Old Babylonian Grammar

Volume 1

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VOLUME 1

By

Michael P. Streck



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Cover illustration: Old Babylonian Letter (SIL 36). Altorientalisches Institut, Universität Leipzig.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Streck, Michael P., author.
Title: Old Babylonian grammar / by Michael P. Streck.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2022] | Series: Handbook of Oriental studies. Section one : the Near and Middle East = Handbuch der Orientalistik, 0169-9423 ; volume 168.1 | Includes bibliographical references and index. | Contents: v. 1.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022029827 (print) | LCCN 2022029828 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004498983 (v. 1 ; hardback ; acid-free paper) | ISBN 9789004498990 (v. 1 ; ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Akkadian language–Grammar.
Classification: LCC PJ3251 .S78 2022 (print) | LCC PJ3251 (ebook) | DDC 492/.15–dc23/eng/20220706
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022029827
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022029828

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0169-9423
ISBN 978-90-04-49898-3 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-49899-0 (e-book)

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Contents

Preface IX
Abbreviations X

1 Introduction 1
1 Akkadian in General 1
1.1 *The Name "Akkadian"* 1
1.2 *History of Akkadian* 1
1.3 *Akkadian and the Semitic Language Family* 10
2 Old Babylonian 11
2.1 *Old Babylonian and Ancient Near Eastern Languages* 11
2.2 *Chronological Development of Old Babylonian* 15
2.3 *Geographical Distribution of Old Babylonian* 16
2.4 *Text Genres of Old Babylonian* 17
3 Scope and Layout of This Grammar 19

2 Orthography and Phonology 23
1 Cuneiform Writing 23
1.1 *Cuneiform Signs* 23
1.2 *Transliteration and Transcription* 23
1.3 *Sign Values* 24
1.4 *Logograms* 25
1.5 *Types of Phonograms* 26
1.6 *Survey of Old Babylonian Phonograms of the Types CV, VC, and V* 26
1.7 *Survey of Old Babylonian Phonograms of the Type CVC* 28
1.8 *Complementation of CVC- and CV-Signs* 29
1.9 *Morphographemic Spellings* 30
1.10 *Scribal Mistakes* 31
2 The Vowels 32
2.1 *Phonemic Inventory of Vowels* 32
2.2 *Plene Vowel Spellings* 33
2.3 *Broken Vowel Spellings* 41
2.4 */a/* 43
2.5 */e/* 45
2.6 */i/* 66
2.7 */ô/ and /o/* 66
2.8 */u/* 68

Michael P. Streck - 978-90-04-49899-0
Downloaded from Brill.com02/03/2023 09:09:44AM
via University of Toronto

2.9 *Vowel Length* 69
2.10 *Vowel Contraction* 75
2.11 *Preservation of Contiguous Vowels* 84
2.12 *Vowel Elision* 85
3 Consonants 88
3.1 *Phonemic Inventory of Consonants* 88
3.2 */ʾ/* 90
3.3 */b/* 106
3.4 */d/* 108
3.5 */g/* 112
3.6 */ḫ/* 113
3.7 */j/* 116
3.8 */k/* 123
3.9 */l/* 125
3.10 */m/* 128
3.11 */n/* 136
3.12 */p/* 149
3.13 */q/* 154
3.14 */r/* 161
3.15 */s/* 164
3.16 */ṣ/* 176
3.17 */š/* 178
3.18 */t/* 201
3.19 */ṭ/* 208
3.20 */w/* 217
3.21 */z/* 227
3.22 *Consonantal Length* 230
4 Syllables 234
5 Word Stress 236
5.1 *Plene Vowel Spellings CV-V* 236
5.2 *Vowel Elision* 239
5.3 *Trochaic Verse Ending* 239
6 Sentence Stress 240

3 Morphology: General Remarks 242
1 Parts of Speech 242
2 Types of Morphemes 242

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Downloaded from Brill.com02/03/2023 09:09:44AM
via University of Toronto

4 Pronouns 243
1 Generalities 243
2 Personal Pronouns 243
2.1 *Paradigm* 243
2.2 *Nominative Independent* 245
2.3 *Independent Possessive Pronouns* 250
2.4 *Genitive Suffixes* 257
2.5 *Dative Independent* 261
2.6 *Dative Suffixes* 265
2.7 *Genitive/Accusative Independent* 271
2.8 *Accusative Suffixes* 280
3 Demonstrative Pronouns 284
3.1 annûm 284
3.2 anummûm 289
3.3 ullûm 292
4 The Determinative Pronoun 294
4.1 *Form* 294
4.2 *Headless* ša 295
4.3 *The* ša *Genitive Modifying a Head Noun* 296
5 Interrogative Pronouns 300
5.1 mannum 300
5.2 mīnum 301
5.3 ajjûm 303
6 Indefinite Pronouns 304
6.1 mamma(n) *and Related Pronouns* 304
6.2 mīmma *and Related Pronouns* 305
6.3 ajjûmma 306

5 Nouns 308
1 Inflectional Categories 308
2 Noun Patterns 310
2.1 *Survey* 310
2.2 *Primary Nouns* 314
2.3 *Deverbal Nouns* 323
3 Loaned Nouns 348
4 Compound Noun Phrases 349
5 Gender 351
5.1 *Morphology* 351
5.2 *Use of the Feminine Ending* 354

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via University of Toronto

5.3 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Feminine Singular* 357
5.4 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Variable Gender in the Singular* 360
5.5 *Grammatically Masculine in the Singular and Morphologically Feminine in the Plural* 362
5.6 *Masculine in the Singular and Variable Gender in the Plural* 366
5.7 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Feminine Plural* 368
6 Number 368
6.1 *Singular* 368
6.2 *Dual* 369
6.3 *Plural* 371
6.4 *Collective Nouns* 382
7 Case 382
7.1 *Morphology* 382
7.2 *Use* 388
8 State 401
8.1 *Status Rectus* 401
8.2 *Status Constructus* 404
8.3 *Status Absolutus* 431

6 Numbers 434
1 Cardinals 434
1.1 *Morphology of the Cardinals* 434
1.2 *Syntax of the Cardinals* 443
2 Ordinals 449
2.1 *Morphology of the Ordinals* 449
2.2 *Syntax of the Ordinals* 451
3 Fractions 452
3.1 *Morphology of the Fractions* 452
3.2 *Syntax of the Fractions* 454
4 Multiplicatives 455
5 Derivations from Numbers 456

Bibliography 457
Index of Subjects 471
Index of Words 475
Index of Texts 493

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Preface

This book has had a long history: it started as a concise German manuscript many years ago, which was eventually published under the title Altbabylonisches Lehrbuch (4th edition Wiesbaden 2021). But the need for a more comprehensive book has always been clear. Therefore, the original manuscript was considerably expanded, translated into English and revised several times. The result is the first volume of a comprehensive Old Babylonian grammar. Given the extraordinary size of the Old Babylonian cuneiform text corpus, even a book of this length cannot be exhaustive. But it seems better to publish it now than to strive for perfection and delay its publication for an indefinite time. The next volume will contain the chapters verb, particles, syntax, and a summary with remarks on dialects and sociolects within Old Babylonian.

R. Winters translated an earlier draft of the manuscript into English. V. Minaeva A. Pohl, M.T. Renzi Sepe, J. Stein and C. Tang helped me in compiling the indices and the list of abbreviations. The two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript saved me from several errors and made helpful remarks. Eugene P. McGarry corrected my English mistakes. Sincere thanks are given to all.

I dedicate the book to my three children Ester Hadassa, Tabita Theresa, Saphira Josepha, and, last but not least, my wife Eva-Maria.

Leipzig, April 2022,
Michael P. Streck

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Abbreviations

1 Textgenres

GN	Geographical name
Lex.	Lexical text
Lit.	Literary text
Math.	Mathematical text
Med.	Medical text
Om.	Omen text
PN(f)	(female) Personal name
Roy.	Royal inscription

2 Regions/Dialects

Akk.	Akkadian
Ass.	Assyrian
Bab.	Babylonian
Diy.	Diyāla area
Elam	Elam
ETigris	Eastern Tigris region
LB	Late Babylonian
MA	Middle Assyrian
MB	Middle Babylonian
MidEuphr.	Middle Euphrates region
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NB	Neo-Babylonian
NBab.	Northern Babylonia
NSyr.	Northern Syria
OA	Old Assyrian
OAkk.	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
SB	Standard Babylonian
SBab.	Southern Babylonia
UpMes.	Upper Mesopotamia

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3 Grammatical Terminology

acc.	accusative
adv.	adverb
adj.	adjective
affirm.	affirmative
CV(V)	consonant–vowel(-consonant) (sign)
dat.	dative
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
I-/II-/III-weak	verbs or roots with first, second or third weak radical
II-geminate	verbs or roots with identical second and third root consonant
imp.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
loc.	locative case
masc.	masculine
nom.	nominative
obj.	object
obl.	oblique case
p.	person
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
prec.	precative
pred.	predicate
pref.	prefix
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite
proh.	prohibitive
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
ptc.	participle
sg.	singular
stat.	stative
st. abs.	status absolutus
st. cstr.	status constructus
st. rect.	status rectus
subj.	subject
subord.	subordinative
suff.	suffix
term.	terminative case

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VC	vowel-consonant (sign)
vent.	ventive
vet.	vetitive

4 Bibliographical Abbreviations

For further bibliographical informations on the following abbreviations s. the website https://rla.badw.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten.html.

AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe
ABIM	Altbabylonische Briefe des Iraq-Museums
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw.	Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
Akk. Suppl.	Akkadica Supplement
AnOr.	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOATS	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Sonderreihe
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOTU	Altorientalische Texte und Untersuchungen
Archibab	D. Charpin, Archives Babyloniens (XXe–XVIIe siècles av. J.-CV.). www.archibab.fr
ARDēr	Altbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr im Iraq Museum, Bagdad
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
ARN	Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica
Atr.	Atra-ḫasīs
AUCT	Andrews University Cuneiform Texts
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte
BagM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAM	Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin
BAP	Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht
BDHP	Business documents of the Hammurapi period from the British Museum
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University

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BiOr.	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BRM	Babylonian records in the library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BWL	Babylonian wisdom literature
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago
CDSmith	Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library
CH	Codex Hammurapi
CHJ	Contribution à l'histoire juridique de la 1re dynastie babylonienne
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRRAI	Compte Rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Bethesda 2007 ff.)
Edubba 7	F.N.H. Al-Rawi/S. Dalley, Old Babylonian Texts from Private Houses at Abu Habbah, Ancient Sippar. London 2000
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FM	Florilegium Marianum
Fs. Birot	J.-M. Durand/J.-R. Kupper (ed.), Miscellanea babylonica: mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot. Paris 1985
Fs. de Meyer	H. Gasche/M. Tanret/C. Janssen/A. Degraeve (ed.), Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien: offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer (= MHEO 2, 1994)
Fs. Dussaud	Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud: par ses amis et ses élèves, 1–2 (= BAH1 30/1–2, 1939)
Fs. Pope	J.H. Marks/R.B. Good (ed.), Love & Death in the Ancient Near East. Guilford 1987
Fs. Reiner	F. Rochberg-Halton (ed.), Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner (= AOS 67, 1987)
Fs. Sjöberg	H. Behrens/D. Loding/M.T. Roth (ed.), DUMU-E2-DUB-BA-A: studies in honor of Åke W. Sjöberg (= OccPubl. S.N. Kramer Fund 11, 1989)
GAG	W. von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik
Gilg.	Gilgamešepos
GKT	Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HS	Hilprecht-Sammlung
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
Izbu	*Šumma Izbu*
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society „Ex Oriente Lux"

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JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KAR	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts
Kisurra	Die altbabylonischen Briefe und Urkunden aus Kisurra
KTT	M. Krebernik, Keilschrifttexte aus Tuttul (Tall Bi'a) (= WVDOG 100, 2001)
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
LAOS	Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
LB	Collection de Liagre Böhl
LE	Laws of Ešnuna
LIH	The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, King of Babylon
LSS	Leipziger Semitistische Studien
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MARI	MARI. Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MCT	Mathematical Cuneiform Texts
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
Mém. de NABU	Mémoires de NABU
MHET	Mesopotamian History and Environment. Texts
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MKT	Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte
MLVS	Mededeelingen uit de Leidsche Verzameling van Spijkerschrift-inscripties
MRWH	Mittelbabylonische Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NAPR	Northern Akkad Project Reports
Nisaba	Nisaba. Studi assiriologici Messinesi
OB Lú	The Old Babylonian Lu-Series
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBTI	Old Babylonian Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity
OBTR	Old Babylonian Temple Records
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or.	Orientalia

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PBS	The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul
PRAK	Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich
PTS	Princeton Theological Seminary
QS	Quaderni di Semitistica
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
RATL	J. Eidem, The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan (= PIHANS 117, 2011)
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RHA	Revue Hittite et Asianique
Riftin	A.P. Riftin, Staro-Vavilonskie juridičeskie i administrativnye documenty
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria. Cuneiform Texts
SAD	M.P. Streck et alii, Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries (= LAOS 7)
SD	Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia
SEAL	M.P. Streck/N. Wasserman, Sources of Early Akkadian Literature
Semitica	Semitica. Cahiers publiés par le Laboratoire d'études sémitiques, Collège de France
Shemshara 1	J. Eidem/J. Læssøe, The Shemshara Archives. Vol. 1 The Letters
Shemshara 2	J. Eidem, The Shemshara Archives. Vol. 2. The Administrative Texts
SLB	Studia ad Tabulas Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectas Pertinentia
SpTU	Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk
STA	Selected temple accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem: cuneiform tablets in the Library of Princeton University
StEL	Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico
StOr.	Studia Orientalia
Sumer	Sumer. A journal of archaeology and history in Arab world
Syria	Syria. Archéologie, art et histoire
TBP	Texte zur babylonischen Physiognomatik
TCL	Textes Cunéiformes. Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales
TEBA	Tablettes économiques et administratives d'époque babylonienne ancienne: conservées au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum

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TLB	Tabulae Cuneiformes a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae Leidae Conservatae
TMB	Textes mathématiques babyloniens
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TuL	Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier
UCP	University of California Publications
UET	Ur Excavations. Texts
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VOM	A, Finet (ed.), La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie. Bruxelles 1973
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS	Yale Oriental Series. Babylonian texts
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

5 Other Abbreviations

BC	before Christ
e.g.	exempli gratia, for example
fn.	footnote
lit.	literally
mng.	meaning
n.	note
DN	divine name
r.	reverse
ref.	reference
s.v.	sub voce
var.	variant

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 Akkadian in General

1.1 *The Name "Akkadian"*

§ 1.1. The name "Akkadian" derives from the city of Agade/Akkade, the capital of the Sargonic dynasty during ca. 2350–2150 BC. Beginning with this period (see § 1.6), Akk., written in the cuneiform script developed for the Sumerian language in the fourth millennium, was used for royal inscriptions, administrative texts, letters, and subsequently for an increasing number of text genres. The term *akkadûm*/*akkadītum*/*aqqadītum* is attested in cuneiform texts to designate the Bab. language.[1] Today, "Akkadian" is a blanket term for the two closely related main dialects, Bab. and Ass., and the language of all other texts written in related dialects.

1.2 *History of Akkadian*[2]

1.2.1 Survey

§ 1.2. Akk. is the most important Ancient Near Eastern Language. The Akk. text corpus, written in cuneiform, is the largest in the Ancient Near East: it amounts to more than 150,000 archival texts, numerous monumental (royal) inscriptions, and several corpora of canonical (literary and scientific) texts—altogether at least some 10,200,000 running tokens of text.[3] From its core area in Mesopotamia (Babylonia, Assyria, and Upper Mesopotamia), the use of Akk. as a written language spread to Western Iran, Syria, Asia Minor, Israel/Palestine, and even Egypt. Akk. is attested from the 27th c. BC until the 1st c. AD.

§ 1.3. The following table presents a survey of Akk. dialects and periods. The column "Text genres" mentions only the most important ones in each period. Administrative texts include legal documents as well as different types of administrative accounts and notes. Scientific texts include omen texts, mathematical and medical texts, and other text types. Monumental texts are royal

1 See CAD A/1, 272; MSL SS 1, 24: 31; MSL SS 1, 32: 240. The term is never used for Assyrian.

2 General historical descriptions of Akk. include: von Soden 1995; Kouwenberg 2010 (verb); Streck 2011; Streck 2021; Vita (ed.) 2021.

3 For the size of the Akk. text corpus see Streck 2011a. The corpus has increased since then.

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Dialect, Period, Register	Time (BC)	Area	Text genres	Number of texts	Estimated number of tokens of text
Pre-Sargonic Akk.	2650–2350	Fāra, Abū Ṣalābīḫ, etc., Mari, Tall Baydar	loanwords, personal names, hymns	?	?
Eblaite	2350	Ebla (northern Syria)	administrative, letters, lexical, literary	ca. 4,250	ca. 300,000
Sargonic Akk.	2350–2150	Babylonia, Diyāla, Elam	administrative, letters, monumental, incantations	ca. 1,575	ca. 35,000
Old Babylonian	2100–1500	Babylonia, Diyāla, Upper Mesopotamia, Elam	administrative, letters, monumental, laws, scientific, literary	ca. 50,000	ca. 3,100,000
Middle Babylonian	1500–1000	Babylonia, esp. Nippur	administrative, letters, kudurrus	ca. 12,200	ca. 660,000
Peripheral Akk.	1500–1200	Nuzi, Emar, Ugarit, Amarna, Hattuša	administrative, letters	ca. 5,300	ca. 340,000
Neo-/Late Babylonian	1000–1st. c. AD	Babylonia	administrative, letters	ca. 47,500	ca. 3,460,000
Old Assyrian	1900–1700	Anatolia (Kaneš, Hattuša, Alişar Höyük), Aššur	administrative, letters, monumental, rarely literary	ca. 22,300	ca. 1,311,000
Middle Assyrian	1500–1000	Assyria, Upper Mesopotamia (Dūr-Katlimmu, Ḫarbe, Tall Ṣabīy Abyaḍ)	administrative, letters, laws, edicts	ca. 2,700	ca. 220,000
Neo-Assyrian	1000–600	Assyria	administrative, letters, rarely literary	ca. 7,100	ca. 500,000
Literary Akk.	2000–0 (for older periods, see above under Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic)	Babylonia, Assyria, periphery (Emar, Ugarit, Amarna, Hattuša)	scientific, personal names, monumental, literary	?	ca. 820,000

inscriptions. Literary texts comprise epics/myths, hymns, incantations, and some other text genres. The numbers in the two last columns are based on calculations and estimations in Streck 2011a and his updated figures for OB in Streck 2021a, 997 f.

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1.2.2 Pre-Sargonic Akkadian

§ 1.4. The earliest attestations of Akk. are PNs and loanwords in Sumerian texts. They go back at least to the period Early Dynastic III period, i.e., to ca. 2650. Perhaps even earlier traces of Akk. can be found in cuneiform texts from the Ǧamdat Naṣr and Early Dynastic I and II periods (ca. 3200–2700). One of the earliest certain Akk. texts is the Šamaš hymn IAS 326 + 342 (ca. 2650).[4]

1.2.3 Eblaite

§ 1.5. a) The numerous tablets from Ebla (ca. 60 km south of Aleppo in Northern Syria) are written largely logographically. Therefore, they only yield limited information on the Eblaite language. Even phonographically written text passages are not easy to analyze because the Ebla cuneiform orthography is ambiguous and does not always represent the underlying language precisely.[5]
b) Much of the discussion about Eblaite has revolved around the question of the position of the language within the Semitic languages.[6] Since Eblaite shares important morphological features with Akkadian, especially with Bab. (e.g., dat. prons., masc. pl. of adjs. in *-ūt-* [§ 5.170], pres. tense *iPaRRaS*, the inflection of quadriradical verbs in the N-stem like *nabalkutum*), while the distinct morphological innovations of Eblaite compared to Bab. Akk. are very few (2. p. pl. personal pron. *ʾantanu*,[7] *ti*-pref. in the 3. p. pl. forms of the verb[8]),[9] Eblaite may be classified as an Akk. dialect that shares a common ancestor with Bab.[10]

1.2.4 Sargonic Akkadian

§ 1.6. Both Sargonic Akk. and Bab. show innovations not shared by the Ass. dialect: the pron. suffs. *-śunēšim* and *-śunēti* for dat. and acc. 2. pl.; prec. prefs. /li-/ and /lu-/ for the 3. and 1. p. sg. in the G, D, and Š-stem; inf. and verbal adj. D of the pattern *PuRRuSum*; and a weak inflection of the pret. D of verbs II-w/y

4 Sommerfeld 2006 and 2010 provide a comprehensive survey of the Pre-Sargonic Akk. linguistic material. See also Fronzaroli 2005, 161 f.; Sommerfeld 2021, 513–554.

5 See Krebernik 1982; 1983.

6 E.g., Krebernik 1996, 249; Tropper 2003; Fronzaroli 2005, 156; Huehnergard 2006, 4 f.; Edzard 2006, 83; Rubio 2006; Streck 2011b, 350–352.

7 Catagnoti 2012, 69 f.

8 Besides *yi*-pref. See Catagnoti 2012, 126.

9 Deverbal nouns of the type *taPtaRS* are not a distinct morphological feature of Eblaite because they also occur in Akk. and Ugaritic, see Streck 2012 and Streck 2021e.

10 Catagnoti 2012, 4, without further justification, prefers to classify Eblaite as a separate branch of North Semitic. According to Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 665, "the Semitic material from Ebla was closely related to Akkadian." According to Kouwenberg 2017, 12, there is no "*special* relationship between OA and Eblaite."

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(*ukīn*). On the other hand, most features shared with Ass. are retentions. The same is true for all features peculiar to Sargonic Akk., i.e., not shared by Bab. or Ass. Therefore, Sargonic Akk., like Eblaite (§ 1.5), shares a common ancestor with Bab. or is an early stage of Bab.[11]

1.2.5 Old Babylonian

§ 1.7. a) OB is traditionally seen as the "classic" dialect of Akk. This view, however, stems more from scholars' wish to specify as a point of reference a normative language stage than from any special esteem attached to the dialect in antiquity. OB is one of the oldest and best attested dialects of Akk., which makes it suitable for general descriptions of the language as well as for textbooks and introductory teaching.[12]

b) Compared to Eblaite (§ 1.5) and Sargonic Akk. (§ 1.6), OB has a reduced phonemic inventory (§ 2.152), probably under the influence of Sumerian (see § 1.18a). The interdentals, which in Eblaite were still distinct phonemes, became *z* and *š*. Proto-Semitic *ś* and *š* (= Sargonic Akk. *ś*, written with S-signs) merged with Proto-Semitic *ṯ* into *š*. The phonemes *h*, *ḥ*, *ʿ*, and *ġ*, which in Eblaite and Sargonic Akk. were still distinct phonemes, were lost and either replaced by secondary *ʾ* or merged with *ḫ*.[13]

c) Starting with the 2nd millennium BC, the dialect division between Ass. and Bab. becomes clearly visible. OA shows important phonological, morphological, and lexical features either not shared by any OB variety or present in OB only in residual forms. On the other hand, in most instances, the different OB varieties (dialects as well as registers of different text genres) are closer to each other than to OA. Therefore, a negative definition of OB is largely true: any Akk. text from the first half of the 2nd millennium that is not OA is rather some variety of OB.[14]

1.2.6 Middle Babylonian

§ 1.8. Phonological features typical for MB are: the development *št* > *lt* (sometimes already in OB, see § 2.428); the complete deaffrication of *s* (visible in the orthographic change from Z- to S-signs, which in OB was not yet complete, see

11 See Hasselbach 2005, 233–235; 2007; Kouwenberg 2010, 24–27; Streck 2011b, 356 f. Differently Sommerfeld 2003. For the grammar of Sargonic Akk. see Gelb 1961; Hasselbach 2005; Sommerfeld 2012; 2021, 554–641. A glossary of Sargonic and Ur III Akk. was provided by Gelb 1973.

12 See, e.g., Huehnergard 2011; Streck 2021d.

13 See for *ḫ* Tropper 1995 and Kogan 2011, 110 f.; for *ġ*, Kogan 2001; 2011, 111 f.

14 For the contrast OB–OA see Streck 2011, 368–370; 2021a, 1026 f.

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§ 2.362), e.g., *si-si-ik-ti* /sissikti/ BaF 21, 76: 10 "hem"; the dropping of word-initial *w* (already in OB, see § 2.478); the spelling of intervocalic *w* by M-signs (rarely in OB, see § 2.476), e.g., *umaššir* BaF 21, 17: 7 "he released". The mimation of case endings and other endings is usually dropped (in OB rare, see § 2.253), e.g., *dabāba annâ* BaF 21, 10: 28 "this word". The independent dat. and acc. personal prons. develop new forms, such as *šâtu*, *šâti*, *kâšunu*, *šâtunu*, and *šâtina*. The perf. *iPtaRaS* replaces the pret. *iPRuS* in positive main declarative sentences. The isolated language of the Kassites,[15] who ruled Babylonia during the MB period, except for some loanwords, did not leave any visible imprint on the MB language.[16]

1.2.7 Peripheral Akkadian

§ 1.9. a) MB was used as a lingua franca in diplomatic communications between the kingdoms of Babylonia, Assyria, Mittani, Ḫatti, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt. Moreover, MB also served as an administrative language in different regions of the Ancient Near East.[17]

b) Akk. in the periphery of Mesopotamia was influenced by local spoken languages, both Semitic and non-Semitic. Thus the Akk. of Nuzi east of the Tigris near modern Kirkūk was influenced by the local Hurrian language.[18] The Akk. languages of Emar at the bend of the Euphrates and of Ugarit on the Syrian coast of the Mediterranean Sea show Northwest Semitic influences.[19] The letters from Syria and Palestine addressed to the Egyptian pharaoh and found in Amarna in Egypt show Canaanite interference,[20] whereas the letters sent from the pharaoh to the kings of Babylonia and of the Hittite empire are influenced by Egyptian.[21]

1.2.8 Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian

§ 1.10. a) NB designates the period between ca. 1000 and 627.[22] LB means all later texts, starting with 626, when King Nabopolassar ascended the Bab.

15 See Balkan 1954.

16 For MB grammar see Aro 1955; Van Soldt 2021; for the MB lexicon, Aro 1957.

17 For the role of MB in the periphery of Mesopotamia see Van Soldt 2011.

18 See Wilhelm 1970.

19 See for Emar Seminara 1998 (grammar); Pentiuc 2001 (Northwest Semitic loanwords). For the Akk. of Ugarit see Huehnergard 1987 (Ugaritic loanwords); 1989 (grammar); Van Soldt 1991 (grammar). See also the survey by Vita 2021a.

20 General studies: Rainey 1996; Tropper/Vita 2010. Specific studies: Sivan 1987 (loanwords); Gianto 1990 (word order in the texts from Byblos); Izre'el 1991 (Amurru-Akk.).

21 See Müller 2010 and 2021; Cochavi-Rainey 2011.

22 For a grammar of the NB letters written to the Ass. court see Woodington 1982. These letters

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throne, until the end of the cuneiform documentation.[23] However, the traditional division between these two periods (von Soden 1995) has only very limited linguistic reality. In contrast to NA (§1.13), the final period of Bab. has no clear-cut end. Cuneiform documentation disappears in different Bab. cities from the end of the 4th century BC (Ur) until the 1st century AD (Babylon).[24] The last (astronomically) dated text was written in Uruk in 79/80 AD.[25] The latest texts may be the Graeco-Babyloniaca, i.e., Akk. and Sum. texts in Greek transcription, sometimes accompanied by cuneiform, on clay tablets; the latest dates suggested for these texts by paleography are 1st–2nd century AD.[26]

b) The cuneiform orthography of the period was influenced by the Aramaic alphabet.[27] Short final vowels were dropped, a development that affects pronominal, nominal, and verbal morphology. Thus case distinction was lost in the sg. and pl.[28] The pronominal suff. gen. 1. p. sg. *-ī* (see § 4.42a) was replaced by *-āja* or *-aja*, and that of the 1. p. pl. /-ni/ (see § 4.47) by *-āni* or *-ani*. With cardinal numbers, the old gender opposition between numeral and item counted (see § 6.24b) was replaced by gender agreement.[29] As in Ass., the verbal pref. of the 3. p. sg. distinguished masc. /i-/ from fem. /ta-/. In the prec., D- and Š-stem 3. p. sg. have /lu/-pref. against older /li-/. There is an analytic gen. construction of the type *mārūšu ša* Y, literally "X, his son, that of Y", probably an Aramaism. In letters, rarely also in legal documents, the pret. tense in positive main clauses designates wishes.[30] The lexicon of NB and LB shows many innovations,[31] including Aramaic loanwords.[32]

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sometimes adopt Ass. epistolary conventions resulting in Assyrianisms, see Worthington 2006, 81–84. For the letters of Bēl-ibni see De Vaan 1995. A survey is provided by Hess 2021.

23 Monographic studies on LB include Streck 1995 (numerals and tenses); Hackl 2007 (subordinate clauses); Schaudig 2001, 81–317 (language of royal inscriptions of the Chaldean dynasty); Malbran-Labat 1994 with review by Streck 1996 (language of the Behistun Inscription). A survey is provided by Hackl 2021. Streck 2017a collects the evidence from Aramaic epigraphs.

24 See Streck 2004, 344 f.

25 See Hunger/de Jong 2014.

26 For the end of cuneiform and the Graeco-Babyloniaca see Geller 1997; Westenholz 2007. For the death of the Bab. language see Hackl 2018 2021a.

27 See Streck 2001; 2003b § 4.

28 See Streck 2014.

29 See Streck 1995, 23–39.

30 See Streck 1995, 127–141.

31 See Streck 2010; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 412 f.

32 See Abraham/Sokoloff 2011; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 437–444. For Aramaic-Akk. language contact in general see Streck 2011c; Jursa 2012.

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1.2.9 Old Assyrian

§ 1.11. a) OA is only sparsely attested in Assyria itself (Assur). Most of the OA texts have been excavated in various places in Anatolia, where Assyrian merchants lived in commercial settlements (Kaneš, Hattuša, Alişar Höyük). Some texts have also been found elsewhere, e.g., in Nuzi east of the Tigris.
b) The most prominent phonological feature of OA[33] and of Ass. in general is the Ass. vowel harmony: short /a/ in an open unstressed syllable, preceded by a syllable bearing the stress, assimilates to the vowel in the following syllable; this results in forms like *iṣabbutūma* KKK 8: 21 "they will seize" compared to OB *iṣabbatūma*. /š/ in (Old) Ass. was apparently pronounced [s].[34] OA and Ass. in general have a subord. ending /*-ni*/ used alone or in addition to the subord. ending /-u/: *ērubūninni* KKK 26: 35 "(when they) came in", *agmuruni* KKK 37: 33 "(after) I had spent". Whereas in OB and MB (but not in NB and LB, see § 1.10.b) the pref. /i-/ for the 3. p. sg. is used for both genders, (Old) Ass. distinguishes /i-/ for masc. and /ta-/ for fem. In (Old) Ass., inf., imp., verbal adj., and stat. of the D- and Š-stems have /a/ in the first syllable, where Bab. has /u/ (*parrusum* versus *purrusum*, etc.), e.g., *ḫabbulam* KKK 105: 6 "he owes me". The (Old) Ass. prec. forms *laprus* (G-stem 1. p. sg.) and *luparris* (D-stem 3. p. sg.) correspond to OB/MB (for NB/LB see § 1.10.b) *luprus* and *liparris*, e.g., *laḫdū* KKK 15: 22 "I want to be happy".

1.2.10 Middle Assyrian

§ 1.12. a) In contrast to MB (see § 1.9), MA did not spread to neighboring cultures and was confined to the MA kingdom.
b) Several phonological developments can be observed in MA.[35] Word initial *w* becomes /u/: *urkīʾu* "later" BATHS 4/1, 4 r. 16 < *warkīʾu*. Within a word, *w* is normally written by B-signs (see MB where *w* is spelled by M-signs within a word, see § 1.8): *li-be-t*[*e*] "surroundings" BATHS 4/1, 13: 21, probably for spoken /liwīte/ or /liwēte/. As in MB (see § 1.8), *št* becomes *lt*, e.g., *altaprakku* "I have sent you" BATHS 4/1, 9: 9. The consonantal pair *šb* becomes *sb*, e.g., *usbutuni* "that sits" BATSH 4/1, 7: 6. Typical MA prons. are *kunāšunu*, *šunātunu*, and *šunātina* (dat. 2. pl. masc., acc. 3. pl. masc. and fem.). As in MB (see § 1.8), mimation is lost. /i/ of the gen. sg. shifts to /e/: *er-re-te* /errete/ "dam" BATHS 4/1, 2: 9. For ordinal numbers MA uses the noun pattern *PaRāSī*.

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33 For OA grammar see Hecker 1968; Kouwenberg 2017; 2021. For lexical differences between OA and OB see Kogan 2006; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 397–403.

34 See Kogan 2011, 88 f.

35 For MA grammar see De Ridder 2018 and the survey of Jakob 2021; for MA lexicon see Streck 2011, 375 f.; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 410 f.

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1.2.11 Neo-Assyrian

§ 1.13. a) In the NA period, the Aramaic language and script gained more and more importance at the expense of the Akk. language and cuneiform writing.[36] Aramaic influence on written Akk. seems, however, weak and is mainly confined to loanwords. When the Ass. empire was conquered shortly before 600, the (written) language vanished completely. The last NA texts date from 603–600 and have been excavated in Dūr-Katlimmu at the Ḫābūr river in Syria. NA roy. and lit. texts are usually written in lit. Akk. (see § 1.14), which is basically Bab., sometimes with scattered Assyrianisms. On the other hand, NA letters show Babylonisms, especially when there are direct quotes from Bab. texts, or in reports modeled after Bab. texts.[37]

b) In NA,[38] the (long) vowel in nouns III-weak (*ḫiṭ'u* > Bab. *ḫīṭu*) is only rarely written plene, whereas in nouns II-y or II-ʾ (*dēnu* and *ṭēmu*) it is frequently written so. This points to a different pronunciation (likely *ḫiṭṭu* instead of *ḫīṭu* against *dēnu* and *ṭēmu*).[39] However, in closed syllables, vowel plene spellings are rare with words like *dēnu* and *ṭēmu*. This either hints at a shortening of the vowel (*den*, *ṭem*),[40] or can perhaps be explained by the necessity of marking stress in bisyllabic stems. It is unclear whether stress also accounts for the frequency of vowel plene spellings of the contracted vowels in verbs like *iqbûnim*[41] as opposed to *iqbûníššu*. The consonatal pair *lt* (either developed from *št* or original) becomes *ss*, e.g., *assapra* < *altapra* < *aštapra* SAA 5, 3 r. 3 "I sent"; *asseqe* < *alteqe* SAA 5, 15 r. 3 "I bought". In noun declension, the old acc. in /-a/ is lost and replaced by /-u/: *tabribu šēbila* SAA 5, 28: 9 "send me red wool!". In the pl. of nouns, the old nom. in *-ū* disappears and is replaced by the oblique case in *-ē*. In the stat., new forms with *k*-endings for the 2. p. sg. and pl. emerge in analogy to the 1. p. sg.: *PaRSāka* 2. sg. masc., *PaRSāki* 2. sg. fem., *PaRSākunu* 2. pl. masc. The synthetic reciprocal/reflexive Gt-stem with single /-ta/-infix has almost disappeared and is replaced by analytic paraphrases with *aḫāmiš*, etc., "each other" and *ramanu* "self". The perf. Dt with double /-ta/-infix gives rise to a new Dtt-stem with two /-ta/-infixes in all forms: *ugdadammir* "he was completed" (perf. Dt) → *ugdadammar* "he is completed" (pres. Dtt). Personal prons.

36 See Streck 2011c for a general description of Akk.-Aramaic language contact.

37 See Worthington 2006, 59–81.

38 For NA grammar in general see Hämeen-Anttila 2000; Luukko 2004. For new forms of the verb *alāku* "to go" see Parpola 1984. For the NA lexicon see Streck 2011, 380; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 410–412.

39 See Worthington 2010a.

40 Thus Worthington 2010a, 8.

41 See Worthington 2010b.

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may be used as a copula that includes the subject, e.g., GN *nagi'u bīrte* GN_2 *bīrte* GN_3 *šū* SAA 5, 92: 5–7 "GN is a district between GN_2 and GN_3" (literally "GN—it is a district between …").

1.2.12 Literary Akkadian

§ 1.14. a) In all periods, Akk. lit. texts use a language different from everyday texts.[42] The following lit. text genres are arranged according to the frequency with which they show lit. features (from low to high): scientific literature (e.g., omen texts, medical texts); PNs; royal inscriptions; epics; incantations; wisdom literature; hymns and prayers. Lit. texts of different periods and regions are influenced by the everyday language in current use, and individual texts can combine lit. features in a unique way.

b) According to Hess (2010a, 113–115), lit. features can be divided into three groups: archaisms, artificial forms, and foreign elements.

Archaisms: OB PNs like *Šu-Mama* "He-of-Mama" contain the archaic inflected determinative pron. *šu* (see § 4.142). In everyday OB only uninflected *ša* is used (see § 4.141). The LB name *Andi-Sutīti* "Slave-woman of Sutītu" uses the archaic word *andu* < *amtu* "slave-woman" instead of the usual LB word *qallatu*.[43]

Artificial forms: OB hymns attest shortened personal prons. (independent and suffixed), e.g., *rigmuš*(*a*) "her cry" (nom. case), *alaktak*(*i*) "your way" (acc. case), and *šâš*(*im*) "him". The Lit. ŠD-stem *ušPaRRaS*[44] is also an artificial form.

Foreign elements: OB lit. texts rarely use loan words from Amorite, such as *dāru* "generation", *ḫammu* "people; older male relative", *iššu* "woman", *ṣūru* "rock", *šaḫādu* "to bestow", and *tarṣīātu* "pleasure, delight".[45] The most prominent foreign element in Akk. literary language is the Bab. dialect in royal inscriptions and other literary texts from Assyria.

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42 There is plenty of literature on Akk. lit. language: von Soden 1931/1933 (lit. texts of the so-called "hymnic-epic dialect" of the OB period); Madvig 1967 (NA roy.); Hecker 1974 (epics); Groneberg 1978/9 (loc. and term. cases); 1987 (hymns); Streck 1995a (syntagma *ittašab ibakki* "he sat there, weeping" in epics; see also Mayer 2007 with partly different conclusions); Streck 1999a (comparisons and metaphors in epics); Stein 2000 (MB and NB royal inscriptions); Hirsch 2002 (the vent. in the epics of Gilgameš and Erra); Streck 2002b (archaisms and innovations in PNs); Wasserman 2003 (OB lit. texts); Hess 2012 (lit. language of the MB and MA periods).

43 See Streck 2002b, 115 f.

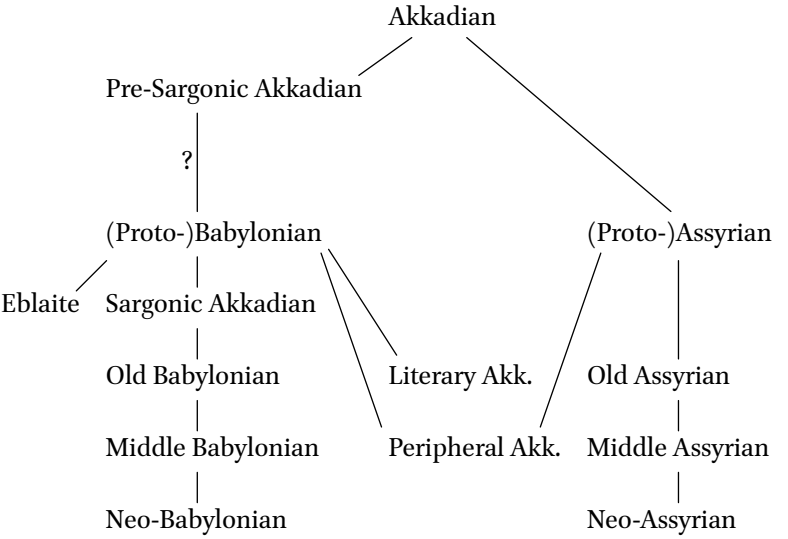
44 See Kouwenberg 2010, 334–337.

45 See Streck 2000, 125.

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1.2.13 Model of the History of Akkadian

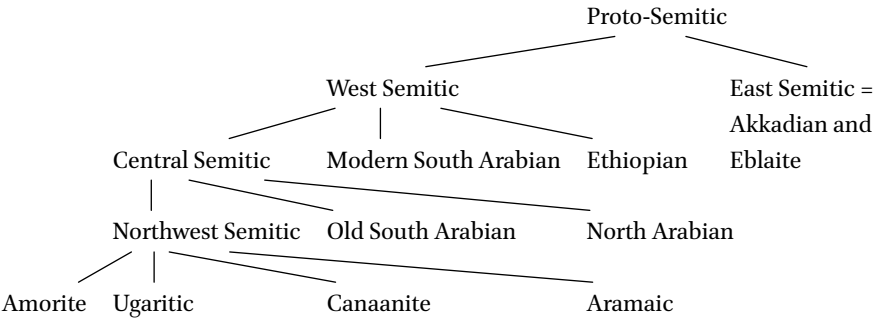
§ 1.15.



1.3 *Akkadian and the Semitic Language Family*

§ 1.16. a) According to the most widespread traditional family tree model, Akk. (including the language of Ebla) is the only member of the eastern branch of the Semitic language family. East Semitic is opposed to West Semitic. West Semitic consists of the subgroups Central Semitic, Modern South Arabian, and Ethiopian. Central Semitic includes Northwest Semitic (Amorite, Ugaritic, Canaanite [Phoenician, Hebrew], Aramaic), North Arabian, and Old South Arabian.[46]

b) Family tree model of the Semitic languages:



46 For a comprehensive book on the Semitic languages see Weninger (ed.) 2011. For differ-

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c) Within the Semitic languages, Akk. is characterized by many unique grammatical features. These include: the dissimilation of the nominal pref. *ma-* to *na-* in roots containing a labial consonant (§ 2.247); a vocalic gender opposition in the personal prons. in Akk. (masc. *attunu*, fem. *attina*, *šunu*, *šina*, see § 4.2), lost in West Semitic and replaced by an *m*: *n* opposition (see Arabic masc. *ʾantum*, fem. *ʾantunna*); independent gen. prons. (see § 4.2); dat. prons. (see § 4.2); a masc. pl. of nouns ending in *-ū*/*-ī*, without any nasal phoneme (e.g., in Hebrew *-īm*, in Arabic *-ūna*; see § 5.166); the *-ūt*-pl. of the adjs. (§ 5.169); the *ta*-perf. *iPtaRaS*; the stative *PaRiS* in opposition to West Semitic fientic *QaTaLa*; the *tan*-stems. Akk. does not have the internal passive of West Semitic nor an internal pl. of nouns.[47] Lexical differences include the preps. *ina* and *ana* (Akk.) versus *b*(*i*)- and *l*(*i*)- (West Semitic). Some of these features seem to be innovations (e.g., the dat. prons., see § 1.4.b, below),[48] others are archaisms (e.g., the *attunu*: *attina* opposition), and perhaps not all of them are diagnostic for the genealogical classification of the Semitic language family.[49]

2 Old Babylonian

2.1 *Old Babylonian and Ancient Near Eastern Languages*

§ 1.17. Akk. came into contact with numerous Ancient Near Eastern languages, both Semitic and non-Semitic.[50] For OB, Sumerian and Amorite are the two most important contact languages.

2.1.1 Old Babylonian and Sumerian

§ 1.18. Sumerian was at home in southern Babylonia from Eridu in the south to Nippur in the north. Akk. borrowed from Sumerian the cuneiform writ-

ent models of classification of the Semitic languages in this book see Huehnergard/Rubin 2011. The most up-to-date discussion of the classification of the Semitic languages is Kogan 2015.

47 For forms like *a-wi-lu-ú* see § 5.166 with n. 233.

48 Following older studies, especially those of F. Rundgren, Kouwenberg 2010, 95–125 believes that Akk. *iPaRRaS* is a further East Semitic innovation that evolved from the D-stem and is unrelated to the Ethiopian and Modern South Arabian imperfect **yaqattal*. But see the doubts raised by Kogan 2012, 314–321; therefore, the traditional view (see Weninger 2011, 159; Huehnergard /Rubin 2011, 261, 270) that *iPaRRaS* is an archaism inherited from Proto-Semitic is to be preferred.

49 For a discussion of the unity of West Semitic in opposition to East Semitic Akk. see Kogan 2015, 52–68 (grammar), 68–101 (basic lexicon).

50 For a short survey of loanwords in Akk. see Streck 2021, 92–98. An extensive survey is found in Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 413–463.

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ing system and numerous words.[51] But also some grammatical features, all of which set apart Akk. within the Semitic languages, seem to have counterparts in Sumerian and are perhaps areal phenomena. Typically, areal contact phenomena are reciprocal, and frequently it is impossible to tell the starting point of common features. The following grammatical features shared by OB and Sumerian are suspected to be areal phenomena:[52]

a) Phonemes:

Akk. gradually lost the phonemes *h*, *ḫ*, ʿ and *ġ*. This loss was completed in OB: *muhrum* > *mūrum* "foal"; *ḫaqlum* > *eqlum* "field"; *zarʿum* > *zērum* "seed"; ṢḪR > ṢḪR "to be small".

Sumerian originally had a phoneme similar to *h*: *é* /hay/ "house" (see *hkl* in Ugaritic and Hebrew); the sign É is used to write /hay/ and /ḫay/ in Ebla and Sargonic Akk. The noun *íd* "river" originally was /hid/, see *Ḫiddeqel* "Tigris" in Hebrew. Later *h* is lost and /hay/ becomes /ē/.

b) Dat. prons.:

OB has dat. prons., unique within the Semitic languages: *iddin-aš-šum* "he gave to him", *iddin-ak-kum* "he gave to you", *iddin-am* "he gave to me", etc., see §§ 1.1.c and 4.2.

Sumerian also has dat. prons.: 3. p. sg. *-na-*: *mu-na-*(*n-*)*šúm* "he gave to him"; 2. p. sg. *-ra- mu-ra-*(*n-*)*šúm* "he gave to you"; 1. p. sg. *ma-*: *ma-*(*n-*)*šúm* "he gave to me".

c) Case system:

OB has a loc. case with ending *-ūm* and a term. case ending in *-iš*: *libb-ūm* "in the heart", *qāt-iš* "into the hand", see §§ 5.186–190.[53]

Sumerian has a loc. case in *-a* and a term. case in *-šè*: *é-a* "in the house", *é-šè* "to the house".

d) Expressing state:

OB has a stat. *PaRiS* inflected by endings (see § 1.1.c): *šakin* "it is placed", *šaknāku* "I am placed". The stat. can also be formed from primary nouns: *šarr-āku* "I am king".

Sumerian has a pref. *a*(*l*)- translated in bilingual texts with the Akk. stat. The verbal form is inflected by means of suffs.: *an-ĝar* "it is placed", *an-ĝar-en* "I am placed". With nouns, the enclitic copula is used, e.g., 1. sg. *-me-en*: *lugal-me-en* "I am king".

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51 For Sumerian loan words in Akk. see Lieberman 1977. For phonological features of Sumerian loanwords in OB see §§ 2.151a, 2.273, 2.365a.

52 For Sumerian grammatical loans and areal phenomena in Akk. see Edzard 1977; Pedersén 1989; Streck 1998a; Edzard 2003, 173–178; Zólyomi 2011; and here § 5.126. In the following, only Sumerian features present already before the OB period are mentioned.

53 Loc. and term. cases are also attested in Ugaritic, see Tropper 2012, 326 and 320.

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e) Tenses:

OB has a (relative) tense–aspect system.[54] The pres. tense *iPaRRaS* expresses non-anteriority and imperfectivity,[55] the pret. tense *iPRuS* expresses anteriority and perfectivity.

The Sumerian tense system works similarly: the pres. tense or marû denotes pres. or future situations, e.g., *ì-ĝá-ĝá* "he places, will place". But it is also used for simultaneity and posteriority in the past, e.g.: *níĝ-du$_7$ pa bí-è é-a sig$_4$-bi pa-è mu-ni-ĝá-ĝá* Gudea Cyl. A xviii 25 f. "he made it properly, splendidly placing its brick in the house". The pret. tense or ḫamṭu denotes situations anterior to a given reference point. Thus it denotes past situations (anterior to the pres. moment of the speaker), but also the relative past in the future, e.g., in the protasis of conditional clauses it expresses future situations anterior to the situation of the apodosis: *tukum-bi lú-ù saĝ ĝiš bí-in-ra lú-bi ì-gaz-e-dam* LU § 1 "if a man has committed (future time reference!) murder, this man will be put to death".

f) The following features of mood are parallel in OB and Sumerian:[56]

A positive command is expressed by the imp.: Akk. *šukun* "place!", Sumerian *gi$_4$-a* Gilg. Huw. A 117 f. "go back!".

A negative command is expressed by the proh., formed by the negation *lā* (Akk.) or *na-* (Sumerian) and the pres. tense: *lā tašakkan* "do not place!", Sumerian *na-an-mu$_4$-mu$_4$-un* GEN 185 "do not put on!".

A positive wish is expressed by the prec.: OB *liškun* "may he/she place", Sumerian *ḫa-ma-ĝá-ĝá* Gudea Cyl. A iii 18 "may she place for me".

A negative wish is expressed by the vet.: OB *aj iškun* "may he not place", Sumerian *ba-ra-me* NG 18: 24 "may he not be".

The affirm. is formed by a morpheme related to the prec. (OB *lū*, Sumerian *ḫé-*) and the pret. tense: OB *lū ēpuš* "indeed I built", Sumerian *ḫé-dù* "indeed I built".

g) Both OB and Sumerian have a subord. that marks dependent clauses.[57] In Sumerian, a nominalizing ending *-a* is attached to the clause, in OB an ending *-u* of unclear etymology:[58]

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54 See Streck 2021d, 69–79 §§ 176–178.

55 *iPaRRaS* in Akk. (including Eblaite, see § 1.5.b) is inherited from Proto-Semitic, see Weninger 2011a, 159; Huehnergard/Rubin 2011, 261, 270. A different view was developed by Kouwenberg 2010, 95–125. Following older studies especially by F. Rundgren, he sees in *iPaRRaS* an East Semitic innovation that evolved from the D-stem and is unrelated to the South Semitic imperfect *yəqattəl*. But see the doubts raised by Kogan 2012, 314–321.

56 For OB see Streck 2021d, 84–88 §§ 181–187.

57 For OB see Streck 2021d, 89 f. §§ 188–194.

58 The subord. is usually connected with the Central Semitic imperfect *yaQTuL-u*. According to Huehnergard 2011, 270, *yaQTuL-u* is a Central Semitic innovative reinterpretation of

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OB *ša bītam īpuš-u* "who built the house".

Sumerian (*lú*) *é in-dù-a* "(the man) who built the house".

In both languages, conditional clauses do not stand in the subord.:

OB *šumma bītam ī(te)puš* "if he builds the house".

Sumerian *tukum-bi é in-dù* "if he builds the house".

h) Both OB and Sumerian have a vent. morpheme characterized by the phoneme *m* (Akk. *-am*, *-nim-*, *-m*, Sumerian *-m-* or *mu-*).[59] With verbs of movement, the vent. denotes a movement hither:

OB *illik* "he went", but *illik-am* "he came".

Sumerian *ì-ĝen* "he went", but *i-im-ĝen* "he came".

The vent. morpheme is frequently used before dat. prons.:

Akk. *iddin-aš-šum* < *iddin-am-šum* "he gave to him".

Sumerian *mu-na-šúm* "he gave to him".

i) Both languages prefer the word order subject–object–verb:[60]

OB Lit. DN … *melemmī šarrūtim līteršu* CH xlix 45–49 "DN shall take away from him the splendor of kingship".

Sumerian DN-*e nam-énsi* GN^{ki}-*a šu e-ma-ti* Ent. 28/29 iii 37 "DN took for himself the position of the ruler of GN".

j) Both languages share some prepositional phrases:[61]

OB *ina libbi ālim* = Sumerian *šà iri-ka* "in the heart of the city".

k) Besides loanwords, calques also prove the contact between Akk. and Sumerian:

OB *uznam šakānu* = Sumerian *ĝeštug–ĝar* "to place the ear = to hear".

2.1.2 Old Babylonian and Amorite

§ 1.19. Akk. and Sumerian texts from the Ur III and OB periods mention a language called "Amorite" together with and in contrast to the well-known cuneiform languages Sumerian, Akk., Elamite, and Hurrian. Whereas the latter

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the old subord. Kouwenberg 2010, 227–232 sees in Central Semitic *yaQTuL-u* a form inherited from Proto-Semitic that in Akk. became the subord. However, this would entail that an original tense became restricted to a certain syntactic environment, namely subord. clauses (which seems possible), but that on the other hand the ending *-u*, after a functional reanalysis, spread to the other tenses *iPaRRaS* and *iPtaRaS* and even the stative *PaRiS*—a situation that would be hard to understand if *-u* is indeed a residual morpheme. The origin of the Ass. subord. morpheme *-ni* is also difficult to explain (see the approach of Kouwenberg 2010, 228–230, which he himself concedes is "fairly speculative"). For a discussion see Kogan 2015, 144 f.

59 For OB see Streck 2021d, 90–93 §§ 195–199.

60 For OB see Streck 2021d, 144 f. § 334.

61 For OB see Streck 2021d, 119 f. § 267.

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languages are known through texts, complete Amorite texts have never been found; apparently, the language was, like Gutian, Kassite, and many other languages in the Ancient Near East, usually not written. However, in Akk. and Sumerian cuneiform texts from 2500 until 1200, thousands of PNs and some one hundred loan words of Semitic but non-Akk. character are attested. To the degree that these linguistic fragments allow a more precise analysis, all of them seem to belong to the Northwest Semitic branch (§ 1.1.b). Since we do not have any Northwest Semitic texts from this period, it is impossible to say how diversified the Northwest Semitic idioms of this time and region were. It may well be that it is more apt to speak of close dialects instead of different languages.[62] In any case, the Babylonians of the OB period did not see any need to distinguish further between them, and a large portion of these linguistic remnants probably belonged to the language designated as "Amorite" by them. Amorite left its traces in OB through at least some 90 loan words and perhaps a couple of grammatical features.[63]

2.2 *Chronological Development of Old Babylonian*

§ 1.20. Historically, the OB period lasted from ca. 2000 to ca. 1600, or from the fall of the Ur III dynasty until the end of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Linguistically, the OB language period started even earlier and also included the Akk. language of the Ur III dynasty.[64] The language continuously changed during this long period, and it is convenient to distinguish three sub-periods within OB:

Early OB is the period from the beginning of the Ur III dynasty up to the reign of Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon (1813 according to the middle chronology).[65]

Middle OB is the period that begins with Sîn-muballiṭ of Babylon (1812–1793), the predecessor of Hammurapi, and ends with Samsu-iluna (1749–1712), Hammurapi's successor.

62 Indeed, this has occasionally been proposed with respect to the Canaanite languages of the first mill. BC.

63 For Amorite lexical and grammatical loans in OB see Streck 2000, 82–128; 2011, 366 f.; 2021d, 90 § 194; 130 § 292b; 133 §§ 297–298; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 431–436. For phonological features of Amorite loanwords in OB see here §§ 2.151b, 2.222b, 2.226b, 2.249c, 2.365b. For noun patterns see § 5.127.

64 Traditionally (e.g., in von Soden 1995), Akk. of the Ur III period was not part of OB but was designated, together with Akk. of the Sargonic period, as "Old Akkadian". For Ur III Akk. and its relation to OB see Hilgert 2002.

65 For post-Ur III early OB in Babylonia see Wende 2022. For early OB in Mari during the so-called *šakkanakku* period see Limet 1976; Westenholz 1978; Gelb 1992, 164–195; Colonna d'Istria 2020.

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Late OB is the period that begins with Abī-ešuḫ, the second successor of Hammurapi (1711–1684), and ends around the sack of Babylon by the Hittites in 1595 before the rise of the Kassite dynasty.[66]

2.3 *Geographical Distribution of Old Babylonian*

§ 1.21. OB texts come from a vast area in and around Mesopotamia. In the middle OB period (§ 1.20), on which this grammar is based (§ 1.23), the written (administrative) language is relatively standardized in orthography and grammar through most of this area. This standardization is probably the result of a longer process: already in the Isin period, a largely uniform curriculum of scribal education was developed for Babylonia and neighboring regions,[67] and at the time of Jaḫdun-lim from Mari, scribal habits perhaps spread from the Diyāla region to the middle Euphrates area and beyond.[68] In spite of this standardization, local dialects (which doubtless existed), different scribal habits, and idiosyncrasies of individual scribes are not totally hidden by the standardized written language but sometimes shine through the koine.[69] For the sake of convenience, we distinguish the following nine different regions in which OB was used. These regions are, however, not necessarily identical with dialects, see § 1.25:[70]

a) Southern Babylonia: Babylonia from the gulf to the latitude of Nippur. Texts from, e.g., Ur, Uruk, Larsa, Lagaš, Kutalla, Kisurra, Adab, Isin, and Nippur. This is ancient Sumer, the area where Sumerian was spoken in the 3rd mill.

b) Northern Babylonia: Already in the 3rd mill. an Akk. speaking area. Texts from, e.g., Babylon, Kiš, Dilbat, Lagaba, and Sippar.

c) The Diyāla region: Texts from, e.g., Šaduppum (Tell Ḥarmal), Nērebtum (Iščāli), and Ešnunna. The boundary between the OB and OA speaking areas was somewhere south of Aššur.

d) Middle Euphrates and the lower Ḫābūr area: Texts found in, e.g., Mari, Terqa, Tuttul, and Emar. PNs show that the majority of the population was Amorite.[71]

e) Upper Mesopotamia: Texts from, e.g., Šāḫir Bazar, Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilān), and Rimāḥ. Šubat-Enlil was the capital of Šamšī-Adad, who sent many letters

66 For a survey of the internal chronological development of OB see Streck 2021a, 1002–1020.

67 See Waetzoldt/Cavigneaux 2009–2011, 299; Veldhuis 2014, 212–215.

68 See Charpin 2012. Note, however, that the only orthographic criterion mentioned by Charpin, the sign *qa*, is not conclusive for a specifically Ešnunnaean influence because it is attested in Sippar already from the time of Sumulael (Wende 2022, 123).

69 See Sommerfeld 2006, 371; Kouwenberg 2010, 13 f.; Streck 2021a, 1003.

70 See Charpin 2004, 407–480. The following survey is an abridged version of Streck 2021a, 994–1002.

71 See Streck 2004, 332–334; 2021a, 1031.

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to his son Jasmaḫ-Hadda in Mari. Šamšī-Adad also sent two dozens of letters to Šušarrā at the Lower Zāb. Jasmaḫ-Hadda's brother, Išmē-Dagan, who also sent letters to Jasmaḫ-Hadda and 10 letters to Šušarrā, resided in Ekallātum in the Tigris region. Letters sent from many different kingdoms in Upper Mesopotamia to the court in Mari also belong here.[72] PNs show that Akk. is used in an area in which a large part of the population was Amorite and a smaller part Hurrian.[73]

f) Eastern Tigris: Texts from Šušarrā (Shemshara) on the Lower Zāb. The local population was a mix of different groups, such as Lullubeans and Hurrians. The letters written by Zaziya, king of the Turukkeans, found in Mari, also come from the region east of the Tigris.[74]

g) Northern Syria: The region west of the Euphrates: texts from, e.g., Qaṭna and Alalaḫ. Here too the letters from Karkemiš, Aleppo, and Qaṭna sent to the court in Mari must be mentioned. The local population probably spoke Amorite and other Northwest Semitic dialects or Hurrian.

h) Southern Syria/Israel/Palestine: Texts from Damascus,[75] Ḥaṣor, Shechem, and Hebron.

i) Elam: Texts from Susa and Chogha Gavaneh to the west of Kermanšah.[76] A fragmentary letter sent by a ruler from Elam to the court in Mari also belongs here.[77] The local language in Susa was Elamite.

2.4 *Text Genres of Old Babylonian*

§ 1.22. Most cuneiform text genres known in Mesopotamia in general are also attested in the OB period.[78] Linguistic differences between the various text genres are sometimes considerable and usually greater than dialectal differences (§ 1.21) visible in the written documentation. The following survey is not exhaustive.

a) Letters: More than 5,400 letters are known, which add up to some 430,000 running tokens of text. The letters from Babylonia (including a small group from the Diyāla area) are published mainly in the series AbB 1–14 (more than 2,700 texts), the letters found in Mari (ca. 2,200) mainly in the series ARM. Smaller epistolary corpora (together ca. 500 letters) have been found in Rimāḫ,

72 Most of them were published in ARM 28.

73 See Streck 2004, 335; 2021a, 1032.

74 ARM 28, 177–180.

75 See Durand/Abdallah 2014. Text no. 1 seems to be from the middle OB period, whereas text no. 2 is late OB or even MB.

76 See Abdi/Beckman 2007.

77 ARM 28, 181.

78 This section is an abridged version of Streck 2021a, 1020–1026.

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Šubat-Enlil, and Šušarrā. Most letters were exchanged between different administrative authorities of palaces or temples. But also private persons sometimes wrote letters. Although the epistolary language is not identical with the spoken everyday language—which is, of course, not attested—it probably comes closer to the latter than the language of any other text genre.

b) Administrative documents: Almost 40,000 texts that add up to more than 2,600,000 running tokens of text. Administrative documents including contracts frequently consist of formulaic elements, and many words, especially nouns, in them are written logographically.

c) Law codes and royal edicts: One of the most important sources for the OB language is the Code of Hammurapi (ca. 7,000 running tokens of text). Furthermore, the laws of Ešnunna and edicts of the kings Samsu-iluna and Ammīṣaduqa must be mentioned. Whereas the language of the prologue and epilogue of the Code of Hammurapi is close to the hymnic language, the laws themselves linguistically resemble the administrative language of letters in many aspects.

d) Royal inscriptions (monumental texts): Besides the law codes and royal edicts (§ 1.22.c), the kings composed inscriptions recording their pious deeds and military achievements. To a certain extent, these inscriptions are composed in a literary diction with archaisms and some other features that distinguish them from letters and administrative documents. The edition in RIME 4 contains ca. 6,900 running tokens of Akk. text. Together with the law codes and royal edicts, the corpus of OB monumental inscriptions surpasses 16,000 running tokens of text.

e) Scientific literature: OB scientific literature mainly consists of lexical lists,[79] omen texts, medical texts, and mathematical texts. It is difficult to estimate the size of this text corpus. Together with the many different genres of literary texts,[80] the corpus might add up to 100,000–200,000 running tokens of text.

f) Streck/Wasserman 2011 ff. list 40 OB epical compositions. Epics, together with hymns, have been said to be couched in a "hymnisch-epischer Dialekt" (von Soden 1931/3). Indeed, both genres share some linguistic features. However, the language of epics is closer to the language of everyday texts (letters and administrative documents) than the language of hymns (§ 1.22.g).

g) Streck/Wasserman 2011 ff. list 51 OB hymns and prayers. Their language shows many "literary" (archaic, foreign or artificial)[81] features.

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79 A survey of OB lex. texts is given by Veldhuis 2014, 143–225.

80 For a survey of OB literary genres see Streck/Wasserman 2011 ff. Most of them will not be discussed separately here. For epics see § 1.6 f, for hymns and prayers § 1.6e.

81 For these features see Hess 2010a; Pohl 2021.

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h) Personal Names: Thousands of Akk. PNs are attested in the OB period. See Stol 1991 and for archaisms and innovations in OB PNs Streck 2002b, 112 f.

3 Scope and Layout of This Grammar

§ 1.23. This grammar is mainly based on the OB language of the middle OB period (§ 1.20). Early and late OB texts have not been utilized systematically; they deserve separate, comprehensive descriptions. However, since most texts (especially letters, literary texts, and omen texts) analyzed in this grammar are not dated precisely, the occasional use of early or late OB refs. cannot be avoided. Texts such as, e.g., the Atraḫasīs epic or Ištar Louvre are probably late OB.

§ 1.24. This grammar chiefly describes the language of letters (§ 1.22.a) and law codes (§ 1.22.c). Other text genres such as omen texts and literary texts have also been used, but less frequently and unsystematically. Certain text genres, e.g., hymns and prayers (§ 1.22.g), although sometimes used in this grammar, deserve broader descriptions of their own. Refs. from letters, law codes, and administrative documents, which share more or less the same administrative, non-literary language, have not been indicated specifically. All other text genres are indicated by the following abbreviations in front of the refs.: GN = Geographical name, Lex.= Lexical, Lit. = Literary, Math. = Mathematical, Med. = Medical, Om. = Omen texts, PN = Personal name, Roy. = Royal inscription.

§ 1.25. Since the OB (administrative) language of the middle OB period was largely standardized (§ 1.21), there is no need to confine this grammar to a specific region within the wide geographical range of OB. However, in cases in which orthographic or linguistic differences within the written OB koine are deemed to appear, the different regions where OB was written (§ 1.21) are indicated by the following abbreviations in front of the refs.: Elam = Elam (not used systematically), Diy. = Diyāla area, ETigris = Eastern Tigris region, MidEuphr. = Middle Euphrates region, NBab. = Northern Babylonia, NSyr.= Northern Syria, SBab. = Southern Babylonia, UpMes. = Upper Mesopotamia. Bab. stands for Babylonia in general (i.e., NBab. and SBab.). It must be stressed that these regions are not necessarily identical with OB dialects. They rather form a convenient reference point for pinpointing the presence or absence of orthographic and linguistic features that may finally lead, in the best case, to the demarcation of dialectal borders within OB.

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§ 1.26. Sometimes, especially in part 2 (Orthography and Phonology), statistical data for the individual regions (§ 1.21) within OB (excluding Elam) are given. Since it was impossible to do so on the basis of many thousands of published texts, the following smaller text groups have been evaluated systematically for that purpose:

a) Southern Babylonia:

Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe:[82] AbB 1, 90; AbB 9, 49; AbB 9, 94; AbB 9, 110; AbB 10, 173; AbB 10, 177; AbB 10, 193; AbB 14, 55–64.

Letters from Larsa:[83] AbB 2, 95; AbB 5, 4; AbB 6, 142; AbB 9, 19; AbB 10, 67; AbB 11, 5; AbB 5, 168; AbB 14, 166.

Letters from Isin:[84] AbB 9, 231; AbB 11, 159; AbB 14, 203–206.

b) Northern Babylonia:

Letters of Hammurapi, king of Babylon: AbB 1, 1; AbB 2, 1–44; AbB 2, 55–60; AbB 2, 76; AbB 4, 1–43; AbB 4, 79–109; AbB 4, 158; AbB 4, 166; AbB 5, 135–137; AbB 8, 19; AbB 8, 50; AbB 8, 53; AbB 9, 32; AbB 9, 188–196; AbB 11, 165–166; AbB 13, 5; AbB 13, 7–25; AbB 13, 27–32; AbB 13, 35–36; AbB 13, 38–43; AbB 13, 46–48; AbB 14, 1–3; AbB 14, 117; AbB 14, 225; ARM 6, 51–54; ARM 28, 1; ARM 28, 3–10.

Codex Hammurapi (CH).

Letters of Lu-Ninurta to Šamaš-ḫāzir, written in Babylon and probably found in Larsa:[85] AbB 4, 44–69; AbB 4, 78; AbB 4, 110–131; AbB 4, 154; AbB 8, 73; AbB 9, 199–200; AbB 11, 173–174; AbB 11, 189; AbB 14, 161.

Letters and documents from Sippar:[86] Letters: AbB 6, 20; AbB 8, 101; AbB 9, 11; AbB 9, 14; AbB 9, 117; AbB 10, 25; AbB 11, 32; AbB 14, 93; OBTR 133–134. Documents: Edubba'a 7.[87]

c) Diyāla:

Ḫarmal Letters: Sumer 14, 1–76 and pl. 1–24, no. 1–50.

Codex Ešnunna (CE), on tablets from Tell Ḫarmal.

Nūr-Šamaš archive (exact provenance unknown): Rashid 1965.

d) Middle Euphrates:

Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda, king of Mari: ARM 1, 3; ARM 1, 108–120; ARM 2, 11; ARM 4, 16–19; ARM 4, 86–88; ARM 5, 1–4; ARM 5, 14; ARM 5, 18–19; ARM 10, 178.

82 See AbB 14 pp. XVIII–XX.
83 See Archibab.
84 See Archibab.
85 See Stol 2006–2008.
86 For the letters see Archibab.
87 To the exclusion of certain early OB texts.

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Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān: ARM 27; FM 2 no. 47–71; FM 3, 272 no. 130–138.

Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir, governor of Qaṭṭunān: ARM 27, 1–24

e) Upper Mesopotamia:

Letters of Aqba-ḫammu, king of Rimāḥ: OBTR 57–96.

Letters of Jumraṣ-il: ARM 28, 134–144.

Letters of Jamṣīyum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura:[88] ARM 26/2, 303–306; ARM 26/2, 310–311 (= ARM 2, 124); ARM 26/2, 318–319; ARM 26/2, 323–324; ARM 10, 32–33; ARM 10, 35; MARI 3, 180 A.2518. These texts share some peculiarities and most of them seem to have been written by the same scribe.[89]

Letters of Išme-Dagan, based in Ekallātum: ARM 1, 121–139; ARM 4, 20–85.

f) Eastern Tigris:

Letters of Talpuš-šarri: Shemshara 1, 53–58; Shemshara 1, 73.

g) Northern Syria:

Letters from Qaṭna: ARM 2, 51; ARM 5, 15–17; ARM 5, 20; ARM 28, 14.

Letters from Karkemiš: ARM 28, 18–25 (royal letters). ARM 26/2, 530–550; MARI 8, 783 f. (letters of Ṣidqum-la-naśī, prob. vizier of Karkemiš).

h) Royal Inscriptions:

Of Hammurapi: RIME 4, 332–371.

Of Samsuiluna: RIME 4, 372–403.

Of Jaḫdun-lim: RIME 4, 602–612.

§ 1.27. a) The number of refs. given varies and is usually not exhaustive. Especially in connection with the text groups listed in § 1.10, the indication "illustrative" sometimes underlines that not all refs. are given.

b) The order of refs. in a given paragraph frequently proceeds from letters, documents, and law codes to other text genres, and from Babylonia to other regions. In some cases, a different order of refs. seemed to be more convenient.

§ 1.28. a) In most cases, transcriptions follow the traditional rules established in Akk. studies. /j/ is used instead of /y/ for the prepalatal voiced fricative in order to be compatible with GAG, AHw., CAD, and many other standard reference tools of Akk. grammar. This grammar argues that a secondary, nonphonemic glide always stands between contiguous vowels (§§ 2.27 and 2.508). If not explicitly written *w* (PI) or *j* (IA or PI), this glide is transcribed as ʾ, e.g., *kia-am kīʾam* instead of *kīam* or *kījam*. Furthermore, this grammar argues that the

88 Described by Charpin 1989.

89 Charpin 1989, 38 f. ARM 10, 35 and ARM 26/2, 318 and 319 seem to have been written by another scribe (or scribes), Charpin ibid. 38.

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final vowel in roots III-weak is long rather than short (see the plene spellings § 2.115), thus *īdē* instead of *īde*, *ibnī* instead of *ibni*, etc. If such a form is followed by another morpheme with vocalic onset, this grammar thus transcribes *īdēʾanni* instead of *īdēanni* or *īdeanni*.

b) Refs. are usually presented in transliteration or a mix of bound transcription and transliteration (§ 2.2), the latter in most cases followed by a bound transcription after the quotation. Except for part 2 (Orthography and Phonology), the sign // is only used to eliminate confusion over whether a phonemic transcription or a transliteration is given. The sign * placed before a form indicates that it is unattested; forms preceded by < are reconstructed.

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CHAPTER 2

Orthography and Phonology

1 Cuneiform Writing

1.1 *Cuneiform Signs*

§ 2.1. OB is written in cuneiform script, invented by and borrowed from the Sumerians.[1] In the following, cuneiform signs[2] are referred to by their conventional sign names in capital letters, e.g., the sign AN, the sign UM, etc. These modern names derive from the most common Sumerian value of the sign (here *an* and *um*).

1.2 *Transliteration and Transcription*

§ 2.2. Cuneiform is transcribed in alphabetic script for practical reasons. We distinguish between transliteration and (bound) transcription. Transliteration is a sign-by-sign rendering of cuneiform writing. For example, the sign sequence I LU UM is transliterated *i-lu-um* "god": signs in the same word are connected by hyphens. (Bound) transcription is essentially a phonemic and morphological reconstruction: *ilum* "god". In addition, transliteration and bound transcription sometimes intend to render also non-structural variations in pronunciation, for example the sign sequence Ú TE IR is transliterated *ú-te-er* and transcribed *utēr* for structural *utīr* "he brought back". In some cases, the traditional bound transcription, also used in this grammar, does not cover phonemic variations, especially with the affricates (see, e.g., § 2.345); thus we transcribe both *ip-ru*-ZU and *pu-ur*-SA with *s* (*iprusū* and *pursā*), although ZU stands for an affricate [tsu] and SA for a deaffricated [sa]. When necessary, this grammar explicitly states differences between traditional transcription and actual phonemic reconstruction.

§ 2.3. Capital letters render logograms according to their Sumerian pronunciation. If, e.g., the sign AN is used for the Akk. word *šamû* "heaven", it is transliterated as AN (derived from Sumerian *an* "heaven"). Determinatives are transliterated according to their Sumerian pronunciation and are written as superscripts, i.e., above the line: DINGIR^{meš} for *ilū/ilānū* "deities".

1 For a general description of Akk. and cuneiform writing see Streck 2021b.

2 The standard work on cuneiform signs is Borger 2010.

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§ 2.4. Vowel length is only indicated in transcription, not in transliteration. Two types of vowel length are distinguished: vowel length originating in the contraction of two vowels (§§ 2.119–139) is indicated by a circumflex, e.g., /û/ < /ī-u/; every other type of vowel length—i.e., structural vowel length, length originating in the monophthongization of a diphthong, or length after the loss of an /ʾ/—is indicated by a macron, e.g., /ū/.

1.3 *Sign Values*

§ 2.5. Cuneiform is a mixed logographic-syllabic writing system. Every cuneiform sign may have one or several sign values. There are three types of sign values:

a) Logograms[3] (word signs, sometimes called "ideograms") represent one word or several words. The sign AN, e.g., represents the words *ilum* (Sumerian *dingir*) "god", *šamû* (Sumerian *an*) "heaven", and *Ānum* (Sumerian *An*) "the god of heaven, Anum". Occasionally a combination of two or more signs represents a single Akk. word: DAM.GÀR for *tamkārum* "merchant".

b) Phonograms (also "syllabograms") represent a syllable or a vowel or several syllables or vowels. The sign NA, e.g., represents the syllable /na/, the sign UM the syllable /um/.

c) Determinatives (classifiers) may stand before or after a word; in the majority of cases these words are written logographically, but not always. The determinative indicates that the word belongs to a certain semantic class. The sign AN, e.g., is also used as a determinative before divine names, and the sign MEŠ follows words in the pl. Examples of determinatives in connection with syllabically written words frequently occur outside of Bab.:

Mid. Euphr. ^{lú}*mu-uš-ke-nim* ARM 3, 79 r. 9 *muškēnim* "commoner" (^{lú} "man, profession").

MidEuphr. ^{f}*ka-al-*⌜*la-tam*⌝ FM 2, 76 no. 40: 6 *kallatam* "bride" (^{f} "woman").

MidEuphr. ^{giš}*le-i-im* FM 9, 190 no. 43: 13 *lēʾim* "wooden *l.* instrument" (^{giš} "wood").

MidEuphr. ^{na4}*sí-ik-ka-nam* FM 8, 62 no. 13: 7 *sikkānam* "stela" (^{na4} "stone").

UpMes. ^{kuš}*me-še-*[*n*]*i* ARM 1, 17: 20 *mešēnī* "shoes" (*šēnum*) (^{kuš} "leather").

§ 2.6. Most cuneiform signs bear two or three different sign values and can be logograms, phonograms, or occasionally also determinatives in different contexts. The sign A, e.g., as a logogram represents the word *mû* (Sumerian *a*)

3 For the term "logogram" see Krebernik/Nissen 1994, 276.

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"water" and as a phonogram the vowel /a/; the sign KI as a logogram represents the word *erṣetum* (Sumerian *ki*) "earth" and as a phonogram the syllable /ki/, and it is used as a determinative (^{ki}) after toponyms.

§ 2.7. Many words may be written logographically or phonographically. Thus, e.g., *rabûm* "big" may be rendered with the logogram GAL or syllabically *ra-bu-um*. Occasionally both spellings are combined. For example, the word *ilum* "god" may be spelled DINGIR-*lum* (e.g., ARM 28, 1 r. 6), i.e., logogram DINGIR "god" and phonogram *lum*. Phonograms used in this way are called phonetic complements and are sometimes written in transliteration above the line (DINGIR^{lum}).

1.4 *Logograms*

§ 2.8. The use of logograms varies between different text genres. OB letters, which form the backbone of this grammar, are usually written syllabically and only use a limited number of logograms. However, certain titles, god names, and especially numbers are frequently written logographically.

§ 2.9. a) As a typical example, the Hammurapi letter AbB 2, 1, consisting of 28 lines, is presented here:

Syllabic signs:	212
Logograms including numbers:	14
Determinatives:	11

b) The logograms used in AbB 2, 1 render god names, occupational titles, and numbers:

^{d}EN.ZU (in PN) AbB 2, 1: 1 *Sîn* (name of the god of the moon).
^{d}MAR.TU (in PN) AbB 2, 1: 4, 24 *Amurru* (name of a god).
UGULA AbB 2, 1: 4 *wakil* "supervisor".[4]
MUḪALDIM^{meš} AbB 2, 1: 4, 6, 9, 21 *nuḫatimmī* "bakers".
MUḪALDIM AbB 2, 1: 18, 25 *nuḫatimmu*/*am* "baker".
4 AbB 2, 1: 6, 9 *erbēt* "4".
AGA.UŠ AbB 2, 1: 19 *rēdîm* "soldier".
AGA.UŠ^{meš} AbB 2, 1: 22 *rēdî* "soldiers".

§ 2.10. Verbs are only rarely written logogographically, e.g.:
GI$_4$-*šum* AbB 14, 89: 13 *tēršum* "give back to him!"

4 UGULA may also be read *rabī* or *šāpir* in different complex logograms, see Borger 2010, 332–334.

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1.5 *Types of Phonograms*

§ 2.11. There are four types of phonograms: C(onsonant)-V(owel), VC, CVC, and V, e.g., *la*, *am*, *lam*, and *a*. A single sign may have several phonographic values. For instance the sign UD stands for the syllables /ud/, /ut/, /uṭ/, /tam/, and /pir/. Frequently there are several signs with the same phonographic value. For example, the vowel /u/ may be rendered by the signs Ú or Ù, the value /qa/ by the signs QA and GA, etc.

§ 2.12. Closed syllables (type /CVC/) are written with a CVC sign or, more frequently, with a CV sign followed by a VC sign: CV_1-V_1C for /CV_1C/. The syllable /lam/, e.g., is either written with the CVC sign *lam* or with the sequence CV_1-V_1C *la-am*. A transliteration *i-la-am* usually stands for /ilam/ and not for /ila'am/.

1.6 *Survey of Old Babylonian Phonograms of the Types CV, VC, and V*

§ 2.13. The following table presents a survey of OB phonograms of the types CV, VC, and V.[5] Less frequent values stand in brackets. Many of these phonograms are used everywhere in the written koine of the middle OB period. Regional differences can mainly be observed for /ṭ/, /s/, /š/, and /q/ (for details see the paragraphs under these individual phonemes).

	Ca	***Ce***	***Ci***	***Cu***	***aC***	***eC, iC***	***uC***
Vowel signs	*a* (*á*) (*à* = *pi*)	*e* (e_x = 1)	*i* *ì* (i_{15} = *e*)	*ú* *ù* u_4 (*u*)[6]			
b	*ba* (*bá* = *pa*)	*bé* = *bi* *be*	*bi* (*bí*)	*bu*	*ab*	*ib*	*ub*
p	*pa* (*pá* = *ba*)	*pe* = *pi*	*pi* *pí* = *bi*	*pu* = *bu*	*ap* = *ab*	*ip* = *ib*	*up* = *ub*
m	*ma*	*me* *mì* = *me*	*mi*	*mu*	*am*	*im*	*um*
w	*wa* = *pi*	*we* = *pi*	*wi* = *pi*	*wu* = *pi*	*am* *aw* = *pi*	*im*	*um*

5 The standard work for Akkadian phonograms is von Soden/Röllig 1991. For the syllabary of the texts from Mari see also ARM 15, 33–66.

6 Only used for /o/ or /ô/, see §§ 2.92–94.

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(*cont.*)

	Ca	**Ce**	**Ci**	**Cu**	**aC**	**eC, iC**	**uC**
d	*da* (*dá = ta*) ($da_{10} = ṭà$)	*de = di* ($de_4 = te$)	*di* (*dì = ti*)	*du* (*dú = tu*)	*ad*	*id*	*ud*
t	*ta* (*tá = da*) ($ta_5 = tam$(UD)) ($ta_8 = ṭà$)	*te* *té = ti*	*ti* ($ti_4 = di$)	*tu* (*tù = du*) ($tu_4 = tum$)	*at = ad*	*it = id*	*ut = ud*
ṭ	*ṭa = da* *ṭá = ta* *ṭà = ḫi*	$ṭe_4 = te$	*ṭi = di* *ṭì = ti* $ṭi_4 = te$	*ṭù = du* *ṭú = tu* ($ṭu_4 = ṭum$)	*aṭ = ad*	*iṭ = id*	*uṭ = ud*
n	*na*	*ne* *né = ni*	*ni* ($ni_5 = ne$)	*nu*	*an*	*en* *in*	*un*
r	*ra*	*re = ri*	*ri*	*ru* (*rù*)	*ar*	*ir*	*ur* *úr*
z	*za*	*ze = zi* *zé = ṣe*	*zi* (*zí = ṣi*)	*zu*	*az* *áš* (*aš*)	*iz* (*ìz = ab*)	*zu* ($uz_4 = az$)
s	*sà = za* *sa* sa_6	*sé = zi* *se = si*	*sí = zi* *si* ($si_{20} = ṣi$)	*sú = zu* *su*	*as = az* *áš* (*aš*)	*is = iz* *iš* (*ìs = ab*) ($is_5 = eš$)	*us = uz* *uš* ($us_4 = az$?)
ṣ	*ṣa = za*	*ṣe = zé* (*ṣé = zi*)	*ṣí = zi* *ṣi*	*ṣú = zu*	*aṣ = az*	*iṣ = iz* *iš*	*uṣ = us* *uš* ($uṣ_4 = az$?)
l	*la*	*le = li*	*li* *lí*	*lu* (lu_4)	*al*	*el* *il*	*ul*
š	*ša*	*še* $še_{20} = ši$	*ši*	*šu*	*aš* *áš*	*eš* *iš* ($iš_7 = ab$) ($iš_{15} = eš$)	*uš* *úš*
j	*ia* (*ja = pi*) (*a*)		(*ji = pi*) (*i*)	(*iu = ia*)	(*a*) (*ia*)		

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(*cont.*)

	Ca	***Ce***	***Ci***	***Cu***	***aC***	***eC, iC***	***uC***
g	*ga*	*ge* = *gi*	*gi* (*gi*$_4$)	*gu*	*ag*	*ig*	*ug*
k	*ka*	*ke* = *ki*	*ki*	*ku* (*ku*$_8$ = *gu*)	*ak* = *ag*	*ik* = *ig*	*uk* = *ug*
q	*qá* = *ga* *qa* (*qà* = *ka*)	(*qè* = *ge*)	(*qì* = *gi*) *qí* = *ki* (*qi*$_4$ = *gi*$_4$)	*qù* = *gu* *qú* = *ku*	*aq* = *ag*	*iq* = *ig*	*uq* = *ug*
ḫ	*ḫa*	*ḫe* = *ḫi*	*ḫi*	*ḫu*	*aḫ*	*iḫ* = *aḫ*	*uḫ* = *aḫ* *úḫ*
’	(*ḫa*) (*ὰ*(É))	(*ḫe*)	(*ḫi*)	(*ḫu*)	(*aḫ*)	(*iḫ* = *aḫ*)	(*uḫ* = *aḫ*)

§ 2.14. VC signs never distinguish between voiceless, voiced, and emphatic consonants. Thus, e.g., the sign AD is used for /ad/, /at/, and /aṭ/, the sign AG is used for /ag/, /ak/, and /aq/. CV signs sometimes distinguish voiceless, voiced, and emphatic consonants, e.g., *pi* and *bi*, but *bu* = *pu*, or *da*, *ta*, and *ṭà*, but *ṭi* = *di* or *ṭì* = *ti*. The vowels /e/- and /i/- are kept distinct only in certain CV-signs (see §§ 2.48–2.59). Usually VC-signs do not distinguish between /i/- and /e/-vowels, e.g., the sign ID renders /id/ and /ed/. Only with /n/, /l/, and /š/ are there two signs, *in*/*en*, *il*/*el*, and *iš*/*eš* (see §§ 2.55–57).

1.7 *Survey of Old Babylonian Phonograms of the Type CVC*

§ 2.15. The following table presents a survey of OB phonograms of the type CVC.

b *bad*/*t*/*ṭ*, *bar*, *bil*, *búl*, *bur*
p *pár*, *píl*, *pir*, *pur*
m *mad*/*t*/*ṭ*, *maḫ*, *mar*, *maš*, *mil*, *mur*
d *dag*/*k*/*q*, *dam*, *dan*, *dar*, *dim*, *din*, *dum*, *dur*
t *tab*, *tág*/*k*/*q*, *taḫ*, *tam*, (*tám*), *tar*, *taš*, *til*, *tim*, *tir*, *tum*
ṭ *ṭam*, *ṭar*, *ṭim*, *ṭum*, *ṭur*
n *nam*, *nim*, *nin*, *nir*, *núm*, *nun*
r *rum*
z *zil*, *zum*
s *súm*

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ṣ *ṣar, ṣir, ṣum, ṣur*
l *lam, lam$_5$,[7] làḫ, lig/k/q, lim, luḫ, lum*
š *šar, šum*
g *gal, gàr, gim, gir, gum, gur*
k *kab/p, kal, kál,[8] kam, kar, kir, kír,[9] kum*, (*kúm*?), *kur*
q *qal, qar, qir, qúl,[10] qum*
ḫ *ḫal, ḫar, ḫir, ḫur*

§ 2.16. Most CVC-signs end in a liquid (*m*, *n*, *r*, *l*). Signs with final *m* are often used at the end of nouns in the stat. rect. to express mimation.
a) Final *m*:
d/ṭam, d/t/ṭim, d/t/ṭum, tam, nam, nim/núm, rum, zum, súm, ṣum, lam, lam$_5$, lim, lum, šum, gim, kam, g/k/qum, kúm(?).
b) Final *n*:
dan, din, dun, nin, nun.
c) Final *r*:
bar/pár, pir, b/pur, mur/ḫar/ḫur, d/ṭar, d/ṭur, ṣar, ṣur, šar, gàr/qar, g/wir, gur, kar, kir, kír, kur.
d) Final *l*:
bil, bíl, píl, mil, til, kal, kál, ḫal, qúl, zil.

1.8 *Complementation of CVC- and CV-Signs*

§ 2.17. CV- or CVC-signs are rarely[11] complemented to clarify their reading.[12]
a) CV-sign:
Lit. *a-^{wa}ma-ti* RA 15, 181 viii 6 *awāti* "word". The complement PI = *wa* shows that the sign *ma* has the reading /wa/ and not /ma/ (see § 2.477a).
b) CVC-signs:
dan^{an}-na-a AbB 9, 90: 9 *dannā* "they are strong".
am-mi-^{ni}nim FM 2, 266 no. 128: 26 *ammīnim* "why".

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7 *šu-me-lam$_5$* ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 12, 17 *šumēlam* "left".
8 *ma-kál*(GAL)*-tam* ARM 27, 152: 14 *mākaltam* "dish".
9 *kír*?*-li-ma-am* ARM 27, 152: 13 *kirlimmam* "*k.*-container"; *kír*?*-li-mi* ARM 27, 152 r. 7 *kirlimmī* "*k.*-containers". See M. Birot, ARM 27 p. 256 n. c: "Le signe KÍR est en fait ici très voisin de GÌR."
10 *qúl-la-ni* ARM 21, 258: 26; ARM 32 p. 283 vi 2, 38 *qullānī* "*q.* implements made of bronze".
11 This becomes more common in LB, see Streck 2001, 82 f.
12 Refs. from Mari, see ARM 15 p. 113. Instead of *i-la-kam^{ka}-ma* ARM 1, 13: 34 read *i-la-kam ka-i-l*[*i*] (Durand 1998, 27). For ^{ú}*wu*(PI) see § 2.475. For scribal mistakes giving the probably false impression of complemented CVC-signs see § 2.21d–e.

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mu-gál^{al}-li-tu ARM 1, 116 r. 4 *mugallitu* "troublemaker". The value *gál* for IG is unusual in OB, which is certainly the reason why the scribe complemented the sign.

Lex. *ba-aṭ-^{tu}lum* MSL 12, 167: 305 *baṭlum* "inactive".

1.9 *Morphographemic Spellings*[13]

§ 2.18. OB phonographic orthography is usually based on syllable boundaries: a syllable is rendered by a single phonogram or two of them:

a-na-ku-ma AbB 9, 92: 20 *a*/*nā*/*ku*/*ma* "I".
li-il-li-kam AbB 9, 93: 15 *lil*/*li*/*kam* "let him come".
ú-ša-ab-ba-la-ki AbB 11, 106: 18 *u*/*šab*/*ba*/*lak*/*ki* "he will send you".
šu-me-lam AbB 11, 106: 6 *šu*/*mē*/*lam* "left".
iš-mu-ú AbB 11, 106: 26 *iš*/*mû* "he heard".

§ 2.19. Morphographemic spellings rarely occur between stem and verbal endings or between different verbal endings and suffs.:

a) Between stem and vent. ending:
ta-aš-pur-a[*m*] AbB 2, 8 r. 5 *tašpur-am* "you sent to me".
iš-pur-am AbB 4, 25: 7 *išpur-am* "he sent to me".
ta-am-gur-an-ni AbB 13, 62: 13, 18 *tamgur-anni* "you agreed with me".
im-gur-an-ni AbB 13, 79: 16 *imgur-anni* "he agreed with me".
ú-da-ab-ba-ab-an-ni ARM 3, 16: 11 *udabbab-anni* "he pesters me".

b) Between stem and /ā/ of pl.:
te-e-er-ra AbB 4, 93: 20 *terrā* "return!"[14]

c) Between vent. ending and dat. or acc. suffs.:
uš-ta-bi-lam-⌜*kum*!⌝ MHET 1, 89: 42 *ūštābilakkum* < *uštābil-am-kum* "he has sent to you".
[*ú-ša-a*]*k-ša-du-nim-ši-na-ti* FM 8, 59 no. 12: 16 [*uša*]*kšadūniššināti* < *ušakša-dū-nim-šināti* "they will dispatch them".

§ 2.20. A mix between phonemic and morphographemic spelling is responsible for merely orthographic long consonants. Almost all examples have the sign combination CVC-CV.[15]

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13 See Gelb 1970; Reiner 1973, 33–39; 1973a ("morphophonemic spellings"). For unassimilated forms such as *dīnšu* and *iqâpma* understood as morphographemic, see Reiner 1966, 107, 110; 1973, 33–39; 1973a, see §§ 2.272, 2.310.

14 The sg. is *tēr*: *te-e-er* AbB 13, 15: 18; AbB 13, 18: 28. Elsewhere, the pl. is spelled *te-er-ra* AbB 4, 94: 28; AbB 4, 106: 13.

15 This was already noted by Gelb 1955, 101.

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a) CVC-CV:

ta-aš-pur-ra-am AbB 7, 110: 7; AbB 7, 116: 6; AbB 14, 74: 6 *tašpuram* "you sent to me".

aš-pur-ra-am OBTR 118: 5 *ašpuram* "I have sent".[16]

PN ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* AbB 2, 7: 1 *Sîn-iddinam* "Sîn has given to me".[17]

b) VC-CV:

ú-ul aš-ku-un-nu ARM 4, 86: 11 *aškunu* "I indeed did not place".[18]

1.10 *Scribal Mistakes*

§ 2.21. A study of orthography and phonology requires a knowledge of which spellings are correct and which are mistakes. Some types of scribal mistakes are:[19]

a) Omission of a cuneiform sign:

qātam ana ⟨*qa*⟩*-tim* ARM 3, 68: 7 *qātim* "likewise".

ištū ⟨*ša*⟩*-ap-la-nu-um* ARM 2, 102: 20 *šaplānum* "from below".

awâtim ša id-bu-⟨*bu*⟩*-ú* ARM 28, 70: 28 *idbubū* "the words that they said".

a-al-la-⟨*ak-*⟩*ma* FM 9, 194 no. 45: 21 *allakma* "I go".

ga-⟨*am-*⟩*ra-am* FM 9, 209 no. 48: 17 *gamram* "entire".

b) Omission of an entire word:

šumma nēšum šū adī alāk ⟨*be-lí-ia*⟩ *ina rugbim uššab* ARM 2, 106: 8 f. "whether this lion shall sit on the roof until the arrival ⟨of my lord⟩".

c) Dittography:

i-na ⟨⟨*i-na*⟩⟩ *mu*[*-uḫ-ḫi*] AbB 6, 200: 11 f. *ina muḫḫi* "on top of".

[*š*]*a bi-ti-ka* ⟨⟨*ka*⟩⟩ *šūbi*[*lam*] ARM 5, 76 r. 9 *ša bītika* "send me something of your house!"

ú-na-⟨⟨*na*⟩⟩*aḫ-i-id* AbB 13, 60: 64 *una"id* "he advised".

ti-de-a ⟨⟨*a*⟩⟩ AbB 9, 143: 8 *tīdē'ā* "you know".[20]

d) The scribe starts with a CV-sign but then does not continue with a VC-sign but with a CVC-sign:[21]

pí-iq-⟨⟨*da*⟩⟩*dam* ARM 1, 46: 23 *piqdam* "entrust me".

pu-ḫa-⟨⟨*ti*⟩⟩*tim* ARM 2, 10 r. 13 *pūḫātim* "substitute".

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16 Similar spellings occur frequently with this verb.

17 And *passim*, but only in PNs.

18 Affirmative ending /-u/; see Durand 1998, 562 n. 68.

19 See Worthington 2012, 88–116 for an extensive typology of scribal errors. For mistakes in the texts from Mari see Charpin 1995.

20 The doubling of *a* is probably not a plene vowel spelling expressing structural vowel length, because the scribes avoid writing two identical signs in succession.

21 These mistakes give the probably false impression of a complementation of CVC-signs (see for this rare orthographic phenomenon § 2.17).

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te-er-⟨⟨ti⟩⟩tim ARM 2, 32: 15 *têrtim* "order".
ma-an-⟨⟨ni⟩⟩nim ARM 2, 76: 17 *mannim* "who".
uš-ta-bi-⟨⟨la⟩⟩lam ARM 5, 35: 12 *uštābilam* "I have sent".[22]

e) The scribe starts with a CVC-sign but then continues with a VC-sign:
aš-tap-⟨⟨ap⟩⟩ra-ku AbB 13, 86: 17 *aštaprakku* "I have sent to you".
aš-tap-⟨⟨ap⟩⟩-ra-ak-ki-im AbB 14, 140: 32 *aštaprakkim* "I have sent to you".
i-tap-⟨⟨ap⟩⟩ra-aš-ma AbB 14, 140: 29 *ittapraš* "flew around".
li-qé-nim⟨⟨im⟩⟩-ma AbB 6, 185: 13 *liqênimma* "take!"

f) The scribes writes masc. instead of fem. and corrects it:
ina šattim an-ni-⟨⟨im⟩⟩tim AbB 14, 177: 18 *annītim* (instead of wrong *annîm*) "in this year".

g) The scribe writes stat. rect. instead of st. cstr.:
meḫer DUB-*pí-⟨⟨im⟩⟩ka* AbB 3, 10: 7 *meḫer tuppika* (instead of *tuppim*) "answer to your tablet".

h) The scribe writes st. cstr. instead of st. rect.:
ṭe$_4$*-⟨⟨em⟩⟩ma-am* ARM 10, 32: 8 *ṭēmam* "report".

i) Sign written too early:
ma-⟨⟨za⟩⟩-at Za-[*al-ma-aq-qí-im*] ARM 26/1, 177 no. 40: 51 *māt Zalmaqim* "land of Zalmaqum".[23]
ana GN *a-li-⟨⟨id⟩⟩-šu it-*[*t*]*u-r*[*a*]*-a*[*m*] AbB 13, 89: 18 *ālišu ittūram* "he returned to his city GN".[24]

j) Confusion between similar signs:
pa-ag-re-a(instead of *e*)*-em* FM 7, 151 no. 45: 3 *pagrêm* "funerary offering".

k) Superfluous sign:
a-⟨⟨aḫ-⟩⟩ḫu-um ul nadī FM 9, 183 no. 39: 4 *aḫum ul nadī* "one has not been negligent". The spelling *a-aḫ-ḫu-um* is inspired by the pl. of the homonym *aḫum* "brother", i.e., *aḫḫū*.

2 The Vowels

2.1 *Phonemic Inventory of Vowels*

§ 2.22. OB inherited the following vowels from Proto-Semitic: /a/, /i/, /u/, /ā/, /ī/, /ū/. In addition to these vowelsProto-Semitic, OB has secondary /e/ and

22 Certainly not a "forme expressive" (Durand 1998, 321).

23 The scribe, by mistake, writes *za* after *ma*, continues with the correct *at* sign, and then repeats *Za*.

24 The scribe, by mistake, writes *id* after *li*, continues with the correct *šu* sign, and then repeats *it* (= ID).

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/ē/, which developed from /a/, /ā/, or /i/ (§ 2.44) or were borrowed from Sumerian (§ 2.45).

§ 2.23. /ā/, /ē/, /ī/, and /ū/ are vowels long by structure, by monophthongization of the original diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/, or by loss of an aleph. Contraction of two contiguous vowels also results in long vowels: /â/, /ê/, /î/, /û/. Whereas plene spellings do not regularly occur with structurally long vowels (§§ 2.101–111), plene vowel spellings usually appear with contracted vowels (§ 2.119). This has led several scholars to assume a difference in pronunciation, whether quantity or stress.[25]

§ 2.24. Moreover, some texts distinguish /ô/ from /û/, and /o/ from /u/ (§§ 2.92–94).

2.2 *Plene Vowel Spellings*

2.2.1 Plene Vowel Spellings CV-V

§ 2.25. Plene vowel spellings CV-V are used to express structurally long vowels, or vowel length that developed from weak consonants (§§ 2.113–116); vowel length that developed from contraction of two contiguous vowels (§ 2.119); word stress (§§ 2.510–511); and sentence stress (§ 2.514). If word stress lies on syllables with a long vowel, the expression of vowel length and the expression of stress are not two different functions but are ultimately identical with each other.[26]

2.2.2 Plene Vowel Spellings V-VC

§ 2.26. Differently from plene vowel spellings of the type CV-V (§ 2.25), syllable-initial plene vowel spellings of the type V-VC never render vowel length but syllable-initial, mostly secondary (§§ 2.160, 2.164b, 2.165a) aleph. These plene spellings may occur in the beginning or middle of a word.[27]

§ 2.27. Plene vowel spellings V-VC for (mostly secondary) aleph between two vowels occur frequently in the middle of a word.

a) Vent. ending with final weak verbs:

i-de-a-an-ni AbB 3, 22: 14 *īde'anni* "he knows me".

a-li-a-am-ma AbB 2, 164: 11 *allī'amma* "I will go up".

25 See Kogan 2011, 119 with previous lit.

26 For this interpretation see Aro 1971, 250.

27 In the following, word-initial secondary aleph is exceptionally used in bound transcription. Elsewhere this aleph does not occur in bound transcription.

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ta-am-ši-a-an-ni-ma AbB 3, 22: 12 *tamšīannima* "you forgot me".
ta-aq-bi-a-am-ma AbB 3, 33: 15 *taqbīamma* "you said to me".
ru-di-a-am AbB 3, 37: 7 *ruddīam* "to add".
šu-ri-a-aš-šu-ú-ma AbB 3, 21: 25 *šūriʾaššuma* "bring him!"
iš-li-a-am CH § 2 *išlīam* "he submerged".
Om. *i-te-li-a-am* YOS 10, 23: 8 *ītelīam* "rose".

b) Fem. ending with final weak verbs or nouns:
iš-te-a-at AbB 8, 15: 28 *ištešat* "one".
na-pí-a-at AbB 9, 14: 21 *napīat* "she has been taken as a pledge".
ša-ni-a-at AbB 14, 75: 30 *šanīat* "it is different".
pí-a-at ARM 28, 171: 16 *piʾat* "side".
Om. [*la-w*]*i-a-at* YOS 10, 31 i 15 [*law*]*īat* "surrounds".

c) Acc. ending with final weak nouns:
an-ni-a-am AbB 13, 62: 9 *annīam* "this".
re-di-a-[*a*]*m* AbB 3, 71: 24 *rēdīam* "soldier".
ša-ni-a-am AbB 3, 26: 19 *šanīam* "other".
ŠE-*a-am* AbB 13, 120: 18 *šeʾam* "barley".
Lit. *la-li-a-am* ZA 110, 39 i 19 *lalīam* "kid".

d) Ending /ān/:
ra-bi-a-an AbB 7, 110: 25 *rabīān* "mayor".

e) Roots II-weak:
ra-i-im AbB 3, 21: 1; AbB 3, 22: 1 *rāʾim* "loving".
i-ri-a-ab CH § 8 *irīab* "he will replace".
ub-ta-aḫ-i-il AbB 13, 85: 18 *ubtaʾil* "I enlarged".[28]
Roy. *ti-a-am-tim* RIME 4, 606: 46 *tiʾāmtim* "sea".
Lit. *ša-i-im* CH i 6 *šāʾim* "deciding".

f) Particles:
ki-a-am AbB 3, 21: 7 *kīam* "thus".
an-ni-ki-a-am AbB 13, 62: 5 *annīkīam* "here".

§ 2.28. Plene vowel spellings V-VC for secondary aleph, i.e., in the 3. p. sg. and pl. and the 1. p. sg., also frequently occur at the beginning of a word before long consonants in the pres. G and in pres./pret. D of verbs I-ʾ.[29] The phenomenon is purely orthographical and has to be understood within the history of cuneiform orthography:[30] the spelling of long consonants through the insertion of VC

28 For this spelling see also § 2.157b.
29 Documentation with statistics in Kouwenberg 2004.
30 For the following explanation see already to some extent P.C. Couprie apud Kraus 1984, 150.

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signs was still unusual in pre-OB Akk.[31] and only developed over the course of time, because (later) VC signs originally stood for syllables of the type /yVC/ or /ʾVC/. Thus one wrote *i-pa-ra-as* for *iparras*, *ta-ma-ar* for *tammar*, *ni-ma-ar* for *nimmar*, and *i-ma-ar* for *immar*, spellings still in use also in OB. But more and more VC signs were added in order to express the long consonant: *i-pa*-AR-*ra-as*, *ta*-AM-*ma-ar*, *ni*-IM-*ma-ar*, and *i*-IM-*ma-ar*, which became the standard spelling in OB. Finally the initial vowel sign was deleted, which resulted in the spelling *im-ma-ar*. Thus the spellings *i*-IM-*ma-ar*, *ta*-AM-*ma-ar*, and *ni*-IM-*ma-ar* are entirely parallel, as are the spellings *i-ma-ar*, *ta-ma-ar*, and *ni-ma-ar*. The reason why spellings of the type *im-ma-ar* are still rare in OB is because they lack counterparts with the other prefs.: whereas *i-im-ma-ar* and *i-ma-ar* have parallels with the other prefs., *im-ma-ar* does not.[32] Examples:

31 See for Sargonic Akk. Hasselbach 2005, 196 f. (strong verb), 216 and 220 (verbs I-ʾ).

32 According to Knudsen 1984–1986, Kouwenberg 2004, and A. Westenholz 2006, 254 f., *i-im-ma-ar* and similar spellings stand for a contracted vowel *îmmar* < **iʾammar*, whereas Kouwenberg 2010, 540 assumes an analogy to the preterite *īmur*, resulting in the form *īmmar*. Several arguments demonstrate that these suggestions are not tenable:

a) Kouwenberg 2004, 93 with n. 29 too quickly overrides the fact that paradigmatic forms without initial secondary aleph but with /t/ or /n/ almost never show plene vowel spellings (type *ta-a-am-ma-ar* or *ta-a-ma-ar*, *ni-i-im-ma-ar* or *ni-i-ma-ar*). If the vowel in *tâ*/*āmmar* and *nî*/*īmmar* were long, as was claimed, such spellings would be as frequent as spellings of the type *i-im-ma-ar*. The following statistics for the same verbs as analyzed by Kouwenberg 2004, 84 show that this is not the case. In AbB 1–14 (not counting early and late OB refs.) we find for *amāru* 29 examples of spellings of the type *ta-am-ma-ar* and only a single plene spelling *ta-a-am-ma-ru* AbB 9, 35: 7 *tammar* "you see"; for *apālu*, 5 spellings of the type *ta-ap-pa-al* and no plene vowel spellings; for *epēšu*, 7 spellings of the type *te-ep-pé-eš* and no plene vowel spellings; for *erešu* and *elû* no examples; for *alāku* 14 spellings of the type *ta-al-la-ak* and only a single plene spelling *ta-a-al-la-ka* AbB 4, 137: 15 *tallakā* "you go" (but this is a text that uses many unusual plene vowel spellings). Moreover, many texts use plene vowel spellings for forms with initial secondary aleph but no such spellings in other forms, e.g.: *a-ap-pa-al-ka* AbB 4, 154: 11 *ʾappalka* "I will satisfy you", but *ta-am-ma-ru* AbB 4, 154: 25 *tammaru* "you see"; *a-al-la-kam*-[*m*]*a* AbB 13, 90: 9 *ʾallakamma* "I will come", but *te-ep-pé-ši* AbB 13, 90: 12 *teppešī* "you do"; *a-al-la-ka-ak-ku* AbB 14, 197 r. 5 *ʾallakakku* "I will come to you", but *ni-il-la-k*[*a-am*] AbB 14, 197 r. 3 *nillak*[*am*] "we will come"; *ú-uṣ-ṣi-ṣú-šu-ma* AbB 14, 144: 11 *ʾuṣṣiṣūšuma* "they questioned him", but *ta-al-la-ku* AbB 14, 144: 34 *tallaku* "you go"; *e-et-ti-iq* ARM 28, 18: 18 *ʾettiq* "I will pass", but *te-et-ti-iq* ARM 28, 18: 12 *tettiq* "you will pass", *i-ir-ri-iš* OBTR 88: 12 *ʾirriš* "he will cultivate", but *ni-ir-ri*-[*iš*] OBTR 88: 8 *nirriš* "we will cultivate". This means that plene vowel spellings are mostly restricted to forms with initial secondary aleph. Since it would be difficult to understand why a long vowel existed in *î*/*īmmar* but not in *tammar* and *nimmar*, the plene vowel spellings cannot be conditioned by an alleged vowel length but must be conditioned by the process of inserting VC signs in order to express the long consonant.

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a) Pres. G:
e-ep-pé-eš Sumer 14, 2: 14 *eppeš* "I will do".
i-ig-gu-ú AbB 4, 140: 17 *ʾiggû* "they are negligent".
i-ir-ri-šu-ki AbB 4, 140: 11 *ʾirrišuki* "he will desire from you".
i-ip-pu-uš AbB 4, 140: 20 *ʾippuš* "he will make".
i-il-la-[*ak*] ARM 4, 11 r. 19 *ʾillak* "he goes".
e-el-li-e-im ARM 1, 10 r. 7 *ʾellêm* "I will come up".
i-il-li-e-im ARM 1, 42: 41 *ʾillêm* "they will come up".
i-[*i*]*l-lu-ú* ARM 1, 132: 8 *ʾillû* "they will come up".
i-im-ma-ar-ma ARM 1, 62: 14 *ʾimmarma* "he will see".
i-iš-šu-šu ARM 1, 20 r. 10 *ʾiššušū* "they will be angry".
i-iḫ-ḫa-az CH §161 *ʾiḫḫaz* "he will marry".
i-ir-ru-ub CH §177 *ʾirrub* "he will enter".
Om. *i-ib-ba-la-a* YOS 10, 46 v 29 *ʾibbalā* "they become dry".
b) Pres. D:
ú-uḫ-ḫa-ra-am AbB 14, 127: 22 *ʾuḫḫaram* "he will be delayed".
ú-um-ma-ad AbB 7, 183: 8 *ʾummad* "he will lay hands on".
ú-um-ma-aq-ka AbB 14, 152 r. 6 *ʾummaqka* "I will humiliate you".
ú-up-pa-al CH §178 *ʾuppal* "she will satisfy".
ú-ub-ba-ab ARM 1, 129: 21 *ʾubbab* "I will clear".
c) Pret. D:
ú-ul-li-ma AbB 11, 73: 14 *ʾullīma* "I raised".[33]
ú-um-mi-du-ma AbB 7, 183: 3 *ʾummidūma* "they laid hands on".

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b) The alleged contraction of the type **iʾakkal* > *îkkal* would be against Akk. sound rules because the sequence /i-a/ is regularly preserved in OB (§§ 2.123–139). Moreover, contracted vowels are preserved in later Akk. whereas spellings of the type *i-im-ma-ar* largely disappear in later Akk.

c) If the frequent spelling *i-im-ma-ar* stands for **īmmar* and this form is analogous to *īmur*, one would expect plene vowel spellings with the same frequency also in the pret. of verbs I-ʾ. However, spellings of the type *ta-a-mu-ur* or *ni-i-mu-ur* are very rare (§ 2.113); e.g., in AbB 1–14 (not counting early or late OB texts) we find from *amāru* 22 examples of spellings of the type *ta-mu-ur* and *ni-mu-ur*, but only a single spelling *ta-a-mu-ur* (AbB 1, 90: 13). The same is true for the D-stem: if *ú-ul-li* stands for **ūllī*, one would also expect **tu-ú-ul-li*, **mu-ú-ul-li*, etc., which do not exist, however.

d) There is no reason to assume that VC signs cannot express syllables with a long vowel, as claimed by Kouwenberg 2004, 87 f. Loanwords from Sumerian make it probable that VC signs can stand for syllables with long vowels (see Edzard 2003, 13): *an* /ān/ > *ānum* "sky", *en* /ēn/ > *ēnum* "priest", *ùr* /ūr/ > *ūrum* "roof", etc.

e) Spellings of the type *i-im-ma-ar* would be the only case of V-VC-spellings regularly designating long vowels. All other instances of V-VC spellings serve to express secondary aleph + a (in most cases short) vowel (§§ 2.29–31).

33 Thus Stol, AbB 11 p. 43. CAD E 126 *elûm* 5b2′ understands the form as imp.

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ú-up-pi-lu-ú-ma VAB 5, 171: 8 *ʾuppilūma* "they satisfied".
ú-ub-bi-ib ARM 4, 57: 8 *ʾubbib* "I cleared".

§ 2.29. Plene vowel spellings V-VC for secondary aleph + short vowel sometimes occur before long consonants in other forms apart from pres. G and pres./pret. D of verbs I-ʾ:

a) 1. p. sg. and 3. p. sg. and pl. of pres. and pret. G of verbs I-w:[34]
ú-uṣ-ṣi AbB 1, 3: 21 *ʾuṣṣī* "it will go out".
ú-ur-ra-ad AbB 1, 2: 17; AbB 10, 150: 18 *ʾurrad* "he descends".
ú-ub-ba-al AbB 6, 173: 21 *ʾubbal* "he brings".
ú-ub-ba-lam AbB 6, 157: 26 *ʾubbalam* "I will bring".
Lit. *ú-ul-da-šu-ma* CUSAS 10, 19: 2 *uldašuma* "he gave birth to him".

b) G-stem of verbs I-n and of *šasûm*:
a-ad-di AbB 5, 126: 3; ARM 26/2, 386 no. 462: 21 *ʾaddī* "I threw".
a-aṭ-ṭú[*-ul-ma*] ARM 26/1, 425 no. 198: 9 *ʾaṭṭulma* "I watched".
i-is-si MARI 8, 244 A.877 r. 1 *ʾissī* "he shouted".

c) Pret. of *alāku*:
a-al-li-ka AbB 1, 128: 5 *ʾallika* "I came".[35]

d) Perf. D:
⌜*ú*⌝*-ud-da-ab-bi-bu-ni-in-ne* AbB 7, 188: 8 *ʾuddabbibūninne* "they complained about me".

e) N-stem:
i-is-sà-aḫ-ru-ú AbB 14, 31: 14 *ʾissaḫrū*.[36]
i-ib-ba-šu-ú ARM 2, 98 = ARM 26/1, 179 no. 41: 6 *ʾibbašû* "came into being".
i-ib-ba-ši ARM 26/1, 204 no. 61: 13 *ʾibbašī* "came into being".
⌜*a*⌝*-aḫ-ḫa-ri-ir* ARM 28, 139: 11 *ʾaʾarrir* "I went to assist".

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34 According to Kouwenberg 2004, 100 f., plene vowel spellings of the type *ú-ub-ba-al* are considerably less frequent than spellings of the type *ub-ba-al*. He concludes that *ú-ub-ba-al* stands for **ūbbal* and *ub-ba-al* for *ubbal* (analoguous to *ūbil* and *ubil* in the pret.). However, since plene vowel spellings are, as with verbs I-ʾ (§ 2.28), exclusively attested with forms that start with secondary aleph and never with forms with initial /t/ or /n/, this explanation cannot be correct, and also *ú-ub-ba-al* must stand for *ʾubbal* with a short vowel. Kouwenberg 2010, 451 modifies his earlier statement and thinks that spellings of the type *ú-ub-ba-al* are "purely orthographic and influenced by the corresponding forms of the I/voc verbs."

35 Spellings of the type **i-il-li-ik* are almost unattested (Kouwenberg 2004, 84 f.). The usual spelling is *il-li-ik*; more rarely *i-li-ik* is found.

36 In the "Koppelung" *issaḫrū īkimūšuma* "they have again taken it away", a context that excludes a perf. G.

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i-iz-za-az-zu Edubba 7, 94: 12 *ʾizzazzu* "it is stationed".[37]
Om. *i-iz-za-az* CUSAS 18, 7: 14 *ʾizzâz* "stands".

f) Nouns:
e-er-re-ši-im AbB 11, 33: 13 *ʾerrēšim* "farmer".
e-er-re-[*š*]*u* AbB 9, 133: 7 *ʾerrē*[*š*]*u* "farmer".
a-ab-bi-ni AbB 11, 159: 1, 19 *ʾabbīni* "our fathers".
a-aḫ-ḫi(*-šu, -ka*) VAB 5, 299: 13; RA 96, 129: 22, 37[38] *ʾaḫḫī* "(his/your) brothers".
a-an-nam AbB 11, 84: 5, *a-an-na-am* AbB 6, 217: 16; ARM 26/1, 285 no. 119: 22; ARM 28, 71: 6 *ʾannam* "approval".
⌜*e*⌝*-ez-zi-ka* AbB 5, 171: 21 *ʾezzika* "of your wrath".
i-ib-bu-ú-um CH § 120 *ʾibbûm* "loss".[39]
e-en-tim CUSAS 36, 52: 4 *ʾe/ēntim* "high priestess".
e-em-mu-uq ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 20 *ʾemūq* "force".[40]
ú-uš-šu-ú FM 8, 159 no. 45: 9 *ʾuššū* "foundation".
Om. *a-ap-pi-ša* YOS 10, 33 i 16 *ʾappiša* "her nose".
Om. *a-ap-pi* CUSAS 18, 9: 6, 8 *ʾappi* "nose".
Lit. *a-ad-da-ma* UET 6/3, 889 ii 13 *ʾaddama* "thunder".

g) Adjectives:
e-eš$_{15}$*-še*$_{20}$*-tim* AbB 10, 6, 17 *ʾeššetim* "new".[41]
e-eb-ba-ka AbB 10, 74: 11 *ʾebbaka* "the one you trust in".
e-eb-bi-ni ARM 26/1, 530 no. 251: 12 *ʾebbīni* "the ones we trust in".
Lit. *e-ed-dam* CUSAS 10, 1: 37 *ʾeddam* "sharp".
Lit. *e-em-qá-am* PRAK 2 C 1: 10 *ʾemqam* "wise".

h) Pronouns:
a-at-ta-ma ARM 28, 1 r. 14 *ʾattama* "you".
Lit. *a-an-ni-a-am* CUSAS 10, 14: 44 *ʾannīʾam* "this".

i) Particles:
ú-ul-li-ša-am AbB 10, 4: 18 *ʾullîšam* "thither".
ú-u[*l*]*-la-ma-an* AbB 6, 188: 40 *ʾullaman* "otherwise".
a-aṣ-ṣe-er AbB 1, 138: 30 *ʾaṣṣēr* "in addition to".
a-an-ni-iš OBTR 307 r. 6 *ʾannîš* "hither".

§ 2.30. Initial plene vowel spellings V-VC for secondary aleph frequently occur in monosyllabic words and stems[42] with only two consonants (secondary aleph

37 *izuzzu* is a N-stem, see Streck 2014, 112 § 256.
38 But *aḫ-ḫi-ia* RA 96, 129: 26.
39 There is, pace Kouwenberg 2004, 89, no need to claim a long vowel in this word.
40 Letter of Jamṣījum (UpMes.) with several peculiar plene vowel spellings.
41 The same text has three more examples of initial plene vowel spellings, see § 2.31c–d.
42 For this observation see Aro 1953, 4.

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+ a second consonant), especially if a word would otherwise be written with a single sign. Thus they are an orthographic means to prolong a short word, and in this respect they are similar to spellings of the type *i-im-ma-ar* (§ 2.28). These spellings may stand for short or long vowels.

a) Monosyllabic words:
ú-ul AbB 9, 61: 15 *ʾul* "not".
a-aḫ AbB 2, 5: 6; ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 28 *ʾaḫ* "arm" (st. cstr.).
a-al AbB 9, 240: 9; ARM 26/1, 222 no. 82: 13 *ʾāl* "city" (st. cstr.).
e-em AbB 6, 8: 17 *ʾēm* "wherever".
ú-um AbB 1, 101: 6 *ʾūm* "day" (st. cstr.).
i-in CH §§ 198 f. *ʾīn* "eye" (st. cstr.).
ú-ur ARM 10, 136: 18; ARM 10, 16: 9 *ʾūr* "roof" (st. cstr.).
i-id ARM 26/1, 66 no. 3: 16 *ʾid* "side" (st. cstr.).
i-iṣ ARM 3, 3: 6 *ʾīṣ* "it is little".
ú-uṭ FM 8, 159 no. 45: 9 *ʾūṭ* "half-cubit".
Om. *e-ed* YOS 10, 31 ii 19 *ʾed* "it is sharp".

b) Monosyllabic stems with fem. ending:[43]
i-ir-ti AbB 9, 93: 17; ARM 7, 10: 4 *ʾirti* "chest".
i-iṣ-tum ARM 1, 77: 11 *ʾīṣtum* "little".
a-ap-tim AbB 14, 181: 11 *ʾaptim* "window".
Lit. *a-ap-ti-šu* VS 17, 9: 4 *aptišu* "his window".

c) Monosyllabic stem with pron. suff.:
a-aḫ-ka AbB 11, 55: 26 *ʾaḫka* "your arm".
i-in-ka AbB 5, 44: 8 *ʾīnka* "you eye".
a-aḫ-šu-nu ARM 26/1, 225 no. 86: 21 *ʾaḫšunu* "their arm".
a-al-ka-ma ARM 26/2, 369 no. 451: 13 *ʾālkama* "your city".

§ 2.31. Finally, initial plene vowel spellings V-VC sometimes occur with short vowels before two different consonants. They may occur with any vowel, so that it is unlikely that they serve to express the vowel quality.[44] We rather have to assume an extension of the other uses of these spellings as described in the paragraphs above.

a) /a/:
a-am-ra-[*am-ma*] AbB 13, 94: 18 *ʾamra*[*mma*] "check for me!"
a-aq-bi-k[*u*]*m* AbB 5, 253: 9 *ʾaqbīkum* "I said to you".
a-ás-ḫu-ur-ki-ma AbB 9, 146: 6 *ʾasḫurkima* "I was looking for you".

43 There is no need to posit a long vowel in these forms, as Kouwenberg 2004, 89 does.
44 This has been suggested for spellings like *e-ep-ša-am*: according to Aro 1953, 4, they served

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i-ib-šu-ú AbB 14, 57: 5 *ʾibšû* "it became".[45]
a-am-še-e AbB 9, 95: 15 *ʾamšê* "date fibres".
a-am-re-e AbB 3, 27: 20; AbB 3, 56: 14 f. *ʾamrē* "beams".
a-aq-da-ma-tam ARM 26/1, 202 no. 58: 6 *ʾaqdamātam* "on the near bank".
a-aṣ-b[*a-a*]*t* ARM 10, 103 r. 3 *ʾaṣbat* "I seized".
Lit. *a-aḫ-mu-uṭ-ku* CUSAS 10, 14: 17 *ʾaḫmuṭku* "I was fast (compared) to you".

b) /e/:
e-es-ḫa-a-nim AbB 9, 3: 12 *ʾesḫānim* "assign me!"
e-eš$_{15}$*-me-e* AbB 10, 6: 18 *ʾešmē* "I heard".[46]
e-eš-me-ma AbB 10, 15: 38 *ʾešmēma* "I heard".
e-él-qé-e AbB 10, 6: 41 *ʾelqē* "I took".
e-el-qú-ú AbB 14, 140: 24 *ʾelqû* "I took".
e-el-qé AbB 7, 83: 15 *ʾelqē* "I took".
e-ep-ša(*-ma*) AbB 12, 104: 6; ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 16 *ʾepšā*(*ma*) "do!"
e-ep-ši-i CUSAS 36, 174: 19 *ʾepšī* "do!"
e-eq-li-im AbB 8, 108: 9 *ʾeqlim* "field".
e-eḫ-zu-um AbB 9, 17: 10 *ʾeḫzum* "axe".
e-eš-ri-š⌜*u*⌝ AbB 3, 15: 10 *ʾešrīšu* "ten times".
e-ez-ba-am AbB 1, 133: 12 *ʾezbam* "leave to me!"
e-ez-ba ARM 10, 167: 14 *ʾezbā* "leave!"
Om. *e-ek-me-et* YOS 10, 33 iii 55 *ʾekmet* "covers".
Om. *e-ed-ḫe-et* YOS 10, 39: 26 *ʾedḫet* "is spotted".
Om. *e-eṣ-me-tum* YOS 10, 47: 69; YOS 10, 48: 6 *ʾeṣmētum* "bones".
Lex. *e-ep-qá-am* MSL 12, 166: 274 *ʾepqam* "leprosy".
Lit. *e-et-qè-et* Gilg. OB Nippur 10 *ʾetqet* "it surpasses".

c) /i/:
i-ib-ri-a-am AbB 9, 41: 16 *ʾibriʾam* "sealed document".
i-ib-ri-šu AbB 8, 81: 14 *ʾibrišu* "of his sealed document".
i-ir-ta-ši-a-am AbB 10, 6: 27 *ʾirtašīʾam* "it acquired".
i-il-kam AbB 6, 184: 10 *ʾilkam* "service".
i-il-qè AbB 5, 156: 13 *ʾilqē* "he took".
i-il-ka-ka-at ARM 2, 21: 17 *ʾilkakāt* "activities".
i-iš-d[*i*] ARM 1, 52: 31 *ʾišd*[*ī*] "foundation".
i-iš-di-ša OBTR 77: 12 *išdīša* "her foundation".

"to emphasize the fact that the vowel is e rather than to express a glottal stop." See also Kouwenberg 2004, 90.

45 The text shows many unusual plene vowel spellings.

46 The text has several unusual V-VC spellings.

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⌜*i*⌝*-ir-de-ḫa-am* ARM 26/1, 207 no. 63: 11 *ʾirdēʾam* "he accompanied".
i-iṭ-ru-dam ARM 26/1, 290 no. 126: 9 *ʾiṭrudam* "he sent to me".

d) /u/:
ú-uš-te-ši-ib AbB 9, 21: 10 *ʾuštēšib* "he made sit".
ú-úš-ta-bi-lam AbB 14, 137: 7 *ʾuštābilam* "I have sent".
ú-uš-ta-aṣ-bi-it-ma ARM 2, 5: 17 *ʾuštaṣbitma* "I let seize".
ú-uš-k[*e-en*] ARM 28, 93: 10 *ʾuškê*[*n*] "he bowed down".
^{lú}*ú-uš-mu-ú* ARM 26/1, 530 no. 251: 18 *ʾušmû* "*u.*-functionary".
ú-ur-ḫi ARM 26/1, 177 no. 40: 50 *ʾurḫī* "my way".
Lit. *ú-um-ta-aš-ši* CUSAS 10, 9: 9 *umtaššī* "I forgot".

2.3 *Broken Vowel Spellings*

§ 2.32. Broken vowel spellings are spellings of the type CV_1-V_2C for the syllable /CV_1C/ or, more rarely, the syllable /CV_2C/. Broken spellings render the syllables /CaC/, /CiC/, /CeC/, and /CuC/. They may occur with any signs, but are especially frequent with IZ, UZ, and AZ. In many cases, an orthographic explanation, i.e., a mistake,[47] seems more likely than a phonetic one.[48] On the other hand, the spelling *uz*$_4$(AZ)*-na-am* ARM 2, 118: 11, 14 (§ 2.492c) favors a regular value *uz*/*s*/*ṣ*$_4$ for the sign AZ. The use of *áš* instead of *is* in two cases listed in § 2.32d, below, may be caused by the sibilant: the sign ÁŠ is only used to write deaffricated /s/, whereas the sign IS is ambiguous and renders both allophones of /s/, the affricate and the deaffricated allophone (§ 2.364a).

a) *Ca-iC* for /CaC/:[49]
tu-pa-ra-is-ni-[*ti*] ARM 2, 76: 16 *tuparrasnê*[*ti*] "you isolate us".
ta-la-ma-is-sí-na-ti AbB 14, 113: 21 *talammassināti* "you will learn about them".

b) *Ca-uC* for /CaC/:
ka-uk-ki ARM 3, 15: 7 *kakki* "weapon".
ma-uṣ-ṣa-ar-tim VAB 5, 235: 5 *maṣṣartim* "custody".

c) *Ci-aC* for /CaC/:
it-ti-al-kam AbB 6, 146: 24 *ittalkam* "he went away".

d) *Ci-aC* for /CiC/:
ap-pa-li-áš AbB 11, 95: 20 *appalis* "I considered".
li-ip-pa-ri-áš AbB 14, 32: 8 *lipparis* "may it be investigated".

---

47 See Groneberg 1980 with many examples. Gelb 1955, 98 suggested "that the scribes had difficulty writing long and complicated signs"; however, on the contrary, complicated signs like AZ and UZ are frequently used instead of the simple sign IZ.

48 GAG § 8c and von Soden 1983, 93–95 suggested vowel colorings.

49 Durand 1998, 592 suggests to read in RA 68, 30: 19 *ṭa*!*-e-em-šu-nu* for *ṭēmšunu* "their intention". However, according to the copy, the sign is slightly broken, and the same text has

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e) *Ci-uC* for /CiC/ or /CeC/:
li-ṭe$_4$-úḫ-ḫi-i-ma AbB 11, 139: 24 *liṭeḫḫīma* "let him bring (close)".
li-uš-ta-a-al-šu-nu-ti ARM 2, 141: 8 *lištālšunūti* "may he question them".
ki-ús-pí-im FM 3, 220 no. 30: 4; FM 12, 157 M.9830: 6 *kispim* "funerary offering".
Om. *ú-še-uṣ-ṣe* YOS 10, 23 r. 8 *ušeṣṣē* "will make go out".
f) *Cu-iC* for /CiC/:
sí-im-mu-il-tim AbB 9, 20: 11 *simmiltim* "staircase".
g) *Cu-aC* for /CuC/:
tu-aṣ/*uṣ$_4$-ṣí* AbB 6, 137: 20 *tuṣṣī* "you will go out".
ma-ru-aṣ/*uṣ$_4$-ma* AbB 14, 83: 27 *maruṣma* "is sick".
ni-pu-as-sú ARM 10, 160: 8 *nipûssu* "his pledge".
Lit. *ku-as*/*us$_4$-si$_{20}$-a-at* OECT 11, 1: 9 *kussīʾāt* "thrones".
Lit. *ru-aṣ*/*uṣ$_4$-ṣú-na-a*[*t*], *ru-*⌜*aṣ*/*uṣ$_4$-ṣú-ut-ti*⌝ OECT 11, 1: 23 f. *ruṣṣunat*, *ruṣṣutti* "roaring".
Lit. *lu-uz$_4$-mu-ur* CUSAS 10, 7: 1 *luzmur* "I will sing".
h) *Cu-iC* for /CuC/:
mar-ṣú-is-sú AbB 6, 52: 9 *marṣūssu* "in his trouble".
bu-ir-ri-im AbB 14, 35: 14 *burrim* "to establish the facts".
šu-uk-ku-is FM 8, 59 no. 12: 6, 12 *šukkus* "to make cut down".

§ 2.33. A special sort of broken spelling seems to occur sometimes when the scribe switches between uncontracted /i-a/ and contracted /ê/ (§§ 2.123–139).[50] Alternatively, these spellings stand for for a glide /ije/: *kīʾam* > *kījam* > *kījem*, etc.
ki-a-em ARM 1, 77 r. 9; ARM 5, 66: 13; ARM 10, 159: 5; ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 9; FM 8, 137 no. 40: 11 *kīʾam*/*kêm* < *kīʾam* "thus".
li-il-qé-a-em-ma ARM 5, 52: 21 *lilqēʾamma*/*lilqêmma* "may he take".
il-qé-a-em-ma FM 1 p. 82: 43 *ilqēʾamma*/*ilqêmma* "he took".
iq-bi-a-em FM 8, 110 no. 32: 15 *iqbīʾamma*/*iqbêmma* "he told me".
an-ni-a-em FM 8, 161 no. 45: 29 *annīʾam*/*annêm* "this".
ta-aq-bi-a-em Shemshara 1, 60: 30 *taqbīʾam*/*taqbêm* "you said to me".

§ 2.34. Another special group of broken spellings occurs when the scribe switches between forms with and without e-coloring (§§ 2.62–85):[51]
[*q*]*é-ar-b*[*i*]*-a-am* AbB 7, 148 r. 2 *qe*/*arbīʾam* "inner".
ta-le-a-qé-a-ni AbB 6, 93: 39 *tale*/*aqqēʾāni* "you will take".

ṭe$_4$-e-em-ku-nu RA 68, 30: 13. Therefore, the reading of G. Dossin, ⌜*ṭe$_4$*⌝*-e-em-šu-nu*, seems preferable.

50 See Finet 1956, 9.

51 See Kouwenberg 2001, 240 n. 41. For the pron. *še-a-tu* see § 4.98.f.

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a-le-a-qé-a-am AbB 9, 31: 12 *ale*/*aqqēʾam* "I will take".
uš-te-a-ṣí-a-aš-ši AbB 8, 140: 11 *uštē*/*āṣīʾašši* "I/he let her go".
i-ṭe$_4$*-a-ḫa-am* AbB 9, 184: 11 *iṭe*/*aḫḫâm* "it will arrive here".[52]
Lit. *el-le-at* UET 5, 85: 3 *ellē*/*āt* "bile".

2.4 */a/*

2.4.1 Writing

§ 2.35. a) /a/ is regularly written A.
b) Rarely, especially in Lit., *à* (PI) is used.[53] It remains unclear whether really always /ʾa/ is meant, or whether at least in some cases PI stands for /ja/ or /wa/:[54]
à-še-er-ti-ia-ma AbB 10, 6: 20 *āšertijama* "who takes care of me".
Lit. *iš-ta-à-ša* RA 22, 170 f.: 13 *ištāša* "with her".
Lit. *ka-ia-à-ni-iš* VS 10, 214 iii 24 *kajjāniš* "always".
Lit. *še-er-à-na-*⌜*a*⌝*-*[*tim*] VS 10, 214 v 4 *šerʾānātim* "sinews".
c) Archaic *á* is rarely attested in Lit.:
Lit. *á-ni-tam* CH xlviii 39 *annītam* "this".

2.4.2 *waššurum* and *wuššurum*

§ 2.36. Whereas in some dialects D-stem forms of verbs I-w without prefix (imp., inf., stat., verbal adj.) have a /u/-vowel in the first syllable like the strong verb (*wuššurum* like *PuRRuSum*), in other dialects original /a/ is preserved after /w/ (*waššurum*).[55]

§ 2.37. a) Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.) only have /a/:
wa-aš-šu-ri-šu-nu ARM 27, 10: 11 f. *waššurišunu* "to release them".
wa-aš-šu-ur ARM 27, 109 r. 10 *waššur* "has been released".
w[*a-aš*]*-še-ra-*[*aš-šu-nu-ti*] ARM 27, 118 r. 4 *w*[*aš*]*šeraš*[*šunūti*] "release them!"
wa-aš-še-ra-ma ARM 27, 135: 21 *waššerā* "release!"
[*w*]*a-še-er* ARM 27, 135: 22 [*w*]*aššer* "release!"

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52 The same text writes *i-ṭe*$_4$*-ḫa-a-am* AbB 9, 184: 11. Therefore, the spelling *a-ḫa* instead of *ḫa-a* might be due to a permutation of signs.

53 See von Soden/Röllig 1991 no. 223. Also in late OB: *à-ma-tam* AbB 13, 77: 20 *awātam* "matter", *à-ḫi-tim* AbB 13, 78: 1 *aḫītim* "entourage". Similarly, we also find PI = e_x in late OB: e_x(PI)*-i-il-ti-*⌜*ka*⌝ MHET 1, 75: 15 *eʾiltika* "your obligation". PN E_x*-ta-mi-ra-šu* CT 33, 32: 1, 13 *Ettawwiraššu* "He was constantly bright for him(?)"; see Stamm 1939, 184; K. Lerberghe/G. Voet, MHET 1 p. 113. For PI*-da-bu-ub* ABIM 3: 15 see § 489d.

54 See § 2.214j for PI = *ja* as glide, and § 2.490 for PI = *wa* as glide.

55 See Finet 1956, 146; Kouwenberg 2010, 269 f. Note that refs. like PI*-ú-ur* ARM 27, 162: 37 "has been given order" can be read *waʾur* or *wuʾur* and therefore are not used in the following.

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b) The letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.) only have /a/:
wa-aš-še-ri OBTR 76: 7 *waššerī* "release!"
wa-aš-še-er OBTR 94: 9, 14 *waššer* "release!"

§ 2.38. The letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris) have a single example for /u/:
ú-e-er-šu-ma Shemshara 1, 73: 7 *u'eršuma* "instruct him!"

§ 2.39. Summary:

Dossier	**/u/**	**/a/**
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)		x
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)		x
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	x	

§ 2.40. Examples from outside the dossiers mentioned above.
a) /u/:
Bab. *wu-uš-še-er* AbB 9, 249: 22; AbB 6, 208: 15; *wu-*[*u*]*š-ši-ir-ma* AbB 5, 32: 3 *wuššer*(*ma*) "release!"
MidEuphr. *wu-úš-šu-r*[*i-im*] ARM 26/1, 326 no. 160: 1, 19; ARM 26/2 p. 164 no. 363: 13 *wuššurim* "to release".
MidEuphr. *wu-uš-šu-ra-at* FM 4, 228 no. 51: 6 *wuššurat* "she is released".
UpMes. *wu-uš-šu-ra-am* ARM 10, 85: 8 *wuššuram* "to release".
UpMes. *wu-úš-še-er-ši* ARM 28, 36: 7 *wuššerši* "release her!"
UpMes. *wu-uš-šu-ri-im* ARM 1, 76: 18 *wuššurim* "to release".
UpMes. *wu-úš-šu-ri* OBTR 158: 6 *wuššuri* "to release".
b) /a/:
MidEuphr. *wa-at-te-ra-nim-ma* ARM 26/1, 205 no. 62: 30 *watterānimma* "enlarge for me!"
MidEuphr. *wa-aš-šu-ur* ARM 26/2, 341f. no. 436: 3, 37 *waššur* "to release".
UpMes. *wa-aš-šu-ru* ARM 28, 125: 9 *waššurū* "are released".
UpMes. *wa-aš-še-er* Shemshara 1, 1: 67 *waššer* "release!"
UpMes. *wa-aš-še-ra-am* Shemshara 1, 8: 12; *wa-aš-še-er*(*-ma*) Shemshara 1, 8: 28, 41, 44 *waššeram* "release!"

The same is true for refs. like PI-*šu-ri-im* Edubba 7, 95: 41 "to release", which can be read *wuššurim* or *waššurim*.

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§ 2.41. Conclusion: Type *wuššuru* is attested in Bab., MidEuphr., UpMes., and ETigris, type *waššuru* in MidEuphr. and UpMes., but never in Bab. Remarkably, the same "author" may use both forms side by side: Šamšī-Adad I uses /u/ in ARM 1, 76, but note /a/ in Shemshara 1, 1 and 8.

2.4.3 /wa/ > /wu/

§ 2.42. In the following instance /a/ assimilates to the preceding /w/ and becomes /u/:

wu-úr-k[*a*]*-nū* ARM 27, 151: 76 *wurkānū* < *warkānū* "later".

2.4.4 /a/ > /i/

§ 2.43. In some words /a/ or /ā/ before /ī/ assimilates to /i/ or /ī/:

di-li-li-ki ludlul AbB 13, 164: 18 *dilīlīki* < *dalīlīki* "I will sing your praises". The same text has *da-li-li* AbB 13, 164: 15 *dalīlī*.

ki-li-it-ti-in AbB 8, 43 r. 7 *kilittīn* < *kilattīn* "both".[56]

(giš)*gi-ši-ši-im* RATL p. 192 no. 117: 8; ARM 13, 108 r. 14 *gišīšim* < *gašīšim* "pole".

Lex. *zi-qi*$_4$*-qum* MSL 12, 63: 825 *ziqīqum* < *zaqīqum* "wind".

Lit. *qibītī el qibītika … ti-wi-ti el ti-wi-ti-ka* RA 36, 10: 8 *tīwītī, tīwītika* < *tāwītī*(*ka*) "utterance".[57]

2.5 */e/*

2.5.1 Phonemic Status

§ 2.44. /e/ and /ē/ are secondary phonemes in Akk. They developed from /a/ or /ā/ due to the loss of /ʿ/, /ḫ/, or /j/, in other verbs by distant regressive assimilation to /i/, and in nouns also before /r/. A separate small group seems to comprise doubly weak verbs III-ī with e-coloring, where /e/ is analogically extended to other /a/-vowels in the word.

§ 2.45. /e/ and /ē/ also occur in Sumerian loanwords:

un-ne-du-uk-ki AbB 13, 2: 7 *unnedukkī* (<Sumerian *ù-na-e-dug*$_4$) "my letter".

Lex. *en-su-ú* OECT 4, 152 vii 49 *ensû* (< Sumerian *ensi*) "dream interpreter".

Om. *e-ka-lu-šu* YOS 10, 9: 22 *ēkallûšu* (< Sumerian *é-gal* "palace") "his palace officials".

§ 2.46. Minimal pairs show that /e/ and /ē/ are phonemic:[58]

a) /e/:

allī "my hoe": *ellī* "I will go up": *illī* "he will go up": *ullī* "he raised".

56 Or kilettīn?

57 For *tāwītum* see CAD T 301 f. "mng. uncert."; SAD vol. 2, 79 "response, speech, wording."

58 See Kogan 2011, 119; Huehnergard 2013, 450–452.

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b) /ē/:
ālī "my city": *ēlī* "I went up": *īlī* "he went up".

2.5.2 Writing

§ 2.47. a) /e/ is regularly written E.
b) Rarely, I is used for /e/:
ana bīt tuppim I-*er-ru-um-ma gá-nu aštanassī* AbB 3, 84: 19 *errumma* < *errubma* "I will enter the tablet house and read *ganu*".

2.5.3 Distribution of Signs with /e/- and /i/-Vowel

§ 2.48. The following survey of the distribution of signs with /e/- and /i/-vowels concentrates on CH.[59] In all cases, only illustrative examples are mentioned.

§ 2.49. In CH, E stands for /e/ and I for /i/:
Lit. *e-gu* CH xlvii 15 *ēgū* "I was negligent".
i-gu-ma CH § 125 *īgûma* "(who) was negligent".
e-li CH § 115 *elī* "on", but *i-šu* CH § 115 *išū* "he has".
e-mi-šu CH § 159 *emīšu* "his father-in-law".

§ 2.50. Distribution of BE and BI.
a) In CH, BE only occurs in forms of *bēlum* "lord",[60] never spelled with BI:
be-lí-šu-ma CH § 244 *bēlīšuma* "of his lord".
be-le-sà CH § 146 *bēlessa* "her mistress".
be-el CH § 11 *bēl* "lord", but *ši-bi* CH § 11 *šībī* "witnesses".
b) Elsewhere /be/ is always written BI = *bé*:[61]
Lit. *ú-bé-el-li* CH xlvii 32 *ubellī* "I extinguished".
Lit. *er-bé-tim* CH ii 4 *erbētim* "four".
bé-en-ni CH § 278 *benni* "epilepsy".
c) /bi/ is always written BI:
bi-il-tam CH § 65 *biltam* "yield".
iq-ta-bi CH § 9 *iqtabī* "he said".
e-re-bi-im CH § 177 *erēbim* "to enter".
Lit. *li-ib-bi-šu* CH i 20 *libbišu* "his heart".

59 See Sommerfeld 2014. For the distribution of zí and zi to denote /ṣe/ and /ṣi/ see § 2.375.
60 Altogether more than 100 refs.
61 Altogether 6 refs.

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§ 2.51. Distribution of ME = /me/ and MI = /mi/.
a) ME and MI in the same word:
mi-im-me-e CH § 125 *mimmê* "possessions".
Lit. *me-le-em-mi* CH ii 61 *melemmī* "aura".
b) Forms of *šemû*:
Lit. *li-iš-me-ma* CH xlviii 14 *lišmēma* "may he hear".
Lit. *mu-uš-te-eš-mi* CH v 10 *muštešmī* "who makes (them) hear each other".
c) MI is once used for /me/:
Lit. *mé-ri-tim* CH iii 39 *merîtim* < *marîtim* "pasture" (*re'um*).
d) ME also occurs for the allophone /me/ of structural /mi/ before /r/ and /ḫ/ in closed syllables:
Lit. *mu-kam-me-er* CH i 54, ii 44 *mukammer* < *mukammir* "who heaps up".
Lit. *mu-tam-me-eḫ* CH iii 47 *mutammeḫ* < *mutammiḫ* "who seizes".
me-eḫ-ri-šu CH § 200 *meḫrišu* "his equivalent".

§ 2.52. Distribution of NE and NI in CH.
a) NE stands for /ne/ and NI for /ni/, e.g.:
ša-ni-a-am CH § 178 *šanî'am* "another".
in-ne-em-du CH § 176 *innemdū* "they got together", but *ši-ni-šu* CH § 176 *šinīšu* "twice".
Lit. *le-em-ne-tim* CH l 105 *lemnētim* "evil".
b) NE also occurs for the allophone /ne/ of structural /ni/ before /r/ and /ḫ/ in closed and open syllables:
ne-er-tam CH § 1 *nērtam* "murder".
Lit. *mu-ne-eḫ* CH iii 58 *munēḫ* < *munīḫ* "who calms".
Lit. *ta-ne-ḫi-im* CH lix 64, li 54 *tanēḫim* < *tanīḫim* "distress".

§ 2.53. Distribution of ŠE and ŠI in CH:
a) ŠE stands for /še/ and ŠI for /ši/:
ep-še-tim CH § 49 *epšētim* "works".
di-a-ši-im CH § 268 *dī'āšim* "threshing".
b) In pron. suffs., /ši/ is always written ŠI:
iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im CH § 179 *išṭurušim* "he inscribed for her".
i-ba-aq-qá-ru-ši CH § 179 *ibaqqarūši* "they will claim from her".
c) In open and closed syllables before /r/ and /ḫ/, we almost always find ŠE for structural /ši/:
še-ri-ik-ta-ša CH § 137 *šeriktaša* < *širiktaša* "her dowry".
Lit. *i-pa-aš-še-ḫu* CH li 58 *ipaššeḫu* < *ipaššiḫu* "calms down".
Lit. *li-iš-te-še-er* CH xlviii 87 *lištēšer* < *lištēšir* "may he guide".

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d) But in the word *šīrum*, we always find ši before /r/ in a closed syllable. The reason for /ī/ might be the wish to avoid homophony with one of the words *šēru* (especially "morning" and "song"):

Lit. *ši-ir* CH i 47; CH v 24; CH xlvii 33; CH xlviii 93 *šīr* "flesh".

e) The word *šēbultum* "dispatch" is written with ši:

ši-bu-ul-tim CH § 112 (3 ref.s) *šībultim*.

§ 2.54. Distribution of TE and TI in CH.

a) TE for /te/ and TI for /ti/ in the same word:

te-ep-ti-tim CH § 44 *teptītim* "opening up".

b) TI elsewhere:

aš-ša-ti-šu CH § 38 *aššatišu* "of his wife".

še-ri-ik-ti-ša CH § 162 *šeriktiša* "her present".

c) TE elsewhere:

iš-te-en CH § 172 *ištēn* "one".

Lit. *e-te-el* CH iii 70 *etel* "prince".

d) In open and closed syllables before /r/, we always find TE for structural /ti/:

Lit. *ú-ša-te-ru-šu* CH i 19 *ušāterūšu* < *ušātirū-* "made him surpassing".

Lit. *mu-te-er* < *mutīr* CH i 64 "who returns".

§ 2.55. In CH, EL stands for /el/ and IL for /il/:

be-el CH § 58 *bēl* "owner".

Lit. *el-lum* CH iii 55 *ellum* "pure".

Lit. *e-te-el* CH iii 70 *etel* "prince".

il-li-ik CH § 26 *illik* "he went".

Lit. *li-ša-aṭ-ṭi-il-šu* CH l 58 *lišaṭṭilšu* "may he show him".

§ 2.56. In CH, EN stands for /en/ and IN for /in/:

i-ṣe-en-ši CH § 237 *iṣēnši* "he loads on it".

Lit. *en-ša-am* CH i 38 *enšam* "weak".

ši-in-ni CH § 200 *šinni* "tooth".

Lit. *ú-ki-in-nu-šum* CH i 26 *ukinnūšum* "they made firm for him".

§ 2.57. In CH, EŠ stands for /eš/ and IŠ for /iš/:

i-ip-pé-eš CH § 232 *ippeš* "he makes".

Lit. *re-eš* CH ii 43 *rēš* "head".

iš-ku-un CH § 128 *iškun* "he placed".

Lit. *mu-na-aḫ-ḫi-iš* CH ii 16 *munaḫḫiš* "who grants prosperity".

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§ 2.58. a) The following table summarizes the preceding investigation.

Distribution of /e/ and /i/ in CH

Structural /e/	Structural /i/	Structural /i/ before /r/	Structural /i/ before /ḫ/
E	I	–	–
BI, (BE only in *bēlum*)	BI[62]	–	–
ME, MI	MI	ME	ME
NE	NI	–	NE
ŠE, ŠI (in *šēbultum*)	ŠI	ŠE, ŠI (in *šīr*)	ŠE
TE	TI	TE	–
EL	IL	–	–
EN	IN	–	–
EŠ	IŠ	–	–

b) With the exception of *merîtum* "pasture", *šēbultum* "dispatch", and *šīrum* "flesh", E- and I-signs have a clear distribution in the CH: E-signs stand for structural /e/ and, before /r/ and /ḫ/, for structural /i/. I-signs stand for structural /i/. The sign BE is restricted to *bēlum* "lord".

§ 2.59. It seems that the rules established for the writing of /e/ in CH are also valid elsewhere in many cases.

a) /e/ for structural /i/ before /ḫ/:

ḫi-še-eḫ-tim AbB 3, 108: 8 *ḫišeḫtim* < *ḫišiḫtim* "requirement".

ḫi-še-eḫ-ta-ki OBTR 134: 13 *ḫišeḫtaki* "your need".

ta-aḫ-še-ḫu AbB 3, 108: 10 *taḫšeḫu* < *taḫšiḫu* "you needed".[63]

Lit. *ina e-ḫi-iz talmadu* CUSAS 10, 14: 17 *eḫiz* < *iḫiz* "in the knowledge you learned".

b) /e/ for structural /i/ before /r/:

šu-te-še-er-šu/*-ši*/*-šu-nu-ti* AbB 3, 30: 15;[64] AbB 2, 4 r. 12; AbB 13, 10: 14 *šutēšeršu*/*i*/*šunūti* < *šutēširšu*/*i*/*šunūti* "make him/her/them straight!"

62 Hernáiz 2019, 105–107 argues that the signs BI and PI in SBab. are not used to distinguish between /pe/ and /pi/.

63 The text writes *ši* in *i-ba-aš-ši* AbB 3, 108: 9 *ibaššī* "exists".

64 The same writer uses *ši* in [*t*]*a-ra-ši* AbB 3, 31: 16 *taraššī* "you will get" and [*š*]*i-ip-ra-am* AbB 3, 31: 17 *šipram* "work".

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te-e-er-š[*um*] AbB 2, 6: 20 *tērš*[*um*] < *tīršum* "return to him!"
te-e-er AbB 4, 16: 20 *tēr* "return!"

c) A single text may switch between /e/ and /i/:
ḫi-še-eḫ-ti-šu ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 5 *ḫišeḫtišu* "his need".
ḫi-še-eḫ-tam ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 9, 21 *ḫišeḫtam* "need".
ḫi-še-eḫ-ti ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 12, 16 *ḫišeḫti* "need".
ḫi-še-eḫ-tu ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 22 *ḫišeḫtu* "need".
But once *ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti-šu* ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 11 *ḫišiḫtišu* "his need".

§ 2.60. Sometimes E-signs are used for structural /i/ also before phonemes other than /r/ and /ḫ/, and I-signs are used for structural /e/. Examples are from Bab., MidEuphr., and UPMes. and therefore without clear dialectal distribution. It remains unclear whether these spellings should be "corrected" by introducing new sign values (as is usually done), or whether we should rather take them as reflexes of vowel colorings not conditioned by word structure.

a) E-signs for structural /i/ not before /r/ and /ḫ/:
UpMes. *bi-il*$_5$(EL)-[*t*]*i* ARM 28, 50: 12 *biltī* "my load".
UpMes. *il*$_5$(EL)*-pu-tu-ni-in-ni* ARM 28, 50: 9 *ilputūninni* "they touched me".
UpMes. *ši*$_x$(ŠE)-*ṭe*$_4$*-er-tim* ARM 28, 141: 32 *šiṭertim* "inscription".
UpMes. *iš*$_{15}$(EŠ)*-te-en* MARI 8, 387 A.2459: 7 *ištēn* "one"; *li-iš*$_{15}$*-ta-a*[*l*] MARI 8, 387 A.2459 r. 1 *lištā*[*l*] "may he think".[65]

b) I-signs for structural /e/:
MidEuphr. *en*$_6$(IN)*-šu-um* ARM 27, 25: 13 *enšum* "weak".
Bab. *re-eš*$_{15}$(IŠ)*-ki* AbB 4, 142: 19, 21 *rēški* "your head".
Bab. *e-eš*$_{15}$(IŠ)*-me-e-ma* AbB 10, 2: 15 *ešmēma* "I heard".
UpMes. *re-eš*$_{15}$(IŠ) ARM 1, 37: 17 *rēš* "head".
Bab. *ṭe*$_6$(TI)*-ḫe-em* AbB 8, 110: 8 *ṭeḫêm* "to come near".
Bab. *uṭ-ṭe*$_6$(TI)*-tum* AbB 14, 168: 7 *uṭṭetum* "grain".
MidEuphr. *i-ṭe*$_6$(TI)*-ḫi* ARM 26/1 p. 292 no. 127: 12 *iṭeḫḫī* "he comes near".
UpMes. *ṭe*$_6$(TI)*-ma-am* ARM 28, 64: 24 *ṭēmam* "report".
Om. *ú-še*$_{20}$(ŠI)*-re-eb* YOS 10, 17: 46 *ušerreb* "he brings into".

§ 2.61. Sometimes, E and I-signs seem to be entirely interchangeable:
Lit. *ne-eb-ri-tu*//*ni-ib-ri-tum* ZA 110, 40 i 47 *nebrītu* "hunger".
Lit. *še-er-ra-am* ZA 110, 42 ii 28 "baby", but *še*$_{20}$*-er-ri* ZA 110, 42 ii 25 "babies".

65 The text also uses EŠ for /is/ in *li-in-na-ki-is*$_5$*-ma* MARI 8, 387 A.2459 r. 2 *linnakisma* "may be cut off". The scribe also knows the sign IŠ: *iš-tu-ú* MARI 8, 387 A.2459: 6 *ištū* "since".

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2.5.4 e-Coloring of /a/

§ 2.62. The loss of the Proto-Semitic consonants /ʾ/, /h/ /ḥ/,[66] and /ʿ/[67] may change neighboring /a/ and /ā/ into /e/ and /ē/. However, whereas this rule is common—but not without exceptions—with /ḥ/ and /ʿ/, it is rarer with /ʾ/ and /h/. Moreover, it is unclear whether in some cases an additional—or even different—trigger, particularly the consonant /r/ or the vowels /i/ or /ī/, is responsible for e-coloring.

§ 2.63. a) Loss of Proto-Semitic /ʾ/ sometimes causes e-coloring, e.g.:[68]
re-ša-am AbB 13, 37: 12 *rēšam* < *raʾšam* "head".
ṣe-nu AbB 8, 13: 25 *ṣēnū* < *ṣaʾnū* "small cattle".
te-mé-ša-an-ni AbB 14, 73: 9 *temeššanni* (mʾš) "you despise me".
šu-me-lam ARM 27, 108 r. 9 *šumēlam* < *šumaʾlam* "left side".
še-pí-šu ARM 6, 43: 11 *šēpīšu* < *šaʾpīšu* "his feet".
b) In similar cases, no e-coloring occurs:
pa-ša-am AbB 14, 109: 38 *pāšam* < *paʾšam* "axe".
Lit. *mu-uš-ta-lum* CH iii 36 *muštālum* (šʾl) "deliberate".

§ 2.64. a) Loss of Proto-Semitic /h/ sometimes causes e-coloring:[69]
ṣe-ri-ia AbB 10, 185: 6 *ṣērija* < *ṣahrija* "my back".
b) In similar cases, no e-coloring occurs:[70]
a-la-kum AbB 13, 37: 10 *alākum* (hlk) "to go".
na-ra-am ARM 10, 10: 8 *nāram* < *nahram* "river".

§ 2.65. a) Loss of Proto-Semitic /ḥ/ frequently causes e-coloring:[71]
e-ri-šu-tim ARM 3, 33: 9 *ērišūtim* (ḤRŠ) "plowing".
lā te-bi-ra-nim ARM 1, 91 r. 11 *lā tebbirānim* (ḤBR) "do not cross!"

66 Another Akk. reflex of Proto-Semitic /ḥ/ is /ḫ/, see Tropper 1995; Kogan 2011, 110 f.

67 There is no certain OB example of /ġ/ causing e-coloring. For *ebûm* "to be thick", *eṭûm* "to be dark", and *ešûm* "to confuse" (Kogan 2011, 109); see Kogan 2001, 284 (e-coloring perhaps rather triggered by III-ī; for similar examples see § 2.69, below).

68 Kogan 2011, 110. For roots with /ʾ/ as the first radical, see § 2.69 (*enēšum*, *esēpum*, *esērum*, *epûm* with e-coloring triggered by /i/ or /ī/) or § 2.68 (*erṣetum* with e-coloring probably triggered by /r/). The etymology of /ʾ/ in *ne-eḫ-ra-rim* ARM 2, 44: 16 *neʾrārim* "help" is unclear. See *na-aḫ-ra-ri-im* ARM 2, 50: 7 *naʾrārum*.

69 Kogan 2011, 110. For *ewûm* see § 2.69 (e-coloring probably triggered by /ī/).

70 Kogan 2011, 109.

71 Kogan 2011, 109. Another Akk. reflex of Proto-Semitic /ḥ/ is /ḫ/ without e-coloring (§ 2.208).

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e-mi-šu CH § 159 *emišu* < *ḥamišu* "his father-in-law".
i-le-qú-ma CH § 167 *ileqqûma* (LQḤ) "they take".

b) E-coloring also affects nouns with pattern *PaRS*, which after loss of a third radical /ḥ/ show compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:
qé-mì-im Shemshara 1, 63: 35 *qēmim* < *qamḥim* "flour".

§ 2.66. a) Loss of Proto-Semitic /ʿ/ frequently causes e-coloring:[72]
e-pé-ri AbB 14, 200: 8 *eperī* < *ʿaparī* "earth".
^{uzu}*e-ṣe-em-tam* AbB 6, 5: 3 *eṣemtam* < *ʿaṣamtam* "bone".
be-el CH § 116 *bēl* < *baʿl* "lord".
Lex. *eq-bu-um* MSL 3, 220: 17 *eqbum* < *ʿaqbum* "heel".

b) E-coloring also affects nouns with pattern *PaRS*, which after loss of a third radical /ʿ/ show compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:
ze-ru-um AbB 9, 143: 10 *zērum* < *zarʿum* "seed".
Om. *ṣe-li* YOS 10, 18: 76 *ṣēli* < *ṣalʿi* "rib".

c) Exceptionally, no e-coloring occurs:[73]
ša-ar-tam ARM 10, 81: 20 *šārtam* < *šaʿr-* "hair".
Om. *ra-du-um* YOS 10, 33 iv 56 *rādum* < *raʿdum* "cloudburst".

§ 2.67. The loss of word-initial /j/ conditions e-coloring of /a/ (§ 2.225):
Lex. *e-du-u* MSL 2, 132: 40 *edû* < *jadû* "to know".
Lit. *i-te-en-ni-iq* Gilg. OB II 85 *ītenniq* < *ītanniq* (JNQ) "he used to suck".

§ 2.68. In some nouns e-coloring is triggered by a following /r/:[74]
Om. *e-ri-im* YOS 10, 41: 31 *erîm* < *arîm* "eagle".
Om. *ṣe-ri-im* Izbu 203: 38 *ṣerrim* < *ṣarrim* "snake".
Lit. *er-ṣe-tim* CH i 23 *erṣetim* < *erṣatim* < *arṣatim* "earth".
Lit. *ṣé-re-et* VS 10, 214 ii 10 *ṣerret* < *ṣerrat* < *ṣarrat* "bond".
Lit. *še-er-ri* Atr. 62: 292 *šerri* < *šarri* "baby".

§ 2.69. In the following words e-coloring seems to be conditioned by assimilation to /i/ or /ī/ in the same word.[75]

a) I-class verb without /r/ or guttural:
i-le-mi-in ARM 8, 1: 5 *ilemmin* < *ilammin* "becomes bad".

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72 Kogan 2011, 109.
73 Kogan 2011, 109 f.
74 For i-class verbs with a radical /r/ see § 2.69.
75 In some of these cases, e-coloring has rather been attributed to the presence of /r/. See GAG § 96b; Huehnergard 1997, 592 for *šebērum*; Kouwenberg 2010, 528 f. This explana-

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b) I-class verb I-ʾ and II-r:
er-ša-an-ni AbB 6, 131: 27 *eršanni* < *arišanni* (ʾRŠ) "ask from me!"
c) I-class verb I-ʾ and III-r:
e-si-ir-ši ARM 5, 27: 13 *esirši* < *asirši* (ʾSR) "lock her!"
d) I-class verb II-r:
qé-ru-ub ARM 2, 34: 11 *qerub* < *qarub* "is near".[76]
e) I-class verbs III-r:
iš-te-bi-ir CH § 197 *ištebir* < *ištabir* "he broke".
ni-sé-ki-ir-ma ARM 3, 4: 16 *nisekkirma* < *nisakkirma* "we will dam".
Om. *ṣe-ḫi-ir* YOS 10, 31 xii 21 *ṣeḫir* < *ṣaḫir* "is small".
f) I-class verbs I-ʾ:
e-si-ip CH § 49 *esip* < *asip* (ʾSP) "collect!"
Om. *e-ni-iš* YOS 10, 25: 79 *eniš* < *aniš* (ʾNŠ) "is weak".
g) Verbs I-guttural and III-ī:[77]
e-pe-e-em SLB 1/2, 47: 1–3 *epêm* < *apêm* (ʾPY) "to bake".
i-te-wi-š[*um*] LE A ii 11 *ītewīšum* < *ītawīšum* (HWY) "becomes for him".
h) D-stem pret.:[78]
[*ú*]-*še-ep-pí-šu-nu-ti* AbB 5, 74 edge 5 [*u*]*šeppīšunūti* < *ušappī-* "he silenced them".
mu-še-ep-pí CH iv 59 *mušeppī* < *mušappī* "who silences".
i) Š-stem perf.:
uš-te-ep-ṭi$_4$-*ir* FM 2, 224 no. 121: 8 *uštepṭi/er* < *uštapṭir* "I dismissed".
j) Nouns:
[*ḫi*]-*ib-le-tu-ú-a* AbB 4, 134: 9 *ḫiblētū'a* "my damages".
ki-is-si-bi-ir-re-tim AbB 6, 102: 24 *kissibirrētim* "coriander".

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tion, however, fails to explain e-coloring in i-class verbs without /r/. This also explains why many i-class verbs derived from adjs. like *arākum* "to become long" < *arkum* "long", *gašārum* "to become powerful" < *gašrum* "powerful", and *kabārum* "to become thick" < *kabrum* "thick", etc., do not show e-coloring, in spite of a radical /r/ (Kouwenberg 2010, 529): they are strongly associated with the adj., which in most cases does not have /i/ (forms *arkum*, *arkūtum*, *arkātum*, etc.). For other cases, e-coloring has been attributed to the loss of Proto-Semitic /ʾ/ (Kogan 2011, 110 for *enēšum*, *epûm*, and *esēpum*), /h/ (GAG § 9a* and Kogan 2011, 110 for *ewûm*). In spite of Ugaritic/Hebrew ʾSP, Kouwenberg 2010, 538 n. 91 claims an "E-coloring guttural" for *esēpum*.

76 From the i-class verb *qerēbum*.

77 Kouwenberg 2010, 528 explains e-coloring in these verbs by analogy to *elû* and similar verbs (note the similarity of the 3. sg. *illī* and *ippī*).

78 Also attested in post-OB Akk. in the D- and Š-stems (see GAG § 88b; Kouwenberg 2010, 269).

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2.5.5 Babylonian Vowel Harmony

§ 2.70. E-coloring affects most other /a/-vowels in a word. This assimilation is sometimes called called Bab. vowel harmony:

a) In the word base:
le-qé-ka AbB 14, 78: 8 *leqêka* < *laqêka* "your taking".
še-bu-ú AbB 3, 74: 25 *šebû* < *šabû* "he is sated".
i-bé-er-ru-ú AbB 3, 74: 33 *iberrû* < *ibarrû* "they are hungry".
Lex. *e-pe-e-šum* MSL 2, 132: 36 *epēšum* < *epāšum* "to do".
Lit. *me-le-em-mi* CH ii 61 *melemmī* < *melammī* "aura".

b) Verbal pref. /ta/ > /te/ (2. sg. or pl.):
te-eš-mu-ú AbB 3, 38: 16 *tešmû* "you heard" (*šemûm*).
te-el-te-ne-qú AbB 14, 78: 8 *telteneqqû* "(which) you have been collecting".
te-pé-et-te-e-ma AbB 8, 131: 7 *tepettēma* "you open".

c) Verbal pref. /a/ > /e/ (1. sg.):
e-pé-tu-ú AbB 2, 157: 12 *epettû* "I open up" (*petûm*).
eš-me ARM 1, 9: 5 *ešmē* "I heard" (*šemûm*).

d) Nominal pref. /ma/ > /me/:
^{kuš}*me-še-*[*n*]*i* ARM 1, 17: 20 *mešēnī* "shoes".
Lit. *mé-ri-tim* CH iii 39 *merītim* "pasture" (*re'ûm*).
Lit. *me-še-le-tum* Gilg. OB III 168 *mešēlētum* "blades" (*šêlum*).

e) Nominal pref. /ta/ > /te/:
te-er-di-tam AbB 4, 39: 1 *terdītam* "addition" (*redûm*).
te-ep-ti-tim CH § 44 *teptītim* "opening up" (*petûm*).
Om. *te-eš-mu-um* YOS 10, 26 iii 19 *tešmûm* "attetion" (*šemûm*).

f) Verbal infix /ta/ > /te/ (*ta*-stems, *tan*-stems, and perfect):
ši-te-i-ma AbB 11, 124: 8, 12 *šite"īma* "search everywhere!" (*še'ûm*).
ip-te-te CH § 110 *iptetē* "he opened".
iš-te-bi-ir CH § 198 *ištebir* "he broke" (*šebērum*).
ir-te-ed-di-šu ARM 4, 23: 11 *irteddīšu* "it chased him all the time" (*redûm*).
Lit. *i-te-eš-gu ananti* VS 10, 214 iii 15 *itešgū* "to become constantly enraged in battle" (*šegûm*).

g) Verbal infix /tan/ > /ten/ (*tan*-stems):
te-el-te-ne-qú AbB 14, 78: 8 *telteneqqû* "(which) you have been collecting".
te-te-né-pe-eš AbB 9, 56: 5 *tēteneppeš* "you always do".
eš$_{15}$*-te-né-em-me* AbB 3, 71: 8 *eštenemmē* "I keep hearing".
ip-te-né-tu-ú-ma AbB 9, 113: 10 *iptenettû* "they open continually".

h) Verbal pref. /ša/ > /še/ (Š-stem):
ú-še-eš-mi AbB 3, 16/17: 17 *ušešmī* "I made hear" (*šemûm*).
ú-še-ep-ti-šu AbB 2, 171: 5 *ušeptīšu* "I caused him to open" (*petûm*).

i) Verbal pref. /na/ > ne/ (N-stem):
Om. *ne-pe-el-ku-ú* YOS 10, 24: 21 *nepelkū* "it is wide open".

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j) Stative /ā/ > /ē/:
ṣe-eḫ-re-ku AbB 3, 22: 22 *ṣeḫrēku* "I was young".
k) Fem. endings /at/ and /āt/ > /et/ and /ēt/:
ṣe-eḫ-re-e[*t*] TCL 11, 246: 8 *ṣeḫret* "she is young".
ep-še-ti-šu ARM 2, 62 r. 3 *epšētīšu* "his deeds".
ke-er-re-tim ARM 9, 263: 10 *kerrētim* "vessels".
l) Rarely, also the acc. ending /-am/ becomes /-em/ after /e/-vowel:[79]
ṭe$_4$*-mé-em gamram* AbB 11, 95: 25 *ṭēmem* "the entire report".
Lit. *uznam ne-me-qé-em ḫasīsam* RA 22, 170 f.: 35 *nēmeqem* "prudence, wisdom, intelligence".[80]
Lit. *bilamma šu-me-le-ek* PRAK I B 472 i 13 *šumēlek* "bring near your left hand".
m) In one case the dual ending /-ān/ becomes /-ēn/ after /e/-vowel:
māšān e-le-en CUSAS 18, 2 r. 9 *ellēn* "shining twins".

§ 2.71. Bab. vowel harmony does never or almost never occur with the following endings and suffs.:
a) Verbal ending /-ā/ (2. p. pl.):
e-es-ḫa-a-nim AbB 9, 3: 12 *esḫānim* "assign me!"
ep-ša-ni-im AbB 2, 136: 16 *epšānim* "do!"
b) Vent. ending /-am/:
i-te-ep-ša-am AbB 9, 78: 10 *ītepšam* "he made".
el-te-em-na-ki-im AbB 6, 188: 38 *eltemnakkim* < *eltemn-am-kim* "I became angry with you".
c) Acc. ending:[81]
ṭe$_4$*-ma-am* AbB 3, 2: 29 *ṭēmam* "matter".
Lit. *en-ša-am* CH i 38 *enšam* "weak".
Lit. *annīʾam e-pe-ša-am* Gilg. OB III 114 *epēšam* "this deed".

79 See von Soden 1931, 195 n. 3; Mayer 1997, 169.
80 *šāt*/*Ištar me-le-ṣi-im ruʾāmam labšat* RA 22, 170 f.: 5, 7 is, however, probably a gen. construction, parallel to *šarrat me-le-ṣi* "queen of joy" KAR 158 ii 15: "she/Ištar of joy is clothed in charm". See Hecker 1989, 722 "Sie/Ištar (voll) schwellender Pracht"; CAD š/II 184 *šāt* b "she/Ishtar of joy"; Edzard 2004, 511 „die Freudenreiche/Freuden-Ištar." How Foster 2005, 85 ("She/Ishtar is the joyous one") understands the grammar is unclear. The alternative interpretation sees in *mēleṣem* an acc. obj. of *labšat*: see von Soden 1931, 195 f., who understands *šāt* as a "Determinativum" exceptionally used instead of *šī*; AHw. 1199a *šāt* 2 interprets *šāt* as a rel. pron. exceptionally used before a main clause. Mayer 1997, 169, admits that a gen. construction would be possible but "im Kontext" prefers an interpretation of *mēleṣem* as acc.
81 But see § 2.70l for the exceptional acc. ending /-em/.

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d) Pron. suffs. /-ka/ (2. p. sg.) and /-ša/ (3. p. sg. fem.):
ṭe$_4$-em-ka AbB 9, 84: 8 *ṭēmka* "your mind".
Lit. *ṭe$_4$-em-ša* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 274 iv 5 *ṭēmša* "its mind".

§ 2.72. In the pres. D, Dt, Š, and Št of verbs III-ē, and of strong verbs with e-coloring, and in pres. D and Dt of verbs I-aleph with e-coloring,[82] /a/ is frequently restored in order to highlight the opposition between pres. with /a/ vowel and pret. with /i/ vowel, i.e., *ubbeb*: *ubbib* > *ubbab*: *ubbib*:[83]
a) D III-ē:
ú-ra-du-šu AbB 14, 76: 18 *uraddûšu* "they will add to him" (*redûm*).
b) Š III-ē:
Lit. *ú-ša-ap-ta* Atr. 100: 15 *ušaptā* "I opened" (*petûm*).
c) Št III-ē:
uš-ta-ar-du-ú AbB 2, 4 r. 5 *uštardû* "will be allowed to flow" (*redûm*).
d) Št strong verb:
Om. *uš-ta-ab-ba-ar* RA 65, 73: 4o *uštabbar* "will be broken" (*šebērum*).
e) D I-aleph:
ú-ub-ba-am-ma SD 5, 21: 4 *ubbamma* "will purify" (*ebēbum*).[84]
f) Dt I-aleph:
Om. *ú-ta-as-sa-ar* RA 65, 71: 22 *ūtassar* "it will be confined" (*esērum*).

§ 2.73. By analogy, /a/ rarely spreads to the pret. and perf. of the paradigms:[85]
a) D pret.:
ú-ṭá-ḫi-na-ti-ma AbB 6, 12: 6 *uṭaḫḫīnâtima* "he brought us near" (*ṭeḫûm*).
nu-ṭà-aḫ-ḫi-ma ARM 26/1 p. 98 no. 9: 5 *nuṭaḫḫīma* "we brought near" (*ṭeḫûm*).
ú-qa-ar-ri-bu-[...] ARM 10, 5: 31 *uqarribū-* "they brought" (*qerēbum*).[86]
b) D perf.:
uṣ-ṣa-aḫ-ḫi-ir CH § 264 *uṣṣaḫḫir* "he reduced" (*ṣeḫērum*).
c) Dt pret.:
ú-ta-ab-bi-ib ARM 4, 57: 10 *ūtabbib* "were counted in census" (*ebēbum*).

82 But in Š of verbs I-weak the opposition between pres. and pret. is made clear already by vowel and consonant length: *ušerreb*: *ušērib*. Therefore, almost only /e/ forms are found here.

83 See Kouwenberg 2001, 227–232; 2010, 529 f.

84 See perf. *ú-te-eb-bi-bu* SD 5, 21: 4 *ūtebbibu* "has purified".

85 In one instance, /ā/ is found in the ptc. Š: 3 f*mu-še-ni-qa-tum* FM 3, 231 no. 60: 54 *mušēniqātum* "wet nurses" (*enēqum*).

86 The same text has *li-qé-ri-bu-šu* ARM 10, 5: 29 *liqerribūšu* "may they bring him". Does the prefix /li/ favor /e/ instead of /a/?

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d) Š pret.:
nu-ša-ar-di AbB 10, 17: 11 *nušardī* "we allowed to flow" (*redûm*).[87]
úš-qa-al-pu-ú ARM 2, 24 r. 10 *ušqalpû* "they sailed downstream" (*neqelpûm*).
ú-ša-al-qé-em ARM 2, 136: 9 *ušalqêm* < *ušalqīʾam* "he let take" (*leqûm*).
ú-ša-at-bu FM 2, 261 no. 127: 12 *ušatbû* < *ušatbī-ū* "they raised" (*tebûm*).

§ 2.74. However, /e/-forms are not entirely suppressed in the pres.:
a) D III-ē:
Om. *ú-ṭe-bé* YOS 10, 24: 41 *uṭebbē* "he submerges" (*ṭebûm*).
b) D strong verb:
Om. *ú-ṣe-ḫe-er-ka* YOS 10, 23: 8 *uṣeḫḫerka* "will reduce you" (*ṣeḫērum*).
c) Š I-aleph:
Om. *ú-še*$_{20}$*-re-eb* YOS 10, 17: 46 *ušerreb* "he takes into" (*erēbum*).

§ 2.75. An ending with initial /a/[88] or the pron. suff. /ja/ sometimes prevents Bab. vowel harmony in roots III-weak.
a) Vent. ending /am/:
a-li-a-am AbB 10, 146: 6 *ālīʾam* "I came up" (*elûm*).[89]
ta-la-aq-qé-a-am AbB 9, 64: 7 *talaqqēʾam* "you will take" (*leqûm*).[90]
b) Personal ending /ā/:
lā ta-ag-gi-a AbB 6, 118: 29 "do (pl.) not be negligent!" (*egûm*).
c) Stat. endings:
ba-ri-a-ku AbB 5, 160 r. 17 *barīʾāku* "I am hungry" (*berûm*).[91]
ba-ri-a-nu AbB 7, 59: 12 *barīʾānu* "we are hungry" (*berûm*).
d) Acc. ending /am/:
la-qé-a-am AbB 14, 182: 17 *laqēʾam* "to take" (*leqûm*).
ši-in-ša-ri-am AbB 14, 77: 11 *šinšarīʾam* "one-twelfth" (*šinšerûm*).
e) Fem. ending /at/:
a-ri-a-tim AbB 7, 86: 20 *arīʾātim* "pregnant" (*erûm*).

87 *redûm* frequently has an /a/-vowel.
88 Kouwenberg 2001, 233–247; 2010, 531. According to Kouwenberg 2010, 533, an alleged palatal glide /j/ between /ē/ and /a/ (/ēja/) may optionally block the Bab. vowel harmony. The phonetic reason for this, however, remains unclear. Moreover, it is by no means clear that a glide /j/ rather than secondary /ʾ/ separates the two vowels; we almost never find a spelling *ia* here. Finally, the fact that Bab. vowel harmony is also blocked when /ēʾa/ or /īʾa/ is contracted in late OB (Kouwenberg 2010, 531) contradicts this hypothesis, if we do not assume that the forms were already kind of frozen.
89 But *e-li-a-am* AbB 13, 179: 24 *ēlīʾam*.
90 But *e-le-qé-a-am* AbB 8, 79: 8 *eleqqēʾam* "I will take".
91 But the same text has *le-qí-a-at* AbB 5, 160 r. 10 *leqīʾat* "is taken".

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na-pí-a-at AbB 9, 14: 21 *napīʾat* "she has been taken as pledge".
Math. *ra-bi-a-at* TMB 13: 2 *rabīʾat* "one-fourth" (*rebûm*).

f) Pron. suff. /ja/:
ba-ri-ia FM 9, 130 no. 25: 24 *barīja* "my being hungry" (*berûm*).[92]

§ 2.76. /a/ is sometimes restored in *tan*-stems:[93]
e-ta-ru-ba-a[*m*] ARM 1, 13: 20 *etarrubam* "to enter constantly" (*erēbum*).
il-ta-na-aq-qú-ú A.2279: 11[94] *iltanaqqû* "they constantly take" (*leqûm*).
uš-ta-na-at-bu-šu ARM 2, 82: 34 *uštanatbûšu* "they constantly set him in motion" (*tebûm*).

2.5.6 Dialectal Differences in e-Coloring and Babylonian Vowel Harmony?

§ 2.77. In several dossiers, we only find examples of e-coloring and Bab. vowel harmony. The llustrative examples listed here come from the following dossiers:

a) Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.):
i-te-bé-e-e[*r*] ARM 27, 20: 24 *īteber* "he crossed".
eš$_{15}$*-te-né-em-mé-ma* ARM 27, 1: 25 *eštenemmēma* "I constantly hear".
lu-še-pí-iš ARM 27, 7: 20 *lušēpiš* "let me do".
li-iš-te-mi[*-du-ni-i*]*n-*[*n*]*e* ARM 27, 2: 37 *lištēmi*[*dūni*]*nne* "they must let me take shelter".
it-te-eš-bé-ru ARM 27, 10: 17 *ittešberū* "they broke".

b) Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
eš-me OBTR 66: 4 *ešmē* "I heard".
e-pu-úš-ma OBTR 65: 7 *ēpušma* "I did".
e-ep-pé-eš OBTR 64: 5 "I shall do".
re-di OBTR 66: 21 *rēdî* "drivers".
ú-še-en-né-eq OBTR 84: 8 *ušenneq* "she is suckling".

c) Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
še-me-em ARM 28, 134 r. 3 *šemêm* "to hear".
eš-me-e-ma ARM 28, 138: 23 *ešmēma* "I heard".

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92 But the same writer has *bé-ri-ia* FM 9, 128 no. 24: 23 *berīja* "my being hungry" and *bé-re-ku* FM 9, 128 no. 24: 14 *berêku* < *berīāku* "I am hungry".

93 *a-ta-al-li* ARM 2, 42 r. 23 in broken context is understood by Durand 1998, 261 as a PN; however, the PN(?) is not a "northern" variant of *Etellī* "my lord", since this word never occurs as **Atallum* in Akk.

94 NABU 1993/55.

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il-qé-e-[*ma*]ARM 28, 135:10 *ilqēma* "he took".
li-še-zi-ib ARM 28, 134 r. 9 *lišēzib* "may he save".
li-še-še-er ARM 28, 137: 15 *lišēšer* "may he keep in order".

d) Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris):
lā te-gi Shemshara 1, 53: 13; Shemshara 1, 58 r. 11 *teggī* "do not be negligent!"
iq-te-er-ba-nim Shemshara 1, 54: 13 *iqterbānim* "they approached".
li-še-lu-nim Shemshara 1, 73: 11 "have them bring up".
in-né-ep-pé-eš Shemshara 1, 53: 7 *inneppeš* "is being done".

e) Qaṭna (NSyr.):
el-qé ARM 28, 14: 16 *elqē* "I took".
še-mu-ú-um ARM 5, 20: 23 *šēmûm* "hearing".
te-ri-ša-an-ni-ma ARM 5, 20: 8 *tērišannima* "you asked me".
li-re-ú ARM 5, 15: 20 *lirē'ū* "let them pasture".
šu-up-te ARM 5, 17 r. 6 *šuptē* "open!"

§ 2.78. Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe (SBab.):

a) Once an a-form with ending with initial /a/ (see § 2.75):
ḫi-[*t*]*a-ri-a-am* AbB 10, 177: 28 *ḫitarrī'am* "to dig constantly".

b) Elsewhere only e-forms. Illustrative examples:
eg-ri-ši-i-ma AbB 9, 49: 16, 23 *egrīšima* "I sued her".
e-re-de-kum-ma AbB 9, 49: 26 *ereddēkumma* "I will bring them to you".
ú-še$_{20}$*-él-le-a-am* AbB 10, 177: 17 *ušellē'am* "I will carry up".
ú-še-eṣ-ṣé-a-am AbB 14, 56: 35 *ušeṣṣē'am* "I shall move out".
uš-te-ri-ib AbB 9, 49: 8 *uštērib* "I brought into".

§ 2.79. Letters from Sippar (NBab.):

a) Two a-forms with ending with initial /a/:
ta-aš-mé-a AbB 14, 93: 7 *tašmē'ā* "you heard".
lā ta-gi-a AbB 14, 93: 16 *taggī'ā* "do not be negligent!"

b) But in a similar cases we also find e-forms:
bé-ri-a-nu AbB 10, 25: 12 *berī'ānu* "we are hungry".
te-le-a-ma AbB 8, 101: 8 *tele''âma* "you can".

c) Illustrative examples of further e-forms:
e-zi-ba-ak-k[*um*] AbB 6, 20: 9 *ēzibakku*[*m*] "I left".
te-eg-gu AbB 9, 11: 12 *teggū* "you are negligent".
e-te-qá-am AbB 8, 101: 8 *etēqam* "to pass".
te-te-et-qá AbB 8, 101: 13 *tētetqā* "you passed".
šu-te-er-di-ni-ma OBTR 133: 22 *šutērdīnnīma* "follow through(?) on my behalf!"

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§ 2.80. Ḫarmal letters (Diy.):
a) a-forms with ending with initial /a/ (see § 2.75):
ša-me-am Sumer 14, 19: 13 *šamēʾam* "to hear".
ta-aš-me Sumer 14, 45: 8 *tašmê* < *tašmīʾā* "you heard".
ta-aš-ta-me Sumer 14, 45: 17 *taštamê* < *taštamīʾā* "you will have heard".
b) But in similar cases /e/ remains:
le-qí-a-ku Sumer 14, 13: 25 *leqīʾāku* "I have taken".
le-qé-a-šu Sumer 14, 38: 7 *leqēʾašu* "to take".
c) Illustrative examples of e-coloring and Bab. vowel harmony:[95]
ṣé-eḫ-ḫe-ru-tim Sumer 14, 1: 23 *ṣeḫḫerūtim* "the boys".
er-bé-né-tim Sumer 14, 30: 7, 10 *erbēnētim* "teams of four (oxen)".
te-te-né-ṣí-du Sumer 14, 31: 6 *tēteneṣṣidu* "you used to harvest".
li-qé-a-ma Sumer 14, 49: 7 *liqēʾāma* "take!"
šu-te-pí-ša-a-ma Sumer 14, 2: 17 *šutēpišāma* "take action!"

§ 2.81. Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):
a) The only a-form is an Št-stem pret. with an ending with initial /a/ (see § 2.75):
tu-uš-tap-te-e-[*e*]*m* ARM 4, 86: 52 *tuštaptêm* < *tuštaptīʾam* "you opened yourself".
b) Elsewhere only e-forms. Illustrative examples:
te-el-qé-e-ma ARM 1, 3: 14 *telqēma* "you took".
ṣé-eḫ-re-et ARM 1, 108: 6 *ṣeḫrēt* "are you small?"
eš-me-ma ARM 4, 17: 16 *ešmēma* "I heard".
i-re-ed-du ARM 1, 109: 46 *ireddû* "it is suitable".
ú-še-ṣú-ú ARM 1, 118: 13 *ušeṣṣû* "they let go out".

§ 2.82. Letters of Išme-Dagan (UpMes.):[96]
a) e-coloring and Bab. vowel harmony are usual. Illustrative examples:
e-le-em-me ARM 4, 42: 16 *elemmē* "I am eating".
i-te-ti-iq ARM 4, 59: 6 *ītetiq* "passed".
il-te-ne-eq-qé ARM 1, 132: 15 *ilteneqqē* "he constantly takes".
bi-te-ru-ú ARM 4, 24: 25 *biterrû* "they are hungry".
li-iš-qé-el-pu ARM 4, 81: 27 *lišqelpû* "let them sail downstream".
b) An a-form is found in the Š pret. of a verb III-ē (see § 2.73):
ú-ša-aš-mu-ma ARM 1, 128: 8 *ušašmûma* "(which) I made hear".

95 The form *ḫe-èš-la-ti-ia* in Sumer 14, 16 r. 3 (reading of Goetze) is not a counterexample; read *ḫi-iš*$_7$*-la-ti-ia* for *ḫišlātīja* "my crushings" (see AHw. 349 *ḫišiltum*).
96 Instead of *ta-la-qé-* ARM 4, 68: 9 (Finet 1956, 5) read, with Durand 1998, 118, *at-ta-ad-di-*.

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c) Two other a-forms in verbs III-ē with an ending with initial /a/ (see § 2.75):
ta-al-la-a-am ARM 4, 69: 12 *tallâm* < *tallīʾam* "you go up".
a-ša-am-me-ma ana ṣērika ašapparam ARM 1, 121: 16 *ašammêmma*(?)[97] < *ašammēʾamma* "I will hear and send to you".

§ 2.83. Letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm (UpMes.):
a) a-forms appear in 3 cases in roots III-weak with an ending with initial /a/ (see § 2.75):
iṭ-ṭá-ḫe-em-ma ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 8 *iṭṭaḫêmma* < *iṭṭaḫīʾamma* "he approached".
da-ke-šu-nu ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 23 *dakêšunu* < *dakīʾašunu* "their levying" (acc.).
ta-ag-ra-[*an-ni-ma*] ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310 edge 2 *tagrâ*[*nnima*] < *tagrīʾannima* "you have attacked me".[98]
b) But also an e-form occurs in a similar case:
re-de$_4$*-em* ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 9 *rēdêm* < *rēdīʾam* "leader".
c) An a-form in a *tan*-stem (see § 2.76):
ši-tá-am-mi ARM 10, 33: 6 *šitammī* "hearing constantly".[99]
d) Elsewhere only e-forms. Illustrative examples:
e-pé-eš$_{15}$ ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 11 *eppeš* "what will I do?".
te-te-né-pé-eš$_{15}$ ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 19 *tēteneppeš* "you always do".
tu-še-zi-ba ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 12 *tušēziba* "you saved".
uš-te-né-eṣ-ṣé ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 14 *uštenesṣē* "he keeps letting go out".
nu-uš-te-bé-r[*e*] ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 10 *nuštebērrē* "we lack".

§ 2.84. Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.).:
a) e-forms frequently occur. Illustrative examples:
e-ep-pé-eš ARM 26/2, 525 no. 531: 27 "I shall do".
e-še-em-mu-ú ARM 28, 18: 6 *ešemmû* "I hear".
le-em-né-tim ARM 28, 25: 16 *lemnētim* "evil".
li-qé-ri-bu-ni-šu-nu-ti-ma ARM 28, 19 r. 5 *liqerribūniššunūtima* "let them bring them".
iš-te-em-me ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 8 *ištemmē* "he constantly heard".

97 An interpretation as *ašammēma* is also possible. This would be, however, the only irregular a-form in the Išme-Dagan corpus. Therefore, the interpretation given above, assuming a sequence verb-vent.-*ma* verb-vent. (vent. attraction), is preferred.
98 Derived from *gerûm*. D. Charpin, ARM 26/2, 68 ("m'as-tu appelé") and Heimpel 2003, 294 ("invite") derive the form from *qerûm*.
99 Inf. Gtn.

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b) a-forms in pret. D (see § 2.73):
ú-ṭá-aḫ-ḫu-ú ARM 26/2, 540 no. 549 r. 4 *uṭaḫḫû* "they brought".
ú-ra-ad-di-ma ARM 26/2, 529 no. 537: 10 *uraddīma* "I added".

§ 2.85. a) The following table summarizes the results of the preceding investigation.

Dossier	**only e-forms**	**a-forms in pret. or perf. of D(t) or Š(t)**	**a-form with ending with initial /a/**	**e-form with ending with initial /a/**	**a-forms in *tan*-stems**
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)			x		
Letters from Sippar (NBab.)			x	x	
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)			x	x	
Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.)	x				
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)		x			
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	x				
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	x				
Letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm (UpMes.)			x	x	x
Letters of Išme-Dagan (UpMes.)		x	x		
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	x				
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)		x			
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	x				

b) From the previous investigation, we can conclude that there are no dialectal differences in e-coloring and Bab. vowel harmony. This is especially true of dialects in the north, including the dossier of Išme-Dagan (UpMes.), who

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was based in Ekallātum in Assyria, and the Karkemiš dossier (NSyr.).[100] The /a/ vowel only occurs in specific forms, and all forms in the investigated dossiers seem to follow the rules also established for Bab. (§§ 2.62–2.76).

2.5.7 E-coloring of /i/

§ 2.86. The use of E-signs (§§ 2.48–59) shows that e-coloring of /i/ frequently occurs before /r/ or /ḫ/.[101]

§ 2.87. a) An e-coloring of /i/ (rarely /ī/) sometimes occurs with the gen. suff. /-ni/ "our", the acc. suff. /-ni/ "me", the verbal pref. /ni-/ "we" (and once in the independent personal pron. *nīnu* "we"), and rarely in other cases as well. Some cases might be explained as dissimilation before or after /i/: e.g., *panine* < *panini*, *bēline* < *bēlini*, *neddin* < *niddin*, *šinēšu* < *šinīšu*. Other cases might be explained as assimilation to /e/ in the preceding or following syllable: *bēlne* < *bēlni*, *nepettē* < *nipettē*. But there remain cases like *nadānem*, which neither explanation fits. Even if no definitive explanation can be given it seems difficult to "correct" these spellings by introducing a sign value ni_5 for NE, because the texts almost always also use the sign NI for /ni/, sometimes even in the same word as in the following instances:

i-pu-lu-ne-ni AbB 7, 21: 14 *īpulūnenni* < *īpuluninni* "they answered me".[102]

pa-ne-ni AbB 14, 186: 22 *paneni* < *panini* "our face".

pa-ni-ne ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 7; ARM 4, 6: 8;[103] ARM 27, 116: 11;[104] ARM 27, 151: 18;[105] ARM 28, 48: 45, etc., *panine* < *panini* "before us".

LUGAL^{meš}-*ni-ne* ARM 26/1, 109 no. 12 r. 4 *šarrānīne* < *šarrānīni* "our kings".[106]

ú-ga-ru-ni-ne ARM 28, 19 r. 18 *ugarrûninne* < *ugarrûninni* "they attacked me".

ir-gu-mu-ni-ne FM 1 p. 138: 4, 6, 10 *irgumūninne* < *irgumūninni* "they called me".

mu-ul-le-ni-in-ne FM 2, 38 no. 11: 17 *mullêninne* < *mullêninni* "provide in full!"

ra-ma-ni-⌜*ne*⌝ FM 2, 204 no. 116: 29 *ramanine* "of ourselves".

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100 Pace Finet 1956, 5, who suggested Ass. influence on a-forms in Mari texts, and Kouwenberg 2010, 532 n. 69. Almost all a-forms mentioned by the latter have parallels in texts from Babylonia; for *iltanaqqû* see § 2.76.

101 See GAG § 9h.

102 For many other instances of *ne* in this text see § 2.87e–f, below. The same text also uses *ni*: [*a*]*n-ni-im* AbB 7, 21: 8 *annîm* "this"; *ni-nu-ú-ma* AbB 7, 21: 15 *nīnuma* "we"; *a-ḫa-ti-ni* AbB 7, 21: 16 *aḫātini* "our sister"; *ni-pa-al-ši* AbB 7, 21: 17 *nippalši* "we will satisfy her".

103 For *ni* in this text see *ni-iš-ku-un-*[*m*]*a* ARM 4, 6: 9 *niškunma* "we put", etc.

104 For *ni* in this text see *an-ni-tam* ARM 27, 116: 24 *annītam* "this", etc.

105 For *ni* in this text see [*wa*]*-ar-ki-ni* ARM 27, 151: 20 [w]arkīni "after us", etc.

106 For *ni* in this text see ^{lú}*su-ga-gi-ni* ARM 26/1, 109 no. 12 r. 4 *sugāgīni* "our sheikhs", etc.

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li-ki-nu-ni-in-ne-ma FM 7, 130 no. 36: 56, 63 "may they convict me".

iš-pu-ru-ni-in-ne FM 9, 273 no. 68: 11, 13 *išpurūninne* "they sent me".

b) On the other hand, the spelling *ta-di*-NE-*i-šu* AbB 8, 102: 10 must be transliterated *ta-di-ni*$_5$*-i-šu*, yielding the bound transcription *taddinīšu* "you gave to him".

c) Also interesting is the following case, in which the scribe wrote an additional *ni* after *ne*:

be-lí-ne ⟨⟨*ni*⟩⟩ ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 30 *bēline* < *bēlini* "of our lord".[107]

d) Pron. suff. /-ni/:

aššum É-*ne* AbB 10, 122: 6 *bītine* < *bītini* "because of our house".

be-lí-ne ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 2;[108] ARM 10, 102: 17; FM 2, 204 no. 116: 28, 30; FM 2, 210 no. 117: 5, 8,[109] etc., *bēline* < *bēlini* "of our lord".

be-el-ne ARM 26/2, 19 f. no. 289: 1, 11, r. 16, edge 20; ARM 10, 112: 14;[110] ARM 2, 100 r. 5 *bēlne* < *bēlni* "our lord".

ge-er-ra-ne ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 8 *gerrane* < *gerrani* "our campaign".[111]

DUB-*pa-ne* ARM 2, 100 edge 1 *tuppane* < *tuppani* "our tablet".

ana ṣe-ri-ne ARM 28, 120: 12 *ṣērine* < *ṣērini* "to us".

e) Verbal prefix /ni-/ and independent personal pron. *nīnu*:

ne-él-qú-ú AbB 7, 21: 16 *nelqû* < *nilqû* "we took".

ne-él-la-ak-ma AbB 7, 21: 17, 25 *nellakma* < *nillakma* "we will go".

n[*e*]-*na*-[*d*]*i*-[*in*] AbB 7, 21: 26 *nenaddi*[*n*] < *ninaddin* "we will give".

ne-nu-ú ne-ed-di-in AbB 14, 65: *14 nēnu neddin* < *nīnu niddin* "we have given".[112]

i ne-mu-ur AbB 6, 161: 21 *i nēmur* < *nīmur* "let us see".[113]

ne-ed-bu-bu ARM 10, 109: 5 *nedbubu* < *nidbubu* "we talked".[114]

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107 The same text also uses *ni*: *ma-aḫ-ri-ni* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 8, 24 *maḫrīni* "before us"; *ta-ni-iš-ta-šu-nu* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 18 *tanīštašunu* "their people"; *ta-ni-iš-ta-am* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 26 *tanīštam* "people"; *ni-na-as-sà-ḫa-am-ma* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 26 *ninassaḫamma* "we will remove"; *ni-iz-zi-ba-am-ma* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 27 *nizzibamma* "we will leave".

108 For other instances of *ne* in this text see § 2.87e, below. The same text also uses NI = *né*: *iš-pu-ra-an-né-ši-im* ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 4, 13 *išpurannêšim* "he sent to us". See also in broken context: *ni*-[...] ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 ed. 20.

109 But the same text has *be-el-ni* FM 2, 210 no. 117: 9, 15, 17, 42 *bēlni* "our lord".

110 The same text also uses *ni*: *ša-ni-tam* ARM 10, 112: 8 *šanītam* "second"; *ṣe-ri-ni* ARM 10, 112: 12 *ṣērini* "to us"; *ka-ia-ni-iš* ARM 10, 112: 17 *kajjāniš* "constantly".

111 For *ni* in this text see *i-ip-pa-la-an-ni* ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 5 *ippalanni* "answers me".

112 The same text also uses *ni*: *ṣí-bu-ti-ni an-ni-tim* AbB 14, 65: 5 *ṣibûtini annītim* "this request of ours".

113 *ni* in *i-sa-ni-ki* AbB 6, 161: 22 *isannikki* "he will approach you".

114 *ni* in *te-pu-ša-an-ni* ARM 10, 109: 6 *tēpušanni* "you treated me"; *pa-ni-tim* ARM 10, 109: 7 *pan-*

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ne-et-ta-na-ad-di-in-ma ne-èš-ta-na-a-am ARM 13, 43: 7 f. *nettanaddinma neštana”am* < *nittanaddinma ništana”am* “we constantly give and buy”.

ne-pu-[*úš*]*-ma* ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 4 *nēpu*[*š*]*ma* < *nīpušma* “we did”.

ne-pé-et-te ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 13 *nepettē* < *nipettē* “we will open”.

ne-na-di-in-ka ARM 26/2, 419 no. 483: 21 *nenaddinka* < *ninaddinka* “we will give you”.

ne-zi-iz FM 3, 304 no. 153: 15 *nezzīz* < *nizzīz* “we stood”.[115]

ne-ep-pa-li-ìs-ma FM 8, 67 no. 15: 14 *neppalisma* < *nippalisma* “we looked”.

Lit. *i ne-eš*$_{15}$*-te-i* Gilg. OB Ishchali 16 *i nešte”ī* < *nište”ī* “let us search”.

Lit. *ne-ša-ka-ma* Gilg. OB Ishchali 11 *nešakkamma* < *nišakkanma* “we will put”.[116]

Lit. ⌜*ne*⌝*-la-ku-šum* Gilg. OB Harmal$_1$ 10 *nelakku-šum* < *nillakušum* “we are going”.[117]

f) Other cases:

[*i-n*]*a-di-nu-ne-ki-im* AbB 7, 21: 31 [*i*]*naddinūnekkim* < *inaddinūnikkim* “they will giveto you”.

ra-ma-n[*e-k*]*u-nu* AbB 7, 21: 20 *ramane*[*k*]*unu* < *ramanikunu* “of yourselves”.

na-da-ne-em AbB 7, 21: 30 *nadānem* < *nadānim* “to give”.

ú-ba-ne AbB 1, 139: 13, 15 *ubānē* < *ubānī* “fingers”.[118]

ta-ag-me-li-in-ne AbB 8, 102: 6 *tagmelīnne* < *tagmilīnni* “you spared me”.[119]

ig-mi-lu-ne-in[*-ni*/*-ne*] AbB 8, 102: 7 *igmilūnen*[*ni*/*e*] < *igmilūninni* “they spared me”.

ka-a-ia-ne-eš$_{15}$ ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 4 *kajjāneš* < *kajjāniš* “constantly”.

ši-ne-šu FM 7, 38 no. 13: 12 *šinēšu* < *šinīšu* “twice”.

2.5.8 /e/ > /u/

§ 2.88. In proximity to the labial /p/, /e/ may become /u/:

ne-pa-ri-im ARM 6, 41: 8 *nepārim* “prison”, but *nu-pa-ri-im* AbB 7, 58: 7, Om. *nu-pa-ra-am* YOS 10, 40: 9 *nupāri*/*am*.

ītim “earlier”; *tu-di-na-tum* ARM 10, 109: 13 *tudinātum* “dress-pins”; *id-di-nu-ni-kum* ARM 10, 109: 26 *iddinūnikkum* “they gave to you”.

115 The same text also uses *ni*: *ša-ni-tam* FM 3, 303 no. 153: 8 *šanītam* “second”.

116 The same text also uses *ni*: Lit. ⌜*ṣé-ri*⌝*-ni* Gilg. OB Ishchali 5 *ṣērini* “behind us”.

117 See George 2003, 247 n. 102 with further instances.

118 For *ni* in this text see *pa-ni-šu* AbB 1, 139: 8 *panišu* “before him”, etc.

119 For *ni* in this text see *pa-ni-ia* AbB 8, 102: 5 *panīja* “my face”, etc.

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2.6 */i/*

2.6.1 Writing

§ 2.89. a) /i/ is regularly written I.

b) Ì is used as an archaism to write the word *ilum* "god" in royal inscriptions and literary texts, e.g.:

ì-lí AbB 5, 39: 8 *ili* "god".

Lit. *ì-nu* CH i 1 *inū* "when".

c) Very rarely E = i_{15} occurs:

PN *balūja mīmma ul* i_{15}*-pu-úš* ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 6[120] *ippuš* "he does".

ḫālilam nišpurma warkat ṭēmim iprusamma uterrannêšim dimātim i_{15}*-ip-pé-eš* ARM 26/1, 341 no. 168: 14 *ippeš* "we sent a spy, and he investigated and reported to us: he is building towers".[121]

têrētim līpušma têrētim ša i_{15}*-ip-pe-šu* ARM 26/1, 344 no. 169 r. 11 *ippešu* "may he take omens, and the omens he will take …".[122]

2.6.2 /i/ > /a/ or /e/ > /a/

§ 2.90. a) /i/ rarely dissimilates to /a/ in the noun pattern *PiRiSt*:

ša-gi-il-tim AbB 8, 28: 13, *ša-gi-il-tam* ARM 14, 81: 30 *šagilti*/*am* "misappropriation". See *ši-gi-il*$_5$*-ti* AbB 9, 49: 38.[123]

b) The word *mele*/*ammū* "aura" once occurs as *malemmū*, again a dissimilation:

Lit. *ma-le-em-mi* VS 10, 214 iv 8 *malemmī*.

c) The word *kibātum* "wheat" appears once as *kabātum*, an assimilation of /i/ to the following /ā/ in the word:

burrum ša ka-ba-tum ARM 12, 697: 3 "groats from(!) wheat".

2.6.3 /i/ > /e/

§ 2.91. a) For /i/ > /e/ before /r/ and /ḫ/ see §§ 2.48–59. For other instances of e-coloring of /i/ see § 2.87.

b) /e/ developed from /i/ may also cause Bab. vowel harmony:

ke-er-re-tim ARM 9, 263: 10 *kerrētim* < *kerrātim* < *kirrātim* "vessels".

2.7 */ô/ and /o/*

§ 2.92. Lexical texts from Nippur, especially the series Proto-Aa, Proto-Izi, and Proto-Kagal, distinguish /ô/ < /au/, /āu/, /aū/, or /āū/, written *u* and u_4, from

120 Letter of Jamṣīǰum (UpMes.).

121 Letter of Jamṣi-Ḫadnu, Māšum, and Ḫammi-esim (MidEuphr.?).

122 Letter of Jamṣi-Ḫadnu and Māšum (MidEuphr.?). But the same authors write *i-ip-pé-eš* ARM 26/1 p. 346 no. 170: 19 *ippeš* "he does".

123 See for *ši*/*agiltum* AHw. 1127 and 1231, CAD š/2, 412.

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/û/ < /īu/ or /ūu/, written *ú*.[124] Exceptions do, however, occur. Minimal pairs like *nadôm* < *nadā-um* "to throw": *nadûm* < *nadī-um* "thrown" show that /ô/ is phonemic in these texts.

a) /ô/, written u_4:

Lex. *na-du-u*$_4$ A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 3 *nadô* < *nadā-u* "to throw".

Lex. *ru-bu-u*$_4$ A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 8 *rubô* < **rubā-u* "nobleman".

Lex. *mu-u*$_4$ A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 2 *mô* < *mā-ū* "water".

Lex. *pe-tu-u*$_4$*-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 16 *petôm* < *petā-um* "to open".

b) /ô/, written *u*:

Lex. *tap-pu-u* A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 39 *tappô* < *tappa-u* "companion".[125]

Lex. *qá-bu-u-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 11 *qabôm* < *qabā-um* "to speak".

Lex. *qa-lu-u-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 15 no. 64 *qalôm* < *qalā-um* "to burn".

Lex. *pe-tu-u-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 17 *petôm* < *petā-um* "to open".

c) /û/, written *ú*:

Lex. *ša-nu-ú-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 31 *šanûm* < *šanī-um* "different".

Lex. *šu-du-ú-um* A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 32 *šūdûm* < *šudū-um* "to make known".

§ 2.93. Short /o/ occurs in lexical texts from Nippur as a reflex of /u/ before /r/ and /ḫ/,[126] similar to the reflex /e/ of /i/ (see §§ 2.48–59):

Lex. *u*$_4$*-ru-ḫu* A. Westenholz 1991, 15 no. 44 *oruḫḫu* < *uruḫḫu* "hair on the head".

Lex. *u*$_4$*-ḫu-li* A. Westenholz 1991, 16 no. 81 *oḫūli* < *uḫūli* "potash".

§ 2.94. Outside lex. texts, explicit writings of /ô/ and /o/ rarely occur:[127]

a-nu-um-mu-ú-tim AbB 5, 143: 11 *anummûtim* < *annumī-ūtim* "those", but *li-is-sú-u*$_4$*-ḫu* AbB 5, 143: 12[128] *lissoḫū* < *lissuḫū* "may they remove". However, the same text also has *ki-na-tu-u*$_4$ AbB 5, 143: 9 "employees" with unexpected u_4 for the masc. pl. *kinattū*.

la e-el-qù-u-ma PBS 8/1, 82: 11[129] *elqôma* < *elqā-uma* "I did not take", but *šu-ú-ma* PBS 8/1, 82: 3 *šūma* "he".

it-mu-u$_4$ BE 6/2, 30: 26[130] *itmô* < *itmā-ū* "they swore", but *iq-bu-ú* BE 6/2, 30: 18 *iqbû* < *iqbī-ū* "they said".

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124 See A. Westenholz 1991.

