange for, (acting) as”:⁶⁷

1 MA.NA PN...ku-um da-a-ka šá GIŠ.GIŠIMMAR a-na PN₂ i-nam-din “PN is to give one mina of silver in compensation for the killing off of the date-palm to PN₂”, TCL 12 89: 10–11 (Nbn yr 8, U) cf. YOS 7 68: 11–13

KI UZ.TUR.MUŠEN 1+en a-di 30 ku-um UZ.TUR.MUŠEN.ME a₂ 2 e-li PN₁₋₅ e-li-šú-nu ip-ru-su “with⁶⁸ each duck, they decided on a charge of a thirty-fold compensation, (applicable to) those two (stolen) ducks, against PN₁₋₅”, Iraq 13: 22...25 (Camb yr 2, U)

PN EN li-bu-uk-ma ku-um na-áš-par!-tu₄!⁶⁹ šá EN-ía lil-li-ik “may Sir take PN so that he can act as agent for my lord”, CT 22 110: 20–23 (letter, pre-527, B)

2-ú-tu ú-qa-ti-ma ku-u KÙ.BABBAR a⁷⁰ ½ MA.NA PN ib-bak-ka “it (i.e. the bull calf) is to reach two years of age⁷⁰ and PN is to take (it) in exchange for the ½ mina of silver”, Dar 257: 7–8 (yr 9, B)

kūm is used in the *šupēltu* contracts in Babylon, which involve the exchange of property or assets. Note that all the texts are from the reign of Darius and are worded in the following manner:

PN...PN₂...šū-pel-tu₄ ku-um PN₃ a-na PN₄...id-di-in “PN gave PN₂ to PN₄ in exchange for PN₃”,⁷¹ cf. Dar 309: 7, 12 (yr 11); Dar 319: 8 (yr 12); TCL 13 193: 23 (yr 16)

s) *kutalla* in *ina kutal(la)* “behind (referring to position)”:

ina ku-tal-li-ka il-la-ku “he goes behind you” (broken context), YOS 3 17: 25 (letter, 533–526, U)

⁶⁷ See the references to *kūm* as a subordinating conjunction in AHW 505b, 2.

⁶⁸ See discussion in *adi* iii, footnote.

⁶⁹ The text reads: *na-áš-áš-[par?/tu₄?]*.

⁷⁰ CAD has a variant interpretation of this, which is discussed in *šanû* in V §2c, below (numbers).

⁷¹ I.e. the construction is PN x *šupēltu kūm y ana* PN₂ + *nadānu*.

ni-i-ni ù PN...ina ku-tal BÂD I, ni-he-er-ru “we and PN... were digging a canal behind the city wall”, *Iraq* 13: 10–11 (Camb yr 2, U)

i-na ku-tal-la É PN “behind PN’s house”, Dar 379: 11 (yr 14, B)

ina ku-tal-li-ia...gab-bi uk-ti-il “he detained (them) all behind my back”, CT 22 74: 8...10 (letter, middle Dar, B)

lapāni see *pānu*

t) *libbu* in *ina libbi*, “in; among”:

ti-iq-tu, ina lib-bi-ku-nu la i-šak-kan-’ “do not make (polite 3pl., going with EN.MEŠ) trouble amongst yourselves”, YOS 3 21: 18–19 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA...ina muh-hi 1+et rit-ti ina lib-bi GIŠ.MÁ i-nam-din “he is to give the dates in one go by boat”, Nbn 344: 4...6 (yr 9, B)

u) *libbû*⁷² “on the basis of, because of”, may take suffixes:

ul i-de ki-i lib-bu-ú a-ga-a ta-ku-uš-šá-’ ina lib-bi ki-i LÚ.A.KIN-ia la? ta-l-am-ma-^{ra} “I did not know you were delayed because of this. That is why you did not see my messenger”, YOS 3 22: 24–27 (letter, early Nbn, U)

u ši-ba-šú...lib-bu-ú šá šad-da-gad EN liš-šá-’ “and may Sir take the grain tax on the basis of that of⁷³ last year”, CT 22 78: 19...21 (letter, 545–527, B)

lib-bu-ú-šú gi-mir EN li-pu-uš “may Sir act on the basis of it all”, YOS 3 45: 18–19 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

v) Compounds involving *mahar*

i) (*ina*) *mahar* “facing, opposite, in the presence of”. Of the texts examined here, these are limited mainly to legal documents:

(property) *ma-har šá DA É GAL-ú* “facing the side of⁷⁴ the big house”, Dar 379: 29 (yr 14, B) cf.:

ma-har É GAL-ú la-bi-ri “opposite the big old house”, *ibid*: 34

i-na ma-har LÚ.SUKAL LÚ.GAL.MEŠ ù LÚ.DI.KU, MEŠ...di-i-ni id-bu-bu-ma dib-bi-šú-nu iš-mu-ú “they pleaded their case before the chief official, the dignitaries and the judges and their case was heard”, Nbn 1113: 6–8 (after yr 7, B), cf. Nbn 668: 22.

⁷² Both *libbi* and *libbû* form compound phrases which function as subordinating conjunctions and adverbs (q.v.).

⁷³ Understanding *šá* as a periphrastic genitive being used instead of the adverbial *šaddagad* on its own.

⁷⁴ The *ma-har šá* appears to be a confusion of the construct and the periphrastic genitive. The construct alone is used in line 34. Contrast this with the nominal relative clauses such as: *É...šá DA É (x) ù DA É (y)* “the house...which is next to house (x) and next to house (y)”, seen for example in lines 5–7 and 28 (given in the “Note” on repetition of prepositions, at the end of this section).

ii) *ana mahar* denotes movement into the presence of:

PN...*a-na gu-ul-lu-bu ina ma-har* DN *a-na mah-ri-i-ni i-bu-kám-ma* “he brought PN... into our presence for (ritual) shaving before Kanisurra”, AnOr 8 48: 20...21 (Cyr yr 5, U). Contrast this with line 27: *i-na ma-har* DN₂...*ina ma-har* DN where position and not movement are indicated.

a-na mah-ri-ku-nu ub-la-áš EŠ.BAR-a-ni šuk-na LÚ.DI.KU₅.MEŠ dib-bi-šú-nu iš-mu-ú tup-pa-nu ù rik-sa-a-tú šá^fPN tu-ub-la ma-har-šú-nu iš-tas-su-ma... “‘I have brought him before you. Come to a decision about us’. The judges listened to their argument. The documents and contracts that ^fPN had brought, were read out (i.e. impersonal subject) before them...”, Nbn 356: 28–30 (yr 9, B)

^fPN *u* PN UN.MEŠ É šá PN₂ É *maš-ka-ni-šú a-na ma-har LÚ.DI.KU₅.MEŠ LUGAL ub-lam-ma...* “^fPN and PN brought the household retinue of PN₂, his pledged assets, before the king’s judges...”, Nbn 668: 11–13 (yr 12, B)

w) *mala* “as much as; (quantitatively) appropriate to; according to; any”,⁷⁵ and the idiom *mala...mašû* “to be able...(to do...)”. *mala* is understood by von Soden as the construct of the infinitive *malû* “filling”.⁷⁶ It is usually spelled *ma-la*:

ù LÚ *qí-i-pi...a-na* GN *ki-i ir-ru-bu ma-la da-ba-ba it-ti* EN-ia *ul am-šu* “when the *qīpu* went (?)⁷⁷ into Uruk I wasn’t able to talk to Sir”, YOS 3 83: 9...12 (letter, end Cyr, U)

PN *šu-ú ma-la* 100 ERÍN.MEŠ *ina muh-hi id-da-bu-ub* “that PN argues as much about it as a hundred workmen”, YOS 3 200: 44–46 (letter, early Camb, U)

KÙ.BABBAR *ma-la* HA.LA-šú ŠÁM GI.MEŠ *at-ru-tu* PN *ina ŠU.II* PN₂ *e-tir* “PN has received money from PN₂ appropriate to his share for the sale of the extra reeds (of a plot)”, VS 5 113: 6...9 (Dar yr 13, B) cf. Dar 379: 63

ki-i it-tal-ku ŠE.NUMUN *ma-la* ŠE.NUMUN PN *a-na NÍG.GA é-an-na i-nam-din* “if PN goes he is to give land for land (? context unclear) to Eanna property”, TCL 13 222: 19–21 (Dar yr 2, U) cf.:

GU₄.ME ù LÚ.APIN.ME *e-lat an-na-a ma-la* GIŠ.BÁN *ina pa-ni-šú ul-tu* NÍG.GA *é-an-na ul ib-bak* “he is not to take oxen and ploughmen beyond this (number) appropriate to the farm-lease at his disposal, out of Eanna property”, TCL 13 182: 23 (Dar yr 2, U)

The following is difficult. The meaning is “any” rather than “appropriate to”:

dul-lu SIG₄.HIA GI *u* GIŠ.ÛR *ma-la lib-bi ip-pu-uš a-na muh-hi* PN *i-ma-an-nu* “any jobs (requiring) bricks, canes or beams there he is to do and put on the account of PN”, VS 5 82: 11–13 (Dar yr 16, B). However, this can also be translated “any jobs...that he may do there he is to put on the account of PN”,

⁷⁵ For *mala* in relative clauses, where it often means “any” and where there is a possible exception to the standard spelling *ma-la*, q.v. III §1b, below.

⁷⁶ See AHW p591b and 597a.

⁷⁷ Or “goes?” The writer’s polite insistence in addressing the recipient in the third person throughout makes this letter difficult to understand.

i.e. taking *ma-la lib-bi ip-pu-uš* as a verbal clause with an unmarked subjunctive.

ana mala “appropriate to, in accordance with”:

pu-ut bi-it-qu u ki-rik-tú šá I, LUGAL a-na ma-la ŠE.NUMUN šá FDN šá ina pa-ni-sú PN na-ši “PN has the responsibility of the upkeep and damming of the King’s River appropriate to the Lady-of-Uruk’s arable land that he has in his charge”, TCL 12 90: 19–20 (Nbn yr 7, U)

PN...a-na ma-la HALA šá PN₂ ù PN₃ ina ŠU.II PN₂ u PN₃...e-ti-ir “PN... received (it) in proportions appropriate to the share of PN₂ and PN₃...from PN₂ and PN₃”, Joannès Strasbourg 3: 7...11 (Dar yr 6, B)

x) *mihrat* “opposite” is virtually always written GAB. According to AHw GAB is probably read *mehret*, but the first example below has *mihrat*. The relevant CAD entries are s.v. *mihirtu* (M/II 52b–53, sections 4.3’ and 4.4’):

ŠE.NUMUN A.ŠÀ tap-tu-ú...mi-ih-ra-at KÁ.GAL DN pi-ha-at GN “(regarding) arable land, a newly opened field opposite the Ninurta Gate in the Babylon district”, Nbn 293: 1–2 (yr 8, B)

ŠE.NUMUN šá GAB KÁ.GAL DN “arable land which is opposite the Zababa gate”, Cyr 337: 1 (yr 9, B)

y) Compounds involving *muhhu* “top of the head, front”. *muhhu* is often written UGU:⁷⁸

i) *adi muhhi* “up to”:

a-di muh-hi 1/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR EN lid-da-šú “may Sir give him up to one third of a mina of silver”, CT 22 148: 9–10 (letter, 545–527, B)

There are two examples of *adi muhhi enna*, “until now”, both from Uruk. Since the reference is to past events leading up to the present, the verb is preterite:

mi-na-’ a-di UGU en-na tē-en-ku-nu ul áš-me “why haven’t I heard from you yet?”, YOS 3 64: 10–11 (letter, 538–534, U)

a-di UGU en-na re-eš ŠE.BAR-i-ni ul ni-iš-ši “up to now we haven’t made a check⁷⁹ on our barley”, YOS 3 87: 9–10 (letter, 533–526, U)

⁷⁸ See the discussion in *eli* regarding the criteria for reading UGU as either *muhhu* or *eli*.

⁷⁹ *rēša...našû*. See CAD *našû* A6 p107 (*rēšu* a).

ii) *ana muhhi*:

1) “regarding”, especially in letters:

a-na muh-hi MUNUS *la-ta-nu šá* EN *iš-pu-ru* “regarding the woman attendant Sir sent”, YOS 3 22: 15–17 (letter, early Nbn, U) cf. YOS 3 83: 6–7 (U) and elsewhere.

a-na UGU ZÚ.LUM.MA...šá taq-ba-’ *mam-ma ul id-din-nu* “regarding the dates... you talked about, no one gave (them)”,⁸⁰ CT 22 73: 28...31, 25–27 (letter, early Dar? B)

SUM.SAR *a-ga-a a-na muh-hi mi-ni-i ki-i la aš-bu* “this garlic, why ^{it} is/that it is not included”⁸¹ CT 22 81: 20–22 (letter, Nbn, B)

2) “against” (either physically or figuratively):

PN...GÍR AN.BAR *ul-tu MURUB₄-šú a-na muh-hi PN₂...is-su-hu* “PN drew an iron sword/dagger from his waist against PN₂”, TCL 12 117: 2...5 (Nbn yr 16, U)

paṭ-ri AN.BAR *a-na muh-hi-i-ni it-ta-as-sah* “he drew an iron dagger against us”, YOS 7 88: 19 (Cyr yr 2, U)

i-mit-tu₄ ul-tu é-an-na a-na muh-hi-ía en-de-et “the estimate from Eanna is set under my responsibility”, YOS 3 12: 16–18 (letter, early Nbn, U) *dul-lu...ma-la ina lib-bi ip-pu-šu a-na UGU PN i-man-ni* “any jobs that he does there he is to put on to PN’s account”, Cyr 177: 10...12 (yr 4, B) cf. *a-na muh-hi PN i-man-nu* VS 5 82: 12–13 (Dar yr 16, B)

(*ana muh-hi KÙ.BABBAR a₄ šá taq-qa-ba-’*) GÍŠ.DA *ki-i a-mu-ru ½ MA.NA 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá ana IGI PN...ina GÍŠ.DA ana muh-hi-ka šá-ṭi-ir* “(regarding that silver about which you’re talking,) the ledger, when I saw it, had half a mina (and) 3 shekels of silver down on it at PN’s disposal, written out against you”, CT 22 189: 8–15 (letter, MNA, B)

3) Unusual usage, perhaps a personal idiosyncrasy for expected *ina muhhi* “in charge of”:

LÚ.e-mi-de-e u LÚ.ŠITA₅.MEŠ *šá a-na muh-hi ma-šá-hu šá ŠE.NUMUN* “the inspectors and accountants who are in charge of measuring the arable land”, AnOr 8 30: (Nbn yr 13, U)⁸²

⁸⁰ Note also the adverbial *ana muhhi* in *a-na UGU ši-pir-tu₄ ù mar šip-ri* EN *lid-din* “therefore, may Sir provide either a message or a messenger”, *ibid.*: 25–27.

⁸¹ See I §6 b i, above, for the reading *aš-bu*.

⁸² Preceded by the entry in iii 1, below. *ana muhhi mašāhi* is also used in YOS 6 232: 8. Both documents are written by Murānu <Nabû-mukīn-ahi (Ekur-zakir).

4) Unusual usage, perhaps a personal idiosyncrasy for expected *adi*:⁸³

*a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄ GIŠ.MÁ ul ú-še-ri-iq*⁸⁴ “up to today the boat has not been emptied”, YOS 3 66: 3–4 (letter, Camb, pre-526, U)

iii) *ina muhhi*

1) “in charge of, at, against”, can often be interchanged with *ana muhhi*:

(people) *ša ina muh-hi ma-ša-hu ša ŠE.NUMUN* “(people) in charge⁸⁵ of measuring the arable land”, AnOr 8 30: 6 (Nbn yr 13, U)

ITI 1 *ma-né-e* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina muh-hi-šú-nu i-rab-bi* “per month, per one mina, one shekel of silver will accrue against them”, Nbn 314: 19 (B). A standard phrase, cf. MU.AN.NA *ina muhhi ma-né-e* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina muh-hi-šú i-rab-bi* “per year, per one mina 12 shekels of silver will accrue against him”, VS 4 62: 4–6 (Cyr yr 6, B)⁸⁶

PN...*kak-kab-ti ù ár-ra-a-ti ina UGU UZU rit-ti-šú it-ta-di* “PN put a star and markings on the skin (literally, “flesh”) of her hand”, YOS 6 79: 14...15 (Nbn yr 5, U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA *ina GN ina MN ina UGU I₇ GN₂ ina muh-hi 1+et rit-ti...i-nam-din* “he will deliver the dates in one go in Šahrīnu at the Borsippa canal...in Arahsamna”, Nbn 344: 4...6 (yr 9, B), cf.

ina UGU 1+et rit-ti “in one go”, Joannès TEBR 39: 9 (Camb yr 2, U)

PN LÚ.EN *pi-qit-tú ina muh-hi ŠE.BAR ip-te-qid* “PN the *bēl piqitti* is in charge of the barley”, YOS 3 12: 13–15 (letter, early Nbn, U)

2) “regarding, concerning, because of”, is almost exclusively restricted to the Babylon texts:

na-da-nu u ma-ha-ri ina UGU ka-sap nu-dun-né-e-a ni-pu-uš-ma... “we engaged in a business undertaking involving my dowry silver...”, Nbn 356: 5–6 (yr 9, B)

te-er-si-tu₄ ga-mir-tu₄ ina muh-hi dul-lu ina É NÍG.GA i-nam-di-nu-niš-ši “they are to give him all the prepared material concerning the work, from out of the storehouse”, VS 6 84: 6–8 (Nbn yr 12, B)

ina UGU 1 GUR 5 GUR sis-sin-nu u tap-tu-[ú] ina UGU 1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN 6 GUR sis-sin-nu i-na-áš-ši “for each kur (of worked land) he may draw five kur as bonus and for newly opened land (he may draw) six kur per one kur of arable land as bonus”, VS 5 49: 20–21 (Camb yr 4, B)

⁸³ The writer has an unusual use of *ana muhhi ša* for *adi muhhi ša* as a subordinating conjunction elsewhere in this letter. See *muhhu* in III §2, below.

⁸⁴ For *ušrīq*. For the use of the 3ms for a circumlocution of the passive, see VI §2, below.

⁸⁵ This continues with the entry in 3, above.

⁸⁶ The latest example of this phrase in these texts is in Dar 494: 5–6 (yr 19, B).

ina UGU KA-*i* mar-*su* nu-bat-tu₄ la ta-ba-a-ta “because of unpleasant talk, do not stay the night”, YOS 3 19: 23–24 (letter, early Cyr, U)

iv) *ultu muhhi* “from”:

ma-aš-*šar*-tu₄ ul-tu UGU I₇ tak-ki-ri a-di UGU I₇ har-ri kip-pí ni-iš-*šur* “we kept guard from the Takkiru canal to the Harri Kippi canal”, YOS 7 156: 7–8 (Camb yr 3, U) cf. Nbn 760: 7–8 (yr 14, B), also with repetition of UGU.

v) Occasionally *muhhi* is used without a preceding preposition, with no change in meaning from *ina muhhi* (first three examples). In the first example UGU could conceivably be *eli*, “against”, but as *muhhi* has a more physical sense than *eli*,⁸⁷ *muhhi* is preferred:

^fPN...ù DUMU-šú šá UGU ti-lu-ú “^fPN...and her nursing son”, (literally, “on the breast”) repeated in line 9, Nbn 832 (yr 15, B)

ú-íl-tì šá PN...šá *muh-hi* PN₂ “an IOU owing from PN₂ to PN”, YOS 6 161: 1...4 (Nbn yr 8, U)

kak-kab-tu₄ šá *muh-hi* ri-it-ti-šú i-mu-ru “they saw the star on her hand”, YOS 7 66: 12 (Cyr yr 7, U)

z) *ina pānāt* “before” (in a chronological sense) is found in the Uruk texts:⁸⁸

(land) *ina līb-bi* 40 qaq-qar *ina pa-na-at-tu-ú-a i-her-ru-ú* “(land) out of which they have (already) been digging 40 units before me (i.e. before I arrived), YOS 3 19: 4–6 (letter, early Cyr, U)

(people) šá *ina pa-na-tu-ú-a paq-du* “people who were employed before me”, TCL 13 170: 9 (Camb yr 5, U)

aa) *pān(r)* “face” occasionally appears on its own in construct but is usually accompanied by *ina*, *ana* or even *la* as a compound preposition. It is occasionally written IGI, but although this may be read *mahar*, *pān* is more figurative in use and seems to be written syllabically if there is any doubt:

i) in construct, *pān* “before”:

GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú...*pa-an* DN *pa-ni-šú ú-šá-ad-gi-il* “he transferred⁸⁹ his...prebend before Kanisurra to him (his adopted cousin)”, AnOr 8 48: 19, 25 (Cyr yr 5, U), cf. šá *pa-ni ša-lam* DN “(prebend) before the statue of Bēl”, in similar but broken context, Joannès Strasbourg 3: 4 (Dar yr 6, B)

⁸⁷ See the discussion in *eli*.

⁸⁸ AHW *pānātu* “Vorderseite”, p818.

⁸⁹ See iv, below for *pān(i)* + *dagālu*. This text uses *muhhi* DN elsewhere. See above.

ii) *ana pān(ī)* “into the presence of” (denoting action towards):

a-na pa-ni-ia it-tal-ku-nu...a-mur a-na pa-ni-ka al-tap-ra-áš-šú-nu-tu “they have come to me...See, I have sent them to you”, YOS 3 87: 7...12 (letter, 533–526, U)

iii) *ina pān(ī)*

1) “at the time of; before” (without action towards):

ina pa-ni RN “at the time of Cyrus”, YOS 3 45: 15 cf. YOS 3 81: 27–28 and YOS 3 106: 34 (all letters, from the same person, Cyr–Camb, U)

É.MEŠ *ina pa-ni-šú-nu im-qu-ta-ma* “the houses fell down in their time...” (or “before them”), AnOr 8 70: 10 (Camb yr 3, U)

ii) “to have (at one’s disposal), be in charge of” cf. Arabic ‘*inda* + suffix:

ŠUK.HI.A *ina IGI-šú-nu ia-a-nu* “they have no provisions”, YOS 3 33: 10–11 (Cyr yr 2-3, U)

a-di 4 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ A.ŠÀ ina IGI PN “for up to four years the field is at the disposal of PN”, YOS 7 162: 10–11 (Camb yr 3, U)

a-di 2 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ É ina IGI-šú “for up to two years the house is at her disposal”, VS 4 66: 8 (Cyr yr 8, B) cf. line 12

iv) *pān(ī) + dagālu*, literally “to look at the face”, means “to belong to” in the NB of this period. The causative is also used, meaning “to transfer to the possession of”:

mim-ma šá...pa-ni-ia šu-ud-gu-lu “everything which was transferred to me”, (passive stative) Nbn 356: 24...25 (Nbn yr 9, B)

pa-ni-šú šu-ud-gil-ma “transfer (impv) to him”, also *pa-ni-šú id-da-gal* “(it) will belong to him”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 10, 23 (Nbn yr 9, B)

GIŠ.ŠUB...*pa-ni PN id-dag-gal* “the prebend... will belong to PN”, VS 5 74/75: 21...22 (Dar yr 11, B)

[LÚ?] *a-me-lut-tu, pa-ni FDN ta-ad-dag-gal* “the woman servant will belong to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 66: 21 (Cyr yr 7, U)

GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú *pa-ni DN pa-ni-šú ú-šá-ad-gi-li* “he transferred his prebend before Kanisurra to him”, AnOr 8 48: 25 (Cyr yr 5, U)

v.) *lapāni*

1) “away from”:⁹⁰

¹/₃ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *la-pa-ni* PN *ta-at-ta-ši* “you took one third of a mina of silver away from PN”, CT 22 194: 18–19 (letter, end Nbn, B)

KUŠ.*hi-in-du šá-a-šú* PN *la-IGI* PN₂...*iš-šu-ú* “that money bag, PN took it away from PN₂”, Nbn 1048: 5...7 (Nbn yr 17, B)

mi-na-a tē-en-ka la-pa-ni-ía i-re-eq-qá-a_x (=AM) also: *mi-na-a tē-en-ka la-pa-ni-ia i-re-eq* “why have you not advised me?” (literally, “why is your advice distant from me?”), CT 22 6: 18–20, 26–27 (letter, Cyr? B)

mi-nam-ma GIŠ.a-lu šá¹ba¹?¹tu qaq-qar la-pa-ni GARIN ru-ú¹?-qu¹ ta-na-šá-a₄ “why are you (pl) taking the live(?⁹¹) alu-tree out of the far meadow?” YOS 3 200: 15 (letter, early Camb? U)

2) “against”

ma-aš-sar-tu₄...la-pa-ni ANŠE.EDIN.NA *ù ša-bi-tu₄ ni-iš-sur* “so that we can keep watch against wild asses and gazelles”, YOS 7 156: 7...10 (Camb yr 3, U)

3) *lapāni* PN + *alādu* is an idiom meaning, “to have/bear (a child) by PN”:⁹²

PN...*šá la-pa-ni* PN₂...*mu-ti-šú mah-ru-ú tu-li-du* “PN, whom she had by PN₂, her first husband”, Nbn 380: 4...7 (yr 9, B)

la-pa-ni PN *a-li-du la-pa-ni mam-ma šá-nam-ma ul a-li-du* “he was born by PN. He was not born by anyone else”, AnOr 8 47: 15–16 (Cyr yr 5, U)

ár-ki šá 3 DUMU.MEŠ¹PN la-pa-ni-ia tul-du... “after ¹PN had borne three children by me...”, Roth: 21–22 (Cyr yr 9, U). See also lines 15–16, 37–38.

That some of the prepositions are clearly nouns in origin is obvious in the case of *pān(ī)*, where the line between a prepositional meaning and that of a noun in construct is very fine. This is supported by the fact that it is used as a compound with *ana/ina* and in construct form only. When used on its own in the idiom *pān* (in

⁹⁰ *lapāni* occurs in NA, SB (after Tiglath-Pileser III, see AHW p534b) and NB only. Although it is commonly assumed that the *la* of *lapāni* is the Aramaic preposition *l-*, Hartman, *OrNS* 8 (1933) p373, states that there is no clear evidence that *la* is the West Semitic preposition and that *lapān* is the only instance in which Akkadian *la* does not have its clear negative force. *lapāni* has a “motion away” idea (“not in the face of?”), unlike the WSem *l-* (or its Akkadian equivalent *ana*). *l²* is usually prefixed to the indirect object in Aramaic. Although *lapān* occurs before the indirect object in NB as seen in the given examples, no satisfactory explanation has yet been made as to the nature of the *la-* prefix. The same problem occurs with *laqāt* “away from”, in NA and NB (ABL) and CT 22 202: 20; see AHW p520a, *la* = Aram LW (“not in the hand of?”).

⁹¹ The damaged sign may be too short to be BAL.

⁹² (Where PN is the father.) Contrast with the simple *l+et* DUMU.MUNUS *ú-lid-su* “I bore him a daughter” Nbn 356: 4 (yr 9, B). The idiom does not appear to be an Aramaism, since Aramaic uses either the causative or a circumlocution.

SB, *pāna*) *dagālu*, it clearly functions as a noun in the object case. This observation lends support to the belief that the *la-* in *lapān* is of prepositional origin.

bb) *qerbu* “in” is used in documents involving buildings. These examples are both from Babylon:

É *e-ép-šu* KI-ti GIŠ.SAR-tu *ša qé-er-ba* GN “a house plot in the Kirātu quarter in Borsippa”, Nbn 85: 1–2 (yr 2, B)

tup-pi šu-pel-ti É.MEŠ *ša KI-tim šu-an-na ša qé-reb* GN “a tablet (recording) the exchange of houses in the Šuanna quarter in Babylon”, VS 5 58: 1 (Barziya yr 1, B)⁹³

cc) *ša* “of”: the periphrastic genitive and its use instead of the construct

Originally the determinative pronoun, “that of” (PSem **tu*, cf. Arabic *dū*, *dā* *t*, Aramaic *dī* and Hebrew *זֶה*), *ša* extended its meaning to create the relative clause.⁹⁴ In the NB analysed here, a scant few examples of the determinative *ša* remain. Apart from the third example below, the determinative is usually written in apposition to a PN or LÚ, so that in reality *ša* is probably understood as a relative pronoun introducing a predicative prepositional clause:

(PN) *ša muhhi sūti* “(PN) who (is) in charge of the *sūtu* (farm-lease) rent”
(CAD S 426b–427a)

ša muhhi quppi “he of the cashbox”,⁹⁵ i.e. “the man in charge of the safe”, TCL 13 182: 1, 9–10, YOS 6 67: 19 (*both u*)

ša tabtišu a family name “Saltdealer”, *passim*

This most used particle of all had, by the time of Kuyunjik NB, already replaced the genitive construct except in certain frozen forms, and extended construct chains were very rare (Woodington, p206). This certainly applies to the NB analysed here, in which constructs continue to be much used in frozen forms. Listed below are those constructs still in consistent use. The transcriptions are based on the dictionary entries. Some logograms and common transcriptions (if they can be determined) are given. Since many of the prepositions operate regularly in construct (exx. *libbi*, *pān*, *pūt*, *muhhi*, etc.), see relevant entries for the prepositions.

⁹³ Cf. the similar phrasing in the *šupēltu* tablets Camb 349: 18, and Camb 423: 2.

⁹⁴ For *ša* in relative clauses see III §1a, below.

⁹⁵ (CAD Q p310b) To be contrasted with: PN *ša LÚ UGU qu-up-lpu* in GCCI 2 130: 7–8 (Dar yr 22, U).

i) The frozen forms may be split into two categories:

1) Fully frozen:

a-hi kaspi/zitti...a-hi...kaspi/zitti... “one half of the silver/share...the other half... of the silver/share...”

babtu KÙ.BABBAR “balance of the (owed) silver”

bīt dullu “work station (?)”⁹⁶

bīt kīli “prison” (=“detention house”)

bīt qāti “building extension”

bīt šutummu “grain or date storehouse”

i-di LÚ-tú u hubul (UR₅.RA) KÙ.BABBAR iānu “there is no servant hire charge or interest on the silver”

ina hūd libbiš, ina migir libbiš “of his/her own free will”

izqāta AN.BAR “iron fetters”

mišil šatti “middle of the year”

pī šulpu “cultivated field”⁹⁷

pūt zitti “the major, or ‘titled’, share”

qāt šibitti “corpus delicti” (=stolen property which has been recovered)

rēhet KÙ.BABBAR “the remainder of the silver”

rēš šatti “beginning of the year”

šīm (ŠÁM, KILAM) gamrūtu “total price”

(n) *šiqil (GÍN) kaspi* “(n) silver shekel piece(s)”

Frozen forms involving infinitives:

arāk ūmē, tūb libbi, bullu napšāte (TIN ZI.MEŠ) (in letter greetings) “(for) longevity, happiness, invigoration of the soul”

epuš nikkassē (DÙ-uš NÍG.ŠID) “the doing⁹⁸ of the accounts”

ina kanāk tuppi šuāti (IM.DUB MU.MEŠ) “at the sealing of that tablet”

⁹⁶ For examples see YOS 6 235: 16 and VS 4 49: 19.

⁹⁷ *šulpu* “stalk”. See CAD Š/III, p256f. *pī šulpu* is taken to mean cultivated land as opposed to newly broken land (*taptîtu*) or arable land (ŠE.NUMUN).

⁹⁸ An unexplained by-form of the infinitive *epēšu*. See CAD *nikkassu* A 1j, p228.

nadê lētu “laziness” (literally, “dropping of the cheek”)

The frozen forms also include most of the family relationships and professions:

ab(i) ummiš (AD AMA-šú) “his maternal grandfather”

umm(i) ummiš (AMA AMA-šú) “his maternal grandmother”

bēl (EN) *piqitti* “chief representative”

mār šarri (DUMU.LUGAL) “crown prince (son of the king)”

mār šipri “messenger”

puhur mār banî (UKKIN LÚ.DUMU.DÙ-i.MEŠ) “the assembly of free citizens”

rēš šarri “(eunuch) assistant of the king”⁹⁹

2) Partly productive, where the *nomen rectum* may be a name, noun or infinitive:

PN A-šú šá PN₂ A/DUMU PN₃ “PN son of PN₂, family of PN₃”

ina amat, qibîr PN “by the order of PN”

ina qāt (ŠU.II) PN eṭir “he received from PN”

makkūr (NÍG.GA) Eanna “property of Eanna”

pūt...nasû “be responsible for...(+ noun or infinitive in construct)” See examples below.

ŠÀ.TAM Eanna “šatammu of Eanna”

šîm (ŠÁM, KI.LAM) PN “the cost of PN”

ṭuppi (IM) PN ana PN₂ “letter from PN to PN₂”

ṭupšar (LÚ.ŠITA₅, DUB.SAR) Eanna “scribe of Eanna”

ii) Fully productive constructs. These do occasionally still occur:

še-e-nu qa-bu-ut NÍG.GA FDN “sheep/goats from the pen belonging to Eanna”, YOS 7 146: 2 (Camb yr 3, U)

ZAG A.ŠÀ.ME NÍG.GA¹⁰⁰ FDN u FDN₂ “tax on the fields belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanâ”, TCL 13 181: 5 (Dar yr 2, U)

PN pu-ut e-ṭer KÙ.BABBAR na-ši “PN guarantees the payment of the silver”, Cyr 177: 13–14 (yr 4, B)¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ See the comment at the end of appendix §4 b ii.

¹⁰⁰ *imit eqlēti makkūr*.

¹⁰¹ To be contrasted with *pu-ut e-ṭer šá KÙ.BABBAR PN...na-ši* VS 4 60: 14...15 (Cyr yr 3, B).

*pu!-ut*¹⁰² DI.KU, *ša* FDN *na-ša-a-ka* “I am responsible for the Lady-of-Uruk case”, TCL 13 222: 14 (Dar yr 1? U)

pu-ut su-ud-du-du re-’-i-tu, ù ma-šar-tu, GU, bu-uš-tu, PN na-ši “PN is responsible for the caring, shepherding and guarding of the heifer calf”, Dar 451: 8–10 (B)

(*[isqu]* *ša* PN ù PN₂ DUMU.MEŠ *ša* PN₃) *ša pa-ni ša-lam DN* “([the prebend] of PN and PN₂, sons of PN₃,) which is¹⁰³ (for performing) before the image of Bēl”, Joannès Strasbourg 3: 3–4 (Dar yr 6, B)

However, the periphrastic genitive using *ša* has superseded the construct in general usage:

[mim-ma]-šú-nu ša URU u EDIN ma-la ba-šú-ú maš-ka-nu ša ^dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG KI “anything of theirs, in the city or outside, whatever there may be, is pledged to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 90: 14–16 (Nbn yr 7, U)

i-ga-ri ša É ša ina IGI KÁ.GAL...ša PN “(regarding) the wall of PN’s house which is opposite the...Gate”, Dar 129: 1...2 (yr 4, B)

The second *ša* in the last example is a relative pronoun in a prepositional clause. The following extracts are particularly interesting in that the common ground between this relative *ša* and the periphrastic *ša* can be seen clearly. In some of its occurrences *ša* can be construed as both a periphrastic genitive and as a relative pronoun. These are translated in italics and the transliterations are underlined:

ŠE.BAR *ša* ŠAM ŠUK.HI.A...*ša* *ma-lakl-kas...ša* PN ù PN₂ DUMU.MEŠ *ša* PN₃ *ša pa-ni ša-lam DN ša ina É DN₂ ša TA MN MU 4.KÁM a-di TIL MN₂ ša MU 6.KÁM RN* “grain for the purchasing of...rations for the offering-prebend of PN and PN₂, sons of PN₃, *of/which is* for before the image of Bel *of/which is* in the Ninurta temple, *of/which is* from Simānu year four until the end of Taš rītu of year six of Darius”, Joannès Strasbourg 3: 1...6 (Dar yr 6, B)

(*various people*) *ša a-na muh-hi ma-ša-hu ša* ŠE.NUMUN *ša* GIŠ.BÁN.MEŠ *ša* LÚ.EN.GAR.ME *ša* LÚ.er-re-še-e *ša ina nap-har GARIN.MEŠ ša FDN...*
“(various people) *of/who are in charge* of the measuring of the cultivators’ farmers’ farm-leases’ arable land, (cultivators) *from/who are in* the whole of the wetlands of the Lady-of-Uruk...”, YOS 6 232: 8–11 (Nbn yr 12, U)

dd) *ša la* and other words for “without, without the permission of”:¹⁰⁴ *šalānu* and *bal(û)*. *šalānu* is used with personal pronoun suffixes.

(PN) *ša la ma-áš-a-a-al-tu, iq-bi um-ma* “(PN) without being questioned, said as follows”, AnOr 8 27 (Nbn yr 12, U)

¹⁰² Contenau’s copy of these two signs indicates that he had not yet recognised the idiom *pūt našû* since he appeared to interpret the signs as *i-na*.

¹⁰³ Or, “of”. See the discussion below.

¹⁰⁴ When followed by a person “without the permission of” is meant. (*ina la* is used for infinitives.)

ba-lu-uk-ku-nu la nu-gal-li-ib-šú “we did not shave him (for ordaining) without your permission”, AnOr 8 48: 21 (Cyr yr 5, U)

*ù ba-al*¹⁰⁵ PN PN₂...*ù LÚ.DUB.SAR.MEŠ šá é-an-na [d]hu-tu-ru iš-šu-’-ma še-e-nu muš-šu-re-e-ti ul-tu EDIN i-na ŠU.II DUMU DÙ-i.MEŠ i-bu-ku-ma a-na NÍG.GA é-an-na la id-di-¹ni¹* “(regarding a herder who ran away after stealing sheep) and without the permission of PN, PN₂...and the Eanna accountants he took the holy staff and took the loose sheep/goats away from the open, out of the hands of the freemen and did not give them to the Eanna property”, YOS 7 146: 3–6 (Camb yr 3, U)

ú-il-ti.ME...ina šá-la-na-ú-a (sic) *a-na mam-ma la ta-nam-din* “you are not to give the IOUs to anyone else without my permission”, TCL 13 181; 19...21 (Dar yr 2, U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA šá-la-nu-uk-ka a-na PN ul a-nam-din ki-i ZÚ.LUM.MA šá-la-nu-uk-ka it-tan-nu ...(reported speech) “I shall not give the dates to PN without your permission”. If he does give the dates without your permission..., Dar 475: 6–8 (yr 18, B)

ee) *ṭāh/ṭēh* “adjoining”. Virtually always written DA¹⁰⁶ and used mainly in real estate documents. The reading *ṭāh* is made on the basis of the one NB example where it appears with a phonetic complement:¹⁰⁷

...SAG?.KI KI.TA IM.MAR.TU DA-*hu* (or, *ṭa-hu*?) SILA ŠU.II-*nu* “the short side facing west next to Narrow Street”, BIN I 127: 11 (Nbk yr 15, U)

However, the first of the following may have a further example of *ṭa-hu*, since the sign following DA appears to be *hu* written over *É* erased:

É šá PN...šá DA x su-qu!-ú rap-šú “the house of PN..., which is next to Wide Street”, VS 5: 1...2 (Dar yr 16, B)

É šá ina SILA šá ha-bur šá DA É PN...u DA É PN₂ “(regarding) the house in Habur street, next to PN’s house...and next to PN₂’s house”, Dar 410: 1...3 (yr 15, B)

ff) *ultu* “from, since”, is used to refer to both time and place:

ri-ka-su šá ÌR-ú-tu šá PN...šá ul-tu MU 35.KÁM RN...a-di MU 7.KÁM RN₂...a-na KÙ.BABBAR na-ad-nu... “the contract (describing) the slave-status of PN, in which, from year 35 of Nbk until year 7 of Nbn, he had been given for silver... (was read out)”, Nbn 1113: 8...11 (after yr 7, B), cf. YOS 17 302: 2–4, VS 6 96: 1–3, and elsewhere.

¹⁰⁵ There is some doubt as to the reading of these two signs. I have therefore given a large extract as context. CAD gives this as *mala* (conjunction, p146b): *ma-al PN iddinu*.

¹⁰⁶ When *ÚS.SA.DU* is used instead of DA, the reading *itû* (s.v. p, above) is assumed. The meaning is virtually the same as *ṭāhu*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. also the lexical list Hh II (MSL V, p69): 249 DA *ṭe-hu-um* and 242 DA [*ṭe*]-*h[u]*.

TA UD 5.KÁM šá MN *ina muh-hi i-ni-ia na-as-ka-ak* “since the 5th of Nisan I have been bedridden (literally, “I am thrown down on my eyes”), CT 22 83: 6–8 (letter, after Dar yr 14, B)

ul-tu É kar-re-e il-su-um-ma ¹*ul-tu*¹ KÁ É *ka-re-e ša-ab-ta* “he ran from the quay store and was caught (coming) from the gate of the quay store”, YOS 7 198: 17–18 (Camb yr 6, U)

n KÙ.BABBAR šá PN *ul-tu KASKAL*.II *iš-šu-ú* “n silver which PN got from his business venture”, TCL 13 160: 5 (Camb yr 3, B)

PN GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ *ul-tu i-ga-ri šá* PN₂ *i-de-ek-ki* “PN is to remove the beams from PN₂’s wall”, Dar 129: 6–7 (yr 4, B)

The *ultu ša* in the following is exceptional:

ul-tu GN a-na a-šu-tu at-ta-ši en-na a-ga-a ul-tu šá GN a-na e-ka-a-ni ki-i al-la-ka “I have gone out from Babylon on an expedition. Now then, after Šahrīnu where do I go?”, YOS 3 106: 22–23 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

The example in YOS 7 146 is given in dd, above.

Note: Repetition of prepositions sometimes occurs, as in Dar 410 in ee, above and in:

28 GI.MEŠ *ul-tu UGU pi-iṭ-ri šá bi-rit É* IM.U₁₈.LÜ šá É GAL-ú ù *bi-rit É* IM.SI. SÁ “28 reeds(of property) from the unbuilt (?) land between the southern building of the big house and the northern house”, YOS 6 114: 8–9 (Nbn yr 5, U)

But not in simple strings of substantives:

ina DN_{1–3} *u* DN₄ *u a-de-e šá RN u* PN DUMU-šú *it-te-mu-ú* “in the names of DN_{1–3} and DN₄ and the oaths of Nbn and his son they swore”, YOS 6 232: 16–18 (Nbn, U), cf. AnOr 8 30: 13–15 (Nbn yr 13, U)

a-na TIN ZI.MEŠ a-ra-ku u₄-mu tu-ub lib-bi ù tu-ub UZU šá EN-ía ú-šal-la “I pray for the life, longevity and the wellbeing of mind and body of my lord”, YOS 3 45: 5–7 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

Garr (1985) comparing the use of prepositions in NWS dialects in a string of coordinated prepositions finds that Aramaic has a distinct tendency to repeat them. One of his examples on p178 is:

ב'ר'q wbšmyn ובשמין בארק “in heaven and (in) Earth”

§3 Adverbs, adverbial phrases and interjections¹⁰⁸

ahāmeš “mutually” is treated in the dictionaries as an adverb. In earlier Akk dialects its adverbial function is clear but this is overlaid in the NB of this study by a reflexive pronominal function which is evident in the examples in which it is used with prepositions (b, below). It is generally accepted as an adverb owing to its conventionally adverbial *-eš* (or *-iš*) ending. It may also refer to several parties. See also the AHW example (in *ahāmiš* pp17bf): *pūt a-ha-(a)-meš našû*, “they are mutually responsible”, in VS 15 7: 12, and elsewhere.

a) *ahāmeš* on its own, “mutually, each other, one another”:

a-<na>-di UGU šá a-ha-meš nim-ma-ru-ma “until we see one another...”, AnOr 8 56:15-16 (Cyr yr 7, U)

ul i-tur-ru-ma a-ha-meš ul i-rag-gu-mu...ŠE.NUMUN...[ki-i?] ¹*ma* ¹*hi-ri-šú-nu a-ha-meš ip-pa-lu* “they are not to go back and make a claim against each other. They will be mutually responsible (or, “they are answerable to each other”) for the arable land according to their price”, TCL 13 190: 21...29 (Dar yr 12, B), cf. VS 5 38: 34 (given in b)

b) *ahāmeš* in combination with a preposition:

i) *itti ahāmeš* “with each other, jointly, together”:

zu-³-uz-ti šá É šá PN...šá PN₂...₄ u PN₅ it-ti a-ha-meš i-zu-zu “(concerning) the division of the estate of PN which PN₂...₄ and PN₅ made jointly”, YOS 6 114: 1...4 (Nbn, U), cf. YOS 6 143 (Nbn yr 10, U)

(area) *šá PN u PN₂...it-ti a-ha-meš im-hu-ru-ma it-ti a-ha-meš la i-zu-zu* “(concerning) (a plot) which PN and PN₂ bought together but did not divide between them”, VS 5 39: 1...4 (Cyr yr 6, B)

...it-ti a-ha-meš a-na KASKAL.II iš-ku-nu “...they put jointly into a business venture”, Dar 280: 4–5 (yr 10, B)

For further examples see *Iraq* 13: 10...11 (U), Nbn 293: 8 (B) and Dar 379: 2, 60 (B).

In the Babylonian *šupēltu* (property exchange) tablets, *ahāmeš* is used with *itti* in the following standard phrase:

tup-pi šu-pel-ti É.MEŠ...šá PN...ù PN₂...it-ti a-ha-meš uš-pe-lu “a tablet (recording) the exchange of property...which PN...and PN₂...exchanged with each other”, VS 5 38: 1...4 (Cyr yr 6, B), cf. also line 22 and the following:

¹⁰⁸ Most of the examples are adverbs and adverbial phrases. For the idea that some adverbial phrases are prepositional phrases with ellipsis of a pronoun see the entries on *ina libbi* and *itti*. Interjections are indicated as such. Adverbs involved in the expression of time are given in §4, below.

tup-pi šu-pel-tu, šá A.ŠÀ.MEŠ šá PN...ù PN₂...a-di ŠE.NUMUN nu-dun-nu-ú šá^fPN DAM-šú ...it-ti a-ha-meš uš-pe-e-lu “a tablet (recording) the exchange of fields which PN, and PN₂ who included arable land which was the dowry of ^fPN his wife, made with one another, Camb 375: 7: 1...7 (yr 7, B)

ii) *ana ahāmeš* is limited to the Babylon texts:

tup-pi šu-pel-tu, šá (assets) šá PN...PN₂ u ^fPN DAM-šú...a-na a-ha-meš uš-pe-e-lu “a tablet (recording) the exchange of (assets) which PN...PN₂ and ^fPN his wife...made between them”, Camb 349: 1...5 (yr 6, B)

an-na-a...(assets) [šá]...ina mi-gir lib-bi-šú-nu a-na a-ha-meš uš-pe-e-lu “these are (the assets)...that...they willingly exchanged between them” *ibid.*, 23...28

PN u PN₂[...] ŠE.NUMUN šu-a-tú a-na muh-hi a-ha-meš ul i-tur-ru-ni [...]a-na a-ha-meš iz-za-kar Difficult. “PN and PN₂ are not to come back (to court) about each other [...regarding?] the arable land[...]they are to swear mutually (?)”, Camb 286: 13...15 (yr 5, B)

A further example is in Dar 379: 68, but with a final broken verb.

c) *akanna* “here”:

i) In a local sense, *akanna* comes at the beginning of its clause:

a-kan-na ina qaq-qar lu-ul-ti-il-šú “let me make him grovel here on the ground!” YOS 3 19: 28 (letter, early Cyr, U)

PN EN liš-pu-ru(sic)-am-ma a-kan-nu it-ti-šú li-id-bu-ub ^fmam^l-ma šá ku-tu-la-a (sic)a-kan-na! im-ma-ru ia-a-nu! “may Sir send PN for me(?¹⁰⁹) to speak with him here. There is no one here backing me up (literally, “looking behind me”)”, CT 22 200: 15–21 (letter, Nbn? B)

ii) In a transferred sense, *akanna* is almost like an adjective or relative clause (*ša akanna*):

en-na PN...a-kan-na iq-ta-ba-³ um-ma “now, PN...here has said...”, CT 22 127: 5...8 (letter, Dar yr 17? B)

lu-ú ti-i-de dib-bi lu ma-a-du a-kan-na ina UGU-i-ni bi-šu-³ “you do know that the rumours against us here are very bad”, YOS 3 19: 20–21 (letter, early Cyrus, U). Compare with the following:

ZÚ.LUM.MA gab-bi a-kan-na a-na šir-^frel-e ina ŠU.II-ía ma-lu-ú “all the dates here are filling my hands to the brim”,¹¹⁰ TCL 9 124: 10–13 (letter, 526–522, B)

¹⁰⁹ See purpose clauses (§1 a iii, above). *ludbub* is expected.

¹¹⁰ The idiom *ana širrē malû* means “to be full to overflowing”. See n23 in the appendix to part 2.

The position of *akanna* in the last two examples suggests it may actually be functioning as a predicate in all three: “PN...is here. He has said...”, “you do know that there are many rumours here. They are bad for us” and “the dates are all here. My hands are full to the brim”, respectively. Such an interpretation would explain the juxtaposition of *gabbi* and *akanna* in the third example. (There are no attestations of nouns with two adjectives in the corpora.) It is also possible that *akanna* may mean “thus, in the following way” in the first example. See CAD *akanna* A, A/I p259b [probably of WSem origin]. CAD has a separate entry, *akanna* B, for *akanna* = “here” (p260f).

Further Uruk examples are in the very similar YOS 3 17: 19, 48 and TCL 9 129: 17.
ana akanna, “here”:

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *gab-bi ma-la a-na a-kan-na* EN *iš-pu-ra* “all the soldiers that Sir sent here”, *JNES* 1993: 32–33 (end Nbn? U)

d) *akannak* (addressed to one person), “there” is in NB only:¹¹¹

LÚ.ŠITA₃ u GIŠ DA *a-kan-na-ka* “the scribes and the ledger are there”, (to one person) YOS 3 17: 28, TCL 9 129: 29 (letters, 533–526, U)

a-mur PN u PN₂ *a-kan-na-ka* “see, PN and PN₂ are there”, (to one person) YOS 3 66: 18–19 (letter, Camb? pre-526, U)

e) *ana muhhi* (Uruk) and *ina muhhi* (Babylon) “regarding (this); therefore” are found regularly in the following legal phrase:

LÚ.GÁL-ú *šá-nam-ma a-na muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ* “No other creditor is allowed to take over (the assets)” YOS 6 90: 16–17 (Nbn yr 7, U)

LÚ.TUK-ú *šá-nam-ma ina muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ* Nbn 314: 9–10 (yr 8), cf. Nbn 1047: 13–14 (B)

¹¹¹ See GINBr p16 and CAD p261bf. Note that *akanna* changes to *akannakunu* when more than one person is addressed. Oppenheim (1947, 120–121) says that in *akannaka*, *-ka* is really only a “deictic, i.e. distal element”, which became understood as a 2sg personal suffix to give the meaning “there, with you”, in Aramaic and Arabic. By analogy other personal suffixes were introduced (hence *akannakunu*). The “Dort-Deixis” demonstrative pronouns in classical Arabic have carried this idea to its full development, if Oppenheim is to be believed (see GVG vol 1 p318 and note 2, p322). The attested examples are:

dālika: addressed to one male

dāliki: addressed to one female

dālikmā: addressed to two persons (i.e. dual)

dālikum: addressed to 2mpl

dālikunna: addressed to 2fpl

Their composition is *dā* (“that”) + *li* (“to, for”) + (“you”, supposed, but in reality the deictic element) suffix pronoun.

Elsewhere, both dialects use *ana muhhi* and *ina muhhi* interchangeably:

PN *iq-bi um-ma* ŠE.NUMUN *ina* UGU *e-ri-iš* “PN said to me, ‘therefore farm the land!’”, AnOr 8 38: 10 (Cyr yr 2, U)

ku-um a-hi HA.LA-šú *a-na muh-hi i-te-lu* “He deducted as half of his share regarding it (i.e. the deal)”, TCL 13 160: 7 and repeated in line 10 (Camb yr 3, B)

f) *anīn* “now” (?) Difficult. For the possible meaning “where?” see the examples and discussion in *êkāni* in §6 b i, above (questions).

g) *arki*, *arku* “afterwards”:

ár-ki ina MN MU 8.KÁM... “afterwards in Simānu of year eight...”, Nbn 293: 9 (yr 8, B) cf. AnOr 8 70: 12 (Camb yr 3, U)

ár-ku ^fPN *re-e-mu a-na* DUMU.MEŠ-šú *ta^l-ar-še^l-ma* “afterwards ^fPN took pity on her sons”, VS 5 45/46: 4–5 (Camb yr 1, B)

arki is also used to change the subject matter in legal documents dealing with separate topics:

ár-ki PN...ù PN₂ *a-na* PN₃ *iq-bu-ú um-ma* “on another occasion, PN and PN₂ said the following to PN₃...”, TCL 13 181: 14...15 (Dar yr 2, U)¹¹²

h) *elat*, *ana elat* “in addition; else”:

mim-ma e-lat ina ŠU.II-šú *ul mah-rak* “I haven’t received anything else from him”, YOS 6 193: 5–6 (Nbn yr 13, U) which continues:

mim-ma ma-la LÚ.mu-kin-nu *e-lat ú-ka-an-nu-uš* 1+en 30 *a-na* FDN *i-nam-din* “anything else that a witness may convict him of, he is to give thirtyfold to the Lady-of-Uruk”: 6–8

a-na e-lat a-na PN *at-ta-din...sah-le-e a-na-ka a-na e-lat <ana>* PN *ina* ŠU.II PN₂ *at-ta-din* “I gave to PN in addition...I myself gave cress in addition from PN₂ <to> PN”, Dar 296: 6...11, 15 (yr 11, B) *a-na e-lat-šú* “in addition to that” (line 15), shows that *ana elat* can also be used as a preposition.¹¹³

i) *enna* (usually as interjection, “now (then)”) passim in letters:

en-na 6 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...šú *bi-la-nim-ma* “now (then), bring the 6 minas of...silver”, JAOS 36: 20 (letter, 538–532, U)

en-na mim-ma šá ina ŠU.II-šú *ta-mu-ur i-šam-ma kul-lim-an-na-a-šú* “now (then), bring and show us whatever you saw in his possession (literally, ‘hands’), TCL 13 170: 11 (Camb yr 5, U)

¹¹² Contrast YOS 7 7, where the different incidents are separated by lines across the tablet.

¹¹³ Fn 53 in §2 j, above, discusses the possible nominal origin of *elat*.

adi muhhi enna “up to now”:

mi-na-³ a-di UGU en-na ðè-en-ku-nu ul áš-me en-na NÍG.ŠID šá ŠUK.HI.A ep-ša-a-ma “why haven’t I heard news from you (mpl) up to now? Now do the ration accounts!” YOS 3 64: 10–14 (letter, 538–534, U)

j) *ianū* “if not, otherwise”:

ia-a-nu-ú a-na PN a-na muh-hi lu-uq-bi-ma “if not, I shall definitely tell PN¹”, RA 11: 32–33 (letter, 533–532, U) ^{about it}

ia-a-nu-ú 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...liš-ku-nim-mu “otherwise, let them deposit ten minas of silver”, YOS 3 81: 23...24 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ia-a-nu-ú ul a-na-ad-di-in GIŠ.BÁN a-šar še-ba-tu-ni in-na-³ “if not, I won’t give (it). Give the farming lease to whoever you want”, TCL 13 182: 8–9 (Dar yr 2, U)

k) *ina libbi* is an adverbial phrase meaning “therein, therefrom, inside”:¹¹⁴

1 ME *pi-i-tu bi-i-šu ina lib-bi u-maš-šar* “he will abandon 100 bad bunches therefrom (i.e. from the total)”, Nbn 17, 11–12 (acc yr, B)

ina lib-bi 6½ GÍN gîr-ú LÁ-ṭi PN₂...ina idi GIŠ.MÁ ma-hir “therefrom, PN₂ has received 6½ shekels minus 1/24th (of a shekel) for the lease of the boat” ibid.: AnOr 8 40: 9...10 (Cyr yr 3, U)

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šá *ina lib-bi it-ti-i-ni* “the workmen inside with us” (i.e. in jail), YOS 7 97: 8–9 (Camb acc, U)

Further examples are in YOS 6 33: 9, YOS 3 113: 13, TCL 13 167: 6 (all Uruk). *ina libbi* (meaning “in which there is”) also occurs in relative clauses where the referents (here, *zēru*, *igāru* and *zittu*) would otherwise need to be resumed with a possessive suffix:¹¹⁵

1 GUR ŠE.NUMUN...šá GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ *sap-hu-tu ina lib-bi iz-zi-zu* “(regarding) one kur of arable land in which scattered date palms stand”, Camb 286: 1...2 (yr 5, B)

i-ga-ri...šá PN...GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ ina lib-bi iṣ-ba-tu “(regarding) a wall...in which PN fixed beams”, Dar 129: 1...5 (yr 4, B)

1 GIŠ.MÁ šá PN...šá HALA šá PN₂ ...*ina lib-bi* “(regarding) a boat of PN in which there is a share of PN₂”, AnOr 8 40: 1...2, (Cyr yr 3, U)

¹¹⁴ It is a prepositional phrase being used adverbially, as noted in earlier Akkadian (AHw, p551a, MB, MA, NA). In VS 5 82 *ina* is removed in order to accommodate another preposition (in construct), *mala in dul-lu ma-la lib-bi ip-pu-uš* “any work he may do therein...”, lines 11–12 (Dar yr 16, B).

¹¹⁵ It is therefore possible that *ina libbi* is an ellipsis of *ina libbi* and the Aramaic 3ms suffix. See the comments on *ittī*, below.

1) *inanna, eninni* “now”:

i-na-an-na PN...*pa-qa-ri u-šab-ši* “now PN...has made a claim”, Nbn 356: 23...25 (yr 9, B)

e-nin-ni i-na 9-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ *ár-ki šá 3* DUMU.MEŠ ‘PN *la-pa-ni-ia tul-du*... “now, in nine years, by which time ‘PN had borne me three children...”, Roth: 20–22 (Cyr yr 9, U)

a-di i-na-an-na PN *ina* IGI PN₂ *ú-šú-uz* “up to now, PN has been stationed with PN₂”, YOS 7 102: 18 (Camb acc, U)

m) *itti* “in addition”:

ù NA₄.KIŠIB-šú it-ti-’ i-na-áš-šá-am-ma “and he is to bring his seal in addition”, YOS 7 113: 13–14 (probably Camb yr 1, U)

1 ME 70 KUŠ.ME *it-ti i-nam-di-nu* “they are to give 170 skins in addition”, TCL 13 165: 11–12 (Camb yr 4, U)

TÚG.HI.A...*it-ti-i a-na* PN *in-na-’* “give (2pl) clothing...to PN in addition”, BIN 1 16: 14...22 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

To explain this development from prepositional *itti*, von Soden considers that *itti* may be an adaptation of *itti* and the 3ms Aramaic suffix, i.e. *-h π*.¹¹⁶

n) *kapdu* (*kabdu*?) “quickly”, is common in letters:

kap-du lik-šu-du “may he arrive quickly”, YOS 3 21: 40–41 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

kap-du šu-pur-áš-šú-nu-tú dul-lu li-pu-šu-’ “quickly write to them to do the work” YOS 3 17: 6–7 (letter, 533–526, U)

Note the repetition for emphasis in:

kap-du kap-du nu-bat-tu₄ la ta-ba-ta “quickly, quickly! Do not stay overnight!” CT 22 83: 9–11 (letter, after Dar yr 14? B)

Because *kapdu* cannot be connected with *kapādu*, CAD assumes that it must be an Aramaism, especially since the examples given have either a precative or a preterite (as a calque on the Aramaic imperfect, cf. AHW p443b for *kapdu* followed by Aramaic imperfect). However, there is no Aramaic adjective for *kpd*. HAL p434f has *kbd*, a root whose verb conveys “weightiness, importance, pressure”, and CAD A p26f has the adjective *kabtu* 2: “dangerous, serious, severe”, section 4: “important, influential”, which

¹¹⁶ AHW p405 (n/spB). A similar development may also have occurred with *libbi* in *ina libbi* (k, above).

shares the feeling of urgency, importance and pressure with the Aramaic *kbd*, hence the idea “quickly”. If *kapdu* is an Aramaic loan word then there seems to have been a sound change from *kbd*.¹¹⁷

o) *kūm* “in exchange”:

mim-ma ku-ú-mu ul id-di-nu “he gave nothing in return”, BIN 2 115: 12–13 (Cyr yr 2, U)

p) *malmališ* “equally”:

ma-al-ma-li-iš ú-za-’-a-zu “they will divide equally”, YOS 7 90: 17–18 (Cyr yr 5, U)

i-na 1 PI ŠE.NUMUN-šú-nu zaq-pi ...mál-ma-liš HA.LA PN PN₂ u PN₃ “there is an equal share for PN, PN₂ and PN₃ in the 1 sūtu plot of planted arable land... belonging to them”, Dar 379: 66...67 (yr 14, B)

q) *pānât* “before”:

qaq-qar šá FDN pa-na-tu₄ URU šá FDN₂ “land of the Lady-of-Uruk formerly belonging to āl Bēlet-ša-Uruk”, YOS 6 67: 15 (Nbn yr 4, U)

Babylon appears to prefer *ina pāni* but there is only one rather broken example:

[*ina*] *pa-ni ITI.APIN MU 19.KÁM [?] a-na-ku a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-’ta-din*¹
...“before, in Arahsamna year 19, I gave for silver...”, Dar 574: 19–20 (yr 20, B)

r) *šaddagad* “last year”

līb-bu-ú šá šad-da-qad EN liš-šá-’ “may Sir take, in keeping with last year”, CT 22 78: 20–21 (letter, 545–527, B)¹¹⁸

§4 Expressions of time

a) *ūm ā* “today”:¹¹⁹

a-di UGU u₄-mu a₄ ul iq-it (or, *iq-tu!* for *iqti*) “to this day it is not finished”, YOS 3 19: 6–7 (letter, early Cyr, U)

¹¹⁷ Von Soden avoids the problem by offering a possible variant meaning for *kapādu* (“to hurry”, *kapādu* 5, p441b). For spellings from letters not in my corpora, which indicate NB *kapdu* and not *kabdu* see GINBr p112.

¹¹⁸ CAD *šaddagda* Š/I p38ff. The interpretation of the last sign as GAD is based on *šad-da-ga-ad* in TCL 13 231: 16. (The prosopography of this text indicates that it is end Nbk–early Nbn, Uruk.)