125 Loan from Sumerian *tab-ba*.

126 See A. Westenholz 1991, 17.

127 See A. Westenholz 1991, 17.

128 The letter was found in Girsu.

129 Legal text found and written in Nippur.

130 Legal text found and written in Nippur.

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2.8 */u/*

2.8.1 Writing

§ 2.95. /u/ is regularly written Ú.

§ 2.96. a) Ù is regularly used for *u* "and":

ù anāku AbB 14, 29: 40 "and I".

b) Moreover, in royal inscriptions, literary texts, and personal names Ù is used as an archaism, e.g.:

Roy. *i-bí-ù-šu* RIME 4, 381: 9 *ibbīʾūšu* "they called".

Lit. *mu-šar-bu-ù* CH xlix 57 *mušarbû* "who makes great".

c) Elsewhere, *ù* is rare:

ù-ša-ga-ru-ni-in-ni AbB 6, 188: 31 *ušaggarūnni* "they cheat me".

§ 2.97. U expresses /ô/ in certain lexical texts (very rarely elsewhere), see §§ 2.92b, 2.94.

§ 2.98. a) U_4 is used in certain lexical texts (very rarely elsewhere) in order to express /o/ or /ô/ (see §§ 2.92–94).

b) In the word *ūmum* "day", however, U_4 or UD is a logogram: UD-*mu*/-*mi*, etc.

2.8.2 /u/ > /i/ or /e/

§ 2.99. /u/ before /u/ or /ū/ in the next or second-next syllable is rarely dissimilated to /i/ or /e/.

a) /u/ > /i/ before /u/ in the next syllable:

bi-tù-uq-tum AbB 2, 161: 5 *bituqtum* < *butuqtum* "breach", see Om. *bu-tu-uq-tum* YOS 10, 41: 28.

ni-kur-tum-m[*a*] FM 8, 113 no. 33: 15; *ni-ku-úr-tim* ARM 10, 177: 10 *nikurtu*/*im* (*ma*) < *nukurtu*/*im-* "hostility", see *nu-ku-ur-tim* ARM 4, 68: 17.

b) /u/ > /i/ before /ū/ in the next syllable:

i-tu-nu-u[*m*] ARDēr 198: 1 *itūnum* < *utūnum* "kiln", see *ú-*⌜*tu*⌝*-nim* AbB 9, 197: 9.[131]

c) /u/ > /e/ or /u/ > /i/ before /ū/ in the next syllable:

e-nu-ti-ši-na OBTR 128: 14 *enūtišina* < *unūti-* "equipment", see *ú-nu-ut* AbB 9, 106: 8.[132]

^{giš}*i-nu-ut ḫurāṣim* FM 9, 190 no. 43: 5 *inūt* "golden instrument".

131 < Sumerian *udun*.

132 There is a dialectal distribution: *unūtum* in Bab., *enūtum* in MidEuphr. and UpMes. In OAkk., both forms seem to be attested (CAD U 177 3e). In OA *unūtum* is more common

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d) /u/ > /i/ or /e/ before /u/ in the after next syllable:

i-né-du-uk-ka-ka A 831 r. 7 (CAD U 161b) *innedukkaka* < *unedukka-* "your letter".

e-⌜ne⌝-du-ka-tum CUSAS 36, 175: 12 *enedukkātum* "letters".

2.9 *Vowel Length*

2.9.1 Phonemic status

§ 2.100. Minimal pairs show that vowel length is phonemic:[133]

šarratum "queen": *šarrātum* "queens".

elī "on": *ēlī* "I went up".

ilī "my god": *īlī* "he went up".

mutum "husband": *mūtum* "death".

2.9.2 Expressed by Plene Vowel Spellings

§ 2.101. Structural vowel length or vowel length that developed from weak consonants can be expressed by plene vowel spellings (§ 2.25). The scribes, however, avoid repeating a vowel sign: e.g., we only find spellings like *a-li-im* AbB 10, 177: 34 *ālim* "town", but never **a-a-li-im*, or *a-li-ik* ARM 27, 17: 7 *ālik* "going", but never **a-a-li-ik*.

§ 2.102. Masc. pl. of nouns:[134]

a) Nom.:

ab-nu-ú AbB 9, 61: 6 *abnū* "stones".

ab-bu-ú AbB 10, 145: 6 *abbū* "fathers".[135]

ša-a-ru-ú AbB 14, 58: 7 *šārū* "winds".

er-re-šu-ú Sumer 14, 14: 4, 12 *errēšū* "farmers".

su-ga-gu-ú ARM 26/1, 174 no. 39: 6 *sugāgū* "sheikhs".

ú-uš-šu-ú FM 8, 159 no. 45: 9 *uššū* "foundation".

Om. [*a*]*ḫ-ḫu-ú* YOS 10, 31 i 52 [*a*]*ḫḫū* "brothers".

Roy. *a-bu-ú* RIME 4, 607: 93, *ab-bu-ú* RIME 4, 603: 16 *abbū* "fathers".

b) Obl.:

al-pí-i AbB 8, 113: 11 *alpī* "oxen".

bé-ri-i AbB 3, 18: 13 *bērī* "miles".

bé-re-e AbB 6, 131: 6 *bērē* "miles".

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than *enūtum*. Whether *unūtum* is the older form is not entirely clear (see for the etymology of the word AHw. 1422).

133 For phonemic vowel length see Buccellati 1996, 19.

134 See § 5.167.

135 In view of the OA form *abbā'u*, it cannot be excluded that the OB form is in fact *abbû* <

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ša-am-mi-i AbB 3, 39: 28 *šammī* "herbs".
ṣé-ni-i Edubba 7, 95: 30 *ṣēnī* "small cattle".
ka-ak-ki-i ARM 2, 118: 21 *kakkī* "weapons".
ab-bé-e Syria 19, 109: 28 *abbē* "fathers".

§ 2.103. Masc. pl. of adjectives:
ma-du-ú-tum AbB 9, 49: 28 *mādūtum* "many".

§ 2.104. Fem. pl. of nouns (§§ 5.134, 5.135):
iš-ta-ra-a-tim AbB 2, 34: 6, 15, 23 *ištarātim* "goddesses".
DUB-*pa-a-tim* ARM 6, 53: 8; ARM 28, 4: 4 *tuppātim* "tablets".
te-re-e-tim ARM 4, 14 r. 3 *têrētim* "omens".
ti-la-a-tim ARM 28, 1 r. 8 *tillātim* "allies".
ki-iš-ša-a-tim CH § 117 *kiššātim* "debt-slavery".
ṣi-ba-a-at CH § 100 "interest".
Lit. *ši-i-ma-a-tim* CUSAS 10, 1: 14 *šīmātim* "destinies".
Lit. *ta-še-la-a-tim* CUSAS 10, 1: 30 *tašēlātim* "joy".

§ 2.105. Pl. of the stat.:
a) Masc.:
mu-uš-ke-nu-ú AbB 5, 166: 7 *muškēnū* "they are commoners".
ša-ak-nu-ú AbB 9, 1: 28 *šaknū* "it is placed".
ga-am-ru-ú AbB 9, 244: 7 *gamrū* "they are ready".
wa-aš-bu-ú AbB 13, 121: 20; ARM 5, 35: 15; ARM 26/1, 311 no. 147: 9; ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 5, 46 "they sit".
b) Fem.:
ma-da-a ARM 2, 118: 12 *mādā* "they are numerous".
da-am-qa-a ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 3 *damqā* "they are good".

§ 2.106. Pl. of the imp.:
ep-ša-a AbB 6, 118: 28 *epšā* "do!"

§ 2.107. Pl. of prefixed verbal forms:
a) 3. p. masc.:
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ú AbB 2, 137: 5 *liballiṭū* "may they keep you well".
ú-ta-ru-ú AbB 3, 18: 16 *utarrū* "they will bring back".

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abbā'ū. Such an uncontracted form is, however, nowhere attested in OB (but, to be sure, it cannot be expected in most of the texts), and the obl. case ending in *-ē* likewise does not prove that it existed in OB, see § 5.167.

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i-la-ku-ú AbB 6, 185: 9 *illakū* "they go".
it-ta-la-[*k*]*u-ú* AbB 10, 41 r. 26 *ittalla*[*k*]*ū* "they will depart".
iš-ta-ap-ku-ú Edubba 7, 26: 4 *ištapkū* "they heaped up together".
i-ḫu-zu-ú ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 23 *īḫuzū* "they took".
ir-ṭù-pu-ú ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 50 *irṭupū* "they proceeded to".
iš-ḫi-ṭú-ú ARM 26/2, 447 no. 506: 10 *išḫiṭū* "they raided".

b) 3. p. fem.:
[*ú-*]*še*$_{20}$*-ri-ba-a* AbB 8, 113: 14 [*u*]*šēribā* "they brought in".
id-da-al-ḫa-a AbB 9, 152: 16 *iddalḫā* "they have disturbed".

§ 2.108. Suff. of the 2nd p. fem.:
ta-aš-pu-ri-i AbB 9, 230: 7 *tašpurī* "you (fem.) sent".[136]

§ 2.109. Suff. of the stat.:
ša-al-ma-a-ta … ba-al-ṭa-a-ta AbB 7, 104: 7 *šalmāta … balṭāta* "may you be well and healthy".
qù-ul-lu-la-a-ku AbB 9, 40: 24 *qullulāku* "I am humiliated".

§ 2.110. Noun patterns with a long vowel:

a) *PāS*:
qá-a-tum AbB 1, 90: 16 *qātum* "hand".
ša-a-ru-ú AbB 14, 58: 7 *šārū* "winds".
Lit. *ša-a-ru-um* OECT 11, 3: 1–8 "wind".
ma-a-ti ARM 28, 16: 29 *mātī* "my land".
ma-a-tum ARM 28, 57: 15; *ma-a-tam* ARM 28, 16: 36; ARM 28, 48: 61; ARM 28, 54 edge 12 *mātu*/*am* "land".

b) *PaRāS*:
a-la-a-kam AbB 4, 137: 10 *alākam* "to go".
ša-la-a-aš AbB 14, 59: 21 *šalāš* "three".
ma-qa-a-at ARM 1, 118 r. 39 *maqāt* "to fall".

c) *PāRiS*:
Lit. *wa-a-ši-*⌜*ib*⌝ CUSAS 10, 1: 14 *wāšib* "sitting".

d) *PaRRāS*:
er-re-e-ši AbB 14, 61: 10 *errēšī* "farmers".

e) *-ūt*-ending:
Lit. *eṭ-lu-ú-ta-am* CUSAS 10, 1: 9 *eṭlūtam* "manliness".

136 But also without plene spelling: *ta-aš-pu-ri* AbB 9, 230: 8 and [*t*]*a-ša-pa-ri* AbB 9, 230: 22.

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§ 2.111. Prons.:
šu-ú CH § 3 and *passim šū* "that, he".
a-na-a-ku AbB 6, 137: 19 *anāku* "I".
am-mi-i-ni AbB 4, 137: 7 *ammīni* "why".
ni-i-ni AbB 9, 49: 31 *nīni* "we".
ša-a-at AbB 14, 55: 23 *šāt* "she of".
ša-al-šu-nu-ú-ti AbB 14, 57: 19 *šālšunūti* "ask them!"
zi-it-ti-i ARM 5, 39: 6 *zittī* "my share".

§ 2.112. Particles:
[*l*]*u-ú* AbB 14, 42: 8 *lū* "verily".
la-a AbB 6, 137: 24 *lā* "not".
ki-i-ma AbB 13, 120: 6 *kīma*.

§ 2.113. Verbs I-weak:
ta-a-mu-ur AbB 1, 90: 13 *tāmur* "you saw".
ti-i-šu AbB 10, 177: 20 *tīšū* "you have".
ni-i-de AbB 9, 111: 15 *nīdē* "we know".[137]
uš-te-e-ṣí AbB 14, 55: 7 *uštēṣī* "I moved out".
uš-te-e-ṣú-ni-in-ni AbB 7, 186: 3 *uštēṣûninni* "they let me go out".
Lit. *šu-ú-li-i-ma* CUSAS 10, 1: 18 *šūlīma* "send up!"

§ 2.114. Verbs II-weak:
a) G-stem:
qu-ú-ul ARM 1, 67: 17 *qūl* "pay attention!"
Lit. *ši-i-ib* CUSAS 10, 1: 7 *šīb* "grow old!"
Lit. *ru-ú-uq-šum* CUSAS 10, 1: 22 *rūqšum* "it was distant for him".
Lit. *né-e-er-ma* CUSAS 10, 1: 32 *nērma* "is/was slain".
b) D-stem:
ú-ka-a-al AbB 2, 37: 6; ARM 28, 9: 5 *ukāl* "he holds".
te-e-er-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 4, 115: 19 *tēršunūšim* "return to them!"
ú-ta-a-ar ARM 26/2, 368 No. 450: 16 *utār* "he brings back".
ú-ši-i-im ARM 28, 16: 24 *ušīm* "I thought".
c) Š-stem:
úš-qa-a-al-ma! ARM 2, 77 r. 14 *ušqālma* "I will draw (your) attention to".

137 But the same text has *ni-de* AbB 9, 111: 10.

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§ 2.115. Verbs III-weak:

a) G-stem:

i-le-eq-qé-e AbB 3, 39: 37 *ileqqē* "he takes".
i-šu-ú AbB 3, 35: 24 *īšū* "it has".
i-ṭe$_4$-e-ḫe-e AbB 4, 47: 9 *iṭeḫḫē* "he approaches".
i-ba-aš-ši-i AbB 5, 166: 10, 15; AbB 6, 169: 17 *ibaššī* "it exists".
i-še$_{20}$-em-me-e AbB 6, 43 r. 2 *išemmē* "he hears".
i-še-me-e AbB 8, 141: 15 *išemmē* "he hears".
e-él-qé-e AbB 10, 6: 41 *elqē* "I took".
aq-bi-i AbB 10, 101: 13 *aqbī* "I said".
lu-ul-qé-e AbB 6, 195: 15 *lulqē* "I will take".
ad-di-i AbB 14, 45: 13 *addī* "I laid".
ti-de-e AbB 1, 48: 12; AbB 9, 57: 17; AbB 9, 150: 12; AbB 10, 2: 11; AbB 10, 190: 29; AbB 12, 30: 11, 15; AbB 14, 31: 10, 22 *tīdē* "you know".
i-de-e AbB 10, 188: 5; AbB 12, 80: 11; AbB 13, 181: 33 *īdē* "he knows".
ni-de-e AbB 6, 153: 17 *nīdē* "we know".
li-qé-e AbB 9, 150: 25 *liqē* "take!"
ri-ši-i AbB 14, 35: 17 *rišī* "get!"
na-ši-i AbB 3, 35: 12 *našī* "he bears".
[*k*]*a-li-i* AbB 6, 169: 9 [*k*]*alī* "held back".
za-ri-i AbB 6, 169: 12 *zarī* "is winnowed".
i-ka-al-la-a ARM 2, 115: 17 *ikallā* "he holds back".
ep-te-e ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 21 *eptē* "I opened".
ta-ka-al-la-a ARM 28, 43: 14 *takallā* "you (sg.) hold back".
ep-te-e ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 21 *eptē* "I opened".
ir-de$_4$-e ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 10 *irdē* "he led".
ti-de-e ARM 1, 5: 43 *tīdē* "you know".
i-de-e ARM 5, 33: 13; ARM 28, 44bis: 18 *īdē* "he knows/I know".
aq-bi-i ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 9 *aqbī* "I said".
a-la-wi-i ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 49 *alawwī* "I besiege".
ki-la-a ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 35 *kilā* "hold (sg.) back!"
Om. *i-ba-aš-ši-i* YOS 10, 24: 20 *ibaššī* "it exists".
Lit. *ip-te-e* Gilg. OB Ishchali 38 *iptē* "he opened".

b) Gtn-stem:

eš-te-ne-me-e AbB 3, 18: 18 *eštenemmē* "I constantly hear".[138]

138 AbB 3 p. 15 "Werde ich immer wieder … hören?" However, a question does not fit the context.

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c) Št-stem:
šu-ta-am-ṭú-ú ARM 28, 16: 15 *šutamṭū* (sg.) "it suffers reduction".
d) N-stem:
ib-ba-ši-i AbB 14, 55: 5 *ibbašī* "it appeared".
ip-pé-et-te-e AbB 13, 180: 20 *ippettē* "it is being opened".

§ 2.116. Weak nouns:
ṭe-e-em-ka AbB 2, 132: 14 *ṭēmka* "your report".
ṭe$_4$*-e-ma-am* AbB 2, 133: 9; *ṭe*$_4$*-e-mi-im* AbB 9, 1: 8 *ṭēma*/*im* "report".
bé-e-el-ka-a-ma AbB 10, 66: 3; AbB 13, 2: 3 *bēlkama* "your lord".
[*a-ṣ*]*e-e-er* ARM 28, 32: 15 [*aṣṣ*]*ēr* "to".
Lit. *ma-a-ar-ti* CUSAS 10, 1: 19 *mārti* "daughter".
Lit. *bi-i-tum* CUSAS 10, 1: 24 *bītum* "house".

§ 2.117. Plene vowel spellings are optional throughout and frequently alternate with simple spellings, sometimes even within a single text, e.g.:
ša kaspam i-di-nu-ú la id-di-nu AbB 6, 88: 10 *iddinū lā iddinū* "who gave silver and who not".
ma-du-ú-tum AbB 9, 49: 28 *mādūtum* "many", but *ma-du-tim* AbB 9, 49: 25.
di-nam kīma di-i-nim AbB 13, 10: 10 *dīnam kīma dīnim* "law according to the law".
ma-a-dam AbB 14, 62: 21 *mādam* "much", but *ma-di-iš* AbB 14, 62: 19 *mādiš* "very".
ṭe$_4$*-e-em* ARM 5, 16: 7 *ṭēm* "report", but *ṭe*$_4$*-em* ARM 5, 16: 4.
a-ḫi-i ARM 2, 71: 11 *aḫī* "my brother", but *a-ḫi* ARM 2, 71: 15.

§ 2.118. a) The following table gives statistics on vowel length written plene or with a simple vowel in two dossiers: the letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.), a dossier that relatively frequently uses plene vowel spellings, also in cases where no long vowel is involved, and the letters of Ilšu-nāṣir from Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.), which represent a usage generally found in OB.[139]

139 Plene spellings before *-ma*, pron. suffs., or vent. endings are not counted because short vowels in this position also tend to be written plene for reasons of word stress (see § 2.510). Short words like *i-in* ARM 27, 7: 23 *īn* "eye", *šu-ú* ARM 27, 18 r. 13 *šū* "that", *ši-i* ARM 27, 16: 29 *šī* "that" are also not counted because the scribes tend to avoid writing words with a single syllabic sign only.

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	Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)		Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.)	
	Plene	**Simple**	**Plene**	**Simple**
Masc. pl. of nouns	2	2	–	8
Masc. pl. of adj.	1	3	–	7
Fem. pl. of nouns	1	1	–	15
Pl. of the stat.	–	1	1	10
Pl. of prefixed verbal forms	1	20	–	27
Suff. of the stat.	1	1	1	2
Noun patterns with a long vowel	5	20	2	47
Pronouns	4	12	–	28
Particles	1	6	–	16
Verbs I-weak	5	9	1	13
Verbs II-weak	1	1	–	6
Verbs III-weak	6	9	–	15
Weak nouns	1	35	–	123

b) In both dossiers simple spellings are more frequent than plene vowel spellings. However, whereas in the dossier of Ṣilli-Šamaš plene vowel spellings occasionally occur for long vowels they are almost totally absent from the the dossier of Ilšu-nāṣir. Plene vowel spellings may occur in the middle of a word (especially noun patterns with a long vowel or verbs I-weak) or at the end of a word (especially verbs III-weak).

2.10 *Vowel Contraction*

2.10.1 Writing

§ 2.119. a) Two vowels in a sequence usually contract to a single vowel. This vowel is long, marked by a circumflex (^):

ra-bi-i-im AbB 2, 62: 16 *rabîm* < *rabī-im* "big".[140]

e-še-em-mu-ú ARM 28, 17: 7 *ešemmû* < *ešemmē-u* "I hear".

140 For *rabûm* instead of **rābum* see Krebernik 2006, 88 f.

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b) Whereas structural vowel length (type /ā/) is only occasionally written plene (§ 2.101), contracted vowels are written plene in ca. 90 percent of all cases:[141]

id-da-a-ak CH § 10 *iddâk* "he will be killed".

c) However, much more rarely simple spellings occur, too:[142]

id-da-ak CH § 11 *iddâk* "he will be killed".

i-qá-ab-bu-ma CH § 9 *iqabbûma* < *iqabbī-ū-ma* "they say".

a-ge-em CH iii 26 *agêm* "crown".

2.10.2 Rules of Contraction

§ 2.120. In the majority of cases the quality of the contracted vowel is identical with the quality of the second original uncontracted vowel.

a) /ā + a/ > /â/:

i-ta-a-am AbB 4, 11: 31 *itâm* < *itā-am* "boundary".

[*a*]*k-la-aš-šu-ma* FM 2, 97 no. 56: 29 *aklâššuma* < *aklā-am-šu-ma* "I kept him".

Om. *ru-ba-am* YOS 10, 59: 8 *rubâm* < *rubā-am* "prince".

b) /ā or a + u or ū/ > /û/:

ru-bu-um RA 61, 24: 15 *rubûm* < *rubā-um* "prince".

Lit. *ru-bu-ú* ZA 43, 306: 1 *rubû* < *rubā-ū* "princes".

Lit. *bu-la-at* OECT 11, 1: 46 *bûlāt* < *baʾūlāt* "subjects".

c) /ī/+ i/ī/ > /î/:

lā ta-na-ad-di-i AbB 6, 68: 3 *tanaddî* < *tanaddī-ī* "do not drop (fem.)!"

an-ni-iš AbB 8, 19: 24 *annîš* < *annī-iš* "hither".

an-ni-i-im ARM 28, 8 r. 5 *annîm* < *annī-im* "this".

d) /ī/ē + u/ū/ > /û/:

id-du-ú CH § 2 *iddû* < *iddī-u* "he has thrown" (subord.).

iq-bu-ú CH § 3 *iqbû* < *iqbī-u* "he has said" (subord.).

i-qá-ab-bu-ku-um AbB 4, 50: 8 *iqabbûkum* < *iqabbī-ū-* "they say to you".

te-el-qú-ú AbB 2, 26: 21 *telqû* < *telqē-u* "you took" (subord.).

e) /ū or u + a or ā/ > /â/:

ka-a-ta ARM 28, 24: 10 *kâta* < *kuʾāta* "you".

at-wa-a-am AbB 9, 49: 33 *atwâm* < *atwū-am* "to discuss".

na-ṭá-a-at AbB 2, 43: 20 *naṭât* < *naṭū-at* "is suitable".

Lit. *ša-at* UET 6/3, 889 ii 12 *šât*? < *šuʾat* "she is mistress".[143]

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141 Worthington 2010.

142 Worthington assumes that simple spellings are conditioned by a secondary shortening or loss of stress. However, this is difficult to prove.

143 Streck/Wasserman 2012, 200.

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f) /ū + u or ū/ > /û/:
i-šu-ú-ma AbB 2, 76: 8 *īšûma* < *īšū-ū-ma* "they have".
šu-tam-lu-ú AbB 4, 25: 6 *šutamlû* < *šutamlū-ū* "they are provided with".

§ 2.121. The vowel sequences /ā-i/ or /ā-ī/ and /u-i/ or /ū-i/ contract to /ê/ or, more rarely, to /î/.
a) /ā + i/ > /ê/:
la ta-ka-al-le-e(*-šu*) AbB 4, 140: 11; AbB 5, 171: 35 *lā takallê*(*šu*) < *takallā-ī*(*-šu*) "do not hold (fem.) (him) back!"
wa-ṣe-e-ia AbB 14, 206: 9 *waṣēja* < *waṣā-ija* "to go out".
me-e AbB 2, 4: 7 *mê* < *mā-ī* "water".
ta-ak-le-e OBTR 69: 7 *taklê* < *taklā-ī* "you (fem.) detained".
b) /ā + i/ > /î/:
ina tamkārē wa-ṣí-i AbB 12, 78: 28 *waṣî* < *waṣā'i* "when the merchants move out".
c) /u + i/ > /ê/:
še-e-em CH § 226, CH § 227 *šêm* < *šu-im* "his".
d) /ū + i/ > /î/:
PN DN-*ša-di-i* AbB 5, 34: 6 *šadî* < *šadū-ī* "DN is my mountain".

§ 2.122. The vowel sequences /ē-i/ or /ē-ī/ contract to /ê/:[144]
še-e-em AbB 14, 11: 18 *šêm* < *še-im* "barley".
li-qé-e AbB 10, 170: 25 *liqê* < *liqē-ī* "take (fem.)!"
te-el-te-qé-e AbB 1, 135: 24 *telteqê* < *telteqē-ī* "you (fem.) took".
te-le-qé-e-em AbB 6, 102: 12 *teleqqêm* < *teleqqē-ī-m* "you (fem.) take for me".
ṭe$_4$-ḫe-e-em AbB 10, 173: 9 *ṭeḫêm* < *ṭeḫē-im* "to come near".
de-ke-e-em AbB 2, 8: 8 *dekêm* < *dekē-im* "to call up".

2.10.3 The Vowel Sequences /ī/i/ē + a/ā/

§ 2.123. The vowel sequences /ī or i or ē + a or ā/ are either preserved or contract to /â/ or to /ê/. A dialectal distribution can be recognized.

§ 2.124. The letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.) only have uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:
na-am-ri-a-tim AbB 9, 49: 7 *namrī-ātim* "fattened animals".
ta-aq-bi-a-am-ma AbB 9, 110: 11 *taqbī-amma* "you said to me".
di-a-ši-im AbB 10, 177: 15 *dīāšim* "to thresh".

144 Kouwenberg 2010, 582. In principle, forms like *liqê* may be older than e-coloring, thus *liqā-ī* > *liqê* according to the rules in § 2.121. However, a form like *še-e-*IM probably shows

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§ 2.125. The letters from Larsa (SBab.) only have uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:

ki-a-am AbB 9, 19: 20 *kīʾam* "thus".
ra-bi-a-an ra-bi-a-an AbB 10, 67: 1 *rabī-ān rabī-ān* "every mayor".
ana da-ri-a-tim AbB 11, 168: 5 *dārī-ātim* "forever".

§ 2.126. The letters from Isin (SBab.) only have uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:

um-mi-a-nim AbB 9, 231: 24 *ummi-ānim* "creditor".
ra-bi-a-nu-um AbB 11, 159: 4 *rabī-ānum* "mayor".
ana da-ri-a-ti AbB 14, 204: 6 *darī-āti* "forever".

§ 2.127. Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.):

a) We almost always find uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:
ša-ni-a-am-ma AbB 2, 1: 22 *šanī-amma* "second".
iq-bi-a-am AbB 2, 3: 5 *iqbī-am* "he said to me".
ḫe-ri-a-a-at-ma AbB 2, 5: 4 *ḫerī-atma* "has been dug".

b) Once we find /â/:
i-il-la-am AbB 4, 109: 7 *illâm* < *illī-am* "is rising".

c) Once we find /ê/:
ḫa-de-nim AbB 2, 40: 21 *ḫadênim* < *ḫadiʾānim*[145] "date".

§ 2.128. The letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.) always have uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:

an-ni-a-am AbB 4, 48: 10 *annīʾam* "this".
i-ba-aš-ši-a AbB 4, 60: 16 *ibaššīʾā* "they exist".
lā te-gi-a AbB 4, 111: 10 *teggīʾā* "do not be negligent!"

§ 2.129. The letters from Sippar (NBab.) always have uncontracted forms.[146] Illustrative examples:

šu-ri-a-am AbB 6, 20: 14 *šūrīʾam* "conduct to me!"
ka-li-a-tu-nu-ma AbB 8, 101: 6 *kalīʾātunuma* "you are held".
šu-ur-ši-a-am-ma AbB 9, 11: 29 *šuršīʾamma* "cause to get!"

(if it does not stand for *šeʾim*) that the contraction rule described in this paragraph existed.

145 See *ḫa-di-a-nim* AbB 2, 27 r. 6.

146 Instead of *ta-aq-bé-em* OBTR 134: 22 read *ta-aq-bi-im taqbîm* < *taqbī-ī-m* "you (fem.) said to me".

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§ 2.130. Ḥarmal Letters (Diy.):
a) In most cases we find uncontracted forms. Illustrative examples:
ta-aq-bi-a-nim Sumer 14, 3: 9 *taqbīʾānim* "you said to me".[147]
ta-na-ad-di-a Sumer 14, 2: 16 *tanaddīʾā* "you throw".
ka-li-a-ku Sumer 14, 13: 22 *kalīʾāku* "I am held".
b) Once we find /â/:
i-di-nu-na-a-ši Sumer 14, 28: 14 *iddinūnâši* < *-niʾāši* "they gave it to us!"
c) /ê/ is found in a few cases:
ta-aš-me Sumer 14, 45: 8 *tašmê* < *tašmēʾā* "you (pl.) heard".
ta-aš-ta-me Sumer 14, 45: 17 *taštamê* < *taštamēʾā* "you (pl.) heard".
ta-aq-bé-nim Sumer 14, 3: 4 *taqbênim* < *taqbīʾānim* "you (pl.) said to me".[148]
ka-le-ti-ia Sumer 14, 12: 10 *kalêtīja* < *kalīʾātīja* "my kidneys".
iq-bu-né-ši Sumer 14, 17: 20 *iqbûnêši* < *-niʾāši* "they said to us".
šu-bi-la-né-ši Sumer 14, 17: 22 *šūbilannêši* < *-niʾāši* "send to us!"

§ 2.131. In the code of Ešnunna (Diy.) only uncontracted forms are attested:
iq-qí-a-ap LE B i 12 *iqqīʾap* "he shall be given credit".
i-ri-ab LE A ii 21 *irīʾab* "he shall replace".
ir-de-a-am-ma LE A iv 5 *irdēʾamma* "he led".

§ 2.132. Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.). Illustrative examples:
a) Uncontracted forms:
pí-a-tim ARM 5, 2 r. 15 *piʾātim* "side".
b) /ê/:
da-re-e-em ARM 1, 3 r. 21 *dārêm* < *dārīʾam* "lasting".
e-le-eq-qé-e-em ARM 1, 108: 27 *eleqqêm* < *eleqqēʾam* "I take".[149]
na-de-et ARM 1, 109: 11 *nadêt* < *nadīʾat* "is thrown".
ke-em ARM 4, 86: 7 *kêm* < *kīʾam* "thus".

§ 2.133. Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.). Illustrative examples:
a) Uncontracted forms:
uš-ta-ri-a-[*am*] ARM 27, 8: 25 *uštārīʾa*[*m*] "I brought".
ki-a-am ARM 27, 15: 7 *kīʾam* "thus".

147 The same text has contracted *ta-aq-bé-nim*, see § 2.130c.
148 The same text has uncontracted *ta-aq-bi-a-nim*, see § 2.130a. Therefore a mistake for *ta-aq-bi-⟨a-⟩nim*?
149 The same text has uncontracted *ki-a-am* ARM 1, 108: 24.

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b) /ê/:
ke-em ARM 27, 1: 25 *kêm* < *kīʾam* "thus".[150]
an-né-em ARM 27, 2: 42 *annêm* < *annīʾam* "this".
[*i*]*q-bé-e*[*m*] ARM 27, 13: 6 *iqbêm* <*iqbīʾam* "he said to me".[151]

§ 2.134. Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
a) Uncontracted forms:
an-ni-ki-a-am OBTR 65: 13; OBTR 70: 12 *annīkīʾam* "here".
ki-a-am OBTR 78: 4 *kīʾam* "thus".
b) Illustrative examples of /ê/:
iq-bé-e-em OBTR 58: 7 *iqbêm* < *iqbīʾam* "he said to me".
uš-ta-re-em OBTR 66: 14 *uštārêm* < *uštārīʾam* "he led to me".
i-le-e-em-ma OBTR 68: 6 *īlêmma* < *īlīʾamma* "came up".

§ 2.135. Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
a) Illustrative examples of uncontracted forms:[152]
ki-a-am ARM 28, 135: 12; ARM 28, 138: 7 *kīʾam* "thus".[153]
b) /ê/:
an-né-em ARM 28, 138: 20, 28 *annêm* < *annīʾam* "this".[154]

§ 2.136. Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris):
a) Illustrative examples of uncontracted forms:
an-ni-a-ti-im Shemshara 1, 53: 8 *annīʾātim* "this".
ki-a-am Shemshara 1, 53: 10 *kīʾam* "thus".
šu-uš-še/*ši-a-am* Shemshara 1, 54: 21, 29;[155] Shemshara 1, 56: 27 *šušše*/*īʾam* "deliver!"
a-ni-a-šum Shemshara 1, 55: 19 *anniʾāšum* "to us".
b) /â/:
i-na-ša-nim Shemshara 1, 58 r. 16 *inaššânim* < *inaššīʾānim* "they are moving on".
c) /ê/:
tu-še-eš-še$_{20}$-⌜*em*⌝ Shemshara 1, 54: 9 *tušeššêm* < *tušeššīʾam* "you delivered".[156]
i-il-le-em Shemshara 1, 73: 6 *illêm* < *illīʾam* "he will come up".[157]

150 The same text has uncontracted *ki-a-am* ARM 27, 1: 27, 42.
151 The same text has uncontracted *ki-a-a*[*m*] ARM 27, 13: 6.
152 For *ṣa-bi-am* ARM 28, 139: 23 *ṣabjam* < *ṣabʾam*, see § 2.169b.
153 The same text has contracted *annêm* twice (see § 2.135b).
154 The same text has uncontracted *kīʾam* (see § 2.135a).
155 The same text has contracted *tušeššêm* (see § 2.136c).
156 The same text has uncontracted *šušše'am* twice (see § 2.136a).
157 The same text has uncontracted *ki-a*!*-am* Shemshara 1, 73: 43 *kīʾam* "thus".

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§ 2.137. Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.):
a) Illustrative examples of uncontracted forms:
ki-a-am ARM 28, 18: 9 *kīʾam* "thus".[158]
an-ni-a-tim ARM 28, 19 r. 16 *annīʾatim* "these".[159]
an-ni-ki-a-am ARM 28, 20: 25 *annīkīʾam* "here".[160]
ni-qí-a-am ARM 28, 21: 5 *niqīʾam* "offering".[161]
i-qa-ab-bi-a-am ARM 28, 21: 20 *iqabbīʾam* "he says to me".[162]
b) /ê/:
i-qa-bé-em ARM 28, 18: 16 *iqabbêm* < *iqabbīʾam* "he says to me".[163]
iq-bé-em ARM 28, 19 r. 8 *iqbêm* "he said to me".[164]
an-ni-ke-em ARM 28, 20: 16 *annīkêm* < *annīkīʾam* "here".[165]
it-ta-ab-še-⌜*e*⌝ ARM 28, 21: 13 *ittabšê* < *ittabšīʾa* "they occurred".[166]
ša-né[*-em*] MARI 8, 784: 16 *šanê*[*m*] < *šanīʾam* "second".

§ 2.138. Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.):
a) Uncontracted forms:
i-il-li-a-am ARM 2, 51: 7 *illīʾam* "is coming up".
a-qí-a-ap ARM 2, 51: 15 *aqīʾap* "I entrust".
ú-ša-ri-a-kum ARM 5, 20: 9 *ušārīʾakkum* "I brought to you".[167]
b) Contraction to /ê/:
an-né-[*e*]*m* ARM 5, 20: 13 *annêm* < *annīʾam* "this".
i-ta-pa-la-né-ti-i ARM 5, 20: 24 *ītapalnêti* < *ītapalniʾāti* "he satisfied us".[168]
ma-aḫ-re-em ARM 28, 14: 9 *maḫrêm* < *maḫrīʾam* "previous".

158 The same text has contracted *iqabbêm* (see § 2.137b).
159 The same text has contracted *iqbêm* (see § 2.137b).
160 The same text has contracted *annīkêm* (see § 137b).
161 The same text has contracted *ittabšê* (see § 2.137b).
162 The same text has contracted *ittabšê* (see § 2.137b).
163 The same text has uncontracted *kīʾam* (see § 2.137a).
164 The same text has uncontracted *annīʾatim* (see § 2.137a).
165 The same text has uncontracted *annīkīʾam* (see § 2.137a).
166 The same text has uncontracted *niqīʾam* and *iqabbīʾam* (see § 2.137a).
167 The same text has contracted *annêm* and *ītapalnêti* (see § 2.138b).
168 The same text has uncontracted *ušārīʾakkum* (see § 2.138a).

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§ 2.139. a) The following table summarizes the distribution of uncontracted and contracted forms.

	uncontracted /i-a/	**contracted /â/**	**contracted /ê/**
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)	9	–	–
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	5	–	–
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	11	–	–
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	149	1	1
Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)	43	–	–
Letters from Sippar (NBab.)	9	–	–
Ḥarmal Letters (Diy.)	55	1	5
Code of Ešnunna (Diy.)	7	–	–
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	7[a]	–	12
Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.)	12[b]	–	6
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	3[c]	–[d]	15
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	2[e]	–	2
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	11	1	2
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)	8[f]	–	5
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	5[g]	–	5

a Six instances of *kīʾam*.
b Eleven instances of *kīʾam*.
c Only kīʾam and annīkīʾam.
d Since no unambiguous example of contracted /â/ can be found in the letters of Aqba-ḫammu, it is unlikely that *ša-a-ti* OBTR 83: 12; OBTR 84: 11 goes back to *šīʾāti* but rather to gender-indifferent *šuʾāti* (see § 4.100).
e Both instances *kīʾam*.
f Three instances of *kīʾam* and *annīkīʾam*.
g One instance of *kīʾam*.

b) Within the investigated dossiers, contraction to /ê/ never occurs in SBab. and almost never in NBab. Further examples from Bab. outside the investigated dossiers:[169]

SBab. *li-qé-nim*⟨⟨*im*⟩⟩*-ma* AbB 6, 185: 13 *liqênimma* < *liqēʾānim* "take!"[170]

169 See Mayer 2015, 180 with further examples from SBab. (an omen text and a ritual).
170 For SBab. see *ṭù* (for the use of *ṭù* see § 2.467) in *li-ba-al-l*[*i*]*-ṭù-ku-nu-ti* AbB 6, 185: 5 *libal-liṭūkunūti* "may they keep you alive".

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SBab. *an-né-et-tim lā an-né-et-tim* CUSAS 36, 175: 31 *annêtim* < *annīʾātim* "these".[171]

Bab. *ta-aq-bé-ni-im* AbB 1, 81: 8 *taqbênim* < *taqbīʾānim* "you said to me".

Bab. *iq-bé-em* AbB 7, 61: 6 *iqbêm* < *iqbīʾam* "he told me".

Bab. [*šu*]*-re-ni-im* AbB 6, 188: 28 [*šū*]*rênim* < *šūrīʾānim* "bring to me!"

Bab. *ta-aq-bé-nim* CUSAS 36, 161: 11 *taqbênim* < *taqbīʾānim* "you told me".

Lit. *a-pé-ti-im* AfO 50, 15 ii 13 *apêtim* < *apīʾātim* "the clouded (people)".

Lit. *tu-ut-te-él* AfO 50, 15 ii 8 *tuttêl* < *tuttīʾal* "she causes to sleep".

c) In MidEuphr. and in UpMes., contraction to /ê/ is more frequent than uncontracted /i-a/, with the exception of uncontracted *kīʾam*/*annīkīʾam*, apparently frozen forms (although *kêm* and *annīkêm* rarely occur as well). In Diy., Etigris, amd NSyr., /ê/ also occurs, but less frequently than uncontracted /i-a/.[172] In SBab. and and NBab. uncontracted /i-a/ is the norm. Uncontracted /i-a/ and contraction to /ê/ may occur within one and the same text, sometimes even with the same word, demonstrating that /i-a/ and /ê/ were free variants with some scribes.[173]

d) Contraction to /â/ only rarely occurs. Outside the specifically investigated dossiers:[174]

i-ra-ab-bi-a-na-ši AbB 2, 135: 12 *irabbīʾannâši* < *-niʾāši* "will she grow up with us?"

i-ṭe$_4$*-ḫa-a-am* AbB 9, 184: 11 *iṭeḫḫâm* < *iṭeḫḫēʾam* "it will arive".

lu-ša-ra-ki-iš-ši AbB 1, 134: 12 *lušārâkkišši* < *lušārīʾakkišši* "let me cause (someone) to direct her to you".

i-ba-a-at CUSAS 36, 176: 17 *ibât* < *ibīʾat* "he stays overnight".

ú-⌜*ṭe*$_4$*-eḫ*⌝*-ḫa-ak-kum* RATL p. 141 no. 71: 11 *uṭeḫḫâkkum* < *uṭeḫḫē-am-kum* "he brings close to you!"

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171 For SBab. see *ṭù* in *ip-ṭù-ur-šu-ma* CUSAS 36, 175: 9 *ipṭuršuma* "she redeemed". But the same text does not contract in *le-mi-a-ku* CUSAS 36, 175: 17 *lemīʾāku* "I am unwilling" and in *ú-ṣí-a-am* CUSAS 36, 175: 28 *ūṣīʾam* "I came out".

172 The distribution of /ê/ is perhaps due to Amorite influence (see Streck 2000, 187). In Amorite, the syllable /ja/ may occur in writing as *e*, e.g., *Ḫa-ab-di-e-ra-aḫ* ARM 7, 140 r. 14 < *ʿAbdi-jaraḥ* "Slave of Jaraḥ". This *e* perhaps stands for /ji/ or /je/: *ʿAbdi-ji*/*eraḥ*. Further contraction also occurs (see Streck 2000, 188), e.g., *Ab-di-ra-aḫ* YOS 5, 137: 20 *ʿAbdî*/*êraḥ*. This in turn might speak for an interpretation of *iq-bé-e-em* as *iqbiji*/*em* rather than *iqbêm*. In this connection see also seethe unique form Lit. *pa-ti-ji-it-ku* Fs. Reiner 192: 66 *patījitku* < *patījatku* < *patī-at-ku* "is open for you".

173 This explains why broken spellings with a mix of uncontracted /i-a/ and contracted /ê/ rarely occur (see § 2.33).

174 For further examples see § 4.117b (*-nâti*).

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Roy. *ištū ūm ṣa-at* RIME 4, 605: 34 *ṣât* < *ṣīʾāt* "from distant day(s)" (Jaḫdun-Lim).

2.11 *Preservation of Contiguous Vowels*

§ 2.140. As an archaism, in royal inscriptions and in literary texts contiguous vowels are sometimes preserved:

Roy. *ibnīʾu* RIME 4, 349: 43 "(that which) he has built".
Lit. *ú-šar-bí-ù-šu* CH i 15 *ušarbīʾūšu* "they made great".
Lit. *ib-bi-ù* CH i 17 *ibbīʾū* "they named".
Lit. *ar-ba-im* CH v 12 *arbāʾim* "four".
Lit. *la-li-ju*(PI)*-um* FM 14 ii 9 *lalījum* "kid".

§ 2.141. a) Contiguous vowels are also frequently preserved in the independent pronoun *šuʾāti* "him" and rarely in *šuʾāšim* "to him", probably in order to keep the contrast to fem. *šīʾāti* and *šīʾāšim* in analogy to the nom. forms *šū*: *šī*:

šu-a-ti AbB 2, 60: 10; AbB 6, 142: 14; AbB 14, 205: 20.
šu-a-ši-im AbB 2, 60: 8.

b) But contracted forms occur, too:[175]

ša-a-ti AbB 4, 55: 19; AbB 4, 57: 13; AbB 4, 68: 10; AbB 9, 199: 11[176] *šâti* < *šuʾāti* "him".

c) Uncontracted *šu-a-am* AbB 3, 79: 9 "his" (§ 4.30c.) is perhaps formed after *šuʾāti* and *šuʾāšim*.

§ 2.142. a) If double /ʾʾ/ separates two contiguous vowels, contraction may not take place (many examples in §§ 2.173, 183):

tu-uš-ta-ḫa-a-ši AbB 11, 5: 13 *tuštaʾʾāši* "you treat her lightly".
[*ḫi-t*]*a-ú-ṭì-im* AbB 9, 117: 15 [*ḫit*]*aʾʾuṭim* "to constantly watch".

b) But in other cases the vowels are contracted (further examples in § 2.174):

e-le AbB 14, 206: 18 *elê* < *eleʾʾē* "I can".

§ 2.143. a) Sometimes in loanwords or words of unknown origin:

ki-la-ú-tam! ARM 22, 276 i 40 *kilaʾūtam* "*k.* festival".
i-gi-SA-⌜*i*⌝ FM 2, 101 no. 60 r. 20 *igisāʾī* "dues" < Sumerian *igi-sá*.

b) Frequently in words with strong /ʾ/ (many examples in § 2.175):

le-ú UCP 10/1, 70: 5 f. *lēʾū* "boards".

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175 See § 4.99 for the dialectal distribution of *šuʾāti*, *šâti*, *šêti*, etc.

176 All four refs. from the letters of Lu-Ninurta. The same author, however, also uses uncontracted *šu-a-ti* AbB 4, 111: 19; AbB 4, 125: 11; AbB 4, 154: 22. Once he uses *šu-a-tu* AbB 11, 189: 23.

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c) Also in some other words of Sem. etymology:

pa-ag-ra-i ARM 14, 12 r. 4; ARM 26/1, 449 no. 220: 22; ARM 26/1, 155 no. 25: 38 *pagrā'ī* "funerary offerings".

mu-ra-aq-qì-⌜*ú*⌝ OBTR 324: 14 *muraqqī'ū* "maker of perfumes".[177]

d) In part, contracted forms occur with the same words:

pa-ag-re-e ARM 10, 63: 15, *pa-ag-re-em* ARM 27, 59: 6 *pagrê(m)* <*pagrā'ī*/*pagrā'im* "funerery offering(s)".

inūma ki-lu-ú-ti FM 12, 220 M.12789: 5 *kilûtim* "at the occasion of the *k*. festival".

2.12 *Vowel Elision*

§ 2.144. The second of a sequence of two non-final short vowels in open syllables excluding pron. suffs. is usually elided:[178]

a) In adj. with noun pattern *PaRaS*, *PaRiS*, or *PaRuS*:

dam-qá-am AbB 4, 1: 10 "good" *damqam* < *damiqam* "good".

Lit. *ra-ap-ša-am* ZA 75, 204: 100 *rapšam* < *rapašam* "broad".

Lit. *le-em-nam* CH li 56 *lemnam* < *lemunam* "evil".

b) In the pl. of fem. nouns:

Om. *na-ap-ša-at* YOS 10, 31 ix 20 *napšāt* < *napišāt* "throat".

Lit. *tu-uk-la-at* RA 46, 94: 14 *tuklāt* < *tukulāt* "trust".

c) In the stat.:

da-am-qú ARM 4, 34: 14 *damqū* < *damiqū* "they are good".

dam-qá-at AbB 10, 12: 10 *damqat* < *damiqat* "she is good".

d) In the imp. G:

ri-ik-ba-am-ma ARM 2, 53: 7 *rikbamma* < *rikabamma* "ride!"

e) In the perf. G and pret. Gt:

iḫ-ta-al-qú ARM 1, 1 r. 9 *iḫtalqū* < *iḫtaliqū* "they disappeared".

ip-ta-aš-šu ARM 22, 328 ii 47 *iptaššū* < *iptašašū* "they anointed themselves".

f) In various forms of the Gt-stem:

mi-it-ḫa-ṣí-im-ma AbB 1, 121 r. 10 *mitḫaṣīmma* < *mitaḫaṣīmma* "fight!"

g) In the pret. and ptc. N:

iṣ-ṣa-ab-tu ARM 2, 30: 5 *iṣṣabtu* < *iṣṣabitu* "he was seized".

mu-un-na-ab-ti ARM 13, 118: 13 *munnabtī* < *munnabitī* "refugees".

§ 2.145. In literary texts, vowel elision may take place also in pron. suffs.:

Lit. *mu-šu-li-it-ta-aš-nu* AfO 50, 16 r. i 17, 20 *mušūlittašnu* < *mušūlittašunu* "who causes them to bear children".

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177 Note the archaic sign value *qì*.

178 For paradigmatic reasons, vowel elision does not take place in Št forms of verbs II-weak like *šutakūnum*, etc., see Kouwenberg 2010, 47.

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Lit. *ri-ig-ma-aš-nu* Or. 87, 19 ii 14 *rigma-šnu* "their clamor".

Lit. *uz-na-aš-nu* Or. 87, 27 v 45 *uznašnu* "their ears".

§ 2.146. Exceptionally, vowel elision occurs within names at the word boundary:

PN (*A*)-*aḫ-mar-ši* UET 5, 74: 3; UET 5, 502: 26 *Aḫmaršī* < *Aḫam-aršī* "I have obtained a brother".

§ 2.147. Exceptionally, vowel elision occurs after or within a closed syllable:

a) Mainly in literary texts in the *tan*-infix of the Gtn present:

Om. *it-na-ar-ra-a*[*d*] AfO 18. 65: 4 *itnarrad* < *ittanarrad* "keeps descending".[179]

Lit. *ta-at-na-da-an-ši* VS 10, 214 ii 9 *tatnaddanši* < *tattanaddan-* "she gives it always".[180]

b) In the Ntn present:[181]

it-na-ak-ki-iš FM 2, 164 no. 88: 18 *itnakkis* < *ittanakkis* "it is usually cut".

c) In the Gt present:

Lit. *lā ta-at-pa-li-ši* VS 10, 214 vi 45 *tātpallīši* < *tātappalīši* "do not discuss with her!"

d) Rarely after /l/ in forms of the verb *alākum* "to go":[182]

la ta-[*a*]*t-ta-na-al-k*[*a*] ARM 1, 5: 22 *lā tattanalk*[*ā*] < *tattanallakā* "do not go!"

il-ku ARM 5, 74: 9 *ilkū* < *illikū* "they went".[183]

e) In the noun *aštum* < *aššatum* "wife":[184]

aš-ti AbB 9, 146: 12; AbB 11, 100: 10 *ašti*.[185]

§ 2.148. Exceptionally, vowel elision occurs with long vowels before a consonant of high sonority:[186]

ši-ka-a-r[*i*] ARM 2, 124: 6 *šikāri*, *ši-ka-a-rum* UET 7, 76 r. 5 *šikārum* "beer", but Lit. *ši-ik-ri-iš* Atr. 96: 7 *šikriš* < *šikāriš* "for beer".[187]

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179 See Kouwenberg 2010, 418.

180 For other instances see Kouwenberg 2010, 418.

181 See Kouwenberg 2010, 427.

182 See Finet 1956, 3.

183 Or "they will go", see Durand 1998, 374.

184 To be combined with the word *aštum* "woman" (AHw. 85 "Fw. für ein weibliches Tier?", CAD A/2, 475 "woman (in Hurr.)"), attested only in SB lexically?

185 Further refs.: AHw. 83 *aššatum* 1 and CAD A/2, 462.

186 A similar case is *labīrum* "old": OB spellings *la-bé-e-ri-šu* AbB 4, 123: 10 and lex. *la-bi-i-rum* MSL 3, 218: 14 favor a long /ī/ (CAD L 26; AHw. 524 has *labirum*), but in younger texts a form *labru* occurs as well.

187 AHw. 1232 has the entry *šikārum* with by-form *šikrum*, CAD Š/2, 420 *šikarum* and *šikrum*.

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§ 2.149. Sometimes vowel elision does not take place before consonants of high sonority. Rarely, a vowel is even introduced anew in the same environment:

a) Before /r/:[188]

a-ša-ri-iš ARM 1, 91: 7 *ašariš* "thither".

i-ša-ri-iš ARM 2, 59: 9 *išariš* "equally".

e-pé-ri AbB 14, 200: 5, 8 *eperī* "earth".

na-ka-ri-im AbB 6, 76 r. 8 *nakarim* "hostile".

na-ka-ra-am AbB 10, 3: 14 *nakaram* "he is alien to me".

ši-pí-ra-tim ARM 14, 110: 11; FM 2, 100 no. 59: 7 *šipirātim* "messages".

zi-ka-ra-am ARM 4, 24: 12 *zikaram* "male".

sí-ki-re-e ARM 14, 22: 25 *sikirē* "dams".[189]

Math. *ga-me-ru-ú-tim* MCT 45a: 7 *gamerūtim* "complete".

Lex. *a-ša-ri-ki-a-am* MSL 4, 66: 16 *ašarīkī'am* "there".

Roy. *nu-ku-ra-tum* RIME 4, 604: 71 *nukurātum* "hostilities".

Lit. *pu-zu-ra-tim* RA 46, 92: 70, 72 *puzurātim* "secrets".

Lit. *na-ki-ri* CH ii 68 *nakirī* "enemies".[190]

Lit. DN ... DN_2 ... *sà-da-ru* CUSAS 10, 1: 33 *sadarū*? "DN (and) DN_2 stand/stood in a row".[191]

b) Before /l/:

PN *Ba-li-ṭù-um* UET 5 p. 33 *Baliṭum* "Alive".[192]

Lit. *a-ka-lam* Gilg. OB II 87 *akalam* "bread"..[193]

c) Before /n/:

ḫa-ta-ni AbB 11, 148: 10 *ḫatanī* "my in-law".[194]

⌜*ú*⌝!-*zu-ni-ia* ARM 28, 52 r. 7 *uzunīja* "my ears".

d) Before /m/:

bu-ṭú-ma-tum ARM 21, 153: 12; ARM 21, 155: 13 *buṭumātum* "terebinths".

See Kogan 2011a, 241 for original short second vowel. *šikārum* is a secondary development, thus forms like *šikriš* may also develop from *šikarum*.

188 Also in names, e.g., *Qa-ba-ra-a*^{ki} ARM 2, 13: 4 alongside *Qa-ab-ra-a*^{ki} ARM 1, 121: 8. Mayer 2015, 180 mentions *ṭaridum* "expelled". Both AHw. and CAD assume, however, a form *ṭarīdum*.

189 For this interpretation see www.archibab.fr/T8372.

190 But Om. *na-ak-ra-am* YOS 10, 31 viii 35 *nakram* "enemy".

191 The word is written in smaller signs below the line, because the scribe added it later, or for lack of space.

192 But Lit. *ba-al-ṭú-tim* CH l 35 *balṭūtim*.

193 But *ak-lam* Gilg. OB II 96 *aklam*.

194 CAD Ḫ 148 transcribes the word as *ḫatānum* with by-form *ḫatnum*. For *ḫatanum* with short /a/ see the cognates in Arabic (Wehr 1985, 321) and Hebrew (Koehler/Baumgartner 1967, 350).

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§ 2.150. In the pl. of fem. nouns, vowel elision sometimes does not take place even if no consonant with high sonority is present:[195]

pí-qí-da-tu-ka ARM 18, 27: 4 *piqidātuka* "your shipments".

Om. *bu-tu-qá-tim* YOS 10, 46 iv 46 *butuqātim*, *bu-tu-qá-*[*tum*] YOS 10, 26 iii 29 *butuqā*[*tum*] "breaches".

§ 2.151. In Sumerian and Amorite[196] loan words too, vowel elision is optional.

a) Sumerian:

nu-ḫa-ti-mi-im TCL 10, 106: 9 *nuḫatimmim* "cook", but *nu-uḫ-ti-mi* ARM 13, 101: 30 *nuḫtimmī* "cooks".

a-ši-la-le-e AbB 1, 26: 14 *ašilalê* "luxurious things".

Lit. *ka-ra-ši-im* CH iv 13 *karašim* "catastrophe", but *ana ka-ar-ši-šu ikmisū* FM 9, 200 no. 47 r. 13 *karšišu* "they assembled for his annihilation".

b) Amorite:

ia-ba-mi-ša-⌜*ma*⌝ OBTR 143: 10 *jabamišama* "of her brother-in-law".

mar-bi-qa-tum ARM 9, 20: 6 *marbiqatum* "necklace(?)".[197]

4 *ra-ba-ba-tam* FM 3, 10 no. 1 r. 8 *rababātam* "40,000", but 5 *ra-ab-ba-tim* ARM 28, 16: 16 *rabbātim* "50,000".

ba!*-ta-ri-im* ARM 14, 75: 24 *batarim* "ravine".

3 Consonants

3.1 *Phonemic Inventory of Consonants*

§ 2.152. OB distinguishes the following consonantal phonemes:

Phoneme	Reconstructed Pronunciation	Traditional Pronunciation	Regular correspondences with Proto-Semitic consonants[198]
/b/	[b] bilabial voiced stop	English *b*oy	/b/
/p/	[p] bilabial voiceless stop	English *p*ost	/p/
/m/	[m] bilabial voiced nasal	English *m*other	/m/

195 It remains unclear whether cases like *nukurātum*, *puzurātum*, and *šipirātum* belong here rather than to the examples in § 2.149a.

196 For Amorite loanwords see Streck 2000, 128 § 1.104.

197 See the discussion in Streck 2000, 105.

198 See Kogan 2011, 55–59.

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(*cont.*)

Phoneme	Reconstructed Pronunciation	Traditional Pronunciation	Regular correspondences with Proto-Semitic consonants
/w/	[w] bilabial voiced fricative	English *w*ell	/w/
/d/	[d] dental voiced stop	English *d*oor	/d/
/t/	[t] dental voiceless stop	English *t*est	/t/
/ṭ/	[t’] dental voiceless(?) glottalized stop	Arabic *ṭ*, i.e., velarized	/ṭ/
/n/	[n] dental voiced nasal	English *n*ose	/n/
/r/	[r] dental voiced trill	Spanish *r*ey	/r/
/z/	[dz] dental voiced affricate with allophone [z] (dental voiced sibilant)	English *z*ero	/z/, /ḏ/
/s/	[ts] dental voiceless affricate with allophone [s] (dental voiceless sibilant)	English *s*on	/s/
/ṣ/	[ts’] dental voiceless glottalized affricate	Hebrew *ṣ*, i.e., German *Z*ahn, or Arabic *ṣ*, i.e., velarized	/ṣ/, /ḍ/, /ẓ/
/l/	[l] alveolar voiced lateral	English *l*and	/l/
/š/	[tɬ] affricated(?) alveolar voiceless lateral(?)	English *sh*ark	/š/, /ś/, /ṯ/
/j/ or /y/	[j] prepalatal voiced fricative	English *y*ear	/j/
/g/	[g] palatal voiced stop	English *g*arden	/g/
/k/	[k] palatal voiceless stop	English *c*ar	/k/
/q/	[k’] palatal glottalized voiceless stop	Arabic *q*, i.e., velar	/q/
/ḫ/	[ḫ] velar voiceless fricative	Scottish lo*ch*	/ḫ/, /ḥ/
/ʾ/	[ʾ] glottal voiceless stop	German be-achten	/ʾ/, /h/, /ḥ/, /ʿ/, /ǧ/

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3.2 /ʾ/

3.2.1 Pronunciation

§ 2.153. /ʾ/ (aleph) is a glottal voiceless stop. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /ʾ/. The loss of Proto-Semitic /h/, /ḥ/, /ʿ/, /ġ/ and frequently also /j/ (rarely /w/) causes the rise of secondary /ʾ/ in order to avoid a syllable-initial vowel, alien to Akk. (§ 2.158).

3.2.2 Phonemic and Secondary /ʾ/ and Its Writing

§ 2.154. Neither cuneiform orthography nor the traditional transcription distinguish between phonemic and secondary /ʾ/. /ʾ/ is often indicated by plene vowel spellings,[199] more rarely by Ḫ-spellings or by the sign É = *ʾà*, and frequently, especially at the beginning of a word, it is not indicated at all in writing. Alternations between these spellings show that they have the same value:[200]

a) Alternation between plene vowel spelling and Ḫ-spelling:

na-a-du-um-ma i-na-aḫ-i-du-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 3, 94: 12 *naʾādumma inaʾidūšunūšim* "they are most concerned about them".

tu-uš-ta-ḫa-šum AbB 4, 53: 18 *tuštaʾāšum* "you act indifferently towards him", but *šu-ta-i-im* AbB 4, 53: 16 *šutaʾîm* "to act indifferently".

e-ḫi-il-ti-šu CH § 39 *eʾiltišu* "his liability", but *i-il-ti-šu* CH § 38.

Om. *ú-wa-ḫe-e-er* // *ú-wa-e-er* CUSAS 18, 12: 69 // YOS 10, 56 i 17 *uwaʾer* "he has given orders".

Lit. *ḫa-ḫi/i*[201]*-iṭ* CT 58, 28: 2 *ḫāʾiṭ* "who inspects".

b) Alternation between Ḫ-spelling and unindicated /ʾ/:

tu-ub-ta-na-ḫa-li AbB 3, 15: 23 *tubtanaʾalī* "you are increasing all the time", but *tu-ub-ta-i-li* AbB 3, 15: 13 *tubtaʾilī* "you increased all the time".

§ 2.155. The sign AḪ[202] stands for /vowel + ʾ/ or /ʾ + vowel/.

a) /vowel + ʾ/:

ú-na-aḫ-ḫi-id ARM 6, 20: 20 *unaʾid* "I instructed".

ne-eḫ-ra-ri-im ARM 2, 44: 16 *neʾrārim* "help".

Lit. *na-aḫ-ra-ru-um* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 98 r. 4 *naʾrārum* "help".

b) /ʾ + vowel/:

nu-uḫ(AḪ)*-ú* AbB 13, 179: 13 *nuʾû* "our".

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199 At the beginning of closed syllables, see § 2.161.

200 See Kouwenberg 2010, 520.

201 The scribe wrote the two signs ḪI and I in similar size one above the other, apparently to indicate two alternative spellings.

202 See von Soden/Röllig 1991, 45 f.

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i-na-aḫ-i-du-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 3, 94: 12 *ina”idūšunūšim* “they are concerned about them”.

ú-na-aḫ-i-du-ka AbB 13, 76: 12 *una”iduka* “I gave you instructions”.

ú-ba-aḫ-a-ma AbB 1, 138: 21 *uba”āma* “I will search”.

wu-uḫ(AḪ)*-ra-ku* ARM 5, 27: 36 *wu”urāku* “I am under orders”.

§ 2.156. a) Instead of secondary /ʾ/between vowels we sometimes find secondary /w/ (spelled PI, see § 2.490) or secondary /j/ (in most cases spelled IA, sometimes PI, see § 2.228). The spelling *-Ci-a-aC* renders secondary /ʾ/, not secondary /j/, because otherwise we would expect a writing *ia*; moreover, the rare spellings with Ḫ also indicate /ʾ/, not /j/.

b) The different glides are, however, exchangeable to a certain degree,[203] e.g.:

nam-ri-a-t[*i*]*m* AbB 13, 48 r. 4 *namrīʾātim* “fattened animals” alongside *nam-ri-ia-tim* AbB 13, 48: 5 *namrījātim*.

3.2.3 Long /ʾʾ/

§ 2.157. /ʾ/ may be lengthened,[204] which is proved by two kinds of spellings:

a) Double Ḫ:

ta-aḫ-ḫi-it-tam AbB 4, 111: 17 *taʾʾittam* < *tanʾidtam* “information”.

nu-uḫ-ḫu-ud AbB 6, 145: 14 *nuʾʾud* “he has been alerted”.

ú-⌜*ba*⌝*-aḫ-ḫi-ma* CUSAS 36, 156: 7 *ubaʾʾīma* “I searched”.

i ni-iḫ-ḫa-ri-ir Sumer 14, 39: 20 *niʾʾarir* “let us help”.

ú-na-aḫ-ḫi-da-an-ni ARM 2, 88: 20 *unaʾʾidanni* “he instructed me”.

nu-uḫ-ḫi-di-ma ARM 10, 126: 20 *nuʾʾidīma* “give instruction!”

Lit. *ta-na-aḫ-ḫi-id* FM 14 ii 38 *tanaʾʾid* “you worry”.

Lit. *ú-we-eḫ-ḫ*[*u-ú*] CUSAS 10, 18: 23 *uweʾʾû* “he acted fraudulently”.[205]

b) Single Ḫ + plene vowel spelling:

ub-ta-aḫ-i-il AbB 13, 85: 18 *ubtaʾʾil* “I enlarged”.[206]

ú-na-aḫ-i-id-ka AbB 1, 118: 6 *unaʾʾidka* “I gave you instruction”.

3.2.4 Word-Initial /ʾ/

§ 2.158. Word-initial /ʾ/ either preserves Proto-Semitic /ʾ/ or is a secondary phoneme in order to avoid vocalic onset after the loss of initial (Proto-Semitic)

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203 For the exchangeability of /ʾ/, /w/, and /j/ see Reiner 1964, 176.

204 Pace CAD, which assumes that aleph cannot be lengthened and therefore writes, e.g., for the present G *ina”id* instead of *ina”id* (CAD N/1, 1).

205 Here is no “false gemination” (George ibid. p. 153 f.). For *wu”û* see AHw. 1498 and CAD W 411.

206 The spelling *ú-na-aḫ-i-du-ka* AbB 13, 76: 12 for *una”iduka* “I advised you” is, however, not decisive.

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/h/, /ḫ/, /ʿ/, /ġ/, /w/, or /j/. Normally, word-initial /ʾ/, regardless of its etymology, is not indicated at all, not because it did not exist but because it was "automatically" pronounced in this position.[207]

a) /ʾ/ < /ʾ/:
úr-ri AbB 14, 60: 9 (ʾ)*urri* "day".

b) /ʾ/ < /h/:
a-la-ak-tim AbB 9, 37: 24 (ʾ)*alaktim* "caravan".

c) /ʾ/ < /ḫ/:
e-mu-šu CH §161 (ʾ)*emušu* "his father-in-law".

d) /ʾ/ < /ʿ/:
e-pé-ri AbB 14, 200: 5, 8 (ʾ)*eperī* "earth".

e) /ʾ/ < /ġ/:
PN *Ú-za-lum* TCL 10, 110: 21 (ʾ)*Uzālum* "Gazelle".

f) /ʾ/ < /w/:
al-da-at AbB 7, 106: 21 (ʾ)*aldat* "she has born".

g) /ʾ/ < /j/:
Lit. *i-ša-ra-at* CH xlvii 45 (ʾ)*išarat* "is just".

§ 2.159. We rarely find Ḫ-spellings alternating with more frequent ø-spellings. In some cases Ḫ-spellings exceptionally render word-initial /ʾ/ (certainly with /ʾ/ < Proto-Semitic /ʾ/). In other cases Ḫ-spellings seem rather to be alternative /ḫ/-reflexes of Proto-Semitic gutturals.[208] [209]

a) *urrum*:
ḫu-ri AbB 5, 219 r. 8 (ʾ)*urrī* (/ʾ/ < /ʾ/) "daytime".
Elsewhere always ø-spelling, e.g., *ur-ra-am* AbB 8, 28: 17 (ʾ)*urram* "tomorrow".

b) *elûm*:
ḫi-li-a-am Edubba 7, 26: 14 (ʾ)*illīʾam* (/ʾ/ < /j/) "comes to light".
Elsewhere always ø-spelling.[210]

c) *adannum*:
ḫa-da-nim ARM 2, 78: 12 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*adannim* (/ʾ/ or /ḫ/ < /ʿ/) "fixed term".
ø-spelling:[211] *a-da-nam* AbB 9, 19: 15 "fixed term".

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207 Therefore, word-initial /ʾ/ is not transcribed in Akk. studies. In the following paragraphs, it is indicated in the transcription, for the sake of clarity, by (ʾ).

208 See Kogan 2001 for /ḫ/ as a reflex of Proto-Semitic /ġ/ in Akk. The /ḫ/-reflex can be stable, but it may also alternate with ø-reflex (for the latter case see Kogan 2001, 278–282).

209 Kouwenberg 2010, 521–525, understands these Ḫ-spellings as cases of "strong" /ʾ/. However, it remains unclear how word-initial strong /ʾ/ would be different from secondary /ʾ/.

210 See AHw. 207 *elû* 5 with refs.

211 In post-OB Akk. always ø-spelling.

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d) *apparûm*/*apparītum*:

ḫa-ap-pa-ar-ri-tum KTT 373: 5 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*apparītum* (/ʾ/ or /ḫ/ < /ġ/) "with coarse hair".[212]

Lex. *ḫa-ap-pa-ar-ru-ú* PBS 5, 147: 5.[213]

e) *ērebum*:

Lex. *ḫe-re-e-bu, ḫe-re-ba-am* CAD A/2, 265 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*ērebu*/*am* (/ʾ/ or /ḫ/ < /ġ/) "crow".

The only other OB ref. has initial /(ʾ)e/: *e-ri-bu* TCL 1, 174: 5.[214]

f) (*ḫ*)*ullum*:

ḫu-ul-lum ARM 9, 108: 1 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*ullum* (/ʾ/ or /ḫ/ < /ġ/?)[215] "neck ring".

O-spelling: Lit. *ul-la* Atr. 260: 243; 80: 19; 84: 28.

g) (*ḫ*)*arum*:

ḫa-ri AbB 9, 2: 20 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*arī* (/ʾ/ or /ḫ/ < /ġ/?)[216] "leaves".

Med. *ḫa-ar-ti* BAM 393: 21 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*arti* "foliage".[217]

Elsewhere in OB O-spellings with initial /(ʾ)a/ or /(ʾ)e/, e.g., *a-ri* AbB 6, 57: 22.

h) (*ḫ*)*urʾudum*:

Om. *ḫu-ur-ḫu-di-im* YOS 10, 40: 3 *ḫ*/(ʾ)*urʾudim* "throat".[218]

O-spelling: Om. *ur-ḫu-di-im*/*da-am* RA 40, 90: 15, 23.

3.2.5 Secondary /ʾ/ at the Morpheme Boundary

§ 2.160. Secondary /ʾ/ frequently occurs at the morpheme boundary between a base with final vowel[219] and attached morphemes.[220]

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212 See Kouwenberg 2010, 522.

213 See Kogan 2001, 281 f.

214 See Kogan 2001, 278 f. In post-OB sources, many spellings with initial /(ʾ)a/ or /(ʾ)e/.

215 See Kogan 2001, 281 f. AHw. 354 and 1410 has two lemmata, *ḫullu* and *ullu* II, as do CAD Ḫ 229 f. *ḫullum* A and CAD U 81 f. *ullum* A. Ḫ-spellings are well attested.

216 For an etymology see Kogan 2001, 282: Arabic *ǧār*. Note that AHw. 247 suggests combining *ġār* with the Akk. tree name *ēru*. The etymology remains uncertain.

217 See Kouwenberg 2010, 522.

218 For further refs. with Ḫ see AHw. 1436. On the root WRD see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 258. The relatively frequent Ḫ-spelling induced GAG § 23c to assume a word with initial /ʿ/.

219 For the transcription *šanīʾam* instead of *šaniam* or *šaniʾam* see § 1.28.a.

220 In the Amurru hymn OECT 11, 1, an unexplained glide /ʾ/ between a stem with final consonant and the following morpheme occurs twice: Lit. *na-mur-ri-a-tim* OECT 11, 1: 6 *namurri-ʾ-atim* = *namurratim* "brilliance"; Lit. *pi-di-a-am* OECT 11, 1: 7 *pīdi-ʾ-am* = *pīdam* "relief". The same text also uses an unexpected glide /j/, see § 2.226 f. These are not broken spellings (see § 2.32c).

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§ 2.161. Frequently indicated by plene vowel spellings.
a) Before case vowels:[221]
ša-ni-a-am AbB 7, 53: 11 *šanīʾam* "another".
an-ni-a-am AbB 13, 62: 9 *annīʾam* "this".
ki-a-am AbB 3, 21: 7 *kīʾam* "thus".
Lex. *ḫa-aš-ša-a-ú* MSL 12, 160: 89 *ḫašša'u* "crippled".[222]
b) Before the vent. ending:
iš-ši-a-ak-kum AbB 10, 182: 11 *iššīʾakkum* "he brought to you".
iš-li-a-am CH § 2 *išlīʾam* "he submerged".
i-de-a-an-ni AbB 3, 22: 14 *īdēʾanni* "he knows me".
ta-aq-bi-a-am-ma AbB 3, 33: 15 *taqbīʾamma* "you told me".
a-li-a-am-ma AbB 2, 164: 11 *allīʾamma* "I will go up".
ta-am-ši-a-an-ni-ma AbB 3, 22: 12 *tamšīʾannima* "you forgot me".
Lit. *li-ṣí-a-am*(*-ma*) Fs. de Meyer 83: 25 f. *liṣīʾam*(*ma*) "may he come out".
c) Before the fem. ending:
iš-té-a-at ABIM 3: 11; ABIM 35: 22 *ištēʾat* "one".
e-li-a-at CH § 166 *elīʾat* "in addition to".
Lit. *pa-ti-a-at* CH l 94 *pātīʾat* "who opens".
d) Before the nominal ending /-ān-/:
r[*a*]*-bi-a-an* AbB 10, 19: 9 *rabīʾān* "mayor".
la-bi-a-an-šu CH § 246 *labīʾānšu* "its tendon".[223]
e) Before the endings of the stative:
Lit. *ra-me-a-at* OECT 11, 1: 15 *ramēʾāt* "you dwell".

§ 2.162. Rarely indicated by Ḫ-spellings or the sign É = *ʾà*:
a) Before case vowels:
ki-ḫa-am ARM 5, 65: 13 *kīʾam* "thus".
b) Before the vent. ending:
il-ta-qé-ḫa-ku AbB 1, 74: 10 *iltaqeʾakku* "he took for you".
nu-še$_{20}$*-el-le-ḫ*[*a*]*-am* AbB 4, 148: 18 *nušellēʾam* "we will cause to rise".
⌜*i*⌝*-ir-de-ḫa-am* ARM 26/1, 207 no. 63: 11 *irdēʾam* "he accompanied".
c) Before the fem. ending:
an-ni-ʾà(É)*-tum* AbB 11, 21: 20 *annīʾātum* "these".

221 There seem to be no middle OB examples of the pattern *PaRRāS*, for which see Kouwenberg 2010, 521. *qabbāʾu* is only attested in late OB. For *bakkāju* instead of **bakkāʾu* see § 2.228d.

222 Or *ḫaššaju* with secondary /j/.

223 See Militarev/Kogan 2000, 156 f. no. 173 for the etymology of the word, showing that it indeed contains the ending /-ān-/.

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§ 2.163. In open syllables simple vowels signs are used.
a) Before the fem. ending:
an-ni-a-tum AbB 6, 194: 22 *annīʾātum* "these".
da-ri-a-tim ABIM 9: 5 *darīʾātim* "lasting".
b) Before the vent. ending:
Lit. *iṭ-ḫe-a* Atr. 98: 41 *iṭḫēʾa* "he approached".
c) Before the nominal ending /-ān-/:
ra-bi-a-nu-um CH § 24 *rabīʾānum* "mayor".

3.2.6 Secondary /ʾ/ within Morphemes

§ 2.164. Secondary /ʾ/[224] appears in the participle G of verbs II-weak in order to keep the *PāRiS* pattern.[225] Contracted forms probably never appear.[226]
a) Indicated by Ḫ-spellings:
ra-ḫi-mi-ka AbB 9, 133: 13 *rāʾimika* "who loves you".
ša-ḫi-il-tim AbB 6, 22: 8 *šāʾiltim* "woman diviner".
Lit. *ḫa-ḫi-la-tum* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 64: 20 *ḫāʾilātum* "women in labor".
Lit. *ṣa-ḫi-di* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 166: 170 *ṣāʾidī* "hunters".
b) Indicated by plene vowel spelling:
ra-i-im AbB 3, 21: 1; 22: 1 *rāʾim* "who loves".
Lit. *ša-i-im* CH i 6 *šāʾim* "who determines".
c) Simple VC-sign in closed syllables:
ra-im-ka-(*a-*)*ma* AbB 7, 61: 3; FM 7, 38 no. 13: 4 *rāʾimkama* "who loves you".
d) Simple vowel sign in open syllables:
ba-i-šu AbB 13, 60: 75 *bāʾišu* "who comes to shame".
da-i-šu-tim AbB 11, 86: 24 *dāʾišūtim* "threshing".
ba-i-ru ARM 5, 74: 8 *bāʾirū* "catchers".
ṭe$_4$*-i-nu* OBTR 207 iii 21 *ṭēʾinū* "millers".
še-i-qí AOAT 1, 221: 16; 234: 35 *šēʾiqī* "measurers of grain".
Lex. *ša-i-lum* OECT 4, 152 vii 50 *šāʾilum* "dream interpreter" (lit. one who asks).
Lit. *za-i-ri* CH iii 9 *zāʾirī* "enemies".

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224 Instead of /ʾ/, secondary /w/ (see § 2.490b) occurs in the word *ḫāwiru* "husband". Secondary /j/ (see § 2.226) does not occur in the ptc. of roots II-weak in middle OB; but see § 2.228e for secondary /j/ in the ptcs. of roots with strong /ʾ/ as second radical.

225 See Kouwenberg 2010, 568. Kouwenberg rightly states that this /ʾ/ is not an original phoneme. Therefore, it is a misnomer to speak of a "strong" aleph in this case, as Kouwenberg 2010, 521 does.

226 Some forms of doubly weak roots are in fact ambiguous: *RI-IM* CH § 264 "shepherd" may stand for uncontracted *rēʾîm*, but also for contracted *rîm* or *rêm*. Since a form **rûm* is

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§ 2.165. Furthermore, secondary /ʾ/ appears in the pres. tense of verbs II-ī:
a) Indicated by plene vowel spellings:
i-mi-a-ad AbB 11, 123: 10 *imīʾad* "becomes numerous".
i-ri-a-ab CH § 8 *irīʾab* "he will replace".
Om. *i-qí-a-ap* YOS 10, 25: 18 *iqīʾap* "he will trust".
b) Simple VC-sign in closed syllable:
i-ri-ab CH § 219, CH § 232 *irīʾab* "he will replace".
Om. *i-ri-aq* Izbu 204: 30 *irīʾaq* "will become empty".

§ 2.166. In the inf. of verbs II-*ī*, secondary /ʾ/ is designated by simple vowel signs in open syllables:
ri-a-ba-am CH § 54 *rīʾābam* "to replace".
Om. *ni-a-ki-im* YOS 10, 47: 50 *nīʾākim* "to have sexual intercourse".
Lex. *ri-a-šum* MSL 2, 143: 26 *rīʾāšum* "to rejoice".

3.2.7 Weak /ʾ/

§ 2.167. The phoneme /ʾ/ is frequently weak and susceptible to sound changes in many positions. Moreover, weak formations spread by paradigmatic pressure.[227] But there also exists a strong /ʾ/ (§§ 2.173–183).

§ 2.168. a) Intervocalic single weak /ʾ/ is lost,[228] followed by vowel contraction:
ša-al LE A ii 30 *šâl* < *šaʾāl* "to ask".
b) Also intervocalic long /ʾ/ may be lost, especially in the G pres. This can be unambiguously recognized in doubly weak verbs:
e-le AbB 11, 185: 25 *elê* < *eleʾʾē* "I will be able".[229]

§ 2.169. a) In nouns with pattern *PaRS* and *PiRS*, weak /ʾ/ of roots III-ʾ usually (but see *nibʾum* and *pirʾum* § 2.180b, d) disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:

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never attested, the latter possibilty is less likely. However, it cannot be excluded because /ʾ/ between /e/ and /i/ might be less stable than between /e/ and /u/ or /a/.

227 In the pret. and prec. G of verbs II-ʾ, we find forms II-ā and II-ē instead of forms with syllable-initial consonant: *li-ša-lu-ni-ik-kum* AbB 4, 139: 30 *lišālūnikkum* "let them ask you". Om. *i-bé-lu-ú* YOS 10, 56 iii 11 *ibēlu* "(who) ruled". These forms did not develop from *lišʾal* and *ibʾel* but are analogous extensions of /ā/ and /ē/ due to paradigmatic pressure, see Kouwenberg 2010, 567.

228 But for the ptc. G see § 2.164.

229 Other G pres. forms are ambiguous: *ta-ša-a-al* AbB 9, 49: 27 "you will ask" may stand for *tašâl*, but in principal also for *taša'al*. However, since no unambiguous spellings like **ta-ša-ḫa-al* are attested, the latter interpretation is improbable, see Kouwenberg 2010, 567.

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ma-ru-um AbB 6, 15: 17 *mārum* < *marʾum* "son".
mi-lu-um ARM 13, 124: 5 *mīlum* < *milʾum* "flood".
ze-ri-im ARM 13, 39 r. 13 *zērim* < *zarʾim* < *zarʿim* "seed".
Om. *di-ši-im* YOS 10, 9: 24 *dīšim* < *dišʾim* "grass".
Om. *ṣe-lim* YOS 10, 52 iv 23 *ṣēlim* < *ṣalʾim* < *ṣalʿim* "rib".
Lit. *pe-er-ti-ia* YOS 11, 22: 7 *pērtija* < *parʿtija* "hair".

b) Exception:
ṣa-bi-am ARM 28, 139: 23 *ṣabjam* < *ṣabʾam* "troop".

c) Also the Amorite loanword *gabʾum* "hill" keeps /ʾ/:[230]
[*in*]*a ga-ab-i-im ša* GN ARM 26/2, 215 no. 388: 12 *gabʾim* "[o]n the hill of GN".

§ 2.170. In verbal forms of roots I, II, or III-ʾ, syllable-final weak /ʾ/ disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:

a) I-ʾ:
ta-mu-ur-ma AbB 14, 166: 20 *tāmurma* < *taʾmur-* "you saw".
i-ta-ka-al-šu-nu-ti AbB 9, 41: 26 *ītakalšunūti* < *iʾtakal-* "had eaten them".
li-ku-ul ARM 5, 16: 22 *līkul* < *liʾkul* "may he eat".

b) II-ʾ:
Lit. *mu-uš-ta-lum* CH iii 36 *muštālum* < *muštaʾlum* "deliberate".

c) III-ʾ:
i-ma-al-la AbB 9, 97: 26 *imallā* < *imallaʾ* "he fills".
im-la ARM 6, 8: 7 *imlā* < *imlaʾ* "he filled".

§ 2.171. But in bi-consonantal nouns, syllable-final weak /ʾ/ is assimilated to the following consonant:
ru-ut-ta AbB 2, 145: 14 *rutta* < *ruʾta* "girlfriend".

§ 2.172. Word-initial /ʾ/ is frequently dropped in PNs, more rarely also in gen. constructions or combinations of particles and nouns or verbs. This phenomenon is called "sandhi" or "crasis". If the preceding word ends in a vowel, vowel contraction takes place.[231]

a) In PNs:
^{m}*Ik-ru-bi-*DINGIR ARM 3, 42: 5 *Ikrubil* < *Ikrub-il* "God has blessed".

b) In gen. constructions:
li-ib-ba-li-im RA 38, 84: 5 *libbâlim* < *libbi ālim* "heart of the city".
Lit. *i-na ú-ma-a-na-ku* AUWE 23, 77: 5 *ina ūmanāku* < *ūm anāku* "on the day when I".

230 For the pl. of *gabʾum* see § 5.178.
231 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for some of the following refs.

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c) Combinations of particles and nouns and verbs:
[*a*]-*ji-di-in* ARM 6, 50: 5 [*a*] *jiddin* < *aj iddin* "may he not give".
a-du-ur-ra-am Semitica 1, 20: 37 *adûrram* < *adī urram* "in the future".
ú-li-le-qì AbB 11, 27: 13 *ulileqqē* < *ul ileqqē* "he will not get".
ú-la-az-za-az-ma AbB 11, 27: 16 *ulazzâz* < *ul azzâz* "I will not do service".
ú-li-šu AbB 11, 27: 28 *ulīšū* < *ul īšū* "I do not have".
Lit. *ù-li-ḫa-zí* AoF 45, 193: 9 *uliḫḫassi* < *ul iḫḫassi* "catches her".
Lit. *i-na-li-im* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 66: 46 *inālim* < *in-ālim* "in the city".
d) Combination of a suff. and a verb:
Lit. [*p*]*a-ni-ka-mu-ur* CUSAS 10, 9: 17 *panīkāmur* < *panīka āmur* "I saw your face".

3.2.8 Strong /ʾ/ in Doubly Weak Verbal Roots

§ 2.173. /ʾ/ is preserved in many forms of doubly weak verbal roots in order to keep their transparency.[232]
a) *bâʾum*:
i-ba-ú-ka-a-ma AbB 9, 83: 19 *ibaʾūkama* (G pres.) "they will pass you by".
Om. *i-ba-ḫa-am-ma* TLB 2, 21: 7 *ibāʾamma* (G pret.) "passed".
ú-ba-ḫa ARM 4, 64: 8 *ubaʾa* (D pres.[233]) "I will pass over".
⌜*tu-ba-ḫa*⌝ ARM 4, 64 r. 6 *tubaʾa* (D pres.) "you will pass over".
b) *buʾûm*:
[*l*]*i-ba-aḫ-ḫu-ú* ARM 1, 89 r. 3 *libaʾû* (D prec.) "may they search".
ub-ta-ú-ma VAB 5, 297: 9 *ubtaʾûma* (D perf.[234]) "they searched".
bu-ḫi ARM 2, 99: 34 *buʾī* (D imp.) "search!"
c) *eʾēlum*:
e-i-il-ši AbB 14, 125: 17 *eʾilši* (G imp.) "bind her!"
Lit. *e-ḫi-il* BiOr. 11, 82a: 2 *eʾil* (G stat.) "is bound".
d) *leʾûm*:
i-le-ḫu-ú ARM 6, 55: 6 *ileʾû* (G pres.) "they are able".
il-ú ARM 2, 30: 9 *ilʾû* (G pret.) "he could".
il-te$_9$*-ḫu-na-ti* AbB 6, 12: 7 *ilteʾûnâti* (G perf.) "they were able".
Lex. *le-e-ḫu-um* MSL 2, 143: 13 *leʾûm* (G inf.) "to be able".
Lit. *le-ú-um* CH xlvii 4 *lēʾûm* (G ptc.) "mighty".

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232 In the following, only unambiguous spellings with Ḫ-signs or with broken vowels are listed. Many spellings are ambiguous: *i-li-i* CH § 54 "he can" may stand for *ilēʾī*, but also for *ilî*. Lit. *li-né* CT 15, 3 i 6 "may he turn back" may be *linē* < *linēʾ*, but also *linēʾ*.

233 For this interpretation see Durand 1998, 501. Not *buʾûm* "to search" (AHw. 145 *buʾûm* A).

234 For this interpretation see CAD B 363 *buʾûm* 2b; AHw. 145 analyzes the form as Dt pret.

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e) *lu”ûm*:
Om. *lu-uḫ-ḫu-ma* YOS 10, 22: 19 *lu”ûma* (D stat.) “are smeared”.
f) *mâ’um*:
Lit. *i-ma-aḫ* Atr. 92 ii 47 *imā’* (G pret.) “he vomited”.
g) *nê’um*:
Lit. *i-né-eḫ*/*i-né-ḫu* Gilg. OB II 230 f. *inē’*(*u*) (G pret.) “he turned back”.
h) *re’ûm*:
te-re-ḫu-ú AbB 1, 84: 17 *tere”û* (G pres.) “you pasture”.
i-re-ú AbB 14, 80: 18 *ire”û* (G pres.) “he is herding”.
re-eḫ-im AJSL 33, 221 no. 3: 10 *re’îm* (G inf.) “to shepherd”.
Om. *re-e-i-ša* YOS 10, 39 r. 7 *rē’îša* (G ptc.) “its shepherds”.
i) *šê’um*:
še$_{20}$*-a-at* ARM 22, 306: 2 *šē’at* (G stat.) “is upholstered”.
še$_{20}$*-eḫ-tum* TCL 10, 120: 29 *še’tum* (noun) “mattress”.
j) *še’ûm*:
iš-te-né-ḫe CHJ 119: 32 *ištene”ē* (Gtn pres.) “he constantly seeks”.
k) *šuta”ûm*:
tu-uš-ta-ḫu-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 3, 74: 26 *tušta”ûšunūšim* (Št pres.) “(that) you show indifference towards them”.
l) *wu”ûm*:
Lit. *ú-we-*(*eḫ*)*-ḫu-ú* CUSAS 10, 18: 13, 23 *uwe”û* (D pret.) “he acted fraudulently”.

§ 2.174. Weak forms[235] exist with a few of these roots, but never in the D-[236] or Dt-[237] stem:
a) *le’ûm*:
e-le AbB 11, 185: 25 *elê* < *ele”ē* (G pres.) “I will be able”.
e-le AbB 14, 204: 21 *elê* < *el’ē* (G pret.) “I could”.
b) *re’ûm*:
li-re AbB 14, 92 r. 11 *lirê* < *lir’ē* (G prec.) “may he shepherd”.
c) *še’ûm*:
I-še-^{d}IŠKUR UET 5, 219: 25 *Išê-Adad* < *Iše”ē* (G pres.) “he is seeking Adad”.

235 Analogous formations are included here.
236 *ú-qí* ARM 2, 74: 6 “waited” and *lu-qí* ARM 13, 51: 18 “let me wait” probably derive from *waqû*, not from *qu”û*. See with lit. and further refs. Kouwenberg 2010, 449 n. 10; Kouwenberg is undecided about the matter.
237 *šuta”ûm* is Dt rather than Št (Kouwenberg 2010, 385).

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3.2.9 Strong /ʾ/ in Bi-Consonantal Nouns

§ 2.175. /ʾ/ is also preserved in bi-consonantal nouns in order to keep their transparency:[238]

a) *diʾatum*:

di-a-ti AbB 14, 140: 44; *di-ḫa-a-ti* AbB 14, 57: 21 *diʾatī* "my knowledge". ⌜*di*⌝*-ḫa-as-sà* CUSAS 36, 132: 10 *diʾassa* "her knowledge".

b) *diʾum*:

Om. *di-ú-um* YOS 10, 13: 25 *diʾum* "headache".

c) *diʾum*:

Om. *di-iḫ-ḫi* YOS 10, 56 ii 39 *diʾī* "platforms".

d) *lēʾum*:

le-ú UCP 10, 141 no. 70: 5 f. *lēʾū* "boards".

e) *luʾʾum*:[239]

Om. *lu-uḫ-ḫi-im* YOS 10, 51 ii 40 *luʾʾim* "throat".

f) *ruʾtum*:

ru-uḫ![240]*-ti* AbB 1, 128: 8 *ruʾtī* "my spittle".

g) *ruʾum*, *ruʾtum*, *ruʾūtum*:[241]

Lit. *ru-i-iš* Fs. Reiner 188: 1 *ruʾiš* "like a friend".

Lit. *ru-a-tu* VS 10, 179: 8 *ruʾātu* "girlfriends".

Lit. *ru-ḫu-tam* Gilg. OB III 19 *ruʾūtam* "friendship"

h) *šuʾûm*:

Lit. *šu-ḫu-ú-um* YOS 11, 14 r. 1 *šuʾûm* "a disease".

i) *zuʾtum*:

zu-ḫ[*a-t*]*i-i* AbB 6, 188: 17 *zuʾātī* "my sweat".

§ 2.176. But also weak forms exist of some of the same nouns:

a) *lēʾum*:

lu-ú UET 5, 792: 8 *lû* < *lēʾu* "writing board".

b) *ruʾum*, *ruʾtum*:

ru-ut-ta-(*am*) AbB 2, 145: 7, 14 *rutta*(*m*) < *ruʾta*(*m*) "girlfriend".

Lit. *ru-šu* CH ii 69 *rûšu* < *ruʾušu* "his friend".

3.2.10 Strong /ʾ/ to Avoid Homophony and Confusion with Other Roots

§ 2.177. Strong /ʾ/ does not only occur in doubly weak verbal roots (§ 2.173) and in bi-consonantal nouns (§ 2.175), but also in the following tri-consonantal ver-

238 In the following, only unambiguous spellings with Ḫ-signs or with broken vowels are listed. Many spellings are ambiguous.

239 AHw. 565 and CAD L 258 *luʾum* with a single /ʾ/. The spellings with double *ḫḫ* point to the form *luʾʾum*.

240 The text has *ḫi* instead of *uḫ*.

241 CAD R 439 *ruʾum*; AHw. 998, however, *rūʾum* with long /ū/.

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bal roots or in primary nouns with three or more consonants. The attempt to explain /ʾ/ in these cases by its etmyology did not yield really convincing results:[242] regarding the roots with plausible etymology, /ʾ/ goes back to Proto-Semitic /h/ (1×), /ḥ/ (1×), /ʿ/ (1×) and /ġ/ (4×). For most of the following roots (11×) no reliable etmyology can be offered at the moment. Therefore, a different explanation for strong /ʾ/ in these cases seems necessary. It would be logical if the explanation given for doubly weak verbal roots and bi-consonantal nouns also holds here: the wish to maintain the transparency of the forms. In this context, the following observation may be important: in all the cases listed in §§ 2.178–181,[243] the preservation of /ʾ/ avoids partial homophones and confusion with similar roots.[244]

§ 2.178. Verbal roots with strong /ʾ/ as first radical:[245]
a) *abātum*. Weak forms like **ībut* would be homophonous with *ībut* "he ran away" (?):[246]

Roy. *mu-ḫa-ab-bi-it* LIH 60 iv 12 *muʾabbit* "who destroys".

Lit. *iḫ-bu-tu* Gilg. OB II 225 *iʾbutū* "they destroyed".

b) *adārum* (/ʾ/ < /ġ/). Weak forms might be confused with *adārum* "to fear"[247] or with *nadārum* N[248] "to become wild":

242 Kouwenberg 2010, 523 (see also Kogan 2011, 113) associates strong /ʾ/ especially with etymological /ġ/. However, in only 13 out of 28 roots with certain or probable etymology mentioned by Kouwenberg for Akk. in total (but his list is not intended to be complete; see, e.g., *milʾum* "saltpeter" with /ʾ/ < /ḥ/), strong /ʾ/ goes back to etymological /ġ/. Moreover, some of these roots are either doubly weak (*buʾûm*; see § 2.171b) or are biconsonantal roots (*luʾum*, *ruʾtum* see § 2.173e–f); in both cases, /ʾ/ is preserved for reasons of transparency. 5 additional cases with /ʾ/ < /ġ/ mentioned by Kouwenberg are nouns I-ʾ, in which it is impossible to distinguish between strong and secondary /ʾ/ (see § 2.159). This leaves us with a statistically negligable set of only 5 out of 28 roots with strong /ʾ/ going back to Proto-Semitic /ġ/.

243 These are two-thirds of all cases.

244 This process is called in German linguistics "Homonymenflucht" or "Homonymenfurcht". See Bußmann 1990, 313 f.

245 *ḫarāmum* "to cover" from the root ḪRM seems to be a case of /ḥ/ > /ḫ/. The form *na-aḫ-ra-mi* ARM 6, 37: 10 can be derived from *ḫarāmum* (thus Durand 1998, 327) instead of *arāmum* "to cover" (thus Kouwenberg 2010, 521). The relationship between older *ḫarāmum* and younger *arāmum* is not entirely clear: can a first radical /ḫ/ have been lost?

246 For *abātum* "to run away" see CAD A/1, 45 and AHw. 700 *nābutum* G. So far, the G-stem is only attested in OA.

247 Whereas AHw. analyzes both senses of *adārum* as a single verb, CAD distinguishes two lexemes. CAD A/1, 109 *adārum* B, discussion section, notes: "No form of *adārum* B shows the ʾ which is characteristic of *adārum* A".

248 Already CAD A/1, 108 *adārum* A, discussion section, notes the danger of confusing *adārum* and *nadārum*.

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tu-ḫa-ad-da-ra-nim UET 5, 44 r. 6 *tu'addarānim* "you will make sad".

ta-at-ta-na-aḫ-da-ra AbB 9, 2: 22 *tattana'darā* "you are constantly worried".

c) *alālum*. A weak form **illal* might be confused with *illil* (*elēlum*); other forms of the verb would be homophonous with forms of *atlulum* "to sing a joyful song":

i-ḫa-al-la-lu-šu CH § 21 *i'allalūšu* "they hang him".

it-ta-aḫ-la-lu CH § 58 *itta'lalū* "they are hung up".

d) *apārum* (/ʾ/ < /ġ/). Weak forms would be homophonous with *epērum* *D "to provide with food":[249]

lu-a-pí-ir-ši-ma AbB 1, 30: 24 *lu'appiršima* "I will provide her with clothing".

e) *na'arrurum*.[250] A weak form **nārurum* might be confused with the N-stem of *arārum* "to tremble, to fear":[251]

li-in-ḫa-ar-ra-am ARM 2, 72: 16 *lin'arram* "may he go to assist me".

li-in-ḫa-ri-ru-ni-kum ARM 1, 60: 10 *lin'arirūnikkum* "they come to your aid".

na-aḫ-ra-ri-im ARM 2, 50: 7 *na'rārim* "help".

an-ḫa-ri-ir-ma ARM 10, 178: 15 *an'arirma* "I helped".

§ 2.179. Verbal roots with strong /ʾ/ as second radical:

a) *da'āmum* (/ʾ/ < /h/). A weak form **dâmum* might be confused with *damum* "blood":

Lex. *da-aḫ-mu-um* OECT 4, 152 i 45 *da'mum* "dark".

Lit. *id-ḫi-im* RA 45, 174: 62 *id'im* "he became dark".

Lit. *da-um-ma-tam* RA 46, 92: 68 *da'ummatam* "darkness".

b) *la/i'bum* (/ʾ/ < /ġ/(?)[252]). A weak form **lābum* might be confused with *lābum/labbum* "lion":

la-aḫ-bu-um (var. *li-iḫ-bu-um*) CH § 148 *la/i'bum* "a disease".

c) *na'ādum*. A weak form **nâdum* would be homophonous with *nâdum* "to praise":

na-ḫa-du-um ARM 1, 8: 14 "to be attentive".

na-aḫ-da-a-ku ARM 10, 142: 11 *na'dāku* "I am careful".

d) *ra'ābum*.[253] A weak form **râbum* would be homophonous with *râbum* "to tremble":

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249 Actually not attested.

250 Further refs. in CAD N/1, 7; Kouwenberg 2010. 304 f.

251 AHw. *arārum* II, CAD *arārum* B.

252 This etymology is proposed in AHw. 521 *la'ābum*. A relationship between the verb *la'ābum* and the disease *la/i'bum* is, however, uncertain.

253 CAD R 1–3 distinguishes two verbs *ra'ābum*: A "to become furious" and B "to tremble".

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Om. *ir-ḫu-um-ma* YOS 10, 47: 25 f. *ir'umma* "he became furious".

Lit. *ra-aḫ-ba-at* RA 15, 175 i 26 *ra'bat* "she is furious".

Lex. *ra-aḫ-bu-um* MSL 2, 148: 19 *ra'bum* "furious".

e) *ṣe'pum* (/ʾ/ < /ḥ/). A weak form **ṣēpum* might be confused with *ṣīpum* "submersion":[254]

ṣé-eḫ-pí-ia AbB 1, 142: 24 *ṣe'pija* "of my *ṣe'pum* document".

f) *ša'ārum* (/ʾ/ < /ġ/). A weak **šêrum* would be homophonous with *šêrum* "to rise early":

i-ša-ḫa-ru ARM 14, 78: 8 *iša"arū* "they vanquish".[255]

§ 2.180. Verbal roots with strong /ʾ/ as third radical:

a) *mašā'um*. A weak form **mašûm* might be confused[256] with *mašûm* "to forget":

im-ta-ša-aḫ AbB 1, 95: 11 *imtaša'* "he took away".

am-šu-uḫ ARM 2, 60: 16 *amšu'* "I took away".

Om. *i-ma-ša-aḫ* YOS 10, 13: 21 *immašša'* "will be plundered".

b) *nib'um* (/ʾ/ < /ʿ/[257]). A weak form **nību* would be homophonous with *nību* "name":

ni-ib-a-am ARM 6, 2: 7 *nib'am* "flooded area(?)".[258]

c) *parā'um*. A weak form **iprū* would be homophonous with *iprū* "he vomited", a weak form **parû* homophonous with *parû* "mule":

Lit. *ip-ru-uḫ* Atr. 92 ii 55 *ipru'* "he severed".

d) *pir'um*. A weak form **pīru* would be homophonous with *pīru* "elephant":

pí-ir-ḫi-im AbB 3, 19: 8 *pir'im* "offshoot".

pi-ir-ḫa-am ARM 1, 3 r. 27 *pir'am* "offshoot".

§ 2.181. Primary nouns:

a) *bu(r)bu'tum*. A weak form **bubūtu* would be homophonous with *bubūtu* "hunger":

Om. *bu-bu-uḫ-tam* RA 27, 152: 19 *bubu'tam* "pustule".

Om. *bu-ur-bu-ḫa-tum* CT 3, 4: 60 *burbu'ātum* "bubbles".

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254 Not attested in OB, however.

255 For further refs. from Mari see Durand 1998, 171.

256 Note that *mašā'um* is *a*/*u*-class whereas *mašûm* is *i*-class.

257 Hebrew/Arabic NBʿ "to spout, gush". Arabic NBĠ "to emerge" is, pace Koehler/Baumgartner 1983, 628, probably not related. The etymology of AHw. 697, Arabic NB' "to be high", is probably wrong.

258 Meaning after Durand 1998, 626. The verb *nabā'um* means "to rise (said of water)". CAD N/2, 204 "(wild) growth, field covered with wild growth". AHw. 786 "das Aufsteigen".

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b) *šer'um*. A weak form **šēru* would be homophonous with *šēru* "morning" and *šēru* "song":

še-er-ḫa-am AbB 4, 154: 28 *šer'am* "furrow".

c) *tarbu'um*. A weak form **tarbû* would be homophonous with *tarbûm* "alumnus":

Lit. *ta-ar-bu-ḫa-am* BIN 2, 72: 17 *tarbu'am* "dust".

3.2.11 Strong /ʾ/ in Other Roots

§ 2.182. Only a few cases remain in which the preservation of /ʾ/ cannot be explained, in the light of present-day knowledge, by the need to avoid homophony and the wish to keep the transparency of the forms.[259] Probably not by chance, in two of these cases strong and weak forms are found side by side (*ba'ālum*/*bêlum*; *pa'āṣum*/*pêṣum*). Again the etymology of /ʾ/ is not decisive for its preservation: of the roots with plausible etymology, /ʾ/ goes back to Proto-Semitic /ʾ/ (1×), /h/ (1×), /ḥ/ (1×?), /ʿ/ (1×) and /ǧ/ (1×).

a) *alātum*:

Om. *iḫ-lu-ut* YOS 10, 36 iv 4 *i'lut* "swallowed".

b) *ba'ālum* (/ʾ/ < /ʿ/):

kīma ṣimdat ÉNSI *dupp*[*ur*]*im ba-aḫ-la-at* AbB 6, 75: 7 *ba'lat* "that the regulation concerning the absentee field holder is in force".[260]

c) *buzzu'um*:

bu-zu-a-ku AbB 9, 104: 20 *buzzu'āku* "I am under pressure".

lā ú-ba-za-ḫu-ni-in-ni Sumer 14, 49: 10 *ubazza'ūninni* "they should not press me!"

d) *kam'atum* (/ʾ/ < /ʾ/):

kam-a-tim ARM 2, 104: 9 *kam'atim* "truffle".

e) *na'āsum* (/ʾ/ < /h/):

Lex. *na-ḫa-su-um* MSL 2, 140: 10 "to chew".

f) *pa'āṣum* (/ʾ/ < /ḥ/?):[261]

pa-aḫ-ṣa-tum OBTR 191: 1 *pa'ṣatum* "crushed".

Lit. *pa-ḫa-ṣí-iš* BRM 4, 2 v 10 *pa'āṣiš* "in order to split".

Lex. *it-ta-na-ap-ḫa-*[*aṣ*] MSL 9, 80: 181 *ittanap'a*[*ṣ*] "is constantly split".

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259 Since we do not know the entire Akk. lexicon, we cannot exclude, however, that these cases too can be explained similarly.

260 *ba'ālum* is a variant of *bêlum* here. AHw. 93 mentions the ref. under *ba'ālum* G 1, similarly CAD B 2 *ba'ālum* A 3b. But CAD B 199 has the form again under *bêlu*. Whether *ba'ālum* "to be exceptionally big, bright" is generally a variant of *bêlum* (thus Kouwenberg 2010, 521) is unclear; the semantics of both verbs seem to be different enough to favor two different roots.

261 Weak form *pêṣum*: Lit. *i-pe-e-ṣú* Or. 77, 335 ff. v 24 "which splits".

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g) *pirša'um* (/ʾ/ < /ġ/):
Lit. *pi-ir-ša-ḫu-*⌜*um*⌝ PBS 5, 157 ii 8 *pirša'um* "flea".
h) *šer'ānum*:
še-er-ḫa-nam CH § 221 *šer'ānam* "tendon".
i) *za'ānum*:
Lit. *za-aḫ-na-at* RA 22, 170 f.: 6 *za'nat* "she is decorated".

3.2.12 Strong /ʾ/ in Gtn and D of Verbs II-ʾ

§ 2.183. The Gtn- and D-stem of verbs II-ʾ, which in G(t),[262] Š, and N seem to have weak forms, show strong /ʾ/.[263] Thus /strong /ʾ/ only appears in verbal stems marked by a long second radical.[264] In other words: /ʾ/ is preserved in cases where the radical is especially salient and paradigmatically characteristic.
a) Gtn:
ši-ta-ḫa-am-ma A.3530: 14[265] *šita"amma* "buy here and there!"
ta-aš-ta-na-ḫa-mu A.3598: 15[266] *taštana"amu* "you are buying here and there".
aš-ta-ḫa-mu BiOr. 10 p. 14 no. 4: 9 *ašta"amu* "I am buying here and there".
ši-ta-ḫu-mi-im TCL 10, 60: 5 *šita"umim* "to buy here and there".
ši-ta-ḫa-al AbB 14, 112: 34 *šita"al* "interrogate!"
b) D(t):
ú-ša-[*i*]*l* AbB 14, 140: 17 *uša"*[*i*]*l* "I interrogated".
ú-da-aḫ-ìs-su AbB 6, 188: 39 *uda"issi* < *uda"iṣ-šu* "I harrassed him".
up-ta-i-du-šu-nu-ti ARM 26/2, 165 no. 363: 27 *upta"idūšunūti* "they imprisoned them".*ú-wa-ḫi-ra-ni-a-ti* BagM 2, 56 i 14 *uwa"iranni'āti* "he ordered us".
wu-uḫ-ra-ku ARM 5, 27: 36 *wu"urāku* "I am under orders".
ú-wa-ḫi-ra-aš-šu OBTR 131: 17 *uwa"iraššu* "I instructed him".

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262 It is difficult to decide whether forms with plene vowel spellings in other stems, especially in the present G, stand for weak or strong forms. Kouwenberg 2010, 567 argues that as long as we do not find spellings like **i-ša-aḫ-ḫa-am* for *iša"am*, spellings like *iš-ta-a-la-ni-ma* AbB 11, 74: 4 render weak *ištālanni* "he asked me". On the other hand, plene spellings are ambiguous, and the form just mentioned looks similar to Gtn *li-iš-ta-a-al-šu* ARM 13, 32: 30, which probably stands for strong *lišta"alšu* "may he interrogate him". Even more suspicious are cases such as the following: *ša-mu-um-ma a-ša-a-am* ARM 2, 28: 14 "I will certainly buy". Here the first form has no plene spelling and stands for weak *šâmumma*, but the plene spelling of the second form might indicate a strong pres. *aša"am* rather than a weak *ašâm*.
263 See Kouwenberg 2010, 567–569.
264 In the following, only unambiguous spellings are listed.
265 See CAD š/1, 357.
266 See CAD š/1, 357.

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ša ú-wa-ḫi-ru-ku-nu-ti CUSAS 36, 163: 10 *uwa”irukunūti* “which I ordered you”.
Lit. *li-wa-ḫi-ir* RA 45, 172: 15 f. *liwa”ir* “may he give orders”.
Lit. *lu-wa-ḫi-ir* JNES 14, 15: 19 *luwa”ir* “let me order”.
Lit. *wu-ḫu-ur* CT 15, 3 i 8 *wu”ur* “he was put under command”.
Lit. *úr-*[*ta-ḫ*]*a-mu* Gilg. OB II 46 *ur*[*ta’*]*’amū* “they were making love together”.

3.3 */b/*

3.3.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.184. /b/ is a bilabial voiced stop [b]. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /b/.

§ 2.185. a) /b/ is regularly written with the signs BA, BE, BI, BÍ, BU, AB, IB, and UB (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /b/ are BAD, BAR, BIL, BÍL, and BUR, with final /b/ TAB and KAB (§ 2.15).
b) BÍ is regularly used in the introductory formula of letters, e.g.:
qí-bí-ma Sumer 14, 1: 1 “speak!”
c) Elsewhere BÍ is rare:
a-bí-šu-nu Sumer 14, 10: 15 *abīšunu* “their father”.[267]

§ 2.186 a) In some non-standard letters from UpMes., rarely elsewhere, /ba/ is sometimes written PA = *bá*.[268] These texts show a general, but not consistent tendency to confuse the writing of voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants.[269] This confusion does not depend on specific phonetic environments. It is unclear whether we are dealing with an orthographic or rather phonetic phenomenon. Especially in the case of the letters of Jamṣījum (and Kirûm) and other texts from UpMes., one could imagine scribes influenced by Hurrian.[270]

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267 The same text also uses BI: *li-iz-bi-lu-nim* Sumer 14, 10: 12 *lizbilūnim* “let them transport here”.

268 See Charpin 1989, 33 for Jamṣījum from Ilanṣura.

269 See §§ 2.194, 2.231, 2.290b, 2.330, 2.436, 2.467.

270 Veenhof 1982, 119. Hurrian shows “Unempfindlichkeit … gegenüber akk. stimmlos, stimmhaft, ‚emphatisch‘” (Edzard/Kammenhuber 1972–1975, 513); “stimmhafte Konsonanten sind keine eigenständigen Phoneme, sondern Allophone von ihren stimmlosen Entsprechungen; sie kommen in drei Positionen vor; zwischen Vokalen, vor oder nach *l*/*m*/*n*/*r* und im Wortauslaut” (Hazenbos 2007, 138). According to Charpin 1989, 39, Hurrian influence is dubious because he denies a strong (“fort”) Hurrian presence in the region of Ilanṣura. However, the entire north of Upper Mesopotamia shows a relatively high percentage (29%) of Hurrian population (see Streck 2004, 335). A Semitic but not Akk. (which ultimately means Amorite) tradition that might explain this confusion is, pace Charpin ibid., unknown, since Amorite well distinguished between voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants.

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b) Examples:

UpMes. *bá-lum* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 26 *balum* "without".

UpMes. *bá-ab* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 27 *bāb* "gate".

UpMes. *bá-lu*$_4$*-ia* ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 6 *balūja* "without me".

UpMes. *bá-ru-um i-bá-ar-ku-nu-ti* ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 41 *bârum ibârkunūti* "he will certainly catch you".

UpMes. *te*$_9$*-zi-bá-né-ti* ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 48 *tezzibannêti* "you will leave us".

UpMes. *bá-ab* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 5 *bāb* "gate".

MidEuphr. *ú-bá-nim* ARM 2, 21: 12[271] *ubānim* "finger".

3.3.2 Assimilation

§ 2.187. Stem final /b/ frequently assimilates to initial /m/ of a following enclitic *-ma* or of a following word in a gen. construction. However, this assimilation is optional. Assimilation and non-assimilation may co-occur within a single text; therefore they do not depend on dialectal differences but probably on "allegro" or "lento" pronunciation.[272]

§ 2.188. Assimilation and non-assimilation within a single text:

li-id-bu-um-ma AbB 7, 125 r. 9 *lidbumma* < *lidbubma* "may he talk", but *li-id-bu-ub-ma* AbB 7, 125 r. 17.

nu-še-ri-ma AbB 7, 84 r. 4 *nušērimma* < *nušēribma* "we brought in", but *nu-še-re-eb-ma* AbB 7, 84 r. 7 *nušerrebma* "we will bring in".

ni-id-bu-ma AbB 12, 65: 33 *nidbumma* < *nidbubma* "we talked", but *ni-id-bu-ub-ma* AbB 12, 65: 30 and *e-r*[*u-u*]*b-ma* AbB 12, 65: 35 *ērubma* "I entered".

§ 2.189. a) Other examples of assimilation to following *-ma*:

šu-zí-im-ma AbB 12, 18: 8 *šūzimma* < *šūzibma* "have drawn up!"

a-ra-ka-am-ma AbB 12, 11: 18 *arakkamma* < *arakkabma* "I will ride".

u-še-ri-im-ma AbB 14, 108: 30 *ušērimma* < *ušēribma* "brought into and".

ni-ru-um-ma AbB 14, 35: 7 *nīrumma* < *nīrubma* "we entered and".

wa-ši-im-ma Kisurra 153: 24 *wašimma* < *wašibma* "sits and".

uš-ša-am-ma CH § 148 *uššamma* < *uššabma* "will sit and".

ú-ub-ba-am-ma CH § 266 *ubbamma* < *ubbabma* "he purifies and".

ú-ša-ar-bi-im-ma ARM 2, 129: 16 *ušarbimma* < *ušarbibma* "relaxed".

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271 Letter of Ibal-pī-el, ambassador of Mari in Babylonia.

272 See Sommerfeld 2006, 362–365 for this explanation and for refs. in the CH and in letters from Bab. "Lento" means careful, "allegro" less careful pronunciation. Cases of non-assimilation are not morphographemic (see Sommerfeld ibid. 364).

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li-ir-ka-am-ma ARM 6, 76: 24 *lirkabma* < *lirkamma* "may he mount".

Math. *ṣ*[*í*]*-im-ma* TMB 207: 36 *ṣimma* < *ṣibma* "add!"

b) Assimilation to a following word in a genitive construction:

Om. *ḫi-ṣí-im mātim* YOS 10, 22: 24 *ḫiṣim mātim* < *ḫiṣib* "abundance of the land".

c) Other examples of non-assimilation:

nu-še-ši-ib-ma AbB 9, 225: 10 *nušēšibma* "we settled".

id-bu-ub-ma AbB 11, 107: 13 *idbubma* "he complained".

wa-ši-ib-ma CH § 112 *wašibma* "sits". *i-ru-ub-ma* CH § 176 *īrubma* "has entered".

§ 2.190. /b/ in contact with a voiceless consonant sometimes becomes /p/, which spreads to other forms of the word.[273] Since cuneiform orthography cannot distinguish voiced and voiceless syllable-final consonants, this assimilation is only visible with syllable-initial /b/. See the following forms of *šuptum* < *šubtum*:[274]

šu-pa-at-ku-nu-ú-ma RA 102, 55: 16; RA 102, 57: 12[275] *šupatkunuma* < *šubat-* "your residence".

Lit. *šu-pa-as-sú* Gilg. OB III 275 *šupassu* < *šubassu* "his residence".

3.3.3 /b/ > /w/ and /b/ > /m/

§ 2.191. a) The following example of /b/ spelled W might be explained by spirantization of /b/:

ta-aq-ri-iw-tu-um AbB 6, 22: 17 *taqrīwtum* < *taqrībtum* "offering".

b) Whether the unique example for /b/ > /m/ can be explained similarly, remains unclear:

Lit. *mi-ir-me-er-ru-um* CUSAS 32, 27: 5 *mirmerrum* < *birbirrum* "luminosity".

3.4 */d/*

3.4.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.192. /d/ is a voiced dental stop [d]. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /d/.

§ 2.193. /d/ is regularly written with the signs DA, DI, DU, AD, ID, and UD (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /d/ are DAG/K/Q, DAM, DAN, DAR, DIM, DIN, DUM, and DUR, with final /d/ MAD (§ 2.15).

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273 Differently GAG § 27d: /b/ > /p/ is conditioned by a proximity to /š/, /ṣ/, and /n/.

274 According to GAG § 27d, *šīpātum* "wool" is a fem. pl. of *šībum* "gray". But the word never occurs as **šībātum*, which makes this analysis unlikely. Note that CAD š/3, 57 transcribes the word as *šipātum*, thus not accepting GAG's etymology.

275 Quoted as unpublished in CAD š/3, 180 *šubtum* d.

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§ 2.194. In texts from UpMes., especially in some of the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm; texts from the MidEuphr.;[276] and texts from the ETigris region we sometimes find T- or Ṭ-spellings (TA = *dá*, TE = de_4, TI = *dì*, TU = *dú*, ḪI = *ṭà* = da_{10}) for /d/. Some of the letters of Jamṣījum have a general tendency to confuse voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants,[277] and the same is true for some of the letters of Rīšija (MidEuphr.).[278]

a) Letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm (UpMes.):

i-de_4*-*[*e*] ARM 2, 124 = ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 4; *i-*de_4*-e-*⟨⟨*e*⟩⟩ ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 36 *īdē* "he knows".

ti-de_4(*-e*) ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 8; ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 18, 26, 31 *tīdē* "do you know?"

ir-de_4*-e* ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 10 *irdē* "he led".

re-de_4*-em* ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 9 *rēdêm* "a *rēdû*-soldier".

i-dì-in-[*ši*] ARM 10, 33: 34 *iddin*[*ši*] "he gave her".

i-dú-uk(*-šu*) ARM 10, 35: 14 f. *idūk*(*šu*) "he killed (him)".[279]

iṭ-ru-dá-an-ni ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 5 *iṭrudanni* "he sent me".

li-ir-dá-ku-um ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 30 *lirdakkum* "may he descend to you".

ma-dì-iš ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 35 *mādiš* "very".

ṭà-ra-dì-im ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 30 *ṭarādim* "to send".

ṭà-ra-dì-ka ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 33 *ṭarādika* "your sending".

dú-ka-šu-ú ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 14 *dūkāšu* "kill him!"

i-dú-ku-šu ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 15 *idūkūšu* "they killed him".

i-da_{10}*-bu-ub* ARM 2, 124 = 26/2 p. 69 no. 311: 24, 26 *idabbub* "he speaks".

ṭú-úr-da_{10}*-šu* ARM 2, 124 = 26/2 p. 69 no. 311: 31 *ṭurdaššu* "send him!"[280]

i-da_{10}*-la-aḫ* ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 28 *iddallaḫ* "he becomes troubled".

i-da_{10}*-li-iḫ* ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 5 *iddaliḫ* "he became troubled".

ma-da_{10}*-am* ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 52 *mādam* "many".

b) Other texts from UpMes.:

ú-dá-ab-ba-bu-šu-nu-ti ARM 4, 10 r. 5[281] *udabbabūšunūti* "they talk".

i nu-wa-ad-di$_4$ ARM 28, 54 r. 9 *nuwaddī* "let us make known".[282]

276 See Finet 1956, 20 f. See Charpin 1989, 33 for the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura.

277 See §§ 2.186, 2.231, 2.290b, 2.330, 2.436, 2.467.

278 Ziegler 2007, 94.

279 But the same text has *i-du-uk* ARM 10, 35: 13.

280 See Finet 1956, 20 f. Instead of *da*$_{10}$*-ab-bu* in l. 6 read with Charpin, ARM 26/2, 69 *ṭà-ab-bu* "is on good terms".

281 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.

282 Letter of Ibal-Hadda of Ašlakka.

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c) Letters of the military commander Ibal-pī-'el (MidEuphr.):[283]
ka-ša-dì-ku-nu ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 32[284] *kašādikunu* "their arrival".
i-de$_4$ ARM 2, 23 r. 4; ARM 26/1, 271 no. 104 r. 9; ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 44; FM 2, 221 no. 119: 15 *īdē* "he knows".
i-dá-bu-bu FM 1 p. 61: 14 *idabbubu* "he talks".
d) Letters of the musician Rīšija (MidEuphr.):[285]
pa-qa-dì-im FM 9, 110 no. 17: 50, 52 *paqādim* "to entrust".[286]
qa-qa-dì FM 9, 138 no. 28: 16 *qaqqadī* "my head".[287]
i-de$_4$*-m*[*a*] FM 9, 124 no. 23: 23 *īdēma* "he knows".[288]
ÌR-*dú-ka-a-ma* FM 9, 120 no. 21: 5 *wardūkama* "your slaves".
e) ETigris:
ta-ka-aš-ša-dú Shemshara 1, 53: 15[289] *takaššadu* "you arrive".
li-dá-ap-pí-ru Shemshara 1, 47: 17[290] *lidappirū* "they shall remove".[291]

3.4.2 Assimilation

§ 2.195. A third radical /d/ always assimilates to an immediately following /t/ of the fem. ending:[292]
pí-qí-it-ta-šu AbB 6, 118: 24 *piqittašu* < *piqidtašu* "his provisions".
pí-qí-ti-šu-nu ARM 13, 32: 19 *piqittišunu* < *piqidtišunu* "their provisions".
pí-qí-it-tam ARM 10, 89: 7 *piqittam* < *piqidtam* "provisions".
ma-at-tam ARM 1, 27: 23 *māttam* < *mādtam* "much".
p[*í*]*-ri-it-tam* ARM 28, 25: 27 *pirittum* < *piridtum* "fear".
Om. *sí-pi-ta-šu* YOS 10, 17: 89 *sipittašu* < *sipidtašu* "his mourning".

§ 2.196 The combination of a third radical /d/ and initial /š/ of the pron. suff. results in the affricate [ts], written Z, traditionally transliterated and transcribed as *s* (see § 2.379).

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283 Rarely, Ibal-pī-'el also writes D for /t/, see § 2.436c.
284 The same text writes, however, *di*: *di-ku* ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 16 *dīku* "is killed" (more examples of *di* in PNs).
285 See Ziegler 2007, 94. Rīšiya also writes DU = *ṭù* (see § 2.469).
286 The same text writes, however, *di*: *i-di-in* FM 9, 109 no. 17: 8 *idin* "give!" *i-di-in* FM 9, 109 no. 17: 11 *iddin* "he gave". *i-di-na-am* FM 9, 109 no. 17: 13 *iddinam* "he gave to me". *i-di-in-*[*š*]*u* FM 9, 110 no. 17 ii 6 *iddinšu* "he gave him".
287 But the same text writes *i-de-e* FM 9, 138 no. 28: 9 *īdē* "I do not know".
288 Bu the same text writes *di* in *a-n*[*a*]*-di-na-kum* FM 9, 124 no. 23: 29 *anaddinakkum* "I will give to you". *li-di-nu-nim* FM 9, 126 no. 23 ii 6 *liddinūnim* "may they give to me".
289 Letter of Talpuš-šarri.
290 Letter of Jadīnum.
291 But see *du-pu-ur* Shemshara 1, 47: 28 *duppur* "removing" and *ú-da-ba-bu* Shemshara 1, 47: 27 *udabbabu* "he troubles".
292 But the /t/ of the infixes /ta/ and /tan/ assimilates to a preceding /d/, see § 2.437a.

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§ 2.197. A second radical /d/[293] always assimilates to an immediately following third radical /š/:[294]

eš-šu-tim AbB 14, 165: 21 *eššūtim* < *edšūtim* "new".

še$_{20}$-*eš*$_{15}$-*ši-im* AbB 9, 152: 9 *šeššim* < *šedšim* "sixth".

qa-aš-ša-tum ARM 9, 291 iv 22 *qaššātum* < *qadšātum* "hierodules".

§ 2.198. a) Only in the following example does /d/ assimilate to a following /n/:[295]

Diy. *in-na-šu-nu-ši-ma* JCS 24, 68 no. 74 r. 6 *innāšunūšimma* < *idnā-* "give to them!"

b) Usually the sequence /dn/ is preserved:

ta-at-ta-ad-na AbB 2, 47: 8 *tattadnā* "you gave".

id-na-šum AbB 2, 117: 12 *idnā-* "give to him!"

§ 2.199. a) In the Amorite loanword *aqdamātum* "near bank", /qd/ once develops into /qt/ (devoicing):

[*a*]*q*?-*ta-ma-tim* ARM 27, 112: 15 *aqtamātim* < *aqdamātim* "near bank".

b) Elsewhere /qd/ is preserved:

pa-aq-da-ak-ki-im AbB 1, 51: 27 *paqdākkim* "I have entrusted to you".

aq-da-ma-tim ARM 2, 134: 4 *aqdmātim* "near bank".

§ 2.200. a) A progressive distant assimilation may occur with the sequence /t/–/d/ > /t/–/t/:UpMes. *tu-ti-ti-ki* OBTR 136: 21 *tutittiki* < *tudittiki* "your dress-pin".[296]

Up.Mes. *tu-ta-ab-ba-ab* OBTR 94: 12, 15 *tutabbab* < *tudabbab* "you claim".[297]

Lit. *ḫi-ta-at-tu* Gilg. OB VA+BM iii 7 *ḫitattū* < *ḫitaddū* "keep enjoying yourself!" (imp. Gtn).[298]

b) But see without assimilation:

tu-di-tum UET 5, 683: 11 *tudittum* "dress-pin".

tu-di-na-tum ARM 10, 109: 13; *tu-di-na-at* ARM 9, 20: 5 *tudināt*(*um*) "dress-pins".

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293 Similar is the assimilation of the infix /t/ to a following /š/ (see § 2.438d).

294 This assimilation is difficult to explain if /š/ was pronounced [š] or [ɬ] but is in concord with a realization as [s] or an affricate [tɬ] (see Streck 2006, 238, 242 f., 244, 245).

295 This assimilation occurs regularly in NB and LB.

296 With the same word regressive assimilation also occurs, again in UpMes., see § 2.445.

297 The same text writes *tu-da-ab-ba-ab* OBTR 94: 10.

298 George 2003, 284 takes this form as "an example of archaic orthography" (TU = *dú*).

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ta-ad-di-a-tum ARM 22, 113: 1 *taddī'ātum* "*t.*-garments".
Lex. *tu-di-tum* MSL 7, 235–239: 42, 65, 98 *tudittum* "dress-pin".

3.4.3 Metathesis

§ 2.201. For the metathesis of /d/ and the infix /t/ in the Gt-stem see § 2.447c.

3.4.4 Interchange between *d* and *z*

§ 2.202. *d* interchanges with *z* in the word *d/zimmatum* "moaning". It remains unclear whether this is a sign of a spirantized /d/ > /d̲/.[299]
Lit. *di-im-ma-tim* CH l 55, but *zi-im-ma-at-sú-nu* PBS 1/1, 11: 52.

3.5 */g/*

3.5.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.203. /g/ is a palatal voiced stop. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /g/.

§ 2.204. a) /g/ is regularly written with the signs GA, GI, GU, AG, IG, and UG (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs[300] with initial /g/ are GAL, GÀR, GIM, GIR, and GUR, with final /g/ DAG/TÁG and LIG (§ 2.15).
b) K for /g/ occurs in the word *gerrum* "expedition":[301]
UpMes.(?) *ge*$_5$(KI)*-er-ri šanuttimma ereddê*[*m*] FM 8, 134 no. 39: 41 *gerrī* "I will conduct the other expeditions".
UpMes. *ge*$_5$*-er-ri-i*[*m*] ARM 28, 171: 18; UpMes. ARM 28, 39 r. 5.

§ 2.205. GI$_4$ instead of GI is an archaic value occuring mainly in Lit. texts.[302] In the Code of Hammurapi we find 15 refs. for GI and 8 for GI$_4$.
a) GI$_4$ in the prologue of CH:
Lit. *mi-gi*$_4$*-ir* CH iii 48, v 13 "favorite of".
Lit. *I-gi*$_4$*-gi*$_4$ CH i 14 "I.-gods".
b) In the laws, GI$_4$ is found only in the word *šugītu* "priestess":
(f)*šu-gi*$_4$*-tum*/*tim*/*tam* CH §§ 144, 145 (2×), 183, 184.

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299 See AHw. 170 and 1528; GAG § 29a.

300 Unusual is GÁL(IG) in *mu-gál*^{al}*-li-tu* ARM 1, 116 r. 4 *mugallitu* "troublemaker". For the complementation of the rare syllabic value see § 2.17.

301 ARM 28, 171 is a letter of Ḫimdīja, king of Andarig, and ARM 28, 39 a letter of Ḫammī-epuḫ from Talḫajum. In texts from UpMes., we sometimes observe a confusion of voiced and unvoiced phonemes (see § 2.231 for G-writings for /k/). However, neither FM 8 no. 39 nor the letters of Ḫimdīja and Ḫammī-epuḫ show this use elsewhere. Therefore, the K-spelling may render a var. *kerrum* also known from other OB texts (see AHw. 285 *g.* 4b).

302 For GI$_4$ for /qi/ = *qi*$_4$ see § 2.312b.

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§ 2.206. GI_4 in letters is rare:[303]

te-(*e-*)*gi*$_4$ AbB 5, 159 r. 16; AbB 3, 112: 10; AbB 11, 13: 29 *teggī* "you are negligent".
i-gi$_4$ AbB 8, 77: 18, 20 *iggī* "he is negligent".
te-eg-gi$_4$(*-i*) CUSAS 36, 100: 21, 25 *teggî* "you are negligent".
pa-ar-ši-ge$_4$*-e* CUSAS 36, 100: 18 *paršīgē* "headcloths".
te-gi$_4$ CUSAS 43, 14: 18 *teggī* "you are negligent".

3.5.2 Spirantization

§ 2.207. Rarely do we find the spelling *ḫa* for /ga/.[304] Some of the few examples are uncertain, and it remains unclear whether these attest to a sporadic spirantization of /g/.

n ŠE-*a-am liqēma* n$_2$ *tamgurtī līpul ina ḫa-am-ri šumma digilki inītam išteʾat idī* AbB 10, 64: 11 *ḫamri* <? *gamri* "take n barley, and may he pay n$_2$ (barley), my agreement, in total(?). If you wish, provide (literally: lay) one team of plow-oxen!"[305]

aššum eqel ḫa-am-ri mašqīt nār Adad AbB 10, 41: 8 *ḫamri* <? *gamri* "because of the entire(?) field, the water place at the Adad canal …".[306]

ḫa-am-ra-a[*t*] ARM 7, 258: 7 *ḫamrat* < *gamrat* "is finished". The same text writes *ga-am-ra-at* (ARM 7, 258: 17, 25, 30).

3.6 */ḫ/*

3.6.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.208. a) /ḫ/ is a velar voiceless fricative. In inherited OB words, /ḫ/ is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /ḫ/, /ḥ/,[307] /ġ/,[308] rarely perhaps also of /ʿ/.[309]

b) In Amorite loanwords, Ḫ renders /ʿ/, /ḥ/, or /h/. It is unclear whether Ḫ is a graphic substitute for these sounds (as it is for strong /ʾ/, see § 2.154) or whether it reflects a true development into /ḫ/.[310] Examples:

ḫa-a-ri-im ARM 2, 37: 6 ʿ/*ḫayrim* "donkey stallion".[311]
ḫa-am-qí-im ARM 2, 107: 23 ʿ/*ḫamqim* "valley".[312]

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303 Some of the texts are perhaps early OB.
304 See Knudsen 1969, 152; von Soden 1968, 217 n. 4.
305 See *ḫamru* "holy place" AHw. 318. The position of *ina ḫamri* after the verb and *ina* instead of *ana* are suspect.
306 The context is broken. Read *eqel ḫamri* "field of the holy place"?
307 See Tropper 1995; Kogan 2011, 110 f.
308 See Kogan 2001; 2011, 111 f.
309 *ḫadannu*? See § 2.159c.
310 See Streck 2000, 128.
311 See Streck 2000, 94; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 432.
312 See Streck 2000, 93; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 432.

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ḫa-az-za-am ARM 2, 37: 8, 10 ʿ /*ḫazzam* "goat".[313]

amatka ša addinakkum ilum ḫi-in-na-ša ana panīka liddin MARI 6, 282: 7 *ḫ*/*ḫinnaša* "your slavegirl whom I gave you—may my god give your face grace for her".[314]

aššum ḫa-ia-ti ša ina GN *leqêt waššurim* ARM 28, 69: 3 *ḫ*/*ḫajjati* "because of the release of the animals that have been held in GN".[315]

qāt nišīkunu ṣabt[*ānim*] *qí-iḫ-la-nim-ma ana libbi māt*[*im*] *atlakānim* MARI 5, 179: 16 *qih*/*ḫlānimma* "gra[sp] the hand of your people, assemble (them), and come into the center of the lan[d]!"[316]

§ 2.209. /ḫ/ is regularly written with the signs ḪA, ḪI, ḪU, AḪ/IḪ/UḪ, and ÚḪ (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /ḫ/ are ḪAL, ḪAR, ḪIR, and ḪUR, with final /ḫ/ MAḪ, TAḪ, and LÀḪ/LUḪ (§ 2.15).

3.6.2 Assimilation

§ 2.210. a) /ḫ/ may assimilate to a following /k/:[317]

Lit. *ip-la-ak-ka* Or. 77, 339 iii 3 *iplakka* < *iplaḫka* "he revered you".[318]

b) But this assimilation is optional, and in other cases the sequence /ḫk/ is preserved:

a-aḫ-ka AbB 13, 143: 18; AbB 13, 184: 21 *aḫka* "your arm".

pa-li-iḫ-ka-a-ma ARM 1, 3: 4 *pāliḫkama* "the one who fears you".

3.6.3 Dissimilation

§ 2.211. The following ref. perhaps shows dissimilation of one of two occurrences of /ḫ/ in a word:[319]

Om. *ku-ša-ḫu-um* YOS 10, 24: 31 *kušaḫḫum* < *ḫušaḫḫum* "famine". See *ḫu-ša-ḫu-um* YOS 10, 24: 21.

313 See Streck 2000, 96; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 432. The inherited Akk. counterpart of this loan is *enzu*.

314 See Streck 2000, 98. The inherited Akk. counterpart of this loan is *ennu*.

315 See Streck 2000, 96; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 432.

316 See Streck 2000,110.

317 For /ḫk/ > /ḫḫ/ see § 2.235a.

318 See Streck/Wasserman 2008, 351.

319 See Knudsen 1969, 149, 152.

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3.6.4 Spirantization

§ 2.212. /ḫ/ is occasionally written with K-signs,[320] which may be explained by a spirantized pronunciation of /k/.[321] A single case—the contrast between the verb *esēḫum* "to assign" with derivation *isiḫtum* "allocation", attested in Bab., and the variant *esēkum* with derivation *isiktum*,[322] attested in Diy.,[323] Mid-Euphr.,[324] and UpMes.,[325]—shows a dialectal difference.[326] However, with one exception,[327] this geographical distinction cannot be traced in other words.

a) After a vowel:[328]

eqlam a-ka-ar-r[*a-a*]*r erriš* AbB 13, 150 r. 15 *akarrar* < *aḫarrar* "I will dig the field and seed it".

^{lú}*e-di-ku*^{meš} AbB 4, 37: 5 *ēdikū* < *ēdiḫū* "basket menders".[329]

ana a-ka-ti-ia qibīma AbB 6, 18: 1 *akātija* <? *aḫātija* "speak to my sister(?)!"[330]

ma-ki-ir JCS 9, 62 no. 8: 10 (Diy.) *makīr* < *maḫīr* "exchange rate".

it-ta-sa-ak CH § 248 *ittasak* < *ittasaḫ* "he tore out".[331]

Om. *e-di-ik-ma* YOS 10, 42 iv 39 *edikma* < *ediḫma* "is patchily covered".[332]

Lit. *i-ṣa-ak* RA 101, 64: 24, 41 *iṣâk* < *iṣâḫ* "will laugh".[333]

b) Word-initial:[334]

ana ka-ra-ri-im AbB 13, 150 r. 17 *karārim* < *ḫarārim* "(a field) to dig".

PN *Ka-ma-ṣí-rum* VS 13, 9 r. 2 *Kamaṣīrum* < *Ḫamaṣīrum* "Mouse".[335]

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320 Conversely, /k/ is rarely written with Ḫ-signs, see § 2.236.

321 See von Soden 1968, 217 f.; Knudsen 1969; Buccellati 1996, 23; Streck/Wasserman 2008, 351 f. It is unlikely that these are scribal errors, as Reiner 1973, 54 suggested.

322 For both variants see AHw. 248 and 387.

323 Sumer 14, 31: 4 and ibid. p. 55 f. note ad l. 4.

324 ARM 2, 13: 25; ARM 2, 82: 9, 21, 24, 25; ARM 3, 32: 10; ARM 3, 77: 18; ARM 5, 3: 18; ARM 5, 48: 7; ARM 5, 85: 7; ARM 6, 4: 22; ARM 6, 23: 8; ARM 6, 55: 15.

325 ARM 1, 42: 25; ARM 1, 72: 6, r. 2; ARM 1, 75: 37; ARM 1, 77 r. 13; ARM 4, 11: 6; ARM 4, 39: 7; ARM 4, 72: 37.

326 An etymon of the verb is unknown; therefore, it remains unclear whether Ḫ or K is original.

327 For *makīr*, attested in Diy., see § 2.212a.

328 **karûm* III for *ḫerûm* "to dig" (von Soden 1968, 217; AHw. 453) is a misreading, see CAD K 230 *karûm*, discussion section.

329 See ^{lú}*e-di-ḫu* TLB 1, 42: 5 *ēdiḫu*. PN *E-di-ḫu-um* UET 5, 553 i 14.

330 Or a PNf *Aka*/*ātīja*?

331 The object of the verb is *šašallum* "hoof tendon". See Knudsen 1969, 153 f.; CAD N/2, 20b *nasākum* B; Š/2, 168 *šašallum* 1a; AHw. 1197 *šašallum* 3b.

332 See *e-di-iḫ*, e.g., YOS 10, 36 i 48; iii 22 *ediḫ*. Etymon unknown.

333 See Mayer 2015, 183.

334 Alleged *ka?-da-ša* ZA 44, 32: 20 instead of *ḫadāša* "joy" is epigraphically uncertain; see Streck/Wasserman 2012, 192.

335 See von Soden 1968, 217.

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Roy. *ka-ni-iq zā'ir* PN MARI 3, 46: 3 *kāniq* < *ḫāniq* "who strangles the enemy of PN".[336]

c) After a consonant:

Lit. *ša-am-ka-at* Gilg. OB II 140 *šamkat* < *šamḫat* "o flourishing one!"

Lit. *ša-am-ka-t[um]* Gilg. OB II 175; [*ša-a*]*m-*⌜*ka-tim*⌝ Gilg. OB II 135 *šamkatu*/*im* < *šamḫatim* "flourishing one".[337]

3.7 */j/*

3.7.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.213. /j/ is a prepalatal voice fricative. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /j/ (/y/). /j/ is weak in most positions, susceptible to different sound changes. Secondary /j/ occurs between two vowels (§ 2.228).

§ 2.214. /ja/ may be written:

a) Always *ia* for the pron. suff. 1. sg. after /i/ of the gen. case:

aš-šu-mi-ia AbB 14, 98: 4 *aššumija* "because of me".

ḫa-al-ṣí-ia ARM 3, 16: 9; 17: 28 *ḫalṣija* "of my district".

b) Always *ia* for the pron. suff. 1. sg. after /ī/ of the obl. case:

pa-ni-ia ARM 2, 53: 9 *panīja* "my face".

ni-ši-ia ARM 2, 62 r. 6 *nišīja* "my people".

c) Regularly *ia* for the variant /ja/[338] of the pron. suff. 1. sg. after /ū/ of the nom. case:

tap-pu-ia ARM 5, 69: 11 *tappûja* "my colleagues".

a-la-nu-ia ARM 1, 1 r. 2 *ālānūja* "my cities".

d) Sometimes *ia* for the pron. suff. 1. sg. after /ā/ of the dual form:

i-na-(*a-*)*ia* ARM 5, 21: 12; ARM 2, 51: 12 *īnāja* "my eyes".

e) Sometimes *a-a* for the pron. suff. 1. sg. after /ā/ of the dualform:[339]

Lit. *a-ḫa-a-a* Gilg. OB III 87 *aḫāja* "my arms".

uz-na-a-a AbB 11, 154: 9 *uznāja* "my ears".

f) Exceptionally, *a-a* for the pron. suff. /ja/ after /ū/ of the pl.:

Om. *it-tu-ú-a-a* YOS 10, 46 v 11 *ittûja* "my neighbors".

g) Once *a-a-* for the glide /ja/ between the vowels /i/ and /a/:

Lit. *ḫa-a-a-ṭù* OECT 11, 1: 16 *ḫījāṭu* < *ḫīaṭu* "to inspect".[340]

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336 See Durand 1993.

337 See von Soden 168a, 217; Knudsen 1969, 154. In the younger Gilg. epic the designation for the harlot occurs as *šamḫat*, see CAD š/1, 312 *šamḫatum* c 2′.

338 For this pron. suff., there is also a variant written *a*, see § 4.42d.

339 See Mayer 2003, 293.

340 For this interpretation of the spelling see von Soden 1989/90, 18.

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h) Frequently *ia* at the beginning of a word:
ia-ti AbB 11, 33: 13 *jâti* "me".
Lit. *ia-ši-im* Gilg. OB VA+BM iv 5 *jâšim* "to me".
i) Rarely *i-ia* at the beginning of a word:
i-ia-ši-im AbB 2, 114: 8 *jâšim* "to me".
i-ia-t[*i*] ARM 2, 20: 7 *jât*[*i*] "me".
i-ia-tam ARM 2, 113: 28 *jâttam* "my".
j) Sometimes *ja*(PI), especially[341] in the word *jāšibum*:[342]
^{giš}*ja-ši-ba-am* ARM 5, 2: 13 *jāšibam* "battering-ram".
ja-ši-bi-im ARM 7, 16: 2 *jāšibim*.
Lit. [*r*]*a-bi-ja-ku* Fs. Reiner 190: 25 *rabījāku* < *rabīāku* "I am grown up".
Lit. *na-ar-bi-ja*(PI)-*aš* RA 22, 170 f.: 21, 23 *narbi'āš* "her greatness".
Lit. *ši-ja-tim* Etana MLC 1363 i 7 *šijātim* < *ši'ātim* "that".
k) Frequently *a-a* for the hypocoristic ending /(ā)ja/ in PN:[343]
A-ḫi-ma-a Mayer 2003, 298 *Aḫīmâja* < *Aḫī-ma-āja*.[344]
Be-la-a-a Mayer 2003, 299 *Bēlāja*.[345]
A-ḫi-i-a-a Mayer 2003, 300 *Aḫīja*.[346]
A-bu-ú-a-a Mayer 2003, 300 *Abūja*.[347]
l) Sometimes *a* for the hypocoristic ending /(ā)ja/ after a /u/-vowel in PN:
A-gu(-*ú*)-*a* Mayer 2003, 300 *Agûjja*.[348]

§ 2.215. /ji/ or /jī/ may be written:[349]
a) *ji*(PI):
a-ji-gu-ú OBTI 18: 15 *ajīgû* (sandhi for *aj īgû*)[350] "may they not be negligent".
Roy. *a-ji-ta-la-ak* RIME 4, 608: 157 *ajittalak* (sandhi for *aj ittalak*) "may he not walk".[351]

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341 *uz-na-ja* CAD U 368 *uznum* 2b (mentioned together with *uz-na-ia* in the same paragraph) is another convention of translit. for *uz-na-ia*, taken over from AbB 11.
342 For further refs. see AHw. 412 and CAD A/2, 428 *ašibum*. Or do these refs. point to a form *wāšibum* (see AHw. ibid.)? However, the word is also written *ia-ši-ba-am* ARM 1, 131: 12; ARM 2, 7: 12, 18.
343 See Mayer 2003 with numerous refs.
344 *aḫī* "my brother" + encl. *-ma*.
345 *bēl*(*um*) "lord".
346 *aḫī* "my brother". Or hypocoristic ending *-ījа*.
347 Or *Abujja* < *Abumja*. *abum* "father".
348 *agû* "tiara"? see *A-gu-ú-a-a*, *A-gu-ia* Mayer 2003, 300.
349 For spellings like *ki-a-em* that might render the the glide /ije/ see § 2.33.
350 Reading by Sommerfeld 1984, 446 f.
351 Note the variant *a-ja*(PI) *i-ta-la-ak*, here not interpreted as sandhi, see § 2.217 f.

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b) *i*:

Ma-ra-i … ^{lú}*Su-ḫa-i* ARM 26/2, 494 no. 521: 14 f. *Marājī* … *Suḫājī* "people from Mari … people from Suḫi".

E-lu-ḫu-ta-i ARM 21, 189: 4 *Eluḫutājī* "Men from Eluḫut".

a-i-tim RATL p. 147 no. 78: 7 *ajjītim* "which?"

c) *i-ia*:

qí-ia-i-ma AbB 3, 71: 23 *qījīma* "wait (fem.)!"

§ 2.216. /ju/ may be written:

a) *iu*(IA):

Lit. *re-iu-ú* Gilg. OB II 77 *rējû* < *rēʾû* "shepherds".

b) Rarely *i-iu*(IA):

i-iu(IA)*-ú-um-ma* ARM 26/1, 215 no. 75 r. 15 *jûmma*.

c) Rarely *i-ju*(PI):

i-ju-ut-tu-un ARM 28, 98: 6 *jûttun* "my".

i-ju-ú-um ARM 2, 109: 10 *jûm* "my".

d) Rarely *i-ú*:

i-ú-ti-in FM 1 p. 76 A.2761: 11.

§ 2.217. /aj/ may be written:

a) *a*:

Lit. *a ú-ša-ab-ši* CH l 13 *aj ušabšī* "may he not produce".

Lit. *a ú-šar-ši-šu* CH li 46 *aj ušaršīšu* "may she not grant to him".

Lit. *a ib-ni* CH li 49 *aj ibnī* "may he not create".

b) *a-a*:

Lit. *a-a i-mi-i-s*[*í*] CT 15, 2 vii 9 *aj īmissi* "may he not impose on her".

c) *a-i*:

Lit. *a-i ú-šar-ši* CH li 18 *aj ušaršī* "may he not experience".

d) *ia*:[352]

ia ir-ši AbB 6, 91: 9 *aj iršī* "may he not receive".

e) *a-ia*:

a-ia i-gu-ú AbB 11, 106: 7 *aj īgû* "may they not be negligent".

Lit. *a-ia ik-la* VS 10, 214 v 12 *aj iklâ* "may she not hold back".

f) *a-ja*(PI):

Roy. *a-ja im-ḫu-ur* RIME 4, 608: 146 *aj imḫur* "may he not confront".

Roy. *a-ja i-ta-la-ak* RIME 4, 608: 157 *aj ittalak* "may he not walk".[353]

352 Mayer 2003, 305.

353 Note the var. *a-ji*(PI)*-ta-la-ak*, a sandhi spelling, see § 2.215a.

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§ 2.218. /ajja/ or /ajjā/ may be written:
a) Frequently (C)*a-ia*:
a-ia-ši-im ARM 2, 13: 18; ARM 2, 62 r. 2 *ajjâšim* < *an-jâšim* "for me".
ka-ia-nu ARM 1, 52: 33 *kajjānū* "they are regular".
b) Sometimes C*a-a-ia*:
ka-a-ia-an-tim FM 7, 105 no. 28: 37 *kajjāntim* "constant".
ka-a-ia-na FM 7, 38 no. 13: 11 *kajjānā* "may they be regular".
c) Sometimes *a-a*:
Om. *a-a-bi-šu* YOS 10, 42 i 32 *ajjābīšu* "his enemies".
Lit. *a-a-bi* CH iii 47 *ajjābī* "enemies".
d) Rarely *ia-a*:[354]
ia-a-bu NAPR 5, 8: 54[355] *ajjābu* "enemy".
e) Rarely *ia*:
Lit. *ia-li* RA 22, 170 f.: 44 *ajjalī* "stags".

§ 2.219. /ajjī/, /ajjî/ or /ājī/ may be written:
a) *a-i*:
a-i-š[*a*] ARM 28, 11 r. 8 *ajjîša* "whither".
Om. *a-i-ma* RA 35, 47 no. 19: 2 *ajjîmma* "some".
b)*a-a-i*:[356]
a-a-i-ki-a-am AbB 14, 56: 40 *ajjīkī'am* "from where".
a-a-i-im-ma AbB 2, 160: 7 *ajjîmma* "someone".
Om. *a-a-i-ma* YOS 10, 15: 18 *ajjîmma*.
c)*a-ji*(PI):
a-ji-iš ARM 1, 6: 48; 5, 36: 15 *ajjîš* "whereto".
d) *a-ji*(PI)-*i*:
a-ji-i-iš ARM 1, 72: 7, 9 *ajjîš* "whereto".
Roy. *a-ji-i-ta-la-ak* RIME 4, 608: 157 *aj = ittalak* "may he not walk".[357]
e) *a-ii*(IA)-*i*:
a-ii-i-tim AbB 2, 65: 30 *ajjītim* "which".

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354 See Reiner 1964, 179 f. *ia-a-nu-um* PBS 7, 29: 10 (CAD A/1, 227b *ajānum* d) is not OB but Kassite, see Stol, AbB 11 p. 16 n. 29a.

355 See Mayer 2003, 305.

356 Mayer 2015, 186 normalizes this writing as *ajji'i-*, for which I do not see any need. Moreover, a sound sequence /i'i/ would be unstable and most probably contract to /î/. Last, Mayer's normalization would force us to assume uncontracted and contracted forms within a single text, see, e.g., *a-i-im* in ARM 6, 37 r. 9 for alleged uncontracted *ajji'im* alongside *za-ku-tim* ARM 6, 37: 4 for contracted *zakûtim* < *zakū-ūtim*, or *a-i-im-ma* AbB 14, 139: 11 for alleged uncontracted *ajji'imma* alongside *me-e* AbB 14, 139: 22 for contracted *mê* < *mā-ī*.

357 Sandhi spelling.

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f) *a-ii*(IA):
pa-ag-ra-ii ARM 21, 147: 5 *pagrājī* < *pagraʾī* "funerary offerings".
g) *a-a*:[358]
Lit. *ša-ma-a-a šannu* Gilg. OB IM 22 *šamājī* "vies with the heavens".
Lit. *šà-ma-a-a* RA 24, 105 r. 8.[359]

§ 2.220. /ajju/ may be written:
a) *a-a-ú*:
Om. *a-a-ú-um-ma* YOS 10, 15: 13 *ajjûmma* "anyone".
Lit. *a-a-ú-um* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 98 r. 3 (text A) // *a-i-ú-um* (text B) *ajjûm* "which?".
b) *a-i-ú*:
Lit. *a-i-ú-um* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 98 r. 3 (text B) // *a-a-ú-um* (text A) *ajjûm* "which?".
c) *a-ju*(PI):
a-ju-um ARM 5, 62: 5 *ajjûm* "which?".
d) *a* + VC-sign:
a-um AbB 9, 133: 7 *ajjûm* "any".
e) *a-iu*(IA) + VC-sign:
Lit. *a-iu-um* RA 22, 170 f.: 21 *ajjûm* "which?".
f) *ia* + VC-sign:[360]
Lit. *ia-um-ma* Or. 87, 15 i 14 *ajjûmma* "any".

3.7.2 /aj/

§ 2.221. The sound sequence /aj/ is a diphthong, which usually becomes /ī/ or /ē/:
bi-tim AbB 6, 48: 6 *bītim* < *bajtim* "house".
bi-ni Edubba 7, 97: 19 *bīnī* < *bajnī* "tamarisks".
i-de-ši ARM 5, 8: 20 *īdēši* < *ʾajdaʿ-* "I know her".

§ 2.222. /aj/ is preserved:
a) In the vetitive particle /aj/ before secondary ʾ + vowel:
ia ir-ši AbB 6, 91: 9 *aj iršī* "may he not get".
Lit. *a-i ú-šar-ši* CH li 18 *aj ušaršī* "may she not secure".
b) In the Amorite loanword *ʿajrum* "donkey stallion":[361]
ḫa-a-ru ARM 26/2, 260 no. 404: 33 *ʿajru*.

358 See Mayer 2003, 303.
359 // SB *šá-ma-m*[*i*].
360 See Mayer 2003, 306.
361 See Streck 2000, 128.

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c) In a letter from Karkemiš in the word *bīnum* "tamarisk":
giš.ḫi-a*bi-ia-ni*/*u* ARM 26/2, 533 no. 541: 5, 18, probably a spelling for *bajnī*/*ū*.[362]
d) Also long /jj/ is preserved:
a-i-im ARM 6, 37 r. 9 *ajjîm* "which?"
ḫa-ia-ti ARM 28, 69: 3 *ḫajjati* "animals".[363]
ḫa-ia-tam ARM 28, 69: 6, 10 *ḫajjatam* "animals".
Om. *a-a-bi-šu* YOS 10, 42 i 32 *ajjābīšu* "his enemies".

3.7.3 /ij/

§ 2.223. The diphthong /ij/ becomes /ī/:
i-še-er-ma AbB 11, 98: 14 *īšerma* < *jijšir-* "he went well".
ab-ni ARM 1, 44: 6 *abnī* < *abnij* "I made".

3.7.4 Postconsonantal /j/

§ 2.224. a) /j/ as the third radical of nouns with pattern *Pa*/*i*/*uRS* is sometimes lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:
le-ti-ka ARM 1, 61: 11 *lētika* < *laḫj-* "cheek".[364]
Om. *bi-ša-am* YOS 10, 56 i 32 *bīšam* < *bišjam* "movable possessions".
mu-ša-am ARM 3, 16: 21 *mūšam* < *mušjam* "night".
b) But in other cases the weak radical is preserved and appears as /ī/:
Lit. *ni-qí-a-am* Atr. 98: 36 *niqīʾam* "sacrifice".

3.7.5 Word-Initial /j/

§ 2.225. Word-initial /ja/ becomes /(ʾ)e/ or /(ʾ)i/ (with secondary /ʾ/, § 2.158) in verbal roots:[365]
a) /e/:
e-se-ek ARM 4, 27: 31 *esēk* < *jasāk* "to assign".
e-ḫi-il-ti-šu CH § 39 *eʾiltišu* < *jaʾilti-* "his liability", but *i-il-ti-šu* CH § 38 *iʾiltišu* or *îltišu*.
Lex. *e-du-u* MSL 2, 132: 40 *edû* < *jadû* "to know".
b) /i/:
i-de ARM 1, 134: 7 *īdē* < *jadāʿ* "to know".
i-ḫi-il-tam AbB 13, 41: 23 *iʾiltam* < *jaʾiltam*? "liability".
Lit. *i-ša-ra-at* CH xlvii 45 *išarat* < *jašarat* "is just".

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362 For this interpretation see Streck 2013, 322 f.
363 An Amorite loanword, see Streck 2000, 96. Kupper, ARM 28 p. 100 translates "mes gens", but this would require—since the word follows *aššum* in an inf. construction—*ḫajjatija*.
364 Militarev/Kogan 2000, 161 f.: <*liḫy-*, but /ē/ favors < *laḫy-*.
365 /e/ instead of /i/ might be an analogy to verbs of the I-ʾ e-class (Kouwenberg 2010, 466).

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§ 2.226. Word-initial /ja/ is, however, preserved in the following cases:
a) In the independent personal pron. of the 1. p. (see § 4.81):
i-ia-ti AbB 14, 96: 9 *jâti* "me".
ia-ši-im AbB 6, 93: 26 *jâšim* "for me".
i-ia-tam ARM 2, 113: 28 *jâtam* "mine".
b) In Amorite loanwords:[366]
i-a-ḫu-di-a-ku AbB 5, 171: 24 *jaḫudīʾāku* "I am alone".[367]
ia-ḫu-di-a-am AbB 3, 3: 17 "single".
ia-bi-il-tum/*tim* ARM 14, 14: 5, 10, 26, 31f. *jābiltum* "bringing" (designation of a canal).*ia-ga-*(*a-*)*tum* ARM 2, 118: 12, 15 *jagâtum* "complaints".
ia-lu-ti ARM 10, 121: 6 *jālūti* "alliance".
ia-ba-mi-ša OBTR 143: 10 *jabāmiša* "of her father-in-law".
c) In some words of unclear etymology:
ia-ra-am AbB 14, 94: 27 *jarram* "pond".
^{giš}*ia-ši-ba-am* ARM 1, 131: 12 *jāšibam* "battering-ram".

§ 2.227. The diphthongs /ji/ and /ju/ become /(ʾ)i/ and /(ʾ)u/ (with secondary /ʾ/, see § 2.158):
ip-ta-ar-sa-am ARM 2, 44: 15 *iptarsam* < *jiptarsam* "he separated for me".
ú-ša-ap-ri-is AbB 3, 50: 19 *ušapris* < *jušapris* "he caused to decide".

3.7.6 Secondary /j/

§ 2.228. a) Secondary /j/ appears as a glide between the vowels /i/ and /a/:[368]
qí-ia-an-ni AbB 14, 193: 12; ARM 28, 135: 13 *qījanni* < *qīanni*[369] "wait for me!"
qí-ia-i-ma AbB 3, 71: 23 *qījīma* "wait (fem.)!"[370]
ni-i-ia-tim ARM 3, 33: 14 *nijātim* < *niātim* "us".
^{lú}*ḫa-zi-ia-an-nam* ARM 26/2, 126 no. 353: 18 *ḫazijannam* < *ḫaziannam* "mayor".
PN ^{f}*Ši-ia-aš-ták-la-ku* ARM 9, 24 iii 55 "I trust in her".
Lit. [*r*]*a-bi-ja-ku* Fs. Reiner 190: 25 *rabījāku* < *rabīāku* "I am grown up".
Lit. *ḫa-a-a-ṭù* OECT 11, 1: 16 *ḫījāṭu* < *ḫīaṭu* "to inspect".

366 In Amorite PNs word-initial /ja/ is also preserved, see Streck 2000, 177–180, 184–191.
367 AHw. 1565 "einfältig"? Root WḪD, which in Amorite becomes JḪD. Therefore, the word must be a loan from Amorite.
368 The glide /j/ is interchangeable with /ʾ/, see § 2.156b.
369 These forms derive from *waqûm*, not from *quʾûm*. See CAD Q 332 *quʾûm*, discussion section, CAD W 404 *waqûm*, discussion section, pace AHw. 931 *quʾûm* 4.
370 Instead of *qí-ia-nim* VS 10, 214 viii 6 (AHw. 931 *quʾû* 4b) read *qí-bi*!*-a-nim* "tell me!", see Groneberg 1981, 112.

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b) A glide between the vowels /i/ and /u/:
Lit. *la-li-ju*(PI)-*um* FM 14 ii 9 *lalījum* "kid".
Lit. *na-bi-ju*(PI)-*tim* FM 14 iii 27 *nabījūtim* "named".
Lit. *pé-ti-ju*(PI) FM 14 i 8, 10, 36 *pētiju* "who opens".
c) A glide between the vowels /a/ and /i/:
pa-ag-ra-ia ARM 21, 147: 5 *pagrājī* < *pagrā'i* "funerary offerings".
d) A glide between the vowels /a/ and /u/:
Lex. *ba-ka-a-a-ú* MSL 12, 161: 129 *bakkāju* "wailer".[371]
e) Secondary /j/ may also appear instead of a radical /'/ between vowels:
Lit. *le-iu*(IA)-*um* CH i 63 *lējûm* < *lē'ûm* "powerful".
Lit. *le-iu*(IA)-⌜*ú*⌝-[*ti*] UET 1, 146 vi 7 *lējû*[*tī*] < *lē'ûtī* "my might".
Roy. *re-ii*(IA)-*im* RIME 4, 381: 19 *rejîm* < *re'îm* "to shepherd".
Lit. *re-iu-ú* Gilg. OB II 77 *rējû* < *rē'û* "shepherds".
f) A secondary, unexplained /j/ also appears once after a consonant:
Lit. *i-ši-ja*(PI)-*ru* OECT 11, 1: 5 *išijaru* = *išaru* "just".[372]

3.8 */k/*

3.8.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.229. a) /*k*/ is a palatal voiceless stop. It is usually the reflex of Proto-Semitic /k/.
b) If the root contains /ṣ/, Geers's law usually requires that a preceding Proto-Semitic /q/ becomes /k/ in Akk.:
ka-ṣí-ir FM 2, 140 no. 76: 17, 19 *kaṣir* "it is frozen (lit. tied)" (Proto-Semitic QṢR).
c) In Amorite loanwords, however, /q/ in a root that contains /ṣ/ may be preserved:
qa-ṣí-im ARM 5, 36: 32; *qa-ṣé-e-em-ma* ARM 5, 37: 8 "steppe".[373]
d) In MidEuphr., /q/ in the same root with /ṣ/ is perhaps rarely preserved also in Akk. words, apparently under Amorite influence.[374]
MidEuphr. *i-qa-ṣa-ra-am* FM 2, 216 no. 118 r. 23 *iqaṣṣaram* "he becomes angry (lit. ties)".
MidEuphr. *ú-qa-aṣ-ṣa-ru* ARM 10, 80: 15 *uqaṣṣaru* "I knot".

371 The spelling *-Ca-a-a-* shows that this form should not, pace Kouwenberg 1997, 63 and 2010, 521, be interpreted as **bakkā'um* with secondary /'/. The plene *a* does not indicate vowel length (pace Kouwenberg 1997, 68 n. 17)—for this a spelling *-Ca-a-* would be enough—but the glide /j/.
372 In the same text, unexpected secondary /'/ also occurs, see § 2.160 with n.
373 Sometimes *qaṣûm* phonologically integrates into Akk. and follows Geers's law, thus becoming *kaṣûm*, see § 2.334c.
374 An alternative explanation is that /k/ assimilated to /ṣ/ in the same root.

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MidEuphr. *naptan qa-ṣa-tim* ARM 12, 685: 3; ARM 12, 686: 6 *qaṣâtim* "morning meal".[375]

MidEuphr. *qa-ṣa-tam* ARM 18, 32: 11 *qaṣâtam* "during the morning".

§ 2.230. /k/ is regularly written with the signs KA, KI, KU, AK, IK, and UK (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /k/ are KAB/P, KAL, KAM, KAR, KIR, KUM, and KUR, with final /k/ DAK/ TÁK and LIK (§ 2.15).

§ 2.231. In some of the letters of Jamṣījum (UpMes.) we sometimes find G-spellings (GU = ku_8) for /k/. These letters have a general tendency to confuse voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants:[376]

il-li-ku$_8$ ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 6 *illikū* "they went".
nu-ku$_8$*-ur-*[*ta-šu*] ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 36 *nukur*[*tašu*] "his enmity".
pu-ḫu-úr-ku$_8$*-nu* ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 42 *puḫurkunu* "your assembly".
iš-ku$_8$*-na-an-ni* ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 7 *iškunanni* "he put me".
nu-ku$_8$*-úr-tum* ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 25 *nukurtum* "enmity".
li-ku$_8$*-ul-né-ti* ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 49 *līkulnêti* "may he benefit from us".

§ 2.232. For *kúm*(NE) see perhaps:

Lit. *ú-ba-ta-kúm*? Gilg. OB IM 21 *ubattakkum* < *ubattaqkum* "will cut down for you(?)".[377]

3.8.2 Assimilation[378]

§ 2.233. a) For the reciprocal assimilation /kt/ > /gd/ in UpMes. see § 2.441.
b) /k/ may assimilate to a distant /b/ and become /g/:

gi-ib-bu ARM 12, 747: 3; *gi-bu-um* ARM 21, 41: 10 *gibbu* < *kibbu* "burning, a sacrifice".

But sometimes /k/ remains:

ki-ib-bi-im MARI 3, 93: 5; MARI 3, 38: 3 *kibbim*.

§ 2.234. In the following instance, /k/ adjacent to /n/ becomes voiced:

i-na-ad-di-ig-gi AbB 9, 63: 15 *inaddiggi* < *inaddinki* "he will give to you".

375 Usually *kaṣâtum*, from *kaṣûm* "to be(come) cold". The etymology of the root is, however, unclear (Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 373).

376 See §§ 2.186, 2.194, 2.290b, 2.330, 2.436, 2.467.

377 A.R. George reads *ú-ba-ša-ka*.

378 A unique example of /kš/ > /šš/ might be Lit. *ap-ri-iš-šu-ú-ma* ZA 75, 181 C 12 *apriššuma* <? *aprik-šu-ma* "I blocked(?) it" (obj. *uzzum* "anger").

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§ 2.235. /k/ rarely assimilates to a preceding phoneme.
a) /ḫk/ > /ḫḫ/:[379]

a-aḫ-ḫi elī bītiki lā tanaddî AbB 6, 68: 2 *aḫḫi* < *aḫki* "do not be negligent (literally: drop your arm) against your house!"
b) /dk/ > /dg/:

Lit. *mu-uš-te-ed-gi apluḫtim* Or. 77, 338 i 11 "who constantly summons the armor".

3.8.3 Spirantization

§ 2.236. /k/ is on rare occasions spelled with Ḫ-signs, which indicates occasional spirantized pronunciation:[380]
a) After vowel:

Om. *ma-li-ḫi* YOS 10, 51 iii 8 *maliḫi* < *maliki* "mal(i)ku-demon".
b) Word-initial:[381]

ḫi-iš-ša-tim CHJ 65: 11, 15 *ḫiššātim* < *kiššātim* "distraint".[382]

3.9 */l/*

3.9.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.237. /l/ is an alveolar voiced lateral.[383] It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /l/.

§ 2.238. /l/ is regularly written with the signs LA, LI, LU, AL, EL, IL, and UL (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /l/ are LAM, LÀḪ, LIG, LIM, LUḪ, and LUM, with final /l/ B/PÍL, MIL, and TIL (§ 2.15).

379 For /ḫk/ > /kk/ see § 2.210.

380 See von Soden 1968, 217; Knudsen 1969.

381 The following ref. does not derive from *kabārum* "to be thick" (see AHw. 303 *ḫabāru* II "dick sein"): Lit. *lutwīma tīwītī el tīwītika lū ḫa-ab-r*[*a-at*] *kīma bu-lu elī šamkanī ḫa-ab-ra-at kêm qibītī el qibītika lū ab-ra-at kīma šamûm el qaqqarim ḫa-ab-ra-at kêm qibītī el qibītika lū ḫa-ab-ra-at* RA 36, 11: 8–12 "let me speak, let my utterance be superior(?) to your utterance! Just as the … is superior(?) to the servants, thus may my word be superior(?) to your word. Just as the rain is superior(?) to the land, thus may my words be superior(?) to your words". *kabārum* is elsewhere never used with expressions like *qibītum* and *tīwītum*, and the variant *abrat* cannot be explained by the spirantization of /k/.

382 See Knudsen 1969, 153. Uncertain is *ta-aḫ-šu-uš-ma* AbB 14, 198: 12, which Stol apud Kraus 1984, 267 n. 416 derives from *kašāšum* "to gain control". CAD 138b has the ref. s.v. *ḫašāšum* C "to do something with alacrity, to be prompt", AHw. 333b s.v. *ḫašāšum* II "zusammenfassen". Veenhof, AbB 14 p. 181 *ḫašāšum* "to hurry".

383 According to Faber 1989, 34, the sound change /št/ > /lt/ (see § 2.428) points to a velarized /l/ before /t/. However, this sound change probably reveals more about the pronunciation of /š/ than that of /l/.

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§ 2.239. a) *lí* (NI), an archaic value, regularly occurs in *ì-lí ilī* "my god", *be-lí*(*-ia*) *bēlī*(*ja*) "(of) my lord", *ṣíl-lí ṣillī* "my shade", *a-lí ālī* "my city", and *an-dùl-lí andullī* "my umbrella". The introductory formula in letters regularly reads *ana be-lí-ia ana bēlija* "to my lord", e.g., ARM 4, 16: 1.

b) Other attestation in PNs:

^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-lí-iṭ* Edubba 7, 109: 16[384] *Sîn-muballiṭ* "Sîn is the one who keeps alive".^{m}*Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí-mu-ba-lí-iṭ* AbB 13, 38: 4 *Ḫammurapi-muballiṭ* "Ḫammurapi is one who keeps alive".

c) Elsewhere, the value LÍ is rare:[385]

e-lé-qé ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503: 12 *eleqqē* "I will take".

lí-dan-ni-in-ma ARM 26/1, 316 no. 152: 21 *lidanninma* "let him make strong".

§ 2.240. Rarely LUM has the value *lu*$_4$:

lu$_4$ *ša-lim* AbB 9, 143: 7 *lū šalim* "may be well".

aššum eqlija [*ša*] *ḫa-ab-lu*$_4$ AbB 6, 104: 14 "concerning my field that has been taken away".

bá-lu$_4$*-ia* ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 6 *balūja* "without me".[386]

§ 2.241. The value *ìl* (AN) is attested in the letters of Jamṣījum:

ú-ša-bi-ìl ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 17, 25 *ušābil* "he sent".

wa-bi-ìl ARM 26/2, 83 no. 318: 6 *wābil* "bringing".

bi-ìl-tam ARM 26/2, 84 no. 318: 24 *biltam* "tribute".

§ 2.242. For the value *líl* (KID) see:

Lit. *líl-di* JCS 26, 163: 11 *lildi* < *lišdi* "cream".

3.9.2 Assimilation

§ 2.243. In texts from Bab. and from Susa, /l/ rarely assimilates to a following /š/.[387] The easiest way to explain this optional assimilation is a lateral pronunciation of /š/ (see § 2.428).

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384 The text dates to King Sîn-muballiṭ from Babylon.

385 These attestations are not examples of /l/ > /n/. For /n/ > /l/ see § 2.285. *lí-iṭ-ru-dam-ma* ARM 1, 33: 7 is a mistake: the copy in TCL 22 shows *li*.

386 Letter of Jamṣījum, see Charpin 1989, 34.

387 The examples of an assimilation of /l/ to consonants other than /š/ mentioned in GAG §§ 34c, 114o and in von Soden 1988, 271 are unconvincing: *šašmam ilqēma e-sú-lum-ma*⟨*-im*?⟩ CT 15, 3 i 9 does not contain *el*(*ī*) but—in spite of the spelling with *e*—the shortened preposition *in*(*a*): "he attacked in peace time" (*is-sulummā*). The same is true for *išnī*! *uṣbašši e-ni-ši-i puluḫḫîš* VS 10, 214 iv 7 "he again bestowed upon her her frightful appearance among the people" (*in-nišī*); see Streck 2010, 563. *kilattān* "both" did not develop from **kilaltān* by assimilation but is a formation analogous to *šittā* "two".

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a) Bab.:[388]

⌜*ša*⌝*-aš-ši-i*[*m*] AbB 7, 93: 23 *šaššim* < *šalšim* "third".

a-ap-pa-aš-šu AbB 9, 70: 12 *appaššu* < *appalšu* "I will satisfy him".

i-pu-u[*š*]*-šu* AbB 9, 70: 9 *īpuššu* "he[389] satisfied him".

ú-ša-bi-iš-šu PBS 13, 55: 21 *ušābiššu* < *ušābilšu* "I had him bring".

Lex. *gi-iš-šu* MSL 15, 49: 568 *giššu* < *gilšu* "hip".

Lex. *ša-aš-ši-im* MSL 4, 126: 13 *šaššim* < *šalšim* "third".

Om. *i-pa-aš-*[*š*]*u* YOS 10, 14: 4 *ippaššu* < *ippalšu* "he will satisfy him".

Lit. *na-aš-ši* LAOS 4, 10 r. 11 *našši* < *nalši* "dew".

Lit. *a-ka-šu* BWL 273: 2, 5 *akaššu* < *akalšu* "his bread".

Lit. ⌜*iš-šu*⌝ YOS 11, 12: 6 *iššu* < *ilšu* "his god".

Lit. *uwaṣṣar eš*$_{15}$*-šu* AfO 50, 15 ii 5 "(her [scri]be writes a tablet …) he draws (the prayers) on it (the tablet)".

Lit. *kīma šarrāqim ina bāb pi-in-ši-i-ka* CUSAS 10, 14: 4 *pinšika* <[390] *piššika* < *pilšika* "like a thief at the gate of a breach".

b) Susa:

a-ka-šu MDP 24, 379: 14 *akaššu* < *akalšu* "his bread".

c) /l/ is much more often preserved. Examples from Bab.:

a-pu-ul-šu-nu-ti AbB 9, 119 r. 5 *apulšunūti* "supply them!"

ša-al-ši-im ARM 2, 74 r. 4 *šalšim* "third".

be-el-ša AbB 6, 80: 7 *bēlša* "her master".

ú-ša-bil-šu CH § 112 *ušābilšu* "has him brought".

pí-il-ši-im CH § 21 *pilšim* "breach".

Om. *il-šu* YOS 10, 51 i 9 *ilšu* "his god".

Lit. *na-al-ša* Atr. 74: 17 *nalša* "dew".

388 *i-ip-pa-áš-šu* CT 8, 30a: 10 *ippaššu* < *ippalšu* "he will satisfy him" is late OB, and *eš-šu* RA 101, 64: 37 *eššu* < *elšu* "over him" as well as *at-ba-šu* RA 101, 64: 15 *atbaššu* < *atbalšu* "I took it away" late OB/early MB.

389 Stol, AbB 9 p. 49 translates "I did not satisfy him", which fits the context but corresponds to *āpuššu*.

390 See § 2.505g.

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3.9.3 Shift between /l/ and /r/

§ 2.244. A shift /l/ > /r/[391] rarely occurs, especially in literary texts:[392]

ul kīma rimmātim ša kišādim ša ištēt peṣêt u ištēt ṣa-ar-ma-at uštaparrasū Durand 1990, 102: 17 *ṣarmat* < *ṣalmat* "will they not distinguish (between them) like termites in a necklace, of which one is white and one is black?"[393]

Lit. 30 *ṣe-ri ina libbiša addī* Finkel 2014, 360: 13 *ṣērī* < *ṣēlī* "I placed 30 ribs into it (the ship)".

Lit. ⌜*ṣe-e-ri*⌝*-ša* Finkel 2014, 362: 29 *ṣērīša* < *ṣēlī-*.

Lit. *šanīʾat ar-ka-as-su-nu šipiršunu nukkur* Or. 87, 20 ii 17 *arkassunu* < *alkassunu* "different is their way, their activity is strange".[394]

Lit. *ṣēru pa-ar-ku* Atr. 78 iv 8 *parkû* < *palkû* "broad plain".

3.10 */m/*

3.10.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.245. /m/ is a bilabial voiced nasal [m]. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /m/.

§ 2.246. /m/ is regularly written with the signs MA, ME, MI, MU, AM, IM, and UM (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /m/ are MAD, MAḪ, MAR, MAŠ, MIL, and MUR. CVC-signs with final /m/ are very common and include DAM/ṬAM, DIM/TIM/ṬIM, DUM/TUM/ṬUM, TAM, NAM, NIM, NÚM, ṢUM, LAM, LIM, LUM, RUM, ŠUM, KAM, and KUM/QUM (§ 2.15).

3.10.2 Dissimilation

§ 2.247. /m/ of the derivative prefix *ma-* (noun pattern *maPRaS*(*t*)) (§ 5.94) dissimilates to /n/ in forms with a labial radical (/b/, /p/, /m/, or /w/) (so-called Barth's law).

a) Root contains /b/:

na-al-ba-šu ARM 2, 139: 23 *nalbašu* < *malbašu* "cloth".

Om. *na-ar-ka-ba-at* YOS 10, 44: 26, 66 *narkabat* < *markabat* "chariot" (st. cstr.).

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391 For the shift /r/ > /l/, also in MidEuphr., see § 2.344.

392 Instead of Lit. ⌜*ṣeḫrum*⌝ [*w*]*u-úr-du-um ša awīlūtim* MC 2 p. 34 Vorl. 2: 2 "child, offspring of mankind" most probably read *wi-il*!*-du-um* (see already Farber 1989, 36): it would be hard to explain why, besides the shift /l/ > /r/, the noun pattern changed from *PiRS* to *PuRS*. See also the late OB PN *Arad-ur-maš-ši-ti* CUSAS 9, 447: 9, a variant of *Arad-*^{d}UL.MAŠ-*tum* CUSAS 9, 444: 35 *urmaššītu* < *ulmaššītu* "Slave of Ulmaššītu". It seems that the feature is especially late OB since Ištar Louvre, Finkel 2014, and Atr. all probably date to the late OB period.

393 Heimpel 1997 suggests to read *ṣa-ar-pá*!*-at* "is red". For rare *pá*(BA) in the letters of Jamṣī-jum see § 2.186.

394 Perhaps also *ar-ka-at itpēštim tārītim*! [... *kûmma Ištar*] Or. 87, 18 i 54 "the behaviour of a capable nursemaid [... is yours, Ištar]".

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b) Root contains /p/:
na-ap-la-si-im ARM 7, 192: 15 *naplasim* < *maplasim* "blinker".
c) Root contains /m/:
na-am-ka-ri-im AbB 8, 4: 6 *namkari* < *mamkari* "irrigation canal".
na-ar-ma-kum YOS 8, 108: 2 *narmakum* < *marmakum* "bathtub".[395]
d) Root contains /w/:
na-ak-wi-i ARM 21, 271: 2 *nakwî* < *makwî* "roasting implements".[396]

§ 2.248. Barth's law is also valid for the rare noun patterns *muPRaSt* and perhaps *maPRūS*:
a) Noun pattern *muPRaSt*:
nu-ba-tum AbB 6, 134: 13 *nubāttum* < *mubāttum* "evening".
b) Noun pattern *maPRūS*:
nam-ku-ri YOS 13, 449: 16 *namkūri* < *mamkūri* "possessions".[397]

§ 2.249. Exceptions to Barth's law:
a) Participles of derived stems always have the prefix *mu-*:
Lex. *mu-pa-li-iš* MSL 12, 207: 154 *mupalliš* "breacher" (st. cstr.).
Lit. *mu-ba-ab-bi-lim* RA 35, 7: 18 *mubabbilim* "juggler".
b) *mušpalum* "depth" (noun pattern *muPRaS*), probably in analogy to *mūlûm* "height":
Lit. *mu-uš-pa-li* Sumer 13, 77: 10 *mušpalī* "depths".
c) Amorite loanwords:[398]
ma-ad-ba-rum ARM 26/1, 113 no. 14: 10 *madbarum* "steppe".
ma-áš-ka-ba-ti-šu-nu ARM 3, 16: 24 *maškabātīšunu* "their camps".

3.10.3 Assimilation

§ 2.250. /m/ of inflectional suffs. always assimilates to a following consonant. Four cases can be distinguished:
a) Loc. ending *-ūm* followed by pron. suffs.:[399]
Lit. *ri-tu-uš-ša* VS 10, 214 ii 10 *rittūšša* < *rittūm-ša* "in her hand".

395 Name of a canal.
396 For this word (= AHw. *naqmûm*, CAD *nakmûm*) see Streck 2002, 231 n. 82.
397 Late OB. In middle OB only written logographically NÍG.GA. The derivation of *namkūrum* from the rare verb *makārum* "to do business" (not attested in OB) is uncertain. Note the frequent variant *makkūrum* <(?) **mamkūrum* (or noun pattern *PaRRūS*?, see GAG § 56d). See also § 5.97.
398 See Streck 2000, 128.
399 More refs. for the locative in Groneberg 1978/9, 24–26.

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Lit. *zi-ik-ru-tu-uš-ša* VS 10, 214 ii 2 *zikrūtušša* < *zikrūtūm-ša* "in her manlihood".

Lit. *na-nu-uk-ki* ZA 102, 188: 40 *nanukki* < *nanūm-ki* "at your command".

b) Dat. suff. followed by acc. suff.:

aṭ-ṭar-da-ku-uš-šu AbB 4, 118: 20 *aṭṭardakkuššu* < *aṭṭardakkumšu* "I have sent it to you".*a-ṭà-ar-ra-da-ak-ku-úš-*[*š*]*u-ma* ARM 1, 62: 15 *aṭarradakkuš*[*š*]*uma* < *aṭarrad-am-kum-šu-ma* "I will send him to you".

ú-pa-a[*l*]*-la-su-ni-ik-ku-uš-šu* ARM 1, 24 r. 21 *upa*[*l*]*lasūnikkuššu* < *upallasūnim-kum-šu* "they will have him care for you".

c) Vent. ending[400] followed by dat. or acc. suff.:

li-id-di-nu-ni-ik-ki-im AbB 11, 40: 15 *liddinūnikkim* < *liddinū-nim-kim* "let them give to you".

id-ni-iš-šum AbB 1, 51: 14 *idnīššum* < *idnī-m-šum* "give to him!"

li-iq-bu-ni-kum ARM 1, 132: 9 *liqbûnikkum* < *liqbû-nim-kum* "may they tell you".

iš-ku-na-an-né-ši-im ARM 3, 12: 22 *iškunannêšim* < *iškun-am-nêšim* "imposed on us".

d) Acc. ending *-am* in the composite noun *ūmakkal* < *ūmam kal* "all day long": UD-*ma-ak-kál* AbB 6, 140: 8.

§ 2.251. a) After /-t-/ of the fem. sg./pl. and of the masc. pl. of the adj., the /-m/ of the case endings sometimes appears as /-n/ ("nunation"). Most instances occur in prons.: see § 4.20.b for the independent possessive prons., § 4.125 for the demonstrative pron. *annûm*, and § 4.134 for the demonstrative pron. *anummûm*. If this phenomenon is indeed a remnant of an originally more widespread nunation,[401] its preservation in middle OB is due to the phonological environment, namely the preceding /-t-/,[402] and this especially happens in the apparently more conservative prons. Rare cases excluding prons.:

ra-ab-bu-tu-un ARM 28, 104: 16 *rabbûtun* < *rabbûtum* "big".

Math. *ú-ma-ka-lu-tu-un* Sumer 7, 33: 3 *ūmakkalûtun* < *ūmamkalûtum* "for one day".

Lit. *ša-la-aš-ti-in* Gilg. OB Nippur 10 *šalāštin* < *šalāštim* "three".

Lit. *er-bé-ti-in* BRM 4, 4: 5 *erbētin* < *erbētim* "four".

400 Edzard 2003, 92 suggests that the case of the vent. ending is not a true assimilation. He speaks of "ad hoc assimilation rules" and suggests that the vent. ending was in fact /-an/ before suff., related to the West Semitic energicus. However, as formulated above, the rule is not ad hoc but valid for every /m/ not belonging to a root.

401 For nunation in (early) OB see GAG § 63c; Durand 1985, 152 n. 30; Lambert 1985, 531 n. 12; Heimpel 1996; Wende 2022, 101. Note that already in early OB, nunation mostly occurs after the dental phonemes /-t-/ and /-n-/ (for *līlēn and šērtēn* as dual see Streck 2017, 596 f.).

402 See already Heimpel 1996.

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§ 2.252. a) Pre-consonantal /m/ belonging to a root is preserved in most cases:

ṭe$_4$*-em-šu* AbB 2, 176: 17 *ṭēmšu* "his report".

im-ta-ḫa-aṣ CH § 195 *imtaḫaṣ* "hit". *im-ḫa-aṣ-ma* CH § 209 *imḫaṣma* "hit and".

ba-am-ti-šu ARM 26/2, 337 no. 434: 39 *bāmtīšu* "his chest".

bu-ṭú-um-ti ARM 9, 20: 32 *buṭumti* "terebinth".

Om. *sa-am-tim* YOS 10, 52 ii 23 *sāmtim* "carnelian".

Lex. *pe-em-tu* MSL 9, 117: 11 *pēmtu* "charcoal".

b) Before dental phonemes[403] /m/ rarely assimilates to /n/:[404]

ki-in-ta-šu BE 6/2, 62: 4 *kintašu* < *kimtašu* "his family".

bu-uṭ-na-tim ARM 10, 116: 29 *buṭnātim* "terebinth nuts", a back formation of *buṭuntum* < *buṭumtum*.

c) /mt/ rarely becomes /nd/, a reciprocal assimilation:

ši-in-da AbB 7, 118: 30 *šinda* < *šimta* "paint, glue".[405]

d) In the word *dadmum* "village", /dm/ sometimes becomes /dn/:

Lit. *da-ad-ni* OECT 11, 1: 5, 9, 36; Or. 87, 26 v 36 *dadnī*.

e) Before /š/, /m/ rarely assimilates to /n/:[406]

i-ki-in-šu AbB 9, 38: 18 *īkinšu* < *īkimšu* "took away from him".

Lit. *ib-qú-un-šu-m*[*a*] Etana MLC 1363 v 8 *ibqunšuma* < *ibqum-* "he plucked him an[d]".

f) /m/ which has become /n/ may assimilate subsequently to the following consonant:

Om. ⌜*ki*⌝*-ṣi* TBP 62 r. 13 f. *kiṣṣi* < *kinṣi* < *kimṣi* "leg".[407]

Lit. *pe-i-tim* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 178 i 4 *pe'ittim* < *pe'intim* < *pe'imtim* "charcoal".[408]

g) In the word *buṭumtum* "terebinth", we rarely find the assimilation /mt/ > /bt/ (i.e., the fricative assimilates to the stop):

bu-ṭub-tam FM 2, 13 r. 5, 10.

h) /bm/ may assimilate to /bb/:

Lit. *ib-ba-ru-um* CUSAS 32, 7 iii 23; CUSAS 32, 8 i 26 *ibbarum* < *imbarum* "fog".

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403 There are no certain examples before other phonemes. *i-ḫa-ṣú* UCP 10/1, 58: 21 (Deller 1966) might be a mistake (GAG § 31 f*).

404 This assimilation is more common in post-OB Akk., see GAG § 31 f. Note that some of the examples collected by Sommerfeld 2006, 366 show assimilation /mt/ > /nt/ rather than dissmilation from another labial radical.

405 See CAD Š/2, 9 *šimtum* 1a. AHw. 1239 has the ref. s.v. *šimṭum* 2a.

406 This assimilation is more common in post-OB Akk., see GAG § 31 f.

407 See von Soden 1988, 272.

408 The form *pe'i*/*ettu* is also attested in MA/NA. See Arabic *faḥm* Wehr 1985, 946, Hebrew *pḥm* Koehler/Baumgartner 1983, 873, etc., which show that Akk. /'/ is a reflex of Semitic /ḥ/.

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3.10.4 Mimation

§ 2.253. The mimation[409] of the case endings, of the vent. ending, of the dative pron. suffs., and of particles like *aššum* "because (of)" and *balūm* "without" is preserved in most cases. The following statistics were collected from four selected letter dossiers.[410]

	Case endings with mimation	**Case endings without mimation**	**Vent. ending and dat. pron. suff. with mimation**	**Vent. ending and dat. pron. suffs. without mimation**
Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)	199 = 93 %	14 = 7 %	76 = 96 %	3 = 4 %
Ḫarmal letters (Diy.)	179 = 96 %	7 = 4 %	97 = 96 %	4 = 4 %
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	197 = 98 %	3 = 2 %	52 = 100 %	0 = 0 %
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	64 = 83 %	13 = 17 %	42 = 91 %	4 = 9 %

The mimation of case endings, of the vent. ending, and of the dat. pron. is preserved in a very high percentage of cases (93–100 %) in the letter dossiers of Lu-Ninurta, Ḫarmal, and Jasmaḫ-Hadda.[411] In the letter dossier of Ilšu-nāṣir, governor of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.),[412] all case endings, vent. endings, and dat. pron. suffs. show mimation. Only in the dossier of Aqba-ḫammu from UpMes. is the percentage of cases of preserved mimation a little bit lower (83 % and 91 %).

§ 2.254. A noun qualified by an adjective or a demonstrative pron. sometimes loses mimation:

a) Letters of Lu-Ninurta (3 ref.s):

[DU]B-*pí la-bi-ri-im* AbB 4, 118: 17 *tuppi labirim* "old tablet".

DUB-*pi an-ni-im* AbB 4, 130: 22 *tuppi annîm* "this tablet".

iš-ka-ra ra-bi-a-am AbB 4, 131: 11 *iškara rabīʾam* "great work assigment".

409 For nunation instead of mimation see § 2.252.

410 Vent. and dat. prons. are counted together. Particles are not considered.

411 According to Buccellati 1996, 150, 95 % of the case endings in the letters of Hammurapi and his successors show mimation.

412 Not included in the statistics.

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b) Letters of of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (1 ref.):

a-ba-aḫ-ši-in-nu an-nu-um ARM 1, 112: 10 *abaḫšinnu annûm* "this stalk", but *a-ba-aḫ-ši-nam* ARM 1, 112: 5.

c) Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (1 ref.):

ri-ik-sa SUD.A *ù la* SUD.A OBTR 80: 4 f. *riksa arka*(*m*) *ū lā arka*(*m*) "a belt, long or not long".

d) Further examples:

UD-*mi* [*d*]*a-am-qí-im* ARM 1, 10 r. 9 *ūmi* [*d*]*amqim* "good day".

ḫa-al-ṣí an-ni-im ARM 27, 27: 23 *ḫalṣi annîm* "this district".

e) Counterexamples prove that the omission of mimation is optional:

a-wi-lam we-di-a-am AbB 4, 154: 22 (Lu-Ninurta) *awīlam wēdi'am* "single man".É.GAL-*lim an-ni-im* ARM 1, 109: 18 (Jasmaḫ-Hadda) *ēkallim annîm* "this palace".*qa-tim a-ḫi-tim* ARM 3, 26: 10 *qātim aḫītim* "different hand".

§ 2.255. Mimation is sometimes missing when an appositive follows a PN:

a) Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (1 ref.):

PN *a-si-i* ARM 1, 115: 5 *asî* "PN the physician".

b) Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (2 ref.s):

PN *a-si-i* OBTR 58: 15 *asî* "PN the physician".

PN *ma-*⌜*ri*⌝*-i* OBTR 84: 4 *mārî* "PN the fattener".

c) Further examples:

PN *ki-sa-lu-uḫ-ḫu* ARM 5, 39: 5 *kisalluḫḫu* "PN the courtyard sweeper".

§ 2.256. In two cases in the letters of Aqba-ḫammu, mimation is omitted after vowels written plene (and probably with special intonation) in yes/no questions:

⌜*aš*!-⌝*-pu-ra-*⌜*ak-ki-i*⌝ OBTR 83: 9 *ašpurakkí* "did I send you?"

eš-še-tu-ú la-bi-ir-tu-ú OBTR 69: 8 *eššetú labirtú* "new or old?"[413]

§ 2.257. Mimation may be preserved and omitted within the same text:

a) Dossier of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (1 ref.):

DUMU^{meš} *ši-ip-ri* ARM 1, 117: 13 *mārū šipri* "envoys", but DUMU^{meš} *ši-ip-ri-im* ARM 1, 117: 5.

b) Dossier of Aqba-ḫammu (1 ref.):

ša-ar-ti ù sí-is-sí-ik-tim OBTR 65: 4 *šārti u sissiktim* "hair and fringe", but *ša-ar-tim ù sí-is-sí-ik-tim* OBTR 65: 6 f.

413 See *eš-še-tu*[*m* ...] OBTR 69: 11 in a non-interrogative sentence.

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c) Further examples:

bi-ti AbB 14, 74: 5 *bīti* "house", but *bi-ti-im* AbB 14, 74: 27.

tup-pa-ti ši-na-ti ARM 1, 11: 11 *tuppāti šināti* "those tablets", but *tup-pa-a-tim* ARM 1, 11: 5.

um-ma-na-tu ARM 1, 69: 5 *ummānātu* "troops", but *um-ma-na-tim* ARM 1, 69 r. 6, 12.

§ 2.258. Other examples of case endings without mimation:

a) Dossier of Lu-Ninurta (11 ref.s):

tu-up-pi AbB 4, 52 r. 3; DUB-*pí* AbB 4, 52 r. 10; AbB 4, 69: 19; AbB 4, 125: 7; DUB-*pi* AbB 4, 126: 9; AbB 9, 200: 6; DUB-*pa* AbB 4, 60: 9 *tuppi*/*a* "tablet".[414]

am-mi-ni AbB 4, 69: 41 *ammīni* "why".

šar-ri AbB 11, 189: 22 *šarri* "king".

A.ŠÀ *dam-qá* AbB 4, 114: 12 *eqla*(*m*) *damqa* "good field".

ḫal-ṣi AbB 4, 119: 7 *ḫalṣi* "district".

b) Ḫarmal letters (7 ref.s):

1 *ka-sa*-BI Sumer 14, 13: 31 *kasabb*/*ppi*.[415]

ap-pa-ti ḫu-bu-ti Sumer 14, 9: 5 *appati ḫubbutti*?[416] "bound leash".

e-bu-ri Sumer 14, 15: 24 *ebūri* "harvest".

ma-za-aš-ti Sumer 14, 20: 4 *mazzašti* "position".

na-aš-pa-ka Sumer 14, 37: 17 *našpaka* "storeroom".

ze-ra Sumer 14, 46: 24 *zēra* "seed".

c) Dossier of Aqba-ḫammu (7 ref.s):

⌜*nam-ra*?-*ti*⌝ OBTR 57: 5 *namrāti* "*n.*-garments".

DUB-*pa-ti* OBTR 71: 9 *tuppāti* "tablets".

ma-ri-i OBTR 74: 4, 7 *marî* "fattening".

šu-ri-pa OBTR 79: 4, *šu-ri-pí* OBTR 73: 9 *šurīpa*/*i* "ice".

ri-ik-⌜*si*⌝ OBTR 59: 13 *riksi* "belt".

§ 2.259. Other examples of the vent. ending or dat. pron. suffs. without mimation:

a) Lu-Ninurta (3 ref.s):

aš-pu-ra-ak-ku AbB 4, 57: 15 *ašpurakku* "I sent to you".

na-ka-ra AbB 4, 56: 20 *nakara* "is hostile to me".

i-di-iš-šu AbB 4, 121: 9 *iddiššu* "give to him!(?)"[417]

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414 The frequent omission of mimation on the word *tuppum* is noteworthy. Note cases with mimation: DUB-*pa-am* AbB 4, 130: 8; DUB-*pí-im* AbB 4, 111: 27.

415 AHw. 453 and CAD K 241 *kasappum*, mng. unclear.

416 Probably a form of *ebēṭum* "to bind" (AHw. 182). See *ḫubbuṭum* AHw. 351.

417 Or acc. pron. "give him".

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b) Ḫarmal letters: All 4 refs. are dat. pron. 1. pl.:
iq-bu-né-ši Sumer 14, 17: 20 *iqbûnêši* "they said to us".
šu-bi-la-né-ši Sumer 14, 17: 22 *šūbilannêši* "send to us!"
i-di-nu-na-a-ši Sumer 14, 28: 10, 14 *iddinūnâši* "they gave to us".
c) Aqba-ḫammu: All 3 refs. are dat. pron. 2. sg. fem.:[418]
uš-ta-bi-la-⌜ak⌝-ki OBTR 57: 6 *uštābilakki* "I have had brought to you (fem.)".
iš-pu-ra-ak-ki OBTR 62: 17 *išpurakki* "he has sent to you (fem.)".
aṭ?-ru-da-ak-ki OBTR 81: 6 *aṭrudakki* "I have sent to you (fem.)".

3.10.5 /m/ > /w/

§ 2.260. a) Intervocalic /m/ rarely develops into /w/.[419] This development, however, may have been more common than the written sources suggest and may have been one of the reasons why /w/ is spelled with M-signs (§ 2.477).
in-na-wi-ir AbB 12, 22: 7 *innawir* < *innamir* "he met".
ni-na-wi-ir-ma Sumer 23, 161: 21 *ninnawirma* < *ninnamir* "we met".
li-na-wi-ir JCS 24, 66 no. 67: 16 *linnawir* < *linnamir* "may it be checked".
nu-wa-tam TIM 4, 5: 9; 6: 9 *nuwātam* < *numātam* "movable possessions".
Om. *in-na-wi-ir* CT 3, 3: 46 *innawir* < *innamir* "is visible".
Om. *šu-we-lam* RA 67, 51 no. 2: 30 *šuwēlam* < *šumēlam* "left".
Lit. *šu-we-la-a-am* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 180 ii 7 *šuwēlam* "left".
b) In one instance, syllable-final /m/ > /w/ perhaps occurs:
PN *qadūm awīlī ga-aw-ri-šu-n*[*u*?] ARM 27, 63: 14 *gawrišunu* <? *gamrišunu* "PN together with all(?) the men".[420]

§ 2.261. a) The OB Lú list often writes the nom. ending *-Cu-ú* instead of *-Cu-um*.[421] This might attest to a development /-um/ > /-uw/ > /-û/.[422]
Lex. *lem-nu-ú* MSL 12, 158: 37 *lemnû*? < *lemnum* "evil".[423]

418 For refs. with mimation: see, e.g.: *ú-ša-ba-la-ak-ki-im* OBTR 66: 24 *ušabbalakkim* "will have brought to you"; *aṭ-ṭar-da-ak-ki-im* OBTR 63: 6 *aṭṭardakkim* "I have sent to you".

419 A phenomenon well attested in LB. For OB see Edzard 1994, 2 f.; Mayer 2015, 179 f. *ú-wa-al-la-ku-nu-ti-m*[*a*] AbB 9, 163: 18 (Edzard's citation [AbB 11], ibid., is an error) *uwallākunūtima* < *umallā-* "he will hand over you" is late OB.

420 Cf. the discussion by M. Birot, ibid. p. 128; Heimpel 2003, 431 proposes "gang".

421 But *-Cu-um* occurs as well, e.g.: *a-ša-re-du-um* MSL 12, 162: 140 f. *ašarēdum* "foremost"; *da-an-nu-um* MSL 12, 162: 163 *dannum* "strong". Also, *-Cum* is used, e.g.: *e-re-šum* MSL 12, 163: 179 *errēšum* "farmer"; *ša-ra-qum* MSL 12, 162: 134 *šarrāqum* "thief".

422 See GAG § 63c*. Alternatively, *-ú* might denote /u/ instead of /ô/ or /o/, see § 2.92. However, the OB Lú list does not use *u* and u_4.

423 See *le-em-nu* MSL 12, 178 i 40.

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Lex. *la-si-mu-ú* MSL 12, 159: 44 *lāsimû*? < *lāsimum* "runner".[424]

Lex. *la-ap-nu-ú* MSL 12, 159: 51 *lapnû*? < *lapnum* "poor".[425]

b) Elsewhere the same phenomenon is rare:

Om. *ma-ru-ú abāšu idâk* YOS 10, 39 r. 3 *mārû*? <*mārum* "the son will kill his father".

3.11 */n/*

3.11.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.262. a) /n/ is a dental voiced nasal. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /n/.

b) /n/ is usually written with the signs NA, NE, NI, NU, AN, IN, and UN (§ 2.13). Common CVC-signs with initial /n/ are NAM, NIM, NIN, NIR, NÚM, and NUN, with final /n/ DAN, DIN, and NUN (§ 2.15). For *ni*$_5$(NE) see § 2.87.

3.11.2 Assimilation

§ 2.263. /n/ often assimilates to an immediately following consonant. However, the frequency of this assimilation changes with different /n/.

3.11.3 Assimilation of Derivative /n/

§ 2.264. Derivative /n/ of the N(tn)-stem assimilates in most cases:

a) Pres. N *inPaRRaS* > *ipPaRRaS*:

id-da-ak CH § 3 *iddâk* < *indâk* "he will be killed".

ik-ka-mi-su ARM 3, 30: 27 *ikkammisu* < *inkammisu* "will be collected".

b) Pret. N *inPaRiS* > *ipPaRiS*:

ib-ba-ši-[*ma*] ARM 2, 18: 32 *ibbašī*[*ma*] < *inbašīma* "it occurred".

ip-pa-al-šu LE § 60 *ippalšu* < *inpalšu* "was broken into" (subord.).

c) Perf. N *intaPRaS* > *ittaPRaS*:

ni-it-te-eg-ri AbB 2, 107: 12 *nittegrī* < *nintegrī* "we quarreled with each other".

it-ta-aṣ-ba-tu-ma ARM 1, 27: 10 *ittaṣbatuma* < *intaṣbatuma* "was seized".

d) Ptc. N *munPaRSum* > *mupPaRSum*:

mu-uq-qé-el-pí-tim CH § 240 *muqqelpītim* < *munqelpītim* "vessel going downstream".

Lit. *mu-up-pa-ar-ku-ú-um* CH iii 14 *mupparkûm* < *munparkûm* "ceaseless".

e) Pres. Ntn *intanaPRaS* > *ittanaPRaS*:

it-ta-na-ap-ra-aš AbB 14, 164: 24 *ittanapraš* < *intanapraš* "keeps flying".

at-ta-na-ap-la-ás ARM 10, 143: 14 *attanaplas* < *antanaplas* "I will constantly gaze".

424 See *la-si-mu-um* MSL 12, 178 ii 3.

425 See *la-ap-nu-um* MSL 12, 178 ii 8.

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f) Prec. Ntn: *lintaPRaS* > *littaPRaS*:

Lit. *li-ta-am-ḫa-aḫ* FM 14 ii 6 *littamḫaḫ* < *lintamḫaḫ* "may he dissolve step by step".

g) Ptc. Ntn *muntaPRiSum* > *muttaPRiSum*:

Lex. ⌜*mu*⌝*-ut-ta-ap-li-su* MSL 12, 168: 349 *muttaplisu* < *muntaplisu* "who constantly gazes".

h) Stat. Ntn:

mu-ut-ta-ab-la-ka-tu Shemshara 1, 19: 13 *muttablakkatū* < *muntablakkatū* "they are rebellious".

§ 2.265 a) In the verb *na'arrurum* "to come to aid, to help", derivative /n/ of the N-stem usually does not assimilate to a following /'/:

li-in-ḫa-ar-ra-am ARM 2, 72: 16 *lin'arram* "let him come to my aid".

an-ḫa-ri-ir-ma ARM 10, 178: 15 *an'arirma* "I helped".

li-in-ḫa-ri-ru-ni-kum ARM 1, 60: 10 *lin'arirūnikkum* "let them come to your aid".

b) Only in Bab. and in Diy. assimilation /n'/ > /''/ occurs:[426]

Bab. *i-a-ri-ru-ni* AbB 12, 99: 12 *i''arrirūni* "they come to my aid".

Diy. *i ni-iḫ-ḫa-ri-ir* Sumer 14, 39: 20 *ni''arir* < *nin'arir* "let us help".

3.11.4 Assimilation of the First Radical /n/

§ 2.266. /n/ of roots I-n regularly assimilates in all verbal stems, except the N(tn)-stem, and in deverbal nouns, e.g.:

a) Pret. G:

i-din-nam AbB 2, 114: 8 *iddinam* < *indinam* "he gave to me".

iz-zi-i[*q*] ARM 5, 53: 17 *izzi*[*q*] < *inziq* "he became concerned".

b) Perf. G:

ta-at-ta-ad-na AbB 2, 47: 8 *tattadnā* < *tantadnā* "you gave".

it-ta-du-šu AbB 13, 85: 21 *ittadûšu* < *intadûšu* "they threw him".

c) Pres. Gtn:

it-ta-na-ad-di-nu AbB 14, 144: 13 *ittanaddinū* < *intanaddinū* "they regularly give".

ni-it-ta-na-di-in ARM 1, 16: 19 *nittanaddin* < *nintanaddin* "we regularly give".

d) Perf. D:

ut-ta-aḫ-ḫi-da-ak-kum AbB 14, 125: 9 *utta''idakkum* < *unta''idakkum* "I instructed on your behalf".

ut-ta-ḫi-id ARM 2, 103: 13 *utta''id* < *unta''id* "I alerted".

426 *Mu-ḫa-ri-ri-im* ARM 1, 90: 12 is probably a PN, see Durand 1987, 170 f. Derivation of this PN from *na'arrurum* (thus Kouwenberg 2010, 304) is doubtful because this would presuppose an assimilation /n'/ > /''/, not attested outside Bab. and Diy. so far.

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e) Pres. Š:

tu-ša-az-za-qa ARM 10, 167: 14 *tušazzaqa* < *tušanzaqa* "you upset".

ú-ša-ad-da-nu-né-ti ARM 2, 81: 23 *ušaddanūnêti* < *ušandanū-* "they cause us to give".

f) Pret. Š:

ú-ša-az-zi-iq ARM 5, 71: 26 *ušazziq* < *ušanziq* "he upset".

ú-š[a]-ad-de-en-ni ARM 13, 100 r. 10 *uš[a]ddênni* < *ušandênni* "he has rejected me".

g) Perf. Š:

tu-uš-ta-ad-di-in AbB 14, 87: 22 *tuštaddin* < *tuštandin* "you have collected".

uš-ta-ad-di-šu CH § 103 *uštaddīšu* < *uštandīšu* "has made him abandon".

h) Imp. Š:

šu-ud-di-na-šu-nu-ti AbB 4, 101: 11 *šuddināšunūti* < *šundinā-* "cause them to give!"

šu-wi-ra-am-ma OBTR 309: 12 *šuwwiram* < *šunwiram* "make brilliant!"

i) Inf. Š:

šu-ud-di-i-im AbB 5, 262 r. 7 *šuddîm* < *šundîm* "to abandon".

šu-du-nim ARM 2, 138: 18 *šuddunim* < *šundunim* "to cause to give".

j) Stat. Š:

šu-ud-du-un AbB 13, 31: 8 *šuddun* < *šundun* "has been caused to give".

Lit. *šu-wu-ra-ma* Gilg. OB III 250 *šuwwurāma* < *šunwurāma* "they are brilliant".

k) Deverbal nouns:

ma-aṣ-ṣa-ra-a-tum AbB 1, 2: 16 *maṣṣarātum* < *manṣarātum* "guards".

ma-ia-lu ARM 9, 20: 28 *majjalu* < *manjalu* "bed".

§ 2.267. In the N(tn)-stem, /n/ of roots I-n never assimilates in order to keep the transparency of the forms.[427]

a) Perf. N:

at-ta-an-sa-ak AbB 14, 205: 12 *attansak* "I was thrown out".

at-ta-an-sa-ka-am Sumer 14, 1: 36 *attansakam* "I am thrown out".

it-ta-an-di ARM 2, 17: 8 *ittandī* "was neglected".

ta-at-ta-an-za-aq-ma ARM 18, 36: 13 *tattanzaq* "you became worried".

i/it-ta-an-pa-aḫ ARM 27, 4: 17; Lit. FM 14 iii 29 *ittanpaḫ* "(fire) broke out".

b) Imp. N:

na-an-ši AbB 1, 43: 18 *nanšī* "take!"