¹¹⁹ See GINBr p37. CT 22 83: 19, cited therein has simply *ūmu* in a broken context.

*a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄ GIŠ.MÁ...ul ú-še-ri-iq*¹²⁰ “up to today the boat...has not been emptied”, YOS 3 66: 3...5 (letter, pre-526, U)

b) Ways of saying “daily”, “monthly”, etc.:¹²¹

ūmu₃su “daily” is common in letters, usually in a greeting:

u₄-mu-us-su ^dDN ^dDN₂ FDN *u* FDN₂ *a-na TIN ZI.ME tu-ub lib-bi šá EN-ía ú-šal-la* “daily I pray to Bēl, Nabû, the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanâ for the longevity and happiness of my lord”, YOS 3 8: 2–5 (letter, early Dar? U)¹²²

ina GN *u₄-mu-us-su pi-ir-ša-tu₄ it-ti-ia ta-dab-bu-ub* “in Babylon every day you are telling lies about me”, CT 22 74: 3–4 (letter, Dar, B)

arhu₃su (? spelled *ITI-us-su*) “monthly”:

u₄-mu.MEŠ ŠU.HA-ú-tu šá é-an-na šá ITI-us-su ina ITI 5½ u₄-mu man-za-al-ti šá PN “(regarding) the days for the monthly fishing duty of Eanna. In each month 5½ days is the duty for PN”, YOS 7 90: 1–2 (Cyr yr 5, U)

c) Expressing a certain date in the past or future:

For dates in the body of a text the formula is: UD y.KÁM ša ITI.MN MU z.KÁM:¹²³

UD 8.KÁM šá ITI.ŠU MU 5.KÁM ^mKur-áš “on the 8th of Dûzu, Cyrus year 5”, YOS 7 42: 13 (Cyr yr 5, U)

UD 20 1.LAL.KÁM šá ITI.KIN “on the 19th¹²⁴ of Ulûlu”, TCL 12 88: 11 (Nbn yr 8, B)

UD 16.KÁM šá ITI.BÁRA “on the 16th of Nisannu”, YOS 7 78: 2 (Cyr yr 8, U)

UD 7.KÁM šá ITI.ŠU “on the 7th of Dûzu”, TCL 13 157: 10 (Camb yr 3, U)

An exception to this rule is seen in Dar 358: 1:

a-na UD 28.KÁM šá ITI.AB šá MU 13.KÁM “on the 28th of Tebētu, year 13” (Dar yr 13, B)

When the year is mentioned first, a preposition is not always necessary:

MU 3.KÁM ^mKur-áš...MU 4.KÁM ^mKur-áš “in year 3 Cyrus...in year 4 Cyrus”, YOS 7 42: 2...5 (Cyr yr 5, U)

¹²⁰ *ušrīq* (!) has an impersonal subject (VI §2, below).

¹²¹ “yearly” does not appear in my corpora but note the following: *lib-bu-ú šá MU.AN.NA-us-su* “as (has happened) every year”, YOS 3 42: 14 (letter, U).

¹²² cf. the earlier Uruk letters JNES 1993: 4, YOS 3 21: 3 and YOS 3 45: 3 (*u₄-mu-su*). For Babylon see CT 22 6: 2, CT 22 82: 3, CT 22 83: 3, and passim.

¹²³ Contrast this with the order ITI.MN UD y.KÁM MU z.KÁM RN used in the dating of texts themselves.

¹²⁴ This is the usual way of saying “19th” in these texts, cf. YOS 7 97: 3, below, *in d*.

ina MU.AN.NA IGI-*ti*...ù MU.AN.NA IGI-*ti*...*i-na* MU.AN.NA *ša-ni-ti* “in the first year...and in the first year (also)...in the second year”, TCL 13 182: 11...14...19 (Dar yr 2, U)

When the month is mentioned first, *ina* is used:

ina ITI.KIN MU 2.KÁM ^mKur-áš “in Ulūlu, Cyrus year 2”, TCL 13 134: 3 (Cyr yr 4, U)

ina ITI ŠE IGI-ú “in the first Addaru”, VS 4 107: 5 (Dar yr 16, B)

d) References to a certain part of the day:

mu-ši šá UD 30.KÁM *ša* ITI.ŠU “on the night of the 30th of Dūzu”, YOS 6 137: 6 (Nbn yr 7, U)

ina ITI.GAN UD 20 1.LAL.KÁM *ina mu-ši*... “on the 19th of Kislīmu, in the night...”, YOS 7 97: 3 (Camb acc, U)

e) “Per month, per year” needs no introductory preposition:

ITI *šul-lul-tú* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR PN *a-na* PN₂ *i-nam-din* “PN is to give PN₂ $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel per month”, BE 8 47: 4–5 (Nbn, yr 5, B)

and is used in the idiomatic phrase referring to the interest rate in the Babylon texts:

(2 minas $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel of silver) *ša* ITI *ina muh-hi* 1 *ma-né-e* 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina muh-hi-šú-nu i-rab-bi* “(a debt of) 2 minas $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel of silver which is growing at the rate of one shekel of silver against one mina per month (as interest) against them (i.e. the debtors)”, Nbn 314: 19 (yr 8, B)

...*ša* MU.AN.NA *ina muh-hi* 1 *ma-né-e* 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina muh-hi-šú i-rab-bi*¹²⁵ “(a debt of 5 shekels) which is growing at the rate of 12 shekels of silver per mina per year against him”, VS 4 62: 4–6 (Cyr yr 6, B)

In the Uruk letter YOS 3 69 *ana* and *ša* may be translated “per”:

(LÚ.RIG₇.ME...5 *u₄-mu dul-lu ip-pu-uš u i-hal-liq*) *u* LÚ.HUN.GÁ.ME *ša* ITI LÚ 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* ITI-šú *a-na i-di-šú i-na-áš-ši* “(the *širkus* do the work for five days then disappear) and the labourers hired by the month, (each) takes per man five shekels of silver per month as his wage”, YOS 3 69: 6...12 (letter, 539–526, U)

BANIA ŠE.BAR *ša* 15 *u₄-mu.ME a-na* LÚ *i-din* “give 5 *sūtu* of barley per 15 days to (each) man”, *ibid.*: 18–19

f) References to the long term future are rare:

FDN *u* FDN₂ *šu-lum u* TIN *ša* EN-*ì-ni a-na da-riš liq-ba-a₄* “may the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanâ grant the welfare and life of our lord forever”, (letter greeting) YOS 3 200: 3–4 (letter, early Camb, U)

¹²⁵ A subjunctive is expected, as in TCL 13 144: 2 (in III §1 a, below). See IV §5, below.

a-na u₄-mu ša-a-tú pa-ni-ia ú-šad-gil-ma “he transferred to me for the future”,
Nbn 356: 14 (yr 9, B)

PN *a-na u₄-mu ru-qu-tu mam-ma šá-nam-ma a-na la la-qé-e* GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ *u*
NÍG.ŠID *šu-nu-tu tup-pi iš-tur-ma* “so that no one else could take their prebends
and property in the future (literally, “for distant days”), he wrote a tablet”,
CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 14–15 (yr 9, B)

g) “x time ago”:

13 MU.MEŠ *a-ga-a* (trees)...*a-na* FDN *ni-iz-za-qap*...30 ŠE.NUMUN *ni-iz-za-qap*
...20 GUR *u-hi-ni ina lib-bi i-te-lu-ú* “13 years ago we planted (various trees) for
the Lady-of-Uruk...we planted 30 kur of arable land and 20 kur of fresh dates
came up from them”, YOS 3 200: 5–8 (letter, around Camb yr 1, U)

10 MU.AN.NA PN NÍG.ŠID <šá É>¹²⁶ ŠU.II *mim-ma ma-a-du ul-tu É* [*ka-re-*
e]¹²⁷ *ina muh-hi-ia ú-še-eš-ši*... Unclear. “10 years ago PN issued property from
the storage wing, a lot, from the communal storehouse on my account...”, TCL 13
170: 5 (Camb yr 5, U)

10 MU.HI.A *at-ta taš?/ú? šú-nu* “10 years ago...” (Unclear. Comes at the
beginning of a phrase), YOS 3 8: 23 (letter, early Dar? U)

h) *adi tuppi tuppi, adi tuppi ana tuppi, ana tuppi ana tuppi*

See Rowton (1951) for examples from a wider range of NB texts. In my corpora,
tuppu appears to refer to a period of time in the future, for covering the payment of
loans or rent. The contexts suggest that this period of time is either unspecified (i.e.
“until further notice”) or has been fixed according to the accepted practices, thereby
not needing elucidation (cf. NRVGl p52f, “agreed-on time”). Interest payments are
not mentioned either (cf. Camb 348, below). The repetition of the word *tuppi* is
perhaps to emphasise that the deal is “up to and including the agreed-on time”. The
texts normally give the start date for the deal but not a termination date:

$\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá ú-ra-ši-šú a-na ša-ra-pu šá a-gur-ru šá* PN *ul-tu* MN
MU 1.KÁM...*a-di tup-pi a-na tup-pi* PN₂ *ina* ŠU.II PN *e-ṭir* “PN₂ has received
half a mina of silver from PN, for his deputising job of baking bricks for PN,
which goes from Tašrītu yr 1...up to and including the agreed-on period” Camb
88/419: 3...7 (Written 6 weeks before the start date. Yr 1, B)

1 MA.NA 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šá* PN *ina muh-hi* PN₂...*u* ^fPN...*a-di tup-pi*
tup-pi KÙ.BABBAR *a* 1 MA.NA 10 GÍN *ina* SAG.DU-šú *i-nam-din* “(regarding
an IOU of) 1 mina 10 shekels of silver of PN, owed by PN₂ and ^fPN. By the

¹²⁶ Since NÍG.ŠID and šá É look the same in NB the sense of this line improves if a
haplography of NÍG.ŠID is assumed.

¹²⁷ Restored after lines 15 and 20.

agreed-on period he is to return the 1 mina 10 shekels capital”, Camb 348: 1–8¹²⁸ (yr 6, B)

(house for rent) *šá na-da-nu u ma-ha-ri a-na tup-pi a-na tup-pi a-na PN...id-din* “(regarding a house for rent) which he gave to PN for business purposes until further notice (or, “for and including an agreed-on period””, Dar 499: 5...7 (yr 20, B)

*Notes on the derivation of *tuppu**¹²⁹

Von Soden gives *tuppu* a suggested derivation from *tapāpu*, “to be very full” (AHw p1349b). In trying to find a meaning for *tuppu* from the etymology, Rowton links the root *tpp* to the Arabic root *tff* which has the “basic motive” of adding or subtracting the bit needed to either overfill or underfill a measure, or to just do it exactly (194b–197). An idea of “approaching the exact measure” would apply in each case.¹³⁰ From this, Rowton concludes that *tuppu* comes to mean a proper “end-bit” of a period of time (cf. end p195, “the edge portion, the portion at the limit, the marginal portion”) and also that *adi tuppi (ana) tuppi* and *ana tuppi ana tuppi* both mean “up to, and including, a proper period of advance notice”. What this may indicate and what is supported by the NB texts in my corpora is that the *tuppu* may be a period of notice (leeway or clearance period) at the time of the deadline for completion of a contract or loan and I have interpreted *tuppu* in this way.

¹²⁸This is virtually the whole of the text in the document, the last phrase before the witness list being: 1+en pu-ut 2-ú na-šu-ú “one is responsible for the other”.

¹²⁹*tuppu* does not appear to mean “tablet”. At the very least, if the term meant “(the contract runs) ‘from one tablet (i.e. the start of the contract) to the next (i.e. the end of the contract)’”, then **ultu tuppi adi tuppi* would be expected.

¹³⁰In Lane (1984, p1857bf), most of the words with the root *tff* have the meaning of approaching, being short of. Only *fafa(t)* has the meaning “the quantity that is above the measure” (p1858b). [In modern literary Arabic *tff* is attested only as D, “to make deficient, scanty”; “to be stingy, scamping” (Wehr, 1976, p561b). The adjective *tafīf* is “deficient, slight, trivial”.]

Chapter III: Subordinate clauses

§1 Relative clauses

The most common relative clauses are those using the relative particle *ša*. In its function as a relative pronoun *ša* is used when it is the subject or direct object of its clause or in nominal clauses. As a particle (see v, below) *ša* is used to express what in English are the cases when the relative pronoun is not the subject or direct object of its relative clause (i.e. English “to whom”, “in which”, “of which/whose” etc.).

Notes

- In Akkadian, the relative clause, as well as the main clause, may be nominal or prepositional (see a ii, below). Alternatively, a predicative adjective (stative) may be employed (see a iii, below).
- For *ša* as periphrastic genitive (“of”) see II §2 cc, above.
- For *ša* as a subordinating conjunction (“that”) see §2 k, below.

a) Relative clauses involving *ša*

The cases (*subj*, *obj*, *nom*, abbreviated from *subject*, *object* or, in a *nominal* or *prepositional* clause) firstly of the governing noun (antecedent) within the main clause and then of *ša* within its own relative clause are given abbreviated in parentheses:¹

i) *ša* in verbal clauses:

DUMU-šú *ša ina lib-bi la i-pal-làh-šú* HALA *ina lib-bi ul i-leq-qu* “any son of hers who does not respect her will not receive a share”, Rutten: 8–9 (Nbn yr 1, B) (*subj*, *subj*)

LÚ?-tú *ha-liq-tu u mim-ma ša KASKAL.II-šú-nu ša il-la-a...a-ha šú-nu* “(regarding any) lost slave or anything in their business venture, that may crop up...they are to share alike”, TCL 13 160: 13–14 (Camb yr 3, B) (*nom*, *subj*)

(*eli*) PN...*ša la in-nam-ru*...“(against) PN...who was not observed...”, Iraq 13: 23...25 (Camb yr 2, U) (*non-direct obj*, *subj* of passive verb)

2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ša PN₁₋₃ ŠÁM A.ŠÀ-ši-na ša PN a-na KÙ.BABBAR i-ša-am-ma* “(regarding) two minas of silver for PN₁₋₃, the price of their field, which PN bought for silver”, Nbn 359: 1...5 (yr 12, B) (*nom*, *obj*)

¹ So that in the first example, *māru* is the governing noun in a verbal clause; it and *ša* are both subject case. In the second example, *ša* refers to *amēluttu haliqtu u mimma ša harrān(i)šun* in a nominal clause, and *ša* is the subject in a verbal clause.

ú-il-tì šá 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá UR₅.RA i-rab-bu-ú “(regarding) an IOU for 10 shekels of silver, which is accruing interest”, TCL 13 144: 2 (nom, subj) (Cyr yr 9, B)

ZÚ.LUM.MA ki-i ú-kal-lim-an-ni a-hi nu-ku-su-nu a-hi šá it-bu-ku Difficult.
“when he showed me the dates, some were cut (and) some (were what) they had piled up”, CT 22 78: 8–10 (letter, 545–527, B) (nom,² obj)

ii) ša in a nominal or prepositional clause:

ŠE.NUMUN ù me-re-šú šá e-liš ù šap-liš šá I, eš-šú GAB KÁ.GAL DN
“(regarding) crop and arable land which is upstream and downstream from the New Canal, opposite the Enlil Gate”, Dar 80: 1–2 (yr 3, B) (prep phrase, nom)

LÚ.Ì.DU₈.MEŠ šá É ka-re-e šá it-ti PN i-šá-al-la “the storehouse doorkeepers who were with PN were asked”, TCL 13 170: 15–16 (Camb yr 5, U) (obj of verb with impersonal subject,³ nom)

(4 people) šá ina muh-hi ma-šá-hu šá ŠE.NUMUN LÚ.e-mi-de-e u LÚ.ŠITA₅.
MEŠ šá a-na muh-hi ma-šá-hu šá ŠE.NUMUN “(4 people) who are in charge of measuring the arable land, who are the estimators and accountants in charge of measuring the arable land (swore an oath)”, AnOr 8 30: 6–7 (Nbn yr 13, U) (subj, nom)

There is some confusion as to the syntax of the following two examples. See the discussion in ša as preposition (“of”):

PN...šá UGU qup-pu é-an-na... “PN...who is in charge of the safe of Eanna...”,
TCL 13 182: 1 and 9–10 (Dar yr 2, U) (subj, nom)

and: a-na PN šá LÚ UGU qu-up-¹pu¹[x?] i-din “give to PN who is the man in charge of the safe...”, GCCI 2 130: 7–8 (Dar yr 22, U) (non-direct obj, nom)

It is even possible to have relative clauses within prepositional clauses:

UDU.NITÁ.ME ina UNUG.KI šá al-la šá ina EDIN ma-a-du-² u $\frac{1}{2}$ -ú ub-ba-lu “the sheep in Uruk apart from those in the open are many and are worth half (their usual value)”, YOS 3 87: 25–27 (letter, 533–526, U) (nom, nom in prepositional clause with *alla*, nom in prepositional clause with *ina*)

iii) ša in a clause with a predicative adjective (verbal or otherwise). Since predicative adjectives lend themselves well to describing a coincident state or situation relevant to the topic in the main clause they are often used in relative clauses as:

x -[šá + adjective]-main clause:

1 ÁB.GAL...šá ¹kak¹-kab-tu₄ še-en₆-de-ti šá ul-tu GIŠ.APIN šá PN...ina ŠU.II
PN₂...ab-ka-tu₄ “(regarding) one cow...marked with a star, who was brought from the plough-fief of PN...via PN₂”, AnOr 8 38: 1...4 (Cyr yr 2, U) (prep phrase, nom)

hu-uš-šu šá it-ti É ka-a-re ʔe-pu-ú ina IGI PN “the hut built onto the storehouse is at the disposal of PN”, Nbn 499: 18–20 (yr 11, B) (nom, nom)

² *nukkusūn* is the 3mpl predicative adjective ventive of *nakāsu*, D.

³ See VI §2, below.

2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá gín-nu... “(regarding) two minas of silver, which (is) the ordinary kind...,”⁴ Dar 336: 1 (yr 12, B) (prep phrase, nom, taking *gínû* as an adjective)

iv) ša as an independent pronoun, “whoever”, referring to persons already identified:

šá al-la ITI it-ti-qu ki-i EŠ.BAR KÙ.BABBAR i-di GIŠ MÁ i-nam-di-nu whoever exceeds the month, according to the decision, is to pay the silver for the rent of the boat”, AnOr 8 40: 12–14 (Cyr yr 3, U) ([subj], subj)

šá ina ma-aš-šar-ti-šú i-še-el-lu-ú hi-tu šá PN...i-šad-dad “whoever is lax in his watch bears the penalty (of a transgression against⁵) Gobryas”, GCCI 2 103: 10...12 (Camb acc, U) ([subj], subj)

šá qer-bi i-tir “whoever is available (literally, “nearer”), pays”, Camb 68: 16 (yr 1, B) ([subj], nom)

a-qab-bi-ma šá ŠE.BAR ina IGI-šú ul ib-ba-ku-nim-ma ul i-nam-din-nu-nu...šá mam-ma šá ŠE.BAR ina IGI-šú ab-kan-nim-ma a-na PN in-na-’ “I’m saying that he who ([subj], nom) has barley at his disposal—they are not bringing and giving it to me..., that whoever (subj, nom) has barley at his disposal ‘bring and give it to PN (i.e. “me” in direct quotation)”, CT 22 73: 7...14 (letter, early Dar, B). For further comments on the reported speech in this letter see §4 a, below.

v) When ša is a relative particle, i.e. the *genitive* or *non-direct* object in its clause (abbreviated to *gen*, *nondir*), the antecedent is resumed with a possessive or accusative pronominal suffix in its relative clause as in all Akkadian dialects. Examples are limited in these corpora:⁶

LÚ.mu-kin-né-e šá ina IGI-šú-nu... “the witnesses in front of whom...”, Nbn 68: 1(yr 2, B) (nom, gen)

(people) šá PN₁₋₃ it-ti PN₄ u PN₅...iš-pu-ru-šú-nu-ti...it-te-mu-ú... “(various people) who PN₁₋₃ sent with PN₄ and PN₅...swore...”, YOS 6 232: 13...18 (Nbn yr 12, U) (nom, dir obj)

PN šá PN₂ IM.DUB DUMU-ú-ti-šú iš-tu-ru-ma GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú pa-ni DN pa-ni-šú ú-šad-gi-li...DUMU LÚ.KU₄ É FDN la-bi-ri šu-ú “PN, whose document of adoption PN₂ wrote and transferred his (own) prebend for DN to him...is the son of the former *ērib-bīti* of FDN”, AnOr 8 58: 24...26 (Cyr yr 5, U) (nom, gen)

LÚ.DUMU.MEŠ DÙ-i [šá ina] ú-šu-uz-zi-šú-nu “the citizens, in whose presence...”, YOS 6 116: 6 (Nbn yr 10, U) (nom, gen) cf. the similar TCL 12 117: 1 (U), VS 6 127: 1 (Dar yr 11, B) Dar 475: 1, Dar 502: 1 (both B)

⁴ Which continues with another relative clause: šá PN₁₋₃...a-na SUM.SAR a-na PN₄...id-din-nu-’ “which PN₁₋₃ gave to PN₄ for garlic”, 1...5.

⁵ As given in CAD šadādu 2 h.

⁶ See *ana* as non-direct object (V §6, below) for a discussion on the choice of the term as opposed to “indirect object”. For any noun phrase which is not the subject or direct object in its clause I use the term “nondirect object”. Note also that the antecedent is not resumed on the adverbial phrase *ina libbi* in *i-ga-ri...šá PN...GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ ina lib-bi iš-ba-tu* “(regarding) a wall...in which PN fixed beams”, Dar 129: 1...5 (yr 4, B) (nom, nondir obj). See also AnOr 8 40: 1...2 and further examples and comments on *ina libbi*, in II §3, above.

GÉME šá PN...LÚ.NA.GADA šá re-e-hi šá FDN ina muh-hi-šú a-na-ku “I am the (female) slave of PN... the cowherd, who has a debt remaining to the Lady-of Uruk against him”, AnOr 8 56: 5...6 (Cyr yr 7, U) (nom, nom)

šá the relative particle may function as an independent pronoun:

šá PN e-li-šú u-kin-nu um-ma “that about which PN confessed (was) as follows”, Nbn 1048: 7–8 (yr 17, B) (nom, nondir obj)

šá da-ba-ba an-na-a in-nu-ú DN u FDN ZAH-šú liq-bu-ú “Of anyone who changes these statements, may Anu and Ištar decree his demise”,⁷ YOS 7 17: 15–17 (Cyr yr 3, U) ([gen], subj)

b) Relative clauses using *mala*,⁸ *mimma mala*⁹ “any...that, everything that, whatever quantity (as yet unspecified)...that, however much”

mimma mala is used when the antecedent is not specified, with one exception.¹⁰ The examples indicate that in its clause as relative pronoun *mala* can be subject or direct object only and therefore is not resumed. Because of its similarity to šá the same categories can be used to identify the values of *mala* and its governing noun. Again the cases of the referent and the relative are given:

The observation made by Woodington on Kuyunjik NB that “*mala*’s quantitative sense (“as much as, as many as”) has been blurred by its use as a simple relative” (§91, p231f) more or less applies here.

i) *mala* in verbal clauses:

ŠE.BAR ma-la PN i-qab-bu-ú PN₂ a-na PN it-tan “whatever quantity of barley (i.e. as yet unharvested or unspecified) PN is talking about, PN₂ is to give to PN”,¹¹ Dar 358: 12–13 (yr 13, B) (obj, obj)

šal-ši HA.LA ina mim-ma ma-la ina lîb-bi iz-qu-pi ik-kal “he may consume a one-third share from what he planted there”, YOS 6 33: 13–14 (Nbn yr 3, U) (obj, obj) cf. 11–12, also Camb 373: 7–8 and:

mim-mu ma-la LÚ.mu-kin-nu ú-ka-nu-uš 1+en 30 a-na FDN i-nam-din “anything that a witness may convict him of he is to give thirtyfold to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 24: 6–8 (Cyr yr 2, U) (obj, obj) cf. YOS 6 193: 6–8

Sometimes there can be more than one relative clause dependent on *mala*:

mim-ma ma-la e-lat ú-îl-tî.ME LÚ.mu-kin-nu a-na PN u PN₂ u-kan-nu 1+en 30 a-na FDN i-nam-di-nu “anything (which is) in addition to the IOUs, that a witness may convict PN and PN₂ of, they are to give thirtyfold to the Lady-of-

⁷ Cf. the similar Babylon curses in Nbn 697: 19–21 (in c, below) and Cyr 277: 16–19, which have šá dib-bi an-nu-tu BAL-ú and šá da-ba-ba an-na-’ i-nu-ú, respectively.

⁸ For *mala* as preposition, see II §2/ above.

⁹ See below.

¹⁰ See Dar 378: 10–11 cited below.

¹¹ Libluṭ and Nabû-ahhē-bullit are names for the same person.

Uruk”, YOS 6 203: 14–17 (Nbn yr 12, U) (obj, nom in prep phrase, obj in verbal clause)

Even more unusual is:

a-na KASKAL.II mim-ma ma-la ina URU u EDIN ina muh-hi ZÚ.LUM.MA a’ 1 ME GUR ù ŠE.BAR a₄ 50 GUR ip-pu-uš-šu-’ PN ù PN₂ a-ha-ta šú-nu “as for the business venture, whatever they make on the 100 kur dates and the 50 kur barley in the city or outside, they are to share alike”, Dar 395/396: 5–8 (yr 3, B) (nom or prep phrase with *ana...ahāt šūn*, *mimma mala* as obj in verbal clause with *ippušū*)

ii) *mala* in nominal or prepositional clauses. Syntactically, these examples are hardly different from those given in *mala* as a preposition (II §2 w, above). However, the contexts indicate that “any” or “whatever” are intended and that our uncertainty in understanding *mala* as a conjunction or preposition has arisen through Akkadian’s ability to operate with verbless relative clauses.

ŠE.NUMUN *ma-la ina līb-bi ina mar-ri AN.BAR ip-pu-šú* “he will work the arable land, as much as there is there, with an iron spade”, Dar 35: 8–9 (yr 2, B) (obj, prep phrase)

dul-lu SIG₄.HI.A GI u GIŠ.ÛR ma-la līb-bi ip-pu-uš a-na muh-hi PN i-ma-an-nu “jobs — whatever may be there, (requiring) bricks, canes or beams — he is to do and put on the account of PN”, VS 5 82: 11–13 (Dar yr 16, B) (obj, prep phrase) However, there is some possibility that *ip-pu-uš* is part of the relative clause: “(any) jobs...that he may do there he is to put on the account of PN”, i.e. taking *ma-la līb-bi ip-pu-uš* as a verbal clause (obj, obj).

iii) With predicative verbal adjectives. Most common is *mala bašû*, usually written *ma-la ba-šū-ú*, passim in the Babylon texts:

...u mim-mu-šú šá URU u EDIN ma-la ba-šū-ú maš-ka-nu šá PN “...and anything of his, whatever there is, in the city or outside, is PN’s pledge”, Nbn 344: 8–9 (yr 9, B) (nom, nom), cf. YOS 6 90: 14–16 (Nbn yr 7, U)

Further examples of *mala bašû* in the Uruk corpus are limited to:

*[it-te-mu-ú] [ki-i mam-ma i¹-na līb-bi [KAR¹-šú i-na É.MEŠ šá URU ma-ha-zu ma-la ba-šū-ú šá-la-nu-un-nu dul-lu i-te-ép-šú... [they swore] “no-one in his common storehouse (?¹²) in the holy-city temples will do any work without our permission...”, Weisberg 1: 24 (538–534, U) (obj, nom) see also line 19 (*ma-la [ba-šū¹]-[ú]*)*

ki-i mim-ma ma-la b[a-šū-ú] PN ul-tu É ka-re-e ina muh-hi-[šú] ú-še-šu-ú u mim-ma ina ŠU.II-šú ni-mu-ur (three people swore) “PN issued nothing of whatever there was from the storehouse on [his (=another person)] account and we saw nothing in his possession”, TCL 13 170: 19–21 (Camb yr 5, U) (obj, nom)

¹² Weisberg gives “competency, jurisdiction” as his translation of *kāru*. Perhaps *karû* “common stores or stocks” is meant, cf. Dar 379: 68 *pa-qa-ru šá ina UGU HALA-šú-nu ib-ba-áš-šū-ú ina ka-ri-šū-nu ú-mar-ra-qu-nim-ma a-na a-ha-meš i-[x...]* “any claim that arises regarding their share(s), they are to clear it from their own stocks (?) and settle it amongst themselves (assuming *izzizû* or *izuzzû* or *iturrû*).

Further examples involving verbal adjectives:

ŠE.NUMUN...*ma-la ina lib-bi šab-tu-’...ni-iš-sur* “any land that is contained in there, let us protect”, YOS 7 156: 9...10 (Camb yr 3, U) (obj, nom)

u₄-mu ma-la PN bal-tu...(NÍG.ŠID-šú ma-la ba-šú-ú a-ki-i IM.DUB-šú ina IGI PN) “as long as (literally, “any days that”) PN lives..., (his possessions, whatever they may be, are at PN’s disposal according to his document)”, Cyr 277: 13...15 (yr 7, B) (nom, nom), cf. the similar

u₄-mu ma-la ^fPN bal-tat i-na UR₅.RA KÙ.BABBAR-šú PN ŠUK.HI.A mu-šip-tu, ...i-nam-din “as long as ^fPN lives, PN is to give (her) food and clothing out of the interest in her silver”, Nbn 65: 16 (yr 2, B) (nom, obj)

Note the unnecessary *ša* in the following, presumably under Aramaic influence or in confusion with *ūm ša*:

u₄-mu ma-la šá PN bal-tu ta-pal-la-ah-šú “for as long as PN lives, she is to serve him”, YOS 7 66: 17–18 (Cyr yr 7, U) (nom, obj)

iv) *mimma mala* and *mimma ša*. As stated in the observations below, Woodington observes that there is little difference in usage between *ša* and *mala* in Kuyunjik NB. In the following two examples *mimma ša* and *mimma mala* appear to be interchangeable but such an occurrence is by far the exception to the rule in the NB discussed here.

mim-ma šá ina pa-ni EN-ia ba-nu-ú ^dEN li-pu-uš “whatever Sir thinks is good, may Sir do”, YOS 3 8: 30–31 (letter, early Dar? U) (obj, nom)

ki-i ŠE.BAR u ki-i mim-ma ma-la pa-ni-ka ma-hír a-na AD-ia a-nam-din “I shall give to my ‘father’ barley or whatever pleases you”, CT 22 182: 20–22 (letter, pre-526, B) (obj, nom). The use of *mala* as opposed to *ša* here may indicate that the *mimma* of the first example is less specific than that of the second.

v) *mala* as pronoun, with the relative *ša*:

mal šá ina lib-bi ip-pu-šú [erasure?] PN a-na UGU ram-ni-šú i-man-nu “anything¹³ that he (the tenant) does there, PN (the lessor) is to put onto his own account”, Dar 378: 10–11 (yr 14, B) (obj, obj)

Observations

Woodington noted that *mala* and *ša* “had become almost interchangeable semantically and grammatically” in Kuyunjik NB (p231). The examples in eighth-century Nippur NB indicate a similar lack of distinction (Cole, 1996, p338). However, in the NB covered here, if the case of the antecedent is examined, it is possible to see that there is a significant (on the basis that there are several dozen

¹³ It is possible to read É, i.e. “house” rather than *mal*, but the context and terminology suggest *mala* (pronounced *mal*) is intended.

examples of relative clauses using *mala* or *ša*) semantic difference between *mala* and *ša*:

- *mala* is used when the antecedent is either caseless (i.e. in a verbless clause)¹⁴ or the object of its relative clause.¹⁵
- If the antecedent is the subject or *regens* (of a genitive construction) in the relative clause then this has the effect of rendering it as defined and *ša* is used.¹⁶
- *ša* is used as the object of its relative clause if its referent is a specific being or item (singular or plural).¹⁷

The second point explains why *ša* is used in the following example, rather than *mala*, even though *sēhû* and *pāqirānu* refer to people making hypothetical objections or claims:

pu-ut LÚ.se-hi-i ù LÚ.pa-qir-r[a-nu] šá ina UGU PN ib-ba-áš-šú PN₂ na-ši “PN₂ is responsible for anyone making an objection or claim that may arise regarding PN”, YOS 7 114: 9–11 (Camb yr 1, U)

There is just one exception to this pattern in the two corpora:

LÚ.ki-niš-tu, é-an-na ma-la ina tup-pi šat-ru a-na PN...ù PN₂ iq-bu-ú... “the colleagues of Eanna, who were recorded on the tablet said to PN...and PN₂...”, AnOr 8 48: 23...24 (Cyr yr 5, U) (subj, nom)

These people and their professions are given in the first 16 lines of the record, where they are addressed by the two authorities to whom they now speak in the extract cited. Since the *kiništu* have been identified, the uncertainty implied by *mala* is not appropriate, although it is likely that “all that” may be intended, i.e. *mala* <*ša*>.

c) Relative clauses without a relative particle¹⁸

Ravn’s analysis of this type of clause in OB, using *awāt iqbû* as his example (1941, p5), led him to conclude that an antecedent, if already mentioned somewhere earlier in the proceedings, is now being referred to without emphasis. He contrasted this with *awātum ša iqbû* where, he argued, the emphasis is focussed on the antecedent. Von Soden prefers to state that the rules regarding omission are not yet

¹⁴ Excluding prepositional clauses, and not counting the common *mala bašû*, the corpora have four examples.

¹⁵ 15 examples found in the corpora.

¹⁶ I have found at least 25 examples in the corpora.

¹⁷ I have found 10 examples in the corpora (again discounting prepositional clauses).

¹⁸ Cf. OB “*kasap išqulu*” in the Hammurabi Law Code.

as well ascertained as they have been for Arabic (GAG §166). The few examples (all from Babylon) in the dialect under analysis here indicate that the pattern observed by Ravn in OB was paralleled in NB.

šá dib-bi an-nu-tu BAL-ú rik-su PN ir-ku-su-ma a-na fPN...id-di-nu i-he-ep-pu-ú
DN ù* FDN *hal*-la-qí-šú liq-bu-ú*¹⁹ “he who contravenes these statements and destroys the contract PN made and gave to fPN..., may Marduk and Šarpanitu decree his demise”, Nbn 697: 19...21 (yr 13, B)

pa-qí-ra-nu kàs-pi im-hu-ru a-di 12 TA.ÀM i-ta-na-ap-pal “(any unlawful) objector is to pay twelve times the silver he received”, Nbn 293: 35–36 (yr 8, B), cf. also VS 5 38: 38 (B), Dar 227: 12 (B)

§2 Subordinating conjunctions

In the earlier Babylonian dialects the verb in the subordinate clause appears in the subjunctive. In the NB analysed here, the subjunctive continues to be clearly represented in the non-ventive unsuffixed singular forms of third weak verbs. In the other cases the preference for *Cu* signs at the ends of verbs suggests the scribes know of the subjunctive *-u* ending although it is probably no longer spoken.²⁰

a) *adi* “until”:

fPN...maš-ka-nu šá PN a-di KÙ.BABBAR a₄ 9 GÍN PN₂ in-né-ṭe-ru “fPN is the pledge of PN until PN₂ is repaid the (aforementioned) 9 shekels of silver”, YOS 6 163: 6...10 (Nbn yr 11, U)

LUGÁL-ú šá-nam-ma a-na muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di ŠE.BAR a₄ n KUR a-na FDN i-nam-di-nu “no other creditor is to lay claim until he gives the (aforementioned) n kur barley to the Lady-of Uruk”, YOS 6 90: 16–17 (Nbn yr 7, U)

b) *adi la* (*la’i*?²¹) “before”, literally, “until not” is used with verbs in the present-future:

a-di la-i al-la-ka uz-nu šá EN-ia a-na UGU ŠUK.HI.A ap-te-ti “before I go I hereby inform Sir regarding the rations”, YOS 3 45: 8-11 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U) cf. *ibid.* line 21 and YOS 3 81: 26 (written by the same person and all spelled *a-di(-i) la-i*)

LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM a-na GN it-tal-lak a-di la a-na ku-tal-la i-né-hi-si té-me šá AD-ia lu-uš-me “the *šatammu* is going off to Babylon. Before he goes back²², let me hear news from ‘my father’”, CT 22 182: 16–18 (letter, pre-526, B)

¹⁹ Collations by Wunsch (1993, §211).

²⁰ See the discussion in Chapter 3 §2 and §3 for examples. For the presence or absence of the *-t-* infix in the subordinated verb see IV §1, below.

²¹ The unusual spelling of the variant *la’i* can not be explained. Further examples are in GINBr p11. It is not in Kuyunjik NB (although an even greater variety of endings is noted for *agâ*, cf. Woodington 43–44 and my V §5 k iii, below). The negating particle *la* is always spelled *la* in spite of the influence of Aramaic ܠܐ *l’*. See I §5, above.

²² For *inahhis(u)*.

KÙ.BABBAR *a-na šá-a-šú u PN id-din-nu a-na [*bab?]²³-ba-nu-ú lid-din-nu-³ kap-da in-na-šú-³ (sic) a-di la-³ *bab!-ba-nu-ú iq-qí-ir* “the money (Sir) gave to him and PN may he give it at the good exchange rate. Give it to him quickly before the good rate becomes more expensive”, CT 22 148: 11–18 (letter, 545–527, B)

Note that when used in an oath, the *la* is omitted:

ki-i a-dan-nu i-te-et-qa a-di ANŠE ni-ib-ba-kám-ma ni-nam-di-nu “(woe betide us) if the deadline passes before we bring and give the donkey”, TCL 13 165: 10–11 (Camb yr 4, U)

c) *arku* “after”:

ù ár-ku LÚ-tu šu-a-tú ul-tu É PN a-na É LÚ.par-sa-a-a šá É PN₂ na-ad-nu uš-ta-his-su “and after that servant had been given from PN’s house to the Persian’s house which belonged to PN₂, (the original owner) withdrew him”, VS 4 87/88: 4–7 (Dar yr 1, B)

d) *ašar* “where; wherever, to whoever”:

[u IM?].DUB.MEŠ u rik-su.MEŠ a-šar in-nam-ma-ru šá NÍG.GA é-an-na šú-nu “(any) tablets and contracts, wherever they may be noticed, belong to Eanna”, AnOr 8 70: 23 (Camb yr 3, U). A standard phrase also used in Babylon:

GABA.RI ú-íl-tì a-šar ta-nam-ma-ri šá PN...ši-i “(any) copy of the IOU, wherever it may be noticed, belongs to PN” OECT 10 105: 11...13 (Nbn yr 9, B)

GIŠ.BÁN a-šar še-ba-tu-ni in-na-³ “give the fiefdom to whoever you (mpl) want”, TCL 13 182: 9 (Dar yr 2, U)

e) *ašša, aššu* “as soon as”:

iq-bu-nu áš-šá it-tar-da-a-nu 1+et ina lîb-bi-ši-na a-na FDN...ta-an-na-an-din “they said ‘as soon as they come down one of them is to be given to the Lady-of-Uruk...’”, YOS 6 71: 22...23 (Nbn yr 6, U)

áš-šú at-ta u PN ina šu-lum ta-at-ta-al-ka-nu ŠE.BAR ma-dat “as soon as you and PN went away in peace, the barley (growth) has become great”, YOS 3 22: 6–8 (letter, early Nbn, U)

f) *kī* “that; when; as,while”

i) *kī* “that” is used mainly in assertory oaths, with *idû* (§4 b, below),²⁴ where the sense is an assumed protasis of a conditional sentence. There is only one example of *idû kī* outside of this:

²³ This sign has defeated all who have collated this text, including myself. In both cases the scribe appears to have written BA and put a diagonal stroke across it. I can only assume the scribe realised he should have written BAB, but instead of completely erasing BA, used its bottom horizontal as part of BAB. Streck has interpreted *iqqir* as the preterite of *nakāru*, i.e. *ikkir*, but such an interpretation is surprising, because, in §27a, p142 he himself states that it is rare for *adi la* to use *iprus*. Then he gives two examples to prove his point; the first is actually a 3fpl N present, *iššabtā*; the second is the one given above. The combination of *babbanû* + *aqāru* has already been suggested by Von Soden (AHw p1400b).

²⁴ See also the Note at the end of this section.

ul i-deki-i lîb-bu-ú a-ga-a ta-ku-uš-ša-’ ina lîb-bi ki-i LÚ.A.KIN-ia la? ta-l-am-ma-l-ra “I did not know that you were thus delayed. That is why you did not see my messenger”, YOS 3 22: 24–27 (letter, early Nbn, U)

In Kuyunjik NB *kī* was more commonly used not only with *idû* but also *amāru*, *šapāru* and *šemû*.²⁵ The reason for its gradual demise may be its increasing replacement by *ša*.

ii) *kī* “when” is used to indicate past and future actions.²⁶ The word order in sentences using *kī* is virtually always:

[subordinate clause ending with *kī* + verb] - main clause

The main verb, as the consequence of the subordinated action, is infixed with a *-t-*:²⁷

ni-i-ni ù PN...2 UZ.TUR.MUŠEN.ME NÍG.GA FDN...ki-i ni-du-ku ina ti-du [ni]-iq-te-bir “ourselves and PN, having killed the two ducks which were the property of Innin-of-Uruk..., we buried them in mud”, *Iraq* 13: 10...13 (Camb yr 2, U)

DINGIR.MEŠ *ki-i u-šal-lu-ú še-bu-ta-a ak-ta-šad* “when I pray to the gods I achieve my wish”, CT 22 194: 7–9 (letter, end Nbn? B)

PN...*kak-kab-tu*, *ki-i iš-mi-tan-l-ni* a-na FDN *uz-zak-kan-nu* “having marked me with a star, PN consecrated me to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 66: 2...3 (Cyr yr 7, U)

PN...*iz-qat* AN.BAR.MEŠ *ki-i id-du-ú un-da-šîr* “having put him in chains, PN then let ”, YOS 7 7: 125...126 (Cyr yr 1, U)
him

The subject comes after the object in the following variation on the hendiadys construction (II §1 a iv, above):

KÙ.BABBAR *a’ 3* MA.NA *ina a-dan-ni-šú* PN *a-na* PN₂ *it-ta-dîn ú-îl-tî* *u* LÚ¹-tú PN₂ *ki-i u-tir-ri a-na* PN *it-ta-dîn* “PN has given the (aforementioned) three minas of silver to PN₂ within the deadline and PN₂ has given the IOU and the slave back to PN”, Dar 319: 9–13 (yr 12, B)²⁸

ú-îl-tî... PN₁₋₃ *ki-i ú-ter-ru-’ a-na* PN₄ *it-ta-ad-dîn-l’*²⁹ “PN₁₋₃, when they return the IOU, they are to give it to PN₄”, Dar 447: 10 (yr 17, B)

It is possible for more than one subordinating conjunction to precede the main verb. This is confined to the Uruk texts. In the first example, note how easily the subject of the two subordinated clauses changes, and in the third example there is a change in subject in the main clause:

²⁵ See Dietrich (1968) XXX p76 and examples on p91f.

²⁶ For *kī* in conditional sentences see §3, below.

²⁷ This occurs almost without exception in such circumstances, as Streck (1995, §34 p155) shows. However, he calls it a “Vergangenheitsperfekt” and not the consequential *-t-* form.

²⁸ The deadline referred to was Nisannu 20 and this document was written on Nisannu 22.

²⁹ *it-ta-ad-dîn-l’*²⁹ (*dîn* = *dan*) for *ittadnû* ? i.e. a G-perfect of *nadānu*. This sentence can be construed as a kind of hendiadys. For further examples see *kī* in hendiadys constructions.

PN...*ki-i id-di-nu-uš ʔe-er-du ina muh-hi ki-i iš-šak-nu RN iš-mu-ú ik-te-liš* “when PN gave (the *kusītu* garment), in the repercussions that ensued,³⁰ Nbk heard and retained it”, YOS 6 71: 29–31 (Nbn yr 6, U)

ina mu-ši ni-ik-su a-na É PN...ki-i ni-ik-ki-su ki-i ni-ru-bu (several objects) *ki-i ni-iš!-šu-ú a-na PN₂ AD šá PN₃...šá it-ti-ni ni-ib-la-ki-it* “in the night, when we made the break-in into PN’s house and had got in,(and) having taken (several objects), we went over³¹ to PN₂, the father of PN₃ who was with us”, AnOr 8 27: 7...14 (Nbn yr 12, U)

^fPN ^f*kur^Lban-ni ki-i ta-ʔas?-suk?*¹ *kal-bi ki-i tam-mah-ha-aš ni-qa-ab-ba-áš-šú um-ma mi-nam-ma kal-bi ʔa^Lmah-haš-ši-ʔ* “when ^fPN tore up a clod and kept hitting the dog we asked her, ‘why are you hitting the dog?’”, YOS 7 107: 7–8 (Camb yr 1, U)

iii) *kī* in circumstantial clauses “as, while”. The last-cited example also has two clauses subordinated to the verb, a historic present, and therefore has no *-t-* infix. *kī tamahhaš* is also a historic present, but is also similar to a circumstantial clause subordinated to *tassuk*.

The subordinated clause describes an action or situation which is simultaneous to the action of the main verb and its verb therefore has no *-t-* infix:

ki-i it-ba-ʔ i-qab-ba-ʔ um-ma... “he got up, saying...” (literally, “as/while he got up, he was saying”), YOS 7 78: 6–7 (Cyr yr 8, U)

The same effect is achieved by using a passive stative:

ZÚ.LUM.MA *ki-i ú-kal-lim-an-ni a-hi nu-ku-su-nu a-hi šá it-bu-ku* “the dates, when he showed them to me, some were cut (and) some they (impersonal subject) had piled up”, CT 22 78: 8–10 (letter, 545–527, B) (Note again the different subjects in each clause, “he, the dates, they”).

g) *libbu*, in *ina libbi ša* “because”. *ina libbi* is a prepositional phrase which, when followed by *ša*, functions as a subordinating conjunction:

ina lib-bi šá AD-ú-nu at-ta a-na EN-ía áš-pur-ru “because you are our father I wrote/must write to you (literally, “my lord”)”, CT 22 183: 23–25 (letter, IMB, B)

h) *libbû*,³² in *libbû ša*. This prepositional phrase also functions as a subordinating conjunction, “because of (this), regarding, on the basis of”, and nuances thereof (to which English does not lend itself well):

ù gi-mir lib-bu-ú šá ina pa-ni RN u RN₂ šá qé-me u ŠE.BAR a-na GN iz-bi-lu-ʔ a-mur...lib-bu-šú ŠUK.HI.A šu-bi-la-a-ni “and on the basis of what they (impersonal subject) sent to GN as regards flour and barley, at the time of Nrgl

³⁰ The meaning of *ʔerdu šakānu* is unclear. AHW p1388b gives *ʔerdu* as “Vertreibung” in MB texts but queries the “SpB” usage as an Aramaism, “Aufstörung, Nachprüfungsaktion”, cf.: *ʔe-er-da ki-i iš-kun* YOS 7 97: 9, 17–18 (Camb acc, U).

³¹ Cf. GAG paradigm 39 *ibbalkit* (pret). A *-t-* form is expected.

³² The final long vowel is represented in CAD and AHW as *libbû* and *libbū* respectively.

and Nbn, look (i.e. 2sg for 2pl) at all of it...(and) in accordance, send me provisions”, YOS 3 81: 27...33 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

i) *Compounds involving muhhu*:

i') *adi muhhi ša* “until” is found in the Uruk texts:

a-bu-uk a-na PN i-din-šú a-<<na>>-di UGU šá a-ha-meš nim-ma-ru-ma EŠ.BAR-šú it-ti PN ni-šak-ka-nu “take her and give her to PN until we see one another in order to make a decision with PN regarding her”, AnOr 8 56:15–16 (Cyr yr 7, U)

dul-lu...li-pu-šú a-di UGU šá te-e-me...ta-šem-ma-a₄ “let them do the work...until you hear instructions”, YOS 7 70: 12...13 (Cyr yr 8, U)

a-di UGU šá a-na UNUG KI er-ru-bu(sic)-am-ma “until I come into Uruk”, YOS 3 83: 20–21 (letter, end Cyrus? U)

a-di UGU šá at-tu-ú-nu hi-tu ta-ah-ta-aṭ-ṭa-³³ a-na-ku hitu ul a-haṭ-tu “until you make mistakes I won’t make mistakes”, YOS 3 17: 36/37 /TCL 9 129: 34 36 (letters, early Camb? U)

The Uruk letter YOS 3 66 twice uses *ana* where *adi* might have been expected, in line 3: *a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄* “up to this day”, and in:

a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄ GIS.MÁ šá ZÌ.DA ul ú-še-ri-iq É ZÌ.DA qa-ti i-qab-bu-ú-nu um-ma a-na muh-hi šá LÚ.ma-gu-šu il-la-kám-ma É ZÍ.DA i-her-ri mam-ma ZÍ.DA a-na lib-bi ul i-de-ek-ki “up to this day the flour boat has not been emptied. The flour house is finished. They say until (?) the magus comes and checks the flour house (?³³), no one is to move the flour into it”, : 8–9 (letter, Camb pre-526? U)

ii') *ultu muhhi ša*. Also a prepositional phrase, “after, since”:

ul-tu muh-hi šá IM.DUB...ik-nu-uk ih-li-iq-ma “after he signed the tablet he ran away...”, Nbn 697: 5–6 (Nbn yr 13, B)

ul-tu UGU šá a-na-ku paq-da-ak-ka... “since I was installed (as *šatammu*)...”, TCL 13 170: 10 (Camb yr 5, U)

j) *pānât in ina pānât ša* “before”:

ina pa-na-at šá tul-la-du “before she gave birth”, YOS 6 224: 23 (Nbn yr 15, U)

ina pa-na-at šá a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-na PN ta-na-an-di-nu “before she was sold to PN for silver...”, YOS 6 79: 13 (Nbn yr 5, U)

k) *ša* “that”

The use of *ša* in compounds such as *adi muhhi ša*, *libbû ša* and *ina pānât ša* is widespread in NB.³⁴ *ša* can also be used without a preceding substantive with the verbs *idû*, *amāru*, *qabû* and *šemû*, to mean “that”, cf. German “dass”, a usage

³³ Although the verb looks like *herû* (“to dig”), it makes more sense if it is interpreted as *hāru* “to examine”. Discussed in VI §2 below.

³⁴ See CAD Š/I, entry b on page 1.

already found in Kuyunjik NB.³⁵ Additional uses are noted in the NB under scrutiny here (ii, below).

i) *ša* with *idû*, *amāru*, and *šemû*

a-na-ku i-de šá ŠE.BAR u ZÚ.LUM.MA ina é-an-na ia-¹a-nu¹ “I do know that there are no barley and dates in Eanna”, YOS 3 69: 12–14 (letter, 539–526, U) cf. YOS 3 81: 7 (*at-tu-nu ti-da-a₄ šá...*) and YOS 3 113: 24 (EN.ME-e-a *lu-ú i-du-²-ú šá...*)³⁶

at-ta ^dEN i-mu-ru šá lu ma-a-du sa-ma-ak-ka “you, Sir, must see that I am greatly harrassed”, YOS 3 8: 11–12 (letter, early Dar? U). See also YOS 3 52: 6–8.

šá 1 ŠILA ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina UNUG KI iq-ta-bu-na-a-šú “they tell us that one *qû* of dates is one shekel of silver in Uruk”, YOS 3 79: 22–24 (letter, 539–526, U)

na-qut-ta-a la ta-re-šá-² šá tè-ma-a la ta-šá-ma-² “don’t have (2fs) any fears about me that you haven’t heard any news about me”, CT 22 6: 7–8 (letter, Cyr? B)³⁷

ii) *qabû* and *kunnu*. *qabû* + *ša* is used in CT 22 73 in reported speech. See §4 a, below. The examples of *kunnu* (with *-t-* infix) are all from Uruk and involve the giving of evidence in the future:

i-na u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu a-na PN... uk-tin-nu šá ŠE.BAR šá FDN a-na KÙ.BABBAR id-di-nu mim-ma ma-la LÚ.mu-kin-ni ú-ka-nu-uš¹ 1+en 30 a-na FDN i-nam-din “on the day that a witness or a denouncer comes and convicts PN...that he sold barley belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk..., whatever amount that the witness convicts him of he is to give thirty-fold to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 24: 1–8 (Cyr yr 3, U), cf. TCL 12 106: 1...12 (Nbn yr 12) and YOS 6 175: 1–3, YOS 6 179: 1–3 (all Nbn)

One example uses the substantive rather than the verb:

LÚ .mu-kin-nu-tu šá PN...šá ...(6 people)...ina É PN₂... PN ú-še-ri-bu-ma u-šá-ah-mi-iš “this is the evidence of PN that ...(6 people)... made PN go into and ransack PN₂’s... house”, YOS 6 108: 1...7 (Nbn yr 8)

According to the examples in CAD (*kānu*) the use of *kunnu* with *ša* appears only after NB (ABL). Sometimes no subordinating conjunction is used:

ina u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu lu-u LÚ.ba-ti-iq PN...uk-tin-nu lu-ú KÙ.BABBAR lu-ú KÙ.GI ina ŠU.II PN₂ ù PN₃...im-hu-ru... “on the day that either a witness or an informer accuses PN of receiving either silver or gold from either PN₂ or PN₃...”, YOS 6 191: 1...5 (Nbn yr 12), cf. YOS 6 214 1–5, YOS 6 193: 1–3 (both, Nbn)

As stated in the entry on *kī* (f i, above), the increasing use of *ša* rather than *kī* in the above contexts is probably due to the influence of Aramaic.

³⁵ See Dietrich (1968) XLII p79 and 95, Woodington p164. Woodington calls *ša*, *mala* and *ašar* “relative subordinators”. Her example on p290, using *īde ša* in ABL 327: 5–6, is not included in the references on p164.

³⁶ *idû* without a subordinating conjunction is also used in verbless clauses. See Note at the end of I §2c.

³⁷ See negation, I §5, above, for more on this sentence.

l) *ūm* and compounds thereof, “when, as soon as”. The verb seems to be present or preterite. *ūmu* on its own is often used in conditional sentences (§3, below):

i) *ūm*:

u₄-mu šī-pir-ta-a ta-am-mar nu-bat-tu₄ la ta-ba-a-ta “as soon as you see my letter do not stay the night”, YOS 3 33: 11–13 (letter, early Cyr, U) cf. YOS 3 21: 10–11 and:

u₄-mu šī-pir-ta-a EN.MEŠ i-mu-ur-³ nu-bat-tu₄ PN ù LÚ.GAL-u-ti.MEŠ...la i-bi-it-tu-³ “as soon as Sirs see my letter may PN and the top men not stay the night”,³⁸ *ibid.*: 10–14

ii) *ūm ša*:³⁹

u₄-mu šá uš-šu-nu ina šī-pir-tu₄ EN.MEŠ liš-pur-ú-nu “as soon as they come out may Sirs write by means of a letter”, YOS 3 21: 16–18 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

u₄-mu šá PN...u PN₂...a-na GN er-ru-bu... “when PN...and PN₂...get into Babylon...”, TCL 13 222: 1...3 (around Dar yr 1, U)

iii) *ultu ūm ša*:

ul-tu u₄-mu šá ki-i-ri i-nap-pa-hu i-dī-šú a-na muh-hi PN...i-man-nu “as soon as he lights up the fumace he is to count up his earnings from PN...”, VS 6 84: 16–17 (Nbn yr 12, B)

Note: Subordinated⁴⁰ verbless clauses do not have to be introduced with a subordinating conjunction. The examples all use *idû*:

*lu-ú ti-i-du MN a-ga-a šá MU 15.KÁM ITI!*⁴¹ *dī-ir-ri* “you do know that this Addaru for year 15 is an intercalated month”, YOS 3 115: 6–9 (royal letter, Nbn yr 15, U)

lu-u ti-i-de dul-lu ina UGU-ia da-a-nu “you must know that the work is (too) hard for me”, YOS 3 33: 4–5 (letter, early Cyr, U)

lu-ú ti-i-de dib-bi lu ma-a-du a-kan-na ina UGU-i-ni bi-šu-³ “you do know that the talk against us here is very bad”, YOS 3 19: 20–21 (letter, early Cyrus, U)⁴²

³⁸ Literal translation of *nubattu + bātu*, which probably has a more idiomatic sense, something like “do not stay a moment longer”, or “act immediately”.

³⁹ For the one example of *ūm mala ša* (YOS 7 66: 17–18) see III §1 b iii, above.

⁴⁰ In fact it is not possible to judge whether the clause following the clause with *idû* is subordinated; both could be main clauses in paratactic juxtaposition. An example with a msg final weak predicative adjective needs to be found.

⁴¹ Text has UD.

⁴² *dibbi* is plural. The odd word order and choice of *ba’āšu* rather than *bašû* is discussed in part II §3 c ii, above.

§3 Conditional sentences

In NB, the introductory subordinating conjunction in conditional sentences is usually *kī*. The reasons for its having taken over from *šumma* are not clear.⁴³ However, the following nuances of *kī* as a subordinating conjunction, when taken en masse, make it possible to see how it could evolve into a conditional particle :

i) *kī* = “after, when, while”.⁴⁴

ii) *kī* = “that”, cf. German “dass”.⁴⁵

iii) AHW p469b gives an Amarna letter as an example of *ša’ālu...kī* “to ask if...” (*ša’al ki-i mātu rūqatu* “ask if the land is far”, VAB 2 7: 24).⁴⁶

iv) *kī... (ū) kī* “either...or”.⁴⁷

Unreal⁴⁸ conditions either do not occur in the texts under analysis or, if they do, no distinction is made between them and real conditions.

a) *kī* (spelled *ki-i*)

In these texts the verb in the protasis is most often G ^{perfect} / (i.e. *iptaras* with a future perfect idea)⁴⁹ and that in the apodosis is present-future.⁵⁰ Sometimes the verb in the apodosis is a precative and occasionally either clause may use a verbal adjective. If either the protasis or apodosis consists of more than one branch, identity of tenses is maintained and the sections are linked with *ū* or *-ma* but *kī* is not repeated before each section. *la* + *iptaras* is used for negation in the protasis, as seen below.⁵¹

*ki-i ŠE.NUMUN pa-ni PN in-da-har KILAM ip-pu-uš ki-i ŠE.NUMUN pa-ni PN
la in-da-har ū-il-ti PN₂ ū-tar_x(=GUR)-ma a-na PN i-nam-din* “if the arable land

⁴³ It is not from Aramaic. The Aramaic for “if” is ܐܝܢ *hen*.

⁴⁴ Dietrich (1968, XXXVI, p74 and 88f).

⁴⁵ §2 f i, above. Dietrich’s examples, from ABL (NB) use the verbs *amāru*, *idû*, *šapāru* and *šemû* (ibid., XXX, p76 and 92).

⁴⁶ Dietrich (ibid., XXXI, p76 and 92).

⁴⁷ II §1b v, above.

⁴⁸ I.e. hypothetical, cf. those conditions using the irrealis particle *-man* in literary texts. See GAG §162. *-man* is not used in NB.

⁴⁹ English translates this with a present. Streck (§36a, p161f) calls it “Vorzeitigkeit in der Zukunft”, Dietrich (1968, XXXVII, p74), “futurum exactum”.

⁵⁰ This is in contrast with *kī* used as a subordinating conjunction (q.v.), where the subordinated clause with *kī* is often not infixed with *-t-* but where the main clause always is.

⁵¹ The one exception: *ki-i la it-mu-ma la it-tan-nu...* “if he does not swear and does not give (it)...”, Dar 434: 10 (yr 16, B), may be perhaps explained by the assumption of the *t* in *tamû* as an infix, as was originally the case.

pleases PN he may buy it. If the arable land does not please him PN₂ may give the IOU back⁵² to PN”, VS 5 20: 15–19 (Nbn yr 1, B)

ki-i ^fPN PN *tu-un* <*daš*> -*šir u a-na a-šar-ša-nam-ma tat-tal-ku*...ŠE.BAR PN₂ *a-na PN i-nam-din* “if ^fPN leaves PN and goes somewhere else, PN₂ is to give PN a monthly grain (-allowance)”, YOS 6 163: 10...14 (Nbn yr 11, U)

ki-i KU₆.HI.A *ina su-us-su-ul-lu in-da-tu-ú* ù KU₆.HI.A *bi-i-šú ina man-zal-ti-šú-nu uq-tar-ri-bi hi-tu šá* DINGIR ù LUGAL *i-šad-da-du* “if the fish in the tub are inferior or (if) they offer bad fish during their service, they bear the punishment of god or king”, YOS 7 90: 14–16 (Cyr yr 5, U)

ki-i a-di UD 10.KÁM *ša MN PN la it-tal-kám-ma a-na muh-hi ú-íl-tì*...^f*it-tì* PN₃ *la id-dab-bu* 1+et GIŠ.NÁ...PN *a-na PN₂ i-nam^l-din-ma* 13 <GÍN KÙ. BABBAR> PN₂ ^f*a-na PN^l i-nam-din* “if, by Dûzu 10th, PN does not come and discuss the IOU with PN₂, PN is to give one bed... to PN₂ and PN₂ is to give 13 <shekels of silver> to PN”, Dar 189: 9...18 (yr 5, B)

Verbal adjectives may be used in the protasis or apodosis:

ki-i pa-ni EN-^f*ia mal^l-hír a-na É lu-uš-pur-ma*... “if Sir is agreeable let me write to the house...”, YOS 3 83: 13–15 (letter, end Cyrus, U), cf. YOS 7 102: 16–17

ki-i ina UGU *dul-lu ú-šu-uz-zu-*’ LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-*šú-nu ul i-hal-li-iq-*’ “if they remain at work their workteam will not desert”, YOS 3 17: 7–8 (letter, 533–526, U)

ki-i ma-aš-šar-ti la-pa-ni ANŠE.EDIN.NA *u ša-bi-ti la it-ta-šar pu-ut mi-ti-ti šá ina GARIN ANŠE.EDIN.NA i-šak-ka-nu na-šu-ú* “if he does not keep watch against wild asses and gazelles, he is to be responsible for any damage that the wild asses may cause in the wetland”, YOS 7 156: 19–21 (Camb yr 3, U)

Note: Assertory oaths (§4 b, below) are expressed using a protasis with *kī* but with the apodosis remaining unexpressed.

b) *ūm*, *ūm ša*

Conditions can also be expressed using *ūm* and compounds thereof as the introductory particle, cf. English “the day...”. However, *ūm* is more precise than *kī* in that it refers to some point in the future (albeit unspecified) and may be better translated “if at some point...” As in the case of the examples using *ūm* and compounds as a subordinating conjunction (“when, as soon as”) the verb in the protasis again tends to be infixed with a *-t-*:

u₄-mu šá PN *a-na UGU LÚ.u-ra-šú i-šáp-par-ru* ù LU.u-ra-šú *la it-tan-nu hi-tu šá* PN...*i-šad-da-ad* “if at some point PN writes regarding a stand-in and he doesn’t give him a stand-in he will bear the punishment of Gobryas...”, TCL 13 150: 4...8 (Camb yr 2, U), cf.

ina u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu uk-te-nu-uš 1+en 30 *a-na FDN i-nam-di-in hi-tu šá* LUGAL *i-šad-dad* “if at some point a witness convicts him he is to pay thirtyfold to the Lady-of-Uruk. He will bear the punishment of the king”, Weisberg 2: 8–10

⁵² *tāru* in hendiadys with *nadānu*.