427 For this explanation see GAG § 33 f. E.g., a form like **attassak* might be interpreted as Gt pres. or Gtn pret. instead of perf. N.

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c) Inf. N:

na-an-di-im AbB 10, 15: 22 *nandîm* "to be thrown".

Lex. *na-an-šu-ú* MSL 9, 126: 64 *nanšû* "to be raised".

d) Pres. Ntn:

Om. *it-ta-na-an-pa-aḫ* YOS 10, 31 ix 53 *ittananpaḫ* "will flare up everywhere".

Med. *i-ta-na-an-pa-aḫ* BAM 393 r. 26 "becomes swollen again and again".

e) Inf. Ntn:

Lex. *i-ta-an-pu-ḫu* UET 6/2, 359: 4 *itanpuḫu* "to be constantly lighted".

§ 2.268. In forms other than N(tn), pre-consonantal /n/ of roots I-n is only rarely preserved.

a) In Lit., *nawārum* Š sometimes shows forms without assimilation of /n/ in the pres. and pret.[428] Since unassimilated /n/ occurs with this verb even in OA,[429] these forms can probably not be explained by dissimilation of the geminate:[430]

Lit. [*t*]*u-ša-an-me-er* Fs. Reiner 190: 27 *tušanmer* "you made radiant".

Lit. *ú-ša-an-me-er* Fs. Reiner 192: 46 *ušanmer* "he made radiant".

Lit. *ú-ša-an-ma-ar* VS 10, 215: 22 *ušanmar* "he makes radiant".

b) Other Š-stem forms with non-assimilated /n/ occur in texts from MidEuphr.:

uš-ta-an-ṣí-ir RA 80, 178: 42, 45 *uštanṣir* "was on the alert".[431]

šu-un-du-nim ARM 2, 137: 5 *šundunim* "to cause to give".[432]

c) Forms of the pret. G without assimilation of /n/ occur in a text from Šušarrā:

li-in-di-nu-[x] Shemshara 1, 59: 21, *li-i*[*n-di-nu*-] Shemshara 1, 59: 19 *lindinū*- "let them give".[433]

d) In the word *tanpīḫtum* "fire, conflagration":

Lit. *ta-an-pí-iḫ-tam* FM 14 i 32 *tanpīḫtam*.

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428 But assimilation of /n/ occurs in the imp. and stat. of this verb, see § 2.474d, f.

429 See CAD N/1, 218 *namāru* 8c; Kouwenberg 2017, 557.

430 See § 2.505. But note that /w/ in all cases is written with *m* signs, which is, as is the dissimilation of the geminate, a sign of rather late OB. Since all instances are from Lit. texts, an exact date of the texts cannot be ascertained.

431 Or dissimilation of the geminate? See late OB *šu-un-ṣí-ir-ka* AbB 12, 124: 18 *šunṣirka* "take care of yourself!"

432 Or dissimilation of the geminate?

433 Elsewhere the text has forms with assimilation: *i-di-in* Shemshara 1, 59: 5 *iddin* "he gave" and *ta-ad*-[*di-nu*] Shemshara 1, 59: 18 *taddinu* "you gave".

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§ 2.269. a) In the Amorite loan *naḫālum* /n/ does sometimes not assimilate to an immediately follwowing consonant:[434]

in-ḫi-lu-ni-in-ni ARM 10, 90: 31 *inḫilūninni* "they handed over to me".

in-ḫi-lu ARM 8, 11: 26 *inḫilū* "they handed over".

in-ḫi-il ARM 8, 12: 5; ARM 8, 13: 4; ARM 9, 14: 5 *inḫil* "he handed over".

b) But assimilation also occurs:

it-ta-aḫ-lu ARM 25, 96 edge 1 *ittaḫlū* < *intaḫlū* "they handed over".

3.11.5 Assimilation of the Second Radical /n/ and of Other /n/ in the Middle of a Word

§ 2.270. In primary nouns of the patterns *PaRS*/*PeRS*, *PiRS* and *PuRS*, a second radical /n/ frequently assimilates to the following consonant:[435]

a) *PaRS*:

^{udu}*ez-zu-um* ARM 4, 62 r. 3 *ezzum* < *enzum* "goat".

Om. *ap-pa-ša* YOS 10, 31 ii 17 *appaša* < *anpa-* "her nose".

Om. *kap-pí* YOS 10, 54: 10 f. *kappi* < *kanpi* "wing".

Lit. *e-za*/*zu*, *e-zu-um* PRAK 2 C 1: 5, 7, 12, 16 *ezza*/*u*(*m*) "goat".

b) *PuRS*:

uṭ-ṭe$_4$-ti-ia AbB 14, 152: 8 *uṭṭetija* < *unṭeti-* "of my grain".

c) But exceptions occur:

pí-in-ki-im ARM 7, 248: 12 *pinkim* "knob".

Lit. *en$_6$-zu-um* ZA 90, 197: 19 *enzum* "goat".

§ 2.271. But in primary nouns and in verbal forms, in which the contact of /n/ and the following consonant is only secondary after vowel elision (§ 2.144), /n/ is almost always preserved.[436] The same is true for deverbal nouns of the patterns *PiRS* and *PuRS*, in which /n/ is preserved by analogy to the verb.

a) Primary nouns:

in-bi ARM 7, 4: 14 f. *inbi* < *inabi* "fruit".

b) Adj. G:

an-ḫi-im TCL 10, 123: 2 *anḫim* < *aniḫim* "tired".

ka-an-ki-im AbB 14, 181: 6 *kankim* < *kanikim* "sealed (tablet)".

Lit. *en-ša-am* CH i 38 *enšam* < *enišam* "weak".

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434 Also, in Amorite names pre-consonantal /n/ is frequently preserved (Golinets 2018, 321), e.g., *Ia-an-ti-in-a-ḫu* ARM 24, 14: 6 *Jantin-ʾaḫu* "The brother has given". Assimilation may be attributed to Akk. interference.

435 See von Soden 1988, 282.

436 This proves that vowel elision is younger than assimilation of /n/.

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c) Stat. G:
an-ḫa-a-ku UET 5, 23: 14 *anḫāku* < *aniḫāku* "I am tired".
ka-an-ku-nim AbB 2, 26: 8 *kankūnim* < *kanikūnim* "are sealed".
d) Imp. G:
ku-un-kam-ma AbB 2, 11: 24 *kunkamma* < *kunukam-* "seal!" But Lit. *ku-uk-ka-am-ma* AUWE 23, 69: 10.[437]
sí-in-qá-am AbB 13, 39: 12 *sinqam* < *siniqam* "arrive!"
e) Perf. G:
is-sà-an-qá-ak-ku[*m*] AbB 8, 132: 11 *issanqakkum* < *issaniqakkum* "has arrived to you".Lit. *i-ta-an-ḫu* BWL 155: 2 *ītanḫū* < *ītanaḫū* "they became tired".
f) Deverbal nouns of the pattern *PiRS*:
ḫi-in-qí AfO 18, 65: 20 *ḫinqi* "stricture".
Lit. *in-ḫu* YOS 11, 16: 5 *inḫu* "hardship".
g) Deverbal nouns of the pattern *PuRS*:
sú-un-qì-im AbB 9, 240: 9 *sunqim* "famine".
un-qú ARM 9, 20: 9 *unqu* "ring".

§ 2.272. In nouns of patterns other than *PaRS*, *PiRS* and *PuRS*, both assimilation and preservation of /n/ are attested:
a) Assimilation:
ad-du-ra-ar VS 7, 156: 31 *addurār* < *andurār* "freedom".
Lex. *ad-du-na-nu-um* RA 25, 125: 5 *addunānum* < *andunānum* "substitute".
b) Preservation:
an-du-ra-ar-šu-nu CH § 117 *andurāršunu* "their freedom".
in-ṣa-ba-tim ARM 7, 145: 3 *inṣabātim* "rings".

§ 2.273. In loanwords from Sumerian, syllable-final /n/ is usually preserved. This /n/ either goes back to Sumerian /n/ or /ĝ/.
a) < Sumerian /n/:
[*k*]*i-in-si-ki-im* ARM 1, 67: 19 *kinsikim* < Sumerian *kin-sig* "late afternoon".
Om. *e-en-tum* YOS 10, 38 r. 11 *entum* < Sumerian *en* "high priestess".
Lex. *en-su-ú* OECT 4, 152 viii 49 *ensû* < Sumerian *ensi* "dream interpreter".
Lit. *an-gub-bu-ú* RA 35, 2 ii 3 *angubbû* < Sumerian *an-gub-ba* "tutelary deity".
b) < Sumerian /ĝ/:
sa-an-ku-ut-ti AbB 6, 57: 38; ARM 13, 6: 18[438] *sankutti* < Sumerian *saĝ-kud* "remainder".

437 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this ref.
438 The same text has SAG-*ku-ut-tim* ARM 13, 6: 10. This form does not prove that /n/ assimi-

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c) With assimilated /n/ < Sumerian /ĝ/:

Math. *sa-ta-ku-um* Sumer 7, 31: 2 *sattakkum* < Sumerian *saĝ-dà* "triangle".[439]

d) With assimilated /n/ < Sumerian /n/:

Lit. ⌜*ni*⌝*-id-da-ba-šu-nu*? OECT 11, 1: 11 *niddabâšunu* < Sumerian *nindaba* "their(?) cereal offering"

3.11.6 Assimilation of the Third or Last Radical /n/

§ 2.274. a) A third or last radical /n/ may assimilate to a following /t/ of the fem. ending, to a following /m/ of the enclitic particle *-ma* "and", and to a following /š/ or /k/ of pron. suffs. (also in names, rarely, to a following non-suffixal /š/). The frequency of this assimilation varies between these four phonemes. Moreover, cases of assimilation and non-assimilation within a single text show that assimilation is, with the reservation just mentioned, optional, and does not depend on dialectal differences but probably on "lento" or "allegro" pronunciation.[440]

b) Other examples besides the four phonemes mentioned under a are rare:

i-pí AbB 14, 218: 4 *ip-pī* < *in-pī* "in the mouth of".

a-⌜*pa-ta-nim*⌝ FM 3, 278 no. 133: 11 *ap-patānim* < *an-patānim* "to eat".

§ 2.275. Before /t/ of the fem. ending, /n/ assimilates in most cases.

a) Assimilation:

ki-tim AbB 8, 13: 5 *kīttim* < *kīntim* "righteousness".[441]

ni-di-ti CT 2, 23: 37 *niditti* < *nidinti* "gift".[442]

le-mu-ut-ta-am ARM 3, 18: 5 *lemuttam* < *lemuntam* "bad".

PN *Ni-di-it-tum* YOS 8, 29: 3; 49: 22, etc., "Gift".[443]

Om. *ka-a-a-tum*(*-ma*) YOS 10, 39: 7, 9, 11, 14 *kajjattum*(*ma*) < *kajjantum*(-) "normal".

Om. *i-mi-tim* YOS 10, 45: 5 *imittim* < *imintim* "right side".

Om. *ši-ki-ti* YOS 10, 35: 33 *šikitti* < *šikinti* "shape".

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lates. It is either a mixed logographic-syllabic spelling, or SAG renders Sumerian /saĝ/, or SAG stands for /sag/, the other possible reflex of Sumerian *saĝ*.

439 SAG-*ta-kum* ARDēr 236: 2 is a mixed logographic-syllabic spelling.

440 See Sommerfeld 2006, 364 f. A different, but less likely explanation is that preserved /n/ is due to morphophonological spellings.

441 *kīttum* shows that assimilation indeed takes place after a long vowel. Pace GAG § 33h, the length of the preceding vowel does not play any role in the assimilation of /*n*/. Note that *kajjattum* has a short vowel (pattern *PaRRaS*).

442 Instead of *ni-*[*di-*]*it-ti-ka* in TCL 17, 65: 5 (AHw. 786 *nidintum* 1a with question mark), read with AbB 14, 119 *né-me-et-ti-ka*.

443 See CAD N/2, 207 *nidintum* 1d for further refs.

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Lex.: *qá-ta-at-tu* MSL 9, 35: 36 *qatattu* < *qatantu* "thin".
Lex. *qá-ta-at-tu-um* MSL 8/2, 25: 215 *qatattum*.
Lit. *ki-it-tam* CH v 20 *kīttam* < *kīntam* "righteousness".
Lit. ⌜*ru-*⌜*uš$_4$-ṣú-ut-ti*⌝ OECT 11, 1: 24 *ruṣṣutti* < *ruṣṣunti* "roaring".

b) Non-assimilation:
ka-ia-an-tim-ma AbB 2, 38 r. 9 *kajjantimma* "normal".
ni-din-tim AbB 14, 107: 20 *nidintim* "gift".
le-mu-un-tam ARM 10, 177: 5 *lemuntam* "evil".
Lex. *qá-ta-an-tim* MSL 12, 171: 431 *qatantim* "thin".

c) Assimilation and non-assimilation within a single text:
ni-di-it-t[*im*] ARM 1, 46: 14 *niditt*[*im*] < *nidintim* "gift", but *ni-di-in-tam* ARM 1, 46: 13 *nidintam*.

§ 2.276. Before /m/ of enclitic *-ma* "and" both assimilation and non-assimilation occur.

a) Assimilation:
ad-di-im-ma AbB 2, 24: 8 *addimma* < *addinma* "I gave and".
li-iš-ša-ki-ma AbB 11, 90: 33 *liššakimma* < *liššakinma* "let be put".
ta-aš-ku-um-ma AbB 11, 168: 9 *taškumma* < *taškunma* "you put".
iš-ša-ki-im-ma AbB 14, 140: 5 *iššakimma* < *iššakinma* "was put".
aš-ku-um-ma ARM 2, 138: 8 *aškumma* < *aškunma* "I put and".
li-iš-ku-ma ARM 4, 6: 24 *liškumma* < *liškunma* "may he put and".
Om. *ša-ki-im-ma* YOS 10, 42 iv 17; YOS 10, 46 i 45 *šakimma* < *šakinma* "lies and".

b) Non-assimilation:
it-ta-di-in-ma CH § 102 *ittadinma* "he has given and".
ú-ki-in-ma AbB 6, 24: 14 *ukīnma* "I confirmed and".
du-un-ni-in-ma AbB 3, 94: 3 *dunninma* "make strong!"
šu-ku-un-ma ARM 4, 86: 46 *šukunma* "put!"
li-iš-ku-un-ma ARM 27, 4: 20 "let him put and".
Om. *ša-ki-in-ma* YOS 10, 24: 12 *šakinma* "lies and".

c) Assimilation and non-assimilation within a single text:
li-iš-ku-ma[444] ARM 4, 6: 24 *liškumma* < *liškunma* "let him put", but *ni-iš-ku-un-*[*m*]*a* ARM 4, 6: 9 *niškunma* "we put".

d) *nadānum* "to give" shows assimilation to /š/ but non-assimilation to /m/ in the same text:
i-na-ad-di-iš-šu AbB 4, 68: 23 *inaddiššu* < *inaddinšu* "he gives him", but *in-na-di-in-m*[*a*] AbB 4, 68: 40 *innaddinma* "will be given".

444 The reading *li-iš-qú-ma* makes less sense, see Durand 1998, 457.

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§ 2.277. Before /š/ of the pron. suffs., assimilation frequently occurs only with the verb *nadānum* "to give"; but here too it is optional. With other verbs and with nouns assimilation is rare, with the exception of Susa (§ 2.283).[445] That this difference is not simply conditioned by the frequency of *nadānum* can be shown by comparing forms within the same letter dossier: we take as examples the letters of Hammurapi (§ 2.278), of Lu-Ninurta to Šamaš-ḫāzir (§ 2.279), of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (§ 2.280), and of Aqba-ḫammu (§ 2.281).

§ 2.278. The letters of Hammurapi from Babylon (NBab.):
a) Forms of *nadānum* always show assimilation (altogether 11 attestations):

i-di-iš-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 4, 2: 14; AbB 4, 83: 6; AbB 4, 88: 20; AbB 13, 11: 8 *idiš-šunūšim* < *idinšunūšim* "give to him!"

i-di-iš-šum AbB 4, 3: 9; AbB 4, 4: 9; AbB 4, 14 r. 5; AbB 11, 166: 11 *idiššum* < *idinšum* "give to him!"

in-na-di-iš-šum AbB 9, 195: 32 *innadiššum* < *innadinšum* "has been given to him".

ta-na-ad-di-iš-šum AbB 9, 196: 22 *tanaddiššum* < *tanaddinšum* "you will give to him".*ad-di-iš-šum-ma* AbB 13, 27: 8 *addiššumma* < *addinšumma* "I gave to him".

b) Forms without assimilation (altogether 2 attestations):

a-ra-an-šu-nu AbB 9, 192: 16 *aranšunu* "their punishment".

aš-ku-un-šu-nu-ši-im-ma ARM 28, 7: 13 *aškunšunūšimma* "I put for them".

§ 2.279. The letters of Lu-Ninurta to Šamaš-ḫāzir (NBab.):
a) Forms of *nadānum* in most cases show assimilation (altogether 18 attestations):

i-di-iš-šum(*-ma*) AbB 4, 44: 8; AbB 4, 48: 11; AbB 4, 54: 15; AbB 4, 55: 21; AbB 4, 59: 8; AbB 4, 114: 13; AbB 4, 123: 9, 11; AbB 4, 154: 29 *idiššum*(*ma*) <*idinšum*(*ma*) "give to him (and)!"

i-di-iš-šu AbB 4, 116: 7; AbB 4, 121: 9; AbB 11, 173: 10 *idiššu* "give to him!"

na-di-iš-šum AbB 11, 50: 7, 13 *nadiššum* < *nadinšum* "is given to him".

ta-ad-di(*-iš*)*-šum* AbB 4, 58: 8; AbB 4, 154: 13 *taddiššum* < *taddinšum* "you gave to him!"

i-na-ad-di-iš-šu AbB 4, 68: 23 *inaddiššu* < *inaddinšu* "he will give him".

445 The reason for this difference is not clear: Is it conditiond by the sequence /d-n/ of *nadānum*? If /š/ is indeed an affricate (§§ 2.377, 379), a sequence /d-n-š/ is perhaps more difficult to pronounce than a sequence /n-d-šš/. But see the noun *dīnšu* "his legal decision" (§ 2.282e) without assimilation. In general, frequently used verbs like *nadānum* tend to develop irregularities.

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[*ta*]-*na-ad-di-iš-šu-nu-ši-im-ma* AbB 4, 52: 16 [*ta*]*naddiššunūšimma* < *ta-naddinšunūšimma* "you will give to them".

b) There are only 3 forms of *nadānum* without assimilation:

i-di-in-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 4, 111: 27, 38; AbB 4, 120: 16 *idinšunūšim* "give to them!"

c) The only other form with assimilation is:

iš-ti-iš-šu AbB 4, 58: 6 *ištēššu* < *ištēnšu* "one time".

d) Forms without assimilation (altogether 6 attestations):

ša-ki-in-šum AbB 4, 55: 13; AbB 4, 125: 7 *šakinšum* "is put for him".

ki-in-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 4, 49: 8 *kīnšunūšim* "confirm to them!"

tu-ka-an-šum AbB 4, 49: 13 *tukānšum* "you will confirm to him".

iš-te-en-ma AbB 4, 64: 14 *ištēnma* "one".

[*š*]*u-ku-un-šu* AbB 4, 119: 13 *šukunšu* "place him!"

§ 2.280. The letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):

a) Forms of *nadānum* always show assimilation (altogether 2 attestations):

a-na-di-šu-nu-ši-im ARM 4, 16 r. 12 *anaddiššunūšim* < *anaddinšunūšim* "I will give to them".

[*ad*]-*di-iš-šum-ma* ARM 4, 86: 11 [*ad*]*diššumma* < *addinšumma* "I gave to him and".

b) Forms without assimilation (altogether 1 attestation):

a-ša-ka-an-šu ARM 1, 109: 10 *ašakkanšu* "I will put him".

§ 2.281. In the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.), there is only one example of *nadānum* with assimilation:

lu-ud-di-iš-ši OBTR 77: 11 "I may give to her".

§ 2.282. Further examples:

a) Assimilation with *nadānum*:

at-ta-di-iš-ši AbB 14, 140: 22 *attadišši* < *attadinši* "I gave her".

li-id-di-iš-šum ARM 5, 58: 11 *liddiššum* < *liddinšum* "may he give to him".

b) Assimilation with other verbs:

iš-ku-uš-šu CHJ 112: 11 *iškuššu* < *iškunšu* "he placed him".

Lit. *ša-ki-iš-šum* Gilg. OB II 194 *šakiššum* < *šakinšum* "is put for him".

c) Assimilation and non-assimilation within the same text:

na-di-iš-šum Sumer 14, 1: 22 *nadiššum* "is given to him", *ad-di-iš-šu-um* Sumer 14, 1: 20 *addiššum* "I gave to him", but *na-di-in-šu-um* Sumer 14, 1: 1 *nadinšum*.

d) Non-assimilated forms with other verbs:

šu-ku-un-ši-na-t[*i*] AbB 9, 76: 7 *šukunšināti* "place them!"

[*š*]*u-ku-un-šu-nu-*[*š*]*i-im* AbB 3, 94: 10 *šukunšunūšim* "put to them!"

uk-ti-in-šu CH §1 *uktīnšu* "he proved to him".

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e) Non-assimilated forms with nouns:

di-in-šu CH § 5 *dīnšu* "legal decision".

ú-zu-un-šu CH § 205 *uzunšu* "his ear".

ú-zu-un-šu-nu ARM 4, 86: 39 *uzunšunu* "their ear".

Om. *li-ša-an-šu* YOS 10, 47: 6 *lišānšu* "his tongue".

Om. *ú-ba-an-šu* TIM 9, 80: 40 *ubānšu* "his finger".

f) Rarely other /š/:

GN *Ma-aš-ka-aš-ša-pí-ir*^{ki} ARM 26/2, 170 no. 367: 7 *Maškaššāpir* < *Maškanšāpir* "Settlement of the ruler".

§ 2.283. In Susa assimilation of /n/ to following /š/ is frequent also with words other than *nadānum*:[446]

li-ša-šu MDP 24, 348 r. 3, *li-šà-aš-šu* MDP 23, 227: 41 *lišāššu* < *lišānšu* "his tongue".

§ 2.284. Outside of Susa,[447] assimilation of /n/ to a following /k/ of the pron. suff. is rare:[448]

a) Assimilation:

a-na-ad-di-ik-kum ABIM 9: 24; CH § 160 *anaddikkum* < *anaddinkum* "I will give to you".

i-na-a[*d*]*-di-ik-kum* AbB 11, 192: 23 *inaddikkum* < *inaddinkum* "he will give to you".

i-na-a[*d*]*-di-ik-ku-nu-ši-im* AbB 10, 88 r. 3 *inaddikkunūšim* < *inaddinkunūšim* "he will give to you".

a-na-ad-di-ku-nu-ti ARM 2, 94: 19 *anaddikkunūti* < *anaddinkunūti* "I will give to you".

b) Examples of non-assimilation:

ú-zu-un-ka AbB 8, 13: 23 *uzunka* "your ear".

aš-ku-un-ka AbB 10, 148: 12 *aškunka* "I put before you".

li-di-in-ku-nu-ti AbB 5, 244: 22 *lidīnkunūti* "let him give a judgement for you".

ne-na-di-in-ka ARM 26/2, 419 no. 483: 21 *nenaddinka* "we will give you".

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446 See Salonen 1962, 80 f. with further refs. In OA, assimilation of /n/ to a following /š/ is regular with nouns.

447 See Salonen 1962, 80, 98. According to Salonen, the refs. belong to the younger texts from Susa.

448 *pa-am-ku-nu* Sumer 14, 45: 11, obj. of *tattanabbalā*, seems to be a form of *panum* "face". See the idiom *panī wabālum* "to forgive". Dissimilation /n/ > /m/ before /k/?

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3.11.7 *elūnum* > *elūlum*

§ 2.285. The name of a feast and a month, *elūnum*, also appears as *elūlum*. This can be explained by a progressive distant assimilation of /n/ to /l/:[449]

Om. *e-lu-nim* YOS 10, 1: 3, but [*e*]-*lu-lu* CT 2, 41 (= VAB 5, 19): 47.[450]

3.11.8 Loss of Word-Initial /n/

§ 2.286. Word-initial /n/ is lost in several cases. This loss affects both /n/ of verbs I-n and derivative /n/ of the Ntn-stem.[451]

§ 2.287. /n/ of verbs I-n (with the exception of I-n verbs which are also II-weak) is regularly lost in the imp. G and in the forms without prefs. of the Gt- and Gtn-stems, and probably (very rarely) also in the forms without prefs. of the Dt- and Dtn-stems. Moreover, there is a variant *amurrat* instead of *namurrat* (s. § 2.275h, below) in literary texts.

a) Imp. G:

id-na-a-šum AbB 2, 117: 12 *idnāšum* < *nidnā-* "give to him!"

i-i-id AbB 8, 121: 15 *i'id* < *ni'id* "be careful!"

ús-ḫa AbB 9, 244: 12 *usḫā* < *nusḫā* "tear out!"

ú-su-uq AbB 11, 13: 26 *usuq* < *nusuq* "choose!"

ú-ṣur AbB 11, 53: 22 *uṣur* < *nuṣur* "preserve!"

ú-šu-ú-⌜*úr*⌝ AbB 14, 116: 32 *ušur* < *nušur* "shorten!"

ú-qú-ur ARM 1, 39 r. 4, 7 *uqur* < *nuqur* "destroy!"

b) Imp. Gt:

iṣ-ṣa-a[*r*] AbB 6, 107: 4 *iṣṣar* < *niṣṣar* "be careful!"

c) Inf. Gt:

Lex. *it-qu-ru* CT 12, 30e: 10 *itquru* < *nitquru* "to scratch each other".

(*i*)-*it-ku*/*ku*$_8$-*pu-um* MSL 4, 121: 18; 117: 6 *itkupum* < *nitkupum* "to gore each other".

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449 See GAG § 33i*.

450 More examples in AHw. 210. The form with /n/ is attested in Old Akkadian.

451 If the relevant forms can be explained by analogy, it is, strictly speaking, wrong to call this phenomenon "loss". According to Kouwenberg 2010, 470 f., all these forms are analogous to the pret.: *idin* (imp. G of root *NDN*) instead of *nidin* "give!": *iddin* "he gave", *itaPRaS* (imp. Ntn) instead of *nitaPRaS*: *ittaPRaS* (pret. Ntn). Since the imp. is always based on the pret. (see also the imp. of verbs I-w: *bil*: *ubil*), this explanation is straightforward for this form. However, it does not readily accommodate all the other forms of the paradigm, which can only be explained by a further analogy to the imp. Different explanations have been advanced by GAG § 33b (*itaPRuSum* explained by an ad hoc sound law); GAG § 102 f (*din* goes back to a bi-consonantal root and *idin* is an analogy to the bi-syllabic imp. of the strong verb); and Tropper 1997, 195–199 and Testen 1998, 130 n. 8 (originally consonantal clusters, e.g., *ndin* > *idin*).

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d) Imp. Gtn:

i-ta-ad-d[*i*] AbB 2, 56: 14;[452] AbB 14, 140: 41 *itaddī* < *nitaddī* "put constantly!"

e) Inf. Gtn:

i-ta-aš-ši-im AbB 3, 52: 12 *itaššîm* < *nitaššîm* "to maintain".

i-ta-aq-qí-im UET 5, 507 i 2, 6, 14, 24, ii 8 *itaqqîm* < *nitaqqîm* "to offer sacrifices repeatedly".

i-ta-ad-da-am ARM 28, 65: 43 *itaddâm* < *nitaddâm* "to throw everywhere".

Lex. *i-tap-pu-ṣu* AS 7, 40: 53 *itappuṣu* < *nitappuṣu* "to crush repeatedly".

Lex. *i-ta-tu-kum* MSL 4, 124: 11 *itattukum* < *nitattukum* "to drip constantly".

f) Stat. Gtn:

Om. *i-ta-da-a-at* YOS 10, 59: 9 *itaddât* < *nitaddât* "she lies".

Om. *i-ta-ad-du-ú* YOS 10, 51 iv 16; 52 iv 9 *itaddû* < *nitaddû* "they lay".

Lit. *aḫunê i-ta-ad-du-ú qarrādū* FM 14 iii 5 *itaddû nitaddû* "the warriors lay separately everywhere".

g) Dtn stat.:

Om. *ú-ta-tu-u*[*k*] TuL 43: 11 f. *utattuk* < *nutattuk* "it has been sprinkled".[453]

h) *namurrat* > *amurrat*:[454]

Lit. *ilat a-mu-ra-at* YOS 11, 20: 3 "she is goddess, she is of awesome brightness". See *ilat na-mur-rat* SpTU 3, 84: 62.

Lit. *a-mu-ur-ra-at* UET 6/3, 889 ii 12 "she is of awesome brightness".

§ 2.288. The derivative /n/ of the Ntn-stem is lost in the forms without prefs.:

a) Imp.:

i-ta-ap-la-ás-ma AbB 1, 102: 14; *i-ta-ap-la-as* ARM 1, 100 r. 11 *itaplas*(*ma*) < *nitaplas*(-) "inspect!"

b) Inf.:

i-ta-ap-lu-si-im AbB 1, 102: 2; *i-ta-ap-lu-si* AbB 6, 93: 30 *itaplusi*(m) < *nitaplusi*(*m*) "to inspect".

i-ta-ap-ru-šu-ú AbB 14, 164: 24 *itaprušū* < *nitaprušū* "to fly constantly" (loc.).

Lex. *i-ta-an-pu-ḫu* UET 6/2, 359: 4 *itanpuḫu* < *nitanpuḫu* "to be constantly lighted".

Lit.: *i-te-eš-gu* VS 10, 214 iii 15 *itešgū* < *nitešgū* "to become enraged" (st. cstr.).

Lit. *i-ta-ap-ru-ur-rum* ZA 65, 188: 116 *itaprurrum* < *nitaprurrum* "to move about".

452 See AHw. 708 *nadûm* Gtn 8.

453 See AHw. 766 *natākum* Dtn.

454 Streck/Wasserman 2012, 200.

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3.12 */p/*

3.12.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.289. /p/ is a bilabial voiceless stop [p]. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /p/.

§ 2.290. a) /p/ is regularly written with the signs PA, PI, BI, PU, AP, IP, and UP (§ 2.13). Regular CVC-signs with initial /p/ are PÁR, PÍL, PIR, and PUR, with final /p/ TAP, KAP (§ 2.15).

b) In some of the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura (UpMes.) we find BA = *pá* for /pa/, in accordance with the general tendency of these texts to confuse voiced, unvoiced and emphatic consonants:[455]

pá-ag-ri-ia ARM 10, 32 r. 7 *pagrija* "my body".

na-pá-aš-ti ARM 10, 33: 5, 18 *napaštī* "my life".

[*i*]*p-pá-la-as-ma* ARM 26/2, 61 no. 305 edge 3 *ippallasma* "he will look".

c) The same phenomenon is sometimes also found in other letters from UpMes.:

UpMes. *pá-qí*!*-id* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 16 *paqid* "he is entrusted"; *tu-pá-la-ḫa-an-ni* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 30 *tupallaḫanni* "you terrify me". But the same text also uses *pa*: *tu-pa-la-ḫa-an-ni* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 27; *pa-ni-*⌜*šu-nu*⌝ FM 2, 266 no. 128: 4 *panīšunu* "their face".

d) Elsewhere *pá* is rare:

Bab. *ip-pá-aš-ša-ru* AbB 3, 54: 22 *ippaššaru* "will be packed".

NSyr. [*ú*]*-pá-aḫ-ḫi-ir-ma* ARM 26/2, 531 no. 538: 12 [*u*]*paḫḫirma* "I assembled".

§ 2.291. The sign PI is rarely used for /pa/ = pa_{12}. This use of the sign PI has perhaps been influenced by the use of the same sign for the consonant /w/ with any vowel (§ 2.474).[456]

ni-iš-ta-pa_{12}*-ar* AbB 9, 153: 22 *ništapar* "we sent(?)" (in broken context)

ši-pa_{12}*-as-si-ni* AbB 6, 121: 11 *šipassīni* "our clay sealings".

pa_{12}*-ni-šu* AbB 5, 175: 17 *panīšu* "his face".

455 See §§ 2.186, 2.194, 2.231, 2.330, 2.436, 2.467.

456 Von Soden 1968, 215 has proposed that the use of PI for /pa/ is conditioned by a spirantized pronunciation of /p/ as [f] (PI = *wa* for [fa]). This seems improbable, however, because pa_{12} does not only occur after vowels but also with word-initial /p/ and long /pp/. The latest study of the phenomenon, by Hernáiz (2019, 87–94), does not reach a definitive conclusion. Hernáiz also proposes the rare existence of PI for /pu/ in *ta-aš-*PI*-ra-am* AbB 8, 29: 7; *ta-*⟨*aš-*⟩*-*PI*-ra-am* AbB 8, 29: 18; *i-*PI*-la-an-ni* AbB 8, 29: 13. Since the text shows several mistakes (besides *ta-*⟨*aš-*⟩PI*-ra-am* also *šu-*GUD*-ra-aš-šum*-ma AbB 8, 29: 16; lu-ID*-di-šum* AbB 8, 29: 19; and nom. instead of acc. *na-da-nu-um* AbB 8, 29: 15), PU for /pu/ is unreliable.

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3.12.2 The Writing of /pi/ and /pe/

§ 2.292. The letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.) use PI:
pi-šu-nu AbB 9, 49: 27 *pīšunu* "their mouth".
pi-i AbB 9, 49: 31; AbB 14, 55: 6 *pī* "mouth".
ši-pi-ir AbB 9, 110: 12 *šipir* "work".
pi-ti-iq-tam AbB 14, 55: 28 *pitiqtam* "mud wall".
ša-pi-il-ti AbB 14, 56: 18 *šapilti* "rest".
la-pi-it-ma AbB 14, 56: 21 *lapitma* "it is infested".
pe-e-ṣí AbB 14, 58: 15 *peṣī* "it is white".
ṣa-a-pi AbB 14, 59: 17 *ṣapī* "it is soaked".
e-pi-ni AbB 14, 61: 9 *epinnī* "plows".
is-sé-e-pi AbB 14, 62: 10 *issepī* "has faded away".
[*i*]*š-pi-lu-nim* AbB 14, 64: 7 *išpilūnim* "they lowered".

§ 2.293. Letters from Larsa (SBab.):
a) BI:
tap-pé-e-šu AbB 2, 95: 5 *tappêšu* "his colleagues".
tap-pé-šu AbB 9, 19: 6 *tappêšu* "his colleague".
b) PI:
it-te-né-eḫ-[*p*]*i* AbB 11, 168: 17 *itteneḫpī* "it is always broken".

§ 2.294. The letters from Isin (SBab.) use BI:
DUB-*pí-ia*/*ka* AbB 9, 231: 31; AbB 14, 204: 36; AbB 14, 205: 32 *tuppija*/*-ka* "my/your tablet".
e-pé-ša-am AbB 14, 205: 21 *epēšam* "to do".
pí-i AbB 14, 205: 32 *pī* "mouth".
pí-ḫa-ti-ia AbB 14, 206: 28 *pīḫatija* "my responsibility".

§ 2.295. Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
pí-i AbB 2, 1: 10, 23 *pī* "mouth".
e-pí-iš-tum AbB 2, 4: 4 *ēpištum* "doing".
sá-ka-pí-im AbB 2, 4: 8 *sakāpim* "to push down".
pí-qí-is-sú-um-ma AbB 2, 7: 9 *piqissumma* "entrust to him".

§ 2.296. The Code of Hammurapi (NBab.) only uses BI. Illustrative examples:
ki-iš-pí CH § 2 *kišpī* "sorcery".
na-pí-iš-tim CH § 3 *napištim* "life".
pí-il-ši-im CH § 21 *pilšim* "breach".

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§ 2.297 Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.).
a) Illustrative examples of BI:[457]
pí-il-ka-tim AbB 4, 50: 6, 11 *pilkātim* "district".
pí-qá-at AbB 4, 50: 8 *pīqat* "perhaps". DUB-*pí* AbB 4, 52 r. 10 *tuppi* "tablet".[458]
b) Illustrative examples of PI:[459]
e-pe-eš$_{15}$ AbB 4, 53: 15 *epēš* "to do".
na-pi-iš-tam AbB 8, 73 r. 5 *napištam* "life".
DUB-*pi-ka* AbB 9, 200: 8 *tuppika* "your tablet".

§ 2.298. Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
e-pé-ši-im AbB 6, 20: 8; Edubba 7, 4: 2 *epēšim* "to do".
DUB-*pí* AbB 9, 117: 7; AbB 11, 32: 17 *tuppi* "tablet".
pí-ḫi-a-šu-nu-ti AbB 9, 117: 24 *piḫīāšunūti* "lock them!"
sà-ki-pí-šu AbB 11, 32: 20 *sākipišu* "his opponent".
PN DINGIR-*pí-la-aḫ* Edubba 7, 25: 38 *Ilam-pilaḫ* "Fear god!"

§ 2.299. Ḫarmal letters (Diy.).
a) The common sign is BI. Illustrative examples:
DUB-*pí* Sumer 14, 29: 4 *tuppi* "tablet".
pí-i Sumer 14, 37: 8 *pī* "mouth".
ni-pé-et-té-ma Sumer 14, 37: 17 *nipettēma* "we shall open".
i-ip-pé-šu Sumer 14, 15: 18 *ippešu* "he does".[460]
^{kuš}*lu-up-pí-ka* Sumer 14, 12: 8 *luppīka* "your leather bags".
b) PI occurs once:
i-⌜*pe-šu*⌝ Sumer 14, 15: 15 *ippešu* "he does".[461]

§ 2.300. The laws of Ešnunna (Diy.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
it-te-pé LE A ii 20 *ittepē* "distrained".
na-pí-iš-tim LE A ii 24 *napištim* "life".
ap-pí LE B iii 17 *appi* "nose".

457 Further refs. for *pí* (BI) in the letters of Lu-Ninurta are listed by Hernáiz 2019, 116 f.
458 But the same text has *tu-up-pi* AbB 4, 52 r. 3 *tuppi* "tablet".
459 Further refs. for *pi* (PI) in the letters of Lu-Ninurta are listed by Hernáiz 2019, 97 f., 116 f.
460 The same text also uses PI, see § 2.299b.
461 The same text also uses BI, see § 2.299a.

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§ 2.301. The letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuph.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
DUB-*pí* ARM 1, 110: 12; ARM 5, 18: 17 *tuppi* "tablet".
na-pí-iš-ti ARM 1, 115: 17 *napišti* "life".
pí-i ARM 4, 86: 15 *pī* "mouth".

§ 2.302. The letters of Ilšu-nāṣir, governor of Qaṭṭunān only use BI. Illustrative examples:
pí ARM 27, 1: 24 *pī* "mouth".
ip-pé-tu-ma ARM 27, 2: 19 *ippetûma* "was opened".
ú-še-pí-iš-ma ARM 27, 7: 7 *ušēpišma* "I caused to make".

§ 2.303 The letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
e-(*ep*)*-pé-eš-ma* OBTR 59: 10; OBTR 64: 5 *eppešma* "I will do".
e-pé-⌜*ši-im*⌝ OBTR 59: 14 *epēšim* "to do".
pí-qí-ti-ki OBTR 66: 19 *piqittiki* "your provisions".
ap-pí-iš OBTR 77: 7 *appiš* "since".
DUB-*pí-ia* OBTR 85: 10; OBTR 87: 5 *tuppija* "my tablet".

§ 2.304. The letters of Išmē-Dagan (UpMes.) only use BI. Illustrative examples:
i-ip-pé-[*šu*] ARM 1, 123: 6 *ippe*[*šu*] "he makes".
ša-pí-il-ti ARM 1, 123: 17 *šapilti* "rest".
pí-iq-da-am ARM 1, 127: 17 *piqdam* "entrust!"
pí-il-ši ARM 1, 135: 9 *pilši* "breach".

§ 2.305. The letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.) only use BI:
DUB-*pí-ia* ARM 28, 135: 17; ARM 28, 136: 13; ARM 28, 142: 13 *tuppija* "tablet".

§ 2.306. The letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris) only use BI:
in-né-ep-pé-eš Shemshara 1, 53: 7 *inneppeš* "it is done".
li-in-né-pi-iš Shemshara 1, 57: 28 *linnepiš* "let it be done".
pí-qí-id(*-ma*) Shemshara 1, 53: 29; Shemshara 1, 56: 14 *piqid*(*ma*) "entrust!"

§ 2.307. The letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.) use BI:
lu-na-ap-pí-i-iš ARM 5, 20: 6 *lunappiš* "I will ease".

§ 2.308. The letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.) use BI. Illustrative examples:
te-ep-pé-e-šu ARM 28, 21: 6 *teppešu* "you will do".
p[*í*]*-ri-it-tum* ARM 28, 25: 27 *pirittum* "fear".
lu-uḫ-pí-ma ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 22 *luḫpīma* "let me break".

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§ 2.309. a) The signs BI and PI for /pi/ show the following regional distribution:

Dossier	BI	PI
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)		x
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	x	x
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	x	
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x	
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x	
Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)	x	x
Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.)	x	
Ḥarmal Letters (Diy.)	x	x[a]
Laws of Ešnunna (Diy.)	x	
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	x	
Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.)	x	
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	x	
Lettersof Išmē-Dagan (UpMes.)	x	
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	x	
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	x	
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	x	
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)	x	

a One ref.

b) BI occurs everywhere with the exception of the letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.), which only use PI.[462] PI is furthermore used in the letters from Larsa (SBab.) and the letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)[463] side by side with BI.[464] PI in the Ḥarmal letters (Diy.) is exceptional.

3.12.3 Assimilation

§ 2.310. a) Assimilation of /p/ to a following /m/[465] only rarely occurs:
i-qa-am-ma LE A iv 25 *iqâmma* < *iqâpma* "is buckling".
ik-ki-im-ma (var. *ik-ki-ip-ma*) LE A iv 13; B iv 17 *ikkimma* < *ikkipma* "gores".

462 A list of further occurrences of PI in sites from SBab. (Ur, Uruk, Girsu, Lagaš, Umma, Adab, Nippur) is found in Hernáiz 2019, 97–101.

463 Rare instances of PI in NBab. (Sippar) come from the letters of Aaḫzum (see Hernáiz 2019, 101): *ḫe-pi-im* AbB 8, 46: 8, 9 *ḫepîm* "to split"; *ša-pi-ir* AbB 8, 56: 5, 6 *šapir* "it is sent".

464 For some other texts from SBab. that use both BI and PI for /pi/ see Hernáiz 2019, 119.

465 See the assimilation of /b/ to a following /m/, §§ 2.187–189.

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b) Non-assimilation of /p/:
i-qí-ip-ma CH § 107 *iqīpma* "entrusts".
ik-ki-ip-ma CH §§ 250 f. *ikkipma* "gores".

3.13 */q/*

3.13.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.311. /q/ is probably a palatal glottalized[466] voiceless stop [k']. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /q/.

§ 2.312. a) /q/ is regularly written with the signs GA = *qá*, GI = *qì*, GU = *qù*, KA = *qà*, KI = *qí*, KU = *qú*, QA = *qa*, AQ, IQ, and UQ (§ 2.13).
b) An archaic, rare value is qi_4(GI_4):[467]
qi_4*-bi-šum-ma* AbB 9, 240: 26 *qibīšumma* "tell him!"[468]
li-qe_4*-a-ma* AbB 5, 175: 19 *liqē'āma* "take!"
⌜*e*⌝*-le-*qe_4*-ma* AbB 5, 189: 7 *eleqqēma* "I will take".
ši-qi_4*-a* AbB 3, 113: 12 *šiqī'ā* "water!"
Lit. *pa-ás-na-*qi_4 Gilg. OB III 156 *pasnaqi* "weakling".
Lit. *ši-ib-*qi_4*-šu* Gilg. OB III 254 *šibqīšu* "his plans".[469]
c) Regular CVC-signs with initial /q/ are QAL, QAR, QIR, and QUM, with final /q/ DAQ/TÁQ (§ 2.15).

3.13.2 CV-Signs for Syllable-Initial /q/

§ 2.313. Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.):
a) GA:
qá-tim AbB 14, 55: 23, 25 *qātim* "hand".
b) KI:
le-qé-e-ka AbB 14, 61: 13 *leqêka* "your taking".
c) KU:
im-qú-ú-tu AbB 14, 55: 14 *imqutu* "falls".

466 See Kogan 2011, 60 f. for a glottalized realization of the emphatics in Akk.
467 For GI_4 for /gi/ see § 2.205. Some further examples are listed in Hernáiz 2019, 124.
468 The text also uses *qí* in *qí-bí-ma* AbB 9, 240: 2 *qibīma* "speak!" and *qì* in *sú-un-qì-im* AbB 9, 240: 9 *sunqim* "famine".
469 Perhaps this spelling renders *šibgīšu* with a development /bq/ > /bg/ (see § 2.333). Gilg. OB III elsewhere writes *qí*(KI): *e-mu-qí* Gilg. OB III 87 *emūqī* "my strength"; *qí-iš-tum* Gilg. OB III 108 *qīštum* "forest"; *qí-iš-ti* Gilg. OB III 129, 184 *qīšti* "forest"; *e-mu-qí-ka* Gilg. OB III 249 *emūqika* "your strength"; *ta-na-qí* Gilg. OB III 270 *tanaqqī* "you must pour". The tablet comes from SBab. (Larsa or Uruk?, George 2003, 166, 192).

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§ 2.314. Illustrative examples from letters from Larsa (SBab.):[470]
a) GA:
qá-ti AbB 2, 95: 7 *qāti* "hand".
b) KU:
da-am-qú-tu-um-ma AbB 14, 166: 12 *damqūtumma* "good".

§ 2.315. Illustrative examples from the letters from Isin (SBab.):
a) GA:
qá-ti-ku-nu AbB 11, 159: 22 *qātikunu* "your hand".
b) GU:
il-qù- AbB 14, 205: 25 *ilqû-* "they received".
c) KI:
al-qé-a-am-ma AbB 14, 204: 12 *alqē'amma* "I received".

§ 2.316. Illustrative examples from the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)
a) GA:
i-qá-ab-bu-kum AbB 2, 2: 13 *iqabbûkum* "(which) he will tell you".
b) KA:
iḫ-li-qà-an-ni-ma AbB 13, 21: 6 *iḫliqannima* "he disappeared from me".
c) KI:
pí-qí-is-sú-um-ma AbB 2, 7: 9 *piqissumma* "hand over to him!"
d) KU:
il-qú-ú AbB 2, 3: 16 *ilqû* "they took".

§ 2.317. Illustrative examples from the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.):
a) GA:
qá-qá-ad CH § 102 *qaqqad* "capital" (st. cstr.).
b) KI:
qí-iš-ti CH § 34 *qīšti* "gift".
c) KU:
iz-qú-up CH § 60 *izqup* "he planted".

§ 2.318. Illustrative examples from letters from Sippar (NBab.):
a) GA:
e-te-qá-am AbB 8, 101: 8, 12 *etēqam* "to pass".
b) KI:
šu-uz-zu-qí-ia AbB 9, 14: 13 *šuzzuqija* "to irritate me".

470 KI in frozen *qí-bí-ma passim.*

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c) KU:
i-le-eq-qú-ú AbB 11, 32: 26 *ileqqû* "they will take".

§ 2.319. Illustrative examples from Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.):
a) KI:
ap-qí-du Sumer 14, 1: 18 *apqidu* "I entrusted".
b) KU:
i-ma-aq-qú-ut Sumer 14, 1: 32 "will fall down".
c) QA:
pa-qa-di-im Sumer 14, 1: 4 *paqādim* "to entrust".

§ 2.320. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):[471]
a) KI:
te-el-qé-e-ma ARM 1, 3 r. 12 *telqēma* "you took".
b) KU:
iq-qú-ur ARM 1, 3: 16 *iqqur* "he destroyed".
c) QA:
a-qa-ab-bi ARM 1, 108: 24 "I will speak".

§ 2.321. Illustrative examples from the letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.):
a) KI:
ú-pa-qí-dam ARM 27, 1: 4 *upaqqidam* "he checked".
b) KU:
da-am-qú ARM 27, 3: 12 *damqū* "is good".
c) QA:
qa-tam ARM 27, 2: 17 *qātam* "hand".

§ 2.322. Illustrative examples from the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
a) KI:
pi-qí-ti-ki OBTR 66: 18 *piqittiki* "your provisions".
b) KU:
im-qú[472]*-ut* OBTR 67: 5 *imqut* "dropped".
c) QA:
qa-ti-ki OBTR 59: 18 *qātiki* "your hand".

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471 Instead of *ú-qá-al-*[*l*]*i-lu* ARM 1, 3: 6, *ù-qá-al-li-il*$_5$ ARM 1, 3: 12, and *qù-ul-lu-ul-ti* ARM 1, 3: 18, r. 15, read, with AHw. 297b *gullultum* 1 and *gullulum* 1, *ù-ga- ugallil*(*u*) "committed sacrilege" and *gu-ul- gullulti* "sacrilege". Instead of *su-qá-qù-ut* ARM 1, 119: 5, etc., read *su-ga-gu-ut sugāgūt* "post as sheikh".

472 OBTR p. 66 has, by mistake, *qu*.

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§ 2.323. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
a) KI:
il-qé-e-[*ma*] ARM 28, 135: 10 *ilqē*[*ma*] "he took [and]".
b) KU:
le-qú-ú ARM 28, 136: 17 *leqû* "they are taken".
c) QA:
qa-ti-šu ARM 28, 134 r. 7 *qātišu* "his hand".

§ 2.324. Illustrative examples from the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris):
a) KI:
da-am-qí-iš Shemshara 1, 53: 18 *damqiš* "well".
b) KU:
ú-ḫa-al-la-qú Shemshara 1, 53: 26 *uḫallaqū* "they ruin".

§ 2.325. Illustrative examples from letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.):
a) KI:
a-qí-a-ap ARM 2, 51: 15 *aqīʾap* "I will trust".
b) QA:
qa-qa-sà ARM 2, 51: 24 *qaqqassa* "her head".

§ 2.326. Illustrative examples from letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.):
a) KI:
li-qé-ri-bu-ni-šu-nu-ti-ma ARM 28, 19 r. 5 *liqerribūniššunūtima* "may they bring them".
b) KU:
ni-il-qú-ši ARM 28, 18: 7 *nilqûši* "we took her" (subord.).
qú-ul MARI 8, 783: 13 *qūl* "pay attention!"
c) QA:
qa-bé-e ARM 28, 18: 10 *qabê* "order".

§ 2.327. a) The CV-signs used for syllable-initial /q/ show the following regional distribution:

Dossier	**GA**	**GI**	**GU**	**KA**	**KI**	**KU**	**QA**
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)	x				x	x	
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	x					x	
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	x		x		x		

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(*cont.*)

Dossier	GA	GI	GU	KA	KI	KU	QA
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x			x[473]	x	x	
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x				x	x	
Letters from Sippar (NBab.)	x				x	x	
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)					x	x	x
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)					x	x	x
Letters of Ilšu-nāṣir (MidEuphr.)					x	x	x
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)					x	x	x
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)					x	x	x
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)					x	x	
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)					x		x
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)					x	x	x

b) All dossiers from SBab. to NSyr. with the exception of the letters from Isin, which have *qù*(GU),[474] regularly use *qí*(KI)[475] and *qu*(KU).[476] With vowel /a/, we can recognize two groups of dossiers: SBab. and NBab. use *qá*(GA), all other dossiers *qa*(QA).[477] GI is nowhere attested in the dossiers surveyed above.[478] For *qà*(KA), attested once in the letters of Hammurapi, see also § 2.308.

§ 2.328. Except for the ref. listed § 2.316b, above, the rare value *qà*(KA) also occurs in some other istances, e.g.:[479]

nu-sú-qà-ma AbB 1, 139 obv. 11 *nussuqāma* "they are chosen".[480]

iš-ta-qà-al AbB 6, 208: 5 "he weighed".[481]

473 Only once.

474 Some other instances of GU for /qu/ in SBab. are listed in Hernáiz 2019, 124.

475 *qí* is also used outside the introductory formula *qí-bí-ma* "speak!", which is a frozen spelling and not diagnostic.

476 This modifies the statement in von Soden/Röllig 1976, xxxi, after which SBab. before /i/ and /u/ prefers G-signs.

477 Outside the dossiers investigated here, Hernáiz 2019, 130 lists some instances of *qa* in texts from Diy.

478 But for some other texts see § 2.329; for the letters of Jamṣījum see § 2.330.

479 See Van Soldt, AbB 12 p. 22 n. 27b and Hernáiz 2019, 128. Several refs. do not belong here: *ka-ka-di* AbB 7, 126: 8 see § 2.311b; *ri-ka-ku* AbB 6, 124: 12 see § 2.311a; *ka-ak-ka-ra-tim* AbB 2, 90: 22 and *ša-qà-lam* AbB 9, 169: 9 are late OB; *tu-qà-a-ma* AbB 9, 254: 5 is early OB.

480 See AHw. 753 *nasāqum* D 3.

481 But the text also uses *qá*: *qá-ti* AbB 6, 208: 10 *qātī* "hands".

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ú-sà-an-ni-qà-an-ni AbB 7, 126: 5 *usanniqanni* "he controlled me".[482]
qà-du-um AbB 14, 182: 21 *qadūm* "together with".[483]
qà-tim AbB 13, 199: 16 *qātim* "hand".

§ 2.329. Refs. for the value *qì*/*qè*(GI) outside of the dossiers investigated above sometimes occur:[484]
te-le-qè AbB 2, 132: 13 *teleqqē* "you take".
i-il-qè AbB 5, 156: 13 *ilqē* "he took".
ta-pa-qì-dì[...] AbB 5, 195: 12 *tapaqqidī*[-] "you entrust".
qì-ip-tim AbB 6, 90: 10 *qīptim* "loan".[485]
me-še$_{20}$-qì AbB 6, 106: 10 *mešēqi* "*m.* measure".
sú-un-qì-im AbB 9, 240: 9 *sunqim* "famine".
li-qè-er-ri-bu AbB 9, 119 r. 9 *liqerribū* "may they bring".
a-ta-na-qì AbB 12, 89: 10 *attanaqqī* "I am offering again and again".
mu-ra-aq-qì-⌜*ú*⌝ OBTR 324: 14 *muraqqī'ū* "maker of perfumes".[486]
li-iš-qì-šu-ma OBTR 296: 10 *lišqīšuma* "let him water it".[487]

§ 2.330. A special case are some non-standard letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura (UpMes.) and other texts from UpMes., which tend to confuse voiced, unvoiced and emphatic consonants. This explains the use of KA for /qa/, GI for /qe/ and GU for /qu/:[488]
a) *qà*:
⌜*tu*⌝*-qà-al-la-al* ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 13 *tuqallal* "you despise".
qà-bu-sú FM 2, 266 no. 128: 28 *qabûssu* "word".
b) *qè*:
qè-ma-am ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 10 *qēmam* "flour".
c) *qù*:
im-qù-tu-ma FM 2, 266 no. 128: 6 *imqutūma* "they dropped".

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482 Context broken. Elsewhere, the text uses *qa* for /qa/: *qa-ti-ia* AbB 7, 126: 6 *qātija* "of my hand"; *qa-du* AbB 7, 126: 13 *qadū* "together with"; *qa-ia-tam* AbB 7, 126: 15 *qajjātam* "parched grain"; *qa-ti* AbB 7, 126: 20 *qāti* "hand".

483 See von Soden/Röllig 1991, 4; AHw. 892a *qadum* A2a. CAD A/1, 124 *adi*, discussion section, suggests a by-form *kadu*, also attested in OA and in MB. Veenhof, AbB 14 p. 170 transliterates *ka-*.

484 Some refs. for GI from different sites (SBab. and NBab.) are listed in Hernáiz 2019, 123.

485 For other refs. probably pointing to a development /q/ > /g/ see § 2.333.

486 Note that the vowel sequence /ī-ū/ remains uncontracted.

487 But the text has *qí* in *qí-bí-ma* OBTR 296: 2.

488 See Charpin 1989, 33 f.; see §§ 2.186, 2.194, 2.231, 2.290b, 2.436, 2.467.

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3.13.3 Assimilation

§ 2.331. /q/ may assimilate to a distant, following or preceding, /k/:

a) /q/ preceding /k/:

na-az-ka-ku-ma AbB 14, 154: 6 *nazkāku* < *nazqāku* "I am annoyed".[489]

ri-ka-ku AbB 6, 124: 12;[490] FM 1 p. 133: 16[491] *rīkāku* < *rīqāku* "I am unemployed".

b) /q/ following /k/:

ka-ka-ri-im AbB 14, 32: 15 *kakkarim* < *kaqqarim* <[492] *qaqqarim* "ground".[493]

ka-ka-di AbB 7, 126: 8 *kakkadī* < *kaqqadī* < *qaqqadī* "my head".

Om. *ka-ka-da-ša* CUSAS 18, 4: 36 *kakkadāša* < *kaqqadāša* < *qaqqadāša* "her two heads".[494]

c) Forms without assimilation also occur:

na-áz-qá-ku AbB 1, 54: 10 *nazqāku* "I am annoyed".

ri-qa-ku ARM 10, 157: 7 *rīqāku* "I am unemployed".

§ 2.332. Assimilation /qk/ > /kk/:

i-sa-ni-ki AbB 6, 161: 22 *isanikki* < *isanniqki* "he will approach you".

Lit. *ú-ba-ta-kúm*? Gilg. OB IM 21 *ubattakkum* "will cut down for you(?)".

§ 2.333. The sequence /bq/ may develop into /bg/:[495]

ši-ib-gi ARM 1, 5: 5, 7, 9 *šibgī* < *šibqī* "plans".[496]

Lit. *ši-ib-gi-ki* ZA 49, 168 f. i 18 *šibgīki* < *šibqīki* "your plans".[497]

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489 The text uses *qá*(GA) for /qa/: *qá-di-iš-tim* AbB 14, 154: 31 *qadištim* "hierodule".

490 The text uses *qá* for /qa/: *i-qá-ab-bi-a-k*[*um*] AbB 11, 113: 20 *iqabbīakkum* "he will say to you".

491 The text uses *qa* for /qa/: *dam-qa-am* FM 1 p. 133: 17 *damqam* "good".

492 For this development see § 2.334.

493 Veenhof, AbB 14 p. 28 transliterates *qà-qà-ri-im*, which is misleading. In other texts, Adad-rabī, the sender of the letter, always uses *qá*(GA), e.g.: *qá-qá-ad* AbB 14, 30: 33 *qaqqad* "amount" (here, both instances of /q/ remain!); *qá-ti-ka* AbB 14, 37: 25 *qātika* "of your hand"; *qá-bé-e-ia* AbB 14, 42 r. 8, 12 *qabêja* "of my order"; *qá-bé-e* AbB 14, 42 r. 9 *qabê* "order".

494 See Mayer 2015, 183.

495 This explanation seems preferable over the assumption of the syllabic value *qì*(GI) (von Soden/Röllig 1976, 12; CAD š/2, 382) in some cases. For this value see § 2.329.

496 Letter of Šamšī-Adad to Jasmaḫ-Adad. The same text writes *qé-ru-ub* ARM 1, 5: 23 *qerub* "is near" with the normal sign *qé*(KI) found elsewhere in texts from UpMes. (see § 2.327).

497 Elsewhere, the text only uses *qí*(KI): *e-le-eq-qé* ZA 49, 168 f. i 25 *eleqqē* "I will take"; *li-il-qé-e* ZA 49, 168 f. i 29 *lilqē* "may he take"; *ḫu-ul-li-q*[*í*] ZA 49, 168 f. i 30 *ḫulliqī* "destroy!"; *li-qé-e* ZA 49, 168 f. i 31 "take!"; *q*[*í-iš-tim*] ZA 49, 168 f. iii 5 *q*[*ištim*] "present"; *lu-te-eq-qí* ZA 49, 168 f. iv 5 *luteqqī* "let me wait"; *li-ir-*[*q*]*í-a* ZA 49, 168 f. iv 13 *lirqīā* "may they hide"; *li-it-ta-*⟨*ar*⟩*-qí-a* ZA 49, 168 f. iv 14 *littarqīā* "may they hide themselves".

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3.13.4 Dissimilation

§ 2.334. a) One of two occurrences of /q/ in a word may dissimilate to /k/, an argument for a postglottalized pronunciation of /q/:[498]

ka-aq-qá-di AbB 2, 86: 24, 26 *kaqqadī* < *qaqqad-* "my head".

ka-qa-ad-ki AbB 2, 145: 8 *kaqqadki* < *qaqqad-* "your head".

ka-aq-qá-as-sà AbB 9, 129: 7 *kaqqassa* < *qaqqassa* "her head".

ka-aq-qá-ri(*-im*) AbB 6, 79: 9; AbB 11, 123: 2 *kaqqari*(*m*) < *qaqqarim* "ground".

ka-aq-qá-r[*a*]*-am* AbB 7, 187: 6 *kaqqaram* < *qaqqaram* "ground".

ka-qa-di-ši-na ARM 1, 8: 31 *kaqqadišina* < *qaqqadi-* "their head".

ka-aq-qa-da-tim ARM 28, 95: 11 *kaqqadātim* < *qaqqadātim* "leaders".

qa-tam-ka-tam-ma ARM 26/2, 334 no. 433: 15 *qātamkātamma* < *qātam-qātamma* "likewise".

ka-na-qú-ur-ti FM 11, 62: 16, *ka-na-qú-*[*ur-tim*] FM 11, 144: 2, [*k*]*a-na-qú-ur-tim* ARM 21, 100: 1 *kanaqurti*(*m*) "a plant producing an aromatic oil". See *qa-na-qú-ur-tum* FM 7, 114 no. 30: 4 *qanaqurtum*.

Lit. *ka-aq-qá-ra* VS 10, 213: 6, 10 *kaqqara* < *qaqqara* "soil".

b) Forms without dissimilation frequently occur:

qá-qá-di AbB 7, 151: 4 *qaqqadī* "my head".

qá-qá-rum AbB 13, 110: 16 *qaqqarum* "plot of land".

qa-qa-di-ia ARM 10, 116: 17 *qaqqadija* "of my head".

qa-qa-ar ARM 14, 67 r. 6 *qaqqar* (st. cstr.).

c) The Amorite loanword *qaṣûm* "steppe" sometimes phonologically integrates into OB, follows Geers's law, and becomes *kaṣûm* with dissimilation /q/ > /k/ before /ṣ/:[499]

ka-ṣi-im ARM 5, 33: 9; *ka-ṣí-im*(*-*)*ma* ARM 5, 81: 25; ARM 14, 7 r. 6, but *qa-ṣí-im* ARM 5, 36: 32; *qa-ṣé-e-em-ma* ARM 5, 37: 8; *qa-ṣa-am* MARI 8, 383 A.2776: 8.

ka!*-ṣú-um* ARM 14, 121: 41,[500] but in the same text *qa-ṣi-im* ARM 14, 121: 46.

3.14 */r/*

3.14.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.335. /*r*/ is a dental voiced trill. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /r/.

498 See Knudsen 1961, 85–88, who states that no dialectal differences can be recognized.

499 See Streck 2000, 128. For the reverse phenomenon, namely preservation of /q/ in an Akk. root under Amorite influence, see § 2.229.d.

500 See Durand 1998, 384.

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§ 2.336. /r/ is regularly written with the signs RA, RI, RU, AR, IR, UR, and ÚR (§ 2.13). A regular CVC-sign with initial /r/ is RUM.[501] Regular CVC-signs with final /r/ are very common and include BAR/PÁR, BUR/PUR, MAR, MUR, DAR, DUR/ṬUR, TAR/ṬAR, TIR, NIR, ṢAR, ṢIR, ṢUR, ŠAR, GÀR/QAR, GIR/KIR/QIR, GUR, KAR, KUR, ḪAR, ḪIR, and ḪUR (§ 2.15).

§ 2.337. *ur* and *úr* are used side by side. Whereas in the CH *úr* is more common than *ur* (15 refs. against 6), in the Mari texts *ur* seems to be more common (ARM 15, 55).[502]

§ 2.338. In the CH, the use of *ur* is confined to expressing /r/ at the end of a word (but *-ma* or a pron. suff. may follow). The sign *úr*, on the other hand, expresses in most cases /r/ in the middle or at the beginning of a word, but also occurs once at the end.

a) *ur* at the end of a word:
im-ḫu-ur(*-ma*) CH §§ 7, 33 *imḫur*(*ma*) "he received (and)".
Lit. *li-ru-ur* CH xlix 52, l 103 *līrur* "may he curse".
Lit. *li-ru-ur-šu-ma* CH li 89 *līruršuma* "may he curse him".
Lit. *šu-te-šu-ur* CH v 16 *šutēšur* "to guide".

b) Examples of *úr* in the middle or in the beginning of a word:
nu-ku-úr-tim CH § 72 *nukurtim* "enmity".
úr-ta-ak-ki-is CH § 151 *urtakkis* "she has bound".
Lit. *a-bu-úr-ri* CH xlvii 36 *aburrī* "pastures".

c) *úr* at the end of a word:
Lit. *li-mu-úr* CH xlviii 17 *līmur* "may he see".

§ 2.339. In some texts the scribes switch between *ur* in the middle and *úr* at the beginning of a word:

ṭú-ur-dam ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 27 *ṭurdam* "send!", but *úr-du* ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 5 *urdu* "I descended".

⌜*as*⌝*-sú-ur-ri* OBTR 305: 10 *assurri* "hopefully not", but *úr-ra-ad* OBTR 305: 11 *urrad* "he will descend".

§ 2.340. In the following text the scribe switches between *ur* in the middle and *úr* at the end of a word:

501 Exceptionally, used also for /ru/ = *rù*: 2 *di-pa-rù innašû* ARM 5, 68: 5 f. *dipārū* "2 torches were raised".

502 Pace Charpin 1989, 34, *úr* is not unusual in OB.

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ḫu-ur-ru-uṣ ARM 5, 73: 10, 16 *ḫurruṣ* "it has been diminished", but *e-bu-ú-úr* ARM 5, 73: 4 *ebūr* "harvest" (st. cstr.).

§ 2.341. Further examples:
a) *úr* in the middle of a word:
i-tu-úr-ru-nim ARM 1, 6: 12 *iturrūnim* "they will return".
ṭú-úr-da-an-ni-ma ARM 2, 74: 7 *ṭurdannima* "send me".
b) *úr* at the end of a word (but *-ma* may follow):
e-bu-úr ARM 27, 14: 8, 15 *ebūr* "harvest" (st. cstr.).
li-iš-pu-úr-ma ARM 27, 14: 17, 39 *lišpur-ma* "may he send".
c) *ur* in the middle or at the beginning of a word:
tu-ur-ri-im ARM 1, 25: 8 *turrim* "to return".
ur-ra-am ARM 4, 22: 22 *urram* "tomorrow".
d) *ur* at the end of a word (but *-ma* may follow):
šu-úz-ku-ur ARM 27, 16: 21 *šuzkur* "to make swear" (st. cstr.).
iq-qú-ur ARM 27, 16: 19 *iqqur* "he destroyed".
ne-em-ḫu-ur-ma ARM 2, 138: 10 *nemḫur-ma* "we approached and".

3.14.2 Assimilation

§ 2.342. a) /r/ sometimes assimilates to an immediately following /n/:
ša-pí-in nārim AbB 1, 129: 1, envelope 1 *šāpin* < *šāpir* "canal overseer".
ša-pí-ni AbB 10, 37: 6, 25, 42 *šāpinni* < *šāpir-ni* "our overseer".
gu-un-na TCL 1, 143: 9 *gunna* < *gurna* "of average quality".
Om. *qa-an-ni* YOS 10, 60: 9 *qanni* < *qarni* "horn".[503]
b) More often the sequence /rn/ remains:
q[*á*]*-ar-na-am* AbB 8, 90: 15 *qarnam* "horn".
qar-ni ARM 7, 219: 5 *qarni* "horn".
qar-ni-šu CH § 251 *qarnīšu* "its two horns".
ar-nam CH § 142 *arnam* "guilt".
Om. *qá-ar-na-šu* YOS 10, 56 iii 24 *qarnāšu* "its two horns".

§ 2.343. An assimilation /sr/ > /ss/ perhaps occurs in the following example:
UR.GI$_7$.RA *Bi-is-sé-e* ARM 26/1, 571 no. 271: 5 *bissê* "Bissean(?) dog(s), dogs from the (Ǧabal) Bišri(?)". See UR.GI$_7$.RA$^{ḫi.a}$ *Bi-is-re-e* ARM 26/1, 571 no. 272: 6.[504]

503 Both AHw. and CAD have two different entries for *qarnum* (AHw. 904, CAD Q 134) and *qannum* (AHw. 897 *qannum* II, CAD Q 83 *qannum* B). The word *qannu* "hem" sometimes has a st. cstr. *qaran* (AHw. 904 *qarnu* C 8), which is an incorrect back-formation.

504 See the commentary of J.-M. Durand, ARM 26/1, 571.

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3.14.3 Shift between /r/ and /l/

§ 2.344. A shift /r/ > /l/[505] is probably attested once[506] in MidEuphr.:[507]

šumma PN … *wa-ar-ka-⟨at⟩ ēkallišu ip-ta-la-ás-ma* ARM 1, 109: 41 *iptalas* < *iptaras* "if PN decides(?) the case of his palace".[508]

3.15 */s/*

3.15.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.345. a) /s/ is usually the reflex of Proto-Semitic /s/. Furthermore, Geers's law requires that /ṣ/ preceding /q/ in a root becomes /s/:

Lit. *sú-qí-im* Gilg. OB II 179 *sūqim* < *ṣūqim* (Proto-Semitic ṢYQ) "street".

b) In most regions /s/ is alternately written with Z- or S-signs. This points to an affricated realization of /s/[509] and a deaffrication of the phoneme in positions in which S-signs occur.[510] Thus /s/ has two allophones, [ts] and [s]. Regular Z-signs are ZA = *sà*, ZI = *sí*, ZU = *sú*, AZ = *as*, IZ = *is*, and UZ = *us*. For us_4(AZ) see §§ 2.32.g and 492c. Regular SV-signs are SA, SI, and SU (§ 2.13). SA_6 = sa_6 is an archaic value, e.g., *na-*sa_6*-ḫi-im* CUSAS 36, 111: 26 *nasāḫim* "to pull out". For syllable-final /s/ see the details in § 2.364.

c) A spelling ZÍ = si_{20} for the affricate [ts] (in fact always long [tts]) is rarely found:[511]

*i-ša-*AZ-ZÍ AbB 8, 138: 16 f. *išassī* "he shouts".

Lit. *i-ša-*ZÍ-*a-ni-im* AfO 50,15 ii 4 *išassīānim* "they shout".

Lit. *ù-li-ḫa-*ZÍ AoF 45, 193: 9 *ul* = *iḫḫassi* < *iḫḫaz-ši* "catches her".

Lit. *ku-*us_4(AZ)-ZÍ-*a-at* OECT 11, 1: 9 *kussīāt* "thrones".

3.15.2 Dialectal Differences in Deaffrication

§ 2.346. Deaffrication of /s/ shows dialectal differences.

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505 For the shift /l/ > /r/, also in MidEuphr., see § 2.244.

506 Durand 1998, 490, suggests that the word *ḫalṣum* "district" derives from *ḫarāṣum* "to break off, incise". This is, however, semantically unconvincing. Moreover, whereas the shift /r/ > /l/ only sporadically occurs elsewhere, the common word *ḫalṣu* always has /l/, and a consequent distribution of /l/ and /r/ between noun and verb would be without any parallel.

507 For more recent refs. for /r/ > /l/ and /l/ > /r/ see GAG § 34b. In Ebla /r/ > /l/ frequently occurs (but not vice versa), see Krebernik 1982, 210 f.

508 For this interpretation see Durand 1997, 198. However, CAD P 53 *palāsum* 1c translates: "if he … attends to the circumstances of his palace". The text has many mistakes.

509 The arguments for an affricate realization are summarized by Kogan 2011, 66 f. See also the discussion in Hernáiz 2019, 169–190.

510 See Streck 2006, 218–227 with previous literature; Sommerfeld 2006, 371 f.

511 ZÍ is also rarely used for /z/, see § 2.492b.

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§ 2.347. Illustrative examples from the letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe (SBab.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZA-*pi-in-ma* AbB 10, 193: 20 *sapinma* "it is flattened".
ZA-*pa-ni-im* AbB 14, 61: 5 "leveling".
b) Z with long /*ss*/:
ni-ik-ka-AZ-ZI-*šu-nu* AbB 9, 110: 8 *nikkassīšunu* "accounts".
AZ-ZA-*pa-an* AbB 14, 55: 27 *assapan* "I leveled".
c) Z between vowels:
ip-ru-ZU-*ni-im-ma* AbB 10, 177: 22 *iprusūnimma* "they decided".
na-ZA-*ḫi-im* AbB 10, 193: 6 *nasāḫim* "to uproot".
ú-ZA-*an-ni-qá-am-ma* AbB 10, 193: 13 *usanniqamma* "he checks".
d) Z after consonant:
er-ZU(-*ú*) AbB 14, 58: 10; AbB 14, 60: 14 *ersû* "they are ready".
e) Z syllable-final:
pu-ru-UZ-*ma* AbB 14, 64: 36 *purusma* "decide!"

§ 2.348. Illustrative examples from letters from Isin (SBab.):
a) Z with long /*ss*/:
IZ-ZU-*ni-i*[*n*]-*ni-ma* AbB 14, 205: 6 *issûninnima* "they summoned me".
b) S between vowels:
ta-SA-*aḫ-ḫu-ra* AbB 14, 205: 23 *tasaḫḫura* "you turn".
c) S after consonant:
pur-SA-[*ma*] AbB 11, 159: 21 *pursā*[*ma*] "decide!"
at-ta-an-SA-*ak* AbB 14, 205: 12 *attansak* "I was thrown out".

§ 2.349. Illustrative examples from the letters from Larsa (SBab.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZA-*ar-ra-tim*/*ti* AbB 9, 19: 7 f. *sarrāti*(*m*) "dishonesty".
ZU-*ur-ri-i-ma* AbB 14, 166: 28 *surrīma* "the risk is that".
b) Z syllable-final:
e-pi-IZ-*ku-nu-ši-im* AbB 6, 142: 13 *episkunūšim* "it is difficult for you".
[*l*]*i*-IZ-*ni-iq-ku-nu-ti-ma* AbB 9, 19: 36 *lisniqkunūtima* "may he examine you".

§ 2.350. Illustrative examples from the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.):[512]
a) Z word-initial:
ZI-*ik-ru-um* AbB 13, 5: 6 f. *sikrum* "dam".
ZI-*in-qá-am* AbB 4, 84: 10 *sinqam* "arrive!"

512 Full documentation in Streck 2006, 218–224.

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b) S word-initial:
SA-*di-ir* ARM 6, 51 r. 10; ARM 6, 54: 22 *sadir* "it is regular".
c) Z with long /*ss*/:
IZ-ZA-*an-qú-ni-ik-kum* AbB 4, 7: 7 *issanqūnikkum* "they arrived".
ak-ta-AZ-ZI-*ip-šum* AbB 13, 21: 9 *aktassipšum* "I kept making funerary offerings for him".
d) Z between vowels:
li-ik-ki-ZU-*ma* AbB 13, 23: 18 *likkisūma* "may they cut".
ú-ZU-*úḫ-šu-nu-ti* AbB 5, 136: 12 *usuḫšunūti* "take them away!"
e) S between vowels:
ku-SA-*a-am-ma* AbB 13, 12: 21 *kusâmma* "bind!"
li-SI-*ir-ma* AbB 13, 14: 27 *līsirma* "let him confine".
f) Z after consonant:
PN *Ilī-ip-pa-al*-ZA-[*am*] AbB 2, 9: 4, 11 *ippalsam* "My god looked at me".
g) S after consonant:
pu-ur-SA-*m*[*a*]AbB 4, 24: 15 *pursāma* "decide!"
in-na-ak-SU AbB 4, 20: 21 *innaksū* "they were felled".
h) S syllable-final:
mi-ki-IZ AbB 4, 14: 11; AbB 13, 13: 10 *mikis* "share" (st. cstr.).
pu-ru-UŠ-*ma* AbB 13, 10: 9 *purusma* "decide!"

§ 2.351. Illustrative examples from the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.):[513]
a) Z word-initial:
ZA-*ar-ra-tim* CH § 3 *sarrātim* "lies".
ZI-*ki-il-tam* CH § 141 *sikiltam* "property".
b) Z with long /*ss*/:
i-na-ZA-*aḫ* CH §§ 168, 169 *inassaḫ* "he uproots".
i-ka-ZU-*šu* CH § 155 *ikassûšu* "they will bind him".
c) Z between vowels:
ú-ZA-*aḫ-ḫa-mu-ši* CH § 172 *usaḫḫamūši* "they oppress her".
ú-ZA-*ap-pa-aḫ* CH § 141 *usappaḫ* "she scatters".
d) S between vowels:
na-SA-*ḫi-im* CH §§ 168, 169 *nasāḫim* "to uproot".
i-na-ak-ki-SU CH § 253 *inakkisū* "they cut off".
e) S after consonant:
ri-ik-SA-*tim* CH §§ 7, 122 *riksātim* "treaty".

513 Full documentation in Streck 2006, 218–224. Examples from the prologue and epilogue are not listed here and are not included in the statistics.

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f) S syllable-final:
*ir-ta-ka-*ÁŠ CH § 194 *irtakas* "she attached".
*ri-*IZ*-ba-tim* CH § 206 *risbātim* "brawl".
*ip-ru-*UŠ CH § 5 *iprus* "he decided".

§ 2.352. Illustrative examples from letters from Sippar (NBab.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZA*-ki-pí-šu* AbB 11, 32: 20 *sākipišu* "his opponent".
ZU*-ri* Edubba 7, 26: 6 *surrī* "deception".
b) S word-initial:
SE*-eḫ-tum* Edubba 7, 26: 13 *seḫtum* "erroneous".
c) Z with long /*ss*/:
*ki-*ZA*-tam* Edubba 7, 8: 10; 30: 12 *kissatam* "fodder".
d) S between vowels:
[*pa-r*]*a-*SI*-im* AbB 9, 117: 13 *parāsim* "to decide".
ki-sI Edubba 7, 26: 9 *kīsi* "money(-bag)".
e) Z after consonant:
PN *Ilī-ip-pa-al-*ZA*-am* AbB 9, 117: 18 *ippalsam* "My god looked at me".
f) S syllable-final:
*ta-*ÁŠ*-ḫu-r*[*u-ma*] AbB 9, 11: 8 *tasḫur*[*uma*] "you searched".

§ 2.353. Illustrative examples from Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.):[514]
a) S word-initial:
SA*-an-qa-a-ku* Sumer 14, 7: 21 *sanqāku* "I am bound".
SI*-ma-at* Sumer 14, 1: 17 *simat* "suitable for".
b) S with long /*ss*/:
*ḫu-*UŠ*-*SI*-*SA*-an-ni-i-ma* Sumer 14, 1: 30 *ḫussisannima* "remind me!"
*li-*ÌS*-*SU*-ḫu-ú* Sumer 14, 14: 19 *lissuḫū* "they may tear out".
c) S between vowels:
*ḫu-*UŠ*-*SI*-*SA*-an-ni-i-ma* Sumer 14, 1: 30 *ḫussisannima* "remind me!"
*ḫu-*UŠ*-*SU*-*SI*-ku-nu* Sumer 14, 1: 43 *ḫussusikunu* "to remind you".
d) S after consonant:
*at-ta-an-*SA*-ka-am* Sumer 14, 1: 36 *attansakam* "I have been thrown down".
*ka-am-*SA Sumer 14, 6: 11 *kamsā* "they are collected".[515]
e) S syllable-final:[516]
*pu-ru-*UŠ*-ma* Sumer 14, 50: 11 *purusma* "decide!"

514 For further refs. from other texts from Ḫarmal see Sommerfeld 2006, 372.
515 For the mng. of the form see CAD K 115 *kamāsum* A c.
516 In Sumer 14, 31: 19, instead of *es-ra-am* (AHw. 250 *esērum* 1a), rather read *eṣ-ra-am* "draw for me" (CAD K 151 *kanīku* 1a1′).

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§ 2.354. Illustrative examples from the code of Ešnunna (Diy.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZA-*ar-tam* LE A iii 22; B iii 5 *sartam* "crime".
b) S word-initial:
SI-*ip-pu* LE A iii 15; B ii 26 *sippu* "door-jamb".
SA-*ag-bi-im* LE A ii 39; B ii 3 *sagbim*?[517] "a type of soldier".
c) S with long /*ss*/:
in-na-SA-*aḫ* LE A iv 31 *innassaḫ* "shall be torn out".
d) S between vowels:
ú-SA-(*ar-*)*ri-ir-* LE A iii 6; B ii 16 *usarrir-* "she has cheated".
e) S after consonant:
ri-ik-SA-*tim* LE A ii 34; B ii 1 *riksātim* "contract".
f) S syllable-final:
na-AŠ-*ḫa-at* LE A iii 16; *na*-ÁŠ-*ḫa-at* B ii 26 *nasḫat* "is pulled out".
it-ta-ki-IŠ LE A iii 32, 35; *it-ta-ki*-ÌS LE B iii 17, 21 *ittakis* "he cut off".

§ 2.355. Illustrative examples from the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.):[518]
a) Z word-initial:
ZI-*im-mi-la-tim* ARM 27, 16: 36 *simmilātim* "ladders".
ZI-*ka-tim* FM 2,87 no. 49: 12 *sikkātim* "pegs".
b) S word-initial:
SA-*di-ir* ARM 27, 14: 10 *sadir* "is regular".
SA-*la-mi-im* ARM 27, 177: 13 *salāmim* "peace".
SA-*ḫa-tim* ARM 27, 173: 8 *saḫātim* "trap".
SU-*ga-gi* ARM 27, 93: 9 *sugāgī* "sheikhs".
c) Z with long /*ss*/:
ta-na-ZA-*aḫ* ARM 27, 151: 69 *tanassaḫ* "you tear out".
uš-te-re-EZ-ZU-*ú* FM 2, 86 no. 47: 11 *ušterressû* "I prepare".
d) Z between vowels:
ú-ZA-*ap-pa-aḫ* ARM 27, 145: 8 *usappaḫ* "he scattered".
e) S between vowels:
ak-mi-SA-*am* ARM 27, 14: 25 *akmisam* "I collected".
ap-pa-la-SU FM 3, 278 no. 133: 17 *appallasu* "I see".
f) S after consonant:
qé-er-SI-*ša* ARM 27, 124 r. 5 *qersiša* "her (wooden) *qersu*-object".

517 See AHw. 1012b *sakpum* 1 (without translation), CAD S 81a *sakpum* "mng. uncert."
518 Full documentation in Streck 2006, 218–224.

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g) S syllable-final:
i-pa-ar-ra-ÁŠ ARM 27, 80: 32 *iparras* "he decides".
a-na-ak-ki-IZ ARM 27, 8: 21 *anakkis* "I will cut".
IŠ-*ḫu-ra-am* ARM 27, 115: 21 *isḫuram* "he turned to me".
ÌS-*li-mu* ARM 27, 177: 20 *islimū* "they made peace".
ir-ku-UŠ-*ma* ARM 27, 151: 92 *irkusma* "he bound".

§ 2.356. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):
a) S word-initial:
SA-*ad-ra* ARM 4, 88: 24 *sadrā* "are regular".
SU-*ga-gu* ARM 4, 16: 11 *sugāgū* "sheikhs".
SU-*ga-gu-ut* ARM 1, 119: 5 *sugāgūt* "office of sheikh" (st. cstr.).
SA-*ag-bi-šu* ARM 5, 1 r. 12 *sagbīšu* "his *sagbû*-soldiers".
b) S between vowels:
a-SI-*i* ARM 1, 115: 5 *asî* "doctor".
ni-SA-*an* ARM 1, 112: 6 *nisan* "first offering".
c) Z after consonant:
ra-ak-ZU ARM 1, 109: 19 *raksu* "is tied".
d) S syllable-final:
ip-ta-la-ÁŠ ARM 1, 109: 41 *iptalas* "he looked".
i-ra-ak-ka-ÁŠ ARM 1, 109: 35 *irakkas* "he will tie".
li-ÌS-*ni*-[*q*][*ú-nim* ARM 4, 86: 47 *lisniqūnim* "may they bind".

§ 2.357. Illustrative examples from the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZI-IZ-ZI-*ik-tim* OBTR 65: 4 *sissiktim* "fringe".
b) S word-initial:
⌜SA-*ad-ra-at*⌝ OBTR 78: 20 *sadrat* "is regular".
c) Z with long /ss/:
ta-na-AZ-ZA-⌜*aḫ*⌝ OBTR 61: 8 "you will tear out".
d) S with long /ss/:
ÈŠ-SE-SI-*im* OBTR 58: 20; OBTR 59: 9 *essesim* "name of a festival".
e) S between vowels:
i-SI-*nam* OBTR 58: 4 *isinnam* "festival".
f) S after consonant:
ri-ik-⌜SI⌝ OBTR 59: 13 *riksī* "belts".
g) S syllable-final:
na-ÁŠ-*ḫu* OBTR 83: 7 *nasḫu* "was torn out".

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§ 2.358. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
a) S word-initial:
SA-*gi-im* ARM 28, 144: 11 *sagîm* "to roam".[519]
b) S between vowels:
ú-SA-*aḫ-ḫi-r*[*u*] ARM 28, 138: 19 *usaḫḫirū* "they turned".
c) S syllable-final:
li-ÌS-*ni-iq* ARM 28, 139: 23 *lisniq* "let him control".

§ 2.359. Examples from the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris):
a) S between vowels:
i-SA-*pa-aḫ* Shemshara 1, 56: 9 *isappaḫ* "he scatters".

§ 2.360. Illustrative examples from the letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZI-*in-ni-i*[*š-tim*] ARM 26/2, 538 no. 547: 6 *sinniš*[*tim*] "woman".
b) S word-initial:
SA-*li-mi-im*, [S]A-*li-im* ARM 28, 25: 15, 25 *salīm*(*im*) "peace".
c) Z with long /ss/:
ú-ka-ZI-*šu-nu-ti* ARM 28, 19 r. 15 *ukassīšunūti* "he bound them".
ni-IZ-ZA-[*t*]*um* ARM 28, 25: 26 *nissatum* "wailing".
d) S with long /ss/:
ma-ÁŠ-SI-*la-ti*[*m*] ARM 26/2, 539 no. 548: 4 *massilatim* "a garment".
e) Z between vowels:
i-ZA-*aḫ-ḫu-ru* ARM 28, 19: 9 *isaḫḫurū* "they roam".
ik-ta-ZU-*ú* ARM 28, 19 r. 14 *iktasû* "they bound".
i-ZA-*ki-ip* ARM 26/2, 533 no. 540: 12 *isakkip* "will push off".
f) S between vowels:
iḫ-ZU-SU-*nim* ARM 28, 20: 8 *iḫsusūnim* "they remembered".
pa-ri-SI ARM 26/2, 535 f. no. 543: 4, 11; ARM 26/2, 536 no. 544: 6, 13, 16; ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 6, 9 *parīsī* "half-kor".
g) S after consonant:
mi-ik-SA-*a*[*m*] ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 28 *miksam* "tax".

§ 2.361. Illustrative examples from the letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.):
a) Z word-initial:
ZI-*ma-nu-um* ARM 5, 16: 10 *simānum* "occasion".

519 The verb does not mean "to raid" (CAD S 28 *sâgum*), but denotes nomadic movement. It is alo attested in LB as *segû* and is a loan from Amorite.

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b) S word-initial:

SU-*ga-gi-ka* ARM 5, 15: 12 *sugāgīka* "your sheikhs".

c) S with long /ss/:

tu-ba-SI-*ra-an-ni-ma* ARM 5, 16: 5 *tubassirannima* "you delivered good news after me".

mu-ba-SI-*ri* ARM 5, 17: 4 *mubassirī* "envoys".

d) S between vowels:

li-SA-*al-lim* ARM 2, 51: 20 *lisallim* "may he make peace".

§ 2.362. Statistics:

	Word-initial	**Long /ss/**	**Between vowels**	**After consonant**	**Syllable-final**
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)	2 Z	6 Z	3 Z	3 Z	1 UZ
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	3 Z	–	–	–	2 IZ
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	–	1 Z	1 S	2 S	–
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	11 Z	9 Z	3 Z	15 Z	31 IZ
	2 S		42 S	8 S	13 UŠ
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	11 Z	13 Z	4 Z		3 ÁŠ
			9 S	8 S	8 IZ
					1 UŠ
Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.)	2 Z	4 Z		1 Z	1 ÁŠ
	1 S		2 S		
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)	8 S	6 S	11 S	2 S	1 UŠ
Code of Ešnunna (Diy.)	2 Z				1 AŠ
	5 S	1 S	2 S	2 S	1 ÁŠ
					9 IŠ
					3 ÌS
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)	21 Z	45 Z	10 Z		3 ÁŠ
	8 S		45 S	2 S	4 IZ[520]
					1 IŠ
					14 ÌS
					7 UŠ
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	5 S	4 Z	6 S	1 Z	2 ÁŠ
				3 S	1 ÌS

520 Note that *ki-ìs-mu-um* ARM 27, 1: 11f. was listed by mistake as *ki*-IZ-*mu-um* in Streck 2006, 222.

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(*cont.*)

	Word-initial	Long /ss/	Between vowels	After consonant	Syllable-final
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	1 Z 1 S	4 Z 2 S	 3 S	 2 S	1 ÁŠ
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	1 S	–	1 S	–	1 ÌS
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	–	–	1 S	–	–
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)	1 Z 2 S	2 Z 1 S	4 Z 8 S	 1 S	–
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	1 Z 1S	 2 S	 1 S	–	–

§ 2.363. The alternation between Z- and S-signs can be explained by a change between affricated and deaffricated /s/. We can observe three main regions:
a) In SBab. /s/ remains an affricate in most cases. Note especially the letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe in which /s/ is an affricate even between vowels, after a consonant and syllable-final.[521]
b) In Diy. /s/ is deaffricated in most cases. This is true even for word-initial /s/ and long /ss/.
c) In all other regions, the distribution between affricate and deaffricated /s/ observes the following rules[522]—with some exceptions mentioned below (§ 2.365): Word-initial /s/ and long /ss/ remain an affricate in most cases. Between vowels, /s/ is deaffricated in a majority of instances whereas /s/ after a consonant remains an affricate or becomes deaffricated. Syllable-final /s/ is always deaffricated; this rule includes /s/ before /t/ or /p/:[523]

*na-ap-la-*ÁŠ-*tam* ARM 2, 126: 15 *naplastam* "look".
*pí-ri-*ÌS-*tam* ARM 2, 23: 14 *piristam* "secret".
Om. *pi-it-ru-*UŠ-*tum* RA 61, 24: 20 *pitrustum* "inconsistent result".[524]
Lit. *na-*ÁŠ-*pa-at-ta-am* Fs. Sjöberg 17: 16 *naspattam* "devastation".

521 For syllable-final /s/ remaining an affricate outside SBab. see *pi-ri-*IZ-*ti* RATL p. 219 no. 143: 9.
522 See already Streck 2006, 224–227; Sommerfeld 2006, 371.
523 See § 2.372 for deaffrication of /ṣ/ before /b/.
524 In OB /s/ before /t/ is thus, pace GAG § 30g*, not a special case. It is also wrong to list these words with /š/ in the dictionaries (see, e.g., AHw. and CAD *pirištum*).

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Lit. *ka-bi*-IŠ-*ti* UET 6/2, 404: 6 *kābisti* "she who tramples".

Lit. [*p*]*i-ri*-IŠ-*tam* ZA 110, 41 i 58 *piristam* "secret".

§ 2.364. a) The table above (§ 2.362) shows that the following VC-signs belong to the S-sign set for deaffricated /s/ = [s]:[525] ÁŠ, IZ (especially NBab., rarely MidEuphr.), IŠ (Diy., rarely MidEuphr.), ÌS = AB (Diy., MidEuphr., UpMes.), and UŠ (*passim*).[526]

b) The sign AŠ, which belongs to the Š-sign set, is rarely attested for deaffricated /s/: see Diy., § 2.354 f, above, and moreover:

Om. *na-ap-la*-AŠ-*tum*/-*tim* YOS 10, 7: 22; YOS 10, 11 ii 3; CUSAS 18, 10 iii 18, iv 1, 4, 7, 11, 16, 22.[527]

3.15.3 Deaffricated /s/ in Special Cases

§ 2.365. Some roots and words show deaffricated /s/ in positions in which we elsewhere find an affricate:[528]

a) Sumerian loanwords:[529]

SA-*an-ku-ut-ti* AbB 6, 57: 38; AbB 14, 173: 21 *sankutti* < Sumerian *saĝ-kud* "remainder".

[*n*]*i-ka*-ÁŠ-SI AbB 8, 148: 25 *nikkassī* < Sumerian *níĝ-kas*$_7$ "accounts".[530]

ni-ka-SI-*šu-nu* AbB 12, 44: 20 *nikassišunu* "their account".

i-SI-*nim* FM 2, 237 no. 122: 3 *isinnim* "festival" < Sumerian *ezen*.

i-gi-SA-⌜*i*⌝ FM 2, 101 no. 60 r. 20 *igisā'ī* "dues" < Sumerian *igi-sá*.

ki-SA-*al* FM 3, 255 no. 117: 5 *kisal* "courtyard" < Sumerian *kisal*.

^{lú}*ki*-SA-*lu-ḫi* FM 3, 245 no. 95: 11 *kisaluḫḫī* "courtyard sweepers" < Sumerian *kisal-luḫ*.

ki-ìs-si-ki-im FM 1 p. 82: 30 *kissikkum* "late afternoon" < Sumerian *kin-sig*.

ÈŠ-SE-*si-im* OBTR 58: 20 *essēsim* "name of a festival" < Sumerian *èš-èš*.[531]

Lex. SA-*an-ta-ak-kum* MSL 3, 218: 4 *santakkum* < Sumerian *santag*$_4$ "wedge".

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525 See already Streck 2006, 226.

526 The peculiar spelling *ta-na*-ÁŠ-ZA-*aḫ* AbB 10, 159: 22 *tanassaḫ* "you will tear out", which mixes S- and Z-signs, was discussed by Sommerfeld 2006, 370.

527 The sign AŠ is sometimes also used for deaffricated /z/ (see § 2.493c).

528 See Streck 2006, 224. Some of these words have already been discussed by Goetze 1958, 140 and 149, who did not, however, recognize the correct reasons for using the S-sign set.

529 Sumerian /s/ was pronounced [s], see Jagersma 2010, 45 f.

530 But *ni-ka*-AZ-ZI AbB 6, 199: 34, see Sommerfeld 2006, 370.

531 The word also occurs as *eššēšum*.

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b) Amorite loanwords:[532]

SA-*ḫa-tim* ARM 27, 173: 8 *saḫātim* "trap".

SU-*ga-gi* ARM 27, 93: 9 *sugāgī* "sheikhs".[533]

SU-*ga-gu-ut* ARM 1, 119: 5 *sugāgūt* "office of sheikh".

SA-*li-mi-im*, [*S*]*A-li-im* ARM 28, 25: 15, 25 *salīm*(*im*) "peace", Lit. *su-lu-ma-tum* CUSAS 10, 14: 13 *sulum*(*m*)*ātum* "reconciliation".[534]

SA-*ak-nu-ma* ARM 3, 12: 11 *saknūma* "they camp".

tu-ba-SI-*ra-an-ni-ma* ARM 5, 16: 5 *tubassirannima* "you delivered good news to me".[535]

c) Roots with /d/ as the second radical, which caused the deaffrication:[536]

SA-*di-ir* ARM 6, 51 r. 10; ARM 6, 54: 22 *sadir* "it is regular".

Om. SA-*di-di-ka* YOS 10, 28: 10 *sādidīka* "your advance parties".[537]

Math. SE-*di-iš* Sumer 43, 194: 32, 38 *sediš* "six".[538]

Math. SE-*eš*$_{15}$-*šu* Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 22. *seššu* "sixth".

d) The numbers "seven" and "eight" and their derivations show deaffricated /s/ in analogy to *sediš* "six":[539]

Math. SE-*bu-um* Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 24 *sebûm* "the seventh".

Math. SA-*ma-ni-na-ma-tim* < *samānē ina ammatim* Sumer 43, 204 iv 6 "eight cubits".

Lit. SE-*bé-et ūmim u* SE-*bé mušiʾātim* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 8 *sebēt*, *sebē* "seven days and seven nights".

e) In *šasûm* "to shout", long /s/ is regularly spelled with S-signs,[540] perhaps a dissimilation of the affricate /s/ before the affricate(?) /š/:

a-ša-ÁŠ-SI AbB 6, 127: 17 *ašassī* "I shout".

i-ša-ÁŠ-SI AbB 2, 139: 6; AbB 5, 134 r. 2 *išassī* "he shouts".

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532 Amorite /ś/ < Proto-Semitic /š/, /ś/ was pronounced [s], see Streck 2000, 226 f. Instead of ZU-*ul-mi-šu* ARM 5, 44: 6 (see *šu-lum* ARM 5, 44: 7) and *ik*-ZU-*dam* ARM 2, 79: 30 (s. Finet 1956, 18), read probably *šu*!-*ul-* and *ik-šu*!-.

533 In spite of the doubts raised by Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 435, the etymology of *sugāgum* proposed by J.-M. Durand, followed in Streck 2000, 116 (ŚGG, variant of ŚGʾ "to be(come) great"), still seems justified.

534 For the Amorite origin of the root SLM see Streck 2000, 115 f.

535 The Amorite origin of this word follows from the fact that Semitic /ś/ appears as S in this root, as common in Amorite, and not as Š, as would be expected if the root were genuinely Akk.

536 See Streck 2006, 224. Note especially forms in which /s/ and /d/ are in direct contact, e.g., the pret. (*isdir*, etc.) or the adj./stat. (*sadrum*, *sadrū*).

537 For further refs. see AHw. 1002 and CAD S 18.

538 For *sediš* see Streck 2008.

539 See Streck 2008.

540 Further refs. in Sommerfeld 2006, 370. For /š/ and /s/ in contact in the pret. of this verb see § 2.429.

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i-ŠA-SU-*šu* AbB 5, 134 r. 4 *išassûšu* "they call him".
aš-ta-na-ÁŠ-SI AbB 3, 84: 20 *aštanassī* "I will read".[541]

f) Other words:
SA-*ag-bi-šu* ARM 5, 1 r. 12 *sagbīšu* "his *sagbû*-soldiers".

3.15.4 Two Occurrences of /s/ in a Word

§ 2.366. a) If a word contains two occurrences of /s/, one of them may be deaffricated, as is shown by Z-spellings for the affricate and S-spellings for the deaffricated allophone:[542]

SI-IZ-ZI-*in-nu* CT 4, 30a: 13 *sissinnu* "date spadix".
SI-IZ-ZI-*ik-t*[*i*] AbB 7, 182: 1; CT 48, 50: 17 *sissikti* "hem".
ta-aḫ-ta-na-ZA-ÁŠ AbB 8, 5: 7 *taḫtanassas* "you always remember".
a-pa-SA-AZ AbB 14, 66: 21 *apassas* "I cancel".
iḫ-ZU-SU-*nim* ARM 28, 20: 8 *iḫsusūnim* "they remembered".
ḫu-UZ-ZI-SI-*ma* OBTR 99: 12 *ḫussisīma* "remind!"
Lit. *ḫa*-⌜*si*⌝-ZUM ZA 110, 39 i 11 *ḫasīsum* "intelligence".
Lit. ZA-ÁŠ-*k*[*u-um*] RA 35, 2 i 23 *sasq*[*ûm*] "a kind of flour".

b) But the deaffrication is optional, and more often both affricates remain:
ZI-IZ-ZI-*nu-um* YBC 5026: 4 (see MSL 14, 142) *sissinnum* "date spadix".
ZI-ZI-*na-tum* VS 13, 18: 5; 7, 34: 18 *sissinnātum* "date spadices".
ḫa-ZI-ZA-*am* ARM 2, 15: 34 *ḫasīsam* "wisdom".
ḫa-ZI-ZI-*ma* ARM 27, 14: 36 *ḫāsisīma* "wise".
ta-ḫa-AZ-ZA-AZ ARM 26/2, 366 no. 442: 60 *taḫassas* "you remember".
ZI-IZ-ZI-*ik-tam* ARM 26/1, 442 no. 214: 22, 25 *sissiktam* "hem".
pu-UZ-ZU-ZA-*ma* ARM 14, 18 r. 8 *pussusāma* "they are smashed".
ZI-IZ-ZI-*ik-tim* OBTR 65: 4, 7 *sissiktim* "hem".
Lit. ZA-AZ-*ki-im* JCS 22, 26: 25 *sasqîm* "a kind of flour".

c) Forms with two occurrences of deaffricated /s/ are also found:
SI-SI-*ik-ta-am* AbB 14, 19: 16 *sissiktam* "hem".
iḫ-SU-SU ARM 26/1, 531 no. 252: 7 *iḫsusū* "they remembered".
Lit. SI-ÌS-SI-*ni* Or. 87, 17 i 44 *sissinni* "date spadix".

3.15.5 /s/ + /š/

§ 2.367. When the third radical is /s/, contact with /š/ of the pron. suff. mostly results in the affricate [ts], written with Z-signs, traditionally transcribed and

541 Rarely, the affricate remains: *i*/*ta-ša*-AZ-ZI AbB 8, 134: 11, 13 *išassī*/*tašassī* "he/you will shout".

542 A similar dissimilation occurs in Diy. with two occurrences of /z/ in a single root (see § 2.495).

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transliterated as *s*. Especially in Diy. this affricate is deaffricated, and the result of the contact between /s/ and /š/ is written S-signs (s. § 2.393).

3.16 */ṣ/*

3.16.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.368. /ṣ/ is spelled with Z-signs (ZA = *ṣa*, ZI = *ṣí*, ZU = *ṣú*, AZ = *aṣ*, IZ = *iṣ*, UZ = *uṣ*) in most environments. For AZ = *uṣ*$_4$ see § 2.32.g. Thus /ṣ/ shares a sign-set with /z/ and /s/, pointing to an affricate realization [ts'].[543] In certain positions, /ṣ/ has an allophone [s'], written with S-signs. The phoneme /ṣ/ is the reflex of three Proto-Semitic phonemes, /ṣ/, /ḍ/ (the emphatic lateral), and /ẓ/ (the emphatic interdental).

a) ZA = *ṣa*:
ZA-*ab-tu* AbB 5, 4: 6 f. *ṣabtū* "they are seized".

b) ZI = *ṣí*:
ZI-*ib-tam* CH § 48 *ṣibtam* "interest".

c) ZU = *ṣú*:
ZU-*uḫ-ri-ia* AbB 4, 118: 7 *ṣuḫrija* "my youth".

d) AZ = *aṣ*:
it-ta-AZ-*ba-at* CH § 158 *ittaṣbat* "it was seized".

e) IZ = *iṣ*:
IZ-ZA-*bi-it* ARM 2, 106: 7 *iṣṣabit* "he was caught".

f) UZ = *uṣ*:
ku-UZ-ZI-*im* ARM 2, 24: 9 *kuṣṣim* "winter".

§ 2.369. The regular CVC-signs with initial /ṣ/ are ṢAR, ṢIR, ṢUM, and ṢUR (§ 2.15).

§ 2.370. Before /t/, syllable-final /ṣ/ is frequently written with S-signs (attested are IŠ = *íṣ*, UŠ = *úṣ*).[544] This can be explained by a deaffrication [ts't] > [s(')t]. This development is optional, and rarely also AZ, IZ, and UZ are found.

a) IŠ = *íṣ*:
Om. *i*-IŠ-*tum* YOS 10, 11 i 6, traditional transcription *īštum* < *īṣtum*, spoken [*istum*] "small".

b) UŠ = *úṣ*:
ma-ru-UŠ-*tam* AbB 1, 118: 10, traditional transcription *maruštam* < *maruṣtam*, spoken [*marustam*] "trouble".

543 For a glottalized pronunciation of the emphatics in Akk. see Kogan 2011, 60 f. with previous lit. The arguments for an affricate realization are summarized by Kogan 2011, 66 f.

544 ÁŠ appears to be unattested.

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*ma-ru-*UŠ-*tum* AbB 4, 79: 20 "bad".
Om. *ma-ru-*UŠ-*tum* YOS 10, 31 xii 34 "sick".

c) AZ = *aṣ*:
*da-*AZ-*tum-ma* ARM 10, 80: 12 *dāṣtumma* "treachery".

d) IZ = *iṣ*:
*ma-ḫi-*IZ-*tum* RA 74, 51 f. no. 119: 13, 17 *maḫiṣtum* "beaten".
*i-*IZ-*tum* ARM 1, 77: 11 *īṣtum* "little".

e) UZ = *uṣ*:
*ma-ru-*UZ-*ti* AbB 10, 207: 4 *maruṣtī* "my trouble".
*ma-ru-*UZ-*ta-ka-a* AbB 10, 207: 5 *maruṣtaka* "your trouble".

§ 2.371. The spelling *ṭ* for /ṣ/ points to an exceptional deaffrication of /ṣ/ with loss of the fricative element [tsʾ] > [tʾ]:[545]
Om. *i-ma-ḫa-aṭ* CUSAS 18, 14: 36 *imaḫḫaṭ* < *imaḫḫaṣ* "he hits".
Om. *aṭ-ba-at* RA 36, 10: 1 *aṭbat* < *aṣbat* "I seized".
Lit. ⌜*mi-it-ḫa*⌝*-aṭ* CUSAS 32, 28a: 15 *mitḫaṭ* < *mitḫaṣ* "fight!"

§ 2.372. a) Deaffrication may also occur before /b/:[546]
Om./Lit. *ḫi-*⌜IŠ⌝*-bu*/*-ba-am* YOS 10, 22: 11; YOS 11, 22: 50, 54,[547] traditional transcription *ḫišbu*/*am*, spoken [ḫisbu], [ḫisbam] "yield".

b) But this is optional and Z-writings can be found as well:
Lit. *ḫi-*IZ-*bi-im* CH ii 45.

§ 2.373. In one text, /ṣ/ is deaffricated after /ḫ/:
Lit. ⌜*u*⌝ *šumma ina damq*[*ātim*] *abu lā iḫ-*SI-*nam m*[*ārāšū*] *matī mārum ina namraṣ*[*im*] *abāšu li-iḫ-*SI-⌜*in*⌝ ZA 110, 53 ii 2, 4 *iḫsinam liḫsin* "and if a father did/does not shelter [his] s[on] in go[od times], when would a son shelter his father during suffering?"

§ 2.374. There is no backing of vowels adjacent to /ṣ/, which points to a glottalized (ejective) rather than a velarized pronunciation:
ṣa-li-il AbB 9, 144: 6″ *ṣalil* "he lies".
aṣ-ba-at-ma AbB 8, 82: 18 *aṣbatma* "I seized".

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545 See A.R. George, CUSAS 18 p. 82 f. ad § VII.15; Mayer 2015, 184. The other examples mentioned by both authors are late OB.

546 See GAG § 30g*. See also § 2.363c for deaffrication of /s/ before /p/.

547 In CAD Ḫ 203a corrected to -⌜*iṣ*!⌝-.

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3.16.2 zí

§ 2.375. The sign zí = *ṣi*/*ṣe* is used for both /ṣi/ and /ṣe/, whereas the sign zi is mainly used for /ṣi/ alone. In the CH this distinction is strictly observed, but in other texts sometimes zi is used for /ṣe/, too:

a) Illustrative examples of zí = /ṣi/ in the CH:
ú-še-ṣi-ma CH § 42, CH § 44 *ušēṣīma* "he rented".
ṣi-im-da-at CH § 51 *ṣimdat* "royal decree".
ṣi-ib-tam CH § 48 *ṣibtam* "interest".
ṣi-ib-ti-šu CH § 51 *ṣibtišu* "his interest".
ṣi-ba-sú CH § 49, CH § 50 *ṣibassu* "its interest".
i-iṣ-ṣi-id CH § 57 *iṣṣid* "he harvests".
ṣi-ba-a-at CH xxiv 1 *ṣibāt* "interest" (st. cstr.).

b) Illustrative examples of zí = /ṣe/ in the CH:
ṣe-eḫ-ra-am CH § 14 *ṣeḫram* "little".
ṣe-ri-im CH § 17 *ṣērim* "steppe".
er-ṣe-ti-šu-nu CH § 23 *erṣetišunu* "their territory".
ṣe-ḫe-er-[*m*]*a* CH § 29 *ṣeḫerma* "is little".
wa-ṣe-em CH § 172 *waṣêm* "to go out".

c) Illustrative examples of zi = /ṣi/ in the CH:
ú-ṣí-a-am(*-ma*) CH § 3, CH § 4 *uṣīʾam*(*ma*) "he came out".
uš-te-ṣí(*-a-am*) CH § 15, CH § 16 *uštēṣī*(*ʾam*) "he caused to go out".
ma-ḫa-ṣí-im CH § 116 *maḫāṣim* "to hit".
wa-ṣí-ma CH § 142 *waṣīma* "he has left".
wa-ṣí-a-at CH § 143 *waṣīʾat* "she has left".

d) Illustrative examples of zi = /ṣe/ in other texts:
e-ṣé-di-im AbB 3, 73: 15 *eṣēdim* "to harvest".
ṣé-et-ka AbB 9, 228: 17 *ṣētka* "your heat".
ṣé-ni-im AbB 7, 142: 13 *ṣēnim* "small cattle".
ṣé-eḫ-ru ARM 10, 57: 5 *ṣeḫru* "he was little".
ṣé-er ARM 26/1, 83 no. 5: 60 *ṣēr* "back".

3.16.3 Metathesis

§ 2.376. For the metathesis of /ṣ/ and infix /t/ in the Gt-stem see § 2.447.

3.17 */š/*

3.17.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.377. The phonetic realization of /š/ is a matter of debate. Whereas Streck (2006, 241–247; 2008) suggested an affricated(?) alveolar voiceless lateral(?) [tɬ], Kogan (2011, 71, 87), summarizing the available evidence, suggests [š] with a lateral allpohone [ɬ] in some environments. /š/ is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /š/, /ś/ or /t̲/.

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§ 2.378. /š/ is regularly written with the signs ŠA, ŠE, ŠI, ŠU, AŠ, ÁŠ, EŠ, ÈŠ/IŠ$_7$ (AB), IŠ, UŠ, and ÚŠ (BE) (§ 2.13). For details about the use of the VC-signs see § 2.427. Regular CVC-signs with initial /š/ are ŠAR and ŠUM, with final /š/ MAŠ and TAŠ (UR) (§ 2.15).

3.17.2 Dental/Affricate + /š/

§ 2.379. a) The combination of a dental phoneme (/d/, /t/, or /ṭ/) or an affricate phoneme (/z/, /s/, or /ṣ/) with /š/ of the pron. suff. is written with Z-signs in most dialects of OB.[548] The traditional transcription renders this sound as *s*. In fact, however, Z stands for the affricates [ts], [dz], and [ts'] (§ 2.492). We find both single Z and double ZZ for the combination of dental/affricate phoneme and /š/. Since in OB double spellings almost always render long consonants,[549] it is difficult to explain spellings with double ZZ, if /š/ was not an affricate itself: if /š/ was pronounced [š], [s], or [ɬ], how then could its assimilation with an affricate yield a long affricate?[550] But if two affricates assimilate, the product will be a long affricate.[551] The statistics of the distribution of single Z and double ZZ below (§ 2.393) show, however, that in some dialects of OB an originally long affricate was secondarily shortened.

b) Especially in the Diyāla area, the combination of a dental phoneme (/d/, /t/, or /ṭ/) or an affricate phoneme (/z/, /s/, or /ṣ/) with /š/ of the pron. suffs. is written with S-signs. This means that an original affricate was deaffricated.

§ 2.380. In the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.), in the code of Hammurapi (NBab.), and in the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭnunān (MidEuphr.) only Z-signs are attested. Illustrative examples:[552]

a) /t/ + /š/:

a-wa-AZ-ZU AbB 13, 41: 22 traditional transliteration *a-wa-as-sú*, transcription *awāssu* < *awāt-šu*, spoken [*awāttsu*] "his word".

wa-ar-ka-ZU CH § 18 *warkassu* < *warkat-šu* "his matter".

ma-AZ-ZU ARM 27, 132: 21 *māssu* < *māt-šu* "his land".

PN ^{m}*Āmur-da-an-nu*-ZU AbB 2, 29: 17 *dannūssu* < *dannūt-šu* "I have seen his strength!"

548 Full documentation for the letters of Hammurapi, for the CH and other inscriptions of Hammurapi, and for the letters of the governors in Qaṭṭnunān (ARM 27) is found in Streck 2006, 228–232.

549 With the exception of some morphographemic spellings (§ 2.20).

550 See the discussion in Streck 2006, 242. E.g., [t+s], i.e., a short affricate, would be rendered with a single Z and not with ZZ.

551 E.g., [ts] + [ts] yields [tts].

552 Full documentation in Streck 2006, 228–232.

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b) /d/ + /š/:

pí-qí-IZ-ZU-*um-ma* AbB 2, 7: 9, traditional transliteration *pí-qí-is-sú-um-ma*, transcription *piqissumma* < *piqid-šumma*, spoken [*piqidtsuma*] or [*piqittsumma*] "entrust to him!"

ÌR-ZU CH § 129 *warassu* < *warad-šu* "his slave".

ki-ša-AZ-ZU ARM 27, 115: 17 *kišāssu* < *kišād-šu* "his neck".

qa-qa-AZ-ZU-*ma* ARM 27, 161: 10 *qaqqassuma* < *qaqqad-šuma* "his head".

aṭ-ru-ZU-*nu-ti* FM 2, 90 no. 51: 11 *aṭrussunūti* < *aṭrud-šunūti* "I sent them".

c) /ṭ/ + /š/:

iš-ḫi-ZU-*nu-ti* ARM 27, 168: 14, traditional transliteration *iš-ḫi-sú-nu-ti*, transcription *išḫissunūti* < *išḫiṭ-šunūti*, spoken [*išḫiṭtsunūti*] or [*išḫittsunūti*] "he attacked them".

d) /s/ + /š/:

mi-ki-IZ-ZU AbB 4, 96: 16, traditional transliteration *mi-ki-is-sú*, transcription *mikissu* < *mikis-šu*, spoken [*mikittsu*] "his *miksu*-tax".

ú-ra-ak-ki-ZU CH § 253 *urakkissu* < *urakkis-šu* "he bound him".

[*a*]*ḫ-su*-UZ-ZU ARM 27, 152 r. 6 [*a*]*ḫsussu* < *aḫsus-šu* "I remembered him".

e) /z/ + /š/:

zu-UZ-ZU-*nu-ši-im* AbB 4, 12: 17, traditional transliteration *zu-us-sú-nu-ši-im*, transcription *zūssunūšim* < *zūz-šunūšim*, spoken [*zūdtsunūšim*] or [*zūttsunūšim*] "distribute among them!"

šu-ḫi-IZ-ZU-*nu-ti* AbB 2, 19: 13 *šūḫissunūti* < *šūḫiz-šunūti* "let them seize".

i-iḫ-ḫa-AZ-ZI CH § 137 *iḫḫassi* < *iḫḫaz-ši* "he will marry her".

uš-ta-ḫi-ZU CH § 188 *uštāḫissu* < *uštāḫiz-šu* "he taught him".

li-ša-ḫi-IZ-ZU ARM 27, 116: 54 *lišāḫissu* < *lišāḫiz-šu* "let him seize him".

f) /ṣ/ + /š/:

uk-tar-ri-ZU CH § 161, traditional transliteration *uk-tar-ri-sú*, transcription *uktarrissu* < *uktarriṣ-šu*, spoken [*uktaritts'u*] or [*uktarittsu*] "he slandered him".

im-ḫa-ZU-*ma* CH § 249 *imḫassuma* < *imḫaṣ-šu-ma* "he hit him".

ḫu-ra-ZU-*nu* ARM 27, 66: 16 *ḫurāssunu* < *ḫurāṣ-šunu* "their gold".

§ 2.381. In the letters from Larsa (SBab.) only Z-signs are attested:

ṣí-ba-AZ-ZU AbB 9, 19: 33, MÁŠ-ZU AbB 9, 19: 31 *ṣibassu* < *ṣibat-šu* "its interest".

§ 2.382. In the letters from Isin (SBab.) only Z-signs occur:

w[*a*]-*ar-k*[*a*]-ZI-*na* AbB 11, 159: 17 *warkassina* < *warkat-šina* "their case".

nu-ša-ḫi-ZU-[*nu-*]*ti* AbB 11, 159: 18 *nušāḫissu*[*nū*]*ti* < *nušāḫiz-šunūti* "we made them seize".

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§ 2.383. Likewise, in the letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.) only Z-signs are attested. Illustrative examples:

pi-ḫa-AZ-ZU-*nu* AbB 4, 46: 9 *pīḫassunu* < *pīḫat-šunu* "their office".

wa-ar-ka-AZ-ZU AbB 4, 48: 12 *warkassu* < *warkat-šu* "his matter".

zu-UZ-ZU-*nu-š*[*i*]-*im-ma* AbB 4, 64: 18 *zūssunūšimma* < *zūz-šunūšimma* "divide for them".

i-ṣa-ba-AZ-ZU AbB 4, 68: 32 *iṣabbassu* < *iṣabbat-šu* "he will seize him".

ni-ṣa-ba-AZ-ZU AbB 4, 68: 35 *niṣabbassu* < *niṣabbat-šu* "we will seize it".

§ 2.384. Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.) only show Z-signs:[553]

ne-ep-re-EZ-ZU AbB 11, 32: 23 *nēprēssu* < *nēprēt-šu* "food rations".

a-ḫa-ZA-*a* OBTR 134: 26 *aḫāssa* < *aḫāt-ša* "her sister".

PN *A-ḫa*-ZU-*nu* Edubba 7, 22: 18 *Aḫāssunu* < *Aḫāt-šunu* "Their sister".

PN ^{m}*Be-le*-ZU-*nu* Edubba 7, 120: 14 *Bēlessunu* < *Bēlet-šunu* "Their mistress".

§ 2.385. a) In the letters from Ḫarmal (Diy.) we once find Z:

ša-na-ZUM Sumer 14, 39: 6[554] *šanassum* <(?) *šanat-šu-m*(*a*) "every year".

b) S-signs:

ša-na(-ÁŠ)-SU Sumer 14, 22: 14; Sumer 14, 31: 6 *šanassu* < *šanat-šu* "every year".

ap-qì-ÌS-SU-*um* Sumer 14, 1: 18 *apqissum* < *apqid-šum* "I assigned to him".

ṭú-ru-SU Sumer 14, 8: 18 *ṭurussu* < *ṭurud-šu* "send him".

§ 2.386. In the code of Ešnunna (Diy.) only S-spellings are attested:[555]

e-ṣí-SU LE A i 32 *ēṣissu* < *ēṣid-šu* "he harvested for him".

i-ḫu-(UŠ-)SI(-*ma*) LE B 16, A ii 32, 36 *īḫussi*(*ma*) < *īḫuz-ši-* "he took her".

aš-ša-SU LE B ii 6, 7, 9 *aššassu* < *aššat-šu* "his wife".

i-ṣa-ab-ba-SU-*ma* LE A iii 8, LE B ii 18 *iṣabbassuma* < *iṣabbat-šu-* "he will seize him".

DUMU.MÍ-SA LE B ii 19 *mārassa* < *mārat-ša* "his daughter".

É-SU LE A iii 26, LE B iii 10 *bīssu* < *bīt-šu* "his house".

ŠU-SU LE A iii 37 *qāssu* < *qāt-šu* "his hand".

§ 2.387. In the Nūr-Šamaš archive (Diy.) only S-spellings are attested:

a-ša-SU⟨-*um*⟩[556] Rashid 1965, 121: 14 *ašassu* < *aššat-šu* "his wife".

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553 See also the PN ^{m}*A-ḫu-za*-ZU-*nu* Edubba 7, 22: 5. The mng. of the name is unclear: *Aḫuzassunu* < *Aḫuzzat-šunu* "Their marriage gift"?

554 ZUM belongs to the Z-signs, see *ú-li*-ZUM-*ma* CH § 162 *ulissumma* < *ulid-šum-ma* "she has born to him"; [*i*]*p-qí*-ZUM CH § 253 *ipqissum* < *ipqid-šum* "he entrusted to him".

555 See already Goetze 1958, 144.

556 Rashid reads u_{16}.

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PN ^{m}*Na-mu-ra*-SU Rashid 1965, 34: 6 *Namurrassu* < *Namurrat-šu* "His splendor".

§ 2.388. In the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.) only Z is found:
e-te-mi-IZ-ZU OBTR 90: 12 *ētemissu* < *ētemid-šu* "I have fined him".
PN *Be-la*-AZ-ZU-*nu* OBTR 79: 7[557] *Bēlassunu* < *Bēlat-šunu* "Their lady".

§ 2.389. In the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.) only Z is attested:
ma-a-ZU ARM 28, 134 r. 6, 9 *māssu* < *māt-šu* "his land".
mu-ta⌜-AZ-ZU⌝ ARM 28, 139: 7 f. *muttassu* < *muttat-šu* "half of it".
ÌR-*ra*-AZ-ZU ARM 28, 139: 21 *warassu* < *warad-šu* "his slave".

§ 2.390. In the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris) only Z-spellings occur:
qa-qa-⌜ZU-*nu*⌝ Shemshara 1, 62: 20 *qaqqassunu* < *qaqqad-šunu* "their head".
ṭú-ru-(UZ)-ZU Shemshara 1, 55: 18; Shemshara 1, 73: 8 *ṭurussu* < *ṭurudšu* "send him!"
iṣ-ṣa-ba-AZ-Z[U] Shemshara 1, 56: 35 *iṣṣabassu* < *iṣṣabat-šu* "he seized him".

§ 2.391. In the letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.) only Z-spellings occur:
qa-qa-ZA ARM 2, 51: 24 *qaqassa* < *qaqqad-ša* "her head".
ni-ṣa-ba-ba-ZU-*nu-ti* ARM 5, 16: 16 *niṣabbassunūti* < *niṣabbat-šunūti* "we will seize them".

§ 2.392. S-spellings occur in some letters of unknown provenance, probably found in NBab.:
a) In a letter of Šamšīja, probably found in Sippar, both S- and Z-signs occur:
a-bu-SU AbB 11, 55: 16 *abūssu* < *abūt-šu* "his fatherliness".
aṣ-ba-AŠ-SI-*i-ma* AbB 11, 55: 19 *aṣbassima* < *aṣbat-ši-ma* "I seized her". But *ap-lu*-ZA AbB 11, 55: 10 *aplūssa* < *aplūt-ša* "her inheritance" and *a-ḫa-za* AbB 11, 55: 17 *aḫāssa* < *aḫāt-ša* "her sister".
b) In the letters of Awīl-Adad, probably found in Sippar, both Z- and S-signs are attested:PN *Be-le*-SU-*nu* AbB 1, 27: 1 *Bēlessunu* < *Bēlet-šunu* "Their mistress". But GÉME-ZA AbB 1, 27: 42 (2×) *amassa* < *amat-ša* "her slave girl".
a-ḫa-ÁŠ-SA AbB 1, 28: 33 *aḫāssa* < *aḫāt-ša* "her sister".
ma-ru-UŠ-SI AbB 1, 28: 9 *marussi* < *maruṣ-ši* "is annoying for her". But PN *Be-le*-ZU-*nu* AbB 1, 28: 1 *Bēlessunu* < *bēlet-šunu*.
c) In a letter of Bēltani, found in Babylon:
ša-ra-ÁŠ-SA AbB 6, 22: 24 *šārassa* < *šārat-ša* "her hair".

557 Dalley reads *-su-*, but the copy shows ZU (with only three horizontal wedges).

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§ 2.393. a) Spellings with single Z, double Z, and S or SS are distributed as follows:

	Single Z	Double ZZ	S and SS
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	(1)[558]	1	–
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	2	–	–
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	2	23	–
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	67	5	–
Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)	(2)[559]	9	–
Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.)	3	1	–
Ḥarmal letters (Diy.)	1	–	4
Code of Ešnunna (Diy.)	–	–	13
Nūr-Šamaš archive (Diy.)	–	–	2
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)	7	19	–
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)[560]	–	–	–
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	–	2	–
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	1	3	–
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	2	2	–
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	2	–	–
Letters of Awīl-Adad (found in Sippar?)	1(+2[561])	–	3
Letter of Šamšīja (found in Sippar?)	2	–	2
Letter of Bēltani (found in Babylon)	–	–	1

b) The table shows that the combination of a dental/affricate phoneme + /š/ was heard as a long affricate [tts], written ZZ or Z, in most regions of OB. Double spellings clearly prevail in some dossiers. In the CH, on the other hand, spellings with single Z prevail, a tendency which can also be observed for the writing of /ss/ (§ 2.351b). Since the CH usually has double spellings for other long consonants,[562] this can only mean that [tts] was secondarily shortened to

558 After logogram.

559 Both instances after logogram: ŠUKU-ZU-*nu* AbB 4, 111: 39 *kurummassunu* < *kurummat-šunu* "their provisions"; ŠUKU-ZU AbB 4, 121: 9 *kurummassu* < *kurummat-šu* "his provisions".

560 No attestations.

561 Two Z-spellings after logogram.

562 See Streck 2006, 225.

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[ts] or perceived as a single sound. Only in the Diy. region do we regularly find S-spellings for deaffricated [s], a situation we encounter in post-OB Akk. everywhere. Also in NBab. (Babylon, Sippar) z(z) is regular, whereas S-spellings are rare.[563] S-spellings rarely occur outside the dossiers specifically investigated, remarkably in part from SBab.:

SBab. *re-qù*-UZ-SU AbB 11, 153: 20 *rēqūssu* < *rēqūt-šu* "empty-handed".[564]

SBab.? *ap-qí*-IZ-SU AbB 11, 23 r. 3 *apqissu* < *apqid-šu* "I entrusted him".[565]

SBab.? *li-ip-qí*-SU-*nu-ti* AbB 14, 88: 25 *lipqissunūti* < *lipqid-šunūti* "may he provide them".[566]

Bab. *be-le*-SI-*na* AbB 6, 188: 8 *bēlessina* < *bēlet-šina* "their mistress".

Bab. *ú-da-aḫ*-ÌS-SU AbB 6, 188: 39 *uda"issu* < *uda"iṣ-šu* "I harrased him".

§ 2.394. Aside from Z- and S-spellings, the combination of a dental consonant + the /š/ of pron. suffs. is sometimes written "dental consonant + Z". This is a phonetic spelling[567] for the long affricates [tts] and [dts] and may alternate with simple *Z*-spellings within the same text.

§ 2.395. Alternating with simple *Z*-spelling:

wa-ar-ka-at-ZU-*nu* AbB 11, 159: 20 *warkassunu* < *warkat-šunu* [*warkattsunu*] "their case", but *w*[*a*]-*ar-k*[*a*]-ZI-*na* AbB 11, 159: 17 *warkassina* [*warkattsina*] "their (fem.) case".

Roy. *šu-ba-at*-ZU-*nu* RIME 4, 385: 9 *šubassunu* < *šubat-šunu* [*šubattsunu*] "their dwelling", but *qí-bí*-ZU RIME 4, 385: 15 *qibīssu* < *qibīt-šu* [*qibittsu*] "his utterance" and *ḫi-ri*-ZU RIME 4, 388: 120 *ḫirīssu* < *ḫirīt-šu* [*ḫirīttsu*] "its canal".

§ 2.396. Other examples:[568]

ṣa-bi-it-ZU AbB 4, 120: 14 *ṣabissu* < *ṣabit-šu* [*ṣabittsu*] "has seized it".

i-ša-at-ZU![569] ARM 4, 32: 14 *išāssu* < *išāt-šu* [*išattsu*] "his fire signal".

Om. *i-ši-id*-ZA YOS 10, 31 xii 7 *išissa* < *išid-ša* [*išidtsa*] "her base".

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563 The alleged S-spellings in Samsuiluna's inscription RIME 4, 373f. are misreadings (coll. 2016): in RIME 4, 373: 9 read *ṣe-ra*-⌜AZ-ZÍ-*na*⌝ *ṣerrassina* < *ṣerrat-šina* "their nose-rope" instead of -SI-*na*, and in RIME 4, 374: 37 read *ú-um-mi*-⌜ZU⌝ *ummissu* < *ummid-šu* "he made reach" instead of ⌜-SU⌝.

564 Letter found in Nippur. The text uses *ṭù* in *ṭù-ur-da-aš-šu* AbB 11, 153: 19 *ṭurdaššu* "send him!".

565 Letter found in Nippur. The text uses *ṭú* in *li-*[*ba*]*-al-li-ṭú-ka* AbB 11, 23: 5 *li*[*b*]*alliṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

566 Letter of Dadāja, perhaps from Isin (Hernáiz 2019, 337).

567 Pace Streck 2006, 231, not a morphographemic spelling.

568 Instead of *e-nu-ut*-ZU ARM 6, 37 r. 15, read with Durand 1998, 326 *e-nu*-IZ-ZU.

569 Not *i-ša-at-šu*, see Durand 1998, 96.

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§ 2.397. The combination of a dental consonant and /š/ rarely remains unchanged (examples come from MidEuphr. and UpMes.):

a) /d/ + /š/:

UpMes. *ta-aṭ-ru-ud-šu*[*m*] ARM 1, 23: 8 *taṭrudšum* "you sent to him".

b) /t/ + /š/:

MidEuphr. *aṣ-ba-at-šum-ma* ARM 26/2, 272 no. 406: 13; ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 10 *aṣbatšumma* "I took for him".

c) /ṭ/ + /š/:

MidEuphr. *aš-pu-uṭ-šu-nu-ti* ARM 2, 92: 13, 20 *ašpuṭšunūti* "I reprimanded them".

MidEuphr. *i-ša-ḫi-iṭ-ši-na-ti* ARM 26/1, 331 no. 167: 5 *išaḫḫiṭšināti* "he will attack them".

3.17.3 /š/ + /š/

§ 2.398. The rare[570] combination of a final radical /š/ and the initial /š/ of the pron. suffs. is written S(S) = [ss] in most cases. Z(Z) = [tts] rarely occurs in writing. In both cases, the traditional transliteration and transcription is *s*. Z(Z)-spellings are hard to explain,[571] whereas S(S)-spellings can perhaps be explained by a pronunciation of /š/ as [tł].[572]

§ 2.399. In the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.):[573]

a) S-signs:

e-re-EZ-SU AbB 13, 7: 16, 21 *errēssu* < *errēš-šu* "his tenant".

er-re-EZ-SU-*nu* AbB 4, 95: 18 *errēssunu* < *errēš-šunu* "their tenant".

e-te-ne-er-ri-IZ-SU-*ma* AbB 2, 24: 10 *ētenerrissuma* < *ētenerriš-šuma* "I constantly request from him".[574]

e-te-er-ri-IZ-SU-*ma* AbB 13, 27: 9 *ēterrissuma* < *ēterriš-šuma* "I repeatedly demanded from him".

i-te-pé-EZ-SI-*na-ti* ARM 28, 1 r. 6 *ītepessināti* < *ītepeš-šināti* "he did them".[575]

570 No refs. in the following dossiers: letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš; letters from Larsa; letters from Isin; letters of Lu-Ninurta; letters and documents from Sippar; Ḫarmal letters; letters of Aqba-ḫammu; letters of Jumraṣ-il; letters of Talpuš-šarri; letters from Qaṭna; inscriptions of Samsuiluna.

571 See Streck 2006, 241–247.

572 See Streck 2006, 246.

573 See Streck 2006, 239.

574 See also A. Westenholz 2006, 259: collated.

575 Probably the form does not derive from *epēsum* "to be difficult".

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b) Z-signs:
⌜*tu-še-ep-pé*-EZ-ZU-*nu-ti*⌝ AbB 5, 136: 8 *tušeppessunūti* < *tušeppeš-šunūti* "you have them made".

§ 2.400. In the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.):[576]
a) S-signs:
er-re-SU[577] CH § 47 *errēssu* < *errēš-šu* "his tenant".
b) Z-signs:
er-re-ZA CH § 178 *errēssa* < *errēš-ša* "her tenant".

§ 2.401. In inscriptions of Hammurapi (Roy.) both S- and Z-signs occur:
a) S-signs:
e-pu-UŠ-SU-*um* RIME 4, 349: 46[578] "I did for him".
b) Z-signs:
ka-ra-AZ-ZU RIME 4, 340: 5[579] *karāssu* < *karāš-šu* "his expeditionary force".
e-pu-(UŠ)-ZU-*um* RIME 4, 349: 46[580] *ēpussum* < *ēpuš-šum* "I did for him".

§ 2.402. In the Code of Ešnunna (Diy.) a single S-spelling is attested:
re-SU LE A i 31 *rēssu* < *rēš-šu* "his head".

§ 2.403. In the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.) only a single S-spelling is attested:
[*i-r*]*i*-ÌZ-SU ARM 27, 108 r. 3 [*īr*]*issu* < *īriššu* < *īriš-šu* "he cultivated it".

§ 2.404. In the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.) a single S-spelling occurs:
e-ri-ÌZ-⌜SU⌝[581] ARM 4, 86: 51 *erissu* < *eriš-šu* "demand from him!"

§ 2.405. In the inscriptions of Jaḫdunlim a single S-spelling occurs:
i-pu-(UŠ)-SU-(*um*)-*ma* RIME 4, 607: 102 *īpussumma* < *īpuš-šumma* "he made for him".

576 For other inscriptions of Hammurapi see Streck 2006, 239 with refs. for both S- and Z-spellings.
577 Both the copies of A. Ungnad and E. Bergmann show SU, not ZU. Therefore, Sommerfeld 2006, 373 ("Bei Kontaktstellungen von Dentalen und Sibilanten mit den Pronominalsuffixen der 3. Ps. resultieren im KH ausnahmslos Affrikaten") has to be modified.
578 See the copy in LIH 1, 57 p. 101. Variants have -ZU- instead of -SU-.
579 RIME 4 translit. -SU but the copy in VS 24, 79 shows -ZU.
580 See the copy in LIH 1, 57 p. 101 (variants). Variants have -SU- instead of -ZU-.
581 The copy does not allow us to decide whether the damaged sign is SU, ZU, or ŠU. However,

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§ 2.406. S-spellings are also found in other texts:

a) SBab.:

ta-aq-ti-IŠ-SU AbB 14, 139: 12 *taqtīssu* < *taqtīš-šu* "you (will) have donated it".[582]

b) NBab.:

i-qí-IZ-SI TCL 1, 66: 3 *iqīssi* < *iqīš-ši* "he donated her".[583]

c) Bab.:

e-ri-i-SU-*ú-ma* AbB 5, 35: 5 *ērissuma* < *ēriš-šu-ma* "I asked from him".

e-pe-SU *ul nile"ī* AbB 10, 41: 13 *epēssu* < *epēš-šu* "we cannot do it".

d) MidEuphr.:

e-pé-ÈZ-SU![584]-*nu-ši-ma* ARM 2, 97 = ARM 26/1, 226 no. 87: 8 *eppessunūšima* < *eppeš-šunūšima* "I will do for them".[585]

e) UpMes.:

šu-pí-ÌZ-SU-*nu-ši-im-ma* ARM 1, 88: 8 *šūpissunūšim* < *šūpiš-šunūšim* "perform for them!"[586]

e-ri-UŠ-SU[587] ARM 4, 27: 38 *erissu* < *eriš-šu* "ask for it!"[588]

⌜*ú-la*⌝-*bi*-SU-*nu-ti* ARM 4, 74: 30 *ulabbissunūti* < *ulabbiš-šunūti* "I clothed them".[589]

f) Om.:

re-(EŠ)-SA YOS 10, 13: 13 f.; 25 obv. 14; 33 ii 54 *rēssa* < *rēš-ša* "her head".[590]

g) Lit.:

⌜*ú*⌝-*la-bi*-IŠ-SU Gilg. OB II 69 *ulabissu* < *ulabbiš-šu* "she dressed him".

na-pi-(IŠ)-SU Gilg. OB III 111, 198 *napīssu* < *napīš-šu* "his breath".[591]

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the preceding ÌZ makes it clear that SU must have been written on the tablet. See already Goetze 1958, 146 n. 5.

582 The text has SBab. orthography: *li-ba-al-li-ṭù-ka* AbB 14, 139: 5, A. Westenholz 2006, 259: Larsa. See Goetze 1958, 141 nn. 2 and 3 for other S-spellings in texts from SBab.

583 A. Westenholz 2006, 259: Sippar, Sîn-muballiṭ. Westenholz also quotes *lu-la-bi*-SI AbB 1, 30: 23 *lulabbissi* < *lulabbiš-ši* "let me clothe her", a letter that according to Archibab was probably found in Sippar. But the place of the sender is unknown.

584 Correct reading in Goetze 1958, 146 n. 1. ARM 2 reads *šu* and ARM 26/1 *sú*. As copied, the sign is different from ŠU (ARM 2, 97: 5, 23) and ZU (ARM 2, 97: 11) in the same text. ÌZ belongs to the S-sign set and is never used before S-signs (Streck 2006, 226, 239).

585 Letter of Asqudum.

586 Letter of Samšī-Adad.

587 A broken spelling.

588 Letter of Išmē-Dagan.

589 Letter of Išmē-Dagan.

590 See Goetze 1958, 141 n. 1 for numerous further examples from YOS 10.

591 For further refs. in Gilg. see Goetze 1958, 144 n. 1.

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§ 2.407. Z-spellings are rarely found elsewhere. They sometimes occur, as can be expected, in combination with IZ. But in Bab. and in Susa they occur in combination with IŠ, because IŠ and Z belong to two different sign sets: IŠ elsewhere belongs to the S-sign set for deaffricated [s] (§ 2.364), whereas Z designates the affricate [ts]. In view of the fact that the combination IŠ-Z is attested in early OB (see § 2.407b with n.), this may be an archaic sign use.[592]

a) Z in NBab.:[593]

e-pu-ZU-*nu-ši* AbB 6, 32: 22 *epussunūši* < *epuš-šunūši* "do for them!"[594]

re-ZU AbB 6, 118: 24 *rēssu* < *rēš-šu* "his head".[595]

b) Z in Bab. in combination with IŠ:[596]

SBab. *e-er-ri*-IŠ-ZU AbB 14, 163: 27 *errissu* < *erriš-šu* "I will cultivate it".[597]

NBab. *ni-di*-IŠ-ZU AbB 3, 54: 15 *nidīssu* < *nidīš-šu* "we threshed".[598]

c) Z in Susa[599] in combination with IŠ:

i-qí-IŠ-ZI MDP 23, 200: 34 *iqīssi* < *iqīš-ši* "he donated to her".

qi-IŠ-ZU *na-di-šu-u* MDP 24, 376: 23 *qīssu nadiššu* < *qīš-šu nadin-šu* "is donated to him, is given to him".

§ 2.408. a) Distribution of S- and Z-spellings:

	S	Z
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	5	1
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	1	1
Inscriptions of Hammurapi (Roy.)	1	2[a]
Code of Ešnunna (Diy.)	1	–

a Several copies of the same inscription.

592 But see § 2.409 for IŠ-Z in the verb *šasû*.

593 *i-qí-*[IZ]-ZU-*nu-ši-im* VS 7, 67: 10 *iqīssunūšim* "he presented to them" and *i-ri*-IZ-ZU-*nu-ti* CT 6, 6: 24 *īrissunūti* "he asked from them" are late OB.

594 According to Ungnad 1914, VIII, XII, the letter no. 116 probably stems from Sippar and dates to Hammurapi.

595 Perhaps from Jaḫrurum šaplûm, see Hernáiz 2019, 247, 366.

596 *e-ri*-IŠ-ZU-*nu-ti-ma* AbB 14, 213: 13 *erissunūtima* < *eriš-šunūtima* "ask them!" is early OB, see K. Veenhof, AbB 14 p. XXII.

597 Letter of Šamaš-ḫāzir.

598 Letter from Lagaba.

599 See Goetze 1958, 144 for further refs. Salonen 1962, 68, 91 "corrects" the spellings introducing the syllabic values $ší_x$ and $šu_x$.

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(*cont.*)

	S	Z
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)	1	–
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	1	–
Inscriptions of Jaḫdunlim (Roy.)	1	–

b) The small number of attestations does not allow definitive conclusions. However, it is clear that S-spellings prevail;[600] that Z-spellings, except for the special case of Susa, only very rarely occur in NBab. and in royal inscriptions of Hammurapi; and that S-spellings may occur everywhere, including NBab.[601]

§ 2.409. The combination /š/ + /š/ rarely remains unchanged:

MidEuphr.[602] *i-ri-iš-šu* ARM 2, 21 r. 15 *iriššu* "demand from him!"

MidEuphr.[603] *ú-la-ab-ba-aš-šu-nu-ti* ARM 6, 39: 16 *ulabbaššunūti* "he will clothe them".

§ 2.410. a) The combination of two radicals /š/ is always spelled šš:[604]

ip-ta-(aš-)šu ARM 8, 13 r. 14; ARM 22, 328 ii 47 *iptaššū* "they anointed themselves".

b) Also, the combination of the terminative ending /-iš/ (§ 5.190) + pron. suffs. with initial /š/ is always spelled šš:

Lit. *qá-ti-iš-šu* VS 10, 214 v 26 *qāt-iš-šu* "in his hand".

Lit. *be-li-iš-šu* AOS 67, 190: 9 *bēl-iš-šu* "to his lord".

Lit. *pu-uḫ-ri-iš-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 33 *puḫr-iš-šun* "in their assembly".

Lit. *mu-ut-ti-iš-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 39 *mutt-iš-šun* "before them".

3.17.4 /š/ + Dental Stop

§ 2.411. a) Whereas some regions indiscriminately use the signs AŠ = *aš* and UŠ = *uš* in all environments, including in the position before dental phonemes,

600 A similar conclusion was reached by Hernáiz 2019, 246.

601 Goetze 1958, 142–144 supposed that /š/ + /š/ always results in Z in NBab. The Hammurapi letters and the Code of Hammurapi prove this wrong. Hernáiz 2019, 246 lists some further examples of S in NBab.

602 Letter of the military commander Ibal-pī-'el.

603 Letter of Baḫdilim.

604 See Reiner 1966, 109 f.; Streck 2006, 240.

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others have the following distribution: ÁŠ = *áš* and UŠ = *úš* before dentals, but AŠ = *aš* and ÚŠ = *úš* in other environments. With an *i*-vowel, IŠ = *iš* is usually used in all environments; but sometimes we find $IŠ_7$ (AB) = $iš_7$ before dentals.

b) Most probably the use of ÁŠ and UŠ before dentals, against AŠ and ÚŠ in other environments, and the occasional use of $IŠ_7$, against IŠ in other environments, can be explained by a shift of /š/ (however it was pronounced) to [s] or a similar phoneme before dentals: ÁŠ-*ta-ap-ra-am* ARM 27, 148: 27, traditional transcription *aštapram*, spoken [astapram] "I have sent", but *wa*-AŠ-*bu* ARM 27, 148: 11 *wašbu* "(who) sits". Thus it seems that /š/ behaves similarly to /s/, /z/, and /ṣ/ before dentals (§§ 2.363c, 2.370, 2.492).

c) The indiscriminate use of AŠ and UŠ in other regions probably means that here /š/ was pronounced identically in all environments.

d) It is noteworthy that in some regions AŠ and UŠ belong to the same sign set, whereas in other regions they represent different sign sets. Thus it seems that the distribution AŠ/ÚŠ: ÁŠ/UŠ was only introduced in order to distinguish different realizations of /š/ in certain regions. Consequently, such a distribution with /*iš*/ was never established. Rather, IŠ was mostly used in all environments, and only occasionally was $IŠ_7$ introduced.[605]

§ 2.412. Illustrative examples from the letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe (SBab.):

a) AŠ before dentals:

AŠ-*ta-pa-a-ak* AbB 14, 60: 5 *aštapak* "I poured".

b) UŠ before dentals:

UŠ-*te-e-ṣí* AbB 14, 55: 7 *uštēṣī* "I moved out".

§ 2.413. Illustrative examples from letters from Larsa (SBab.):

a) AŠ before dentals:

AŠ-*ta-ap-pa-ra-ku-nu-ši-im-ma* AbB 9, 19: 13 *aštanapparakkunūšīmma* "I constantly wrote to you".

b) UŠ before dentals:

tu-UŠ-*ta-ak-ši-da-ni-in-ni* AbB 9, 19: 17 *tuštakšidāninni* "you made me reach".

§ 2.414. Illustrative examples from letters from Isin (SBab.):

a) AŠ before dentals:

ta-AŠ-*tap-ra-am* AbB 14, 205: 21 *taštapram* "you wrote me".

605 The spelling *i-ta-ar* Lit. AoF 45, 193: 8 for *Ištar* is unique and probably a mistake.

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b) UŠ in other environments:

ú-ša-ba-la-ku-UŠ-*šu* AbB 14, 206: 26 *ušabbalakkuššu* "I will have (someone) bring it to you".

§ 2.415. Illustrative examples from the letters and the code of Hammurapi (both NBab.):[606]

a) ÁŠ before dentals and AŠ in other environments:

ú-ša-ÁŠ-*ṭi-ra-an-ni* AbB 2, 1: 10 *ušašṭiranni* "he made me write", but AŠ-*šum* AbB 2,1: 4, 6 *aššum* "because of", AŠ-*pur-ak-kum-ma* AbB 2, 1: 7 *ašpurakkuma* "I sent to you", *ta*-AŠ-*pur-am* AbB 2, 1: 14 *tašpuram* "you sent".

ú-ša-ÁŠ-*ṭe*$_4$-*er-šu* AbB 13, 7: 7 *ušašṭeršu*, *ú-ša*-ÁŠ-*ṭe*$_4$-*ru-šu* AbB 13, 7: 10 *ušašṭerušu* "he has him registered", but *šu-ri-a*-AŠ-*šu* AbB 13, 7: 18 *šūrīʾaššu* "have him brought!"

ik-ta-ÁŠ-*dam* CH §§ 27, 135 *iktašdam* "he arrived",[607] but *ma*-AŠ-*ka-nim* CH § 113 *maškanim* "threshing floor".

b) AŠ before dentals:

AŠ-*tap-ra-am* AbB 8, 19: 14 *aštapram* "I have sent".

c) ÚŠ is unknown and only UŠ is used both before dentals and in other environments:

UŠ-*ta-aš-qí-la*-[*a*]*n-n*[*i*] AbB 2, 30: 15 *ušašqilanni* "he made me weigh".

e-pu-UŠ AbB 2, 59: 7 *ēpuš* "I built".

d) IŠ in all environments:

e-pí-IŠ-*tum* AbB 2, 4: 4 *epištum* "work team".

li-IŠ-*pur-am* AbB 2, 4: 13 *lišpuram* "may he send to me".

§ 2.416. Illustrative examples from letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.):

a) AŠ before dentals:

AŠ-*ṭú-ur-šu* OBTR 133: 10 *ašṭuršu* "I wrote him".

b) UŠ before dentals:

UŠ-*ta-bi-la-kum* AbB 11, 32: 17 *uštābilakkum* "I have sent to you".

c) UŠ in other environments:

e-pu-UŠ-*ma* AbB 9, 14: 14 "do!"

§ 2.417. Illustrative examples from the Ḫarmal letters (Diy.):

a) AŠ before dentals:

ta-AŠ-*ta-me* Sumer 14, 45: 17 *taštamê* < *taštamīʾā* "(when) you hear".

606 For full documentation see Streck 2006, 233–237.

607 Var. S (OB) has *ik-ta*-AŠ-⌜*dam*⌝.

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b) UŠ before dentals:

UŠ-*ta-bi-il* Sumer 14, 2: 12 *uštābil* "I have sent".

UŠ-*te-ri-ib* Sumer 14, 21: 7 *uštērib* "he made enter".

§ 2.418. Illustrative examples from the Code of Ešnunna (Diy.):

a) UŠ before dental:

UŠ-*ta-mi-it* LE A ii 21, 24; LE A iv 14, 17, 19, 27; LE B iv 17, 22 *uštamīt* "caused to die".

§ 2.419. Illustrative examples from the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.):[608]

a) ÁŠ before dentals and AŠ in other environments:

ÁŠ-*ta-ap-ra-am* ARM 27, 148: 27 *aštapram* "I have sent", but *wa*-AŠ-*bu* ARM 27, 148: 11 *wašbu* "(who) sits".

ik-ta-Á[Š]-*da-am* ARM 27, 38 r. 15 *iktašdam* "he arrived", but AŠ-*ku-un-ma* ARM 27, 38: 6 *aškun* "I put".

b) UŠ before dentals and ÚŠ in other environments:

UŠ-*te-le-me-en*$_6$ ARM 27, 151: 28 *uštelemmen* "I will become hostile", but *nu*-ÚŠ-*bu* ARM 27, 151: 75 *nušbu* "we sat (subord.)".

UŠ-*ta-as-sí-qú* ARM 27, 164: 8 *uštassiqū* "they prepared", but ⌜*e*⌝-*pu*-ÚŠ ARM 27, 164: 13 *ēpuš* "I made".

c) Exceptions to this distribution are rare:

la-ÁŠ-*qí-im* ARM 27, 17: 12, 13, 23 *laš*/*sqim* "meadow(?)".[609]

AŠ-*ta-ap-ra-am* ARM 27, 109 r. 6 *aštapram* "I sent".

AŠ-*ta-na-a-al-ma* ARM 27, 169: 12 *aštanālma* "I questioned".

tu-UŠ-*ši* ARM 27, 151: 41 *tuššī* "slander".

mu-UŠ-*ke-nu*-(*um*)/-*nim* ARM 27, 27: 23, 26, 30 *muškēnu*/*im* "dependent".

d) IŠ in all environments:

IŠ-*te-en* ARM 27, 99: 22 *ištēn* "one".

IŠ-*pu-ur-ma* ARM 27, 47 r. 2 *išpurma* "he sent".

e) IŠ$_7$ (AB) before dental and IŠ in other environments:

ni-IŠ$_7$-*ta-a*-[*l-ma*] ARM 27, 84: 16 *ništālma* "we asked", but IŠ-*pu-r*[*a-am*] ARM 27, 84: 14 *išpuram* "he has sent to me".

§ 2.420. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):

a) ÁŠ before dentals:

608 For full documentation see Streck 2006, 233–237.

609 The word is also spelled with AZ: *la*-AZ-*qí-im* ARM 2, 102: 11. Perhaps a foreign (Amorite?) loanword.

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ÁŠ-*ta-pa-ar* ARM 1, 109: 53 *aštapar* "I have sent".
ÁŠ-*ta-ka-an* ARM 1, 119: 21 *aštakan* "I placed".
ÁŠ-*ta-al* ARM 4, 16 r. 5 *aštāl* "I questioned".

b) AŠ in other environments:
i-ba-AŠ-*ši* ARM 1, 3: 6 *ibaššī* "exists".
na-AŠ-*pa-ar-ti* ARM 1, 110: 24 *našparti* "message".

c) ÁŠ in other environments:
it-ta-na-ÁŠ-*ra-ḫu* ARM 4, 86: 20, 40[610] *ittanašraḫū* "they are repeatedly arrogant".

d) AŠ before dentals:
AŠ-*ta-al-šu-nu-ti* ARM 1, 111: 9 *aštālšunūti* "I questioned them".[611]

e) UŠ before dentals:
UŠ-*ta-re-kum* ARM 1, 110: 24 *uštārêkkum* "I had guided to you".
UŠ-*ta-bi-lam* ARM 1, 112: 7 *uštābilam* "I have sent".

f) ÚŠ in other environments:
i-pu-ÚŠ ARM 1, 3 r. 10 *īpuš* "he did".
ÚŠ-*ba*-[*al-ki-tu*] ARM 1, 116 r. 12 *ušba*[*lkitū*] "they revolted".[612]

g) UŠ in other environments:
li-pu-UŠ ARM 1, 118 r. 40[613] *līpuš* "may he do".
e-pu-UŠ ARM 4, 86: 58 *ēpuš* "I did".
UŠ-*bu* ARM 5, 3: 5[614] *ušbu* "I sat".
UŠ-*ba-al-ki-t*[*u*] ARM 1, 116 r. 4 *ušbalkit*[*ū*] "they revolted".[615]

h) $IŠ_7$ (AB) before dentals:
li-$IŠ_7$-*ta-al*(-*ma*) ARM 1, 109: 44, 54 *lištāl*(*ma*) "may he question".
$IŠ_7$-*di* ARM 1, 109: 16, 18, 34 *išdī* "foundation".

i) IŠ in other environments:
e-ri-IŠ ARM 1, 3 r. 27 *ēriš* "I desired".
IŠ-*pu-ra-am* ARM 1, 108: 11 *išpuram* "he sent".

j) IŠ before dentals:
na-pí-IŠ-*ti* ARM 1, 115: 17 *napišti* "life".
IŠ-*t*[*u*] ARM 5, 19: 6 *ištū* "since".

610 Confirmed by copy. The same text uses AŠ, e.g., AŠ-*pu-ra-ak-kum-ma* l. 49 *ašpurakkumma* "I sent to you".
611 Confirmed by copy.
612 Not ÚŠ-*ta*-[*ba-al-ki-tu*], as Durand 1998, 414 suggests.
613 Confirmed by copy.
614 Confirmed by copy.
615 Confirmed by copy. Not ÚŠ-*ba*-, as ARM 1 p. 192 suggests.

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§ 2.421. Illustrative examples from the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
a) áš before dentals:
ka-áš-*du* OBTR 70: 14 *kašdū* "they are sufficient".
⌜*ak*⌝-*ta*-áš[616]-⌜*da*?⌝ OBTR 73: 5 *aktašda* "I have arrived".
ka-áš-*da-ku* OBTR 87: 7 *kašdāku* "I will have arrived".
b) uš before dentals:
uš-*ta-bi-la*⌜*ak-ku*⌝ OBTR 57: 6 *uštābilakku* "I have sent to you".
lu-uš-*ta-al* OBTR 58: 9 *luštāl* "let me ask".
c) iš$_7$ (ab) before dentals:
iš$_7$-*ta-na-ap-pa-ra-am* OBTR 76: 6 *ištanapparam* "he continues to write".[617]

§ 2.422. Examples from the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
a) uš before dentals:
uš-*ta-bi-la-a*[*m*] ARM 28, 143: 9 *uštābilam* "I have sent".
l[*u*-u]š-*ṭú-ur-šu-nu-ti* ARM 28, 141: 39 *lušṭuršunūti* "let me inscribe them".
lu-uš-[*t*]*a-aṣ*-[*bi-it*] ARM 28, 143 r. 5 *luštaṣbit* "let me take".
b) úš in other environments:
lu-ú-pu-ú[š] ARM 28, 138: 30 *lūpuš* "let me do".

§ 2.423. Illustrative examples from the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris): úš in other environments:
šu-úš-*ši-i*[*m*] Shemshara 1, 54: 7; Shemshara 1, 56: 6[618] *šušším* "to deliver".
šu-úš-*še*/*ši-a-am* Shemshara 1, 54: 21, 29; Shemshara 1, 56: 27[619] *šušši'am* "deliver!"

§ 2.424. Illustrative examples from the letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.):
a) áš before dentals:
ta-áš-*ta-na-pa-ra-am* ARM 28, 18: 9 *taštanapparam* "you constantly write me", but *aš-ra-nu-um* ARM 28, 18: 26 "there".
b) aš before dentals:
aš-*ta-a-al-ma* ARM 26/2, 530 no. 538: 8 *aštālma* "I deliberated".
c) aš in other environments:
[*i-b*]*a*-aš-*ši* MARI 8, 784: 14 *ibaššī* "[it] exists".

616 OBTR p. 70 has aš by mistake.
617 The same text has iš elsewhere: *ma-di*-iš-*ma* OBTR 76: 9 *mādišma* "very".
618 Shemshara 1 p. 126 has uš by mistake.
619 Shemshara 1 pp. 124, 126 has uš by mistake.

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d) UŠ before dentals:

lu-bu-UŠ-*tam* ARM 28, 21: 24 *lubuštam* "cloth". But see *lu-bu*-ÚŠ-*tim* ARM 28, 21: 26, *lu-bu*-⌜ÚŠ⌝-*ti-ia* ARM 28, 21: 32.

e) UŠ in other environments:

mu-UŠ-*ke-nu-um* ARM 28, 19: 10 *muškēnum* "dependent".

e-pu-UŠ ARM 26/2, 528 no. 535: 7 *ēpuš* "I did".

f) ÚŠ in other environments:

lu-pu-ÚŠ ARM 28, 19 r. 6, 9; MARI 8, 784: 16 *lūpuš* "let me do".

g) IŠ before dentals:

IŠ-*te-em-me* ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 8 *ištemmē* "he constantly heard".

IŠ-*te-mu-ú* ARM 26/2, 526 no. 532: 19 *ištemû* "he has heard".

e-ri-IŠ-*ti-ia* MARI 8, 783: 5, 8, 14 *erištija* "of my wish".

h) $IŠ_7$ before dentals:

li-$IŠ_7$-*ti* ARM 26/2, 528 no. 535: 13 *lištī* "may he drink".

li-$IŠ_7$-*ta-al-šu-ú-ma* ARM 26/2, 534 no. 542: 9 *lištālšuma* "may he question him".

§ 2.425. Illustrative examples from the letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.):

a) ÁŠ before dentals:

ÁŠ-*t*[*a*]-*al-ma* ARM 28, 14: 19 *aštālma* "I questioned", but AŠ-*pu-ru* ARM 28, 14: 6 *ašpuru* "I sent", *ta*-AŠ-*pu-ra-am* ARM 28, 14: 13 *tašpuram* "you sent".

b) UŠ before dentals:

UŠ-*ta-mi-tu-uš* ARM 28, 14: 24, see ARM 28, 14: 10 *uštamītūš* "they killed him".

UŠ-*t*[*a-b*]*i-lam* ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 21 *uštābilam* "I have sent".[620]

c) UŠ in other environments:

te-pu-UŠ ARM 5, 20: 34 *tēpuš* "you did".

e-pu-UŠ ARM 28, 14: 14 *ēpuš* "I did".

§ 2.426. Illustrative examples from the inscriptions of Hammurapi (Roy.):[621]

a) ÁŠ:

ÁŠ-*ru* RIME 4, 337: 13 *ašru* "humble".

b) AŠ:

AŠ-*tap-pa-ak* RIME 4, 341: 24 *aštappak* "I kept heaping up".

AŠ-*ku-un* RIME 4, 336: 65, 81 *aškun* "I placed".

c) UŠ:

lu-UŠ-*ta-ás-ḫi-ir-šu* RIME 4, 348: 19 *luštasḫiršu* "I encircled it".

UŠ-*ši* RIME 4, 335: 41 *ušši* "foundation".

620 But *lu*-ÚŠ-*ku-un-ma* ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 24 *luškunma* "let me place".

621 For full documentation see Streck 2006, 233–237.

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§ 2.427. a) Spellings are distributed as follows:

	áš and uš before dentals	**áš and uš in other environments**	**aš and úš before dentals**	**aš and úš in other environments**	**$IŠ_7$**
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)	– (áš) 5 (uš)	– (áš) 1 (uš)	2 (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	– (áš) 4 (uš)	– (áš) 1 (uš)	1 (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	–	– (áš) 1 (uš)	1 (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	3 (áš) *passim* (uš)	– (áš) *passim* (uš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	2 (áš) *passim* (uš)	– (áš) *passim* (uš)	*passim* (aš)[622] – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.)	– (áš) 9 (uš)	– (áš) 3 (uš)	2 (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)	– (áš) 8 (uš)	– (áš) *passim* (uš)	1 (aš) – (úš)	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Code of Ešnunna (Diy.)	– (áš) 8 (uš)	–	–	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)	15 (áš) 31 (uš)	3 (áš) 4 (uš)	2 (aš) – (úš)	19 (aš) 62 (úš)	1
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)	5 (áš) 5 (uš)	2 (áš) 4 (uš)	1 (aš) – (úš)	31 (aš) 6 (úš)	5
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)	3 (áš) 6 (uš)	–	–	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	1
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)	– (áš) 3 (uš)	–	–	*passim* (aš) 1 (úš)	–
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)	–	–	–	*passim* (aš) 12 (úš)	–

622 Examples from the epilogue, see Streck 2006, 234.

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(*cont.*)

	áš and uš before dentals	**áš and uš in other environments**	**aš and úš before dentals**	**aš and úš in other environments**	**iš$_7$**
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)	2 (áš) 5 (uš)	– (áš) 2 (uš)	1 (aš) 2 (úš)	*passim* (aš) 7 (úš)	2
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)	1 (áš) 2 (uš)	– (áš) 5 (uš)	–	*passim* (aš) – (úš)	–
Inscriptions of Hammurapi (Roy.)	– (áš) 1 uš	1 (áš) 7 (uš)	1 (aš) – (úš)	2 (aš) – (úš)	–

b) Texts from SBab., NBab. (Letters and documents from Sippar) and Diy. exclusively use the signs aš and uš in all environments, including the position before dentals. Texts from the MidEuphr., UpMes., probably ETigris (no examples before dentals, but úš is known), and NSyr. (in Qaṭna, however, there are no examples of úš) distinguish two sign sets: áš and uš are used for /š/ before dentals, and aš and úš in other environments. Counterexamples (áš and uš in other environments and aš and úš before dentals) exist but are more rare. The letters of Hammurapi and the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.) do not use úš and mostly use aš and uš indiscriminately; however, rarely is áš attested before dentals. iš$_7$ is used in MidEuphr., UpMes., and NSyr. to denote /š/ before dentals.

c) áš before dentals is sometimes also used in Bab. outside the dossiers analyzed above:[623] *ta*-áš-*ta-a-ma* AbB 9, 84: 28 *taštāma* "(if) you will have bought". The text elsewhere uses *aš*: *ta-aš-pu-ra-a*[*m*] AbB 9, 84: 16 *tašpuram* "you sent".

áš-*tap-ra-ak-ku-um* AbB 6, 109: 7 *aštaprakkum* "I have written to you".

áš-*tap-ra-am* AbB 14, 218: 12 *aštapram* "I have sent". But the text also uses *aš* before /t/: *ta-aš-ta-na-ka-nu* AbB 14, 218: 5 *taštanakkanu* "you keep putting".

ta-áš-*ta*-[*ka-an*] AbB 14, 74: 33 *taštak*[*an*] "you put". Elsewhere the text uses *aš*: *ta-aš-pur-ra-am* AbB 14, 74: 6 *tašpuram* "you sent to me".

623 See Sommerfeld 2006, 371. áš-*ta-na-si* AbB 11, 116: 12 *aštanassī* "I constantly shout" is not relevant because the text also uses áš for *ás*: *ás-ni-qá-am* AbB 11, 116: 3 *asniqam* "I arrived", *ka-ás-ma* AbB 11, 116: 10 *kasma* "weeded". áš-*ta-si* AbB 1, 128 r. 12 *aštasī* "I shouted" is probably late ob.

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d) Further examples of $iš_7$ outside the dossiers analyzed above:

MidEuphr. *$iš_7$-tu-ú-ma* FM 9, 282 no. 71: 28 *ištûma* "they drank". The same text also uses *iš* before /t/: *li-iš-ta-wu-ni-in-ni-⌜ma⌝* FM 9, 282 no. 71: 41 *lištāwûninnima* "may they discuss with me". We find *iš* also in [*i*]*š-pu-ra-am* FM 9, 292 no. 71: 5 [*i*]*špuram* "he sent to me".

MidEuphr. *$iš_7$-ta-ti-ši-na-ti* FM 11, 162 r. 9 *ištatīšināti* "he drank them". The same text uses *iš* in *iš-ša-ak-na* FM 11, 162 r. 11 *iššaknā* "they were placed".

MidEuphr. *$iš_7$-te-né-mu-ú* FM 1 p. 63: 35 *ištenemmû* "they keep hearing". The same text uses *iš* elsewhere: *ma-di-iš* FM 1 p. 63: 41 *mādiš* "very", *li-iš-pu-ra-ma* FM 1 p. 6: 47 *lišpuramma* "may he send", etc.

MidEuphr. *na-pi-$iš_7$-ta-šu-ma* FM 1 p. 138: 24 *napištašuma* "his life", *qí-$iš_7$-ti* FM 1 p. 140: 42, 62 *qīšti* "present", but *uš-te-pí-iš-ma* FM 1 p. 140: 57 *uštēpišma* "I accomplished".

MidEuphr. *li-$iš_7$-tap-pa-ar* MARI 8, 364 A.4515: 28 *lištappar* "may he keep sending", but PN *Iš-me-*^{d}*Da-gan* MARI 8, 364 A.4515: 19 *Išmē-Dagan* "Dagan heard".

UpMes. *na-pi-$iš_7$-ti* FM 2, 237 no. 122: 6 *napišti* "life", *$iš_7$-ti* FM 2, 237 no. 122: 40 *ištī* "he drank", *$iš_7$-tu-ú* FM 2, 237 no. 122: 43 *ištû* "he drank". The text elsewhere uses *iš*, e.g., *iš-pu-ra-am* FM 2, 237 no. 122: 4 *išpuram* "he sent". The same text uses also *iš* before /t/: *ni-iš-ta-ka-an* FM 2, 238 no. 122: 32 *ništakan* "we put".

UpMes. *$iš_7$-ta-ap-pu* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 24 *ištappū* "he remains silent". The same text also uses *iš* before /t/: *li-iš-ta-al-ma* FM 2, 266 no. 128: 18 "may he deliberate".

UpMes. *na-pi-$iš_7$-tam* RATL p. 150 no. 80: 21 *napištam* "life", but *an-ni-iš* RATL p. 150 no. 80: 27 *annîš* "here".

3.17.5 /š/ > /l/

§ 2.428. /št/ or /šd/ rarely develop into /lt/ and /ld/.[624] Examples are also known from early OB,[625] Ur III,[626] and even from Ebla.[627] From MB onwards this sound change regularly occurs (§ 1.8). It probably points to a lateral pronunciation of /š/.[628]

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624 In late OB/early MB, we once find the reverse development /lt/ > /št/: Lit. *iš-ta-ba-aš lubš*[*a*] RA 101, 66: 75 *ištabaš* < *iltabaš* "he put on a garment".

625 See the examples mentioned in Streck 2006, 238.

626 *mul-ṭum* CUSAS 3, 923: 6 *mulṭum* < *mušṭum* "comb".

627 See Krebernik 1982, 217.

628 Streck 2006, 244 f. See also Diakonoff 1991/2, 54, commented upon in Streck 2006, 244 n. 81. According to Faber 1989, 34, the sound change points to a velarized /l/ before /t/; this, however, remains doubtful (Streck 2006, 238 n. 59). Kogan 2011, 77: "Laterality of *š* in Akkadian is the best (perhaps the only) way of explaining this shift."

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a) /št/ > /lt/:[629]

ul-ta-aš-ša-aš RA 90, 122: 18 *ultaššaš* < *uštaššaš* "he becomes worried".

il-ta-nim BDHP 5: 1 *iltānim* < *ištānim* "north".

b) /šd/ > /ld/:

Lit. *líl-di* JCS 26, 163: 11 *lildi* < *lišdi* "cream".

3.17.6 /š/ + /s/

§ 2.429. In the verb *šasû* "to shout", /š +s/ in immediate contact usually develop into /ss/. Different spellings show that /ss/ may be a long affricate [^{tt}s] or a deaffricated [ss].

a) In the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)[630] we find the combination IS-S for deaffricate [*ss*]:[631]

li-IS-SU-*ni-ik-kum-ma* AbB 13, 43: 18 *lissûnikkumma* "let them shout to you".

li-IS-⌜SU⌝!?[632]-*ni-ik-ku-nu-ši-im* AbB 9, 190: 24 *lissûnikkunūšim* "let them shout to you".

b) IS-S can also be observed elsewhere:

Lit. *li*-IS-SI-*ma* CH l 78 *lissīma* "may he shout".[633]

c) In the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)[634] we find ÌS-S,[635] ÁS-S, and S alone, again for deaffricate [ss]:

ÌS-SI-*ma* ARM 27, 151: 77 *issīma* "he shouted".[636]

ÁS-SI ARM 27, 163: 6 *assī* "I shouted".

li-SI-*ma* ARM 27, 116: 54 *lissīma* "let him shout".

d) Other examples of ÌS-S include:

Bab. (rare) *ìs-si* AbB 1, 27: 17 *issī* "she shouted".[637]

ÌS-SU-*nim-ma* ARM 2, 114: 7 *issûnimma* "they shouted".

ÌS-SI(-*šu-ma*) FM 7, 6 no. 1: 11, 15 "he shouted (to him)".

e) For S alone = [ss] see also:

li-SU-*ni-ik-kum-ma* AbB 11, 6: 7 *lissûnikkumma* "let them shout to you".

i-SI-*i-ma* AbB 9, 138: 8 *issīma* "he shouted".

Om. *i*-SI-*i* YOS 10, 47: 21 *issī* "he shouted".

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629 *gi-il-tu-ú* HS 161: 2 *giltû* < *gištû* "cross-bar", quoted in Salonen 1963, 156, Lieberman 1977, 8 n. 21 and p. 298, and Streck 2006, 238 as OB, is in fact MB; see MRWH 4: 2.

630 See Streck 2006, 240.

631 For IS as a member of the S-sign set in the letters and in the code of Hammurapi see Streck 2006, 226.

632 AbB 9 p. 122 has *sú*.

633 Streck 2006, 240. The form *li-iš-ta*-áš-si-*ma* CH xlviii 11 is Gtn (pace Streck 2006, 240 n. 72).

634 For a complete collection of refs. see Streck 2006, 240.

635 For ÌS = IŠ$_7$ = AB and ÁS see its use to render /š/ = [s] before dentals (§ 2.390).

636 Note *iz-zi-iz* in the same line for *izzīz* "he stood".

637 See *an-ni-*IŠ AbB 1, 27: 37 *annîš* "here".

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f) The spellings IS-Z stand for the affricate [^{tt}s]:
IS-ZU-*ni-i*[*n*]-*ni-ma* AbB 14, 205: 6 *issûninnima* "they summoned me".
IS-ZU-*ú-ma* VS 7, 37: 17 *issûma* "they shouted".
Lit. IS-ZU-*ú* Atr. 62: 280 *issû* "they shouted".

§ 2.430. The spellings IŠ-Z and IŠ-S probably render unchanged /š/ before an affricate or deaffricate /s/:[638]
a) IŠ-Z:
IŠ-ZI-*i-šu* AbB 9, 96: 7 *issīšu* "he shouted it".
b) IŠ-S:
iš-si AbB 14, 167: 21 *iššī* "he shouted".
li-iš-si-*ma* AbB 4, 115: 22 *lišsīma* "may he shout".
Lit. iš-si-*a-am* RA 46, 94: 4 *iššī'am* "he shouted".
Lit. *li*-iš-si-*a-am* Gilg. OB III 147 *lišsī'am* "may he call".

§ 2.431. Rarely, /š/ not in immediate contact with S = [s] in the same word assimilates to S = [s]:[639]
ta-sa-ás-si UET 5, 26: 31 *tasassī* < *tašassī* "you shout".
ú-sa-ás-*ḫa-ar* ARM 2, 31 r. 7 *usasḫar* < *ušasḫar* "he surrounds".[640]
Lit. sa-as-su-*ri-šu* JAOS 103, 205: 9 *sassūrišu* < *šassūrišu* "womb".

3.17.7 /š/ + /z/
§ 2.432. In the Š-stem of the verb *izuzzu*, /š/ may come in immediate contact with /z/.
a) In Bab. we find the spelling UŠ, which means that /š/ is preserved:
nu-uš-*zi-iz-ma* AbB 6, 181: 16 *nušzīzma* "we made convene".
uš-*zi*-[*z*]*u-ku-nu*-[*t*]*i* AbB 3, 47: 6 *ušzīzukunūti* "(who) made you stand".
b) In MidEuphr. and in UpMes. we almost always find the spelling UŠ and never ÚŠ, which means that /š/ was pronounced [s] before the affricate:
MidEuphr. uš-*za-az* ARM 18, 32: 10 *ušzāz* "I will make stand".
UpMes. uš-*zi-iz-sú-um-ma* ARM 1, 131: 13 *ušzīssumma* "I erected against it".

638 IŠ seems never to be used for [i^{t}s], see Streck 2006, 226. Although IŠ may be used for /iš/ before dentals in some regions, this is not the case for texts from Bab., see § 2.411. Therefore, a transliteration *ís* is probably wrong. See also the use of IŠ-Z to render the combination of two occurrences of /š/ at the morpheme boundary, § 2.407.

639 See Streck 2006, 240.

640 But the same text has *ú-ša-*ÁS-*ḫi-ir-šu-nu-ti* l. r. 3 *ušasḫiršunūti* "he made them turn around".

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c) Exceptionally, the result is long /zz/:

UZ-*zi-zu* FM 3, 238 no. 73: 9 *uzzīzū* < *ušzīzū* "they installed". The parallel FM 3, 248 no. 95 r. 31 has *uš*!-*zi-zu*.[641]

3.17.8 /š/ > /t/

§ 2.433. Word-initial /š/ may become /t/ before /s/ in the following syllable.[642] The explanation of this sound change depends on how /š/ was pronounced.[643]

a) Before affricate /s/ spelled Z:

Lit. *tab*-ZU-*ut* Atr. 56: 193, *tab-ZU-tum* Atr. 62: 290 (var. *ta*-[*ab*-S]U-*tum*) *tab-sūt*(*um*) < *šabsūt*(*um*) "midwife".

b) Before deaffricate /s/ spelled S:

ti-SI AbB 5, 61 r. 6; *ti*-SI-*i-ma* AbB 1, 4 r. 4; AbB 7, 82: 26; *ti*-SI-*ma* AbB 1, 24 r. 3; AbB 7, 134: 30; AbB 1, 21: 29 *tisī*(*ma*) < *šisī*- "shout!"

ti-SI-*šu-ma* AbB 14, 204: 38 *tisīšuma* < *šisī*- "summon him!"

ti-SI-*a-ma* AbB 3, 37: 10; AbB 5, 244: 22 *tisī'āma* < *šisī'ā*- "shout!"

ti-SI-*it* AbB 14, 196: 14; AbB 8, 134: 9 *tisīt* < *šisīt* "shouting".

Lit. *ta-ab*-SU-*ut* Atr. 94: 33 *tabsūt* < *šabsūt* "midwife".

Lit. *ti*-SI-*a* Atr. 46: 61 *tisī'ā* < *šisī'ā* "shout!"

c) But in other cases /*š*/ remains in the same position:

ši-si-i-(*ma*) AbB 14, 156: 33; AbB 6, 124: 29; AbB 1, 39: 17 *šisī*(*ma*) "shout!"

ši-si AbB 10, 100: 5 *šīsi* "summons".

ši-si AbB 10, 100: 10 *šīsī* "my summons".

ši-si-it CH § 16 *šisīt* "shout".

3.18 */t/*

3.18.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.434. /t/ is a voiceless dental stop [t]. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /t/.

§ 2.435. a) /t/ is written with the signs TA, TE, TI, TU, AT, IT, and UT (§ 2.13). CVC-signs with initial /t/ are TAB, TÁG/K/Q, TAḪ, TAM, TAR, TAŠ, TIL, TIM, TIR, and TUM, with final /t/ BAD/T/Ṭ and MAD/T/Ṭ (§ 2.15).

b) TUM = tu_4 occurs sporadically:

i-ṣa!-*a*[*b*]-*ba-tu*$_4$ AbB 7, 125 r. 16 *iṣabbatū* "they will catch".

641 Transliterated, by mistake, as *uz-zi-zu* by D. Duponchel. See the photo on p. 247.

642 Streck 2006, 240 f.

643 See Streck 2006, 242 f., 245 f. for different explanations. Von Soden 1968, 218–219 and GAG § 29a supposed a spirantization of /t/.

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c) Rarely, UD = ta_5 seems to occur:

Om. *ša-la-aš-ta*$_5$(? UD)*-šu-nu rubū'ā ipṭurū* YOS 10, 33 v 24, see 20, 22, 26, 28, 31, 34 "the three of them are split in four parts".

§ 2.436. In some non-standard letters from. UpMes., especially some of the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm, as well as texts from MidEuphr.,[644] we sometimes find D- or Ṭ-spellings (DA = *tá*, DI = *ti*$_4$,[645] DU = *tù*, DAM = *tám*, Ḫ I = *ṭà* = *ta*$_8$) for /t/. Some of the letters of Jamṣījum have a general tendency to confuse voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants,[646] and the same is true for some of the letters of Rīšija.[647]

a) Letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm:

ši-tá-am-mi ARM 10, 33: 6 *šitammi* "to hear constantly".
tá-da-bu-ub ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 15 *tadabbub* "you speak".
tá-na-di-na ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 21 *tanaddina* "you give to me".
ti$_4$*-de*$_4$*(-e)* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 18, 26, 31 *tīdē* "you know".
še-e-ti$_4$ ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 6 *šêti* "that".
i-mu-tù ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 20 *imūtu* "he died" (subord.).
dan-nu-tù-um ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 22 *dannūtum* "strong".
i-tù-ra-am-ma ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 10 *itūramma* "he returned".
it-tù-ra-am ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 16 *ittūram* "he returned".
i-tù-ur-ma ARM 26/2, 93 no. 324 r. 16 *itūrma* "he returned".
[*k*]*a-ia-an-tám* ARM 26/2, 63 no. 306: 46 *kajjāntam* "constantly".
ma-tám ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 28 *mātam* "land".
[*ṭ*]*ú-pu-ul-ta*$_8$ ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 25 *ṭupulta* "abuse".
i ni-iš-ta$_8$*-al-ma* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303 edge 5 *i ništālma* "let us deliberate".
la ta$_8$*-la-ka* ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 40 *lā tallakā* "do not go!"
at-ta$_8$*-la-ak* ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 43 *attalak* "I went away".

b) Other examples from UpMes.:

i-tá-na-ak-ka-lu ARM 2, 115: 11 *ītanakkalū* "they constantly eat".[648]
ia-ti$_4$! FM 2, 266 no. 128: 30 *jâti* "me".[649]

644 See Charpin 1989, 33 for the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura, and Finet 1956, 20 f. for texts from MidEuphr.

645 Uncertain example, mentioned by Finet 1956, 21: *Sú-DI-e-em* ARM 2, 124 = ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 16: *Sudêm* (town of Suda) or *Sūtêm* "Sutean"?

646 See §§ 2.186, 2.194, 2.231, 2.290b, 2.330, 2.467. The phenomenon described here must probably be distinguished from the assimilation /mt/ > /md/ (§ 2.421).

647 See Ziegler 2007, 94 for the letters of Rīšija. Ziegler by mistake always transliterates *tú*(UD) instead of *tù*(DU).

648 Letter of Šīmatum from Ilanṣura.

649 Letter of Ḫuzīrī from Ḫazzikkannum.

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tám-ka-ru-tim-ma MARI 8, 389 A.4535-bis r. 19 *tamkārūtima* "merchant-hood".[650]

c) MidEuphr.:

i-tù-ur ARM 2, 26: 6; FM 1 p. 63: 29 *itūr* "he returned".[651]
tù-ú-ur FM 1 p. 63: 23 *tūr* "return!"[652]
iṣ-ba-tù-ma ARM 2, 24: 17[653] *iṣbatūma* "they seized and".
tù-še-ṣé-ma FM 1 p. 63: 25 *tušeṣṣēma* "you let go out".[654]
[*i*]*t-tù-ur-ma* FM 9, 109 no. 17: 28[655] *ittūrma* "he returned".
tù-ur-ra-a-ku FM 9, 110 no. 17: 47[656] *turrāku* "I am returned".
ṣa-ab-tù-m[*a*] FM 9, 124 no. 23: 31[657] *ṣabtūma* "they are seized".

3.18.2 Contact Assimilation

§ 2.437. /t/ of the verbal infixes /t(a)/ and /tan/ fully assimilates to an immediately preceding /d/, /ṭ/, /z/, /s/, and /ṣ/. This assimilation can best be explained if /z/, /s/, and /ṣ/ are affricates (§§ 2.345, 368, 491):[658] [^{d}zt] > [^{dd}z], [^{t}st] > [^{tt}s], [^{t}s't] > [^{tt}s']. The sequence /št/ is preserved.[659] This assimilation does not affect /t/ of the fem. ending after these phonemes: /dt/ develops into /tt/ (§ 2.195), and /z/, /s/, and /ṣ/ are deaffricated before /t/ (§§ 2.364b, 2.370, 2.492). The reason for this difference is probably the transparency of the root, for which the preservation of the first radical (type *addūk* instead of **attūk* from *dâkum*) is more important than that of the last one (type *piqittum* from *paqādum*).[660]

a) /dt/ > /dd/:

id-du-uk-šu CH § 244 *iddūkšu* < *idtūkšu* "he killed him".
ad-du-ku ARM 1, 92: 7 *addūku* < *adtūku* "I killed".

---

650 Letter of Meptû.
651 Both texts areletters of Ibal-pī-'el, military commander. But elsewhere Ibal-pī-'el writes *tu*, e.g., *i-tu-ra-am*(*-ma*) ARM 2, 21: 7; 32: 8 *itūram*(*ma*) "he returned (and)". Ibal-pī-'el sometimes also writes T for /d/, see § 2.192c.
652 Letter of Ibal-pī-'el.
653 Letter of Ibal-pī-'el.
654 Letter of Ibal-pī-'el.
655 Letter of Rīšija.
656 Letter of Rīšija.
657 Letter of Rīšija.
658 Streck 2006, 218 with previous lit.
659 The preservation of /št/ excludes that /š/ was pronounced [s] (Streck 2006, 242). But it does not indicate whether /š/ was pronounced [š], [ɬ], or [^{t}ɬ] (ibid. 243 and 245 f.).
660 Less likely is the explanation given by Kouwenberg 2010, 360, who thinks that "these assimilated forms go back to the period when *t* was still a prefix". But he also acknowledges the transparency of the root as "an additional factor" (ibid. n. 18). That the lat-

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b) /ṭt/ > /ṭṭ/:[661]

[*a*]*ṭ-ṭar-da-ak-kum* AbB 7, 57: 7 *aṭṭardakkum* < *aṭṭardakkum* "I have sent to you".

aṭ-ṭà-ra-a[*d*] ARM 1, 41: 12 *aṭṭara*[*d*] < *aṭṭarad* "I sent".

c) /zt/ > /zz/:

tu-uz-za-an-ni AbB 7, 158: 8 *tuzzanni* < *tuztanni* "you made me angry".

iz-za-kar CH § 18 *izzakar* < *iztakar* "he called".

d) /st/ > /ss/:

ta-as-sà-na-ḫu-ri AbB 3, 15: 15 *tassanaḫḫurī* < *tastanaḫḫurī* "you keep searching".

is-sà-an-qú-ni-ik-kum Syria 19, 119b: 10 *issanqūnikkum* < *istanqū-* "they have reached you".

e) /ṣt/ > /ṣṣ/:

iṣ-ṣa-ba-at ARM 1, 5: 33 *iṣṣabat* < *iṣtabat* "he seized".

ta-aṣ-ṣa-ab-ba-ta-a-ma YOS 10, 50: 8 *taṣṣabbatāma* < *taṣtabbatāma* "you will seize each other".

f) /št/:

[*u*]*š-ta-bi-lam* AbB 7, 106: 22 *uštābilam* "I have sent".

iš-ta-ak-nu ARM 1, 69 r. 15 *ištaknu* "he established for himself".

§ 2.438. Regressive assimilation of /t/[662] regularly occurs in the imp., inf., verbal adj., and stat. of the Gt-stem, and rarely elsewhere, before /d/, /s/, /ṣ/, and /š/.[663] This assimilation can well be explained if /ṣ/ is an affricate:[664] [t^ts'] > [$^{tt}s'$]. Note that this assimilation does not affect a final radical /t/, or /t/ of the fem. ending, before pron. suffs.: here the combination of /t/ and /š/ results in an affricate [^ts] (§ 2.379). The reason for this difference is the transparency of the root, for which the preservation of the second radical is more important than that of the third radical.

a) /td/ > /dd/:

ši-⌜*du*⌝*-di-im* OBTI 9: 19 *šiddudim* < *šitdudim* "pulling back and forth".[665]

---

ter is the decisive factor is shown by the difference between *piššušum* < *pitšušum* and [bītsu] < *bītšu*, which can likewise be explained by the need to keep the root transparent (§ 2.438).

661 The spelling *aṭ-*TA*-ar-da-šu-nu-ti* ARM 2, 5: 18 alongside *ta-aṭ-ṭà*(ḪI)-[*r*]*a-ad* ARM 2, 5: 25, discussed by Finet 1956, 134, probably cannot be adduced as an example of non-assimilation. The scribe rather seems to switch between the signs *ṭà* and TA = *ṭá*.

662 See § 2.197 for the similar assimilation /dš/ > /šš/.

663 Examples of /z/ and /ṭ/ are probably missing in OB.

664 See Diakonoff 1991/2, 52 f. and Streck 2006, 218.

665 For the translation see CAD š/1, 31 *šadādum* 7.

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b) /ts/ > /ss/:

ḫi-sú-s[*í-*] ARM 2, 34: 32 *ḫissus*[*i-*] "to carefully think of".[666]

c) /tṣ/ > /ṣṣ/:

iṣ-ṣa-a[*r*] AbB 6, 107: 4 *iṣṣar* < *itṣar* "be careful!"

PN *Ki-iṣ-ṣú-ri-im* OBTR 36: 7 *Kiṣṣurim* < *Kitṣurim* "Put together(?)".[667]

Not in the Gt-stem: *mu-ut-ta-ṣa-bi-im* MARI 7, 199: 31 *muttaṣṣābim* < *muttat ṣābim* "half of the troops".[668]

d) /tš/ > /šš/:

pí-iš-šu-uš AbB 1, 49: 9 *piššuš* < *pitšuš* "anointing" (st. cstr.).

pí-ša-aš ARM 7, 45: 2 *pišša*š < *pitša*š "anoint yourself!"

Lex. *ki-iš-ša-ad* MSL 4, 105: 31 *kiššad* < *kitšad* "reach!"

§ 2.439. Regressive assimilation /tn/ > /nn/ frequently occurs in *šāt nūrim* "lamp":

ša-an-nu-ra-tim FM 3, 220 no. 31: 2; FM 3, 221 no. 34: 2, etc., *šannūrātim* < *šāt nūrātim* "lamps". Probably also spelled with single /n/: *ša nu-ri* ARM 9, 20: 13 *šannūri šāt* < *nūri* "lamp (lit. that of the light)". In other cases, the sequence /tn/ remains: *ša-at nu-ra-tim* FM 3, 217 no. 22: 2; FM 3, 221 no. 36: 2, etc., *šāt nūrātim*.

§ 2.440. Regressive assimilation /tp/ > /pp/ only occurs in UpMes. and ETigris (the only examples are of the stat. 2. p. m. from *šapû* Gt).[669]

a) UpMes.:

ši-ip-pa-at OBTR 141: 12 *šippât* < *šitpât* "you are silent".

b) ETigris:

ši-ip-pa/*pá-a*[*t*] Shemshara 1, 42: 16; 53: 27 *šippât* "you are silent".

ši-pa-ta Shemshara 1, 64: 43; 69: 20; *ši-ip-p*[*a-t*]*a* Shemshara 1, 69: 10 *šippâta* "you are silent".

§ 2.441. /t/ of the verbal infixes /t(a)/ and /tan/ always assimilates to /d/ after /g/:

ug-d[*a*]*-me-er* AbB 4, 64: 13 *ugdammer* < *ugtammer* "it was finished".

ug-da-al-li-ib CH § 227 *ugdallib* < *ugtallib* "he has shorn".

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666 Durand 1998, 212 n. 435 reads *ḫi-*⌜*su*[1]*-s*[*í-*]; the copy in TCL 23 shows, however, the expected *sú*-sign.

667 The exact mng. of this PN is unclear.

668 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this ref.

669 Mayer 1994, 120; 2013, 232; Eidem/Læssøe, Shemshara 1 p. 113 ad 42: 16. The form is wrongly explained in Streck 2003, 7 f., which assumes a D-stem, and CAD š/1, 491 *šapûm* C b, which assumes scribal errors for *šitpât*.

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ig-da-am-ru ARM 2, 133: 13 *igdamrū* < *igtamrū* "they finished".

li-ig-da-mi-ir ARM 1, 6: 17 *ligdammir* < *ligtammir* "may he gather completely".

ug-da-al-li-[*tu*] ARM 1, 83: 22 *ugdalli*[*tū*] < *ugtallitū* "they were terrified".

[*i*]*g-da-al-lu-tu-ši-na-ti* ARM 28, 1 r. 6 *igdallutūšināti* < *igtallutū-* "they were always afraid of them".

§ 2.442. a) In texts from UpMes., the combination /kt/ rarely assimilates to /kd/ or /gd/:[670]

IG-da-áš-dam ARM 4, 47: 9[671] *ik*/*gdašdam* < *iktašdam* "he reached".

li-IG-da-mi-uš ARM 5, 36: 22[672] *lik*/*gdammis* < *liktammis* "let them gather".

b) Elsewhere /kt/ is preserved:

ik-ta-na-ša-da-ni-in-ni AbB 14, 99: 6 *iktanaššadāninni* "they keep coming to me".

li-ik-ta-ra-bu-ni-kum AbB 5, 166 r. 16 *liktarrabūnikkum* "may they constantly pray for you".

uk-ta-ab-bi-it ARM 2, 77: 14 *uktabbit* "I honored".

ik-ta-su-ú ARM 2, 130: 18 *iktasû* "they bound".

§ 2.443. Rarely, /mt/ and /bt/ assimilate to /md/ and /bd/:

a) /mt/ > /md/:

UpMes. *mārūšu im-du-ut* ARM 5, 38: 9 *imdūt* < *imtūt* "his son died".[673]

b) /bt/ > /bd/:

MidEuphr. *ik-ta-ab-da-an-né-ši*[*-im*] ARM 27, 37: 47 *iktabdannêšim* < *iktabtannêšim* "it became to heavy for us".

MidEuphr. *ka-ab-di-im* FM 2, 206 no. 116: 59 *kabdim* < *kabtim* "heavy".

§ 2.444. The combination of a third radical /t/ and the /š/ of pron. suffs. results in the affricate [ts], written Z, traditionally transliterated and transcribed as *s* (see § 2.379).

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670 See Finet 1956, 13. This development is difficult to understand if syllable-final /k/ was not pronounced [g].

671 Letter of Išmē-Dagan. Elswhere the text uses TA for /ta/: *ta-bu-am-ma* l. 6 *tabū'amma* and *ta-la-kam*(*-m*[*a*]) ll. 7, 11 *tallakam*(*ma*).

672 Letter of Ḫāsidānum, governor of Karana (ARM 16/1, 104).

673 Letter of Ḫāsidānum, governor of Karana (ARM 16/1, 104). See Durand 1997, 508 with n. 190. Elsewhere Ḫāsidānum uses *tu*, e.g., *im-qú-tu* ARM 5, 36: 6 *imqutu* "he fell", *qá-ta-tu-šu-nu* ARM 5, 35: 34 *qātātūšunu* "their hands". The phonetic phenomenon described here must probably be distinguished from the tendency to confuse /t/ and /d/ in some texts especially from UpMes. (see § 2.436).

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3.18.3 Distant Assimilation

§ 2.445. a) In the word *tudittum*[674] "dress pin", a distant regressive assimilation /t/–/d/ > /d/–/d/ may occur:

UpMes.[675] *du-di-tim* ARM 1, 77 r. 13 *dudittim* < *tudittim* "dress-pin".

b) *šaddaqda/im* "last year" regularly occurs with a first /d/ (CAD š/1, 38–40), but once with /t/. This favors the etymology *šatt(um)* "year" + QDM "to precede"[676] and a regular assimilation /t/ > /d/:

ša-ad-da-aq-dam AbB 1, 108: 3 and *passim*, but *ša-ta-aq*!*-da* CUSAS 36, 175: 24.

§ 2.446. a) The word *tupšikkum* is regularly spelled with /t/ in OB:

tu-up-ši-ik-ki AbB 9, 2: 17 *tupšikki* "basket".

tu-up-ši-ka-tim AbB 14, 191: 7 *tupšikkātim* "baskets".

b) But once in an undated mathematical text,[677] and frequently in the OB Atraḫasīs epic,[678] it appears with initial /š/, probably an example of a distant regressive assimilation /t/–/š/ > /š/– /š/:[679]

Math. *šu-up-ši-ki-im* ARDēr 236: 3 *šupšikkim* "basket".

Lit. *šu-up-ši-ik-ki-šu-nu* Atr. 46: 66 and *passim šupšikkišunu* "of their basket".

3.18.4 Metathesis

§ 2.447. In prefixless forms of the Gt-stem, the infix /t/ and a first radical /ṣ/, /z/, /d/, or /ṭ/ change positions.[680]

a) /ṣ/:

ti-iṣ-bu-ta-ti-na AbB 1, 92: 6 *tiṣbutātina* < *ṣitbutātina* "you have seized each other".

ti-iṣ-bu-ta-tim AbB 10, 6: 16 *tiṣbutātim* < *ṣitbutātim* "quarrels".

Om. *ti-iṣ-bu-ta* YOS 10, 48: 33 *tiṣbutā* < *ṣitbutā* "they have seized each other".

Lit. *ti-iṣ-ma-ra* FM 14 iii 44 *tiṣmarā* < *ṣitmarā* "strive!"

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674 Note that the same word, again in UpMes., also shows progressive assimilation, see § 2.200.

675 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.

676 GAG § 72c and AHw. 1123; differently CAD š/1, 40. See also Streck 2016, 11.

677 The text might be late OB, as the Atraḫasīs epic probably is (§ 1.7).

678 See the glossary Atr. p. 196.

679 According to von Soden 1968, 218 f., the phenomenon points to a spirantization of /t/ ([t̰]).

680 There is, pace Kouwenberg 2010, 360, no OB example for /š/. *ti-iš-pu-ku* VS 8, 22: 5 is a variant of *iš-pu-ku* VS 8, 23: 5 (see CAD š/1, 420a *šapākum* 5). The context requires a pret. "they heaped up (a dividing wall)". Is this an example of the 3. pl. masc. *tiPRuSū*, attested in early OB Mari? However, the text probably dates to Sîn-muballiṭ (Goddeeris 2002, 162). /š/ always remains in first position, e.g., *ši-ta-la-ma* ARM 28, 104: 8 *šitālāma* "take counsel!" For /s/ only post-OB examples are attested.

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b) /z/:

Lit. *ti-iš-qa-ar-tum* ZA 65, 178: 2 *tišqārtum* <[681] *tizqārtum* "supreme".[682]

c) /d/:

ti-du-ku-um-ma AbB 7, 55: 12 *tidūkumma* < *ditūkumma* "he is fighting".

ti-du-ku AbB 7, 55: 5 *tidūkū* < *ditūkū* "they are fighting".[683]

ti-du-ku-ú OBTR 121: 13 *tidūku* < *ditūku* "to kill each other".

Om. *ti-id-ku-ša-at* RA 27, 150: 10 *tidkušat* "is (evenly) bulged".[684]

d) /ṭ/:

Lit. *ti-ṭù-bi-im* CUSAS 10, 14: 14 *tiṭūbim* < *ṭitūbim* "to feel very good".

3.19 */ṭ/*

3.19.1 Pronunciation

§ 2.448. /ṭ/ is a dental voiced(?) glottalized stop [tˀ].[685] It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /ṭ/.

§ 2.449. According to Geers's law,[686] /ṭ/ becomes /t/ when the root contains a further emphatic consonant, either /ṣ/ or /q/.

a) /ṭ/ and /ṣ/:

ta-aṣ-ṣa-ab-ta AbB 4, 139: 20 *taṣṣabtā* "you seized" (root ṢBT < ḌBṬ).

b) /ṭ/ and /q/:

li-iq-qá-ti-ip AbB 8, 79: 21 *liqqatip* "let it be picked", *lā iq-qá-ta-ap* AbB 8, 79: 22[687] *iqqattap* "it must not be picked" (root QTP < QṬP).

li-iq-tu!*-p*[*u*] FM 1 p. 112: 14 *liqtupū* "may they pluck", *qa-ta-pi-im* FM 1 p. 112: 9 *qatāpim* "to pluck", *iq-qa-at-ta-ap* FM 1 p. 112: 8 *iqqattap* "it will be plucked" (root QTP < QṬP). The text elsewhere uses *ṭà*(ḪI): *a-ṭà*(ḪI)*-ra-da-am* FM 1 p. 112: 7 *aṭarradam* "I will send".[688]

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681 For the deaffrication of /z/ before /q/ see § 2.494.

682 For the PN *Tizqārum* and *Tizqār*-DN see CAD T 440 f.

683 CAD T 396 lists the two refs. from AbB 7, 55 under *tidūku* B "mng. uncert." For the interpretation given here see Streck 2003, 23.

684 For *tidkušum* see Streck 2003, 73.

685 See Kogan 2011, 60 f. for a glottalized pronunciation in Akk.

686 Geers 1945, 66: "where two different emphatic consonants appear in roots in other Semitic languages, the emphatic consonant which prevailed in Akkadian did so according to the following gradation: *ṣ*, *q*, *ṭ*." See Bomhard 1988, 115 f.: "In languages having ejectives, there is a widespread constraint against the cooccurrence of two ejectives in a root.... If we take the emphatics of Akkadian to have been ejectives, then Geers' Law finds a perfectly natural explanation as a manifestation of this constraint."

687 See CAD Q 165 *qatāpum* 4, correcting AbB 8.

688 By mistake, FM 1, followed by FM 11, 188 has *li-iq-ṭù*(DU)*-p*[*u*]. *a-ṭà-ra-dam* proves that the transliterations *qa-ṭá-pi-im* and *iq-qa-aṭ-ṭá-ap* are erroneous.

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qú-tu-ur-tum ARM 4, 88: 14 *quturtu* "smoke" (root QTR < QṬR).
Om. *iq-ti-in* YOS 10, 28: 4 *iqtin* "is thin" (root QTN < QṬN).

c) Geers's law is also valid with the Amorite loan *qatālum* "to kill" (root QTL < QṬL), which is phonologically integrated into OB:[689]

qa-ta-li-im ARM 2, 37: 6 *qatālim* "to kill".
ú-ša-aq-ti-il ARM 2, 37: 12 *ušaqtil* "I made kill".
i ni-iq-tu-ul OBTR 1: 11 *i niqtul* "let us kill".

§ 2.450. The word *ṭīṭum* "clay",[690] although rarely written syllabically, appears as *ṭīdum* in some instances. The latter form can be explained by an optional dissimilation of the second ejective.[691] Furthermore, the form shows that, contrary to the traditional assumption,[692] /ṭ/ is probably voiced: [dʾīdʾum] > [dʾīdum].

a) *ṭīdum*:
ṭì-da-am ARM 28, 105: 10;[693] ARM 13, 27: 9[694] *ṭīdam*.
Math. *ṭì-di* Sumer 43, 204: 7; 202 iii 42 *ṭīdī*.

b) *ṭīṭum*:
ṭì-ṭì RA 74, 51 no. 119: 15 *ṭīṭi* "clay".

c) In the following instances, the phonetic interpretation is unclear:
ṭi$_4$-DAM AbB 11, 139: 29 *ṭīdam* or *ṭīṭam*.
Math. *ṭì*-DA-*am* Sumer 43, 202 iv 4 *ṭīdam* or *ṭīṭam*.
Lit. *ṭi*-ID-DI-*iš* RA 46, 88: 22 *ṭiddiš* or *ṭiṭṭiš*.
Lit. *ṭi*-ID-DI ZA 110, 47 viii 8 *ṭiddi* or *ṭiṭṭi*.
Lit. *ṭi*-ID-DA-*am* Atr. 56: 203, etc., *ṭiddam* or *ṭiṭṭam*.

689 Streck 2000, 128.
690 As was argued by Mankowski 2000, 57 f., this is the original form of the word in Akk.
691 The same phenomenon appears with /q/, see § 2.334.
692 But see GAG § 29b n.: voiced pronunciation in southern OB, because /ṭ/ was written with D-signs?
693 The form cannot be interpreted as *ṭīṭam*, because the text elsewhere only uses *ṭà*: *tà-ra-di-im* ARM 28, 105: 4, r. 13 *ṭarādim* "to send"; *ip-ta-ṭà-ar* ARM 28, 105: 23 *iptaṭar* "he loosened".
694 Letter of Jaśīm-śumu. The text has no other /ṭa/. But note that elsewhere in the letters of Jaśīm-śumu, as is common in MidEuphr., only *ṭà* is used: *ú-ṭà-aḫ-ḫu-ú* ARM 13, 25: 6 *uṭaḫḫû* "he handed over"; *ú-ṭà-aḫ-ḫu-*[*š*]*u-ma* ARM 13, 25: 7 *uṭṭaḫḫûšuma* "he handed it over"; *aṭ-ṭà-ar-dam* ARM 13, 32: 28; ARM 13, 38: 29; ARM 13, 41: 9 *aṭṭardam* "I have sent"; *i-ṭà-ar-r*[*a-a*]*d-ma* ARM 13, 46: 16 *iṭarradma* "he will send"; *na-ap-ṭà-ri-ia* FM 2, 7: 11 *napṭarija* "my guesthouse"; *ḫu-um-ṭà-am* FM 2, 8 r. 10 *ḫumṭam* "hurry!", etc.

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§ 2.451. There is no backing of vowels adjacent to /ṭ/:[695]

ṭa-ab-tam AbB 6, 129: 23 *ṭābtam* "good".

i-ṭa-ap-pa-lu-ka AbB 6, 140: 28 *iṭappalūka* "they will look on you with scorn".

3.19.2 Writing

§ 2.452. /ṭ/ is regularly written with the signs DA = *ṭa*, DI = *ṭi*/*e*, DU = *ṭù*, TA = *ṭá*, TE = *ṭe*$_4$/*ṭi*$_4$, TI = *ṭì*, TU = *ṭú*, ḪI = *ṭà*, AṬ, IṬ, and UṬ (§ 2.13). CVC-signs with inital /ṭ/ are ṬAM, ṬAR, ṬIM, ṬUM,[696] and ṬUR, with final /ṭ/ BAṬ/D/T and MAṬ/D/T (§ 2.15).

§ 2.453. Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.):

a) DA:

lu-ṭa-a-am AbB 14, 62: 13, 16 *luṭâm* "a perforation or notch".[697]

b) DI:

ṭe-e-em AbB 10, 177: 9 *ṭēm* "report".

i-ṭe-eḫ-ḫe AbB 14, 64: 38 *iṭeḫḫē* "approaches".

c) DU:

ru-uṭ-ṭù-ú-ub AbB 14, 60: 6 *ruṭṭub* "it is soaked".

ap-ṭù-ra-am AbB 14, 61: 7 *apṭuram* "I interrupted".

d) TE:

ṭe$_4$*-ḫe-e-em* AbB 10, 173: 9 *ṭeḫêm* "to approach".

§ 2.454. Illustrative examples from letters from Larsa (SBab.):

a) DI:

ṭe-e-em-ša AbB 11, 5: 15 *ṭēmša* "report about her".

b) DU:

li-ba-al-li-ṭù-ka AbB 14, 166: 6 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

ṭù-ur-dam-ma AbB 11, 168: 12 *ṭurdamma* "send to me!"

c) TE:

pu-uṭ-ṭe$_4$*-ra-aš-*[*š*]*u-*[*m*]*a* AbB 2, 95: 11 *puṭṭeraššuma* "ransom him!"

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695 See Bomhard 1988, 116: "Pharyngealization is always accompanied by the backing of adjacent vowels.... Similar backing is sometimes also found in conjunction with glottalization.... However, while backing of adjacent vowels is a mandatory corollary of pharyngealization, it is optional with glottalization.... No such backing is observable in either Akkadian or Hebrew"; see also Cantineau 1952, 93; Knudsen 1961, 89 f.

696 ṬUM stands for /ṭu/ in *li-ba-al-li-ṭu*$_4$-[*ka*] ARM 10, 104: 6 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep him alive" and in Om. *i-ba-al-lu-ṭu*$_4$ YOS 10, 33 iv 13 *iballuṭū* "they will stay alive".

697 For a derivation from *leṭû* "to split" see Veenhof, AbB 14 p. 210 f.

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d) TU:
ṭú-ur-da-nim AbB 6, 142: 16 *ṭurdānim* "send to me!"
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka AbB 11, 168: 6 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

§ 2.455. Illustrative examples from the letters from Isin (SBab.) for TU:
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka AbB 9, 231: 4 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ku-nu-ti AbB 14, 203: 7 *liballiṭūkunūti* "may they keep you alive".
ú-ba-la-ṭú-šu AbB 14, 206: 3 *uballaṭūšu* "they keep him alive".