(Dar yr 2, U), cf. Nbn 679: 1–4, where the possible witness is feminine, *tu-uk-tin-nu*.

u₄-mu ga-ba-ri ku-nuk ma-hi-ri...it-tan-ma-ru šá PN u ^fPN šu-ú “if at some point a copy of the purchase document...is discovered,⁵³ it is for PN and ^fPN”, Nbn 85: 12...13 (yr 2, B)

u₄-mu PN a-na šim-tu₄ it-tal-ku-ma ár-ki-šú DUMU ši-it lîb-bi šá PN₂ DUMU-šú it-ta₅-la-du GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ù NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ šá PN AD-šú i-leq-qé “if at some point PN passes away and (if) a true son of PN₂ his son has been born⁵⁴ after his death, he may take the prebends and assets of PN his father”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 16–19 (yr 9, B), which continues:

ki-i DUMU ši-it lîb-bi šá PN₂ la it-ta₅-la-du PN₂ <PN₃?> ŠEŠ-šú ù EN HA.LA-šú a-na DUMU-ú-tu i-leq-qé-e-ma GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ù NÍG.ŠID.MEŠ šá PN AD-šú pa-ni-šú id-da-gal “if a true son of PN₂ is not born, PN₂ may adopt <PN₃?>⁵⁵ his brother and partner and the prebends and assets of PN, his father will belong⁵⁶ to him”, *ibid.*: 19–23.

Also for comparison are:

ina u₄-mu PN a-na a-šar-šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku “if PN goes somewhere else...”
Camb 379: 12–13 (yr 7, B)

ki-i a-na-šar-šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku VS 4 60: 11–12 “if he goes somewhere⁵⁷ else...” (Cyr yr 3, B)

The speaker’s choice between *ūmu* or *kī* or *mātima* (below) seems to be based on his own assessment of the likelihood of the situation.⁵⁸ The more likely (in his opinion) that the situation is to happen ^{the more likely} he will use *ūmu*. If it is less likely, he will use *kī*. *mātima* appears to be used if the situation is highly unlikely.

c) *mātima* is also used to express a possible (but unlikely) future condition, “if ever”. It is found in the following standard phrase seen in Babylon Achaemenid texts:

ma-ti-ma i-na ŠEŠ.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ ki-im-ti né-su-tu u sa-la-tu₄ šá DUMU PN i-rag-[gul]-mu...⁵⁹ pa-qer-a-ni KÙ.BABBAR im-hu-ru a-di 12.TA.ÀM i-ta-nap-pal “if ever any of the kith and kin (literally, “brothers, sons, distant kin and

⁵³ I.e. N with infixed -t- and dissimilation from *ittammar*.

⁵⁴ N with -t- infix. See GAG §103y and paradigm 25 especially p31* n30.

⁵⁵ Because it is unusual for a person not to be mentioned by name in economic documents, it is possible that the repetition of PN₂’s name here may be a mistake or that the name of his brother and partner was omitted.

⁵⁶ Read *idaggal*. The *id-da(g)*- spelling is common for this verb in the present-future.

⁵⁷ With *ana ašar* elided to *a-na-šar*.

⁵⁸ I.e. the epistemic modality intended by the speaker. See Black, (1995) p16f, especially n5 and n8, where he says, “In English what distinguishes ‘if he comes tomorrow’ from ‘when he comes tomorrow’ is in fact an epistemic distinction of the degree of the speaker’s confidence in the likelihood of the utterance.” This may also help one to consider that *kī* = “if” (in the future) was a development from *kī* = “when” (in the past).

⁵⁹ This condition is common in *šupēltu* tablets and the proposed complaint is usually phrased, as in this case: *um-ma É šu-a-ti ul na-din-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ma-hi-ir* “thus: “that house was not given and the silver was not received” (line 37).

family”) of the PN clan complain..., the claimant is to repay twelvefold the money he received”, VS 5 38: 35...39 (Cyr yr 6, B). For further examples see TCL 13 190: 22–25, Dar 26: 25–29, Dalley 75: 27–32, and Dar 227: 25–29.

d) Conditions expressed without a conditional particle. In earlier dialects (MA and earlier, see GAG §160e) conditions are generated when two main clauses are paratactically juxtaposed (sometimes with connecting *-ma*, GAG §160a), cf. English “you scratch my back, (and) I’ll scratch yours”. This cannot be observed in the texts here, apart from the example from AnOr 8 79 below. Negation in the apodoses of conditional sentences provides the only evidence of the use of *lā* + infixed *-t*,⁶⁰ but the example in AnOr 8 79 indicates that negated preterites can express a conditional situation without the use of a conditional particle. If a conditional sentence has been expressed using *ul* + preterite for the perfect (“futurum exactum”) it is therefore not easy to identify. Consequently it is possible that many more like the following example⁶¹ exist but remain undetected:

ina ITI.DU₆ MU 7.KÁM PN PN₂ *ul i-bu-kám-ma a-na* PN₃ *ul id-din* 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* FDN *i-nam-din* “(if) PN has not brought PN₂ in Tašritu of year 7 and given him to PN₃, PN is to give one mina of silver to the Lady-of-Uruk”. AnOr 8 79: 9–12 (Camb yr 7, U)

§4 The reporting of speech and oaths, using subordinating conjunctions

a) Indirect speech

Almost all speech is reported exactly as it is spoken and is therefore dealt with in the section on speech and questions in I §6 a, above. However, the letter CT 22 73 has a clear example of indirect speech as well as direct speech:

a-na PN₂ PN₃ *u* PN₄ *a-qab-bi-ma šá ŠE.BAR šá ina* IGI-šú *ul ib-ba-ku-nim-ma ul i-nam-din-nu-nu...* “I’m telling PN₂, PN₃ and PN₄ that the barley that they (text: “he”) have in their charge they are not bringing it and giving it to me”, 6–9 (early Dar, B)⁶²

⁶⁰ See I §5b, above (negation) for the use of *ul* + preterite where a *-t*- infix is expected.

⁶¹ The use of *inamdin* and the fact that the document is dated Simānu 30th of year 7, four months prior to the deadline, makes it recognisable as a condition.

⁶² Which continues with: *en-na šī-pir-tu₄ a-na* UGU EN *liš-pu-ra-áš-šú-nu-tú um-ma it-ta-hu* PN *íz-zi-za-ma šá mam-ma šá ŠE.BAR ina* IGI-šú *ab-ka-nim-ma a-na* PN *in-na-’* “Now, may Sir send them a letter about (it), saying, ‘stand by PN and that anyone who has barley bring it and give it to PN ’”, 9–14. It is interesting to see how the speaker changes to the third person with *šá mam-ma...ina* IGI-šú. This is exactly what happens in English too.

As noted above (§2 k), *ša* seems to be a calque on Aramaic *di*, best translated by English, “that”. Examples in OB and an SB example from Aššurbanipal of direct speech introduced by *ša* are given in GAG §155c.

b, c) Oaths

As with statements introduced by *umma*, oaths are reported exactly as spoken.⁶³ There are two types of oath, the assertory (b, below) and the promissory (c, below).

b) In assertory oaths the meaning of what the person swears appears to be the opposite of what is written. This, as in the earlier Akkadian dialects, is because the oath is actually the protasis of an elliptical conditional sentence.⁶⁴ The apodosis is either unexpressed, or, in the case of the examples in i 1, the god named is the subject of an apodosis which is otherwise unexpressed. In English, oaths may also be represented as a conditional sentence but the apodosis can rarely be omitted⁶⁵ and is usually something like “woe betide me if...”, “strike me dead if...”, “swear to die if...” etc. Some of my translations are amended thus for ease of comprehension. Note also that the verb of denial is usually⁶⁶ infixed with *-t-* but that the verb of confirmation is always *la* + preterite. This is in contrast to ordinary conditional sentences, which give the only instance in which *la* and the *-t-* infix are allowed (after *kī*).

i) Assertory oaths in letters

1) The deity is invoked by name, followed by *kī* and direct speech:

ḫUTU ki-i la ITI 5 MA.NA KÙ BABBAR ŠUK.HI.A-su-nu ḫUTU ki-i mim-ma gab-bi la ú-qa-at-tu-ú “Šamaš (strike me dead) if their rations aren’t five minas of silver per month, Šamaš (strike me dead) if they haven’t (already) finished everything off!”, YOS 3 21: 29–32 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ḫNÀ ki-i 1+en UDU NÍTA ka-lu-mu la a-na KÙ.BABBAR a-bu-ku “Nabû (strike me dead) if I took a single yearling sheep away (which was) not for silver (i.e. “unless it was paid for”)”, Peek 22: 15–17 (letter, Dar, B)

In TCL 9 132: 12–16, no deity is invoked:

ina lib-bi šá 1-šú 2-šú a-na muh-hi a-na EN-ía aq-bu-ú ki-i a-na DUMU.LUGAL a-na muh-hi la áš-pu-ru “having spoken to my Lord once or twice about it, (woe betide me) if I haven’t written to the crown prince about it” (letter, Nbn yr 1–12, U)

⁶³ Cf. I §6 a, above.

⁶⁴ See conditional sentences, §3 above. Note that conditional sentences in Akkadian are normally in the order protasis + apodosis. Assertory oaths are an exception to this.

⁶⁵ An instance when the apodosis is omitted is in “if I haven’t told you a hundred times...”.

⁶⁶ But not always, as seen in the extracts from Peek 22 (i 1, below), TCL 13 132 and TCL 170 (ii, below).

2) The phrase DN *lū īde kī*, DN *u* DN₂ *lū īdû kī*, etc., followed by direct speech, may be used, and the speaker's intention is again the opposite of what is recorded. The implication for the swearer is that the god knows that destruction or punishment will follow if he is not telling the truth. It is also possible that *lū īde kī* is a precative or asseverative, "may DN know, if...; DN does/must know that, if...":⁶⁷

^dEN ^dNÀ *lu-ú i-du-ú ki-i* 2 GUR 2 PI BANLIMMU *nu-ku-su* "may Bēl and Nabû know that if 2 kur 2 pi 4 sūtu were cut (I'm a dead man)", CT 22 78: 11–12⁶⁸ (letter, 545–526, B)

^dEN *u* ^dNÀ *lu-ú i-du-ú ki-i* UDU.NÍTA *ka-lu-mu la-pa-ni-ka ap-si-in ù ku-tal-la áš-kun-nu* "Bēl and Nabû must know that if I did hide a yearling sheep from you or put it aside (literally, "back") (I'm a dead man)", Peek 22: 6–10 (letter, Dar, B)

^dUTU *lu-ú i-de ki-i u₄-mu* PN *i-kaš-šá-da a-na* UGU *mam-ma ma-la* KUR.MEŠ *aq-ta-bu-ú al-la ana* UGU-ka Difficult. "Šamaš knows, if I've spoken to anyone in the whole world about it apart from you by the time Gobryas arrives, (I'm a dead man)", YOS 3 106: 7–9 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)⁶⁹

A further example is in YOS 3 8: 33–36 (U).

ii) For assertory oaths in legal documents, the oath is usually introduced with variants on the theme:

PN + *ina* + deity/deities + the king or the *adê* of the king + *tamû* or *zakāru*. Watanabe (1987, 21–23) cites all the NB oaths with *adê* introductions known to her. She also discusses the meaning of the term *adê*.⁷⁰ From these it is evident that variations occur in how the elements in the written introduction to the spoken oath are connected.⁷¹ YOS 6 232 follows the pattern most often attested (fourth example, below). Sometimes the deities or the king are omitted:

PN *ina* ^dEN *u* ^dNÀ *a-de-e šá* ^dNÀ-I...*it-te-me ki-i dul-lu šá* PN *u* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *un-da-aš-ru* "PN swore by Bēl and Nabû (and) on the oath of Nbn.... '(woe betide me) if I were to abandon the job of PN and his brothers'", VS 6 84: 19–21 (Nbn yr 12, B)

⁶⁷ For the difficulties in spelling and nuance of the precative and asseverative in these texts, see I §4 b ii and c ii, above.

⁶⁸ Ebeling includes the following (damaged) line in the oath but collation suggests line 13 is a new sentence: *mal-la ina lib-bi* whose sense is then completed by *[a]-mur* in line 14.

⁶⁹ The unusual word order continues: (*al-la ana* UGU-ka) *šá at-ta GIŠ.le-e ina pa-ni-ka ù ŠUK.HLA ti-du-ú* "(apart from you) who have the ledger at your disposal and know about the rations", (lines 9–10).

⁷⁰ p6f and p24. The difficulty in understanding the meaning of *adê* is also acknowledged in CAD. In *adû* B (p135b) it suggests that *adû* refers to a "supernatural manifestation of royal power" and that its invocation has the purpose of turning this *adû* against the person who breaks the oath that he makes. As seen in the discussion at the end of this section, I prefer the translation "loyalty oath" (cf. AHw, p14).

⁷¹ The main variations give by Watanabe are as follows:

ina DN DN₂... *a-de-e šá* LUGAL... in her earlier examples (Nbk–Nbn, p21)

ina DN DN₂... *u (ina) a-de-e šá* LUGAL... in her later examples (p22). Note the rare *a-di-i* spelling given in three of her examples (Nbk–Camb).

PN *ina* ^dEN ^dNA *u* ^mDa-ri-muš *it-te-me ki-i a-dan-nu ú-íl-tì i-te-qu* “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius, ‘(woe betide me) if the deadline for the IOU passes’”, VS 4 107: 8–10 (Dar yr 16? B)

PN...*ina* ^dEN ^dNA *ù* ^mDa-a-ri-ia-mu-uš...*it-te-e-me ki-i* [unreadable]⁷² *šá ú-íl-tì*. ME *šá* ^fPN DAM-a *i-na É* PN₂ *ta-ap-qí-du mim-ma NÍG.GA FDN lib-bi i-ba-áš-ši-i ki-i ú-íl-tì*. ME *la at-tu-ú-a iš-ši-ni* “PN...swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius... ‘(woe betide me) if there is⁷³ anything belonging to the Lady-of Uruk among the [copies?] of the IOUs which ^fPN my wife deposited in the house of PN₂. (Woe betide me) if the IOUs are (3fpl pronoun copula) not mine’”, TCL 13 181: 9...14 (Dar yr 2, U)

ina ^dEN ^dNA FDN *u* ^dNa-na-a *u a-de-e šá* ^dNA-I...*u* ^mdEN-LUGAL-URU DUMU-šú *it-te-mu-ú ki-i* [⁷⁴ŠE.NUMUN *šá* FDN GIŠ.BÁN.MEŠ *šá ina pa-ni LÚ.ENGAR. ME ù LÚ.er-re-še-e šá* PN...*u* LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM *it-ti LÚ.ŠITA₅.MEŠ šá é-an-na iš-pu-ru-na-a-ši*] “*mim-ma a-na na-de-e le-e-tu₄ ina lib-bi ni-te-ép-šú IGI.II ni-at-ta-ru ù le-e-tu₄ ni-it-ta-du-ú*” “they swore by Bēl, Nabû, the Lady-of Uruk, Nanâ and the oath of Nbn and Bēl-šar-ušur his son, ‘(regarding) the arable land of the Lady-of Uruk, (i.e.) the farm-leases at the disposal of the farmers and growers whom PN...and the *šatammu* sent to us with the Eanna accountants, (woe betide us) if we have done anything to indicate slacking there, or shown inconsideration⁷⁵ or been inattentive’”, YOS 6 232: 16...23 (Nbn yr 13, U), cf. the similar oath in AnOr 8 30: 15–19 (Nbn yr 12, U), and TCL 13 177: 6–13 (Camb yr 4, U)

Other oaths in this group: TCL 13 165: 10–11, TCL 13 167: 4–6, Weisberg 1: 22–26⁷⁶ (all, Uruk).

Another variant on the theme is:

PN *nīš*⁷⁷ *ili* + *šūlû* or *zakāru* “PN swears on the life of a god” in the Uruk texts:

nīš DINGIR.MEŠ *ù* LUGAL *i-na UKKIN ta-az-ku-ur ki-i a-na-ku kak-kab-ti ù ar-ra-tu₄ ina muh-hi rit-ti šá* ^fPN...*la a-mu-ru* “she swore an oath of the gods and king in the assembly, ‘if I did not see a star or slave-mark on the hand of ^fPN... (I’m a dead woman)’”, YOS 6 224: 19...24 (Nbn yr 15, U)

PN *nīš* DINGIR *u* LUGAL *iz-ku-ru ki-i še-e-nu a₄ 2...a-na KÙ.BABBAR ad-di-in ù mām-ma*⁷⁸ *šá-nam-ma it-ti* PN₂ KILAM *ina še-e-nu a₄ 2 it-ti-ia i-pu-šu* Difficult. “PN swore an oath of god and king, ‘I did not sell the aforementioned one sheep and one goat and no one else with PN₂ bought the aforementioned sheep and goat from me’”, TCL 13 132: 10–14 (Cyr yr 4, U)

⁷² That this document was a copy of an earlier and damaged original is clear by the scribe’s *hi-pi* which he wrote each time he came to a broken area on the original tablet.

⁷³ Difficult context notwithstanding, the subjunctive *i-ba-áš-šú-ú* should still be expected.

⁷⁴ I have inserted the [] and “” in order to ease comprehension.

⁷⁵ The virtually identical oath in AnOr 8 30: 15–19 has IGI.II *ni-ta-da-ru*. I am therefore assuming a derivation from *adāru*. According to AHw (p11b) *īnu* + *adāru* appears to be an idiom, “to show consideration”.

⁷⁶ The introduction to the oath is broken apart from *i-na* ^d[...] but context and Weisberg’s own interpretation of the missing part suggests it fits in this category.

⁷⁷ The dictionaries suggest there is confusion in the reading of MU as *nīšu* “life” or as *šumu* “name”. Since many of the texts quoted here use *nīš* I am taking the sign MU as a reading for *nīšu* in YOS 6 202: 2, 10.

⁷⁸ *mimma* is the obvious reading for this word but makes less sense here than *mamma*. According to Labat no. 554, MIM is *mán* in MB, NB and NA and *mām* in NA only. See also von Soden’s *Syllabar*, no.298 (p58). However, MAN (Labat no. 471)= *mam* in NB, therefore it is appropriate that *mán* should read *mām* in NB also.

The speaker is clearly expressing his denial in both cases, using preterites for the usual *-t-* forms throughout. This also happens in the following, which contains two oaths. The second one is lengthy and broken. The text deals with a storehouse doorkeeper (PN₂) who is making a false claim. His colleagues swear otherwise and he then confesses under oath:

niš DINGIR.MEŠ iz-ku-ur ki-i mim-ma ma-la b[a-šu-ú?] PN ul-tu É ka-re-e ina muh-hi-[šú?] ú-še-šu-ú u mim-ma ina ŠU.II-šú ni-mu-ur ... [PN₂] ina UKKIN niš DINGIR.MEŠ u LUGAL iz-ku-ur ki-i mim-ma ^{md}[PN] ina muh-hi-ia ú-še-šu-ú ù mim-ma...(broken) “they(!) swore an oath of the gods, ‘PN (the šatammu) issued nothing of whatever there was from the storehouse on his (PN₂’s) account, and we didn’t see anything in his possession’... [PN₂] swore an oath of the gods and king (saying) that ‘PN did not issue anything on my account and nothing...’”, TCL 13 170: 19–21 (Camb yr 5, U)

The following refers to a oath to be made six days in the future:

UD 16.KÁM šá ITI APIN PN...MU DINGIR.MEŠ ina MUL KAK.SI.SÁ a-na PN₂...u PN₃...ú-še-el-li ki-i ZÚ.LUM.MA šá FDN šá ina pa-ni-ia aq-qab-ba-ku-nu-šú um-ma ŠE.BAR šu-pel-tu, šá ZÚ.LUM.MA a-nam-dak-ku-nu-šú Difficult. “on the 16th of Arahsamna PN will swear an oath of the gods on the star Sirius to PN₂...and PN₃, ‘(regarding) the dates of the Lady-of Uruk in my charge, (woe betide me) if I say to you ‘I’ll give you barley in exchange for dates’”⁷⁹ YOS 6 202: 2...9 (Nbn yr 16, U)

Sometimes it is difficult to make the oath fit the context:

^dUTU [lu i-de] ki-i ul-tu muh-hi šá tal-li-ka lu-ú [ma-da] la as-mu-ú u [LÚ.ERÍN]. MEŠ la [i]l-ma-tu-’ “Šamaš must know (that) since you went, (woe betide me) if I have not had the greatest trouble and that there is a lack of workers”, YOS 3 22: 8–12 (letter, early Nbn, U) ⁸⁰

c) Promissory oaths

These oaths refer to future promises in legal documents and do not give the opposite meaning of what is stated. They are expressed with *kī ad(i)/kī adīa*⁸¹ followed by direct speech, with the verb in the present tense (without *-t-* infix).

PN...ina ^dEN ^dNÀ u RN...it-te-me ki-i a-di-ia (n date) [PN₂ šá ina IGI? <-ia?>] ab-ba-kám-ma a-nam-dak-ka “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius...‘on (n date) I

⁷⁹It appears that PN has dates, but not barley, since the text then says if he does swear he is to give a certain amount of dates (because he will therefore be telling the truth that he has no barley). If he doesn’t swear, this must mean that he is in a position to give barley (as opposed to dates), therefore he is to give barley. Coquerillat (Palm p80a) prefers to think PN has not been authorised to deal with the Lady-of-Uruk’s dates but is allowed to give barley.

⁸⁰ The writer is complaining because he cannot cope with the excessive barley yield. My translation agrees with that in CAD: “Šamaš knows I have been very hard pressed since you left” (*samû* 1b), but is the opposite of Cocquerillat’s view (Palm p94 + n165). She understands this as an oath which is unexpressed (“sous-entendue”) on the basis that the writer would not want to report that things were going badly when in fact they are. I assume she makes this assumption because she would expect the writer (whom she identifies as an ineffectual man) to be happy if the barley is doing well, particularly as he then warns: *mim-ma a-ki-i pi-i šá mam-ma la tal-la-ki* “in no way, in spite of what anyone says, do you have to go (to check)”, *ibid.*: 19–21. (See *mimma* emphasising negatives).

⁸¹ *ad* in the Uruk texts. Von Soden transcribes it *adi* in AHW p469b, in *kī* C 2 b ζ; *adi* and *adīa* are in the Babylon texts only. See the discussion at the end of the section for a possible meaning for *kī ad/kī adīa*.

shall bring PN₂ who is at my disposal? and give him to you’”, Dar 339: 1–7 (yr 12, B)

PN...*ina* ^dEN ^dNÀ *u* RN...*ana* PN₂...*it-te-me ki-i a-di-i* (n date) ^fPN...*ab-^fba?*-kám?-ma?*¹ *a-na* PN₂ *a-na-ad-din-nu* “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius...to PN₂, ‘on (n date) I shall bring ^fPN...and give her to PN₂’”, Dar 434: 1...9 (yr 16, B)

In the following, the addition of prepositional *adi* is exceptional yet the context indicates that the meaning is the same as in the first two examples above:

PN...*ina* ^dEN ^dMUATI *u* RN...*it-te-me ki-i a-di-ia a-di* (n date) 8 GUR ŠE.BAR 34 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA 13 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR...*a-na-áš-šá-am-ma...a-nam-din-ma* “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and Darius...‘on (n date) I shall bring...and give to you 8 kur barley, 34 kur dates (and) 13 shekels of silver’”, Dar 339: 1–7 (yr 12, B)

Further examples: YOS 7 50: 6–9 (U) AnOr 8 79: 5 (U), Dar 176: 5–10 (B) and Dar 504: 5–8 (B). The following two examples have been separated from the above on the grounds that the first one offers no specific date for the completion of the promised act, while the second contains two assertory oaths and one promissory oath introduced by a single *kī*:

i-na ^dEN ^dNÀ *u* FDN *it-te-mu-ú ki-i a-di nu-ú-nu ma-la ni-bar-ri* 10-ú *nu-ú-nu a-na* SÁ.DUG₄ *šá* FDN *ni-nam-din* “they swore by Bēl, Nabû and the Lady-of-Uruk ‘regarding any fish we catch, we shall give one tenth of the fish as a sattukku-offering to the Lady-of-Uruk’”, TCL 13 163: 16–18 (Camb yr 3, U). Note that *nibbarri*, which looks like a final weak indicative, must grammatically be subjunctive.

PN *ina* ^dNÀ *ù a-di-i šá* ^dNÀ.I...*it-te-me ki-i a-di-i* (n date) ^fPN ^fPN₂ *u* ^fPN₃ *la-ta-ni-ka ab-ba-kám-ma...a-nam-dak-ka lu-ú ú-íl-tì lu-ú ri-ik-^fsa?*¹ *[ti?] lu-ú* IM.DUB. MEŠ...*a-na-áš-šá-am-ma a-nam-dak-ka mim-mu šá ni-ik-li u pe-el-ša-tu₄ it-ti-ka ad-da-ab-bu* “PN swore by Nabû and on the oath of Nbn...“on (n date) I shall bring and give to you ^fPN, ^fPN₂ and ^fPN₃, your servants. I shall bring and give to you either the IOU, contract or tablets. (Woe betide me if) I am planning any deception or lie with you”, JRAS 1926 : 9–16 (yr 10 Nbn, B)

These two examples raise significant points regarding the meaning of *ad(i)*. Because no date is specified in the first example *adi* cannot be the preposition. Because of the consistency in the use of tense and the significant evidence provided by the second example, it appears that a condition is being stated, where *ad/ad(i)* is a nominal clause functioning as the protasis of the condition and where the apodosis of the condition is the promise, which usually⁸² includes the date by which the swearer intends to fulfil it. The translation would be something like “if it is (to be?) a loyalty oath, (on n date) I shall...”.

⁸² TCL 13 163 being the exception, of course.

Discussion regarding meaning of *adû* and *kî ad(i)/kî adia*

Previous observations (including those in CAD and AHW) regarding the meaning of *adû* and *ad* are brought together in Weisberg (1967, 32–34). He concludes that the *adû* is a loyalty oath in the form of a treaty between the sovereign and a vassal or a craftsmen's guild, i.e. people who have autonomy within the confines of their country or workplace. The *adû* is needed only because the swearer is actually being allowed to keep his autonomy (ibid., p34). Watanabe also summarises earlier conclusions about the meaning of *adû* (1987, 6–8, which includes comments on Weisberg). She believes that the “*adê*-Vereidigung” is made before gods and confirms Weisberg's findings that there is no evidence of *adû* prior to NA and NB. She does not doubt that *adû* is an Aramaic loan word.

I agree with both Weisberg and Watanabe that the conclusion of CAD that *adû* B must mean “majesty (?), power (?)” is not necessary.⁸³ I assume that when a person swears *ina* DN DN₂... *u (ina) a-de-e šá LUGAL* he is swearing on the names of the gods and the loyalty oaths taken by both the king and the gods. I consider that *adû* (properly, *adû?*) must be plural (since both parties have to take oaths) and *ad*⁸⁴ the singular and that they come from Aramaic ʾad “agreement, contract” (HAL, p744).⁸⁵ The use of the singular *kî ad* suggests the reference is not to an actual oath, hence the translation “if it is (or, “were to be?”) a loyalty oath”.

As for the spelling, I assume *ad* was adopted from Aramaic after NB's loss of final short vowels as the spelling *a-du* would otherwise have been used and then perpetuated.⁸⁶ Instead, ʾu was Akkadianised with the spelling *a-di*, perhaps by analogy or false etymology⁸⁷ with *adi* the preposition. That the final vowel is lengthened (spelled *a-di-i*) and the 1cs oblique suffix is added is peculiar to Babylon

⁸³ The difficult TCL 13 167: 4–6 is cited: PN...*ina* ʾEN *u* ʾNÀ *ù a-di šá LUGAL a-na* PN₂... *it-te-me ki-i ina KÁDINGIR taš-lim? gu?l-mu ta-at-ta-ši-iz ù ti-ru-tu ina lib-bi te-te-ép-šú* My suggested translation is: “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and the loyalty oath of the king to PN, ‘(woe betide me) if you threw (assuming *ramû*, *iptaras* form) yourself down’ [or,] ‘you complained (assuming *ragāmu*) (and) planted yourself at the King's Gate and created a brawl’” (Camb yr 5, U). The suggestion for *ragāmu* is in CAD *širku* A b, p107a, however, *targumu*, *tattašiz* and *tētepšu* cannot be prohibitions and the use of *iprus* and *iptaras* forms together in the same apodosis is not found elsewhere in my corpora. For a comment on the mood of *tattašiz* see IV §3a.

⁸⁴ Or even “*ād*”?

⁸⁵ This is in contrast to NA which seems only to have *adû* and *adê* as a plurale tantum, more correctly, *adû* and *adê*.

⁸⁶ If my suggestion is correct, it could also indicate that short final vowels had been lost even while a distinction was still being made between the subject and oblique cases in the plural, because the plural (*ina*) *adê* is never (*ina*) **adû*.

⁸⁷ A false etymology for *adî* could be the interjection *adû* or *enna adû* “now then, here then”, which, according to CAD (A I p131) is attested in western dialects of Akkadian as well as in NB letters (from Uruk, Babylon, Nippur and elsewhere). It is not attested in NA or in the letters of my corpora. The style of the letters in which (*enna*) *adû* appears suggests they come from the reign of Nbk and earlier.

and is presumably an innovation or a misinterpretation made by the speaker, and this explains why the protasis in the Uruk text TCL 13 163 does not have **kī adni*.⁸⁸ *ad* relates only to the swearer's own (hypothetical) oath. The seriousness of the swearer's commitment is indicated by his willingness to take a binding loyalty oath on it. *ad* is also found in earlier NB.⁸⁹

Statistical analysis of the oaths in the two corpora. The number of oaths per text is based on the presence of *kī*:

	number of texts	<i>kī</i>	<i>kī ad(ī)</i>
Uruk	18	17	3 (all <i>ki-i a-di</i>)
Babylon	11	5	7 (4 <i>ki-i a-di-i</i> , 2 <i>ki-i a-di-ia</i> , 1 <i>ki a-di</i>)

⁸⁸ Or, “**kī anni?*” Nor is it in ABL 282: rev 4–7 and ABL 1342: 25, which both have more than one person swearing (references taken from Dietrich, 1968, §33 p92). (Presumably in Babylon it would be **kī adīni*.)

⁸⁹ In Kuyunjik NB the promissory oaths are (virtually?) always *ki-i a-di* (see Dietrich’s four examples, 1968, §33 p92).

Chapter IV: The finite verb

A section with examples of finite verbal forms is given at the end of *part 2*. The following inflections are observed:

3	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-.....-ū, -u, -∅</i>
3f	<i>ta-</i>	<i>i-.....-ā</i>
2m	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-.....-ā</i>
2f	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-.....-ā</i>
1c	<i>a-</i>	<i>ni-</i>

The spelling of the ending of the 3mpl is ambiguous; the ending is occasionally not represented. See the discussion in chapter 3 §2, where it is concluded that a final vowel was usually intended but that it was a matter of personal choice whether to record it with or without an extra *-u/-ú* sign (or whether to record it at all). There is no evidence that the Common Semitic 2fs *-ī* final was used.¹

§1 The verbal system in the texts under analysis

iprus, *iparras*, *iptaras* (and *iptanarras* and *paris*) in NB have recently been thoroughly investigated by Streck (1995, part II). I shall therefore limit myself to giving the main features of the three finite categories along with comments on the few attestations of verbs with a *-tan-* infix. (*paris* has already been discussed in chapter 1, I §2, above.) In keeping with Streck I shall name the systems according to their G forms so as to avoid identifying them as preterite, perfect etc. Some developments in NB are worth noting here, especially the use of *iptaras*. The criteria for the use of *iptaras* appear to be quite clearly delineated in most cases, a fact which I am not sure Streck made fully clear.

¹ See also the comments on 2fs imperatives (I §5a, above).

a) *iprus*

This form is used to refer to an action completed at the time of writing i.e. a preterite (a term which I use for convenience elsewhere). The following three points are notable in NB (including NB from Kuyunjik):

i) *iprus* replaces *iptaras* when *iptaras* is negated or in a subordinate clause except when *iptaras* is in the protasis of a future conditional sentence (III §3, above, and Streck, p120):

ki-i a-na DUMU.LUGAL a-na muh-hi la áš-pu-ru “(woe betide me) if I haven’t written to the crown prince about it”, TCL 9 132: 15–16 (letter, Nbn yr 1–12, U)

ii) The 1cpl preterite has replaced the cohortative (i.e. SB *i niprus* has become *niprus*).

iii) On page 127 (§25a) Streck notes that the precative is no longer always formed with *lu-*, *li-*, owing to the influence of the Aramaic imperfect. His examples (using *kapdu* + *iprus* on page 129) clearly demonstrate this. Most of the examples are those in which the relevant verb has a consonantal inflectional prefix. The texts in my corpora mostly (but not always)² use *lu-*, *li-* + pret, but in the case of *idû* it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between its precative, whose *lû* prefix (if prefix is what it is) is not attached to the 3ms or 3cpl finite forms, and between its emphatic (i.e. using the asseverative morpheme *lû*) and preterite forms.

b) *iparras*

As well as its use in referring to the present (in both main and subordinate clauses) and the future (main clauses),³ *iparras* is used in the following cases:

i) as an imperative in verbs of the third persons (see I §4e, above and Streck, §8b, p95f).

ii) As the historic present (Streck, §12a–g, 106–109) *iparras* is still productively used, mostly with *qabû*. It is used in circumstantial clauses, i.e. in describing an act occurring simultaneously with another (III §2f, above).

There is no evidence of a “Gt” present (*iptarras*) in the NB of these corpora.

² See I, §4c ii, above.

³ See *iptaras* below for the future in subordinate clauses.

c) *iptaras*

In the texts under scrutiny here, most⁴ of the examples of *iptaras* fit into three categories:

i) The perfect, which refers to a recently completed action whose effects are still noticeable at the time of writing, or significant to the present, and which is therefore common in recorded speech and in verbs like *šapāru*, *qabû* and *šūbulu*. All examples appear to be in main clauses:⁵

at-ta-pal-sa- ‘I have prostrated myself’ (*napalsuhu*), CT 22 151: 13 (letter, B)

DUMU LUGAL *ši-pir-ti il-tap-ra um-ma...* ‘the crown prince has sent a message, thus...’, YOS 6 71: 19–20 (Nbn yr 6, U)

nu-ul-te-bi-la ‘we have brought’, YOS 3 113: 9 (U)

it-te-en-tir ‘he has been paid’, Dar 469: 10 (B)

ii) *iptaras* in this category may be considered a derived form. In the separative *iptaras*, *-t-* is used to introduce a direction away either with verbs of motion (exx. *alāku*, *muššuru*) or with verbs of taking or carrying (exx. *našû*, *abāku*):

it-ta-āš-ši ‘he took away’, YOS 3 79: 39 (U); *ta-at-ta-ši* ‘you took away’, CT 22 194: 19 (B), *ni-it-ta-ši* ‘we took away’, Dar 296: 9 (B)

gab-bi ana MN it-tal-ku- ‘they all went away in Dûzu’, YOS 3 69: 4–5 (letter, 539–526, U), cf. CT 22 182: 6 (B)

si-mir-re-e-šû ip-ta-ṭar il-ta-su-um ‘he undid his fetters and ran away’, YOS 7 88: 17 (Cyr yr 2, U)

or to introduce a reflexive, reciprocal or intransitive element similar to Streck’s ‘flexives (inflectional) *-ta-*’ (§48, p215ff). These uses of *iptaras* are uncommon and the distinction between the infixed and the non-infixed forms are often vague:⁶

im-ta-har ‘he bought’, Nbn 85: 7 (B) *i-da-har-in-ni* ‘they received from me’, Dar 296: 5 (B) (reciprocal)

(*ana muhhi*) *i-te-lu-û* ‘they made withdrawals (?) (therefrom)’ Dar 551: 8 (yr 22, B), cf. the singular (*ana muhhi*) *i-te-lu* in TCL 13 160: 7 (B) (reflexive)

⁴ Some *-t-* forms cannot be categorised, cf. *iptaṭar* in ii, below.

⁵ I am unable to find this observation in Streck. Woodington approaches the subject on p87. In the paper on subordinating conjunctions by Dietrich (1969), he refers throughout to the appearance of *iprus*, *iparras* and *iptaras* as *futurum exactum* (see iv, below) forms in subordinate clauses. The lack of other forms of *iptaras* is not emphasised. As there are no conclusions in his paper, it is possible to overlook this very significant point.

⁶ Perhaps the *-t-* infix introduces a personal element to focus the action on the person. The use of *ahāmeš* ‘mutually, together etc.’ has replaced reciprocal *iptaras* in most cases. See II §3 a and b, above.

LÚ.DI.KU₅.MEŠ *im-tal-ku-ma* “the judges deliberated...”, Roth: 42 (Cyr yr 9, U) (reciprocal, intransitive)

ina muh-hi ku-ru-up-pi...at-ta-šab “I sat on the chest”, YOS 7 78: 12...13 (Cyr yr 7, U) (intransitive, reflexive?)

All four verbs in the following are preterites with an intransitive or reflexive element:

PN...*ina* ^dEN *u* ^dNA *ù a-di šá* LUGAL *a-na* PN₂... *it-te-me ki-i ina* KÁ DINGIR *taš-¹tim? gu¹-mu ta-at-ta-ši-iz ù ti-ru-tu ina lib-bi te-te-ép-šú* “PN swore by Bēl, Nabû and the loyalty oath of the king to PN, ‘you did not throw (*ramû*) yourself down (and) plant yourself at the King’s Gate and create a brawl’”, TCL 13 167: 4–6 (Camb yr 5, U) ⁷

iii) Consecutive -t-

Verbs which describe the consequence of a previous action which is presented in a subordinate clause with *kī* are invariably infixed with -t-.

DINGIR.MES *ki-i u-šal-lu-ú še-bu-ta-a ak-ta-šad* “when I prayed to the gods I achieved my wish”, CT 22 194: 7–9 (letter, IMB, B)

(two ducks) *ki-i ni-du-ku i-na ti-du ¹ni¹-iq-te-bir* “(two ducks) when we killed them we buried them in the mud”, Iraq 13: 13 (Camb yr 2, U) ⁸

There is one example using *arku* and this also generates a consequential -t- :

ù ár-ku...ul-tu É PN *a-na É* PN₂...*na-ad-nu uš-ta-hi-is-su* “and after...he had been given from PN’s household to PN₂’s...household (PN₃) withdrew him”, VS 4 87/88: 4...7 (Dar yr 1, B)

iv) When *iptaras* is used to refer to the future in subordinate clauses, it is best understood as a future perfect (*futurum exactum*). It is usually found in the protasis of conditional sentences, following *kī*, but also occurs after other subordinating conjunctions or phrases, such as *arki*, *ašar*, (*ina*) *ūm*:

áš-šá it-tar-da-a-nu l+et ina lib-bi-ši-na a-na FDN...*ta-an-na-an-din* “‘as soon as they (f) come down one of them is to be given to the Lady-of-Uruk...’”, YOS 6 71: 22...23 (Nbn yr 6, U)

[ar]-*ki* PN *ana šim-tu it-tal-lak...pani* FDN *tad-dag-gal* “once PN has died...(she) is to belong (G) to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 66: 20–21 (Cyr yr 7, U)

u₄-mu pa-qa-ri ina muh-hi PN *it-tab-šu-ú*...“the day a claim arises⁹ against PN (the slave)...”, Dar 492: 8–9 (yr 19, B), cf. YOS 6 143: 7 (U) (*ki-i...it-tab-šu-ú*)

⁷ This difficult statement is discussed in the comments at the end of III §4c, above (assertory oaths).

⁸ Contrast this with the G form in the subordinated *šá...i-du-ku-ma i-na ti-du iq-bi-ri* “which... they had killed and buried in mud”, 14...17.

⁹ Literally, “will have come into existence” (N *futurum exactum*).

i-na u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu lu-ú ba-ti-qu it-tal-kám-ma a-na PN...uk-tin-nu... “the day a witness or denouncer comes and gives evidence to convict PN...”, YOS 6 122: 1...4 (Nbn yr 9, U), cf. Nbn 679: 1–4 (B) (*ina u₄-mu PN...tu-uk-tin-nu...*); Weisberg 2: 8–10 (U) (*ina u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu uk-te-nu-uš...*) etc.

i-na u₄-mu PN...ina É LÚ.KAŠ.TIN.NAM it-tan-ma-ru PN₂ ŠEŠ-šú mul-le-e a-na muh-hi-šú un-da-al-lu “the day PN...is seen in the tavern, PN₂ his brother is to give compensation himself”, YOS 7 77: 1...7 (Cyr yr 8, U)¹⁰

ina u₄-mu ú-du-ú...mim-ma šá ár-ki u-de-e...it-ta-aš-ba-tu... “if, in the future (any other) item...anything (coming) after the items (in question) are found...”, TCL 13 142: 7...12 (Cyr yr 7, U)

The following has both a future conditional and a future subordinated clause:

UTU lu-ú i-de ki-i u₄-mu PN i-kaš-šá-da a-na UGU mam-ma ma-la KUR.MEŠ aq-ta-bu-ú al-la ana UGU-ka Difficult. “Šamaš knows, (I’m a dead man) if I speak to anyone in the whole world about it apart from you, by the time Gobryas arrives”, YOS 3 106: 7–9 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

Although it is unusual for *ūm* to use *iparras*, it appears that the *-t-* infix is avoided when a subordinating conjunction expressing the future contains *šá* and its clause has only a single verb:

ul-tu u₄-mu šá ki-i-ri i-nap-pa-hu i-di-šú a-na muh-hi PN...i-man-nu “as soon as he lights up the furnace he is to count up his earnings from PN...”, VS 6 84: 16–17 (Nbn yr 12, B)

u₄-mu šá uš-šu-nu ina ši-pir-tu₄ EN.MEŠ liš-pur-ú-nu “as soon as they come out may Sirs write by means of a letter”, YOS 3 21: 16–18 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

u₄-mu šá PN...u PN₂...a-na GN ir-ru-bu... “when PN...and PN₂...get into Babylon...”, TCL 13 222: 1...3 (around Dar yr 1, U)

If there is more than one verb note how the final verb subordinate to *šá* and *mala*¹¹ in the following two examples reverts to the *iptaras* futurum exactum:

u₄-mu šá PN...a-na UGU LÚ.ú-ra-šú i-šap-par-ru ù LÚ.ú-ra-šú la it-tan-nu hi-tu šá PN₂...i-šad-dad “if PN writes about a stand-in but does not present a stand-in he will bear the punishment of Gobryas...”, TCL 13 150: 4...8 (Camb yr 2, U)

ŠE.NUMUN ma-la ina lîb-bi i-pet-tu-ma dul-lu ina lîb-bi la ip-pu-šú ù ul-tad-du-u šá re-he-et ŠE.NUMUN ma-la i-pu-šu sis-sin ul i-na-áš-šu-ú “any arable land that they open there but do not do the (upkeep-)work and have let it fall fallow; they will not draw a bonus on any remaining arable land that they have worked”, Camb 142: 9–16 (yr 2, B)

¹⁰ My interpretation of this statement is explained in V §1a i, below.

¹¹ Whose function is similar to *šá*. See III §1b, above.

An exception to this pattern may have come about as a result of the second verb being negated:

a-di UGU šá at-tu-ú-nu hi-tu ta-ah-ta-aṭ-ṭa-’ a-na-kuḥi-tu ul a-haṭ-tu “until you make mistakes I won’t make mistakes”, YOS 3 17: 36-37 /TCL 9 129: 34-36 (letters, early Camb? U)

Notes

1) The preterite and perfect of separative or consecutive *iptaras* are the same (i.e. the “Gtt” perfect (*iptatras*) does not occur in the NB of these texts):

ul-tu GN a-na a-šu-tu at-ta-ši “I have gone out from Babylon on an expedition”, YOS 3 106: 30-31 (letter, Cyr-Camb, U) (perfect + separative)

KÙ.BABBAR a’ 3 MA.NA *ina a-dan-ni-šú PN a-na PN₂ it-ta-din ú-íl-tì [u] LÚ¹-tú PN₂ ki-i u-tir-ri a-na PN it-ta-din* “PN has given the (aforementioned) three minas of silver to PN₂ within the deadline and PN₂ has given the IOU and the slave back to PN”, Dar 319: 9-13 (yr 12, B) (The second *ittadin* is perfect and consecutive.)

2) The 3ms perfect and futurum exactum (which is invariably subjunctive) of *nadānu* are *ittadin* and *ittannu* respectively. Contrast *ittannu* in TCL 13 150 above with *ittadin* in OECT 10 105: 11. There is one unexplainable instance of *ittannu* replacing *ittadin* in CT 22 82.¹²

d) Verbs with the *-t(a)n-* infix (*iptanarras*)

On page 118f and p160 n371, Streck observes that the Gtn is more or less unproductive. This is confirmed in the texts here, where it survives only in the Babylon legal phrase *adi 12 TA.ÀM itanappal* “he is to pay twelve-fold”,¹³ and in the Gtn preterite of *šasû*: *ištassû*, “they read (pret.) out”.¹⁴ The unusual forms of *amāru* in Nbn 85: 13, Nbn 573: 7 and YOS 7 77: 6¹⁵ may be interpreted as an N futurum exactum (*ittapras*),¹⁶ but the following may be intended as an Ntn futurum exactum, although it may simply be a misspelling of *it-ta-na-ma-ru.*:

¹² UDU.NÍTA *ki-i id-din-nu UDU.NÍTA ul at-tu-ú-a ul-te-pi-il ù it-tan-nu* “when he gave the sheep the sheep was not mine, he had swapped it and given it (away)”, 9-12 (letter, middle Dar, B). (It may be significant that the scribe has a tendency to put (C)VC-CV spellings for (C)VC endings throughout.)

¹³ As in VS 5 38: 38 and Dar 26: 28.

¹⁴ As in Nbn 356: 30, Nbn 1113: 14 (both B) and YOS 7 7: 74 (U).

¹⁵ *it-tan-ma-ru*, *it-tan-na-[mar]-ri* and *it-tan-ma-ru*, respectively, “(if) he has been seen”, probably *ittanmar*.

¹⁶ As may be the following forms of *eṭēru*: *it-te-en-ṭir* “he has been paid”, Dar 469: 10 (B), cf. Dar 266: 9 (B) which are to be contrasted with the N preterite, *in-né-eṭ-ṭi-ir* in Dar 474: 9 (B) and *in-né-ṭir* in YOS 7 114: 6 (no difference in meaning intended).

i-na u₄-mu PN...it-ti ^fPN...it-na-ta-na-ma-ru hi-tu šá PN₂ i-šad-dad “the day PN...is (regularly?) seen with ^fPN... he will bear the punishment of Gobryas”, YOS 7 92: 1...7 (Cyr yr 6, U).

§2 The derived forms of the verb

a) D form

The examples of the D forms are transitive or factitive.

u-mar-ri “he will chop/prune”, Dar 35: 8 (B)

ú-ha-mu-ka “they are giving you confidence”, CT 22 194: 17 (B)

(fish) *ú-hal-la-qu-³* “they make lose (fish)”, TCL 13 163: 5 (U)

ú-qar-rab-bu-ú-nu “they (who) present”, TCL 13 157: 6 (U)

kullumu,¹⁷ *murruqu*, *muššuru* and *šullû* are always D:

*ú-mar-*raq-ma* “he will clear (of claims)”, Dar 537: 13 (B)

DUMU.MUNUS-*su šá PN ul tu-maš-sar* “she is not to abandon PN’s daughter”, BE 8 47: 6 (Nbn yr 5, B)

ú-šal-la “I pray” passim

D verbs may have either a consequential or futurum exactum -t- infix (c iii and iv, above):

PN...*iz-qat* AN.BAR.MEŠ *ki-i id-du-ú un-da-šîr* “having put him in chains, PN (then) let¹⁸”, YOS 7 7: 125...126 (Cyr yr 1, U)

PN...kak-kab-tu₄ ki-i iš-mi-tan^fni¹ a-na FDN uz-zak-kan-nu “having marked me with a star, PN (then) consecrated me to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 7 66: 2...3 (Cyr yr 7, U)

un-da-al-lu “he will have filled”, YOS 7 77: 7 (U)

uq-tar-ri-bi... “(if) they offer...”, YOS 7 90: 15 (U)

b) Š forms are causative

Babylon:

pa-qa-ri ú-šab-ši “he made a claim”, Nbn 356: 27

pu-ut e-te-ru u-šá-áš-šá-an-ni “he made me guarantee the repaying”, TCL 12 122: 8

u-še-zi-îb “he produced”, Camb 253: 5

u-še-el-lu “he is to swear”, VS 6 120: 11, cf. *u-še-el-li*, Dar 468: 11

¹⁷ An example is in CT 22 78 in ^{2f}iii, above.

ú-še-ti-iq “(whom) he passed on to”, Dar 551: 12
tu-šak-ka-al-la “she is to nourish”, BE 8 47: 4, 10
tu-šad-gil “(which) she transferred”, Nbn 65: 8, 15
la u-šar-šu-ú “they made him not have”, Nbn 356: 34

a-na LÚ mu-kin-nu-ú-tu ú-še-eš-še-bu “they will make him give evidence”, VS 6 97: 11–12¹⁸

ú-še-lu-’ “they are to swear”, Dar 358: 6

Uruk:

ú-še-ri-bu-ma ú-šá-ah-mi-iš “he made go in and ransack”, YOS 6 108: 8 (Nbn yr 8)

 (A.MEŠ) *ú-šá-aš-bat* “he is to make water flow”, YOS 7 162: 8
ú-še-er-reb “he is to make enter”, TCL 13 164: 14
 (EN) *lu-še-bi-la* “may Sir bring”, TCL 9 132: 23
lu-še-lu-nu “let them load up”, YOS 3 29: 17

Note The spelling of *ušellu*, *tušakka*₁, *ušeššeb(u)* and *ušeerreb* suggests a doubling of the middle radical in initial weak in the present-future; contrast with the spelling of the preterites *ušešzib*, *ušeštiq* and *ušešribuma*.

Consecutive and futurum exactum Š forms:

nu-ul-te-rib-šú “we (then) made him enter”, YOS 7 88: 21 (U)
uš-ta-hi-is-su “he (then) took him back”, VS 4 87/88: 7 (B)
ul-tad-du-u “they will have let fall fallow”, Camb 142: 14¹⁹

c) N forms are passive, with the exception of the N of *bašû*, which has ingressive meaning (See the entry on *bašû* in §3 b, below.):

Babylon:

in-na-di-in “(that) it is given”, CT 22 182: 8
im-ma-ši-ih-ma “it was measured...”, Nbn 293: 10
in-né-ter-ru “he was repaid”, Nbn 314: 11, Camb 68: 15 (indicative)
ta-nam-ma-ri “(wherever) it (f) is seen”, OECT 10 105: 12
la an-na-mir “I was not seen”, Nbn 1113: 18
in-na-din-nu “they are sold”, Peek 22: 26
in-na-as-sa-hu-’ “they are being pulled up”, CT 22 81: 18

¹⁸Cf. the singular *a-na LÚ mu-kin-nu-tu ina lib-bi u-še-’ši-ma*, which on collation is probably *šib* on an erasure, rather than *ušeššimma*, Nbn 442: 6 (B).

¹⁹ Full extract is in c iv, above.

Uruk:

li-in-na-din “may it be given”

in-né-ter “he was repaid”, YOS 7 114: 6

iš-šá-al-lu-ma “he was asked...”, YOS 7 46: 16

in-na-an-di-na “it is (usually) given”, JNES 1993: 27, cf. *in-na-an-di-nu* TCL 13 182: 25

ta-an-na-ad-nu “(when) it (f) was given”, YOS 6 71: 32, cf. *ta-na-an-di-nu* “(before) she was(!) sold”, YOS 6 79: 13

tan-nam-ru “it (f) was seen”, YOS 7 102: 26

ta-an-na-an-din “it (f) is to be given”, YOS 6 71: 23

is-si-ni-qu-ma “they were checked...”, TCL 13 142: 3

ip-par-su “they were dispersed (in a sale)”, AnOr 8 70: 15

in-nam-ru-ma “they were inspected...”, Iraq 13: 18

ZÚ.LUM.MA *in-nam-mi-du* “dates (which) are estimated (for an *imittu*)”, YOS 7 38: 6

Perfect and futurum exactum N forms are rare. (There are no examples of consecutive forms.):

it-te-en-tir “he has been paid”, Dar 469: 10 (B)

it-tan-ma-ru “(if) he is seen”, Nbn 85: 13 (B)²⁰

it-te-še-mu-ú “(if) it is heard”, Nbn 682: 7 (B)

ina u₄-mu ú-du-ú...ina ŠU.II-šú it-ta-aš-ba-tu hi-tu šá PN...i-šad-da-ad “(the day)...(any other) item is found in his possession he will bear the punishment of Gobryas”, TCL 13 142: 7...13 (Cyr yr 7, U)

§3 Irregular and rare verbs

a) *ušuzzu*

Infinitive G:

ú-šu-uz-zu passim

GUB-*zu* passim

i-na u-šu-uz šá... “in the presence of”, Nbn 1113: 26 (B)

²⁰ For other examples using *amāru* see c iv, above.

Predicative form (stative):

ú-šu-uz-zu “he was standing” (?) YOS 6 235: 7 (U)

ú-šu-uz “he is stationed” YOS 7 102: 18 (U)

ú-šu-uz-za-ti “they (fs collective) were stationed” referring to servants (*amēlutti*), BIN 1 120: 10, (U)

u-šu-uz-zu “(who, mpl) were stationed”, RA 11: 11 (letter, 533–532, U)

ú-šu-uz-za-’ “they (fpl.) settle for (=ana)”, VS 5 45/46: 12 (Camb yr 1, B)

Imperative (2pl):

it-ti PN *íz-zi-za-ma* “stand by PN...”, CT 22 73: 12 (letter, early Dar, B))

G preterite:

la iz-za-zu “he will not agree”,²¹ TCL 13 182: 7 (U)

G present:

la iz-za-zu “he is not to stay”, YOS 3 179: 33 (U)

**íz-zi-zu* “(who, ms) stands by”, CT 22 73: 5 (B)

iz-zi-zu “he stands by”, TCL 13 182: 7 (U)

iz-za-az-zi-ma “he is to convene (with=*itti*)”, Dar 163: 9 (B)

iz-zi-zu “(in which) they stand”, (referring to trees) Camb 286: 2 (B)

li-iz-zaz-ma “let him be stationed”, YOS 7 102: 15, 22 (U)

These examples suggest an unclear distinction between past and present forms. Kuyunjik NB clearly had *i* for preterite and *a* for present as the second vowel (Woodington p149). Streck (1993b, 280–282) provides examples suggesting a present singular *izzaz* and plural *izzizzū*. The number of examples in my corpora is insufficient for such a supposition except that the singular *izziz* functions as a secondary predicative verbal adjective form to *ušuz* and that *izzaz* is indicative. Streck (ibid., p282) gives *ušuz* as the standard predicative form.

G with reflexive -t-

ta-at-ta-ši-iz “you (sg) stayed/placed yourself”, TCL 13 167: 5 (U)

²¹ The Akkadian preterite indicates that agreeing is a single act already completed but that the emotion of agreement continues up to the present. In expressing the same idea English uses the present.

Š forms:

Infinitive: *šu-uz-zu-zu* “registering”, Joannès TEBR 66: 15 (B)

Preterite:

ú-šá-az-za-[az] “he recorded”, Dar 296: 15 (B)

uš-ziz-zu “they recorded”, Nbn 356: 35 (B), *uš-zi-zu* Roth: 45 (U)

Present. Even in the Š the second vowel can be both *i* or *a*:

u-šá-az-zi-iz “he is to register”, YOS 7 113: 15 (U)

u-šá-az-zu-ma “they will register”, Dar 384: 5 (B)

ú-šá-az-ziz-šú-nu-tu “they will employ/station them”, YOS 7 156: 12 (U)

The following three examples from YOS 3 83 (U) are all difficult:

ú-šá-az-ziz “I (?) have registered”, YOS 3 83: 8 (see line 23, below)

ú-šá-az-zi-zu “(which) he (they?²²) registers”, YOS 3 83: 16

ú-šá-az-za-zu-ma “which I register”, YOS 3 83: 23

With infix -t-;

i) as perfect:

ul-ta-az-z[iz?] “he has recorded”, YOS 3 107: 31 (U)

ul-taz-zi-iz “he has registered”, Dar 296: 4 (B)

ii) as futurum exactum

ki-i la ul-te-zu-’ “if they don’t consent(?)/register(?)”,²³ Dar 384: 13 (B)

Precative:

lu-šá-az-ziz “may he register”, YOS 3 107: 8 (U)

b) Other irregular and rare verb forms:

edû “to know”, is used in the preterite where English uses the present:²⁴

G *i-de* “he knows”, YOS 3 87: 24, 6, YOS 3 8: 6 (both U)

te-de-e “you know”, TCL 13 181: 6 (U)

i-de!-e “I know”, TCL 13 222: 15 (U)

i-du-ú “(if) I knew”, Dar 53: 8 (B)

²² See impersonal subject (VI §2, below) for full context.

²³ The context is unclear.

²⁴ The preterite refers to the act of comprehension. Once the fact is comprehended a continuing state of knowing has been reached.

i-du-³-ú, *i-de* “they know”, YOS 3 113: 10, 24 and YOS 3 17: 37 (both U)
i-du-ú “they know”, YOS 3 8: 33 (U)

- Š *šu-du-ú* (*umma*) “(the facts) were made known...”, Camb 286: 7 (B)
(predicative form)
u-še-di “it was made known”, CTMMA 2 54: 15 (B)
nu-še-di “we made known”, Nbn 356: 23 (B)

itūlu Š is attested once:

a-kan-na ina qaq-qar lu-ul-ti-il-šú “let me make him grovel on the ground, here!”
YOS 3 19: 28 (letter, early Cyrus, U)

bašû usually occurs as a predicative stative in *mala bašû*, but the finite form is also sometimes used, with the same meaning:²⁵

- G *i-ba-áš-šu-ú* “(wherever) they may be”, JRAS 1926: 14 (B)
i-ba-áš-ši-i “which may be”, TCL 13 181: 13 (U)
ma-la i-ba-áš-šu-ú “whatever there may be”, YOS 3 66: 13 (U)

The N form is the ingressive of *bašû* “to come into existence”:

- ib-ba-áš-šu-ú* “(which) may transpire”, Dar 379: 68 (B)
ib-ba-áš-šú “(which) may (pl) be”, YOS 7 114: 10 (U)

N futurum exactum:

u₄-mu pa-qa-ru ina UGU PN it-tab-šu-ú “if (ever) a claim arises against PN”, Dar 492: 9 (yr 19, B)

išû “to have” is discussed in the Note at the end of I §2 c, above.

c) Quadrilateral Verbs

The two corpora give examples of three verbs:

nabalkutu “to move over”

ŠE.NUMUN *ma-la ib-ba-lak-ki-tu-ú-ma* “any fields that they passed over (i.e. left fallow)...”, YOS 6 150: 12 (Nbn yr 11, U)

a-na PN...ni-ib-la-ki-it “we went over to PN...”, AnOr 8 27: 13...14 (Nbn yr 12, U)²⁶

The Babylon texts are limited to the use of the participial derivative *nabalkattānu* “transgressor”.²⁷

²⁵ Cf. GAG §78b “prefixed stative”.

²⁶ Reading this as a preterite, according to GAG paradigm 39: i.e. *nibbalkit*. From the context an infixed *-t-* would also be expected, *nittabalkit*.

²⁷ See V §1c, below.

napalsuhu “to prostrate oneself”:

at-ta-pal-sa-’ “I have prostrated myself” (for *attapalsah*) CT 22 151: 13 (letter, Nbn or earlier? B)

namarkû “to be late”

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *ma-du-tu ib-ba-ku miššⁱ-hu i-gam-mar-ma u a-na-ku am-me-rik-ki*
“he is taking lots of workers to finish the work stretch and I am falling behind”,
YOS 3 17: 51 (letter, 533–526, U)

šupêlu “to exchange”, is the causative of the Common Semitic root *pʿl* (“to do”) not otherwise attested in Akkadian:

uš-pe-el-lu “that he swapped”, VS 6 120: 7 (B)

ul-te-pi-il “he has swapped (it)”, CT 22 82: 11 (B)

uš-pe-e-lu “(which) they swapped”, Camb 349: 5, 28, cf. *uš-pe-lu* in VS 5 38: 4, 22 (both B)

§4 The ventive and its spelling

The ventive is found on the finite forms, imperatives, statives and precatives of verbs of motion. Because of the loss of short final vowels of verbs and predicative forms and the uncertainty regarding the final vowels in 3m plurals of strong verbs, it is not surprising to find that ventives can be identified with consistency only in plurals (2pl and 3pl) and in the singular and 1cpl of final weak verbs.²⁸

with enclitic *-ma*

singular *-a*

-amma

plural *-n*

-nimma

a) Uncoupled verbs

i) In singular, uncoupled,²⁹ forms, ventives can still be identified in roots with a final weak radical:

Babylon:

i-na-áš-šá-a “(which) he will bring”, Rutten: 5 (Nbn yr 1)

²⁸ Ventive spellings are also retained in singular verbs with accusative and dative suffixes. See V §3 d and e, below.

²⁹ I.e. those not in paratactic coordination with another verb following.

il-la- “which may come up” Nbn 273: 14 (yr 7)

taš-ša-a “she brought”, Nbn 310: 9 (yr 8)

a-na-áš-ša- “I shall bring”, *ibid.*: 18

liš-ša- “may Sir bring”, *ibid.*: 28, CT 22 78: 18, 21 (letter, 545–527)

Uruk:

uṣ-ša- “he is coming out”, YOS 3 21: 9 (letter, Cyr–Camb)

ni-iš-ša- “when we raised”, YOS 7 97: 16, “we took (in oath)”, YOS 3 126: 31 (letter, 525–524)

i-la-a “which may come up”, JNES 1993: 32 (letter, end Nbn?)

ki-i áš-ša- “when I raised”, YOS 3 17: 27 (letter, early Camb?)

a-na é-an-na <na>-ša- “(which) was brought to Eanna”, YOS 7 2: 5 (Cyr acc)

1+en LÚ.ŠITA, *liš-ša-* à *lil-lik* “may an accountant bring (wool) and go...”, YOS 3 19: 18–19 (letter, early Cyr)

ii) Plural ventives in all verbs are also unmistakeable:

Babylon:

i-tur-ru-ni “they come back (to court)”, Camb 286: 14³⁰ (yr 5)

Uruk:

u₄-mu šá uṣ-ṣu-nu ina ši-pir-tu₄ EN.MEŠ liš-pur-ú-nu “as soon as they come out may Sirs write (us) a message”, YOS 3 21: 16–17 (letter, Cyr–Camb)

it-tal-ku-nu “they have come”, YOS 3 87: 7 (letter, 533–526)

it-tar-da-a¹nu “(as soon as) they (fpl) come down”, YOS 6 71: 22 (Nbn yr 6)

EN-ía *lu-še-bi-lu-nu* “may my Lord bring up”, YOS 3 83: 17–18 (letter, end Cyr?)

lu-še-lu-nu “may they bring up”, YOS 3 29: 17 (letter, early Camb?)

i-ša-a-ni “bring”, (2pl impv) TCL 9 98: 26 (letter, 540?)

TCL 13 157 (Camb yr 3) has two examples:

(two people) *šá ZÚ.LUM.MA NÍG.GA FDN a-na é-an-na ú-qar-rab-bu-ú-nu*
“(two people) who bring the dates which are the property of Innin-of-Uruk into Eanna”, 5–6

il-<lu>-nu “(which) come up”, 13

³⁰ See also CT 22 73: 9 cited in b , below.

iii) With suffixes:³¹

li-iš-šu-nu-ši-né-e-ti “may they bring it”,³² YOS 3 107: 17 (letter, early Camb, U)

šu-ša-a-nu-uš-šu-nu-tu “make them come out”, TCL 9 111: 10 (letter, 533–532, U)

iv) Other examples with ventive endings but without a clear ventive meaning:³³

Babylon:

i-leq-qa- “he will take”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 24 (yr 9)

(šá)...i-ti-ru-nu “(which, 3pl) exceeded”, VS 5 113: 5 (Dar yr x+3)

us-ha-nu “pull out” (2pl impv), CT 22 79: 22 (letter, 545–527)

a-hi nu-ku-su-nu “some were cut” (pl stative), CT 22 78: 10 (letter, 545–527)

Uruk:

ih-hi-su-nu “they deducted”, TCL 12 90: 15 (Nbn yr 7)

i-né-eh-su-nu “they will deduct”, *ibid.*: 19

ta-at-ta-al-ka-nu “(so that) you (mpl) may go”, YOS 3 22: 7 (letter, early Nbn)

hur-ša-a-ni “find out” (2pl impv), YOS 6 224: 18 (Nbn yr 15)

ba-šá- “which was” (msg subjunctive stative), TCL 13 132: 15 (Cyr yr 4)

ab-ka-na “taken away” (fpl subjunctive stative), *ibid.*: 3

Note It must not be forgotten that the ventive is identical with the 1c dative in verbs without motion, such as *nadānu*, *qabû*, *šapāru* and *mahāru*.³⁴

šá taq-ba- “of which you spoke to me”, CT 22 73: 30 (letter, middle Dar, B)

i-qab-ba- “he says”, CT 22 80: 15 (letter, Nbn? B)

³¹ For other examples of ventives with dative suffixes see V §3 f, below (personal pronouns).

³² *I.e.* cress (*sahlû*, fpl). The spelling may be very proper (pronunciation *liššūššinēt?*), or may reflect a change in the pronunciation of suffixes. See the discussion in part 2 §5 f and g, below.

³³ Such occurrences are not to be taken as unique to NB; they occur in MB and SB as well. Aro (1955, p89, 3) noted the standard use in MB of ventive singular endings for such verbs as *šapāru* and *šūbulu* (whose spellings, incidentally, continue into NB: *al-tap-ra*, *li-iš-pu-ra*, *u-še-bi-la*, etc.). He interpreted the receptor as the goal of the verb, hence the ventive. This pattern became standardised in MB but was already noted in OB (p91). On page 91 Aro notes MB *kudurrus* with verbs hitherto unknown in ventive form such as *qabû*, *nadānu*, *nakāru* and *nakāsu*. *šapāru*, *qabû* and *nadānu* continue in ventive form in NB. See examples and Note 1, below.

³⁴ These are verbs which normally demand an object and a recipient or experiencer. See VI §3 a, below (*ana* and the indirect or non-direct object). Examples of *qabû* in the plural are also found in two Uruk letters:

iq-ta-bu-nu “they have said”, YOS 3 169: 13 (539–526)

iq-ta-bu-ú-nu “(about which) they have said”, YOS 3 107: 14 (early Camb).

šá aq-qab-ba-³⁵ “about which I was (historic present) speaking”, CT 22 193: 26 (letter, 551–520, B)

iq³⁶-ta-ba-³⁷ “he has said”, CT 22 195: 13 (letter, 551–527, B)

liq-ba-a₄ “may they (mpl) speak”, passim in letter greetings

ŠE.BAR a₄...PN u PN₂ i-da-har-in-ni “that barley, PN and PN₂ have received it from³⁵ me”, Dar 296: 4–5 (yr 11, B)

il-tap-par-ra-nu “they have written (to me?)”, CT 22 193: 10 (letter, 551–520, B)

liš-pu-ru-ú-nu “may they send to us” (polite impv), YOS 3 113: 19 (letter, early Cyr, U)

šup-pur-ra-nu “send (2pl) to me (us?³⁶)”, YOS 3 127: 16 (letter, 538–532, U)³⁷

il-tap-ru-ú-nu um-ma ina GN šab-ta-nu “they have written, ‘we’re held up in Ur’”, YOS 3 8: 25–26 (letter, early Dar? U)

The ventive is not used with the 1cpl dative suffix in the following:

i-qab-bu-ú-na-a-šú/i-qab-bu-ú-³⁸na-šú³⁸ um-ma “they tell us...”, YOS 3 17/TCL 9 129: 39, 36 (letters, 533–526, U). Contrast this with the archaically spelled ventive in:

iq-bi-ú-niš-šú-nu-tu “they said to them”, GCCI 2 101: 7 (Cyr yr 4, U)

b) The ventive is often used suffixed with an enclitic *-ma*. As it is therefore not common in pause, it commonly appears in sentences where two verbs are coupled. The first verb is ventive and the second is often *nadānu* or a verb of speaking or swearing, often in oaths.

Singular and 1cpl:

(various items) a-na-āš-šá-am-ma...a-na PN...a-nam-din-ma... “(I swear) I shall bring (various items) and give (them) to PN...”, Dar 309: 5...6 (yr 11, B)

PN...ab-ba-kám-ma a-nam-dak-ka “(I swear) I shall bring PN...and give (him) to you”, Dar 339: 6...7 (yr 12, B), cf.:

PN...ab-ba-kám-ma a-nam-dak-ka-šú-nu-tu (sic)³⁸ “(I swear) I shall bring PN... and give (him) to you (pl)”, YOS 7 50: 7...9 (Cyr yr 5, U)

ki-i a-dan-nu i-te-et-qa a-di ANŠE ni-ib-ba-kám-ma ni-nam-di-nu “(woe betide us) if the deadline passes before we bring and give the donkey”, TCL 13 165: 10–11 (Camb yr 4, U)

³⁵ *mahāru* takes *ana* normally for the non-direct object. See VI §3a, below.

³⁶ Although one person has written this letter, he slips into the 1cpl on line 8.

³⁷ See also YOS 3 8: 24, cited in b, below.

³⁸ For *anamdakkunūšu*. See V §3^{Note 2} below for sound changes exhibited by *nadānu* when suffixed with personal pronouns.

Plurals are easily identifiable:

^fPN *ú-bil-lu-nim-ma...t[aq-bi]...* “they brought ^fPN (into court) and...she said...”, Roth: 30...33 (Cyr yr 9, U)

se-pi-ri ú-bil-lu-nim-ma rit-ti šá ^fPN *ú-ad-di-ma iq-bi...* “they brought a scribe (of Aramaic) in and he made out (what was on) the hand of ^fPN and said...”, RA 67: 20–23 (Nbn yr 17, B)

IM.DUB KILAM ...*i-na-áš-šu-nim-ma a-na* PN *i-nam-di-nu-’* “they are to bring the purchase tablet and give (it) to PN”, VS 5 74/75: 18...20 (Dar yr 11, B)

ŠE.BAR...*ul ib-ba-ku-nim-ma ul i-nam-di-nu-nu* “they are not bringing and giving me the barley”, CT 22 73: 7...9 (letter, early Dar? B). See also lines 13–14

i-mah-ha-ru-nim-ma a-na GN *u-šá-ak-šá-du-nu* “they will receive and bring back to Babylon”, YOS 7 63: 6 (Cyr yr 7, U)

ur-ra-da-nim-ma a-na UGU FDN *u* FDN₂ *il-la-ka* “they (fpl) are coming down and going to FDN and FDN₂”, YOS 6 71: 21–22 (Nbn yr 6, U)

ŠE.BAR *liš-šu-nim-ma lid-di-nu-nu* “may they bring and give barley”, YOS 3 8: 24 (letter, early Dar? U)³⁹

Note on ibina(mma), binnā(nimma), “give me”. As discussed in imperatives (I §4d, above), this verb is probably a combined contraction of the Aramaic and NB (ventive) imperatives for “to give”. The indirect object is always 1c.

Conclusions, and comments on the orthography

The ventive can clearly be seen in final weak singular forms and all plurals apart from 1cpl. It may well exist in other forms but its existence is masked by the ambiguities of the script. In the final weak forms it continues to override the subjunctive. There are more examples of ventives from Uruk than from Babylon.

In singular final weak forms the spelling is usually *Ca-’*, although the few examples using *Ca-a* or *a₄* indicate a long vowel. (This is to be contrasted with the case of the plurals of verbs with a strong final consonant, which are often spelled *Cu-’* or *CVC-’*.)

In the plural, the spelling is usually *-nu* and sometimes *-ni* (*it-tal-ku-nu*, *i-tur-ru-ni*).

Observations

Earlier scholars had believed that the ventive plural was the Akkadian reflex of the energetic form in the Semitic languages. Landsberger identified the true nature of the

³⁹Cf. *liš-šu-nim-ma...lid-din-’* in YOS 3 81: 24...25 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U).

ventive in 1925,⁴⁰ but Rimalt maintained that the Aramaic-*ūn* and -*ān* imperfect and imperative endings were responsible for the continuation of -*nim* endings in NB (1932, p118), without acknowledging the existence of ventives. The above evidence for the survival of the ventive shows that its uses have not been influenced by Aramaic.

§5 The subjunctive

Examples of the subjunctive are given in the tables at the end of *part 2*. As in earlier phases of Akkadian, the subjunctive continues to be written in relative clauses and after subordinating conjunctions. However, it can only be seen clearly in the (non-ventive) singular and 1cpl forms of final weak verbs⁴¹ or predicative adjectives.⁴² It is also distinguished in the Gt (futurum exactum) of *nadānu*. (See note 2 at the end of c, above.) The one exception to the consistent use of the subjunctive occurs in the relative clause in the statements of debt accruing interest in the texts from Babylon, in which the indicative is often used instead.⁴³

For comments on the subjunctive in roots with a strong final consonant, see *part 2* 3b,c, below.

⁴⁰ “Der Ventif des Akkadischen”, ZA 35 (1925), 113–123. The term “Ventif” was first coined by him on p113. Some scholars such as S. Langdon and Ebeling used the term “allative”.

⁴¹ E.g. with *leqû* in: PN...šá ár-ka-tu, PN₂ il-qu-ú “PN..., who took the legacy of PN₂”, YOS 7 66: 4...5 (Cyr yr 7, U).

⁴² E.g. *mala bašû*.

⁴³ Contrast: ú-il-ti šá 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR šá UR,RA i-rab-bu-ú “(regarding) an IOU for 10 shekels of silver, which is accruing interest”, TCL 13 144: 2 (nom, subj) (Cyr yr 9), and: (n silver) šá III ina muh-hi 1 ma-né-e 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina muh-hi-šú-nu i-rab-bi “(a debt of) n silver, which is growing at the rate of one shekel of silver against one mina per month (as interest) against them (i.e. the debtors)”, Nbn 314: 19 (yr 8).

Chapter V: Nominal forms

§1 Nouns and adjectives

a) The singular and plural of nominal forms

i) In singular nominal forms ending in a strong consonant there is a considerable variety of spellings of the final syllable, although *Cu* or (for the feminine) *tu*₍₄₎ endings continue to be most used. This variety of endings is caused by the loss of the final vowel, as exemplified by the following:¹

ina u₄-mu ina ši-mit it-I tal^l-ku-³ “on the day they die”, YOS 7 17: 12 (Cyr yr 3, U)

ši-zib...i-šab-ba-tu “they will deliver...milk”, YOS 7 79: 14...15 (Cyr yr 8, U)

ku-pur “bitumen”, VS 6 84: 5, 9, 15 (Nbn yr 12, B)

bu-qul us-ha-nu “uproot the hops”, (2mpl ventive impv) CT 22 79: 20 (545–527, B)

pu-ut ma-aš-šar-tu₄ šá ú-hi-in na-ši “he is responsible for watching the green dates”, YOS 7 162: 9 10 (Camb yr 3, U)

Nominative and oblique forms are not differentiated except in the case of oblique msg nominal forms having a 1cs possessive suffix, e.g. (*ina*) *muhhia* (see §4 c i, below²). The loss of differentiation is best seen in the examples of final weak nouns (cf. verbs), of which the following examples are all oblique:

a-sur-ru-ú “foundation”,³ YOS 7 2: 9 (U), BIN 1 118: 12 (U), VS 4 66: 10 (B), Dar 499: 9 (B) and elsewhere.

DUMU-šú šá UGU ti-lu-ú “her son, who is on the breast” (i.e. a “babe in arms”), Nbn 832: 2, 9 (yr 15, B)

a-ka-lu bab-ba-nu-ú i-nam-din “he is to give good food”, VS 6 104: 10 (Cyr yr 8, B)

*a-na *bab!-ba-nu-ú lid-din-nu-³* “may they give at the good (exchange-) rate”, CT 22 148: 14 (letter, 545–527, B) cf. line 17.

ku-um šu-gar-ru-ú “as a bonus”, Dar 378: 7 (yr 14, B)

¹ See also the Graeco-Babyloniaca texts for further evidence that final vowels in these cases were not pronounced. The fact that CVCCV spellings are more popular than CVCVC spellings is presumably due to conservative scribal habits, as discussed in part 2 sections §2 and §5.

² §4c also has examples of historically correct spellings of *nudunnû* with suffixes in Nbn 356.

³ The phrase is *ūru išanni batqa ša asurrû/asurrê išabbat* “he is to keep the roof waterproofed and undertake the repairs to the foundation(s)”. Plural citations are in ii, below.

qaq-qar...ka-sa-al ù ka-lu-ú...bi-in-na-nim-ma “give me flooded or salinated land...”, YOS 6 33: 4 (Nbn yr 3, U), cf. YOS 6 41: 10–12 and TCL 12 90: 22 (all from Uruk and written by the same scribe)

ina muh-hi 1 ma-né-e... “against one mina...”, Camb 379: 7–8 (yr 7, B)

ul-tu É ka-re-e il-sum-ma “he ran from the storehouse...”, YOS 7 198: 17 (Camb yr 6, U)

PN ŠEŠ-šú *mul-le-e a-na muh-hi-šú un-da-al-lu* “PN his brother is to give (futurum exactum) compensation himself”, YOS 7 77: 6–7 (Cyr yr 8, U)⁴

Although -û endings are common among oblique forms, -ê does not seem to be found in nominative forms:

u₄-mu pa-tu-ú ia-a-nu “there is no day off”, YOS 3 113: 25–26 (letter, early Cyr, U)

⌋(or) *ina u₄-mu ú-du-ú...mim-ma šá ár-ki u-de-e...it-ta-aš-ba-tu...* “if, in the future (any other) item anything (coming) after the items (in question) are found...”, TCL 13 142: 7...12 (Cyr yr 7, U)

ii) Plurals of nominal forms

The corpora contain very few examples of plural nouns which are not written in some way logographically.⁵ Most are written either fully with logograms (exx. ZÚ.LUM.MA, LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ, DUMU.MEŠ) or syllabically, in the singular, with MEŠ or ME (exx. UDU.NITÁ.par-ra-tu₄.MEŠ, ú-il-tì.ME).

The evidence indicates the following plural endings exist. There is no case distinction.⁶

mpl	-ē (-ê)	-ān, -ānē; (-ân, -ânē)
fpl	-āt, -ēt ⁷	(-ât/-êt)

Examples:

LÚ.pa-qu-de-e “delegates”, BIN 1 169: 14 (B)

u-de-é eš-ru-tu “items in good order”, Dar 280: 16 (yr 10, B)

LÚ.mu-sah-re-e “buying agents”, Stigers 36: 5 (U)

⁴ Apodosis of a conditional sentence introduced by *ina ūm*. The text concerns PN bailing his brother out of detention on the condition that his brother keeps away from the alehouse. If his brother is found there PN has only himself to blame. See *mullû*, AHW p670f. CAD interprets it differently: “should PN be seen (again) in the tavern, his brother will give him his just deserts”, A/II *mullû* A p189f.

⁵ Singular forms are more often written syllabically.

⁶ Final weak endings, where attested, are given in parentheses.

⁷ The vowel change appears to be due to vowel harmony, as noted in Kuyunjik NB by Woodington (p61).

a-sur-re-e “foundations”, Cyr 177: 16 (B), Dar 378: 6 (B)

ka-lu-me-e “lambs”, Peek 22: 5, 12 (B)

si-mir-re-e-šú “his fetters”, YOS 7 88: 17 (U)

LÚ.qí-pa-a-ni “deputies”, TCL 13 124: 1 (U), RA 11: 20 (U)

nu-dun-na-né-e “dowries”,⁸ Dar 379: 65 (B)

mu-uš-ša-né-e “exit dues”, YOS 3 79: 36 (U)

e-lat re-ha-a-nu mah-ru-tu “this is on top of (any) earlier remaining debts”, TCL 13 165: 13 (Camb yr 4, U)

pa-áš-ka-ni-šú i-šaq-qu “he is to water its obstructions (i.e. soil lumps)”, VS 5 49: 14 (Camb yr 4, B)

ak-kul-lat “clods, clumps”, Camb 142: 7 (B)

šul-lul-ta-a-ta “thirds” (sg *šullultu*), YOS 7 79: 15 (U)

ha-ša-ra-a-ta “storage depots” (sg *hašāru*), TCL 13 182: 13 (U)

LÚ.EN.MES *pi-iq-né-e-tú* “deputies”, YOS 6 41: 9 (Nbn yr 3, U)⁹

hi-ših-he-e-ti “requisites”, YOS 3 79: 19 (U)

b) The construct

The construct survives mostly in frozen forms only, although a few examples of its productive use are noted:

ZAG A.ŠÀ.ME NÍG.GA¹⁰ FDN *u* FDN₂ “tax on the fields belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanâ”, TCL 13 181: 5 (Dar yr 2, U)

The construct has largely been replaced by the periphrastic genitive using *ša*. For a full examination of the construct and the periphrastic genitive see “*ša*”, II §2 cc, above.

c) Participles and adjectival forms denoting an activity:

i) Not many examples of participles can be found in the texts under scrutiny here. Those that are used, are being used as nouns and are not productive as participles of a verb, with the possible exception of *nādin*.

(LÚ.) *bātiq* “denouncer, informer”, YOS 6 191: 1, 231: 1, 203: 1, 214: 1, TCL 12 106: 2 (all are Nbn texts from Uruk)

⁸ Sg *nudunnû*.

⁹ Cf. *pi-iq-né-e-ti* in TCL 12 90: 2, 8 (B). The singular is *piqittu*.

¹⁰ *imit eqlēt makkūr*.

LÚ.man-di-di “measurer”, YOS 3 113: 18, 22 (U), cf. TCL 13 182: 27 (U)

LÚ.na-di-na nu-dun-nu-ú “the giver of the dowry”, Nbn 1113: 27 (after yr 7, B)

Sometimes they occur in apposition to another noun:

šu-pur PN na-din É “the nailprint of PN the seller of the house”, VS 5 38: 51 (Cyr yr 6, B) cf. the similar Camb 428: 22, TCL 13 190: 45 and Dar 26: 42 (all B)

[l]u-ú DUMU ša-bit ŠU.ii-i-ni šu-ú “let him be a son, our helping hand”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 11 (yr 9, B)

(ana) dGAŠAN a-šib-ti GN “(for) the Lady who dwells in Uruk”, YOS 6 71: 23 (Nbn yr 6, U)

Although D and Š participles are attested often in personal names (exx. *mušallim*, *mukīn*, *muballit*, *munahhiš*, *mušētiq*, *mušēzib*) the following are the only ones found outside them, and again they are purely nominal:

mukinnu “witness”, *passim*

musahhiru “buying agent, deputy”, YOS 7 70: 6, Stigers 36: 5, as a plural LÚ.mu-sah-re-e (both U)

There are two examples of a Š participle:

^fPN...mu-še-ni-iq-qí-ti “^fPN the wet nurse”, BE 8 47: 1...2 (Nbn yr 5, B)

PN...LÚ.mu-šá-kiš GU₄.MEŠ šá LUGAL “PN...the feeder of the king’s oxen”, YOS 7 146: 10...11 (Camb yr 3, U)

ii) Other adjectival forms denoting performers of an activity

The particularising morpheme *-ān(u)* on a verbal root results in an adjective denoting a particular activity specific to a situation, such as stealing (in a particular situation) or serving:

LÚ.pa-qé-er-a-nu “claimant”, Nbn 293: 35 (B), cf. VS 5 38: 38 (B)

LÚ.ta-ba-(a)-la-nu “pilferer”, YOS 6 175: 3 (U), YOS 6 191: 4 (U)

lamūtānu, *latānu* “servants, retinue” is an NB term derived by von Soden from Aramaic /*lwt*/ rather than *lamû*:¹¹

^fPN û [] la-mu-ta-nu “^fPN and [], damaged? erased? the servant”, CT 22 110: 6 (letter, 551–527, B)

MUNUS.la-ta-nu YOS 3 22: 16, YOS 6 246: 6 (both Nbn, U)

¹¹ In AHw p540a *lātānu* is given as the feminine of *lamūtānu*.

^fPN₁₋₃ PAP 3 *a-me-lut-tu₄ la-ta-ni-ia ši-i-ni* “^fPN₁₋₃, altogether they are three of my retinue”, JRAS 1926: 5 (Nbn yr 10, B)

nabalkattānu (*blkt*, N) is used passim in the Achaemenid texts in the Babylon corpus to mean “defaulter” in legal contracts:

na-bal-kát-ta-nu 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-din* “he who defaults is to pay ten shekels of silver”, VS 6 104: 20 (Cyr yr 8), cf. Cyr 64: 11. Camb 97: 11 and Dar 499: 12 use the variant spelling *na-bal-kat-ta-nu*.

The nominal form *parrās*,¹² apart from being used passim for PNs derived from professions such as *nappāhu*, is otherwise found in only one text in the corpora, and once again with nominal value:

a-ki-i LÚ.áš-ša-bé-e šá ina GN...a-šab-bu “in keeping with the tenants who live in GN”, YOS 7 186: 6...7 (Camb yr 6, U) cf. also line 9.

d) Infinitives

Although infinitives have verbal function, morphologically they are nouns. They are mostly used with *ana* and *ina* as well as other prepositions and often as the *regens* in a periphrastic genitive. G, D and Š forms are attested:

i) Roots with a strong final consonant:

na-da-nu šá TUG.BAR.DUL₅...ia-a-nu “there was no giving of a *kusītu* garment”, YOS 6 71: 28...29 (Nbn yr 6, U)

i-<na> MU.AN.NA y ŠE.BAR z ZÚ.LUM.MA...a-na na-da-a-ni a-na NÍG.GA é-an-na UGU-šú iš-ku-nu “they imposed on him the giving of y barley and z dates to Eanna property per year”, TCL 13 182: 17–18 (Dar yr 2, U)

ina la qa-re-bi šá PN “in the absence of PN”, YOS 6 78: 9 (Nbn yr 4, U) cf. Liv 19: 6 (*qé-re-bi*) (B)¹³

a-di-i pa-ra-su tu-šak-ka-al-la “she is to nourish (the baby) until weaning time”, BE 8 47: 3–4 (Nbn yr 5, B)

PN *a-na gu-ul-lu-bu i-na ma-har DN ta-a-bi* “PN is fit for (ritual) shaving before Kanisurra”, AnOr 8 48: 28 (Cyr yr 5, U). See also line 20.

There are many instances of *pūt* ...infinitive...*našû* “to be responsible for...”:

PN *pu-ut e-ter KÙ.BABBAR na-ši* “PN is responsible for paying back the silver”, Cyr 177: 13–14 (yr 4, B) cf. Nbn 314: 14–16, VS 4 60: 13–14 (all B)

pu-us-su-nu a-na la ha-la-qu na-šá-a-ka “I am responsible for their not escaping”, YOS 7 70: 17 (Cyr yr 8, U)

¹² Cf. the intensive or habitual adjectival *parras* (GAG §55 c23).

¹³ See CAD *qerēbu* 1d, p230a.

pu-ut tur-ra šá GIŠ.MÁ a-na GN PN ù PN₂ na-šu-ú “PN and PN₂ are responsible for returning the boat to Uruk”, AnOr 8 40: 6–8 (Cyr yr 3, U)

Babylon also regularly uses:

i-na ka-na-ku IM.DUB šu-a-ti “at the sealing of that tablet...”, TCL 13 190: 13 (Dar yr 12), cf. Nbn 293: 37¹⁴, VS 5 74/75: 23

and *i-na šá-ṭa-ri šá ṭup-pi MU.MEŠ* “at the writing of that tablet”, Camb 349: 32, cf. Dar 379: 70: ^fPN... šá PN AD-šú ^fritl-tu₄-šú šá-ṭa-ru šá LÚ.se-pi-ru iš-ṭu-ur “(regarding) ^fPN... whose father PN had put the writing of an (Aramaic) scribe on her wrist”, AnOr 8 74: 3–4 (Camb yr 4, U)

and *ina a-šá-bi šá ^fPN* “in the presence of ^fPN”, VS 5 73: 20 (Dar yr 10, B)

The following two infinitives have replaced finite verbs in a hendiadys construction (II §1 iv, above):

ù áš-šú ma-ti-ma la sa-ha-ri-im-ma a-na UGU LÚ-tú šu-a-tú la ra-ga-mu...ṭup-pi iš-ṭu-ru-ma... “so that there would never be another claim made regarding those servants...they wrote a tablet...”, Nbn 668: 17...20 (yr 12, B)

ii) Final weak roots:

PN u PN₂ a-na UGU šu-li-i šá ZÚ.LUM.MA šu-up-ra-’ “contact PN and PN₂ about the shipping of the dates”, YOS 3 29: 8–13 (letter, Camb? U), cf.:

ina UGU (items) a-na šu-lu-ú^mEN la i-sel-li “regarding (the items) for loading, may Sir not be lax”, YOS 3 19: 29...31 (letter, early Cyr, U)

PN a-na u₄-mu ru-qu-tu mam-ma šá-nam-ma a-na la la-qé-e GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.MEŠ ...ṭup-pi iš-ṭur-ma “so that in the future no different person would take the prebends...PN wrote up a tablet...”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 12...14 (Nbn y 9, B) cf.:

a-na la e-né-e ^fPN šá-ṭa-ri taš-tú-ur-ma “so there could be no change, ^fPN made a written record...”, Cyr 337: 17 (yr 9, B)

e) Abstract nouns

As in earlier Babylonian, abstract nouns are formed by the addition of *-ūt(u)*, usually spelled *x-ú-tu*:¹⁵

LÚ.GÚ.GAL-ú-tu “canal inspectorship”, YOS 7 38: 5 (U)

IM.DUB DUMU-ú-tu “tablet of adoption”, AnOr 8 48: 17 (Cyr yr 5, U). See also lines 19 and 25.

LÚ.mu-kin-nu-tu “the giving of evidence”, YOS 6 108: 1 (U), Iraq 13: 18 (U), VS 5 57/58: 14 (B) and elsewhere, cf.:

a-na LÚ.mu-kin-nu-ú-tu ú-še-eš-še-bu “they will make sit to give evidence”, VS 6 175: 1 (Cyr yr 2, B). See also YOS 6 175: 1

¹⁴ *i-na ka-na-ku-ka*.

¹⁵ Most of the examples are logographic.

ra-sin-ú-tu “soaking”, YOS 7 79: 7 (U). See also line 1.

LÚ.MU-ú-tu LÚ.BAPPIR-ú-tu šá PN...a-na e-piš-nu-tu a-na PN₂ id-din pu-ut
LÚ.MU-ú-tu LÚ.BAPPIR-ú-tu...na-ši “(regarding) the baking and brewing
prebends which PN gave to PN₂ to do,¹⁶ he is responsible for the baking and
brewing prebends”, VS 6 104: 1...10 (Cyr yr 8, B)

For other examples see YOS 6 108: 1, YOS 6 79: 16, YOS 7 162: 5 (all U).

f) Collectives are usually singular forms functioning as plurals:

amēlūt “servants”¹⁷

LÚ.ši-ra-ku “širkus”,¹⁸ GCCI 2 103: 5 (U)

KU₆.HI.A bi-i-šú “bad fish”, YOS 7 90: 15 (Cyr yr 5, U)

For examples with adjectives see g, below. In the following the collective is qualified by the msg participle *i-pu-uš* (for *ēpiš*). The word order precludes a finite or predicative (active stative) form:

LÚ.RIG₇.MEŠ *i-pu-uš dul-la šá é-an-na* “the širkus who do the work in Eanna”,
YOS 6 108: 5–6 (Nbn yr 8, U).

In this example the collective LÚ.qaštu governs a fsg stative:

GIŠ.DA šá LÚ.PAN.MEŠ...ina muh-hi šaṭ-ra-tu “the ledger on which the bow-
fief men are recorded”, YOS 6 116: 8...9 (Nbn yr 10, U)

g) Adjectives

In the texts under scrutiny here, predicative verbal adjectives in subordinate clauses are often found instead of attributive adjectives. However, those few examples that do exist follow the patterns:¹⁹

msg C, Cv; (-û)

mpl -ūt; (-ût)

fsg -t

fpl -āt, -ēt; (-êt)

(la-pa-ni) mu-ti-šú mah-ru-ú “(by) her first husband”, CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 6
(Nbn yr 9, B)

É ab-ta “ruined house”, Camb 423: 1 (B)

¹⁶ The word *ēpišānūtu* specifically refers to the carrying out of prebendal duties.

¹⁷ The spellings are various: LÚ-tú in Nbn 668: 5, 19 (B); a-me-lut-tu₄ in JRAS 1926: 5 (B) and YOS 6 219: 3 (U); a-me-lu-ut-tu₄ in Dar 379: 51 (B) etc. It can also be used as a singular, cf.: a-me-lut-tu₄ šu-a-tu₄, “that servant” (referring to a male slave), VS 5 46: 7–8 (B).

¹⁸ In CAD Š/III (širku A, p110) the problematic variant spellings of the plural of širku are discussed. To me, the variant spellings such as ši-ra-ki, ši-ra-ku, ši-rak-ki.MEŠ and LÚ.šiš.MEŠ-ki suggest a plural *širk and the variant *šišk, or *širak, rather than *širakū.

¹⁹ Final weak endings are again given in parentheses.

5 GUR ŠE.BAR *la-bi-ru* “5 kur of old²⁰ barley”, YOS 7 99: 1 (Camb acc, B)

6 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pe-šu!-ú* “six minas of white silver”, JAOS 36: 20–21 (letter, 538–532, U) (object case)

ŠEŠ-šú *ra-bu-ú* “his elder brother”, AnOr 8 48: 27 (U) (subject case)

u₄-mu pa-tu-ú ia-a-nu “there is no day off”, YOS 3 113: 25–26 (letter, U)

(*ina* UGU) KA-*i mar-šu* “(because of) bad talk”, YOS 3 19: 23 (letter, U)

fsg

te-er-si-tu₄ ga-mir-tu₄ “everything needed”, VS 6 84: 6–7 (Nbn, B)

qal-lat-su-nu ša-hir-tu₄ “their female slave-child”, Nbn 693: 4 (B)

LÚ-tú *ha-liq-tu* “lost servant”, TCL 13 160: 13 (B)

½ GÚ.UN [...] *ši-bir-ti* “half a talent...broken up”, TCL 13 190: 15 (Dar yr 12, B)

In the following it is unclear whether the adjectives are singular or plural. In the first, *Miširîṭ* may refer to ^fPN only, and in the second, as it concerns a number, the qualifying adjective could be singular, cf. *labīru*, above. However, the spellings may simply be by-forms of the plural, i.e. *Miširêṭ*, *Akkadêṭ babbanêṭ*:

^fPN...ù DUMU.MUNUS-šú...KUR.*mi-šir-’-i-tu₄* “^fPN...and her (baby) daughter...Egyptians”, Camb 334: 3...4 (yr 6, B)

UDU.NITÁ *par-ra-tu₄.MEŠ a₄ 30 ak-ka-di-i-tu₄ bab-ba-ni-tu₄* “the (aforementioned) young sheep, thirty fine Akkadian (ones)”, Dar 297: 5–6 (yr 11, B)

mpl

UD.MEŠ *ma-du-ti* “many days”, Nbn 1113: 17 (after yr 7, B)

GIŠ.ÛR *a-ba-lu-tu₄ pe-ti-nu-tu* “dry, sturdy logs”, Nbn 441: 5–6 (yr 10, B)

me-e har-pu!-tu i-ša-q-qu “he will irrigate using early (flood) waters”, VS V 49: 8 (Camb yr 4, B)

u-de-é eš-ru-tu i-nam-din “he will give the items back in good order”, Dar 280: 6–7 (yr 10, B)²¹

60 DUG.*tan-nu-tu re-qu-tu* “60 empty barrels”, Dar 395/396: 1 (yr 3, B)

[*pa¹-ni ha-du-tu* “happy face” (plurale tantum), JNES 1993: 7 (letter, Nbn yr 17? U)

[2 *lahru* 1 U]DU *ka-lum bal-tu-tu* “two ewes and one yearling sheep, alive”, YOS 6 137: 18–19, also line 21 (Nbn, U)

²⁰ In reality the adjective applies to the 5 GUR, not the ŠE.BAR (=uttetu). See §2, below (numbers).

²¹ Cf. CAD *išaru* 2, “in good condition”, I, p225.

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *mi-tu-tu ab-ku-tu ù hal-qu-tu* “deceased, abducted, or missing workers”, RA 11: 30–31, also 14–15 (letter, 533–532, U), cf. TCL 13 150: 1–2 (§3a, below)

re-ha-a-nu mah-ru-tu “earlier remaining (debts)”, TCL 13 165: 13 (Camb yr 4, U)

fpl

SUM.SAR *eš-še-tu* “new garlic”,²² CT 22 81: 17 (letter, B)

qu-ru-bé-e-tu₄ “presented” (referring to two goats and a ewe), CT 22 82: 25 (letter, Dar, B)

e-lat ú-íl-tì.MEŠ mah-re-e-tú “on top of superseding(? earlier?) IOU’s”, Nbn 344: 9 (yr 9, B), cf. *mah-re-e-tu₄* in AnOr 8 68: 13 (Camb yr 3, B) and VS 4 107: 6 (Dar yr 16? B).

Collectives take singular adjectives:

LÚ.*a-me-lu-su-nu hal-liq-tu₄* “their missing servants”, Dar 379: 57 (yr 14, B)

KU₆.HI.A *bi-i-šú* “bad fish”, YOS 7 90: 15 (Cyr yr 5, U)

D and Š adjectives are also attested:

KU₆.HI.A *ru-uh-hu* “selected fish”, Nbn 293: 16 (B)²³

LÚ.*qa-l-la-šú uš-šu-ru* “his marked slave”, Dar 492: 2 (yr 19, B)

1 U₈ *mu-uš-šu-uš-tu₄* “one loose ewe”, TCL 13 134: 4 (Cyr yr 4, U)

GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ *su-up-pu-hu-tu* “scattered date palms”, Nbn 293: 1 (B)²⁴

LÚ.ERÍN ŠU.II *šu-ul-su-du-ú-tu* “well-equipped²⁵ helpers”, TCL 13 150: 1–2 (Camb yr 2, U)

Note: there is one example of an adjective used as a predicate:

KÙ.BABBAR *qa-al-la-al šá a-na ZÚ.LUM.MA in-na-din* “the silver is too inferior²⁶ to be given for the dates”, CT 22 182: 6–8 (letter, pre-526, B)

²² See AHW entries for *šumu*, “garlic”, which is sometimes treated as fpl. See also CAD *eššu* c, p375b, which has two NB entries in the plural, both written *eš-še-e-tú*.

²³ From *rêhu* D, i.e. “made to remain”. Von Soden (AHW p993b) notes that the idea of *ruhhu* meaning “selected”, is based on the interpretation in CAD I, p164b (*ippatu*).

²⁴ To be contrasted with GIŠIMMAR.MEŠ *sap-hu-tu* in Camb 286: 1–2 (B).

²⁵ From *šuršudu* “well-founded, established, fixed, solid, well-equipped”. See CAD Š/III pp364bf.

²⁶ See CAD (Q, p60) for the intensive adjective *qallalu*, “of poor quality”. See also VI §1 a, below. See the end of c, above for comments on the forms *parrās*, *parras*.

h) *kilallē*²⁷

LÚ.šà-tam šá ki-la-le-e at-ta “you are šatammu of both (temples)”, YOS 3 8: 29 (letter, early Dar? U)

i) *gabbi* and *kalu*

The invariable collective pronoun *gabbi* (virtually always spelled *gab-bi*)²⁸ “all, everything”, has almost completely replaced the Common Semitic *kalu*. It is usually used in apposition to a noun and comes after that noun. It is therefore like an adjective but without agreement (cf. *agâ*, §4 k, below). In the first example it is an independent pronoun:

LÚ.HUN.GÁ.MEŠ *ia-a-nu gab-bi a-na MN it-tal-ku-*’ “there are no hired men. They all went away in Dûzu”, YOS 3 69: 4–5 (letter, 539–526, U)

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ *gab-bi ma-la a-na a-kan-na EN iš-pu-ra..* “all the soldiers that Sir sent here.”, JNES 1993: 32–33 (letter, Nbn yr 17? U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA *gab-bi ul ú-šá-az-ziz* “the dates are all unregistered”, YOS 3 83: 8 (letter, end Cyr, U)²⁹

A.ŠÀ *gab-bi* “all of the field”, VS 5 49: 2 (Camb yr 4, B)

ina ku-ta-al-li-ia PN u DUMU.MEŠ LÚ.si-si-i gab-bi uk-ti-il “he detained PN and all the horsemen behind my back”, CT 22 74: 8–10 (letter, middle Dar? B)

Note: There is just one example of *kalu* in these texts. Unlike *gabbi*, it functions as a noun in construct and is probably a frozen expression:

man-za-al-tu, LÚ.ŠU.HA-ú-tu šá kal MU.AN.NA “(regarding) the fishing duty for the whole of the year”, YOS 7 12: 2 (Cyr yr 2, U)

²⁷ The examples in CAD (*kilallān* a, d’, p354b and AHW, p475b) suggest *kilallē* is non-literary NB. The examples of NB *kilallān* and the feminine *kilattān* are from literary NB texts (CAD a, e’ p354b).

²⁸ *gab-ba* in: ŠE.BAR *a-na GIŠ.BÁN-ia gab-ba la en-de-e-tu, al-la-*’ n GUR “the barley yield for my farm-lease is not all estimated apart from n kur”, YOS 3 8: 7–9 (letter, early Dar? U).

²⁹ Cf. line 16: *mah-ru-tu šá ú-šá-az-zi-zu* “the first ones which do get registered”, impersonal subject; see VI §2, below.

§2 Numbers

a) Cardinal numbers

For the most comprehensive analysis of numbers in NB see part one of Streck (1995). The material in my corpora, where not used by him, mostly support his findings. Numbers 1–10 have what Streck call Genuskongruenz, with 1+*en* for masc, 1+*et* for fem “one”, *n-ta* for fem and *n* for masc for 2–10, i.e. the expected polarity is absent. There is no evidence that the *-ta* ending is the logographic TA; rather it is a feminine complement. Streck, in his references to earlier discussions on the subject (§28, 23–26), finds that, as early as in 1904, Clay noted that it was a phonetic complement in numerals connected with feminine substantives (BE 10, p23, note to no. 6 line 1) and is therefore not the distributive TA (.ÀM):

i) *ištēn*, *ištēt*:³⁰

1+*en* GU₄ *bi-i-ri šá ina lîb-bi i-ma-al-la-ad-du* “one/any male calf which may be born” Dar 257: 6 (yr 9, B)

ina UGU 1+*et rit-ti* “in one go”, Joannès TEBR 39: 9 (Camb yr 2, U), cf. Nbn 344: 5 and TCL 13 182: 26. Contrast with the exception *ina muh-hi 1-ta rit-tu₄*, AUWE 5 70: 7 (Camb, U)

1+*et ši-pir-ta-ka* “one letter of yours”, CT 22 6: 41 (letter, Cyr? B). Contrast with the exceptional 1+*en ši-pir-tu₄*, CT 22 194: 25 (letter, end Nbn?, B)

PN...ù PN₂ ŠEŠ-šú *ra-bu-ú šá iš-te-et* AMA šú-*nu* “PN...and PN₂, his elder brother, who are of one mother”, AnOr 8 48: 27 (Cyr yr 5, U)

ii) 2–10:

2-*ta* MU.AN.NA.MEŠ “two years”, TCL 13 187: 9 (Dar yr 16, B)

2 ZÁH *ul-tu É EN-ia ad-di-ma* “I planned³¹ two escapes³² from my owner’s house”, Nbn 1113: 17 (after yr 7, B)

PAP 3-*ta a-me-lut ut-su* “altogether, three servants of his”, Nbn 273: 4 (yr 7, B), cf. Nbn 760: 13 (5-*ta a-me-lut-tu₄*) and YOS 7 164: 4 (see iv, below). Contrast these with PAP 3 LÚ-tú šá PN “three servants of PN”, Nbn 832: 3 (yr 15, B)

a-na 5 LÚ.mu-sah-re-e...*id-din* “give...to the five assistants”, Stigers 36: 5–6 (Dar yr 12, U)

iii) Larger numbers:

1 ME ERÍN.MEŠ “100 workers”, YOS 3 200: 45 (letter, early Camb, U)

³⁰ *ištēt* is usually spelled 1+*et*, but note ^fPN 1+*et-tu₄*, LÚ.a-me-lut-tu₄ “^fPN, one servant”, in Nbn 990: 9–10 (yr 16, B).

³¹ For *nadû* “to plan”, see CAD *nadû* 2h, 87b–88.

³² Assuming the infinitive, *halāqu*.

ina MN 2 ME GU₄.ME *ba-ab-tu₄* 4 ME GU₄.ME 50 LÚ.ša-bi LÚ.IGI LÚ.LIBIR LÚ.ša-har...a-na PN *i-na-ad-di-nu-ma...* “in Dûzu he is to give 200 oxen, the balance of the 400 oxen, 50 workers, the seniors (superiors?), elderly (and) young...to PN...”, TCL 13 182: 20...22 (Dar yr 2, U)

2 LIM *li-bit-tu₄* “2000 bricks”, Nbn 256: 6 (yr 7, B) (collective)

12 LIM *a-gur-ru* AnOr 8 52: 9 (Cyr yr 6, U) (collective)

iv) Numbers in the expression of age:

DUMU ITI U₄.MEŠ “a month-old baby”, VS 5 35: 4 (Cyr yr 1, B)

DUMU.MUNUS-šú DUMU 3 ITI.MEŠ “her daughter, a three month-old baby”, Camb 334: 3 (yr 6, B)

PN DUMU 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ù PN₂ DUMU 4 MU PAP 2-ta LÚ-ut-ta-šú-nu “PN, five years old, and PN₂, four. Altogether, two servants of theirs”, YOS 7 164: 2–4 (Camb yr 4, U)

†PN MUNUS.*qal-lat-su-nu ša-hir-tu₄* šá 6 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ-šú “†PN, their little slave girl, who is six years old”, Nbn 693: 3–5 (yr 13, B)

1 ANŠE *šal-mu* 6-ú “a six year-old black donkey”, Dar 550: 1 (yr 22, B)

1 GU₄ 4-ú šá PN 1 GU₄ 4-ú šá PN₂ “one four-year-old ox of PN, one four-year-old ox of PN₂”, TCL 13 164: 2, 3 (Camb yr 4, U)

2-ú-tu ú-qa-ti-ma “(any male calf) is to reach two years of age”,³³ Dar 257: 7 (yr 9, B)

b) Ordinals

Only those for “one” and “two” are attested in the two corpora. See Streck §§ 46–49, 59–61.

i) *mahrû/mahrîtu* “first,³⁴ former, earlier³⁵”:

É *maš-ka-nu mah-ru-ú* “former pledge property”, Nbn 344: 7 (yr 9, B), cf. Nbn 605: 7 É *maš-ka-ni-šú mah-ru-ú* “his former pledge property”

ina ITI ŠE IGI-ú “in the first Addaru”, VS 4 107: 5 (Dar yr 16? B) as opposed to ITI ŠE *ár-ku-ú*, Dar 366: 22

e-lat 2 LIM *li-bit-tu₄ mah-rî-tu₄* “(this is) in addition to 2000 earlier bricks (collective)”, Nbn 256: 6–7 (yr 7, B)

ra-šû-tú IGI-ti “the earlier debit”, Camb 322: 16 (yr 1? B)

ina MU.AN.NA IGI-ti “in the first year”, TCL 13 182: 11, 14 (Dar yr 2, U)

³³ See CAD *šunu*’*ûtu*, an untranslated hapax (Š/III, p314a). Contrast this with the older CAD entry in *qatû* 4b “bring to an end/to bring to term”, translated “she is to bring to term a second (calf)”. However, the spelling *tu-ú-qa-ti-ma* would be quite exceptional for *tuqattima*, so I have interpreted *šunu*’*ûtu* as the state of being two years old.

³⁴ Streck, §46, p59, cites three Nbn texts which use *ištēn/ištēt* for “first”.

³⁵ “Earlier” as opposed to *arkû*.

ú-il-ti.MEŠ mah-re-e-tu, “former IOUs”, VS 4 107: 5–6 (Dar yr 16? B), cf. ú-il-ti IGI-tu, Nbn 605: 9 (yr 12, B)

ii) *šanû/šanītu* “second, other”:

MU-šú 2-ú “his second/other name”, TCL 13 193: 3 (Dar yr 16, B)

ina MU.AN.NA šá-ni-ti “in the second year”, TCL 13 182: 19 (Dar yr 2, U)

c) There are different ways of writing the same fractions:

mi-šil MU (AN.NA) “middle of the year”, passim

$\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN *mi-šil bit-qa* KÙ.GI “half a shekel (and) half of an eighth of a shekel of gold”, YOS 6 223: 8 (Nbn yr 12, U)

UDU.NÍTA.ME ina UNUG KI šá al-la šá ina EDIN ma-a-du-³⁶ u $\frac{1}{2}$ -ú ub-ba-lu “the sheep in Uruk which are not in the open are many and are fetching half (their normal price³⁶)”, YOS 3 87: 25–27 (letter, 533–526, U). See also 17–18.

šal-ši HA.LA “third share”, YOS 6 33: 13 (Nbn yr 3, U), cf. YOS 6 67: 16 šal-šú HA.LA (Nbn yr 4, U)

3-šú ina in-bi ik-kal “he may consume one third of their fruit”, VS 5 49: 10 (Camb yr 4, B)

There is also a form *šullultu*, which according to Streck is used with thirds of shekels (see his two examples from Nbn, §57 p66f). Two further examples are given below, the second of which indicates that its use was not limited to shekels and that it had an anomalous plural *šullultāt* :

ITI šul-lul-tú 1 GÍN...PN a-na PN₂ i-nam-din “per month, PN is to give $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel to PN₂”, BE 8 47: 4...5 (Nbn yr 5, B)

ina ITI.MEŠ a₄ 8 šul-lul-ta-a-ta ši-zib...i-šab-ba-tu “in the aforementioned 8 months, each will deliver one third share of milk”, YOS 7 79: 14...15 (Cyr yr 8, U)

3-ta 4-tú.ME ina ŠU.II PN...an-da-har “I received three quarter (-shekel) pieces³⁷ from PN”, YOS 6 223: 9...10 (Nbn yr 12, U)

8 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.BABBAR “8 $\frac{1}{4}$ shekels of silver”, AnOr 8 40: 3 (Cyr yr 3, U)

5-šú HA.LA ina e-bu-ru...ik-kal-³⁷ “(...they) may consume a one fifth share of the harvest”, YOS 7 167: 11...12 (Camb yr 4, U)

ešrû “one tenth; tithe tax”:

10-ú nu-u-nu...ni-nam-din “we shall give one tenth of the fish...”, TCL 13 163: 17...18 (Camb yr 3, U)

³⁶ As explained above in chapter I §2 b n31 p28, x n *kaspa ubbal* means “x is worth n silver” in NB.

³⁷ *rebīt* “quarter-shekel”. Streck §58, p67.

eš-ru-ú CT22 78: 17, 22, 33 (pre-526, B) cf. CT 22 8: 6 10-ú šá DN “the tithe of Nergal” (B).

$\frac{1}{24}$ th of a shekel = *girû*³⁸

ina lib-bi 6½ GÍN *gír-ú* LÁ-*ti* “6½ shekels minus $\frac{1}{24}$ th therefrom”, AnOr 8 40: 9 (Cyr yr 3, U)

8½ GÍN *gír-ú* KÙ.GI “8½ shekels and $\frac{1}{24}$ th of a shekel of gold”, YOS 6 223: 2 (Nbn yr 12, U)

4 GUR ŠE.BAR ù *gi-ra-a a-na* PN...*i-din* “give PN four kur barley and $\frac{1}{24}$ th of a shekel”, GCC II 130: 5...7 (Dar yr 22, U)

d) Approximative numbers

When two numbers are asyndetically juxtaposed and the first is smaller than the second, this generates the approximations “between x and y; x or y”. See Streck §10,p14:

3 4 GIŠ [MÁ].MEŠ PAP.TA.ÀM 1 LÚ.<MÁ.>LAH₄ *šu-pur-am-mu* “there are three or four boats altogether, send one boatman”, YOS 3 45: 32–33 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)³⁹

20 30 GUR *ina lib-bi a-na* É GU₄.ME *in-na-* “give 20 or 30 kur therefrom, for the ox-shed”, YOS 3 113: 13–15 (letter, early Cyr, U)

5 ME 6 ME GUR ŠE.BAR “500 or 600 kur of barley”, YOS 3 52: 12 (letter, Cyr, U)

1 LIM *hu-ša-bi šá* BÀN BANMIN *ka-bir ina lib-bi id-du-ku-* “they destroyed 1000 fronds of one or two BAN (in size⁴⁰)”, YOS 3 200: 29–30 (letter, early Camb, U)

ina lib-bi šá 1-šú 2-šú *a-na muh-hi a-na* EN-ía *aq-bu-ú* “because I have spoken once or twice to my Lord...”, TCL 9 132: 12–14 (letter, Nbn yrs 1–12, U)

“n-fold” in Uruk is 1+*en* n (Streck §68b, p72). This may be an influence of Aramaic:⁴¹

1+*en* 30 *a-na* FDN *i-nam-din* “he is to give 30-fold to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 175: 8–9 (Nbn yr 12, U), cf. TCL 13 147: 8, YOS 6 122:11 and passim in YOS 7 7, etc.⁴²

³⁸ “Carob pip”, i.e. grammatically not a fraction.

³⁹ This is discussed at the end of this section, in a larger extract.

⁴⁰ The reading of BÀN and BANMIN is not clear. The units of thickness may refer to *qû*. See RIA “Masse”, p483 and CAD *qû* B4 p290. If the units are units of *qû* (SÌLA), then BÀN and BANMIN are 6 *qû* and 12 *qû* respectively. However, their actual size remains undetermined.

⁴¹ Cf. Segert (1986), *ḥd ʾlp* “thousand-fold”, literally, “one thousand”, or “a certain thousand”, 6.4.4, p146.

⁴² Some of these are given in *adi* (II §2, above).

EN⁴³ 30 *a-na* FDN *i-nam-din* “he is to give thirty-fold to the Lady-of-Uruk”,
TCL 12 106: 11 (Nbn yr 12, U)

The Babylon texts use the standard Akkadian formula *adi* n.TA.ÀM “n-fold” in:

a-di 12.TA.ÀM *i-ta-nap-pal* “he will pay twelve-fold”, VS 5 38: 38 (Cyr yr 6, B)

e) The distributive adverbial ÀM, and *ištēnâ*, “each (one), one each”

In Babylon⁴⁴ ÀM is used in the following frozen legal phrase:

1+en.ÀM (or *a₄*? See the following discussion) *šá-ta-ri il-te-qu-ú* “they each took a copy”, Nbn 243: 17–18 (yr 6), VS 5 39: 22–23 (Cyr yr 6)

and elsewhere, but with many variant spellings of *ištēnâ*: 1+en-ta *a₄* (or TA.ÀM?), 1+en-a-ta *a₄* (or TA.ÀM?), 1+en-na-ta *a₄* (or TA.ÀM?), 1+en-ni-ta-[’], 1+en-a-ta-ma, 1+en *a₄* (or ÀM?), 1+en-a.TA.AN, and 1+en-a-ta. There is a problem in interpreting the (TA).ÀM/AN seen in some of these. Streck (§61, 69–70) interprets it as a determinative and reads the attendant words as variants of *ištēnâ/ištēnû* whose endings are -a, -na, -na-a, -na-a-[’], -na-a-a-[’] (§61f–h).⁴⁵ CAD (*ištēnâ*, I/J p279a) alternates ÀM with *a₄* spellings and proposes *ištēnâ* as the reading for the variant spellings.

The variations suggest that scribes differ in their interpretations of *ištēnâ/ištēnû* as to whether it contains the distributive (TA).ÀM or not.⁴⁶ The following examples may also be explained as a use of the distributive:

um-ma 1 SÌLA.ÀM ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na su-mu-ut-tu₄ lud-da-áš-šú-nu-tu ù dul-lu li-pu-šú-[’]* “(I said) ‘let me give them one sila of dates each as a *sumuttu*-ration for them to do the work’”, YOS 3 79: 9–11 (letter, 539–526, U)

3 4 GIŠ [MÁ] MEŠ PAP.TA.ÀM 1 LÚ <MÁ>.LAH₄ *šu-pur-am-mu* 1 GIŠ.MÁ *šá pa-ni-šú ma-hír lu-up-he-e-ma lud-daš-šú* “there are three or four boats altogether, send one boatman and let me caulk and give to him (any) single boat that he fancies”, YOS 3 45: 32–35 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

⁴³ Probably meant to be 1+en rather than *adi*.

⁴⁴ There are no examples of this phrase in the Uruk corpus.

⁴⁵ In §61g (p70) he gives examples of the rarer *ištēnû/â*, with the endings -ú and -nu-ú-u[’].

⁴⁶ Since it is possible to interpret *ištēnâ* as “each of the aforementioned...”, some scribes may have even considered that *ištēnâ* involves the demonstrative *ā*, both in speaking and writing. Alternatively they may have thought the word was actually **ištēnâtā(m)* (suggestion offered by J. A. Black).

§3 Pronouns, pronominal suffixes and demonstratives.

a) Independent personal pronouns (subject case)

These are the same as the copular (anaphoric, predicative) forms:⁴⁷ Since there are not many examples, rather than giving transcriptions, the citations are given in transliteration:

	Singular	Plural
3m	<i>šu-ú</i> YOS 3 200: 45	<i>šu-nu</i> AnOr 8 70: 73, Dar 280: 7 ⁴⁸
3f	<i>ši-i</i> ⁴⁹ <i>ši-i</i> Nbn 356: 33, CT 22 48: 9	<i>ši-na</i> YOS 6 71: 20, YOS 3: 4 <i>ši-i-ni</i> JRAS 1926: 7
2m	<i>at-ta</i> RA 67: 31, CT 22: 74: 22 YOS 3 106: 9, YOS 3 8: 6	<i>at-tu-ú-nu</i> TCL 9 129: 34 <i>at-tu-nu</i> TCL 13 152: 16, YOS 3 81: 6
2f	<i>at-ta</i> YOS 3 22: 6,	(not attested)
1c	<i>a-na-ku</i> YOS 7 7: 85, 102 <i>a-na-ka</i> Dar 296: 11 <i>a-na-ku</i> CT 22 195: 16, Dar 514: 20 <i>ia-a-tú</i> Nbn 356: 4, 19 (exceptional)	<i>a-ni-ni</i> YOS 3 200: 12

b) Predicative suffixes. These are the endings (in transcription) seen on predicative verbal adjectives.⁵⁰

	Singular	Plural
3m	-∅	-ū
3f	-at	-ā
2m	-āt	-ātun
2f	-āt	(not attested)
1c	-āk	-ān

⁴⁷ Reiner calls this the “free form subject case” (1966, p101). The by-forms *iššū*, *iššūnu* etc. are discussed in I §1 d ii, above.

⁴⁸ Copular form found in the idiom *ahāt šūn*. See I §1 d i, above.

⁴⁹ MUNUS.a-mil-tu, *ši-i ta-ad-dan-nu um-ma* “this woman gave it to me”, YOS 6 235: 19 (u)

⁵⁰ i.e. *parvs* and *paris* forms; exx. *šalim*, *hepât*, *maršāk*, *huppû*, etc. For full examples and discussion see I §3, above.

c) Suffixed (possessive⁵¹) pronouns on non-verbal forms, i.e. nominal and pronominal forms and prepositions:⁵²

Singular		Plural	
3c	-šú, (-š)	3m	-šú-nu (-šun) (-sun after dental)
		3f	-ši-na (-šin)
2c	-ka (-k)	2m	-ku-nu (-kun)
		2f	(not attested)
1c	-a -u-a, ú-a (on those masculine and plural forms which have a final -ū when followed by a suffix) (ū'a)	1c	-i-ni, -e-ni (-in, -en) (īn? ēn?)

Examples (because they have more than one form, the 1cs forms are dealt with separately at the end):

ina pa-ni-šú “at his disposal”, TCL 13 182: 23 (Dar yr 2, U)

ina IGI-šú “at her disposal”, VS 4 66: 8, 12 (Cyr yr 8, B)

*nu-dun-na-šú*⁵³ *ta-šal-lim* “she will recoup her dowry”, Nbn 356: 38 (yr 9, B)

ú-íl-tì šá PN ŠEŠ-ú-ka *i-na pa-ni-ka ip-qí-du* “the IOU which PN, your (ms) brother entrusted to you”, TCL 13 181: 16 (Dar yr 2, U)

mi-na-a ina ITI 1+et ši-pir-ta-ka ul am-mar “why have I not seen a letter of yours (2ms) in a (whole) month”, CT 22 6: 41 (letter, Cyr? B)

kap-du tē-en-ka ina ŠU.II mam-ma al-la-ku lu-uš-me “quickly let me hear your (2fs) advice via any courier”, CT 22 151: 16–17 (letter, early Nbn, B), cf. *tē-en-ku-nu ana UGU lu-uš-mu* (2mpl), YOS 3 106: 38 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U).

dib-bi-šú-nu ni-iš-me-ma EŠ.BAR-šú-nu ni-ip-ru-us “let us hear their argument so that we can make a decision about them”, YOS 3 96: 16–19 (letter, 533–526, U)

É-su-nu “their house”, VS 4 66: 5 (Cyr yr 8, B)

A.ŠÀ-ši-na “their (f) field”, Nbn 359: 3 (yr 9, B)

šu-lum-ku-nu “your well-being”, CT 22 9: 5 (letter, 554–527, B)

⁵¹ Reiner calls this the “subjoined case” (1966, p101).

⁵² Written with the more usual spellings where possible, and with the probable pronunciation in parentheses.

⁵³ Unusual spelling. The usual spelling is *nu-dun-nu-ú*. Contrast this with *ku-um nu-dun-né-e-šú* “instead of her dowry”, *ibid.*: 31. This is an indication that the two scribes Nadin and Nabû-šum-iškun (patronymics lost), who wrote the document between them, could still use the historically correct forms of nouns (at least those with final long vowels). This was not the norm. See §1, above.

A.ŠÀ.MEŠ-*i-ni* “our fields”, Peek 22: 25 (letter, Dar, B)

First person singular forms (subject case):

i) masculine:

mu-ta-a “my husband”, Nbn 356: 23 (yr 9, B)

LÚ.*qal-la-a* “my slave”, Dar 53: 6 (yr 2, B)

ik-ka-a ku-ru “my patience (literally, “mood”) is short”, YOS 3 69: 23 (letter, 539–526, U)

PN ŠEŠ-*ú-a* “PN my brother”, YOS 6 79: 14 (Nbn yr 5, U)

AD-*ú-a* “my father”, CT 22 182: 5, 10⁵⁴ (letter, pre-527, B)

ŠE.NUMUN-*ú-a* “my arable land”, Cyr 337: 9 (yr 9, B)

DUMU-*ú-a*, AD-*ú-a*, DUMU-*ú-a ra-bu-ú* “my son, my father, my eldest son”, AnOr 8 47: 12, 13, 14 (Cyr yr 5, U)

nu-du-nu-ú-a šu-ú “he is my dowry”, TCL 13 179: 9 (Camb yr 3? U)

it-ta-hu-ú-a “by my side”, CT 22: 73: 5 (letter, B)

ii) feminine (subject and object cases):

DUMU *ba-nu-ta-a la i-ši* “I have no free status”, Nbn 1113: 19 (before yr 7, B)

še-bu-ta-a ak-ta-šad “I have achieved my wish”, CT 22 194: 8–9 (letter, 551–522? B)

^fPN AMA-*a* “^fPN my mother”, YOS 6 186: 4 (Nbn yr 7, U)

ši-pir-ta-a “my message”, YOS 3 21: 10, YOS 3 33: 11 (letters, Cyr–Camb; early Cyr, U)

DAM-*a* “my wife”, TCL 13 181: 11 (Dar yr 2, U)

MUNUS.*qal-lat-a* “my slave-woman”, AnOr 8 56: 10 (Cyr yr 7, U)

per-ta-a liš-ši “may he take my post”, CT 22 200: 15 (letter, Nbn? B)⁵⁵

rit-ta-a iš-tu-ur “he inscribed my hand”, Roth: 27 (Cyr yr 9, U)

Plural with 1cs ending:

[*rik*]-*sa-a-tu-u-a ta-mu-ra-a-ma* “you (pl) saw my contracts”, TCL 12 122: 17 (Nbn yr 12, B)

⁵⁴ Contrast with the five writings of AD-*ia* in the oblique cases: lines 2, 4, 15, 19, 22 in the same text.