§ 2.456. Illustrative examples from the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.):
a) DA:
ṭa-ra-di-im AbB 13, 30: 10 *ṭarādim* "to send".[698]
b) DI:
ú-ša-áš-ṭi-ra-an-ni AbB 2, 1: 10 *ušašṭiranni* "he caused me to write".
[*ṭ*]*e-em* AbB 4, 166: 16 *ṭēm* "report".
ša-ṭi-ir AbB 13, 46: 17 *šaṭir* "he is registered".
c) TA:[699]
ṭá-a-tum AbB 2, 11: 8 *ṭa'tum* "bribe".
ṭá-ra-di-im AbB 2, 33: 10 *ṭarādim* "to send".
d) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-ma-am* AbB 1, 1: 10 *ṭēmam* "report".
ša-ṭe$_4$*-er-šum* AbB 2, 60: 9 *šaṭeršum* "is inscribed for him".
e) TI:
ḫi-ṭì-it AbB 4, 18: 23 *ḫiṭīt* "loss".
ḫa-ma-ṭì-im ARM 6, 53: 7 *ḫamāṭim* "to be quick".
f) TU:
ṭú-ur-dam AbB 2, 2: 15; 35: 11 *ṭurdam* "send to me!"
ma-ṭú-ú-ma AbB 4, 39: 9 *maṭûma* "is little".

§ 2.457. Illustrative examples from the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.):
a) DA:
ba-al-ṭa-at CH § 148 *balṭat* "she is alive".
b) DI:
ḫi-ṭi-tam CH § 142 *ḫiṭītam* "loss".
c) TE:
ú-ṭe$_4$*-eb-bi-ma* CH § 251 *uṭebbīma* "he sank".

698 This is the only ref. in the letters of Hammurapi.
699 A full list of occurences of TA = *ṭá* in the letters of Hammurapi is found in Hernáiz 2019, 35 f.

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d) TI:
bu-ul-ṭì-šu CH § 170 *bulṭišu* "his life".
e) TU:
iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im CH § 178 *išṭurūšim* "they wrote for her".

§ 2.458. Illustrative examples from letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.):
a) TA:[700]
ḫa-aṭ-ṭá-am AbB 8, 101: 17 *ḫaṭṭam* "stick".
b) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-em-ka* AbB 9, 14: 25 *ṭēmka* "your report".
c) TI:
[*ḫi-t*]*a-ú-ṭì-im* AbB 9, 117: 15 [*ḫit*]*a"uṭim* "to watch constantly".
d) TU:
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka AbB 11, 32: 4 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".
ṭú-úr-da-nim-ma Edubba 7, 126: 12 *ṭurdānimma* "send to me!"[701]
e) DU:
li-ba-al-li-ṭù-ki-na-⌜*ti*⌝ Edubba 7, 126: 6 *liballiṭūkinṣti* "may they keep you alive".[702]

§ 2.459. Illustrative examples from Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.):
a) DA:
ṭa-ti-im Sumer 14, 13: 24 *ṭātim* "bribe".
b) DU:
ṭù-ḫi-ni Sumer 14, 4: 35 *ṭuḫḫīni* "bring near to me!"
c) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-em-ka* Sumer 14, 21: 5 *ṭēmka* "your report".
d) TI:
ṭì-ib Sumer 14, 44: 12 *ṭīb* "make good!"
e) TU:
ṭú-ru-su Sumer 14, 8: 18 *ṭurussu* "send him!"
f) Ḫ:
ṭà-ra-di-ku-nu Sumer 14, 2: 13 *ṭarādikunu* "your sending".
a-ṭà-ra-da-am Sumer 14, 10: 10 *aṭarradam* "I will send".[703]

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700 Edubba 7, 26: 12; 28: 5 transliterates *ṭà-ab* for *ṭāb* "is good". But in fact this is a logographic spelling DÙG-*ab*.
701 The same text uses DU elsewhere, see § 2.458e.
702 The same text uses DU elsewhere, see § 2.458d.
703 Sumer 14 p. 26 has, by mistake, *a-ṭá-ra-da-am*.

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§ 2.460. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.):
a) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-mi-im* ARM 1, 113: 5 *ṭēmim* "plan".
b) TU:
ṭú-ur-da-aš-šu ARM 1, 109: 11 *ṭurdaššu* "send him to me!"
c) Ḫ I:
ta-na-aṭ-ṭà-al ARM 1, 108: 8 *tanaṭṭal* "you see".

§ 2.461. Illustrative examples from the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān: (MidEuphr.):
a) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-ma-am* ARM 27, 16: 24, 27 *ṭēmam* "report".
pa-ṭe$_4$*-ri* ARM 27, 151: 3 *pāṭerī* "deserters".
b) TI:
mi-ṭì-tim ARM 27, 1: 5 *miṭītim* "deficit".[704]
pa-ṭì-im ARM 27, 2: 29 *pāṭim* "border".
c) Ḫ I:
i-pa-aṭ-ṭà-ra-am-ma ARM 27, 18 r. 14 *ipaṭṭaramma* "he will move on".
[*b*]*a-al-ṭà-ku* ARM 27, 151: 40 [*b*]*alṭāku* "I am alive".
d) TU:
ba-al-ṭú-tim ARM 27, 161: 44 *balṭūtim* "alive".
ṭú-pu-ul-ti-ia ARM 27, 46 r. 11 *ṭupultija* "my insult".

§ 2.462. Illustrative examples from the letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.):
a) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-mi-im* OBTR 64: 7 *ṭēmim* "plan".
b) TU:
⌜*ṭú-úr*⌝*-di*!*-im-ma* OBTR 68: 16 *ṭurdīmma* "send to me!"
c) Ḫ I:
ṭà-ra-di-im OBTR 84: 5 *ṭarādim* "to send".

§ 2.463. Illustrative examples from the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.):
a) TE:
ṭe$_4$*-ma-am* ARM 28, 138: 20, 27 *ṭēmam* "report".
b) TU:
l[*u-u*]*š-ṭú-ur-šu-nu-ti* ARM 28, 141: 39 *l*[*u*]*šṭuršunūti* "let me inscribe them".

704 Birot, ARM 27 p. 39 transliterates *mi-ṭe*$_5$*-tim* (*ṭe*$_6$ is correct), analyzing the form as fem. pl. *miṭêtim* < *miṭīātim*, because the word is the obj. of *īšû*. However, elsewhere *miṭītum* only occurs in the sg. Therefore, the *-tim* at the end is probably a mistake.

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c) ḪI:
aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-aš-šu ARM 28, 136: 15 *aṭṭardaššu* "I have sent him".

§ 2.464. Illustrative examples from the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris):
a) TU:
ṭú-ur-da-aš-šu-ma Shemshara 1, 55: 9 *ṭurdaššuma* "send him to me!"
b) ḪI:
ta-na-aṭ-ṭà-al Shemshara 1, 53: 14 *tanaṭṭal* "you look".

§ 2.465. Illustrative examples from letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.):
a) TE:
ṭe$_4$-(*e-*)*em* ARM 5, 16: 4, 7 *ṭēm* "report".
b) TI:
ḫa-ṭì ARM 5, 20: 26 *ḫaṭī* "it is missing".
c) TU:
ṭú-ur-da-a[*m-m*]*a* ARM 5, 15: 13 *ṭurda*[*mm*]*a* "send to me!"

§ 2.466. Illustrative examples from letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.):
a) TA:[705]
ú-ṭá-aḫ-ḫu-ú ARM 26/2, 540 no. 549 r. 4 *uṭaḫḫû* "they brought".
b) TE:
uṭ-ṭe$_4$*-et* ARM 28, 18: 17 *uṭṭet* "grain".
c) TU:
ṭú-bi-ma ARM 28, 19: 8 *ṭūbīma* "good relations".
d) ḪI:
ni-iṭ-ṭà-ar-da-am ARM 28, 25: 22 *niṭṭardam* "we have sent".

§ 2.467. a) The CV-signs used for syllable-initial /ṭ/ show the following regional distribution:

Dossier	DA	DI	DU	TA	TE	TI	TU	ḪI
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)		x	x		x			
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)		x	x		x		x	
Letters from Isin (SBab.)							x	

705 DÙG-*ba-ta* ARM 26/2, 524 no. 531: 22 *ṭābāta* "you are good" is not an example of *ṭà*.

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(*cont.*)

Dossier	DA	DI	DU	TA	TE	TI	TU	Ḫ I
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x[a]	x[b]		x[c]	x	x	x	
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x	x[d]			x	x	x	
Letters and documents from Sippar (NBab.)			x	x	x	x	x	
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)	x[e]		x[f]		x	x	x	x
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)					x		x	x
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)					x	x	x	x
Letters of Aqba-ḫammu (UpMes.)					x		x	x
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)					x		x	x
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)							x	x
Letters from Qaṭna (NSyr.)					x	x	x	
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)				x	x		x	x

a One ref.
b Three refs. against two for TI.
c *Passim* in the letters of Hammurapi.
d Altogether 16 refs. for DI = *ṭi* against 6 for TI = *ṭì* (including prologue and epilogue).
e One ref.
f One ref.

b) MidEuphr., UpMes., Etigris, and NSyr. only use T-signs (TE, TI, TU), but, with the exception of Karkemiš, not TA.[706] Instead of TA, the sign Ḫ I is used, whose value *ṭà* derives from the logographic value DÙG = *ṭābum* "good". Outside the dossiers specifically investigated here, however, TA is also sometimes used in MidEuphr. and UpMes., e.g.:

MidEuphr. *na-ap-ṭá-ar-ti-šu* ARM 10, 59 r. 2 *napṭartišu* "wife of second rank(?)".[707]

UpMes. *ṭá*!-*aḫ-da-a*[*m*] ARM 1, 52: 34 *ṭaḫdam* "plentiful".[708]

UpMes. *ṭá*!-*ap-la-at* ARM 1, 77: 11 *ṭaplat* "it is an insult".[709]

UpMes. *aṭ-ṭá-ar-da-šu-nu-ti* ARM 2, 5: 18 *aṭṭardaššunūti* "I sent them".[710]

706 This shows that the two frequent GN are usually to be read Qatanum and Qatara instead of Qaṭanum and Qaṭara.
707 Letter of Adad-dūrī.
708 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.
709 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.
710 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.

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c) Diy. also prefers T-signs and ḪI, but also once has DA and DU, respectively. Within the dossiers investigated here, ḪI is not used in SBab. and NBab.[711] A clear-cut distribution of D- and T-signs between SBab. and NBab. exists nowhere.[712] But Sippar in the very north prefers T-signs, once DU is used.[713] The code of Hammurapi only has DA and TU, but not TA and DU, and prefers DI over TI; the letters of Hammurapi use TA (*passim*; only one occurrence of DA), DI, and TI, but not DU; letters from Larsa have DI, DU, and TU;[714] and letters from Isin use TU. TE is used everywhere.

§ 2.468. A special case are the letters of Jamṣījum and Kirûm from Ilanṣura (UpMes.), which tend to confuse voiced, unvoiced, and emphatic consonants.[715]

a) TA = *ṭá*:

i-ṭá-ar-ra-[*ad*] ARM 26/2, 61 no. 305: 22 *iṭarra*[*d*] "he will send".

b) DU = *ṭù*:

te-er-ṭù-up ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 15 *terṭup* "you continue".

ir-ṭù-pu-ú ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 50 *irṭupū* "they continued".

§ 2.469. The same spelling DU = *ṭù* occurs in the letters of Rīšīja (MidEuphr.):[716]

li-iḫ-mu-ṭù-nim FM 9, 116 no. 19: 10 *liḫmuṭūnim* "may they arrive quickly".

li-ba-li-ṭù-ka FM 9, 133 no. 26: 6 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

3.19.3 Assimilation

§ 2.470. /ṭ/ as a third radical assimilates to an immediately following /t/ of the fem. ending:[717]

ta-ab-li-it-ti YOS 5, 181: 3 *tablitti* < *tabliṭti* "sustenance".

ḫa-mu-ta-am AbB 9, 41: 24 *ḫamuttam* < *ḫamuṭtam* "at once".

ḫa-mu-ti-im ARM 7, 161: 16 *ḫamuttim* < *ḫamuṭtim* "hurry".

pa-a[*t-t*]*i-im* ARM 13, 147: 27 *pāttim* < *pāṭtim* "border".[718]

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711 Outside the dossiers investigated here, Hernáiz 2019, 39 mentions some instances of ḪI = *ṭà* in NBab.

712 A similar conclusion is reached by Hernáiz 2019, 84 when he writes about a "widespread pattern of combining D- and T-signs".

713 Outside the dossiers investigated here, DA also occurs in Sippar, see Hernáiz 2019, 29.

714 For TU = *ṭú* in a letter from Ur, see *li-ba-li-ṭú-ka* AbB 14, 107: 4 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

715 See Charpin 1989, 33; see §§ 2.186, 2.194, 2.231, 2.290b, 2.330, 2.436.

716 Ziegler 2007, 94.

717 See Hirsch 1975, 293 f., correcting GAG § 29e.

718 Other instances of *pattum* listed in AHw. 849 *pattu* II are interpreted as *pāṭum* in CAD P 307 *p.* 3a1′.

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mu-ba-al-li-it-tum ARM 6, 4: 5 *muballittum* < *muballiṭtum* "barrage".[719]
Om. *pa-ši-it-tum* YOS 10, 23 r. 8 *pāšittum* < *pāšiṭtum* "obliterator".

§ 2.471. The combination of a third radical /ṭ/ and /š/ of pron. suffs. results in the affricate [ts], written Z, traditionally transliterated and transcribed as *s* (see § 2.379).

3.19.4 Metathesis

§ 2.472. a) For the metathesis of /ṭ/ and the infix /t/ in the Gt-stem see § 2.447.
b) Metathesis of /ṭ/ and /t/ also exceptionally occurs in the following instance:
ṭà-at-ru-da ARM 26/1, 295 no. 129: 16 *ṭatrudā* < *taṭrudā* "you sent".

3.20 */w/*

3.20.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.473. /w/ is a bilabial voiced fricative. It is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /w/. /w/ is a weak consonant showing sound changes in some positions.

§ 2.474. The sign PI is used to write /wa/, /we/, /wi/, /wu/, and—rarely—/aw/ (§ 2.13):
a) /wa/:
Lit. *na-wa-ri-im* CH xlix 69 *nawārim* "to shine".
b)/we/:
we-di-a-am AbB 4, 154: 22 *wēdi'am* "unique".
ša ka-we-tim FM 12, 230 M.18084: 4 *kawêtim* < *kawītātim* "outside (the city)".
c)/wi/:
nu-wi-ir ARM 4, 59: 9 f. *nuwwir* "make shine!"
d) /wu/:
Lit. *šu-wu-ra*(*-ma*) Gilg. OB III 250, 256 *šuwwurā*(*ma*) "they are gleaming".
e) /aw/:
i-ta-aw-ru ARM 2, 49: 5 *ittawrū* "it became bright".
na-aw-ra-tum FM 9, 188 no. 42: 5 *nawrātum* "bright".
f) Long /ww/ is never written with two PI-signs; either a single PI-sign or two M-signs (§ 2.477 f) are used instead:
ú-na-wi-ir-ma AbB 1, 139 r. 5 *unawwirma* "I made bright".
i-na-wi-ra-am Sumer 14, 14: 15 *inawwiram* "it gets light".
nu-wi-ir ARM 4, 59: 9 f. *nuwwir* "make bright!"

719 There is no reason to analyze the word as *muballiṭṭum*, as in AHw. 665. See CAD M/2, 157 *muballittum*. For ARM 6, 4: 9 see § 4.100e.

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ú-na-wa-ar ARM 3, 76: 16 *unawwar* "I make bright".
Lit. *mu-na-wi-ir* CH iv 34 *munawwir* "who makes bright".
Lit. *nu-wu-ri-im* CH i 44 *nuwwurim* "to make bright".
Lit. *ut-ta-wa-ar-šu* CT 58, 28 r. 6 *uttawwaršu* "will be illuminated for him".
Lit. *šu-wu-ra-ma* Gilg. OB III 250, 256 *šuwwurā*(*ma*) "they are gleaming".

§ 2.475. One text from UpMes.[720] writes *ú-wu* for /wu/. The *ú*-sign probably specifies the vowel of the PI-sign (*ʷwu*):
ú-wu-úš-šu-ur-ti-im ARM 2, 119: 7 *wuššurtim* "abandonment".
ú-wu-ú-ur-tim ARM 2, 119 r. 5 *wu"urtim* "order".

§ 2.476. On rare occasions, short or long /w/ between vowels, especially between /a/ and /u/, is not written:
a) Short /w/ between /a/ and /u/:
ni-ta-ú AbB 9, 19: 7 *nītawū* "we speak".
Om. *i-ta-ú* RA 35, 47 no. 19: 3 *ītawū* "he speaks".
Med. *a-ú-ri-qá-nam* HS 1883: 4 *awurriqānam* "jaundice".
b) Short /w/ between /a/ and /i/:
Om. *a-i-lu-tam* CUSAS 18, 13: 47[721] *awīlūtam* "mankind".
c) Long /ww/ between /a/ and /u/:
a-ta-ú AbB 14, 199: 12 *ātawwū* "I will speak".
d) Long /ww/ between /a/ and /i/:
PN DINGIR-*e-ta-i-ra-šu* YOS 13, 68: 4; 347: 6 *Ilu-ettawwiraššu* "The god has constantly shone for him".[722]

§ 2.477. a) /w/ is sometimes spelled with M-signs, a usage well known from post-OB Akk.[723] In most cases, an M-spelling probably does not attest to a pho-

720 The senders of the letter are Ibal-[pī-'el?] and Buqāqum, who are in Ekallātum; see Durand 1997, 546 f. It remains rather doubtful whether they are identical with the senders of the letter ARM 26/2, 424 f. no. 489, as Durand proposes. In the latter text we find the spelling *wu-ú-ur-ti* l. 19 *wu"urti* "order".

721 Mayer 2015, 181.

722 On the prefix *e-* see Edzard 1994, 5 n. 5. This ref. suggests that instead of the PNs *E-ta-aw-ra-am*, *E-ta-aw-ra-aš-ši*, and *E-ta-aw-ra-aš-šum*, we must read *E-ta-wi-ra-am*, etc. (Gtn-forms).

723 M-spellings become more frequent already in late OB. Some of the OB examples mentioned below may be late OB, which, however, is difficult to prove, especially for Lit. texts. From MB onward M-spellings are regular. Sometimes also in OA (Hecker 1968 § 25c, e). For even older Sargonic Old Akkadian see *Na-mu-ru-um* MDP 2, 30: 26. AD.DA-*na*-PI-*ir* (Edzard 1994, 7) is Elamite (W. Sommerfeld apud Edzard 1995). Ur III: *Na-mi-rí-lum* Chiera, STA 3 iii 32 *Nawirilum* "The god is brilliant" and *Na-mu-ra-sú* CT 32, 34 i 5.

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netic development /w/ > /m/[724] but stands for spoken [w],[725] as is also the case in Late Bab.[726] and in Amorite.[727] An orthographic instead of a phonetic development is also favored by the following writing:

Lit. *a-^{wa}ma-ti* RA 15, 181 viii 6 *awāti* "word",

which according to the normal usage of phonetic complements (§ 2.17) means that *wa* complements the following *ma*, and not the other way round. The sign PI was gradually replaced by M-signs because it was indifferent with respect to the vowel and thus lay outside the normal system of syllabograms in OB. Moreover, M-spellings are favored by the fact that intervocalic /m/ was rarely written W and pronounced [w] (§ 2.260).

b) This is especially true for syllable-closing /w/: although PI was sometimes used to write the syllable /aw/ (§ 2.474e), M-signs were felt to be more suitable and were preferred. This is the reason why long /ww/ is never spelled **aw-wi* (PI-PI), etc. (§ 2.474f). Moreover, see the following instances where syllable-initial /w/ is spelled PI but a syllable-closing /w/ is spelled M:

Om. *na-wi-ir* YOS 10, 48: 39f. *nawir* "he is brilliant", but *na-am-ra-at* YOS 10, 48: 44f. *nawrat* "she is brilliant".[728]

Om. [*na-w*]*i-ir-ti-im* ZA 43, 310: 22 [*na*]*wirtim* "bright", but *na-am-ru-ú* ZA 43, 309: 4 *nawrū* "they are bright" and *na-ma-ri-im* ZA 43, 310: 25 *nawārim* "to become bright".

Lit.*ut-ta-wa-ar-šu* CT 58, 28 r. 6 *uttawwaršu* "will be illuminated for him", but *nam-rum* CT 58, 28 r. 8 *nawrum* "shining".

c) The collection of refs. for *nawāru* in Edzard 1994, 5–8 shows the following distribution of W- and M-spellings:[729]

724 Thus Edzard 1994, 11: "wahrscheinlich auch lautliche[n] … Übergang von zwischenvokalischem *-w-* zu *-m-*." According to Gelb 1970, 75, *na-aw-ru-um* is a morphographemic spelling for spoken [*namrum*], and *namrum* developed in order to avoid homophony with *nūrum* "light" and to keep the form *PaRS* for the adjective. But already spoken [nawru] avoids homophony with *nūru* and keeps *PaRS*; moreover, with other roots II-weak *PaRS* is not kept (see *kīnu* from the root KWN). Gelb's hypothesis also does not explain M-spellings with other words.

725 Thus already GAG § 21d: "gesprochen wurde vermutlich meist *w*."

726 W.R. Mayer 1992, 48–51. There are, however, exceptions: forms like *un-da-šir-iš* YOS 7, 146: 19 (LB; CAD U/W 316) can only be explained by a development *undaššir-* < *umtaššir-* < *uwtaššir*.

727 Streck 2000, 173–175.

728 Already noted by Edzard 1994, 5 n. 7.

729 Only OB refs. are counted. For *E-ta-wi-ra-am*, etc., instead of *E-ta-aw-ra-am*, etc., see § 2.476d with n.

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	Syllable-initial	Syllable-final
W-spellings	23	14
M-spellings	6	16

M-spellings are much more in use for syllable-final than for syllable-initial /w/. Therefore it is probable that M-spellings started with syllable-final and not with syllable-initial /w/.[730]

d) Examples of syllable-initial /w/:

ša-me-ri-ša BE 6/1, 43: 9 *šaweriša* "her ring-silver".
mi-iṣ-ṣa AbB 2, 25: 16 *wisṣa* "is too little".
na-m[*i*]*-ir-tam* AbB 3, 34: 31 *nawirtam* "bright".
mu-uṣ-ṣi-ma AbB 9, 34: 20 *wuṣṣīma* "spread!"
ú-ma-aṣ-ṣí-ma ARM 2, 130: 6 *uwaṣṣīma* "he spread".[731]
Om. *na-ma-ri-i*[*m*] ZA 43, 310: 25 *nawārim* "to become bright".
Lit. *ša-ma-mi* VS 10, 213: 6, 8, 10 *šamāwī* "heaven".
Lit. *a-ma-at* VS 10, 214 vi 13 *awāt* "word".[732]
Lit. *ú-ša-an-ma-ar* VS 10, 215: 22 *ušanwar* "he makes radiant".[733]
Lit. *ú-ša-an-me-er* Fs. Reiner 192: 46 *ušanwer* "he made radiant".
Lit. [*tu*]*-ša-an-me-er* Fs. Reiner 190: 27 [*tu*]*šanwer* "you made radiant".

730 Therefore, Edzard's (1994, 10) explanation for M-spellings with *nawārum* is difficult to accept: "Das Präteritum von *amārum* N, *innamir* „wurde sichtbar", steht einem Stativ *nawir* „ist hell, sichtbar" sowohl bedeutungsmässig als auch klanglich nahe. So könnte denn eine von *innamir* abgespaltene Stativform *namir* als ‚Virus' gewirkt haben und zur Keimzelle eines ganzen Paradigmas geworden sein". Moreover, it is unclear why he needs a special rule for *nawārum* if he assumes a general development /w/ > /m/ (note that syllable-initial M < W is not more frequent with *nawārum* than with other words).

731 For *wusṣûm* see Mayer 2015, 180.

732 But the text has *a-wa-ta* VS 10, 214 vi 39 *awāta*, *a-wa-tim* VS 10, 214 vi 45 *awâtim*, *a-wa-ta-am* VS 10, 214 vii 11 *awātam*.—The word *ta'tāmum* "assembly" is unlikely to derive from *atwûm* "to discuss" (pace Durand, FM 7 p. 46 note ad 18: 11 and Mayer 2015, 180 ad § 8 f; 188 ad § 56n): the word is always(!) spelled with M-signs (more than 10 refs.), which would be quite unusual, and is also attested with M in Ebla (Streck 2000, 119). For the root 'TM, an Amorite loan, see Streck ibid. In Ebla, the corresponding verb (')*atāmum* "to compose" is attested in the Št-stem (Catagnoti 2012, 145, 150).

733 The text has *i-ta-wu-ú ītawū* "he speaks" in the same line.

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e) Examples of syllable-final /w/:[734]
nam-ru-ti AbB 14, 88: 20 *nawrūti* "bright".[735]
na-[*a*]*m-ri* ARM 8, 25: 8 *nawri* "bright".
i-um-ta-ti-ir-ma MDP 24, 357: 5 *iwtatir* "he exceeded".
Om. *na-a*[*m-r*]*a* YOS 10, 8: 22 *naw*[*r*]*ā* "they are bright".
Lit. *im-ri* VS 10, 215: 29 *iwrī* "shine!"
Lit. ⌜*it*⌝*-tam-ru* Gilg. OB II 104 *ittawrū* "it became bright".
Lit. [*n*]*a-am-ru-ú* Atr. 62: 283 *nawrū* "it was beaming".
f) Examples of long /ww/:
PN *Im-me-er-ì-lí-ma* AbB 6, 98: 2 *Immer-ilīma* "My god has become bright".[736]
PN *Šamaš-mu-na-me-ir* AS 16, 49: 74 *Šamaš-munawwir* "Šamaš is illuminating".
Om. *i-na-me-ir* TBP 62 r. 17 f. *inawwer* "he becomes bright".

3.20.2 Word-Initial /w/

§ 2.478. Frequently we find strong /w/ in word-initial position with roots I-W:
a) Before /a/:
wa-ar-ka-tum AbB 7, 108 r. 8 *warkatum* "matter".
wa-al-du ARM 6, 43: 5 *waldu* "is born" (stat.).
wa-aš-še-er OBTR 94: 9, 14 *waššer* "release!"
Lex. *wa-ar-du-um* MSL 14, 134 iii 16 *wardum* "slave".
Lit. *wa-li-di-im* CH xlviii 22 *wālidim* "begetter".
b) Before /e/ and /i/:
we-ri-a-am AbB 5, 171: 25 *weriʾam* "copper".
we-e-di-ši-ia-ma AbB 14, 92: 11 *wēdiššījama* "I alone".
wi-il-di-ša AbB 5, 249: 5 *wildiša* "her child".
wi-li-id AbB 6, 4: 25 *wilid* "child".
wi-ṣa-ti CUSAS 36, 181: 19 *wīṣāti* "little".
Om. *wi-li-ti* CUSAS 18, 12: 91 *wilitti* "offspring".
c) Before /u/:
wu-uš-šu-ur AbB 3, 26: 18 *wuššur* "is released".
wu-ul-lu-du-um YOS 5, 150: 25 *wulludum* "birth".[737]

734 The reading and interpretation of *um*?*-ta*?*-ar-ru-nim-ma* AbB 10, 79: 14 as *uwtarrûnimma* (Sommerfeld 1990, 143 "sie wurden aufgehalten") is uncertain. For *wurrûm* see AHw. 1497 and CAD U/W 245 f.
735 The same text has *a-wa-tim* AbB 14, 88: 15 *awātim* "word".
736 Not *immerum* "sheep" (W. Sommerfeld apud Edzard 1995), because *immerum* is not used in theophoric names.
737 For further refs. see CAD W 410.

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wu-ú-ur-tim ARM 14, 122: 22 *wu”urtim* “command”.
wu-di-ma ARM 18, 8: 6 *wuddīma* “surely”.
wu-úš-še-er OBTR 286: 7 *wuššer* “release!”

§ 2.479. Word-initial /w/ is dropped:[738]
a) Rarely before /a/:
al-da-at AbB 7, 106: 21 *aldat* < *waldat* “she has born”.
al-da AbB 10, 7: 14 *aldā* < *waldā* “they have born”.
a-na a-ta-ar-ti AbB 7, 125 r. 6 *atarti* < *watarti* “excessively”.
ar-du-ia-a AbB 14, 29: 14 *ardūja* < *wardūja* “my slaves”.
ar-du-um AbB 12, 78: 22 *ardum* < *wardum* “slave”.
Lit. *a*[*t*]*-ma-*⌜*ni*⌝ OECT 11, 1: 3 *atmanī* < *watmanī* “cellae”.
b) Frequently before /e/ and /i/:
e-di-iš-ši-ša AbB 14, 131: 4 *ēdiššīša* < *wēdiššīša* “on its own”.
e-ṣé-tum FM 9, 123 no. 22: 8 *ēṣētum* < *wē/īṣētum* “little”.
i-ta-ab-ba-al AbB 7, 80: 15 *itabbal* < *(?)*witabbal* “constantly bear!”[739]
i-li-id AbB 14, 29: 14 *ilid* < *wilid* “child”.
i-ṣú AbB 2, 99: 18 *īṣū* < *wīṣū* “are little”.
i-iṣ AbB 14, 74: 26; ARM 3, 3: 6; ARM 3, 5: 16 *īṣ* < *wīṣ* “is little”.
i-ṣa-at AbB 14, 179: 9; ARM 3, 1: 14 *īṣat* < *wīṣat* “is little”.
i-ṣú-um ARM 3, 18: 8 *īṣum* < *wīṣum* “small”.
Roy. *i-tar-ra-am* RIME 4, 381: 23 *itarrâm* < *(?)*witarrâm* “to lead forever” (Gtn inf.).
Lit. *i-ṣú-tim* CH xlix 65 *īṣūtim* < *wīṣūtim* “few”.
c) Sometimes before /u/:
ur-ru-qí-im AbB 14, 162: 5 *urruqim* < *wurruqim* “to make green”.
⌜*ur-ri*⌝*-qí* AbB 14, 162: 16 *urriqī* < *wurriqī* “make green!”
uš-še-ra-aš AbB 3, 75: 6 *uššeraš* < *wuššeraš* “send forth!”[740]
ú-šu-ra-nu AbB 6, 73: 4 *uššurānu* < *wuššurānu* “we are released”.
ú-e-er-šu-ma Shemshara 1, 73: 7 *u”eršuma* < *wu”eršuma* “give him order!”
ú-da-am Sumer 23 pl. 16: 4 *uddâm* < *wuddâm* “to assign”.
ú-ur-tam ARM 28, 124: 12, *ú-ur-ti* ARM 2, 39: 17 *u”urtam/u”urti* “order”.
Lit. *ú-du-ú-ši-im* VS 10, 214 iii 17 *uddūšim* < *wuddūšim* “is assigned to her”.

738 In late OB this sound change is more frequent, and in MB it becomes usual, see § 1.8.
739 Gtn imp. Since there is a general tendency to drop /w/ before /i/, it remains unclear whether the very rare non-pref. forms Gtn of verbs I-w are analogous formations, as claimed by Kouwenberg 2010, 471.
740 In AbB understood as pret. Context: *eleppam ša amšalī aklûši uššeraš u kanīkī uṣram* “the ship that I had detained yesterday send forth, and keep my sealed document!”

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3.20.3 Syllable-Closing /w/

§ 2.480. a) The sequence /aw/ is a diphthong that usually becomes a monophthong /ū/:[741]

mu-tim AbB 1, 52: 19 *mūtim* < *mawtim* "death".

UD-*um* ARM 18, 2: 10 *ūm* < *jawmum* "day".

Om. *qú-li-im* YOS 10, 9: 14 *qūlim* < *qawlim* "silence".

Lit. *šu-ur* CT 15, 4 ii 3 *šūr* < *šawr* "bull" (st. cstr.).

Lit. *ú-šu-pí-ù* CH iv 62 *ušūpīʾu* < *ušawpīʾu* "he proclaimed".

b) Exceptionally, the diphthong /aw/ is preserved in the variant *dawdûm* of the word *dabdûm* "defeat" in Mari:[742]

da-aw-da-šu-nu Syria 32, 15: 23 *dawdâšunu*.

da-aw-de-e-em ARM 1, 92: 5 *dawdêm*.

c) The diphthong /aw/ is also preserved in forms of *nawārum* "to be(come) bright" (see §§ 2.474.e, 2.477.e, 2.486):

na-aw-ra-tum FM 9, 188 no. 42: 5 *nawrātum* "bright".

§ 2.481. The rare sequence /iw/ is preserved.

a) Written with M-signs:[743]

i-um-ta-ti-ir MDP 24, 357: 5 *iwtatir* "became excessive".[744]

Lit. *im-ri* ZA 102, 188: 29 *iwrī* "shine! (fem.)".

b) Written with Ú:

Lit. *i ni-ú-ši-ib* Gilg. OB IM 6 *niwšib* "let us sit down".[745]

c) Not expressed in writing: Lit. *i ni-ši-ib* Gilg. OB IM 8 *niwšib* "let us sit down".[746]

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741 Or sometimes /ō/? Csee § 2.92.

742 For *dabdûm* see § 2.489. AHw. 148 normalizes the forms as *dabdûm*, *daw*(*i*)*dûm*. However, since no spelling **da-bi-dV-* is attested, there is also no reason to analyze the spelling *da-*PI-*dV-* as *dawidV-*. The etymology of the word is unclear (AHw. 148).

743 There is probably no evidence for /iw/ > /ī/: the form *ūbil* is unlikely to derive from **iwbil*, as GAG § 21f suggests: *ūbil* is certainly secondary, the original form being *ubil* (Kouwenberg 2010, 451f.); the latter form is difficult to explain and might go back to **jubil* (see ibid. pp. 459–461). Forms like *ītir* and *ītatir* (*WTR*) are probably formed analogous to verbs I-j (as is the entire paradigm of the stative verbs I-w) and do not reflect **iwtir* and **iwtatir*, as suggested by Kouwenberg 2010, 462.

744 *i-um* is a broken spelling. In Susa strong forms of *watāru* are also attested in G pres., see Salonen 1962, 78.

745 See George 2003, 270.

746 // *ni-ú-ši-ib* Gilg. OB IM 6, see § 2.481b.

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§ 2.482. a) The diphthong /uw/ usually becomes /ū/:[747]

am-nu ABIM 20: 63 *amnū* < *amnuw* "I counted".

iz-ru-ú-ma AbB 13, 4 r. 10 *izrūma* < *izruw-* "he winnowed".

ú-ta-aš-šar CH § 20 *ūtaššar* < *uwtaššar* "he will be released".

b) Paradigmatic pressure perhaps causes the following exception with a root I-W:

um-ta-ar-ru-nim-ma AbB 10, 79: 14 *uwtarrûnimma* "they cut (him) off(?)".[748]

3.20.4 Triphthongs

§ 2.483. /w/ is frequently preserved in syllable-initial position in the middle of a word:

a) /awa/:

a-wa-ti-ia AbB 5, 171: 18 *awâtīja* "my affairs".

b) /awi/ or /āwi/:

a-wi-lum CH § 1 *awīlum* "man".

ḫa-wi-ri-ša CH § 135 *ḫāwiriša* "her husband".

c) /iwa/:

li-wa-še-er AbB 13, 89: 39 *liwaššer* "may he release".

d) /uwa/:

ú-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-ni AbB 9, 118: 14; ARM 10, 34: 8 *uwaššaranni* "he will release me".

i nu-wa-qí-ku-um AbB 1, 50: 14 *i nuwaqqīkum* "let us wait for you".

ú-wa-e-ra-an-ni ARM 2, 139: 6 "he has sent me".

ú-wa-[*a*]*t-te-ra-am* ARM 5, 71: 9 *uwatteram* "he exaggerated".

ú-wa-ak-ki-im-šu-nu-ti ARM 26/2, 95 no. 326: 13 *uwakkimšunūti* "he noticed them".

§ 2.484. Rarely /i/ and /u/ appear instead of the triphthongs /iwa/ and /uwa/. This is unlikely to be a phonological development[749] but rather a formation analogous to the G-stem: G *uṣṣab*: D *muṣṣib-*, etc.[750]

a) /iwa/ > /i/:

Lit. *li-iš-ši-pu-ka* MLVS 2, 3: 9 *lišši*̆*pūka* < *liwaššipūka* "may they conjure you".

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747 It is unclear whether *šūbil* derives from *šuwbil* (GAG § 21 f) or is analogous to *ušābil*.

748 The form, however, is not entirely clear. In the translation proposed in AbB 10, p. 83, "Sie haben *lange dorthin*/*hierher* gebraucht," the form is derived from (elsewhere not certainly attested) *marû* D(t).

749 Suggested by Kouwenberg 2010, 454 f. However, Akk. sound laws would require that /iwa/ and /uwa/ develop into /â/.

750 Thus the weak D-stem forms of verbs I-w developed similarly to the D-stem forms of verbs I-ʾ: D *uḫḫaz* is analogous to G *iḫḫaz*.

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b) /uwa/ > /u/:

ú-uṣ-ṣi-ṣú-šu AbB 14, 144: 11 *uṣṣiṣūšu* < *uwaṣṣiṣūšu* "they questioned him".

Lit. *mu-uṣ-ṣí-ba-at* Or. 77, 340 v 13 *muṣṣibat* < *muwaṣṣibat* "that multiplies".

3.20.5 Other Cases of Strong /w/

§ 2.485. /w/ is always strong in roots II-w which are also III-w:

at-wa-am AbB 5, 191 r. 3 *atwâm* "to discuss".

ka-wi-tu[*m*] ARM 3, 11: 8 *kawītum* "outer".

i-la-wi ARM 26/2, 269 no. 405 r. 16 *ilawwī* "he surrounds".

ta-al-wi ARM 26/2, 271 no. 406: 5 *talwī* "you surrounded".

iš-wi-ma ARM 14, 2: 18 *išwīma* "he was roasted".

Om. *la-wi-at* YOS 10, 9: 2 *lawīʾat* "she is surrounded".

§ 2.486. The verb *nawārum* "to shine" always has a strong /w/.

a) This /w/ probably started in forms that would be homophonous to other words if /w/ were weak:[751]

it-ta-aw-ru ARM 2, 49: 5 *ittawrū* "they became bright" (see *ittūrū* "they returned").

PN *Na-aw-ru-um* UET 5, 363: 13; UET 5, 723: 44 *Nawrum* "Bright" (see *nūrum* "light").

Lit. *na-wa-ri-im* CH xlix 69 *nawārim* "to become bright" (see *nārim* "river").

b) Then /w/ was then transferred by analogy to other forms of the paradigm:

i-na-wi-ra-am Sumer 14, 14: 15 *inawwiram* "becomes bright".

nu!*-wi-ir* ARM 4, 59: 9 f. *nuwwir* "illuminate!"

Lit. *ú-ša-an-ma-ar* VS 10, 215: 22 *ušanwar* "he makes radiant".

3.20.6 Nouns *Pa*/*i*/*uRS* III-w

§ 2.487. In the following case, /w/, the third radical of a noun of the pattern *PiRS*, is lost, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel:

mi-nu-um ARM 4, 21: 15 *mīnum* < *minwum* "number".

3.20.7 Interchange between /w/ and /b/

§ 2.488. *wabālum* "to bring" shows regressive assimilation of /w/ to /b/. This occurs in the inf., ptc., and stat. G, in the pres./pret. N-stem, and in nouns derived from the root WBL. The latter always have /w/ > /b/, whereas in other forms a dialectal distribution exists: in Bab. only forms with /b/ are attested, whereas elsewhere forms with /w/ and /b/ both occur.

751 See Gelb 1970, 75 for "*namrum*" (in fact *nawrum*, see § 2.477) "bright" and *nūrum* "light".

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a) Inf. G:
Bab. *ba-ba-lam* AbB 5, 162: 8 *babālam* < *wabālam* "bringing".
b) Ptc. G:
Bab. *ba-bi-la-at* LIH 95: 19 *bābilat* < *wābilat* "she who brings".
Mid.Euphr. *wa-bi-il* ARM 10, 32 r. 9; ARM 10, 85: 17; ARM 10, 176: 18; ARM 18, 33: 13 *wābil* "who brings".
UpMes.[752] *ba-bi-il* ARM 5, 38: 5 *bābil* < *wābil*.
c) Stat. G:
Diy. *ba-bi-il* Sumer 14, 11: 14 *babil* < *wabil* "he has been brought".
d) N pres.:
Bab. *ib-ba-*[*a*]*b-ba-lu* AbB 1, 84: 27; AbB 4, 11: 33 *ibbabbalū* < *iwwabbalū* "will be brought".
e) N pret.:
Bab. *ib-ba-ab-lam* AbB 11, 118: 12 *ibbablam* < *iwwablam* "has been brought".
f) Nouns derived from WBL:[753]
bi-ib-lam CH § 160 *biblam* "marriage gift".
ba-ab-bi-lu-um AbB 14, 70: 12 *babbilum* "bearer".
ba-ab-lu-ti-šu-nu AbB 2, 99: 15 *bablūtišunu* "their service as bearer".
ba-ab-bi-lu-tim AbB 10, 1: 21 *babbilūtim* "service as bearer".
bi-ib-lim ARM 2, 78: 9 *biblim* "invisibility (of the moon)".[754]
bi-ib-la-tim ARM 1, 103: 7 *biblātim*.[755]
bi-i[*b-lam*] ARM 26/1, 105 no. 10: 7 *bi*[*blam*] "marriage gift".
bi-bi-il-tim-ma ARM 10, 11: 21 *bibiltimma*.[756]

§ 2.489. In the word *dawdûm*/*dabdûm* "defeat" (§ 2.480b) *w* may interchange with *b*. It remains unclear whether this is a phonetic or merely an orthographic change in order to avoid the sign PI for /aw/:[757]
Lit. *da-ab-da-a* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 270 f. iii 1, 3, 7 *dabdâ*.

3.20.8 Secondary /w/

§ 2.490. Secondary /w/ rarely occurs as a glide between vowels. Also, long /ʾʾ/ can be replaced by /ww/.

752 The sender of the letter, Ḫāsidānum, is governor of Karana (ARM 16/1, 104).
753 *bi-ib-bu-lum* CH §§ 45, 48 *bibbulum* "flood" probably does not belong here, since it appears to have the noun pattern *PiSPuS*, see GAG § 57a*.
754 Literally "taking away".
755 In broken context.
756 Exact mng. unclear.
757 Alleged *ba-ši-ib* (GAG § 103j) is in fact *wa-ši-ib* AbB 2, 108: 17.

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a) Between /a/ and /a/:

Lit. *ša-ma-mi* VS 10, 213: 6, 8, 10 *šamāwī* < *šamā'ī* "sky".[758]

b) Between /a/ and /i/:[759]

ḫa-wi-ri-ša(-ma) CH §§ 135, 174[760] *ḫāwiriša(ma)* < *ḫā'iri-* "of her husband".

c) Between /a/ and /u/:

ú-qa-wu-ka AbB 1, 36: 9 *uqawwûka* < *uqa''ûka* "they are waiting for you".

ú-qa-wu-[*ú*] ARM 27, 18 r. 6 *uqawwû* "they are waiting".

Om. *iš-ta-na-wu-ú* HUCA 40, 90: 14, 19 *ištanawwū* < *ištana''ū* "they constantly fly".

d) Between /u/ and /a/:

it-ti-ku-nu wa-da-bu-ub ABIM 3: 14 f. *ittīkunu* = *w* = *adabbub* (sandhi) "I will talk with them".[761]

Lit. *ru-wa-ma-am* RA 22, 170 f.: 5, 7 *ruwāmam* < *ru'āmam* "love".

Lit. *bu-wa-ru-ú* RA 22, 170 f.: 13 *buwāru* < *bu'āru* "prosperity".

§ 2.491. a) A secondary /w/ occurs initially in the word *(w)arḫiš* "quickly", apparently by contamination from the words *warḫum* "month" and *warḫišam* "monthly":

wa-ar-ḫi-iš AbB 14, 127: 21; VS 7, 192: 14; Om. YOS 10, 54 r. 11.

b) The form *arḫiš* > *warḫiš* rarely develops into *urḫiš*:

UpMes. ⌜*ur*⌝*-ḫi-iš šupr*[*īmm*]*a* OBTR 86: 9 "send me quickly!"

3.21 */z/*

3.21.1 Pronunciation and Writing

§ 2.492. a) /z/ is the reflex of Proto-Semitic /z/ or /ḏ/. /z/ is an affricate [dz],[762] spelled with Z-signs (ZA = *za*, ZI = *zi*, ZU = *zu*, AZ = *az*, IZ = *iz*, UZ = *uz*, § 2.13).[763] In some positions (mostly syllable-final), /z/ has a deaffricated allophone [z], written in most cases with the S-sign set, which elsewhere stands for deaffricated

758 The form "*šamāmū*" of the dictionaries is in fact *šamāwū* with the glide /w/ written *m*. It stands alongside *šamā'ū*, e.g., *ša-ma-a-i* CT 15, 4 ii 3. *šamāw/'ū* is the uncontracted, literary form of *šamû*.

759 Instead of Lex. *da-wi-ṣú-um* CAD D 27 *dāwiṣum* < *dā'iṣum* "arrogant", read with AHw. 166 and 1550 *da-wu-*⌜*ú-um*⌝ MSL 12, 181: 47 *dāwûm* "suffering from convulsions".

760 See Kouwenberg 2010, 479, who assumes a lexicalized form.

761 This explanation is better than positing a syllabic value *à* (K. Lerberghe/G. Voet, MHET 1 p. 113; see § 2.35b) for PI here.

762 The arguments for an affricate realization are summarized by Kogan 2011, 66 f.

763 Regular CVC-signs with initial or final /z/ are not in use.

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[s] (see § 2.345). Also, a spelling AŠ =*àz*, a sign that belongs to the Š-sign set, for [az] is attested,[764] which is difficult to explain.[765]

b) ZÍ instead of ZI is rare:[766]

šu-zí-ib-šu AbB 12, 25: 22 *šūzibšu* "have him draw up!"[767]

e-zé-bi-im CH § 137 *ezēbim* "to divorce".

ip-zí-ir-ma ARM 26/1, 344 no. 169 r. 17 *ipzirma* "he hid himself".

zí-ki-ir OBTR 134: 33 *zikir* "name".

c) Rarely, AZ = uz_4 is used instead of UZ:

uz_4*-na-am* ARM 2, 118: 11, 14 *uznam* "ear".

§ 2.493. a) Deaffrication regularly occurs before /t/, written ÁŠ = *áz*:

ma-(*az-*)*za-*ÁŠ*-ti-* AbB 2, 42: 27; AbB 2, 17: 16; AbB 2, 146: 7; ARM 1, 14: 11; FM 2, 25 no. 4: 15 *mazzazti* "position".

b) Rarely, the affricate is preserved:

[*m*]*a-an-za-*AZ*-ti* AJSL 33, 236 no. 26: 3 (and *passim* in this text) *mazzazti* "position".

c) Sometimes we find AŠ = *àz* instead of AZ:[768]

*ma-za-*AŠ*-ti* Sumer 14, 20: 4; TCL 10, 112: 6 *man*/*zzazti*(*m*) "service".

ma-az/*an-za-*AŠ*-ta*/*ti-šu-nu* AbB 11, 161: 14, 28; AbB 13, 28: 11 *maz*/*nzazta*/*išunu* "their service".

d) In *zīttum* < *zīztum* "share", however, /z/ is fully assimilated to following /t/:[769]

zi-it-ti AbB 1, 75: 5 *zītti*.

§ 2.494. a) Also, before /k/ and /q/, /z/ may be deaffricated,[770] spelled ÁŠ = *áz*, ÌZ(AB) =*ìz*, and UŠ = *úz*.[771] In AbB 11, 106: 5 *na-áš-qá-a-ku* for *nazqāku* "I am worried" occurs alongside *uz-na-ia* AbB 11, 106: 14 *uznāja* "my ears". This proves that not every syllable-final /z/ is affected.[772]

764 Also, /s/ before /t/ can be written AŠ (see § 2.364b).

765 See the summary in Streck 2006, 247, and ibid. 217, refuting the assumption of Girbal 1997 that this spelling proves that /z/ and /š/ are a phonemic pair of voiced and voiceless palato-alveolar fricatives.

766 See ZÍ for the affricate /s/ = [ts] § 2.345b.

767 But the same text uses ZI in *tu-še-ze-eb-šu-ma* AbB 12, 25: 19 *tušezzebšuma* "you have him draw up".

768 More refs. for AŠ in Girbal 1997, 172.

769 The reason for this assimilation is unclear. Hirsch 1975, 294 n. 184 proposes an analogy to *šittu* "rest".

770 The phonetic reason for this deaffrication is still unclear.

771 See Sommerfeld 2006, 374 and nn. 17, 18.

772 As is every syllable-final /s/ in most dialects, see § 2.342.

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b) Before /k/:

*it-ta-*ÁŠ*-ka-ar* AbB 10, 1: 11 *ittazkar* "he was named".

*ta-*ÁŠ*-ku-ru* AbB 12, 94: 11 *tazkuru* "you named".

*ta-*ÁŠ*-ku-ri* OBTR 134: 18 *tazkurī* "you named".

*šu-*UŠ*-ku-ur* ARM 27, 16: 21 *šuzkur* "to make swear".

ÁŠ*-kur-ma* ARM 2, 51: 11 *azkurma* "I swore".

*lu-ša-*ÁŠ*-ki-ir-šu* ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 16 *lušazkiršu* "let me make him swear".

*li-*IZ*-ku-ur*(*-ma*) ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 17, 21 *lizkur*(*ma*) "may he swear".

*ni-*IZ*-ku-ur* RATL p. 105 no. 36: 11 *nizkur* "we swore".

*šu-*UŠ*-ki-ra-an-ni* ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 31 *šuzkiranni* "make me swear!"

*šu-*UŠ*-ku-ur-šu* ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 33 *šuzkuršu* "has made him swear".

*lu-*UŠ*-ku-ra-kum-*[*m*]*a* ARM 28, 31: 33 *luzkurakkumma* "let me swear to you".

c) Before /q/:

*ta-*ÁŠ*-qú-pu* AbB 6, 114: 22 *tazqupu* "you planted".

*na-*ÁŠ*-qá-*(*a-*)*ku*(*ma*) AbB 2, 80: 7; AbB 3, 53: 27; AbB 6, 1: 34 *nazqāku*(*ma*) "I am worried".

[*na*]-ÁŠ*-qú-ú-ut-ki* AbB 11, 14: 16 *nazqūtki* "your worry".

Lit. *ti-*IŠ*-qa-ar-tum* ZA 65, 178: 2 *tizqārtum* "supreme".

§ 2.495. a) In Diy., the second /z/ of *izuzzum* may be deaffricated, a dissimilation found similarly with two occurrences of /s/ in a single word (§ 2.366):[773]

*i-za-*ÁŠ Sommerfeld 2006, 373[774] *izzâz* "he stands".

b) This deaffrication is, however, optional:

iz-za-az Sumer 14, 14: 12 *izzâz* "he shall stand".

az-za-a-az Sumer 14, 3: 26 *azzâz* "I will stand".

§ 2.496. If not a mistake, an exceptional deaffrication with loss of the fricative element of /z/ ([dz] > [d])[775] is attested in the following instance:

ta-aḫ-ḫa-ad AbB 8, 74: 27 *taḫḫad* < *taḫḫaz* "you will take".

773 The form *li-iz-bi-lu-nim* Sumer 14, 10: 12 *lizbilūnim* "let them bring" shows that not every syllable-final /z/ is affected.

774 Sommerfeld lists altogether 15 refs. for *i-za-*ÁŠ.

775 See Mayer 2015, 183 f. A similar phenomenon can be observed with /ṣ/ (§ 2.371).

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§ 2.497. Exceptionally, S = [s] occurs for /z/ when the latter is a reflex of Semitic /ḏ/:[776]

si-ib-ba-at CT 8, 8d: 1 *sibbat* "storage basin" (Semitic *ḏanab*).[777]

§ 2.498. A third radical /z/ in contact with the /š/ of the pron. suffs. results in the affricate [ts], written Z, traditionally transcribed and transliterated as *s* (s. § 2.379).

3.21.2 Metathesis

§ 2.499. For the metathesis of /z/ and infix /t/ in the Gt-stem see § 2.447b.

3.21.3 Interchange between *z* and *d*

§ 2.500. For the interchange between written *z* and *d* see § 2.202.

3.22 *Consonantal Length*[778]

3.22.1 Origins and Writing

§ 2.501. All consonants[779] may be long ("doubled"). Consonantal length has two different origins:

a) Structure, e.g., in present G *iPaRRaS*, in forms of the Gtn-stem like *iPtaRRaS*, or in forms of the the D-stem like *uPaRRaS*.

b) Assimilation of one consonant to another, e.g., *išpuramkum* > *išpurakkum* (§ 2.251), *indin* > *iddin* (§ 2.263), *iṣtabat* > *iṣṣabat* (§ 2.437).

§ 2.502. Cuneiform script may express consonantal length ("gemination") by double spellings of the type (C)VC_1-C_1V(C),[780] but this is optional. Within a single text double writing or single writing may change:

i-li-kam AbB 6, 146: 16 *illikam* "he came", but *il-li-kam* AbB 6, 146: 10.

li-li-kam AbB 9, 93: 20, 23 *lillikam* "may he come", but *li-il-li-kam* AbB 9, 93: 15.

sú-ni-iq-ma ARM 1, 6: 40 *sunniqma* "check!", but *sú-un-ni-iq-ma* ARM 1, 6: 38.

iš-pu-ra-kum ARM 1, 31: 23 *išpurakkum* "he sent to you", but *iš-pu-ra-ak-kum* ARM 1, 31: 20.

§ 2.503. a) Double spellings of consonants usually render long consonants. An exception are morphographemic spellings (see §§ 2.19–20).

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776 See Streck 2000, 211 § 2.106 and nn. 2–3. Refs. are also found in Amorite PNs, see Streck 2000, 211, 213 f.

777 See AHw. 1524 *zibbatum* B 5; CAD Z 102 *zibbatum* 2b. Also late OB *si-ib-ba-ti* PBS 8, 196: 12.

778 For the terms "length" and "gemination" see Kouwenberg 1997, 3 n. 1.

779 This is also true for /ʾ/, see § 2.157.

780 For the writing of /ww/ see § 2.474 f.

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b) Some rare double spellings of consonants are unexplained and may be mistakes:[781]

pa-aḫ-ḫi-ir ARM 2, 21 r. 13 *paḫir* "is assembled".

e-em-mu-uq ARM 26/2 p. 67 no. 310: 20 *emūq* "force".

aš-ša-šum lā ta[*ššaš*] ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310 edge 3 *ašāšum* "do not be worried at all".[782]

§ 2.504. Especially in the letters of Jamṣījum from Ilanṣura,[783] but rarely also elsewhere, long consonants occur instead of long vowels + single consonants. It remains unclear whether this is a phonetic development[784] or rather an orthographic peculiarity.

a) Letters of Jamṣījum:

ṭe$_4$*-em-ma-am* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 8; ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 6, 17, 24 *ṭemmam* < *ṭēmam*; *ṭe*$_4$*-em-mu-um* ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 4 *ṭemmum* < *ṭēmum* "report".

ṭe$_4$*-em-mi-šu* ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 11 *ṭemmišu* < *ṭēmišu* "his report".

ip-pu-úš ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 24; ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 7 *ippuš* < *īpuš* "he did".*ṭà-ab-bu* ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 6 *ṭabbu* < *ṭābu* "is good".

i-nu-um-ma ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 3 *inumma* < *inūma* "when".

b) Other examples:[785]

ana ṣe-er-ri-ia CUSAS 36, 184: 8; ARM 1, 85 r. 9 *ṣerrija* < *ṣērija* "to me".

ina bi-it-ti-ka CUSAS 36, 125: 8 *ina bittika* < *bītika* "in your house", but *ina bi-ti-ka* CUSAS 36, 125: 13.

pa-nu-ut-tum ARM 1, 3 r. 10, 25 *panuttum* < *panūtum* "earlier".

Lit. *se-bé-et-tam* Atr. 42: 5 *sebettam* < *sebētam* "seven".

3.22.2 "Dissimilation" of a Geminate[786]

§ 2.505. "Nasalization" or "dissimilation of a geminate", by which consonantal length is replaced by a nasal + simple consonant, sometimes occurs in OB. In later texts this development becomes more frequent. Almost all of the following examples are from Bab. A single example is from MidEuphr, and there are

781 For /tt/ instead of /t/ in different prons. see §§ 4.20a, 4.127, 4.134b, and 4.136b.

782 Paronomastic inf. construction. Letter of Jamṣījum. See § 2.504 for long consonants instead of long vowels + single consonant in the letters of Jamṣījum.

783 See Charpin 1989, 32.

784 GAG § 20c understands such spellings as "lautlich oder durch den Akzent bedingt." Similar Finet 1956, 12: "le scribe redouble parfois la consonne subséquente, ce qui met l'accent sur la voyelle." Reiner 1966, 45 f. assumes a "free variation of /:C/ and /C:/."

785 Expected *kūṣum* "winter" usually appears as *kuṣṣum*, e.g., Om. *ku-uṣ-ṣum* YOS 10, 22: 22. This might be an analogy to *ummum* "summer" (D.O. Edzard).

786 See § 2.268 for the preservation of /n/ in Š-stem forms of verbs I-n.

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no examples from Diy. or UpMes. Dissimilation of a geminate may affect the voiced geminates /bb/, /dd/, /gg/, and /zz/, but rarely also voiceless /pp/ and /šš/. /bb/ and /pp/ develop into /mb/ or /nb/, and /mp/, /dd/, /gg/, and /zz/ into /nd/, /ng/, and /nz/.[787] In almost all cases dissimilation of a geminate occurs after a further nasal consonant /n/ or /m/ in the word: in roots I-n (*nadûm*, *nadānum*, *nadārum*, *nagûm*, *nazāqum*), in the N-stem verb *nābutum*, in the Gtn-stem of *wabālum*, in the verbs *mādādum* and *magārum*, and in the noun *mazzaztum*. The only exceptions to this rule are *Kumbulu*, *gumpuš*, *rangi*, and *pinšika*. Therefore, it is obvious that the dissimilation was mainly triggered by /n/ or /m/ preceding the geminate.[788]

a) /bb/ > /mb/:

in-na-am-bi-it YOS 8, 105: 9 *innambit* < *innabbit* "he is escaping".

in-na-am-bi-tu BagM 2, 78: 10 *innambitū* < *innabbitū* "they are escaping".

PN *Ku-um-bu-*[*lum*] YOS 8, 16: 16 *Kumbu*[*lum*] < *Kubbulum* "Crippled".

Lit. *it-ta-nam-ba-la* Gilg. OB III 183 *ittanambalā* < *ittanabbalā* "they constantly bring".

b) /bb/ > /nb/:

PN *Ku-un-bu-lu* BIN 7, 193: 4 *Kunbulu* < *Kubbulu* "Crippled". The same person is written *Ku-ub-bu-lum* in BIN 7, 185: 3.

Lex. *za-an-bi-la* MSL 4, 72: 171 f. *zanbilā* < *zabbilā* "they are carrying".[789]

c) /pp/ > /mp/:

Om. *gu-um-pu-uš* Or. 56, 247: 36 *gumpuš* < *guppuš* "is massive".

d) /dd/ > /nd/:[790] [791]

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787 GAG § 32a states that this /n/ is palatal; but GAG § 32c modifies this statement because it is difficult to distinguish between [n] or [ŋ]. Gelb 1970, 77 states: "all the spellings ... irrespective of whether they do or do not express homoorganic consonants, serve the morphophonemic function to express homoorganic consonants only," i.e., [mb], [nd], [nz], and [ŋg]. Spitaler 1954 proposed a different explanation for Aramaic: the dissimilation of a geminate has no phonetic reality but is mostly an etymological writing for a root consonant /n/ and sometimes a graphic analogy for spoken consonantal length. This explanation cannot hold for Akk. because the written nasal is usually not—in OB never—a root consonant.

788 A similar conclusion was reached independently from the present writer by Hernaíz 2019, 276 f.

789 See Mayer 2015, 185.

790 The form *i-na-an-di-a* AbB 13, 6: 18 is difficult: G- or N-stem?

791 *it-ta-an-di-in* CH § 117 f. has often been understood as pret. Gtn *ittandin* < *ittaddin*, see AHw. 702b; Kraus 1984, 265 f.: "Iterativ der Verbalform ... er kann nur besagen, daß die genannten Familienmitglieder bzw. in CH § 118 die Sklaven der Reihe nach abwechselnd dem Gläubiger hingegeben werden." This interpretation seems difficult, and the form is probably better analyzed as perf. N: "If a man—an obligation has seized him and he has given

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ta-na-an-di AbB 13, 143: 19; AbB 13, 184: 22; AbB 9, 1: 13, 36; AbB 11, 15: 19; CUSAS 36, 198: 40 *tanandī* < *tanaddī* "you throw".

i-na-an-di-i-ma AbB 8, 14: 18 *inandīma* < *inaddīma* "he neglects".

a-na-an-di-ka UET 5, 10: 11 *anandīka* < *anaddīka* "I will drop you".

in-na-an-di AbB 1, 23: 15; AbB 10, 175: 21 *innandī* < *innaddī* "will be thrown".

a-[*n*]*a-an-di-in-ma* AbB 4, 144: 25 *anandinma* < *anaddinma* "I will give".

⌜*a*⌝-*n*[*a*]*-an-di-iš-šu* AbB 1, 47: 14 *anandiššu* < *anaddiššu* "I will give to him".

a-na-an-di-ik-kum(*-ma*) AbB 12, 68: 15; AbB 13, 134: 11 *anandikkum*(*ma*) < *anaddikkum-* "I will give you".

i-na-an-di-nam AbB 6, 140: 13 *inandinam* < *inaddinam* "gives to me".

ta-na-an-di-in-ma AbB 14, 197 r. 8;[792] AbB 5, 26: 6, 9 *tanandinma* < *tanaddin-* "you give".

ta-na-an-di-iš-šum AbB 14, 147: 13 *tanandiššum* < *tanaddiššum* "you give to him".

ni-na!*-an-di-ik-kum-ma* AbB 14, 168: 12 *ninandikkumma* "we will give to you".

ta-na-an-di-na-ni-a-ši-im AbB 11, 194: 12 *tanandināni'āšim* < *tanaddinā-* "you give to us".

i-na-an-di-nu(*-šu-nu-ši-im-ma*) AbB 9, 56: 9; AbB 11, 194: 22 *inandinū* (*šunūšimma*) <*inaddinū* "they give (to them)".

i-na-an-di-nu-ku-ú CUSAS 36, 180: 25 *inandinūku* < *inaddinū-* "they give to you".

mu-un-da-šu-nu-ši-im-ma AbB 10, 74: 9 *mundāšunūšimma* < *muddā-* "measure for them!"

in-na-an-di-in AbB 14, 55: 12 *innandin* < *innaddin* "it will be given".

in-na-an-di-nu-ma AbB 9, 41: 31 *innandinūma* < *innaddinūma* "they will be given".

i-na-an-de ARM 2, 113: 11[793] *innandê* < *innaddê* "they will be neglected".[794]

Om. *in-na-an-da-ar* YOS 10, 18: 28; 46 v 21 *innandar* < *innaddar* "he becomes wild".

e) /gg/ > /ng/:[795]

ta-ma-an-ga-a[*r-š*]*u* AbB 11, 11: 17 *tamanga*[*rš*]*u* < *tamaggaršu* "you agree with him".

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his wife, his son, or his daughter for silver, or (s)he (wife, son, or daughter) has been given into debt service" (CH § 117) and "If a slave or a slave-girl has been given into debt service" (CH § 118).

792 The same text writes *ta-na*!*-di-in* AbB 14, 197 r. 7 *tanaddin*.

793 Letter of Inib-šarri, daughter of Zimrī-Lîm.

794 AHw. 706b *nadûm* G 13 understands the form as G-stem. For N-stem see Durand 2000, 468 f.

795 See also Mayer 2015, 184 f. with further refs.

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Om. *ra-an-gi* CUSAS 18, 14: 76 *rangi* < *raggi* "wicked".

Lit. *i-na-an-gu* Gilg. OB II 103 *inangû* < *inaggū* "he rejoices".

f) /zz/ > /nz/:

ma-an-za-aš/*áš-ti-šu-nu* AbB 13, 28: 11; AbB 2, 146: 7 *manzaztišunu* < *mazzaztišunu* "service obligation".

ta-na-an-zi-iq AbB 10, 8: 5 *tananziq* < *tanazziq* "you worry".

a-na-an-zi-qú AbB 6, 137: 17 *ananziqu* < *anazziqu* "(that) I worry".

a-na-an-zi-iq AbB 6, 137: 24 *ananziq* < *anazziq* "I worry".

g) /šš/ > /nš/:

Lit. *pi-in-ši-i-ka* CUSAS 10, 14: 4 *pinšika* < *piššika* < *pilšika* "breach".[796]

h) /ṣṣ/ > /nṣ/:

ṣa-an-ṣa-ar ARM 2, 107: 22 *ṣanṣar* "cricket", see *ṣa-aṣ-ṣa-ar* ARM 23, 101: 6.

4 Syllables

§ 2.506. Syllables are of the following type (examples with vowel A): CA, CĀ, CÂ, CAC, CĀC and CÂC. Syllable-initial or final consonant clusters (e.g., *CCAC, *CACC) are not accepted. The three first types are designated as "open", the three last types as "closed". CA is short; CĀ, CÂ, and CAC are long; and CĀC and CÂC are ultra-long.

§ 2.507. Plene vowel spellings prove the existence of ultra-long syllables in OB.

a) Structural vowel length:

ša-la-a-aš AbB 14, 59: 21 *šalāš* "three".

ma-qa-a-at ARM 1, 118 r. 39 *maqāt* "falling" (st. cstr.).

ma-a-as-sú ARM 24, 125: 13; FM 11, 11: 8; FM 11, 12: 8; FM 11, 14: 16 *māssu* "his land".

Om. *ma-a-at* YOS 10, 59: 8 *māt* "land" (st. cstr.).

Lit. *ša-na-a-at* CH l 53 *šanāt* "years" (st. cstr.).

Lit. *qá-ar-ni-i-in* CUSAS 10, 1: 37 *qarnīn* "two horns".

Lit. *du-ú-sú* ZA 110, 49 base 12 *dūssu* "his virility".

b) Roots II-weak:

ú-ka-a-al AbB 2, 37: 6; AbB 9, 193: 13; ARM 28, 9: 5; FM 2, 79 no. 45: 7 *ukāl* "he holds".

tu-ka-a-al AbB 13, 172: 19 *tukāl* "you hold".

ki-i-il AbB 10, 198: 23; Lit. ZA 110, 40 i 34 *kīl* "keep!"

796 For context see § 2.243a.

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ki-i-il-la-am CUSAS 36, 180: 26 *kīllam* "keep for me!"
te-e-er-ma AbB 5, 33: 7 *tērma* "return!"
ki-i-in-ma Sumer 14, 33: 6 *kīnma* "make firm!"
mi-i-it CUSAS 36, 93: 7 *mīt* "he is dead".
qú-ú-ul ARM 1, 67: 17 *qūl* "be quiet!"
ṭú-u-ub ARM 26/1, 426 no. 199: 11 *ṭūb* "goodness" (st. cstr.).
ku-ú-u[*n*] ARM 28, 104: 21 *kūn* "it is stable".
ú-ta-a-ar ARM 28, 60: 32 *utār* "he returns".
Lit. *bi-i-is-sú* CUSAS 10, 1: 25 *bīssu* "his house".
Lit. *ru-ú-uq-šum* CUSAS 10, 1: 22 *rūqšum* "it was distant for him".
Lit. *ú-te-e-er* PRAK 2 C 1: 10 *utēr* "he returned".

c) Vowel length appearing after the loss of a weak consonant (see § 2.116 for further examples):
ṭe$_4$*-e-em-šu* AbB 9, 199: 15 *ṭēmšu* "his report".
bé-e-el- AbB 13, 2: 3 *bēl-* (st. cstr.) "lord" (st. cstr.).
ṭe$_4$*-e-em* ARM 5, 16: 7 *ṭēm-* (st. cstr.) "mind" (st. cstr.).
Lit. *ma-a-ar-ti* CUSAS 10, 1: 19 *mārti* "daughter" (st. cstr.).

d) Vowels long by contraction:
id-da-a-ak CH § 10 (manuscript r, JCS 21, 44 v 67) *iddâk* < *iddū'ak* "he will be killed".
i-ma-a-at LE B i 7 *imât* < *imū'at* "he will die".
an-ni-i-im ARM 28, 8 r. 5 *annîm* < *annī-im* "this".
Lit. *šu-pa-a-at* CH l 44 *šūpât* < *šūpū-at* "she is eminent".
Lit. *i-bé-e-el* CUSAS 10, 1: 34 *ibêl* "he rules".

§ 2.508. Syllables of the type AC, i.e., with vocalic onset, do not exist in Semitic. Wherever necessary, vocalic onset is avoided by preposing secondary aleph (§§ 2.158–163). If two contiguous, uncontracted vowels occur in the middle of a word, this secondary aleph is frequently expressed by plene vowel spellings of the type *i-de-a-an-ni* AbB 3, 22: 14 *īdē'anni* (not **īdēanni*) "he knows me" (§ 2.161). Word-initial secondary aleph after the loss of etymological weak consonants is usually not written:[797] *ì-lí*, traditionally transcribed *ilī* "my god",[798] is in fact pronounced /'ilī/. Exceptions of the type *a-ab-bi-ni* AbB 11, 159: 1, 19 *'abbīni* "our fathers" do, however, sometimes occur (§§ 2.28–2.31). Frequent spellings of the type *i-il-la-ak* for /'illak/ are due to the paradigmatic parallel *ta-al-la-ak* (§ 2.28).

797 This is the reason why Buccellati 1996, 24–26 and Huehnergard 1997, 3 assume that syllables in Akk. may have a vocalic onset.
798 This grammar follows the traditional transcription.

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5 Word Stress

§ 2.509. The rules for word stress in OB are only insufficiently known.[799] However, plene vowel spellings CV-V, vowel elision (see § 2.144), and the trochaic ending rule in Akk. metrics may offer some clues to word stress.

5.1 *Plene Vowel Spellings CV-V*

§ 2.510. Plene vowel spellings CV-V frequently occur with etymological short vowels in open syllables before enclitic *-ma* or before pron. suffs.[800] In analogy to sentence stress (§ 2.513), it may be suggested that these vowels bear the stress. However, it remains unclear whether these vowels are also secondarily lengthened.[801]

a) Before enclitic *-ma*:

a-ḫu-ka-a-ma ARM 28, 96: 3 *aḫukáma* "your brother".
at-ta-a-ma ARM 28, 2: 7 *attáma* "you".
a-na-ku-ú-ma ARM 28, 31: 12 *anākúma* "I".
wa-aš-bu-ú-ma ARM 5, 35: 22 *wašbúma* "he sits" (subord.).
ṭú-ur-da-aš-šu-ú-ma ARM 1, 76: 28 *ṭurdaššúma* "send him!"
šu-nu-ú-ma ARM 4, 10 r. 5 *šunúma* "they".
ra-im-ka-a-ma FM 7, 38 no. 13: 4 *rā'imkáma* "who loves you".

---

799 The rules for stress used in Akk. studies depend on the rules valid for reading Classical Arabic (Knudsen 1980, 4–7). Knudsen himself assumes that word stress was always on one of the last two syllables (ibid. 14 f.): "plene writing only occurs in the last two syllables of a word.... The conspicious absence of this type of plene writing in antepenultimate syllables would seem to point to the existence of an Akkadian 'Zweisilbengesetz' restricting the occurrence of main stress to the two last syllables of the word." However, Reiner 1966, 38 opts for stress always on the first syllable for language typology reasons: "in a language where the stress is at the end of the word, there is usually a profusion of proclitics (e.g., Hebrew); this is not the case in Akkadian. In a language where the stress is not on the first syllable, loss of the initial vowel often occurs in the course of language history; this is not the case in Akkadian.... It is generally observed that short vowels often drop in unstressed open syllables; in Akkadian, such loss of short vowels is frequent, and the syllable that is preserved, the one that precedes the lost unstressed vowel, usually is the first syllable of the word, hence, in these words at least, it is the initial syllable that was stressed." According to Aro 1971, 251, we must expect that "eine beträchtliche Ungleichmäßigkeit herrschen konnte und daß die Betonung einzelner Wörter im Satzzusammenhang ziemlich variabel war." For the question of phonemic stress see Buccellati 1996, 21 f. (negative answer). For stress in (Proto-)Semitic see Kogan 2011, 124–126.

800 In the following these etymological short vowels are indicated by the accent sign (ˊ) in bound transcription.

801 According to Hecker 2000, the *i* of the gen. is long in these cases. But he does not specify whether he refers to etymological or secondary length.

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b) Before enclitic *-mi*:
um-ma-a-mi ARM 2, 33: 4 *ummámi* "thus (he said)".
ana ṣe-ri-ša-a-mi OBTR 144: 19 *ṣērišámi* "to me (she said)".
c) Gen. sg. before a pron. suff.:[802]
a-na ṣe-ri-i-šu AbB 4, 137: 9 *ṣēríšu* "to him".
ša bi-ti-i-ša AbB 9, 49: 9 *bītíša* "of her house".
ina li-ib-bi-i-šu AbB 4, 138: 12 *libbíšu* "in his heart".
ana pa-ni-i-ka AbB 14, 60: 13 *paníka* "before you".
ana bi-ti-i-ni AbB 2, 135: 11 *bītíni*.
ina bi-ti-i-ka AbB 3, 95: 4 *bītíka* "in your house".
ana ṣe-e-ri-i-ka AbB 9, 88: 10 *ṣēríka* "to you".
ana qá-ti-i-ka AbB 14, 11: 25 *qātíka* "in your hand".
d) Nom./Acc. sg. before a pron. suff.:
a-me-er-ta-a-šu AbB 4, 70: 10 *amertášu* "his choice".
q[*í*]*-iš-ta-a-ka* AbB 9, 126: 15 *qīštáka* "your gift".
e) Subordinative before pron. suffs.:
DN *ša ú-ba-al-la-ṭù-ú-ka* CUSAS 36, 137: 13 *uballaṭúka* "DN who will keep you alive".
ša ... ú-wa-e-ru-ú-ka CUSAS 36, 137: 8 *uwaʾerúka* "which I ordererd you".
f) For the st. cstr. of pl. fem. nouns before suffixed gen. prons. (*šarrātūšu* or *šarrātúšu*?) see § 5.136.

§ 2.511. Aside from environments mentioned in § 2.510, there are also some other instances in which plene vowel spellings CV-V for etymological short vowels may indicate stress. However, they do not occur regularly. Moreover, some of the following refs. occur in texts (especially from SBab. and UpMes.) that frequently use plene vowel spellings in different, not always clear cases. Therefore, these cases are of only limited value for the study of OB word stress.
a) In a closed syllable before a long but simply written consonant:
aš-tap-r[*a*]*-a-ku* AbB 3, 83: 5 *aštaprákku*? "I have sent to you".
i-ṭe$_4$*-e-ḫe-e* AbB 4, 47: 9 *iṭéḫḫē*? "he will come near".
te-e-gi-a AbB 9, 3: 9 *téggīā*? "you are negligent".
ša-na-a-su-um-ma AbB 3, 83: 6 *šanássumma* "every year".
te-e-gi$_4$ CUSAS 43, 21: 23 *téggī* "you are negligent".
Om. *ta-a-ka-al* YOS 10, 35: 23 *tákkal*? "you eat".
Om. *i-na-a-di* YOS 10, 21: 6 *ináddī*? "he throws".
Om. *ú-še*$_{20}$*-e-ṣe* YOS 10, 20: 28 *ušéṣṣē*? "he brings out".

802 Further refs. see Aro 1953, 7; 1971, 248 f.

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b) Other closed syllables:[803]
lu-na-ak-ke-e-er-ma AbB 14, 62: 13 *lunakkérma*? "I will change".
lu-ú-ul-qé-a-am-ma AbB 1, 46: 39 *lúlqēʾamma*? "I will take".
ú-šu-ú-⌜*úr*⌝ AbB 14, 116: 32 *ušúr*? "shorten!"[804]
na-ri-i-im AbB 14, 55: 6 *nārím*? "river".
lu-ú-uṭ-ru-da-am-ma ARM 26/1, 217 no. 76: 29 *lúṭrudamma*? "I will send".
[*l*]*i-iš-pu-ra-a-am-ma* ARM 28, 45: 9 [*l*]*išpurámma*? "may he send".
i-te-bé-e-e[*r*] ARM 27, 20: 24 *ītebé*[*r*] "they crossed".
Om. *i-ka-ša-a-ad* YOS 10, 40: 2 *ikaššád*? "reaches".

c) Non-final open syllables:
ṣa-a-pi AbB 14, 59: 17 *ṣápī*? "it is soaked".
im-qú-ú-tu AbB 14, 55: 14 *imqútū*? "it dropped".
i-ga-am-ma-a-ru AbB 14, 59: 24 *igammárū*? "they will finish".
[*š*]*a-a-lim* ARM 2, 33 r. 22 [*š*]*álim*? "is safe".
i-la-a-ku ARM 2, 75: 5 *illákū*? "they go".
i-pé-e-šu FM 1 p. 32 ii 6 *ippešu* "he makes".
Om. *i-la-a-ka-a* YOS 10, 47: 16 *illákā*? "they go".
Lit. *me-e-ḫu-um* CUSAS 10, 14: 8 *meḫûm* "storm".

d) Final open syllables with subordinative ending /u/:[805]
wa-aš-bu-ú AbB 9, 230: 14 *wašbú*? "is living".
ta-aš-ku-nu-ú AbB 13, 103: 5 *taškunú*? "you have put".
ni-in-na-⟨*am-*⟩*-ru-ú* AbB 13, 108: 7 *ninnamrú*? "we met".

e) Final open syllables of independent personal pronouns:[806]
a-na-ku-ú AbB 14, 31: 12, 18. *anākú*? "I".
ni-nu-ú ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 45 *nīnú*? "we".

f) Final open syllables of pron. suffs.:[807]
li-bi-ki-i AbB 9, 230: 17 *libbikí*? "your heart".
aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-aš-šu-ú ARM 5, 31: 13 *aṭṭardaššú*? "I have sent him".
a-li-ka-a ARM 26/2 p. 67 no. 310: 11 *āliká*? "your city".
ÌR^{meš}*-ka-a* ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 37 *wardīká*? "your slaves".
ṭà-ra-dì-ka-a ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 33 *ṭarādiká*? "your sending".

803 For more examples see Aro 1953, 8–19; 1971, 249 f. Note that these plene vowel spellings also occur with the vowel /a/, so it is unlikely that spellings like *lu-na-ak-ke-e-er-ma* serve to express the vowel quality /e/ instead of /i/.

804 But see § 2.512b for *PúRuS*.

805 Plene spelling also often occurs in OA, see Hecker 1968 §§ 47c and 79g; Kouwenberg 2017, 505. The ending /u/ is probably short.

806 For the question of the quantity of the final vowels see Weninger 2011, 167 f.

807 Plene spelling also often occurs in OA, see Hecker 1968 §§ 47b and 49d; Kouwenberg 2017, 310. For OB see also § 4.43b.

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dú-ka-šu-ú ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 14 *dūkāšú*? "kill him!"
Om. *qá-as-su-ú* YOS 10, 56 ii 39 *qāssu*? "his hand".
Om. *pa-ni-šu-ú* YOS 10, 62 r. 23 *panīšú*? "its face".
le-es-su-ú YOS 10, 47: 20 *lēssú*? "its side".
iš-di-šu-ú YOS 10, 19: 14 *išdīšú*? "its base".

g) Other final open syllables:
mu-úḫ-ḫi-i AbB 11, 91 r. 5 *muḫḫí*? "top" (st. cstr.).
ki-ma-a ARM 28, 49: 3 *kīmá*? "like".

5.2 *Vowel Elision*

§ 2.512. The rules for vowel elision (§ 2.144) may offer some clues for word stress, if the assumption is correct that vowels that are elided did not bear the stress. A general rule for word stress in OB cannot, however, be deduced from these cases.

a) Stative *PáRiS* because of *PaR*(*i*)*Sū*.
b) Imp. *PúRuS* because of *PuR*(*u*)*Sā*.
c) Perfect *íPtaRaS* or *iPtáRaS* because of *iPtaR*(*a*)*Sū*.
d) Pret. N *ípPaRiS* or *ipPáRiS* because of *ipPaR*(*i*)*Sū*.
e) In the pl. of fem. nouns *PáRiStum* or *PaRiStúm* because of *PaRSātum*.

5.3 *Trochaic Verse Ending*

§ 2.513. According to the trochaic ending rule in Akk. metrics, the penultimate syllable of every verse is long (either Cv̄ or CVC). If this rule is valid[808] and if the long syllable is stressed, we have another argument for word stress in OB. However, many of the syllables in question are in fact structurally short (§ 2.510) and are, if at all, secondarily lengthened. The following examples are taken from the first ten lines of Gilg. OB II:

Lit. *i-pa-aš-šar* Gilg. OB II 1 *ipáššar* "he revealed".
Lit. *um-mi-šu* Gilg. OB II 2 *ummíšu* "his mother".
Lit. *mu-ši-ti-ia* Gilg. OB II 3 *mušītiíja* "my night".
Lit. *at-ta-na-al-la-ak* Gilg. OB II 4 *attanállak* "I used to go".
Lit. *eṭ-lu-tim* Gilg. OB II 5 *eṭlūtim* "young men".
Lit. *ša-ma-i* Gilg. OB II 6 *šamā'ī* "sky".
Lit. *ṣe-ri-ia* Gilg. OB II 7 *ṣēríja* "my back".
Lit. *e-li-ia* Gilg. OB II 8 *elíja* "on me".
Lit. *el-té-'i* Gilg. OB II 9 *elté'ī* "I could".
Lit. *e-li-šu* Gilg. OB II 10 *elíšu* "on him".

808 On this rule and its many exceptions see Hecker 1974, 101–108.

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6 Sentence Stress

§ 2.514. Frequently a plene vowel spelling expresses the sentence stress in questions without a question word:[809]

iṣī ša in-na-ak-su (*innaksū*) *maṣṣar*(*ū*) *qīšātim ik-ki-su-ú ina qātim aḫītim in-na-ak-su-ú* AbB 4, 20: 21–25 *ikkisū*, *innaksū* "have the forest guards cut the trees that have been *cut*? Have they been *cut* by an alien hand?"[810]

šumma anāku aḫūka ka-qá-[*a*]*d-ka-a ul kabit* AbB 6, 139: 5–7 *kaqqadka* "if I am your brother, are you not *honored* (lit. is *your head* not heavy)?"

u šēmûm mīnam iqabbī ul i-ṭá-pa-la-né-ti-i ARM 5, 20: 23 f. *iṭappalannêti* "and someone who hears (of it), what will he say? Will he not look on *us* with scorn?"

ina bītika mīnam ḫaṭī aḫum ana aḫim e-ri-iš-ta-a-am ul inaddin ARM 5, 20: 26–28 *erištam* "in your house, what is missing (there)? Does a brother not give to a brother (what he) *desires*?"

nišūnu lu-wa-še-e-er ARM 1, 22: 38 *luwaššer* "shall I *release* their people?"[811]

šumma bēl têrtim UD 2^{kam} UD 3^{kam} *lā uwa"er têrtum ul i-ḫa-al-li-i-iq* ARM 1, 61: 29 f. *iḫalliq* "if the person in command does not give commands for 2 or 3 days, would not the office *be lost*?"

šarrū ša mārī Jamīna u ṣābūšunu itti ṣābim [*š*]*a* PN *ša illêm* [*i*]*s-li-mu-ú* [*u*]*mma anāku ul* [*i*]*s-li-mu* ARM 26/1, 473 f. no. 233: 17–22 *islimū* "'did the kings of the Jaminites and the troops of PN, which are coming up, *make peace*?' I answered: 'They did not make peace'".[812]

ṣé-eḫ-re-e-ta ul ša-ar-tu-ú-um ina lētika ARM 1, 61: 10 f. *ṣeḫrēta*, *šārtum* "are you (still) *young*? Do you not have *hair* on your cheek?"

§ 2.515. Plene vowel spellings also seem to indicate affirmations and intonations expressing emotions:[813]

awātam annītam ana lā qabêmma u inanna luqbīma u libbī lu-na-ap-pi-i-iš ARM 5, 20: 4–6 *lunappiš* "this matter—it should not be said, but now I will say (it) and *ease* my heart".

809 In the following, sentence stress is marked in the translation by italics.

810 Note the alternation of the simple writing *in-na-ak-su* outside of the question and the plene writings *ik-ki-su-ú* and *in-na-ak-su-ú* within it.

811 For the interpretation of this clause as a question see Durand 1998, 56.

812 Note the plene spelling [*i*]*s-li-mu-ú* in the question, in contrast to the simple spelling [*i*]*s-li-mu* in the declarative sentence.

813 Since emotions are subjective, this use is more difficult to recognize in texts than sentence stress in questions.

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wardū ša PN *nīnu ta-da-ab-bu-ú-ba u inanna … ana* ⌜*ne'rāri*⌝ PN_2 *tallakā* ARM 2, 75: 17–21 *tadabbubā* "*You did say*: 'We are slaves of PN', but now you went to help PN_2".

u a-na-ku-ú ana GN *ana pan šallatim allak* ARM 5, 27: 9–11 *anāku* "and *I myself* will go to GN to the booty".

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CHAPTER 3

Morphology: General Remarks

1 Parts of Speech

§ 3.1. The parts of speech, which are treated separately in the following parts of this grammar, are prons., nouns and adjs., numbers, verbs, and the vast group of particles.

2 Types of Morphemes

§ 3.2. Nouns, adjs., numbers, and verbs, but in general not prons. and particles, consist of three types of morphemes:
a) Root morphemes, mostly three or four consonants (radicals) or two consonants with a long vowel: *PRS*, *KŪN*, *RBĪ*, *BLKT*, etc.
b) Derivational morphemes, namely prefs., infixes, and suffs., combined with a fixed sequence of vowels and sometimes with a lengthening (doubling) of consonants. The result of nominal derivation are noun patterns (cf. §§ 5.4–124), of verbal derivation verbal stems. Examples:

PāRiS-: root PRS + vowel sequence *-ā-i-*.

maPRaS-: pref. *ma-*, vowel *-a-* after the second radical.

muPtaRRiS-: pref. *mu-*, infix *-ta-* after the first radical, lengthening of the second radical, vowel *i* after the second radical.
c) Inflectional morphemes, which are of the same morphological types as derivational morphemes, namely prefs., suffs., etc:

PaRSum: root *PRS*, derivational morpheme *-a,-* inflectional morpheme *-um*.

uštaPRiSū: derivational morphemes *-š-* and *-ta-*, inflectional morphemes *u-* and *-ū*, vowel *-i-* after the second radical.

§ 3.3. a) In general, prons. and particles are not analyzed as combinations of roots and derivational morphemes. They rather possess a fixed shape that cannot be analyzed further, e.g., the personal pron. *anāku* "I", the prep. *ana* "to", etc.
b) Some prons. have inflectional morphemes, e.g., the demonstrative pron. *annûm* < *annī-um* "this", the interrogative pron. *mīn-am* "what", etc.

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CHAPTER 4

Pronouns

1 Generalities

§ 4.1. We distinguish personal, demonstrative, determinative, relative, interrogative, and indefinite prons. Instead of reflexive prons., paraphrases with *ramānu* "self" or *pagru* "body" are used:

ra-ma-an-šu ipaṭṭar CH § 32 *ramānšu* "he will redeem himself".

ana ra-ma-ni-i-ka la te[*ggī*] AbB 7, 80: 12 *ramānika* "do not be care[less] about yourself!"

pa-ga-ar-ka uṣur AbB 1, 71: 21 *pagarka* "take care of yourself (lit.: watch your body)!".

bēlī pa-ga-ar-šu liṣṣur ARM 10, 11: 13 *pagaršu* "may my lord take care of himself".

2 Personal Pronouns

2.1 *Paradigm*

§ 4.2. Personal prons. exist in both independent and suffixed forms. Four cases are distinguished (nom., gen., dat., acc.), as are three persons and two numbers (sg. and pl.). The survey also shows the independent possessive prons., which are derived from the gen. suffs. Paradigm:[1]

1 The final vowels of the independent personal pron. and of the pron. suff. have—as is traditional in Akk. Studies—been represented as short. On this issue, see Hasselbach 2004.

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	Nom.	independent possessive prons. and gen. suffs.		Dat.		Gen./ Acc.	Acc.
	independent	independent possessive prons.	suff.	independent	suff.	independent	suff.
1. sg. c.	*anāku*, *ana* “I”	Sg. m. *jûm* Sg. f. *jât(t)u(m/n)* Pl. m. *jût(t)un* Pl. f. *jât-tum/n* Du. f. (?) *jâttān* “my”	*-ī, -ja, -ʾa* “my”	*jâši(m)*, *jâšum* “to/for me”	*-a(m)*, *-m*, *-nim* “to/for me”	*jâti* “me”	*-ni* “me”
2. sg. m.	*atta* “you”	Sg. m. *kûm* Sg. f. *kât(t)u(m/n)* Pl. m. *kûttun* Pl. f. *kâttun* “your”	*-k(a)* “your”	*kâši/um* “to/for you”	*-ku(m)* “to/for you”	*kâta/i* “you”	*-ka* “you”
2. sg. f.	*atti* “you”		*-k(i)* “your”	*kâšim* “to/for you”	*-ki(m)* “to/for you”	*kâti* “you”	*-ki* “you”
3. sg. m.	*šū* “he”	Sg. m. *šûm*, Sg. f. *šât(t)um* Pl. m. *šûttun* “his/her/its”	*-š(u)*, *-su* “his/its”	*šuʾāšim*, *šâšim*, *šâšu(m)* “to/for him/it”	*-š/su(m)*, “to/for him/it”	*šuʾāti/u*, *šâti/u* *šêtu/i* “him/it”	*-š(u)*, *-su* “him/it”
3. sg. f.	*šī* “she”		*-š(a)*, *-sa*, *-ši* “her/its”	*ši/uʾāš(im)*, *šâš(im)* “to/for her/it”	*-š/sim*, “to/for her/it”	*šiʾāti*, *šuʾāti/u*, *šâti/u*, *šêti/u* “her/it”	*-š(i)*, *-si* “her/it”
1. pl. c.	*nīnu/i* “we”	Sg. m. *niʾum*, *nûm* Sg. f. *niʾat(t)um*, *nêttum* Pl. m. *nût-tum/n* “our”	*-ni, -ne* “our”	*niʾāši(m)*, *nêšim*, *niʾāšum*, *niʾāš* “to/for us”	*-niʾāši(m)*, *-nêši(m)*, *-nâši* “to/for us”	*niʾāti*, *nêti* “us”	*-niʾāti*, *-nâti*, *-nêti* “us”
2. pl. m.	*attunu* “you”	–	*-kunu* “your”	*kunūšim* “to/for you”	*-kunūši(m)* “you”	*kunūti* “you”	*-kunūti* “you”

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(*cont.*)

	Nom.	independent possessive prons. and gen. suffs.		Dat.		Gen./ Acc.	Acc.
	independent	**independent possessive prons.**	**suff.**	**independent**	**suff.**	**independent**	**suff.**
2. pl. f.	*attina*/*i* "you"		*-kina* "your"	–	*-kināšim* "you"	–	*-kināti* "you"
3. pl. m.	*šunu* "they"	Sg. m. *šunûm* "their"	*-š*/*sun*(*u*), *-šnu* "their"	*šunūšim* "to/for them"	*-š*/*sunūši*(*m*) "to/for them"	*šunūti*, *šâtun* "them"	*-š*/*sunūti*, "them"
3. pl. f.	*šina*, *šini* "they"		*-š*/*sin*(*a*) "their"	–	*-š*/*sināšim* "to/for them"	*šināti*(*m*) "them"	*-š*/*sināti* "them"

2.2 *Nominative Independent*

2.2.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.3. *anāku*, *anā* "I".

a) Usual spelling:
a-na-ku(*-ma*) AbB 8, 83: 5; AbB 1, 10: 21.

b) Rarely with *ā* spelled plene:
a-na-a-ku AbB 6, 137: 19; OBTR 122: 10.

c) Sometimes with /u/ spelled plene:
a-na-ku-ú AbB 12, 98: 5; AbB 13, 135: 7; AbB 13, 175: 12; AbB 11, 175: 14; RATL p. 129 no. 59: 16.

d) *ana* "I" mainly occurs in Lit. and only rarely in letters:[2]
Lit. *a-na uršānat ilī* VS 10, 213: 12 "I am the warrior of the gods".
a-na AbB 6, 21: 17; AbB 7, 36: 8; Shemshara 1, 65: 8; ARM 13, 97: 4.

§ 4.4. *atta* "you" (masc. sg.).

a) Usual spelling:
at-ta AbB 8, 15: 33; AbB 13, 80: 13.

2 See von Soden 1995 § 41g*. The doubts of CAD A/2, 110 f. *anāku*, discussion section, are unwarranted. For the refs. in letters I thank one of the anonymous reviewers. It remains unclear whether some of them are in fact mistakes for *a-na-⟨ku⟩*.

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b) Rarely with second /a/ spelled plene:
at-ta-a AbB 2, 154: 14;[3] AbB 3, 52: 24; AbB 14, 176: 19; Edubba 7, 25: 26.
c) Rarely with single consonant:
a-ta AbB 8, 108: 12; AbB 9, 219: 12; AbB 14, 201: 13; AbB 12, 98: 5.[4]

§ 4.5. *atti* "you" (fem. sg.).
a) Usual spelling:
at-ti(*-ma*) AbB 11, 178: 23; ARM 10, 118: 16.
b) Rarely with /i/ spelled plene:
at-ti-i OBTR 150: 32; Edubba 7, 25: 20.

§ 4.6. *šū* "he".
a) Usual spelling:
šu-ú AbB 14, 8: 11; ARM 26/1, 137 no. 23: 9.
b) Rarely without plene spelling:
šu AbB 14, 208: 14; ARM 10, 52: 15.

§ 4.7. *šī* "she".
a) Usual spelling:
ši-i AbB 10, 13: 19; ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 22.
b) Rarely without plene spelling:
ši AbB 9, 145: 15; ARM 26/2, 76 no. 314: 28.

§ 4.8. *nīnu*/*i* "we".
a) Usual spelling:
ni-nu AbB 13, 154: 17; Sumer 14, 39: 18.
b) Rarely with /u/ spelled plene:
ni-nu-ú CUSAS 36, 57: 7; ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 45; ARM 26/1, 330 no. 165 r. 8.
c) Rarely with /i/ spelled plene:
ni-i-nu AbB 7, 104: 12; CUSAS 36, 152: 13; ARM 2, 75: 18.
d) Once with ending /i/:
SBab. *ni-i-ni* AbB 9, 49: 31.

§ 4.9. *attunu* "you" (masc. pl.).
a) Usual spelling:
at-tu-nu AbB 4, 11: 10; Sumer 14, 2: 15.

3 But the same text has *at-ta* AbB 2, 154: 16.
4 But the same text has *at-ta-ma* AbB 12, 98: 14.

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b) Rarely with second /u/ spelled plene:
at-tu-nu-ú AbB 1, 81: 40; AbB 14, 65: 15.

§ 4.10. *attina*/*i* "you" (fem. pl.).
a) Usual spelling:
at-ti-na-ma AbB 1, 135: 23.
b) Two times *attini* in MidEuphr.:[5]
lū aššātūni at-ti-⌜ni⌝ ARM 33, 101: 6 "may you be our wives".
at-ti-ni ⟨nīš⟩ ilim maḫar DN *ūlū maḫar* DN_2 *u* DN_3 [*zukr*]*ām*[*a*] ⌜*kakkī*⌝ *leqê* PNf *aššat* PN 2 ^{lú}*aḫ-ḫu-šu u* PNf_2 [*n*]*īš ilim lizkurū* ARM 33, 99: 12 "you swear before DN or before DN_2 and DN_3 and take the weapons! May PNf, the wife of PN, his two brothers, and PNf_2 swear before the god".[6]

§ 4.11. *šunu* "they" (masc. pl.).
a) Usual spelling:
šu-nu AbB 13, 71: 14; ARM 10, 147: 6.
b) Rarely with second /u/ spelled plene:
šu-nu-ú AbB 5, 200: 21; AbB 14, 31: 19; Sumer 14, 20: 14.

§ 4.12. *šina*, *šini* "they" (fem. pl.).
a) Usual spelling:
ši-na ARM 1, 47: 15; ARM 10, 29: 19.
b) Rarely with /i/ spelled plene:
ši-i-na-ma AbB 7, 59: 8.
c) *šini* only occurs in one text:
PN *Ši-ni-dam-qa* RA 65, 61 iv 48 (ARM 16/1, 197) *Šinī-damqā* "They (the goddesses) are good". This is apparently a variant of PN[7] *Ši-na-dam-qa* ARM 13, 1 iv 29 *Šina-damqā* "They (the goddesses) are good".[8]

5 Both instances occur in letters from Sumu-ḫadû (on him see Durand 1998, 624). I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for these refs. The first ref. refers to two women, the second is more problematic (see the next fn.) but also seems to address two women rather than a group of women and men. Since in early OB only a 3. p. dual *šunīti* is attested (Wende 2022, 149), a dual 2. p. is unlikely.

6 Although the masc. form *lizkurū* correctly refers to the group of women and men, it seems that the form *attini* is not a masc. pl. but refers to the two women alone. Note that the text has many difficulties and some mistakes.

7 But a different person! See also the use of the numeral *šinā* "two" in PN, see CAD š/3, 34 *šina* b.

8 A dual form seems unlikely. Pace Whiting 1977, 209, the name cannot be Amorite, since we would expect *si* instead of *ši*. Whiting ibid. analyzes *šini* as an archaic form of *šina*, but this too

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2.2.2 Use

§ 4.13. As the subj. is already marked by the personal affix on the verb, the independent personal prons. in the nom. case do not generally appear in verbal sentences. They are rather used in the following special cases.

§ 4.14. As the subj. in non-verbal sentences:

umma at-tu-nu-ú-ma AbB 1, 81: 9 *attunu-ma* "you (said) thus:".

šumma ina kīttim mārtī at-ti AbB 11, 178: 23 *atti* "if you are really my daughter".

kīma lā aḫī at-ta AbB 13, 65: 18 *atta* "as if you were not my brother".

urram maḫrīkunu anāku AbB 10, 10: 16 *anāku* "tomorrow I will be before you".

ša PN *ni-nu* ARM 3, 37: 21 *nīnu* "we belong to PN".

§ 4.15. Emphasizing a change of subj.:

a) One pron.:

še'am ašari⟨š⟩ idinma annīkīam a-na-ku luddin AbB 7, 61: 18 *anāku* "(you) give the barley there and I will give it here".

bītam libbi bītija ana PN [*ma*]*ḫrīkunu addi*[*n*] *u at-tu-nu tukinnā* AbB 6, 126: 14 *attunu* "I gave a plot from my plot to PN in your presence and you verified (this action)".

ṣābum š[*a*] *ittī* PN [*i*]*ttī ṣābim warkîm innemidma ša epēšim ippeš u a-na-ku warkānūm allakam* ARM 1, 22: 31 *anāku* "the troops, which are with PN, met with the later troops and did what was necessary. I, however, will come later".

ištūma at-tu-nu ṭēmkunu lā tuqattâ wardī ša ittīkunu [*ill*]*ikam ṭēmkunu liqattī* ARM 26/2, 199 no. 384: 48 *attunu* "since you did not finish your message, my servant who went with you may finish your message".

at-tu-nu ana dâk nakrim šibqī teštenê u tēteneggirāšu u nakrum qātamma ana kunūšim šibqī ištene"ī u īteneggirkunūti ARM 1, 5: 4 *attunu* "you are continually plotting stratagems to kill the enemy and to thwart him, and the enemy, too, is continually plotting against you and thwarts you".

b) Two prons.:

aššum at-ta jâttam tīdû u a-na-ku kâttam īdû AbB 10, 176: 18 f. *atta*, *anāku* "because you know mine and I know yours".

ašapparakkunūšim šumma [*a*]*t-tu-nu a*[*na ṣērija*] *tanaššênim šumma a-na-ku ana ṣērik*[*unu*] *anašše*[*m*] ARM 1, 103 r. 12–14 *attunu*, *anāku* "I will write to you, whether you should make your way t[o me], or whether I should make my way to y[ou]".

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seems problematic, since the oldest attested corresponding forms of the pron. suff. are *-śina* in Ebla (Catagnoti 2012, 72), and in OAkk. PNs. (Gelb 1961, 73) and *-śin* in OAkk. (Sargonic Akk.) elsewhere (Hasselbach 2005, 153 f.).

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a-na-ku annânūm u at-ta anummânūm wuššer RATL p. 129 no. 59: 23 "I (am) here and you must release there!"

Lit. *u ša a-na-ku úpaḫḫiru tusappaḫ at-ta* ZA 110, 40 i 41f. *anāku, atta* "and what I collected you will squander".

§ 4.16. In tandem with a noun or pron. in the nom. case (see for the acc. prons. § 4.108):

a) One pron.:

a-na-ku PN u PN_2 *ina* GN *nuštātīma* AbB 1, 10: 13 *anāku* "I, PN, and PN_2 met in GN".

PN *u at-ta qaqqadātikunu šutēmidā* ARM 26/2, 227 no. 394: 13 *atta* "PN and you, join forces!"

b) Two pron.:

inūma a-na-ku u at-ta ina GN *ninnamru* AbB 4, 152: 6f. *anāku, atta* "when I and you met in GN".

kīma a-na-ku u at-ta matīm[*a*] *lā nedbubu* ARM 10, 109: 4 *anāku, atta* "as if I and you had never spoken".

nīš ilim a-na-ku u šu-ú … i nizkur ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 28 *anāku, šū* "I and he, we want to swear by the life of the god".

§ 4.17. In apposition to honorific titles:

ištū bēlī at-ta tēzibanni AbB 11, 123: 1 *atta* "since you, my lord, left me".

abī at-ta lū šalmāt[*a lū balṭ*]*āta* AbB 13, 148: 6 *atta* "may you, my father, be healthy and alive".

§ 4.18. The independent personal prons. are perhaps also used to indicate emphasis (see § 4.110). This function is, however, not always easy to verify, since the determination of emphasis in a given case relies on a subjective evaluation.

a) In the following instances enclitic *-ma* additionally emphasizes the pron.:

ni-nu-ma ana bēline ni[*šapparam*] ARM 13, 5: 18 *nīnu-ma* "we ourselves will write to our lord".

umma PN *a-na-ku ša elqû appalma u umma* PN_2 *a-na-ku-ma appalma* AbB 1, 10: 18–21 *anāku*(*-ma*) "thus PN: 'I will pay what I have taken,' and thus PN_2: 'I, too, will pay'".

a-[*n*]*a-ku-ma wašbāku aḫḫī abīja laššû* AbB 13, 104: 8 *anāku-ma* "I alone am staying (here), the brothers of my father are not (here)".

inanna adī aturram bēl têrtim mimma lā tanassaḫ u lā tašakkan a-na-ku-ma bēl têrtim ana ḫīṭīšu ašâl ARM 26/1, 87 no. 6: 26 *anāku-ma* "now, until I return, do not remove and install any official! I myself will call an official to account for his mistake".

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anūmma PN *aṭṭardakkum ittī Šunāji dīnam īšū u at-ta-ma dīnšu taddinma ul ippalūšuma* RATL p. 139 no. 68: 9 *atta-ma* "now I have sent PN to you. He has a legal dispute with a man from Šuna, and you yourself had rendered his verdict, but they do not satisfy him".

b) But in other cases enclitic *-ma* is missing:

šarrāqī aššum at-ta lā wašbāta ana GN *ul ušārīšunūti* AbB 10, 29 r. 9 *atta* "the thieves—because you yourself(?) were not present—I did not bring them to GN".

at-tu-nu tašpurāma AbB 9, 111: 7 *attunu* "it was you(?) who wrote".

§ 4.19. a) The prons. of the 3. p. sg. and pl., when used in apposition after a noun, frequently have the function of a demonstrative (anaphoric) pron. (see also § 4.107). In contrast to *annûm* (§ 4.130 f), the anaphoric personal prons. always have a neutral, non-pejorative mng.:

awīlū GN *… awīlū šu-nu lā uddabbabūma* AbB 10, 13: 22 *šunu* "the men of GN … those men should not be bothered".

šumma awīlum ina dīnim ana šībūt sarrātim ūṣī'amma awāt iqbû lā uktīn šumma dīnum šu-ú dīn napištim awīlum šu-ú iddâk CH § 3 *šū* "if a man has come forward to give false testimony in a case but has not proved the word he said, if that case is a case of life (i.e., a case where the death penalty could be applied), this man will be killed".

šumma awīlum aššatam īḫuzma riksātiša lā iškun sinništum ši-i ul aššat CH § 128 *šī* "if a man has married a wife but has not drawn up a document, that woman is not a wife".

[*têrētim*] *īpušma* [*tê*]*rētum ši-na laptā* ARM 26/1, 308 no. 144: 2 *šina* "he made [extispicies] and these extispicies were bad".

b) Another appositional use is after a proper name, probably with emphatic force:

DN *šu-ú mādiš ūmī qaqqadka liṣṣur* AbB 14, 60: 10 *šū* "may DN himself(?) protect you for many days".

2.3 *Independent Possessive Pronouns*

2.3.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.20. a) The independent possessive prons. are derived from the gen. suffs. (§§ 4.41–4.51) by the addition of endings for case, number, and gender. They are declined like adjs., i.e., they agree with the item possessed in case, number, and gender. In the masc. pl. they have the ending *-ūt-*. In the fem. sg. and pl. as well as in the masc. pl., double *tt* instead of single *t* frequently occurs.[9] In the

9 For *tt* instead of *t*, see also the demonstrative prons. *annûm* (§ 4.126), *annummûm* (§ 4.134b), and *ullûm* (§ 4.136b).

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2. and 3. p. sg. and pl. the forms are based on the masc. forms of the gen. suff. They do not agree with the gender of the possessor: "his" and "her(s)" are not distinguished.
b) The forms in the fem. sg. and in the masc. and fem. pl. sometimes have nunation instead of (more frequent) mimation. Nunation occurs in Bab. (§§ 4.23a, 4.27c, 4.28, 4.32), especially SBab. (§§ 4.22.d, 4.23a), as well as in Diy. (§§ 4.24c, 4.29), MidEuphr. (§ 4.35b), and UpMes. (§ 4.23), and also in Om. literature (§§ 4.23a, 4.32), in most cases side-by-side with mimation.[10] Therefore, a dialectal distribution for mimation and nunation cannot be established. Nunation never occurs with masc. forms but only after *t*, a fact that favors a phonological explanation (see § 2.251). Forms without mimation/nunation rarely occur in the fem. sg. (§§ 4.22e, 4.27d).

§ 4.21. *jûm* < *ja-um* "my" (masc. sg.). Since no spelling *ia-a-um*/*im* is attested, there is no unambiguous evidence for an uncontracted form *jā'um* in OB. All spellings may be interpreted as contracted *jûm*,[11] *jîm*, and *jâm*, parallel to *kûm*, *šûm*, and *nûm*.
a) Usual spelling with additional vowel sign after IA:
iu(IA)-*ú-um* AbB 14, 121: 19; AbB 14, 176: 9; AbB 14, 197: 9.
ia-a-am AbB 9, 40: 20.
b) Rarely with additional sign *i* before *ia*:
i-iu(IA)-*ú-um-ma* ARM 26/1, 215 no. 75 r. 15.
c) Rarely only *ia* or *i-a* + case ending:
iu(IA)-*um* AbB 9, 198: 5.
i-a-am AbB 4, 155: 9.
d) Rarely:
i-ju-ú-um ARM 2, 109: 10.

§ 4.22. *jât*(*t*)*um*/*n* < *ja-atum*/*n* "my" (fem. sg.).
a) Usual spelling with double *tt* and mimation:
ia-at-tam AbB 13, 84: 22; AbB 13, 90: 13.
b) With additional *i* sign before *ia*:
i-ia-at-tu-ú-um ARM 26/1, 435 no. 207: 31.
i-ia-at-tum ARM 27, 151: 10.
c) Sometimes with single *t*. It remains unclear whether this spelling points to a form *jâtum*, or whether it is a defective writing of *jâttum*.

10 Even within the same text: see *nûttin* and *nûttum* in MARI 8, 401, see §§ 4.35.
11 See § 2.216 for the different spellings for /ju/.

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ia-ta-am AbB 8, 108: 6 f.; ABIM 30: 7.
ia-a-ta-am ABIM 21: 15.
i-ia-tam ARM 2, 113: 28.
i-ia-[*t*]*um* ARM 5, 11: 6.

d) Rarely with nunation:
SBab.[12] *ia-at-tu-un* AbB 4, 134: 14.

e) Without mimation/nunation:
[*ia-at*]*-ta ù ka-at-ta* AbB 5, 39: 7 "[min]e and yours".
Lit. *ia-tu* CUSAS 10, 11: 15.

§ 4.23. *jût*(*t*)*un* < *ja-ūtun* "my" (masc. pl.). There is no unambiguous evidence[13] for an uncontracted form *jāʾūtum*/*n* in OB. Only forms with nunation are attested.

a) With *iu* (IA):
Bab. *iu*(IA)*-ú-tu-un* AbB 1, 76: 6; SBab.[14] AbB 10, 74: 5; SBab. YOS 8, 1: 22; Om. YOS 10, 42 iv 22.
Bab. *iu*(IA)*-ú-ti-i*[*n*] CUSAS 36, 105: 9.

b) With *i-ju* (PI):
UpMes.[15] *i-ju-ut-ti-in* ARM 28, 156: 12.
UpMes. *i-ju-ut-tu-un* ARM 28, 98: 6.

§ 4.24. *jâttum*/*n* < *ja-ātum*/*n* "my" (fem. pl.).

a) Spelled with *ia*:
ia-ti-im-ma DUḪ.DURU$_5$*-ia*[16] AbB 3, 79: 13 "my bran".

b) Spelled with *i-ia*:
i-ia-at-tim-ma tuppātija ARM 27, 151: 22 "my tablets".

c) With nunation:
Diy.[17] *atta ia-at-ti-in ana bēlika šukun* TIM 2, 16: 25 "report to your lord about what is mine".

12 See *ṭù* in *li-ba-al-li-ṭù-ú-ka* AbB 4, 134: 5 "may they keep you alive".
13 E.g., a spelling *ia-a-ú-t-*.
14 See the use of *qù*(GU) (§ 2.327) in *aš-qù-lu* AbB 10, 74: 16 "I paid".
15 Letter of Arrijuk.
16 The reading of DUḪ.DURU$_5$ is unclear. DUḪ is *tuḫḫū*, a masc. plurale tantum. DURU$_5$ is *raṭbu* "damp" (see Borger 2010, 311 no. 298). But here DUḪ.DURU$_5$ must be a single word in the fem. pl.
17 Legal dispute in the palace of Diniktum.

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§ 4.25. The following two attestations seem to be dual fem. nom. forms:

annī'ātum ša PN *ša tašammam ia-at-ta-an* AbB 11, 21: 22 "these two(?) (cows) of PN, which you are buying for me, will be mine".[18]

ātānātum i-ia-ta-an … ṣeḫḫerā ARM 1, 132: 19 "my two(?) she-asses are small".

§ 4.26. *kûm* < *ka-um* "your" (sg. masc.).

a) Vowel spelled plene:

ku-ú-um AbB 3, 77: 14; Sumer 14, 19: 6; ARM 10, 92: 27.

ka-a-am AbB 4, 155: 19.

b) Simple vowel:

ku-um AbB 3, 63: 5; AbB 6, 57: 16.

ke-em AbB 3, 13: 14.

ka-am AbB 6, 57: 13.

§ 4.27. *kât*(*t*)*um*/*n* < *ka-atum*/*n* "your" (sg. fem.).

a) Usual spelling with double *tt* and mimation. Illustrative examples:

ka-at-tum AbB 11, 69 r. 8;[19] ARM 26/1, 87 no. 6: 42.

ka-at-tim AbB 3, 79: 7; AbB 1, 52: 33.

ka-a-at-tim AbB 14, 55: 17.

ka-at-ta-am-ma ARM 1, 46: 9.

ka-at-ta-a-am AbB 6, 78: 7.

b) Rarely with single *t*:

ka-tam AbB 8, 106: 4; Om. YOS 10, 23: 5.

c) Rarely with nunation:

Bab. *ka-at-tu-un* AbB 10, 159: 23

d) Without mimation:

ka-at-ta AbB 5, 39: 7.

ka-ta AbB 13, 90: 13.

§ 4.28. *kûttun* < *ka-ūtun* "your" (masc. pl.). Only spellings with double *tt*:

Bab. *ku-ut-ti-in* AbB 14, 199: 8; AbB 3, 56: 21.

§ 4.29. *kâttun* < *ka-ātun* "your" (fem. pl.):

Diy.[20] *anāku ka-at-ti-in maḫar bēlika luškun* TIM 2, 16: 26 "I will report to your lord about what is yours".

18 See *ište'a*[*t l*]*ū šittā šāmamma* AbB 11, 21: 12 f. "buy for me one or two!"

19 In AHw. 1255a *šû* 3b read *ša-at-tum-ma*.

20 Legal dispute in the palace of Diniktum.

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§ 4.30. *šûm* < *šu-um* "his, her, its" (masc. sg.).[21]
a) Vowel spelled plene:
wardim lā še-e-em CH § 226, CH § 227 "a slave who does not belong to him".
Om. *ša-a-am* YOS 10, 33 iv 19.
b) Simple vowel:
jâm u ša-am AbB 9, 40: 20 "mine and his".
c) Rarely an uncontracted form:
še'am šu-a-am AbB 3, 79: 9 "his barley".[22]

§ 4.31. *šâttum* < *ša-atum* "his, her, its" (fem. sg.).[23]
a) With double *tt*:
ša-at-tam CE A i 27.
b) With single *t*:
Om. *ša-tam* YOS 10, 56 iii 19; YOS 10, 4: 7; YOS 10, 13: 23.
Om. *ša-tim* YOS 10, 1: 6.

§ 4.32. *šûttun* < *šu-ūtun* "his, her, its" (masc. pl.). Only spellings with double *tt*:
Bab. *šu-ut-ti-in* AbB 1, 86: 13.
Om. *šu-ut-tu-un* AfO 18, 66: 10.

§ 4.33. *ni'um*, *nûm* "our" (masc. sg.).
a) Uncontracted:
ni-a-am Shemshara 1, 56: 31.
b) Contracted with vowel spelled plene:
nu-ú-um ARM 4, 46 r. 9; Om. YOS 10, 17: 11; YOS 10, 33 ii 25.
c) Contracted with simple vowel:
nu-um AbB 3, 16: 8.
ni-im AbB 3, 33: 31.

21 Lit. *šu-wa-à-ia* Afo 50, 15 ii 12 might be an uncontracted form *šuwāja*. Its interpretation is, however, uncertain.

22 Indeed, uncontracted forms of the fem. sg. are even attested in later texts, see AHw. 1255 *šû* I 2b.

23 *awātam lā ša-a-ti* ARM 3, 36: 26 "an appropriate word" and late OB *šu-a-ti* AbB 7, 88 r. 4 and *šu-a-at-tim* AbB 1, 15: 26 in similar contexts do not belong here (pace CAD Š/3, 155 *šû* c and AHw. 1255 *šû* I 2a; J.G. Westenholz 1985, 325): see Durand 1988, 452 n. g; Mayer 1997, 176 f. These forms are rather examples of the independent gen./acc. personal pron.

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§ 4.34. *niʾatum*, *nêttum* "our" (fem. sg.).[24]

a) Uncontracted form:

ni-a-tim būrtim ARM 2, 98 r. 5 "our well".[25]

eqlam … ina ni-i-ia-tim irrišū ARM 3, 33: 14 "let us cultivate the field with our(?) (teams)".[26]

b) Contracted form *ija* > *ê* (§ 2.121):

^{fd}UTU-*šu-né-et-tum* ARM 10, 168: 1 "the sun is ours".[27]

§ 4.35. *nûttum*/*n* < *ni-ūtum*/*n* "our" (masc. pl.).

a) With mimation:

nu-(*ut-*)*tu-um* MARI 8, 401: 13, 18.

ṣābim nu-ut-⟨⟨*tu*⟩⟩[*t*]*im* ARM 27, 161: 45 "our troops".[28]

b) With nunation:

MidEuphr. *nu-ut-tu-un* ARM 27, 68: 28.

MidEuphr. *nu-ut-ti-in* MARI 8, 401: 4.

§ 4.36. *šunûm* < *šunu-um* "theirs" (masc. sg.):

šu-ni-i-im AbB 6, 71: 5.

šu-ni-a-am AbB 1, 14: 23.

2.3.2 Use

§ 4.37. Attributive use, not negated, probably to indicate special emphasis. This function is, however, not always easy to verify, as the determination of emphasis in the texts rests on a subjective judgment. Like adjs., the independent possessive pron. usually follows its nominal head.

a) In some cases the emphasis follows from an opposition of the type "my–your":

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24 Instead of *nu-ut-tum*(*-ma*) MDP 23, 200: 47; MDP 24, 369: 8 (CAD N/2, 305 *nû* b 3′), read *lā*(NU) *ṣab*!*-tum* and DUB*-pa-ni-šu lā*(NU) *ṣab*!*-tum-ma*.

25 Durand 1998, 155 suggests a geographical name, "Niʾâtum-le-Puits." His argument that the pron. cannot precede its head noun is, however, not true, see § 4.37c, below. Moreover, the supposed meaning "prairies" for Niʾâtum is far from evident (see Kupper, ARM 3 p. 116 for a supposed etymology), and the structure and meaning of the name ("Prairies-le-Puit"?) would be unclear.

26 See CAD N/2, 306 *nû* d; but there is no reason to assume a fem. pl. See also AHw. 785 *niāʾum* 2.

27 The interpretation of *ni-it-tum* is based on Durand 2000, 501, although he offers different translations: "Ô Soleil, elle est nôtre" or "C'est notre Soleil"; the structure of such names would be, however, without parallels. The fem. gender of the pron. correlates with the fem. gender of the name-bearer (Edzard 1962).

28 Birot, ibid. p. 272 n. q assumes a form *nuttûtim*, which would be unparalleled in Akk.

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n *še'am ša ramāniki idnīšum šumma še'am lā tīšî quppatam ia-at-tam pi*[*tē*] *'āma* AbB 13, 84: 22 *jâttam* "give him n barley from your (store)! If you do not have barley, open my basket!"

b) In other cases emphasis is difficult to verify from the context:

wardum iu(IA)*-ú-um* AbB 14, 176: 9 *jûm* "a slave of mine".

ištēn taklam ka-am AbB 6, 57: 13 *kâm* "one of your trustworthy (persons)".

2 *ṣuḫārê ku-ut-ti-in* AbB 14, 199: 8 *kûttin* "2 boys of yours".

ana bītim ni-im AbB 3, 33: 31 *nîm* "to our house".

ṣābum nu-ú-um šalim ARM 4, 46 r. 9 *nûm* "our troops are well".

Om. *qarrādū iu*(IA)*-ú-tu-un* YOS 10, 42 iv 22 *jûtun* "my warriors".

c) Rarely preceding its head noun:

ia-ti-im-ma DUḪ.DURU$_5$*-ia* AbB 3, 79: 13 *jâtim-ma* "my bran".

i-ia-at-tim-ma tuppātija ARM 27, 151: 22 *jâttim-ma* "my tablets".

ni-a-tim būrtim ARM 2, 98 r. 5 *ni'atim* "our well".

§ 4.38. After negation, the attributive use of independent possessive prons. is obligatory:

wardam lā ka-a-am AbB 4, 155: 19 *kâm* "a slave not yours".

ḫalṣī lā šu-ut-ti-in AbB 1, 86: 13 *šûttin* "districts that do not belong to him".

wardim lā še-e-em CH § 226, CH § 227 *šêm* "a slave who does not belong to him".

eleppam lā ša-at-tam CE A 27 *šâttam* "a boat that does not belong to him".

Om. *ummānam lā ka-tam* YOS 10, 23: 5 *kâtam* "an army not yours".

§ 4.39. Predicative use (see § 5.193e):

awīlum iu(IA)*-ú-um* AbB 14, 121: 19; CUSAS 36, 125: 9, 11 *jûm* "the man belongs to me".

ālum GN *i-ju-ú-um* ARM 2, 109: 10 *jûm* "the city GN belongs to me".

pān bēlij[*a*] *i-ju-ut-tu-un* ARM 28, 98: 6 *jûttun* "the face of my lord was mine (= was favorable for me)".

kûm nu-um AbB 3, 16: 8 *nûm* "what is yours belongs to us".

Lit. *nēmequ ku-um-ma* DN Or. 87, 17 i 34 (and *passim* in this text) *kûm-ma* "wisdom is yours, DN".

§ 4.40. Independent use:

ia-at-tam u ka-ta gagûm īdē AbB 13, 90: 13 *jâttam, kâta* "the cloister will know what is mine and yours".

aššum atta ia-at-ta-am tīdû u anāku ka-at-tam īdû AbB 10, 176: 18 f. *jâttam, kâttam* "because you know what is mine and I know what is yours".

ša ka-at-ta-a-am ubbalakkum AbB 6, 78: 7 *kâttam* "who brings what is yours".

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ina ka-at-tim ḫīṭam lā araššī AbB 1, 52: 33 *kâttim* "concerning what is yours, I do not want to make a mistake".

kīma ša lā šu-ni-a-am ibqurū AbB 1, 14: 23 *šuni'am* "because they claimed that which is not theirs".

2.4 *Genitive Suffixes*

2.4.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.41. The suffixed gen. prons. are added to the noun in the st. cstr. (§ 5.296b) or to certain preps. For the forms with Z-signs after dentals and affricates in the 3. sg. and pl. see §§ 2.379–2.396. Rarely plene spellings of final vowels occur.[29] Although these vowels are reconstructed as long in Proto-Semitic (see Weninger 2011, 168), it seems, however, unlikely that these rare plene spellings are conditioned by etymological length. Whether these spellings indicate word stress remains unclear (see § 2.5111 f).

§ 4.42. *-ī*, /-ja/, *-ʾa* "my".

a) *-ī* is found after consonants:

É-*ti* AbB 1, 28: 13 *bītī* "my house".

DUB-*pí* AbB 1, 28: 37 *tupp-ī* "my tablet".

na-pa-áš-ti ARM 1, 1 r. 11 *napašt-ī* "my life".

b) After the vowels /i/ and /e/, the allomorph /-ja/, written *ia*, occurs:

bi-ti-ia AbB 1, 28: 14 *bīti-ja* "of my house".

aš-šu-mi-ia AbB 1, 29: 6 *aššumi-ja* "because of me".

ana ta-re-e-ia AbB 1, 10: 8 *tarê-ja* "in order to lead me away".

tap-pé-e-ia ARM 26/1, 14 no. 1: 13 *tappê-ja* "my colleague".

Lit. *a-wa-ti-ia* CH xlix 3 *awâtī-ja* "my words".

c) After the vowel /u/, the most common form in Bab. is likewise /-ja/, written *ia*. Outside Bab., it is the only attested form:

Bab. *ni-pa-tu-ia* AbB 1, 93: 9 *nipâtū-ja* "my debt prisoners".

Bab. *ṣu-ḫa-ru-ú-ia* AbB 1, 95: 7 *ṣuḫārū-ja* "my servants".

Bab. *a-ḫu-ia* AbB 14, 104: 18 *aḫḫū-ja* "my brothers".

Mid.Euphr.[30] *te-re-tu-ia* ARM 26/1, 277 no. 110: 5 *têrētū-ja* "my extispicy results".

UpMes.[31] *a-la-nu-ia* ARM 1, 1 r. 2 *ālānū-ja* "my cities".

29 Apart from examples in questions, where plene spellings may indicate intonation, see § 2.514.

30 Letter of Inib-Šamaš.

31 Letter of Abī-Śamar.

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d) After the vowel /u/, also a form *-ʾa*, written *a*, is attested. In the CH, it is the only attested form. Elsewhere, it only rarely occurs in Bab., especially in SBab.[32] In most texts we find contrasting examples of /-ja/, written *ia*, after the vowels /i/ or /e/, which shows that *a* stands for *-ʾa* and not for /-ja/.

SBab.[33] *ba-lu-a* AbB 4, 140: 15 *balū-ʾa* "without me".

SBab.[34] *aḫ-ḫu-ú-a* AbB 3, 74: 9, 19; SBab.[35] AbB 8, 12: 46 *aḫḫū-ʾa* "my brothers".

SBab.[36] *ṣú-ḫa-ru-ú-a* AbB 11, 133: 15 *ṣuḫārū-ʾa* "my boys".

Bab. *mi-im-mu-⌜ú-a⌝* AbB 4, 161: 34 *mimmû-ʾa* "my possessions".

Bab. $GU_4^{ḫi.a}$*-ú-a* AbB 14, 146: 16 *alpū-ʾa* "my oxen".[37]

Bab. *a-ḫu-ú-a* AbB 1, 81: 31;[38] Bab. AbB 11, 20: 17; Bab. CUSAS 36, 161: 20[39] *aḫḫū-ʾa* "my brothers".

$DUMU^{meš}$*-ú-a* CH §170, CH §171 *mārū-ʾa* "my sons".

Lit. *a-wa-tu-ú-a* CH xlvii 81, CH xlviii 99 *awâtū-ʾa* "my words".

Lit. *ú-ṣú-ra-tu-ú-a* CH xlvii 91 *uṣurātū-ʾa* "my records".

§ 4.43. /-ka/ "your" (masc. sg.).

a) Usually written *-ka*:

na-ṣi-ir-ka AbB 1, 5: 9 *nāṣir-ka* "who protects you".

b) Rarely written plene *-ka-a*. Illustrative examples:

ma-ru-ka-a AbB 7, 140 l. e. *māru*/*ū-ka* "your son(s)".

um-ma-ka-a AbB 14, 135: 5 *umma-ka* "your mother", but *a-ḫa-at-ka* AbB 14, 135: 4 *aḫāt-ka* "your sister".

qá-at-ka-a AbB 14, 218: 9 *qāt-ka* "your hand".

be-lí-ka-a ARM 27, 151: 36 *bēli-ka* "your lord", but *qa-ti-ka* ARM 27, 151: 12 f. *qāti-ka* "your hand".

a-li-ka-a ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 11 *āli-ka* "your city".

c) A shortened form *-k* occurs in Lit.:[40]

Lit. *ki-ku-un-na-a-ak* BiOr. 30, 359 f.: 29 *kikunnâ-k* "your temple tower".

Lit. *e-li-ik* BiOr. 30, 359 f.: 28 *elī-k* "above you".

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32 In view of this, GAG §§ 42h ("meist *-a* gesprochen") and the paradigms on page 6* ("selten" *bēlūja*) must be corrected.

33 Letter of Šamaš-ḫāzir.

34 See *ṭù* in *l*[*i*]*-ba-al-li-ṭù-ka* AbB 3, 74: 4 *liballiṭūka* "may they keep you alive".

35 See *ṭù* in *li-ba-al-li-ṭù-ku-nu-ti* AbB 8, 12: 7 *liballiṭū-* "may they keep you alive".

36 See *ṭù* in *ṭù-ur-dam-ma* AbB 11, 133: 29 *ṭurdamma* "send to me!"

37 The same text has *a-la-ki-ia* AbB 14, 146: 14 *alākija* "my coming".

38 The same text has *ṣe-ri-ia* AbB 1, 81: 22, 41 *ṣērija* "(to) me".

39 The same text has *aš-šu-mi-ia* CUSAS 36, 161: 5.

40 See Hess 2010a, 107: also attested in Ur III Akk., but not in OAkk., OA, or early OB. It remains unclear whether this is an archaic or an artificial feature of Lit.

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§ 4.44 /-ki/ "your" (fem. sg.).
a) Usually written *-ki*:
ra-ma-ni-ki AbB 13, 84: 20 *ramāni-ki* "yourself".
b) Rarely written plene *-ki-i*:
li-bi-ki-i AbB 9, 230: 17 *libbi-ki* "your heart", but *ḫi-sà-ti-i-ki* AbB 9, 230: 9 *ḫissati-ki* "your memory".
c) A shortened form *-k* occurs in Lit.:[41]
Lit. *ka-ba-at-tu-uk* VS 10, 215: 29 *kabattu-k* "your mind".
Lit. *ina im-du-⌜uk⌝* Or. 87, 21 ii 38 *imdū-k* "through your support".
Lit. *me-le-em-mu-uk* Or. 87, 23 iii 19 *melemmūk* "your aura".
Lit. *e-li-ik* Or. 87, 27 v 45 *elī-k* "above you".

§ 4.45. /-šu/, /-su/ "his, its".
a) After consonants other than dentals and affricates usually written *-šu*:
bi-ti-šu AbB 9, 230: 13 *bīti-šu* "his house".
b) Rarely written plene *-šu-ú*:
ṭe-em-šu-ú AbB 10, 163: 18 *ṭēm-šu* "his report".
a-aḫ-šu-ú AbB 10, 163: 16 *aḫ-šu* "his arm".
Om. *pa-ni-šu-ú* YOS 10, 62 r. 23 *panī-šu* "its face".
c) A shortened form *-š* occurs in Lit.:
Lit. *zi-ik-ru-úš* FM 14, 21 iii 33 *zikrū-š* "at your command".
Lit. [*ṭ*]e_4*-mi-iš* Or. 87, 19 ii 12 *ṭēmi-š* "his mind".

§ 4.46. /-ša/, /-sa/, /-ši/ "her, its".
a) After consonants other than dentals and affricates usually written *-ša*:
mu-ti-ša CH § 171b *muti-ša* "her husband".
b) A form /-ši/ occurs in the expression *manna-ši*[42] "who in the world" and twice in the Zimrī-Lîm epic:[43]
ma-an-na-ši AbB 7, 187: 8.
Lit. *ka-li-ši* FM 14, 14 i 38 *kalī-ši* "her totality".
Lit. *du-un-na-aš-ši* FM 14, 14 i 39 *dunna*(*š*)*-ši*[44] "her strength".
c) A shortened form *-š* occurs in Lit.:

41 According to Hess 2010a, 107, 115, not an archaic but an artificial feature of Lit.
42 On *mannum* modified by pron. suffs. see § 4.153.
43 See Guichard, FM 14 p. 86; Mayer 2015, 185. The refs. in the Zimrī-Lîm epic might be attributed to Northwest Semitic influence. It is also attested later in Emar, see Seminara 1998, 258–261, and in Ugarit *-ša* and *-ši* are confused, probably because in Northwest Semitic there was no difference between gen. and acc. pron. suffs., see Tropper 2012, 224.
44 Either double *šš* is a mistake, or the suff. is attached to the st. rect.: < *dunnam-ši*.

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Lit. *na-ar-bi-ja*(PI)-*aš* RA 22, 170 f.: 21, 23 *narbīja-š* "her greatness".
Lit. *ta-ni-it-ta-aš* AfO 50, 16 r. i 8, 10 *tanitta-š* "her praise".
Lit. *wa-li-di-iš* AfO 50, 16 r. I 8, 10 *wālidi-š* "her begetter".
Lit. *bi-ni-tu-uš* VS 10, 214 v 9 *binītu-š* "her stature".
Lit. *úr-ḫu-uš* Or. 87, 19 ii 12 *urḫū-š* "in her path".

§ 4.47. /-ni/, /-ne/ "our".
a) Usually written *-ni* for /-ni/:
ina mu-úḫ-ḫi-ni AbB 13, 60: 70 *muḫḫi-ni* "over us".
b) Sometimes written *-ne* for /-ne/:[45]
be-el-ne ARM 26/2, 19 f. no. 289: 1 *bēl-ne* "our lord".
DUB-*pa-ne* ARM 2, 100 edge 1 *tuppane* < *tuppani* "our tablet".

§ 4.48. *-kunu* "your" (masc. pl.).
a) Usually written *-ku-nu*:
qa-qa-da-ti-ku-nu OBTR 4: 25 *qaqqadāti-kunu* "your heads".
b) Rarely with second /u/ spelled plene:
a-la-ku-nu-ú Sumer 14, 4: 5 *alāk-kunu* "your going".

§ 4.49. *-kina* "your" (fem. pl.). Usually written *-ki-na*:
šu-lum-ki-na ARM 10, 141: 6 *šulum-kina* "your well-being".

§ 4.50. *-šunu, -sunu* "their" (masc. pl.).
a) Usually written *-šu-nu*:
it-ti-šu-nu ARM 27, 161: 41 *ittī-šunu* "with them".
b) Rarely with second /u/ spelled plene:
ka-li-šu-nu-ú AbB 5, 106: 5 *kalī-šunu* "their totality".
c) A shortened form /-šun/ sometimes occurs in Lit.:
Lit. *mi-ig-ra-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 41 *migra-šun* "their favorite".
Lit. *pu-uḫ-ri-iš-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 33 *puḫriš-šun* "in their assembly".
Lit. *mu-ut-ti-iš-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 39 *muttiš-šun* "before them".
Lit. *uz-na-šu-un* RA 22, 170 f.: 40 *uznā-šun* "their ears".
d) A further shortened form in literary texts is *-šnu* (see § 2.145):[46]
Lit. *mu-šu-li-it-ta-aš-nu* AfO 50, 16 r. i 17, 20 *mušūlitta-šnu* < *mušūlitta-šunu* "who causes them to bear children".

45 For further examples see § 2.87. Some instances can be explained as e-coloring of *i* after *e*, others perhaps as vowel dissimilation; some instances remain unexplained.

46 On *-š(u)nu* see Hess 2010a, 106 n. 15; 107. The form is also attested in Old Assyrian, but not in Old Akkadian.

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Lit. *ri-ig-ma-aš-nu* Or. 87, 19 ii 14 *rigma-šnu* "their clamor".
Lit. *uz-na-aš-nu* Or. 87, 27 v 45 *uznā-šnu* "their ears".

§ 4.51. *-šina, -sina* "their" (fem. pl.).
a) Usually written *-ši-na*:
ši-ru-ši-na AbB 1, 139 r. 4 *šīrū-šina* "their flesh".
b) A shortened form /-šin/ sometimes occurs in Lit.:
Lit. *šu-ba-ti-ši-in* CH iv 15 *šubātī-šin* "their dwellings".
Lit. *iš-di-ši-in* CH iv 41 *išdī-šin* "their fundament".
Lit. *ra-ma-an-ši-in* MIO 12, 54: 16 *ramān-šin* "they themselves".
Lit. *ti*$_4$*-il-ši-in* Or. 87, 19 ii 9 *tīl-šin* "their *t.* ornament".

2.4.2 Use
§ 4.52. The gen. suffs. are used similarly to nouns in the gen. case (§ 5.194), e.g.:
a) Genitivus subjectivus:
ša-pí-ir-ni AbB 1, 25: 18 *šāpirni* "our commander".
a-la-ku-nu-ú Sumer 14, 4: 5 *alāk-kunu* "your going".
b) Genitivus possessivus:
amtī AbB 1, 27: 41 "my slave girl".
ši-ru-ši-na AbB 1, 139 r. 4 *šīrū-šina* "their flesh".

2.5 *Dative Independent*

2.5.1 The Forms in Detail
§ 4.53. The independent dat. prons. mostly end in /-ši(m)/. Forms with a /u/ vowel in the last syllable rarely occur for the 2. masc. sg. (§ 4.55b) and 3. masc. sg. (§ 4.57c), without any clear dialectal distribution, and, probably in analogy to these forms, for the 1. sg. (§ 4.54d) and the 1. pl. (§ 4.59d) in ETigris. Shortened forms occur in PN and Lit. (§§ 4.58d, 4.59e). The 2. and 3. fem. pl. forms are not yet attested.

§ 4.54. *jâšim* < *ja-āšim, jâšum* "to/for me".
a) Usual spelling:
ia-ši-im AbB 6, 93: 26.
a-ia-ši-im ARM 2, 13: 18; Shemshara 1, 39: 5 *ajjâšim* < *an-jâšim*.
b) Sometimes with *â* spelled plene:
ia-a-ši-im AbB 4, 121: 20; AbB 2, 115: 11.
c) Sometimes without mimation:
ia-a-ši AbB 3, 79: 12.
d) In ETigris with /u/-vowel:
ETigris *ia-šum* Shemshara 1, 50: 23.

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§ 4.55. *kâši/um* < *ku-āši/um* "to/for you" (masc. sg.).[47]
a) Usually with /i/-vowel:
ka-ši-im AbB 13, 33: 15; AbB 1, 109: 13; ARM 1, 41: 19.
ak-ka-ši-im ARM 1, 77: 8.
b) Rarely with /u/-vowel in order to distinguish masc. and fem. forms:
ka-šu-um AbB 10, 4: 42; ARM 26/1, 445 no. 217: 23.
ak-ka-šum ARM 28, 18: 24, 26.
a-ka-šu-um(*-ma-a*) Shemshara 1, 39: 5; Shemshara 1, 42: 55.

§ 4.56. *kâšim* < *ku-āšim*[48] "to/for you" (fem. sg.). Always with /i/-vowel:
ka-ši-im(*-ma*) AbB 13, 74: 14; AbB 14, 194: 20; AbB 4, 161: 39.

§ 4.57. *šuʾāšim, šâši/u*(*m*) "to/for him/it".
a) Rarely uncontracted (§ 2.141a):
NBab.[49] *šu-a-ši-im* AbB 2, 60: 8.; Bab. RA 62, 21: 30; Lit. Gilg. OB VA + BM iv 20.[50]
b) Sometimes contracted with /i/-vowel:
ša-ši-im AbB 5, 244: 20; AbB 9, 1: 12.
Lit. *ša-ši-im* Gilg. OB II 232.
c) Sometimes with /u/-vowel in order to distinguish masc. and fem. forms:
ša-šu-um AbB 14, 31: 19.
ša-šu AbB 2, 163: 9.
ša-šum ARM 1, 80: 13.
ša-šum-⌜*ma*⌝ FM 2, 79 no. 45: 19.
Lit. *ša-a-šum* Gilg. OB VA+BM i 9.

§ 4.58. *ši/uʾāš*(*im*), *šâš*(*im*) "to/for her/it".
a) Rarely uncontracted *šiʾāšim*:
Lit. *ši-a-ši-im* CT 15, 3 i 11.
b) Rarely uncontracted *šuʾāšim* (identical with the masc. form):
Lit. *šu-a-ši-im* VS 10, 214 vi 15.
c) Contracted with /i/-vowel:
Lit. *ša-ši-im* VS 10, 214 iv 21.
d) Shortened forms in PN and Lit.:

47 See late OB (or MB) Lit. *ku-a-ši-im* MIO 12, 54 r. 10.
48 The form cannot go back to *ki-āšim* because such a form would remain uncontracted.
49 Letter of Hammurapi.
50 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for the last two refs.

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PN ^{f}*Ši-ia-aš-ták-la-ku* ARM 9, 24 iii 55; ARM 9, 27 v 22; ARM 23, 611: 10 "I trust in her".[51]

Lit. *an-ša-aš* VS 10, 215: 22.

Lit. *ša-aš* UET 6/2, 395 r. 5, 8, 10.

§ 4.59. *niʾāši*(*m*), *nêšim*, *niʾāšum*, *niʾāš* "to/for us".[52]

a) *niʾāšim*:

an-ni-a-ši-im Shemshara 1, 64: 19 "for us".

b) Without mimation:

Lex. *ni-a-ši* MSL 4, 94: 191; MSL 4, 95: 193, etc.

c) Contracted form:

an-né-ši-im ARM 26/1, 351 no. 172: 8.

d) In ETigris with /u/-vowel:

ETigris *a-ni-a-šum* Shemshara 1, 55: 19.

e) Shortened form in PN:

PN *Libūr-ni-aš* ARDēr 58: 21 "May he prosper for us".

§ 4.60. *kunūši*(*m*) "to/for you" (masc. pl.).

a) *kunūšim*:

it-ta-al-kam ku-nu-ši-im AbB 1, 20: 15 "he departed to you".[53]

ku-nu-ši-im ARM 1, 5: 6.

b) Without mimation:

Lex. *ku-nu-ši* MSL 4, 94: 192; MSL 4, 95: 194, etc.

§ 4.61. *šunūši*(*m*) "to/for them" (masc. pl.).

a) *šunūšim*:

šu-nu-ši-im-ma AbB 12, 31: 14; ARM 4, 16 r. 7.

b) Without mimation:

Lex. *šu-nu-ši* MSL 4, 96: 247; MSL 4, 97: 248, etc.

2.5.2 Use

§ 4.62. For the functions of the dat. case in general, see the use of the dat. pron. suffs. §§ 4.78–80, below.

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51 See ARM 16/1, 198 s.v. *Šiyārum-taklāku* with a further ref. Correct interpretation by Stol 1991, 196.

52 Instead of *an-na-ia-aš* MIO 12, 50: 9 (AHw. 784 f. *niāšim*; CAD N/2, 65 *nâši* b), read ^{d}*Na-na*!-*aš*(-*ša*), see Wasserman 2016, 125, 128.

53 Mistake for *ittalkakkunūšim*?

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§ 4.63. The independent dat. pron. emphasizes a change in the indirect obj.:

kīma ana ia-ši-im iššapram u ana ka-ši-im iššaprakkum AbB 13, 33: 14 f. *jâšim, kâšim* "as it was written to me it was also written to you".

n *še'am a-ia-ši* n *še'am ana ša-šu* AbB 2, 163: 8 f. *aj-jâši, šâšu* "(give) n barley to me and n barley to him!"

a-ka-šu-um u a-ia-ši-im maruṣ Shemshara 1, 39: 5 *ak-kâšum, aj-jâšim* "it is annoying for you and me".

ul a-ka-šum-ma-a u a-ia-ši-im imarraṣ Shemshara 1, 42: 55 f. *ak-kâšumma, ajjâšim* "will it not be annoying for you and for me as well?".

attunu ana dâk nakrim šibqī teštenê u tēteneggirāšu u nakrum qātamma ana ku-nu-ši-im šibqī ištene'ī u īteneggirkunūti ARM 1, 5: 6 *kunūšim* "you are constantly plotting stratagems to kill the enemy and to thwart him and the enemy, likewise, is constantly plotting stratagems against you and to thwart you".

§ 4.64. Furthermore, they frequently designate the indirect obj. after the prep. *ana* or shortened *an-*, which cannot take a suff.

a) *ana*:

ana ša-šu-um inaddinūšu AbB 14, 31: 19 *šâšum* "they give it to him".

ana ka-ši-im ušābilakkim AbB 14, 194: 20 *kâšim* "I sent to you".

ana šu-a-ši-im šaṭeršum AbB 2, 60: 8 *šu'āšim* "it is written for him".

še'ašu ana ša-šum[-ma] wašš[ir] ARM 1, 80: 13 f. *šâšumma* "Release his barley to him!"

ana ka-ši-im nadānim ARM 1, 41: 19 *kâšim* "to give to you".[54]

b) *an-*:

ajjâšim < *an-jâšim* ARM 2, 13: 18.

ak-ka-ši-im < *an-kâšim* ARM 1, 77: 8.

a-ni-a-šum < *an-ni'āšum* Shemshara 1, 55: 19.

c) Once used after *ana* + *an-*:

ana a-ia-ši-im Shemshara 1, 68: 18 *ajjâšim*.

§ 4.65. The independent dat. prons. also rarely designate the indirect obj. without *ana*:

eleppam ša PN *ia-ši-im* [*a*]*grānim* AbB 6, 93: 26 *jâšim* "hire PN's ship for me!"

ia-a-ši-im magrī'ātim … idbub AbB 2, 115: 11 *jâšim* "he said insults to me".

ammīni ia-ši-im awīlē tasaḫḫurā AbB 14, 205: 22 *jâšim* "why do you turn to the gentlemen for my sake?"

54 Instead of **ana ana kâšim nadānim*.

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2.6 *Dative Suffixes*

2.6.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.66. The suff. dat. prons. are attached to verbs. The ventive ending often appears between the verb and the suff. of the 2. and 3. sg. and the 1., 2., and 3. pl.; its *-m* assimilates to the first consonant of the following word (§ 2.250c). The dat. suffs. of the 1. sg. are identical with the ventive ending; for this reason, the ventive ending cannot be used in addition to the dat. suffs. of the 1. sg. For the Z-variants of the suffs. of the 3. sg. and pl. after dentals and affricates, see § 2.379. Mimation (see § 2.253) is rarely lost.

§ 4.67. A verb may have both a dat. and an acc. suff. When this occurs, the dat. suff. precedes the acc. suff., and the *-m* of the dat. suff. assimilates to the following consonant. Only examples of a dat. suff. 1. sg. in combination with an acc. suff. 2. sg. masc. or of a dat. 2. sg. masc./fem. in combination with an acc. suff. 3. sg. or pl., are attested.[55]

a) Dat. 2. sg. masc. + acc. 3. sg. masc.:[56]

aṭ-ru-da-ku-šu AbB 6, 136: 19 *aṭrudakkuššu* < *aṭrud-am-kum-šu* "I sent him to you".

a-ṭà-ar-ra-da-ak-ku-uš-[*š*]*u-ma* ARM 1, 62: 15 *aṭaraddakkuššuma* < *aṭarrad-am-kum-šu-ma* "I will send him to you".

b) Dat. 2. sg. masc. + acc. 3. sg. fem.:

e-pu-ša-ku-ši AbB 3, 24: 13 *ēpušakkušši* < *ēpuš-am-kum-ši* "I made it for you".

c) Dat. 2. sg. fem. + acc. 3. sg. fem.:

it-ru-ni-ik-ki-iš-ši CUSAS 36, 174: 12 "they directed her to you".

uš-ta-ri-a-ki-iš-ši AbB 1, 27: 24 *uštārīʾakkišši* < *uštārī-am-kim-ši* "I caused to direct her to you".

lu-ša-ra-ki-iš-ši AbB 1, 134: 12 *lušārâkkišši* < *lušārī-am-kim-ši* "let me cause to direct her to you".

d) Dat. 2. sg. masc. + acc. 3. pl. masc.:

[*l*]*u-*[*k*]*i-il-la-ak-ku-šu-nu-ti* AbB 10, 29: 16 *lukillakkuššunūti* < *lukill-am-kum-šunūti* "let me hold them back for you".

ú-ta-[*ra*]*-ak-ku-úš-šu-nu-ti* ARM 26/2, 172 no. 368: 27 *utarrakkuššunūti* < *u-tarr-am-kum-šunūti* "I will give them back to you".

li-wa-še-ru-ni-ku-šu-nu-ti-i-ma OBTI 4: 23 *liwaššerūnikkuššunūtima* < *liwaš-šerū-nim-kum-šunūti-ma* "may they release them to you".

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55 The form *ú-na-aš-šu-uš-šu* AbB 1, 22: 14 remains unclear (*unāš-šum-šu*?); see CAD N/2, 115 *nâšu* 5c. Instead of *ú-še-ṣí-šu-ú*[*š*]*-ši-im-ma* ARM 1, 129: 12, read with Durand 1998, 143 *ú-še-ṣí-šu-nu-ši-im-ma*.

56 /-šu/ is sometimes shortened to *-š* after /-kum/, see § 4.115b.

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e) Dat. 1. sg. + acc. 2. sg. masc.:

iṭ-ru-da-ak-ka ARM 26/2, 285 no. 411: 51 *iṭrudakka* < *iṭrud-am-ka* "he sent him to me".

§ 4.68. /-am/, *-m*, /-nim/ "to/for me".

a) *-m* occurs after *-ī* of the 2. sg. fem.:

ta-aš-pu-ri-im ARM 10, 151: 5 *tašpurī-m* "you have written to me".

tu-ša-bi-lim ARM 10, 156: 3 *tušābilī-m* "you have sent to me".

b) After *-ū* and *-ā* of the 3. and 2. pl. /-nim/ is used:

i-sí-ḫu-nim-ma AbB 14, 167: 17 *īsiḫū-nim-ma* "they have assigned to me"

c) In all other cases /-am/ is used:

ta-ad-di-na-am-ma AbB 11, 94: 22 *taddin-am-ma* "you gave to me".

iš-ta-na-ap-pa-ra-am ARM 10, 167: 12 *ištanappar-am* "he always writes me".

d) /-a/ of /-am/ and the final vowel of weak verbal forms contract according to the rules mentioned in ch. 2.10:

iq-bé-em ARM 10, 151: 12 *iqbêm* < *iqbī-am* "he said to me".

e) Mimation is rarely lost:

ta-ad-di-na AbB 11, 94: 22 *taddin-a* "you gave me".

§ 4.69. /-ku(m)/ "to/for you" (masc. sg.).

a) Usually with mimation:

ap-qí-da-kum AbB 11, 94: 7 *apqidakkum* < *apqid-am-kum* "I entrusted to you".

iš-pu-ra-ak-kum ARM 1, 31: 20 *išpurakkum* < *išpur-am-kum* "he sent to you".

b) Rarely without mimation:

i-di-na-ku AbB 13, 114: 10 *iddinakku* < *iddin-am-ku* "he gave to you".

aṭ-ṭar-da-ku AbB 14, 37: 20 *aṭṭardakku* < *aṭṭard-am-ku* "I sent to you".[57]

im-qú-ta-ku ARM 4, 27: 38 *imqutakku* < *imqut-am-ku* "it came (lit. fell on) to you".

ú-ša-ba-la-ku ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 23 *ušabbalakku* < *ušabbal-am-ku* "I will send to you".

lu-ša-ma-ku ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 27 *lušāmakku* < *lušām-ak-ku* "I will buy for you".

Lit. *a-aḫ-mu-uṭ-ku* CUSAS 10, 14: 17 *aḫmuṭku* "I was faster than you".

§ 4.70. /-ki(m)/ "to/for you" (fem. sg.).

a) Usually with mimation:

ad-di-na-ki-im ARM 10, 81: 17 *addinakkim* < *addin-am-kim* "I gave to you".

57 But the same author also has *aṭ-ṭar-da-kum* AbB 14, 36 r. 5.

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i-ma-qú-ta-ki-im-ma ARM 10, 142: 19 *imaqqutakkimma* < *imaqqut-am-kim-ma* "it comes (lit. falls on) to you".

b) Rarely mimation is lost:

lu-ud-di-na-ak-ki AbB 10, 6: 12 *luddinakki* < *luddin-am-ki* "I will give to you".

aš-tap-ra-ak-ki AbB 6, 148: 32 *aštaprakki* < *aštapr-am-ki* "I have sent to you".

ub-lu-ni-ki AbB 1, 134: 22 *ublūnikki* < *ublū-nim-ki* "they brought to you".

iq-bu-ni-ki AbB 1, 134: 25 *iqbûnikki* < *iqbû-nim-ki* "they said to you".

§ 4.71. /-š/su(m)/ "to/for him/it".

a) Usually with mimation:

aq-bi-šum ARM 2, 128: 20 *aqbī-šum* "I said to him".

i-di-in-šum-ma ARM 1, 16: 23 *idinšumma* "give to him!"

b) Rarely mimation is lost:

ta-aq-bi-šu AbB 14, 34: 6 *taqbī-šu* "you said to him".[58]

du-bu-ub-šu ARM 1, 18: 18 *dubub-šu* "talk to him!"[59]

§ 4.72. /-š/sim/ "to/for her/it".

iš-ru-uk-šim CH § 184 *išruk-šim* "he presented to her".

iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im CH § 178 *išṭuru-šim* "he wrote for her".

§ 4.73. *-niʾāši*(*m*), *-nêši*(*m*), *-nâši* "to/for us".

a) *-niʾāšim*:

id-di-na-an-ni-a-ši-im-ma AbB 13, 6: 14 *iddinanniʾāšim* < *iddin-am-niʾāšim* "he gave to us".

šu-up-ra-an-ni-a-ši-im-ma AbB 7, 167: 30 *šupranniʾāšim* < *šupr-am-niʾāšim* "send to us!"

b) *-nêši*(*m*) < *-niʾāši*(*m*) (see § 2.123):

[*i*]*q-bi-né-ši-im* ARM 2, 119 r. 4 *iqbī-nêšîm* "he has said to us".

iš-ku-na-an-né-ši-im ARM 3, 12: 22 *iškunannêšim* < *iškun-am-nêšim* "he put for us".

iq-bi-né-ši ARM 26/1, 109 no. 12 r. 6 *iqbī-nêši* "he said to us".

c) Rarely without mimation:

li-id-di-na-ni-a-ši AbB 8, 84: 48 *liddinanniʾāši* < *liddin-am-niʾāši* "may he give to us".

šu-bi-la-an-ni-a-ši AbB 8, 93: 23 *šūbilanniʾāši* < *šūbil-am-niʾāši* "send to us!"

d) Rarely contracted *-nâši* < *-niʾāši*:

i-di-nu-na-a-ši Sumer 14, 28: 10, 14 *iddinu-nâši* "he gave to us".

58 But the same author has *ad-di-iš-šum* AbB 14, 35: 8 *addiššum* < *addin-šum* "I gave to him".

59 The same text has *du-bu-ub-šum* ARM 1, 18: 31 *dubub-šum*.

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§ 4.74. *-kunūši(m)*/ "to/for you" (masc. pl.).
a) Usually with mimation:
qa-bi-ku-nu-ši-im ARM 1, 91 r. 12 *qabī-kunūšim* "it is said to you".
aš-pu-ra-ak-ku-nu-ši-im ARM 1, 19: 6 *ašpurakkunūšim* < *ašpur-am-kunūšim* "I sent to you".
b) Rarely without mimation:
aq-bi-ku-nu-ši AbB 14, 34: 10 *aqbī-kunūši* "I said to you".

§ 4.75. *-kināšim* "to/for you" (fem. pl.).:
i-zu-za-ki-na-ši-im AbB 1, 92: 9 *izuzzakkināšim* < *izuzz-am-kināšim* "he will divide for you".
a-ša-pa⟨-ru⟩-ki-na-ši-im AbB 11, 51: 19 *ašapparu-kināšim* "I write to you".

§ 4.76. *š/sunūši(m)* "to/for them" (masc. pl.).
a) Usually with mimation:
aq-bi-šu-nu-ši-im ARM 1, 24 r. 7 *aqbī-šunūšim* "I said to them".
ad-bu-ub-šu-nu-ši-im ARM 2, 75: 12 *adbub-šunūšim* "I talked to them".
b) Rarely without mimation:
na-ši-šu-nu-ši AbB 10, 168a: 23 *našī-šunūši* "he has brought for them".
nu-ta-ar-šu-nu-ši AbB 12, 183: 6 *nutār-šunūši* "we will give back to them".

§ 4.77. *-š/sināšim*:
a) Usually with simple vowel spellings:
qú-ul-ši-na-ši-im ARM 26/1, 276 no. 109: 16 *qūl-šināšim* "pay attention to them!"
b) Rarely with *-ā-* spelled plene:
ni-is-ru-uq-ši-na-a-ši-im-ma AbB 13, 6: 15 *nisruq-šināšim-ma* "we poured into them".

2.6.2 Use

§ 4.78. The dat. case can be found only with pron. suffs. and independent personal prons. (§§ 4.53–65). Nouns do not form a dat. case; the corresponding construction with nouns is the prep. *ana* + gen. case.

§ 4.79. A dat. suff. may resume the prep. *ana* + noun in the gen. case or an independent dat. pron.
a) This is sometimes the case when the verb stands at some distance from the prepositional phrase or the independent pron.:
šumma awīlum ana mārtišu šugītim šeriktam lā iš-ru-uk-šim CH § 184 *išrukšim* "if a man has not given a dowry to his daughter, a *šugītum*-priestess".

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Roy. *ana* DN *bēlija rabîš lū e-pu-ús-sú-um* RIME 4, 349: 46[60] *ēpussum* < *ēpuš-šum* "for DN, my lord, I verily built in a grand fashion".

b) In other cases the resumptive suff. may emphasize a change of the indirect obj.:

ana aḫātija ul addin ana kâšum a-na-ad-di-na-ak-kum AbB 1, 51: 36 *anaddi-nakkum* < *anaddin-am-kum* "I did not give (the slave-woman) to my sister. I will give it to you!"

c) In some cases an emphasizing force of the resumptive dat. suff. is difficult to verify:

ṣibissu labirum ša PN *ina tuppim ana šu'āšim ša-ṭe$_4$-er-šum* AbB 2, 60: 9 *šaṭer-šum* "the (lit. his) old holding of PN is written for him on the tablet".

kalâšu ana šâšumma i-di-in-šum FM 2, 79 no. 45: 20 "give all of it to him!"

§ 4.80. The dat. indicates the person or thing to which a situation is directed or for which something is done. It is used with the following verbs:

a) Verbs of giving:

mārtī lu-ud-di-kum-ma AbB 14, 110: 40 *luddikkumma* < *luddin-kum-ma* "let me give my daughter to you".

ḫibiltaki ú-ga-ma-ra-ki-im AbB 1, 92: 15 *ugammarakkim* < *ugammar-am-kim* "he will pay to you in full your damage".

n *ṣābam i-sí-ḫu-nim-ma* AbB 14, 167: 17 *īsiḫū-nim-ma* "they have assigned to me n workers".

ap-qí-da-kum AbB 11, 94: 7 *apqidakkum* < *apqid-am-kum* "I entrusted to you".

šeriktam iš-ru-uk-šim CH § 183 *išruk-šim* "he gave to her a dowry".

n *kaspam i-ša-qal-ši-im-ma* CH § 156 *išaqqal-šim-ma* "he will pay to her n silver".

ú-ša-lam-ši-im-ma CH § 156 *ušallam-šim-ma* "he will restore to her".

ú-ta-[*ra*]*-ak-ku-úš-šu-nu-ti* ARM 26/2, 172 no. 368: 27 *utarrakkuššunūti* < *u-tarr-am-kum-šunūti* "I will give them back to you".

b) Verbs of sending:

annumma n *šīpāt* PN *ub-lu-ni-ki* AbB 1, 134: 22 *ublūnikki* < *ublū-nim-ki* "now they have brought to you n wool of PN".

annumma PN *uš-ta-ri-a-ki-iš-ši* AbB 1, 27: 24 *uštārī'akkišši* < *uštārī-am-kim-ši* "now I caused (someone) to direct PN to you".

2 *awīlī ú-wa-aš-ša-ra-ak-ku-u*[*m*] Shemshara 1, 46: 20 *uwaššarakkum* < *u-waššar-am-kum* "I will release 2 men to you".

iš-pu-ra-ak-kum ARM 1, 31: 20 *išpurakkum* < *išpur-am-kum* "he has written to you".

60 RIME 4 has, by mistake, *-su-um*.

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ṣābī ul aṭ-ru-da-ak-kum ARM 26/2, 172 no. 368: 11 *aṭrudakkum* < *aṭrud-am-kum* "I did not send to you my troops".

c) Verbs of movement:

a-la-ka-ak-ku-um AbB 14, 19: 20 *allakakkum* < *allak-am-kum* "I will come to you".

ki-ma [*i*]*s-sà-an-qá-ak-ku-nu-š*[*i-im*] AbB 13, 123: 15 *issanqakkunūšim* < *issanq-am-kum* "as soon as he has reached you".

terdītum lā i-ru-bu-šu-um Shemshara 1, 61 r. 6 *irrubū-šum* "reinforcements should not arrive to him".

li-ir-dá-ku-um ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 30 *lirdakkum* < *lird-am-kum* "may he descend to you".

ú-ṣí-šu-nu-ši-im-ma ARM 26/2, 169 no. 366: 19 *uṣī-šunūšimma* "he went out to them".

māt GN *kalûša it-ta-*[*b*]*a-al-ka-as-sú-um* ARM 27, 132: 12 *ittabalkassum* < *ittabalkat-šum* "the entire land of GN went over to his side".

kī Ma-ri^{ki}*-i iq-te-er-ba-ku-*[*um*] ARM 28, 166 r. 7 *iqterbakkum* < *iqterb-am-kum* "how? Mari has become near to you?".[61]

d) Verbs of speaking:

qí-bi-a-ši-im AbB 1, 27: 32 *qibī'ā-šim* "speak to her!"

li-is-sú-ni-ku-um-ma AbB 14, 75: 20 *lissûnikkumma* < *lissû-nim-kum-ma* "may they shout to you".

li-ib-te-er-ri-šu-nu-ši-im-ma AbB 13, 37: 32 *libterrī-šunūšim-ma* "he should announce to them".

ad-bu-ub-šu-nu-ši-im ARM 2, 75: 12 *adbub-šunūšim* "I talked to them".

šipiṭkama du-ni-in-šu-nu-ši-im ARM 1, 6: 14 *dunnin-šunūšim* "threaten them!"

aw[*āt*]*am kêm aṣ-ba-ta-ku-um* ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 19 *aṣbatakkum* < *aṣbat-am-kum* "thus I made a statement before you".

awâtim malā a-ta-wu-ku-u[*m*] ARM 26/1, 218 no. 77: 19 *ātawû-kum* "words, as much as I spoke to you".

e) Verbs of perception and attention:[62]

aššum alpim at-ka-la-kum-ma AbB 11, 185: 29 *atkal-ak-kum-ma* "as for the ox, I relied on you".

šu-di-a-šu-nu-ši-im AbB 14, 75: 34 *šūdī'aššunūšim* < *šūdī-am-šunūšim* "make known to them".

[*k*]*īma ú-*⌜*ṭe*$_4$*-eḫ*⌝*-ḫa-ak-kum* [*iš*]*ariš apulšunūti* RATL p. 141 no. 71: 11 *uṭe-ḫḫâkkum* < *uṭeḫḫē-am-kum* "satisfy them as he suggests to you!"

61 Kupper, ARM 28 p. 242 transliterates *i-iq-*, but *-i* denotes the question and belongs to the name of *Ma-ri*^{ki} (see § 2.514).

62 See Hess 2010 for the dat. with verbs of perception.

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qú-ul-ši-na-ši-im ARM 26/1, 276 no. 109: 16 *qūl-šināšim* "pay attention to them!"

Lit. *pa-al-sà-a-ši-im kī Šamaš nišū nūriški* ZA 44, 32: 24 *palsā-šim* "the people are looking at your light as at the sun".

f) Other verbs that denote a situation directed to somebody or something:

6 *eleppētim* ... 300 GUR *še'am ni-is-ru-uq-ši-na-a-ši-im-ma* AbB 13, 6: 15 *nisruq-šināšim-ma* "6 ships ... we poured 300 kor barley into them".

g) Verbs that denote a situation that benefits someone:

eqlam ul i-zu-za-ki-na-ši-im AbB 1, 92: 9 *izuzzakkināšim* < *izuzz-am-kināšim* "he will not divide the field for you".

[*l*]*u*-[*k*]*i-il-la-ak-ku-šu-nu-ti* AbB 10, 29: 16 *lukillakkuššunūti* < *lukill-am-kum-šunūti* "let me hold them back for you".

li-il-qú-ni-ik-ku-um-ma AbB 14, 166: 25 *lilqûnikkumma* < *lilqû-nim-kum-ma* "may they obtain for you".

mimma ša e-zi-ba-ak-ku-um AbB 14, 73: 14 *ēzibakkum* < *ēzib-am-kum* "everything I left for you".

eqel šêm uš-ta-ṣí-a-ku-um AbB 14, 142: 9 *uštāṣīakkum* < *uštāṣī-am-kum* "I rented the barley for you".

ku-un-ka-šum-ma CUSAS 36, 208: 16 *kunkā-šum-ma* "place under seal for him".

tuppam iš-ṭú-ru-ši-im CH § 178 *išṭuru-šim* "he wrote for her a tablet".

ul ta-ka-ba-as-sú-um ARM 1, 61 8 *takabassum* < *takabbas-šum* "you do not suppress for him".

maḫar DN *ak-ta-na-ra-ba-k*[*u*]*-um* ARM 10, 3 r. 19 *aktanarrabakkum* < *aktanarrab-am-kum* "I always pray for you before DN".

h) Verbs that denote a situation in which someone is disfavored:

el-te-em-na-ki-im AbB 6, 177: 38 *eltemnakkim* < *eltemn-am-kim* "I became hostile towards you".

ana annêtim mimma kiṣir libbi bēlni lā i-ra-aš-še-né-ši-im FM 2, 210 no. 117: 41 *iraššênêšim* < *iraššī-am-ni'āšim* "my lord must not at all become angry with us because of this!"

Lit. *a-aḫ-mu-uṭ-ku* CUSAS 10, 14: 17 *aḫmuṭ-ku* "I was faster (compared) to you".

2.7 *Genitive/Accusative Independent*

2.7.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.81. *jâti* < *ja-āti* "me".

a) Frequently spelled with plene *â*:

ia-a-ti AbB 13, 66: 14; AbB 14, 29: 17.

b) Frequently without plene spelling:

ia-ti AbB 10, 5: 22.

i-ia-ti ARM 10, 74: 17; ARM 10, 157: 9; FM 2, 88 no. 50: 44.

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§ 4.82. *kâta*/*i* < *ka-āta*/*i* "you" (masc. sg.).
a) Usually spelled *ka-ta*:
ka-ta AbB 13, 77: 10; AbB 12, 95: 20; ARM 26/1, 215 no. 75: 6.
b) Rarely with *â* spelled plene:
ka-a-ta AbB 8, 137: 7; AbB 14, 125: 15; ARM 26/1, 466 no. 225: 8; ARM 28, 24: 10.
c) The form with final /i/ is rarer than the form with final /a/:
ša ka-ti īšûka AbB 3, 22: 24 "who had you".
ka-a-ti adī matī nitanarrīka ARM 1, 108: 5 "how long must we guide you?"
d) Once with final plene *a*:
ka-ta-a FM 2, 101 no. 60: 24.

§ 4.83. *kâti* < *ka-āti* "you" (fem. sg.):
ka-ti OBTR 162: 21.

§ 4.84. The form for 3. masc. sg. is *šu'āti*/*u*, *šâti*/*u*, or *šêti*/*u*. The following paragraphs record the distribution in different dossiers.[63]

§ 4.85. The letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš to Balamunamḫe (SBab.) have one instance of *šâti*:
ša-a-ti AbB 14, 58: 16.

§ 4.86. In the letters from Larsa (SBab.) there is one instance of *šu'āti*:
šu-a-ti u bēl awātīšu ṭurdānim AbB 6, 142: 14 "send me him and his adversary".

§ 4.87. In the letters from Isin (SBab.) only *šu'āti* is found:
ša awīlim šu-a-ti AbB 14, 205: 9 "of this man".
kaspim šu-a-ti AbB 14, 205: 13, 20 "this silver".
šu-a-ti ušabbalakkuššu AbB 14, 206: 26 "I will have him bring it to you".

§ 4.88. In the letters of Hammurapi (NBab.) only *šu'āti* is found. Illustrative examples:
šu-a-ti AbB 13, 12: 17; AbB 13, 17: 12; AbB 13, 21: 20.

§ 4.89. In the Code of Hammurapi (NBab.) only *šu'āti* is found. Illustrative examples:
šu-a-ti CH § 2; CH § 4.

63 There are no examples in the letters from Sippar, the Codex Ešnunna, or the letters of Aqba-ḫammu.

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§ 4.90. In the letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.), both uncontracted *šu'āti* and contracted *šâti* are found.

a) *šu'āti*:

eqla/im šu-a-ti AbB 4, 50: 14; AbB 4, 125: 11, 13 "this field".
tuppim šu-a-ti AbB 4, 111: 19 "this tablet".
awīlam wēdī'am šu-a-ti AbB 4, 154: 22 "this single man".

b) *šâti*:

ana eqlim ša-a-ti AbB 4, 62: 8 "to this field".
eqlam ša-a-ti AbB 4, 57: 13; AbB 4, 68: 10 "this field".
BÚR.2^{iku} *ša-a-ti* AbB 4, 68: 18 "these 2 BÙR of field". AbB 9, 199: 11: AbB 9, 200: 6.

§ 4.91. In the Ḫarmal letters (Diy.) only *šâtu* is attested:

ša-a-tu Sumer 14, 3: 17, 21, 25.

§ 4.92. In the letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.) only *šâti* is attested:

ḫarrāni/am ša-a-ti ARM 5, 14: 8, r. 6 "this road".
ūmim šâti ARM 4, 87: 8 "that day".

§ 4.93. In the letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.), *šâti*, *šâtu*, *šêti*, and *šêtu* are attested.

a) *šâti*. Illustrative examples:

ēkallam ša-a-ti ARM 27, 10: 23 "this palace".
eleppam ša-a-ti ARM 27, 14: 37, 41 "this boat".
ṭēmam ša-a-ti ARM 27, 16: 24 "this report".
ḫalṣam ša-a-ti ARM 27, 25: 16 "this district".
še'im šâti ARM 27, 37: 54 "this barley".

b) *šâtu*. Illustrative examples:

bītam ša-a-tu ARM 27, 2: 22 "this house".
papāḫam ša-a-tu ARM 27, 9: 25 "this cella".
še'am ša-a-tu ARM 27, 9: 28 "this barley".
awīlam ša-a-tu ARM 27, 121 r. 6; ARM 27, 163: 14, 18 "this man".
tuppija ša-a-t[u] ARM 27, 158 r. 3 "this my tablet".

c) *šêti*. Illustrative examples:

še'im/šêm še-ti ARM 27, 106: 5; ARM 27, 76: 16 "this barley".
awīlim še-ti ARM 27, 36: 35 f.; ARM 27, 84: 19 "this man".
tuppam še-ti ARM 27, 47 r. 8; ARM 27, 73: 9 "this tablet".
alpam še-ti ARM 27, 131: 14, 18, 20 "this ox".
ṣābim še-ti ARM 27, 82: 13 "this troop".

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d) *šêtu*:
ḫalṣim še-tu ARM 27, 25: 21 "this district".
awīlam še-tu ARM 27, 118 r. 15 "this man".

§ 4.94. In the letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.) *šâtu* is attested:
ša-tu ARM 28, 137: 6.

§ 4.95. In the letters of Išme-Dagan (UpMes.) only *šâti* is attested. Illustrative examples:
awīlam ša-a-ti ARM 1, 125: 7 "this man".
ṣābi/am ša-a-ti ARM 1, 126: 12; ARM 1, 134: 12 "this troop".
ālam ša-a-ti ARM 1, 131: 15; ARM 1, 138: 9 "this city".
ūmam ša-a-ti-ma ARM 1, 133: 7 "this day".

§ 4.96. In the letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris) only *šâti* is attested:
ša-ti Shemshara 1, 53: 26; Shemshara 1, 55: 17.
sa-a-ti Shemshara 1, 57: 23.

§ 4.97. In the letters from Karkemiš (NSyria) only *šâti* is attested:
ša-a-ti ARM 28, 18: 19, 22, 30.

§ 4.98. Outside the dossiers listed above:
a) The form *šuʾāti* is rarely attested in MidEuphr.:
[*t*]*uppam šu-a-ti* MidEuphr. ARM 26/1, 572 no. 272: 25 "this tablet".[64]
b) The form *šuʾātu* sometimes occurs in Bab., but not in the Code of Hammurapi, and rarely in UpMes.[65] Illustrative examples:
Bab. *dabābam šu-a-tu* AbB 13, 60: 17 "this gossip".
Bab. PN *šu-a-tu* AbB 13, 60: 20 "this PN".
Bab. *ṣuḫāram šu-a-tu* AbB 8, 71: 14 "this boy".
Bab. ERIM.GI.ÍL *šu-a-tu* AbB 10, 13: 12 "this corvée labor".
UpMes. *awīlim šu-a-tu* RATL p. 196 no. 121: 9 "this man".
c) The form *šâtu* is also rarely attested in Bab. and ETigris:
NBab. *ša-a-tu* AbB 14, 33: 10.[66]

64 Letter of Ilī-imittī to Jasmaḫ-Hadda(?).
65 MidEuphr. FM 7, 130 no. 36: 77 *ūm*[*i*] *šu-a-tu* is difficult to verify on the photo. The same text also has *ālim ša-a-tu* FM 7, 130 no. 36: 75 (end not clearly visible on the photo) and *āla/im ša-a-ti* FM 7, 128 no. 36: 4; FM 7 p. 130 no. 36: 38.
66 Letter of Adad-rabī to Lipit-Ea; for the origin of the letters of Adad-rabī see the discussion of Veenhof, AbB 14 p. XVII.

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Bab. *ša-a-tu* AbB 6, 43: 5; AbB 7, 69 r. 4.
ETigris *ša-tu* Shemshara 1, 63: 57.[67]

d) The form *šêti* is also attested in UpMes.:
ṣuḫāram še-t[*i*] ARM 28, 90: 19.[68]

e) The form *šêtu* also occurs in UpMes.:
tuppam še-tu OBTR 107: 11 "this tablet".[69]

f) The form *še'ātu* occurs in MidEuphr.:
še-a-tu ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 40.

§ 4.99. a) The following table summarizes the results of the foregoing investigation:

Dossier	***šu'āti***	***šu'ātu***	***šâti***	***šâtu***	***šêti***	***šêtu***	***še'ātu***
Letters of Ṣilli-Šamaš (SBab.)			x				
Letters from Larsa (SBab.)	x						
Letters from Isin (SBab.)	x						
Letters of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x						
Code of Hammurapi (NBab.)	x						
Letters of Lu-Ninurta (NBab.)	x		x				
Ḫarmal Letters (Diy.)				x			
Letters of Jasmaḫ-Hadda (MidEuphr.)			x				
Letters of the governors of Qaṭṭunān (MidEuphr.)			x	x	x	x	
Letters of Jumraṣ-il (UpMes.)				x			
Letters of Išme-Dagan (UpMes.)			x				
Letters of Talpuš-šarri (ETigris)			x				
Letters from Karkemiš (NSyr.)			x				
Outside the dossiers listed above (§ 4.98):							
Bab.		x		x			
MidEuphr.	x						x
UpMes.		x			x	x	
ETigris				x			

67 Letter of Šepratu to Kuwari.
68 Letter from Ilan-ṣura.
69 Letter of Kiṣṣutum to Iltani.

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b) The uncontracted forms *šu'āti/u* are almost exclusively attested in SBab. and NBab. and only rarely in MidEuphr. On the other hand, forms with contraction (*šâti/u* < *šu'āti/u*) are rare in Bab. but regular in other regions. The letters of Lu-Ninurta (§ 4.90), in which both uncontracted and contracted forms occur, show no difference in use: both uncontracted and contracted forms are used attributively here. The form *šêti* developed from fem. *ši'āti* and is used in MidEuphr. and UpMes. Forms with final /i/ are much more frequent than forms with final /u/. The latter are almost always used only for masc. gender, whereas *šâ/êti* may be used for both genders. Sometimes, however, an opposition between masc. *šâtu* and fem. *šâti* can be observed:

nēštam ša-a-ti ARM 14, 1: 19 "this lioness", but *nēša/im* [*ša*]*-a-tu* ARM 14, 1: 7, 21, 23 "this lion".

§ 4.100. *ši'āti, šu'āti, šâti/u, šêti/u* "her, it".

a) The uncontracted specifically fem. form *ši'āti* is only rarely attested:
Bab. *ši-a-ti* AbB 13, 18: 25; CH § 108;[70] Lit. CT 15, 3 i 13.

b) The originally masc. form *šu'āti* is regularly used for fem. gender in Bab.:
amtam šu-a-ti AbB 1, 67 r. 6 "this slave-woman".
ṣibûtim šu-a-ti AbB 6, 109: 12 "this wish".
awātam šu-a-ti AbB 13, 179: 9 "this matter".
ina šattim šu-a-ti CH § 48 "in this year".
ana išātim šu-a-ti CH § 25 "in this fire".

c) The rarer form *šu'ātu* is almost always used as masc., but rarely as fem.:
awātam šu-a-tu AbB 11, 189: 23 "this matter".

d) *šâti* is regularly used for both genders, especially in regions outside Bab. Examples of fem.:
awīlūtim ša-a-ti ARM 27, 1: 28, 30, 31 "this people".
māti/am ša-a-ti ARM 4, 25: 11, 18 "this land".
šallatim ša-a-ti ARM 10, 125: 9 "this booty".
sinništi/am ša-a-ti ARM 10, 139: 14, 17, 19 f.; OBTR 83: 10, 12 "this woman".

e) *šâtu* is masc. in most cases and may stand in opposition to fem. *šâti* (see § 4.99b). Rarely, however, we find fem. *šâtu*, in one text even alongside fem. *šâti*:[71]

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70 Var. S. The stele has *šu-a-ti*.

71 In ARM 14, 85: 15, Durand 1998, 474 reads *ana warkat* [*a*]*-wa*!-⌜*tim*⌝ *ša-a-tu parāsim* "in order to decide the affair of this matter(?)" instead of *n*[*a*?*-wi*?*-i*?*-i*]*m* in theeditio princeps. The same text has, however, *nawâm ša-a-ti* ARM 14, 85: 11 "this pasture". Can we read [*na-*]*wi*!-⌜*im*!⌝ *ša-a-tu*?

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MidEuphr. *amtam ša-a-tu* ARM 27, 85: 18 "this slave girl", but *amtam ša-a-ti* ARM 27, 85: 26.

MidEuphr. *mu-ba-al-li-tam ša-a-t*[*u*] ARM 6, 4: 9 *muballittam* "this barrage".[72]

f) *šêti* is regularly used for both genders outside of Bab., but only rarely in Bab. Examples of fem.:

Bab. *awāta*/*im še-ti* AbB 1, 29: 17; MidEuphr. ARM 27, 116: 58; ARM 27, 70: 9 "this word".

MidEuphr. *igārtam še-ti* ARM 27, 59: 32 "this wall".

UpMes. *ṣuḫārtam še-e-ti* OBTR 81: 10 "this girl".

g) *šêtu* is masc. in most cases, but fem. refs. rarely occur:

amtam še-tu ARM 26/1, 533 no. 254: 29 "this slave girl".

§ 4.101. *ni'āti* "us".

a) The uncontracted form *ni'āti* is attested in Bab.:

ni-a-ti AbB 13, 60: 50; AbB 3, 52: 23.

b) *nêti* < *ni'āti* in MidEuphr.:

né-ti ARM 27, 118 r. 13; ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 28; ARM 2, 76: 8.

§ 4.102. *kunūti* "you" (masc. pl.):

ku-nu-ti AbB 6, 88: 19; ARM 26/2, 163 no. 362: 48.

§ 4.103. *šunūti, šâtun* "them" (masc. pl.).

a) *šunūti* is the common form:

šu-nu-ti AbB 13, 79: 19; ARM 10, 7: 21.

b) *šâtun* is derived from the 3. sg. *šâtu* < *šu'ātu* (§ 4.91), adding the ending /-n(u)/ by analogy to the nom. *šunu* (§ 4.11).[73] The form is only attested in Diy.:

[5 GUR *š*]*a-tu-un … lišššûnim* Sumer 14, 23: 17 "let them bring those 5 kor".

kullizī ša-tu-un IM 52566 Sumer 14 p. 46 "those ox-drivers".

§ 4.104. *šināti*(*m*) "them" (fem. pl.).

a) The usual form is *šināti*:

ši-na-ti AbB 10, 26: 9; ARM 10, 131: 17.

b) In UpMes. rarely with mimation:

ši-na-tim ARM 28, 47: 21; RATL p. 167 no. 94: 6.

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72 Because of this ref. AHw. 665 *muballiṭṭu* 2 and CAD M/2, 157 assume that the gender of this word is ambiguous. But the same text has *muballittum … epšet* ARM 6, 4: 5–7 "the barrage is built", which demonstrates that the word is fem.

73 The fuller form *šâtunu* occurs in Middle and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions (AHw. 1203, CAD Š/2, 218–220).

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2.7.2 Use

§ 4.105. In the gen.:

a) In apposition after a noun:

ana abīja ka-ta aqbīma AbB 14, 155: 16 *kâta* "I spoke to you, my father".

maḫar bēlija ka-ta AbB 13, 60: 34 *kâta* "before you, my lord".

b) After prepositions and prepositional expressions that do not take suffs.:

PN *kīma ka-a-ti mannum īdēšu* AbB 4, 139: 34 *kâti* "who knows PN like you?"

⌜*kīma*⌝ *ka-ta-ma jâšim uwaddûnim* AbB 13, 71: 18 *kâta-ma* "they assigned it to me instead of you".

mannum kīma ku-nu-ti rab AbB 6, 88: 19 *kunūti* "who is great like you?"

ša lā ia-ti mannum aḫātki AbB 9, 240: 21 *jâti* "who is your sister but me?"

aššum i-ia-ti ARM 10, 55: 9; OBTR 138: 4 *jâti* "because of me".

c) After *u* "and", used as a preposition:

ištū anāku u ka-a-ta ninnamru AbB 14, 125: 5 *kâta* "when I and you met".

šumma anāku u ka-ti sarrāti nītawū AbB 9, 19: 8 *kâti* "if I and you talk maliciously with each other".

inūma … anāku u ka-ta nuštātû AbB 3, 100: 7 *kâta* "when I and you came together".

d) After the determinative pron. *ša* (§§ 4.141–151):

mīnka ša ka-ta elqēma AbB 3, 79: 21 *kâta* "what of yours have I taken away?"

ēram … ina ša ka-ta … imšu'ma AbB 12, 194: 4 *kâta* "he stole the *ēru*-wood from what is yours".

ina 5 ŠE.GUR *lā mādim ša ia-ti u errēšim* AbB 11, 33: 13 *jâti* "from my and the cultivator's scanty 5 kor of barley".

§ 4.106. a) In apposition after a noun or a numeral in the acc.:

abī ka-ta liballiṭū AbB 14, 91: 5 f. *kâta* "may they keep my father, you, alive".

ana ēkallim 5 *na-ti ušēribūnâti* AbB 5, 27: 16 *nâti* "they brought the 5 of us into the palace".

3 *né-ti … ulabbišūnêti* ARM 2, 76: 8 *nêti* "they clothed the 3 of us".

3 *awīlī né-ti* PN *išpurannêti* ARM 27, 118 r. 13 *nêti* "PN sent the 3 of our men".

Lit. *rubâm na'dam pāliḫ ilī ia-ti* CH i 30 *jâti* "the pious prince who fears the gods, me".

b) As head noun of an attributive adj.:

ni-a-ti ṣeḫḫerūtim tuḫallaqāni'āti AbB 3, 52: 23 *ni'āti* "you are destroying us children".

§ 4.107. When used in apposition after a noun, the prons. of the 3. p. sg. and pl. have the function of a demonstrative, anaphoric pron. (see also § 4.19.a).

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1 *bā'iram taklam … erissu … bā'iram šu-a-ti ana* GN *šūri'amma* AbB 13, 7: 23 *šu'āti* "demand a reliable fisherman from him! … I will lead this fisherman to GN!"

šumma sābītum sarrūtum ina bītiša ittarkasūma sarrūtim šu-nu-ti lā iṣṣabtamma CH § 109 *šunūti* "when a tavern keeper—criminals have flocked together in her house and she has not seized those criminals".

aššum šamaššammī ša ina eqel ēkallim eršū iqbûnimma … ina šamaššammī šu-nu-ti Sumer 14, 14: 11 *šunūti* "concerning the sesame that is demanded from the field belonging to the palace … in that sesame".

annumma tuppam ana PN *uštābilam šumma Sūtî ša aṭrudakkum tušetteq … [ana ṣē]r* PN *ṭurud [u šumm]a Sūtî ša aṭrudakkum [lā] tušetteq [a]ttama tuppam šu-a-ti ana* PN *šūbil* ARM 6, 51 r. 19 *šu'āti* "now I have sent a tablet to PN. If you want to cause to pass the Sutians whom I have sent to you, send (them and the tablet) [to] PN! [But i]f you do not want to cause to pass the Sutians whom I have sent to you, you yourself send this tablet to PN!"

§ 4.108. In tandem with a noun in the acc. case (see for nom. prons. § 4.16):

ša ka-ta u aḫāka ašariš ušēšibu AbB 14, 40: 23 f. *kâta* "who caused you and your brother to dwell there".

šu-a-ti u bēl awātišu ana ṣērini ṭurdānim AbB 6, 142: 14 *šu'āti* "send him and his adversary to me!"

ia-a-ti u PN *issâni'ātima* AbB 14, 66: 5 *jâti* "he addressed us, me and PN".

§ 4.109. In the following case, the independent pron. is necessary because a second obj. is expressed as a suff.:

šu-a-ti ušabbalakkuššu AbB 14, 206: 26 *šu'āti* "I will have him bring it to you".

§ 4.110. The independent personal prons. also seem to be used to indicate emphasis (see also § 4.18). This function is, however, not always easy to verify, since the determination of emphasis in a given case relies on a subjective evaluation.

a) In the following instances enclitic *-ma* additionally emphasizes the pron.:

atta alākam lemât awīlū ka-ta-a-ma uqawwûka AbB 1, 36: 8 *kâta-ma* "you do not want to come, but the men are waiting only for you".

aḫḫūšu ša-ti-ma ḫasḫūšu Shemshara 1, 55: 17 *šâti-ma* "his brothers need him".

b) But elsewhere *-ma* is missing:

mimman ūmam ia-ti iklânni AbB 10, 5: 22 *jâti* "would anything have detained me today?"

ka-a-ti adī matī nittanarrīka ARM 1, 108: 5 *kâti* "how long shall we guide you?"

u ištū ku-nu-ti anaṭṭalu da'at mamman ul aša'al ARM 26/2, 163 no. 362: 48 *kunūti* "when I see you I will not pay attention to anybody else".

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u atti ia-ti dummiqīni ARM 10, 43: 21 *jâti* "and you, honor me!"

bēlī ina GN *wašib u ia-a-ti ana ḫalaṣ* GN_2 *iṭrudannim*[*a*] ARM 10, 157: 9 *jâti* "my lord sits in GN and sent me to the district of GN_2".

i-ia-ti bēlī ana lā ḫiṭītim [*l*]*ā* [*inas*]*saḫannima* FM 2, 88 no. 50: 44 "my lord must not [ex]pel me for a non-existent mistake!"

2.8 *Accusative Suffixes*

2.8.1 The Forms in Detail

§ 4.111. a) The acc. suffs. are attached to verbs. For verbs with both dat. and acc. suffs. see § 4.67. For the forms with Z after dentals and affricates in the 3. sg. and pl. see §§ 2.379–2.396.

b) The ventive ending usually occurs before the suff. of the 1. sg. /-ni/ and the verb:

ú-lam-mi-da-an-ni AbB 2, 30: 5 *ulammidanni* < *ulammid-am-ni* "he informed me".

li-da-bi-bu-ni-ni AbB 1, 30: 20 *lidabbibūninni* < *lidabbibū-nim-ni* "shall they sue me?"

c) Very rarely /-ni/ is directly attached to the verb:

im-ḫu-ru-ni AbB 5, 126: 6 *imḫurū-ni* "they received from me".

ú-la-am-mi-du-ni AbB 2, 10: 9 *ulammidū-ni* "they informed me".

d) With the acc. suffs. of the other persons, the ventive ending is found less frequently:

a-ka-aš-ša-da-ak-ka AbB 6, 37: 18 *akaššadakka* < *akaššad-am-ka* "I will arrive to you".

⌜*a*⌝*-pa-qí-da-ki* AbB 7, 16: 9 *apaqqidakki* < *apaqqid-am-ki* "I will provide you".

gim-la-an-ni-a-[*t*]*i* AbB 7, 95 r. 9 *gimlanni'āti* < *giml-am-ni'āti* "do us a favor!"

li-il-qé-a-aš-šu-nu-ti-ma AbB 5, 137: 16 *lilqē'aššunūtima* < *lilqē-am-šunūtima* "may he take them".

gu-um-ra-aš-ši-na-a-t[*i*] AbB 5, 170: 11 *gumraššināti* < *gumr-am-šināti* "finish them!"

§ 4.112. /-ni/ "me":

im-ḫu-ru-ni-in-ni AbB 11, 176: 12 *imḫurūninni* < *imḫurū-nim-ni* "they accepted from me".

uḫ-ti-iš-ša-an-ni ARM 27, 27: 22 *uḫtiššanni* < *uḫtišš-am-ni* "it worried me".

§ 4.113. /-ka/ "you" (masc. sg.):

li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ka AbB 1, 74: 4 *liballiṭū-ka* "may they keep you alive".

i-ra-mu-ka AbB 11, 9: 4 *irammu-ka* "he loves you".

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§ 4.114. /-ki/ "you" (fem. sg.):

li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ki AbB 1, 31: 5 *liballiṭū-ki* "may they keep you alive".

i-ḫa-al-li-iq-ki AbB 1, 27: 27 *iḫalliq-ki* "she will escape from you".

§ 4.115. /-šu/, /-su/ "him".

a) Usually the full form with final /-u/:

ru-uk-ki-si-i-šu AbB 1, 51: 16 *rukkisīšu* "make an agreement with him!"

b) Sometimes shortened to *-š* after the dat. suff. /-kum/:[74]

aṭ-ru-da-ak-ku-uš AbB 14, 18: 27 *aṭrudakkuš* < *aṭrud-am-kum-šu* "I sent him to you".

aṭ-ṭar-da-(*ak-*)*ku-uš* AbB 5, 175: 16: Nisaba 19, 181: 10; UET 5, 18: 8; UET 5, 46: 9 *aṭṭardakkuš* < *aṭṭard-am-kum-šu* "I have sent him to you".

li-it-ru-ni-ik-ku-uš UET 5, 80: 19 *litrûnikkuš* < *litrû-nim-kum-šu* "let them lead him away to you".

aṭ-ṭà-ar-da-ak-ku-uš Shemshara 1, 55: 11 *aṭṭardakkuš* < *aṭṭard-am-kum-šu* "I have sent him to you".

c) In word-final position, the shortened form *-š* rarely occurs after *-ū* (3. pl. masc.) or /-u/ (subord.). Attestations are from letters and documents and from literary texts, and no dialectal distribution can be recognized:[75]

Bab. *adī … ta-ša-lu-uš* AbB 1, 50: 18 *tašallu-š* "until you question him".

Bab. *ūm i-ri-šu-uš* CDSmith 259: 6 *irrišu-š* "when he asks (it) from him".

Bab. *ša … ta-pa-du-uš* CUSAS 36, 125: 9 *tapādu-š* "whom you imprisoned".

MidEuphr. *i-qa-ab-bu-*⌜*úš*⌝ FM 6, 254 no. 25: 30 *iqabbû-š* "they say it"

ETigris *im-šu-ḫu-uš* Shemshara 1, 31: 11 *imšu'ū-š* "they robbed him".

ETigris *i-ri-šu-úš* Shemshara 1, 55: 8 *īrišū-š* "they wanted him".

ETigris *i-ra-mu-úš* Shemshara 1, 55: 23 *irammū-š* "they love him".

ETigris *iš-pu-ru-úš* Shemshara 1, 63: 6 *išpurū-š* "they sent him".

UpMes. *e-pé-*⌜*šu-úš*⌝ RATL p. 170 no. 97: 20 *malā … eppešu-š* "what I do to him".

UpMes. *i-na-ad-di-nu-úš* ARM 28, 113: 26 *inaddinū-š* "they allow him".

NSyr. *ub-t*[*a-al-l*]*i-ṭú-uš* ARM 28, 14: 22 *ubtalliṭū-š* "(if) they keep him alive".

NSyr. *li-ba-al-li-ṭú-uš* ARM 28, 14: 23 *liballiṭū-š* "may they keep him alive".

NSyr. *uš-ta-mi-tu-uš* ARM 28, 14: 24 *uštamītū-š* "(if) they put him to death".[76]

Lit. *i-qa-bu-uš* CUSAS 10, 18: 17 *iqabbû-š* "they order it".

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74 For full -/šu/ after /-kum/ see § 4.67.

75 For shortened -/š(u)/ see Hess 2010, 107: attested in OAkk., OA, and in early OB. For examples from early OB royal inscriptions see Hess 2010a, 117. Thus the feature is an archaism.

76 But not at the end of a word: *li-iš-mi-tu-šu-ma* ARM 28, 14: 25 *lišmitū-šu-ma* "may they put him to death".

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§ 4.116. /-ši/, /-si/ "her".
a) Usually the full form with final -/i/:
li-ba-at-ti-iq-ši AbB 1, 27: 28 *libattiq-ši* "may he cut her".
i-ḫu-zu-ši AbB 12, 63: 16 *īḫuzu-ši* "(who) married her".
b) Rarely, a shortened form *-š* occurs after vowels or after assimilated *n*:[77]
i-de-eš AbB 9, 16: 5 *īdē-š* "I know her".
šu-li-a-aš AbB 14, 32: 15 *šūlīʾa-š* "cause it (the ship) to rise!"
ta-na-di-iš AbB 11, 5: 14 *tanaddiš* < *tanaddišši* < *tanaddin-ši* "you allow her".
[*i-n*]*a-di-iš* VAB 5, 35: 9 *inaddiš* < *inaddišši* < *inaddin-ši* "sie wird sie geben".
i-di-iš VAB 5, 36: 4 *iddiš* < *iddišši* < *iddin-ši* "he has given her".
i-la-pa-tu-uš VAB 5, 36: 7, 14 *ilappatu-š* "(that nobody) touches her".
Lit. *erša at-ta-di-iš* CUSAS 10, 12: 36 "I placed a bed".[78]

§ 4.117. *-niʾāti*, *-nêti* "us".
a) *-niʾāti* in Bab.:[79]
tu-ḫa-la-qá-ni-a-ti AbB 3, 52: 24 *tuḫallaqā-niʾāti* "you are ruining us".
gim-la-an-ni-a-[*t*]*i* AbB 7, 95 r. 9 *gimlanniʾāti* < *giml-am-niʾāti* "do us a favor!"
b) Rarely contracted *-nâti* < *-niʾāti* in Bab., Diy., and UpMes.:
Bab. *ú-za-ba-lu-na-ti* AbB 14, 141: 13 *uzabbalū-nâti* "they keep us waiting".
Diy. *i-pa-qí-du-na-ti* OBTI 4: 17 *ipaqqidū-nâti* "they will assign to us".
UpMes. *i-ša-da-da-na-ti* RATL p. 219 no. 143: 17 *išaddadannâti* < *išaddad-am-nâti* "he is pulling us".
c) Contracted form *-nêti* < *niʾāti* outside Bab., e.g., in MidEuphr. and UpMes.:
MidEuphr. *ú-la-bi-šu-né-ti* ARM 2, 76: 9 *ulabbišū-nêti* "they clothed us".
UpMes. *iz-zu-ru-né-ti* ARM 1, 91 r. 15 *izzurū-nêti* "they insulted us".

§ 4.118. *-kunūti* "you" (masc. pl.).
a) Usual writing:
a-ma-ga-ar-ku-nu-ti-i AbB 1, 33: 43 *amaggar-kunūti* "shall I agree with you?"
b) Rarely written with plene *ū*:
aṭ-ru-du-ku-nu-ú-ti AbB 8, 27: 10 *aṭrudu-kunūti* "I sent you".

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77 According to Hess 2010a, 107, shortened /-š(i) occurs neither in OAkk. nor in OA nor in early OB. In contrast to shortened /-š(u)/, it thus seems difficult to classify the form as an archaism.

78 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for this ref. The form has been understood by A.R. George ibid. p. 75 as a shortened dat. pron. "for him". Since a parallel for this is not attested I prefer to analyze the form as a shortened acc. pron. (note that *eršum* is fem.).

79 Note the spelling Lit. *li-ir-ta-ad-di-*⟨*a-*⟩*ni-a-tim* CUSAS 10, 14: 13 *lirtaddīʾā-niʾāti* "may they always follow after us". In the same line we find *li-it-ru-a-ni-a-ti* CUSAS 10, 14: 13 *litrūʾā-niʾāti* "may they guide us".

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§ 4.119. *-kināti* "you" (fem. pl.):
ú-ṭa-ḫa-ki-na-ti-ma AbB 1, 92: 12 *uṭaḫḫā-kināti-ma* "I will bring you".

§ 4.120. *-šunūti* "them" (masc. pl.).
a) Usual writing:
a-du-uk-šu-nu-ti-ma AbB 1, 27: 22 *adūk-šunūti-ma* "I beat them".
ú-ša-am-ri-is-sú-nu-ti-ma ARM 27, 27: 25 *ušamrissunūtima* < *ušamriṣ-šunūti-ma* "he made them sick".
b) Rarely written with plene *ū*:
ša-al-šu-nu-ú-ti AbB 14, 57: 19 *šāl-šunūti* "ask them!"

§ 4.121. *-šināti* "them" (fem. pl.).
a) Usual writing:
a-pu-ul-ši-na-ti AbB 10, 25: 14 *apul-šināti* "satisfy them!"
i-ma-ru-ši-na-ti FM 9, 188 no. 42: 10 *immaru-šināti* "(when) he sees them".
b) Rarely written with plene /ā/:
gu-um-ra-aš-ši-na-a-t[*i*] AbB 5, 170: 11 *gumraššināti* < *gumr-am-šināti* "finish them!"

2.8.2 Use

§ 4.122. The acc. suffs. refer to the direct obj., similar to the acc. with nouns (§ 5.195a, b).
li-ba-al-li-ṭú-ki AbB 1, 28: 4 *liballiṭū-ki* "may they keep you alive".
ú-ta-ar-ru-šu CH § 18 *utarrū-šu* "they will bring him back".
i-du-uk-ku-šu-ma i-ḫa-al-la-lu-šu CH § 21 *iḫallalū-šu* "they will kill him and hang him".
i-ka-sú-šu-nu-ti-ma ana mê i-na-ad-du-ú-šu-nu-ti CH § 129 *inaddû-šunūti* "they will bind them and throw them into the water".

§ 4.123. The acc. suffs. may resume a previously mentioned nominal or pronominal acc. obj. Strict rules for the occurrence or non-occurrence of resumptive acc. suffs. do not exist. However, the resumptive acc. suffs. seem to be preferred when the nominal or pronominal acc. stands at some distance from the verb and refers to a person.
a) Resuming a nominal acc. obj. distant from the verb and referring to a person:
šarrāqī aššum atta lā wašbāta ana GN *ul ú-ša-ri-šu-nu-ti* AbB 10, 29 r. 10 *ušārī-šunūti* "since you yourself were not present I did not bring the thieves to GN".
šumma awīlum aššat awīlim ša zikaram lā īdûma ina bīt abīša wašbat ú-kabbíl-ši-ma CH § 130 *ukabbil-ši-ma* "if a man has gagged a man's wife, who did not know a man (before) and lives in her father's house".

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dajjānam šuʾāti ina dīn idīnu enêm ú-ka-an-nu-šu-ma CH § 5 *ukannū-šu-ma* "they shall convict that judge of having reversed the judgement that he rendered".

awīlam šuʾāti ina mimma ša šūbuluma lā iddinu ú-ka-an-nu-šu-ma CH § 112 *ukannū-šu-ma* "they shall convict that man of whatever was consigned to him and which he did not give".

b) Resuming a pronominal acc. obj. distant from the verb:

jâti ana ḫalaṣ GN *u* GN_2 *iṭ-ru-da-an-ni-m*[*a*] ARM 10, 157: 11 *iṭrud-anni-ma* "he sent me to the district of GN and GN_2".

kâti adī matī ni-it-ta-na-ar-ri-ka ARM 1, 108: 5 *nittanarrī-ka* "how long must we guide you?"

i-ia-ti i-na tu-ub-qí-im ú-še-ši-ba-an-ni-ma ARM 10, 74: 18 *ušēšib-anni* "she has made me sit in the corner".

ištū ūmī mādūtim jâti ka-lu-ni-in-ne ARM 26/2, 163 no. 362: 46 *kalû-nin-ne* "they hold me back for many days".

c) Resuming a pronominal acc. obj. directly before the verb:

jâti ik-la-an-ni AbB 10, 5: 22 *iklânni* < *iklā-am-ni* "detained me".

ša kâti i-šu-ka AbB 3, 22: 24 *īšû-ka* "who had you".

3 Demonstrative Pronouns

3.1 annûm

3.1.1 Form

§ 4.124. The usual forms of *annûm* are sg. masc. *annûm*, sg. fem. *annīt*(*t*)*um*, pl. masc. *annût*(*t*)*um*/*n* (see adjs., § 5.170), and pl. fem. *annīātum*/*n*, *annêt*(*t*)*um*/*n*, or *annêttan*. For forms with nunation see § 4.125, for forms with *tt* instead of *t* see § 4.126, and for *annêttan* see § 4.127.

§ 4.125. Forms with nunation instead of mimation rarely occur in the fem. sg. or masc. and fem. pl.[80] As with the gen. independent personal prons. (§ 4.20b), there is no dialectal distribution, and forms with nunation and mimation may occur within the same text.[81]

a) *annittun*:

[*an-ni-i*]*t-ti-in-ma* ARM 10, 3 r. 6.[82]

80 See CAD A/2, 142 *annû* discussion section; Finet 1956, 41.

81 Nunation also occurs with the demonstrative pron. *anummûm*, see § 4.134. See § 2.251 for a phonological explanation (preservation only after *t*).

82 For the restoration see GAG § 120c* and Durand 2000, 388.

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b) *annût(t)un* (masc. pl.):

an-nu-ti-in AbB 2, 13: 16; AbB 13, 35: 11; PIHANS 100, 576: 11; RATL p. 162 no. 90: 14; RATL p. 239 no. 165: 11; Shemshara 1, 46: 6.[83]

an-nu-ut-ti-in AUCT 5, 62: 12.

an-nu-tu-un ARM 8, 11: 23.

Roy. *an-nu-tu-un* RIME 4, 606: 74.

Roy. *an-nu-*(*ut-*)*ti-in* RIME 4, 606: 56, 84.

c) *annītātun*, *annêtun* (fem. pl.):

an-ni-a-ti-in RA 62, 20: 15.

an-né-e-ti-in MARI 6, 337: 8, but *an-né-e-tim* MARI 6, 338: 55, 65.

an-né-ti-in ARM 4, 70: 19;[84] ARM 26/2, 379 no. 454 r. 7.

an-né-ti-i-in RA 96, 129: 43.

§ 4.126. As with the gen. independent personal pron. (§ 4.20a), forms with double *tt* instead of single *t* rarely occur in the fem. sg. or in the masc./fem. pl. and show no recognizable dialectal distribution (instances from Bab., MidEuphr., and UpMes.).[85]

a) *annittum* (fem. sg.):

Bab. *an-ni-it-tam* JCS 11, 108 no. 3: 11 f.

MidEuphr. *an-ni-it-tim* ARM 1, 109: 32; ARM 26/2, 430 no. 492 r. 13.

b) *annûttum*/*n* (masc. pl.):

MidEuphr. *an-nu-ut-ti-im* ARM 2, 55: 11

Bab. *an-nu-ut-ti-in* AUCT 5, 62: 12.

Roy. *an-nu-ut-ti-in* RIME 4, 606: 56.[86]

c) *annītattum*, *annêttum* (fem. pl.):

SBab.[87] *an-né-et-tim lā an-né-et-tim* CUSAS 36, 175: 31.

Bab. *an-ni-a-at-tim* AbB 6, 173: 8.

MidEuphr. *an-né-et-tim tīdē* ARM 1, 109: 50;[88] ARM 26/2, 193 no. 380 r. 16; ARM 26/2, 194 no. 381 r. 9; ARM 26/2, 244 no. 401: 26, 39;[89] UpMes. ARM 26/ 2 p. 480 no. 511: 34.[90]

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83 The same text has *an-ni-tim* Shemshara 1, 46: 16.

84 The form can be fem. sg. *an-ni-ti-in*; however, since all other instances of nunation are either masc. or fem. pl., that form is more likely also fem. pl.

85 Forms with double *tt* instead of *t* also occur with *anummûm* (§ 4.134b) and *ullûm* (§ 4.136b).

86 Inscription of Jaḫdun-Lim.

87 See *ṭù* in *ip-ṭù-ur-šu-ma* CUSAS 36, 175: 9 *ipṭuršuma* "she redeemed him".

88 See also *ana an*-NI-IT-*tim* ibid. 32 in broken context, which can also be construed as sg. fem. *annittim*. The same text has *ana an-ni-tim* ARM 1, 109: 44, 50 and *an-ni-tam* ARM 1, 109: 12.

89 The latter instance can also be interpreted as sg. fem. *an-ni-it-tim*.

90 The same text has *aššum an-ni-tim* (sg. fem.) or *an-né-tim* (pl. fem.) ARM 26/2, 480 no. 511: 16.

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§ 4.127. A peculiar form of the demonstrative *annûm* is *annêttan*.[91] This form has previously been analyzed as an adv. *annittān*.[92] However, agreement with nouns or verbal forms in the fem. pl. nom. shows that also *annêttan* is fem. pl. nom.[93] Three spellings are attested: *an-né-et-ta-an*, *an-né-ta-an*, and *an-né-e-ta-an*. All refs. but one (AbB 14, 99: 5) come from regions that usually contract the vowel sequence *ī-a* to *ê*.[94] *annêttan* is to be analyzed as a back-formation from the oblique form with nunation and double *tt*, *annêtin* (§ 4.125b), analogous to the inflection of dual forms: *qātīn* : *qātān* :: *annêttin* : *annêttan*.

a) *an-né-et-ta-an*:

mīnum an-né-et-ta-an ša iktanaššadāninni AbB 14, 99: 5 "what are these (facts) that keep arriving to me?"

epšētūka an-né-et-ta-an damqā ARM 1, 15: 5 "are these actions of yours good?"

damqā an-né-et-ta-an PIHANS 100, 100: 26, 44 "are these (actions) good?"

an-né-et-ta-an īn bēlija maḫrā ARM 27, 2: 27 "is this pleasant for my lord?"[95]

(women and children) *an-né-et-ta-an wāṣītum* ARM 13, 21 r. 8 "these are the persons leaving service".

ittātūja ša panānum [*an-*]*né-et-ta-an* ARM 10, 50 = ARM 26/1, 478 no. 237: 7 "these are my signs from before".

immerātum an-né-et-ta-an ša … iḫḫabtānim ARM 26/2, 314 no. 422: 6 "these sheep, which were stolen …".

b) *an-né-ta-an*:[96]

dam-qa-a an-né-ta-an ARM 28, 115: 5; ARM 26/1, 86 no. 6: 3 "are these good?"

DUB-*pa-tum an-né-ta-an* ARM 25, 334 r. 5 "these tablets".

epinnātum an-né-ta-an irēqā ARM 13, 39 r. 8 "these plows are idle".

c) *an-né-e-ta-an*:[97]

awâtūšu an-né-e-ta-an MARI 6, 338: 65 "these words".

a-wa-a-tum an-né-e-ta-an ARM 26/2, 391 no. 468 r. 3 "these matters".

3.1.2 Use

§ 4.128. *annûm* is used attributively and independently. In attributive use, it follows the head noun in most cases. Sometimes *annûm* precedes the head noun without any recognizable difference.

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91 See for this form Heimpel 1996.

92 AHw. 53 "in dieser Hinsicht." CAD A/2, 133 f. "then, this then."

93 This has already been recognized by GAG § 120c*: "i. allg. als fem. Pl. behandelt wird."

94 This vowel contraction also occurs rarely in Bab., see § 2.139.

95 See the commentary of Veenhof ibid. p. 91: "not *annittān*, 'hiermit, so' …, since it must be the subject of the following verb."

96 See also *an-né-ta-an* ARM 26/1, 86 no. 6: 10.

97 See also *an-né-e-ta-an* ARM 26/1, 359 no. 176: 22.

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a) Attributive, following the head noun:

mīnum šapārum an-nu-um ša tašpurīm AbB 6, 63: 5 *annûm* "what is this message that you sent me?"

8 *awīlī an-nu-ti-in … ana maḫrija šūrīʾam* AbB 2, 13: 16 *annûtin* "bring these 8 men before me!"

awātum an-ni-tu-um ša tēpušu ul naṭât AbB 2, 43: 20 *annītum* "this thing that you did is not appropriate".

b) Attributive, preceding the head noun:

an-ni-a-ti gullulātika lū tīdē AbB 11, 94: 32 *annīʾāti* "be aware of these your wrongdoings!"

an-nu-ú da-bu-ub-um(sic) *ša anāku u kâta ina* GN *nidbubu* AbB 11, 75: 11 *annû* "is this the word that I and you spoke in GN?"

ana an-ni-tim ḫiṭītim AbB 13, 164: 5 *annītim* "for this sin".

c) Independent:

an-ni-t[*um*] *… mādiš damqat* ARM 2, 92: 7 *annītum* "this is very good".

ammīnim an-ni-tam tēpuš ARM 5, 20: 34 *annītam* "why have you done this?"

§ 4.129. *annûm* deictically refers to a situation near the speaker:

šumma tuppī an-nu-ú-um ana ṣērika iktašdakkumma ARM 4, 51: 6 *annûm* "if this tablet (the message in question) has arrived to you".

warḫum an-nu-ú-um MN ARM 1, 50: 5 *annûm* "this (present) month is month MN".

bītum an-nu-ú-um bītka ARM 5, 20: 25, 35 *annûm* "this (my) house is your house".

PN *… ana ṣērija irdûniš*⟨*šu*⟩ *u kīʾam iqbûnim ummami awīlum an-nu-um ištū* GN *išri*[*qnêti*?] ARM 27, 118 r. 10 *annûm* "they led PN before me and said: 'This man robbed u[s(?)] from GN'".

awīlum šū mādātim ana mātim an-ni-tim ušām ARM 10, 6 = ARM 26/1, 441 no. 212 r. 3 *annītim* "this man plots much against this (our) land".

§ 4.130. a) *annûm* often refers back to a situation already mentioned before (anaphoric use):

10 GÍN *kaspam kankam šūbilam … anūmma* PN *aṭṭardakkum kaspam an-ni-a-am lā takallāšu* AbB 14, 181: 15 *annīʾam* "send me 10 shekels of silver! Now I have sent PN to you. Do not refuse him that silver!"

aššum ša ana šulmija tašpuram šapārka an-ni-a-am DN *lirâm* AbB 13, 117: 7 *annīʾam* "as for the fact that you wrote about my well-being: May DN love this message of yours!"

ūlūma 1 *luraqqitam ūlūma nuḫatimmatam erištī* [*a*]*n-ni-tam bēlī lā ikallā* ARM 10, 86 r. 9 *annītam* "either a woman perfume-maker or a woman cook, may my lord not hold back this wish of mine!"

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b) This includes cases in which the situation referred to is not mentioned in the same text but rather in a preceding text or discourse:[98]

amtam an-ne-ta-am AbB 12, 112: 8 *annītam* "this slave-girl (not mentioned in this letter)".

10 GÍN *kaspam an-ni-a-am* AbB 3, 88: 9 *annī'am* "this 10 shekels of silver (not mentioned in this letter)".

c) The use of fem. *annītum* closing a preceding discourse is likewise anaphoric:

an-ni-tam bēlī lū īdē ARM 10, 6 = ARM 26/1, 441 no. 212 r. 9 *annītam* "let my lord know this (what was said before)".

ana bēlija kī'am iqbī umma šūma … an-ni-tam maḫar bēlija iqbī ARM 26/1, 128 no. 18: 8 *annītam* "he spoke thus to my lord. He (said): '…' This he said before my lord".

d) A special case is the anaphoric use of *annītam … lā annītam* to refer to alternatives that have already been mentioned:

bēlne lillikamma … šumma bēlne lā illakam awīlī … ana ṣēr bēline nireddēšunūti an-ni-tam lā an-ni-tam arḫiš meḫer tuppini bēlne lišābilam ARM 26/1, 173 no. 38: 25 "may our lord come! If our lord does not come we will lead the men to our lord. This or that, may our lord send us quickly an answer to our tablet!"

e) Anaphoric *annûm*, if used in a neutral, non-pejorative sense, may interchange with the independent personal pron. in anaphoric use (§§ 4.19, 4.107) without any recognizable difference:

umma šūma šumma aḫi Puratti gulgullātim lā umallī … dabābšu an-ni-a-am … PN u 6 ṣābū … ša dabābam an-ni-a-am ina šaptīšu išmû ana PN_2 *iqbû* PN_2 *dabābam šu-a-tu ana* PN_3 *ublam* AbB 13, 60: 13 *annī'am, šu'ātu* "thus he (swore): 'I will surely fill the Euphrates with skulls …' This statement of his, PN and 6 people who had heard this statement of his from his lips told to PN_2. PN_2 brought that statement to PN_3".

arḫiš pītī š[u]-nu-ti ṣubbitma … u ištū pītī an-nu-tim tuṣabbitu AbB 13, 5 r. 7 *šunūti, annûtim* "quickly attend these openings, and after you have attended those openings …".

kī atluk awīlim an-ni-im … awīlum šu-ú … ARM 27, 163: 7 *annûm, šū* "how can the departure of this man be? … This man …".

f) However, contrary to *annûm*, the independent personal prons. never occur in a pejorative sense.

§ 4.131. It is doubtful whether *annûm* can also be used to refer to a following situation (cataphoric use). In the following refs., *annûm* refers to the follow-

98 Called by Kouwenberg 2012, 26 "recognitional use."

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ing quotation at first sight. However, in all cases the statement or the situation already occurred earlier, so that *annûm* is probably being used anaphorically:

ibaššī an-nu-um eqel bēram allakamma nazkākuma warkatī ul taparras AbB 14, 154: 4 *annûm* "does such a thing exist, (namely that) I come from a distance of one mile and I am full of worry and you do not decide my case?"

mīnum awātum an-ni-tum ša ikšudanni ša umma attama bilat šarrim … ul uštaddanni AbB 6, 193: 4 *annītum* "what is this word, which reached me, that you (said): 'The tribute of the king will not be given to me'?"

ana mīnim bēlni šapāram an-né-e-em išpurannêšim ummami alkā ARM 26/1, 106 no. 10: 29 *annêm* "why did our lord write us this missive, namely: 'Go!'?"

3.2 anummûm

3.2.1 Form

§ 4.132 The usual forms of *anummûm* are sg. masc. *anu*/*i*/*ammûm*, sg. fem. *anu*/*immītum*,[99] pl. masc. *anummût*(*t*)*um*, *animmûtum*/*n* (see adjs., § 5.170), pl. fem. *anummīātum*. In most cases, simple *n* is written, with the exception of *an-ni-im-mi-a-am* AbB 6, 148: 13 *annimmīam* or *annîmmīam* < *annī-immīam*.[100]

§ 4.133. In most instances, the second syllable has the vowel /u/ or /i/. /a/ occurs once.

a) /u/:[101]

a-nu-um-mu-um AbB 9, 103: 32. *a-nu-um-*⌜*mi*⌝*-tim* RATL p. 127 no. 58: 40. *a-nu-um-mu-tim* ARM 5, 20: 19.

b) /i/:[102]

a-ni-im-mi-tim LAOS 1, 50: 7. *a-ni-im-mu-tim* AbB 14, 127: 13.

c) /a/:

a-na-am-mi-a-am AbB 8, 109: 6.

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99 A sg. fem. acc. [*a-n*]*u-um-ma-tam* is restored in RATL p. 76 no. 8: 12. Eidem, ibid. p. 77, suggests a form with vowel harmony, for which there is, however, no other evidence in OB. Therefore, the form remains uncertain. Pace Eidem ibid., *a-nu-um-*⌜*mi*⌝*-tim* RATL p. 127 no. 58: 40 is the usual sg. fem.

100 Therefore, the usual form is hardly *annummûm*, etc., as reconstructed in GAG § 45d. Pace GAG § 45d, the etymology is most probably **han* + *Vmmī*; see Kouwenberg 2012, 24 (who actually talks of **han-Vmm*). Whether the particle *anūmma* has the same etymology, as Kouwenberg ibid. claims, is, however, doubtful: One may rather think of **han* +*ūm* (loc.) + *ma*, because the final vowel does not show any sign of the final *ī* of the base **Vmmī*.

101 See CAD A/2, 149 *anummû*.

102 See CAD A/2, 122 *animmû*.

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§ 4.134. a) Nunation rarely occurs in the masc. pl.:[103]
a-ni-mu-ti-in AbB 6, 160: 23.
b) *tt* instead of *t* rarely occurs in the masc. pl.:[104]
a-nu-mu-ut-ti AbB 1, 77: 8.
a-nu-um-mu-ut-tum ARM 28, 20: 4.

3.2.2 Use

§ 4.135. *anummûm* is much rarer than *annûm*.[105] Contrasting examples that might indicate a clear difference between this pronoun and *annûm* are missing. Similar usages of *annûm* and *anummûm* include deixis to a near situation and reference back to a situation mentioned before (anaphoric use). Like *annûm*, *anummûm* may have an additional pejorative meaning in some cases. Different from *annûm*, *anummûm* is only rarely used independently. Moreover, differently from *annûm*, *anummûm* can be used for distal deixis, and many phrases in which *annûm* is typically used for near deixis, such as *adī ūmim annûm* "until today" or *warkī tuppija annûm* "after (the arrival) of this tablet of mine", are never attested with *anummûm*. Therefore, it seems that *anummûm* is a demonstrative that is basically used for distal deixis in contrast to *annûm* for near deixis, although in practice the difference between both demonstratives has faded out in many cases.[106]
a) Distal deixis:
ina ūmimma a-nu-um-mi-im ša mātum … ARM 26/2, 289 no. 412: 32 *anummîm* "on that day on which the land …"
b) Anaphoric use:
2 *sīsî … šīm sīsî a-nu-um-mu-tim* ARM 5, 20: 19 *anummûtim* "2 horses … the price of those horses".
bītkami ša ina GN *ul inneppeš … aššum bītija a-nu-um-mi-im ul kī'am adbubakkum umma anākuma* PN *ana bītim a-nu-um-mi-im lā teggī* Shemshara 1, 53:

103 For nunation with the demonstrative pron. *annûm* see §§ 4.125, 127; with the independent gen.personal pron. § 4.20.b.
104 For *tt* instead of *t* see also *annûm* (§ 4.126), *ullûm* (§ 4.136b), and the independent gen. personal pron. (§ 4.20.a).
105 The examples from Babylonia and Shemshara do not confirm Durand's (2000, 382) claim that *anummûm* has a western character.
106 Kouwenberg's (2012, 27) claim that *anummûm* shows "a clear association with the location of the addressee" cannot be confirmed. Kouwenberg himself (2012, 28) quotes a counterexample, where *anummûm* indicates distal deixis without any association with the addressee. Other examples, in which *anummûm* is associated with the speaker or with a third person, are quoted here. Therefore, association with certain persons does not seem to have any relevance.

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9, 12 *anummîm* "'your house in GN is not being done (properly).' Did I not talk to you because of that house of mine as follows: 'PN, do not be negligent with regards to that house!'?"

aššum ṭēm PN *ša tašpuram sarrum a-nu-u*[*m-mu-um*] Shemshara 1, 2: 6 *anummûm* "as for the report on PN, which you wrote me: Th[at] criminal ..." (pejorative).

c) Anaphoric refererence back to a situation mentioned in a previous letter or discourse:

kankī 10 *a-nu-mu-ut-ti šūbilam* AbB 1, 77: 8 *anumûtti* "send me those 10 sealed documents" (not mentioned in this text).

PN *ṣeḫrum a-nu-um-mu-um išapparkunūti* ARM 26/2, 491 no. 519: 11 *anummûm* "PN, that little boy, commands you?" (pejorative).

d) Interchange with the independent personal pron. in anaphoric use (§§ 4.19, 4.107):

2 *awīlū a-nu-um-mu-ut-tum ... awīlī šu-nu-ti iḫsusūnim ... awīlī šu-nu-ti ... awīlū šu-nu* ARM 28, 20: 4 *anummûttum, šunūti* "these 2 men (pejorative) ... they mentioned these men ... these men ... these men".

e) Anaphoric use with reference to a situation near a third person:

kaspam an-ni-im-mi-a-am ša tamkār GN AbB 6, 148: 13 *animmī'am* "that silver of the merchant from GN".

awâtim lā ši-na-tim ni[*šmē*] *... aššum šumim*(?) *a-n*[*u*]*-um-mi-im ana ṣēr bēlija ul allikam* ARM 28, 47: 26 *šinātim, anummîm* "we have he[ard] inappropriate things. Because of that rumor(?) I did not come to my lord" (pejorative).

f) Reference to a situation near the speaker:

ṣuḫāram a-na-am-mi-a-am ša maḫrīja AbB 8, 109: 6 *anammī'am* "this boy, who is in my presence".

aššum ṭēm P[N] *ša tašpuram sarrum a-nu-u*[*m-mu-um*] *... īzibanni*[*ma*] Shemshara 1, 2: 6 *anummûm* "as for the affair of PN, which you wrote to me, this criminal .... left me" (pejorative).

2 *awīlū a-nu-um-mu-ut-tum ... anūmma ana* GN *uštārīšunūti* ARM 28, 20: 4 *anummûttum* "these 2 men ... I have now led them to GN".

mārum ša kīnātim ša mātim a-nu-um-mi-im anāku ARM 28, 147 r. 18 *anummmîm* "I am a loyal son of this land".[107]

g) *anummûm* may also be used cataphorically:

a-nu-um-mu-ú-um ša annī'am immaru illakma BagM 2, 57 ii 7 *anummûm* "that one who will see this will go and ...".

107 Kouwenberg 2012, 27 interprets this example as "that country (of yours)", but in fact it is no different from examples like *ana mātim an-ni-tim* ARM 10, 6 = ARM 26/1, 441 no. 212 r. 3 "for this (our) land", quoted above (§ 4.129).

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3.3 ullûm

3.3.1 Form

§ 4.136. a) The usual forms of *ullûm* are sg. masc. *ullûm*, sg. fem. *ullītum*, pl. masc. *ullûtum* (see adjs., § 5.170), pl. fem. *ullīʾātum*.

b) A form with *tt* instead of *t* occurs rarely:[108]

u[*l*]*-lu-ut-ti-i-ni* AbB 8, 109: 8.

3.3.2 Use

§ 4.137. *ullûm* is used attributively or independently:

a) Attributive:

awīlī ul-lu-ti ARM 14, 4: 17 *ullûti* "those men".

b) Independent:

u[*l*]*-lu-ut-ti-i-ni ul īdē* AbB 8, 109: 8 *ullûtīni* "I do not not know those (other) ones of us".

§ 4.138. a) *ullûm* deictically refers to a situation distant from the speaker:

assurri kīma têltim ul-li-tim ša ummami kalbatum ina šutēpuriša ḫuppudūtim ulid attunu inanna kīʾam lā teppešā ARM 1, 5: 10 *ullītim* "I hope that you will not act like in that proverb which runs as follows: 'A bitch, even if she provides herself with food, has born blind (puppies)'!"

b) However, in the following instance *ullûm* is used similarly to *annûm* (see § 4.129) and atypically refers to a situation near to the speaker:[109]

Lit. *ūm ṣāltim ul-lu-tum littalkūma ūm salāmi rēqūtum likūnū mušīt ezzērī ul-li-tum littalakma … šanāt erūrī ul-li-a-tum littalkā* CUSAS 10, 14: 10–12 *ullûtum*, *ullītum*, *ullīʾātum* "may these (present) days of quarrel depart and far-away (= future) days of peace be established. May this (present) night of cursers depart. May these (present) years of insults depart!"

§ 4.139. Like *annûm* and *anummûm*, *ullûm* is used anaphorically in most cases, either alone or in contrast with the independent personal pron. or with *annûm*. Sometimes *ullûm* has, like *annûm* and *anummûm*, a pejorative meaning. When used anaphorically, the three demonstrative prons. do not seem to have any difference in meaning.[110]

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108 For /tt/ instead of /t/ see also *annûm* (§ 4.126), *anummûm* (§ 4.134b), and the independent gen. personal pron. (§ 4.20.a).

109 This use of *ullûm* might be connected to the fact that the text is bilingual and *ullûm* is a translation from Sumerian *ri-a*. Pace Kouwenberg 2012, 33, *ullûm* is not a synonym of *rēqum* here but, on the contrary, stands in opposition to *rēqum*.

110 Kouwenberg's (2012, 32) claim that *ullûm* is specifically asscociated with a third person

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a) Anaphoric use with reference to a situation near the speaker:

awīlē Idiqlājī lušārīkum awīlū 5 *ṣābum ša maḫrīja wašbū ul-lu-tum* AbB 5, 166: 14 *ullûtum* "I will lead to you men from the Tigris. Those are the 5 men who sit before me".

400 *karānum ikšudam damqā ša tēpušanni … ul-lu-um karānum bīš ana lêmim ul naṭū* FM 7, 48 no. 19: 15 *ullûm* "400 (pots of) wine have arrived. What you did is good! That wine is bad. It is not suitable for consumption".

b) Anaphoric use with reference to a situation near the addressee:

bēlī PNf *ammīnim iklāši šumma* PN *illakam ittī* PN *bēlī liṭrudašši sinništam ul-li-tam ana* GN *ušeṣṣēši u šī kussīʾaša u māssa ligammer* ARM 28, 68: 9 *ullītam* "why did my lord withhold PNf? If PN comes, let my lord send her together with PN. I will let that woman leave for GN and she may control her throne and her land".[111]

c) Anaphoric use with reference to a situation near a third person:

PN *qadūm awīlī ša ittīšu rakbū ina eleppim agûm isḫipšuma ana šīmtīšu illik … u adīni awīlī ul-lu-ti ša ittīšu i-mu-tu ul išmē* ARM 14, 4: 17 *ullûti* "PN and the men who were riding with him—the flood swept over him in the boat and he went to his fate. Until now, I did not hear (the names of) those men who died with him".

d) In contrast with the independent personal pron. or pron. suff.:

šuʾātima lū ⌜*īdē*⌝ *u*[*l*]*-lu-ut-ti-i-ni ul īdē* AbB 8, 109: 8 *ullûttīni* "I know him, but those (other) ones of us I do not not know".

lāma tukki … ṣēnī ana GN *attasaḫ u* 1 *meʾat ṣēnū maḫrīja* [*iz*]*zazzā* [*kīma t*]*ukka ešmû ana muḫḫi ul-li-a-tim ana* GN *uštābilšināti* AbB 1, 7: 20 *ullīātim* "before I had heard the rumor I had taken away the sheep to GN, but 1 hundred sheep remained before me. [When] I heard the rumor I sent them (the 100 sheep) to those (other) ones to GN".

e) In contrast with *annûm*:

[*a*]*ššum ṭēm āliktim … wardū rabûtum … ina* GN *wašbū ul uṣṣû* [*a*]*na ṣēr ul-lu-tim annûtum ikkammarū* AbB 8, 12: 24 *ullûtim* "as to the matter of the caravan … high-ranking slaves sit in GN and do not leave. These (the caravan mentioned before) will be added to those (the slaves)".

Lit. *annīʾātim* DN *lišabšī ul-li-a-tim* DN_2 *lirīqšināti* CUSAS 10, 14: 16 *ullīātim* "may DN bring about this, may DN_2 keep that far away!"

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cannot be confirmed because examples of association with the speaker or the addressee are also attested. Like *annûm* and *anummûm*, *ullûm* is not person- but distance-oriented.

111 The interpretation of Kupper, ARM 28 p. 98, followed by Kouwenberg 2012, 32, that *sinništam ullītam* refers to a second woman not mentioned in the text, is unlikely. One would expect that a second woman would be referred to by her name.

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§ 4.140. Cataphoric use with *ullûm* is attested but rare:

ul-lu-tim ša itebbûma aššum PN *ina riḫṣi idabbubū akallāšunūti* ARM 26/1, 189 no. 45: 25 *ullûtim* "I will hold back those who might rise and talk in favor of PN in the parley".

4 The Determinative Pronoun

4.1 *Form*

§ 4.141. The usual form of the determinative pron. in OB is uninflected *ša*, written *ša*$_1$.

§ 4.142. The older inflected forms sg. masc. *šu*, sg. fem. *šāt*, and pl. masc. *šūt* only occur in PN, in fixed expressions, and in some archaizing, mostly lit. texts. In most cases, the archaic forms are used without a head noun; only *šu* occurs as a rel. pron.

§ 4.143. In PN s., headless *šu* and, more rarely, headless *šāt*.[112]

a) *šu*:

Šu-Ninkarrak Edubba 7, 131: 5 "He of Ninkarrak".
Šu-ʿammu ARM 7, 232: 5 "He of the grandfather".
Šu-Ištar ARM 8, 75: 18 "He of Ištar".
Šu-Kabta ARM 9, 24 i 8; ARM 9, 27 i 8 "He of Kabta".
Šu-Nunu ARM 8, 1: 40 "He of Nunu".
Šu-Kubi OBTR 322 v 33 "He of Kubu".
Šu-Enlil Shemshara 1, 68: 1 "He of Enlil".
Šu-Numušda KTT 120: 34 "He of Numušda".

b) *šāt*:

Ša-at-Emaḫ AbB 10, 56: 18; AbB 10, 64: 1 "She of the (temple) Emaḫ".
Ša-at-Ea CUSAS 36, 100: 6, 11 "She of Ea".
Ša-at!*-Sîn* CUSAS 36, 80: 1 "She of Sîn".

§ 4.144. Headless in fixed expressions.

a) *šāt*:

^{giš}*ša-at qa-tim* ARM 14, 53: 8 *šāt-qātim* "that of the hand, fetter".
ša-at nu-ri OBTR 17: 3 *šāt nūri* "that of the light, lamp".

112 See Streck 2002b, 112 f. for the determinative pron. as an archaism in PN. Uninflected *ša* is also used this way (§ 4.146).

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Om. *ša-tu-*[*r*]*i-im* YOS 10, 17: 51 *šāturrim* < *šāt urrim* "that (referring to fem. *maṣṣartu* "watch") of the daylight, morning watch".

b) *šūt*:[113]

šu-ut [*têr*]*ēti*[*m*] AbB 9, 49: 20 "those of the offices, officials".

šu-ut rēši ARM 22, 160: 7 "those of the head, courtiers".

šu-ut PN ARM 28, 72 r. 7; Shemshara 1, 8: 9; Shemshara 1, 11: 24; ARM 2, 23: 10 "those of PN, the people of PN".

§ 4.145. In archaizing, texts, mostly in Lit.:

a) *šu* as rel. pron.:

Lit. *šu iqīšu napšatam ana* GN CH iv 1 "who presented life to GN".

Lit. *šu ikšudu nagab uršim* CH iv 9 "who reached the source of wisdom".

Lit. *šu igmilu nišī* GN CH iv 29 "who spared the people of GN".

b) Headless *šāt*:

Lit. *ša-at ramanika* UET 6/2, 414: 3 "that of yourself, your own (ideas)".

Lit. *ša-at mēleṣim* RA 22, 170 f.: 5 "she of joy".

4.2 *Headless* ša

§ 4.146. The determinative pron. is frequently used without a head noun, meaning "the person of, those of" or "the thing of, that of". For the archaic, inflected forms of the determinative pron. in this usage see §§ 4.144. and 145b. Some of the following gen. constructions are fixed expressions that developed into compound noun phrases whose pl. is expressed only with the second member instead of the governing noun, or which add a pron. suff. on the second member instead of the governing noun (§ 5.128b–c).

a) Referring to persons:

ša imērī AbB 13, 62: 19 "donkey driver".

ša abulli ARDēr 119: 3 "gatekeeper (lit. he of the gate)".

ša ḫaṭṭātim CH § 33, CH § 34 "sergeant (lit. he of the sticks)".

lú.meš*ša bilātim* ARM 1, 21 r. 9 "carriers (lit. he of the burden)".

ša karṣi ARM 5, 34: 18 "denouncer (lit. he of accusation)".

ša PN *nīnu* ARM 3, 37: 21 "we are dependants of (lit. those of) PN".

ša šipirātim ARM 14, 110: 11; ARM 23, 85: 31 "commissioner (lit. he of the affairs)".

Om. *ša lišānija* YOS 10, 36 iv 10 "my informer (lit. he of my tongue)".

b) Before inf.:[114]

ša nadānim CH § 8 "something to give".

113 The corresponding sg. expressions are always formed with *ša*, never with *šu* (§ 4.146).

114 See Bucellati 1972.

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ša šuddunim ARM 2, 138: 18 "something that has to be given".

ša epēšim ARM 1, 22: 30 "that which has to be done (lit. that of doing)".

ša lā balāṭija … idbubma ARM 5, 4: 9 "he talked of that I will not live (lit. that of my not-living)".

mimma ul ša na'ādim ARM 4, 54: 21; ARM 6, 1: 28 "it is nothing to be worried about".

ša qabê bēlija ARM 3, 11: 41 "that which my lord says (lit. something of the speech of my lord)".

c) Before other nouns referring to non-persons:

šumma ša ilim šumma ša ēkallim … šumma ša muškēnim CH § 8 "if it is something (= property) of the god, if it is something of the palace, … if it is something of a bondman".

ša libbiša CH § 209 "that of her inside (= her fetus)".

ša dipārim ARM 5, 68: 14 "the matter of the torch".

ša libbija … ša lā libbija ARM 2, 76: 34 "what I want … what I do not want (lit. that of my [not] heart)".

ša kaqqadišina ARM 1, 8: 31 "their headgear (lit. that of their head)".

ša ilim ARM 1, 136: 7 "something (= property) of the god".

4.3 *The* ša *Genitive Modifying a Head Noun*

4.3.1 Following the Head Noun

§ 4.147. In gen. constructions, the determinative pron. in apposition with a head noun in the st. rect. may be used instead of the st. cstr. of the head noun (§§ 5.296–299). *ša* is rarely used to express inalienable possession.[115] Alienable possession, on the other hand, may be generally expressed by both constructions. However, fixed phrases like "lord of the debt, creditor" never occur with *ša* (never **bēlum ša ḫubullim*, always *bēl ḫubullim*). Rather, the *ša* gen. is necessary or at least preferred in the following cases:

a) To avoid a second st. cstr. form before a noun in the st. cstr. followed by a noun in the gen.[116] The *ša* gen. seems to imply a less close relation between head noun and gen. than the st. cstr.:

qadūm šeriktim ša bīt abīša CH § 176 "with the dowry of her parental home"

bilat eqlim ša šanātim ša innadû CH § 62 "yield of the field for the years it was left fallow".

ana bā'irim ša bīt šiprim AbB 13, 7: 9 "as fisherman of the workhouse".

ālānī ša Mārū-Jamīna ARM 3, 38: 15 "villages of the M.".

115 But see § 4.150 for the *ša* gen. with an additional pron. suff. to express inalienable possession.

116 But chains of st. cstr. also exist, see § 5.298.

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kišid qātim ša šarrim FM 2, 120 no. 72: 89 "personal (lit. of the hand) acquisition of the king".

Lit. *mušaddil mēreštim ša* GN CH iii 20 "who enlarged the cultivated field of GN".

b) To avoid a second st. cstr. form before a noun in the st. cstr. followed by a possessive pron.:

bēl ḫubullim ša mutiša CH § 151 "lord of the debt (= creditor) of her husband".

bītam ša mutiša panîm CH § 177 "the house of her former husband".

igārtam ša bīt[*iš*]*u* ARM 3, 71: 16 "wall of his house".

ummānātim ša bēlija ARM 3, 17: 19 "the troops of my lord".

šibšim ša ḫalṣija ARM 3, 17: 28 "the tax of my district".

c) When there is more than one head noun:

alpī u immerī ša nakkamātim AbB 13, 8: 9 "oxen and sheep from the stores".

ina eqlim kirîm ū bītim ša ilkišu CH § 38 "of the field, the orchard, or the house of his (= attached to his) service obligation".

eqlum kirûm ū bītum ša rēdîm CH § 37 "field, orchard, or house of a soldier".

lū wardam lū amtam ḫalqam ša ēkallim ūlū muškēnim CH § 16 "a fugitive slave or slave girl of either the palace or of a commoner".

[*š*]*ārtam u sissiktam ša muḫḫūtim* ARM 6, 45: 15 "hair and hem of the female ecstatic".

d) When there is more than one gen.:[117]

ṣābam ša PN *u* PN_2 ARM 4, 39: 9 "the troop of PN and PN_2".

e) When the head noun is a proper name that cannot be put in the st. cstr.:

Mārū-Jamīna ša ḫalṣija ARM 3, 58: 7 "the Mārū-Jamīna of my district".

f) When the gen. is a proper name that cannot be inflected:[118]

namrījātim ša Larsam AbB 13, 48: 5 "fattened animals of L.".

ṣuḫārim ša Amurru-nāṣir AbB 13, 150: 12 "servant of A.".

gišperrum ša Marduk rā'imika AbB 13, 60: 40 "the trap of M., who loves you".

Marduk ša Babili CH § 182 "Marduk of Babylon".

tuppam ša Ṣūra-ḫammu ARM 2, 104: 10 "tablet of Ṣ.".

g) When the head noun is modified, e.g., by an apposition or by an adj.:[119]

ṣābum kalûšu ša ālānī ARM 3, 58: 6 "all the troops of the villages".

Lit. *mupaḫḫir nišī sapḫātim ša* GN CH ii 51 "who gathered together the scattered people of GN".

Lit. *dajjānum rabī'um ša šamê u erṣetim* CH l 14–16 "the great judge of heaven and earth".

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117 But in other cases the st. cstr. is used, see § 5.299.

118 But in other cases the st. cstr. is used: *ṣuḫār Ṣūra-ḫammu* ARM 2, 104: 5 "boy of Ṣ.".

119 But see § 5.297b for the adj. after the gen.

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Lit. *mārum rēštûm ša Ekur* CH l 84 "firstborn son of the Ekur".
Lit. *bēltum ṣīrtum ša mātātim* CH li 42 "august mistress of the lands".

h) When the gen. is modified:
ṣibtam ša šattim šu'āti CH § 48 "the interest for this year".
ṣubātī š[a] mātim annītim ARM 10, 173: 16 "cloths of this land".
muškēnū ša ḫalṣi annîm ARM 27, 27: 23 "the commoners of this district".

i) In other cases, no reason for the choice of *ša* can be discerned:
ina qablītim ša mūšim ARM 10, 91 r. 5 "during the middle watch of the night".
šārtim ša qaqqadim ARM 10, 126: 14 "hair of the head".
[š]e'am ša ḫalṣim ARM 27, 32 r. 18 "barley of the district".

j) In lit. texts, the *ša* gen. is probably sometimes used for metric reasons:
Lit. *milki ša ilim* Gilg. OB II 162 "divine consent".
Lit. *šizba ša nammaštê* Gilg. OB II 188 "milk of the animals".
Lit. *rīmtum ša supūri* Gilg. OB II 236 "the wild cow of the fold".

4.3.2 Preceding the Head Noun

§ 4.148. a) In constructions with measures, the *ša* gen. sometimes occurs before the head noun in the mng. "worth, equivalent to":

ša 1 GÍN *kaspim … še'am inaddin* VAB 5, 308: 22 "he will give barley worth 1 shekel of silver".

ša 1 MA.NA *kaspim šīpātim u ša* 1 MA.NA *kaspim šamaššammī* AbB 5, 220: 23 f. "wool worth 1 mina of silver and sesame worth 1 mina of silver".

b) But the reverse order is also attested:
šamaššammī ša 1 GÍN *kaspim* AbB 10, 147: 17 "sesame worth 1 shekel of silver".
ukultam ša 1 GÍN *kaspim* AbB 7, 156: 14 "food worth 1 shekel of silver".

§ 4.149. The *ša* gen. rarely occurs in lit. texts before the head noun without a pron. suff.:[120]

Lit. *ša qīštim nērebētim* Gilg. OB III 253 "the forest's entrances".

4.3.3 With an Additional Pronominal Suffix

§ 4.150. Rarely, a pron. suff. referring to the gen. is added to the head noun. The suff. agrees in gender and number with the gen. Although the majority of examples are from NSyr./MidEuphr. and UpMes.,[121] the existence of this construction

120 With pron. suff. see § 4.151a.

121 The alleged example from CH § 51, cited in GAG § 138j, is wrong: *ana maḫīrātīšunu ša kaspīšu u ṣibtīšu* "for its (the sesame's) price according to his (the man's) silver and the interest on it".

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in OA[122] does not favor Amorite influence.[123] Four examples involve a double gen., and three of these examples involve the words *aḫu* "brother" and *aḫātu* "sister". Thus it seems that the construction serves to express inalienable possession with a double gen.

NSyr.[124] *šumša ša ṣuḫārtim* ARM 5, 7: 15 "the name of the (lit. her) girl".

NSyr./MidEuphr.[125] *meḫer tuppātīšu ša* PN ARM 26/2, 527 no. 533: 8 "an answer to the (lit. his) tablets of PN".

NSyr./MidEuphr.[126] *mār aḫišu ša* PN ARM 26/2, 530: 15 "the son of the (lit. his) brother of PN".

UpMes.[127] *amassu* [*š*]*a* PN ARM 26/1, 296 no. 130: 8 "the (lit. his) slave-girl of PN".

UpMes.[128] *bašīt aḫātišu ša* PN OBTR 96: 15 "the belongings of the (lit. his) sister of PN".

UpMes.[129] *ṭupu⟨l⟩tašu ša bēlija* ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 30 "the insult (lit. his insult) of my lord".

UpMes.[130] *qabûssu ša* PN FM 2, 266 no. 128: 28 "the word of PN".

Susa *mār aḫātišu ša* PN MDP 28, 396: 3 "the son of the (lit. his) sister of PN".

§ 4.151. Rarely, the *ša* gen. with an additional pron. suff.[131] occurs before the head noun.

a) In lit. texts:[132]

bēlēti [*š*]*a dadmī abrātišin* ZA 102, 187: 23 "you rule over the world's inhabitants".

b) Elsewhere:

ša awīlim šâti maṣṣārīšu ARM 1, 12: 19 "that man's guards".

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122 Kouwenberg 2017, 215 f.

123 The same construction frequently occurs in NB and in Aramaic. Its occurrence already in OB does not necessarily mean that it is not an Aramaism in LB (GAG § 138k*). We may rather assume that both Akk. and Aramaic originally knew this construction, but that its late spread in Akk. was influenced by its contemporaneous use in Aramaic.

124 Letter of Aplaḫanda, king of Karkemiš.

125 Letter of Ṣidqum-la-nāśi', Mari's ambassador(?) in Karkemiš.

126 Letter of Ṣidqum-la-nāśi'.

127 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.

128 Letter of Aqba-ḫammu, king of Rimāḫ.

129 Letter of Jaṣījum.

130 Letter of Ḫuzīrī, king of Ḫazzikkannum.

131 For examples without a pron. suff. see §§ 4.148–149.

132 In SB lit. texts, this construction occurs more frequently.

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5 Interrogative Pronouns

5.1 mannum

5.1.1 Form

§ 4.152. *mannum* "who?" is invariable for gender and number. It is declined like a noun.

a) Nom.:

ma-an-nu minâni ilqē AbB 13, 60: 51 *mannu* "who has received anything from us?"

ma-an-nu-um lū īdē FM 2, 221 no. 119: 15 *mannum* "who really knows?"

b) Gen.:

ana ma-an-ni-im lutennin AbB 10, 111 r. 4 *mannim* "to whom should I pray?"

c) Acc.:

mannum ma-an-na-am ippal AbB 7, 110: 10 *mannam* "who satisfies whom?"

5.1.2 Use

§ 4.153. *mannum* is sometimes modified by a pron. suff. in order to emphasize the question. This contruction is used when the speaker is strongly involved emotionally.[133]

a) *-šu*:

ma-[*a*]*n-na-šu atta ša ištū* MU 10^{kam} *rīqātama u šumni damqam ina ālini tumassaku* AbB 14, 29: 24 *manna-šu* "who then are you, you who have been an idler for 10 years and (who) besmirches our good reputation in our town?"

ma-an-na-šu PN *annûm ša eqlētim ša rēdî ana errēšūtim*! *i*[*naddinu*] AbB 14, 31: 25 *manna-šu* "who in the world is that PN that he gi[ves] the fields of soldiers for cultivation?"

ma-an-na-šu-⌜*ú*⌝ *mār* PN [*an*]*nûm ša anāku eqlam ana* PN$_2$ *anaddinuma šunu ana šâšum inaddinūšu* AbB 14, 31: 17 *manna-šu* "who then is this son of PN to whom they give the field, although I give (it) to PN$_2$?"

ma-an-na-šu PN AbB 7, 125: 11 *manna-šu* "who then is PN?"

PN *Ma-an-na-šu* UET 5, 485: 11 *manna-šu* "who then is he?"

b) *-ši*:[134]

ma-an-na-ši awīltum ša ittīka telqû⌜*ši*⌝ AbB 7, 187: 8 *manna-ši* "who in the world is this woman that you took with you?"

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133 See Whiting 1987, 54 on *mannašu/a/i*. In Biblical Hebrew, enclitic *zh* is attached to the interrogative pron. to this purpose, see Waltke/O'Connor 1990, 312 f. § 17.4.3.c. Although the questions are rhetorical, this is, pace Cohen 2006, 562 f., not the decisive point. For OB PNs with *mannašu/a/i*, probably asking for the newborn child, see Stamm 1939, 102 f., 131.

134 For the suff. *-ši* see § 4.46b.

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PNf *Ma-an-na-ši* AbB 14, 43: 14; AbB 14, 140: 1 *Manna-ši* "Who then is she?"

c) *-ša*:

PNf *Ma-an-na-ša* BAP 36: 8 *Manna-ša* "Who then is she?"

d) *-ia*:

elēnūkka ana ma-an-ni-ia uznāja ibaššīʾā AbB 11, 106: 11 *manni-ja* "besides you, on whom then is my attention?"

§ 4.154. *mannum* as subj. frequently stands at the beginning of the sentence (see § 4.152). If *mannum* follows a constituent, the latter sometimes seems to be focalized.

a) Focalized constituent at the beginning of the sentence:

PN *kīma kâti ma-an-nu-um īdēšu* AbB 4, 139: 35 *mannum* "who knows PN *as you do*?"

ṭēmam gamram … ana PN *ušakšadū u ajjâšim ṭēmam ma-an-nu-um ubbalam* ARM 26/2, 493 no. 520 r. 4 *mannum* "they let a full report reach PN. But who brings a full report *to me*?"

alī ṣābuka ša ana awīl GN *taṭarradu* PN *kīʾam īpulšu ummami … ana ṣābim ṭarādim jâti ma-an-nu-um īsir* ARM 26/2, 260 no. 404: 69 *mannum* "where are your troops that you will dispatch to the man of GN? PN answered him thus: '… Who pressured *me to dispatch troops*?'"

b) In other cases, no focalization can be discerned:

eqlam ma-an-nu-um ana PN *iddin bīrma eqlam ana rēdîma idin* AbB 11, 189: 24 *mannum* "who gave the field to PN? Ascertain (that) and give the field only to the soldiers!"

§ 4.155. As subj., *mannum* may be followed by a cleft sentence introduced by *ša*:

ma-an-nu-um ša uqnêm ana šīmim inaddinu ARM 27, 161: 14 *mannum* "who is it that can sell lapis lazuli?"

ma-an-nu-um ša imēršu izzibu ARM 5, 70: 16 *mannum* "who is it that would leave his donkey?"

5.2 mīnum

5.2.1 Form

§ 4.156. *mīnum* "what?" is invariable for gender and number. It is declined like a noun:

a) Nom.:

mi-nu-um šapārum annûm AbB 6, 63: 5 *mīnum* "what is this message?"

b) Gen.:

ina mi-nim ṣābam … lā aṭrudakkum ARM 1, 67: 12 *mīnim* "why (lit. out of what) did I not send a troop to you?"

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c) Acc.:

mi-nam eppeš ARM 4, 27: 34 *mīnam* "what shall I do?"

§ 4.157. a) The usual OB form without vowel plene spelling (§ 4.156) is thought to render *mīnu*/*i*/*am*.[135] These forms are also suggested by refs. in which a pron. suff. is attached to a base *mi-in*:

mi-in-ka AbB 3, 79: 21 *mīn-ka* "what of you?"

Lit. *mi-in-šu* Atr. 48: 94, 96 *mīn-šu* "what is it?"

b) Sometimes a form with the second vowel spelled plene, rendering *minû*/*î*/*âm*, is found.[136]

mi-nu-ú-[*u*]*m* ARM 10, 86: 5.

ana mi-ni-i AbB 11, 82: 2.

mi-na-a-am AbB 6, 1: 32.

c) The st. cstr. before the pron. suff. *mi-na-* is formed like that of nouns III-weak:[137]

mi-na-ni AbB 13, 60: 51 *mīnā-ni* "what from us?"

5.2.2 Use

§ 4.158. *mīnum* is used with several preps., in the adverbial acc., or as a subj. followed by a cleft sentence introduced by *ša* to express notions like "why?" or "how?":

a) Frequently *ana mīnim*, *ammīnim* < *an*(*a*)-*mīnim*:

ana mi-ni-im ṣuḫārtam ana mummi taddî AbB 13, 90: 5 "why have you assigned the girl to the workshop?"

am-mi-nim kaspam … tašaqqal AbB 13, 110: 13 "why should you pay silver?"

b) Rarely *ina mīnim*, *immīnim* < *in*(*a*) *mīnim*:

ina mi-nim ṣābam … lā aṭrudakkum ARM 1, 67: 12 "why did I not send a troop to you?"

im-mi-nim ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 11 "how?"

c) Rarely *aššum mīnim*:

aššum mi-nim itebbûma ana PN *magrīātim idabbubū* AbB 3, 83: 13 "why do they come forward and say insulting things to PN?"

d) Rarely adverbial acc.:

mi-nam tugarrânni AbB 6, 41: 10 *mīnam* "why did you start a lawsuit against me?"

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135 For the difficult etym. of *mīnum* see Moscati 1980, 115; Stempel 1999, 88.

136 GAG § 47b. However, AHw 655 has *mīnû*. In fact, writings without plene spelling like *mi-nu-um* may also stand for *minûm*.

137 See § 5.238.

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e) Sometimes *mīnum ša*:[138]

mi-nu-um ša libbaki imraṣuma kī'am tašpurīm AbB 2, 157: 4 "what is it that worried your heart and you wrote thus?"

mi-nu-um ša ašta[*napp*]*arakkumma di'tam lā ta*[*šall*]*u* AbB 9, 103: 4 "what is it that (= why do) you pay no attention (to me), when I write to you all the time?"

mi-nu-um ša nīš šarrim ip-pī awīlē PN *taštanakkanu* AbB 14, 218: 4 "what is it that (= why do) you keep putting the oath by the king in the mouth of the men of PN?"

5.3 ajjûm

5.3.1 Form

§ 4.159. a) The base of *ajjûm*[139] "which?" is *ajjī-*, as is proved by the vowel contraction *ī-a* > *ê* in MidEuphr. (§ 2.139). See the following instances:[140]

MidEuphr. *idam a-je*(PI)*-em luṣbat* ARM 27, 28: 24, see ARM 27, 29: 20 *ajjêm* < *ajjī-am* "which side should I take?"

MidEuphr. *šarram a-je*(PI)*-em itlulū* ARM 26/2, 317 no. 423: 46 *ajjêm* < *ajjī-am* "with which kings have they made an alliance?"

b) *ajjûm* is declined like an adj.[141] The sg. forms masc. *ajjûm* and fem. *ajjītum* are attested:

ina a-i-im ālim ARM 6, 37 r. 9 *ajjîm* "in which city?"

zuqat mātim a-ji-tim ilputū ARM 26/2, 317 no. 423: 46 *ajjītim* "the chin of which land did they touch (i.e., to which land did they extend protection)?"

c) Rarely, enclitic *-ma* is attached:[142]

ina a-a-i-tim-ma libbaka im-ra-a-aṣ AbB 14, 64: 17 *ajjītim-ma* "by what have you been worried?"

d) *ajjûm* can also be used in the term. case. *ajjîš* means "where (to)":

a-i-iš tallakā RATL p. 233 no. 157: 13 "where are you going?"

5.3.2 Use

§ 4.160. a) Like adjs., *ajjûm* agrees in gender with its head noun:

a-ju-um lē'um ṭāb FM 9, 190 no. 43: 15 *ajjûm* "which board is good?"

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138 See § 4.155 for *mannum* followed by a cleft sentence.

139 On the spellings of *ajjī*, *ajjî*, and *ajjû* see §§ 2.219–220.

140 See CAD A/1, 234–236 s.v. *ajû*, and Mayer 2015, 186, pace GAG § 47c (base *ajj-*). See also the derived interrogative adv. *a-a-i-ki-a-am* AbB 14, 56: 40 *ajjī-kī'am* "from where?"

141 In fact, the decisive masc. pl. *ajjûtum* is not attested in OB. See, however, the derived indefinite pron. § 4.166a.

142 Elsewhere, *ajjûmma* has an indefinite mng., see §§ 4.166–167.

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zuqat mātim a-ji-tim ARM 26/2, 317 no. 423: 46 *ajjītim* "the chin of which land?"

b) *ajjûm* and its head noun occur as the head of a cleft sentence:

a-ju-um ṣābum ša maḫrī[*ja*] ARM 5, 62: 5 *ajjûm* "which is the troop that is with [me]?"

a-ji-tum ḫarrānu[*m š*]*a talliku* FM 8, 18 no. 1: 13 *ajjītum* "which is the expedition that you are on?"

c) The examples in §§ 4.159–160 show that *ajjûm* may precede or follow its head noun, apparently without any difference between the two constructions.

6 Indefinite Pronouns

§ 4.161. The indef. prons. are formed by reduplication of the bases of the interrogative prons. *mannum*, *mīnum*/*minûm*, and *ajjûm* (§§ 4.152–160), or by addition of the enclitic particle *-ma* to their bases. Derivations from *mannum* and *mīnum* are also used as generalizing relative prons.

6.1 mamma(n) *and Related Pronouns*

6.1.1 Form

§ 4.162. The personal indefinite pron. "anybody, somebody", or when negated, "nobody", has the following indeclinable forms:

a) Frequently *mamman* < *man-man*:

[*ma*]*-am-ma-an d*[*i*]*'at ma-am-ma-an ul išâl* ARM 2, 100 r. 11 "[n]obody is concerned about anybody else".

b) Rarely *mammanma* < *man-man-ma*:

ma-am-ma-an-ma … ul ibaššī AbB 11, 42: 12 "there is nobody".

c) Rarely *mamma* < *man-ma*:

ma-am-ma pūḫšu! *idinma* AbB 11, 35: 9 "give somebody as a replacement for him!"

d) *mammanan* < *man-man-an*[143] only occurs in Om.:[144]

Om. *ina aštapīr bīt awīlim ma-ma-na-an imât* YOS 10, 17: 49 (see 51) "somebody among the personnel of a man will die".

e) Rarely *mammam* ⟨*mamman* with assimiliation *n* ⟩ *m*:

ma-am-ma-am ul il[*lêm*] ARM 26/1, 437 no. 208: 10 "none will come [up]".

143 Is *-an* the same deictic element as in *annû*? The word is analyzed differently in GAG § 48c: *man-ma-na*?

144 Also early OB, see CAD M/1, 200 *mammana* a3′.

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6.1.2 Use

§ 4.163. a) *mamman*/*mamma* is frequently used independently:[145]

ana eqlišu ma-am-ma-an lā iṭēḫḫī AbB 4, 159: 5 *mamman* "nobody shall approach his field!"

b) Rarely in apposition to a noun:[146]

Roy. *šarram ma-am-ma-an* DN *lā imguruma* RIME 4, 377: 59 *mamman* "(since) DN did not favor any king".

6.2 mīmma *and Related Pronouns*

6.2.1 Form

§ 4.164. The impersonal indefinite pron. "anything, something, everything, all", or when negated, "nothing, in no way", has the following indeclinable forms:[147]

a) Frequently *mīmma* < *mīn-ma*:[148]

[*m*]*atīma ana mi-im-ma ulā ašpurakkum* AbB 5, 44: 5 "I have never written to you (to ask) for anything".

b) Rarely *mīm* < *mīmma*:[149]

mi-im ú-li-le-qè AbB 11, 27: 12 *ulileqqē* < *ul ileqqē* "he will not get anything".

mi-im tušābilīm AbB 14, 194; 14 "did you send anything?"

c) Once *mīmmami*, gen. case of *mīmmama*, in Lit.:[150]

šīmāt mi-im-ma-mi qātišša tamḫat RA 22, 170 f.: 14 "she holds in her hand the destinies of everything".

d) Rarely *mīmman* < *mīn-man*:

mi-im-ma-an Riftin 38: 14.

6.2.2 Use

§ 4.165. a) *mīmma* is frequently used independently:

Om. *mamman mi-im-ma inaddikkum* YOS 10, 35: 4 "somebody will give you something".

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145 See *ajjûmma* in independent use, § 4.167a.

146 1 *awīlam ma-am-ma-an ul iṭrudam* AbB 11, 42: 15, quoted in CAD M/1, 199 *mamman* b under "in adjectival use," does not belong here: "nobody sent me a single man". See § 167b for *ajjûmma* in apposition to a noun.

147 The noun *mimmû* "possessions", which is not fully declinable, is derived from *mimma*, see GAG § 48 f and CAD M/2, 80–83.

148 There is in fact no reason to assume that *mīmma* becomes *mimma*: see § 2.507 for ultra-long syllables.

149 Or mistakes for *mi-im*⟨*-ma*⟩?

150 See note to GAG § 48 f.

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b) Frequently in apposition before a noun:

ina mi-im-ma šumšu malā iddinu ītellī CH § 113 "he forfeits everything (lit. whatever its name) he has given".

mi-im-ma bīšam CH § 104 "any commodity".

c) Frequently in apposition after a noun:

awātam mi-im-ma lemuttam ešmē ARM 3, 18: 5 "I heard some bad matter".

d) Before a gen., only frequent in the phrase *mīmma annîm* "all this", rarely elsewhere:[151]

mi-im-ma annîm … iddin VAB 5, 19: 11 "she has given all this".

ālum ša wašbāku mi-im-ma ašilalê ul ibaššīma ul ušabbalak[*kim*] AbB 1, 26: 14 "the town in which I live, there is nothing luxurious, so I cannot send [you] (anything)".

e) *mīmma* is frequently used adverbially to reinforce negation:

mi-im-ma lā tapallaḫ AbB 14, 134: 18 "have no fear at all!"

6.3 ajjûmma

6.3.1 Form

§ 4.166. a) The indef. pron. *ajjûmma*[152] "whichever, any(body), some(body), nobody" is declined like an adj.:

a-i-ú-um-ma laḫanna issukšumma AbB 6, 153: 6 *ajjûmma* "somebody threw a bottle at him".

mīnum ša … warkī a-a-ú-ti-im-ma ittanallakū AbB 11, 160: 26 *ajjûtimma* "why is it that they keep going after some (others)?"

b) A form without enclitic *-ma*, identical with the interrogative pron. (§§ 159–160), rarely occurs:

kīma tīdû … a-um errēšu ul ibaššī AbB 9, 133: 7 *ajjûm* "as you know, there is no farmer".

6.3.2 Use

§ 4.167. a) *ajjûmma* is used independently in most cases:[153]

šumma ana a-i-im-ma taqtīššu anāku mīnam aqabbī AbB 14, 139: 11 *ajjîmma* "if you give it to somebody, what could I say?"

---

151 Instead of *mi-im-ma dūrim šanîm ul īpušū* ARM 1, 39: 8 (see CAD M/2, 78 *mimma* c), read *mīmma dūram šanêm* < *šanīʾam* (acc.): "they did not construct any other wall". *mi-im-ma* ^{lú}NAGAR^{meš} ARM 13, 40: 11 (AHw 653 *mimma* B 1a) can well be read *mīmma nangarū*. In *mi-im-ma a-wa-tim šī ul ibaššī* AbB 10, 5: 33 (AHw. 653 *mimma* A 4; CAD M/2, 78 *mimma* c), *šī* makes clear that *a-wa-tim* is a mistake for *awātum*: "that incident is not at all (something) to be concerned about".

152 But also the interrogative pron. *ajjûm* can bear enclitic /-ma/, see § 159c.

153 In independent use, *ajjûmma* has the same mng. as *mamman* (§ 4.163a).

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Om. *a-a-um-ma ana šarrim itebbīma* YOS 10, 47: 9 *ajjûmma* "somebody will rise against the king".

b) Rarely in apposition to a noun:[154]

Om. *šarrum a-a-ú-um ana salīmim išapparakku*[*m*] YOS 10, 15: 13 *ajjûm* "some king will write to you for peace".

154 See § 163b for *mamman* in apposition to a noun.

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CHAPTER 5

Nouns

1 Inflectional Categories

§ 5.1. The inflection of the noun distinguishes two genders (masc. and fem.); three numbers (sg., pl., dual); five cases (nom., gen., acc., loc., term.); and three states (st. rect. or independent state, st. cstr. or bound state, st. abs. or absolute state).

§ 5.2. The Akk. noun does not distinguish definiteness and indefiniteness. There is no definite or indefinite article. *šarrum* is, depending on the context, "the king" or "a king"; *mār* + noun in the gen. case or with pron. suffix can mean "the son of" or "a son of".[1]

a) St. rect., definite:

mātum kalûša ša GN *u* PN LUGAL AbB 14, 109: 7 *šarrim* "the entire land belongs to GN and to PN, the king".

b) St. rect., indefinite:

Om. *šar-ru-um šar-ra-am ina kakkī idâkma* YOS 10, 56 ii 37 *šarrum šarram* "a king will kill a(nother) king by weapons".

c) St. cstr., definite:

ina 5 *mārī ša* PNf *ana* PN *uldu* PN_2 *ma-ra-šu rabîam* PN [*an*]*a mārūtišu ilqē* VAB 5, 12: 8 *mārāšu* "of the 5 sons that PNf has born to PN, PN has PN_2, his eldest son, taken for sonship (= adopted him)".

d) St. cstr., indefinite:

ul DUMU GN *šū* AbB 1, 129: 9 *mār* "he is not a son (= inhabitant) of GN".

šumma i-in ÌR *awīlim uḫtappid ū lū* GÌR.PÀD.DU ÌR *awīlim ištebir* CH § 199 *īn warad, eṣemti warad* "if he has blinded an eye of a man's slave or has broken a bone of a man's slave".

šumma awīlum ši-in-ni awīlim meḫrišu ittadī ši-in-na-šu inaddû CH § 200 *šinni, šinnašu* "if a man has knocked out a tooth of a man of his own rank, they shall knock out a tooth of him".

aššum ṣābim ša āl[*ā*]*nī ša* GN *ubbubim sugāgūšunu* [*i*]*llikūnim awīlī eb-bi-šu-nu aškunma ṣābam išṭurū*[*nim*]*ma* ARM 3, 21: 9 *ebbīšunu* "as to the muster of the

1 Differently from other Semitic languages, e.g., Arabic, Akk. does not possess an article. Mimation (§§ 2.253–258) is not a marker of indetermination. The construct state is not generally determined (the same is true for Ugaritic, see Streck 2002a, 189).

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soldiers of the cities of GN, their sheikhs have come. I have appointed among them trustworthy men, and they have written the soldiers down".

nēšum ina rugbim ša É GN ARM 2, 106: 7 *bīt* "a lion on the roof of a house in GN".

§ 5.3. Akk. has no specific form for the generic reading of nouns[2] but rather uses the sg. or, more rarely, the pl. instead.

a) Sg.:

a-wi-lum ba-al-ṭú-um gimil gāmilišu utār AbB 3, 33: 24 *awīlum balṭum* "a man who stayed alive rewards the one who had mercy on him".

mi-tum ul iballuṭ ARM 26/1, 349 no. 171: 15 *mītum* "a dead man does not come alive".

mimma eqlētim ... lā tazâz ... eqel mi-tim ù ḫa-al-qí-im sunniqma ARM 1, 6: 38 *mītim u ḫalqim* "do not divide the fields! Only check the field(s) of the dead and the fugitives!"

lú*ag-rum ša inūma ebūrim ukaššûma ikkalu ... ana* GN [*ana kuš*]*šim ittalak* ARM 27, 26: 21 *agrum* "the hired men (lit. man) who make a profit at the time of the harvest district ... they left for GN [to make a pro]fit".

Lit. *awâtūja ... ana lā ḫa-sí-im rīqā ana em-qí-im ana tanādātim šūṣâ* CH xlviii 103–105 *ḫassim, emqim* "my words are meaningless only to the non-prudent, but for the wise they are spread for praise".

Lit. *šupšikkakunu a-wi-*[*l*]*am ēmid* Atr. 58: 241 *awīlam* "I have imposed your basket on man".

Lit. *ana tešîšu a-wi-la-am al-pa-am bu-la-a*[*m*] *ù i-me-ra-am ikmī* TIM 9, 48 iii 14 *awīlam alpam būlam u imēram* "nine times he bound fast man, oxen, cattle, and donkey".

b) Pl.:

Lit. *etel* LUGAL-*rí* CH iii 70 *šarrī* "lord of the kings".

2 The generic reading refers "to classes of individual elements, e.g., *books* in *Books are expensive*" (Bussmann 1996, 184). For the generic reading in Akk. see Streck 1995, 84 f. and 1995a, 43 f.

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2 Noun Patterns[3]

2.1 *Survey*

§ 5.4. The Semitic noun distinguishes two types of patterns. Only patterns of deverbal nouns are correlated with semantic classes. Patterns of non-deverbal, primary nouns like *abum* "father" or *kalbum* "dog" cannot be correlated with semantic classes. Usually it is unclear why primary nouns follow certain patterns; exceptions are the reduplicated patterns of bi-consonantal roots (*PaSPaS*, *PaPPāS*, *PiSPiS*, *PaSPaSS*, *PiSPiSS*), which frequently, but not always, have onomatopoetic force.[4] A single noun pattern is usually connected to several semantic classes and vice versa (e.g., *narkabtum*, *rukūbum*, both meaning "vehicle" = instrument of driving). One and the same word may have mngs. belonging to different semantic classes (e.g., *maṣṣartum* "observation" = verbal content, "watch of the night" = time of verbal content).

§ 5.5. Within deverbal nouns, the following semantic classes can be distinguished:[5]

a) Abstract: Verbal content, e.g., *šiprum* "sending", from *šapārum* "to send".

b) Concrete: Obj. or result of the verbal content, e.g., *wildum* "child", from *walādum* "to give birth".

c) Concrete: Instrument for the accomplishment of the verbal content, e.g., *madlûm* "bucket", from *dalûm* "to draw water".

d) Concrete: Place of the verbal content, e.g., *maṣallum* "sleeping place", from *ṣalālum* "to lie".

e) Concrete: Time of the verbal content, e.g., *muṣlālum* "noon", from *ṣalālum* "to lie".

f) Concrete: Performer of the verbal content, e.g., *dajjānum* "judge", from *dīʾānum* "to judge".

g) Secondary concrete nouns designating the quality expressed by the adj. occur especially with stative verbs,[6] sometimes also with dynamic verbs, e.g., *ṣulmum* "black spot", from *ṣalāmum* "to be black". They are designated as adj.-concrete.

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3 In the following, refs. are only given if a word cannot be easily found in the dictionaries (AHw., CAD). Of course, only words attested in OB are listed here. I do not intend to provide exhaustive citations; for most patterns, more examples can be given. Some patterns are quite rare and uncertain, and this is also true of many nouns. Therefore I concentrate on certain patterns and usually only give some well-attested examples.

4 For these patterns see Black/Al-Rawi 1987, 120–122.

5 For the method applied to Biblical Hebrew see Rechenmacher 1994, 139–205. For a slight modification applied to Akk. see Streck 2002.

6 see Rechenmacher 1994, 144.

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h) Traditionally, nouns derived from other nouns by means of suffs. and adjs. are treated together with deverbal nouns.

§ 5.6. The following table presents a survey of patterns for deverbal and primary nouns. Patterns in parentheses are rare.

	Deverbal Nouns	**Primary Nouns**
Two Consonants with Short Vowel		
PaS(*t*)	(*martum*) § 5.59	*abum* § 5.8
PiS((*a*)*t*)	(*simtum*) § 5.60	*ilum* § 5.9
PuS(t)	(*šubtum*) § 5.61	*mutum* § 5.10
Two Consonants with Long Vowel		
PāS(*t*)	(only secondary: *mādum*) § 5.65	*ḫālum* § 5.11
PīS(*t*)	(only secondary: *šībum*) § 5.66	*kīrum* § 5.12
PūS(*t*)	(only secondary: *rūqum*) § 5.67	*sūnum* § 5.13
Three Consonants with Short Vowels		
PaRS, fem. *PaRSat* and *PaRaSt*	(*dannum*) § 5.62	*kalbum* § 5.14
PiRS, fem. *PiRiSt* and *PiRSat*	*diglum* § 5.63	*birkum* § 5.15
PuRS, fem. *PuRuSt* and *PuRSat*	*bulṭum* § 5.64	*muḫḫum* § 5.16
PaRaS(*t*)	*kabrum* § 5.65	*kappum* § 5.17
PaRiS(*t*)	*damqum* § 5.66	*eqbum* § 5.18
PaRuS(*t*)	*zaprum* § 5.67	–
PiRaS(*t*)	–	(*zikarum*) § 5.19
Three Consonants with Short and Long Vowel		
PaRāS(*t*)	*alāktum* § 5.68	*atānum* § 5.20
PaRīS(*t*)	*dalīlum* § 5.69	(*samīdum*) § 5.21?
PaRūS(*t*)	*arūrtum* § 5.70	*kalūmum* § 5.22
PiRāS(*t*)	–	*kišādum* § 5.23
PiRīS	(*dilīlum*) § 5.71	(*kilīlum*) § 5.24

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(*cont.*)

	Deverbal Nouns	Primary Nouns
PiRūS	–	(*kinūnum*) § 5.25
PuRāS(*t*)	*qutānum* § 5.72	*kunāšum* § 5.26
PuRīS(*t*)	*šurīpum* § 5.73	*urīṣum* § 5.27
PuRūS(*t*)	*buqūmum* § 5.74	(*supūrum*) § 5.28
PāRiS(*t*)	participle G	(*āribum*) § 5.29
Three Consonants with Long Second Consonant		
PaRRaS(*t*)	*nakkarum* § 5.75	(*ajjalum*) § 5.30
PaRRiS(*t*)	*akkilum* § 5.76	–
PiRRiS(*t*)	–	(*sinništum*) § 5.31
PuRRuS(*t*)	*gurrudum* § 5.77	–
PaRRāS(*t*)	*dajjānum* § 5.78	(*ḫarrānum*) § 5.32
PaRRaSS	*ṣallallum* § 5.79	–
PaRRūS	–	(*kassūsum*) § 5.33
PiRRāS	–	(*kinnārum*) § 5.34
PiRRūS	*sikkūrum* § 5.80	(*biṣṣūrum*) § 5.35
PuRRāS	–	(*qummālum*) § 5.36
Three Consonants with Long Third Consonant		
PaRaSS	–	*ḫazannum* § 5.37
PaRuSS(*at*)	*namurrum* § 5.81	*aburrum* § 5.38
PiRaSS	–	*kiṣallum* § 5.39
PiRiSS	(*gimillum*) § 5.82	*kirippum* § 5.40
PuRaSS	*ḫušaḫḫum* § 5.83	(*kuzallum*) § 5.41
PuRuSS(*at*)	*ḫubullum* § 5.84	*šuburrum* § 5.42
PiRRuSSat	*ziqqurratum* § 5.85	–
Three Consonants with Reduplicated Third Consonant		
PaRāRāS	(*dabābābum*) § 5.86	–
PaRāRīS	(*tamāmītum*) § 5.87	–
PuRāRīS	*ṣumāmītum* § 5.88	–
PuRīRīS	(*zuqīqīpum*) § 5.89	–
PaRSīS	*namrīrū* § 5.90	–
PaRSūS	–	(*pērūrūtum*) § 5.43
PuRSāS	–	(*kulbābum*) § 5.44

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(*cont.*)

	Deverbal Nouns	Primary Nouns
With Prefixes		
aPRaS(*t*)	–	(*erbûm*) § 5.45
aPuRRiSān	(*awurriqānum*) § 5.91	–
anPuRāS	(*andurārum*) § 5.92	–
iPRiS	*ikribum* § 5.93	–
maPRaS(*t*)	*maḫlašum* § 5.94	–
maPRāS	*nēpēšum* § 5.95	–
maPRiS(*t*)	*naplisum* § 5.96	–
maPRūS?	*namkūrum* § 5.97	–
muPRaS(*t*)	*muṣlālum* § 5.98	–
naPRuSt	*nanmurtum* § 5.99	–
šaPRāS	*šalbābum* § 5.100	–
šaPRuS(*t*)	*šaḫluqtum* § 5.101	–
šuPRuSt	*šūbultum* 5.102	–
šaPāRuS	(*šagāpurum*) § 5.103	–
taPRāS(*t*) oder *taPRaS*(*t*)	*tāḫāzum* § 5.104	–
taPRīS(*t*)	*tamšīlum* § 5.105	–
taPRuS(*t*) oder *taPRūS*(*t*)	*tamgurtum* § 5.106	–
With Infixed *t*		
PitRāS(*t*)	*gitmālum* § 5.107	–
PitRuSt	*mitgurtum* § 5.108	–
With Two *ta*		
taPtaRS	(*tartāmum*) § 5.109	
taPtaRRuS	(*tattasḫurum*) § 5.110	
With Suffixes		
PuRuSSā’	*rugummûm* § 5.111	–
PuRSā’	(*buqrûm*) § 5.112	–
-āj(*īt*)	*Elaḫuttājum* § 5.113	–
-ī(*t*)	*Amurrûm* § 5.114	–
-ān	*nādinānum* § 5.115	–
-īn	(*qutrēnum*) § 5.116	–
-ūt	*šarrūtum* § 5.117	–

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(*cont.*)

	Deverbal Nouns	Primary Nouns
Reduplicated Bi-Consonantal Bases		
PaSPaS(*t*), *PaPPaS*(*t*)	–	*barbarum* § 5.47
PaPPāS(*t*)	–	*lallārum* § 5.48
PiSPiS, *PiPPiS*(*t*)	(*lillidum*) § 5.118	*girgilum* § 5.49
PiPPuS	(*bibbulum*) § 5.119	–
PaSPaSS(*at*)	(*kaškaššum*) § 5.120	*raqraqqum* § 5.50
PiSPiSS, *PiPPiSS*	(*ziqziqqum*) § 5.121	*diqdiqqum* § 5.51
PuSPuSS(*at*), *PuPPuSS*	(*gulgullum*) § 5.122	*qurqurrum* § 5.52
Four Consonants		
PaRŠaD(*t*)	(*šaḫrartum*) § 5.123	(*šēlebum*) § 5.54
PiRŠiD	–	(*peršā'um*) § 5.545
PuRŠaD	–	(*šumēlum*) § 5.56
PaRiŠŠa/*uD*	–	(*kamišša*/*urum*) § 5.57
PiRiŠiDD(*īt*)	–	(*kisibirr*(*īt*)*um*) § 5.58
PuRaŠŠuDt	(*šupêltum*) § 5.124	–

2.2 *Primary Nouns*

§ 5.7. Typical primary nouns are designations for the physical world, animals, plants, body parts,[7] and kinship terms.[8]

2.2.1 Two Consonants with Short Vowel

§ 5.8. a) *PaS*:

abum "father". *aḫum* "brother". *aḫum* "arm". *amum* "raft". *apum* "reed-bed". *arum* "branch". *emum* < *ḫamum* "father-in-law". *damum* "blood". *idum* < *jadum* "arm". *panum* "face".[9] *pûm* "mouth".[10]

7 For the noun patterns of designations for body parts see Militarev/Kogan 2000, cxxix–cxlix; for animal names see Militarev/Kogan 2005, LXVI–LXXXVIII.

8 Whether there are patterns with only a single consonant (GAG § 54b) is unclear. In the following, the words *mû* "water", *pûm* "mouth", *pūtum* "forehead", and *šu'um* "sheep" are analyzed as biconsonantal patterns.

9 For *panum* instead of *pānum* see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 188.

10 Militarev/Kogan 2000, 195–197: < *paj*? GAG § 54b: pattern with a single consonant.

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b) *PaSt*:

amtum "female slave". *aptum* "window". *daltum* "door". *qaštum* "bow". *šaptum* "lip". *šattum* < *šantum* "year".

§ 5.9. a) *PiS*:

ilum "god". *isum* "jaw". *iṣum* "tree". *šinā* "two". *ipum* "membrane". *nišū* "people".
b) *PiSt*:

dimtum "tower". *iltum* "goddess". *imtum* "spittle". *irtum* "breast".[11] *kibtum* "wheat". *rittum* "hand".

§ 5.10. a) *PuS*:

luʾum "throat". *mutum* "husband".
b) *PuSt*:

luʾtum "a disease". *ruʾtum* "spittle". *pūtum* "forehead".[12] *šumum* "name". *zuʾtum* "sweat".

2.2.2 Two Consonants with Long Vowel

§ 5.11. a) *PāS*:

bābum "gate". *bāṣum* "sand". *ḫālum* "uncle". *kāpum* "rock". *mātum* "land". *mû* < *māʾū* "water".[13] *pāṭum* "edge". *qātum* "hand".[14] *sāsum* "moth".
b) *PāSt*:

bābtum "quarter". *bāmtum* "half".

§ 5.12. a) *PīS*:

ḫīlum "resin". *kīrum* "oven". *kīsum* "money-bag". *nīrum* "yoke". *pīrum* "elephant". *ṭīdum* "clay". *zīmū* "face".
b) *PīSt*:

kīmtum "family". *šīnātum* "urine".

§ 5.13. a) *PūS*. The majority of words have a labial as the first or second radical:

būdum "shoulder". *būlum* "livestock". *būrum* "calf". *kūbum* "premature child". *nūnum* "fish". *rūʾum* "friend". *sūnum* "lap". *šūmum* "garlic".
b) *PūSt*:

būrtum "cow, she-calf". *rūtum* < *rūʾtum* "companion".

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11 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 11f.; Kogan 2011a, 219.

12 Militarev/Kogan 2000, 180–182: < *puʾt-*. GAG § 54b: pattern with a single consonant.

13 For *PāS* see Tropper 2012, 249.

14 Gelb 1955, 105: not *PaRS* (< *qatʾum*) as in GAG § 55a.

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2.2.3 Three Consonants with Short Vowel

§ 5.14. a) *PaRS*, the most frequent pattern for primary nouns:[15]

abnum "stone". *appum* "nose". *baqqum* "gnat". *bašmum* "horned viper". *bīnum* < *baynum* "tamarisk".[16] *bītum* < *bajtum* "house". *eqlum* < *ḥaqlum* "field". *ḫallum* "thigh". *ḫaṭṭum* "staff". *īnum* < *ʿaynum* "eye". *kablum* "leg of piece of furniture". *kakkum* "weapon". *kalbum* "dog". *kappum* "hand". *kāsum* < *kaʾsum* "goblet".[17] *mārum* < *marʾum* "son". *maškum* "skin". *pagrum* "body". *palgum* "canal". *pērtum* < *parʿum* "hair". *qarnum* "horn". *rēšum* < *raʾšum* "head". *ṣarbum* "Euphrates poplar". *ṣēlum* < *ṣalʿum* "rib". *šammum* "plant". *šamnum* "oil". *šamšum* "sun". *šarrum* "king". *šēpum* < *šajpum* "foot".[18] *ṭēmum* < *ṭaʿmum* "thought". *ūmum* < *jawmum* "day". *wardum* "slave". *warḫum* "month".

b) *PaRSat* and *PaRaSt*:[19]

ammatum "cubit". *aššatum* "wife". *appatum* "reins". *erṣetum* < *arṣatum* "earth". *eṣemtum* < *ʿaṣm-* "bone".[20] *kalbatum* "bitch". *kalītum* "kidney".[21] *kallatum* "daughter-in-law". *kalmatum* "bug". *kamʾatum* "truffle". *mardatum* "carpet". *mārtum* < *marʾ-* "daughter". *ṣabītum* "gazelle".[22] *ṣarbatum* "Euphrates poplar". *ṣerretum* < *ṣarratum* "concubine". *šamšatum* "sun disk". *šarratum* "queen". *šārtum* < *šaʿr-* "hair".[23] *wardatum* "girl". *warkatum* "back".

§ 5.15. a) *PiRS*:[24]

bibbum "wild sheep". *birkum* "knee". *dišpum* "syrup, honey". *gišrum* "bridge". *giššum* "hip". *išdum* "base". *iškum* "testicle". *kibrum* "shore". *kibtum* "wheat". *libbum* "heart". *pitnum* "chest, box". *qinnum* "nest". *rīmum* < *riʾmum* "aurochs".[25] *šinnum* "tooth". *šīrum* < *šiʾrum* "flesh".[26] *tibnum* "straw". *tikkum* "neck".

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15 Sometimes difficult to distinguish from *PaRaS* (§ 5.17).

16 Kogan 2011a, 202.

17 Arabic *kaʾs*, Wehr 1985, 1079. Tropper 2012, 249: Ugaritic *ks* = *PāS*.

18 GAG § 54i *PēS*. For *PaRS* see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 241 f.

19 For *PaRSat* see Edzard 1982; for forms from roots III-w/y (type *kalītum*) see Krebernik 2006, 91–93.

20 Militarev/Kogan 2000, 25 f.; Kogan 2011a, 214 f.

21 Krebernik 2006, 92.

22 Krebernik 2006, 92.

23 Kogan 2011a, 223.

24 For *PiRS* see Krebernik 2006, 84–88. Alternatively, one can reconstruct doublets *PaRaS* and *PiRaS* (Militarev/Kogan 2000). see §§ 5.49, 5.118 for nouns of the pattern *PiPPiS*(*t*) derived from *PiRS* with identical second and third consonant.

25 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 248 f.

26 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 210 f.

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b) *PiRSat*:

dīmtum < *dimʿum* "tear". *lētum* < *laḫjum* "cheek".[27] *qinnatum* "buttocks". *rīmtum* < *riʾmtum* "female aurochs". *terḫatum* < *tirḫatum* "bride payment".

§ 5.16. a) *PuRS*: Almost all words have a labial as first or second consonant:[28]

bukrum "son". *būrum* < *buʾrum* "well".[29] *dulbum*: *du-ul-bi* FM 7, 114 no. 30: 18 *dulbi* "plane". *kubšum* "turban". *lurmum*: *lu-ur-mi-im* ARM 21, 322: 1 *lurmim* "ostrich". *muḫḫum* "skull". *mūrum* < *muhrum* "foal". *mušṭum* "comb". *mūšum* < *mušjum* "night".[30] *pudrum* "dung cake". *summum* "male dove". *ṣuprum* "fingernail". *tubqum* "corner". *tumrum* "charcoal". *ummum* "mother". *uplum* "headlouse". *upnum* "cupped hand". *urḫum* "path". *urnum* "cedar".[31] *utlum* "lap". *uznum* "ear". *zubbum* "fly". *zumrum* "body".

b) *PuRSat* or *PuRuSt*:

būrtum < *buʾr-* "well".[32] *būrtum* < *buʿrum* "cow".[33] *buṭumtum* "terebinth". *mušītum* "night".[34] *muttatum* "half". *puquttum* < *puqudtum* "thorn". *summatum* "dove". *šuttatum* "pit". *tuqumtum* "battle".

§ 5.17. *PaRaS*:[35]

ašrum < *ašarum* "place".[36] *eperum* < *ʿaparum* "dust".[37] *ḫatanum* "son-in-law".[38] *kappum* < *kanpum* < *kanapum* "wing".[39] *qanûm* < *qanajum* "cane".[40] *ṣābum* < *ṣabʾum* < *ṣabaʾum* "troop".[41]

§ 5.18. *PaRiS*:

eqbum < *ʿaqibum* "heel".[42] *karšum* < *karišum* "stomach".[43] *rēmum* < *raḥimum* "womb".[44]

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27 According to Militarev/Kogan 2000, 161 f.: < *liḫy-*. But /ē/ favors < *laḫy-*.
28 Krebernik 2006, 93 f.
29 Kogan 2011a, 192.
30 Kogan 2011a, 196. In Ebla *PiRS mīšum* < *mišyum*, see Krebernik 1983, 31.
31 A var. of the loanword or *Wanderwort erēnum* "cedar".
32 Kogan 2011a, 192.
33 Kogan 2011a, 205.
34 Krebernik 2006, 92.
35 Sometimes difficult to distinguish from *PaRS* (§ 5.14).
36 Krebernik 2006, 87.
37 Krebernik 2006, 87; Kogan 2011a, 189.
38 Krebernik 2006, 87; Kogan 2011a, 236.
39 Krebernik 2006, 87.
40 Krebernik 2006, 87; Kogan 2011a, 201.
41 Krebernik 2006, 87.
42 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXII; Kogan 2011a, 225.
43 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXII; Kogan 2011a, 219.
44 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXII; Kogan 2011a, 219 f.

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§ 5.19. a) *PiRaS*:[45]
zikarum "male".[46] *ziqnum* < *ziqanum* "beard".[47]
b) *PiRaSt*:
zibbatum < *zinab-* "tail".[48]

2.2.4 Three Consonants with Short and Long Vowel

§ 5.20. a) *PaRāS*:
agālum "riding donkey".[49] *atānum* "she-ass". *karānum* "vine". *giškа-ta-pu-um* ARM 25, 608: 9 *katāpum* "a ceremonial weapon". *padānum* "path". *šalāšum* "three". *šamû* < *šamāʾū* "sky".
b) *PaRāSt*:
šalāštum "three".[50]

§ 5.21. *PaRīS*:
awīlum "man". *parīsum* "picket". *samīdum* "a spice plant"?[51] *talīmum* "beloved brother".

§ 5.22. a) *PaRūS*:
abūbum "deluge". *abūsum* "storehouse". *ebūrum* < *ʿabūrum* "harvest". *emūqum* < *amūqum* "arm, strength". *kalūmum* "lamb". *ka-mu-nu* FM 2, 25 no. 4: 10 *kamūnu* "cumin". *kasūsum* "falcon". *narūqum* "leather bag". *qadūmum* "adze": *qa-du-mi* ARM 25, 589: 4, r. 1. *šarūrum* "brilliance".
b) *PaRūSt*:
Lit. *ba-tu-ul-tum* YOS 11, 87: 11 *batūltum* "nubile girl".

§ 5.23. a) *PiRāS*:
dipārum "torch". *diqārum* "bowl". *ḫilēpum* < *ḫilāpum* "willow". *imērum* < *ḥimārum* "donkey". *kišādum* "neck". *lišānum* "tongue".

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45 see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXVII for *PiRaS* corresponding to *PaRaS* in other Semitic languages. Differently Krebernik 2006, 84–86: Semitic *PaRaS* > Akk. *PiRS*. For *šikārum* instead of *šikarum* see §§ 2.148 and 5.23. The development *PiRaS* > *PiRāS* is secondary, see Kogan 2011a, 241 for original short second vowel.

46 < *ḏakar-*, see Kogan 2011a, 234.

47 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXVII and 59 f.

48 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, CXXXVII and 60 f.

49 AHw. 15 *agalu*, CAD A/1, 141 *agālu*. Krebernik 2006, 87 quotes Ebla *ag-lum*, which might favor *PaRaS* instead of *PaRāS*, but elsewhere the second vowel is always preserved.

50 see § 6.4.

51 If not derived from *samādum* "to grind".

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b) *PiRāSt*:
Fem.: *tiʾāmtum* "sea".

§ 5.24. *PiRīS*:
kilīlum "wreath".

§ 5.25. *PiRūS*:
kinūnum "brazier". *sinūnum* "swallow-fish".

§ 5.26. a) *PuRāS*. On rare occasions it appears to have a diminutive[52] mng.:
bukānum "pestle". *burāšum* "juniper". *ḫulālum* "a stone". *ḫurāṣum* "gold". *kunāšum* "emmer". *nupārum* "workhouse". *puḫādum* "lamb" (diminutive). *puraddum* "carp". *šurānum* "cat". *tulûm* < *tulāʿum* "female breast".[53] *turāḫum* "ibex". *ubānum* "finger". *ugārum* "field". *umāmum* "animals".
b) *PuRāSt*:
puḫāttum "female lamb" (diminutive).

§ 5.27. *PuRīS*, sometimes with diminutive[54] mng.:
ḫulûm < *ḫulīʾum* "shrew" (diminutive). *purīdum* "leg". *ṭulīmum* "spleen". *unīqum* "female kid" (diminutive).[55] *urīṣum* "male goat".

§ 5.28. *PuRūS*.
a) The majority of words have a labial as the second consonant:
bubūtum "hunger". *ḫubūrum* "beer jar". *supūrum* "sheepfold". *šukūdum* "arrow".
b) For multiplicatives with pattern *PuRūS* see § 6.48.

§ 5.29. *PāRiS*:
āribum "raven".[56]

2.2.5 Three Consonants with Long Second Consonant

§ 5.30. *PaRRaS*:
ajjalum "stag".

52 Also true of *PuRāS* deverbal nouns, § 5.72.
53 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2000, 247; Kogan 2011a, 217.
54 For *PuRīS* diminutives see von Soden 1991; Testen 2006. see however, Kogan 2011a, 185: no diminutive mng. in Akk.
55 Kogan 2003, 136 f.: not from *enēqum* "to suck" but related to Arabic *ʿanāq* "female kid" (Wehr 1985, 887).
56 For the etymology see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 129 f.

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§ 5.31. a) *PiRRiS*:
immerum < *immirum* "sheep".[57]
b) *PiRRiSt*:
immertum "sheep". *simmiltum* "ladder". *sinništum* "woman".

§ 5.32. *PaRRāS*:
ḫarrānum "way".

§ 5.33. *PaRRūS*:
ḫallūrū "peas". *šaššūgum* "a tree".

§ 5.34. *PiRRāS*:
kinnārum "lyre".

§ 5.35. *PiRRūS*:
biṣṣūrum "vulva". *e/ibbūbum* "flute".

§ 5.36. *PuRRāS*:
qummālum "a skin complaint".

2.2.6 Three Consonants with Long Third Consonant

§ 5.37. *PaRaSS*:
arammum "ramp". *eleppum* "boat". *etellum* "prince". *kaparrum* "shepherd of low rank". *lamassum* "tutelary deity". *paḫallum* "thigh". *taraḫḫum* "bank".

§ 5.38. a) *PaRuSS*. Usually with roots ı-ʾ instead of *PuRuSS* (§ 5.42):
aburrum "pasture". *aguḫḫum* "belt". *agurrum* "baked brick".
b) *PaRuSSat*:
abunnatum "navel".

§ 5.39. *PiRaSS*:
kiṣallum "ankle". *misarrum* "belt". *pilakkum* "spindle". *simakkum* "a shrine". *šipassum* "clay sealing".

§ 5.40. *PiRiSS*:
biriḫḫum "string, bundle": *bi-ri-ḫi* AbB 10, 201: 19 *biriḫḫī*. *kirippum* "a jar". *kirissum* "hairpin".

57 GAG § 55m: *PaRRiS*? Tropper 2012, 264: *PiRRīS* or *PiRRiS* or *PiRRā/aS*. Militarev/Kogan 2005, 7 f.: *PiRRaS*. In Akk., the second syllable never has /a/.

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§ 5.41. *PuRaSS*:
guḫaššum "wire". *kuzallum* "shepherd".

§ 5.42. a) *PuRuSS*:[58]
kurullum "sheave". *kuruppum* "basket". *sugullum* "herd". *surummum* "a part of the intestinal tract". *šuburrum* "rump". *uruḫḫum* "hair of the head". *usukkum* "upper cheek". *ušummum* "dormouse".
b) *PuRuSSat*:
kurummatum "food allocation".

2.2.7 Three Consonants with Reduplicated Third Consonant

§ 5.43. *PaRSūS*:
pērūrūtum "mouse".[59]

§ 5.44. *PuRSāS*:
kulbābum "ant".

2.2.8 With Prefixes

§ 5.45. *aPRaS*(*t*).
arbaʾum, *erbētum* < *ʾarbaʿ*(*t*)*um* "four".[60]

2.2.9 Reduplicated Bi-Consonantal Bases

§ 5.46. In some instances, patterns based on reduplicated bi-consonantal bases[61] show assimilations, e.g., *kakkabum* < *kabkabum* "star", etc. These assimilations are not productive in OB and must largely be attributed already to Proto-Semitic. Many words of these patterns are onomatopoetic, e.g., *wazwazum* "goose", *ṣarṣar*/*ṣaṣṣar* "cricket", *šaššārum* "saw", *ḫalḫallatum* "drum", etc.

§ 5.47. a) *PaSPaS* and *PaPPaS* < *PaSPaS*:
barbarum "wolf". Lex. *da-ab-da-bu-um* UET 7, 93: 39 *dabdabum* "a creeping animal".[62] *kakkabum* "star".*kakkarum*: *ka*$_1$*-ka-ri* FM 8, 164 no. 47 r. 5 *kakkari* "metal disk". *qaqqadum* "head". *qaqqarum* "ground". *ṣarṣarum*: *ṣa-ar-ṣa-ar* ARM 27, 27: 4, 6, 21; ARM 27, 28: 4, 27; ARM 2, 136: 6 *ṣarṣar*; *ṣa-aṣ-ṣa-ar* ARM 23, 101: 6 *ṣaṣṣar* "cricket". Lex. *wa-az-wa-zum* ZA 77, 124 iv 2 *wazwazum* "goose".

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58 Corresponds to *PaRuSS* with roots I-ʾ, see § 5.38.
59 see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 224 f.
60 see § 6.5.
61 For these patterns see Black/Al-Rawi 1987, 120–122.
62 see SAD 2, 2.

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b) *PaSPaSt* and *PaPPaSt*:
Lit. *ba-ar-ba-ra-tum* YOS 11, 20: 3 *barbaratum* "she-wolf". *kakkartum* "round bread".

§ 5.48. a) *PaPPāS*:
lallārum "mourner".[63] *šaššārum* "saw".
b) *PaPPāSt*:
lallārtum "wailing woman".

§ 5.49. a) *PiSPiS* and *PiPPiS* < *PiSPiS*:
Lex. *gi-ir-gi-lum* ZA 77, 124 iii 2 *girgilum* "a bird". *kikkišum* "reed fence".[64] Lex. *ši*-IG-*ši*-KUM ZA 77, 124 iii 1 *šik*/*qšik*/*qum* "a bird".
b) *PiPPiSt* < *PiSPiSt*:
sissiktum "hem".[65]

§ 5.50. a) *PaSPaSS*:
ḫalḫallatum "drum". *ḫapḫappum* "base of door post". Lex. *ra-aq-ra-qum* ZA 77, 124 ii 16 *raqraqqum* "stork". *šaḫšaḫḫum* "slanderer". *šeršerrum* "chain".[66]
b) *PaSPaSSat*:
kamkammatum "ring".

§ 5.51. *PiSPiSS* and *PiPPiSS* < *PiSPiS*:
diqdiqqum "wren". *sissinnum* "date-palm spadix".

§ 5.52. a) *PuSPuSS* and *PuPPuSS* < *PuSPuSS*:
qurqurrum "metal-worker". *sussullum* "chest box".
b) *PuSPuSSat*:
qurqurratum "female metal worker".

2.2.10 Four Consonants

§ 5.53. Nouns with four consonants exhibit a large number of patterns. In many cases, it is difficult to distinguish true Semitic words from loans. In the following, only a few words with clear Semitic cognates are listed. All of them have /l/, /m/, /n/, or /r/ as the second or fourth consonant.

63 For long /ā/ (pace CAD L. 48) see the SB evidence *lal-la-a-ru* BWL 36: 108. *lallārum* is thus similar to the pattern *PaRRāS* for professions (§ 5.78).
64 see from the same root *kiššum* "reed-bundle".
65 see from the same root *sikkum* "hem".
66 *PaSPaS* because of Ass. *šaršarratu*. Spellings like Om. *ši-ir-ši-ri* YOS 10, 41: 19 may also point to a variant *PiSPiS*.

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§ 5.54. *PaRŠaD*:
akbarum "jerboa".[67] *arnabum* "hare".[68] *kūdanum* < *kawdanum* "mule".[69] *šēlebum* "fox".[70] *tū'amum* < *taw'amum* "twin".[71]

§ 5.55. *PiRŠaD*:
perša'um "flea".[72]

§ 5.56. *PuRŠaD*:
šumēlum "left".[73]

§ 5.57. *PaRiŠŠa/uD*:
kamiššarum "pear".[74] Var. *kamiššurum*: ^{giš}*ka-mi-šu-ru-*[*um*] FM 8, 46 no. 6: 12.

§ 5.58. *PiRiŠŠiD*(*īt*):
kisibirr(*īt*)*um* "coriander".[75]

2.3 *Deverbal Nouns*[76]

2.3.1 Two Consonants with Short Vowel

§ 5.59. *PaSt*. From roots II-geminate with /r/ as second or third consonant. Adj.-concrete:*martum* "gall bladder" (*marārum* "to be bitter"). *sartum* "crime" (*sarārum* "to be false").

§ 5.60. *PiS*(*a*)*t*. From roots I-w/y instead of *PiRiSt* (§ 5.63).
a) Verbal content:
di'atum "knowledge" (*edûm* "to know"). *simtum* "appropriate symbol" (*wasāmum* "to be fitting"). *ṣītum* "exit" (*waṣûm* "to go out"). *šiptum* "incantation" (ptc. *wāšipum* "sorcerer"). *šittum* "sleep".[77]

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67 For Semitic cognates see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 48 f.
68 For Semitic cognates see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 20 f.
69 For Semitic cognates see Militarev/Kogan 2005,169–171.
70 For Semitic cognates see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 302–304.
71 see Arabic *taw'am*, Wehr 1985, 146.
72 For Semitic cognates see Militarev/Kogan 2005, 246–248.
73 see Hebrew ŠM'L "left", Koehler/Baumgartner 1990, 1242.
74 see Arabic *kummaṯrā* "pear", Wehr 1985, 1119.
75 see Arabic *kusbara* "coriander", Wehr 1985, 1101.
76 For the semantic classes correlated with patterns of deverbal nouns see §§ 5.4–5. In the following, verbal nouns such as the partic., inf., and adj. of derived stems are left out of consideration. However, adj. of the G-stem and fem. nouns derived from the inf. are listed. The corresponding verbs are added in brackets.
77 No verb attested.

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b) Obj. or result of the verbal content:
biltum "load" (*wabālum* "to carry"). *ṣibtum* "interest" (*waṣābum* "to add").

§ 5.61. *PuSt*. From roots I-w instead of *PuRuSt* (§ 5.16).
a) Verbal content:
šuttum "dream".[78]
b) Place of the verbal content:
šubtum "seat" (*wašābum* "to sit").

2.3.2 Three Consonants with Short Vowel

§ 5.62. *PaRS*(*at*).
a) Adj. of roots II-geminate:
dannum, *dannatum* "strong". *ellum*, *elletum* "pure". *emmum*, *emmetum* "hot". *raqqum*, *raqqatum* "thin".
b) Adj.-concrete, always fem.:
raqqatum "a fine garment".
c) Verbal content:
baqrum, *baqrū* "claim" (*baqārum* "to claim").

§ 5.63. *PiRS*(*at*) and *PiRiSt*. Very frequent, mainly from dynamic verbs, sometimes from stative verbs. *PiRSat*[79] instead of *PiRiSt*[80] always with roots II-geminate, *ṣimdatum* "edict" besides *ṣimittum* "team" for lexical distinction.[81]
a) Verbal content, *PiRS*:
bīrum "divination" (*barûm* "to look at"). *birṣum* "sparkle" (*barāṣum* "to light up"). *diglum* "sight" (*dagālum* "to watch"). *dikšum* "swelling" (*dakāšum* "to bulge"). *dīnum* "lawsuit" (*dīʾānum* "to judge"). *gipšum* "mass" (*gapāšum* "to rise up"). *ḫīpum* "break" (*ḫepûm* "to break"). *kibsum* "step" (*kabāsum* "to tread"). *kīlum* "confinement" (*kalûm* "to detain"). *kiṣrum* "concentration" (*kaṣārum* "to tie"). *kišpum* "sorcery" (*kašāpum* "to cast spells"). *meḫṣum* < *miḫṣum* "blow" (*maḫāṣum* "to hit"). *seḫrum* < *sīḫrum* "turn" (*saḫārum* "to turn"). *sīḫum* "rebellion" (*seḫûm* "to rise up"). *ṣibtum* "seizure" (*ṣabātum* "to grasp"). *šibʾum* "satiety" (*šebûm* "to be full"). *šiknum* "setting" (*šakānum* "to put"). *šipkum* "accumulation" (*šapākum* "to heap up"). *šipṭum* I "judgment" (*šapāṭum* "to judge"). *šipṭum* II "reprimand" (*šapāṭum* "to reprimand"). *tībum* "attack" (*tebûm* "to rise"). *ziqtum* "sting" (*zaqātum* "to sting").

78 No verb attested.
79 For *PiRSat* see Edzard 1982.
80 On *PiRiSt* see Krebernik 2006, 91–93.
81 Edzard 1982, 87. For roots I-w see *PiS*(*a*)*t* § 5.60.

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b) Verbal content, *PiRiSt* and *PiRSat*:

bikītum "weeping" (*bakûm* "to weep"). *diliptum* "sleeplessness" (*dalāpum* "to be sleepless"). *dimmatum* "wailing" (*damāmum* "to wail"). *e'iltum* "obligation" (*e'ēlum* "to bind"). *erištum* "wish" (*erēšum* "to wish"). *erretum* "curse" (*arārum* "to curse"). *gilittum* "terror" (*galātum* "to tremble"). *nêrtum* "murder" (*nêrum* "to strike"). *piqittum* "review" (*paqādum* "to entrust"). *pirittum* "terror" (*parādum* "to be scared"). *qiddatum* "bending down" (*qadādum* "to bow down"). *sikiltum* "acquisition" (*sakālum* "to acquire"). *sili'tum* "sickness" (*salā'um* "to be infected"). *sipittum* "mourning" (*sapādum* "to mourn"). *ṣīḫtum* "laughing" (*ṣī'āḫum* "to laugh"). *ṣimdatum* "royal edict" (*ṣamādum* "to tie up").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PiRS*:

biblum "gift" (*wabālum* "to bring"). *bitqum* "break" (*batāqum* "to cut off"). *ermum* "envelope of tablet" (*arāmum* "to cover"). *gimrum* "totality" (*gamārum* "to bring to a conclusion"). *kippum* "loop" (*kapāpum* "to curve"). *kiṣrum* "knot" (*kaṣārum* "to tie"). *mīlum* "flood" (*malûm* "to be full"). *nīqum* "offering" (*naqûm* "to sacrifice"). *pilkum* "demarcated zone" (*palākum* "to divide off"). *pilšum* "hole" (*palāšum* "to pierce"). *persum* < *pirsum* "section" (*parāsum* "to divide"). *pitqum* "smelted metal, ingot" (*patāqum* "to shape, create"). *pītum* "opening" (*petûm* "to open"). *sīkum* "powder" (*sâkum* "to crush"). *ṣerpum* < *ṣirpum* "red wool" (*ṣarāpum* "to dye"). *ṣimdum* "bandage" (*ṣamādum* "to tie up"). *šiprum* "message" (*šapārum* "to send"). *šiqlum* "sheqel" (*šaqālum* "to weigh"). *šiṭrum* "piece of writing" (*šaṭārum* "to write"). *terkum* < *tirkum* "dark spot" (*tarākum* "to beat"). *terṣum* < *tirṣum* "presentation of offering" (*tarāṣum* "to stretch out"). *wildum* "child" (*walādum* "to give birth"). *zikrum* "speech" (*zakārum* "to speak").

d) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PiRiSt* or *PiRSat*:

billatum "mixture" (*balālum* "to mix"). *binītum* "shape" (*banûm* "to build"). *erištum* "need" (*erēšum* "to require"). *kippatum* "circle" (*kapāpum* "to curve"). *kisittum* "branch" (*kasāmum* "to cut up"). *kiṣirtum* "constriction" (*kaṣārum* "to knot"). *nidintum* "gift" (*nadānum* "to give"). *pišš̌atum* "salve" (*pašāšum* "to anoint"). *pitiltum* "string of palm-fibre" (*patālum* "to twine"). *pitiqtum* "mud wall" (*patāqum* "to shape"). *siḫirtum* "entirety" (*saḫārum* "to surround"). *ṣimittum* "yoke-team" (*ṣamādum* "to tie up"). *šīmtum* "destiny" (*šī'āmum* "to decree"). *šipirtum* "message" (*šapārum* "to send"). *šīttum* "remainder" (*šêtum* "to leave remaining"). *šiṭirtum* "inscription" (*šaṭārum* "to write"). *timertum* "buried deposit" (*temērum* "to bury"). *zīttum* "share" (*zâzum* "to divide").

e) Instrument for the accomplishment of the verbal content, *PiRS*:

ziqtum "sting" (*zaqātum* "to sting").

f) Adj.-concrete:

kibittum "full force" (*kabātum* "to become heavy").

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§ 5.64 *PuRS*(*at*) and *PuRuSt*. Frequently from stative verbs, more rarely from dynamic verbs. Most words have a labial (b/, /m/, /p/, or /w/) as the first or second consonant.[82] In some other cases, *PuRS* instead of *PiRS* might be the result of contrastive analogous formation: *kūṣum* "cold", analogous to *ḫumṭum* "heat"; *nuḫšum* "abundance", analogous to *lupnum* "poverty"; *qutnum* "thinness", analogous to *kubrum* "thickness"; *šulmum* "health", analogous to *murṣum* "sickness". *PuRSat*[83] instead of *PuRuSt*[84] always with roots II-geminate.

a) Verbal content, *PuRS*:

bulṭum "life" (*balāṭum* "to live"). *būrum* "hunger" (*berûm* "to be hungry"). *dunnum* "strength" (*danānum* "to be strong"). *ḫubtum* "robbery" (*ḫabātum* "to rob"). *ḫūdum* "joy" (*ḫadûm* "to be joyful"). *ḫumṭum* "heat" (*ḫamāṭum* "to burn"). *kubrum* "thickness" (*kabārum* "to be thick"). *kūṣum* "cold" (*kaṣûm* "to be cold"). *lupnum* "poverty" (*lapānum* "to be poor"). *murṣum* "sickness" (*marāṣum* "to be sick"). *nuḫšum* "abundance" (*naḫāšum* "to be luxuriant"). *mūtum* "death" (*mâtum* "to die"). *pūḫum* "substitute" (*pâḫum* "to exchange"). *pušqum* "narrowness" (*pašāqum* "to be narrow"). *qurdum* "warriorhood" (*qarādum* "to be warlike"). *qutnum* "thinness" (*qatānum* "to be thin"). *ruṭbum* "dampness" (*raṭābum* "to be damp"). *sūmum* "redness" (*sâmum* "to be red"). *ṣūmum* "thirst" (*ṣamûm* "to be thirsty"). *ṣurpum* "burning" (*ṣarāpum* "to burn"). *šulmum* "health" (*šalāmum* "to be healthy"). *šuplum* "depth" (*šapālum* "to be deep"). *šurpum* "burning" (*šarāpum* "to burn"). *šurqum* "theft" (*šarāqum* "to steal"). *ṭūbum* "goodness" (*ṭīābum* "to be good"). *uggum* "rage" (*agāgum* "to be furious"). *ulṣum* "rejoicing" (*elēṣum* "to rejoice"). *uzzum* "anger" (*ezēzum* "to be angry").

b) Verbal content, *PuRuSt* and *PuRSat*:

buḫratum: *bu-uḫ-ra-tim* ARM 26/1, 470 no. 231: 5 *buḫratim* "an offering of warm dishes".[85] *munūtum* "counting" (*manûm* "to count"). *nukurtum* "hostility" (*nakārum* "to be hostile"). *puluḫtum* "fear" (*palāḫum* "to fear"). *šuqultum* "weight" (*šaqālum* "to weigh"). *tukultum* "trust" (*takālum* "to trust"). *uzzatum* "anger" (*ezēzum* "to be angry").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRS*:

buḫrum: *bu-uḫ-ri-im ša* DN FM 8, 81 no. 23: 8 *buḫrim* "offering of warm dishes for DN" (*baḫārum* "to boil").[86] *ḫulqum* "lost property" (*ḫalāqum* "to lose").

82 Krebernik 2006, 93–95.

83 On *PuRSat* see Edzard 1982.

84 On *PuRuSt* see Krebernik 2006, 91–93.

85 For this word see SAD 1, 42. The verb *baḫārum* is not attested in OB.

86 For this word see SAD 1,42 f. The verb *baḫārum* is not attested in OB.

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puḫrum "assembly" (*paḫārum* "to gather"). *šurqum* "stolen property" (*šarāqum* "to steal"). *šutûm* "woven material" (*šatûm* "to weave").[87]

d) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRuSt*:

pūḫtum "item of exchange" (*pâḫum* "to exchange"). *tukultum* "support" (*takālum* "to trust").

e) Adj.-concrete, *PuRS*:

dumqum "good thing" (*damāqum* "to be good"). *lumnum* "bad thing" (*lemēnum* "to be bad"). *sūqum* "street" (*sīʾāqum* "to be narrow"). *ṣulmum* "black spot" (*ṣalāmum* "to be black"). *wurqum* "yellow-green color" (*warāqum* "to be yellow-green").

§ 5.65. *PaRaS*(*t*). Adj.

a) Dimensions:

kabrum, *kabartum* "thick". *mādum*, *māttum* "many". *qatnum*, *qatantum* "thin". *rapšum*, *rapaštum* "broad". *watrum*, *watartum* "huge".

b) Miscellaneous adj.:

išar(*t*)*um* < *yašar*(*t*)*um* "just". *sām*(*t*)*um* "red". *ṭāb*(*t*)*um* "good". *waqrum*, *waqartum* "precious".

c) Adj.-concrete, always fem.:[88]

ebertum "opposite bank". *rapaštum* "loin" ("broad"). *sāmtum* "carnelian" ("red"). *watartum* "surplus".

§ 5.66. *PaRiS*(*t*).

a) The most frequent form of the (verbal) adj. in the G-stem:

arkum, *ariktum* "long". *banûm*, *banītum* "beautiful". *damqum*, *damiqtum* "good". *elûm*, *elītum* "high". *eššum*, *edištum* "new". *kabtum*, *kabittum* "heavy". *kadrum*, *kadirtum* "rearing up". *kīnum*, *kīttum* "firm". *labšum*, *labištum* "clothed". *nawrum*, *nawirtum* "bright". *peṣûm*, *peṣītum* "white". *qardum*, *qarittum* "heroic". *rabûm*, *rabītum* "big". *salmum*, *salimtum* "peaceful". *ṣalmum*, *ṣalimtum* "black". *šalmum*, *šalimtum* "healthy". *šanûm*, *šanītum* "second".[89] *šaplum*, *šapiltum* "low".

b) Adj.-concrete, almost always fem.:

šīb(*t*)*um* "old man/woman". *epištum* "deed". *rēḫtum* "remainder". *šapiltum* "remainder". *šaqītum* "irrigated land".

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87 Or rather *PuRūS*?

88 Does *šalamtum* "corpse" also belong here? GAG § 55b lists the word as a primary noun, but it seems to derive euphemistically from ŠLM "to be sound". However, the word is not derived from the verbal adj., which is *šalmum*/*šalimtum*.

89 see § 6.29, 6.31, 6.32.

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c) Verbal content (always fem.):
kīttum "truth". *šalimtum* "health".

§ 5.67. *PaRuS(t)*.
a) Adj. of roots with a labial (b/, /m/, or /p/) as the second or third consonant:
barmum, barumtum "multicolored". *gapšum, gapuštum* "huge". *ḫarbum, ḫarubtum* "deserted". *ḫarpum, ḫaruptum* "early". *lemnum, lemuttum* "bad". *qerbum, qerubtum* "near". *rašbum, rašubtum* "terrifying". *šamḫum, šamuḫtum* "luxurious". *zaprum, zapurtum* "evil".
b) Ordinal numbers (§ 6.29):
šalšum, šaluštum "third". *rebûm, rebūtum* "fourth". *ḫamšum, ḫamuštum* "fifth", etc.
c) Miscellaneous adj.:
marṣum, maruṣ/štum "sick". *matqum, matuqtum* "sweet". *rūq(t)um* "distant".[90] *šaqûm, šaqūtum* "high". *warqum, waruqtum* "green, yellow".
d) Adj.-concrete, only fem.:
lemuttum "evil". *zapurtum* "wickedness".
e) Verbal content, only fem.:
ḫamuttum < *ḫamuṭtum* "hurry". *qerubtum* "vicinity".

2.3.3 Three Consonants with Short and Long Vowel

§ 5.68. *PaRāSt*. Verbal content:
alāktum "course" (*alākum* "to go"). *bārtum* "uprising" (*bârum* "to stir up a revolt"). *bāštum* "dignity" (*bâšu* "to come to shame"). *gamārtum* "totality". *paḫa-tu-um* ARM 5, 68: 8 *paḫāttum* < *paḫādtum* "fear" (*paḫādum* "to fear"). *šagāštum* "murder" (*šagāšum* "to kill"). *šāltum* "question" (*šâlum* "to ask"). *takāltum*: Lit. *ta-ka-la-tim* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 214 iv 15 *takālātim* "trust" (*takālum* "to trust").

§ 5.69. *PaRīS(t)*.
a) Verbal content, especially of roots II-geminate, *PaRīS*:
dalīlum "praise" (*dalālum* "to praise").[91] *ḫasīsum* "wisdom" (*ḫasāsum* "to remember"). *raʾībum* "anger" (*raʾābum* "to become angry"). *ramīmum* "roar" (*ramāmum* "to roar"). *salīmum* "peace" (*salāmum* "to be peaceful"). *ṭarīdum*: *ina ṭá-ri-di-im* CUSAS 36, 38: 5 *ṭarīdim* "in exile" (*ṭarādum* "to expel").

90 Analogy to *qerbum* § 5.67c.
91 see *dilīlum* § 5.71.

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b) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PaRīS*:[92]

asīrum "prisoner" (*esērum* "to shut in").[93] *kanīkum* "sealed (document)" (*kanākum* "to seal"). *karīkum* "wrap" (*karākum* "to wrap"): *ka-ri-ki* ARM 30, 342 M. 11535: 5. *maḫīrum* "price equivalent" (*maḫārum* "to receive"). *nasīḫum* "deportee" (*nasāḫum* "to tear out"). *samīdum* "flour" (*samādum* "to grind"). *ṭarīdum* "exile" (*ṭarādum* "to drive out").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PaRīSt*:

ḫarīmtum "prostitute" (*ḫarāmum* "to separate"). *maḫīrtum* "price" (*maḫārum* "to receive"). *nepītum* "woman distrained" (*nepûm* "to take as pledge").

§ 5.70. *PaRūSt*.

a) Verbal content:

arūrtum "famine" (*arārum* "to fear"?). *ašūštum* "worry" (*ašāšum* "to worry").

b) Adj.-concrete:

ba'ūlātum "subjects" (*bêlum* "to rule").

§ 5.71. *PiRīS*, verbal content (rare). *dilīlum*: *di-li-li-ki* AbB 13, 164: 18 *dilīlīka* "praises".[94]

§ 5.72. *PuRāS*(*t*).

a) Rarely verbal content:[95]

ru'āmum "charm" (*ra'āmum* "to love").

b) Adj.-concrete, *PuRāS*:[96]

ḫunābum "thriving person" (*ḫanābum* "to thrive"). *ḫurāpum* "spring lamb" (*ḫarāpum* "to be early"). *ḫuṣābum* "branch" (*ḫaṣābum* "to break off"). *kubārum* "ingot" (*kabārum* "to be thick"). *lubārum* "old garment" (*labārum* "to be old"). *lubāšum* "cloth" (*labāšum* "to clothe"). *mušālum* "mirror" (*mašālum* "to be equal"). *mušāṭum* "combed-out hair" (*mušṭum* "comb"[97]). *qurādum* "warrior" (*qarādum* "to be valiant"). *qutānum* "a textile" (*qatānum* "to be thin"). *rubûm* < *rubā'um* "prince" (*rabûm* "to be big"). *ṣubātum* "garment" (*ṣabātum* "to

92 GAG § 55i also mentions *talīm*(*t*)*um* "beloved brother/sister". However, the verb *šutlumum* "to bestow" is probably denominalized from *talīmum* (Kouwenberg 1997, 306). Is *talīmum* a primary noun?

93 In view of the other words listed here, it seems difficult to agree with Kogan 2011a, 186 that *asīrum* is an early loan from West Semitic.

94 see *dalīlum* § 5.69a.

95 see also *bu'ārum* "happiness", *šu'ārum* "dance", and *usātum* "help", none of which has a clear etymology.

96 Perhaps sometimes with diminutive force, see *ḫurāpum* and *ṣuḫārum*. see § 5.26.

97 A verb *mašāṭum* is not attested.

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grasp"?[98]). *ṣuḫārum* "boy" (*ṣeḫērum* "to be small"). *šupālum* "bottom" (*šapālum* "to be low").

c) Adj.-concrete, *PuRāSt*:

rubātum "princess" (*rabûm* "to be big"). *ṣuḫārtum* "girl" (*ṣeḫērum* "to be small").

§ 5.73. *PuRīS*(*t*).[99]

a) Verbal content, *PuRīS*:

kušītum "success" (*kašārum* "to have success").

b) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRīS*:

kusītum "garment" (*kasûm* "to bind"). *šurīpum* "ice" (*šarāpum* "to burn").

c) Adj.-concrete, *PuRīS*:

ḫunībum: *ḫu-ni-*[*bi*] ARM 13, 45: 7 *ḫunīb*[*i*]; ARM 13, 45: 12 *ḫunībū* "shoots of a date palm(?)" (*ḫanābum* "to sprout", diminutive).

d) Adj.:

kurûm, *kurītum* "short" (diminutive).

§ 5.74. *PuRūS*(*t*). Most words have a labial (/b/, /p/, or /w/ = /ū/) as the second or third radical.

a) Verbal content, *PuRūS*:

buqūmum "plucking" (*baqāmum* "to pluck"). *ḫubūrum* "clamor" (*ḫabārum* "to make noise").

b) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRūS*:

lubūšum "garment" (*labāšum* "to clothe oneself"). *šurūptum* "fuel" (*šarāpum* "to burn").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRūSt*:

lubūštum "garment" (*labāšum* "to clothe oneself"). *šukūttum* "adornment" (*šakānum* "to put").

d) Instrument of the verbal content, *PuRūS*:

rukūbum "vehicle" (*rakābum* "to ride").

e) Instrument of the verbal content, *PuRūSt*:

dulūtum "device for water drawing" (*dalûm* "to draw water").

f) Place of the verbal content, *PuRūS*:

qubūrum "grave" (*qebērum* "to bury").

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98 The semantic connection with the verb is unclear. Note that *PuRāS* is several times used for garments: *lubārum*, *lubāšum*, *qutānum*, *ṣubātum*.

99 < Semitic *PuRayS*. The diminutive mng., known from Semitic, only sometimes exists in Akk., see von Soden 1991; Kogan 2011a, 185 denies it altogether for Akk.

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2.3.4 Three Consonants with Long Second Consonant

§ 5.75. *PaRRaS(t)*.[100]

a) Adj., attested mainly in lit. and lex. texts:[101]

ḫašša'um "crippled". *kammal(t)um* "adversary". *nakkar(t)um* "hostile". *rabbûm/rabbītum* "big": NA$_4$ *ra-ab-bi-tam* FM 8, 81 no. 23: 6 *rabbītam* "a big stone". *šammaḫum* "luxuriant". *šappal(t)um* "low". *wattar(t)um* "replacing".

b) Used as pl. of adjs. denoting dimensions (§ 5.174).

c) Adj. from roots II-w/y:

qajjal(t)um "attentive". *ṣajjaḫ(t)um* "enjoyable". *tajjar(t)um* "merciful".

d) Verbal content, from root II-w, *PaRRaSt*:

tajjartum "return" (*târum* "to return").

§ 5.76. *PaRRiS*.[102] Performer of the verbal content, denoting professions and other habitual actions:

akkilum "eater" (*akālum* "to eat"). *babbilum* "carrier" (*w/babālum* "to carry"). *maššī'um* "robber" (*maššā'um* "to rob"). *šaddidum* "boat-tower" (*šadādum* "to drag"). *šakkinum* "worker for date harvesting" (*šakānum* "to put"). *zabbilum* "carrier" (*zabālum* "to carry").

§ 5.77. *PuRRuS(t)*.

a) Verbal adj. of the D-stem and lexically used without related D-stem.[103] Denoting bodily defects:

buqqumum "person loosing his hair(?)". *burrus/šum* "with hair growing in patches". *gurrudum* "mangy". *ḫubbušum* "swollen". *ḫummurum* "crippled". *ḫummuṣum* "bald(?)". *ḫuppudum* "blind". *kubbulum* "crippled". *kuṣṣuṣum* "crippled by lack of hand(?)". *pussulum* "crippled". *sukkukum* "deaf". *ṣuḫḫutum* "having an eye disease". *šu''urum* "hairy". *tubbukum* "lame". *ṭummumum* "deaf". *ukkudum* "handicapped". *uqqup/bum* "handicapped". *uqqurum* "handicapped". *uss/ṣṣulum* "crippled".

b) *PuRRuSt*, verbal content:

dubbubtum "complaint" (*dabābum* "to complain"). *duššuptum*: Lit. *du-⌜šu-up-ta⌝-ka* CUSAS 10, 9: 8 *duššuptaka* "your sweetness".[104]

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100 Kouwenberg 1997, 48–58.

101 An intensive function of these adj. is difficult to establish.

102 Kouwenberg 1997, 58–61.

103 Kouwenberg 1997, 342–428. Sometimes used as pl. instead of the adj. of the G-stem. see also § 5.173 for *PaRRaS* used as pl.

104 see SAD 2, 44.

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c) *PuRRuSt*, obj. or result of the verbal content:
bussurtum "message" (*bussurum* "to deliver news").

§ 5.78. *PaRRāS*(*t*).[105] Performer of the verbal content, denoting professions and other habitual (mostly criminal) actions.
a) *PaRRāS*:
bakkā'um "mourner" (*bakûm* "to weep"). *dajjānum* "judge" (*dī'ānum* "to judge"). *dallāwum*: [*d*]*a-al-la-wu* MARI 6, 288: 13 *dallāwū* "water drawers" ("to draw water").[106] *dammāmum*: *da-ma-mi* CUSAS 18 p. 296: 5 *dammāmī* "mourners" (*damāmum* "to wail").[107] *errēšum* < *ḫarrāšum* "farmer" (*erēšum* "to cultivate"). *gallābum* "barber" (*gullubum* "to shear"). *ḫabbātum* "robber" (*ḫabātum* "to rob"). *kabbā'u* "seamster" (*kubbû* "to sew"): *ka-ba-ú* AbB 10, 41 r. 35. *kappāḫum*: lú*ka-ap-pa-ḫi* FM 8, 64 no. 14: 9 *kappāḫi* "stonemason".[108] *kaššāpum* "sorcerer" (*kašāpum* "to bewitch"). *nappāḫum* "smith" (*napāḫum* "to blow"). *qabbā'um* "reporter" (*qabûm* "to say"). *rakkābum* "sailor" (*rakābum* "to ride"). *sarrārum* "criminal" (*sārārum* "to be false"). *šaggāšum* "murderer" (*šagāšum* "to kill"). *šarrāqum* "thief".[109] *waššābum* "tenant" (*wašābum* "to sit").
b) *PaRRāSt*:
kaššāptum "witch" (*kašāpum* "to bewitch").

§ 5.79. *PaRRaSS*. Performer of the verbal content, two designations for birds:
Lex. *al-la-al-lu-um* ZA 77, 124 iii 3 *allallum* "singer" (*atlulum* "to sing a joyful song"). *ṣallallum*: Lex. ZA 77, 124 iii 4 *ṣa-al-la-luum* "sleeper" (*ṣalālum* "to lie").

§ 5.80. *PiRRūS*. Instrument of the verbal content:
sikkūrum "bolt" (*sekērum* "to shut of"). *ṣillūlum* "canopy".[110]

2.3.5 Three Consonants with Long Third Consonant
§ 5.81. *PaRuSS*(*at*). Adjs. and nouns with numinous mng.
a) Adj.:
namurrum "awe-inspiringly radiant" (*naw*/*mārum* "to shine"). *rašubbum* "terrifying" (*rašābum* "to be terrifying"). *šaqummum* "quite silent" (*šuqammumum* "to become silent").

105 Kouwenberg 1997, 61–64.
106 see SAD 2, 11.
107 see SAD 2, 14.
108 A corresponding verbal root is not yet attested.
109 But there is also (Assyrian) evidence for *šarraqum*, see Kouwenberg 1997, 62.
110 No corresponding verb in the G-stem. D *ṣullulum* "to roof over" is a denominative from *ṣillum* "shade".

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b) Verbal content, *PaRuSSat*:
da'ummatum "gloom" (*da'āmum* "to be dark"). *namurratum* "awe-inspiring radiance" (*naw/mārum* "to shine"). *rašubbatum* "terrifying appearance" (*rašābum* "to be terrifying"). *šaḫurratum* "deathly hush" (*šuḫarrurum* "to be deathly still"). *šalummatum* "awesome radiance" (no corresponding verb attested).

§ 5.82. *PiRiSS*. Rarely used instead of *PiRS* (§ 5.63). Verbal content:
gimillum "favor" (*gamālum* "to spare").

§ 5.83. *PuRaSS*.
a) Verbal content:
ḫušaḫḫum "famine" (*ḫašāḫum* "to need").
b) Instrument of the verbal content:
ḫuballum "pit" (*ḫabālum* "to bind").

§ 5.84. *PuRuSS*(*at*).
a) Verbal content, *PuRuSS*:
ḫubullum "debt" (*ḫabālum* "to bind").[111]
b) Verbal content, *PuRuSSat*:
ḫubuttātum "interest-free loan" (*ḫabātum* "to loan").
c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *PuRuSS*:
qurunnum "heap" (*qarānum* "to heap up").
d) Instrument of the verbal content, *PuRuSS*:
kunukkum "cylinder seal" (*kanākum* "to seal"). *kutummum* "cover" (*katāmum* "to cover"). *pusummum* "veil" (*pasāmum* "to veil").

§ 5.85. *PiRRuSSat*, adj.-concrete with numinous mng:
ziqqurratum "temple tower" (*zaqārum* "to be high").

2.3.6 Three Consonants with Reduplicated Third Consonant

§ 5.86. *PaRāRāS*. Verbal content, apparently with pluralic mng.:
dabābābum: *da-ba-ba-ab* AbB 14, 158: 12, 17 *dababāb* "complaints" (*dabābum* "to talk").

§ 5.87. *PaRāRīSt*, verbal content:
tamāmītum "oath" (*tamûm* "to take an oath").

111 GAG § 55q lists *ḫubullum* as a primary noun and AHw. 302 *ḫabālum* III "to be in debt" as a denominal. see, however, the semantic parallel of *e'ēlu* "to bind" and *u'iltu* "obligation, debt". The verb *ḫabālum* IV (AHw. 351) "to bind" is only sparsely attested.

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§ 5.88. *PuRāRīSt*, verbal content: *ṣumāmītum* "thirst" (*ṣamûm* "to become thirsty"). *tumāmītum* "oath" (*tamûm* "to take an oath").

§ 5.89. *PuRīRīS*, performer of the verbal content:
zuqīqīpum "scorpion" (*zaqātum* "to sting").

§ 5.90. *PaRSīS*. Adj.-concrete with numinous mng.:
dannīnum "netherworld" (*danānum* "to be strong"). *namrīrū* "awe-inspiring radiance" (*naw*/*mārum* "to shine").

2.3.7 With Prefixes

§ 5.91. *aPuRRiSān*, verbal content:
awurriqānum "jaundice" (*warāqum* "to become green-yellow").

§ 5.92. *anPuRāS*. Verbal content, of roots II-geminate:
andunānum "substitute" (see *dinānum* "substitution"). *andurārum* "freedom from obligations" (*darārum* "to move freely").

§ 5.93. *iPRiS*.[112] Instead of or in addition to *PiRS* (§ 5.63), sometimes with semantic distinction between the two noun patterns.
a) Verbal content:
ikribum "prayer" (*karābum* "to pray"). *išdiḫum* "profit" (*šadāḫum* "to march along"?). *išḫiṭum* "razzia" (*šaḫāṭum* "to jump").[113] *izzirum* "curse":[114] Lit. *mušīt izzi-ri* CUSAS 10, 14: 11 *izzirī* "night of curses". Om. (*i-*)*iz-zi-ra-am ina pīšu ušeṣṣēšu* CUSAS 18 p. 299: 4, 12, 16 *izziram* "he will utter a curse against him".
b) Obj. or result of the verbal content:
išpikū "stores" (*šapākum* "to heap up").[115]
c) Instrument of the verbal content:
imrûm "fodder" (*marû* "to become fat"). *ipṭirum* "ransom" (*paṭārum* "to loosen").[116]

§ 5.94. *maPRaS*(*t*), with roots containing a labial (/b/, /p/, /m/, or /w/) *naPRaS*(*t*) (§ 2.247).[117] Roots II-geminate show *maPaRR* (*maṣallum*, *namaddum*) or *maPRaRt* (*maškakātum*).

112 see Edzard 1964, 253.
113 Hapax. Usually *šiḫṭum*.
114 I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for the following refs.
115 see *šipkum* "storage".
116 see *piṭrum* "release".
117 see the extensive treatment in Streck 2002. Note that the range of mngs. extends far beyond the semantic classes "instrument and place of the verbal content".

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a) Verbal content, *maPRaS*:

mālakum "walk" (*alākum* "to go"). *maltakum* "test" (*latākum* "to try out"). *mārakum* "length" (*arākum* "to become long"). *mašraḫū* "attractivity" (*šarāḫum* "to become splendid"). *mašrûm* "wealth" (*šarûm* "to become wealthy"). *mēleṣum* "excitement" (*elēṣum* "to rejoice"). *mēlûm* "height" (*elûm* "to rise"). *mūṣûm* < *mawṣa'um* "departure" (*waṣûm* "to go out"). *nagmarum* "end" (*gamārum* "to bring to a conclusion"). *namraṣum* "difficulty" (*marāṣum* "to become sick"). *naplasum* "look" (*palāsum* "to look"). *narbûm* "greatness" (*rabûm* "to become great"). *našpakum* "capacity" (*šapākum* "to heap up"). *nešmûm* "hearing" (*šemûm* "to hear").

b) Verbal content, *maPRaSt*:

mānaḫtum "toil" (*anāḫum* "to make an effort"). *maqqītum* "libation" (*naqûm* "to pour"). *maqlūtum* "conflagration" (*qalûm* "to burn"). *maṣṣartum* "watch" (*naṣārum* "to watch"). *maštūtum* "weaving" (*šatûm* "to weave"). *mēgūtum* "negligence" (*egûm* "to be negligent"). *mēkūtum* "shortage" (*ekûm* "to starve"). *nāpaltum* "answer" (*apālum* "to answer"). *napṭartum* "desertion" (*paṭārum* "to loosen"). *nēbertum* "crossing" (*ebērum* "to cross"). *nēkemtum* "removal" (*ekēmum* "to take away"). *nēpeštum* "performance" (*epēšum* "to do"). *nērebtum* "entry" (*erēbum* "to enter").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *maPRaS*:

maddanum "payment" (*nadānum* "to give"). *maškanum* "pledge" (*šakānum* "to put"). *maštûm* "drink" (*šatûm* "to drink"). *nalbašum* "cloth" (*labāšum* "to clothe"). *namra'um* "fattened animal" (*marûm* "to fatten"). *napḫarum* "totality" (*paḫārum* "to assemble"). *naptanum* "meal" (*patānum* "to eat"). *narmûm* "dwelling" (*ramûm* "to dwell"). *naṣmadum* "harness" (*ṣamādum* "to tie up"). *nazbalum* "load" (*zabālum* "to carry").

d) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *maPRaSt*:

mandītum "attachment" (*nadûm* "to throw"). *marḫītum* "mate" (*reḫûm* "to inseminate"). *maršītum* "property" (*rašûm* "to acquire"). *maštītum* "drink" (*šatûm* "to drink"). *melqētum* "a tax" (*leqûm* "to take"). *mēreštum* "arable land" (*erēšum* "to cultivate"). *naḫlaptum* "cloak" (*ḫalāpum* "to slip into"). *nakmartum* "total" (*kamārum* "to heap up"). *namḫartum* "takings" (*maḫārum* "to take"). *napḫartum* "totality" (*paḫārum* "to gather"). *naqbītum* "wording" (*qabûm* "to say"). *narāmtum* "beloved woman" (*ra'āmum* "to love"). *našpartum* "message" (*šapārum* "to send"). *nēmettum* "tax" (*emēdum* "to impose").

e) Instrument of the verbal content, *maPRaS*:

magšarum "battleaxe" (*gašārum* "to be strong"). *maḫlašum* "scraper" (*ḫalāšum* "to scrape off"). *maksûm* "fetter" (*kasûm* "to bind"). *malūṭum* "clasp" (*lâṭum* "to confine"). *maqqarum* "chisel" (*naqārum* "to scratch"). *maqqûm* "libation vessel" (*naqûm* "to libate"). *maqtarum* "censer" (*qatārum* "to smoke"). *markasum*

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"bond" (*rakāsum* "to bind"). *mašḫalum* "sieve" (*naḫālum* "to sieve"). *maštûm* "drinking vessel" (*šatûm* "to drink"). *naglabum* "razor" (*gullubum* "to shear"). *naḫbalum* "trap" (*ḫabālum* "to bind"). *naktamum* "cover" (*katāmum* "to cover"). *nalbanum* "brick mold" (*labānum* "to make bricks"). *namaddum* "measuring vessel" (*madādum* "to measure"). *namḫarum* "container" (*maḫārum* "to take"). *namkarum* "irrigation canal" (*makārum* "to water"). *naplasum* "blinker" (*palāsum* "to look at"). *napsamum* "nose bag" (*pasāmum* "to veil"). *nappûm* "sieve" (*napûm* "to sift"). *narmakum* "washbowl" (*ramākum* "to wash"). *naṣbatum* "cloak" (*ṣabātum* "to grasp"). *nēberum* "ferry" (*ebērum* "to cross"). *nemsûm* "wash-basin" (*mesûm* "to wash").

f) Instrument of the verbal content, *maPRaSt*:

maḫḫaltum "sieve" (*naḫālum* "to sieve"). *mākaltum* "dish" (*akālum* "to eat"). *maltaktum* "clock" (*latākum* "to test"). *maslaḫtum* "a libation vessel" (*salāḫum* "to sprinkle"). *maškakātum* "harrow" (*šakākum* "to harrow"). *nabalkattum* "ladder" (*nabalkutum* "to cross over"). *nalbattum* "brick mold" (*labānum* "to make bricks"). *namzītum* "mash tub" (*mazā'um* "to press").[118] *naplastum* "blinker" (*palāsum* "to look at"). *nappītum* "sieve" (*napûm* "to sift"). *narkabtum* "chariot" (*rakābum* "to ride"). *naṣraptum* "dyeing vat" (*ṣarāpum* "to dye"). *nemsētum* "wash-basin" (*mesûm* "to wash"). *nēpītum* "baking trough" (*epûm* "to bake").

g) Place of the verbal content, *maPRaS*:

majjalum "bed" (*nî'ālum* "to lie down"). *mālakum* "way" (*alākum* "to go"). *maqranum* "threshing floor" (*qarānum* "to heap up"). *maṣallum* "sleeping place" (*ṣalālum* "to lie"). *maškanum* "place" (*šakānum* "to put"). *mētequm* "passage" (*etēqum* "to pass"). *mūṣûm* < *mawṣa'um* "exit" (*waṣûm* "to go out"). *nabārum* "cage" (*bârum* "to catch"). *nakbasum* "step" (*kabāsum* "to tread"). *nāmarum* "tower" (*amārum* "to see"). *napṭarum* "lodgings" (*paṭārum* "to loosen"). *naqbarum* "grave" (*qebēru* "to bury"). *našpakum* "granary" (*šapākum* "to heap up"). *nēberum* "ford" (*ebērum* "to cross"). *nēmedum* "base" (*emēdum* "to lean on"). *nērebum* "entry" (*erēbum* "to enter").

h) Place of the verbal content, *maPRaSt*:

marqītum "refuge" (*raqûm* "to hide"). *mašqītum* "watering place" (*šaqûm* "to give to drink"). *merîtum* "pasture" (*re'ûm* "to pasture"). *nakkamtum* "granary" (*nakāmum* "to pile up"). *nērebtum* "entry" (*erēbum* "to enter"). *netbītum* "mobilization place" (*tebûm* "to rise").

i) Time of the verbal content, *maPRaS*:

Maqranum "time of heaping up (the harvest) (name of a month)" (*qarānum* "to heap up"). *naptanum* "time of eating dinner, evening" (*patānum* "to dine").

118 Not attested in OB.

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j) Time of the verbal content, *maPRaSt*:
Maqrattum "time of heaping up (the harvest) (name of a month)" (*qarānum* "to heap up"). *maṣṣartum* "watch (as time unit)" (*naṣārum* "to watch").
k) Performer of the verbal content, *maPRaS*(*t*):
maṣṣar(*t*)*um* "watchman, guard" (*naṣārum* "to guard").[119]

§ 5.95. *maPRāS*, a free variant of *maPRaS*:[120]
a) Verbal content:
nēpēšum "activity" (*epēšum* "to do").
b) Obj. or result of the verbal content:
mākālum "food" (*akālum* "to eat").
c) Instrument of the verbal content:
mākālum "knife" (*akālum* "to eat").
d) Place of the verbal content:
narbāṣum "lair" (*rabāṣum* "to be recumbent"). *natbākum* "depot for grain" (*tabākum* "to heap up").

§ 5.96. *maPRiS*(*t*), a free variant of *maPRaS*(*t*):[121]
a) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *maPRiS*:
markisum: *lirkusū ma-ar-ki-sí-šu* FM 2, 133 no. 74: 9 *markisīšu* "let them fix its ropes" (*rakāsum* "to bind"). *naplisum* "blinker" (*palāsum* "to look at").
b) Instrument of the verbal content, *maPRiSt*:
maškirtum "drinking vessel" (*šakārum* "to become drunk").

§ 5.97 *maPRūS*?:
namkūrum/*makkūrum* "property" (*makārum* "to do business"?).[122]

§ 5.98 *muPRāS*(*t*):
a) Time of the verbal content:[123]
muPRāS: *muṣlālum* "siesta" (*ṣalālum* "to lie").[124]

119 Probably a secondary mng. "post" > "guard" (see German "Posten" (= "place") > "Wächter").
120 Streck 2002, 242 f. and 254.
121 Streck 2002, 243 f. and 254.
122 Thus GAG § 56d. However, derivation from *makārum* is semantically unconvincing, and the relationship between the two variants *namkūrum* and *makkūrum* (the latter according to GAG § 56d "Form *maprūs* mit Assimilation < **mamkūrum* oder *parrūs*") is unclear. see also § 2.248b.
123 For *muPRaS*(*t*) designating times of the day see Streck 2017, 595 f.
124 Streck 2017, 601.

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b) Time of the verbal content: *muPRāSt*:
munāttum: Lit. *mu-na-ma-ti* PRAK 1 B 472 i 5 *munāmāti* "dawn".[125] *muštērtum* "morning".[126] *nubāttum* "evening" (*bīātum* "to stay overnight").
c) Adj.-concrete, spatial extensions:
mūlûm "height" (*elûm* "to become high"). *mūšārum* "(vegetable) bed" (*ešērum* "to become straight"). *mušpālum* "depth" (*šapālum* "to become low").

§ 5.99. *naPRuSt*. Verbal content, derived from the N-stem:
nanmurtum "meeting" (*amārum* N "to meet").

§ 5.100. *šaPRāS*. Verbal content, derived from the Š-stem:
šapšāqum "hardship" (*šapāqum* Š "to be in difficulties").

§ 5.101. *šaPRuS*(*t*), derived from the Š-stem:
a) Adj.:
šābulum "dry" (*abālum* Š "to dry up").[127]
b) Verbal content, *šaPRuSt*:
šaḫluqtum "destruction".[128] *šēbultum* "transport" (*wabālum* Š "to send"). *šēzubtum* "relief" (*ezēbum* Š "to save").

§ 5.102. *šuPRuSt*, derived from the Š-stem:
a) Verbal content:
šūrubtum "storing of crops". *šūṣūtum* "lease" (*waṣûm* Š "to let go out").
b) Obj. or result of the verbal content:
šūbultum "gift" (*wabālum* Š "to send").

§ 5.103. *šaPāRuS*, derived from the Š-stem(?):[129]
šagāpurum "mighty".[130]

125 Streck 2017, 601: derived from the Semitic root NWM "to sleep".
126 Streck 2017, 602: probably derived from the Semitic root ŠTR "to tear". see §2.248.a for *muPRāS* > *nuPRāS*.
127 *ablum* is not attested in OB. The form is *šābulum* instead of *šūbulum* in order to avoid confusion with *šūbulum* "to send" (WBL š).
128 *ḫalāqum* Š has the mng. "to allow to escape". But see D "to destroy".
129 No *gapārum* Š attested. *gapārum* G "to be superior".
130 Neither *šaPaRuS* (GAG §56i) nor *šaPaRūS* (AHw. 1126), see *šа-ga*$_5$*-a-pu-ur-tù* KUB 37, 36 ii 10 (Boghazköy) and the fact that the second *a* is never elided.

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§ 5.104. *taPRāS*.[131]

a) Verbal content, derived from the reciprocal Gt-stem, *taPRāS*:[132]

tāḫāzum "battle" (*aḫāzum* Gt "to grasp each other"). *tamḫārum* "fight" (*maḫārum* Gt "to confront each other"). Lit. *ta-am-ḫa-ṣú* Or. 87, 16 i 21 *tamḫāṣu* "combat" (*maḫāṣu* Gt "to hit each other").[133] *tāpālum* "pair" (*apālum* Gt "to correspond").[134] *tēnûm* "substitute" (*enûm* Gt "to change places with one another").

b) Verbal content, derived from the reciprocal Gt-stem, *taPRāS*(*t*):

tēnītum "replacement" (*enûm* Gt "to change places with one another").

c) Place of the verbal content, derived from the G-stem(?), *taPRāS*:

tābālum "dry land": *ta-ba-li-im* ARM 28, 10: 14 *tābālim* (*abālum* "to dry"). *tarbāṣum* "animal stall" (*rabāṣum* "to be recumbent").[135] *tarpāšum* "open space" (*rapāšum* "to become wide").[136]

d) Verbal content and place of the verbal content, derived from the G-stem(?), *taPRāSt*:

tākāltum "stomach" (*akālum* "to eat"). *tallāktum* "way, walkway" (*alākum* "to go").[137]

e) Derived from the G-stem(?), *taPRāSt*:

tāmārtum "audience-gift" (*amārum* "to see").[138]

§ 5.105. *taPRīS*(*t*), derived from the D-stem.[139]

a) Verbal content, *taPRīS*:

tānēḫum "moaning".[140]

b) Verbal content, *taPRīSt*:

tabbītum "lamentation" (*nabûm* D "to lament"). *tablīltum* "caulking" (*balālum* D "to smear"). *tablīttum* "sustenance" (*balāṭum* D "to keep alive"). *tabrītum* "notification" (*barûm* D "confirm"). *tadmīqtum* "loan for business trip"

131 It remains unclear whether *taPRaS*(*t*) also exists (GAG § 56k).

132 Streck 2003, 102.

133 see SAD 2, 62.

134 Or *tāpalum*?

135 The pattern is *taPRāS* instead of *taPRaS* because there is no vowel harmony in Assyrian and because of the spelling SB *tar-ba-a-ṣa* BWL 192: 21.

136 Or *tarpašum*? It can hardly derive from the intensive Gt *ritpušum* "to become very wide".

137 Or derived from the separative Gt "to leave"?

138 Or *tamartum*? The semantic class of the word remains unclear.

139 Kouwenberg 2010, 410 f. and 2017, and 131, claims that *taPRīS* is historically related to the *ta*-infix, but this is not convincing. The Semitic evidence, on the contrary, favors a close connection of *taPRīS* to the D-stem only. This means that *ta*- of *taPRīS* and the *ta*-infix are unrelated (Streck 2012, 356).

140 No *anāḫum* D is attested in OB, but see Š "to trouble". No fem. **tānēḫtum*, in order to avoid confusion with *tānēḫtum* "pacification".

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(*damāqum* D "to make good"). *taggērtum* "denunciation" (*nagārum* D "to denounce"). *taḫsīstum* "reminder, memorandum" (*ḫasāsum* D "to remind"). *ta"īttum* "report" (*na'ādum* D "to notify"). *takīttum* "confirmation" (*kânum* D "to make firm"). *taklīmtum* "instruction" (*kullumum* "to show"). *takpīrtum* "purification rite" (*kapārum* D "to purify"). *takšītum* "profit" (*kašûm* D "to make profit"). *talpīttum* "coating" (*lapātum* D "to coat"). *tamṭītum* "diminution" (*maṭûm* D "to reduce"). *tanēḫtum* "pacification" (*nâḫum* D "to pacify"). *tanīttum* "praise" (*nâdum* D "to praise repeatedly"). *tappīlātum* "balancing payment" (*apālum* D "to pay off"). *taqrībtum* "offering" (*qerēbum* D "to bring"). *taqtītum* "end" (*qatûm* D "to finish"). *tarbītum* "upbringing" (*rabûm* D "to raise"). *tarkībtum* "fertilization of date palms" (*rakābum* D "to fertilize"). *tašīmtum* "discernment" (*šummum* "to ponder"). *tašnīntum* "battle".[141] *tašrītum* "inauguration" (*šurrum* "to begin"). *tazzīmtum* "complaint" (*nazāmum* D "to make someone complain"). *tēbībtum* "purification" (*ebēbum* D "to purify"). *teptītum* "opening up" (*petûm* D "to open"). *têrtum* "instruction" (*wârum* D "to instruct"). *teslītum* "prayer" (*sullûm* "to pray").

c) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *taPRīS*:

tābīlum "powder" (*abālum* D "to dry up"). *taktīmum* "cover" (*katāmum* D "to cover"). *talmīdum* "apprentice" (*lamādum* D "to teach"). *tamlûm* "terrace" (*malûm* D "to fill"). *tamšīlum* "image" (*mašālum* D "to make equal"). *tēdīqum* "dress" (*edēqum* D "to dress").

d) Obj. or result of the verbal content, *taPRīSt*:

tālīttum "offspring" (*walādum* D "to give birth"). *tarbītum* "adopted child" (*rabûm* D "to raise").

§ 5.106. *taPRuS*(*t*),[142] verbal content.

a) Derived from the reciprocal Gt, *taPRuSt*:

tamgurtum "agreement" (*magārum* Gt "to agree with each other").[143]

b) Derived from the D-stem, *taPRuS*:

tapḫurum "assembly" (*paḫārum* D "to assemble").

c) Derived from the D-stem, *taPRuSt*:

tarkubtum "fertilization of date palms" (*rakābum* D "to fertilize").[144]

d) Derived from the G-stem, *taPRuSt*:

tanūqātum "battle cry" (*nâqum* "to cry"). *tērubtum* "entry" (*erēbum* "to enter").

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141 *šanānum* D not attested in OB. see Gt "to fight with each other".

142 Or *taPRūS*(*t*)?

143 Streck 2003, 102.

144 see *tarkībtum* § 5.105b.

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2.3.8 With Infixed *t*

§ 5.107. *PitRāS*(*t*). Adjs., derived from the Gt-stem.[145]

a) From the intensive Gt:

bitrāmum "multicolored" (*barāmum* Gt "to be multicolored"). *gitmālum* "perfect".[146] *itpēšum* "expert" (*etpušum* "effective(?)").[147] *šitʾārum* "iridescent".[148]

tizqārum "exalted" (*zaqārum* "to project").[149]

b) From the mediopassive Gt:

mitgārum "favorable" (*magārum* Gt "to agree with one another").

c) From the reciprocal Gt:

mitḫārum "corresponding" (*maḫārum* "to correspond").[150]

d) Unclear:

ritpāḫum "two-handed" (*ritpuḫum* "two-handed(?)").

§ 5.108. *PitRuSt*. Verbal content, derived from the reciprocal or reflexive Gt:

mitgurtum "agreement" (*magārum* Gt "to agree with one another"). *mitluktum* "deliberation" (*malākum* Gt "to deliberate"). *pitrustum* "inconsistent result" (*parāsum* Gt "to become inconsistent"). *šitūltum* "discussion" (*šaʾālum* Gt "to discuss"). *tiṣbuttum* "combat" (*ṣabātum* Gt "to hold one another").

2.3.9 With Two *ta*s

§ 5.109. *taPtaRS*.[151] Verbal content, derived from the reciprocal Gt:

tartāmum: Lit. *tar*/*ta-ar-ta-mi* MIO 12, 54 r. 15; RA 22, 170 f.: 17 *tartāmī* "mutual love" (*raʾāmum* Gt "to love each other").[152]

§ 5.110. *tattaPRaS*. Verbal content, derived from the iterative Ntn-stem:

tattasḫurum: Lit. *ta-at-ta-ás-ḫu-ru* Or. 87, 15 i 15; Or. 87, 18 i 52 *tattasḫuru* "turning back and forth" (*saḫārum* Ntn "to turn back and forth").[153]

145 Streck 2003, 99–101.

146 Derivation from *gamālum* "to do a favor" does not fit semantically, see CAD G 111 and Streck 2003, 99 no. 253.

147 No finite verb *epēšum* Gt is attested, see Streck 2003, 61 no. 142.

148 Derivation unclear.

149 Gt not attested.

150 The fem. *mitḫārtum* develops the technical mng. "square".

151 Another word with two *ta* might be *tattallikum*/*tettellikum* "reed box used for traveling(?)" (*alākum* Gtn?), see the ref. and disc. in SAD 2, 78.

152 see CAD T 245; SAD 2, 73 f.; Streck 2012; Streck 2021e.

153 see Streck 2021e.

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2.3.10 With Suffixes

§ 5.111. *PuRuSSā'*.[154] Many words are legal, economic, or mathematical technical terms:

a) Verbal content:

butuqqûm "loss" (*batāqum* "to cut off"). *kuburrûm* "thickness" (*kabārum* "to become thick"). *kubussûm* "walking (in order to measure)" (*kabāsum* "to tread"). *kumurrûm* "addition" (*kamārum* "to heap up"). *nušurrûm* "reduction" (*našārum* "to deduct"). *puquddûm* "legal consignment" (*paqādum* "to entrust"). *purussûm* "decision" (*parāsum* "to decide"). *rugummûm* "claim" (*ragāmum* "to claim"). *sulummûm* "peace" (*salāmum* "to become friendly"). *šuruppûm* "frost" (*šarāpum* "to burn"). *ṭupullûm* "slander" (*ṭapālum* "to slander"). *uzubbûm* "divorce" (*ezēbum* "to leave").

b) Obj. or result of the verbal content:

musukkûm "poor-quality silver" (*masākum* "to become bad"). *nudunnûm* "dowry" (*nadānum* "to give"). *šukunnûm* "estimated yield" (*šakānum* "to put"). *ukullûm* "fodder" (*akālum* "to eat"). *zubullûm* "marriage gift" (*zabālum* "to carry").

§ 5.112. *PuRSā'*. Rarely instead of *PuRuSSā'* (§ 5.110):

buqrûm: *bu-uq-re-e* ARM 5, 14: 6 *buqrê* "claim" (*baqārum* "to claim").

§ 5.113. The suff. sg. masc. /-āj-um/, sg. fem. /-ājīt-um/, pl. masc. /-āj-ū/, pl. fem. /-ājī-ātum/ > /-ājêtum/ derives gentilics from toponyms.[155] Although the signs PI (*ja, je, ji, ju*) and IA used to write it are ambiguous (see §§ 2.214–216), we can conclude from cases with mimation (sg.) and plene vowel spellings (pl.) that the suff. is usually inflected. The suff. is only attested in the northern dialects (MidEuphr., UpMes.):[156]

a) Sg. masc.:

MidEuphr.[157] ^{lú}*De-ra-ju-um*^{ki} ARM 26/2, 183 no. 373: 12 (nom.) *Derājum* "Man from Der".

MidEuphr.[158] *ṣa-bu-um*^{meš} *Qa-ṭà-na-ju-um* ARM 26/1, 161 no. 28: 6 (nom.) *ṣābum Qaṭanājum* "a troop from Qaṭ(a)na".

154 Extensively studied in von Soden 1989.

155 The only instance of /-ājīt/ with a common noun, *ālājītum* "Dorfbewohnerin" (GAG § 56p*, AHw. 1542), is difficult. For *a-la-i-tum* ARM 10, 9: 12 see Durand 2000, 320: "doit être une façon de dire (*mâtum elîtum*)". [x] x *a-la-ia-tum* M10 12, 53: 3 remains unclear.

156 see Finet 1956, 89–93 for refs. from Mari. However, the suff. /-ī(t)/ (§ 5.112) is also used in the northern dialects.

157 Letter of Jarīm-Hadda, envoy of Mari in Babylon.

158 Letter of Asqūdum.

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MidEuphr.[159] *Ba-bi-la-ji-im*^{ki} ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503: 34 (gen.) *Babil*(*l*)*ājim* "Man from Babylon".

MidEuphr. ^{lú}*Nu-um-ḫa-ia-am* ARM 26/2, 336 no. 434: 10 (acc.) *Numḫājam* "Man from Numḫa".

UpMes. ^{lú}*Al-la-ḫa-da-a-ju*^{ki} RATL p. 88 no. 18: 9 (nom.) *Allaḫadāju* "Man from Allaḫad".

UpMes.[160] ^{lú}*Aḫ-za-a-ji*^{ki} Shemshara 1, 1: 5 (gen.) *Aḫzāji* "Man from Aḫazum".

b) Sg. fem.:

mardatum Gu-ub-la-ji-tum Syria 20, 111 (nom.) *Gublājītum* "a carpet from Gubla".

c) Pl. masc.:

UpMes. $^{lú.meš}$*A-pa-a-ji*^{ki} RATL p. 126 no. 58: 5 (obl.) *Apājī* "Men from Apum".

UpMes. ⌜ÉRIN⌝^{meš} ^{lú}*E-lu-uḫ-ta-ii*(IA) RATL p. 170 no. 97: 15 (obl.) *Eluḫtājī* "troops from Eluḫut".

MidEuphr. ^{lú}*Su-ḫa-ji-i*^{ki} ARM 22, 264: 14 (obl.) *Suḫājī* "Men from Suḫum".[161]

MidEuphr. *E-lu-ḫu-ta-i* ARM 21, 189: 4 (obl.) *Eluḫutājī* "Men from Eluḫut".

d) Pl. fem.:

UpMes.[162] *ereqqētim Ma-ra-je-tum*/*tim* < *Marājêtu*/*im* < *Mar*(*i*)*-ājī-ātu*/*im* ARM 4, 79: 8, 13, 18 (obl.) "carts from Mari".

§ 5.114. The suff. sg. masc. *-ī-um*, sg. fem. *-īt-um*, pl. masc. *-ûtum* < *-ī-ūtum*, pl. fem. *-ī-ātum* derives adjs. from nouns, numerals, and toponyms. These adjs., like other adjs., can again be substantivized, usually, but not always, in the fem.

a) Derived from nouns, denoting spatial or temporal relations:

aḫrīʾātum "future".[163] *imnûm*/*imnītum* "on the right" (*imnum* "right side"). *kidītum* "outside" (*kīdum* "outside"). *maḫrûm*/*maḫrītum* "first" (*maḫrum* "front"). *panûm*/*panītum* "first" (*panum* "face"). *qablûm*/*qablītum* "central" (*qablum* "middle"). *qerbītum* "middle" (*qerbum* "inner part"). *rēštûm*/*rēštītum* "first" (*rēštum* "beginning"). *šaplûm*/*šaplītum* "lower" (*šaplum* "bottom").[164] *šēpītum* "foot end" (*šēpum* "foot"). *šumēlûm*/*šumēlītum* "on the left" (*šumēlum* "left side"). *warkûm*/*warkītum* "back, later" (*warkatum* "rear side").[165]

159 Letter of Kibsī-Hadda.

160 Letter of Šamšī-Adad.

161 The same text ARM 22, 264: 21 has a sg. *Su-ḫa-ji*^{ki} (gen.) without plene spelling.

162 Letter of Išmē-Dagan.

163 There is no noun **aḫrum* "back" in Akk.

164 However, the opposite *elûm*/*elītum* "upper" does not contain the suff. /-ī-/ because the root is ʿLY. The rare noun *elum* "top" is probably secondarily derived from *elûm*, analogous to *šaplûm* and *šaplum*.

165 A masc. noun **warkum* does not exist in Akk.

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b) Other adj. derived from nouns:

aḫûm "strange" (*aḫum* "arm, side"). *barārītum* "evening watch" (*barārum* "flickering"). *ēkallûm*/*ēkallītum* "palace official" (*ēkallum* "Palast"). *rēmēnûm* "merciful".[166] *sirāšûm*/*sirāšītum* "brewer" (*sirāšum* "beer").

c) Added to the adjectival pattern *PaRRaS* (§ 5.75):[167]

nakkapûm/*nakkapītum* "goring". *nammašûm* "animals".[168] *šakkarûm*/*šakkarītum* "drunken". *tammamûm*/*tammamītum* "who frequently swears oaths".[169]

d) Derived from cardinal numbers above ten to form fractions (§ 6.42):

šinšarûm "twelfth" (*šinšer* "twelve"). *šalāššerītum* "thirteenth".

e) Derived from toponyms to form gentilics:[170]

1 *šu-ši* ^{lú}*Su-tu-um* ARM 5, 23: 15 *Sūtûm* < *Sūtī-um* "sixty Suteans" (*Sūtum*).

^{lú}*Tu-ru-ki-im* ARM 4, 22: 5 *Turukkîm* < *Turukkī-im* (gen.) "Turukkeans" (*Turukkum*).

Ka-ap-[*ta*]*-ri-tum* ARM 22, 324 ii 9 *Kaptarītum* "Woman from Crete" (*Kaptar*).

Šu-ba-ru-ú ARM 3, 37: 18 *Šubarû* < *Šubarī-ū* "Šubareans" (*Šubartum*).

Te-el-mu-nu-ú^{ki} ARM 1, 17: 7 *Telmunû* < *Telmunī-ū* "Telmuneans" (*Telmun*).

Qú-té-tim ARM 1, 132: 22 *Qutêtim* < *Qutī-ātim* (obl.) "Qutians" (*Quti'um*).

§ 5.115. The suff. *-ān* usually derives concrete nouns—in the majority designations for persons—from verbal nouns (ptc., adj.), from other deverbal nouns, and from primary nouns. Thus the suffs. *-ī* (§ 5.114), *-ān*, and *-ūt* (§ 5.117) form a complementary triple of denominalizing suffs.: *-ī* derives adjs., *-ān* derives concrete nouns, and *-ūt* derives abstract nouns.[171] *-ān* can be attached to fem. nouns (*urbat-ānum*, *surrat-ānum*), but fem. nouns are not derived from nouns with *-ān*.[172] A special semantic case is the abstract noun *bēlānum* "power, force", which is derived from the concrete noun *bēlum* "lord".[173]

166 There is no noun **rēmēnum* "the compassionate" in Akk.

167 According to Kouwenberg 1997, 50, /-ī-/ "possibly serves to underline their adjectival character".

168 There is no fem. **nammašītum*. Rather, we find *nammaštûm* (OB) and *nammaštu* (after OB).

169 Ultimately from *tamûm* "to swear" with reduplicated second radical.

170 see § 5.113 for use of the suff. /-āj-/ to form gentilics.

171 Streck 2005. Pace Goetze 1946 and GAG § 56r, /-ān-/ has no "identifying" or "particularizing" mng. For /-ān-/ to enlarge the pl. of short nouns see § 5.172.

172 In other periods, there is a fem. ending /-ānīt-/, see GAG § 56r.

173 For *bēlānum* see SAD 1, 25 f.

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a) From ptcs.:[174]

āḫizānum "groom" (*āḫizum* "taking"). *ālikānum* "envoy" (*ālikum* "going"). *bāqirānum* "claimant".[175] *dā'ikānum* "murderer" (*dā'ikum* "murdering"). *ḫabitānum*: *ḫa-bi-ta-ni* ARM 28, 142: 15; RATL 43 r. 12 *ḫābitānī* "robber" (*ḫābitum* "robbing"). *nādinānum* "seller" (*nādinum* "giving"). *rāgimānum* "claimant" (*rāgimum* "shouting"). *rā'ibānum* "compensator" (*rā'ibum* "replacing"). *ṣābitānum* "captor" (*ṣābitum* "grasping").

b) From adjs.:

rabi'ānum "mayor" (*rabûm* "big"). *qajjapānum* "creditor".[176] *šajjamānum* "puchaser".[177] *šarraqānum* "thief" (*šarraqum* "thieving").[178]

c) From other deverbal nouns:

bēlānum: *ina be-la-ni* ARM 26/1, 436 M.8512: 14 *ina bēlāni* "by force" (*bēlum* "lord"). *būšānum* "bad smell (a disease)" (*bu'šum* "stench").[179] *mazzāzānum* "pledge" (*mazzāzum* "position"). *surrātānum* "liar" (*surrātum* "lies").

d) From primary nouns:[180]

Ašqūdānum: PN ^{m}*Aš-qú-da-na-am* AbB 11, 60: 17 *Ašqūdānam* "like a hamster(?)" (*ašqūdum* "hamster").[181] *idrānum* "potash".[182] Lex. *ku-ut-la-nu-um*^{mušen} Edubba 7, 100: 38 *kutlānum* "the one of the embankment (bird name)" (*kutlum* "embankment"). PN *Pu-ta-nu-um* Mes. 30, 707: 14 *Pūtānum* "with large forehead" (*pūtum* "forehead"). *qaqqadānum* "prominent" (*qaqqadum* "head").[183] *šadânum* "hematite" (*šadûm* "mountain"). *šullānum* "wart-covered" (*šullum* "wart"). *urbatānum* "(land) overgrown with rushes" (*urbatum* "rush").

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174 A parallel is found in Syriac, where /-ān-/ derives nouns from ptcs., see Nöldeke 1898, 77 §130.

175 **bāqirum* is not used.

176 AHw. 893 *qajjipānum*, CAD Q 54 *qajipānu*. Spellings: *qá-ia-*, in younger texts *qá-a-a-*. see Kouwenberg 1997, 51: "the most numerous group of agent nouns with the pattern *parras* are derived from hollow roots … in this type of roots *parras* takes the place of *parris*". The adj. *qajjapu* is attested in SB (AHw. 893 *qajjipu*).

177 AHw. 1134 *šajjimānum*, CAD Š/1, 113 f. *šājimānu*. Spellings: *ša-a-a-* and *ša*(*-a*)*-ia-*. see the preceding fn. The adj. **šajjamum* is not attested.

178 AHw. 1187, CAD Š/2, 69 *šarrāqānum*.

179 For OB attestation see SAD 1, 52.

180 see also the PN *Pūḫānum*, Stamm 1939, 114 n. 2 "Substitute" (*pūḫum* "substitute").

181 Similar cases are the PN *Asānum* AHw. 76 *asu* II 4 "Like a bear" (*asum* "bear") and *Ḫuzīrānum* AHw. 362 "Like a pig" (*ḫuzīrum* "pig").

182 see MB/SB *idru* "saltpeter".

183 see Bavarian "Großkopferter" in the sense of "important person".

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§ 5.116. The rare suff. *-ēn*, *-īn*, or *-inn* is semantically unclear:[184]

qutrenum "incense" (*qutrum* "smoke"). *surqēnum* "strewn offering".[185]

§ 5.117. The very productive suff. *-ūt*, rarely *-utt* (*da-mu-ut-tum* RATL p. 160 no. 89: 34), almost exclusively derives abstract nouns from primary nouns, verbal nouns (adjs., ptcs.), and other deverbal nouns. It probably contains the fem. ending *-t-* (§ 5.137). Therefore, *-ūt*-nouns are always fem. The fem. ending *-(a)t* drops before *-ūt*: *aššūtum* from *aššatum* "wife", *kallūtum* from *kallatum*, *sekrūtum* from *sekretum*. A special semantic case are the collective nouns *awīlūtum* "mankind" (*awīlum* "man") and *nišūtum* "family" (*nišū* "people").

a) From primary nouns.:

ab(b)ūtum "fatherhood" (*abum* "father"). *aplūtum* "position of heir" (*aplum* "heir"). *aššūtum* "status of wife" (*aššatum* "wife"). *da-mu-ut-tum* RATL p. 160 no. 89: 34 *damuttum* "blood bonds" (*damum* "blood").[186] *kallūtum* "status of bride" (*kallatum* "bride"). *ilūtum* "divinity" (*ilum* "god"). *šarrūtum* "kingdom" (*šarrum* "king").

b) From adjs.:

balṭūṭum "state of being alive" (*balṭum* "alive"). *bašlūtum*: *ba-aš-lu-us-sú-nu* AbB 12, 25: 13 *bašlūssunu* < *bašlūt-šunu* "its state of ripeness" (*bašlum* "ripe"). *dannūtum* "strength" (*dannum* "strong"). *ērūtum* "wakefulness" (*ērum* "awake"). Lit. *eš-ru-tum* Or. 87, 15 i 15 *ešrūtum* "justice" (*išarum* "just"). *rabûtum* "greatness" (*rabûm* "great"). Lit. *sà-ak-tu*!*-tu-um* Or. 87, 17 i 35 *saktūtum* "silence" (*saktum* "silent"). *sek*!*-ru-tu* Or. 87, 17 i 40 *sekrūtu* "status of *sekretu*-priestess" (*sekrum* "closed"). *taklūtum*: *ták-lu-ti* ARM 26/2, 493 no. 520 r. 8 *taklūtī* "my trustworthiness" (*taklum* "trustworty").[187]

c) From ptcs.:

bāʾerūtum "fishing" (*bāʾerum* "fisherman"). *rābiṣūtum* "office of attorney" (*rābiṣum* "attorney"). *rēdûtum* "*rēdûm* service" (*rēdûm* "a soldier"). *šāpirūtum* "position as governor" (*šāpirum* "governor"). *šāpiṭūtum* "position as governor" (*šāpiṭum* "governor").

d) From other deverbal nouns:

babbilūtum "bearer service" (*babbilum* "bearer"). *dajjānūtum* "office of judge" (*dajjānum* "judge"). *errēšūtum* "tenancy" (*errēšum* "tenant"). *maṣṣarūtum* "safekeeping" (*maṣṣar(t)um* "watch"). *našpakūtum* "storage" (*našpakum* "store").

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184 According to Bauer 1934, 175 n. 1 and GAG § 56r*, the suff. has a diminutive mng. The nouns *kursīnum*/*kursinnum* "ankle" and *šurmēnum* "cypress" probably do not belong here.

185 A word **surqum* is not attested.

186 see SAD 2, 16.

187 see SAD 2, 56.

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e) From Sumerian loanwords:

abarakkūtum "status of chief steward": *a-ba-ra-ak-ku-tim* FM 2, 223 no. 120: 7 (*abarakkum* "chief steward"). *ašlākūtum* "work of the fuller" (*ašlākum* "fuller"). *ikkarūtum* "agricultural work" (*ikkarum* "farmer"). *itinnūtum* "craft of the house builder" (*itinnum* "house builder"). *kisalluḫḫūtum* "office of the courtyard sweeper" (*kisalluḫḫum* "courtyard sweeper"). *nârūtum* "profession of musician" (*nârum* "musician").

f) From Amorite loanwords:[188]

jālūtum "alliance". *merḫûtum* "office of the overseer of the flocks" (*merḫûm* "overseer of the flocks"). *sugāgūtum* "office of sheikh" (*sugāgum* "sheikh").

2.3.11 Reduplicated Bi-Consonantal Bases

§ 5.118. *PiPPiS* < *PiSPiS*. Performer of the verbal content:

lillidum "(sexually) mature" (*walādum* "to give birth").

§ 5.119. *PaSPaSS*(*at*). From roots II-geminate.

a) Adj.: *kaškaššum* "all powerful" (*kašāšum* "to gain control").

b) Adj.-concrete: *ḫalḫallatum* "drum" (*ḫalālum* "to murmur(?))".

§ 5.120. *PiSPiSS*. Verbal content:

Lit. *bi-ir-bi-ir-ru-um* VS 17, 4: 4 *birbirrum* "radiance" (*barārum* "to flicker"). *ziqziqqum* "wind" (*zīʾāqum* "to blow").

§ 5.121. *PiPPuS* < *PiSPuS*. Performer of the verbal content:

bibbulum "flood" (*wabālum* "to bring").

§ 5.122. *PuSPuSS*. From roots II-geminate. Adj.-concrete:

gulgullum "skull" (*galālum* "to roll").[189]

2.3.12 Four Consonants

§ 5.123. *PaRŠaD*. Verbal content:

šaḫrartum "deathly hush" (*šuḫarrurum* "to be deathly still").

§ 5.124. *PuRaŠŠuDt*. Verbal content:

šupêltum < *šupaʾʾultum* "exchange" (*šupêlum* "to exchange").

188 see Streck 2000, 127.

189 Militarev/Kogan 2000, 75: "may eventually be the source of Sem. 'skull'".

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3 Loaned Nouns[190]

§ 5.125. The vocabulary of OB contains a considerable number of loanwords, most of them nouns. The most important[191] source languages are Sumerian[192] and Amorite.[193] Nouns borrowed from Sumerian and Amorite are usually morphologically integrated into the OB inflectional system.[194]

§ 5.126. a) The shape of many nouns borrowed from Sumerian resembles that of genuine Akk. words. Sumerian words ending in a consonant appear in Akk. with bases ending either in a short vowel and a long consonant or a long vowel and a short consonant:[195]

asum/āsum?[196] "bear" < Sumerian *az* (similar to *PaS*).
kārum "harbor" < Sumerian *kar* (/kār/?) (similar to *PāS*).
zīzum "emmer" < Sumerian *zíz* (similar to *PīS*).
kurrum "kor" < Sumerian *gur* (similar to *PuRS*).
utūnum "oven" < Sumerian *udun* (/udūn/?) (similar to *PuRūS*).
utullum "herdsman" < Sumerian *ú-dul* (similar to *PuRuSS*).

b) Sumerian words ending in a vowel appear in Akk. with bases ending in a vowel, which contracts with the case endings:

šangûm "priest" < *šanga-um* < Sumerian *sanga*.[197]
kirûm "garden" < *kiri-um* < Sumerian *kiri*.

c) The suff. /-ūt/ (§ 5.117) can be attached to Sumerian loanwords as well:
šangûtum "priesthood".

§ 5.127. a) Not surprisingly, noun patterns of Amorite loans are largely identical to those of genuine Akk. words, e.g.:

190 The following section only deals with grammatical issues, as far as they concern nouns. This is not the place to discuss the semantic aspects (e.g., the semantic fields) of loanwords in OB.

191 I do not deal here with loanwords from Hurrian and Elamite, which are of less importance for OB (see for Hurrian Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 446–452—most examples are from post-OB sources; for Elamite ibid. 461f.).

192 The most comprehensive survey, although in part outdated, remains Lieberman 1977. An up-to-date account is found in Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 413–431.

193 A comprehensive analysis of Amorite loan words in OB can be found in Streck 2000, 82–128; Kogan/Krebernik 2021, 431–436. see also the short survey in Streck 2011, 366f.

194 Phonologically, both Sumerian and Amorite loanwords sometimes show peculiarities, see § 1.2. For bisyllabic pl. bases of Amorite loanwords see § 5.178.

195 According to Edzard 2003, 14f., this might reflect different vowel lengths in Sumerian.

196 Both AHw. 76 and CAD A/2, 344 list the word with short /a/.

197 Huehnergard 1997, 379 claims that "Sumerian final /a/ normally results in an Akkadian base in *-ā*." However, this seems difficult to prove.

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ḫadqum "steppe" (*PaRS*).
ḫibrum "nomadic group" (*PiRS*).
saḫātum "trap" (*PaRāS*).
sugāgum "sheikh" (*PuRāS*).[198]
maškabum "camp" (*maPRaS*, for *ma-* instead of *na-* see § 2.249.c).
ta'tāmu "assembly" (*taPRāS*).

b) But the pattern *aPRaS*, uncommon in Akk., is typical for some Amorite loans:

[*ina a*]*q-da-ma-at* GN *u a-ḫa-ra-tim* ARM 26/1, 363 no. 180: 11f. *aqdamāt, āḫarātim* < *a'ḫarātim* "[on] the east side of GN and (its) west side".

ištū aq-da-mi ARM 26/1, 424 no. 197: 18 *aqdami* "from old".

c) The /-ūt/-suff. can be attached to Amorite loanwords as well (§ 5.117.f).

4 Compound Noun Phrases[199]

§ 5.128. Compound noun phrases[200] are only rarely attested in Akk. According to the different members of the compound and the degree of merging, the following cases can be distinguished:[201]

a) Full merging with inflection of only the second member of the compound can be seen in the following nouns:[202]

abubītum "administrator" < *abum* "father" + *bītum* "house": *attama a-bu-bi-tam … šukun* Shemshara 1, 53: 22 "appoint an administrator!" see *a-bu-bi-tum* Shemshara 1, 53: 17, *a-bu-bi-tim* Shemshara 1, 53: 13.

ašarēdum "foremost" < *ašrum* "place" + (*w*)*ēdum* "unique": Lit. *a-ša-re-ed šarrī* CH iv 23 "foremost among the kings".

eṣemṣērum "backbone" < *eṣem*(*t*)*um* "bone" + *ṣērum* "back": Om. *idi e-ṣe-em-ṣe-ri-im* YOS 10, 49: 1 "arm of the backbone".

ūmakkalûm "for one day" < *umam* "day" (acc.) + *kal*(*ûm*) "entirety":[203] UD-*ma-ka-li-a-am ina muḫḫišunu izīz* AbB 13, 115: 15 "supervise them all day!"

198 For the etymology of this word see § 2.365.b fn.
199 For compounds in Akk. see in general Mayer 2011.
200 There are also some compound adverbs in OB.
201 Surveys in GAG § 59 and Buccellati 1996, 45–48. see also Reiner 1966, 133 and Kraus 1973, 80–83.
202 The word *šamaššammū* "sesame" is probably not a compound noun phrase (< *šaman-* "oil" + *šammum* "plant") but rather a reduplicated, onomatopoetic word, see Sima 2000, 208 n. 130.
203 see § 2.250.d for the assimilation of /m/ to the following /k/.

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b) A special case is the word *šāt nūrim* "lamp" < *šāt* "she of" + *nūrum* "light", which once has a pl. nom. *ša-at-nu-*[*ra*]*-tum* ARM 22, 278: 3 *šāt-nūrātum*. In other cases, the pl. is *šannūrātim* < *šāt nūrātim* (see § 5.128c, below).

c) Some gen. compounds show partial merging:[204] they do not express the pl., as one would expect, with the governing noun but at the end, with the governed noun. The latter, however, always stands in the obl. case, regardless of the syntactic function of the compound:

āl dannatim "city of strength, fortress", pl. *āl dannātim*: *a-al dan-na-tim ša māt* GN *kalâšunu iṣ-ṣa-a*[*b-tu*] ARM 1, 135: 15 "all fortresses of the land GN were taken".

bēl biltim "lord of the tax, official in charge of the tax", pl. *bēl bilātim*: (n silver PN_{1-20}) *kasap be-el bi-la-tim* ARM 7, 217: 22 "silver of the officials in charge of the tax".

bēl dīnim "plaintiff", pl. *bēl dīnātim*: *be-el di-na-tim ša imḫurūninne* Shemshara 1, 15: 40 "the plaintiffs who appealed to me".

bēl ḫubullim "lord of the debt, creditor", pl. *bēl ḫubullī*: *be-el ḫu-bu-ul-li-šu*/*ša aššassu*/*mussa ul iṣabbatū* CH § 151 "his/her creditors shall not seize his wife/her husband".

bēl pāḫātim "lord of the district, governor", pl. *bēl pāḫâtim*: PN_{1-4} *be-el pa-ḫa-a-tim … tuppam … ušašmīšunūti* ARM 13, 5: 11 "I let PN_{1-4}, the governors, hear the tablet".

bēl têrtim "lord of the order, official", pl. *bēl têrētim*: ^{lú}*be-el te-re-*⌜*ti*⌝ *wu"erīma ṭēmšunu liṣbatū* OBTR 111: 8 "instruct the officials, that they may take their decisions!"

mār aḫim "son of the brother, nephew", pl. *mār aḫ*(*ḫ*)*ī*?: *lū ina aḫḫīja lū ina ma-ar a-ḫi a-bi-ia* AbB 14, 73: 25 "either among my brothers or among the sons of my father's brother".

mār awīlim "son of a free man", pl. *mār awīlī*: *epēšum ša tēpušā*[*ni*]*nni ša ma-a-ar a-wi-li-i* AbB 2, 133: 6 "is what you have done to me appropriate for the sons of a free man?"

šāt nūrim, *šannūrim* < *šāt nūrim* "lamp", pl. *šānnūrātim*: *ša-at nu-ra-tim* FM 3, 217 no. 22: 2; FM 3, 221 no. 36: 2, etc.; *ša-an-nu-ra-tim* ARM 21, 125: 2; ARM 22, 275: 2, etc.[205]

d) In one instance, the suff. /-ūt/ (§ 5.117) is attached to the second member of a gen. compound, showing partial merging:

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204 In other cases no merging can be observed. E.g., the pl. of *mār šiprim* "son of the message, messenger", in OB is usually *mārū šiprim* "sons of the message": DUMU^{meš} *ši-ip-ri-ka* ARM 2, 41 r. 3 "your messengers"; for further ref. see CAD M/1, 261f. *mār šipri* d.

205 For the pl. *šāt-nūrātum* see § 5.128.b, above.

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šūt rēšim "those of the head, attendants", *šūt-rēšūtim* "status of attendant": *ana šu-ut re-šu-tim* FM 2, 79 no. 45: 23.

5 Gender[206]

5.1 *Morphology*

§ 5.129. Nouns and adjs. distinguish two genders, masc. and fem. Masc. nouns have no morphematic marker. The fem. noun may also lack any marker (in such cases the gender can only be determined on the basis of grammatical agreement or mng., see §§ 5.140–149), or it can be marked by one of the following endings: *-at* (§ 5.130), *-et* (§ 5.131), *-t* (§ 5.132), *-āt*, *-ēt* (§ 5.133), *-āt*(*u*/*im*) (§ 5.134), *-ēt*(*u*/*im*) (§ 5.135), *-ātū*/*ī*, or *-ētū*/*ī* (§ 5.136). For the ending *-ūt*(*um*) see § 5.137.

§ 5.130. *-at* in the sg.:

a) After a base with final long consonant:

[*ku*]-*r*[*u*]-*u*[*m*]-*ma-ti* AbB 2, 150: 8 *kurumm-at-ī* "my ration".

f*šar-ra-tim* ARM 10, 34 r. 9 *šarr-at-im* "queen".

Lit. *bi-il-la-as-sú* PBS 7, 87: 10 *billassu* < *bill-at-šu* "his mixing vat".

Lit. *uz-za-ti-ša* CH l 101 *uzz-at-iša* "her anger".

b) Regularly with the noun pattern *PaRS*, regardless of the ending of the base:[207]

ka-al-ba-tum ARM 1, 5: 11 *kalb-at-um* "bitch".

Om. *wa-ar-ka-at* YOS 10, 42 i 33 *wark-at* "back".

c) Sometimes with the noun patterns *PiRS* and *PuRS*, predominantly from primary nouns, after a base with final two consonants:[208]

te/*ir-ḫa-tam* CH § 163 *te*/*irḫ-at-am* "bride payment".

d) After a base with final single strong /ʾ/:

di-a-ti AbB 14, 140: 44 *diʾa-t-ī* "my knowledge".

e) In Lit. and PN[209] with bases with final single consonant:

Lit. *šu-na-tam* Gilg. OB II 1, 44 *šun-at-am* "dream".

Lit. *ra-aš-ba-ta-am* AfO 50, 16 r. i 13 *rašb-at-am* < *rašubatam* "awe-inspiring".

PN m*A-wi-la-tum* AbB 6, 139: 16 *Awīl-at-um* "Little man".

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206 For fem. gender in OB see Streck 2010, on which the following chapter is based.

207 *šamšatum* "(sun-)disc", interpreted by Edzard 1982, 72 as a diminutive of *šamšum* "sun", also belongs to this category.

208 See Edzard 1982 for details of the alternation between *at* and *-t* in the noun patterns *PaRS*, *PiRS*, and *PuRS*.

209 For a possible diminutive function of *-at* in PN see § 5.138.b, below.

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f) With the root ṢMD for the purpose of lexical differentiation:
ṣi-im-[*da*]*-tum* AbB 14, 75: 29 *ṣimd-at-um* "regulation", but Lex. *ṣí-mi-tum* MSL 9, 136: 613 *ṣimit-t-um* "(yoke-)team".

§ 5.131. *-et* in the sg. After a base that contains /e/ (§ 2.70.k), otherwise used under the same conditions as *-at* (§ 5.130):
a) After a base with final long consonant:
ṣé-er-re-tim ARM 1, 46: 30 *ṣerr-et-im* "concubine".
Lit. *er-re-tam* CH li 82 *err-et-am* "curse".
b)With the the noun pattern *PaRS*:
Lit. *er-ṣe-tim* CH i 5 *erṣ-et-im* "earth".
Lit. [*b*]*e-le-et* VS 10, 214 vi 27 *bēl-et* "queen".

§ 5.132. *-t* in the sg.:[210]
a) After a base with final single consonant:
da-mi-iq-tim AbB 11, 42: 25 *damiq-t-im* "good".
[*m*]*a-ar-ti* AbB 2, 135: 10 *mār-t-i* "daughter".[211]
Om. *sa-am-tim* YOS 10, 52 ii 23 *sām-t-im* "carnelian".
b) After a base with final vowel:
bi-ki-tim AbB 6, 135 r. 5 *bikī-t-im* "weeping".
c) With the noun patterns *PiRS* and *PuRS* (but not from roots II-geminate, for which see § 5.130a), predominantly but not exclusively from deverbal nouns. A helping vowel is inserted between the second and third radicals:
ši-pí-ir-ti ARM 10, 91: 5 *šipir-t-ī* "my message".
bu-ṭù-um-tim CUSAS 32, 48: 16 *buṭum-t-im* "terebinth".
d) With roots II-geminate that have *r* as the second and third radicals:
sà-ar-tum ARM 2, 18: 32 *sar-t-um* "fraud".
Om. *mar-tum* YOS 10, 31 iv 25 *mar-t-um* "gall bladder".

§ 5.133. *-āt, -ēt* for the sg. in the following three cases:[212]
a-ḫa-ti AbB 11, 100: 10 *aḫ-āt-ī* "my sister".

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210 I do not follow Gelb 1969, 34 f., who interpreted *t* "not as the original marker of Fem., but as a secondary element introduced to avoid two contiguous vowels" or "as a consonantal glide"; see the counterarguments presented by von Soden 1970, 203 f.

211 Since the root of the word is MR', one might expect a fem. **mar'-at-um*. However, the word directly derives from the corresponding masc. *mārum* < *mar'um* (Krebernik 2006, 89 f.), on the analogy of *sāmum*: *sāmtum*.

212 According to Gelb 1955, 105, these three words are most likely bases augmented by *w*. Tropper 2012, 338 § 55.1: original root 'ḪW.

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Om. *i-ša-a-tum* YOS 10, 36 i 25 *iš-āt-um* "fire".[213]
e-me-ti-ia AbB 7, 73: 10 *em-ēt-ija* "my mother-in-law".

§ 5.134. a) Regularly-*āt*(*u*/*im*) for the pl. st. rect. and st. cstr. before gen.:
ṣú-up-ra-tim ARM 8, 89: 4 *ṣupr-ātim* "claws".
ne-pa-ra-tum ARM 10, 10: 4 *nepār-ātum* "workhouses".
Om. *iš-ka-ra-at šarr*[*im*] YOS 10, 46 iv 33 *iškar-āt* "work assignments of the king".
b) Rarely, a fem. pl. is secondarily interpreted as sg. and thus has a st. rect. acc. *-ātam*:[214]
um-ma-na-ta-am Fs. Dussaud 2, 992: 61 *ummānātam* "troops".
ši-pa-a-tam RA 60, 24: 6; FM 6, 121 f. no. 5: 22, 29; FM 6, 160 no. 9: 24 *šīpātam* "wool".
k[*a-a*]*l-ba-na-tam* FM 1 p. 82: 42 *k*[*a*]*lbānātam* "grapple(?)".

§ 5.135. *-ēt*(*u*/*im*) for the pl., after a base that contains /e/ (§ 2.70.k) or /i/ (§ 2.69.i), otherwise used under the same conditions as *-āt*(*um*), *-āt*(*im*) (§ 5.134):
[*ḫi*]*-ib-le-tu-ú-a* AbB 4, 134: 9 *ḫibl-ēt-ūʾa* "my damage".
Om. *še*$_{20}$*-pe-tum* YOS 10, 36 i 41 *šēp-ētum* "feet".
Lit. *be-le-e-tim* VS 10, 214 vi 27 *bēl-ētim* "queens".

§ 5.136. a) Regularly *-ātū*/*ī-* and *-ētū/ī-* in the pl. st. cstr. before suffixed gen. pron.:[215]
be-le-ti-ia AbB 14, 19: 12 *bēl-ētī-ja* "my mistresses".
ḫa-ar-ra-na-tu-šu-nu ARM 26/2, 526 no. 532: 11 *ḫarrān-ātū-šunu* "their caravans".
Lit. *a-wa-ti-ia* CH xlix 3 *awâtīja awā-ātī-ja* "my words".
Lit. *a-wa-tu-ú-a* CH xlvii 81, CH xlviii 99 *awâtūʾa* < *awā-ātū-ʾa* "my words".

213 The *-t* of *išātum* was secondarily analyzed as a radical, as can be seen from the pl. *išātātum*, e.g., ARM 4, 31: 5, 19; ARM 4, 32: 7 and *passim* in this text.

214 see GAG §§ 63i and p; Finet 1956, 62 §§ 26b and c. It is unclear whether *ba-za-ḫa-ta-am* ARM 6, 64: 3, 7 is a sg. *bazaḫatam* (thus AHw. 117) or a pl. *bazaḫātam* secondarily interpreted as sg. (thus Finet 1956, 62 § 26c). The word is elsewhere used in the pl. *bazaḫātu*/*im*, etc.

215 According to GAG § 66k, the endings *-ū* und *-ī* are long, analogous to the masc. pl. (*šarr-ū*/*ī* "kings"). Following Gelb 1969, 56 f., the long vowels represent a "secondary" pl.; therefore, Buccellati 1996, 158 analyzes the morphemes as *-āt-ū* und *-āt-ī*. But it could also be argued that the vowels are in fact short, and that the plene spellings indicate stress (§ 2.510); if correct, we would have to transcribe *šarr-ātú-šu*, etc.

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b) In Lit. *-āta-*/*ēta-* sometimes occurs before a suffixed gen. pron. in both nom. and obl. forms:[216]

Lit. *te-re-ta-ša rabīʾā* VS 10, 214 vii 20 *têrēta-ša* "her instructions are great".

Lit. *ta-ni-da*!*-ta-ša* VS 10, 214 ii 5 *tanīdāta-ša* "her praises".

Lit. [*iq*]*ullā iš-ta-ra-ta-ši-in* VS 10, 214 ii 12 *ištarāta-šin* "their goddesses' heed".

Lit. *li-ib*!(text: *ia*)*-ba-ta-ša* Or. 87, 25 v 26 *libbāta-ša* "her fury" (context broken).

Lit. *zi-in-na-ta-ia nanzazā* Or. 87, 26 v 35 *zinnāta-ja* "my provisions are present".

§ 5.137. Abstract nouns with the suff. *-ūt* (§ 5.117) are construed as fem. sg. Therefore, the *-t* of *-ūt* is probably identical with the *-t* of the fem. suff., which also serves to derive abstract nouns (§ 5.138.c, e).

Lit. *šar-ru-tam dārītam* CH i 21 *šarrūtam* "everlasting kingship".

5.2 *Use of the Feminine Ending*

§ 5.138. As in other Semitic languages,[217] the fem. ending has several functions that do not derive from a single basic function:[218]

a) Derivation of nouns and adj. denoting natural fem. beings (persons, gods, and animals) from nouns denoting natural masc. beings:[219]

mārum "son": *mārtum* "daughter".

šarrum "king": *šarratum* "queen".

ilum "god": *iltum* "goddess".

kalbum "dog": *kalbatum* "bitch".

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216 Further examples in von Soden 1931, 215.

217 see Arabic, for which Ullmann 1989, 16 lists eleven functions of the fem. suff., e.g., designation of female gender, derivation of verbal abstracts from adj., semantic distinction of two concrete nouns, derivation of a nomen unitatis from a nomen generis, of a nomen vicis from a nomen actionis, of a verbal abstract from a concrete noun, of a nomen instrumenti from an active ptc., of a nomen actionis from a passive ptc., and of a collective from a substantive in the sg. Some of these functions are also attested in OB, others not.

218 Pace GAG § 60a, which attempts to derive the different uses of the fem. suff. from a "nomen unitatis" function, improperly described as designating "beliebige Einzelstücke aus natürlichen Mehrheiten." Buccellati 1996, 42, distinguishes two suff., one designating fem. gender, the other identifying "a concrete object which is related to the item expressed by the base (for the most part a primary noun)," whereas on p. 170 he speaks of the fem. suff. expressing "a neuter form." It is difficult to understand how these two definitions can be harmonized, and neither of them can explain even a majority of the functions of the fem. suff.

219 Female animate beings can also be designated by morphologically unmarked nouns (but not adjs.!), see § 5.141, below.

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lûm "bull": *lītum* "cow".
damqum "good": *damiqtum* "good".

b) In hypocoristic male[220] PNs., the fem. suff. seems to have, in rare cases, a diminutive or caritative function.[221] This function probably derives from the function described in § 5.138a (denotation of natural fem. beings):[222]
Awīl-DN "Man of DN": *Awīlatum* AbB 6, 139: 16 "Little man".
Erība-DN "DN has repaid": *Erībatum* Stamm 1939, 114.
Ibbī-DN "DN has named": *Ibbatum* ARM 13, 92: 6, 14.
Ipiq-DN "(In the) embrace of DN": *Ipqatum* ARM 16/1, 127.

c) Derivation of abstract nouns from adjs.:
kīnum "true": *kīttum* "truth".
lemnum "evil": *lemuttum* "wickedness".
marṣum "sick": *maruštum* "illness".
qerbum "near": *qerubtum* "nearness".
ṭābum "good": *ṭābtum* "goodness".

d) Derivation of concrete nouns from adjs.:
rapšum "broad": *rapaštum* "loin".
raqqum "thin": *raqqatum* "a fine textile".
šaqûm "irrigated": *šaqītum* "irrigated area".

e) Derivation of abstract nouns from infs.:
alākum "to go": *alāktum* "walk".
šâlum "to ask": *šāltum* "question".

f) Derivation of concrete nouns from infs.:
alākum "to go": *alāktum* "way".

g) Semantic distinction of two concrete nouns:[223]
kārum "harbour": *kārtum* "rate of exchange".[224]
nakmarum "storage container": *nakmartum* "sum".

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220 Whereas the fem. suff. rarely occurs with male PN, it is frequent with hypocoristic female names (Rasmussen 1981, 187 f. and 401). This indicates that in hypocoristic female names the fem. suff. primarily denotes the female sex of the name bearer. Whether it also has diminutive function in these cases cannot be determined.

221 see GAG § 60a; Edzard 1982, 72 and 86. This function of the fem. suff. is well attested in PN of other Semitic languages; see Hayajneh 1998, 22 f. with further lit. and, for Amorite, Streck 2000, 311 § 4.1, 315 f. § 4.9. Beyond PN, the diminutive function of the fem. suff. is not surely attested in OB. Edzard 1982, 72 (see also GAG § 60a*) mentions *šamšum* "sun": *šamšatum* "sun disk". However, it seems better to classify this word as an example of semantic differentiation between two concrete nouns (§ 5.138.g).

222 And not the other way round, as stated in GAG § 60a.

223 For further examples formed on the noun pattern *maPRaS*(*t*) see Streck 2002, 253.

224 see AHw. 452 *kāru* 5b; CAD K 237 *kāru* 4; Zaccagnini 1987–1990, 424.

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namḫarum "vat": *namḫartum* "goods, receipt".
naplasum "look": *naplastum* "a part of the liver".
narkabum "millstone": *narkabtum* "chariot".
šamšum "sun": *šamšatum* "sun disk".

§ 5.139. a) With some concrete nouns, no semantic distinction between masc. and fem. can be established:
ḫallūrū:[225] *ḫallūrtum* "pea".
ḫašûm: *ḫašūtum* "thyme".
igārum: *igārtum* "wall".
kisibirrum: *kisibirrītum* "coriander".
maḫīrum: *maḫīrtum* "rate of exchange".
maštûm: *maštītum* "drink".
mūšum: *mušītum* "night".[226]
nalbanum: *nalbattum* "brick mold".
nārum: *nārtum* "river, canal".
šakirûm: *šakirūtum* "henbane?".
zibûm, *zībum, zibibiānu*: *zibītum*, *zibibītum* "black cumin".
b) In most of the examples just mentioned, the fem. is rarer than the masc. This is true for *ḫašûm*, *igārum*, *maḫīrum*, *mūšum*, *nārum*, *šakirûm*, and *zibûm*. In a majority of these cases a fem. pl. is attested,[227] and the fem. sg. is a back-formation from the fem. pl.:[228]

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225 No masc. sg. attested in OB. The word normally occurs in the masc. pl.

226 *ūmtum* is not attested in OB, see CAD U 138.

227 The dictionaries sometimes assign this pl. to the masc., sometimes to the fem. noun.

228 see Streck 2005a, 148 on *mūšum*: *mušītum*. The evidence is not sufficient to claim a dialectal distinction between the use of both genders.—Some of the examples in this paragraph have been compared with the nomen unitatis of classical Arabic; see GAG § 60a; Salonen 1974; Wasserman 2003, 71–73. The Arabic nomen unitatis is the opposite of the nomen generis (Ullmann 1989). It derives count nouns from mass nouns (Streck 1998, 318, on Akkadian, and Streck 2002a, 188, on Ugaritic): *tuffāḫun* "apples" (mass noun; weighed and not counted): *tuffāḫatun* "an apple" (count noun), pl. *tuffāḫātun* "(several) apples (counted)". It is obvious that the Akk. opposition between masc. and fem. nouns is never used in this way. With some of the examples an opposition "mass noun": "count noun" is not meaningful at all because they never denote mass nouns: *igārum*, *maḫīrum*, *mūšum*, *nalbanum*. Concerning the rest of the examples, the following attestations suffice to show the invalidity of the nomen generis: nomen unitatis opposition: 1 (PI) GÚ.GAL *sà-am-da-a-tim* AbB 9, 58: 6 *ḫallūrātim samdātim* "1 bushel of peas" (fem. pl. as mass noun); 1 BÁN *ki-sí-bi-ri-tam* AbB 6, 11: 7 *kisibirrītam* "1 seah coriander" (fem. sg. as mass noun); 1 BÁN 5 SÌLA *ma-aš-ti-it agrim* TEBA 55: 10 *maštīt* "1 seah 5 liters of drink for the hired men" (fem. sg. as mass noun). In other cases, the (masc.) pl. indicates mass nouns instead of the masc. sg., see § 5.180.

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ḫallūrū: GÚ.GAL *sà-am-da-a-tim* AbB 9, 58: 6; GÚ.GAL *sa-am-da-ti-*[*im*] AbB 5, 211 r. 6 *ḫallūrātim*? *samdātim* "ground peas".[229]

igārum: Roy. *i-ga-ra-at bītim* RIMA 1, 49: 43 *igārāt* "walls of the house".

kisibirrum: *ki-is-si-bi-ir-re-tim … šūbilīm* AbB 6, 102: 24 *kissibirrētim* "send me coriander!" *ki-sí-bi-ra-tum* FM 2, 25 no. 4: 8 *kisibirrātum* "(10 liters of) coriander".

maḫīrum: *ana ma-ḫi-ra-ti-šu-nu* CH § 51 *maḫīrātīšunu* "according to its rate of exchange".

mūšum: *mu-ši-a-tim* AbB 14, 206: 34 *mušî'ātim* "at night".

nalbanum: *na-al-ba-na-tim* ARM 7, 4: 2, 6, 12, r. 3 "frames".

nārum: Roy. *na-ra-a-tim* RIME 4, 603: 26 *nārātim* "canals".

5.3 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Feminine Singular*

§ 5.140. Quite a number of primary nouns—never deverbal nouns!—or loans from Sumerian have a morphologically masc. ending (*-um*) but are grammatically fem. sg., i.e., they agree with a fem. adj., pred., or pron. suff. With most of these nouns a morphologically (ending *-ātum*) and grammatically fem pl. is attested, and these words never seem to have a grammatically masc. pl. Various semantic classes can be distinguished.

5.3.1 Female Animate Beings

§ 5.141. a) *arḫum* "cow":

Lit. *ar-ḫi-ia-mi la-a pe-ti-i-tim* VS 17, 34: 9 *arḫijami lā petītim* "my cow which has not yet been mated".

Pl.: *ar-ḫa-t*[*im*] AbB 11, 21: 5 *arḫātim*.

b) *enzum* "goat":

Lit. *e-zu ma-ar-ṣa-*[*a*]*t-ma* PRAK 2 C 1: 5 *marṣ*[*a*]*tma* "the goat is sick".

Pl.: ÙZ … *a-ri-a-tum* JRAS 1917, 723: 6 *enzētum arî'ātum* "pregnant goats".

c) *laḫrum* "ewe":[230]

Lit. *la-ah-ri ù pu-ha-sà* JCS 57, 70: 9 *laḫrī u puḫāssa* "my ewe and her lamb".

d) *lamassum* "female tutelary deity":[231]

la-ma-sà-am da-ri-tam AbB 14, 91: 2 *lamassam dārītam* "eternal tutelary deity".

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229 But a reading *ḫallūrī samdatim* cannot be excluded. For the (morphologically) masc. pl. see § 5.180b.

230 The pl. is grammatically fem. but morphologically masc. (see § 5.161.b, below).

231 It is unclear whether the pl. *la-ma-sà-tim ra-qí-da-tim* ARM 23, 417: 2 *lamassātim rāqidātim* "dancing tutelary deities" belongs to *lamassum* or *lamassatum*.

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e) *ummum* "mother":

PN ^{d}*A-a-um-mi-a-li-ti* AbB 7, 61: 12 *Aja-ummī-ālittī* "Aja is the mother who bore me".

Pl.: *um-ma-tim* AbB 6, 188: 5 *ummātim*.

f) *unīqum* "female kid":

Lit. *ú-ni-qí-ia la wa-li-it-tim* VS 17, 34: 10 *unīqija lā wālittim* "my kid which has not yet born offspring".

Pl.: 3 ^{úz}*ú-ni-*⌜*qá-tum*⌝ Edubba 7, 105: 7 *unīqātum* "3 female kids".

5.3.2 Other Animate Beings

§ 5.142. a) *iṣṣūrum* "bird":

Om. *i-ṣú-ri-im le-mu-*[*tim*] YOS 10, 56 i 28 *iṣṣūrim lemuttim* "evil bird".

Pl.: Lit. *i-ṣú-ra-tu-ú-a* JCS 57, 71 r. 3 *iṣṣūrātūʾa* "my birds".

b) *ummānum* "army, troop":

Om. *um-ma-an šar-ri-im i-iš-tum um-ma-an na-ak-*[*r*]*i-im ma-at-ta-am idâk* YOS 10, 11 i 6 f. *ummān šarrim īštum ummān nakrim māttam* "a small army of the king will kill a large enemy army".

Pl.: *um-ma-na-tim* AbB 2, 161: 10 *ummānātim*.

5.3.3 Body Parts

§ 5.143. a) *īnum* "eye":

i-in-ka lu na-aw-ra-at ARM 4, 34: 17 *īnka lū nawrat* "your eye shall be bright".

b) *qātum* "hand, share":

qá-a-tum ḫa-li-ip-tum AbB 1, 90: 16 *qātum ḫaliptum* "concealed(?) share".

Lit. *qá-tum na-di-in-tum* ZA 110, 40 i 35 *qātum nadintum* "generous hand".

Pl.: *qa-ta-tim* ARM 1, 129: 13 *qātātim*.

c) *šēpum* "foot":

še-ep ^{lú}KÚR *ka-ia-na-at* ARM 3, 16: 19 *šēp nakrim kajjānat* "the foot of the enemy is constant".

Pl.: Om. *še*$_{20}$*-pe-tum* YOS 10, 36 i 41 *šēpētum*.

d) *šinnum* "tooth":

ši-in-nu-um ra-ak-ba-at-ma AbB 6, 114: 6 *šinnum rakbat* "the tooth is mounted".

Pl.: ⟨*ši*⟩*-na-tum ša maškakātim*! UCP 10/1, 70: 22 *šinnātum* "teeth for a harrow".

e) *ubānum* "finger":

ú-ba-nim iš-te$_{9}$*-et* ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 29 *ubānim ištēt* "single finger".

Pl.: Om. *ú-ba-na-tu-ka* YOS 10, 24: 30 *ubānātūka*.

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5.3.4 Landscape

§ 5.144. a) *ḫarrānum* "road":

ḫa-ar-ra-an be-lí-ia ša-al-ma-at ARM 2, 130: 27 *ḫarrān bēlija šalmat* "the caravan of my lord is safe".

Pl.: Om. [*ḫ*]*a-ra-na-tu-ša* YOS 10, 56 ii 3 *ḫarrānātūša*.

b) *mātum* "country":

ma-tim ša-ni-tim CH § 281 *mātim šanītim* "another country".

Pl.: Lit. *ma-ta-tim* CH li 42 *mātātim*.

5.3.5 Objects

§ 5.145. a) *abnum* "stone":

NA$_4$ *ra-bi-tim* CH § 108 *abnim rabītim* "big stone".[232]

⌜NA$_4$⌝ *ši-i* FM 8, 72 no. 18: 7 *abnūm šī* "this stone".

Pl.: NA$_4$ *ši-na-ti* FM 8, 80 no. 22: 22, 25 "these stones".

b) *abullum* "city gate":

a-bu-ul-lum … ka-wi-tu[*m*] ARM 3, 11: 7 f. *abullum … kawītu*[*m*] "outer city gate".

Pl.: *a-bu-ul-la-tim* AbB 14, 131: 7 f.; *a-bu-ul-la-a-tim* CUSAS 36, 198: 17 *abullātim*.

c) *eleppum* "boat":

^{giš}MÁ *dan-na-tam* CH § 235 *eleppam dannatam* "solid boat".

Pl.: Om. *e-le-pa-tim* YOS 10, 26 i 17 *eleppātim*.

d) *ereqqum* "wagon":

šumma awīlum ^{giš}MAR.GÍD.DA *ana ra-ma-ni-ša īgur* CH § 272 *ereqqamma … ramanīša* "if a man hires a wagon alone (lit. for itself)".

Pl.: MAR.GÍD.DA$^{ḫi.a}$ *Ma-*[*r*]*a-je-tum*/*tim*^{ki} ARM 4, 79: 8, 12 f., 18 *ereqqētum Marājêtu*/*im* "carts from Mari".

e) *gamlum* "crook":

Lit. *ga-am-la-am el-le-tam* OECT 11, 1: 7 *gamlam elletam* "holy crook".

f) *itūnum* "kiln":

i-tu-nu-u[*m r*]*e-eš*$_{15}$*-ti-tum* ARDēr 198: 1 *itūnu*[*m r*]*ēštītum* "first kiln".

g) *kīsum* "leather bag":

ki-si-im … ša … ša-ak-nat AbB 11, 49: 5 f. *kīsim ša šaknat* "leather bag that has been deposited".

h) *kussûm* "chair":

Lit. ^{giš}GU.ZA *ša-p*[*í-i*]*l-tim* RA 35, 5: 13 *kussîm šap*[*i*]*ltim* "lower chair".

Pl.: Lit. *ku-us*$_4$*-si*$_{20}$*-a-at* OECT 11, 1: 9 *kussī'āt*.

232 The pl. is morphologically masc. but grammatically fem. (see § 5.161.a).

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i) *saparrum* "chariot":

^{giš}*sà-pa-ar-ri-im šu-ub-bu-ur-tim* ARM 2, 130: 4 *saparrim šubburtim* "broken chariot".

j) *ṣullûm* "thorn, pin":

ṣú-lu-ša … za-aq-pa-at CT 47, 63: 23 *ṣullûša zaqpat* "her pin is stuck".

k) *tukkannum* "bag":

tu-uk-ka-ni-im ša ḫa-al-qá-at AbB 9, 48: 16 f. *tukkannim ša ḫalqat* "the bag that was lost".

Pl: *tu-uk-ka-na-tim* ARM 23, 104: 9, 11, 13, 14 *tukkannātim*.

l) *unnedukkum* "letter":

un-ne-du-uk-ku(sic) *an-ni-tam* UET 5, 78: 26 "this letter".

Pl.: *un-ne-du-uk-⟨ka-⟩-tim* AbB 14, 194: 5 *unneduk⟨kā⟩tim*.

5.3.6 Abstracts

§ 5.146. *qablum* "battle":

Lit. *qá-ba-al-šu né-e-re-et* Or. 77, 340 v 20 *qabalšu nēret* "his battle is deadly".

Pl.: Lit. *qá-ab-la-tim* CH xlvii 32 *qablātim*.

5.4 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Variable Gender in the Singular*

§ 5.147. Some primary nouns with a morph. masc. sg. are grammatically of variable gender. Some of them also show variable gender in pl. (*ašlum*, *ašrum*, *gerrum*, *ruqqum*), whereas for others only a morph. and probably also always gramm. masc. pl. (*nawûm*), or a morph. and gramm. fem. pl. (*nārum*, *ḫaṭṭum*, *urḫum*) is attested. The evidence is too scarce to decide whether variable gender is conditioned by different dialects.

5.4.1 Landscape

§ 5.148. a) *ašrum* "place":

Sg. masc.: Om. *a-ša-ar iš-te-en* YOS 10, 11 ii 26 *ašar ištēn* "at one place".

Sg. fem.: *a-šar iš-te-a-at* BagM 2, 57 iii 4 *ašar ište'at* "at one place".

Pl. masc.: Lit. *aš-ri* CHxlvii 17 *ašrī*.

Pl. fem.: Lit. *aš-ra-ta-ša*(sic) RA 15, 174: 7 *ašrātaša* "her places".

b) *gerrum* "road, journey, caravan":

Sg. masc.: *ge-ru-um da-an* AbB 2, 87: 25 *gerrum dan* "the journey is dangerous".

Sg. fem.: *ge-er-ra-šu-nu ša-al-ma-at* ARM 6, 20: 9 *gerrašunu šalmat* "their caravan is safe".Pl. masc.: *ge-er-ru … i-ba-aš-šu-ú* ARM 1, 35: 15 f. *gerrū ibaššû* "there are roads".

Pl. fem.: *ge-er-re-⌜tum⌝ dannāma* RA 103, 29: 12 *gerrētum* "the roads are difficult".

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c) *nārum* "river, canal":

Sg. masc.: ÍD *ma-li-ma* ARM 4, 23: 14 *nārum malīma* "the river is full".

Sg. fem.: Om. *na-rum*/*na-a-ru la ḫe-ri-tum* YOS 10, 17: 40, 41 *nāru*(*m*) *lā ḫerītum* "a canal not yet dug".

Pl. fem.: Roy. *na-ra-a-tim* RIME 4, 603: 26 *nārātim*.

d) *nawûm* "pasture, herds":

Sg. masc.: Om. *na-wu-ú-ka … i-ka-mi-is* YOS 10, 36 i 35 *nawûka ikammis* "the herds will come together".

Sg. fem.: *na-we-e-em … ša-ak-na-at* ARM 2, 35: 7 *nawêm šaknat* "the herds are situated".

Pl. masc.: Om. *na-wu-ú-ka … i-pa-ḫu-ru* YOS 10, 13: 11 *nawûka ipaḫḫurū* "the herds will gather".

e) *urḫum* "road":

Sg. masc.: Lit. ⌜*ú-ru-uḫ-šu pa-aš-qá-am*⌝ PBS 1/1, 2: 49 ⌜*uru*⌝[*ḫ*]⌜*šu pašqam*⌝ "his difficult road".

Sg. fem.: Lit. *ur-ḫa-am re-qé-e-tam* Gilg. OB VA+BM iv 11 *urḫam rēqetam* "the distant road".

Pl.: Lit. *ur-*⌜*ḫa-a*⌝*-tim* OECT 11, 1: 17.

5.4.2 Objects

§ 5.149. a) *ašlum* "rope":[233]

Sg. fem.: *a-ša-al šar-ri ku-ub-bu-ra-at* AbB 3, 55: 25 *ašal šarri kubburat* "the rope of the king is thick".

Pl. masc.: Math. *aš-li* MKT 1, 111: 27 *ašlī*.

Pl. fem.: *aš-la-tim* AbB 9, 95: 16; FM 2, 45 no. 14: 11 *ašlātim*.

b) *ḫaṭṭum* "stick, scepter":

Sg. masc.: *ḫa-aṭ-ṭa-am dam-qá-am* AbB 9, 15: 17 *ḫaṭṭam damqam* "good scepter".

Sg. fem.: Lit. ^{giš}GIDRU-*šu i-ša-ra-at* CH xlvii 44 f. *ḫaṭṭašu išarat* "his scepter is just".

Pl. fem.: *ḫa-aṭ-ṭá-tim* AbB 4, 94: 8 *ḫaṭṭātim*.

c) *ruqqum* "cauldron":

Sg. masc.: *ru-qá-am ra-bi-am* ARDēr 153: 10 *ruqqam rabiam* "large cauldron".

Sg. fem.: ŠEN.DUB *ga-me-er-tam* CT 48, 109: 8 *ruqqam gamertam* "the complete cauldron".Pl. masc.: *ru-uq-qu … ša-am-ṭú* ARM 13, 17: 14 f. *ruqqū šamṭū* "the cauldrons are stripped(?)".

Pl. fem.: *ru-uq-qa-tim* ARM 5, 72: 14.

233 The word is listed here and not in § 5.145 because a masc. pl. occurs. However, a masc. sg. is actually not attested.

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5.5 *Grammatically Masculine in the Singular and Morphologically Feminine in the Plural*

§ 5.150. For some nouns that have a fem. pl. form, a grammatically fem. gender in the sg. cannot be demonstrated. Most of these nouns are primary or loans from Sumerian, but a few deverbal nouns are found as well.

5.5.1 Animate Beings

§ 5.151. *utullum* "herd manager":
ú-tu-ul-la-tim AbB 14, 111: 32 *utullātim*.