⁵⁵ Interpretation explained in I §2 d n48 (*ana*, prepositions).

iii) As in earlier Akkadian dialects, the first person suffix on genitive case singular nominal forms and prepositions is *-ia*⁵⁶ in NB, even though the case endings have fallen out of use:

a-na PN *ma-ri-ia id-din* “give to PN, my son”, Nbn 243: 4–5 (yr 6, B)

NÍG.ŠID *šá ŠUK.HI.A-ti-íá ep-šá-a-ma* “do (2mpl impv) my rations account”, YOS 3 64: 13–14 (letter, 538–534, U)

ul-tu É šu-tu-um-mu-ia “from my storehouse”, YOS 7 42: 10 (Cyr yr 5, U)

ina pa-ni-ia, ina muh-hi-ia “before me, against me”, *passim*

it-ti PN *mu-ti-ia* “with PN, my husband”, Nbn 356: 11 (yr 9, B)

ina IM.DUB-*íá* “in my tablet”, *ibid.*: 14 but note the unexplained *ia-a-tú u* PN *mu-ti-ia* (subject cases, lines 5, 20) for the expected *a-na-ku u* PN *mu-ta-a* “my husband and I”, cf. line 23: *mu-ta-a šim-tu, ú-bil-ma* “my husband passed away...” (literally, my husband, fate took him”)

Of particular interest is CT 22 182 (letter, pre-527, B) which has the *-ia* suffixes for all the oblique forms.⁵⁷

Note: *attū-* is a pronominal particle on which personal suffixes are hung if a nominal form is not available. It is etymologically connected with the deictic particles *𐤀𐤕* in Aramaic and *ʿiyā-* in Arabic. All the attestations in the corpora are given below:

UDU.NÍTA *ul at-tu-ú-a* “the sheep was not mine”, CT 22 82: 10 (letter, middle Dar? B)

*ù at-tu-šú a-na ku-[me?]**⁵⁸ *il-ta-par-ri* “he has sent his own (sheep) instead”, *ibid.*: 28

1+en LÚ.KIN.GI₄.A-ka *at-tu-ka li-il-ki u li-ih-hi-is* “may a messenger of your own go there and back”, Peek 22: 32 (letter, Dar, B), cf. CT 22 8: 7⁵⁹

at-tu-ú-a iš-šú-nu “they are mine”, CT 22: 74: 10–11 (letter, middle Dar, B)

la at-tu-ku-nu šu-ú “it is not yours”, JAOS 36: 26 (letter, 538–532, U)

⁵⁶ The one exception is probably an intended *-ia*: DN DN₂ *šu-lum u TIN šá ŠEŠ-i liq-bu-ú* “may Bēl (and) Nabû decree the good health and life of my brother”, which is probably a scribal error in that it is preceded by IM PN *a-na LÚ.ŠÀ.TAM ŠEŠ-ia*, YOS 3 19: 1–3 (letter, early Cyrus, U).

⁵⁷ *a-na ku-tal-la* in line 18 probably has no suffix.

⁵⁸ The *me* has been included by both Campbell Thompson and Ebeling, but even after collation I am still not convinced that it is there.

⁵⁹ A difficult sentence where *attūka* is used predicatively. See chapter I §1 a, above.

d) Resumptive and proleptic suffixes

i) Resumptive suffixes. In these corpora resumptive suffixes are confined to relative clauses in which the relative particle (i.e. *ša*) referring to the subject (antecedent) is either the genitive or indirect object in its clause. For further details and examples see relative clauses, e :⁶⁰

LÚ.DUMU.DÙ-i.MEŠ *ša i-na pa-ni-šu-nu* PN...GÍR AN.BAR *ul-tu* MURUB₄-šú *a-na muh-hi* PN₂...*is-su-hu* “(these are) the citizens in front of whom PN...drew an iron dagger from his belt against PN₂...”, TCL 12 117: 1...5 (Nbn yr 16, U)

ii) The proleptic suffix, often associated with NB, is hardly ever used outside of (single⁶¹) child-father relationships :

PN A-šú *ša* PN₂, PN DUMU-šú *ša* PN₂ “PN, son of PN₂”, *passim*

PN A-šú *ša* ^fPN “PN, son of ^fPN”, Nbn 356: 2 (yr 9, B)⁶²

^fPN DUMU.MUNUS-*su* *ša* PN “^fPN, daughter of PN”, *passim*

^fPN DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI *ša* PN Nbn 65: 1 (yr 2, B)

In the two corpora there is one example only of a proleptic suffix outside of these uses:

^fPN MUNUS *qal-lat-su* *ša* PN “^fPN, the slave of PN”, Dar 163: 5–6 (yr 5, B)

Discussion

Much has been written about the origins of the proleptic suffix. It is attested in Akkadian as early as OB but its popularity in NB is often blamed on Aramaic. A study of the texts copied by Strassmaier reveals that it reaches its maximum popularity after the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar. This is maintained until the time of Cambyses. In Darius texts it starts to be omitted. On examination of the material translated in BR 8/7 I find that the first occurrences of the proleptic suffix (always in filiation contexts only) appear early in the 7th C, but that only one generation is given.⁶³

⁶⁰ There is one example where a name is resumed in order to ease comprehension of the following rather long-winded record:

LÚ.DUMU.DÙ.MEŠ *ša ina pa-ni-šu-nu* PN...*pu-ut* PN₂...*ina qa-ti* PN₃...*a-na* [erasure*] *e-ṭè-ru* KÙ.BABBAR *a-ki-i ú-ìl-ti* *ša* PN₃ *ša ina muh-hi* PN₂... PN ^f*na*1-šu-ú* “(these are) the citizens before whom PN has taken responsibility for PN₂...away from PN₃...for the paying of the silver in accordance with PN₃’s IOU owed by PN₂”, Dar 502: 1...8 (yr 20, B). Collation of the erasure indicates the trace of an *e*, probably an attempt to fit *e-ṭè-ru* on the end of line 4.

⁶¹ If there is more than one child they are introduced as A.MEŠ or DUMU.MEŠ *ša* PN, e.g. YOS 6 221: 1–2 (Nbn yr 17, U).

⁶² Identification of a person by using his mother’s name (matronymic) is unique in these texts.

⁶³ According to San Nicolò (BR 8/7 n1 p2f), it was rare to record more than just the ancestor in the second half of the 7th C. The father’s name began to be included when it became more important to distinguish people in economic texts as more people took part in legal activities.

§40⁶⁴ (Aššur-nādin-šumi yr 5 = 694, Dilbat) The proleptic suffix is used in about half of the cases in this text.

BRM I 32 §6 (Šamaš-šum-ukīn yr 2 = 666, Dilbat) In this text the proleptic suffix is used in all cases bar two.

VS 4 5 §86 (Šamaš-šum-ukīn yr 15 = 653, Babylon) The proleptic suffix is used in one case in this text.

BRM I 38 §22 (Šamaš-šum-ukīn yr 20 = 648, Borsippa) The proleptic suffix is used in all but two cases in this text.

In the BR 8/7 texts the proleptic suffix followed by two generations (i.e. PN A/DUMU-šú šá PN₂ A/DUMU šá PN₃/FN or^fPN DUMU.MUNUS-su šá PN etc.) appears first with one example in TUM II/III 69 §70 (Npl yr 7 = 618, Borsippa). Further examples are:

TUM II/III = BE 8 8 §83 (Npl yr 8, B) The proleptic suffix is used in all bar one case.

Lutz II 2 §82 (Npl yr 10, U) The witnesses and scribe have two generations.

Detailed discussions with references on the subject are already given by Kaufman (131–132) and Huehnergard (1989, 227–229). They make the following points which may help our understanding of the origin of the proleptic suffix:

- 1) Examples of the proleptic suffix are extant from OB and OA onward, where it is rare and is said to emphasise and determine the nomen regens.
- 2) It is more frequent in peripheral texts, exx. Nuzi, Amarna, Ugarit, unattested in MB, sporadic in MA, but is not noted in the languages adjacent to Akk, apart from the infinitive construct+noun in Phoenician.⁶⁵
- 3) Sumerian (Gudea, Ur III) has a literary construction called by Thomsen (§164, p91) “the anticipatory genitive”,⁶⁶ which is paralleled in the early Akk dialects after Oakk, and in MA by the construction ša N₂ N₁-šu (Huehnergard, 1989, p230 and

San Nicolò is unwilling to say that this need to be more specific is exclusively due to population increases, particularly in the towns (top, p3). I am sure that increasing urbanisation is a major factor and that more records would have had to be kept. Giving two generations also avoided ambiguities caused by those who had the same name as a grandfather or uncle. San Nicolò also notes that in Hellenistic Uruk the grandfather's name was used in texts involving temple staff who came from a narrow circle of families.

⁶⁴ The § numbers are those of the BR 8/7 translations. §40 is Böhl, *Orientalia Neerlandica* (Leiden, 1948, 116ff.)

⁶⁵ See Garr's pleonastic genitive (1985, p167), lšbtm dnnym “so that the Danunians may dwell” (literally “for their dwelling, the Danunians”).

⁶⁶ E.g. lugal-la é-a-ni “of the king — his house” (her first example).

nm. 81–82). It is argued that this has an emphatic effect; that it indicates “topicalisation” of the *rectum* by bringing it before the *regens*.

4) Additional observations: The periphrastic genitive⁶⁷ in OAram, according to Hug, is used only when the number, name or definiteness of the *regens* must be clearly represented (1993, 94–95). Garr gives two examples from Tell Fekheriye and three⁶⁸ other examples (1985, p172). Given the rarity of the periphrastic genitive in OAram it is therefore no surprise to find the proleptic suffix unattested. The periphrastic genitive became rapidly commoner in Mesopotamian Aramaic, e.g. in Ahiqar.

In conclusion, it has to be said that no common thread can be seen running through the above points. I must agree with Kaufman and his view that the construction grew popular within Neo-Babylonian Akkadian itself, and was then copied by Aramaic. My reasons are: a) the proleptic suffix is “endemic” to Akkadian from OB onward, b) Aramaic does not seem to be the source, and c) the existence of the Sumerian anticipatory genitive is probably not a reason for the appearance of the proleptic suffix as the word order changes for the anticipatory genitive but not for the proleptic suffix. However, this does not explain the origin of either, or whether the appearance of one was inspired by the other, or whether both sprang up independently and at the same time. Since both constructions are unsimilar it is safest to assume that they both developed spontaneously within their respective languages. Although the proleptic suffix is noted in some of the other early Semitic languages, this is probably due to Akkadian influence.

e) Object (accusative⁶⁹) pronoun suffixes:⁷⁰

3m/fs	-uš ⁷¹	3mpl	-šú-nu-tu/ti
	-áš		-uš-šú-nu-tu

⁶⁷ I.e. the use of *dy* and a noun instead of the noun in construct. See II §2² above. L^{cc}

⁶⁸ He is uncertain about one of the examples.

⁶⁹ Reiner calls this the “object case” (1966, p101).

⁷⁰ There is one probable example of an independent accusative pronoun in the corpora of this thesis: *ia-a-ī-tūl* “me”, TCL 12 122: 13 (yr 12? U). The third person independent forms *šūātu*, *šunūtu* etc. are discussed in i, below, since they function as demonstratives for nouns in the subject or object cases.

⁷¹ It will be seen that the loss of the final vowel in the short suffixes necessitates a vowel preceding the suffix, so that assimilations seen in earlier phases of Akkadian do not always take place. (Contrast *iddinuš* and *idinsu/iddissu* for “he gave it” and “give it”, below.) This secondary development is discussed in part 2 §5f, as it is an indication that NB was still a spoken language in the mid-sixth century.

-áš-šú (ventive)	Cu-niš-šu-nu-tu (ventive) ⁷²
	3fpl -ši-ne-e-tu/ti
2m/fs -ka	2m/fpl (not attested)
1cs -an-ni	1cpl -na-a-šú
-an-nim-ma (ventive)	
->-in-ni ⁷³	

Examples: ⁷⁴

a-na mah-ri-ku-nu ub-la-áš EŠ.BAR-a-ni šuk-na “I have brought him before you. Make (a) decision (literally, “our decision”) regarding us”, Nbn 356: 28 (yr 9, B) (ventive)

PN...*ki-i id-di-nu-uš...* RN *iš-mu-ú ik-te-liš* “when PN gave it (the *kusītu* garment, fs), Nbk heard and held it back”, YOS 6 71: 30...31 (Nbn, yr 6), cf. line 32.

ir-šá-an-ni-ma “he wanted me”, Nbn 356: 3 (yr 9, B)

ub-la-an-ni-ma “he brought me”, TCL 12 122: 10 (Nbn yr 12? B) (ventive)

ia-a-[tú¹] [a-na] É PN tu-šá-ah-hi-sa->-in-ni “(as for) me, you (2mpl) made me go back to the house of PN”, *ibid.*: 12–13

šu-pur-áš-šú-nu-tu “send them”, YOS 3 19: 34 (letter, early Cyr, U)

PN *iš-me-e-šú-nu-ti-ma* “PN complied with (literally, “heard”) them”, VS 5 20: 10 (Nbn, yr 1, B)

a-na ma-aš-šar-ti ú-šá-az-ziz-šú-nu-tu “they will install them to do the watch”, YOS 7 156: 12 (Camb yr 3, U)

šu-ša-a-nu-uš-šú-nu-tu “make (2pl impv) them come out”, TCL 9 111: 10 (533–532, U) (ventive)

*šu-kun-ši-né-e-tu*⁷⁵ “put them”, YOS 3 4: 12 (royal letter, 543–539, U)

liš-šú-nu-ši-ne-e-ti “let them bring it” (*sahlû*, fpl), YOS 3 107: 17 (letter, early Camb, U) (ventive)

⁷² The spelling: *iq-bi-ú-niš-šú-nu-tu* “they said to them”, GCCI 2 101: 7 (Cyr yr 4, U) is an archaism.

⁷³ See GAG §84d and paradigm 12 n6 (p11*). This happens after plurals with -ū or -ā ending. According to Winckworth (1950, p69) this would be a development from *išpurāni* (ventive) and the dative or accusative suffix (he does not seem to imply which)-*ni*. The example given in TCL 12 122 suggests a rare use of 𐎶 as a glottal stop.

⁷⁴ For the type: PN...šá PN₂ *a-na DUMU-ú-tu il-qu-ši-ma* “(of) PN, whom PN₂ took for adoption...”, VS 5 57/58: 6...8 (Barziya yr 1, B), see III §1 v, above (relative clauses).

⁷⁵ See also the next example. These are very correct spellings. Presumably the spoken versions are *šukuššinēt* and *liššū(nu?)ššinēt* unless an extra vowel has developed which separates the suffix from the verb (cf. the comments in n71, above). See also part 2 §5 f, below.

kul-lu-ú-na-a-šú “they hold us back”, TCL 9 98: 5 (letter, 540? U)

Notes:

i) Variant spellings for “he gave it/him/her, he will give it/him/her”, or the imperative “give it/him/her” suggest a sound change in Uruk:

Imperatives:

i-din-šú “give her” (2ms), AnOr 8 56: 15 (Cyr yr 7, U), to be contrasted with

i-din-su “give it”, YOS 7 102: 24 (Camb acc, U)

Finite forms:

i-nam-din-su “he is to give him”, YOS 7 1: 12 (Cyr acc, U)

it-ta-din-su “he then gave her”, YOS 6 79: 16 (Nbn yr 5, U)

i-nam-di-su “he is to give him”, AnOr 8 52: 16 (Cyr yr 6, U), YOS 6 191: 13
+YOS 6 214: 13 (Nbn yr 12, U)

However, the legal document from Babylon, Nbn 178: 28 (yr 4, not in this corpus) has *id-di-is-su-nu-ti* “he gave them”. CAD *nadānu* a 17’ (p45a) explains this as -*nš*- > -*ss*- > -*s*- an occasional occurrence.

ii) Ventives with suffixes can still be identified as ventives:

ki-i la i-tab-ka-áš 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR...*i-nam-din* “if he does not bring him, he is to pay one mina of silver”, YOS 7 1: 12...14 (Cyr acc, U).

ki-i la i-tab-ku-ni-iš...KÙ.BABBAR *i-nam-di-nu* “if they do not bring him, they are to pay..silver”, YOS 6 230: 9...10 (Nbn yr 12, U)

iii) Because the loss of short final vowels has led to the pronunciation of the 3sg suffixes as -*vš*, when the suffix is followed by -*ma* the two are linked by -*i*- :

a-mur PN *a-na* EN-*iā* *al-tap-ra* EN *li-bu-ku-ši-im-me ina ŠU.II-šú* EN *lit-pur-ru*
“look, I’ve sent PN to my Lord. May Sir take her and send her via him”, CT 22 183: 19–22 (letter, IMB, B)

a-na IGI-*ia šu-pur-áš-ši-im-ma* “send (2ms) him to me”, YOS 3 19: 27–28 (letter, early Cyr, U)

The same development is seen in the following verb, which is actually a plural:

ina sa-áš-tu, iš-ba-ta-šim-ma a-na PN...*id-di-nu-uš* “they caught him in the act of burglary and gave him to PN”, AnOr 8 27: 3...4 (Nbn yr 12, U)

In both cases the consonant cluster which would have resulted from the -vš + -ma is resolved by adding -im-. Note also that the vowel of the suffix is coloured by the preceding vowel in the verb.⁷⁶

f) Indirect object (dative⁷⁷) pronouns

The independent forms are not well attested, having mostly been replaced by the equivalent subject pronoun forms. This is particularly obvious in the 1cs and they are therefore given alongside the suffixed forms with their most common spellings. For discussions on the ventive endings q.v.:

Independent	Suffixed ⁷⁸
3ms šá-a-šú	-áš-šú
(3fs not attested)	
2ms (not attested)	-ak-ka
1cs a-na-ku/ ~~ka~~	-a ⁷⁹
ia-a-ti (exception)	-am-ma ⁸⁰
ia-a-ši (royal only)	-in-ni
3mpl (not attested)	-áš-šú-nu-tu
3fpl (not attested)	-áš-ši-na-a-ti
2mpl (not attested)	-ak-ku-nu-ši
	-ak-ku-nu-šú
	-ak-ki-nu-šú (in CT 22 9 only)
1cpl a-ni-ni	-an-na-(a)-šú
	-né-ši TCL 13 181: 17
	-an-ši YOS 7 156: 6...10

See Note, below, for suffixes on plural verbs.

⁷⁶ As perhaps -ma is coloured to -me by the preceding -im in the first example.
⁷⁷ Reiner calls this the “indirect object case” (1966, p101).
⁷⁸ Which is also ventive when in the second and third persons. The ventive is normally used with verbs of motion and is therefore not used in the following: 1+et DUMU.MUNUS ú-lid-su “I bore him one daughter”, Nbn 356: 4 (yr 9, B).
⁷⁹ Identical with the ventive. Only singular final weak verbs show this ending unequivocally.
⁸⁰ I.e. ventive + ma.

Examples. Independent:

*a-na šá-a-šú i-kul-lu-*³ “as for it (referring to money for rations), they have used it up”, JAOS 36: 19 (letter, 538–532, U)

KÙ.BABBAR *a-na šá-a-šú u PN id-din-nu a-na *¹bab?l-ba-nu-ú lid-din-nu-*³
“(any) money (that Sir) gives to him and PN, may (Sir) give it at the good (exchange-) rate”, CT 22: 148: 11–15 (letter, 545–527, B)

šu-lum ia-a-ši “all is well with me”, YOS 3 2: 4 (royal letter, Nbn, U), cf.:

šu-lum a-na-ku u a-na mam-ma ma-la it-ti-ia “all is well with me and all who are with me”, CT 22 6: 5–6 (letter, Cyr? B) also CT 22 194: 6, CT 22 151: 5–7

ù šá ina pa-ni RN a-na-ku a-na LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ...tad-din-na-an-ni “and what you (2ms) gave to me for the workers at the time of Cyrus”, YOS 3 45: 15...17 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U), cf. the similar:

ù šá a-na-ku ina pa-ni RN a-na LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ...tad-di-nu a-mur “and check what you gave to me in the time of Cyrus”, YOS 3 81: 30...31 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

ú-íl-tì-ka šá ina UGU PN šá a-na-ka ta-ad-din-nu a-na-ka ŠE.BAR e-tir-ka
“(regarding) PN’s IOU which you gave to me, I myself will pay you for the grain”, Dar 475: 9–12 (yr 18, B)

ia-a-¹tí?...bi-in-na-nim-ma “to me..., give (2mpl)”, TCL 13 182: 11..12 (Dar yr 2, U)

en-na a-ni-ni iq-ta-ba-na-a-šú...a-ni-ni ul-tu lìb-bi ul-te-lu-na-šú “now he has said to us...he has made us go out of there”, YOS 3 200: 26...31 (letter, Camb yr 1? U)

It is interesting to note that according to Woodington (1982, 28–29), Kuyunjik NB adheres to the older *yâši*, *nâši* forms, and their replacement by the nominative *anāku* and *anīni* was yet to develop.

Suffixed:

e-lat n šá...a-na-ku ad-da-áš-šú “on top of n which I myself gave to him”, YOS 7 7: 102, cf. line 108 (Cyr yr 1, U)

a-qab-ba-áš-šú “I say to him”, YOS 3 17: 12 (letter, 533–526, U)

PN iq-qab-ba-áš-a-šú “PN says to her”, TCL 13 179: 10–11 (hapax. Camb yr 3? U)

ŠE.BAR a₄... PN u PN₂ i-da-har-in-ni “that barley, PN and PN₂ have received it from me”, Dar 296: 4–5 (yr 11, B)⁸¹

ni-iq-ta-ba-áš-šú-nu-tú “we said to them”, TCL 9 98: 8 (letter, 539–526, U)

*mi-nu-ú ki-i ina UGU-šú-nu EN i-šak-ka-na mu-hur-šú-nu-tu ù kap-du šu-pur-áš-šú-nu-tú dul-lu li-pu-šú-*³ “whatever (demands) Sir imposes on them get from

⁸¹ For *mahāru* with *ana* for the indirect object see *ana* and the indirect or non direct object, VI §3a iii, below. For *imtahar* > *iddahar* (hapax), see part 2 §4 iii, below.

them and write to them quickly so that they can do the work”, YOS 3 17: 5–7 (letter, early Camb, U)

ta-ad-da-áš-ši-na-a-ti “she gave to them”, VS 5 45/46: 12 (Camb yr 1, B)

šá a-qab-ba-ku-nu-šú um-ma “regarding what I said to you (2sg!)...”, YOS 3 33: 26 (letter, early Cyr, U)

lib-ba-ku-nu lu-u ta-ab-ku-nu-ši “may your heart be good for you”, YOS 3 2: 5-6 (royal letter, Nbn) cf. line 18

LÚ.ERÍN.ME *šá...ú-kal-li-mu-ku-nu-ši* “the workmen I showed to you...”, YOS 7 70: 7 (Cyr yr 8, U)

*ā[š-pur]-rak-ka-ki-nu-šú*⁸²...PN *šá āš-pur-ak-ki-nu-šú* “I wrote to you...PN, whom I sent to you... CT 22 9: 9...20 (letter, 554–527, B)

i-qa-ba-ki-nu-šú “he says to you”, *ibid.*: 16

ŠE.BAR *in-da-har-an-na-a-šú [u?] ú-íl-tì it-tan-na-an-na-šú* “he bought the barley from us [and?] gave us an IOU”, TCL 9 98: 11–14 (letter, 539–526, U)

kul-lim-an-na-a-šú “show (msg) to us”, Nbn 1113: 16 (after yr 7, B) also TCL 13 170: 11

ta-qab-an-na-šú um-ma...ZÚ.LUM.MA a-nam-dak-ku-nu-šú “you (msg) are telling us, ‘I am giving you (mpl) the...dates’, YOS 3 169: 5...8 (letter, middle Nbn, U)

Note that 2pl and 3pl verbs with dative suffixes are virtually always ventive.⁸³

i-nam-di-nu-niš-ši “they will bring to him”, VS 6 84: 8, 11, 15 (Nbn yr 12, B)

LÚ.šī-ra-ku *šá...id-di-nu-niš-šú-nu-tu* “the širkus whom...they gave to them...”, GCC1 2 103: 8 (Camb acc, U)

en-na a-ni-ni iq-ta-ba-na-a-šú...a-ni-ni ul-tu lib-bi ul-te-lu-na-šú “now he has said to us...he has got us out of there”, YOS 3 200: 26...31 (letter, Camb yr 1? U)

Notes

1) Indications that the vowel in the 1cpl suffix was sometimes reduced (first ex.) or even completely suppressed (second ex.) are found in:⁸⁴

mi-nam-ma ul ta-di-in-né-ši-ma “why didn’t you (2ms) give (them, fpl) to us?”, TCL 13 181: 16–17 (Dar yr 2, U)

a-ni-ni ŠUK.HI.A ù NÍG.BA bi-in-na-an-ši-ma ma-aš-šar-tu...ni-iš-šur “give us rations and provisions so that we can do a watch”, YOS 7 156: 6...10 (Camb yr 3, U)

⁸² Pleonastic 2sg suffix as well as the expected 2pl suffix.

⁸³ An exception is *i-nam-din-nu-uš-šú-nu-tu* “they are to give them”, TCL 157: 11 (Camb yr 3, U).

⁸⁴ Both examples suggest the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb. See part 2 §5.

CAD has further examples s.v. *bī* (B, 216–217).⁸⁵ Woodington finds one example with *-nši* in Kuyunjik NB.⁸⁶ It must not be discounted that the spellings with *na-ši* as opposed to *na-a-ši* also indicate a reduction or disappearance of *â*.

2) Another contraction is noted for *nadānu*. *luddin+am+ka*, *iddin+am+šu* become *luddakka*, *iddaššu*. CAD expresses it as syncope of *iddin* etc. before *-aCC-*, i.e. ventive sg + pronominal suffix:⁸⁷

lu-ud-dak-kam-ma “let me give to you”, Cyr 337: 12 (yr 9, B)

lud-da-áš-šú-nu-tu “let me give to them”, YOS 3 79: 10 (letter, 539–526, U), cf. the singular *lud-daš-šú*, YOS 3 45: 35 (U)

Other pronouns

g) *mimma*; *ayyu*, the indefinite pronouns “whatever, whichever”:

mim-ma šá ina pa-ni EN-ia ba-nu-ú EN *li-pu-uš* “whatever is pleasing to my Lord may Sir do”, YOS 3 8: 30–31 (letter, Dar yr 1? U)

u mim-ma šá KASKAL.II-šú-nu šá il-la-a “and anything (else) in their business venture that may come up...”, TCL 13 160: 13–14 (Camb yr 3, B)

For other examples of *mimma* emphasising negation see I §5. *mimma* is often qualified with *mala* in verbal clauses.

There is only one example of *ayyu*, which is in the negated masculine plural *ayyūtu*:

a-a-ú-tu ina lib-bi ul i-mu-ur al-la 1 ME 21 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ “he did not see any of them apart from 121 workers”, RA 11: 11–13 (letter, 533–532, U)

h) *ram(a)niš*, *ram(a)nišun* etc., “oneself; themselves”, etc. is commonly used in the idiom *eli ramniš+ kunnu*⁸⁸ “to confess”, literally, “to convict oneself”:

PN ù PN₂...*iq-bu-ú e-li* [ram¹-ni-šú-nu *u-kin-nu um-ma* “PN and PN₂ spoke, confessing as follows”, YOS 7 97: 10...12 (Camb acc, U), cf. the similar example in *Iraq* 13: 20 (U)

PN [x? erasure?] UGU *ram-ni-šú u-kin um-ma* “PN confessed as follows...”, YOS 7 78: 11–12 (Cyr yr 7, U), cf. the similar TCL 13 142: 3 (U)

⁸⁵ = *ibina(mma)* etc. *bi-in-na-an-šim-ma* in TUM 2–3 203: 6 is given by von Soden in GAG Erg. §42j.

⁸⁶ *lib[bī]ni lū tábānši* “our hearts are very happy”, ABL 349 r 13.

⁸⁷ *nadānu* 1a 16' (ABL NB) and 17' (late NB) (N I, 44–45).

⁸⁸ For further examples of this idiom see *eli* (II §2 k, above, prepositions). All bar one example come from Uruk.

Further uses:

1 ÁB.GAL ù DUMU-šú *ul-tu* [erasure] šá NÍG.GA *é-an-na a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu ib-ba-ku* “they took (historic present) a cow and her calf from out of the Eanna property for their own use”, YOS 7 79: 22–23 (Cyr yr 8, U)

a-ki-i ú-íl-tì mah-ri-tu, ul-tu ra-man-ni-šú i-nam-din “he is to pay out of his own pocket according to the earlier IOU”, Nbn 600: 18–20 (yr 12, B)

i) *mam(ma)* “any(one)”, with negative, “no one”:

en-na mam-ma ina LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šá ina GIŠ.DA šá RN RN₂ a-na muh-hi-ia šaṭ-ṭar mam-ma ina lib-bi a-na mam-ma la ta-nam-din-³ “now anyone from the workers who are recorded in the ledgers of Nbk and Nrgl as my responsibility, you are not to give anyone (resumptive) of them to anyone”, RA 11: 23–27 (letter, 533–532, U)

kap-du ṭè-en-ka ina ŠU.II mam-ma al-la-ku lu-uš-me “quickly send (2fs) me news via any courier”, CT 22 151: 16–17 (letter, early Nbn, B)

ina lib-bi ma-am la áš-pu-rak-ka “because of this I did not send you anybody”, Peek 22: 31 (letter, Dar, B)

it-ta-hu PN íz-zi-za-ma šá mam-ma šá ŠE.BAR ina IGI-šú ab-ka-nim-ma a-na PN in-na-³ “stand by PN and that anyone who has barley at his disposal bring (2pl) it and give it to PN”, CT 22 73: 12–14 (letter, Dar? B)

Demonstratives:⁸⁹

j) Demonstratives with “Hier-Deixis”, “this, these”:

i) *agâ* appears not to change according to number, gender or case at this stage of NB.⁹⁰

lu-ú ti-i-du MN a-ga-a šá MU 15.KÁM ITI! di-ir-ri “you do know that this Addaru for year 15^{was} an intercalation”, YOS 3 115: 6–9 (royal letter, Nbn yr 15, U)

13 MU.MEŠ *a-ga-a GIŠ hum-mu-tu NI.TUK KI-e...ni-iz-za-qap* “it is 13 years since we planted the quick Dilmun date palms” (literally, “these 13 years”), YOS 3 200: 5...6 (letter, Camb yr 1? U)

SUM.SAR *a-ga-a* “this garlic”, (*šūmu* may be plural or singular) CT 22 81: 20–21 (letter, Nbn? B)

⁸⁹ I hesitate to call them demonstrative pronouns as most attestations in the corpora are adjectives. Those which are pronouns are given at the end of the entry for “Hier-Deixis”, as my corpora have no “Dort-Deixis” attestations. Woodington finds that four fifths of her attestations are adjectives (top, p43).

⁹⁰ Woodington finds that more than three quarters of the demonstratives in her corpus consist of *agâ*, *annû* and *agannû*. She also finds a fs form *agât* (sic) and plural forms *agannûtu* (m) and *agannêtu* (f) (1982, 42–45). *agâ* is probably an Aramaism, cf. *hāk(ā)* “that”, attested in later Aramaic. See von Soden (1966, pp5f, no. 1).

ii) *annû* is attested in the singular m and f forms, as well as the plural form *annûtu* :

šá da-ba-ba an-na-a in-nu-ú “anyone who alters this statement”, YOS 7 17: 15–16 (Cyr yr 3, U), cf. Cyr 277: 16 (B) and:

šá dib-bi an-nu-tu BAL-ú “anyone who alters these statements”, Nbn 697: 19 (yr 13, B)

É.MEŠ šī-na-a-ta a-di u₄-mu an-na ina pa-ni-šú-nu “those houses (have been) at their disposal up to now”(literally, “this day”), AnOr 8 70: 9 (Camb yr 3, U)

i-na GIŠ.BÁN an-ni-ti...la iz-zi-iz “he did not agree to this farm-lease (=sūtu)”, TCL 13 182: 6–7 (Dar yr 2, U)

iii) *agâ* and *annû* as demonstrative pronouns:

a-ga-a šá a-qab-bak-ku-nu-šú “this is what I say to you”, YOS 3 33: 25–26 (letter, early Cyr, U)

al-la a-ga-³-i “apart from this”, CT 22 182: 11 (letter, pre-526, B)⁹¹

an-nu-ú É šá PN “this is the house of PN”, VS 5 38: 12 (Cyr yr 6, B) and elsewhere in the *šupêltu* tablets from Babylon.

e-lat an-na-a “apart from this”, TCL 13 182: 23 (Dar yr 2, U), cf. the equivalent:

PN an-ni-t[i] i-pu-ul um-ma... “PN answered this, thus”, Nbn 1113: 16–17 (after yr 7, B)

Observations

The msg form of *annû* has the variant *annâ*, either by analogy with *agâ*, or by analogy with the Aramaic equivalent *dēnā*. Discounting those examples which are similar, examples of *agâ/annû* are found in 8 Uruk texts and 8 Babylon texts in the corpora. Uruk has a clear preference for *agâ* and Babylon prefers *annû*. The figures for *agâ/annû* are Uruk 5/3, Babylon 2/6. Both forms are seen to function independently as well as adjectivally.

k) “Dort-Deixis”, i.e. “that, those”. The forms *ullû*; *ullîtu* etc., (GAG §45, 2) are not attested.⁹² Instead, they appear to have been completely replaced by both the old pronominal adjective *šūāti*,⁹³ which now functions as the main singular or plural

⁹¹ See GINBr p15 for spellings ending in *-i* or *-i³*. Woodington also finds them in Kuyunjik NB (p43f). This ending is also seen for *adi lā* (q.v. subordinating conjunctions), but no satisfactory explanation has been found for these spellings, apart from that they suggest the addition of a new sound.

⁹² The NB in the Kuyunjik letters still uses *ullû* (*ullū*, sic. Woodington, p42). Woodington does note that both *annû* and *ullû* are being replaced by *agâ* and its variant forms. There is one survival of *ullû* in the adverb *ahullâ* (<*ahi*+*ullâ* “on the other side”) functioning as a preposition with periphrastic *ša: n ŠE.NUMUN...a-hi-ul-la-³* šá I, *qá-pá-de-e* “n arable land apposite the Qapadê canal”, YOS 6 67: 4 (Nbn yr 4, U). The unusual spelling, rather than the expected *a-hu-ul-la-a*, cannot be explained.

⁹³ This is not noted in the earlier NB of Woodington.

demonstrative adjective (m or f), i.e. “that, those (aforementioned)”, and sometimes by *šunūtu* and *šināti* for the masculine and feminine plurals:

a-na muh-hi ÁB.GAL.MEŠ *šu-a-ti* “regarding those cattle”, YOS 7 7: 37 (Cyr yr 1, U)

ÁB.GAL *šu-a-ti* “that cow”, *ibid.*, 47, 49

GI.MEŠ *šu-a-ti it-ti* PN *i-zu-uz-ma* “he shared those area units (reeds) with PN...”, VS 5 39 8–9 (Cyr yr 6, B)

a-na muh-hi a-me-lut-tu₄ šu-a-tu₄ “regarding that (male) servant”, VS 5 45/46: 7–8 (Camb yr 1, B)

É *šu-a-ti šá* PN *šu-ú* “that house is PN’s”, Dar 410: 9 (yr 15, B), cf. also lines 6 and 12

mim-ma HA.LA *šá* PN₃...*i-na* LÚ-tú *šu-a-ti ia-a-nu* LÚ-<tú> *šu-a-ti šá* PN₂ ù ŠEŠ.MEŠ *ši-i* “PN₃ has no share whatsoever in that servant. That (female) servant belongs to PN₂ and his brothers”, Dar 551: 12...13 (yr 22, B)

Note the following unusual spellings, all from Babylon:

19 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ina* ŠÁM ŠE.NUMUN *šu-MA-a-ta ik-li* “he held back 19 shekels from the purchase price of that field”, VS 5 20: 11–12 (Nbn yr 1, B)

i-na šá-ṭa-ri ṭup-pi MU.MEŠ... “at the writing of that tablet...”, Camb 349: 32 (yr 6, B). A phrase often used to introduce the names of the witnesses to a legal case. Note *ṭup-pi* HA.LA *šu-a-ti* in Dar 379: 70 (yr 14, B). The spelling MU.MEŠ comes about as a play on *šumāti*, the (fem) plural of the word for “name”, *šumu* (pronounced /šu:/) whose logogram is MU. (See the logograms appendix, §3 c.)

There are few examples of the plural forms. The document Dar 551 is particularly interesting in that it has both singular (given above) and plural forms:

mim-ma NÍG.ŠID *šá* PN *ir-šu-ú* PN₂ ù...ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú *a-na* UGU NÍG.ŠID *šú-nu-tu i-te-lu-ú* ù HA.LA *šá* PN₃ ŠEŠ AD-šú-nu *i-na* NÍG.ŠID *šú-nu-tu ia-a-nu* “any possessions⁹⁴ that PN acquired, PN₂ (his son) and his brothers forfeited (any rights to) those possessions and PN₃, their father’s brother, has no share in those possessions”, 7–9 (yr 22, B)

É.MEŠ *ši-na-a-ta a-di u₄-mu an-na ina pa-ni-šú-nu* “those houses have been at their disposal up to today”, AnOr 8 70: 9 (Camb yr 3, U), cf. also lines 16 and 22.

Note the exceptional:

KUŠ.*hi-in-du šá-a-šú* PN *la-IGI* PN₂...*iš-šu-ú* “PN took (subjunctive) that money bag away from PN₂”, Nbn 1048: 5...7 (yr, 17, B)

⁹⁴ Although NÍG.ŠID = *nikkassū* usually is understood to mean “accounts” in NB it can also mean “possessions”, cf. AHw, “Besitz”.

1) ā and the Aramaic emphatic state

The appearance in NB of the particle ā (written either *a*₄ or *a*^ʾ), which is not noted in Kuyunjik NB (Woodington, p332) has been thought to be due to the Aramaic emphatic -ā^ʾ.⁹⁵ Its main use in the dialects under discussion here is for anaphora, i.e. to refer to something mentioned earlier. Although the uses are the same in Uruk and Babylon, Babylon has two ways of spelling it in these texts, as opposed to Uruk's one, as will be noted below.

i) "the (aforementioned), this, that", common to both dialects.

In Uruk :

re-he-et ZÚ.LUM.MA a₄ ni-im-šu-uh "we measured the rest of the (aforementioned) dates", YOS 3 113: 19–20 (letter, early Cyr, U)

If the quantity of the item in question is given, the quantity always follows the ā:

a-me-lut-ti a₄ 12-ta PN a-na é-an-na i-la-x? "those (aforementioned) 12 servants, PN will bring up? to Eanna", BIN 1 120: 13–14 (Nbn yr 3, U). See also line 12.

ŠE.BAR a₄ 1136 KUR... "the (aforementioned) barley, 1136 kur...", YOS 6 78: 6 (Nbn, yr 4, U)⁹⁶

U₈ a₄ 1+et 1+en 30...e-li-nu-šú ip-ru-su...še-e-nu a₄ 30 a-di 1+et U₈ šá kak-kab-tu₄...a-na FDN i-nam-di-nu "for that (aforementioned) one ewe, they made a thirty-fold charge against them (assume *e-li-šú-nu*). Those 30 sheep, along with the (original⁹⁷) single ewe (marked) with a star...they are to give to the Lady-of-Uruk", TCL 13 147: 8...16 (Camb, yr 1, U)

In three letters ā is used with items being mentioned for the first time in their respective texts but which have evidently been referred to in earlier correspondence. In the first extract ā qualifies an area of land familiar to the parties in question, presumably referred to in earlier transactions but not referred to previously in this document:

pu-ut bi-it-qu u ki-rik-tú šá I, LUGAL a-na ma-la ŠE.NUMUN šá FDN šá ina pa-ni-šú PN na-ši e-lat 1 ME a₄ ù qaq-qar.MEŠ šá GN šá ina IGI PN₂ "PN is responsible for the repairs and regulation of the King's Canal in regard to the arable land belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk that is in his charge. This is on top of the aforementioned (?)¹⁰⁰ (kur) and the lands at GN which are in the charge of PN", TCL 12 90: 19–21 (Nbn yr 7, U)

⁹⁵ See discussion below. See GAG §63g: "suffigierte aramäische bestimmte Artikel -ā (sog. Status emphaticus)". See also §192b. The subject is not covered by Kaufman but he feels that the loss of the Aramaic status emphaticus and the rare use of the indeterminate state may be as a result of the influence of Akkadian's three states, as it then mimics them (1974, p134).

⁹⁶ Cf. the similar YOS 6 198: 8, YOS 6 163: 9, YOS 7 11: 4, TCL 13 132: 5, YOS 7 114: 4, TCL 13 182: 12, 24, 26.

⁹⁷ šá ina ŠU.II-šú-nu am-ra-tu₄ "who had been discovered in their possession", line 15.

ŠE.BAR *a*₄ 5 ME GUR “the (aforementioned) 500 kur of barley”, TCL 9 98: 6 (letter, 540? U)

a-na UGU ŠUK.HI.A *a*₄ *la ta-še-el-lu* “regarding the (aforementioned) rations, do not be lax”, YOS 3 45: 20–21 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

KÙ.BABBAR *a*₄ 5 MA.NA...šá *a-na* EN-ia áš-pu-l¹ “(regarding) that (aforementioned) five minas of silver I sent to Sir”, *ibid.*: 26...27

In Babylon it is used in the standard phrase referring to items pledged as security to pay off a debt (first two examples):⁹⁸

LÚ.TUK-ú šá-nam-ma *ina muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di muh-hi šá* PN KÙ.BABBAR *a*₄ 2 MA.NA 1½ GÍN *in-né-ter-ru* “no other creditor may lay claim until PN is repaid his (aforementioned) 2 minas 1½ shekels of silver”, Nbn 314: 9–11 (yr 8, B)

LÚ.TUK-ú šá-nam-ma *ina muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ a-di-i* UGU šá PN KÙ.BABBAR-šú *a*₄ 45 MA.NA...*i-šal-li-mu* “no other creditor may lay claim until PN receives his (aforementioned)⁹⁹ 45 minas of silver”, TCL 13 193: 14...17 (Dar, yr 16, B), which continues:

ki-i ina MN KÙ.BABBAR *a*₄ 45 MA.NA...*la it-tan-nu...* (8 slaves+property) É *maš-ka-nu šá* PN *ki-i ŠAM ha-ri-iš ku-um* KÙ.BABBAR *a*₄ 45 MA.NA...*pa-ni* PN *id-dag-gal* “if he (the debtor) does not give that 45 minas of silver in Simānu, (...the eight slaves +property), PN’s security, will belong to PN at a prearranged price instead of the the 45 minas”, *ibid.*: 17...24

Note the spelling of *ā* in the following:

ina KÙ.BABBAR *a*³ 1 MA.NA šá *nu-dun-né-e* “out of that (aforementioned) one mina of silver of the dowry”, Nbn 243: 13 (yr 6, B)

KÙ.BABBAR *a*³ 1½ MA.NA PN *a-na* PN₂ *i-nam-din* “that (aforementioned) silver, 1½ minas, PN is to give to PN₂”, TCL 12 88 (Nbn yr 8, B)

ina MN ZÚ.LUM.MA *a*³ 7 GUR DIŠ BÁN *ina* SAG.DU-šú-*nu i-nam-din* “in Tašrītu he is to give the (aforementioned) 7 kur 1 (*pānu*) and 1 *sūtu* of dates in their original quantity”, AnOr 8 68: 4–6 (Camb yr 3, B)

ii) In reference to time: “this year, month, day; the (aforementioned) year, month, day in question”:

ŠE.BAR šá MU.AN.NA *a*₄ *ir-re-šu it-ti-šú* EN *lu-šá-az-ziz* “all the barley that he is cultivating this year, may Sir register it with him”, YOS 3 107: 6–7 (letter, Camb pre-526, U)

ina ITI.MEŠ *a*₄ 8 šul-lul-ta-a-ta šī-zib...*i-šab-ba-tu* “in those (aforementioned) eight months (split into) thirds they are to do the milking”,¹⁰⁰ YOS 7 79: 14...15 (Cyr yr 8, U)

a-di UGU *u₄-mu* *a*₄ “up to today”, YOS 3 19: 6 (letter, early Cyr, U)

⁹⁸ Further examples are given in I §6, above (negation). The one example from Uruk: LÚ.GAL-ú šá-nam-ma *a-na muh-hi ul i-šal-laṭ* is in YOS 6 90: 16–17 (Nbn yr 7).

⁹⁹ See iii, below for *ā* applied to nouns which have a suffix.

¹⁰⁰ Referring to three men sharing: i.e. they work for two months and 20 days each.

a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄ “up to today”, YOS 3 66: 3–4 (letter, Camb pre-526? U)

It is noticeable that Babylon uses not only *a₄* but also *a³*. There is no difference in meaning implied, as indicated in the following:

a-na KASKAL.Ī mim-ma ma-la ina URU u EDIN ina muh-hi ZÚ.LUM.MA a³ 1
ME GUR ù ŠE.BAR a₄ 50 GUR ip-pu-uš-šu-³ PN ù PN₂ a-ha-ta šú-nu
“regarding the business venture, whatever they make out of their (aforemen-
tioned) 100 kur dates and 50 kur of barley, either in the city or out in the country,
they are to share and share alike”, Dar 395/396: 5–8 (yr 3)

The other texts which intermix *a₄* and *a³* are: Nbn 243: 13, 17 (both examples given above), TCL 13 144: 6–8, (*ZÚ.LUM.MA a³*, *ZÍZ.ÀM a³*) and line 9 ([...] *KÙ.BABBAR a₄*). The same scribe is responsible for the duplicates Dar 319 and 76-11-17 172, and on line 6 of each he has *KÙ.BABBAR a₄ 3 MA.NA* and *KÙ.BABBAR a³ 3 MA.NA* respectively.

Of 19 texts 8 use *a³*. 4 texts use both *a³* and *a₄*.

iii) *ā* with nouns qualified by suffixes or adjectives. As the particle does not come between its referent and the suffix, this is the evidence which indicates that it is a separate word:¹⁰¹

LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-ia a₄ 100 “my (aforementioned) 100 workers”, YOS 3 106: 28 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U)

LÚ.ÌR.MEŠ-ka a₄ 4EN lip-tu-ru-ma liš-pur-áš-šú-nu-tu “those slaves of yours, may Sir release and send them”, YOS 3 8: 31–32 (letter, beginning Dar? U)¹⁰²

a-di PN KÙ.BABBAR-šú a³ 1½ MA.NA i-šal-lim “until PN is repaid his (aforementioned) 1½ minas of silver”, Cyr 177: 9–10 (yr 4, B), cf. TCL 13 193: 15–16, quoted above.

ŠE.BAR a₄ 5 GUR pe-ši-ti gam-mir-ti “the (aforementioned) five kur of white, ripe barley”, YOS 7 99: 5–6 (Camb acc, B)

UDU.NITÁ par-ra-tu₄.MEŠ a₄ 30 ak-ka-di-i-tu₄ bab-ba-ni-tu₄ “the (afore-mentioned) 30 fine Akkadian¹⁰³ yearling lambs”, Dar 297: 5–6 (yr 11, B)

iv) *ā* as a copula. If *ā* were to come before its referent, it and its referent would then assume subject-predicate status, cf.: *an-nu-ú É šá PN* “this is the house of PN”, VS 5 38: 12 (Cyr yr 6, B). There are no attestations of this use of *ā*, but the

¹⁰¹ There are no examples in the corpora of *ā* qualifying a noun which has an adjective. I assume that *ā* would follow the adjective, cf. *É ép-šu an-nu-ú* (“this building plot”), VS 5 38: 18 (Cyr yr 6, B).

¹⁰² Line 9 of this letter has *al-la-³*, which is mistakenly read *alla ÀM* in CAD A II, (p1b).

¹⁰³ If the lambs are taken as a collective, this would explain the fsg adjectival forms. Contrast this with *tan-nu-tu a₄ 10 re-qu-tu la-bi-ru-tu* “the 10 (aforementioned) empty old barrels”, VS 6 111: 7–9 (Camb yr 3, Borsippa). However, a case can be made for the adjectives being plural. See §1 g, above.

following may be understood by taking *ā* as a copula, with *ina tēmeka* as the predicate:

ki-i at-ta ta-at-tal-ku ina tē-me-ka a₄ “if you go, that is up to you”, YOS 3 69: 25–27 (letter, 539–526, U)

Discussion

These texts show that, since it can come after the suffix, the *ā* particle is not attached to its referent object, and, judging by the last example, may even function as an independent pronoun. Although the origins of the *ā* particle may be seen in the Aramaic emphatic/determinative ending on singular nominal forms, NB *ā* does not change when its referent is in the plural. It appears that the earliest appearance of *ā* as a demonstrative¹⁰⁴ occurs during the reign of Nbk,¹⁰⁵ at which point it still imitates the Aramaic emphatic suffix. The three earliest instances of it that I can find are in:

ŠE.BAR *a₄* 8 GUR “the (aforementioned) 8 kur of barley” (mentioned previously in line 1), Nbk 66: 7 (yr 8, Sihirtu, near to Babylon? 598 B.C.)

KÜ.BABBAR *a₄* 4 MA.NA “the (aforementioned) 4 minas of silver” (mentioned in line 1), Nbk 91: 9 (yr 11, B, 594)

PN...*pu-ut qaq-qar a₄* 1 ME *na-ši* “PN...is responsible for the (aforementioned) 100 kur of land” (referring to land described in lines 4–5, AnOr 9 7: 44 (yr 13 Nbk, Uruk, 592)

By the time of Nbn and later, *ā* has become far commoner than any of the demonstratives. By this time it has also diverged from the Aramaic in that it can be used as a demonstrative adjective separate from its referent noun, and even as a pronoun.

v) *ā* is surely a separate development from the distributive adverbial “...each, apiece”, logographic ÀM, TA.ÀM (Hyatt, 52–54), cf. *ištēnâ* “each one, one each”(CAD I, p279a). See the discussion in §2, above (numbers).

¹⁰⁴ As apposed to ÀM, the distributive. See v, below.

¹⁰⁵ Hyatt does not find *ā* in his texts (range of dates 1170–605). See orthography (part 2 §1).

Chapter VI: Other topics

§1 Comparative and intensive forms of nouns and verbs

a) Nominal forms. As in the other Akkadian dialects, the comparative is morphologically identical to the adjective:

(*man-nu*) *šá qer-bi i-ṭir* “(whoever) is nearer, pays”, Camb 68: 16 (yr 1, B) and passim.

The intensive adjectival form *parras* is attested only once in the corpora, as is the relative-intensive *šuprus*:

KÙ.BABBAR *qa-al-la-al šá a-na ZÚ.LUM.MA in-na-din* “the silver is too inferior¹ to be given for the dates”, CT 22 182: 6–8 (letter, pre-526, B)

LÚ.ERÍN ŠU.II *šu-ul-su-du-ú-tu* “well-equipped helpers”, TCL 13 150: 1–2 (Camb yr 2, U)

b) Verbal forms To say that x is more (as an amount) than y, the texts use *alla* followed by either *etēqu* or *atāru*. For “x is less than y”, *alla* + *maṭû* is used:

$\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ku-um a-hi HA.LA-šú-nu ina 8 nik-kás GI.MEŠ šá É...al-la TÜR...at-ru PN u PN₂ a-na PN₃ u PN₄ it-tan-nu* “(referring to the equal division of a house and a barn between four people) PN and PN₂ are to give $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel (sic, presumably “mina”) of silver as part of their share, for the 8 reed-units by which (the size of) the house...exceeds (the size of) the barn..., to PN₃ and PN₄, YOS 6 114: 19...21 (Nbn yr 5, U)

ZÚ.LUM.MA *ma-la al-la GÍŠ.ŠU G[UR] it-ti-ru-un-nu PN [xx] ZÚ.LUM.MA ma-la al-la GÍŠ.ŠU GUR i-ma-aṭ-[tu-ú?]* PN *a-na PN₂...[i]-nam-din* “(any) dates exceeding the 60 kur (needed to pay off a debt), PN [may have?]. (Any) dates less² than the (required) 60 kur, PN is to give to PN₂...”, Dar 494: 12...16 (yr 19, B), cf. YOS 7 90: 15–18 (U)

See *alla* in prepositions (II §2, above), for further examples. There is no evidence of D and Š forms being used specifically to convey plurality or intensity.

¹ Literally, “the silver is inferior, that it can be given for the dates”. See CAD (Q, p60) for *qallalu* adj., “of poor quality”.

² For *al-la* + *maṭû* see CAD *maṭû* 1b p432a. Several NB examples are given.

§2 Impersonal subject

The impersonal subject is used as a circumlocution for the passive (GAG §75i). As in earlier Akkadian dialects the 3mpl active is often used, cf. English, “they say that...”, with the “they” not referring back to any definitely identifiable subject. As the examples below indicate, the action of the verb is emphasised in a way that cannot always be conveyed by a predicative verbal adjective. All but one of the examples come from Uruk:

šá 1 SILA ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ina GN iq-ta-bu-na-a-šú
KILAM ul ni-íp-pu-uš a-kan-na 2 PI ŠE.BAR ù 2 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na 1 GÍN
KÙ.BABBAR...i-qab-bu-ú “they’ve told us one *sila* of dates is one shekel in
Uruk, so we didn’t make a purchase. Here, they say two *sūtu* of barley or two
sūtu of dates is one shekel...”, YOS 3 79: 22...27 (letter, 539–526, U)

sah-le-e šá GARIN...iq-ta-bu-ú-nu um-ma ina É LÚ.GAR UMUŠ na-da-a, šu-pur-
ma li-iš-šú-nu-ši-né-e-ti “(about) the cress from the...wetland, that they’ve said
is deposited (3fpl) in the *šākin tēmi*’s house, send word so they (impersonal) can
bring it”, YOS 3 107: 11...18 (letter, early Camb? U)

ri-ka-su šá ÌR-ú-tu šá PN...iš-tas-su-ú-ma “the contract giving the slave status of
PN...was read out”, Nbn 1113: 8...14 (after yr 7, B)

Other examples are AnOr 8 27: 18 (U), AnOr 8 38: 8, and in the difficult YOS 3 66: 6:

a-na muh-hi u₄-mu a₄ GIŠ.MÁ šá ZÌ.DA ul ú-še-ri-iq É ZÌ.DA qa-ti i-qab-bu-ú-nu
um-ma a-na muh-hi šá LÚ.ma-gu-šu il-la-kám-ma É ZÌ.DA i-her-ri mam-ma
ZÌ.DA a-na lib-bi ul i-de-ek-ki “up to this day the flour boat has not been
emptied. The flour house is finished. They say, until (? because?) the magus
comes and digs/ examines (?³) the flour house, no one is to remove the flour in
it”, YOS 3 66: 3–9 (letter, Camb pre-526? U)

The spelling of *ú-še-ri-iq* as a 3ms (*ušrīq*) is problematic as VC finals are very rare for 3mpl finite forms. This happens in the following example also:

ZÚ.LUM.MA gab-bi ul ú-šá-az-ziz “the dates are all unregistered”, YOS 3 83: 8
(letter, end Cyr, U). Contrast:

mah-ru-tu šá ú-šá-az-zi-zu... “the first ones which do get registered...”, *ibid.*: 16.

In both of these cases the subject could be 1cs. The following two examples also pose a problem since the forms of *šālu* that are used are difficult. The first one appears to be a passive but with a 3mpl ending added for good measure. Although the second one is probably a passive⁴ it is included for comparison:

³ GINBr derives this from *herû* “to dig”. CAD has “because of the fact that the magus was supposed to come in order to check on the flour storage”, deriving it from *hāru* “to examine” (*magušu*, p48bf). It is not referred to in AHW. The spelling suggests *herû* but the use of *ana libbi* rather than *ina libbi* suggests the flour is already in there, making digging inappropriate.

⁴ *šālu* N is very rare; AHW p1151b believes both of these examples are 3mpl G.

PN *iš-ša-al-ú-ma iq-bi...* “PN was questioned and said...” AnOr 8 47: 18 (Cyr yr 5, U)

PN PN₂ u PN₃...*i-ša-al-la*⁵ *um-ma...* “PN, PN₂ and PN₃ were asked(?) as follows...”, TCL 13 170: 14...16 (Camb yr 5, U)

§3 *ana* and the indirect, non-direct object or as a nota accusativi

a) *ana* and the indirect or non-direct object.⁶ With verbs of giving, consecration, showing etc., i.e. verbs which demand a donor/agent (subject, in the nominative) as well as a recipient/experiencer (indirect object, in the dative), *ana* is used for the recipient/ experiencer in earlier dialects of Akkadian. This usage is observed in the NB here, but with notable additions (ii and iii, below):

i) *ana* as the indirect object of verbs of giving, consecration, etc.:

PN *LÚ.ta-ba-la-a-nu...KÙ.GI SA₃...a-na PN₂...a-na KÙ.BABBAR id-di-nu* “PN the pilferer...gave red gold...to PN₂...for silver”, YOS 6 175: 3...5 (Nbn yr 12, U)

mam-ma ina lib-bi a-na mam-ma la ta-nam-din-⁷ “do not give (mpl) anyone therefrom to anybody”, RA 11: 26–27 (letter, 533–532, U)

e-pu-uš NÍG.ŠID šá KÙ.BABBAR šá KASKAL.II šá PN...a-na PN₂...id-di-nu-ma... PN₃...u PN₂...it-ti a-ha-meš i-pu-šu-⁷ “(regarding) the doing of the accounts for the silver from the business venture which PN passed to PN₂ and (which) PN₃...and PN₂...carried out together...”, TCL 13 160: 1...4 (Camb yr 3, B)

a-na FDN ú-zak-ku-šú “he consecrated him to the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 224: 23–24 (Nbn yr 15, U)

u-de-e...šá PN...UGU ram-ni-šú u-kin-nu...a-na PN...ù PN₂ ú-kal-li-mu “items... which PN...confessed about...(and) showed to PN and PN₂”, TCL 13 142: 1...6 (Cyr yr 7, U). See also lines 9–11.

With some verbs, for example speaking and sending (messages),⁷ the direct object is not given (although it may be implied):

PN...*a-na PN₂ iq-bi um-ma...* “PN...spoke to PN₂ as follows...”, YOS 19 110: 1...4 (Nbn yr 15, U)

a-na PN EN li-iš-pu-ru “may Sir write to PN”, CT 22 200: 11–12 (letter, Nbn? B). The direct object, being the message itself, is understood, cf.:

⁵This word begins line 16 and is indented in the line.

⁶ I make the distinction between indirect and non-direct object in that the verbs in category i generally do need a recipient/experiencer. The verbs in the other categories are transitive but do not necessarily have to have a recipient/experiencer. If they do have one I prefer to use the term “non-direct object” to show that there is a difference.

⁷ Using the verb *šapāru* to mean “to write”. *šatāru* refers to the act of writing something and not the act of writing to someone, from OB onwards, according to CAD.

a-na PN a-na muh-hi a-šap-par “I am writing to PN about it”, RA 11: 16–18 (letter, 533–532, U)

In the above uses of *ana*, its prepositional, directional value is still noticeable. In those uses described below, it is best reconciled as a particle, since “motion towards” can no longer be understood. These uses are not noted by Woodington in Kuyunjik NB and their appearance in these corpora suggest they are a development in later NB.

ii) With verbs of removing, holding back (from) or taking (from):

a-na muh-hi sah-le-e šá a-na PN ak-lu-ú um-ma ul ta-na-áš “regarding the cress that I held back from PN, saying “you are not to take (it)”, YOS 3 12: 9–12 (letter, early Nbn, U)

HA.LA šá PN u PN₂...ul-tu É GAL-ú...PN ù PN₂ a-na PN₃ ŠEŠ-šú-nu GAL-ú it-ta-bal-⁹ “the share of PN and PN₂ which PN and PN₂ took from their elder brother from the big house”, Dar 379: 35–37 (yr 14, B)

iii) In the following, used with *mahāru*, it seems to have replaced *ina qāt*.⁸

re-he-et KÙ.BABBAR a-na PN la ta-mah-har “do not get the rest of the silver from PN”, CT 22 194: 20–21 (letter, 551–522, B)

a-di 3-ta MU.MEŠ i-di É PN a-na PN₂ u PN₃ ul i-mah-ri “for three years PN is not to take rent from PN₂ or PN₃”, Dar 395/396: 16–17 (yr 3, B)

b) *ana* as a *nota accusativi*. In these texts, and perhaps elsewhere in NB only, *kullu*⁹ and *kunnu* sometimes use *ana* with the direct object:

(9 people) *šá i-na GUB-zu-šú-nu PN...ù PN₂...a-na PN₃ ú-ki-il-lu* “nine people in whose presence PN...and PN₂...detained PN₃” YOS 6 224: 11–13 (Nbn yr 15, U), cf.:

LÚ.DUMU.DÙ.MEŠ *šá ina pa-ni-šú-nu PN...a-na PN₂ u-ki-il-lu-ú* “the citizens before whom PN detained PN₂”, Camb 329: 1...4 (yr 6, B)

ina u₄-mu ^fPN...a-na PN...tu-uk-tin-nu um-ma... “if (ever) ^fPN...accuses PN...of the following...” Nbn 679: 1...5 (yr 12, B)¹⁰

⁸ See CAD *mahāru* 1a 10', p55b, where YOS 3 9: 28 is cited (...*ana ikkarē muhur* “take...from the farmers”).

⁹ Contrast these examples with YOS 3 12: 9–12 in iii, above.

¹⁰ Cf. YOS 7 24: 1–8, given in III §2 i, above (*ša*, subordinating conjunctions). To be contrasted with *ina u₄-mu LÚ.mu-kin-nu lu-u LÚ.ba-ti-iq PN...uk-tin-nu...* “on the day that either a witness or an informer accuses PN...”, YOS 6 191: 1 (Nbn yr 12, also in *ša*, III §2 k above), cf. YOS 6 214 1–5, YOS 6 193: 1–3 (both Nbn, U).

Part 2: Orthography and phonology

§1 Orthography: Patterns of spelling in the corpora

A full systematic study on NB orthography (spelling) and stress has yet to be made and is beyond the scope of this thesis.

There are several reasons for there not having been such a study, the main one being that scholars have tended to think that the number of variant spellings for the same words was an indication of the corrupt and dying nature of the language rather than realise that the criteria for spelling words were changing.

Other reasons:

- a) In verbal forms and statives historically long vowels are sometimes augmented or even replaced by the ʾ (𐤀) sign rather than a vowel sign.
- b) Sometimes 𐤀 appears by itself at the end of a word after a VC or CVC sign, thereby indicating a long vowel whose identity cannot be determined by script alone.
- c) The conveying of plurality by the addition of MEŠ or ME onto many syllabic spellings¹ gives the impression of a codified or jargonistic language existing in written form only.

There are probably two main reasons for these radical changes in the spelling:

- a) On the basis of the regular use of CVCVC spellings for *pars/pirs/purs* nominal forms, corroborated by the evidence provided by the (admittedly later) Graeco-Babyloniaca (GB) texts, sound changes had evidently taken place and scribes developed their own ways of circumventing the constraints imposed by cuneiform, as will be seen below. In the case of CV signs, the indication is that when they came at the end of a word they were mostly being used for their consonantal value only. This is why it became possible to spell a word in a variety of ways. If the CV sign chosen by the scribe has the historically correct vowel it is probably the indication of a good scribal education.

¹ Of nominal forms which can be singular or plural in their spelling, and which may even be followed by suffixes.

b) Linked to this development in the change of criteria for the choice of signs is the fact that scribes probably knew of the Aramaic script, whose letters were consonantal or, possibly, consonantal but with an undetermined vowel.² Scribes may have applied this consonantal value of signs to cuneiform, so that the vocalic value of a CV sign could be ignored. If vowel clarification was needed, a vowel sign was included in the spelling of a word. This was usual with historically long vowels.

Before trying to examine the sound changes that had taken place from MB, it is worth looking at the main points of various existing studies on aspects of orthography (Hyatt, Winckworth, Weisberg, Aro and MacGinnis). Examining these, and then looking at scribal training will help to identify what sound changes there probably were:

1: Hyatt (1941)

It must be remembered that Hyatt is dealing with earlier NB than that under scrutiny here, although he does refer to material from CT 22, YOS 3 and later dated documents.

Hyatt observes a loss of final vowels in the Graeco-Babyloniaca texts (p3f).

In his discussion of the Aramaic incantation from Seleucid Uruk, written in cuneiform, Hyatt notes that different spellings for the same words are used, and that it was the consonants which were consistent but not the vowels, indicating that the writer was looking for the consonantal value of a sign and disregarded its accompanying vowel.³ If a vowel was meant to be pronounced it was added as a plene writing or *ṣ* was used. [In fact *ṣ* was used more than vowel signs, of which it could replace any, as mentioned above.]⁴

² Whether the WSem script was (or is) alphabetic or syllabic does not really matter; modern Hebrew and Arabic remain comprehensible when written without all but the long vowels. The use of the consonants *y* and *w* as *matres lectionis* for long vowels is seen as early as the TF inscription. See appendix §1a.

³ Contrast especially lines 5: *pa-tu-ú-ri a-si-ir li-iš-šá-an* and 8: *pa-tu-ú-ru a-si-ir li-iš-šá-ni* “the table of him who ties the tongue”, one of the examples given by Hyatt (4–5). For a discussion on the choice of signs in the Aramaic incantation written in cuneiform see appendix §1b.

⁴ Although Hyatt makes this point, he does not discuss the curious word *pi-la-ʾ*. See the discussion on Winckworth, below.

Words with short final vowels, including all verbs (in all moods) and words with suffixes, had their final sound spelled in a variety of different ways, indicating that the final vowel had disappeared.

Hyatt lists on page 23 all the variant ways in which *emūqu* can be spelled, arguing that these variants indicate that the scribe would be concentrating on the consonantal value of the signs. According to Hyatt it was likely to be chance if he chose either a sign containing the same vowel as the preceding syllable or the historically correct vowel. [If it is true that the scribes randomly chose any sign as long as it contained the desired consonant, as Hyatt implies, then Hyatt is suggesting that scribal training for NB must have been radically different from that of earlier periods, where lexical lists, historical or literary works from pre-NB times comprised the syllabus. Contrary to Hyatt's belief the spelling of the NB of my corpora clearly indicates a continuing tendency to follow historically correct spellings and therefore gives evidence of a tradition in scribal training which is not so radically different from that of earlier times.]

24–27: Regarding the doubling of final consonants in the spelling, either with geminates such as *dullu*, *qallu*, or where it is unjustified, e.g. in (*ša šatti*) *an-nit-ti*, Hyatt does not think there is any great difference in pronunciation between a final VCCV or VCV.⁵ [He therefore does not consider the possibility that the consonant doubling may be some attempt at indicating stress or anaptyxis.]

28–35: Here, Hyatt tackles the problem of cuneiform's spelling of $C_1VC_2C_3$ forms after the loss of final short vowels. Hebrew could not pronounce *pars*, *purs*, *pirs* unless it inserted a light vowel before the final consonant. Hyatt wonders whether NB also inserted some kind of *šewa*-type vowel but concludes that it can be only a very reduced vowel, otherwise variant spellings such as *šu-lum/šul-mu ka-sap/kàs-pu* would not be found. [The evidence provided by the GB texts and the spelling CVCVC noted in such cases as *a-tar*, *ši-zib*, *ka-sap* suggests a (reduced?) vowel is present. As for the *šu-lum/šul-mu* variations, that is simply scribal choice.] On p34 Hyatt discusses the problematic spelling of the word *māhirānu* in TUM 3/2 14. Line 3 has PN *ma-hir-an* A.ŠÀ and line 5 PN *ma-hir-nu* A.ŠÀ, "PN, the buyer of the field". [*ma-hir-nu* appears to be an exceptional spelling and may be a reflection of the scribe being more familiar with the Aramaic script, in which long vowels were not always recorded.]

⁵ He uses examples from the Aramaic incantation and GB to support this: *mi-in-ni* (= *min*), *mi-il-in-ni* (= *mīlīn*), *a-tap-pi* = αθαφ, *ša qin-nu* = ца κιν.

38–44: In his discussion of plural endings on nouns and verbs, Hyatt finds that the masculine plural ending on nouns is usually spelled *-ē* (in both nom and obl cases, p40). On p38, Hyatt gives 3mpl verbs and statives, which usually finish with CV. Imperative plurals are usually written CV-^ʔ or CV-*a*. On 41–42 he notes some examples of 3mpl verbs which are spelled *Cu-u/ú*.⁶ Because in most cases (in Hyatt’s corpus) the spelling ends with CV, he concludes that it did not affect comprehension whether an extra final vowel was given or not. If the final sign was CV the vowel was not pronounced (p44, top) and if a verb ended with a long vowel, there must have been a psychological reason for spelling it thus. He also wonders whether final weak spellings influenced the strong verb endings: [of those endings that are given long] “*ip-ru-su-u* endings are predominant” [i.e. more than *ip-ru-su-^ʔ*]. On page 44 he reminds us of the parallel of Syriac and its vowelless and vowel-final forms for 3cpl and 2fs verbs.

2: Winckworth (1950)

Winckworth’s main issue is the use of *𐤍* and the possibility of its having replaced the *n* in the ventive plural *-ūni(m)* at some time in the period between OB and NB. He believes that the appearance of *𐤍* must have been due to an actual sound change rather than a new trend in spelling. Systematic research is needed to ascertain when *𐤍* started to be used as a vowel instead of a glottal stop.⁷

Winckworth makes a valid point that final *n* is sometimes replaced with *𐤍* when in pause. [It is worth noting that it rarely also happens with final *m*. This is a point dismissed by him.]⁸ He wonders whether it is significant that in most cases the lost *n* is a stem consonant. In citing the cuneiform Aramaic incantation (line 22) *pi-la-^ʔ* for Aramaic *pēlān*, he has avoided the traps that both Gordon and Dupont-Sommer fall into when they assumed *pi-la-^ʔ* to be feminine. The full phrase is *pi-la-nu ba-ri pi-la-^ʔ* “someone, son of someone”, for which a feminine would be unlikely as the father would be alluded to rather than the mother.⁹

Winckworth argues that in OB the ventive plural was dropped and *𐤍* replaced it, because ventives never seem to end in *𐤍* (p69). [Whether it did or not, or whether

⁶ *i-tam-ru-ú*, *i-dib(sic)-bub-bu-ú*, *id-din-nu-ú* (all indic, p41); *bal-ṭu-ú* “they live (indic, p42).

⁷ In the eighth century NB letters from Nippur, recently published by Cole (1996), there is one example: *šá ta-qab-bi-^ʔ* “(about) what you said...” in 55: 5. Otherwise it appears to be limited to non-Akkadian names and roots with a historical glottal stop.

⁸ See §4, below.

⁹ See appendix §1b.

OB ventives actually disappeared, according to him, these verbs lost their ventive meaning and the endings that appear to be ventive in NB will have been reintroduced.] His citation of *iš-pur-ni* (YOS 3 126: 6) as an example of the ventive plural *išpurūni* is invalid as this is probably *iš-pur-<an>-ni*.

3: Weisberg (1967)

p107: In his discussion regarding scribal choices of signs, Weisberg says that choices are made on the basis of the signs that are available and on personal choice. Scribal training is not discussed. [His comment that a scribe would choose a graphically simpler sign than the historically justified one has no basis in fact. For example UD is used far less often to write *tu* than either TU or TUM, *ana* is usually written *a-na* and not DIŠ etc.]

On p108 Weisberg states that Gelb says that scribes were influenced by the Aramaic script when writing *ba-ta-ku-lu* and *ba-la-ṭa*. [These types of spellings cannot be seen to be general since patterns in sign choices, especially in the writing of common words, are rendered fuzzy by scribal training. There is also no evidence that scribes actually started choosing signs that were less ambiguous than others, nor does it matter that final vowels, mimation and case endings were neglected; these had passed out of use anyway. There is also no cause to make an argument for choosing to write *hi-ṭu* instead of (the “historically justified”) *hi-ṭa* when case endings are no longer observed anyway. There is no evidence in the texts of my corpora that *ṭu* is used in preference to *ṭa*].

110–111: Regarding the spelling *i-hi-ri-iṣ-ṣu* (ABL NB), Weisberg comments that *i-hi-ri-ṣu* would be explicit enough. [The *i-hi-ri-iṣ-ṣu* kind of spelling is rare in my corpora.]

4: Aro (1975)

In this paper, Aro discusses the loss of final short vowels in examples from GINBr. Although the spellings in the GB texts indicate that CVCCV became CVCVC, he asks whether all short vowels were lost. In the case of the sg suffixes, they seem to have lost their final vowel, i.e. *dullak*, *dullaš*. But this cannot happen with CVC̄ nouns and Aro asks how one can normalise *dik-ka*, *ṭè-en-ga*.

Some of his speculations are very wild: superfluous final vowels originated after a syllable which was long or stressed, e.g. *i-ba-a-ta*. Final vowels became weak and were subject to all kinds of assimilations, as happened in NA. Any vowels left are just a reflex [or overcorrection?] of the traditional spelling.

Vocal harmony is often observed.

15–17. Although the subjunctive is often retained according to “classical rules”, Aro notes that it is also often just left off and *-i* is used, especially in Persian and Seleucid times. He notes that *𐎧𐎶* is not used for the subjunctive (p16, top), but if *𐎧𐎶* is used only for plural endings on verbs ending with a strong consonant, is he implying that the singular and plural endings are of the same length? He therefore concludes that both subjunctive and plural forms of strong verbs are *išpúru*, singular indicative *išpur*.¹⁰ There is no evidence to disprove this, since CV endings are not conclusive. He also suggests (p17) that the addition of vowel signs or *𐎧𐎶* on the 2nd/3rd pl forms is a restitution through analogy with final weak forms, which had kept their long endings. [Since *𐎧𐎶* is only rarely used in final weak verbs in my corpora, except when the final vowel is *a*, I do not follow his line of reasoning.]¹¹

p18. Imperative singulars which are written with doubled middle or final radical may imply either stress on the final syllable or doubling of the middle radical, as in *mu-hur-ri* and *šup-pur*, for example. [Such spellings are very rare in my texts.]

On p19 Aro notes that the users of NB try to keep the language’s identity. [This is quite noticeable in the NB in my thesis. Far more spelling variations occur in the earlier NB of Hyatt’s study. In my conclusions I suggest that this conservatism has something to do with the conservatism of Nbk and Nbn.]

5: MacGinnis (1995)

This has a small section on orthography (189–191) which deserves mention as it makes points which are not covered in the above studies. He concentrates mainly on the spelling of names. By looking at the spellings of foreign names in cuneiform and in the Graeco-Babyloniaca he concludes that a doubled consonant in the spelling does not necessarily imply a doubled consonant. He also provides evidence to suggest that the name Nidintu was probably pronounced Nidint. He explains broken

¹⁰ See my conclusions about the stress in §5, below.

¹¹ See my observations below.

writings as an indication of alphabeticisation, perhaps as a result of increased contact with Elamite writing practices which Persian rule may have brought into Babylonia. Although it has long been known, CVC signs are sometimes used for which the vowel is not the expected vowel.¹²

§2 *Excursus: Scribal training and its effect on the spelling: lexical lists and the Nabû-ša-harê exercises*

A digression is now made from the corpora here to consider the topic of scribal training, the reason being that scribal training would have a profound influence on the presentation of written material. Only by knowing about the syllabus covered by trainee scribes will it be possible to identify any scribal habits which in turn would help to identify the extent to which NB was still a living language.

The numbers of lexical lists for which NB copies exist indicate that lexical lists continued to be a major factor in the teaching of cuneiform. However, the existence of lexical lists alone cannot tell us much about the programme of training which was followed, or how students progressed from copying sign lists, then word lists, to writing fluent Akkadian.

Fortunately the Iraqi excavations in Babylon from 1979–80 in the two temples¹³ on the western side of the processional way¹⁴ have now revealed hundreds of student exercises which provide an insight into the syllabus followed by student scribes. The texts (about 250) have been well examined by Cavigneaux (1979¹⁵ and 1981) and since they provide a wide cross section of material they will be far more informative as regards training than the lexical lists alone.

Written evidence shows that the temples were built by Nebuchadnezzar (1979, p28).
There was also a letter of Nebuchadnezzar (79 B32 in Appendix 2 of 1981, p139f)

/ Cavigneaux,

¹² See von Soden *Syllabar* pXXXV, 8. In my texts a few examples are found; *maš-šir* for *muššur*, “divulged”, CT 22 193: 28 (B); *it-ta-dan-nu* (= *dín*)-’ for *ittadnū* “they have given”, Nbn 756: 12 (B), *ša-ṭur* for *šaṭir* “was written”, Dar 447: 5 (B) and *šaṭ-ṭur* for “(which) was written (3ms subjunctive stative)”, Dar 468: 1 (B).

¹³ É.NÍ.G.GIDAR.KALAM.MA.SUM.MA, Nabû-ša-harê, and É.HI.LI.KALAM.MA, the temple of Ašratu. See below.

¹⁴ According to George (1985, p12), in the Kadingirra quarter.

¹⁵ Sumer 41. This has no date but covers two symposia from 1979 and 1981. Cavigneaux is providing preliminary information, so I assume 1979.

found in the rubble of the south palace, north of the temple[s?] It can therefore be assumed that the material is later than his reign.¹⁶

The tablets were pressed into the floors in various rooms of the temples, as opposed to simply being fill (1979, p28). According to Cavigneaux, their careful positioning suggests they were deliberately placed as offerings when new fill was put on the floors. This is supported by the fact that many of them have colophons with the trainee's name and a dedication to Nabû, often with a request to Nabû to grant good fortune and academic success and a comment on its placement in the temple (1981, 37–38). None of the tablets is dated. Most of them are large and divided into columns, on which there are often different kinds of exercises demanding different levels of competence.¹⁷ Tablets were also found in the fill of the neighbouring temple. George argues that this is the temple of the minor deity Ašratu, É.HI.LI.KALAM.MA (1985, p15).¹⁸

Cavigneaux (1981) has presented the material according to the numbers of exercises found. If one excludes his first category (colophons, see h, below), one may assume that the more numerous the exercises, the more numerous the students and consequently the earlier the position of the exercises in the syllabus.¹⁹

a) Sign copying

The same sign is repeated several times. Usually BAD or A.

b) The copying of sign lists Sa (Syllabary A) and Sb (Syllabary B)

c) The copying of the Anum lists of god names (79ff)

On page 80 Cavigneaux has placed most of the exercises within the definitive Anum list.²⁰ He gives about 240 entries. The order of entries follows the order in the definitive list²¹ almost exactly, as does the spelling.

¹⁶ Unlike, perhaps, some of the trainee texts in UET 7 nos. 126–165, in which the students practised writing Sa (and sometimes Sb) in old (paleographic) signs for which the king had an interest.

¹⁷ Although Cavigneaux does not say so, it must therefore be assumed that the exercises were produced by different students.

¹⁸ Although it is not important to this thesis, George concludes that the Nabû-of-accounting cult (É.GIŠ.LÁ.AN KI) was housed within the main (Nabû-ša-harê) temple (1985, 13–15). In (1992), 311–313, he argues that the É.GIŠ.LÁ.AN KI temple was in the Eridu quarter of Babylon.

¹⁹ This does not explain the number of colophons. Perhaps colophons were practised earlier on in the syllabus than expected.

²⁰ As given in Litke (1958).

²¹ However, they compare well with the NB texts from Kish, nos. 135–139, in OECT 4, and OECT 12 135.

for a time
/

d) Hh bilingual lists

The order of entries only loosely follows the general order of canonical Hh so the exercises cannot be interpreted as direct copies of Hh. The spelling begins to show Neo-Babylonianisms.²² The beginning of the list is most often represented. Cavigneaux notes that the beginning often comes after the An=Anum list (p101). Since the catchline to the An=Anum lists is *ur₅-ra: hu-bul-lum*, this may have determined the order of learning. Among these, Cavigneaux finds examples of lists of kings, constellations, stones, etc.

e) Acrographic lists

These are lists of words with the same initial sign (what Cavigneaux calls “paradigmes”, as they are usually lists of conjugated verbs). These were found by him to be based on the sign list Sa. Most of the exercises begin with the first five signs in Sa, in the order that they appear in Sa.²³

f) Lists of professions and proper names

Judging by the order of Cavigneaux’s entries it is at this point that trainee scribes appear to adopt an NB way of spelling.²⁴ It must be assumed that by now, trainees were able to spell words according to their historically correct form yet could also spell as they liked. This is obviously a significant point, as it implies that students could now exercise their own whims in their spelling. It is very unfortunate that no other trainee texts have been found to clarify this. Cavigneaux finds examples of lists of PNs and ^fPNs, both with and without DNs, and lists of hypocoristic PNs and ^fPNs.²⁵

g) Further evidence of the trainees’ freedom of choice of signs can be seen in the model texts, i.e. letters, IOUs, legal texts and contracts. The examples on 135–136 include standard fixed legal phrases such as *rašû šanâmma ina muhhi ul išallaṭ adi PN kaspiš išallimu, eli 1 manê 10 šiqil kasap ina muhhiš irabbi*, etc.

²² Exx.: p107f. 79 B1/55 rev i and 79 B1/147 lines 5 and 10 respectively: LÚ.SAG šá re-e-šú. p110, 79 B1/162: 2’ LÚ.ŠU.HA gal-la-bi.

²³ I.e. A, SUR, SUK, HAR, AH. See Cavigneaux (1981) 118–123 for a discussion and examples of the exercises. It is extremely significant that the exercises, consisting mainly of verbs, contain NB spellings, e.g. 195 rev.: 6–7 *a-man-gur, a-man-gu-ur*, 67 rev. i’ *ta-nam-[din]*, 173: 5 *dal-ha-tu₄*. See also the examples in 146 rev. i’ and 70 rev. ii and elsewhere. A common feature of these “paradigmes” lists, including the one in OECT 12 137, is the spelling of the same verb in two ways, with the final syllable spelled with a CVC sign then with CV-VC: *a-lam-mad, a-lam-ma-ad; a-lam-miš, a-lam-mi-iš; a-šab-bat, a-šab-ba-at* etc. Such practices may help to explain why it is the word endings that are so much more variable in their spelling than the rest of the word.

²⁴ See the examples and comments below.

²⁵ Personal names are also found in UET 7 147 and 180 (not copied). 147 also has a list of the fractions of a shekel. The spellings are typically NB.

h) Colophons

These cannot be fitted into the sequence of scribal training in that they seem to have been practised by students at all levels of competence. In his preliminary observations (37–38) he describes their content.²⁶ He does not say whether the quality of the writing indicates that the students practised writing colophons very early on, as even the simplest exercises have quite elaborate colophons (exx. 102, 105, 106). The poor preservation makes it very difficult to determine how often different people wrote on the same tablet and which pieces were written by students or teachers. It must be noted, though, that among those colophons that are well preserved enough to be transliterated, he gives only four which are given twice on their respective tablets. The repeated piece appears to be the student's copy. [I presume the original is the teacher's.] Another example of one tablet with contributions by different people is 79/B1 79, which has the simplest exercises on the front (BAD and A repeated), while the reverse contains a colophon too complicated to have been done by any student.

Observations on these and the school texts from Kish and Ur

It is significant to note that the texts are never dated, and that exercises on date writing have not been found. There are only four examples of metrological exercises in Cavigneaux's catalogue. These are all capacity measures and are written on large tablets with at least seven columns.²⁷ The texts from Kish and Ur are not dated either and no dating exercises are found. UET 7 182–198 are mathematical texts, including multiplication tables, squares, square and cube roots. None is given in OECT 12. NB spellings are noted in the non-lexical and non-mathematical exercises. There are a good many legal and letter exercises in the OECT 12 texts.

Patterns of spelling observed in the trainee tablets

Some examples of spellings which identify the dialect as NB (using 1981) are given below. In examining these, it must not be forgotten that these kinds of spellings regularly occur in literary Babylonian (SB, jB). However, it must be remembered that many of these SB texts, from which the Nabû-ša-harê students copied, are copies made by Neo-Babylonian scribes. As well as the unfortunate lack of dates, there is insufficient evidence of any of these students becoming fully fledged scribes later.

²⁶ See my introduction above.

²⁷ 59+152, 70, 186 and 206.

p108 79 B1/55 rev	1	šá re-e-šú
	6	taš-li-sú
79 B1/147	5	šar-ri
p110f 79 B1 222 rev	1	um-man-ni
	6	ba-ʾ-i-ri
	7	gal-la-bi
	8	[š]á-kin tē-e-mu

Personal names

p127 79 r iii (last three entries)	bul-lu-tu
	bul-luṭ
	[lib?]-luṭ
p133 68 r i	^{fd} KURUN.NAM i-lat
	re-mat
	at-kal

§3 The spelling of finite verbs, predicative adjectives (“statives”) and imperatives

I now return to the main corpora to discuss the spelling of finite verbs, predicative adjectives and imperatives. Examples of these, taken from the two corpora, are listed at the end of ~~part~~ 2. Since the point at issue here is the spellings of the inflections, examples are separated according to roots which end either in a strong consonant or which are final weak in their ending. Any which are probably questions are avoided since they would then have a lengthened ending.²⁸ For ease of reference I have split some of the larger sections up into different verb classes (strong, initial weak, middle weak, primae nun, D, Š, N etc.) and I present these in the 3-2-1 singular and plural order of person as seen in the paradigms in GAG and elsewhere. Finite forms are followed by statives then imperatives.

²⁸ As noted in part 1 I §6 b ii, above.

VC and CV spellings are separated for ease of reference. In order to help separate the later texts, the Darius texts are identified in italics. The two corpora provide very inconclusive evidence that the final *ī* of 2fs remained.²⁹ It will be noticed that, for the singular and 1cpl forms, the VC and CVC word final syllable signs are by far the commonest.³⁰

According to the spelling patterns the following categories are identifiable. Strong verbs are those with three consonants in the root:

a) No final vowel

i) When there is no final vowel the spelling is usually (C)VC (*i-hal-li-iq*, *iš-kun*, etc.). This includes the singular and 1cpl of verbs and statives and imperatives ending in a consonant.

ii) The endings of the initial and middle weak verbs have CV final spellings more often than do verbs with a strong final consonant, and more so in the Uruk texts. The CV signs are usually *Cu* or *Ca*, and since the CV signs are used interchangeably without changing the meaning, the final vowel was not being pronounced and the signs were evidently being chosen for their consonantal value only. 3fs statives, which have no final vowel, are frequently written with a final *tu*, a sign often used for feminine endings in all nominal forms apart from abstracts. They are also sometimes written with *tī*.

b) Short final vowels

i) In the subjunctives of all verbs and predicative forms with a strong final consonant, CV final spellings are commonest. There are a few exceptions with (C)VC found among the strong verbs and these are listed first. There are no instances of a final CV being augmented by a vowel or *ʾ* (𐎠) sign. Although scribal training exercises involving the subjunctive are not found, the properties of the subjunctive are still observed (d, below). *Cu* endings are twice as common as all the other endings put together. However, the presence of *Ca*, *Ci* and *VC* endings shows once again that a *Cu* final is probably more a reflection of the scribe's knowledge of correct historical orthography rather than evidence of a final vowel.

²⁹ The problem of the 2fs is addressed in the sections on imperatives and questions (part 1 I §4a and §6b ii, respectively). Most of the 2fs attestations in the corpora are final weak, with suffixes, imperatives or in questions.

³⁰ Final VC of course was the norm in the earlier dialects. The use of CVC finals is a characteristic of NB spelling.

ii) The final weak sg finite forms, imperatives, 1cpl and the 3ms stative indicatives are spelled with a CV (normally Ci or Ce) final throughout. On the basis of this, the ambiguous *i-he-ru-ú* in TCL 13 182: 26 must be a plural.

c) Plurals of verbs with a strong final consonant

Word final CV and often CV-^ˊ signs are noted (*i-nam-di-nu*, *i-nam-di-nu-^ˊ*, etc.). Subjunctives and indicatives consistently follow the same pattern, namely Cu (-^ˊ) for 3mpl and Ca (-^ˊ) for 3fpl and 2pl imperatives. As a CV sign alone is not a conclusive indication of a final vowel, the implication may be that the final vowel was no longer pronounced, in spite of the consistency of the vowels used, and that ✠ was used as much to convey plurality as to convey a long vowel,³¹ because in some cases ✠ follows a (C)VC sign (*i-nam-din-^ˊ*, *i-hal-li-iq-^ˊ* etc.). The examples of plurals spelled as singulars could suggest a loss of the final vowel but they are very few. However, the Cu(-^ˊ) and Ca(-^ˊ) gender distinctions indicate that a final vowel existed, but whether it was written as short or long was a matter of personal choice.

d) Plurals of final weak (indicative or subjunctive) and singular final weak subjunctives are written CV-*ú* throughout (*iq-bu-ú*, *i-na-áš-šu-ú* etc.). *a*₄ and not *a* is used as a *plene* spelling (also noted with 2pl impvs). The long vowels therefore clearly indicate a *ū* or *ā* ending. Occasionally there is a Cu-^ˊ or a Ca-^ˊ spelling.

Other observations about the spelling

The spelling in the later texts begins to differ slightly from that of the earlier texts. The signs sometimes cross the morpheme boundaries, i.e. instead of CV-CV or CV-CVC one finds CVC-VC, CVC-V, CVC-^ˊ or VC-VC for V-CV-VC. This is more noticeable in the Darius texts from Babylon.³²

Earlier examples are:

taš-pur-an-ni-ma CTMMA 2 54+Nbn 380: 3 (B)

i-nam-din-^ˊ (3mpl) passim

šu-bil-an-na “bring”, (2pl impv) YOS 3 33: 33 (U)

³¹ The only other regular appearance of ✠ is in final weak singular ventives without suffixes.

³² E.g. *ina-ad-din-nu-^ˊ* Dar 384: 6 and Dar 396: 13, cf. the 3ms *ina-an-din* Dar 499: 13, 15.

It is possible that the scribes used some kind of word-building involving the attaching of suffixes and plurals to the basic singular verb form.³³ Similar patterns are seen in nominal forms:

pa-qé-er-a-nu Nbn 293: 35 (B)

pa-qer-a-ni VS 5 38: 38 (B)

gir-ú “¹/₂4th shekel”, AnOr 8 40: 9, YOS 6 223: 2 (both, U)

The reason for this may be that, as stated in chapter 1V §1, above (nouns and adjectives), many nouns are written logographically, so that in plurals *-ān*, *-ānū* and *-ūt* (or ME/MEŠ) endings would be added to the logogram. This is particularly common among singular abstract nouns:

GEMÉ.LUGAL-*ú-tu* “female slave status” and

DUMU.DÜ-*ú-tu* “free citizen status”, both in Nbn 693: 12 (B)

Another development in the later texts is the use of AŠ for *ina* in verbs, pronounced *in*.³⁴

ina-áš-šu-ú, *ina-aš-ša-ru* Camb 142: 7, 9 (B)

ina-an-din Dar 499: 13, 15 (B)

This reflects the change in value of the signs by the time of these texts. Scribes were no longer happy to use a CV sign for a consonant and a long vowel, so *a*, *u*, *i* and *e* signs would be inserted as *plene* spellings to assist in the reading. The scribes observed the vowel value of the CV signs;³⁵ it is very rare to see broken spellings such as *ki-na-at-te-a-šú* “his colleagues”, Dar 410: 5 (B) and *in-za-hu-ru-e-ti* “dyed red” (sg), YOS 7 7: 140 (U).

The doubling of the middle radical in the present-future is retained in most cases.

e) Observations on the use of 𐎶 (𐎶𐎶)

As seen in the example of *i-nam-din-𐎶* above, it is a scribal habit to end the plurals of verbs ending in a strong consonant with CVC-^𐎶, suggesting that 𐎶𐎶 may be as much a marker of plurality as an actual representation of a long vowel. It may be

³³ This reminds one of the scribal “paradigms” exercises; however, the examples given by Cavigneaux maintain their correct syllable breaks (1987, 119–122).

³⁴ See *ina* as a preposition (q.v.) and in the Graeco-Babyloniaca texts, where it is transcribed *w*.

³⁵ The broken spelling *iq-bi-ú-niš-šú-nu-tu* “who (pl) spoke to them”, GCCI 2 101: 7 (Cyr yr 4, U) is probably a scribal archaism.

used in verbal forms in the same way that MEŠ is used as a marker of plurality in nominal forms.³⁶ When a final long vowel needs to be shown to exist, such as in the plurals and all subjunctives of final weak verbs, a vowel sign is used. For a long *ā*, *a* is used in preference to the sign A. The A sign tends to be reserved for nouns and ventives.³⁷

𐎶 is used sometimes to represent the demonstrative *ā* “the aforementioned” in the texts from Babylon.

The development in the use of 𐎶 in NB and NA material prior to my corpora.

i) In both Kuyunjik NB and NA, 𐎶 is consistently used in roots with a historical glottal stop or a long vowel, such as *e'ēlu*, *ma'ādu*, *re'û*, etc. It is only rarely used without a qualifying vowel, as in *u-šap-ʾ-lu* (3ms preterite, BRM 7 40: 3, 8, 13, Dilbat, ŠŠU) and *ṁPir-ʾ* (passim).³⁸

ii) It occasionally appears as a word final instead of a plene vowel ending, in verbal and stative use only (i.e. not in nominal forms). In the NB from prior to Nbk it is very rare to find a final 𐎶 exclusively marking a plural ending of a strong verb, exx.: *li-ta-šab-ʾ* (ABL 258: 10, letter, Esarhaddon?) *il-ta-kan-ʾ* (ABL 804: rev 12, letter, Asb?).³⁹ Even in the reign of Nbk, it is not much used outside of roots with a historical glottal stop (a, above), cf. *ru-gûm-ma-ʾ ul i-ši* “there is to be no complaint”, AnOr 8 8: 21–22 (Nbk yr 19).⁴⁰

Even more rare are examples of 𐎶 as an initial: *ṁʾ-la-ʾ* (Alā? ABL 275: rev 1, letter, Asb), URU.ʾ-ta-a-a/LÚ.ʾ-ta-a-a (Ūtayya? Ītayya?⁴¹ ABL 1117: 8, 13, letter, Asb).

iii) There is one example of 𐎶 being used for the AH sign:

at-ta-pal-sa-ʾ “I have prostrated myself”, CT 22 151: 13 (letter, B)

³⁶ 𐎶 is not normally used as a marker of plurality in nouns. It is possible that *É-su ki-šub-ba-ʾ* is plural: “his building plots”, YOS 7 11: 5 (U) (subject case). See *kišubbû*, AHW p493. In Seleucid NB, verbs are sometimes written with logograms and made plural with MEŠ or ME, for example DU.ME-*nim-ma* “they came”, in BM 21946: 16, ŠUB.ME “they set fire to” (*iddû*) and DÛ.MEŠ “they did” etc. (BM 25127:1–9). (The texts are in CCK.) Streck (1995, p114) cites a text from Seleucid year 165 (*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* 1955/4 VIII: 9–10), which has *i-nam-din.MEŠ*.

³⁷ *i-re-ʾ-a* “he is to pasture”, TCL 13 182: 29 (Dar yr 2, U) is probably a ventive.

³⁸ This was also noted by Woodington (15–17). She gives a long list of examples where it is used as a final sign in final weak verbs (*iq-ta-ba-ʾ*), or final vowels on strong verbs (*id-di-in-ʾ*, *ab-ka-ʾ*, *áš-bu-ʾ*).

³⁹ *ih-ta-has-ʾ* “they mistreated” in ABL 610: 10 indicates that it occurred in NA also, but very rarely.

⁴⁰ Cf. TCL 12 8: 17 (ŠŠU yr 1, 668 B.C.).

⁴¹ See PKB p270 and n1737. LÚ.ú-tu-ʾ-a-a in ABL 349 rev 3 (NB).

As far as it is possible to ascertain, given the difficulties and free variation acceptable in the spelling, the NB in the corpora used the same consonants as MB and SB. However, the glottal stop no longer had phonemic value and was limited to word initial position, where it could be represented with vowel signs, as in earlier phases of Akkadian. The appearance of intervocalic “m” signs to separate two different vowels suggests intervocalic w may have been generated.⁴² The vowels a, e, i and u are used. Unstressed vowels are sometimes omitted in the spelling and it is difficult to know whether this happens because they are indeed lost in speech or whether the vowel has become a weak šewa, cf. *ta-ba-la-a-nu*,⁴³ *tab-la-nu*,⁴⁴ *e-pi-šá-nu-tu*,⁴⁵ *e-piš-nu-tu*,⁴⁶ *i-mah-har* (passim) and *i-mah-ri*.⁴⁷ (Although Deller [1962] indicates that CVC signs may read CVCV in NA, it is doubtful that the same occurs in NB, given NB’s loss of short final vowels.)

Sound changes.

i) š+dental > t+dental:

- il-tap-ra* “he has sent/written”, (YOS 6 71: 19) passim
- al-ta-kan* “I have put”, YOS 3 17: 14 (U)
- il-da-a-ta* “foundations”, Nbn 441: 2 (B)
- al-ti šá...* “wife of...”, Nbn 756: 3 (B)
- il-tu-ru-ma...* “(which) he wrote and...”, Nbn 442: 4 (B)
- il-su-ú-uš* “(in which) they called him”, Nbn 68: 7 (B)

ii) r+ plosive > š + plosive

- ša-áš-tu*, “crime”, AnOr 8 27: 23 (U)
- 1 U₈ *mu-uš-šu-uš-tu*, “one loose ewe”, TCL 13 184: 4 (U)
- iš-ku-su* “they bound”, YOS 7 88: 22 (U); “(which) he bound”, Rutten: 3 (B)
- ši-piš-tu*, “letter”, CT 22 78: 30 (B)
- GU₄ *bu-uš-tu*, “heifer calf”, Dar 257: 1, 10 (B)
- pa-áš-ku* “obstruction”, TCL 13 144: 3, 9 (B), cf.:
- piš-ki* deceit⁴⁸

⁴² Exx. *ú-ba-mu-ú*, *ú-za-mi-zu-’*. The problem of /m/ in these texts is discussed in appendix §2 d.

⁴³ YOS 6 175: 2, YOS 6 235: 1 (both U).

⁴⁴ YOS 6 191: 4 (twice) and the near duplicate YOS 6 214: 4 (twice) (both U). Conversely, consonants at syllable boundaries are sometimes spelled CV-C(V), suggesting a pattern of breaking up even simple consonant clusters. For a discussion of the problems of the existence or non-existence of unstressed vowels see part 3 §3, below.

⁴⁵ VS 6 84: 4 (B).

⁴⁶ VS 6 104: 4 (B).

⁴⁷ In both Dar 395: 17 and the duplicate Dar 396: 17

⁴⁸ Cf. *per-ku* in Camb 142: 7. The root is *prk* (“obstruction, deviousness”) and the plural is *paškān*. See the comments in appendix §3 fn 30 (*akkullāt*).

iii) -mt- or -md- > -nd-:

*un-da-šir, tu-un-da-šir*⁴⁹ etc. “he/she abandoned”, passim
in-dah-šu-uš “he (then) hit him”, YOS 7 97: 7 (U)⁵⁰
in-da-har “(if) it is agreeable”, VS 5 20: 15, 17 (B)⁵¹
tan-di-di “(that) you measured”, Peek 22: 30 (B)

or even -dd-:

i-da-har-in-ni “they received from me”, Dar 296: 5 (B)

iv) -dd- > -md- or -nd-; -mm- > -nm-; -šš- > -mš-:⁵²

i-nam-din “he gives”, passim
i-man-dad “he will measure”, VS 6 104: 14 (B)
i-nam-ša-ru “they guard”, YOS 7 5: 14 (U)
*i-nam-šar-ru-*³ YOS 7 156: 15 (U)
nin-ša-bu “drainpipe”, Dar 129: 10 (B)

v) -dn- > -nn-:

it-tan-nu “he will have given (futurum exactum, subjunctive); they have given”,
passim

vi) rš, šš > ls:

šu-ul-su-du-ú-tu “well equipped”, TCL 13 150: 2 (U)
il-su-ú-ma “(which) they read”, YOS 6 116: 10 (U)
il-su-ú-uš “they called him”, Nbn 68: 7 (B)

Other unusual changes

št/lt, rt > tt? rk > kk:

it-ta-kan “he has set”, CT 22 200: 9 (B)
ši-pit-tu₄ “letter”, CT 22 79: 20 (B)
ši-ik-ka “širku slave”, YOS 7 50: 8 (U)

šp > tp:

lit-pur-ru “may he send”, CT 22 183: 22 (B)

⁴⁹ Cyr 337: 17 (B).

⁵⁰ Contrast with *ni-in-da-ha-as-su* “we hit him”, in line 15.

⁵¹ To be contrasted with the more “proper” spelling: *im-ta-har* “he has bought”, in Nbn 85: 7 (B).

⁵² I.e. dissimilation of doubled radical to nasal + (voiced) radical in roots with a nasal as the first radical. The dissimilated sound is usually spelled with “m” signs but sometimes also “n” signs.

rṣ > *lṣ*:

pe-el-ṣa-tu “deceit”, *JRAS* 1926: 16 (B)

Loss of final nasal?⁵⁴

i-ṣal-la- “he is to recoup in full”, (*ṣalāmu*) Camb 373: 8 (B)

u-ru i-ṣá- “he is to keep the roof sound”, (*ṣanû*) Camb 117: 7 (yr 2, B)

a-nam-di- “(that) I shall give”, Dar 504: 8 (B)

l and *r* confusion?

É ṣá ina IGI a-bu-ru gi-iṣ “(regarding) a house opposite the Giššu Gate”,

Camb 117: 1 (yr 2, B)

-qd- > *-qn-* is found only in the plural of *bēl piqittu*⁵⁵ (*bēlē piqdātu* in earlier Babylonian):

LÚ.EN.MEŠ.*pi-iq-né-e-tú* “appointed officers”, YOS 6 41: 9, cf. LÚ.EN.

MEŠ.*piq-né-e-ti* in TCL 12 90: 2, 8 (both U)

§5 Comments on the pronunciation and stress of the NB under discussion

Difficult as it is to establish how a language was spoken when the only evidence is in writing, the problem of understanding stress in the NB of these texts is compounded by the various ways in which it is possible to spell the same word. The main aim of this thesis has been to improve the comprehension of sixth-century NB and establish whether it still merits credibility as a coherent language alongside earlier NB. I shall concentrate mainly on word shape and pronunciation and make suggestions about stress where possible.

General overview

It will help to be reminded of how words are spelled in the texts. By now it will be understood that final short vowels had been dropped. Although instances of word-final (C)VC spellings exist in abundance to corroborate this, final CV signs were still being written but for their consonantal value only. As for the spelling of words

⁵⁴Cf. Streck *i-re-es-si-* “he is to fulfil a prebendal duty”, (Npl or early Nbk, Uruk) from *resēnu* (1993b, p277).

⁵⁵ The singular LÚ.EN.*pi-qit-an-na* in TCL 12 90: 25 (U) is exceptional.

with two consonants for a single one, in the NB here it seems to have been a scribal choice, in that very occasionally⁵⁶ the scribe added a CV sign to a preceding (C)VC sign, perhaps to disambiguate the (C)VC sign.

In the earlier NB of Kuyunjik not only were random CV signs being used at the ends of words undoubtedly ending in a consonant but also the spelling regularly broke syllable boundaries. As seen from the examples in the appendix to this chapter such “unconventional” spellings are not so much in evidence in the NB of this thesis and they probably reflect a higher level of scribal training. It is known that Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus took particular pride in Babylonia’s heritage and almost certainly encouraged an improved programme for the teaching of scribes in the scribal schools in the main cities.⁵⁷ The existence of Aramaic with its comparatively simple script may have been luring scribes away from Akkadian and cuneiform from prior to the reign of Nbk onwards. Whether this was the case or not, the following conservatisms abounded:

- Logogram + MEŠ for a plural noun and much use of logograms (with or without phonetic complements) in general.
- Simple nominal forms were spelled CVCCV even though examples of CVCVC spellings for *parsu*-type nouns, along with the loss of final short vowels, indicate *parsu*-type nouns were generally pronounced *paras*, *piris* and *purus*.⁵⁸

Patterns of word shape observed

a) CVCV/CVCV > CVC (CVC?)

ina qí-it šá MN “at the end of Dûzu”, Nbn 256: 4 (yr 7, B), cf. Joannès Strasbourg 1: 5 (B)

mal šá ina lîb-bi ip-pu-šû... “whatever he does therein...”, Dar 378: 10 (yr 14, B)

še-en a₄ 2 “the two (aforementioned) sheep and goat”, TCL 13 132: 5 (Cyr yr 4, U)

⁵⁶ In the letter CT 22 82 it happens several times; see lines 25, 27, 29 and perhaps 12 (middle Dar, B).

⁵⁷ As evidenced by the many student texts from Babylon and Kish, some of which were exercises in archaic signs, and also the lack of difference between the Babylon and Uruk styles. See §2, above.

⁵⁸ Examples: KUR.mi-šir “Egypt”, passim; šu-lum “peace”, passim; (šîm) ha-ri-iš/šû “predetermined price”, passim, the name Širku as Ši-rik-ki (CT 22 189: 1; Dar 537: 7!, 10 and mŠi-iš-ki in line 13) as well as Ši-ir-ku and Ši-iš-ku (B), and perhaps even UDU.ka-lum “yearling sheep” (kalûmu in earlier dialects), passim in YOS 7 7 (U). The problems of stress changes as a result of the loss of final vowels are also discussed in Aro (1975). My comments on this paper are in §1 above, entry 4.

te-en šá EN-ia “my Lord’s advice”, CT 22 82: 30 (letter, middle Dar? B)

Geminate nouns may also fall in this category, i.e. $C_1VC_2C_2V$ becomes C_1VC_2 :⁵⁹

ma-am “anybody”, Peek 22: 31 (B)

ina É dul šá PN “in PN’s workshop”, YOS 6 235: 16 (Nbn yr 12, U)

É šá ina IGI a-bu-ru gi-iš “(regarding) a house opposite the Giššu Gate”, Camb 117: 1 (yr 2, B)⁶⁰

b) (C)VCCV preterites in verbs with a final weak consonant (not plural, subjunctive or ventive plural)

Most spellings continue to be VCCV (exx. *ib-ni*, *im-nu*, *taq-bi*) but if the final vowel is lost an actual pronunciation and stress *ibⁱn*, *im^un*, *táqⁱb* must be expected.⁶¹ The Graeco-Babyloniaca texts provide the only piece of concrete evidence that this was the case.⁶²

ih-ri $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ ⁶³ “he dug”, BM 34797: 3

That a VC ending is probable for these verbs is indicated in the spelling *áš-bi* in Rutten: 20 (B) for the predicative “he sits”.⁶⁴

c) (C)VCCV > CVCVC

Although much evidence for the CVCVC pronunciation of simple nominal forms comes from the GB, further evidence can be found by looking at nouns recently adopted from neighbouring languages. Scribal training will have involved the copying of many standard Akkadian nouns in their CVCCu or logographic form. Because loan words have no prior history in Akkadian, they will not have been practised in a CVCCu or logographic written form, so their spelling is often more representative of their actual pronunciation, hence:

⁵⁹ The Seleucid NB of the GB texts follows the same pattern: *mu-uh-hi* $\alpha\epsilon$ “top” Geller: 1; *bir-ri* $\beta\epsilon\epsilon$ “well” Geller (= HSM 1137) 3. (For the use of ϵ to transliterate *h* see appendix §2.)

⁶⁰ Contrast with KÁ.GAL *gi-iš-šú* in Dar 129: 1 (yr 4, B).

⁶¹ The accent marks the stressed syllable. The pattern of breaking up clusters of even two consonants (anaptyxis) is suggested by the insertion of an extra syllable (either by CVC or CV signs). The difficulty is that when two dissimilar plosives or fricatives of differing location are spoken, there is a pause (voiced or unvoiced, depending on whether the two consonants are voiced or unvoiced) between them, which the scribe may be tempted to represent as a separate unstressed syllable.

⁶² Exx. *qab-ri* $\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\rho$ “grave” and *pal-gu* $\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$ “ditch”. All examples of GB are taken from appendix §2. Aro (1955, p11), has *atappu* = $\alpha\theta\alpha\phi$.

⁶³ Note that the spelling bears a resemblance to the present *i-he-ri* “he is to dig” in VS 5 49: 8, 17, 22 (B).

⁶⁴ The more traditional *a-ši-ib* is in Nbn 194: 8 and VS 5 57/58: 15 (both B).

bīt ni-zi-il “undrained land”, TCL 12 90: 22 (U)⁶⁵

(*qaq-qar šá* FDN) *ka-sa-al* “(the Lady-of-Uruk’s ground) drained by ditches”, YOS 6 33: 4 (U)

*ma-gu-šu*⁶⁶ “magus”, YOS 3 66: 7 (U)

Most common in mainstream NB is *šu-lum* “peace, wellbeing”, passim in letters. As well as the examples already given at the beginning of part 1 V, note also *ba-ti-il* “stoppage”, in CT 22 8: 5, *bu-qul* “hops”, in CT 22 79: 22 and *i-ri-ib* “income” in VS 5 74/75 : 6 (all, B). More unusual are the technical terms *gi-di-im* and *gíd-dil*, “bunch (of palm branches)” and “string (of garlic)” respectively, in CT 22 80: 6, 7 (letter, 545–527, B).

This category includes 3ms statives and sg imperatives. Knudsen (1980) suggests the stress is on the first syllable (p3) or that there may be no stress (p15).⁶⁷ Not too much importance should be laid on such spellings as *ši-rik-ki*, *ba-rak-ki*⁶⁸ as the vowel in CVC signs is occasionally variable. (2pl imperatives and final weak singular subjunctive statives and all plural statives would remain unaffected since they do not end in a short vowel.)

d) (C)VCCVCV > (C)VCCVC

Examples:

MUNUS.*qal-lat* “female slave”, passim

qaq-qar “ground”, passim

nap-tan “meal”, VS 6 96: 3 (B)⁶⁹

tam-lit; *lah-rat* “offspring; ewe”, YOS 7 7: 55, 109, 110, 114 (U). *tam-lit* is also in AnOr 8 28: 12 (U)

In the GB examples of this form an interesting pattern is observed in that occasionally the two syllables are separated by an anaptyctic vowel. (Anaptyxis in more complex word structure is discussed below.):

šap-liš *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶* “below”, BM 35727: 2, 4

ina ik-le-[ti] *𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶* “in darkness”, Geller (= HSM 1137): 9

⁶⁵ Both *nizlu* and *kaslu* are in the lexical items in appendix §3.

⁶⁶ See CAD M I p49a, where both *ma-gu-uš* (TUM 2/3 184: 8, Dar, Nippur) and *mgwš* (from an Aramaic docket, no. 1798) are cited. Kent, p201b has *magu-* “uncertain etymology”.

⁶⁷ Knudsen begins his paper with a summary on earlier conclusions about stress (“in Akkadian” [presumably OB and SB]) then makes his own conclusions by looking at OB letters.

⁶⁸ *Barik-ilī*, spelled *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶* in TCL 13 182: 4, 15, 21 and in the seals at the end, and spelled *𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶* in TCL 13 181: 2, 15 (both Uruk).

⁶⁹ *nap-ta-nu* in YOS 3 66: 22 (U).

Non-standard nouns are carefully spelled:⁷⁰

hal-lat “orchard tax (?)”, BM 36432: 1 (B)⁷¹

UZU.*ha-ar-mi-il*.MEŠ “cartilage (?)”, VS 5 57/58: 2 (B)⁷²

In the case of the trisyllabic *tab(a)lān* “pilferer”, the short vowel is suppressed to create a CVCCVC form. Contrast the following spellings:

ta-ba-la-a-nu,⁷³ *tab-la-nu*⁷⁴

Because unstressed vowels are sometimes omitted in the spelling (see e, below), it is difficult to know whether this happens because they are indeed lost in speech or whether the vowel has become a weak *šewa*; cf. *e-piš-an-nu-tu*,⁷⁵ *e-pi-šá-nu-tu*,⁷⁶ *e-piš-nu-tu*.⁷⁷ According to Knudsen’s rule 6, the word would be stressed *ēpiš(a)nūt*.

e) (VC)VCCVC > (VC)VCC^vC and other more complex patterns.

The suppression of a short vowel immediately following a stressed syllable (closed, penultimate, Knudsen’s rules 1, 2, and 3) is found in *ul i-mah-ri* “he is not to receive”, Dar 395/396: 17 (B) (*imáh^er*) (contrast with *i-mah-har* passim), and *i-né-eh-su-nu* “they are to deduct”, TCL 12 90: 22 (U) (*inehⁱsūn*).⁷⁸ It also occurs in the nominal form LÚ.*mu-sah-lre-e*¹ “buying agents”, YOS 3 127: 21 (U). Conversely, as mentioned above,⁷⁹ the pause between two CVC signs may be expressed by a sign suggesting a third syllable (anaptyxis):

ki-i ta-hal-liq “when she escaped”, CT 22 183: 6 (*táh^eliq?*) (B)

⁷⁰ The spelling of the town Šahrīnu as URU.šá-*ah-ri-in* (Dar 358: 22, B) indicates that it fits into the CVCCVC category.

⁷¹ *hal-la-ti* in YOS 162: 1 (U). From the Aramaic root ‘Il “to enter”, according to von Soden (1966, p9, no.40).

⁷² Also in appendix §3 (lexical items).

⁷³ YOS 6 175: 2, YOS 6 235: 1 (both U).

⁷⁴ YOS 6 191: 4 (twice) and the near duplicate YOS 6 214: 4 (twice) (both U). Conversely, consonants at syllable boundaries are sometimes spelled CV-C(V/VC), suggesting a pattern of breaking up even simple consonant clusters (cf. e, below).

⁷⁵ Dar 543: 6 (U).

⁷⁶ VS 6 84: 4 (B).

⁷⁷ VS 6 104: 4 (B).

⁷⁸ Perhaps even in the plural *ul i-rag-mu* (rather than *i-rag-<gu>-mu?*) “they are not to complain”, VS 5 38: 34 (B) (*irág^um?*).

⁷⁹ n61 in b.

ki-i ul-taq-qab-bu-ú “if you make recite” (Š futurum exactum of *qabû*), YOS 19 110: 8 (*ul-taq^ebû?*).⁸⁰ Contrast this with *ul tu-šá-aq-bi* “you are not to make them recite”, in line 6 (*tušaq^eb?*).

šu-^fkun^l-na-³ “set”, / (impv. *šúknā*) / 705 3 52: 20 (u)

It is also possible, but less likely, that CV-for-VC signs also indicate a pause (CV signs are commonly used in word final position for their consonantal value only, so such spellings may not be significant.):

pi-qí-da-a₄ “entrust”, JAOS 36: 10 (impv. *píqdā*) (U)

**šu-di-gi-il* “transfer”, CT 22 8: 11 (impv. *šúdgil*) (B)

u-še-ri-iq “he emptied”, YOS 3 66: 5 (*ušrīq?*) (U)

na-qut-ta ta-re-ša-³ šá tē-ma la ta-šá-ma-³ “don’t be afraid that you (pl) have not heard from me”, CT 22 6: 7 (*tar^ešā?...taš^emā?*) (letter, Cyr, B)

i-ši-ni-ma iq-bi um-ma “he spoke again...”, YOS 7 42: 5 (U)

lu-he-ri-iš “let me dig it”, YOS 3 17: 12 (U) (*lúhriš?*)

f) Nouns and verbs with suffixes

The loss of short final vowels produced a diversity of choices as far as speaking and writing nouns and verbs with suffixes are concerned. Since the suffix no longer ended in a vowel, a vowel had to be inserted between it and its preceding noun or verb in order to break up the word final consonant cluster, which meant that assimilations which had occurred in earlier phases of Akkadian did not always materialise:

mu-ti-šú “her husband”, Nbn 356: 33 (B) (subject case, i.e. *mútiš*, SB *mussa*)

PN u ^fPN *áš-šá-ti-šú* “PN and ^fPN, his wife”, Roth: 12–13 (Cyr yr 9, U) (subject case, i.e. *aššatiš*, SB *aššassu*)⁸¹

in-dah-šu-uš “he (then) hit him” YOS 7 97: 7 (U) (SB *indahassu*)⁸²

ta-ad-di-nu-uš “she gave him”, Nbn 1113: 14 (B) (SB *iddiššū*!)⁸³

Alternatively, scribes could choose to continue with the old spellings so that one still finds such examples as *É-su* and *DUMU.MUNUS-su* “her daughter”, passim; *uš-ta-*

⁸⁰ Aro (ibid.: p14) makes the same observation about *qabû*. However, his first two examples are historic presents.

⁸¹ Perhaps even pronounced **altiš*, cf. *al-ti šá...* “wife of...”, Nbn 756: 3 (B).

⁸² Cf. *ni-in-da-ha-as-su* “we (then) hit him”, in line 15.

⁸³ *nadānu* is somewhat irregular in the formation of its suffixes; contrast the above with: *it-ta-din-su* “he then gave her” (YOS 6 79: 16, U) and the impv *i-din-su* “give it” (YOS 7 102: 24, U) and *i-din-šú* “give her” (AnOr 8 56: 15, B). For more examples see part 1 V §3e, note i, where I suggest a dialectal difference between Babylon and Uruk exists. For the contraction of *nadānu* and dative suffixes see ibid. f, note ii.

hi-is-su (*últahⁱsuš?*) “he then took him back”, VS 4 87/88: 7 (B), *pu-us-su-nu na-šá-a-ka* “I am responsible for them”, (object case) YOS 7 70: 17 (Cyr yr 8, U), *ra-šu-ut-su* “her claim”, VS 4 114: 8 (B) and *a-hat-su* “his sister”, Roth: 11 (U). Confusing the issue are non-etymologic spellings which cannot be explained, such as:

su(sic)-un-šú “his name”, Nbn 697: 2, 5 (B)

ṭè-en-ka “your advice”, (2fs) CT 22 151: 16 (B)

g) Words with suffixes of more than one syllable

On p12(h) Knudsen indicates that the addition of long suffixes does not suggest a change in orthography and it appears too that in the NB of these texts word and suffix appear to be treated as separate entities. Knudsen does not discuss the position of stress in such compounds. According to GAG §381, it is probable there is a stress within both elements:

li-iš-šú-nu-ši-né-e-ti “let them bring them out”, YOS 3 107: 17 (U) (*liššûnúš-šinēt*)

šu-kun-ši-né-e-tu “put them”, (sg impv) YOS 3 4: 12 (U) (*šukún-šinēt*)

áš-pur-ak-ki-nu-šú “I sent to you”, CT 22 9: 20 (B) (*ašpurák-kinûš*)⁸⁴

id-na-ku-nu-šú “he gave to you”, YOS 3 200: 14 (U) (*idnák-kunûš*)⁸⁵

Conclusions about the stress on the basis of the above

According to Knudsen rules 4/5 the antepenult is stressed if the penult is open and has a short vowel.⁸⁶ Therefore I assume that in a CVCCV word in which anaptyxis has taken place the stress will remain on the first syllable.⁸⁷ The pattern of stressing the antepenult may in fact be felt as a secondary stress in such words of more than two syllables but which end in a closed syllable containing a long vowel or if it is open and has a circumflexed vowel (Knudsen’s rules 6/7). The presence of a strongly stressed final syllable in such words as *tablān* and *ēpišnūt* will explain the suppression of the immediately preceding vowel.

In some long words the stress cannot be ascertained:

^fPN *mu-še-ni-iq-qí-ti* “^fPN the wet-nurse”, BE 8 47: 2 (B) (*mušēniqⁱt?*)

⁸⁴ Cf. *áš-pur]-rak-<<ka>>-ki-nu-šú* in line 9.

⁸⁵ Note the suppression of the unstressed syllable in the ventive *iddina*.

⁸⁶ Regardless of whether the penultimate vowel is long or in a closed syllable (cf. his examples, *ištapar* “he has sent” and *nákirū*, “enemies”).

⁸⁷ Cf. the above examples: *lu-he-ri-iš* (*lúh^eriš?*); *ina ik-le-[tí]* *𐎠 𐎢𐎢𐎠* (*íkⁱlēr?*) and *šap-liš* *𐎠𐎢𐎢𐎠* (*šáp^ališ?*).