5.5.2 Body Parts

§ 5.152. a) *emūqum* "arm, force":
e-mu-qa-tim ARM 2, 33: 8 *emūqātim* "forces".
b) *idum* "arm, side":
Sg. masc.: *ana i-di-im iš-te-en* ARM 3, 15: 26 f. *idim ištēn* "to the one side".
Pl.: Lit. *ina i-da-at lemuttim* Sumer 11 pl. 16 no. 10: 8 *idāt* "at the side of evil".
c) *qaqqadum* "head":
Sg. masc.: *qa-qa-sú*! … *ša-ki-in* ARM 6, 37 r. 7 f. *qaqqassu šakin* "his head is situated".
Pl.: *qa-qa-da-ti-n*[*i*] ARM 2, 62 r. 13 *qaqqadātin*[*i*] "our heads".
Pl.: Lit. *ka-qá-da-tu-šu-ma* AMD 1, 245: 7 *kaqqadātūšuma* "his heads".
d) *qarnum* "horn":
qar-na-at ṣalam ilim FM 3, 100 no. 7 vi 13 *qarnāt* "horns of a divine statue".
e) *ṣuprum* "claw":
ṣú-up-ra-tim ARM 8, 89: 4 *ṣuprātim*.
f) *tikkum* "neck":
ti-ka-ti-ia ARM 4, 20: 16 *tikkātīja* "my reins(?)".[234]

5.5.3 Landscape

§ 5.153. a) *appārum* "swamp":
Om. *a-pa-ra-tum* YOS 10, 44: 45 *appārātum*.
b) *atappum* "canal":[235]
a-t[*a*!-*a*]*p*!-*pa-tim*[236] ARM 3, 34: 11 *ata*[*p*]*pātim*.

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234 see SAD 2, 90 with lit. for the question whether the pl. *tik*(*k*)*ātu* "reins(?)" belongs to the sg. *tikku*.

235 In NA, a morphologically masc. but grammatically fem. sg. is attested, see CAD A/2, 485 *a*. 2.

236 Reading after Durand 1998, 653.

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c) *eqlum* "field, region":
Sg. masc.: A.ŠÀ *ru-uq* ARM 4, 88: 21 *eqlum rūq* "the region is far away".
Pl.: A.ŠÀ *ēkallim wa-ar-ki-a-tim* AbB 4, 22: 14 *eqlēt ēkallim warkī̆ātim* "later fields of the palace".
d) *ḫaṣarum* "sheepfold":
ḫa-ṣa-⌜*ra*⌝*?-ti* ARM 9, 43: 5.
e) *kirûm* "garden":
Sg. masc.: ^{giš}KIRI$_6$ *šu-ú* ARM 1, 136: 7 *kirûm šū* "that garden".
Pl.: *ki-re-ti-ia* ARM 2, 33 r. 7 *kirêtīja* "my gardens".
f) *rāṭum* "channel":
ra-ṭá-tum CT 8, 49b: 4 *rāṭātum*.

5.5.4 Containers

§ 5.154. a) *diqārum* "bowl":
di-qa-ra-tim ARM 7, 8: 1 *diqārātu*/*im*.
b) *ḫuburnum* "vessel":
ḫu-bu-ur-na-at ARM 4, 60: 5 *ḫuburnāt*.
c) *kāsum* "cup":[237]
ka-sa-tum ARM 9, 20: 11 *kāsātum*.
d) *kerrum* "vessel":
Sg.masc.: 1 *ke-er-ri kaspim* [*r*]*a-bé-em-*[*m*]*a* ARM 10, 146: 7 "1 big silver vessel".
ke-er-re-tim ARM 9, 263: 10 *kirrētim*.
e) *luppum* "bag":
^{kuš}*lu-up-pa-tum* TCL 1, 199: 5 *luppātum*.
f) *šannum* "vessel":[238]
[*š*]*a-an-na-tum* CT 48, 41 r. 7 [*š*]*annātum*.
g) *tannum* "bowl":
ta-an-na-tim AbB 11, 130: 7 *tannātim*.
h) *tuḫallum* "basket made of palm fronds":
tu-ḫa-la-tim AbB 6, 132: 6, 8 *tuḫallātim*.

5.5.5 Other Objects

§ 5.155. a) *amum* "raft":
^{giš}*a-ma-tim* ARM 3, 26: 5 *amātim*.
b) *bītum* "house":
Sg. masc.: É *šu-ú* ARM 1, 32: 7 *bītum šū* "that house".
Pl.: *bi-ta-tum* ARM 5, 41: 27 *bītātum*.

237 In later texts, the sg. has variable gender: masc. in *kāsu ša malû* AOTU 1, 120: 12 (NA) "cup that is filled", fem. in *kāsu lā ṣariptu* Or. 24, 264: 25 (SB) "unbaked cup".
238 In SB, the word has grammatically fem. gender, see CAD š/2, 289 *š.*, lexical section.

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c) *epinnum* "seeder plow":

Sg. masc.: ^{giš}APIN *ša-ni-a-am* AbB 14, 57: 14 *epinnam šanî'am* "a second plow".

Pl.: ^{giš}APIN$^{ḫi.a}$ *ma-da-tim-ma* ARM 1, 44: 5 *epinnātim mādātimma* "numerous seeder plows".

d) *igārum* "wall":

Sg. masc.: *i-ga-ru-um ga-am-ru-um* VAB 5, 200: 8 *igārum gamrum* "the entire wall".

Pl.: Roy. *i-ga-ra-at* RIMA 1, 49: 43 *igārāt*.

Pl.: Lit. *i-ga-ra-tim* CUSAS 10, 19: 8 *igārātim*.

e) *iškūrum* "wax":

iš-ku-ra-tim TIM 1, 20: 8 *iškūrātim*.

f) *kanasarrum* "part of the wheel":

ka-[*n*]*a-sà-ra-tim* ARM 8, 89: 5 *ka*[*n*]*asarrātim*.

g) *kinnārum* "lyre":

ki-in-n[*a-r*]*a-tim* ARM 13, 20: 5, 7, 11, 16 *kinnārātim*.

h) *kinūnum* "kiln, brazier":

Sg. masc.: *ša ki-nu-un-šu bé-lu-ú* AbB 2, 111: 16 *kinūnšu* "whose brazier is extinguished".[239]

Pl.: *Ki-nu-na-tim* ARM 9, 38: 8 *Kinūnātim* "braziers (month name)".

i) *kurullum* "bundle":

Pl.: *ku-ru-ul-la-tim* FM 11, 187: 13 *kurullātim*.

j) *mušṭum* "comb":[240]

mu-uš-ṭà-tum AbB 6, 22: 35 *mušṭātum*.

k) *ne*/*upārum* "workhouse":

ne-pa-ra-tum/*-tim* ARM 10, 10: 4; FM 2, 48 no. 16 r. 6 *nepārātu*/*im*.

l) *parīsum* "pole":

^{giš}*pa-ri-sa-tu-šu* ARM 13, 17: 12 *parīsātūšu*.

m) *qutrēnum* "incense (offering)":

qù-ut-re-na-⌜*tim*⌝ AbB 9, 228: 9 *qutrēnātim*.

n) *sikkānum* "stela":

Sg. masc.: [*sí-ik*]*-ka-nu-um ša* 40 KÙŠ *ar-ku-ma* FM 8, 66 no. 14: 39 "[a ste]la that is 40 cubits long".

Pl.: 4 *sí-ik-ka-na-tim* FM 8, 59 no. 12: 8, 14 "4 stelas".

o) *sissinnum* "date spadix":

sí-sí-na-tum/*tim sissinātum*/*tim* VS 13, 18: 5; VS 7, 34: 18.

239 Perhaps late OB.

240 In later texts, the sg. has variable gender: masc. in *ištēn mušṭum* HSS 14 pl. 107 no. 261: 8 (Nuzi) "one comb", fem. in *mušṭu šebertum* ZA 16, 174: 40 (SB) "broken comb".

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p) *tilpānum* "bow":[241]
ti-il-pa-na-tim ARDēr 71 iii 6 *tilpānātim*.
q) *zibnum* "reed fence":
GN *Zi-ib-na-tim*^{ki} ARM 14, 27: 31 *Zibnātim*.[242]

5.5.6 Abstracts

§ 5.156. a) *isinnum* "festival":
[*i*]*-si-na-ti-ka* ARM 4, 59: 12 [*i*]*sinnātīka* "your festivals".
b) *iškarum* "work assigment":
Sg. masc.: *iš-ka-ra ra-bi-a-am* AbB 4, 131: 11 *iškara rabī'am* "big assigment"
Pl.: *iš-ka-ra-at* YOS 10, 46 iv 33; YOS 10, 43: 6 *iškarāt*.
c) *tukkum* "rumor, warning":
tu-ka-ti-ka AbB 14, 140: 41 *tukkātīka* "your rumors".

5.5.7 Deverbal Nouns

§ 5.157. a) *dīnum* "decision, law":
Sg. masc. *di-nim ga-am-ri* AbB 11, 78: 14 *dīnim gamri* "final decision".
Pl.: *di-na-tim dīnātim* AbB 11, 94: 20.
b) *miksum* "share of the yield":
mi-ik-sa-at AbB 14, 78: 11 *miksāt eqlim* "shares".
c) *naptanum* "meal":
na-ap-ta-na-ti-šu ARM 2, 69 r. 11 *naptanātīšu* "his meals".
na-ap-ta-na-tim FM 2, 88 no. 50: 28 *naptanātim* "meals".
d) *pilkum* "boundary, district":
pí-il-ka-a-tim AbB 4, 99: 8 *pilkātim*.
e) *pūḫum* "replacement":
pu-ḫa-ti-šu ARM 1, 18: 41 *pūḫātīšu* "his replacement".
f) *puzrum* "hidden place, secret message":
Lit. *pu-zu-ra-tim* RA 46, 92: 70, 72 *puzurātim*.
g) *salīmum* "peace":
sa-li-ma-tim-ma ARM 2, 25: 16 *salīmātimma*.
h) *sūqum* "street":
Lit. *sú-qá-a-tim* RA 24, 35 r. ii 1 *sūqātim*.
i) *šāpirum* "governor":
ša-pí-ra-at AbB 14, 124: 13 *šāpirāt*.

241 In other dialects and periods, the sg. is always grammatically fem., see CAD T 414 f. *t.*, lexical section and c.

242 Further ref. ARM 16, 41. see CAD Z 104 *zibnu*. AHw. 1524 contains refs. for the GN under *zibnatum*. For the mng. "reed fences" see Groneberg 1980a, xii.

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5.6 *Masculine in the Singular and Variable Gender in the Plural*

§ 5.158. Some primary nouns or loans from Sumerian and a few deverbal nouns that are masc.[243] in the sg. have variable gender in the pl. In most cases, the evidence is too scarce to decide whether variable gender is conditioned by different dialects. In one instance, however (*kaprum* § 5.159e), gender varies within a single text. In some cases a grammatically fem. gender in the sg. might not be attested due to chance, thus some of the words listed in the following may rather belong to §§ 5.147–149.

5.6.1 Primary Nouns or Loans from Sumerian

§ 5.159. a) *appum* "nose":

Sg. masc.: Om. *ap-pa-šu … ṣa-li-im* YOS 10, 12: 1 f. *appašu ṣalim* "its nose is black".

Pl. masc.: *ap-pí la-bi-ru-tim* ARM 6, 5: 6 *appī labirūtim* "old 'noses' ".

Pl. fem.: Om. *ap-pa-at* YOS 10, 54 r. 10 f. *appāt*.

b) *dipārum* "torch":[244]

Pl. masc.: 2 *di-pa-rù in-na-šu-ú* ARM 5, 68: 5 f. "2 torches were raised".

Pl. fem.: *di-pa-ra-tim* RA 35, 178: 8, 18 *dipārātim*.

c) *erûm* "grinding slab":

Pl. masc.: *e-ri-i* AbB 2, 152: 12, 25 *erî*.

Pl. fem.: *e-ri-a-tim* AbB 9, 152: 20 *erīātim*.

d) *i*(*t*)*tûm* "border, region, neighbor":

Sg. masc.: *i-tu-um ša-ap-lum* ARM 8, 6: 24 *itûm šaplum* "lower border".

Pl. masc.: Om. *it-tu-ú-a-a* YOS 10, 46 v 11 *ittûja* "my neighbors".

Pl. fem.: *i-ta-ti-šu* VS 7, 22: 15; VS 7, 17: 11 *itâtīšu* "his neighbors".

e) *kablum* "leg of a piece of furniture":

Pl. masc.: *ka-ab-lu-šu* CT 2, 1: 6 *kablūšu* "its legs".

Pl. fem.: *ka-ab-la-tu-šu* FM 8, 46 no. 6: 11 *kablātūšu* "its legs".

f) *kaprum* "village":

Sg. masc. *kap-ru-um šu-ú* ARM 4, 24: 14, 17 *kaprum šū* "that village".

Pl. masc.: 2 *ka*-[*a*]*p-ru-ia* ARM 2, 61: 10 *kaprūja* "two villages of mine". In the same text also pl. fem.: *ka-ap-ra-tim*, *ka-ap-ra-ti-ia* ARM 2, 61: 8, 14 *kaprātim*, *kaprātīja* "(my) villages".

g) *kunukkum* "cylinder seal (impression), sealed tablet":

Sg. masc.: *ku-nu-ki an*-[*n*]*i-am* AbB 8, 28: 16 "this sealed tablet of mine".

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243 All words listed under this heading are morphologically masc. For some but not all of them, it can be proved that they have grammatically masc. gender in the sg.

244 In later texts the sg. of *dipārum* is fem., see AHw. 172 *d*. 1c and 2b.

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Pl. masc.: *ku-nu-uk-ki-šu ša-al-mu-tim* AbB 6, 123: 10 *kunukkīšu šalmūtim* "intact seal impressions".

Pl. fem.: Om. *ku-nu-*[*uk-k*]*a-ti-šu-nu* YOS 10, 42 i 5 *kunu*[*kk*]*ātīšunu* "their seals".

h) *lišānum* "tongue":

Sg. masc.: Om. *li-ša-an-šu a-pi-ir* YOS 10, 47: 8 *lišānšu apir* "its tongue has a coating".

Pl. masc.: Lit. *se-bé-et li-ša-nu-šu* TIM 9, 65//66: 9 *sebēt lišānūšu* "seven are its tongues".

Pl. fem.: *li-ša-na-tim* AbB 5, 4: 4 *lišānātim*; *li-ša-na-tu-ú-um* AbB 5, 4: 7 *lišānātum*.

i) *tarkullum* "mooring post":

Pl. masc.: Lit. *ta-ar-ku-ul-li* Atr. 86: 51 *tarkullī*.

Pl. fem.: $^{giš.ḫi.a}$*ta-ar-ku-ul-la-tim* ARM 14, 13: 27 *tarkullātim*.

j) *tuppum* "tablet":

Sg. masc.: DUB-*pí-ia pa-ni-im* ARM 1, 35: 4 *tuppija panîm* "earlier tablet".

Pl. masc.: DUB-*pí-i-ka šūbilam* AbB 6, 146: 27 *tuppīka* "send me your tablets".

Pl. fem.: DUB-*pa-tim* AbB 6, 93: 14 *tuppātim*.

k) *ūmum* "day":

Sg. masc.: *ina re-bi-im* UD-*mi-im* AbB 9, 261: 9 *rebîm ūmim* "on the fourth day".

Pl. masc.: Lit. UD-*mi warḫī šanāt palêšu* CH l 52 *ūmī* "days, months, years of his reign".

Pl. fem.: Lit. *ga-am-ra* UD-*ma-tum* ZA 110, 40 i 31 *gamrā ūmātum* "the days are finished".

5.6.2 Deverbal Substantives

§ 5.160. a) *maškanum* "threshing floor":

Sg. masc.: *an-nu-um ma-aš-ka-nu ḫa-bi-it* AbB 11, 108: 27[245] "this threshing floor was being looted".

Pl. masc.: *ma-aš-ka-ni-i-ka … tāmur* AbB 1, 90: 12 *maškanīka* "you have seen your threshing floors".

Pl. fem.: *ma-aš-ka-na-ti*[*m*] ARM 6, 65: 4 *maškanātim* "threshing floors".

b) *nīqum*/*niqûm* "offering":

Pl. masc.: Roy. *ni-qú ka-a-nu-ú* RIME 4, 268: 18 *nīqū kajjānū* "the offerings are regular".

Pl. fem.: *ni-qé-ti-ia* ARM 13, 144: 12 *niqêtīja* "my offerings".

245 Late OB.

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5.7 *Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Feminine Plural*

5.7.1 Words with Morphologically Masculine but Grammatically Feminine Singular

§ 5.161. a) *abnum* "stone":[246]

ab-ni a-šar ta-mu-ri-ši-na-ti AbB 9, 61: 14 *abnī ašar tāmurīšināti* "the stones, where you saw them".

b) *laḫrum* "ewe":[247]

Lit. ⌜*la*⌝-*aḫ-ri ra-ap-ša-a-tim* ZA 83, 3 obv. ii 10 *laḫrī rapšātim* "vast flocks".

5.7.2 Words Plurale Tantum

§ 5.162. a) *nišū* "people":

Bab. *ni-ši ka-la-ši-na* AbB 6, 189: 22 *nišī kalâšina* "all people". Outside Bab., besides grammatically fem. *nišū*, grammatically masc. forms are rarely attested: MidEuphr. *ni-šu-šu … šu-ṣú-ú* ARM 2, 87: 28 *nišūšu šūṣû* "his people have left". UpMes. *ni-ši … i-na-ṣa-ru-šu-nu-ti*![248] ARM 1, 22: 34 f. *nišī inaṣṣarūšunūti* "they guard the people". But fem.: UpMes. *ni-šu-šu … uš-ša-ba-*[*ma*] ARM 2, 2: 15 *nišūšu uššabā*[*ma*] "his people live there".

b) *ṣēnū* "small cattle":

ṣe-nu la i-ka-la-a-šu AbB 8, 13: 25 *ṣēnū lā ikkalāšu* "the small cattle shall not eat it".

⌜*pa*⌝-*ni-a-tum* ⌜6⌝ [U_8].UDU.ḪI.A *u* 24 U_8.UDU.ḪI.A *wa-ar-ki-a-tum* CUSAS 36, 130: 17 f. *panî'ātum*, *ṣēnū*, *warkî'ātum* "the previous 6 sheep and the later 24 sheep".

6 Number

§ 5.163. OB nouns distinguish three numbers: sg., dual, and pl. Sg. and pl. are fully productive, whereas the dual is not fully productive anymore. For the generic reading of nouns, expressed by the sg. or the pl., see § 5.3.

6.1 *Singular*

§ 5.164. The sg. has no formal marker. It is used for both common nouns and mass nouns:

sé-ek-ru-um ša GN AbB 13, 5: 7 *sekrum* "the canal of GN".

ŠE-*am uštērib* AbB 13, 4 r. 10 *še'am* "he brought in the barley".

246 For the sg. see § 5.145.a.

247 For the sg. see § 5.141.c.

248 see Durand 1998, 56 with lit.

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6.2 *Dual*

6.2.1 Morphology

§ 5.165. The dual endings of masc. nouns are attached to the base (*qarrād-ān*). With fem. nouns in the st. rect., st. abs., or st. cstr. before gen., the dual ending is attached to the fem. ending (*šapt-īn*, see below § 5.165b and g). With fem. nouns in the st. cstr. before suffs., the dual endings are attached to the fem. ending (*zibbatāšu*, *šapt-ī-šu*) or, in literary and lexical texts, also directly to the base with the omission of the fem. ending (*dīm-ā-šu*, see § 5.295). The following endings are attested:

a) *-ān* or *-ā* for st. rect. nom.:[249]

Om. *qar-ra-da-an* YOS 10, 31 ix 25 *qarrād-ān* "two heros".

Om. *di-ik-ša-an* YOS 10, 31 x 50 *dikš-ān* "two swellings".

Om. *i-la-an* CUSAS 18, 2 r. 8 *il-ān* "two gods".

[*k*]*a-pa-an* FM 3, 146 no. 14: 13 [*k*]*appān* "the two wings".

Lit. *šenā e-*⌜*eṭ*⌝*-la* Or. 87, 27 v 44 *eṭlā* "two men".

b) *-īn* (written *-in*) for st. rect. obl. is found in Bab., in MidEuphr. (in the latter case besides *-ēn*, § 5.164c) and in Om./Roy./Lit.:

Bab. *pa-ni-in* AbB 13, 164: 10 *pan-īn* "face".

MidEuphr. *ši-it-ti-in* ARM 26/1, 368 no. 185-bis: 8: ARM 26/2, 224 no. 392: 37 *šit-t-īn* "two-thirds".

MidEuphr. *ki-la-li-in* ARM 26/2, 337 no. 434: 38 *kilall-īn* "both".

Om. ⌜*i*⌝*!-ni!-*⌜*in*⌝ YOS 10, 56 ii 6 *īn-īn* "two eyes".

Roy. *re-ši-in* RIME 4, 382: 78[250] *rēš-īn* "(two) head(s)".

Lit. ⌜*ša*⌝*-ap-ti-in* RA 22, 170 f.: 9 [*š*]*apt-īn* "two lips".

Lit. *qá-ar-ni-i-in* CUSAS 10, 1: 37 *qarn-īn* "two horns".

c) *-ēn* (written *-en*) for st. rect. obl. is found—besides *-īn* (§ 5.165.b)—in MidEuphr., UpMes., Roy., and Lit.:

MidEuphr. *dūram … imittam u šumēlam kap-pé-en īpušūma* MARI 7, 199: 28 *kapp-ēn* "the wall—they made two wings(?) at the right and left side".[251]

MidEuphr. 2 ^{giš}*mar-ma-ḫe-en* Semitica 59 p. 43 no. 12: 6 *marmaḫḫ-ēn* "2 *marmaḫḫu* trees".

UpMes. *ni-qé-en an-ni-te*$_9$*-en* ARM 26/2, 102 no. 330 r. 5 *nīqên* (< *niqī-ēn*) *annī-t-ēn* "these two offerings".

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249 For *-ēn* > *-ān* for st. rect. nom. after *e*-vowel see § 2.70.m.

250 Samsuiluna inscription.

251 For the reading *kap-pé-en* see Durand 1998, 159 and 161 f. His translation "avaient renforcé le mur sur les côtés gauche et droit" is, however, syntactically difficult. Charpin 1993, 199 read *ḫup-pé-en* "holes".

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Roy. *e-mu-qé-en* RIME 4, 341: 42[252] *emūq-ēn* "strength".
Lit. *li*!-*le*!-*en* Or. 87, 26 v 46 *līl-ēn* "evening".

d) Rarely *-ī* or *-ē* for st. rect. obl.:
ki-la-al-lí[meš] ARM 2, 101: 26, 29, 30 *kilallī*/*ē* "both".

e) *-ā* for st. cstr. nom.:
iš-da-ka ARM 1, 52: 12 *išd-ā-ka* "your foundation".
i-na-ia ARM 2, 51: 12 *īnāja* "my eyes".
ki-la-al-la-ni ARM 27, 72bis: 21 *kilallāni* "both of us".
qa-ta-šu ARM 27, 63: 6 *qātāšu* "his hands".
Om. *šittā zi-ba-ta-šu* CUSAS 18, 12: 52 *zibbatāšu* "two are its tails".

f) *-ī* for st. cstr. obl.:[253]
i-iš-di GN ARM 1, 52: 31 *išdī* GN "the foundation of GN".
u[*z*]*-ni-ia* ARM 28, 153: 8 *uzn-ī-ja* "my ears".

g) *-ā* for st. abs.:
2[ši-na] AbB 8, 15: 35 *šin-ā* "two".
ši-it-ta ARM 4, 32: 17 *šit-t-ā* "two".

h) Only the word "both" has, besides rarer *-ān*, a dual ending st. rect. nom. masc. *-ūn*, st. cstr. *-ū*:[254]
ki-la-al-lu-un ARM 1, 36: 30 *kilall-ūn*.
ki-la-al-lu-šu-nu ARM 1, 118 r. 23 *kilall-ū-šunu* "both of them".
ki-la-al-lu-ku-nu RATL p. 133 no. 63: 25 *kilall-ū-kunu* "both of you".

6.2.2 Use

§ 5.166. The dual normally indicates two of something. However, the dual is not fully productive but rather confined to the following uses:

a) Pairs of body parts:
uz-na-ša AbB 1, 27: 26 *uznāša* "her ears".
ka-ap-pa-a-a AbB 4, 137: 12 *kappāja* "my wings".
ša-ap-ti bēlija ARM 2, 55: 34 *šaptī* "lips of my lord".
qa-ta-šu ARM 27, 63: 6 *qātāšu* "his hands".
qa-ab-la-šu issīqū ARM 1, 21: 8 *qablāšu* "his hips became 'narrow'".
Om. *i-ni a-wi-lim* YOS 10, 26 iii 51 *īnī awīlim* "the eyes of the man".
Om. *qá-ar-na-šu* YOS 10, 56 iii 24 *qarnāšu* "its horns".

252 Hammurapi inscription.
253 Since spellings are ambiguous it is unclear whether *-ē* is also found.
254 Instead of Om. *nam-ta-lu-ú-un* YOS 10, 53: 5 "two exclipses" (CAD A/1, 508 *attalû* d), probably read *nam-ta-lu-ú* UN *i-na šu-ub-ti* ⌜*ta*?⌝-[x (x)] "eclipse. People will be … in (their) dwelling".

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Roy. *e-mu-qé-en* RIME 4, 341: 42 *emūqēn* "strength" < "arms".

Lit. *i-da-a-šu* CUSAS 10, 1: 9 *idāšu* "his arms".

b) By analogy to body parts in pairs, also with *išdān* "foundation" < "buttocks", *rēšān* "head" (also attested in the sg.) and *panān* "face" (elsewhere frequently pl.):

Lit. *iš-da-ša* CH i 24 *išdāša* "its (of the kingdom) foundations".

Roy. ⌜*re*⌝*-ša-šu-nu* RIME 4, 342:46 *rēšāšunu* "its top".

pa-ni-in AbB 13, 164: 10 *panīn* "face".

c) Numbers *ši*/*enā*, *šittā* "two", *šittān* "two-thirds" and *kilallān*/*kilallūn*/*kilattān*[255] "both":

[*a*]*lpī še-na* AbB 11, 144: 8 *šenā* "two oxen".

[*i*]*šteʾat ū ši-it-ta* AbB 11, 193: 21 *šittā* "one or two".

ši-it-ti-in … šaluštam CH § 64 *šittīn* "two-thirds … one third".

ki-la-al-lu-un AbB 7, 143: 9 *kilallūn* "both".

ḫamannī ki-la-al-li-in MARI 8, 449: 46 *kilallīn* "both siege engines".

ki-la-at-ti-in[*-ma*?], *ki-li-it-ti-in* FM 2, 137 no. 75: 21; AbB 8, 43 r. 7 *kila*/*ittīn*(-) "both".

d) Sometimes also with other words, especially in Om. and Lit.:

2 ^{giš}*mar-ma-ḫe-en* Semitica 59 p. 43 no. 12: 6 *marmaḫḫēn* "2 *marmaḫḫu* trees".

ni-qé-en an-ni-te$_9$*-en* ARM 26/2, 102 no. 330 r. 5 *nīqên* (< *niqī-ēn*) *annītēn* "these two offerings".

PN *Šinā-be-la-šu* AbB 6, 144: 1 *bēlāšu* "Two are his lords".

Om. *qar-ra-da-an* 2*-na* YOS 10, 31 ix 25 f. *qarrādān šenā* "two heros".

Om. *ti-*⌜*ki*⌝*-ip-ta-an* 2*-ta-ma* YOS 10, 31 ix 22 f. *tikiptān šittāma* "two spots".

Om. *di-ik-ša-an ši-na* YOS 10, 31 x 50 f. "the bulges are two".

Om. *ma-ša-an e-le-en* CUSAS 18, 2 r. 9 *māšān ellēn* "shining twins".

Om. *šinā za-aq-ra-an na-aw-ra-an ku-sa-ri-ka-an* CUSAS 18, 2 r. 11–13 *zaqrān nawrān kusarikkān* "two tall shining bisons".

Lit. *šaptān ra-ab-ba-ta-an* Or. 87, 17 i 43 *rabbatān* "soft lips".

Lit. *šenā e-*⌜*eṭ*⌝*-la* Or. 87, 27 v 44 *eṭlā* "two men".

Lit. *emūq li*!*-le*!*-en* Or. 87, 27 v 46 *līlēn* "power of the evening".[256]

6.3 *Plural*

6.3.1 The Plural Endings

§ 5.167. The masc.[257] pl. st. rect. or st. cstr. is marked by the endings *-ū* for nom. and *-ē* or *-ī* for obl. Plene vowel spellings sometimes indicate that the final vow-

255 Also fem. pl. *ki-la*!*-at-tum* AbB 14, 194: 11 *kilattum*.

256 For the dual of *līlum* see Streck 2017, 596 f.

257 For the fem. noun see §§ 5.134–136.

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els were not always secondarily shortened. Therefore, it is suggested here that the ending was generally long in OB. There is no clear dialectal distribution of *-ē* and *-ī* in the obl.: both occur in Bab. as well as in MidEuphr., UpMes., and NWSyr. Plene spelling of *-ē* is more frequent than plene spelling of *-ī*, and it seems that the change from older *-ē* to *-ī* in Bab. had still not been fully accomplished in middle OB.[258] In one instance, the scribe even switches between /ē/ and /ī/:

ina ab-bi-i-⌜e-ni⌝ FM 3, 282 no. 135: 5 *abbī*/*ē-ni* "at (the time of) our fathers". The scribe started with /ī/ written plene, then corrected himself and added the sign *e*.

a) *-ū* spelled plene:

a-wi-lu-ú AbB 1, 115 r. 8; AbB 2, 11: 9; AbB 4, 46: 9; AbB 13, 103: 13; ARM 26/2, 411 no. 473: 8, 15, etc. *awīl-ū* "men".

ṣú-ḫa-ru-ú AbB 1, 76: 6; AbB 6, 24: 2; AbB 6, 154: 3; AbB 8, 84: 12; AbB 9, 38: 13, etc. *ṣuḫār-ū* "boys".

wa-ar-du-ú AbB 8, 12: 20; AbB 11, 58: 9 *wardū* "slaves".

al-pu-ú AbB 8, 84: 33 *alpū* "oxen".

be-lu-ú ARM 26/1, 270 no. 104: 6 *bēlū* "lords".[259]

a-la-nu-ú AbB 14, 73: 10; ARM 2, 62: 6 *āl-ān-ū* "cities".

Om. *mu-ta-nu-ú* YOS 10, 20: 24 *mūt-ān-ū* "cases of death".

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258 For *-ē* in Old Akk. see Hasselbach 2005, 179f. *-ē* is also regular in OA, which is often morphologically more archaic than OB.—Because some pls. (especially of *awīlum* and *ṣuḫārum*, in the obl. also in pls. with *-ān-*) show frequent plene vowel spellings, and because of the obl. case vowel *-ē*, GAG §61g and Huehnergard 1987, 181–188 suggested that these pl. forms go back to *-ā-ū*/*ī*. Huehnergard suggested broken pls., as in Arabic: **ṣuḫarā'ū*/*u* (with a short *a* in the second syllable) and **'a'wilā'ū*/*u* (with short *i*). However, this explanation faces two problems:(1) There is not a single attestation of an uncontracted pl. in *-ā'ū*/*ī*, neither in OB nor in OAkk. nor in OA (with the exception of *abbā'ū* "fathers", see Kouwenberg 2017, 169). Although uncontracted *-ā'ū*/*ī* is not expected in most OB texts, one would expect such forms in OAkk. and OA—if one does not assume that pls. in *-ā'ū*/*ī* are a new development of OB, an unlikely assumption. (2) Huehnergard 1987, 185f. n. 28 admits that a broken pl. would be difficult with *-ān*-pls.; the same is also true for many other words for which a pl. with plene spelled *-ū* or an obl. in *-ē* is attested, see *alpum*, *bēlum*, *bērum*, *kinattum*, *mārum*, *nēbeḫum*, *pūḫum*, *sikirum*, *wardum*. Therefore, Huehnergard leaves plene spelling with *-ān*-pls. unexplained. It is, however, unlikely that pls. like *a-wi-le-e* and *a-la-né-e*, etc., do not share the same explanation.

Moreover, there are not enough pl. forms of other nouns to prove that the pl. forms of *awīlum* and *ṣuḫārum* are statistically significant.

259 The form is nominative but syntactically in the obl. case. The expression *bēlū mātim* is frozen.

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b) *-ū* spelled simply:

ṣú-ḫa-ru AbB 14, 168: 9 *ṣuḫār-ū* "boys".

ab-bu AbB 11, 38: 7 *abb-ū* "fathers".[260]

pa-nu ARM 10, 175: 20 *pan-ū* "face".

al-pu AbB 5, 151: 4 *alpū* "oxen".

ša-am-mu AbB 10, 117: 3 *šammū* "grass".

Roy. *be-lu* RIME 4, 386: 49 *bēlū* "lords".

ti-ra-nu ARM 26/1, 263 no. 98: 10; ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 11 *tīr-ān-ū* "coils".

a-la-nu AbB 4, 148: 11; ARM 1, 1 r. 7, 10; ARM 4, 32: 24; ARM 26/1, 561 no. 259: 20; ARM 26/2, 121 no. 347: 28; ARM 26/2, 134 no. 358: 10; ARM 27, 72bis: 26 *āl-ān-ū* "villages".

c) *-ī* spelled plene:

Bab. UD-*mi-i* AbB 14, 60: 11 *ūm-ī* "days".

Bab. *ṣú-ḫa-ri-i* AbB 1, 21: 16 *ṣuḫār-ī* "servants".

Bab. *a-wi-li-*⌜*i*⌝ AbB 5, 150: 8, 10 *awīl-ī* "men".

Bab. *ša-am-mi-i* AbB 3, 39: 28 *šamm-ī* "plants".

Bab. 7 *al-pí-i* AbB 8, 113: 11 *alp-ī* "7 oxen".

Bab. *ṣé-ni-i* Edubba 7, 95: 30 *ṣēnī* "small cattle".

MidEuphr. *ka-ak-ki-i* ARM 2, 118: 21 *kakkī* "weapons".

MidEuphr. *ab-bi-i* ARM 26/1, 315 no. 150: 13 *abbī* "fathers".

di-pa-ri-i AOAT 440, 196: 10 *dipār-ī* "torches".

3 *ḫa-al-ṣí-i* ARM 33, 153 r. 11 *ḫalṣ-ī* "3 districts".

Lit. *a-aḫ-ḫi-i-ka* CT 15, 4 ii 3 *aḫḫīka* "your brothers".

Lit. *ab-bi-i-šu* CT 15, 4 ii 12 *abbīšu* "his fathers".

d) *-ē* in pls. with *-ān-* (§ 5.172):

a-la-né/ne-e MidEuphr. ARM 26/2, 269 no. 405 r. 10; ARM 26/2, 223 f. no. 392: 25, 36; ARM 26/1, 359 no. 176: 28; ARM 26/1, 295 no. 129: 20; ARM 26/2, 391 no. 468 r. 15. ARM 27, 68: 34; FM 6, 261 f. no. 26: 6, r. 13; ARM 13, 117 r. 12 f.; UpMes. ARM 28, 50 r. 19; ARM 28, 69 r. 10 *āl-ān-ē* "cities".

MidEuphr. *ši-ip-ra-ne/né-e* ARM 18, 17: 24; ARM 26/2, 21 no. 291: 5 *šipr-ān-ē* "works".

MidEuphr. É.GAL-*la-né-e* ARM 13, 117 r. 14 *ekall-ān-ē* "palaces".

Lit. *me-ra-né-e* Fs. Pope 87: 7 *mērānē* "puppies".

e) *-ē* in other words:

a-wi-le-e Bab. AbB 3, 21: 1; AbB 3, 22: 1; AbB 13, 14: 25; MidEuphr. ARM 26/2, 411 no. 473: 16; UpMes. OBTR 150: 11 *awīl-ē* "men".

260 Given the OA uncontracted form *abbā'ū* (Kouwenberg 2017, 169), it cannot be excluded that *ab-bu* stands for *abbû* < *abbā'ū*.

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Bab. *ṣú-ḫa-re-e* AbB 4, 156 r. 12; AbB 13, 179: 21 and *passim*; UpMes. OBTR 133: 15 *ṣuḫār-ē* "servants".

Bab. *ṣú-ba-te-e eš-šu-tim* AbB 14, 165: 21 *ṣubāt-ē eššūtim* "new garments".[261]

Bab. *lu-ba-re-e* AbB 12, 59: 36; AbB 12, 60: 37 *lubār-ē* "cloths".

Bab. *ab-bé-e ma-re-e* CUSAS 36, 180: 15 *abb-ē mār-ē* "fathers (and) sons".

Bab. *bé-re-e* AbB 6, 131: 6 *bērē* "miles".

MidEuph./UpMes.?[262] *ab-bé-e* RA 96, 129: 6, 17,[263] 37 *abb-ē* "fathers".

ki-na-te-e Bab. CUSAS 36, 216: 4; UpMes. *ki-na-te-e* ARM 4, 10 r. 15; ARM 26/1, 566 no. 265: 31; Akk. Suppl. 10, 56: 2 and *passim*; NSyr. ARM 28, 23: 5 *kinatt-ē* "servants".

MidEuphr. [lú.meš]*pu-ḫe-e*ARM 27, 16: 45 *pūḫ-ē* "substitutes".

MidEuphr. *né-bé-ḫe-e* ARM 32 p. 395: 8 *nēbeḫ-ē* "belts".

MidEuphr. *sí-ki-re-e* ARM 14, 22 r. 8 *sikir-ē* "dams".[264]

f) *-ē* before pron. suff.:

Bab. *ṣú-ḫa-re-e-šu-nu* AbB 6, 32: 18 *ṣuḫār-ē-šunu* "their boys".

Bab. *ab-bé-e-ia* AbB 5, 239: 6, 20 *abb-ē-ia* "my fathers".

Bab. *ma-re-e-ka* AbB 14, 128: 11, 20 *mārēka* "your sons".

MidEuphr. *a-la-né-e-šu-nu-ma* ARM 26/2, 166 no. 364 r. 7 *āl-ān-ē-šunu-ma* "their villages".

Om. *ma-re-e-šu* CUSAS 18, 12: 6 *mārēšu* "his sons".

g) *-ī* or *-ē* with simply spelled vowels:

a-wi-li AbB 4, 115: 9; AbB 12, 86: 21; AbB 14, 144: 13 *awīl-ī*/*ē* "men".

ṣú-ḫa-ri AbB 9, 32: 12 *ṣuḫār-ī*/*ē* "boys".

lu-ba-ri AbB 7, 126: 9 *lubārī*/*ē* "cloths".

al-pi AbB 14, 223: 20 *alpī*/*ē* "oxen".

ta-am-ka-ri AbB 11, 57: 20 *tamkārī* "merchants".

Roy. *ì-lí* RIME 4, 385: 2; RIME 4, 386: 50 *ilī*/*ē* "gods".[265]

a-la-ni AbB 11, 193: 7, 19; ARM 1, 20 r. 11; ARM 10, 94: 5; ARM 26/1, 127 no. 17: 23, 24; ARM 26/1, 171 no. 37: 17, r. 13; ARM 26/1, 477 no. 235: 10; ARM 26/1, 480 no. 239: 5 *āl-ān-ī*/*ē* "villages".[266]

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261 Or *ṣú-ba-te e-eš-šu-tim*?

262 The introduction of the letter is broken.

263 Also here spelled *-bé-*.

264 For this interpretation see www.archibab.fr/T8372.

265 The spelling *ì-lí* is archaic and frozen. Therefore, the lack of plene spellings of this word is not significant.

266 According to § 2.52, *-ni* more probably stands for /*-nī*/ than for /*-nē*/.

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§ 5.168. Final *-ā* of bases III-weak + *-ī* of the obl. case contracts to the ending *-ê* (§ 2.121.a):*me-e* AbB 3, 21: 31 *mê* < *mā-ī* "water".

§ 5.169. *aḫum* "brother" and *ilum* "god" sometimes have a st. cstr. nom. pl. *aḫḫī*(-) and *ilī*:[267]

a) *aḫum*:

n *eqlam aḫ-ḫi abīja ṣabtū* AbB 4, 94: 11 "the brothers of my father possess n field".

aḫ-ḫi abīja eqlī ibtaqrūninni AbB 4, 12: 9 "the brothers of my father claimed the field from me".

aḫ-ḫi abīja imkusūma AbB 4, 94: 13 "the brothers of my father have collected".

aḫ-ḫi abīšunu ... ul ibaššī AbB 13, 104: 3 "the brothers of their fathers are there".

a-aḫ-ḫi abīja luḫḫušūni'āti AbB 13, 120: 8 "the brothers of my father whisper about(?) us".

a-ḫi abīšu ... itmû VAB 5, 287: 5 "the brothers of his father have sworn".

aḫ-ḫi-ša ... irgumū VS 29, 2: 3 "her brothers raised a claim".

b) *ilum*:

Om. *ì-lí* ⌜*mātim*⌝ *ekallam ireddû* YOS 10, 24: 10 "the gods of the land will guide the palace".

Lit. *i-li* (var. *i-lu*) *mātim ... īterbū* RA 32, 180: 5 "the gods of the land have entered".

Lit. *rabûtum i-li-i mušītim* ZA 90, 197: 14 "the great gods of the night".

§ 5.170. The masc. adj. pl. has the following endings:

a) *-ūt*(*um*) and *-ūt*(*im*), st. rect. or st. cstr. before gen. of the adj.:

ma-du-ú-tum AbB 9, 49: 28 *mādūtum* "many".

ma-du-tim AbB 9, 49: 25 *mādūtim* "many".

b) *-ūtū* and *-ūtī* of the st. cstr. before pron. suff.:[268]

ši-bu-tu-šu-nu Shemshara 1, 19: 16 *šībūtū-šunu* "their witnesses".

dam-qú-ti-ka AbB 9, 140: 7 *damqūtī-ka* "your excellent ones".

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267 A similar phenomenon perhaps occurs in Ugaritic, see Tropper 2012, 306 (one of the examples discussed there is *ily* for(?) /'ilī/ "gods" in st. cstr. nom. pl.).—Likely a mistake is UpMes. *umma* PN PN_2 *u* PN_3 $^{lú.meš}$*su-ga-gi ša* GN ARM 28, 120: 4 *sugāgī* "thus PN, PN_2, and PN_3, the sheikhs of GN".

268 For the endings *-ū-* and *-ī-* see § 5.136.a with fn.

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6.3.2 Nominal Bases Enlarged in the Plural

§ 5.171. Some nouns exhibit enlarged bases before the pl. endings.[269] Enlargement of the base in the pl. is iconic: the enlarged base illustrates the plurality of the referent.

§ 5.172. The most important case of enlarged bases comprises pls. with an additional *-ān-*suff. before the pl. ending.[270] Characteristically, the *-ān-*pl. is attested with short words:[271] almost all words for which an *-ān-*pl. is attested have a monosyllabic base (*ālum*, *dūrum*, *ḫalṣum*, *ilum*, *mišlum*, *murṣum*, *mūtum*, *šiprum*, *tīrānū*; exception: *ēkallum*), and in a majority of cases the base has only two consonants (exceptions: *ēkallum*, *ḫalṣum*, *mišlum*, *murṣum, šiprum*). With some words, the *-ān-*pl. is the only attested pl. (e.g., *mūtānū*, but never **mūtū*); with others, a pl. without *-ān-* also occurs (e.g., *ilānū* besides *ilū*).[272] Many examples are known from omen texts.

a) *ālum* "city" (pl. rarely *ālī*):[273]

Om. *nakrum ana libbi a-li-i-ka itebbīamma a-la-ni-i-ka ikkimma itabbal* YOS 10, 11 i 25 f. *āl-ān-ī-ka* "an enemy will rise against your city and will take your cities and carry away (their people)".[274]

b) *dūrum* "fortress" (pl. rarely *dūrī*):[275]

Om. *šarrum du-ra-ni-šu inaqqa*[*r*] YOS 10, 50: 4 *dūr-ān-ī-šu* "the king will destroy his fortresses".

Roy. *du-ra-ni-šu-nu* RIME 4, 607: 89 *dūrānīšu* "their fortresses".

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269 Similarly, the stat. D *PuRRuS* is frequently used with a pl. subj. instead of the stat. G, see Kouwenberg 1997, 359–368.

270 For plene spellings of *-ū* and *-ē* after *-ān-* see § 5.167.a, d.

271 Contrary to earlier opinions (especially Goetze 1946 and GAG § 61i), the *-ān-*pl. has no individualizing meaning. see already Gelb 1952, 14 f.; Finet 1965, 54; Lambert 1967, 102; Streck 1995, 47 n. 112; Streck 2005, 240 f. Contrary to Gelb 1955, 107 and Buccellati 1996, 148, the *-ān-*pl. is not derived from an *ān-*sg.: there is no sg. of the type **ālānum*. The opposition is rather between a sg. *ālum* and a pl. *ālānū* (see already Streck 1998, 318). In post-OB periods, the *-ān-*pl. spreads and is also attested with longer bases. A close parallel to Akk. for the use of *-ān-* in pls. of short nouns is found in Syriac and New East Aramaic (Nöldeke 1898, 49 f. § 74; Streck 2005, 241 with lit.).

272 Instead of *a-li-ka-an* ARM 4, 78: 5 (Finet 1956, 67), read *a-li-ka-tum*! (Durand 1998, 101). Instead of ŠEŠ-*a-ni* (AHw. 21b *aḫu*), read ŠEŠ.A.NI (Sumerian) (CAD A/1, 195 *aḫu* A).

273 E.g., *a-li ṣeḫrūtim* Om. YOS 10, 47: 47 *ālī* "small cities".

274 Pace Goetze 1946, 124, *a-li-i-ka* in the just adduced example is a sg. *ālíka* and not a pl. *ālīka*.

275 BÀD^{ki}-*ri kilallī* ARM 2, 101: 29 *dūrī* "both fortresses".

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c) *ēkallum* "palace" (pl. regularly *ēkallātum*, rarely *ēkallī*):[276]

šallatam amaḫḫarma ana É.GAL-*la-ni essikši* ARM 5, 27: 13 "I will receive the booty and assign it to the (different) palaces".

É.GAL-*la-ni* ARM 5, 27: 6; FM 8, 145 no. 41: 6.

d) *ḫalṣum* "district" (pl. also *ḫalṣū*):[277]

ḫa-al-ṣa-ni FM 8, 61 no. 12 r. 9.

e) *ilum* "god" (pl. usually *ilū*):

Om. *i-la-ni* YOS 10, 14: 9 *il-ān-ī* "gods".

f) *mišlum* "half" (no other pl. form attested):

mi-iš-la-ni CH § 46 *mišl-ān-ī* "half shares".[278]

g) *murṣum* "sickness" (no other pl. form attested):

Om. *mu-ur-ṣa-nu* YOS 10, 42 i 27 *murṣ-ān-ū* "illnesses".

h) *mūtum* "death" (no other pl. form attested):

Om. *mu-ta-nu* YOS 10, 56 iii 3 *mūt-ān-ū* "cases of death".

i) *šarrum* "king" (pl. usually *šarrū*):

Om. *šar-ra-nu* YOS 10, 33 ii 29 *šarr-ān-ū* "kings".

j) *šiprum* "work" (no other pl. form attested):

ši-ip-ra-ne/*né-e* ARM 18, 17: 24; ARM 26/2, 21 no. 291: 5 *šipr-ān-ē* "works".

k) *tīrānū* "coils" (plurale tantum):

ti-ra-nu ARM 26/1, 263 no. 98: 10; ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 11 *tīr-ān-ū* "coils".

§ 5.173. a) The short words *abum* "father" and *aḫum* "brother" have the pl. forms *abbū* and *aḫḫū*:

a-ab-bi-ni AbB 11, 159: 1 *abb-ī-ni* "our fathers".

a-aḫ-ḫi AbB 13, 120: 8 *aḫḫ-ī* "brothers".

b) By way of analogy, enlarged bases are also found with *abbūtum* "fatherhood", *aḫḫūtum* "brotherhood", and the pl. of *aḫātum* "sister":

aḫ-ḫu-ti-ka AbB 7, 125: 16 *aḫḫ-ūt-ika* "your brotherhood".

ab-bu-ut-ka AbB 2, 113: 19 *abb-ūt-ka* "your fatherhood".

aḫ-ḫa-ti-ia ARM 10, 141: 17 *aḫḫ-āt-ī-ja* "my sisters".

c) It remains unclear whether the pl. forms *abū* and *aḫū* and related forms with a single *b* and *ḫ* also exist: spellings like *a-ḫu-šu-nu* ARM 1, 6: 9 "their brothers", *a-bi-šu-nu-ma* ARM 2, 1: 22 "their fathers", and *a-bu-ut-ka* AbB 9, 88: 18 "your fatherhood" are ambiguous.

276 É.GAL-*li kilallī* ARM 2, 101: 26, 30 *ēkallī* "both palaces".

277 *ḫa-al-ṣu*!*-ú-a* AbB 9, 90: 6 *ḫalṣū'a* "my fortifications".

278 Further refs. CAD M/2, 126 s.v. *mišlānū*.

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§ 5.174. a) Adjs. denoting dimensions may use the noun pattern *PaRRaS* (§ 5.75) instead of *PaRaS* (§ 5.65.a) and *PaRiS* (§ 5.65.a) in the pl.[279]

ašūḫī? *ka-ab-ba-ru-tim* AbB 6, 36: 8 *kabbarūtim* "thick pines(?)".

iṣū … qa-ta-nu-tum ARM 23, 581: 7 *qattanūtum* "thin logs".

2 ^{giš}*ti-tum ṣé-ḫe-ru-tum* ARM 23, 581: 29 *tittum ṣeḫḫerūtum* "2 small fig trees".

kirrēt kaspim ra-ab-bé-e-tim ARM 10, 146: 4 *rabbêtim* < *rabbīātim* "big silver jars".

^{f}TUR^{meš} *ṣé-eḫ-ḫe-re-tum nawrātum* FM 9, 188 no. 42: 5 *ṣeḫḫerētum* "young, beautiful girls".

b) However, this is not obligatory, and elsewhere the same adjs. show pl. forms of the type *PaRSūtum*/*PaRSātum*:

mê ka-ab-ru-t[*im*] ARM 13, 17: 22 *kabrūtim* "massive water".

paršīgū qá-at-nu-tu AbB 9, 16: 39 f. *qatnūtu* "thin headdresses".

Om. *ālī ṣe-eḫ-ru-tim* YOS 10, 47: 47 *ṣeḫrūtim* "small cities".

6.3.3 Irregular Plural Forms

§ 5.175. a) Only in MidEuphr., the phrase *abu bītim* "father of the house, intendant" has a pl. *ab*(*b*)*ūt bītim*:[280]

a-bu-ut É-*tim* ARM 7, 190: 16; ARM 7, 214: 7.

b) In Bab., a regular pl. *abbū bītim* is attested:

ab-bu bītim AbB 11, 38: 7, 9.

§ 5.176. a) *alāktum* "way", derived from *alākum* "to go", has a pl. with reduplication of the last radical:

Om. *al-ka-ka-at nakrika* YOS 10, 46 ii 20 *alkakāt* "the ways of your enemy".

b) A variant of this pl. has an *i*-vowel in the first syllable:

i-il-ka-ka-at awīl GN ARM 2, 21: 17 *ilkakāt* "ways of the man of GN".

§ 5.177. The word *erbettum* "team of four" forms a pl. *erbenētum*, analogous to words with *n* as the final root consonant, e.g., *šattum* "year", pl. *šanātum*:[281]

šumma 3 *er-bé-né-tim šumma* 4 *er-bé-né-tim* Sumer 14, 30: 9 f. (see also 7) *erbenētim* "whether 3 teams of four, or 4 teams of four".

279 see Reiner 1966, 64; Kouwenberg 1997, 52–58.

280 see CAD A/1, 76 s.v. *abu bīti*.

281 see Hirsch 1975, 307.

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§ 5.178. Some Amorite loanwords with base *QaTL* have a bisyllabic pl. base, typical of Northwest Semitic:[282]

gab'um "hill" (§ 2.169.c): *ga-ba-i-ma ittiq* ARM 14, 109: 16 *gaba'īma* "he will pass over the hills". The ending *-īma* might be the Northwest Semitic obl. masc. pl. ending[283] rather than the Akk. obl. in *-ī-* + enclitic *-ma*.

ṣ/zamratum "a kind of sheep":76 $^{\text{udu}}$*ḫālāt ṣ/za-ma-ra-tim* ARM 24, 51: 2 (and *passim* in this text) "76 *ṣ.* ewes with milk".[284]

6.3.4 Use

§ 5.179. a) The pl. denotes two (if not expressed by the dual, §§ 5.164–165) or more individuals of common nouns.

b) Some common nouns only occur in the masc. or fem. pl. (plurale tantum).[285]

appātum "reins": 8 *ap-pa-tum* ARM 7, 161: 7 "8 reins".[286]

atḫū/û "companions": Om. *at-ḫu ipparrarū* YOS 10, 45: 50 *atḫū* "companions will separate".

ba'ūlātum "subjects": Lit. *kalā bu-la-at* DN AfO 50, 15 ii 17 *bûlāt* "all the subjects of DN".

bunnannû "features": Lit. *bu-na-nu turruṣūtum* AUWE 13, 113: 9 *bunnanû* "even features".

ḫubuttātum "interest-free loan": *ḫu-*[*bu*]*-ta-tu*[*m*] ARM 8, 57: 4.

iḫzētum "decorative inlay": Lex. *iḫ-ze-e-tum* MSL 15, 49: 574.

nišū "people": *ni-šu-šu … uššabā* ARM 2, 2: 15 *nišūšu* "his people sit".[287]

maškakātum "harrow": *ma-aš-ka-ka-tum* BE 6/2, 137: 7.

ṣēnū "small cattle": *ṣe-e-nu … līkulā* BIN 7, 54: 8 "let the flocks graze".[288]

šamû "sky, heaven": Lit. *bēl ša-me-e* CH i 4 *šamê* "lord of heaven".

tīrānū "coils": Om. 14 *ti-ra-a-nu* YOS 10, 8: 36 "14 coils".[289]

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282 see for Amorite loanwords Streck 2000, 127 § 1.103, and for Northwest Semitic in general Tropper 2012, 295.

283 see for Ugaritic *-īma* Tropper 2012, 294.

284 see for this word Krebernik 2003, 306–312.

285 *dadmū* "villages" is not plurale tantum (GAG § 61h) but is also attested in the sg., see SAD 2, 4.

286 A sg. is attested only in MB Amarna, see AHw. 59 *appatu* II 1.

287 see § 5.162.a.

288 see § 5.162.b.

289 see § 5.172.j for the *-ān*-ending.

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§ 5.180. Mass nouns are frequently expressed by the masc. or fem. pl.

a) Liquids and similar materials:

iškūrātum "wax": 2 MA.NA *iš-ku-ra-tim* TIM 1, 20: 80 *iškūrātim* "2 minas of wax".[290]

mû "water": Lit. *me-e lišaṣmī* CH l 40 *mê* "may he let (someone) thirst for water".

šīnātum "urine": Lit. *ina ... ši-na-ti-ka* TIM 9, 53: 5 *šīnātīka* "in your urine".

titāpū "beer mash": *ti-ta-pí-ka tušakkal* TIM 9, 51: 17 *titāpīka* "you let (something) eat the beer mash".

ṭābātum "vinegar": *ana šiqqī u ṭa-ba-tim* AbB 3, 37: 19 *ṭābātim* "about garum and vinegar".

b) Materials consisting of many small units:

ḫallūrū "peas": *ḫa-lu-ri ... šūbilam* AbB 9, 152: 25 *ḫallūrī* "send me peas!"

ḫassū "salad": *ḫa-as-sí* AbB 11, 15: 5 *ḫassī*.

kasû "cuscuta": 1 GUR *ka-si-i* FM 2, 25 no. 4: 7 *kasî* "1 kor of cucscuta".

ki/abātum "wheat": *ka-ba-tum* ARM 12, 697: 3.[291]

kisibirrum "coriander": *ki-is-si-bi-ir-re-tim ... šūbilīm* AbB 6, 102: 25 *kisibirrētim* "send me coriander!"

qēmum "flour": *qé-me-šu-nu ī*[*šû*] FM 3, 278 no. 133: 12 *qēmēšunu* "th[ey] have their flour".

qutrēnātum "incense": *ina qù-ut-re-na-t*[*i*]*m qātāja pullušā* AbB 9, 228: 9 *qutrēnātim* "my hands are pierced with incense".[292]

saḫlû "cress": *sa-aḫ-li-i šūbilīm* AbB 6, 102: 25 *saḫlî* "send me cress!"

samīdātum "flour":[293] *sà-mi-da-tum* ARM 11, 3: 10.

šamaššammū "sesame": ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *i-mu-ut-t*[*u*] AbB 9, 78: 14 *šamaššammū imuttū* "the sesame 'will die'".[294]

c) Words for "waste": or "dung":

ḫāmū "waste": *ammīnim ḫa-mi-ku-nu ... lā tušabbalānim*! AbB 9, 2: 10 *ḫāmīkunu* "why do you not send me your waste?"

kabû "dung": *ina iṣṣim ka-bi-i ... limsû* ARM 1, 21 r. 14 *kabî* "they shall clean (the ice) from dung, using a piece of wood".[295]

tuḫḫū "waste": Med. *tu-ḫi emmūtim tašakkan* BAM 393: 18 *tuḫḫī* "you put hot bran".

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290 In AHw. 396 *iškūru* 3 is understood as a common noun "W.stange". Elsewhere in OB, the logogram DUḪ.LÀL is used, which may stand for the sg. or the pl.

291 The sg. *kibtum* is only attested in SB lex.

292 Elsewhere in OB, the sg. *qutrēnum* is used.

293 But also sg. *samīdum*.

294 Exceptionally, the sg. occurs in the same text: ŠE.GIŠ.Ì *šu-ú i-ma-at* AbB 9, 78: 18 *šamaššammum šū imât* "this sesame 'will die'". Elsewhere, the word is used in the pl.

295 Also fem. sg. *kabūtum*.

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d) Words for "provisions", etc.:

ṣudû "rations, provisions": *ṣú-de-e gerr*[*im*] … *rēšī likillū* AbB 3, 66: 16 *ṣudê* "may the provisions for the tri[p] be prepared for me".

udû "tools": *ina muḫḫi ú-de-e-ma* AbB 6, 191: 21 *udêma* "concerning the equipment".

zinnātum "support": *zi-in-na-tim* ARN 191 r. 7 *zinnātim*.

e) "Radiance" is probably understood as a substance and therefore frequently occurs in the pl.:

birbirrū "radiance": Lit. *bi-ir-bi-ir-ri uṣib* VS 10, 214 iv 5 *birbirrī* "he added luminosity".[296]

me/alemmū "aura": Lit. *ušaššīši ma-le-em-mi* VS 10, 214 iv 8 *malemmī* "he made her bear an aura".[297]

namrīrū "awe-inspiring radiance": Lit. *nam-ri-ri malī* VS 17, 9: 3 *namrīrī* "it is full of radiance".

§ 5.181. Some abstract nouns occur in the pl. Unless stated otherwise, the following words are plurale tantum:

da/līlū "praise": *di-li-li-ki ludlul* AbB 13, 164: 18 *dilīlīki* "I will sing your praises".

kaṣâtum "morning": *ana ka-ṣa-tim* ARM 1, 103 r. 10 *kaṣâtim* "in the morning".[298]

libbātum "rage": Lit. *imlā li-ib-ba-ti-ša* VS 10, 21 iv 20 *libbātīša* "he became filled with rage against her".

līlīʾātum "evening": *ina li-li-a-tim* AbB 3, 47: 20 *līlīʾātim* "in the evening".[299]

ṣīʾātum "distant time": Roy. *ūm ṣí-a-tim* RIME 4, 603: 38 "from days of old".

ṣummirātum "desires": Om. *ṣú-mi-ra-ti-ka takaššad* YOS 10, 44: 47 *ṣummirātīka* "you will reach what you desired".

tanūqātum "battle cries": Lex. *ša ta-nu-qá-tim* MSL 12, 166: 296 *tanūqātim* "he of battle cries".

zērātum "hostilities": *ze-ra-tim ītanappalā* AbB 6, 188: 6 *zērātim* "they keep answering hostilities".

296 Frequently pl. For sg. see SAD 1, 34.

297 Mostly pl. Sg.: Lit. *me-lem-ma-šu šadî uštalwī* Vogelzang 1988, 99: 82 and Ab: 2 "his aura surrounded the mountains".

298 On the pl. of this word see Streck 2017, 597.

299 On the pl. of this word see Streck 2017, 597. For the masc. sg. *līlum* see Streck 2017, 600.

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6.4 *Collective Nouns*

§ 5.182. a) Collective nouns[300] may stand in the sg.:

aššum er-bi-im ana ṣēr bēlija ašpuram ARM 27, 29: 6 *erbîm* "I wrote to my lord about the locusts".

še'um ... ina qāt er-bi-im šalim ARM 27, 26: 7 *erbîm* "the grain is safe from the 'hand' of the locusts".

b) This is true even if they are counted or accompanied by an attribute in the pl.:

4 ME *ṣa-bi-im* ARM 1, 23: 10 *ṣābim* "400 soldiers (of a troop)".

1 *li-im ṣa-ba-am* ARM 1, 24 r. 17 *ṣābam* "1,000 soldiers (of a troop)".

ṣa-bu-um lā šaṭrūtum ARM 14, 62: 6 *ṣābum* "soldiers (of a troop) not inscribed".

ṣa-ba-am šunūti ARM 3, 18: 20; ARM 2, 92: 24 *ṣābam* "these soldiers (of a troop)".

c) However, the pl. of the word *ṣābum* rarely occurs as well:

ṣa-bu šunu ARM 1, 36: 28 *ṣābū* "these soldiers".

ṣa-bi šunūti ARM 26/1, 308 no. 144: 16 *ṣābī* "these soldiers".

7 Case

§ 5.183. a) Throughout all text genres, the OB noun distinguishes three cases—nom., gen., and acc.—in the sg. The prep. *ana* + gen. is used instead of a dat. case. In the dual (§ 5.165) and the pl. (§ 5.167), the two cases, nom. and obl. (= gen./acc.), are usually distinguished. For the pl. endings of fem. nouns see §§ 5.134–136.

b) The loc. and term. cases mainly occur as archaisms in lit. texts. In other text genres, the loc. and term. cases are found much more rarely and mainly in frozen expressions. Loc. and term. are usually found with nouns in the sg., and in rare instances also with nouns in the dual and pl.

7.1 *Morphology*

7.1.1 Nominative, Genitive, and Accusative

§ 5.184. In the sg. st. rect., nom., gen., and acc. have the following endings:

a) Nom. *-u(m)*:

a-wi-lum CH § 1 *awīl-um* "man".

da-a-a-nu-um CH § 5 *dajjān-um* "judge".

300 "Nouns that express a group or set of several members in terms of a single unit" (Bussmann 1996, 81).

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b) Gen. *-i(m)*:
ši-im-ti-im CH § 176 *šīmt-im* "fate".
DUB-*pí-im* CH § 178 *tupp-im* "tablet".
c) Acc. *-a(m)*:[301]
mi-iš-la-am CH § 176 *mišl-am* "half".
DUB-*pa-am* CH § 177 *tupp-am* "tablet".

§ 5.185. a) The mimation of the st. rect. endings *-um*, *-im*, and *-am* was originally part of the case ending. It has no specific indeterminate meaning.[302]
b) Mimation is sometimes dropped so that the endings develop into *-u*, *-i*, *-a* (§§ 2.253–258).
c) Rarely, the ending of the nom. *-um* develops into *-uw* > *-û* (§ 2.259).
d) Instead of mimation, sometimes nunation occurs after *t*, especially with independent gen. prons. (§ 4.20.b) and demonstrative prons. (§§ 4.125, 4.134); for other rare cases and a phonological explanation see § 2.251.

§ 5.186. In the sg. st. cstr. before a pron. suff., the following endings occur:
a) Nom. *-u* and acc. *-a*. Only with bases with final vowel. The final base vowel contracts with *-u*/*-a* to *-û*/*-â* (for contracting rules see § 2.120):
ba-nu-ka AbB 7, 165: 5 *bānûka* < *bānī-u-ka* "your creator".
ka-lu-šu-nu OBTR 3: 9 *kalûšunu* < *kalā-u-šunu* "their totality".
ka-la-ša-ma AbB 2, 130: 16 *kalâšama* < *kalā-a-ša-ma* "her totality".
b) Gen. *-i*.[303] All bases except those mentioned in § 5.184c, below. Final base vowels contract with *-i* according to the rules in §§ 2.120–121.
ina bi-ti-(i-)ka AbB 3, 95: 4; ARM 10, 36: 20 *bīti-ka* "in your house".
ana qá/*qa-ti(-i)-ka* AbB 14, 11: 25; ARM 10, 8: 13 *qātika* "in your hand".

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301 A probably different ending *-a(m)* occurs with adjs. in the st. cstr. (§ 5.303).

302 see Diem 1975.

303 For discussion of whether this *-i* is short or long (*ana bēlišu* or *bēlīšu*), and for its alleged etymology, see Philippi 1871, 194; Christian 1924, 20 f. (the nisba is derived from the gen.); Brockelmann 1908, 460 (the gen. is derived from the nisba); GAG § 65a (secondary length because of a shift in stress); Greenstein 1984, 38 (preservation of *-i* in cases like *napḫarišunu* favors secondary length).

Hecker 2000, 267 puts forward four arguments for long *-ī*: (1) Frequent plene vowel spellings (*be-lí-i-šu*). (2) "die unterschiedliche Behandlung der zweisilbigen Suffixe im aA, die nur nach Nom./Akk. Sg., nicht aber nach Pluralen und dem als Suffixträger diesen gleich gestellten Gen. Sg. verkürzt werden". (3) "die Regel vom Versschlußtrochäus". (4) "die aAk Orthographie, die in einzelnen Positionen offenbar zwischen *-i* und *-ī* zu unterscheiden vermag".

However, argument 1 is invalid if plene vowel spellings can express stress (§§ 2.25). Argument 3 is weak because our knowledge of Akk. metrics is insufficient and the alleged

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ina wa-ṣe-e-ia AbB 14, 206: 9 *waṣêja* < *waṣā-i-ja* "when I went out".
an-ni-i-im ARM 10, 143: 8 *annîm* < *annī-im* "this".

c) Nom. *-ū*(?), gen. *-ī*(?), acc. *-ā*(?). With the nouns *abum* "father", *aḫum* "brother", and *emum* "father-in-law",[304] and with nouns with patterns *PaRS*, *PiRS*, or *PuRS* III-weak. With the latter nouns, triptotic declension reflects the third weak radical, and with *abum* and *aḫum* probably a secondary enlargement of the originally biconsonantal root by a third radical *w*.[305]

a-bu-ša CH §178 *abūša* "her father".
ma-ru-ka-ma ARM 10, 104: 8 *mārūkama* "your son".
e-mu-šu CH §164 *emūšu* "his father-in-law".
a-ḫi-šu-nu CH §166 *aḫīšunu* "their brother".
ma-ri-šu AbB 10, 171: 31 *mārīšu* "of his son".
a-ba-šu CH §195 *abāšu* "his father".
bi-ša-šu CH §54 *bīšāšu* "his property".

d) In Lit., *-u* may occur before shortened pron. suffs. for both nom. and acc.:[306]
Lit. *līriš ka-ba-at-tu-uk* ZA 102, 188: 29 *kabattuk* "may your mind rejoice".
Lit. *ušanmar li-ib-bu-uš* ZA 102, 187: 22 *libbuš* "he makes her heart radiant".

e) Once, *-i* is found for the nom. before a shortened pron. suff. in Lit.:
Lit. [*ṭe*]$_4$*-mi-iš* Or. 87, 19 ii 12 *ṭēmiš* "his mind was …".

f) The following forms for the st. cstr. acc. before the suffs. *-šu* or *-ši*[307] in Lit. (all examples from the Zimrilim epic) appear to contain the acc. ending *-am* of the st. rect.[308] However, it is more likely that this is in fact the ending *-a*, either the

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trochaic verse ending is based to a large extent on the assumption of long gen. /-ī/, a circular argument. Argument 4 was based on an unpublished manuscript by W. Sommerfeld, but is now obsolete because Sommerfeld 1999, 18 f. has shown that the OAkk. syllabary expresses the opposition /ī/: /ē/ rather than different vowel quantities. Thus, we are only left with argument 2 and a weakened argument 3. On the other hand, comparative Semitics favors short gen. /-i/ (see especially Arabic *kalbi-hi*; Weninger 2011a, 165). Therefore, this grammar suggests that gen. *-i* in the st. cstr. is etymologically and structurally short, and that plene vowel spellings indicate a shift in stress, perhaps (but not necessarily) accompanied by secondary lengthening (§§ 2.509–510).

304 But *aḫum* rarely has a st. cstr. without case vowels in nom. and acc.: *a-aḫ-šu* AbB 9, 62: 13, 22 *aḫšu* "his brother".

305 It remains unclear whether the vowels are indeed long (reflecting a contraction of weak consonant and short case vowel) or rather short (and stressed, perhaps accompanied by a secondary lengthening). This grammar follows the convention of GAG and writes long vowels (*abūšu*, *mārūšu*).

306 Apparently, the frozen nom. ending. Similarly, *-u* may occur in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., see §5.187.

307 For *-ši* see §4.46.b.

308 Mayer 2015, 191 ad §65c.

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acc. ending without mimation or the helping vowel *-a*,[309] and that the doubling of the following consonant merely indicates stress:[310]

Lit. *šu-ma-aš-šu lu-uš-ta-aš-ni* FM 14 i 2 *šumá-šu* "let me tell his name".

Lit. *idīnu di-na-aš-šu* FM 14 i 19 *dīná-šu* "(where) he rendered his verdict".

Lit. *iddī ri-ig-ma-aš-šu* FM 14 i 20, 28 *rigmá-šu* "he uttered his cry".

Lit. *turammī du-un-na-aš-ši* FM 14 i 39 *dunn-á-ši* "you loosened her strength".

§ 5.187. In the sg. st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., there are usually no case vowels.[311] However, especially in Roy. and Lit., the ending *-u*[312] may occur for all three cases (especially with nouns III-weak),[313] and the ending *-i* for the gen.[314]

a) *-u* for nom.:

Roy. *še-mu*(*-ú*) DN RIME 4, 335: 32; RIME 4, 337: 9 *šēmû*/*šēmu* < *šēmī-u* "who hears DN".

Lit. *i-lu šarrī* CH iii 16 *ilu* "god of the kings".

Lit. DN … *mu-ša-ri-ku* UD-*um ba-la-ṭi-ia … līṭeršuma* CH xlix 103–l 1 *mušāriku* "may DN who prolongs the time of my life take away from him".

Lit. *pé-ti-ju šukurrim* FM 14 i 10 *pētiju* "who 'opens' the spear".

Lit. *ni-im-ru ananātim* FM 14 ii 18 *nimru* "leopard of battles".

b) *-u* for gen.:

Roy. *ana* DN *mu-šar-bí-ù šarrūtija* RIME 4, 382: 42 *mušarbīʾu* "for DN, who makes great my kingdom".

Lit. *mušarbī zi-ik-ru Babilim* CH ii 5 *zikru* "who makes great the name of Babylon".

Lit. *ana ši-ma-tu awīlūtim* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 4 *šīmatu* "destiny of mankind".[315]

c) *-u* for acc.:

Lit. *matī*[*ma*] ⌜*mītum*⌝ *līmuram ša-ru-ru šamši* Gilg. OB VA+BM i 15 *šarūru* "when may a dead one see the radiance of the sun?"

d) *-i* for gen.:

Lit. *ana zi-ik-ri eṭlim* Gilg. OB II 165 *zikri* "at the man's word".

Lit. *ina aš-ri* DN *idīnu dīnaššu* FM 14 i 19 *ašri* "at the place where DN rendered his verdict".

309 For the helping vowel *-a-* in Lit. see § 5.254.

310 see also the st. cstr. ending *-a*(*m*) of adjs. (§ 5.303). Or is this analogy to pron. suffs. following the term. ending *-iš* and the loc. case marker *-ūm* (as suggested by one of the anonymous reviewers)?

311 For adjs. see §§ 5.301–304.

312 see § 5.186.d for *-u* in the st. cstr. before pron. suff.

313 see § 5.268 for further examples.

314 see von Soden 1931, 211–213.

315 Pace GAG § 66g and Groneberg 1978/9, 26, there is no example of a loc. of the fem. pl.

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7.1.2 Locative

§ 5.188. The loc. has the ending *-ū(m)*.[316] The ending occurs both in st. rect. and in st. cstr.[317]

a) St. rect. with mimation:

Lit. *e-le-nu-um* Or. 77, 341 vi 29 *elēnūm* "above".

Lit. *ša-ap-la-nu-um* Or. 77, 341 vi 25 *šaplānūm* "below".

b) St. rect. without mimation:

Lit. *wa-ar-ka-nu* Gilg. OB II 161 *warkānū* "afterwards".

Lit. *ša-ap-la-nu* Or. 77, 341 vi 27 *šaplānū* "below".

c) St. cstr. before noun in the gen. with mimation:

Lit. *qer-bu-um* GN CH iv 42 *qerbūm* "in the midst of GN".

Lit. *e-le-nu-um ālim* UET 6/2, 414: 33 *elēnūm* "outside of the city".

d) St. cstr. before noun in the gen. without mimation:

Lit. *i-qer-bu apsî* VS 10, 214 vi 11 *iqqerbū* "in the midst of the subterranean ocean".

Lit. *qer-bu bābiki* Or. 87, 21 ii 42 *qerbū* "in the midst of your gate".

e) St. cstr. before pron suffs., with assimilation of final *-m* to the following consonant (§ 2.250.a):[318]

Lit. *ri-tu-uš-ša* VS 10, 214 ii 10 *rittūšša* < *rittūm-ša* "in her hand".

Lit. *e-lu-uš-ša* ZA 102, 187: 5 *elūšša* < *elūm-ša* "upon her".

f) Apparently, the frozen loc. ending is on rare occasions combined with the shortened term. ending *-(i)š*:

Lit. *zi-ik-ru-úš* DN FM 14 iii 31, 33 *zikrūš* "upon the order of DN".[319]

§ 5.189. The loc. almost always occurs with nouns in the sg. Examples of the dual or pl.(?) are rare.[320]

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316 Vowel length is favored by three arguments: (a) "The need to differentiate formally the locative from the nominative, since the two are otherwise identical from the viewpoint of environment and sequential rank" (Buccellati 1996, 152, following Gelb 1969, 96–98). (b) The loc. ending persists in NB and LB when the nom./gen./acc. endings are dropped. (c) In NB and LB, the loc. ending is frequently spelled plene (*lib-bu-ú*, etc., see AHw. 550 s.v. *libbu* C 2). On the other hand, GAG § 66d suggests a secondary lengthening in NB/LB in order to protect the vowel from being dropped. This is, however, unlikely because the loc. case was not productive any more, whereas the final vowels of the productive nom., gen., and acc. cases were dropped without being protected.

317 For further refs. from lit. texts see Groneberg 1978/9.

318 Pace Groneberg 1978/9, 17, there are no certain examples of the loc. without mimation before a pron. suff. because spellings like Lit. *ba-lu-ki* UET 6/2, 396: 16 may well stand for *balūkki* < *balūm-ki* "without you".

319 This is now the oldest instance of this ending, discussed by von Soden 1933, 123–125. Von Soden's explanation is different: he suggested that *-uš* was a shortened form of *-uš-šu* (loc. + pron. suff.), interpreted as a variant of the term. ending *-iš*.

320 For *ši-ma-tu* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 4 see § 5.187.b, above (no loc. of the fem. pl.).

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a) Dual:

Lit. *ṣú-up-ra-nu-uš-šu* RA 24, 106 r. 7 *ṣuprānūššu* "with his claws".[321]

b) Pl.:

Lit. *a*[*m*]*mīni … [lā] iqqabī ina ši-ma-tum* ZA 110, 41 i 62 *šīmātūm*? "why is it not said among the destinies?"[322]

Lit. *elīma kīma* PN *ša-mu* DN ZA 110, 48 viii 20 *šamû* < *šamā-ū* "shall I go, like PN, into DN's heaven?"

7.1.3 Terminative

§ 5.190. The terminative has the ending *-iš*,[323] rarely *-eš*. The vowel *-i* contracts with a preceding final base vowel according to the rules of § 2.120. For *-iš* + pron. suff. with initial /š/ see § 2.410.b. The ending occurs both in st. rect. and st. cstr.

a) St. rect. *-iš*:

Lit. *nukkurat a-ma-ri-iš* VS 10, 214 vi 9 *amāriš* "she is strange to look at".

Lit. *gi-iṣ-ṣí-iš* Or. 77, 340 v 25 "like a thornbush".

b) St. rect. *-eš*:

Lit. *si-ni-iš-te-eš* Or. 87, 17 i 45; Or. 87, 20 ii 19 *sinništeš* "like a woman".

c) St. cstr. before a noun in the gen.:

Lit. *bi-ti-*⌜*iš emūtim*⌝ Gilg. OB II 149 *bītiš* "to the house of the family of the father-in-law".

Lit. *aḫ-ri-a-ti-iš ūmī* Atr. 58: 214 *aḫrīʾātiš* "forever".

d) St. cstr. before pron. suff.:

Lit. *qá-ti-iš-šu* VS 10, 214 v 26 *qātiššu* "in his hand".

Lit. *bi-ti-iš-k*[*a*] Atr. 68: 375 *bītiška* "to your house".

§ 5.191. The terminative almost always occurs with nouns in the sg. Examples of pl.:

Lit. *ša-me-e-ša*(*-am*) ZA 110, 48 viii 31; Atr. 42: 13, 17 *šamêša*(*m*) < *šamê-iš-a*(*m*) "to heaven".

Lit. *te-re-ti-iš*[*-ka*] Atr. 104: 12 *têrētiš*[*ka*] "at your orders".

§ 5.192. a) The frozen term. ending can be combined with the acc. ending to form adverbs:[324]

têrētim ana mārī ālim ga-ji-ša-am ušēpišma ARM 26/1 p. 15 n. 42 A.3993 *gajjiš-am* "I had extispicies made for the inhabitants of the city, clan by clan".

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321 Groneberg 1978/9, 25 with n. 9, wrongly analyzed as term. instead of loc.

322 Or sg. *šīmatūm*?

323 For the etymology of *-iš* see Gensler 2000.

324 see Groneberg 1978, 17 f. for a discussion of the fact that two case endings are combined.

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Lit. UD-*mi-ša-am* CH xlviii 53 *ūm-iš-am* "daily".

Lit. *ša-at-ti-i-ša-am-ma* CT 15, 4 ii 15 *šatt-iš-am-ma* "yearly".

b) The frozen term. ending can also be combined with the loc. ending:

Lit. *ap-si-šu-um* ZA 110, 48 viii 32 *apsîšūm* < *apsu-iš-ūm* "to the underground ocean".

c) The ending *-šū*(*m*) found on some adverbs consists of the shortened term. ending *-*(*i*)*š-* and the loc. ending *-ū*(*m*):[325]

ša-na-as-sú-um-ma ARM 14, 34: 11 *šanassūmma* < *šanat-š-ūm-ma* "every year".

UD-*um-šum-ma* AbB 1, 68: 15, 17 *ūm-š-ūm-ma* "daily".

Lit. *qá-aq-qá-ar-*[*š*]*um* VS 17, 34: 18 *qaqqar-š-ūm* "to the ground".

Lit. *ka-qá-ar-šu* Fs. Reiner 192: 32 *kaqqar-š-ū* "to the ground".

Lex. *mi-iš*/*in-šum* MSL 4, 65 i 3, 5 *mīš*/*n-š-ūm* "why".

7.2 *Use*

7.2.1 Nominative

§ 5.193. The nom. indicates:

a) A subj. in verbal sentences:

ṭá-a-tum ibbašīma AbB 2, 11: 8 *ṭa'tum* "there has been bribery".

šar-rum PN *ana bīt* DN *iddinma* AbB 5, 213: 20 *šarrum* "the king gave PN to the temple of GN".

b) A subj. in verbless sentences:

ṣí-bu-tum mā[*d*]*iš* AbB 6, 11: 11 *ṣibûtum* "the need is great".

bi-tum šū jā'um AbB 10, 149: 6 *bītum* "this house is mine".

c) A modified nominal pred.:

PN *e-re-šum ša* PN_2 AbB 6, 113: 5 *errēšum* "PN is a tenant of PN_2".

ša iqtanabbûkum sà-ar-ra-tum-ma AbB 5, 157: 13 "what he keeps telling me are lies".

šumma anāku a-ḫu-ka AbB 6, 139: 5 "if I am your brother".

Lit. *šar-ru-um gi-it-ma-lum anāku* CH xlvii 10 *šarrum gitmālum* "I am the perfect king".

d) Sometimes an unmodified nominal pred.,[326] which is more often expressed by the stat. There seems to be no difference in meaning between stative and predicative noun in the nom. case:[327]

ḫarrān illikam ul ku-ši-rum AbB 1, 46: 24 *kušīrum* "the trip he made was not a success".

The use of both *-iš-am* and *-š-ūm* only with certain adverbs makes it probable that the term. ending was already lexicalized ("frozen") in some cases.

325 GAG § 67g and Kraus 1968.

326 Further examples (not all of them, however, correctly interpreted) in Kraus 1984a, 27–29.

327 In OB, there is no difference between ascriptive (stat.) and identifying (noun in the nom.

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ina ālika qá-qá-da-num atta AbB 3, 18: 24 *qaqqadānum* "in your city, you are an important person".

awātum šī ta-ki-it-tum AbB 10, 150: 15 *takīttum* "this matter is certain".

šumma a-bu-um atta ina kīnātim AbB 8, 18: 17 *abum* "if you are a really a father".

šumma ma-ru atta AbB 8, 108: 12 *māru* "if you are a son".

e) A predicative independent possessive pron. (see § 4.39) or interrogative pron.:[328]

ṣēnū šina ka-at-tu-un AbB 10, 159: 23 *kâttun* "this small cattle is yours".

mi-nu-um šapārum annûm AbB 6, 63: 5 *mīnum* "what is this message?"

f) A syntactically integrated vocative:[329]

alkamma a-wi-lum annīātim amuršināti AbB 1, 95: 15 *awīlum* "come, o lord, and check this!"

a-wi-lu-um gimillam! *elīja šukun* Sumer 14, 9: 16 *awīlum* "o lord, bestow favor on me!"

Lit. *i-ga-ru šitammīanni ki-ki-šu šuṣṣirī kalā zikrija* Atr. 88: 20 f. *igāru … kikkišu* "o wall, listen to me constantly, reed fence, observe all my words!"

Lit. *inanna sa-bi-tum ātamar panīki* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 12 *sābītum* "now, ale-wife, I have seen your face".[330]

g) A noun placed in front of the sentence for topicalization (nom. as casus pendens):

Lit. *a-wi-lum šu-ú kīma jâti šar mīšārim* DN *ḫaṭṭašu lirrik* CH xlix 11 *awīlum šū* "this man—may DN lengthen his reign, just as (he has done) for me, the king of justice".

h) A noun phrase representing an incomplete sentence:

Om. *šumma ubānum rēssa ḫarir* BALA-*ú-um ar-ku-um* YOS 10, 33 ii 54 *palûm arkum* "if the finger—its head is hollowed out: a long reign".

Om. *šumma šalāš naplasā*[*tum*] UD-*u i-*⌜*ṣú*⌝*-ú-tum* CUSAS 18, 10 iii 24 *ūmū īṣūṭum* "if there are three blinkers: a few days".

Om. *šumma naplastum parkat te-šu-ú-um* CUSAS 18, 10 iv 6 *tēšûm* "if the blinker lies obliquely: chaos".

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case) predicative nouns, as Kouwenberg 2017, 623 claims for OA. Both animate and inanimate predicative nouns occur in the nom. case.

328 More examples in Kraus 1984a, 25–27.

329 For this function of the nom. see Kraus 1976, 294. The syntactically unintegrated address is expressed by the st. abs., see § 5.306.f, below.

330 According to Kraus 1976, 294, the nom. only occurs when the addressed item serves as subj. in the sentence. This example, however, shows that the nom. is also used with items that have other functions.

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i) An entry in lex. lists (nom. as "quotative" case):

Lex. *lú.uru*$_4$*.a* = *e-re-šum* MSL 12, 163: 179 *errēšum* "plowman".

Lex. *lú.še.ku*$_5$*.rá* = *e-ṣi-du-um* MSL 12, 163: 183 *ēṣidum* "harvester".

j) Rarely proper names that are not inflected in context (nom. as "quotative" case):

qātāt Id-da-tum ARM 8, 69: 1 *Iddatum* "guarantee of Iddatum".

k) Rarely uninflected titles:[331]

ana ra-bi-a-nu-um šuprīmma AbB 7, 53: 23 *rabiʾānum* "write to the mayor!"

7.2.2 Genitive and Oblique

§ 5.194. The gen. in sg. and the obl. in pl. indicate:[332]

a) A noun governed by a preposition:

ana šu-ul-mi-ka AbB 1, 5: 10 *šulmika* "after your well-being".

ina an-ni-tim AbB 1, 3: 22 *annītim* "in this".

malā li-ib-bi-ša CH § 178 *libbiša* "according to her will".

b) The logical subj. (genitivus subjectivus):

ina qibīt a-wi-lim AbB 11, 99: 13 *awīlim* "by order of the man".

Lit. *errēt ì-lí* CH xlix 25 *ilī* "the curses of the gods".

Lit. *nibīt* DN CH i 52 "named by DN".

c) The logical obj. (genitivus objectivus):

nīdi a-ḫi-im AbB 3, 24: 8 *aḫim* "throwing of the arm".

Om. *meḫiṣ qá-qá-ad nakrim* YOS 10, 36 i 24 *qaqqad* "hit of the head of the enemy".

Lit. *ra-i-ma-at* BALA-*ia* CH l 98 *palêja* "lover of my reign, who loves my reign".

d) Possession (genitivus possessivus):

abi a-bi-i[*a*] AbB 11, 83: 2 *abīj*[*a*] "the father of my father".

bāb ru-ug-bi-im AbB 5, 227: 19 *rugbim* "opening in the roof".

miqit pí-im AbB 11, 60: 9 *pîm* "fallen from the mouth, inconsiderate utterance".

bēl ni-pu-tim CH § 116 *nipûtim* "the owner of the distress".

e) A subset or part of something (genitivus partitivus):

Lit. *ušumgal šàr-rí* CH ii 55 *šarrī* "the great dragon of (= among) the kings".

f) An appositional relationship, also gen. of association (genitivus epexegeticus):

māt Ia-mu-ut-[*b*]*a-lim*^{ki} ARM 10, 84: 24 *Jamūtbaʿlim* "land (of) Jamutbalum".

331 This is not so much an "honorific" (Worthington 2012, 190–198) but rather a "quotative" nom.

332 For gen. constructions with cardinal numbers see § 6.26.

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Lit. *māt Šu-me-rí-im ù Ak-ka-di-im* CH v 8 f. *Šumerim u Akkadîm* "land (of) Sumer and Akkad".

g) An attributive relationship (genitivus attributivus):

bīt šu-ri-pí-im ARM 2, 101: 22 *šurīpim* "house (full) of ice".

šībūt sà-ar-ra-tim CH § 3 *sarrātim* "testimony of treachery, false testimony".

sikkānam ša 4 *am-ma-tim ūlūma* 5 *am-ma-tim* FM 8, 62 no. 13: 8 f. 4/5 *ammātim* "a stela of 4 or 5 cubits".

Lit. *šar ta-ši-im-tim* CH ii 22 *tašīmtim* "king of discernment, discerning king".

Lit. *šanāt ḫu-ša-aḫ-ḫi-im* CH xlix 67 *ḫušaḫḫim* "years of hunger, years in which hunger exists".

Lit. *dīnāt mi-ša-ri-im* CH xlvii 2 *mīšārim* "laws of justice, just laws".

h) The material:

ḫullu ša pár-zil-li ARM 7, 244: 7 *parzilli* "ring of iron".

4 *ḫaṣṣin* ZABAR FM 8, 64 no. 14: 10 *siparrim* "4 bronze axes".

qarnāt narkabtim ša ^{na4}NU$_{11}$.GAL FM 3, 101 no. 7 vii 29 *ašnugallim* "horns of a chariot (made) of alabaster".

inūt KÙ.GI FM 9, 190 no. 43: 5 *ḫurāṣim* "golden instrument".

Lit. *ṣalam ṭi-di-im* CH li 38 *ṭīdim* "image of clay".

i) In lit. texts, after adjs., indicating the scope of the quality:[333]

Lit. *ṣalmāt qá-qá-di-šu* CH xlviii 86 *qaqqadīšu* "his ones (who are) black in the area of the head, his black-headed ones".

Lit. *eddam qá-ar-ni-i-in* CUSAS 10, 1: 37 *qarnīn* "sharp in the area of the horns, with sharp horns".

Lit. *emqam bi-ir-ki-im* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 68: 53 "skilled in the area of the knees, swift of knee".

j) In lex. texts and in PN, after a passive verbal adj., the agens:[334]

Lex. *aklam i-ša-tim* MSL 12, 183: 38 *išātim* "eaten by fire".

Lex. *sakpam i-lim* MSL 12, 195: 8 *ilim* "rejected by a god".

Lex. *laptam šu-úḫ-nim*! MSL 12, 183: 37 *šuḫnim* "stricken by heat".

Lex. *maḫṣam be-el ú-ri-im* MSL 12, 201 i 4 *bēl ūrim* "attacked by the Lord of the roof".

Lex. *maḫṣam i-lim* MSL 12, 194 C 4: 11 *ilim* "attacked by a god".

PN *Na-bi-ilišu* YOS 14, 148: 5 *nabī* "Named by his god".

333 see § 5.195.n for the acc. with stats. to express the scope of a quality.

334 see § 5.195.o for the acc. after stats. to express the agens.

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7.2.3 Accusative

§ 5.195. The acc. in sg. and the obl. in pl. indicate:

a) The direct obj. of bivalent verbs:

ka-ni-kam bilam AbB 5, 217: 15 *kanīkam* "bring me the sealed tablet!"

an-né-e-tim tašpuram ARM 1, 62: 13 *annêtim annīʾātim* "you have written me this".

ma-tam ra-pa-áš-tam išappa[*r*] ARM 1, 62 r. 10 *mātam rapaštam* "he governs a vast country".

b) The two direct objs. of trivalent verbs:

ka-ni-ik-šu-nu maḫar PN *tu-še-zi-ba-ni* AbB 11, 94: 8*kanīkšunu … tušēzibanni* "you made me draw up a sealed document in the presence of PN".

ni-iš ilim [*l*]*ā tu-ša-az-ka-ri-šu* AbB 13, 87: 10 f. *nīš … tušazkarīšu* "do not let him swear an oath by the life of god!"

ba-ši-it-ka šu-du-di-in-šu AbB 13, 87 r. 6 f. *bašītka šuddinšu* "let him give your possessions".

c) A noun placed in front of the sentence for topicalization (acc. as casus pendens):

100 *ṣa-ba-am Su-ḫa-am … têrētim ana šulum ṣābim šêtu ēpušma* ARM 2, 39: 67 *ṣābam Suḫâm* "as to the 100 soldiers from Suḫum … I performed extispicies concerning the well-being of these soldiers".

am-tam ša ana šūbulim ana ṣērika imtūtanni AbB 2, 87: 10 *amtam* "as to the slave-girl who should have been sent to you, she died off from me".

d) A location:[335]

wardum ba-ba-am lā uṣṣī AbB 1, 39: 21 *bābam* "the slave shall not leave through the gate".

ba-ab napṭarišu iktalûšu ARM 2, 72: 36 *bāb* "they confined him to his quarters".

karšum i-mì-it-tam ù šu-me-lam$_5$ *tarik* ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 16 f. *imittam u šumēlam* "the belly is dark at the right and at the left side".

ammat u ūṭ uššū … miṯḫāriš šu-up-la-am illikū FM 8, 159 no. 45: 11 *šuplam* "the foundations uniformly went one and a half cubits deep".

e) Frequently, more or less frozen, a location with nouns in the st. cstr., used as so-called prepositional expressions:

šumma šamnum a-ša-ar taqbīʾa ul ibaššī AbB 9, 17: 20 *ašar* "if there is no oil in the place that you told me".

ma-ḫar bēlija aškun AbB 6, 181: 6 *maḫar* "I put before my lord".

335 A location may also be marked by preps. such as *ina* "in", etc., or the loc. case (§ 5.197).

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ṭēmšu ša-pa-al šēp bēlija šakin ARM 10, 4: 12 *šapal* "his fate is placed under (lit. at the bottom of) the foot of my lord".

bēlī ana salīmim bi-ri-it PN *u* PN_2 *šakānim uwa'eranni* ARM 26/2, 216 no. 389: 20 *birīt* "my lord ordered me to establish peace (in the space) between PN and PN_2".

f) A direction in spatial or metaphorical meaning:[336]

tap-pu-tam lillikū ARM 1, 7: 44 *tappûtam* "let them come to the aid".

til-lu-ut GN *illiku* FM 10, 50: 12 *tillūt* "he went to the assistance of DN".

Om. *šumma ḫašum ša-a-ar erbettiša kuppuṣat* YOS 10, 36 i 29 *šār* "if the lung is curled in (the direction of) all four winds".

Lit. *ūmu nawrum da-um-ma-tam līwīšum* SAACT 3, 35 N 68 *da'ummatam* "the bright day may become darkness for him".[337]

g) A moment or a period of time, with some words more or less frozen:

ša-at-tam šurīpum illikma AbB 14, 94: 16 *šattam* "this year the ice has gone".

assurrima ur-ra-am še-ra-am [*a*]*wīlum šū kī'am iqabbī* ARM 26/2, 254 no. 402: 25 *urram šēram* "it is to be feared that this man will say tomorrow".

še-er-tam-ma ṭurdaššu AbB 10, 77: 25 *šērtamma* "send him this morning!"

nu-ba-tam/*na-ap-ta-nam ana* GN *ikšudūnim* FM 3, 297 no. 144: 20; FM 3, 298 no. 146 r. 8 "they arrived at GN in the evening/at the (evening) meal".

UD-*ma-am ša ikšudam ittī* PN *innamer* ARM 27, 164: 14 *ūmam* "the day when he arrived he met with PN".

⌜*ku*⌝-*uṣ-ṣa-am-ma* [*b*]*ēlī ammīnim lā iqbêm* FM 3, 263 no. 129: 13 "why did my lord not tell me in winter?"

anāku ka-a-ia-an-tam … aḫam ul nadêku ARM 3, 41: 13 *kajjāntam* "as for me, I am never negligent".

Lit. *ur-ri ù mu-ši elīšu abkī* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 5 *urrī u mūšī* "I wept over him day(s) and night(s)".

h) A complement with verbs of fullness, wearing, covering, or burning:

kīma ^{túg}*ṣu-ba-ta-am lā labšāku* AbB 14, 138: 6 *ṣubātam* "that I am not clothed with a garment".

Lit. *labiš ap-lu-uḫ-tam* FM 14 iii 2 *apluḫtam* "he is clad in armor".

eleppētum šina še-em limlâ ARM 13, 35: 11 *šêm* < *še'am* "let those ships be full of barley".

Lit. *ti-il-la-ti-šu-nu umall*[*û*] *ṣēram* FM 14 iii 1 *tillātīšunu* "they fill the steppe with their auxiliaries".

336 A direction may also be marked by preps. such as *ana* "to" or the term. case (§5.198).

337 In GAG §147e, however, the acc. with *ewûm* "to become" is designated as acc. of manner.

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Om. *šumma martum išissa ši-ra-a-am katim* YOS 10, 31 iv 27 *šīram* "if the base of the gall bladder is covered with flesh".

ḫamūsam … iqqurū u alī i-ša-tam iqlû FM 8, 118 no. 34: 51, see 55 *išātam* "they destroyed the memorial stone and roasted the *a.*-sheep in fire".

i) A complement with verbs of taking away, escaping, and dying (also called ablative acc.):[338]

aṣbassima … iḫ-ta-al-qá-an-ni AbB 11, 55: 19–21 *iḫtalqanni* "I seized her, but she escaped from me".

inūma ina ḫarrānim anāku i-ki-mu-ni-in-ni-ma AbB 13, 4: 9 *īkimūninnima* "when I was on a journey they took (the field) away from me"

lū še'am lū kaspam mu-uḫ-ri-šu-ma AbB 2, 148: 8 *muḫrīšuma* "accept from him barley or silver!"

im-tu-ta-an-ni AbB 2, 87: 11 *imtūtanni* "she died on me".

j) The way in which an action is performed (acc. of manner):

kīma ittī bēlija li-ib-ba-am ga-am-ra-am idabbubū ARM 2, 35: 27 f. *libbam gamram* "whether they talk honestly (lit.: with whole heart) to my lord".

ka-al-la-a-am ana ṣēr bēliya awīlē šunūti šurrī ARM 14, 105: 19, see ARM 18, 8: 18; ARM 33, 101: 33 "bring these men to my lord, quickly!" (< *kallû* "express messenger").

k) Expressing manner, with ending *-ūt-* and pron. suff.:

kaspam ma-ar-ṣú-us-sú ašaqqal AbB 9, 61: 27 *marṣūssu* < *marṣ-ūt-šu* "I can pay the silver only under difficulties".

PN *ri-qú-us-sú-ma ana ṣēr* PN_2 *ittūr* ARM 6, 52: 20 *rīqūssuma* < *rīq-ūt-šu-ma* "PN returned to PN_2 empty-handed".

Om. *ummānu ašar illaku ša-al-mu-sà iturra* YOS 10, 48: 43 "the army, wherever it goes, will return safely".

l) Rarely, expressing manner after the negation *lā*:

ana bēlija lā pa-la-ḫa luqbī RHA 5, 71: 4 *palāḫa* "I will talk to my lord without fear".

m) Rarely, expressing manner in paronomastic inf. constructions:[339]

aššumišu ṣa-la-la ul ṣallāk AbB 14, 114: 23 *ṣalāla* "because of him I can absolutely not sleep".

ze-ni-ša izennī sa-la-mi-ša isalli[*m*] VAB 5, 5: 7 f. *zenîša, salāmiša* "she will be angry with her and she will be friendly with her".

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338 For the acc. with verbs of fullness or taking away, see Jacobsen 1963. Von Soden 1961, 157 f. calls these instances acc. of respect. GKT § 125 f. speaks of the acc. "der Trennung".

339 Aro 1961, 107. In the majority of instances the obl. case is used. Also the loc. case is used in paronomastic inf. constructions, see § 5.200.d.

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da-ma-qí-šu-nu idammiq le-mé-ni-šu-nu ilemmin ARM 8, 1: 4 f. *damāqīšunu, lemēnīšunu* "he will share their good and bad fortune".

n) The scope of a quality (usually called acc. of respect). This acc. is only attested with stats., mainly, but not exclusively in lit. texts. There exists an inalienable relation between the possessor of the quality and the quality itself:[340]

ga-at-ta-am ṣe[*ḫ*]*ḫerā* ARM 1, 132: 21 *gattam* "they are small of stature".

Roy. *bītam ša i-pí-iš-ta-am šukluluma um-me-nu-ta-am quttû* RIME 4, 607: 100 f. *ipištam, ummênūtam* "a house that is perfect as to (its) construction and complete as to (its) craftmanship".

Lit. *anami* PN ⌜*mašil*⌝ *pa-da-tam la-nam* [*š*]*apil* ⌜*e-ṣe-em-tam*⌝ [*puk*]*kul* Gilg. OB II 183–185 *padattam lānam ... eṣemtam* "in build he is similar to PN: stocky in stature, sturdy of bone".

Lit. *urruk bi-ir-ki-šu aruḫ la-sa-ma-am īṣ bu-bu-tam etnuš a-ka-lam* ZA 75, 182: 1–4 *birkīšu ... lasāmam ... bubūtam ... akalam* "he is long-kneed, swift-running, thin from hunger, very weak (for lack of) food".

Lit. *uggur še*$_{20}$*-pi-i*[*n*] OECT 11, 4: 1 *šēpīn* "he is bent-legged".

o) Rarely, the agens with passive stats.:[341]

Om. *šumma kubur libbim qé-e ṣubbut* YOS 10, 42 i 36 *qê* "if the thick part of the heart is seized by threads".

Med. *šumma awīlum ka-al-ba-am našik* BAM 393 r. 5 *kalbam* "if a man has been bitten by a dog".

7.2.4 Locative

§ 5.196. In OB, the loc. case is not fully productive anymore, with the exception of lit. texts.[342] It mainly occurs in the st. cstr. and in paronomastic inf. constructions, and also frozen in advs., preps., and prepositional expressions. Location can be marked pleonastically by the loc. case in combination with the prep. *ina* "in".

§ 5.197. The loc. indicates a location.

a) St. cstr. before pron. suff.:

Lit. DN *ri-tu-uš-ša ṣerret nišī ukī'al* VS 10, 214 ii 10 *rittūšša* "DN holds in her hand the lead-rope of mankind".

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340 Further examples from lit. texts are collected and analyzed by Wasserman 2003, 29–43. see § 5.194.i for the gen. after adjs. to express the scope of a quality.

341 see § 5.194.j for the gen. case after adjs. to express the agens.

342 Groneberg 1978/9; Mayer 1995, 179–181. Location can also be marked by the acc. case (§ 5.195.d, e) or the prep. *ina*.

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b) St. cstr. before noun in the gen.:

n *kirâm ugār* GN *li-ib-bu ša bīt abīša ana* PNf … *idnā* AbB 4, 98: 7 *libbū* "give PNf … n garden in the area of GN, the estate of her father!"

Lit. *qá-ba-al-tu ṣēri* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 11 *qabaltū* "in the middle of the steppe".

Lit. *elīma kīma* PN *ša-mu* DN ZA 110, 48 viii 20 *šamû* "shall I go up, like PN, into DN's heaven?"

c) St. cstr. before noun in the gen. with pleonastic *ina*:

i-[*l*]*i-ib-bu ṣibit nagārī* AbB 1, 59: 13 *illibbū* < *in-libbū* "from the property of the carpenters".

Lit. *ittamḫarū ina re-bi-tu māti* Gilg. OB II 214 *rebītū* "they confronted each other on the square of the land".

d) Free, frozen adv.:

ištū e-le-nu-um ARM 3, 12: 18 *elēnūm* "from above".

ištū ša-ap-la-nu ARM 13, 27: 6 *šaplānū* "from below".

e) Free with pleonastic *ina*:

ina ^{giš}*me-še-qum … inaddin* VAB 5, 65: 12 *mešēqūm* "he will give with a strickle".[343]

§ 5.198. The loc. rarely indicates movement into something. St. cstr. before noun in the gen. with *ana:*[344]

ana li-ib-bu mātim paṭer AbB 4, 82: 6 *libbū* "he has been released into the land".

alpī … ana li-ib-bu n *eqlim šu'āti ištalal*! AbB 11, 116: 15 *libbū* "he dragged away the oxen to those n field".

ana li-ib-bu ummānātim akšudma RATL p. 198 no. 125: 9 *libbū* "I arrived in the midst of the troops".

§ 5.199. The loc. indicates a moment or a period of time:

a) St. cstr. before noun in the gen. with pleonastic *ina*:

ina li-ib-bu 2 *ūmī ana* GN *sinqam* AbB 4, 84: 8 *libbū* "arrive here in GN within two days!"

b) Free, frozen adv.:

awīlum pa-na-nu-um ul ḫasis AbB 14, 144: 29 *panānūm* "the man has never been mentioned previously".

343 CAD M/2, 39 *mešēqu* b. In other texts we find the gen. case *ina mešēqim*, see ibid.

344 Similar examples of *ana libbū* are all from late OB, e.g., AbB 1, 2: 10; AbB 6, 59: 9; AbB 6, 220: 14, 23, 29; AbB 7, 47: 10, r. 4; AbB 7, 50: 2; AbB 10, 150: 27.

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ištū panānūm ana wa-ar-ka-nu-um AbB 14, 149: 5 "from past to future".

a-nu-um-ma ARM 1, 11: 5 *anūmma* "now".[345]

§ 5.200. The loc. indicates the manner or instrument:

a) St. cstr. before pron. suff.:

Lit. *si-iq-ru-uš-ša tušaknišaššum kibrāt erbêm ana šēpīšu* RA 22, 170 f.: 49 *siqrūšša* < *siqrūm-ša* "upon her order she made the four quarters of the world bow at his feet".

Lit. *na-ṣí-ru-uš-ša igdalut* VS 10, 214 iv 18 *naṣīrūšša* < *naṣīrūm-ša* "at her clamor he was afraid".

b) St. cstr. before pron. suff., frozen prep.:

ul-la-nu-uk-ka aḫam šanêm ul īšū ARM 4, 20: 8 *ullânūkka* "apart from you, I don't have another brother".

Lit. *ba-lu-ki* UET 6/2, 396: 16 *balūkki* < *balūm-ki* "without you".

c) St. cstr. before noun in the gen., frozen prep.:

PNf *ba-lum šâlīja illikamma* AbB 2, 150: 11 *balūm* "PNf came without asking me".

d) The loc. indicating the manner or instrument is also used in paronomastic constructions with infs. or adjs.:[346]

a-ma-ru-um-ma ul āmuršu ARM 2, 19: 16 *amārūmma* "I did not see him at all (lit.: by seeing, I did not see him)".

sa-na-qum-ma ul isniqam AbB 13, 114: 18 *sanāqūmma* "he did not arrive at all".

i-ša-ru-um-ma išarā ARM 26/1, 320 no. 154: 29 *išarūmma* "they are very favorable".

ze-ru-um izerranêt[*ima*] FM 1 p. 115: 9 *zêrūm* "he verily hates u[s]".

ṣe-eḫ-ru-um-ma eṣeḫḫir OBTR 156: 16 *ṣeḫrūmma* "it will become very small".

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345 For the etymology and meaning of *anūmma* see Streck 2016, 10 with lit.

346 According to Tropper 2012, 334, the paronomastic inf. uses the loc. case as an instrumentalis. Also Cohen 2004, 110 f. favors the loc. over the nom.; two of his arguments are, however, inconclusive: (a) That mimation is sometimes missing is inconclusive because this might also occur with the nom. ending, see § 2.253. (b) The ref. AbB 2, 115: 17 has been misunderstood by him: *ana awīlim ana qabêmma ul aqbī umma* does not contain a paronomastic inf. The correct translation is rather: "It is (something) which should be said to the lord, but I did not say thus:" The only argument left is that vowel length is never indicated, which is, however, true for the loc. also in other constructions (see § 5.188 for the question whether the vowel is long or short). Kouwenberg 2010, 195 n. 7 suggests the nom. as an unmarked case. However, the parallel refs. for the paronomastic inf. in the acc./obl. of manner/instrumentalis (§ 5.195.m) clearly favor the loc. For further examples of the paronomastic inf. see Aro 1961, 111–113; for the adj. used in paronomastic constructions see Kouwenberg 2010, 196 n. 8.

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7.2.5 Terminative

§ 5.201. In OB, the term. is not fully productive any more, with the exception of lit. texts.[347] Frequently the term. is replaced by the prep. *ana* + gen. Sometimes pleonastic *ana* occurs with the term.

§ 5.202. The term. expresses a direction towards a place.

a) Free:

a-ša-ri-iš kušud ARM 1, 37: 37 *ašariš* "arrive thereto!"

ul-li-iš ana ṣēr ṣābim likšud ARM 6, 28: 21 *ullîš* "let him arrive there to join the troops".

eleppētim šina a-ji-iš illak[*ā*] ARM 1, 6: 48 *ajjiš* "those ships—where shall they go?"

tuppātim š[*ināti*] *a-ḫu-né-e-eš*$_{15}$ *ušaṭṭiramma* ARM 3, 19: 20 *aḫunêš* < *aḫunê-iš* "I wrote th[ese] tablets separately (lit. to its side)".

b) St. cstr. before pron suff.:

Lit. *be-li-iš-šu qūbam ubbalā šaptāšu* AOS 67, 190: 9 *bēliššu* "his lips carry the lamentation to his lord".

c) St. cstr. before noun in the gen.:

Lit. *bi-ti-*⌜*iš emūtim iqrûninni*⌝ Gilg. OB II 149 *bītiš* "they invited me to the house of the father-in-law".

§ 5.203. Expression of a direction in transferred mng., sometimes with a final or consecutive nuance.

a) Free:

PN *A-bi-iš-tikal* AS 16, 52: 25 *abiš* "Trust in the father!"

Lit. *ṣamīʾat šikriš* Atr. 96: 17 *šikriš* "she is thirsty for beer".

Lit. *da-ma-mi-iš uddaḫḫas* PBS 1/1, 2: 47 *damāmiš* "he becomes depressed so that he mourns".

b) Free with pleonastic *ana*:

Lit. *ana ḫi-a-ri-iš iqrab* CT 15, 5 ii 8 *ḫīʾāriš* "he drew near in order to pick as mate".

c) St. cstr. before noun in the gen.:

Lit. *bu-bu-ti-iš nišī ti-i-ti-iš* [*ilī*] Atr. 66: 339 *bubūtiš, tîtiš* "for the hunger of the people, the food [of the gods]".

Lit. *ša-ka-ni-iš abašmêša* CT 44, 23: 12 *šakāniš* "in order to place their *abašmû*-stone".

347 Collection of refs. in Groneberg 1978/9; Mayer 1995, 181–184.

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§ 5.204. The term. rarely expresses a place.

a) Free:

šumma a-ša-ri-iš kaspam ḫašeḫ AbB 6, 79: 22 *ašariš* "if he needs silver there".

a-ša-⌜ri⌝-iš [*n*]*ušš*[*abma*] RATL p. 199 no. 126: 9 "we are stay[ing] there".

b) St. cstr. before pron. suff.:

pu-uḫ-ri-iš-šu-un etel qabûša šūtur RA 22, 170 f.: 33 *puḫrišš̆un* "in their assembly her speech is lordly, surpreme".

§ 5.205. The term. expresses a moment or a period in time.

a) Free:

urram ūlū ul-li-ti-iš ARM 4, 22: 22 *ullītiš* "tomorrow or the day after tomorrow".

Lit. *da-rí-iš* CH iv 21 *dārîš* "forever".

Lit. *nukkurat a-ma-ri-iš* VS 10, 214 vi 9 *amāriš* "she is strange to look at (lit.: when you look [at her])".

Lit. PN *ka-ma-s*[*í-i*]*š maḫar* DN *illakā dī*[*m*]*āšu* CUSAS 10, 2 iv 8 "PN, as he was kneeling, his tears constantly flowed before DN".

b) Free with pleonastic *ana*:

Lit. *ad-da-ri-iš* RA 22, 170 f.: 56 *ad-dāriš* "forever".

c) Free in combination with other preps.:

ina la-bi-ri-iš eqlētim ṣabtū AbB 9, 195: 6 *labiriš* "they have been holding the fields for a long time".

ša ištū la-bi-ri-iš ikkalu AbB 4, 121: 6 *labiriš* "(the field) that he has the usufruct of for a long time".

d) St. cstr. before pron. suff.:

Lit. *isaḫḫuḫū ri-ig-mi-iš-ka* Or. 77, 338 ii 6 *rigmiška* "they tremble at your cry".

e) St. cstr. before noun in the gen.:

Roy. ⌜*aḫ*⌝*-ri-ti-iš ūmī* ⌜*la*⌝*-ba-ri-iš bītim* RIMA 1, 54 iii 11 f. *aḫrītiš*, *labāriš* "in the future (lit.: future of days), when the house becomes old".

f) St. cstr. before noun in the gen. with pleonastic *ana*:

ana da-ri-iš ūmim ARM 4, 50: 8 *dārîš* "forever (lit.: forever of day)".

§ 5.206. The term. expresses a comparison.[348]

a) With nouns (only attested in lit. texts):

Lit. *eṭlum ru-i-iš ana ilīšu ibakkī* AOS 67, 188: 1 *ru'iš* "a man weeps to his god as to a friend".

348 For comparative *-iš* in OB see Streck 2020. There is a close semantic relationship between the uses "direction" and "formation of adverbs", see Gensler 2000, 252–261. Mayer 1995, 164–168 suggested two etymologically different *-iš* endings, a proposal rightfully rejected by Gensler 2000, 251 f.

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Lit. *ina šupat qurādi uššab adī birkāšuma zí-bi-iš idallipā* Iraq 78, 245: 5 *zībiš* "he sits in the warrior's house until his knees get restless (again) like a vulture".

Lit. *barbaru … ši-ib-bi-iš ki-ip-pí-iš īteneppuš* Iraq 78, 245: 11 *šibbiš kippiš* "he constantly acts like a *šibbu*-snake, like a snare".

Lit. *du-un-ni-iš eṭlūtiki kīma mīli ⟨li⟩irtabbī* Or. 87, 15 i 8 *dunniš* "like the strength of your manhood, may it constantly grow like a flood!"

Lit. *zikrum si-in-ni-iš-te-eš ardatu eṭel … kûmma* DN Or. 87, 17 i 45 *sinništeš* "(that) a man is like a woman, a maiden is a young man, are yours, DN".

Lit. *endū zappī zikrū si-ni-iš-te-eš libissunu burrum* Or. 87, 20 ii 19 *sinništeš* "the men are endowed with combs like a woman. Their cloth is multicolored".

Lit. *išāt apim ša dannatam ipēṣu īkulu gi-iṣ-ṣí-iš īwû rîti šāri* Or. 77, 340 v 25 *giṣṣiš* "the fire in the canebrake, which cracked the hard soil, (and) consumed (it) like a thornbush, (so that) it became a pasture of the wind".

b) With adjs. and numerals, comparative *-iš* forms advs.

ma-di-iš azziq AbB 5, 225: 12 "I became very (lit. like a lot) worried".

dam-qí-iš lirkusū markisīšu FM 2, 133 no. 74: 11 "let them fix well (lit. like a good one) its ropes".

ar-ḫi-iš ana ṣērija šūbilam FM 2, 133 no. 74: 18 "send quickly (lit. like a quick one) to me!"

Om. *iš-te-ni-iš* YOS 10, 11 i 24 *ištēniš* "together (lit. like a single one)".

Lit. *ar-ḫi-iš likšussu* CH l 32 *arḫiš* "may it quickly (lit. like a quick one) reach him".

Lit. [*k*]*a-am-li-iš šuttuqu kûmma* DN Or. 87, 16 i 30 "to furiously split is yours, DN".

c) *-iš* with the verb *ewûm* "to become" usually denotes "to change/turn into", but this notion is sometimes close to a comparative mng.:

Lit. *a-wi-li-iš īwī* Gilg. OB II 109 *awīliš* "he changed into/became like a human being".

Lit. *īwē ṭi-id-di-iš* RA 46, 88: 22 *ṭiddiš* "he turned into/became like clay".

§ 5.207. The term. can be combined with the acc. ending, sometimes without mimation, resulting in an ending *-iš-a*(*m*).

a) To express a direction towards a place:

emūqšu an-ni-ša-am-ma ligammirma ARM 2, 21 r. 10 *annîšam* < *annī-iš-am* "he should concentrate his army in this direction".

ú-ul-li-ša-am aštanapparakku AbB 10, 4: 18 *ullîšam* < *ullī-iš-am* "I keep writing to you over there".

Lit. *na-an-na-ri-i-ša illakūšim* RA 22, 170 f.: 31 *nannariša* "they proceed towards her luminary".

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Lit. *bītam … ti-li-ša-am iškun* ZA 71, 63: 11 *tillišam* "he turned the house into a ruin".

b) To express a distributive mng.:

anāku ú-mi-ša ina muḫḫija šamû izannunū AbB 6, 93: 22 *ūmiša* "it is I upon whom it rains daily".

ša … ša-at-ti-ša-am-ma 5 *amātim itarrû* AbB 1, 27: 33 *šattišamma* "who acquires 5 slave girls every year".

eqlam ú-ga-ri-ša-am šuṭram AbB 9, 196: 17 *ugārišam* "write down the land field by field!"

itê … i-di-ša-am šuṭr[*ā*]*nim* AbB 9, 237: 26 *idišam* "write down the boundaries side by side".

⌜*i*⌝*-di-ša-am awīlam u ālšu* [*šu*]*ṭramma* FM 2, 81 no. 46: 14 "[wr]ite (every) man and his village side by side (on the tablet)!"

tuppam ša ṣābišunu a-li-ša-am ašṭuramma ARM 3, 21: 13 *ālišam* "I have written a tablet of their people, town by town".

ṣābum šū kalûšu šu-mi-ša-am ina tuppim šaṭir ARM 1, 42: 8 *šumišam* "all those men are written name by name in a tablet".

8 State

8.1 *Status Rectus*

§ 5.208. The st. rect. is the fully inflected form of a noun without a following noun in the gen. and without an attached pron. suff.

a) Paradigm of the sg.:

	Sg. nom.	**Sg. gen.**	**Sg. acc.**	**Sg. loc.**	**Sg. term.**
Noun masc. with base ending in consonant	*šarrum* "king" *qerbum* "middle"	*šarrim*	*šarram*	*qerbūm*	*qerbiš*
Noun fem. with *-at*	*šarratum* "queen" *qabaltum* "middle"	*šarratim*	*šarratam*	*qabaltūm*	*qabaltiš*
Noun fem. with *-et*	*erretum* "curse"	*erretim*	*erretam*	–	–

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(*cont.*)

	Sg. nom.	**Sg. gen.**	**Sg. acc.**	**Sg. loc.**	**Sg. term.**
Noun fem. with *-t*	*mārtum* “daughter”	*mārtim*	*mārtam*	–	–
Adj. masc. with invariable base	*dannum* “strong”	*dannim*	*dannam*	–	*danniš*
Adj. fem. with invariable base	*dannatum* “strong”	*dannatim*	*dannatam*	–	–
Adj. masc. with base *PaRaS*	*rapšum* “broad”	*rapšim*	*rapšam*	–	*rapšiš*
Adj. fem. with base *PaRaS*	*rapaštum* “broad”	*rapaštim*	*rapaštam*	–	–
Adj. fem. with base *PaRiS*	*damiqtum* “good”	*damiqtim*	*damiqtam*	–	–
Adj. fem. with base *PaRuS*	*rašubtum* “terrifying”	*rašubtim*	*rašubtam*		–
Adj. masc. with base ending in *-ī*	*rabûm* <*rabī-um* “big”	*rabîm* <*rabī-im*	*rabīʾam*	–	*rabîš* < *rabī-iš*
Adj. fem. with base ending in *-ī*	*rabītum* “big”	*rabītim*	*rabītam*	–	–
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ā*	*rubûm* < *rubā-um* “prince”	*rubêm*, *rubîm* < *rubā-im*	*rubâm* < *rubā-am*	–	–
Noun fem. with base ending in *-ā*	*rubātum* “princess”	*rubātim*	*rubātam*	–	–
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ē*	*leqûm* < *leqē-um* “taking”	*leqêm* < *leqē-im*	*leqēʾam*	–	–
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ī*	*bārûm* < *bārī-um* “diviner”	*bārîm* < *bārī-im*	*bārīʾam*, *bārêm* < *barīʾam*	–	–
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ū*	*šadûm* < *šadū-um* “mountain”	*šadêm*, *šadîm* < *šadū-im*	*šadâm* < *šadū-am*	–	–

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b) Paradigm of the dual and pl.:

	Sg.	**Dual nom.**	**Dual obl.**	**Pl. nom.**	**Pl. obl.**
Noun masc. with base ending in consonant	*šarrum* “king”	*šarrān*	*šarrīn*, *šarrēn*	*šarrū*	*šarrī*, *šarrē*
Noun fem. with *-at*	*šarratum* “queen”	*šarratān*	*šarratīn*, *šarratēn*	*šarrātum*	*šarrātim*
Noun fem. with *-et*	*erretum* “curse”	*erretān*	*erretīn*, *erretēn*	*errētum*	*errētim*
Noun fem. with *-t*	*mārtum*	*mārātān*	*mārātīn*, *mārātēn*	*mārātum*	*mārātim*
Noun fem. with base *PiRS*	*šipirtum* “message”	*šipirtān*	*šipirtīn*, *šipirtēn*	*šiprātum*	*šiprātim*
Noun fem. with base *PuRS*	*puluḫtum* “fear”	*puluḫtān*	*puluḫtīn*, *puluḫtēn*	*pulḫātum*	*pulḫātim*
Adj. masc. with invariable base	*dannum* “strong”	*dannān*	*dannīn*, *dannēn*	*dannūtum*	*dannūtim*
Adj. fem. with invariable base	*dannatum* “strong”	*dannatān*	*dannatīn*, *dannatēn*	*dannātum*	*dannātim*
Adj. masc. with base *PaRa/i/uS*	*rapšum* “broad”	*rapšān*	*rapšīn*, *rapšēn*	*rapšūtum*	*rapšūtim*
Adj. fem. with base *PaRaS*	*rapaštum* “broad”	*rapaštān*	*rapaštīn*, *rapaštēn*	*rapšātum*	*rapšātim*
Adj. fem. with base *PaRiS*	*damiqtum* “good”	*damiqtān*	*damiqtīn*, *damiqtēn*	*damqātum*	*damqātim*
Adj. fem. with base *PaRuS*	*rašubtum* “terrifying”	*rašubtān*	*rašubtīn*, *rašubtēn*	*rašbātum*	*rašbātim*
Adj. masc. with base ending in *-ī*	*rabûm* < *rabī-um* “big”	*rabîān*	*rabîn* < *rabī-īn*, *rabên* < *rabī-ēn*	*rabûtum* < *rabī-ūtum*	*rabûtim* < *rabī-ūtim*
Adj. fem. with base ending in *-ī*	*rabītum* “big”	*rabītān*	*rabītīn*, *rabītēn*	*rabī’atum*	*rabī’ātim*
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ā*	*rubûm* < *rubā-um* “prince”	*rubân* < *rubā-ān*	*rubên* < *rubā-īn*, *rubā-ēn*	*rubû* < *rubā-ū*	*rubê*, *rubî* < *rubā-ī*, *rubā’ē*

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(*cont.*)

	Sg.	Dual nom.	Dual obl.	Pl. nom.	Pl. obl.
Noun fem. with base ending in *-ā*	*rubātum* "princess"	*rubātān*	*rubātīn*, *rubātēn*	*rubâtum* < *rubā-ātum*	*rubâtim* < *rubā-ātim*
Noun masc. with base ending in *-ū*	*šadûm* < *šadū-um* "mountain"	*šadân* < *šadū-ān*	*šadên*, *šadîn* < *šadū-īn*, *šadū-ēn*	*šadû* <*šadū-ū*	*šadê*, *šadî* < *šadū-ī*, *šadū-ē*

8.2 *Status Constructus*

8.2.1 Generalities and Paradigm

§ 5.209. a) The st. cstr. is the form of a noun before another noun in the gen. case (e.g., *bēl bītim* "lord of the house"),[349] before a pron. suff. in the gen. case (= possessive suff., §§ 4.2, 4.41–4.52; e.g., *bēl-šu* "his lord"; also called status pronominalis), or before an asyndetic relative clause (e.g., *bīt īpušu* "the house he has built").

b) In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. case, the nom., gen., acc., and obl. case endings are usually[350] (exception: masc. pl. and dual) dropped, resulting in a single form for all three or two cases, respectively, e.g., *bīt* "house of" for the three cases in the sg., or *šarrāt* "queens" for the two cases in the fem. pl., but *šarrū*/*ī* "kings of" in the nom. and obl. case, respectively. If the remaining base ends in two different consonants, this unacceptable cluster[351] is always resolved by either adding a helping vowel *-i* (e.g., *nidinti* "gift of"),[352] or by inserting a helping vowel between those two consonants (e.g., *kalab* "dog of", *šubat* "dwelling of"). A helping vowel *-i* also occurs in some nouns whose base ends in a single consonant (e.g., *abi* "father of") or in a long (doubled) consonant (e.g., *libbi* "heart of"). Nouns whose base ends in a vowel sometimes

349 Instead of the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. case, the st. rect., followed by the determinative pron. *ša* and a noun in the gen. case, may be used, see § 4.147. Some nouns in the st. cstr. merged with the following noun in the gen. case to form full or partial nominal compounds, see § 5.128.

350 As an archaism, the st. cstr. gen. sometimes keeps the case vowel *-i*. For the situation in OAkk. see Hasselbach 2005, 183.

351 see § 2.506.

352 In the st. cstr. gen., it cannot be determined whether this is the helping vowel *-i* or rather the old gen. ending, see § 5.187.d.

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remain unchanged (e.g., *kalā* "totality of"), or they add the helping vowel *-i* (e.g., *rubê* < *rubā-i* "prince of"), or they drop the final vowel (e.g., *kal* "totality of").
c) In the st. cstr. before the pron. suff. 1. sg., there is always a single form for nom. and acc. sg. (e.g., *bēl-ī* "my lord"). The suffs. of the other persons are likewise attached directly to the base (e.g., *bēl-ka* "your lord"), or the helping vowel *-a* is inserted in between (e.g., *nidinta-šu* "his gift"). Some types of nouns distinguish the case endings nom. and acc., in most cases reduced by mimation (e.g., nom. *rubû-ka* < *rubā-u-ka*, acc. *rubâ-ka* < *rubā-a-ka* "your lord", nom. *ab-ū-šu*, acc. *ab-ā-šu* "his father"[353]). The gen. sg. always has *-i* before the suff. (e.g,. *ana bēl-i-ja* "to my lord", *ana bēl-i-ka* "to your lord").[354] All pls. distinguish between nom. and obl. case. (e.g., nom. *šarr-ū-šu*, obl. *šar-rī-šu* "his kings", nom. *šarrāt-ū-šu*, obl. *šarrāt-ī-šu* "his queens"[355]).

§ 5.210. The following paradigm shows the forms common in letters, documents, and the Code of Hammurapi (rarer forms in brackets). For some forms that usually only occur in Lit. and Roy. see §§ 5.186.d–f, 5.187.

	St. rect.	**St. before noun in gen.**	**St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. 1. sg.**	**St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. of other persons**	**St. cstr. gen. (pl.: obl.) before suff. of all persons**
Masc., base ends in a single consonant	*bēl-um* "lord"	*bēl* (gen. *bēl-i*) "lord of"	*bēl-ī* "my lord"	*bēl-ka*/*šu*, etc., "your/his lord", etc., (*be'al-ka*, etc.), (Lit. *bēl-a-ka* etc.)	*bēl-i-ja*/*ka*, etc., "of my/your lord", etc.
Fem. ending in *-Vt*	*šarr-at-um* "queen" *rēdītum* "follower"	*šarr-at* *rēdīt*	*šarr-at-ī*	*šarr-at-ka*, etc.	*šarr-at-i-ja*, etc.
abum, *aḫum*, *emum*	*ab-um* "father" *aḫ-um* "brother"	*ab-i*, (*ab-u*) (*aḫ*)	*ab-ī*	*ab-ū-ka*, etc. (nom.), *ab-ā-ka*, etc. (acc.) (*aḫka*)	*ab-ī-ja*
Pa/*i*/*uS*	*šum-um* "name"	*šumi*, (*šum*)	*šumī*	*šum-ka*, etc.	*šum-i-ja*, etc.
Pa/*i*/*uRS* III-weak	*mār-um* < *mar'-um* "son"	*mār-i*, *mār*, (*mār-u*)	*mār-ī*	*mār-ū-ka*, etc. (nom.), *mār-ā-ka*, etc. (acc.)	*mār-ī-ja*

353 see § 5.186.c for a discussion whether these vowels are short or long.
354 This *-i* is structurally short, but bears the stress, see § 5.186.b.
355 see § 5.136 for a discussion whether these vowels are short or long.

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(*cont.*)

	St. rect.	**St. before noun in gen.**	**St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. 1. sg.**	**St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. of other persons**	**St. cstr. gen. (pl.: obl.) before suff. of all persons**
Monosyllabic base ending in a doubled consonant	*libb-um* "heart" *šarrum* "king"	*libb-i* (*šar*)	*libb-ī* *šarr-ī*	*libb-a-ka*, etc. *šarr-a-ka*, etc.	*libb-i-ja*, etc. *šarr-i-ja*, etc.
Bisyllabic base ending in a doubled consonant	*kunukk-um* "cylinder seal"	*kunuk*, (gen. *kunukk-i*)	*kunukk-ī*	*kunukk-a-ka*, etc.	*kunukk-i-ja*, etc.
PaRS	*kalbum* "dog"	*kalab*, (gen. *kalb-i*)	*kalb-ī*	*kalab-ka*, etc., (Lit. *kalba-ka*, etc.)	*kalb-i-ja*, etc.
PiRS	*šiprum* "work"	*šipir*, (gen. *šipr-i*)	*šipr-ī*	*šipir-ka*, etc., (Lit. *šipra-ka*, etc.)	*šipri-i-ja*, etc.
PuRS	*šulmum* "well-being"	*šulum*, (gen. *šulm-i*)	*šulm-ī*	*šulum-ka*, etc., (Lit. *šulm-a-ka*, etc.)	*šulm-i-ja*, etc.
Fem. nouns with monosyllabic base	*šub-t-um* "dwelling"	*šub-at*, (*šub-t-i*)	*šub-t-ī*	*šub-at-ka*, etc.	*šub-t-i-ja*, etc.
Fem. nouns with monosyllabic base	*qīš-t-um* "gift"	*qīš-t-i*, (*qīš-at*)	*qīš-t-ī*	*qīš-t-a-ka*, etc.	*qīš-t-i-ja*, etc.
Fem. nouns with monosyllabic base	*bēl-t-um* "lady"	*bēl-t-i*, (*bēl-et*)	*bēl-t-ī*	*bēl-et-ka*, etc.	*bēl-t-i-ja*, etc.
Fem. noun with bisyllabic base	*nidin-t-um* "gift"	*nidin-t-i*, (*nidn-at*)	*nidin-t-ī*	*nidin-t-a-ka*, etc., (nom. *nidin-t-i-ka*)	*nidin-t-i-ja*, etc.
Base ending in *-ī*/*ē*	*bānûm* < *bānī-um* "creator"	*bān*(*ī*), (*bānû* < *bānī-u*)	*bānî* < *bānī-ī*	*bānû-ka*, etc. (nom.) < *bānī-u-ka*, *bānâ-ka*, etc. (acc.) < *bānī-a-ka*, (*bānī-ka* nom./acc.)	*bānî-ja*, etc. < *bānī-i-ja*
Base ending in *-ā* or *-a*	*kalûm* "totality" *tappûm* "partner"	*kalā*, *kalī*, *kal*, (*kalû*) < *kalī-u*	 *tappê* < *tappa-ī*	*kalû-ka*, etc. (nom.) < *kalā-u-ka*, *kalâ-ka*, etc. (acc.) < *kalā-a-ka* (*kalā-ka*) (nom./acc.)	*tappê-ja*, etc. < *tappā-i-ja*

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(*cont.*)

	St. rect.	St. before noun in gen.	St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. 1. sg.	St. cstr. nom./acc. (pl.: nom.) before suff. of other persons	St. cstr. gen. (pl.: obl.) before suff. of all persons
Base ending in *-ū*	*šūṣûm* "to release"	*šūṣū*, *šūṣî* < *šūṣū-i*			
Masc. pl.	*šarrū* "kings" *ilū* "gods" *aḫḫū* "brothers" *mār šiprim* "envoy"	*šarr-ū* (nom.) *šarr-ī* (obl.) (*il-ī* [nom.]) *mār šiprī* (nom./obl.)	*šarr-ū-ja*/*-ka*, etc. (nom.) (*aḫḫī-ja* [nom.])		*šarr-ī-ja*, etc.
Fem. pl.	*šarrātum* "queens"	*šarrāt* (nom./obl.)	*šarrāt-ū-ja*/*-ka*, etc. (nom.) (Lit. *šarrāt-a-ja*/*-ka*, etc.) (nom.) (*šarrāt-ka*, etc.) (nom.)		*šarrāt-ī-ja*, etc. (Lit. *šarrāt-a-ja*, etc.)
Dual masc.	*šēpum* "foot"	*šēp-ā* (nom.) *šēp-ī* (obl.)	*šēp-ā-ja*/*-ka*, etc. (nom.)		*šēp-ī-ja*, etc.
Dual fem.	*šaptum* "lip"	*šapt-ā* (nom.) *šapt-ī* (obl.)	*šap-t-ā-ja*/*-ka*, etc. (nom.) (Lit./Lex. also *šap-ā-ja-*/*-ka*, etc.) (nom.)		*šap-t-ī-ja*

8.2.3 Masculine Nouns with Base Ending in a Single Consonant

§ 5.211. The st. cstr. before noun in the gen. usually has no case endings.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

be-el bītim šū iddâk CH § 16 *bēl* "that owner of the house will be killed".

šumma dīnum šū di-in napištim CH § 3 *dīn* "if that case is a case of life (i.e., involves a capital offense)".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ana be-el wardim CH § 20 *bēl* "to the owner of the slave".

ina di-in idīnu enêm ukannūšuma CH § 5 *dīn* "they shall convict him of having changed the judgment that he rendered".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

be-el awātišu … ṭurdam AbB 2, 45: 5 *bēl* "send me his adversary in court".

ni-iš ilim izakkarma CH § 20 *nīš* "he will swear an oath by a god".

§ 5.212. As an archaism, the st. cstr. gen. before noun in the gen. sometimes has the gen. ending *-i*:

ina bi-ti tiṣbutātim AbB 10, 6: 16 *bīti* "in a house of quarrels".

mārī ni-ši ilišu AbB 13, 60: 5 *nīši* "sons of (i.e., bound by) the oath of his god".[356]

Lit. *kīma a-li kiššatim* CUSAS 10, 14: 1 *āli* "like a city of supremacy".

356 But see *mārī ni-iš ilišu* AbB 13, 60: 31 *nīš*.

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§ 5.213. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:
ul be-lí atta CH § 282 *bēl-ī* "you are not my master".

§ 5.214. The st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. of all persons except 1. sg. usually has no vowel:
a) St. cstr. nom.:
mu-ub-bi-ir-šu iddâk CH § 1 *mubbir-šu* "his accuser".
b) The st. cstr. acc.:
di-in-šu ītenī CH § 5 *dīn-šu* "he changed his judgement".
c) The word *ṭēmu* rarely has a st. cstr. acc. *ṭe'am*:
ṭe$_4$-a-am-šu-nu FM 7, 46 no. 18: 21 *ṭe'ām-šunu* "their intention".

§ 5.215. But in Lit. a helping vowel *-a-* is rarely inserted between base and suff.:
Lit. *za-ma-ra-ša-ma … ṭābu* CT 15, 1 i 3 *zamāra-ša-ma* "singing about is sweet".

§ 5.216. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:
ina qá-ti-šu CH § 19 *qāti-šu* "in his hand".
ana be-lí-šu CH § 17 *bēli-šu* "to his owner".

8.2.4 Feminine Nouns Ending in *-Vt*

§ 5.217. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. usually has no ending:
a) St. cstr. nom.:
aš-ša-at awīlim … panīša ištakan CH § 141 *aššat* "the wife of a man has set her face".
PNf *re-di-it warkatiša* MHET 2/2, 130: 5; MHET 2/2, 250: 3 *rēdīt* "PNf is the one who will take over her legacy".[357]
Lit. *bi-ni-it qātija atti* VS 10, 214 vi 47 *binīt* "you are a creature of my hand".
b) St. cstr. gen.:
ana ši-bu-ut sarrātim CH § 3 *šībūt* "to a false testimony".
ina dan-na-at šarrim CH § 27 *dannat* "in a fortress of the king".
c) St. cstr. acc.:
mu-ut-ta-at eqlim … inaddinūšimma CH § 137 *muttat* "they will give to her half of the field".

357 For other refs. see CAD R 238 *redû* A 5c. Mayer 2015, 191 ad § 64d, thinks that *re*-DI-IT stands for *rēdī-et*. However, a form *rēdī-et* would no doubt contract to *rēdêt*, and the resulting contracted vowel would sometimes be rendered plene, but this never occurs.

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§ 5.218. But parts. of roots III-weak sometimes have the ending *-at* instead of *-īt* in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen.:
a) St. cstr. nom.:
Roy. DN *na-bi-a-at šumija … liqbī* RIME 4, 674: 84 *nābīʾat* "may DN, who proclaims my name, announce".
b) St. cstr. gen.:
Roy. *ana* DN *na-bi-a-at šumija* RIME 4, 673: 25 *nābīʾat* "for DN, who proclaims my name".

§ 5.219. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:
aš-ša-ti AbB 10, 158 r. 13 *aššat-ī* "my wife".

§ 5.220. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. of all persons except 1. sg.:
a) St. cstr. nom.:
aš-ša-su … ittalkam AbB 10, 147: 15 *aššassu* < *aššat-šu* "his wife departed".
b) St. cstr. fem.:
aš-ša-sú uballaṭ CH § 129 *aššassu* < *aššat-šu* "he keeps his wife alive".
mu-ut-ta-sú ugallabū CH § 127 *muttassu* < *muttat-šu* "they will shave the half of his (hair)".

§ 5.221. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:
ina er-ṣe-ti-šu-nu CH § 23 *erṣeti-šunu* "on their territory".
ina kussī da-a-a-nu-ti-šu CH § 5 *dajjānūti-šu* "from the throne of his judgeship".

8.2.5 *abum, aḫum, emum*

§ 5.222. The words *abum* "father", *aḫum* "brother", and *emum* "father-in-law" usually add the helping vowel *-i* in the st. cstr. before nouns in the gen.
a) St. cstr. nom.:
a-bi mārtim … itabbal CH § 159 *abi* "the daughter's father will take away".
b) St. cstr. gen.:
ana a-bi GN AbB 5, 200: 18 *abi* "to the father of GN".
[*itt*]*ī* PN *a-ḫi aššatija* AbB 7, 103: 8 *aḫi* "[together wit]h PN, the brother of my wife".
c) St. cstr. acc.:
a-ḫi rēdêm ul taṭrudīm AbB 10, 168: 7 *aḫi* "you did not send me the brother of the soldier".

§ 5.223. Rarely, the st. cstr. of *aḫum* before nouns in the gen. has no ending (examples of acc.):

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a-aḫ PN *utarrūnim* ARM 26/2, 285 no. 411: 58 *aḫ* "they shall send back to me the brother of PN".

a-aḫ PN … *aṭṭardaššu* ARM 28, 136: 23 *aḫ* "I have sent the brother of PN".

§ 5.224. With the frozen gen. compound *abu bītim* "father of the house (i.e., administrator of the house)", the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. ends in *-u*, also in the gen. and acc. see st. cstr. in *-u* in lit. and roy. texts (§ 5.187).

a) St. cstr. gen.:

ana PN *a-bu bītim* ARM 10, 166 r. 10 *abu* "to PN, the father of the house".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

a-bu bītim t[*akl*]*am* ARM 1, 18: 34; ARM 1, 73: 53 *abu* "a trustworthy father of the house".

§ 5.225. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

a-ḫi AbB 10, 158 r. 13 *aḫ-ī* "my brother".

ul a-bi atta CH § 192 *ab-ī* "you are not my father".

§ 5.226. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before a pron. suff. of all persons except 1. sg., *abum*, *aḫum*, and *emum* usually distinguish between nom. and acc.[358]

a) St. cstr. nom.:

e-mu-šu … iqtabī CH § 161 *emū*/*u-šu* "his father-in-law has said".

a-bu-ša ul iraggum CH § 162 *abū*/*u-ša* "her father will not claim".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

a-ba-šu … iḫīʾaṭ CH § 186 *abā*/*a-šu* "he is always seeking his father".

a-ba-šu imtaḫaṣ CH § 195 *abā*/*a-šu* "he hit his father".

§ 5.227. On rare occasions, no case vowel appears with *aḫum* in the st. cstr. nom./acc. before the pron. suff. of all persons except 1. sg.:[359]

a) St. cstr. nom.:

PN *a-aḫ-šu* … [*ī*]*muršuma* AbB 9, 62: 13 *aḫ-šu* "PN, his brother, saw him".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

PN *a*-[*a*]*ḫ-šu ana* PN_2 *u* PN_3 *piqidma* AbB 9, 62: 22 *aḫ-šu* "entrust PN, his brother, to PN_2 and PN_3!"

§ 5.228. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ilik a-bi-šu CH § 29 *abī*/*i-šu* "his father's service obligation".

ana bīt e-mi-šu CH § 159 *emī*/*i-šu* "to the house of his father-in-law".

358 see § 5.186.c for the question whether the case vowels are long or short.

359 In ARM 26/1, 568 no. 267: 27, read *a*-[*ḫu*]-*ka* instead of *a*-[*aḫ*]-*ka*. see *a-ḫu-šu*(*-ma*) ARM 26/1, 568 no. 267: 19, 30.

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8.2.6 Nouns *Pa/i/uS*

§ 5.229. Nouns with pattern *Pa/i/uS* sometimes appear without a vowel in the st. cstr. before nouns in the gen.:

a) St. cstr. gen.:

ana a-aḫ ēkallim ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 28 *aḫ* "at the side of the palace".

ina pa-an abullija ARM 26/1, 343 no. 169: 11 *pan* "in front of my city gate".[360]

b) St. cstr. acc.:

aššum šum be-lí-ia iḫassas[*u*] ARM 26/2, 70 no. 312: 3 *šum* "because he remembers the name of my lord".

§ 5.230. But in many cases we find the helping vowel *-i* in the st. cstr. before nouns in the gen.:

a) St. cstr. nom.:

DN *ì-lí abīka* [*liš*]*āḫiz* AbB 5, 39: 8 *ili* "[may] DN, the god of your father, inquire".

šu-mi ilika … liblī AbB 14, 40: 22 *šumi* "shall the name of your god be extinguished?"

mu-ti PNf … *ittalkam* CUSAS 36, 100: 11 *muti* "the husband of PNf has come".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ša DN *i-li ālika* AbB 13, 140 r. 4 *ili* "of DN, the god of your city".

ina a-ḫi Purattim MHET 2/2, 144: 2 *aḫi* "at the bank of the Euphrates".

ana PN *mu-ti mārtišu* MHET 1/1, 78: 8 *muti* "to PN, the husband of his daughter".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

šu-mi bīt abīja azakkaru AbB 14, 18: 11 *šumi* "(that) I will no longer mention the name of my father's house".

§ 5.231. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

šu-mi išṭurū AbB 4, 69: 19 *šum-ī* "they wrote my name".

§ 5.232. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg.:

a) St. cstr. nom.:

a-aḫ-ka nadī AbB 14, 166: 21 *aḫ-ka* "your arm is thrown (i.e., you are negligent)".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

a-aḫ-šu iddīma CH § 53 *aḫ-šu* "he threw his arm (i.e., neglected)".

mimma šum-šu … ištām CH § 7 *šum-šu* "he bought anything else".

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360 But *pan* may also be an example of a masc. pl., see § 5.287.b.

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§ 5.233. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ḫissat šu-⌜mi⌝-ia OBTR 119: 10 *šumi-ja* "mention of my name".

8.2.7 Nouns *Pa/i/uRS* III-Weak

§ 5.234. The st. cstr. of nouns *Pa/i/uRS* III-weak frequently ends in *-i*. This vowel is usually thought to be short, but seenote the plene vowel spelling *ni-qí-i* (see c, below). It may be that in forms like *mi-li* (root MLY), this *-i* is not the helping vowel also found in *abi* (§ 5.222), *ili* (§ 5.230), *libbi* (§ 5.240), or *kunukki* (§ 5.246), but rather reflects the original ending /-ī/ (st. cstr. *milī* < *mili'*, with short first vowel). This is, however, difficult to prove, since in middle OB this helping vowel had spread to so many forms in the paradigm, and therefore a form *mīli* can likewise be derived directly from the st. rect. *mīlum* by analogy to *abi*, etc. This is certainly true for forms like *ma-ri*, whose original st. cstr. would be **marā* (*PaRaS*), so that *māri* must be directly derived from *mārum*. see § 2.235 for st. cstr. forms without *-i* directly derived from the st. rect. Therefore, this grammar conveniently writes *mīli*, *māri*, etc.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ma-ri PN *aw*[*īl*]*am … iṣbat* AbB 13, 46: 18 *māri* (*mārum* < *mar'um*) "the son of PN has drafted a man".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ittī ma-ri šiprija AbB 3, 21: 11 *māri* "with my envoy" (or pl.?).

ana ma-ri šiprim [*š*]*a illakakku* AbB 11, 44: 15 *māri* "to the envoy who will come to you".

ana ma-ri eṭemmim jâti OBTR 150: 14 *māri* "to the son of a ghost, me".

a[*n*]*a mi-li kiššatim* AbB 13, 180: 19 *mīli* (*mīlum* < *mil'um*) "for the flood of totality".

ana ni-ši dipārīja RATL p. 204 no. 129 r. 6 *nīši* (*nīšum* < *niš'um*) "to the lifting of my torches".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

jâti ma-ri eṭemmim lidannin OBTR 150: 36 *māri* "may she strengthen me, the son of a ghost".

ma-ri aḫīja [*šū*]*rênim* AbB 6, 188: 28 *māri* "bring the son of my brother to me!"

Lit. *ellam ni-qí-i qātīšu* RA 22, 170 f.: 43 *nīqi* (*nīqum* < *niqjum*) "the pure offering of his hands".

§ 5.235. Sometimes there is no vowel in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. These forms too (see § 2.234) are directly derived from the correponding st. rect. forms (*mārum* → *mār*, etc.).

a) St. cstr. nom.:

Om. *tibût ma-ar bītim* YOS 10, 44: 62 *mār* "revolt of the son of the house".

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b) St. cstr. gen.:

ina ḫu-ud l[*ibbim*] ARM 10, 102: 25 *ḫūd* (*ḫūdum* < *ḫudwum*) "in the joy of the h[eart]".

ina mi-il libbika ARM 4, 70: 23 *mīl* "in fullness of your heart (i.e., in high spirits)".

ittī ṣa-ab māt GN ARM 1, 23: 11 *ṣāb* "with the troop of the land of GN".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

bi-iš qātišu ... iddinma CH § 112 *bīš* "he gave property of his hand".

§ 5.236. Sometimes, especially with more or less frozen gen. constructions, the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. ends in *-u*, also in the gen. and acc. see st. cstr. in *-u* in lit. and roy. texts (§ 5.187).

a) St. cstr. gen.:

aššum jâti ma-ru eṭemmim OBTR 138: 5 *māru* "because of me, the son of a ghost".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

ma-ru ši[*prik*]*i ṭurdīmma* AbB 1, 51: 21 *māru* "send me your envoy!"

§ 5.237. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

ma-ri [*a*]*tta* ARM 10, 104 r. 4 *mār-ī* "you are my son".

§ 5.238. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., nouns *Pa*/*i*/*uRS* III-weak distinguish between nom. and acc.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ṣa-bu-šu mīmma ul ikkirūn[*im*] MARI 8, 779: 26 "his troops have not at all become hostile against me".

Om. *ma-ru-ka ... itebbīkum* YOS 10, 42 ii 38 *mārū-ka* (*mārum* < *mar'um*) "your son will revolt against you".

Lit. ⌜*ma*⌝*-ru-šu ippalšu* ZA 110, 39 i 7 *mārū-šu* "his son answered him".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

bi-ša-šu ... inaddinūma CH § 54 *bīšā-šu* (*bīšum* < *bišjum*) "they will give his property".

ma-ra-šu rabêm ... iṭrud FM 2, 221 no. 119: 5 *mārā-šu* "he sent his oldest son".

ṣa-ba-ku-nu kummisānim MARI 8, 778: 21 *ṣābākunu* "assemble your troops".

Lit. *ma-ra-šu izzib* AMD 14, 197: 18 *mārašu* "he leaves his son".

§ 5.239. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

zitti ma-ri-šu AbB 13, 22: 24 *mārī-šu* "his son's share".

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8.2.8 Monosyllabic Base Ending in a Long (Doubled) Consonant

§ 5.240. In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., a helping vowel *-i* is frequently added to the base.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

li-ib-bi be-lí-ia lā ina"id ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503 l.e. 4 *libbi* "may the heart of my lord not worry".

Lit. *wašib* DN *šar-ri* [*ša*]*mê šar-ri apsî* DN_2 Atr. 48: 101f. *šarri* "DN, king of heaven, was sitting there, DN_2, king of the subterranean water …".[361]

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ana li-ib-bi ālim ARM 10, 80: 23 *libbi* "in the center of the city".

ina mu-úḫ-ḫi eqlika AbB 10, 178: 13 *muḫḫi* "on (top of) your field".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

ši-in-ni awīlim … ittadī CH § 200 "he knocked out the tooth of a man".

Lit. *li-ib-bi* DN … *uṭīb* CH xlviii 32 *libbi* "he pleased the heart of DN".

§ 5.241. Sometimes the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. appears without any vowel and the long final consonant is shortened.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

Roy. DN *šar šīmtim šīmtašu lilemmin* RIME 4, 608: 147 *šar* "may DN, king of destiny, worsen his destiny".[362]

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ina tu-up nēmetti[*m*] CUSAS 36, 201: 18 *tup* "on the tablet of imposts".[363]

ina mu-úḫ igārim AbB 11, 95: 28 *muḫ* "on top of the wall".

ina mu-úḫ ṣuḫāri AbB 1, 21: 28 *muḫ* "on top of the boy".

ana li-ib GN ARM 28, 53 r. 8 *lib* "in GN".

c) St. cstr. acc.:

⌜*kap*⌝(KAB) *lurmim šūbilam* ARM 28, 43: 16 *kap* "send me the wing of an ostrich!"

§ 5.242. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

ul um-mi atti CH § 192 *umm-ī* "you are not my mother".

§ 5.243. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., a helping vowel *-a* is added to the base.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

li-ib-ba-ki ina"id ARM 10, 123: 5 *libba-ki* "your heart worries".

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361 For further refs. for *šarri* see Beaulieu/Mayer 1997, 166.

362 For further refs. for *šar* see Beaulieu/Mayer 1997, 166.

363 The same text has *ina tu-up-pi pilkāt*[*im*] CUSAS 36, 201: 8 *tuppi* "on a tablet of boundaries". Therefore, *tu-up* is perhaps a mistake for *tu-up-*⟨*pi*⟩.

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b) St. cstr. acc.:

DUB-*pa-šu uraṭṭab* CH § 48 *tuppa-šu* "he will make wet his tablet".

um-ma-šu iḫīʾaṭ CH § 186 *umma-šu* "he is always seeking his mother".

§ 5.244. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ša pī DUB-*pí-šu* CH § 66 *tuppi-šu* "in accordance with his tablet".

ina sūn um-mi-šu CH § 157 *ummi-šu* "in his mother's lap".

8.2.9 Bisyllabic Base Ending in a Long (Doubled) Consonant

§ 5.245. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. usually appears without any vowel and the long final consonant is shortened.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ku-nu-uk šangê DN … *u kunukkātkunu baqrā* AbB 11, 90: 27 "the seal of the high-priest of DN and your seals are contested".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ina ku-nu-uk PN ARM 10, 116: 30 *kunuk* "with the seal of PN".

ina ku-nu-uk mārī kārim FM 2, 285 no. 130: 18 *kunuk* "with the seal of the sons of the merchants' area".

ina pa-ḫa-al DN FM 7, 44 no. 16: 10 *paḫal* "at the thigh of DN" (but see *paḫalli* l. 11, § 5.245).

c) St. cstr. acc.:

[*k*]*u-nu-uk šangê* DN … *taknukā* AbB 11, 90: 18 *kunuk* "you sealed (it) with a seal of the high-priest of DN".

§ 5.246. In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., sometimes a vowel *-i* is found. Since there are only examples of the st. cstr. gen., it remains unclear whether this is the helping vowel *-i* or rather, as an archaism,[364] the gen. ending *-i*:

ina ku-nu-uk-ki awīlim AbB 1, 46: 13 *kunukki* "with the seal of the man".

ina ku-nu-uk-ki šanîmma AbB 11, 77: 26 *kunukki* "with the seal of someone else".

ina la-ma-as-sí bēlija ARM 27, 138: 19; ARM 26/2, 101 no. 329: 61 *lamassi* "through the protection of my lord".

ana pa-ḫa-al-li DN FM 7, 44 no. 16: 11 *paḫalli* "to the thigh of DN" (but see *paḫal* l. 10, § 5.244b).

§ 5.247. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

PN *La-ma-*⌜*sí*⌝ MHET 2/2, 132: 18 *Lamass-ī* "My protective spirit".

364 see Hasselbach 2005, 183 for the st. cstr. gen. ending in *-i* in OAkk.

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§ 5.248. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., a helping vowel *-a* is added to the base.
a) St. cstr. nom.:
la-ma-sà-k[*a*] *lišallimšināti* AbB 1, 7: 24 *lamassa-ka* "may your protective spirit keep them well".
b) St. cstr. acc.:
a-tap-pa-šu … iptē CH § 55 *atappa-šu* "he opened his canal".
ku-nu-uk-ka-šu-nu našīʾāšum AbB 5, 10: 6 *kunukka-šunu* "they have brought him their sealed tablet".

§ 5.249. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:
bēl ḫu-bu-ul-li-šu CH § 151 *ḫubulli-šu* "his creditor".
i-na ku-nu-uk-ki-šu AbB 13, 72: 10 *kunukki-šu* "with his seal".

8.2.10 Base *PaRS*, *PiRS*, *PuRS*

§ 5.250. In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., a helping vowel, which is identical with the vowel of the first syllable, is usually inserted between the second and third radicals.
a) St. cstr. nom.:
[*š*]*u-lum abīni … lū dārī* AbB 1, 131: 10 *šulum* "may the well-being of our father be forever".
b) St. cstr. gen.:
ša kīma pa-ga-ar bēlišu ARM 27, 72bis: 37 *pagar* "who is like the body of the lord (i.e., represents his lord)".
ana ši-pí-ir GN AbB 1, 109: 10 *šipir* "for the work of GN".
c) St. cstr. acc.:
ma-ḫa-ar šībī CH § 75+e *maḫar* "in the presence of witnesses".
i-li-ik abīšu alākam lā ileʾʾī CH § 29 *ilik* "he is unable to perform his father's service obligation".

§ 5.251. Sometimes a vowel *-i* is found, especially in the st. cstr. gen. In the st. cstr. acc., this *-i* is a helping vowel, but in the st. cstr. gen. an interpretation as the gen. ending[365] is more likely:
a) St. cstr. gen.:
ina pu-úḫ-ri ālim AbB 7, 87 r. 10 *puḫri* "in the assembly of the city".
ana šu-ul-mi aḫīja AbB 7, 98: 9 *šulmi* "for the health of my brother".[366]

365 see Hasselbach 2005, 183 for the st. cstr. gen. ending *-i* in OAkk.
366 But *šu-lum aḫīja* (st. cstr. nom.) AbB 7, 98: 10.

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[*ana š*]*u-ul-mi abīni* AbB 1, 131: 9 *šulmi* "[for the well]-being of our father".[367]

Lit. *ana zi-ik-ri eṭlim* Gilg. OB II 165 *zikri* "at the fellow's word".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

šulumka ma-aḫ-ri DN u DN_2 *lū dārī* AbB 12, 45: 9 *maḫri* "may your well-being last forever before DN and DN_2".

§ 5.252. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

ša il-ki illaku AbB 14, 29: 15 *ilk-ī* "who performs my service obligation".

§ 5.253. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., a helping vowel, which is identical with the vowel of the first syllable, is usually inserted between the second and third radicals.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

umma PN *wa-ra-ad-ki-ma* AbB 13, 164: 3 *warad-ki-ma* "thus (says) PN, your slave".

šu-lum-ka … lū dārī AbB 7, 87: 9 *šulum-ka* "may your well-being last forever".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

i-li-ik-šu ittalak CH § 30 *ilik-šu* "he performed his service".

ḫu-lu-uq-šu ileqqē CH § 9 *ḫuluq-šu* "he will take his lost property".

§ 5.254. But in Lit., a helping vowel *-a-* may be attached to the base. Examples of the st. cstr. nom.:

Lit. *kullat dadmī qá-ab-la-ka imrurma* CT 15, 4 ii 6 *qabla-ka* "your battle plowed all inhabited lands".

Lit. DN *ri-ig-ma-šu abūbu* Gilg. OB III 110, 197 *rigma-šu* "DN—his cry is the deluge".

Lit. *šarrum mi-ig-ra-šu-un … itnaqqīšunūt* RA 22, 170 f.: 41 *migra-šun* "the king, their favorite, offers for them".

§ 5.255. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ina ma-aḫ-ri-šu-nu CH § 9 *maḫri-šunu* "before them".

mūdê ḫu-ul-qí-šu CH § 9 *ḫulq-išu* "who knows his lost property".

8.2.11 Feminine Nouns with Monosyllabic Base Ending in *-t*

§ 5.256. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. sometimes ends in *-at* or *-et*. This is especially common with nouns from roots I-w (*ṣibtu*, *biltu*, *šubtu*, *simtu*). With

367 But [*š*]*u-lum abīni* (st. cstr. nom.) AbB 1, 131: 10.

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bēltum and *qīštum*, one finds *bēlet* besides *bēlti* and *qīšat* besides *qīšti*. Only examples of the st. cstr. gen. are listed here:

ana ṣí-ba-at kaspim AbB 6, 5: 14 *ṣibat* "as the silver's interest".

ina qí-ša-at šarrim! AbB 11, 144 r. 2 *qīšat* "from the gift of the king".

ina bi-la-at kirîm CH § 64 *bilat* "of the yield of the grove".

kīma šu-ba-at bēlija[*ma*] ARM 10, 94: 6 *šubat* "like the dwelling of my lord".

ana DN *be-le-et tarbaṣim* OBTR 16: 8 *bēlet* "to DN, the lady of the enclosure".

Lit. *akul aklam* PN *sí-ma-at balāṭim* Gilg. OB II 97 *simat* "eat the bread, PN, the thing proper to life!"[368]

§ 5.257. Sometimes a helping vowel *-i* is attached to the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. This is especially common with nouns that have a long vowel (*bēltum*, *qīštum*, *šīmtum têrtum*), although one also finds the st. cstr. *bilti*.

a) St. cstr. gen.:

ana (...) *be-el-ti bīti* AbB 9, 104: 12, 23; AbB 12, 67: 20 *bēlti* "for the lady of the house".

maḫar be-el-ti bītim AbB 10, 77: 18 *bēlti* "before the lady of the house".

DN *be-el-ti* GN OBTR 154: 4 *bēlti* "DN the lady of GN".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

qí-iš-ti šarrum ... iddinu ilteqē CH § 34 *qīšti* "he took the present that the king has given".

bi-il-ti ŠE-*e* AbB 1, 72 r. 4[369] *bilti* "yield of grain".

[*t*]*e-er-ti ēkallim* [*lū*] *ṣ*[*a*]*btū* ARM 1, 76: 8 *têrti* "let them have a job with the palace".

Lit. *šikaram šitī ši-im-ti māti* Gilg. OB II 98 *šīmti* "drink the beer, the lot of the land!"

§ 5.258. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

ul ši-im-ti išīm ARM 1, 108 r. 5 *šīmt-ī* "he did not decide my fate".

§ 5.259. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., some nouns insert *-a-* or *-e-* before the fem. ending. This is especially common with nouns that have a st. cstr. ending in *-at* before a noun in the gen. (§ 5.256).

a) St. cstr. nom.:

bēlki u be-le-et-ki liballiṭūki AbB 7, 53: 3 *bēlet-ki* "may your lord and your lady keep you alive!"

368 The same text has in the next line *ši-im-ti māti*, see § 5.257.b.

369 The context is partly broken and unclear.

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aššassu a-ma-as-sú mārūšu u PN *... umma šunuma* AbB 8, 84: 18 *amassu* < *amat-šu* "his wife, his slave girl, his son, and PN said as follows".

PN *Alī-sí-ma-at-ni* ARDēr 58: 6 *simat-ni* "Where is our decorum?"

b) St. cstr. acc.:

bi-la-as-sú iššī ARM 26/2, 428 no. 491: 29 *bilassu* < *bilat-šu* "he brought him his tribute".

ṣi-ba-as-sú liddinūnim AbB 10, 157: 9 *ṣibassu* < *ṣibat-šu* "may they give me its interest".

§ 5.260. Some nouns add a helping vowel *-a* to the fem. ending. This is especially common with nouns that add *-i* to the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. (§ 5.257).

a) St. cstr. nom.:

lū q[*í*]*-iš-ta-a-ka* AbB 9, 126: 15 *qīšta-ka* "let it be your gift".

ba-ab-ta-šu ... ubāršuma CH § 126 *bābta-šu* "his city quarter convicts him".

te-er-ta-šu nadêt ARM 1, 109: 10 *têrta-šu* "his post is vacant".

b) St. cst. acc.:

ḫi-ir-ta-šu ... izzib CH § 138 *ḫīrta-šu* "he wants to divorce his wife".

qí-iš-ta-šu luddin ARM 26/1, 206 no. 62: 48 *qīšta-šu* "let me give his gift".

§ 5.261. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ša ... ṣi-ib-ti-šu CH § 51 *ṣibti-šu* "of his interest".

ana ba-ab-ti-šu inaddin CH § 126 *bābti-šu* "he will give to his ward".

8.2.12 Feminine Nouns with Bisyllabic Base Ending in *-t*

§ 5.262. In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., a helping vowel *-i* is added to the fem. ending in most cases:

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ša-[*p*]*í-il-ti ṣābim kalûšu ... illakam* ARM 3, 14: 11 *šapilti* "all of the rest of the troop will go".

ḫi-ši-iḫ-ti ēkallim ul ibbaššī ARM 5, 86 r. 4 *ḫišiḫti* "there will not arise any need of the palace".

mu-še$_{20}$*-ni-iq-ti* PN TEBA 50: 13 *mušēniqti* "wet nurse of PN".[370]

b) St. cstr. gen.:

kīma wu-ur-ti bēlija ARM 5, 77: 5 *wu"urti* "according to the instruction of my lord".

ina ú-ku-ul-ti ilim ARM 5, 87: 6 *ukulti* "by a devouring of the god".

370 Pace GAG § 64h, *-at* is not obligatory with ptcs.

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c) St. cstr. acc.:
na-kap-ti awīlim … iptēma CH § 215 *nakkapti* "he opened a man's temple".

§ 5.263. In Om., PN, and Lit., the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. sometimes ends in *-at*:
Om.[371] *ni-id-na-at pí-im ana* DN ARM 26/1, 223 no. 84: 12 *nidnat* "promise to DN".
PN *Ni-id-na-at-Sîn* ARM 28, 6: 11 *nidnat* "Gift of Sîn".
Lit. *mu-te-ra-at ī*[*nim*] RA 60, 6: 5 *muterrat* "she who turns the eye".
Lit. *na-ra-ma-at* DN FM 14 iv 9 *narāmat* "beloved one of DN".

§ 5.264. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:
e-ri-iš-ti ana PN *aqbī* ARM 2, 66: 14 *erišt-ī* "I told my desire to PN".
na-pa-áš-ti uballiṭ ARM 1, 1 r. 11 *napašt-ī* "I saved my life".

§ 5.265. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. of all persons except 1. sg.
a) The st. cstr. nom. usually ends in *-a-*:
še-ri-ik-ta-ša ša bīt abīšama CH § 163 *šerikta-ša* "her present belongs to the house of her father".
te-bi-ib-ta-ka lū sunnuqat ARM 1, 6: 40 *tēbibta-ka* "let your clearing be carefully checked".
b) Also the st. cstr. acc. usually ends in *-a-*:
še-ri-ik-ta-ša utarrūšim CH § 137 *šerikta-ša* "they will give back her present to her".
e-ri-iš-ta-ka … eriš ARM 1, 27: 25 *erišta-ka* "express your desire!"
c) But in the following case we find the ending *-i-* in the st. cstr. nom.:
šanītum na-pa-al-ti-šu FM 7, 24 no. 8: 33 "(this) was his second answer".

§ 5.266. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:
ana na-aš-pa-ar-ti-šu ARM 1, 103 r. 9 *našparti-šu* "according to his message".
ana ma-aṣ-ṣa-ar-ti-šu ARM 2, 3: 23 *maṣṣarti-šu* "for his watch".

8.2.13 Base Ending in *-ī* or *-e*

§ 5.267. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. frequently ends in the final vowel of the base:
a) St. cstr. nom.:
lāma re-di šarrim ikšuduka AbB 11, 147: 9 *rēdī* "before the king's soldier reaches you".

371 Quotation from an omen in a letter.

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PN DN-*ba-ni* AbB 5, 30: 9 *bānī* "DN is creator".

Roy. PN *pé-ti nārātim mu-re-ti narê … mu-ša-ab-ši mimma šumšu* RIME 4, 605: 20–25 *pētī, murettī, mušabšī* "PN, opener of canals, erector of steles, who makes everything appear".

Lit. *mu-ul-li rēš Eana* CH ii 42 *mullī* "who raised the head of Eana".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

ša na-ši biltim CH § 41 *nāšī* "of a tenant".

qadūm re-di(-i) šar[rim] AbB 9, 27: 12; AbB 9, 112: 28, 44 *rēdī* "together with a soldier of the king".

aššum ŠE-*e eqel šāpir bītim* AbB 5, 212: 12 *še* "concerning the barley of the field of the boss of the house".

Roy. *ana* PN *ba-ni bītišu* RIME 4, 607: 109 *bānī* "to PN, the builder of his house".

§ 5.268. Rarely, the final vowel of the base is dropped in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen.:

bīt warad ēkallim na-aš kūtim AbB 1, 47: 7 *nāš* "the house of a palace slave, a vase carrier".

§ 5.269. Sometimes *-ī-u* or *-û* < *-ī-u* is found for all three cases before a noun in the gen., especially in Roy. and Lit.[372] In cases where *-û* is not written plene, it might have been secondarily shortened.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

re-du šarrim ⌜*ikšudakka*⌝ AbB 5, 36: 3 *rēdu* <? *rēdû* < *rēdī-u* "a soldier of the king has reached you".

Roy. *na'dum še-mu* DN RIME 4, 335: 32 *šēmu* <? *šēmû* < *šēmī-u* "pious one, who hears DN".

Roy. *palḫu še-mu-ú* DN RIME 4, 337: 9 *šēmû* < *šēmī-u* "reverent one, who hears DN".

b) St. cstr. gen.:

Roy. *ana* DN *mu-šar-bí-ù šarrūtija* RIME 4, 382: 42 *mušarbī'u* "for DN, who makes great my kingdom".

§ 5.270. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

ŠE-*e inaṣṣar* AbB 4, 40: 20 *šê* < *še-ī* "he protects my barley".

ŠE-*e … ušmīt* ARM 27, 108 r. 11 *šê* < *še-ī* "he made my barley 'die' ".

372 see § 5.187.

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§ 5.271. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., the nom. and acc. cases are usually distinguished.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

PN *lū re-du-šu* ARM 6, 28: 25 *rēdû-šu* < *rēdī-u-šu* "let PN be his soldier".

Math. ŠE-*ú-ši-na mīnum* TMB 209: 5 *šû-šina*/*še'u-šina* "what is their barley?"

b) St. cstr. acc.:

ŠE-*a-šu … tēršum* AbB 13, 43: 21 *še'a-šu* "give him back his barley!"

Math. ŠE-*a-ši-na akmurma* TMB 210: 4 *še'a-šina* "I added up their barley".

§ 5.272. Sometimes the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg. ends in the base vowel:

abam mu-ra-bi-šu CH § 193 *murabbī-šu* "the father (acc.) who raised him".

Om. *mātum … re-e-i-ša elīša izzâz* YOS 10, 39 r. 9 *rē'ī-ša* "the country … its shepherd will prevail over it".

§ 5.273. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

ittī ŠE-*e-ka* AbB 1, 89: 25 *šê-ka* < *še-i-* "with your barley".

Lit. *ittūm* DN *ba-ni-šu* CH iv 28 *bānî-šu* < *bānī-i-* "by the sign of DN, his creator".

8.2.14 Base Ending in *-ā* or *-a*[373]

§ 5.274. With *kalûm*, the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. may end in the final vowel of the base:

a) St. cstr. gen.:

Lit. *el ka-la ilātim* VS 10, 214 vi 22, vii 14 *kalā* "more than all goddesses".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

Lit. *šuṣṣirī ka-la zikrīja* Atr. 88: 21 *kalā* "heed all my words!"

§ 5.275. With other nouns, the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. sometimes ends in *-ê* < *a*/*ā-i*. *-ê* is not always written plene and might sometimes be secondarily shortened:[374]

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ta-ap-pé-e PN … *imraṣ* Shemshara 1, 11: 28 *tappê* "the colleague of PN fell ill".

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373 Many examples of *rugummûm*, *uzubbûm*, *itûm*, and *mimmû* (never **mimmûm*!) might be pl. rather than sg., e.g., *ru-gu-um-me-e dīnim … ileqqē* CH § 12 *rugummê* < *rugummā'ī*? "he will take the amount(s) claimed in the case"; *ú-zu-ub-bu-ša … ul innaddiššim* CH § 141 *uzubbû-ša* < *uzubbā-ū-*? "her divorce payment will not be given to her"; *eqel i-te-šu mê uštābil* CH § 55 *itê-šu* < *itā-ī-*? "he has let water carry off his neighbors' (neighbor's) field"; *ša mi-im-mu-šu ḫalqu* CH § 9 *mimmû-šu* < *mimma-ū-*? "whose property is lost".

374 Mayer 2015, 191.

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b) St. cstr. gen.:

ana tap-pé-e aḫīja AbB 1, 103: 5 *tappê* < *tappa-i* "to my brother's partner".

ana ša-te-e šarrim/awīlī wēdūtim FM 11, 153: 7, 10 *šatê* < *šatā-i* "for the drinking of the king/of the notables".

ana ša-te šarrim FM 11, 81: 12 *šate* <? *šatê* < *šatā-i* "for the drinking of the king".

inūma ša-te mārī šipri FM 11, 42: 5 *šate* <? *šatê* < *šatā-i* "at the occasion of the drinking of the envoys".

§ 5.276. Only with *kalû* is the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. sometimes assimilated to the much more frequent *-ī*-class.

a) St. cstr. gen.:

elī ka-li būlim YOS 11, 7: 4 *kalī* "on the entire herd".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

Lit. *ka-li mūšim likūr* ZA 49, 168 f. ii 9 *kalī* "may she be dazed all night long".

Lit. *ka-li ḫimmat parṣī* … ⌜*ukāl*⌝ RA 86, 81: 7 *kalī* "he holds the entire collection of numina".

§ 5.277. With *kalû*, the final base vowel is rarely dropped in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen.

a) St. cstr. gen.:

Roy. *ina ka-al šarrī* RIME 4, 608: 139 *kal* "among all kings".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

[*k*]*a-al šatti … ul tēpušam* AbB 11, 124: 4 *kal* "the entire year you did not do for me".

§ 5.278. Rarely, *-û* < *-ī-u* is found in the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. in Lit.[375] Since *-û* is not written plene it might have been secondarily shortened.

Lit. *attillamma ka-lu šanātim* Gilg. OB VA+BM i 12 *kalu* <? *kalû* < *kalā-u* "I will lie all the years".

Lit. *ittīja ittallaku ka-lu marṣātim* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 3 *kalu* <? *kalû* < *kalā-u* "who used to go with me through all hardships".

§ 5.279. St. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suff. 1. sg.:

qá-bé-e AbB 1, 95: 9 *qabê* < *qabā-ī* "my order".

PN DN-TAB-BA-*e* UET 5, 247: 24 *tappê* < *tappā-ī* "DN is my partner".

375 see § 5.187.

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§ 5.280. In the st. cstr. nom./acc. before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg., the nom. and acc. cases are usually distinguished.

a) St. cstr. nom.:

ka-lu-ni-ma wardū ARM 2, 76: 20 *kalû-ni-ma* < *kalā-u-* "we are all servants".

PN *tap-pu-šu* AbB 12, 56: 16 *tappû-šu* < *tappa-u-* "PN, his partner".

Lit. *qá-bu-ú-ša šūtur* RA 22, 170 f.: 33 *qabû-ša* < *qabā-u-* "her speech is foremost".

b) St. cstr. acc.:

tap-pa-a-šu! ... *aṭṭardaššu* AbB 6, 28: 12 *tappâšu* < *tappa-a-* "I have sent his colleague to you".

epištam k[*a*]*-la-ša* ARM 3, 8: 15 *kalâ-ša* < *kalā-a-* "the entire work".

Roy. *da-aw-da-šu-nu imḫaṣ* RIME 4, 607: 87 *dawdâ-šunu* < *dawdā-a-* "he inflicted a defeat on them".

Lit. *imtagar qá-ba-ša* Gilg. OB II 66 *qabâ-ša* < *qabā-a-* "he consented to her speech".

§ 5.281. Sometimes the st. cstr. nom.[376] before pron. suffs. of all persons except 1. sg. ends in the final vowel of the base:

ṣābūka ka-la-šu Shemshara 1, 8: 22 *kalā-šu* "your entire troop".

Lit. [*a*]*lkāni ka-la-ni* Atr. 120: 46 "come, all of us!"

§ 5.282. St. cstr. gen. before pron. suffs. of all persons:

atta u tap-pé-e-ka AbB 7, 178: 7 *tappê-ka* < *tappa-i-* "you and your partner".

ana mātim ka-le-ša ARM 10, 92: 18 *kalê-ša* < *kalā-i-* "for the entire land".

8.2.15 Base Ending in *-ū*

§ 5.283. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. may end in the final vowel of the base (only examples of the nom. are listed here):[377]

Lit. *bu-ul-lu tuqmātim kûmma* Or. 87, 16 i 20 *bullū* "extinguishing wars is yours".

Lit. *šu-un-nu ṭēmi ... kûmma* Or. 87, 16 i 18 *šunnū* "changing the mind is yours".

Lit. *šu-ur-šu apli ... kûmma* Or. 87, 17 i 42 *šuršū* "bringing about the first-born son is yours".

376 Examples of the acc. are ambiguous: they might contain simple *-ā-* or *-â-* < *-ā-a-*.

377 Mayer 2015, 191. A further example might be Lit. *né-ep-tu rēmi* Or. 87, 17 i 41 *neptū* "the opening of the womb" (N-stem inf.). However, the word may also represent the *maPRaS* noun *neptûm* "opening".

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§ 5.284. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. sometimes ends in *-î* < *ū-i* (only examples of the gen. are listed here). *-î* is not always written plene and might sometimes be secondarily shortened:

ša šu-ṣí-i PN AbB 14, 183: 14 *šūṣî* < *šūṣū-i* "of the release of PN".

balūm šu-ṣí awīlim ARM 2, 29 r. 5 *šūṣi* <? *šūṣî* < *šūṣū-i* "without releasing the man".

8.2.16 Nouns in the Masculine Plural

§ 5.285. The st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. is frequently identical with the st. rect. and thus ends in *-ū* for the nom. and *-ī* or *-ē* for the obl. case.

a) Nom.:

ši-bu-šu lā qerbū CH § 13 *šībū-šu* "his witnesses are not available".

ka-an-nu gamārtim … ittaḫlalū CH § 58 *kannū* "the pennants of termination are wound".

b) Obl.:

pa-ni-šu ištakan CH § 137 *panī-šu* "he set his face".

§ 5.286. Before a noun in the gen., *aḫum* "brother" and *ilum* "god" sometimes have a st. cstr. nom. ending in *-ī* (§ 5.169):

aḫ-ḫi abīja imkusūma AbB 4, 94: 13 *aḫḫī* "the brothers of my father have collected".

Om. *ì-lí* ⌜*mātim*⌝ *ekallam ireddû* YOS 10, 24: 10 *ilī* "the gods of the land will guide the palace".

§ 5.287. a) In frozen gen. compounds, the pl. is sometimes expressed with the gen. rather than with the st. cstr. (many examples in § 5.128b):

ma-ar ši-ip-ri ṭēmam šâtu īmurū AbB 7, 58: 8 *mār šiprī* "and the envoys saw this matter".

b) But in some other cases, the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen. loses the pl. ending:

pa-nu-šu pa-an immerim ARM 26/1, 497 no. 241: 15 *pan* "his face was the face of a sheep".

2 *pa-ti-in ḫa-aš-ma-nu* ARM 22, 314: 2 *patin* "2 sashes of *ḫašmānu* color".

Lit. *tešē gu-ru-un šalmātišin*[*a*] J.G. Westenholz 1997, 254: 23 *gurun* "nine heaps of their corpses".[378]

Lit. *malkū wa-ši-ib kussī'āt* [*g*]*izzim*? OECT 11, 1: 9 *wāšib* "kings sitting on thrones of *gizzu*-cane(?)".

378 For *tešē* see § 6.10.a. Further examples in § 6.25.f.

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§ 5.288. The st. cstr. before a gen. suff. is in most cases identical with the st. rect. and thus ends in *-ū* for the nom. and *-ī* or *-ē* for the obl. case:
a) Nom.:
Lit. *šušnû pa-nu-šu* Or. 87, 18 ii 1 *panū-šu* "his face is changed".
b) Obl.:
ana pa-ni-k[*i*] AbB 2, 145: 14 *panī-ki* "to your face".

§ 5.289. *aḫum* "brother" rarely has a st. cstr. *aḫḫī-* in the nom. (§ 5.169):
aḫ-ḫi-ša … irgumū VS 29, 2: 3 *aḫḫī-ša* "her brothers raised a claim".

8.2.17 Nouns in the Feminine Plural

§ 5.290. St. cstr. before a noun in the gen.
a) Nom.:
te-re-et nēpišti … [*la-ap-*]*ta* ARM 26/1, 226 no. 87: 22 *têrēt* "the omens of the extispicy were [unfavorab]le".
b) Obl.:
ma-na-ḫa-at errēšim … inaddin CH § 49 *mānaḫāt* "he will give the expenses of the cultivation".

§ 5.291. In the st. cstr. before a gen. suff., the nom. case in *-ū-* and obl. case in *-ī-* are usually distinguished (§ 5.136.a).
a) Nom.:
aḫ-ḫa-tu-ša … īšâ AbB 1, 51: 8 *aḫḫātūša* "her sisters have".
b) Obl.:
ma-na-ḫa-ti-šu lā ilqû CH § 47 *mānaḫātīšu* "he did not recover his expenses".
kīma ri-ik-sa-ti-šu CH § 47 *riksātīšu* "in accordance with his contract".

§ 5.292. In Lit., the st. cstr. before a gen. suff. may end in *-āta-* for both cases (§ 5.136.b).
a) Nom.:
Lit. [*iq*]*ullā iš-ta-ra-ta-ši-in* VS 10, 214 ii 12 *ištarāta-šin* "their goddesses heed".
b) Obl.:
Lit. *ta-ni-da*!*-ta-ša lu-az-mu-ur* VS 10, 214 ii 5 *tanīdāta-ša* "let me sing her praises".

§ 5.293. Rarely, the st. cstr. before a gen. suff. has no ending at all:[379]

379 *sí-ik-ka-as-sú-nu maḫṣāšunūšim* AbB 4, 103: 18 is probably sg. *sikkassunu* < *sikkat-šunu* instead of pl.: "drive in your peg for them".

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ku-nu-uk-ka-at-ku-nu baqrā AbB 11, 90: 28 *kunukkāt-kunu* "your seals are contested".[380]

8.2.18 Nouns in the Dual

§ 5.294. In the st. cstr. before a noun in the gen., the nom. case in *-ā-* and obl. case in *-ī-* are distinguished (§ 5.165.f).

a) Nom.:

Om. *iš-da*? *nakrim kīnātum* YOS 10, 20: 8 *išdā* "firm foundation of the enemy".

b) Obl.:

i-iš-di GN *kīn* ARM 1, 52: 31 *išdī* "make firm the foundation of GN!"

ša-ap-ti bēlija FM 2, 249 no. 123: 21 *šaptī* "the lips of my lord".

§ 5.295. In the st. cstr. before a gen. suff., the nom. case in *-ā-* and obl. case in *-ī-* are distinguished (§ 5.165.e–f). Fem. nouns either attach the dual endings to the fem. ending, or—only attested in lit. and lex. texts—directly to the base with the omission of the fem. ending:

a) Nom.:

ki-la-la-šu-nu … ippalū CH § 152 *kilallā-šunu* "both of them will satisfy".

uz-na-ša annîšma AbB 1, 27: 26 *uznā-ša* "her ears are (directed) towards here".

ša-ap-ta-ka AbB 2, 141: 13 *šap-t-ā-ka* "your lips".

Lex. *ša ša-pá-šu qallā* MSL 12, 168: 341 *šapā-šu* (*šaptum*) "whose lips are thin".

Lit. *ša-ap-ta-š*[*u*] Fs. Reiner 190: 9 *šap-t-ā-šu* "his lips".

Lit. *ša-ap-t*[*a*]*-ki* LAOS 4, 10: 1 *šaptā-ki* "your lips".

Lit. *di-*(*i*)*-ma-*(*a-*)*-šu* VS 17, 34: 6, 8 *dīmā-šu* (*dīmtum*) "his tears".

Lit. *a-ma-ša* BIN 2, 72: 5 *ammā-ša* (*ammatum*) "her forearms".

b) Obl.:

bītāt ki-la-li-ku-nu CUSAS 36, 72: 13 *kilallī-kunu* "both your houses".

ša-ap-ti-šu AbB 2, 88: 10, 15 *šap-t-ī-šu* "his lips".

ša-ap-ti-ia AbB 7, 153: 37 *šaptī-ja* "my lips".

8.2.19 Syntax of the Status Constructus of Nouns[381]

§ 5.296. The st. cstr. of nouns is used in the following cases:

a) Before a noun in the gen. case:

ši-ma-at ṣēnī AbB 14, 62: 14 *šimat* "mark of small cattle".

ina a-aḫ nārim AbB 14, 63: 10 *aḫ* "on the riverbank".

380 The same text has, however, *ku-nu-uk-ka-ti-ku-nu taknukā* AbB 11, 90: 19 "you sealed with your seals".

381 For the st. cstr. in compound noun phrases see § 5.128.

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ši-in-ni awīlim CH § 200 *šinni* "tooth of a man".

e-pé-eš kakkī ARM 2, 118: 20 *epēš* "taking up of arms".

ana re-eš warḫim ARM 1, 22: 8 *rēš* "until the beginning of the month".

b) Before a possessive suff. (§§ 4.2, 4.41–4.52):

qá-aq-qá-ad-ka AbB 14, 60: 12 *qaqqad-ka* "your head".

ana be-lí-ia AbB 14, 63: 1 *bēli-ja* "to my lord".

ú-zu-un-šu CH § 205 *uzun-šu* "his ear".

c) Before an asyndetic relative clause:

ik-ri-ib aktanarrabu AbB 1, 61: 11 *ikrib* "the prayer that I pray all the time".

ṭe$_4$-e-em ina aḫītija almadu ARM 2, 40: 16 *ṭēm* "the report that I have learned from my entourage".

É *īpušu imqutma* CH § 229 *bīt* "the house that he constructed collapsed".

Lit. *di-in adīnu* CH xlix 27 *dīn* "the law that I established".

d) Before a headless relative clause introduced by *ša*:

Lit. [*an*]*a ba-ab ša šēdam īšû* ZA 110, 39 i 15 *bāb* "[a]t the door of the one who has a guardian spirit".

§ 5.297. a) Except for the negation *lā*, no other word can appear between the st. cstr. and a following noun in the gen. case:

KÙ.BABBAR *la kanīkim* CH § 105 *kasap lā* "silver without a sealed tablet".

DUB-*pí la ragāmim* VAB 5, 277: 9 *tuppi lā* "a tablet of non-claiming (= that no claim is raised)".

Lit. *te-ši la šubbîm* CH xlix 59 *tēšī lā* "disorder that cannot be quelled".

Lit. *ek-le-et la nawārim* CH xlix 68 f. *eklet lā* "darkness without illumination".

b) Adjs. modifying a st. cstr. follow the noun in the gen.:[382]

ṭe$_4$-em kirîm šu'āti ga-am-ra-am AbB 4, 13: 15 *ṭēm k. š. gamram* "the entire report about that garden".

DUMU *awīlim ṣe-eḫ-ra-am* CH § 14 *mār a. ṣeḫram* "the young son of a man".

A.ŠÀ *šamaššammī er-ša-am* CH § 50 *eqel š. eršam* "plowed sesame field".

ṭe$_4$-em mātim ga-am-ra-am ARM 1, 10 r. 23 *ṭēm m. gamram* "the entire report about the land".

DUB-*pí bēlija wa-ar-ku-um* ARM 2, 44: 12 *tuppi b. warkûm* "the later tablet of my lord".

382 see § 4.147.g for the use of the determinative pron. when the head noun of a gen. construction is modified by an adj.

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§ 5.298. a) Chains of two or even three st. cstr. forms dependent on each other may occur:[383]

ina qá-at DUMU *awīlim* CH § 7 *qāt mār* "from the hand of the son of a man".

i-in DUMU *awīlim* CH § 196 *īn mār* "the eye of the son of a man".

le-e-et DUMU *awīlim* CH § 203 *lēt mār* "cheek of the son of a man".

Lit. *gu-ru-un ša-al-ma-at um-ma-na-ti-šu* CH li 12–14 *gurun šalmāt ummānātī-šu* "heap of the corpses of his troops".

Lit. *mu-ša-ri-ku* UD-*um ba-la-ṭi-ia* CH xlix 103–l 1 *mušāriku ūm balāṭi-ja* "who prolongs the time of my life".

b) Rarely, two coordinative, syndetic or asyndetic, st. cstrs. occur before a noun in the gen.:[384]

r[*a*]*-bi-a-an ši-bu-ut ālim* AbB 10, 19: 9 *rabī'ān šībūt* "mayor (and) elders of the city".

ina a-bu-ul-la-at ù A.GÀR DN ARM 6, 13: 16 *abullāt u ugār* "from the gates and the field of DN".

Lit. UD-*mi* ITU.ITU *ša-na-a-at palêšu* CH l 52 f. "days, months, years of his reign".

§ 5.299. Multiple gens. may depend on a single st. cstr.:[385]

i-li-ik A.ŠÀ ^{giš}KIRI$_6$ *ù* É CH § 40 *ilik eqlim kirîm u bītim* "fief of field, garden, and house".

ṣa-ab PN *u* PN$_2$ ARM 1, 123: 19 *ṣāb* "the troop of PN and PN$_2$".

a-sa-ak DN *u* DN$_2$ ARM 2, 13: 27 *asak* "taboo of DN and DN$_2$".

ša-lu-uš-ti gišimmarim šurmēnim u asim ARM 1, 7: 11 *šalušti* "a third of palm, cypress, and myrtle".

Lit. *be-el ša-me-e ù er-ṣe-tim* CH i 4 f. *bēl šamê u erṣetim* "lord of heaven and earth".

§ 5.300. The st. cstr. may be definite or indefinite (§ 5.2).

8.2.20 The Status Constructus of Adjectives

§ 5.301. Adjs. may also stand in the st. cstr. The following gen. either expresses the scope of a quality (§ 5.194.i) or the agens (§ 5.194.j). The adj. shows three different forms: no ending, ending *-a*(*m*), or ending *-u*(*m*).

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383 see § 4.147.a–b for the use of the determinative pron. to avoid chains of nouns in the st. cstr.

384 For further examples from late OB see Mayer 2015, 207.

385 see § 4.147.d for the use of the determinative pron. to avoid gen. constructions with a single st. cstr. and multiple gens.

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§ 5.302. a) In lex. texts and in PN, the st. cstr. of the adj. sg. masc. has no ending:

PN *Na-bi-ilišu* YOS 14, 148: 5 *nabī* "Named by his god".

PN *Da-mi-iq-ilišu* YOS 14, 329: 28 *damiq* "pleasant regarding his god, who is pleasant for his god".

b) Also the st. cstr. of the fem. pl. has no ending:

Lit. *ṣa-al-ma-at qaqqadišu* CH xlviii 86 *ṣalmāt* "his black-headed ones, the ones with a black head".

Lit. *sa-al-ma-at qaqqadāt* … OECT 11, 1: 8 *ṣalmāt* "black-headed".

§ 5.303. a) In lit. and lex. texts, more rarely in PNs., the st. cstr. of the masc. or fem. sg. adj. has an ending *-a*(*m*) of disputed etymology.[386]

Lit. *aṣbat … ba-ar-ma-am īnīn … ú-lu-ḫa-am šārātim pa-al-ḫa-am zīmī* TIM 9, 65//66: 3, 11 *barm-am ulluḫ-am*, *palḫ-am* "I have seized the one with speckled eyes, adorned with hair, fearsome of countenance".

Lit. [D]N *gašram … [r]a-ap-ša-am irtim* Vogelzang 1988, 97: 40 *rapš-am* "[D]N, very strong, broad of chest".

Lit. Lit. *e-ed-dam qarnīn* CUSAS 10, 1: 37 *edd-am* "sharp in the area of the horns, with sharp horns".

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386 According to GAG § 64a*, it is "unwahrscheinlich, dass die Akk.-Endung vorliegt; eher ist an eine alte St.-cstr.-Endung zu denken (wie das äth. *-a*)." This suggestion was followed by Tropper 2000a, 208 f., who explains *-am* as well as Ethiopic *-a* as a remnant of an old "Absolutiv" case in *-a*. However, nowhere else do the reflexes of this case show mimation.

Reiner 1984, 180, suggests that *-am* is the acc. ending and compares the construction discussed here with clauses of the type *ru'āmam labšat* "she is clad in sweetness": "both types of construction, when paraphrased, contain a syntactic accusative. Thus, the 'anomalous' constructions indeed are based on an accusative, morphologically realized as an *-a*(*m*) ending on one of the terms, which has to be the first, since the ending of the second is pre-empted by the genitive ending."

Indeed, the fact that also the nom. ending rarely seems to occur with adjs. in the st. cstr. (§ 5.304) favors Reiner's analysis. However, there are also difficulties: pace Reiner, the acc. of the type *ru'āmam* rather corresponds to the gen. in the construction discussed here. Also, the hypothesis (Reiner 1984, 179 f.) that *palḫam* was used instead of *palih* in order to avoid confusion with the participle *pālih* is unlikely; apart from the fact that, in a given context, confusion is unlikely, this assumption neither explains the mimation nor the fact that the ending *-am* remains uninflected. Moreover, it does not take into account that vowel length is phonemic elsewhere in Akk.

According to Buccellati 1996, 161, *-am* is a free variant of the st. cstr. without ending (§ 5.302). However, it is more likely that the ending *-am* is archaic and the st. cstr. without ending is innovative because we find the construction *rapaš uznim* "broad of ear" in more recent texts. The st. cstr. of the adj. without ending seems to be an analogy to the st. cstr. of the noun.

For further discussion and refs. see von Soden 1960; Wasserman 2003, 45–60; Streck 2005a, 147 f.

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Lit. *em-qá-am birkīn* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 68: 53 *emq-am* "able of knee".

Lit. DN *ra-bi-tam libbi bēltum kadirtum* ZA 65, 178: 1 *rabīt-am* "DN, bold-hearted, wild lady".

PN *Na-aw-ra-šarūr* ARM 1, 8: 35 *nawr-a* "Bright of brilliance".

b) Even if the antecedent is a masc. pl., the adj. invariably has the ending *-am*:

Lit. *šūt parzilli … em-qá-am birkim* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 68: 53 *emq-am* "those of iron, skillful of knee (= skillful runners)".

§ 5.304. In PN, also the nom. ending *-u*(*m*) seems to occur with adjs. in the st. cstr.:[387]

PN *Na-aw-ru-um-šarūr* CT 47, 11: 12 *Nawrum* "Bright of(?) brilliance".[388]

PN *Da-nu-um-tāḫāz* ARM 5, 59: 11; *Dan-nu-tāḫāz* ARM 6, 37: 7; ARM 14, 104: 5 *Dannu*(*m*) "Strong of battle".

8.3 *Status Absolutus*

§ 5.305. a) The st. abs. has no case ending. The sg. masc. form is identical with the st. cstr.:

e-ṭe-él Gilg. OB II 145 *eṭel* (*eṭlum*) "man!"

ana ra-bi-a-an ra-bi-a-an AbB 10, 67: 1 *rabī'ān* "to every single mayor".

b) The st. abs. sg. fem. has the ending *-at*/*-et* or *-ti*:[389]

lū ⟨*zi-*⟩*ka-ar lū si-ni-ša-at* AbB 7, 141: 9 *sinniš-at* "be it a man, be it a woman".

šêšu uṭ-ṭe$_4$*-et* ARM 1, 103 r. 18 *uṭṭ-et* "his barley—a single grain (of it)".

Roy. *ūm ṣa-at* RIME 4, 605: 34 *ṣât* < *ṣī-āt* "days of old".

Lit. *ša-la-aš-ti* CT 15, 1 i 12 *šalāš-ti* "three".[390]

c) For rhythmic reasons, *sinništum* in merism with *zikar* sometimes has no fem. ending:

lū zikar [*lū si*]*-in-ni-iš* ARM 6, 43: 13 [*s*]*inniš* "be it a man, be it a woman".

d) Dual forms in *-ā* are attested with the numeral "two":[391]

ši-na AbB 14, 113: 25 *šinā* "two".

Om. *ši-it-ta* YOS 10, 11 iii 31 *šittā* "two".

e) Pl. forms in *-ū* (masc.) and *-ā* (fem.) are attested with the decimals:[392]

Math. *ša-la-ša-a* CUSAS 36, 190: 8 *šalāš-ā* "thirty".

Math. *ša-la-šu* Sumer 7, 39 no. 7: 4 *šalāš-ū* "thirty".

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387 Reiner 1984, 6 f.

388 For the variant *Nawram-šarūr* see § 5.303.a. An alternative interpretation "Bright is the brilliance" is unlikely.

389 For the form *am-ma* see § 6.28.c.

390 see § 6.4.b.

391 Von Soden 1983a, 88.

392 Streck 1995, 43 f. see § 6.13. For the form *am-ma* see § 6.28.c.

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§ 5.306. The st. abs. is employed in the following cases:

a) Cardinal numbers, standing alone or in apposition with the item counted, frequently appear in the st. abs. (§§ 6.22–23):

ši-na ūtašširū AbB 14, 113: 25 *šinā* "two were released".

iš-te-en taklam AbB 6, 57: 5 *ištēn* "a trustworthy one".

ši-in-ša-ar ṣābum CUSAS 36, 27: 14 *šinšar* "twelve workmen".

Om. *marrātum 2-ta … marrātum 3-aš* YOS 10, 31 x 51 *šittā, šalāš* "two /three gall bladders".

b) Measures frequently stand in the st. abs.:

qa-na u ni-ka-ás imtaqut ARM 6, 1: 21 *qanā, nikkas* "(the bridge) collapsed over a length of a reed and a *nikkas*".

šêšu uṭ-ṭe$_4$-et ARM 1, 103 r. 18 *uṭṭet* "his barley—a single grain (of it)".

abnam … ni-ka-ás mēlûša ARM 14, 26: 16 *nikkas* "a stone whose height is one *nikkas*".

am-ma-at mû … illakū ARM 6, 1: 14 *ammat* "the water flows over a length of one cubit".

2 *bé-er* 3 *bērī eq*[*lim*] ARM 26/1, 270 no. 103 r. 13 *bēr* "a distance of 2 or 3 miles".

c) Merisms:

ṣe-ḫe-ra-bi AbB 9, 141: 15 *ṣeḫer rabī* "small and great".

ša libbiša lū ⟨zi-⟩ka-ar lū si-ni-ša-at anāku eleqqē AbB 7, 141: 8 f. "may I take her child (lit. the one of her heart), male or female?"

d) Two asyndetic nouns in the st. abs.[393] have a distributive or reciprocal meaning:

[*an*]*a ra-bi-a-an ra-bi-a-an ša kišādim* AbB 10, 67: 1 *rabī'ān rabī'ān* "to every single mayor of the riverbank".

Om. *ummānī u ummān nakrim pi-ri-it pi-ri-it iṣṣabbatū* YOS 10, 46 iv 29 *pirīt pirīt*[394] "my army and the army of the enemy will seize each other".

Lit. *šurin* DN *u* DN$_2$ *ki-la-al ki-la-la-al imittam u šuwēlam qarnam qarnam* J.G. Westenholz 1997, 180 ii 6 *kilal kilalal* "the emblem(s) of DN and DN$_2$, two by two, right and left, horn by horn".[395]

e) Formation of adverbs:[396]

a-šar-ša-ni ARM 3, 29: 8, 21 *ašaršanī* "elsewhere" (*ašrum* "place" + *šanûm* < *šanī'um* "other").

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393 But this also occurs with two nouns in the st. rect.: *a-la*^{ki} *a-lam-ma*^{ki} *aštaddadma* ARM 28, 55: 6 *āla ālamma* "I brought city for city onto my side".

394 For *birīt*.

395 *kilalal* instead of *kilal* is a hapax. Mistake for *ki-la-⟨la-⟩-al*?

396 Instead of *i-me-en* (GAG § 62h*), read with ARM 26/1, 227 no. 88: 35 *i-mì-tim*.

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UD-*ma-ka-al* ARM 1, 138: 8 *ūmakkal* "for an entire day" (*ūmam* "day" [acc.] and *kalûm* "totality").

pu-ḫu-ur-ma nillak ARM 2, 39: 54 *puḫur-ma* "we will go together".

am-mi-in AbB 6, 188: 16 *ammīn* "why?".

Roy. *ištū ūm ṣa-at* RIME 4, 605: 34 *ṣât* "from distant day(s)".

Lit. *ana da-ar* CH xlviii 1, 36 *dār* "forever".

f) Vocatives not integrated syntactically:[397]

Lit. *e-ṭé-él êš taḫišš*[*a*]*m* Gilg. OB II 145 *eṭel* "young man, whither are you rushing?"

Lit. *išâlki ar-da-at-ma gana alaktak pušrī* VS 10, 214 vi 40 *ardatma* "she will ask you: 'Girl, now, explain your behavior!' "

Lit. *ulla na-gi-ir alikma* TIM 9, 6: 20 *nāgir* "now, herald, go!"

Lit *a-ša-re-ed bukur* DN *danānka i nuzammer* Or. 77, 338 i 4 *ašarēd* "foremost, first-born of DN, let us sing your strength!"

g) Since the st. abs. originally had a quotation function,[398] PNs., DNs. (including similar epithets), and GNs. may stand in the st. abs.:[399]

Lex. UTU *Ša-ma-aš* MSL 13, 24: 210 *Šamaš* "Sun" (name of the sun-god).

PN *Zimrī-li-im* ARM 2, 60: 3 *līm* "The tribe (epitheton) is my protection".

GN ⌜*Ur-ba-at*⌝[ki] FM 10, 67: 2 *Urbat* "Reed".

h) In MidEuphr., the word *ṣarṣar*, *ṣaṣṣar*, *ṣanṣar* "cricket" always occurs without case vowels, apparently to strengthen its onomatopoetic character:

aššum ṣa-ar-ṣa-ar ina panītimma … ašpuram inanna ṣa-ar-ṣa-ar šū ana uṭṭatim imtaqut … inanna ṣa-ar-ṣa-ar šū uḫtiššanni ARM 27, 27: 4, 6, 21 "regarding the crickets, I have written earlier. That crickets have infested the wheat.… Now these crickets have roiled me".

MidEuphr. *inanna* ⟨*ina*⟩ *ṣa-ar-ṣa-ar annîm* [*kal*]*ûma uḫtaššū* ARM 27, 28: 27 "now [a]ll are roiled ⟨by⟩ those crickets".[400]

397 Kraus 1976. For the syntactically integrated vocative see § 5.193.f.

398 Akk. loanwords in Sumerian prove that the st. abs. was originally employed for quotations: Sumerian *ḫar-ra-an* < *ḫarrānum* "road", *pa-šeš* < *pašīšum* (designation of a priest); see Krebernik 1998, 265 and 269 f.; Civil 2007. However, lexical lists of the OB period quote words in the st. rect. nom., see § 5 192.i.

399 For the use of the st. abs. in proper names see Gelb 1961, 141 and Kraus 1976, 294. GAG § 62j derives this use from the vocative function (§ 5.299.f).

400 see Lion/Michel 1997, 208.

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CHAPTER 6

Numbers

1 Cardinals

1.1 *Morphology of the Cardinals*

§ 6.1. Numbers are written logographically in most cases. The following survey only contains syllabically spelled forms of the cardinal numbers (unattested forms are not reconstructed), supplemented by the multiplicative numbers whose form is based on cardinal numbers. Cardinal numbers present themselves in three different forms: st. abs. (most common), st. rect., and st. cstr.[1]

	St. abs. masc.	St. cstr. masc.	St. rect. masc.	St. abs. fem.	St. cstr. fem.	St. rect. fem.	Multiplicative numbers[2]
1	*ištēn*		*ištēn-um*, *išteʾān-um*	*išteʾ-at*, *ištât(a)*, *ištêt*	*ištêt-*		*ištēš-šu* < *ištēn-šu*
2	*šin-ā*	*šin*	–	*šitt-ā* < *šin-t-ā*		–	*šin-ī-šu*
3	*šalāš*			*šalāš-t-i*, *šalāš-at*, *šalāš-ti/u/a-*, *šalāša*[3]		*šalāš-t-un*	*šalāš-ī-šu*
4	*erbē*		*arbaʾ-um*, *erbûm*	*erbē-t*	*erbēti-*	*erbē-t-um/n*	*erbîšu* < *erbē-ī-šu*
5	*ḫamiš*			*ḫamš-at* *ḫamš-et*			*ḫamš-ī-šu*

1 Some numbers are frequently written with *i*-signs where we expect *e*: *in* instead of *en*, *iš* instead of *eš*, *ši* instead of *še*, *ti* instead of *te*. In the following, the simple values are preferred over the values en_6, $eš_{15}$, $še_{20}$, and te_9. In reconstructed forms, however, *e* is used throughout, although in some cases the actual pronunciation might have been rather *i*.

2 See § 6.46.

3 In a compound number, see § 6.20a.

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(*cont.*)

	St. abs. masc.	St. cstr. masc.	St. rect. masc.	St. abs. fem.	St. cstr. fem.	St. rect. fem.	Multiplicative numbers
6	*sediš*			*šešš-et*, *šešš-at*			*šešš-ī-šu*
7	*sebē*	*sebē*		*sebē-t*	*sebē-t*	*sebē-t-um*, *sebe-tt-um*	*sebîšu* < *sebē-ī-šu*
8	*samānī*						
9	*tešē*			*tešī-t*		*tešī-t-um*	*tešîšu* < *tešē-ī-šu*
10	*ešer*			*ešer-et*			*ešr-ī-šu*
11		–	–	*ištēnšer-et*	–	–	*ištēššerīšu* < *ištēnšer-ī-šu*
12	*šinšar*	–	–	*šinšer-et*	–	–	
13	*šalāššer*	–	–		–	–	*šalāššer-ī-šu*
14							*erbēšer-ī-šu*
17	*sebēšer*	–	–		–	–	
30	*šalāšū*	–	–	*šalāš-ā*	–	–	

	St. abs. masc. or fem.	St. rect. masc. or fem.
60	*šuši*, *šuš*	–
100	*me'at*, *mêt*, *mât*, *mē*	*me'āti*, *mêtu*/*im* (pl.)
600	–	*nērum*?
1,000	*līm*	*līmī* (pl. obl.)
3,600	*šār*	–
10,000	–	*rababatum* (sg.), *rabbātum* (pl.)

§ 6.2. "1".

a) The st. abs. masc. has the form *ištēn*:

iš-te-en šumam AbB 6, 63: 13 "a unique name".

iš-ti-in ARM 2, 43: 16.

iš-ti-en ARM 6, 44: 10.

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iš$_7$-ti-en-ma ARM 26/2, 348 no. 438: 30.[4]
iš-te-in ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 53.

b) The st. rect. masc. *ištē*/*īnum* or *ište*/*i'ānum* is rare and only attested in Lit.:
Lit. *libšam iš-ti-nam* Gilg. OB II 70 "the one cloth".
Lit. *iš-ti-na-am* CT 15, 1 i 8.
Lit. *iš-ti-a-nu-um dud* CT 15, 3 i 8 "a mountain alone".

c) The st. abs. fem. frequently has an uncontracted form *ište*/*i'at*:[5]
iš-te-a-at eleppam AbB 4, 140: 20 "one ship".
iš-ti-at CUSAS 36, 175: 10.
Om. *iš-ti-a-at*(*-ma*) YOS 10, 56 iii 1; CUSAS 18, 12: 3.

d) The contracted form *ištêt* < *ište'at* for the st. abs. fem. occurs, e.g., in MidEuphr.:
MidEuphr. *ana ubānim iš-te-et* ARM 2, 21: 12 "to a single finger".
MidEuphr.(?) *qātum iš-te-e-et* ARM 26/1, 538 no. 258: 11 "a single hand".
MidEuphr. *iš$_7$*(AB)*-te-et* ARM 26/2, 192 no. 380: 12.[6]

e) The contracted form *ištât*(*a*) <*ište'at* or st. abs. fem. is rare:
lubārtam iš-ta-a-at AbB 9, 106: 18 "one garment".
Lit. *ibaššī iš-ta-ta qurādu* VS 10, 214 iii 4 "there is a unique one, a hero".

f) St. cstr. fem. *ištêt-*:
Lit. *atti lūman iš-ti-ti* YOS 11, 24 i 7 *ištêtī* "would that you were my one and only!"