Appendix to part 2

Spelling patterns of finite, predicative and imperative forms

The numbers follow the numbering in the analysis in §3 above, namely verbs, predicatives and imperatives are spelled:

- a) — with a strong final radical (singular and 1cpl)
- b) — with historically short final vowels, which includes i) subjunctives, ii) final weak singular indicatives
- c) — plural forms, strong final radical, indicative and subjunctive
- d) — weak final radical, singular subjunctive and plural indicative and subjunctive

Note that the Darius texts are identified in italics

Babylon

Uruk

a) Verbs with a strong final radical

i) (C)VC endings

G forms 3ms <i>iš-ku-un</i> “he put”, Roth: 43 <i>iš-tu-ur</i> “he wrote”, VS 5 20: 11 (<i>rit-ta-a</i>) <i>iš-tur</i> “he inscribed my hand”, Roth: 27 <i>iš-ša-bat</i> “he took”, VS 5 39: 19, 20 <i>im-ta-har</i> “he bought”, Nbn 85: 7 <i>ih-li-iq</i> “he ran away”, <i>Dar</i> 53: 6 <i>i-šal-laṭ</i> “he takes charge”, passim <i>i-šak-kan</i> “he is to plant”, VS 5 49: 12 <i>i-dab-bu-ub</i> “he argues”, Nbn 65: 12 <i>id-dag-gal</i> “it will belong”, VS 45 74/75: 22 <i>Dar</i> 319: 9 and passim <i>i-zaq-qap</i> “he will set up (doors)”, <i>Dar</i> 499: 12 <i>la id-dab-bu</i> “he is not to conspire”, <i>Dar</i> 189: 14	<i>ih-li-iq</i> “he deserted”, YOS 7 146: 10, 12 <i>ip-qí-id</i> “he appointed”, YOS 7 5: 5 <i>ip-ta-tar il-ta-su-um</i> “he released (and) ran away”, YOS 7 88: 17 <i>i-zaq-qa-ap</i> “he is to plant”, YOS 6 33: 10 <i>i-zaq-qap</i> “he is to plant”, YOS 6 67: 10 <i>id-da-gal</i> “will belong” (G), YOS 6 33: 13 <i>i-dag-gal</i> “will belong”, YOS 6 67: 15 <i>i-šab-bat</i> “he undertakes”, YOS 7 2: 9 and passim <i>i-šak-ka-an</i> “he puts”, YOS 6 33: 10 <i>i-šak-kan</i> YOS 6 67: 11 TCL 13 222: 18 <i>i-zab-bil</i> “he will bear”, YOS 6 108: 12 <i>id-dab-bu-ub</i> “he argues”, YOS 6 78: 15
other sg forms and 1cpl <i>ta-šab-bat</i> “she is to take”, VS 4 66: 11 <i>tar-gu-mu</i> “you (2ms) complained”, Nbn 1113: 15 <i>al-tap-par</i> “I have sent, written”, passim <i>nim-hu-ur</i> “we received”, Nbn 356: 10 <i>niš-tur</i> “we wrote”, Nbn 356: 21	<i>ta-az-ku-ur</i> “she swore”, YOS 6 224: 20 <i>as-se-dir</i> “I have organised?”, YOS 3 19: 9 <i>al-ta-kan</i> “I have put”, YOS 3 17: 14 <i>ni-im-šú-uh</i> “we measured”, YOS 3 113: 20 <i>ni-ip-te-qí-id</i> “we entrusted”, YOS 3 169: 10 <i>[ni]l-iq-te-bir</i> “we then buried”, YOS 7 102: 13 <i>ni-ik-nu-uk</i> “we signed”, Roth: 36

initial weak <i>i-pu-ul</i> “he answered”, Nbn 1113: 17 <i>it-tal-lak</i> “he has gone (away)”, CT 22 182: 17 <i>ip-pu-uš</i> “he is to make”, VS 5 20: 16, VS 5 49: 9 <i>ik-kal</i> “he is to consume”, VS 5 49: 10 [<i>ib-bak</i>]*clear on collation “he will lead away”, Dar 309: 17	<i>i-ta-ba-ak</i> “he has taken away”, AnOr 8 38: 17 <i>il-lak</i> “he goes”, YOS 3 22:14 <i>it-ter</i> “he is to pay back”, YOS 7 113: 17 <i>it-te-er</i> “he is to pay back”, TCL 13 182: 24 <i>ip-pu-uš</i> “he does”, YOS 6 67: 11, 16 <i>ik-kal</i> “he consumes”, YOS 6 33: 14 <i>ib-ba-ak</i> “he leads away”, TCL 13 182: 23 <i>te-te-ru-[ub]</i> “she has entered”, YOS 6 186: 6 <i>ni-te-mi-id</i> “we imposed”, YOS 6 78: 18
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middle weak <i>i-qí-iš</i> “he presented”, Cyr 337: 15 <i>i-šam</i> “he bought”, TCL 13 190: 13 <i>i-re-eq</i> “is distant”, CT 22 6: 27	<i>ni-te-e-en</i> “we ground”, YOS 7 186: 16¹
prae nun <i>id-din</i> “he gave”, VS 5 20: 14, Nbn 17: 16 passim <i>i-nam-din</i> “he will give”, passim <i>it-tan</i>² “he will give”, Dar 358: 13 <i>i-na-an-din</i>, “he will give”, Dar 499: 8, 10, <i>ina-an-din</i> <i>ibid.</i>; 13, 15, TCL 13 187: 11, Dar 345: 6 <i>i-na-aš-sar</i> “he watches”, Cyr 200: 7, VS 5 49: 7 <i>it-ta-din</i> “he has given”, OECT 10 105: 11, Dar 319: 11, 13, and passim	<i>i-na-as-suk</i> “he is to pull out”, YOS 6 33: 9 <i>i-nam-din</i> “he will give”, TCL 13 222: 21 and passim <i>i-nam-di-in</i> “he will give”, passim <i>i-na-ad-di-in</i> “he will give”, TCL 13 182: 18, 27, 30 <i>ta-nam-din</i> “you give”, BIN 1 120: 13 <i>ad-di-in</i> “I gave”, TCL 13 132: 12 <i>at-ta-din</i> “I have given”, TCL 13 132: 10, 16 and passim <i>a-na-ad-di-in</i> “I shall give”, TCL 13 182: 9, 15 <i>it-ta-as-sah</i> “he pulled out”, YOS 7 88: 19
<i>ta-ad-din</i> “she gave”, VS 5 35: 7, Cyr 337: 16, 19 <i>at-ta-din</i> “I have given”, Dar 296: 7, 11, JRAS 1926: 8	

¹ See AHW p1387bf. It was the tradition in earlier phases of Akkadian to spell the first root consonant of this verb with such signs as *te*, *ṭe* and *te*. However, the few spellings using *te* must imply that this verb is *tēnu* and not *tēnu*. Its Semitic cognate is *ṭhn*. *te* = *ti*. cf. *te-e-na-* “grind”, (2pl impv) YOS 7 186: 13. The choice of signs for *t* rather than *ṭ* indicates the tradition was upheld in these texts.

² This unusual spelling (*id-dan*?) most resembles the usual subjunctive futurum exactum *it-tan-nu*. However, the context implies that it means the same as the indicative *inamdin*, suggesting that it comes from Aramaic (*yittēn*?).

D, Š and N Sg and 1cpl forms <i>ú-kin</i> “he confessed”, <i>Dar</i> 296: 10 <i>ú-maš-šar</i> “he abandons”, <i>Nbn</i> 17: 12, <i>VS</i> 6 84: 18 <i>ú-šal-lam</i> “he is to make good”, <i>Dar</i> 53: 15 <i>tu-mas-šar</i> “she abandons”, <i>VS</i> 4 66: 10, <i>BE</i> 8 47: 6 <i>tu-un-da-šir</i> “she then abandoned”, <i>Cyr</i> 337: 17 <i>tu-šad-gi₄-lu!</i> “she transferred”, <i>Rutten</i>: 13, 19 <i>in-na-di-in</i> “it will be given”, <i>CT</i> 22 182: 8	D, Š and N... <i>u-kin</i> “he confessed”, <i>YOS</i> 7 78: 12 <i>u-maš-ši-ir</i> “he released”, <i>YOS</i> 7 28: 9 <i>tu-maš-šar</i> “you abandon”, <i>YOS</i> 3 87: 20, <i>YOS</i> 3 17: 43 <i>nu-up-ta-ki-ir</i> “we fettered”, <i>YOS</i> 7 97: 14 <i>nu-te-er</i> “we turned back”, <i>Roth</i>: 39 (factitive) <i>nu-te-il</i> “we bound”, <i>YOS</i> 6 78: 18 (from <i>e’ēlu</i>) <i>ú-šá-aš-bat</i> “he will install”, <i>YOS</i> 6 67: 12 <i>ú-šá-ah-mi-iš</i> “he made destroy”, <i>YOS</i> 6 108: 8 <i>u-še-er-reb</i> “he is to make enter”, <i>TCL</i> 13 164: 14 <i>u-še-ri-iq</i> “he (impersonal subject) emptied”, <i>YOS</i> 3 66: 5 <i>ta-an-na-an-din</i> “it (fs) is to be given”, <i>YOS</i> 6 71: 23
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a, ii, CV final spellings, all verbs with strong final consonant

<i>iš-ku-su</i> “he bound”, <i>Rutten</i>: 4 <i>ir-gu-mu</i> “he complained”, <i>Nbn</i> 1113: 4 <i>i-mah-ri</i> “he receives”, <i>Dar</i> 395/6: 17 <i>i-šá-a-lu</i> “he asks”, <i>CT</i> 22 6 passim <i>i-na-a-pu</i> “he supplements”, <i>TCL</i> 13 187: 8 <i>ta-na-as-sa-hi</i> “she deducts”, <i>Nbn</i> 65: 19 <i>ta-a-re-me³</i> “she presents”, <i>Nbn</i> 65: 19 <i>tul-du</i> “she bore”, <i>CTMMA</i> 2 54+Nbn 380: 4 <i>ul-te-bi-lu</i> “I have brought”, <i>Peek</i> 22: 21 and passim in letters	<i>iš-ku-nu</i> “he put”, <i>BIN</i> 1 120: 13, 17 <i>iz-ku-ru</i> “he quoted”, <i>TCL</i> 13 132: 10 <i>il-tap-ra</i> “he has written”, <i>YOS</i> 6 71: 19 <i>il-tap-ru</i> “he has sent, written”, <i>YOS</i> 7 102: 15 <i>i-nam-di-nu</i> “he will give”, <i>AnOr</i> 8 40: 13 <i>ta-az-ku-ru</i> “she swore”, <i>TCL</i> 179: 15 <i>al-tap-ra</i> “I have sent, written”, <i>YOS</i> 3 66: 11, <i>TCL</i> 13 222: 38 <i>i-ba-a-ta</i> “it (i.e. the boat) stays the night”, <i>YOS</i> 3 113: 30 <i>ta-ba-a-ta</i> “you stay the night”, <i>YOS</i> 3 19: 24 and passim <i>i-pu-šu</i> “he did”, <i>TCL</i> 13 222: 16 <i>i-mu-ru</i> “he saw”, <i>TCL</i> 13 222: 11 <i>i-re-šu</i> “he cultivates”, <i>TCL</i> 13 182: 11 <i>tal-la-ki</i> “you go”, <i>YOS</i> 3 22: 21
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VC-CV spelling: <i>i-ta-bak-ku</i> “he has taken”, <i>CT</i> 22 82: 25 <i>il-ta-par-ri</i> “he has sent”, <i>ibid.</i>: 29 <i>ú-šal-la-al-la</i> “he will roof over”, <i>Dar</i> 499: 15	
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³ *ta-re-e-me* is expected.

b) Short final vowels, verbs with a strong final radical

i) Subjunctives, (C)VC final spellings

<i>in-da-har</i> “(if) it is agreeable”, VS 5 20: 15,17 <i>ip-ta-al-lah</i> “(if) he serves (...a-na PN)”, Dar 53: 14 <i>in-na-di-in</i> “(which) is given”, CT 22 182: 8 <i>tu-šad-gil</i> “(which) she transferred”, Nbn 65: 8, 15	<i>iš-ku-un</i> “(when) he put”, YOS 7 97: 9, 18 <i>u-ki-in</i> “(about which) he confessed”, Weisberg 2: 7 <i>tad-din</i> “(that) you gave”, YOS 3 106: 26 <i>ni-ip-te-se-en...ni-il-ta-kan</i> “we covered up...we put”, Weisberg 1: 26 (in oath) <i>ni-id-da-bu-⁵</i> “(when) we complained/ objected”, YOS 3 200: 13
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Subjunctives, i, continued, CV finals, strong verbs

<i>im-hu-ra</i> “(who) received”, Camb 165: 5 <i>in-hu-ru</i> “(which) he received”, Peek 22: 22 <i>iš-tú-ru</i> “(which) he wrote”, Dar 486: 5 <i>it-tan-nu</i> “(if) he gives”, ⁴ passim <i>áš-kun-nu</i> “(if) I put”, Peek 22: 10 <i>ad-da-ab-bu</i> “I plot”, JRAS 1926: 16 (in oath) <i>tan-di-di</i> “(that) you (sg) measured”, Peek 22: 30 <i>tah-li-qu</i> “(when) she fled”, RA 67: 13 <i>un-da-aš-ru</i> “(if) I abandon”, VS 6 84: 21	<i>iz-qu-pi</i> “(that) he planted”, YOS 6 33: 14 <i>iš-šab-ta</i> “(who) undertakes”, Weisberg 1: 29 (futurum exactum) <i>it-tan-nu</i> “(if) he gives”, passim <i>i-šak-ka-na</i> “(whatever) he puts”, YOS 3 17: 5 ⁵ <i>i-šal-li-mu</i> “(until) he is paid off”, YOS 7 11: 10 <i>ú-maš-ši-ru</i> “(who) abandoned”, YOS 7 146: 12 <i>ni-il-su-mu</i> “(when) we ran”, YOS 7 88: 19 <i>uq-tar-ri-bi</i> “(if) they offer”, YOS 7 90: 15
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CV finals, initial weak verbs

<i>i-bu-ku</i> “(who) took”, Nbn 832: 6 <i>i-te-qu</i> “(when) he passed”, CT 22 79: 19 <i>ip-pu-šú</i> “that he does”, Dar 378: 10, 13 <i>i-ru-ub-bu</i> “(when) he enters”, Dar 266: 5, 7 <i>il-lak-ku</i> “(who) goes”, CT 22 82: 19 <i>id-din-nu</i> “(when) he gave”, <i>ibid.</i> : 9	<i>ir-ru-bu</i> “(when) he entered”, YOS 7 97: 10 <i>ir-ru-bu</i> “(that) comes in”, YOS 3 17: 49 <i>i-ru-bu</i> “(who) entered”, YOS 7 114: 4 <i>i-ta-am-ri</i> “(who) has seen”, Weisberg 1: 29 <i>ip-pu-šu</i> “that he does”, YOS 6 33: 12 <i>it-ti-qu</i> “(who) passes”, AnOr 8 40: 12 <i>it-ti-ri</i> “(which) exceeds”, YOS 7 90: 17 <i>i-ir-ri-šú</i> “(which) he cultivates”, TCL 12 90: 16, 17
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⁴ Futurum exactum. The evidence that this and not *iddannu is the correct spelling for the G perfect of *nadānu* can be found as far back as in MB (Aro, 1955, p40).

⁵ In the parallel TCL 9 129: *ta-šak-ka-na* “(whatever) you (sg) put”, line 6.

<i>tu-li-di</i> “(whom) she bore”, CTMMA 1 11: 6 <i>tu-li-du</i> “(whom) she bore”, CTMMA 2 54: 7 <i>tu-šak-ka-al-la</i> “she is to nourish”, BE 8 47: 3,10 <i>in-né-ter-ru</i> “(until) it is paid”, Nbn 314: 11 <i>it-tan-ma-ru</i> “(where) it may be seen”,⁶ Nbn 85: 13 <i>ta-nam-ma-ri</i> “(where) it (f) gets found”, OECT 10 105: 12 <i>ta-at-na-mar-ri</i> “(if) she has been noticed”⁷, Nbn 682: 5 <i>ta-zil-zi</i> “(which) she divided”, Nbn 65: 12 <i>tu-uk-tin-nu</i> “(if) she confirms”, Nbn 679: 4 <i>it-ta₅-la-du</i> “(if) there is born”,⁸ CTMMA 2 54: 18, 20 <i>i-ma-al-la!-ad-du</i> “(which) is born”, Dar 257: 6 <i>e’ēlu</i> <i>i-’-lu-ú, i-’-i-lu</i> “(whom/which) he bound”, Liv 19: 7, 18	<i>tu-li-du</i> “(whom) she bore”, Roth: 22 <i>tu-ul-la-du, tul-la-du</i> “(whom) she may bear”, Roth:16, 38 <i>ta-na-an-di-nu</i> “(before) she was given”, YOS 6 79: 13 <i>a-re-e-me</i> “I presented” (in oath), Weisberg 2: 6 <i>tal-li-ku</i> “(when) you went”, YOS 3 169: 21 <i>tal-li-ka</i> “(when) you went”, YOS 3 22: 10 <i>ta₁-am-ma-ra</i> “(therefore?)⁹ you see”, YOS 3 22: 27 <i>nim-ma-ru</i> “we saw” (in oath), Weisberg 1: 25 <i>uk-ti-ni</i> “(if) he confirms”, YOS 6 108: 11 <i>uk-tin-nu</i> “(if) he convicts”, YOS 6 122: 4, YOS 7 38: 3 <i>i-na-ad-di-nu</i> “(which) he is to give”, TCL 13 182: 28 <i>ta-ad-di-na</i> “which you (2ms) gave”, TCL 12 90: 6 <i>iš-šak-nu</i> “(that) it was put”, YOS 6 71: 30 <i>in-na-an-di-nu</i> “(which) is to be given”, TCL 13 182: 25 <i>ta-an-na-ad-nu</i> “(when) it (3fs) was given”, YOS 6 71: 32
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⁶ Futurum exactum, i.e. N with infixed -t-; *ittammar* (*ittanmar*).

⁷ Futurum exactum, i.e. N with infixed -t-; *tattammar* (*tattanmar*).

⁸ Futurum exactum, i.e. N with infixed -t-; *ittalad*.

⁹ *ina libbi kī* (part 1 III §2f i, subordinating conjunctions).

b, ii) Final weak sg and 1cpl forms:

<i>iq-bi</i> "he said", passim <i>ik-[li]</i> "he retained", VS 5 20: 12 <i>it-te-qé</i> "he took", Dalley 76: 15 <i>it-te-me</i> "he swore", Dar 53: 7, Dar 189: 4 and passim <i>ú-šal-la</i> "he prays", passim in letters <i>i-na-áš-ši</i> "he is to lift out", TCL 13 144: 4 <i>i-leq-qé</i> "he is to take", CTMMA 2 54: 19 <i>i-leq-qa-</i>¹⁰ "he will take", CTMMA 2 54: 24 <i>u-rab-bi</i> "he is to grow (them)", VS 5 49: 12 <i>(it-ti PN ù PN₂) i-leq-qé</i> "he is to take (from PN and PN₂)", Dar 379: 62, 66 <i>i-man-nu</i> "he counts up", VS 6 84: 17, Dar 378: 11, 15 <i>i-ma-an-nu</i> "he counts up", VS 5 82: 13 <i>i-man-ni</i> Cyr 177: 12 <i>i-he-er-ri</i> "he is to dig", Cyr 200: 7 <i>i-he-ri</i>", VS 5 49: 8, 17, 22 <i>i-šaq-qu</i> "he waters", VS 5 49: 7, 10, 14 <i>ú-ru-ú šá-an-nu</i> "he is to level the roof", Dar 378: 6 =i-šá-an-nu in VS 5 82: 7 <i>i-te-lu</i> "he deducted (?)", TCL 13 160: 7, 10 (as part of his share)	<i>iq-bi</i> "he said", YOS 6 33: 4 and passim <i>uṣ-ša-</i>¹⁰ "he is coming out", YOS 3 21: 9 <i>ú-ša-al-li</i> "he prayed", YOS 6 150: 2 <i>ú-šal-la</i> "he prays", passim in letters <i>i-ga-ri i-lam-mu</i> "he is to surround with a wall", YOS 6 33: 11 (double acc) <i>i-her-ri</i> "he digs", YOS 3 66: 8 <i>i-he-ru-ú</i> "he (or his workers?)¹¹ is to dig", TCL 13 182: 26 <i>i-de-ek-ki</i> "he removes", YOS 3 66: 9 <i>i-šel-li</i> "he slacks" YOS 3 19: 31, YOS 3 79: 20 <i>i-šá-an-na</i> "he is to level", YOS 7 2: 8 <i>i-re-</i>¹²-a "he is to pasture", TCL 13 182: 29 <i>(rēšu) i-na-áš-šú</i> "he checks", RA 11: 8 <i>it-ta-áš-ši</i> "he has carried away", YOS 3 79: 39
D and Š forms <i>ú-šab-ši</i> "he instigated", Nbn 356: 27 <i>ú-ma-ri</i> "he prunes", VS 5 49: 7 <i>u-še-el-lu</i> "he will swear", VS 6 120: 11 <i>ú-šal-la</i> "I pray", Peek 22: 4 TCL 9 124: 4	D and Š <i>ú-šal-li</i> "I prayed", YOS 3 22: 23 <i>ni-iš-me</i> "let us hear", YOS 3 113: 27 <i>nu-uṣ-</i>¹² "let us go out", YOS 7 97: 8, 17 <i>nu-šal-li</i> "we prayed", JNES 1993: 8 <i>ni-he-er-ru</i> "we were digging", (historic present) Iraq 13: 11 <i>nu-še-ši</i> "let us let out", YOS 7 97: 9

¹⁰ Ventive, q.v.

¹¹ The context is singular but see the discussion in §3d, above (spelling, p193).

¹² The Babylonian cohortative has the same form as the 1cpl preterite.

<i>ina ep-šú ŠU.II-su te-el-li</i> “he will lose the job” literally, “his hand will forfeit the work”, VS 5 49: 19 <i>taš-šá-a</i> “she brought”, Nbn 310: 9 <i>taq-bi</i> “she said”, Nbn 356: 2”, Cyr 337: 9 <i>tal-te-qé</i> “she has taken”, Camb 349: 40 <i>ta-šá-an-nu</i> “she is to level”, VS 4 66: 11 <i>ni-it-ta-ši</i> “we took away”, Dar 296: 9	<i>taq-bi</i> “she said”, YOS 7 97: 21 <i>ta-šá-an-na</i> “it changes”,¹³ CT 22: 24 <i>ta-qab-bi</i> “you say”, YOS 3 169: 11 <i>ta-ke-l-li</i> “you (msg) hold back”, YOS 3 169: 25 <i>(rēšu) at-ta-šú</i> “I have checked”,¹⁴ YOS 3 200: 20 <i>aš-me</i> “I heard”,¹⁵ YOS 3 64: 12 <i>a-her-ri</i> “I am digging”, YOS 3 19: 10 <i>ah-he-ri</i> “I am digging”, YOS 3 17/TCL 9 129: 10 <i>a-pe-et-te</i> “I open”, YOS 3 87: 22 <i>a-haṭ-tu</i> “I sin”, YOS 3 17: 37 <i>aq-ta-bi</i> “I have said”, TCL 13 222: 10
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c) Plurals, strong consonant ending

<i>id-dag-gal</i> “they will belong”, Dar 319: 9 <i>iz-zaq-qar</i> “they have sworn”, Dar 551: 16 <i>i-rag-gu-mu</i> “they complain”, Nbn 293: 32, TCL 13 190: 22 <i>ip-pu-šu</i> “they are to do”, Camb 142: 9, 14 <i>ip-pa-lu</i> “they will be responsible”, TCL 13 190: 29 <i>ú-še-eš-še-bu</i> “they are to make him sit!”, VS 6 97: 12 <i>nu-up-tu, i-nu-up-pu-</i> “they supplement”, Dar 163: 13 <i>u-kin-nu-</i> “they confessed”, Dar 296: 8 <i>id-di-nu-</i> “they gave”, VS 5 74/75: 17 <i>i-nam-di-nu-</i> “they are to give”, TCL 13 144: 7, 8, VS 5 74/75: 20, <i>i-na-di-nu-/ina-ad-din-nu-, i-nam-din-/i-nam-di-in-</i> “they give”, Dar 395/6: 13, 15 <i>i-nam-din-nu-</i> “they give”, Dar 163: 8 <i>it-ta-an-ni</i> “they have given”, Dar 379: 54 <i>i-te-eṭ-ru</i> “they have paid back”, Dar 379: 64 <i>ina-aš-ša-ru</i> “they are to watch”, Camb 142: 9	<i>ip-qí-id</i> “they entrusted”, YOS 7 5: 5 <i>ip-pu-uš u i-hal-liq</i> “they do and they desert”, YOS 3 69: 9 <i>ip-ru-su</i> “they decided”, TCL 13 147: 13, Iraq 13: 26 <i>i-šad-da-du</i> “they bear”, YOS 7 90: 16, Weisberg 1: 30¹⁶ <i>i-šad-dad-</i> TCL 13 163: 20 <i>i-nam-din-</i> “they give”, ibid: 7 <i>i-hal-li-iq-</i> “they desert”, YOS 3 17: 8 <i>iš-ku-su ik-nu-ku ù...ip-qí-du</i> “they bound, sealed and... deposited, YOS 7 88: 22...23 <i>ú-hal-la-qu-</i> “they make lose”, TCL 13 163: 7 <i>ir-ri-šú</i> “they cultivate”, YOS 6 150: 21¹⁷ <i>i-mu-ru</i> “they saw”, YOS 7 88: 22 <i>u-kin-nu</i> “they confessed”, YOS 7 97: 12 <i>it-tan-nu</i> “they have given”, YOS 6 114: 21 <i>i-nam-ša-ru</i> “they guard”, YOS 7 5: 14 <i>i-nam-šar-ru-</i>, YOS 7 156: 15 <i>up-ta-ki-ru-</i> “they then fettered”, YOS 7 97: 6 <i>u-za-mi-ṭzu¹-</i> “(when) they divided”, YOS 3 200: 11
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¹³ The full sentence is *a-mat-ka it-ti-ia la ta-šá-an-na* literally, “your word will not change with me”, meaning probably something like “I will not deceive you”.

¹⁴ From *našú*, cf. RA 11: 8, given above.

¹⁵ Is actually a perfect in a negative question, “why haven’t I heard?”.

¹⁶ *a-de-e šá LUGAL ul-te-en-nu-ú hi-tu šá DINGIR.MEŠ ù LUGAL i-šad-da-du*. The context implies “they (referring to the craftsmen listed in the document) will have contravened the loyalty agreements of the gods and the king”. Contrary to Weisberg’s evidence, this must be a plural.

¹⁷ The same spelling is used for the 3ms indicative in line 12.

3fpl <i>i-šal-la-ṭa-</i> “they have right to”, VS 5 46: 8 <i>ik-ka-la</i> “they are to consume”, TCL 13 160: 16	<i>il-la-ka</i> “they go”, YOS 6 71: 22 <i>in-na-ab-ta</i> “they became ruins”, AnOr 8 70: 12 <i>ip-par-su</i> “they were dispersed”, <i>ibid.</i> : 14 ¹⁸ 2mpl <i>ta-zab-bil-la-</i> “you will bear”, GCCI 2 101: 10 <i>ta-ad-din-na-</i> “you gave”, YOS 3 17: 42/TCL 9 129: 39 <i>ta-nam-din-na-</i> “you are to give”, TCL 13 163: 13
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c, continued
Subjunctives

<i>ip-pu-uš</i> “(whatever) they do”, Dar 280: 7 <i>ú-šad-gil-</i> “(which) they awarded”, Cyr 277: 6 but <i>ú-šad-gil</i> in line 10 <i>i-pu-šu-</i> “(which) they did”, TCL 13 160: 4 <i>i-tab-ku</i> “(if) they (don’t) bring (him)”, VS 6 97: 13 <i>ip-pu-uš-šu-</i> “(that) they do”, Dar 395/6: 7 <i>u-za-a-zu</i> “(until) they divide”, TCL 13 160: 16	<i>ir-ru-bu</i> “(when) they enter”, TCL 13 222: 3 <i>i-mu-ur-</i> “(when) they saw”, YOS 3 21: 9 <i>i-zu-zu</i> “(which) they divided”, YOS 6 114: 4 <i>in-nam-mi-du</i> “(that) they are estimated”, YOS 7 38: 6 <i>it-tan-nu-</i> “(if) they give”, TCL 13 163: 9 <i>in-nam-ru</i> “(who) was seen”, Iraq 13: 25 <i>im-mal-la-du</i> “(who) are born”, YOS 6 150: 18 <i>ik-ka-la-</i> “(cows which) graze”, YOS 6 41: 17
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d) Plurals (indicative)

<i>iq-bu-ú</i> “they said”, Roth: 6 <i>iš-ša-</i> “they brought”, Nbn 68: 5 <i>iš-mu-ú</i> “they heard”, Nbn 1113: 8 <i>il-te-qu-ú</i> “they have taken” <i>passim</i> cf <i>il-qu-ú</i> “they took”, VS 5 38: 40, VS 5 82: 13 <i>i-leq-qu</i> “they will take”, Rutten: 9 <i>i-leq-lul-ú</i> “they will take”, Dar 379: 60 <i>i-na-áš-šu-ú</i> “they are to lift out”, TCL 13 144: 11 <i>ina-áš-šu-ú</i> “they are to lift out”, Camb 142: 7, but <i>i-na-áš-šu-ú</i> they take in line 16 <i>i-te-lu-ú</i> “they deducted (?)”, Dar 551: 8 <i>ú-še-lu-</i> “they will swear”, Dar 358: 6	<i>iq-bu-ú</i> “they said”, YOS 6 78: 16 and <i>passim</i> <i>iš-mu-ú</i> “they heard”, Roth: 29 <i>i-her-ru-ú</i> “they dug/are digging”, YOS 3 19: 6 <i>i-her-ru</i> “they dig”, YOS 3 17: 40 cf. <i>i-her-ru-ú</i> TCL 9 129: 38 <i>ú-ša-an-nu-ú</i> “they changed/revoked (?)”, Roth: 44 <i>ú-ba-mu-ú</i> “they will look for”, YOS 7 1: 15 <i>i-nu-ú</i> “they changed”, Roth: 43 <i>ul-ten-nu-ú</i> “they will have contravened”, Weisberg 1: 30
	<i>i-re-e-a</i> “they (fpl) pasture”, TCL 12 90: 23 <i>ta-ah-ta-aṭ-ṭa-</i> “you (mpl) will have sinned”, YOS 3 17: 36, TCL 9 129: 35

¹⁸ This text refers to houses which fell down (*im-qu-ta-ma*, line 10) and were then sold (*ip-par-su*). Camb yr 3.

d, continued

Subjunctives, singular:

<i>iq-bu-ú</i> “(which) he said”, Dar 296: 3, and passim <i>il-qu-ú</i> “(which) he took”, Nbn 293: 7, VS 5 38: 7 <i>ir-šu-ú</i> “(that) he accumulated”, Dar 551: 7 <i>iš-šu-ú</i> “(that) he took”, Dar 189: 12 <i>i-na-áš-šá-a</i> “(which) he will bring”, Rutten: 5 <i>i-rab-bu-ú</i> “(which) grows”, Nbn 26: 8, TCL 13 144: 2 contrast with <i>i-rab-bi</i> <i>ibid.</i>: 10, VS 4 62: 6, Camb 379: 8 19 <i>i-nu-ú</i> “(who) changes”, Cyr 277: 16 <i>il-la-¹⁹</i> “which may come up” Nbn 273: 14 <i>(ki-i ...la) ih-te-ru-ú</i> “if he doesn’t dig...”, VS 5 49: 18 <i>it-tab-šu-ú</i> “(if) it arises”, Dar 492: 9²⁰ 2ms <i>ta-ad-du-ú</i> “(when) you deposited”, Dar 358: 8 2fs <i>ta-šá-ma¹⁹</i> “(that) you heard”, CT 22 6: 8	<i>iq-bu-ú</i> “(which) he said”, passim <i>iš-mu-ú</i> “(that) he heard”, YOS 6 71: 32 <i>ak-lu-ú</i> “(which) I held back”, YOS 3 12: 11 <i>i-na-áš-šu-ú</i> “(when) he summons”, YOS 6 193: 13, YOS 6 191: 14 <i>ta-maṭ-ṭu-ú</i> “(lest) it (f) be lacking”, YOS 3 45: 22 <i>áš-šá-¹⁹</i> “(when) I raised”, YOS 7 97: 21, YOS 3 17: 27 <i>as-mu-ú</i> “(that) I am troubled”, YOS 3 22:11 <i>ni-iš-šá-¹⁹</i> “(when) we raised”, YOS 7 97: 16
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d, continued

Subjunctives, plural

<i>ul-tad-du-u</i> “(if) they have caused (the work) to drop”, Camb 142: 14 <i>iš-šu-ú</i> “(which) they took”, TCL 13 160: 5 <i>i-ba-áš-šu-ú</i> “(wherever) they may be”, JRAS 1926: 14	<i>in-da-ṭu-ú</i> “(if) they are short”, YOS 7 90: 15 <i>i-ma-tu-¹⁹</i> “(that) they are lacking”, YOS 3 22: 12 <i>i-ba-áš-šu-ú</i> “(whatever) there may be”, YOS 3 66: 13 <i>ta-šem-ma-a₄</i> “(until) you hear”, YOS 7 70: 14 3fpl <i>iq-ba-a₄</i> “(in front of whom) they said”, YOS 7 107: 4
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¹⁹ This phrase usually runs as follows: n kasap...ša arah/šattu ina muhhi (1) manê ¹/₁₂ šiqil kasap ina muhhiš irabbi “n silver... on which there grows a monthly/yearly (interest of) ¹/₁₂ of a shekel of silver per (one) mina”. As it is a set phrase in the Babylon texts, this may explain why the verb is sometimes indicative.

²⁰ N futurum exactum.

a i, ii, continued

Predicative forms (statives)

3ms <i>ma-hir e-ṭir</i> “received (and) paid”, passim <i>maš-šir</i> “divulged”, CT 22 193: 28 <i>ša-ṭir</i> “is written down”, CT 22 189: 15 <i>na-din</i> “given”, Nbn 85: 8 <i>a-pil</i> “is responsible”, Nbn 243: 17 <i>áš-bi</i> “he is to sit”, Rutten: 20 (B) <i>a-ši-ib</i> “he was sitting”, Nbn 194: 8 3fs <i>e-ṭer-tu</i> “is paid”, Camb 15: 20 <i>eṭ-re-et</i> “is paid”, VS IV 114: 8 <i>mah-rat</i> “has received”, YOS 7 150: 15	<i>ma-hir e-ṭir</i> “received (and) paid”, passim <i>na-si-qí</i> “designated”, YOS 3 19: 4 <i>ma-a-du</i> “is (too) much”, YOS 3 17/ TCL 9 129: 10 (<i>lu ma-a-da</i>)²¹ <i>da-a-nu</i> “it is (much too) hard”, YOS 3 19: 11 3fs <i>har-ša-at</i> “she has researched”, YOS 6 224: 18 <i>ab-ka-at</i> “is led away”, YOS 6 221: 14 <i>el-le-et</i> “she is pure”, YOS 7 167: 14 <i>en-de-et</i> “estimated”, YOS 3 12: 18 <i>en₆-de-e-tu</i> “estimated”, YOS 3 8: 8 1cs <i>mah-rak</i> “I received”, YOS 6 193: 6
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subjunctive singular

<i>paq-du</i> “entrusted”, Nbn 65: 2 <i>šak-nu</i> “put”, Nbn 1113: 11 <i>na-ad-nu</i> “given”, Nbn 1113:10, 12 3fs <i>bal-ṭa-at</i> “is living”, Nbn 65: 6 SUM-<i>na-tu</i> “is given”, Joannès <i>TEBR</i> 66: 8 <i>e-le-et</i> “is bound”, (<i>e’ēlu</i>) Nbn 359: 8 2ms <i>ša-ab-ta-ta</i> “is seized”, Cyr 337: 10 <i>na-as-ka-ak</i> “(that) I am bedridden”, CT 22 83: 8	<i>na-ad-nu</i> TCL 12 90: 13 <i>ša-ab-tu</i> “seized” YOS 7 88: 17 <i>qur!-ru-ub</i> “brought in”,²² YOS 3 45: 14 3fs <i>šaṭ-ra-ti</i> “written”, YOS 6 136: 6 <i>še-en₆-de-ti</i> “marked, branded”, AnOr 8 38: 1 <i>ab-ka-tu</i> “led away”, AnOr 8 38: 4 <i>paq-ad-da-ti</i> “entrusted”, YOS 7 7: 46 1cs <i>šak-na-ka</i> “(before) I was assigned”, YOS 3 8: 36
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c, continued

subjunctive plurals

SUM-<i>nu-’</i> “given”, Nbn 441: 13	<i>at-ru</i> “(which) exceed”, YOS 6 114: 20 <i>na-ad-nu</i> “given”, YOS 6 150: 24 <i>di-ku-’</i> “killed”, YOS 7 68: 2 <i>a-šab-bu</i> “living”, YOS 7 187: 7, 10 <i>paq-du-’</i> “entrusted”, TCL 13 152: 13 <i>ṭa-bu-’</i> “suitable”, <i>ibid.</i>: 15 (<i>dib-bi</i>) <i>bi-šu-’</i> “(rumours) are bad”, YOS 3 19: 21 2pl <i>se-ba-tu-ni</i> “you like”, TCL 13 182: 9
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²¹ Adjective in AHW p573 but according to CAD *ma-a-da* is adverbial. See part 1 §3 i, above.

²² After *akkā’ī* in line 12.

b, ii, continued
final weak

(pūt) na-ši “is responsible for”, passim 3fs he-pa-a-tu₄ “is broken”, Nbn 604: 10 he-pat “is broken”, Camb 375: 17 (pūt) na-šá-a-tu₄ “she is responsible for”, CTMMA 1 29+Nbn 953: 22	(pūt) na-ši “is responsible for”, passim qa-ti “finished”, YOS 3 66: 5 ka-la-a-ta “held back”, YOS 6 71: 24 (written twice, with indic and subj spelled the same) ma-na-a-ta “it is valued”, YOS 3 79: 15 (pūt) na-šá-a-ka “I am responsible for”, TCL 13 222: 14
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d, continued
subjunctive

(mala) ba-šu-ú “whatever there may be”, passim te-pu-ú “adjoined”, Nbn 499: 19	(mala) ba-šu-ú passim uṣ-šu-ú “leading out onto”, YOS 6 114: 6, 11 ma-nu-ú “assigned”, YOS 7 79: 2 ba-nu-ú “pleasing”, YOS 3 8: 30 sa-ma-ak-ka “I am harrassed”, YOS 3 8: 12
plurals qa-tu-ú “finished”, TCL 13 160: 11 hu-up-pu-ú “are broken” (i.e. cancelled), ibid.: 13 ma-lu-ú “full”, TCL 9 124: 13²³ šu-du-ú “it was made known”, Camb 286: 7²⁴	

Imperatives, all spellings (a i, continued)

2sg a-bu-uk “take”, CTMMA 2 53: 11 a-mur “look”, passim in letters	a-mur “look”, passim in letters e-pu-uš “do”, YOS 3 106: 12; YOS 3 69: 31 šu-bi-lu “bring”, YOS 3 79: 32; YOS 3 106: 14 šu-ri-bi “drive (them) in”, YOS 7 198: 16
prae nun: id-din “give”, Nbn 243: 5 i-di-in “give”, Dar 385: 7 ú-ṣur “help”, in PNs	i-din “give”, TCL 13 134: 6 id-din “give”, Stigers 36: 5 ú-suk “throw”, YOS 6 235: 11

²³ Reading: ZU.LUM.MA gab-bi a-kán-na a-na šir-re-e ina ŠU.II-ía ma-lu-ú “all the dates are here. They have filled my hands to overflowing”. For the late Akkadian idiom ana širê...malû/mullû, “to fill to the brim or to overflowing, to be fed up”, see CAD širû A (p210a) and AHw širû II (p1105b).

²⁴ Semantic plural? Cf. the plurals used as an impersonal subject.

c, continued)

2mpl šuk-na “set”, Nbn 356: 28 ep-šá-’ “do” CT 22 9: 18	2mpl in-na-’ “give!”, YOS 3 113: 15,17; TCL 13 182: 9 šu-ḫunl-na-’ “set”, YOS 3 52: 20, JAOS 36: 36 ²⁵ pi-qí-da-a ₄ “entrust”, JAOS 36: 10 ter-da-’ “send”, JAOS 36: 30 a-mu-ra-’ “see”, YOS 3 29: 22 a-mur-’ YOS 3 81: 32 te-e-na-’ “grind”, YOS 7 186: 13
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Final weak (b, ii, continued)

2ms qí-bi “say”, CT 22 74: 24 2fs su-ul-li-’ “pray”, CT 22 151: 15	qí-bi “say”, YOS 3 200: 40 i-ši “take”, YOS 3 106: 12 i-šá-’ “bring”, YOS 7 7 : 69 i-[b]i-’ “count”, YOS 7 7 : 69
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(d, continued)

	2pl qí-ba-a ₄ “say”, TCL 13 170: 18
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²⁵ This, *pi-qí-da-a₄* and *a-mu-ra-’* suggest anaptyxis has taken place. The expected pronunciation is *piqdā*. See part 1 §4 a (imperatives) and the discussion in part 2 §5e (pronunciation and stress).

part 3 : Conclusions

§1 A summary of the main characteristics of the NB of this thesis

Syntactical characteristics

- The SOV order is retained.
- The predicative verbal adjective (“stative”) common for describing a state or circumstance, often replaces the passive and sometimes is used instead of a perfect or active verb.
- Subjunctive and ventive moods are clearly retained in verbs with a final weak vowel and in singular verbs with accusative or dative suffixes.
- Verbs in subordinate clauses are not infixed with *-t-* unless they convey a future perfect idea (*futurum exactum*), nor do negated verbs except when they are the protasis in a conditional sentence (also as *futurum exactum*).
- A new type of construction based on the hendiadys construction is used with *kī*.
- The periphrastic genitive (using *ša*) has taken over from the construct as the normal productive way of expressing possession.

Morphological characteristics

- In the precative of third person D and Š forms, *lu-* appears to have taken over completely from earlier Babylonian *li-*.
- The 3fs verb begins with *t-* except in the archaic phrase PN *šimtu ūbil* “PN died” (literally, “fate took PN”).
- There is also little evidence for the survival of the 2fs verbal suffix *-ī*.
- *ana* is sometimes used occasionally to indicate the direct object or the indirect object of a verb.
- Prepositional compounds such as *ina libbi* (“therein”) or *ana muhhi* (“therefore, regarding, because [of it]”) are used adverbially.
- The proleptic suffix is much used but in very restricted situations only. It becomes less common in the time of Darius.
- The 1c independent pronouns *anāku* and *anīni* have replaced the 1c dative pronouns in all but royal letters.
- The pronouns for the direct and indirect objects are the same (*-š*, *-k*, *šunūti*, *-kunūši* etc.).
- The loss of the final vowel on the short suffixes has led to the introduction of an extra vowel between the verb or noun and its suffix (*iddinuš*, *mutiš*).

- The demonstrative *ullû*, etc. (for “Dort-Deixis”) has been replaced by *šūātu*, *šunūtu* etc.
- *ā* is a new (from Nbk onward) demonstrative adjective and pronoun meaning “that/those (aforementioned)”.
- The demonstrative for “Hier-Deixis”, *agâ*, does not change for person or gender.
- The verbal system now consists of only 12 productive tense-forms (G, D, Š, N; each with examples in *iprus*, *iparras*, *iptaras*). The Gtn survives in two non-productive instances in texts from Babylon.

Orthography

- CVC signs replace CV-VC signs more often than they do in earlier phases of Akkadian. Syllable boundaries are not always respected in the spelling.
- CV signs are often used instead of a VC sign for a word final consonant.
- The 𐎶 (𐎶) sign is often used to replace long vowels in verbs but not in nominal forms. Long vowels at the end of nominal forms and final weak verbs (excepting ventives) are usually spelled CV-V.
- Signs with *m* are sometimes used for sounds other than /m/. Conversely, words which in earlier phases of Akkadian contained an *m* are spelled with signs not containing an *m*. This suggests that *m* was sometimes either lost or modified, perhaps to *w*.
- In spite of scribal tendency to spell conservatively, examples of CVCVC spellings for *parsu*-type nouns, along with the loss of final vowels, indicate *parsu*-type nouns are pronounced *paras*, *piris* and *purus*.
- The spellings CVCV for nominal forms and VCCV for final weak verbs suggest that both are pronounced CVC.

§2 *Evidence for influence from other languages*

- The demonstrative adjective and pronoun *ā* “that/those (aforementioned)” almost certainly originates from the Aramaic emphatic singular ending *āʾ*.
- The occasional use of the third person preterite instead of the precativus is assumed to be due to Aramaic influence.
- It is possible that the loss of final short vowels is due to Aramaic influence, as is the change from the CVCCV structure of simple nominal forms to CVCVC.

- In Aramaic, geminates are treated as biconsonantal roots in all but the Gt, D and Dt equivalents. The odd spellings for *idabbub*¹ “he plots, conspires” etc., may be as a result of Aramaic influence. The Aramaic equivalent would be **idāb*.
- The influence of Old Persian is limited to administrative terms such as *maguš*, *dātu* and *gardu*. OP PNs appear in the Darius texts from Babylon.
- The verb *kanāzu* (*ak-te-en-zi* “I have put aside”, YOS 3 106: 28, U) is an OP loan word also found in Aramaic.²

§3 Differences between the NB dialects of Babylon and Uruk

As stated in the introduction, the differences between the dialects of Babylon and Uruk are not great. However, as there are differences in the content of the two corpora, this lack of difference may not be significant.³

- There is a much higher incidence of purpose clauses in Uruk NB than in Babylon NB
- Regarding the demonstratives *agā* and *annū*, Uruk prefers the former and Babylon the latter.
- Regarding the pronoun copula, both sources use the standard *šū* etc. but the Uruk corpus uses *iššū* instead, perhaps with a future implication. Babylon uses *iššū* only once.
- Babylon has a much greater incidence of *ahi...ahi* “one part...the other part”, than does Uruk, but this is probably due to a content difference as *ahi...ahi* usually refers to the two parts (given half-yearly) of an annual rent supplement (*nūptu*), a practice not noted in Uruk.
- The Babylon scribes appear to use more logograms than do the Uruk scribes, for example in the archaic 12 TA.ÀM (“twelve-fold”) and DUMU.MUNUS.A.NI (“her daughter”). *kīam iqbi* “he spoke thus” is an archaism found in marriage contracts, all from Babylon.
- In keeping with this last point, there is perhaps a greater incidence of scribal error in the Uruk corpus, suggesting that the Uruk scribes were not so well educated as the Babylon scribes. However, the spelling oddities in the letter CT 22 200 indicate that the Babylon scribes were not always better.

¹ *la id-dab-bu* “he is not to conspire”, Dar 189: 14 (B), *ad-dab-bu* “(if) I plotted” (pret), JRAS 1926: 16 (U); *ni-id-da-bu* “(when) we complained”, YOS 3 200: 13 (U).

² HAL p191b has a derivation from OP *ganz-/ginz-* “treasure”.

³ The Babylon texts have a considerable proportion of Darius texts in comparison with Uruk (a ratio of more than 6:1). I have not included such characteristics as the gradual reduction in the use of the proleptic suffix and the increase in the breaking of syllable boundaries in the Babylon Darius texts.

§4 *Final remarks and the extent to which the NB of this thesis was a living language*

On pages 11f Woodington queries whether Kuyunjik NB was a living language. Without actually addressing the problem or offering an opinion she gives an example of a person who is rebuffed by Sargon II for not writing in cuneiform.

It is commonly accepted that sixth-century NB was dying out. However, before establishing whether late sixth-century NB was a living language it is necessary to indicate that there are varying levels at which a language can be living or dead.

- a) It is a “mother tongue”, spoken everywhere by everyone whether at work or in the home.
- b) it may be used at home but no longer at business (e.g. by immigrants).
- c) It may be used by individuals in smaller communities within larger communities speaking a more widespread living language.
- d) It may be used at business, school or the temple, but not at home.
- e) It may be used as a lingua franca to communicate between groups of people who have their own individual languages.

In all these cases the languages can be considered alive, as they would still be expected to evolve over time and introduce neologisms and new idioms. The common criterion is that the language has to be productively spoken¹ to be considered alive.

Whether the NB of the period 556–500 B.C. was still a spoken language is problematical as all evidence lies in written records alone, recorded on clay and only the clay survives. Aramaic may have been used much more, but the material was recorded on waxed writing boards or parchment, long perished. We are only able to base our opinion on what survives and on that basis NB certainly was a living language (of categories d and e) in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., for the following reasons:

- a) It has idiomatic and colloquial usages.²

¹ Not necessarily with the mouth, as present-day sign language (BSL, ASL etc.) users will testify.

² *lapān + alādu* “to have (a child) by”, *rēša + našû* “to summon”; *ina īnia naskāk* “I am bedridden”, PN *šû mala 100 šābē ina muhhi idabbub*, “that PN gossips about it as much as 100 workers” etc.

b) There are so many (thousands of) records of statements which one would assume to have been recorded verbatim, and which indicate that the language was fluent and grammatical. Some of the letters are solid grounds to suppose the language was alive in that they were written by the writer himself (sometimes to members of his own family) and not by some intermediary scribe. Also the content of many documents and letters is so trivial that the act of recording them in a dead language along with the expense of hiring a specialised scribe to do so would have been unnecessarily extravagant.³

c) Were NB a dead language the scribes would spell all words according to the styles found in the materials from which they learned their art, namely lexical lists and, later on, some copies of earlier NB documents. Were NB dead or just a written language, then the spelling would imitate that of the teaching texts and become far more archaic. The content of the recorded material would become very limited⁴ and there would be no new words coming into use. If, by chance new words could enter the language they would continue to be spelled in CVCCV patterns.

I conclude that the NB under discussion was still spoken, although it may have been limited to the affairs of long-established temples, law courts and businesses. There is no way of finding out if families of Babylonians or Urukians still spoke NB at home. The lack of difference between the dialects of Babylon and Uruk does not help the issue, as the distance between the two cities should encourage considerable difference, were NB a “mother tongue”. However, the similar educational backgrounds of the scribes, along with the enthusiasm of such royals as Nabonidus for the heritage (both material and in writing) of their country, indicate that preservation of NB was encouraged. The composition of new material, royal, historical, literary and vernacular continued.

³ Were such trivia merely learning texts, the scribes' patronymics and exact date of composition would not be given.

⁴ As was the case in the NB of Seleucid Uruk, where the type of material recorded was quite restricted. (See the introduction, n40 p11.) MEŠ was used for all plurals, nominal or verbal.

Appendices

§1 Aramaic works which are of particular interest for the understanding of the orthography of NB.

a) The Tell Fekheriye bilingual inscription

This statue of an Aramaean vassal king is of interest to the student of the influence of the Aramaic script on Akkadian orthography in general, in that it has on it a NA cuneiform dedication with an Aramaic translation. Its dating is problematic as some of the letters are archaised, but most recent conclusions are that it is from the 9th century B.C.¹

Of particular interest is the evidence that Aramaic was already using the consonants *w y ʾ ʿ* ² signs as *matres lectionis* for long vowels and diphthongs, especially in place names and loan words:

- 1, 15: *dmwt*ʾ “the statue”
- 2, 4: *gwgl* “canal inspector”
- 6,7,13: *gwzn* “Gozan”
- 7: *ssnwry* “Šamaš-nūrī”
- 9: *tšlwth* “his prayer”
- 12: *wyšym šmh* “and who puts his name”
- 19: *šʿryn* “portions”, *wprys* “*parīsu*- (half a kur) measure”³
- 22: *btnwr* “in an oven”
- 23: *wmwtn* “and pestilence”
- 23: *nyrgl* “Nergal”

Historical glottal stops are represented with *ʾ*:

- 20: *mʾh* “a hundred”
- ibid.: *šʾh* “a ewe”
- 22: *wʾl ymlʾnh* “and may they (3fpl) not fill it”

¹ Bordreuil and Millard (1982), and Greenfield and Schaffer (1984), based on analyses of the two scripts (which both have archaisms in the forms of their characters) and the prosopography. Sader (1987, 23–29) provided evidence that it may be mid 8th century, but more recently, Lipinski summarised the evidence to date it once more to the mid 9th century (1994, 21–30).

² *ʾ* for long *ā* is not used, cf. line 1: *šm* “he put”, = *šām*; line 2: *wntn lmt kln* “and giver to all the lands” = *wnāt^h limāt ku/ān*; line 23: *mwtn* “pestilence” = *mūtān*, indicating that *ʾ* was still used for a glottal stop in Aramaic.

³ See AHW 833b for *parīsu* references in the original Akkadian.

Observations

⌘ is not used to represent long *ā*, only the glottal stop.

The feminine ending is written with *h* in the first two examples. Another example is šlh “basket(?) water supply(?)” (line 3).

b) The Uruk incantation in cuneiform

This was first copied by Thureau-Dangin in TCL 6: 58 (=AO 6849), and remains unique as the only completely Aramaic text written in cuneiform characters. The script places it in the context of Seleucid Uruk, i.e. at least two hundred years later than the period of the NB of this study. Hyatt has already studied it exhaustively as regards final vowel orthography (1941, 4–9) since its repetitive nature is very useful in showing that the same words can be spelled in different ways as well as highlighting the fact that the signs chosen by the scribes were chosen primarily for their consonantal value. The spelling is discussed by Gordon (1939 p. 107). He notes that signs have syllabic values only and that long medial *ā* was not usually differentiated from short *a*, nor was long *ī* usually differentiated from short *i*, leaving *ū* and *ē* as the vowels most commonly represented.

Observations about the spelling which are of interest to students of earlier NB:

i) CV final for -C:

mi-in (passim) *mi-in-ni* in line 34 < מן ⁴ *min* “from”

1, 27, 32: *na-šá-a-a-tá* < נשית *našayt* “I held”

5, 8: *pa-tu-ú-ri a-si-ir li-iš-šá-an, pa-tu-ú-ru a-si-ir li-iš-šá-ni* (“table” = פתור *patūr*), “the table of him who ties the tongue”

17: *qu-ú-mi-ni* < קומין *qūmīn* “stand”, 2fpl impv

19, 20: *man-nu* < מן *man* “who?”

21, 25, 33: *ha-la-ti-in-ni/ ha-la-ti-i-ni* < חליטין *ḥalaṭīn* “mixtures”.⁵

22: *pi-la-nu ba-ri pi-la-ʾ* < פלן “someone, son of someone”⁶

24: *la-bi-šú* < לבש *lābiš* “wearing”. Contrast with line 20: *la-bi-iš*.

ii) Use of the sign ʾ (⌘)

Gordon’s observation that long medial *ā* was not usually represented is significant for our understanding of the use of the Aramaic ⌘ and Akkadian ⌘. Therefore if

⁴ The interpretations in Hebrew script are provided by Gordon and Dupont-Sommer.

⁵ The cuneiform in Thureau-Dangin’s copy does not read *ha-la-qī-i-ni-in/ni*, which is what Gordon reads as עלקין “leeches”. He vocalises this as *ḥalak(/q)inn*. The Arabic equivalent is written with *‘ain* and not *ghain* (*‘alaq*).

⁶ *pi-la-ʾ* for *p^elān* is discussed in the review of Winckworth (part3 §2, above).

Aramaic in cuneiform does not usually show *ā* then neither would Aramaic in Aramaic script, which would indicate that *⌘* was being used to represent the glottal stop and not *ā*.⁷ As far as Seleucid NB was concerned *⌘* was no longer used to represent a glottal stop; it was being used to indicate the presence of a long vowel almost exclusively in finite or predicative verbal forms or in words with a historical glottal stop as a medial or final root consonant.⁸ It was the cuneiform equivalent of a “macron sign”.⁹

Where the emphatic ending is used ^{*⌘*} is not the automatic choice of sign:

2: *si-ip-pa-a* < *⌘* “the threshold”. Contrast with:

6: *mi-ir-ra-ʾ* < *⌘* “the bitter poison”

Either this means that the glottal stop of the emphatic was no longer pronounced, or *⌘* was no longer directly associated in cuneiform with a glottal stop in spite of its continuing use in words with a historical glottal stop. *⌘* is never used in initial position. The glottal stop seems still to have existed in medial and final position in Seleucid Aramaic but cuneiform scribes did not relate it to *⌘*. The Babylonian scribes evidently did not hear it, or if they did, they did not see the need to acknowledge it as a separate phoneme. Woodington (p15) gives bibliographical references on *⌘*, whose use in Kuyunjik NB is explained as being of Aramaic influence. As *⌘* is not a vowel marker in Aramaic, either the Babylonian *sepīru* scribes heard the accompanying vowel and thought *⌘* meant the vowel, or they adopted the *⌘* as a convenient macron sign.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse the use of *⌘* in Seleucid NB. Suffice it to say that the scribes never saw the need to limit *⌘* in either NB or Aramaic cuneiform to its historically correct positions even though the presence of such words as *baʾāšu* in both languages must have drawn their attention to the correlation between *⌘* and the glottal stop.

ʾ in medial position occurs only in line 35, *bi-ʾšá-ti-ia* *⌘* *biʾīšatī* “my nastiness”. This, however is the only Aramaic word in the text which has a medial glottal stop in its root. The scribe may simply have recognised its very similar NB cognate which is traditionally written with *⌘* (long or otherwise).¹⁰

⁷ As noted in the Tell Fekheriye inscription above. In Biblical Aramaic, where it was also not used, when the diacriticals were later added, *⌘* (*qamās*) was used to represent *ā*. Final long *ā* was written with *⌘* as in the negating or interrogative particle *⌘* *mā* and nouns (sg, unsuffixed, nominative) with feminine endings.

⁸ It was also used in the Babylon texts for the demonstrative *ā*.

⁹ Idea suggested by J.A. Black.

¹⁰ Cf. the vocalisation of Aramaic *nāšāʾ* as a calque on the Akkadian, *nī-še-e*, “women”, in lines 12

iii) Most final vowels are written CV-ֿ. The exception is e:

3: *li-iš-šá-ni-ֿ* “my tongue”. Contrast this with *liš-šá-né-e* “his tongue”, in line 25.

6: *di-ֿ* “of”

10, 26: *a-na-ֿ* “I”

ú-ma-ֿ “and”, passim

Rare exceptions to this are the 2fs impvs *ri-hu-ti-i áš-ka-hi-i* “run (and) find” in line 41 but note that on line 16 the first command is spelled *ri-hu-ti-ֿ* רחש אשכח. It is interesting that the Seleucid scribe does not adhere to the spelling conventions associated with NB (i.e. where ֿ is not normally used in non verbal forms or in verbs with a final weak radical) while writing the Aramaic. However, he does continue to use CV signs in a way that shows that a CV sign on its own cannot confirm that a final vowel is present unless it is supplemented with ֿ or a vowel sign.

iv) ֿ is written with “h” signs:

13, 38: *ta-ra-ha, ta-ra-hi* < דרע “door”

4; *ha-al-li-tú* < עלת ¹¹allit “I went in”

§2 Graeco-Babyloniaca

Some hints as to the pronunciation of sixth-century NB may be obtained by looking at Graeco-Babyloniaca (GB), a term coined by Sollberger (1962) for a particular body of material dating from at least 300 years later. The GB are clay tablets with Akkadian (and sometimes Sumerian) on the obverse and Greek (which is a transcription of the Akkadian or Sumerian) on the reverse. The tablets turn over from left to right rather than from top to bottom. Knudsen (1989, p72) calls the Akkadian late literary Babylonian. The presentation of the tablets indicates that the cuneiform was the teaching text of which the Greek was a transcription. The unfinished Schileico tablet, which has the Greek only, is evidence of some kind of letter writing exercise.¹² Exact dates for these tablets cannot be ascertained (they were never dated, apparently) but the Greek script of the latest tablets appear to indicate that they cover a period from the second century B.C. to the second century

and 37; and *ga-ab-re-e* (line 12) and *ga-ba-re-e* (line 37) for *gabē* “men”, as noted by Dupont-Sommer (1942–44, p46).

¹¹ The root is ʿll.

¹² See fn 17, below.

A.D. (Geller, personal communication¹³).

The extant material is very sparse but the examples follow consistent patterns. It must be noted that the signs θ , χ are used for the plosives /t, k/ and τ , κ for the emphatics /t, q/. For sounds not present in Greek, the lunate sigma which resembles c is used for $\check{s}$ as well as s and an invented sign is used for h which looks like Ξ in Geller's¹⁴ tablet.¹⁵ Of interest to the study of NB are the following patterns of sound change:

i) Loss of final short vowels although retained in the cuneiform:

bir-ri $\beta\epsilon\rho$ "well" Geller (= HSM 1137):3 cf.
mu-uh-hi $\omicron\Xi$ "top" Geller: 1
mu-šir-ri $\omicron\epsilon\epsilon\wp$ Geller: 2
*nap-pa-šú*¹⁶, $\nu\alpha\phi\phi\alpha\epsilon$ "air-hole" Geller: 5
sa-ag: sa-an-gu $\epsilon\alpha\gamma$ "priest", BM 35458: 6
pa, šit: ra-a-tu $\phi\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\wp$ $\rho\alpha\tau$ "canal", BM 34797: 9

Although the tablet¹⁷ published by Schileico in 1929 has no cuneiform, the following is of interest (Note also the assimilation of *ana* and *Sîn*):

^mAna-Sîn-taklāku $\alpha\epsilon[\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha]\chi\alpha\lambda\alpha\chi$ Schileico: 2
 $\rho\eta$ "shepherd", Schileico: 3

ii) Dissolution of consonant clusters by adding an extra vowel (Sprossvokal, anaptyxis). Knudsen thinks this is due to direct Aramaic influence (p79):

ih-ri $\epsilon\Xi\epsilon\epsilon\rho$ "he dug", BM 34797¹⁸: 3
qab-ri $\kappa\alpha\beta\alpha\rho$ "grave", Geller: 4
ina ik-le-[ti] $\wp\upsilon\chi\wp\epsilon\wp$ "in darkness", Geller: 9

¹³ His colleagues at University College, London, who have provided the datings, suggest that some may even be third century A.D, although this is open to debate. Geller is in the process of editing all available GB texts, copying all unpublished texts and recopying all published texts. Whatever their dating, it is remarkable that such a small corpus of texts covers such a wide period. All the texts come from Babylon.

¹⁴ = HSM 1137, the Akkadian incantation text from the Harvard Semitic Museum, discussed in Geller (1983).

¹⁵ See Black and Sherwin-White (1984, p136) for the use of the lunate sigma for s and $\check{s}$ and the invented sign for /h/, which I represent with Ξ . This paper incidentally deals with a tablet with Greek letters only, but which so far has proved unreadable. It is not Akkadian, Greek or Sumerian, contrary to the conclusions of Maul (1991). Unlike the other GB tablets it turns over from top to bottom and is also much smaller than them. (On p131 the writers refer to Pinches' estimate of the GB tablets in the British Museum as being about 5" high by 9" wide when complete.)

¹⁶ Is genitive.

¹⁷ This is a tablet with a letter in Greek characters on one side but the other side, intended for the student's transcription, was not published, and according to Schileico is blank ("stark herausgebogene anepigraphe Rückseite", 1929, p11).

¹⁸ Text discussed by Pinches (1902). The Akkadian is an extract from Hh II 203–214.

šap-liš 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “below”, BM 35727: 2, 4¹⁹

pal-gu 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 “ditch”, BM 34797: 6

iii) Retention of final consonant cluster if the final letter is -t:

[rapašti] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “wide”, Šamaš hymn: 1²⁰

[pu-luh-ta] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “fear”, Šamaš hymn: 3

[ina] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 [ti] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 “in the well”, Geller: 10

miṭertu 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “canal”, BM 34797: 10

iv) Loss or modification of *m* sometimes occurs:²¹

mu-uh-hi 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 “top” Geller: 1

ina [a]p-ti mu-šir-ri 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “through the window”,²² Geller: 2

[nar]-[ma-ki] 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “bathtub”, Geller: 10

[na]-ma-ri 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “dawn” Geller: 7

(ma-ri) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “son of Šamaš”, Geller: 6

ūmī 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 “days”, Schileico: 3

Nabû-rīmanni 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Schileico: 2–3

But note that it is sometimes retained in initial position:

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 “Babylon, the link with h[eaven]”, BM 34791: rev. 6.

PN 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 PN₂ “PN son of PN₂”, Schileico: 1–2 cf. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 in BM 34797: 10 and 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶 in Geller: 6, above.

Note also that there are no instances of 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶

Further comments on the development of m in NB.

Knudsen concludes that historical *m* is softened to *w* then to *u* between unrounded vowels. If the preceding or following vowel is rounded then *m* is lost altogether (Knudsen, p75). *-mm-* is kept and initial *m* is lost only in a [rectum in a] construct chain. This latter would explain the otherwise unrecognisable 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 for *mu-uh-hi* in *ina ap-ti mu-uh-hi* “through the top window”.²³ However, there are so few

¹⁹ Given by Sollberger (1962). The Akkadian is an extract from Hh II 228–234.

²⁰ Also in Sollberger (1962). The Akkadian is an extract from BWL 136 11: 169–172. The word is also spelled 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 in Schileico: 4 (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶).

²¹ Knudsen, 75–77.

²² See AHW *mušērtu*, p683a.

²³ Further evidence that signs containing *m* were being used to convey some kind of glide or labial fricative (/w, v, β/, or even /y/) can be seen in the many variations on the spelling of the names Darius and Xerxes, some containing ‘m’ signs and some not:

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 VS 6 166: 7

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Dar 115: 6

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Dar 281: 3

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶 Dar 183: 9

examples that these patterns cannot be considered to be hard and fast rules.

Judging from the spelling of NB loan words in Aramaic, intervocalic *m* has the reflex *w* in Aramaic, suggesting *w* in Seleucid NB and probably earlier. See for instance GAG §31a, Kaufman (1974, p142f) and Lipiński (1994, p199).

Foreign words with a *w* or bilabial fricative or glide are spelled in NB with “m” signs, such as Bīt Amukkāni, the tribe of Chaldeans spelled byt ʾwkn בית אכך in the Aššur Ostrakon line 15,²⁴ *ú-mar-za-na-pa-ta*²⁵ for Old Persian **vardanapati*. The spelling *ú-ma-* or *ú-mi-* for the initial *w*-fricative is more or less standard; note the cuneiform spellings given by Kent for the Persian names Vahauka-, Vahyazdāta, Vidama- etc. (1950, p207f). *ú-ma-*ʾ is the spelling of *wa-* “and” in the Aramaic incantation in cuneiform, discussed below. Gordon explained the presence of the initial *Ú* sign as being necessary to make the MA sign read *w-*, as initial *w* did not occur in NB.²⁶

For the loss or changing (to *w*?) of intervocalic and final *m* in the texts of the corpora see *šuātu* (V §4e, above), *kūm* (II §2, above) and note the spellings *ú-ba-mu-ú* “they are to search for”, YOS 7 1: 15 (Cyr acc, U); *ú-za-mi-ʾzu* “they divided”, YOS 3 200: 11 (early Camb, U) and *u-za-mi-zu-šú* “(when) they divided it”, *ibid.*: 29.²⁷

part 1

^m <i>Ak-ma-ar-šú</i>	TUM II/III 177: 17
^m <i>Ak-ši-ia-ar-ši</i>	TUM II/III 98: 18
^m <i>Ak-ši-ma-ak-šú</i>	VS 6 177: 8, VS 6 178: 9
^m <i>Ak-ši-išʾ/a?-mar-ar-ši</i>	BE 8 119: 22
^m <i>Hi-ši-ár-šú</i>	UET 4 50: 19, UET 4 115: 17
^m <i>Hi-ši-ia-ar-šú</i>	TUM II/III 173: 16, 174: 16, 175: 16

According to R.G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven (1950), pp.189-90, the Old Persian is *Darayavahu-*, with the -š ending coming from the nominative and genitive inflections. Xerxes is *Xšayāršan-*. Note also the name ^m*Šá-^dNÀ-šu-ú* in VS 6 166:4 (Dar yr 36), which is spelled ^m*Šá-^dNÀ-MU* in VS 6 177: 5 (Xerxes acc), indicating that the word for “name” was *šū*. The name ^m*Šul-lu-ú-a* in the letter CT 22 66: 18 (not in the corpora), is presumably *Šullumā*.

²⁴ Brinkman proposes the actual name to be Awukani or Awkani in PKB, p260 n1662. In TCL 12 90 line 21 I have URU É ^m*a-muk-a-nu* (Nbn yr 7, U).

²⁵ CT 22 73: 23 (letter, early Dar, B).

²⁶ Which he called “contemporary Babylonian”, i.e. the NB of Seleucid Uruk (1939, p111 and note 32).

²⁷ To be contrasted with *u-za-ʾ-a-zu* “they are to divide” in TCL 13 160: 16 (B).

§3 Lexical items of interest

It is to be expected that NB and Aramaic, in coexisting with each other, should exchange loan words and idioms. Those words and idioms which have entered the NB vocabulary from Aramaic in the sixth century relate to everyday activities such as farming (exx. *giṭipu*, *kaslu*).²⁸ Some words from Old Persian also find their way into NB in the Achaemenid period. These tend to be loans from administrative and legal terminology (exx. *dātu*, *gardu*) and are more in evidence in texts from the reign of Darius onwards. There are also several words which already exist in Akkadian but which have acquired new meanings (exx. *labku*, *murruqu*, *zaqāpu*).

Those words and idioms which appear (as far as can be established) for the first time in the period 556–500 B.C. in the corpora of this thesis are given in the list below. I have also included a few which had already appeared for the first time during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, because they have become far more popular during the latter half of the sixth century. The numbers from von Soden refer to his articles in *OrNs*.²⁹

akkullāt “clods, clumps” is given as a plurale tantum in CAD (A/I p275bf). Although CAD stated that the word appears in Nbk and Dar, its chosen entries are from Camb 85 and Camb 142: 7 (yr 2, B).³⁰

bagani from Aram *b* and *gan* “in (or “with”) the protection of” (AHw 96a and no. 23) is attested twice, in CT 22 74: 25–26 (letter, middle Dar, B) and CT 244: 16. Both examples are *ba-ga-ni*-(?) RN (Darius) *ina muhhik*, *ina muhhikun*. The contexts suggest the writer in both cases wants the recipients to be deprived of the protection of the king.

batar al Neither of the two contexts in which it appears can give a clear interpretation:

DINGIR.MEŠ *lu-u i-de ki-i 3 u₄-mu šá a-na UNUG KI al-li-ku dul-lu-a šá ITI*
UD.MEŠ *la ba-tar al uš-ku-ú i-qab-bu-ú-na-a-šú um-ma* “the gods must know it is three days since I went to Uruk. My job is a month’s work at least (?). Afterwards(?) they tell us...” YOS 3 17: 37–39 (letter, early Camb? U). As the parallel text TCL 9 129 omits the sentence prior to *uš-ku-ú*, I therefore give the tentative translation “afterwards”, for *ušku* and it therefore appears that *la batar al*

²⁸ For Akkadian loan words in Aramaic, see Kaufman (1974).

²⁹ Numbers 1–97 are in *OrNs* 35 (1966), 5–20; numbers 98–171 are in *OrNs* 37 (1968), 261–271 and numbers 172–242, which include amendments to the earlier sections are in *OrNs* 46 (1977), 183–197.

³⁰ *har-ri i-her-[ru?] *par-*ki*.MEŠ *u ak-kul-lat ina-áš-šu-ú* “they are to dig the canal; they are to remove the obstructions and clumps”. The collated word confirms a suggestion put forward by von Soden (*parku*, AHw p834a) that *pašku* is a late spelling of *parku*, cf. *pa-áš-ka-ni-šú i-šaq-qu* “he is to water the obstructions in it” (to soften them), VS 5 49: 14 (Camb yr 4, B).

is at the end of its clause.

*i-ta-pal-lu-ʾ mam-ma ina ku-tal-li-šú ia-a-nu it-ta-hu (or bak)*³¹ *ba-tar al na-si-ik ši-pir-ti LÚ.šà-tam EN-i-ni it-ti gi xx a-hi-šú-nu [...]* *tal-li-ku-ma* “they have paid.”³² There is no one backing him up...May our lord the šatam’s letter come with...their brother (?), TCL 9 131: 10–15 (letter, Sippar? not in my corpus)

Von Soden (no. 12) suggested it came from Aramaic *ba-ʾtar* (“in the place”) and *hal* (?), “nach jenem, fernerhin(?)” but later decided the evidence for this meaning was inconclusive.

dāt “royal decree, command” is a loan word from OP, appearing in NB from the time of Darius onward (AHw p122bf). An example is in Dar 53: 15 (yr 2, B).³³

ēpiš(ā)nūt refers specifically to the performing of prebendal duties in later NB. The examples in AHw 229b suggest that the pronunciation may be *ēpiš^anūt* or *ēpišnūt*,³⁴ e.g. *e-piš-nu-tu* in VS 6 104: 4(Cyr yr 8, B).

gard(u) “people conscripted to work” is an OP loan word (AHw 282a). See Stolper (1985, 56–58). An example is LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šá *ga-ar-du*, CT 22 74: 26 (letter, middle Dar, B).

gidmu “bunch of dates on the spadix”, is, according to von Soden, a loan word from Aramaic (*gidmāʾ*, AHw p287b and von Soden no. 25). *gidmāʾ* itself is not in HAL, but the Semitic roots *jzm* and *jdm* (HAL *gzm*, p179b)³⁵ mean “to cut off” or “clip off”, so that *gidmu* appears to be a loan word³⁶ evidently referring to the action of cutting the dates off the tree. It is in CT 22 80: 6 (letter, 545–527, B) and also appears in a Darius text, VS 3 135: 2 (yr 23 or 43, from near to Babylon, not in the corpus).

giṭip “loose”, refers to garlic in CT 22 80: 9 (letter, 545–527, B). This is derived by von Soden (no. 168) from Aram *q^eṭipā* “plucked”. Earlier publications have the spelling *gidipu*.³⁷

³¹ Von Soden (no. 12) amends this to *it-ta-hu-<šú?>*.

³² Or possibly, “has he paid?”.

³³ *a-ki-i da-a-ta šá LUGAL ú-šal-lam* “he will make restitution in accordance with the (pertinent) royal decree”.

³⁴ A similar contraction is observed in *tabalānu*, below.

³⁵ *gzm* is not in HAL vol V (Aramaic lexicon).

³⁶ Cf. *Ṣyriac*. It is unlikely that it is Akkadian; *gadāmu* “to cut off” appears twice only, in a MA text, according to AHw p273a.

³⁷ Cf. *gidipū* (plurale tantum) in CAD G p66a.

harmil is a particular cut of meat, identified as “cartilage” by von Soden (AHw (p326a and no. 48) and derived by him from Aram *garmā*’ “bone”, and *el*, a diminutive suffix.³⁸ An example is in VS 5 57/58: 1–2 (Barziya, B).³⁹

haruttu “date palm frond” is derived by von Soden from Aram *h^arūtā*. See von Soden no. 50 and AHw 329a. The word first appears in Nbk texts and becomes popular in the phrase *libbi (u) haruttu inamšar raṭbu ul umarri* “he is to watch the shoots and the fronds; he is not to prune the fresh growth”. cf. VS 5 49: 6–7 (Camb yr 4, B) and Dar 35: 7–8 (yr 2, B).

iārit, *iāritūt* “heir, executor”, come from the Aramaic *iār^etā*’ and *iār^etūtā*’, respectively. These two words appear only in the connected texts Nbn 668 and TCL 12 122 (both probably from yr 12, B). See von Soden no. 58.

kasal “land drained by ditches” (CAD K p244b) appears in three Nbn documents from Uruk, written by the prolific scribe Nadin, and nowhere else. Each time it is qualified by *kalû*.⁴⁰ See von Soden no. 65 and AHw p454a. He derives it from Aramaic *kislā* “furrow, ditch”.

la-ʾ, *la-i*. These spellings of *la* appear with *adi la*,⁴¹ indicating that there might be a sound change or a lengthening of the vowel. These spellings⁴² are already being used for the final vowel in *agâ* in Kuyunjik NB.

labku “moistening (of the soil under palm trees)”, is in Camb 142: 8 (yr 2, B) and the similar VS 5 49: 8 (Camb yr 4, B). See CAD L p33bf, where texts from Cambyses and Darius are listed. The month Abu (the driest month) is always specified as the month in which the moistening takes place.

latān is the feminine form of *lamūtān*, “servant”, from Aram *l^ewa* “to escort” according to von Soden (*lamūtānu*, no.76⁴³ and AHw 534a). Both variants are given in the same entry in CAD (L 77b–78). Although *latān* begins to appear in Nbk,⁴⁴ it becomes far commoner in later NB. Examples are in JRAS 1926: 5, 12 (Nbn yr 10, B) and YOS 3 22: 16 (letter, early Nbn, U). How *latānu* has developed from *lamūtānu* is unclear.

³⁸ See GVG I §223a, p402.

³⁹ 4-ú HA.LA ina UZU ha-ar-mi-il.MEŠ šá GU₄.MEŠ “one fourth share of ox gristle”.

⁴⁰ ka-sa-al (ù) ka-lu-ú YOS 6 33: 4–5, YOS 6 41: 10, cf. TCL 12 90: 22.

⁴¹ Examples of *la-i* YOS 3 45: 8, YOS 3 81: 26 (same scribe); of *la-ʾ*: CT 22 148: 17.

⁴² And variants thereof, cf. a-ga-ʾ-i in CT 22 182: 11.

⁴³ Which includes details on *latānu*.

⁴⁴ CAD has examples of *lamūtānu* in ABL (NB).

maguš “magus” (OP LW), is in YOS 3 66: 3–9 (letter, Camb pre-526? U). According to CAD M/I p48bf, it occurs in Darius texts and later.

murruq has the new meaning “to clear from claims”, in NB, especially in the Darius⁴⁵ and later texts. According to CAD M/II p222bf, it has taken over from *zukkû*. See AHW *marāqu* D, p608b.⁴⁶

musahhir “buying agent, dealer” is from the Aramaic *šhr* G/D “to go around doing business”, rather than *sahāru* D. See von Soden no.96 and CAD M/II p231. An example is in Stigers 36: 5 (Dar yr 12, U).⁴⁷

nâp “to include a payment in addition to rent” (von Soden *nūptu*, no 106, AHW 742b spB [seit 530⁴⁸]) is a denominative verb from *nūptu* “an additional bonus”.⁴⁹ In the texts of my corpora the usual expression is *nūptu nâpu* and refers to paying an addition to the rent of a property at specific times of the year, usually new year and mid-year. The texts are all from Babylon and from Cambyses or later. Examples are in Camb 117: 8–9 and Dar 163: 13. Dar 499: 10, instead of the usual *nūptu nâpu*, has *nu-up-tu, i-nam-din* (yr 20, B).

bīt nizil “drained land” is from *nazālu* “to empty”. There are two attestations, of which one is TCL 12 90: 22 (Nbn yr 7, U). See CAD N/II p 304a and AHW p799a.

nuhhut “debased(?), devalued(?)” is a term applied to silver and sometimes linen, from Cyrus onwards. The Akkadian cognate *nahātu* means “to make less”,⁵⁰ but Tropper (1995), who examines the cognate *nḥt* in the other Semitic languages, concludes that the Semitic meaning may include “cut up”, “sheared off”, or “smashed up” (p61, top). See CAD N/II p318a. Examples are in the Babylon texts VS 5 78: 3, TCL 13 193: 1 and Dar 550: 3–4 (yr 22).⁵¹

sanāq “to need” is a new meaning for a verb which already has a variety of meanings in Akkadian. The new meaning is from Aram *s^eneq*. See CAD S p145b

⁴⁵ Cf. UD *pa-qa-ru* [ina UGU] PN ÌR šá PN₂ x *it-tab-šu-ú* PN₂ PN *ú-mar-raq-ma a-na* PN₃ *i-nam-din* “if ever there is a claim against PN, PN₂’s slave, PN₂ (the buyer) is to clear PN of claims and give him to PN₃ (the seller), Dar 537: 13 (yr 22, B).

⁴⁶ The entry for *mrq* in HAL (p603a) gives no indication that *mrq* in NB may come from Aramaic. *mrq* with the meaning “rubbed out” (D passive) is not attested in Aramaic until the Samaria papyri of the time of Artaxerxes III.

⁴⁷ (n dates) ina ŠUK.HI.A-šú-nu *a-na* 5 LÚ.mu-sah-re-e šá PN... *id-din* “give (n dates) from out of their rations to PN’s five dealers”.

⁴⁸ CAD N/I p327b has an example from Nrgl (acc yr), i.e. 30 years earlier.

⁴⁹ *nūptu* is attested in Kuyunjik NB (ABL 1117: 11).

⁵⁰ And is attested in OB and SB.

⁵¹ The example from Dar 550 is *a-na* 5/6 MA.NA <KÛ.BABBAR> BABBAR-ú *nu-uh-tú ina* 1 GÍN *bit-qa* “5/6th of a mina of debased (?) white <silver> of one-eighth alloy”.

(*sanāqu* B), von Soden no. 128 and AHW entry II, p1022b. An example is in YOS 3 33: 34 (letter, early Cyr, U).⁵²

serpu “scissors, shears” is first attested in CT 55 225: 2 (Nbk yr 33). See CAD p316a and AHW *serpu*, *serapu*, p1037b. No derivation is suggested. Examples are in YOS 7 97: 7, 16, 19, 21 (Camb acc, U).⁵³

sumuttu “a kind of ration” is proposed by von Soden as coming from *summunu* ¹/₈ i.e. a one-eighth ration. There are only two attestations, YOS 3 79: 10 (letter, 539–526, U) and a text from Ur, UET 4 51: 10 (Nbk, yr 29).

šamāt “to mark” is used to refer to the dedication of a person to a god in Uruk from Nbk onwards. Von Soden (AHW p1155b) says it is a denominated verb from *šimtu* “mark, brand”, cf. [*ina*] *šen-du* AN.BAR *šá* FDN *i-šem-mi-tu*, “they will mark them using the iron brand of the Lady-of-Uruk”, YOS 6 150: 20 (Nbn yr 11). See also CAD Š/I 307a.

tab(a)lān “pilferer” appears in a group of texts discussed by Renger (1971, p501ff), referring to lawsuits against people involved in handling precious metals in Eanna. The texts are all from around Nbn yr 12. See AHW 1296b. The only other attestation from outside of this series is in YOS 7 170: 18. Both this and two of the Nbn texts (YOS 6 191: 4, YOS 6 214: 4, yr 12, U) have the spelling *ta-ab-la-nu* or *tab-la-nu*, suggesting the pronunciation “*tablān*”.

te’iqtu, *têqtu* “trouble, inconvenience” is from Aram **tē’iqā*. See von Soden no. 151 and AHW 1344a. The native Akkadian cognate is *sāqu* (OB *siāqum*) “to squeeze, encroach on”. An example is in YOS 3 21: 18 (letter, Cyr–Camb, U).⁵⁴

terdu šakān “to follow up(?); to create a disruption(?)” is difficult to translate. It appears only twice, in YOS 6 71: 30 (Nbn yr 6, U) and YOS 7 97: 9, 17–18 (Camb acc yr, U). It is not listed in CAD *šakānu*. See von Soden no. 242 and AHW p1388b, meaning 3.⁵⁵

⁵² LÚ.HUN.GÁ.ME *a-na* ŠUK.HI.A *sa-an-qu-* “the hired labourers are in need of rations”.

⁵³ *sér-pu* AN.BAR.

⁵⁴ *te*, (=TI)-*eq-tu*, *ina lib-bi-ku-nu la i-šak-kan-* “they are not to create trouble where you are concerned”.

⁵⁵ Von Soden seems uncertain as to whether the Aramaic originator means “checking”, or “upheaval”. The idea of checking or investigating is noted in the entry for the verb *trd* in HAL p363 (there is no noun entry).

urāš “public service duty” is spelled *urāsu* in the other dialects in which it appears, namely Nuzi, MA and NA.⁵⁶ The term is discussed by Dandamaev (1984, p325f) and Shiff (1987, p163), and they conclude that it refers to a public service imposed on citizens to help with the construction and repair of canals and roads. Wealthy citizens may pay someone else to do their work for them, cf. Camb 88/419 (yr 1, B).

umarzanapāt “citizen” is a loan from OP *vardana-* (“town”) and **pāti* (“citizen”). There is only one attestation so far, ^mMU-^dU.GUR⁵⁷ LÚ.ú-mar-za-na-pa-ta in CT 22 73: 23 (letter, early Dar, B). See AHW p1447a.

zaqāp “to pay an indemnity” appears in legal NB. An example is in TCL 13 187: 6–7 (Dar yr 10, B).⁵⁸

§4 Corpora of texts

a) Texts cited and comments on the material available

The corpora of this thesis are drawn from texts published in copy. The lists of texts in appendix §3a will show which publications have been most useful in providing material for the corpora. Other collections of copies of sixth-century and Achaemenid texts which were not accessed for examples are UET 4, TUM 2/3 and CT 55, 56 and 57.

There are 204 texts from Babylon and 179 from Uruk.

Comments on the material

Contracts have duplicates, as indicated when they finish with the words 1+en.TA.ÀM *ilteqû* “each one took a copy”.

Occasionally a blank may appear where a name is unreadable or the scribe may write *hi-pi* where the tablet from which he is copying has a break. In these cases it

⁵⁶ NA, in particular, tends to use *s* in other words which have *š* in NB.

⁵⁷ Note the Akkadian name, Iddin-Nergal.

⁵⁸ *baṭ-la šá i-šak-kan i-zaq-qāp* “he is to pay for any stoppage which may occur”.

is difficult to know when the copy was made but the indications are that the copies were made by the same person who wrote the original. A particularly good example of this is TCL 13 181 (Dar yr 2, U), where breaks are not only recorded but some signs on line 11 are unreadable. Presumably they could not be understood when they were copied. Marduk-nāšir is named as the scribe of TCL 13 182, although it is not clear if he is the original scribe or the person who copied the document. Other duplicated documents, exx. VS 4 87+88, VS 5 74+75 and BIN II 115/YOS 7 23 have the same scribe in each case.

Haplography: *ana é-an-na <na>-šá-* “which (msg) was brought to Eanna”, YOS 7 2: 5; *NÍG.ŠID <šá É>.ŠU.II* “property from the storage wing”, TCL 13 170: 5 (Camb yr 5, U).⁵⁹

Dittography: *ul-tu <<₂₀ul-tu>>* YOS 3 12: 19–20 (U) and *LÚ.EN.pi-<<pī>>-qit-tu*, YOS 6 144: 5 (U), and in the following, the *-na-ši* is not a ventive; it seems to be a mistaken repetition of *na-ši* (*paris* form) in line 3:

PN...KÛ.GI...*a-na* PN₂ *a-na* KÛ.BABBAR *id-di-nu <<na-ši>>* “PN gave...gold to PN₂ for silver”, YOS 6 175: 3...5 (Nbn yr 12, U)

Line mix-up or omission of words or a line? (Weisberg 7). Missing verb? (Joannès Strasbourg 1: 8, after DAM-šú)

In the letters, equals address each other as ŠEŠ (brother); superiors address inferiors as ŠEŠ and inferiors address superiors as AD (father). Superiors tend to be called EN⁶⁰ throughout. There is one example of a woman superior being called EN, but otherwise women (all of whom appear to be superiors) are addressed as AMA.

1) Texts from Babylon

Note. The texts from CT 22 are all letters

AnOr 8 59 Cyrus yr 8 BR 6 27, p41

AnOr 8 68 Camb yr 3 BR 6 105 p112

BE 8 47 Nbn yr 5

BE 8 105 Dar yr 4

BM 36432 (copied by Wunsch, 1993, no.326) Camb yr 2

⁵⁹ A fuller extract from TCL 13 170: 5 is given in *port 1* II §4g.

⁶⁰ Which I translate “Sir” or “My lord”. See my comments in n32, p28.

Camb 15 acc yr
 Camb 68 yr 1
 Camb 73 yr 1
 Camb 87 refers to yr 1
 Camb 88 yr 1 (of Cyrus) identical to Camb 419 but dated one day later
 Camb 97 yr 1
 Camb 110 yr 2 (Place broken. Cf. Camb 73 for prosopography and place)
 Camb 117 yr 2
 Camb 127 yr 2
 Camb 142 yr 2
 Camb 147 yr 2
 Camb 165 yr 3
 Camb 253 yr 4
 Camb 286 yr 5
 Camb 287 yr 5
 Camb 290 yr 5 (Šahrīnu)
 Camb 322 yr 1? (Šahrīnu)
 Camb 329 yr 6 (Šahrīnu)
 Camb 334 yr 6 *Slavery* (1984), p107
 Camb 335 yr 6
 Camb 348 yr 6
 Camb 349 yr 6
 Camb 373 yr 7
 Camb 375 yr 7
 Camb 379 yr 7
 Camb 423 (year broken)

CT22 6 Cyr?
 CT22 8 (554–527)
 CT22 9 (551–527) *Shiff* 166
 CT22 48 pre-527
 CT22 73 early Dar?
 CT22 74 middle Dar?
 CT22 78 (545–527)
 CT22 79 (545–527) *Shiff* 168
 CT22 80 Nbn? *Shiff* 169
 CT22 81 Nbn? *Shiff* 170

CT22 82 After Dar yr 14?
CT22 83 After Dar yr 14?
CT22 95? Kalbâ-IMB?
CT22 96? Kalbâ-IMB?
CT22 97? Kalbâ-IMB?
CT22 110 (551-527) *Shiff* text 171
CT22 127 (refers to Dar yr 17)
CT22 148 (545-527) (found in Sippar) *Shiff* 172
CT22 151 (place unidentifiable) *Shiff* 172. Nbn or earlier
CT22 182 = Cyr 376 pre-526
CT22 183 (551-522)

CT22 189 MNA
CT22 193 IMB (551-522)
CT22 194 IMB (551-522)
CT22 195 IM-IMB (551-527)
CT22 200 Nbn? (refers to DUMU LUGAL)

CTMMA (Metropolitan Museum) I 11 Nbn yr 2
CTMMA I 18 Nbn yr 8 = *Shiff* 104 (written in Borsippa but involves Nūr Sîn people)
CTMMA II 54+Nbn 380 yr 9
CTMMA I 29+Nbn 953 yr 14
CTMMA II 53 Nbn yr 9 = *Shiff* 109

Cyr 64 yr 2
Cyr 130 yr 3 (the duplicate Cyr 129 is dated two days earlier)
Cyr 177 yr 4
Cyr 200 yr 5
Cyr 277 yr 7
Cyr 284 yr 7
Cyr 322 yr 8
Cyr 337 yr 9 *Slavery* p324f

Dalley 75 = RSM 1909.405.23 Dar yr 3
Dalley 76 = RSM 1909.405.24 Camb yr 5

Dar 26 yr 1
Dar 35 yr 2

Dar 53 yr 2
Dar 60 yr 3
Dar 80 yr 3
Dar 129 yr 4
Dar 137 yr 4
Dar 163 yr 5 *Slavery* 78 p704+p340f
Dar 176 yr 5
Dar 189 yr 5
Dar 227/Liverpool 175 yr 7
Dar 257 yr 9
Dar 280 yr 10
Dar 296 yr 11
Dar 297 yr 11
Dar 309 yr 11
Dar 319+duplicate Dar 172 yr 12
Dar 336/Liverpool 178 yr 12
Dar 339 yr 12
Dar 345 yr 13
Dar 358 yr 13
Dar 366 yr 13
Dar 378 yr 14
Dar 379 yr 14
Dar 384 yr 14
Dar 385 yr 14
Dar 395/396 yr 3 (395 appears to be a copy of the damaged 396)
Dar 410 yr 15
Dar 430 yr 16
Dar 434 yr 16
Dar 446 yr 17
Dar 447 yr 17
Dar 468 yr 18
Dar 469 yr 18
Dar 475 yr 18
Dar 492 yr 19
Dar 494 yr 19
Dar 499/Liverpool 181 yr 20
Dar 502 yr 20
Dar 504 yr 20

Dar 514 yr 20
~~Dar 537 yr 22~~
Dar 550 yr 22

Dar 551 yr 22

Dar 554 yr 22

Joannès *Strasbourg* 1 Nbn yr 8

Joannès *Strasbourg* 3 Dar yr 6?

Joannès TEBR 66 p268 =TBER PL32 Dar yr 10

JRAS 1926 (copied by Pinches, p107f) Nbn yr 10

Liverpool 19 Camb yr 3

Liverpool 22 Smerdis/Barzia yr 1

Nbn 17 acc yr

Nbn 36/Liverpool 48 yr 1 = *Shiff* 61

Nbn 65 yr 2

Nbn 68 yr 2 (no place)

Nbn 85 yr 2 = *Shiff* 67

Nbn 102 yr 3 = *Slavery* 14, p669

Nbn 194 yr 5 = *Slavery* 20, p672

Nbn 243 yr 6 = Roth (1989) 12

Nbn 256 yr 7 = *Shiff* 90

Nbn 273 yr 7 = *Shiff* 94

Nbn 280 yr 8 = *Shiff* 96

Nbn 293 yr 8

Nbn 310 yr 8 = Salonen (1976) 227

Nbn 314 yr 8 (connected with Nbn 668 and TCL 12 120)

Nbn 344/Liverpool 95 yr 9, *Shiff* 107

Nbn 356 yr 9 = *Shiff* 108

Nbn 359 yr 9

Nbn 441 yr 10 = *Slavery* 24, p674+p366

Nbn 499 yr 11 = *Slavery* 27, p675+p340

Nbn 573 yr 11

Nbn 600 yr 12 = Salonen 190

Nbn 605 yr 12 = *Slavery* no 30, p676

Nbn 668 yr 12 (connected with Nbn 314 and TCL 12 122)

Nbn 678 yr 12 (ITI.ŠE.DIRI)

Nbn 679 yr 12 = *Slavery* 36, p679+p133 (ITI.ŠE IGI-ú)

Nbn 682 yr 12 Discussed in *Slavery*, p134 (connected with Nbn 679)

Nbn 693 yr 13 = *Slavery* 38 p680+p192
 Nbn 697 yr 13 = *Slavery* 39 p680f+p438 (about Rīmāni-Bēl and Iqīšā the father of IM)
 Nbn 756 yr 14 (Šahrīnu)
 Nbn 760 yr 14
 Nbn 832 yr 15
 Nbn 903 yr 15
 Nbn 990 yr 16 = Roth (1989) 18
 Nbn 1031 yr 17
 Nbn 1047 yr 17
 Nbn 1048 yr 17 (same day as 1047)
 Nbn 1113 after yr 7 *Slavery* p440f

 OECT 10 102 Nbn yr 8 = *Shiff* 100
 OECT 10 105 Nbn yr 9 = *Shiff* 111
 Peek 22 = Pinches (1894, p93) = *GLNBr Anhang* p258f. Dar? (letter, probably from Šahrīnu)

 RA 67 = AO 19536 (copied by D. Arnaud, 147–153) Nbn yr 7
 Rutten, M. Un-numbered tablet from the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, RA 41 (1947) 99–103. Nbn yr 1

 TCL 9 124 (letter, 526–522)
 TCL 12 88 Nbn yr 8 = *Shiff* 101
 TCL 12 122 Nbn yr 12? (= yr 10[x]. Connected with Nbn 314 and Nbn 668)
 TCL 13 144 Cyr yr 9
 TCL 13 160 Camb yr 3
 TCL 13 190+Dar 321 (duplicates) yr 12⁶¹
 TCL 13 187 = Moore p192ff. Dar yr 10
 TCL 13 193 Dar yr 16 (no place)

 VS 4 60 Cyr yr 3 = Giovinazzo (1987) 10 (now lost)
 VS 4 61 Cyr yr 5 = Giovinazzo 11
 VS 4 62 Cyr yr 6 = Giovinazzo 12
 VS 4 63 Cyr yr 6 = Giovinazzo 13
 VS 4 66 Cyr yr 8 = Giovinazzo 16

⁶¹ Has an Aramaic note at the end.

VS 4 87+88 (duplicates) Dar yr 1 = NRVU p604
 VS 4 107 Dar yr 16? = NRVU p213 (refers to ITI.ŠE IGI-ú. An intercalated
 Addaru is attested in Dar yr 16, cf. TCL 13 193)
 VS 4 114 Dar yr 7 = NRVU 328f
 VS 4 152 Dar yr 20 = NRVU 327
 VS 5 20 Nbn yr 1 = NRVU 78f
 VS 5 35 Cyr yr 1 = Giovinazzo 19 = NRVU 105f
 VS 5 38 Cyr yr 6 = Giovinazzo 22, = NRVU 146–148
 VS 5 39 Cyr yr 6 = Giovinazzo 23, NRVU p45f (context is very similar to
 Giovinazzo 22, but has scribal errors)
 VS 5 45+46 (duplicate) Camb yr 1 = NRVU p31
 VS 5 49 Camb yr 4 = NRVU 350f
 VS 5 57+58 (duplicates) Barziya yr 1 = NRVU 38f
 VS 5 73 Dar yr 10 = NRVU 114f
 VS 5 74+75 (duplicates) Dar yr 11 = NRVU 91f
 VS 5 82 Dar yr 16 = NRVU p169. Also in E. Unger *Babylon* (1931) p316
 VS 5 113 Dar yr +3 = NRVU p59

 VS 6 84 Nbn yr 12 = NRVU 536f
 VS 6 96 yr 2 = Giovinazzo 28, = NRVU 497f
 VS 6 97 yr 2 = Giovinazzo 29
 VS 6 101+102 (duplicate) yr 6 = Giovinazzo 33
 VS 6 104 yr 8 = Giovinazzo 35 = NRVU 498f
 VS 6 108 = Giovinazzo 38 yr 1 Camb (= 539BC, *inūš Kuraš abiš šar mātāt*) =
 NRVU 11f
 VS 6 120 Dar yr 2 = NRVU p149
 VS 6 127 Dar yr 11 = NRVU 616f

 YOS 7 99 Camb acc. = BR 6 91 p97
 YOS 7 150 Camb yr 3 = BR 6 111 p117

2) Texts from Uruk

Note. The texts taken from TCL 9 and YOS 3 are all letters. Otherwise the letters are identified as such.

AnOr 8 27 Nbn yr 12

AnOr 8 28 Nbn yr 12

AnOr 8 30 = Palm(eraies) p114+52, Dougherty (1929) p120f. Nbn yr 13 (see also YOS 6 232)

AnOr 8 38 Cyr yr 2

AnOr 8 39 = Palm p134–5+86a. Cyr yr 2

AnOr 8 40 = BR 6 36 49–51. Cyr yr 3

AnOr 8 43 Cyr yr 4

AnOr 8 47 = TCL 13 138 Cyr yr 5

AnOr 8 48 Cyr yr 5

AnOr 8 52 Cyr yr 6

AnOr 8 56 Dand. *Slavery* p480f+p691f. Cyr yr 7

AnOr 8 63 = Palm p73+127 Written in Babylon by Eanna scribes about Uruk matters. Cyr yr 9

AnOr 8 70 Camb yr 3

AnOr 8 72 Camb yr 3

AnOr 8 74 Camb yr 4

AnOr 8 79 Camb yr 7

BIN I 16 letter, Cyr–Camb? (see YOS 3 21, 45, 81, 106, 116)⁶²

BIN I 106 Cyr yr 7 = Giovinazzo 39, Dougherty (1923) p19

BIN I 109 Cyr yr 4 = Giovinazzo 40

BIN I 111 Cyr yr 2 = Giovinazzo 41

BIN I 113 Camb yr 1 = Palm p133+p84

BIN I 117 Camb yr 5 = Palm p112+47a

BIN I 118 Cyr yr 8 = Giovinazzo 42

BIN I 120 Nbn yr 3

BIN I 125 = Palm p112+47a (date broken. Same time as BIN I 117)

BIN I 169 Camb acc = *Shirkûtu* p21f.

BIN 2 111 Cyr yr 5 = Giovinazzo 44, *Shirkûtu* p18

BIN 2 115 Cyr yr 2 = YOS 7 23 (duplicate), Giovinazzo45

⁶² Discussed in §3b ii.

BIN 2 130 Camb acc

Dar 543 Dar yr 22

GCCI 2 101 Cyr yr 4

GCCI 2 103 Camb acc

GCCI 2 128 Dar yr 22

GCCI 2 130 Dar yr 22

Iraq 13 (copied by Figulla, 1951, p95ff) Camb yr 2

JAOS 36 Vanderburgh (1917) (letter, 538–532)

JNES 1993 = Weisberg/Beaulieu *JAOS* 1967+*JNES* 1993 = A5345+A5364 (letter,
end Nbn?)⁶³

Joannès TEBR 39 = TBER plate 67, p153. Camb yr 2

RA 11 (copied by Scheil) (letter, 533–532)

Roth (1989) = A 32117 (Philadelphia collection) Cyr yr 9

Stigers *JCS* 28 16 Dar yr 12

Stigers *JCS* 28 36 Dar yr 12

TCL 9 76 NBU 301

TCL 9 79 NBU 303 Nbn

TCL 9 98 NBU 323 (540?) See YOS 6 198 and b, below.

TCL 9 100 = NBU 325 (533–525)

TCL 9 111 = NBU 336 (533–532)

TCL 9 129 (Same content as YOS 3 17)

TCL 9 132 Nbn yr 1–12

TCL 12 89 Nbn yr 8

TCL 12 90 Nbn yr 7 Palm p40f

TCL 12 106 Nbn yr 12

TCL 12 117 Nbn yr 16

TCL 12 167 Camb yr 5

TCL 13 124 Cyr yr 1

TCL 13 132 cf. 147 Cyr yr 4

⁶³ See the comments to TCL 9 98 in b, below.

TCL 13 134 Cyr yr 4
 TCL 13 140 Cyr yr 7
 TCL 13 142 Cyr yr 7
 TCL 13 147 cf 132 Camb yr 1
 TCL 13 150 Camb yr 2
 TCL 13 152 Camb yr 2
 TCL 13 157 Camb yr 3
 TCL 13 163 Camb yr 3
 TCL 13 164 Camb yr 4
 TCL 13 165 Camb yr 4
 TCL 13 167 Camb yr 5
 TCL 13 170 Camb yr 5
 TCL 13 177 Camb yr 4
 TCL 13 179 probably Camb yr 3
 TCL 13 181 = Dar yr 2
 TCL 13 182 = Palm p43 Dar yr 2
 TCL 13 222 around Dar yr 1

Weisberg ⁶⁴ text 1 (YBC 3499) Cyr yr 4? (538–534)

Weisberg text 7 (YBC 3800) Dar acc

Weisberg text 2 (YBC 3804) Dar yr 2

YOS 3 2 = NBU 2 (542–539) (royal letter from Nbn)

YOS 3 4 = NBU 4 (543–539) (royal letter from Nbn)

YOS 3 8 end Camb, early Dar?

YOS 3 12 = Palm p121, Moore p59, Early Nbn

YOS 3 17 = Palm p101f. See TCL 9 129 (533–526 . Probably early Camb)

YOS 3 19 = Palm p98+138. Early Cyr

YOS 3 21 Cyr–Camb? (see 45, 81, 106, 116, BIN I 16)

YOS 3 22 = Palm p94+p137. Early Nbn

YOS 3 29 early Camb? (533–526 but see Palm 71–72)

YOS 3 33 = Palm p98+138. Cyr yr 2–3?

YOS 3 45 Cyr–Camb? (see 21, 81, 106, 116, BIN I 16)

YOS 3 52 Cyr (538–532)

YOS 3 64 (538–534)

YOS 3 66 Probably Camb pre-526

⁶⁴ All three texts in *Guild structure*, 1967.

YOS 3 69 = LFM 134 p187 (539–526)
 YOS 3 79 (539–526)
 YOS 3 81 After Cyr? (see 21, 45, 106, 116, BIN I 16)
 YOS 3 83 = Palm p97+137f. Cyr (end?)
 YOS 3 87 see TCL 9 111 Cyr/Camb (533–526)
 YOS 3 96 Cyr–Camb (533–526)
 YOS 3 106 Cyr–Camb? (see 21, 45, 81, 116, BIN I 16)
 YOS 3 107 Early Camb? Cf. YOS 3 69, 79, 66 and TCL 13 152
 YOS 3 113 = NBU 113, Palm p135+p88. Early Cyr, cf. TCL 13 124
 YOS 3 115 = NBU 115 (refers to intercalary Adaru, Nbn yr 15. Royal letter from Nbn)
 YOS 3 116 Cyr–Camb? (see 21, 45, 81, 106, BIN I 16)
 YOS 3 126 (525–524)
 YOS 3 127 (538–532)
 YOS 3 145 Nbn yr 17? (may come from Babylon. Refers to the evacuation of the Lady-of-Uruk from Uruk to Babylon)
 YOS 3 169 = Palm p96+137. (550–544)
 YOS 3 200 See Cocquerillat (1984, p153) Around Camb yr 1, cf. TCL 13 150

YOS 6 33 = Palm p110 + comments p45b. Nbn yr 3
 YOS 6 41 = Palm p109. Nbn yr 3
 YOS 6 67 = Palm p110+46a. Nbn yr 4
 YOS 6 71 See Matsushima (1992) Nbn yr 6
 YOS 6 79 Nbn yr 5
 YOS 6 78 = Palm p121+p60a. Nbn yr 4
 YOS 6 90 = BR 6 100, p107f. Nbn yr 7
 YOS 6 108 Nbn yr 8 *Shirkûtu* p60f
 YOS 6 114 = BR 6 6, p10. Nbn yr 5
 YOS 6 116 Nbn yr 10
 YOS 6 122 Nbn yr 9
 YOS 6 131 = Dougherty *Nabonidus* p130f. Nbn yr 10
 YOS 6 134 Nbn yr 10
 YOS 6 137 Nbn yr 7
 YOS 6 143 = BR 6 7 p12. Nbn yr 10
 YOS 6 144 Nbn yr 9
 YOS 6 150 = Palm 109, Dougherty *Nabonidus* p73. Nbn yr 11
 YOS 6 161 = BR 6 108, p115. Nbn yr 8
 YOS 6 163 = BR 6 99, p106. Nbn yr 11

YOS 6 175 Nbn yr 12
 YOS 6 186 = *Shirkûtu* p44 Nbn yr 7
 YOS 6 191 Renger *JAOS* 91 p501 Nbn yr 12 (same day and scribe as YOS 6 214)
 YOS 6 193 Nbn yr 13
 YOS 6 195 = BR 6 35, p49. Nbn yr 17 (similar to YOS 6 215)
 YOS 6 197 = BR 6 21, 34–35 Nbn yr 10
 YOS 6 198 = BR 6 87, p93. Nbn yr 16. Connected with TCL 9 98 (q.v.)
 YOS 6 202 = Palm p80a+130. Nbn yr 16 (Astronomical)
 YOS 6 203 Nbn yr 12
 YOS 6 214 Renger *JAOS* 91 p501. Nbn yr 12 (same day and scribe as near
 duplicate YOS 6 191)
 YOS 6 215 = BR 6 34, p49. Nbn yr 17 (similar to YOS 6 195)
 YOS 6 221 Nbn yr 16
 YOS 6 223 Nbn yr 12
 YOS 6 224 = *Shirkûtu* p36f, *Slavery* p477f. Nbn yr 15
 YOS 6 230 Nbn yr 12
 YOS 6 232 = Palm p114+52a (see also AnOr 8 30). Nbn yr 12
 YOS 6 235 Nbn yr 12

 YOS 7 1 *Shirkûtu* p49f. Cyr acc
 YOS 7 2 *Shirkûtu*, p71. Cyr acc
 YOS 7 5 Cyr yr 1
 YOS 7 7 Cyr yr 1
 YOS 7 11 = BR 6 102, p109f. Cyr yr 2
 YOS 7 12 Cyr yr 2
 YOS 7 17 *Shirkûtu* p40f. Cyr yr 3
 YOS 7 23 = Palm p134+85b. Probably Cyr yr 2
 YOS 7 24 = Palm p134+86. Cyr yr 3
 YOS 7 28 Cyr yr 3
 YOS 7 38 = Palm p123+67, Joannès *TEBR* p13 (lines 1–19). Cyr yr 4
 YOS 7 42 Cyr yr 5
 YOS 7 50 *Shirkûtu* p51f. Cyr yr 5
 YOS 7 63 Cyr yr 7
 YOS 7 66 *Shirkûtu* p34f. Cyr yr 7
 YOS 7 68 Early Nbn? (cf. Beaulieu (1989) p162f (regarding Nabû–šar–uṣur)
 YOS 7 70 *Shirkûtu* p47f. Cyr yr 8
 YOS 7 77 *Shirkûtu* p66f. Cyr yr 8
 YOS 7 78 Cyr yr 8

YOS 7 79 Cyr yr 8
 YOS 7 88 *Shirkûtu* p63f. Cyr yr 2
 YOS 7 90 Cyr yr 5
 YOS 7 92 *Shirkûtu* p66. Cyr yr 6
 YOS 7 97 Camb acc yr
 YOS 7 102 *Shirkûtu* p61f. Camb acc
 YOS 7 107 *Shirkûtu* p67f. Camb yr 1
 YOS 7 113 Palm p133f + p84–5. Probably Camb yr 1
 YOS 7 114 BR 6 24, p37, *Shirkûtu*, p71f. Camb yr 1
 YOS 7 146 Camb yr 3
 YOS 7 156 Palm p113+50b. Camb yr 3
 YOS 7 162 Palm p111+47f. Camb yr 3
 YOS 7 164 Camb yr 4
 YOS 7 167 Camb yr 4
 YOS 7 186 Camb yr 6
 YOS 7 187 Camb yr 6
 YOS 7 198 Camb yr 6

YOS 17 302 Nbk IV yr 1

YOS 19 110 (Beaulieu, 1992) Nbn yr 15

b) Dating the letters used

The two corpora contain 69 letters, 29 from Babylon and 40 from Uruk.

i) Babylon letters

The period in question is dominated by the following members and slaves of the Egibi family, and Iddin-Marduk from the Nūr-Sîn family. As the Egibi family also had some dealings outside Babylon, I have used the British Museum register, which gives the provenance of each tablet if known, to make sure that I have chosen letters from Babylon and Šahrīnu as much as is possible.

The relevant prosopographical details have been taken from Ungnad (1939), Shiff (1987), Dandamaev (1984), ^{van} Driel (1985, 1986) and Wunsch (1993):

- Itti-Marduk-balātu (IMB) < Nabû-ahhē-iddin (NAI) (Egibi) is attested from about 551 to 520 and is also called Iddinā. He married Nūptâ, daughter of Iddin-Marduk and Ina-Esagila-rāmât, probably in Nabonidus year 13 (543–542). Nūptâ is last attested in Tebētu Cyrus yr 6 (533), by which time she had had six children.
- Marduk-nāšir-apli (MNA) (= Širku, IMB's first son) is attested from 521 to 482. Wunsch says there are some 300 documents bearing his name.
- Kalbâ, adopted by NAI in Nbn yr 10 (545), appears to have been NAI's sister's son.⁶⁵ Attested from 554 to 498, he was presumably about the same age as IMB.
- Iddin-Marduk (IM) < Iqīšâ (Nūr-Sîn), is attested from 578⁶⁶ to 527. Since IM was active over such a long period, I have not been able to use all his material. However, I have been able to include prosopographically undateable correspondence involving his dealings in the garlic trade, as ^{both} Shiff and Wunsch indicate that the main period of his garlic dealings occurred around the reign of Nbn (i.e. 556–540) and later. The other letters in which IM appears are those concerning his involvement with the members of the Egibi family, and his slave Madānu-Bēl-ušur.

For the dates of Madānu-Bēl-ušur and other slaves from the Egibi family I have used Dandamaev (1984, 358–363), who gives the following details:

- Madānu-Bēl-ušur (=MBU) belonged to IM from 545 to 527, to IMB from 526 to 522, to Nabû-ahhē-bullit (= Liblut, IMB's second son) and then to Marduk-nāšir-apli from 513 to 506. He then belonged to MNA's wife (Amat-Bau < Kalbâ [Nabayya]) from 506 to 502 at least. When MBU belonged to IM he may have lived in Sippar. MBU also operated from Šahrīnu, which is thought to have been near to Babylon.
- Other slaves useful in dating some of the letters are Nergal-rēšūa, who belonged to IM from 554 to 527 and operated from Šahrīnu as well as Babylon, and Nabû-utēr, who belonged to IMB from 545 to 530. In the letters, whenever a particular slave has dealt with someone who has at one time been his owner, I have assumed that the slave has belonged to that person at the time of writing.

⁶⁵ CTMMA I 21: 3 (Nbn yr 10). NAI brought him up from childhood and had him educated.

⁶⁶ According to Wunsch (p19), year 28 is the correct reading for the year in Strm Nbk 67, and she accepts this as the earliest attestation of IM.

Note It is commonly assumed by us that the letter was dictated by the author to a scribe. Therefore the problem presents itself as to whether the letter was dictated in Akkadian or Aramaic and was then converted to Akkadian on the tablet by the scribe. Judging by the colloquial nature of the writing in some of the letters and spellings of the names (e.g. Širku as Ši-iš-ku, Ši-rik-ki as well as Ši-ir-ku), the Egibi letters at least were written as said. A significant implication of this is that IMB, Kalbâ, MNA and Pursû were all literate.⁶⁷ IMB⁶⁸ and MNA⁶⁹ in particular, wrote many extant documents and it is therefore not unreasonable to assume they could write their own letters or at least dictate them in Akkadian.

(551–527)	IM–IMB	CT 22 195
(545–527)	IM–MBU	CT 22 8
		CT 22 78
		CT 22 79
		CT 22 148
	IMB	CT 22 183
		CT 22 194
(551–Cyr yr 6)	IM, IMB and Nūptâ	CT 22 110
	MNA	CT 22 111
		CT 22 189
Undateable (i.e. pre-526, involving IM)		CT 22 48
		CT 22 151
		CT 22 182 = Cyr 376
Nbn, after 545	IM–MBU (garlic)	CT 22 80
		CT 22 81
end? ⁷⁰		CT 22 193
		CT 22 200
Cyr, middle?		CT 22 6 ⁷¹

⁶⁷ See Ungnad (1939, 62–64) for compositions by Kalbâ and Puršû. TCL 13 195 (Dar yr 24, B, not in the corpus) was written by Puršû about a matter concerning him; he calls himself Puršû in the text then signs himself off as Nergal-ušēzib the scribe.

⁶⁸ Nbn 625, 755, 863, 1005; Cyr 58, 172 and, most interestingly, his own will (Wunsch 260, II p214f).

⁶⁹ Evidence recently published by Abraham (1995, p7) shows that MNA wrote not only his own documents but for someone else (3 documents, n25). He continued writing until Dar yr 35 (487 B.C.), by which time he was in his early sixties. So far, Abraham has found 28 documents that he wrote himself, 11 of which are unpublished and written after 500 B.C.

⁷⁰ These two texts include Rīmūt (Rīmānni-Bēl?) and Arrabi, who are in CT 22 194 and 195. CT 200 is difficult in that it refers to Puršû and Kalbâ (making it of the Darius period) but also possibly to Belshazzar (DUMU.LUGAL, thereby making it of the Nbn period in agreement with the other three texts).

⁷¹ This is a very interesting letter from IMB to his mother Qudāšu, asking about his family while he is away on business, and evidently written after his wife's death, when Puršû, his youngest, was probably

Camb (526–522)	TCL 9 124 (for MBU–IMB)
551–527 (Nbn? ⁷²)	CT 22 9 (using IM, IMB and Nergal rēšūa)
early Dar	CT 22 73 (involves Puršû, i.e. Nergal-ušēzib, IMB’s youngest child, and MBU’s male children)
middle?	CT 22 74 (for Guzānu)
middle? (513–506?)	Peek 22 (when MBU belonged to MNA)
after yr 14?	CT 22 82 CT 22 83
yr 17?	CT 22 127

CT 22 95–97 (Kalbâ–IMB?) The introduction to all three is the same apart from CT 22 97 in which IMB is addressed ŠEŠ-ia (as opposed to *bēlia* in the others), but is then addressed EN in the rest of the letter. The Kalbâ in CT 22 95: 16 may be Amat Bau’s father.

ii) Uruk letters

Most of the letters involve important Uruk officials, usually the *šatammu*, *qīpu* and the *rēš šarri bēl piqitti*. In these cases I have had to make the assumption that the personalities occupied their known positions at the time of the letters’ composition and I give the dates for which the tenures overlap. Elsewhere, prosopographical evidence with reference to dated texts is given. The main prosopographical sources are San Nicolò (1941) and Kümmel (1979) for the officials⁷³ and professions and Cocquerillat (1968, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1986) for the people involved in the Uruk farming system. Three of the texts are royal letters from Nabonidus and, for the purpose of this study should strictly be considered of curiosity value only.

still a baby. See lines 33f, translated in imperatives (part 1 I §4 a) where IMB enquires whether Puršû has “gone up onto the lap of Tašmētu”. Dandamaev (1984, p197) refers to IMB’s trips to Iran or Elam (?). All but one of the texts are dated to Cyrus.

⁷² Refers also to a son of IM and another person involved in the garlic trade.

⁷³ See also Frame (1991), 80–82.

Nbn	early	YOS 3 22 (Palm p94) ⁷⁴ YOS 3 12 (Palm p59) ⁷⁵
	middle (550–544)	YOS 3 169 (Palm p96)
	yrs 1–12	TCL 9 132 (using Nabû-šar-ušur and new data from Beaulieu (1993))
	yr 15 (543)	YOS 3 115 from Nbn to Kurbanni- Marduk
	(543–539)	YOS 3 4 from Nbn to Kurbanni- Marduk
	(542–539)	YOS 3 2 from Nbn to Kurbanni- Marduk and Ilī-rēmāni
	end (539)	YOS 3 145 May come from Babylon. <i>JNES</i> 1993 TCL 9 98 ⁷⁶
Cyr	early	YOS 3 33 (Palm p98) YOS 3 19
	(538–534)	YOS 3 64
	early	YOS 3 113 cf. TCL 13 124 (Cyr yr 1)
	end	YOS 3 83 (Palm p97)
	(533–532)	TCL 9 111 RA 11
	(538–532)	<i>JAOS</i> 36 YOS 3 52 YOS 3 127

⁷⁴ This letter is a little confusing in that Kalbâ starts by addressing Buīt then addresses both her and her husband Šum-ukīn together, then addresses both individually and finally addresses both together again.

⁷⁵ The Bēl-uballit in this letter may be the same person as the Bēl-uballit in the text PTS 2097 (Nbn yr 1), discussed by Frame (1991, 45–46).

⁷⁶ On the basis of the prosopography of Kurbanni-Marduk, Ilī-rēmāni and Nabû-ah-iddin (Kümmel 143–144), the tenures of Kurbanni-Marduk and Nabû-ah-iddin miss each other by four months in Nbn yr 17. These two documents indicate that in reality there was some overlap. TCL 9 98 was probably written by Nabû-ah-iddin (as was *JNES* 1993) to Kurbanni-Marduk when Nabû-ah-iddin took over as *rēš šarri* from Ilī-rēmāni.

(539–526)	YOS 3 69 YOS 3 79
(533–526)	YOS 3 96 TCL 9 100 YOS 3 87 YOS 3 17/ TCL 9 129 Probably early Camb
(533–524)	TCL 9 76 (using Nabû-mukīn-apli)
Camb (early? pre-526)	YOS 3 107 See TCL 13 152
yr 1?	YOS 3 200 cf. TCL 13 159
Camb, early? ⁷⁷ (539–526)	YOS 3 29
(pre-526)	YOS 3 66 (using Nabû-ah-iddin. Indicates that the OP term <i>magušu</i> in line 7 had become a LW in NB prior to the time of Darius, contrary to CAD (M/I p48bf)
(525–524)	YOS 3 126 (using Nabû-mukīn-apli and Sîn-šar-ušur)
Cyr–Camb	YOS 3 21, 45, 81, 106, 116, BIN I 16 (See the discussion below)
Dar early	YOS 3 8 (using TCL 13 182)

Notes:

The letters YOS 3 21, 45, 81, 106, 116, BIN I 16 and the dating of Gobryas, the governor of Babylon and Transpotamia.

These letters are written by Innin-ahhē-iddin, and cover the period Cyr–Camb. Of particular interest is YOS 3 106, in which the arrival of Gobryas is mentioned in line 7. No records of Gobryas after 525 have yet been found but San Nicolò uses this letter as evidence that Gobryas may have continued in his post until 522, when Uštānu took over. His reasoning is based on the fact that the writer refers to the records of Nbk, Nrgl, Nbn (lines 20–21), and Camb, so the letter must therefore have been written after the time of Cambyses. However, as it is curious that Cyrus is not included, it is possible that the letter refers to the time of Cyrus and the nine

⁷⁷ Using Ardia, cf. YOS 7 124 (Camb yr 2).

months during which Cambyses was given kingship of Babylon. The letter ends:
³⁴*ki-i mim-mu*⁷⁸ *ina pa-ni* ^m*Kám-bu-zi-ia* ³⁵*a-na* *GIŠ.le-e šá* ^{md}*NÀ.<NÍG>.DU.URÙ*
³⁶^{md}*IGI.DU.LUGAL.URÙ* *u* ^{md}*NÀ.I* ³⁷*ina ŠUK.HI.A LÚ.šir-ki tu-šá-an-na* ³⁸*tè-en-ku-*
nu ana UGU lu-uš-mu “if you change/repeat anything, from before Cambyses,
regarding the ledgers of Nbk, Nrgl and Nbn about the širku rations, let me know
about it”. This earlier dating may be supported by the fact that the addressee may
have been the well known scribe Nadin (Egibi), who is last attested in Camb yr 6.
Innin-ahhē-iddin writes to him and three others in BIN I 16. These four are the
scribes who wrote YOS 7 7 (Cyr yr 1). Nadin is also addressed in YOS 3 116, but
this appears to be a much later letter, as Innin-ahhē-iddin refers to having done 20
years of work for him (lines 6–7). The prosopography of both YOS 3 21 and YOS 3
45 suggests a date of early Cyrus.

There is no evidence on the literacy of the people mentioned in the Uruk texts
(apart from Nadin). It is also not helpful that the parentage of the holders of the *rēš*
šarri post is not known; being eunuchs, they are never given with a patronymic.

c) Selected logograms found in the texts

The signs given in this list are those particularly common to the NB of the corpora
but not necessarily common to other phases of Akkadian. Those signs which are
common to all phases of Akkadian (such as AD, DINGIR, É, MU[.AN.NA],
NUMUN, ZÚ.LUM.MA, etc.) are not included. The logograms UD, UGU and ŠÀ,
which also have the syllabic readings *u*, *muh* and *lib* are transliterated syllabically
throughout in *u-mu* “day”, *muh-hi* “top” and *lib-bi* “heart”, for ease of reading.

Notes on personal names. A PN will usually consist of three elements and
sometimes two.⁷⁹ If not, then it is likely to be a nickname.⁸⁰ When a logogram is
used in a PN, (i) means it is to be read thus in initial position; (m) in medial
position in a name of three (or more) elements, and (f) stands for the reading in
final position. If no comment is made, the reading appears in all three positions.

⁷⁸ Innin-ahhē-iddin’s hallmark was to use MU instead of expected MA at the ends of words.

⁷⁹ Examples of names with two elements are the scribes *Mušēzib-Marduk* (Camb 165: 13, B), *Bēl-ittannu* (Dar 446: 20 and Dar 378: 20, B), *Gimil-Nanā* (TCL 12 89: 12, U) and *Bēl-nadin* (spelled ^{md}*EN-na-din*, YOS 7 50: 16, U).

⁸⁰ Exx.: *Bu’īt*, *Gagâ*, *Gimillu*, *Iqīšâ*, *Nādin*, *Nūptâ*, *Širku* etc.

logogram (and meaning)	(general) reading	meaning in PNs specifically
BA (“to give”)	<i>qâšu</i>	(f) <i>iqišâ</i>
BE (“Ea”, “to be important” “to cause to be”)		<i>Ea, kabit/kabtat</i> (as IDIM) (f) <i>ušabši?</i>
DIB (“to make pass”)		(m) <i>mušētiq</i> ⁸¹
DÛ (“to do”)	<i>epēšu</i>	(i) <i>epeš</i> , (f) <i>ēpiš</i>
(“to create”)		(f) <i>ibni</i>
(“to reach”)		(f) <i>tariš</i> ⁸²
DUB (“to spill”)		(i) <i>šāpik</i>
GÁL (“to be”)	<i>bašû,</i>	(f) <i>ušabši</i>
GAR (“to place”)		(f) <i>iškun</i>
GI (“to be safe”)	<i>šalāmu,</i>	<i>mušallim, šullim</i> (f) <i>ušallim</i>
GIN ⁸³ (“to make firm”)	<i>kunnu</i>	(i/m) <i>mukīn</i> (f) <i>ukīn</i>
(“to be firm”)	<i>kānu</i>	(f) <i>likīn</i> ⁸⁴
GIŠ (“to be just”)		(f) <i>līšir</i>
GUR ₇ (“granary”)	<i>karû</i>	
I (“to praise”)		(f) <i>nā'id</i>
IM (.DUB) (“tablet”)	<i>tuppu</i>	
KÁM (“to want”)	<i>erēšu</i>	(f) <i>ēriš</i>
KAR (“to save”)	<i>eṭēru, šūzubu</i>	(i) <i>mušēzib</i> (m/f) <i>ēṭir</i>
MU (“to give”)		(m) <i>nadānu, nādin? iddin? šum?</i> (f) <i>iddin/iddina,</i> (i) <i>šumu</i>
(“name”)		

⁸¹ Seen in the name ^mDN-DIB-UD.DA which, according to Caplice (1964), should be read ^mDN-*mušētiq-ud(d)ê*, “^mDN who makes troubles pass by”; cf. ^mEN-DIB-UD.DA (or *ud-da?*) in Dar 551: 1 (B).

⁸² The scribe in Nbn 194 is ^mNA-DÛ-*iš* (line 14).

⁸³ DU/GUB.

⁸⁴ ^mŠEŠ-*ia-li*-GIN, Nbn 693: 1, 6 and ^mŠEŠ-*fa-li-kin*, *ibid.*: 14 (B), “may my brother be firm”.

MU.MEŠ (“that”) ⁸⁵	<i>šuātu</i>	
NÌ.TUK (“to praise”)		(f) <i>nā’id</i>
PAP (“totality”; “to gather”) (“to help, protect”)	<i>napharu</i>	(f) <i>upahhir</i> (m, f) <i>nāšir, ušur</i>
SI.SÁ (“to be just”)		(f) <i>līšir</i>
SU (“to give back”)	<i>rābu</i>	(f) <i>erība</i> ⁸⁶
SÙH (“confusion”)		(m) <i>tešī</i> ⁸⁷
(LÚ.) ŠITA ₅ (“cuneiform scribe”) ⁸⁸	<i>tupšar</i>	(DUB.SAR?)
URÙ ⁸⁹ (“to help, protect”)		(m, f) <i>nāšir, ušur</i>
ŠU.NIGIN (“totality”)	<i>napharu</i>	
TI (“to take”)	<i>leqû</i>	(m) <i>leqe</i>
TIN “life”	<i>balātu</i>	(f) <i>balātu</i>
(LÚ) TUK(-u) (“creditor”)	<i>rāšû</i>	
ZÁLAG		(i) <i>nūr</i>
ZI (“life, soul” etc.)	<i>balātu, bulluṭu, uballiṭ, muballiṭ, napištu</i>	
ZI.MEŠ (“soul”)	<i>napšāte</i>	

⁸⁵ Demonstrative adjective.

⁸⁶ Sometimes spelled *erī₄-ba*.

⁸⁷ Seen in the PN *ina-SÙH-ŠUR*, *Ina-tešī-ēṭir*.

⁸⁸ As opposed to (LÚ) *sepīru*, “Aramaic scribe”.

⁸⁹ ŠEŠ.

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