§ 6.3. "2" only has st. abs.[7] and st. cstr. forms. A st. rect. does not exist.

a) The st. abs. masc. has the form *šinā* or *šenā* with the dual st. abs. ending *-ā*:
šīmam ši-na šalāšat AbB 12, 58: 8 "two or three (items of) merchandise".
[*a*]*lpī še-na* AbB 11, 144: 8 "two oxen".
Lit. *ši-e-na ulidma ši-e-na māšān* CT 15, 1 i 10 f. "she gave birth to two, the two are twins".[8]

b) The. cstr. masc. has the form *šin*:
ši-in kaspika AbB 2, 132: 13 "twice (the amount) of your silver".

c) The st. abs. fem. has the form *šittā* < *šintā* with the dual st. abs. ending *-ā*:
bītātum taklātum ši-ta ARM 5, 41: 28 "two reliable houses".
Om. *ši-ta* CUSAS 18, 12: 52.
Om. *ši-it-ta-a* YOS 10, 46 i 25, 33.
ši-it-ta AbB 5, 42 r. 4; Om. YOS 10, 11 iii 31.

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4 For *iš$_7$* before /t/ see § 2.41b.
5 Lit. *it-*⌜*ti*⌝*-it* VS 10, 214 vii 39 (AHw. 1564) is unclear.
6 For *iš$_7$* before /t/ see § 2.41b.
7 For *šinā* and *šittā* as dual st. abs. forms see von Soden 1983a, 88.
8 The text (hymn to Bēlet-ilī) has many plene vowel spellings for short vowels.

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§ 6.4. "3".

a) St. abs. masc. *šalāš*:

[*š*]*amâtum ša-la-a-aš* AbB 14, 59: 21 "three rain-showers".

Om. *ša-la-aš-ma* YOS 10, 45: 33.

b) The st. abs. fem. has the forms *šalāšti* or *šalāšat*:

ša-la-aš-ti šuḫārū[*ʾa*] AUWE 23, 68: 8 "[my] three boys".

Lit. *ša-la-aš-ti ūlidma* CT 15, 1 i 12 "she gave birth to three".

Math. *zittī ša-la-ša-at* Sumer 10, 59 iv § 5: 6, 6: 2 "three shares".

c) The st. cstr. fem. before suffs. has the forms *šalāšti-* (like the st. abs. fem.), *šalāštu-*, or apparently *šalāšta-*:

ša-la-aš-ti-šu-nu illeqû AbB 14, 113: 23 "three of them were arrested".

Om. *ša-la*!*-aš-tu-šu-nu … ipṭurū* YOS 10, 33 v 18 "the three of them are split".

Om. *ša-la-aš-ta*$_5$(UD)*-šu-nu rubūʾā ipṭurū* YOS 10, 33 v 24, see 20, 22, 26, 28, 31, 34 "the three of them are split in four parts".

d) St. rect. fem. *šalāštun* with nunation (§ 2.251):

Lit. *elī ša-la-aš-ti-in šunātīja* Gilg. OB Nippur 10 "more than my three dreams".

§ 6.5. "4".

a) St. abs. masc. *erbē*:

er-bé AbB 3, 34: 25 f. *erbē*.

Math. *er-bé-e mitḫarātim* Sumer 7, 147: 15 "four squares".

b) St. rect. masc. *arbaʾum* or *erbûm* < *erbē-um*:

Roy. *kibrātim ar-ba-im* RIME 4, 348: 4; RIME 4, 373: 4; RIME 4, 381: 6 "the four quarters".

Lit. *kibrāt er-bé-e-em* RA 22, 170 f.: 50 "the four quarters".

c) St. abs. fem. *erbēt*:

alpū … [*e*]*r-bé-et-ma* AbB 14, 60: 17 "the oxen are four".

Om. *qû er-bé-et* YOS 10, 42 iii 23 "four threads".

Lit. ⌜*er-bé*⌝*-et šār*? CUSAS 10, 12: 29 "four myriads(?)".

d) St. cstr. fem. *erbēti-*:

Om. *šār er-bé-ti-ša* YOS 10, 36 i 29, 31 "the four winds".

e) St. rect. fem. *erbētu*(*m*):

er-bé-tam AbB 6, 199: 16 "a team of four (oxen)".[9]

Lit. *kibrāt er-bé-tim* CH ii 4 "the four quarters".

Lit. *sūqī er-bé-t*[*i*!] RA 70, 137: 46 "four streets".

9 *erbētum* and *sebētum* "group of four/seven" are st. rect. fem. forms rather than nouns of the pattern *PaRiSt* (Edzard 1985, 127 f.), see Streck 1995, 22 n. 69.

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f) For the rare st. rect. fem. form *erbētun* with nunation rather than mimation see § 2.251:

Lit. *kibrāt* [*e*]*r-bé-ti-in* BRM 4, 4: 5 "the four quarters".

§ 6.6. "5".

a) St. abs. masc. *ḫamiš*:

ḫa-mi-iš ubānātim AbB 14, 116: 28, 31 "five fingers".

erīātim ḫa-mi-iš AbB 9, 152: 20 "five millstones".

b) St. abs. fem. is *ḫamšat* or *ḫamšet*. The latter form is due to the rhyme *erbēt* "four"—*ḫamšet* "five"—*šeššet* "six"—*sebēt* "seven":

Math. *ḫa-am-ša-a*[*t*] Sumer 7, 131: 32.

ḫa-am-še$_{20}$*-et qanî* TCL 10, 3: 1 "five reeds".

Lit. *ḫa-am-še-*⌜*et*!⌝[1] CUSAS 10, 12: 30.[10]

§ 6.7. "6". The vowel /e/ in both *sediš* and *še*/*iššet* is due to the rhyme *sediš*/*šeššet* "six"—*sebē*(*t*) "seven".

a) St. abs. masc. *sediš*. Initial *s* = [s] is probably conditioned by a deaffrication of original /š/ before /d/ in the same word (see § 2.365c):[11]

Math. *se-di-iš* Sumer 43, 194: 32, 38.

b) St. abs. fem. *šeššet*, *šiššat* < *šedše*/*at* (see § 2.197):

Lit *ši-ši-et pīšu sebēt lišānūšu* TIM 9, 66: 17 "six are his mouths, seven his tongues".

Math. *ši-še-et* Sumer 7, 135: 12; Sumer 7, 131: 33.[12]

Math. *ši-ša-at* Sumer 7, 133: 34.

§ 6.8. "7". Initial deaffricated *s* = [*s*] instead of etymologically expected /š/ is conditioned by the initial *s* of the preceding *sediš* "six" (§ 6.7). Note the alliteration *sediš*—*sebē*—*samānē* "eight".[13]

a) St. abs. masc. *sebē*:

se-bé nārātim AbB 8, 39: 5 "seven rivers".

Lit. *se-bé ašamš*[*ātim*] Anzu OB II 76 "seven sandstorms".

b) St. cstr. masc. *sebē*:

Lit. *sebēt ūmim u se-bé mušīātim* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 8 "seven days and seven nights".

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10 See Wasserman 2016, 191.

11 See Streck 2008.

12 The change between *ši* and *še* shows that the actual form is most probably *šiššet*.

13 See Streck 2008.

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c) St. abs. fem. *sebēt*:

Lit. *se-bé-et lišānūšu* TIM 9, 66: 17 "seven are his tongues".

Lit. *se-bé-e-et w*[*arḫī*?] Etana MLC 1363 vi 1 "seven m[onths(?)".

d) St. cstr. fem. *sebēt*:

Lit. *se-bé-et ūmim* Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 8 "seven days".

e) St. rect. fem. *sebētum* or *sebettum*:

Lit. *se-bé-tam qablī* Anzu OB II 38, 40 "seven battles".

Lit. *se-bé-et-tam* Atr. 42: 5 "the seven Igigū".

§ 6.9. "8". Initial deaffricated *s* = [*s*] instead of etymologically expected /š/ is conditioned by the initial *s* of the preceding *sediš* "six" (§ 6.7). Note the alliteration *sediš—sebē—samānī* "eight".[14] St. abs. masc.:

Math. *sa-ma-ni-na-ma-tim* < *samānī ina ammatim* Sumer 43, 204 iv 6 "eight cubits".

Math. *sa-ma-ni* MKT 1, 369 r. 1.

§ 6.10. "9".

a) St. abs. masc. *tešē*:

Lit. *te-še-e gurun šalmātišin*[*a*] J.G. Westenholz 1997, 254: 23 "nine heaps of their corpses".[15]

b) St. abs. fem. *te*/*išīt*:

Math. *ana ti*/*te-ši-it zūz* TMB 198: 2 f. "divide into nine!"

c) St. rect. fem. *tešītum*:

Om. *te-ši-tam* YOS 10, 31 v 30.

§ 6.11. "10".

a) St. abs. masc. *ešer*:

e-ši-ir tuḫallātim ilqē'amma AbB 6, 146: 22 "he took ten containers (with dates)".

mārāt pārija e-ši-ir CUSAS 36, 55: 7 "my ten mule fillies".

b) St. abs. fem. *ešeret*:

e-ši-re-et manā'ē UET 5, 73: 29 "ten minas".

Math. *e-še-re-et* Sumer 7, 33: 2, r. 1.

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14 See Streck 2008.

15 For *tešē* "9" see Streck 1995, 44 n. 104. Von Soden 1977 (followed by both AHw. and CAD) suggested "90". J.G. Westenholz 1997, 255 translates "confusing mass of their corpses" and derives "confusing" from *tēšû*; however, *tēšû* is never used in this sense. For the st. cstr. sg. *gurun* instead of the (fem.) pl. see § 5.286b.

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§ 6.12. The cardinal numbers "11"–"19" are composed of the st. abs. masc. of the units and a shortened form *(e)šer*/*(e)šeret* (in the case of "12", also *[e]šar*) of the st. abs. masc. or fem. form of "10".[16]

a) St. abs. masc.:

ši-in-ša-ar ṣābum CUSAS 36, 27: 14 *šinšar* "twelve workers".[17]

Math. *se-bé-še-er uṭ* JNES 5, 205: 33 *sebēšer uṭ(ṭet)* "seventeen grains".

b) St. abs. masc. with term. ending:[18]

Math. *ša-la-aš-ši-ri-iš ubānātim u šališti ubānim mūrak iṣim tellīma* Sumer 43, 190 ii 3 *šalāššer-iš* "you raise to thirteen and one-third fingers the length of the wood".

c) St. abs. fem.:

Math. *iš-te-en-ši-re-et* TMB 7: 1 *ištēnšeret* "eleven".

Lit. *[ša iš]tīšu ši-in-ši-re-et* TIM 9, 48 i 10 *šinšeret* "[who were wit]h him were twelve".

§ 6.13. The decimals (probably only from "20" to "50"[19]) also have a masc. and a fem. form:[20]

a) St. abs. masc.:

Math. *ammat aḫṣubšuma ša-la-šu pūtam [a]llik* Sumer 7, 39: 4 *šalāšū* "I cut it by one cubit and I measured (lit. went) thirty (cubits = fem. *ammatum*) along (its) front".

b) St. abs. fem.:

1 *malallâm ša ša-la-ša ša-la-ša-a eṣēnamma* CUSAS 36, 190: 8 *šalāša šalāšā* "I have loaded a ship of thirty-three (kor capacity)".[21]

Math. *ša-la-ša ašlī* MKT 1, 111 f. iii 27, iv 17 *šalāšā* "thirty rushes".

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16 *ši-iš-šar-ri* CUSAS 36, 97: 10. A.R. George transliterates and translates: *ana* UD 2.KAM ⌜*alakakku umma attama*⌝ *ši-iš-šar-ri ma-ḫi-ru lu im-ta*-AŠ "'I will come to you within two days,' that's what you wrote—(it is now) twelve (days). Market prices have really fallen(! assuming a mistake for *imtaqtū*). Keep an eye to them!" However, the final vowel (st. rect. masc. obl. case?), the doubled *rr*, and the syntax are suspicious. Perhaps a form of *šeršerru* "chain": "You said: 'Regarding the chains, the price has fallen (*im-ta-qut*!?)'" (the value *qut*, however, is elsewhere attested only from MB onwards).

17 For the gender agreement see § 6.24c.

18 See Streck 2008, 246 n. 2.

19 For 70–90 see § 6.20 f, below.

20 Traditionally, a single form in *-ā* has been suggested for the decimals; for two genders see Streck 1995, 43–45 I § 33h–j and 1998, 319 5.18. This also proves von Soden's (1961a) analysis of the ending *-ā* as the st. abs. of the fem. pl. instead of a dual form.

21 For the order of the components in this compound number see § 6.20a.

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§ 6.14. "60" is *šūši*,[22] rarely shortened to *šūš*.[23] The form is not inflected and is used for both genders and all numbers and cases:

1 *šu-ši* 4 *mešēnī* ARM 1, 17: 29 "64 shoes".

1 *šu-ši kiššam* … 2 *šu-uš* 5 *kiššam* … [š]U.NÍGIN 5 *šu-ši* 7 ARDēr 199: 7–17 "60 reed bundles … 125 reed bundles … Together: 307".[24]

2 *šu-ši ṣābam* Sumer 14, 4: 16 "120 soldiers".

5 *šu-ši* ARM 27, 164: 6 "300".

§ 6.15. "100":

a) The uncontracted form of the st. abs. of "100" is *me'at*:

1 *me-at ṣēnū* AbB 1, 7: 16 "100 sheep and goats".

1 *me-at imērī* ARM 5, 70: 7 "100 donkeys".

1 *me-a-at* 96 *ṣēnī* TCL 11, 162 A: 1 "196 sheep and goats".

b) A contracted st. abs. *mêt* < *me'at* is rarely found:[25]

1 *me-et ṣābam* ARM 2, 23 r. 18 "100 soldiers".

c) The contracted st. abs. *mât* < *me'at* in a letter from Bab. is unique:

ma-a-at ḫubūnī AbB 6, 4: 29 "hundred *ḫ*. jars".

d) A text from NBab. has the unique st. abs. *me-e* (*mē* <? *me'*):

1 *me-e* Fs. Birot 273: 4, 6.

e) The uncontracted st. rect. pl.[26] *me'āti* is written syllabically only once:

5 *me-a-ti ṣābum* AbB 8, 38: 11 "500 soldiers".

f) The contracted form *mêtu*/*im*[27] < *mê'ātu*/*im* is frequently attested:[28]

2 *me-tum immerū* … 2 *me-tum* 80 *ṣēnū* CT 45, 31: 1–5 "200 sheep, 280 sheep and goats".

2 *me-tim ṣābum* ARM 2, 75: 9 "200 soldiers".

2 *me-tim* … 3 *me-tim* … *ṣābam* ARM 1, 42: 32 "200, 300 soldiers".

§ 6.16. The refs. for *nērum* "600" (AHw. 779, CAD N/2, 178) are uncertain:[29]

8 *né-ri ribbatum ina muḫḫikunu šaknat* AbB 6, 88: 15 "arrears of 8×600(?) (shekels of silver) are imposed on you".

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22 Written plene only once: *šu-ši-i* UCP 10 p. 15: 10.

23 Instead of [1] *šu-uš* 10 GÍN ARM 1, 54: 21 (AHw. 1289 *šūši* 1a), read with ARM 1 p. 110 [1] TÚG UŠ 10 GÍN (see also Durand 1997, 406). For *šuš* see also *šuššār* "216,000" (60×3,600) AHw. 1289; CAD Š/3, 384.

24 The reason for the alternation between *šūši* and *šūš* in this text is unclear.

25 For the dialectal distribution of the vowel contraction /e-a/ < /ê/ see § 2.139.

26 A st. rect. sg. is probably not attested.

27 In most instances in the obl. case and only rarely in the nom. case.

28 For the dialectal distribution of the vowel contraction /e-a/ < /ê/ see § 2.139.

29 Instead of *wakil er-ri-im* (mng. uncertain), AHw. 779 proposes the reading *né*!*-ri-im* "overseer over six hundred". For the idiom *ana nērišu* see AHw. 779 *nēr* 2 "ganz und gar", CAD N/2, 178 *nēru* A b; Veenhof, AbB 14 p. 218 s.v. *šinšarium*.

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§ 6.17. "1,000":
a) St. abs. *līm*:
1 *li-im ṣābam* ARM 1, 24 r. 17 "1,000 soldiers".
2 *li-im Ḫanî* ARM 1, 42: 10 "2,000 Ḫanaeans".
b) St. rect. pl. obl. *līmī*:
3/10 *li-mi ṣābam* ARM 1, 42: 11, 36 "3,000/10,000 soldiers".

§ 6.18. "3,600" is st. abs. *šār*:
Lit. *ša-ar bērī* LAOS 4, 16 iii 10 "3,600 miles".
Lit. *erbēt* ⌜*ša*?⌝?-*ar* CUSAS 10, 12: 29 "four myriad(?)".

§ 6.19. "10,000":[30]
a) Sg. st. rect. *rababatum*:
Lit. 4/5 *ra-ba-*⌜*ba*⌝*-tam* Haul 2009, 332: 6, 8 "40,000/50,000".
b) Pl. st. rect. *rabbātum*:
MidEuphr. 5 *ra-ab-ba-tim imērī* VOM 181: 16 "5,000 donkey loads".

§ 6.20. Compound numbers.
a) In the following unique ref., the unit precedes the syllabically written decimal (§ 6.13b):
1 *malallâm ša ša-la-ša ša-la-ša-a eṣēnamma* CUSAS 36, 190: 8 *šalāša šalāšā* "I have loaded a ship of three (+) thirty (kor capacity)".
b) However, when logographically written, the decimals always precede the units:[31]
200 20 4 *ṣēnū* TCL 10, 24 r. 32 "224 sheep and goats".
50 6 *puḫādū* TCL 10, 24 r. 17 "56 lambs".
c) In one case, *u* "and" stands between the decimals and the unit:
1 *me-at* 30 *ú* 8 *alpū* Shemshara 2, 137: 15 "1 hundred 30 and 8 cows".
d) In all other compound numbers, the elements are given in decreasing order:
1 *me-at* 49 U_8 UET 5, 111: 1 "149 ewes".
ana 1 *li-im* 2 *me-at* ÁB$^{ḫi.a}$ ARM 1, 118: 8 *līm, me'at* "for 1,200 cows".
e) Occasionally *u* is found between the elements:
1 *li-im ù* 4 *me-tim ṣābim* FM 1 p. 140: 46 "1,000 and 400 soldiers".[32]
1 *li-im ù* 5 ME FM 2, 261 no. 127: 28 "1,000 and 500".
Math. 4 *li-im* 3 *me-at ù* 20 MCT p. 18 PTS 247: 1 "4,000 3 hundred and 20".

30 According to AHw. 1585 s.v. *rabbat* ("kan.") and CAD R 14 ("Wsem.") a loan from Amorite. The two new Lit. refs., which do not show vowel elision, also point in this direction.
31 Likewise, in Biblical Hebrew the order of decimals and units is not fixed, see Waltke/O'Connor 2010, 280 f.
32 But the same text has 1 *li-im* 2 *me-tim ṣābim* FM 1 p. 140: 45 without *u*.

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f) The decimals "70"–"90" are apparently combinations of "60" and "10", "20", or "30". Rarely, an additional *šūši* appears at the end of the compound number; it seems to reflect that 10, 20, and 30 are understood as fractions of "60":

[1] *šu-uš ù* 10 GÍN ARM 1, 54: 21 "60 and 10 shekels".

1 20 *šu-ši-i* UCP 10 p. 15: 10 "60 (and) 1/3 sixties (= 80)".[33]

1 10 *šu-ši* AbB 6, 4: 30 "60 (and) 1/6 sixties (= 70)".

1.2 *Syntax of the Cardinals*

§ 6.21. a) The number "1" may be omitted:

aššum immerim 2 *immer*[*ī*] ARM 2, 27: 7 "because of a sheep or 2 sheep".

b) When the number "1" is used to refer to a single item, it appears to have emphatic weight:

māt GN … *ana pîm iš-te-en uštē⟨ši⟩bši* ARM 1, 5: 34 f. *ištēn* "he subdued the land GN under a single rule".

nawûm ana idim iš-te-en lipḫur ARM 3, 15: 27 *ištēn* "may the flock gather on one bank (only)".

§ 6.22. The cardinals may be used independently.

a) In partitive use:

ina libbikunu iš-te-en AbB 4, 34: 7 *ištēn* "one of you".

Lit. *iš-te-en ina wardī šarrim* RA 35, 2 ii 11 *ištēn* "one of the king's servants".

b) In predicative use:

ṭēmum šū ul iš-ti-en ARM 6, 44: 10 *ištēn* "this report is not coherent".

mārī iš-te-en-ma anūmma ittī PN [*i*]*zzâz* FM 8, 155 no. 44: 5 *ištēn* "my son is one and now he stands in the service of PN".

Om. *īnšu iš-ti-a-at-ma* YOS 10, 56 iii 1 *ište'atma* "his eye is one".

Om. *padānū ši-na* YOS 10, 7: 9 *šinā* "the paths are two".

c) With *zâzum* "to divide", *paṭārum* "to split", or *ḫepûm* "to divide":

ana še-na zūzāma AbB 4, 23: 23 *šenā* "divide into two (parts)!"

Om. *ana ši-na paṭer* YOS 10, 26 iii 21 *šinā* "is split in two".

Math. *ana ti*/*te-ši-it zūz* TMB 198: 2 f. *tešīt* "divide into nine (parts)!"

Math. *ana ši-na ḫipīma* MKT 317: 12 *šinā* "divide by two!"

d) With *eṣēpum* "to multiply":

Math. *ana* 9 *eṣimma* TMB 213: 5 "multiply by 9!"

e) When the item counted is mentioned elsewhere:

ša-la-aš-ti-šu-nu illeqû ši-na ūtašširū AbB 14, 113: 23 "three of them were arrested, two have been released".

33 For this interpretation see A. Sachs apud Finkelstein 1968: 33 n. 15.

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Lit. DN *ši-e-na ulidma še$_{20}$-e-na māšān zarriqā ana ēkallim* CT 15, 1 i 10 *šenā* "DN gave birth to two and the two twins are multicolored for the palace".

f) *ištēn … ištēn* "the one … the other":

Math. *ina i*[*š*]*-te-en usuḫ ana iš-te-en ṣimma* TMB 207: 35 f. "deduct from one, add to the other!"

§ 6.23. In appositional use, the cardinals precede or, more rarely, follow the item counted. It is impossible to discern any difference between the two positions.[34] When written syllabically, the number usually stands in the st. abs. regardless of position. Use of the st. rect. is confined to Lit. and Roy. texts. Otherwise, no difference between the use of the st. abs. and the st. rect. can be discerned.

a) Preceding the item counted, in the st. abs:

iš-te-en taklam AbB 6, 57: 5 *ištēn* "a (lit. one) trustworthy".
iš-te-en awīlam AbB 14, 66: 8 *ištēn* "one man".
ḫa-mi-iš ubānātim AbB 14, 116: 28, 31 "five fingers".
ḫa-am-ši-et qanî TCL 10, 3: 1 "five reeds".
se-bé nārātim AbB 8, 39: 5 "seven rivers".
ša-la-aš-ti šuḫārū[*ʾa*] AUWE 23, 68: 8 "[my] three boys".

b) Following the item counted, in the st. abs:

lubārtam iš-ta-a-at AbB 9, 106: 18 *ištât* "one cloth".
kīma aplim iš-te-en CH § 172 "like one heir".
paḫattum [*i*]*š-te-et-man* FM 2, 113 no. 71 r. 15 "a single case of fear".
bītātum taklātum ši-ta ARM 5, 41: 28 *šittā* "two trustworthy families".
[*š*]*amâtum ša-la-a-aš* AbB 14, 59: 21 "three rain-showers".
Om. *qû er-bé-et* YOS 10, 42 iii 23 *erbēt* "four threads".
mārāt pārija e-ši-ir CUSAS 36, 55: 7 "my ten mule fillies".

c) Preceding the item counted, in the st. rect.:

Lit. *iš-ti-a-num šadû* CT 15, 3 i 8 *ištiʾānum* "a single mountain".
Lit. *elī ša-la-aš-ti-in šunātīja* Gilg. OB Nippur 10 "more than my three dreams".
Lit. *se-bé-tam qablī* Anzu OB II 38, 40 "seven battles".

d) Following the item counted, in the st. rect.:

Roy. *kibrātim ar-ba-im* RIME 4, 348: 4 *arbaʾim* "four quarters of the world".
Lit. [*ḫur*]*šānī sé-bé-tam* UET 1, 146 iv 13 "seven mountains".

e) Preceding the item counted, written logographically:

Om. 3 *šēpētum* YOS 10, 50: 2 "3 feet".
15 *ušummī* AbB 14, 67: 20 "15 *u.*-mice".

34 According to GAG § 139c, d, and f, postpositive numbers are emphasized. However, emphasis is a subjective notion and difficult to verify in written contexts.

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20 *kippātim* ARM 22, 199: 2 "20 rings".
2 *šu-ši ṣābam* Sumer 14, 4: 16 "120 soldiers".
3 ME *ṣābum* ARM 1, 33: 22 "300 soldiers".
12 *li-mi ṣābum* ARM 6, 27: 16 *līmī* "12,000 soldiers".

§ 6.24. a) The gender of the cardinals "1" and "2" agrees with the gender of the item counted:*ištēn awīlam* AbB 14, 66: 8 "one man".
Lit. *iš-ti-a-at iltum* VS 10, 214 vi 21 *ište'at* "one goddess".
alpī še-na AbB 11, 144: 8 *šenā* "two cows".
Om. *mar(r)ātum 2-ta* YOS 10, 31 i 47 *šittā* "two gall bladders".
b) The gender of the numbers "3"–"19" and of the decimals from "20" to "50" is usually the opposite of that of the item counted: masc. number with fem. item counted and vice versa:[35]
[*š*]*amâtum ša-la-a-aš* AbB 14, 59: 21 *šalāš* "three rain-showers".
ša-la-aš-ti šuḫārū[*'a*] AUWE 23, 68: 8 *šalāšti* "[my] three boys".
Math. *er-bé-e mitḫarātim* Sumer 7, 147: 15 *erbē* "four squares".
alpū … [*e*]*r-bé-et-ma* AbB 14, 60: 17 *erbēt-ma* "the oxen are four".
ḫa-mi-iš ubānātim AbB 14, 116: 28, 31 *ḫamiš* "five fingers".
ḫa-am-ši-et qanî TCL 10, 3: 1 *ḫamšet* "five reeds".
se-bé nārātim AbB 8, 39: 5 *sebē* "seven rivers".
Lit. *se-bé-et lišānūšu* TIM 9, 66: 17 "seven are his tongues".
Math. *ša-la-aš-ši-ri-iš ubānātim* Sumer 43, 190 ii 3 *šalāššer-iš* "to thirteen fingers".
Math. *se-bé-še-er uṭ* JNES 5, 205: 33 *sebēšer uṭ*(*ṭet*) "seventeen grains".
ša-la-šu Sumer 7, 39: 4 *šalāšū* "thirty" (referring to *ammatum* "cubit").
Math. *ša-la-ša ašlī* MKT 1, 111 f. iii 27, iv 17 *šalāšā* "thirty rushes".
ša-la-ša-a CUSAS 36, 190: 8 *šalāšā* "thirty" (referring to *kurrum* "kor").
c) But there seems to be an exception with "12". In one ref., the masc. gender of the number agrees with the masc. gender of the item counted:
ši-in-ša-ar ṣābum CUSAS 36, 27: 14 *šinšar* "twelve workers".
d) The numbers 60, 100, and 1,000 have a single form for both genders.

§ 6.25. The item counted usually[36] appears in the syntactically appropriate case in the st. rect. The number of the item counted is expressed as follows:
a) With the number "1", the item counted appears in the sg.:
ṭe$_4$*-mu-um* [*š*]*u-ú ul iš-ti*$_4$*-en* ARM 6, 44: 10 *ṭēmum šū … ištēn* "that report is not unambiguous (lit. one)".

35 Exceptions occur in the gen. construction, see § 6.26c.
36 For the gen. construction see § 6.26. For "100", "1,000", and units of measurement see § 6.27.

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lu-ba-ar-tam iš-ta-a-at šūbilānim AbB 9, 106: 18 *lubārtam ištât* "send me one garment!"

b) With the number "2", the item counted rarely appears in the dual, especially in Om. and Lit.:

PN *Ši-na-be-la-šu* AbB 6, 144: 1 *Šinā-bēlā-šu* "Two are his lords".

Om. *qar-ra-da-an 2-na imuttānim* YOS 10, 31 ix 25 *qarrādān šenā* "two warriors will die".

Om. *šumma … ina napšat martim ti-ki-ip-ta-an 2-ta-ma* YOS 10, 31 ix 23 *tikiptān šittā-ma* "if there are two dots at the opening of the gall bladder".

Lit. *ši-e-na ma-ša-an* CT 15, 1 i 11 *šenā māšān* "the two are twins".

Lit. *še-na e⌜eṭ⌝-la illakā* Or. 87, 27 v 44 *šenā eṭlā* "two men go".

c) Elsewhere, the item counted appears in the pl. with the number "2":

[*a*]*l-pi še-na šāmamma* AbB 11, 144: 8 *alpī šenā* "buy for me two cows!"

bi-ta-tum ta-ak-la-tum ši-ta ittā⟨bi⟩tā ARM 5, 41: 28 *bītātum taklātum šittā* "two reliable houses have fled".

Om. *šumma ma-ra-⌜tum⌝ 2-ta* YOS 10, 31 i 47 *mar(r)ātum šittā* "if there are two gall bladders".

Om. *ina šumēl martim 2 še-pé-tum* CUSAS 18, 4: 30 *šēpētum* "on the left of the gall-bladder were 2 foot-marks".

d) With higher numbers, the item counted usually appears in the pl.:

4 *al-li līmurūni* AbB 10, 69: 24 *allī* "let them find 4 hoes".

4 *qí-in-na-za-tim ublūnim* AbB 10, 30 r. 5 *qinnazātim* "they brought me 4 whips".

ana 4 *qar-na-tim* FM 3, 118 no. 10 iii 8 *qarnātim* "for 4 horns".

8 *pa-ša-at bā'eri* ARM 22, 202: 5 *pāšāt* "8 axes of a hunter".

ana 20 *ki-pa-tim* ARM 22, 199: 2 *kippātim* "for 20 rings".

1 *šu-ši a-šu-ḫi … šāmamma* AbB 6, 52: 6 *ašūḫī* "buy for me 60 pine trees".

e) Collective nouns, however, appear in the sg. with higher numbers:

1 ME *ṣa-ba-am iddinšumma* ARM 1, 16: 23 *ṣābam* "he gave him 100 soldiers".

1 ME *ṣa-bu-um šū … lišibma* ARM 1, 16: 26 "let those 100 soldiers stay".

e-nu-tum 17 *kaṣrat* FM 9, 220 no. 53: 5 "17 instruments have been collected".

f) The st. cstr. of *tāpalum* "pair" usually occurs in the sg. instead of the pl.:[37]

4 *ta-pa-al magarrī* ARM 22, 311: 10 *tāpal* "4 pairs of wheels".

§ 6.26. Numbers and items counted sometimes occur in a gen. construction (in Lit., Roy., and Om.):[38]

37 For further refs. with other nouns see § 5.287b.

38 For hundreds, thousands, and units of measurement, which are frequently used in a gen. construction, see § 6.27.

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a) Number in the st. cstr. and item counted in the gen. sg.:

Lit. *ištīʾam 7 as-sà-am-mi-im* Gilg. OB II 101 *assammim* "he drank 7 goblets".

b) Number in the st. cstr. and item counted in the obl. case:

Om. 4 *na-ap-la-sà-tim … izzazzā* YOS 10, 11 i 23 *naplasātim* "4 blinkers … stand".

c) *kibrum* "edge of the world" and *šārum* "wind, direction" appear in the st. cstr. sg. or pl. and the number "4" appears in the st. rect. gen. sg. Sometimes the number "4" has the opposite gender of the item counted, and sometimes its gender agrees with that of the item:

Lit. *ki-ib-ra-at er-bé-e-em* RA 22, 170 f.: 50 *kibrāt erbêm* "four edges of the world".

Lit. *ki-ib-ra-at er-bé-tim* CH ii 4 *kibrāt erbētim* "four edges of the world".

Om. *šumma ḫašûm ša-ar er-bé-ti-ša kuppuṣat* YOS 10, 36 i 29 *šār erbētiša* "if the lung is curled in its four (wind) directions".

§ 6.27. The construction of hundred(s), thousand(s), and of units of measurement differs from that of other nominal heads (§ 6.25).

a) "100", "1,000", and "1 unit of measurement" most commonly appear in the st. abs. of the sg. Whereas the number 1 usually precedes "100" and "1,000", units of measurement, if written syllabically, appear without the number 1:

1 *me-at ṣēnū maḫrīja* [*iz*]*zazzā* AbB 1, 7: 16 *meʾat* "100 sheep and goats stand at my disposal".

1 *me-at imērī* ARM 5, 70: 7 *meʾat* "100 donkeys".

1 *me-et ṣābam* ARM 2, 23 r. 18 *mêt* "100 soldiers".

1 *li-im ṣābam* ARM 1, 24 r. 17 *līm* "1,000 soldiers".

ú-ba-an šuppil AbB 9, 202: 8 *ubān* "dig one finger deep!"

Ḫābūr ú-ba-an inašš[*ī*] ARM 14, 13: 26 *ubān* "the Ḫ. river rises one finger".

1 *abnam ša … ni-ka-ás mēlûša* ARM 14, 26: 11 *nikkas* "1 stone that is one half-reed high".

qa-na u ni-ka-ás imtaqut ARM 6, 1: 21 *qanā, nikkas* "(the bridge) collapsed (over a length of) a reed and a half-reed".

ašar kalakkam ni-ka-ás anassaḫu ARM 3, 5: 32 *nikkas* "where I have to dig an excavation of one half-reed".

am-ma-at mû i[*na*] *muḫḫi abnim illakū* ARM 6, 1: 14 *ammat* "the water flows over the stone (over a length of) one cubit".

am-ma-at ù ú-uṭ uššū FM 8, 159 no. 45: 9 *ammat, uṭ* "the foundation is one cubit and one half-cubit".

šêšu uṭ-ṭe$_4$*-et lā tezzibā* ARM 1, 103: 18 *uṭṭet* "do not leave behind one grain of barley!"

bi-la-at arî bi-la-at zî … šūbilam AbB 6, 57: 22 f. *bilat* "send me one talent of leaves and one talent of date palm fibers!"

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b) The st. rect. gen. sg. in the following example from UpMes. is unique:[39]

UpMes. 1 *li-mi-im ṣābam* ARM 28, 67: 30 *līmim* "1,000 soldiers".

c) "200", "2,000", and "2 units of measurement" sometimes use the same construction as "100", etc., i.e., the st. abs. of the sg. after the number 2:

2 *li-im ṣābam* ARM 1, 24 r. 18 "2,000 soldiers".

1 *šūši ašūḫī ša* 2 *qá-na arkū* AbB 6, 52: 7 *qanā* "60 pines that are 2 reeds longs".

2 *bé-er 3 bé-ri eq*[*lam*] ARM 26/1, 270 no. 103 r. 13 *bēr* "a dis[tance] of 2 miles (or) 3 miles".

d) In other cases, "200", "2,000", and "2 units of measurement" use the st. cstr. for the number and the st. rect. obl. case for the item counted. In the following examples, the number is in the nom. case.

2 *me-tim ṣābum … ipḫurūnim* ARM 2, 75: 9 *mêtim* "200 soldiers … assembled with me".

1 *abnam ša* 2 *am-ma-tim r*[*a*]*pšat* ARM 14, 26: 10 *ammātim* "1 stone that is 2 cubits wide".

e) "300–900", "3,000–9,000", and "3–9 units of measurement" usually appear in the st. rect. obl. case after the number in the st. cstr.[40] In the following examples, the number is in the nom. case.

3 *me-tim ṣāb awīl* GN ARM 2, 22: 22 *mêtim* "300 are the soldiers of the man from GN".

6 *me-tim kasapšunu* ARM 5, 20: 21 *mêtim* "their silver is 600 (shekels)".

1 *li-im* 2 *li-im* 5 *li-mi* 10 *li-mi … illikānimma* BagM 2, 58 iii 32 f. *līm*, *līmī* "1,000, 2,000, 5,000, 10,000 came here".

ina GN … 3 *li-mi* A.GÀR ŠE 2 *mêtim* A.GÀR Ì.GIŠ *ibaššû* ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 22 *līmī*, *mêtim* "there are in GN 3,000 *ugār* barley and 200 *ugār* sesame".

12 *li-mi ṣābum īlêm* ARM 6, 27: 16 *līmī* "12,000 soldiers came up here".

[*i*]*nanna* 10 *li-mi ṣābum* RATL p. 222 no. 147: 20 "now there are 10,000 soldiers".

2 GI 4 *ana ammatim* 8 *ú-ba-na-tim gamrū* ARM 13, 7: 16 *ubānātim* "together they are 2 reeds 4 cubits 8 fingers".

2 KÙŠ *er-bé ú-ba-na-tim gamir rupšim* AbB 3, 34: 26 *ubānātim* "in total the width is 2 cubits four fingers".

2 GI 4 *ana ammatim* 8 *ú-ba-na-tim gamrū* ARM 13, 7: 16 *ubānātim* "in total they are 2 reeds 4 cubits 8 fingers".

7 *am-ma-tim šupul mê* ARM 6, 9: 8 *ammātim* "the depth of the water is 7 cubits".

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39 Even more difficult is 1 *me-tim* LÚ^{meš} ARM 26/2, 507 no. 529: 6, because elsewhere *me-tim* is pl. *mêtim*.

40 I.e., in a gen. construction similar to § 6.26b.

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f) Rarely, instead of the pl., the sg. gen. is used in MidEuph. and ETigris. Examples of the number in the nom. or gen. case:

MidEuph. 20 *li-mi-im ṣābum* MARI 8, 359: 8 *līmim* "20,000 soldiers".

MidEuphr. [*itt*]*ī* 3 *li-mi-im ṣābim* ARM 10, 178: 7 *līmim* "with 3,000 soldiers".

ETigris 3 *li-mi-im ṣābum* ARM 28, 178: 5 *līmim* "3,000 soldiers".

g) Sometimes, "300–900" and "3,000–9,000" appear in the st. abs. sg., like "100", etc. (§ 6.27a), and "200", etc. (§ 6.27c):

aššum 5 *me-at ṣābim* ARM 5, 18: 5 *me'at* "because of the 500 soldiers".

ŠU.NIGIN 3 *me-at* 73 DUG GEŠTIN FM 11, 24: 4 *me'at* "together 373 jars of wine".

3 *li-im ṣ*[*ābam*] ARM 26/2, 422 no. 486 r. 5 *līm* "3,000 soldiers".

§ 6.28. "n cubits" is sometimes expressed by "n out of (*ina*) the cubit" or rarely "n with respect to (*ana*) the cubit".

a) n *ina ammatim*:

2 *ina ammatim* ARM 3, 5: 33 "2 cubits".

Math. *sa-ma-ni-na-ma-tim* < *samānē ina ammatim* Sumer 43, 204 iv 6 "eight cubits".

b) n *ana ammatim*:

4 *a-na ammatim* ARM 13, 7: 15 "4 cubits".

c) But the st. abs. is also attested:

4 *am-ma* MARI 8, 441: 16 *amma* "4 cubits".

2 Ordinals

2.1 *Morphology of the Ordinals*

§ 6.29. Like the cardinals, the ordinals are usually written logographically. The following survey only presents forms written syllabically. The ordinal "1st" is replaced by the cardinal "1" or various adjs. The ordinals higher than "2nd" have the nominal pattern *PaRuS* (§ 5.67b).

	Masc.	**Fem.**
1st		(*ište'at*)
2nd	*šanûm* < *šanī-um*	*šanī-t-um*
3rd	*šalš-um*, *šašš-um* < *šal-šum*	*šaluš-t-um*
4th	*rebûm* < *rebū-um*	*rebū-t-um*
5th	*ḫamš-um*	*ḫamuš-t-um*

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(*cont.*)

	Masc.	**Fem.**
6th	*šešš-um* < *šedš-um, seššu*	*šeduš-t-um*
7th	*sebûm* < *sebū-um*	*sebū-t-um*
8th	*samn-um, samnû*	*samun-t-um*
9th		*te/išū-t-um*
10th		*ešur-t-um*
20th	*e/išrûm* < *ešrā-um*	

§ 6.30. The ordinal "1st" is replaced by the cardinal "1" or various adjs.:

iš-te-a-at (besides *šanītam* and *šaluštam*) AbB 14, 60: 7 *išteʾat*.[41]

itūnu[*m r*]*e-iš-ti-tum* (besides *šanītum*, etc.) ARDēr 198: 1 *rēštītum* "first kiln".

ma-aḫ-re-em ūmam nēbaḫšu bēlī imḫur ina šanêm ūmim uterram ARM 2, 28: 22 *maḫrêm* < *maḫrīʾam* "on the first day my lord received his compensation, on the second day he returned (it) to me".

ina šattim maḫ-ri-tim CH § 47 *maḫrītim* "in the first year".

§ 6.31. The text ARDēr 198 gives the fem. ordinal numbers from "2nd" to "10th":

itūnu[*m rēštītum … ša-ni-tum … ša-lu-uš-tum … re-bu-tum … ḫa-mu-uš-tum … še*$_{20}$*-du-uš-tum …* [*se-b*]*u-tum … sa-mu-un-tum … te*$_{9}$*-šu-tum … e-šu-ur-tum* ARDēr 198: 3–19 *šanītum, šaluštum, rebūtum, ḫamuštum, šeduštum,* [*seb*]*ūtum, samuntum, tešūtum, ešurtum* "first kiln, second, third …".

§ 6.32. Further refs.

a) "2nd":

ša-né-em ūmam ARM 13, 112 r. 7 *šanêm* < *šanīʾam* "on the second day".

b) "3rd":

[*ina*] *ša-al-ši-im ūmim* ARM 2, 74 r. 4 *šalšim* "[on] the third day".

ša-aš-ši-im AbB 7, 93: 23; Lex. MSL 4, 126: 13 *šaššim* < *šalšim* (§ 2.243a) "third".

c) "4th":

Om. *ina ṣēlim re-bi-im* YOS 10, 51 iv 38 *rebîm* "on the fourth rib".

d) "5th":

adī ḫa-am-ši-im warḫim CH § 273 *ḫamšim* "until the fifth month".

e) "6th":

ištū ši-ši-im warḫim CH § 273 *šeššim* "from the sixth month"

41 For context see § 6.36a, below.

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ši-iš-ši-im warḫim AbB 9, 152: 9 "sixth month".

Math. *še-iš-šu* Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 22 *šeššu*.

f) "7th":

Math. *se-bu-um* Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 24 *sebûm* < *sebū-um*.

g) "8th":

sa-am-ni-i AbB 2, 101: 20 *samnî*.[42]

Math. *sa-am-ni-im* TMB 168: 4, 9 *samnim*.

h) "20th":

adī iš-re-e warḫim ARM 1, 36: 4 *e/išrê* "until the twentieth of the month".

2.2 *Syntax of the Ordinals*

§ 6.33. Ordinals may be used independently:

ina š[*a*]*-ni-i u ša-al-ši-im ana bīt tuppim i-ir-ru-um-ma* AbB 3, 84: 18 *šanî, šalšim* "I(!) will go on the second or third (day) into the tablet house".

[*i*]*lka ina bīrini lū ša-al-šu-um* RATL p. 203 no. 128: 22 *šalšum* "may your god be the third one between us".

Lit. *appūna ša-lu-uš-tum libšī ina nišī* Atr. 102 vii 1 *šaluštum* "in addition let there be a third (category of women) among the peoples".

§ 6.34. When used appositionally, the ordinal and the item counted agree in gender and case:

[*š*]*a-ni-a-am marri werîm* AbB 10, 20: 26 *šanīʾam* "a [s]econd spade of copper".

ana mārtija ša-ni-tim-ma-a AbB 6, 22: 11 *šanītimma* "to my second daughter".

§ 6.35. The ordinals frequently precede and sometimes follow the item counted. There seems to be no difference between the two positions:[43]

a) Preceding the item counted:

ša-lu-uš-ti maṣṣarti AbB 6, 186: 7 *šalušti* "third watch".

ša-al-[*š*]*a-am ṣubātka* AbB 14, 119: 18 *šalšam* "your third garment".

ina re-bi-im ūmim AbB 9, 261: 9 *rebîm* "on the fourth day".

ištū še$_{20}$*-ši-im warḫim* CH § 273 *šeššim* "from the sixth month"

ina ša-al-ši-im ūmim OBTR 71: 13 *šalšim* "on the third day".

ša-né-em ūmam ARM 13, 112 r. 7 *šanêm* < *šanīʾam* "on the second day".

b) Following the item counted:

ana mārtija ša-ni-tim-ma-a AbB 6, 22: 11 *šanītimma* "to my second daughter".

42 Analogous to *sebûm* and *tešûm*, or formed with the ending *-ī-* (see § 5.114d)?

43 The statement in GAG § 139l, "nachgestellt sind sie besonders betont," cannot be proved.

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Om. *ina ṣēlim ša-al-ši-im* YOS 10, 52 iv 27 *šalšim* "on the third rib".

Roy. *abi ab*[*ī*] *ja ḫa-a*[*m*]*-šum* RIME 4, 382: 51 *ḫamšum* "my fifth (generation) ancestor".

§ 6.36. Ordinals may also be used adverbially.

a) In the adverbial acc. in the sense of "for the first time", etc.:

UD 1^{kam} *iš-te-a-at* [*š*]*a-ni-i-ta-am ina warḫim* [*š*]*a-lu-uš-tam ina urri warḫim* AbB 14, 60:7–9 *ište'at, šanītamma, šaluštam* "for the first time[44] on day 1 of the month, for the second time on the day of the (new) moon, for the first time the day after the (new) moon".

b) In the term. in the sense of "a second time", etc.:

ša-ni-iš tuppam tušābilam ARM 4, 27: 9 *šanîš* "you sent me a tablet a second time".

Lit. *ḫa-am-ši-*⌜*iš*?⌝ *luṣīkum*? CUSAS 10, 12: 30 *ḫamšiš* "I will go out to you a fifth time".

c) In the term. in the sense of "first", etc.:

1-*šu ālam* GN *ša-ni-iš* GN_2 *ša-al-ši-iš* GN_3 … *amḫaṣma* ARM 13, 144: 35 *šanîš, šalšiš* "first[45] I smote GN, secondly GN_2, thirdly GN_3".

3 Fractions

3.1 *Morphology of the Fractions*

§ 6.37. The following forms are attested:

2/3	obl. *šitt-īn, šinipum, šinipū, šinip*(*p*)*i'ātum, šinip*(*p*)*â*/*etum*
1/2	*mišl-um, bām-t-um*
1/3	*šaluš* (st. abs.), *šaluš-t-um, šališ-t-um*
1/4	*rebūtum*?, *ra*/*ebī-t-um*
1/5	*ḫamuš-t-um*
1/6	st. cstr. *šešš-at*
1/7	*se*/*abī-t-um*
1/8	*samun-t-um*
1/9	*tišī-t-um*
1/10	*ešrētum*
1/12	*šinšar-ī-um*
1/13	*šalāššer-ī-tum*

44 *ište'at* is the uninflected st. abs.

45 Elsewhere, *ištēššu* serves as a multiplicative, see § 6.46a.

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§ 6.38. a) *šitt-īn* "2/3" is a dual obl. (nom. is not attested) < *šintīn* (see the cardinal number *šittā*, § 6.3):

ši-it-ti-in ana bēl kirîm inaddin CH § 64 *šittīn* "he will give two-thirds to the owner of the garden".

b) A different word for "2/3" is *šinipum* with st. cstr. sg. masc. *šinip*, st. cstr. pl.(?) fem. *šinip(p)i'āt*, *šinip(p)â/êt*, st. rect. pl. masc. *šinipū*, and st. rect. pl. fem. *šinipêtum*:

Math. *ši-ni-ip-pí-at* 15 *liqēma* Sumer 6, 134 r. 16 *šinippi'āt* "take two-thirds of 15!"

Math. *ši-ni-ip maḫīr nāḫim* Sumer 7, 43: 3 *šinip* "two-thirds of the price of lard".

Math. *ši-ni-pa-at mitḫārtim* TMB 14: 2 *šinippât* "two-thirds of the square".

ši-ni-pé-et 6 MA.NA AN.NA FM 3, 117 f. no. 10 ii 3, see ii 10, *šinipêt* "two-thirds of 6 mina of tin".

Math. *ši-ni-i-pí puṭurma* Sumer 7, 38: 5 *šinipī* "'loosen' two-thirds!"

Math. *ši-ni-pé-tim puṭur* Sumer 6, 133: 21, 24 *šinipêtim* "'loosen' two-thirds!"

§ 6.39. "1/2" is either *mišlum* (frequent) or *bāmtum*:

mi-ši-il šīmišu CH § 199 *mišil* "half of its price".

Om. *ba-ma-sà tarkat* YOS 10, 41: 67 *bāmassa* < *bāmat-ša* "half of it is dark".

§ 6.40. Some of the smaller fractions "1/3"–"1/10" are based on the ordinals and show the pattern *PaRuS*.[46]

a) Masc. forms:

ša-al-ša-a[*m*] ARM 10, 88: 22 *šalšam* "one-third".

ša-lu-uš AbB 9, 243: 15 *šaluš* (st. abs.) "one-third".

Math. *še*$_{20}$*-ša-at uṭṭetim* JNES 5, 205: 30 *šeššat* "one-sixth of a grain".

b) Fem. forms:

ša-lu-uš-ti SAR ARM 8, 8: 1 *šalušti* "one-third of a garden plot of field".

re-ba-a-at iškarim AbB 1, 56: 14 *rebât* <? *rebū-at* "one-fourth of the assigned work".[47]

Math. *ḫa-am-ša-at šiddija* Sumer 7, 130: 20; Sumer 7, 133: 35 *ḫamšat* < *ḫamuš-at*? "one-fifth of my length".

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46 The form 4 *ina ammatim sà-du-ša-am* FM 8, 170 no. 49: 8 for "4 and one-sixth(?) cubit" is difficult: we rather expect a spelling with *sa*$_1$ (see *se-di-iš* § 6.7.a) and a fem. form. See also 4 *ina ammatim i-šar-tam* FM 8, 170 no. 49: 13 "4 and one-tenth(?) cubit".

47 A derivation from *rebū-at* instead of *rebī-at* is favored by the uncontracted forms *ki-a-am* AbB 1, 56: 7 and *iptaṭrū-ni-a-ti* AbB 1, 57: 7 (same sender).

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Math. *sa-am-na-at šulušti* 20 JNES 5, 205: 14 *samnat* <? *samun-at* "one-eighth of one-third of twenty".

Math. *ti-ša-at šiddim* Sumer 7, 148: 21 *tišât* <? *tišū-at* "one-ninth of the length".

Math. *eš*$_{15}$*-re-et šiddim* Sumer 7, 148: 21 *ešrēt* (pl. fem.) "one-tenth of the long side".

§ 6.41. But the pattern *PaRiS*(*t*) is also attested, especially in Math.:

Math. *ša-li-iš-ti ubānim* Sumer 43, 190 ii 3 *šališti* "one-third of a finger".

Math. *ra-bi-a-at mitḫārtim* TMB 13: 2 *rabīʾat* "one-fourth of the square".

Math. *se-bi-at zitti* Sumer 10, 59 § 7 *sebīʾat* "a one-seventh share".

Math. *sa-ba-at pūtim* Sumer 7, 144: 48 *sabât* < *sabī-at* "one-seventh of the front side".

§ 6.42. Fractions smaller than "1/10" are composed of the cardinal with ending *-ī-* (§ 5.114d):

ši-in-ša-ri-am AbB 14, 77: 11 *šinšar-ī-am* "one-twelfth(?)".

Math. *ša-la-še-ri-tim* MKT 1, 346: 15 *šalāššerītim* "one-thirteenth".

Math. [*ša*]*-la-še-ri-at nakmarti* MKT 1, 346: 4 *šalāššerīʾat* "one-thirteenth of the sum".

3.2 *Syntax of the Fractions*

§ 6.43. The fractions may be used independently, without any item counted.

a) In the st. rect.:

ina bilat kirîm ši-it-ti-in ana bēl kirîm inaddin ša-lu-uš-tam šū ileqqē CH § 64 *šittīn, šaluštam* "he shall give to the owner of the orchard two-thirds of the yield of the orchard. He (himself) shall take one-third".

Math. *ši-ni-pé-tim puṭur* Sumer 6, 133: 21, 24 *šinipêtim* "'loosen' two-thirds!"

b) "1/3" frequently occurs in the st. abs. *šaluš*:

ša-lu-uš ana ṣuḫārē … idin AbB 9, 243: 15 "give one-third to the servants!"

ana ša-lu-uš eqlam iddin CH § 46 "he leased the field for a one-third share".

§ 6.44. In most instances, the fractions occur in the st. cstr., followed by the item counted in the gen. case:

mi-ši-il eqlija AbB 2, 111: 23 *mišil* "half of my field".

Math. *ša-li-iš-ti ubānim* Sumer 43, 190 ii 3 *šališti* "one-third finger".

re-ba-a-at iškarim AbB 1, 56: 14 *rebât* <? *rebū-at* "one-fourth of the assigned work".

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4 Multiplicatives

§ 6.45. The multiplicatives "n time(s)", "n-fold" are formed in a number of ways.

§ 6.46. The most frequent forms, also listed in § 6.1, are based on the st. abs. sg. masc. of the cardinals, to which the suff. *-šu* is added. They mean "n times". Multiplicatives higher than "1 time" additionally insert the adverbial ending *-ī-* between the base of the cardinal and *-šu*. The preps. *adī* "up to" or *ana* "to" may precede these multiplicatives.

a) "1 time":

iš-ti-iš-šu šinīšu maḫrīka aškun AbB 10, 34: 7 *ištēššu* < *ištēn-šu* "one time, two times I have put before you".

b) Multiplicatives higher than "1 time":

ši-ni-šu AbB 10, 34: 7 *šin-ī-šu*.

adī ša-la-ši-šu gerrum illikamma AbB 7, 92: 17 *šalāš-ī-šu* "the caravan came here three times".

Om. *šumma sippi šumēl bāb ēkallim ana er-bi-i-šu paṭer* YOS 10, 26 iii 25 *erbîšu* < *erbē-ī-šu* "if the doorframe to the left of the palace gate is split four times".

šatammī abarakkī u pašīšī ḫa-[*a*]*m-ši-šu ši-iš-*⟨*ši*⟩*-šu nusanniqma* AbB 11, 161: 10 *ḫamš-ī-šu šešš-ī-šu* "we checked the clerks, the stewards, and the *p*.-priests five, six times".

Math. *ištēn se-bi-šu igi'am šanûm iš-ti-ši-ri-šu šalšum ša-la-ši-ri-šu-ú rebûm er-bé-ši-ri-šu-ú iššī'am* TMB 142: 7–10 *sebîšu* < *sebē-ī-šu*, *ištēššerīšu* < *ištēnšer-ī-šu*, *šalāššer-ī-šu*, *erbēšer-ī-šu* "the first brought me seven times the reciprocal, the second eleven times, the third thirteen times, the fourth fourteen times".

Lit. *ana ti-ši-šu awīlam alpam būla*[*m*] *u imēram ikmī* TIM 9, 48 iii 14 *tešîšu* < *tešē-ī-šu* "nine times he bound fast man, oxen, cattle, and donkey".

ana eš-ri-šu aqbīšimma AbB 10, 8: 18 *ešr-ī-šu* "ten times I spoke to her".

§ 6.47. A form with a shortened ending *-ī-š*(*u*) (or term. *-iš*?)[48] is attested for "sixfold":

[*še-*]*iš-še-iš*!/6-*iš inaddin* SD 5, 30: 42 *šešš-ī-š* "he will give sixfold".

§ 6.48. Other multiplicatives, all meaning "n-fold", show the noun pattern *Pu-RūS*.

a) Probably with loc. ending *-ūm*:

tu-šu-ú-um tanaddin AbB 1, 51: 19 *tušū'-ūm* "you will give ninefold".

48 See § 6.36 for ordinal numbers with the term. ending.

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b) In the acc. case:

Lit. *eqlu kīma šarrāqi tu-šu-a* (*l*)*iššī* Atr. 74 ii 19; Atr. 76 ii 33 *tušū'a* "let the field bear/the field bore ninefold like a thief".

c) *PuRūS* is also attested together with the distributive suff. *-ā*:[49]

awīlē ḫu-mu-⌜*ša*⌝*-a liddinūnimma* Kisurra 178: 29 *ḫumūš-ā* "let them give to me the men in (groups of) five each".

Om. *šumma ṣēr ubānim šalāštašunu šu-lu-ša*(*-a*)/*ru-bu-'a*$_4$(*-a*) *puṭṭurū* YOS 10, 33 v 22, 24, 28, 31, 39 *šulūš-ā, rubū'-ā* "if the back of the finger—its three (parts) are each split threefold/fourfold".[50]

§ 6.49. a) For "2-fold" the cardinal *šinā* with or without *ana* can be used:

Om. *nakrum ummānam ana ši-na ilettē* CUSAS 18, 10 iii 17 "the enemy will split the army in two".

Om. [*šumma ṣē*]*r ubānim šalāštašunu ši-na puṭṭurū* YOS 10, 33 v 26 "if the back of the finger—its three (parts) are split twofold".

b) In the following instance, the suff. *-ā* is attached to the cardinal *ištēn* to indicate an additional distributive mng.:

Om. *šumma išdu ubāni … imittam*! *u šumēlam iš-ti-na-a ipṭur* YOS 10, 33 v 43 *ištēn-ā* "if the base of the finger is split once to the right and left".

§ 6.50. Another word for "2-fold" is *tašna*(*m*)/*tašni*, derived from *šinā* "two":

ta-áš-na še'am … irī'ab CH § 254 *tašna* "he will replace twofold the barley".

5 Derivations from Numbers[51]

§ 6.51. a) The word *ištēn-iš* "together" is derived from *ištēn* "one" with the term. ending *-iš*: *iš-te-ni-iš udabbabūninni* AbB 9, 93: 9 *ištēn-iš* "together they harass me".

b) For "group of ten" *ušūrtum* (pattern *PuRūS*)[52] is used:

wakil ú-šu-ur-ti-[*ka*] UET 5, 68: 7 "overseer of ten (men)".

49 These are the alleged distributive numbers with pattern *PuRūSā'* (GAG § 71d*).

50 The ending *-ā* has distributive force.

51 This section does not aim to be exhaustive.

52 See von Soden 1987, 409. See early OB *šu-du-uš manê* AbB 9, 246: 8 *šudūš* "six minas". In other cases, the fem. st. rect. is used for "group of n", see *erbētum* § 6.5.

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Index of Subjects

ʾ, lengthened § 2.157
ʾ, phoneme § 2.153–183
ʾ, secondary § 2.154; § 2.156; § 2.160–166
ʾ, strong § 2.173–183
ʾ, word-initial § 2.158–159
a, phoneme § 2.35–43

ablative accusative § 5.195.i
accusative case § 5.185–187; § 5.195
accusative of respect § 5.195.n
accusative suffixes § 4.111–123
adjectives, status constructus of § 5.301–304
administrative documents § 1.22.b
adverbs § 5.192; § 5.306.e
affirmation § 2.514
affricate § 2.345–367; § 2.368–373; § 2.377; § 2.491
agens, expression of § 5.194.j; § 5.195.o
aj > *ē*/*ī* § 2.221
aj, preserved § 2.222
Akkadian § 1.1
Akkadian, history of § 1.2–1.15
Akkadian text corpus, size of § 1.2
aleph, lengthened § 2.157
aleph, phoneme § 2.153–183
aleph, secondary § 2.28–31; § 2.154; § 2.156; § 2.160–166; § 2.507
aleph, word-initial § 2.158–159
alienable possession § 4.177
allegro (pronunciation) § 2.187
-am > *-em* § 2.62.l
Amorite § 1.19
Amorite loanwords § 2.151; § 2.199; § 2.208.b; § 2.226.b; § 2.229.c–d; § 2.269; § 2.366.b; § 2.488.c; § 5.117.f; § 5.127; § 5.178
-ān > *-ēn* § 2.62.m
anaphoric pronoun § 4.19
anaphoric use of demonstrative pronouns § 4.130; § 4.135; § 4.139
-ān-suffix § 5.115; § 5.172
Aramaic alphabet § 1.10.b
aw > *ū* § 2.479

b, phoneme § 2.184–191
Barth's law § 2.247–249
bb > *mb* § 2.504.a
bb > *nb* § 2.504.b
bird names § 5.79
bivalent verbs § 5.195.a
bm > *mm* § 2.187–189
body parts § 5.143; § 5.152; § 5.166.a
bq > *bg* § 2.333
broken vowel spellings § 2.32–34
bt > *bd* § 2.442.b

calques, Sumerian and Akkadian § 1.18.k
Canaanite § 1.9.b
cardinals § 6.1–28
case § 5.183–207
casus pendens § 5.193.g; § 5.195.c
cataphoric use of demonstrative pronoun § 4.131; § 4.135.g; § 4.140
collective nouns § 5.182
compensatory lengthening § 2.224
compound noun phrases § 5.128
compound numbers § 6.20
consonants, doubled § 2.500–504
crasis § 2.172
cuneiform writing § 2.1–21
CVC-sign § 2.11–12; § 2.15–16
CV-sign § 2.11; § 2.13–14

d, phoneme § 2.192–202
dative pronouns § 1.18.b; § 4.53–80
dative suffixes § 4.66–80
dd > *nd* § 2.504.d
deaffrication § 2.345–367; § 2.491–495; § 6.7–9
decimals § 6.13; § 6.20.a–c; § 6.20.f
definiteness § 5.2
demonstrative pronouns § 4.124–140
derivational morphemes § 3.2.b
determinative (cuneiform) § 2.3; § 2.5.c; § 2.6
determinative pronoun § 4.141–151
deverbal noun § 5.59–124
diminutives § 5.26–27
diphthong § 2.479–481
distal deixis § 4.135; § 4.138

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dittography § 2.21.c
dk > *dg* § 2.235.b
dm > *dn* § 2.252.d
dn > *nn* § 2.198
dš > *šš* § 2.197
dt > *dd* § 2.437.a
dt > *tt* § 2.195
dual § 2.70.m; § 5.165–166; § 5.294–295; § 6.3; § 6.38

e, phoneme § 2.44–88
Early Old Babylonian § 1.20
Eblaite § 1.5
e-coloring § 2.34; § 2.44; § 2.62–69; § 2.87
Egyptian § 1.9.b
elision, of vowels § 2.511
epics § 1.22.f

family tree model § 1.16
feminine endings § 5.130–138; § 5.217–221; § 5.256–265; § 5.290–293
fractions § 6.37–44

g, phoneme § 2.203–207
Geers's law § 2.229.b; § 2.345.a; § 2.448
geminate, dissimilation of § 2.504
gender § 5.129–162
generic reading § 5.3
genitive case § 5.185–187; § 5.194
genitive/accusative independent pronouns § 4.81–110
genitive pronouns § 4.20–52
genitive suffixes § 4.41–4.52
genitivus attributivus § 5.194.g
genitivus epexegeticus § 5.194.f
genitivus objectivus § 5.194.c
genitivus partitivus § 5.194.e
genitivus possessivus § 5.194.d
genitivus subjectivus § 5.194.b
gentilics § 5.113; § 5.114.e
geographical distribution of Old Babylonian § 1.21
gg > *ng* § 2.504.e
glide § 2.489
glottalization § 2.311; § 2.374; § 2.447
gt > *gd* § 2.440

ḫ, phoneme § 2.208–212
ḫk > *ḫḫ* § 2.235.a
ḫk > *kk* § 2.210
homophony, avoidance of § 2.177–181
honorific titles § 4.17
Hurrian § 1.9.b
hymns and prayers § 1.22.g
hypocoristic ending § 2.214.l
hypocoristic PN § 5.138.b

i, phoneme § 2.89–91
ia > *ê* § 2.139
ia >*â* § 2.139
iconic enlargement of nominal base § 5.171
ij > *ī* § 2.223
inalienable possession § 4.177; § 4.150
indefinite pronouns § 1.161–167
indefiniteness § 5.2
indeterminate meaning § 5.185
inflectional morphemes § 3.2.c
interrogative pronouns § 4.152–160
intonation § 2.514
irregular plural forms § 5.175–178

j, glide § 2.228
j, phoneme § 2.213–228
j, secondary § 2.228
j, word-initial § 2.67; § 2.158
ja- > *e-*/*i-* § 2.225

k, phoneme § 2.229–236
kt > kd or gd § 2.441

l, phoneme § 2.237–242
l > *r* § 2.244
Late Babylonian § 1.10
Late Old Babylonian § 1.20
law codes § 1.22.c
lento (pronunciation) § 2.187
letters § 1.22.a
lingua franca § 1.9.a
literary Akkadian § 1.14
loanwords § 5.125–127
locative case § 1.18.c; § 5.188–189; § 5.192.b–c; § 5.196–200
logogram § 2.3; § 2.5.a; § 2.7–10
lš > *šš* § 2.243

m, phoneme § 2.245–261
m > *n* § 2.251; § 2.252.b
m > *w* § 2.260–261

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maPRaS > naPRaS § 2.247
masculine plural, status constructus of § 5.285–289
mass nouns § 5.180
mb > *mm* § 2.252.h
measures § 5.306.b; § 6.2–28
merisms § 5.305.c; § 5.306.c
metathesis § 2.446; § 2.471
Middle Assyrian § 1.12
Middle Babylonian § 1.8
mimation § 2.252–259; § 5.185
minimal pair § 2.46; § 2.100
moods § 1.18.f
morphemes § 3.2
morphographemic spellings § 2.19–20
mš > *nš* § 2.252.e
mt > *bt* § 2.252.g
mt > *md* § 2.442.a
mt > *nd* § 2.252.c
multiplicative numbers § 6.45–50

n, phoneme § 2.264–288
n, word-initial, loss of § 2.286–288
nasalization § 2.504
near deixis § 4.129
Neo-Assyrian § 1.13
Neo-Babylonian § 1.10
nk > *gg* § 2.234
nominal bases enlarged in the plural § 5.171–174
nominative case § 5.185–187; § 5.193
noun patterns § 5.4–124
nouns *Pa*/*i*/*uRS* III-weak § 2.169; § 5.234–239
number of nouns § 5.163–182
numinous meaning of noun § 5.81; § 5.85
nunation § 2.251; § 4.20.b; § 4.22.d; § 4.23; § 4.24.c; § 4.27.c; § 4.28–29; § 4.32; § 4.35.b; § 4.125; § 4.134; § 5.185.d

o, phoneme § 2.92–94
oblique case § 5.194
Old Assyrian § 1.11
omission of sign § 2.21.a
omission of word § 2.21.b
onomatopoetic nouns § 5.46–47; § 5.306.h
ordinals § 6.29–36

p, phoneme § 2.289–310
PaRiS(*t*) § 6.41
paronomastic infinitive construction § 5.195.m; § 5.200.d
parts of speech § 3.1
PaRuS § 6.29; § 6.40
peripheral Akkadian § 1.9
personal names § 1.11.h
personal pronouns § 4.2–123
phonemes, loss of § 1.18.a
phonetic complement § 2.8; § 2.17
phonogram § 2.5.b; § 2.6–7; § 2.11–17
plene spelling, of vowels § 2.511
plural of nouns § 5.167–182
plurale tantum § 5.162; § 5.181
pm > *mm* § 2.310
possessive pronouns, independent § 4.20–40
pp > *mp* § 2.504.c
prepositional phrases § 1.18.j
Pre-Sargonic Akkadian § 1.4
primary nouns § 5.7–5.58
profession names § 5.76; § 5.78
Protosemitic /ʾ/ § 2.63; § 2.158; § 2.177
Protosemitic /ʿ/ § 2.66; § 2.158; § 2.177
Protosemitic /ǧ/ § 2.158; § 2.177
Protosemitic /h/ § 2.64; § 2.158; § 2.177
Protosemitic /ḥ/ § 2.65; § 2.158; § 2.177
PuRūS § 6.48; § 6.51.b

q, phoneme § 2.311–334
q > *k* § 2.331; § 2.334
qd > *qt* § 2.199
qk > *kk* § 2.332
question § 2.513
quotative case, nominative as § 5.193.i–j
quotative function of status absolutus § 5.306g

r, phoneme § 2.335–344
r > *l* § 2.344
reflexive pronouns § 4.1
rn > *nn* § 2.342
root morphemes § 3.2.a
royal inscriptions § 1.22.d

s, phoneme § 2.345–367
sandhi § 2.172
Sargonic Akkadian § 1.6

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scientific literature §1.22.e
scribal mistakes §2.21
secondary phoneme §2.44
semantic classes of nouns §5.5
Semitic language family §1.16
sign values §2.5–7
singular of nouns §5.164
spirantization §2.191; §2.207; §2.212; §2.236
sr > *ss* §2.343
st > *ss* §2.437.d
stative §1.18.d
status absolutus §5.305–306; §6.1–13; §6.15; §6.17–18; §6.23; §6.27; §6.46
status constructus §5.186–187; §5.209–304
status pronominalis §5.209
status rectus §5.184; §5.208
stress §2.508–514
subordinative §1.18.g
Sumerian §1.18; §2.1; §2.5.a; §2.22
Sumerian loanwords §2.45; §2.151; §2.273; §2.365.a; §5.117.e; §5.126; §5.159
syllable, ultra-long §2.506
syllables §2.18; §2.505–507
syllabogram §2.5.b
ṣ, phoneme §2.368–376
ṣṣ > *nṣ* §2.504.h
ṣt > *ṣṣ* §2.437.e
š, phoneme §2.377–433
š > *t* §2.433
šd > *ld* §2.428
šs > *ss* §2.429
šš > *nš* §2.504.g
št > *lt* §2.428

t, phoneme §2.434–446
tan-stem §2.76
td > *dd* §2.438.a
tenses §1.18.e
terminative case §1.18.c; §5.190–192; §5.197; §5.201–207
text genres §1.3; §1.22
titles, not inflected §5.193.k
topicalization §5.193.g; §5.195.c
tp > *pp* §2.439
transcription §2.2
transliteration §2.2
tripthong §2.482–483
trivalent verbs §5.195.b
trochaic verse ending §2.512
ts > *ss* §2.438.b
tṣ > *ṣṣ* §2.438.c
tš > *šš* §2.438.d
ṭ, phoneme §2.447–471
ṭt > *tṭ* §2.437.b
ṭt > *tt* §2.469

u, phoneme §2.95–99
-um > *-uw* > *-û* §2.261
-ūt-suffix §5.117; §5.137; §5.195.k
uw > *ū* §2.481

VC-sign §2.11; §2.13–14
ventive §1.18.h; §2.19.a, c; §4.66
verbs I-’ §2.170.a
verbs I-w §2.36–41
verbs II-’ §2.170.b; §2.183
verbs II-*ī* §2.165–166
verbs II-weak §2.114; §2.164
verbs III-’ §2.170.c
verbs III-weak §2.115
vocalic onset §2.507
vocative §5.193.f; §5.306.f
vowel contraction §2.4; §2.92; §2.119–143
vowel elision §2.144–151; §2.511
vowel harmony, Babylonian §2.70–85
vowel length §2.4; §2.23; §2.101–118
vowel plene spelling §2.509–510
vowel plene spellings CV-V §2.25
vowel plene spellings V-VC §2.26–31; §2.161
vowels of high sonority §2.148–150
V-sign §2.11; §2.13

w, phoneme §2.472–490
w, secondary §2.489–490
w, word-initial §2.477–478
w > *b* §2.487
word boundary §2.146
word order §1.18.i

z, phoneme §2.491–499
zt > zz §2.437.c
zz > *nz* §2.504.f

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Selective Index of Words and Syllabograms

á § 2.35.c
à(PI) § 2.35b
ʾà § 2.154; § 2.162
-ʾa § 4.42
a-a § 2.214; § 2.217.b; § 2.218.c; § 2.219.g
ab(*b*)*ūtum* § 5.117.a
abarakkūtum § 5.117.e
abātum § 2.178.a
abbūtum § 5.173.b; § 5.173.c
abnum § 5.14.a; § 5.145.a; § 5.161.a
abu bītim § 5.175
abubītum § 5.128.a
abūbum § 5.22.a
abullum § 5.145.b
abum § 2.102.a fn; § 5.8.a; § 5.173.a; § 5.173.c; § 5.222
abunnatum § 5.38.b
aburrum § 5.38.a
abūsum § 5.22.a
adārum § 2.178.b
addunānum § 2.272
addurārum § 2.272
adī § 6.46
agālum § 5.20.a
aguḫḫum § 5.38.a
agurrum § 5.38.a
āḫarātum § 5.127.b
aḫātum § 5.133; § 5.173.b
aḫḫūtum § 5.173.b
āḫizānum § 5.115.a
aḫrīʾātum § 5.114.a
aḫum § 5.8.a; § 5.169.a; § 5.173.a; § 5.173.c; § 5.222; § 5.289
aḫûm § 5.114.b
ajjalum § 5.30
ajjîš § 4.159.d
ajjûm § 4.159–160; § 4.166.b
ajjûmma § 4.166–167
akalum § 2.149.b
akbarum § 5.54
akkadītum § 1.1
akkadûm § 1.1
akkilum § 5.76
āl dannatim § 5.128.c
ālājītum § 5.113 fn.
alāktum § 5.68; § 5.176
alākum § 2.64.b; § 2.147.d
alālum § 2.178.c
alātum § 2.182.a
ālikānum § 5.115.a
allallum § 5.79
ālum § 5.172.a
-am § 4.68
ammatum § 5.14.b; § 6.28
ammīn § 5.306.e
ʿamqum § 2.208.b
amtum § 5.8.b
amum § 5.8.a; § 5.155.a
amurratum § 2.287.h
an- § 4.64
ana § 5.183.a; § 6.46
anā § 4.3
anāku § 4.3
andunānum § 2.272; § 5.92
andurārum § 2.272; § 5.92
annêttan § 4.127
annêt(*t*)*un* § 4.125.c; § 4.126.c
annīʾattum § 4.126.c
annīʾātun § 4.125.c
annittun § 4.125.a; § 4.126.a
annûm § 4.124; § 4.128–131
annût(*t*)*um*/*n* § 4.125.b; § 4.126.b
ānum § 2.28 fn.
anu/*i*/*ammûm* § 4.132–135
apārum § 2.178.d
aplūtum § 5.117.a
appārum § 5.153.a
appatum § 5.14.b; § 5.179.b
appum § 5.14.a; § 5.159.a
apsîšūm § 5.192.b
aptum § 5.8.b
apum § 5.8.a
aqdamātum § 2.199; § 5.127.b
aqdamu § 5.127.b
aqqadītum § 1.1
arammum § 5.37
arāmum § 2.178 fn.
arbaʾum § 5.45; § 6.5.b
arḫum § 5.141.a
āribum § 5.29
arkatum § 2.244
arkum, ariktum § 5.66.a

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arnabum § 5.54
arum § 5.8.a
arūrtum § 5.70.a
as § 2.347–361
ás(ÁŠ) § 2.347–361; § 2.364.a; § 2.365.a
às(AŠ) § 2.347–361; § 2.364.b
asum/āsum? § 5.126.a
áš § 2.32
ašarēdum § 5.128.a
ašarikīʾam § 2.149.a
ašariš § 2.149.a
ašaršanī § 5.306.e
ašilalû § 2.151.a
asīrum § 5.69.b
ašlākūtum § 5.117.e
ašlum § 5.147; § 5.149.a
Ašqūdānum § 5.115.d
ašrum § 5.17; § 5.147; § 5.148.a
aššatum § 2.147.e; § 5.14.b
aššūtum § 5.117; § 5.117.a
aštum § 2.147.e
ašūštum § 5.70.a
atāmum § 2.477.d fn.
atānum § 5.20.a
atappum § 5.153.b
atḫū/û § 5.179.b
atta § 4.4
atti § 4.5
attina § 4.10
attunu § 4.9
aw(PI) § 2.474.e
awīlum § 5.21
awīlūtum § 5.117
awurriqānum § 5.91
ʿayrum § 2.208.b; § 2.222.b
áz(ÁŠ) § 2.493.a; § 2.494
àz(AŠ) § 2.493.c
ʿazzum § 2.208.b

bá(PA) § 2.186
baʾālum § 2.182.b
babbilum § 5.76
babbilūtum § 5.117.d
bābtum § 5.11.b
bābum § 5.11.a
bāʾerūtum § 5.117.c
bakkāʾum § 5.78.a
baliṭum § 2.149.b
balṭūṭum § 5.117.b
bāmtum § 5.11.b; § 6.39
banûm, banītum § 5.66.a
bāqirānum § 5.115.a
baqqum § 5.14.a
baqrum, baqrū § 5.62.c
barārītum § 5.114.b
barbaratum § 5.47.b
barbarum § 5.47.a
barmum, barumtum § 5.67.a
bārtum § 5.68
bāṣum § 5.11.a
bašlūtum § 5.117.b
bašmum § 5.14.a
bāštum § 5.68
batarum § 2.151.b
batūltum § 5.22.b
baʾūlātum § 5.70.b; § 5.179.b
bâʾum § 2.173.a
be § 2.50.a; § 2.58a
bé § 2.50.b; § 2.58a
bēl biltim § 5.128.c
bēl dīnim § 5.128.c
bēl ḫubullim § 5.128.c
bēl pāḫātim § 5.128.c
bēl têrtim § 5.128.c
bēlānum § 5.115.c
bēlum § 2.50.a; § 2.66.a
bi § 2.50.c; § 2.58a
bí § 2.185.b; § 2.185.c
bibbulum § 5.121
bibbum § 5.15.a
biblum § 5.63.c
bikītum § 5.63.b
billatum § 5.63.d
biltum § 5.60.b
binītum § 5.63.d
bīnum § 2.222.c; § 5.14.a
birbirrum § 5.120
birbirrū § 5.180.e
biriḫḫum § 5.40
birkum § 5.15.a
birṣum § 5.63.a
bīrum § 5.63.a
Bissû § 2.343
biṣṣūrum § 5.35
bitqum § 5.63.c
bitrāmum § 5.107.a
bītum § 5.14.a; § 5.155.b
bituqtum § 2.99.a

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bu'ārum § 5.72.a fn.
bubu'tum § 2.181.a
bubūtum § 5.28.a
būdum § 5.13.a
buḫratum § 5.64.b
buḫrum § 5.64.c
bukānum § 5.26.a
bukrum § 5.16.a
bulṭum § 5.64.a
būlum § 5.13.a
bunnannû § 5.179.b
buqqumum § 5.77.a
buqrûm § 5.112
buqūmum § 5.74.a
burāšum § 5.26.a
burbu'tum § 2.181.a
burrus/šum § 5.77.a
būrtum § 5.13.b; § 5.16.b
būrum § 5.13.a; § 5.16.a; § 5.64.a
bussurtum § 5.77.c
bussurum § 2.365.b
būšānum § 5.115.c
butuqqûm § 5.111.a
butuqtum § 2.99.a; § 2.150
buṭubtum § 2.252.g
buṭumtum § 2.149.d; § 5.16.b
bu"ûm § 2.173.b
buzzu'um § 2.182.c

dá(TA) § 2.194
da$_{10}$(ḪI) § 2.194
da'āmum § 2.179.a
dabābābum § 5.86
dabdabum § 5.47.a
dadnun § 2.252.d
dā'ikānum § 5.115.a
dajjānum § 5.78.a
dajjānūtum § 5.117.d
dalīlum/ū § 5.69.a; § 5.181
dallāwum § 5.78.a
daltum § 5.8.b
dammāmum § 5.78.a
damqum, damiqtum § 5.66.a
damum § 5.8.a
damuttum § 5.117.a
dannīnum § 5.90
dannum, dannatum § 5.62.a
dannūtum § 5.117.b
dār § 5.306.e
dārum § 1.14.b
dāṣtum § 2.370.c
da'ummatum § 2.179.a; § 5.81.b
daw/bdûm § 2.480.b; § 2.489
de$_4$(TE) § 2.194
dì(TI) § 2.194
di'atum § 2.175.a; § 5.60.a; § 5.130.d
diglum § 5.63.a
dikšum § 5.63.a
dilīlum § 2.43; § 5.71
diliptum § 5.63.b
dimmatum § 2.202; § 5.63.b
dimtum § 5.9.b
dīmtum § 5.15.b
dīnum § 5.63.a; § 5.157.a
dipārum § 5.23.a; § 5.159.b
diqārum § 5.23.a; § 5.154.a
diqdiqqum § 5.51
dišpum § 5.15.a
di'um § 2.175.b; § 2.175.c
dú(TU) § 2.194
dubbubtum § 5.77.b
dudittum § 2.445.a
dulbum § 5.16.a
dulūtum § 5.74.e
dumqum § 5.64.e
dunnum § 5.64.a
dūrum § 5.172.b
duššuptum § 5.77.b

e § 2.49; § 2.58.a; § 2.139.c fn.
e/ibbūbum § 5.35
ebertum § 5.65.c
ebērum § 2.65.a
ebūrum § 5.22.a
edûm § 2.67
e'ēlum § 2.173.c
e'iltum § 5.63.b
ēkallum § 2.45; § 5.172.c
ēkallûm/ēkallītum § 5.114.b
el § 2.55; § 2.58a
eleppum § 5.37; § 5.145.c
ellum, elletum § 5.62.a
elum § 5.114.a fn.
elûm, elītum § 5.66.a; § 5.114.a fn.
elūnum § 2.285
emētum § 5.133
emmum, emmetum § 5.62.a
emum § 2.65.a; § 5.8.a; § 5.222
emūqum § 5.22.a; § 5.152.a
en § 2.56; § 2.58a

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en$_6$(IN) § 2.60.b
enedukkum § 2.99.d
enēqum § 2.67
enēšum § 2.69.f
ensûm § 2.45
ēnum § 2.28 fn.
enūtum § 2.99.c
enzum § 2.270.c; § 5.141.b
eperū § 2.66.a
eperum § 2.149.a; § 5.17
epinnum § 5.155.c
epištum § 5.66.b
epûm § 2.69.g
eqbum § 2.66.a; § 5.18
eqlum § 1.18.a; § 5.14.a; § 5.153.c
erbē § 6.5.a
erbēt § 6.5.c
erbettum § 5.177
erbētum § 5.45; § 6.5.e
erbētun § 2.251; § 6.5.f
erbûm § 5.182.a; § 6.5.b
ereqqum § 5.145.d
erēšum § 2.65.a; § 2.69.b
erištum § 5.63.b; § 5.63.d
ermum § 5.63.c
errēšum § 5.78.a
errēšūtum § 5.117.d
erretum § 5.63.b
erṣetum § 2.68; § 5.14.b
erûm § 2.68; § 5.159.c
ès(AB) § 2.365.a
esēḫum § 2.212
esēkum § 2.212
esēpum § 2.69.f
esērum § 2.69.c
eṣemṣērum § 5.128.a
eṣemtum § 2.66.a; § 5.14.b
eš § 2.57; § 2.58a
eš$_{15}$(IŠ) § 2.60.b
ešer § 6.11.a
ešeret § 6.11.b
ešrēt § 6.40.b
e/išrûm § 6.32.h
ešrūtum § 5.117.b
eššum, edištum § 5.66.a
ešurtum § 6.31
etellum § 5.37
ewûm § 2.69.g

gab'um § 5.178
gajjišam § 5.192.a
gallābum § 5.78.a
gamārtum § 5.68
gamerum § 2.149.a
gamlum § 5.145.e
gapšum, gapuštum § 5.67.a
ge$_5$(KI) § 2.204.b
gerrum § 5.147; § 5.148.b
gi$_4$ § 2.205–206
gibbum § 2.233.b
gilittum § 5.63.b
gimillum § 5.82
gimrum § 5.63.c
gipšum § 5.63.a
girgilum § 5.49.a
giššīšum § 2.43
gišrum § 5.15.a
giššum § 5.15.a
gitmālum § 5.107.a
guḫaššum § 5.41
gulgullum § 5.122
gurrudum § 5.77.a

ḫajjatum § 2.208.b
ḫinnum § 2.208.b
ḫabārum § 2.236.b fn.
ḫabbātum § 5.78.a
ḫabitānum § 5.115.a
ḫadqum § 5.127.a
ḫajjatum § 2.208.b
ḫalḫallatum § 5.46; § 5.50.a; § 5.119.b
ḫallum § 5.14.a
ḫallūrtum § 5.139.a
ḫallūrū § 5.33; § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b; § 5.180.b
ḫalṣum § 5.172.d
ḫālum § 5.11.a
ḫamiš § 6.6.a
ḫammum § 1.14.b
ḫamrum § 2.208.b
ḫamšat § 6.40.b
ḫamša/et § 6.6.b
ḫamšum, ḫamuštum § 5.67.b; § 6.31; § 6.32.d
ḫāmū § 5.180.c
ḫamuttum § 5.67.e
ḫapḫappum § 5.50.a
ḫarāmum § 2.178 fn.
ḫarbum, ḫarubtum § 5.67.a
ḫarīmtum § 5.69.c

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ḫarpum, ḫaruptum § 5.67.a
ḫarrānum § 5.32; § 5.144.a
ḫasāsum § 2.366
ḫasīsum § 5.69.a
ḫassū § 5.180.b
ḫaṣ/sānum § 2.373
ḫaṣarum § 5.153.d
ḫašāšum § 2.236.b fn.
ḫaššaʾum § 5.75.a
ḫašûm § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b
ḫašūtum § 5.139.a
ḫatanum § 2.149.b; § 5.17
ḫaṭṭum § 5.14.a; § 5.147; § 5.149.b
ḫayrum § 2.208.b
ḫazzum § 2.208.b
ḫibiltum § 2.69.i
ḫībiltum § 2.69.i
ḫilēpum § 5.23.a
ḫīlum § 5.12.a
ḫinnum § 2.208.b
ḫīpum § 5.63.a
ḫiṣ/šbum § 2.372
ḫiššātum § 2.236.b
ḫuballum § 5.83.b
ḫubbušum § 5.77.a
ḫubtum § 5.64.a
ḫubullum § 5.84.a
ḫuburnum § 5.154.b
ḫubūrum § 5.28.a; § 5.74.a
ḫubuttātum § 5.84.b; § 5.179.b
ḫūdum § 5.64.a
ḫulālum § 5.26.a
ḫulqum § 5.64.c
ḫulûm § 5.27
ḫummurum § 5.77.a
ḫummuṣum § 5.77.a
ḫumṭum § 5.64.a
ḫumūšā § 6.48.c
ḫunābum § 5.72.b
ḫunībum § 5.73.c
ḫuppudum § 5.77.a
ḫurāpum § 5.72.b
ḫurāṣum § 5.26.a
ḫuṣābum § 5.72.b
ḫušaḫḫum § 5.83.a

i § 2.47; § 2.49; § 2.58a; § 2.89.a
ì § 2.89.b
i_{15} § 2.89.c
-ī § 4.42
ia § 2.214; § 2.217–218
ibbarum § 2.252.h
idrānum § 5.115.d
idum § 5.8.a; § 5.152.b
igārtum § 5.139.a
igārum § 5.139.a § 5.139.b; § 5.155.d
igisûm § 2.143.a
iḫzētum § 5.179.b
ikkarūtum § 5.117.e
ikribum § 5.93.a
il § 2.55; § 2.58a
ìl(AN) § 2.241
il_5(EL) § 2.60.a
iltum § 5.9.b
ilum § 5.9.a; § 5.169.b; § 5.172.e
ilūtum § 5.117.a
imbarum § 2.252.h
imērum § 5.23.a
immertum § 5.31.b
immerum § 5.31.a
imnûm/imnītum § 5.114.a
imrûm § 5.93.c
imtum § 5.9.b
in § 2.56; § 2.58a
in(*a*) § 2.243 fn.
inedukkum § 2.99.d
īnum § 5.14.a; § 5.143.a
inūtum § 2.99.c
ipṭirum § 5.93.c
ipum § 5.9.a
irtum § 5.9.b
is § 2.347–361
ís(IŠ) § 2.347–361; § 2.364.a
ìs(AB) § 2.347–361; § 2.364.a
isiḫtum § 2.212
isiktum § 2.212
isinnum § 5.156.a
isum § 5.9.a
iṣṣūrum § 5.142.a
īṣ/štum § 2.370
iṣum § 5.9.a
iš § 2.57; § 2.58a
išariš § 2.149.a
išar(*t*)*um* § 5.65.b
išātum § 5.133
išdān § 5.166.b
išdiḫum § 5.93.a
išdum § 5.15.a

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išḫiṭum § 5.93.a
išijarum § 2.228.f
iškarum § 5.156.b
iškum § 5.15.a
iškūrātum § 5.180.a
iškūrum § 5.155.e
išpikū § 5.93.b
iššum § 1.14.b
ištât(a) § 6.2.e
ište/i'ānum § 6.2.b
ište/i'at § 6.2.c; § 6.30
ištē/īnum § 6.2.b
ištēn § 6.2.a; § 6.21.b; § 6.24.a
ištēnā § 6.49.b
ištēniš § 6.51.a
ištēnšeret § 6.12.c
ištêt § 6.2.d
itinnūtum § 5.117.e
itpēšum § 5.107.a
i(t)tûm § 5.159.d
itūnum § 2.99.b; § 5.145.f
iu(IA) § 2.216
ìz(AB) § 2.494
izzirum § 5.93.a
izuzzum § 2.495

ja(PI) § 2.214.j
-ja § 4.42
jabamum § 2.151.b
jālūtum § 5.117.f
jâši/um § 4.54
jâti § 4.81
jâttān § 4.25
jâttum/n § 4.24
jât(t)um/n § 4.22
ji(PI) § 2.215
ju(PI) § 2.220.c
jûm § 4.21
jût(t)un § 4.23

-ka § 4.43; § 4.113
kabātum § 2.90.c
kabbā'u § 5.78.a
kablum § 5.14.a; § 5.159.e
kabrum, kabartum § 5.65.a
kabtum, kabittum § 5.66.a
kabû § 5.180.c
kadrum, kadirtum § 5.66.a
kakkabum § 5.46; § 5.47.a
kakkartum § 5.47.b
kakkarum § 5.47.a
kakkum § 5.14.a
kalbatum § 5.14.b
kalbum § 5.14.a
kallâm § 5.195.j
kallatum § 5.14.b
kallūtum § 5.117.a
kalmatum § 5.14.b
kalūmum § 5.22.a
kam'atum § 2.182.d; § 5.14.b
kamišša/urum § 5.57
kamkammatum § 5.50.b
kammal(t)um § 5.75.a
kamūnum § 5.22.a
kanasarrum § 5.155.f
kanīkum § 5.69.b
kaparrum § 5.37
kappāḫum § 5.78.a
kappum § 5.14.a; § 5.17
kaprum § 5.158; § 5.159.f
kāpum § 5.11.a
karānum § 5.20.a
karšum § 5.18
kar(a)šum § 2.151.a
karīkum § 5.69.b
kārum § 5.126.a
kasû § 5.180.b
kāsum § 5.154.c
kasūsum § 5.22.a
kaṣâtum § 5.181
kaṣû § 2.334.c
kāṣum § 5.14.a
kâši/um § 4.55; § 4.56
kaškaššum § 5.119.a
kaššāptum § 5.78.b; § 5.78.a
kâta/i § 4.82; § 4.83
katāpum § 5.20.a
kâttun § 4.29
kât(t)um/n § 4.27
kerrum § 5.154.d
-ki § 4.44; § 4.114
-ki(m) § 4.70
kibātum § 2.90.c
ki/abātum § 5.180.b
kibbum § 2.233.b
kibittum § 5.63.f
kibrum § 5.15.a; § 6.26.c
kibsum § 5.63.a

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kibtum § 5.9.b; § 5.15.a
kidītum § 5.114.a
kikkišum § 5.49.a
kilallā/ūn, kilattān § 5.166.c
kilattān § 2.243 fn.
kila'ūtum § 2.143.a
kilīlum § 5.24
kilittīn § 2.43
kīlum § 5.63.a
kilûtum § 2.143.d
kīmtum § 5.12.b
-kina § 4.49
-kināši(m) § 4.75
-kināti § 4.119
kinnārum § 5.34; § 5.155.g
kīnum, kīttum § 5.66.a
kinūnum § 5.25; § 5.155.h
kippatum § 5.63.d
kippum § 5.63.c
kirippum § 5.40
kirissum § 5.40
kirûm § 5.126.b; § 5.153.e
kīrum § 5.12.a
kisalluḫḫūtum § 5.117.e
kisibirr(īt)um § 5.58
kisibirrītum § 5.139.a
kisibirrum § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b; § 5.180.b
kisittum § 5.63.d
kissibirrum § 2.69.j
kīsum § 5.12.a; § 5.145.g
kiṣallum § 5.39
kiṣirtum § 5.63.d
kiṣrum § 5.63.a; § 5.63.c
kiṣṣum § 2.252.f
kišādum § 5.23.a
kišpum § 5.63.a
kīttum § 5.66.c
ku$_8$(GU) § 2.231
-ku(m) § 4.69
kubārum § 5.72.b
kubbulum § 5.77.a
kubrum § 5.64.a
kubšum § 5.16.a
kūbum § 5.13.a
kuburrûm § 5.111.a
kubussûm § 5.111.a
kūdanum § 5.54
kulbābum § 5.44
kúm(NE) § 2.232
kûm § 4.26
kumurrûm § 5.111.a
kunāšum § 5.26.a
-kunu § 4.48
kunukkum § 5.84.d; § 5.159.g
kunūši(m) § 4.60
-kunūši(m) § 4.74
kunūti § 4.102
-kunūti § 4.118
kurrum § 5.126.a
kursīnum/kursinnum § 5.116 fn.
kurullum § 5.42.a; § 5.155.i
kurûm, kurītum § 5.73.d
kurummatum § 5.42.b
kuruppum § 5.42.a
kusītum § 5.73.b
kussûm § 5.145.h
kuṣṣum § 2.504.b fn.
kuṣṣuṣum § 5.77.a
kūṣum § 5.64.a
kušaḫḫum § 2.211
kušīrum § 5.73.a
kutlānum § 5.115.d
kûttun § 4.28
kutummum § 5.84.d
kuzallum § 5.41

labšum, labištum § 5.66.a
la'bum § 2.179.b
laḫrum § 5.141.c; § 5.161.b
lallārtum § 5.48.b
lallārum § 5.48.a
lam$_5$(LIM) § 2.15 fn.
lamassum § 5.37; § 5.141.d
lemēnum § 2.69.a
lemnum, lemuttum § 5.67.a
lemuttum § 5.67.d
leqûm § 2.65.a; § 2.70.a
lētum § 5.15.b
le'ûm § 2.173.d; § 2.174.a
lē'um § 2.143.b; § 2.175.d; § 2.176.a
lí(NI) § 2.239
libbātum § 5.181
libbum § 5.15.a
li'bum § 2.179.b
líl(KID) § 2.242
līlī'ātum § 5.181
lillidum § 5.118
līm § 6.17.a; § 6.27

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līmī § 6.17.b
lišānum § 5.23.a; § 5.159.h
lu$_4$(LUM) § 2.240
lubārum § 5.72.b
lubāšum § 5.72.b
lubūštum § 5.74.c
lubūšum § 5.74.b
lumnum § 5.64.e
lupnum § 5.64.a
luppum § 5.154.e
lurmum § 5.16.a
lu'tum § 5.10.b
lu'um § 5.10.a
lu''um § 2.175.e
lu''ûm § 2.173.e

-m § 4.68
ma § 2.17.a
madbarum § 2.249.c
maddanum § 5.94.c
mādum, māttum § 5.65.a
magšarum § 5.94.e
maḫḫaltum § 5.94.f
maḫīrtum § 5.69.c; § 5.139.a
maḫīrum § 5.69.b; § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b
maḫiṣtum § 2.370.d
maḫlašum § 5.94.e
maḫrûm/*maḫrītum* § 5.114.a; § 6.30
majjalum § 5.94.g
mākaltum § 5.94.f
mākālum § 5.95.b; § 5.95.c
makkūrum § 5.97
maksûm § 5.94.e
mālakum § 5.94.a; § 5.94.g
malemmū § 2.90.b
maliḫum § 2.236.a
maltaktum § 5.94.f
maltakum § 5.94.a
malūṭum § 5.94.e
mamma(*n*) § 4.162–163
mānaḫtum § 5.94.b
mandītum § 5.94.d
mannaši § 4.46.b
mannašu/*i*/*a* § 4.153
mannija § 4.153.d
mannum § 4.152–155
maqlūtum § 5.94.b
maqqarum § 5.94.e
maqqītum § 5.94.b
maqqûm § 5.94.e
maqranum § 5.94.g; § 5.94.i
maqrattum § 5.94.j
maqtarum § 5.94.e
mār aḫim § 5.128.c
mār awīlim § 5.128.c
mār šiprim § 5.128.c fn.
mārakum § 5.94.a
marbiqatum § 2.151.b
mardatum § 5.14.b
marḫītum § 5.94.d
markasum § 5.94.e
markisum § 5.96.a
marqītum § 5.94.h
marṣum, maruṣ/*štum* § 5.67.c
maršītum § 5.94.d
martum § 5.59; § 5.132.d
mārtum § 5.14.b; § 5.132.a; § 5.138.a
mārum § 5.14.a
maruṣ/*štum* § 2.370
maslaḫtum § 5.94.f
maṣallum § 5.94.g
maṣṣartum § 5.94.b; § 5.94.j
maṣṣar(*t*)*um* § 5.94.k
maṣṣarūtum § 5.117.d
mašā'um § 2.180.a
mašḫalum § 5.94.e
maškab(*a*)*tum* § 2.249.c
maškabum § 5.127.a
maškakātum § 5.94.f; § 5.179.b
maškanum § 5.94.c; § 5.94.g; § 5.160.a
maškirtum § 5.95.b
maškum § 5.14.a
mašqītum § 5.94.h
mašraḫū § 5.94.a
mašrûm § 5.94.a
maššî'um § 5.76
maštītum § 5.94.d; § 5.139.a
maštûm § 5.94.c; § 5.94.e; § 5.139.a
maštūtum § 5.94.b
mât § 6.15.c
matqum, matuqtum § 5.67.c
mātum § 5.11.a; § 5.144.b
mâ'um § 2.173.f
mazzāzānum § 5.115.c
me § 2.51; § 2.58a
mē § 6.15.d
me'at § 6.15.a; § 6.27
me'āti § 6.15.e

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mēgūtum §5.94.b
mēkūtum §5.94.b
me/iḫṣum §5.63.a
me/alemmū §5.180.e
melemmū §2.90.b
mēleṣum §5.94.a
melqētum §5.94.d
mēlûm §5.94.a
mēreštum §5.94.d
merḫûtum §5.117.f
merîtum §5.94.h
mêšum §2.63.a
mêt §6.15.b
mētequm §5.94.g
mêtu/im §6.15.f
mi §2.51; §2.58a
miksum §5.157.b
mīlum §5.63.c
mīm §4.164.b
mīmma §4.164–165
mīmmami §4.164.c
mīmman §4.164.d
min/šššūm §5.192.c
mīnum §4.156–158
mirmerrum §2.191.b
misarrum §5.39
mišlum §5.172.f; §6.39
mitgārum §5.107.b
mitgurtum §5.108
mitḫārtum §5.107.c fn.
mitḫārum §5.107.c
mitluktum §5.108
mû §5.11.a; §5.180.a
muballittum §2.470
muḫḫum §5.16.a
mūlûm §5.98.c
munāttum §5.98.b
munūtum §5.64.b
muPRāS §5.98.a
murṣum §5.64.a; §5.172.g
mūrum §1.18.a; §5.16.a
musukkûm §5.111.b
mūṣûm §5.94.a; §5.94.g
mušālum §5.72.b
mūšārum §5.98.c
mušāṭum §5.72.b
mušēniqtum §2.73 fn.
mušītum §5.16.b; §5.139.a
mušpalum §2.249.b
mušpālum §5.98.c
muštālum §2.63.b
muštērtum §5.98.b
mušṭum §5.16.a; §5.155.j
mūšum §5.16.a; §5.139.a; §5.139.b
muttatum §5.16.b
mutum §5.10.a
mūtum §5.64.a; §5.172.h

na'ādum §2.179.c
na'arrurum §2.178.e; §2.265
na'āsum §2.182.e
nabalkattum §5.94.f
nabārum §5.94.g
nadānum §2.277–282; §2.284.a
nādinānum §5.115.a
naglabum §5.94.e
nagmarum §5.94.a
naḫālum §2.269
naḫbalum §5.94.e
naḫlaptum §5.94.d
nakarum §2.149.a
nakbasum §5.94.g
nakkamtum §5.94.h
nakkapûm/nakkapītum §5.114.c
nakkar(t)um §5.75.a
nakmartum §5.94.d
naktamum §5.94.e
nalbanum §5.94.e; §5.139.a; §5.139.b
nalbašum §5.94.c
nalbattum §5.94.f; §5.139.a
namaddum §5.94.e
nāmarum §5.94.g
namḫartum §5.94.d
namḫarum §5.94.e
namkarum §5.94.e
namkūrum §2.248.b; §5.97
nammašûm §5.114.c
namraṣum §5.94.a
namra'um §5.94.c
namrīrū §5.90; §5.180.e
namurratum §5.81.b
namurrum §5.81.a
namzītum §5.94.f
nanmurtum §5.99
nāpaltum §5.94.b
napḫartum §5.94.d
napḫarum §5.94.c
naplastum §5.94.f

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naplasum § 5.94.a; § 5.94.e
naplisum § 5.96.a
nappāḫum § 5.78.a
nappītum § 5.94.f
nappûm § 5.94.e
napsamum § 5.94.e
naptanum § 5.94.c; § 5.94.i; § 5.157.c
napṭartum § 5.94.b
napṭarum § 5.94.g
naqbarum § 5.94.g
naqbītum § 5.94.d
narāmtum § 5.94.d
narbāṣum § 5.95.d
narbûm § 5.94.a
narkabtum § 5.94.f
narmakum § 5.94.e
narmûm § 5.94.c
nārtum § 5.139.a
nārum § 2.64.b; § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b; § 5.147; § 5.148.c
narūqum § 5.22.a
nârūtum § 5.117.e
nasīḫum § 5.69.b
naṣbatum § 5.94.e
naṣmadum § 5.94.c
naṣraptum § 5.94.f
-nâši § 4.73
našpakum § 5.94.a; § 5.94.g
našpakūtum § 5.117.d
našpartum § 5.94.d
natbākum § 5.95.d
nawārum § 2.477; § 2.480.c; § 2.486
nawārum Š § 2.268.a
nawrum, nawirtum § 5.66.a
nawûm § 5.147; § 5.148.d
nazbalum § 5.94.c
ne § 2.52; § 2.58a
-ne § 4.47; § 4.112
nēbertum § 5.94.b
nēberum § 5.94.e; § 5.94.g
nēkemtum § 5.94.b
nēmedum § 5.94.g
nēmettum § 5.94.d
nemsētum § 5.94.f
nemsûm § 5.94.e
nepārum § 2.88
ne/upārum § 5.155.k
nēpeštum § 5.94.b
nēpēšum § 5.95.a
nepītum § 5.69.c
nēpītum § 5.94.f
nērebtum § 5.94.b; § 5.94.h
nērebum § 5.94.g
nêrtum § 5.63.b
nērum § 6.16
-nêši(m) § 4.73
nêšim § 4.59
nešmûm § 5.94.a
netbītum § 5.94.h
nêti § 4.101
-nêti § 4.117
nêttum § 4.34
nê'um § 2.173.g
ni § 2.52; § 2.58a
-ni § 4.47; § 4.112
ni'āš(um) § 4.59
ni'āši(m) § 4.59
-ni'āši(m) § 4.73
ni'āti § 4.101
-ni'āti § 4.117
ni'atum § 4.34
ni'bum § 2.180.b
nidintum § 5.63.d
-nim § 4.68
nīni § 4.8.d
nīnu § 4.8
nīqum § 5.63.c
nīqum/niqûm § 5.160.b
nīrum § 5.12.a
nišū § 5.9.a; § 5.162.a; § 5.179.b
nišūtum § 5.117
ni'um § 4.33
nubattum § 2.248.a
nubāttum § 5.98.b
nudunnûm § 5.111.b
nuḫatimmum § 2.151.a
nuḫšum § 5.64.a
nukurtum § 2.149.a; § 5.64.b
nûm § 4.33
nūnun § 5.13.a
nupārum § 2.88; § 5.26.a
nušurrûm § 5.111.a
nûttum/n § 4.35

pá(BA) § 2.290
pa$_{12}$(PI) § 2.291
pa'āṣum § 2.282.f
padānum § 5.20.a

Michael P. Streck - 978-90-04-49899-0
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pagrā'um/*pagrûm* § 2.143.c
pagrum § 4.1; § 5.14.a
paḫallum § 5.37
paḫāttum § 5.68
palgum § 5.14.a
panān § 5.166.b
panum § 5.8.a
panûm/*panītum* § 5.114.a
parā'um § 2.180.c
parīsum § 5.21; § 5.155.l
parkûm § 2.244
pasāsum § 2.366
pāšum § 2.63.b
paṭārum Š § 2.69.h
pāṭum § 5.11.a
persum § 5.63.c
perša'um § 5.55
pērtum § 5.14.a
pērūrūtum § 5.43
peṣûm, *peṣītum* § 5.66.a
pi § 2.292–309
pí(BI) § 2.292–309
pilakkum § 5.39
pilkum § 5.63.c; § 5.157.d
pilšum § 5.63.c
pinkum § 2.270.c
piqittum § 2.150; § 5.63.b
pirittum § 5.63.b
pirša'um § 2.282.f
pir'um § 2.180.d
pīrum § 5.12.a
piššatum § 5.63.d
pitiltum § 5.63.d
pitiqtum § 5.63.d
pitnum § 5.15.a
pitqum § 5.63.c
pitrustum § 5.108
pītum § 5.63.c
pudrum § 5.16.a
puḫādum § 5.26.a
puḫāttum § 5.26.b
puḫrum § 5.64.c
pūḫtum § 5.64.d
pūḫum § 5.64.a; § 5.157.e
puḫurma § 5.306.e
puluḫtum § 5.64.b
pûm § 5.8.a
puquddûm § 5.111.a
puquttum § 5.16.b
purādum § 5.26.a
purīdum § 5.27
purussûm § 5.111.a
pussulum § 5.77.a
pusummum § 5.84.d
pušqum § 5.64.a
Pūtānum § 5.115.d
pūtum § 5.10.b
puzrum § 2.149.a; § 5.157.f

qa § 2.313–327
qá(GA) § 2.313–327
qà § 2.316.b; § 2.328; § 2.330
qabbā'um § 5.78.a
qablum § 5.146
qablûm/*qablītum* § 5.114.a
qadūmum § 5.22.a
qahālum § 2.208.b
qajjapānum § 5.115.b
qajjal(*t*)*um* § 5.75.c
qanûm § 5.17
qaqqadānum § 5.115.d
qaqqadum § 5.47.a; § 5.152.c
qaqqaršūm § 5.192.c
qaqqarum § 5.47.a
qardum, *qarittum* § 5.66.a
qarnum § 5.14.a; § 5.152.d
qaṣārum § 2.229.d
qaṣâtum § 2.229.d
qaṣû § 2.334.c
qaṣûm § 2.229.c
qaštum § 5.8.b
qatālum § 2.449.c
qatnum, *qatantum* § 5.65.a
qātum § 5.11.a; § 5.143.b
qēmum § 2.65.b; § 5.180.b
qerbītum § 5.114.a
qerbum, *qerubtum* § 5.67.a
qerēbum § 2.69.d
qerubtum § 5.67.e
qí § 2.313–327
qì § 2.230; § 2.329
qi$_4$(GI$_4$) § 2.312.b
qiddatum § 5.63.b
qinatum § 5.15.b
qinnum § 5.15.a
qú § 2.313–327
qù § 2.230; § 2.315.b
qubūrum § 5.74.f

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qúl § 2.15 fn.
qummālum § 5.36
qurādum § 5.72.b
qurdum § 5.64.a
qurqurratum § 5.52.b
qurqurrum § 5.52.a
qurunnum § 5.84.c
qut § 6.12. fn.
qutānum § 5.72.b
qutnum § 5.64.a
qutrēnātum § 5.180.b
qutrenum § 5.116
qutrēnum § 5.155.m

ra'ābum § 2.179.d
rababatum § 6.19.a
rababātum § 2.151.b
rabbātum § 2.151.b; § 6.19.b
rabbûm/*rabbītum* § 5.75.a
rabī'ānum § 5.115.b
rabī'at § 6.41
rābiṣūtum § 5.117.c
rabûm, rabītum § 5.66.a
rādum § 2.66.c
rāgimānum § 5.115.a
rā'ibānum § 5.115.a
ra'ībum § 5.69.a
rakkābum § 5.78.a
ramānum § 4.1
ramīmum § 5.69.a
rapaštum § 5.65.c
rapšum, rapaštum § 5.65.a
raqqatum § 5.62.b
raqqum, raqqatum § 5.62.a
raqraqqum § 5.50.a
rašbum, rašubtum § 5.67.a
rašubbatum § 5.81.b
rašubbum § 5.81.a
rāṭum § 5.153.f
rebât § 6.40.b
rebûm, rebūtum § 5.67.b; § 6.31; § 6.32.c
rēdûtum § 5.117.c
rēḫtum § 5.66.b
rēmēnûm § 5.114.b
rēmum § 5.18
rēšān § 5.166.b
rēštûm/*rēštītum* § 5.114.a; § 6.30
rēšum § 2.63.a; § 5.14.a
re'ûm § 2.173.h; § 2.174.b
rīmtum § 5.15.b
rīmum § 5.15.a
ritpāḫum § 5.107.d
rittum § 5.9.b
ru'āmum § 5.72.a
rubātum § 5.72.c
rubū'ā § 6.48.c
rubûm § 5.72.b
rugummûm § 5.111.a
rukūbum § 5.74.d
ruqqum § 5.147; § 5.149.c
rūq(*t*)*um* § 5.67.c
ruttum § 2.171
ru'tum § 2.175.f; § 2.175.g; § 2.176.b; § 5.10.b
rūtum § 5.13.b
ruṭbum § 5.64.a
ru'um § 2.175.g; § 2.176.b
rū'um § 5.13.a
ru'ūtum § 2.175.g

sa § 2.347–361; § 2.365
sà(ZA) § 2.347–361
sa$_6$ § 2.345.a
-sa § 4.46
sabât § 6.41
sadādum § 2.365.c
sadārum § 2.149.a; § 2.365.c
sagbum § 2.365.f
saḫātum § 2.365.b; § 5.127.a
saḫlû § 5.180.b
sakānum § 2.365.b
saktūtum § 5.117.b
salāmum § 2.365.b
salīmum § 5.69.a; § 5.157.g
salmum, salimtum § 5.66.a
sām(*t*)*um* § 5.65.b
samānē § 2.365.d
samānī § 6.9
samīdātum § 5.180.b
samīdum § 5.21; § 5.69.b
samnat § 6.40.b
samnu/*ûm*/*samuntum* § 6.31; § 6.32.g
sāmtum § 5.65.c
saparrum § 5.145.i
sarrārum § 5.78.a
sartum § 5.59; § 5.132.d
sasqûm § 2.366
sāsum § 5.11.a
sebē § 6.8.a

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sebēšer §6.12.a
sebēt §6.8.c
sebētum/*sebettum* §6.8.e
sebīʾat §6.41
sebûm §2.365.d
sebûm/*sebūtum* §6.31; §6.32.f
sediš §2.365.c; §6.7.a
se/*iḫrum* §5.63.a
sekērum §2.69.e
sekrūtum §5.117.b
seššu §2.365.c
si §2.347–361; §2.365
sí(ZI) §2.347–361
si$_{20}$(ZÍ) §2.345.b
sibbatum §2.497
siḫirtum §5.63.d
sīḫum §5.63.a
sikiltum §5.63.b
sikirum §2.149.a
sikkānum §5.155.n
sikkūrum §5.80
sīkum §5.63.c
siliʾtum §5.63.b
simakkum §5.39
simmiltum §5.31.b
simtum §5.60.a
-sina §4.51
sinništum §5.31.b; §5.305.c
sinūnum §5.25
sipittum §5.63.b
sirāšûm/*sirāšītum* §5.114.b
sissiktum §2.366; §5.49.b
sissinnum §2.366; §5.51; §5.155.o
su §2.347–361
sú(ZU) §2.347–361
-su §4.45
sugāgum §2.365.b; §5.127.a
sugāgūtum §5.117.f
sugullum §5.42.a
sukkukum §5.77.a
sulummûm §5.111.a
summum §5.16.a
sūmum §5.64.a
-sunu §4.50
sūnum §5.13.a
supūrum §5.28.a
sūqum §5.64.e; §5.157.h
surqēnum §5.116
surrātānum §5.115.c
surummum §5.42.a
sussullum §5.52.a
Sūtûm §2.436 fn.; §5.114.e
ṣābitānum §5.115.a
ṣabītum §5.14.b
ṣābum §5.17; §5.182.b; §5.182.c
ṣajjaḫ(*t*)*um* §5.75.c
ṣallallum §5.79
ṣalmum, *ṣalimtum* §5.66.a
ṣ/*zamratum* §5.178
ṣarāmum §2.244
ṣarbatum §5.14.b
ṣarbum §5.14.a
ṣarṣar/*ṣaṣṣar*/*ṣanṣar* §5.46; §5.47.a; §5.306.h
ṣât §5.306.e
ṣeḫērum §2.69.e
ṣēlum §2.66.b; §5.14.a
ṣēnū §2.63.a; §5.162.b; §5.179.b
ṣeʾpum §2.179.e
ṣe/*irpum* §5.63.c
ṣerretum §2.68; §5.14.b
ṣerrum §2.68
ṣērum §2.64.a; §2.244
ṣīʾātum §5.181
ṣibtum §5.60.b; §5.63.a
ṣīḫtum §5.63.b
ṣillūlum §5.80
ṣimdatum §5.63.b; §5.130.f
ṣimdum §5.63.c
ṣimittum §5.63.d; §5.130.f
ṣītum §5.60.a
ṣubātum §5.72.b
ṣudû §5.180.d
ṣuḫārtum §5.72.c
ṣuḫārum §5.72.b
ṣuḫḫutum §5.77.a
ṣullûm §5.145.j
ṣulmum §5.64.e
ṣumāmītum §5.88
ṣummatum §5.16.b
ṣummirātum §5.181
ṣūmum §5.64.a
ṣuprum §5.16.a; §5.152.e
ṣurpum §5.64.a
ṣūrum §1.14.b
-š §4.46.c
ša §4.141–151
-ša §4.46

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šaʾārum § 2.179.f
šabsūtum § 2.433.a
šābulum § 5.101.a
šadânum § 5.115.d
šaddaqda/im § 2.445.b
šaddidum § 5.76
šagāpurum § 5.103
šagāštum § 5.68
šaggāšum § 5.78.a
šagiltum § 2.90.a
šaḫādum § 1.14.b
šaḫluqtum § 5.101.b
šaḫrartum § 5.123
šaḫšaḫḫum § 5.50.a
šaḫurratum § 5.81.b
šajjamānum § 5.115.b
šakirûm § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b
šakirūtum § 5.139.a
šakkarûm/šakkarītum § 5.114.c
šakkinum § 5.76
šalamtum § 5.65.c fn.
šalāš § 6.4.a
šalāšā § 6.13.b
šalāšat § 6.4.b
šalāššeriš § 6.12.b
šalāššerītum § 5.114.d; § 6.42
šalāšti § 6.4.b
šalāštum § 5.20.b
šalāštun § 2.251; § 6.4.d
šalāšū § 6.13.a
šalāšum § 5.20.a
šalimtum § 5.66.c
šališti § 6.41
šalmum, šalimtum § 5.66.a
šalšum § 6.40.a
šalšum, šaluštum § 5.67.b; § 6.31; § 6.32.b
šāltum § 5.68
šalummatum § 5.81.b
šaluš § 6.40.a; § 6.43.b
šalušti § 6.40.b
šamaššammū § 5.128.a fn.; § 5.180.b
šamāw/mū § 2.490.a
šamḫum, šamuḫtum § 5.67.a
šammaḫum § 5.75.a
šammum § 5.14.a
šamšatum § 5.14.b
šamšum § 5.14.a
šamû § 5.20.a; § 5.179.b
šanassūmma § 5.192.c
šangûm § 5.126.b
šangûtum § 5.126.c
šannum § 5.154.f
šannūrim § 2.439
šanûm, šanītum § 5.66.a; § 6.31; § 6.32.a
šapiltum § 5.66.b
šāpirum § 5.157.i
šāpirūtum § 5.117.c
šāpiṭūtum § 5.117.c
šaplum, šapiltum § 5.66.a
šaplûm, šaplītum § 5.114.a
šappal(t)um § 5.75.a
šapšāqum § 5.100
šaptum § 5.8.b
šapûm D § 2.69.h
šaqītum § 5.66.b
šaqûm, šaqūtum § 5.67.c
šaqummum § 5.81.a
šār § 6.18
šarraqānum § 5.115.b
šarrāqum § 5.78.a
šarratum § 5.14.b
šarrum § 5.14.a; § 5.172.i
šarrūtum § 5.117.a
šārtum § 2.66.c; § 5.14.b
šārum § 6.26.c
šarūrum § 5.22.a
šâš § 4.58
šâši/u(m) § 4.57; § 4.58
šaššārum § 5.46; § 5.48.a
šaššūgum § 5.33
šaššum § 6.32.b
šasûm § 2.365.e; § 2.433.b–c
šāt nūrim § 2.439; § 5.128.b; § 5.128.c
šâti/u § 4.84–100
šattišamma § 5.192.a
šattum § 5.8.b
šâttum § 4.31
šâtun § 4.103
še § 2.53; § 2.58a
še$_{20}$(šI) § 2.60.b
šebērum § 2.69.e
šēbultum § 5.101.b
šēlebum § 5.54
šēpītum § 5.114.a
šēpum § 2.63.a; § 5.14.a; § 5.143.c
šerʾānum § 2.182.f
šerrum § 2.68
šeršerrum § 5.50.a

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šer'um § 2.181.b
šeššet § 6.7.b
šeššiš § 6.47
šeššum/šeduštum § 6.31; § 6.32.e
šêti/u § 4.84–100
še'ûm § 2.173.j; § 2.174.c
šê'um § 2.173.i
šēzubtum § 5.101.b
ši § 2.53; § 2.58.a; § 4.7; § 4.19
ši$_x$(ŠE) § 2.60.a
-š/si § 4.116
ši'āšim § 4.58
ši'āti § 4.100
šīb(t)um § 5.66.b
šib'um § 5.63.a
šigiltum § 2.90.a
šijâš § 4.58
šikārum § 2.148
šiknum § 5.63.a
šikrum § 2.148
šik/qšik/qum § 5.49.a
-š/sim § 4.72
šīmtum § 5.63.d
-šin § 4.51.b
šina § 4.12; § 4.19
-šina § 4.51
šinā § 5.9.a
ši/enā § 5.166.c; § 6.3.a; § 6.24.a; § 6.49.a
-š/sināšim § 4.77
šināti(m) § 4.104
-šināti/a § 4.121
šīnātum § 5.12.b; § 5.180.a
šindum § 2.252.c
šini § 4.12
šinipum § 6.38.b
šinnum § 5.143.d
šinšar § 6.12.a; § 6.24.c
šinšarûm § 5.114.d
šipassum § 5.39
šipirtum § 2.149.a; § 5.63.d
šipkum § 5.63.a
šiprum § 5.63.c; § 5.172.j
šiptum § 5.60.a
šipṭum § 5.63.a
šiqlum § 5.63.c
šišarûm § 6.42
šiššat § 6.7.b
šiṭ'ārum § 5.107.a
šittā § 5.166.c; § 6.3.c
šittān § 5.166.c
šittīn § 6.38.a
šittum § 5.60.a
šīttum § 5.63.d
šitūltum § 5.108
šiṭirtum § 5.63.d
šiṭrum § 5.63.c
-šnu § 4.50.d
šu § 1.14.b
-šu § 4.45
-š/su § 4.115
-š/su(m) § 4.71
šū § 4.6; § 4.19
šu'am § 2.141.c
šu'ārum § 5.72.a fn.
šu'āšim § 2.141.a; § 4.57; § 4.58
šu'āti § 2.141.a
šu'āti/u § 4.84–100
šubtum § 2.190; § 5.61.b
šūbultum § 5.102.b
šuburrum § 5.42.a
šukūdum § 5.28.a
šukunnûm § 5.111.b
šukūttum § 5.74.c
šullānum § 5.115.d
šulmum § 5.64; § 5.64.a
šulūšā § 6.48.c
šûm § 4.30
šumēlum § 2.63.a; § 5.56
šumēlûm/šumēlītum § 5.114.a
šumum § 5.10.b
šūmum § 5.13.a
-šun § 4.50.c
šunu § 4.11; § 4.19
-šunu § 4.50
šunûm § 4.36
šunūši(m) § 4.61
-š/sunūši(m) § 4.76
šunūti § 4.103
-šunūti § 4.120
šupālum § 5.72.b
šupêltum § 5.124
šuplum § 5.64.a
šupšikkum § 2.446
šuptum § 2.190
šuqultum § 5.64.b
šurānum § 5.26.a
šurīpum § 5.73.b
šurmēnum § 5.116 fn.

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šurpum § 5.64.a
šurqum § 5.64.a; § 5.64.c
šūrubtum § 5.102.a
šuruppûm § 5.111.a
šurūptum § 5.74.b
šūṣūtum § 5.102.a
šūš(i) § 6.14; § 6.20.f
šūt-rēšūtim § 5.128.d
šuta”ûm § 2.173.k
šuttatum § 5.16.b
šuttum § 5.61.a
šûttun § 4.32
šutûm § 5.64.c
šu’ûm § 2.175.h
šu”urum § 5.77.a

tá(DA) § 2.436
ta$_5$(UD) § 2.435.c
ta$_8$(ḪI) § 2.436
tābālum § 5.104.c
tabbītum § 5.105.b
tābīlum § 5.105.c
tablīltum § 5.105.b
tablīttum § 5.105.b
tabrītum § 5.105.b
tabsūtum § 2.433.a
tadmīqtum § 5.105.b
taggērtum § 5.105.b
tāḫāzum § 5.104.a
taḫsīstum § 5.105.b
ta”īttum § 5.105.b
tajjartum § 5.75.d
tajjar(t)um § 5.75.c
takāltum § 5.68
tākāltum § 5.104.d
takīttum § 5.105.b
taklīmtum § 5.105.b
taklūtum § 5.117.b
takpīrtum § 5.105.b
takšītum § 5.105.b
taktīmum § 5.105.c
talīmum § 5.21
talīm(t)um § 5.69.b fn.
tālīttum § 5.105.d
tallāktum § 5.104.d
talmīdum § 5.105.c
talpīttum § 5.105.b
tamāmītum § 5.87
tāmārtum § 5.104.e
tamgurtum § 5.106.a
tamḫārum § 5.104.a
tamḫāṣum § 5.104.a
tamlûm § 5.105.c
tammamûm/tammamītum § 5.114.c
tamšīlum § 5.105.c
tamṭītum § 5.105.b
tānēḫtum § 5.105.a fn.; § 5.105.b
tānēḫum § 5.105.a
tanīttum § 5.105.b
tannum § 5.154.g
tanpīḫtum § 2.268.d
tanūqātum § 5.106.d; § 5.181
tāpalum § 6.25.f
tāpālum § 5.104.a
tapḫurum § 5.106.b
tappīlātum § 5.105.b
taqrībtum § 5.105.b
taqrīwtum § 2.191.a
taqtītum § 5.105.b
taraḫḫum § 5.37
tarbāṣum § 5.104.c
tarbītum § 5.105.b; § 5.105.d
tarbu’um § § 2.181.c.
tarkībtum § 5.105.b
tarkubtum § 5.106.c
tarkullum § 5.159.i
tarpāšum § 5.104.c
tarṣī’ātum § 1.14.b
tartāmum § 5.109
tašīmtum § 5.105.b
tašnam, tašni § 6.50
tašnīntum § 5.105.b
tašrītum § 5.105.b
ta’tāmu § 5.127.a
ta’tāmum § 2.477.d fn.
tattallikum § 5.109 fn.
tattasḫurum § 5.110
tazzīmtum § 5.105.b
te § 2.54; § 2.58a
tēbībtum § 5.105.b
tēdīqum § 5.105.c
tēnītum § 5.104.b
tēnûm § 5.104.a
teptītum § 5.105.b
terḫatum § 5.15.b
te/irkum < tirkum § 5.63.c
te/irṣum § 5.63.c
têrtum § 5.105.b

Michael P. Streck - 978-90-04-49899-0
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tērubtum § 5.106.d
tešē § 6.10.a
te/išīt § 6.10.b
tešītum § 6.10.c
te/išūtum § 6.31
teslītum § 5.105.b
tettellikum § 5.109 fn.
ti § 2.54; § 2.58a
ti$_4$(DI) § 2.436
ti'āmtum § 5.23.b
tībum § 5.63.a
tikkum § 5.152.f
tilpānum § 5.155.p
timertum § 5.63.d
tīrānū § 5.172.k; § 5.179.b
tiṣbuttum § 5.108
tišât § 6.40.b
titāpū § 5.180.a
tīwītum § 2.43
tizqārum § 5.107.a
tù(DU) § 2.436
tu$_4$(TUM) § 2.435.b
tū'amum § 5.54
tubbukum § 5.77.a
tubqum § 5.16.a
tudittum § 2.200; § 2.445.a
tuḫallum § 5.154.h
tuḫḫū § 5.180.c
tukkannum § 5.145.k
tukkum § 5.156.c
tukultum § 5.64.b; § 5.64.d
tulûm § 5.26.a
tumāmītum § 5.88
tumrum § 5.16.a
tuppum § 5.159.j
tupšikkum § 2.446
tuqumtum § 5.16.b
turāḫum § 5.26.a
tušū'ā § 6.48.b
tušū'ūm § 6.48.a
tutittum § 2.200.a
ṭa(DA) § 2.452–468
ṭà(ḪI) § 2.452–467
ṭābātum § 5.180.a
ṭāb(*t*)*um* § 5.65.b
ṭarīdum § 5.69.a; § 5.69.b
ṭe/i$_4$(TE) § 2.452–467
ṭe$_6$(TI) § 2.60.b
ṭēmum § 5.14.a
ṭi/e(DI) § 2.452–467
ṭì(TI) § 2.452–467
ṭīdum § 5.12.a
ṭīṭ/dum § 2.450
ṭú(TU) § 2.452–467
ṭù(DU) § 2.452–469
ṭūbum § 5.64.a
ṭulīmum § 5.27
ṭummumum § 5.77.a
ṭupullûm § 5.111.a

u § 2.92.b; § 2.94; § 6.20.c; § 6.20.e
ú § 2.92.c; § 2.94–95
ù § 2.96
u$_4$ § 2.92–94
ubānum § 5.26.a; § 5.143.e
udû § 5.180.d
ugārum § 5.26.a
uggum § 5.64.a
ukkudum § 5.77.a
ukullûm § 5.111.b
ullûm § 4.136–140
ulṣum § 5.64.a
ūmakkal § 2.250.d; § 5.306.e
ūmakkalūtun § 2.251
ūmakkalûm § 5.128.a
umāmum § 5.26.a
ūmišam § 5.192.a
ummānum § 5.142.b
ummum § 5.16.a; § 5.141.e
ūmšūmma § 5.192.c
ūmum § 2.98.b; § 5.14.a; § 5.159.k
unedukkum § 2.99.d
unīqum § 5.27; § 5.141.f
unnedukkum § 2.45; § 5.145.l
unūtum § 2.99.c
uplum § 5.16.a
upnum § 5.16.a
uqqup/bum § 5.77.a
uqqurum § 5.77.a
ur § 2.338–341
úr § 2.338–341
urbatānum § 5.115.d
urḫiš § 2.491.b
urḫum § 5.16.a; § 5.147; § 5.148.e
urīṣum § 5.27
urnum § 5.16.a
uruḫḫum § 5.42.a
ūrum § 2.28 fn.

Michael P. Streck - 978-90-04-49899-0
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ús(UŠ) § 2.347–361; § 2.364.a
usātum § 5.72.a fn.
uss/ṣṣulum § 5.77.a
usukkum § 5.42.a
ušummum § 5.42.a
ušūrtum § 6.51.b
utlum § 5.16.a
utullum § 5.126.a; § 5.151
utūnum § 2.99.b; § 5.126.a
uz/s/ṣ$_4$(AZ) § 2.32
úz(ÚŠ) § 2.494
uz$_4$(AZ) § 2.492.c
uznum § 5.16.a
uzubbûm § 5.111.a
uzunum § 2.149.b
uzzatum § 5.64.b
uzzum § 5.64.a

wa § 2.17.a
wa(PI) § 2.474.a
wabālum § 2.488
waqrum, waqartum § 5.65.b
waqûm § 2.228.a fn.
wardatum § 5.14.b
wardum § 5.14.a
warḫiš § 2.491.a
warḫum § 5.14.a
warkatum § 5.14.b
warkûm/warkītum § 5.114.a
warqum, waruqtum § 5.67.c
waššābum § 5.78.a
watartum § 5.65.c
watrum, watartum § 5.65.a
wattar(t)um § 5.75.a
wazwazum § 5.46
we(PI) § 2.474.b
wi(PI) § 2.474.c
wildum § 5.63.c
wu(PI) § 2.474.d
wurkānu § 2.42
wurqum § 5.64.e
wu"ûm § 2.173.l

za'ānum § 2.181.i
zabbilum § 5.76
zaprum, zapurtum § 5.67.a
zapurtum § 5.67.d
zērātum § 5.181
zērum § 1.18.a; § 2.66.b
zí § 2.492.b
zibbatum § 5.19
zibibītum § 5.139.a
zibītum § 5.139.a
zibnum § 5.155.q
zibûm/zībum § 5.139.a; § 5.139.b
zikarum § 2.149.a; § 5.19
zikrum § 5.63.c
zimmatum § 2.202
zīmū § 5.12.a
zinnātum § 5.180.d
ziqīqum § 2.43
ziqnum § 5.19
ziqqurratum § 5.85
ziqtum § 5.63.a; § 5.63.e
ziqziqqum § 5.120
zīttum § 2.493.d; § 5.63.d
zīzum § 5.126.a
zubbum § 5.16.a
zubullûm § 5.111.b
zumrum § 5.16.a
zuqīqīpum § 5.89
zu'tum § 2.175.i; § 5.10.b

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Index of Texts

References in footnotes are quoted according to the number of the paragraph with the addition "fn".

A 831 r. 7 § 2.99.d
A.2279: 11 § 2.76
A.3530: 14 § 2.183.a
A.3598: 15 § 2.183.a
A.3993 § 5.192.a
AbB 1, 1: 10 § 2.456.d
AbB 1, 2: 10 § 5.198 fn
AbB 1, 2: 16 § 2.266.k
AbB 1, 2: 17 § 2.29.a
AbB 1, 3: 21 § 2.29.a
AbB 1, 3: 22 § 5.194.a
AbB 1, 4 r. 4 § 2.433.b
AbB 1, 5: 9 § 4.43.a
AbB 1, 5: 10 § 5.194.a
AbB 1, 7: 16 § 6.15.a; § 6.27.a
AbB 1, 7: 20 § 4.139.d
AbB 1, 7: 24 § 5.248.a
AbB 1, 10: 8 § 4.42.b
AbB 1, 10: 13 § 4.16.a
AbB 1, 10: 18–21 § 4.18.a
AbB 1, 10: 21 § 4.3.a
AbB 1, 14: 23 § 4.36.; § 4.40
AbB 1, 15: 26 § 4.31 fn
AbB 1, 20: 15 § 4.60.a
AbB 1, 21: 16 § 5.167.c
AbB 1, 21: 28 § 5.241.b
AbB 1, 21: 29 § 2.433.b
AbB 1, 22: 14 § 4.67 fn
AbB 1, 23: 15 § 2.505.d
AbB 1, 24 r. 3 § 2.433.b
AbB 1, 27: 1 § 2.392.b
AbB 1, 25: 18 § 4.52.a
AbB 1, 26: 14 § 2.151.a; § 4.165.d
AbB 1, 27: 17 § 2.429.d
AbB 1, 27: 22 § 4.120.a
AbB 1, 27: 24 § 4.67.c; § 4.80.b
AbB 1, 27: 26 § 5.166.a; § 5.295.a
AbB 1, 27: 27 § 4.114
AbB 1, 27: 28 § 4.116.a
AbB 1, 27: 32 § 4.80.d
AbB 1, 27: 33 § 5.207.b
AbB 1, 27: 37 § 2.429.d fn
AbB 1, 27: 41 § 4.52.b
AbB 1, 27: 42 § 2.392.b
AbB 1, 28: 1 § 2.392.b
AbB 1, 28: 4 § 4.122
AbB 1, 28: 9 § 2.392.b
AbB 1, 28: 13 § 4.42.a
AbB 1, 28: 14 § 4.42.b
AbB 1, 28: 33 § 2.392.b
AbB 1, 28: 37 § 4.42.a
AbB 1, 29: 6 § 4.42.b
AbB 1, 29: 17 § 4.100.f
AbB 1, 30: 20 § 4.111.b
AbB 1, 30: 23 § 2.406.b fn
AbB 1, 30: 24 § 2.178.d
AbB 1, 31: 5 § 4.114
AbB 1, 33: 43 § 4.118.a
AbB 1, 36: 8 § 4.110.a
AbB 1, 36: 9 § 2.490.c
AbB 1, 39: 17 § 2.433.c
AbB 1, 39: 21 § 5.195.d
AbB 1, 43: 18 § 2.267.b
AbB 1, 46: 13 § 5.246
AbB 1, 46: 24 § 5.193.d
AbB 1, 46: 39 § 2.511.b
AbB 1, 47: 14 § 2.505.d
AbB 1, 48: 12 § 2.115.a
AbB 1, 49: 9 § 2.438.d
AbB 1, 50: 14 § 2.483.d
AbB 1, 50: 18 § 4.115.c
AbB 1, 51: 8 § 5.291.a
AbB 1, 51: 14 § 2.250.c
AbB 1, 51: 16 § 4.115.a
AbB 1, 51: 19 § 6.48.a
AbB 1, 51: 21 § 5.236.b
AbB 1, 51: 27 § 2.199.b
AbB 1, 51: 36 § 4.79.b
AbB 1, 52: 19 § 2.480.a
AbB 1, 52: 33 § 4.27.a; § 4.40
AbB 1, 54: 10 § 2.331.c
AbB 1, 56: 7 § 6.40.b fn
AbB 1, 56: 14 § 6.40.b; § 6.44
AbB 1, 57: 7 § 6.40.b fn
AbB 1, 59: 13 § 5.197.c
AbB 1, 61: 11 § 5.296.c

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Downloaded from Brill.com02/03/2023 09:09:44AM
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AbB 1, 67 r. 6 § 4.100.b
AbB 1, 71: 21 § 4.1
AbB 1, 72 r. 4 § 5.257.b
AbB 1, 74: 4 § 4.113
AbB 1, 74: 10 § 2.162.b
AbB 1, 75: 5 § 2.493.d
AbB 1, 76: 6 § 4.23.a
AbB 1, 76: 6 § 5.167.a
AbB 1, 77: 8 § 4.134.b; § 4.135.c
AbB 1, 81: 8 § 2.139.b
AbB 1, 81: 9 § 4.14
AbB 1, 81: 22, 41 § 4.42.d fn
AbB 1, 81: 31 § 4.42.d
AbB 1, 81: 40 § 4.9.b
AbB 1, 84: 17 § 2.173.h
AbB 1, 84: 27 § 2.488.d
AbB 1, 86: 13 § 4.32; § 4.38
AbB 1, 89: 25 § 5.273
AbB 1, 90: 12 § 5.160.a
AbB 1, 90: 13 § 2.28 fn; § 2.113
AbB 1, 90: 16 § 2.110.a; § 5.143.b
AbB 1, 92: 6 § 2.447.a
AbB 1, 92: 9 § 4.75.; § 4.80.g
AbB 1, 92: 12 § 4.119
AbB 1, 92: 15 § 4.80.a
AbB 1, 93: 9 § 4.42.c
AbB 1, 95: 7 § 4.42.c
AbB 1, 95: 9 § 5.279
AbB 1, 95: 11 § 2.180.a
AbB 1, 95: 15 § 5.193.f
AbB 1, 101: 6 § 2.30.a
AbB 1, 102: 14 § 2.288.a
AbB 1, 102: 2 § 2.288.b
AbB 1, 103: 5 § 5.275.b
AbB 1, 108: 3 § 2.445.b
AbB 1, 109: 10 § 5.250.b
AbB 1, 109: 13 § 4.55.a
AbB 1, 115 r. 8 § 5.167.a
AbB 1, 118: 6 § 2.157.b
AbB 1, 118: 10 § 2.370.b
AbB 1, 121 r. 10 § 2.144.f
AbB 1, 128: 5 § 2.29.c
AbB 1, 128: 8 § 2.175.f
AbB 1, 128 r. 12 § 2.427.c fn
AbB 1, 129: 1 § 2.342.a
AbB 1, 129: 9 § 5.2.d
AbB 1, 131: 9 § 5.251.a
AbB 1, 131: 10 § 5.250.a; § 5.251.a fn
AbB 1, 133: 12 § 2.31.b
AbB 1, 134: 12 § 2.139.d; § 4.67.c
AbB 1, 134: 22 § 4.70.b; § 4.80.b
AbB 1, 134: 25 § 4.70.b
AbB 1, 135: 23 § 4.10.a
AbB 1, 135: 24 § 2.122
AbB 1, 138: 21 § 2.155.b
AbB 1, 138: 30 § 2.29.i
AbB 1, 139: 8 § 2.87.f fn
AbB 1, 139: 11 § 2.328
AbB 1, 139: 13, 15 § 2.87.f
AbB 1, 139 r. 4 § 4.51.a; § 4.52.b
AbB 1, 139 r. 5 § 2.474.f
AbB 1, 142: 24 § 2.179.e
AbB 2, 1 *passim* § 2.9.b
AbB 2, 1: 4, 6 § 2.415.a
AbB 2, 1: 7 § 2.415.a
AbB 2, 1: 10 § 2.295; § 2.415.a; § 2.456.b
AbB 2, 1: 10, 23 § 2.295
AbB 2, 1: 14 § 2.415.a
AbB 2, 1: 22 § 2.127.a
AbB 2, 2: 13 § 2.316.a
AbB 2, 2: 15 § 2.456.f
AbB 2, 3: 5 § 2.127.a
AbB 2, 3: 16 § 2.316.d
AbB 2, 4: 4 § 2.415.d; § 2.295
AbB 2, 4: 7 § 2.121.a
AbB 2, 4: 8 § 2.295
AbB 2, 4: 13 § 2.415.d
AbB 2, 4 r. 5 § 2.72.c
AbB 2, 4 r. 12 § 2.59.b
AbB 2, 5: 4 § 2.127.a
AbB 2, 5: 6 § 2.30.a
AbB 2, 6: 20 § 2.59.b
AbB 2, 7: 1 § 2.20.a
AbB 2, 7: 9 § 2.295; § 2.316.c; § 2.380.b
AbB 2, 8: 8 § 2.122
AbB 2, 8 r. 5 § 2.19.a
AbB 2, 9: 4, 11 § 2.350.f
AbB 2, 10: 9 § 4.111.c
AbB 2, 11: 8 § 2.456.c; § 5.193.a
AbB 2, 11: 9 § 5.167.a
AbB 2, 11: 24 § 2.271.d
AbB 2, 13: 16 § 4.125.b; § 4.128.a
AbB 2, 17: 16 § 2.493.a
AbB 2, 19: 13 § 2.380.e
AbB 2, 24: 8 § 2.276.a
AbB 2, 24: 10 § 2.399.a
AbB 2, 25: 16 § 2.477.d
AbB 2, 26: 8 § 2.271.c

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AbB 2, 26: 21 § 2.120.d
AbB 2, 27 r. 6 § 2.127.c fn
AbB 2, 29: 17 § 2.380.a
AbB 2, 30: 5 § 4.111.b
AbB 2, 30: 15 § 2.415.c
AbB 2, 33: 10 § 2.456.c
AbB 2, 34: 6, 15, 23 § 2.104
AbB 2, 35: 11 § 2.456.f
AbB 2, 37: 6 § 2.114.b; § 2.507.b
AbB 2, 38 r. 9 § 2.275.b
AbB 2, 40: 21 § 2.127.c
AbB 2, 42: 27 § 2.493.a
AbB 2, 43: 20 § 2.120.e; § 4.128.a
AbB 2, 45: 5 § 5.211.c
AbB 2, 47: 8 § 2.198.b; § 2.266.b
AbB 2, 56: 14 § 2.287.d
AbB 2, 59: 7 § 2.415.c
AbB 2, 60: 8 § 2.141.a; § 4.57.a; § 4.64.a
AbB 2, 60: 9 § 2.456.d; § 4.79.c
AbB 2, 60: 10 § 2.141.a
AbB 2, 62: 16 § 2.119.a
AbB 2, 65: 30 § 2.219.e
AbB 2, 76: 8 § 2.120.f
AbB 2, 80: 7 § 2.494.c
AbB 2, 86: 24, 26 § 2.334.a
AbB 2, 87: 10 § 5.167.c
AbB 2, 87: 11 § 5.195.i
AbB 2, 87: 25 § 5.148.b
AbB 2, 88: 10, 15 § 5.295.b
AbB 2, 90: 22 § 2.328 fn
AbB 2, 95: 5 § 2.293.a
AbB 2, 95: 7 § 2.314.a
AbB 2, 95: 11 § 2.454.c
AbB 2, 99: 15 § 2.488.f
AbB 2, 99: 18 § 2.479.b
AbB 2, 101: 20 § 6.32.g
AbB 2, 107: 12 § 2.264.c
AbB 2, 108: 17 § 2.489 fn
AbB 2, 111: 16 § 5.155.h
AbB 2, 111: 23 § 6.44
AbB 2, 113: 19 § 5.173.b
AbB 2, 114: 8 § 2.214.i; § 2.266.a
AbB 2, 115: 11 § 4.54.b; § 4.65
AbB 2, 115: 17 § 5.200.d fn
AbB 2, 117: 12 § 2.198.b; § 2.287.a
AbB 2, 130: 16 § 5.186.a
AbB 2, 132: 13 § 2.329; § 6.3.b
AbB 2, 132: 14 § 2.116
AbB 2, 133: 6 § 5.128.c
AbB 2, 133: 9 § 2.116
AbB 2, 135: 10 § 5.132.a
AbB 2, 135: 11 § 2.510.c
AbB 2, 135: 12 § 2.139.d
AbB 2, 136: 16 § 2.71.a
AbB 2, 137: 5 § 2.107.a
AbB 2, 139: 6 § 2.365.e
AbB 2, 145: 7 § 2.176.b
AbB 2, 145: 14 § 2.171; § 2.176.b; § 5.288.b
AbB 2, 145: 8 § 2.334.a
AbB 2, 146: 7 § 2.493.a; § 2.505.f
AbB 2, 148: 8 § 5.195.i
AbB 2, 150: 8 § 5.130.a
AbB 2, 150: 11 § 5.200.c
AbB 2, 152: 12 § 5.159.c
AbB 2, 152: 25 § 5.159.c
AbB 2, 154: 14 § 4.4.b
AbB 2, 154: 16 § 4.4.b fn
AbB 2, 157: 4 § 4.158.e
AbB 2, 157: 12 § 2.70.c
AbB 2, 160: 7 § 2.219.b
AbB 2, 161: 5 § 2.99.a
AbB 2, 161: 10 § 5.142.b
AbB 2, 163: 8 f. § 4.63
AbB 2, 163: 9 § 4.57.c
AbB 2, 164: 11 § 2.27.a; § 2.161.b
AbB 2, 171: 5 § 2.70.h
AbB 2, 176: 17 § 2.252.a
AbB 3, 2: 29 § 2.71.c
AbB 3, 3: 17 § 2.226.b
AbB 3, 10: 7 § 2.21.g
AbB 3, 13: 14 § 4.26.b
AbB 3, 15: 10 § 2.31.b
AbB 3, 15: 13 § 2.154.b
AbB 3, 15: 15 § 2.437.d
AbB 3, 15: 23 § 2.154.b
AbB 3, 16: 8 § 4.33.c; § 4.39
AbB 3, 16/17: 17 § 2.70.h
AbB 3, 18: 13 § 2.102.b
AbB 3, 18: 16 § 2.107.a
AbB 3, 18: 18 § 2.115.b
AbB 3, 18: 24 § 5.193.d
AbB 3, 19: 8 § 2.180.d
AbB 3, 21: 1 § 2.27.e; § 2.164.b; § 5.167.e
AbB 3, 21: 7 § 2.27.f; § 2.161.a
AbB 3, 21: 11 § 5.234.b
AbB 3, 21: 25 § 2.27.a
AbB 3, 21: 31 § 5.168
AbB 3, 22: 1 § 2.27.e; § 2.164.b; § 5.167.e

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AbB 3, 22: 12 § 2.27.a; § 2.161.b
AbB 3, 22: 14 § 2.27.a; § 2.161.b; § 2.508
AbB 3, 22: 22 § 2.70.j
AbB 3, 22: 24 § 4.82.c; § 4.123.c
AbB 3, 24: 8 § 5.194.c
AbB 3, 24: 13 § 4.67.b
AbB 3, 26: 18 § 2.478.c
AbB 3, 26: 19 § 2.27.c
AbB 3, 27: 20 § 2.31.a
AbB 3, 30: 15 § 2.59.b
AbB 3, 31: 16, 17 § 2.59.b fn
AbB 3, 33: 15 § 2.27.a; § 2.161.b
AbB 3, 33: 24 § 5.3.a
AbB 3, 33: 31 § 4.33.c; § 4.37.b
AbB 3, 34: 25 f. § 6.5.a
AbB 3, 34: 26 § 6.27.e
AbB 3, 34: 31 § 2.477.d
AbB 3, 35: 12, 24 § 2.115.a
AbB 3, 37: 7 § 2.27.a
AbB 3, 37: 10 § 2.433.b
AbB 3, 37: 19 § 5.180.a
AbB 3, 38: 16 § 2.70.b
AbB 3, 39: 28 § 2.102.b; § 5.167.c
AbB 3, 39: 37 § 2.115.a
AbB 3, 47: 6 § 2.432.a
AbB 3, 47: 20 § 5.181
AbB 3, 50: 19 § 2.227
AbB 3, 52: 12 § 2.287.e
AbB 3, 52: 23 § 4.101.a; § 4.106.b
AbB 3, 52: 24 § 4.4.b; § 4.117.a
AbB 3, 53: 27 § 2.494.c
AbB 3, 54: 15 § 2.407.b
AbB 3, 54: 22 § 2.290.d
AbB 3, 55: 25 § 5.149.a
AbB 3, 56: 14 f. § 2.31.a
AbB 3, 56: 21 § 4.28
AbB 3, 63: 5 § 4.26.b
AbB 3, 66: 16 § 5.180.d
AbB 3, 71: 8 § 2.70.g
AbB 3, 71: 23 § 2.215.c; § 2.228.a
AbB 3, 71: 24 § 2.27.c
AbB 3, 73: 15 § 2.375.d
AbB 3, 74: 4 § 4.42.d fn
AbB 3, 74: 9, 19 § 4.42.d
AbB 3, 74: 25, 33 § 2.70.a
AbB 3, 74: 26 § 2.173.k
AbB 3, 75: 6 § 2.479.c
AbB 3, 77: 14 § 4.26.a
AbB 3, 79: 7 § 4.27.a
AbB 3, 79: 9 § 2.141.c; § 4.30.c
AbB 3, 79: 12 § 4.54.c
AbB 3, 79: 13 § 4.24.a; § 4.37.c
AbB 3, 79: 21 § 4.105.d; § 4.157.a
AbB 3, 83: 5, 6 § 2.511.a
AbB 3, 83: 13 § 4.158.c
AbB 3, 84: 18 § 6.33
AbB 3, 84: 19 § 2.47.b
AbB 3, 84: 20 § 2.365.e
AbB 3, 88: 9 § 4.130.b
AbB 3, 94: 3 § 2.276.b
AbB 3, 94: 10 § 2.282.d
AbB 3, 94: 12 § 2.154.a; § 2.155.b
AbB 3, 95: 4 § 2.510.c; § 5.186.b
AbB 3, 100: 7 § 4.105.c
AbB 3, 108: 8 § 2.59.a
AbB 3, 108: 9 § 2.59.a fn
AbB 3, 108: 10 § 2.59.a
AbB 3, 112: 10 § 2.206
AbB 3, 113: 12 § 2.312.b
AbB 4, 1: 10 § 2.144.a
AbB 4, 2: 14 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 3: 9 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 4: 9 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 7: 7 § 2.350.c
AbB 4, 11: 10 § 4.9.a
AbB 4, 11: 31 § 2.120.a
AbB 4, 11: 33 § 2.488.d
AbB 4, 12: 9 § 5.169.a
AbB 4, 12: 17 § 2.380.e
AbB 4, 13: 15 § 5.297.b
AbB 4, 14: 11 § 2.350.h
AbB 4, 14 r. 5 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 16: 20 § 2.59.b
AbB 4, 18: 23 § 2.456.e
AbB 4, 20: 21 § 2.350.g
AbB 4, 20: 21–25 § 2.514
AbB 4, 22: 14 § 5.153.c
AbB 4, 23: 23 § 6.22.c
AbB 4, 24: 15 § 2.350.g
AbB 4, 25: 6 § 2.120.f
AbB 4, 25: 7 § 2.19.a
AbB 4, 34: 7 § 6.22.a
AbB 4, 37: 5 § 2.212.a
AbB 4, 39: 1 § 2.70.e
AbB 4, 39: 9 § 2.456.f
AbB 4, 40: 20 § 5.270
AbB 4, 44: 8 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 46: 9 § 2.115.a; § 5.167.a; § 2.383; § 2.511.a
AbB 4, 48: 10 § 2.128

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AbB 4, 48: 11 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 48: 12 § 2.383
AbB 4, 49: 8 § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 49: 13 § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 50: 6, 11 § 2.297.a
AbB 4, 50: 8 § 2.120.d; § 2.297.a
AbB 4, 50: 14 § 4.90.a
AbB 4, 52: 16 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 52 r. 3 § 2.258.a; § 2.297.a fn
AbB 4, 52 r. 10 § 2.258.a; § 2.297.a
AbB 4, 53: 16 § 2.154.a
AbB 4, 53: 15 § 2.297.b
AbB 4, 53: 18 § 2.154.a
AbB 4, 54: 15 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 55: 13 § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 55: 19 § 2.141.b
AbB 4, 55: 21 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 56: 20 § 2.259.a
AbB 4, 57: 13 § 2.141.b; § 4.90.b
AbB 4, 57: 15 § 2.259.a
AbB 4, 58: 6 § 2.279.c
AbB 4, 58: 8 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 59: 8 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 60: 16 § 2.128
AbB 4, 60: 9 § 2.258.a
AbB 4, 62: 8 § 4.90.b
AbB 4, 64: 13 § 2.441
AbB 4, 64: 14 § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 64: 18 § 2.383
AbB 4, 68: 10 § 2.141.b; § 4.90.b
AbB 4, 68: 18 § 4.90.b
AbB 4, 68: 23 § 2.276.d; § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 68: 32, 35 § 2.383
AbB 4, 68: 40 § 2.276.d
AbB 4, 69: 19 § 2.258.a; § 5.231
AbB 4, 69: 41 § 2.258.a
AbB 4, 70: 10 § 2.510.d
AbB 4, 79: 20 § 2.370.b
AbB 4, 82: 6 § 5.198
AbB 4, 83: 6 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 84: 8 § 5.199.b
AbB 4, 84: 10 § 2.350.a
AbB 4, 88: 20 § 2.278.a
AbB 4, 93: 20 § 2.19.b
AbB 4, 94: 28 § 2.19.b fn
AbB 4, 94: 8 § 5.149.b
AbB 4, 94: 11 § 5.169.a
AbB 4, 94: 13 § 5.169.a; § 5.286
AbB 4, 95: 18 § 2.399.a
AbB 4, 96: 16 § 2.380.d
AbB 4, 98: 7 § 5.197.b
AbB 4, 99: 8 § 5.157.d
AbB 4, 101: 11 § 2.266.h
AbB 4, 103: 18 § 5.293. fn
AbB 4, 106: 13 § 2.19.b fn
AbB 4, 109: 7 § 2.127.b
AbB 4, 111: 10 § 2.128
AbB 4, 111: 17 § 2.157.a
AbB 4, 111: 19 § 2.141.b fn; § 4.90a
AbB 4, 111: 27 § 2.258.a fn; § 2.279.b
AbB 4, 111: 38 § 2.279.b
AbB 4, 111: 39 § 2.393.a fn
AbB 4, 114: 12 § 2.258.a
AbB 4, 114: 13 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 115: 9 § 5.167.g
AbB 4, 115: 19 § 2.114.b
AbB 4, 115: 22 § 2.430.b
AbB 4, 116: 7 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 118: 7 § 2.368.c
AbB 4, 118: 20 § 2.250.b
AbB 4, 118: 17 § 2.254.a
AbB 4, 119: 7 § 2.258.a
AbB 4, 119: 13 § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 120: 14 § 2.396
AbB 4, 120: 16 § 2.279.b
AbB 4, 121: 6 § 5.205.c
AbB 4, 121: 9 § 2.259.a; § 2.279.a; § 2.393.a fn
AbB 4, 121: 20 § 4.54.b
AbB 4, 123: 9, 11 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 123: 10 § 2.148 fn
AbB 4, 125: 7 § 2.258.a; § 2.279.d
AbB 4, 125: 11 § 2.141.b fn
AbB 4, 125: 11, 13 § 4.90.a
AbB 4, 126: 9 § 2.258.a
AbB 4, 130: 8 § 2.258.a fn
AbB 4, 130: 22 § 2.254.a
AbB 4, 131: 11 § 2.254.a; § 5.156.b
AbB 4, 134: 5 § 4.22.d fn
AbB 4, 134: 9 § 2.69.i; § 5.135
AbB 4, 134: 14 § 4.22.d
AbB 4, 137: 7 § 2.111
AbB 4, 137: 9 § 2.510.c
AbB 4, 137: 10 § 2.110.b
AbB 4, 137: 12 § 5.166.a
AbB 4, 137: 15 § 2.28 fn
AbB 4, 138: 12 § 2.510.c
AbB 4, 139: 20 § 2.449.a
AbB 4, 139: 30 § 2.167 fn
AbB 4, 139: 34 § 4.105.b
AbB 4, 139: 35 § 4.154.a

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AbB 4, 140: 11 § 2.28.a; § 2.121.a
AbB 4, 140: 15 § 4.42.d
AbB 4, 140: 17 § 2.28.a
AbB 4, 140: 20 § 2.28.a; § 6.2.c
AbB 4, 142: 19, 21 § 2.60.b
AbB 4, 144: 25 § 2.505.d
AbB 4, 148: 11 § 5.167.b
AbB 4, 148: 18 § 2.162.b
AbB 4, 152: 6 f. § 4.16.b
AbB 4, 154: 11 § 2.28 fn
AbB 4, 154: 13 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 154: 22 § 2.141.b fn; § 2.254.e; § 2.474.b; § 4.90.a
AbB 4, 154: 25 § 2.28 fn
AbB 4, 154: 28 § 2.181.b
AbB 4, 154: 29 § 2.279.a
AbB 4, 155: 9 § 4.21.c
AbB 4, 155: 19 § 4.26.a; § 4.38
AbB 4, 156 r. 12 § 5.167.e
AbB 4, 159: 5 § 4.163.a
AbB 4, 161: 34 § 4.42.d
AbB 4, 161: 39 § 4.56
AbB 4, 166: 16 § 2.456.b
AbB 5, 4: 4 § 5.159.h
AbB 5, 4: 6 f. § 2.368.a
AbB 5, 4: 7 § 5.159.h
AbB 5, 10: 6 § 5.248.b
AbB 5, 26: 6, 9 § 2.505.d
AbB 5, 27: 16 § 4.106.a
AbB 5, 30: 9 § 5.267.a
AbB 5, 32: 3 § 2.40.a
AbB 5, 33: 7 § 2.507.b
AbB 5, 34: 6 § 2.121.d
AbB 5, 35: 5 § 2.406.c
AbB 5, 36: 3 § 5.269.a
AbB 5, 39: 7 § 4.22.e; § 4.27.d
AbB 5, 39: 8 § 2.89.b; § 5.230.a
AbB 5, 42 r. 4 § 6.3.c
AbB 5, 44: 5 § 4.164.a
AbB 5, 44: 8 § 2.30.c
AbB 5, 61 r. 6 § 2.433.b
AbB 5, 74 ed. 5 § 2.69.h
AbB 5, 106: 5 § 4.50.b
AbB 5, 126: 3 § 2.29.b
AbB 5, 126: 6 § 4.111.c
AbB 5, 134 r. 2 § 2.365.e
AbB 5, 134 r. 4 § 2.365.e
AbB 5, 136: 8 § 2.399.b
AbB 5, 136: 12 § 2.350.d
AbB 5, 137: 16 § 4.111.d
AbB 5, 143: 9, 11, 12 § 2.94
AbB 5, 150: 8, 10 § 5.167.c
AbB 5, 151: 4 § 5.167.b
AbB 5, 156: 13 § 2.31.c; § 2.329
AbB 5, 157: 13 § 5.193.c
AbB 5, 159 r. 16 § 2.206
AbB 5, 160 r. 10 § 2.75.c fn
AbB 5, 160 r. 17 § 2.75.c
AbB 5, 162: 8 § 2.488.a
AbB 5, 166: 7 § 2.105.a
AbB 5, 166: 10, 15 § 2.115.a
AbB 5, 166: 14 § 4.139.a
AbB 5, 166 r. 16 § 2.442.b
AbB 5, 170: 11 § 4.111.d; § 4.121.b
AbB 5, 171: 18 § 2.483.a
AbB 5, 171: 21 § 2.29.f
AbB 5, 171: 24 § 2.226.b
AbB 5, 171: 25 § 2.478.b
AbB 5, 171: 35 § 2.121.a
AbB 5, 175: 16 § 4.115.b
AbB 5, 175: 17 § 2.291
AbB 5, 175: 19 § 2.312.b
AbB 5, 189: 7 § 2.312.b
AbB 5, 191 r. 3 § 2.485
AbB 5, 195: 12 § 2.329
AbB 5, 200: 18 § 5.222.b
AbB 5, 200: 21 § 4.11.b
AbB 5, 211 r. 6 § 5.139.b; § 5.180.b fn
AbB 5, 212: 12 § 5.267.b
AbB 5, 213: 20 § 5.193.a
AbB 5, 217: 15 § 5.195.a
AbB 5, 219 r. 8 § 2.159.a
AbB 5, 220: 23 f. § 4.148.a
AbB 5, 225: 12 § 5.206.b
AbB 5, 227: 19 § 5.194.d
AbB 5, 239: 6, 20 § 5.167.f
AbB 5, 244: 20 § 4.57.b
AbB 5, 244: 22 § 2.284.b; § 2.433.b
AbB 5, 249: 5 § 2.478.b
AbB 5, 253: 9 § 2.31.a
AbB 5, 262 r. 7 § 2.266.i
AbB 6, 1: 32 § 4.157.b
AbB 6, 1: 34 § 2.494.c
AbB 6, 4: 25 § 2.478.b
AbB 6, 4: 29 § 6.15.c
AbB 6, 4: 30 § 6.20.f
AbB 6, 5: 3 § 2.66.a
AbB 6, 5: 14 § 5.256

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AbB 6, 8: 17 § 2.30.a
AbB 6, 11: 7 § 5.139.b fn
AbB 6, 11: 11 § 5.193.b
AbB 6, 12: 6 § 2.73.a
AbB 6, 12: 7 § 2.173.d
AbB 6, 15: 17 § 2.169.a
AbB 6, 18: 1 § 2.212.a
AbB 6, 20: 8 § 2.298
AbB 6, 20: 9 § 2.79.c
AbB 6, 20: 14 § 2.129
AbB 6, 21: 17 § 4.3.d
AbB 6, 22: 8 § 2.164.a
AbB 6, 22: 11 § 6.34; § 6.35.b
AbB 6, 22: 17 § 2.191
AbB 6, 22: 24 § 2.392.c
AbB 6, 22: 35 § 5.155.j
AbB 6, 24: 14 § 2.276.b
AbB 6, 28: 12 § 5.280.b
AbB 6, 32: 18 § 5.167.f
AbB 6, 32: 22 § 2.407.a
AbB 6, 36: 8 § 5.174.a
AbB 6, 37: 18 § 4.111.d
AbB 6, 41: 10 § 4.158.d
AbB 6, 43: 5 § 4.98.c
AbB 6, 43 r. 2 § 2.115.a
AbB 6, 48: 6 § 2.221
AbB 6, 52: 6 § 6.25.d
AbB 6, 52: 7 § 6.27.c
AbB 6, 52: 9 § 2.32.h
AbB 6, 57: 13 § 4.26.b; § 4.37.b
AbB 6, 57: 16 § 4.26.b
AbB 6, 57: 22 § 2.159.g
AbB 6, 57: 22 f. § 6.27.a
AbB 6, 57: 38 § 2.273.b; § 2.365.a
AbB 6, 57: 5 § 5.306.a; § 6.23.a
AbB 6, 59: 9 § 5.198. fn
AbB 6, 63: 5 § 4.128.a; § 4.156.a; § 5.193.e
AbB 6, 63: 13 § 6.2.a
AbB 6, 68: 2 § 2.235.a
AbB 6, 68: 3 § 2.120.c
AbB 6, 71: 5 § 4.36
AbB 6, 73: 4 § 2.479.c
AbB 6, 75: 7 § 2.182.b
AbB 6, 76 r. 8 § 2.149.a
AbB 6, 78: 7 § 4.27.a; § 4.40
AbB 6, 79: 22 § 5.204.a
AbB 6, 79: 9 § 2.334.a
AbB 6, 80: 7 § 2.243.c
AbB 6, 88: 10 § 2.117
AbB 6, 88: 15 § 6.16
AbB 6, 88: 19 § 4.102.; § 4.105.b
AbB 6, 90: 10 § 2.329
AbB 6, 91: 9 § 2.217.d; § 2.222.a
AbB 6, 93: 14 § 5.159.j
AbB 6, 93: 22 § 5.207.b
AbB 6, 93: 26 § 2.226.a; § 4.54.a; § 4.65
AbB 6, 93: 39 § 2.34
AbB 6, 98: 2 § 2.477.f
AbB 6, 102: 12 § 2.122
AbB 6, 102: 24 § 2.69.j
AbB 6, 102: 25 § 5.180.b
AbB 6, 104: 14 § 2.240
AbB 6, 106: 10 § 2.329
AbB 6, 107: 4 § 2.287.b; § 2.438.c
AbB 6, 109: 7 § 2.427.c
AbB 6, 109: 12 § 4.100.b
AbB 6, 113: 5 § 5.193.c
AbB 6, 114: 6 § 5.143.d
AbB 6, 114: 22 § 2.494.c
AbB 6, 118: 24 § 2.195; § 2.407.a
AbB 6, 118: 28 § 2.106
AbB 6, 118: 29 § 2.75.b
AbB 6, 121: 11 § 2.291
AbB 6, 123: 10 § 5.159.g
AbB 6, 124: 12 § 2.328 fn; § 2.331.a
AbB 6, 124: 29 § 2.433.c
AbB 6, 126: 14 § 4.15.a
AbB 6, 127: 17 § 2.365.e
AbB 6, 129: 23 § 2.451
AbB 6, 131: 6 § 2.102.b; § 5.167.e
AbB 6, 131: 27 § 2.69.b
AbB 6, 132: 6, 8 § 5.154.h
AbB 6, 134: 13 § 2.248.a
AbB 6, 135 r. 5 § 5.132.b
AbB 6, 136: 19 § 4.67.a
AbB 6, 137: 17 § 2.505.f
AbB 6, 137: 19 § 2.111; § 4.3.b
AbB 6, 137: 20 § 2.32.g
AbB 6, 137: 24 § 2.112; § 2.505.f
AbB 6, 139: 5 § 5.193.c
AbB 6, 139: 5–7 § 2.514
AbB 6, 139: 16 § 5.130.e; 5.138.b
AbB 6, 140: 8 § 2.250.d
AbB 6, 140: 13 § 2.505.d
AbB 6, 140: 28 § 2.451
AbB 6, 142: 13 § 2.349.b
AbB 6, 142: 14 § 2.141.a; § 4.86.; § 4.108
AbB 6, 142: 16 § 2.454.d

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AbB 6, 144: 1 § 5.166.d; § 6.25.b
AbB 6, 145: 14 § 2.157.a
AbB 6, 146: 10 § 2.502
AbB 6, 146: 16 § 2.502
AbB 6, 146: 22 § 6.11.a
AbB 6, 146: 24 § 2.32.c
AbB 6, 146: 27 § 5.159.j
AbB 6, 148: 13 § 4.132; § 4.135.e
AbB 6, 148: 32 § 4.70.b
AbB 6, 153: 6 § 4.166.a
AbB 6, 153: 17 § 2.115.a
AbB 6, 154: 3 § 5.167.a
AbB 6, 157: 26 § 2.29.a
AbB 6, 160: 23 § 4.134.a
AbB 6, 161: 21 § 2.87.e
AbB 6, 161: 22 § 2.87.e fn; § 2.332
AbB 6, 169: 9 § 2.115.a
AbB 6, 169: 12, 17 § 2.115.a
AbB 6, 173: 8 § 4.126.c
AbB 6, 173: 21 § 2.29.a
AbB 6, 177: 38 § 4.80.h
AbB 6, 181: 6 § 5.195.e
AbB 6, 181: 16 § 2.432.a
AbB 6, 184: 10 § 2.31.c
AbB 6, 185: 13 § 2.21.e; § 2.139.b
AbB 6, 185: 5 § 2.139.b fn
AbB 6, 185: 9 § 2.107.a
AbB 6, 186: 7 § 6.35.a
AbB 6, 188: 5 § 5.141.e
AbB 6, 188: 6 § 5.181
AbB 6, 188: 8 § 2.393.b
AbB 6, 188: 16 § 5.306.e
AbB 6, 188: 17 § 2.175.i
AbB 6, 188: 20 § 2.139.b
AbB 6, 188: 28 § 5.234.c
AbB 6, 188: 31 § 2.96.c
AbB 6, 188: 38 § 2.71.b
AbB 6, 188: 39 § 2.183.b; § 2.393.b
AbB 6, 188: 40 § 2.29.i
AbB 6, 189: 22 § 5.162.a
AbB 6, 191: 21 § 5.180.d
AbB 6, 193: 4 § 4.131
AbB 6, 194: 22 § 2.163.a
AbB 6, 195: 15 § 2.115.a
AbB 6, 199: 16 § 6.5.e
AbB 6, 199: 34 § 2.365.a fn
AbB 6, 200: 11 f. § 2.21.c
AbB 6, 208: 5 § 2.328
AbB 6, 208: 10 § 2.328 fn
AbB 6, 208: 15 § 2.40.a
AbB 6, 217: 16 § 2.29.f
AbB 6, 220: 14, 23, 29 § 5.198. fn
AbB 7, 16: 9 § 4.111.d
AbB 7, 21: 8 § 2.87.a fn
AbB 7, 21: 14 § 2.87.a
AbB 7, 21: 15, 17 § 2.87.a fn
AbB 7, 21: 16 § 2.87.a fn; § 2.87.e
AbB 7, 21: 17, 25 § 2.87.e
AbB 7, 21: 20, 30, 31 § 2.87.f
AbB 7, 21: 26 § 2.87.e
AbB 7, 36: 8 § 4.3.d
AbB 7, 47: 10, r. 4 § 5.198. fn
AbB 7, 50: 2 § 5.198. fn
AbB 7, 53: 3 § 5.259.a
AbB 7, 53: 11 § 2.161.a
AbB 7, 53: 23 § 5.193.k
AbB 7, 55: 5 § 2.447.c
AbB 7, 55: 12 § 2.447.c
AbB 7, 57: 7 § 2.437.b
AbB 7, 58: 7 § 2.88
AbB 7, 58: 8 § 5.287.a
AbB 7, 59: 8 § 4.12.b
AbB 7, 59: 12 § 2.75.c
AbB 7, 61: 3 § 2.164.c
AbB 7, 61: 6 § 2.139.b
AbB 7, 61: 12 § 5.141.e
AbB 7, 61: 18 § 4.15.a
AbB 7, 69 r. 4 § 4.98.c
AbB 7, 73: 10 § 5.133
AbB 7, 80: 12 § 4.1
AbB 7, 80: 15 § 2.479.b
AbB 7, 82: 26 § 2.433.b
AbB 7, 83: 15 § 2.31.b
AbB 7, 84 r. 4, 7 § 2.188
AbB 7, 86: 20 § 2.75.e
AbB 7, 87: 9 § 253.a
AbB 7, 87 r. 10 § 5.251.a
AbB 7, 88 r. 4 § 4.31 fn
AbB 7, 92: 17 § 6.46.b
AbB 7, 93: 23 § 2.243.a; § 6.32.b
AbB 7, 95 r. 9 § 4.111.d; § 4.117.a
AbB 7, 98: 9 § 5.251.a
AbB 7, 98: 10 § 5.251.a fn
AbB 7, 103: 8 § 5.222.b
AbB 7, 104: 7 § 2.109
AbB 7, 104: 12 § 4.8.c
AbB 7, 106: 21 § 2.158.f
AbB 7, 106: 21 § 2.479.a

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AbB 7, 106: 22 § 2.437.f
AbB 7, 108 r. 8 § 2.478.a
AbB 7, 110: 7 § 2.20.a
AbB 7, 110: 10 § 4.152.c
AbB 7, 110: 25 § 2.27.d
AbB 7, 116: 6 § 2.20.a
AbB 7, 118: 30 § 2.252.c
AbB 7, 123: 22 § 4.8.b
AbB 7, 125: 11 § 4.153.a
AbB 7, 125: 16 § 5.173.b
AbB 7, 125 r. 6 § 2.479.a
AbB 7, 125 r. 9, 17 § 2.188
AbB 7, 125 r. 16 § 2.435.b
AbB 7, 126: 6 § 2.328 fn
AbB 7, 126: 8 § 2.328 fn; § 2.331.b
AbB 7, 126: 9 § 5.167.g
AbB 7, 126: 13, 15, 20 § 2.328 fn
AbB 7, 134: 30 § 2.433.b
AbB 7, 140 l. e. § 4.43.b
AbB 7, 141: 9 § 5.305.b; § 5.306.c
AbB 7, 142: 13 § 2.375.d
AbB 7, 143: 9 § 5.166.c
AbB 7, 148 r. 2 § 2.34
AbB 7, 151: 4 § 2.334.b
AbB 7, 153: 37 § 5.295.b
AbB 7, 156: 14 § 4.148.b
AbB 7, 158: 8 § 2.437.c
AbB 7, 165: 5 § 5.186.a
AbB 7, 167: 30 § 4.73.a
AbB 7, 178: 7 § 5.282
AbB 7, 182: 1 § 2.366.a
AbB 7, 183: 3 § 2.28.c
AbB 7, 183: 8 § 2.28.b
AbB 7, 186: 3 § 2.113
AbB 7, 187: 6 § 2.334.a
AbB 7, 187: 8 § 4.46.b; § 4.153.b
AbB 7, 188: 8 § 2.29.d
AbB 8, 4: 5, 6 § 2.247.c
AbB 8, 5: 7 § 2.366.a
AbB 8, 12: 7 § 4.42.d fn
AbB 8, 12: 24 § 4.139.e
AbB 8, 12: 20 § 5.167.a
AbB 8, 12: 46 § 4.42.d
AbB 8, 13: 5 § 2.275.a
AbB 8, 13: 23 § 2.284.b
AbB 8, 13: 25 § 2.63.a; § 5.162.b
AbB 8, 14: 18 § 2.505.d
AbB 8, 15: 28 § 2.27.b
AbB 8, 15: 33 § 4.4.a
AbB 8, 15: 35 § 5.165.g
AbB 8, 18: 17 § 5.193.d
AbB 8, 19: 14 § 2.415.b
AbB 8, 19: 24 § 2.120.c
AbB 8, 27: 10 § 4.118.b
AbB 8, 28: 13 § 2.90
AbB 8, 28: 17 § 2.159.a
AbB 8, 28: 16 § 5.159.g
AbB 8, 29: 7, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19 § 2.291 fn
AbB 8, 38: 11 § 6.15.e
AbB 8, 39: 5 § 6.8.a; § 6.23.a; § 6.24.b
AbB 8, 43 r. 7 § 2.43; § 5.166.c
AbB 8, 46: 8, 9 § 2.309.b fn
AbB 8, 56: 5, 6 § 2.309.b fn
AbB 8, 71: 14 § 4.98.b
AbB 8, 73 r. 5 § 2.297.b
AbB 8, 74: 27 § 2.496
AbB 8, 77: 18, 20 § 2.206
AbB 8, 79: 8 § 2.75.a fn
AbB 8, 79: 21, 22 § 2.449.b
AbB 8, 81: 14 § 2.31.c
AbB 8, 82: 18 § 2.374
AbB 8, 83: 5 § 4.3.a
AbB 8, 84: 12, 33 § 5.167.a
AbB 8, 84: 18 § 5.259.a
AbB 8, 84: 48 § 4.73.c
AbB 8, 90: 15 § 2.342.b
AbB 8, 93: 23 § 4.73.c
AbB 8, 101: 6 § 2.129
AbB 8, 101: 8 § 2.79.b
AbB 8, 101: 8, 12 § 2.318.a
AbB 8, 101: 8, 13 § 2.79.c
AbB 8, 101: 17 § 2.458.a
AbB 8, 102: 5 § 2.87.f fn
AbB 8, 102: 6, 7 § 2.87.f
AbB 8, 102: 10 § 2.87.b
AbB 8, 106: 4 § 4.27.b
AbB 8, 108: 6 f. § 4.22.c
AbB 8, 108: 9 § 2.31.b
AbB 8, 108: 12 § 4.4.c; § 5.193.d
AbB 8, 109: 6 § 4.133.c; § 4.135.f
AbB 8, 109: 8 § 4.136.b; § 4.137.b; § 4.139.d
AbB 8, 110: 8 § 2.60.b
AbB 8, 113: 11 § 2.102.b; § 5.167.c
AbB 8, 113: 14 § 2.107.b
AbB 8, 121: 15 § 2.287.a
AbB 8, 131: 7 § 2.70.b
AbB 8, 132: 11 § 2.271.e
AbB 8, 134: 9 § 2.433.b

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AbB 8, 134: 11, 13 § 2.365.e fn
AbB 8, 137: 7 § 4.82.b
AbB 8, 138: 16 f. § 2.345.c
AbB 8, 140: 11 § 2.34
AbB 8, 141: 15 § 2.115.a
AbB 8, 148: 25 § 2.365.a
AbB 9, 1: 8 § 2.116
AbB 9, 1: 12 § 4.57.b
AbB 9, 1: 13, 36 § 2.505.d
AbB 9, 1: 28 § 2.105.a
AbB 9, 2: 10 § 5.180.c
AbB 9, 2: 17 § 2.446.a
AbB 9, 2: 20 § 2.159.g
AbB 9, 2: 22 § 2.178.b
AbB 9, 3: 9 § 2.511.a
AbB 9, 3: 12 § 2.31.b; § 2.71.a
AbB 9, 11: 8 § 2.352.f
AbB 9, 11: 12 § 2.79.c
AbB 9, 11: 29 § 2.129
AbB 9, 14: 13 § 2.318.b
AbB 9, 14: 14 § 2.416.c
AbB 9, 14: 21 § 2.27.b; § 2.75.e
AbB 9, 14: 25 § 2.458.b
AbB 9, 15: 17 § 5.149.b
AbB 9, 16: 5 § 4.116.b
AbB 9, 16: 39 f. § 5.174.b
AbB 9, 17: 10 § 2.31.b
AbB 9, 17: 20 § 5.195.e
AbB 9, 19: 6 § 2.293.a
AbB 9, 19: 7 § 2.476.a
AbB 9, 19: 7 f. § 2.349.a
AbB 9, 19: 8 § 4.105.c
AbB 9, 19: 13 § 2.413
AbB 9, 19: 15 § 2.159.c
AbB 9, 19: 17 § 2.413
AbB 9, 19: 20 § 2.125
AbB 9, 19: 31, 33 § 2.381
AbB 9, 19: 36 § 2.349.b
AbB 9, 20: 11 § 2.32.f
AbB 9, 21: 10 § 2.31.d
AbB 9, 27: 12 § 5.267.b
AbB 9, 31: 12 § 2.34; § 5.167.g
AbB 9, 34: 20 § 2.477.d
AbB 9, 35: 7 § 2.28 fn
AbB 9, 37: 24 § 2.158.b
AbB 9, 38: 13 § 5.167.a
AbB 9, 38: 18 § 2.252.e
AbB 9, 40: 20 § 4.21.a; § 4.30.b
AbB 9, 40: 24 § 2.109
AbB 9, 41: 16 § 2.31.c
AbB 9, 41: 24 § 2.470
AbB 9, 41: 26 § 2.170.a
AbB 9, 41: 31 § 2.505.d
AbB 9, 48: 16 f. § 5.145.k
AbB 9, 49: 7 § 2.124
AbB 9, 49: 8, 26 § 2.78.b
AbB 9, 49: 9 § 2.510.c
AbB 9, 49: 16, 23 § 2.78.b
AbB 9, 49: 20 § 4.144.b
AbB 9, 49: 25 § 2.117; § 5.170.a
AbB 9, 49: 27 § 2.168.b fn; § 2.292
AbB 9, 49: 28 § 2.103.; § 2.117; § 5.170.a
AbB 9, 49: 31 § 2.111; § 2.292; 4.8.d
AbB 9, 49: 33 § 2.120.e
AbB 9, 49: 38 § 2.90
AbB 9, 56: 5 § 2.70.g
AbB 9, 56: 9 § 2.505.d
AbB 9, 57: 17 § 2.115.a
AbB 9, 58: 6 § 5.139.b; § 5.180.b fn
AbB 9, 61: 6 § 2.102.a
AbB 9, 61: 14 § 5.161.a
AbB 9, 61: 15 § 2.30.a
AbB 9, 61: 27 § 5.195.k
AbB 9, 62: 13 § 5.186.c fn; § 5.227.a
AbB 9, 62: 22 § 5.186.c fn; § 5.227.b
AbB 9, 63: 15 § 2.234
AbB 9, 64: 7 § 2.75.a
AbB 9, 70: 9, 12 § 2.243.a
AbB 9, 76: 7 § 2.282.d
AbB 9, 78: 10 § 2.71.b
AbB 9, 78: 14 § 5.180.b; § 5.180.b fn
AbB 9, 78: 18 § 5.180.b fn
AbB 9, 83: 19 § 2.173.a
AbB 9, 84: 8 § 2.71.d
AbB 9, 84: 16, 28 § 2.427.c
AbB 9, 88: 10 § 2.510.c
AbB 9, 88: 18 § 5.173.c
AbB 9, 90: 6 § 5.172.d fn
AbB 9, 90: 9 § 2.17.b
AbB 9, 92: 20 § 2.18
AbB 9, 93: 9 § 6.51.a
AbB 9, 93: 15 § 2.18; § 2.502
AbB 9, 93: 17 § 2.30.b
AbB 9, 93: 20, 23 § 2.502
AbB 9, 95: 15 § 2.31.a
AbB 9, 95: 16 § 5.149.a
AbB 9, 96: 7 § 2.430.a
AbB 9, 97: 26 § 2.170.c

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AbB 9, 103: 4 § 4.158.e
AbB 9, 103: 32. § 4.133.a
AbB 9, 104: 12 § 5.257.a
AbB 9, 104: 20 § 2.182.c
AbB 9, 104: 23 § 5.257.a
AbB 9, 106: 8 § 2.99.c
AbB 9, 106: 18 § 6.2.e; § 6.23.b; § 6.25.a
AbB 9, 110: 8 § 2.347.b
AbB 9, 110: 11 § 2.124
AbB 9, 110: 12 § 2.292
AbB 9, 111: 7 § 4.18.b
AbB 9, 111: 10 § 2.113 fn
AbB 9, 111: 15 § 2.113
AbB 9, 112: 28, 44 § 5.267.b
AbB 9, 113: 10 § 2.70.g
AbB 9, 117: 7 § 2.298
AbB 9, 117: 13 § 2.352.d
AbB 9, 117: 15 § 2.142.a; § 2.458.c
AbB 9, 117: 18 § 2.352.e
AbB 9, 117: 24 § 2.298
AbB 9, 118: 14 § 2.483.d
AbB 9, 119 r. 5 § 2.243.c
AbB 9, 119 r. 9 § 2.329
AbB 9, 126: 15 § 2.510.d; § 5.260.a
AbB 9, 129: 7 § 2.334.a
AbB 9, 133: 7 § 2.29.f; § 2.220.d; § 4.166.b
AbB 9, 133: 13 § 2.164.a
AbB 9, 138: 8 § 2.429.e
AbB 9, 140: 7 § 5.170.b
AbB 9, 141: 15 § 5.306.c
AbB 9, 143: 7 § 2.240
AbB 9, 143: 8 § 2.21.c
AbB 9, 143: 10 § 2.66.b
AbB 9, 144: 6″ § 2.374
AbB 9, 145: 15 § 4.7.b
AbB 9, 146: 6 § 2.31.a
AbB 9, 146: 12 § 2.147.e
AbB 9, 150: 12, 25 § 2.115.a
AbB 9, 152: 9 § 2.197; § 6.32.e
AbB 9, 152: 16 § 2.107.b
AbB 9, 152: 20 § 5.159.c; § 6.6.a
AbB 9, 152: 25 § 5.180.b
AbB 9, 153: 22 § 2.291
AbB 9, 163: 18 § 2.260 fn
AbB 9, 169: 9 § 2.328 fn
AbB 9, 184: 11 § 2.34; § 2.34 fn; § 2.139.d
AbB 9, 190: 24 § 2.429.a
AbB 9, 192: 16 § 2.278.b
AbB 9, 193: 13 § 2.507.b
AbB 9, 195: 6 § 5.205.c
AbB 9, 195: 32 § 2.278.a
AbB 9, 196: 17 § 5.207.b
AbB 9, 196: 22 § 2.278.a
AbB 9, 197: 9 § 2.99.b
AbB 9, 198: 5 § 4.21.c
AbB 9, 199: 11 § 2.141.b; § 4.90.b
AbB 9, 199: 15 § 2.507.c
AbB 9, 200: 6 § 2.258.a; § 4.90.b
AbB 9, 200: 8 § 2.297.b
AbB 9, 202: 8 § 6.27.a
AbB 9, 219: 12 § 4.4.c
AbB 9, 225: 10 § 2.189.c
AbB 9, 228: 9 § 5.155.m; § 5.180.b fn
AbB 9, 228: 9 § 5.180.b
AbB 9, 228: 17 § 2.375.d
AbB 9, 230: 7 § 2.108
AbB 9, 230: 8 § 2.108 fn
AbB 9, 230: 9 § 4.44.b
AbB 9, 230: 13 § 4.45.a
AbB 9, 230: 14 § 2.511.d
AbB 9, 230: 17 § 2.511.f; § 4.44.b
AbB 9, 230: 22 § 2.108 fn
AbB 9, 231: 4 § 2.455
AbB 9, 231: 24 § 2.126
AbB 9, 231: 31 § 2.294
AbB 9, 237: 26 § 5.207.b
AbB 9, 240: 9 § 2.30.a; § 2.271.g; § 2.329
AbB 9, 240: 21 § 4.105.b
AbB 9, 240: 26 § 2.312.b
AbB 9, 243: 15 § 6.40.a; § 6.43.b
AbB 9, 244: 7 § 2.105.a
AbB 9, 244: 12 § 2.287.a
AbB 9, 246: 8 § 6.51.b fn
AbB 9, 249: 22 § 2.40.a
AbB 9, 254: 5 § 2.328 fn
AbB 9, 261: 9 § 5.159.k; § 6.35.a
AbB 10, 1: 11 § 2.494.b
AbB 10, 1: 21 § 2.488.f
AbB 10, 2: 11 § 2.115.a
AbB 10, 2: 15 § 2.60.b
AbB 10, 3: 14 § 2.149.a
AbB 10, 4: 18 § 2.29.i; § 5.207.a
AbB 10, 4: 42 § 4.55.b
AbB 10, 5: 22 § 4.81.b; § 4.110.b; § 4.123.c
AbB 10, 5: 33 § 4.164.b fn
AbB 10, 6: 12 § 4.70.b
AbB 10, 6: 16 § 2.447.a; § 5.212
AbB 10, 6: 17 § 2.29.g

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AbB 10, 6: 18 § 2.31.b
AbB 10, 6: 20 § 2.35.b
AbB 10, 6: 27 § 2.31.c
AbB 10, 6: 41 § 2.31.b; § 2.115.a
AbB 10, 7: 14 § 2.479.a
AbB 10, 8: 5 § 2.505.f
AbB 10, 8: 18 § 6.46.b
AbB 10, 10: 16 § 4.14
AbB 10, 12: 10 § 2.144.c
AbB 10, 13: 12, 17 § 4.98.b
AbB 10, 13: 19 § 4.7.a
AbB 10, 13: 22 § 4.19.a
AbB 10, 15: 22 § 2.267.c
AbB 10, 15: 38 § 2.31.b
AbB 10, 17: 11 § 2.73.d
AbB 10, 19: 9 § 2.161.d; § 5.298.b
AbB 10, 20: 26 § 6.34
AbB 10, 25: 12 § 2.79.b
AbB 10, 25: 14 § 4.121.a
AbB 10, 26: 9 § 4.104.a
AbB 10, 29: 16 § 4.67.d; § 4.80.g
AbB 10, 29 r. 9 § 4.18.b
AbB 10, 29 r. 10 § 4.123.a
AbB 10, 30 r. 5 § 6.25.d
AbB 10, 34: 7 § 6.46.a; § 6.46.b
AbB 10, 37: 6, 25, 42 § 2.342.a
AbB 10, 41: 8 § 2.207
AbB 10, 41: 13 § 2.406.c
AbB 10, 41 r. 26 § 2.107.a
AbB 10, 41 r. 35 § 5,78.a
AbB 10, 56: 18 § 4.143.b
AbB 10, 64: 1 § 4.143.b
AbB 10, 64: 11 § 2.207
AbB 10, 66: 3 § 2.116
AbB 10, 67: 1 § 2.125; § 5.305.a; § 5.306.d
AbB 10, 69: 24 § 6.25.d
AbB 10, 74: 5 § 4.23.a
AbB 10, 74: 9 § 2.505.d
AbB 10, 74: 11 § 2.29.g
AbB 10, 77: 18 § 5.257.a
AbB 10, 77: 25 § 5.195.g
AbB 10, 79: 14 § 2.477.e fn; § 2.482.b
AbB 10, 88 r. 3 § 2.284.a
AbB 10, 100: 5 § 2.433.c
AbB 10, 100: 10 § 2.433.c
AbB 10, 101: 13 § 2.115.a
AbB 10, 111 r. 4 § 4.152.b
AbB 10, 117: 3 § 5.167.b
AbB 10, 122: 6 § 2.87.d
AbB 10, 145: 6 § 2.102.a
AbB 10, 146: 6 § 2.75.a
AbB 10, 147: 15 § 5.220.a
AbB 10, 147: 17 § 4.148.b
AbB 10, 148: 12 § 2.284.b
AbB 10, 149: 6 § 5.193.b
AbB 10, 150: 15 § 5.193.d
AbB 10, 150: 18 § 2.29.a
AbB 10, 150: 27 § 5.198. fn
AbB 10, 157: 9 § 5.259.b
AbB 10, 158 r. 13 § 5.219; § 5.225
AbB 10, 159: 22 § 2.364.a fn
AbB 10, 159: 23 § 4.27.c; § 5.193.e
AbB 10, 163: 16, 18 § 4.45.b
AbB 10, 168: 7 § 5.222
AbB 10, 168a: 23 § 4.76.b
AbB 10, 170: 25 § 2.122
AbB 10, 171: 31 § 5.186.c
AbB 10, 173: 9 § 2.122; § 2.453.d
AbB 10, 175: 21 § 2.505.d
AbB 10, 176: 18 f. § 4.15.b; § 4.40
AbB 10, 177: 9 § 2.453.b
AbB 10, 177: 15 § 2.124
AbB 10, 177: 17 § 2.78.b
AbB 10, 177: 20 § 2.113
AbB 10, 177: 22 § 2.347.c
AbB 10, 177: 28 § 2.78.a
AbB 10, 177: 34 § 2.101
AbB 10, 178: 13 § 5.240.b
AbB 10, 182: 11 § 2.161.b
AbB 10, 185: 6 § 2.64.a
AbB 10, 188: 5 § 2.115.a
AbB 10, 190: 29 § 2.115.a
AbB 10, 193: 6, 13 § 2.347.c
AbB 10, 193: 20 § 2.347.a
AbB 10, 198: 23 § 2.507.b
AbB 10, 201: 19 § 5.40
AbB 10, 207: 4, 5 § 2.370.e
AbB 11, 5: 13 § 2.142.a
AbB 11, 5: 14 § 4.116.b
AbB 11, 5: 15 § 2.454.a
AbB 11, 6: 7 § 2.429.e
AbB 11, 9: 4 § 4.113
AbB 11, 11: 17 § 2.505.e
AbB 11, 13: 26 § 2.287.a
AbB 11, 13: 29 § 2.206
AbB 11, 14: 16 § 2.494.c
AbB 11, 15: 5 § 5.180.b
AbB 11, 15: 19 § 2.505.d

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AbB 11, 20: 17 § 4.42.d
AbB 11, 21: 5 § 5.141.a
AbB 11, 21: 12 f. § 4.25 fn
AbB 11, 21: 20 § 2.162.c
AbB 11, 21: 22 § 4.25
AbB 11, 23: 5 § 2.393.b fn
AbB 11, 23 r. 3 § 2.393.b
AbB 11, 27: 12 § 4.164.b
AbB 11, 27: 13, 16, 28 § 2.172.b
AbB 11, 32: 4 § 2.458.d
AbB 11, 32: 17 § 2.298; § 2.416.b
AbB 11, 32: 20 § 2.298; § 2.352.a
AbB 11, 32: 23 § 2.384
AbB 11, 32: 26 § 2.318.c
AbB 11, 33: 13 § 2.29.f; § 2.214.h; § 4.105.d
AbB 11, 35: 9 § 4.162.c
AbB 11, 38: 7 § 5.167.b; § 5.175.b
AbB 11, 38: 9 § 5.175.b
AbB 11, 40: 15 § 2.250.c
AbB 11, 42: 12 § 4.162.b
AbB 11, 42: 15 § 4.162.d fn
AbB 11, 42: 25 § 5.132.a
AbB 11, 44: 15 § 5.234.b
AbB 11, 49: 5 f. § 5.145.g
AbB 11, 51: 19 § 4.75
AbB 11, 53: 22 § 2.287.a
AbB 11, 55: 10, 16, 17, 19 § 2.392.a
AbB 11, 55: 19–21 § 5.195.i
AbB 11, 55: 26 § 2.30.c
AbB 11, 57: 20 § 5.167.g
AbB 11, 58: 9 § 5.167.a
AbB 11, 60: 9 § 5.194.d
AbB 11, 60: 17 § 5.115.d
AbB 11, 69 r. 8 § 4.27.a
AbB 11, 73: 14 § 2.28.c
AbB 11, 74: 4 § 2.183 fn
AbB 11, 75: 11 § 4.128.b
AbB 11, 77: 26 § 5.246
AbB 11, 78: 14 § 5.157.a
AbB 11, 82: 2 § 4.157.b
AbB 11, 83: 2 § 5.194.d
AbB 11, 84: 5 § 2.29.f
AbB 11, 86: 24 § 2.164.d
AbB 11, 90: 18 § 5.245.c
AbB 11, 90: 19 § 5.293. fn
AbB 11, 90: 27 § 5.245.a
AbB 11, 90: 28 § 5.293
AbB 11, 90: 33 § 2.276.a
AbB 11, 91 r. 5 § 2.511.g
AbB 11, 94: 7 § 4.69.a; § 4.80.a
AbB 11, 94: 8 § 5.195.b
AbB 11, 94: 20 § 5.157.a
AbB 11, 94: 22 § 4.68.c; § 4.68.e
AbB 11, 94: 32 § 4.128.b
AbB 11, 95: 20 § 2.32.d
AbB 11, 95: 25 § 2.70.l
AbB 11, 95: 28 § 5.241.b
AbB 11, 98: 14 § 2.223
AbB 11, 99: 13 § 5.194.b
AbB 11, 100: 10 § 2.147.e; § 5.133
AbB 11, 106: 5 § 2.494.a
AbB 11, 106: 6, 18, 26 § 2.18
AbB 11, 106: 7 § 2.217.e
AbB 11, 106: 11 § 4.153.d
AbB 11, 106: 14 § 2.494.a
AbB 11, 107: 13 § 2.189.c
AbB 11, 108: 27 § 5.160.a
AbB 11, 113: 20 § 2.331.a fn
AbB 11, 116: 3 § 2.427.c fn
AbB 11, 116: 10, 12 § 2.427.c fn
AbB 11, 116: 15 § 5.198
AbB 11, 118: 12 § 2.488.e
AbB 11, 123: 1 § 4.17
AbB 11, 123: 2 § 2.334.a
AbB 11, 123: 10 § 2.165.a
AbB 11, 124: 4 § 5.277.b
AbB 11, 124: 8, 12 § 2.70.f
AbB 11, 130: 7 § 5.154.g
AbB 11, 133: 15 § 4.42.d
AbB 11, 133: 29 § 4.42.d fn
AbB 11, 139: 24 § 2.32.e
AbB 11, 139: 29 § 2.450.c
AbB 11, 144: 8 § 5.166.c; § 6.3.a; § 6.24.a; § 6.25.c
AbB 11, 144 r. 2 § 5.256
AbB 11, 147: 9 § 5.267.a
AbB 11, 148: 10 § 2.149.c
AbB 11, 153: 19 § 2.393.b fn
AbB 11, 153: 20 § 2.393.b
AbB 11, 154: 9 § 2.214.e
AbB 11, 159: 1 § 5.173.a
AbB 11, 159: 1, 19 § 2.29.f; § 2.508
AbB 11, 159: 4 § 2.126
AbB 11, 159: 17 § 2.382; § 2.395
AbB 11, 159: 18 § 2.382
AbB 11, 159: 20 § 2.395
AbB 11, 159: 21 § 2.348.c
AbB 11, 159: 22 § 2.315.a

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AbB 11, 160: 26 § 4.166.a
AbB 11, 161: 10 § 6.46.b
AbB 11, 161: 14, 28 § 2.493.c
AbB 11, 166: 11 § 2.278.a
AbB 11, 168: 5 § 2.125
AbB 11, 168: 6 § 2.454.d
AbB 11, 168: 9 § 2.276.a
AbB 11, 168: 12 § 2.454.b
AbB 11, 168: 17 § 2.293.b
AbB 11, 173: 10 § 2.279.a
AbB 11, 175: 14 § 4.3.c
AbB 11, 176: 12 § 4.112
AbB 11, 178: 23 § 4.5.a; § 4.14
AbB 11, 185: 25 § 2.168.b; § 2.174.a
AbB 11, 185: 29 § 4.80.e
AbB 11, 189: 22 § 2.258.a
AbB 11, 189: 23 § 2.141.b fn; § 4.100.c
AbB 11, 189: 24 § 4.154.b
AbB 11, 192: 23 § 2.284.a
AbB 11, 193: 7, 19 § 5.167.g
AbB 11, 193: 21 § 5.166.c
AbB 11, 194: 12, 22 § 2.505.d
AbB 12, 11: 18 § 2.189.a
AbB 12, 18: 8 § 2.189.a
AbB 12, 22: 7 § 2.260
AbB 12, 25: 13 § 5.117.b
AbB 12, 25: 19 § 2.492.b fn
AbB 12, 25: 22 § 2.492.b
AbB 12, 30: 11, 15 § 2.115.a
AbB 12, 31: 14 § 4.61.a
AbB 12, 44: 20 § 2.365.a
AbB 12, 45: 9 § 5.251.b
AbB 12, 56: 16 § 5.280.a
AbB 12, 58: 8 § 6.3.a
AbB 12, 59: 36 § 5.167.e
AbB 12, 60: 37 § 5.167.e
AbB 12, 63: 16 § 4.116.a
AbB 12, 65: 30, 33, 35 § 2.188
AbB 12, 67: 20 § 5.257.a
AbB 12, 68: 15 § 2.505.d
AbB 12, 78: 22 § 2.479.a
AbB 12, 78: 28 § 2.121.b
AbB 12, 80: 11 § 2.115.a
AbB 12, 89: 10 § 2.329
AbB 12, 94: 11 § 2.494.b
AbB 12, 95: 20 § 4.82.a
AbB 12, 98: 14 § 4.4.c fn
AbB 12, 98: 5 § 4.3.c; § 4.4.c
AbB 12, 99: 12 § 2.265.b
AbB 12, 104: 6 § 2.31.b
AbB 12, 112: 8 § 4.130.b
AbB 12, 124: 18 § 2.268.b fn
AbB 12, 183: 6 § 4.76.b
AbB 12, 194: 4 § 4.105.d
AbB 13, 2: 3 § 2.116; § 2.507.c
AbB 13, 2: 7 § 2.45
AbB 13, 4: 9 § 5.195.i
AbB 13, 4 r. 10 § 2.482.a; § 5.164
AbB 13, 5: 6 f. § 2.350.a
AbB 13, 5: 7 § 5.164
AbB 13, 5 r. 7 § 4.130.e
AbB 13, 6: 14 § 4.73.a
AbB 13, 6: 15 § 4.77.b; § 4.80.f
AbB 13, 6: 18 § 2.505.d fn
AbB 13, 7: 7 § 2.415.a
AbB 13, 7: 9 § 4.147.a
AbB 13, 7: 10 § 2.415.a
AbB 13, 7: 16, 21 § 2.399.a
AbB 13, 7: 18 § 2.415.a
AbB 13, 7: 23 § 4.107
AbB 13, 8: 9 § 4.147.c
AbB 13, 10: 9 § 2.350.h
AbB 13, 10: 10 § 2.117
AbB 13, 10: 14 § 2.59.b
AbB 13, 11: 8 § 2.278.a
AbB 13, 12: 17 § 4.88
AbB 13, 12: 21 § 2.350.e
AbB 13, 13: 10 § 2.350.h
AbB 13, 14: 25 § 5.167.e
AbB 13, 14: 27 § 2.350.e
AbB 13, 15: 18 § 2.19.b fn
AbB 13, 17: 12 § 4.88
AbB 13, 18: 25 § 4.100.a
AbB 13, 18: 28 § 2.19.b fn
AbB 13, 21: 6 § 2.316.b
AbB 13, 21: 9 § 2.350.c
AbB 13, 21: 20 § 4.88
AbB 13, 22: 24 § 5.239
AbB 13, 23: 18 § 2.350.d
AbB 13, 27: 8 § 2.278.a
AbB 13, 27: 9 § 2.399.a
AbB 13, 28: 11 § 2.493.c; § 2.505.f
AbB 13, 30: 10 § 2.456.a
AbB 13, 31: 8 § 2.266.j
AbB 13, 33: 14 f. § 4.63
AbB 13, 33: 15 § 4.55.a
AbB 13, 35: 11 § 4.125.b
AbB 13, 37: 10 § 2.64.b

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AbB 13, 37: 12 § 2.63.a
AbB 13, 37: 32 § 4.80.d
AbB 13, 38: 4 § 2.239.b
AbB 13, 39: 12 § 2.271.d
AbB 13, 41: 22 § 2.380.a
AbB 13, 41: 23 § 2.225.b
AbB 13, 43: 18 § 2.429.a
AbB 13, 43: 21 § 5.271.b
AbB 13, 46: 17 § 2.456.b
AbB 13, 46: 18 § 5.234.a
AbB 13, 48: 5 § 2.156.b; § 4.147.f
AbB 13, 48 r. 4 § 2.156.b
AbB 13, 60: 5 § 5.212
AbB 13, 60: 13 § 4.130.e
AbB 13, 60: 17, 20 § 4.98.b
AbB 13, 60: 34 § 4.105.a
AbB 13, 60: 40 § 4.147.f
AbB 13, 60: 50 § 4.101.a
AbB 13, 60: 51 § 4.152.a; § 4.157.c
AbB 13, 60: 64 § 2.21.c
AbB 13, 60: 70 § 4.47.a
AbB 13, 60: 75 § 2.164.d
AbB 13, 62: 5 § 2.27.f
AbB 13, 62: 9 § 2.27.c; § 2.161.a
AbB 13, 62: 13, 18 § 2.19.a
AbB 13, 62: 19 § 4.146.a
AbB 13, 65: 18 § 4.14
AbB 13, 66: 14 § 4.81.a
AbB 13, 71: 14 § 4.11.a
AbB 13, 71: 18 § 4.105.b
AbB 13, 72: 10 § 5.249
AbB 13, 74: 14 § 4.56
AbB 13, 76: 12 § 2.155.b; § 2.157.b fn
AbB 13, 77: 10 § 4.82.a
AbB 13, 77: 20 § 2.35.b fn
AbB 13, 78: 1 § 2.35.b fn
AbB 13, 79: 16 § 2.19.a
AbB 13, 79: 19 § 4.103.a
AbB 13, 80: 13 § 4.4.a
AbB 13, 84: 20 § 4.44.a
AbB 13, 84: 22 § 4.22.a; § 4.37.a
AbB 13, 85: 18 § 2.27.e; § 2.157.b
AbB 13, 85: 21 § 2.266.b
AbB 13, 86: 17 § 2.21.e
AbB 13, 87: 10 f., r. 6g. § 5.195.b
AbB 13, 89: 18 § 2.21.i
AbB 13, 89: 39 § 2.483.c
AbB 13, 90: 5 § 4.158.a
AbB 13, 90: 9 § 2.28 fn
AbB 13, 90: 12 § 2.28 fn
AbB 13, 90: 13 § 4.22.a; § 4.27.d; § 4.40
AbB 13, 94: 18 § 2.31.a
AbB 13, 103: 5 § 2.511.d
AbB 13, 103: 13 § 5.167.a
AbB 13, 104: 3 § 5.169.a
AbB 13, 104: 8 § 4.18.a
AbB 13, 108: 7 § 2.511.d
AbB 13, 110: 13 § 4.158.a
AbB 13, 110: 16 § 2.334.b
AbB 13, 114: 10 § 4.69.b
AbB 13, 114: 18 § 5.200.d
AbB 13, 115: 15 § 5.128.a
AbB 13, 117: 7 § 4.130.a
AbB 13, 120: 6 § 2.112
AbB 13, 120: 8 § 5.169.a; § 5.173.a
AbB 13, 120: 18 § 2.27.c
AbB 13, 121: 20 § 2.105.a
AbB 13, 123: 15 § 4.80.c
AbB 13, 134: 11 § 2.505.d
AbB 13, 135: 7 § 4.3.c
AbB 13, 140 r. 4 § 5.230.b
AbB 13, 143: 18 § 2.210.b
AbB 13, 143: 19 § 2.505.d
AbB 13, 148: 6 § 4.17
AbB 13, 150: 12 § 4.147.f
AbB 13, 150 r. 15 § 2.212.a
AbB 13, 150 r. 17 § 2.212.b
AbB 13, 154: 17 § 4.8.a
AbB 13, 164: 3 § 5.253.a
AbB 13, 164: 5 § 4.128.b
AbB 13, 164: 10 § 5.165.b; § 5.166.b
AbB 13, 164: 15 § 2.43
AbB 13, 164: 18 § 2.43; § 5.71; § 5.181
AbB 13, 172: 19 § 2.507.b
AbB 13, 175: 12 § 4.3.c
AbB 13, 179: 9 § 4.100.b
AbB 13, 179: 13 § 2.155.b
AbB 13, 179: 21 § 5.167.e
AbB 13, 179: 24 § 2.75.a fn
AbB 13, 180: 19 § 5.234.b
AbB 13, 180: 20 § 2.115.d
AbB 13, 181: 33 § 2.115.a
AbB 13, 184: 21 § 2.210.b
AbB 13, 184: 22 § 2.505.d
AbB 13, 199: 16 § 2.328
AbB 14, 8: 11 § 4.6.a
AbB 14, 11: 18 § 2.122
AbB 14, 11: 25 § 2.510.c; § 5.186.b

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AbB 14, 18: 11 § 5.230.c
AbB 14, 18: 27 § 4.115.b
AbB 14, 19: 12 § 5.136.a
AbB 14, 19: 16 § 2.366.c
AbB 14, 19: 20 § 4.80.c
AbB 14, 29: 14 § 2.479.a; § 2.479.b
AbB 14, 29: 15 § 5.252
AbB 14, 29: 17 § 4.81.a
AbB 14, 29: 24 § 4.153.a
AbB 14, 29: 40 § 2.96.a
AbB 14, 30: 33 § 2.331.b fn
AbB 14, 31: 10, 22 § 2.115.a
AbB 14, 31: 12, 18 § 2.511.e
AbB 14, 31: 14 § 2.29.e
AbB 14, 31: 17 § 4.153.a
AbB 14, 31: 19 § 4.11.b; § 4.57.c; § 4.64.a
AbB 14, 31: 25 § 4.153.a
AbB 14, 32: 8 § 2.32.d
AbB 14, 32: 15 § 2.331.b; § 4.116.b
AbB 14, 33: 10 § 4.98.c
AbB 14, 34: 6 § 4.71.b
AbB 14, 34: 10 § 4.74.b
AbB 14, 35: 7 § 2.189.a
AbB 14, 35: 8 § 4.71.b fn
AbB 14, 35: 14 § 2.32.h
AbB 14, 35: 17 § 2.115.a
AbB 14, 36 r. 5 § 4.69.b fn
AbB 14, 37: 20 § 4.69.b
AbB 14, 37: 25 § 2.331.b fn
AbB 14, 40: 22 § 5.230.a
AbB 14, 40: 23 f. § 4.108
AbB 14, 42: 8 § 2.112
AbB 14, 42 r. 8, 9, 12 § 2.331.b fn
AbB 14, 43: 14 § 4.153.b
AbB 14, 45: 13 § 2.115.a
AbB 14, 55: 5 § 2.115.d
AbB 14, 55: 6 § 2.292; § 2.511.b
AbB 14, 55: 7 § 2.113; § 2.412.b
AbB 14, 55: 12 § 2.505.d
AbB 14, 55: 14 § 2.313.c; § 2.511.c
AbB 14, 55: 17 § 4.27.a
AbB 14, 55: 23 § 2.111
AbB 14, 55: 23, 25 § 2.313.a
AbB 14, 55: 27 § 2.347.b
AbB 14, 55: 28 § 2.292
AbB 14, 56: 18, 21 § 2.292
AbB 14, 56: 35 § 2.78.b
AbB 14, 56: 40 § 2.219.b; § 4.158.e fn
AbB 14, 57: 5 § 2.31.a
AbB 14, 57: 14 § 5.155.c
AbB 14, 57: 19 § 2.111
AbB 14, 57: 19 § 4.120.b
AbB 14, 57: 21 § 2.175.a
AbB 14, 58: 7 § 2.102.a; § 2.110.a
AbB 14, 58: 10 § 2.347.d
AbB 14, 58: 15 § 2.292
AbB 14, 58: 16 § 4.85
AbB 14, 59: 17 § 2.292; § 2.511.c
AbB 14, 59: 21 § 2.110.b; § 2.507.a; § 6.4.a; § 6.23.b; § 6.24.b
AbB 14, 59: 24 § 2.511.c
AbB 14, 60: 5 § 2.412.a
AbB 14, 60: 6 § 2.453.c
AbB 14, 60: 7 § 6.30
AbB 14, 60: 7–9 § 6.36.a
AbB 14, 60: 9 § 2.158.a
AbB 14, 60: 10 § 4.19.b
AbB 14, 60: 11 § 167.c
AbB 14, 60: 12 § 5.296.b
AbB 14, 60: 13 § 2.510.c
AbB 14, 60: 14 § 2.347.d
AbB 14, 60: 17 § 6.5.c; § 6.24.b
AbB 14, 61: 5 § 2.347.a
AbB 14, 61: 7 § 2.453.c
AbB 14, 61: 9 § 2.292
AbB 14, 61: 10 § 2.110.d
AbB 14, 61: 13 § 2.313.b
AbB 14, 62: 10 § 2.292
AbB 14, 62: 13 § 2.453.a; § 2.511.b
AbB 14, 62: 14 § 5.296.a
AbB 14, 62: 16 § 2.453.a
AbB 14, 62: 19, 21 § 2.117
AbB 14, 63: 1 § 5.296.b
AbB 14, 63: 10 § 5.269.a
AbB 14, 64: 7 § 2.292
AbB 14, 64: 17 § 4.159.c
AbB 14, 64: 36 § 2.347.e
AbB 14, 64: 38 § 2.453.b
AbB 14, 65: 5 § 2.87.e fn
AbB 14, 65: 14 § 2.87.e
AbB 14, 65: 15 § 4.9.b
AbB 14, 66: 5 § 4.108
AbB 14, 66: 8 § 6.23.a; § 6.24.a
AbB 14, 66: 21 § 2.366.a
AbB 14, 67: 20 § 6.23.e
AbB 14, 70: 12 § 2.488.f
AbB 14, 73: 9 § 2.63.a
AbB 14, 73: 10 § 5.167.a

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AbB 14, 73: 14 § 4.80.g
AbB 14, 73: 25 § 5.128.c
AbB 14, 74: 5 § 2.257.c
AbB 14, 74: 6 § 2.20.a; § 2.427.c
AbB 14, 74: 26 § 2.479.b
AbB 14, 74: 27 § 2.257.c
AbB 14, 74: 33 § 2.427.c
AbB 14, 75: 20 § 4.80.d
AbB 14, 75: 29 § 5.130.f
AbB 14, 75: 30 § 2.27.b
AbB 14, 75: 34 § 4.80.e
AbB 14, 76: 18 § 2.72.a
AbB 14, 77: 11 § 2.75.d; § 6.42
AbB 14, 78: 8 § 2.70.a; § 2.70.b; § 2.70.g
AbB 14, 78: 11 § 5.157.b
AbB 14, 80: 18 § 2.173.h
AbB 14, 83: 27 § 2.32.g
AbB 14, 87: 22 § 2.266.g
AbB 14, 88: 15 § 2.477.e fn
AbB 14, 88: 20 § 2.477.e
AbB 14, 88: 25 § 2.393.b
AbB 14, 89: 13 § 2.10
AbB 14, 91: 2 § 5.141.d
AbB 14, 91: 5 f. § 4.106.a
AbB 14, 92: 11 § 2.478.b
AbB 14, 93: 7, 16 § 2.79.a
AbB 14, 94: 16 § 5.195.g
AbB 14, 94: 27 § 2.226.c
AbB 14, 96: 9 § 2.226.a
AbB 14, 92 r. 11 § 2.174.b
AbB 14, 98: 4 § 2.214.a
AbB 14, 99: 5 § 4.127; § 4.127.a
AbB 14, 99: 6 § 2.442.b
AbB 14, 104: 18 § 4.42.c
AbB 14, 107: 4 § 2.467.c fn
AbB 14, 107: 20 § 2.275.b
AbB 14, 108: 30 § 2.189.a
AbB 14, 109: 7 § 5.2.a
AbB 14, 109: 38 § 2.63.b
AbB 14, 110: 40 § 4.80.a
AbB 14, 111: 32 § 5.151
AbB 14, 112: 34 § 2.183.a
AbB 14, 113: 21 § 2.32.a
AbB 14, 113: 23 § 6.4.c; § 6.22.e
AbB 14, 113: 25 § 5.305.d; § 5.306.a
AbB 14, 114: 23 § 5.195.m
AbB 14, 116: 28, 31 § 6.6.a; § 6.23.a; § 6.24.b
AbB 14, 116: 32 § 2.287.a; § 2.511.b
AbB 14, 119: 5 § 2.275.a fn
AbB 14, 119: 18 § 6.35.a
AbB 14, 121: 19 § 4.21.a; § 4.39
AbB 14, 124: 13 § 5.157.i
AbB 14, 125: 5 § 4.105.c
AbB 14, 125: 9 § 2.266.d
AbB 14, 125: 15 § 4.82.b
AbB 14, 125: 17 § 2.173.c
AbB 14, 127: 13 § 4.133.b
AbB 14, 127: 21 § 2.491.a
AbB 14, 127: 22 § 2.28.b
AbB 14, 128: 11, 20 § 5.167.f
AbB 14, 131: 4 § 2.479.b
AbB 14, 131: 7 f. § 5.145.b
AbB 14, 134: 18 § 4.165.e
AbB 14, 135: 4, 5 § 4.43.b
AbB 14, 137: 7 § 2.31.d
AbB 14, 138: 6 § 5.195.h
AbB 14, 139: 5 § 2.406.a fn
AbB 14, 139: 11 § 2.214.e fn; § 4.167.a
AbB 14, 139: 12 § 2.406.a
AbB 14, 139: 22 § 2.214.e fn
AbB 14, 140: 1 § 4.153.b
AbB 14, 140: 5 § 2.276.a
AbB 14, 140: 17 § 2.183.b
AbB 14, 140: 22 § 2.282.a
AbB 14, 140: 24 § 2.31.b
AbB 14, 140: 29, 32 § 2.21.e
AbB 14, 140: 41 § 2.287.d; § 5.156.c
AbB 14, 140: 44 § 2.175.a; § 5.130.d
AbB 14, 141: 13 § 4.117.b
AbB 14, 142: 9 § 4.80.g
AbB 14, 144: 11 § 2.28 fn; § 2.484.b
AbB 14, 144: 13 § 2.266.c; § 5.167.g
AbB 14, 144: 29 § 5.199.c
AbB 14, 144: 34 § 2.28 fn
AbB 14, 146: 14 § 4.42.d fn
AbB 14, 146: 16 § 4.42.d
AbB 14, 147: 13 § 2.505.d
AbB 14, 149: 5 § 5.199.c
AbB 14, 152: 8 § 2.270.b
AbB 14, 152 r. 6 § 2.28.b
AbB 14, 154: 4 § 4.131
AbB 14, 154: 6 § 2.331.a
AbB 14, 154: 31 § 2.331.a fn
AbB 14, 155: 16 § 4.105.a
AbB 14, 156: 33 § 2.433.c
AbB 14, 162: 5 § 2.479.c
AbB 14, 162: 16 § 2.479.c
AbB 14, 163: 27 § 2.407.b

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AbB 14, 164: 24 § 2.264.e
AbB 14, 165: 21 § 2.197; § 5.167.e
AbB 14, 166: 6 § 2.454.b
AbB 14, 166: 12 § 2.314.b
AbB 14, 166: 20 § 2.170.a
AbB 14, 166: 21 § 5.232.a
AbB 14, 166: 25 § 4.80.g
AbB 14, 166: 28 § 2.349.a
AbB 14, 167: 17 § 4.68.b; § 4.80.a
AbB 14, 167: 21 § 2.430.b
AbB 14, 168: 7 § 2.60.b
AbB 14, 168: 9 § 5.167.b
AbB 14, 168: 12 § 2.505.d
AbB 14, 173: 21 § 2.365.a
AbB 14, 176: 9 § 4.21.a; § 4.37.b
AbB 14, 176: 19 § 4.4.b
AbB 14, 177: 18 § 2.21.f
AbB 14, 179: 9 § 2.479.b
AbB 14, 181: 6 § 2.271.b
AbB 14, 181: 11 § 2.30.b
AbB 14, 181: 15 § 4.130.a
AbB 14, 182: 17 § 2.75.d
AbB 14, 182: 21 § 2.328
AbB 14, 183: 14 § 5.284
AbB 14, 186: 22 § 2.87.a
AbB 14, 191: 7 § 2.446.a
AbB 14, 193: 12 § 2.228.a
AbB 14, 194: 5 § 5.145.l
AbB 14, 194: 11 § 5.166.c fn
AbB 14, 194: 14 § 4.164.b
AbB 14, 194: 20 § 4.56.; § 4.64.a
AbB 14, 196: 14 § 2.433.b
AbB 14, 197: 9 § 4.21.a
AbB 14, 197 r. 3, 5 § 2.28 fn
AbB 14, 197 r. 7 § 2.505.d fn
AbB 14, 197 r. 8 § 2.505.d
AbB 14, 198: 12 § 2.236.b fn
AbB 14, 199: 8 § 4.28; § 4.37.b
AbB 14, 199: 12 § 2.476.c
AbB 14, 200: 5, 8 § 2.149.a; § 2.158.d
AbB 14, 200: 8 § 2.66.a
AbB 14, 201: 13 § 4.4.c
AbB 14, 203: 7 § 2.455
AbB 14, 204: 6 § 2.126
AbB 14, 204: 12 § 2.315.c
AbB 14, 204: 21 § 2.174.a
AbB 14, 204: 36 § 2.294
AbB 14, 204: 38 § 2.433.b
AbB 14, 205: 6 § 2.348.a; § 2.429.f
AbB 14, 205: 9, 13, 20 § 4.87
AbB 14, 205: 12 § 2.267.a; § 2.348.c
AbB 14, 205: 20 § 2.141.a
AbB 14, 205: 21 § 2.294; § 2.414
AbB 14, 205: 22 § 4.65
AbB 14, 205: 23 § 2.348.b
AbB 14, 205: 25 § 2.315.b
AbB 14, 205: 32 § 2.294
AbB 14, 206: 18 § 2.142.b
AbB 14, 206: 26 § 2.414; § 4.87; § 4.109
AbB 14, 206: 3 § 2.455
AbB 14, 206: 9 § 2.121.a
AbB 14, 206: 9 § 5.186.b
AbB 14, 206: 28 § 2.294
AbB 14, 206: 34 § 5.139.b
AbB 14, 208: 14 § 4.6.b
AbB 14, 213: 13 § 2.407.b fn
AbB 14, 218: 4 § 2.274.b; § 4.158.e
AbB 14, 218: 5 § 2.427.c
AbB 14, 218: 9 § 4.43.b
AbB 14, 218: 12 § 2.427.c
AbB 14, 223: 20 § 5.167.g
ABIM 3: 11 § 2.161.c
ABIM 3: 14 f. § 2.490.d
ABIM 3: 15 § 2.35.b fn
ABIM 9: 5 § 2.163.a
ABIM 9: 24 § 2.284.a
ABIM 20: 63 § 2.482.a
ABIM 21: 15 § 4.22.c
ABIM 30: 7 § 4.22.c
ABIM 35: 22 § 2.161.c
AfO 18, 65: 4 § 2.147.a
AfO 18, 65: 20 § 2.271.f
AfO 18, 66: 10 § 4.32
AfO 50, 15 ii 4 § 2.345.c
AfO 50, 15 ii 5 § 2.243.a
AfO 50, 15 ii 8, 13 § 2.139.b
AfO 50, 15 ii 12 § 4.30 fn
AfO 50, 15 ii 17 § 5.179.b
AfO 50, 16 r. i 8, 10 § 4.46.c
AfO 50, 16 r. i 13 § 5.130.e
AfO 50, 16 r. i 17, 20 § 2.145; § 4.50.d
AJSL 33, 221 no. 3: 10 § 2.173.h
AJSL 33, 236 no. 26: 3 § 2.493.b
Akk. Suppl. 10, 56: 2 § 5.167.e
AMD 1, 245: 7 § 5.152.c
AMD 14, 197: 18 § 5.238.b
Anzu OB II 38, 40 § 6.8.e; § 6.23.c
Anzu OB II 76 § 6.8.a

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AOAT 1, 221: 16; 234: 35 § 2.164.d
AOAT 440, 196: 10 § 5.167.c
AoF 45, 193: 8 § 2.411.d fn
AoF 45, 193: 9 § 2.172.c; § 2.345.c
AOS 67, 188: 1 § 5.206.a
AOS 67, 190: 9 § 2.410.b; § 5.202.b
AOTU 1, 120: 12 § 5.154.c
ARDēr 58: 6 § 5.259.a
ARDēr 58: 21 § 4.59.e
ARDēr 71 iii 6 § 5.155.p
ARDēr 119: 3 § 4.146.a
ARDēr 153: 10 § 5.149.c
ARDēr 198: 1 § 2.99.b; § 5.145.f; § 6.30
ARDēr 198: 3–19 § 6.31
ARDēr 199: 7–17 § 6.14
ARDēr 236: 3 § 2.446.b
ARM 1, 1 r. 2 § 2.214.c; § 4.42.c
ARM 1, 1 r. 7 § 5.167.b
ARM 1, 1 r. 9 § 2.144.e
ARM 1, 1 r. 10 § 5.167.b
ARM 1, 1 r. 11 § 4.42.a; § 5.264
ARM 1, 3: 4 § 2.210.b
ARM 1, 3: 6 § 2.320 fn; § 2.420.b
ARM 1, 3: 12 § 2.320 fn
ARM 1, 3: 14 § 2.81.b
ARM 1, 3: 16 § 2.320.b
ARM 1, 3: 18, r. 15 § 2.320 fn
ARM 1, 3 r. 10 § 2.420.f; § 2.504.b
ARM 1, 3 r. 13 § 2.320.a
ARM 1, 3 r. 21 § 2.132.b
ARM 1, 3 r. 25 § 2.504.b
ARM 1, 3 r. 27 § 2.180.d; § 2.420.i
ARM 1, 5: 4 § 4.15.a
ARM 1, 5: 5, 7, 9 § 2.333
ARM 1, 5: 6 § 4.60.a; § 4.63
ARM 1, 5: 10 § 4.138.a
ARM 1, 5: 11 § 5.130.b
ARM 1, 5: 22 § 2.147.d
ARM 1, 5: 23 § 2.333 fn
ARM 1, 5: 33 § 2.437.e
ARM 1, 5: 34 f. § 6.21.b
ARM 1, 5: 43 § 2.115.a
ARM 1, 6: 9 § 5.173.c
ARM 1, 6: 12 § 2.341.a
ARM 1, 6: 14 § 4.80.d
ARM 1, 6: 17 § 2.441
ARM 1, 6: 38 § 2.502; § 5.3.a
ARM 1, 6: 40 § 2.502; § 5.265.a
ARM 1, 6: 48 § 2.219.c; § 5.202.a
ARM 1, 7: 11 § 5.299
ARM 1, 7: 44 § 5.195.f
ARM 1, 8: 14 § 2.179.c
ARM 1, 8: 31 § 2.334.a; § 4.146.c
ARM 1, 8: 35 § 5.303.a
ARM 1, 9: 5 § 2.70.c
ARM 1, 10 r. 7 § 2.28.a
ARM 1, 10 r. 9 § 2.254.d
ARM 1, 10 r. 23 § 5.297.b
ARM 1, 11: 5 § 5.199.c
ARM 1, 11: 11 § 2.257.c
ARM 1, 12: 19 § 4.151.b
ARM 1, 13: 20 § 2.76
ARM 1, 13: 34 § 2.17 fn
ARM 1, 14: 11 § 2.493.a
ARM 1, 15: 5 § 4.127.a
ARM 1, 16: 19 § 2.266.c
ARM 1, 16: 23 § 4.71.a; § 6.25.e
ARM 1, 16: 26 § 6.25.e
ARM 1, 17: 7 § 5.114.e
ARM 1, 17: 20 § 2.5.c; § 2.70.d
ARM 1, 17: 29 § 6.14
ARM 1, 18: 18 § 4.71.b
ARM 1, 18: 31 § 4.71. b fn
ARM 1, 18: 34 § 5.224.b
ARM 1, 18: 41 § 5.157.e
ARM 1, 19: 6 § 4.74.a
ARM 1, 20 r. 10 § 2.28.a
ARM 1, 20 r. 11 § 5.167.g
ARM 1, 21 r. 9 § 4.146.a
ARM 1, 21: 8 § 5.166.a
ARM 1, 21 r. 14 § 5.180.c
ARM 1, 22: 8 § 5.296.a
ARM 1, 22: 30 § 4.146.b
ARM 1, 22: 31 § 4.15.a
ARM 1, 22: 34 f. § 5.162.a
ARM 1, 22: 38 § 2.514
ARM 1, 23: 8 § 2.397.a
ARM 1, 23: 10 § 5.182.b
ARM 1, 23: 11 § 5.235.b
ARM 1, 24 r. 7 § 4.76.a
ARM 1, 24 r. 17 § 5.182.b; § 6.17.a; § 6.27.a
ARM 1, 24 r. 18 § 6.27.c
ARM 1, 24 r. 21 § 2.250.b
ARM 1, 25: 8 § 2.341.c
ARM 1, 25: 53 § 2.420.a
ARM 1, 27: 10 § 2.264.c
ARM 1, 27: 23 § 2.195
ARM 1, 27: 25 § 5.265.b

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ARM 1, 31: 20 § 2.502; § 4.69.a; § 4.80.b
ARM 1, 31: 23 § 2.502
ARM 1, 32: 7 § 5.155.b
ARM 1, 33: 22 § 6.23.e
ARM 1, 35: 4 § 5.159.j
ARM 1, 35: 15 f. § 5.148.b
ARM 1, 36: 4 § 6.32.h
ARM 1, 36: 28 § 5.182.c
ARM 1, 36: 30 § 5.165.h
ARM 1, 37: 17 § 2.60.b
ARM 1, 37: 37 § 5.202.a
ARM 1, 39: 8 § 4.164.b fn
ARM 1, 39 r. 4, 7 § 2.287.a
ARM 1, 41: 12 § 2.437.b
ARM 1, 41: 19 § 4.55.a; § 4.64.a
ARM 1, 42: 8 § 5.207.b
ARM 1, 42: 10 § 6.17.a
ARM 1, 42: 11, 36 § 6.17.b
ARM 1, 42: 32 § 6.15.f
ARM 1, 42: 41 § 2.28.a
ARM 1, 44: 5 § 5.155.c
ARM 1, 44: 6 § 2.223
ARM 1, 46: 9 § 4.27.a
ARM 1, 46: 13, 14 § 2.275.c
ARM 1, 46: 23 § 2.21.d
ARM 1, 46: 30 § 5.131.a
ARM 1, 47: 15 § 4.12.a
ARM 1, 50: 5 § 4.129
ARM 1, 52: 12 § 5.165.e
ARM 1, 52: 31 § 2.31.c; § 5.165.f; § 5.294.b
ARM 1, 52: 33 § 2.218.a
ARM 1, 52: 34 § 2.467.b
ARM 1, 54: 21 § 6.14 fn.; § 6.20.f
ARM 1, 60: 10 § 2.178.e; § 2.265.a
ARM 1, 61: 8 § 4.80.g
ARM 1, 61: 10 f. § 2.514
ARM 1, 61: 11 § 2.224.a
ARM 1, 61: 29 f. § 2.514
ARM 1, 62: 13 § 5.195.a
ARM 1, 62: 14 § 2.28.a
ARM 1, 62: 15 § 2.250.b; § 4.67.a
ARM 1, 62 r. 10 § 5.195.a
ARM 1, 67: 12 § 4.156.b; § 4.158.b
ARM 1, 67: 17 § 2.114.a; § 2.507.b
ARM 1, 67: 19 § 2.273.a
ARM 1, 69: 5 § 2.257.c
ARM 1, 69 r. 15 § 2.437.f
ARM 1, 72: 7, 9 § 2.219.d
ARM 1, 73: 53 § 5.224.b
ARM 1, 76: 8 § 5.257.b
ARM 1, 76: 18 § 2.40.a
ARM 1, 76: 28 § 2.510.a
ARM 1, 77: 8 § 4.55.a; § 4.64.b
ARM 1, 77: 11 § 2.30.b; § 2.370.d; § 2.467.b
ARM 1, 77 r. 9 § 2.33
ARM 1, 77 r. 13 § 2.445.a
ARM 1, 80: 13 § 4.57.c
ARM 1, 80: 13 f. § 4.64.a
ARM 1, 83: 22 § 2.441
ARM 1, 85 r. 9 § 2.504.b
ARM 1, 88: 8 § 2.406.e
ARM 1, 89 r. 3 § 2.173.b
ARM 1, 90: 12 § 2.265.b fn
ARM 1, 91: 7 § 2.149.a
ARM 1, 91 r. 11 § 2.65.a
ARM 1, 91 r. 12 § 4.74.a
ARM 1, 91 r. 15 § 4.117.c
ARM 1, 92: 5 § 2.480.b
ARM 1, 92: 7 § 2.437.a
ARM 1, 100 r. 11 § 2.288.a
ARM 1, 103: 7 § 2.488.f
ARM 1, 103 r. 9 § 5.266
ARM 1, 103 r. 10 § 5.181
ARM 1, 103 r. 12–14 § 4.15.b
ARM 1, 103 r. 18 § 5.305.b; § 5.306.b; § 6.27.a
ARM 1, 108 r. 5 § 5.258
ARM 1, 108: 11 § 2.420.i
ARM 1, 108: 24 § 2.132.b fn; § 2.320.c
ARM 1, 108: 5 § 4.82.c; § 4.110.b; § 4.123.b
ARM 1, 108: 6 § 2.81.b
ARM 1, 108: 8 § 2.460.c
ARM 1, 108: 27 § 2.132.b
ARM 1, 109: 10 § 2.280.b; § 5.260.a
ARM 1, 109: 11 § 2.132.b; § 2.460.b
ARM 1, 109: 12 § 4.126.c fn
ARM 1, 109: 16, 18, 34 § 2.420.h
ARM 1, 109: 18 § 2.254.e
ARM 1, 109: 19 § 2.356.c
ARM 1, 109: 32 § 4.126.a
ARM 1, 109: 35 § 2.356.d
ARM 1, 109: 41 § 2.344; § 2.356.d
ARM 1, 109: 44 § 2.420.h; § 4.126.c fn
ARM 1, 109: 46 § 2.81.b
ARM 1, 109: 50 § 4.126.c; § 4.126.c fn
ARM 1, 109: 54 § 2.420.h
ARM 1, 110: 12 § 2.301
ARM 1, 110: 24 § 2.420.b; § 2.420.e
ARM 1, 111: 9 § 2.420.d

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ARM 1, 112: 5 § 2.254.b
ARM 1, 112: 6 § 2.356.b
ARM 1, 112: 7 § 2.420.e
ARM 1, 112: 10 § 2.254.b
ARM 1, 113: 5 § 2.460.a
ARM 1, 115: 5 § 2.255.a; § 2.356.b
ARM 1, 115: 17 § 2.301; § 2.420.j
ARM 1, 116 r. 4 § 2.17.b; § 2.204.a fn; § 2.420.g
ARM 1, 116 r. 12 § 2.420.f
ARM 1, 117: 13 § 2.257.a
ARM 1, 118: 8 § 6.20.d
ARM 1, 118: 13 § 2.81.b
ARM 1, 118 r. 23 § 5.165.h
ARM 1, 118 r. 39 § 2.110.b; § 2.507.a
ARM 1, 118 r. 40 § 2.420.g
ARM 1, 119: 5 § 2.320 fn; § 2.356.a; § 2.365.b
ARM 1, 119: 21 § 2.420.a
ARM 1, 121: 8 § 2.149.a fn
ARM 1, 121: 16 § 2.82.c
ARM 1, 123: 6, 17 § 2.304
ARM 1, 123: 19 § 5.299
ARM 1, 125: 7 § 4.95
ARM 1, 126: 12 § 4.95
ARM 1, 127: 17 § 2.304
ARM 1, 128: 8 § 2.82.b
ARM 1, 129: 12 § 4.67 fn
ARM 1, 129: 13 § 5.143.b
ARM 1, 129: 21 § 2.28.b
ARM 1, 131: 12 § 2.226.c; § 2.212 fn
ARM 1, 131: 13 § 2.432.b
ARM 1, 131: 15 § 4.95
ARM 1, 132: 8 § 2.28.a
ARM 1, 132: 9 § 2.250.c
ARM 1, 132: 15 § 2.82.a
ARM 1, 132: 19 § 4.25
ARM 1, 132: 21 § 5.195.n
ARM 1, 132: 22 § 5.114.e
ARM 1, 133: 7 § 4.95
ARM 1, 134: 7 § 2.225.b
ARM 1, 134: 12 § 4.95
ARM 1, 135: 9 § 2.304
ARM 1, 135: 15 § 5.128.c
ARM 1, 136: 7 § 4.146.c; § 5.153.e
ARM 1, 138: 8 § 5.306.e
ARM 1, 138: 9 § 4.95
ARM 2, 1: 22 § 5.173.c
ARM 2, 2: 15 § 5.162.a; § 5.179.b
ARM 2, 3: 23 § 5.266
ARM 2, 5: 17 § 2.31.d
ARM 2, 5: 18 § 2.437.b fn; 2.467.b
ARM 2, 5: 25 § 2.437.b fn
ARM 2, 7: 12, 18 § 2.212 fn
ARM 2, 10 r. 13 § 2.21.d
ARM 2, 13: 18 § 2.218.a; § 4.54.a; § 4.64.b
ARM 2, 13: 4 § 2.149.a fn
ARM 2, 13: 27 § 5.299
ARM 2, 15: 34 § 2.366.b
ARM 2, 17: 8 § 2.267.a
ARM 2, 18: 32 § 2.264.b; § 5.132.d
ARM 2, 19: 16 § 5.200.d
ARM 2, 20: 7 § 2.214.i
ARM 2, 21: 7 § 2.436.c fn
ARM 2, 21: 12 § 2.186.b; § 6.2.d
ARM 2, 21: 17 § 2.31.c; § 5.176.b
ARM 2, 21 r. 10 § 5.207.a
ARM 2, 21 r. 13 § 2.503.b
ARM 2, 21 r. 15 § 2.409
ARM 2, 22: 22 § 6.27.e
ARM 2, 23: 10 § 4.144.b
ARM 2, 23: 14 § 2.363.c
ARM 2, 23 r. 4 § 2.194.c
ARM 2, 23 r. 18 § 6.15.b; § 6.27.a
ARM 2, 24: 9 § 2.368.f
ARM 2, 24: 17 § 2.436.c
ARM 2, 24 r. 10 § 2.73.d
ARM 2, 25: 16 § 5.157.g
ARM 2, 26: 6 § 2.436.c
ARM 2, 27: 7 § 6.21.a
ARM 2, 28: 14 § 2.183 fn
ARM 2, 28: 22 § 6.30
ARM 2, 29 r. 5 § 5.284
ARM 2, 30: 5 § 2.144.g
ARM 2, 30: 9 § 2.173.d
ARM 2, 31 r. 7 § 2.431
ARM 2, 32: 8 § 2.436.c fn
ARM 2, 32: 15 § 2.21.d
ARM 2, 33: 4 § 2.510.b
ARM 2, 33: 8 § 5.152.a
ARM 2, 33 r. 7 § 5.154.e
ARM 2, 33 r. 22 § 2.511.c
ARM 2, 34: 11 § 2.69.d
ARM 2, 34: 32 § 2.438.b
ARM 2, 35: 7 § 5.148.d
ARM 2, 35: 27 f. § 5.195.j
ARM 2, 37: 6 § 2.449.c
ARM 2, 37: 12 § 2.449.c
ARM 2, 39: 17 § 2.479.c
ARM 2, 39: 54 § 5.306.e

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ARM 2, 39: 67 § 5.195.c
ARM 2, 40: 16 § 5.296.c
ARM 2, 41 r. 3 § 5.128.c fn
ARM 2, 42 r. 23 § 2.76 fn
ARM 2, 43: 16 § 6.2.a
ARM 2, 44: 12 § 5.297.b
ARM 2, 44: 15 § 2.227
ARM 2, 44: 16 § 2.63.a fn; § 2.155.a
ARM 2, 49: 5 § 2.474.e; § 2.486.a
ARM 2, 50: 7 § 2.63.a fn; § 2.178.e
ARM 2, 51: 7 § 2.138.a
ARM 2, 51: 11 § 2.494.b
ARM 2, 51: 12 § 2.214.d; § 5.165.e
ARM 2, 51: 15 § 2.138.a; § 2.325.a
ARM 2, 51: 20 § 2.361.d
ARM 2, 51: 24 § 2.325.b; § 2.391
ARM 2, 53: 7 § 2.144.d
ARM 2, 53: 9 § 2.214.b
ARM 2, 55: 11 § 4.126.b
ARM 2, 55: 34 § 5.166.a
ARM 2, 59: 9 § 2.149.a
ARM 2, 60: 3 § 5.306.g
ARM 2, 60: 16 § 2.180.a
ARM 2, 61: 8, 10, 14 § 5.159.f
ARM 2, 62: 6 § 5.167.a
ARM 2, 62 r. 2 § 2.218.a
ARM 2, 62 r. 3 § 2.70.k
ARM 2, 62 r. 6 § 2.214.b
ARM 2, 62 r. 13 § 5.152.c
ARM 2, 66: 14 § 264
ARM 2, 69 r. 11 § 5.157.c
ARM 2, 71: 11, 15 § 2.117
ARM 2, 72: 16 § 2.182.f; § 2.265.a
ARM 2, 72: 36 § 5.195.d
ARM 2, 74: 6 § 2.174 fn
ARM 2, 74: 7 § 2.341.a
ARM 2, 74 r. 4 § 2.243.c; § 6.32.b
ARM 2, 75: 5 § 2.511.c
ARM 2, 75: 9 § 6.15.f; § 6.27.d
ARM 2, 75: 12 § 4.76.a; § 4.80.d
ARM 2, 75: 17–21 § 2.515
ARM 2, 75: 18 § 4.8.c
ARM 2, 76: 8 § 4.101.b; § 4.106.a
ARM 2, 76: 9 § 4.117.c
ARM 2, 76: 16 § 2.32.a
ARM 2, 76: 17 § 2.21.d
ARM 2, 76: 20 § 5.280.a
ARM 2, 76: 34 § 4.146.c
ARM 2, 77: 14 § 2.442.b
ARM 2, 77 r. 14 § 2.114.c
ARM 2, 78: 9 § 2.488.f
ARM 2, 78: 12 § 2.159.c
ARM 2, 79: 30 § 2.365.b fn
ARM 2, 81: 23 § 2.266.e
ARM 2, 82: 34 § 2.76
ARM 2, 87: 28 § 5.162.a
ARM 2, 88: 20 § 2.157.a
ARM 2, 92: 7 § 4.128.c
ARM 2, 92: 13, 20 § 2.397.c
ARM 2, 94: 19 § 2.284.a
ARM 2, 98: 6 § 2.29.e
ARM 2, 98 r. 5 § 4.34.a; § 4.37.c
ARM 2, 99: 34 § 2.173.b
ARM 2, 100 r. 5 § 2.87.d
ARM 2, 100 r. 11 § 4.162.a
ARM 2, 100 ed. 1 § 2.87.d; § 4.47.b
ARM 2, 101: 22 § 5.194.g
ARM 2, 101: 26 § 5.165.d; § 5.172.c fn
ARM 2, 101: 29 § 5.165.d; § 5.172.b fn
ARM 2, 101: 30 § 5.165.d; § 5.172.c fn
ARM 2, 102: 11 § 2.419.c fn
ARM 2, 102: 20 § 2.21.a
ARM 2, 103: 13 § 2.266.d
ARM 2, 104: 5 § 4.147.d fn
ARM 2, 104: 9 § 2.182.d
ARM 2, 104: 10 § 4.147.f
ARM 2, 106: 7 § 2.368.e; § 5.2.d
ARM 2, 106: 8 f. § 2.21.b
ARM 2, 107: 22 § 2.505.h
ARM 2, 109: 10 § 2.216.c; § 4.21.d; § 4.39
ARM 2, 113: 11 § 2.505.d
ARM 2, 113: 28 § 2.214.i; § 2.226.a; § 4.22.c
ARM 2, 114: 7 § 2.429.d
ARM 2, 115: 11 § 2.436.b
ARM 2, 115: 17 § 2.115.a
ARM 2, 118: 11, 14 § 2.492.c
ARM 2, 118: 12 § 2.105.b
ARM 2, 118: 12, 15 § 2.226.b
ARM 2, 118: 20 § 5.296.a
ARM 2, 118: 21 § 2.102.b; § 5.167.c
ARM 2, 119: 7 § 2.475
ARM 2, 119 r. 5 § 2.475
ARM 2, 119 r. 4 § 4.73.b
ARM 2, 124: 4 § 2.194.a
ARM 2, 124: 6 § 2.148
ARM 2, 124 = 26/2 p. 69 no. 311: 24, 26, 31 § 2.194.a
ARM 2, 126: 15 § 2.363.c

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ARM 2, 128: 20 § 4.71.a
ARM 2, 129: 16 § 2.189.a
ARM 2, 130: 18 § 2.442.b
ARM 2, 130: 27 § 5.144.a
ARM 2, 130: 4 § 5.145.i
ARM 2, 130: 6 § 2.477.d
ARM 2, 133: 13 § 2.441
ARM 2, 134: 4 § 2.199.b
ARM 2, 136: 6 § 5.47.a
ARM 2, 136: 9 § 2.73.d
ARM 2, 137: 5 § 2.268.b
ARM 2, 138: 10 § 2.341.d
ARM 2, 138: 18 § 2.276.a; § 4.146.b
ARM 2, 138: 28 § 2.266.i
ARM 2, 139: 6 § 2.483.d
ARM 2, 139: 23 § 2.247a
ARM 2, 141: 8 § 2.32.e
ARM 3, 1: 14 § 2.479.b
ARM 3, 3: 6 § 2.30.a; § 2.479.b
ARM 3, 4: 16 § 2.69.e
ARM 3, 5: 16 § 2.479.b
ARM 3, 5: 32 § 6.27.a
ARM 3, 5: 33 § 6.28.a
ARM 3, 8: 15 § 5.280.b
ARM 3, 11: 7 f. § 5.145.b
ARM 3, 11: 8 § 2.485
ARM 3, 11: 41 § 4.146.b
ARM 3, 12: 11 § 2.365.b
ARM 3, 12: 18 § 5.197.d
ARM 3, 12: 22 § 2.250.c; § 4.73.b
ARM 3, 14: 11 § 5.262.a
ARM 3, 15: 7 § 2.32.b
ARM 3, 15: 27 § 6.21.b
ARM 3, 15: 26 f. § 5.152.b
ARM 3, 16: 9; 17: 28 § 2.214.a
ARM 3, 16: 11 § 2.19.a
ARM 3, 16: 19 § 5.143.c
ARM 3, 16: 21 § 2.224.a
ARM 3, 16: 24 § 2.249.c
ARM 3, 17: 19, 28 § 4.147.b
ARM 3, 18: 5 § 2.275.a; § 4.165.c
ARM 3, 18: 8 § 2.479.b
ARM 3, 18: 20 § 5.182.b
ARM 3, 19: 20 § 5.202
ARM 3, 21: 9 § 5.2.d
ARM 3, 21: 13 § 5.207.b
ARM 3, 23: 12 § 6.28.c fn
ARM 3, 24: 17 § 6.28.c fn
ARM 3, 26: 5 § 5.155.a
ARM 3, 26: 10 § 2.254.e
ARM 3, 29: 8, 21 § 5.306.e
ARM 3, 30: 27 § 2.264.a
ARM 3, 33: 9 § 2.65.a
ARM 3, 33: 14 § 2.228.a; § 4.34.a
ARM 3, 34: 11 § 5.153.b
ARM 3, 36: 26 § 4.31
ARM 3, 37: 21 § 4.14.; § 4.146.a
ARM 3, 37: 18 § 5.114.e
ARM 3, 38: 15 § 4.147.a
ARM 3, 41: 13 § 5.195.g
ARM 3, 42: 5 § 2.172.a
ARM 3, 58: 6 § 4.147.g
ARM 3, 58: 7 § 4.147.e
ARM 3, 68: 7 § 2.21.a
ARM 3, 71: 16 § 4.147.b
ARM 3, 76: 16 § 2.474.f
ARM 3, 79 r. 9 § 2.5.c
ARM 4, 6: 8 § 2.87.a
ARM 4, 6: 9 § 2.87.a fn; § 2.276.c
ARM 4, 6: 24 § 2.276.a; § 2.276.c
ARM 4, 10 r. 5 § 2.194.b; § 2.510.a
ARM 4, 10 r. 15 § 5.167.e
ARM 4, 11 r. 19 § 2.28.a
ARM 4, 14 r. 3 § 2.104
ARM 4, 16: 1 § 2.239.a
ARM 4, 16: 11 § 2.356.a
ARM 4, 16 r. 5 § 2.420.a
ARM 4, 16 r. 7 § 4.61.a
ARM 4, 16 r. 12 § 2.280.a
ARM 4, 17: 16 § 2.81.b
ARM 4, 20: 8 § 5.200.b
ARM 4, 20: 16 § 5.152.f
ARM 4, 21: 15 § 2.487
ARM 4, 22: 5 § 5.114.e
ARM 4, 22: 22 § 2.341.c; § 5.205.a
ARM 4, 23: 11 § 2.70.f
ARM 4, 23: 14 § 5.148.c
ARM 4, 24: 12 § 2.149.a
ARM 4, 24: 14, 17 § 5.159.f
ARM 4, 24: 25 § 2.82.a
ARM 4, 25: 11, 18 § 4.100.d
ARM 4, 27: 9 § 6.36.b
ARM 4, 27: 31 § 2.225.a
ARM 4, 27: 34 § 4.156.c
ARM 4, 27: 38 § 2.406.e; § 4.69.b
ARM 4, 31: 5, 19 § 5.133. fn
ARM 4, 32: 7 § 5.133. fn
ARM 4, 32: 14 § 2.396

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ARM 4, 32: 17 § 5.165.g
ARM 4, 32: 24 § 5.167.b
ARM 4, 34: 14 § 2.144.c
ARM 4, 34: 17 § 5.143.a
ARM 4, 39: 9 § 4.147.d
ARM 4, 42: 16 § 2.82.a
ARM 4, 46 r. 9 § 4.33.b; § 4.37.b
ARM 4, 47: 9 § 2.442.a
ARM 4, 50: 8 § 5.05.f
ARM 4, 51: 6 § 4.129
ARM 4, 54: 21 § 4.146.b
ARM 4, 57: 8 § 2.28.c
ARM 4, 57: 10 § 2.73.c
ARM 4, 59: 6 § 2.82.a
ARM 4, 59: 9 f. § 2.474.c; § 2.474.f; § 2.486.b
ARM 4, 59: 12 § 5.156.a
ARM 4, 60: 5 § 5.154.b
ARM 4, 62 r. 3 § 2.270.a
ARM 4, 64: 8 § 2.173.a
ARM 4, 64 r. 6 § 2.173.a
ARM 4, 68: 9 § 2.82 fn
ARM 4, 68: 17 § 2.99. a
ARM 4, 69: 12 § 2.82.c
ARM 4, 70: 19 § 4.125.c
ARM 4, 70: 23 § 5.235.b
ARM 4, 74: 30 § 2.406.e
ARM 4, 79: 8 § 5.113.d; § 5.145.d
ARM 4, 79: 12 § 5.145.d
ARM 4, 79: 13, 18 § 5.113.d; § 5.145.d
ARM 4, 81: 27 § 2.82.a
ARM 4, 86: 7 § 2.132.b
ARM 4, 86: 11 § 2.20.b; § 2.280.a
ARM 4, 86: 15 § 2.301
ARM 4, 86: 20, 40 § 2.420.c
ARM 4, 86: 39 § 2.282.e
ARM 4, 86: 46 § 2.276.b
ARM 4, 86: 47 § 2.356.d
ARM 4, 86: 51 § 2.404
ARM 4, 86: 52 § 2.81.a
ARM 4, 86: 58 § 2.420.g
ARM 4, 87: 8 § 4.92
ARM 4, 88: 14 § 2.449.b
ARM 4, 88: 21 § 5.153.c
ARM 4, 88: 24 § 2.356.a
ARM 5, 1 r. 12 § 2.356.a; § 2.365.f
ARM 5, 2: 13 § 2.214.j
ARM 5, 2 r. 15 § 2.132.a
ARM 5, 3: 5 § 2.420.g
ARM 5, 4: 9 § 4.146.b
ARM 5, 7: 15 § 4.150
ARM 5, 8: 20 § 2.221
ARM 5, 11: 6 § 4.22.c
ARM 5, 14: 6 § 5.112
ARM 5, 14: 8, r. 6 § 4.92
ARM 5, 15: 12 § 2.361.b
ARM 5, 15: 13 § 2.465.c
ARM 5, 15: 20 § 2.77.e
ARM 5, 16: 4 § 2.117; § 2.465.a
ARM 5, 16: 5 § 2.361.c; § 2.365.b
ARM 5, 16: 7 § 2.117; § 2.465.a; § 2.507.c
ARM 5, 16: 10 § 2.361.a
ARM 5, 16: 16 § 2.391
ARM 5, 16: 22 § 2.170.a
ARM 5, 17: 4 § 2.361.c
ARM 5, 17 r. 6 § 2.77.e
ARM 5, 18: 5 § 6.27.g
ARM 5, 18: 17 § 2.301
ARM 5, 19: 6 § 2.420.j
ARM 5, 20: 4–6 § 2.515
ARM 5, 20: 6 § 2.307
ARM 5, 20: 8 § 2.77.e
ARM 5, 20: 9 § 2.138.a
ARM 5, 20: 13 § 2.138.b
ARM 5, 20: 19 § 4.133.a; § 4.135.b
ARM 5, 20: 21 § 6.27.e
ARM 5, 20: 23 § 2.77.e
ARM 5, 20: 23 § 2.514
ARM 5, 20: 24 § 2.138.b; § 2.514
ARM 5, 20: 25, 35 § 4.129
ARM 5, 20: 26 § 2.465.b
ARM 5, 20: 26–28 § 2.514
ARM 5, 20: 34 § 2.425.c; § 4.128.c
ARM 5, 21: 12 § 2.214.d
ARM 5, 23: 15 § 5.114.e
ARM 5, 27: 6 § 5.172.c
ARM 5, 27: 9–11 § 2.515
ARM 5, 27: 13 § 2.69.c; § 5.172.c
ARM 5, 27: 36 § 2.155.b; § 2.183.b
ARM 5, 31: 13 § 2.511.f
ARM 5, 33: 9 § 2.334.c
ARM 5, 33: 13 § 2.115.a
ARM 5, 34: 18 § 4.146.a
ARM 5, 35: 12 § 2.21.d
ARM 5, 35: 15 § 2.105.a
ARM 5, 35: 22 § 2.510.a
ARM 5, 35: 34 § 2.443.a fn
ARM 5, 36: 6 § 2.443.a fn
ARM 5, 36: 15 § 2.219.c

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ARM 5, 36: 22 § 2.442.a
ARM 5, 36: 32 § 2.229.c; § 2.334.c
ARM 5, 37: 8 § 2.229.c; § 2.334.c
ARM 5, 38: 5 § 2.488.b
ARM 5, 38: 9 § 2.443.a
ARM 5, 39: 5 § 2.255.c
ARM 5, 39: 6 § 2.111
ARM 5, 41: 27 § 5.155.b
ARM 5, 41: 28 § 6.3.c; § 6.23.b; § 6.25.c
ARM 5, 44: 6, 7 § 2.365.b fn
ARM 5, 52: 21 § 2.33
ARM 5, 53: 17 § 2.266.a
ARM 5, 58: 11 § 2.282.a
ARM 5, 59: 11 § 5.304
ARM 5, 62: 5 § 2.220.c; § 4.160.b
ARM 5, 65: 13 § 2.162.a
ARM 5, 66: 13 § 2.33
ARM 5, 68: 5 f. § 2.336 fn; § 5.159.b
ARM 5, 68: 14 § 4.146.c
ARM 5, 68: 18 § 5.68
ARM 5, 69: 11 § 2.214.c
ARM 5, 70: 7 § 6.15.a; § 6.27.a
ARM 5, 70: 16 § 4.155
ARM 5, 71: 9 § 2.483.d
ARM 5, 71: 26 § 2.266.f
ARM 5, 72: 14 § 5.149.c
ARM 5, 73: 4, 10, 16 § 2.340
ARM 5, 74: 8 § 2.164.d
ARM 5, 74: 9 § 2.147.d
ARM 5, 76 r. 9 § 2.21.c
ARM 5, 77: 5 § 5.262.b
ARM 5, 81: 25 § 2.334.c
ARM 5, 86 r. 4 § 5.262.a
ARM 5, 87: 6 § 5.262.b
ARM 6, 1: 14, 21 § 5.306.b; § 6.27.a
ARM 6, 1: 28 § 4.146.b
ARM 6, 2: 7 § 2.180.b
ARM 6, 4: 5 § 2.470
ARM 6, 4: 5–7 § 4.100.e fn
ARM 6, 4: 9 § 4.100.e
ARM 6, 5: 6 § 5.159.a
ARM 6, 8: 7 § 2.170.c
ARM 6, 9: 8 § 6.27.e
ARM 6, 13: 16 § 5.298.b
ARM 6, 20: 9 § 5.148.b
ARM 6, 20: 20 § 2.155.a
ARM 6, 27: 16 § 6.23.e; § 6.27.e
ARM 6, 28: 21 § 5.202.a
ARM 6, 28: 25 § 5.271.a
ARM 6, 37: 4 § 2.218.b fn
ARM 6, 37: 7 § 5.304
ARM 6, 37: 10 § 2.174
ARM 6, 37 r. 7 f. § 5.152.b
ARM 6, 37 r. 9 § 2.214.e fn; § 2.222.d; § 4.159.b
ARM 6, 37 r. 15 § 2.396 fn
ARM 6, 39: 16 § 2.409
ARM 6, 41: 8 § 2.88
ARM 6, 43: 5 § 2.478.a
ARM 6, 43: 11 § 2.63.a
ARM 6, 43: 13 § 5.305.c
ARM 6, 44: 10 § 6.2.a; § 6.22.b; § 6.25.a
ARM 6, 45: 15 § 4.147.c
ARM 6, 50: 5 § 2.172.c
ARM 6, 51 r. 10 § 2.350.b; § 2.365.c
ARM 6, 51 r. 19 § 4.107
ARM 6, 52: 20 § 5.195.k
ARM 6, 53: 7 § 2.456.e
ARM 6, 53: 8 § 2.104
ARM 6, 54: 22 § 2.350.b; § 2.365.c
ARM 6, 55: 6 § 2.173.d
ARM 6, 64: 3, 7 § 5.134.b fn
ARM 6, 65: 4 § 5.160.a
ARM 6, 76: 24 § 2.189.a
ARM 7, 4: 2, 6, 12 § 5.139.b
ARM 7, 4: 14 f. § 2.271.a
ARM 7, 4 r. 3 § 5.139.b
ARM 7, 8: 1 § 5.154.a
ARM 7, 10: 4 § 2.30.b
ARM 7, 16: 2 § 2.214.j
ARM 7, 45: 2 § 2.438.d
ARM 7, 140 r. 14 § 2.139.c fn
ARM 7, 145: 3 § 2.272.b
ARM 7, 161: 7 § 5.179.b
ARM 7, 161: 16 § 2.470
ARM 7, 190: 16 § 5.175.a
ARM 7, 192: 15 § 2.247.b
ARM 7, 214: 7 § 5.175.a
ARM 7, 217: 22 § 5.128.c
ARM 7, 219: 5 § 2.342.b
ARM 7, 232: 5 § 4.143.a
ARM 7, 244: 7 § 5.194.h
ARM 7, 248: 12 § 2.270.c
ARM 7, 258: 7, 17, 25, 30 § 2.207
ARM 8, 1: 4 f. § 5.195.m
ARM 8, 1: 5 § 2.69.a
ARM 8, 1: 40 § 4.143.a
ARM 8, 6: 24 § 5.159.d
ARM 8, 8: 1 § 6.40.b

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ARM 8, 11: 23 § 4.125.b
ARM 8, 11: 26 § 2.269.a
ARM 8, 12: 5 § 2.269.a
ARM 8, 13: 4 § 2.269.a
ARM 8, 13 r. 14 § 2.410.a
ARM 8, 25: 8 § 2.477.e
ARM 8, 57: 4 § 5.179.b
ARM 8, 69: 1 § 5.193.j
ARM 8, 75: 18 § 4.143.a
ARM 8, 89: 4 § 5.134.a; § 5.152.e
ARM 8, 89: 5 § 5.155.f
ARM 9, 20: 5 § 2.200.b
ARM 9, 20: 6 § 2.151.b
ARM 9, 20: 9 § 2.271.g
ARM 9, 20: 11 § 5.154.c
ARM 9, 20: 13 § 2.439
ARM 9, 20: 28 § 2.266.k
ARM 9, 20: 32 § 2.252.a
ARM 9, 24 i 8 § 4.143.a
ARM 9, 24 iii 55 § 2.228.a; § 4.58.d
ARM 9, 27 i 8 § 4.143.a
ARM 9, 27 v 22 § 4.58.d
ARM 9, 38: 8 § 5.155.h
ARM 9, 43: 5 § 5.153.d
ARM 9, 108: 1 § 2.159.f
ARM 9, 263: 10 § 2.70.k; § 2.91.b
ARM 9, 263: 10 § 5.154.d
ARM 9, 291 iv 22 § 2.197
ARM 10, 3 r. 6 § 4.125.a
ARM 10, 3 r. 19 § 4.80.g
ARM 10, 4: 12 § 5.195.e
ARM 10, 5: 29 § 2.73.a fn
ARM 10, 5: 31 § 2.73.a
ARM 10, 6 r. 3 § 4.129; § 4.135.f fn
ARM 10, 6 r. 9 § 4.130.c
ARM 10, 7: 21 § 4.103.a
ARM 10, 8: 13 § 5.186.b
ARM 10, 9: 12 § 5.113. fn
ARM 10, 10: 4 § 5.134.a; § 5.155.k
ARM 10, 10: 8 § 2.64.b
ARM 10, 11: 13 § 4.1
ARM 10, 11: 21 § 2.488.f
ARM 10, 16: 9 § 2.30.a
ARM 10, 29: 19 § 4.12.a
ARM 10, 32: 8 § 2.21.h
ARM 10, 32 r. 7 § 2.290.b
ARM 10, 32 r. 9 § 2.488.b
ARM 10, 33: 5, 18 § 2.290.b
ARM 10, 33: 6 § 2.436.a
ARM 10, 33: 6 § 2.83.c
ARM 10, 33: 34 § 2.194.a
ARM 10, 34: 8 § 2.483.d
ARM 10, 34 r. 9 § 5.130.a
ARM 10, 35: 13 § 2.194.a fn
ARM 10, 35: 14 f. § 2.194.a
ARM 10, 36: 20 § 5.186.b
ARM 10, 43: 21 § 4.110.b
ARM 10, 50: 7 § 4.127.a
ARM 10, 52: 15 § 4.6.b
ARM 10, 55: 9 § 4.105.b
ARM 10, 57: 5 § 2.375.d
ARM 10, 59 r. 2 § 2.467.b
ARM 10, 63: 15 § 2.143.d
ARM 10, 74: 17 § 4.81.b
ARM 10, 74: 18 § 4.123.b
ARM 10, 80: 12 § 2.370.c
ARM 10, 80: 15 § 2.229.d
ARM 10, 80: 23 § 5.240.b
ARM 10, 81: 17 § 4.70.a
ARM 10, 81: 20 § 2.66.c
ARM 10, 84: 24 § 5.194.f
ARM 10, 85: 8 § 2.40.a
ARM 10, 85: 17 § 2.488.b
ARM 10, 86: 5 § 4.157.b
ARM 10, 86 r. 9 § 4.130.a
ARM 10, 88: 22 § 6.40.a
ARM 10, 89: 7 § 2.195
ARM 10, 90: 31 § 2.269.a
ARM 10, 91: 5 § 5.132.c
ARM 10, 91 r. 5 § 4.147.i
ARM 10, 92: 18 § 5.282
ARM 10, 92: 27 § 4.26.a
ARM 10, 94: 5 § 5.167.g
ARM 10, 94: 6 § 5.256
ARM 10, 102: 17 § 2.87.d
ARM 10, 102: 25 § 5.235.b
ARM 10, 103 r. 3 § 2.31.a
ARM 10, 104: 6 § 2.452 fn
ARM 10, 104: 8 § 5.186.c
ARM 10, 104 r. 4 § 5.237
ARM 10, 109: 4 § 4.16.b
ARM 10, 109: 5 § 2.87.e
ARM 10, 109: 6, 7, 26 § 2.87.e fn
ARM 10, 109: 13 § 2.87.e fn; § 2.200.b
ARM 10, 112: 8 § 2.87.d fn
ARM 10, 112: 12 § 2.87.d fn
ARM 10, 112: 14 § 2.87.d
ARM 10, 112: 17 § 2.87.a fn

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ARM 10, 116: 17 § 2.334.b
ARM 10, 116: 29 § 2.252.b
ARM 10, 116: 30 § 5.245.b
ARM 10, 118: 16 § 4.5.a
ARM 10, 121: 6 § 2.226.b
ARM 10, 123: 5 § 5.243.a
ARM 10, 125: 9 § 4.100.d
ARM 10, 126: 14 § 4.147.i
ARM 10, 126: 20 § 2.157.a
ARM 10, 131: 17 § 4.104.a
ARM 10, 136: 18 § 2.30.a
ARM 10, 139: 14, 17, 19 f. § 4.100.d
ARM 10, 141: 6 § 4.49
ARM 10, 141: 17 § 5.173.b
ARM 10, 142: 11 § 2.179.c
ARM 10, 142: 19 § 4.70.a
ARM 10, 143: 8 § 5.186.b
ARM 10, 143: 14 § 2.264.e
ARM 10, 146: 4 § 5.174.a
ARM 10, 146: 7 § 5.154.d
ARM 10, 147: 6 § 4.11.a
ARM 10, 151: 5 § 4.68.a
ARM 10, 151: 12 § 4.68.d
ARM 10, 156: 3 § 4.68.a
ARM 10, 157: 7 § 2.331.c
ARM 10, 157: 9 § 4.81.b; § 4.110.b
ARM 10, 157: 11 § 4.123.b
ARM 10, 159: 5 § 2.33
ARM 10, 160: 8 § 2.32.g
ARM 10, 166 r. 10 § 5.224.a
ARM 10, 167: 12 § 4.68.c
ARM 10, 167: 14 § 2.31.b; § 2.266.e
ARM 10, 168: 1 § 4.34.b
ARM 10, 173: 16 § 4.147.h
ARM 10, 175: 20 § 5.167.b
ARM 10, 176: 18 § 2.488.b
ARM 10, 177: 5 § 2.275.b
ARM 10, 177: 10 § 2.99.a
ARM 10, 178: 7 § 6.27.f
ARM 10, 178: 15 § 2.182.f; § 2.265.a
ARM 11, 3: 10 § 5.180.b
ARM 12, 685: 3 § 2.229.d
ARM 12, 686: 6 § 2.229.d
ARM 12, 697: 3 § 2.90.c; § 5.180.b
ARM 12, 747: 3 § 2.233.b
ARM 13, 1 iv 29 § 4.12.c
ARM 13, 5: 11 § 5.128.c
ARM 13, 5: 18 § 4.18.a
ARM 13, 6: 10 § 2.273.b fn
ARM 13, 6: 18 § 2.273.b
ARM 13, 7: 15 § 6.28.b
ARM 13, 7: 16 § 6.27.e; § 6.27.e
ARM 13, 17: 12 § 5.155.l
ARM 13, 17: 14 f. § 5.149.c
ARM 13, 17: 22 § 5.174.b
ARM 13, 20: 5, 7, 11, 16 § 5.155.g
ARM 13, 21 r. 8 § 4.127.a
ARM 13, 25: 6, 7 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 13, 27: 6 § 5.197.d
ARM 13, 27: 9 § 2.450.a
ARM 13, 32: 19 § 2.195
ARM 13, 32: 28 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 13, 32: 30 § 2.183 fn
ARM 13, 35: 11 § 5.195.h
ARM 13, 38: 29 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 13, 39 r. 8 § 4.127
ARM 13, 39 r. 13 § 2.169.a
ARM 13, 40: 11 § 4.164.b fn
ARM 13, 41: 9 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 13, 43: 7 f. § 2.87.e
ARM 13, 45: 7 § 5.73.c
ARM 13, 45: 12 § 5.73.c
ARM 13, 46: 16 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 13, 51: 18 § 2.174 fn
ARM 13, 92: 6, 14 § 5.138.b
ARM 13, 100 r. 10 § 2.266.f
ARM 13, 101: 30 § 2.151.a
ARM 13, 108 r. 14 § 2.43
ARM 13, 112 r. 7 § 6.32.a; § 6.35.a
ARM 13, 117 r. 12 f. § 5.167.d
ARM 13, 117 r. 14 § 5.167.d
ARM 13, 118: 13 § 2.144.g
ARM 13, 124: 5 § 2.169.a
ARM 13, 144: 12 § 5.160.b
ARM 13, 144: 35 § 6.36.c
ARM 13, 147: 27 § 2.470
ARM 14, 1: 7, 19, 21, 23 § 4.99.b
ARM 14, 2: 18 § 2.485
ARM 14, 4: 17 § 4.137.a; § 4.139.c
ARM 14, 7 r. 6 § 2.334.c
ARM 14, 12 r. 4 § 2.143.c
ARM 14, 13: 26 § 6.27.a
ARM 14, 13: 27 § 5.159.i
ARM 14, 14: 5, 10, 26, 31 f. § 2.226.b
ARM 14, 18 r. 8 § 2.366.b
ARM 14, 22: 25 § 2.149.a
ARM 14, 22 r. 8 § 5.167.e
ARM 14, 26: 10 § 6.27.d

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ARM 14, 26: 11 § 6.27.a
ARM 14, 26: 16 § 5.306.b
ARM 14, 27: 31 § 5.155.q
ARM 14, 34: 11 § 5.192.c
ARM 14, 53: 8 § 4.144.a
ARM 14, 62: 6 § 5.182.b
ARM 14, 67 r. 6 § 2.334.b
ARM 14, 75: 24 § 2.151.b
ARM 14, 78: 8 § 2.179.f
ARM 14, 81: 30 § 2.90
ARM 14, 85: 11, 15 § 4.100.e fn
ARM 14, 104: 5 § 5.304
ARM 14, 105: 19 § 5.195.j
ARM 14, 109: 16 § 5.178
ARM 14, 110: 11 § 2.149.a; § 4.146.a
ARM 14, 121: 41, 46 § 2.334.c
ARM 14, 122: 22 § 2.478.c
ARM 16/1, 127 § 5.138.b
ARM 18, 2: 10 § 2.480.a
ARM 18, 8: 6 § 2.478.c
ARM 18, 8: 18 § 5.195.j
ARM 18, 17: 24 § 5.167.d; § 5.172.j
ARM 18, 27: 4 § 2.150
ARM 18, 32: 10 § 2.432.b
ARM 18, 32: 11 § 2.229.d, 5.134.b
ARM 18, 33: 13 § 2.488.b
ARM 18, 36: 13 § 2.267.a
ARM 21, 41: 10 § 2.233.b
ARM 21, 100: 1 § 2.334.a
ARM 21, 125: 2 § 5.128.c
ARM 21, 147: 5 § 2.219.f; § 2.228.c
ARM 21, 153: 12, 13 § 2.149.d
ARM 21, 189: 4 § 2.215.b; § 5.113.c
ARM 21, 258: 26 § 2.15 fn
ARM 21, 271: 2 § 2.247.d
ARM 21, 322: 1 § 5.16.a
ARM 22, 113: 1 § 2.200.b
ARM 22, 160: 7 § 4.144.b
ARM 22, 199: 2 § 6.23.e; § 6.25.d
ARM 22, 202: 5 § 6.25.d
ARM 22, 264: 14 § 5.113.c
ARM 22, 264: 21 § 5.113.c fn
ARM 22, 275: 2 § 5.128.c
ARM 22, 276 i 40 § 2.143.a
ARM 22, 278: 3 § 5.128.b
ARM 22, 306: 2 § 2.173.i
ARM 22, 311: 10 § 6.25.f
ARM 22, 314: 2 § 5.287.b
ARM 22, 324 ii 9 § 5.114.e
ARM 22, 328 ii 47 § 2.144.e; § 2.410.a
ARM 23, 85: 31 § 4.146.a
ARM 23, 101: 6 § 2.505.h; § 5.47.a
ARM 23, 104: 9 § 5.145.k
ARM 23, 104: 11, 13, 14 § 5.145.k
ARM 23, 581: 7 § 5.174.a
ARM 23, 581: 29 § 5.174.a
ARM 23, 611: 10 § 4.58.d
ARM 24, 14: 6 § 2.269.a fn
ARM 24, 51: 2 § 5.178
ARM 24, 125: 13 § 2.507.a
ARM 25, 96 ed. 1 § 2.269.b
ARM 25, 334 r. 5 § 4.127.b
ARM 25, 589: 4, r. 1 § 5.22.a
ARM 25, 608: 9 § 5.20.a
ARM 26/1, 14 no. 1: 13 § 4.42.b
ARM 26/1, 66 no. 3: 16 § 2.30.a
ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 3 § 2.105.b
ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 9 § 2.33
ARM 26/1, 82 no. 5: 19 § 4.80.d
ARM 26/1, 83 no. 5: 60 § 2.375.d
ARM 26/1, 86 no. 6: 3 § 4.127.b
ARM 26/1, 86 no. 6: 10 § 4.127.b fn
ARM 26/1, 87 no. 6: 26 § 4.18.a
ARM 26/1, 87 no. 6: 42 § 4.27.a
ARM 26/1, 98 no. 9: 5 § 2.73.a
ARM 26/1, 105 no. 10: 7 § 2.488.f
ARM 26/1, 106 no. 10: 29 § 4.131
ARM 26/1, 109 no. 12 r. 4 § 2.87.a; § 2.87.a fn
ARM 26/1, 109 no. 12 r. 6 § 4.73.b
ARM 26/1, 113 no. 14: 10 § 2.249.c
ARM 26/1, 127 no. 17: 23, 24 § 5.167.g
ARM 26/1, 128 no. 18: 8 § 4.130.c
ARM 26/1, 137 no. 23: 9 § 4.6.a
ARM 26/1, 155 no. 25: 38 § 2.143.c
ARM 26/1, 161 no. 28: 6 § 5.113.a
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 7 § 2.87.a
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 8, 24 § 2.87.c fn
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 16 § 2.31.b
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 18 § 2.87.c fn
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 22 § 6.27.e
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 26, 27 § 2.87.c fn
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 28 § 2.30.a; § 5.229.a
ARM 26/1, 168 no. 35: 30 § 2.87.c
ARM 26/1, 171 no. 37: 17 § 5.167.g
ARM 26/1, 171 no. 37 r. 13 § 5.167.g
ARM 26/1, 173 no. 38: 25 § 4.130.d
ARM 26/1, 174 no. 39: 6 § 2.102.a
ARM 26/1, 177 no. 40: 50 § 2.31.d

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ARM 26/1, 177 no. 40: 51 § 2.21.i
ARM 26/1, 179 no. 41: 6 § 2.29.e
ARM 26/1, 189 no. 45: 25 § 4.140
ARM 26/1, 202 no. 58: 6 § 2.31.a
ARM 26/1, 204 no. 61: 13 § 2.29.e
ARM 26/1, 205 no. 62: 30 § 2.40.b
ARM 26/1, 206 no. 62: 48 § 5.260.b
ARM 26/1, 207 no. 63: 11 § 2.31.c; § 2.162.b
ARM 26/1, 215 no. 75: 6 § 4.82.a
ARM 26/1, 215 no. 75 r. 15 § 2.216.b; § 4.21.b
ARM 26/1, 217 no. 76: 29 § 2.511.b
ARM 26/1, 218 no. 77: 19 § 4.80.d
ARM 26/1, 222 no. 82: 13 § 2.30.a
ARM 26/1, 223 no. 84: 12 § 5.263
ARM 26/1, 225 no. 86: 21 § 2.30.c
ARM 26/1, 226 no. 87: 8 § 2.406.d
ARM 26/1, 226 no. 87: 22 § 5.290.a
ARM 26/1, 227 no. 88: 35 § 5.306.e fn
ARM 26/1, 263 no. 98: 10 § 5.167.b; § 5.172.jk
ARM 26/1, 270 no. 103 r. 13 § 5.306.b; § 6.27.c
ARM 26/1, 270 no. 104: 6 § 5.167.a
ARM 26/1, 271 no. 104 r. 9 § 2.194.c
ARM 26/1, 276 no. 109: 16 § 4.77.a; § 4.80.e
ARM 26/1, 277 no. 110: 5 § 4.42.c
ARM 26/1, 285 no. 119: 22 § 2.29.f
ARM 26/1, 290 no. 126: 9 § 2.31.c
ARM 26/1, 292 no. 127: 12 § 2.60.b
ARM 26/1, 295 no. 129: 16 § 2.472.a
ARM 26/1, 295 no. 129: 20 § 5.167.d
ARM 26/1, 296 no. 130: 8 § 4.150
ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 11 § 5.167.b; § 5.172.k
ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 12, 17 § 2.15 fn
ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 16 f. § 5.195.d
ARM 26/1, 306 no. 142: 22 § 4.7.a
ARM 26/1, 308 no. 144: 2 § 4.19.a
ARM 26/1, 308 no. 144: 16 § 5.182.c
ARM 26/1, 311 no. 147: 9 § 2.105.a
ARM 26/1, 315 no. 150: 13 § 5.167.c
ARM 26/1, 316 no. 152: 21 § 2.239.c
ARM 26/1, 320 no. 154: 29 § 5.200.d
ARM 26/1, 326 no. 160: 1, 19 § 2.40.a
ARM 26/1, 330 no. 165 r. 8 § 4.8.b
ARM 26/1, 331 no. 167: 5 § 2.397.c
ARM 26/1, 341 no. 168: 14 § 2.89.c
ARM 26/1, 343 no. 169: 11 § 5.229.a
ARM 26/1, 344 no. 169 r. 11 § 2.89.c
ARM 26/1, 344 no. 169 r. 17 § 2.492.b
ARM 26/1, 346 no. 170: 19 § 2.89.c fn
ARM 26/1, 349 no. 171: 15 § 5.3.a
ARM 26/1, 351 no. 172: 8 § 4.59.c
ARM 26/1, 359 no. 176: 22 § 4.127.c fn
ARM 26/1, 359 no. 176: 28 § 5.167.d
ARM 26/1, 363 no. 180: 11 f. § 5.127.b
ARM 26/1, 368 no. 185-bis: 8 § 5.165.b
ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 4 § 2.87.f
ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 5 § 2.87.d fn
ARM 26/1, 372 no. 190: 8 § 2.87.d
ARM 26/1, 424 no. 197: 18 § 5.127.b
ARM 26/1, 425 no. 198: 9 § 2.29.b
ARM 26/1, 426 no. 199: 11 § 2.507.b
ARM 26/1, 435 no. 207: 31 § 4.22.b
ARM 26/1, 436 M.8512: 14 § 5.115.c
ARM 26/1, 437 no. 208: 10 § 4.162.e
ARM 26/1, 441 no. 212 r. 3 § 4.129; § 4.135.f fn
ARM 26/1, 441 no. 212 r. 9 § 4.130.c
ARM 26/1, 442 no. 214: 22, 25 § 2.366.b
ARM 26/1, 445 no. 217: 23 § 4.55.b
ARM 26/1, 449 no. 220: 22 § 2.143.c
ARM 26/1, 466 no. 225: 8 § 4.82.b
ARM 26/1, 470 no. 231: 5 § 5.64.b
ARM 26/1, 473 f. no. 233: 17–22 § 2.514
ARM 26/1, 477 no. 235: 10 § 5.167.g
ARM 26/1, 478 no. 237: 7 § 4.127.a
ARM 26/1, 480 no. 239: 5 § 5.167.g
ARM 26/1, 497 no. 241: 15 § 5.287.b
ARM 26/1, 530 no. 251: 12 § 2.29.g
ARM 26/1, 530 no. 251: 18 § 2.31.d
ARM 26/1, 531 no. 252: 7 § 2.366.c
ARM 26/1, 533 no. 254: 29 § 4.100.g
ARM 26/1, 538 no. 258: 11 § 6.2.d
ARM 26/1, 561 no. 259: 20 § 5.167.b
ARM 26/1, 566 no. 265: 31 § 5.167.e
ARM 26/1, 571 no. 271: 5 § 2.343
ARM 26/1, 571 no. 272: 6 § 2.343
ARM 26/1, 572 no. 272: 25 § 4.98.a
ARM 26/2, 19 f. no. 289: 1 § 4.47.b
ARM 26/2, 19 f. no. 289: 1, 11, r. 16, ed. 20 § 2.87.d
ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 2 § 2.87.d
ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 4 § 2.87.e
ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 4, 13 § 2.87.d fn
ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 r. 13 § 2.87.e
ARM 26/2, 20 no. 289 ed. 20 § 2.87.d fn
ARM 26/2, 21 no. 291: 5 § 5.167.d; § 5.172.j
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 5, 46 § 2.105.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 8 § 2.83.a; § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 12 § 2.83.d
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 18, 26, 31 § 2.194.a;

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§ 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 20, 22 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 23 § 2.107.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 25 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 26, 27 § 2.186.b
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 30 § 4.150
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 35 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303: 49 § 2.115.a
ARM 26/2, 57 no. 303 ed. 5 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 5 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 6 § 2.89.c; § 2.186.b; § 2.240
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 11 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 17, 25 § 2.241
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 19 § 2.83.d
ARM 26/2, 59 no. 304: 36 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 4 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 6 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 10 § 2.115.a; § 2.194.a; § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 11 § 2.83.d
ARM 26/2, 60 no. 305: 15 § 2.468.b
ARM 26/2, 61 no. 305: 22 § 2.468.a
ARM 26/2, 61 no. 305 ed. 3 § 2.290.b
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 6, 17, 24 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 10 § 2.83.d; § 2.330.b
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 15 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 21 § 2.115.a
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 23 § 2.83.a
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 36 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 40 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 41 § 2.186.b
ARM 26/2, 62 no. 306: 42 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 63 no. 306: 46 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 7 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 9 § 2.83.b; § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 11 § 2.511.f; § 4.43.b
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 14 § 2.194.a; § 2.511.f
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 15 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 16 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 67 no. 310: 20 § 2.29.f; § 2.503.b
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 21 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 24 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 28 § 2.194.a; § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 30 § 2.194.a; § 4.80.c
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310: 37 § 2.511.f
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310 ed. 2 § 2.83.a; Ch 2. fn. 93
ARM 26/2, 68 no. 310 ed. 3 § 2.503.b
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 4 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 6 § 2.76; § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 7 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 8 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 11 § 4.158.b
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 14 § 2.83.d
ARM 26/2, 69 no. 311: 16 § 2.436 fn
ARM 26/2, 70 no. 312: 3 § 5.229.b
ARM 26/2, 76 no. 314: 28 § 4.7.b
ARM 26/2, 83 no. 318: 6 § 2.241
ARM 26/2, 84 no. 318: 24 § 2.241
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 3 § 2.504.a
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 5 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 25 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 30 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 33 § 2.194.a; § 2.511.f
ARM 26/2, 90 no. 323: 35 § 2.115.a
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 43 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 45 § 2.511.e; § 4.8.b
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 48 § 2.186.b
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 49 § 2.231
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 50 § 2.107.a; § 2.468.b
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 52 § 2.194.a
ARM 26/2, 91 no. 323: 53 § 6.2.a
ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 6 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 9 § 2.115.a
ARM 26/2, 92 no. 324: 13 § 2.330.a
ARM 26/2, 93 no. 324 r. 16 § 2.436.a
ARM 26/2, 95 no. 326: 13 § 2.483.d
ARM 26/2, 101 no. 329: 61 § 5.246
ARM 26/2, 102 no. 330 r. 5 § 5.165.c; § 5.166.d
ARM 26/2, 121 no. 347: 28 § 5.167.b
ARM 26/2, 126 no. 353: 18 § 2.228.a
ARM 26/2, 134 no. 358: 10 § 5.167.b
ARM 26/2, 163 no. 362: 46 § 4.123.b
ARM 26/2, 163 no. 362: 48 § 4.102; § 4.110.b
ARM 26/2, 164 no. 363: 13 § 2.40.a
ARM 26/2, 165 no. 363: 27 § 2.183.b
ARM 26/2, 166 no. 364 r. 7 § 5.167.f
ARM 26/2, 169 no. 366: 19 § 4.80.c
ARM 26/2, 170 no. 367: 7 § 2.282.f
ARM 26/2, 172 no. 368: 11 § 4.80.b
ARM 26/2, 172 no. 368: 27 § 4.67.d; § 4.80.a
ARM 26/2, 183 no. 373: 12 § 5.113.a
ARM 26/2, 192 no. 380: 12 § 6.2.d
ARM 26/2, 193 no. 380 r. 16 § 4.126.c
ARM 26/2, 194 no. 381 r. 9 § 4.126.c
ARM 26/2, 199 no. 384: 48 § 4.15.a
ARM 26/2, 215 no. 388: 12 § 2.169.c

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ARM 26/2, 216 no. 389: 20 § 5.195.e
ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 10 § 2.397.b
ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 28 § 4.16.b
ARM 26/2, 223 no. 392: 29 § 5.143.e
ARM 26/2, 223 f. no. 392: 25, 36 § 5.167.d
ARM 26/2, 224 no. 392: 37 § 5.165.b
ARM 26/2, 227 no. 394: 13 § 4.16.a
ARM 26/2, 244 no. 401: 26, 39 § 4.126.c
ARM 26/2, 254 no. 402: 25 § 5.195.g
ARM 26/2, 260 no. 404: 33 § 2.222.b
ARM 26/2, 260 no. 404: 69 § 4.154.a
ARM 26/2, 269 no. 405 r. 10 § 5.167.d
ARM 26/2, 269 no. 405 r. 16 § 2.485
ARM 26/2, 271 no. 406: 5 § 2.485
ARM 26/2, 272 no. 406: 13 § 2.397.b
ARM 26/2, 285 no. 411: 51 § 4.67.e
ARM 26/2, 285 no. 411: 58 § 5.223
ARM 26/2, 289 no. 412: 32 § 4.135.a
ARM 26/2, 314 no. 422: 6 § 4.127.a
ARM 26/2, 317 no. 423: 46 § 4.159.a; § 4.159.b; § 4.160.a
ARM 26/2, 334 no. 433: 15 § 2.334.a
ARM 26/2, 336 no. 434: 10 § 5.113.a
ARM 26/2, 337 no. 434: 38 § 5.165.b
ARM 26/2, 337 no. 434: 39 § 2.252.a
ARM 26/2, 341 f. no. 436: 3, 37 § 2.40.b
ARM 26/2, 348 no. 438: 30 § 6.2.a
ARM 26/2, 366 no. 442: 60 § 2.366.b
ARM 26/2, 368 No. 450: 16 § 2.114.b
ARM 26/2, 369 no. 451: 13 § 2.30.c
ARM 26/2, 379 no. 454 r. 7 § 4.125.c
ARM 26/2, 383 no. 458: 13 § 6.32.c
ARM 26/2, 386 no. 462: 21 § 2.29.b
ARM 26/2, 391 no. 468 r. 3 § 4.127.c
ARM 26/2, 391 no. 468 r. 15 § 5.167.d
ARM 26/2, 411 no. 473: 8, 15 § 5.167.a
ARM 26/2, 411 no. 473: 16 § 5.167.e
ARM 26/2, 419 no. 483: 21 § 2.87.e; § 2.284.b
ARM 26/2, 422 no. 486 r. 5 § 6.27.g
ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 16 § 2.194.c fn
ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 28 § 4.101.b
ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 40 § 4.98.f
ARM 26/2, 425 no. 489: 32, 44 § 2.194.c
ARM 26/2, 428 no. 491: 29 § 5.259.b
ARM 26/2, 430 no. 492 r. 13 § 4.126.a
ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503: 12 § 2.239.c
ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503: 34 § 5.113.a
ARM 26/2, 444 no. 503 l.e. 4 § 5.240.a
ARM 26/2, 447 no. 506: 10 § 2.107.a
ARM 26/2, 480 no. 511: 16 § 4.126.c fn
ARM 26/2, 480 no. 511: 34 § 4.126.c
ARM 26/2, 491 no. 519: 11 § 4.135.c
ARM 26/2, 493 no. 520 r. 4 § 4.154.a
ARM 26/2, 493 no. 520 r. 8 § 5.117.b
ARM 26/2, 494 no. 521: 14 f. § 2.215.b
ARM 26/2, 507 no. 529: 6 § 6.27.b fn
ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 8 § 2.84.a; § 2.424.g
ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 15 § 4.150
ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 16, 17, 21 § 2.494.b
ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 22 § 2.308
ARM 26/2, 523 no. 530: 31, 33 § 2.494.b
ARM 26/2, 524 no. 531: 22 § 2.466.a fn
ARM 26/2, 525 no. 531: 27 § 2.84.a
ARM 26/2, 526 no. 532: 11 § 5.136.a
ARM 26/2, 526 no. 532: 19 § 2.424.g
ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 21 § 2.59.c
ARM 26/2, 527 no. 533: 8 § 4.150
ARM 26/2, 527 f. no. 534: 22 § 2.59.c
ARM 26/2, 528 no. 535: 7 § 2.424.e
ARM 26/2, 528 no. 535: 13 § 2.424.g
ARM 26/2, 529 no. 537: 10 § 2.84.b
ARM 26/2, 530 no. 538: 8 § 2.424.b
ARM 26/2, 531 no. 538: 12 § 2.290.d
ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 21 § 2.425.b
ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 24 § 2.425.b fn
ARM 26/2, 532 no. 539: 28 § 2.360.g
ARM 26/2, 533 no. 540: 12 § 2.360.e
ARM 26/2, 533 no. 541: 5, 18 § 2.222.c
ARM 26/2, 534 no. 542: 9 § 2.424.h
ARM 26/2, 535 f. no. 543: 4, 11 § 2.360.f
ARM 26/2, 536 no. 544: 6, 13, 16 § 2.360.f
ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 5, 27 § 2.339
ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 6, 9 § 2.360.f
ARM 26/2, 537 no. 545: 23, 27 § 4.69.b
ARM 26/2, 538 no. 547: 6 § 2.360.a
ARM 26/2, 539 no. 548: 4 § 2.360.d
ARM 26/2, 540 no. 549 r. 4 § 2.84.b; § 2.466.a
ARM 27, 1: 4 § 2.321.a
ARM 27, 1: 5 § 2.461.b
ARM 27, 1: 11 f. § 2.362 fn
ARM 27, 1: 24 § 2.302
ARM 27, 1: 25 § 2.77.a; § 2.133.b
ARM 27, 1: 27, 42 § 2.133.b fn
ARM 27, 1: 28, 30, 31 § 4.100.d
ARM 27, 2: 17 § 2.321.c
ARM 27, 2: 19 § 2.302

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ARM 27, 2: 22 § 4.93.b
ARM 27, 2: 27 § 4.127.a
ARM 27, 2: 37 § 2.77.a
ARM 27, 2: 42 § 2.133.b
ARM 27, 3: 12 § 2.321.b
ARM 27, 4: 17 § 2.267.a
ARM 27, 4: 20 § 2.276.b
ARM 27, 7: 7 § 2.302
ARM 27, 7: 20 § 2.77.a
ARM 27, 7: 23 § 2.118.a fn
ARM 27, 8: 21 § 2.355.g
ARM 27, 8: 25 § 2.133.a
ARM 27, 9: 25, 28 § 4.93.b
ARM 27, 10: 11 f. § 2.37.a
ARM 27, 10: 17 § 2.77.a
ARM 27, 10: 23 § 4.93.a
ARM 27, 13: 6 § 2.133.b fn; § 2.133.b
ARM 27, 14: 8, 15 § 2.341.b
ARM 27, 14: 10 § 2.355.b
ARM 27, 14: 17, 39 § 2.341.b
ARM 27, 14: 25 § 2.355.e
ARM 27, 14: 36 § 2.366.b
ARM 27, 14: 37, 41 § 4.93.a
ARM 27, 15: 7 § 2.133.a
ARM 27, 16: 19 § 2.341.d
ARM 27, 16: 21 § 2.341.d; § 2.494.b
ARM 27, 16: 24 § 4.93.a
ARM 27, 16: 24, 27 § 2.461.a
ARM 27, 16: 29 § 2.118.a fn
ARM 27, 16: 36 § 2.355.a
ARM 27, 16: 45 § 5.167.e
ARM 27, 17: 7 § 2.101
ARM 27, 17: 12, 13, 23 § 2.419.c
ARM 27, 18 r. 6 § 2.490.c
ARM 27, 18 r. 13 § 2.118.a fn
ARM 27, 18 r. 14 § 2.461.c
ARM 27, 20: 24 § 2.77.a; § 2.511.b
ARM 27, 25: 13 § 2.60.b
ARM 27, 25: 16 § 4.93.a
ARM 27, 25: 21 § 4.93.d
ARM 27, 26: 6 § 4.147.d
ARM 27, 26: 7 § 5.182.a
ARM 27, 26: 16 § 4.52.c
ARM 27, 26: 21 § 5.3.a
ARM 27, 27: 4, 6, 21 § 5.47.a; § 5.306.h
ARM 27, 27: 22 § 4.112
ARM 27, 27: 23 § 2.254.d; § 4.147.h
ARM 27, 27: 23, 26, 30 § 2.419.c
ARM 27, 27: 25 § 4.120.a
ARM 27, 28: 24 § 4.159.a
ARM 27, 28: 4 § 5.47.a
ARM 27, 28: 27 § 5.47.a; § 5.306.h
ARM 27, 29: 6 § 5.182.a
ARM 27, 29: 20 § 4.159.a
ARM 27, 32 r. 18 § 4.147.i
ARM 27, 36: 35 f. § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 37: 47 § 2.443.b
ARM 27, 37: 54 § 4.93.a
ARM 27, 38: 6 § 2.419.a
ARM 27, 38 r. 15 § 2.419.a
ARM 27, 46 r. 11 § 2.461.d
ARM 27, 47 r. 2 § 2.419.d
ARM 27, 47 r. 8 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 59: 6 § 2.143.d
ARM 27, 59: 32 § 4.100.f
ARM 27, 63: 6 § 5.165.e; § 5.166.a
ARM 27, 63: 14 § 2.260.b
ARM 27, 66: 16 § 2.380.f
ARM 27, 68: 28 § 4.35.b
ARM 27, 68: 34 § 5.167.d
ARM 27, 70: 9 § 4.100.f
ARM 27, 72bis: 21 § 5.165.e
ARM 27, 72bis: 26 § 5.167.b
ARM 27, 72bis: 37 § 5.250.b
ARM 27, 73: 9 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 76: 16 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 80: 32 § 2.355.g
ARM 27, 82: 13 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 84: 14, 16 § 2.419.e
ARM 27, 84: 19 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 85: 18, 26 § 4.100.e
ARM 27, 93: 9 § 2.355.b; § 2.365.b
ARM 27, 99: 22 § 2.419.d
ARM 27, 106: 5 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 108 r. 3 § 2.403
ARM 27, 108 r. 9 § 2.63.a
ARM 27, 108 r. 11 § 5.270
ARM 27, 109 r. 6 § 2.419.c
ARM 27, 109 r. 10 § 2.37.a
ARM 27, 112: 15 § 2.199.a
ARM 27, 115: 17 § 2.380.b
ARM 27, 115: 21 § 2.355.g
ARM 27, 116: 11 § 2.87.a
ARM 27, 116: 24 § 2.87.a fn
ARM 27, 116: 54 § 2.380.e; § 2.429.c
ARM 27, 116: 58 § 4.100.f
ARM 27, 118 r. 4 § 2.37.a
ARM 27, 118 r. 10 § 4.129

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ARM 27, 118 r. 13 § 4.101.b; § 4.106.a
ARM 27, 118 r. 15 § 4.93.d
ARM 27, 121 r. 6 § 4.93.b
ARM 27, 124 r. 5 § 2.355.f
ARM 27, 131: 14, 18, 20 § 4.93.c
ARM 27, 132: 12 § 4.80.c
ARM 27, 132: 21 § 2.380.a
ARM 27, 135: 21, 22 § 2.37.a
ARM 27, 138: 19 § 5.246
ARM 27, 145: 8 § 2.355.d
ARM 27, 148: 11, 27 § 2.411.b; § 2.419.a
ARM 27, 151: 3 § 2.461.a
ARM 27, 151: 10 § 4.22.b
ARM 27, 151: 12 f. § 4.43.b
ARM 27, 151: 18 § 2.87.a
ARM 27, 151: 20 § 2.87.a fn
ARM 27, 151: 22 § 4.24.b; § 4.37.c
ARM 27, 151: 28 § 2.419.b
ARM 27, 151: 36 § 4.43.b
ARM 27, 151: 40 § 2.461.c
ARM 27, 151: 41 § 2.419.c
ARM 27, 151: 69 § 2.355.c
ARM 27, 151: 75 § 2.419.b
ARM 27, 151: 76 § 2.42
ARM 27, 151: 77 § 2.429.c
ARM 27, 151: 92 § 2.355.g
ARM 27, 152: 13, r. 7 § 2.15 fn
ARM 27, 152: 14 § 2.15 fn
ARM 27, 152 r. 6 § 2.380.d
ARM 27, 158 r. 3 § 4.93.b
ARM 27, 161: 10 § 2.380.b
ARM 27, 161: 14 § 4.155
ARM 27, 161: 41 § 4.50.a
ARM 27, 161: 44 § 2.461.d
ARM 27, 161: 45 § 4.35.a
ARM 27, 162: 37 § 2.36 fn
ARM 27, 163: 6 § 2.429.c
ARM 27, 163: 7 § 4.130.e
ARM 27, 163: 14, 18 § 4.93.b
ARM 27, 164: 6 § 6.14
ARM 27, 164: 8 § 2.419.b
ARM 27, 164: 13 § 2.419.b
ARM 27, 164: 14 § 5.195.g
ARM 27, 168: 14 § 2.380.c
ARM 27, 169: 12 § 2.419.c
ARM 27, 173: 8 § 2.355.b; § 2.365.b
ARM 27, 177: 13 § 2.355.b
ARM 27, 177: 20 § 2.355.g
ARM 28, 1 r. 6 § 2.7; § 2.399.a; § 2.441
ARM 28, 1 r. 8 § 2.104
ARM 28, 1 r. 14 § 2.29.h
ARM 28, 2: 7 § 2.510.a
ARM 28, 4: 4 § 2.104
ARM 28, 6: 11 § 5.263
ARM 28, 7: 13 § 2.278.b
ARM 28, 8 r. 5 § 2.120.c; § 2.507.d
ARM 28, 9: 5 § 2.114.b; § 2.507.b
ARM 28, 10: 14 § 5.104.c
ARM 28, 11 r. 8 § 2.219.a
ARM 28, 14: 6 § 2.425.a
ARM 28, 14: 9 § 2.138.b
ARM 28, 14: 13 § 2.425.a
ARM 28, 14: 14 § 2.425.c
ARM 28, 14: 16 § 2.77.e
ARM 28, 14: 19 § 2.425.a
ARM 28, 14: 22, 23 § 4.115.c
ARM 28, 14: 24 § 2.425.b; § 4.115.c
ARM 28, 14: 25 § 4.115.c fn
ARM 28, 16: 15 § 2.115.c
ARM 28, 16: 16 § 2.151.b
ARM 28, 16: 24 § 2.114.b
ARM 28, 16: 29, 36 § 2.110.a
ARM 28, 17: 7 § 2.119.a
ARM 28, 18: 6 § 2.84.a
ARM 28, 18: 7 § 2.326.b
ARM 28, 18: 9 § 2.137.a; § 2.424.a
ARM 28, 18: 10 § 2.326.c
ARM 28, 18: 12 § 2.28 fn
ARM 28, 18: 16 § 2.137.b
ARM 28, 18: 17 § 2.466.b
ARM 28, 18: 18 § 2.28 fn
ARM 28, 18: 19, 22, 30 § 4.97
ARM 28, 18: 24, 26 § 4.55.b
ARM 28, 18: 26 § 2.424.a
ARM 28, 19: 8 § 2.466.c
ARM 28, 19: 9 § 2.360.e
ARM 28, 19: 10 § 2.424.e
ARM 28, 19 r. 5 § 2.84.a; § 2.326.a
ARM 28, 19 r. 6, 9 § 2.424.f
ARM 28, 19 r. 8 § 2.137.b
ARM 28, 19 r. 14 § 2.360.e
ARM 28, 19 r. 15 § 2.360.c
ARM 28, 19 r. 16 § 2.137.a
ARM 28, 19 r. 18 § 2.87.a
ARM 28, 20: 4 § 4.134.b; § 4.135.d; § 4.135.f
ARM 28, 20: 8 § 2.360.f; § 2.366.a
ARM 28, 20: 16 § 2.137.b
ARM 28, 20: 25 § 2.137.a

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ARM 28, 21: 5 § 2.137.a
ARM 28, 21: 6 § 2.308
ARM 28, 21: 13 § 2.137.b
ARM 28, 21: 20 § 2.137.a
ARM 28, 21: 24, 26, 32 § 2.424.d
ARM 28, 23: 5 § 5.167.e
ARM 28, 24: 10 § 2.120.e; § 4.82.b
ARM 28, 25: 15, 25 § 2.360.b; § 2.365.b
ARM 28, 25: 16 § 2.84.a
ARM 28, 25: 22 § 2.466.d
ARM 28, 25: 26 § 2.360.c
ARM 28, 25: 27 § 2.195; § 2.308
ARM 28, 31: 12 § 2.510.a
ARM 28, 31: 33 § 2.494.b
ARM 28, 32: 15 § 2.116
ARM 28, 36: 7 § 2.40.a
ARM 28, 39 r. 5 § 2.204.b
ARM 28, 43: 14 § 2.115.a
ARM 28, 43: 16 § 5.241.c
ARM 28, 44bis: 18 § 2.115.a
ARM 28, 45: 9 § 2.511.b
ARM 28, 47: 21 § 4.104.b
ARM 28, 47: 26 § 4.135.e
ARM 28, 48: 45 § 2.87.a
ARM 28, 48: 61 § 2.110.a
ARM 28, 49: 3 § 2.511.g
ARM 28, 50: 9 § 2.60.a
ARM 28, 50: 12 § 2.60.a
ARM 28, 50 r. 19 § 5.167.d
ARM 28, 52 r. 7 § 2.149.c
ARM 28, 53 r. 8 § 5.241.b
ARM 28, 54 r. 9 § 2.194.b
ARM 28, 54 ed. 12 § 2.110.a
ARM 28, 55: 6 § 5.306.d fn
ARM 28, 57: 15 § 2.110.a
ARM 28, 60: 32 § 2.507.b
ARM 28, 64: 24 § 2.60.b
ARM 28, 65: 43 § 2.287.e
ARM 28, 67: 30 § 6.27.b
ARM 28, 68: 9 § 4.139.b; § 4.139.b fn
ARM 28, 69: 3, 6, 10 § 2.222.d
ARM 28, 69 r. 10 § 5.167.d
ARM 28, 70: 28 § 2.21.a
ARM 28, 71: 6 § 2.29.f
ARM 28, 72 r. 7 § 4.144.b
ARM 28, 90: 19 § 4.98.d
ARM 28, 93: 10 § 2.31.d
ARM 28, 95: 11 § 2.334.a
ARM 28, 96: 3 § 2.510.a
ARM 28, 98: 6 § 2.216.c; § 4.23.b; § 4.39
ARM 28, 104: 8 § 2.447 fn
ARM 28, 104: 16 § 2.251
ARM 28, 104: 21 § 2.507.b
ARM 28, 105: 4, r. 13 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 28, 105: 10 § 2.450.a
ARM 28, 105: 23 § 2.450.a fn
ARM 28, 113: 26 § 4.115.c
ARM 28, 115: 5 § 4.127.b
ARM 28, 120: 4 § 5.169. fn
ARM 28, 120: 12 § 2.87.d
ARM 28, 124: 12 § 2.479.c
ARM 28, 125: 9 § 2.40.b
ARM 28, 134 r. 3 § 2.77.c
ARM 28, 134 r. 6, 9 § 2.389
ARM 28, 134 r. 7 § 2.323.c
ARM 28, 134 r. 9 § 2.77.c
ARM 28, 135: 10 § 2.77.c; § 2.323.a
ARM 28, 135: 12 § 2.135.a
ARM 28, 135: 13 § 2.228.a
ARM 28, 135: 17 § 2.305
ARM 28, 136: 13 § 2.305
ARM 28, 136: 15 § 2.463.c
ARM 28, 136: 17 § 2.323.b
ARM 28, 136: 23 § 5.223
ARM 28, 137: 6 § 4.94
ARM 28, 137: 15 § 2.77.c
ARM 28, 138: 7 § 2.135.a
ARM 28, 138: 19 § 2.358.b
ARM 28, 138: 20, 27 § 2.463.a
ARM 28, 138: 20, 28 § 2.135.b
ARM 28, 138: 23 § 2.77.c
ARM 28, 138: 30 § 2.422.b
ARM 28, 139: 11 § 2.29.e
ARM 28, 139: 21 § 2.389
ARM 28, 139: 23 § 2.135.a fn; § 2.169.b; § 2.358.c
ARM 28, 139: 7 f. § 2.389
ARM 28, 141: 32 § 2.60.a
ARM 28, 141: 39 § 2.422.a; § 2.463.b
ARM 28, 142: 13 § 2.305
ARM 28, 142: 15 § 5.115.a
ARM 28, 143: 9 § 2.422.a
ARM 28, 143 r. 5 § 2.422.a
ARM 28, 144: 11 § 2.358.a
ARM 28, 147 r. 18 § 4.135.f
ARM 28, 153: 8 § 5.165.f
ARM 28, 156: 12 § 4.23.b
ARM 28, 166 r. 7 § 4.80.c; § 4.80.c fn

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ARM 28, 171: 16 § 2.27.b
ARM 28, 171: 18 § 2.204.b
ARM 28, 178: 5 § 6.27.f
ARM 30, 342 M.11535: 5 § 5.69.b
ARM 32 p. 283 vi 2, 38 § 2.15 fn
ARM 32 p. 395: 8 § 5.167.e
ARM 33, 99: 12 § 4.10.b
ARM 33, 101: 6 § 4.10.b
ARM 33, 101: 33 § 5.195.j
ARM 33, 153 r. 11 § 5.167.c
ARN 191 r. 7 § 5.180.d
AS 7, 40: 53 § 2.287.e
AS 16, 49: 74 § 2.477.f
AS 16, 52: 25 § 5.203.a
Atr. 42: 5 § 2.504.b; § 6.8.e
Atr. 46: 61 § 2.433.b
Atr. 46: 66 § 2.446.b
Atr. 48: 94, 96 § 4.157.a
Atr. 48: 101 f. § 5.240.a
Atr. 52: 290; 56: 193 § 2.433.a
Atr. 56: 203 § 2.450.c
Atr. 58: 214 § 5.190.c
Atr. 58: 241 § 5.3.a
Atr. 62: 280 § 2.429.f
Atr. 62: 283 § 2.477.e
Atr. 62: 292 § 2.68
Atr. 66: 339 § 5.203.c
Atr. 68: 375 § 5.190.d
Atr. 74: 17 § 2.243.c
Atr. 74 ii 19, 33 § 6.48.b
Atr. 78 iv 8 § 2.244
Atr. 86: 51 § 5.159.i
Atr. 80: 19, 28 § 2.159.f
Atr. 88: 20 f. § 5.193.f
Atr. 88: 21 § 5.274.b
Atr. 92 ii 47 § 2.173.f
Atr. 92 ii 55 § 2.180.c
Atr. 94: 33 § 2.433.b
Atr. 96: 17 § 2.148; § 5.203.a
Atr. 98: 36 § 2.224.b
Atr. 98: 41 § 2.163.b
Atr. 100: 15 § 2.72.b
Atr. 102 vii 1 § 6.33
Atr. 104: 12 § 5.191
Atr. 120: 46 § 5.281
Atr. 260: 243 § 2.159.f
AUCT 5, 62: 12 § 4.125.b; § 4.126.b
AUWE 13, 113: 9 § 5.179.b
AUWE 23, 68: 8 § 6.4.b; § 6.23.a; § 6.24.b
AUWE 23, 69: 10 § 2.271.d
AUWE 23, 77: 5 § 2.172.b
BagM 2, 56 i 14 § 2.183.b
BagM 2, 57 ii 7 § 4.135.g
BagM 2, 57 iii 4 § 5.148.a
BagM 2, 58 iii 32 f. § 6.27.e
BagM 2, 78: 10 § 2.505.a
BAM 393: 18 § 5.180.c
BAM 393: 21 § 2.159.g
BAM 393 r. 5 § 5.195.o
BAM 393 r. 26 § 2.267.d
BAP 36: 8 § 4.153.c
BDHP 5: 1 § 2.428.a
BE 6/1, 43: 9 § 2.477.d
BE 6/2, 30: 18, 26 § 2.94
BE 6/2, 62: 4 § 2.252.b
BE 6/2, 137: 7 § 5.179.b
BIN 2, 72: 5 § 5.295.a
BIN 2, 72: 17 § 2.181.c
BIN 7, 54: 8 § 5.179.b
BIN 7, 185: 3 § 2.505.b
BIN 7, 193: 4 § 2.505.b
BiOr. 10 p. 14 no. 4: 9 § 2.183.a
BiOr. 11, 82a: 2 § 2.173.c
BiOr. 30, 359 f.: 28, 29 § 4.43.c
BRM 4, 2 v 10 § 2.182.f
BRM 4, 4: 5 § 2.251; § 6.5.f
BWL 155: 2 § 2.271.e
BWL 273: 2, 5 § 2.243.a

CAD A/2, 265 § 2.159.e
CD Smith 259: 6 § 4.115.c
CH § 1 § 2.52.b; § 2.282.d; § 2.483.b; § 5.184.a; § 5.214.a
CH § 2 § 2.27.a; § 2.120.d; § 2.161.b; § 2.296; § 4.89
CH § 3 § 2.111; § 2.120.d; § 2.264.a; § 2.296; § 2.351.a; § 2.375.c; § 4.19.a; § 5.194.g; § 5.211.a; § 5.217.b
CH § 4 § 2.375.c; § 4.89
CH § 5 § 2.282.e; § 2.351.f; § 4.123.a; § 5.184.a; § 5.211.b; § 5.214.b; § 5.221
CH § 7 § 2.338.a; § 2.351.e; § 5.232.b; § 5.298.a
CH § 8 § 2.27.e; § 2.165.a; § 4.146.b; § 4.146.c
CH § 9 § 2.50.c; § 2.119.c; § 5.253.b; § 5. 255; § 5.274. fn
CH § 10 § 2.119.b
CH § 10 (manuscript r, JCS 21, 44 v 67) § 2.507.d

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CH § 11 § 2.50.a; § 2.119.c
CH § 12 § 5.274. fn
CH § 13 § 5.285.a
CH § 14 § 2.375.b; § 5.297.b
CH § 15 § 2.375.c
CH § 16 § 2.375.c; § 2.433.c; § 4.147.c; § 5.211.a
CH § 17 § 2.375.b; § 5.216
CH § 18 § 2.380.a; § 2.437.c; § 4.122
CH § 19 § 5.216
CH § 20 § 2.482.a; § 5.211.b; § 5.211.c
CH § 21 § 2.178.c; § 2.243.c; § 2.296; § 4.122
CH § 23 § 2.375.b; § 5.221
CH § 24 § 2.163.c
CH § 25 § 4.100.b
CH § 26 § 2.55
CH § 27 § 2.415.a; § 5.217.b
CH § 29 § 2.375.b; § 5.228; § 5.250.c
CH § 30 § 5.253.b
CH § 32 § 4.1
CH § 33 § 2.338.a; § 4.146.a
CH § 34 § 2.317.b; § 4.146.a; § 5.257.b
CH § 37 § 4.147.c
CH § 38 § 2.54.a; § 2.54.b; § 2.154.a; § 2.225.a; § 4.147.c
CH § 39 § 2.154.a; § 2.225.a
CH § 40 § 5.299
CH § 41 § 5.267.b
CH § 42 § 2.375.a
CH § 44 § 2.54.a; § 2.70.e; § 2.375.a
CH § 45 § 2.488.f fn
CH § 46 § 5.172.f; § 6.43.b
CH § 47 § 2.400; § 5.291.b; § 6.30
CH § 48 § 2.368.b; § 2.375.a; § 4.100.b; § 4.147.h; § 2.488.f fn; § 5.243.b
CH § 49 § 2.53.a; § 2.69.f; § 2.375.a; § 5.290.b
CH § 50 § 2.375.a; § 5.297.b
CH § 51 § 2.375.a; § 4.149 fn; § 5.139.b; § 5.261
CH § 53 § 5.232.b
CH § 54 § 2.164 fn; § 2.166; § 2.173 fn; § 5.186.c; § 5.238.b
CH § 55 § 5.248.b; § 5.274. fn
CH § 57 § 2.375.a
CH § 58 § 2.55; § 2.178.c; § 5.285.a
CH § 60 § 2.317.c
CH § 62 § 4.147.a
CH § 64 § 5.166.c; § 5.256; § 6.38.a; § 6.43.a
CH § 65 § 2.50.c
CH § 66 § 5.244
CH § 72 § 2.338.b
CH § 75+e § 5.250.c
CH § 100 § 2.104
CH § 102 § 2.276.b; § 2.317.a
CH § 103 § 2.266.g
CH § 104 § 4.165.b
CH § 105 § 5.297.a
CH § 107 § 2.310.b
CH § 108 § 4.100.a; § 5.145.a
CH § 109 § 4.107
CH § 110 § 2.70.f
CH § 112 § 2.53.e; § 2.189.c; § 2.243.c; § 4.123.a; § 5.235.c
CH § 113 § 2.415.a; § 4.165.b
CH § 115 § 2.49
CH § 116 § 2.66.a; § 2.375.c; § 2.505.d fn; § 5.194.d
CH § 117 § 2.104; § 2.272.b
CH § 118 § 2.505.d fn
CH § 120 § 2.29.f
CH § 122 § 2.351.e
CH § 125 § 2.49; § 2.51.a
CH § 126 § 5.260.a; § 5.261
CH § 127 § 5.220.b
CH § 128 § 2.57; § 4.19.a
CH § 129 § 2.380.b; § 4.122; § 5.220.b
CH § 130 § 4.123.a
CH § 135 § 2.415.a; § 2.483.b; § 2.490.b
CH § 137 § 2.53.c; § 2.380.e; § 2.492.b; § 5.217.c; § 5.265.b; § 5.285.b
CH § 138 § 5.260.b
CH § 141 § 2.351.a; § 2.351.c; § 5.217.a; § 5.274 fn
CH § 142 § 2.342.b; § 2.375.c; § 2.457.b
CH § 143 § 2.375.c
CH § 144 § 2.205.b
CH § 145 § 2.205.b
CH § 146 § 2.50.a
CH § 148 § 2.179.b; § 2.189.a; § 2.457.a
CH § 151 § 2.338.b; § 4.147.b; § 5.128.c; § 5.249
CH § 152 § 5.295.a
CH § 155 § 2.351.b
CH § 156 § 4.80.a
CH § 157 § 5.244
CH § 158 § 2.368.d
CH § 159 § 2.49; § 2.65.a; § 5.222.a; § 5.228
CH § 160 § 2.284.a; § 2.488.f
CH § 161 § 2.28.a; § 2.158.c; § 2.380.f
CH § 162 § 2.54.b; § 2.385.a fn; § 5.226.a
CH § 163 § 5.130.c; § 5.265.a

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CH § 164 § 5.186.c
CH § 166 § 2.161.c; § 5.186.c
CH § 167 § 2.65.a
CH § 168 § 2.351.b; § 2.351.d
CH § 169 § 2.351.b; § 2.351.d
CH § 170 § 2.457.d; § 4.42.d
CH § 171 § 4.42.d
CH § 171b § 4.46.a
CH § 172 § 2.54.c; § 2.351.c; § 2.375.b; § 6.23.b
CH § 174 § 2.490.b
CH § 176 § 2.52.a; § 2.189.c; § 4.147.a; § 5.184.b; § 5.184.c
CH § 177 § 2.28.a; § 2.50.c; § 4.147.b; § 5.184.c
CH § 178 § 2.28.b; § 2.52.a; § 2.400; § 2.457.e; § 4.72.; § 4.80.g; § 5.184.b; § 5.186.c; § 5.194.a
CH § 179 § 2.53.b
CH § 182 § 4.147.f
CH § 183 § 2.205.b; § 4.80.a
CH § 184 § 2.205.b; § 4.72.; § 4.79.a
CH § 186 § 5.226.b; § 5.243.b
CH § 188 § 2.380.e
CH § 192 § 5.225.; § 5.242
CH § 193 § 5.272
CH § 194 § 2.351.f
CH § 195 § 2.252.a; § 5.186.c; § 5.226.b
CH § 196 § 5.298.a
CH § 197 § 2.69.e
CH § 198 § 2.30.a; § 2.70.f
CH § 199 § 2.30.a; § 5.2.d; § 6.39
CH § 200 § 2.51.d; § 2.56; § 5.2.d; § 5.240.c; § 5.296.a
CH § 203 § 5.298.a
CH § 205 § 2.282.e; § 5.296.b
CH § 206 § 2.351.f
CH § 209 § 2.252.a; § 4.146.c
CH § 215 § 5.262.c
CH § 219 § 2.165.b
CH § 221 § 2.182.h
CH § 226 § 2.121.c; § 4.30.a; § 4.38
CH § 227 § 2.121.c; § 2.441; § 4.30.a; § 4.38
CH § 229 § 5.296.c
CH § 232 § 2.57; § 2.165.b
CH § 235 § 5.145.c
CH § 237 § 2.56
CH § 240 § 2.264.d
CH § 244 § 2.50.a; § 2.437.a
CH § 246 § 2.161.d
CH § 248 § 2.212.a
CH § 249 § 2.380.f
CH § 250 § 2.310.b
CH § 251 § 2.310.b; § 2.342.b; § 2.457.c
CH § 253 § 2.351.d; § 2.380.d; § 2.385.a fn
CH § 254 § 6.50
CH § 264 § 2.73.b; § 2.164 fn
CH § 266 § 2.189.a
CH § 268 § 2.53.a
CH § 272 § 5.145.d
CH § 273 § 6.32.d; § 6.32.e; § 6.35.a
CH § 278 § 2.50.b
CH § 281 § 5.144.b
CH § 282 § 5.213
CH i 1 § 2.89.b
CH i 14 § 2.205.a
CH i 15 § 2.140
CH i 17 § 2.140
CH i 19 § 2.54.b; § 2.54.d
CH i 20 § 2.50.c
CH i 21 § 5.137
CH i 23 § 2.68
CH i 24 § 5.166.b
CH i 26 § 2.56
CH i 30 § 4.106.a
CH i 38 § 2.56; § 2.71.c; § 2.271.b
CH i 4 § 5.179.b
CH i 4 f. § 5.299
CH i 5 § 5.131.b
CH i 6 § 2.27.e; § 2.164.b
CH i 44 § 2.474.f
CH i 47 § 2.53.d
CH i 52 § 5.194.b
CH i 54 § 2.51.c
CH i 63 § 2.228.e
CH i 64 § 2.54.b; § 2.54.d
CH ii 4 § 2.50.b; § 6.5.e; § 6.26.c
CH ii 5 § 5.187.b
CH ii 16 § 2.57
CH ii 22 § 5.194.g
CH ii 42 § 5.267.a
CH ii 43 § 2.57
CH ii 44 § 2.51.c
CH ii 45 § 2.372.b
CH ii 51 § 4.147.g
CH ii 55 § 5.194.e
CH ii 61 § 2.51.a; § 2.70.a
CH ii 68 § 2.149.a
CH ii 69 § 2.176.b
CH iii 9 § 2.164.d

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CH iii 14 § 2.264.d
CH iii 16 § 5.187.a
CH iii 20 § 4.147.a
CH iii 26 § 2.119.c
CH iii 36 § 2.63.b; § 2.170.b
CH iii 39 § 2.51.c; § 2.70.d
CH iii 47 § 2.51.c; § 2.218.c
CH iii 48, v 13 § 2.205.a
CH iii 55 § 2.55
CH iii 58 § 2.52.b
CH iii 70 § 2.54.a; § 2.54.c; § 2.55; § 5.3.b
CH iv 1, 9 § 4.145.a
CH iv 13 § 2.151.a
CH iv 15 § 4.51.b
CH iv 21 § 5.205.a
CH iv 23 § 5.128.a
CH iv 28 § 5.273
CH iv 29 § 4.145.a
CH iv 34 § 2.474.f
CH iv 41 § 4.51.b
CH iv 42 § 5.188.c
CH iv 59 § 2.69.h
CH iv 62 § 2.480.a
CH v 8 f. § 5.194.f
CH v 10 § 2.51.b
CH v 12 § 2.140
CH v 16 § 2.338.a
CH v 20 § 2.275.a
CH v 24 § 2.53.d
CH xxiv 1 § 2.375.a
CH xlvii 2 § 5.194.g
CH xlvii 4 § 2.173.d
CH xlvii 10 § 5.193.c
CH xlvii 15 § 2.49
CH xlvii 17 § 5.148.a
CH xlvii 32 § 2.50.b; § 5.146
CH xlvii 33 § 2.53.d
CH xlvii 36 § 2.338.b
CH xlvii 44 f. § 5.149.b
CH xlvii 45 § 2.158.g; § 2.225.b
CH xlvii 81, 92 § 4.42.d
CH xlviii 1 § 5.306.e
CH xlviii 11 § 2.429.b fn
CH xlviii 14 § 2.51.b
CH xlviii 17 § 2.338.c
CH xlviii 22 § 2.478.a
CH xlviii 32 § 5.240.c
CH xlviii 36 § 5.306.e
CH xlviii 39 § 2.35.c
CH xlviii 53 § 5.192.a
CH xlviii 86 § 5.194.i; § 5.302.b
CH xlviii 87 § 2.53.c
CH xlviii 93 § 2.53.d
CH xlviii 99 § 4.42.d; § 5.136.a
CH xlviii 103–105 § 5.3.a
CH xlix 3 § 4.42.b; § 5.136.a
CH xlix 11 § 5.193.g
CH xlix 25 § 5.194.b
CH xlix 27 § 5.296.c
CH xlix 52, l 103 § 2.338.a
CH xlix 57 § 2.96.b
CH xlix 59 § 5.297.a
CH xlix 64 § 2.52.b
CH xlix 65 § 2.479.b
CH xlix 67 § 5.194.g
CH xlix 68 f. § 5.297.a
CH xlix 69 § 2.474.a; § 2.486.a
CH xlix 103–l 1 § 5.187.a; § 5.298.a
CH l 13 § 2.217.a
CH l 14–16 § 4.147.g
CH l 32 § 5.206.b
CH l 35 § 2.149.b fn
CH l 40 § 5.180.a
CH l 44 § 2.507.d
CH l 52 § 5.159.k
CH l 52 f. § 5.298.b
CH l 53 § 2.507.a
CH l 54 § 2.52.b
CH l 55 § 2.202
CH l 58 § 2.55
CH l 78 § 2.429.b
CH l 84 § 4.147.g
CH l 94 § 2.161.c
CH l 98 § 5.194.c
CH l 101 § 5.130.a
CH l 105 § 2.52.a
CH li 12–14 § 5.298.a
CH li 18 § 2.217.c; § 2.222.a
CH li 38 § 5.194.h
CH li 42 § 4.147.g; § 5.144.b
CH li 46, 49 § 2.217.a
CH li 56 § 2.144.a
CH li 58 § 2.53.c
CH li 82 § 5.131.a
CH li 89 § 2.338.a
CHJ 65: 11, 15 § 2.236.b
CHJ 112: 11 § 2.282.b
CHJ 119: 32 § 2.173.j

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CM 8, 22 i 14 § 2.220.f
CM 8, 75 ii 9 § 2.147.a
CT 2, 1: 6 § 5.159.e
CT 2, 23: 37 § 2.275.a
CT 2, 41 (= VAB 5, 19): 47 § 2.285
CT 3, 3: 46 § 2.260
CT 3, 4: 60 § 2.181.a
CT 4, 30a: 13 § 2.366.a
CT 6, 6: 24 § 2.407.a fn
CT 8, 8d: 1 § 2.497
CT 8, 30a: 10 § 2.243.a fn
CT 8, 49b: 4 § 5.153.f
CT 12, 30e: 10 § 2.287.c
CT 15, 1 i 3 § 5.215
CT 15, 1 i 8 § 6.2.b
CT 15, 1 i 10 § 6.22.e
CT 15, 1 i 10 f. § 6.3.a
CT 15, 1 i 11 § 6.25.b
CT 15, 1 i 12 § 5.305.b; § 6.4.b
CT 15, 2 vii 9 § 2.217.b
CT 15, 3 i 6 § 2.173 fn
CT 15, 3 i 8 § 2.183.b; § 6.2.b; § 6.23.c
CT 15, 3 i 9 § 2.243 fn
CT 15, 3 i 11 § 4.58.a
CT 15, 3 i 13 § 4.100.a
CT 15, 4 ii 3 § 2.480.a; § 2.490.a fn; § 5.167.c
CT 15, 4 ii 6 § 5.254
CT 15, 4 ii 12 § 5.167.c
CT 15, 4 ii 15 § 5.192.a
CT 15, 5 ii 8 § 5.203.b
CT 32, 34 i 5 § 2.477.a fn
CT 33, 32: 1, 13 § 2.35.b fn
CT 44, 23: 12 § 5.203.c
CT 45, 31: 1–5 § 6.15.f
CT 47, 11: 12 § 5.304
CT 47, 63: 23 § 5.145.j
CT 48, 41 r. 7 § 5.154.f
CT 48, 50: 17 § 2.366.a
CT 48, 109: 8 § 5.149.c
CT 58, 28 r. 6 § 2.474.f; § 2.477.b
CT 58, 28: 2 § 2.154.a
CT 58, 28 r. 8 § 2.477.b
CUSAS 9, 444: 35 § 2.244 fn
CUSAS 9, 447: 9 § 2.244 fn
CUSAS 10, 1: 9 § 2.110.e; § 5.166.a
CUSAS 10, 1: 14 § 2.104.; § 2.110.c
CUSAS 10, 1: 18 § 2.113
CUSAS 10, 1: 19 § 2.116; § 2.507.c
CUSAS 10, 1: 22 § 2.114.a; § 2.507.b
CUSAS 10, 1: 24 § 2.116
CUSAS 10, 1: 25 § 2.507.b
CUSAS 10, 1: 30 § 2.104
CUSAS 10, 1: 32 § 2.114.a
CUSAS 10, 1: 33 § 2.149.a
CUSAS 10, 1: 34 § 2.507.d
CUSAS 10, 1: 37 § 2.29.g; § 2.507.a; § 5.165.b; § 5.194.i; § 5.303.a
CUSAS 10, 1: 7 § 2.114.a
CUSAS 10, 2 iv 8 § 5.205.a
CUSAS 10, 7: 1 § 2.32.g
CUSAS 10, 9: 8 § 5.77.b
CUSAS 10, 9: 9 § 2.31.d
CUSAS 10, 9: 17 § 2.172.d
CUSAS 10, 11: 15 § 4.22.e
CUSAS 10, 12: 29 § 6.5.c; § 6.18
CUSAS 10, 12: 30 § 6.36.b
CUSAS 10, 12: 36 § 4.116.b
CUSAS 10, 14: 1 § 5.212
CUSAS 10, 14: 4 § 2.243.a; § 2.505.g
CUSAS 10, 14: 8 § 2.511.c
CUSAS 10, 14: 10–12 § 4.138.b
CUSAS 10, 14: 11 § 5.93.a
CUSAS 10, 14: 13 § 2.365.b; § 4.117.a fn
CUSAS 10, 14: 14 § 2.447.d
CUSAS 10, 14: 16 § 4.139.e
CUSAS 10, 14: 17 § 2.31.a; § 2.59.a; § 4.69.b; § 4.80.h
CUSAS 10, 14: 44 § 2.29.h
CUSAS 10, 18: 13, 23 § 2.173.l
CUSAS 10, 18: 17 § 4.115.c
CUSAS 10, 18: 23 § 2.157.a
CUSAS 10, 19: 2 § 2.29.a
CUSAS 10, 19: 8 § 5.155.d
CUSAS 10, 20: 13 § 6.6.b
CUSAS 18, 2 r. 8 § 5.165.a
CUSAS 18, 2 r. 9 § 2.70.m; § 5.166.d
CUSAS 18, 2 r. 11–13 § 5.166.d
CUSAS 18, 4: 30 § 6.25.c
CUSAS 18, 4: 36 § 2.331.b
CUSAS 18, 7: 14 § 2.29.e
CUSAS 18, 9: 6, 8 § 2.29.f
CUSAS 18, 10 iii 17 § 6.49.a
CUSAS 18, 10 iii 18, iv 1, 4, 7, 11, 16, 22 § 2.364.b
CUSAS 18, 10 iii 24; iv 6 § 5.193.h
CUSAS 18, 12: 3 § 6.2.c
CUSAS 18, 12: 6 § 5.167.f
CUSAS 18, 12: 52 § 5.165.e; § 6.3.c

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CUSAS 18, 12: 69 § 2.154.a
CUSAS 18, 12: 91 § 2.478.b
CUSAS 18, 13: 47 § 2.476.b
CUSAS 18, 14: 36 § 2.371
CUSAS 18, 14: 76 § 2.505.e
CUSAS 18 p. 296: 5 § 5.78.a
CUSAS 18 p. 299: 4, 12, 16 § 5.93.a
CUSAS 32, 7 iii 23 § 2.252.h
CUSAS 32, 8 i 26 § 2.252.h
CUSAS 32, 27: 5 § 2.191.b
CUSAS 32, 28a: 15 § 2.371
CUSAS 32, 48: 16 § 5.132.c
CUSAS 36, 27: 14 § 5.306.a; § 6.12.a; § 6.24.c
CUSAS 36, 38: 5 § 5.69.a
CUSAS 36, 52: 4 § 2.29.f
CUSAS 36, 55: 7 § 6.11.a; § 6.23.b
CUSAS 36, 57: 7 § 4.8.b
CUSAS 36, 72: 13 § 5.295.b
CUSAS 36, 80: 1 § 4.143.b
CUSAS 36, 93: 7 § 2.507.b
CUSAS 36, 97: 10 § 6.12 fn
CUSAS 36, 100: 6, 11 § 4.143.b
CUSAS 36, 100: 11 § 5.230.a
CUSAS 36, 100: 18, 21, 25 § 2.206
CUSAS 36, 105: 9 § 4.23.a
CUSAS 36, 111: 26 § 2.345.b
CUSAS 36, 125: 8 § 2.504.b
CUSAS 36, 125: 9 § 4.39; § 4.115.c
CUSAS 36, 125: 11 § 4.39
CUSAS 36, 125: 13 § 2.504.b
CUSAS 36, 130: 17 f. § 5.162.b
CUSAS 36, 132: 10 § 2.175.a
CUSAS 36, 137: 8, 13 § 2.510.e
CUSAS 36, 152: 13 § 4.8.c
CUSAS 36, 156: 7 § 2.157.a
CUSAS 36, 161: 5 § 4.42.d fn
CUSAS 36, 161: 11 § 2.139.b
CUSAS 36, 161: 20 § 4.42.d
CUSAS 36, 163: 10 § 2.183.b
CUSAS 36, 174: 12 § 4.67.c
CUSAS 36, 174: 19 § 2.31.b
CUSAS 36, 175: 9 § 2.139.b; § 4.126.c fn
CUSAS 36, 175: 10 § 6.2.c
CUSAS 36, 175: 12 § 2.99.d
CUSAS 36, 175: 17 § 2.139.b fn
CUSAS 36, 175: 24 § 2.445.b
CUSAS 36, 175: 28 § 2.139.b fn
CUSAS 36, 175: 31 § 2.139.b fn; § 4.126.c
CUSAS 36, 176: 17 § 2.139.d
CUSAS 36, 180: 15 § 5.167.e
CUSAS 36, 180: 25 § 2.505.d
CUSAS 36, 180: 26 § 2.507.b
CUSAS 36, 181: 19 § 2.478.b
CUSAS 36, 184: 8 § 2.504.b
CUSAS 36, 190: 8 § 5.305.e; § 6.13.b; § 6.20.a; § 6.24.b
CUSAS 36, 198: 17 § 5.145.b
CUSAS 36, 198: 40 § 2.505.d
CUSAS 36, 201: 8 § 5.241.b fn
CUSAS 36, 201: 18 § 5.241.b
CUSAS 36, 208: 16 § 4.80.g
CUSAS 36, 216: 4 § 5.167.e
CUSAS 43, 14: 18 § 2.206
CUSAS 43, 21: 23 § 2.511.a

Durand 1990, 102: 17 § 2.244

Edubba 7, 4: 2 § 2.298
Edubba 7, 8: 10; 30: 12 § 2.352.c
Edubba'a 7, 22: 5 § 2.384 fn
Edubba 7, 22: 18 § 2.384
Edubba 7, 25: 20 § 4.5.b
Edubba 7, 25: 26 § 4.4.b
Edubba 7, 25: 38 § 2.298
Edubba 7, 26: 4 § 2.107.a
Edubba 7, 26: 6, 9 § 2.352.a
Edubba 7, 26: 12 § 2.458.a fn
Edubba 7, 26: 13 § 2.352.b
Edubba 7, 26: 14 § 2.159.b
Edubba 7, 28: 5 § 2.458.a fn
Edubba 7, 94: 12 § 2.29.e
Edubba 7, 95: 30 § 2.102.b; § 5.167.c
Edubba 7, 95: 41 § 2.36 fn
Edubba 7, 97: 19 § 2.221
Edubba 7, 100: 38 § 5.115.d
Edubba 7, 105: 7 § 5.141.f
Edubba 7, 109: 16 § 2.239.b
Edubba 7, 120: 14 § 2.384
Edubba 7, 126: 6, 12 § 2.458.e
Edubba 7, 131: 5 § 4.143.a
Etana MLC 1363 i 7 § 2.214.j
Etana MLC 1363 v 8 § 2.252.e
Etana MLC 1363 vi 1 § 6.8.c

Finkel 2014, 360: 13, 29 § 2.244
FM 1 p. 6: 47 § 2.427.d
FM 1 p. 32 ii 6 § 2.511.c
FM 1 p. 61: 14 § 2.194.c

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FM 1 p. 63: 23, 25, 29 § 2.436.c
FM 1 p. 63: 35, 41 § 2.427.d
FM 1 p. 76 A.2761: 11 § 2.216.d
FM 1 p. 82: 30 § 2.365.a
FM 1 p. 82: 42 § 5.134.b
FM 1 p. 82: 43 § 2.33
FM 1 p. 112: 7, 8, 9, 14 § 2.449.b
FM 1 p. 115: 9 § 5.200.d
FM 1 p. 133: 16 § 2.331.a
FM 1 p. 133: 17 § 2.331.a fn
FM 1 p. 138: 4, 6, 10 § 2.87.a
FM 1 p. 138: 24 § 2.427.d
FM 1 p. 140: 42, 57, 62 § 2.427.d
FM 1 p. 140: 45 § 6.20.e fn
FM 1 p. 140: 46 § 6.20.e
FM 2, 7: 11 § 2.450.a fn
FM 2, 8 r. 10 § 2.450.a fn
FM 2, 13 r. 5, 10 § 2.252.g
FM 2, 25 no. 4: 7 § 5.180.b
FM 2, 25 no. 4: 10 § 5.22.a
FM 2, 25 no. 4: 15 § 2.493.a
FM 2, 38 no. 11: 17 § 2.87.a
FM 2, 45 no. 14: 11 § 5.149.b
FM 2, 48 no. 16 r. 6 § 5.155.k
FM 2, 76 no. 40: 6 § 2.5.c
FM 2, 79 no. 45: 7 § 2.507.b
FM 2, 79 no. 45: 19 § 4.57.c
FM 2, 79 no. 45: 20 § 4.79.c
FM 2, 79 no. 45: 23 § 5.128.d
FM 2, 81 no. 46: 14 § 5.207.b
FM 2, 86 no. 47: 11 § 2.355.c
FM 2, 87 no. 49: 12 § 2.355.a
FM 2, 88 no. 50: 28 § 5.157.c
FM 2, 88 no. 50: 44 § 4.81.b; § 4.110.b
FM 2, 90 no. 51: 11 § 2.380.b
FM 2, 97 no. 56: 29 § 2.120.a
FM 2, 100 no. 59: 7 § 2.149.a
FM 2, 101 no. 60: 24 § 4.82.d
FM 2, 101 no. 60 r. 20 § 2.143.a; § 2.365.a
FM 2, 113 no. 71 r. 15 § 6.23.b
FM 2, 120 no. 72: 89 § 4.147.a
FM 2, 127: 28 § 6.20.e
FM 2, 133 no. 74: 9 § 5.96.a
FM 2, 133 no. 74: 11, 18 § 5.206.b
FM 2, 137 no. 75: 21 § 5.166.c
FM 2, 140 no. 76: 17, 19 § 2.229.b
FM 2, 164 no. 88: 18 § 2.147.b
FM 2, 169 no. 89: 11, 13 § 6.28.c fn
FM 2, 204 no. 116: 28, 30 § 2.87.d
FM 2, 204 no. 116: 29 § 2.87.a
FM 2, 206 no. 116: 59 § 2.443.b
FM 2, 210 no. 117: 5, 8 § 2.87.d
FM 2, 210 no. 117: 9, 15, 17, 42 § 2.87.d fn
FM 2, 216 no. 118 r. 23 § 2.229.d
FM 2, 221 no. 119: 5 § 5.238.b
FM 2, 221 no. 119: 15 § 2.194.c
FM 2, 223 no. 120: 7 § 5.117.e
FM 2, 224 no. 121: 8 § 2.69.i
FM 2, 237 no. 122: 3 § 2.365.a
FM 2, 237 no. 122: 4, 6, 32, 40, 43 § 2.427.d
FM 2, 249 no. 123: 21 § 5.294.b
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 4 § 2.290.c
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 5 § 2.186.b
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 6 § 2.330.c
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 16 § 2.290.c
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 18, 24 § 2.427.d
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 26 § 2.17.b
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 27 § 2.290.c
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 28 § 2.330.a; § 4.150
FM 2, 266 no. 128: 30 § 2.290.c; § 2.436.b
FM 2, 285 no. 130: 18 § 5.245.b
FM 3, 10 no. 1 r. 8 § 2.151.b
FM 3, 100 no. 7 vi 13 § 5.152.d
FM 3, 101 no. 7 vii 29 § 5.194.h
FM 3, 117 f. no. 10 ii 3, 10 § 6.38.b
FM 3, 118 no. 10 iii 8 § 6.25.d
FM 3, 146 no. 14: 13 § 5.165.a
FM 3, 217 no. 22: 2 § 2.439
FM 3, 220 no. 30: 4 § 2.32.e
FM 3, 220 no. 31: 2 § 2.439
FM 3, 221 no. 34: 2 § 2.439
FM 3, 221 no. 36: 2 § 2.439
FM 3, 231 no. 60: 54 § 2.73 fn
FM 3, 238 no. 73: 9 § 2.432.c
FM 3, 245 no. 95: 11 § 2.365.a
FM 3, 255 no. 117: 5 § 2.365.a
FM 3, 263 no. 129: 13 § 5.195.g
FM 3, 278 no. 133: 11 § 2.274.b
FM 3, 278 no. 133: 12 § 5.180.b
FM 3, 278 no. 133: 17 § 2.355.e
FM 3, 282 no. 135: 5 § 5.167
FM 3, 297 no. 144: 20 § 5.195.g
FM 3, 298 no. 146 r. 8 § 5.195.g
FM 3, 303 no. 153: 8 § 2.87.e fn
FM 3, 304 no. 153: 15 § 2.87.e
FM 4, 228 no. 51: 6 § 2.40.a
FM 6, 121 f. no. 5: 22, 29 § 5.134.b
FM 6, 160 no. 9: 24 § 5.134.b

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FM 6, 254 no. 25: 30 § 4.115.c
FM 6, 261 f. no. 26: 6, r. 13 § 5.167.d
FM 7, 6 no. 1: 11, 15 § 2.429.d
FM 7, 24 no. 8: 33 § 5.265.c
FM 7, 38 no. 13: 4 § 2.164.c; § 2.510.a
FM 7, 38 no. 13: 11 § 2.218.b
FM 7, 38 no. 13: 12 § 2.87.f
FM 7, 44 no. 16: 10 § 5.245.b
FM 7, 44 no. 16: 11 § 5.246
FM 7, 46 no. 18: 21 § 5.214.c
FM 7, 48 no. 19: 15 § 4.139.a
FM 7, 105 no. 28: 37 § 2.218.b
FM 7, 114 no. 30: 4 § 2.334.a
FM 7, 114 no. 30: 18 § 5.16.a
FM 7, 128 no. 36: 4, 38 § 4.98.b fn
FM 7, 130 no. 36: 56, 63 § 2.87.a
FM 7, 130 no. 36: 75, 77 § 4.98.b fn
FM 7, 151 no. 45: 3 § 2.21.j
FM 8, 18 no. 1: 13 § 4.160.b
FM 8, 46 no. 6: 11 § 5.159.e
FM 8, 46 no. 6: 12 § 5.57
FM 8, 59 no. 12: 6, 12 § 2.32.h
FM 8, 59 no. 12: 8, 14 § 5.155.n
FM 8, 59 no. 12: 16 § 2.19.c
FM 8, 61 no. 12 r. 9 § 5.172.d
FM 8, 62 no. 13: 7 § 2.5.c
FM 8, 62 no. 13: 8 f. § 5.194.g
FM 8, 64 no. 14: 9 § 5.78.a
FM 8, 64 no. 14: 10 § 5.194.h
FM 8, 66 no. 14: 39 § 5.155.n
FM 8, 67 no. 15: 14 § 2.87.e
FM 8, 72 no. 18: 7 § 5.145.a
FM 8, 80 no. 22: 22, 25 § 5.145.a
FM 8, 81 no. 23: 6 § 5.75.a
FM 8, 81 no. 23: 8 § 5.64.c
FM 8, 110 no. 32: 15 § 2.33
FM 8, 113 no. 33: 15 § 2.99.a
FM 8, 118 no. 34: 51, 55 § 5.195.h
FM 8, 137 no. 40: 11 § 2.33
FM 8, 145 no. 41: 6 § 5.172.c
FM 8, 155 no. 44: 5 § 6.22.b
FM 8, 159 no. 45: 9 § 2.29.f; § 2.30.a; § 2.102.a; § 6.27.a
FM 8, 159 no. 45: 11 § 5.195.d
FM 8, 161 no. 45: 29 § 2.33
FM 8, 170 no. 49: 8, 13 § 6.40 fn
FM 8, 164 no. 47 r. 5 § 5.47.a
FM 9, 109 no. 17: 8, 11, 13 § 2.194.d fn
FM 9, 109 no. 17: 28, 47 § 2.436.c
FM 9, 110 no. 17: 50, 52 § 2.194.d
FM 9, 110 no. 17 ii 6 § 2.194.d fn
FM 9, 116 no. 19: 10 § 2.469
FM 9, 120 no. 21: 5 § 2.194.d
FM 9, 123 no. 22: 8 § 2.479.b
FM 9, 124 no. 23: 23 § 2.194.d
FM 9, 124 no. 23: 29 § 2.194.d fn
FM 9, 124 no. 23: 31 § 2.436.c
FM 9, 126 no. 23 ii 6 § 2.194.d fn
FM 9, 128 no. 24: 14, 23 § 2.75.f fn
FM 9, 130 no. 25: 24 § 2.75.f
FM 9, 133 no. 26: 6 § 2.469
FM 9, 138 no. 28: 9 § 2.194.d fn
FM 9, 138 no. 28: 16 § 2.194.d
FM 9, 183 no. 39: 4 § 2.21.k
FM 9, 188 no. 42: 5 § 2.474.e; § 2.480.c; § 5.174.a
FM 9, 188 no. 42: 10 § 4.121.a
FM 9, 190 no. 43: 5 § 2.99.c; § 5.194.h
FM 9, 190 no. 43: 13 § 2.5.c
FM 9, 190 no. 43: 15 § 4.160.a
FM 9, 194 no. 45: 21 § 2.21.a
FM 9, 200 no. 47 r. 13 § 2.151.a
FM 9, 209 no. 48: 17 § 2.21.a
FM 9, 220 no. 53: 5 § 6.25.e
FM 9, 273 no. 68: 11, 13 § 2.87.a
FM 9, 282 no. 71: 5 § 2.427.d
FM 9, 282 no. 71: 28, 41 § 2.427.d
FM 10, 50: 12 § 5.195.f
FM 10, 67: 2 § 5.306.g
FM 11, 11: 8 § 2.507.a
FM 11, 12: 8 § 2.507.a
FM 11, 14: 16 § 2.507.a
FM 11, 24: 4 § 6.27.g
FM 11, 42: 5 § 5.275.b
FM 11, 62: 16 § 2.334.a
FM 11, 81: 12 § 5.275.b
FM 11, 144: 2 § 2.334.a
FM 11, 153: 7, 10 § 5.275.b
FM 11, 187: 13 § 5.155.i
FM 11, 162 r. 9, 11 § 2.427.d
FM 12, 157 M.9830: 6 § 2.32.e
FM 12, 220 M.12789: 5 § 2.143.d
FM 12, 230 M.18084: 4 § 2.474.b
FM 14 i 2 § 5.186.f
FM 14 i 8, 10, 36 § 2.228.b
FM 14 i 10 § 5.187.a
FM 14 i 19 § 5.186.f; § 5.187.d
FM 14 i 20 § 5.186.f

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FM 14 i 28 § 5.186.f
FM 14 i 32 § 2.268.d
FM 14 i 38 § 4.46.b
FM 14 i 39 § 4.46.b; § 5.186.f
FM 14 ii 6 § 2.264.f
FM 14 ii 9 § 2.140; § 2.228.b
FM 14 ii 18 § 5.187.a
FM 14 ii 38 § 2.157.a
FM 14 iii 1, 2 § 5.195.h
FM 14 iii 5 § 2.287.f
FM 14 iii 27 § 2.228.b
FM 14 iii 29 § 2.267.a
FM 14 iii 31 § 5.188.f
FM 14 iii 33 § 4.45.c; § 5.188.f
FM 14 iii 44 § 2.447.a
FM 14 iv 9 § 5.263
Fs. Birot 273: 4, 6 § 6.15.d
Fs. de Meyer 83: 25 f. § 2.161.b
Fs. Dussaud 2, 992: 61 § 5.134.b
Fs. Pope 87: 7 § 5.167.d
Fs. Reiner 188: 1 § 2.175.g
Fs. Reiner 190: 9 § 5.295.a
Fs. Reiner 190: 25 § 2.214.j; § 2.228.a
Fs. Reiner 190: 27 § 2.268.a; § 2.477.d
Fs. Reiner 192: 32 § 5.192.c
Fs. Reiner 192: 46 § 2.268.a; § 2.477.d
Fs. Reiner 192: 66 § 2.139.c
Fs. Sjöberg 17: 16 § 2.363.c

Gilg. OB II 1 § 5.130.e
Gilg. OB II 1–10 § 2.513
Gilg. OB II 44 § 5.130.e
Gilg. OB II 46 § 2.183.b
Gilg. OB II 66 § 5.280.b
Gilg. OB II 69 § 2.406.g
Gilg. OB II 70 § 6.2.b
Gilg. OB II 77 § 2.216.a; § 2.228.e
Gilg. OB II 85 § 2.67
Gilg. OB II 87 § 2.149.b
Gilg. OB II 96 § 2.149.d fn
Gilg. OB II 97 § 5.256
Gilg. OB II 98 § 5.257.b
Gilg. OB II 101 § 6.26.a
Gilg. OB II 103 § 2.505.e
Gilg. OB II 104 § 2.477.e
Gilg. OB II 109 § 5.206.c
Gilg. OB II 135, 140 § 2.212.c
Gilg. OB II 145 § 5.305.a; § 5.306.f
Gilg. OB II 149 § 5.190.c; § 5.202.c
Gilg. OB II 161 § 5.188.b
Gilg. OB II 162 § 4.147.j
Gilg. OB II 165 § 5.187.d; § 5.251.a
Gilg. OB II 175 § 2.212.c
Gilg. OB II 179 § 2.345.a
Gilg. OB II 183–185 § 5.195.n
Gilg. OB II 188 § 4.147.j
Gilg. OB II 194 § 2.282.b
Gilg. OB II 214 § 5.197.c
Gilg. OB II 225 § 2.178.a
Gilg. OB II 230 f. § 2.173.g
Gilg. OB II 232 § 4.57.b
Gilg. OB II 236 § 4.147.j
Gilg. OB III 19 § 2.175.g
Gilg. OB III 87 § 2.214.e; § 2.312.b fn
Gilg. OB III 108 § 2.312.b fn
Gilg. OB III 110 § 5.254
Gilg. OB III 111, 198 § 2.406.g
Gilg. OB III 114 § 2.71.c
Gilg. OB III 129, 184 § 2.312.b fn
Gilg. OB III 147 § 2.430.b
Gilg. OB III 156 § 2.312.b
Gilg. OB III 168 § 2.70.d
Gilg. OB III 183 § 2.505.a
Gilg. OB III 197 § 5.254
Gilg. OB III 249 § 2.312.b fn
Gilg. OB III 250 § 2.266.j
Gilg. OB III 250, 256 § 2.474.d; § 2.474.f
Gilg. OB III 253 § 4.149
Gilg. OB III 254 § 2.312.b
Gilg. OB III 270 § 2.312.b fn
Gilg. OB III 275 § 2.190
Gilg. OB Harmal_1 10 § 2.87.e
Gilg. OB IM 6 § 2.481.b; § 2.481.c fn
Gilg. OB IM 8 § 2.481.c
Gilg. OB IM 21 § 2.232
Gilg. OB IM 22 § 2.219.g
Gilg. OB Ishchali 5 § 2.87.e fn
Gilg. OB Ishchali 11, 16 § 2.87.e
Gilg. OB Ishchali 38 § 2.115.a
Gilg. OB Nippur 10 § 2.31.b; § 2.251; § 6.4.d; § 6.23.c
Gilg. OB VA+BM i 9 § 4.57.c
Gilg. OB VA+BM i 12 § 5.278
Gilg. OB VA+BM i 15 § 5.187.c
Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 3 § 5.278
Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 4 § 5.187.b; § 5.189. fn
Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 5 § 5.195.g
Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 8 § 2.365.d; § 6.8.b; § 6.8.d

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Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 11 § 5.197.b
Gilg. OB VA+BM ii 12 § 5.193.f
Gilg. OB VA+BM iii 7 § 2.200.a
Gilg. OB VA+BM iv 5 § 2.214.h
Gilg. OB VA+BM iv 11 § 5.148.e
Gilg. OB VA+BM iv 20 § 4.57.a

Haul 2009, 332: 6, 8 § 6.19.a
HS 161: 2 § 2.428.a fn
HS 1883: 4 § 2.476.a
HSS 14 pl. 107 no. 261: 8 § 5.155.j fn
HUCA 40, 90: 14, 19 § 2.490.c

IM 52566 § 4.103.b
Iraq 78, 245: 5, 11 § 5.206.a
Izbu 203: 38 § 2.68
Izbu 204: 30 § 2.165.b

JAOS 103, 205: 9 § 2.431
JCS 9, 62 no. 8: 10 § 2.212.a
JCS 11, 108 no. 3: 11 f. § 4.126.a
JCS 22, 26: 25 § 2.366.b
JCS 24, 66 no. 67: 16 § 2.260
JCS 24, 68 no. 74 r. 6 § 2.198.a
JCS 26, 163: 11 § 2.242; § 2.428.b
JCS 57, 70: 9 § 5.141.c
JCS 57, 71 r. 3 § 5.142.a
JNES 5, 205: 14 § 6.40.b
JNES 5, 205: 30 § 6.40.a
JNES 5, 205: 33 § 6.12.a; § 6.24.b
JNES 14, 15: 19 § 2.183.b
JRAS 1917, 723: 6 § 5.141.b

KAR 158 ii 15 § 2.70.l fn
Kisurra 153: 24 § 2.189.a
Kisurra 178: 29 § 6.48.c
KTT 120: 34 § 4.143.a
KTT 373: 5 § 2.159.d
KUB 37, 36 ii 10 § 5.103. fn

LAOS 1, 50: 7 § 4.133.b
LAOS 4, 10: 1 § 5.295.a
LAOS 4, 10 r. 11 § 2.243.a
LAOS 4, 16 iii 10 § 6.18
LE A i 27 § 4.31.a; § 4.38
LE A i 31 § 2.402
LE A i 32 § 2.386
LE A ii 11 § 2.69.g
LE A ii 20 § 2.300
LE A ii 21 § 2.131; § 2.418
LE A ii 24 § 2.300; § 2.418
LE A ii 30 § 2.168.a
LE A ii 32, 36 § 2.386
LE A ii 34 § 2.354.e
LE A ii 39 § 2.354.b
LE A iii 6 § 2.354.d
LE A iii 8 § 2.386
LE A iii 15 § 2.354.b
LE A iii 16 § 2.354.f
LE A iii 22 § 2.354.a
LE A iii 26 § 2.386
LE A iii 32, 35 § 2.354.f
LE A iii 37 § 2.386
LE A iv 5 § 2.131
LE A iv 13, 25 § 2.310.a
LE A iv 31 § 2.354.c
LE A iv 14, 17, 19, 27 § 2.418
LE B 16 § 2.386
LE B i 7 § 2.507.d
LE B i 12 § 2.131
LE B ii 1 § 2.354.e
LE B ii 3 § 2.354.b
LE B ii 6, 7, 9 § 2.386
LE B ii 16 § 2.354.d
LE B ii 18, 19 § 2.386
LE B ii 26 § 2.354.b; § 2.354.f
LE B iii 5 § 2.354.a
LE B iii 10 § 2.386
LE B iii 17 § 2.300
LE B iii 17, 21 § 2.354.f
LE B iv 17 § 2.310.a; § 2.418
LE B iv 22 § 2.418
LE § 60 § 2.264.b
Lex. MSL 4, 126: 13 § 6.32.b
LIH 60 iv 12 § 2.178.a
LIH 95: 19 § 2.488.b

MARI 3, 46: 3 § 2.212.b
MARI 3, 38: 3 § 2.233.b
MARI 3, 93: 5 § 2.233.b
MARI 6, 282: 7 § 2.208.b
MARI 6, 288: 13 § 5.78.a
MARI 6, 337: 8 § 4.125.c
MARI 6, 338: 55 § 4.125.c
MARI 6, 338: 65 § 4.125.c; § 4.127.c
MARI 7, 199: 28 § 5.165.c
MARI 7, 199: 31 § 2.438.c
MARI 8, 359: 8 § 6.27.f

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MARI 8, 364: 19, 28 § 2.427.d
MARI 8, 383: 8 § 2.334.c
MARI 8, 387: 6 § 2.60.a fn
MARI 8, 387: 7, r. 1 § 2.60.a
MARI 8, 387 r. 2 § 2.60.a fn
MARI 8, 389 r. 19 § 2.436.b
MARI 8, 401: 4 § 4.35.b
MARI 8, 401: 13, 18 § 4.35.a
MARI 8, 441: 16 § 6.28.c
MARI 8, 449: 46 § 5.166.c
MARI 8, 778: 21 § 5.238.b
MARI 8, 779: 26 § 5.238.a
MARI 8, 783: 5, 8, 14 § 2.424.g
MARI 8, 783: 13 § 2.236.b
MARI 8, 784: 14 § 2.424.c
MARI 8, 784: 16 § 2.137.b; § 2.424.f
Mayer 2003, 298, 299 § 2.214.k
Mayer 2003, 300 § 2.214.k; § 2.214.l; § 2.214.l fn
MC 2 p. 34 Vorl. 2: 2 § 2.244 fn
MCT 45a: 7 § 2.149.a
MCT p. 18 PTS 247: 1 § 6.20.e
MDP 2, 30: 26 § 2.477.a fn
MDP 23, 200: 34 § 2.407.c
MDP 23, 200: 47 § 4.34 fn
MDP 23, 227: 41 § 2.283
MDP 24, 348 r. 3 § 2.283
MDP 24, 357: 5 § 2.477.e; § 2.481.a
MDP 24, 369: 8 § 4.34 fn
MDP 24, 376: 23 § 2.407.c
MDP 24, 379: 14 § 2.243.b
MDP 28, 396: 3 § 4.150
Mes. 30, 707: 14 § 5.115.d
MHET 1, 75: 15 § 2.35.b fn
MHET 1, 89: 42 § 2.19.c
MHET 1/1, 78: 8 § 5.230.b
MHET 2/2, 130: 5 § 5.217.a
MHET 2/2, 132: 18 § 5.247
MHET 2/2, 144: 2 § 5.230.b
MHET 2/2, 250: 3 § 5.217.a
MIO 12, 50: 9 § 4.59 fn
MIO 12, 53: 3 § 5.113 fn
MIO 12, 54: 16 § 4.51.b
MIO 12, 54 r. 10 § 4.55 fn
MIO 12, 54 r. 15 § 5.109
MKT 1, 111: 27 § 5.149.a
MKT 1, 111 f. iii 27, iv 17 § 6.13.b; § 6.24.b
MKT 1, 346: 4, 15 § 6.42
MKT 1, 369 r. 1 § 6.9
MKT 317: 12 § 6.22.c
MLVS 2, 3: 9 § 2.484.a
MSL 2, 132: 36 § 2.70.a
MSL 2, 132: 40 § 2.67; § 2.225.a
MSL 2, 140: 10 § 2.182.e
MSL 2, 143: 13 § 2.173.d
MSL 2, 143: 26 § 2.166
MSL 2, 148: 19 § 2.179.d
MSL 3, 218: 4 § 2.365.a
MSL 3, 218: 14 § 2.148 fn
MSL 3, 220: 17 § 2.66.a
MSL 4, 105: 31 § 2.438.d
MSL 4, 117: 6 § 2.287.c
MSL 4, 121: 18 § 2.287.c
MSL 4, 124: 11 § 2.287.e
MSL 4, 126: 13 § 2.243.a
MSL 4, 65 i 3, 5 § 5.192.c
MSL 4, 66: 16 § 2.149.a
MSL 4, 72: 171 f. § 2.505.b
MSL 4, 94: 191 § 4.59.b
MSL 4, 94: 192 § 4.60.b
MSL 4, 95: 193 § 4.59.b
MSL 4, 95: 194 § 4.60.b
MSL 4, 96: 247 § 4.61.b
MSL 4, 97: 248 § 4.61.b
MSL 7, 235–239: 42, 65, 98 § 2.200.b
MSL 8/2, 25: 215 § 2.275.a
MSL 9, 35: 36 § 2.275.a
MSL 9, 80: 181 § 2.182.f
MSL 9, 117: 11 § 2.252.a
MSL 9, 126: 64 § 2.267.c
MSL 9, 136: 613 § 5.130.f
MSL 12, 63: 825 § 2.43
MSL 12, 158: 37 § 2.261.a
MSL 12, 159: 44, 51 § 2.261.a
MSL 12, 160: 89 § 2.161.a
MSL 12, 161: 129 § 2.228.d
MSL 12, 162: 134, 140 f., 163 § 2.261.a fn
MSL 12, 163: 179 § 2.261.a fn; § 5.193.i
MSL 12, 163: 183 § 5.193.i
MSL 12, 166: 274 § 2.31.b
MSL 12, 166: 296 § 5.181
MSL 12, 167: 305 § 2.17.b
MSL 12, 168: 341 § 5.295.a
MSL 12, 168: 349 § 2.264.g
MSL 12, 171: 431 § 2.275.b
MSL 12, 178 i 40; ii 3; ii 8 § 2.261.a fn
MSL 12, 181: 47 § 2.490.b fn
MSL 12, 183: 37, 38 § 5.194.j

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MSL 12, 194 C 4: 11 § 5.194.j
MSL 12, 195: 8 § 5.194.j
MSL 12, 201 I 4 § 5.194.j
MSL 12, 207: 154 § 2.249.a
MSL 13, 24: 210 § 5.306.g
MSL 14, 134 iii 16 § 2.478.a
MSL 15, 49: 568 § 2.243.a
MSL 15, 49: 574 § 5.179.b

NAPR 5, 8: 54 § 2.218.d
Nisaba 19, 181: 10 § 4.115.b

OBTR 1: 11 § 2.449.c
OBTR 3: 9 § 5.186.a
OBTI 4: 17 § 4.117.b
OBTI 4: 23 § 4.67.d
OBTR 4: 25 § 4.48.a
OBTI 9: 19 § 2.438.a
OBTR 16: 8 § 5.256
OBTR 17: 3 § 4.144.a
OBTI 18: 15 § 2.215.a
OBTR 36: 7 § 2.438.c
OBTR 57: 5 § 2.258.c
OBTR 57: 6 § 2.259.c; § 2.421.b
OBTR 58: 4 § 2.357.e
OBTR 58: 7 § 2.134.b
OBTR 58: 9 § 2.421.b
OBTR 58: 15 § 2.255.b
OBTR 58: 20 § 2.357.d; § 2.365.a
OBTR 59: 9 § 2.357.d
OBTR 59: 10 § 2.303
OBTR 59: 13 § 2.258.c; § 2.357.f
OBTR 59: 14 § 2.303
OBTR 59: 18 § 2.322.c
OBTR 61: 8 § 2.357.c
OBTR 62: 17 § 2.259.c
OBTR 63: 6 § 2.259.c fn
OBTR 64: 5 § 2.77.b; § 2.303
OBTR 64: 7 § 2.462.a
OBTR 65: 4 § 2.257.b; § 2.357.a
OBTR 65: 4, 7 § 2.366.b
OBTR 65: 6 f. § 2.257.b
OBTR 65: 7 § 2.77.b
OBTR 65: 13 § 2.134.a
OBTR 66: 4 § 2.77.b
OBTR 66: 14 § 2.134.b
OBTR 66: 18 § 2.322.a
OBTR 66: 19 § 2.303
OBTR 66: 21 § 2.77.b
OBTR 66: 24 § 2.259.c fn
OBTR 67: 5 § 2.322.b
OBTR 68: 6 § 2.134.b
OBTR 68: 16 § 2.462.b
OBTR 69: 7 § 2.121.a
OBTR 69: 8 § 2.256
OBTR 69: 11 § 2.256 fn
OBTR 70: 12 § 2.134.a
OBTR 70: 14 § 2.421.a
OBTR 71: 9 § 2.258.c
OBTR 71: 13 § 6.35.a
OBTR 73: 5 § 2.421.a
OBTR 74: 4, 7 § 2.258.c
OBTR 76: 6 § 2.421.c
OBTR 76: 7 § 2.37.b
OBTR 76: 9 § 2.421.c fn
OBTR 77: 7 § 2.303
OBTR 77: 11 § 2.281
OBTR 77: 12 § 2.31.c
OBTR 78: 4 § 2.134.a
OBTR 78: 20 § 2.357.b
OBTR 79: 4 § 2.258.c
OBTR 79: 7 § 2.388
OBTR 80: 4 f. § 2.254.c
OBTR 81: 6 § 2.259.c
OBTR 81: 10 § 4.100.f
OBTR 83: 7 § 2.357.g
OBTR 83: 9 § 2.256
OBTR 83: 10, 12 § 4.100.d
OBTR 83: 12 § 2.138.a fn
OBTR 84: 4 § 2.255.b
OBTR 84: 5 § 2.462.c
OBTR 84: 8 § 2.77.b
OBTR 84: 11 § 2.138.a fn
OBTR 85: 10 § 2.303
OBTR 86: 9 § 2.491.b
OBTR 87: 5 § 2.303
OBTR 87: 7 § 2.421.a
OBTR 88: 8, 12 § 2.28 fn
OBTR 90: 12 § 2.388
OBTR 94: 10 § 2.200.a fn
OBTR 94: 9, 14 § 2.37.b; § 2.478.a
OBTR 94: 12, 15 § 2.200.a
OBTR 96: 15 § 4.150
OBTR 99: 12 § 2.366.a
OBTR 107: 11 § 4.98.e
OBTR 111: 8 § 5.128.c
OBTR 118: 5 § 2.20.a
OBTR 119: 10 § 5.233

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OBTR 121: 13 § 2.447.c
OBTR 122: 10 § 4.3.b
OBTR 126: 21 § 2.200.a
OBTR 128: 14 § 2.99.c
OBTR 131: 17 § 2.183.b
OBTR 133: 10 § 2.416.a
OBTR 133: 15 § 5.167.e
OBTR 133: 22 § 2.79.c
OBTR 134: 13 § 2.59.a
OBTR 134: 18 § 2.494.b
OBTR 134: 22 § 2.129 fn
OBTR 134: 26 § 2.384
OBTR 134: 33 § 2.492.b
OBTR 138: 4 § 4.105.b
OBTR 138: 5 § 5.236.a
OBTR 141: 12 § 2.440.a
OBTR 143: 10 § 2.151.b; § 2.226.b
OBTR 144: 19 § 2.510.b
OBTR 150: 11 § 5.167.e
OBTR 150: 14 § 5.234.b
OBTR 150: 32 § 4.5.b
OBTR 150: 36 § 5.234.c
OBTR 154: 4 § 5.257.a
OBTR 156: 16 § 5.200.d
OBTR 158: 6 § 2.40.a
OBTR 162: 21 § 4.83
OBTR 191: 1 § 2.182.f
OBTR 207 iii 21 § 2.164.d
OBTR 286: 7 § 2.478.c
OBTR 296: 10 § 2.329
OBTR 305: 10, 11 § 2.339
OBTR 307 r. 6 § 2.29.i
OBTR 309: 12 § 2.266.h
OBTR 322 v 33 § 4.143.a
OBTR 324: 14 § 2.143.c; § 2.329
OECT 4, 152 i 45 § 2.179.a
OECT 4, 152 vii 49 § 2.45
OECT 4, 152 vii 50 § 2.164.d
OECT 4, 152 viii 49 § 2.273.a
OECT 11, 1: 3 § 2.479.a
OECT 11, 1: 5 § 2.228.f; § 2.252.d
OECT 11, 1: 9, 36 § 2.252.d
OECT 11, 1: 6 § 2.160 fn
OECT 11, 1: 7 § 2.160 fn
OECT 11, 1: 9 § 2.32.g; § 2.345.c; § 5.145.h
OECT 11, 1: 11 § 2.273.d
OECT 11, 1: 15 § 2.161.e
OECT 11, 1: 16 § 2.214.g; § 2.228.a
OECT 11, 1: 17 § 5.148.e
OECT 11, 1: 23 § 2.32.g
OECT 11, 1: 24 § 2.32.g; § 2.275.a
OECT 11, 1: 46 § 2.120.b
OECT 11, 3: 1–8 § 2.110.a
OECT 11, 4: 1 § 5.195.n
Or. 56, 247: 36 § 2.505.c
Or. 77, 335 ff. v 24 § 2.182.f fn
Or. 77, 338 i 4 § 5.306.f
Or. 77, 338 i 11 § 2.235.b
Or. 77, 338 ii 6 § 5.205.d
Or. 77, 339 iii 3 § 2.210.a
Or. 77, 340 v 13 § 2.484.b
Or. 77, 340 v 20 § 5.146
Or. 77, 340 v 25 § 5.190.a; § 5.206.a
Or. 77, 341 vi 25 § 5.188.a
Or. 77, 341 vi 27 § 5.188.b
Or. 77, 341 vi 29 § 5.188.a
Or. 87, 15 i 8 § 5.206.a
Or. 87, 15 i 15 § 5.110., § 5.117.b
Or. 87, 16 i 18, 20 § 5.283
Or. 87, 16 i 21 § 5.104.a
Or. 87, 16 i 30 § 5.206.b
Or. 87, 17 i 34 § 4.39
Or. 87, 17 i 35, 40 § 5.117.b
Or. 87, 17 i 41 § 5.283. fn
Or. 87, 17 i 42 § 5.283
Or. 87, 17 i 43 § 5.166.d
Or. 87, 17 i 44 § 2.366.c
Or. 87, 17 i 45 § 5.190.b; § 5.206.a
Or. 87, 18 i 52 § 5.110
Or. 87, 18 i 54 § 2.244 fn
Or. 87, 18 ii 1 § 5.288.a
Or. 87, 19 ii 9 § 4.51.b
Or. 87, 19 ii 12 § 4.45.c; § 4.46.c; § 5.186.e
Or. 87, 19 ii 14 § 2.145; § 4.50.d
Or. 87, 20 ii 17 § 2.244
Or. 87, 20 ii 19 § 5.190.b; § 5.206.a
Or. 87, 21 ii 38 § 4.44.c
Or. 87, 21 ii 42 § 5.188.d
Or. 87, 23 iii 19 § 4.44.c
Or. 87, 25 v 26, 35 § 5.136.b
Or. 87, 26 v 36 § 2.252.d
Or. 87, 27 v 44 § 5.165.a; § 5.166.d; § 6.25.b
Or. 87, 27 v 45 § 2.145; § 4.44.c; § 4.50.d
Or. 87, 27 v 46 § 5.165.c; § 5.166.d

PBS 1/1, 2: 47 § 5.203.a
PBS 1/1, 2: 49 § 5.149.e
PBS 1/1, 11: 52 § 2.202

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PBS 5, 147: 5 § 2.159.d
PBS 5, 157 ii 8 § 2.182.g
PBS 7, 29: 10 § 2.218.d fn
PBS 7, 87: 10 § 5.130.a
PBS 8/1, 82: 3 § 2.94
PBS 8/1, 82: 11 § 2.94
PBS 13, 55: 21 § 2.243.a
PIHANS 100, 100: 26, 44 § 4.127.a
PIHANS 100, 576: 11 § 4.125.b
PRAK 1 B 472 i 5 § 5.98.b
PRAK 1 B 472 i 13 § 2.70.l
PRAK 2 C 1: 5 § 2.270.a; § 5.141.b
PRAK 2 C 1: 7 § 2.270.a
PRAK 2 C 1: 10 § 2.29.g
PRAK 2 C 1: 10 § 2.507.b
PRAK 2 C 1: 12, 16 § 2.270.a

RA 15, 174: 7 § 5.148.a
RA 15, 175 i 26 § 2.179.d
RA 15, 181 viii 6 § 2.17.a; § 2.477.a
RA 22, 170 f.: 5 § 2.70.l fn; § 2.490.d; § 4.145.b
RA 22, 170 f.: 6 § 2.182.i
RA 22, 170 f.: 7 § 2.70.l fn; § 2.490.d
RA 22, 170 f.: 9 § 5.165.b
RA 22, 170 f.: 13 § 2.35.b; § 2.490.d
RA 22, 170 f.: 14 § 4.164.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 17 § 5.109
RA 22, 170 f.: 21 § 2.214.j; § 2.220.e; § 4.46.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 23 § 2.214.j; § 4.46.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 31 § 5.207.a
RA 22, 170 f.: 33 § 2.410.b; § 4.50.c; § 5.204.b; § 5.280.a
RA 22, 170 f.: 35 § 2.70.l
RA 22, 170 f.: 39 § 2.410.b; § 4.50.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 40 § 4.50.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 41 § 4.50.c; § 5.254
RA 22, 170 f.: 43 § 5.234.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 44 § 2.218.e
RA 22, 170 f.: 49 § 5.200.a
RA 22, 170 f.: 50 § 6.5.b; § 6.26.c
RA 22, 170 f.: 56 § 5.205.b
RA 24, 35 r. ii 1 § 5.157.h
RA 24, 105 r. 8 § 2.219.g
RA 24, 106 r. 7 § 5.189.a
RA 25, 125: 5 § 2.272.a
RA 27, 150: 10 § 2.447.c
RA 27, 152: 19 § 2.181.a
RA 32, 180: 5 § 5.169.b
RA 35, 2 i 23 § 2.366.a
RA 35, 2 ii 3 § 2.273.a
RA 35, 2 ii 11 § 6.22.a
RA 35, 5: 13 § 5.145.h
RA 35, 7: 18 § 2.249.a
RA 35, 47 no. 19: 2 § 2.219.a
RA 35, 47 no. 19: 3 § 2.476.a
RA 36, 10: 1 § 2.371
RA 36, 10: 8 § 2.43
RA 36, 11: 8–12 § 2.236.b fn
RA 38, 84: 5 § 2.172.b
RA 40, 90: 15, 23 § 2.159.h
RA 45, 172: 15 f. § 2.183.b
RA 45, 174: 62 § 2.179.a
RA 35, 178: 8, 18 § 5.159.b
RA 46, 88: 22 § 2.450.c; § 5.206.c
RA 46, 92: 68 § 2.179.a
RA 46, 92: 70, 72 § 2.149.a; § 5.157.f
RA 46, 94: 4 § 2.430.b
RA 46, 94: 14 § 2.144.b
RA 60, 6: 5 § 5.263
RA 60, 24: 6 § 5.134.b
RA 61, 24: 15 § 2.120.b
RA 61, 24: 20 § 2.363.c
RA 62, 20: 15 § 4.125.c
RA 62, 21: 30 § 4.57.a
RA 65, 61 iv 48 § 4.12.c
RA 65, 71: 22 § 2.72.f
RA 65, 73: 40 § 2.72.d
RA 67, 51 no. 2: 30 § 2.260
RA 68, 30: 13, 19 § 2.32.a fn
RA 70, 137: 46 § 6.5.e
RA 74, 51 f. no. 119: 13, 17 § 2.370.d
RA 74, 51 no. 119: 15 § 2.450.b
RA 80, 178: 42, 45 § 2.268.b
RA 86, 81: 7 § 5.276.b
RA 90, 122: 18 § 2.428.a
RA 96, 129: 6, 17 § 5.167.e
RA 96, 129: 22 § 2.29.f
RA 96, 129: 26 § 2.29.f fn
RA 96, 129: 37 § 2.29.f; § 5.167.e
RA 96, 129: 43 § 4.125.c
RA 101, 64: 15 § 2.243.a fn
RA 101, 64: 24, 41 § 2.212.a
RA 101, 64: 37 § 2.243.a fn
RA 101, 66: 75 § 2.428 fn
RA 102, 55: 16 § 2.190
RA 102, 57: 12 § 2.190
RA 103, 29: 12 § 5.148.b
Rashid 1965, 34: 6 § 2.387

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Rashid 1965, 121: 14 § 2.387
RATL p. 88 no. 18: 9 § 5.113.a
RATL p. 105 no. 36: 11 § 2.494.a
RATL p. 114 no. 43 r. 12 § 5.115.a
RATL p. 126 no. 58: 5 § 5.113.c
RATL p. 127 no. 58: 40 § 4.132; § 4.133.a
RATL p. 129 no. 59: 16 § 4.3.c
RATL p. 129 no. 59: 23 § 4.15.b
RATL p. 133 no. 63: 25 § 5.165.h
RATL p. 139 no. 68: 9 § 4.18.a
RATL p. 141 no. 71: 11 § 4.80.e; § 2.139.d
RATL p. 147 no. 78: 7 § 2.215.b
RATL p. 148 no. 78: 17 § 5.117.c
RATL p. 150 no. 80: 21, 27 § 2.427.d
RATL p. 160 no. 89: 34 § 5.117; § 5.117.a
RATL p. 162 no. 90: 14 § 4.125.b
RATL p. 167 no. 94: 6 § 4.104.b
RATL p. 170 no. 97: 15 § 5.113.c
RATL p. 170 no. 97: 20 § 4.115.c
RATL p. 192 no. 117: 8 § 2.43
RATL p. 196 no. 121: 9 § 4.98.b
RATL p. 198 no. 125: 9 § 5.198
RATL p. 199 no. 126: 9 § 5.204.a
RATL p. 203 no. 128: 22 § 6.33
RATL p. 204 no. 129 r. 6 § 5.234.b
RATL p. 219 no. 143: 9 § 2.363.a fn
RATL p. 219 no. 143: 17 § 4.117.b
RATL p. 222 no. 147: 20 § 6.27.d
RATL p. 233 no. 157: 13 § 4.159.d
RATL p. 239 no. 165: 11 § 4.125.b
RHA 5, 71: 4 § 5.195.l
Riftin 38: 14 § 4.164.d
RIMA 1, 49: 43 § 5.139.b; § 5.155.d
RIMA 1, 54 iii 11 f. § 5.205.e
RIME 4, 268: 18 § 5.160.b
RIME 4, 335: 32 § 5.187.a; § 5.269.a
RIME 4, 335: 41 § 2.426.c
RIME 4, 336: 65, 81 § 2.426.b
RIME 4, 337: 9 § 5.187.a; § 5.269.a
RIME 4, 337: 13 § 2.426.a
RIME 4, 340: 5 § 2.401.b
RIME 4, 341: 24 § 2.426.b
RIME 4, 341: 42 § 5.165.c; § 5.166.a
RIME 4, 342: 46 § 51.66.b
RIME 4, 348: 4 § 6.5.b; § 6.23.d
RIME 4, 348: 19 § 2.426.c
RIME 4, 349: 43 § 2.140
RIME 4, 349: 46 § 2.401.a; § 2.401.b; § 4.79.a
RIME 4, 373: 4 § 6.5.b
RIME 4, 373: 9 § 2.393.b fn
RIME 4, 374: 37 § 2.393.b fn
RIME 4, 377: 59 § 4.163.b
RIME 4, 381: 6 § 6.5.b
RIME 4, 381: 9 § 2.96.b
RIME 4, 381: 19 § 2.228.e
RIME 4, 381: 23 § 2.479.b
RIME 4, 382: 42 § 5.187.b; § 5.269.b
RIME 4, 382: 51 § 6.35.b
RIME 4, 382: 78 § 5.165.b; § 5.166.b
RIME 4, 385: 2 § 5.167.g
RIME 4, 385: 9 § 2.395
RIME 4, 385: 15 § 2.395
RIME 4, 386: 49 § 5.167.b
RIME 4, 386: 50 § 5.167.g
RIME 4, 388: 120 § 2.395
RIME 4, 603: 16 § 2.102.a
RIME 4, 603: 26 § 5.139.b; § 5.148.c
RIME 4, 603: 38 § 5.181
RIME 4, 604: 71 § 2.149.a
RIME 4, 605: 20–25 § 5.267.a
RIME 4, 605: 34 § 2.139.d; § 5.305.b; § 5.306.e
RIME 4, 606: 46 § 2.27.e
RIME 4, 606: 56 § 4.126.b
RIME 4, 606: 56, 74, 84 § 4.125.b
RIME 4, 607: 87 § 5.280.b
RIME 4, 607: 89 § 5.172.b
RIME 4, 607: 93 § 2.102.a
RIME 4, 607: 100 f. § 5.195.n
RIME 4, 607: 102 § 2.405
RIME 4, 607: 109 § 5.267.b
RIME 4, 608: 139 § 5.277.a
RIME 4, 608: 146 § 2.217.f
RIME 4, 608: 147 § 5.241.a
RIME 4, 608: 157 § 2.215.a; § 2.219.d; § 2.217.f
RIME 4, 673: 25 § 5.218.b
RIME 4, 674: 84 § 5.218.a

SAACT 3, 35 N 68 § 5.195.f
SD 5, 21: 4 § 2.72.e; § 2.72.e fn
SD 5, 30: 42 § 6.47
Semitica 1, 20: 37 § 2.172.c
Semitica 59 p. 43 no. 12: 6 § 5.165.c; § 5.166.d
Shemshara 1, 1: 5 § 5.113.a
Shemshara 1, 1: 67 § 2.40.b
Shemshara 1, 2: 6 § 4.135.b; § 4.135.f
Shemshara 1, 8: 9 § 4.144.b
Shemshara 1, 8: 12 § 2.40.b
Shemshara 1, 8: 22 § 5.281

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Shemshara 1, 8: 28, 41, 44 § 2.40.b
Shemshara 1, 11: 24 § 4.144.b
Shemshara 1, 11: 28 § 5.275.a
Shemshara 1, 15: 40 § 5.128.c
Shemshara 1, 19: 13 § 2.264.h
Shemshara 1, 19: 16 § 5.170.b
Shemshara 1, 31: 11 § 4.115.c
Shemshara 1, 39: 5 § 4.54.a; § 4.55.b; § 4.63
Shemshara 1, 42: 16 § 2.440.b
Shemshara 1, 42: 55 § 4.55.b
Shemshara 1, 42: 55 f. § 4.63
Shemshara 1, 46: 6 § 4.125.b
Shemshara 1, 46: 16 § 4.125.b fn
Shemshara 1, 46: 20 § 4.80.b
Shemshara 1, 47: 17 § 2.194.e
Shemshara 1, 47: 27, 28 § 2.194.e fn
Shemshara 1, 50: 23 § 4.54.d
Shemshara 1, 53: 7 § 2.77.d; § 2.306
Shemshara 1, 53: 8 § 2.136.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 9, 12 § 4.135.b
Shemshara 1, 53: 10 § 2.136.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 13 § 2.77.d; § 5.128.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 14 § 2.464.b
Shemshara 1, 53: 15 § 2.194.e
Shemshara 1, 53: 17 § 5.128.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 18 § 2.324.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 22 § 5.128.a
Shemshara 1, 53: 26 § 2.324.b; § 4.96
Shemshara 1, 53: 27 § 2.440.b
Shemshara 1, 53: 29 § 2.306
Shemshara 1, 54: 7 § 2.423
Shemshara 1, 54: 9 § 2.136.c
Shemshara 1, 54: 13 § 2.77.d
Shemshara 1, 54: 21, 29 § 2.136.a; § 2.423
Shemshara 1, 55: 8 § 4.115.c
Shemshara 1, 55: 9 § 2.464.a
Shemshara 1, 55: 11 § 4.115.b
Shemshara 1, 55: 17 § 4.96.; § 4.110.a
Shemshara 1, 55: 18 § 2.390
Shemshara 1, 55: 19 § 2.136.a; § 4.59.d; § 4.64.b
Shemshara 1, 55: 23 § 4.115.c
Shemshara 1, 56: 6 § 2.423
Shemshara 1, 56: 9 § 2.359
Shemshara 1, 56: 14 § 2.306
Shemshara 1, 56: 27 § 2.136.a; § 2.423
Shemshara 1, 56: 31 § 4.33.a
Shemshara 1, 56: 35 § 2.390
Shemshara 1, 57: 23 § 4.96
Shemshara 1, 57: 28 § 2.306
Shemshara 1, 58 r. 11 § 2.77.d
Shemshara 1, 58 r. 16 § 2.136.b
Shemshara 1, 59: 5 § 2.268.c fn
Shemshara 1, 59: 18 § 2.268.c fn
Shemshara 1, 59: 19, 21 § 2.268.c
Shemshara 1, 60: 30 § 2.33
Shemshara 1, 61 r. 6 § 4.80.c
Shemshara 1, 62: 20 § 2.390
Shemshara 1, 63: 6 § 4.115.c
Shemshara 1, 63: 35 § 2.65.b
Shemshara 1, 63: 57 § 4.98.c
Shemshara 1, 64: 19 § 4.59.a
Shemshara 1, 64: 43 § 2.440.b
Shemshara 1, 65: 8 § 4.3.d
Shemshara 1, 68: 1 § 4.143.a
Shemshara 1, 68: 18 § 4.64.c
Shemshara 1, 69: 10, 20 § 2.440.b
Shemshara 1, 73: 6 § 2.136.c
Shemshara 1, 73: 7 § 2.38; § 2.479.c
Shemshara 1, 73: 8 § 2.390
Shemshara 1, 73: 11 § 2.77.d
Shemshara 1, 73: 43 § 2.135.a fn
Shemshara 2, 137: 15 § 6.20.c
SLB 1/2, 47: 1–3 § 2.69.g
Sommerfeld 2006, 373 § 2.495.a
SpTU 3, 84: 62 § 2.287.h
STA 3 iii 32 § 2.477.a fn
Stamm 1939, 114 § 5.138.b
Sumer 6, 133: 21, 24 § 6.38.b; § 6.43.a
Sumer 6, 134 r. 16 § 6.38.b
Sumer 7, 31: 2 § 2.273.c
Sumer 7, 33: 2, r. 1 § 6.11.b
Sumer 7, 33: 3 § 2.251
Sumer 7, 38: 5 § 6.38.b
Sumer 7, 39: 4 § 6.13.a; § 6.24.b
Sumer 7, 39 no. 7: 4 § 5.305.e
Sumer 7, 43: 3 § 6.38.b
Sumer 7, 130: 20 § 6.40.b
Sumer 7, 131: 32 § 6.6.b
Sumer 7, 131: 33 § 6.7.b
Sumer 7, 133: 34 § 6.7.b
Sumer 7, 133: 35 § 6.40.b
Sumer 7, 135: 12 § 6.7.b
Sumer 7, 144: 48 § 6.41
Sumer 7, 147: 15 § 6.5.a; § 6.24.b
Sumer 7, 148: 21 § 6.40.b
Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 22 § 2.365.c; § 6.32.e
Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 24 § 2.365.d

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Sumer 10, 57 ii § 2: 24 § 6.32.f
Sumer 10, 59 iv §§ 5: 6, 6: 2 § 6.4.b
Sumer 10, 59 v § 7: 5 § 6.41
Sumer 11 pl. 16 no. 10: 8 § 5.152.b
Sumer 13, 77: 10 § 2.249.b
Sumer 14, 1: 1 § 2.185.b; § 2.282.c
Sumer 14, 1: 4 § 2.319.c
Sumer 14, 1: 17 § 2.353.a
Sumer 14, 1: 18 § 2.319.a; § 2.385.b
Sumer 14, 1: 20, 22 § 2.282.c
Sumer 14, 1: 23 § 2.80.c
Sumer 14, 1: 30 § 2.353.b; § 2.353.c
Sumer 14, 1: 32 § 2.319.b
Sumer 14, 1: 36 § 2.267.a; § 2.353.d
Sumer 14, 1: 43 § 2.353.c
Sumer 14, 2: 12 § 2.417.b
Sumer 14, 2: 13 § 2.459.f
Sumer 14, 2: 14 § 2.28.a
Sumer 14, 2: 15 § 4.9.a
Sumer 14, 2: 16 § 2.130.a
Sumer 14, 2: 17 § 2.80.c
Sumer 14, 3: 4 § 2.130.c
Sumer 14, 3: 9 § 2.130.a
Sumer 14, 3: 17, 21, 25 § 4.91
Sumer 14, 3: 26 § 2.495.b
Sumer 14, 4: 5 § 4.48.b; § 4.52.a
Sumer 14, 4: 16 § 6.14; § 6.23.e
Sumer 14, 4: 35 § 2.459.b
Sumer 14, 6: 11 § 2.353.d
Sumer 14, 7: 21 § 2.353.a
Sumer 14, 8: 18 § 2.385.b; § 2.459.e
Sumer 14, 9: 5 § 2.258.b
Sumer 14, 9: 16 § 5.193.f
Sumer 14, 10: 10 § 2.459.f
Sumer 14, 10: 12 § 2.185.c fn; § 2.495.a fn
Sumer 14, 10: 15 § 2.185.c
Sumer 14, 11: 14 § 2.488.c
Sumer 14, 12: 8 § 2.299.a
Sumer 14, 12: 10 § 2.130.c
Sumer 14, 13: 22 § 2.130.a
Sumer 14, 13: 24 § 2.459.a
Sumer 14, 13: 25 § 2.80.b
Sumer 14, 13: 31 § 2.258.b
Sumer 14, 14: 4, 12 § 2.102.a
Sumer 14, 14: 11 § 4.107
Sumer 14, 14: 12 § 2.495.b
Sumer 14, 14: 15 § 2.474.f; § 2.486.b
Sumer 14, 14: 19 § 2.353.b
Sumer 14, 15: 15 § 2.299.b
Sumer 14, 15: 18 § 2.299.a
Sumer 14, 15: 24 § 2.258.b
Sumer 14, 16 r. 3 § 2.80.c fn
Sumer 14, 17: 20, 22 § 2.130.c; § 2.259.b
Sumer 14, 19: 6 § 4.26.a
Sumer 14, 19: 13 § 2.80.a
Sumer 14, 20: 4 § 2.258.b; § 2.493.c
Sumer 14, 20: 14 § 4.11.b
Sumer 14, 21: 5 § 2.459.c
Sumer 14, 21: 7 § 2.417.b
Sumer 14, 22: 14 § 2.385.b
Sumer 14, 23: 17 § 4.103.b
Sumer 14, 28: 10, 14 § 2.259.b; § 4.73.d
Sumer 14, 28: 14 § 2.130.b
Sumer 14, 29: 4 § 2.299.a
Sumer 14, 30: 7, 10 § 2.80.c
Sumer 14, 30: 9 f. § 5.177
Sumer 14, 31: 6 § 2.80.c; § 2.385.b
Sumer 14, 31: 19 § 2.353.e fn
Sumer 14, 33: 6 § 2.507.b
Sumer 14, 37: 8 § 2.299.a
Sumer 14, 37: 17 § 2.258.b; § 2.299.a
Sumer 14, 38: 7 § 2.80.b
Sumer 14, 39: 6 § 2.385.a
Sumer 14, 39: 18 § 4.8.a
Sumer 14, 39: 20 § 2.157.a; § 2.265.b
Sumer 14, 44: 12 § 2.459.d
Sumer 14, 45: 8 § 2.80.a; § 2.130.c
Sumer 14, 45: 11 § 2.284 fn
Sumer 14, 45: 17 § 2.80.a; § 2.130.c; § 2.417.a
Sumer 14, 46: 24 § 2.258.b
Sumer 14, 49: 7 § 2.80.c
Sumer 14, 49: 10 § 2.182.c
Sumer 14, 50: 11 § 2.353.e
Sumer 23, 161: 21 § 2.260
Sumer 23 pl. 16: 4 § 2.479.c
Sumer 43, 190 ii 3 § 6.12.b; § 6.24.b; § 6.41; § 6.44
Sumer 43, 194: 32, 38 § 2.365.c; § 6.7.a
Sumer 43, 202 iv 4 § 2.450.c
Sumer 43, 204: 7 § 2.450.a
Sumer 43, 204 iv 6 § 2.365.d; § 6.9; § 6.28.a
Syria 19, 109: 28 § 2.102.b
Syria 19, 119b: 10 § 2.437.d
Syria 32, 15: 23 § 2.480.b

TBP 62 r. 13 f. § 2.252.f
TBP 62 r. 17 f. § 2.477.f
TCL 1, 66: 3 § 2.406.b

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TCL 1, 143: 9 § 2.342.a
TCL 1, 174: 5 § 2.159.e
TCL 1, 199: 5 § 5.154.e
TCL 10, 3: 1 § 6.6.b; § 6.23.a; § 6.24.b
TCL 10, 60: 5 § 2.183.a
TCL 10, 24 r. 17, 32 § 6.20.b
TCL 10, 106: 9 § 2.151.a
TCL 10, 110: 21 § 2.158.e
TCL 10, 112: 6 § 2.493.c
TCL 10, 120: 29 § 2.173.i
TCL 10, 123: 2 § 2.271.b
TCL 11, 162A: 1 § 6.15.a
TCL 11, 246: 8 § 2.70.k
TCL 17, 65: 5 § 2.275.a fn
TEBA 50: 13 § 5.262.a
TEBA 55: 10 § 5.139.b fn
TIM 1, 20: 80 § 5.155.e; § 5.180.a; § 5.180.a fn
TIM 2, 16: 25 § 4.24.c
TIM 2, 16: 26 § 4.29
TIM 4, 5: 9; 6: 9 § 2.260
TIM 9, 6: 20 § 5.306.f
TIM 9, 48 i 10 § 6.12.c
TIM 9, 48 iii 14 § 5.3.a; § 6.46.b
TIM 9, 51: 17 § 5.180.a
TIM 9, 53: 5 § 5.180.a
TIM 9, 65//66: 3 § 5.303.a
TIM 9, 65//66: 9 § 5.159.h
TIM 9, 65//66: 11 § 5.303.a
TIM 9, 66: 17 § 6.7.b; § 6.8.c; § 6.24.b
TIM 9, 80: 40 § 2.282.e
TLB 1, 42: 5 § 2.212.a fn
TLB 2, 21: 7 § 2.173.a
TMB 7: 1 § 6.12.c
TMB 13: 2 § 2.75.e; § 6.41
TMB 14: 2 § 6.38.b
TMB 142: 7–10 § 6.46.b
TMB 168: 4, 9 § 6.32.g
TMB 198: 2 f. § 6.10.b; § 6.22.c
TMB 207: 35 f. § 6.22.f
TMB 207: 36 § 2.189.a
TMB 209: 5 § 5.271.a
TMB 210: 4 § 5.271.b
TMB 213: 5 § 6.22.d
TuL 43: 11 f. § 2.287.g

UCP 10/1, 7: 10 § 6.14 fn; § 6.20.f
UCP 10/1, 58: 21 § 2.252.b fn
UCP 10/1, 70: 5 f. § 2.143.b; § 2.175.d
UCP 10/1, 70: 22 § 5.143.d

UET 1, 146 iv 13 § 6.23.d
UET 1, 146 vi 7 § 2.228.e
UET 5, 10: 11 § 2.505.d
UET 5, 18: 8 § 4.115.b
UET 5, 23: 14 § 2.271.c
UET 5, 26: 31 § 2.431
UET 5, 44 r. 6 § 2.178.b
UET 5, 46: 9 § 4.115.b
UET 5, 68: 7 § 6.51.b
UET 5, 73: 29 § 6.11.b
UET 5, 74: 3 § 2.146
UET 5, 78: 26 § 5.145.l
UET 5, 80: 19 § 4.115.b
UET 5, 85: 3 § 2.34
UET 5, 111: 1 § 6.20.d
UET 5, 219: 25 § 2.174.c
UET 5, 247: 24 § 5.279
UET 5, 363: 13 § 2.486.a
UET 5, 485: 11 § 4.153.a
UET 5, 502: 26 § 2.146
UET 5, 507 i 2, 6, 14, 24, ii 8 § 2.287.e
UET 5, 553 i 14 § 2.212.a fn
UET 5, 683: 11 § 2.200.b
UET 5, 723: 44 § 2.486.a
UET 5, 792: 8 § 2.176.a
UET 6/2, 359: 4 § 2.267.e; § 2.288.b
UET 6/2, 395 r. 5, 8, 10 § 4.58.d
UET 6/2, 396: 16 § 5.188.e fn.; § 5.200.b
UET 6/2, 404: 6 § 2.363.c
UET 6/2, 414: 3 § 4.145.b
UET 6/2, 414: 33 § 5.188.c
UET 6/3, 889 ii 12 § 2.120.e; § 2.287.h
UET 6/3, 889 ii 13 § 2.29.f
UET 7, 76 r. 5 § 2.148
UET 7, 93: 39 § 5.47.a

VAB 5, 5: 7 f. § 5.195.m
VAB 5, 12: 8 § 5.2.c
VAB 5, 19: 11 § 4.165.d
VAB 5, 35: 9 § 4.116.b
VAB 5, 36: 4, 7, 14 § 4.116.b
VAB 5, 65: 12 § 5.197e
VAB 5, 171: 8 § 2.28.c
VAB 5, 200: 8 § 5.155.d
VAB 5, 235: 5 § 2.32.b
VAB 5, 277: 9 § 5.297.a
VAB 5, 287: 5 § 5.169.a
VAB 5, 297: 9 § 2.173.b
VAB 5, 299: 13 § 2.29.f

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VAB 5, 308: 22 § 4.148.a
Vogelzang 1988, 97: 40 § 5.303.a
Vogelzang 1988, 99: 82; Ab 2 § 5.180.e fn
VOM 181: 16 § 6.19.b
VS 7, 17: 11 § 5.159.d
VS 7, 22: 15 § 5.159.d
VS 7, 34: 18 § 2.366.b; § 5.155.o
VS 7, 37: 17 § 2.429.f
VS 7, 67: 10 § 2.407.a fn
VS 7, 156: 31 § 2.272.a
VS 7, 192: 14 § 2.491.a
VS 8, 22: 5 § 2.447 fn
VS 8, 23: 5 § 2.447 fn
VS 10, 21 iv 20 § 5.181
VS 10, 179: 8 § 2.175.g
VS 10, 213: 6, 10 § 2.334.a
VS 10, 213: 6, 8, 10 § 2.477.d; § 2.490.a
VS 10, 213: 12 § 4.3.d
VS 10, 214 ii 2 § 2.250.a
VS 10, 214 ii 5 § 5.136.b; § 5.292.b
VS 10, 214 ii 10 § 2.68; § 2.250.a; § 5.188.e; § 5.197.a
VS 10, 214 ii 12 § 5.136.b; § 5.292.a
VS 10, 214 iii 4 § 6.2.e
VS 10, 214 iii 15 § 2.70.f; § 2.288.b
VS 10, 214 iii 17 § 2.479.c
VS 10, 214 iii 24 § 2.35.b
VS 10, 214 iv 5 § 5.180.e
VS 10, 214 iv 7 § 2.243 fn
VS 10, 214 iv 8 § 2.90.b; § 5.180.e
VS 10, 214 iv 18 § 5.200.a
VS 10, 214 iv 21 § 4.58.c
VS 10, 214 v 4 § 2.35.b
VS 10, 214 v 9 § 4.46.c
VS 10, 214 v 12 § 2.217.e
VS 10, 214 v 26 § 2.410.b; § 5.190.d
VS 10, 214 vi 9 § 5.190.a; § 5.205.a
VS 10, 214 vi 11 § 5.188.d
VS 10, 214 vi 13 § 2.477.d
VS 10, 214 vi 15 § 4.58.b
VS 10, 214 vi 21 § 6.24.a
VS 10, 214 vi 22 § 5.274.a
VS 10, 214 vi 27 § 5.131.b; § 5.135
VS 10, 214 vi 39 § 2.477.d fn
VS 10, 214 vi 40 § 5.306.f
VS 10, 214 vi 45 § 2.147.c; § 2.477.d fn
VS 10, 214 vi 47 § 5.217.a
VS 10, 214 vii 11 § 2.477.d fn
VS 10, 214 vii 14 § 5.274.a
VS 10, 214 vii 20 § 5.136.b
VS 10, 214 vii 39 § 6.2.c fn
VS 10, 214 viii 6 § 2.228.a fn
VS 10, 215: 22 § 2.268.a; § 2.477.d; § 2.486.b; § 4.58.d
VS 10, 215: 29 § 2.477.e; § 4.44.c
VS 13, 9 r. 2 § 2.212.b
VS 13, 18: 5 § 2.366.b; § 5.155.o
VS 17, 4: 4 § 5.120
VS 17, 9: 3 § 5.180.e
VS 17, 9: 4 § 2.30.b
VS 17, 34: 9 § 5.141.a
VS 17, 34: 10 § 5.141.f
VS 17, 34: 18 § 5.192.c
VS 17, 36: 6, 8 § 5.295.a
VS 29, 2: 3 § 5.169.a; § 5.289

A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 2, 3, 8 § 2.92.a
A. Westenholz 1991, 13 no. 11 § 2.92.b
A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 16 § 2.92.a
A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 17 § 2.92.b
A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 31, 32 § 2.92.c
A. Westenholz 1991, 14 no. 39 § 2.92.b
A. Westenholz 1991, 15 no. 44 § 2.93
A. Westenholz 1991, 15 no. 64 § 2.92.b
A. Westenholz 1991, 16 no. 81 § 2.93
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 64: 20 § 2.164.a
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 66: 46 § 2.172.c
J.G. Westenolz 1997, 68: 53 § 5.194.i; § 5.303.a; § 5.303.b
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 98 r. 3 § 2.220.a; § 2.220.b
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 98 r. 4 § 2.155.a
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 166: 170 § 2.164.a
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 178 i 4 § 2.252.f
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 180 ii 6 § 5.306.d
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 180 ii 7 § 2.260
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 214 iv 15 § 5.68
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 254: 23 § 5.287.b; § 6.10.a
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 270 f. iii 1, 3, 7 § 2.489
J.G. Westenholz 1997, 274 iv 5 § 2.71.d

YBC 5026: 4 (cf. MSL 14, 142) § 2.366.b
YOS 5, 137: 20 § 2.139.c
YOS 5, 150: 25 § 2.478.c
YOS 5, 181: 3 § 2.470
YOS 7, 146: 19 § 2.477.a fn
YOS 8, 1: 22 § 4.23.a

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YOS 8, 16: 16 § 2.505.a
YOS 8, 29: 3; 49: 22 § 2.275.a
YOS 8, 105: 9 § 2.505.a
YOS 8, 108: 2 § 2.247.c
YOS 10, 1: 3 § 2.285
YOS 10, 1: 6 § 4.31.b
YOS 10, 4: 7 § 4.31.b
YOS 10, 7: 9 § 6.22.b
YOS 10, 7: 22; 11 ii 3 § 2.364.b
YOS 10, 8: 22 § 2.477.e
YOS 10, 8: 36 § 5.179.b
YOS 10, 9: 2 § 2.485
YOS 10, 9: 14 § 2.480.a
YOS 10, 9: 22 § 2.45
YOS 10, 9: 24 § 2.169.a
YOS 10, 11 i 6 § 2.370.a
YOS 10, 11 i 6 f. § 5.142.b
YOS 10, 11 i 23 § 6.26.b
YOS 10, 11 i 24 § 5.206.b
YOS 10, 11 i 25 f. § 5.172.a
YOS 10, 11 ii 3 § 2.364.b
YOS 10, 11 ii 26 § 5.148.a
YOS 10, 11 iii 31 § 5.305.d; § 6.3.c
YOS 10, 12: 1 f. § 5.159.a
YOS 10, 13: 11 § 5.148.d
YOS 10, 13: 13 f. § 2.406.f
YOS 10, 13: 21 § 2.180.a
YOS 10, 13: 23 § 4.31.b
YOS 10, 13: 25 § 2.175.b
YOS 10, 14: 4 § 2.243.a
YOS 10, 14: 9 § 5.172.e
YOS 10, 15: 13 § 2.220.a; § 4.167.b
YOS 10, 15: 18 § 2.219.b
YOS 10, 17: 11 § 4.33.b
YOS 10, 17: 40, 41 § 5.148.c
YOS 10, 17: 46 § 2.60.b; § 2.74.c
YOS 10, 17: 49, 51 § 4.162.d
YOS 10, 17: 51 § 4.144.a
YOS 10, 17: 89 § 2.195
YOS 10, 18: 28 § 2.505.d
YOS 10, 18: 76 § 2.66.b
YOS 10, 19: 14 § 2.511.f
YOS 10, 20: 8 § 5.294.a
YOS 10, 20: 24 § 5.167.a
YOS 10, 20: 28 § 2.511.a
YOS 10, 21: 6 § 2.511.a
YOS 10, 22: 11 § 2.372.a
YOS 10, 22: 19 § 2.173.e
YOS 10, 22: 22 § 2.504.b fn
YOS 10, 22: 24 § 2.189.b
YOS 10, 23: 5 § 4.27.b; § 4.38
YOS 10, 23: 8 § 2.27.a; § 2.74.b
YOS 10, 23 r. 8 § 2.32.e; § 2.470
YOS 10, 24: 10 § 5.169.b; § 5.286
YOS 10, 24: 12 § 2.276.b
YOS 10, 24: 20 § 2.115.a
YOS 10, 24: 21 § 2.70.i; § 2.211
YOS 10, 24: 30 § 5.143.e
YOS 10, 24: 31 § 2.211
YOS 10, 24: 41 § 2.74.a
YOS 10, 25: 14; 33 ii 54 § 2.406.f
YOS 10, 25: 18 § 2.165.a
YOS 10, 25: 79 § 2.69.f
YOS 10, 26 i 17 § 5.145.c
YOS 10, 26 iii 19 § 2.70.e
YOS 10, 26 iii 21 § 6.22.c
YOS 10, 26 iii 25 § 6.46.b
YOS 10, 26 iii 29 § 2.150
YOS 10, 26 iii 51 § 5.166.a
YOS 10, 28: 4 § 2.449.b
YOS 10, 28: 10 § 2.365.c
YOS 10, 31 i 15 § 2.27.b
YOS 10, 31 i 47 § 6.24.a; § 6.25.c
YOS 10, 31 i 52 § 2.102.a
YOS 10, 31 ii 17 § 2.270.a
YOS 10, 31 ii 19 § 2.30.a
YOS 10, 31 iv 25 § 5.132.d
YOS 10, 31 iv 27 § 5.195.h
YOS 10, 31 v 30 § 6.10.c
YOS 10, 31 viii 35 § 2.149.a fn
YOS 10, 31 ix 20 § 2.144.b
YOS 10, 31 ix 22 f. § 5.166.d
YOS 10, 31 ix 23 § 6.25.b
YOS 10, 31 ix 25 § 5.165.a; § 5.166.d; § 6.25.b
YOS 10, 31 ix 53 § 2.267.d
YOS 10, 31 x 50 § 5.165.a; § 5.166.d
YOS 10, 31 x 51 § 5.306.a
YOS 10, 31 xii 7 § 2.396
YOS 10, 31 xii 21 § 2.69.e
YOS 10, 31 xii 34 § 2.370.b
YOS 10, 33 i 16 § 2.29.f
YOS 10, 33 ii 25 § 4.33.b
YOS 10, 33 ii 29 § 5.172.i
YOS 10, 33 ii 54 § 5.193.h
YOS 10, 33 iii 55 § 2.31.b
YOS 10, 33 iv 13 § 2.452 fn
YOS 10, 33 iv 19 § 4.30.a
YOS 10, 33 iv 56 § 2.66.c

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YOS 10, 33 v 18 § 6.4.c
YOS 10, 33 v 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 31, 34 § 2.435.c
YOS 10, 33 v 22, 24, 28, 31, 39 § 6.48.c
YOS 10, 33 v 24, cf. 20, 22, 26, 28, 31, 34 § 6.4.c
YOS 10, 33 v 26 § 6.49.a
YOS 10, 33 v 26 § 6.49.b
YOS 10, 35: 4 § 4.165.a
YOS 10, 35: 23 § 2.511.a
YOS 10, 35: 33 § 2.275.a
YOS 10, 36 i 24 § 5.194.c
YOS 10, 36 i 25 § 5.133
YOS 10, 36 i 29 § 5.195.f; § 6.26.c
YOS 10, 36 i 29, 31 § 6.5.d
YOS 10, 36 i 35 § 5.148.d
YOS 10, 36 i 41 § 5.135; 5.143.c
YOS 10, 36 i 48; iii 22 § 2.212.a fn
YOS 10, 36 iv 4 § 2.182.a
YOS 10, 36 iv 10 § 4.146.a
YOS 10, 38 r. 11 § 2.273.a
YOS 10, 39: 7, 9, 11, 14 § 2.275.a
YOS 10, 39: 26 § 2.31.b
YOS 10, 39 r. 3 § 2.261.b
YOS 10, 39 r. 7 § 2.173.h
YOS 10, 39 r. 9 § 5.272
YOS 10, 40: 2 § 2.511.b
YOS 10, 40: 3 § 2.159.h
YOS 10, 40: 9 § 2.88
YOS 10, 41: 19 § 5.50.a fn
YOS 10, 41: 28 § 2.99. a
YOS 10, 41: 31 § 2.68
YOS 10, 41: 67 § 6.39
YOS 10, 42 i 5 § 5.159.g
YOS 10, 42 i 27 § 5.172.g
YOS 10, 42 i 32 § 2.218.c; § 2.222.d
YOS 10, 42 i 33 § 5.130.b
YOS 10, 42 i 36 § 5.195.o
YOS 10, 42 ii 38 § 5.238.a
YOS 10, 42 iii 23 § 6.5.c; § 6.23.b
YOS 10, 42 iv 17 § 2.276.a
YOS 10, 42 iv 22 § 4.23.a; § 4.37.b
YOS 10, 42 iv 39 § 2.212.a
YOS 10, 43: 6 § 5.156.b
YOS 10, 44: 26, 66 § 2.247.a
YOS 10, 44: 45 § 5.153.a
YOS 10, 44: 47 § 5.181
YOS 10, 44: 62 § 5.235.a
YOS 10, 45: 5 § 2.275.a
YOS 10, 45: 33 § 6.4.a
YOS 10, 45: 50 § 5.179.b
YOS 10, 46 i 25, 33 § 6.3.c
YOS 10, 46 i 45 § 2.276.a
YOS 10, 46 ii 20 § 5.176.a
YOS 10, 46 iv 29 § 5.306.d
YOS 10, 46 iv 33 § 5.134.a; 5.156.b
YOS 10, 46 iv 46 § 2.150
YOS 10, 46 v 11 § 2.214.f; § 5.159.d
YOS 10, 46 v 21 § 2.505.d
YOS 10, 46 v 29 § 2.28.a
YOS 10, 47: 6 § 2.282.e
YOS 10, 47: 8 § 5.159.h
YOS 10, 47: 9 § 4.167.a
YOS 10, 47: 16 § 2.511.c
YOS 10, 47: 20 § 2.511.f
YOS 10, 47: 21 § 2.429.e
YOS 10, 47: 25 f. § 2.179.d
YOS 10, 47: 47 § 5.172.a fn; § 5.174.b
YOS 10, 47: 50 § 2.166
YOS 10, 47: 69 § 2.31.b
YOS 10, 48: 6 § 2.31.b
YOS 10, 48: 33 § 2.447.a
YOS 10, 48: 39 f. § 2.477.b
YOS 10, 48: 43 § 5.195.k
YOS 10, 48: 44 f. § 2.477.b
YOS 10, 49: 1 § 5.128.a
YOS 10, 50: 2 § 6.23.e
YOS 10, 50: 4 § 5.172.b
YOS 10, 50: 8 § 2.437.e
YOS 10, 51 i 9 § 2.243.c
YOS 10, 51 ii 40 § 2.175.e
YOS 10, 51 iii 8 § 2.236.a
YOS 10, 51 iv 16; 52 iv 9 § 2.287.f
YOS 10, 51 iv 38 § 6.32.c
YOS 10, 52 ii 23 § 2.252.a; § 5.132.a
YOS 10, 52 iv 23 § 2.169.a
YOS 10, 52 iv 27 § 6.35.b
YOS 10, 53: 5 § 5.165.h fn
YOS 10, 54: 10 f. § 2.270.a
YOS 10, 54 r. 10 f. § 5.159.a
YOS 10, 54 r. 11 § 2.491.a
YOS 10, 56 i 17 § 2.154.a
YOS 10, 56 i 28 § 5.142.a
YOS 10, 56 i 32 § 2.224.a
YOS 10, 56 ii 3 § 5.144.a
YOS 10, 56 ii 6 § 5.165.b
YOS 10, 56 ii 37 § 5.2.b
YOS 10, 56 ii 39 § 2.175.c; § 2.511.f
YOS 10, 56 iii 1 § 6.2.c; § 6.22.b

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YOS 10, 56 iii 3 § 5.172.h
YOS 10, 56 iii 11 § 2.167 fn
YOS 10, 56 iii 19 § 4.31.b
YOS 10, 56 iii 24 § 2.342.b; § 5.166.a
YOS 10, 59: 8 § 2.120.a; § 2.507.a
YOS 10, 59: 9 § 2.287.f
YOS 10, 60: 9 § 2.342.a
YOS 10, 62 r. 23 § 2.511.f; § 4.45.b
YOS 11, 7: 4 § 5.276.a
YOS 11, 12: 6 § 2.243.a
YOS 11, 14 r. 1 § 2.175.h
YOS 11, 16: 5 § 2.271.f
YOS 11, 20: 3 § 2.287.h; § 5.47.b
YOS 11, 22: 7 § 2.169.a
YOS 11, 22: 50, 54 § 2.372.a
YOS 11, 24 i 7 § 6.2.f
YOS 11, 87: 11 § 5.22.b
YOS 13, 68: 4; 347: 6 § 2.476.d
YOS 13, 449: 16 § 2.248.b
YOS 14, 148: 5 § 5.194.j; § 5.302.a
YOS 14, 329: 28 § 5.302.a

ZA 16, 174: 40 § 5.155.j fn
ZA 43, 306: 1 § 2.120.b
ZA 43, 309: 4 § 2.477.b
ZA 43, 310: 22 § 2.477.b
ZA 43, 310: 25 § 2.477.b; § 2.477.d
ZA 44, 32: 20 § 2.212.b fn
ZA 44, 32: 24 § 4.80.e
ZA 49, 168 f. i 18 § 2.333
ZA 49, 168 f. i 25, 29, 30, 31 § 2.333 fn
ZA 49, 168 f. ii 9 § 5.276.b
ZA 49, 168 f. iii 5, iv 5, iv 13, iv 14 § 2.333 fn
ZA 65, 178: 1 § 5.303.a
ZA 65, 178: 2 § 2.447.b; § 2.494.c
ZA 65, 188: 116 § 2.288.b
ZA 71, 63: 11 § 5.207.a
ZA 75, 181 C 12 3.8.2
ZA 75, 182: 1–4 § 5.195.m
ZA 75, 204: 100 § 2.144.a
ZA 77, 124 ii 16 § 5.50.a
ZA 77, 124 iii 1, 2 § 5.49.a
ZA 77, 124 iii 3, 4 § 5.79
ZA 77, 124 iv 2 § 5.47.a
ZA 83, 3 obv. ii 10 § 5.161.b
ZA 90, 197: 14 § 5.169.b
ZA 90, 197: 19 § 2.270.c
ZA 102, 187: 5 § 5.188.e
ZA 102, 187: 22 § 5.186.d
ZA 102, 187: 23 § 4.151.a
ZA 102, 188: 29 § 2.481.a; § 5.186.d
ZA 102, 188: 40 § 2.250.a
ZA 110, 39 i 7 § 5.238.a
ZA 110, 39 i 11 § 2.366.a
ZA 110, 39 i 15 § 5.296.d
ZA 110, 39 i 19 § 2.27.c
ZA 110, 40 i 31 § 5.159.k
ZA 110, 40 i 34 § 2.507.b
ZA 110, 40 i 35 § 5.143.b
ZA 110, 40 i 41 f. § 4.15.b
ZA 110, 40 i 47 § 2.61
ZA 110, 41 i 58 § 2.363.c
ZA 110, 41 i 62 § 5.189.b
ZA 110, 42 ii 25 § 2.61
ZA 110, 42 ii 28 § 2.61
ZA 110, 47 viii 8 § 2.450.c
ZA 110, 48 viii 20 § 5.189.b; § 5.197.b
ZA 110, 48 viii 31 § 5.191
ZA 110, 48 viii 32 § 5.192.b
ZA 110, 49 base 12 § 2.507.a
ZA 110, 53 ii 2, 4 § 2.373

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